GUIDE TO THE SC15 PAEZ FILE

/Although the SC15 Paez file unit actually consists of a number of other highland Chibcha-speaking people, in addition to the Paez proper, as for example the Andaqui (Andaki), Coconuco, Guanaca, Moguex (Guambiano), Pijao (Pinao), Purace, Timana and Yalcon (Cambi), the present file is primarily concerned only with the Paez. These people occupy in most part the highland areas of the region of Tierradentro, department of Cauca in southwestern Colombia. The Paez whose economy today is based primarily on agriculture, were originally one of the old chiefdoms of Colombia, and received some small degree of Inca influence. The file was chosen for processing because of the availability of good literature on these people, in contrast to most Colombian groups aside from the Cagaba and Goajiro.

The file consists of eight sources all written by anthropologists. Of these sources two are in English, one, a translation from the German (1: Nachtigall) and the remaining five (3, 4, 5, 6 & 8), all by Bernal Villa, are translations from the Spanish. 1: Nachtigall is the primary source for this file and presents an excellent over-all coverage of Paez ethnography written by a trained ethnologist. 7: Hernandez de Alba further supplements Nachtigall's work by presenting a cultural summary of the Paez. This source possibly should be read first as a general orientation to the file unit. 2: Pittier de Fábrega also summarizes previously known information on the Paez (primarily from the writings of Castillo y Orozco of about the year 1735) and adds new data from the author's own field work. This source also contains interesting linguistic data which can be of use to those interested in Paez values and classification systems. 3: Bernal Villa is

concerned with the mythology and tales from the parcialidad of Calderas. 4: Bernal Villa deals with various fiestas held by the Paez of Calderas throughout the calendar year, and is concerned primarily with the fiesta of San Juan. 5: Bernal Villa presents a comprehensive study of the function and scope of shamanism and sorcery in Paez society. 6: Bernal Villa is an excellent summary of Paez economy which is based principally on agriculture and further supplemented by livestock raising, hunting, fishing and gathering. The remaining source in this file 8: Bernal Villa deals with the problem of social organization from the standpoint of kinship terminology.

As a whole the file seems to be fairly well-rounded and quite adequate for comparative research. In historical depth the file extends back from 1954 to the early period of Spanish-Indian contact.

Material on the "pest" or ritual contamination has been marked for category 783; descriptive information on the sugar cane crushing apparatus for category 407; the cabildo or native council (including the Gobernador) for 623; the capitan/síndico, for 624; festival houses for 346; shamanistic signs for 787/755 depending on context; and the minga, a community work group, for 476./

Processed in 1966-1968

/9 cont./

114 Our stay in Colombia lasted a year, from August 8, 1952,
[101] to August 12, 1953. During this time I worked first under the direction of Herr P. Pedro José Ramirez Sendoya as Investigador at the Instituto Etnológica Nacionál, beginning September 20, 1952, as Jefe de Arqueología at the Instituto Colombiano de
[126] Antropología. After several weeks of inventorying the antiquities in the region of San Agustín we traveled to Tierradentro where we collected the field material of the present publication during the period from December 24, 1952, to April 24, 1953.

122 The scientific work in Colombia was financed by the Ministerio de Educación and the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología. On this occasion I should also like to express my sincerest thanks to the then Minister of Education, Herr Dr. Lucio Pabón Nuñez, and to the Director of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, Herr Dr. Antonio Andrade Crispino, for the help rendered. Here I should also like to thank the Vice-President of the Academia de Ciencias Naturales, Herr Prof. Dr. P. Enrique Perez Arbelaez, who, during the early period of my stay in Colombia, smoothed many paths for me. I am no less grateful to the colleagues of the Institute for the scientific help given to me, as well as to the workers in Tierradentro for their diligence in the difficult and, at the beginning of the rainy period, quite unpleasant work of digging.

126 For the research and travel equipment, a number of firms
122 generously put material at our disposal. For the photographs published in this book I had the use of a Leica III f with Elmar /10/ 1:3.5 and accessories, as well as a Rolleiflex with Tessar 1:3.5. For special photographic purposes Rodenstock-Heligon 1:2.8 wide-angle lens, a Steinheil-Culminar 1:2.8 telephoto lens, and Proximeters I and II from H. Schneider & Co. were used with the Leica, and with the Rolleiflex the Rolleikin equipment with the Rolleinars 1 and 2. The interior shots of the grave holes and the native houses were taken with Osram SO and Philipps Pf 45 flash bulbs, as well as with Seuthe flash capsultes. Adox KB 17 and R 18, as well as Perutz Perpantic film, served as negative material for the photographs.

Colombia SC1
Tierradentro

C /13 cont. /
133 Negro de Narvaez, the principal rivers of Tierradentro. They
C drain into the Magdalena River, like all the rivers on the eastern
487 slope of the Central Cordillera. The principal traffic routes of
133 Tierradentro also lead to the Magdalena Valley, the most im-
C portant one leading down to the Rio Paez by way of /14/ La Plata
[632] to Neiva or Garzón. Thus, La Plata forms the center of trade and communication for this area, which economically, however, is not yet very accessible.

Even the earliest chroniclers described Tierradentro as a land of "eternal up and down." As a matter of fact, despite its excellent climate for colonization, the large number of small rivers cutting deep into the mountains represents a great obstacle
P to accessibility for communication, without which more extensive
[161] agricultural production is not profitable. The impassability is
●[101] one of the reasons that the Paez Indians here, with a total number of about 25,000 persons, have maintained themselves racially pure and, in a few mountain valleys, in a relatively original state culturally.

C The climatic differences of this region lying less than
132 three degrees of latitude north of the equator are considerable, de-
133 pending on the elevation. Neiva, lying 472 meters high on the
a Magdalena River and the capital of the department of Huila, is
[633] one of the warmest cities of Colombia with an average temperature of 30°. Nevado del Huila, lying only 75 kilometers to the west in a straight line, is covered with eternal snow. In between there is an average temperature of 21° at 1,200 meters elevation
C and one of 11° at 3,000 meters. The predominant elevation of the
[361] settlements in the southern part of Tierradentro lies between 1,400 and 1,700 meters, which corresponds to a mean temperature of
C 18-20°. This is the best climate for the Colombian coffee. At
[245] the same time it is an excellent climate and elevation for the
[249] planting of sugar cane and maize and for cattle-raising, economic
[233] activities that only the colonists profit by in a commercial sense.
P The Paez villages lying in this climate are therefore extensively
C overrun by colonists, and broad stretches of land have been taken
[648] by them for agricultural use. Here the mountain slopes which
P
[361]
C
[311]

/102 cont./

175 glossary, p. 248/, and, by means of reservation laws, protected
177 the Paez from the gradually advancing colonists. In this way the
648 Paez were able to preserve their language and customs to a con-
[178] siderable extent, in contrast to the other mountain tribes of
Colombia, who have long since been absorbed in the Spanish-
175 Colombian culture. In the struggles for independence from the
648 Spanish crown under Simon Bolivar from 1812 to 1824, the Paez
fought for their liberation on the republican side under Gregorio
Calambás. Their leader was captured and shot. After the
victorious termination of the struggles for independence, Gregorio
Calambás became one of the martyrs of Colombian independence (*).

* According to V. A. Bedoya, P. J. Ramirez Sendoya, and G. Hernandez de Alba (VII).

175 The Pijao perished like the Guanaca. After having oc-
● 101 cupied, before the Conquista, almost the entire area of the
648 present-day department of Tolima east of the Central Cordillera,
[151] as the eastern neighbors of the Quimbaya, they perished in
countless battles with the Spaniards. As late as the eighteenth
century, remnants of them lived in the valley of the Rio Negro
de Narvaez, as neighbors of the Paez. They, called Bemb by the
Paez, as well as the Guanaca, spoke languages that differed
from the Paez. They could not understand one another.

178 Besides the Paez, the culture of the Guambiano, a
101 neighboring tribe called Mogweš by the Paez, has been preserved
114 to a certain extent up to the present day. The Guambiano in-
habit the west side of the Central Cordillera and today live in
the valley of the Piendamó around Silvia. The life and customs
of his tribe have been recently represented by the Guambiano
Francisco Tumiña Pillumbe in a number of very instructive /103/
drawings, each of which was provided with a brief text by
Gregorio Hernandez de Alba.

/105 cont./

C 162 The inhabitants of Tierradentro may be divided into three groups, according to the degree of civilization: a) the colonists living south of the Rio Ullucus, who speak Spanish and have nothing in common with the Paez. In habits and customs they correspond to the general, more or less strongly mestizo, Colombian rural population. Furthermore, the population of Balalcázar, consisting predominantly of Negroes, has nothing in common with the Paez. They were brought there by the Spaniards in colonial times as slaves, in order to exploit the salt mines that were used by the Paez even in ancient times. Today salt C [316] extraction is no longer profitable. The Negroes live partly on gold-washing in the Rio Paez, which is undertaken in primitive P [563] fashion with wooden pans, the workers standing up to their knees [186] in water. The Paez do not generally intermarry with the Negroes, but, on the contrary, despise them, since they know that they at one time came there as slaves.

P 162 361 563 b) The Paez who north of the Rio Ullucus have settled both banks of the Rio Paez as far north as Nevado del Huila. They have in part intermarried with the white and mestizo colonist P [103] population. The /106/ places inhabited by them are: Araujo, Avirama, Belalcázar, Cuetando, Mosoco, Ricaurte, San Andrés, San José, Tálaga, Toez, Togóima.

P 162 103 c) The pure Paez villages of Calderas, Chinas, Huila, Lame, Santa Rosa, Suin and Vitoncó. Among these the Paez of Calderas have preserved their cultural individuality most P purely. We worked primarily among them, and the present ma- 114 121 terial, insofar as nothing is said to the contrary, refers to the culture of the Paez of Calderas. The Calderun, as the inhabitants P 181 of Calderas are known in the country, are by far the most unap- 648 proachable of all the Paez. They have best kept to this day the 101 three laws of Juan Tama, the mythical hero of the Paez, which were originally strictly observed by all. These three laws say: 1. Tierradentro is solely and exclusively the land of the Paez, 2. the Paez may never intermarry with other races, 3. the Paez are invincible as long as they keep these laws. The third law in particular has well-founded justification, since for centuries

/106 cont./

648 it was impossible for the Spaniards to conquer Tierradentro and [101 181] subjugate the Paez.

Even today the Paez love their independence above all. And even though they cannot accomplish anything by force against the "whites," by which they mean the colonists and the Colombians in general, they nevertheless hate them with impotent fury. "Muiska pešu" (*), "white robber," is what they call the

* Concerning the transcription and phonetics of Paez words, cf. pp. 154-156.

colonists who took their land from them. The latter, however, more industrious than the Paez, need land for their numerous children. They cannot see why the best and virgin soil should remain unused in the hands of the Paez.

361 The rivers arising in the heights as a result of the water flowing down in the mountainous country form enclosed valley basins, each of which contains a village politically. These are, however, not villages in our sense, since the houses do not lie together, but separately, scattered on the slopes of the entire 123 valley basin as individual farms. This decentralized position of 361 a village rendered the ethnological work considerably more difficult, since one cannot keep an eye on "his" village and survey all the inhabitants together. Hence it is very difficult to become acquainted with all the people of the village, since in each case one must go great distances from one house to another and at the same time usually very laboriously climb a slope. How often it happened that the inhabitants were not at home at the moment or did not want to be seen or spoken to. For, at first, the Calderun did not by any means care to see us, and even after months of life and visits among them, the old people looked back with nostalgia on the times when /107/ all intruding whites were killed. 123 Today, moreover, not only whites, but even foreigners come to [177] Calderas. "If we speak to them and treat them well," they said, "then more and more whites will come here." How often it happened that we visited one of the old men, who, I was told,

/164 cont./

439 cloth for trousers, and all European clothing. Furthermore, every type of ornament must be bought, such as necklaces, earrings, and finger rings, then cotton, since it is finer and shinier than sheep wool, and aniline dyes for dyeing women's belts and coca bags, since they are more brilliant and clearer than the native vegetable dyes. The trip to market and the necessary trade, however, are not undertaken because of an inclination for business, pleasure in bargaining or in underbidding or outbidding, but out of the necessity to procure an [438] article that they cannot make themselves. If it is at all [797] possible, one tries to buy the required things in the village, for example, from the missionaries, and the purchase with money or the trip to market is, so to speak, the ultima ratio.
437 They do not bargain. The man -- /165/ and it is almost al-
439 ways he who shops -- asks the price, and if it seems too high --
[462] as in most cases -- he says "too expensive." If the tradesman lowers the price, he usually buys; if not, he goes on to the next stand.

The traders are never Paez, but always white and mestizo colonists. They know, of course, about the disinclination of the Paez to bargain, and they charge too high a price to begin with, so as to ask a still inflated normal price after the obligatory "too expensive." Thus the Paez are naturally cheated. They let themselves be too easily dazzled by an attractive display or packaging, for example, by the polish or the silver paper; also a more expensive green or red comb is preferred over a black one. Fortunately, one might say, they never have much money and can therefore never spend too much.

126 The way in which I was obliged to acquire the women's
439 colored belts for our collection is characteristic. Since every woman possesses only two at the most, one to fasten her skirt and the other to carry her baby, any attempt to buy them was [101] always useless. I had therefore bought at the market in Inzá a few women's belts which are made by the Guambiano, the tribe neighboring the Paez on the west, and are sold in Inzá.
[184] They are made of cotton, the white color of which in the freshly

/254 cont./

804 The period of a day is subdivided into the day (ẽn) and the
192 night (kos). Early morning is called kosẽ; afternoon at the time when work is at an end, which is reckoned by the position of the sun, is called ff'nze. Other subdivisions of the day are made according to the interval of an éšnetc, meaning the time it takes to chew a dose of coca. In translation this designation is used for "hour." The largest period of time is the month, ãte, which is designated by the same word as for "moon." For the period of a year the Spanish word año is used. In former times the word
[221] enzte was used. It is the designation for the large annual com-
[226] munal fishing at the weir during the dry season in February. The
[132] two rainy seasons, called nospá'nye, and the two dry seasons of the year, called sek, are not regarded as time intervals, but as seasons. The latter is at the same time the word for "sun."

823 No large geographical orientations or regional, individual
[491] divisions of any kind could be discovered. Moreover, all of Tierradentro is enclosed by civilized areas -- there is even an auto road leading to Belalcázar -- so that many Paez men have seen the surrounding countryside and even cities with their own eyes.
● 601 Only the western bordering mountains of the Central Cordillera,
[186] in the direction of Popayán, are conjectured to be the habitation
123 area of the dreadful man-eaters, the Pijao. Geographical means
484 of orientation are unknown. Traveling is done only during the day, in groups, and in company with a person who knows the way.
821 Of the stars it is only known that there stars that move and fixed ones, without their being distinguished in greater detail or according to constellations.

202 It is amazing that, in spite of their settlement pattern of
[361] individual farms, the Paez do not have any optical or acoustical
[203] means of communication over larger distances. /255/ In case of urgent news or questions, children are sent.

802 There are numbers only from one to six and ten. For the designations seven to nine the corresponding Spanish numbers are used. The Paez word for "ten" (kóse pémba) literally means "no more hands" and indicates that the fingers were used for counting. The toes are not used for counting; anything beyond ten is

/320 cont./

105 We are therefore obliged to regard the presence of the Paez in
172 their present settlement areas of Tierradentro as subsequent to the
174 archeological culture. Whether, as later immigrants within a larger population movement, they were the destroyers of the archeological culture, or whether they settled on the sites of the archeological culture only in the course of their wars with the
105 Spaniards cannot be clarified at the present time. /321/ The
172 latter assumption is corroborated by the fact that the reports of
174 the early Spaniards about the tribes that they encountered and
114 about their geographical position are not always clear. For exam-
131 ple, P. Manuel Rodriquez (1684) has the Paez living in the Páramo de las Papas, the páramo west of San Agustín, in which
101 rise the Magdalena, Cauca, and Caqueta. It is also remarkable
105 that the first Spanish reports do not mention the Guambiano, the
114 present-day western neighbors of the Paez. The assumption that
172 the Paez were affiliated with a newly immigrated, war-like
174 population is corroborated by the fact that the tribe of the Andaki /Andaqui/ living in the culture area of San Agustín at the time of the Conquista also had nothing to do with the archeological culture, but may possibly be regarded as the destroyers of it.

VI. List of Foreign and Technical Terms

104

Alcalde	Colombian designation for the burgomaster of a town or head of a district. Also the designation for local native authorities.
Ají	Very pungent mixture of ají pepper with onions and other spices.
Arroba	Spanish measure of weight of 12 1/2 kilograms.
Cabildo	Colombian community council. Among the Paez the designation for the democratically chosen village council.
Chaquira	Columbian designation for glass bead.
Chicha	(pronounced tschitscha) Native beer. Made of sugar cane among the Paez, of maize among most of the other Andean Indians, usually made of manioc among the South American Forest Indians.

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2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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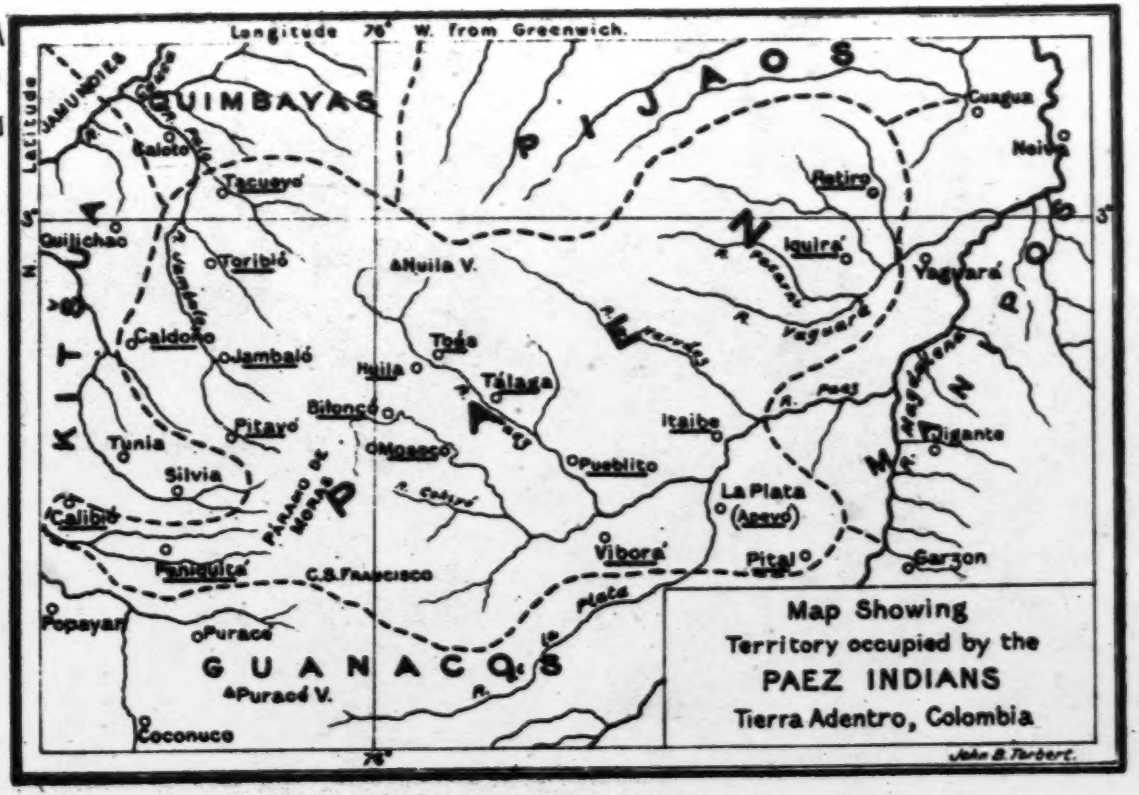
[P.304]



2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

121 The present object is not in any way to contribute an exhaustive monograph on the Paez, but simply to give a summary of our former knowledge of them, together with the chief results of the personal information collected during the visit referred to.

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

FORMER OCCUPANTS. "PLANOS DE INDIOS." HUACAS

101 174 In addition to the still existing tribes, traces of the former occupancy of the Cauca valley and the adjacent mountains by a dense Indian population are found at every step. The names of extinct groups, like the Hilamas, Ocaches, Jamundies, and others, impressed on the minds of the former Spanish inhabitants by reason of some of their more gruesome customs, have come down to the present generation, although the tribes, as such, have disappeared. Of the Hilamas and Ocaches it is said they were cannibals. At present their more or less mixed [692 descendants still live in the villages of Las Pavas and Vijes, 181 near Cali; the "Paveños" have become inveterate legal fighters, 162] keeping their judges and alcaldes constantly occupied; while the "Vijeños," on the other hand, are now so peaceful that the court-house is known to have been closed for eighteen months at a time.

101 Of the Jamundies I was told that they were indefatigable 114 warriors, having fought the Spanish invaders to the last of their strength. Their name is perpetuated in that of the little town [103] of Jamundi, near which I visited the very interesting vale of Agua Sucia, which may have been one of their principal strongholds, as well as a rich gold-washing place. The hills were and still are partly covered with graves, or *huacas*, and these have [135] been found so abundant in gold objects as to have induced enterprising miners, or *huaqueros*, to conduct a stream of water from a long distance in order to completely wash the slopes. 172 I do not attempt to mention the fabulous riches that are said to have been extracted from this place and from several other no less rich discoveries. An immense amount of pottery, often highly ornamented, together with grinding-stones, hatchets,

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

tion which would correspond pretty well with the explanation given by subsequent authors, except for its last, untranslated member, which seems to imply a lack of geographical knowledge on the part of Father Rodriguez. According to modern maps, indeed, the term "Alto", or "Cordillera", de Guanacas, seems to apply only to the group or node of mountains north of the Coconucos and Puracé volcanoes, and south of the towering Huila. This includes the "Páramo de Moras," which we crossed on our return from Tierra Adentro, but not the *Páramo de las Papas*, which is situated south of the Puracé, at the headwaters of the Cauca, Caquetá, and Magdalena rivers. 131 114 133

If we admit, then, that in Father Rodriguez's description the name Páramo de las Papas is merely a lapsus for Páramo de Moras, the area given by him corresponds pretty well with that which is recognized as such by Uricoechea in his introduction to Castillo's work, excepting that the latter extends this area northward to include the upper Yaguará basin. According to Castillo, this last was probably inhabited by another *parcialidad*, which he calls Bemb, "indios infieles de nacion pijaos." At Huila, when pointing northward to the valleys on the eastern slope of the volcano and asking who lived there, the Indians answered, "Los Pijaos", and among the Spanish people it is generally understood that the Paez and the Pijaos are one and the same. This is also the opinion of Reclus,[1] who says: "Among the various tribes that wandered through the thick forests of this [eastern] slope of the [central] Cordillera, the most barbarous were the *Pijaos* or *Paez*, who selected innocent victims to offer to their divinities. The enemy killed in a fight could be only indifferent to the gods; but a woman, a child, an inoffensive stranger, the pure ones, were welcome to the bloodthirsty genii." And these monstrous sacrifices must be repeated at short intervals to insure the permanent good-will of the gods. 131 114 101 [782 727]

The area given on the accompanying map (plate I)[1] corresponds with the above-mentioned description by Rodriguez, 101 103

[1] Reclus, *Géographie universelle*, XVIII, p. 305.

[1] [See p 304 – Analyst]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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101 only it might be necessary to modify it slightly if we were able
103 to localize all of the thirty-four villages or hamlets reputed to be of Paez stock and included in the following systematic list:

1. *Paez Basin*

As-at	Inzá	Suin
Chinas	Lâme	Tálaga
Chitoco	Mosoco	Toés
Cuetandó	Nátaga	Vitonció
El Pital	San Andrés de la Plata	Yaqtirá
El Naranjal	San José	

2. *Palo Basin*

Jambaló	San Francisco	Toribío
Pitaió	Tacueyó	

3. *Orejas, Corre, and Pondama Mountains*

Cajibio	Caldonió	Paniquitá

4. *Vagnará Basin*

El Retiro		Iquirá

5. *Locality Uncertain*

Abirama	Osyó	Ricaurte
Caldera	Pueblo Nuevo	Tobóima
La Troja	Pusó	

101 The principal neighbors of the Paez Indians, according to the above description of their territory, were to the north — the Quimbayas on the western slope of the central cordillera, and the Pijaos on the eastern slope. To their east were the Manipos, in the Magdalena valley; the Guanacos were on both watersheds of the central cordillera southward; and westward on the plains of the Cauca valley, the Kitšua and the Jamundies. The Kitšua were probably the most advanced in culture of all these different stocks, and the ones whose influence is more easily recognized
CMT in the customs and idiom of the Paez. Their language is also
191] the only one which has come down to us in its integrity.

101 There is no positive proof of the identity of the Paez and
174 Pijaos, and it is fair to state that there are many data pointing to the fact that originally they were merely neighbors, and allied against the Spaniards, as, for instance, in 1641, when they de-

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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stroyed the city of Caloto, then on the Magdalena river, according to Alcedo. But it is not unlikely that, later on, during their decline, the Pijaos, Paós, and perhaps several other tribes became mixed, and those whom we now call *Paez* are the survivors in blood, customs, and traditions, of all these frequently named *parcialidades* or *naciones*. 101 174

Physical Characteristics

There is no special reference by former writers respecting the physical characteristics of these Indians, probably because of the apparent uniformity in type of all the tribes of tropical South America. According to my own very fleeting observations the Paez are small, broad-shouldered, with small bony hands, and feet broadened toward the extremities. Their skin is very dark, a character common to all Indians living at great altitudes. In the case of almost every adult, both male and female, coming under my observation, I observed a fine black pubescence covering all visible parts of the body. They appear to be generally strong and healthy, and their physical endurance is not below the average. On our trip across the cordillera each adult man carried at least thirty kilograms, and many of them more than fifty, and none complained of being too heavily laden, although the trail up to nearly 4,000 meters and down again was exceedingly rough and steep, requiring at times not only much exertion but equal presence of mind. 142 147

It is well to mention, after Uricoechea, that the Paeces are naturally inclined to warfare, and invariably join one side or the other in the unceasing Colombian revolutions. In early times they raided the Spanish establishments, the destruction of Caloto on two occasions (the first time in 1641) being still held by them in vivid remembrance as glorious feats of their ancestors. I was even assured that not long ago, during the last war, they were with difficulty prevented from making an incursion on the neighboring Cauca cattle ranches. 181 721

I was quite surprised to find among the Paez Indians a character that I had noticed previously in Central America, but of which no record could be found in current literature. I refer to 147

/284 cont./

132 gives rise to cold local winds that blow through the valley of the Páez, affecting chiefly the areas of Vitoncó, Suin, Chinas, San José, Mosoco, and also the parcialidad /a territorial division/ of Calderas itself. The variation in temperature is noticeable in these zones sometimes having hot days and very cold nights. Nebulosity is almost constant, especially in the northern zones.

241 Economy.--The topographic and climatic characteristics permit the cultivation of various plants, such as maize, beans, bananas, sugar cane, yuca, arracacha, and gourds in the temperate zones, and in the cold ones potatoes, maize, ullucos, [433] beans, gourds, and cabbage. The produce barely leaves a [439] surplus for trade with the parcialidades and urban centers of [438] Belalcázar, Inzá, and Valencia. The potato crops of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José serve for an active trade with the Paez of the western slope of the cordillera, across the Páramo de Moras.

433 Coffee and the production of panela are important lines 245 in the economy of the colonists and also of numerous groups 249 of acculturated natives. The coffee of Tierradentro is con- 177 sidered one of the best in the country, owing to the quality and mildness of the bean.

231 /285/ The raising of livestock flourishes among the civilized 437 groups. For the natives it serves for maintaining a barter trade with their neighbors, the white and mestizo colonists.

311 On the whole, native production is relatively scant, 433 giving rise to times of "hambruna" /ravenous hunger/ when [731] the summers or winters are rather harsh. The workable land lies in the small plains and valleys of rivers and streams, on the alluvial terraces, and on the plateaus. Comparing the size of Tierradentro with that of its arable land, the latter appears scant, a problem that is aggravated by the increase in population and the habitual burning.

101 Population.--Tierradentro is the country of the Paez, 361 who at the time of the Conquest were settled to the north of

/285 cont./

101 the Ullucos river, since to the south of it were found the Topas,
361 Yaguiváes, and Guanaca. It seems that in the fifteenth century,
[166-173] under the rule of the cacique Calambás, the Paez went over the cordillera and settled in Pitayó, Toribío, and Tacueyó.

162 Dr. José Pérez de Barradas gave a number of 30,000 souls.
[161] The census of 1938 gives a total of 17,578 inhabitants distributed as follows: municipio of Páez (Belalcázar), 13,861; municipio of Inzá, 3,717. The censuses of 1951 give a total of 25,495 inhabitants, with 15,388 in the municipio of Páez and 10,103 in that of Inzá. It is obvious that the census of 1938 was defective, especially with regard to the population of this last municipio.

[177] Of this population, approximately 80 per cent is Indian, acculturated for the most part, except for those of Calderas, Suin, and Chinas, where traditions are strong and their contacts with the white scant, and in addition there is great resistance to living with him.

142 The Paez are of medium height, with light brown skin, dark brown eyes, straight black hair, broad foreheads, rather pronounced cheekbones, pentagonal rather than oval faces,
361 robust constitutions, and rather broad shoulders. Their pueblos
796 consist of a church, a school, the house of the priest and of
342 the cabildo, and a few other houses which are occupied only at the times of religious fiestas; they live in ranchos that are rectangular in plan, with thatched roofs and walls made of tight rows of maize stalks, /286/ located on privately owned land and a considerable distance apart.

291 Dress.--The Paez dress simply. The man wears linen trousers, a poncho tied to the waist with a leather strap and another that falls freely from the shoulders, and a hat which they manufacture themselves with palm or bamboo leaves. The woman wears a wide skirt tied around the waist with a multicolored band preceding the folds made at the back, a poncho similar to the one worn by the men and also tied around

/364 cont./

571 in the cantinas, in lawsuits over land, or for religious fiestas.
434 These arguments are confirmed, on the other hand, by the
454 statistical table on income in that only five native families in the three parcialidades made up the deficits in their budgets of last year with sums saved in 1952.

Economy and acculturation

121 Before closing the present work we wish to describe in
177 broad outline the process of acculturation which is now going on in some Páez parcialidades.

● [101] The material on Páez culture which we have published and that which we are now elaborating on were collected in the parcialidades located on the right bank of the Paez River, leaving aside those located on the left bank of this river, owing above all to factors of public order which have been disturbing their peace for several years.

[178] The native communities of San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Calderas, Avirama, Suin, Chinas, Lame, Vitoncó, Huila, Toez, and Tálaga are more traditionalistic, live in accordance with the institutions of the culture, and for this reason we regard them as more "primitive." On the other hand, the community of Mosoco, suspended on the slopes of the Central Cordillera itself and extending into the very heart of the Paramo de Moras, is fully in the process of transformation.

[648] /365/ Our research was begun in the parcialidad of Calderas,
[101] isolated, by reasons of a geographical nature, from the principal centers of the "white" population and whose inhabitants have defended their independence at all costs and have been hostile to living with the "whites" (39). From here comes the greater part

39. Bernal Villa, S. "Mitología y cuentos de la parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro /Mythology and tales from the parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro/," pp. 289 ff.

[101] of our materials. But we also carried out systematic investigations in San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Lame, Vitoncó, Tálaga, and, lastly, in Mosoco.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
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The area of this study is delimited on the west by the valley of the Patía River and by the Cuembi, Nambi, and Cuaiquer Rivers, and on the east by the divide between the rivers running to the Pacific Ocean and those flowing eastward into the Caquetá and Putumayo Rivers. P 133 121

All this region is cool to temperate throughout the year, the extremes being at Túquerres, which lies at 3,104 m. (9,433 feet) elevation and has a mean temperature of 11° C., and Ancuyá at 1,358 m. (4,380 feet) with a mean temperature of 21° C. The greater part of the population lives between 2,890 m. (about 9,470 feet) with 12° C., as at Ipiales, and 2,020 m. (about 6,630 feet) with 18° C., as at Buesaco. P 132 P 133

Farther north, the Cordillera Central forms a great mountain mass at the sources of the Cauca and Magdalena Rivers, the latter delimiting the Cordillera Oriental, which extends toward the northeast, entering Venezuela and stopping at the Atlantic Coast. In the Department of Cauca, the native peoples occupied the altiplanos and the mountain slopes of the central portion of the Andes and of the Cordillera Central and Cordillera Oriental. Some of the mountains are snow-capped, like Coconucos (4,800 m.; 15,746 feet) and such volcanoes as Puracé (4,908 m.; 16,102 feet) and Sotará (4,580 m.; 15,026 feet). There are high páramos, swept by icy winds, where only the frailejón (*Espeletia hartwegiana*) and certain grasses grow. Below these heights, the topography is hilly and grandiose, with a succession of hills, terraces, altiplanos, ravines, cañons, and valleys.

Some tribes, like the *Coconuco* and *Moguez*, live in the cold mountain spurs toward the Cauca River; others, like the *Páez* and *Guanaca*, in the high páramos with a climate like that at Moras (3,670 m.; 12,040 feet), Guanacas (3,518 to 3,750 m.; 11,541 to 12,303 feet), Las Delicias, and other places to the east. The *Popayanense* occupy the temperate Valley of Pubén. The *Pijao* lived in the last mountains of the Cordillera Central toward the Magdalena River, which, like the valley of this river, is low and warm, and extended to the Cauca Valley in the neighborhood of Buga. P 101 361 PO [101] [361]

The country inhabited by the *Popayanense* at the Conquest has an altitude of 1,760 m. (5,775 ft.) and a mean temperature of 18° C.; the *Páez* in Tierradentro, 1,650 to 2,620 m. (5,774 to 8,595 ft.) and 13 to 17° C.; the *Moguez*, 2,521 m. (8,270 ft.) and 14° C. at Silvia; the *Andaquí* in the region of San Agustín, 1,695 m. (5,561 ft.) and 18° C.; the *Yalcón* and *Timaná*, 1,100 m. (3,608 ft.) and 24° C.; and the *Pijao*, 873 m. (2,864 ft.) and 25° C. at Carnicerías, and 1,700 m. (5,577 ft.) and 18° C. at Pijao (Caldas). P 133 132 PO [133] [132]

Such differences in climate with the consequent differences in flora and fauna contributed to the variations in economy and culture. The high peaks of the cordilleras and the deep rivers were frontiers between the tribes, clearly separating them from one another—the *Moguez* P 101 131

?:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15

101 from the *Páez*, the *Páez* from the *Pijao*, the *Andaqui* from the *Tama*
131 of Bajo Huila.

This extremely varied habitat offers a great range of food resources
241 and of possibilities for agricultural crops. In the high, cold moun-
133 tains and altiplanos, between 2,500 and 3,000 m. (about 8,200 to 9,800
132 ft.) elevation, where the mean temperature is 11 to 15° C., the principal crops were potatoes (*Solanum andigenum*), ullucos (*Ullucus tuberosus*), and cubios (*Tropaeolum tuberosum*). In the medium zone, between 1,600 and 2,500 m. (about 5,200 to 8,200 feet), with a temperature of 15 to 20° C., the main crop was maize (*Zea mays*), but arracacha (*Arracacia esculenta*), quinoa (*Chenopodium quinoa*), and sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*), were also cultivated. In the low, warm zone between 500 to 1,600 m. (about 1,600 to 5,200 feet), with a temperature of 20 to 28° C., the main crops were maize, sweet manioc or yuca (*Manihot utilissima*) and beans (*Phaseolus vulgaris*).

136 The cold lands also produced in addition to these principal crops,
[241] maize, squash (*Cucurbita maxima*), wild fruits, birds including ducks (Anatidae), doves (Columbidae), guans (*Penelope*), mammals such as the spectacled bear (*Tremarctos ornatus majori*), and other small, wild beasts like the armadillo (*Dasypus novemcinctus*), guaratinajo (*Dinomys branickii*), guatin (*Dasyprocta fuliginosa candelensis*), and
[231] small fish from the rivers and lakes. The guinea pig (curí or cuy,
[262] *Cavia aperea*), which is prolific in all the climates, was the only domesticated animal and is an important source of food of the modern Indians.

241 The inhabitants of the medium, humid zone were more favored by nature in that crops grew faster and in greater variety. In addition to the plants named, they grew achira (*Canna edulis*), auyama (*Cucurbita verrucosa*), beans (frijoles), and peanuts (*Arachis hypogaea*).
262 Among the great variety of wild foods were fruits, granadilla (*Passi-*
137 *flora ligularis*), guayaba (*Psidium*), guama (*Inga* spp.), avocados
136 (*Persea Americana*), papaya (*Carica papaya*), guanabana (*Annona muricata*), and chirimoya (*Annona cherimolia*), and such animals as deer (*Mazama rufina*, *M. gualea*, and *Odocoileus virginianus consul*), rabbits (*Sylvilagus fulvescens*), guinea pigs, various rodents, and large birds, such as chachalacas (*Ortalis*) and guans (*Penelope*).

Additional foods of the low, warm regions were sweet potatoes, beans (frijoles), and yams (*Dioscorea alata*); such fruits as pineapples (*Ananas sativus*), papaya, custard apple (*Annona squamosa*), cactus fruit (*Opuntia* spp.), and plantains (*Musa paradisaica*); and large fish from the rivers.[1]

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[127] [1] The scientific names of the plants were taken from Cortés, 1519. The mammals were tentatively identified by Dr. Remington Kellogg, of the Division of Mammals, U. S. National Museum, and the birds by Dr. Alexander Wetmore, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
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TRIBAL DIVISIONS

Captain Sebastián de Belalcázar was the first conquistador who went north from Quito and entered the Andean region of what is today Colombia. He passed through the territory of the Pasto and Popayán Rivers to reach the region of Neiva and beyond in 1535–36.

At the time of their discovery, the native peoples north of Ecuador were very numerous, but the chroniclers, for example Cieza de León, who crossed this region in 1545 and is its outstanding historian, gave their locations and designations in a very confused manner. The historians classified the aboriginal peoples either according to small villages or groups of houses, slight differences of dialects, or slight cultural variations, so that the true classifications are very difficult to make.

Modern ethnological studies and a critical interpretation of the chroniclers somewhat clarify the cultural panorama of these regions, however, and it is now possible to list the following tribal divisions which existed just before the Conquest [5] (map 7):

Pasto.—The *Pasto* (*Koaiker*, *Cuaiquer*, *Quayquer*, *Coaiquer*,[6] etc.) (Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38), who had a uniform language and culture throughout their villages, were distributed from the town of Tuza between the Mira and San Juan Rivers northward throughout the mountains to the valley of the Patía River and toward the northeast to the southern boundary of the present Department of Cauca. Eastward, they extended to the country of the *Quillacinga*, which began at the Guáitara River (Cieza, 1880, ch. 33). In the west, they occupied the western portion of Nariño, but accurate information is lacking on some tribes, which like the *Abades*, *Masteles* (Juán López de Velasco *in* Guerra, 1942) and *Patía* of the lower Patía River, lived toward the Pacific Coast region. The Angasmayo River in *Pasto* territory was the limit of the conquest of the *Inca* Guaynacapa (Cieza, 1880, ch. 37). Ortiz locates this river southeast of Nariño but other authors identify it with the Mayo River farther to the north.

There was a large number of native groups or villages within this area. Among these Cieza mentions the *Ascual*, *Mallama*, *Túcurres*, (*Tulcan*), *Zapuys*, *Iles*, *Guaimatal*, *Funes*, *Chapal*, *Males*, *Piales*, *Pupiales*, *Turca*, some of which are south of the Colombia-Ecuador border, *Cumba*, and others, and adds that, "All these peoples and chiefs had and have the name of *Pastos*" (Cieza, 1932, ch. 33). Guerra gives other names of small groups (parcialidades).

Quillacinga.—East and southeast of the *Pasto* lived the *Quillacinga*. Padre Velasco (1841–44, vol. 3) identified them with the *Pasto*, but cultural and linguistic differences between these tribes leave no doubt that Cieza de León (1880, ch. 33), was correct in considering them a

[5] Castellví, 1934; Guerra, 1942; Jijón y Caamaño, 1940–41; Ortiz, 1937 d, 1938 c; and Ogura, 1938, 1939.

[6] The *Coaiquer* are sometimes treated as a subgroup of the *Pasto*. (See this volume, pp. 857–858, 867–868.)

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distinct people. The present city of Pasto was founded in *Quillacinga* territory in the valley of Atris, which was occupied by several small groups: the *Isancales*, *Paguanes*, *Zacuampues*, *Chorros* (Velasco, 1841–44, 2:153), *Mocondino*, *Bejendino*, *Buyzaco*, *Guajanzangua*, *Mocoxonduque*, *Guacuanquer*, and *Macaramata* (Cieza, 1932, ch. 33). *Quillacinga* territory extended from the frontier of the *Pasto* on the west, i. e., the Guáitara River, eastward to the mountain ridges from which flow the Caquetá and Putumayo Rivers. Its northern and northeastern limits are the high páramo of the Letrero and the sources of the Cauca River. Recent investigations show that it extends south to the district of Puerres (Guerra, 1942). (See also Ortiz, this volume, p. 911.)

Popayanense.—North of the *Quillacinga* in the province of the *Popayanense*, which is well delimited by the Cauca River valley and by the first spurs of the Cordillera Oriental and Cordillera Central, were numerous peoples who had the same general culture, although some of the first historians differentiate them. These tribes, which may collectively be called *Popayanense*, perhaps included the *Puracé*. The many small groups so lacked political unity, however, that Cieza said "That there were no men among them who were feared," i. e., they lacked chiefs.

Coconuco, Moguex, and Páez.—In the hills and small valleys of the eastern slopes of the Cordillera Central were groups of distinctive and strongly organized people. The *Coconuco*, the *Moguex* (*Guambía*), and the *Páez* lived on the eastern slope of the Cordillera, and the *Guamza* (*Guamsa*), *Malausa*, *Polindara*, *Palacs*, *Tembio*, *Colaza*, *Zotara*, and *Guachicone* on the western slope of the Cordillera (Cieza, 1932, ch. 32). Linguistically and culturally,[7] these tribes were very homogeneous. There were three important subgroups: (1) the *Coconuco*, *Cotara* (*Zotara*), and *Colaza*; (2) the *Moguex* (*Guambía*), *Totoró*, and *Polindara*; (3) the *Páez*, with groups on both slopes of the Cordillera Central. (See also Lehmann, this volume, p. 969.)

Andaquí and neighboring tribes.—The *Andaquí* lived in the mountains from the source of the Magdalena River to near Timaná and south to the high ridges which form the watershed between the upper Magdalena River and the Fragua and upper Caquetá Rivers (Velasco in Ternaux Compans, 1840, pp. 167–68; Pérez, 1862). This zone contains the important archeological remains known as San Agustín (Arroyo, 1907). The territory of the *Yalcón* (*Cambí*) was between the headwaters of the Río de la Plata and the Magdalena River (Simón, 1882–92, vol. 4, Noticia cuarta, ch. iii). The *Timaná* were found by the conquistadors to the southeast of this region, between the Guarapas and Magdalena Rivers centering around Timaná (Velasco, in Ternaux Compans, 1840, 3:26). The *Páez* lived to the north of the

[7] Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38, 2:186; Otero, 1939.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

Yalcón and *Timaná* in an area delimited by the high crests of the Cordillera Central on the west, the snowcapped peak of Huila on the north, the valley of the Páez River on the east, and the region of the Río de la Plata and the Moscopán River on the South (Cieza, 1932, ch. 32), although some groups lived in the valley of the Cauca River bordering the Cordillera on the west (Otero, 1939).

Pijao.—The *Pijao* (*Pinao*) were the strongest and most warlike neighbors of the *Páez*. They inhabited the eastern slopes of the Cordillera Central from La Plata to Ibagué, which included the region of the Río de la Plata and the left side of the Páez River, but extended to near Buga on the western slope of the Cordillera Central. The Páez River formed their frontier with the *Páez* and was their southwestern limit. They extended northward to the territory of the *Quimbaya*, and one of their divisions lived in the Cauca Valley, near Buga. (Simón, 1882–92, vol. 3, ch. 53, p. 330; vol. 4, ch. 24, p. 156; Ordoñez de Ceballos, 1938, chap. 28.) The *Pijao* were bordered on the north by the *Quimbaya* and *Panche*, on the east by the peoples occupying the hot valley of the Magdalena River, on the south by the tribes of the upper Putumayo and Caquetá Rivers, and on the west by the peoples already mentioned and by the *Gorrón* and *Lile*, near the Pacific Ocean. Near them in the Huila Plains were the *Tama*.

SOURCES

Conquest and Colonial Periods.—Acosta (1848), especially for the *Quillacina*; Aguado (1916), an account of the *Pijao*, *Páez*, and *Anabeima* written about 1570 by a Franciscan Friar; Andagoya (1892); Aragón (1930); Arroyo (1907); Belalcázar (Benalcázar) (1936), a letter written in 1549 (see also Jijón y Caamaño (1936–38); Buenaventura (1936); on Belalcázar's itinerary; Castellanos (1852); Cieza de León (1880, 1932); Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al Adelantado Capitán don Sebastián de Benalcázar (1936); Cuervo, A. B. (1894); Descobar (*in* Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38, vol. 2); Espejo de Variedades (*in* Ternaux Compans, 1840), a soldier's account of 15 years at Quito and Popayán, written in 1575; García Borrero (1935 a, 1935 b), on Huila; Guerra F. (1942), on the *Pasto* and *Quillacinga*; Informe de Misioneros (*in* Cuervo, 1894, sec. 2, vol. 4, pp. 248–78, 500); Jijón y Caamaño (1936–38, 1939, 1940–41); Olano (1910); Ordoñez de Ceballos (1938); Otero d'Costa (1935 a, 1935 b); Oviedo y Valdés (1851–55); Piedrahita (1688); Posada (1910); Relaciones geográficas de Indias (1897, vols. 3, 4); Relación del Arzbispo (1910); Robledo (1936–38); Rodriguez (1684); Silvestre (1927), a manuscript dated 1789; Simón (1882–92), accounts written in 1623 and later; Tascon (1938); Velasco (1840, 1841–44).

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,¼ (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

Today the special industry is the extraction of oil from the "mil pesos" palm. Hunting and war are the principal occupations of the men. They involve very important rites conducted by the captain or cacique, assisted by a deputy or second in command of a group. These rites are performed as follows (Albis, 1934):

In preparing for an attack on the *Witoto*, the deputy captain takes his men to hunt animals, while the women prepare chicha and "caguana." Upon their return, the hunters adorn themselves, dance, and drink chicha, and then go to their houses. The following day they catch "conga" ants, whose bite causes fever, and place them in a palm-leaf mat so that their heads stick out. The captain's wife picks up the mat and lets the ants bite her husband on his legs to make him strong, on his breast to make him brave, on his face to prevent him from sleeping, and on the chin to make him silent. The captains then make the ants bite the back and legs of the women, so that young *Witoto* prisoners will be diligent helpers. Afterward the captains each eat three ants mixed with water. If they have pains, the hunt will be successful. After this, the captain, carrying a turtle shell, speaks to the women, admonishing and scolding them, and then retires to a separate house, where he holds a conference with his men, forecasting the probable outcome of the fight and exhorting the men to avenge those who may be killed by the *Witoto*. That night they hold ritual dances and mimic animals. Two balsa-wood images are placed at the door of the main building and two Indians must pierce them with their spears while running. These two Indians are whipped after their feat by all those present. At dawn they plant a pole in the middle of the yard or square, pour water around it, and dance there until they have made mud, and then spend the day gathering food for the departing warriors. In order to be strong and to capture many young *Witoto*, each warrior has to place an arm in a bag full of "yuco" ants until it is thoroughly bitten. Upon departing, the captain gives his wife a knotted hemp cord (a kind of quipu). She unties a knot every night and thus knows when to expect him back and on what day the fight will take place. The day of the battle she remains in the hut where the hunters stayed the first day; otherwise they will be unable to capture any *Witoto* children. With other women she waits there 3 days for the men to return and then, after leaving there an "araraita," a palm branch, the women return to their homes to prepare more chicha. If the expedition is successful, the men return with great demonstrations of joy, but if it fails, they hit everything and bemoan their luck. The captain's principal wife upbraids her husband. After a community meal, all go home and resume their occupations.

Menstruating women throughout this area remain in a special house weaving hemp. They may have no visitors. At the end of the period, they bathe and return to their dwellings.

At childbirth, a woman must remain at home 3 months, while her husband stays in his hammock, refraining from labor and dieting lest his child die. After 3 months the parents anoint themselves and child with "jagua" fruit and resume normal life.

THE CULTURE OF THE MOGUEX AND PÁEZ

Although the *Moguex* and *Páez* have distinct territories and different dialects, their ethnology may be described together because of the great similarity of their economy with its agricultural basis, their social organization, and their general culture.

1: Nachtigall--251 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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1. Colombia

1/4 [more lengthy descriptions of each figure and illustration in this section will be found in cat. 116, pp. 295-303.

1: Nachtigall--252 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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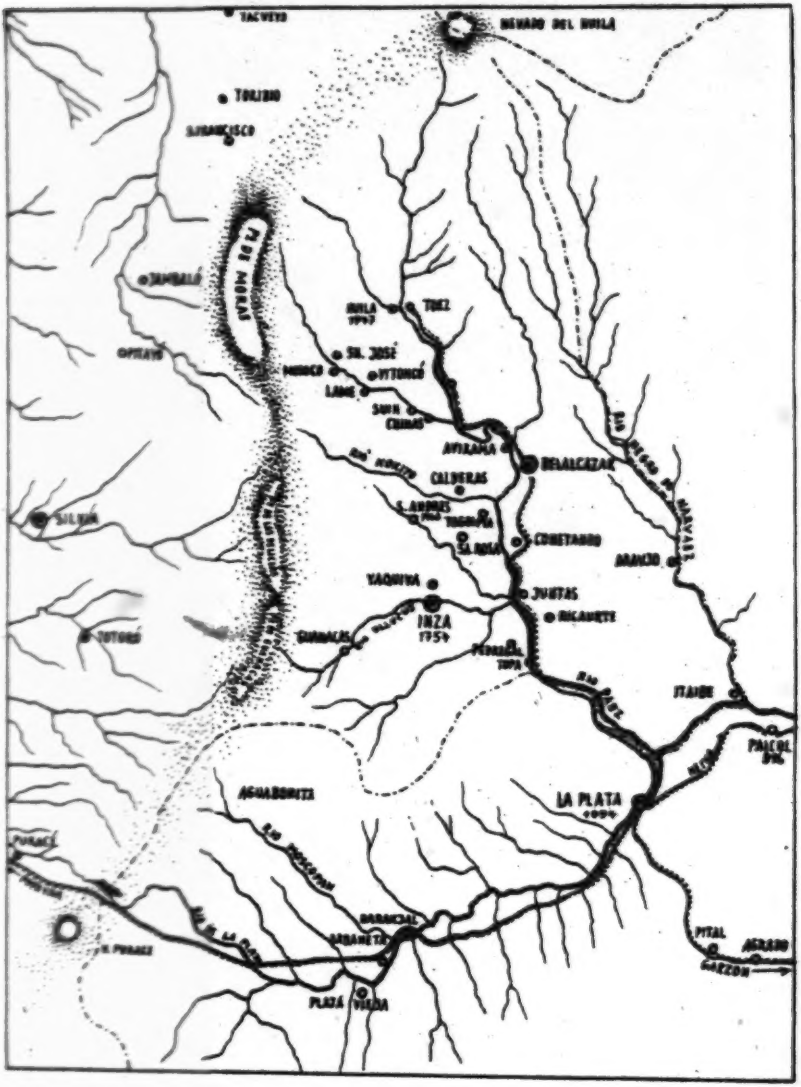

2. Tierradentro

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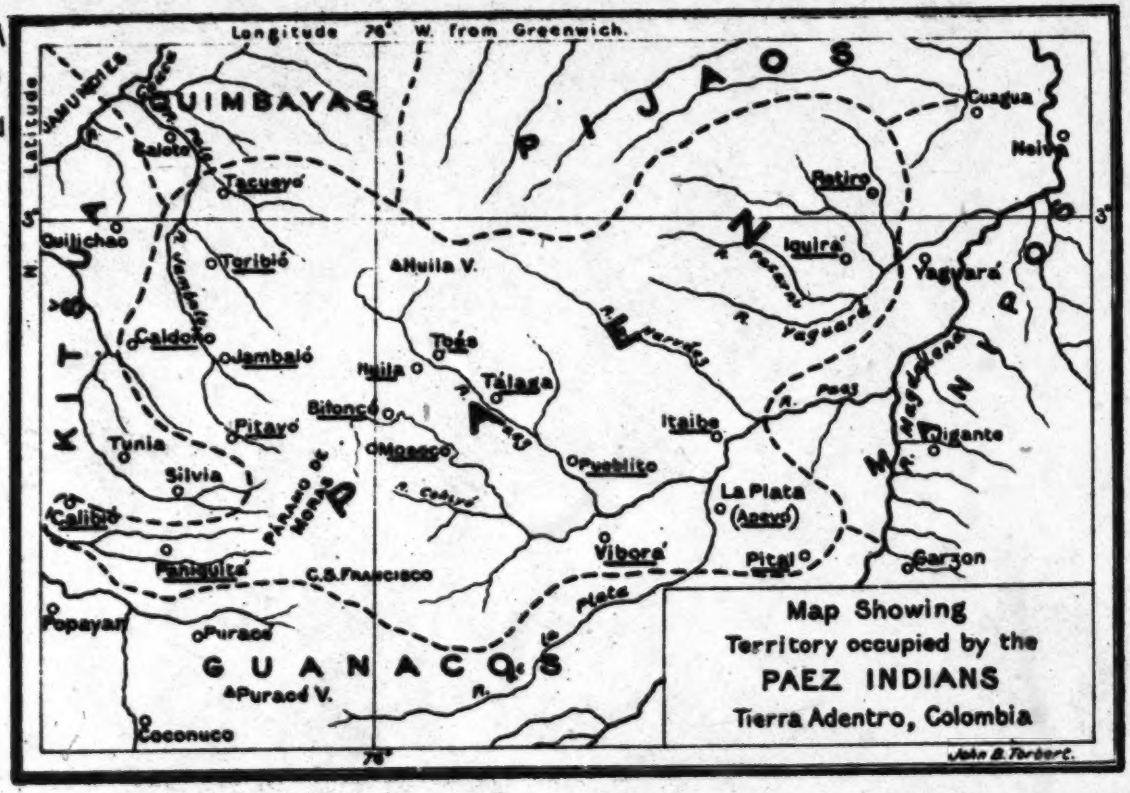
2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

[P.304]



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C 162 The inhabitants of Tierradentro may be divided into three groups, according to the degree of civilization: a) the colonists living south of the Rio Ullucus, who speak Spanish and have nothing in common with the Paez. In habits and customs they correspond to the general, more or less strongly mestizo, Colombian rural population. Furthermore, the population of Balalcázar, consisting predominantly of Negroes, has nothing in common with the Paez. They were brought there by the Spaniards in colonial times as slaves, in order to exploit the salt mines that were used by the Paez even in ancient times. Today salt C [316] extraction is no longer profitable. The Negroes live partly on gold-washing in the Rio Paez, which is undertaken in primitive fashion with wooden pans, the workers standing up to their knees T [563] in water. The Paez do not generally intermarry with the Negroes, [186] but, on the contrary, despise them, since they know that they at one time came there as slaves.

P 162 b) The Paez who north of the Rio Ullucus have settled 361 both banks of the Rio Paez as far north as Nevado del Huila. 563 They have in part intermarried with the white and mestizo colonist P population. The /106/ places inhabited by them are: Araujo, [103] Avirama, Belalcázar, Cuetando, Mosoco, Ricaurte, San Andrés, San José, Tálaga, Toez, Togóima.

T c) The pure Paez villages of Calderas, Chinas, Huila, 162 Lame, Santa Rosa, Suin and Vitoncó. Among these the Paez 103 of Calderas have preserved their cultural individuality most P purely. We worked primarily among them, and the present ma- 114 terial, insofar as nothing is said to the contrary, refers to the 121 culture of the Paez of Calderas. The Calderun, as the inhabitants P of Calderas are known in the country, are by far the most unap- 181 proachable of all the Paez. They have best kept to this day the 648 three laws of Juan Tama, the mythical hero of the Paez, which 101 were originally strictly observed by all. These three laws say: 1. Tierradentro is solely and exclusively the land of the Paez, 2. the Paez may never intermarry with other races, 3. the Paez are invincible as long as they keep these laws. The third law in particular has well-founded justification, since for centuries

1: Nachtigall--251 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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1. Colombia

1/1 [more lengthy descriptions of each figure and illustration in this section will be found in cat. 116, pp. 295-303-

1: Nachtigall--252 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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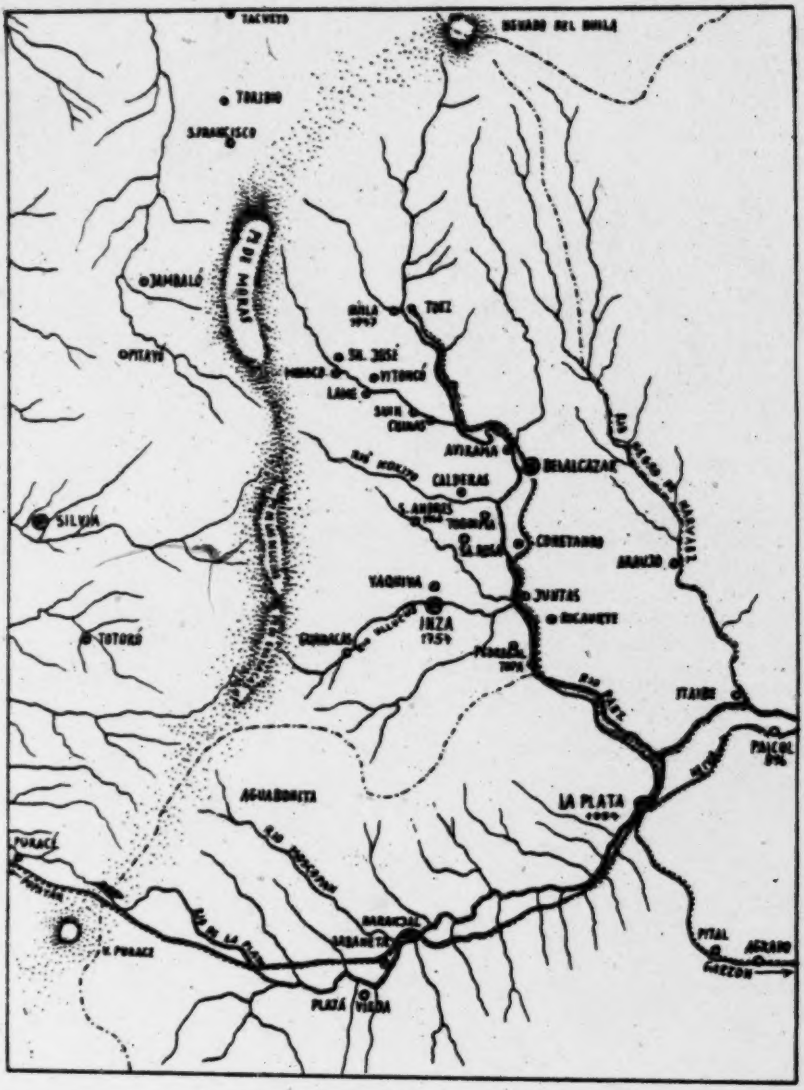

2. Tierradentro

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

121 The present object is not in any way to contribute an exhaustive monograph on the Paez, but simply to give a summary of our former knowledge of them, together with the chief results of the personal information collected during the visit referred to.

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

Former Occupants. "Planos de Indios." Huacas

101 In addition to the still existing tribes, traces of the former
174 occupancy of the Cauca valley and the adjacent mountains by a dense Indian population are found at every step. The names of extinct groups, like the Hilamas, Ocaches, Jamundies, and others, impressed on the minds of the former Spanish inhabitants by reason of some of their more gruesome customs, have come down to the present generation, although the tribes, as such, have disappeared. Of the Hilamas and Ocaches it is said they were cannibals. At present their more or less mixed
[692 descendants still live in the villages of Las Pavas and Vijes,
181 near Cali; the "Paveños" have become inveterate legal fighters,
162] keeping their judges and alcaldes constantly occupied; while the "Vijeños," on the other hand, are now so peaceful that the court-house is known to have been closed for eighteen months at a time.

101 Of the Jamundies I was told that they were indefatigable
114 warriors, having fought the Spanish invaders to the last of their strength. Their name is perpetuated in that of the little town
[103] of Jamundi, near which I visited the very interesting vale of Agua Sucia, which may have been one of their principal strongholds, as well as a rich gold-washing place. The hills were and still are partly covered with graves, or *huacas*, and these have
[135] been found so abundant in gold objects as to have induced enterprising miners, or *huaqueros*, to conduct a stream of water from a long distance in order to completely wash the slopes.
172 I do not attempt to mention the fabulous riches that are said to have been extracted from this place and from several other no less rich discoveries. An immense amount of pottery, often highly ornamented, together with grinding-stones, hatchets,

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

tion which would correspond pretty well with the explanation given by subsequent authors, except for its last, untranslated member, which seems to imply a lack of geographical knowledge on the part of Father Rodriguez. According to modern maps, indeed, the term "Alto", or "Cordillera", de Guanacas, seems to apply only to the group or node of mountains north of the Coconucos and Puracé volcanoes, and south of the towering Huila. This includes the "Páramo de Moras," which we crossed on our return from Tierra Adentro, but not the *Páramo de las Papas*, which is situated south of the Puracé, at the headwaters of the Cauca, Caquetá, and Magdalena rivers. 131 114 133

If we admit, then, that in Father Rodriguez's description the name Páramo de las Papas is merely a lapsus for Páramo de Moras, the area given by him corresponds pretty well with that which is recognized as such by Uricoechea in his introduction to Castillo's work, excepting that the latter extends this area northward to include the upper Yaguará basin. According to Castillo, this last was probably inhabited by another *parcialidad*, which he calls Bemb, "indios infieles de nacion pijaos." At Huila, when pointing northward to the valleys on the eastern slope of the volcano and asking who lived there, the Indians answered, "Los Pijaos", and among the Spanish people it is generally understood that the Paez and the Pijaos are one and the same. This is also the opinion of Reclus,[1] who says: "Among the various tribes that wandered through the thick forests of this [eastern] slope of the [central] Cordillera, the most barbarous were the *Pijaos* or *Paez*, who selected innocent victims to offer to their divinities. The enemy killed in a fight could be only indifferent to the gods; but a woman, a child, an inoffensive stranger, the pure ones, were welcome to the bloodthirsty genii." And these monstrous sacrifices must be repeated at short intervals to insure the permanent good-will of the gods. 131 114 101 [782 727]

The area given on the accompanying map (plate I)[1] corresponds with the above-mentioned description by Rodriguez, 101 103

[1] Reclus, *Géographie universelle*, XVIII, p. 305.

[1] [See p 304 – Analyst]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

101 only it might be necessary to modify it slightly if we were able
103 to localize all of the thirty-four villages or hamlets reputed to be of Paez stock and included in the following systematic list:

1. *Paez Basin*

As-at	Inzá	Suín
Chinas	Lame	Tálaga
Chitoco	Moseco	Toés
Cuetandó	Nátaga	Vitoncó
El Pital	San Andrés de la Plata	Yaquirá
El Naranjal	San José	

2. *Palo Basin*

Jambaló	San Francisco	Toribío
Pitaió	Tacueyó	

3. *Orejas, Corre, and Pienlama Mountains*

Cajibio	Caldonió	Paniquitá

4. *Vaguará Basin*

El Retiro		Iquirá

5. *Locality Uncertain*

Abirama	Osyó	Ricaurte
Caldera	Pueblo Nuevo	Tobóima
La Troja	Pusó	

101 The principal neighbors of the Paez Indians, according to the above description of their territory, were to the north — the Quimbayas on the western slope of the central cordillera, and the Pijaos on the eastern slope. To their east were the Manipos, in the Magdalena valley; the Guanacos were on both watersheds of the central cordillera southward; and westward on the plains of the Cauca valley, the Kitšua and the Jamundies. The Kitšua were probably the most advanced in culture of all these different stocks, and the ones whose influence is more easily recognized
[177 in the customs and idiom of the Paez. Their language is also
191] the only one which has come down to us in its integrity.

101 There is no positive proof of the identity of the Paez and
174 Pijaos, and it is fair to state that there are many data pointing to the fact that originally they were merely neighbors, and allied against the Spaniards, as, for instance, in 1641, when they de-

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

* /303 cont./

539 392 at one side of the path and hid in a river. By the smoke they found the fire, and all the people were able to supply themselves from it. This one was not extinguished again. It is believed that the old woman was a Pijao.

Informant: Vicenta Tumbo, 40 years old, does not know Spanish.

Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

Version II

When religion had recently been introduced, there was an old woman who drew fire from her armpit and gave it to anyone who asked for it. The missionaries came and said that this fire was witchcraft and thus had to be blessed. The old woman fled so that the fire would not be taken from her and the blessing would not be given. As she went running off, the old woman set herself on fire, and the flames covered her completely. When she reached the river, which was in flood, she threw herself into it. The old woman is said to have been a monster (Pijao); she had a very large face, hair like a mane and rather gray.

Informant: Juan Petins.

Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

/304/ Version III

The old people related that once there was a little girl who had nothing. María Santísima appeared to her and asked her what she was doing, to which she replied that she was there. "You will have to blow on the fire," she said, "because even I am cold." Ordering her to fetch some kindling, María Santísima drew fire from her armpit. She warned her to preserve it, for without it they could not live. From it fire was obtained for everyone. This is why they gave the place the

• [103] name of Calderas

/177/

I

Point of Departure

631 To the north of the municipio of Inzá and to the west of
[361] the confluence of the Ullucos and Páez rivers, two hours on horseback from the points just mentioned, the corregimiento /district governed by a corregidor/ of San Andrés is found on the left bank of the Pisimbalá torrent, an affluent of the
[175] Ullucos. Its name has been registered in the parochial books
[103] since 1736, when the priest José Fernández Belalcázar, as the
[797] representative of the Bishop of Popayán, initiated in San Andrés de Pisimbalá pastoral visits to the Paez pueblos.

361 San Andrés de Pisimbalá is a pueblo with the same characteristics that we have noted in other Paez centers; that is to say, it consists of a church, a school, the rectory, the house of the cabildo, and some others used solely for the celebration of religious fiestas. It is located on a small plateau, a ledge hanging on the declivity.

563 At the present time it is inhabited by whites and mestizos
177 whose ways of life, norms of behavior, and labor practices
361 have been imposed on the natives. Resistance to contact has
[648] been overcome, but active resentment against the white still
[566] crops out among the old people. Almost completely acculturated, many of them have sunk to the state of tenant farmers. The phenomenon of the colonization of Indians and land is the same everywhere. The Indian loses his land and sinks into servitude.

In 1926 the Municipal Council of Inzá created a settlement area with clearly delineated boundaries in a common agreement /178/ between the municipal authorities and the cabildo. The colonists established themselves in that area. The valley of the Pisimbalá torrent is narrow, but extremely fertile. It belongs in its entirety to a few families of colonists,

/218/

XXIV

The Race for the Rooster at Tumbichukue

•103 The name of Tumbichukue is familiar to the colonists throughout Tierradentro. It is synonymous with fabulous treasures. In this place, it is said, the Paez buried all the gold and silver that they collected in the ill-fated settlement of Sebastián Quintero destroyed by them.

[131] Tumbichukue is a pass /vereda/ formed by the eastern slopes of the paramo of San Lucas and located between the Kukiyú and the Yusayú gorge (Guacharaca). It belongs to the parcialidad of Lame, and the road that goes from San Andrés [491] to Lame passes precisely there. This road is well traveled, its people more accessible to the whites.

796 On June 24 the men race their horses along the road.
541 It is a custom of Indians and whites "to race on the day of San Juan." The whites say that those who do not race their horses on the day of San Juan get scabies. The small, husky horses pant under the demands of their drunken riders. A wild race and shouts in an unsteady voice: Viva San Juan!

The people of the pass go to a small square along the road, near which lives the capitán of Lame. Indians from
184 San Andrés come to watch the race for the rooster. On the
796 other hand, in spite of the nearness, no Calderun /person from
291 Calderas/ is seen there. The women who are seen are clean,
177 with neatly braided hair; they wear black skirts, navy-blue
301 rebozos, pink blouses, numerous multi-colored necklaces,
541 bright earrings, and cloth hats. The monotonous dark or black necklaces characteristic of Paez apparel are nearly absent among these people. The classic pindo hat worn by the [191] Calderas people is absent. Spanish is spoken more frequently.

796 All the riders are concentrating on the cage and the
541 roosters.

361 /295 cont./
311 strong political groupings had their principal seats at Tálaga,
643 Suin, and Avirama (3). "The place of residence of a cacique
175
[622]
[103]

3. Hernández de Alba, Gr. "The Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia," pp. 915-960.

constituted a sort of settlement or gathering place, most of which remain today as Indian pueblos and retain their names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima," Chitoquez, Cuetando, Yaquivá, Pisimbalá, and Itaibe, all of them located at the
361 temperate thermal level. It is precisely along the course of
311 the Páez River and along the middle and lower courses of its
161 tributaries that the Páez population is now concentrated.

13 2. Physiography. Merely a single glance at the wild geography of Tierradentro will give an idea of the pattern of life of the Páez people. The physiography of the entire course of the Páez River, from Irlanda to Itaibe, with nearly all of its tributaries, is compressed into profiled accidents. It might be said that it forms a "thermic chimney," Professor Guhl's expression. It belongs to the temperate thermal level. This is the land of the great slopes covered with natural pastures and of the short, narrow vegas with fertile soils. There are those who speak of the fertility of all the soil of Tierradentro, classifying it, consequently, as a privileged zone. The concept proves to be deceptive, because it does not take into account the physiographic factor. We find the usable vegetal layer /296/ only in the extremely narrow vegas of the rivers, ravines, and streams, and in places
13 where the topography becomes a little smoother. The left bank
241 of the Páez River, from Toez to La Plata, is usable for agricul-
[233] ture and stock-raising only with difficulty, given the brutality of the slopes. Every tributary that enters on this side is a deep ravine isolated by ridges running from northeast to southwest. On the other hand, the left bank has important vegas. It is there that plantains, manioc, sugar cane, coca, arracacha, maize, and lately coffee and guadua bamboo are grown. The soils are essentially acid, and the Gramineae grow in abundance

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,✓ (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

civilized tradesman, the Indian turns to drinking guarapo or chicha and becomes drunk. Often a heated discussion, always spoken in Spanish and not in *Páez*, leads to insults and perhaps to blows and injuries. A man's wife usually maneuvers him from the village and, if he falls asleep on the road, she sits by him warding off dangers.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political structure.—The *Moguex*, *Páez*, *Guanaca*, *Timand*, and *Yalcón*, despite their great similarity in language and culture, formed separate groups at the time of the Conquest. Each was divided into several communities (parcialidades), of which those of the *Páez* were the most numerous. The *Guanaca* were split between two principal caciques, one of whom, Anabeima, joined the Spaniards against the *Páez* of Avirama. The other cacique was Esmisa, Anabeima's brother-in-law. Each *Páez* community had its own chief, but the communities were grouped into three great divisions. One consisted of the *Páez*, *Tálaga*, *Simurga*, and *Taravira*, on the shores of the Páez River. The chiefs of three of these groups were brothers; that of the fourth was their sister, whose name was Taravira. Another group was headed by Suin, and his son, Esmisa. In the third group, Avirama was joined by other neighboring chiefs of less importance.

Each community (cacicado) consisted of several polygynous families under a male chief (pl. 185, *top, left*). Each family had its own house, located some distance from its neighbor's. All the members of a community gathered for general work, and all or several of the communities united for war, either against the *Pijao*, their feared neighbors, or against the Spaniards.

The place of a cacique's residence was a sort of focal point and meeting place, and today most of such places are Indian villages with the same names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima (formerly Toboima), etc. The present *Páez* Indian reservation of Tierradentro is divided politically into two municipios—Páez or Belalcázar and Inzá—with 22 communities, each governed by its own councils (cabildos, of Colonial origin) and by the municipal authorities. The cabildo is elected annually. The Indians, however, are jealous defenders of their traditions, and insist on a captain and síndico, each with life tenure, to act as their own leaders and as true representatives of the cacique. Their duties are moral and fiscal and carry a certain divine authority, as they are inaugurated in the local church. The cabildo, on the other hand, has only administrative and police powers; it divides the land, orders work to be done, and executes the municipal orders. The members of a cabildo hold office for 1 year and receive no remuneration. They are elected on the first of December by all the male adults, or "macaneros," that is, the Indians who participate in the communal work according to a

1: Nachtigall SC15 Paez SC15

104

/For lists of titles associated with the various political offices of the community, see category 116, pp. 99-103./

104

kut -- a bass drum
lōčinyi -- girls' dolls
mbāts -- agave
mbéca -- chicha, an alcoholic beverage
mbéka kígwe -- the happy land of death; heaven
mīś -- cat
ndōsoknas -- the midwife
nikálo -- the bridal couple
panderēta -- the tambourine
sāt -- war leaders with shamanistic abilities
tátyinas -- god, creator
tíkwe -- a term used to designate priests and missionaries
tũs -- the rainbow spirit
úńsa -- mice
vacaloca -- a representation of a cow used in religious festivals
wáhi -- tobacco

● 104

áhimos -- ghost
alko -- dog; also a term used in approbation for a person who doesn't like to work
číngalo -- the triangle, a Paez musical instrument
čúnga -- a top; one of a child's toys
dúrat -- menstrual hut
eč -- the most evil of all spirits, dwellers in the earth
eč kígwe -- the land of the dead corresponding to hell
enzte -- a large annual fishing expedition of the entire village, usually in the dry season of February
fi'nz oñ -- the second meal of the day, at 3-4 p.m.
gělyómp -- mountain spirit
hénde -- hole-ball; a hollowed out fruit capsule used in a children's game
iglésia -- church
ítok -- shamanistic "signs"
káka -- small cylindrical drums
kánoe -- a trough for storing chicha
ki'sen -- non-working days, now used in reference to Sunday
koi -- the transverse flute
kosé oñ -- the first meal of the day, around 4-5 a.m.
kotç -- maize
kotyâvyat -- maize store house

/320 cont./

105 We are therefore obliged to regard the presence of the Paez in
172 their present settlement areas of Tierradentro as subsequent to the
174 archeological culture. Whether, as later immigrants within a larger population movement, they were the destroyers of the archeological culture, or whether they settled on the sites of the archeological culture only in the course of their wars with the
105 Spaniards cannot be clarified at the present time. /321/ The
172 latter assumption is corroborated by the fact that the reports of
174 the early Spaniards about the tribes that they encountered and
114 about their geographical position are not always clear. For exam-
131 ple, P. Manuel Rodriquez (1684) has the Paez living in the Páramo de las Papas, the páramo west of San Agustín, in which
101 rise the Magdalena, Cauca, and Caqueta. It is also remarkable
105 that the first Spanish reports do not mention the Guambiano, the
114 present-day western neighbors of the Paez. The assumption that
172 the Paez were affiliated with a newly immigrated, war-like
174 population is corroborated by the fact that the tribe of the Andaki /Andaqui/ living in the culture area of San Agustín at the time of the Conquista also had nothing to do with the archeological culture, but may possibly be regarded as the destroyers of it.

VI. List of Foreign and Technical Terms

● 104

Alcalde	Colombian designation for the burgomaster of a town or head of a district. Also the designation for local native authorities.
Ají	Very pungent mixture of ají pepper with onions and other spices.
Arroba	Spanish measure of weight of 12 1/2 kilograms.
Cabildo	Colombian community council. Among the Paez the designation for the democratically chosen village council.
Chaquira	Columbian designation for glass bead.
Chicha	(pronounced tschitscha) Native beer. Made of sugar cane among the Paez, of maize among most of the other Andean Indians, usually made of manioc among the South American Forest Indians.

● 104 /321 cont./

Conquista	Period of the Spanish conquest.
Conquistador	Spanish conqueror at time of the discovery of America.
Finca	Plantation farm or estate for the growing of coffee, sugar cane, bananas, etc.
Gobernador	Spanish head of the administration of a province. Among the Paez, the head of the village council.
Guaquero	Pirate excavators of prehistoric, Indian burial sites.
/322/	
Hacienda	Large country estate in Tierradentro.
Kazike	(Cacique) West Indian designation for the chief of a village or native tribe, used by Spaniards as a general designation for native chiefs within their area of authority. The translation "Fürst"/prince/ used in the literature in German is misleading.
Lagoon	Lake, pond.
Machete	Bush knife, long chopping knife.
Milpa System	Central American designation for periodic tillage on previously burned-off clearings; called roza in Colombia, wáts among the Paez.
Minga	System of free joint work by the village.
Municipio	In Tierradentro a number of villages, somewhat like our administrative district.
Nyiç	Evil shaman, evil sorcerer.
Panela	Boiled-down sugar-cane juice. Transported and traded in the form of bars of about half a kilogram each. Customary form of sugar consumption among the Colombian rural population.
Páramo	High steppe. General designation for the crests of the Cordilleras.
Parcialidád	In Tierradentro: village with the lands belonging to it.
Poncho	Sleeveless cloak of the Andean Indians in the form of a rectangular or square blanket with a hole for the head. Called ruana in Colombia.

[114]

104 /322 cont./

Roza	Colombian burned-off field. Cf. "Milpa."
Ruana	Colombian designation for poncho.
Shaman	Popularly: medicine man. The Paez distinguish between evil shamans (nyiç) and good ones (teyu). The former kidnap souls, bring sickness or death. The latter, as adversaries of the nyiç, are doctors in the spiritual realm.
Tafí	Soul, which can leave a person in his sleep.
Tama	Ceremonial staff of the shaman.
Teyu	Paez designation for the good shaman.
Trapiche	Sugar mill.
Tumba	Large, underground grave-chamber.
ũns	Soul that leaves the person at death.

/The bibliography, pp. 323-327, is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

/217 cont./ In the
194 transcription of Paez words we departed from the Spanish spelling
104 and used the following alphabet:

'	"glottal stop," as in the German ab'ändern
~	nasal vowel
a	short a, as in the German Ball
ā	long a, as in the German schmal
ai	not a diphthong, a+i as in the Paez áime (star), without "glottal stop"
b	always voiced, as in the German Baum
bw	b with the English w
by	palatalized b
č	Spanish or English ch, German tsch
čy	palatalized č
ç	dental ch sound, as in the German ich
d	always voiced, as in the German dumm, English "and"
dy	palatalized d
/218/	
e	closed e, as in the German Schnee, but short
ē	closed e, as in the German Schnee
e̱	open e, as in the German wenn, hätte
ē̱	open, long e, as in the German Schäfer
ĕ (ə)	centralized e, as in German gern
ei	not a diphthong, e+i as in the Paez néi (father), without "glottal stop"
f	dentilabial, as in the German fein
g	always voiced, as in the German gut, English "pig"
gw	g with the English w
gy	palatalized g
h	strong h, between h and the ch in German ach
hw	h with the English w
hy	palatalized h
i	short i, as in the German wie, but short
ī	long i, as in the German nie
k	not aspirated, as in the German
kw	k with the English w
ky	palatalized k
l	as in the German laufen; used in place of r in loanwords from the Spanish
ly	palatalized l
m	as in the German mein

/218 cont./

194
104

mw	m with the English w
my	palatalized m
n	as in the German nur
nw	n and the English w
ny	like the Spanish ñ, French gn
ṅ	velar n, like ng in the German singen
ṅw	ṅ and the English w
ṅy	palatalized ṅ
o	short, closed o, not identified more precisely
ọ	open o, not identified more precisely
ō	long, closed o, as in the German Not
oi	not a diphthong, o+i as in the Paez ọ́i (woman), without "glottal stop"
p	without aspiration, as in the German "Paul"
pw	p with the English w
py	palatalized p
r	only rarely in Spanish words where l is not spoken in place of it
s	always voiceless, as in the German lassen
sy	palatalized s
š	sch as in the German schon
šw	s with the English w
šy	palatalized š
t	without aspiration, as in the German Ton
ts	like the z in the German zwei
tw	t with the English w
ty	palatalized t
u	as in the German gut; often difficult to distinguish from o
v	dentilabial v, as in the German warm
vy	palatalized v
w	semivowel, like the English w
y	semivowel, as in the English "York"
z	voiced s, as in the German Rose
zy	palatalized z

/180 cont./

123 Calderas, and the water divide of the Kukiyú river and the
133 Pisimbalá torrent, the former a deep gorge, the latter an
[131] elongated basin. Toward the north, the outline of another ridge bounds the horizon and divides the parcialidades of Suin and Chinas. Prominent along it, the Vichaguau peak, the hill Dondotá with the double crests, between which, when the sky is clear, one can see Huila with its eternal snows, where the golden rays of the sun break into a silvery radiance. Toward the east one sees the hills of Chindavá and Potrerito, the heights of Togoima, and the canyon of the Páez. Toward the south stand the mountain ranges of Pangok and El Aguacate, which separates the valleys of the Pisimbalá and the Ullucos; the tablelands of Pedregal, Turminá, and Inzá; the sharp peak of Trueno /Thunder/, the "Kapich" of the natives, a summit
823 of silence, lightning, thunder, and storms. In the place where
173 the sun sets, there rises, stately and challenging, the sharp
648 peak of Hipinjí (1), on which, according to some Indians, lie
[133]
[104]

1. H = the English h.
   J = the French j.
   Sh = the French sh.

the images of saints, the bells, the clothing, the gold, and the silver which the Paez army carried away from San Sebastián de la Plata after murdering all of its white inhabitants, setting fire to the town, and filling up the famous silver mines which had given the town its name and brought large numbers of ad-
173 venturers and not a few misfortunes to the Indians. This legend
823 has fired the imagination of the whites and has led not a few to search for them. It is said that several whites went to the Hipinjí in search of the legendary treasure. At the /181/ /illustration appears here/ top of the peak a white flag was waving. One day there appeared on it the following mysterious order: "At 12 o'clock you may clear out this opening." Their enthusiasm was renewed, their fatigue forgotten, and they went to work eagerly. One worker was rewarded by blind

104

aguardiente--an alcoholic beverage
arco--the rainbow spirit
kachí--special divination sites
kuetand tuka--a small calabash used to hold the lime employed in coca chewing
mambe--lime to be chewed with coca
pango pil--bench
ptans--literally "dirt"; the evil sent by a sorcerer
té eu--curer, shaman
ut ká--"dirt-send"; curing ceremonies at a family or individual level
ut peu--"dirt-wash"; the purification ceremony performed by the shaman for the participants in a funeral
wé ká--"pest-send"; the ritual by means of which an epidemic is ritually conjured away from a community by the shaman
yat put--"house-blown"; the purification of the house of the deceased after a funeral

5:Bernal Villa--1 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

000 /219/

Medicine and Magic Among the Paez

by

S. Bernal Villa

/Page 220 is blank./

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Chapter I

The Te Eu

• 104

Note:

sh is equivalent to the French ch (chaise).
ch is equivalent to the Spanish ch (techo).
j is equivalent to the French j (jardin).
h is equivalent to the Spanish j (rojo).

* 756 787

Symptomatology. The good curers, the authentic té eu, in whom the society believes and trusts, those who constitute a monolith of security in the face of the mysteries of illness and death, are those whose vocations were determined by a vision, more precisely by a hallucination. In this case, the fate of the men is inescapable, permits no deviation. This leitmotiv, vigorous in times past, is now on the wane.

A curer from the Parcialidad /a territorial division/ of Santa Rosa describes his vision as follows: "At the age of six, while I was tending a field in the montaña, I saw my mother dressed in black, with a white hat and pouches. She chided me for the poor quality of my work, saying that animals were ruining the field. She walked on and I followed her. At the stream she vanished. I went to my home and found out that the woman was not my mother, since at the moment of the

/300 cont./

241
137
192

Common Name	Latin Name	Páez Name
Maize	**Zea mais L.**	***kuki***
Plantain	**Musa paradisiaca L.**	***tulí***
Banana	**Musa sapientum L.**	***kineño*** **(6)**
Manioc	**Manihot utilissima L.**	***ñu***
Sweet potato	**Ipomea batatas Poit. Andigenum**	***ut***
Potato	**Solanum tuberosum**	***kúku***
Arracacha	**Arracacia xanthorrhiza Banez.**	***us*** **(7)**
Sugar cane	**Saccharum officinarum L.**	***ñusha***
Cabbage	**Brassica oleracea var. acephala**	***kulles*** **(8)**
Onion	**Allium cepa L.**	***apulla*** **(9)**
Frijol	**Phaseolus vulgaris L.**	***us***
Ullucos	**Ullucos tuberosus ex Lozano**	***shubil***
Wheat	**Triticum aestivum L.**	***scuchi***
Barley	**Hordeum vulgare L.**	***sebaru*** **(10)**
Garlic	**Allium sativum L.**	***akos***
Nasturtium	**Tropaeolum tuberosum R. et P.**	***puel***
Squash	**Cucurbita maxima Duchesne**	***Ape***
Squash	**Cucurbita pepo L.**	***Pesé***
Broad bean	**Vicia Faba L.**	***apas*** **(11)**
Peas	**Pisum sativum L.**	***alpés***
Peppers	**Capsicum sp.**	***ánua***
Coriander	**Coriandrum sativum L.**	***klandós*** **(12)**
Avocado	**Persea americana Mill.**	***útse***
Orange	**Citrus sinensis (L) Osbeck**	***llimas***
Apple	**Pyrus malus L.**	***manzanas***
Peach	**Frunus persica L. /Prunus/**	***leshno***

6. From the Spanish: guineo.

7. Underlined vowels indicate nasalization:

[104] sh = French ch (chaise); ch = Spanish ch (chicha); j = French (jardín); h = Spanish j (rojo).

8. From the Spanish: coles.

9. From the Spanish: cebolla.

10. From the Spanish: cebada.

11. From the Spanish: habas.

12. From the Spanish: cilantro.

cabildo--a community council
captain--a community chief
egg--a unit of weight which is more or less equivalent to a chicken's egg
macanero--the name given to one who is required to give one day's work each year for the collective planting for the benefit of the saint and as many days as may be required by the cabildo for repair of roads, bridges, etc., or for general work in the village
mingas--meetings for collective work
mohanes--shamans

/167 cont./

601 Seemingly there is no terminology for designating the older and younger brothers of the generation of EGO, although in practice this distinction stands out. EGO is obliged to greet older brothers and the older members of the community in general, and there also exists the obligation of being greeted by the younger brothers and, in general, by all the younger members of the community.

Among the adults of both sexes, married and with children, the use of teknonymous forms is general.

114 /168/ The only two studies of kinship systems made in Colombia are from the pen of Professor Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff working among the Iroka and the Kogi. That of the Iroka was [104] done with the collaboration of Alexander L. Clark. With the intention of facilitating subsequent comparative studies on the subject, we have adopted his system for presenting the materials, especially the abbreviations of the kinship terms in the Spanish language /the English equivalents for the abbreviations of the Spanish terms are given on p. 10 /.

127 Before finishing with this brief introduction, we wish to
128 place on record our sincere thanks to Señor Víctor Bedoya for his voluntary transcription of unpublished documents from the Archivo Nacional relating to the Páez, and to Professor Marcos Fulop for his valuable observations and opportune suggestions which brought much light to obscure sections of our work.

Analysis of Kinship Terms

601

Consanguineous Relatives

A--EGO's Generation:

a) Masculine EGO: Brothers and sons of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, are grouped in a single category and classified as brothers (iaktẽ).

b) Sisters and daughters of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, are grouped in a single category and classified as sisters (Pesh).

601
[104]

/168 cont./

Sh = the French ch (chaise); ch = the Spanish ch (chicha); j = the French j (jardin); h = the Spanish j (rojo).

c) Feminine EGO: sisters and daughters of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, are grouped in a single category and classified as sisters (iaktẽ).

d) Brothers and sons of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, are grouped in a single category and classified as brothers (jish).

B--First Ascendant Generation:

a) For father and mother, separate words are used (tãta and mãma). /Figs. 1 and 2 appear here./

/169/

b) The brothers and sisters of the father and the sons and daughters of the brothers and sisters of the father of the father (grandfather) are grouped in a single category and classified as uncles and aunts (ñuk and pẽsuts, respectively).

c) The brothers and sisters of the mother and the sons and daughters of the brothers and sisters of the mother of the mother (grandmother) are grouped in a single category and classified as uncles and aunts (kãhka and pẽñuk, respectively).

C--Second Ascendant Generation:

a) One term is used for both grandfathers (ishi) and one term for both grandmothers (penshi).

b) The brothers and sisters of the grandparents, for both the paternal and maternal lines, are grouped in a single category and classified as grandfathers and grandmothers (ishi, penshi).

D--Third Ascendant Generation:

a) The great-grandfathers are designated with one term (ishi wãla) and the great-grandmothers with another one (penshi wãla).

E--First Descendent Generation:

a) The sons, the daughters, and the sons and daughters of brothers and sisters, real or classificatory, for both the paternal and maternal lines, are grouped into a single category and designated as sons and daughters (kuẽ or jik and wãnak or nis, respectively).

/171 cont./

601 2--a) Father-in-law and mother-in-law are designated with separate terms (táta, máma).

b) The husbands of the daughters and the wives of the sons are designated with different terms (ndõ, nikuẽ mivũ, respectively).

Kinship Terms

[104] Abbreviations: p = father
m = mother
bro = brother
bra = sister
ho = son
ha = daughter
co = spouse
d = of, of the

Spanish	Masculine Spo	Feminine Spo
1 — p	*tatá*	*tatá*
2 — m	*mamá*	*mamé*
3 — p-d-p	*ishi*	*ishi*
4 — m-d-p	*pénshi*	*pénshi*
5 — p-d-m	*ishi*	*ishi*
6 — m-d-m	*pénshi*	*pénshi*
7 — p-d-p-d-p	*ishi wála*	*ishi wála*

* /312 cont./

539 when the thief again came, took down some potatoes, kindled a fire, and roasted them in it, he took out both of his eyes "out of foolishness" before he ate and laid them on one of the three hearth-stones. Then the owner of the potatoes, whom the thief, of course, could not see, stepped up, saw the eyes, and kicked them into the fire, so that they burned with a bang. The thief heard the bang, to be sure, but thought to himself, how fine the potatoes are popping and sizzling!

When the thief had eaten all the potatoes, he looked for his eyes, but could not find them. He then left the house very sadly, without eyes, and set out for his own house. On the way he met a rat who was out walking there, and they started a conversation. The thief complained that he had lost his eyes and that, without eyes, it was very difficult to find them again. He begged the rat to lend him one of hers only until he had found his own eyes again. The rat lent him one, but since both of his eyes were burned, he could not, of course, find them. The man then turned himself into wind.

The rat searched for the thief of her eye for a long time, but could not find him. Her son, like his mother, also had only one eye. The son in turn had a son, and he, too, had only one eye. Since that time the descendants of this rat family have only one eye. And that is why one can still find rats today who, to be sure, have the nose, mouth, feet, skin, and ears of a rat, but only one eye or none at all; they go back to that rat who once lent one of her eyes.

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●105 V. Summary and Culture-historical Classification of Paez Culture

[161] If we briefly summarize the sketch of Paez life and the ele-
[621] ments of their culture, we find before us a democratic agricultural people of 25,000 persons, among whom no one is master and no
[177] one servant. Surrounded for centuries by Spanish culture, they have
[197] preserved their language in extensive sections of their area of settlement.

/313 cont./

105 settlement. At the same time, however, we must certainly confirm a cultural impoverishment, considerable in some respects, among these people who outwardly seem quite prosaic and matter-of-fact.

105 Anthropologically they belong to the American Centraloid
143 /zentraliden/ race (v. Eichstedt /see the bibliography in the
144 foreign text, pp. 323-327, for this and the following references/) with a striking predominance of blood group 0. Although the latter fact is only one component of the somatic picture, it is extremely interesting to find a predominance of this blood group among a large number of American natives. Among the Paez there are 88.78%, among the neighboring Guambiano 84.25% (Lehmann, Duque y Fornaguera, p. 200), among the natives of Caldas 92.25% (Duque, 1944, p. 626), among the Sibundoy 84.42%, among the Santiagos 94.23% (Paez-Perez y Freudenthal, p. 413), and among the Pijao the blood group 0 is almost 100% (Reichel, 1944, p. 517). These investigations of Colombian tribes agree with a more comprehensive picture. According to the analysis of G. Arcila Velez (p. 11), 80.6% of the people among the Eskimo are of blood group 0, 91.3% among the pure North American Indians, 72.7% among the Navajo, 97.7% among the Yucatecans, 79% among the Mataco, and 100% among the Guarani of the Rio Grande do Sul.

105 The form of settlement of the Paez in the deeply fissured
[361] mountainous region of Tierradentro is the loose arrangement of individual family-farms on the mountain slopes, as far from neighbors as possible. The village settlement-area is geographically invariable and embraces the natural area of the dwellings and the land used within a valley basin. The house, as the family focus and social center for one family in each case, is built on the family's own land. It is used -- depending on the type of construction -- for a harvest period or for ten to 15 years. The land belongs to the family that first cleared it. Besides this there is community land for the free use of all members of the village. The interior of the normally /314/ hip-roofed rectangular houses is divided into two rooms, one of which serves as the kitchen and living room, the other as a storage room.

/314 cont./

●105 The clothing of the men and women covers the upper and lower body. The men's upper garment, called "ruana" in Colombia, "poncho" in Peru, is a sleeveless shirt open at the sides. It is ancient American, known both from the relief of the so-called "sun god" of Tiahuanaco and from a grave of the pre-Spanish [291] period in Arica (northern Chile) (Montell, pp. 173-183). Soon [171] after the Conquista, since the second half of the sixteenth century, this Andean article of clothing, which consists simply of a square piece of cloth with an elongated slit for the head, was distributed throughout the area of the Andean mountain cultures. Its name, "atc," among the Paez, however, has no parallel linguistically. [177] The men's trousers are clearly Spanish. The women's costume is most simple: as an upper garment to a skirt a rectangular piece of cloth is simply put crosswise over their upper bodies.

[241] From an economic point of view, field cultivation is primary. It is carried out by the men in the form of the burned-clearing system with a ten-year clearing cycle. The only field tool is the [433] digging stick. The minimal area of cultivated land for one family is about one hectare. The principal crops are maize and sugar [177] cane. The latter was not introduced until after the Conquista. The Paez word means "sweet." The Paez designation for maize, "kotc," has no parallel with the corresponding words of the Chibcha, Carib, or Aruac /Arawak/ language groups, but with Kechua /Quechua/, where maize is called "kuts" (Birket-Smith, pp. 22-30). The stimulants are coca and chicha made of sugar-cane juice. Both Paez words, es and mbéka, respectively, have no parallels in other language groups.

105 241 There are no outstanding festivals indicative of a planter's culture or rites associated with the products of field cultivation, nor does anything indicating an agricultural rhythm of life appear in the myths and religious customs of the Paez. The mythology and ceremonial customs are remnants of a hunter's attitude of mind. It appears as though the Paez did not adopt their primitive agriculture until the time of the Conquista or shortly before, and adopted only the mechanical application of the methods of simple digging-stick farming, without the ceremonial customs associated

/314 cont./

105 with sowing and harvesting otherwise characteristic of peoples
241 who plant. It is not improbable that they practiced this field
[442] cultivation as they describe it for the Pijao. In the story /315/ of the Paez with the ax (No. 16) it is said that the Pijao were not familiar with tools in former times and, accordingly, could not fell trees to lay out a proper burned-off field. In order to obtain fields for their sowing, they were obliged to split the bark of trees with stones. After these were dried, they sowed their maize between the dead trunks.

105 In connection with hunting, economically insignificant today,
[224] the hunter is surrounded by a number of prohibitions such as we find everywhere among hunting peoples throughout the world.
[226] Fishing is carried on with poisonous plants at weirs. It took place as a joint fishing expedition of the entire village in the February dry season when the water was at its lowest level of the year. This large annual fishing expedition was called enzte. The time
[233] period of one year was also designated with the same word. Raising
[556] large livestock is almost purely a sport or a matter of appearance
[231] and wealth. Horses are not used; cattle are slaughtered only for the three large annual Christian festivals (Semana Santa, San Juán, Immaculada).

Among weapons, only the shotgun for hunting is of significance
[773] today. The pellet blowgun and the stone-sling are used as toys. In
[441] the mythology the latter plays an important part as a decisive weapon in war.

In the handcraft techniques of plaiting and weaving, the use of agave fiber and sheep wool predominates, generally in the form of spun and twisted threads. The carrying bags of agave fiber and the wool coca bags are made by the loop technique; the hammocks, bird nets, berry sieves, and stone-slings by the knot technique. Only straw hats are plaited. The bands of the fiber bags are woven out of agave fibers; the women's belts and the articles of clothing of men and women, out of sheep wool. The weaving method is simple rod-weaving with the linen texture. The women's belts have an ornamental warp formed during the weaving process. The weaving frame is vertical, of the so-called

/315 cont./

105 "Araucanian" type (O'Neale, p. 115). In place of the shed rod we have a simple loop; in place of the heddle rod, a bundle of loops.

105 The warp threads are stretched in the form of the "false spiral warp,"
286 a mixture of the method of the continuous, circular warp with the
171 method of the terminating flat warp. This genuinely American way of stretching the warp is found among the Northwest Coast Indians as well as among the tribes of the Gran Chaco (Olson, pp. 114-121). Culture-historically H. Nevermann regards the various forms of American weaving /316/ as having originated on the basis of a native or pre-Polynesian plait-weaving. Among the Paez we find this technical stage in the plait-weaving of the carrying bands of the coca bags.

105 For dyeing, vegetable dyes are used, which dye only sheep wool, but not cotton.

Pottery is very simple. There are only hemispherical pots and bowls made with the spiral coil technique, both without any ornamentation.

The present political organization of the Paez is based on the village community. It is led by a village council (cabildo), whose members are chosen for a year from among the men of the village. The designations for the members of the cabildo and their functions are in part Spanish. In former times the leaders of the Paez were
[621] often men with shamanistic abilities. The village is not organized
[565] by either classes or occupations. No one need serve another for
[463] pay; the word and the thing are unknown to the Paez. The father
[464] of the family with his sons or brothers works his fields, and if
[476] friends or neighbors lend their help, it is compensated for by assistance in their fields.

[594] The family organization is basically the patrilineal,
[178] monogomous nuclear family, consisting of the parents and the
[851] unmarried children. Here there has probably been the least
[533] change in Paez culture. The children are given the family of the father. For her marriage the woman receives no dowry of any kind from her parents, and she keeps her maiden name. Since there are no social or financial reasons for concluding a marriage, a woman has only the merit of her personality and abilities. These are tested during a "trial year" before the actual conclusion of the marriage.

/316 cont./

105 601 The kinship nomenclature shows remnants of a "classificatory" system, into which the individual is fitted as part of a living structure and does not stand out in profile, detached within the family. Persons are differentiated in address according to certain circumstances of age and life, and, among others, siblings are differentiated in address, according to whether they are younger or older than the speaker.

105 53 In art and mythology a considerable impoverishment has taken place. There is neither song nor any peculiar dance. The music of transverse flutes and drums, performed with great enthu- [177] siasm, is to be stressed. The cylindrical drum with skin stretched on two sides, which is used at the present time by the Paez, is in all parts of America a loan from the Negroes. In earlier times hanging, hollowed-out tree-trunks were used for the dance and for conveying information, such as /317/ are used today as troughs for making chicha. The rattles formerly present are no longer used today. The transverse flutes with six blowholes used by the Paez are post-Columbian; at any rate they are not found in this form either archeologically or recently among uninfluenced Indians. The only transverse flute form known from pre-Spanish and modern times are flutes that are stopped at both ends and provided with two blowholes (Izikowitz, pp. 298 ff.).

105 773 776 In the fund of tales no comprehensive picture of the world emerges. The chief figure in the myths is Thunder, who appears as the first shaman and as a war leader. He is not, however, an exalted, numinous figure, but rather to some extent has charac- teristics attributed to forest spirits in other parts of South America. [784] There is also a special forest spirit (gĕlyŏmp) among the Paez. He [224] has the figure of an old man with large, exposed sexual parts, and his stings inflicted as punishment for ritual uncleanness in connec- tion with hunting cause the human being sickness and pain. He does not, however, appear mythologically. Fragments of larger myth-complexes are the story of the woman from whose body useful plants arise, the story about the ghostly human head that comes rolling along, stories about transformed animals and human beings, and stories about werejaguars.

/317 cont./

105 In the Paez religion there is no cult priesthood with offerings
771 and prayer, just as there is also no cult or worship of numinous
756 beings. The Paez religion is a shamanism, the two forms of which are the evil sorcerer and the good shaman as doctor and helper against evil sorcery. As a religious phenomenon Paez shamanism is not as distinctive as the Siberian or the North American shamanism. Assistant spirits and the soul journey as shamanistic means are only rudimentary with the shamanistic "signs," the "thunder child," and the journeys of the shaman to the house of Thunder on the bottom of the lagoon; there is almost no ceremonial apparatus. Nevertheless, the activity of the good shaman in particular, as doctor and helper in sickness caused by magical practices, as well as his function as sociological crystallization point of the community, is entirely a shamanistic phenomenon.

105 Linguistically Paez belongs among the agglutinative languages,
[197] in which the form element is made up by affixes that characterize
[194] whole classes of words. In phonetics the series of palatals including all the consonants is striking, as well as the frequent occurrence of nasal vowels.

105 /318/ The linguistic classification of Paez is difficult. Since
114 the research of H. Beuchat and P. Rivet it has been regarded as
197 one of the Chibcha languages. This was not always the case. E. Castillo i Orosco emphasized in 1735 that in its grammatical structure Paez is very different from Chibcha (p. 63). It was C. Cuervo Marquez who first regarded Paez as a Chibcha language (p. 199). H. Pittier de Fábrega emphasized in 1907 that the relationship of Paez refers only to the rules of grammatical construction; the vocabulary is completely different (p. 341). Then in 1910 Beuchat and Rivet investigated all the North Andean languages in a work of large scope and then confirmed the distribution of the Chibcha languages from Nicaragua to Eucador. According to this, the majority of the Colombian tribes spoke Chibcha (pp. 193-198). Up to now this classification has neither been examined in greater detail nor disproved by linguistics. This may be left to the philologists. Here there will only be a few remarks about the problem of the Chibcha languages in general and that of Paez as an

/318 cont./

105 assumed Chibcha language in particular. The difficulty of language
114 comparison in the northern Andean area lies in the wholely in-
197 adequate material for comparison. The majority of the tribes investigated have died out long ago, and there is seldom sufficiently complete material available from the few living ones. Even the true Chibcha (Mwiska) on the plateau of Bogotá has not been spoken for two and a half centuries and is known only from the literature. Beuchat and Rivet choose the lexicographic and grammatical method for their language comparison. The total vocabulary of the languages investigated contains about 200 words. These serve as comparative material for 49 languages, namely, for true Chibcha (Mwiska) and 23 other languages and dialects in northern Colombia and Panama, as well as for 25 languages and dialects of southern Colombian languages! Methodologically the procedure was to find a lexicographic agreement between language A and language B, another agreement between language B and language C, a further agreement between language C and language D, etc. In the proof, language A is related to languages B,
105 C, D, etc. Applied to Paez: In the vocabulary given by Beuchat,
114 and Rivet there is no Paez word in direct agreement with Chibcha!
192 Nor was there even a choice of words according to their qualita-
197 tive significance. Thus it is especially noteworthy that there is a complete lack of corresponding designations for food, animals, useful plants, metals (gold), parts of the body, kinship designations, etc. /319/ On the basis of the vocabulary, therefore, it is not possible to designate Paez as a Chibcha language. To what extent this applies to the other southern Colombian tribes, for whom there usually exists only a very limited vocabulary, cannot be discussed here. In any case, there is a large number of Kechua /Quechua/ words in all these languages -- as a result of the close proximity to Kechua-speaking peoples. (For Paez, cf. the
105 compilations in Castillo i Grosco and Pittier de Fábrega.) Gram-
197 matical agreements between Chibcha and Paez do exist. At the
[114] same time, however, Beuchat and Rivet expressly point out that,
[193] of the languages compared, Paez shows the greatest grammatical differences with Chibcha (pp. 190/191). In summary it may be

P /319 cont./
105 concluded that the classification of Paez as a Chibcha language
197 cannot be regarded as definite. The grammatical agreements may just as well be remnants of an older, or superimpositions of a younger, population layer. In addition there is the fact that in the sometimes centuries-long struggles since the Conquista considerable shifting and intermingling of populations have taken place. It is possible that the tribes existing or surviving today are only scattered remains or groupings that have been made up from other tribes only after the Conquista.

C P 105 P [197] P E [361] P C [241] [412] P C [323] P [325] P C [411] P C [771]

Culturally the Paez have nothing at all in common with Chibcha culture. The Chibcha language group established by H. Beuchat and Paul Rivet is a linguistic concept, which, in an uninterrupted extension from Nicaragua to Ecuador, embraces completely different cultures! For example, the Chibcha settlements on the plateau of Bogotá are compact villages, whereas the Paez live on individual farms. The agriculture of the Chibcha, with the use of a wooden spade, is relatively advanced in comparison with the digging stick and burned-clearing cultivation of the Paez. Technically the manufacture of Chibcha ceramics is far above that of the Paez, and it is certain that the Paez did not do any gold work. Among the Paez the sling was the principal weapon; among the Chibcha, club and spear with the spear thrower. In the Chibcha religion we have a creator-god or a tribal mother with a pantheon of other gods, with offerings of gold and emeralds; we find hero-temples, holy places, and sacred kings, while among the Paez, only shamans.

C 105 P C 197

Thus we have a gaping division between the Chibcha language group and the Chibcha culture. Scientific terms, however, should be unequivocal and not designate different concepts with the same words. This is done correctly in Europe, for example, with /320/ the Indo-Germanic family of languages, the Dinaric race, or the band-ceramics culture.

The cultural concept of the Chibcha is the older one. In order not to identify and confuse the culture group with the language group which is completely different from it, the language group should have a different name, especially since it is not certain whether

C 105 R 197

/320 cont./

what is common in the vocabulary and structure of the language goes back to Chibcha or to a linguistically different substratum. Analogously this is true of the archeological cultures of the northern Andean area, which are also similar in many aspects, but do not go back to the Chibcha culture.

P 105 172 174

There remains the question of the ethnic relationship of the archeological Tierradentro-culture. In view of their meager material and artistic cultural possessions, the Paez were technically not capable of the manifestations of an advanced culture that exist in Tierradentro. With their strictly democratic social structure, they also lack the organization by estate needed to maintain such a culture. Even in the mythological traditions of the Paez, there is no hint of any relationship with the archeological culture. The only similarity seems to be the Paez method of burial in a niche grave; typologically, however, this is not identical with the shaft grave. In addition there is the difference of the cremation burial in the archeological culture in contrast to the skeleton burial of the entire corpse among the Paez. Moreover, the Paez are a local, relatively narrowly circumscribed tribe; the archeological culture, on the other hand, has the most extensive geographical relationships in the art (*), in the style of

* G. Hernandez de Alba (IV) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 324/ found a necklace of small sodalite figures in a grave chamber. This material is otherwise not found in Colombia. It comes from a Bolivian mine, and works of art made of it are found in Tiahuanaco as well as in Peruvian and Argentinian sites.

their stone statues, and in the method of burial in shaft graves.

Artistic relationships, however, make probable more extensive linguistic relationships than is the case for the Paez and their neighbors. From this standpoint a relatively well-developed trade may also be assumed. The disposition and present activity of the Paez, however, does not give us any support in this respect either.

/320 cont./

105 We are therefore obliged to regard the presence of the Paez in
172 their present settlement areas of Tierradentro as subsequent to the
174 archeological culture. Whether, as later immigrants within a larger population movement, they were the destroyers of the archeological culture, or whether they settled on the sites of the archeological culture only in the course of their wars with the
105 Spaniards cannot be clarified at the present time. /321/ The
172 latter assumption is corroborated by the fact that the reports of
174 the early Spaniards about the tribes that they encountered and
114 about their geographical position are not always clear. For exam-
131 ple, P. Manuel Rodriquez (1684) has the Paez living in the Páramo de las Papas, the páramo west of San Agustín, in which
101 rise the Magdalena, Cauca, and Caqueta. It is also remarkable
105 that the first Spanish reports do not mention the Guambiano, the
114 present-day western neighbors of the Paez. The assumption that
172 the Paez were affiliated with a newly immigrated, war-like
174 population is corroborated by the fact that the tribe of the Andaki /Andaqui/ living in the culture area of San Agustín at the time of the Conquista also had nothing to do with the archeological culture, but may possibly be regarded as the destroyers of it.

VI. List of Foreign and Technical Terms

104

Alcalde	Colombian designation for the burgomaster of a town or head of a district. Also the designation for local native authorities.
Ají	Very pungent mixture of ají pepper with onions and other spices.
Arroba	Spanish measure of weight of 12 1/2 kilograms.
Cabildo	Colombian community council. Among the Paez the designation for the democratically chosen village council.
Chaquira	Columbian designation for glass bead.
Chicha	(pronounced tschitscha) Native beer. Made of sugar cane among the Paez, of maize among most of the other Andean Indians, usually made of manioc among the South American Forest Indians.

/316/

105 178 [244] Potatoes are the principal crop in the parcialidad of Mosoco and the primary source of the natives' monetary income. It has made possible the establishment of intensive trade with the municipio of Silvia and has plainly had repercussions in the modification of rules of behavior and the restructuring of institutions. The transformation embraces nearly all aspects of Páez culture.

In the first place, work has intensified. The people of Mosoco have permanent work throughout the year. The women participate directly in the preparation of the soil, the planting, and the harvesting.

The children of both sexes go to school regularly, learn basic skills, and utilize them in everyday life. Mosoco is the only part of Tierradentro where there is a private school supervised by a native.

[191] Bilingualism is general. The "chontales," that is to say, persons who do not speak Spanish, are very few. There are not more than ten.

[276] The consumption of coca has disappeared among all the youthful elements.

[262] [264] The alimentary diet and schedule have been altered considerably. They have breakfast very early in the morning, lunch at noon, and dinner at nightfall. Milk, panela, lard, meat, and bread are consumed regularly.

The utensils are completely modern, consisting of aluminum and iron pieces.

There are wooden beds for sleeping, and blankets as well.

The houses are better built and furnished. There are houses of adobe and tile. Two tile-works inclusively already exist in the parcialidad.

The people are hospitable and generous toward foreign visitors.

[291] The clothing of the men is almost completely transformed. They dress like any Colombian peasant. The palm hat worn in other parcialidades has disappeared from this region. The women are clean, orderly, and talkative. They retain the slit skirt and sash, but have adopted chemises and the blue rebozo of the

/316 cont./

105 178 Guambianos. They adorn themselves with showy necklaces and pins. Not a few of them wear fine gold earrings.

[232] Livestock-raising has intensified and is in full swing. Norman cattle are replacing and being crossed with the native cattle. The same thing has happened with the wool-bearing livestock. The /317/ saddle and pack horses are indispensable for every family. The natives also possess fine breeds of hogs and domestic fowl.

[565] Social stratification is in full progress. Rich and poor families can already be named.

Mosoco women seldom marry natives from other, less acculturated parcialidades. People speak of mingas, and even of burials, of the rich and poor, a larger number of people going to those of the former.

They live on good terms with the whites and treat them as equals. There are many good native dealers.

These natives are thoroughly familiar with the methods of curing, the use of remedies, and sorcery. But the té eu and even more the nara jihi (sorcerer) are on the wane. Many consult the doctor of the "whites" in Silvia and use the drugs of the "whites." They are less superstitious.

They are believers by conviction. A few are Protestants with great reasoning powers.

The cabildo retains its power and is duly respected.

The properties are duly parceled out. Many of them are planted with pastos de selección /literally, choice pasture grasses/. Fences with barbed wire are frequently encountered.

Agricultural implements

412 [241] [177] Among the implements used in agriculture, only the digging stick for planting maize (uhach) is of native manufacture. The others are of European origin.

The universal implement among the Paez is the machete. With it the clearings are made, the ground is cleaned, and the fields, the montañas are felled, sugar mills are made, and bridges are laid over rivers and streams. They prefer it large and with a leather sheath that they fasten to the belt. They are

1: Nachtigall, Horst. Tierradentro, Archäologie und Ethnographie einer Kolumbianischen Landschaft /Tierradentro, Archeology and Ethnography of a Colombian Region/. Mainzer Studien zur Kultur- und Völkerkunde, Vol. 2. Zürich: Origo Publishing House, 1955.

Pp. 327; glossary; bibliography; 2 maps; 37 figures; 213 illustrations; index of maps, illustrations and figures./HRAF MS: pp. i-iii, 1-303/.

Personal copy of T. J. O'Leary.

Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Frieda Schütze.

Only pp. 1-20, 97-327 and end illustrative pages I-II, XI-XXI, and LXXVII-CXXIII have been processed for this file. Omitted from the Files are sections on the archaeology of the Tierradentro region.

[This source presents a valuable contribution to the study of the ethnography of the Paez Indians, one of the largest Indian tribes of Colombia, enclosed largely within the Tierradentro region. This region is located in the southern part of the country and forms part of the eastern portion of the department of Cauca. In his study of the ethnography of the Paez, the author has concentrated his attention primarily on the community or parcialidad of Calderas. Outside of a few introductory remarks regarding the geographical position of Tierradentro and the prehistoric cultures of the region (the major portion of the archaeological material not having been translated), the author begins his meticulous study of Paez ethnography with

1: Nachtigall, Horst.

some general notes on culture history, demography and anthropometry and then proceeds to more specific information on various aspects of Paez material culture, with emphasis on dwellings, clothing and ornament, economy, crafts and techniques, and trade and transportation. The remainder of the source is concerned with the Paez life cycle, a brief analysis of political and family organization, law, language, religion, music and folklore.

The author, a member of the Institut für Völkerkunde of the University of Mainz, was assisted in the field by his wife who helped in preparing the manuscript for publication. The author gathered much of his data with the assistance of two native Spanish-speaking interpreters, Marcos Antonio Penkue and Victoriano Piñakué, the latter of whom was treated in an antagonistic fashion by the majority of the Paez in the community.

An excellent summary of Paez culture will be found on pages 238-248.

The German-Paez vocabulary which has not been translated for this source will be found only in the foreign text, category 116, pp. 228-251. Complete captions for the maps, figures, and illustrations appearing at the end of the text (following p. 250) will be found in category 116, pp. 295-303.]

Field date: 1952-1953
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1966

2: Pittier de Fábrega, Henry. Ethnographic and Linguistic Notes on Paez Indians of Tierra Adentro, Cauca, Colombia. Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, Vol. 1, pp. 301-356. Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1907

6 plates (including 1 map).

Yale: Nk10 Am35f v. 1-6.

/The data collected in this source are essentially a summary of previously known information on the Paez Indians (primarily from the writings of Castillo y Orozco of about the year 1735), supplemented by information gathered by the author during his brief stay of a few days in 1906 at the Paez villages of Tacueyo at the headwaters of the Palo river and at Huila, at the junction of the San Vicente and Paez rivers on the Indian reservation known as Tierra Adentro. The notes presented in the first half of this source give a brief ethnographic sketch of the Paez Indians, with particular reference to archaeology, location and

2: Pittier de Fabrega, Henry.

identification, physical characteristics, diseases, clothing and personal ornaments, house types, bridge construction, diet, cultivated plants, religion and superstition. The remainder of the source deals with various Paez linguistic elements such as phonetics, grammar, and vocabulary. The analysis of these latter data may be of value to those interested in Paez values and classification systems. /

Field Date: 1906
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4,5
Processed in 1965

3: Bernal Villa, Segundo. Aspectos de la Cultura Paez. Mitología y Cuentos de la Parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro /Aspects of Paez Culture. Mythology and Tales from the Parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro/. Revista Colombiana de Antropología, Vol. 1, pp. 279-309. Bogotá: Instituto Colombiana de Antropología, 1953.

Yale: C71e A28r 1. /HRAF MS: pp. 1-32/.

Translated from the Spanish for the Human Relations Area Files by Ariane Brunel.

[This source is divided into two parts, the first of which is concerned with the geography and certain aspects of Paez ethnography, such as economy, population, dress, political structure, magic and medicine, use of coca, marriage, and religion, while the second part is concerned wholly with the mythology of the Parcialidad of Calderas, located in the heart of the Tierradentro region, Colombia. The data on mythology were collected by the author from native informants through intermediary interpreters. After each native myth presented in the text the author lists the interpreter and informant responsible. Alternate versions of the same myth are also given.]

Field date: 1952
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1966-1968

4: Bernal Villa, Segundo. Aspectos de la Cultura Paez. La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro Aspects of Paez Culture. The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro. Revista Colombiana de Folklore, n.s., Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 177-221. Bogota: Instituto Colombiana de Antropología, 1953.

Bibliography.

Yale: Colombia Nkg10 C71e II.1. /HRAF MS: pp. 1-58/.

Translated from the Spanish for the Human Relations Area Files by Ariane Brunel.

[This work is primarily a study of one of several religious fiestas celebrated by the Paez of Calderas during the calendar year. Prior to the actual discussion of the fiesta itself the author presents a brief survey of other aspects of Paez ethnography, such as roads and routes of travel in the region, land ownership, child training, the selection and building of a house, house types, the settlement plan of Calderas, marriage customs, mythology related to fire, and the "conservatism" of the inhabitants of Calderas in contrast to the "liberalism" of the majority of Indians living outside this community but within the Tierradentro region. In reference to the fiesta of San Juan, much information is presented on preliminary preparation, such as selection and duties of ceremonial officials--the fiesteros, albaceros, and mayordomos, preparation of food and drink, candle and firework manufacture, "cleaning" of the church, and types of music and musical instruments used in the fiesta. The remainder of the source describes in detail the fiesta itself, accompanying religious ceremonies and related phenomena (e.g., the breakdown of costs involved in the ceremonies).]

Field date: 1952-1953
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1966-1968

5: Bernal Villa, Segundo. Medicina y Magia entre los Paeces /Medicine and Magic among the Paez/. Revista Colombiana de Antropología. Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 219-264. Bogota: Instituto Colombiana de Antropología, 1954.

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Yale: C71e A28r v. 2. /HRAF MS: pp. 1-57/.

Translated from the Spanish for the Human Relations Area Files by Ariane Brunel.

[This paper presents a comprehensive study of the function and scope of shamanism and sorcery in Paez society. The author compares and contrasts the shaman and sorcerer in regard to training and acquisition of "power," their individual statuses in the society, psychological characteristics, and the socio-dynamic value of sorcery and shamanism. Chapter 1 deals primarily with the shaman and his function in the society with particular emphasis on his role in curing ceremonies and in the various purification rites. Chapter 2 is concerned almost entirely with the sorcerer and the methods he uses in his office. Additional data are also to be found on Paez concepts of sickness and the various types of plants used in their cure.]

Field date: 1954-1953
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1966-1968

6: Bernal Villa, Segundo. Economia de los Paez /The Economy of the Paez/. Revista Colombiana de Antropología. Vol. 3, pp. 291-367. Bogotá: Instituto Colombiana de Antropología, 1954.

13 plates (pp. 95-107 in HRAF MS.); numerous unnumbered tables; bibliography. /HRAF MS: pp. 1-116/.

Yale: C71e A28r 3.

Translated from the Spanish for the Human Relations Area Files by Ariane Brunel.

[This source provides an excellent comprehensive summary of Paez economy, based primarily for its major substantive part on agriculture, and further supplemented by livestock-raising, and to a lesser degree hunting, gathering and fishing. Each of the above aspects are thoroughly discussed in detail in the text with comparisons being made between several Paez parcialidads (San Andrés, Lame, Mosoco and Calderas) as to over-all economic productivity. In addition to these data on Paez economy the author also presents additional ethnographic information on the mingas (communal work groups), and communal tasks as a whole, property, division of labor by sex, tenant farming in San Andrés, diet and food preparation, trading, family income and expenses, and the effects of acculturation on Paez society. The work contains many illustrative tables showing economic production, family income and expenses, etc./

Field date: 1952-1953
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1966-1968

7: Hernández de Alba, Gregorio. The Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia [in part]. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 143, Vol. 2, pp. 915-927, 937-956. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1946.

8 plates (numbered 185-192).

HRAF Copy.

[This source provides a general summary of Paez ethnography in highly compact form. The first part of the source, pp. 915-927, is primarily concerned with Paez culture history and relationships with the Spanish colonial powers, but data on geography, tribal divisions, agriculture, and language may also be found in this section. In addition to the Paez proper, the author also discusses various aspects of the ethnography of the closely related sub-tribes of the Paez, namely the Andaqui, Moguez, Pijao, Timana, and Yalcon. Additional information is to be found in this source on the Pasto (SC17) including the Popayanense and the Quillacinga, which has been subheaded. The second part of this source, pp. 937-956, deals in more detail with Paez and Moguez ethnography, primarily agriculture, domesticated animals, food preparation, house types, bridge construction, transportation, dress and ornaments, various aspects of manufacture, trade, social and political organization, the life cycle, warfare, aesthetic and recreational activities, religion, and beliefs about sickness.

The author was assisted in the field by his wife who was particularly helpful in preparing the section on marriage, and in the preparation of the source as a whole, by the Bureau of American Ethnology, the

7: Hernández de Alba, Gregorio.

Library of Congress, and the Library of the Pan American Union.]

Field date: no date
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4, 5
Processed in 1966

8: Bernal Villa, Segundo. Bases para el Estudio de la Organización Social de los Paez /Bases for the Study of the Social Organization of the Paez/. Revista Colombiana de Antropología, Vol. 4, pp. 165-188. Bogota: Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, 1955.

2 text figures; family genealogy chart; bibliography.

Yale: C71e A28r 4. /HRAF MS: pp. 1-36/.

Translated from the Spanish for the Human Relations Area Files by Sydney Muirden.

/A major portion of this source is concerned with Paez social organization from the standpoint of kinship terminology (which the author identifies as being "...classificatory and bilateral"), and various aspects of kinship relations--grandparent, cousin, avuncular and nepotic, and in-law. These data, gathered with the help of a native interpreter, Victoriano Piñakué (the same individual used by Nachtigall in the gathering of his ethnographic data, see 1: Nachtigall, this file), were further checked as to reliability by showing them to informants from the parcialidads of San Andrés and Mosoco who verified their authenticity, with only minor changes. The work concludes with a study of Paez family organization and marriage customs, particularly the amaño or trial marriage./

Field date: 1953-1954
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1966-1968

Nachtigall, Horst. Schamanismus bei den Paez-Indianern /Shamanism among the Paez Indians/. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 78, pp. 210-223. Braunschweig: Verlag Albert Limbach, 1953.

Yale: Nk10 Z37 77-78.

[This source has not been processed for the Paez file since the same material may be found in 1: Nachtigall, this file.]

113, 143

Chiriguano SF10
Choroti SK6
Mataco SI7
Tehuelche SH5
Caraja SP9
Tucano SQ19
Guarani SM4
Timbira SO8
Araucanians SG4
Paez SC15
Canari SD4
Jivaro SD9
Aymara SF5
Ona SH4
Yahgan SH6

/For information on genic locations based on Streng's diagram of co-ordinates of the blood groups of the natives of South America, see: 4: Hill et al., 8818 Warao, Category 116, pp. 107-114./

/221 cont./

793 out the procession. The latter, reeling from chicha and lack
796 of sleep, arrived at the end of the Mass and learned of the
788 decision of the priest, who in addition advised them to save the gunpowder for the procession on the following day. They left. And although they did not march around the church and did not bear on their shoulders the image of the saint, they fired all the firecrackers, the skyrockets, and the fireworks castle to the strains of their native music. The procession was carried out symbolically.

796 The women and the men are dark in complexion and in
142 apparel. At these celebrations it is not unusual to see them
291 dressed in bright colors and brightly colored beads.
301

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●113 Bernal Villa, S.—"Mitologia y Cuentos de la Parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro /Mythology and Tales from the Parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro/," Revista Colombiana de Antropologia, No. 1, Bogotá, 1953, pp. 279-309.

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4:Bernal Villa--58 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/221 cont./

/13 Yepes Agredo, S.—"Adivinanzas con Plantas en la Hoya del Cauca /Divination with Plants in the Valley of the Cauca/," Revista de Folklore, No. 6, Bogotá, 1951, pp. 255-287.

/233 cont./

75 7. The curer toasts Thunder with the chicha, sprinkling
783 it in the air.

8. The curer washes the patient with a calabash of remedies. He fills up completely the hole that contains the "dirt," sprinkles the remaining aguardiente, and ends the cleansing with some final advice. It is 3:00 or 4:00 in the morning.

All treatment of illness is carried out with this cleansing procedure. That is to say, when the impurity (ptans) has been removed from the body, the health of the patient is restored. The curer combats the ptans. In a sense, the cleansing is a hard fight in which the curer is engaged.

756 The tama. The tama is a chonta staff about 40 centi-
755 meters long and indispensable for every cure.

While in other cultures the medicine man uses the maraca as an indispensable accessory in the art of curing, viewing it as having a mythical origin and thus a sacred character and magical properties, and while, according to Roth, certain piai of the Guianas use wooden dolls in their conjurations (6), among the Paez this little staff called tama

[113]

6. Métraux, Alfred. Le Shamanisme Chez les Indiens de l'Amerique du Sud Tropicale /Shamanism among the Indians of Tropical South America/." -- Acta Americana, Vol. II, No. 3, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1944, pp. 217-218.

755 is used. In Santa Rosa, a curer-sorceress uses in her treat-
756 ments a wooden dolly dressed like the people, received, ac-
532 cording to the informant, from Thunder himself, and called
552 "Soft wind of Thunder."

[773] According to all the evidence, this name is derived from that mythical personage, more precisely that culture hero,

/245 cont./

*765 756 783 [113]

8. See: "Mitología y Cuentos de la Parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro /Mythology and Tales from the Parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro/," Revista Colombiana de Antropologia, 1953.

[114] This type of cleansing has not been confirmed by any informant, curer or layman, young or old, male or female, from the Parcialidades of Santa Rosa, San Andrés, Calderas, Togoima, Avirama, or Mosoco.

342 796 *756 [241] Conjuration of the new rancho. To protect their fields from the voracity of wild animals, they build a small rancho. Before occupying it, they perform the following conjuration. The curer blows remedies in the center of the rancho where the hearth will be. He digs a hole and buries shu and shulape. He makes a fire and casts fiundayuskei and bitopiskue into it. He gathers up all the ashes and throws them outside the rancho. He revives the fire again and roasts a green ear of maize, which is given to a dog to eat. If the dog does not die, it is a sign that there is no pest there and the owners can occupy it. In the opposite case they must abandon it. In Santa Rosa the Té eu eats the ear of maize.

This same ceremony is performed upon beginning a house. They give the dog roasted maize since it is not the season for green ears. Then they drink chicha and aguardiente.

241 *756 E huse uña (clearing-eat). The harvesting of the crops from new clearings must be initiated by the curer. The owner of the field provides coca, tobacco, and aguardiente and invites the curer. The entire family goes to the field.

The té eu prepares a calabash of remedies based on Chayuts, shugues, tayuskei, echiutse, ul fiñ, tatse. He sprinkles the clearing with this. He distributes as many bundles of remedies as there are persons present, for them to chew, to swallow the juice, and to rub their bodies with the remainder.

/247 cont./

776 Manuel José Tipo was in Calderas (9). The people tossed

539

[113]

9. Frazer, Sir James George. La Rama Dorada /The Golden Bough/, Fdo. de Cultura Económica, Mexico, 1951, pp. 33-34.

poison into the lagoon and he had to leave the place in the company of his wife. He went through the air to Santa Rosa, where, upon arriving, he let his wife fall. It killed her. In this parcialidad he was in love with a cacica /female cacique/. He always came to her well-dressed, with a rich bag of chachalacas. The father of the cacica, curious as to how he had killed so many chachalacas, followed him to the montaña and noted that when he undressed he had snakeskin on his back. He was a snake and for this reason caught birds with ease. He told this to his daughter. She, accompanied by a servant girl, set out on the following day for her field of very fertile soil. She had handsome fields of potatoes, cabbages, and onions. Thunder came to visit her. The place began to become a lagoon, and the servant girl warned her mistress of the danger that they were in. She paid no heed. Lucía Kalguesh, the cacica, remained there, living with Thunder. The lagoon was very rough, and Thunder deceived his wives a great deal. Then the puswesh (the stars) came down, cleared the forest around the lagoon, and dug out a drainage ditch for the purpose of /248/ drying it up. Just as they were about to achieve their end, Thunder came out and begged them not to dry up his dwelling. The angry puswesh sewed his mouth and cut off his tongue, for they were too big.

Thunder continued to behave badly, and the curers chased him to another lagoon, without his wife and children.

776 Kallumb. He lives in the springs and in the caves. He is a good spirit. The people say that the Virgin left a roving

/260 cont./

754 If a person kills himself in a fall, it is believed that the
[783] sorcerer sent him ptans.
[761] h) To cast a spell on the plantings, they use tobacco, matches, and other remedies with which they are burned and destroyed.

As will be noted, in their enchantments the sorcerers do not use any parts or objects belonging to the victim, such as hair, nails, clothing, etc. Most of the remedies that they use are herbs or objects that have properties noxious to man or can cause him harm.

The sorcerer believes that putting them in contact with the soul or simply with the body produces the desired effects.

754 /261/ Paez sorcery is a clear case of imitative or
789 homeopathic magic, according to Frazer's classic definition. It is "desire dominating the world with instruments born of desire " (10).

[118] 10. Ponce, Aníbal. Estudios de Psicología /Psychological Studies/, El Ateneo, Buenos Aires, 1947, p. 363.

754 The Paez fear illness and death and live in the fear that
182 the whites may take from them their land, their ranchos, their plantings, that is to say, their very sources of survival.

While the sorcerers attack the customs of a capitalist economy and transculturation openly, the curers protect the community against sickness and against the attacks of individuals or groups, by means of their divinations and their vigorous and constant conjurations. In this sense sorcerer and curer are identical. They protect the community.

683 Punishment of the sorcerers. The sorcerer is feared by
754 the entire population; identified throughout by it, he suffers general enmity; torrents of hatred arise against him, ending most of the time in violent punishment: confinement in the stocks, whippings, dunkings, and even exile.

5:Bernal Villa--57 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

/264/

●113

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/367 cont./

177 [137] varieties are being introduced, such as "java," for example, which, although the natives call it "wild," they nevertheless praise for its quality and recommend its cultivation.

Such are the general outlines of acculturation in some parcialidades of Tierradentro.

•113

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6: Bernal Villa--116 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

/367 cont./

•113 Hernandez de Alba, Gr. "The Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia," Handbook of South American Indians, Vol. 2, Washington, 1946, pp. 915-960.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

Valcón and *Timaná* in an area delimited by the high crests of the Cordillera Central on the west, the snowcapped peak of Huila on the north, the valley of the Páez River on the east, and the region of the Río de la Plata and the Moscopán River on the South (Cieza, 1932, ch. 32), although some groups lived in the valley of the Cauca River bordering the Cordillera on the west (Otero, 1939). |9|

Pijao.—The *Pijao* (*Pinao*) were the strongest and most warlike neighbors of the *Páez*. They inhabited the eastern slopes of the Cordillera Central from La Plata to Ibagué, which included the region of the Río de la Plata and the left side of the Páez River, but extended to near Buga on the western slope of the Cordillera Central. The Páez River formed their frontier with the *Páez* and was their southwestern limit. They extended northward to the territory of the *Quimbaya*, and one of their divisions lived in the Cauca Valley, near Buga. (Simón, 1882–92, vol. 3, ch. 53, p. 330; vol. 4, ch. 24, p. 156; Ordoñez de Ceballos, 1938, chap. 28.) The *Pijao* were bordered on the north by the *Quimbaya* and *Panche*, on the east by the peoples occupying the hot valley of the Magdalena River, on the south by the tribes of the upper Putumayo and Caquetá Rivers, and on the west by the peoples already mentioned and by the *Gorrón* and *Lile*, near the Pacific Ocean. Near them in the Huila Plains were the *Tama*.

SOURCES

Conquest and Colonial Periods.—Acosta (1848), especially for the *Quillacina*; Aguado (1916), an account of the *Pijao*, *Páez*, and *Anabeima* written about 1570 by a Franciscan Friar; Andagoya (1892); Aragón (1930); Arroyo (1907); Belalcázar (Benalcázar) (1936), a letter written in 1549 (see also Jijón y Caamaño (1936–38); Buenaventura (1936); on Belalcázar's itinerary; Castellanos (1852); Cieza de León (1880, 1932); Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al Adelantado Capitán don Sebastián de Benalcázar (1936); Cuervo, A. B. (1894); Descobar (*in* Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38, vol. 2); Espejo de Variedades (*in* Ternaux Compans, 1840), a soldier's account of 15 years at Quito and Popayán, written in 1575; García Borrero (1935 a, 1935 b), on Huila; Guerra F. (1942), on the *Pasto* and *Quillacinga*; Informe de Misioneros (*in* Cuervo, 1894, sec. 2, vol. 4, pp. 248–78, 500); Jijón y Caamaño (1936–38, 1939, 1940–41); Olano (1910); Ordoñez de Ceballos (1938); Otero d'Costa (1935 a, 1935 *b*); Oviedo y Valdés (1851–55); Piedrahita (1688); Posada (1910); Relaciones geográficas de Indias (1897, vols. 3, 4); Relación del Arzbispo (1910); Robledo (1936–38); Rodriguez (1684); Silvestre (1927), a manuscript dated 1789; Simón (1882–92), accounts written in 1623 and later; Tascon (1938); Velasco (1840, 1841–44). |13|

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,V(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

● 113 **Contemporary descriptions.**—Albis (1934), describing a visit to the *Andaquí* in 1854; Bollaert (1860); Brisson (1899), good on the *Pasto*; Castellví (1934), on language groups; Castillo i Orosco (1878), on *Páez* language; Censo de la Población de la República de Colombia (1924); Cortés (1919), on the flora; Cuervo, M. C. (1920), on archeology and ethnology; Garganta Fabrega (1942), on coca; Douay (1900), on language; Jiménez (1936), on geography; Ortíz (1935), on the native communities of Jamondino and Males; Otero (1938), on the *Guanaca* and (1939) on languages in the Departamento del Cauca; Pérez (1862), on the geography of Cauca; Pittier de Fabrega (1907), on the *Páez;* Reclus (1893); Thrasher, (1860–61); and Triana (1907).

LANGUAGES

P 197 175 Ever since the chroniclers wrote of the Conquest, the problem of the native languages in this part of Colombia has been extremely complicated. One writer affirmed, "It is certain that there are more languages differing from another than there are leagues in the whole province" (Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38, 2: 179–82). According to the "Relación de los Sucesos de Pedrarias Dávila," by Governor Andagoya, the Spaniards ascending the Cauca Valley found within 2 leagues east of Cali:

> There are other peoples with a different language from that of the *Lili*. In the ten leagues of the road toward Popayán there is another people of another language . . . toward the other cordillera of the mountains in the eastern part . . . the language of Popayán extends some ten leagues toward the south. And from the top of the mountains toward the valley of Timaná is another different language and ten leagues beyond [from Popayán] from one cordillera to the other there are other different languages all the way to Quito. [Cuervo, 1894, 2:113.]

P 197 But modern linguistic studies in this region have classified the languages spoken at the time of the Conquest as follows:

- *Chibchan* family
  - *Chibcha-Aruaco* group
    - *Aruaco* subgroup
      - *Andaquí* (Castellví, 1934)
  - *Talamanca-Barbacoa* group
    - *Páez* subgroup
      - *Páez, Paniquitá, Quilla*
      - *Totoró, Polindara, Moguez* (*Guambia*), *Coconuco*, and *Guanaco*
      - *Pijao, Panche, Quimbaya, Pantágora**
- *Cochean* (*Kamsá*) family
  - *Quillacinga* subgroup (Castellví)
- *Tucanoan* family
  - *Pasto* subgroup†

Po [197]

*Castellví, 1934; *Jijón y Caamaño*, 1939; and Otero, 1938.

†Rivet cited by Guerra. Jijón y Caamaño classifies the *Pasto* or *Cheiguer* language in the *Talamanca-Barbacoa* group of the *Chibchan* family.

8: Bernal Villa--36 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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• 113

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/9 cont./

114 [101] Our stay in Colombia lasted a year, from August 8, 1952, to August 12, 1953. During this time I worked first under the direction of Herr P. Pedro José Ramirez Sendoya as Investigador at the Instituto Etnológica Nacionál, beginning September 20, 1952, as Jefe de Arqueología at the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología. After several weeks of inventorying the antiquities [126] in the region of San Agustín we traveled to Tierradentro where we collected the field material of the present publication during the period from December 24, 1952, to April 24, 1953.

122 The scientific work in Colombia was financed by the Ministerio de Educación and the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología. On this occasion I should also like to express my sincerest thanks to the then Minister of Education, Herr Dr. Lucio Pabón Nuñez, and to the Director of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, Herr Dr. Antonio Andrade Crispino, for the help rendered. Here I should also like to thank the Vice-President of the Academia de Ciencias Naturales, Herr Prof. Dr. P. Enrique Perez Arbelaez, who, during the early period of my stay in Colombia, smoothed many paths for me. I am no less grateful to the colleagues of the Institute for the scientific help given to me, as well as to the workers in Tierradentro for their diligence in the difficult and, at the beginning of the rainy period, quite unpleasant work of digging.

126 122 For the research and travel equipment, a number of firms generously put material at our disposal. For the photographs published in this book I had the use of a Leica III f with Elmar /10/ 1:3.5 and accessories, as well as a Rolleiflex with Tessar 1:3.5. For special photographic purposes Rodenstock-Heligon 1:2.8 wide-angle lens, a Steinheil-Culminar 1:2.8 telephoto lens, and Proximeters I and II from H. Schneider & Co. were used with the Leica, and with the Rolleiflex the Rolleikin equipment with the Rolleinars 1 and 2. The interior shots of the grave holes and the native houses were taken with Osram SO and Philipps Pf 45 flash bulbs, as well as with Seuthe flash capsultes. Adox KB 17 and R 18, as well as Perutz Perpantic film, served as negative material for the photographs.

/10 cont./

128 [114] For assistance in drawing up the manuscript, I should like first of all to thank my wife, who accompanied me on all my trips in Colombia, recorded the field research there stenographically, and has attended to transcribing the manuscript. I thank Herr Prof. Dr. E. L. Rapp, Mainz, for his friendly advice with regard to the transcription of the Paez language, and Herr Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Geilmann, Mainz, for the roentgenographic examination of the prehistoric teeth and bones available from the grave chambers of Tierradentro. Here, too, I should like to thank the artist of the Institut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte of the University of Mainz, Fräulein Margot Kunzmann, for the technical drawings and maps, and the Herrn. cand. phil. Wolfgang Lindig for proofreading.

122 [128] The Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, which had already financed my journey both ways and granted a considerable allowance for working up the scientific results, also assumed part of the printing costs for this publication. For this I should like to express my respectful gratitude to the President of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. For public and private financial and moral support I must thank Herr Ministerial Director Prof. Dr. Hans Becker and Ministerial Counselor Dr. Otto Wegner of the Ministry of Public Worship and Education /Kultusministerium/ of the Rhineland-Palatinate, the Chief Burgomaster of the city of Mainz, Herr Franz Stein, the Curator of the University of Mainz, Herr Fritz Eichholz, and the Chairman of the Supervisory Council of the Dykerhoff Portland-Zementwerke AG., Herr Consul Alexander v. Engelberg.

Mainz, October 1, 1954. H. N.

/102 cont./

175 glossary, p. 248/, and, by means of reservation laws, protected
177 the Paez from the gradually advancing colonists. In this way the
648 Paez were able to preserve their language and customs to a con-
[178] siderable extent, in contrast to the other mountain tribes of
Colombia, who have long since been absorbed in the Spanish-
175 Colombian culture. In the struggles for independence from the
648 Spanish crown under Simon Bolivar from 1812 to 1824, the Paez fought for their liberation on the republican side under Gregorio Calambás. Their leader was captured and shot. After the victorious termination of the struggles for independence, Gregorio Calambás became one of the martyrs of Colombian independence (*).

* According to V. A. Bedoya, P. J. Ramirez Sendoya, and G. Hernandez de Alba (VII).

175 The Pijao perished like the Guanaca. After having oc-
101 cupied, before the Conquista, almost the entire area of the
648 present-day department of Tolima east of the Central Cordillera,
[151] as the eastern neighbors of the Quimbaya, they perished in countless battles with the Spaniards. As late as the eighteenth century, remnants of them lived in the valley of the Rio Negro de Narvaez, as neighbors of the Paez. They, called Bemb by the Paez, as well as the Guanaca, spoke languages that differed from the Paez. They could not understand one another.

178 Besides the Paez, the culture of the Guambiano, a
101 neighboring tribe called Mogweš by the Paez, has been preserved
114 to a certain extent up to the present day. The Guambiano inhabit the west side of the Central Cordillera and today live in the valley of the Piendamó around Silvia. The life and customs of his tribe have been recently represented by the Guambiano Francisco Tumiña Pillumbe in a number of very instructive /103/ drawings, each of which was provided with a brief text by Gregorio Hernandez de Alba.

/103 cont./

127 We know little about the other Indian cultures of southern Colombia existing at the time of the Conquista. The conquistadors had tasks other than drawing up scientific ethnographic descriptions of their cruel enemies. Nevertheless, working with subtle methods, modern ethnological and linguistic research in the old sources has produced outstanding results.

114 Our knowledge is very inadequate with regard to the Paez, 127 who, with approximately 25,000 persons, constitute the largest [161] non-Spanish-speaking population group within Colombia, next to the Goajiro, the inhabitants of the Guajira Peninsula in the northern part of the country. The oldest dates come from [797] Eugenio Castillo i Orosco, who, from 1735-1755, was active as a missionary in Tálaga -- often at the risk of his life, as he reports -- and wrote down a vocabulary, a grammar, and some cultural data about the Paez. This manuscript was printed in 1877. Further ethnological data are given by the Colombian general, Carlos Cuervo Marquez, who, on his extensive journeys, also traveled through the Tierradentro region from north to south and produced the first reports about its archeological cultures. The next one, in terms of time, to report on the Paez was the American ethnologist, Henri Pittier de Fábrega, who in 1906, coming out of the central part of the Cauca Valley from the northwest by way of Corinto and Toribió, spent a few days in Tacueyó and Huila. Georg Bürg, who first investigated the archeological objects of Tierradentro more thoroughly, likewise lived for a time among the Paez and gives a few ethnographic notes in his report. In his comprehensive survey of the highland tribes of southern Colombia, Gregorio Hernandez de Alba also reports about the Paez, with whom he became acquainted in connection with his own research. Graciliano Arcila Velez undertook a blood-group examination on 303 Paez. The first thorough special study of Paez culture from the standpoint of the religious and social life was made at the time of our stay in Tierradentro by the Director of the Archeological Park of San Andrés, Segundo Bernal Villa.

/105 cont./

C 162 The inhabitants of Tierradentro may be divided into three groups, according to the degree of civilization: a) the colonists living south of the Rio Ullucus, who speak Spanish and have nothing in common with the Paez. In habits and customs they correspond to the general, more or less strongly mestizo, Colombian rural population. Furthermore, the population of Balalcázar, consisting predominantly of Negroes, has nothing in common with the Paez. They were brought there by the Spaniards in colonial times as slaves, in order to exploit the salt mines that were used by the Paez even in ancient times. Today salt C [316] extraction is no longer profitable. The Negroes live partly on gold-washing in the Rio Paez, which is undertaken in primitive T fashion with wooden pans, the workers standing up to their knees [563] in water. The Paez do not generally intermarry with the Negroes, [186] but, on the contrary, despise them, since they know that they at one time came there as slaves.

P 162 b) The Paez who north of the Rio Ullucus have settled 361 both banks of the Rio Paez as far north as Nevado del Huila. 563 They have in part intermarried with the white and mestizo colonist P population. The /106/ places inhabited by them are: Araujo, [103] Avirama, Belalcázar, Cuetando, Mosoco, Ricaurte, San Andrés, San José, Tálaga, Toez, Togóima.

T c) The pure Paez villages of Calderas, Chinas, Huila, 162 Lame, Santa Rosa, Suin and Vitoncó. Among these the Paez 103 of Calderas have preserved their cultural individuality most P purely. We worked primarily among them, and the present ma- ● 114 terial, insofar as nothing is said to the contrary, refers to the 121 culture of the Paez of Calderas. The Calderun, as the inhabitants P of Calderas are known in the country, are by far the most unap- 181 proachable of all the Paez. They have best kept to this day the 648 three laws of Juan Tama, the mythical hero of the Paez, which 101 were originally strictly observed by all. These three laws say: 1. Tierradentro is solely and exclusively the land of the Paez, 2. the Paez may never intermarry with other races, 3. the Paez are invincible as long as they keep these laws. The third law in particular has well-founded justification, since for centuries

/111 cont./

3. Anthropological Remarks

114 Since I did not take any anthropological measurements
141 among the Paez personally, I cannot give any numerical data. These investigations were undertaken during my stay by the Colombian anthropologist, Nestor Usacategui, but have not yet been published.

14 From the somatic point of view, as far as the men are concerned, they are generally medium-sized, slim, with narrow shoulders, seldom thickset. As practiced climbers and mountaineers, they are never obese. They do not give the impression of being undernourished, but their padding of fat is very thin. Their arm and body musculature is also poorly developed (cf. Ill. 173 /see p. 277/). They are unable to lift large loads.
[482] A maximum of 25 kilograms is transported by means of the fiber bags hanging down on their backs and carried with a chest-band. Their calves are muscular, but not fat. Fallen arches prevail
[481] generally. Their gait is slightly bowlegged; the great toes point inward during walking. The same somatic peculiarities are also found among the women. In youth they are well-proportioned, in old age never fat.

141 In general brachycephaly predominates, but it is not extreme. The faces are oval, the cheekbones only slightly prominent. The nose is primarily straight, sometimes slightly concave, and of medium width. Among women one sometimes finds slightly distended alae. The forehead /112/ is high, straight,
142 and steep. The eyebrows are not very pronounced. The eyes are sometimes slightly slanting and show -- especially among women -- a slight Mongolian fold. The mouth is large, the lips somewhat puffy. The eye color is dark brown and shining, the skin color medium-brown. In Avirama there was proudly introduced to us a family whose members, along with normal skin-color and dark eyes, have reddish-blond hair. One of the grandfathers was said to have been lighter colored and to have had even lighter hair. The normal color of the hair is dark; the hair is straight, but not stiff, and sometimes wavy. Even in old

/126 cont./

433 only on the basis of knowledge about their rites, ceremonial acts, mythology, cultic preparations, or festivals of thanksgiving.
433 This is difficult in view of the great cultural poverty of the Paez,
241 but it is noteworthy that nothing connected with agriculture or
[233] with cattle-raising reveals any kind of cultic relationship.
Neither during sowing nor harvesting was I able to observe or
[224] learn of any kind of typical agricultural rites, whereas in connection with hunting, now economically unimportant, a number of precepts and prohibitions surround the hunter before and after his hunting.

a) Agriculture

243 The chief crop in the Calderun region, as among the Paez
191 generally, is maize, which was at the same time the most important cultivated plant and the basic food of the American peo-
● 114 ples from Patagonia to Canada in pre-Colombian times. To this day the discussion about its culture-historical origin has not come to an end. Formerly Central America was regarded as the original land of its cultivation. On ethno- /127/ botanical grounds and plant-geographical investigations, K. Birket-Smith (p. 32) assumes that the original land of maize cultivation is not Central America, but northern South America, since, according to the more recent botanical discoveries, the original form of maize is believed to have been found in the form of the pod corn (Zea mays tunicata) of the Andean countries. Not to be left unmentioned are the voices which most recently have argued for an Asiatic origin of maize, as well as of cotton (Zerries, 1952, pp. 104/5).

If we compare these hypotheses about the origin of maize with the first authenticated reports about its occurrence in America, we find as the oldest date the year 1493, when Columbus had already brought maize to Europe from his first journey across the ocean. As early as 1525 maize was extensively cultivated in the fields of Andalusia (Schweinfurt, pp. 514 f).

P /127 cont./
241
[243]

Maize cultivation, like every other kind of tillage among the Paez, is done by the system of burning off clearings, a form of cultivation which is widespread among all tropical agriculturalists and is commonly known in America under the designation "milpa system." The term is Central American (probably Aztec) and means "maize field" or "bare surface in the forest," but the latter always in the sense of a burned-over piece of land planted with maize. The Colombian word corresponding to the designation "milpa" is "roza," to which in Peru the designation "chacra" generally corresponds, although there the word is also used for terraced fields that are cultivated regularly every year.

The basis of the milpa system of clearing by burning is an extensive type of agriculture, in which, before sowing, new land is cleared of its growth by burning and after the harvest is (again) abandoned for several years or forever. This type of agriculture is feasible in sparsely settled regions in which there is sufficient land to permit the intervals between the separate burnings of the clearings to be long enough. If the intervals are too brief and the land burned over too often, all kinds of taller growth are eradicated. The grass covering which then forms and grows all through the year makes the land worthless for agricultural use, whereupon a larger population can no longer feed itself from its land. This is demonstrated in large areas of Central America where the dense population living in large urban cultural centers has exhausted the soil with the milpa system to such an extent that today many of these old culture areas are treeless, uninhabited grassland.

P 114
241

O. F. Cook (p. 323) regards /128/ the simultaneous cultivation of one-fifth to one-tenth of the available land as a sound form of the milpa system. This corresponds to a clearing cycle of five to ten years. There is sufficient land for this in Calderas. A cleared field is cultivated there once, at most twice in succession, and then it is left to rest at least ten, but usually 15 to 20 years (Ill. 146 /see p. 264/). The areas used by the Indio villages, then, present a picture completely different from

C 311

/147 cont./

283 alpaca wool and the wool of their wild relatives, the vicuña and guanaco.

283 824 The agave (mbāts) grows in all parts of Tierradentro, and the fibers of its fleshy, watery leaves are used for plaiting, weaving, and the making of nets and ropes. The fiber must be obtained immediately after the leaf, 1.50 meters long, is struck off the plant, since the moisture is lost very rapidly and it is then very difficult to remove the dry flesh from the fibers. For this purpose every house has a tree trunk leaning diagonally against the wall in the shadow of the roof, and a string with a small stick hangs down from the upper part of it. This is stuck crosswise into the leaf hanging tip-downward, and then the pulpy parts of the agave leaf are scraped downward rapidly with a very sharp-edged, halved bamboo tube split lengthwise, until only the long, continuous, clean fibers /148/ remain (Ills. 177 and 178 /see p.279 /). These are tied loosely around a beam to dry, until sooner or later they are spun and twisted for use.

283 [462] Men and women employ different techniques to obtain thread from the agave fibers. The men twist the thread with the hand on the upper thigh, whereas the women spin the agave fiber, like the sheep wool, into thread with the spindle. Two methods of spinning are distinguished among the South American natives, depending on the shape of the spindle and the way it is held. O. Frödin and E. v. Nordenskiöld call these the Bororo and the Bakaïri /Bacairi/ methods, according to their characteristic occurrence. The first method is the older culture-historically. In this case the spindle staff is symmetrical in cross-section and the whorl is generally near the lower end. In spinning, the spindle is held more or less horizontally and is placed with the lower end on a forked twig stuck into the ground or is held between the toes. The spun thread is first wound onto the shorter part below the whorl and only later wound up on the main part above. The principal area of distribution of this type

[114] [171] [171]

/155 cont./

294 285 From the other side there is a corresponding procedure with the then outer plaiting-strip, so that the strips are plaited alternately from both sides always only to the center. This produces a very uniform and firm band.

A thread of the agave fiber is used to sew the plaited bands together. In order to give the hat brim sufficient stiffness, leaf ribs are sewed on the underside over the seams.

e) Weaving

285 286 ●114 The demarcation of plaiting from weaving is not uniform. In the literature written in English the two are generally not differentiated. According to H. Nevermann (pp. 4-6), the following conditions must be given for the simplest technique of weaving, namely, rod weaving /Stabweberei/, such as is also practiced among the Paez: 1) the stretching of the threads or fibers on a frame, 2) long weft threads, 3) rectangular crossing of warp and weft, 4) mechanical formation of the first and second shed. The last point is the decisive one, for in plaiting each weft thread must be drawn separately over or under each separate warp thread, whereas in weaving this is done over a certain number of longitudinal threads simultaneously by means of a heddle rod or something similar. More complicated types of weaving, for example, little-board weaving, comb weaving, or braid-grid weaving /Brettchenweberei, Kamm- or Litzengatterweberei, types of weaving found in Indonesia and described by Nevermann, pp. 16-18 (see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 325)/, do not occur among the Paez.

/156/ 1. Weaving Apparatus for Carrying Bands

286 The weaving apparatus for the carrying bands of the fiber bags (vitoñãpc) consists of a forked branch, the sides of which must not be too far apart and should, if possible, run parallel. Its size is 60 to 80 centimeters in height and between 20 and 60

/169 cont./

491 rivers (*), for example, the Rio Kokiyó, which flows through

[114] *I did not see anywhere the simplest form of a bridge mentioned by H. Pittier (p. 320) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 326/ in the northern part of Tierradentro, a bridge which people cross hand over hand on a liana stretched across the river.

the Calderun region, there are strong bridges over which even
491 loaded horses may go without trouble. This type of bridge
499 consists of two tree trunks placed a good meter apart, upon which poles are tied crosswise as planking. Only about every fifth planking pole is lashed, while the ones in between are held fast by a longitudinal beam laid over each of the main supports. On either side of the bridge, poles are tied vertically and horizontally as a railing and at the same time serve to support the roofing. The latter is a characteristic of all such bridges (Ills. 194 and 195 /see pp. 285 and 286/). One finds it not only on the bridges in the colonists' region of Tierradentro, but /170/ also, for example, on the bridges of the upper Magdalena River, the region around San Agustín.

The third type of bridge is found in two artfully constructed arched bridges made of bamboo over the Rio Paez at Belalcázar and Avirama (Ills. 191 to 193 and 196 /see pp. 285 and 286/).
[284] They are both quite similar in construction and, like all the other bridges of the Paez, made without nails or other iron parts, but simply lashed with bast and lianas. For reinforcement, however, two wire cables have now been stretched underneath.
491 Although even the Spaniards at the time of the conquistadors
177 report on the "weak and flexible bamboo bridges" and on the
499 "liana bridges" of Tierradentro (Hernandez, 1944, p. 189), in
[175] the case of the two above-mentioned arched bridges, which are relatively difficult to construct, it seems not to be a matter of an original Paez technique. Indeed, these would be the only suspension bridges of this type in pre-Spanish South America.

/183 cont./

601 Forms of address:

father and mother together (whether by their own children or other persons)	ovényi or pětăm
father and son together (by other persons)	pěndyīk
father and daughter together (by other persons)	pěndyīs
mother and son together (by other persons)	pěndyīk
mother and daughter together (by other persons)	pěndyīs

3. Customs during the Course of Life and of a Day

182 The Paez generally give the impression of being contented
593 human beings, and it seems that marriage and family life are
[157] better than average. Of course, the observations on this are very
[114] scanty, for, on account of the remote location of the individual dwellings, the research worker always has only a brief glimpse of family conditions at any one time. This very solitude, however, and the consciousness of greater dependence on one another within the family, favors its cohesion, even as it reduces the conflict and irritation which arise through women's gossip when people live too closely on top of one another.

842 Basically every family wants a great many children -- at
[123] any rate so said all the men questioned. Two Calderun women, however, /184/ confided to my wife that there was a remedy -- which they and other women, too, naturally did not use! -- that
[825] would with certainty prevent conception: One must eat some of
[237] the spittle of a mula (the female, infertile cross between horse and donkey), and then one would no longer have children. They said that a woman does this only when she has already given birth to a great many children. In general every girl desires a great one

/189 cont./

b) Maturity

881 Today no rites or ceremonies for the youths take place any
[178] more. In former times they were led to the sacred lagoon of Juan
[778] Tama or to the heights of Cuetando, and there they had to build
a hut and lay out a small cornfield as proof of their capabilities
as a man and father of a household (Hernandez, 1944, p. 203).

[582] A girl comes of age with puberty, that is to say, she may
[836] marry. Before that and before marriage, intercourse is not per-
[535] mitted. On the occasion of the first menstruation in former times
a special dance was performed (itsa-kó), during which the young
girl was bathed naked in chicha in a pit outside the festival house
881 (Castillo i Orosco, p. 85). Today this no longer takes place;
285 rather, a girl, when she goes to the dúyat for the first time at
787 about 15 years of age, takes along agave fibers and during the
[178] approximately five days that she stays there plaits a very pretty,
[262] small fiber bag (yāhalečkwe) about the size of a fist. There
are no additional food prohibitions or similar things. After that
she goes to a distant river to bathe. On the way there she lets
the bag fall. A married man passing by lets it lie, for he knows
that it belongs to a young girl. A young man, however, who
happens to be coming that way sees the beautifully worked bag,
picks it up, and uses it as a small money-bag. Without knowing
who made the little bag, he will -- people are convinced -- marry
this girl.

/190/ c) Marriage

595 The present form of marriage of the Paez is monogamy.
● 114 H. Pittier de Fábrega (p. 314), however, concludes from their
traditions that the Paez were formerly polygamous and were con-
verted to monogamy only through education on the part of the
missionaries. I could find no clue in their mythology for actual
595 polygamy in former times. The social structure and way of life
591 of the Paez, however, prohibits living alone for unmarried girls.
[589] In case they have no relatives or do not find lodging in the house
of relatives, another man takes them into his family. The girl

/191 cont./

584 the city, even before reaching it, be devoured by a Pijao. There-
754 fore, this has never been attempted by any girl. An example of
539 the opposite is instructive in this connection. Our Colombian
114 colleague, Segundo Bernal Villa, who lived in the park of San
584 Andrés with us and at the same time carried on his ethnological and sociological research in Calderas, had often mentioned, jokingly and in order to make himself popular, that he intended to look for a bride in Calderas. He was often seen with a pretty Calderun girl by the people in the village, as he conversed and went walking with her. One day when he presented her with a bottle of brandy, not knowing or not heeding the courtship custom connected with this, his joking was taken seriously and very much
[423] amiss. The girl was sentenced by the cabildo to severe corporal
[692] punishment and, after this was carried out, was married the next day to a young man of the village.

584 For the official offer of marriage, the father of the young
431 man goes to the house of the girl's parents. He takes along a gourd calabash with about ten liters of chicha and five bottles of brandy. First he converses only casually with the entire family of the girl for half an hour, many jokes are made, and they talk about this and that. Then he asks the girl's father whether his daughter would not like to marry his son. The parents reply that they have only one daughter and that unfortunately they cannot give her away, since they themselves need her so much. Thereupon they converse further, talk about this and that, and then the father of the young man asks a second time whether the daughter of the house would not like to marry his son. But this time, too, the father of the girl replies that he has but one daughter and can unfortunately not give her away. Then they talk some more, until the guest asks a third time: "Can you not give me your daughter for my son?" The father of the girl then replies: "Very well, I shall give my daughter to your son, but I expect him always to treat her well and not to speak ill of her!" Then the guest hands over the bottles of brandy which he brought along, the first to the father of the bride, the second to the mother of the bride, then the third to the bride, and then a bottle each to her brothers and sisters. He gives all the chicha that he brought to the bride's

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IV. Spiritual Culture

1. Language

121 According to A. v. Humboldt, languages are differentiated by the elements of content and form, and, accordingly, languages are divided into three groups, which in the following period were erroneously interpreted as stages of the development of language. According to this, the oldest stage was represented by the isolating languages, which express form elements by means of independent words with the meaning still recognizable as far as content is concerned. Their words, as in Chinese, are monosyllabic, isolating. The second group is made up of the agglutinative languages, in which the element of form is added to the element of content, the stem, through clearly recognizable affixes. The Ural-Altaic and the Bantu languages in particular are put here. The inflected languages occupy the third stage. In them the form element is expressed by inner changes of the stem or by affixes closely intergrown with the stems, as, for example, in the Indo-Germanic and Hamito-Semitic languages.

Even though this classification of languages was subsequently abandoned as the schema of a sequence of development, it is nevertheless quite applicable as an initial, practical orientation. For the more precise classification of a language, the working out of the phonetics and syntax is required.

197 193 Paez is an agglutinative language. The grammatical forms are built up by a succession of syllables. The pronunciation is difficult for a European. It is similar to Kechua /Quechua/, from which a number of loanwords have been adopted.

175 797 192 193 ●114 The oldest linguistic reports about the Paez come from P. Eujenio del Castillo i Orosco, who collected his linguistic material around 1735, as a missionary in Tálaga. It was supplemented and published by E. Uricoechea in 1877. The collected data include a catechism, a vocabulary, and a grammar with information about personal pronouns and the conjugations of "to be" and "to write." The grammar and vocabulary contain some forms and word formations that are alien to the original Paez language.

/216 cont./

114 Further linguistic notes were collected by H. Pittier de
192 Fábrega. These supplemented Castillo's vocabulary and gram-
193 matical data. H. Lehmann published examples of sentences of
the Paez from Pitayó collected by French missionaries.

197 /217/ In a comparative study based on the aforementioned
114 publications, H. Beuchat and P. Rivet investigated the linguistic
classification of Paez within the language groups of Colombia and
classified it in the southwestern group of the six Chibcha language
groups. (These Chibcha-speaking tribes correspond neither
archeologically nor ethnologically to the true Chibcha (Mwiska)
of the savanna of Bogotá!)

124 The linguistic material presented in the following is ex-
126 tremely fragmentary. The data given, however, were for the
197 most part checked several times. The difficulties of linguistic
recording lay, aside from the brief time at our disposal, in the
lack of grammatical training of the interpreter, who otherwise
spoke Spanish very well, but who, during dictation or in transla-
tions, often said the same sentence entirely differently when re-
peating it; possibly because he could translate it better this way.
When his attention was called to this, the stereotyped answer
was: "One can say it that way, too" or "that is the way we speak."
Another thing was that the interpreter was able to summon up the
unusual mental concentration for linguistic recording for only
two or at most three hours daily, distributed over the forenoon
and afternoon.

a) Phonetics

194 As a result of the location of the individual villages in iso-
[197] lated valleys, the pronunciation varies slightly from place to
[124] place. Since we started with the Paez of Calderas in our collec-
tion of ethnological data, the following word list was also made
with my Calderun interpreter, Victoriano Piñakuẽ.

In the Paez alphabet the complete palatal range, which
includes all consonants, is noteworthy. Almost as numerous are
the consonant combinations with the English "w." In the

/223 cont./

193 576

address him as "father of ..." If the person concerned has no children, one addresses him, like contemporaries, by his first name, "since a man who has no children is no man."

Older women are respectfully addressed "ikf."

193 601

you (father or mother to son):	kwe
you (father or mother to daughter):	ĭča
you (wife to husband):	ĭngya
you (husband to wife):	ĭkwe
you (brother to brother or sister to sister):	yakté
you (brother to sister):	pe's
you (sister to brother):	ndyĭš
you (fem.):	ĭkf, respectful address for older women
he, she, it:	kya
we (masc. and fem.):	kweš
they (masc. and fem.):	kyáñweš

193 [576]

you /plural/: not known; in the corresponding translation the word cúkai (all) was sometimes used. In the grammar of Castillo i Orosco, the Paez word "icuexs" (ikweš) is given for "vosotros." The interpreter translated this for me as "Ustedes." It is not used to conjugate verbs. [114]

The possessive pronouns correspond -- except in the third person singular -- to the personal pronouns. They are placed first.

/224 cont./

193 no one: tẽčanyópa; tẽčanyópa máhiméta, "no one is working";

several, various: ko; ãtya ko hímba hipt, "I several horses have";

many: tak; tak násа, "many people";

little: wẽ; very little: táwala wẽha.

193 Verbs: The infinitive forms of the verbs end in -ya. The
● 114 only data thus far published about the conjugation system are to be found in Castillo i Orosco, who conjugates the verb "to write"
[177] in all paradigms according to Latin grammar. The word forma-
[797] tion of the model verb and the conjugation are artificial and set up for teaching at the mission schools. People do not speak that way in Calderas.

193 The conjugations of a few verbs given in the following do not
124 represent all the conjugation possibilities, since -- as was men-
177 tioned -- the interpreter lacked a knowledge of Spanish grammar. Hence the schema of the paradigms is largely theoretical. Everyday speech is different, and especially in storytelling the interpreter used forms which he reproduced in Spanish with participial constructions. Nevertheless the forms reproduced here are /225/ "correct" in the sense that one "can" speak this way and be understood while using the forms.

193 Besides the four tenses reproduced here (present, future, and
[124] two forms of the perfect), there are probably also forms corresponding to the conjunctive, which, however, the interpreter neither understood nor was able to reproduce in Spanish. The forms of the future are not always used. Very often the present is used with the addition of "tomorrow" or "later," for example, ãtya gwágwan kúskay, "I speak tomorrow," instead of ãtya gwágwahípt, "I shall speak." The forms of the two past tenses are apparently used arbitrarily. To my questions on this point I always merely received the answer: "one can say it this way and also that way." Here, too, the addition of ónna, "yesterday" (in context: ónnaha), or esé, "some time ago," is customary.

[126] The abstract, consecutive listing of the forms of a conjugation is hardly possible for the Paez. I always had to make

P /291 cont./
533 properly with their instruments and simply uniformly beat sixteenths.
[177] Thus it seems that the melody is more original and hence more
[534] firmly anchored in the tradition of the Paez, and that with the borrowing of the drum, the corresponding modern rhythm was also
C 533 adopted. This has been corroborated for me by an observation per-
534 taining to the music of the Negroes of Tumaco in the Colombian
[172] port city on the Pacific coast. There, among the descendants of onetime slaves, West African musical instruments with corresponding Negro designations are still in use today, among others the xylophone-like marimba and two drums, the conical konuno with skin stretched over one side and the cylindrical bass drum covered with skin on both sides, the bombo. The latter shows the same type of stretching as the Paez bass drum and is also played with two drumsticks, one of which, provided with a raw-rubber knob, is struck on the skin and the other, a simple stick, on the frame of the body of the drum.

P 533 The musicians are always men. They play the music as
[462] amateurs who learn one or another instrument because they have taken a fancy to it. The drum is the more popular instrument, whereas flutists are less numerous and primarily limited to certain families.

P 535 The dances danced today, which, by the way, not everyone
[171] masters, correspond to the Colombian bambuco, though they do not show the dexterity and lightness of movement required for that, such as is found among the Colombian rural population in other parts of the country.

P 535 By way of a note, there should be cited the dances which H.
114 Pittier de Fabrega (based on E. Castillo i Orosco) mentions for the Paez and which in some of the designations, point to an independent culture: onza-kó, /292/ "mouse dance," nwi-kó "buzzard dance," itsa-kó, puberty dance of the girls, eč-koi-kó, dance of the spirit-flute, tel-koi-kó, dance of the long flute or war dance, la-kó, dance to dedicate a house, etc.

1: Nachtigall--215 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/292 cont./

5. Folklore

*539 The present fund of tales of the Paez is neither rich nor varied. Here, too, a certain impoverishment has undoubtedly taken place, as may be seen from fragments of larger complexes of myths. Among these there are the "Story of the Woman from Whose Body Useful Plants Come Forth," stories about transformed animals and human beings, as well as stories about werejaguars. [171] The story of the ghostly human head that comes rolling by is also extraordinarily widespread in North and South American legends [176] and has a manifold lunar-mythological meaning. In contrast to this, the complete absence of typical stories about the forest spirit (gĕlyŏmp) is noteworthy, although the latter plays an important role in the religious conceptions of the Paez. Animal and transformation tales are only very dull and colorless.

● 114 609 *539 [887] Unfortunately, the reluctance of the Paez to communicate is particularly frustrating in the recording of the myths. It is primarily the old people who can tell stories. But they are the very ones who are particularly standoffish toward the stranger. The chroniclers and early reporters tell us nothing about the folklore of the Paez, and even the most recent travelers of the 'thirties report only the story of Juan Tama or deny that the Paez have any mythology at all.

12 609 *539 [554] The stories collected by S. Bernal Villa and by myself could surely be augmented with better acquaintance among the old people. The unpopularity of our interpreter, especially among the old people, was sometimes so great an obstacle that Victoriano had to ask suitable informants for some of the stories told about his father or uncle.

*539 The themes of the stories chiefly consist of tales about Thunder (Nos. 1-12), mostly under his names of Juan Tama, Llivan, Chautĕ, or Juan Chiracol. In the myths he is the first shaman and teacher of the present-day shamans (see under "Religion" /see pp. 176 ff. /) and considerably more powerful than human beings. He is not an exalted, numinous figure, however. On the contrary, people in olden days /293/ sometimes treated him quite badly, threw poisonous herbs in his lagoon,

/293 cont./

*539 and even shut him up in a box. A second group of stories (Nos. 13-14) deals with tales about spirits, a third (Nos. 15-16) tales about Pijao, the feared man-eaters and dreadful enemies of the Paez. These are related to a certain extent to tales about werejaguars (Nos. 17-18). The remaining stories, which cannot be further classified, are given in the last group (Nos. 19-22). [114] In order to achieve a certain completeness, stories No. 1 and 2 about Juan Tama are given here as told by G. Bürg (p. 34) and G. Hernandez de Alba (1946, p. 953), respectively, and stories No. 4, 9, 10 as told by S. Bernal Villa (?) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 323/.

1. Juan Tama, the Water-born

The following remembrance of Juan Tama lives on among the Indians of Vitomcó: A long time ago there ruled in Vitomcó a female cacique who was childless and therefore always sad when she thought about who would follow her in power. One day when she was washing clothes at the confluence of the Rio Paez and a brook that comes from the Páramo de Moras (from the lagoon known today as Juan Tama), she saw in the water a floating piece of wood on which lay a small child. She fished it out, and, since it was a boy, she took him in, reared him, and, when he reached majority, made him cacique. This cacique -- known as Juan Tama today -- was very wise and strong and led his people against the Spaniards when the latter settled on the Magdalena [648] River. The last time he was seen on the Paez was in the great battle of San Vicente, where he and his troops succeeded in defeating the Spaniards. Since he had come floating on the water, he was not regarded as an ordinary human being, but rather it was assumed that he was sent to the cacique by her ancestors, or else that he descended directly from the gods who mated with the lagoon of Juan Tama, so that the latter is his mother. When Juan Tama saw that his people were victorious at San Vicente and no longer needed his protection, he disappeared again. He merely gave his subcaciques orders and then went back to his mother, the Lagoon de Juan Tama, where he lives to this day and from where he directs the destinies of his Indians in Tierradentro.

/317 cont./

105 In the Paez religion there is no cult priesthood with offerings
771 and prayer, just as there is also no cult or worship of numinous
756 beings. The Paez religion is a shamanism, the two forms of which are the evil sorcerer and the good shaman as doctor and helper against evil sorcery. As a religious phenomenon Paez shamanism is not as distinctive as the Siberian or the North American shamanism. Assistant spirits and the soul journey as shamanistic means are only rudimentary with the shamanistic "signs," the "thunder child," and the journeys of the shaman to the house of Thunder on the bottom of the lagoon; there is almost no ceremonial apparatus. Nevertheless, the activity of the good shaman in particular, as doctor and helper in sickness caused by magical practices, as well as his function as sociological crystallization point of the community, is entirely a shamanistic phenomenon.

105 Linguistically Paez belongs among the agglutinative languages,
[197] in which the form element is made up by affixes that characterize
[194] whole classes of words. In phonetics the series of palatals including all the consonants is striking, as well as the frequent occurrence of nasal vowels.

105 /318/ The linguistic classification of Paez is difficult. Since
114 the research of H. Beuchat and P. Rivet it has been regarded as
197 one of the Chibcha languages. This was not always the case. E. Castillo i Orosco emphasized in 1735 that in its grammatical structure Paez is very different from Chibcha (p. 63). It was C. Cuervo Marquez who first regarded Paez as a Chibcha language (p. 199). H. Pittier de Fábrega emphasized in 1907 that the relationship of Paez refers only to the rules of grammatical construction; the vocabulary is completely different (p. 341). Then in 1910 Beuchat and Rivet investigated all the North Andean languages in a work of large scope and then confirmed the distribution of the Chibcha languages from Nicaragua to Eucador. According to this, the majority of the Colombian tribes spoke Chibcha (pp. 193-198). Up to now this classification has neither been examined in greater detail nor disproved by linguistics. This may be left to the philologists. Here there will only be a few remarks about the problem of the Chibcha languages in general and that of Paez as an

/318 cont./

105 assumed Chibcha language in particular. The difficulty of language
114 comparison in the northern Andean area lies in the wholely in-
197 adequate material for comparison. The majority of the tribes investigated have died out long ago, and there is seldom sufficiently complete material available from the few living ones. Even the true Chibcha (Mwiska) on the plateau of Bogotá has not been spoken for two and a half centuries and is known only from the literature. Beuchat and Rivet choose the lexicographic and grammatical method for their language comparison. The total vocabulary of the languages investigated contains about 200 words. These serve as comparative material for 49 languages, namely, for true Chibcha (Mwiska) and 23 other languages and dialects in northern Colombia and Panama, as well as for 25 languages and dialects of southern Colombian languages! Methodologically the procedure was to find a lexicographic agreement between language A and language B, another agreement between language B and language C, a further agreement between language C and language D, etc. In the proof, language A is related to languages B,
105 C, D, etc. Applied to Paez: In the vocabulary given by Beuchat.
114 and Rivet there is no Paez word in direct agreement with Chibcha!
192 Nor was there even a choice of words according to their qualita-
197 tive significance. Thus it is especially noteworthy that there is a complete lack of corresponding designations for food, animals, useful plants, metals (gold), parts of the body, kinship designations, etc. /319/ On the basis of the vocabulary, therefore, it is not possible to designate Paez as a Chibcha language. To what extent this applies to the other southern Colombian tribes, for whom there usually exists only a very limited vocabulary, cannot be discussed here. In any case, there is a large number of Kechua /Quechua/ words in all these languages -- as a result of the close proximity to Kechua-speaking peoples. (For Paez, cf. the
105 compilations in Castillo i Orosco and Pittier de Fábrega.) Gram-
197 matical agreements between Chibcha and Paez do exist. At the
[114] same time, however, Beuchat and Rivet expressly point out that,
[193] of the languages compared, Paez shows the greatest grammatical differences with Chibcha (pp. 190/191). In summary it may be

/320 cont./

105 We are therefore obliged to regard the presence of the Paez in
172 their present settlement areas of Tierradentro as subsequent to the
174 archeological culture. Whether, as later immigrants within a larger population movement, they were the destroyers of the archeological culture, or whether they settled on the sites of the archeological culture only in the course of their wars with the
105 Spaniards cannot be clarified at the present time. /321/ The
172 latter assumption is corroborated by the fact that the reports of
174 the early Spaniards about the tribes that they encountered and
114 about their geographical position are not always clear. For exam-
131 ple, P. Manuel Rodriquez (1684) has the Paez living in the Páramo de las Papas, the páramo west of San Agustín, in which
101 rise the Magdalena, Cauca, and Caqueta. It is also remarkable
105 that the first Spanish reports do not mention the Guambiano, the
114 present-day western neighbors of the Paez. The assumption that
172 the Paez were affiliated with a newly immigrated, war-like
174 population is corroborated by the fact that the tribe of the Andaki /Andaqui/ living in the culture area of San Agustín at the time of the Conquista also had nothing to do with the archeological culture, but may possibly be regarded as the destroyers of it.

VI. List of Foreign and Technical Terms

104

Alcalde	Colombian designation for the burgomaster of a town or head of a district. Also the designation for local native authorities.
Ají	Very pungent mixture of ají pepper with onions and other spices.
Arroba	Spanish measure of weight of 12 1/2 kilograms.
Cabildo	Colombian community council. Among the Paez the designation for the democratically chosen village council.
Chaquira	Columbian designation for glass bead.
Chicha	(pronounced tschitscha) Native beer. Made of sugar cane among the Paez, of maize among most of the other Andean Indians, usually made of manioc among the South American Forest Indians.

104 /321 cont./

Conquista	Period of the Spanish conquest.
Conquistador	Spanish conqueror at time of the discovery of America.
Finca	Plantation farm or estate for the growing of coffee, sugar cane, bananas, etc.
Gobernador	Spanish head of the administration of a province. Among the Paez, the head of the village council.
Guaquero	Pirate excavators of prehistoric, Indian burial sites.
/322/	
Hacienda	Large country estate in Tierradentro.
Kazike	(Cacique) West Indian designation for the chief of a village or native tribe, used by Spaniards as a general designation for native chiefs within their area of authority. The translation "Fürst"/prince/ used in the literature in German is misleading.
Lagoon	Lake, pond.
Machete	Bush knife, long chopping knife.
Milpa System	Central American designation for periodic tillage on previously burned-off clearings; called roza in Colombia, wáts among the Paez.
Minga	System of free joint work by the village.
Municipio	In Tierradentro a number of villages, somewhat like our administrative district.
Nyiç	Evil shaman, evil sorcerer.
Panela	Boiled-down sugar-cane juice. Transported and traded in the form of bars of about half a kilogram each. Customary form of sugar consumption among the Colombian rural population.
Páramo	High steppe. General designation for the crests of the Cordilleras.
Parcialidád	In Tierradentro: village with the lands belonging to it.
Poncho	Sleeveless cloak of the Andean Indians in the form of a rectangular or square blanket with a hole for the head. Called ruana in Colombia.

[114]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

ETHNOGRAPHIC AND LINGUISTIC NOTES ON THE PAEZ INDIANS OF TIERRA ADENTRO, CAUCA, COLOMBIA

By H. PITTIER DE FÁBREGA

INTRODUCTION

Very little is known of the ethnology of the aboriginal inhabitants of the western and central cordilleras of Colombia and the intervening broad valley of Cauca. The early historians and chroniclers have left only long lists of more or less confused tribal names, along with the recital of the protracted war of extermination conducted with conscienceless and selfish cruelty by the conquistadores. With few exceptions modern writers have found little or no opportunity to deal with what is left of these interesting people. 121

With special reference to the Paez Indians, who are the subject of these notes, our notions have hitherto been derived almost exclusively from the materials collected by Castillo y Orozco about 1735, and published in 1877 with brief analytical notes by the late Colombian scholar, Señor Don Ezequiel Uricoechea.[1] 127

Early in 1906 the writer visited the section of the central cordillera inhabited by the Paez, staying a few days at two of their principal villages, namely, at Tacueyó, at the headwaters of the Palo river on the western side of the mountains, and at Huila, at the junction of the Paez and San Vicente rivers, on the Indian reservation known as Tierra Adentro. The personnel of the expedition, in addition to the author, with a few friends and two servants, consisted of native Indians, so that good opportunities were afforded for becoming familiar with the Paez language and to gain an insight into native manners and customs. 114 [361]

[1] Eujenio del Castillo i Orozco, *Vocabulario Páez-Castellano, Catecismo, Nociones gramaticales i dos Plásicas*, (publicado) con *Adiciones, Correcciones i un Vocabulario Castellano-Páez*, por Ezequiel Uricoechea. París: 1877.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

121 The present object is not in any way to contribute an exhaustive monograph on the Paez, but simply to give a summary of our former knowledge of them, together with the chief results of the personal information collected during the visit referred to.

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

Former Occupants. "Planos de Indios." Huacas

101 174 In addition to the still existing tribes, traces of the former occupancy of the Cauca valley and the adjacent mountains by a dense Indian population are found at every step. The names of extinct groups, like the Hilamas, Ocaches, Jamundies, and others, impressed on the minds of the former Spanish inhabitants by reason of some of their more gruesome customs, have come down to the present generation, although the tribes, as such, have disappeared. Of the Hilamas and Ocaches it is said they were cannibals. At present their more or less mixed [692 descendants still live in the villages of Las Pavas and Vijes, 181 near Cali; the "Paveños" have become inveterate legal fighters, 162] keeping their judges and alcaldes constantly occupied; while the "Vijeños," on the other hand, are now so peaceful that the court-house is known to have been closed for eighteen months at a time.

101 Of the Jamundies I was told that they were indefatigable 114 warriors, having fought the Spanish invaders to the last of their strength. Their name is perpetuated in that of the little town [103] of Jamundi, near which I visited the very interesting vale of Agua Sucia, which may have been one of their principal strongholds, as well as a rich gold-washing place. The hills were and still are partly covered with graves, or *huacas*, and these have [135] been found so abundant in gold objects as to have induced enterprising miners, or *huaqueros*, to conduct a stream of water from a long distance in order to completely wash the slopes. 172 I do not attempt to mention the fabulous riches that are said to have been extracted from this place and from several other no less rich discoveries. An immense amount of pottery, often highly ornamented, together with grinding-stones, hatchets,

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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173 he said, "the caciques or chieftains, had their messages trans-
202 mitted from valley to valley by means of runners who were
205 stationed at short intervals along the main roads. Each runner kept himself in readiness to start on the arrival of a message, thus insuring rapid transmission." As the "planos" and also the old trails are found on almost every ridge, it is difficult enough to judge of the value of this explanation; but, if I am not mistaken, such a system of communication existed without doubt at a short distance southward among the Incas of Ecuador and Peru, and perhaps extended into the Cauca valley.

172 On our return from Huila, while traveling between Toribió and Tacueyó, I noticed on the left an isolated hill with a part of its ridge separated from the rest by a deep cross-cut, evidently artificial. The top of the separated part looked in the distance as if also isolated by a ditch. My friend, Mr Emile Bizot, a mining engineer of wide experience in these parts, informs me that this is a common feature of the hilly district formerly inhabited by the natives, and that the enclosed surface always contains numerous graves (plate III, 2).

172 The high peaks of the most rugged districts of Tierra
532 Adentro are often crowned by isolated *huacas*, which are especially sought by treasure-hunters. At Tacueyó we had the opportunity of admiring a set of gold objects found in such graves and of which we made the photograph reproduced in plate II, 2. The frogs are of a type quite distinct from those with which I became familiar in Costa Rica. The representative of a human being recalls certain Chibchan idols, or, according to Mr W. E. Safford, Kitšua amulets. As to the thirteen remaining pieces of gold, quite thin and almost uniform in shape, they are perfectly new to me.

Former and Present Distribution

131 According to Father Rodriguez[1] the Paez, or Paós, Indians
114 lived on the summit and slopes of the *Cordillera de Guanacas*,
133 "sierra muy fria que llaman el Páramo de las Papas," a defini-

[1] P. Manuel Rodriguez, *El Marañon y Amazonas. Historia de los descubrimientos, entradas y reducciones de Naciones*, Madrid, 1684.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

tion which would correspond pretty well with the explanation given by subsequent authors, except for its last, untranslated member, which seems to imply a lack of geographical knowledge on the part of Father Rodriguez. According to modern maps, indeed, the term "Alto", or "Cordillera", de Guanacas, seems to apply only to the group or node of mountains north of the Coconucos and Puracé volcanoes, and south of the towering Huila. This includes the "Páramo de Moras," which we crossed on our return from Tierra Adentro, but not the *Páramo de las Papas*, which is situated south of the Puracé, at the headwaters of the Cauca, Caquetá, and Magdalena rivers. 131 114 133

If we admit, then, that in Father Rodriguez's description the name Páramo de las Papas is merely a lapsus for Páramo de Moras, the area given by him corresponds pretty well with that which is recognized as such by Uricoechea in his introduction to Castillo's work, excepting that the latter extends this area northward to include the upper Yaguará basin. According to Castillo, this last was probably inhabited by another *parcialidad*, which he calls Bemb, "indios infieles de nacion pijaos." At Huila, when pointing northward to the valleys on the eastern slope of the volcano and asking who lived there, the Indians answered, "Los Pijaos", and among the Spanish people it is generally understood that the Paez and the Pijaos are one and the same. This is also the opinion of Reclus,[1] who says: "Among the various tribes that wandered through the thick forests of this [eastern] slope of the [central] Cordillera, the most barbarous were the *Pijaos* or *Paez*, who selected innocent victims to offer to their divinities. The enemy killed in a fight could be only indifferent to the gods; but a woman, a child, an inoffensive stranger, the pure ones, were welcome to the bloodthirsty genii." And these monstrous sacrifices must be repeated at short intervals to insure the permanent good-will of the gods. 131 114 101 [782 727]

The area given on the accompanying map (plate I)[1] corresponds with the above-mentioned description by Rodriguez, 101 103

[1] Reclus, *Géographie universelle*, XXIII, p. 305.

[1] [See p 304 – Analyst]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

marriage bonds were not definitely made until experiment indicated the fecundity of the woman, and that the union was dissolved at the will of the husband if the wife proved to be barren. The same authority informs us that the wife had to give her husband the necessary clothing, while the husband provided food for the family. 581 [586] [585]

A custom mentioned by Castillo was that during menses the women spent the time sitting in small huts expressly built for that purpose, for fear of contaminating the common dwelling and of bringing disease and death to its occupants. 841

Rodriguez relates another custom in connection with childbirth and death: ". . . y siempre que pare la mujer, ó que muere alguno de su familia, desamparan la casa, dexando en ella al difunto con cantidad de bastimento y de la chicha, brebage, que beben: y á las casas donde parió la mujer, las dejan con las inmundicias de el parto, y acabadas de nacer las criatures, las laban, y se vañan sus madres, poniendose en viaje á buscar nuevo paraje para su habitacion, que siempre procuran sea en parte muy fragosa, por no ser visitados." 844

These details are confirmed by Castillo and were probably still observed in his time. As to what is done at present, and regarding the family organization in general, it is very difficult to obtain reliable information. The Indians are very jealous of their women, do not tolerate in them any intercourse with strangers, and become instantly distrustful when questioned about family matters. 152 593 609

With reference to death, Castillo differs from Rodriguez in that he states that a dying person was taken from the house, so that he did not actually die in it, and that the dwelling was destroyed by fire. He does not mention the custom of leaving food near the corpse, but states that the body was buried and a fence built around the grave. 768 763 764

Diseases

No diseases came under my observation during my stay at Huila and Tacueyó, and the Indians rather impressed me as being a healthy people. But if their vocabulary affords suffi- 164 [114]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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164 cient testimony, they have their share of physical ailments. Besides itch (*lal*), tumors of several kinds (*lal-sek*, tonsilitis; *kui*, tumor in the groin), they have original names for smallpox (*ùu-gui*), which I was told often rages among them, for diarrhœa (*u-tsitl*), dysentery (*mengui*), and intermittent or malarial fevers (*ya-ya-gui* in the ancient dialect, *kui-kui-ui* in that spoken at the present day).

752 Of the practices and superstitions made use of in the cure of
114 these diseases I could gain no information, but it is very probable that the Paez still have their own medicine-men.

Clothing. Personal Adornment

291 At present the wool obtained from the numerous sheep kept
286 by the Paez Indians plays the most important part in the cloth-
[231] ing of both sexes. I cannot find any direct information on the fabrics used before the introduction of sheep by the Spaniards,
[174 but it is most likely that the Paez obtained cotton from the In-
45?] dians of the Cauca and Magdalena plains, the cultivation and the manufacture of which into thread must have formed one
[172 of the principal industries in the latter. I have already referred
174] to the great number of clay spindle-whorls found in the graves and on old dwelling sites throughout the Cauca valley. Judging by these we may feel sure that the former inhabitants were great spinners. On the other hand, the present Paez Indians still weave most of their own clothing, and there is no reason why they should not have done so formerly.

291 The dress of the men consists of a pair of short trousers (*kiu*),
[177] that are evidently a concession to modern civilization. These are made of raw cotton cloth, or of imported fabrics, and reach from the waist to about the knees. Over the shoulders is worn a broad rectangular piece of white woolen homespun cloth, split in the middle in the form of a poncho so as to allow the head to pass through, and hanging free front and back. This is called *tund-atl*, i. e., 'the cloth that binds, or covers.' It is generally worn next to the skin, but sometimes a light cotton shirt, called *atl-petl*, is first put on. Over the *tund-atl* they carry on their left
[276 side, hanging by straps that pass over the right shoulder, the coca

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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314 fortunately the tree is being rapidly destroyed, either in the gathering of the wax or through clearing for cultivation.

Religion, Customs, Superstitions

114 According to Rodriguez the Paez did not know of any religion. But this is diametrically opposed to Castillo's repeated mention of pagan rites still practised among his flock. Moreover, it is not reasonable to suppose that these Indians would have lived in close contact with the Kitšua, who were veritable sun-worshippers, without being influenced by their beliefs.

771 *Itaki*, the sun, was worshipped at special shrines built on the 786 cut-off summits (*itaki finô*) of high mountains. At certain dates, 821 fixed by their priests (*diχi*) in accordance with their omens, they [787] congregated at these places and for many consecutive days gave themselves up to chicha drinking and all the lubric manifestations provoked by drunkenness. On these occasions no blood relation was respected; nor was there any limit to adultery. Later, after the missionaries had undertaken their civilizing work, the Indians secretly continued these hideous practices; indeed, it is even asserted that they have not yet given them up completely, although they may not commit the excesses that were formerly attributed to them, as such would be contrary to their present ideal standards.

535 Dances played an important part in all the diversions of the Paez. They were of several kinds, varying with the occasion. Castillo mentions the *guciô-kô*, money-begging dance (baile de pedir dinero), or *šita-ko* (sea-shell dance, baile de caracol), in [534] which two sea-shells (bocinas), the one giving a low tone (bajon destemplado) and the other the treble, were played alternately for whole nights, remembering, "(a los cristianos) la noche de la prision de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, i á los indios, la chicha, baile i maldades que ejecutan." Other dances of which we generally have no description were *onza-kô*, the mouse dance; *neni-kô*, the buzzard dance; *itsa-ko*, the puberty dance of females, to which allusion has already been made (page 314); *eti-kobi-ko*, the dance of the phantom reed; *tel-kobi-ko*, the dance of the long reed, or war-dance; *la-ko* the new-house dance; *himb-ko*,

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deserted savannas. It must be said, in extenuation, that they 609
have been subjected to much abuse by their neighbors of the 186
"superior race." Moreover, the Paeces are naturally hostile to
strangers, descending, as we have seen, from a warlike people. 181
The old Paeces always went about armed, carrying a lance or 648
javelin in the hand and ready to protect their bodies from the [411
darts of an enemy by means of a shield of basket-work (*opimb*), 714]
or of tapir hide (*χimba-kât*). The warlike tendencies of the 181
tribe were stimulated by means of periodical contests in which [544]
the most valiant warriors fought each other in the presence of the multitude.

To-day, as we have seen, the descendants of these have 181
abundant opportunity to satisfy their fighting propensity by 648
taking sides in the frequent quarrels of the political parties that 154
thus far have kept Colombia in an almost continual turmoil.

Sexual intercourse between Paez women and men of other 684
races is said not to exist; barbarous chastisement would be the 186
fate of the offending female. It is to be expected, however, 177
that the closer contact brought about by the gradual penetra- 563
tion of the Tierra Andentro by whites and negroes will soon overcome the purity of the Paez blood and open the way to amalgamation with the neo-Colombian race.

Reclus, cited above (page 311), gives us to understand that 266
the Paez were cannibals, and the tradition current in the villages along the western foot of the cordillera confirms his intimation with reference to the Pijaos; for the coming of "el Pijao" is still a menace to children. The early chroniclers tell us of several anthropophagous tribes which lived in this region, and it is not unlikely that the Paeces had a share in that custom.

GRAMMATICAL NOTES

Castillo's *Nociones gramaticales* is limited to a list of the 114
personal pronouns and the conjugation of the verbs 'to be' 193
and 'to write.' A few more grammatical indications are incorporated in the vocabularies, but on the whole these data are very meager, and much remains to be done in this direction.

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I. — PHONETICS

Vowels

	a	*a*	*ä*		
e	*ẻ*		*o*	*ȯ*	*ȯ*
i	*ỉ*		*ü*	*u*	*ü*
ä	*ẽ*	*ɪ*	*ȯ*	*ũ*	

Consonants

		ḣ	*h*		
k	*g*	*χ*	*χ̇*		*ñ*
tʃ	*dʒ*	*ʒ*			
ts	*dz*				
t	*d*	*s*	*z*	*l*	*n*
p	*b*	*f*	*v*		*m*

194 114 In his introduction to Castillo's vocabularies, Uricoechea asserts, on the faith of the latter, that the Paez vowels are numerous, distinct from those of the Spanish language, and difficult of pronunciation. The Castilian language has only the five fundamental Latin vowels, while the Paez has three more, *ä*, *ȯ*, and *ü*, not including the nasalized vowels, which are not specifically distinct.

This can scarcely be called rich, but if by richness Uricoechea means euphony, then he is certainly correct. Indeed, the diphthongs *ai*, *eu*, *io*, *ua*, *ue*, *ui*, *uo*, recur with extreme frequency, and there are none of the half-mute vowels so often met with in the dialects of the Chibchan group. Again, it cannot be said that the Paez, in its present phonetics, offers any serious difficulty to the student so far as pronunciation is concerned. I have given careful attention to this special question, and think that the above table of vowels and consonants is fairly adequate to an exact transcription of the language.

194

When we come to the comparison of consonants we find that the Paez has all the consonants used in classical Castilian except the *z* (*θ*, English *th*), and that it has *χ̇*, *tʃ*, *dʒ*, *ʒ*, *ts*, and *dz* in addition. Here we may be justified in speaking of abundance, inasmuch as these fundamental consonants are accompanied by quite a formidable array of compound ones, either

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initial like *ll, ft, kb, kl, kn, kp, ks, kt, mb, pk, pl, ps, pt, st, tsk,* 194
or terminal like *fχ̇, kχ̇, pχ̇, mb, nt, nt.*

A further comparison of Castillo's material with my own 194
shows three chief points of divergence in the transcription of 114
words. One of them, namely, the prefixing of an initial *g* to words beginning with *na* or *ne*, is general among Spanish authors, there being as much difficulty for a Spaniard to pronounce correctly that broad diphthong as to express any foreign word beginning in *st, sp*, etc., without an initial *e*. Just as a Spaniard will say 'estreet,' 'esprout,' 'estyle,' he is sure to pronounce 'gwatchman,' if not 'gwatchiman,' 'gwarbler,' and so on. This misspelling, then, may be regarded as an idiosyncrasy of our author.

A second difference, often repeated and which must be considered as an error in the reproduction of the original text, is that the words ending in my vocabulary in *ts, fχ̇, kχ̇*, etc., end respectively in *ti, fi, ki*, etc., in Castillo's vocabulary, the terminal *s* and *χ̇* having almost uniformly been mistaken for an *i*. Examples: [192]

efi	for *efχ̇*,	eye-tooth.
equi	" *ekχ̇*,	fuel.
cafi	" *kafχ̇*,	gargante de.
cati	" *kats*,	hide, skin, peel.
conchi	" *kuntl*,	black.
miti	" *mitl* or *mits*,	pot.
tambi	" *tampχ̇*,	flank.

Unwritten languages are subject to rapid alteration. This is sufficient to explain the frequent change of *o* to *u*, and the suppression of the initials *a, e*, and *i*, in certain words. Following are a few examples of both cases: [192]

doj	has become	*duχ̇*,	weight.
tilo	" "	*flu*,	tree.
guaco	" "	*uaku*,	tick.
onza	" "	*kunza*,	mouse.
ioc	" "	*iuk*,	wood, fuel.
alech	is now	*lutl*,	child.
alauech	" "	*lauetl*,	lizard.

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194	*cpench*	is now	*pení,*	old (applied to female only).
114	*isus*	" "	*sus,*	urine.
[192]	*atamp*	" "	*taap,*	fog, cloud.

In Castillo's vocabularies *.rs* stands for *ʒ*, *z* for *ts* and *tz*, *ch* for *tš*. The final *h* is used only to prevent the coming together of the consonants *i* or *s* ending a word and the initial vowel of the following word in compound terms. For instance, we have *mesha*, for *mes-a*, it is not; *ishe* for *its-i*, to join, to marry, etc.

II. — Word-formation

192 114 *Remarks.* — A few preliminary remarks as to the vocabulary given hereafter are necessary. In a general way it includes only words that are not found in Castillo's work. This is true especially of all isolated terms, but exceptions have been made when one of them is or contains a root of a whole family of words, in which case a few terms have been taken from Castillo's 114 vocabulary and their orthography adapted to our own.

192 197 174 Among those words not included in Castillo's, some have simply escaped him, as, for instance, a number of plant names. But many others are to-day replaced by quite distinct expressions, and this is perhaps one of the strongest indications that the present Paez are in reality a mixture of the remnants of several ancient tribes, like the Paez, the Pijaos, the Jamundies, and probably others, which resulted after Castillo's first survey of the language. As, with the exception of the Paez, we have not even fragmentary vocabularies of the tribes thus amalgamated, it is rather difficult to sustain such an hypothesis with linguistic testimony; but traditions still current and well-known examples of similar cases in other countries can be offered in support of it.

As we have in every case given Castillo's equivalent in the vocabulary, it is needless to reproduce here a list of the differences noted.

193 114 [171] *Compound Nouns.* — The Paez language, like most of the languages belonging to the Chibchan group, has suffixes indicative of form, size, matter, people, etc., that characterize whole classes of words. Castillo's vocabulary being far from exhaustive and written in a somewhat capricious way, it is not always

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easy to determine the words that form such families, and it remains for the future student to systematize and complete them. 193 114
We are able, however, to give a few examples:

Kuĉ is indicative of smallness, fragility, and is found also in several terms referring to childhood or parental relations. 192 193
Examples:

kuĉ	child.
a-kuĉ	monkey.
ala-kuĉ	child.
ant-kuĉ	nephew.
ant-tsun-kuĉ	grandson.
atl-kuĉ	nephew.
dog-kuĉ	nephew.
etl-kuĉ	orphan (phantom's son).
ku-kuĉ	uncle, father's brother.
fe-ku-kuĉ	aunt, father's sister.
kuku-kuĉ (onomatope)	a small dove.
ucso-kuĉ	girl.
ucs-kuĉ	thread.
witta-kuĉ	bird.

In the following words, however, the signification of the suffix is not apparent:

ak-kuĉ	burial.
cig-ka-kuĉ	ant.
ia-kuĉ	ceremonial feather-dress.
ko-kuĉ	body.
imeta-kuĉ	dorsal spine.
ne-kuĉ	challenge, contest.
sa-kuĉ	heart of a tree.

Guĉ, meaning disease, is found as a suffix in a few known cases:

atta-guĉ	hectic fever (lit. hot-ache).	[164]
kuti-guĉ	smallpox.	
iaia-guĉ	intermittent fever.	
su-guĉ	a medicinal plant.	

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verb 'to be,' following what may be a noun or another adjective, and may be regarded as a predicate adjective or denominative verb: 193

ampa-kuł, lean, sad.
dił-kuł, pretty (Cast.).
dłił-kuł, pretty (Pitt.).
dsuns-kuł, frail, slender.
its-kuł, lean.
łła-kuł, small.
nu-kuł, small, low, of a river. [192]
o-kuł, plane, even.
pats-kuł, ugly.
pets-kuł, thin, like paper.
uáts-kuł, lazy.

It should not be inferred from the scarcity of this class of words in the examples given that the Paez language is lacking in them. On the contrary, a few examples show that, like many other primitive idioms, the Paez distinguishes gradations and categories in the qualities he attributes to an object or to different objects or persons. Thus, Castillo gives four different words for 'thick,' all of which, and one more, are still in use to-day. Now it is found that every one of them has a distinct signification or is applied in distinct cases:

fitse, thick, viscous, semi-liquid (of soup, mud, etc.). [192]
ɣot, thick (of a tree).
ñił, thick, stout (of a person).
iot, thick, bulky.
tat-a, thick or dense (of a forest, a jungle).

In the same way we have four expressions for 'large' three for 'soft,' etc., but without data to exemplify their use.

Reduplication is frequent in adjectives and seems to correspond to a superlative gradation.

The adjectives for 'young' and 'old' differ according to the sex of the person to whom they apply. The first is translated by *taki* when it applies to males, as in *pits-taki*, 'young man,' and by *kue-nas* when applied to females. 'Old' is *iuš*, or *teé* when referring to males, and *pcuš* (or *e-pcuš*) when used for females. [562] [561]

Formation of Verbs. — Owing to the brevity of my stay among the Paez Indians, I felt from the first a certain reluctance to enter into the intricate study of the verbs, fearing that, should 193 114

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193 114 I begin it, I might be induced to accept *a priori* as true apparent rules which would then draw me into further mistakes. My former experience shows that a reliable comprehension of the infinite variations of the verbs, as bearing on flexion, derivation, etc., is not really acquired until one is fully cognizant of the spirit of the language to which they belong and is able to handle this almost as easily as his own.

In consequence of this, the few notes that follow are based mainly on the verbal terms included in Castillo's vocabulary.

193 192 (*a*) *Primitive Verbs.* — We find first that there are terms, expressive of condition, action, or motion, that can be considered as essentially verbal, and could be called, for simplicity's sake, "primitive verbs." Here are a few of them:

dî, to sleep	*ôts*, to burn.
gûgu, to run	*peû*, to beg, to ask.
ios, to fly	*pos*, to stretch.
kis, to fast	*pot*, to breathe.
ktond, to carry	*si*, to attend, to serve.
e, to eat	*so*, to take, to receive.
ô, to die	*tunî*, to soften, to knead.
ôp, to shut, to close	*tet*, to beat, to knock.
os, to give	*tetî*, to lick.
ôs, to plant	*vis*, to touch.
ots, to work wood (labrar madera).	

It is not unlikely that most of these verbs were originally nouns or adjectives, and that a few of them are still in use as such, although they do not so appear in the vocabulary. The following are given with a nominal, or a qualificative, and a verbal signification, and may be considered as true

(*b*) *Denominative Verbs* — susceptible of all flexions corresponding to person, mode, or time:

ampô-kut, sad, to be sad.
attatî, warm; *attatâ*, to be warm (*ô-atî*, to warm one's self).
ios-ô, standing, to be standing.
ipe-inka, thoughtful, to be thoughtful.
yuend, laying, to be laying.
paio-ki, careless, to be careless.

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193 The middle *k* of the plural forms is inserted apparently for the sake of euphony.

D.—*The Verb*

[121 114] As explained above, I did not endeavor to collect material for the study of verbs, by reason of the limited time at my disposal. Castillo's data are also very defective, but the paradigms presented by him as examples of conjugations are sufficient to afford an insight into the mechanism of conjugation. We reproduce the principal tenses with the object of showing that the verbal modifications referring to person, mode, and time, consist of a combination of the verbal root with the copulative or substantive verb and a suffix or ending that expresses the person. Our spelling differs somewhat from that used by [114] Friederich Müller,[1] who had no practical experience with the language:

(1) To be:

	Singular	Plural
	Præsens	
1st p.	*anki-t*, I am;	*ku-k-uel ta-u*, we are;
2d p.	*inui-ng*	*ik-uel ik-u*
3d p.	*kinâ-a*	*kinâ-(g-)uel i-a.*
	Perfectum	
1st p.	*anki-kit*, I was;	*ku-k-uel ta-u iâ*, we were;
2d p.	*inui-ng-iâ*	*ik-uel nek-u iâ*
3d p.	*kinâ-k-iâ*	*kina-g-uel ta iâ.*
	Futurum	
1st p.	*anki-net*, I shall be;	*ku-k-uel net-ka-u*, we shall be;
2d p.	*inui-neng*	*ik-uel nek-u*
3d p.	*kinâ-nen*	*kina-k-uel pat-in.*

(2) To write, or to paint, *fis*:

	Præsens	
1st p.	*anki fis-ats-t*, I write;	*kuł-k-u-fis-ats-ta-u*, we write;
2d p.	*inui fis-ats-eng*	*ik-uel fis-ats-ku-a*
3d p.	*kina fis-ats-k*	*kina-g-uel fis-ats-tâ.*

[1] *Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft*, Bd. II, 358, Wien, 1882.

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

/289 cont./

142 The Calderuno /native of Calderas/ is rather tall, with a light copper skin, straight black hair, a straight nose somewhat flattened and broad at the base, slightly prominent cheekbones, dark brown eyes reminiscent of the Mongolian eye, a broad forehead, long and robust extremities, a slightly pentagonal face; many have mustaches, and, on the whole, the
157 features are rather /290/ handsome. On the other hand, he is talkative, communicative, deeply traditionalistic, proud
[361] of himself, and has a deep love of the land. Isolated as they
[177] are from the other parcialidades by natural accidents and far removed from the urban centers of Inzá and Belalcázar, they are shy, sullen, and withdrawn with the white, stubbornly opposed to contact with him, and, as a result their institutions, have suffered less from the impact of cultural mestization.
797 Not even the very church that has worked so persistently for the
177 catechization of these tribes, especially in this century through the Lazarist missionaries active since 1905, has been able to penetrate fully into the soul of these people.

● 114 I have carried out my research in this parcialidad since
773 the month of August of last year, with several interruptions.
[124] The myths and tales which I now present were gathered with patient labor after much waiting, for the natives, when questioned about these themes, nearly always reply with the word himeto ("I don't know"). There is no need to stress the importance of mythology as an institution in the so-called "primitive" cultures. Nor is it my intention to theorize on the subject. It is enough to say, in the words of Herskovits, that "mitología es como la carta constitucional de las creencias y presta sentido a la conducta ritual que se deriva de sus consagraciones /mythology is the constitutional charter of beliefs and gives meaning to the ritualistic behavior that is derived from its consecrations/" (1). The chroniclers tell

1. Herskovits, p. 409 /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 309/.

/290/

114 us nothing about the religion and mythology of the Paez. Nor
773 do systematic modern studies exist. Nor do those who have had the opportunity to be in contact with them and to describe their customs and ways of life tell us about their religion and mythology. Furthermore, there are those who state that the Paez have no mythology. José Pérez de Barradas collected the myth of Juan Tama. Gregorio Hernández de Alba refers to it, and the Lazarist missionary Fr. David González also collected it and has it in his unpublished work, Los Paeces /The Paez/, in quite elaborate and synthetical form, as does G. Burg. It is obvious that a large part of the myths and tales which I am presenting, not to say all of them, have suffered modifications in the avatar of time, as the institutions also changed. Since mythology is the rationalization of conflicts created by the culture itself, it is subject to the directives /291/ of that society and culture. Its roots are inevitably of a sociological and cultural nature.

773 Many of the myths collected have a marked similarity to
776 that of Juan Tama. The predominant central motifs refer to
538 sex and aggression. The personages in the myths are Thunder, Llîban, Juan Chiracol, Chaute, and Santo Tomás. Llîban is regarded as Thunder's son, but everyone maintains that he is Thunder himself; he was a cacique, and the natives state that many of their caciques took refuge in the turbulent waters of the river. The last two personages merge and in reality form a single being. It is to be noted that in some accounts the tricky personage presented is not Tomás, who is a saint, but Pedro Dimales, his brother.

186 There is no need to emphasize the role played by the Pijao
793 in these accounts. The recollection of this people inured to
628 war is still fresh in the memory of the Calderunos, the characteristics of the struggle sustained against them still manifest, the fear that the name Pijao awakened still alive. To the Calderun mentality they seem like monsters, like animals of uncommon size and power, who drew fire from their armpits.

/178 cont./

several leagues around were supplied for a long time with the salt extracted from the three salt deposits that still exist in Segovia. Across from these and on the other side of the Ullucos, in Vivorá, another salt deposit was also exploited.

At the confluence of the small stream called El Escaño and the Pisimbalá, on the right bank of the latter and at the foot of the ridge of Aguacate, the Archeological Park of /179/ Tierradentro, a branch of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, is located on an alluvial terrace covering an area of two hectares. Founded some 15 years ago, it is in charge of the care and conservation of the archeological monuments, which have been known to the scientific world since 1936, but to which reference was made as early as around the penultimate decade of the last century, when Dr. Carlos Cuervo Márquez carried out his explorations through the "lands of the Paez and much of the Nevado del Huila." Subterranean necropolises with columns, colonnades and niches, black and red geometric painting on a white background, statuary very similar to the Augustinian, ceramics and metalwork are the principal exponents of this culture hardly known in descriptive form.

The Archeological Park of Tierradentro has served as the center of operations for the scientific expeditions which the national government has sponsored, fostered, and supported during the last 15 years.

II

Over the Zigzags of the Road

In order to travel on winding roads one needs horses resistant to fatigue; a dashing spirit must yield to a solemn step, firm tread, and steady pace.

/245 cont./

*765 756 783 [113] 8. See: "Mitología y Cuentos de la Parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro /Mythology and Tales from the Parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro/," Revista Colombiana de Antropologia, 1953.

[114] This type of cleansing has not been confirmed by any informant, curer or layman, young or old, male or female, from the Parcialidades of Santa Rosa, San Andrés, Calderas, Togoima, Avirama, or Mosoco.

342 796 *756 [241] Conjuration of the new rancho. To protect their fields from the voracity of wild animals, they build a small rancho. Before occupying it, they perform the following conjuration. The curer blows remedies in the center of the rancho where the hearth will be. He digs a hole and buries shu and shulape. He makes a fire and casts ñundayuskei and bitopiskue into it. He gathers up all the ashes and throws them outside the rancho. He revives the fire again and roasts a green ear of maize, which is given to a dog to eat. If the dog does not die, it is a sign that there is no pest there and the owners can occupy it. In the opposite case they must abandon it. In Santa Rosa the Té eu eats the ear of maize.

This same ceremony is performed upon beginning a house. They give the dog roasted maize since it is not the season for green ears. Then they drink chicha and aguardiente.

241 *756 E huse uña (clearing-eat). The harvesting of the crops from new clearings must be initiated by the curer. The owner of the field provides coca, tobacco, and aguardiente and invites the curer. The entire family goes to the field.

The té eu prepares a calabash of remedies based on Chayuts, shugues, tayuskei, echiutse, ul ñiñ, tatse. He sprinkles the clearing with this. He distributes as many bundles of remedies as there are persons present, for them to chew, to swallow the juice, and to rub their bodies with the remainder.

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THE HIGHLAND TRIBES OF SOUTHERN COLOMBIA[1]

By Gregorio Hernández de Alba

INTRODUCTION

Between the *Esmeralda* and *Cara* in Ecuador and the *Quimbaya* in the modern Department of Caldas to the north, the conquistadors, especially Governor Don Sebastián de Belalcázar, found a large number of tribes of different languages and cultures (map 1, *No. 24*; map 7). These tribes occupied the mountains of the complicated Andean system, the valleys of the many rivers, and the slopes toward the low, jungle lands of southeastern Colombia. Because of the fertility of the soils, the mild climate, which was largely cool and healthy, the rich gold and silver mines, and the situation of the lands between the important Colonial centers of Santa Fé (now Bogotá) and Quito, which they were founding, the conquistadors greatly desired to conquer and pacify the tribes, as the Spanish chroniclers and historians call the extermination of the Indians. Some peoples, like the *Pasto* living in the present Department of Nariño, north of Ecuador, readily submitted to the overlordship of the encomenderos and hacendados, and adopted their customs and beliefs. Others, like the *Andaquí*, changed their habitat, and moved down from the region of San Agustín and the headwaters of the Magdalena River eastward to the hot jungles, where they were safe from enslavement. Some, like the *Páez* and *Moguex*, protected by the ruggedness of the Sierras of their territory, resisted the Spaniards and succeeded in large measure in perpetuating their traditions. Others, however, like the *Pijao*, who were seasoned warriors, fought bloodily against the White invaders until they were totally exterminated.

The first historians of the conquest of this part of America[2] held different opinions on the cultural and linguistic relationships between these tribes. Some claimed that the dialects differed so greatly from one tribe to another as to be mutually unintelligible; others maintained that all the peoples of the Andean area of Colombia had the same cul-

[1] This study was prepared in Washington, D. C., where the Bureau of American Ethnology, of the Smithsonian Institution, the Library of Congress, and the Library of the Pan American Union facilitated my investigation as previously the Government of Colombia, my wife (who was also my companion in field work), and my friends, the *Páez* Indians of Tierradentro, had furthered it.

[2] Cieza de León, 1932; Aguado, 1916; Simón, 1882-92; Oviedo y Valdés, 1851-55; Velasco, 1841-44.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

175 ture, with only slight differences in dialects and customs. Some
197 authorities affirmed that these Indians had no kind of religion; others
114 gave details which reveal a highly developed religion and an organized
[174] cult. In spite of these contradictory statements and in spite of the fact that today only the *Moguex* (*Guambia*) and *Páez* Indians retain indigenous cultures, it is possible to sketch the cultural picture of these Indians at the moment of their first contact with the Spanish soldiers by reexamining the chroniclers of the Conquest according to ethnological criteria, by utilizing modern linguistics, and by studying the ethnology of the present-day peoples.[3] It is also possible to trace the
174 acculturation during the Colonial Period, when new European usages
177 were introduced, and to depict the social and cultural conditions of the present day. The modern penetration of highways into the Indian territory and the official policy of changing the indigenous communities are likely to bring an end to these few remaining examples of primitive Andean societies, which have survived in spite of a poor economy, bad sanitary conditions, and missionary efforts to eradicate their traditions.

12/ A fertile field for future research lies in continuing anthropological studies in the central mass of the Colombian Andes. The region is as important for physical geography as for ethnology, as its mountain chains run in various directions to form valleys and diversified environments.

[172] It also contains the archeological remains, known as San Agustín and Tierradentro, which long antedate the Conquest and which have an undetermined origin and relationship to cultures in other parts of America. The present article, however, does not deal with these, but is limited to ethnology.

GEOGRAPHY

13/ The tribes considered in this article occupied the eastern halves of the present Departments of Nariño and Cauca, almost all of the Department of Huila, the southern part of Tolima, and the eastern zone of the Department of the Valle del Cauca, which embraces the western spurs of the Cordillera Central as far as Calarcá in Caldas. The region lies between 1° and 4° 40′ N. lat. and 1° and 3° 40′ west of the meridian
133 of Bogotá. The country consists of high mountains of the Andean system, which bifurcate at the Ecuadorean border to form the Cordillera Occidental, which runs to Panamá, and the Cordillera Central, which approaches the Atlantic coast of Colombia. Each branch has high plains (altiplanos), small valleys with rivers which are tributaries of the Patía River to the west, and high mountain peaks, some of which are volcanoes, like Pasto, Galeras, and Cumbal. The area of

[3] For the languages, see especially Jijón y Caamaño, 1940-41; Castillo I Orosco, 1878; and Castellví, 1934. For ethnology, see Douay, 1900; Pittier de Fábrega, 1907; Ortiz, 1935; Guerra F., 1942; Jijón y Caamaño, 1936-38 Otero, 1938; Albís, 1934. See also Languages, pp. 921-922.

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TRIBAL DIVISIONS

Captain Sebastián de Belalcázar was the first conquistador who went north from Quito and entered the Andean region of what is today Colombia. He passed through the territory of the Pasto and Popayán Rivers to reach the region of Neiva and beyond in 1535–36.

At the time of their discovery, the native peoples north of Ecuador were very numerous, but the chroniclers, for example Cieza de León, who crossed this region in 1545 and is its outstanding historian, gave their locations and designations in a very confused manner. The historians classified the aboriginal peoples either according to small villages or groups of houses, slight differences of dialects, or slight cultural variations, so that the true classifications are very difficult to make.

Modern ethnological studies and a critical interpretation of the chroniclers somewhat clarify the cultural panorama of these regions, however, and it is now possible to list the following tribal divisions which existed just before the Conquest [4] (map 7):

Pasto.—The *Pasto* (*Koaiker*, *Cuaiquer*, *Quayquer*, *Coaiquer*,[5] etc.) (Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38), who had a uniform language and culture throughout their villages, were distributed from the town of Tuza between the Mira and San Juan Rivers northward throughout the mountains to the valley of the Patía River and toward the northeast to the southern boundary of the present Department of Cauca. Eastward, they extended to the country of the *Quillacinga*, which began at the Guáitara River (Cieza, 1880, ch. 33). In the west, they occupied the western portion of Nariño, but accurate information is lacking on some tribes, which like the *Abades*, *Masteles* (Juán López de Velasco in Guerra, 1942) and *Patía* of the lower Patía River, lived toward the Pacific Coast region. The Angasmayo River in *Pasto* territory was the limit of the conquest of the *Inca* Guaynacapa (Cieza, 1880, ch. 37). Ortíz locates this river southeast of Nariño but other authors identify it with the Mayo River farther to the north.

There was a large number of native groups or villages within this area. Among these Cieza mentions the *Ascual*, *Mallama*, *Túcurres*, (*Tulcan*), *Zapuys*, *Iles*, *Guaimatal*, *Funes*, *Chapal*, *Males*, *Piales*, *Pupiales*, *Turca*, some of which are south of the Colombia-Ecuador border, *Cumba*, and others, and adds that, "All these peoples and chiefs had and have the name of *Pastos*" (Cieza, 1932, ch. 33). Guerra gives other names of small groups (parcialidades).

Quillacinga.—East and southeast of the *Pasto* lived the *Quillacinga*. Padre Velasco (1841–44, vol. 3) identified them with the *Pasto*, but cultural and linguistic differences between these tribes leave no doubt that Cieza de León (1880, ch. 33), was correct in considering them a

[4] Castellví, 1934; Guerra, 1942; Jijón y Caamaño, 1940–41; Ortíz, 1937 d, 1938 c; and Ospro, 1938, 1939.
[5] The *Cuaiquer* are sometimes treated as a subgroup of the *Pasto*. (See this volume, pp. 927–934, 937–938.)

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Moguex

881 heights of Cuetando, where they built a hut and planted a miniature field as proof of their masculine aptitude.

797 **Education.**—Today the Indians are educated principally by their 871 parents in the customs and tasks pertaining to each sex. Some boys [868] and a few girls are sent to the few missionary schools, where they are given religious instruction and are taught Spanish, arithmetic, geography, the history of Colombia, and modern embroidery or light [562] basketwork. The *Páez* are reluctant to send their daughters to the schools because they feel that women should keep the traditions of [77] their people. The missionary schools strive to change the native language and the cultural traditions which have given the Indian community social cohesion.

585 **Marriage.**[11]—Formerly polygyny was prevalent, but now Catholi- 77 583 cism has imposed monogamy. The Indians continue, however, to practice trial marriage (amaño). A marriage is arranged as follows:

584 The bride is selected by the young man's parents or by himself. His parents and two witnesses or godparents then visit her house to request her for the groom. They also serve as advisors to the young woman, in case she disapproves the marriage. The visitors carry half-filled bottles of rum (aguardiente) and some special garments for the girl. The young man's father offers the girl's father a half-bottle, acceptance of which means, as usual among the *Páez*, that the second party is well disposed toward the proposal and the negotiations may proceed. If the girl's mother agrees, the boy's mother presents her a half-bottle of liquor. The godfather or witness gives another half-bottle to the girl's father and the 583 godmother gives one to the mother. The visitors now leave, taking the girl, who then begins a year of trial marriage, during which the young man seeks proof that the girl is able to bear children, is active, cooks well, can weave, and can cultivate the land. After the trial period, the man may return the girl to her 585 parents or they marry in the Catholic Church, holding a feast which, like all 527 such celebrations, is called a "cuido." The couple and their parents and godparents are accompanied by an orchestra (chirimía) to the house where the feast is to be held. Here the bride puts on a modern dress, a ribbon on her hair, necklaces, and earrings, while the groom is with his godfather. As the guests arrive, chicha is distributed frequently, music is played, and then there is a feast of thick soup, generally with chicken, cooked yuca, arracacha, and roast or baked meat. In the afternoon, after more music and chicha drinking, the "refresco," really a banquet or social communion, is served. Six bottles of wine made from cane molasses, cinnamon, and cloves, and cake are given to the bride, groom, godmother, [782] and godfather, who give some to everyone present. A prayer, led by the head of [775] the house, then asks the souls of the dead to bless the marriage and give permission to dance. First, the godfather dances with the bride, then the godmother with the groom, after which everyone dances. The feast lasts 5 days, depending on the wealth of the family. Chicha is served and accepted with the phrase, "May God pay you, compadrito, for accompanying us. Accompany us more."

764 **Death.**—At a death, the family formerly buried the deceased inside the house with his possessions, and abandoned it. Some communities, however, preferred to cremate the body or dry it over the fire. The

[114] [127]

[11] I thank my wife and companion, Helena Ospina de Hernández, for her research in 1936 on matrimonial matters.

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Moguex

765 756 787 775 784 the fire and turns on the lights, and everyone returns to examine a layer of fine ashes placed beforehand at the door. If the ashes shows the footprints of an angel, they believe that the soul is saved, but if the footprints are those of a bird, they believe that the soul is condemned to hell. In some cases they ascertain the fate of the soul by the kind of bird prints.

WARFARE

726 The *Páez* and *Moguex* were particularly warlike. Their attacks were staged in the morning, accompanied by yells and the sound of trumpets, horns, sea shells, and drums. They were generally armed with great spears or pikes, spear throwers, and slings. When fighting, [411] they would first hurl javelins with their spear throwers, then use their slings, the missiles for which they carried in a pouch, and finally pick up their spears or pikes for man-to-man struggle. They also formed closed squadrons, men with clubs alternating with spearmen. The former would step forward to wield their clubs, and then draw back to their positions for protection. Their best defense was on high ridges, from which they rolled large stones on their enemies. They perfected these natural defenses by cutting or camouflaging paths on which they prepared ambushes. They built trenches or pitfalls, which caused the attacking Spaniards much trouble.

628 The principal enemies of these peoples were the *Pijao* and the Span- [648] ish soldiers. The *Páez* remember the *Pijao* well, and call the stone [632] statues in their territory "portraits of Pijaos," and the painted tombs, [764] "houses of Pijaos." They are afraid to see the statues or visit the tombs.

To insult an enemy killed in war, they cut off his penis and placed it 727 on the road.

266 Some historians ascribe cannibalism to the *Páez* and the *Moguex*, which seems to have no basis in fact. They kept trophy heads and stuffed the skins of their enemies, but did not eat their foe. There are, however, numerous historical references which state that in the wars [175] against the Spaniards, the *Páez* left the bodies of dead enemies for the [648] *Pijao* to eat, and that they cremated their own dead or dried them [764] over a slow fire, which Friar Pedro Simón (1882–92, ch. 23) mistook for a means for preserving the flesh so that it could be eaten later.

[114] As war trophies, they kept enemy heads, which they preserved with resins, and the skins of their entire bodies, which they filled with ashes 72 (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 3). They even preserved the [314] heads of the Spaniards' horses. They carried these trophies to wars, meetings, and feasts.

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Moguex

Castillo mentions that they wor-

shiped the sun, in whose honor they met and danced in places called "Itaqui-finó," i. e., the place where the sun revealed its mysteries; and that they venerated a kind of culture hero called Guequiau. It was he who instructed shamans (mohanes).

This hero has a counterpart in the religious legend of Juan Tama, the Son of the Star. One day when the Morning Star shone very brightly, some Indians found a child in a gorge—ever since called the Gorge of the Star. This was Juan Tama. They picked him up and entrusted him to a woman to nurse, but he nursed so much that her milk dried up. He was given to another woman, whom he also made very weak. They then said that he could not be nursed by a woman, and gave him food. After he grew up, he married the female chief of Huila, Doña María Mendiguagua, and became chief of all the Indians. He instructed people and explained to them how to keep the land for themselves and not mix with White people. He pronounced them invincible and summoned a chief from Pitayó, called Calambás, whom he appointed his manager. Calambás rebelled,[13] but was defeated by Juan Tama, who pardoned him on account of his bravery, and conferred on him and his heirs the right to rule the *Páez* in Bitoncó. As death approached, Juan Tama went to the lake on the páramo of Moras and sank into the waters. He had come out of this place and returned to it, leaving no heirs.[14]

In the neighborhood of Bitoncó there is a rock with what appears to be human footprints. When the Indians pass it, they uncover their heads and say, "The Holy One came this way." Another remnant of the cult of Juan Tama is the custom that each member of the council spends one week at the shores of the lake before the end of his term to render an account to Juan Tama of his actions in office. Likewise, newly elected officers, as soon as they receive their staffs or insignia of authority, spend a week at the lake. They toss silver coins into it, wash their staffs, and pray for strength to rule well. This ceremony, performed with the greatest secrecy, is called the "curing of the staffs." Recently, however, the Indians have stopped "curing" their staffs in the lake, for they say that Juan Tama is angry, and whenever they approach the lake, it rains and storms badly.

In the Guanacas section there was another sacred lagoon, called Tumbachí, which was recently drained because a snake that lived there attracted girls and kept them for a whole year, and then returned them when they were about to become mothers.

These tribes believed that the soul comes back to life.

Witchcraft was strongly developed among these Indians, who still believe in most of its practices, in spite of the catechization forced upon them by the missionaries.

[13] During the War of Independence, as well as in subsequent revolutions, the Indians of the family named Calambás distinguished themselves as warriors.

[14] We are indebted to Father David González for this legend, told to him by an old Indian in Lame.

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/165/

600 Bases for the Study of the Social Organization of the Páez

By
Segundo Bernal Villa.

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124 /167/ The material for the study of the kinship system of
128 the Páez was collected in the month of May, 1953, thanks to the
[114] enthusiastic collaboration of Victoriano Piñakuĕ, 18 years of age,
[115] bilingual, and a native of the parcialidad /a village and the lands
belonging to it/ of Calderas. With this material we made an
analysis of the kinship system, which we present below without
any major modifications. It was later discussed with several na-
tive men of the parcialidad of San Andrés, who found it to be
correct. At the end of May, 1954, we had the opportunity to
discuss it again in Mosoco with two male informants of the lo-
[197] cality. They found practically no phonological differences, in
spite of the fact that the Páez spoken in that parcialidad showed
some different nuances in relation to that spoken in the other
124 parcialidades. They made only one fundamental observation,
128 which we accepted, since we consider it to be convincing. It
601 refers to the terms used to designate the sons and daughters of the
brothers and sisters of EGO. According to Piñakuĕ, they are
designated with the Spanish terms: sobrino and sobrina /nephew
and niece/. Jorge Mulcuĕ (Mosqueño /a person from Mosoco/
58 years old) affirmed that they are designated with the words kuĕ
or wásak (son and daughter) preceded by the possessive my (anji).
601 Men and women use the same terms for both the paternal
and the maternal line, with certain exceptions, subordinating the
real degree of kinship to the generation. The Páez system of
kinship terminology is, therefore, classificatory and bilateral.

/167 cont./

601 Seemingly there is no terminology for designating the older and younger brothers of the generation of EGO, although in practice this distinction stands out. EGO is obliged to greet older brothers and the older members of the community in general, and there also exists the obligation of being greeted by the younger brothers and, in general, by all the younger members of the community.

Among the adults of both sexes, married and with children, the use of teknonymous forms is general.

114 /168/ The only two studies of kinship systems made in Colombia are from the pen of Professor Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff working among the Iroka and the Kogi. That of the Iroka was [104] done with the collaboration of Alexander L. Clark. With the intention of facilitating subsequent comparative studies on the subject, we have adopted his system for presenting the materials, especially the abbreviations of the kinship terms in the Spanish language /the English equivalents for the abbreviations of the Spanish terms are given on p. 10 /.

127 Before finishing with this brief introduction, we wish to
128 place on record our sincere thanks to Señor Víctor Bedoya for his voluntary transcription of unpublished documents from the Archivo Nacional relating to the Páez, and to Professor Marcos Fulop for his valuable observations and opportune suggestions which brought much light to obscure sections of our work.

Analysis of Kinship Terms

601

Consanguineous Relatives

A--EGO's Generation:

a) Masculine EGO: Brothers and sons of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, are grouped in a single category and classified as brothers (iakté).

b) Sisters and daughters of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, are grouped in a single category and classified as sisters (Pesh).

/183 cont./

557 say, the surname, is transmitted through the paternal line. The
582 wife retains it throughout her life, but does not transmit it to her children. A son of hers will bear only the father's surname.
604 According to an /184/ informant from Calderas a man respects his paternal uncles and aunts in the same manner as the maternal uncles, but not the maternal aunt, because "she is not a real relative;...she is a woman and not a man ... the men (older) have to be respected the same as the old women" and, generalizing, adds: "of the uncles and aunts one respects the men more than the women and the paternal uncles more than
601 the maternal ones." Although the terms for designating the
604 uncles and aunts of EGO differentiate sex and specify the line to which they belong, EGO considers the relationship of the paternal uncles and aunts to be closer than that of the maternal ones, and although the uncles call the sons of their brothers "sons," there does not exist among the present-day Páez a clear concept of parallel uncles and cross uncles and, consequently, of parallel and cross cousins. Masculine EGO calls paternal and maternal male cousins Iakté, paternal and maternal female cousins pesh, making them equal with his own sisters and brothers, and feminine EGO calls paternal and maternal female cousins Iakté, paternal and maternal male cousins Jish, making
601 them equal also with her own brothers and sisters. But logically
604 such a distinction must have existed, to judge from the conduct
582 observed in the selection of mates and in the respect that EGO pays to his uncles and aunts, this being more pronounced for the paternal than for the maternal ones and greater still for the men.
● 114 Eugenio del Castillo y Orozco corroborates our argument. In
60 his Vocabulario he states that the mother-in-law is called by the
582 same term as the one designating the father's sister (pezoz), and the father-in-law by the same term as the one for designating the mother's brother (cacca). This means that in the eighteenth century in-law kinship specified the origin of the spouses, clearly showing marriage between cross cousins.

60 All these traits make us think that possibly there were
614 patrilineal exogamous clans, now manifested by some types of
174 stereotyped conduct,

/107 cont./

123 knew tales he could tell, and to whom we gave tobacco and salt and a few other small gifts, a knife, a hoe, or an aluminum cup. At the moment he had a headache, he said. I gave him a few tablets, and we agreed that I would come back the next morning and he would tell me a few tales. When we arrived the next day, after hours of tramping, his wife told us that her husband had gone into the mountains very early that morning in order to cut wood.

115 Our first visit in Calderas took place in the company of the interpreter, Marcos Antonio Penkue, a Paez about 40 years old from San Andrés, who regarded himself as very civilized and who had reached a certain position of wealth. He served as a [191] soldier on the Brazilian border and speaks Spanish well. On his [245] finca /see the glossary, p. 249/ he has about 2,000 coffee trees, [439] whose yield he sells in Inzá on the market. He also carries on [464] other business there by functioning as an interpreter and middleman for the non-Spanish-speaking and generally unbusinesslike Paez. During our work in Calderas he combined business with his services. [233] The Paez are ardent cattle-raisers, albeit not in our economic sense, but purely for sport and the pleasure of numbers. A cow-calf is much more valuable to them than a full-grown bull, for [437] it will produce another calf and increase the herd. Thus, Marcos Antonio exchanged calves for bulls in Calderas and, indeed, bought [434] some cattle himself. These business transactions bring him about 200 to 250 pesos profit per head, since among themselves the Paez ask only low prices, about 50 pesos for a bull. His selling 115 price on the market in Inzá amounts to about 300 pesos. He re- 124 garded the work with us as highly troublesome, but he knew what he was worth to us. His fee rose from three pesos a day at the beginning to ten pesos. Translations that seemed to him too complicated or explanations that were too long for him he would give "in essence" in a few words, after which my counterquestions obviously annoyed him. One day when I had planned some important work, but he some important business, he hid our horses and calmly let us look for them all day long, while he, under the pretext of searching for the horses, carried on his business until he "found" them in the evening.

/108/

● 115 We then looked for another interpreter, the Calderun Victoriano Piñakué, about 17 years old and very open-minded with regard to "white" civilization. His father even once visited Popayán, the capital of the department of Cauca. Through this he had a somewhat broader outlook and became involved in a quarrel with a bad shaman, in which the latter took one of his eyes by magic. Since then old Piñakué has been blind in one eye. A younger brother of Victoriano is going to school in Inzá and is the helper of the sacristan there. Victoriano is very much interested in one day becoming acquainted with Popayán or even Bogotá. He speaks Spanish quite well and has already earned money on occasion in the service of the white colonists and in La Plata as a construction worker, in order to buy clothing of the whites for himself. By "white" the Paez mean the Spanish culture of the Colombians, namely, clothing, education, and corresponding customs, not, however, skin color or other characteristics of the white race.

[191] [464] [829]

Victoriano set great store by dressing, not like a Paez, but like a white. He was an enthusiastic fellow-worker, not, however, out of greed for money, but out of sincere interest, and at every opportunity he would ask how things were among us in Germany. With a great craving for knowledge, he would again and again have our photos of Europe explained to him, and he even made an effort to learn German.

115 156 554

In his native village of Calderas the work with Victoriano was very difficult, since he was very unpopular because he dresses like a white. Several times, when his fellow villagers were drunk, they even wanted to murder him. Once when we visited a house together, he was heckled by some tipsy men: he was called a sluggard who does nothing the whole day but talk with the "doctores" and go for walks. Besides, they said, he thinks that he is better than the rest of the Paez because he wears "white" clothing. When Victoriano replied that in his work among the whites it would be impossible for him to wear the Calderun costume, but that in his dress he was obliged to adjust to his environment, they retorted that he went to the whites merely in order to be able to eat more meat.

/108 cont./

115 156 554 [598] Victoriano likes to parade his outward standing of higher culture openly. He possesses soap, a toothbrush, a small brush for grooming his eyebrows, and perfume. He uses all these toilet articles very frequently. He is not afraid of the jealousy of his Calderun fellow-villagers; he always carries his machete /see the glossary, p. 249/ with him in order to defend himself. He wants to marry a "white" woman outside of Calderas (cf. also "The Course of a Day" /see p. 133 /).

124 286 386 /109/ In the work an attempt was made as a matter of principle to observe all the activities of the Paez ourselves; when this was not feasible, two different informants were questioned if possible. Two examples will show, however, that errors can creep in, even with the most careful work: I had the dyeing process for the black-dyed fabrics explained to me by the interpreter Marcos, according to whom they are first boiled with certain leaves, and then all of this is placed in black humus earth for two days. When the same question was put to Victoriano, he stated that the black coloring occurs if the fabric is placed in black humus earth for two days. At my suggestion that the fabric first had to be boiled with leaves, he delightedly agreed with me. When called to account as to why he had not told me that, he replied: "Well, you did not ask me about that; you only wanted to know how the material becomes black!"

124 423 One cannot speak sufficiently often and again and again in different ways about the same subject, for to the Paez the necessity or the meaning of explanations for things self-evident to them is usually incomprehensible. Thus in the case described there was as little ill-intent or even mere carelessness as in the following case: In roaming over boundary lines, I inquired as to which fields were private property and which were community property. We came to the general conclusion that the lowlands were community property and the mountain slopes the private property of the man or family who had first cleared the land. I asked Victoriano several times as to whether there were any pieces of land that at present had no owner. He stated emphatically that all the land had been disposed of and there was no longer any ownerless land.

/204 cont./

556 special sociological role within their community, for they are elected neither more frequently nor more rarely to the village offices. They have simply "always" been considered wealthy, though it should be noted that in the language of the Paez there [192] is no word at all for "rich" or "poor." The word used for "poor," "póre," comes from the Spanish (povre), and the word used for "rich," "čačanas," at the same time means "strong" in the physi-
556 cal sense. Despite this apparent unimportance of wealth, how-
626 ever, it is jealously seen to that no other industrious man of a poor family will become rich and possibly put his wealth -- by means of Colombian dress or something similar -- on display. The evil shamans would put a spell on him or poison him, /205/ and the neighbors would devastate his fields by driving their cattle there. He would be cut by everyone, and people in a state of intoxica-
● 115 tion would start a fight with him in order to kill him. At any
556 rate, this is what happened and is happening to our interpreter,
626 Victoriano. He does not come from a wealthy family, but he wants to acquire money and livestock through diligence and [291] ability. From the money he earned among the whites he has [177] already bought himself the clothing of the whites, which he now proudly displays, and at festivals he sells wax candles and sweets. His fellow-villagers hate him on that account. The priest has had to protect him several times already from the machetes of drunken men who had started a fight with him; and in our presence, too, when we visited various houses with him, he was occasionally very rudely heckled by drunken men. Not least because, in the opinion
115 of the Calderun, he is not working. Again and again I tried to ex-
123 plain to the people that they, too, could "go walking" with me and
556 earn money if they were able to speak Spanish. Since this was
626 not the case, there was nothing else for me to do but always work with Victoriano. Nothing helped; Victoriano became more and more unpopular, and I, too, was regarded as a do-nothing. A
123 drunken man who, instead of the one cigarette he was given, vainly demanded an entire pack as a present abused me, too, as an "alko," a dog, who is always going from house to house and does not work.

/210 cont./

423 considerably larger parcels of land than others, for example, the
427 Guagáz family, who, according to my information, own almost half of all private land. Permission for the use of land is granted only for crops with a short ripening period, namely, wheat, maize, beans, and cabbage, but not sugar cane, coca, or bananas, which need several years to mature, in other words, can be used for years. As rent the owner receives a small portion of the harvest, which is left on the stalk and which he must harvest himself.

423 As a matter of principle, land cannot be bought, we were
[428] told repeatedly, for every man must leave his land to his sons. Even if a man has no sons, he may not sell his land, but must hand it over to his brothers. This was the information always
423 given in answer to my direct questions on the subject. /211/ In
437 practice, however, it is quite possible to sell land, and this is not infrequently done, but no one realizes that a land sale actually takes place when a man clears a piece of land for himself, plants it, and exchanges the entire harvest, including the land, for a
[115] head of cattle, a horse, etc. This is what Victoriano did, for example, in order to acquire a horse. He cleared and planted a piece of his father's land, about 2,500 square meters, to sugar cane, and when this was mature, he exchanged the harvest, including the land, for a mare. Nobody wanted to admit that this violated the principle of not selling land.

423 The land belongs to the father of the family, who, as a rule,
241 tills it with his grown sons. If the sons have their own houses,
59 they generally go on working with their father, since no one likes to work alone. At the harvest, the respective wives fetch the food
423 required for their families from the common field. If father and
427 son do not live in amity, the son must plant and harvest his own
59 3 field, for which he is then obliged to accept the help of friends.
241 It is considerably more expensive to entertain them than family
[476] help, for in the latter case there need not be any chicha for entertainment. Even in this instance, however, the son must ask his father and owner of the family land for permission to cultivate the land. This is not denied, however, After the harvest, this piece of land, since it will lie fallow now for about ten years, goes back

/265 cont./

756 right ring finger up the arm to the heart, the person concerned
826 will bury a relative on the next day. Signs in the palm of the
787 right hand mean that the sick person will get well; signs in the
[763] palm of the left hand, that the mountain spirit is not accepting the gifts and the patient must die. By means of signs on the back of the left hand the mountain spirit makes it known that the offerings are insufficient. If the signs go from the palm of the right hand to the neck, this means "pest" from the Pijao. Signs in the right thumb and in the hand announce the appearance of a lost or strayed animal; signs in the corner of the left eye, that the lost animal has been stolen and has already been eaten by the thief; signs in the left arm announce the arrival of the ec spirit; signs in the right upper arm announce to the shaman that good people are asking him to be the sponsor at a christening. Signs on the head of the shaman announce that the nyic will send the pest, and if the signs go from the head into the left hand, the
756 person is already bewitched. In these and similar ways of
787 interpreting their signs, the shamans discover the nature of all illnesses and the means required to cure them. Thus their signs are their only treasure of experience, and if they do not feel them, or no longer feel them, they have lost the essential characteristic of being shamsns.

787 Besides the shamanistic signs described, for the teyu as well
828 as for ordinary human beings of every age and sex dreams are an essential means of experience for looking into the future, as well as for confirmation of a foreign -- usually evil -- influence on one's own person. Just as the effects of evil magic on the individual are brought about through auto-suggestion, so, too, what is seen in a dream. The latter perhaps even more intensively because of a person's own, direct dream experience; only in this way can one understand the positively fatalistic attitude of the persons
● 115 concerned. Our interpreter Victoriano, for example, is one of the
787 most industrious and capable Calderun. He is determined not to
828 remain socially on the Indio level of his village. He therefore
554 takes /266/ work from time to time among the white colonists,
[770] in order to earn money for Colombian clothing. He is therefore
[464]

/266 cont./

●115 greatly hated in the village. In an intoxicated state the men have
787 often threatened to murder him. One day he came to us and said
828 that we would have to hurry with our work, for he would soon die.
554 He was by no means agitated when he said this, but smiled with an expression of absolute conviction. In answer to our question as to why, he stated that during the night he had dreamed of seeing himself in the grave. This is a sure sign that he must die. He would not let us ease his mind, for he knew, so he said, that he was unpopular in the village and he had been threatened with death anyway because he had seen more than the others, wore better clothes, and ate meat, instead of working in the village. For this reason the nyic would most certainly bring him to his death. It took several days and all our art of persuasion to get him away from this idea. Again and again we had to point out that, after all, he was a Christian, and as a precaution we had to give him many of our medications, before he would believe that perhaps he need not die
[787] after all. In any case his medallion of the Virgin Mary, which he always carries with him, does not unconditionally help against
787 evil magic. In the following there are a few further examples of dreams that are significant in some way or other: if one dreams that he is bitten by a snake, it is a sign of bewitchment; if, however, in the dream another person kills this snake at the moment of biting, a teyu will put an end to the bewitchment. To dream of jaguars and cats indicates that there are graves of the Pijao under
[783] the house. Someone will die of the "pest" of the Pijao if a person dreams that a jaguar is devouring his chickens. Dreaming about a funeral pile means that there is gold there. If one dreams about a
[763] cow, his wife will die. If one kills a bull or a horse in a dream, a good person (a shaman) will die. If one is stung by wasps in a dream, it means future punishment. Carrying beams or a chicha trough in a dream means that one will soon assist at a funeral. To choke in a dream means war, captivity, or being put into prison. Moreover, it is always a bad sign to dream of arracacha; in case of a journey, one would, for example, be devoured by a jaguar in the páramo. Also, if one dreams that he is able to walk under a rock, it likewise means that a jaguar will devour him. If someone

*539 /296 cont./
bent down to his mother and shouted into her ear with the voice of thunder, "Ooooh," whereupon she came back to life. And he did the same thing to his sister. Llivan then left the house in order to see how many Pijao were dead; he went as far as Togoima, holding a pair of scissors in one hand and a bag in the other, and cut off the earrings and necklaces of all the dead Pijao and gathered them up in his bag. Near Togoima he found a young Pijao who had not yet been killed sitting in a hole; he had a human leg that he was going to eat because he was hungry. "Ah," said Llivan, "you are not yet dead?" -- whereupon he hurled his lightning and killed this Pijao also.

[192] Then Llivan carried all the ornaments that he had taken off the Pijao /297/ into one of the underground prehistoric burial caves (koátkac) of the kind that the Paez do not use to bury their dead. This cave was located near a river, and after Llivan had put down the ornaments, the river rose and covered the burial site with the treasures.

Then Llivan returned to the house of his mother and said: "Now I have killed all the Pijao and none of them will ever come back. But now I can no longer live with you. Since I have killed so many Pijao, it is possible that I might kill you, too. I must therefore leave you. I bought myself a very beautiful house in the mountains and shall live alone from now on, but never die." His mother and sister both wept, but not he. Mother and sister offered to accompany him, but he declined. Then Llivan set out. His sister followed, in order to see where Llivan went, but Llivan was accompanied by the wind and therefore he went so fast that no one could follow him. The sister could only see that Llivan rose far behind into the air. Then it began to rain, and the clouds were very low, and Llivan fell down into the Hipendyk Lagoon. Thenceforth Llivan lived in the lagoon and became Thunder.

[115] Victoriano told me this detailed story after learning it from his father and his uncle. Old Celia Uriaga of Calderas told it to me in a similar way but much less completely.

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291
142
417

Ill. 154. House with ladder.

115
142
177
291

Ill. 155. Our interpreter, Victoriano Piñakué.

3: Bernal Villa SC15 Paez SC15

115
124

[For information on the informants and interpreters used by the author in collecting specific examples of mythological tales from the Parcialidad of Calderas, see category 116, pp. 10-32.]

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

/291 cont./

773 They are in fact legendary personages who go beyond the
[186] boundaries of legend to enter the territory of myth, not only
[628] by their symbolism, but in their dramatic force, their sociological framework, and their cultural function.

The mythology gravitates around the behavior of the natives, their attitudes toward the whites, the organization of the cabildo, illnesses, and death. Of Juan Chiracol, a 23-year-old informant says: "He warns when the mob is coming, he no longer warns, so." And of Thunder, it is said that he almost killed a padre because he went to the montaña to get wood to board up the school. "Thunder was defending the
538 wood," they say. The tales were always told around the fire,
773 with men, women, and children present, who sometimes laughed, at other times kept silent, but always corroborated, corrected, elaborated, or confirmed. The storytellers sometimes put on a serious face, accompanied their tale with mimicry, and once in a while they would burst into mocking laughter, as if to signify that what they were saying was worthless and they did not believe it. I was soon able to ascertain
• 115 their sociological and cultural value. The myths and tales
773 were collected with the help of an interpreter, a mestizo from San Andrés, about 35 /292/ years old, tall, muscular, quiet in manner, intelligent, calculating, with great charm and a knowledge of Paez and the Spanish language; he was familiar with the customs of the Calderunos, esteemed by them, and
773 skilled in his questioning. We present below the myths and
128 tales collected, leaving the other aspects of the culture for presentation in a complete monograph.

1. Thunder

*539 The old people related that at one time the area was full of Pijao. Thunder lived in Sukafi. In view of the growing number of Pijao, he decided to kill them. He stood on a tall stone that is to be found there, threw his lariat /boleadora/

/361/

75 Their importance is emphasized if we make a comparison
511 with the parcialidad of San Andrés, where there is a Centro de
743 Salud duly staffed by a registered nurse, and furthermore, not far away, there is the Centro de Higiene of Inzá, staffed by a doctor and a group of nurses whose services are free and who also distribute free drugs. In spite of this, the natives do not always go to these centers, preferring their own doctors and most commonly the té eu of Calderas.

651 Concerning taxes, we have already said that the immovables
511 of the native communities are exempt from this type of encumbrance; hence, the column reserved for this type of expense remains empty. The few figures that are found in it are payments on immovables within the settlement area and, in one case or another, the payment of taxes for the exercise of trade in various plazas of the municipio of Inzá.

511 The amounts devoted to the education of children are the
871 smallest, if we except those of the "white" informants, some of
[563] whom have their children in high schools, in rural normal schools,
[115] and even at the university. In the parcialidades of San Andrés and Lame, they are practically null. The children of San Andrés go to school, as a rule, unprovided with school supplies, carrying in their bags provisions for lunch, consisting of manioc and cooked plantains, mote, and roasted maize, since the dwellings are located at a distance of several kilometers from the school, with very bad and rugged paths. School cafeterias and the donating of school supplies are more than indispensable in these regions. These children go to school irregularly and do not remain there for more than two years; they are taught in Spanish, and on the
[562] whole the benefit is minimal. Girls attend in smaller numbers
[212] than boys; the adults believe that women do not need to learn to read and write. This situation is different in Mosoco. The children of both sexes attend school and try to attend regularly, and many walk several kilometers a day; the fathers of families are interested in having their children learn to read, write, and count, and for this reason they try to outfit them with some equipment for their tasks of apprenticeship.

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600 Bases for the Study of the Social Organization of the Páez

By
Segundo Bernal Villa.

/Page 166 is blank./

124 /167/ The material for the study of the kinship system of
128 the Páez was collected in the month of May, 1953, thanks to the
[114] enthusiastic collaboration of Victoriano Piñakué, 18 years of age,
[115] bilingual, and a native of the parcialidad /a village and the lands belonging to it/ of Calderas. With this material we made an analysis of the kinship system, which we present below without any major modifications. It was later discussed with several native men of the parcialidad of San Andrés, who found it to be correct. At the end of May, 1954, we had the opportunity to discuss it again in Mosoco with two male informants of the lo-
[197] cality. They found practically no phonological differences, in spite of the fact that the Páez spoken in that parcialidad showed some different nuances in relation to that spoken in the other
124 parcialidades. They made only one fundamental observation,
128 which we accepted, since we consider it to be convincing. It
601 refers to the terms used to designate the sons and daughters of the brothers and sisters of EGO. According to Piñakué, they are designated with the Spanish terms: sobrino and sobrina /nephew and niece/. Jorge Mulcué (Mosqueño /a person from Mosoco/ 58 years old) affirmed that they are designated with the words kué or wásak (son and daughter) preceded by the possessive my (anji).

601 Men and women use the same terms for both the paternal and the maternal line, with certain exceptions, subordinating the real degree of kinship to the generation. The Páez system of kinship terminology is, therefore, classificatory and bilateral.

áhimos -- ghost
alko -- dog; also a term used in approbation for a person who doesn't like to work
číngalo -- the triangle, a Paez musical instrument
čúnga -- a top; one of a child's toys
dúrat -- menstrual hut
eč -- the most evil of all spirits, dwellers in the earth
eč kígwe -- the land of the dead corresponding to hell
enzte -- a large annual fishing expedition of the entire village, usually in the dry season of February
fi'nz oṅ -- the second meal of the day, at 3-4 p.m.
gělyómp -- mountain spirit
hénde -- hole-ball; a hollowed out fruit capsule used in a children's game
iglésia -- church
ítok -- shamanistic "signs"
káka -- small cylindrical drums
kánoe -- a trough for storing chicha
ki'sen -- non-working days, now used in reference to Sunday
koi -- the transverse flute
kosé oṅ -- the first meal of the day, around 4-5 a.m.
kotç -- maize
kotyâvyat -- maize store house

kut -- a bass drum
lõčinyi -- girls' dolls
mbãts -- agave
mbéca -- chicha, an alcoholic beverage
mbéka kígwe -- the happy land of death; heaven
mĩś -- cat
ndõsoknas -- the midwife
nikálo -- the bridal couple
panderẽta -- the tambourine
sãt -- war leaders with shamanistic abilities
tátyinas -- god, creator
tíkwe -- a term used to designate priests and missionaries
tũs -- the rainbow spirit
úńsa -- mice
vacaloca -- a representation of a cow used in religious festivals
wáhi -- tobacco

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Tierradentro, Archeology and Ethnography of a Colombian Region

[Tierradentro, Archäologie und Ethnographie einer Kolumbianischen Landschaft]

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[Title page]

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Foreword by the Editor

121 This second volume of our series of studies contains a portion of the research which my collaborator, Dr. Horst Nachtigall, was able to carry out in 1952/53 in Colombia. The volume testifies to the fact that our scientific work at the Institut für Völkerkunde of the University of Mainz is not limited to desk research. Rather, we endeavor, in keeping with the scope of the problems in our field, to gather new observations in various parts of the world through fieldwork and in this way to help fill the large gaps in our knowledge of peoples living close to nature. Such research must necessarily also extend to the prehistoric evidence of human culture in the areas visited. Thanks to his extensive preoccupation with the special field of pre- and ancient history, Dr. Nachtigall was in a position to obtain the present material from the Colombian archeological province of Tierradentro.

Being occupied myself at the present time with ethnographic work in another corner of the world, I am particularly happy about the publication of this first volume of results from the fieldwork of our Mainz Institut für Völkerkunde. I thank [122] our publisher, Dr. H. Wyss, and the Deutsche Forschungsgemein- [128] schaft for their kind understanding and their active help, which have made this publication possible.

Gilgit, Pakistan, May 23, 1955. Adolf Friedrich

/9/

Words of Thanks by the Author

The description of the archeology and ethnology of Tierradentro presented in the following represents the first part of the scientific results of the Colombian journey undertaken with my wife, which was instigated by the Director of the Institut für Völkerkunde of the University of Mainz, Herr Prof. Dr. Adolf Friedrich, and carried out through his negotiations with German and Colombian authorities. The course of the journey and the preliminary summary of scientific results have already been published elsewhere.

/9 cont./

114 Our stay in Colombia lasted a year, from August 8, 1952,
[10] to August 12, 1953. During this time I worked first under the direction of Herr P. Pedro José Ramirez Sendoya as Investigador at the Instituto Etnológica Nacionál, beginning September 20, 1952, as Jefe de Arqueología at the Instituto Colombiano de
[126] Antropología. After several weeks of inventorying the antiquities in the region of San Agustín we traveled to Tierradentro where we collected the field material of the present publication during the period from December 24, 1952, to April 24, 1953.

122 The scientific work in Colombia was financed by the Ministerio de Educación and the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología. On this occasion I should also like to express my sincerest thanks to the then Minister of Education, Herr Dr. Lucio Pabón Nuñez, and to the Director of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, Herr Dr. Antonio Andrade Crispino, for the help rendered. Here I should also like to thank the Vice-President of the Academia de Ciencias Naturales, Herr Prof. Dr. P. Enrique Perez Arbelaez, who, during the early period of my stay in Colombia, smoothed many paths for me. I am no less grateful to the colleagues of the Institute for the scientific help given to me, as well as to the workers in Tierradentro for their diligence in the difficult and, at the beginning of the rainy period, quite unpleasant work of digging.

126 For the research and travel equipment, a number of firms
122 generously put material at our disposal. For the photographs published in this book I had the use of a Leica III f with Elmar /10/ 1:3.5 and accessories, as well as a Rolleiflex with Tessar 1:3.5. For special photographic purposes Rodenstock-Heligon 1:2.8 wide-angle lens, a Steinheil-Culminar 1:2.8 telephoto lens, and Proximeters I and II from H. Schneider & Co. were used with the Leica, and with the Rolleiflex the Rolleikin equipment with the Rolleinars 1 and 2. The interior shots of the grave holes and the native houses were taken with Osram SO and Philipps Pf 45 flash bulbs, as well as with Seuthe flash capsultes. Adox KB 17 and R 18, as well as Perutz Perpantic film, served as negative material for the photographs.

/10 cont./

128 [114] For assistance in drawing up the manuscript, I should like first of all to thank my wife, who accompanied me on all my trips in Colombia, recorded the field research there stenographically, and has attended to transcribing the manuscript. I thank Herr Prof. Dr. E. L. Rapp, Mainz, for his friendly advice with regard to the transcription of the Paez language, and Herr Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Geilmann, Mainz, for the roentgenographic examination of the prehistoric teeth and bones available from the grave chambers of Tierradentro. Here, too, I should like to thank the artist of the Institut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte of the University of Mainz, Fräulein Margot Kunzmann, for the technical drawings and maps, and the Herrn. cand. phil. Wolfgang Lindig for proofreading.

122 [128] The Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, which had already financed my journey both ways and granted a considerable allowance for working up the scientific results, also assumed part of the printing costs for this publication. For this I should like to express my respectful gratitude to the President of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. For public and private financial and moral support I must thank Herr Ministerial Director Prof. Dr. Hans Becker and Ministerial Counselor Dr. Otto Wegner of the Ministry of Public Worship and Education /Kultusministerium/ of the Rhineland-Palatinate, the Chief Burgomaster of the city of Mainz, Herr Franz Stein, the Curator of the University of Mainz, Herr Fritz Eichholz, and the Chairman of the Supervisory Council of the Dykerhoff Portland-Zementwerke AG., Herr Consul Alexander v. Engelberg.

Mainz, October 1, 1954. H. N.

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Colombia SC 1
Tierradentra

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Part I

Archeology

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/13/ I. Introduction

1. The Geographical Position of Tierradentro

131 The Colombian region of Tierradentro, the "land that
101 lies within," has, by reason of its archeological finds and the
133 largest Indian tribe of Colombia living enclosed there, the Paez, come to represent the typical Colombian regional and cultural province. It lies in the southern part of Colombia, almost directly north of the large knot of mountains, the Colombian massif, in which the largest rivers of Colombia, the Magdalena, the Cauca, and the Caquetá, originate. Here the mountain chain of the Cordilleras divides into three branches -- separated by Cauca and Magdalena -- to intersect the entire country from south to north as the Western Cordillera, the Central Cordillera, and the Eastern Cordillera.

[634] Politically Tierradentro forms the eastern part of the de-
[633] partment of Cauca, whose chief city is Popayán and whose economic and political weight lies in the Cauca Valley. Geographically, however, it belongs to the drainage area of the Magdalena River. The ridge of the Central Cordillera, from Nevado del Huila over the paramos /see the glossary, p. 249/ of Moras, Las Delicias, and Guanacas, forms the western boundary of the area, whose surface shape is triangular, and the course of the Rio Negro de Narvaez, from Nevado del Huila to where it empties into the Rio Paez at Itaibe, forms the eastern boundary. The southern boundary is formed by the ridge of the mountains between the Río de la Plata and the drainage area of the Rio Paez.

133 Nevado del Huila at 7,550 meters is the highest elevation of the Colombian Central Cordillera and the highest mountain of Colombia, next to Cristóbal Colón of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, which is only a few meters higher. Its peak, covered with eternal snow, feeds, among others, the Rio Paez and the Rio

C /13 cont./
133 Negro de Narvaez, the principal rivers of Tierradentro. They
C drain into the Magdalena River, like all the rivers on the eastern
487 slope of the Central Cordillera. The principal traffic routes of
133 Tierradentro also lead to the Magdalena Valley, the most im-
C portant one leading down to the Rio Paez by way of /14/ La Plata
[632] to Neiva or Garzón. Thus, La Plata forms the center of trade and communication for this area, which economically, however, is not yet very accessible.

Even the earliest chroniclers described Tierradentro as a land of "eternal up and down." As a matter of fact, despite its excellent climate for colonization, the large number of small rivers cutting deep into the mountains represents a great obstacle
P to accessibility for communication, without which more extensive
[161] agricultural production is not profitable. The impassability is
[101] one of the reasons that the Paez Indians here, with a total number of about 25,000 persons, have maintained themselves racially pure and, in a few mountain valleys, in a relatively original state culturally.

C The climatic differences of this region lying less than
132 three degrees of latitude north of the equator are considerable, de-
133 pending on the elevation. Neiva, lying 472 meters high on the
C Magdalena River and the capital of the department of Huila, is
[633] one of the warmest cities of Colombia with an average temperature of 30°. Nevado del Huila, lying only 75 kilometers to the west in a straight line, is covered with eternal snow. In between
C there is an average temperature of 21° at 1,200 meters elevation
[361] and one of 11° at 3,000 meters. The predominant elevation of the settlements in the southern part of Tierradentro lies between 1,400 and 1,700 meters, which corresponds to a mean temperature of
C 18-20°. This is the best climate for the Colombian coffee. At
[245] the same time it is an excellent climate and elevation for the
[249] planting of sugar cane and maize and for cattle-raising, economic
[233] activities that only the colonists profit by in a commercial sense.
P The Paez villages lying in this climate are therefore extensively
C overrun by colonists, and broad stretches of land have been taken
[648] by them for agricultural use. Here the mountain slopes which
P
[361]
C
[311]

Here the mountain slopes which
/14 cont./
C 311 134 only 70 years ago were still covered with dense tree growth are now cleared to gain pasture areas for stock-raising, thus causing P 361 132 extensive erosion of the normally already very thin humus covering and a certain sterility of the soil. The situation is different in the villages still exclusively inhabited by Indios in northern Tierradentro. They lie in part considerably higher (Mosoco, P [244] Vitoncó, Suin, and Lame about 2,500 meters). Here the nights are already perceptibly cold. Coffee no longer thrives, in its P [233] stead maize and potatoes. It is also the best climate for cattle-P [311] raising. The mountain slopes, due to relatively sparse settlement on the part of the Paez, have not all been put to economic [134] use as yet; the /15/ tree growth guarantees natural water conservation throughout the year.

C 132 The two rainy periods of the year are from May to June and October to December. During these times, especially in the rainy period of the first half of the year, it rains in considerable amounts every day, whereas the dry periods are regularly free of precipitation.

C 317 175 Tierradentro's wealth underground has not yet been explored with modern means. In pre-Spanish times, and even [135] after the Conquista /the Spanish conquest; see the glossary, C 175 p. 249 /, numerous salt beds were exploited. The Spaniards 317 brought Negro slaves into Tierradentro as mine workers, whose 563 descendants make up a considerable part of the population of 464 Belalcázar. Today some of them work as gold-washers on the 316 banks of the Rio Paez. In Indian times gold was still obtained C 316 at Tálaga, San Vicente, and Jambaló. In the southern part of C [103] Tierradentro the silver mines were a significant economic factor near the city of La Plata -- so-named because of its important finds.

C 487 From colonial times up to five years ago only the routes passable for human beings and horses (caminos de herradura /bridle paths/) were available for traffic routes. The two chief connections were from Inzá over Paramo de las Guanacas to Silvia and Popayán and into the Cauca Valley, as well as from Inzá via La Plata into the Magdalena Valley.

/15 cont./

600 C 491 C 489 [494] [509] [497] C [494] C [509] La Plata into the Magdalena Valley. Since the construction of an auto road from La Plata to Belalcázar, there is a good road connection both to the Cauca Valley and to the Magdalena Valley. From La Plata a bus goes to Garzón in four hours and to Neiva in seven hours. At the present time both cities have twice-weekly air service to Bogotá and Neiva, besides a daily train connection with the capital of the country. It takes about ten hours by bus to go from La Plata over the Central Cordillera to Popayán. From Popayán there is daily air service to all parts of the country.

P C 172 489 361 Most of the archeological sites and the most important ones lie near the small village of San Andrés, on the hilltops and ranges of the valley of the same name. The place lies about six kilometers straight north of Inzá, separated from it by the Rio Ullucus and El Aguacate range. In order to get from La Plata to San Andrés, one first takes the road toward Belalcázar up the Rio Paez to Juntas, the point of confluence of the Rio P C [492] Ullucus with the Rio Paez. From Juntas one must ride horseback west into the mountains for about three hours in order to reach P C 361 162 San Andrés. This place is a village with the same characteristics as all Paez villages, that is to say, it consists of only /16/ a church, a school, the house of the town council, and a few other houses used by merchants and by the inhabitants for religious festivals. C [241] The latter, Paez Indians and colonists, live on individual farms on the slopes of the mountains along the valleys of the small streams, in a very unfavorable distribution, to be sure, as far as the Paez are concerned: the white and mixed-colored colonists live in the fertile valleys, mainly along the river courses, where they grow coffee, maize, and sugar cane, whereas the Indios must be content with the relatively unfruitful slopes.

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/16 cont. /

2. The Investigation of the Prehistoric Cultures of Tierradentro

484 The numerous mountain ranges and deeply cut watercourses which traverse the entire Tierradentro region make travel other [492] than on the roads very arduous. The visitor is dependent upon horse or mula /female mule/ as a means of travel: the former is the more pleasant because of its ambling pace; the mula is the safer method of travel because of its instinctive sureness at night and in difficult terrain.

122 In general every valley basin constitutes a village. In 114 order to get from one to another either wide detours must be 172 made in the valley or the ranges must be crossed on very narrow [361] and steep zigzag paths. This -- along with the rebuffing attitude [487] of the Paez -- is one reason that the archeological and ethnologi- [609] cal investigation of Tierradentro was not started until very late. 114 The first reporter on the prehistoric finds was the Colombian gen- 172 eral and geographer, Carlos Cuervo Marquez, who on his expeditions through large parts of Colombia, after his visit in San Augustín in the year 1882, also stayed in the Tierradentro region and gives us the first report about "strange cemeteries and large underground chambers" with pillars, rows of pillars, and niches. He reports further about human figures of stone that are very similar to those of San Augustín (Vol. I, pp. 241-243). In the edition of 1920, C. Cuervo Marquez (Vol. I, pp. 273-277) at the same time cites the report of a commission consisting of Victor Trujillo and Bernardino Montealegre, who for the first time describe the statues of Aguabonita. A member of the commission, Victor Trujillo, gives a separate report about them in 1935 in the periodical Educacion. His announcement that he was the discoverer of the /17/ statues of Aguabonita is contradicted by Cenon M. Valencia in an article in the periodical Huila Historica. According to this, their discoverer was a native named Ignacio Cotacio, who found these statues in September, 1918.

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/17 cont./

114
172 The next travelers who visited the region of the archeological grave-chambers and statues around San Andrés and Inzá, for two days each, were the Belgian Marquis de Wavrin and the German-American H. Walde-Waldegg. In 1931 the Marquis de Wavrin, after he had first reported on the presence of a number of new statues in Nariño and San Agustín, inspected some of the grave chambers on a journey through Tierradentro and reported on them in various articles from 1932 on. A summary report of his long and numerous journeys and adventures in Colombia appeared in 1953.

The systematic investigation of the grave chambers of Tierradentro began in 1936 when the German geologist, Georg Bürg, then a professor at the University of Popayán, made new discoveries of a large number of grave chambers and had a few of them cleaned out. After a report to the department of Cauca he was granted the means to provide protective roofs for the
[113] most important grave chambers. His brief publication appeared in the Ibero-Amerikanischen Archiv, 1937/38.

In July of the same year the Colombian archeologist, Gregorio Hernandez de Alba, was commissioned by the Colombian Ministry of Education to draw up a report on the archeological
[113] finds of Tierradentro. His descriptions and sketches of ornamentation, published by him in 1938 in the periodical Revista de las Indias, are the first scientific publications on the types of the grave chambers of Tierradentro.

In the same year in which Georg Bürg and Gregorio Hernandez de Alba worked in Tierradentro, the Spanish archeologist, José Perez de Barradas, was also commissioned by the Colombian Minister of Education to study the Tierradentro culture now moving into the light of Colombian publicity. He had shortly before been invited by the Colombian Ministry of Education to do archaeological research, and in October, 1936, he spent two weeks in San Andrés and Inzá in order to make a first complete inventory of the statues and grave chambers known up to this time. His publication, which forms the basis of all further research, appeared in 1937 as the first volume of the publications

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/17 cont./
114 172 of the archeological section in the Colombian Ministry of Education.

114 172 815 Although archeological work in Tierradentro up to this time was limited /18/ to the inventory and preservation of what was at hand, that is to say, of the chambered graves opened up and plundered by the guaqueros /see the glossary, p. 249/, this changed with the subsequent founding in 1941 of a Colombian national ethnological institute in which a number of young Colombians, under the leadership of Paul Rivet and with the cooperation of Gregorio Hernandez de Alba and Wolfram Schottelius, were trained as archeologists, ethnologists, and anthropologists. One of the first scientific and methodologically unobjectionable field-trips was conducted in the winter dry season of 1942/43 [113] in Tierradentro by E. Silva Celis. The results were published in the first volume of the newly founded Revista del Instituto Etnológico Nacionál. The excavations include the sites "Parte alta de las Huacas" (today: "El Duende") and "La Montaña."

172 654 Subsequently the government bought up the land of the most important sites and combined them for the archeological park of Tierradentro. Below the site "Segovia," which belongs to the village of San Andrés, a house was equipped with the necessary working and living rooms for the scientists working there and a small museum was set up for the archeological objects. The sites of El Tablón, Segovia, El Duende, and the Alto 172 de San Andrés belong to the archeological park. Other sites, 656 some of them important for science, are still in private ownership. 423 According to Law No. 103 passed in 1931, all antiquities in the ground within the Colombian national boundaries belong to the state. They may be dug up only by archeologists authorized by the government. The landowners, however, often refuse to give permission for explorations and excavation, for, according to another, older law, half the value of the antiquities found on their property belongs to them. In order, on the one hand, to avoid having their land declared valuable for archeological research and bought up by the state and, on the other hand, to circumvent the difficult and tedious formalities to obtain the

C /18 cont./
172 discovery value of the objects brought to light, the landowners
656 often have them dug up by guaqueros and sold for their own
423 benefit. Digging for spoils on the part of the guaqueros is, of course, forbidden by the law mentioned. Since, however, the archeological sites are almost never in the vicinity of cities or police stations, this uncontrollable digging is practiced even today in large parts of the country, to the detriment of the science of archeology.

C The excavation sites belonging to the park lie within sight
172 of the administration building. The other sites are often to be
484 reached only by very narrow and steep paths. For example, in
487 order to reach El /19/ Canadá, one travels on horseback for an
C hour. It takes just as long to climb on foot the Filo de El
[492] Aguacate, to which the detour on horseback takes more than twice as long. At least the same amount of time, one to three hours, is also generally required for the trip from one village to another.

C The sharply fissured, steeply rising mountains around the
133 archeological park represent the typical panorama of the
172 Tierradentro region (Ills. 5-9 /see pp. 261-263/). The archeological sites with the grave chambers are always on heights, the simpler ones on the peaks of the highest ridges, the largest and
C most splendid ones on leveled-off hilltops below these. One has
133 the best view of the valley of San Andrés from its western end,
361 the Yokaichí ridge, beyond which the valley of Kokiyó, with the village of Calderas, begins. From here one has a broad view as far as the Dondotá ridge, which borders the towns of Suin and Chinas. To the north the Chíndava Mountains border the village of Togóima. Looking eastward in the direction of our ascent, the houses of Supón lie directly below us, then comes the village of San Andrés, then about two kilometers downstream the administrative building for the park, and about two kilometers below
C the park the point Cruzero, from which the road from San Andrés
133 to Juntas branches off in the direction of Inzá. Still farther east,
[823] forming the imposing background of this mountainous landscape,
[776] lie the towns of Pedregál and Turminá, and behind them the
[173]

C /19 cont./
133 dome of "Picacho des Trueno," the mountain of thunder and
? lightning, in which the Paez of San Andrés believe that the
[823] thunder lives and in which -- in the opinion of some Indios --
[776] the Paez, after the destruction of the city of La Plata (1577),
[173] hid the captured gold and silver, the bells and figures of saints
C of the old Spanish silver city devastated by them.

126 My own archeological research in the Tierradentro region
172 includes an inventory of the archeological objects, as well as
114 prehistoric excavations within the sites of the Alto de San Andrés, the Filo de El Aguacate, El Canadá, and Segovia. For the inventory, exact outline and sectional drawings of the various grave types were first of all undertaken. The photographs of the grave chambers /not reproduced for the translation/ show all the types of decoration that occur. Furthermore, the statues present in the Tierradentro region, as well as the types of ceramics, are completely illustrated /not reproduced for the translation/. The excavations include intact grave-chambers not yet opened by pirate diggers, with the first completely preserved burial urns of the Tierradentro culture of the chambered graves.

C /20/ In the description and numbering of the grave cham-
172 bers the numbering used after the establishment of the park was changed. On the Alto de San Andrés today this is the reverse of what it was formerly, since the entrance of the now fenced-in area lies in the direction of the San Andrés River. The present grave chamber No. 1 corresponds to the No. 12 of G. Hernandez de Alba and J. Perez de Barradas. In Segovia, too, the numbering of the grave chambers has changed. The only chambers published thus far, Nos. H. 1 and H 2 of G. Hernandez de Alba, or Nos. 1 and 2 of J. Perez de Barradas, now lie farthest from the entrance and correspond to Nos. 35 and 38. The designations of a few of the sites were also changed. The archeological site "Necropolis de San Andrés" is now officially called "Alto de San Andrés," the "Loma Alta de San Andrés" is now "Filo de El Aguacate," and the "Parte alta del potrero de las Huacas" is now "El Duende." /The remainder of p. 20 and pp. 21-96 are omitted in the translation./

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Part II

Ethnography

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/99/ I. Introduction

1. Historical Sketch of the History of the Paez since the Conquista

P 175

When the Spanish general, Sebastian de Belalcazar, as lieutenant general of Francisco Pizarro, conquered the northern part of the Inca kingdom and founded the city of Quito in the year 1534, he made careful inquiries about the countries lying farther north. Then he met a foreign Indian who gave his name as Muquetá and that of his cacique /see "Kazike" in the glossary, p. 249/ as Gogotá. When he was further questioned as to whether his country contained the metal that the Spaniards called gold, he eagerly affirmed this and added that in his country there is a lagoon /see the glossary, p. 249/, upon which his cacique travels with a raft several times a year, powdered from head to foot with gold dust, so that he looks like a gilded man, In this fashion he offers gold objects to the sun, whereupon he washes off his body and offers this gold, too, as a sacrifice. This story was the reason that Sebastian de Belalcazar in 1535 sent Diego de Tapia on an exploration to the north, in the direction of the land of El Dorado, the gilded man. He reached the present Rio Carchi. This became the starting point of the conquest of southern Colombia by the Spaniards.

P 70 175 648

The resistance against the intruders shown by the natives of southern Colombia differed. The tribes of the Pasto and Quillacinga and the Cauca Valley tribes around Popayán offered only slight resistance. They had already been subjugated earlier by the soldiers of the Inca, whose kingdom with its northernmost expansion reached as far as Rio Ancasmayo. The Paez, Guambiano, Andaqui, and Pijao, on the other hand, living in barely accessible

P 175 648

/99 cont./

175 648 parts of the Central Cordillera, offered the Spaniards violent and quite successful resistance. In the same year that Belalcazar sent out the first expedition, a troop of Spaniards under Pedro de Añasco set out for the north. In 1536 Belalcazar likewise followed him. In the course of that year he founded the cities of Popayán and Cali in the Cauca Valley, important /100/ starting points for further explorations. The latter proceeded in the direction of the Central Cordillera, the paramos of Moras and Guanacos, and Tierradentro. Amid constant battles with the Paez, who at that time occupied a considerably larger area than today, Belalcazar was repulsed and was obliged to return to Popayán and Lima, leaving behind 26 Spaniards, among them several officers. In 1537 he undertook a second assault from Popayán, in order to reach the land of El Dorado through Tierradentro. With 100 horsemen, 200 infantrymen, and more than a thousand Indios as porters, he came to the Magdalena River without being hindered by the Paez. After four months of hard fighting with the natives of the Magdalena Valley, he finally, on the plateau of Bogotá, met the conquistador Gonzalo Jimenez de Quesada, who had shortly before come from the north. A threatened clash of weapons between the two conquerors was prevented by the arrival of a third conquistador, that is, when Nikolaus Federmann, the German mercenary leader who was in the service of the Welsers /a German banking house/, reached Bogotá from the east, through the lowlands of Venezuela.

We again hear about the martial activity of the Paez when in 1538/39 Pedro de Añasco, with immeasurably cruel treatment of the natives, pushed into the Magdalena Valley, in order to keep open, at the command of Belalcazar, the connecting route from Quito to Santa Fé de Bogatá, the capital of the newly founded viceroyalty of New Granada. In a desperate battle 5,000 warriors of the united Timaná, Yalcon, Paez, and Apirama succeeded in overpowering the Spaniards and capturing their leader, Pedro de Añasco. The Indios provided a dreadful fate for him, who had had the son of the female cacique of the Timaná, Gaitana, burned. Gaitana, upon whose urging the

/100 cont./

175 alliance of the tribes against the Spaniards had come about, had
648 him dragged from village to village and one of his limbs hacked off each day.

In order to avenge the death of his comrade-in-arms, Juan de Ampudia with his mercenaries then set out in 1539/40 from Popayán for Tierradentro. But he and his mercenaries were overcome by the same fate. He himself lost his life, and his men were driven back by the Paez amid great losses. Not discouraged by this fate of his predecessors, Francisco Garcia set out on a new expedition into Tierradentro, but he, too, failed completely. The cacique Gaitana achieved, by means of fiery speeches, a renewed alliance of the Timaná, Paez, Yalcon, Apirama, Guanaca, and Pijao, and with 10,000 men she fell upon the city of Timaná and /101/ destroyed it. Its defender, Diego Ruiz des Campo, fell in an attempt, with his riders, to break through the dense swarm of Indian troops armed with the new weapon of lances 40 spans long.

Soon afterward Juan Cabrera was called from Neiva to Timaná for its reconstruction. The Yalcon offered peace and their co-operation in the reconstruction of the city destroyed by them. Juan Cabrera accepted this, and then, when the Yalcon and their caciques were assembled, he fell upon them from ambush and killed their caciques and the greater part of the men. There has not been a tribe of Yalcon since then.

The Paez remained intact and kept their peace until in 1543 Belalcazar returned from a brief stay in Spain and now, with 1,000 horsemen and fully equipped, undertook from Popayán an expedition of retaliation against the Paez. The Paez, fighting for their freedom in their mountains, stood up against the most experienced general of Spain. After severe, bloody losses Belalcazar was obliged to withdraw in defeat. From then on he made no further attempts to subjugate the Paez (*).

* There is a detailed description of this era, briefly sketched here, in H. Trimborn (1954), pp. 67-84 /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 327/.

/101 cont./

175 648 Nineteen years later, in 1562, Domingo Lozano made a new attempt to exploit the rich silver mines of Timaná and La Plata. He was obliged to withdraw, however, only to return the next year with reinforced troops. He founded the city of San Vicente de Paez, but only two months later, in an attack by the Paez on the city founded by him, he lost his life. An auxiliary body of troops advancing in forced marches from Popayán was also completely destroyed. After this new expulsion of the conquerors, the Paez allied themselves with the Pijao, who had destroyed Neiva in 1569. Together they attacked and plundered the silver mines of the city of La Plata in 1577, killed all the inhabitants, and set fire to the houses.

As a result of these unfavorable reports, the Spanish king energetically ordered the "pacification of the province," which from 1605-1608 was carried out so successfully that finally the troops could not find any Indios to fight or houses to plunder. In 1605, after the lost battle of Itaibe, the Paez retreated to the region of their inaccessible mountains still occupied by them today. Their western neighbors, the Guanaca, allied themselves with the Spaniards, and the latter put through their territory the [797] connecting road from /102/ Popayán to Bogotá. In 1613 the Jesuits set up the first mission station and a rest station for travelers [164] in the town of Guanacas. In 1790 most of the Guanaca fell [731] victim to an introduced smallpox epidemic. The survivors withdrew to the present Inzá, where they were absorbed among the colonists. Nothing has remained of their language.

175 648 797 The Paez continued to defend their country against the Spaniards and against missionization and, by their sudden attacks, made the road to Bogotá never quite safe. And then in the subsequent period the Spaniards had little interest in missionizing and civilizing the Paez. After the Guanacas station, only one 648 mission was founded in Tálaga. Because of the location of the 177 individual communities, enclosed by high mountain ranges, a 175 few villages were able to remain uninfluenced by Spanish civiliza- [36] tion for quite a long time. Later the authorities supported the establishment of native self-government, the cabildo /see the

/102 cont./

175 glossary, p. 248/, and, by means of reservation laws, protected
177 the Paez from the gradually advancing colonists. In this way the
648 Paez were able to preserve their language and customs to a con-
[178] siderable extent, in contrast to the other mountain tribes of
Colombia, who have long since been absorbed in the Spanish-
175 Colombian culture. In the struggles for independence from the
648 Spanish crown under Simon Bolivar from 1812 to 1824, the Paez
fought for their liberation on the republican side under Gregorio
Calambás. Their leader was captured and shot. After the
victorious termination of the struggles for independence, Gregorio
Calambás became one of the martyrs of Colombian independence (*).

* According to V. A. Bedoya, P. J. Ramirez Sendoya, and G. Hernandez de Alba (VII).

175 The Pijao perished like the Guanaca. After having oc-
101 cupied, before the Conquista, almost the entire area of the
648 present-day department of Tolima east of the Central Cordillera,
[151] as the eastern neighbors of the Quimbaya, they perished in
countless battles with the Spaniards. As late as the eighteenth
century, remnants of them lived in the valley of the Rio Negro
de Narvaez, as neighbors of the Paez. They, called Bemb by the
Paez, as well as the Guanaca, spoke languages that differed
from the Paez. They could not understand one another.

178 Besides the Paez, the culture of the Guambiano, a
101 neighboring tribe called Mogweš by the Paez, has been preserved
114 to a certain extent up to the present day. The Guambiano in-
habit the west side of the Central Cordillera and today live in
the valley of the Piendamó around Silvia. The life and customs
of his tribe have been recently represented by the Guambiano
Francisco Tumiña Pillumbe in a number of very instructive /103/
drawings, each of which was provided with a brief text by
Gregorio Hernandez de Alba.

/103 cont./

127 We know little about the other Indian cultures of southern Colombia existing at the time of the Conquista. The conquistadors had tasks other than drawing up scientific ethnographic descriptions of their cruel enemies. Nevertheless, working with subtle methods, modern ethnological and linguistic research in the old sources has produced outstanding results.

114 Our knowledge is very inadequate with regard to the Paez,
127 who, with approximately 25,000 persons, constitute the largest
[161] non-Spanish-speaking population group within Colombia, next to the Goajiro, the inhabitants of the Guajira Peninsula in the northern part of the country. The oldest dates come from
[797] Eugenio Castillo i Orosco, who, from 1735-1755, was active as a missionary in Tálaga -- often at the risk of his life, as he reports -- and wrote down a vocabulary, a grammar, and some cultural data about the Paez. This manuscript was printed in 1877. Further ethnological data are given by the Colombian general, Carlos Cuervo Marquez, who, on his extensive journeys, also traveled through the Tierradentro region from north to south and produced the first reports about its archeological cultures. The next one, in terms of time, to report on the Paez was the American ethnologist, Henri Pittier de Fábrega, who in 1906, coming out of the central part of the Cauca Valley from the northwest by way of Corinto and Toribió, spent a few days in Tacueyó and Huila. Georg Bürg, who first investigated the archeological objects of Tierradentro more thoroughly, likewise lived for a time among the Paez and gives a few ethnographic notes in his report. In his comprehensive survey of the highland tribes of southern Colombia, Gregorio Hernandez de Alba also reports about the Paez, with whom he became acquainted in connection with his own research. Graciliano Arcila Velez undertook a blood-group examination on 303 Paez. The first thorough special study of Paez culture from the standpoint of the religious and social life was made at the time of our stay in Tierradentro by the Director of the Archeological Park of San Andrés, Segundo Bernal Villa.

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[127]

Since, therefore, a total description of the culture of the Paez does not yet exist, a tribal monograph on the Paez is herewith presented in the following, in which, besides the data from my own investigations, the results of the earlier investigators have been incorporated. Much will have escaped me -- as a result of the short time at my disposal and the inaccessibility of the population -- much that was part of the domestic economy /104/ of Paez culture has already been destroyed as a result of advancing civilization and is therefore lost forever. In the following description of the cultural heritage of the Paez a division has been made, for working purposes, with regard to material and spiritual culture and with regard to the description of social forms. In practice a sharp line of demarcation cannot normally be drawn within a culture between these aspects of it, since these three areas do not lead a separate existence, but are closely bound up with the acting human being as the creator and bearer of culture. This is true to a greater extent for primitive peoples, where all areas of human activity are much more closely linked together, than in modern high culture where the individual sectors of activity are specialized to a high degree and accordingly may be treated and investigated separately. Thus if, for practical reasons, in the following tribal description the form of settlement is described under material culture and shamanism under spiritual culture, nevertheless both factors are also of great importance from the sociological point of view. Conversely, family organization, for example, as part of the description of society, is also very closely bound up with the economy and techniques in the primarily material realm, and also with religion.

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C
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2. Demography

Altogether the Tierradentro area embraces about 5,000 square kilometers, of which about 3,000 square kilometers fall in the region north of the Rio Ullucus. Its 18 villages are divided into two municipios (administrative districts) /see the glossary, p.249 /, the southern one of which includes three villages with Inzá as the seat of the administration, while the northern one

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C /104 cont./
632 includes 15 villages with Belalcázar as the administrative seat.
[103] Belalcázar, which takes its name from the conquistador Sebastian de Belalcazar, but not altogether correctly, since the latter was unable to conquer the Tierradentro area, is at the same time the
P 162 seat of the Apostolic Prefect for Tierradentro. According to the
C 162 632 census of 1938, the population of Tierradentro, consisting of mixed-colored colonists and racially pure Indios, contains 17,578 inhabitants, distributed over Belalcázar with 13,861 and Inzá with 3,717 inhabitants. The more recent count of 1951, with a total of 25,495 inhabitants, showed a considerably larger figure, of which 15,388 fall to the municipio of Balalcazar and 10,103 to
C [114] the municipio of Inzá. A comparison of the two counts of 1938 and 1951 shows /105/ a notable error in the count in the municipio of Inzá for the year 1938 (figures cited in Bernal Villa [I], p. 285).

P 641 [162] [851] [191] Of this number about 80 per cent are natives who today are largely civilized, that is, they are baptized and speak some Spanish. Politically they, too, are basically full citizens of the country; they may vote and be drafted into military service, but
P 641 423 do not pay any taxes. In one respect, however, fortunately for them, they are regarded as "minors" before the law; in their totality they own all the landed property of Tierradentro, but
P 641 423 691 648 the individual man is not in a position to sell his land. This is supposed to keep the Paez from losing their settlement area to the whites. In practice this law is not always strictly observed, for otherwise neither the colonists nor the large landowners, who are slowly but surely pushing their pasture and agricultural lands into the territory of the natives, could be in Tierradentro. The latter cannot in fact defend themselves against this, for, due to lack of money, no one among them is in a position to complain in court. If a complaint is nevertheless made, the Indios always lose, as, for example, in Itaibe, in the southeastern part of Tierradentro, where the Spaniards began to colonize as early as 1636 and where for many years lawsuits were carried on by the Indios in vain. Moreover, no judge is able to undertake anything against a rich landowner or against the missions likewise owning land.

/105 cont./

C 162 The inhabitants of Tierradentro may be divided into three groups, according to the degree of civilization: a) the colonists living south of the Rio Ullucus, who speak Spanish and have nothing in common with the Paez. In habits and customs they correspond to the general, more or less strongly mestizo, Colombian rural population. Furthermore, the population of Balalcázar, consisting predominantly of Negroes, has nothing in common with the Paez. They were brought there by the Spaniards in colonial times as slaves, in order to exploit the salt mines that were used by the Paez even in ancient times. Today salt C [316] extraction is no longer profitable. The Negroes live partly on gold-washing in the Rio Paez, which is undertaken in primitive fashion with wooden pans, the workers standing up to their knees P [563] in water. The Paez do not generally intermarry with the Negroes, [186] but, on the contrary, despise them, since they know that they at one time came there as slaves.

P 162 b) The Paez who north of the Rio Ullucus have settled 361 both banks of the Rio Paez as far north as Nevado del Huila. 563 They have in part intermarried with the white and mestizo colonist P population. The /106/ places inhabited by them are: Araujo, [103] Avirama, Belalcázar, Cuetando, Mosoco, Ricaurte, San Andrés, San José, Tálaga, Toez, Togóima.

P c) The pure Paez villages of Calderas, Chinas, Huila, 162 Lame, Santa Rosa, Suin and Vitoncó. Among these the Paez 103 of Calderas have preserved their cultural individuality most P purely. We worked primarily among them, and the present ma- 114 terial, insofar as nothing is said to the contrary, refers to the 121 culture of the Paez of Calderas. The Calderun, as the inhabitants P of Calderas are known in the country, are by far the most unap- 181 proachable of all the Paez. They have best kept to this day the 648 three laws of Juan Tama, the mythical hero of the Paez, which 101 were originally strictly observed by all. These three laws say: 1. Tierradentro is solely and exclusively the land of the Paez, 2. the Paez may never intermarry with other races, 3. the Paez are invincible as long as they keep these laws. The third law in particular has well-founded justification, since for centuries

/106 cont./

648 it was impossible for the Spaniards to conquer Tierradentro and
[101 181] subjugate the Paez.

Even today the Paez love their independence above all. And even though they cannot accomplish anything by force against the "whites," by which they mean the colonists and the Colombians in general, they nevertheless hate them with impotent fury. "Muiska pešu" (*), "white robber," is what they call the

* Concerning the transcription and phonetics of Paez words, cf. pp. 154-156.

colonists who took their land from them. The latter, however, more industrious than the Paez, need land for their numerous children. They cannot see why the best and virgin soil should remain unused in the hands of the Paez.

361 The rivers arising in the heights as a result of the water flowing down in the mountainous country form enclosed valley basins, each of which contains a village politically. These are, however, not villages in our sense, since the houses do not lie together, but separately, scattered on the slopes of the entire
123 valley basin as individual farms. This decentralized position of
361 a village rendered the ethnological work considerably more difficult, since one cannot keep an eye on "his" village and survey all the inhabitants together. Hence it is very difficult to become acquainted with all the people of the village, since in each case one must go great distances from one house to another and at the same time usually very laboriously climb a slope. How often it happened that the inhabitants were not at home at the moment or did not want to be seen or spoken to. For, at first, the Calderun did not by any means care to see us, and even after months of life and visits among them, the old people looked back with nostalgia on the times when /107/ all intruding whites were killed.
123 Today, moreover, not only whites, but even foreigners come to
[177] Calderas. "If we speak to them and treat them well," they said, "then more and more whites will come here." How often it happened that we visited one of the old men, who, I was told,

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123 knew tales he could tell, and to whom we gave tobacco and salt and a few other small gifts, a knife, a hoe, or an aluminum cup. At the moment he had a headache, he said. I gave him a few tablets, and we agreed that I would come back the next morning and he would tell me a few tales. When we arrived the next day, after hours of tramping, his wife told us that her husband had gone into the mountains very early that morning in order to cut wood.

115 Our first visit in Calderas took place in the company of the interpreter, Marcos Antonio Penkue, a Paez about 40 years old from San Andrés, who regarded himself as very civilized and who had reached a certain position of wealth. He served as a [191] soldier on the Brazilian border and speaks Spanish well. On his [245] finca /see the glossary, p. 249/ he has about 2,000 coffee trees, [439] whose yield he sells in Inzá on the market. He also carries on [464] other business there by functioning as an interpreter and middleman for the non-Spanish-speaking and generally unbusinesslike Paez. During our work in Calderas he combined business with his services. [233] The Paez are ardent cattle-raisers, albeit not in our economic sense, but purely for sport and the pleasure of numbers. A cow-calf is much more valuable to them than a full-grown bull, for [437] it will produce another calf and increase the herd. Thus, Marcos Antonio exchanged calves for bulls in Calderas and, indeed, bought [434] some cattle himself. These business transactions bring him about 200 to 250 pesos profit per head, since among themselves the Paez ask only low prices, about 50 pesos for a bull. His selling 115 price on the market in Inzá amounts to about 300 pesos. He re- 124 garded the work with us as highly troublesome, but he knew what he was worth to us. His fee rose from three pesos a day at the beginning to ten pesos. Translations that seemed to him too complicated or explanations that were too long for him he would give "in essence" in a few words, after which my counterquestions obviously annoyed him. One day when I had planned some important work, but he some important business, he hid our horses and calmly let us look for them all day long, while he, under the pretext of searching for the horses, carried on his business until he "found" them in the evening.

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115 We then looked for another interpreter, the Calderun Victoriano Piñakué, about 17 years old and very open-minded with regard to "white" civilization. His father even once visited Popayán, the capital of the department of Cauca. Through this he had a somewhat broader outlook and became involved in a quarrel with a bad shaman, in which the latter took one of his eyes by magic. Since then old Piñakué has been blind in one eye. A younger brother of Victoriano is going to school in Inzá and is the helper of the sacristan there. Victoriano is very much interested in one day becoming acquainted with [191] Popayán or even Bogotá. He speaks Spanish quite well and has [464] already earned money on occasion in the service of the white colonists and in La Plata as a construction worker, in order to [829] buy clothing of the whites for himself. By "white" the Paez mean the Spanish culture of the Colombians, namely, clothing, education, and corresponding customs, not, however, skin color or other characteristics of the white race.

Victoriano set great store by dressing, not like a Paez, but like a white. He was an enthusiastic fellow-worker, not, however, out of greed for money, but out of sincere interest, and at every opportunity he would ask how things were among us in Germany. With a great craving for knowledge, he would again and again have our photos of Europe explained to him, and he even made an effort to learn German.

115 In his native village of Calderas the work with Victoriano 156 was very difficult, since he was very unpopular because he 554 dresses like a white. Several times, when his fellow villagers were drunk, they even wanted to murder him. Once when we visited a house together, he was heckled by some tipsy men: he was called a sluggard who does nothing the whole day but talk with the "doctores" and go for walks. Besides, they said, he thinks that he is better than the rest of the Paez because he wears "white" clothing. When Victoriano replied that in his work among the whites it would be impossible for him to wear the Calderun costume, but that in his dress he was obliged to adjust to his environment, they retorted that he went to the whites merely in order to be able to eat more meat.

/108 cont./

115 Victoriano likes to parade his outward standing of higher
156 culture openly. He possesses soap, a toothbrush, a small brush
554 for grooming his eyebrows, and perfume. He uses all these
[578] toilet articles very frequently. He is not afraid of the jealousy of his Calderun fellow-villagers; he always carries his machete /see the glossary, p. 249/ with him in order to defend himself. He wants to marry a "white" woman outside of Calderas (cf. also "The Course of a Day" /see p. 133 /).

124 /109/ In the work an attempt was made as a matter of
286 principle to observe all the activities of the Paez ourselves;
386 when this was not feasible, two different informants were questioned if possible. Two examples will show, however, that errors can creep in, even with the most careful work: I had the dyeing process for the black-dyed fabrics explained to me by the interpreter Marcos, according to whom they are first boiled with certain leaves, and then all of this is placed in black humus earth for two days. When the same question was put to Victoriano, he stated that the black coloring occurs if the fabric is placed in black humus earth for two days. At my suggestion that the fabric first had to be boiled with leaves, he delightedly agreed with me. When called to account as to why he had not told me that, he replied: "Well, you did not ask me about that; you only wanted to know how the material becomes black!"

124 One cannot speak sufficiently often and again and again
423 in different ways about the same subject, for to the Paez the necessity or the meaning of explanations for things self-evident to them is usually incomprehensible. Thus in the case described there was as little ill-intent or even mere carelessness as in the following case: In roaming over boundary lines, I inquired as to which fields were private property and which were community property. We came to the general conclusion that the lowlands were community property and the mountain slopes the private property of the man or family who had first cleared the land. I asked Victoriano several times as to whether there were any pieces of land that at present had no owner. He stated emphatically that all the land had been disposed of and there was no longer any ownerless land.

/109 cont./

124 423 One day, at the sight of a freshly cleared field on the highest mountain slopes, I asked a Paez working there to whom this land belonged and whether the person concerned had always owned it. He answered that he himself was the owner and that previously the parcel had been ownerless. He said that he had cleared it for himself and only recently built his house here in order to live here. In answer to my question as to whether there was any more ownerless land, he explained to me that the highest and inaccessible mountain peaks which are still covered with big trees and have never been cleared do not belong to anyone and that any Paez could clear a piece on them, which would then become his property. Later I called Victoriano to task, saying that actually there still was ownerless land. "Yes," he then answered me, "of course there is still ownerless land, but it is so poor that it has no value."

157 Far from their village, on the way to market, and generally in /110/ places away from home, the Paez, if they [123] are alone or in the minority, are timid and reserved. If they are together in large numbers, however, or, even better, in [522] their own house, they are usually quite bold and impudent and loudly made their jokes at our expense. Indeed, jocularity is a 157 prominent characteristic of the Paez. No talk, no conversation, 521 be it ever so unimportant, is begun without joking -- often of 522 an erotic nature. The importance of conducting such a light, [834] idle conversation is shown by the fact that serious-minded girls are scarcely ever married.

123 They made fun of my wife in particular, for they found 522 it altogether ugly that she wore long pants. Numerous jokes 157 were made about this, which we, of course, did not understand, and for this reason we, in turn, had to take the initiative by making a joke which was then acknowledged gratefully and usually 609 with quick-wittedness. On the whole, respect toward strangers 522 inside their dwelling is unknown to them. In larger groups they 159 make their asides even in a strange environment, accompanied by much laughter. Since one does not understand them, one [197] easily gets the impression that they are silly. In their own houses they also mimic the visiting mission priest by repeating

/110 cont./

609 parts of the Mass, as they have understood it, in an exaggeratedly
522 dramatic fashion. The priest has a difficult office in any case.
797 They do not understand his sermons and teachings in the church,
157 conducted in the Spanish language. If he speaks their own language, his inevitable mistakes are commented upon amid loud laughter.

123 On our first visit to Calderas, a man about 30 years old met us at the boundary of the village and asked us in a gruff tone whether we did not know that this land was only for the Paez. No white man had any business here. We should turn back, for no one wanted our visit. Marcos Antonio intervened and explained that we had only come to bring gifts to the Calderun and that we had no intention of settling down in Calderas. We would surely leave again the next day. The man let this pass and warned us upon departure not to dare try to steal any land.
[623] Even later we never obtained permission from the cabildo, the village council, to remain in the village more than a week at a time. Our reputation among the younger people of the village improved from week to week, on the one hand because we offered a cigarette to each man and each woman with whom we had an opportunity to talk, but even more because -- as we were told later -- we were friendly to everyone and always /111/ laughed.
[648] As a matter of fact, it would never occur to any of the white or mixed-colored colonists to favor a Calderun even with a glance. On the contrary, in the houses lying along the road, the dogs are trained to attack the Indios. True, these dogs are all undernourished and generally very cowardly. The Paez man need only raise his machete or a club in order to ward off the dog. We were the first whites who did something completely out of the ordinary in that we were always friendly, without any mental reservations, and always greeted them first, in their language. And this not only in Calderas, but also in Inzá and on the roads to the market. This friendliness was taken in good part on all sides. Then later, after we were able to show and to give them the first photographs of themselves, they were definitely pleased to be photographed and now and then offered us an egg or a bowl of chicha /see the glossary, p. 248/ when we photographed them.

/111 cont./

3. Anthropological Remarks

114 Since I did not take any anthropological measurements
141 among the Paez personally, I cannot give any numerical data. These investigations were undertaken during my stay by the Colombian anthropologist, Nestor Usacategui, but have not yet been published.

14 From the somatic point of view, as far as the men are concerned, they are generally medium-sized, slim, with narrow shoulders, seldom thickset. As practiced climbers and mountaineers, they are never obese. They do not give the impression of being undernourished, but their padding of fat is very thin. Their arm and body musculature is also poorly developed (cf. Ill. 173 /see p. 277/). They are unable to lift large loads.
[482] A maximum of 25 kilograms is transported by means of the fiber bags hanging down on their backs and carried with a chest-band. Their calves are muscular, but not fat. Fallen arches prevail
[481] generally. Their gait is slightly bowlegged; the great toes point inward during walking. The same somatic peculiarities are also found among the women. In youth they are well-proportioned, in old age never fat.

141 In general brachycephaly predominates, but it is not extreme. The faces are oval, the cheekbones only slightly prominent. The nose is primarily straight, sometimes slightly concave, and of medium width. Among women one sometimes finds slightly distended alae. The forehead /112/ is high, straight,
142 and steep. The eyebrows are not very pronounced. The eyes are sometimes slightly slanting and show -- especially among women -- a slight Mongolian fold. The mouth is large, the lips somewhat puffy. The eye color is dark brown and shining, the skin color medium-brown. In Avirama there was proudly introduced to us a family whose members, along with normal skin-color and dark eyes, have reddish-blond hair. One of the grandfathers was said to have been lighter colored and to have had even lighter hair. The normal color of the hair is dark; the hair is straight, but not stiff, and sometimes wavy. Even in old

/112 cont./

142 age the hair seldom becomes white. We met only one woman with slightly graying hair and an old man with a gray, sparse [302] beard, but dark hair. The beard among men is scant. The beard hair is regularly plucked (see Ills. 148 to 155 /see pp. 265-268/).

143 According to the blood-group analysis of the Paez, among the 303 individuals examined there were 88.78 per cent of blood group 0, 6.93 per cent of blood group A, and 4.29 per cent of blood group B. The blood group A+B is not represented (G. Arcila Velez, pp. 11-14).

829 The racial concept of Indian is foreign to the Paez themselves. To them "Indio" designates a cultural status. My colleague, Segundo Bernal Villa, an Indian from the region of Pasto, was designated as "blanco" because of his European clothing. And when our interpreter Victoriano bought himself "white clothing" (hat, pants, shirt, shoes) with the money he earned, he was called a "white" in his village and accordingly treated with hostility.

161 The population figures for the Paez do not seem either to increase or decrease, as far as the uncivilized Paez are con-
165 cerned, for example, in Calderas. Infant mortality comes to more
164 than 50 per cent. The most common cause of sickness is whooping cough. The health of children who survive their second year, as well as of adults, is -- considering the circumstances -- quite good. True, one scarcely sees old people over 60 (and [132] those who look that old are probably younger). The most fre- [362] quent illness of adults is tuberculosis, which claims numerous victims, since the nights are very cold and the cold and wind can [262] penetrate through the light walls of the houses unhindered. More- [273] over, no fat of any kind is commonly eaten. Another illness from which many Paez suffer, which, however, is not taken seriously, is stomach trouble caused by the drinking of brandy even during [854] infancy and the unsuitable diet in childhood. Infants are given [262] beans, cabbage, and yuca, but no milk, except mother's milk.

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175 Physicians are not consulted in any case. All illnesses that do not show external influences are traced back to evil sorcery or to the "pest" (see under "Religion"/see p. 191 ff./). They must therefore be treated by the native shamans /see the glossary, p. 250 /. Open wounds and injuries are treated by the midwife. Now and then, however, people visit the mission station in order to have a tooth pulled, on which occasion the nurses without reservation praise their great steadfastness in enduring pain.

273 276 648 The impairment to health caused by the consumption of coca and chicha seems to me to be exaggerated by the authorities; it would be even less with sensible and nourishing food. The prohibition against coca consumption and the government's battle against coca and chicha give the impression of being more a struggle against a brandy tax deficit, for alcohol under the state monopoly may be sold to any Indio in any quantity. The fact 461 829 that the Paez generally does not work hard and continuously probably has nothing to do with any degeneration caused by the stimulants mentioned, but rather it is quite simply his psychological attitude which does not let him see why a human being should strive for things which seem unnecessary to him, things beyond his animal necessities of life, eating and reproduction. I often asked whether, in their opinion, there might come a time when the Paez, too, would wear only Colombian clothing or even use electric lighting. They had never thought about it and in no instance had an answer.

II. Material Culture

1. The Dwelling

a) The Settlement

361 Politically and sociologically the Paez villages of Tierradentro embrace the inhabitants of a valley basin more or less closed off by the surrounding mountains. In their structure, however, they are not villages in our sense, by which we understand a locally concentrated aggregation of a number of houses,

/113 cont./

361 but rather we are /114/ concerned, almost without exception, with individual farms scattered on the slopes of the mountains, where the families live in the midst of their cultivated fields [157] (cf. Ills. 156 and 157 /see p. 269 and 270/). The Paez is by no means an unsociable person and likes to take part in the festivals, but he does not like to live closely confined in a village and to have his neighbors always around him; rather, he prefers to live quite far away from the next house, surrounded by his animals, in order to be able to go about his daily work in the fields undisturbed with his family.

423 609 Every Paez has a strong tie to "his soil," and the fear that he could be robbed of his soil and land dictates his unfriendly and forbidding attitude toward the stranger. Besides, for centuries their experiences with the whites have been too unfortunate for the Paez to be able to understand that a stranger might come for entirely unselfish reasons, merely in order to become acquainted with them and their country.

423 [342] [428] The Paez builds his house, as the family's focus and social center, only upon his own land, which he inherited from his fathers and which, through all subsequent generations, belongs to the family that first cultivated it. There is land in sufficient quantity in every family; in case of need anyone can also find ownerless, uncleared land on the highest sites of the mountain ranges.

Whereas the slopes of the mountains are private property after the initial clearing, the valley floor with the community house and the festival plaza is community land. The houses are 487 [481] connected with one another, as well as with the village plaza, by means of footpaths which are always very narrow because the Paez, even in larger numbers, never walk side by side, but always one behind the other. Originally even the connecting trails between the individual villages, the trails that had to be taken to the weekly markets in Belalcázar or Inzá, were no wider. In more recent times, however, visits on the part of secular and religious authorities made it necessary to widen the trails for riders.

31 Since there are no compact settlements among the Paez, there is also no geographical variations of the village. The church

/114 cont./

361 with graveyard, the community house, festival houses, and, more recently, mission station and school are the central pole, whereas the family houses are always built in other places, but on one's own land (Ills. 146-147 /see p. 264/). Sometimes
342 one erects a house merely for one harvest, that is, for half a
361 year, in the middle of his field that is to be harvested. During the work and harvest it may then happen that a Paez family will not see its neighbors for several weeks.

361 The size of the villages varies; Calderas is one of the
[162] largest Paez /115/ communities and contains about 200 houses with approximately 1,000 inhabitants. Other villages, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Lame, and others, are substantially smaller.
484 In each case it takes considerable time to cross a village, be-
361 cause this means, of course, crossing the entire valley basin in question. In the case of Calderas this is more than three hours
[487] for a European on horseback. The Paez, it is true, travel over the steep short-cuts much more quickly on foot.

b) The House

342 For laying out a house one looks for a building spot as
312 close as possible to a small brook, large numbers of which flow down from the slopes of the mountains and unite at the foot of the valley floor to form the Kokiyó River (literally "maize water"). When it is impossible to lay out a house directly on a brook, the water is led from above through a small ditch past the house. This, as well as any other running water, may always be drunk.
[514] It is known that the residents living above this house now and then urinate in the water, but "that does not matter at all," I was assured.

591 In principle, only one family, consisting of father, mother,
[594] and children, lives in a dwelling. The married sons must build their own houses. It is customary, however, for newlyweds to go
[342] on living in the house of the father for a time, until they have
[476] saved enough chicha and food to feed the friends who will help
000 them build their house. In one case, however, in the house of

In one case, however, in the house of
/115 cont./
596 Ezequiel Calliumbo, there were three married sons, besides three unmarried ones, all of whom cultivate the fields together. Ezequiel, who is about 60 years old, had ten children, of whom six sons are still living. The oldest son has three children, two of whom have died, the second eldest has four children, two of whom have died, and both the children of the third eldest are dead.

342 The normal houses (yat) are rectangular houses with a hip roof and, depending on their size, are divided into "large houses" (hatwála) and "small houses" (yatléčkwe) (Ills. 158 and 159 /see pp. 270 and 271 /). In accordance with its use the dwelling house specifically is called ōpyat (ōp = to live). The dimensions of the small houses vary between five to ten meters in length and
[345] three to five meters in width. The largest houses are up to 15 meters long and seven meters wide. These are primarily the
342 festival houses. As dwellings they differ from the small ones,
407 which represent by far the greatest proportion of all houses, not
249 only by their /116/ size, but above all by the fact that they have
352 the sugar mill (lapíče) /"Trapiche" (Sp.) in the glossary, p. 250 /, which is a feature of every house, in their interior. As a rule it stands in front of the house or a little to one side of it, normally covered with quantities of expressed sugar-cane stalks hung over it
343 to dry. Besides the sugar mill, a small menstruation hut (dúyat)
342 is required for any house to be complete; it may be absent only if the family erects a small field-hut (ēyatwá) in the middle of the field for a harvest period. In this case the women of the family living there go into the dúyat of another house. In no case may they remain in the dwelling during this period. The field hut and
[341] the small menstruation-hut are rectangular gable-roof houses in construction and, with the exception of the gable roof, of the same construction as the normal hip-roofed houses.

342 Every house has an annex (škídnyeyát) or at least a com-
273 partment for storing the chicha trough (kánoe). This trough is the
251 most important accessory of a Paez house, next to the sugar mill (Ill. 165 /see p. 273 /).

/116 cont./

343 In addition to these dwellings only a few houses have
[574] separate buildings, such as, for example, one or, if need be,
[513] two storehouses or a small house (yatléčkwe) in which friends
and neighbors sleep when they help the owner for days for the
251 joint work of expressing sugar cane or for the harvest. In the
343 storehouse (kotyāvyat: literally "maize storehouse") only maize
[262] and beans are stored, not wheat or garden produce. Fruit, yuca,
potatoes, and arracacha are not kept on hand or stored at all,
but always merely fetched as needed and eaten immediately.
Wheat is tied in bundles below the ears on stalks about 20 centimeters long and hung up under the roof above the fire. Maize and beans may be kept up to two years in the storehouse. For this purpose horizontal cross-sticks are fastened in it, over which the ears are hung, and racks consisting of maize stalks
[825] laid close together are constructed for the beans. These racks,
too, are hung up, if possible, or at least are fastened quite high above the floor so that the mice (úńsa) cannot get to them.
[231] In addition, a cat (miš) is shut up in the storehouse, if one is available. Stalls for the livestock are unknown.

34 In the middle of the village of Calderas, on community land, stand the church (iglésia), the community house (kabíldeyát), and the six festival houses of the six largest families (Ill. 147 /see p. 264 /). In their construction, they are likewise hip-roofed houses, but their walls are built in the manner of the colonists' houses, /117/ out of vertical posts, on the inside and outside of which bamboo poles or straight branches are tied horizontally. To strengthen the posts the interstices are filled with earth, clay, and, in the lower part, also with stones. The filling is spread smoothly and the wall whitewashed inside and
[373] out. Whereas light enters the other houses through the door and
the not very tightly sealed walls made of maize stalks placed side by side, light can enter the above-mentioned houses consisting of solid walls only through the relatively small door and the opening of the roof ridge, which makes the interior rather dark.

/117 cont./

342 761 783 [756] [773] [628] 961 783 123 Anyone may build himself a house of whatever size he wishes on his own land in the mountains, as well as on the above-mentioned community land in the valley, but he must first ask the shaman acting for him whether any bones of the Pijao are in the ground on the piece of land in mind. As comes out in the myths, the Pijao in ancient times were the frightful and militarily cleverer enemies of the Paez. Their bones (eč ndyít Pijao) contain "pest." This pest is a very complex and significant concept among the Paez (cf. under "Religion" /see p. 191/), and the pest of the Pijao bones is capable of killing the people living above them. How very much our interpreter Victoriano, one of the most enlightened Paez, was affected by this fear came out when he worked with us in the archeological park in San Andrés. For lack of space he had to sleep in the tool room, where, however, he felt very comfortable and, with a camp bed and mattress, had built himself probably the best bed of his life. One day we opened a large prehistoric grave-chamber, which contained more than 80 bone-urns with the remains of cremations. Since we could not accommodate such a large number of urns in our living room, which at the same time served as our museum, we had to put a number of them in the tool room. I left the skeletal remains in several of them in order to save them for a later examination. Weeping, Victoriano begged me please not to put in his tool room any urns containing bones, because the bones might have come from the Pijao, who would surely kill him. Even the washed and cleaned urns, he assured us, contained very much "pest," so that at the next opportunity he wanted to go to Calderas and have himself "purified" by his home shaman. He failed to do this, and when after a few days he had a toothache, he traced this back to the action of the pest from the burial urns previously filled with bones.

342 761 783 756 787 /118/ The shaman's testing of the ground proposed as the building site is not done by digging or sampling the ground; rather, the one who wishes to build goes to the house of the shaman in the evening with coca, tobacco, and brandy, tells him of his wish, and then both sit down on the ground next to each other

/118 cont./

342 and begin to chew coca and tobacco and to drink brandy to-
761 gether. After a while the shaman ascertains through signs in
789 his arms or legs whether bones of the Pijao are in the ground.
756 If this is not the case, the building may be started; otherwise
787 the man must look for another building site. After the building is finished, a further ceremony is performed (see under "Religion"
342 /see p. 205/), and then the same shaman fastens special herbs
756 to the roof to prevent the eč or gélyómp spirit, hostile to man,
789 from entering the house from there.

Houses are built only by men, by fathers of families.
342 One man alone, however, is not in a position to do this. At
476 least in the erection of the house posts he is helped by his brothers,
[462] as well as by other men and friends who have nothing else to do anyway on these days and receive chicha and something to
342 eat for their assistance. The building material costs nothing,
273 to be sure, but the builder must furnish a substantial amount of
476 chicha, for which planning must be begun in plenty of time, two or three years beforehand, by the planting of sufficient sugar cane. This is the task of the married son who is still living in
[594] his father's house this long. To make the chicha he also still
[249] needs the sugar mill of his father, upon whose consent and help, therefore, much depends. According to the amount of chicha
[461] that is available, the building of the house thus lasts two to six months, depending on whether only five or 15 men participate.

342 The most important thing in the construction of the house
335 is the erection of the wooden frame (Ills. 161 to 164 /see p.272 /),
[476] which always requires several men who bring in the trees, which are superficially smoothed with the machete, but not freed of bark. The master of the house is able to make the walls by
[462] himself in an emergency. The covering of the roof, too, like the entire house construction, is men's work, but the woman of the house may hand up the sugar-cane leaves for the roofing. First the vertical corner and side posts of the outer walls (yátšínda) are erected, then the outer beams lying horizontally on the side posts to support the roof (yátpopãnt) are laid on, and, as the third step in the work, the horizontal crossbeams (bīkas) are fastened at

/118 cont./

342 ceiling height. It should be noted that all the beams are merely
335 lashed with lianas, /119/ but not mortised. The roof does not rest directly on the corner and side posts; rather, the crossbeams (bīkas) and the rafters (yátkát) are tied to the rectangular, horizontal frame of the roof, and only the latter rests on the vertical posts.

The fourth step in the work is the building in of the ridge beam (dahwāk), together with the rafters, the former being supported primarily by the center post (pwát), usually the only house post that extends vertically through to the ridge. It is not exactly in the middle of the longitudinal axis of the house, but somewhat to the side of it, in the place where the two rooms of the house are partitioned off. Here it serves at the same time as a wall post. The horizontal purlins (kwīnt), which are lashed to the rafters (yátkát) one above the other about 20 centimeters apart, are the only part of the house frame that is not of wood, but instead they consist of a type of reed (karís). The roof (yátominyē) is covered with sugar-cane leaves (nyúš̌a éts) by proceeding from the bottom up and hanging the leaves over the purlins in such a way that the tips lie on top and the lower parts show on the outside. Finally one or two ridge purlins are laid over the still open ridge, and an even layer of sugar-cane leaves is spread crosswise over this. The elevation thus formed provides an exit for the smoke at the two gable ends of the house. The ridge covering is protected from blowing away by two poles placed over it (Ill. 162 /see p. 272/).

342 A newly built house (yátūse) lasts about 15 years. In be-
356 tween, however, the roof must be repaired several times.

On entering a Paez house one is assailed by a sweetish odor
574 of fermentation arising from the chicha, somewhat like that at
576 grape-gathering time in the houses of the German winegrowers'
[273] villages. Before entering, one opens the door (vitc) of the house and calls out in a questioning tone, "payoét" (I should like to enter); from the interior there comes back, "mkāč̌" (sit down). When no one is at home, the door is usually tied shut with a small piece of bast. Sometimes even this is omitted, for no one

/119 cont./

574 would ever enter a house whose occupants were not present. We
576 never succeeded in persuading Victoriano to enter an empty house, although he knew that we were always greatly interested in learning about the interior of houses and their furnishings.

342 The door of the house is only in rare cases a wide board which at the top and bottom on one side runs out into two pegs which turn in a socket, one in the threshold and one in the doorframe. The entrance is generally constructed in the same fashion as the wall (īnd), which /120/ consists of vertical maize stalks placed next to one another as closely as possible and lashed by means of bast or a liana to one another and to two horizontal maize stalks. The latter always reach from side post to side post. At the place for the door, the rigid wall is interrupted, and the vertically placed maize stalks, only loosely bound with bast, may be shoved a little to one side, whereby they drag along the ground (Ill. 158 /see p. 270/).

[231] Dogs, cats, and chickens are kept in the houses, but not pigs, which live out of doors all the time, exactly like the cows, horses, and sheep.

c) Household Implements

Generally the house has only one division into two rooms, the smaller of which is the kitchen, living room, and bedroom, the larger serving as storage and supply room. The wall between these two rooms is likewise only made out of maize stalks set next to one another vertically. In the "large" houses the larger
[249] part contains the sugar mill, by means of which undiluted sugar-
[404] cane juice may be produced, even in rainy weather. In case
596 adult married sons live in their father's house, a separate com-
342 partment divided off in the same manner is built for these families and furnished as a kitchen, either next to the living room of the parents or -- as in most cases -- on the other side of the
354 house. The hearth area is the family center, and every married
596 woman, in case she is living as a daughter-in-law in the house of the father-in-law, has her own hearth area. The latter has

the simplest possible form.

000 /120 cont./

354 the simplest possible form. Three rocks provide the lateral sup-
415 port or stand for the pots, of which there are two at most, a
metal one, usually of aluminum, and an earthen one. Very
poor families have only one earthen pot, which is relatively
[417] cheap to buy. The earthen pot cannot be hung up; it is set
between the three fire-stones in such a way that it cannot tip
over, whereas the aluminum pot is hung by its handle on a soot-
covered, angled stick that hangs down from the ridge (Ill. 166
352 /see p. 273/). Above the fire area there hangs a frame made
[251] of maize canes and about one square meter in size, on which
[353] household utensils and, above all, the rock salt for salting food
are stored, airy and dry. Tables, chairs, or stools of any kind
[237] are unknown. One generally sits on the hairy side of an un-
tanned and hence board-stiff cowhide, on which one also /121/
[513] sleeps, or one sits on a beam, a block of wood, or a stone. Paez
[177] who have seen house furnishings in Inzá or in the dwellings of white
colonists have sometimes built for themselves as a bed a sort
of bench 30-50 centimeters high, consisting of sticks or reeds
[513] laid side by side. For sleeping the customary cowhide is spread
on it. These sleeping benches are not used for sitting.

342 The nights in Calderas are generally quite cool, and
362 the light construction of the walls with cracks between the in-
132 dividual maize stalks does not in any way prevent the cold wind
from coming in. In a few houses, near the sleeping area, I saw
the walls sealed by means of expressed sugar-cane piled up
462 horizontally. For sleeping, the members of the family lie down
[354] in a circle around the fire area, where the fire must be kept going
[513] all through the night. This, like all housework, is the task of
the woman, who must gather sufficient fuel beforehand and get up
every two hours during the night to stir up the fire. Furthermore,
[264] she must get up an hour earlier in the morning in order to have
the first meal, which is eaten around five o'clock, sometimes
[461] even at four o'clock, prepared on time. In spite of this, the
men think that they are the ones who do the hardest work and that
basically they are the only ones in the village who really work.

/121 cont./

372 In case the fire should go out, which happens very rarely, the men, if they have no matches, know how to make fire by striking the blade of the iron machete with a stone and catching the sparks in the dry tinder of expressed sugar-cane. To fan this or a dying fire the hat is used as a fire fan, instead of a special fan. A few times I also saw a reed tube (yotá) about 50 centimeters long, which is blown into with the mouth and which thus acts like a bellows.

352 Infants do not as a rule sleep on the floor, but in ham-
[854] mocks (máka), which, however, as the name indicates, were
[513] not originally Paez. Nevertheless all the men know how to
[286] make them out of agave fibers, which is done with the same knotting technique as in the manufacture of nets for bird hunting.
415 Moreover, a few bags (yáha) made of agave fibers, which con-
[286] tain beans, maize, or other supplies, hang on the wall posts.
[353] Arracacha lies on the floor. For drinking chicha, which is allowed
[273] to ferment in large, hollowed-out tree troughs, calabashes (tóka) are used, but they are plain and undecorated. Cracked calabashes are sewed with a waxed agave thread (Fig. 25 /see
[249] p.253/). The calabash gourd is grown in the house garden /122/
412 of every family; its meat is inedible. Furthermore, an oval or
352 rectangular grindstone on which maize is ground with a smaller hand-stone is found in every household. It usually lies on the floor in a corner of the house, but sometimes it is set about one meter high on two forked posts.

412 Meals are taken with wooden spoons (todšá'tc) off of
415 wooden plates (bič), which are carved by the Paez themselves
264 (Fig. 27 /see p. 253/). Aluminum or enamel bowls were rarely
[322] encountered in Calderas. Plates and mugs of aluminum were
[177] therefore always coveted gift articles, along with kitchen knives, needles, safety pins, matches, and salt.

356 Cleanliness within the house is surprisingly great, consider-
515 ing that the Paez wash their bodies but seldom and their hands only when they are "very dirty." This is the case when a person has been working in a burned field and has cleared away the
000 sooty, burned tree trunks and the burned underbrush. The house

The house

/122 cont./

356 is swept by the women every day with a broom (ctábando) con-
824 sisting of shrubs of the psáñga plant. This plant at the same
[825] time drives away fleas. The rubbish is swept out of the house in such a way that even the entrance is clean.

351 All around the house and surrounding it at some distance
417 either a fence is erected or a ditch dug about one meter deep,
[231] within which the poultry and usually the pigs and sheep are kept.
In Calderas, where, because of the low temperature, bamboo
[137] no longer grows, the fence is made of wood obtained from the
[313] natural growth when a piece of land is burned off. Stakes are driven vertically into the ground at intervals of about two meters and the interspaces filled with small tree trunks, branches, and twigs up to a good meter in length, lying horizontally. Climbing over this fence is done with notched tree trunks or bamboo stalks placed obliquely against the fence as a ladder. Similar notched tree trunks also serve as ladders in the houses (Ills. 168 and 154 /see pp.274 and 268 /).

514 There are no privies. On account of the isolation of the houses, however, it is never difficult for the Paez to find a place off in the brush or in the forest. We never found the paths
264 and the vicinity of the houses soiled with filth. The Paez showed
[412] the same tact in eating and at other gatherings. We never experienced smacking of lips or belching, even though their eating habits are somewhat crude, for, lacking spoons, they are in the habit of simply shoving their food from the plate into the mouth with the fingers.

/123/ 2. Clothing and Ornaments

291 The Paez today wear clothing covering their upper and lower bodies. In ancient times, according to the reports of chroniclers, some of them were said to have worn small cotton cloaks, although the majority of them "went about naked, even in the cold mountains" (cited by Hernandez, 1944, p. 191,
[302] from P. M. Rodriguez, 1684). They were also said to have painted their bodies with color and to have made imprints on them with

stamps,

/123 cont./

291 stamps. Soon after the Conquista they adopted the upper garment
177 and the straw hat still worn today.

The clothing of the men consists of the upper garment, linen trousers, the cloak (called "poncho" in Peru, "ruana" in Colombia /see the glossary, p. 250 /) and the waterproof, plaited
291 straw hat. The upper garment and the ruana are woven by the
294 women out of sheep wool, whereas the linen trousers are made
286 by the men themselves out of purchased fabrics. This is note-
177 worthy culture-historically, for cutting clothing from woven
[462] fabrics was unknown to the South American Indians in pre-Colombian times, since fabrics were not woven "by the meter" to be sewed later into clothing as desired; rather, the shape of the subsequent article of clothing was already taken into con-
296 sideration at the start of the weaving. It follows from the method of manufacture that torn fabrics are never repaired by the women with a ready-made patch, but are always darned in imitation of
[462] the texture of the cloth. It is different for men's trousers, the materials of which are bought by the men and sewed by them themselves, never by the women. Once these -- as well as the purchased shirts -- are torn, they are never darned, but always repaired by the men by means of a patch sewed underneath.
296 Thus, we have here the fixed rule that woven clothing is never-
177 patched, but is darned, whereas the sewed clothing is never darned,
462 but is always patched. The former is women's work, the latter men's work.

291 The garment covering the upper body of the men (tondato; for lack of an appropriate European designation it is called upper garment in the following) is not a sleeveless shirt, since the sides are not sewed together, but are open. It is quite simply a rectangular woven piece of wool about 60 centimeters wide and 160 centimeters long, whose warp threads run lengthwise. A slit about 30 centimeters long is left open in the center for the neck. It is pulled on over the head, and the lower ends are either stuffed into the trousers or left hanging over them. In the latter case they must be secured with a strap tied over them (Ills. 154 /see p. 268/, 165, 166 /see p. 273/, 171 /see p. 276 /, 202 /see p. 289 /, 203 /see p. 290/).

/124/

291 The men's trousers (calsón) have no pockets. On the aver-
294 age they reach to the calves. Generally they are very carefully sewed, either with purchased thread or with homemade, very fine yarn made of agave threads. In making them, as well as in the case of necessary repair work, all the edges are very carefully bound.

The men's ruana (atç) is generally square, with a side edge of 100 to 160 centimeters. It is sewed together out of two equally wide, rectangular panels, with a slit about 20 centimeters long left open in the center as a neck opening. Because of its square shape the ruana may be worn just as well with the neck-opening crosswise.

285 Whereas shoes or sandals are not used by the Paez, men,
462 women, and children wear the same type of straw hats (śwá).
293 These are plaited, however, only by the men and boys. The
415 dress of both sexes is completed by two or three of the colored
291 woolen coca bags, in which, on journeys, the necessary personal articles are also carried.

291 The garments of the women's clothing consist of wool and
294 are woven by the women themselves. In general the quality and fineness of the women's fabrics are significantly greater than that
286 of the men's woven fabrics. The boys' and young men's fabrics are generally the coarsest, woven with a rather thick spun thread. Decorative strips of a different color within the fabric are found chiefly in the women's clothing, but not infrequently also in that of the men, especially in the ruanas. The absolutely necessary basic clothing of the women consists of skirt and upper garment. Both are worn in such a way that the warp threads run crosswise. The skirt (atytól) is a very wide, tubular garment, whose diameter may amount to 150 centimeters and more, with a length (in the weaving state this corresponds to the width!) of about 80 centimeters. It is worn in such a way that the front part is tight, while the back side falls in numerous folds. It is fastened at the height of the hips with a woman's colored belt, and its upper edge is folded down somewhat over the belt.

/124 cont./

291 The upper garment (ipotsatc) is a simple, rectangular piece of cloth about 160 centimeters long and 80 centimeters wide, which, when being put on, is held crosswise so that the warp and ornamental threads run crosswise. When it is on, it covers only the bosom, back, and one side, whereas the other one remains more or less free (Ills. 166 /see p. 273/ and 178 /see p.279 /). In use it is put on from one side of the body over the bosom to the other side, and then led across the back to the original side again. The back /125/ part is now pulled up and fastened over both shoulders to the bosom part with a thorn (tõpo) or a safety pin. The part that hangs down is tucked into the skirt. In general the women try to buy colored, usually red blouses in the market for festival days, and these then replace the old, simple cloth. The skirts, however, are not exchanged for other clothing, because the purchased fabrics are not nearly as durable and also do not have the necessary width.

Outside the house the women usually wear a shawl over the ipotsatc; they either weave one (senyatc) for themselves or [854] purchase it (panyelõn). In any case it is necessary for carrying babies, for they are wrapped in it and secured with the colored belt (táw) (Ills. 152 /see p. 267 /, 166 /see p. 273 /, 178 /see p. 279/, 183 /see p. 282 /).

292 There is no special, original ceremonial dress or any special clothing for dignitaries. The latter carry, as their only [293] distinguishing mark, the chonta staff introduced to them by the [177] Spaniards. For festivals and ceremonies people try to wear either items of European clothing or a new outfit of the customary gar- [764] ments. For a Christian burial it is the duty of the members of [177] the family to bury the deceased in the clothing of white Colombians.

291 Small children usually run around naked or have a scrap of cloth hung over them in the style of the ruana. Larger boys wear either a large ruana reaching to the upper thighs, which is held together by a belt, or they already wear trousers. Smaller girls are usually dressed in a piece of cloth reaching from the upper body down over the knees, which is drawn over one shoulder. Older girls wear the clothing of the women. No distinction is

/125 cont./

291 made between the clothing of the married and the unmarried.

302 The men's hair is cut "semilong" with scissors, so that they have a cut midway between bobbed hair and a modern, shaped cut. Women wear their hair long and combed toward the back, to some extent in the form of a part. Older girls and [412] married women plait their hair in braids. Only the modern, purchased combs are used for combing. The men do not groom their beards, which are sparse to begin with, but from youth onward pull out the beard hair with the fingers.

301 No ornaments of any kind are worn by the men nowadays.
439 Two hundred years ago they wore nose rings (zomp) "like the oxen" (Castillo i Orosco, p. 89). The women today wear /126/ purchased pendant-ornaments only to a very slight extent, the white glass-bead chains (wǎča = bead) being relatively the most common (Ill. 148 /see p. 265/). The traders are Sibundoy or similar fellow-tribesmen from the southern part of the country, where chains of this kind are worn by the pound by men and women as pendant ornaments. Earrings consist either of a few purchased beads strung on a thread or of a purchased silver pendant. Anyone may wear purchased brass finger-rings; it is not a sign of being married. In earlier times it is possible that there were arm rings, as is shown by Castillo's term kasẽnand-gnue-tsa for "arm ring."

3. Economy

433 The first impression that one has of the Paez from an economic standpoint is that of a democratic farming people firmly rooted in their soil, and during an initial consideration of their food and way of life it appears as though they have never been anything but agriculturalists. In the case of primitive peoples, however, we must distinguish between the principal means of production and the original means of production. The former is usually not hard to recognize, whereas the question of the original means of production of a people can be answered

/126 cont./

433 only on the basis of knowledge about their rites, ceremonial acts, mythology, cultic preparations, or festivals of thanksgiving.
433 This is difficult in view of the great cultural poverty of the Paez,
241 but it is noteworthy that nothing connected with agriculture or
[233] with cattle-raising reveals any kind of cultic relationship.
Neither during sowing nor harvesting was I able to observe or
[224] learn of any kind of typical agricultural rites, whereas in connection with hunting, now economically unimportant, a number of precepts and prohibitions surround the hunter before and after his hunting.

a) Agriculture

243 The chief crop in the Calderun region, as among the Paez
191 generally, is maize, which was at the same time the most im-
114 portant cultivated plant and the basic food of the American peoples from Patagonia to Canada in pre-Colombian times. To this day the discussion about its culture-historical origin has not come to an end. Formerly Central America was regarded as the original land of its cultivation. On ethno- /127/ botanical grounds and plant-geographical investigations, K. Birket-Smith (p. 32) assumes that the original land of maize cultivation is not Central America, but northern South America, since, according to the more recent botanical discoveries, the original form of maize is believed to have been found in the form of the pod corn (Zea mays tunicata) of the Andean countries. Not to be left unmentioned are the voices which most recently have argued for an Asiatic origin of maize, as well as of cotton (Zerries, 1952, pp. 104/5).

If we compare these hypotheses about the origin of maize with the first authenticated reports about its occurrence in America, we find as the oldest date the year 1493, when Columbus had already brought maize to Europe from his first journey across the ocean. As early as 1525 maize was extensively cultivated in the fields of Andalusia (Schweinfurt, pp. 514 f).

1: Nachtigall --47 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15
Colombia SC1
Tierradentro

P /127 cont./
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[243]

Maize cultivation, like every other kind of tillage among the Paez, is done by the system of burning off clearings, a form of cultivation which is widespread among all tropical agriculturalists and is commonly known in America under the designation "milpa system." The term is Central American (probably Aztec) and means "maize field" or "bare surface in the forest," but the latter always in the sense of a burned-over piece of land planted with maize. The Colombian word corresponding to the designation "milpa" is "roza," to which in Peru the designation "chacra" generally corresponds, although there the word is also used for terraced fields that are cultivated regularly every year.

The basis of the milpa system of clearing by burning is an extensive type of agriculture, in which, before sowing, new land is cleared of its growth by burning and after the harvest is (again) abandoned for several years or forever. This type of agriculture is feasible in sparsely settled regions in which there is sufficient land to permit the intervals between the separate burnings of the clearings to be long enough. If the intervals are too brief and the land burned over too often, all kinds of taller growth are eradicated. The grass covering which then forms and grows all through the year makes the land worthless for agricultural use, whereupon a larger population can no longer feed itself from its land. This is demonstrated in large areas of Central America where the dense population living in large urban cultural centers has exhausted the soil with the milpa system to such an extent that today many of these old culture areas are treeless, uninhabited grassland.

P 114 241

O. F. Cook (p. 323) regards /128/ the simultaneous cultivation of one-fifth to one-tenth of the available land as a sound form of the milpa system. This corresponds to a clearing cycle of five to ten years. There is sufficient land for this in Calderas. A cleared field is cultivated there once, at most twice in succession, and then it is left to rest at least ten, but usually 15 to 20 years (Ill. 146 /see p. 264/). The areas used by the Indio villages, then, present a picture completely different from

C 311

C /128 cont./
311 those of the colonists in Tierradentro. In the territory of the
[137] latter there is almost no forest anywhere; all the slopes have been
[233] deforested and artificially, but not through excessive agricultural
C cultivation, made into pasture areas for the livestock of the
311 colonists or large landowners. This has upset the natural water
312 economy of the region. The water flowing off unchecked dur-
134 ing the rainy season washes away the humus earth and forms
C deep gullies on the slopes. The soil thus eroded is infertile.
[361] The mountain slopes dry out completely during the dry seasons,
P so that dwellings can only rarely be built in the higher locations
311 because of the lack of water. In the areas used solely by the
134 natives, in which a natural alternation of cultivated and fallow
312 land is observed, there are countless channels and small brooks
361 that make it possible to put a house near running water at almost
P every spot on the landscape.

241 Every task of the Paez that is connected with the fields,
461 be it clearing, sowing, or harvesting, is done extraordinarily
476 willingly by all participants, "because it is for food." There is
P simply no such thing as anyone unwilling to work in the fields.
134 The soil is not very fertile, since the major part of the moun-
241 tains in the region of Calderas consists of slate which often stands
[135] out bare and on the slopes is covered with a layer of humus or
P loam only 20 to 50 centimeters deep on the average. In the
241 valley the humus layer is often more than a meter deep. The
P abundant land available, however, does not make the utmost
[312] utilization imperative. And although the numerous mountain
brooks are diverted in such a way that every house has its running
water, nevertheless there is no acute inducement for irrigation or
terraced cultivation, nor does the use of them seem to be known.

Maize occupies the major part of the cultivated area, closely followed by sugar cane, the raw product for the manufacture of chicha. Both constitute the basic production of agriculture, and there is no Paez family that does not cultivate sugar cane and maize on its land. The size of the cultivated areas cleared by burning varies. The smallest fields that we saw

/128 cont./

241 were only ten by ten meters /129/ square, whereas the largest continuous field occupied an area of about 500 by 250 meters. I was assured, however, that such a large area of land was not required for one family and that the owner would use this large [433] cleared field only little by little for planting. A family can live, so I was told, from a field that measures about 100 by 100 meters, [244] which corresponds to the area of one hectare. In addition, every house has a vegetable garden of about 1,000 square meters in area for the planting of vegetable bananas /cooking bananas/, cabbage, beans, cucumbers, and onions.

241 476 464 [462] The clearing of the fields, like the sowing, is done only by men, whereas the harvest may be gathered by women or men. Several men always participate in the clearing and sowing; one man never works alone. At the very least his brothers or sons help him. Otherwise he must ask friends who must be served food and chicha during the work, and whom he likewise helps in 241 a similar instance. On the field intended for planting, first the thinner trees at a height of about one to one and a half meters are cut down with the machete and left lying on the ground as they fall. With this the first part of the work is done, and one has two to four weeks' rest until the felled young trees and branches are dry, but not dried up. Then the men go out into the field again and light the wood, but only the thinner branches of less than an arm's thickness are consumed. This burning takes a few days, and it is not infrequent that a woman helps her husband on [515] the last day in order to burn up the remaining wood. The Paez, by the way, give this handling of the sooty trunks as the only time that they get dirty and must wash their hands afterwards (Ills. 169 to 171 /see pp.275 -276/).

241 417 The fence which each field must have for protection against the freely roaming domestic animals is built out of the unburned branches and tree trunks. For this purpose rather thick poles are rammed vertically into the ground, and the remaining branches and tree trunks piled up horizonatally to a height of a good meter. In order to climb over this fence one puts a notched tree trunk against it on both sides as a ladder (aff) (Ill. 168 /see p.274/).

000 /129 cont./
35/ p.274 /). The same fencing with the same ladder construction
417 generally also surrounds the house gardens of the Paez farms. In case the houseowner has larger domestic animals, such as cows, horses, and sheep, a gate (puélta) consisting either of a regular lath door or a barrier of horizontal beams is built into
[824] the fence surrounding his house. In the villages of the civilized Paez, in the /130/ environs of which tree growth is inadequate for the construction of a wooden fence, bamboo is used for the vertical poles, and bundles of dry maize stalks for the horizontal parts.

241 The entire agriculture of the Paez is digging-stick culti-
412 vation (Ill. 172 /see p. 276/). Hoe culture was originally unknown. The house gardens, only recently laid out after the model of the colonists and in which European plants such as cabbage, cucumbers, and onions are cultivated, are turned over with the spade (pála). The digging stick (āty) consists merely of a pointed tree-trunk or pole, though recently broad iron tips with
243 a socket are being put on the digging sticks more and more. Maize may be sowed throughout the year, but it is generally sowed in April when the rainy season begins. Several men always participate, making holes in the ground about one meter apart in every direction with the digging stick, and putting six to eight maize kernels into each hole. The holes are covered again with only very little earth with the foot, "so that the sprout can come out more easily." The ripening period of ten to 12 months is relatively long. After half a year the field is cleared of weeds once. The harvest period is spread out over approximately half a year, provided that sufficiently large amounts of maize were planted; and for this half
[262] year the people practically live "from the stalk." First the young maize (tsót; maize in general, kóty) is eaten half-ripe and only later are the ripe ears harvested and eaten. Every day the men or women go into the field with their bags made of agave fibers and break off only as much as is needed each time for the meal.

249 Whereas maize may be cultivated at all elevations in
[243] Calderas, sugar cane (nyúša) thrives only in the lower, protected localities of the Kokiyó Valley. Its ripening period of two to

/130 cont./

249 three years is very long. Shoots from old sugar-cane plants are used as slips, which are set out by the men in the same way as the maize kernels. A hole is made in the ground with the digging stick at one-meter intervals in every direction from the neighboring plant; the slip is stuck into it and pressed firmly with [462] the hands. The cane is harvested by men or women. Both know [482] how to handle the machete. The men carry the sugar cane home over their shoulders (Ill. 173 /see p.277 /), women stuff the sugar cane into the fiber bags and hang them over their backs, holding the carrying band with their foreheads.

244 Besides maize and sugar cane, the bean (ōs) is of great im- [262] portance for the Paez diet. There are the large, speckled so-called "sow beans" /broad beans/ (Spanish frijol) and the smaller, white beans. /131/ The former are for the most part eaten, whereas the white beans are usually sold. They are sowed either in the vicinity of the house at the foot of trees and shrubs, with three beans always stuck into the ground at a time, or together with maize. In this case, during the maize sowing, three to four beans are put in the same hole with the six to eight maize kernels. In growing simultaneously the beans climb up the maize stalks.

243 Wheat (skótc) is not of importance in the diet of the Paez, [262] for no bread is baked. Nevertheless it is very often planted because it grows fast and thus represents a suitable item for the Paez to sell. 243 If anyone has to buy something, be it fabric for a pair of trousers, 434 a machete, a metal pot, etc., he sows wheat, usually in March/ April, and after half a year he can already pocket profit from the sale. It is characteristic of the Paez, however, that they make use of this only when they need something urgently, but not in 243 advance so as to have money on hand in any case. The preparation for wheat sowing is done in the customary manner of clearing by burning. The sower hangs around himself a fiber bag containing the seed grain and, in exactly the same fashion as our sower, starts to broadcast the wheat with his hand in a wide arc. Subsequently the ground is superficially turned over with the shovel, so that the birds cannot pick up the grains. In harvesting it a bundle of stalks is grasped a good hand's breadth under the ears and cut off with the

/131 cont./

243 other hand by means of the semicircularly curved sickle. In case
[251] the wheat is not sold immediately, the bundles of ears are tied together and stored under the house roof, above the fire area. Whereas the kernels are shelled off the maize ears by hand by the
[237] women as needed, the wheat is threshed. For this purpose a cowhide is put on the floor, a bundle of wheat ears is held securely on the hide with one hand, and with the other hand the ears are beaten with a club until the grains are removed.

244 The other produce used in the diet is planted in the house garden, which likewise is used every year as long as the house is occupied. The yield is generally good because the Paez have learned from the colonists the importance of regular fertilization. Each harvested plot is carefully dug up again with the spade and strewed with the refuse from the house and the collected manure of the cows and horses. Human excrement is not used; it is "too ugly," Everyday, in addition, the kitchen refuse (maize and bean husks, banana peels, arracacha and yuca scraps), as well as the excrement /132/ of the guinea pigs (fits) kept in the kitchen, is scattered in the garden and tossed on the vegetable plots.

The most important garden plant is white cabbage (kólis). The women buy the small plants from a woman in the village who raises them from seed. The planting time is March, when the rainy season begins. Potatoes (ká 'ka) are seldom planted. They are very small, have a yellow flesh, and are of poor quality. Sowing time is whenever one wishes. The men make a small hole with the digging stick and put one or two small potatoes in it and carefully cover up the hole again. After a month one can already hill them with the hands, and after four months, harvest them. To do this, the entire family digs them out with their
[821] hands. Arracacha (ā's) may likewise be planted throughout the year, but yields the best harvest if it is planted with the full moon. In harvesting it a digging stick is used. Yuca (ānya) is seldom eaten, for the climate is too cold to grow it in Calderas. In the lower villages the ripening period is two years.

245 A very important crop that plays a great role in the diet
[262] of the Paez is the banana, which was not native to America originally (Schweinfurt, pp. 504 f.). Two large groups are

/132 cont./

245 differentiated: that of the fruit or sugar bananas, and that of the vegetable or mealy bananas. Both kinds are known to the Paez, to be sure, but only the vegetable bananas (tolǒ), whose starchy fruits must be cooked first before being eaten, like potatoes, because they are difficult to digest, are important for them, as for all tropical peoples. The fruit bananas (gnayoĩts), the only bananas eaten in Europe, are seldom eaten by the Paez and generally are not cultivated. They are planted by means of slips, which in Calderas bear from the third year on and yield harvests
244 for many years. Other crops grown in the house garden and eaten from time to time are cucumbers (kambĩč or pĩna, according to the species), squash (pete), and the wild granadilla (šlāl).

b) Food Preparation

264 The Paez eat only two meals a day, the first one (kosẽ oñ) about four or five o'clock in the morning before work, and the second (fi'nz oñ) at three or four o'clock in the afternoon, after returning from work in the fields. In between, that is, while working on the often quite distant fields, coca /133/ is taken and sugar-cane juice drunk every two to three hours. The morning and evening meals do not differ in content and vary
252 little from day to day. They are cooked without meat, without
262 fat, without salt, as well as without any other seasoning. Cook-
[263] ing with fat is customary only on festive days in the festival house.
[237] On this occasion a blood sausage is made from the blood of cattle, sheep, or pigs, for which the intestines are cleaned and then cooked with blood, salt, onions, and caraway, as well as with another herb (pléo). Meat is not put into the intestines, and likewise no fat.

262 There is no desire for greater variety in food and drink. I was scarcely able to discover any individual differences in taste among the Calderun, for everyone eats everything, and they all regard beans or cabbage or both together as the best food and bean leaves as the worst.

000 /133 cont./
264 food and bean leaves as the worst. They eat together. The
[415] family sits around the fire and the woman serves. They do not,
[412] however, eat out of the large cooking pot, which is usually of clay, though sometimes of aluminum, but rather the soup is dipped out with a wooden ladle into shallow bowls, from one of which the men, that is to say, the father and sons, eat, and the mother, daughters, and small children eat out of another one.
[263] Above the fire area a few small pieces of rock salt hang in a
[353] small pouch or lie on a rack and are used to salt the food after it is cooked. To do this each one takes the piece of salt and holds it or puts it in his plate until the soup is sufficiently salted.

252 In the following, a few dishes: 1) maize flour, ground
262 on the oval or rectangular grindstone with a hand-stone, is cooked with beans and cabbage; 2) vegetable bananas with beans and arracacha; 3) green ears of maize with beans (wood ashes are added to every maize dish, in order to make the maize tender more quickly); 4) green ears of maize with white cabbage; 5) white cabbage, arracacha, and potatoes; 6) beans and vegetable bananas; 7) only beans and maize flour; 8) arracacha and beans. Eggs are either boiled hard in the shell in a pot, or the egg is beaten with a spoon in a dish, water and onions are added, and
[415] the whole is cooked. All foods are cooked in a large pot as soup; only ears of maize roasted in a bowl /Schale, "bowl, shell, husk"/ (wáts; Spanish arepa) are an exception. Meat is only boiled, never roasted; they eat the meat of cattle, sheep, and pigs, as well as poultry and guinea pigs, but not horse meat. If horses die, the carcasses are devoured by dogs.

/134/ c) Means of Enjoyment

273 The two most important pleasures for the Paez, as for the
276 cultures of the entire Andean area, are coca and chicha. Tobacco plays a subordinate role.

P /134 cont./

276 Coca (ēs) is a shrub whose alkaloid leaves, containing
137 cocaine, tanning substances, and various volatile oils, were used as stimulants even before the time of the Conquista, chiefly among the natives of the Cordilleras region. Almost 200 species of it are known, most of which, namely 137, occur in America (Walger, p. 9). It flourishes almost without exception between the tropics, from Honduras to Bolivia, in a temperature that generally remains between 15 and 20 degrees. In too low a temperature the leaves are small and worthless; in too hot a climate they lose strength and content. The most favorable elevation is between 700 and 1,700 meters.

P The word coca comes from the Kechŭa /Quechua/ lan-
279 guage (coca or cuca), which, however, does not state anything
192 definite about the origin and use of the plant, for the Kechŭa-
171 speaking tribes of Ecuador are the very ones who do not use the plant (Cooper, p. 549). In the northern part of South America the designation hayo, hahiu is customary, in northeastern Peru ebee, hibia, hibio, and in the Amazon region generally, names
P like ypadu, ypatu, ipado, or batu (Bühler, p. 3344).

The first information about coca reached Europe as early
175 as 1499 through the report of the Spanish priest, Thomas Ortíz, to
276 his spiritual superiors, according to which the natives of the northern coast of South America used a plant called hayo as a means of enjoyment. The first detailed description of the cultivation and use of the plant is found in a work, printed in 1553, by Pedro de Ciéza de León, who for the first time calls attention to the fact that coca bestows strength and vigor and drives away hunger (Bühler, p. 3353).

P At the time of the Conquista, coca was known in Colombia
276 among the Cauca Valley tribes between Popayán and Cali, near
171 Ibagué in the Magdalena Valley, on the savanna of Bogotá, and
P among the tribes of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta. Today the
C
276 use of coca is officially forbidden in Colombia on account of its
C harmful effects. According to Decree No. 95 of 1938, the sale
656 of coca, except in apothecary shops and drugstores, was forbidden

P C /134 cont./

276 by the "Ministerio de Trabajo, Higiene y Prevesion Social."
C This prohibition was extended by Decree No. 578 of 1941 by the
656 same ministry, according to which an exact list of the existing coca plants of the country was demanded and their destruction ordered, /135/ with a simultaneous prohibition against new plantings (Duque, 1945, pp. 445 f.). Of course this prohibition against coca planting cannot be strictly supervised and enforced in all the remote parts of the country.

P The argument for the use of coca has remained the same
276 from the time of the Conquista to this day: it is supposed to
461 drive away hunger and to give strength. "Without coca one cannot work," I was told over and over again when I asked the Paez the reason for chewing coca. And, as a matter of fact, one sees the Paez chewing it on the long trips to market and during every physical task; but only at work, when one needs strength, and not during festivals and celebrations or on festive days. (The shamans are an exception, see below.)

P The bitter tasting coca is chewed by both sexes, and the
276 boys begin at 12-14 years of age, when they also begin helping
P their father with the work in the fields. The girls generally begin
[887] somewhat later, and in old age both sexes chew quite heavily and more frequently than is normal in younger years. The men take coca three times a day as a normal dose, and each dose lasts about two to three hours. Nothing is eaten all day after taking the first meal early in the morning before work; the second one
P is not eaten until after they return home from the fields in the
[272] late afternoon. During the pauses for coca, unfermented sugarcane juice (nyúsayumfl) is drunk, everyone carrying a calabash with one to two liters of it with him.

P The coca shrub, about 80 to 200 centimeters high, is
276 striking even at a distance because of its fresh, light green,
249 lancet-shaped leaves, which have two slightly curved longitudinal
[137] lines on the underside. Among the Paez of Calderas almost every family has its coca shrubs, the leaves of which, after plant-
P ing, are harvested from the first year for about 20 years. Anyone
[437] who does not own coca shrubs himself trades for the leaves in

1: Nachtigall --57 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15
Colombia SC1

P /135 cont./
276 exchange for brandy, wheat, or maize (for exchange and barter
249 rates, see "Trade" /see pp. 92-94 /). Within the family each
437 one harvests for himself as many leaves as he happens to need;
otherwise the father of the family usually barters for the entire
family. Harvest time is throughout the year (Ill. 174 /see
P p. 277 /).

276 Before use the leaves are roasted in a clay bowl and then
317 carried around in the colored wool pouch (kwatandyáha), together
[415] with a small calabash containing lime. The lime (kwatánd) is
obtained from limestone (kwatandkwát) which crops out at vari-
ous places throughout the region and which men and women look
for as it is needed, or the husband sends his wife to fetch a few
stones. These pieces of limestone are put in a vigorously fanned
fire for two hours, /136/ then in a clay bowl, and cold water is
P poured over them. After that the cracked stone is pounded to
276 powder. To enjoy it, one takes a handful of leaves out of his
pouch and puts them in the mouth and chews them for a while,
until the lime can be added. Care must be taken that neither the
tongue nor lips come in contact with the lime. Beginners press
the coca mash flat against their tongues with their gums and
sprinkle a pinch of lime from the pear-shaped, absolutely un-
adorned calabash (kwatandóka) upon it; practiced coca-chewers
take a pinch of lime on the back of the hand between thumb and
index finger and toss it into the open mouth with a flourish. The
green saliva copiously produced is partly spat out, but most of
P it is swallowed. In the case of old people it often runs out of the
C mouth and drips on the clothing (Ill. 179 /see p. 280 /).

276 According to my experiences among the Paez and the
P coca-chewing Colombian workers, the harmful effect of coca
C seems to be exaggerated in most of the studies on the subject.
276 Of interest, however, are the data of C. Gutiérrez Noriega (1952),
146 who investigates the psychological and physiological effect of
273 taking coca, especially among the Peruvian Indios. There, in
the region of the greatest coca consumption, two to four kilo-
grams per person and year, the daily amount of food for a worker
is only about 2,000 calories per day. With a simultaneous drinking
of brandy and an inadequate diet, physical and mental consequences

P
C /136 cont./
276 are naturally more in evidence than in the case of the use of
146 coca with good nutrition and as the only indulgence. Along
273 with improved nutrition and corresponding enlightenment, a
prohibition on brandy instead of its propagation would be more
C desirable for the health of the people than a prohibition on coca.
[651] The departments, however, draw their chief income from the
P brandy tax, whereas coca was always tax-free.

276 Tobacco (wáhi) is neither planted by the Paez nor con-
[249] sumed in large amounts, since there is generally no money
available for the purchase of tobacco or cigarettes. Both sexes,
P however, smoke gift cigarettes, and, to be sure, from child-
hood, that is, from two to three years of age. The shamans
[756] in their séances and ceremonies are in the habit of chewing
[755] cigarette tobacco along with coca, but it is always purchased.
These séances last many hours or throughout the night, during
which shamans and patients together chew this mixture uninter-
P ruptedly.

273 Chicha (pronounced tschitscha) is one of the alcoholic
[171] beverages which, made out of various raw materials, are wide-
spread among the natives /137/ throughout South America, with
manioc chicha predominating in the forest region (Venezuela,
Brazil) and maize chicha in the Andean region (Cooper, pp.
539 f. and Map 11). Two methods of production are distin-
guished, according to whether it is a matter of raw materials
with a high sugar content (honey, sugar cane, palm sap, pine-
apple) or more starchy crops (manioc, maize). The former ferment
without the addition of saliva and need not be chewed in the
preparation; the latter need human saliva before or after cook-
P ing in order to ferment.

[137] Among the Paez chicha (mbéca) is made only from the
juice of sugar cane, a raw material that is not American, but
came from southern Asia and did not come to America until the
post-Columbian period (Maurizio, 1933, p. 75). Formerly
chicha was made out of maize, as it still is today among the
neighbors of the Paez living in higher regions (for example, the
Guambiano). The name for sugar-cane juice, nyũšayumĩ

/137 cont./

273 (= sweet water), as for the unfermented chicha, does not in any case have anything in common with the name for fermented chicha. Moreover, there is no separate name for sugar cane; nyúza also means "sweet" and "honey."

249 In the region of the Paez, sugar cane may be planted and harvested throughout the year. The juice of the cane is pressed [407] out in the sugar mill (lapíce). The latter stands in front of or inside every house; it belongs to every family in the same way [273] that each has its sugar-cane field and its chicha. The latter has [431] no commercial value whatever, but is merely given away, and 249 anyone who asks for it gets it. The sugar mill (Fig. 28 /see 407 p254 /) of the Paez of Calderas and southern Tierradentro consists of two tree trunks smoothed off on either side, which form the lateral posts (mágrena) of the mill. They are rammed into the ground and are provided, each one twice, with two recesses that receive the horizontal guidebeams (sépo) for the three crushing cylinders. These guidebeams are merely pinned. No metal parts or nails of any kind are used here or in the entire construction. Below the two lower guidebeams a strong plank is fastened to the lateral posts, upon which the three cylinders (ũnk) rest. Of these only the center one is turned by means of a crossbar, with human power or by a horse, whereas the two lateral ones are moved by means of pegs, which are most accurately fitted, but are not in addition pinned. A horizontal pole is lashed above each of the two lower cylinder-guidebeams, in order to guide the sugar cane shoved in for pressing. Below the cylinders lies a rectangular board (tablón) with /138/ two longitudinal grooves, [492] in which the extracted sugar-cane juice runs out at the side. If a horse is used to move the crushing cylinders, it is hitched up with two ropes leading out from a rope tied around the belly of the horse, so that the horse does not pull with its chest, as is customary among us.

H. Pittier de Fábrega illustrates (Pl. VI/2) another type of sugar mill from northern Tierradentro, which shows only two horizontal cylinders, one above the other. Both are clamped with pegs between two vertical posts and are turned on either side by hand. The extracted juice is caught in a pouch hanging underneath.

/138 cont./

249 In chicha production for festive days it is customary for
407 the mill to be turned only by human power, by men or women.
461 One could generally observe that the slightly intoxicated men
273 exerted themselves only a short time in each case and were then relieved by the more sober acting women, who -- with their children on their backs -- showed remarkable endurance at this physically quite hard work.

407 Almost every father of a family and houseowner makes his
335 sugar mill himself, or a neighbor helps. There are no profes-
[412] sional carpenters. With an ax (swéla) and a foxtail saw (serúčo) the cylinders are sawed from a tree trunk and crudely smoothed. The cylinders thus prepared are provided with a small hole in the center, from the base and upper side, and are clamped horizontally, by means of pegs, between two posts rammed into
[413] the ground and held together with a rope. Then with a gauge (regla), which consists of a board with thorns, the distances between the pegs are precisely incised on the revolving drum.

273 The sugar cane is put through the crushing cylinders
[249] several times by the workers, one squatting on either side, until
[516] the juice, which is caught in a wooden tub or in calabash vessels,
[415] is pressed out (Ill. 175 /see p. 278/). It is first vigorously heated and then put in a large horizontally positioned tree-trough (kánoa) up to five meters long, in which there must always be a little chicha to begin with (Ill. 165 /see p. 273/). It is stirred up with the old chicha in the trough, the kánoa is covered with banana leaves, and already the next morning the chicha is ready to be drunk. As time goes on the chicha becomes ever stronger in alcoholic content. By noon of the same day it is already strong enough to distill brandy from it. If one does not do this, /139/ some water must be added the next day to dilute it. If this is not done, the chicha is neither drunk nor is new sugar-cane juice added, whereupon it becomes sour and bitter after four or five days and strongly sears the throat. There are also "gourmets" among the Paez, however, who let the chicha go on fermenting, untouched, for up to three weeks and only then drink it so sharp and sour.

/139 cont./

273 No new chicha can be made without some old chicha in the kánoa. The sugar-cane juice, even if it were left standing for many days, would still be merely sweet and not produce proper fermentation. After five or seven days, however, there is a certain kind of fermentation (probably as a result of the acid content of the wood of the empty kánoa), but of very bad taste.

[476] In case a person is planning a major piece of work for which he must ask people to come and then, of course, also entertain them properly for their labor, the sugar cane is milled the day before, and on the following day the chicha is ready and may be served. It is said that chicha drunk in any quantity does not produce discomfort of any kind or headache.

Besides the production of chicha, which is carried on by all families, each family also has in its house distilling apparatus [462] with which brandy is distilled from the day-old chicha. This distillation is commonly the work of the women while the men are in the field. It may also be undertaken, however, by men or youths. The distilling apparatus (walyíndeya) consists of three vessels, a large clay pot holding ten to 15 liters, which is two-thirds full of strong chicha, anise, a pound of dill, cloves, cinnamon, and other herbs. A second clay pot without a bottom is set on this and hermetically sealed to the upper edge of the lower chicha pot with a paste of water and wood ashes. Into the upper edge of this second pot are drilled three holes, by means of which a flat wooden plate is tied inside the pot, just below the mouth, and has cut into it on one side a groove leading to the outside through a hole in the wall of the pot and emptying into a tube. A shallow copper bowl sits, sealed airtight, on this second pot. In the distillation process the evaporated alcohol, passing through the second pot, strikes the bottom of the copper bowl. The latter is constantly filled with cold water. The alcohol vapor condensing on the underside of the copper bowl drips onto the wooden plate, flows out through the runoff tube, and is caught in bottles (Ill. 176 /see p. 278 /).

/140/

d) Animal Husbandry

231 Although the Paez keep large livestock, cattle and
233 horses, along with small livestock, they are not livestock-
[232] raisers in the true sense. They neither have anything to do
492 with the breeding of their animals nor do they utilize their labor
[237] power to any great extent. The utilization of animal products,
too -- especially those of the large livestock -- bears no rela-
231 tion to the existing possibilities. Horses (hímba; stallion =
492 himbapítste, mare = himbaóite) are used least of all, though they
[556] do find use now and then in milling sugar cane. Actually, people have them only to have them and to be considered rich. They are used neither as draft horses in front of wagons nor as beasts of burden, and only now and then as riding animals, with-
231 out a saddle, by young people. Adult men do not ride, even
484 though the mountainous country, difficult to traverse on foot,
492 fairly challenges one to ride, and the Paez, on their visits to the markets, see almost all the colonists on horseback. But "we are accustomed from the time of our forefathers to walk in the mountains," they reply, "and we are much faster on foot than you are on horseback." They are not wrong about this, and one would not like to trust one of the Paez horses, degenerated through inbreeding, to carry its rider on market days 30 kilometers over
232 hill and dale from Calderas to Inzá and back again. Since the
[556] Paez does not demand service of his horses, it is understandable that only the number of head counts for him and his reputation. How the horses look generally matters not at all; in no case is there any breeding selection, nor does a man know anything about the mating and birth of his animals, but generally finds out about a new litter only after it has arrived. Gestation times are unknown. From various parties I was assured that horses, cows, sheep, and pigs were pregnant "about a year." Castration of stallions, bulls, and rams is not known; it happens now and then in the case of boars, with the owner -- no specialist -- cutting out the testicles of the young pigs with a knife.

/140 cont./

231/ 439 Since the only purpose of keeping horses among the Paez is to have as large a number as possible, it is understandable that they place importance above all on the possession of mares. The birth of a filly is therefore a great joy and everyone would be happy to trade a grown stallion for a filly, "because it again gives foals." Unfortunately this exchange takes place only all too rarely, because the colonists are not interested in the degenerate horses of the Calderun. It is different with cows (kulá; steer = toló, heifer = novflya). Here the /141/ Calderun breed (black mottled "Holstein" and brown cattle) is healthier and usually also stronger than the cattle of the colonists. Moreover, on account of the somewhat cooler climate, their bodies are almost completely free of ticks and vermin, in contrast to the cows belonging to the inhabitants of lower altitudes, normally 231 crawling with larvae and maggots. Unlike horse meat, beef is [262] eaten, but milk is never drunk, "since the Calderun never have [272] the cows milked." The breeding goal here, too, is the greatest possible number. Thus it would never happen that a cow or calf would be slaughtered. I could not learn of any preference for a particular color, for example, black-white or brown-white, or uniformly all black or white or brown. All are liked equally well [431] by the Paez, since only the number is important. There is no special attachment between a person and his livestock, for no one gives away livestock, either as a birthday, christening, or [552] wedding present. Special names or designations for livestock or pet names are not used.

233 About half the total number of Calderun cattle and horses 422 graze on the pastures of community land. This means about 40 231 horses and 60 cattle. The figure shows that only a small number of Calderun families own a cow or a horse. The proportion [554] becomes even less favorable when one learns that there are three rich families who own about ten to 20 head of cattle and horses each. The other half of the large stock, as well as sheep, pigs, and small stock, remain near the houses and seek their fodder there. [241] They may also forage in the uncultivated fields of neighbors; they are prevented by the fences from breaking into the cultivated fields.

/141 cont./

231 Every member of the family knows every head of its herd
233 of livestock, and the men every head of the large livestock of
422 the entire village. Nevertheless, marks of ownership are used, which, for the horses, consist of branding irons with the first initial of the owner, such as are used by the colonists and may be bought there. The cattle have as marks of ownership small cuts in their ears in the form of a triangle, square, or semicircle, or a corresponding piercing of the ears. Pigs and sheep have the same marks of ownership in their ears.

231 Sheep (pǐsa) are kept chiefly for their wool, though they
236 are also eaten. The total stock of the village, however, is so
[262] small that only every third family on the average owns one or
[422] two sheep. The other families must obtain the wool they need
[437] from the sheep owners in exchange for other things (see under "Trade and Transportation" /see p. 92 /). /142/ Pigs (čúče)
231 are greatly coveted because of their meat, but there are not
[422] enough of them so that every family can own one, only about every second family. Like all the other domestic animals, they roam about freely in the vicinity of the farmyard and must forage for their food. They are prevented from getting into the fenced fields by having a frame made of three sticks hung around their necks.

[343] Stalls for the animals or regular and special feeding or
[232] care are unknown. The owner puts rock salt in the pasture areas for the cattle and horses every Sunday. Occasionally scraps of arracacha or maize are thrown in front of the house for the pigs, which must then forage for them. Chickens (ǎtaly; rooster =
235 atalyepítste, chick = atalyelúčkwe are now and then fed with maize or peck at the arracacha lying about in the dwelling. To feed baby chicks the woman chews some maize and spits out the
[685] mash for them. Every family has a few chickens, but their number does not grow large because foxes and neighbors are always
[422] stealing those wandering free. Hence the average figure remains
231 at only two to three chickens and a rooster per family. In many
262 houses guinea pigs (fits) run about, living on refuse from the kitchen and, when roasted, prized as a delicacy.

/142 cont./

231 There are dogs (álko) in almost every house. They are supposed to protect the chickens from the fox and the house from strange persons. We never met any really vicious dogs, however. They are all very undernourished and cowardly and, in addition, are of a small, short-haired breed. There are no larger dogs, say, of the size of our shepherd dogs. [262] They must hunt for their food, which consists chiefly of the meat of dead horses, since the people do not eat horse meat. Only very rarely are the remains of human meals tossed to them. Cats (mīs) are rare. Only a few families have one. They serve human beings by keeping the house and storerooms free of mice. [235] Ducks (páto) are likewise very rare; we came across only two each in two houses. They are [262] greatly prized as roasts.

Bees (čí·nc) are kept by only a few families. They are smaller than our German honeybees and of a yellowish brown color. There are no special beehives; rather, an old, hollow, but still standing tree-trunk is used. In one case they nested in a house post next to the doorway. Their honey (čí·nc mil) is dark brown, [237] like syrup. Beeswax (čí·nc) is used to strengthen the agave-fiber string with which broken chicha bowls are repaired and fireworks are made.

/143/ e) Hunting and Fishing

224 Neither plays any great role in the economy of the Paez. [433] Moreover, there is no special class of hunters or fishermen. Hunting is practiced only by the men and, for lack of big game, generally extends to smaller mammals, rabbits, monkeys, and to birds. Only in the mountains is it possible to find and to hunt the čái and gwágwa. The former is a kind of deer, so I was told, and the gwágwa a small animal similar to a badger.

The greatest frequency of the hunting trips of a man is about one day a week. Mostly, however, the men go hunting [231] less often. This is done alone with dogs in the vicinity of the [776] houses, whereas a hunting trip in the mountains is generally made by several men, since a man alone is afraid of gělyómp, the mountain spirit.

/143 cont./

224 mountain spirit. We met only a single young man of about 18 who goes hunting alone in the mountains once a week. He told us that, in order to become a good hunter, one must first try to [789] kill a bear (ĕswiy). One must then rub its fat into the right [237] lower-arm, which would give him the same powers as the bear. [262] One is not permitted to eat this fat, however, because it would [828] make him insane. After rubbing in the fat, the young hunter [263] continued, one may not eat salt at any meal for a week. There are no further rules and ceremonies of any kind to be observed. [237] We learned, however, that one can also use bear fat as a healing remedy, and, to be sure, for bone fractures or sprains one [752 757] must rub the affected part with bear fat, whereupon the injured limb will heal immediately and will become considerably 224 stronger than ever before. For stalking he wears on his head a 292 cap made of the skin of a reddish-blond hairy monkey (mŏno), [825] which in the first place protects him from the thorns of the bushes, but which is also supposed to facilitate creeping up on [439] game. He sold it to us for two pesos without hesitation, since, [126] as he said, he was perfectly capable of shooting another monkey 224 for himself. He was not afraid of the gĕlyómp spirit, but the 776 other men were, for gĕlyómp screams and makes a noise when human beings enter his area in the mountains, so that they become quite confused and go astray. The mountain spirit cannot do anything to several men together, however, since he could make as much noise as he pleased, but they would not let them- 224 selves be diverted. Of course, the men, even if there are ever so 776 many of them, must not offend the mountain spirit or provoke 515 him unnecessarily, but rather must avoid everything that gĕlyómp 783 does not like. /144/ For instance, he hates everything impure [296] and filthy. Hence the men always only go hunting well washed; [824] they even wash the entire body, and the ruana, too. In addition, they rub themselves with the cleansing herbs šu and šayuts, which they obtain from the shaman, in order to be really altogether [761] clean in a physical and ritual sense. But if someone has taken part in a burial or has merely seen a funeral procession close by, he has picked up a good deal of "pest" from the dead and must have himself specially purified by the shaman before hunting.

/144 cont./

have himself specially purified by the shaman before hunting. In case the wife of a hunter happens to be menstruating at the very time of the hunt, however, purification is of no avail; the hunter is too "dirty" and must stay at home, so as not to provoke the wrath of the gĕlyómp and thus bring misfortune on the entire hunting party.

The latter generally consists of six men with 12 dogs, without there being any regular battues, however. The hunters are equipped with shotguns, whose smooth barrels, with a caliber of about 15 millimeters, consist of strong sheet-iron. Fine sand is used as shot; powder is purchased and ignited with a spark from the flintlock.

There are no closed seasons for animals; nor is gĕlyómp angry, say, because too much game might be hunted, for "this does not happen, since there is not that much." After hunting, however, the hunter fastens the tail feathers of the birds killed to the inner side of the roof of his house and the cleanly gnawed skulls of the four-footed animals killed to its center post or center gable-post, both so as to be successful again the next time in hunting the same game. I found tail feathers of birds under the roof covering of almost every house, and frequently also three, five, or ten monkey or rabbit skulls fastened directly to the house post or strung one above the other on a string. Only once did I find, on the gable post of a small field-hut, at a man's height, below a monkey skull, a very crudely incised human figure with an oval face and six hairs standing straight up on the head (Ill. 200 /see p. 288 /). The eyes are represented by circles, the nose by a long rectangle, and the mouth by a triangle. The body is rectangular. Two semicircular lines are incised on the sides of the body. The arms start at these semicircles as two bent lines and stick out somewhat; the legs are represented in a similar way; a triangle between them is probably supposed to indicate the genitals. A Christian cross is carved on the side of the post. I was told that the human figure represents the "devil," /145/ but had nothing to do with hunting. This explanation is, of course, unsatisfactory, but I was unable to find any similar

/145 cont./

532 776 carving anywhere else or obtain an explanation anywhere (*).

* Possibly this is supposed to represent "Thunder," who, as the most important mythical figure and also as the shamans' assistant spirit, is described as a small man with the shaman staff and a triangle as a musical instrument, who displays his sexual parts.

223 Bird-hunting for the pigeon-sized tom birds is carried on by almost all Paez families with the net (ōka), as well as with the shotgun. The net is about five meters high and 20 meters wide. For this purpose a correspondingly wide breach is cut in the growth of trees or bushes on a hill or the ridge of a mountain chain, and the net fastened in the opening produced. The flushed birds, who think that there is a convenient passage at this place, fly into the net, get caught in it, and are then killed by the [237] capturers, who twist their heads. Another type of bird-catching consists of fastening a noose made of horsehair (nyákiwez; nyák = to set up, wez = string) to the twig of a tree or shrub in such a [857] way that the noose rests in a bird's nest. When the bird returns to its nest, the noose becomes entangled in its foot, and the boy -- for it is mostly boys who engage in this task of noose-setting -- 224 is able to seize the bird. Rabbits are caught in the same way with nooses, but made of agave fibers, by laying the nooses where they pass.

226 Fishing is done with hook and line at the river or with [283] poison in weirs. The fishing line (wendyánsyuts) consists of twined agave string to which are tied a metal hook and a stone as a sinker. A small worm is fastened to the hook as bait. [462] Angling is done only by men, and at twilight or at night.

226 824 171 Fishing with poisonous plants is a cultural characteristic of almost all South American Indians. For this purpose a total of more than 100 species of poisonous plants are used by them, which means that this part of the world leads all the continents in this respect (Heizer, p. 277). Among the Paez, fishing with

Among the Paez, fishing with

/145 cont./

226 poisonous plants is done once a year, in the dry season, as com-
824 munity fishing with weirs. For this purpose -- it was explained to me -- a dam of stones and earth is first made by the men. The herbs, which only grow high in the mountains and contain a poisonous substance, and which have been pulverized with stones, are tossed into the pool thus partitioned off. These herbs are called yūkse or kēse. The fish are said to die from them immediately. /146/ They are caught only by the men. But since the poisonous herbs are so far away and are to be found only with difficulty, the men are said to catch the fish sometimes unpoisoned at the weirs with their bare hands.

f) Weapons

411 The weapons of the Paez are limited to hunting weapons
[726] and children's toys, since wars are no longer fought. The only important hunting weapon today is the shotgun. As children's
[524] playthings there are the stone-sling (fsot), blowgun (pīt), and in in recent times the elastic sling (kāučēro).

[824] In former times, in the battles with the Spaniards, the
[714] Paez were said to have used lances 25 handspans long made from
[237] the wood of the chonta palm, as well as plaited shields or shields
[124] of tapir skin (Pittier, p. 327). I could find no confirmation for the present-day or even earlier use of lance and shield; my informants
[175] were familiar with neither the word nor the object. From the chroniclers, however, it is reported that the Paez, as well as other mountain peoples of this region, had learned from their battles with Spanish horsemen to defend themselves with long lances. There is, however, absolutely no foundation for a pre-Spanish use
714 of this type of lance. It is not unlikely that the Paez originally had plaited shields (opimb). The word for skin shield (himba-kat) is interesting; its present literal meaning is "horse skin." Whether himba meant "tapir" in pre-Spanish times cannot be ascertained.

/146 cont./

726 In order to defend their mountain country the Paez also used
[726] large rocks which they hurled down on the attackers from the
[177] heights. They, too, however, soon succeeded in obtaining iron
[411] and iron weapons. In their battles at the time of the Conquista they were already using swords and machetes.

411 The stone-sling plaited of agave fibers, whose manufacture
726 is described below (see under "Plaiting" /see pp. 85-86 /), is
773 of great importance mythologically in the battles with the "Pijao."
628 For geographical reasons it is the typical weapon of the American
411 mountain peoples from Tierra del Fuego to Canada, whereas the
177 blowgun, for similar reasons, is the typical weapon chiefly of the Amazonas and Orinoco forest area. The simultaneous occurrence of blowgun and sling is found all the way from Mexico to Ecuador and in Bolivia (Friederici, 1911, pp. 71-73, Pl. 13).

411 /147/ The blowgun of the Paez consists of a single barrel and is very simple in its construction. It is made only by men, but
[462] for bird-hunting is used almost solely by boys. To make it, one
[357] uses the thin, straight trunk of the fíza tree, the pith of which is
[223] burned out with a long iron tube about eight millimeters in diameter and heated red-hot. The length of the tube is two to three meters. No special mouthpiece is attached. As a sight a little piece of beeswax is pasted above the mouth of the blowgun.
[224] The ball-shaped fruits of the smbák tree, which have exactly the right caliber when green, are used as shot. The range amounts
[211] to about 20 meters. The accuracy of the shot is not great. Nevertheless, there are boys who have carved more than 20 notches above the blowhole of the tube as a record of the birds killed.

4. Crafts and Techniques

a) Treatment of Fibers

283 The fiber material used by the Paez for plaiting, weaving, nets, or ropes is primarily agave, cotton, or sheep wool. Agave and cotton are ancient American fiber plants whose homeland is probably Central America, while working with sheep wool has its tradition in the Peruvian Highlands, in working with llama or

/147 cont./

283 alpaca wool and the wool of their wild relatives, the vicuña and guanaco.

283 824 The agave (mbāts) grows in all parts of Tierradentro, and the fibers of its fleshy, watery leaves are used for plaiting, weaving, and the making of nets and ropes. The fiber must be obtained immediately after the leaf, 1.50 meters long, is struck off the plant, since the moisture is lost very rapidly and it is then very difficult to remove the dry flesh from the fibers. For this purpose every house has a tree trunk leaning diagonally against the wall in the shadow of the roof, and a string with a small stick hangs down from the upper part of it. This is stuck crosswise into the leaf hanging tip-downward, and then the pulpy parts of the agave leaf are scraped downward rapidly with a very sharp-edged, halved bamboo tube split lengthwise, until only the long, continuous, clean fibers /148/ remain (Ills. 177 and 178 /see p.279 /). These are tied loosely around a beam to dry, until sooner or later they are spun and twisted for use.

283 [462] Men and women employ different techniques to obtain thread from the agave fibers. The men twist the thread with the hand on the upper thigh, whereas the women spin the agave fiber, like the sheep wool, into thread with the spindle. Two methods of spinning are distinguished among the South American natives, depending on the shape of the [114] spindle and the way it is held. O. Frödin and E. v. [171] Nordenskiöld call these the Bororo and the Bakaïri /Bacairi/ methods, according to their characteristic occurrence. The first method is the older culture-historically. In this case the spindle staff is symmetrical in cross-section and the whorl is generally near the lower end. In spinning, the spindle is held more or less horizontally and is placed with the lower end on a forked twig stuck into the ground or is held between the toes. The spun thread is first wound onto the shorter part below the whorl and only later wound up on the main [171] part above. The principal area of distribution of this type

/148 cont./

283 of spindle lies east of the Andes, in Mojos and in eastern Ecuador.
171 The Bakaïri spindle, also designated as the "Andean drop spindle," is characterized by a conical thickening at its lower end. The whorl is slipped onto the spindle staff from above and cannot slide off, since by the Bakaïri method spinning is done only in a vertical position. The upper end of the spindle is often provided with a notch or a hook. In principle the thread is formed at the upper, longer end of the spindle shaft, in other words, exactly the opposite of the Bororo spindle. The area of distribution of the Bakaïri type is a very large one; it occurs throughout the Andean area, as well as in the Venezuelan and Brazilian forest region.

283 The spindles of the Paez (wágat; as wool spindle: káswagat) and their spinning methods cannot be said to belong strictly to either the Bororo or the Bakaïri type, since they contain elements of both. The unadorned spindle shaft is uniformly about three millimeters thick, the whorl (nyít) may either be absent or is slipped on very artlessly in the form of a crudely carved, discus-
[224] shaped bone or wood disk. Not infrequently a piece of an ear of maize, a potato, or a bean pod will serve as a whorl substitute. The spindle is held in different ways. It may hang down free perpendicularly, with the tip in perpendicular position resting on a support (upper thigh), or it is held horizontally in the air or even with the lower part upward /149/ (Ills. 179 to 180 /see p. 280 /). The position of the spindle does not depend on whether agave fiber or wool is spun, but rather it seems to be
[171] arbitrary. Whereas these characteristics point to Bakaïri spinning, at least insofar as the spindle is held downward without support, the way the thread is made and its being wound temporarily on the lower, shorter part of the spindle are characteristic of Bororo spinning, although its typical fork-shaped support, with the spindle held horizontally, is absent here. Among the Paez, the spindle is worked with the right hand. The left plucks the fibers and forms the thread. The women can sit, stand, or walk during this. Insofar as it is a matter of working with sheep wool, the women are in the habit of spinning it chiefly on the way to the

/149 cont./

283 market or on other errands; when spinning agave fibers, they sit in front of the beam around which the fibers have been tied to dry.

[236] Sheep wool (kas) is roughly cleaned and for spinning is wound, unwashed, around a rod (Ill. 179 /see p.280 /). The latter is 60-150 centimeters long and is gripped under the arm by its lower part. On its upper part it has a notch in which is fastened a string to wind around the wool and hold it on the rod. To prevent it from drying out too much, which would make spinning difficult, it is protected by being wrapped in leaves or by a cloth.

After several meters of thread have been spun and wound on the lower part of the spindle, it is removed from there and wound on the upper part. In this wound form, that is, still on the spindle staff, the thread, after the removal of the whorl, may be used as [236] a shuttle in weaving garments. For weaving the colored belts of the women, however, and for making the wool coca bags, not the simple, but the twisted wool thread is used. The agave threads are even twisted on principle for every type of use. For this purpose two single threads are twisted into a double thread 283 in a rotating direction counter to the spinning direction. This 462 process is carried out differently by men and women. The former twist either with the hand on the upper thigh or use a special instrument, the klafíca, with which the strongest ropes are also made, whereas the women use the spindle even for twisting. The direction of rotation of the twisted thread is different for men and women. Depending on the material, the former use the Z-twist in their handwork, the women the S-twist in their work with the spindle. In the twisting or ropemaking with the klafíca done by the men, the S-rotation prevails. (For indicating the /150/ direction of rotation according to these two letters, the direction of the front, diagonal part of the vertically held thread, which runs parallel to the middle part of an S or Z, is the determining factor [Fig. 34 /see p. 256/].)

/150 cont./

283 To twist the thread, the women remove the spun thread from the spindle, after they have slipped off the freely movable spinning whorl at the bottom, then grasp it in the center, and, in a loop, again put it on the spindle. Then the thread, taken doubled in this way, is twisted with the right hand, while it is disentangled and guided with three fingers of the left hand (Ill. 180 /see p. 280 /). Here, too, a smaller piece is always first twisted onto the lower, smaller part of the spindle and only later wound on the longer, upper part.

b) Ropemaking

[462] The making of ropes is men's work. True, there is also a type of rope of agave fiber that is made by women (tāpe), but these ropes are plaited in the form of a threefold braid out of three strands and are therefore plaited work. Two-strand ropes of agave fiber (mémwez) of optional length are made with the same technique as the thin, twisted agave strings. For this the klaffca (from the Spanish clavicula?) is used, a lancet-shaped, flat piece of wood about 15 centimeters long, which has notching at one end and a round perforation below it (Fig. 26 /see p. 253 /). Through the latter a stick of equal length is inserted horizontally, one end of which shows a thickening which prevents the piece of wood from sliding off. Around the notching, the middle part of a hand-twisted thread is fastened, and then the piece of wood is made to rotate. The longer part, because of its noncentric perforation, acts as a flywheel mass. In turning, the thread fastened to it is twisted. For this work, of course, a helper is required to hold the other end of the thread or rope. Three-strand ropes (láso) may also be made by the klaffca. For this purpose the three tips of the three twined agave-strands are tied to the notching of the klaffca, and the instrument is then turned in the same manner. A helper takes care of the uniform twist and uniform strength of the rope. A lasso of horsehair (séltas), as a three-strand rope, is also made with the klaffca following to the method described. The individual strands are previously turned by hand, then twisted,

/150 cont./

283 and, as the third step in the work, the extraordinarily strong rope
281 about one centimeter in diameter is produced. /151/The Lassos
283 (kádya) cut spirally from cowhide as leather strips are also twisted with the klaffca. The prerequisite is that the skin be worked in a fresh or wet state. If, after twisting, it is stretched out for a while to dry, it will keep its spiral twist. It will lose it, however, if it is pulled too hard or becomes too wet.

c) Net Techniques

286 In describing the net techniques of the Paez, I should like to distinguish between the loop technique /Schlingtechnik/ and the knot technique /Knotentechnik/. Among the articles made by the loop technique are the carrying bags of agave fiber (called "fiber bags" in the following) and the wool coca pouches; among those made by the knot technique are bird nets, hammocks, berry sieves, and slings. Agave fiber or sheep wool, both in the form of twisted threads, serves as the material.

The loop technique is used, for example, in knitting and crocheting in our European culture-circle, and, to be sure, with the technique of intertwining /Verschlingen/. The simplicity of this method of work stands in contrast to the disagreeable attendant phenomenon that the entire fabric can be destroyed by pulling one thread. The loop technique of the Paez in producing cloth is fundamentally different. It consists of the technique of simple insertion /Einhängen/. Purely as a matter of form it should be noted that neither needle nor crochet hook nor any other object is used to carry it out; rather, everything is done with the hands.

In order to connect the loops one must draw the thread in its entire length through each individual loop. Since with this technique the supply of thread in the form of a thick ball would not pass through the loops, or only with great difficulty, another way of arranging the thread supply had to be thought up. The Paez succeeded in doing this in a very clever way; they were even able to devise a serviceable substitute for a needle from the same material (Ill. 183 /see p.282 /). The thread to be worked in, wool

/151 cont./

286 or agave fiber, is folded over upon itself several times, slightly twisted, and then tied together in the center with a simple thread. The latter is knotted several times in such a way that it runs out into a point which at the same time serves as a plaiting needle. This folded thread supply, which is up to four meters long and six to eight millimeters thick, may easily be passed through each loop of the fiber bag. When a length of the thread is used up, /152/ a loop of the thread supply may promptly be pulled through the "eye" of the "needle," and this continues until the supply is used up.

The method of making the fiber bag and the wool coca [461] pouch is fundamentally the same. The work period lasts two to six weeks. In the case of the fiber bag (yáha), the largest of which may measure more than a meter in height and width, a small bottom is plaited first, from which the bag is worked, bell-shaped, in several sections up to the rim. At the start of this process, between the thumb and ring finger for the one part and between the index and middle finger for the other part, there is stretched a short piece of thread, around which the continuation of the thread is wound loosely and spirally in loops. This produces the first row of meshes (Fig. 30 /see p. 255/). The following length of thread is now again drawn back through these, so that it loosely catches the previously formed loops. Proceeding in this fashion, when the rectangular bottom has been made to a size of about two by five centimeters, one starts at a corner of it with the first section. Here, too, as in the entire plaiting, the thread continues in the same technique. In order to enlarge the bag, as many additional rows are interlaced in each loop of the bottom as are desired to widen the bag.

At the end of the work a broad row of holes is worked into the bag three loops below its upper rim, and this serves for fastening the carrying band. This band terminates in loops at both ends, conditioned by the method of weaving (see below). For fastening, the first loop of the band is drawn through a rim eyelet from the inside and put first around the top toward the back. Then the second loop is drawn down through the first loop and only then back again through the eyelet of the bag toward the top-back as before. The last loop of the band is knotted with

/152 cont./

286 the beginning or end warp thread of the carrying band in an eyelet of the bag.

The making of the woolen coca pouch (kwatandyáha), literally "lime pouch," the size of which varies between 12 and 35 centimeters, is done in the same technique as the manufacture of the fiber bags. The process, after the bottom is made, is done 286 in three sections, the middle one of which stands out externally 531 because of its colored, chessboard-like pattern, which is bordered above and below by a row of triangles. Since this colored section is likewise plaited from the bottom to the upper rim, thread of a different color is required for each change of color. These threads of a different color are twisted into ropes in the same way as in the case of the fiber bags and held together with a wool thread which serves as a plaiting needle. The number of /153/ colored squares in the unit area is constant, and their arrangement, conditioned by the plaiting, is necessarily diagonal (Ills. 154 /see p. 268 / and 203 /see p. 290 /).

286 The fastening of the carrying band, made by plait-weaving (see below /see p. 85 /), to the coca bag is done in the same way as that of the carrying band of the fiber bag.

The fabrics made by the knot technique are generally wide-meshed and include primarily the various kinds of nets. The knots are formed by tightly pulling suitable loops or interlacings so that the more or less loose meshes cannot shift. To obtain uniform meshes, the bird nets (ōka) and hammocks of the Paez are worked with a mesh stick whose height of about five centimeters corresponds to the size of the mesh (Fig. 31 /see p. 255 /). The material is the twisted agave thread. To make the net -- and the hammock -- the loops of the rows of meshes are made by means of the "symmetrical knot" (Fig. 34c /see p. 256 /). For this the ascending thread travels from back to front over the open part of the mesh and, passing over the latter horizontally, runs downward again in the loop produced. The mesh stick is always pressed from below firmly against the row of knots above, whereby the new knots bind it in tightly on its underside. This produces perfectly uniform meshes. The dimensions of the bird net -- spread out -- may reach a size of five by 20 meters.

/153 cont./

286 The hammock (máka), as the Spanish name already indi-
[177] cates, is a borrowed article and not generally distributed in the Andean cultures. Among the Paez it is used only for children. Its dimensions, with 100 meshes, are about 100 by 100 centimeters. It is hung up with agave or horsehair ropes, which are looped through the upper and lower rows of meshes and then tied to house posts.

[415] The berry sieves (tása) are present in almost every household. They are about 30-60 centimeters in diameter and are stretched inside a round wooden frame. The meshes are formed by means of the "fishnet knot" (Fig. 34d /see p. 256 /). This draws together very closely and is then scarcely recognizable in its structure.

The sling (ísut) is made with various techniques. For its
283 manufacture the dried fibers of the agave leaf are used just as they are obtained when the leaf is stripped. A knot is made at the tip of the bundle of fibers, and it is then divided into two parts. Both are turned by hand in the same direction and then twined by rotation in the opposite direction. This produces /154/ -- conditioned by the naturally thickening material -- a two-strand rope of steadily increasing strength. Since it is twisted only by hand, it threatens to lose its tightness with greater thickness. Hence, after about 50 centimeters, the hank is divided into three parts and plaited for about the same length in the manner of a three-strand braid.

286 To make the net for holding the sling stone (Fig. 29 /see
284 p.255 /), the three plaiting strands are divided into seven strands which, in each case, are separated from the plaited part by a simple finger knot. From each of these knots two double strands continue, which, put diagonally, are tied together by a double finger knot.

The length of the net part is about 20 centimeters. At its end it changes back to a three-strand braid by way of a simple finger knot. It should be noted in this connection that the middle strand at the beginning of the braid is caught in the threads of an adjacent knot. This prevents the plaiting from loosening up as it goes into the net and losing its tightness. The same

/154 cont./

284 reinforcement is found at the other end of the net in the transition
286 to the braid part. The further procedure up to the completion of the sling corresponds to the beginning. At one end a sliding loop is tied by means of a knot, which, when the sling is used, is drawn over the middle finger.

d) Plaiting

283 The technique of plaiting is practiced among the Paez only
285 in plaiting bands for making straw hats (šwá) and for making three-strand ropes. The latter are plaited by the women in various lengths and strengths from agave fibers in the normal form of the three-strand braid. There are no plaited baskets, sieves, fans, bands, etc. of any kind among the Paez.

294 The shape of the Paez hats seems to imitate those of the
285 whites. It is the same for men, women, and children. They are made only by the men. The dry leaves of the šyēts reed, which are first torn into strips about one centimeter wide, serve as material. To be worked up they are then divided once more by being torn lengthwise into five to ten narrow strips from one to two millimeters wide. The quality and value of the hat depends on the fineness of these strips, for the finer the plaiting strips are the more waterproof and durable the hat is. It /155/ is made from a single plaited band (čemótč) sewed together in spirals -- starting from the center of the hat.

The plaiting of the band is done without any aids, in the form of diagonal plaiting with 11 strips (Fig. 33 /see p.256 /). At the start of the work they are bent in the middle and thus used double in such a way that the upper side of the reed leaf is on the outside. The second strip is inserted into this initial bend at right angles and likewise bent. This is done alternately until all 11 strips have been worked into a band approximately six to ten millimeters wide. The further plaiting work is continued with the double strips. For this the first double strip is always bent from the outside downward toward the center, in order to be drawn over the second, under the third and fourth, and over the fifth and sixth.

/155 cont./

294 From the other side there is a corresponding procedure with the
285 then outer plaiting-strip, so that the strips are plaited alternately from both sides always only to the center. This produces a very uniform and firm band.

A thread of the agave fiber is used to sew the plaited bands together. In order to give the hat brim sufficient stiffness, leaf ribs are sewed on the underside over the seams.

e) Weaving

285 The demarcation of plaiting from weaving is not uniform.
286 In the literature written in English the two are generally not dif-
114 ferentiated. According to H. Nevermann (pp. 4-6), the following conditions must be given for the simplest technique of weaving, namely, rod weaving /Stabweberei/, such as is also practiced among the Paez: 1) the stretching of the threads or fibers on a frame, 2) long weft threads, 3) rectangular crossing of warp and weft, 4) mechanical formation of the first and second shed. The last point is the decisive one, for in plaiting each weft thread must be drawn separately over or under each separate warp thread, whereas in weaving this is done over a certain number of longitudinal threads simultaneously by means of a heddle rod or something similar. More complicated types of weaving, for example, little-board weaving, comb weaving, or braid-grid weaving /Brettchenweberei, Kamm- or Litzengatterweberei, types of weaving found in Indonesia and described by Nevermann, pp. 16-18 (see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 325)/, do not occur among the Paez.

/156/ 1. Weaving Apparatus for Carrying Bands

286 The weaving apparatus for the carrying bands of the fiber bags (vitoñsāpc) consists of a forked branch, the sides of which must not be too far apart and should, if possible, run parallel. Its size is 60 to 80 centimeters in height and between 20 and 60

/156 cont./

286 centimeters in width. Two rods corresponding to the breast beam and warp beam (pšátegwe) for the vertically stretched warp threads (yáhawes) are tied horizontally to the forked frame with bark bast (Fig. 35 /see p. 257/).

For weaving by the method used by the Paez, a special warping device, which otherwise, in weaving with a spiral warp, is required in some form for the preparatory stretching of the warp threads, becomes superfluous. The Paez weaving is done neither according to the method of the continuous circular warp nor according to the method of the terminating flat warp, but constitutes a mixture of both in the form of the so-called "false spiral warp." The warp threads run circularly around the breast and warp beams and form two planes, one below and one above the beams. They are not, however, stretched spirally, but like a parallel warp. They are fastened by means of a small horizontal stick around which the first warp thread is wound with a loop. This then runs all the way around the frame to the horizontal stick again, passing over the latter from back to front, and going back again around the frame in the opposite direction. Alternating in this fashion, all the warp threads are stretched to the desired width. After the last warp thread has passed around the horizontal stick, it is knotted and immediately used as the first weft thread.

The weaving is done according to the method of the simple rod weaving. The texture is always the texture of linen. Instead of a regular shed rod and heddle rod, loops of bast or agave fiber constitute the aids for the mechanical shed formation. The shed loop (batsnés) grasps warp threads 1, 3, 5, 7, etc. together; the heddle loops (nyúgwe) grasp the warp threads of the even numbers singly in one long loop each, and they in turn are tied together at the top. The mechanical shed formation is done by alternately raising the shed loops and the heddle loops (Ill. 182 /see p. 281 /).

[824] The shuttle (bánka) consists merely of a wound ball of thread; the sword (kyíta) is carved from the hard wood of the chonta palm pointed at both ends, and semicircular in cross-section.

As a result of the way they are stretched, the warp threads in /157/ their entirety may be drawn around the horizontally lashed tension rods during the weaving, so that the piece being woven

/157 cont./

286 always lies conveniently in front of the woman for the weft. The beginning and end of the woven part start at a distance of about three centimeters from the horizontal stick. At the end the last weft thread is knotted at the edge of the warp. When the stick is pulled out, the band comes off the frame. Since the warp threads terminate in loops, the texture of the band cannot become slack.

2. Weaving Apparatus for Cloth

286 The weaving of cloth of larger dimensions for clothing is
294 also done in the technique of the linen texture and according to the same method as the weaving of the carrying bands for the
[581] fiber bags. Every woman can do both, for she herself must be able to make all the material needed by her family for clothing; otherwise a girl has no prospect of getting married.

The weaving apparatus stands upright and consists of two strong posts which are rammed into the ground about two meters apart in front of the house, but still in the shelter of the roof. Into each of these posts, a little above the ground, a notch is cut, into which the breast beam is placed horizontally and lashed. Its position with respect to height is unchangeable. The warp beam, likewise horizontal, may be lashed to the vertical post with ropes higher or lower, depending on the length of the cloth to be woven, whereby a uniform tension of the warp threads is achieved.

The non-twisted woolen warp threads are stretched in the same way as in the case of the carrying bands for the fiber bags. The width is determined by the piece of material to be woven.
[461] The work period for a woman's skirt takes a total of about six months. In order to attain a certain decorative effect in the finished piece, between the uncolored sheep-wool warp-threads are stretched likewise uncolored or differently colored cotton threads which, in the subsequent dyeing process with plant dyes, do not take on this coloring.

/157 cont./

286
294 The shed rod consists of a round, straight wooden rod. The heddle loops are held by a horizontally stretched string immovable in height, which is tied left and right to the two vertical posts of the weaving apparatus. The sword is semicircular in cross-section, pointed at both ends, and carved out of the dark, hard wood of the chonta palm. Its width is /158/ three to four centimeters, its length about 60 centimeters. The shuttle consists of a rod on which the thread is wound crosswise. Sometimes the spindle with the spun thread is used for this.

Making the shed for the insertion of the shuttle is laborious for -- depending on the width of the piece to be woven -- not all the corresponding warp threads can be pulled forward simultaneously with the heddle loops. The woman doing the weaving is able to grasp only about half a dozen heddle loops at a time with one hand and pull them forward, in order to push along the sword slowly and form the shed. Even before the shed has reached the width of a sword length, the shuttle must already be pushed along, so that the weft can only be carried through in stages, as it were, with the shed formed by the heddle loops (Ill. 181 /see p. 281/). The shed formation with the wooden shed rod is essentially simpler, since the latter may easily be drawn forward to form the countershed and the heddle loops yield.

The beginning and end of the woven material are determined by the width of the only thin cross-rod, since at the end the shed rod is drawn out and the cross-rod takes on its function. In the loops left at the beginning and end, weft threads are drawn through by hand in the same form of the plain linen texture, until the loops are filled out. The last weft thread in each case is taken threefold so that a firm selvage is produced.

3. Weaving Apparatus for Women's Belts

Originally every woman was able to weave the women's belts
[463] (táw), the most difficult type of weaving among the Paez. Today it is almost a specialist's work, for in Calderas there are only five women left who are able to weave the women's belts themselves.

/158 cont./

286 One of them, Talesia Pame, has even developed a small in-
294 dustry from this ability. She now weaves women's belts almost
438 exclusively and barters them for food and other things. She is
463 in her early thirties and has three children. Her oldest daughter, about 12 years old, is also learning from her mother how to weave belts.

286 The weaving apparatus (tawkyáviton) is fundamentally the
294 same type as the one for the bands of the fiber bags. The fork-shaped mounting of the frame is somewhat wider and correspondingly longer. The weaving material is wool. The preparation for making the patterns in different colors consists of stretching the warp threads of corresponding color, which, as in the case of the fiber-bag bands, are laid around a small cross-stick. /159/ The weft thread is always plain white and, in the form of a ball, is used as the shuttle. The general arrangement of the warp threads is such that on both outer sides a number of white warp threads are stretched, then follow four of red, yellow, blue, or some other color, which, in the completed woven band, appear in each case as a colored stripe running through it. The ornamented center section consists of four white warp threads followed by two red ones. The latter serve to produce the pattern and are the only warp threads of the belt that are not woven in the linen-texture technique. They are therefore not included in the shed loop that takes every second warp thread. There are two heddle loops, one of which grasps the warp threads corresponding to the shed loop, while the other grasps the red warp threads of the ornamental chain of the center stripe (Ills. 187 to 190 /see p. 284/).

In weaving the linen texture, shed loops and heddle loops are used in the normal technique. The red warp threads of the second heddle loop are lifted up -- altogether or in part, depending on the design to be formed -- while beneath them the weaving continues in the normal linen texture. Thus, if all the red threads are lifted together, a red cross-stripe is produced as the simplest design, the height of which depends on the length of time the second heddle loop remains lifted. In making designs

/159 cont./

286 for which only certain red threads are used, the weaver counts
294 the required number and holds these up for the time being with a special shed rod consisting of a small piece of reed. The red warp threads not required fall down under and appear on the back side of the band, in part as a negative pattern and in part covered by the white warp threads.

[531] No patterns exist for the weaving designs. In general it is a matter of traditional forms -- human beings, rhombuses, triangles -- although imaginative women include Latin letters in their store of ornaments.

On account of the space required for the arrangement for the mechanical shed formation, the band terminates in loops about ten centimeters long, which are removed from the cross-rod and plaited circularly with four strips each.

f) Plait-weaving

286 Whereas the carrying bands of the fiber bags (yáha) are woven in the technique of rod weaving in linen texture, the wool carrying /160/ bands of the coca pouches (kwatandyáha) are made in the plait-weaving technique. This means textile techniques which are not weaving because of the lack of mechanical shed formation in the manufacturing, but which also do not represent plaiting because of the vertical and horizontal course of their threads. The bands are about 1.50 centimeters wide and 76 centimeters long. At a superficial glance they give the impression of being plaited freehand because of their thickness. Their thickness results, however, from the turning and simultaneous crossing of the warp threads in the plaiting (cf. Ill. 152 /see p. 267/).

To make the band a frame similar to the one for weaving the carrying band for the fiber bag is required. The warp threads are stretched in the same way; the beginning and end are fastened to a similar cross-stick. Warp and weft are perpendicular to each other, but there is no mechanical shed formation.

/160 cont./

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531

For the plaiting process, which proceeds from the top down, there are stretched beside one another -- in their sequence -- four red warp threads, four white, four blue, four white, and again four red threads. At the start, two to three centimeters are woven in the customary linen texture. Then begins the plaiting of the band with the rhombus design. To do this, the weft, made up of one red thread, is drawn through two like-colored warp threads twisted one over the other. The twisting of the warp threads first goes in an inward direction; thus the right warp threads are twisted to the left, the left ones to the right, but always in a complete turn of 360°. Their sequence after the twisting is exactly as before. To form the rhombus design, the twisted warp threads are at the same time crossed under one another.

To lead back the weft threads, the still crossed warp threads are beaten from below upward with a pointed shed rod, usually the weaving sword, and the weft thread is led back through the opening thus made. This releases the twist of the warp threads. Now the position of the warp and weft threads once again corresponds to the normal linen texture.

To complete the rhombus, that is, to form the lower part, the warp threads are now reversed, twisted from the inside to the outside, and then one proceeds appropriately in the same manner as described.

The weft threads are pulled quite taut so that they disappear within the texture, and only the warp threads are to be seen. Their distance from one another -- conditioned by the twisted warp threads -- is relatively great.

/161/The decisive characteristic of this plait-weaving and its distinction from the weaving of the patterned belts of the women (táw) consists in the fact that the same patterns appear on the front and back side of the plaited band, though always shifted by half of their dimensions.

As variants of the simple rhombus pattern described, there may be two rhombuses next to each other or five small rhombuses in a diagonal arrangement. In this case the back side does not

/161 cont./
286 show the same design, but rather one that results from the cross-
531 ing of the twisted warp threads.

g) Dyeing

386 The Paez feel that black is the most beautiful color.
824 Hence almost all the home-woven garments of the men and
[822] women are dyed black, and only rarely does one see articles of clothing in the yellowish-white natural color of sheep wool.
[462] Dyeing is women's work and is done with certain plants, which, however, dye only the animal material used in weaving, but
[294] not that from plants. This peculiarity of the dyes is utilized by the Paez to make patterns in their clothing by weaving into the sheep-wool fabrics a few cotton warp threads, which, in the subsequent dyeing, retain their original color.

Every woman is in a position to dye her home-woven fabrics black. To do this the pieces of fabric are boiled in a pot for about two hours, along with the leaves of the šal tree or the zóte tree (according to Hernandez, 1946, p. 944, with the leaves of a Phyllanthus) and then buried for two days and two nights with these leaves in a pit in black, rich humus earth (ašáktič). Then they are taken out again, washed thoroughly, and allowed to dry. The black dye is now lightfast and waterproof. The cotton ornamental stripes in the women's clothing, which are not affected by this dyeing process, are either natural
[283] in color, red, or green. They are bought by the women in the desired color, since cotton is not spun by the Paez.

386 The threads of different colors used to make the coca bags
824 and the women's belts were originally all dyed by the Paez
177 women with vegetable dyes. Today this is done only in part,
[439] for anyone who has the money buys aniline dyes at the market in Inzá or Belalcázar; they are more popular because of their stronger coloring and greater luminosity. Similarly, the cotton purchased in thread already dyed is more popular for making women's belts, since it is brighter or more brilliant.

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386 The following colors are produced with vegetable dyes: red
824 (mbe; also the color designation for pink, ocher, brown) with the roots of a plant called béwoetse. (According to Hernandez, this is the Rubiaceae Relbunium hypocarpium.) The wool threads are boiled with these roots for about an hour and they are then put in the sun. For blue coloring (séin; light blue = séin-séin) the threads are boiled with the leaves of the indigo tree for an hour; for green coloring (oálye séin; oálye = species of bird with green feathers, thus literally "oálye blue"), with the leaves of the tamp tree; and for yellow coloring (škítc), with the leaves of the mūzec tree. The results of the dyeing are not always uniform. There are always deviations in the color. With a little experience, however, one can differentiate them from the purchased chemical dyes.

h) Pottery

323 The art of pottery is very little developed among the Paez and is essentially limited to larger or smaller, crudely fashioned, spherical-shaped pots (mītc) with a lip slightly curved outward. In use they are not hung up, but placed between the three hearthstones for cooking. Smaller, shallower bowls serve for roasting
[531] the coca leaves. There are no vessels with handles. There is no ornamentation of any kind, neither painting, nor incising, nor
[415 531 824] finger imprints. For drinking chicha or for fetching water only gourd calabashes (tōka) are used, which are exactly as unadorned and purely functional as the ceramic vessels.

323 The making of pots is a specialist's work. In Calderas there
463 are three potters, two of whom are women. Only one of them, however, Santos Kiskue, works to keep a supply, whereas the other two make pots only on order. Santos Kiskue is about 40 years old and has a wife and four living children; four others
[437] are dead. He has a horse, but no cow and no sheep. The latter he can do without, since he barters his pots chiefly for wool.

The technique of pottery among the Paez is a spiral coil technique. Since the shapes are very simple, a special

Since the shapes are very simple, a special
/162 cont./
463 apprenticeship with a master is not absolutely necessary; Santos
323 Kiskue, at any rate, began making pots by himself after an
[467] accident that left him with a stiff left wrist. He uses the unmixed clay that stands near his house. Out of this, constantly moistening it, he shapes on a /163/ board lying on the ground an even, round "clay sausage," which he then presses flat with the palm of his hand. He builds up his pots out of this in spirals. They are put with their lower part on a shallow clay bowl, so that he can turn them easily in closing up the junctures (Ills. 184 to 186 /see pp. 282-283/). He lets the freshly made pots dry for about a week under a roof, then he takes them to a place where there is sufficient dry wood. Here he places the pots very close together, stacks wood and twigs over them, and lets them burn for about two hours. They are then ready for use.

i) Candlemaking

388 At the three annual church festivals a large number of
[796] candles (mbéla; Spanish: vela) are used to decorate the church.
[462] They are in part purchased, but largely homemade. Everyone is
[824] familiar with the process of manufacture, but for the festivals it is men's work. The wax is obtained from the wood laurel (Myrica pubescens Willd), whose small fruits, measuring about five to eight millimeters in diameter, are harvested in great masses in April and May. For this purpose the twigs are struck off and stripped of the fruits over the round berry net that is put in the opening of a large fiber bag. After they are dried, they are poured into a bag, boiled, and squeezed. The wax, caught in a vessel and dried, was formerly an important commercial product in the trade with the whites. In making the candles, wax is poured over the wicks until the proper thickness is obtained.

k) Fireworks

389 No celebration and no church festival is possible without
[796] setting off the greatest possible number of fireworks. The fire-
[541] crackers required for this are made by the men themselves.
[462]

/163 cont./

389 The powder, however, must be bought. As for its production,
822 the general opinion is that it is made from human beings. The
829 whites, they believe, fatten human beings, then hang them,
[439] and, while they are still alive, tap their fat, from which they then make powder. That is why the Paez do not like to send their children far away and do not let them go to the whites, because they believe that the latter would catch them in order to make powder from them.

824 /164/ To make the fireworks a piece of sheep gut is used,
389 filled with powder and wound tightly with an agave string.
[237] The latter is waxed with beeswax for extra strength. One of
[283] these powder cases is used for the smaller firecrackers (koétes), while two, one over the other, are used for the larger firecrackers (kwatón), and under these is placed the fuse, which consists of a small bamboo tube, one to five centimeters long, filled with powder (Fig. 32 /see p. 256 /). These two or three parts are wrapped in a maize leaf and fastened to a bamboo splice 20-60 centimeters long. When it is lighted, the firecracker rises to a height of 50 meters with a considerable whistle and then explodes.

5. Trade and Transportation

438 One cannot speak of trade in the commercial sense among the Paez, for they trade almost solely among themselves and
[441] abhor everything that has to do with business. Moreover, since there is no merchant class among them, there is no carrying trade. Merchants are regarded as do-nothings who, though they
[437] are needed, are nevertheless despised. Fundamentally the self-contained household economy predominates, and whatever one family does not have it barters for within the same village if
439 possible. Only when this is not possible, thus when industrial products are involved, does one go to the weekly market held regularly at Inzá or Belalcázar, in order to buy the necessary articles. These include, above all, salt, as well as spades, machetes, aluminum pots, knives, scissors, spoons, needles,

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439 cloth for trousers, and all European clothing. Furthermore, every type of ornament must be bought, such as necklaces, earrings, and finger rings, then cotton, since it is finer and shinier than sheep wool, and aniline dyes for dyeing women's belts and coca bags, since they are more brilliant and clearer than the native vegetable dyes. The trip to market and the necessary trade, however, are not undertaken because of an inclination for business, pleasure in bargaining or in underbidding or outbidding, but out of the necessity to procure an [438] article that they cannot make themselves. If it is at all [797] possible, one tries to buy the required things in the village, for example, from the missionaries, and the purchase with money or the trip to market is, so to speak, the ultima ratio.

437 They do not bargain. The man -- /165/ and it is almost al-
439 ways he who shops -- asks the price, and if it seems too high --
[462] as in most cases -- he says "too expensive." If the tradesman lowers the price, he usually buys; if not, he goes on to the next stand.

The traders are never Paez, but always white and mestizo colonists. They know, of course, about the disinclination of the Paez to bargain, and they charge too high a price to begin with, so as to ask a still inflated normal price after the obligatory "too expensive." Thus the Paez are naturally cheated. They let themselves be too easily dazzled by an attractive display or packaging, for example, by the polish or the silver paper; also a more expensive green or red comb is preferred over a black one. Fortunately, one might say, they never have much money and can therefore never spend too much.

126 The way in which I was obliged to acquire the women's
439 colored belts for our collection is characteristic. Since every woman possesses only two at the most, one to fasten her skirt and the other to carry her baby, any attempt to buy them was [101] always useless. I had therefore bought at the market in Inzá a few women's belts which are made by the Guambiano, the tribe neighboring the Paez on the west, and are sold in Inzá. [184] They are made of cotton, the white color of which in the freshly

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126 worked state is considerably more brilliant than the somewhat
439 yellowish sheep wool. Moreover, their aniline dyes gleam much
184 more brightly than the vegetable dyestuffs of the Paez dyes.
126 Unfortunately, they are shorter than the Paez belts. Neverthe-
439 less, the trade was most happily made. The coca pouches of
437 our collection, too, we acquired entirely by way of barter, for example, for a pair of scissors at the Bogotá price of 50 centavos. At the market in Inzá such a pair costs about a peso. The Paez know this. Nevertheless, the same persons who had previously refused a sale for five pesos exchanged a pouch for a pair of scissors. It was the same with eggs. They would not sell them for 20 centavos, but traded them for a wax candle which was available everywhere for five centavos.

43 In the case of their own products, there is no trade from village to village. Nor is there any exchange of certain specialties outside the village, since the initiative for special achievements or the unusual always comes from the colonists or foreign traders. In general the Paez do not buy and sell among themselves, but only barter, since money is used very unwillingly among them. Their idea that an article sold, /166/ for example, an egg, may bring misfortune to the part retained, in this case the chicken, may play a role in this. Moreover, even today paper money is scarcely ever accepted, first because they usually do not have a special pocketbook, but put the bills in their coca pouch, where they may be easily torn, and, secondly, because many are in the habit of burying their money or hiding it somewhere. In this way the bills soon become moldy, whereas hard money lasts a long time. The latter is therefore extremely rare in the entire Tierradentro area.

435 In the barter of foodstuffs there are certain rates that every-
437 body knows. Since, furthermore, they always make an effort to furnish only satisfactory goods, there are no exaggerated claims or any reason for bargaining or haggling. It is simply: either-or, especially since market phenomena have no effects, and the barter rates are in no way increased in times of shortage or want. Thus, at the time of my visit, sheep and therefore wool were very

/166 cont./

435 437 scarce. Nevertheless, the barter rate of the wool of a sheep for a bag of maize was not shaken.

The sheep themselves were generally not bartered, but only [804] the wool, which amounts to about a pound. The equivalent is a tomín (Span. pile) of sugar cane piled up in a mound about a meter wide at the base and a meter high. In exceptional cases of bartering sheep, I was told that the equivalent is ten tomín of sugar cane or 12 pounds of coca leaves or two arrobas of maize (one Spanish arroba corresponds to approximately 12.5 kilograms). In this case, as in many barter transactions, the customary barter equivalents sometimes deviate considerably from the market prices customary among the Paez. (The official market prices in the trade with the colonists on the weekly market are about five times as high.) Thus, for example, one tomín of sugar cane is worth 20 centavos, but one pound of wool from a sheep, one peso. Arracacha is also bartered in the form of a tomín quantity, which comes to about ten to 12 pieces. The value in money is ten centavos. One pound of coca leaves is exchanged for one pound of salt (value 20 centavos) or one pound of rice or ten eggs. The latter cost 25 centavos apiece at the weekly market in Inzá. The Paez use stones as pound weights, which are gauged accord- [405] ing to a pound of salt bought from a trader in Inzá. Two calabashes fastened to a scale beam serve as scales.

[804] Potatoes are bartered in cuartillas and measured out in large wooden bowls which are made by the Paez themselves and contain about ten pounds. The equivalent consists of half a bottle of brandy. This would come to 80 centavos at a trader's, as the barter /167/ amounts of a tomín of sugar cane or a fiber bag full of maize indicate. Vegetable and fruit bananas are bartered by the whole bushels (tlóits), which, however, in Tierradentro contain only about 30 to 50 bananas. Two bushels are worth a bag of maize. Beans, like maize, are bartered in fiber bags, and [432] a bag full of cabbage has the same value. Chicha is not sold, but [431] only given away. [273]

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435 Livestock can be exchanged for other livestock or for food-
437 stuffs. For example, a stallion has the value of 20 pounds of coca leaves or a man's ruana; a mare, however, is much dearer and is exchanged for the maize harvest of a field about 100 square meters in area, to be harvested by the buyer himself. Similarly, one can exchange the harvest of a maize field for a steer or a heifer. (The latter has a monetary value of 30 to 40 pesos.) The exchange or sale of a cow, on the other hand, is not possible under any circumstances. Pigs have the relatively low value of only three to five pesos; they are exchanged for five pounds of coca, ten bags of maize, or ten tomín of sugar cane. One may also exchange a small sow or a full-grown hog for a steer. The latter has the value of about 15 pesos, a mare about 20 to 30 pesos. Stallions are gladly exchanged for a foal. They are valued at 15 pesos. Whereas the exchange of a stallion for a cow is impossible because of the latter's higher value, stallions are often exchanged for bulls, especially by hosts who need beef to feed their guests.

It is significant that a head of cattle or a horse cannot be exchanged for quickly consumed foodstuffs, such as maize, arracacha, beans, potatoes, bananas, etc., since the latter do not last long enough and the buyer of the foodstuffs feels that he will not get sufficient use out of his exchange. On the other hand, coca leaves still on the tree, maize on the stalk, or a sugar cane field are quite possible as media of exchange. Victoriano, for example, exchanged for a foal a sugar cane field about 50 by 50 meters in area, which the new owner may harvest as needed. Such an exchange, however, is possible only for
[185] persons who are as industrious as Victoriano. In general the Paez is much too disinclined to work for a future supply, especially if he is not even to have the use of it later on; besides, he is much too fond of drinking his own chicha to give away a two-year old sugar cane field.

439 The goods are transported to the market by men and women,
482 albeit more by the former than by women. This seems quite
484 surprising, for the civilized Indios, as well as many colonists, are in the habit of riding to market unencumbered by any load,

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484 while the /168/ woman on foot lugs the goods behind. From
439 Calderas more men than women visit the market. For both it
482 is a very welcome occasion to become intoxicated. The
[273] owners of the taverns try to prevent the stealing of the much
[275] coveted beer and whiskey glasses, popularly practiced by the Paez, by chaining the glasses to the tavern tables.

On market days it is customary to leave very early and to transport the loads in the fiber bags in the customary way: the men take the carrying belt diagonally across their chests and the women hold it with their foreheads. In both cases the bag hangs on their backs. Then generally travel in groups of twos or threes, but not infrequently one also meets solitary
[432] individuals. Provisions are taken along, for, as a matter of
[273] principle, nothing is bought on the way except chicha or brandy.
[485] If it is necessary to stay overnight, nothing is paid for this. They sleep either at the entrance of a house of acquaintances or spend the night in the open field.

439 For traveling and for the visit to the market they try to wear
484 at least one article of European clothing, a felt hat, a shirt, or
[291] a blouse. The quality plays only a minor role, since the worst
[177] shirt is still more desirable than the finest ruana. A person who cannot buy anything in the way of clothing at least ties a black
[262] band around his hat, such as the felt hats have. Provisions are carried along in the fiber bag, roasted maize, cabbage, potatoes,
[415] arracacha. A person who can carries with him two or three of
484 the woolen coca pouches, in one of which there is coca and lime,
461 in another one money, and in the third the plaiting material
[285] for the straw hat. Almost all the men do this plaiting work, which actually is not work at all, but more like a "blind occupation," when they have nothing else to do, either when visiting, on the way to market, or also during the shaman ceremonies.
[283] The women, no matter where one meets them, are equally in-
[285] dustrious and always busy with spinning or plaiting the fiber bags or the wool coca-pouches. Like the men, they carry their work material with them in a second wool pouch.

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484 Special orientation devices for traveling are unknown and are unnecessary, since no one leaves the wider area of his home district. Anyone taking a route for the first time joins someone who knows the way. One does not travel by night, and for this [482] reason the stars do not serve for orientation. The average load to be sold on market days is about 20 to 25 pounds for men; if a married couple goes together, the man usually carries the load, and the woman, the provisions. The daily distances covered are considerable. From Calderas by way of San /169/ Andrés to the market at Inzá is almost 20 kilometers. It takes about [492] six hours on foot. On horseback it is not much less, since one cannot ride fast on the steep paths of the countryside. Many Paez manage this route back and forth in one day, albeit only "without becoming intoxicated on the way," which is not altogether simple.

487 The traffic routes consist of narrow footpaths which can be traveled by walking or riding only in single file. As for roads 491 for wagons or autos, there is only one at present: the gravel auto road from La Plata to Belalcázar, traveling up the Rio Paez. Since the end of 1952, however, a connecting road to Inzá is being built with modern American road-building equipment, which will then open up to traffic the southern, less mountainous area of Tierradentro, settled exclusively by colonists, and its products, coffee and panela /see the glossary, p.249 /. These roads are cut directly out of the sometimes very steep slopes and cross rivers and brooks with modern iron bridges.

491 The Paez, too, are accustomed to crossing the waterways 484 on bridges. It is not customary to wade across, unless it is a matter of very shallow brooks. Even then large stones are usually set in them, by means of which one can reach the opposite 491 shore with dry feet. The bridges of Paez may be divided into three groups, according to their construction. The simplest type is that of two thick poles or tree trunks placed side by side, without a railing, which span the ditches around the farmyards [825] and gardens that substitute for fences. Such ditches are supposed to prevent horses, cattle, and pigs from entering. Over the

/169 cont./
491 rivers (*), for example, the Rio Kokiyó, which flows through

[114] * I did not see anywhere the simplest form of a bridge mentioned by H. Pittier (p. 320) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 326/ in the northern part of Tierradentro, a bridge which people cross hand over hand on a liana stretched across the river.

the Calderun region, there are strong bridges over which even
491 loaded horses may go without trouble. This type of bridge
499 consists of two tree trunks placed a good meter apart, upon which poles are tied crosswise as planking. Only about every fifth planking pole is lashed, while the ones in between are held fast by a longitudinal beam laid over each of the main supports. On either side of the bridge, poles are tied vertically and horizontally as a railing and at the same time serve to support the roofing. The latter is a characteristic of all such bridges (Ills. 194 and 195 /see pp. 285 and 286/). One finds it not only on the bridges in the colonists' region of Tierradentro, but /170/ also, for example, on the bridges of the upper Magdalena River, the region around San Agustín.

The third type of bridge is found in two artfully constructed arched bridges made of bamboo over the Rio Paez at Belalcázar and Avirama (Ills. 191 to 193 and 196 /see pp. 285 and 286/).
[284] They are both quite similar in construction and, like all the other bridges of the Paez, made without nails or other iron parts, but simply lashed with bast and lianas. For reinforcement, however, two wire cables have now been stretched underneath.
491 Although even the Spaniards at the time of the conquistadors
177 report on the "weak and flexible bamboo bridges" and on the
499 "liana bridges" of Tierradentro (Hernandez, 1944, p. 189), in
[175] the case of the two above-mentioned arched bridges, which are relatively difficult to construct, it seems not to be a matter of an original Paez technique. Indeed, these would be the only suspension bridges of this type in pre-Spanish South America.

/170 cont./

491 Rather, these constructions seem to be a borrowing from the
177 Negro slaves who were brought into the region around Belalcázar
499 in very early times in order to work the gold and salt mines there. Both bridges would then be an African culture element in the Tierradentro region. They are suitable only for people. Larger animals are pulled through the river with ropes and must swim part of the way.

499 The two groups of posts on each bank -- a very modern method of bridge anchorage -- upon which the arch of the bridge hangs, are supported by a number of stakes driven into the ground farther up the bank. Bamboo poles serve as joining and holding material. The footway held from above is made with split bamboo, pounded flat. Additional bamboo tubes, secured by
[476] lianas, form the railing. For the construction of such an arched bridge the inhabitants from the adjacent villages along both shores come together. They bury the ends of two long and strong bamboo tubes in the ground, so that their tips lean
[623] slightly toward the river. Then the gobernadores /see the glossary, p. 249/, as the heads of the town councils at the time, start climbing up the poles, which, as a result of the weight, lean toward the center of the river, until the poles touch and the two gobernadores can shake hands from either side. With one hand they then quickly tie the joined tips of the bamboo poles together by means of lianas, which is the first step in the bridge construction. It is completed by the rest of the people (from Hernandez, 1944, p. 190).

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III. Society

1. Political Organization

619 The tribe of the Paez consists of the inhabitants of a number of villages of the Tierradentro region who regard themselves as belonging together because of language, clothing, habits, and
621 traditions. Their present-day political organization is based on the village community. It corresponds roughly to the original

/171 cont./

621 tribal organization. Even at the time of the Conquista the Paez
[622] did not form a common, cohesive community and were similarly independent from village to village and without a chief,
[623] just as today. Only in times of war did a few villages join together
[648] in a sort of loose federation, in order to be able to offer stronger resistance to the Spanish intruders. Afterwards, however, the
177 "alliance for convenience" dissolved. The political influence
361 of the Spaniards during the colonial period had the effect of
131 fixing the boundaries of the villages that had existed up to that time, each of which occupies the area of a valley basin, in order to create clear relationships with respect to the white landowners. The former arrangement of the villages was essentially the same, as one may see from the large number of old native names.

621 The control of the community at that time -- in keeping with
622 the character of the Paez -- was probably in a democratic village management, in a fashion similar to that of today. In times of war leadership was in the hands of men who were called caciques /see "Kazike" in the glossary, p. 249/ by the Spaniards -- as was the case generally in their colonies. The Paez have also taken over this name as a rank designation for the heroes of their traditions. Actually, their own word "sāt" for the political leaders in their mythology corresponds more to a war leader with shamanistic abilities than to a regular hereditary chieftainship of a society organized by classes, such as we find among the tribes of the Cauca Valley or the sacred principalities of the Chibcha at the time of the Conquista.

621 The present-day composition of the village council (cabildo)
623 as the administrative head of each village varies in strength according to the size of the village. It seems to be the most nearly complete in Calderas. Its composition and its tasks show
[565] that it is the head of a democratic community. The village is
[626] not organized by classes or by occupations. The consciousness of the equality of all is so strong /172/ that outsiders who distinguish themselves from others through personal achievement or personal acquisition are brought down to the common level by
623 force or killed. The leader of the cabildo has the grand Spanish

/172 cont./

623 title of gobernador. In Paez this corresponds to the designation tótens. At his side, in Calderas, stands the gobernador suplente as his representative; other functionaries are the alcalde /see the glossary, p. 248 / (in Paez ka'nas), of whom there are two in Calderas, the alcalde mayor and the alcalde menor, furthermore two fiscales, three comisarios, and one comisario escolar, as well as an alguacil. The composition of the cabildo in Santa Rosa is the following: a gobernador, an alcalde, a fiscal, a comisario escolar, and an alguacil. In Lame there are a gobernador, a gobernador suplente, two fiscales, one comisario, and one alguacil. The cabildo in Togoima consists of the gobernador, the gobernador suplente, two alcaldes, two fiscales, three comisarios, one comisario escolar, and one alguacil. Aside from the double and triple occupancies, the composition of the cabildo is the same in the four villages. It should be noted that there are Paez words only for the gobernador and the alcalde; Spanish designations are used for the rest of the functionaries.

623 554 The authority of the gobernador as the leader of the village rests more on his personal prestige than on official means of power. He must therefore be very cautious with his regulations and instructions. He has the collectively conceived decisions of the village council carried out with respect to road or bridge building or the repair of the church, the school, or the com-
[626] munity house. While his regulations remain within the scope of what the great majority of the village also regards as good, the collectivity exerts strong pressure on those who stand apart. In flagrant instances of apartness, however, he has quite drastic measures at his disposal, which, though they are today no longer as strictly wielded as formerly, can nevertheless be very effective in the hands of an energetic gobernador. It is taken for granted, however, that the gobernador acts neither unjustly nor arbitrarily, sets a good example in all undertakings, and is active first and
123 last in the communal work. How little the gobernador is in a
623 position to issue arbitrary orders within his village may be illus-
554 trated by the following example: One Saturday the gobernador

/172 cont./
123 of Calderas came from the weekly market in Inzá and visited
623 me in San Andrés. When in the course of the conversation I
554 mentioned that I would be coming to Calderas on the following
Monday, he suggested that I arrive there early. He said that
he already knew that I was interested in everything concerning
[476] his village and on Monday /173/ I could be present at a com-
munity project for all the men of the village in clearing a field.
Since my interpreter was not free until Monday, I could not set
out on Sunday in order to be present in time for the field work
on Monday. I begged him to postpone the communal project
for a day or two. That would be impossible, he replied, since
this work had been decided upon for Monday by the cabildo and
123 he was not in a position to change the date independently. I
623 offered him as a gift a very handsome travel-machete with a
554 sheath, in case he might be in a position to postpone the work.
411 Generally the Paez own only the heavy, broad work-machete for
felling trees, which they can drag along with them on the way to
[435] market only with difficulty. As a weapon for traveling, therefore,
the lighter, chrome-plated machetes are greatly coveted, but
on account of their high price of 12 pesos no Calderun has here-
123 tofore been able to afford one. I had put this gift aside for the
623 gobernador some time before, but had never found the proper
554 reason for presenting it. This time the occasion seemed very
favorable and really worthwhile. The gobernador, although he was
extremely anxious to be the first Calderun to possess the imple-
ment, explained that my request could not be fulfilled, since
all the men had already been notified for Monday. I pointed out
that he surely had enough messengers to inform his people that
the work would not take place until a few days later. He could
not make the decision to do this; he kept explaining that in
addition the men would be angry. I proposed to him that I would
treat them, at my expense, to ten pesos' worth of chicha to
placate them, an amount that they had hardly ever had before.
He could not make a decision; he finally said that he would try
and would speak to his people on Sunday, and he hoped, in view
of so much chicha, that he would succeed, but he could not

/173 cont./
123 promise it. When I arrived in Calderas on Monday I found that
623 the men of the village had not wanted to meet a second time and
554 that they had indeed begun the work.

623 The alcaldes and the alguacil are the messengers of the
[203] cabildo; they notify the people when communal projects are
[696] necessary. Moreover, the alguacil administers corporal punish-
[203] ment. The three comisarios are likewise messengers and help
[794] the gobernador carry out and supervise public projects. It is the duty of the fiscales -- together with the gobernador -- to decorate the church. They provide candles and help the priest. According to C. Cuervo Marquez (Vol. II, p. 183), the fiscales formerly also had the duty of defending the interests of the /174/
871 village against the encroachments of the colonists. The comisario
623 escolar, finally, is responsible for the school attendance of the
[797] children. The mission sisters, as the teachers, turn to him and
[875] he is supposed to get the children to school, by force, if necessary.

It should not remain unmentioned that Calderas -- and ap-
621 parently this village only -- is divided into four parts, each of
623 which occupies roughly a cardinal point and has about 50 houses.
[361] An alcalde, alguacil, fiscal, and comisario are each an equal representative of a quarter in the cabildo. At present the alcalde is the representative of the western region of Yocashí, the alguacil the representative of the northern region of Puélche, the fiscal that of the eastern region of Aépel, and the comisario that of the southern Bishók. I was told that the connection between an office and the representation of a village quarter is arbitrary, depending on where the occupant of the post happens to live. The official position within the cabildo is first assigned, and today it is the more important. Four of them take over the representation of a village quarter each. Thus, the comisario, if he lives there, may be the representative from Yocashí, and the alcalde the representative of Aépel. The present gobernador, for example, was fiscal ten years ago. Since he lives in the village section of Puélche, he was at the same time the representative of this quarter.

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624 [177] In addition to the cabildo, there was introduced in Spanish colonial times, as the trusted agent of the missions, the post of capitan, who was not subordinate to the secular authorities and often was not democratically elected, but appointed by the church for life. Appointed to this office, if possible, are the members of an old, influential family, in which a son or nephew then succeeds the capitan in office, so that in practice this position was often hereditary within a family. The capitan in Calderas, who died February 18, 1953 and who had held this office for about 20 years, was named Manuel José Guagáz. His predecessor was his father, Bruno Guagáz. And though the gobernador told me that the family of the Guagáz were feeble-minded and no longer fit for any work, he admitted that it was probable that the successor of the old capitan would nevertheless be another Guagáz.

623 624 The deceased capitan was ill and weak during the last years of his life, and thus it came about that the gobernador played the leading role in the cabildo. The weekly council meetings were also held in his house. According to conditions in other villages, however, the capitan in practice not only presides in the cabildo, but his voice also has somewhat more weight. At least, he is able to prevent a bridge from being built, for example, through his veto. /175/ True, he cannot accomplish it or even order it by himself, against the will of the cabildo.

623 651 Another functionary, who is likewise appointed by the missions for life, is the síndico, who fixes the ecclesiastical tax assessments and administers the funds.

623 293 [666] The election of the cabildo takes place every year on the first of December. On the following January first, the elected cabildo must appear before the administrative authorities of the municipio /see the glossary, p. 249/, where each member is given his staff of office and is sworn in for his duties. The staffs of office (kampo) belong to the village and are handed on from year to year. They are round in diameter, about 80 to 100 centimeters long and three to five centimeters thick, and carved out of the black, hard wood of the chonta palm. The tips of the sticks are fitted with a brass or iron cap for their protection. The handle is somewhat thinner than the rest of the stick and enlarged at the end to form a knob which is covered with silver leaf. Below the

/175 cont./
623 handle an additional crescent-shaped piece of silver leaf is applied.
293 In former years, on the first day of the new year, a cere-
623 mony for the old as well as for the newly elected cabildo took
796 place on the not easily accessible lagoon of Juan Tama, the
778 Páramo de Moras, and lasted for several days. It started with
823 chicha drinking under the leadership of a shaman, after which the culture hero, Juan Tama, and the spirits of the ancestors (?) were asked by the shaman for advice and assistance in the coming year. A dance and a bath in the lagoon concluded the ceremony (Bürg, pp. 340 f.). According to my information, this gathering at the lagoon has not been carried out for several years. The reason given is that for several years in succession it has rained around
[787] New Year's time. After that the shamans announced that with this
[776] sign Juan Tama renounced any further performances of the ceremony on his lagoon.

623 The election of the cabildo is done by the men of the entire
666 village. The candidates must be citizens of the given village,
[641] that is to say, they must own land there. A stranger could never hold office in a Paez village. The candidates may not propose themselves, but must be nominated by the assembly or by the old cabildo. Anyone who is elected for an office by the village assembly for the first time may not refuse, but must accept it. Only re-election, which is possible up to five or ten years in succession, is voluntary. The wealth or possessions of the candidates do not play
[556] any role. The present gobernador, Marcelo Muse, is /176/ about 30 years old. Two children, a son about six years old and a four-year-old daughter, are living; four of his children died. In the way of material possessions he owns five horses and two pigs, but no cows and no sheep. Ten years ago he was fiscal for a year. In the general opinion of the Paez the gobernador should not be too young or too old. The best age is between 30 and 50 years. The remaining posts, which to a large extent consist of messenger services, are generally held by younger, unmarried people, although
[896] they may also be filled by married men up to 50 years of age. In general the gobernador chooses people who are loyal to him and who must also carry out the punishments for him, for a gobernador

/176 cont./

623 himself does not punish. For this purpose four representatives of
666 the lower offices have an official whip which consists of a rod ten
696 centimeters long, with a plaited strap about 80 centimeters long.

The election itself proceeds with the introduction of the candi-
623 dates by the capitan with the question: "This one as gobernador,
624 do you want him?" And they reply: "We wish it" or "we do not
666 wish it." It was interesting to observe how, after the death of the capitan, one of his relatives, Cerbelión Guagáz, tried to be named capitan. The priest, however, insisted on an election by the village. And although he tried very hard to have Cerbelión elected, the village kept refusing him because he was too autocratic and such people are not liked. Another whom everyone would like to have as capitan is himself unwilling. "As capitan I am only the beadle of the padre," he replied to my question as to why he did not accept the choice. And he had no desire for that. He had been comisario once and gobernador once, and now he wanted peace for the rest of his life.

2) Family Organization

594 The family of the Paez is basically the patrilineal nuclear family /Kleinfamilie/ consisting of the parents and unmarried
[513] children. The latter, while they are small, sleep with the parents in the kitchen; as soon as they are larger, in a compartment in
591 another part of the house. After marriage they erect their own house.
596 It is not uncommon, however, for the married sons to live with their wives for another year or two in the house of the father, until they have enough money for a house, which will be small at first. The daughters upon marriage leave /177/ the paternal home and then live with their husbands, that is to say, at first with the parents-in-law.

354 Normally, therefore, every house has only one cooking
596 place, in which the woman of the house cooks. If a son marries,
252 a new kitchen is partitioned off and a second place built for the
[462] fire at which the young wife cooks. As a matter of principle, each married couple -- and it alone -- has its own fire area, for the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook.

/177 cont./

the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook. Old, solitary persons or unmarried girls or men live with relatives or friends, but never alone, since a single person is unable either to protect himself or to provide for himself adequately.

The father's authority is great. Wife and children owe him absolute obedience. Nevertheless, the man does not have the right to alienate personal articles of members of the family or possessions that they made themselves. Thus, for example, he is not in a position to sell a coca bag or a fiber bag belonging to his wife or his children's toys.

The children are given the family name of the father, but the women keep their maiden names even after marriage. There is no external indication in dress or hair style or otherwise for unmarried girls and married women. The wife is obligated to work for her husband and children in her family. Beyond that she may procure personal belongings for herself by weaving cloth beyond the needs of her family, for example, and trading it for ornaments.

If the young people are still living in the house with their parents, the daughter-in-law is not absolutely subordinate to her mother-in-law, although this appears to be so, to judge from the speech at the wedding ceremony. A relationship of dependence is out of the question because of the separate kitchens. Usually, however, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are on good terms, and then it is not uncommon for only one woman to cook for both families, for there is no in-law avoidance. Then the two women share the work of cleaning the house.

Conjugal fidelity is demanded of both marriage partners; in the case of the man, however, it is sometimes not taken so seriously. If a man surprises his wife, however, or she her husband, in marital infidelity, the deceived party may beat (but not kill) both and report them to the cabildo, which again has the guilty party very soundly thrashed.

Illegitimate children are not rare among the Paez. In case an unmarried girl has a child, she is beaten by her parents and

848 /178/ the cabildo until she names the father of her child. If he
623 is an unmarried young man, he must marry the girl. A married man, however, is beaten by the cabildo. He does not need to make support payments. It is different if a married man has no
842 children. In this case the wife is regarded in principle as the one
848 at fault. He may then have a child by an unmarried girl without
837 being punished. He simply explains to the cabildo that he has a
[623] great deal of property and that he therefore needs children whom he cannot have by his wife. To the mother of his natural child he gives a cow, clothing, and a pretty belt, and she then surrenders her child to the lawful wife of the father of her child. He may
[554] do this several times until he has enough children. This is not permitted, however, for a poor man without possessions, it was explained to me, for "why does he need children?"

844 At the time of menstruation and also at the birth of a child
841 the woman stays in a special small hut (dúyat). She receives her
[343] food either from her mother, sister, or a neighbor woman from a house in which several women live. This woman at the same time cooks for the members of the family of the menstruating woman. The members of the family of the woman who is temporarily cooking receive their meals from another female member of her family. The woman who takes care of the food also fetches the wood for the fire necessary for warmth in the dúyat. Female inhabitants of farms or of field huts used for only a few months, which have no
[758] dúyat, go to a neighboring or related family for this period. In
[602] case the housewife becomes ill, she moves into the house of one of her sisters or female relatives, where she is nursed. The male relatives of the sick woman must then likewise go to the house of this relative to eat.

614 Besides the patrilineal nuclear families, no recognized patrilineal kin-groups /Sippen/ are known among the Paez, but all who bear the same family name feel related and may not marry, even though they are not knowingly -- this knowledge goes back only two generations -- related. Our interpreter, Victoriano Piñakuẽ, for example, may not only not marry any girls with the patronymic Piñakuẽ, but also no girls whose mothers are named Piñakuẽ. Conditions are particularly difficult among the

/178 cont./

614 bearers of the name Guagáz, the old family whose members furnish the capitan and who numerically make up about a quarter of the village. The young men of this name do not always find their wives in Calderas. They /179/ must therefore often look for them in other villages, although in general this is preferably not done. Thus we have among the Paez exogamous kin-groups, that is, groups of persons of male descent, who, to be sure, live dispersed, but have a common festival house, and who cannot marry each other because of their same name. They lack the consciousness of being descended from the same ancestor, however. Similarly, there is neither a common kin-group chief, nor [162] special costumes, or any other common insignia. The bearers of [346] six family names, who together make up more than 60 per cent of the population, have festival houses on the village plaza, in each of which the bearers of the same name meet for the big annual festivals, Immaculada (December 8), Semana Santa (Easter), and San Juan (June 24), and eat and drink together. The other families, who have no festival house of their own, take part in the festival houses of friends' families.

[551] The six large families of Calderas are: Guagáz, Piñakuē, Petíns, Oléz, Oriága, Pechéne.

614 Within the kin groups, relatives play no role, but the god-
602 parents (padrino, madrina) do, and strict etiquette is observed with
608 respect to them. Boy or girl, man or woman who meet their god-
576 parents anywhere must kneel down to receive their blessing.

601 The kinship nomenclature is in part more differentiated than ours. The common form of address for father and child and mother and child and the differentiated address for older and younger siblings are striking. The designations for father and mother are differentiated according to whether one speaks of one's own or of foreign fathers and mothers. One's own father is táta, the foreign one néi; one's own mother is máma, the foreign one nihí. It does not matter whether a man or a woman is speaking in the following examples:

601 /179 cont./

my father	atc táta	my mother	atc máma
your father	inc táta	your mother	inc máma
his father	kyec néi	his mother	kyec nihí
our fathers	kweš táta	our mothers	kweš máma
their fathers	kyáñweš néi	their mothers	kyáñweš nihí

It is interesting that in address the foreign father or the foreign mother of the partner in conversation is called táta or máma, like one's own parents.

The relatives in the parents' generation, who correspond to our "uncles" and "aunts," are differentiated in address, /180/ depending on whether they are relatives in the maternal or paternal line. In the case of the female relatives in the maternal line the prefix "pe" is placed in front of the corresponding designations for the male relatives. It is also striking that for stepfather and stepmother no word combinations with "father" or "mother" are used, but rather the same words as for the father's brother and mother's sister, or the spouses of the father's sister or the mother's brother.

father's brother	nyok	father's sister	pétsots
mother's brother	ká'ka	mother's sister	pényok
stepfather	nyok	stepmother	pényok
father's sister's husband	nyok	mother's brother's wife	pényok
father-in-law	táta	mother-in-law	máma

In the children's generation the absence of designations for [177] nieces and nephews is noteworthy. For lack of specific Paez words and concepts, Spanish ones are used. It is possible that in pre-Spanish times the entire children's generation, either that of an extended family /Grossfamilie/ or at any rate that of the maternal or paternal line, was designated by the same name by members of the parents' generation in the manner of the "classificatory kinship

/180 cont./

60/ system." In contrast to our kinship system, which is based on the nearness of degree of blood relationship, according to the classificatory system not only one's own children are designated as "sons" or "daughters," but also those of the siblings. Correspondingly, the children -- in extreme cases -- likewise call the siblings of the parents, that is, their uncle and aunt, "father" or "mother."

The latter is not the case among the Paez, since they make a sharp distinction between the descendants of the paternal and maternal line. Within this, however, a tendency toward the classificatory system makes itself noticeable, first because of the aforementioned same name for stepfather or stepmother and father's sister's husband or mother's brother's wife, and, secondly, because of the distinction made on the basis of whether siblings are older or younger than the speaker.

The kinship designations for the children's generation are:

son, small	luč	daughter, small	luč
son, grown	ndyík	daughter, grown	nīs
brother's son (man speaking)	sobríno	brother's daughter (woman speaking)	sobrína

/181/

sister's son (man speaking)	sobríno	sister's daughter (woman speaking)	sobrína
sister's daughter (man speaking)	sobrína	sister's son (woman speaking)	sobríno
brother's daughter (man speaking)	sobrína	brother's son (woman speaking)	sobríno
stepson	sobríno	stepdaughter	sobrína
son-in-law	nokwębió	daughter-in-law	ndõ
brother's daughter's husband	sobríno	sister's daughter's husband	sobríno
brother's son's wife	sobrína	sister's son's wife	sobrína

/181 cont./

601 Within one's own generation one distinguishes between older and younger brothers or sisters. In keeping with what was said about the classificatory kinship system, we have here, too, identical designations for male and female cousins and step-siblings -- differentiated according to the male or female line of the family.

brother (of husband)	yakté	sister (of wife)	yakté
brother (of wife)	nyiś	sister (of husband)	peś
older brother	yakté nte (= older)	older sister	peś nóite
younger brother (if other people speak of him)	yakté noć (noć = younger)	younger sister (if other people speak of her)	peś noć
if own brother or own sister speaks of the younger brothers	yakté npéi	if siblings speak of the younger sister	peś npéi
father's brother's son (*)	yakté	mother's brother's son (*)	yakté
father's brother's daughter (*)	peś	mother's brothers daughter (*)	peś
father's sister's son (*)	yakté	mother's sister's son (*)	yakté
father's sister's daughter (*)	peś	mother's sister's daughter (*)	peś

* These designations for male and female cousins apply only when they are addressing each other.

/181 cont./

60/ In addressing persons outside the family the following designations are used:

/182/

father's brother's son or mother's brother's son	pokatenyík
mother's brother's daughter or father's brother's daughter	pokatépěnyí (pokats = side)

stepbrother	yakté	stepsister	peí

The designations for brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are the following:

If the brother speaks:

wife of the brother	só'ov	husband of the sister	tsóom

If the sister speaks:

wife of the brother	tyínas	husband of the sister	só'ov

More distant in-law relationships which in our kinship nomenclature are no longer distinguished as such are still taken into account by the Paez in the following instances:

father's brother's daughter's husband	tsóom	father's sister's son's wife	só'ov
mother's brother's daughter's husband	tsóom	mother's sister's son's wife	só'ov

In the generation of the grandparents or grandchildren, the following terms are used:

father's father	ĩsi	father's mother	péndyi
mother's father	ĩsi	mother's mother	péndyi
son's son	nzón	son's daughter	nzón
daughter's son	nzón	daughter's daughter	nzón

[192] The designations for persons at various age levels or circumstances of life are highly differentiated among the Paez; the

/182 cont./

601 mutual forms of address for certain groups of persons or of several
192 persons with certain kinship connections, which show that here the individual does not stand detached within the family, but is fitted in as part of a living structure, are noteworthy.

child or boy	luč
small child (boy or girl)	lučkwe
baby (boy or girl)	lučléčkwe
youth	pítstaty
man	pítste
married man (except when his own wife speaks of him)	iyõ
old man	íš
widower	ečpits
girl	gnáskwe

/183/

maiden	gnãs
woman	õi
somewhat older woman	óite
old woman	penš
widow	éčoi
pregnant woman	tóya
sterile woman	ema
married woman (except when her own husband is speaking of her)	imĩ
wife (of other men)	nyó
husband (of other women)	nemĩ
wife (addressed by husband)	íkwe
husband (addressed by wife)	íngya
married couple	ovényi
orphan, half-orphan	váučo
relative (general)	nuevéš

/183 cont./

601 Forms of address:

father and mother together (whether by their own children or other persons)	ovẽnyi or pẽtãm
father and son together (by other persons)	pẽndyĩk
father and daughter together (by other persons)	pẽndyĩs
mother and son together (by other persons)	pẽndyĩk
mother and daughter together (by other persons)	pẽndyĩs

3. Customs during the Course of Life and of a Day

182 593 [159] [114] The Paez generally give the impression of being contented human beings, and it seems that marriage and family life are better than average. Of course, the observations on this are very scanty, for, on account of the remote location of the individual dwellings, the research worker always has only a brief glimpse of family conditions at any one time. This very solitude, however, and the consciousness of greater dependence on one another within the family, favors its cohesion, even as it reduces the conflict and irritation which arise through women's gossip when people live too closely on top of one another.

842 [123] Basically every family wants a great many children -- at any rate so said all the men questioned. Two Calderun women, however, /184/ confided to my wife that there was a remedy -- which they and other women, too, naturally did not use! -- that [825] [237] would with certainty prevent conception: One must eat some of the spittle of a mula (the female, infertile cross between horse and donkey), and then one would no longer have children. They said that a woman does this only when she has already given birth to a great many children. In general every girl desires a great

In general
842 /184 cont./every girl desires a great
[581] many children, for this is the chief requirement for being married. Moreover, the percentage of barren women -- in childless marriages,
[162] they say, the fault is always the woman's -- is not small. According to inquiries, it comes to about 10 per cent. Men generally want boys; the women, girls, in order to have help in the house-
845 hold. Twin births are rare, but they are not regarded as anything special; rather, people are happy about them as they are about other children. Deformities at birth are said not to occur; however, I saw several persons with cleft palates. They seem to be ashamed of this, for in conversations with us they always held
847 their hands over their mouths. Infanticide does not occur. To
123 inquiries about this, there was always the completely horrified counterquestion as to whether that was the case in my country.
165 Overpopulation is not to be feared, even with a larger number
[163] of children -- the average is three to four living children per family -- since infant mortality comes to more than 50 per cent.
[164] Whooping cough is the most frequent cause of death among small children.

a) Birth and Childhood

843 The parents' concern for the child begins even before birth. The husband of a pregnant woman expecting her first child must sleep with her very frequently, for otherwise the child would be very weak. In the case of subsequent children this is no longer
[783] required so often after the beginning of pregnancy. The pregnant woman may not leave the house or eat pork for two months before the birth, since this causes "pest" and she would have stomach
[822] pains; this would be very detrimental to the child. For the same reason she may not eat beans and onions, and no fish because it comes from the cold element, water, and because a pregnant woman must not become cold.

843 According to one informant, the pregnant woman retires
343 to the menstruation hut (dúyat) two to three weeks before the
124 birth. During this time her mother or another female relative cooks for the family. According to another informant, the
000 /185/ woman does not retire to the dúyat until the birth. In any

/185 cont./ In any
844 case, the birth, which is always regarded as very dangerous, takes
[343] place there. As a matter of principle, a midwife (ndõsoknãs) is
fetched. The latter, as the name implies, is not a shaman. She
[759] has nothing to do with shamanistic functions, but is qualified only
for births or external injuries, such as broken bones or flesh wounds.

The midwife may not be an old woman. She is fetched before the birth by the husband of the pregnant woman and always comes. Several times I asked whether in an emergency a man or the mother could help, but it was always said that the midwife
[465] always comes, no matter how busy she is. For her assistance she receives only her meals, unless complications arise. In this case she receives wool or natural produce as remuneration for her help.

In principle, only the midwife and the woman in labor are in the dũyat. The latter is in a squatting position. With her hands she holds onto a belt that is slung around the roof beam of the dũyat. If there is no belt, the husband may also be present, and he then embraces his wife from behind and holds her in such a way that she is likewise in a squatting position. The midwife
845 receives the child. If its position is not normal, for example, in
844 case of a breech position of the child, she turns the child so that the head lies downward. If the child is still not born, the mother must die -- as was explained to us -- for then nothing further can be done. This only rarely happens, however.

844 The midwife brings along her medicinal herbs, with which she rubs the body of the woman in labor. The newborn child is first washed with cold water and then wrapped in a piece of ruana
[412] and given to the mother. The severing of the umbilical cord is not done with the knife or the scissors, but rather, after the umbili-
[824] cal cord (kolwãt) is tied beforehand with a homespun wool thread, with the sharp-edged cane of a type of reed. The father may see his child immediately after birth; the mother, however, stays with the child approximately two weeks longer in the dũyat. The afterbirth (duyãha), together with the umbilical cord, is buried near the menstruation house. The father digs the hole for this
[856] purpose, and the mother throws both into it. The hole must not be too shallow, for otherwise the dogs would dig them out, but not too deep either, for then the child would not get its teeth until very late and only with great difficulty.

/185 cont./

844 until very late and only with great difficulty. The proper depth is supposed to be about 30 centimeters.

846 Four to six days after birth and after the first bath, the
851 father or one of the godparents brings the child to the sacristan of
608 the village or /186/ to the women missionaries, in order to have
[797] it christened with water and given the name of the Christian saint
of the christening day. Every child has only one given name and
[551] the Paez surname of its father. The baptism by the priest with oil
takes place later on a suitable occasion, in the presence of the god-
[783] parents, and is followed by an eating and drinking bout. The
[756] mother also takes part in this, after she has left the dúyat and has
washed herself, her child, and her clothes and has been purified by
the shaman.

861 The rearing of the children is in the hands of the parents, who teach them the necessary accomplishments of life quite as a matter of course and almost in play. Disobedient children are also beaten, however, and, to be sure, usually if the son has no real desire to help his father with the field work. In punishing, the fathers are generally stricter than the mothers and on occasion beat them with leather straps all over their bodies. The boxing
[461] of ears is also to be seen. If a young man proves to be lazy in later life, the father is blamed because he did not properly ad-
848 monish his son to work. Illegitimate sons, who lack the strict hand of a father, are said to turn out badly in many cases, though as such they are very popular. Since they do not know their father, they are not obliged to work in his field. They are all the more
[426] in demand as helpers in the fields of other families. When they
[431] are older, they may borrow land and establish a family. Usually they even receive the land as a present. Thus, they need not
848 starve by any means. Illegitimate daughters are in a more unfavor-
562 able position, for their help is not needed for the most part, and their mother does not have a household of her own. Nevertheless
[583] their marriage prospects are not unfavorable, since a girl does not
[581] have a dowry, but is married only on the basis of her personal qualities.

/186 cont./

[77 Today all children are obliged to attend school in the
797 mission schools, where they are taught the catechism and the
871 Spanish language and must bathe once a day under supervision.
515 The mother nurses her child exclusively during the first six
853 to eight months; only then is the giving of more solid food begun, which, however, does not differ in any way from that of adults, that is to say, the child is given yuca, beans, chicha, brandy, etc., like the adults. The mother suckles the child until the next one arrives, namely, three to four years, and sometimes beyond that, along with the one born next. Every woman who has a child generally also has milk, we were told. Only if the mother should be far away, /187/ for example, on an errand at the market or out fetching wood, may another woman help the child with her milk. In the rare cases in which a woman does not have enough milk to feed her child, she may give it to some
853 other woman, who, however, does not receive anything for it. It
855 may also happen that a family with ten children has become so
[593] large that the food is no longer adequate. In this case the woman may leave one or several children in the care of her mother. If she no longer has a mother, however, she must keep them herself. In case the mother of small children dies and leaves a baby of less than two or three months who still cannot eat any food other than milk, the father looks for a woman who likewise has a nursing baby and who brings up the strange child with her milk for two or three years, until it can talk. Then the father takes it back, and the wet nurse is given a cow as "milk money."

854 Ordinarily the children are carried by the mother. The
482 colored woven belt (táw) and the large shawl (panyelón or séntyatc), in which the child is wrapped and carried by the mother on her back, are needed for this.

857 The games of the children are generally instructive for their
868 later life. The boys go bird hunting with the blowgun (pāt), the plaited stone-sling (ísot), or the elastic sling (kaučéro), or they practice catching each other with the lasso, during which the child
[231] to be caught represents a cow or a horse. The ability of the children, and of the adults, too, by the way, in the use of the lasso is not

/187 cont./

857 great. Handling it for catching cows or horses is regarded as sport,
868 as, indeed, is animal-raising in general. The animals are not easy
231 to catch, but must really be outwitted. To catch a cow, for example, the lasso-wielder, in the midst of a group of several men or youths, first runs behind a few other cows that are near the cow to be captured. The latter feels quite secure, since the shouting apparently does not apply to her. The men now drive the cows in such a way that they come close to the one being captured; then the lasso-thrower doubles back and throws the rope at a distance of only about three meters. In spite of the short distance, only about every third throw is successful.

524 Two boys' playthings, used with enthusiasm as a pastime of school children, are the top (čúnga) and the hole-ball (hénde). The latter (Fig. 36 /see p. 258 /) is a hollowed-out fruit capsule about five centimeters in diameter, with a hole one centimeter in size on the underside. /188/ Exactly opposite this larger hole, a small one is bored. A twisted agave string about 20 centimeters long is drawn through the large and the small hole from below and knotted above the small hole so that it cannot slide out again. The other end of the string is knotted in the center of a small rod about 15 centimeters long, which is slightly smaller in diameter than the hole on the underside of the fruit capsule. In play the string of the capsule hangs down from the rod, half of which is grasped with one hand. With a gentle swing one now tosses upward the capsule attached to the string and tries to catch it with the rod. Beginners seldom or never hit the hole, whereas more practiced persons succeed many times in a row.

[322] The top consists of a small double-conical chunk of wood four to six centimeters high, which boys carve out for themselves and which ends in a small knob on the upper side. A small thorn is stuck into the tip on the underside. The top is set in motion with a string that ends in two loops. One of these is drawn over the middle finger of the hand, the other over the knob on the upper side of the top. From there it is led to the underside around the thorn and then wrapped spirally upward around the lower, conical part of the top. To set it in motion, the top is thrown on the plank floor of the school. The loop fastened to the middle finger

/188 cont./

524 causes the unwinding of the string and its revolving motion. The rule of the competition is to knock over the turning top with another turning one.

A simpler kind of top, which, like the hole game, is also called hénde, consists of a round seed capsule into which a vertical rod is inserted and protrudes about five centimeters. To set it in motion, a twisted string and a small board are required. One end of the string is wound spirally around the stem of the top and the other is knotted to the board and then pulled off.

526 Besides these games, wrestling is greatly enjoyed by the
[178] boys. Youths and young men no longer wrestle. On the occasion of the festivals, however, when they have drunk a little, the young men hit each other on their bodies, with arm outstretched, with the hand or fist. Several of them form an irregular circle, but without taking sides, and each tries to hit the other from behind.

524 The girls play with dolls (lučinyi) about 20 centimeters high, which they make themselves out of wood and remnants of cloth. It is remarkable that these dolls do not represent children, but adults fully dressed. /189/ A doll man, for example, consists of a forked stick, the longer part of which represents the body, and the forks, the legs. A cross-stick tied on indicates the shoulders. The clothing consists of a man's shirt, which is tied and "fitted" at the height of the hips with an agave string. A rectangular piece of cloth with a horizontal hole in the center is drawn over it as a ruana. A face is not indicated on either the male or the female doll. The doll woman consists of only a straight rod, around the lower part of which a piece of cloth is wrapped as a skirt and tied with a red thread as a belt. On her back the woman carries a child, represented by a small piece of wood wrapped in a piece of cloth. The cloth is fastened around the child with a red thread in the way children are wrapped. The doll woman carries her child wrapped in the large shawl, which is held fast by a red thread which serves as the belt.

/189 cont./

b) Maturity

881 Today no rites or ceremonies for the youths take place any
[178] more. In former times they were led to the sacred lagoon of Juan
[778] Tama or to the heights of Cuetando, and there they had to build
a hut and lay out a small cornfield as proof of their capabilities
as a man and father of a household (Hernandez, 1944, p. 203).

[582] A girl comes of age with puberty, that is to say, she may
[836] marry. Before that and before marriage, intercourse is not per-
[535] mitted. On the occasion of the first menstruation in former times
a special dance was performed (itsa-kó), during which the young
girl was bathed naked in chicha in a pit outside the festival house
881 (Castillo i Orosco, p. 85). Today this no longer takes place;
285 rather, a girl, when she goes to the dúyat for the first time at
787 about 15 years of age, takes along agave fibers and during the
[178] approximately five days that she stays there plaits a very pretty,
[262] small fiber bag (yāhalečkwe) about the size of a fist. There
are no additional food prohibitions or similar things. After that
she goes to a distant river to bathe. On the way there she lets
the bag fall. A married man passing by lets it lie, for he knows
that it belongs to a young girl. A young man, however, who
happens to be coming that way sees the beautifully worked bag,
picks it up, and uses it as a small money-bag. Without knowing
who made the little bag, he will -- people are convinced -- marry
this girl.

/190/ c) Marriage

595 The present form of marriage of the Paez is monogamy.
114 H. Pittier de Fábrega (p. 314), however, concludes from their
traditions that the Paez were formerly polygamous and were con-
verted to monogamy only through education on the part of the
missionaries. I could find no clue in their mythology for actual
595 polygamy in former times. The social structure and way of life
591 of the Paez, however, prohibits living alone for unmarried girls.
[589] In case they have no relatives or do not find lodging in the house
of relatives, another man takes them into his family. The girl

/190 cont./ The girl

595 then helps with household tasks and the father of the house may
591 have children by her, without his marrying the girl -- today at
178 any rate -- as his second wife in a regular marriage ceremony.

584 If a young man wants to marry, he speaks -- in the normal case -- to his father, and the latter with the father of his chosen one. Courtship through a third person outside the family is not customary, and the relatives on the two sides do not enter into communication with one another and exchange presents until after the official wedding ceremony. As a rule, the two young people have reached an agreement earlier, before the fathers speak to each other. The consent of the girl, however, is not required, for the agreement of the young man with the two fathers is fully adequate, and in this case the girl is given in marriage
584 even against her will. But this is said to be the case very rarely
754 or never, for it is dangerous for a girl to refuse a young man's
539 proposal of marriage. In this case he would spit and utter the following curse: "Toblel (untranslatable), I wanted to marry you, but you did not want it; now you must die!" I told the men of Calderas that I doubted whether this curse could have any effect, but then I was told the story of the girl who did not want to marry
[832] a Paez. This girl was very beautiful. (By the way, only unmarried girls are called beautiful; a married woman is never described as beautiful.) She was slightly fat -- being thin is regarded as ugly -- was always washed clean and well combed, and wore beautiful necklaces and earrings, handsomely woven clothing, and an exquisite belt that she herself wove. Many young men of Calderas wanted to marry her, but she did not want to marry a Calderun, only a white. She therefore left her village to go to Popayán (the only larger, well-known city). She walked very fast. On the way, however, in the páramo (bordering mountains) there was a Pijao. He /191/ seized her and took her into his house alive. There he kindled a fire, killed her, and devoured her. By way of explanation the storyteller added: A girl who does not want to marry a Calderun but a white, because the Calderun men are not handsome enough, would, on the way to

/191 cont./

534 the city, even before reaching it, be devoured by a Pijao. Therefore, this has never been attempted by any girl. An example of the opposite is instructive in this connection. Our Colombian colleague, Segundo Bernal Villa, who lived in the park of San Andrés with us and at the same time carried on his ethnological and sociological research in Calderas, had often mentioned, jokingly and in order to make himself popular, that he intended to look for a bride in Calderas. He was often seen with a pretty Calderun girl by the people in the village, as he conversed and went walking with her. One day when he presented her with a bottle of brandy, not knowing or not heeding the courtship custom connected with this, his joking was taken seriously and very much amiss. The girl was sentenced by the cabildo to severe corporal punishment and, after this was carried out, was married the next day to a young man of the village.

For the official offer of marriage, the father of the young man goes to the house of the girl's parents. He takes along a gourd calabash with about ten liters of chicha and five bottles of brandy. First he converses only casually with the entire family of the girl for half an hour, many jokes are made, and they talk about this and that. Then he asks the girl's father whether his daughter would not like to marry his son. The parents reply that they have only one daughter and that unfortunately they cannot give her away, since they themselves need her so much. Thereupon they converse further, talk about this and that, and then the father of the young man asks a second time whether the daughter of the house would not like to marry his son. But this time, too, the father of the girl replies that he has but one daughter and can unfortunately not give her away. Then they talk some more, until the guest asks a third time: "Can you not give me your daughter for my son?" The father of the girl then replies: "Very well, I shall give my daughter to your son, but I expect him always to treat her well and not to speak ill of her!" Then the guest hands over the bottles of brandy which he brought along, the first to the father of the bride, the second to the mother of the bride, then the third to the bride, and then a bottle each to her brothers and sisters. He gives all the chicha that he brought to the bride's

/191 cont./

584 father, and the latter distributes it /192/ to everyone and gives
431 the bringer and all those present some of his own chicha to drink. This continues all night until everyone is drunk. In the morning the daughter-in-law, along with her father-in-law, goes back to the house of the latter, and from then on she lives with her husband until the wedding.

606 In case the father of the girl should not be satisfied with the
585 young man as a son-in-law, he would still not take any practical action against this union of his daughter, since he does not have to pay a dowry anyway. Besides, once children arrive, the
[591] parents are always satisfied. If, conversely, the father of the young man is not satisfied with the latter's choice of a bride, he may refuse him his house. In this case the young people customarily immediately build their own house, a small one at first.

58 The wedding generally does not take place very soon after courtship among the Paez, but only after a year or more. First of all there begins a trial period, which, however, has an altogether conjugal character. During this time of "trial marriage" the housekeeping abilities of the girl are to be tested, for the latter brings into marriage no dowry of any kind from her parents or any other possessions except her clothing. Since there are no social grounds for a choice of bride in the nonstratified Paez community, and no stimulus to marry on the grounds of a large dowry or on account of the possibility of a low bride price, there are no
581 child betrothals. As bride and wife a girl has only the merit of
462 her personality and her personal capabilities. The latter have the greater weight. It is required of a woman that she be able to cook and to weave the cloth for the whole family, that she not gossip, keep the house in order, and, above all, that she be able to keep the fire going at night and prepare the meal on time in
[264] the morning. The Paez are in the habit of having their first meal
[252] very early, at five or four o'clock in the morning, and an hour before that the woman must already begin preparing the food.
[362] Moreover, as we have seen, the walls of the house are only made
[513] of maize stalks placed side by side, and give scarcely any protection against the coolness of the night. They therefore sleep lying

/192 cont./

581 around the hearth fire, and this must be stirred and provided with
462 wood every two hours. This is the task of the wife, who, there-
513 fore, sleeps next to the fire. Throughout practically her whole life, she is never able to sleep all through the night.

583 If during the trial year the bride does not meet the demands of the man, if she either cannot cook or is lazy or /193/ does not like to get up in the morning, he sends her back to her father. Since no wedding celebration has taken place, sending back the girl leads to no resentment of any kind. It does, however, if children have resulted from the trial marriage and the young man
[684 nevertheless changes his mind. In this case, to be sure, nothing
[623] can be changed with regard to his decision -- after all, he has not yet been officially married -- but, since such an action is condemned, he is beaten by the cabildo. He may then begin a
583 new trial marriage with another girl. The children of the previ-
848 ous trial marriage (they are designated by the Paez with the
[557] Spanish term hijo natural) are given the name of the mother. There are not a few such "natural children." The mothers, however, are not scorned or judged harshly on that account and do not by any means have poorer prospects for a subsequent marriage. The children are not adopted in case of a subsequent marriage by the
[761] mother and keep their mother's name. It is believed, however,
[851] that such "natural children" will soon die. They are not baptized, since the priest baptizes only legitimate children, or else demands such a large sum for the baptism of an illegitimate child that the unmarried mother cannot raise it.

585 The actual wedding celebration takes place after the period
[178] of the trial marriage. Today the prior marriage service by the Catholic priest in the church is usually combined with this wedding celebration. The money for this, as for the expenses of the wedding celebration, must be raised by the young man himself.
[435] This takes him many months. First of all, besides the cost of ten pesos for the marriage service, he must have collected the money for an ox, then prepare chicha in sufficient quantities, for which sugar cane is milled for about a month, and also provide for the rest of the food. In general his father or brothers do not

/193 cont./

585 help. Since the young men almost never own their own cattle,
[422] they must earn the purchase price for this by the sale of agricul-
[432] tural products. Wheat is usually chosen for this, since it may be
[243] harvested half a year after sowing.

For the wedding celebration about 50 men and women are
585 invited, not only relatives, but also friends, among them the
608 sponsors (padrino, madrina) required for the church marriage service. They sit with the bridal couple (nikálo). The parents
[291] and guests on both sides arrange themselves informally. The
[431] padrino and madrina must give or loan the bridegroom and bride
[426] new clothes for this wedding day, but they differ from the ordinary
[301] everyday clothing only in that they are newer and cleaner. No
585 special /194/ ornaments of any kind are put on by anyone. The wedding is celebrated in such a way that the church service takes place in the morning, after which the guests go to the wedding house accompanied by music and have a small midday meal, with which, however, only a little chicha is drunk. The festival ox is not yet slaughtered on this day, and not until the "actual" (as the Calderun say) wedding celebration, which takes place about a month later in the house of the bridegroom. The ox is slaughtered in the morning, and in the afternoon the guests arrive, sit down together informally, and eat and drink chicha and brandy copiously.
[533] Music is played for this, but no one dances to it. Before the eating
[535] begins, when all are still sober, the padrino makes a speech addressed to the bride and groom, in which he says approximately the following: You are now husband and wife, and you, as the husband, should not beat your wife, and you, as wife, should not use any bad words toward your husband. The husband should also not speak ill of his wife, and the wife should obey if the husband commands her to do something and should help him in all things! Then he takes the hand of the bride and gives it to the mother of the bridegroom, who speaks to the bride as follows: You have now been taken into our family and you are to work for your husband and cook his meals for him and make his clothes and arrange everything for him; in addition, you must help me in the house and carry out my instructions, as well as

/194 cont./

585 those of my husband, and you are not to say bad words either to your husband or to us!

The wedding celebration is as brilliant as possible, which means entertaining the guests lavishly as long as possible. In some families the celebration goes on for more than a week.
[535] There is no dancing in Calderas, but in other Paez villages
[177] Colombian folk dances, usually the open bambuco, are danced.

586 A dissolution of the marriage through divorce is said not to occur even among the non-Christian Paez. Also there is no separation of married people, since man and wife are dependent on each
[837] other for economic reasons. Yet it not infrequently happens --
[848] as reported above -- that married men have children outside their marriage with other unmarried girls.

587 In case of the death of one partner, the surviving spouse may remarry. But whereas for the first marriage he merely could not marry a partner of the same name, in the second marriage he also may not marry a partner bearing the name of the deceased. Thus, for example, Juán Piñakué, who in his first marriage was wed to Ascensiona Kiskué, may not marry a Kiskué a second time.

589 /195/ Widowers continue to live in their houses and, if the
591 children are not yet grown, usually marry a second time; other-
[587] wise they live in the house of one of their grown sons. Widows, if they are older, usually do not marry again. With their children they go back to where they came from, namely, the house of their parents. If the latter are no longer living, they have the right, for the time being, to live in the house of whichever brother happens to be living at the time in the house of the deceased father. If the house is no longer standing, the widow lives with one of her brothers or with other relatives. In any case, she cannot, as a woman, live alone in a house, but always only in one belonging to a man.

/195 cont./

d) Death

761 According to the belief of the Paez, death occurs chiefly
776 through the action of the evil shamans (nyic) or the evil spirits
165 ec, tus, and gělyómp (see "Religion" /see pp. 191ff./). Included
164 here also is the not infrequent cause of death through consumption.
[262] Causes of death of children are chiefly whooping cough, as well as stomach and intestinal disorders, the latter brought about by a
[762] diet very unsuitable for children. Suicide is completely unknown.

764 The death of a member of the community is passed on from
[763] man to man by members of the family and neighbors. There is
[203] no public mourning or lamentation; upon the death of small
[765] children, people act as though they were glad, since the children
[192] are now "little angels." (Among the colonists, as well as among the Paez, the Spanish word "angelito" is used.) In former times it was customary to abandon the house when death occurred and to leave the deceased and some food in it (Castillo i Orosco, p. IX).

764 The manner of burial is the same for men, women, and
184 children; there are no social differences. A few customs in other Paez communities, however, differ from those of the Calderun. Therefore the burial of the dead in Calderas will be described first.

[177] For burial the deceased is dressed if possible in purchased,
[291] that is, "white" clothing, even if he was the poorest of the poor and had never worn such clothing. For this reason the relatives incur considerable expense, which often cannot be paid for a long time. Burial takes place the day after death. Only the feet of the deceased are washed. This work, as well as dressing the deceased, may be done by relatives or even by outsiders; they must, /196/ however, always be men, even in the case of female deceased persons. The body is taken by two men on a bier made of two tree trunks to the graveyard next to the church, where two other men, usually relatives, have already dug the grave. The latter is trapezoid-shaped, a good shoulder's breadth at head height and narrower at the foot end. Its length is determined by the size of the deceased. The direction of the grave is completely arbitrary.

/196 cont./

764 It is dug out about 1.50 meters and at the bottom provided with
184 a lateral longitudinal niche about 40 centimeters high. This niche is generally hollowed out on the left side, but sometimes on the right. The body is laid in this, without the bier and without accessories, horizontally on its back, so that it no longer extends into the shaft of the grave. The shaft and the niche are, in addition, separated by vertical stakes and rods placed side by side so that the deceased cannot be touched by the earth filling the grave. On the latter, a stone about one meter high is placed at the head or foot end for identification.

[793] The priest is not present at a burial, nor is the shaman who
acts for the district of the deceased. The latter also does not
[756] enter a house in which there is a dead person. The participants in the funeral procession, men, women, and children, go to the graveyard together and then back again to the house of the deceased, where lavish entertainment with food, chicha, and brandy now follows. The latter was also drunk copiously on the way to and from the burial place. The mood during the entire time is
756 jolly and animated; people laugh and make jokes. Before the
764 participants enter the house upon their return from the burial,
783 they must go to the river where the shaman awaits them, in order
184 to "cleanse" them of the "pest" of the deceased for the first time (see "Religion"). Then they go together to the house of the deceased, which they may not enter, however, until the shaman has also cleansed this with the same remedies with which he freed the human beings of the "pest." These are water, to which special herbs and cow excrement are added, sprinkled everywhere, as well as brandy, which, mixed with herbs, the shaman squirts everywhere.

764 In Togoima we were able to take part in the burial of two
184 small children (angelitos). The graves of the cemetery in this town all have an east-west direction. The niche is always at the left, the body lies on its back with the head toward the west. The size of the grave required is measured with a bamboo stick that is
[273] as long as the deceased. Before the burial, there is drinking,
[535] music, and dancing in the house. /197/ Music is also played at
[533] the burial and on the way to the graveyard.

P /197 cont./

184 In this respect Calderas differs from all the other Indio or
764 colonist towns known to me, for there neither music nor dancing
533 is done on the occasion of a death. Both are done at the death of
535 an "angelito," not only among the Paez living in the vicinity of
S colonists, but, above all, among the white and mixed-colored
764 colonists. Thus, on January 1, 1953, soon after our arrival in the
533 archeological park of San Andrés, two small girls of the neighbor-
535 hood came to us and asked if I would photograph the "little angel."
C At first I was annoyed, for a short time before a group of children
123 had come, carrying a doll on a flower-bedecked tray from house to house, and they presented it to us, too, as the child Jesus who was collecting contributions for the mass that was to take place on January 6. The girls told me, however, that this little angel was the deceased, two-months-old child of the colonists in the neighboring house, whose mother had already washed and adorned it beautifully. The house was 20 meters away from our own, and even from our door one could already hear jolly music from the neighboring house, such as we had already heard at Christmas and at the New Year's Eve celebration. In the house a large num-
C ber of neighbors and relatives were gathered in the same room in
[534] which the child was laid out. People were laughing, drinking, singing, and dancing. The orchestra -- as always -- consisted of a guitar, a mandola, and rumba balls, and the usual musicians played in it. One of them was the father of the dead child, a second one, its uncle. Astonished at the bustle, I asked the mother whether she was not a little sad over the loss of her child. She admitted that she was, but at the same time said that her child was now a little angel and this was grounds for joy and dancing. I asked up to what age deceased children are called "little angels." I was told that if they are not yet two or three years old they "are" little angels and not merely called that. The small child, whom they always referred to only as the little angel, was laid out in the room on a table, flowers lay all around it, and at its
C head stood an image of the Virgin Mary with four candles in front
[273] of it. The people were not yet quite sober from New Year's Eve and already the inevitable liquor bottle was making the rounds again. On the next day the burial by the relatives took place.

S /197 cont./
764 The child had been laid in a coffin which was painted on the out-
C side with stars. The female relatives had made a so-called "canopy,"
123 /198/ a pole two meters high, on the tip of which was fastened a white hoop decorated with flowers, from which hung eleven colored paper streamers, one of which was carried by each of the participants. I, too, was asked to take one, and then we set out -- without the mother of the deceased child -- with music, for the graveyard where the small coffin was opened once more and then lowered
P into the earth without formality.

764 Among the Paez of Togoima, too, there is drinking, dancing,
184 and singing at the death of a child, and here, too, the mother does
[273] not take part in the burial at the graveyard. The body is carried
[533] by a woman -- usually the godmother -- in a small sedan chair of
[535] bamboo, accompanied by the music of drum, timpano, and flute,
[608] to the burial place where several men have already scooped out a grave with the lateral niche (Ills. 204 and 207 /see pp. 290 and 291/). The deceased child has a few flowers in its mouth. It is wrapped in a cloth and is laid in a recumbent position, along with a bouquet of flowers, in the niche, which is separated from the shaft by the rods of the sedan chair placed vertically side by side. The earth thrown into the pit is stamped down very firmly with posts.

P In Calderas, too, the mother of a "little angel" to be buried
[608] does not go along to the graveyard. The small corpse is carried by the godmother, not in a sedan chair, but simply wrapped in a cloth, on her arm.

The burial of the Christian Indios of San Andrés shows transi-
P tions in the shape of the grave from the Paez niche-grave to the
[674] simple, rectangular pit of the other Christians. We took part in the burial of the capitan who had been stabbed by his drunken son during a quarrel. The direction of the grave in the cemetery of San Andrés is always east-west; the head lies on the west side with the ground sloping upward. Instead of a lateral niche, a trapezoidal hollow about 50 centimeters deep is dug at the bottom of the shaft, which is covered horizontally by bamboo put so closely together that no earth can fall down, and the corpse is practically just as well

/198 cont./

764 protected from the earth above it as if it were lying in a lateral
184 niche (Ill. 206 /see p. 291/). It was expressly confirmed to me
[178] that this form of grave has been used for only about 20 years, and that previously regular niche-graves had been made. The transitional character of this covered pit from the shaft grave with the lateral niche becomes even more apparent from the fact that an additional niche was dug about 30 centimeters deep at the head end of the pit, into which the capitan was laid part way, "so that at least the head is lying in a niche."

/199/ The corpse, wrapped in Colombian clothing, was carried on a bier on the shoulders of two men. The bier consists of two poles held by cross-sticks lashed crosswise one above the other at intervals of 30 centimeters. The cross-sticks are lashed with lianas in pairs, each one above the one longitudinal pole and below the other one (Ill. 205 /see p. 291/). After the burial, the bier was chopped up and then left lying in the graveyard.
[201] Shortly before the lowering of the corpse, the members of the
[516] family take leave of it by kneeling down and moving one or both hands before them from above downward and saying: "You are now going to heaven, and we shall not see each other again; we hope it may go well with you!"

After the corpse was lowered and its head pushed into the small niche, the bamboo covering was very carefully and tightly laid over it. Then the pieces of sod as the bottom layer were packed next to each other as closely as they had been when lying on the surface of the ground. The members of the family and the friends, with their left hands, then tossed as many handfuls of earth into the grave as the person concerned has family relatives. Together they fill the grave with all the rest of the earth with their hands. This is an honor for the friends of the deceased; if a person has no friends, the members of his family must do this work themselves. After a few handfuls of earth, the filling of the pit is always stamped down long and thoroughly with tree trunks. This is a very long and exhaustive occupation, and the more beloved the deceased was, the longer the stamping. In the case of the burial of the capitan, this lasted almost two hours. As a

/199 cont./

764 result of the very hard stamping of the earth, the burial place
184 does not stand out from the surrounding terrain either because of a regular grave mound or because of any kind of slight elevation. A stone 30-60 centimeters in size serves as a marker, which is set either at the head or the foot end of the grave.

769 Whereas the deceased is given no accessories at all in the
[764] grave to take with him and no offerings are given this is done in
[796] the following year on December 8, the festival of the Immaculada. On this day, and each year recurrently, the relatives offer the spirits (áhimos) of their deceased, whom they think of as wind or shadows living in their former houses, their favorite foods: meat, yuca, potatoes, maize, chicha, brandy, coca, etc. These gifts are laid on a banana leaf on the floor of the church, and a candle is lighted and placed beside them. Small children do not get food, but flowers as gifts.

/200/

e) The Course of a Day

461 Men and women perform the tasks appropriate to them.
462 Those of the women are the least varied, since meals must be prepared daily and wood and water must be fetched regularly for cooking or for maintaining the nightly fire. Moreover, the work of the woman is more bound up with the house, whereas the men have shorter or longer pauses in their work and during these they visit neighbors, help them mill sugar cane, and drink chicha.
461 Steadiness is not the strong point of the Paez to begin with. It is but seldom that tasks are completed in an uninterrupted process; rather, we almost always found that on the following day the men were busy with something different from the previous day. To be sure, field work always requires long pauses between the clearing, the drying of the felled trees, burning, erecting the fences out of the remaining wood, and sowing. But even within each of these stages of work they generally take their time. True, there are said to be persons who can work for several weeks, up to a month, uninterruptedly in the clearing of a field, but I found again and again that after two to four days of work, a day of rest is inserted.

/200 cont./

461/ On one day, for example, a portion of the field is cleared of weeds, on the next the sugar-cane mill is repaired, on the day after that a neighbor is helped with housebuilding or milling sugar cane, then nothing is done for days because of drinking, and not until several days later is the weeding begun again. Once they have planned or begun a project for the day, however, they [123] will not let themselves be interrupted. Several times it happened that I would visit a family in the evening, in order to plan something which would be not at all unpleasant for them for the next day. But if they had already planned something else, I was obliged to come back on the day after that. In the fields, too, the men are not to be diverted, or only with difficulty. During the sowing, weeding, clearing, or other work on the field, they let themselves be drawn into conversation only during the coca pauses; at other times one could scarcely disturb them at these and similar tasks which are accomplished in a very even tempo -- provided that enough coca is available. It is different with the women. They let themselves be easily diverted from their daily, little varied household tasks. They are the ones who really do the most work within the family, for, as soon as they are married, they are never able to sleep through the night, /201/ but must stir the fire anew every two hours. Furthermore, they get up earlier in the morning, and they cannot go to bed until later at night. To rest a bit during the day is completely unknown. Nonetheless, they are satisfied with their lot and work happily, since all the women work in the same fashion and they have known nothing else for generations. There are, of course, tasks which are done willingly and others which are done less willingly. The goal of the necessary occupation seems to be decisive, for all the tasks necessary for nourishment are done willingly. Thus, the men, for example, like to work in the field, "since it is for food," like to plant sugar cane or build a sugar mill, "since it produces something to drink"; and the women, too, like to drag in firewood, [296] "since it is for meals." Washing clothes is one of the decidedly [499] unpleasant tasks of the women, as bridge-building is among the [462] men. In the examples sketched here, the tastes of all the Paez seem to be alike.

/201 cont./

461 Whereas the men for the most part plait straw hats when they
28 have nothing else to do, the women are busy with spinning and making the coca bags or the fiber bags. But even at this they do not work steadily in the sense, say, that they complete first one bag, for example, or make all the preparations from the outset for weaving an article of clothing; rather, they always work a little at a time on each task. Thus, for example, first a little spinning is done, then wood is fetched, then a coca bag is worked on, and then perhaps a brief hour is spent at the loom in order to weave a few centimeters more on the carrying band of the fiber bags, if the fiber material is at hand. No preparations are made for this plaiting and weaving for a long period in advance, but rather one provides herself with wool, spins it, weaves a bit farther, and then drops the work again for a week or more. Nevertheless, the women do not have periods of out-and-out idleness, like the men.
461 This doing-nothing is designated among the Paez with a word of
574 Spanish origin pasnyándo (paseando). To be sure, one must not
156 overdo the inactivity, that is, not "go for a walk" longer than
[192] about two weeks in succession, for otherwise one is called "alko" (dog), who runs from house to house, sniffs about everywhere, and gets his food from other people by begging. This is encouraged by the unwritten law of the Paez, to give food to a starving person,
[773] wherever it may be, until he is satisfied. This is taken very seriously, not only when adults are the petitioners, but also in the case of small children, in memory of an event in prehistoric times when Chauté /202/ turned a number of persons into stones because they had not given a begging child anything to eat out of their surplus (see the myths /see p. 224/). Hence if anyone enters a house "pasnyándo," he is given something to eat. Younger, unmarried people in particular take advantage of this and sometimes do not work at all, but go to a different house every day. They inquire as to where sugar cane is being milled, help there, are given chicha to drink and food to eat, and the next day go somewhere else. Thus there are some men who have neither house nor field, but nevertheless live quite well. To be sure, the

/202 cont./

461/ villagers know these "strollers," and even say that they are
574 sluggards who do not work; but if they then come at mealtime, they
156 get their food and are usually kept there gladly, because they know how to tell stories well and amusingly, go around everywhere, and always have news to impart. If a man is married and has a wife and children, he must, of course, cultivate his own field, in order to be able to feed his family. In Calderas, however, there is even a married "stroller" who has neither a house of his own nor his own field. He lives in the house of a good-natured man whom he helps in the field and in the house. But this is regarded as an exception.

829 Thanks for favors or benefits bestowed, which, according
571 to the view of the Paez, are taken for granted, were not custom-
[576] ary originally. Today, however, thanks are often expressed with
[178] a word of Spanish origin "slopage" (Dios se lo pague), without, however, any feeling of a debt of gratitude, such as toward a
[621] wealthy person or a person in a superior position. Within the Paez communities there is, to be sure, no sociologically established authority; similarly, there is no chief or employer of a number of people who would be dependent upon him and owe him obedience. Hence no one is forced to obey anyone whom he does not like or to do anything that he may not care to do. Accordingly, there is no respect for strangers to the place or even for the priest, for when the Calderun are in their village, "on their soil," everyone regards everyone else as equal. Not the least important in this connection is the general understanding of one another by the inhabitants, their strengths and weaknesses, which makes pretense, any spurious authority simply assumed by an official, impossible. This is one reason -- perhaps the principal reason -- why the Calderun purposely do not want to have anything to do with the "blancos" and their officials. An attempt to trace this back to an awareness of their own inferiority indicates a complete misunder-
[565] standing of the character of the Paez. Their lack of social classes, and therefore the impossibility of looking down on /203/ another person, explains their general respect for one another, which is bestowed on everyone equally. Everyone grants everyone else

Everyone grants everyone else

/203 cont./

571 whatever he expects and claims for himself, quite as a matter of
829 course. This results in an entirely natural self-esteem, injury to
155 which on the part of the "blancos" is felt as very painful by the Paez.

576 Within the Paez communities the obligation of a greeting (gwéčaya) by a younger person to an older one is strictly observed. Even a "family feud" does not absolve the younger people from the respectful greeting "pétenga" (translated by "good day") toward the older people of other families, who acknowledge it with " "pé'taw." Removing one's hat at the same time is not customary.

[608] A greeting by shaking hands takes place only among members of the family or with one's godfather or godmother with the salutation "ndyósta utsménga" (Godparent, how are you?), during which the hat is also removed. Contemporaries greet each other with

[521] "éwča" (how are you) and reply with "éwčataw" (I am well). Generally people chat awhile when they meet, introduce the conversation with a joke, a bit of news in the village, or perhaps merely a remark about the weather.

156 Though the Paez may be regarded basically as an individualist, this does not hold true universally. On account of the abundantly available land, it is possible for him to isolate himself and withdraw for weeks at a time to his separate farm, but

461 nonetheless the Paez does not like to drink his chicha alone. And
476 usually friends and neighbors help, not only with housebuilding or
156 clearing, but also with sowing and lesser tasks. The labor of the individual, in instances of mutual help, is merely loaned, however, since the same persons meet again for joint aid on the corresponding tasks of a neighbor. The owner in question must also make chicha and food liberally available for each task, which makes every joint task a small feast. The actual useful effects of the communal work are slight, and, as a visitor from the outside, one has the impression that the joint eating and drinking is the primary thing, interrupted at times by only brief periods of work. On sober consideration -- which no Paez, of course, undertakes -- the joint consumption in connection with a communal task is more expensive for the individual than if each person himself over a correspondingly

/203 cont./

461 longer period of time, consumed the products he himself raised.
476 Thus the practice of communal work and the joint consumption
156 of food and drink connected with it do not unconditionally emphasize the necessity for remote individual farms as against the compact village layout.

556 /204/ From what has been said about joint work and the
461 joint consumption associated with it, it follows that, with this
[476] method of production and consumption, practically no one can acquire great wealth, for the more a person has, the more he needs to entertain his helpers. Theoretically, however, it would be easy to become rich, if, for example, a young man would clear an additional piece of land each year for the planting of wheat or sugar cane and sell its yield for money or barter it for horses or cows. He would have to do this for several years, and then his herd of cows and mares would increase quite automatically, and with it his wealth. The actual work necessary for this
556 would be slight. Nevertheless, this is not possible in practice,
626 because, on the one hand, most of the Paez do not calculate and think so far ahead, and, on the other hand, the sufficiently intelligent and industrious ones would be subject to the dangerous envy of the other members of the community. The democratization of the Paez communities not only favors what is common, but also prevents the individualization of what is common to all -- among other things, even the common poverty.

For this reason no show is made of any possessions that one
556 might have. Significantly, only in connection with taking an inventory of livestock at the end of our work did we discover that even in Calderas there are comparatively rich people. This was not to be seen by an outsider, since these families do not stand out from the others either by dress or by way of life. Moreover, they did not tell me anything about their property -- a matter of more than ten head of cattle in the case of three families. I learned about it more or less accidentally from other
[651] people. In the case of these families, I could not see any reason for the concealment of their wealth, since they do not have any obligations or taxes or fees to pay. They likewise do not play a

/204 cont./

556 special sociological role within their community, for they are elected neither more frequently nor more rarely to the village offices. They have simply "always" been considered wealthy, though it should be noted that in the language of the Paez there [192] is no word at all for "rich" or "poor." The word used for "poor," "póre," comes from the Spanish (povre), and the word used for "rich," "čáčanas," at the same time means "strong" in the physi-
556 cal sense. Despite this apparent unimportance of wealth, how-
626 ever, it is jealously seen to that no other industrious man of a poor family will become rich and possibly put his wealth -- by means of Colombian dress or something similar -- on display. The evil shamans would put a spell on him or poison him, /205/ and the neighbors would devastate his fields by driving their cattle there. He would be cut by everyone, and people in a state of intoxica-
115 tion would start a fight with him in order to kill him. At any
556 rate, this is what happened and is happening to our interpreter,
626 Victoriano. He does not come from a wealthy family, but he wants to acquire money and livestock through diligence and [291] ability. From the money he earned among the whites he has [177] already bought himself the clothing of the whites, which he now proudly displays, and at festivals he sells wax candles and sweets. His fellow-villagers hate him on that account. The priest has had to protect him several times already from the machetes of drunken men who had started a fight with him; and in our presence, too, when we visited various houses with him, he was occasionally very rudely heckled by drunken men. Not least because, in the opinion
115 of the Calderun, he is not working. Again and again I tried to ex-
123 plain to the people that they, too, could "go walking" with me and
556 earn money if they were able to speak Spanish. Since this was
626 not the case, there was nothing else for me to do but always work with Victoriano. Nothing helped; Victoriano became more and more unpopular, and I, too, was regarded as a do-nothing. A
123 drunken man who, instead of the one cigarette he was given, vainly demanded an entire pack as a present abused me, too, as an "alko," a dog, who is always going from house to house and does not work.

/205 cont./

578 I acted as though I did not understand the words, but observed the
[123] same thing as on other occasions of disputes among Indios, namely, that two who are quarreling are not separated by a third stepping in. Rather, a dispute is regarded as an affair of the participants and as an interesting diversion in the monotonous daily existence, and the outcome is observed with obvious interest. Apart from the native word "alko," the Paez, interestingly enough, have no abusive word in their own language. The only term of abuse, but used very frequently, is the Spanish "carajo!"

f) Division of Labor between Men and Women

462 As we have seen from what was said above, the individual left to his own resources cannot exist in the Paez communities. The men's work is supplemented by the women's work, and vice versa. Both men and women are dependent upon each other to make a living /206/ and rely on each other for their most primitive vital needs. A man needs a woman who weaves clothes for him, and a woman cannot clear a field -- to cite but one example. The traditional tasks in relation to the sexes may be
[177] summarized once again here. Transitions toward newer ways of life are noticeable, as these have been taken over from the surrounding colonists.

462

	Men	Women	Children
857 Clearing a piece of land	x		
Sowing maize, potatoes, yuca, sugar cane, coca, wheat	x		
Sowing cabbage and beans	x	x	
Sowing gourds and cucumbers	x	x	
Weeding	x		
Harvesting maize, potatoes, coca, wheat	x	x	

/206 cont./

462
857

	Men	Women	Children
Harvesting yuca, cabbage, beans, gourds		x	
Harvesting sugar cane	x	(x)	
Hunting	x		
Fishing at the weir	x	x	
Gathering wild honey	x	x	x
Preparing food		x	
Making chicha and brandy	x	x	
Housebuilding	x		
Making fire with flint and steel	x		
Fetching firewood		x	
Fetching water		x	x
Carrying loads on marches	x	x	
Making weapons	x		
Making plaited hats	x		
Making hammocks	x		
Making rope	x		
Making musical instruments	x		
Making fireworks	x		
Making bird nets	x		
Making children's toys			x
Making clay vessels	x	x	
Making fiber bags		x	
Making coca bags		x	
Making wax candles	x	x	x

/207/

[439]

Ornaments	(bought)	(bought)	
Weaving, plait-weaving		x	
Dyeing		x	
Washing women's clothes and the men's woven clothes		x	
Washing the home-sewn men's trousers	x		
Mending woven clothing		x	
Mending men's trousers	x		

/207 cont./

g) Festivals and Celebrations

796 The public community festivals of the Paez which are celebrated and observed in the course of the year nowadays take place only on religious occasions, on the three church holidays Semana Santa (Easter week), San Juán (June 24), and Immaculada (December 8). For the Paez these are primarily occasions for joyful gatherings, for setting off fireworks, and for eating and drinking richly and abundantly. It is not certain whether in former times there were any indigenous festivals in connection with sowing and harvesting and the natural cycle of the year,
796 and to me this does not even seem probable. There is nothing
221 in the myths and surviving indigenous customs of the Paez that
241 points to an agricultural rhythm of life; rather, religion, mythology, and ceremonial practice are remnants of a hunting and shamanistic attitude of mind. The absence of a ceremonial life connected with sowing and harvesting becomes understandable in view of the fact that it is possible to do this at any time of the year; there is no correlation between a seasonal and growth rhythm and a corresponding natural festival cycle.

796 The gobernador at the time is in charge of organizing the community festivals. The actual running of the festival, which includes the entertainment of the entire village and the serving of the necessary food and drink, is the duty of the two "fiesteros" and their helpers, the "albaceros" and "mayordomos." It is an
[554] honor to be fiestero, but also an expensive matter, for this office costs each one two head of cattle, the food for the village on the festival day, and, in addition, the liberal distribution of chicha and brandy. And, to be sure, not only the chicha that is drunk by the village on the day of the festival, but also that which the helpers
[426] drink when they make the chicha before the festival. Even if a fiestero hires himself out to the whites months before the festival /208/ in order to earn money, he often remains in debt for years afterward as a result of the obligations arising from the festival. In spite of the costliness of this office, the fiesteros -- so I was

/208 cont./

796 assured -- always volunteer. Besides, no one can be forced. But this is not necessary, since there are always more applicants for this position than are needed. On account of the very high costs, however, no one can be fiestero more than three times in all. This number is not the absolute highest, but represents the normal maximum given the financial circumstances of the Paez. One may be albacero more often, however -- up to ten times, I was told -- since this person does not donate any cattle for feeding the village, but merely a pig for the meal on the eve of the festival, and bears the cost of the festival accessories other than the food supply (decorations for the church, candles, fireworks, and the "crazy cow"). The mayordomos only join in with contributions of money to pay the priest.

The fiestero and albacero themselves do not work, but merely serve the guests. For the preparation of the food they have [476] their helpers, men and women, who voluntarily help and at the end of the festival are specially entertained. Above all, carry- [273] ing the sugar cane from the fields for the large amounts of chicha to be prepared is hard work, for every fiestero wants to prepare the most chicha, since a festival is good only if one can be drunk for a long time.

On the principal festive day of the three annual festivals, which are essentially the same in arrangement, the women start to prepare the feast very early in the festival house. The men also arrive, chicha is drunk heartily, and the musicians start play- [541] ing early in the morning. No longer entirely sober, everybody assembles for the Mass, which is accompanied by the setting off of fireworks by those who have remained in front of the church door. [788] Then, led by the music, played incessantly, a procession follows, a parade around the church with the flower-decorated image of the Lord and those of the saints.

[431] In the afternoon, the fiesteros, along with the cabildo and [993] a large number of sightseers, set out for the church, in order to [994] give the priest a present of foodstuffs, meat, bananas, vegetables, and eggs in gratitude for the Mass that was held. After that the two fiesteros, along with their albaceros and the music, walk

/208 cont./

796 through the village and meet in front of the festival house for a
[194] ceremonial salutation. They exchange brandy, chicha, and candles, each giving the other exactly the same thing /209/ that
[537] he himself receives. After they have mutually complimented each
[431] other sufficiently, they turn to the bystanders, make a short speech to the effect that everyone should enjoy himself, and dis-
796 tribute everything to the people standing around. Soon afterward
532 all gather on the plaza in front of the church, where now the "vacaloca" is lighted. This "crazy cow" consists of a number of flexible twigs bent into semicircles and held together on the underside by cross-rods; they are fastened one behind the other, which gives the structure the shape of a half-cylinder. This is covered with a cowhide and forms the body of the crazy cow. On one end is fastened a cow's skull modeled out of bast and newspaper to look as real as possible, and on the other end, a stick wound with agave fiber as a tail. A strong young man takes the frame of the cow on his shoulders and it is then lit at the specially prepared places on horns and tail. While music is played, the young man goes across the square in a zigzag, during which the young people try to tease the cow, while it, in turn, tries to get the bold ones on its horns. The meaning of this game is not clear to the Paez. It looks as though it were a poorly understood imitation of a popular bullfight.

796 Everybody now returns to the festival houses, where the musicians have taken their places on a bench on the narrow end of the festival house. The women squat in one corner in a large
[273] group with their children. And then begins the feast, at which everyone, men, women, and children, may eat and drink as much as he is able, with the exception of the fiesteros, who have the sole right to pour the chicha and brandy and do not themselves become intoxicated, in order to be able to carry out their duty well. The festival guests do not go home for the duration of the festival, but eat, drink, and sleep in the festival houses, stretched out full length on the floor wherever they happen to be. The festival goes on with more or less intensity -- as far as eating and drinking are concerned -- throughout the entire week; at any rate, no one works, but at most goes from house to house "pasnyándo."

/209 cont./

4. Law

671 Although the legal life of the Paez cannot be compared to a well-developed jurisprudence, on account of its being interwoven with all manifestations of life, they nevertheless have fixed regulations adapted to their vital needs, /210/ the preservation of which is guaranteed by the entire community. To these legal regulations belong the political and family organization already described, as well as the customs in the course of life and of daily living. In the following the regulations governing property and inheritance and the views of the Paez concerning punishable acts and punishments are to be described.

423 In Calderas there is community land and private land. The former consists of the river lowlands with the territory of the church, school, community house, and festival houses, whereas the mountain slopes are the private property of those families who cleared them for the first time. Basically, everyone may have an interest in the community land, which consists essentially of pasture land. Here the families can pasture their animals, build themselves festival houses, and stake off a piece of land for [178] themselves anywhere they like and build dwellings. The latter was not customary formerly when a person built his own house only on his own land. Today there are already three families, those of Cerbeleón Guagáz, of Clemente Lis, and of Agustín Muse, who live on community land near the church and the school. They built their houses there and staked off a piece of land on which they cultivate vegetables and some sugar cane. There is no need to ask anyone for permission to do this. The situation is different in the 423 case of private property on the mountain slopes. True, no one 427 builds his house on a piece of land that does not belong to him; yet it may happen that one's own land is very far away, and then a person will ask the owner of a parcel of land nearby for permission ("licencia"; Spanish "authorized permission") to plant a field for a harvest. This is not often the case, for generally there is enough land in each family. A few families, however, have

/210 cont./

423 considerably larger parcels of land than others, for example, the
427 Guagáz family, who, according to my information, own almost half of all private land. Permission for the use of land is granted only for crops with a short ripening period, namely, wheat, maize, beans, and cabbage, but not sugar cane, coca, or bananas, which need several years to mature, in other words, can be used for years. As rent the owner receives a small portion of the harvest, which is left on the stalk and which he must harvest himself.

423 As a matter of principle, land cannot be bought, we were
[428] told repeatedly, for every man must leave his land to his sons. Even if a man has no sons, he may not sell his land, but must hand it over to his brothers. This was the information always
423 given in answer to my direct questions on the subject. /211/ In
437 practice, however, it is quite possible to sell land, and this is not infrequently done, but no one realizes that a land sale actually takes place when a man clears a piece of land for himself, plants it, and exchanges the entire harvest, including the land, for a
[115] head of cattle, a horse, etc. This is what Victoriano did, for example, in order to acquire a horse. He cleared and planted a piece of his father's land, about 2,500 square meters, to sugar cane, and when this was mature, he exchanged the harvest, including the land, for a mare. Nobody wanted to admit that this violated the principle of not selling land.

423 The land belongs to the father of the family, who, as a rule,
241 tills it with his grown sons. If the sons have their own houses,
59 they generally go on working with their father, since no one likes to work alone. At the harvest, the respective wives fetch the food
423 required for their families from the common field. If father and
427 son do not live in amity, the son must plant and harvest his own
59 3 field, for which he is then obliged to accept the help of friends.
241 It is considerably more expensive to entertain them than family
[476] help, for in the latter case there need not be any chicha for entertainment. Even in this instance, however, the son must ask his father and owner of the family land for permission to cultivate the land. This is not denied, however. After the harvest, this piece of land, since it will lie fallow now for about ten years, goes back

/211 cont./

423 to the father, and the next year the son must ask his father anew
427 for permission to use another piece of land.

593 Besides the land, the father of the family also owns the
24, dwelling, the menstruation house, all the animals -- including
422 chickens and guinea pigs -- all agricultural implements, and the
423 sugar mill. Property marks on the houses, fields, and implements are not required, for everyone knows to whom they belong.

428 Upon the death of the father of the family, the youngest son inherits his house and the greater part of the livestock. If, for example, there is only one cow, he gets it. Similarly, he gets all the land under cultivation at the time. The uncultivated land is divided equally among all the sons. The widow,
[768] like the daughter inherits nothing. The former then continues to live in her old house in the family of the youngest son. The fact that the latter receives so much more than the older ones in the distribution of the inheritance is explained by the fact that the older ones have worked for more years and therefore have had more time and opportunity to acquire property of their own.
[429] Favoring the youngest thus represents a certain equalization. If the father dies /212/ young and leaves only a small son, his mother administers his property for him until he is about 15 years
[768] old. He need not marry then, however. If there are several younger sons, they, of course, also go on living together in the house of the father.

Deviant inheritance plans of the deceased, for example, letting an older favorite son have more or leaving his house or implements, not to his youngest son, but to his brother, are not possible. Even if a father had ten daughters and only one son and none of the daughters would marry, he could not leave them anything. In such a case, the only son would have to provide for all his sisters, for women cannot live alone in a house and they would not be in a position to cultivate the land alone. If a man has no sons, but only daughters, his sons-in-law generally help him cultivate the fields. Yet he cannot bequeath them anything. His landed property and equipment go to that one of his brothers who takes care of the burial, that is to say, buys the grave clothes for the deceased and provides chicha and food for the mourning

P /212 cont./
428 guests. In case the deceased has neither sons nor brothers --
P which scarcely ever happens, it is said -- the villager who takes
[768] care of the burial inherits his entire property. The widow moves
in with one of her brothers or sisters or some other relative.
T Disputes and misdemeanors, such as theft or adultery, are
692 judged within the communities by the cabildo; murder or serious
625 C bodily injury, by the Colombian state judiciary. It was said that
[692] murder and manslaughter did not occur in former times, the old
T 682 people told us; they are a consequence of "white" influences
623 and the weakening of the cabildo. One can well understand this,
182 for in Calderas where the village council still enjoys a certain
[177] amount of power and considerable prestige, it would be unthinkable
P for a son to stab his father to death. This happened in San Andrés
[177] where the cabildo exists only in the form of three functionaries
who are basically powerless and without standing and where the
young people, through the influences of the living conditions of
the white colonists, no longer have any feeling for the old
discipline and customs. It was in San Andrés in March, 1953,
that the son of the capitan stabbed his father to death. The
P latter, after the death of his first wife, had married a second
[593] time, for which his children reproached him vehemently. In a
drunken state, this led to a brawl, in the course of which the
father struck off half of his son's right ear and the son killed his
father with several knife stabs in the abdomen. After the deed, he
fled; but since it was known that he could find shelter only with
relatives, the /213/ gobernador of the town of Lame seized him
P a few days later in the house of his sister, where he had hidden.
[624] He was brought to San Andrés in chains and delivered over to the
sindico, who was simultaneously occupying the position of
gobernador. The latter, an older man of the age of the deceased
capitan, tried for some time to reason with the murderer, who
gave the impression of being uncommunicative and almost sullen;
he pointed out to him the baseness of his deed, of patricide, and
then he was led to the church in which the dead capitan was lying
in state. The son resisted violently, but was forcibly led up to the
corpse and broke down weeping before it. Before he was transferred

/213 cont./

682 to Inzá by two members of the cabildo of San Andrés, friends and
623 relatives, as well as members of his own family, slipped him a
182 few coins so that he would be able to buy himself food in prison. His guards did not prevent anyone from doing this, and in general the feeling for the murderer was commiserating, but not unfavorable.

623 The punishments inflicted in Calderas by the cabildo are al-
692 ways floggings. In earlier times they were very rigorously carried
[681] out. There is no imprisonment. Today the cabildo judges only
[697] social misdeeds, debtors, and the theft of field crops, a chicken, or a sheep. Horse and cattle theft goes to the court in Inzá for punishment. The injured one himself may not punish the malefactor -- not even if caught red-handed - but must report everything
[693] to the cabildo. There the capitan and gobernador are the judges.
[624] The other members of the cabildo must likewise be present, but they have no vote. The sentence is very quickly passed. The malefactor is locked into one of the two rooms of the community
623 house, and the trial takes place on the next day at the latest. The
685 punishments are fixed. They consist of lashes with the whip, which
692 are increased for repetition. Thus, the thief receives ten lashes the first time, 20 the second time, and 30 lashes the third time; in case of further lapses he is shackled in the tree trunk. The theft of a sheep is punished with ten lashes and the replacement or giving up of the stolen object. If the accused protests, a house search is carried out with a member of the cabildo. If nothing is found, he must be set free again.

426 Loans up to ten pesos are given without security; beyond that the creditor is given a cow, a horse, a pig, wheat, or sugar cane as security. Loans are given only up to a year, so that the matter is not forgotten. Interest is not charged. If the debtor is unable to pay, a definite term is /214/ set for him; if he does not pay then, the lapse is reported to the cabildo, which punishes the offender with the whip. Denial is useless, for every loan transaction is concluded only before witnesses. If the debtor dies, the claims of the creditor are taken from his estate, for example, a machete, coca bag, or clothing. One may also ask relatives, for example brothers, to settle the debt. They are not obliged to repay it,

/214 cont./

426 however, so that in the case of a deceased poor debtor, the creditor has usually lost his money. Prescription does not occur.
685 A debt forgotten by the debtor may be collected by the creditor
695 years later, if there are witnesses. The situation is similar for
426 the theft of field crops: If there is no witness, no one can be found guilty. If, however, the witness is known as honorable and not deceitful, the accused is judged guilty, even without a con-
692 fession. There is no statement of confirmation corresponding to
695 the oath; similarly, no one condemned for wrongdoing has the
623 right to go to Inzá to the judge. For all misdeeds punished by the
208 [782] cabildo, the capitan and gobernador are the first and last authority; they do not act arbitrarily, however, but rely largely on custom
[686] and the opinion of the village. This is especially true if someone refuses several times in succession to take part in public works, but it also comes out -- unfavorably -- if a poor man tries to
623 become wealthy on his own. For example, disputes not infrequently
692 break out among the Paez on account of damage to cultivated
685 fields when the domestic animals of one person have broken into
578 the fields of a neighbor. Now the fences around each field must always be in good condition and put up in accordance with the term of use of the field. A fence for a maize field, which requires barely a year to mature, may be more lightly built than a fence around a sugar-cane field, which requires three years to mature. Then when strange animals break into fields with good fencing, the owner may kill them or at least wound them, for example, by
[231] cutting off a cow's tail. The owners of pigs fasten a triangular-shaped frame around the necks of their pigs to prevent them from breaking into fenced fields. If the fence is in poor condition, however, and has not been newly erected especially for the planted field, the owner of the animals breaking into the field is not to blame and the owner of the field may not kill them. Of course, the soundness of a fence is to a great extent a matter of opinion, and it happens not infrequently that the disputants go after each
696 other with machetes and wound each other considerably. The
685
417 /215/ guilty party is then, after an inspection of the fence, punished
681

/215 cont./

696 according to the decision of the cabildo. First of all, the animal
685 or the crop destroyed must be replaced, and then the offender is
417 put in the "tree trunk." This is a form of punishment that was
681 formerly used very frequently in other Paez communities, too.
[824] Actually it consists of two tree trunks, into each of which two notches are chopped on opposing sides. The condemned person is put in, with his feet up to the ankles in these rather narrow notches, and then the tree trunks are tightly bound together with
[623] lianas. All the members of the cabildo take part in this work. Then the bound tree trunks are fastened to the ceiling of the council house, so that the condemned man hangs head downward and the trunks cut into his flesh very considerably. There were no other types of punishment. The degree was determined by the number of hours of hanging, which extended from one to, allegedly, 24 hours.

556 Injustices on the part of envious fellow-citizens toward a
626 man striving for wealth manifest themselves by their driving their animals into the man's well-fenced fields. This is done until the person in question no longer feels any inclination to excel over others
[623] through diligence and property. Little is accomplished by com-
[692] plaining to the cabildo, since the gobernador cannot make a de-
[208] cision that runs counter to the opinion of the entire village, and a weak spot in the fence can always be demonstrated somewhere.

692 Other and not infrequent occasions on which the cabildo must
623 act as judge are complaints concerning adultery and support (see
68 above). There are no complaints about verbal insults, just as there is no punishment for this. They are countered by matching expressions. Similarly, unintentional bodily injury, for example, by a machete during joint work or a case of death during tree-cutting, is not punishable. Only if a person shoots his neighbor's eye out with an elastic sling during bird hunting would he be punished, "but not very severely."

1: Nachtigall--152 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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IV. Spiritual Culture

1. Language

121 According to A. v. Humboldt, languages are differentiated by the elements of content and form, and, accordingly, languages are divided into three groups, which in the following period were erroneously interpreted as stages of the development of language. According to this, the oldest stage was represented by the isolating languages, which express form elements by means of independent words with the meaning still recognizable as far as content is concerned. Their words, as in Chinese, are monosyllabic, isolating. The second group is made up of the agglutinative languages, in which the element of form is added to the element of content, the stem, through clearly recognizable affixes. The Ural-Altaic and the Bantu languages in particular are put here. The inflected languages occupy the third stage. In them the form element is expressed by inner changes of the stem or by affixes closely intergrown with the stems, as, for example, in the Indo-Germanic and Hamito-Semitic languages.

Even though this classification of languages was subsequently abandoned as the schema of a sequence of development, it is nevertheless quite applicable as an initial, practical orientation. For the more precise classification of a language, the working out of the phonetics and syntax is required.

197 193 Paez is an agglutinative language. The grammatical forms are built up by a succession of syllables. The pronunciation is difficult for a European. It is similar to Kechua /Quechua/, from which a number of loanwords have been adopted.

175 797 192 193 114 The oldest linguistic reports about the Paez come from P. Eujenio del Castillo i Orosco, who collected his linguistic material around 1735, as a missionary in Tálaga. It was supplemented and published by E. Uricoechea in 1877. The collected data include a catechism, a vocabulary, and a grammar with information about personal pronouns and the conjugations of "to be" and "to write." The grammar and vocabulary contain some forms and word formations that are alien to the original Paez language.

/216 cont./

114 Further linguistic notes were collected by H. Pittier de
192 Fábrega. These supplemented Castillo's vocabulary and gram-
193 matical data. H. Lehmann published examples of sentences of the Paez from Pitayó collected by French missionaries.

197 /217/ In a comparative study based on the aforementioned
114 publications, H. Beuchat and P. Rivet investigated the linguistic classification of Paez within the language groups of Colombia and classified it in the southwestern group of the six Chibcha language groups. (These Chibcha-speaking tribes correspond neither archeologically nor ethnologically to the true Chibcha (Mwiska) of the savanna of Bogotá!)

124 The linguistic material presented in the following is ex-
126 tremely fragmentary. The data given, however, were for the
197 most part checked several times. The difficulties of linguistic recording lay, aside from the brief time at our disposal, in the lack of grammatical training of the interpreter, who otherwise spoke Spanish very well, but who, during dictation or in translations, often said the same sentence entirely differently when repeating it; possibly because he could translate it better this way. When his attention was called to this, the stereotyped answer was: "One can say it that way, too" or "that is the way we speak." Another thing was that the interpreter was able to summon up the unusual mental concentration for linguistic recording for only two or at most three hours daily, distributed over the forenoon and afternoon.

a) Phonetics

194 As a result of the location of the individual villages in iso-
[197] lated valleys, the pronunciation varies slightly from place to
[124] place. Since we started with the Paez of Calderas in our collection of ethnological data, the following word list was also made with my Calderun interpreter, Victoriano Piñakuẽ.

In the Paez alphabet the complete palatal range, which includes all consonants, is noteworthy. Almost as numerous are the consonant combinations with the English "w." In the

/217 cont./ In the
194 transcription of Paez words we departed from the Spanish spelling
104 and used the following alphabet:

'	"glottal stop," as in the German ab'ändern
~	nasal vowel
a	short a, as in the German Ball
ā	long a, as in the German schmal
ai	not a diphthong, a+i as in the Paez áime (star), without "glottal stop"
b	always voiced, as in the German Baum
bw	b with the English w
by	palatalized b
č	Spanish or English ch, German tsch
čy	palatalized č
ç	dental ch sound, as in the German ich
d	always voiced, as in the German dumm, English "and"
dy	palatalized d
/218/	
e	closed e, as in the German Schnee, but short
ē	closed e, as in the German Schnee
e̱	open e, as in the German wenn, hätte
ē̱	open, long e, as in the German Schäfer
ĕ (ə)	centralized e, as in German gern
ei	not a diphthong, e+i as in the Paez néi (father), without "glottal stop"
f	dentilabial, as in the German fein
g	always voiced, as in the German gut, English "pig"
gw	g with the English w
gy	palatalized g
h	strong h, between h and the ch in German ach
hw	h with the English w
hy	palatalized h
i	short i, as in the German wie, but short
ī	long i, as in the German nie
k	not aspirated, as in the German
kw	k with the English w
ky	palatalized k
l	as in the German laufen; used in place of r in loanwords from the Spanish
ly	palatalized l
m	as in the German mein

/218 cont./

194
104

mw	m with the English w
my	palatalized m
n	as in the German nur
nw	n and the English w
ny	like the Spanish ñ, French gn
ṅ	velar n, like ng in the German singen
ṅw	ṅ and the English w
ṅy	palatalized ṅ
o	short, closed o, not identified more precisely
o̱	open o, not identified more precisely
ō	long, closed o, as in the German Not
oi	not a diphthong, o+i as in the Paez ói (woman), without "glottal stop"
p	without aspiration, as in the German "Paul"
pw	p with the English w
py	palatalized p
r	only rarely in Spanish words where l is not spoken in place of it
s	always voiceless, as in the German lassen
sy	palatalized s
š	sch as in the German schon
šw	s with the English w
šy	palatalized š
t	without aspiration, as in the German Ton
ts	like the z in the German zwei
tw	t with the English w
ty	palatalized t
u	as in the German gut; often difficult to distinguish from o
v	dentilabial v, as in the German warm
vy	palatalized v
w	semivowel, like the English w
y	semivowel, as in the English "York"
z	voiced s, as in the German Rose
zy	palatalized z

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194

The consonants and semivowels in Paez are the following:

	Plosive fort	Plosive lene	Fricative fort	Fricative lene	Affricate fort	Affricate lene	Liquid	Nasal	Semi-vowel
Aspirate	'			h					
Velars " (palatal)	k ky	g gy						ṅ	
Palatals	ty	dy	hy ç		č čy		ly	ṅg ny-ñ	y
Alveolars " (palatal)	t	d	s sy	z zy	ts		l	n	
Alveolars with hushing sound " (palatal)			š šy						
Labiodentals " (palatal)			f	v vy					
Bilabials " (palatal)	p py	p by						m my	w

The vowels are the following:

a, ā, ai, e, ē, e, ē, ě (=ə), ei, i, ī, (o), o, ō, oi, u.

The pronunciation of "o" and "o" was not observed accurately enough; similarly, the pronunciation of "o" and "u" varied among different persons and was difficult to distinguish. "Ai," "ei," and "oi" are not diphthongs, but are pronounced separately, but without any "glottal stop." The pronunciation of "ty" and "ky" is not always unequivocal, for example, tyita, "weaving sword." In front of some words beginning with "b" one can hear an "m," for example, in bāts (mbāts), "agave fiber." Also, in the case of Spanish loanwords beginning with "b," an "m" is popularly put in front of them. Thus, mbē! instead of véa! was always said by the Spanish-speaking Paez. The original Paez alphabet contains no "r"; in Spanish loanwords "l" is used instead, for example, trapiče = lapiče, horno = olno, nuestro Señor Jesucristo = neustlo Senyol Hesuklisto. Difficulties /220/ are caused by a number of words which to the stranger seem to sound exactly

/220 cont./

194 alike at first, but in reality differ -- aside from context -- in minimal nasal differences in pronunciation. Thus, for example, atc means "I," "today," "ruana," and "digging stick."

Stress is indicated by an accent (') or by a circumflex. Words without a mark for stress are stressed on the penultimate syllable. An accent (') between a vowel and the following consonant has sound value and indicates a "glottal stop" (glottal catch).

b) Grammar

193 The substantive: There is no article. Gender is not distinguished in words for things and plants. In the case of human beings and animals such a distinction occurs only in exceptional cases, for the terminology for human beings with respect to sex and age or circumstances is so rich in special words that special designations for the sex in general are not required (cf. the kinship nomenclature in the section "Family Organization"). The distinction is not only so exact with respect to human beings, but even maize, for example, is designated by entirely different words, depending on whether it is ripe or still green (kotc or tsot). If a more precise distinction is nevertheless required, the suffixes -pits (man) for the male sex and -ói (woman for the female sex are used, for example, éčpits, "widower," éčoi, "widow." In general, however, these are artificial distinctions which are used primarily for loanwords. In this case one proceeds from the general or typical. Thus, átaly is the "chicken," and it is the rooster that is singled out and distinguished from the chicken by the suffix -pits (átályepítste). "Horse" is regarded as general and is designated as hímba; the special distinctions are himbapítste, "stallion," and himbaóite, "mare." Moreover, the word lečkwe (child) is added as a suffix to designate small living creatures or small things, for example, luč, "child," lučléčkwe "small child"; hímba, "horse," himbaléčkwe, "foal"; átaly, "chicken," atályeléčkwe, "little chicken"; yat, "house," yatléčkwe, "small

/220 cont./
193 house"; witóñ, "tree," wítoñléčkwe, "small tree."

193 In the case of kinship nouns, there is a prefix pe- for desig-
601 nating female relatives, for example, pétsots, "father's sister," pényok, "mother's sister," "stepmother," "mother's brother's wife." Within the family a dual is designated with the prefix pe-, for example, pětām, "father /221/ and mother together," péndyík, "father and son together" or "mother and son together," péndyīs, "father and daughter together" or "mother and daughter together."

193 The suffix -nas often designates a state or an activity and is used chiefly to form new words: fisnās, "writer," ātycatynās, "tailor," yāsnās, "baptizer" (name-giver), pāsnās, "stranger, new arrival," ká'nas, "burgomaster," ndōsoknās, "midwife," gnās, "virgin." "To become intoxicated" is toñ, the "drunken man" tónas, "one who is becoming intoxicated" tónye. The forms tátyinas, "creator," and tótenas, "gobernador," are used only in sentences. As an individual word one says tákiyi or tótens, respectively. Possibly the ending -nas is one used only in a specific context, like the suffixes -pas and -sa, which are not infrequently encountered. In the case of adjectives, some in the positive and others in the comparative end in -nas: čačanas (strong), wac nyíčkwenas (more beautiful), wac éwnas (better).

There is no general plural. For a more precise designation either a number or an indefinite pronoun is added, for example, teč, "one," or in the plural, é'nzi, "both" (from é'nz, "two"), ko, "several," tak, "many." For the plural in connection with persons the suffix -weš is used in part, for example, pítstewes, "people," Mogweš, tribe of Guambiano, či'mewes, "whites" (či'me=white).

There is no declension. The sentence order is generally: subject, object, predicate. The nominative is to be distinguished only by its position at the beginning of the sentence. The accusative comes after the nominative and generally before the verb.

Atya na himbása vítepitsna óson, "I this horse this man give," ātya táwas tyaóinat ípak, "I the belt (taw) from this woman (oí)

193 /221 cont./
received," kwéša éšpas kyéhi óratepa óñwetáw, "we coca at any hour eat," čõosoñ pítstečata mahẽ, yátde oíčata mahẽ, "in the field men only work, in the house women only work," pálkite táwala kíma õsya, "in the park many sand fleas there are," but: ãtya evít kyákulása, "I lost this cow" (kula = cow), ãtya pákan teč pésnye, "I receive a present."

The genitive is expressed by its position before the subject. Pítste šwáa, "the hat of the man" (šwa = hat), ói táwa, "the belt of the woman" (taw = belt), pítste álko, "the dog of the man," tótenas nyó, "the wife of the gobẽrnador."

Negation is generally expressed by met, for example, hip met, "I do not have"; ñéndya, "to like," ñéndyi met, "not to like"; ãtya uwẽt, "I am hungry," ãtya ũwemẽt, "I am not hungry"; ãtya teč nyákča hipt, "I a brother have" (brother = yacté), ãtya teč nyákča /222/ hip met, "I have a brother not"; ãtya teč pésča nyópa, "I a sister not have" (sister = peš; "nyópa" was likewise translated for me as "not have").

Adjective: In the Paez the adjectives follow and do not change with respect to sex and number: yat ĩš, "the old house" pits ĩš, "the old man." The meaning of the adjective is in some cases differentiated more than in German, for example, "strong": pítste čačat, "the strong man," hímba čačat, "the strong horse," but: mbéka põs, "the strong chicha." For "stout," the following adjectives are used: pítste nyiš, "the stout man"; víton hõt "the stout tree." Likewise there are different words for young or old, depending on whether it is a matter of men or women.

Comparisons are expressed by wac, "more": hímba éw, "the good horse," hímba wac éwnas, "the better horse"; ói nyíčkwe, "the beautiful woman," ói wac nyíčkwenas, "the more beautiful woman"; ganš, "ugly," wac ganš, "uglier"; wéča, "little," wac wé, "less."

/222 cont./

802 Numerals: The cardinal numbers and the ordinal numbers are the same. The decimal counting system is built up on counting with the fingers. The numbers six to nine are compounds with "sáki" (six), whereby seven is formed as "six and two," eight as "six and three." There is no counting beyond ten. For "very many" one says "teč kwat" in Paez, literally "one stone." Today it has the meaning of "hundred."

1	teč	7	é'nzsáki
2	é'nz	8	téksaki
3	tek	9	pánssaki
4	pans	10	kosémba (literally kóse pémba "end of hands")
5	tats		
6	sáki or téčsaki		

193 Pronouns: The personal pronouns are absolutely necessary for conjugation. They are put at the beginning. In the first person singular a distinction is made without exception between masculine and feminine; in the second person singular, only in special cases. These cases are the address of spouses to each other, of siblings among themselves, and address to persons of respect. Otherwise there is no distinction according to sex either in the second person singular or in other forms of the singular and plural.

I (masc.): atc; in connection with the verb, ãtya; in the conjugations the suffix -pa, "too /auch, "too, also, likewise"/," is often added to the personal pronouns, ãtypa, "I, too."

I (fem): ŏk.

/223/

193 576 you (masc. and fem.): inc. Young people address older ones neither with "inc" nor with their names. In the case of men, they must first inquire about the name of the man's son (or if he has none, his daughter) and then

/223 cont./

193
576

address him as "father of ..." If the person concerned has no children, one addresses him, like contemporaries, by his first name, "since a man who has no children is no man."
Older women are respectfully addressed "ī́kf."

193
601

you (father or mother to son):	kwe
you (father or mother to daughter):	íča
you (wife to husband):	íngya
you (husband to wife):	íkwe
you (brother to brother or sister to sister):	yakté
you (brother to sister):	pe'š
you (sister to brother):	ndyīš
you (fem.):	ī́kf, respectful address for older women
he, she, it:	kya
we (masc. and fem.):	kweš
they (masc. and fem.):	kyáňweš

193
[576]

you /plural/: not known; in the corresponding translation the word cúkai (all) was sometimes used. In the grammar of Castillo i Orosco, the Paez word "icuexs" (ikweš) is given for "vosotros." The interpreter translated this for me as "Ustedes." It is not used to conjugate verbs.

[114]

The possessive pronouns correspond -- except in the third person singular -- to the personal pronouns. They are placed first.

/223 cont./

193 The masculine forms are:

my	horse	ãtc	himba
your	horse	inc	himba
his	horse	kyec	himba
our	horse	kweš	himba
their	horse	kyánweš	himba

The feminine forms are:

my	belt	õk	táwa
your	belt	inc	táwa
her	belt	kyec	táwa
our	belt	kweš	táwa
their	belt	kyánweš	táwa

The demonstrative pronouns are: "na" (this) and wíte (literally, "the other") in combination with /224/ "na," before or after, in the sense of "that." Na ãtc, "this ruana," wítena ãtc,, "that ruana"; na hímba, "this horse," wíte hímbana "that horse." Sometimes the third person singular of the personal pronoun (kya) is used as a demonstrative pronoun.

As an interrogative pronoun "ma" has the meaning of "which" and "how many." Ma hímba, "which horse," ma hímbanang inc uwáy, "which horse did you buy"; ma pits, "which man," ma pítsnang inc ói, "which man did you see"; ma ãtc "which ruana," ma ãtynak kya om, "which ruana did she weave"; ma ói, "which woman," ma óiweš twétsyo, "which women are walking there," mãnstyin, "how many," mans vyó hípong, "how much money have you."

Indefinite pronouns are:

all:	cúcai; cúcai pits, "all men,"
	cúcai ói, "all women";
each:	tečteč (cf. 1 = teč);
both:	é'nzi (cf. 2 = é'nz); é'nzi pits, "both men,"
	é'nzi ói, "both women";
enough:	ãhna; ãhna vyó, "enough money";
anyone:	mãpa

/224 cont./

193 no one: tĕčanyópa; tĕčanyópa máhiméta, "no one is working";

several, various: ko; ātya ko hímba hipt, "I several horses have";

many: tak; tak nása, "many people";

little: wé; very little: táwala wéhá.

193 114 Verbs: The infinitive forms of the verbs end in -ya. The only data thus far published about the conjugation system are to be found in Castillo i Orosco, who conjugates the verb "to write" [177] in all paradigms according to Latin grammar. The word formation of the model verb and the conjugation are artificial and set [797] up for teaching at the mission schools. People do not speak that way in Calderas.

193 124 177 The conjugations of a few verbs given in the following do not represent all the conjugation possibilities, since -- as was mentioned -- the interpreter lacked a knowledge of Spanish grammar. Hence the schema of the paradigms is largely theoretical. Everyday speech is different, and especially in storytelling the interpreter used forms which he reproduced in Spanish with participial constructions. Nevertheless the forms reproduced here are /225/ "correct" in the sense that one "can" speak this way and be understood while using the forms.

193 [124] Besides the four tenses reproduced here (present, future, and two forms of the perfect), there are probably also forms corresponding to the conjunctive, which, however, the interpreter neither understood nor was able to reproduce in Spanish. The forms of the future are not always used. Very often the present is used with the addition of "tomorrow" or "later," for example, ātya gwágwan kúskay, "I speak tomorrow," instead of ātya gwágwahípt, "I shall speak." The forms of the two past tenses are apparently used arbitrarily. To my questions on this point I always merely received the answer: "one can say it this way and also that way." Here, too, the addition of óñna, "yesterday" (in context: óñnaha), or esé, "some time ago," is customary.

[126] The abstract, consecutive listing of the forms of a conjugation is hardly possible for the Paez. I always had to make

/225 cont./

193 inquiries with reference to examples that were easily comprehensible.
126 If these lay outside of the context just discussed, I was often requested to provide the appropriate form myself, which I always succeeded in doing with the help of my examples, to the joyful surprise of the Paez. Their confirmation in each case, that "one can say it that way, too," permits me to set down the following
193 paradigms. Phonetic discrepancies are purposely retained, for
128 example, in the second person singular the endings -eg and -eng, in the third person plural the endings -yin or -yen. In the present, the first and third persons singular are generally the same. The personal pronouns for all forms are placed before the verb. In the model verbs the feminine form of the first person singular and the various forms of the second person singular were omitted in favor of the simple masculine forms.

193 ōpya, "to live"

Present:	ātya ōpon	Future:	ātya apohípt
	inç ōponeng		inç opohípeneng
	kya ōpon		kya opohípa
	kweš ōpontkaw		kweš opohíptaw
	kyáñweš ōpotyin		kyáñweš opohíptyin

Perfect:	ātya ōpokot	or:	ópnast	(óñnaha)
	inç ōpoing	or:	opnásing	(óñnaha)
	kya ōpok	or:	ópnasa	(óñnaha)
	kweš ōpotaw	or:	ópnastaw	(óñnaha)
	kyáñweš ōpotç	or:	ópnastyin	(óñnaha)

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193 In like manner ôhoya, "to go," is therefore conjugated:

Present:	ātya ôhon	Future:	ātya ohohípt	
	inç ôhoneg		inç ohohípeneṅg	
	kya ôhon		kya ohohípa	
	kweš ôhontkaw		kweš ohohíptaw	
	kyáṅweš ôhoyen		kyáṅweš ohohíptyin	
Perfect:	ātya ôhokot	or:	ôhonast	(esé)
	inç ôhoing	or:	ohonásiṅg	(esé)
	kyá ôhok	or:	ohonása	(esé)
	kweš ôhotaw	or:	ohonástaw	(esé)
	kyáṅweš ôhotç	or:	ohonástyin	(esé)

In like manner úsya, "to give," is conjugated: present: átya úson, inç úsoneṅg, etc.

gwábya, "to speak"; here the "b" becomes "g" in the conjugation:

Present:	ātya gwágwan	
	inç gwágwaneṅg, etc.	
(on another occasion, however, I was given átya gwábal for "I speak").		
Perfect:	ātya gwágwakot	(ôṅnaha)
	inç gwáving	(ôṅnaha)
	kya gwáok	(ôṅnaha)
	kweš gwáotaw	(ôṅnaha)
	kyáṅweš gwáotç	(ôṅnaha)
Future:	ātya gwágwahípt	
	inç gwágwahípeneṅg	
	etc.	

/226 cont./

193 In the future and perfect, básya, "to answer," is conjugated slightly differently:

Present:	ãtya báson	Future:	ãtya basohípt
	inç básoneg		inç básmaṅg
	kya báson		kya básmak
	kweš básontkaw		kweš básẽntaw
	kyáṅweš básotyin		kyáṅweš básmatç

Perfect:	ãtya bást	(esé)
	inç básiṅg	(esé)
	kya básk	(esé)
	kweš bástaw	(esé)
	kyáṅweš bástç	(esé)

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Similarly píyeya, "to learn":

Present:	ãtya píya'n	Future:	ãtya piyahípt
	inç piyáneṅg		inç píymaṅg
	kya piyán		kya píymak
	kweš piyántkaw		kweš píyẽmtaw
	kyáṅweš piyátyin		kyáṅweš píymatç

Perfect:	ãtya píyt	(ónnaha)
	inç píyiṅg	(ónnaha)
	kya píyik	(ónnaha)
	kweš píyẽtaw	(ónnaha)
	kyáṅweš píyitç	(ónnaha)

"To be" as an auxiliary verb is not known, but only õsya as a verb in the sense of "to be found."

Present:		Future:
I am in Calderas	ãtya Çaldelaste õst	ãtya õsohípt
you are in Calderas	ínçpa Caldelaste õsiṅg	inç õsohípenen
he is in Calderas	kyápa Caldelaste õsẽn	kya õsohípa
we are in Calderas	kwéšpa Caldelaste õstaw	kweš õsohíptaw
they are in Calderas	kyáṅwešpa Caldelaste õstyin	kyáṅweš õsohíptyin

/227 cont./

193 Perfect:

ātya ōsot		or:	ōsnast
inç ōsoing		or:	ōsnasiṅg
kya ōsok		or:	ōsnasa
kweš ōsotaw		or:	ōsnastaw
kyáṅweš ōsotç		or:	ōsnastyin

Formed without auxiliary verbs:

I am	strong: ātya čáčat	I am	tired: ātya wátyt
you are	strong: inç čáčaing	you are	tired: inç wátyenen
he is	strong: kya čáča	he is	tired: kya wátyin
we are	strong: kweš čáčataw	we are	tired: kweš wátytau
they are	strong: kyáṅweš čáčatyin	they are	tired: kyáṅweš wátytyin

"To have," hípoya, which is conjugated normally, serves as an auxiliary verb:

Present:	I have	fleas	ātya pá'pa hīpt
	you have	fleas	inçpa pá'pa hípěneṅg
	he has	fleas	kyápa pá'pa hípěnen
	we have	fleas	kwéšpa pá'pa híptaw
	they have	fleas	kyáṅwešpa pa'pa hípityin

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Future:	ātya hípohīpt	Perfect:	ātya hípokot
	inç hípohípeneṅg		inç híponiṅg
	kya hípohípa		kya hípone k
	kweš hípohíptaw		kweš hípoktaw
	kyáṅweš hípohítyin		kyáṅweš hípokotç

In like manner, one conjugates:

I have water: ātya yó hipt

inç yó hípěneṅg, etc.

/Section c), "German-Paez Vocabulary," has been omitted in the translation; see pp. 228-251 of the foreign text./

1: Nachtigall--168 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

nása šínyo

539 teč pítstęga nása šínyo. kyáka yókso óço vítyin. tyíčaka pęlnílya yáçčaka óhon. kasěn kágač yóktę pěnyátę ópon.

çtę́ ópkok teč pipšáw koę́s káko mbáston óro. čičaha óro mbastónasa kígwętę kyíkčaha. çtę́ ípyuka. ę́čna kompténdšaha kělovíčaha. çtę́ pónzękaçtę īpç kodyíčaha. çtę́ ípyutka. šíčaha tandyín kaóho kyányo pipšáw kwés gayo. kwés noč gáyo kyásonka tandyínoho. šíčaha toló kaítoňsyo. teč ol kaítoňsyo. kya toló dyísa ipyúčaha çtę́ kak. çtę́ olnápa cak. kyáčkęna ōla ňpág. tsē.

kyápkača nása šíha kya mbastonása kósehęn sóňča. čičaha çte šínyošaha pelnílyasa kósętę āčaka ší'nyo. šínaba ápka kya pipšábasa kya mbástonasa cósęhęn. sóňčaka pipšábasa ap. tyígota kya pipšába toló yópas ňmę́. mbastónasa ňmę wowóka.

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kámbo nayát, wówoya púntçka. kyápkača nása šíha pipšáo ę́stę ka wowonóso. pipšábasa ikěnyíhika. kyápa pipšába kámbos tyítmęka gwówo. gwę́tę yúčpa. kámbosa kyíkmęka.

tyányohá tek ę́šnetç ótа kawǫwó. tek ę́šnetç ótasko pénya wítstę zę́ta. kyápkača šíha çtę́ pę́nyatwístę násayúča káčka. kyápkača pipšába pę́nyakę ísaňkéča ókwę gwálatę. kyíčaha yat teč óka.

kyápcača teč látotę pipšáosa kyíwęšinç káse kya šína ógweya. kyápkača kya šíha kítyen ši' nyóča šwénden wowóka. teč ešnétç ótatsko. kya ōl kākinyē kígwętey šwénden pāka.

šwénden pāčaha kya ōltyísa tę́ngen óňsoka. násayúča. yáhapa ōnsóka. tólapa ōnsóka. óla sont otányišaka ōnso.

tyínapa fí'ndetsko yátęn óka. yáhasa tóňgšaha nyó. táštępačaha kya yáhasa nyónaka tása ndók.

/252 cont./

Translation 1/1

The Human Jaguar

539 A man was a human jaguar. He went into the mountains to hunt. In walking he carried a knife in his hand. In order to rest, he sat down in the middle of the mountain that was there.

There came a Pijao, who was a member of the cabildo, with his golden staff of office. He set the gold staff on the ground. Then he lighted a fire. He stacked up wood to make a pile. Then he drew fire out of his armpits. Then he lighted it.

The human jaguar noticed that the one who was walking there was a Pijao, a member of the cabildo. He was a member of low rank, he noticed. Then (the Pijao) brought bananas, and he brought a snake. He roasted these bananas in the kindled fire. He also roasted the snake. Shortly thereafter the snake hissed. tsẽ.

The human jaguar pondered over how he might get hold of this staff. With a knife in his hand the human jaguar suddenly leaped up. He leaped on the Pijao in order to take the latter's staff in his hand. He pondered in this fashion as he pounced upon the Piajo. The Pijao, however, interrupted his meal of bananas. He seized his staff and ran away without eating.

/253/ He held the staff in his hand, thus he started to run. Then the human jaguar ran after the Pijao. He almost killed the Pijao. The latter did not let go of his staff while he ran. He fell down, he did not let go of his staff.

Three hours were full, that is as long as he ran. When three hours were up, they came to a rock. Then the jaguar transformed himself into a human being on the rock and sat down. The Pijao climbed down from the rock and went to a large plain. He went into his house.

After a moment the Pijaos go out and come running, in order to seize this jaguar. Thereupon the human jaguar transformed himself once again into a jaguar and returns and runs away. Three full hours (he ran back). When he came back, the roasted snake lay on the ground.

1/1 [this is a translation of the Paez text appearing on p. 168 -- An.]

/253 cont./

539 When he came back, he saw the snake in its place. Then he changed back into a human being. The fiber bag was there, too. The bananas were there, too. The snake filled with water (that is, underdone, still watery) was there.

It was afternoon when he went into his house. The bag he brought to his wife. He came to his wife with this bag. When he had knocked, he entered.

2. Orientation and General Knowledge

772 776 177 Nothing definite can be said about the ancient Paez conception of the world, since Christian influence has had a strongly modifying effect. In any case, there is in the Paez vocabulary the word "tátyinas," which is sometimes translated as "god," and sometimes -- and corresponding better with the meaning of the word -- as "creator." The word "Dios" is used to designate the Christian God. Tátyinas, I was told, lives in heaven, on the earth, and in the earth. He made all human beings. He does not receive sacrifices. He is not mentioned in shamanistic ceremonies.

772 775 The vocabulary shows that, besides the earth and the conception of a heaven or of the firmament, there were also two places of the dead that were familiar. The happy land of death, mbéka kígwe, is like heaven. Literally it means "land of chicha," and if one knows the Paez, one realizes that in any case it must be /254/ a happy land. The land of the dead corresponding to [776] "hell" is called eč kígwe. The eč are the most evil of all spirits. They live in the earth; hence this designation must refer to a subterranean land.

804 461 As for natural periods of time, only days and months are known, as well as work days and non-work days (ki'sen). The latter designation is now used for Sunday. Originally this was not a fixed day; rather, people worked and celebrated as they could arrange the time within a larger or smaller community. Even today, during the times of clearing, the people sometimes work for weeks in the field, without inserting a work-free day.

/254 cont./

804 The period of a day is subdivided into the day (ẽn) and the
192 night (kos). Early morning is called kosẽ; afternoon at the time when work is at an end, which is reckoned by the position of the sun, is called ff'nze. Other subdivisions of the day are made according to the interval of an ẽšnetc, meaning the time it takes to chew a dose of coca. In translation this designation is used for "hour." The largest period of time is the month, ãte, which is designated by the same word as for "moon." For the period of a year the Spanish word año is used. In former times the word
[221] enzte was used. It is the designation for the large annual com-
[226] munal fishing at the weir during the dry season in February. The
[132] two rainy seasons, called nospá'nye, and the two dry seasons of the year, called sek, are not regarded as time intervals, but as seasons. The latter is at the same time the word for "sun."

823 No large geographical orientations or regional, individual
[491] divisions of any kind could be discovered. Moreover, all of Tierradentro is enclosed by civilized areas -- there is even an auto road leading to Belalcázar -- so that many Paez men have seen the surrounding countryside and even cities with their own eyes.
601 Only the western bordering mountains of the Central Cordillera,
[186] in the direction of Popayán, are conjectured to be the habitation
123 area of the dreadful man-eaters, the Pijao. Geographical means
484 of orientation are unknown. Traveling is done only during the day, in groups, and in company with a person who knows the way.
821 Of the stars it is only known that there stars that move and fixed ones, without their being distinguished in greater detail or according to constellations.

202 It is amazing that, in spite of their settlement pattern of
[361] individual farms, the Paez do not have any optical or acoustical
[203] means of communication over larger distances. /255/ In case of urgent news or questions, children are sent.

802 There are numbers only from one to six and ten. For the designations seven to nine the corresponding Spanish numbers are used. The Paez word for "ten" (kóse pémba) literally means "no more hands" and indicates that the fingers were used for counting. The toes are not used for counting; anything beyond ten is

/255 cont./

902 designated as "much" (teč kwát), literally "one stone." Today it is the designation for "hundred."

75 The medical knowledge of the Paez is not great. Almost all illnesses are regarded as based on magical causes and are treated by the shamans (see below//see pp. 190 ff./). Broken bones are treated by the midwife, who rubs on cow fat and wraps [845] leaves around them. The broken bone is never put in splints. In a difficult birth the midwife is able to turn the child into the right position; if then the birth does not go well, her skill is at an end. No remedy is known for snake bite. In the case of headaches, a leaf is tied to the front of the head. For flatulence some wood ashes are rubbed on the abdomen. For injuries caused by a machete and bleeding profusely, a tourniquet is applied to the affected limb, above the place of the injury, and the wound is covered with a small piece of cloth. The shaman has the injured person bite hard with all his teeth on the iron machete.

3. Religion

771 The Paez today are nominally Christians. They are baptized 797 and usually married by the Catholic priest. The Christian missionizing began as early as the sixteenth century, at first, to be sure, with little success, which did not increase when from 1630-1654 Jesuit missionaries took over the mission work. Only in the last decades 797 has there been greater progress. Hand in hand with the conversion 177 to Christianity go the introduction and teaching of the Spanish lan- 871 guage and the adoption of Colombian customs and habits. Today in almost every village there is a mission station and a school, the teachers of which are mostly women missionaries. In general the parents do not send their children to school unwillingly, for they have realized that knowledge of Spanish and of reading and writing is accompanied by certain advantages in their relations with the [178] whites. In connection with the /256/ schooling, of course, there is [756] some alienation from the old habits and customs of the Paez, especially those of a religious and sociological nature. Nevertheless,

/256 cont./

797 in all Paez communities in which Spanish is not understood by the
177 majority of the population, the old functionaries of the original
178 Paez religion are needed to maintain the social life in particular.
871 In accordance with their activity, they are designated as "shamans"
756 by theologians. Because of the dissimilar nature of their religious activity, they do not by any means represent unbridgeable competition for the Christian missions; rather, both, the Christian faith and shamanistic activity, can exist side by side in the present stage of culture of the Paez.

771 If one considers existing theological convictions, one finds
793 that the office and dignity of the cult priest rest on the performance of sacred acts which must of necessity be fulfilled so that the
756 natural and normal development of human existence is not ob-
182 structed. His task is to confirm the existing world order through the consecration of sacerdotal acts. The shamans, however, -- on the contrary! -- want to outdo and break through the given order of nature and the environment. Their greatness and authority rest on the fact that they do supernatural things, that they heal the sick, struggle with spirits, yes, awaken the dead to new life. This, at any rate, is said of the greatest of their kind, whose talent lies in their spiritual, supernatural powers, in their mastering of extraordinary circumstances. Over against the cult priest's "thus it is," the shaman puts his "thus it should be" (A. Friedrich).

a) Characteristics of Paez Shamanism

756 The Paez shamans, in the sense given, are not functionaries
754 of a sacrificial cult, but persons who do supernatural things. There are two types of them, the teyu and the nyiç. Whereas the teyu (tepits as a man, téoi as a woman) is a good shaman, a good doctor and helper of human beings, the nyiç is an evil shaman, an evil sorcerer, a hexer. The shamanistic activity of both, however, as a religious phenomenon, is not nearly as distinctive as, for example, the shamanism that we are familiar with in Siberia or North America.

/256 cont./

771 It is not certain whether in former times the Paez had a cult
[793] priesthood besides shamans such as are practicing today. In any
756 case, to designate the priests and missionaries they use the word
[797] tikwe, /257/ which is not used for anything else. The present-
771 day characteristic thinking of the Paez, their entire mental atti-
754 tude, revolves around magic and countermagic, despite mission-
[797] izing and Christianity. No injury, no illness, no deformity, no
[177] poor livestock is traced back to natural causes, but rather every-
thing is the work of evil magic. Since the people themselves
are fully convinced of this belief and ensnared by this idea, the
actual achievement of the evil sorcerers corresponds to what is
desired; that is to say, a person who knows he is bewitched,
being mindful of the inevitability of his fate, actually becomes
554 ill and dies. The victims are almost always the most thrifty
and industrious members of the community, those who tower
above the others because of their success.

754 There are no persons who are privileged because of age,
177 sex, or social position -- with the exception of the good shamans,
who are incessantly the target of the evil ones. Anyone who, in
dress and way of living, adopts the customs of the whites, is in
the habit of associating with them, no longer chews coca, works
with modern tools, and wants to carry on his farming according
to the principles of the colonists is opposed by the nyic.

754 It is not only the outward superiority of the individual over
554 the masses that evokes the envy of the nyic, but also the general
popularity of an individual, and with it a certain personal influ-
ence within the village. Thus, for example, the father of our
Victoriano was the victim of an evil charm. He is regarded as very
intelligent, is a good worker, knows best how to build houses and
bridges, and has even undertaken a journey to the city of Popayán.
On account of his popularity and the good advice he always gives --
so it is reported -- a nyic tried to kill him out of envy. One
[755] night when he was asleep the nyic robbed him of his soul. His
brother noticed it, however, and spat coca on it. The next day
the eye of the bewitched one became white and was close to
running out, if a teyu had not helped. He is blind in that eye,
however, to this day.

/257 cont./

754 The special target of the evil sorcerers are the white
648 Colombians. People are afraid to undertake anything against them
797 openly, but the magic manipulations of the nyic against them are widely known. The ones primarily affected are the whites, who robbed the Paez of land, and among them the missionaries, too. The nyic then try to obtain mastery over the souls of the whites, to treat them with herbs, and thus make them so sluggish that they will not return to Tierradentro any more. It is also said that the nyic had placed their remedies /258/ in the church so that the mission priest from Belalcázar would never come there any more and would never enter it any more.

754 The victims of evil sorcery, however, are not only human
789 beings and animals, but also the cultivated fields, which can be
[464] bewitched by means of eggs, salt, or pubic hair. The families affected are then no longer able to feed themselves, and in many cases the fathers of the families must leave the village in order to hire themselves out to the whites. The removal of the unpopular one is thus achieved. His return is prevented in magical ways, the nyic placing special herbs, which the person cannot step over, on the connecting roads.

754 The aids for evil magic are not, say, objects belonging to the persons to be bewitched and used in a pars-pro-toto act, but are exclusively parts or agents from among the belongings of the sorcerer, which, for their effect, must be brought into close contact with the victim himself or his soul. If the nyic wishes his victim to have an accident, he places a smoothly polished stone from the river somewhere in his house. The person in question will then soon slip and fall and break his bones or suffer a sprain. Another possibility for bewitchment is for the nyic to spread his agent on the food of his victim. Thus, a shaman from Santa Rosa reports how the former young and capable Gobernador Leonidas was killed by the nyic Dolores Dinó. She visited him one day while he was working alone in his garden and threw several of her own pubic hairs in the food in his cooking pot and, in addition, a fragment from a prehistoric clay pot of the Pijao. Leonidas ate this meal.

/258 cont./

754 Afterward his throat began to dry out and he could breathe only with difficulty, until he finally died.

754 The evil shamans are not generally known publicly. Men
756 as well as women, however, may be teyu and nyic. In fact, the
[562] most famous and clever teyu whom we met was an old woman,
[753] Felisa Ipia in Santa Rosa, who at the same time, however, is re-
[623] garded as the most evil sorceress who ever existed. All the sick-
[683] ness and misfortune in Santa Rosa are ascribed to her acts. For this reason the cabildo once burned all her medicinal herbs and broke her shaman's staff. But people no longer dare to undertake anything serious against her, since they fear her, as they do all evil sorcerers. In former times the convicted nyic were always very severely punished, but since many members of the cabildo have died as a result of sorcery, no one any longer dares to accuse the well-known nyic today.

754 /259/ With regard to the problem of male and female shamans,
756 a teyu from Calderas explained that women as such had an excellent
562 sense of feeling and therefore the best talent as shamans. Since they are more crafty and cunning than men, however, the female shamans can transform themselves into an evil sorceress at any time. And that is precisely what makes them so dangerous and hence unfit for the calling of a good shaman.

754 The border between teyu and nyic, therefore, is flexible.
756 Both aspects of shamanism may be united in one person, or a teyu may become a nyic and vice versa. In the following, therefore, the teyu form of manifestation of shamanism will be described. In spirit the nyic are based on the same foundation. They never show their herbs and remedies and allow no one to take part in
[124] their ceremonies. The teyu, on the other hand, on closer acquaintance were quite willing to give information about their knowledge and to let us take part in their séances.

/259 cont. /

b) The Period of Development of the Shaman

756 The teyu with whom I was acquainted became shamans in two ways. Either they were taught by a teyu for a more or less long period of time, until they were given the "signs," or they were directly called to become a shaman by a vision. The latter, as a result of special selection through an experience caused by higher beings, is the more original type of shaman calling, whereas a regular apprenticeship with an experienced teyu is characteristic for the shamans who carry on the position of their fathers and sometimes also that of their grandfathers. These "hereditary shamans" are generally not as powerful magically as those initially chosen through a vision. The hereditary shamans are merely the continuers of an acquired shamanistic trade, whereas the initially chosen ones are the continuers of the tradition of a creator of human beings and animals, of a heroic war leader and liberator [776] of their people. This mythically important figure of Paez tradition is Thunder, who is also regarded as the foremost and the most powerful magically of all shamans. His human successors were scarcely inferior to him as shamans in olden times, whereas the present-day ones are generally quite far behind in their magical abilities.

754 The teoi Felisa Ipia from Santa Rosa is about 70 years old
756 (Ill. 199 /see p. 288 /). Her husband and six children are dead. Three children are living. She keeps no animals aside from a few chickens and turkey hens. About her calling she says that she received her call to become a shaman from Thunder. /260/ The latter lives in the lagoon of Taibe. He appeared to her in a black cloud and descended to earth to her in human form and gave her her shaman's staff and her medicinal herbs, saying that she had
754 been chosen as teoi by him. She then practiced her art for a long
756 time; but the people said that she was an evil shaman, a nyic,
683 and brought her before the cabildo to be punished. Since the people greatly fear the nyic, she was given many blows there, and, indeed, with her own shaman's staff. Afterwards it was broken and burned

/260 cont./

756 on the village plaza, along with her medicinal herbs. Then they
[754] sent her back to her house, without her staff and without her
[683] medicinal herbs. When someone again became sick, however, the people again came to her and asked her to help the sick one. Then her husband, who, however, was not a shaman, made her a new staff; she herself again looked for her medicinal herbs and was able to help the sick. Since then she has been recognized once again as a good shaman and helps all who come to her. Another shaman in Santa Rosa said that he had received his call when he was but six years old. One day when he was working in the field, his mother, dressed in black and with a hat on her head, came to him and scolded him on account of his poor work. When she left, he followed her, but she disappeared into the river. When he returned home, he realized that the woman whom he saw could not have been his mother, since the latter had been in the community field at that time, where she was cooking for the workers. Undoubtedly this woman was a spirit, he confessed, who wanted to tell him that he should become a shaman. This was also confirmed for him by two fiber bags which she carried and which corresponded exactly to those used by the shamans for their medicinal herbs. A shaman from Calderas said that there came to him one night a very beautiful blond child with the women's hair style, who, however, was Thunder, and called upon him to become a shaman.

756 If one does not have visions by himself, he can, in order to
787 become shaman, seek them purposely. For this he need only eat
[262] very little and must refrain entirely from ají (a very pungent condi-
[263] ment /see the glossary, p. 248/) and salt for one month. (The same thing also happens to a young man after he has involuntarily had a vision.) The one seeking a vision then goes all alone into the mountains, where he wanders over hill and dale for a long time, until he comes to a beautiful place where he meets an older man. The latter, like himself, is chewing coca. Through his appearance and his friendly manner he inspires confidence in the youth, and the latter tells /261/ him of his wish to become a shaman. He

/261 cont./

756 mentions that in his village there are so many sick people who
787 need his help and that he has gone into the mountains to look for medicinal herbs such as the shamans have. The one addressed replies that indeed there are in the mountains many good medicinal herbs for making people well. With that he hands him a fiber bag full of herbs and explains to him for which illness this and for which that will help. Explaining in such a manner, he acquaints the youth with all the herbs and tells him how they are used. Then he shows him how to make the shaman's staff and finally lets him feel the "signs," without a knowledge of which the medicinal herbs would be useless, since the latter can indeed be used only in connection with the corresponding "signs." (Cf. in this connection, under "Folklore," the similar myths about Llivan! /see
756 pp. 217ff./). Back home again, the youth begins first of all to learn under an experienced shaman, and then starts with curing a sickness in his own family. If he is successful, other people also come to demand his services.

One may also become a shaman without having had a vision. One becomes an apprentice of a good shaman and for several years learns there the practical manipulations. This includes the handling of the shaman's staff, the knowledge of medicinal herbs, and the interpretation of the "signs," in order to make the treatment of the sick successful. Here, too, the first treatment is done among members of the family under the supervision of the shaman
[554] teacher. His reputation and the further demand for his services in the community depend on the outcome of this treatment.

Several of the Calderun "hereditary shamans" attained their position by this latter method. For example, the tepits Martín Chukue. He is about 50 years old. His wife died six years ago. He had four children by her, three of whom are also dead. He has one child by a second wife. He lives in a small house, but has no field, no cows, sheep, or pigs. His uncle was tepits. He lived with him for many years, until he was about 30 years old. Then for the first time he received the "signs" in his arms, made his staff, and became independent. In his opinion, one cannot

In his opinion, one cannot
/261 cont./
756 learn how to become a shaman; rather, this is a hereditary gift.
[827] He himself has no son and no pupils.

The tepits Francisco Cuskue is about 40 years old, married, and has four daughters and one son. Two children died. He has neither /262/ cows nor pigs, horses or sheep, and is very poor. He learned from childhood on, for his father and grandfather were also shamans. He wants his son to become a shaman, too. The latter, about ten years old, has not yet begun the apprenticeship,
[123] however. In reply to my question as to whether I, too, as a stranger, might become a shaman, he asserted that this would be possible, but said that the training is very long and difficult. One has to learn from childhood on, until one is about 25 or 30 years old. I, in my case, am already too old to begin.

The tepits Cerbeleón Niunda (Ill. 153 /see p. 267/), who lives near the shaman Francisco, is the son of a shaman, was taught by his father, and had the "signs" when he was only ten years old. He is now, as an estimate, 55 years old (no Paez knows how old he is) and had ten children, six of whom died. In the way
756 of possessions he has neither horse nor cow nor sheep. Whereas
312 all Paez divert the mountain brooks so that a small ditch flows past their houses and they always use only flowing water, the shamans Francisco and Cerbeleón have a small joint reservoir below a spring, from which they drink and into which, before drinking, they place one of their medicinal herbs, šũ. When questioned, both stated that they did not do this for any special reason and could not find out about anything in the reservoir, neither sickness nor the future.

754 Just as the good shaman was chosen by a vision, this also ap-
787 plies for the evil sorcerer. It is regarded as an omen that he is to become a nyiç if, for example, in a dream he sees a bird that in its beak holds a donkey, into whose open mouth flies are
754 crawling, or simply if he dreams about pigs. The prospective nyiç may have his vision during the day or at night; it is said that people who are abroad a great deal during the night are the most susceptible to evil sorcery, since at this time they have the

/262 cont./

754 most opportunities to meet evil spirits. Generally they do not need a teacher, but may look for their herbs by themselves. There are also many people, however, who would like to learn sorcery from other nyic, just as there are also supposed to nyic who instruct others in their art.

756 Avoidance prescriptions and taboos for the shaman include
784 some sexual and dietary abstinence, without, however, being
[834] very extensive or strict. Intercourse with his wife is forbidden
[263] for him when he feels his "signs." Moreover, he may not eat any ají if possible, in order not to make Thunder too angry. Also, he may eat only very little salt, since Thunder likewise /263/ eats
[787] no salt. For the séances, which always take place at night, he fasts the whole day, since a full stomach makes it difficult to feel the
756 "signs." The other avoidance rules for the shaman are the same
784 as for all other human beings. For example, one may not kill a
825 snail, for if he should touch it, he would become lazy. In like manner, the black woodpecker (ánza) may not be killed, since otherwise, while working, one would split the machete in the same way as the tail of the woodpecker is shaped. Young men are forbidden to take a stolen hen away from a fox, for then another man would take his bride or wife away from him. Only
[262] old men may confidently eat such a hen, if they have first run around the house with a firebrand.

c) Shamanistic Aids

756 Among the shamanistic aids, the "signs" are the most im-
787 portant symptoms experienced, while the outward ceremonial gear is as meager as the whole Paez culture. The only ceremonial implement is the unadorned shaman's staff, the functional meaning of which, however, is far less important than the shamanistic "signs" (ítok). "They are like the pecking of a bird," the shaman Cerbeleón Niunda said of them, and Francisco Cuskue describes them as the irregular beating of his pulse. To be able to receive
[278] and to interpret them is the basis of being a shaman. Knowledge of the medicinal herbs, the handling of the shaman's staff, in

/263 cont./

756 fact, even the visionary sight of Thunder are worthless by them-
787 selves, if the shaman does not receive any signs. By means of them
278 the teyu discovers the cause of sickness and the means to be employed for healing it, which always consist of the dispensing of herbs. For this reason every shaman always has his fiber bag with all his medicinal herbs with him, in order to have them at hand
[753] and to be able to apply them at any time. Since, however, an illness does not have a physical cause, according to the opinion of the Paez, the herbs used for healing are not applied in accordance with the medical experiences of the shaman, but solely in accordance with his signs.

756 The herbs used by the shamans are the following (*):
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[127]

* I am taking these, as well as some other data on the shamanism of the Paez, from the excellent summary by S. Bernal Villa (III) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 323/.

ǰandúr, eš (Erythroxylon coca), biǰaǰ (Hevea?), ǰulko (Oxalis, sp.), ǰáyuts (Scutellaria racemosa Per.), ǰuwét, fisa, eǰyútse ǰime (Labiada?), /264/ gwepekas (Urera boccifera L.), kwése (Lonchocarpus?), limonsílyo (Cymbopogon citratus), nyika, nyundayuskey, šu (Spagnum sp.), šuwés (Peperomia sp.), šulápe, šupenyí (Peperomia sp.), tátse, táyuske (Peperomia sp.), ul níny (Hibiscus abelmoschus L.), umsim (Myricia acuminata DC. Vell, aff.), vitubítskwe, wáhi (Nicotiana tabacum L.), yakúma, yúskay (Scleria cattarinensis Boeck).

755 Most of these herbs are first chewed by the shaman and then
756 spat over the affected part. If a person is dying and his soul leaves
278 his body from the heart by way of the upper arms, the pulse of the
[774] lower arms, and the finger tips, the herb ǰáyuts, for example, is spat by the shaman from the finger tips in the direction of the armpits, in order to check the departure of the soul. Only rarely is a tea brewed from the leaves.

/264 cont./

756 Besides the remedies which the shaman must use for curing,
787 his signs also predict fate and the future for him or tell him whether the sicknesses will become better or worse. They also tell him about events which are imminent. Thus he learns through them, for example, that sick persons will be coming to him on the following day with this or that illness or this or that
756 request. For all these matters every shaman has his signs at
787 definite parts of his body, those on the left half of his body gen-
826 erally signifying something unfavorable, those on the right half, something good. Thus the rise of the signs from the outer side of the right foot to the ankle means that the medicinal herbs are taking effect. If the signs rise from the outer side of the left foot, this is proof that the nyic must win and the bewitched one
[763] must die. If the signs rise on the right foot to the shin, a mem-
[783] ber of the family will die and his soul go to heaven. If the signs
[828] go along the inner side of the left foot, "pest" will come, and the sick person will become mentally ill. If the signs are felt between the right shin and the heel and they go toward the left side, this is an omen of a battle between the teyu and the nyic. If the signs move from the left ankle up to the hollows of the knees, the planted field is bewitched. Signs in the left calf announce the visit of an evil shaman; signs in the right calf, the visit of a good old woman; signs on the outer side of the right or left calves announce the visit of a nyic or a good old man,
756 respectively. Signs that run down from the right knee cap announce
787 the death of a person through tũs or gĕlyómp ("rainbow" or "moun-
826 tain spirit" as spirit beings, see below /see pp. 191ff./). Signs on
763 the /265/ left kneecap mean that the teyu will win in battle with the nyic; signs from the upper thighs to the hollows of the knees of the right foot, that the patient will die of a malignant "pest." If the signs go down from the left upper thigh, a bad person is walking by outside. If the signs go from the right hip to the foot, the wife will menstruate. If the signs are felt in the tenth rib on the right side, the sick person will sobn die, since he has been stung by the mountain spirit. The signs on the left tenth rib announce the arrival of an evil person. If the signs go from the

/265 cont./

756 right ring finger up the arm to the heart, the person concerned
826 will bury a relative on the next day. Signs in the palm of the
787 right hand mean that the sick person will get well; signs in the
[763] palm of the left hand, that the mountain spirit is not accepting the gifts and the patient must die. By means of signs on the back of the left hand the mountain spirit makes it known that the offerings are insufficient. If the signs go from the palm of the right hand to the neck, this means "pest" from the Pijao. Signs in the right thumb and in the hand announce the appearance of a lost or strayed animal; signs in the corner of the left eye, that the lost animal has been stolen and has already been eaten by the thief; signs in the left arm announce the arrival of the ec spirit; signs in the right upper arm announce to the shaman that good people are asking him to be the sponsor at a christening. Signs on the head of the shaman announce that the nyic will send the pest, and if the signs go from the head into the left hand, the
756 person is already bewitched. In these and similar ways of
787 interpreting their signs, the shamans discover the nature of all illnesses and the means required to cure them. Thus their signs are their only treasure of experience, and if they do not feel them, or no longer feel them, they have lost the essential characteristic of being shamsns.

787 Besides the shamanistic signs described, for the teyu as well
828 as for ordinary human beings of every age and sex dreams are an essential means of experience for looking into the future, as well as for confirmation of a foreign -- usually evil -- influence on one's own person. Just as the effects of evil magic on the individual are brought about through auto-suggestion, so, too, what is seen in a dream. The latter perhaps even more intensively because of a person's own, direct dream experience; only in this way can one understand the positively fatalistic attitude of the persons
115 concerned. Our interpreter Victoriano, for example, is one of the
787 most industrious and capable Calderun. He is determined not to
828 remain socially on the Indio level of his village. He therefore
554 [77] takes /266/ work from time to time among the white colonists,
[464] in order to earn money for Colombian clothing. He is therefore

/266 cont./

115 greatly hated in the village. In an intoxicated state the men have
787 often threatened to murder him. One day he came to us and said
828 that we would have to hurry with our work, for he would soon die.
554 He was by no means agitated when he said this, but smiled with an expression of absolute conviction. In answer to our question as to why, he stated that during the night he had dreamed of seeing himself in the grave. This is a sure sign that he must die. He would not let us ease his mind, for he knew, so he said, that he was unpopular in the village and he had been threatened with death anyway because he had seen more than the others, wore better clothes, and ate meat, instead of working in the village. For this reason the nyic would most certainly bring him to his death. It took several days and all our art of persuasion to get him away from this idea. Again and again we had to point out that, after all, he was a Christian, and as a precaution we had to give him many of our medications, before he would believe that perhaps he need not die
[787] after all. In any case his medallion of the Virgin Mary, which he always carries with him, does not unconditionally help against
787 evil magic. In the following there are a few further examples of dreams that are significant in some way or other: if one dreams that he is bitten by a snake, it is a sign of bewitchment; if, however, in the dream another person kills this snake at the moment of biting, a teyu will put an end to the bewitchment. To dream of jaguars and cats indicates that there are graves of the Pijao under
[783] the house. Someone will die of the "pest" of the Pijao if a person dreams that a jaguar is devouring his chickens. Dreaming about a funeral pile means that there is gold there. If one dreams about a
[963] cow, his wife will die. If one kills a bull or a horse in a dream, a good person (a shaman) will die. If one is stung by wasps in a dream, it means future punishment. Carrying beams or a chicha trough in a dream means that one will soon assist at a funeral. To choke in a dream means war, captivity, or being put into prison. Moreover, it is always a bad sign to dream of arracacha; in case of a journey, one would, for example, be devoured by a jaguar in the páramo. Also, if one dreams that he is able to walk under a rock, it likewise means that a jaguar will devour him. If someone

If someone

/266 cont./

787 dreams of peté squash, he will be devoured by the Pijao, for this
[266] squash has black seeds, and the Pijao as man-eaters have /267/
black teeth. If one has been greatly amused in a dream at night
and has laughed a great deal, he will have a great deal of vexa-
tion during the day. If it rained heavily in a dream at night, a
chicken or something similar will be stolen the next day. If in
a dream someone has ridden very fast all night long on a brown
horse, the day will be beautiful, for the brown or red color is the
color of the sun (the same word is used for brown and red); dream-
ing of riding a black horse, on the other hand, will cause a black
cloud to come up the next day, and then it will rain. If, before
sowing, someone dreams of a big lagoon that appears all green
or has a great deal of green growth around it, this means that the
subsequent sowing will produce a good harvest. Anyone who sees
a black pig in his dream has in reality seen the heart of an evil
shaman, that is to say, he, as a good human being, has met the
wandering soul of an evil shaman; this is not a good sign, but
neither is it so bad that one would have to fall ill on account of it.
Dreaming about the slaughtering of a pig means that an evil
sorcerer will die. If one dreams that a thorn entered his foot on
[763] the road, a snake will bite him. If one's tooth drops out in a
dream, a close relative will die. If someone else kills a large
rooster, his father will die, for the rooster is the heart of the father.
But if a person himself slaughters a large rooster in a dream, he
will murder his own father. If one dreams that he has worked a
great deal in his field on one day, then wild animals will break
[754] into this field and destroy the entire crop. If a person dreams that
[763] he is falling into a deep hole and cannot get out again, this is a
sign that he will die, for an evil sorcerer has thus stolen the soul
of a human being, buried it in a deep hole, and stamped down
the earth again.

756 If dreams and shamanistic signs of a relatively advanced
spiritual attitude lead to the conclusion that there is a correspond-
ing external ceremonial outfit for the shaman, we shall be disap-
[181] pointed. The shaman's staff (tama), to which a liana (nika) is
added for certain ceremonies, is unadorned, poor, and inartistic,
like the entire culture of the Paez.

/267 cont./

756 like the entire culture of the Paez. For the rest, there are neither special articles of clothing or equipment nor any other kind of ceremonial gear, such as crystals, masks, or rattles.

[824] The shaman's staff consists of a smooth staff, 50 to 60 centimeters long, made out of the hard wood of the chonta palm. It is /268/ pointed at one end and semicircular in cross-section. Each shaman makes this staff for himself before treating his first [764] patient and never lets it out of his hand. When he dies, it is put into the grave with him. Before a séance begins, he sticks it into the ground, though not directly in front of him, but somewhat to the side. Only rarely does a shaman have it in his hand during the séance. As the single exception to the unadorned shaman's staff, I know of only the one belonging to old Felisa Ipia of Santa Rosa. On her staff she has tied a number of colored wool threads [774] which she spun herself and dyed with homemade dyes. She has collected in these threads the souls of all the villagers of Santa [755] Rosa. If someone in the village falls ill, she learns of it through [787] her signs or through Thunder personally and in this way is better able to help the sick person, since she can immediately blow her medicinal herbs, mixed with brandy, on the wool threads and thus can help the sick person better.

756 S. Bernal Villa points out that the designation for the shaman's 773 staff corresponds to the name of the most important culture hero of the Paez, Juan Tama, who, according to tradition, was lawgiver, famous and victorious commander of the army, first chief [976] and shaman. According to other traditions, he was the son of the stars, the son of Thunder, or Thunder himself. The present-day shamans regard the staff as a gift from Thunder, and as a sign of spiritual alliance with him. A shaman of San Andrés, reporting on the origin of the shaman staff, says that, according to the stories of the elders, the tama was introduced by Thunder himself. According to this, a man once had his hut and his potato field in the mountains. He harvested the field with his son. One day the son refused to follow his father to the field, but rather preferred to stay behind in the hut. The next day the son had disappeared

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756 without leaving a trace. In vain the father tried to find out where
773 he was staying. After eight days, however, the son again appeared in the hut. He said that he had been with his grandfather, who had given him brandy, medicines, and this staff that he held in his hand and that was called tama. The "brandy" was cold water from a lake, and the medicines in the fiber bag were mountain herbs. After he had said this, he fell into a trance and lay there as though dead. Fourteen days later, as he lay dying, he asked his father to hand him his tama, for Thunder had told him that he could defend himself with it and that, in case of illness, he should take the medicines that he had given him. He squeezed /269/ out the juice and drank it. Quickly he became well. When he gave it to other sick persons, they, too, became well immediately. With his staff and his medicines he became the best doctor far and wide. He died at an advanced age.

775 Another shaman said that the tama stems from a lifesaving
773 act of the Holy Virgin Mary. Once when the sea rose constantly
177 higher and had covered almost the entire earth, human beings were in great danger. The Virgin Mary took pity on them. She drew forth the tama and with it made the same motions that the shamans make with it today. The masses of water then receded. She left her staff behind for the person who became a shaman. This is supposed to be the origin of the tama.

Although in the latter story not only the figure of the Virgin Mary, but possibly also the motif of the Deluge did not originate in the thought of the Paez, nevertheless the origin of the tama as
756 a gift from a higher power is noteworthy. This power, which,
776 for the shamans, is of the greatest significance as a spirit being
787 and as the first shaman, is Thunder. According to reports, he also positively has the character of an assistant spirit, even though he is almost only feared by the present-day shamans. "The old shamans," the present ones constantly assert, "were still powerful enough magically to establish communication with Thunder directly and at any time; we today are no longer able
778 to do it." In former times the members of the cabildo, under the
756
623 guidance of a shaman, bathed together in the lagoon of Juan Tama

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778 and had their staff of office consecrated there. Today this no
756 longer takes place because of the lack of good shamans. The
623 shamans of today no longer have the intense visions that the
[787] earlier ones had, and that is why they are no longer so powerful magically. They are no longer able to speak with Thunder as simply as their predecessors did, and since they are weaker, it is believed that Thunder will kill them.

776 Thunder is generally described as small of stature and dressed like a Paez man with hat and black ruana. It is reported that he does not wear trousers, but exposes his sexual parts. He has with
[534] him, like a shaman, his tama, a fiber bag with medicines, and a
[532] musical instrument called "tíngalo" (triangle). It is not impossible that it is his picture, together with a Christian cross, that is incised in the gable post of a hut in the vicinity of the park of San Andrés, which represents a man with large, triangular-shaped sexual parts (Ill. 200 /see p. 288 /).

[756] /270/ Thunder is regarded by all the Paez as the greatest
[773] shaman and by the teyu as their master. In the folklore (see below /see pp. 215 ff./), he probably often has different names, such as Juan Tama, Llivan, Chauté, Juan Chiracol, but his characteristics stand out in them, no matter whether as sat (cacique) he is fighting the Pijao and defending his people, or that he will one day -- people are convinced -- again drive the hated whites
776 out of Tierradentro. He warns the Paez of an evil white person
821 who is coming to Tierradentro for a visit by a clap of thunder from
[783] a clear sky. When he thunders above a particular house, he is
[754] announcing that there is "pest" in it, and if he thunders first above the house of a nyic and then above one belonging to a teyu he is thereby announcing to a good shaman that he has just been bewitched.

776 A few stories also tell about the struggles of the shamans
787 against Thunder, for he once robbed the Paez of livestock and
756 people. But that was long ago, for today no one would dare undertake anything against Thunder. The Calderun shamans tell how the earlier teyu were in a position to speak with Thunder at any time and to get advice from him. Those of today are no

/270 cont./

753 longer able to do this. Old Filisa of Santa Rosa, however, who
776 was herself chosen and initiated into her office by Thunder, is
787 still able to enter into communication with Thunder today. To be sure, she cannot always do this, but she has often sought him out in his lagoon, dived into the water, gone to the house of Thunder on the bottom of the lagoon, and asked him for advice. One of the sons of Thunder, likewise a shaman, was even her constant companion who protected her everywhere. "In former times," she said, "Thunder himself cured people. Today it is different." Thunder knows when someone is sick; then when people come to her to ask for a remedy, Thunder personally announces to the shaman beforehand: such and such persons with such and such an illness will come today. He also tells her at the same time what remedies she should use. Then when the people come to tell about the illness, she can, since she is a good friend of Thunder, always help them with the best remedies.

776 Thunder, she said, has many children. They come into the world by way of a spring or a crevice out of which water trickles. They have the size of small human beings, but are very good and dressed in a beautiful táw (belt). For growing up and for their nourishment they need three women as attendants. They suck milk from them, whereupon the women must die. The Thunder-children /271/ themselves are barren and have no children. As children of Thunder, however, they have always been great caciques and shamans.

One day she showed me a small knot of a branch, wrapped in a piece of cloth. "This is a child of Thunder that I have from him," she said, "it looks like a branch, but in reality it is alive and can speak."

d) Sickness, Ideas About the Spirits and Souls

753 All sicknesses are explained by the Paez as having originated
754 by means of magical influences that have their cause primarily
783 in malevolent, deliberate acts. These magical, supernatural influences are either bewitchments by the nyic, magical injury

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753 caused by the spirits eč, tũs, or gělyómp, or general emanations
783 of impurity, of "pest" (uwẽ). Such reasons for catching pest, and
[754] thereby being afflicted with sickness, result largely from neglecting
[764] the prescribed shamanistic purifications. These must take place after a burial or when someone has merely seen a funeral proces-
753 sion or entered a house in which there is a corpse. The prohibitions
783 surrounding a woman giving birth or menstruating are just as strict.
841 If she does not retire to the menstruation hut at the proper time,
[849] if she cohabits during these days or neglects to take the subsequent bath after menstruation and birth, the consequences are equally
[264] grave. Pest befalls a man if he accepts food from a menstruating
753 woman. The same consequences befall the one who in housebuild-
783 ing or during the first harvest does not have the proper ceremonies
756 performed by the shaman.
342

Most people die as the result of the evil influence of the
754 nyiç, the evil sorcerers. The latter -- it is firmly believed --
783
761 are able to kill individual persons as well as to send pest to entire villages. Their power of evil is regarded as almost unlimited. Besides being bewitched by a nyiç, there are three other possibili-
753 ties for a person to become ill or to die. These causes are
761 gělyómp, tũs, and eč. All three are very complex conceptions
776 and may be translated roughly as "mountain spirit," "rainbow," and "firefly," respectively, although the Paez conception and the
[756] translation are not completely identical. The teyu knows the cause of the illness immediately from his signs, the rest of the people, however, usually only after the death of the sick person. And, to be sure, one recognizes the tũs as the cause of illness by the fact /272/ that the corpse lies there with a bent limb (arm or leg), whereas in the case of ec as the cause of death, blood flows from the mouth or nose. It is also possible that both together, tũs and eč, might bring death to the person, for example, if the person lies there bent and blood flows from the mouth or nose.

776 The gělyómp spirit lives chiefly in the mountains, but also in the valley, on the banks of brooks or rivers. He likes to lead wanderers astray in the mountains by making noise and screaming up there; at night one hears his screams -- like those of a human

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776 being -- in the valley, too, near the village. He is a raging foe
[784] of everything dirty. A hunter who has not washed himself and his
ruana before hunting or whose wife is in the menstruation hut at the
time will be punished by him. He has the figure of a human be-
ing, sometimes that of a man, but sometimes, too, that of a
woman or a child. Gĕlyómp, as well as tũs and ečˇ, can give a
776 person pest so that he will die. One can catch pest by himself
783 everywhere and on all occasions, no matter whether he is awake or
753 asleep. The pest of the three spirits mentioned is primarily caused
by stings that not only enter the body, but also the soul. In the
spot where they have entered the body they leave punctures that are
red in color in the case of gĕlyómp, blue in the case of tũs, and
black in the case of ečˇ. The sicknesses caused by gĕlyómp mani-
fest themselves by general pain caused by the penetration of one
of his hairs. This happens in the following manner: Someone is
walking along a path and suddenly feels a stinging pain in his arm
or some other part of his body, like the prick of a pin. Although
[755] he cannot discover a puncture, the pain remains. The person
therefore goes to the teyu, and he is able to remove the cause of
the pain by rubbing his herbs over the affected spot until he re-
[761] moves from it a black hair ten to 15 centimeters long. This hair
is from the gĕlyómp, and if the shaman had not removed it, the one
[759] afflicted by it would have had to die. To a certain extent one can
protect himself from the hairs of the mountain spirit if, when re-
turning home from a walk over the mountains or a night's march,
he passes a firebrand over the feet and body, in order to burn off any
hair of the gĕlyómp that might have penetrated.

776 Tũs, the "rainbow," lives on the banks of watercourses and
753 especially at springs. There are many tũs, and, to be sure, wher-
ever there is water. There are tũs as large as a snake, colored red
and yellow, and others only the size of a finger. People recognize
sicknesses /273/ of the tũs by the fact that the afflicted one is
covered all over with pimples and has to scratch himself constantly.
[821] If it rains when the sun is shining, tũs goes from the bank of the river,
where he lives, into the sky and from there back again to earth in
a semicircle. The rainbow is especially dangerous for children.

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776 If it rains when the sun is shining, they may not leave the house,
753 for otherwise they become afflicted with head maladies. These
821 are not headaches, but wounds such as would be inflicted by a
[756] machete. The teyu, however, have remedies to make the rain-
[789] bow disappear, so that children may go outside again.

776 Eč, the third of the aforementioned causes of sickness and
[753] death, is the most unpleasant and the most dangerous, since eč
[761] kills the most people. Eč lives in the earth; no man has seen
[787] him, apart from a few shamans. They need not enter into the
earth, however, to see him; rather, eč himself comes if a teyu
[825] calls him. He looks like a human being. Eč is also the name
for fireflies, which are regarded as the messengers that he sends
out to bring "pest" to human beings. People therefore kill fire-
776 flies if they are able to catch them. Eč is not angry, however,
782 if the people kill his messengers, if only he always gets enough
offerings. For this reason people give eč a dram-glass full of
brandy from every bottle, that is, they pour this amount on the
ground; likewise eč gets his share of every animal killed (chicken,
756 pig, cow, etc.). People ask their teyu which parts of the animal
776 eč demands and which ones they should offer him. If people
782 killed and ate an animal without offering eč any of it, he would
[761] in return kill a child of this family. If the father then comes to
the teyu and asks why his child died, he -- who, of course, knows
that the man slaughtered a pig without giving eč anything -- tells
him that this is the punishment of eč. That very rarely happens,
however; rather, the man gives the shaman the parts of the ani-
mal desired by eč, for instance, the liver, entrails, or meat, and
he gives them to eč, bringing them at night to the place desired
[787] by him. Moreover, as a precaution people give eč herbs and
brandy as the shaman advises, in accordance with the signs which
he has received from eč.

774 If the penetration of pest into the body of a person is the
776 cause of an illness that may result in death, this unfortunate out-
753 come is all the more probable if one of the three spirits or a nyiç
has stolen a human soul. I was given differing /274/ statements
about such a case: First of all, there are two words for soul, ũns

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774 776 753 (u = nasal) and taff, with which everyone is familiar, although they are not sure about the distinction between the two. The shamans Francisco and Cerbeleón said that the two were the same; but both of them also said that ũns or taff, if they had left the person in his dream and were abroad, could be caught by tũs, eč, or nyiç without the person's becoming aware of this immediately, but rather he still went on living. To my objection that in this case ũns and taff were probably different, they did not know how [775] to answer; Cerbeleón stated that if a person dies, his ũns goes to heaven and the person himself becomes taff. He and other teyu 756 774 754 were able to catch the ũns of a human being. Thus, for example, if someone had been robbed, he would come to Cerbeleón. The latter takes coca, tobacco, and brandy, and then he can bring forth the ũns of the thief, seize it, and kill it. The thief must [783] then die. In order to get the ũns in his power, he must first cleanse [924] his hands with the herbs šu and vitubitskwe, as well as with brandy. [276] The ũns has the form of a small animal, he explained; it can fly and glows and is about three centimeters long. It is very similar to a firefly in appearance, but different from eč.

554 754 756 [124] Having reached this point in his explanation, Cerbeleón grew silent, and our interpreter Victoriano said that we should now have to depart, but quickly. With that he left the house in positive flight, and we were obliged to follow. Outside he explained to us that Cerbeleón was a "mal brujo," a nyiç, which, to be sure, he had always suspected before, but just now Cerbeleón had given himself away inasmuch as he had said that he could catch and [682] kill the ũns of human beings. The people of Calderas also say that he possessed herbs that he could put in eggs, chicha, or other food, whereupon people would eat them and then die. One of the sons of Cerbeleón was a thief and had died in the following manner: The one who was robbed had prayed to the Virgen Santisima /Holy Virgin/, and God had punished the thief with death. The father himself, that is, the shaman Cerbeleón, is also a thief and kills people out of envy for their possessions.

The mission sisters confirmed this statement insofar as Cerbeleón had several times attempted to kill them by sprinkling

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554 herbs into their drinking-water canal. Now he had given it up,
754 however. To us he seemed to be merely an idle talker; he did
756 not give the impression of actually having received signs or of being serious about the matter, but rather it seemed as though he had merely learned a little by watching his father /275/ and was doing it mechanically without any inner concern. Francisco, too, had a father and grandfather as shaman predecessors. He was likewise rather ignorant, but apparently meant well. He did his best to help people.

756 Martin Chukue was completely absorbed by his calling and
753 duty, and he was well informed, serious, and dignified in his
761 shamanistic work. When the capitan of Calderas died, he was the shaman authorized to act for his residence, and he also conducted the purification ceremony after his burial. Martin explained the cause of death of the capitan as follows: The capitan had to die because the tũs had stolen the taff soul of the capitan. The capitan died with his left leg drawn up. He was very thin when he died, because he had not eaten anything for a long time, for
[755] his taff soul had been stolen five years ago. At that time the sick man began feeling pain, and during the entire time he, Martin, had fought with the tũs, offered him medicines, and tried to appease him.

775 When the ũns soul (ũns also means "heart"!) leaves the body,
[774] then the person is ultimately dead. And, to be sure, ũns leaves
[827] the body by way of the upper arms, lower arms, finger tips. Shortly before it leaves the person, one may still perceive it very faintly as a pulse beat, and when the pulse beat ceases altogether, the ũns has left the body and immediately goes to heaven. No one could tell me exactly in what form it goes to heaven. In heaven, however, it again has the normal human appearance.
[755] When children are ill, wool threads are put around their wrists
[774] and ankles and drawn tightly in order to prevent the escape of the ũns, or at least to make it more difficult.

/275 cont./

775 [828] [774] Old Celia Uriaga of Calderas, who told us two stories, but is not a shaman herself, reported the following: When a person sleeps and dreams, his taff leaves the body, goes everywhere, and experiences what the person is experiencing in his dream. When the person dies, ũns then leaves the person by way of the veins of the upper and lower arm, where one can feel the pulse, and finally by way of the finger tips. Taff also leaves the person, but in the form of a human being with white clothing. Whereas ũns goes to heaven, taff either stays near the body in the grave or goes about on earth, although not as taff, but as ǎhimos (ghost). It can be seen by the shamans at night, but also by human beings at midnight or around two o'clock at night, in the form of a human figure sitting by the wayside. It is not a real human being, however, but more like a wind. /276/ Ahimos is generally at the burial place, there where the corpse is buried and where the bones are.

According to the account of the old tẽoi Felisa, the ũns leaves the body upon the death of a human being and goes to heaven. It leaves the body by way of the lower arms, hands, and finger tips. 755 775 763 [824] Felisa herself tries to hold back the ũns of a dying person by blowing hard on his finger tips after she has previously taken a mouthful of the herbs čǎyuts and ỳuwéz as well as brandy. At the same time, with the same herbs in her hands, she strokes the patient's arms from the finger tips upward, in order to hold back ũns. Taff leaves the human body before death. In doing so, it whistles. Felisa can see it. It wanders along a path, well dressed, and the shaman is able to bring it back by tearing its clothes with a very sharp-edged reed (nyfka), and then it is obliged to return to the body (cf. Ill. 199 /see p. 288/).

775 [825] Apart from the shamans, she is convinced that no one is able to see taff, except for dogs, when they sometimes howl for no apparent reason. Whereas ũns goes to heaven, taff remains on earth and goes 769 on living in its house as ǎhimos in the form of a breath of air. (No accessories are put in the grave with the dead, but on the following December 8, the Feast of the Immaculada, and recurrently each year, the relatives offer to the ǎhimos of their dead their favorite

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769 foods: meat, maize, chicha, brandy, coca, yuca, etc. These gifts are laid on a banana leaf on the floor of the church and a
775 candle is lighted along with it.) The shimos, too, can only be seen by shamans.

774 She does not know when and from where a child gets its ũns and taff. She believes that as soon as the heart of the child beats in the mother's womb, the child has ũns; it gets taff only after birth. Animals have no taff; they have ũns only if they devour human beings.

e) Shamanistic Séances

756 Each of the shamanistic séances, be it a treatment of the sick
783 or a ceremony during housebuilding or at a burial, is basically a purification from "pest" and therefore a ceremony of magic practices. All these ceremonies and séances are thus in essence the same. They differ only in details, for example, in the different medicinal herbs or in the order of the various purifications. Let us first give a description of a purification ceremony /277/ by the shaman Martin Chucue after a burial (see Ill. 208 to 213 /see pp. 292-294/).

756 The shaman does not take part in the burial. Moreover, he
764 neither enters the house of a deceased in which the corpse is still
783 present, nor does he accompany a funeral procession to the burial place. The mourners, men, women, and children, go to the burial place together and then return to the house of mourning. Before they may enter it, however, they must go to the river where the shaman awaits them in order to purify them for the first time. Then they go together to the house of mourning, which, however, the purified people may not yet enter, since it is still unclean. The shaman, with his helpers, must first purify the house with the same remedies with which he purified the people, namely, with water to which herbs and cow excrement have been added. After that the people, too, may enter the house and eat and drink.

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The shaman learns the date of the second ceremony and principal purification through his signs from ečˇ. He announces this date to those who participated at the burial. Those to be purified -- primarily the nearest relatives -- gather at the river and at a place set apart for this, marked by a number of flat stones. These are absolutely necessary; without stones, no purification site. First the people sit in front of the stones, and the helpers of the shaman fetch calabashes filled with water that is mixed with the šũˇ herb and to which some cow excrement, standing ready in a pot at the same place, is added. The shaman has wound a liana around his staff. Even before the ceremony, he chewed coca and tobacco uninterruptedly and drank brandy copiously. First he goes to the left with the staff and liana and beats the air with both, as though he were struggling with invisible spirits. Then, always struggling, he goes in the other directions of the site, and, finally, once more to the left. There his helpers have dug a hole about 30 centimeters deep and 15 centimeters in diameter.

Now the linen of the deceased and the linen of the mourners which they used on the day of burial are brought forth. They are placed on the stones and then washed and rinsed long and vigorously by the widow and the daughter of the deceased.

The rest of the mourners, like the shaman, have been chewing coca the whole time and get brandy to drink from the teyu.

After the washing, the shaman next struggles as before, as though he wanted to drive invisible spirits away from the site of the purification ceremony. With wide sweeping blows he moves his tama /278/ and liana slowly through the air. In particular he turns to the left again, for to the left lives the evil ečˇ, and to be sure, in the ground (*).

* The direction left has nothing to do with any geographical direction or with the direction of the river. They sit with their backs to the river.

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756 Then everybody goes, the shaman last, to the hole on the left
765 side and spits coca into it; then everybody takes brandy and squirts
783 it into the air toward the left. After that those who are to be purified start to undress, and each one takes a seat on one of the stones. The helpers of the shaman bring vast quantities of water -- always mixed with herbs and cow excrement -- in their calabashes, and then the very vigorous washing of the body begins. The water is first poured over the head, then over the body, front and back, so generously that everyone must have at least 25 liters of water run over him. The people themselves rub their bodies very thoroughly. In conclusion the shaman places a few herbs on the head of each one. After that, too, the shaman must again fight his battle with staff and liana in the air and squirt brandy toward the left. Then each one stands up individually and the shaman passes his shaman staff and herbs laterally around him from left to right and from bottom to top. Again and again the shaman and the people drink brandy, which they spit out in the air to the left.

After the ablutions of the mourners, followed by the ablutions of the assistants and the shaman, all sit down again in their old places, opposite the stones. The shaman sits down beside them, the staff stuck in the ground before him, his mouth completely full of coca and tobacco. In addition, at short intervals, he takes a
[787] swallow of brandy. He sits this way for about 20 minutes, chewing
[763] and drinking, and then he says that the signs in his hand are very bad and that soon someone will die. One of the young men present, the nephew of the deceased and helper of the shaman during the purification, asks who is going to die or whether it might even be he himself. The shaman, who has been talking monotonously to himself and keeps staring at one spot, answers, without turning his head, that he does not know who will die. The shaman remains sitting a while longer, constantly chewing coca and drinking brandy, and then he gets up and the people sit down in a row behind the stones, first the men, then the women. The shaman takes herbs in his hands, spits the freshly chewed coca with tobacco on them, and passes this around the bodies of all present, always from the lower left, up the side to the head, and down again on the right side, then up the back

756 765 783 /279/ and the front, and at the end he "sucks out," holding one fist over the other, everything dirty, the last remnants of the pest, from the body at three places. First, on the right side of the neck in the hollow of the collarbone, then in the middle of the head, and then he passes both hands along the arms from the shoulders down to the finger tips and sucks on the palms of both hands. Then he cleanses himself in the same manner, by passing his hands, filled with herbs, along his entire body from below upward, whereupon he goes to the left, to the hole, sticks his staff into it, and apparently disgorges something from his stomach, aiding this procedure by pressing his hands into the pit of his stomach. Then he vigorously spits into the hole what he has disgorged. After that he once again takes herbs and brandy, as well as coca, into his mouth and likewise spits them into the hole. Now he takes fresh coca, herbs, and brandy, chews this, and spits it on the tip of his staff and passes this over the bodies of all the people, moving first showly, then faster from below upward, as though he were obliged to press out, from below upward, something inside the body. As he does so, he mutters words that are incomprehensible, and finally, after purifying each person, he hurls the pest, which is hanging on the point of his staff, away from him in a wide arc. He also cleanses the mountain of linen with his staff in the same way. afterwards he again takes coca and lime into his mouth, as well as herbs, among them always šũ in particular, and puts the same thing into the mouths of the people. After that he rubs off his hands with šũ, spits brandy on them, and performs the same purification ceremony on the people as before, again passing over their bodies from below upward and finally sucking out the pest from their necks, heads, and hands.

The participants, at the moment of purification, are very serious concerning the matter. In between, however, they laugh and talk, and the men go about their occupation of straw-hat braiding.

After these three purifications in a standing position, a further purification in a sitting position follows, during which the shaman thrusts his staff into the ground in front of each person. After each purification he goes to the hole and spits everything into it

/279 cont./

756 vigorously, then always rinses his mouth with brandy and spits it
765 out in a spray. After this final purification, standing in front of
783 the hole, he moves his staff several times in a circle through the air from below upward and stabs into the hole three times with the tip of his staff, as though he wanted to thrust something corporeal from above into the hole with the staff. Several times /280/ he paces off the entire place, beating with his staff, always starting from the right and squirting brandy to the left about ten times.

To conclude the ceremony, the hole is covered with a stone, and water containing šu herbs is poured over it. All the participants spit the herbs given to them by the shaman into a second hole about 50 centimeters away, rinse their mouths vigorously with brandy, and spit this also into the nearby hole. To conclude the ceremony lasting more than four hours, they are all given a swallow of brandy by the shaman and together spit this toward the left.

755 If the teyu is called to a sick person, before the actual treat-
756 ment he must determine the cause of the illness in a special séance. Like all sickness ceremonies, it begins about eight o'clock in the evening and usually ends several hours after midnight. For his séances he uses a specific place (kaci) where, in the presence of the patient, he receives his signs. In cases of serious illness, the treatment may also take place in the house, but then, if possible, ají and salt, things which Thunder does not like, should not be in the vicinity. In cases of particularly serious illness, the shaman may also go to a quiet place, free of human sounds and the barking of dogs, in order to receive his signs there alone.

Before the start of the séance, the patient must give the teyu half a fiber bag full of coca, a bottle of brandy, and a few cigars, since without these things it is impossible for the shaman to receive his signs. He thrusts his staff into the ground, a little to one side, and then he sits down opposite the patient. He now takes his medicinal herbs out of his fiber bag and first makes up two equal little packets of various mixed herbs, each of which he wraps in a maize leaf. With every herb that he takes from his fiber bag, he first makes a pass around his own body in order to stimulate his blood and to receive his signs better. It may already happen here

/280 cont./

755 756 that his signs tell him that his efforts will be in vain, because the patient must die. Only if the signs are favorable, do he and the patient start chewing the little packet of medicinal herbs. The shaman now takes his staff and spits some of the chewed medicinal herbs on it, to prevent the pest sent by nyic from possibly being transferred to him and killing him. Then he thrusts the tama into the ground with the point, in order to announce to Thunder that he does not wish to act badly and carelessly, but exactly in accord-
[824] [787] ance with his shamanistic rules. He sets the bottle of /281/ brandy, into which he puts a stalk of the čayuts herb, beside his shaman's staff. If the stalk remains vertical, it is a good sign; if it falls to one side and goes under, it is a very bad omen. On the mouth of the bottle he also places a small calabash vessel, likewise containing the čayuts herb, which is supposed to prevent the pest from taking the shaman by surprise and killing him. He now puts a handful of coca into his mouth and starts to chew. Motionless, he gazes at his staff, ready to receive his signs. From time to time he takes more coca and lime, tells the patient that his signs are favorable, that his illness, which comes from the pest, will soon get better. Then he gets up, goes to his tama, and vigorously spits out the chew. He empties a whole calabash of brandy and squirts it into the air. Again he returns to his seat, once again takes coca and lime and a little cigar tobacco into his mouth, and again remains squatting motionless. After about an hour he spits the chew in the direction of the staff, the patient does the same, and then both get up. The shaman now tells the
[783] patient that Thunder has shown him the possibility of a cure. He will now go and gather his special medicinal herbs, and for a good purification the patient will have to bring a pound of coca leaves, six cigars, a liter of brandy and chicha, and, in addition,
[777] [786] a few pounds of meat. The teyu urgently enjoins him not to take any of the medicine of the whites under any circumstances, for otherwise he must surely die. At this séance, as well as at others, the shamans all agreed that neither did they themselves leave the place of the séance nor did their souls leave their bodies to go wandering. The signs, to which alone they give heed, are the only characteristic of their experience.

/281 cont./

755 On the evening agreed upon for the purification from the pest,
756 the patient brings the shaman the required remedies, and the
783 latter divides everything into two parts, one to carry out the séance
[782] and the other as an offering for Thunder. He first takes the latter portion and goes to a particular place in order to offer it to Thunder. He spits part of the brandy into the air and drinks another part himself, as soon as Thunder has expressed his approval of the purification from the disease and his satisfaction over the gift.

[516] For the purification ceremony the teyu and the patient squat down on the ground next to each other, in the manner customary among the Paez. The teyu thrusts his staff into the ground and sets the brandy bottle beside it. Amid coca-chewing and brandy-drinking the hours flow by, broken only by an occasional spitting out of the chew on the part of the shaman. /282/ Through his signs he gradually learns the cause of the illness and also the necessary remedies, which he now hands over to the patient. He also places on his head a packet containing the same herbs, as protection against the evil eč spirit. The teyu now goes to one side and beats the air with his tama, in order to remove the pest that is present. Then he passes it up the entire body of the patient, beginning at the feet and ending at the head, in order to squeeze out, so to speak, the pest from the body of his patient from below upward. At various parts of the body, the hollow of the collarbone, the neck, and the head, he "sucks" out the pest. Into a hole dug a few meters in front of the place of the ceremony he now spits the contents of his mouth: coca and medicinal herbs, mixed with the pest sucked out of the patient. He then squirts a mouthful of brandy into the air, so that the pest will depart altogether, and drinks a further one himself, so that the pest will not enter his body. Now the patient is called. He must first spit into the same hole the mixture of coca and medicinal herbs which he has chewed the entire time, and then he, too, must take two swallows of brandy; he must squirt one into the air, and he swallows the other one. Further purifications of the patient follow, various herbs being passed over him and the pest being sucked out several times and spat into the hole. In conclusion there follows a bodily cleansing

/282 cont./

755 of the patient with water to which šũ and yakũma have been added
756 as medicinal herbs, so that he will now be completely freed of the
783 pest. Finally the teyu asks Thunder to prevent anyone from uncovering this hole in which the dangerous pest is buried. He further asks Thunder to help him in subsequent treatments of the sick later on. The patient is told that the signs are favorable, and he is again enjoined neither to use the medicines of the whites nor ever to pass this hole containing the pest.

757 Besides these two most important shamanistic ceremonies, the
756 treatment of the sick and the purification of the relatives after a
731 burial, the shaman's ability and his magical, supernatural powers are also called upon for preventive ceremonies and acts. This is particularly necessary if epidemics of disease -- smallpox, whooping cough -- occur in the village or in a family. In the first instance, the cabildo asks a shaman who is known to be able to speak with Thunder to conduct the proper protective ceremonies; in the latter instance, /283/ the oldest member of the afflicted family asks him. First a pig must be killed for this. A piece is cut from all the body organs on the left side, and everything is put into a new fiber
[782] bag. The shaman and the cabildo then set out in the afternoon for the lagoon in which Thunder is believed to live, in order to hand over to him the bag with the pieces of meat, with the request to avert the epidemic. During this time the women remaining behind have been preparing the rest of the meat for a meal, which, however, is eaten jointly only when, after twelve hours, the shaman and cabildo return from their ceremony.

756 For several cases of illness and death in one family the help of
783 a good shaman is likewise required. The pest is generally regarded
769 as the cause of these cases of death afflicting only one family, though according to a report by S. Bernal Villa, the deceased and angry members of the family are held responsible for this. In this case the eldest of the family provides brandy, coca, and tobacco, calls together the family members, and asks the shamán to come. The latter offers the angry ancestor spirits a fat pig that has first been tied in front of the house for a whole night, while the shaman during this time speaks to the spirits about whether they will accept the offering.

/283 cont./

756 It is killed by members of another family, since the ones concerned
783 may not perform any work or activity. The pig is scalded over a
769 hole into which the hair and refuse are thrown. The parts of the pig which the ancestor spirits, through the signs of the shaman, wish as a sacrifice are put into a fiber bag with a wooden stick. During this time the women bake small, flat maize cakes, and, to be sure, as many as there are dead in the family. These are
756 likewise put into the bag, and, in addition, a large quantity of
783 other food. Moreover, small wooden dolls, dressed like living
532 Paez, are carved in the same number as the dead. About 40
769 meters from the house a grave with a lateral niche is dug, exactly like the one made for deceased persons. In the evening the shaman goes there with the members of the family and performs the ceremonial purification on them. After that the sky becomes covered with thick, black clouds, in the direction of which the teyu spits his medicinal herbs. After two hours the clouds move off toward the left and bring into view the starry sky. Now the shaman lays the dolls (as representations of the spirits of the dead) into the lateral niche of the grave, sets a wax candle beside them, and blows his medicinal herbs over them. With a /284/ stone he closes off the lateral niche and then places the
756 bag with the food into the pit. After the latter has again been
783 filled with earth, he proceeds to a renewed purification of the
769 members of the family, which is undertaken a third time in the house and at the same time on the helpers in the pig-slaughtering and the baking. In conclusion one half of the pig is now eaten jointly, whereas the other half belongs to the shaman as remuneration.

756 A further important shamanistic ceremony is undertaken when
342 a new house is built. On this occasion the teyu, in dedication,
783 spits his herbs on the future fire area of the house and digs a small
[824] hole into which he places the herbs ṽũ and ṽulápe. On a small pile of wood he burns other herbs, the ashes of which he carries out of the house. Now he lights a new fire, in which he roasts a young maize ear and gives it to a dog to eat. If the latter does not die, this is regarded as a sign that no pest exists here any longer and the occupants may confidently live here. If this were not the case, they would be obliged to leave the house.

/284 cont./

241 The following ceremony before the first harvest of a newly
756 cleared field should ~~also~~ be understood in the same sense as
783 all the shamanistic séances of the Paez, namely, as a purification
[273] from pest or to ward it off. The owner, taking along coca, chicha,
[276] and brandy, goes to the field with the members of his family and
[824] the teyu. The latter first sprinkles the field with water to which
herbs have been added and then distributes small packets of
[782] medicinal herbs to all present. He now takes a sample from each
type of produce and makes a bundle out of this, in order to offer
it to Thunder. After this gift, the owner harvests a fiber bag full
of each type of produce and carries it home. He sets down all
the bags beside one another in front of the left side of the entrance,
and then the shaman spits his herbs over them, in order to cleanse
them of the pest, which, without this ceremony, would otherwise
[782] have been carried into the house. After the products have been
cooked, they are given to the shaman, who distributes one product
to each of those present and offers the rest as a gift to Thunder, who,
in turn, gives everything back to the shaman.

754 A good shaman does not know any herbs or other means to
756 harm people or to kill them. Such acts are the mark of the nyic.
According to what we heard, however, the boundary between good
and bad shamans is not very sharply drawn; each could also carry
out the activity of the other, even though Thunder -- people are
convinced -- does not lend his help to a nyic, so that the latter is
578 dependent solely on his bad and wicked agents. /285/ There is a
754 constant struggle between the teyu and the nyic, not openly to be
756 sure, but in secret. The teyu constantly feel pursued by the evil
machinations of the nyic, and one who relaxes his attention for
only a moment will be killed by them. In this struggle the one
who is the stronger magically has prospects of victory; but since
the nyic do not openly announce their successes over the good
shamans, one can learn only of the victories of the teyu over the
evil shamans. Thus a shaman from Santa Rosa relates that in his
youth he was very treacherous and underhanded and was already
familiar with many agents. One day a nyic, who had already

/285 cont./

578 killed his mother and his brothers, declared his hostility toward
754 him because he was well on the way to becoming a good shaman.
756 He became ill and his signs announced to him that he would soon
578 die. Now there was a famous shaman in Huila, and he sought
75 him out with much brandy and coca. Immediately this shaman
774 realized that it was a case of bewitchment by a nyic. The only possibility of getting off alive was to kill the soul of the evil sorcerer immediately. Together they dug a hole for this purpose and in it they waited many nights for the soul of the nyic. It came, but since it was very suspicious, it would not let itself be caught. More than a month passed in this way. Night after night the two were lying in wait, without sleeping, and then one night, near daybreak, the soul of the evil sorcerer came. The shaman was ready, however; he raised his staff and with a powerful blow it fell into the hole. Immediately earth was piled up over it and the hole completely covered. Hissing, the soul died.

756 Since the young shaman from Santa Rosa was well once more,
789 the old shaman sent him home. He advised him, however, to
824 carry herbs with him, since there were robbers on the way. Cautiously he proceeded to the dangerous spot, and already his signs announced to him that the robbers were in the vicinity. He immediately blew his herbs, and the robbers fell into a deep sleep. Farther along on the way home he met several people who were pursuing a criminal. They gave him brandy and coca and asked him to help them, from his home, to capture the criminal. He then strewed čayuts on his own feet, and the criminal could no longer walk, so the people were able to capture him.

75 Other shamans report that in case of a bewitchment by a
774 nyic, the bewitched person and the members of his family slaughter a pig and put a piece of each organ in a fiber bag. /286/ They bring these to the shaman, together with brandy, coca and cigars. The meat serves as bait for the soul of the sorcerer, for at the first cockcrow, when all present are chewing coca, it comes to get the bag. It falls into the hole dug under it, however. The shaman immediately throws herbs into it, those present their chewed packets of coca, and then the pit is covered up as quickly as

/286 cont./

75 774 possible. After his soul has thus been killed, the sorcerer, too, must die.

754 774 The same type of soul-capture as is reported here by the teyu is also the most common method of evil sorcery practiced by the nyiç. The nyiç digs a hole and stations himself above it, in order to await the wandering soul of his victim. It is visible, like a lighted candle. When it is over the hole, the nyiç gives it a powerful blow with his staff, so that it falls into the hole. If it is supposed to die very quickly, the nyiç throws strongly efficacious herbs over it and covers the hole with graveyard soil. If not, he has many possibilities of inflicting on the soul, and therefore on his victim, injury that takes effect more slowly. If he sprinkles the herb baw (Araceae) over it, the stomach of its owner becomes so distended that he dies. If the nyiç sprinkles lime over the soul, the person becomes blind. In the case of the poisonous herb boračero (Datura sp.), the owner of the soul becomes insane; the stinging smoke of the agave also produces insanity. Putting the leaves of the čuwét (Krameria ixina?) and the soul together brings death. The herbs kaspi (Toxicodendron striatum Kuntze), lečero (Euphorbia cotinifolia L.), and Pringamoza also cause death.

754 774 824

f) The Sociological Aspect of Shamanism

182 756 Although the shamanistic ceremonies and the conceptions underlying them are of a religious nature, nevertheless the activity of the shaman is a definite sociological fact. Without the activity of the teyu, neither the family nor the village community can exist. It is only the shaman who, through his personal abilities, is able to counteract the evil effects of the nyiç, the tũs, eč, and gělyómp spirits and turn them into something good. His activity, however, consists not only in the repulsion of what has already appeared, in the healing of what has happened, but his activity is also preventive, in fact, prophetic, for he predicts future sicknesses or deaths. Moreover, no house construction,

/286 cont./

182 no new harvest may be undertaken until the teyu has first cleansed
756 of the pest the building site or the crops, respectively.

/287/ He is, however, not only the protector of the individual or the individual family, but is also responsible for the beneficial
[173] co-existence of the members of the whole village. Thus, it is not surprising that it was the shamans -- besides Thunder under his various names -- who were the war leaders in the mythical tradi-
[726] tions. Thanks to their magical gifts and strength, they successfully led their people against the Pijao and the Spaniards. Several times the elders of the various villages told us that one day Thunder will again drive the white intruders out of the Tierradentro of the
[648] Paez and kill them. And it is only logical that, as late as 1952,
[789] on the occasion of an impending attack by an armed group of white revolutionaries, the shaman of Santa Rosa, as the successor of the mythical Thunder, should spit his magic herbs on the road leading to the village, in order to destroy them. Old Felisa Ipia is behaving in a similar manner when she keeps the souls of all the village inhabitants gathered together in the threads of her shaman's staff, in order to be able to protect them better against evil, magical influences.

756 On account of these certain supernatural abilities of theirs, the
554 effects of which no one in the community can evade, the teyu
[285] have a certain unofficial authority. In addition, they are all at least 30 to 40 years old and thus, by their very age, fulfill one of the natural prerequisites for recognition by the community. Not a few of them feel honored by this, set apart from the great mass of people, but many assured me that they were shamans only unwillingly, that though they were called by their ability to receive signs, they were nevertheless oppressed by the weight of the burden of their responsibility.

756 During times of epidemics of disease or inexplicable, "super-
124 natural" deaths, they are the focal point of the community, to
[182] which no one appeals in vain. And in conversations with them we generally had the distinct impression of facing unselfish, helpful human beings. They make no secret of their activity, and they tried, as best they could, to tell us about their experiences and knowledge which they use for the good of the community.

/287 cont./

4. Music

533 In no area of Paez culture is poverty evident to such an ex-
535 tent as in song and dance, the predominant expressions of the character and spirit of all peoples. No peculiar dance is per-
[173] formed among the /288/ Paez, and I heard no song sung. This undoubtedly represents an impoverishment, for it may be seen
533 from the folklore that in former times there was dancing. A similar conclusion must also be drawn about the playing of very
[173] agreeable music. Their knowledge of music, however, makes it
[181] highly probable that song also existed, especially among a people
[581 521 522 192] that is basically jolly and constantly disposed to jest. In fact, it is very difficult for a girl who is slow in jocular conversation to get a husband. And to my question about the Paez word for "sing house" listed in Uricoechea, the amiable Victoriano, to his own great surprise, was immediately able to give me a special word in his language, "mémyat."

534 It is not possible to say with certainty which of the musical
[171] instruments used by the Paez today is an original one. The absence of any kind of rattle, the outstanding instrument of the American natives, is surprising (*).

* Pittier de Fábrega (p. 325) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 326/, however, mentions among the musical instruments of the Paez a rattle (tsoóts) in the form of a calabash with a handle, which was filled with small stones. Whether this may not perhaps be an instrument of the Negroes of Belalcázar is still undecided.

534 The cow horn (kǎčn) found in every house is not in the true
202 sense a musical instrument, but one for signaling. It is completely undecorated and, consisting of a horn sawed off at the tip, gives only one tone, which is produced in the same manner as the tone of a bugle or fanfare. This horn is used by the men when they come down from the mountains after a joint felling of the trees needed for housebuilding, in order to notify the village of their return.

/288 cont./

534 The genuine Paez music is performed by a group of musicians whose instruments consist of a larger or smaller number of transverse flutes, a bass drum /Pauke/, a drum /Trommel/, a tambourine, and a triangle (Ill. 202 /see p. 289/). The number of flutes varies between five and 15. Tambourine and triangle [439] (číngalo) may be lacking. The latter is always purchased, as in general is the tambourine (panderēta), covered with skin on one side and provided with tin jingles.

Judging by its name, the transverse flute (koi) is a Paez instrument. There has not yet been an investigation of the distribution or culture-historical age of this type of flute in America; in the Old World it is certainly younger than the long flute and the Pan flute (Sachs, p. 147). Among the /289/ Paez it is 65 534 centimeters long and about 2.5 centimeters in diameter. It is 463 made from a type of reed which is also known as koi and which [824] only grows in the mountains. Its manufacture is specialist's work. In Calderas Vicente Puche is at present the only producer. A flute can be made only from the pattern of another one, which, however, is not a model flute expressly for the construction of others; rather, it is any one that Vicente happens to have at his disposal. For example, he promptly sold to me his only instrument at the time. To make a new one, he said, he would borrow a flute from a neighbor.

534 The tube of the flute is cylindrical and without knots. The 322 seal on the side of the blowhole is made by means of a piece of expressed sugar cane, which is pushed a few centimeters into the flute. The six finger-holes are not placed at equal intervals from one another. The first is 25 centimeters from the blowhole, the second finger-hole is 4.2 centimeters from the first, the third 4.5 centimeters from the second, the fourth 4.2 centimeters from the third, the fifth 3.8 centimeters from the fourth, and the sixth 4 centimeters from the fifth.

The seven very sharp-edged holes of the flute have the same diameter. They are burned in with an iron tube (barflya) of the same dimension and heated red-hot. Their position and their intervals are taken from a flute held alongside and are marked

/289 cont./

534 by cuts with a machete (Ill. 203 /see p. 290/). In spite of the
322 relatively correspondent holes, each flute has a slightly different tone caused by the varying diameter of the tube.

533 According to the investigation kindly undertaken by my
534 brother Wilfried on the sample flute of Vicente Puche that I acquired, it is tuned between C and C-sharp. Its six finger-holes produce a nonsemitonic seven-tone scale. All the tone steps, however, are somewhat inexact, that is, not exactly a whole tone-step apart. This is particularly noticeable from the third to the fourth tone where we perceptibly have less than a major second, but considerably more than a half step. This is noteworthy because in our diatonic major scale there is also a definite half-step between these two tones.

The blowing is on the right or left side. The extended fingers, work-worn by the heavy field work, cover the finger holes with the first or second joint.

534 The value of the flute is not very high. On festive days
[578] people are in the habit of becoming intoxicated in the festival
[796] houses and in the subsequent brawls the flutes are used as striking
[273] instruments and thus broken.

/290/ Every music group has at least one small cylindrical drum (káka) or a bass drum (kut), both of which are covered with skin on two sides and are wider than high in their dimensions.
[177] Drum and bass drum in this form are probably borrowed and were
[194] taken over throughout South America from former Negro slaves. Their manufacture among the Paez is specialist's work. At
[463] present Vicente Puche makes the flutes as well as the drums. In former times, however, there was a special expert who made only
[461] drums and bass drums. The work time for their manufacture amounts to 10 to 14 days, since one day is allowed for each operation (cutting wood, drying it, for the various processes in treating
[824] the skins, etc.). The cylindrical body of the drum is made from
[237] the wood of the utsé tree. The two drum-skins (katc) are made of calfskin. They are stretched with cords made of agave fiber, which run in a zigzag from one stretcher to the other over the body of the drum. They are tightened by a continuous loop that encircles two strands of the stretching cords at a time and at the same time

/290 cont./

534 is wound around the entire body of the drum. A string with a small piece of wood as a rattle device is stretched across the lower skin. The method of construction of the drum and the bass drum [184] is the same in Calderas. A drum in Santa Rosa differs in that each of the stretchers, upper and lower, consists of a switch used double, with the edges of the drum skin clamped in between (Fig. 37 /see p. 258 /). The measurements of the small drum are 16 centimeters in height and 22 centimeters in diameter, those of the bass drum 40 centimeters in height and about 60 centimeters in diameter.

533 In playing the music, for which no text is (any longer) known, the drum and the bass drum beat the same rhythm, but in a different manner. The drum is beaten on the skin with two drumsticks, which are simply two ordinary, inarticulated pieces of wood. The bass drum is beaten with one hand with a regular drumstick consisting of a stick with a wrapping of cloth, while the other hand beats against the frame with a little stick. In three-quarter time, the principal kind of time, the bass drum is beaten with the drumstick in one hand, the first and third quarter regularly and the second quarter in eighths. The other hand beats afterwards with the other stick on the frame.

533 173 Whether this Paez rhythm is original or was taken over with the drum cannot be determined with certainty. According to the tradition of the Paez, as told in the story "The Paez with the Ax," the Pijao women in former times, when as yet /291/ there were no drums, beat out the rhythm on their breasts with their hands during the dances. We may assume that this was also in part the case 533 among the earlier Paez. According to E. Castillo i Orosco, the [175] Paez formerly used hanging chichacanoas /chicha troughs/ as drums [534] (kwimb). They consisted of hollowed-out tree trunks and during the kwimbkó dance were beaten by all the men together, while the women sang. The rhythm beaten on the drums at the present time, however, seems to be less firmly anchored than the melody. They [797] are so fond of the latter that they do not sing hymns at the Mass in [177] the mission church, but play the customary melodies on the same instruments, albeit disproportionately slower. The drum and the bass lose the beat in doing this; they do not know how to begin

P /291 cont./
533 properly with their instruments and simply uniformly beat sixteenths.
[177] Thus it seems that the melody is more original and hence more
534 firmly anchored in the tradition of the Paez, and that with the
C borrowing of the drum, the corresponding modern rhythm was also
533 adopted. This has been corroborated for me by an observation per-
534 taining to the music of the Negroes of Tumaco in the Colombian
[177] port city on the Pacific coast. There, among the descendants of onetime slaves, West African musical instruments with corresponding Negro designations are still in use today, among others the xylophone-like marimba and two drums, the conical konuno with skin stretched over one side and the cylindrical bass drum covered with skin on both sides, the bombo. The latter shows the same type of stretching as the Paez bass drum and is also played with two drumsticks, one of which, provided with a raw-rubber knob, is struck on the skin and the other, a simple stick, on the frame of the body of the drum.

P
533 The musicians are always men. They play the music as
[462] amateurs who learn one or another instrument because they have taken a fancy to it. The drum is the more popular instrument, whereas flutists are less numerous and primarily limited to certain families.

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535 The dances danced today, which, by the way, not everyone
[171] masters, correspond to the Colombian bambuco, though they do not show the dexterity and lightness of movement required for that, such as is found among the Colombian rural population in other parts of the country.

P
535 By way of a note, there should be cited the dances which H.
114 Pittier de Fabrega (based on E. Castillo i Orosco) mentions for the Paez and which in some of the designations, point to an independent culture: onza-kó, /292/ "mouse dance," nwi-kó "buzzard dance," itsa-kó, puberty dance of the girls, eč-koi-kó, dance of the spirit-flute, tel-koi-kó, dance of the long flute or war dance, la-kó, dance to dedicate a house, etc.

/292 cont./

5. Folklore

*539 The present fund of tales of the Paez is neither rich nor varied. Here, too, a certain impoverishment has undoubtedly taken place, as may be seen from fragments of larger complexes of myths. Among these there are the "Story of the Woman from Whose Body Useful Plants Come Forth," stories about transformed animals and human beings, as well as stories about werejaguars. [171] The story of the ghostly human head that comes rolling by is also extraordinarily widespread in North and South American legends [176] and has a manifold lunar-mythological meaning. In contrast to this, the complete absence of typical stories about the forest spirit (gĕlyŏmp) is noteworthy, although the latter plays an important role in the religious conceptions of the Paez. Animal and transformation tales are only very dull and colorless.

114 609 *539 [887] Unfortunately, the reluctance of the Paez to communicate is particularly frustrating in the recording of the myths. It is primarily the old people who can tell stories. But they are the very ones who are particularly standoffish toward the stranger. The chroniclers and early reporters tell us nothing about the folklore of the Paez, and even the most recent travelers of the 'thirties report only the story of Juan Tama or deny that the Paez have any mythology at all.

12 609 *539 [554] The stories collected by S. Bernal Villa and by myself could surely be augmented with better acquaintance among the old people. The unpopularity of our interpreter, especially among the old people, was sometimes so great an obstacle that Victoriano had to ask suitable informants for some of the stories told about his father or uncle.

*539 The themes of the stories chiefly consist of tales about Thunder (Nos. 1-12), mostly under his names of Juan Tama, Llivan, Chauté, or Juan Chiracol. In the myths he is the first shaman and teacher of the present-day shamans (see under "Religion" /see pp. 176 ff. /) and considerably more powerful than human beings. He is not an exalted, numinous figure, however. On the contrary, people in olden days /293/ sometimes treated him quite badly, threw poisonous herbs in his lagoon,

/293 cont./

*539 and even shut him up in a box. A second group of stories (Nos. 13-14) deals with tales about spirits, a third (Nos. 15-16) tales about Pijao, the feared man-eaters and dreadful enemies of the Paez. These are related to a certain extent to tales about werejaguars (Nos. 17-18). The remaining stories, which cannot be further classified, are given in the last group (Nos. 19-22).

[114] In order to achieve a certain completeness, stories No. 1 and 2 about Juan Tama are given here as told by G. Bürg (p. 34) and G. Hernandez de Alba (1946, p. 953), respectively, and stories No. 4, 9, 10 as told by S. Bernal Villa (*) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 323/.

1. Juan Tama, the Water-born

The following remembrance of Juan Tama lives on among the Indians of Vitomcó: A long time ago there ruled in Vitomcó a female cacique who was childless and therefore always sad when she thought about who would follow her in power. One day when she was washing clothes at the confluence of the Rio Paez and a brook that comes from the Páramo de Moras (from the lagoon known today as Juan Tama), she saw in the water a floating piece of wood on which lay a small child. She fished it out, and, since it was a boy, she took him in, reared him, and, when he reached majority, made him cacique. This cacique -- known as Juan Tama today -- was very wise and strong and led his people against the Spaniards when the latter settled on the Magdalena

[648] River. The last time he was seen on the Paez was in the great battle of San Vicente, where he and his troops succeeded in defeating the Spaniards. Since he had come floating on the water, he was not regarded as an ordinary human being, but rather it was assumed that he was sent to the cacique by her ancestors, or else that he descended directly from the gods who mated with the lagoon of Juan Tama, so that the latter is his mother. When Juan Tama saw that his people were victorious at San Vicente and no longer needed his protection, he disappeared again. He merely gave his subcaciques orders and then went back to his mother, the Lagoon de Juan Tama, where he lives to this day and from where he directs the destinies of his Indians in Tierradentro.

1: Nachtigall--217 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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2. Juan Tama, Son of the Morning Star

One day when the morning star was shining particularly brightly -- so it is said among the Paez of Lame -- some people found a child in a ravine which since then has been called Ravine of Stars. This child was Juan Tama. They took him and brought him to a woman to rear. Juan Tama, however, sucked her milk so vigorously that it failed the woman. She therefore took him to another woman, but he did the same thing to her. The people therefore said that he could not be fed by a woman and gave him regular adult fare.

When he grew up, he married the cacique of Huila and became the chief of all the Indios. He instructed his people and ordered them to keep their land for themselves and not mix with the whites; then they would be invincible. When he felt death draw near, he went to the lagoon in the Páramo de Moras and sank under the water. He had come from there, he went back there. He had no heirs.

3. Llivan, the Shaman and Deliverer of the Paez

In former times the Pijao lived in Plata Vieja and came to Calderas each year to kill and to devour the people. They also destroyed the maize fields. The Calderun were very much afraid and did not know what to do. There were two men in Calderas, however, who were stronger than all the other men. They were Llivan and his brother. During a new attack by the Pijao, Llivan's brother was captured, whereas he himself was able to escape. The Pijao killed the brother and then skinned him, "like a cow," and cut the meat from the bones and devoured it. They then put the bones in the skin again and filled the skin with ashes in place of the flesh; then they sewed it together again, added a remedy (yútse) to it and dressed the brother in his clothes and ruana and put his hat on him and sent him back to his brother. (Here the narrator explained: The Paez of today do not know the remedy used by the Pijao to bring the brother back to life. Nor

*539 /294 cont./
is the word used today for any kind of remedy or medicine of their own shamans or of the white doctors. It refers to a remedy to restore the dead to life, which no longer exists today.) The remedy, however, is efficacious only until another person /295/ addresses the one who has been restored to life in this manner. Now when Llivan's brother approached his house, Llivan saw him first, called his mother's and sister's attention to him, and all three burst out of the house, and Llivan cried: "Why, here comes my brother; I thought that the Pijao had killed him." At these words the brother collapsed and lay there as a mere heap of dust with some skin and a few bones. Then Llivan, his mother, and his sister wept bitterly. Llivan said he could now no longer live in the house. He left it and went into the mountains, without eating salt or spice or meat, but he lived only on herbs. He traveled through the mountains for a long time in this fashion and suffered terrible hunger. He had to sleep at the foot of rocks. He walked along the bank of the Guacharaca brook and saw that the water was very dirty. He then decided to see who was making the water so dirty and, going upstream, found a tall, handsome man sitting and throwing stones into the brook. (In reply to my question as to whether that was what made the water so dirty, the narrator said: "I think that Llivan was a shaman; and since he had eaten nothing for such a long time, he was dreaming, and in reality the water was not dirty at all, but rather it merely looked dirty to him. And the other man, who in reality was Thunder, was also a shaman, and in this way it was possible that they met.")

When Llivan meets the man sitting by the brook, he comes nearer, without the other being aware of him. Only in the last minute does the other turn around and ask Llivan: "Why are you passing along here?" Llivan replied: "The Pijao killed our men and my brother and devastated the field." The man then asked: "Why do you not fight the Pijao, why are you so cowardly?" Llivan replied: "What shall I fight with, I have no weapon." Then the other said: "I have a sling which I shall lend you and with which you can fight." -- "But how am I supposed to fight with it?" asks Llivan. "I shall show you," answers the other man, who

* /295 cont./
539 in reality was Thunder, "watch carefully!" And Llivan observed intently how Thunder took the sling, threw it high into the air, and how, as it fell down, there was a flash of lightning with a loud crash of thunder and wind and rain, so that the descending lightning split trees and almost killed them themselves. Then Thunder gave Llivan the sling, and Llivan likewise hurled it and produced the same effect. "Good," said Thunder, "you can handle it, it, take the sling and fight the Pijao with it. Guard it well, /296/ and when you have fought with it, I shall call you, and then you will come into my house which is up there."

Llivan went with the sling into the house of his mother, but did not show the sling to anyone. He put it in a pot and put a cover on it.

A week later the Pijao came as far as the region of Togoima and set out in the direction of Calderas. There was a vast number of Pijao. The people gathered in Llivan's house and were very much afraid. The mother and sister were also afraid. But Llivan said nothing. He neither said that they should be calm, since he would fight, nor did he say that he had a sling. And when the Pijao had come as far as Llivan's house, he sent his mother to fetch him the sling from the pot. The mother went, but saw only a green snake in the pot, no sling. Then she became very frightened and ran back to her son and said: "There is no sling in the pot, but only a large green snake, which I cannot lift out." "Nonsense," said Llivan, "bring me the sling that is in the pot; there is no snake in there." (Here the narrator explained that Llivan's mother could not see the sling, since she was not a shaman like her son.)

But the mother was afraid and did not go. Meanwhile the Pijao forced their way into the house, and Llivan himself went to the pot to take out the sling, which, in fact, was in there. Before he lifted it in order to hurl thunder and lightning down on the Pijao, he said to his mother and sister: "Crawl under the pot so that the Pijao will not devour you," but since he tossed the sling at the same instant, they no longer had time to protect themselves in this way, and the descending thunder and lightning killed all the Pijao and his mother and sister as well. Then he

* /296 cont./
539 bent down to his mother and shouted into her ear with the voice of thunder, "Ooooh," whereupon she came back to life. And he did the same thing to his sister. Llivan then left the house in order to see how many Pijao were dead; he went as far as Togoima, holding a pair of scissors in one hand and a bag in the other, and cut off the earrings and necklaces of all the dead Pijao and gathered them up in his bag. Near Togoima he found a young Pijao who had not yet been killed sitting in a hole; he had a human leg that he was going to eat because he was hungry. "Ah," said Llivan, "you are not yet dead?" -- whereupon he hurled his lightning and killed this Pijao also.

[192] Then Llivan carried all the ornaments that he had taken off the Pijao /297/ into one of the underground prehistoric burial caves (koftkaç) of the kind that the Paez do not use to bury their dead. This cave was located near a river, and after Llivan had put down the ornaments, the river rose and covered the burial site with the treasures.

Then Llivan returned to the house of his mother and said: "Now I have killed all the Pijao and none of them will ever come back. But now I can no longer live with you. Since I have killed so many Pijao, it is possible that I might kill you, too. I must therefore leave you. I bought myself a very beautiful house in the mountains and shall live alone from now on, but never die." His mother and sister both wept, but not he. Mother and sister offered to accompany him, but he declined. Then Llivan set out. His sister followed, in order to see where Llivan went, but Llivan was accompanied by the wind and therefore he went so fast that no one could follow him. The sister could only see that Llivan rose far behind into the air. Then it began to rain, and the clouds were very low, and Llivan fell down into the Hipendyk Lagoon. Thenceforth Llivan lived in the lagoon and became Thunder.

[115] Victoriano told me this detailed story after learning it from his father and his uncle. Old Celia Uriaga of Calderas told it to me in a similar way but much less completely.

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4. Juan Chiracol, the Son of the Jaguar

Juan Chiracol is descended from two mestiza girls who came down from the mountain Zenzepechi after they had to flee from the Pijao. They lived on potatoes and other field produce which they won from the mountain soil with great diligence and by means of their stone tools. One day they were surprised by the Pijao. They devoured one of the girls; the other remained behind alone.

After being embraced by a jaguar, she became pregnant and gave birth to Juan Chiracol. He was very intelligent. He knew of the sorrow that the Pijao had caused his mother. For that reason he fought against them until he had wiped out all of them. His mother made him accustomed to the presence of the jaguar, and the latter took care of his son Juan and brought him much meat from the mountains. When he was grown up, the jaguar disappeared.

/298/ Mother and son now settled among the Paez and began building a church. Juan Chiracol gave the Paez a great deal of advice. He warned them about selling land, for this was only for the Paez, he said, for whose safety he had fought against the Pijao. Then he told them that he was now going to the El Caspe lagoon and that he would never again return. When he grows angry, one hears him to this day, crying "uuuh."

The El Caspe lagoon lies far away on the border of Ata. It is supposed to be very malicious. It is believed that when a tree falls or a rock crashes down, it is Juan Chiracol who is thus announcing his displeasure. It is said that he is not interested in women; that is why there are no descendants from him.

5. Chauté Transforms Human Beings into Animals

Chauté caused much harm, and that is why human beings took him far away, to the place where the sun rises. This happened in the following way: In olden times there were only human beings. Chauté, however, made animals out of human beings by saying:

*539 /298 cont./
you are now such and such! The chiguaco was formerly a sacristan because he can pray well; the chicao was able to whistle well, and the chachalaca was formerly a great gossip. The rabbit was formerly a very deceitful person; today when the dog chases it, it -- maliciously -- does not let itself be caught, but dodges about all the time.

The carpenter was able to make large boxes, so large that one could put a human being inside. He promised Chauté that he would present him with a large box. When he had finished building it, he showed it to Chauté, and the latter lay down in it, in order to see whether it was large enough. The carpenter closed the lid, and to prevent Chauté from getting out and causing further harm, he carefully nailed it shut. Chauté begged the carpenter to let him out, but he did not open the box. He begged him at least to cut two holes into the lid so that he could see something. The carpenter took his chisel and made a nice hole, and as he was about to make the second, his tool slipped and knocked out one of his eyes. "I will be blind!" he cried, but as he said this he saw trees and only more trees and nothing else. He had turned into a woodpecker and from then on only chisels holes in trees with his beak and raises his young in them. Chauté, however, remained in the box. And when he moves around in it, the earth trembles.

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6. Chauté Causes the Rio Paez to Form

A man named Chauté walked along a road for a very long way as far as the páramo. He was very thirsty, but he had no water. Then he came upon a swamp in the mountains. He looked for a tube similar to the kind from which flutes are made, stuck it into the swamp, and sucked up water with it, until he had enough. Before that the water had no outlet, but now it followed Chauté as he went on. The latter asked himself why it was coming after him, and he started to run. But the water followed him. Frightened, he climbed a tree. The water remained at his feet and formed a large lake, without running off on any side. So the man climbed down

/299 cont./
539 again, and the water followed him again. Then Chauté ran very fast. The water remained somewhat behind; in order to avoid being overtaken, Chauté now ran zigzag. Since that time the river at La Plata has had many bends. He ran on in this fashion for a whole day. When he grew very tired, he let himself fall into the large river (Magdalena River). Since that time the Rio Paez empties there.

7. Chauté Punishes San Tomás

A man named San Tomás turned himself into a bird similar to a carrion vulture. Then he always devoured the bodies and entrails of dead horses. Each time he asked his nephew, the black woodpecker, for permission. But the latter refused it, since his own teeth were not good enough to devour bodies. San Tomás, however, had such good teeth that he could devour everything. One day there came a man named Chauté. He was very envious of San Tomás because he ate so much meat, as well as entrails, eyes, and tongue. In order to punish San Tomás, he turned himself into a dead horse. San Tomás came and thought it was an ordinary horse and began to eat it. When he stuck his head into the belly of the dead horse, Chauté pulled his belly together and held San Tomás fast. The latter almost died and could only weakly flap his wings. Then Chauté opened his belly a little so that San Tomás could pull out his head. He was very battered, his eyes were swollen, and he had a bad headache. He had to tie a cloth around his head and went home.

Thereupon Chauté turned himself back into a human being and set out to visit San Tomás. "I have wonderful /300/ meat," he told San Tomás in greeting, but the latter merely shook his head and said: "Do not talk so much, I have a headache and cannot eat." Then Chauté went away again.

8. Chauté Turns Human Beings into Stones

On another day Chauté turned himself into a comb and lay down on the road. A woman came along, picked up the comb, and stuck it in her bag. After she had gone on for a while, she looked

* /300 cont./
539 in vain for the comb that she had found; it had disappeared. Then when she had gone on a short distance, she met a small child. It asked the woman for a bit of sugar cane from her fiber bag. But since it was only a child, she refused. "Then you shall be stone," said the child, who in reality was Chauté. Since then the woman has been a stone.

On another occasion Chauté did something similar. On a festive day when the people had a great deal of meat, Chauté came along, transformed as a small child, and asked the adults for some meat. "You will get nothing, there is barely enough for the adults," said the people, "in that case children get nothing." "Well, then you shall be stone," said the child, and the human beings turned into stones.

9. The Visit of the Young Stranger

One day a young man came to Calderas, to live on one of the mountain ranges of the place. A girl visited him very often. Her mother scolded her for that, but she told her that a snake drew wild pigeons from the twigs of the bushes and that she was going to gather them. Soon the girl had a child, a son, from whose body a type of worm came out. His young mother gave instructions that these were not to be touched or pulled out, because they were connected with the life of her child.

One day she went to the field and stayed somewhat longer. Her child, which she had left at home, woke up, and when its grandmother took it in her arms, she noticed the worms. Filled with disgust, she pulled them all out. The child died after that.

When the mother of the child came back, she lamented its death and threw herself weeping into the nearby lagoon. She did not drown, however, but merely disappeared into it. In the same manner the young man disappeared into it, /301/ in order to live with her in the lagoon. The mother of the girl in the lagoon succeeded in persuading a shaman to perform magic. He took the cloths used by a menstruating woman and, together with herbs, tossed them into the middle of the lagoon. The young man and the girl then left the lagoon in a black cloud and went to Santa Rosa.

1: Nachtigall--225 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/301 cont./

The lagoon in Calderas dried up. A few embankments on the meadows today are the remains.

10. How Thunder Kidnapped the Women

Once upon a time a man had a potato field in Pueblito. When he went there one day to harvest it, he met an old, ugly man with a big hat plaited out of twigs. The man glanced around and noticed that the old one came from a fallen tree. The old one asked whether there had already been a harvest. The owner answered that he had harvested a few potatoes. The old one then asked the man to lease him a piece of land, so that they could harvest together. The owner did not agree to this, but said that instead he had other large fields that he could lease. The old one insisted, however, that he work together with the owner. They sat down to talk about it, but they could not reach an agreement.

Suddenly, a thick, black cloud came up, and it began to rain hard. The people ran into the field hut to protect themselves, but the rain came in nevertheless. The old one followed them, but remained outside and sat down on a tree trunk. The people noticed with amazement that the rain could not do him any harm. They invited him to come in, but he refused. The water now rose higher and higher, so that the people ran away. But the old one kidnapped the women. The shamans found out later that the old one had been Thunder.

According to another narrator, the story happened in the following way: An old woman was harvesting a potato field with four other members of her family. Suddenly a cloudburst set in. The youngest girl ran up the slope of the field, and when she looked around, the potato field with the people in it had turned into a lagoon. The little girl saw from above how an old man with a ruana and a large hat plaited out of twigs came and kidnapped the people.

1: Nachtigall--226 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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11. How the People Drove away Thunder

*539 Once upon a time Thunder lived in Calderas, and his wife as well. Besides his wife, however, he also had a mistress. She lived in Santa Rosa, where the Bugta lagoon is now. He had a daughter by his mistress and very fine property with fine, cultivated fields. In Calderas, however, Thunder had angered the people because he had kidnapped a woman and her daughter by placing a lasso on the road. The Calderun, therefore, put poison in a gourd and threw it into the lagoon. Thunder was obliged to leave it for that reason, and since that time the lagoon has dried up.

He then went with his wife to Santa Rosa. Since there was not yet a lagoon there, however, he caused it to rain hard over the site of the present lagoon, so that the water gathered in a small area and kept rising higher. When the water had filled the entire basin, Thunder was able to live in it with his wife and his mistress. But upon the people of Santa Rosa, too, Thunder inflicted all kinds of injury. Thus, one day, he devoured a cow belonging to the people of Santa Rosa. The people grew very angry at this and built a drainage ditch in order to dry up the lagoon. Thunder then begged forgiveness, however, and the people left him alone after that, until he again did harm. Then the shamans of Santa Rosa threw poisonous herbs into the water, just as the Calderun had done, so that Thunder was obliged to leave this lagoon, too. Since then he has been living in Barbacoa where there is likewise a lagoon. The wife of Thunder, however, is still in the lagoon of Santa Rosa. The old shaman Felisa has visited her, as well as Thunder himself when he sometimes comes back. Both of them look like Paez, are very well dressed, and wear exactly the same costume as the other Paez.

12. The Battle between Thunder and the Stars

When the shaman Felisa was still very young, she one day set bird traps along the enclosure around the lagoon and caught many birds in them. One day, as she was doing this, she met Thunder. He was very angry. He was, in fact, a bad man who muddied all the water of the lagoon by having thrown many trees into the water.

/302 cont./

539 Now, among the stars there is a special kind called pũsves, which could not endure Thunder. They plunged down from the sky into the lagoon in order to cleanse it. To annoy Thunder they had almost drained the lagoon. Thunder was very angry at this. /303/ In his rage he roared so dreadfully that he opened his mouth up to his ears and his whole tongue hung out. Then the pũsves became frightened and descended to the bottom of the lagoon where Thunder had his house and asked him why he roared so loudly. "Because of you, of course!" he replied. But then he asked the pũsves to forgive him because he needed the lagoon in order to live, and the stars then forgave him. But he had to promise not to roar so loudly any more. Then they gave him a remedy, whereupon his mouth grew together again into a small, normal aperture. [821] The stars then returned to the sky, where they still are. They differ from the other stars in that they move in the sky.

13. The Rolling Head

A man from Palma came to Calderas to visit a shaman. This visit lasted until two o'clock at night, at which time he left Calderas to return to Palma. On the road he came upon a stone on which lay a human head, probably that of a Pijao. First he saw only the teeth flash white in the darkness. Since the man from Palma had a staff with him, he knocked the head off the stone with the words, "why are you grinning here on the stone like an ear of maize?" The head fell down and rolled into a brook. The Palma man became frightened at this and ran on his way. But the head left the brook and hurried after the man, whistling constantly. The man ran faster and faster, and since the road was very steep, he was soon unable to run any longer. The man thereupon took tobacco in his hands and caught the head with his ruana and threw it in a wide arc back into the brook. He then hurried on until he came to a very tall tree which he climbed rapidly and hid in the topmost peak. Meanwhile the head left its brook bed by an underground passage and again followed the man, but since the latter was in the tree, the head could not see him and

/303 cont./

*539 went past the tree. The head walked on and on, and since it could not find the man anywhere, it turned back and found the scent of the man at the foot of the tree. It looked up and saw the man sitting in the highest tip of the tree. The head was unable to climb the tree, however, and in order to reach the man, it went back a little and leaped into the air. But it still could not quite reach the man and fell down to the ground again. Then it tried again and again, more than /304/ a hundred times, but it could never reach the man because he was sitting too high. Then the head became frightfully tired from its many vain attempts, and since it had to walk far to reach home, it had to leave the man whom it wanted to kill and return so as not to meet human beings by day. Then the Palma man climbed down from his tree and was able to reach home safely.

14. The White Dog

*539 781 794 The father of Victoriano went to Belalcázar one Saturday, where he became drunk. At two o'clock at night he set out on the way back. On the way he saw a white dog that was very thin. The father thought that it was a regular dog, but it was not a dog at all, but rather the taff soul of a human being. Suddenly this dog turned into a human being, very thin and lean in shape, whose heart hung out of the body so that it dangled in front of the chest. Then the father gave the lean dog a blow with his traveler's staff, but it did not hit the dog. The father became frightened at this and took to his heels. But the lean man kept running after him, so that the father, out of fear, became short of breath and almost died. Then the father pretended to be very stupid and simply sat down beside the road, laid his hands on his knees, and went to sleep. The lean man then left him. When the father awoke in the morning, he looked for the place where he had first met the lean dog, but he found only a bush with white blossoms. The father was convinced, however, that he had met a taff.

484 794 761 (No Paez customarily goes long distances at night, because the taff souls are abroad at night. And if a taff meets a human being, it immediately calls together a great many other taff ("about 50") and they bring about the death of the person, because the one concerned kills himself out of fright.)

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15. Encounters with the Pijao

A young Paez man was working for a rich landowner on the latter's finca in the Cauca Valley somewhere near Popayán. The finca was near the mountain. One day he went into the mountains, since his master had a great deal of livestock. On the way he met a Pijao woman, who seized him and carried him to her house in order to devour him. There were many people in her house, and since she wanted to devour him by herself and not share him with the many other Pijao, /305/ she put him in a large pot. This was as large as a Paez house. She left him there for three days. During this time the Pijao drank, ate, and danced. After three days, when all the Pijao were tired and asleep, the woman went into the mountains to fetch wood and make a fire, in order to roast the Paez youth. The latter meanwhile looked out from the vessel in which he was imprisoned and saw two small girls on the hearth stones, the daughters of the woman. They were playing and nudging the drunken and sleeping Pijao, who, however, did not stir. The youth quickly climbed out of his vessel, took a piece of wood, and killed the two girls. He quickly seized a pot of gold and ran away.

When the woman returned to her house with sufficient wood, she found her two children dead. She immediately looked into the pot, and when she did not find the Paez youth in it, she became furious and quickly ran after him. The young man ran for three hours until he met a large herd of cattle belonging to his master, where he hid in the midst of the cattle. The woman tried to pursue him, but since she smelled so badly the cattle became wild, roared and kicked the woman, and she was unable to seize the youth. (The narrator explained that the Pijao are not familiar with cattle and dogs. If a dog and a Pijao meet, the dog kills
[827] the Pijao on the spot. The Pijao smell entirely different from other human beings, somewhat like animals.) Now, when the woman was unable to reach the Paez, she was furious and scratched her head with its many lice. But she could do nothing, and she therefore went back to her house and devoured her own two dead children.

* /305 cont./
539 The Paez youth could now go to the house of his master, and he showed him the pot of gold and reported his experience. He gave the gold to his master. The latter gave him a great deal of meat to eat and also gave him a fine bed to sleep in. When the youth lay down in it, he died.

[1781] [825] [1763] Comment of the narrator: A Paez who has an encounter with a Pijao or a jaguar may report this to people after half a year at the earliest, or, still better, not until a year later. If he does so earlier, he must die, as the following story, too, shows.

A Pijao met two Paez men in the mountains, one of whom was very ugly and dirty and the other very clean and handsome. The Pijao killed the clean one and devoured him on the spot. He first wanted to wash the ugly and dirty one and therefore went to a brook with him. The dirty Paez man, however, could swim, /306/ dived into the water, and swam away. The Pijao man, like all Pijao, was unable to swim and threw stones and earth into the water, but nothing helped. The Paez man was able to escape. Then the Pijao, very sad, remained behind on the shore. The dirty Paez went to his house and told his family about his experience, and then he, too, had to die.

16. The Paez with the Ax

A Pijao went into the mountains to catch birds. For this he used a stick smeared with a substance similar to glue, with which he touched the birds so that they remained stuck to it. He did this for many years. One day he came to the house of a Paez, whose owner, however, was not there. In the house lay only an ax (as the narrator added: made of iron, for the Pijao are not familiar with any kind of tools, neither knife nor axes. To prepare their fields for planting, they can only split the bark of trees with stones, whereupon they dry in the course of a year. After this time the Pijao plant their maize on the field with dead trees standing on it. Thus, since they have no machetes to fell trees, they cannot lay out proper burned-off fields, like the Paez, although they are acquainted with fire.)

* /306 cont./
539 The Pijao was very much astonished over the ax in the Paez house. He did not touch it, but wanted to own it. The next day he came back and met the owner and asked him to sell him the ax. But the Paez did not want to. (The Paez man and the Pijao man were able to talk to each other and to understand each other well, the narrator explained, for in former times they both had the same language.) The Pijao then offered a whole pot of gold for the ax. He would, of course, have to fetch it from the house of the Pijao. The Paez agreed, and so the two set out together for the village of the Pijao. Since the latter, like all Pijao, was unclothed, to be sure, but much taller than the Paez, he took him on his shoulder and carried him to his village. In one hand he had the ax, with which, along the way, he would cut down a tree with only one blow. Like all Pijao, he had uncanny strength.

[651] Having arrived in the village, there were no people present, since it was minga day /see "Minga" in the glossary, p. 249/, a day on which the whole village is obliged to take part in joint work (road or bridge building). The Pijao with the Paez man went into his house, in which only his mother was present, and he /307/ asked her not to divulge anything to anyone, for this Paez was not to be devoured, as was done otherwise. For if the other Pijao knew that there was a Paez in this house, they would want to devour him. Mother and son, therefore, dug a hole in a corner of the hut, put the Paez in it, and covered it with a large wooden bowl. In the evening many Pijao came to this house and talked and drank, until suddenly several Pijao discovered that there was such a pleasant Paez fragrance there. The mother of the house answered that what was so fragrant was not a Paez, but her own stench. They all laughed. Then they went on eating and became drunk on chicha and started to dance. A Pijao man made the music with his transverse flute, while the women beat time on their breasts. (The Pijao women all have long pendulous breasts.)

The Pijao danced for three days and three nights in a row, without sleeping. Then they all fell asleep. The whole house was full of the dancers. They snored like pigs; only the Pijao who had brought the Paez and his mother were not asleep. They

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/307 cont./
539 took the Paez out of his hiding place and led him to a room that was completely filled with gold. Here the Paez was permitted to pick out what he wanted. He took a clay pot and filled it completely full of gold and stuck it into his fiber bag. Then the Pijao took him on his shoulder again and carried him back to his house in the forest on the mountain. Not until a year later did he dare tell the other Paez that he had gold, and he distributed it among the people of the village.

Comment of the narrator: The Pijao always had a great deal of gold that they took out of a lagoon filled with water. In order to do this they had to throw a boy or a young man on the shore of the lagoon into the water, and immediately all the water flowed to this point and devoured the youth. The lagoon then became completely dry for a short time, and the Pijao were able to take the gold from the bottom of the lagoon with pots. Whenever they wanted gold, they had to sacrifice a boy to the water in this way. And they did it often, for the Pijao were immeasurably rich in gold.

17. The Human Jaguar Who Wanted to Steal the Gold Staff of a Pijao

A man who was a human jaguar went hunting in the mountains of the páramo. While he was resting on the mountain, a Pijao came along who was a member of low rank of the cabildo. He had a very beautiful /308/ staff made of gold. He stuck it into the ground. Without seeing the human jaguar, he stacked wood in a pile, drew fire out of his armpit, and lighted the wood. Then he fetched bananas and a snake and began to roast them. Tsē, hissed the snake.

Meanwhile the human jaguar considered how he might steal the gold staff. He turned himself into a jaguar, and with a knife that he carried in his hand he leaped upon the Pijao in order to rob him of his staff. The Pijao, however, interrupted his meal, took his staff, and ran off. The staff was very heavy, but he did

* /308 cont./

539 not let go of it. The human jaguar ran after him. He almost killed the Pijao, but the latter did not let go of his staff. They ran in this fashion for three hours, until they came to a rock near which the Pijao lived. There the jaguar turned himself into a human being again and sat down. The Pijao, however, descended to his village, which lay on a great plain. He went into his house. Then the Pijao came running to catch the supposed jaguar. The latter again turned himself from a human being into a jaguar and ran away from the Pijao. For three full hours he ran, back to the place where the Pijao had been roasting the bananas and the snake. Both were still there, as well as the fiber bag. The snake was only half cooked. The human jaguar sat down and ate up everything. In the afternoon he went back to his house again and also took the bag along to show it to his wife. After he had knocked, he entered
* 539 his house. (In connection with this the narrator remarked: The
754 human jaguar was probably an evil shaman, because formerly they were able to turn themselves into jaguars in order to steal cattle and sheep. Then, when they returned to their houses, they turned themselves back into human beings. Today, however, no one is able to turn himself into a jaguar any more. To do this, one needs a special remedy (yutse), which looks like a caterpillar. It may be obtained in the Cauca Valley, but nobody knows where.)

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18. The Duel between the Human Jaguar and the Mountain Jaguar

On a mountain there was a jaguar who robbed the people of all their animals. It stole chickens, turkeys, foals, cattle. It always came down from the mountain and devoured these animals. The people were therefore very angry. One day six men set out to kill the jaguar. They had with them many dogs and many guns. They found the jaguar on the mountain, but it devoured all the dogs and filled the people with terror. They therefore returned in the afternoon, very /309/ sad and without dogs. They now had no more dogs to go hunting another day. So the next day they went to a man who was known to be very strong and asked him:

/309 cont./

539 "Why do you not go with us? Why are you so cowardly?" This man, however, was a human jaguar. He could turn himself into a jaguar, and he decided to kill the mountain jaguar. He did not tell the people, of course, that he could turn himself into a jaguar, but rather he simply said that he was willing to kill the jaguar.

The next morning he set out very early, armed with only his machete. The other men wanted to accompany the human jaguar, but he said: "Just stay here, you are of no use anyway." The human jaguar then departed without his dog, armed only with his knife. At about eight o'clock the jaguar man was in the mountains and came upon the mountain jaguar asleep. The man then turned himself into a jaguar, let his claws grow, and began to knock over bushes and trees, as though he had an ax in his hands. When he had sharpened his claws well in this way, he began to roar loudly. The mountain jaguar awoke and got up, furious. They both went to an open spot and began at first merely to play. But the mountain jaguar did not want to play and immediately started to fight in earnest. They then fought wildly for about three hours. Then the mountain jaguar was able to wound the human jaguar. Since the latter, however, had merely played at first, he had more strength at the end and was able to kill the [154] mountain jaguar. (Narrator's comment: The human jaguar is always stronger than the mountain jaguar, because the former eats salt.) The human jaguar then turned himself back into a human being, and with his machete, which he had brought along, he cut off the four feet of the mountain jaguar and put them in his bag. He set up the animal's body, however, as though the jaguar were still alive, the head turned downward in the direction of the village of the human beings.

The human jaguar now went back to the village as a human being and told his wife and the people that he had killed the jaguar of the mountains. "I have killed the mountain jaguar, go and see whether it is so."

The next day the people set out and went into the mountains to see whether the jaguar was really dead. They took along guns

* /309 cont./
539 and dogs. They had provided themselves with the latter from somewhere else. They came to where the battle had taken place. But, instead of a dead jaguar, they found a living one that was about to pounce on them. The people then became terribly frightened. They nevertheless gradually went closer, and since the jaguar continued to stand there with closed /310/ eyes, without moving, the people went still closer and discovered that it no longer had any feet at all. Then they saw that it was already dead and carried it to the valley, to their houses.

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19. How Human Beings Obtained Fire

An old woman possessed fire. One day a little girl came to her to ask for a firebrand. But the woman gave her only a few small chips which went out on the way, before the child reached home. She went back to ask the old woman for a fresh firebrand, but this, too, did not last until she reached home. Again the girl came back. This time, however, the old woman was not at home. Inside the house, however, a large heap of wood was burning. The girl took a large, burning branch and ran away. At this moment the old woman returned, saw the child, and ran after the girl in order to take the firebrand away from her. The latter, terrified, threw it into a pile of dry straw. The people, who until then had not known fire, fetched their fire from here. Since then the place has been called ipikwe = "fire mountain."

This story is told in different versions. According to one, the old woman always distributed fire to the people, and when one day she did not want to do it any more, she let her fire go out and disappeared with a glowing firebrand. The people noticed it, however, and pursued her. When the old woman realized that she was being overtaken, she hid the firebrand beside the road and disappeared in the river. Through the smoke, however, the people found the fire and shared it among themselves and possessed it from then on.

* /310 cont./

539 In another version, the old woman always drew fire out of her
372 armpit when the people asked her for it. When the missionaries came, they declared fire to be magic and demanded that it be blessed, or else she would have to surrender it. The old woman, however, neither wanted to have it blessed nor did she want to give it up, and she therefore fled. As she ran, she was caught by the flames, and when they enveloped her, she leaped into the river.

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20. The Girl Who Turned Herself into a Snake

One day a small child who was the daughter of Thunder came forth out of a spring. The people took her in, and a married couple offered to bring her up. One day when the priest came into the village to read the Mass, all the people went to church, as did the foster /311/ parents of the little foundling. The little child wanted to go along. Since she had no clothes, however, the parents did not take her with them. When they had gone, the child followed, dressed only in a poor piece of cloth, to take part in the Mass, too. The parents were already in the church when the child came to a brook and turned herself into a snake. The latter grew and grew and was soon as large as the rainbow. It slithered its way to the church, which was full of people, encircled the entire structure with its body, and stuck its head in the door. It devoured all the people, with the exception of its foster parents, whom it allowed to escape. Then it stretched itself up to heaven in order to devour the Virgin Mary besides. When its head was quite high, two eagles came flying up and bit it in two. It fell to the ground, dead. A man then came along with a mula, cut up the snake, and loaded the parts on his mula and took them far away. There it probably rotted.

But after that there were snakes in all regions. One above all stank abominably when the sun stood warm in the sky. It kidnapped the people in the surrounding fields and devoured them. They therefore asked an Englishman to kill the snake. He came and hung in a tree a large fiber bag, into which he put a human being

*539 /311 cont./
as bait. When the snake came to devour the human being, he cut off its head and tail with a saber. The head flew through the air in a wide arc and landed at a place called Ulnenga. The tail flew to another place, called Luto, where many snakes are still found to this day.

21. The Slain Woman from Whose Body Useful Plants Arise

An old woman of the type of people who are called õho, man-eaters, and who are either men or women, but always very old, and have very large faces, went into the village of Calderas to kidnap children whom she wanted to devour. There were many people there with their children. She told people that she loved children very much, and the people entrusted their children to her, to have her watch over them. She always devoured the children, however. One day the people gathered together and decided to kill the old woman. She lived in a remote house. The people carried much wood to it, piled it up along the walls until it reached the roof, and set fire to it. The house burned, and with it the old woman. Shortly before her death she spoke the following words: "From my heart will arise potatoes, /312/ gourds, and onions." With that she died. Half a year later, at the place where she died, there was a field with the crops mentioned, which had not been known before. The potatoes, as well as the other crops, were very large, and when the people cut them up, they found, in the middle of the potatoes and the gourds, a drop of blood.

22. The Stolen Eyes

A man lived in his house on the mountain and had stored in the loft of the house a great many potatoes to set out in the field. One day, when the owner was away, a thief came, took down a few potatoes, kindled the fire, and roasted them in it. Then he went away again. He did this many times, and the owner was getting very angry because he had fewer and fewer potatoes. Once

* /312 cont./

539 when the thief again came, took down some potatoes, kindled a fire, and roasted them in it, he took out both of his eyes "out of foolishness" before he ate and laid them on one of the three hearth-stones. Then the owner of the potatoes, whom the thief, of course, could not see, stepped up, saw the eyes, and kicked them into the fire, so that they burned with a bang. The thief heard the bang, to be sure, but thought to himself, how fine the potatoes are popping and sizzling!

When the thief had eaten all the potatoes, he looked for his eyes, but could not find them. He then left the house very sadly, without eyes, and set out for his own house. On the way he met a rat who was out walking there, and they started a conversation. The thief complained that he had lost his eyes and that, without eyes, it was very difficult to find them again. He begged the rat to lend him one of hers only until he had found his own eyes again. The rat lent him one, but since both of his eyes were burned, he could not, of course, find them. The man then turned himself into wind.

The rat searched for the thief of her eye for a long time, but could not find him. Her son, like his mother, also had only one eye. The son in turn had a son, and he, too, had only one eye. Since that time the descendants of this rat family have only one eye. And that is why one can still find rats today who, to be sure, have the nose, mouth, feet, skin, and ears of a rat, but only one eye or none at all; they go back to that rat who once lent one of her eyes.

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105 V. Summary and Culture-historical Classification of Paez Culture

[161] If we briefly summarize the sketch of Paez life and the ele-
[621] ments of their culture, we find before us a democratic agricultural
people of 25,000 persons, among whom no one is master and no
[177] one servant. Surrounded for centuries by Spanish culture, they have
[197] preserved their language in extensive sections of their area of
settlement.

/313 cont./

105 settlement. At the same time, however, we must certainly confirm a cultural impoverishment, considerable in some respects, among these people who outwardly seem quite prosaic and matter-of-fact.

105 Anthropologically they belong to the American Centraloid
143 /zentraliden/ race (v. Eichstedt /see the bibliography in the
144 foreign text, pp. 323-327, for this and the following references/) with a striking predominance of blood group 0. Although the latter fact is only one component of the somatic picture, it is extremely interesting to find a predominance of this blood group among a large number of American natives. Among the Paez there are 88.78%, among the neighboring Guambiano 84.25% (Lehmann, Duque y Fornaguera, p. 200), among the natives of Caldas 92.25% (Duque, 1944, p. 626), among the Sibundoy 84.42%, among the Santiagos 94.23% (Paez-Perez y Freudenthal, p. 413), and among the Pijao the blood group 0 is almost 100% (Reichel, 1944, p. 517). These investigations of Colombian tribes agree with a more comprehensive picture. According to the analysis of G. Arcila Velez (p. 11), 80.6% of the people among the Eskimo are of blood group 0, 91.3% among the pure North American Indians, 72.7% among the Navajo, 97.7% among the Yucatecans, 79% among the Mataco, and 100% among the Guarani of the Rio Grande do Sul.

105 The form of settlement of the Paez in the deeply fissured
[361] mountainous region of Tierradentro is the loose arrangement of individual family-farms on the mountain slopes, as far from neighbors as possible. The village settlement-area is geographically invariable and embraces the natural area of the dwellings and the land used within a valley basin. The house, as the family focus and social center for one family in each case, is built on the family's own land. It is used -- depending on the type of construction -- for a harvest period or for ten to 15 years. The land belongs to the family that first cleared it. Besides this there is community land for the free use of all members of the village. The interior of the normally /314/ hip-roofed rectangular houses is divided into two rooms, one of which serves as the kitchen and living room, the other as a storage room.

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105 The clothing of the men and women covers the upper and lower body. The men's upper garment, called "ruana" in Colombia, "poncho" in Peru, is a sleeveless shirt open at the sides. It is ancient American, known both from the relief of the so-called "sun god" of Tiahuanaco and from a grave of the pre-Spanish [291] period in Arica (northern Chile) (Montell, pp. 173-183). Soon [171] after the Conquista, since the second half of the sixteenth century, this Andean article of clothing, which consists simply of a square piece of cloth with an elongated slit for the head, was distributed throughout the area of the Andean mountain cultures. Its name, "atc," among the Paez, however, has no parallel linguistically. [177] The men's trousers are clearly Spanish. The women's costume is most simple: as an upper garment to a skirt a rectangular piece of cloth is simply put crosswise over their upper bodies.

[241] From an economic point of view, field cultivation is primary. It is carried out by the men in the form of the burned-clearing system with a ten-year clearing cycle. The only field tool is the [433] digging stick. The minimal area of cultivated land for one family is about one hectare. The principal crops are maize and sugar [177] cane. The latter was not introduced until after the Conquista. The Paez word means "sweet." The Paez designation for maize, "kotc," has no parallel with the corresponding words of the Chibcha, Carib, or Aruac /Arawak/ language groups, but with Kechua /Quechua/, where maize is called "kuts" (Birket-Smith, pp. 22-30). The stimulants are coca and chicha made of sugar-cane juice. Both Paez words, es and mbéka, respectively, have no parallels in other language groups.

105 241 There are no outstanding festivals indicative of a planter's culture or rites associated with the products of field cultivation, nor does anything indicating an agricultural rhythm of life appear in the myths and religious customs of the Paez. The mythology and ceremonial customs are remnants of a hunter's attitude of mind. It appears as though the Paez did not adopt their primitive agriculture until the time of the Conquista or shortly before, and adopted only the mechanical application of the methods of simple digging-stick farming, without the ceremonial customs associated

/314 cont./

105 with sowing and harvesting otherwise characteristic of peoples
241 who plant. It is not improbable that they practiced this field
[412] cultivation as they describe it for the Pijao. In the story /315/ of the Paez with the ax (No. 16) it is said that the Pijao were not familiar with tools in former times and, accordingly, could not fell trees to lay out a proper burned-off field. In order to obtain fields for their sowing, they were obliged to split the bark of trees with stones. After these were dried, they sowed their maize between the dead trunks.

105 In connection with hunting, economically insignificant today,
[224] the hunter is surrounded by a number of prohibitions such as we find everywhere among hunting peoples throughout the world.
[226] Fishing is carried on with poisonous plants at weirs. It took place as a joint fishing expedition of the entire village in the February dry season when the water was at its lowest level of the year. This large annual fishing expedition was called enzte. The time
[233] period of one year was also designated with the same word. Raising
[556] large livestock is almost purely a sport or a matter of appearance
[231] and wealth. Horses are not used; cattle are slaughtered only for the three large annual Christian festivals (Semana Santa, San Juán, Immaculada).

Among weapons, only the shotgun for hunting is of significance
[773] today. The pellet blowgun and the stone-sling are used as toys. In
[411] the mythology the latter plays an important part as a decisive weapon in war.

In the handcraft techniques of plaiting and weaving, the use of agave fiber and sheep wool predominates, generally in the form of spun and twisted threads. The carrying bags of agave fiber and the wool coca bags are made by the loop technique; the hammocks, bird nets, berry sieves, and stone-slings by the knot technique. Only straw hats are plaited. The bands of the fiber bags are woven out of agave fibers; the women's belts and the articles of clothing of men and women, out of sheep wool. The weaving method is simple rod-weaving with the linen texture. The women's belts have an ornamental warp formed during the weaving process. The weaving frame is vertical, of the so-called

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105 "Araucanian" type (O'Neale, p. 115). In place of the shed rod we have a simple loop; in place of the heddle rod, a bundle of loops.

105 The warp threads are stretched in the form of the "false spiral warp,"
286 a mixture of the method of the continuous, circular warp with the
171 method of the terminating flat warp. This genuinely American way of stretching the warp is found among the Northwest Coast Indians as well as among the tribes of the Gran Chaco (Olson, pp. 114-121). Culture-historically H. Nevermann regards the various forms of American weaving /316/ as having originated on the basis of a native or pre-Polynesian plait-weaving. Among the Paez we find this technical stage in the plait-weaving of the carrying bands of the coca bags.

105 For dyeing, vegetable dyes are used, which dye only sheep wool, but not cotton.

Pottery is very simple. There are only hemispherical pots and bowls made with the spiral coil technique, both without any ornamentation.

The present political organization of the Paez is based on the village community. It is led by a village council (cabildo), whose members are chosen for a year from among the men of the village. The designations for the members of the cabildo and their functions are in part Spanish. In former times the leaders of the Paez were
[621] often men with shamanistic abilities. The village is not organized
[565] by either classes or occupations. No one need serve another for
[463] pay; the word and the thing are unknown to the Paez. The father
[464] of the family with his sons or brothers works his fields, and if
[476] friends or neighbors lend their help, it is compensated for by assistance in their fields.

[594] The family organization is basically the patrilineal,
[178] monogomous nuclear family, consisting of the parents and the unmarried children. Here there has probably been the least
[851] change in Paez culture. The children are given the family of the
[533] father. For her marriage the woman receives no dowry of any kind from her parents, and she keeps her maiden name. Since there are no social or financial reasons for concluding a marriage, a woman has only the merit of her personality and abilities. These are tested during a "trial year" before the actual conclusion of the marriage.

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105 601 The kinship nomenclature shows remnants of a "classificatory" system, into which the individual is fitted as part of a living structure and does not stand out in profile, detached within the family. Persons are differentiated in address according to certain circumstances of age and life, and, among others, siblings are differentiated in address, according to whether they are younger or older than the speaker.

105 53 In art and mythology a considerable impoverishment has taken place. There is neither song nor any peculiar dance. The music of transverse flutes and drums, performed with great enthu- [177] siasm, is to be stressed. The cylindrical drum with skin stretched on two sides, which is used at the present time by the Paez, is in all parts of America a loan from the Negroes. In earlier times hanging, hollowed-out tree-trunks were used for the dance and for conveying information, such as /317/ are used today as troughs for making chicha. The rattles formerly present are no longer used today. The transverse flutes with six blowholes used by the Paez are post-Columbian; at any rate they are not found in this form either archeologically or recently among uninfluenced Indians. The only transverse flute form known from pre-Spanish and modern times are flutes that are stopped at both ends and provided with two blowholes (Izikowitz, pp. 298 ff.).

105 773 776 In the fund of tales no comprehensive picture of the world emerges. The chief figure in the myths is Thunder, who appears as the first shaman and as a war leader. He is not, however, an exalted, numinous figure, but rather to some extent has charac- teristics attributed to forest spirits in other parts of South America. [784] There is also a special forest spirit (gĕlyómp) among the Paez. He [224] has the figure of an old man with large, exposed sexual parts, and his stings inflicted as punishment for ritual uncleanness in connec- tion with hunting cause the human being sickness and pain. He does not, however, appear mythologically. Fragments of larger myth-complexes are the story of the woman from whose body useful plants arise, the story about the ghostly human head that comes rolling along, stories about transformed animals and human beings, and stories about werejaguars.

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105 In the Paez religion there is no cult priesthood with offerings
771 and prayer, just as there is also no cult or worship of numinous
756 beings. The Paez religion is a shamanism, the two forms of which are the evil sorcerer and the good shaman as doctor and helper against evil sorcery. As a religious phenomenon Paez shamanism is not as distinctive as the Siberian or the North American shamanism. Assistant spirits and the soul journey as shamanistic means are only rudimentary with the shamanistic "signs," the "thunder child," and the journeys of the shaman to the house of Thunder on the bottom of the lagoon; there is almost no ceremonial apparatus. Nevertheless, the activity of the good shaman in particular, as doctor and helper in sickness caused by magical practices, as well as his function as sociological crystallization point of the community, is entirely a shamanistic phenomenon.

105 Linguistically Paez belongs among the agglutinative languages,
[197] in which the form element is made up by affixes that characterize
[194] whole classes of words. In phonetics the series of palatals including all the consonants is striking, as well as the frequent occurrence of nasal vowels.

105 /318/ The linguistic classification of Paez is difficult. Since
114 the research of H. Beuchat and P. Rivet it has been regarded as
197 one of the Chibcha languages. This was not always the case. E. Castillo i Orosco emphasized in 1735 that in its grammatical structure Paez is very different from Chibcha (p. 63). It was C. Cuervo Marquez who first regarded Paez as a Chibcha language (p. 199). H. Pittier de Fábrega emphasized in 1907 that the relationship of Paez refers only to the rules of grammatical construction; the vocabulary is completely different (p. 341). Then in 1910 Beuchat and Rivet investigated all the North Andean languages in a work of large scope and then confirmed the distribution of the Chibcha languages from Nicaragua to Eucador. According to this, the majority of the Colombian tribes spoke Chibcha (pp. 193-198). Up to now this classification has neither been examined in greater detail nor disproved by linguistics. This may be left to the philologists. Here there will only be a few remarks about the problem of the Chibcha languages in general and that of Paez as an

/318 cont./

105 assumed Chibcha language in particular. The difficulty of language
114 comparison in the northern Andean area lies in the wholely in-
197 adequate material for comparison. The majority of the tribes investigated have died out long ago, and there is seldom sufficiently complete material available from the few living ones. Even the true Chibcha (Mwiska) on the plateau of Bogotá has not been spoken for two and a half centuries and is known only from the literature. Beuchat and Rivet choose the lexicographic and grammatical method for their language comparison. The total vocabulary of the languages investigated contains about 200 words. These serve as comparative material for 49 languages, namely, for true Chibcha (Mwiska) and 23 other languages and dialects in northern Colombia and Panama, as well as for 25 languages and dialects of southern Colombian languages! Methodologically the procedure was to find a lexicographic agreement between language A and language B, another agreement between language B and language C, a further agreement between language C and language D, etc. In the proof, language A is related to languages B,
105 C, D, etc. Applied to Paez: In the vocabulary given by Beuchat
114 and Rivet there is no Paez word in direct agreement with Chibcha!
192 Nor was there even a choice of words according to their qualita-
197 tive significance. Thus it is especially noteworthy that there is a complete lack of corresponding designations for food, animals, useful plants, metals (gold), parts of the body, kinship designations, etc. /319/ On the basis of the vocabulary, therefore, it is not possible to designate Paez as a Chibcha language. To what extent this applies to the other southern Colombian tribes, for whom there usually exists only a very limited vocabulary, cannot be discussed here. In any case, there is a large number of Kechua /Quechua/ words in all these languages -- as a result of the close proximity to Kechua-speaking peoples. (For Paez, cf. the
105 compilations in Castillo i Orosco and Pittier de Fábrega.) Gram-
197 matical agreements between Chibcha and Paez do exist. At the
[114] same time, however, Beuchat and Rivet expressly point out that,
[193] of the languages compared, Paez shows the greatest grammatical differences with Chibcha (pp. 190/191). In summary it may be

P /319 cont./
105 concluded that the classification of Paez as a Chibcha language
197 cannot be regarded as definite. The grammatical agreements may just as well be remnants of an older, or superimpositions of a younger, population layer. In addition there is the fact that in the sometimes centuries-long struggles since the Conquista considerable shifting and intermingling of populations have taken place. It is possible that the tribes existing or surviving today are only scattered remains or groupings that have been made up from other tribes only after the Conquista.

C P 105 P [197] P E [361] P C [241] [412] P C [323] P [325] P C [411] P C [771]

Culturally the Paez have nothing at all in common with Chibcha culture. The Chibcha language group established by H. Beuchat and Paul Rivet is a linguistic concept, which, in an uninterrupted extension from Nicaragua to Ecuador, embraces completely different cultures! For example, the Chibcha settlements on the plateau of Bogotá are compact villages, whereas the Paez live on individual farms. The agriculture of the Chibcha, with the use of a wooden spade, is relatively advanced in comparison with the digging stick and burned-clearing cultivation of the Paez. Technically the manufacture of Chibcha ceramics is far above that of the Paez, and it is certain that the Paez did not do any gold work. Among the Paez the sling was the principal weapon; among the Chibcha, club and spear with the spear thrower. In the Chibcha religion we have a creator-god or a tribal mother with a pantheon of other gods, with offerings of gold and emeralds; we find hero-temples, holy places, and sacred kings, while among the Paez, only shamans.

C 105 P C 197

Thus we have a gaping division between the Chibcha language group and the Chibcha culture. Scientific terms, however, should be unequivocal and not designate different concepts with the same words. This is done correctly in Europe, for example, with /320/ the Indo-Germanic family of languages, the Dinaric race, or the band-ceramics culture.

The cultural concept of the Chibcha is the older one. In order not to identify and confuse the culture group with the language group which is completely different from it, the language group should have a different name, especially since it is not certain whether

C 105 Pc 197 /320 cont./

what is common in the vocabulary and structure of the language goes back to Chibcha or to a linguistically different substratum. Analogously this is true of the archeological cultures of the northern Andean area, which are also similar in many aspects, but do not go back to the Chibcha culture.

P 105 172 174 There remains the question of the ethnic relationship of the archeological Tierradentro-culture. In view of their meager material and artistic cultural possessions, the Paez were technically not capable of the manifestations of an advanced culture that exist in Tierradentro. With their strictly democratic social structure, they also lack the organization by estate needed to maintain such a culture. Even in the mythological traditions of the Paez, there is no hint of any relationship with the archeological culture. The only similarity seems to be the Paez method of burial in a niche grave; typologically, however, this is not identical with the shaft grave. In addition there is the difference of the cremation burial in the archeological culture in contrast to the skeleton burial of the entire corpse among the Paez. Moreover, the Paez are a local, relatively narrowly circumscribed tribe; the archeological culture, on the other hand, has the most extensive geographical relationships in the art (*), in the style of

> * G. Hernandez de Alba (IV) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 324/ found a necklace of small sodalite figures in a grave chamber. This material is otherwise not found in Colombia. It comes from a Bolivian mine, and works of art made of it are found in Tiahuanaco as well as in Peruvian and Argentinian sites.

their stone statues, and in the method of burial in shaft graves.

Artistic relationships, however, make probable more extensive linguistic relationships than is the case for the Paez and their neighbors. From this standpoint a relatively well-developed trade may also be assumed. The disposition and present activity of the Paez, however, does not give us any support in this respect either.

/320 cont./

105 We are therefore obliged to regard the presence of the Paez in
172 their present settlement areas of Tierradentro as subsequent to the
174 archeological culture. Whether, as later immigrants within a larger population movement, they were the destroyers of the archeological culture, or whether they settled on the sites of the archeological culture only in the course of their wars with the
105 Spaniards cannot be clarified at the present time. /321/ The
172 latter assumption is corroborated by the fact that the reports of
174 the early Spaniards about the tribes that they encountered and
114 about their geographical position are not always clear. For exam-
131 ple, P. Manuel Rodriquez (1684) has the Paez living in the Páramo de las Papas, the páramo west of San Agustín, in which
101 rise the Magdalena, Cauca, and Caqueta. It is also remarkable
105 that the first Spanish reports do not mention the Guambiano, the
114 present-day western neighbors of the Paez. The assumption that
172 the Paez were affiliated with a newly immigrated, war-like
174 population is corroborated by the fact that the tribe of the Andaki /Andaqui/ living in the culture area of San Agustín at the time of the Conquista also had nothing to do with the archeological culture, but may possibly be regarded as the destroyers of it.

VI. List of Foreign and Technical Terms

104

Alcalde	Colombian designation for the burgomaster of a town or head of a district. Also the designation for local native authorities.
Ají	Very pungent mixture of ají pepper with onions and other spices.
Arroba	Spanish measure of weight of 12 1/2 kilograms.
Cabildo	Colombian community council. Among the Paez the designation for the democratically chosen village council.
Chaquira	Columbian designation for glass bead.
Chicha	(pronounced tschitscha) Native beer. Made of sugar cane among the Paez, of maize among most of the other Andean Indians, usually made of manioc among the South American Forest Indians.

104 /321 cont./

Conquista	Period of the Spanish conquest.
Conquistador	Spanish conqueror at time of the discovery of America.
Finca	Plantation farm or estate for the growing of coffee, sugar cane, bananas, etc.
Gobernador	Spanish head of the administration of a province. Among the Paez, the head of the village council.
Guaquero	Pirate excavators of prehistoric, Indian burial sites.

/322/

Hacienda	Large country estate in Tierradentro.
Kazike	(Cacique) West Indian designation for the chief of a village or native tribe, used by Spaniards as a general designation for native chiefs within their area of authority. The translation "Fürst"/prince/ used in the literature in German is misleading.
Lagoon	Lake, pond.
Machete	Bush knife, long chopping knife.
Milpa System	Central American designation for periodic tillage on previously burned-off clearings; called roza in Colombia, wáts among the Paez.
Minga	System of free joint work by the village.
Municipio	In Tierradentro a number of villages, somewhat like our administrative district.
Nyiç	Evil shaman, evil sorcerer.
Panela	Boiled-down sugar-cane juice. Transported and traded in the form of bars of about half a kilogram each. Customary form of sugar consumption among the Colombian rural population.
Páramo	High steppe. General designation for the crests of the Cordilleras.
Parcialidád	In Tierradentro: village with the lands belonging to it.
Poncho	Sleeveless cloak of the Andean Indians in the form of a rectangular or square blanket with a hole for the head. Called ruana in Colombia.

[114]

1: Nachtigall--250 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/322 cont./

104

Roza	Colombian burned-off field. Cf. "Milpa."
Ruana	Colombian designation for poncho.
Shaman	Popularly: medicine man. The Paez distinguish between evil shamans (nyic) and good ones (teyu). The former kidnap souls, bring sickness or death. The latter, as adversaries of the nyic, are doctors in the spiritual realm.
Tafi	Soul, which can leave a person in his sleep.
Tama	Ceremonial staff of the shaman.
Teyu	Paez designation for the good shaman.
Trapiche	Sugar mill.
Tumba	Large, underground grave-chamber.
ũns	Soul that leaves the person at death.

/The bibliography, pp. 323-327, is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

1: Nachtigall--251 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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1. Colombia

1/1 [more lengthy descriptions of each figure and illustration in this section will be found in cat. 116, pp. 295-303--

1: Nachtigall--252 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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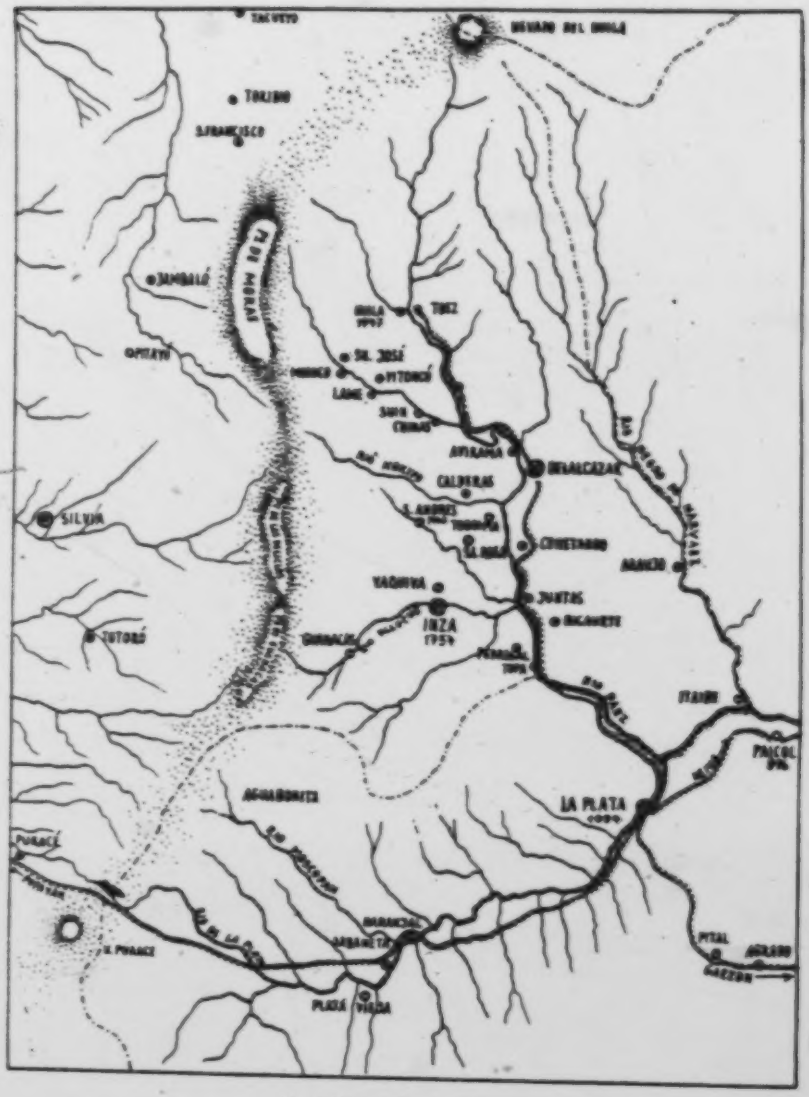

2. Tierradentro

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Fig. 25. Sewed gourd calabash.

Fig. 26. Klaffka.

Fig. 27. Wooden plate and spoon.

/Figs. 1-24 on Plates III-X are omitted in the translation./

1: Nachtigall--254 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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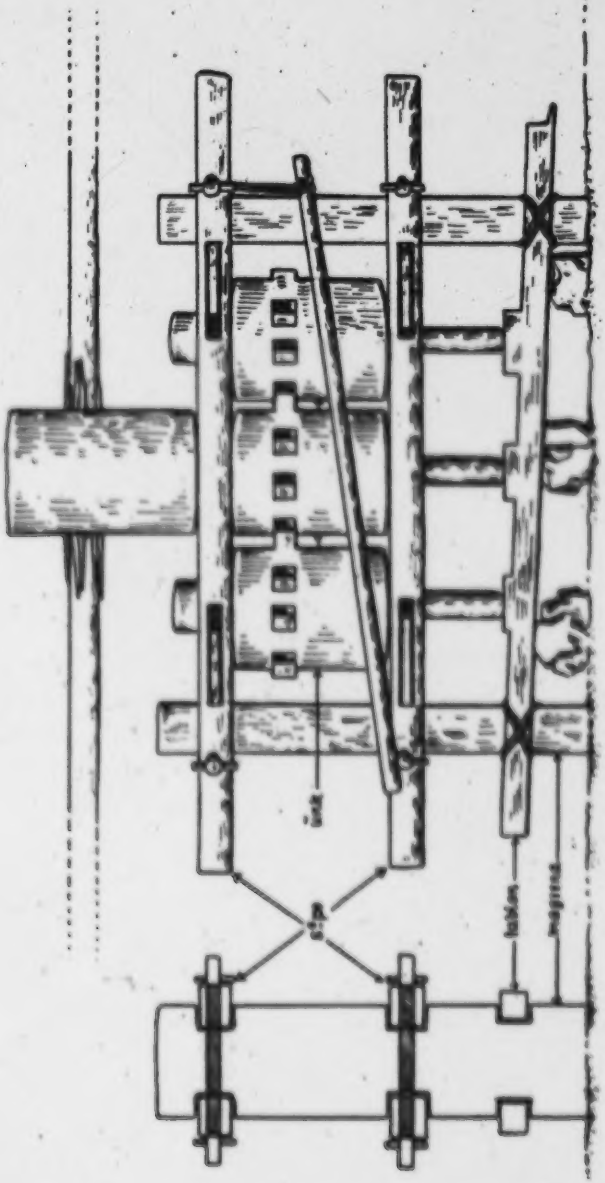

Fig. 28. Sugar mill.

1: Nachtigall--255 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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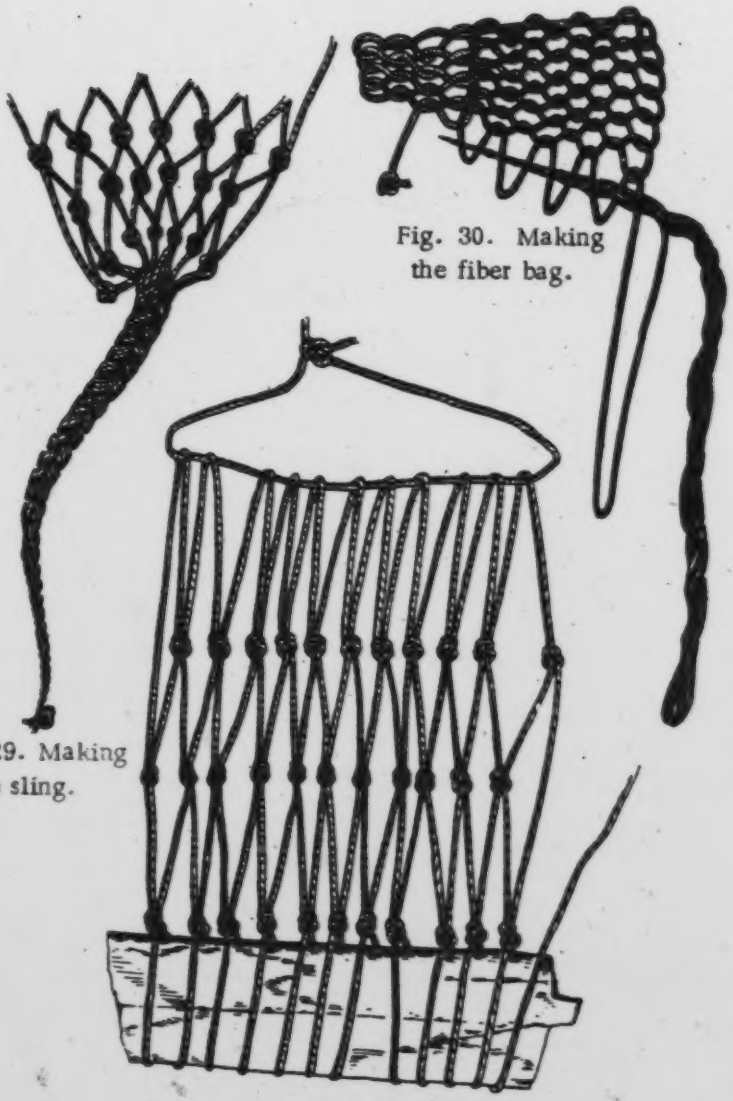

Fig. 30. Making the fiber bag.

Fig. 29. Making the sling.

Fig. 31. Making the bird-net.

1: Nachtigall--256 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Páez SC15

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Fig. 32. Fireworks.

Fig. 33. Plaited strip for making the straw hat.

a b c d

Fig. 34. a = S-twisting b = Z-twisting
c = symmetrical knots d = fish-net knots

1: Nachtigall--257 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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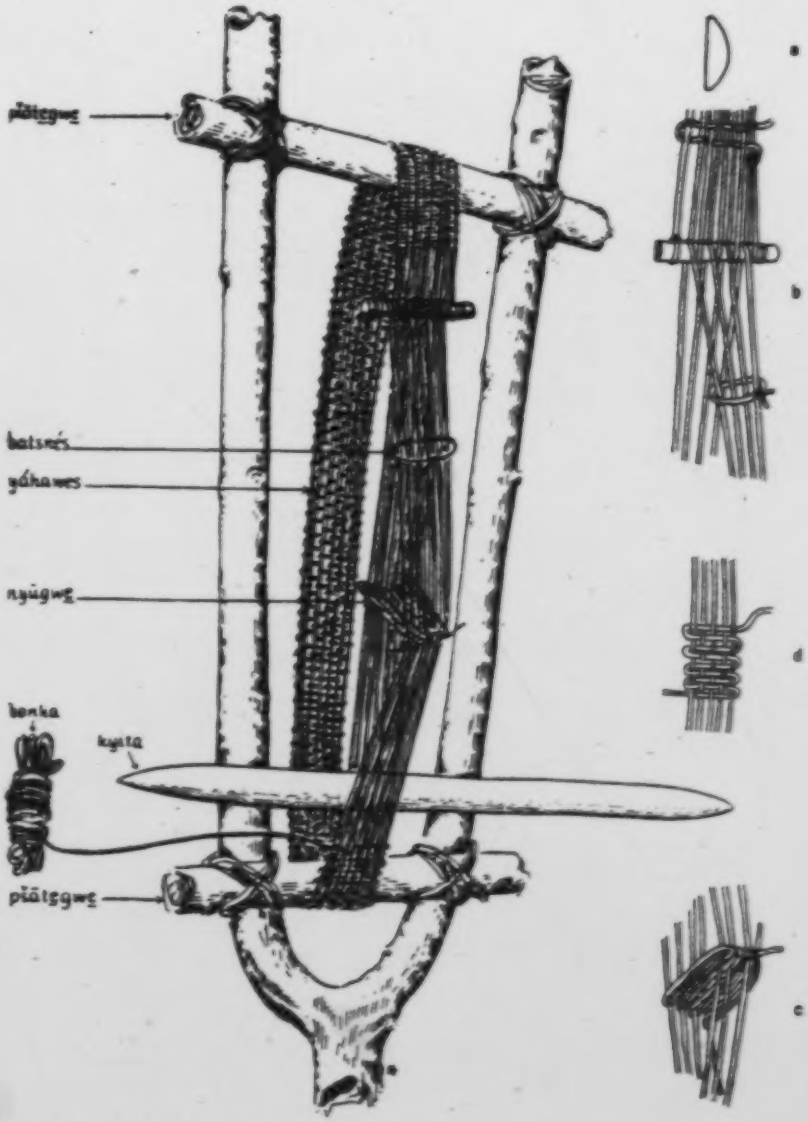

Fig. 35. Weaving apparatus for making the carrying bands of the fiber bags.

a = Section of the weaving sword

b = Method of stretching the warp threads

c = Heddle loops

d = Weaving pattern

1: Nachtigall--25 ♂ E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Fig. 36. Game with the hole-ball.

Fig. 37. Drum (underside).

1: Nachtigall--259 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15
Colombia SC1

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Ill. 1. La Plata, the southern trade center of Tierradentro.

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Ill. 2. The market of Inzá.

1: Nachtigall--260 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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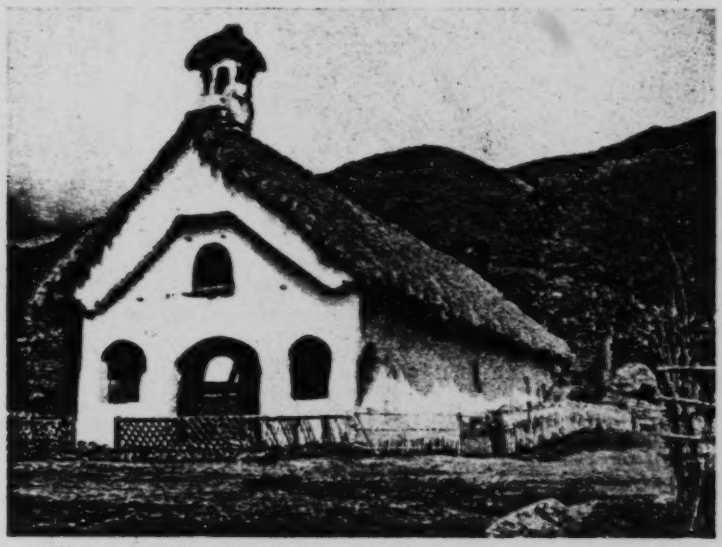
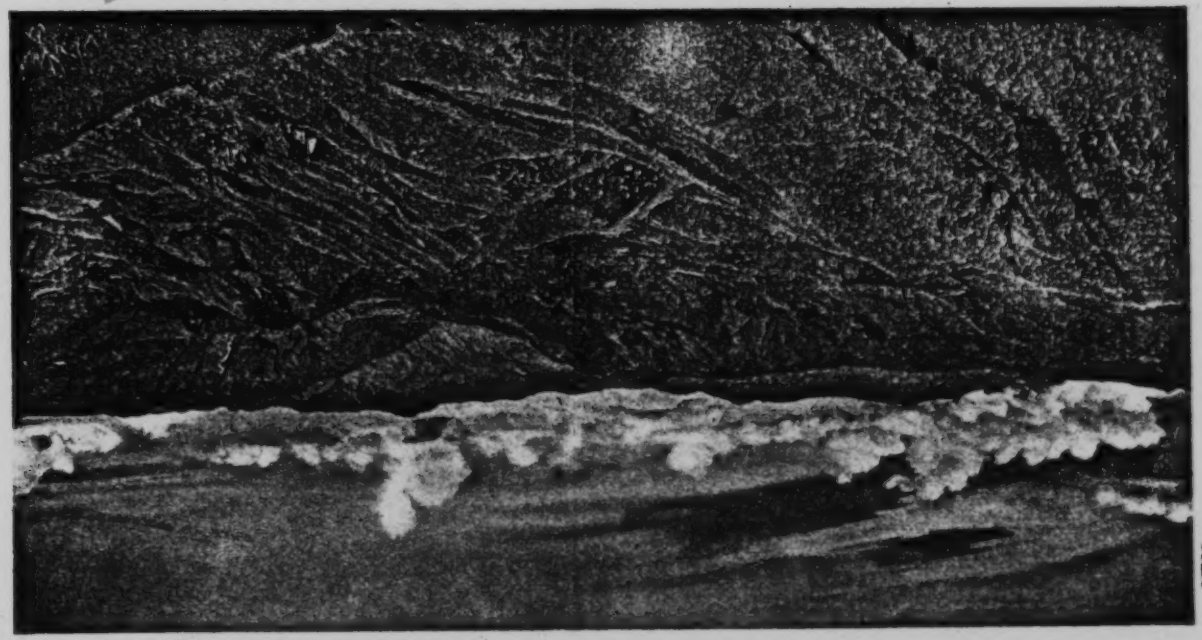


Ill. 3. Church of San Andrés

Ill. 4. Church of Santa Rosa.

1: Nachtigall--261 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15



Ill. 5. Southern Tierradentro.

1: Nachtigall--262 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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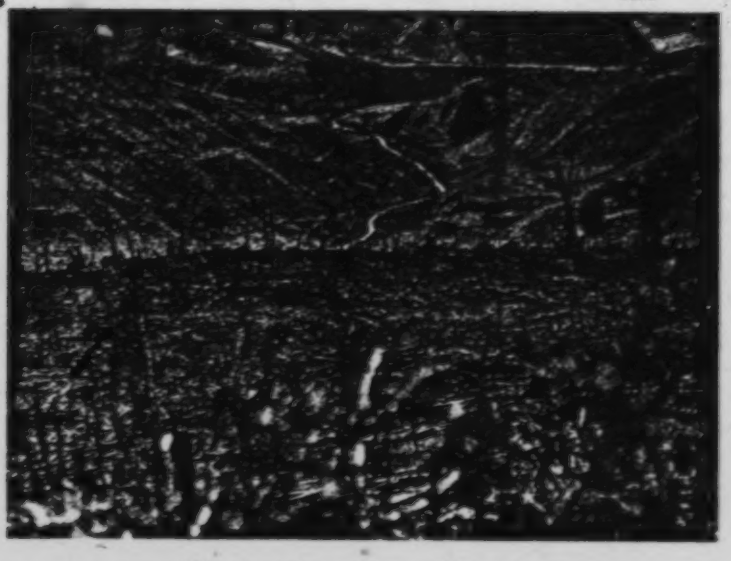

Ill. 6. The valley of the Rio Paez.

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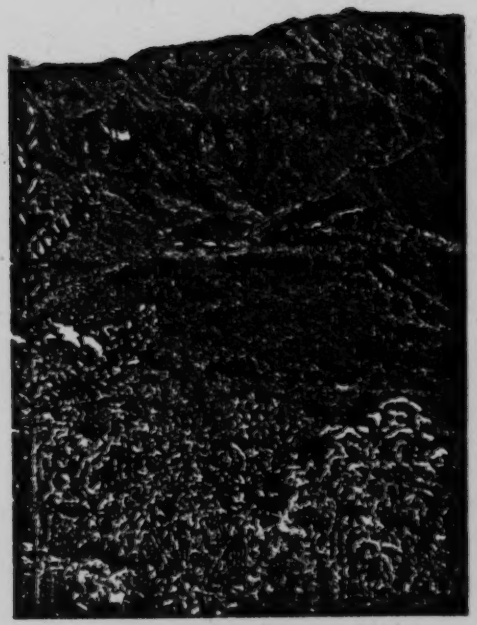
Ill. 7. The Filo de El Aguacate.

1: Nachtigall--263 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

Ill. 8. The San Andrés valley.



Ill. 9. The artificially leveled-off hill Segovia.

/Ills. 10-145 on Plates XXII-LXXVI are omitted in the translation./

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1: Nachtigall--264 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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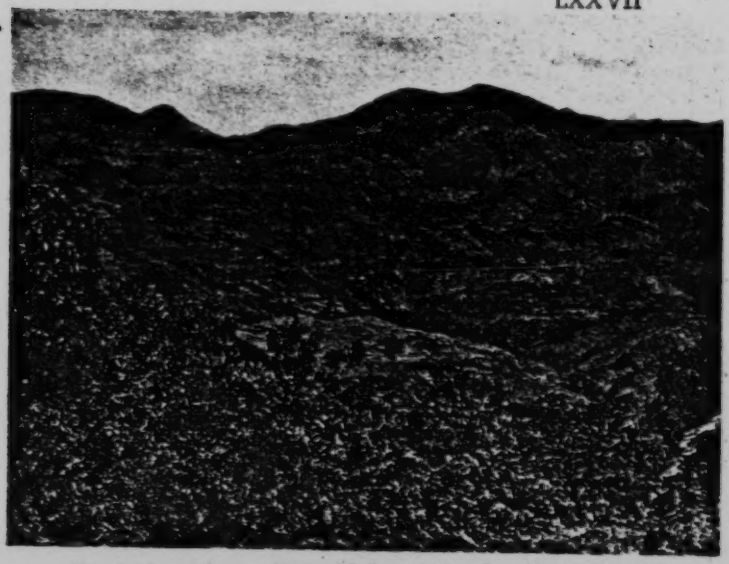

Ill. 146. The valley of the Kokiyč with Calderas.

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Ill. 147. Calderas with church and festival houses.

1: Nachtigall--265 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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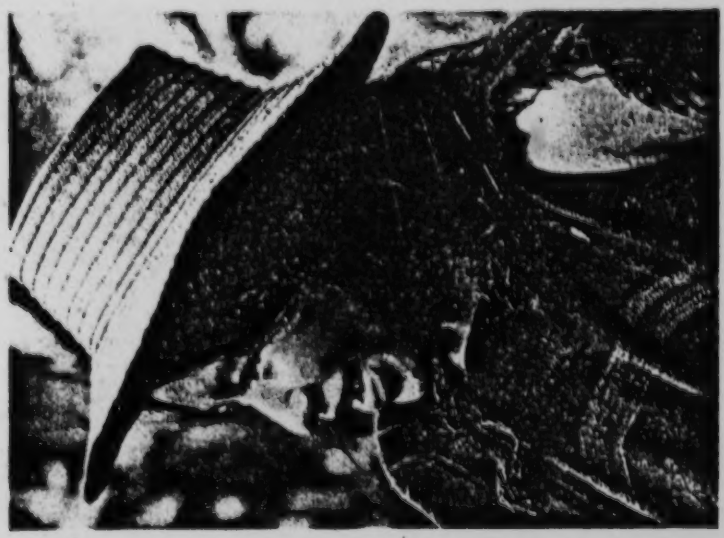

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Ills. 148 and 149. Young women.

-1: Nachtigall--266 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

Ills. 150 and 151. Young men.

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1: Nachtigall--267 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 153. The shaman Cerbeleón Niunda.

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Ill. 152. Mother with child.

1: Nachtigall--268 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

Ill. 154. House with ladder.

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Ill. 155. Our interpreter, Victoriano Piñakué.

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1: Nachtigall--26 9 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 156. Field hut.

1: Nachtigall--270 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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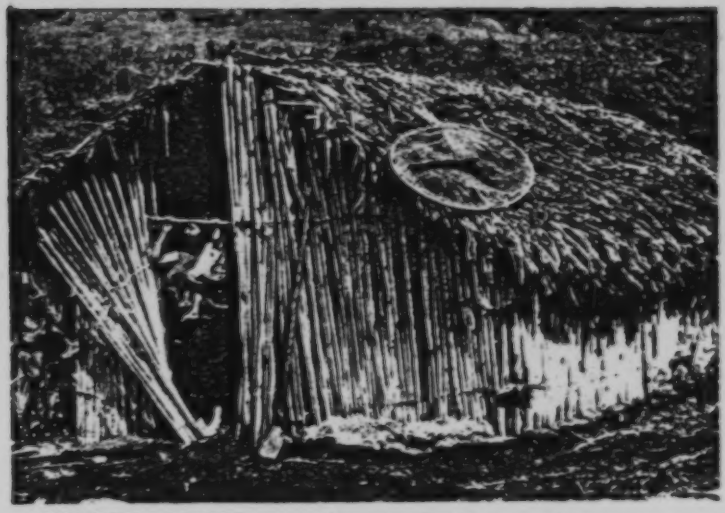
Ill. 157. Dwelling in the midst of a newly cleared field.



Ill. 158. Field hut made out of maize stalks.

1: Nachtigall--271 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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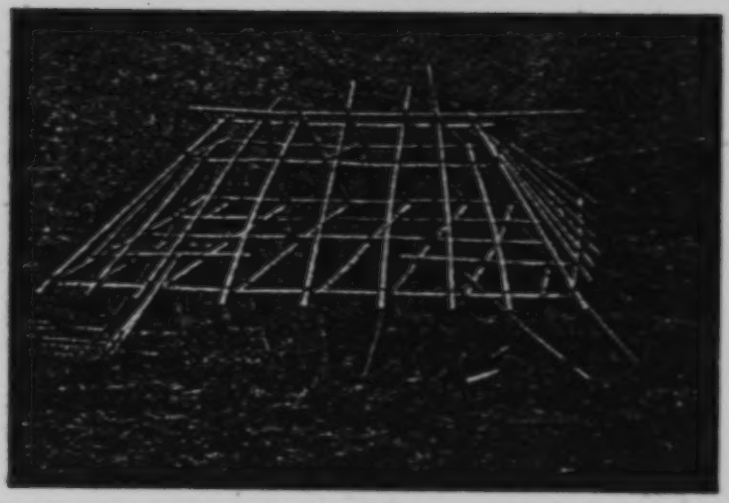
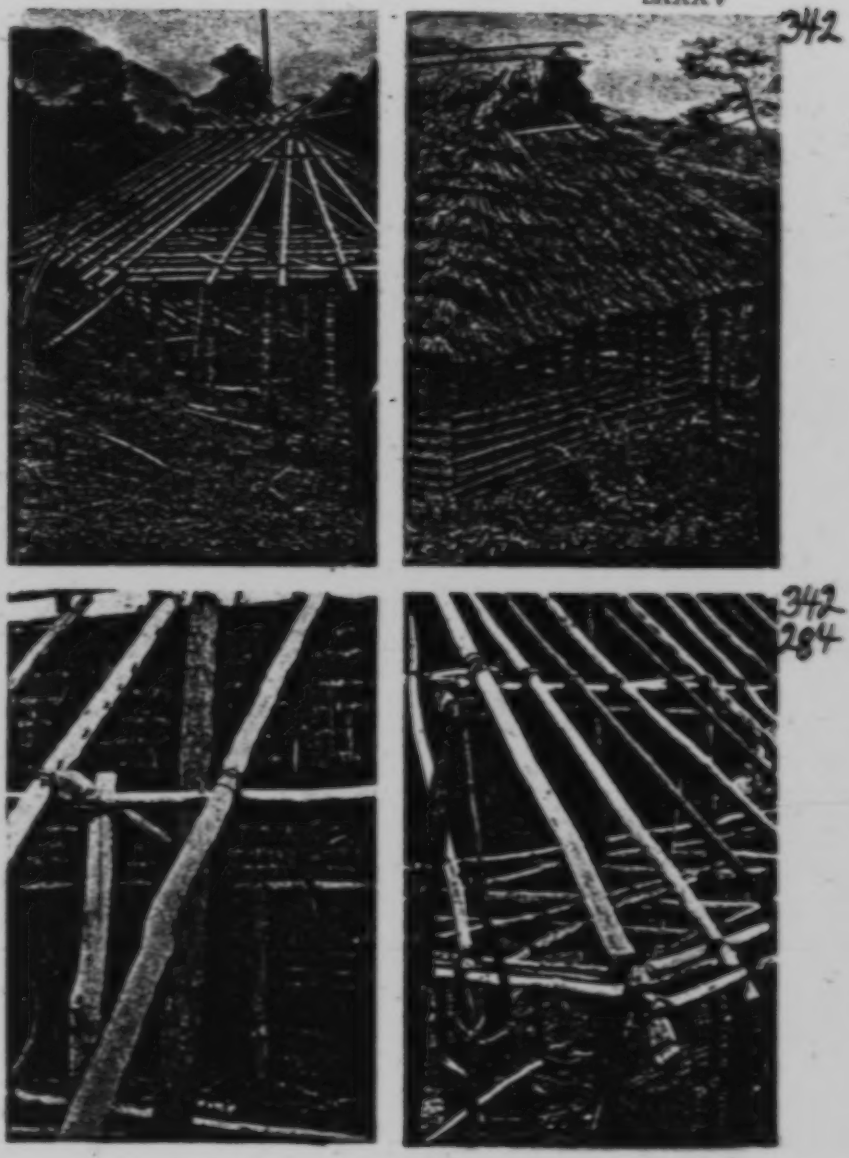
Ill. 159. Hip-roofed house.



Ill. 160. Frame of a dwelling, made of bamboo.

1: Nachtigall--272 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Page SC15



Ills. 161-164. House construction.

1: Nachtigall--273 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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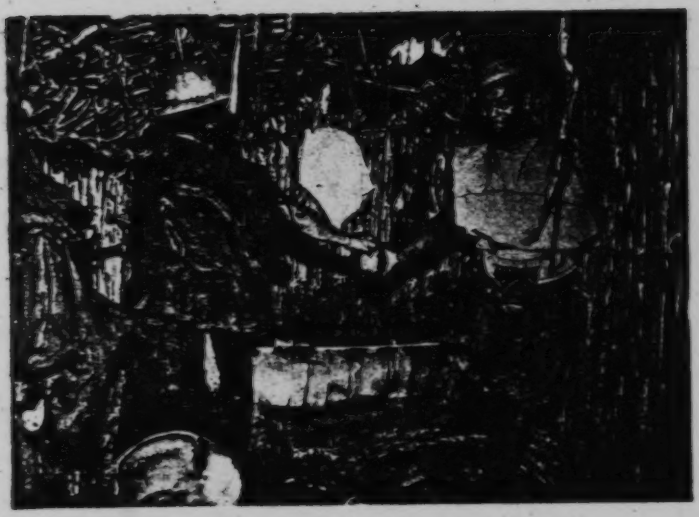

Ill. 165. House annex with the chicha trough.

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Ill. 166. Interior of a Paez house.

1: Nachtigall--274 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 168. Maize field with fence.

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Ill. 167. House garden of the Paez.

1: Nachtigall--275 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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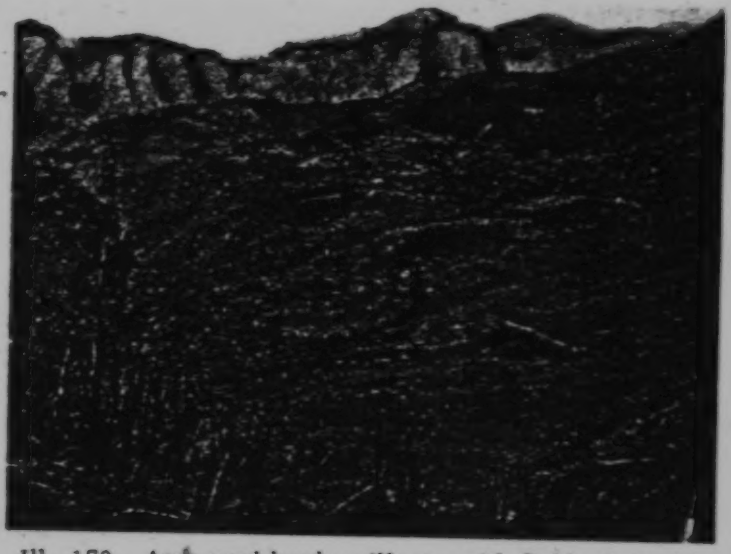
Ill. 169. Section of a field readied for burning.



Ill. 170. Area used by the village, with fields cleared by burning.

1: Nachigall--276 E-6 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

Ill. 171. Burning the felled trees.

Ill. 172. Setting out the sugar-cane shoots with the digging stick.

1: Nachtigall--277 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 173. Paez with sugar cane.

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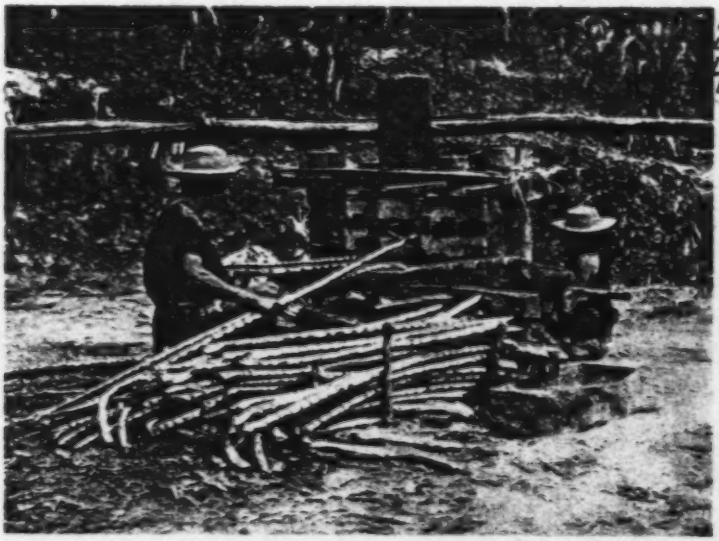
Ill. 174. Harvesting the coca leaves.

1: Nachtigall--278 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15



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Ill. 175. Sugar mill in operation.

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Ill. 176. Distillation apparatus.

1; Nachtigall--279 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ills. 177 and 178. Woman defleshing agave leaves.

1: Nachtigall--280 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

Ill. 179. Spinning with the drop spindle.

Ill. 180. Twisting the spun wool thread.

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1: Nachtigall--281 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 182. Making the carrying bands for the fiber bags.

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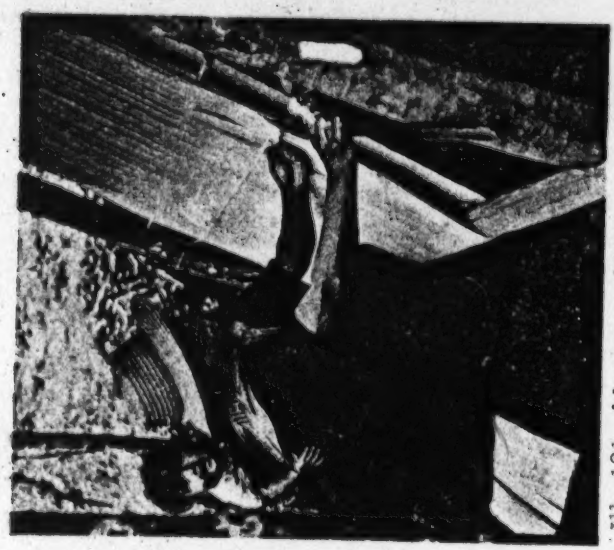

Ill. 181. Weaver making wool cloth.

1: Nachtigall--282 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

Ill. 183. Making a fiber bag

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Ill. 184. Smoothing out the seams of a pot.

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1: Nachtigall--283 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 185. Rolling out a "clay sausage."

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Ill. 186. Types of Paez ceramics.

1: Nachtigall--284 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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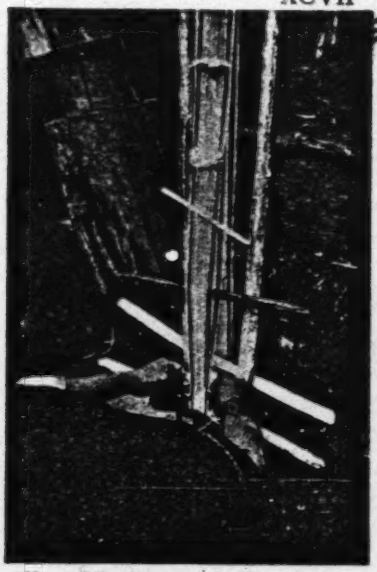
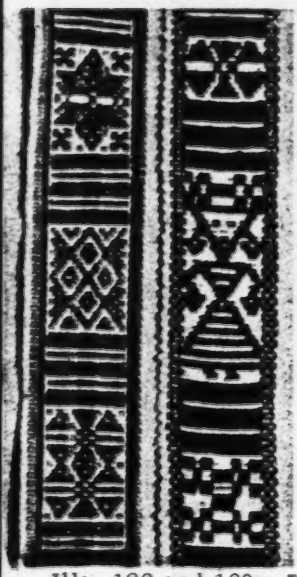
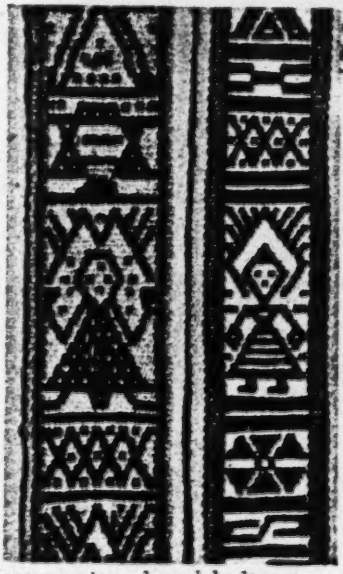
Ill. 187. Making a woman's colored belt.



Ill. 188. Weaving the ornamental warp.





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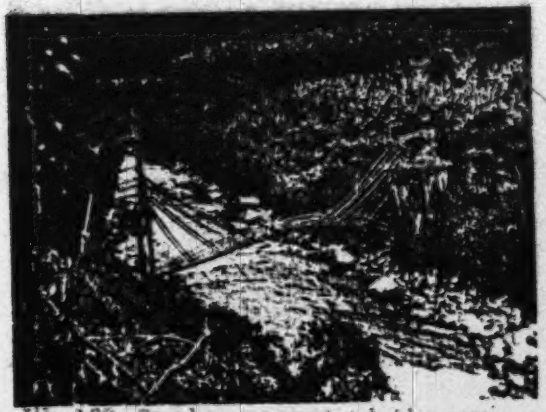
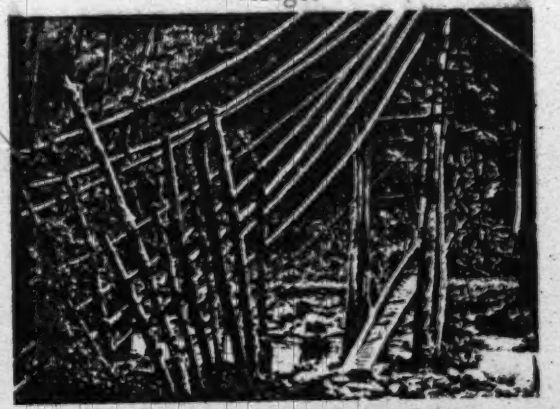
Ills. 189 and 190. Pattern of the women's colored belts.

Ill. 191. Bamboo suspension bridge near Avirama.

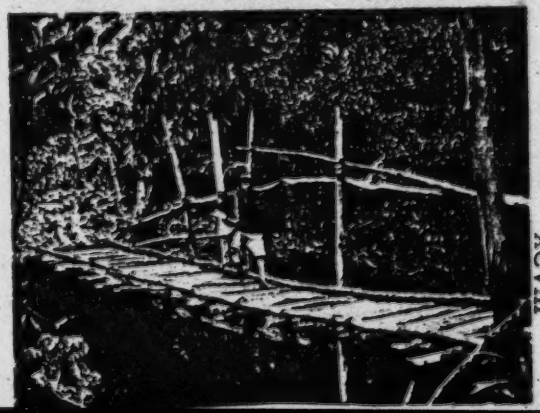


Ill. 192. Bamboo suspension bridge near Belalcázar.

Ill. 193. Shore anchoring of the suspension bridge.



Ill. 194. Timber bridge over the Río Kokiyó.



1: Nachtigall--286 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 195. Timber bridge with protective roof.

Ill. 196. Walkway of the bamboo suspension bridge.

1: Nachtigall--287 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 198. Women carry heavy loads with the forehead-band.

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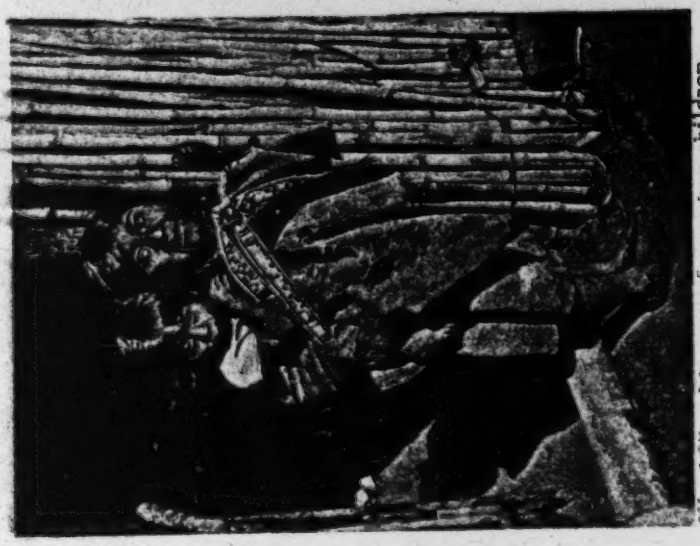

Ill. 197. Manner of carrying children.

1: Nachtigall--288 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 200. Skull trophy and figure of a spirit.

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/For information on the various ceremonies and rituals associated with purification of the participants of a burial, see categories 783, 764, and 765./

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/For information on Paez folklore, including examples of their tales, see category 116, pp. 215-238./

[For special vocabularies associated with various aspects of material culture, see the following pages in category 116:

houses and house construction -- pp. 33-38
household tools, implements and furnishings -- pp. 40-41
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extraction of sugar cane juice and use of juice for chicha -- pp. 58-61
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/For information on the use of alcoholic beverages, coca, and medicinal herbs in the ritual purification rites following death, see category 783./

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/Information on the use of alcoholic beverages, coca, and medicinal herbs in shamanistic curing ceremonies and seances will be filed in category 755./

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[For descriptive information on the Paez sugar-cane processing mill, see category 407.]

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/Information on the gobernador as leader of the village and head of the Cabildo will be found in category 623./

[For information on the interpretation of "signs" (e.g., muscle twitches) by the shaman for purposes other than the diagnosis of disease, see category 787.]

[Information on shamanistic "signs" consisting, for example, of muscle twitches in the eye or hand or other reflex movements which manifest themselves in the musculature of the curer and considered as direct signs from the spirits, is filed in category 755 for divinatory practices in curing, or in 787 when non-diagnostic practices are discussed.]

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[For general information on the organizers and leaders of the various Paez fiesta (e.g., the fiesteros, albaceros and mayordomos) and their roles, see category 796.]

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MAINZER STUDIEN
ZUR KULTUR- UND VÖLKERKUNDE

HERAUSGEBER: ADOLF FRIEDRICH
BAND II

HORST NACHTIGALL

Tierradentro

Veröffentlichung des Instituts für Völkerkunde
an der
Johannes Gutenberg-Universität in Mainz/Rhein

[Title Page] [P.1]

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TIERRADENTRO

Archäologie und Ethnographie einer kolumbianischen Landschaft

von

HORST NACHTIGALL

ORIGO VERLAG ZÜRICH

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1. Auflage

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Vorwort des Herausgebers

IN DIESEM ZWEITEN BANDE unserer Studienreihe ist ein Teil der Forschungen niedergelegt, die mein Mitarbeiter Dr. Horst Nachtigall 1952/53 in Kolumbien durchführen konnte. Der Band gibt Zeugnis davon, daß unsere wissenschaftliche Arbeit am Institut für Völkerkunde der Universität Mainz sich nicht auf Untersuchungen am Schreibtisch beschränkt. Vielmehr sind wir, entsprechend dem Aufgabenbereich unseres Faches, bestrebt, durch Feldforschungsarbeit in verschiedenen Erdgebieten neue Beobachtungen zu sammeln und daran mitzuwirken, daß die großen Lücken in unserer Kenntnis naturgebunden lebender Völker ausgefüllt werden. Solche Forschungsarbeit muß sich naturnotwendig auch auf die prähistorischen Zeugnisse menschlicher Kultur in den besuchten Gebieten erstrecken. Dank seiner eingehenden Beschäftigung mit dem Fachgebiet der Vor- und Frühgeschichte war Dr. Nachtigall in der Lage, das vorliegende Material der kolumbischen archäologischen Provinz Tierradentro zu erarbeiten.

Selbst zur Zeit mit ethnographischer Arbeit in einem anderen Erdwinkel beschäftigt, freue ich mich ganz besonders über die Publikation dieses ersten Bandes von Feldforschungsergebnissen unseres Mainzer Institutes für Völkerkunde. Unserem Verleger, Dr. H. Wyß, und der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft danke ich für ihr verständnisvolles Entgegenkommen und ihre tatkräftige Hilfe, die diese Veröffentlichung ermöglicht haben.

Gilgit / Pakistan, den 23. Mai 1955.

Adolf Friedrich

1: Nachtigall SC15 Paez

Dankeswort des Verfassers

DIE IM FOLGENDEN vorgelegte Beschreibung der Archäologie und Ethnologie des Tierradentro stellt den ersten Teil der wissenschaftlichen Ergebnisse der zusammen mit meiner Frau unternommenen Kolumbienreise dar, die von dem Direktor des Instituts für Völkerkunde der Universität Mainz, Herrn Professor Dr. Adolf Friedrich, angeregt und durch dessen Vermittlung bei deutschen und kolumbianischen Behörden durchgeführt wurde. Verlauf der Reise und erste Zusammenfassung der wissenschaftlichen Ergebnisse wurden bereits an anderem Ort veröffentlicht.

Unser Aufenthalt in Kolumbien erstreckte sich auf ein Jahr, vom 8. August 1952 bis zum 12. August 1953. Während dieser Zeit war ich zunächst unter der Direktion des Herrn P. Pedro José Ramirez Sendoya als Investigador im Instituto Etnológico Nacionál, vom 20. September 1952 ab als Jefe de Arqueología im Instituto Colombiano de Antropología tätig. Nach einer mehrwöchigen Bestandsaufnahme der Altertümer im Gebiet von San Agustín reisten wir nach dem Tierradentro, wo wir das Feldmaterial der vorliegenden Veröffentlichung in der Zeit vom 24. Dezember 1952 bis zum 24. April 1953 sammelten.

Die Finanzierung der wissenschaftlichen Arbeit in Kolumbien geschah durch das Ministerio de Educación und durch das Instituto Colombiano de Antropología. Dem damaligen Erziehungsminister, Herrn Dr. Lucio Pabón Nuñez und dem Direktor des Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, Herrn Dr. Antonio Andrade Crispino, möchte ich auch an dieser Stelle meinen ergebensten Dank für die gewährten Hilfen aussprechen. Danken möchte ich hier auch dem Vizepräsidenten der Academia de Ciencias Naturales, Herrn Professor Dr. P. Enrique Perez Arbelaez, der mir in der ersten Zeit meines Aufenthaltes in Kolumbien viele Wege ebnete. Nicht weniger dankbar bin ich den Kollegen des Institutes für die mir gewährten wissenschaftlichen Hilfen, wie den Arbeitern im Tierradentro für ihren Fleiß bei den schwierigen und zu Beginn der Regenzeit recht wenig angenehmen Grabungsarbeiten.

Zur Arbeits- und Reiseausrüstung hat eine Anzahl von Firmen in großzügiger Weise Sachspenden zur Verfügung gestellt. Für die in diesem Buch veröffentlichten Aufnahmen standen mir eine Leica III f mit Elmar

1 : 3,5 und Zubehör, sowie eine Rolleiflex mit Tessar 1 : 3,5 zur Verfügung. Für spezielle Aufnahmezwecke wurden zur Leica ein Weitwinkelobjektiv Rodenstock-Heligon 1 : 2,8, ein Teleobjektiv Steinheil-Culminar 1 : 2,8 und die Proximeter I und II von H. Schneider & Co. benutzt, zur Rolleiflex die Rolleikineinrichtung mit den Rolleinaren 1 und 2. Die Innenaufnahmen der Grabhöhlen und der Eingeborenenhäuser wurden mit Blitzlampen Osram SO und Philipps Pf 45, sowie mit Seuthe-Kapselblitzen vorgenommen. Als Negativmaterial für die Aufnahmen dienten Adox KB 17 und R 18, sowie Perutz Perpantic-Filme.

Für Hilfen bei der Abfassung des Manuskriptes möchte ich in erster Linie meiner Frau danken, die mich in Kolumbien auf allen Wegen begleitet, dort die Stenogramme der Feldforschung aufgenommen und die Abschrift des Manuskriptes besorgt hat. Herrn Professor Dr. E. L. Rapp, Mainz, danke ich für freundlichst erteilten Rat bei der Transkription der Paez-Sprache und Herrn Professor Dr. Wilhelm Geilmann, Mainz, für die röntgenographische Untersuchung der vorgelegten prähistorischen Zähne und Knochen aus den Grabkammern des Tierradentro. Für die Ausarbeitung der technischen Zeichnungen und Karten möchte ich auch hier der Zeichnerin des Institutes für Vor- und Frühgeschichte der Universität Mainz, Fräulein Margot Kunzmann und für die Korrektur Herrn cand. phil. Wolfgang Lindig danken.

Die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, die bereits meine Hin- und Rückreise finanziert und einen beträchtlichen Zuschuß für die Ausarbeitung der wissenschaftlichen Ergebnisse gewährt hat, übernahm auch einen Teil der Druckkosten zu dieser Veröffentlichung. Dem Herrn Präsidenten der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft sei dafür mein ehrerbietiger Dank ausgesprochen. Für öffentliche und private finanzielle und ideelle Hilfen ist es mir ein Bedürfnis, den Herren Ministerialdirektor Professor Dr. Hans Becker und Ministerialrat Dr. Otto Wegner vom Kultusministerium des Landes Rheinland-Pfalz, dem Oberbürgermeister der Stadt Mainz, Herrn Franz Stein, dem Kurator der Universität Mainz, Herrn Fritz Eichholz und dem Vorsitzenden des Aufsichtsrates der Firma Dykkerhoff Portland-Zementwerke AG., Herrn Konsul Alexander v. Engelberg, zu danken.

Mainz, den 1. Oktober 1954. H. N.

TEIL I

ARCHÄOLOGIE

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I. Einleitung

1. DIE GEOGRAPHISCHE LAGE DES TIERRADENTRO

DIE KOLUMBIANISCHE LANDSCHAFT Tierradentro, das «Land, das darinnen liegt», ist durch seine archäologischen Funde und den geschlossen dort lebenden größten Indianerstamm Kolumbiens, den Paez, zu dem Begriff einer kolumbianischen Landschafts- und Kulturprovinz geworden. Es liegt im Süden Kolumbiens, fast unmittelbar nördlich des großen Gebirgsknotens, des Macizo Colombiano, in dem die größten Flüsse Kolumbiens, der Magdalena, der Cauca und der Caquetá entspringen. Hier teilt sich die Gebirgskette der Kordilleren in drei Zweige, um — getrennt durch Cauca und Magdalena — das ganze Land von Süd nach Nord als Westkordillere, Zentralkordillere und Ostkordillere zu durchschneiden.

Politisch bildet das Tierradentro den östlichen Teil des Departamentos Cauca, dessen Hauptstadt Popayan ist und dessen wirtschaftliches und politisches Schwergewicht im Caucatal liegt. Geographisch aber gehört es zum Einzugsgebiet des Rio Magdalena. Der Kamm der Zentralkordillere vom Nevado del Huila über die Paramos von Moras, las Delicias und Guanacas bildet die Westgrenze des in seiner Flächenform dreieckigen Gebietes und der Lauf des Rio Negro de Narvaez, vom Nevado del Huila bis zu seiner Einmündung in den Rio Paez bei Itaibe, die östliche Begrenzung. Die südliche Grenze wird durch den Kamm der Gebirge zwischen dem Rio de la Plata und dem Entwässerungsgebiet des Rio Paez gebildet.

Der Nevado del Huila ist mit 7550 m die höchste Erhebung der kolumbianischen Zentralkordillere und nach dem nur wenige Meter höheren Cristobal Colón der Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta der höchste Berg Kolumbiens. Seine von ewigem Schnee bedeckte Kuppe speist u. a. den Rio Paez und den Rio Negro de Narvaez, die Hauptflüsse des Tierradentro. Sie entwässern, wie alle Flüsse auf dem Ostabhang der Zentralkordillere, in den Rio Magdalena. Zum Magdalenatal führen auch die Hauptverkehrswege des Tierradentro, deren wichtigster den Rio Paez abwärts über

La Plata nach Neiva bzw. Garzon führt. Damit bildet La Plata das Handels- und Verkehrszentrum für dieses wirtschaftlich allerdings noch nicht sehr erschlossene Gebiet.

Schon die ersten Chronisten beschrieben das Tierradentro als Land eines »ewigen Auf und Ab«. In der Tat bildet die große Anzahl von tief in das Gebirge eingeschnittenen kleinen Flüßchen, trotz des für eine Kolonisation ausgezeichneten Klimas, ein starkes Hindernis für die verkehrsmäßige Erschließung, ohne die eine landwirtschaftlich umfangreichere Produktion nicht rentabel ist. Die Unwegsamkeit ist einer der Gründe, weswegen sich hier die Paez-Indianer in einer Gesamtzahl von etwa 25 000 Menschen rassisch rein und in einigen Gebirgstälern noch in kulturell relativ ursprünglicher Art erhalten haben.

Die Klimaunterschiede dieses weniger als drei Breitengrade nördlich des Äquators gelegenen Gebietes sind je nach der Höhenlage beträchtlich. Das am Rio Magdalena 472 m hoch gelegene Neiva, Hauptstadt des Departamentos Huila, ist mit 30° Durchschnittstemperatur eine der wärmsten Städte Kolumbiens. Der in der Luftlinie nur 75 km westlich gelegene Nevado del Huila ist von ewigem Schnee bedeckt. Dazwischen findet sich bei 1200 m Höhenlage eine Durchschnittstemperatur von 21° und in 3000 m eine solche von 11°. Die vorwiegende Höhenlage der Siedlungen im südlichen Tierradentro liegt zwischen 1400 und 1700 m, was einem Temperaturmittel von 18-20° entspricht. Es ist das für den kolumbianischen Kaffee beste Klima. Gleichzeitig ist es eine ausgezeichnete Klima- und Höhenlage für den Anbau von Zuckerrohr und Mais und für die Rindviehzucht, wirtschaftliche Betätigungen, die im kommerziellen Sinne nur von den Kolonisten wahrgenommen werden. Die in diesem Klima liegenden Paez-Ortschaften sind deshalb weitgehend von den Kolonisten unterwandert und weite Strecken Landes von ihnen für die landwirtschaftliche Nutzung in Besitz genommen. Hier sind jetzt die noch vor 70 Jahren von dichtem Baumbewuchs bedeckten Berghänge zur Gewinnung von Weideflächen für die Viehzucht abgeholzt, wodurch eine weitgehende Auswaschung der normalerweise ohnehin recht dünnen Humusdecke erfolgt und eine gewisse Sterilität des Bodens eingetreten ist. Anders ist es in den noch ausschließlich von Indios bewohnten Ortschaften des nördlichen Tierradentro. Diese liegen teilweise beträchtlich höher (Mosoco, Vitoncó, Suin und Lame etwa 2500 m). Hier sind die Nächte bereits empfindlich kalt. Kaffee gedeiht nicht mehr, dafür Mais und Kartoffeln. Auch ist es das beste Klima für eine Rindviehzucht. Die Berghänge sind durch die relativ dünne Besiedelung seitens der Paez noch nicht in ihrer Gesamtheit zur wirtschaftlichen Nutzung herangezogen, der

Baumbestand gewährleistet das ganze Jahr hindurch einen natürlichen Wasserhaushalt.

Die beiden Regenzeiten des Jahres liegen von Mai bis Juni und Oktober bis Dezember. In diesen Zeiten, besonders in der Regenzeit der ersten Jahreshälfte, regnet es täglich in beträchtlicher Stärke, während die Trockenzeiten regelmäßig frei von Niederschlägen sind.

Die Bodenschätze des Tierradentro sind noch nicht mit modernen Mitteln erforscht. In vorspanischer Zeit und auch noch nach der Conquista wurden zahlreiche Salzlager ausgebeutet. Als Minenarbeiter brachten die Spanier Negersklaven ins Tierradentro, deren Nachkommen einen beträchtlichen Anteil an der Bevölkerung von Belalcazar ausmachen. Sie betätigen sich heute teilweise als Goldwäscher an den Ufern des Rio Paez. In indianischer Zeit wurde Gold auch noch bei Tálaga, San Vicente und Jambaló gewonnen. Im Süden des Tierradentro waren die Silberminen bei der — nach ihren bedeutenden Funden so genannten — Stadt La Plata ein bedeutender Wirtschaftsfaktor.

An Verkehrswegen standen seit der Kolonialzeit bis vor fünf Jahren nur die für Menschen und Pferde gangbaren Wege (Caminos de herradura) zur Verfügung. Die beiden Hauptverbindungen waren von Inzá über den Paramo de las Guanacas nach Silvia und Popayán und in das Caucatal, sowie von Inzá über La Plata in das Magdalenatal. Seit der Konstruktion einer Autostraße von La Plata nach Belalcazar besteht eine gute Straßenverbindung sowohl nach dem Caucatal, als auch nach dem Magdalenatal. Von La Plata aus fährt der Bus in vier Stunden nach Garzon und in sieben Stunden nach Neiva. Beide Städte haben zur Zeit zweimal wöchentlich Flugverbindung nach Bogotá und Neiva, außerdem eine tägliche Eisenbahnverbindung mit der Landeshauptstadt. Um von La Plata über die Zentralkordillere nach Popayán zu kommen, braucht man mit dem Bus etwa zehn Stunden. Von Popayán aus besteht täglicher Flugverkehr nach allen Teilen des Landes.

Die meisten und wichtigsten archäologischen Fundstätten liegen bei dem Dörfchen San Andrés, auf den Hügelkuppen und Höhenzügen des Tales gleichen Namens. Der Ort liegt, durch den Rio Ullucus und den Höhenzug El Aguacate getrennt, in der Luftlinie etwa 6 km nördlich von Inzá. Um von La Plata aus nach San Andrés zu gelangen, fährt man zunächst die Straße in Richtung Belalcazar den Rio Paez aufwärts bis Juntas, dem Punkt des Zusammenflusses des Rio Ullucus mit dem Rio Paez. Von Juntas aus hat man etwa drei Stunden nach Westen in die Berge hineinzureiten, um nach San Andrés zu gelangen. Diese Ortschaft ist ein Dorf gleicher Charakteristiken, wie alle Paez-Dörfer, d. h. es besteht nur

aus einer Kirche, einer Schule, dem Haus des Dorfrates und einigen wenigen weiteren Häusern, die von Kaufleuten und von den Bewohnern für die religiösen Feste benutzt werden. Letztere, Paez-Indianer und Kolonisten, wohnen an den Abhängen der Berge längs der Täler der kleinen Flüßchen in Einzelgehöften, allerdings in einer für die Paez recht ungünstigen Verteilung: hauptsächlich längs der Flußläufe, im fruchtbaren Tale, wohnen die weißen und gemischtfarbenen Kolonisten, die hier Kaffee, Mais und Zuckerrohr anbauen, während die Indios mit den relativ unfruchtbaren Hängen fürlieb nehmen müssen.

2. DIE ERFORSCHUNG DER VORGESCHICHTLICHEN KULTUREN DES TIERRADENTRO

Die zahlreichen Höhenzüge und tief eingeschnittenen Wasserläufe, die das ganze Tierradentro-Gebiet durchziehen, machen das Reisen außerhalb der Straßen recht mühselig. Der Besucher ist auf Pferd oder Mula als Reisemittel angewiesen, von denen das erstere wegen seines Paßganges das angenehmere, die Mula wegen ihrer Instinktsicherheit bei Nacht und in schwierigem Gelände das sichere Reisemittel ist.

Jeder Talkessel bildet allgemein eine Ortschaft. Um von einer zur anderen zu gelangen, müssen entweder im Tal weite Umwege gegangen oder die Höhenzüge auf recht schmalen und steilen Zickzackwegen überquert werden. Es ist dies — neben der abweisenden Haltung der Paez — ein Grund, weswegen die archäologische und ethnologische Erforschung des Tierradentro erst sehr spät eingesetzt hat. Der erste Berichterstatter über die vorgeschichtlichen Funde war der kolumbianische General und Geograph Carlos Cuervo Marquez, der auf seinen Streifzügen durch weite Teile Kolumbiens nach seinem Besuch in San Augustín im Jahre 1882 auch im Tierradentro-Gebiet weilte und uns die erste Mitteilung von «merkwürdigen Friedhöfen und großen, unterirdischen Räumen» mit Säulen, Säulenreihen und Nischen macht. Weiterhin berichtet er von steinernen, menschlichen Figuren, die sehr ähnlich denen von San Augustín seien (Bd. I, pp. 241-243). In der Ausgabe von 1920 zitiert C. Cuervo Marquez (Bd. I, pp. 273-277) gleichzeitig einen Bericht einer Kommission, bestehend aus Victor Trujillo und Bernardino Montealegre, die erstmals auch die Statuen von Aguabonita beschreiben. Einen gesonderten Bericht darüber gibt 1935 das Kommissionsmitglied Victor Trujillo in der Zeitschrift «Educacion». Seiner Meldung, daß er der Entdecker der

Statuen von Aguabonita sei, widerspricht Cenon M. Valencia in einem Artikel in der Zeitschrift «Huila Historico». Danach war ihr Entdecker ein Eingeborener namens Ignacio Cotacio, der diese Statuen im September 1918 fand.

Die nächsten Reisenden, die das Gebiet der archäologischen Grabkammern und Statuen um San Andrés und Inzá für je zwei Tage besuchten, waren der belgische Marquis de Wavrin und der Deutschamerikaner H. Walde-Waldegg. Der Marquis de Wavrin besichtigte 1931, nachdem er das Vorhandensein einer Anzahl neuer Statuen in Nariño und San Agustín erstmals mitteilte, auf der Durchreise durch das Tierradentro einige der Grabkammern und berichtete darüber in verschiedenen Aufsätzen ab 1932. Ein zusammenfassender Bericht seiner weiten und zahlreichen Reisen und Abenteuer in Kolumbien erschien 1953.

Die systematische Erforschung der Grabkammern des Tierradentro begann 1936, als der deutsche Geologe Georg Bürg, damals Professor an der Universität Popayán, eine große Anzahl von Grabkammern neu entdeckte und einige reinigen ließ. Nach einem Bericht an das Departamento Cauca bekam er die Mittel zur Verfügung gestellt, um die wichtigsten der Grabkammern mit Schutzdächern zu versehen. Seine kurze Veröffentlichung erschien im Ibero-Amerikanischen Archiv 1937/38.

Im Juli des gleichen Jahres wurde der kolumbianische Archäologe Gregorio Hernandez de Alba vom kolumbianischen Erziehungsministerium mit der Abfassung eines Berichtes über die archäologischen Funde des Tierradentro beauftragt. Seine von ihm 1938 in der Zeitschrift «Revista de las Indias» veröffentlichten Beschreibungen und Dekorationsskizzen bilden die ersten wissenschaftlichen Veröffentlichungen über die Typen der Grabkammern des Tierradentro.

Im gleichen Jahre, in dem Georg Bürg und Gregorio Hernandez de Alba im Tierradentro arbeiteten, wurde auch der spanische Archäologe José Perez de Barradas vom kolumbianischen Erziehungsminister mit dem Studium der nun in das Licht der kolumbianischen Öffentlichkeit gerückten Tierradentro-Kultur beauftragt. Er war kurz zuvor vom kolumbianischen Erziehungsministerium zu archäologischen Forschungen eingeladen worden und weilte im Oktober 1936 für zwei Wochen in San Andrés und Inzá zu einer ersten vollständigen Bestandsaufnahme der bis zu dieser Zeit bekannten Statuen und Grabkammern. Seine Publikation, die die Grundlage zu allen weiteren Forschungen bildet, erschien 1937 als 1. Band der Veröffentlichungen der archäologischen Sektion im kolumbianischen Erziehungsministerium.

Beschränkte sich die archäologische Arbeit im Tierradentro bis zu die-

ser Zeit auf die Bestandsaufnahme und Erhaltung des Vorhandenen, d. h. der von den Guaqueros geöffneten und ausgeraubten Kammergräber, so änderte sich dies mit der 1941 erfolgten Gründung eines kolumbianischen nationalen ethnologischen Institutes, in dem unter der Leitung von Paul Rivet und unter der Mitarbeit von Gregorio Hernandez de Alba und Wolfram Schottelius eine Anzahl junger Kolumbianer als Archäologen, Ethnologen und Anthropologen ausgebildet wurde. Eine der ersten wissenschaftlichen und methodisch einwandfreien Feldarbeiten führte E. Silva Celis in der Wintertrockenheit 1942/43 im Tierradentro durch. Die Ergebnisse wurden im 1. Band der neu gegründeten «Revista del Instituto Etnológico Nacionál» veröffentlicht. Die Grabungen umfassen die Fundorte «Parte alta de las Huacas» (heute: «El Duende») und «La Montaña».

In der Folgezeit kaufte die Regierung das Gelände der wichtigsten Fundstätten auf und vereinigte sie zu dem archäologischen Park von Tierradentro. Unterhalb der zu dem Dorf San Andrés gehörenden Fundstelle «Segovia» wurde ein Haus mit den nötigen Wirtschafts- und Unterkunftsräumen für die dort arbeitenden Wissenschaftler versehen und ein kleines Museum für die archäologischen Objekte eingerichtet. Zum archäologischen Park gehören die Fundorte El Tablón, Segovia, El Duende und der Alto de San Andrés. Andere, teilweise für die Wissenschaft bedeutende Fundorte, sind noch in Privatbesitz. Nach dem 1931 erlassenen Gesetz Nr. 103 gehören alle Bodenaltertümer innerhalb der kolumbianischen Staatsgrenzen dem Staate. Sie dürfen nur durch die von der Regierung autorisierten Archäologen ausgegraben werden. Die Grundbesitzer verweigern zu den Forschungen und Grabungen aber häufig die Erlaubnis, denn nach einem anderen, älteren Gesetz, gehört ihnen die Hälfte des Wertes der auf ihrem Grund und Boden gefundenen Altertümer. Um einesteils zu vermeiden, daß ihr Land als für die archäologische Forschung wertvoll erklärt und vom Staat aufgekauft wird und um andererseits die schwierigen und langwierigen Formalitäten zur Erlangung des Fundwertes der zu Tage geförderten Objekte zu umgehen, lassen die Grundbesitzer diese oft von Guaqueros ausgraben und auf eigene Rechnung verkaufen. Die Raubgrabungen seitens der Guaqueros sind nach dem erwähnten Gesetz natürlich verboten. Da die archäologischen Fundorte aber fast nie in der Nähe von Städten oder Polizeistationen liegen, wird diese unkontrollierbare Gräberei auch heute noch in weiten Teilen des Landes zum Schaden der archäologischen Wissenschaft ausgeübt.

Die zum Park gehörenden Grabungsstätten liegen in Sichtweite des Verwaltungshauses. Die übrigen Fundstätten sind oft nur auf recht schmalen und steilen Wegen zu erreichen. Um beispielsweise nach El Ca-

nadá zu gelangen, ist man zu Pferde eine Stunde unterwegs. Die gleiche Zeit braucht man, um zu Fuß den Filo de El Aguacate zu ersteigen, wohin der Umweg zu Pferde mehr als das Doppelte an Zeit ausmacht. Mindestens die gleiche Zeit, eine bis drei Stunden, braucht man im allgemeinen auch für den Weg von einem Dorf zum anderen.

Die um den archäologischen Park stark zerklüfteten, steil aufsteigenden Berge geben das typische Panorama des Tierradentro-Gebietes wieder (Abb. 5–9). Die archäologischen Fundorte mit den Grabkammern liegen immer erhöht, die einfacheren auf den Spitzen der höchsten Höhenzüge, die größten und prächtigsten auf abgeflachten Hügelkuppen unterhalb dieser. Den besten Überblick über das Tal von San Andrés hat man von seinem westlichen Abschluß, dem Höhenzug Yokaichí aus, jenseits dessen das Tal des Kokiyó mit der Ortschaft Calderas beginnt. Von hier aus hat man einen weiten Blick bis zum Höhenzug Dondotá, der die Orte Suin und Chinas abgrenzt. Nach Norden begrenzen die Berge von Chíndava die Ortschaft Togóima. Den Blick nach Osten in Richtung unseres Aufstieges gerichtet liegen unmittelbar unter uns die Häuser von Sûpón, dann folgt das Dorf San Andrés, dann etwa 1 km flußabwärts das Verwaltungshaus des Parkes und etwa 2 km unterhalb des Parkes der Punkt Cruzero, von dem aus der Weg von San Andrés nach Juntas in Richtung nach Inzá abzweigt. Noch weiter östlich, den imposanten Hintergrund dieser Gebirgslandschaft bildend, liegen die Orte Pedregál und Turminá und dahinter die Kuppe des «Picacho des Trueno», des Berges des Donners und des Blitzes, in dem die Paez von San Andrés sich den Donner wohnend vorstellen und in welchem — nach Meinung einiger Indios — die Paez nach derZerstörung der Stadt La Plata (1577) das erbeutete Gold und Silber, die Glocken und Heiligenfiguren der von ihnen verwüsteten, alten spanischen Silberstadt versteckt haben.

Die eigenen, im Tierradentro-Gebiet durchgeführten archäologischen Forschungen erfassen eine Bestandsaufnahme der archäologischen Objekte, sowie vorgeschichtliche Grabungen innerhalb der Fundstätten des Alto de San Andrés, des Filo de El Aguacate, El Canadá und Segovia. Für das Inventar sind erstmals genaue Grundriß- und Schnittzeichnungen der verschiedenen Grabtypen vorgenommen worden. Die fotografischen Aufnahmen der Grabkammern geben alle vorkommenden Typen der Dekoration wieder. Weiterhin sind die im Tierradentro-Gebiet vorhandenen Statuen, sowie die Typen der Keramik vollständig abgebildet. Die Ausgrabungen umfassen intakte, noch nicht von Raubgräbern geöffnete Grabkammern mit den für die Tierradentro-Kultur der Kammergräber ersten vollständig erhaltenen Bestattungsurnen.

1: Nachtigall SC15 Paez

Bei der Beschreibung und Numerierung der Grabkammern wurde die nach der Errichtung des Parkes zutreffende Zählung verwandt. Diese ist auf dem Alto de San Andrés heute umgekehrt als früher, da der Eingang des jetzt umzäunten Geländes in Richtung zum San Andrés-Fluß liegt. Die heutige Grabkammer Nr. 1 entspricht der Nr. 12 bei G. Hernandez de Alba und J. Perez de Barradas. Auch in Segovia hat sich die Zählung der Grabkammern geändert. Die einzigen bisher veröffentlichten Kammern, Nr. H 1 und H 2 bei G. Hernandez de Alba bzw. Nr. 1 und 2 bei J. Perez de Barradas, liegen jetzt am weitesten vom Eingang entfernt und entsprechen den Nr. 35 und 38. Auch wurden die Bezeichnungen einiger Fundorte geändert. Der archäologische Fundort «Necropolis de San Andrés» heißt jetzt offiziell «Alto de San Andrés», die «Loma Alta de San Andrés» jetzt «Filo de El Aguacate» und die «Parte alta del potrero de las Huacas» jetzt «El Duende».

II. Beschreibung der archäologischen Fundorte

1. DER PARK VON TIERRADENTRO

ETWA ZWEI KILOMETER unterhalb von San Andrés befindet sich der archäologische Park mit den Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungsräumen, sowie den Wohnräumen für die Forscher, nebst einem kleinen Museum, das die bei den Grabungen zutage geförderten archäologischen Objekte umfaßt, soweit sie nicht dem Museo Nacionál in Bogotá oder dem archäologischen Museum der Universität Popayán übergeben worden sind. Vor dem Haus ist eine Anzahl von steinernen Statuen, die in der Umgebung gefunden worden sind, in drei Reihen aufgestellt und in Sockel einzementiert.

Nr. 1 (Abb. 10) (Beschreibung der Statuen in ihrer Aufstellung von rechts nach links): Eine sehr grob gearbeitete Statue, eine menschliche Figur darstellend. Die Arme liegen gewinkelt vor der Brust. Hände und Finger sind nicht angedeutet. Die Ober- und Unterarme sind sehr dünn. Das Gesicht ist in der für die Tierradentro-Statuen üblichen Manier sehr flach gearbeitet. Die Augen sind durch ovale Einritzungen, der Mund ist durch eine schmale Vertiefung dargestellt. Die Nase tritt mäßig hervor und ist in ihrer Basis sehr schmal. Das Gesicht wird an Stirn und Wangen

 [PP. 21-96 not processed]

1: Nachtigall SC15 Paez

TEIL II

ETHNOGRAPHIE

[P.97]
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I. Einleitung

1. HISTORISCHER ABRISS DER GESCHICHTE DER PAEZ SEIT DER CONQUISTA

ALS DER SPANISCHE FELDHAUPTMANN Sebastian de Belalcazar, als Unterfeldherr des Francisco Pizarro, den Nordteil des Inkareiches erobert und im Jahre 1534 die Stadt Quito gegründet hatte, zog er sorgfältige Erkundigungen über die weiter nördlich liegenden Länder ein. Da traf er auf einen fremden Indianer, der als seinen Namen Muquetá und den seines Kaziken Bogotá angab. Als man ihn weiter fragte, ob es in seinem Lande das Metall gäbe, das die Spanier Gold nannten, bejahte er dies lebhaft und fügte hinzu, daß es in seinem Lande eine Lagune gäbe, auf die sein Kazike einige Male im Jahre mit einem Floß fahre, von Kopf bis Fuß mit Goldstaub bepudert, so daß er wie ein vergoldeter Mann aussähe. So bringe er der Sonne goldene Gegenstände dar, um sich danach den Körper abzuwaschen und auch dieses Gold als Opfer darzubringen. Diese Erzählung war für Sebastian de Belalcazar der Anlaß, im Jahre 1535 Diego de Tapia zu einer Erkundung nach Norden, in Richtung auf das Land des El Dorado, des vergoldeten Mannes, auszuschicken. Er kam bis zum heutigen Rio Carchi. Dieser wurde der Ausgangspunkt der Eroberung Südkolumbiens durch die Spanier.

Der den Eindringlingen von den Eingeborenen Südkolumbiens geleistete Widerstand war verschieden. Die Stämme der Pasto und Quillacinga und der Caucatalstämme um Popayán leisteten nur geringen Widerstand. Sie waren früher schon von den Soldaten des Inca unterworfen worden, dessen Reich mit seiner nördlichsten Ausdehnung bis zum Rio Ancasmayo reichte. Die in den schwer zugänglichen Teilen der Zentralkordillere lebenden Paez, Guambianos, Andaqui und Pijaos dagegen leisteten den Spaniern heftigen und recht erfolgreichen Widerstand. Noch im gleichen Jahre, als Belalcazar die erste Expedition ausschickte, brach ein Trupp Spanier unter Pedro de Añasco nach Norden auf. 1536 folgte ihm Belalcazar ebenfalls. Im Verlauf dieses Jahres gründete er im Caucatal die Städte Popayán und Cali, wichtige Ausgangs-

punkte zu weiteren Erforschungen. Diese gingen in Richtung auf die Zentralkordillere, die Paramos von Moras und Guanacos und auf das Tierradentro zu. Unter ständigen Kämpfen mit den Paez, die damals ein bedeutend größeres Gebiet als heute einnahmen, wurde Belalcazar zurückgeschlagen und mußte unter Zurücklassung von 26 Spaniern, darunter mehreren Offizieren, nach Popayán und Lima zurückkehren. 1537 unternahm er einen zweiten Vorstoß von Popayán aus, um durch das Tierradentro hindurch das Land des El Dorado zu erreichen. Mit 100 Reitern, 200 Mann Fußvolk und mehr als tausend Indios als Lastträger kam er an den Rio Magdalena, ohne von den Paez behindert zu werden. Nach vier Monaten schwerer Kämpfe mit den Eingeborenen des Magdalenatales traf er endlich auf der Hochfläche von Bogotá mit dem kurz zuvor vom Norden gekommenen Conquistador Gonzalo Jimenez de Quesada zusammen. Eine drohende Auseinandersetzung mit den Waffen zwischen den beiden Eroberern konnte durch das Eintreffen eines dritten Conquistadors verhindert werden, als nämlich der im Dienste der Welser stehende deutsche Landsknechtführer Nikolaus Federmann von Osten her, durch das Tiefland von Venezuela, Bogotá erreichte.

Von der kriegerischen Aktivität der Paez hören wir wieder, als 1538/39 Pedro de Añasco unter unendlich grausamer Behandlung der Eingeborenen in das Magdalenatal eindrang, um auf Befehl des Belalcazar den Verbindungsweg von Quito nach Santa Fé de Bogatá, der Hauptstadt des neu gegründeten Vizekönigreiches Neu Granada, freizuhalten. In einem verzweifelten Kampf gelang es 5000 Kriegern der vereinigten Timanás, Yalcones, Paez und Apirama die Spanier zu überwältigen und ihren Führer, Pedro de Añasco, gefangen zu nehmen. Die Indios bereiteten ihm, der den Sohn der Kazikin der Timanás, Gaitana, hatte verbrennen lassen, ein entsetzliches Schicksal. Gaitana, auf deren Drängen hin das Bündnis der Stämme gegen die Spanier zustande gekommen war, ließ ihn von Dorf zu Dorf schleifen und ihm jeden Tag ein Glied abhacken.

Um den Tod seines Waffengefährten zu rächen, brach daraufhin 1539/40 Juan de Ampudia von Popayán mit seinen Landsknechten nach dem Tierradentro auf. Aber auch ihn und seinen Söldnern ereilte das gleiche Schicksal. Er selbst verlor sein Leben, und seine Mannschaft wurde unter großen Verlusten von den Paez zurückgeschlagen. Von diesem Schicksal seiner Vorgänger nicht entmutigt, brach Francisco Garcia zu einer neuen Expedition in das Tierradentro auf, aber auch er scheiterte vollständig. Die Kazikin Gaitana erreichte durch flammende Reden eine erneute Vereinigung der Timanás, Paez, Yalcones, Apiramas, Guanacas und Pijaos, und mit 10 000 Mann fiel sie über die Stadt Timaná her und

zerstörte sie. Ihr Verteidiger, Diego Ruiz des Campo, fiel bei dem Versuch, mit seinen Reitern die dichten Scharen der mit der neuen Waffe von vierzig Handspannen langen Lanzen bewaffneten Indioscharen zu durchbrechen.

Bald danach wurde Juan Cabrera von Neiva nach Timaná zum Wiederaufbau berufen. Die Yalcones boten Frieden und ihre Mithilfe beim Wiederaufbau der von ihnen zerstörten Stadt an. Juan Cabrera nahm diese an, und als die Yalcones und ihre Kaziken versammelt waren, fiel er aus dem Hinterhalt über sie her und tötete ihre Kaziken und den größten Teil der Männer. Seitdem gibt es keinen Stamm der Yalcones mehr.

Die Paez blieben intakt und hatten ihre Ruhe, bis 1543 Belalcazar von einem kurzen Aufenthalt aus Spanien zurückkehrte und nun von Popayan aus mit 1000 Reitern und bestens ausgerüstet einen Rachezug gegen die Paez unternahm. Dem erprobtesten Feldhauptmann Spaniens standen die in ihren Bergen um ihre Freiheit kämpfenden Paez gegenüber. Nach hohen, blutigen Verlusten mußte Belalcazar sich geschlagen zurückziehen. Von da an unternahm er keinen Versuch mehr zur Unterwerfung der Paez.*

Neunzehn Jahre später, im Jahre 1562, versuchte Domingo Lozano von neuem, die reichen Silberminen von Timaná und La Plata auszubeuten. Er mußte sich jedoch wieder zurückziehen, um im nächsten Jahre mit verstärkten Truppen wiederzukommen. Er gründete die Stadt San Vicente de Paez, aber schon zwei Monaten danach verlor er bei einem Angriff der Paez auf die von ihm gegründete Stadt sein Leben. Eine Ersatzmannschaft, die in Eilmärschen aus Popayán heranrückte, wurde ebenfalls vollständig aufgerieben. Nach dieser neuerlichen Vertreibung der Eroberer verbündeten sich die Paez mit den Pijaos, die 1569 Neiva zerstört hatten. Gemeinsam überfielen und plünderten sie 1577 die Silberminen der Stadt La Plata, töteten alle Bewohner und zündeten die Häuser an.

Auf diese ungünstigen Nachrichten hin befahl der spanische König energisch die «Befriedung der Provinz», die von 1605-1608 derart erfolgreich durchgeführt wurde, daß schließlich die Truppen keine Indios zur Bekämpfung noch Häuser zur Plünderung finden konnten. Die Paez hatten sich 1605 nach der verlorenen Schlacht von Itaibe auf das heute noch von ihnen bewohnte Gebiet ihrer unzugänglichen Berge zurückgezogen. Ihre westlichen Nachbarn, die Guanacas, verbündeten sich mit den Spaniern, und diese legten durch deren Gebiet die Verbindungsstraße von

* Eine eingehende Beschreibung des hier kurz skizzierten Zeitabschnittes bei H. Trimborn (1954) pp. 67-84.

Popayán nach Bogotá. Jesuiten richteten 1613 in dem Ort Guanacas die erste Missionsstation und eine Raststation für den Reiseverkehr ein. Durch eine eingeschleppte Pockenepidemie gingen die Guanacas 1790 größtenteils zugrunde. Die Überlebenden zogen sich nach dem heutigen Inzá zurück, wo sie in den Kolonisten aufgingen. Von ihrer Sprache ist nichts erhalten.

Die Paez verteidigten weiterhin ihr Land gegen die Spanier und gegen die Missionierung und bewirkten durch ihre Überfälle, daß der Weg nach Bogotá nie ganz sicher war. Die Spanier hatten dann in der Folgezeit auch nur sehr wenig Interesse an einer Missionierung und Zivilisierung der Paez. Nach der Station von Guanacas wurde nur eine Mission in Tálaga gegründet. Durch die von hohen Gebirgszügen abgeschlossene Lage der einzelnen Ortschaften konnten sich einige Dörfer recht lange unbeeinflußt von der spanischen Zivilisation erhalten. Die Behörden unterstützten später die Errichtung einer Eingeborenenselbstverwaltung, den Cabildo, und schützten die Paez durch Reservationsgesetze vor den sich langsam vorschiebenden Kolonisten. Dadurch konnten die Paez ihre Sprache und Sitten weitgehend erhalten, gegenüber den anderen Gebirgsstämmen Kolumbiens, die längst in der spanisch-kolumbianischen Kultur aufgegangen sind. In den Unabhängigkeitskämpfen von der spanischen Krone 1812 bis 1824 unter Simon Bolivar kämpften die Paez unter Gregorio Calambás auf republikanischer Seite für ihre Befreiung. Ihr Führer wurde gefangen genommen und erschossen. Nach der siegreichen Beendigung der Unabhängigkeitskämpfe wurde Gregorio Calambás einer der Märtyrer der kolumbianischen Unabhängigkeit.*

Wie die Guanacas untergingen, so auch die Pijaos. Nachdem sie vor der Conquista als östliche Nachbarn der Quimbaya fast das ganze Gebiet des heutigen Departamentos Tolima östlich der Zentralkordillere eingenommen hatten, gingen sie in den zahllosen Kämpfen mit den Spaniern unter. Noch im 18. Jahrhundert lebten Reste von ihnen im Tale des Rio Negro de Narvaez als Nachbarn der Paez. Sowohl sie, die von den Paez Bemb genannt wurden, als auch die Guanacas, sprachen vom Paez verschiedene Sprachen. Sie konnten sich untereinander nicht verständigen.

Erhalten geblieben bis auf den heutigen Tag ist neben den Paez in gewissem Umfang auch die Kultur der Guambianos, eines Nachbarstammes, der von den Paez Mogwei genannt wird. Die Guambianos bewohnen die Westseite der Zentralkordillere und leben heute im Tale des Piendamó um Silvia. Leben und Gebräuche seines Stammes hat der Guambiano Francisco Tumiña Pillumbe kürzlich in einer Anzahl sehr instruktiver

* Nach V. A. Bedoya, P. J. Ramirez Sendoya und G. Hernandez de Alba (VII).

Zeichnungen dargestellt, die von Gregorio Hernandez de Alba jeweils mit einem kurzen Text versehen wurden.

Über die übrigen, zur Zeit der Conquista bestehenden Indianerkulturen Südkolumbiens wissen wir wenig. Die Conquistadoren hatten andere Aufgaben, als ethnographische wissenschaftliche Beschreibungen über ihre grausamen Feinde abzufassen. Dennoch hat die mit subtilen Methoden arbeitende moderne, völkerkundliche und sprachwissenschaftliche Erforschung der alten Quellen hervorragende Ergebnisse gezeitigt.

Die Kenntnisse über die Paez, die mit rund 25 000 Menschen neben den Goajiros, der Bevölkerung der Goajira-Halbinsel im Norden des Landes, die größte nicht spanisch sprechende Bevölkerungsgruppe innerhalb Kolumbiens bilden, sind recht ungenügend. Die ältesten Daten stammen von Eugenio Castillo i Orosco, der von 1735-1755 als Missionar — oftmals unter Lebensgefahr, wie er berichtet — in Tálaga tätig war und ein Vokabular, eine Grammatik nebst einigen kulturellen Daten über die Paez niederschrieb. Dieses Manuskript wurde 1877 gedruckt. Weitere ethnologische Daten teilt der kolumbianische General Carlos Cuervo Marquez mit, der auf seinen ausgedehnten Reisen auch das Tierradentrogebiet von Nord nach Süd durchreiste und die ersten Nachrichten über seine archäologischen Kulturen erbrachte. Der zeitlich nächste Berichterstatter über die Paez ist der amerikanische Ethnologe Henri Pittier de Fábrega, der 1906 aus dem mittleren Caucatal von Nordwesten her über Corinto und Toribió kommend, sich einige Tage in Tacueyó und Huila aufhielt. Georg Bürg, der erstmals eingehender die archäologischen Objekte des Tierradentro erforschte, lebte ebenfalls eine Zeitlang unter den Paez und gibt in seinem Bericht einige ethnographische Notizen. In der zusammenfassenden Übersicht über die Hochlandstämme Südkolumbiens berichtet Gregorio Hernandez de Alba auch über die Paez, die er im Rahmen eigener Forschungen kennen gelernt hatte. Eine Blutgruppenuntersuchung an 303 Paez nahm Graciliano Arcila Velez vor. Die erste eingehende spezielle Bearbeitung der Paez-Kultur unter dem Aspekt des religiösen und sozialen Lebens nahm zur Zeit unseres Aufenthaltes im Tierradentro der Direktor des Archäologischen Parkes von San Andrés, Segundo Bernal Villa vor.

Da somit eine Gesamtbeschreibung der Kultur der Paez noch nicht existiert, sei hiermit im folgenden eine Stammesmonographie der Paez vorgelegt, in der außer den eigenen erforschten Daten auch die Ergebnisse der früheren Forscher mit verarbeitet worden sind. Vieles wird mir — durch die Kürze der zur Verfügung stehenden Zeit und durch die Unzugänglichkeit der Bevölkerung — entgangen sein, vieles aus dem Kulturhaushalt

der Paez ist als Folge der fortschreitenden Zivilisation bereits zugrunde und damit für immer verloren gegangen. Bei der folgenden Beschreibung des Kulturbesitzes der Paez wurde aus arbeitsmäßigen Gründen eine Einteilung nach materieller und geistiger Kultur und nach der Beschreibung der Gesellungsform unternommen. Eine scharfe Grenze innerhalb einer Kultur ist zwischen diesen Aspekten in der Praxis normalerweise nicht zu ziehen, da diese drei Gebiete kein Eigendasein führen, sondern mit den handelnden Menschen als Schöpfer und Träger der Kultur eng verbunden sind. Dies gilt in verstärktem Maße für Naturvölker, wo alle Bereiche der menschlichen Betätigung viel stärker untereinander verbunden sind, als in der modernen Hochkultur, wo die einzelnen Sektoren der Betätigung in hohem Grade spezialisiert sind und dementsprechend auch getrennt betrachtet und untersucht werden können. Wenn deshalb in der folgenden Stammesbeschreibung aus praktischen Gründen die Form der Siedlung unter der materiellen Kultur und der Schamanismus unter der geistigen Kultur beschrieben ist, so sind doch beide Faktoren auch von großer Bedeutung für den soziologischen Gesichtspunkt. Umgekehrt ist beispielsweise die Familienorganisation als Teil der Gesellschaftsbeschreibung auch engstens verbunden mit Wirtschaft und Technik als dem vorwiegend materiellen Bereich, wie auch mit der Religion.

2. DEMOGRAPHIE

Insgesamt umfaßt das Tierradentrogebiet etwa 5000 km², von denen auf das Gebiet nördlich des Rio Ullucus etwa 3000 km² entfallen. Seine 18 Dörfer sind in zwei Municipios (Verwaltungskreise) unterteilt, deren südlicher, mit dem Verwaltungssitz Inzá, drei Dörfer und deren nördlicher, mit dem Verwaltungssitz Belalcazar, 15 Dörfer umfaßt. Belalcazar, das seinen Namen nach dem Conquistador Sebastian de Belalcazar nicht ganz zu Recht trägt, da dieser das Tierradentrogebiet nicht zu erobern vermochte, ist gleichzeitig Sitz des Apostolischen Präfekten für das Tierradentro. Nach der Volkszählung von 1938 umfaßt die aus gemischtfarbenen Kolonisten und reinrassigen Indios bestehende Bevölkerung des Tierradentro 17 578 Einwohner, verteilt auf Belalcazar mit 13 861 und Inzá mit 3717 Bewohnern. Die neuere Zählung von 1951 ergab mit insgesamt 25 495 Bewohnern eine beträchtlich größere Zahl, wovon 15 388 auf das Municipio Belalcazar und 10 103 auf das Municipio Inzá entfallen. Ein Vergleich der beiden Zählungen von 1938 und 1951 ergibt

eine beachtliche Unvollständigkeit der Zählung im Municipio Inzá für das Jahr 1938 (Zahlen zit. bei Bernal Villa [I], p. 285).

Von dieser Zahl sind etwa 80 Prozent Eingeborene, die heute größtenteils zivilisiert sind, d. h. sie sind getauft und sprechen etwas spanisch. Politisch sind auch sie grundsätzlich Vollbürger des Landes, sie können wählen und zum Militärdienst eingezogen werden, zahlen aber keine Steuern. In einer Hinsicht jedoch gelten sie, zu ihrem Glück, vor dem Gesetz als «Minderjährige»: sie sind in ihrer Gesamtheit Besitzer allen Grund und Bodens des Tierradentro, der einzelne Mann ist aber nicht in der Lage sein Land zu verkaufen. Damit soll vermieden werden, daß die Paez ihr Siedlungsgebiet an die Weißen verlieren. Praktisch wird dieses Gesetz nicht immer streng eingehalten, denn sonst könnte es im Tierradentro weder Kolonisten noch Großgrundbesitzer geben, die ihre Weide- und Anbauflächen langsam aber sicher in das Gebiet der Eingeborenen vorschieben. Diese können sich faktisch doch nicht dagegen wehren, denn aus Geldmangel ist niemand von ihnen zu einer Klage vor dem Gericht in der Lage. Falls es doch zu einer Klage kommt, verlieren immer die Indios, wie beispielsweise in Itaibe, im Südosten des Tierradentro, wo schon 1636 die Spanier zu kolonisieren begannen und wo viele Jahre hindurch vergebens von den Indios prozessiert wurde. Kein Richter vermag zudem etwas gegen einen reichen Großgrundbesitzer oder gegen die ebenfalls landbesitzenden Missionen zu unternehmen.

Nach dem Grad der Zivilisierung kann man die Bewohner des Tierradentro in drei Gruppen einteilen: a) Die südlich des Rio Ullucus wohnenden Kolonisten, die spanisch sprechen und nichts mit den Paez gemein haben. Sie entsprechen in Sitten und Gebräuchen der allgemeinen mehr oder weniger stark mestizierten kolumbianischen Landbevölkerung. Nichts mit den Paez gemein hat ferner die zum überwiegenden Teil aus Negern bestehende Bevölkerung von Belalcazar. Diese sind von den Spaniern in der Kolonialzeit als Sklaven dorthin gebracht worden, um die schon in alter Zeit von den Paez benutzten Salinen auszubeuten. Heute ist die Salzgewinnung nicht mehr rentabel. Die Neger leben zu einem Teil von der Goldwäscherei im Rio Paez, die in primitiver Art, von den Arbeitenden bis zu den Knien im Wasser stehend, mit Holzschüsseln vorgenommen wird. Die Paez vermischen sich allgemein nicht mit den Negern, sondern verachten sie, da sie wissen, daß diese einst als Sklaven dorthin gekommen sind.

b) Die Paez, die nördlich des Rio Ullucus beide Ufer des Rio Paez bis nördlich zum Nevado del Huila besiedelt haben. Sie haben sich teilweise mit der weißen und mestizierten Kolonistenbevölkerung gemischt. Die

von ihnen bewohnten Ortschaften sind: Araujo, Avirama, Belalcazar, Cuetando, Mosoco, Ricaurte, San Andrés, San José, Tálaga, Toez, Togóima.

c) Die reinen Paez-Dörfer Calderas, Chinas, Huila, Lame, Santa Rosa, Suin und Vitoncó. Von diesen haben die Paez von Calderas ihre kulturelle Eigenart am reinsten erhalten. Bei ihnen haben wir vorwiegend gearbeitet, und das vorgelegte Material bezieht sich, soweit nichts anderes erwähnt ist, auf die Kultur der Paez von Calderas. Die Calderuner, wie man die Bewohner von Calderas im Lande nennt, sind die am weitaus unzugänglichsten aller Paez. Sie haben die ursprünglich von allen streng beachteten drei Gesetze Juan Tamas, des mythischen Helden der Paez, bis heute am besten gehalten. Diese Gesetze besagen: 1. Tierradentro ist einzig und allein das Land der Paez, 2. die Paez dürfen sich nie mit anderen Rassen mischen, 3. die Paez sind unbesiegbar, solange sie diese Gesetze halten. Gerade das dritte Gesetz hat eine fundierte Berechtigung; war es doch den Spaniern jahrhundertelang nicht möglich, das Tierradentro zu erobern und die Paez zu unterwerfen.

Ihre Unabhängigkeit lieben die Paez auch heute noch über alles. Und wenn sie auch gegen die «Weißen», darunter verstehen sie die Kolonisten und allgemein die Kolumbianer, nichts mit Gewalt ausrichten können, so hassen sie sie doch in ohnmächtigem Grimm. «Muiska pešu»,* weißer Räuber, so nennen sie die Kolonisten, die ihnen das Land wegnahmen. Diese jedoch, fleißiger als die Paez, brauchen Land für ihre zahlreichen Kinder. Sie können es nicht einsehen, daß der beste und jungfräuliche Boden ungenützt in den Händen der Paez verbleiben soll.

Die in den Höhen durch die abfließenden Wasser im Gebirgsland entstechenden Flüsse bilden abgeschlossene Talkessel, die jeweils politisch ein Dorf umfassen. Es sind dies allerdings keine Dörfer in unserem Sinne, da die Häuser nicht zusammen, sondern einzeln, verstreut an den Berghängen des ganzen Talkessels als Einzelgehöfte liegen. Diese dezentralisierte Lage eines Dorfes erschwerte die ethnologische Arbeit beträchtlich, da man «sein» Dorf nicht im Blick hat und die Bewohner nicht insgesamt übersehen kann. Es ist somit sehr schwer, alle Leute des Dorfes kennen zu lernen, da man jeweils weite Strecken von Haus zu Haus gehen und dabei meist noch recht mühsam einen Hang erklettern muß. Wie oft kam es vor, daß die Bewohner gerade nicht zu Hause waren oder sich nicht sehen oder sprechen lassen wollten. Denn die Calderuner sahen uns zunächst keineswegs gerne, und noch nach Monaten des Lebens und der Besuche bei ihnen gedachten die Alten wehmütig der Zeiten, da man alle

* Über Transkription und Phonetik der Paez-Worte vgl. pp. 331-335.

eindringenden Weißen totgeschlagen hatte. Heute kommen zudem nicht nur Weiße nach Calderas, sondern sogar Ausländer. «Wenn wir mit ihnen sprechen und sie gut behandeln» so sagten sie, «dann kommen nur immer noch mehr Weiße her». Wie oft passierte es, daß wir einen der Alten besuchten, die, wie man mir sagte, Märchen zu erzählen wissen, und dem wir Tabak und Salz und einige sonstige kleine Geschenke, ein Messer, eine Hacke oder einen Aluminiumbecher gaben. Im Augenblick hätte er Kopfschmerzen, sagte er. Ich gab ihm einige Tabletten und wir vereinbarten, daß ich am nächsten Morgen wiederkommen und er mir dann einige Märchen erzählen würde. Als wir am nächsten Tage nach stundenlangem Marsch ankamen, erzählte uns seine Frau, daß ihr Mann heute schon ganz früh in die Berge gegangen wäre, um Holz zu schlagen.

Unser erster Besuch in Calderas geschah in Begleitung des Dolmetschers Marcos Antonio Penkue, eines etwa 40jährigen Paez aus San Andrés, der sich als sehr zivilisiert betrachtete und es bereits zu einem gewissen Wohlstand gebracht hatte. Er diente als Soldat an der brasilianischen Grenze und spricht gut spanisch. Auf seiner Finca hat er etwa 2000 Kaffeebäume, deren Ertrag er in Inzá auf dem Markt verkauft. Dort tätigt er auch noch weitere Geschäfte, indem er bei den nicht spanisch sprechenden und geschäftlich allgemein untüchtigen Paez als Dolmetscher und Zwischenhändler fungiert. Bei unserer Arbeit in Calderas verband er mit seinem Dienst auch gleichzeitig seine Geschäfte. Die Paez sind nämlich passionierte Viehzüchter, allerdings nicht in unserem ökonomischen Sinne, sondern aus reinem Sport und aus Freude an der Zahl. Ein Kuhkälbchen ist ihnen viel mehr wert als ein ausgewachsener Bulle, denn ersteres bringt ja wieder Kälbchen und vermehrt die Herde. Marcos Antonio tauschte also in Calderas Kälber gegen Bullen und kaufte wohl auch selbst einiges Rindvieh auf. Diese Handelsgeschäfte bringen ihm pro Stück etwa 200 bis 250 Pesos an Gewinn ein, da die Paez unter sich nur geringe Preise fordern, für einen Bullen etwa 50 Pesos. Sein Verkaufspreis auf dem Markt in Inzá beträgt etwa 300 Pesos. Die Arbeit mit uns betrachtete er als höchst lästig, wußte aber im übrigen, was er uns wert war. Seine Honorarforderungen stiegen von anfangs drei Pesos täglich bis auf zehn Pesos. Übersetzungen, die ihm zu kompliziert erschienen oder Erklärungen, die ihm zu lang waren, gab er «sinngemäß» mit wenigen Worten wieder, wobei meine Rückfragen ihn sichtlich belästigten. Als ich eines Tages eine wichtige Arbeit geplant hatte, er aber ein wichtiges Geschäft, versteckte er unsere Pferde und ließ sie uns den ganzen Tag über seelenruhig suchen, während er unter der Vorgabe des Pferdesuchens seinen Geschäften nachging, bis er sie dann am Abend «fand».

Wir suchten uns dann einen anderen Dolmetscher, den Calderuner Victoriano Piñakué, etwa 17 Jahre alt und der «weißen» Zivilisation sehr aufgeschlossen. Sein Vater besuchte einmal sogar Popayán, die Hauptstadt des Departamentos Cauca. Er hatte dadurch einen etwas weiteren Blick bekommen und bekam mit einem bösen Schamanen Streit, bei welchem dieser ihm auf magischem Wege ein Auge nahm. Der alte Piñakué ist seitdem auf einem Auge blind. Ein jüngerer Bruder Victorianos geht in Inzá zur Schule und ist Gehilfe des dortigen Sakristan. Victoriano hat großes Interesse daran, auch einmal Popayán oder gar Bogotá kennen zu lernen. Er spricht recht gut spanisch und hat sich bereits verschiedentlich im Dienste der weißen Kolonisten und in La Plata als Bauarbeiter Geld verdient, um sich Kleidung der Weißen zu kaufen. Unter «weiß» verstehen die Paez die spanische Kultur der Kolumbianer, also Kleidung, Erziehung und entsprechende Gebräuche, nicht aber die Hautfarbe oder sonstige Kennzeichen der weißen Rasse.

Victoriano legte großen Wert darauf, nicht wie ein Paez, sondern wie ein Weißer gekleidet zu gehen. Er war aber nicht nur aus Geldgier, sondern aus ehrlichem Interesse ein begeisterter Mitarbeiter, der bei jeder Gelegenheit rückfragte, wie es denn bei uns in Deutschland wäre. Mit großer Wißbegierde ließ er sich immer wieder unsere Fotos aus Europa erklären und bemühte sich sogar, deutsch zu lernen.

In seinem Heimatdorf Calderas war die Arbeit mit Victoriano sehr schwierig, da er sehr unbeliebt war, weil er wie ein Weißer gekleidet geht. Einige Male, als seine Dorfgenossen betrunken waren, wollten sie ihn sogar umbringen. Als wir einmal gemeinsam ein Haus besuchten, wurde er durch angetrunkene Männer angepöbelt, er wäre ein Faulpelz, der den ganzen Tag über nichts weiter täte, als mit den «Doctores» zu sprechen und spazieren zu gehen. Zudem glaube er wohl, daß er etwas Besseres sei als die übrigen Paez, weil er «weiße» Kleidung trüge. Auf die Entgegnung Victorianos, daß er bei seiner Arbeit unter den Weißen unmöglich Calderuner Tracht tragen könne, sondern sich in seiner Kleidung seiner Umgebung anpassen müsse, erwiderten sie, daß er nur zu den Weißen gegangen sei, um mehr Fleisch essen zu können.

Victoriano trägt seinen äußeren Stand höherer Kultur offen und gerne zur Schau. Er besitzt Seife, eine Zahnbürste, ein kleines Bürstchen zur Pflege der Augenbrauen und Parfum. Alle diese Toilettenartikel benutzt er sehr häufig. Angst hat er vor dem Neid der Calderuner Dorfgenossen nicht; zu seiner Verteidigung trägt er immer seinen Machete bei sich. Er wünscht, sich außerhalb von Calderas mit einer «weißen» Frau zu verheiraten (vgl. auch «Tageslauf»).

Bei der Arbeit wurde grundsätzlich versucht, alle Tätigkeiten der Paez selbst zu beobachten; wenn dies nicht angängig war, so wurden möglichst zwei verschiedene Gewährsleute befragt. Daß Irrtümer aber auch bei sorgfältiger Arbeit unterlaufen können, mögen zwei Beispiele zeigen: Ich ließ mir durch den Dolmetscher Marcos den Färbevorgang der schwarz gefärbten Stoffe erklären, wonach diese zuerst mit bestimmten Blättern gekocht und dann samt diesen zwei Tage in schwarze Humuserde gelegt werden. Bei der gleichen Frage an Victoriano erklärte dieser, daß die Schwarzfärbung eintrete, wenn man die Stoffe zwei Tage lang in schwarze Humuserde lege. Auf meinen Hinweis, daß man den Stoff doch vorher erst mit Blättern kochen müsse, stimmte er mir erfreut zu. Zur Rede gestellt, warum er mir denn das nicht auch gesagt hätte, antwortete er: «Ja, *danach* haben Sie doch nicht gefragt; Sie wollten doch nur wissen, wie der Stoff schwarz wird!».

Man kann gar nicht oft genug und immer wieder anders herum über dasselbe Thema sprechen, denn den Paez ist die Notwendigkeit oder der Sinn von Erklärungen für sie selbstverständlicher Dinge meist unverständlich. So lag auch in dem beschriebenen Falle genau so wenig eine böse Absicht oder auch nur Nachlässigkeit vor wie im folgenden: Beim Durchstreifen der Gemarkungen erkundigte ich mich, welche Felder Privateigentum und welche Gemeindeeigentum wären. Dabei kamen wir generell zu dem Ergebnis, daß die Niederungen Gemeindeeigentum und die Berghänge Privatbesitz des Mannes bzw. der Familie seien, die das Land erstmals gerodet hatte. Mehrmals fragte ich Victoriano, ob es noch Landstücke gäbe, die z. Zt. keinen Besitzer hätten. Ausdrücklich erklärte er, daß alles Land vergeben sei und es kein herrenloses Land mehr gäbe.

Eines Tages fragte ich beim Anblick eines frisch gerodeten Feldes auf den höchsten Berghängen einen dort arbeitenden Paez, wem denn dieses Land gehöre und ob der Betreffende es immer besessen hätte. Er wäre selbst der Besitzer, antwortete dieser, und das Stück war vorher herrenlos. Er hätte es sich gerodet und sich erst kürzlich hier sein Haus erbaut, um hier zu leben. Auf die Frage, ob es denn noch mehr herrenloses Land gäbe, erklärte er mir, daß die höchsten und unzugänglichen Bergspitzen, die noch mit dicken Bäumen bewachsen und noch nie gerodet worden sind, niemanden gehören und jeder Paez sich ein Stück davon roden könnte, welches daraufhin sein Eigentum würde. Ich stellte Victoriano danach zur Rede, daß es also doch noch herrenloses Land gäbe. «Ja», antwortete er mir da, «natürlich gibt es noch herrenloses Land, aber dieses ist so schlecht, daß es ja keinen Wert hat.»

Fern von ihrem Dorfe, auf dem Wege zum Markt und allgemein in der

Fremde sind die Paez, wenn sie einzeln oder in der Minderzahl sind, scheu und zurückhaltend. Sind sie aber in großer Anzahl beisammen oder gar in ihrem eigenen Hause, dann sind sie meist recht dreist und vorlaut und machten laut ihre Witze über uns. Scherzhaftigkeit ist überhaupt ein hervorstechendes Merkmal der Paez. Keine Unterhaltung, kein noch so belangloses Gespräch wird ohne Scherz — häufig erotischer Art — begonnen. Die Bedeutung, die die Führung einer solchen leicht-lässigen Unterhaltung hat, zeigt sich darin, daß ernst veranlagte Mädchen kaum geheiratet werden.

Besonders über meine Frau belustigte man sich, denn man fand es durchweg sehr häßlich, daß sie lange Hosen trug. Es wurden darüber zahlreiche Witze gemacht, die wir natürlich nicht verstanden und weswegen wir dann unsererseits die Initiative durch einen Witz ergreifen mußten, der dankbar und allgemein mit Schlagfertigkeit quittiert wurde. Überhaupt ist ihnen Respekt vor Fremden innerhalb ihrer Behausung fremd. In größeren Gruppen machen sie auch innerhalb fremder Umgebung ihre Glossen, wobei viel gelacht wird. Da man sie nicht versteht, erwecken sie leicht den Eindruck der Albernheit. In ihren eigenen Häusern äffen sie auch den besuchenden Missionspfarrer nach, indem sie Teile der Messe, sowie sie sie verstanden haben, übertrieben-dramatisch wiederholen. Dieser hat ohnehin ein schweres Amt. Seine Predigten und Belehrungen in der Kirche, in spanischer Sprache vorgetragen, verstehen sie nicht. Spricht er ihre eigene Sprache, so werden die unvermeidlichen Fehler laut lachend glossiert.

Bei unserem ersten Besuch in Calderas trat uns an der Grenze des Dorfbezirkes ein Mann von etwa 30 Jahren entgegen, der uns in barschem Ton fragte, ob wir nicht wüßten, daß dieses Land nur für die Paez sei. Kein Weißer hätte hier etwas zu suchen. Wir möchten umkehren, denn niemand wünsche unseren Besuch. Marcos Antonio vermittelte und erklärte, daß wir nur gekommen wären, um den Calderunern Geschenke zu bringen und daß wir nicht die Absicht hätten, uns in Calderas niederzulassen. Wir würden bestimmt am nächsten Tage wieder zurückkehren. Dies ließ der Mann gelten und ermahnte uns beim Abschied, es nur nicht zu wagen, etwa Land zu stehlen. Wir erhielten dann vom Cabildo, dem Dorfrat, auch späterhin nie die Genehmigung, länger als eine Woche hintereinander im Dorfe zu verbleiben. Unser Ansehen bei den jüngeren Leuten des Dorfes besserte sich von Woche zu Woche, einerseits dadurch, daß wir jedem Mann und jeder Frau, mit denen wir zu sprechen Gelegenheit hatten, eine Zigarette anboten, noch mehr aber dadurch, daß wir — wie uns später bestätigt wurde — zu jedermann freundlich waren und immer

lachten. In der Tat fällt es keinem der weißen und gemischtfarbenen Kolonisten ein, einen Calderuner auch nur eines Blickes zu würdigen. Im Gegenteil, in den am Wege liegenden Häusern sind die Hunde darauf abgerichtet, die Indios anzufallen. Allerdings sind diese Hunde durchweg unterernährt und allgemein sehr feige. Der Paez-Mann braucht nur seinen Machete oder einen Knüppel zu erheben, um den Hund abzuwehren. Wir waren die ersten Weißen, die etwas völlig Ungewöhnliches taten, indem wir, ohne jeden Hintergedanken, immer freundlich waren und sie in ihrer Sprache immer zuerst grüßten. Und dies nicht nur in Calderas, sondern auch in Inzá und auf den Wegen zum Markt. Diese Freundlichkeit wurde allerseits sehr gut vermerkt. Als wir ihnen dann später die ersten Fotografien von ihnen zeigen und schenken konnten, ließen sie sich ausgesprochen gerne fotografieren und boten uns hin und wieder ein Ei oder eine Schale Chicha an, wenn wir sie fotografierten.

3. ANTHROPOLOGISCHE BEMERKUNGEN

Da ich persönlich unter den Paez keine anthropologischen Messungen vorgenommen habe, kann ich keine zahlenmäßigen Angaben machen. Die entsprechenden Untersuchungen sind während meines Aufenthaltes von dem kolumbianischen Anthropologen Nestor Usacategui vorgenommen worden, aber noch nicht publiziert.

Was in somatischer Hinsicht die Männer anbelangt, so sind sie meist mittelgroß, schlank, mit schmalen Schultern, selten untersetzt. Als geübte Kletterer und Bergbewohner sind sie nie dick. Sie machen zwar keinen unterernährten Eindruck, dennoch ist ihr Fettpolster sehr dünn. Auch die Arm- und Körpermuskulatur ist nur schwach entwickelt (vgl. Abb. 173). Größere Lasten vermögen sie nicht zu heben. Mittels der auf dem Rücken herunterhängenden und mit dem Brustband getragenen Fasertaschen werden maximal 25 kg transportiert. Die Waden sind muskulös, aber nicht dick. Allgemein herrscht Senkfuß vor. Der Gang ist leicht o-beinig, die großen Zehen werden beim Laufen nach innen gestellt. Dieselben somatischen Besonderheiten finden sich auch bei den Frauen. In der Jugend sind sie gut proportioniert, im Alter nie dick.

Allgemein herrscht Kurzköpfigkeit vor, jedoch keine extreme. Die Gesichter sind oval, die Backenknochen treten nur wenig hervor. Die Nase ist vorwiegend gerade, teilweise leicht konkav und von mäßiger Breite. Bei Frauen finden sich manchmal etwas geblähte Nasenflügel. Die Stirn

ist hoch, gerade und steil. Die Brauenbögen sind wenig ausgeprägt. Die Augen sind mitunter leicht schräg gestellt und zeigen — besonders bei Frauen — eine leichte Mongolenfalte. Der Mund ist groß, die Lippen etwas wulstig. Die Augenfarbe ist dunkelbraun und glänzend, die Hautfarbe mittelbraun. Stolz wurde uns in Avirama eine Familie vorgestellt, deren Mitglieder bei normaler Hautfarbe und dunklen Augen, rötlichblondes Haar haben. Ein Großvater soll hellhäutiger gewesen sein und eine noch hellere Haarfarbe gehabt haben. Die normale Haarfarbe ist dunkel, das Haar ist schlicht, aber nicht straff, teilweise gewellt. Auch im Alter werden die Haare selten weiß. Nur eine Frau mit leicht angegrautem Haar trafen wir und einen alten Mann mit grauem, spärlichen Bartwuchs, aber dunklen Haaren. Der Bartwuchs bei den Männern ist gering. Die Barthaare werden regelmäßig herausgezupft (vgl. Abb. 148 bis 155).

Nach der blutgruppenmäßigen Zusammensetzung der Paez fanden sich bei 303 untersuchten Individuen 88,78 Prozent der Blutgruppe O, 6,93 Prozent der Blutgruppe A und 4,29 Prozent der Blutgruppe B. Die Blutgruppe A + B ist nicht vertreten (G. Arcila Velez, pp. 11-14).

Den Paez selbst ist der rassische Begriff der Indianer fremd. Für sie kennzeichnet «Indio» einen kulturellen Status. Der Kollege Segundo Bernal Villa, Indianer aus der Gegend von Pasto, wurde wegen seiner europäischen Kleidung als «Blanco» bezeichnet. Und als sich unser Dolmetscher Victoriano für sein verdientes Geld «weiße Kleidung» (Hut, Hose, Hemd, Schuhe) kaufte, wurde er in seinem Dorf als «Weißer» bezeichnet und entsprechend angefeindet.

Die Bevölkerungszahl der Paez scheint weder zu- noch abzunehmen, soweit es die nicht zivilisierten Paez, beispielsweise in Calderas betrifft. Die Kindersterblichkeit beträgt mehr als 50 Prozent. Die häufigste Krankheitsursache ist der Keuchhusten. Der Gesundheitszustand der das zweite Lebensjahr überlebenden Kinder, sowie der Erwachsenen ist — den Umständen entsprechend — recht gut. Allerdings sieht man kaum alte Leute über 60 Jahre (und die so alt Aussehenden sind wahrscheinlich jünger). Die häufigste Krankheit der Erwachsenen ist Tuberkulose, die zahlreiche Opfer fordert, da die Nächte sehr kalt sind und Kälte und Wind ungehindert durch die leichten Wände in die Häuser eindringen können. Zudem wird allgemein keinerlei Fett in irgendeiner Form zu sich genommen. Eine weitere, allerdings nicht ernst genommene Krankheit, an der viele Paez leiden, ist ein kranker Magen, hervorgerufen durch das Branntweintrinken schon im Säuglingsalter und die unsachgemäße Ernährung im Kindesalter. Säuglinge bekommen Bohnen, Kohl, Yuca, aber keine Milchnahrung außer der Muttermilch.

Ärzte werden in keinem Fall konsultiert. Sämtliche ohne äußere Einwirkungen zutage tretenden Krankheiten werden auf bösen Zauber oder auf die «Pest» (s. unter Religion) zurückgeführt. Sie müssen deswegen von den einheimischen Schamanen behandelt werden. Offene Wunden und Verletzungen behandelt die Hebamme. Hin und wieder besucht man allerdings die Missionsstation, um sich einen Zahn ziehen zu lassen, wobei von den Schwestern uneingeschränkt die große Standhaftigkeit im Ertragen der Schmerzen gelobt wird.

Die gesundheitlichen Schäden durch den Koka- und Chichagenuß scheinen mir seitens der Behörden übertrieben; sie wären noch geringer bei vernünftigerer und kräftigerer Ernährung. Das Verbot des Kokagenusses und der Kampf der Regierung gegen Koka und Chicha erwecken den Anschein, als ob es mehr ein Kampf um die ausfallende Branntweinsteuer ist, denn Alkohol des staatlichen Monopols darf an jeden Indio in jeder Menge verkauft werden. Daß der Paez allgemein nicht durchgehend und hart arbeitet, hat wohl nichts mit einer Degeneration durch die genannten Genußmittel zu tun, sondern es ist ganz einfach seine psychologische Einstellung, die ihn nicht einsehen läßt, daß der Mensch über seine animalischen Lebensbedürfnisse des Essens und sich Fortpflanzens hinaus nach Dingen streben soll, die ihm entbehrlich erscheinen. Oft fragte ich, ob es nach ihrer Auffassung einmal eine Zeit geben könnte, wo auch die Paez nur kolumbianische Kleidung trügen oder sogar elektrisches Licht benutzen könnten. Sie hatten nie darüber nachgedacht und wußten in keinem Falle eine Antwort.

II. Materielle Kultur

1. WOHNUNG

a) Siedlung

DIE PAEZ-DÖRFER des Tierradentro umfassen politisch und soziologisch die Bewohner eines durch die umliegenden Berge mehr oder weniger abgeschlossenen Talkessels. In ihrem Aufbau sind sie jedoch keine Dörfer in unserem Sinne, unten denen wir den örtlich eng begrenzten Zusammenschluß einer Anzahl von Häusern verstehen, sondern wir haben

es fast ausnahmslos mit an den Abhängen der Berge verstreuten Einzelgehöften zu tun, in denen die Familien inmitten ihrer bebauten Felder wohnen (vgl. Abb. 156 und 157). Der Paez ist keineswegs ein ungeselliger Mensch und nimmt auch gerne an den Festen teil, aber er liebt es nicht, eng zusammengeschlossen in einem Dorfe zu leben und dauernd seine Nachbarn um sich zu haben, sondern er wohnt lieber recht weit weg vom nächsten Haus, umgeben von seinem Vieh, um ungestört mit seiner Familie der täglichen Feldarbeit nachgehen zu können.

Jeder Paez hat eine starke Bindung an «seine Erde», und die Angst, daß ihm Erde und Land geraubt werden könnten, diktiert sein unfreundliches und abweisendes Verhalten gegenüber dem Fremden. Zu schlecht sind auch seit Jahrhunderten die mit den Weißen gemachten Erfahrungen, als daß die Paez verstehen könnten, daß ein Fremder nur käme, um sie selbst und ihr Land aus ganz uneigennützigen Gründen kennenzulernen.

Sein Haus, als Familienmittelpunkt und soziales Zentrum, erbaut der Paez nur auf seinem eigenen Grund und Boden, den er von seinen Vätern ererbt und der durch alle weiteren Generationen hindurch derjenigen Familie gehört, die ihn zuerst bebaut hat. Land ist in jeder Familie in genügendem Maße vorhanden, notfalls findet jedermann auch noch herrenloses, ungerodetes Land auf den höchsten Lagen der Höhenzüge.

Während die Abhänge der Berge nach der erstmaligen Rodung Privatbesitz sind, ist die Talsohle mit dem Gemeindehaus und dem Festplatz Gemeindeland. Die Häuser sind untereinander, sowie mit dem Dorfplatz, durch Fußwege verbunden, die immer sehr schmal sind, da die Paez auch in größerer Anzahl nie nebeneinander, sondern immer nur hintereinander gehen. Auch die Verbindungswege zwischen den einzelnen Ortschaften, die Wege, die zu den Wochenmärkten nach Belalcazar oder Inzá begangen werden mußten, waren ursprünglich nicht breiter. Besuche seitens der weltlichen und geistlichen Behörden machten jedoch in jüngerer Zeit eine Verbreiterung der Wege für reitende Personen erforderlich.

Da keine in sich eng geschlossenen Siedlungen unter den Paez bestehen, gibt es auch keine geographische Veränderung des Dorfes. Kirche mit Friedhof, Gemeindehaus, Festhäuser und neuerdings Missionsstation und Schule sind der zentrale Pol, während die Familienhäuser immer wieder an anderen Orten, aber auf eigenem Grund und Boden, erbaut werden (Abb. 146-147). Manchmal errichtet man ein Haus nur für eine Ernte, d. h. für ein halbes Jahr, inmitten seines abzuerntenden Feldes. Bei Arbeit und Ernte kann es dann vorkommen, daß eine Paezfamilie den Nachbarn mehrere Wochen lang nicht sieht.

Die Größe der Dörfer schwankt; Calderas ist eine der größten Paez-

Gemeinschaften und umfaßt etwa 200 Häuser mit rund 1000 Einwohnern. Andere Dörfer, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Lame u. a. sind bedeutend kleiner. In jedem Fall braucht man eine beträchtliche Zeit, um ein Dorf zu durchqueren, da dies ja der Durchquerung des betreffenden ganzen Talkessels entspricht. Für Calderas sind das für einen Europäer zu Pferde mehr als drei Stunden. Die Paez legen die steilen Abkürzungswege zu Fuß allerdings bedeutend schneller zurück.

b) Das Haus

Für die Anlage eines Hauses sucht man sich den Bauplatz möglichst in der Nähe eines kleinen Baches aus, die in großer Zahl von den Hängen der Berge herabrinnen und sich am Fuße der Talsohle zu dem Kokiyó-Fluß (wörtlich «Maiswasser») vereinigen. Wo die Anlage eines Hauses direkt an einem Bach nicht möglich ist, leitet man von oberhalb her das Wasser durch einen kleinen Graben am Haus vorbei. Von diesem, wie jedem anderen fließenden Wasser, kann man immer trinken. Man weiß auch, daß die oberhalb dieses Hauses wohnenden Bewohner ab und zu in das Wasser urinieren, aber «das macht gar nichts aus», wie man mir versicherte.

In einem Wohnhaus wohnt grundsätzlich nur eine Familie, bestehend aus Vater, Mutter und Kindern. Die verheirateten Söhne müssen sich eigene Häuser bauen. Es ist allerdings üblich, daß die Jungverheirateten noch eine Zeitlang im Hause des Vaters weiterwohnen, bis sie sich genügend Chicha und Nahrungsmittel zur Bewirtung der beim Hausbau helfenden Freunde zusammengespart haben. In einem Falle jedoch wohnten im Hause des Ezequiel Calliumbo neben drei ledigen auch noch drei verheiratete Söhne, die alle gemeinsam die Felder bebauen. Ezequiel, der schätzungsweise 60 Jahre alt ist, hatte zehn Kinder, von denen noch sechs Söhne leben. Der älteste Sohn hat drei Kinder, von denen zwei gestorben sind, der zweitälteste hat vier Kinder, von denen zwei gestorben sind und dem drittältesten sind seine beiden Kinder gestorben.

Die normalen Häuser (yat) sind Rechteckhäuser mit Walmdach und werden je nach ihrer Größe in «große Häuser» (yatwála) und «kleine Häuser» (yatléčkwe) unterteilt (Abb. 158 und 159). Nach seinem Gebrauch wird das spezielle Wohnhaus als öpyat (öp = leben) bezeichnet. Die Maße der kleinen Häuser schwanken zwischen fünf bis zehn Meter Länge und drei bis fünf Meter Breite. Die größten Häuser sind bis zu fünfzehn Meter lang und sieben Meter breit. Sie bilden in erster Linie die Festhäuser. Als Wohnhaus unterscheiden sie sich von den kleinen, die den weitaus größten Anteil aller Häuser stellen, nicht nur durch die

Größe, sondern vor allem dadurch, daß sie die zu jedem Haus gehörende Zuckerrohrmühle (lapíče) in ihrem Innern haben. In der Regel steht diese nämlich vor dem Haus oder etwas seitwärts davon, normalerweise von Mengen ausgepreßter Zuckerrohrstengel bedeckt, die zum Trocknen darübergehängt sind. Außer der Zuckerrohrmühle gehört zur Vollständigkeit jedes Hauses ein kleines Menstruationshüttchen (dúyat), das nur fehlen kann, wenn sich die Familie für eine Ernteperiode eine kleine Feldhütte (ɣyatwá) mitten im Feld errichtet. In diesem Falle gehen die Frauen der dort wohnenden Familie in das dúyat eines anderen Hauses. Keinesfalls dürfen sie während dieser Zeit im Wohnhaus verbleiben. Feldhütte und Menstruationshüttchen sind ihrer Konstruktion nach rechteckige Giebeldachhäuser und, mit Ausnahme des Giebeldaches, von gleicher Konstruktion wie die normalen Walmdachhäuser.

Zu jedem Haus gehört ein Anbau (ikídnyçyát) oder wenigstens ein Verschlag für die Aufbewahrung des Chichatroges (kánoç). Dieser Trog ist nächst der Zuckerrohrmühle das wichtigste Zubehör eines Paez-Hauses (Abb. 165).

Zusätzlich zu diesen Wohnhäusern haben nur wenige Häuser Sonderbauten, wie beispielsweise ein oder allenfalls zwei Vorratshäuser oder ein kleines Haus (yatléčkwç), in dem die Freunde und Nachbarn schlafen, wenn sie zu der gemeinsamen Arbeit des Zuckerrohrpressens oder der Ernte dem Besitzer tagelang helfen. Im Vorratshaus (kotyāvyat: wörtlich «Maisaufbewahrhaus») werden nur Mais und Bohnen aufbewahrt, nicht aber Weizen oder Früchte. Obst, Yuca, Kartoffeln und Arracacha werden überhaupt nicht aufbewahrt oder bevorratet, sondern immer nur bei Bedarf geholt und gleich gegessen. Weizen wird unterhalb der Ähren an den etwa 20 cm langen Halmen zu Büscheln zusammengebunden und unter dem Dach oberhalb der Feuerstelle aufgehängt. Mais und Bohnen können im Vorratshaus bis zu zwei Jahre lagern. Dazu werden darin waagerechte Querstäbe angebracht, über die die Maiskolben gehängt werden und für die Bohnen Gestelle konstruiert, die aus dicht nebeneinandergelegten Maisstengeln bestehen. Auch diese Gestelle werden möglichst aufgehängt oder doch recht weit vom Boden erhöht angebracht, damit die Mäuse (úńsa) nicht herankönnen. Zusätzlich sperrt man, falls vorhanden, im Vorratshaus noch eine Katze (mil) ein. Ställe für das Vieh sind nicht bekannt.

Inmitten des Dorfes Calderas, auf Gemeindeland, stehen Kirche (iglésia), Gemeindehaus (kabíldeyát) und sechs Festhäuser der sechs größten Familien (Abb. 147). Es sind, ihrer Konstruktion nach, ebenfalls Walmdachhäuser, aber ihre Wände sind in der Art der Kolonistenhäuser ge-

baut, aus senkrechten Pfosten, an die innen und außen Bambusstangen oder gerade Äste waagerecht angebunden sind. Die Zwischenräume in Stärke der Pfosten werden mit Erde, Lehm und im unteren Teil auch mit Steinen ausgefüllt. Die Füllung wird glatt verstrichen und die Wand innen und außen weißgekalkt. Während der Lichteintritt in den übrigen Häusern durch die Tür und die nicht sehr dicht schließenden, aus nebeneinandergestellten Maisstengeln gebildeten Wände erfolgt, kann bei den genannten, aus festen Wänden bestehenden Häusern, das Licht nur durch die verhältnismäßig kleine Tür und die Öffnung des Dachfirstes eintreten, wodurch das Innere ziemlich dunkel ist.

Jedermann kann sich auf eigenem Grund und Boden in den Bergen, wie auch auf dem genannten Gemeindeland im Tal, ein Haus von beliebiger Größe bauen, allerdings muß er vorher den für ihn zuständigen Schamanen fragen, ob sich im Boden des in Aussicht genommenen Landstückes keine Knochen der Pijaos befinden. Die Pijaos sind, wie aus den Mythen hervorgeht, in alter Zeit die schrecklichen und kriegerisch tüchtigeren Feinde der Paez gewesen. Ihre Knochen (eĉ ndyit Pijao) enthalten «Pest». Diese Pest ist ein sehr komplexer und inhaltvoller Begriff bei den Paez (vgl. unter «Religion»), und die Pest der Pijao-Knochen vermag die über diesen wohnenden Menschen zu töten. Wie sehr auch unser Dolmetscher Victoriano, einer der aufgeschlossensten Paez, von dieser Furcht durchdrungen war, zeigte sich, als er im archäologischen Park in San Andrés mit uns arbeitete. Aus Platzmangel mußte er im Werkzeugraum schlafen, wo er sich aber recht wohl fühlte und sich mit einem Feldbett und Matratzen wohl die beste Lagerstatt seines Lebens gebaut hatte. Eines Tages öffneten wir eine große prähistorische Grabkammer, die über 80 Knochenurnen mit Resten von Totenverbrennungen enthielt. Da wir eine so große Anzahl von Urnen in unserem Wohnraum, der gleichzeitig auch als Museumsraum diente, nicht unterbringen konnten, mußten wir eine Anzahl davon im Werkzeugraum abstellen. In einigen von ihnen beließ ich die Knochenreste, um sie für eine spätere Untersuchung aufzuheben. Weinend bat mich Victoriano, nur ja keine Urnen mit den Knochen in seinem Werkzeugraum abzustellen, da die Knochen von den Pijaos stammen könnten, die ihn gewiß töten würden. Auch die gewaschenen und gereinigten Urnen enthielten, wie er uns versicherte, noch sehr viel «Pest», so daß er bei der nächsten Gelegenheit nach Calderas gehen und sich von seinem heimatlichen Schamanen «reinigen» lassen wollte. Er versäumte dies; und als er nach einigen Tagen Zahnschmerzen bekam, führte er diese auf die Wirkung der Pest der ehemals mit Knochen gefüllten Bestattungsurnen zurück.

Die Prüfung des als Bauplatz in Aussicht genommenen Bodens durch den Schamanen geschieht allerdings nicht durch Nachgraben oder durch Bodenproben, sondern der Bauwillige geht mit Koka, Tabak und Branntwein am Abend in das Haus des Schamanen, trägt diesem sein Anliegen vor, und dann nehmen beide nebeneinander auf dem Boden Platz und beginnen gemeinsam Koka und Tabak zu kauen und Branntwein zu trinken. Nach einer Weile erfährt der Schamane durch Zeichen in seinen Armen oder Beinen, ob sich Knochen der Pijaos im Boden befinden. Ist dies nicht der Fall, so kann mit dem Bau begonnen werden, im anderen Fall muß sich der Mann einen anderen Bauplatz aussuchen. Nach Fertigstellung des Baues wird eine weitere Zeremonie ausgeführt (s. unter «Religion») und dann befestigt der gleiche Schamane am Dach Spezialkräuter, um zu verhindern, daß der dem Menschen feindliche eč- oder gělyómp-Geist von dorther in das Haus eindringen könnte.

Häuser werden nur von Männern, von Familienvätern gebaut. Ein Mann alleine ist dazu jedoch nicht in der Lage. Zum mindesten bei der Errichtung der Hauspfosten helfen ihm außer seinen Brüdern auch noch andere Männer und Freunde, die an diesen Tagen ohnehin nichts zu tun hätten und für ihre Mithilfe Chicha und etwas zu essen bekommen. Das Baumaterial kostet zwar nichts, aber vom Bauherrn muß eine beträchtliche Menge Chicha gestellt werden, wozu die Planung schon zeitig, zwei bis drei Jahre vorher, durch Anpflanzung einer genügend großen Menge Zuckerrohr beginnen muß. Dies ist Aufgabe des verheirateten Sohnes, der solange noch im Hause seines Vaters wohnt. Zur Chichaherstellung braucht er auch noch die Zuckerrohrmühle seines Vaters, von dessen Einwilligung und Hilfe somit viel abhängt. Nach der Menge der zur Verfügung stehenden Chicha dauert der Hausbau dann auch zwei bis sechs Monate, je nachdem, ob nur fünf oder fünfzehn Männer mitarbeiten.

Das Wichtigste beim Bau des Hauses ist die Errichtung der Rahmenkonstruktion aus Holz (Abb. 161 bis 164), zu der immer mehrere Männer erforderlich sind, welche die mit dem Machete oberflächlich geglätteten, aber nicht entrindeten Bäume herantragen. Die Wände kann der Hausherr zur Not auch alleine erstellen. Auch das Decken des Daches ist, wie der gesamte Hausbau, Männerarbeit, bei welcher die Frau des Hauses aber die Zuckerrohrblätter zur Bedachung hochreichen kann. Zuerst werden die vertikalen Eck- und Seitenpfosten der Außenwände (yátšínda) errichtet, dann die äußeren, auf den Seitenpfosten aufliegenden horizontalen Balken, die das Dach tragen (yátpopānt) aufgelegt, und als dritter Arbeitsgang die waagerechten Querbalken (bīkas) in Höhe der Decke befestigt. Dabei ist zu bemerken, daß alle Balken nur durch Lianen verbun-

den, aber nicht verzapft sind. Das Dach liegt nicht unmittelbar auf den Eck- und Seitenpfosten auf, sondern die Querbalken (bīkas) und die Dachsparren (yátkát) sind an dem rechteckigen, waagerechten Rahmen des Daches angebunden, und nur dieser ruht auf den senkrechten Pfosten.

Als vierter Arbeitsgang wird der Firstbalken (dahwāk), zusammen mit den Dachsparren, eingebaut, wobei ersterer im wesentlichen von dem meist einzigen, senkrecht bis zum Dachfirst durchgehenden Pfosten des Hauses, dem Zentralpfosten (pwát) unterstützt wird. Dieser steht nicht genau in der Mitte der Längsachse des Hauses, sondern etwas seitlich davon, dort, wo die beiden Räume des Hauses abgeteilt werden. Hier dient er gleichzeitig als Wandpfosten. Die waagerechten Dachpfetten (kwīnt), die im Abstand von etwa 20 cm übereinander an den Dachsparren (yátkát) angebunden werden, sind als einziger Teil der Rahmenkonstruktion des Hauses nicht aus Holz, sondern bestehen aus einer Rohrart (karís). Das Dach (yátominyē) wird mit den Blättern des Zuckerrohres (nyúša éts) bedeckt, wobei man von unten nach oben vorgeht und die Blätter so über die Dachpfetten hängt, daß die Spitzen oben liegen und nach unten = außen zeigen. Zum Schluß werden über den noch offenen First ein oder zwei Firstpfetten gelegt und darüber eine gleichmäßige Lage von Zuckerrohrblättern quer ausgebreitet. Die dadurch gebildete Erhöhung ermöglicht den Rauchaustritt an den beiden Giebelseiten des Hauses. Die Firstbedeckung wird durch zwei darübergelegte Stangen vor dem Wegfliegen geschützt (Abb. 162).

Ein neugebautes Haus (yátūsę) hält etwa 15 Jahre. Zwischendurch muß jedoch mehrere Male das Dach ausgebessert werden.

Beim Eintritt in ein Paez-Haus schlägt einem ein von der Chicha hervorgerufener, süßlicher Gärungsgeruch entgegen, so etwa, wie zur Zeit der Weinlese in den Häusern der deutschen Winzerdörfer. Bevor man eintritt, öffnet man die Tür (vitç) des Hauses und ruft in fragendem Ton: «payoǵt» (ich möchte eintreten); aus dem Innern tönt es zurück «mkāč» (setz dich). Wenn niemand zu Hause ist, wird die Tür meist mit einem Stückchen Bast zugebunden. Manchmal unterläßt man auch dies, denn nie wird jemand ein Haus betreten, dessen Bewohner nicht anwesend sind. Es gelang uns niemals, Victoriano zum Eintritt in ein leeres Haus zu bewegen, obwohl er wußte, daß wir immer großes Interesse daran hatten, das Innere von Häusern und ihre Einrichtung kennen zu lernen.

Die Tür des Hauses ist nur in seltenen Fällen ein breites Brett, welches oben und unten an einer Seite in zwei Zapfen ausläuft, die sich je in einer Pfanne der Schwelle und des Türrahmens drehen. Allgemein ist der Eingang in gleicher Art konstruiert, wie die Wand (īnd), welche aus senk-

rechten, möglichst eng nebeneinander gestellten Maisstengeln besteht, die mittels Bast oder einer Liane untereinander und an zwei waagerechten Maisstengeln festgebunden sind. Letztere reichen jeweils von Seitenpfosten zu Seitenpfosten. An der Stelle der Tür ist die starre Wand unterbrochen, und die senkrecht gestellten, nur lose mit Bast verbundenen Maisstengel können ein wenig zur Seite geschoben werden, wobei sie auf dem Boden entlang schleifen (Abb. 158).

In den Häusern werden auch die Hunde, Katzen und Hühner gehalten; Schweine nicht, diese leben, genau wie Pferde, Kühe und Schafe, ständig im Freien.

c) Hausgerät

Allgemein hat das Haus nur eine Unterteilung in zwei Räume, deren kleinerer Küche, Wohn- und Schlafraum ist und deren größerer als Abstell- und Vorratsraum dient. Die Wand zwischen diesen beiden Räumen wird ebenfalls nur durch senkrecht nebeneinander gestellte Maisstengel gebildet. In den «großen Häusern» befindet sich in dem größeren Teil die Zuckerrohrmühle, mittels welcher auch bei Regenwetter ein unverdünnter Zuckerrohrsaft produziert werden kann. Falls erwachsene, verheiratete Söhne mit im Hause des Vaters wohnen, so wird für diese Familien ein besonderer, in gleicher Weise abgetrennter Verschlag gebaut und als Küche eingerichtet, entweder neben dem Wohnraum der Eltern oder — wie meistens — auf der anderen Seite des Hauses. Die Herdstelle ist nämlich das Zentrum der Familie, und jede verheiratete Frau hat in dem Falle, in dem sie als Schwiegertochter mit im Hause des Schwiegervaters wohnt, ihre eigene Herdstelle. Diese hat allereinfachste Form. Drei Felsblöcke bilden den seitlichen Halt oder Untersatz für die Töpfe, von denen höchstens zwei vorhanden sind, ein metallener, meist aus Aluminium und ein tönerner. Ganz arme Familien haben nur einen Tontopf, der in der Anschaffung relativ billig ist. Der Tontopf kann nicht aufgehängt werden, er wird so zwischen die drei Feuersteine gestellt, daß er nicht umfallen kann, während der Aluminiumtopf mit seinem Henkel an einem verrußten Winkelholz aufgehängt wird, das vom Dachfirst herunterhängt (Abb. 166). Oberhalb der Feuerstelle hängt ein aus Maisrohren gebildetes Gestell von etwa einem Quadratmeter Größe, auf welchem Haushaltsutensilien und vor allen Dingen das Steinsalz zum Salzen der Speisen luftig und trocken aufbewahrt werden. Tische, Stühle oder Schemel jedweder Art sind unbekannt. Allgemein sitzt man auf der Haarseite einer ungegerbten und deswegen brettharten Rinderhaut, auf der man auch

schläft, oder man sitzt auf einem Balken, einem Holzklotz oder einem Stein. Paez, die in Inzá oder in Wohnungen der weißen Kolonisten eine Wohnungseinrichtung sahen, haben sich als Bett mitunter eine Art Bank von 30-50 cm Höhe gebaut, die aus nebeneinander gelegten Knüppeln oder Schilfrohren besteht. Darauf wird zum Schlafen die übliche Kuhhaut gelegt. Zum Sitzen werden diese Schlafbänke nicht benutzt.

Die Nächte in Calderas sind allgemein recht kühl, und die leichte Bauweise der Wände mit den Spalten zwischen den einzelnen Maisstengeln hindert keineswegs den Eintritt des kalten Windes. In einigen Häusern sah ich in der Nähe des Schlafplatzes eine Abdichtung der Wände mittels waagerecht aufgeschichteter, ausgepreßter Zuckerrohre. Die Lagerung der Familienmitglieder zum Schlafen geschieht rund um die Feuerstelle, dessen Feuer die ganze Nacht hindurch unterhalten werden muß. Es ist dies, wie alle Hausarbeit, Aufgabe der Frau, die beizeiten genügend Brennmaterial heranschaffen und in der Nacht alle zwei Stunden aufstehen muß, um das Feuer zu schüren. Morgens muß sie sich zudem eine Stunde früher erheben, um die erste Mahlzeit, die um fünf Uhr, manchmal auch schon um vier Uhr eingenommen wird, beizeiten zu richten. Trotzdem glauben die Männer, daß sie es sind, die die schwerste Arbeit verrichten und im Grunde als die einzigen des Dorfes wirklich arbeiten.

Falls das Feuer einmal ausgehen sollte, was nur sehr selten vorkommt, verstehen die Männer, wenn sie keine Zündhölzer haben, Feuer zu machen, indem sie mit einem Stein auf das Blatt des eisernen Machete schlagen und die Funken in dem trockenen Zunder ausgequetschter Zukkerrohre auffangen. Zum Entfachen dieses oder eines heruntergebrannten Feuers wird anstelle eines besonderen Fächers der Hut als Feuerfächer benutzt. Einige Male sah ich auch ein Schilfrohr (yotá) von etwa 50 cm Länge, in das mit dem Mund hineingeblasen wird und das so wie ein Blasebalg wirkt.

Säuglinge pflegen nicht auf dem Boden zu schlafen, sondern in Hängematten (máka), die aber, wie schon der Name sagt, nicht original Paez sind. Alle Männer verstehen sie jedoch aus Agavefasern herzustellen, was in der gleichen Knotentechnik geschieht, wie die Anfertigung der Netze zur Vogeljagd. Außerdem hängen an den Pfosten der Wände einige aus Agavefasern gearbeitete Taschen (yáha), die Bohnen, Mais oder andere Vorräte enthalten. Arracacha liegt auf dem Boden. Zum Trinken der Chicha, die man in großen, ausgehöhlten Baumtrögen gären läßt, werden Kürbiskalebassen (tóka) benutzt, die aber schmucklos und unverziert sind. Gesprungene Kalebassen versteht man mit einem gewachsten Agavefaden zu nähen (Fig. 25). Der Kalebaßkürbis wird in dem Hausgarten

jeder Familie gezogen; sein Fleisch ist nicht eßbar. Zu jedem Haushalt gehört ferner ein ovaler oder rechteckiger Mahlstein, auf dem mit einem kleineren Handstein der Mais gemahlen wird. Er liegt meist in einer Hausecke auf dem Boden, teilweise ist er aber auch in etwa 1 m Höhe auf zwei gegabelte Pfosten gesetzt.

Gegessen wird mit Holzlöffeln (todlá'tç) aus Holztellern (biĉ), die von den Paez selbst geschnitzt werden (Fig. 27). Nur selten waren in Calderas Aluminium- oder Emailschüsseln anzutreffen. Teller und Becher aus Aluminium waren deswegen immer begehrte Geschenkartikel, neben Küchenmessern, Näh- und Sicherheitsnadeln, Streichhölzern und Salz.

Die Reinlichkeit im Hause ist erstaunlich groß, wenn man berücksichtigt, daß die Paez ihren Körper nur selten waschen und die Hände nur dann, wenn sie «sehr schmutzig» sind. Dies ist der Fall, wenn man in einem Brandfeld gearbeitet und die rußigen, verbrannten Baumstämme und das verbrannte Gesträuch beiseite geräumt hat. Von den Frauen wird das Haus täglich mit einem Besen (çtábando) ausgefegt, der aus den Sträuchern des pláṅga-Krautes besteht. Dieses Kraut vertreibt gleichzeitig die Flöhe. Der Kehricht wird so aus dem Hause herausgekehrt, daß auch der Eingang noch sauber ist.

Rund um das Haus, und dieses in einiger Entfernung umschließend, ist jeweils entweder ein Zaun errichtet oder wird ein etwa ein Meter tiefer Graben ausgehoben, innerhalb dessen das Geflügel und meist auch die Schweine und Schafe gehalten werden. Der Zaun wird in Calderas, wo wegen der niedrigen Temperatur kein Bambus mehr wächst, aus Holz erstellt, das von der natürlichen Bewachsung her bei der Brandrodung des Landstückes anfällt. In Abständen von etwa zwei Metern werden Pfähle senkrecht in den Boden geschlagen und die Zwischenräume durch waagerecht liegende Baumstämmchen, Äste und Zweige bis in eine Länge von gut einem Meter ausgefüllt. Das Übersteigen dieses Zaunes geschieht mittels eingekerbter Baum- oder Bambusstämme, die als Leiter schräg an den Zaun angelegt werden. Gleichartig gekerbte Baumstämme dienen auch in den Häusern als Leiter (Abb. 168 und 154).

Aborte gibt es nicht. Wegen der Abgelegenheit der Häuser fällt es den Paez aber nie schwer, ein verschwiegenes Plätzchen im Gebüsch oder im Wald zu finden. Die Wege und die Nachbarschaft der Häuser fanden wir durch Kot nie verunreinigt. Den gleichen Takt zeigten die Paez auch beim Essen oder bei sonstigem Zusammensein. Wir erlebten nie Schmatzen oder Rülpsen, wenngleich die Eßsitten auch etwas roh waren, da man sich aus Mangel an Löffeln sein Essen einfach mit den Fingern vom Teller her in den Mund hineinzuschieben pflegt.

2. KLEIDUNG UND SCHMUCK

Die Paez tragen heute den Ober- und Unterkörper bedeckende Kleidung. In alter Zeit sollen einige von ihnen, nach Berichten der Chronisten, kleine Baumwollumhänge getragen haben, wiewohl die Mehrzahl von ihnen «nackt ging, auch in den kalten Bergen» (zit. bei Hernandez, 1944, p. 191, nach P. M. Rodriguez, 1684). Auch sollen sie sich den Körper mit Farbe angemalt und mit Stempeln bedruckt haben. Bald nach der Conquista übernahmen sie das heute noch getragene Obergewand und den Strohhut.

Die Kleidung der Männer besteht aus dem Obergewand, der leinenen Hose, dem Umhang (in Peru «Poncho», in Kolumbien «Ruana» genannt) und dem wasserdicht geflochtenen Strohhut. Obergewand und Ruana werden von den Frauen aus Schafwolle gewebt, während die leinenen Hosen aus gekauften Stoffen von den Männern selbst geschneidert werden. Es ist dies kulturgeschichtlich bemerkenswert, denn ein Zuschneiden von gewebten Stoffen war den südamerikanischen Indianern in vorkolumbischer Zeit nicht bekannt, da man die Stoffe nicht «meterweise» webte, um später daraus beliebige Kleider zu nähen, sondern man bereits beim Beginn des Webens die Form des späteren Kleidungsstückes berücksichtigte. Aus der Herstellungsart ergibt sich, daß zerrissene Gewebe von den Frauen nie mit einem fertigen Flicken ausgebessert, sondern immer in Nachahmung der Leinwandbindung gestopft werden. Anders ist es bei den Männerhosen, deren Stoffe von den Männern gekauft und von diesen selbst, nie von Frauen, genäht werden. Sind diese — wie auch die gekauften Hemden — einmal zerrissen, werden sie nie gestopft, sondern immer von den Männern durch Darunternähen eines Flickens repariert. Wir haben hier also die feste Regel, daß gewebte Kleidung nie geflickt, sondern gestopft wird, während die genähte Kleidung nie gestopft, sondern immer geflickt wird. Ersteres ist Frauen-, letzteres Männerarbeit.

Das den Oberkörper der Männer bedeckende Gewand (tondatç; in Ermangelung einer zutreffenden europäischen Bezeichnung im folgenden Obergewand genannt) ist kein ärmelloses Hemd, da die Seiten nicht zusammengenäht, sondern offen sind. Es ist ganz einfach ein rechteckiges, gewebtes Stück Wollstoff von etwa 60 cm Breite und 160 cm Länge, dessen Kettfäden längs verlaufen. Ein etwa 30 cm langer Längsschlitz ist in der Mitte für den Hals freigelassen. Man zieht es über den Kopf und steckt die unteren Enden entweder in die Hose oder läßt sie auch darüber hängen. In letzterem Falle müssen sie durch einen darüber gebundenen Riemen festgehalten werden (Abb. 154, 165, 166, 171, 202, 203).

Die Hosen der Männer (calsón) haben keine Taschen. Sie reichen durchschnittlich bis zu den Waden. Allgemein sind sie sehr sorgfältig genäht, entweder mit gekauftem Zwirn oder mit selbst hergestelltem, sehr feinem Zwirn aus Agavefäden. Bei der Anfertigung, wie auch bei notwendigen Flickarbeiten, werden alle Ränder sehr sorgfältig umsäumt.

Die Männer-Ruana (atç) ist, bei 100 bis 160 cm Kantenlänge, allgemein quadratisch. Sie wird aus zwei gleich breiten, rechteckigen Längsbahnen zusammengenäht, wobei in der Mitte ein Längsschnitt von etwa 20 cm als Halsausschnitt freigelassen wird. Durch die quadratische Form kann die Ruana genau so gut mit querliegendem Halsausschnitt getragen werden.

Während Schuhe oder Sandalen von den Paez nicht benutzt werden, tragen Männer, Frauen und Kinder die gleiche Art von Strohhüten (ɨwá). Diese werden aber nur von den Männern und Jungen geflochten. Vervollständigt wird die Kleidung bei beiden Geschlechtern durch zwei bis drei der bunten, wollenen Koka-Taschen, in denen auf Reisen auch die notwendigen persönlichen Utensilien mitgeführt werden.

Die Teile der Frauenkleidung bestehen aus Wolle und werden von den Frauen selbst gewebt. Allgemein ist die Qualität und Feinheit der Frauenstoffe bedeutend besser als die der gewebten Männerstoffe. Die Knaben- und Burschengewebe sind durchweg am gröbsten, mit einem ziemlich dick gesponnenen Faden gewebt. Andersfarbige Zierstreifen innerhalb der Stoffe finden sich vorwiegend in der Frauen- aber nicht selten auch bei der Männerkleidung, besonders den Ruanas. Die unbedingt nötige Grundkleidung der Frauen besteht aus Rock und Obergewand. Beide werden so angelegt, daß die Kettfäden quer laufen. Der Rock (atytól) ist ein sehr weites, schlauchförmiges Kleidungsstück, dessen Durchmesser 150 cm und mehr betragen kann, bei einer Länge (im Zustand des Webens entspricht dies der Breite!) von etwa 80 cm. Er wird so angelegt, daß sein Vorderteil straff, seine hintere Seite aber in zahlreiche Falten zu liegen kommt. Mit einem der bunten Frauengürtel wird er in der Höhe der Hüfte festgehalten und sein oberer Rand etwas über den Gürtel umgeschlagen.

Das Obergewand (ipotsatç) ist ein einfaches, rechteckiges Stück Stoff von etwa 160 cm Länge und 80 cm Breite, das beim Anlegen quer genommen wird, so daß die Kett- und Zierfäden quer laufen. Im angelegten Zustand bedeckt es nur Brust, Rücken und eine Seite, während die andere mehr oder weniger frei bleibt (Abb. 166 und 178). Zur Benutzung wird es von der einen Körperseite über die Brust zur anderen gelegt und dann über den Rücken wieder zur Ausgangsseite zurückgeführt. Der Rücken-

teil wird nun hochgezogen und über beiden Schultern mit einem Dorn (tópo) oder einer Sicherheitsnadel am Brustteil befestigt. Den herunterhängenden Teil steckt man in den Rock. Allgemein bemühen sich die Frauen, sich für die Festtage auf den Märkten bunte, meist rotfarbige, Blusen zu kaufen, die dann das alte, einfache Tuch ersetzen. Die Röcke jedoch tauscht man nicht durch andere Kleidung ein, da die gekauften Stoffe längst nicht so strapazierfähig sind und auch nicht die nötige Weite haben.

Über dem ipotsatç tragen die Frauen außerhalb des Hauses meist ein Umschlagtuch, das entweder selbst gewebt (senyatç) oder gekauft ist (panyelõn). Es ist zum Tragen der Kleinkinder in jedem Falle erforderlich, da diese darin eingewickelt und mit dem bunten Gürtel (táw) festgehalten werden (Abb. 152, 166, 178, 183).

Besondere, ursprüngliche Zeremonialkleidung oder eine spezielle Kleidung für die Würdenträger gibt es nicht. Letztere tragen als einziges Unterscheidungszeichen ihren von den Spaniern eingeführten Chonta-Stab. Für Feste und Zeremonien bemüht man sich, entweder Teile europäischer Kleidung oder eine neuere Garnitur der üblichen Kleidungsstücke anzulegen. Für das christliche Begräbnis ist es die Pflicht der Angehörigen, den Verstorbenen in der Kleidung der weißen Kolumbianer zu beerdigen.

Kleine Kinder laufen meist nackt oder bekommen einen Stoffetzen in der Art der Ruana übergehängt. Größere Jungen tragen entweder eine große, bis zu den Oberschenkeln reichende Ruana, die durch einen Gürtel zusammengehalten wird, oder auch schon eine Hose. Kleinere Mädchen sind meist mit einem vom Oberkörper bis über die Knie reichenden Stück Stoff bekleidet, das über eine Schulter gezogen wird. Ältere Mädchen tragen die Kleidung der Frauen. Ein Unterschied in der Kleidung der Verheirateten und der Unverheirateten wird nicht gemacht.

Die Haare werden bei den Männern mit der Schere «halblang» geschnitten, so daß sie einen Schnitt haben, der zwischen einem Bubikopf und einer modernen Façonfrisur liegt. Frauen tragen die Haare lang nach hinten gekämmt, teilweise in Form eines Scheitels. Ältere Mädchen und verheiratete Frauen flechten die Haare zu Zöpfen. Zum Kämmen werden nur moderne, gekaufte Kämme benutzt. Die Männer pflegen ihren ohnehin spärlichen Bartwuchs nicht, sondern reißen die Barthaare von Jugend an mit den Fingern heraus.

Schmuck wird heute von den Männern in keiner Form getragen. Vor zweihundert Jahren trugen sie Nasenringe (zomp) «nach Art der Ochsen» (Castillo i Orosco, p. 89). Die Frauen tragen heute nur in sehr dürftigem

Maße gekauften Behangschmuck, von dem weiße Glasperlenketten (wáča = Perle) noch relativ am häufigsten sind (Abb. 148). Die Händler sind Sibundoy oder ähnliche Stammesangehörige aus dem Süden des Landes, wo derartige Ketten von Männern und Frauen als Behangschmuck pfundweise üblich sind. Ohrringe bestehen entweder aus einigen gekauften und auf einen Faden aufgereihten Perlen oder aus einem gekauften Silberanhänger. Gekaufte Messingfingerringe kann jeder tragen, es ist kein Zeichen von Verheiratetsein. In früherer Zeit hat es möglicherweise Armringe gegeben, wie sich aus Castillos Vokabel kaseñand-gnue-tsa für »Armring« ergibt.

3. WIRTSCHAFT

Der erste Eindruck, den man in wirtschaftlicher Hinsicht von den Paez empfängt, ist der eines demokratischen, fest in seinem Boden verwurzelten Bauernvolkes, und es hat bei erstmaliger Betrachtung ihrer Ernährung und Lebensweise den Anschein, als wären sie nie etwas anderes als Ackerbauern gewesen. Wir müssen jedoch bei Naturvölkern zwischen der Hauptproduktion und der Urproduktion unterscheiden. Erstere ist meist nicht schwer zu erkennen, während sich die Frage nach der Urproduktion eines Volkes nur nach Kenntnis von Riten, Zeremonialhandlungen, der Mythologie, kultischen Vorbereitungen oder Dankfesten beantworten läßt. Dies ist bei der starken Kulturverarmung der Paez schwierig, es ist aber bemerkenswert, daß alles Ackerbauliche, wie auch das Viehzüchterische bei ihnen keinerlei kultische Bezogenheit aufweist. Weder bei Saat noch Ernte konnte ich irgendwelche typischen ackerbaulichen Riten beobachten oder erfahren, während den Jäger bei der heute wirtschaftlich bedeutungslosen Jagd eine Anzahl von Ge- und Verboten vor und nach seinem Jagdgang umgeben.

a) Feldbau

Die Hauptanbaufrucht im Calderuner Gebiet, wie allgemein bei den Paez, ist der Mais, der gleichzeitig die wichtigste Kulturpflanze und Basis der Ernährung der amerikanischen Völker von Patagonien bis Kanada in vorkolumbischer Zeit war. Bis heute ist die Diskussion über seine kulturgeschichtliche Herkunft nicht abgeschlossen. Früher betrachtete man Mittelamerika als das Ursprungsland seiner Züchtung. Auf Grund ethno-

botanischer und pflanzengeographischer Untersuchungen nimmt K. Birket-Smith (p. 32) als Ursprungsland der Maiskultivierung nicht Mittelamerika, sondern das nördliche Südamerika an, da man nach den neueren botanischen Entdeckungen die Urform des Maises in der Form des Kapselmaises (Zea mays tunicata) der Andenländer gefunden zu haben glaubt. Nicht unerwähnt sollen die Stimmen bleiben, die in jüngster Zeit für eine asiatische Herkunft des Maises, wie auch der Baumwolle, plädieren (Zerries 1952, pp. 104/5).

Stellen wir diesen Hypothesen über den Ursprung des Maises die ersten verbürgten Nachrichten über sein Vorkommen in Amerika gegenüber, so finden wir als ältestes Datum das Jahr 1493, in welchem Kolumbus bereits von seiner ersten Fahrt über den Ozean den Mais nach Europa brachte. Schon im Jahre 1525 war der Mais in ausgedehnter Kultur auf den Feldern Andalusiens vorhanden (Schweinfurt, pp. 514 f).

Der Maisanbau, wie auch jeder andere Feldbau der Paez, geschieht im Brandrodungssystem, einer Form der Bodenkultivierung, die bei allen tropischen Feldbauern verbreitet und in Amerika allgemein unter der Bezeichnung «Milpa-System» bekannt ist. Das Wort ist zentralamerikanisch (wahrscheinlich aztekisch) und bedeutet «Maisfeld» oder «Kahlfläche im Wald». Letzteres aber immer in der Bedeutung eines abgebrannten und mit Mais bepflanzten Landstückes. Das der Bezeichnung Milpa entsprechende kolumbianische Wort ist «Roza», dem in Peru allgemein die Bezeichnung «Chacra» entspricht, obwohl das Wort dort auch für Terrassenfelder benutzt wird, die regelmäßig alle Jahre bebaut werden.

Die Basis des Milpa-Brandrodungssystems ist eine extensive Art des Feldbaues, bei welcher vor der Aussaat neues Land durch Verbrennung seiner Bewachsung gerodet und nach der Ernte (wieder) für mehrere Jahre oder für immer verlassen wird. Diese Art des Feldbaues ist vertretbar in dünn besiedelten Gebieten, in denen genügend Land vorhanden ist, um die Zeiträume zwischen den einzelnen Brandrodungen groß genug werden zu lassen. Sind die Abstände zu kurz und wird das Land zu oft abgebrannt, so werden alle Arten höherer Bewachsung ausgerottet. Die sich dann bildende, das ganze Jahr hindurch wachsende Grasdecke, macht das Land wertlos für ackerbauliche Nutzung, wodurch sich dann *eine zahlreichere Bevölkerung von seinem Boden nicht mehr ernähren* kann. Dies beweisen große Gebiete Zentralamerikas, in denen die in großen, städtischen Kulturzentren wohnende dichte Bevölkerung den Boden im Milpa-System so sehr ausnutzte, daß viele dieser alten Kulturgebiete heute baumloses, unbewohntes Grasland darstellen.

Als gesunde Form des Milpa-Systems sieht O. F. Cook (p. 323) die

gleichzeitige Bebauung von einem Fünftel bis einem Zehntel des zur Verfügung stehenden Landes an. Dies entspricht einem Rodungsturnus von fünf bis zehn Jahren. Dazu ist in Calderas genügend Land vorhanden. Ein gerodetes Feldstück wird dort einmal, höchstens zweimal hintereinander bebaut, und dann läßt man es mindestens zehn, meistens aber fünfzehn bis zwanzig Jahre in Ruhe (Abb. 146). Die Gemarkungen der Indio-Dörfer bieten dann auch ein völlig anderes Bild, als die der Kolonisten im Tierradentro. Im Gebiet der letzteren gibt es fast nirgendwo Bewaldung; alle Hänge sind abgeholzt und künstlich, aber nicht durch übermäßigen landwirtschaftlichen Anbau, zu Weideflächen für das Vieh der Kolonisten oder Großgrundbesitzer gemacht worden. Der natürliche Wasserhaushalt der Landschaft ist damit gestört. Die in der Regenzeit ungehemmt abfließenden Wasser waschen die Humuserde ab und bilden tiefe Einschnitte an den Abhängen. Der so erodierte Boden ist unfruchtbar. Die Berghänge trocknen in den Trockenzeiten vollständig aus, so daß wegen des fehlenden Wassers Wohnungen in höheren Lagen nur selten angelegt werden können. In den reinen Eingeborenengemarkungen, in denen ein natürlicher Wechsel von bebautem und brachliegendem Land eingehalten wird, gibt es zahllose Rinnsale und Bächlein, die eine Hausgründung an fast jeder Stelle der Landschaft in der Nähe von fließendem Wasser ermöglichen.

Jede Arbeit der Paez, die mit dem Feld zu tun hat, sei es Urbarmachung, Saat oder Ernte, wird von allen Beteiligten außerordentlich gerne vorgenommen, «da es für die Nahrung ist». Daß jemand nicht im Felde arbeiten will, gibt es einfach nicht. Der Boden ist nicht sehr fruchtbar, da der größte Teil des Gebirges der Gegend von Calderas aus Schiefergestein besteht, das oftmals kahl zutage tritt und an den Hängen mit einer Humus- oder Lehmdecke von durchschnittlich nur 20 bis 50 cm bedeckt ist. Im Tal erreicht die Humusschicht oftmals mehr als einen Meter Stärke. Der im Übermaß vorhandene Boden zwingt aber nicht zu letzter Ausnutzung. Und obwohl die zahlreichen Bergbäche so abgeleitet werden, daß jedes Haus sein fließendes Wasser hat, besteht doch für künstliche Bewässerung oder terrassierten Ackerbau keine akute Veranlassung, noch scheint man deren Anwendung zu kennen.

Den größten Teil der bebauten Fläche nimmt der Mais ein, dicht gefolgt vom Zuckerrohr, dem Ausgangsprodukt zur Herstellung der Chicha. Beides bildet die Grundproduktion des Feldbaues, und es gibt keine Paez-Familie, die auf ihrem Grund und Boden nicht Zuckerrohr und Mais kultiviert. Die Größe der bebauten und durch Brand gerodeten Flächen ist verschieden. An kleinsten Ausmaßen sahen wir Felder von nur 10x10 m

im Quadrat, während das größte zusammenhängende Feldstück eine Fläche von etwa 500x250 m einnahm. Es wurde mir aber bestätigt, daß eine so große Fläche Landes für eine Familie nicht erforderlich wäre und daß der Besitzer dieses große gerodete Feld nur nach und nach zur Aussaat verwenden würde. Leben kann eine Familie von einem Feldstück, das, wie man mir sagte, etwa 100x100 m mißt, was der Fläche eines Hektars entspricht. Hinzu kommt der zu jedem Haus gehörende Gemüsegarten von etwa 1000m² Fläche für den Anbau von Gemüsebananen, Kohl, Bohnen, Gurken und Zwiebeln.

Die Rodung des Feldes, wie auch die Aussaat, wird nur von Männern vorgenommen, während die Ernte von Frauen oder Männern eingebracht werden kann. An Rodung und Aussaat beteiligen sich immer mehrere Männer; nie arbeitet nur einer alleine, zum mindesten helfen ihm seine Brüder oder Söhne. Sonst muß er Freunde bitten, die bei der Arbeit mit Nahrung und Chicha bewirtet werden müssen und denen er im entsprechenden Falle ebenfalls hilft. Auf dem zur Saat in Aussicht genommenen Feld werden zunächst mit dem Machete die dünneren Bäume in etwa einem bis eineinhalb Meter Höhe umgehauen und diese, wie sie anfallen, auf dem Boden liegengelassen. Damit ist der erste Teil der Arbeit beendet und man hat 2 bis 4 Wochen Ruhe, bis die umgehauenen jungen Bäume und Äste trocken, aber nicht vertrocknet sind. Dann geht man wieder auf das Feld und zündet das Holz an, wobei aber nur die dünneren Äste von weniger als Armdicke verbrannt verden. Dieses Brennen dauert einige Tage, und es ist nicht selten, daß die Frau ihrem Mann am letzten Tage hilft, um das noch übrig gebliebene Holz zu verbrennen. Bei diesem Umgang mit den rußigen Stämmen geben übrigens die Paez als einziges Mal zu, daß man schmutzig würde und man sich danach die Hände waschen müsse (Abb. 169 bis 171).

Aus den nicht verbrannten Ästen und Baumstämmen wird der Zaun gebaut, den jedes Feld zum Schutze von den frei herumlaufenden Haustieren haben muß. Dazu werden dickere Pfähle senkrecht in den Boden gerammt und die übrigen Äste und Baumstämme waagerecht bis zu einer Höhe von gut einem Meter aufgeschichtet. Zum Übersteigen dieses Zaunes legt man auf beiden Seiten als Leiter (afá) einen eingekerbten Baumstamm an (Abb. 168). Die gleiche Einzäunung mit der gleichen Leiterkonstruktion umgibt allgemein auch die Hausgärten der Paezgehöfte. Falls der Hausbesitzer größere Haustiere, wie Kühe, Pferde oder Schafe besitzt, ist in dem sein Haus umgebenden Zaun ein Tor (puélta) eingebaut, das entweder aus einer regelrechten Lattentür oder aus einer Barriere waagerechter Balken besteht. In den Dörfern der zilivisierten Paez, in deren

Umgebung die Baumbewachsung nicht ausreichend für den Bau eines Holzzaunes ist, werden für die senkrechten Pfähle Bambus und für die waagerechten Teile trockene, gebündelte Maisstengel verwendet.

Der gesamte Feldbau der Paez ist Grabstockbau (Abb. 172). Hackbau ist ursprünglich unbekannt. Die erst neuerdings, nach dem Muster der Kolonisten, angelegten Hausgärten, in denen europäische Pflanzen, wie Kohl, Gurken und Zwiebeln angebaut werden, gräbt man mit dem Spaten (pála) um. Der Grabstock (āty) besteht nur aus einem angespitzten Baumstamm oder Pfahl, wenngleich neuerdings mehr und mehr auf die Grabstöcke breite eiserne Spitzen mit einer Tülle aufgesetzt werden. Mais kann während des ganzen Jahres gesät werden, allgemein sät man ihn aber im April, wenn die Regenzeit beginnt. Es beteiligen sich jeweils mehrere Männer, die mit dem Grabstock Löcher in etwa einem Meter Abstand nach jeder Richtung in die Erde stoßen und in jedes Loch sechs bis acht Maiskörner hineinlegen. Die Löcher werden mit dem Fuß mit nur ganz wenig Erde wieder bedeckt, «damit der Keimling leichter herauskommen kann». Die Reifezeit beträgt mit zehn bis zwölf Monaten eine relativ lange Zeit. Nach einem halben Jahr wird das Feld einmal von Unkraut gesäubert. Die Erntezeit verteilt sich auf etwa ein halbes Jahr, vorausgesetzt, daß genügend viel Mais angebaut wurde; und dieses halbe Jahr lebt man praktisch «vom Halm». Zunächst wird nämlich der junge Mais (tsót; Mais allgemein: kóty) halbgrün gegessen und erst später erntet und ißt man die reifen Maiskolben. Jeden Tag gehen die Männer oder Frauen mit ihren Taschen aus Agavefaser auf das Feld und brechen nur soviel, wie gerade jeweils zur Mahlzeit gebraucht wird.

Während der Mais in Calderas in allen Höhenlagen angebaut werden kann, gedeiht Zuckerrohr (nyúša) nur in den tieferen, geschützten Lagen des Kokiyó-Tales. Seine Reifezeit beträgt mit zwei bis drei Jahren eine sehr lange Zeit. Als Schößlinge werden Ableger alter Zuckerrohrpflanzen benutzt, die von den Männern in gleicher Art wie die Maiskörner gesetzt werden. Es wird mit dem Grabstock in einem Meter Abstand nach jeder Richtung von den Nachbarpflanzen ein Loch in die Erde gestoßen, der Schößling hineingesteckt und mit den Händen festgedrückt. Geerntet wird das Rohr von Männern oder Frauen. Beide wissen mit dem Machete umzugehen. Männer tragen das Zuckerrohr über der Schulter nach Hause (Abb. 173), Frauen stecken die Zuckerrohre in die Fasertaschen und hängen diese über den Rücken, wobei sie den Traggurt mit der Stirn halten.

Neben Mais und Zuckerrohr ist die Bohne (ōs) von großer Bedeutung für die Ernährung der Paez. Es gibt deren die großen, gesprenkelten sogenannten «Saubohnen» (span. frijol) und die kleineren, weißen Bohnen.

Gegessen werden vorwiegend die ersteren, während die weißen Bohnen meist verkauft werden. Sie werden entweder in der Nähe des Hauses am Fuße von Bäumen und Sträuchern gesät, indem immer jeweils drei Bohnen in die Erde gesteckt werden oder zusammen mit Mais. Dabei legt man bei der Maissaat zusammen mit den sechs bis acht Maiskörnern jeweils drei bis vier Bohnen in das gleiche Loch. Bei gleichzeitigem Aufwachsen ranken sich die Bohnen an den Maisstengeln hoch.

Der Weizen (skótç) ist in der Ernährung der Paez nicht von Bedeutung, da man kein Brot bäckt. Er wird nichtsdestoweniger recht häufig angebaut, da er schnell wächst und damit das geeignete Verkaufsobjekt für die Paez darstellt. Wenn nämlich jemand etwas kaufen muß, sei es Stoff für eine Hose, einen Machete, einen Metalltopf o. ä., so sät er Weizen, meistens im März / April und kann nach einem halben Jahr bereits den Verkaufsgewinn einstreichen. Bezeichnend für die Paez ist aber, daß sie davon nur Gebrauch machen, wenn sie etwas dringend benötigen, nicht aber schon im voraus, um etwa auf alle Fälle Geld zur Hand zu haben. Die Vorbereitung zur Weizenaussaat geschieht in der üblichen Art der Brandrodung. Der Sämann hängt sich eine Fasertasche mit dem Saatkorn um und beginnt in genau der gleichen Art wie unsere Säer mit der Hand im weiten Bogen den Weizen auszusähen. Mit der Schippe wird anschließend der Boden oberflächlich umgebrochen, damit die Vögel die Körner nicht aufpicken können. Zur Ernte wird je ein Büschel Halme eine gute Handbreit unter den Ähren zusammengefaßt und mittels der halbkreisförmig gebogenen Sichel mit der anderen Hand abgeschnitten. Die Ährenbündel werden, falls der Weizen nicht gleich verkauft wird, zusammengebunden und unter dem Hausdach, oberhalb der Feuerstelle, aufbewahrt. Während aus den Maiskolben die Körner von den Frauen mit der Hand bei Bedarf herausgeschält werden, wird der Weizen gedroschen. Man legt dazu eine Kuhhaut auf den Boden, hält mit der einen Hand ein Büschel Weizenähren auf der Haut fest und schlägt mit der anderen Hand mit einem Knüppel auf die Ähren, bis die Körner heraus sind.

Die übrigen Früchte für die Ernährung baut man im Hausgarten an, den man alle Jahre hindurch, solange das Haus bewohnt wird, ebenfalls benutzt. Der Ertrag ist allgemein gut, da die Paez von den Kolonisten die Bedeutung einer regelmäßigen Düngung erlernt haben. Jedes abgeerntete Stück wird von neuem sorgfältig mit dem Spaten umgegraben und mit dem Abfall des Hauses und dem gesammelten Dung der Kühe und Pferde bestreut. Menschenexkremente werden nicht benutzt, sie seien «zu häßlich». Täglich werden zudem die Küchenabfälle (Mais- und Bohnenhülsen, Bananenschalen, Arracacha- und Yucaabfälle), sowie die Exkremente

der sich in der Küche befindlichen Meerschweinchen (fits) in den Garten gestreut und auf die Gemüsefelder geworfen.

Die wichtigste Gartenpflanze ist der Weißkohl (kólis). Die kleinen Pflänzchen kaufen die Frauen bei einer Frau im Dorf, die sie aus den Samen zieht. Pflanzzeit ist der März, wenn die Regenzeit beginnt. Kartoffeln (ká'ka) werden selten angepflanzt. Sie sind sehr klein, gelbfleischig und von schlechter Qualität. Die Saatzeit ist beliebig. Mit dem Grabstock machen die Männer ein kleines Loch und legen eine oder zwei kleine Kartoffeln hinein und verschließen das Loch wieder gut. Nach einem Monat kann man sie bereits mit den Händen häufeln und nach vier Monaten ernten. Dies geschieht, indem die ganze Familie sie mit den Händen ausbuddelt. Arracacha (ā's) kann gleichfalls das ganze Jahr hindurch gesetzt werden, gibt aber die beste Ernte, wenn man sie bei Vollmond setzt. Bei der Ernte bedient man sich eines Grabstockes. Die Yuca (ānya) wird nur selten gegessen, da das Klima in Calderas zu ihrem Anbau zu kalt ist. In den tiefer gelegenen Ortschaften beträgt die Reifezeit zwei Jahre.

Eine sehr wichtige Frucht, die in der Ernährung der Paez eine große Rolle spielt, ist die Banane, die ursprünglich in Amerika nicht heimisch war (Schweinfurt, p. 504 f). Man unterscheidet zwei große Gruppen, die der Obst- oder Zuckerbananen und die der Gemüse- oder Mehlbananen. Beide Arten sind den Paez zwar bekannt, von Bedeutung sind bei ihnen, wie bei allen tropischen Völkern, aber nur die Gemüsebananen (toló), deren stärkehaltige Früchte wegen ihrer schweren Verdaulichkeit, nach Art der Kartoffeln, vor dem Genuß erst gekocht werden müssen. Die Obstbananen (gnayoíts), die einzigen in Europa gegessenen Bananen, werden von den Paez nur selten gegessen und allgemein nicht kultiviert. Ihre Anpflanzung geschieht durch Ableger, die in Calderas vom dritten Jahr ab tragen und für viele Jahre Ernten geben. Weitere im Hausgarten gezogene und von Zeit zu Zeit gegessene Früchte sind Gurken (je nach Art kambíč oder pína), Kürbis (pętę) und die wilde Granadilla (ślāl).

b) Nahrungsbereitung

Die Paez nehmen am Tage nur zwei Mahlzeiten zu sich, und zwar die erste (kosē oń) etwa um vier oder fünf Uhr morgens vor der Arbeit und die zweite (fi'nz oń) um drei oder vier Uhr nachmittags, nach Rückkehr von der Feldarbeit. Zwischendurch, d.h. während der Arbeitszeit auf den oft recht weit abgelegenen Feldern, wird alle zwei bis drei Stunden Koka

genommen und Zuckerrohrsaft getrunken. Das Morgen- und Abendessen unterscheidet sich inhaltlich nicht und ist von Tag zu Tag nur sehr wenig abwechslungsreich. Es wird ohne Fleisch, ohne Fett, ohne Salz, sowie ohne jedes andere Gewürz gekocht. Das Zubereiten der Speisen mit Fett ist nur an Feiertagen im Festhaus üblich. Bei dieser Gelegenheit wird aus dem Blut von Rindern, Schafen oder Schweinen eine Blutwurst hergestellt, wozu die Därme gesäubert und dann mit Blut, Salz, Zwiebeln und Kümmel, sowie mit einem anderen Kraut (pléo) gekocht werden. Fleisch wird in die Därme nicht hineingetan, desgleichen kein Fett.

Eine größere Abwechslung in Speisen und Getränken ist nicht erwünscht. Individuelle Geschmacksunterschiede habe ich bei den Calderunern kaum feststellen können, denn jeder ißt alles, und alle halten Bohnen oder Kohl oder beides zusammen für das beste Essen und Bohnenblätter für das schlechteste. Gegessen wird gemeinsam. Die Familie sitzt um das Feuer herum und die Frau schenkt aus. Dabei ißt man aber nicht aus dem großen Kochtopf, der meistens aus Ton, manchmal auch aus Aluminium besteht, sondern man schöpft mit einem hölzernen Schöpflöffel die Suppe in flache Schalen, von denen die Männer, d. h. Vater und Söhne, aus der einen und die Mutter, Töchter und kleinen Kinder aus der anderen essen. Über der Feuerstelle hängen in einem Beutelchen oder liegen auf einem Gestell einige Steinsalzstückchen, die nach dem Kochen zum Salzen der Speise Verwendung finden. Dazu nimmt sich jeder das Salzstück und hält oder legt es solange in seinen Teller, bis die Suppe genügend gesalzen ist.

Im folgenden einige Gerichte: 1) auf dem ovalen oder rechteckigen Mahlstein mittels eines Handsteines gemahlenes Maismehl wird mit Bohnen und Kohl zusammen gekocht, 2) Gemüsebananen mit Bohnen und Arracacha, 3) grüne Maiskolben mit Bohnen (wobei an jedes Maisgericht Holzasche getan wird, um den Mais schneller weich zu bekommen), 4) grüne Maiskolben mit Weißkohl, 5) Weißkohl, Arracacha und Kartoffeln, 6) Bohnen und Gemüsebananen, 7) nur Bohnen und Maismehl, 8) Arracacha und Bohnen. Eier werden entweder in der Schale in einem Topf hart gekocht oder man quirlt das Ei mit einem Löffel in einem Gefäß, tut Wasser und Zwiebeln dazu und kocht das Ganze. Alle Speisen werden in einem großen Topf als Suppe gekocht, eine Ausnahme machen nur in einer Schale geröstete Maiskolben (wáts; span. arepa). Fleisch wird nur gekocht, nie gebraten; es wird Rindfleisch, Schaf- und Schweinefleisch gegessen, außerdem Geflügel und Meerschweinchen; Pferdefleisch nicht. Wenn Pferde krepieren, werden die Kadaver von Hunden gefressen.

c) Genußmittel

Die beiden wichtigsten Genußmittel der Paez sind, wie bei den Kulturen des gesamten Andenraumes, die Koka und die Chicha. Der Tabakgenuß spielt eine untergeordnete Rolle.

Die Koka (ēł) ist ein Strauch, dessen alkaloidhaltige Blätter Kokain, Gerbstoffe und verschiedene ätherische Öle enthalten, die als Stimulans schon vor der Zeit der Conquista, vorwiegend unter den Eingeborenen des Kordillerenraumes, in Gebrauch waren. Von ihr sind fast 200 Arten bekannt, von denen die meisten, nämlich 137, auf Amerika entfallen (Walger, p. 9). Sie gedeiht fast ausnahmslos zwischen den Wendekreisen, von Honduras bis Bolivien, bei einer Temperatur, die sich allgemein zwischen 15 und 20 Grad hält. Bei zu tiefer Temperatur werden die Blätter klein und wertlos, in zu heißem Klima verlieren sie an Kraft und Gehalt. Die günstigste Höhenlage liegt zwischen 700 und 1700 m.

Das Wort Koka stammt aus der Kechüa-Sprache (coca oder cuca), womit aber nichts Sicheres über Herkunft und Gebrauch der Pflanze ausgesagt ist, denn gerade die kechüasprechenden Stämme Ecuadors gebrauchen die Pflanze nicht (Cooper, p. 549). Im Norden Südamerikas ist die Bezeichnung, hayo, hahiu üblich, in Nordostperu ebee, hibia, hibio und im Amazonasgebiet allgemein Namen wie ypadu, ypatu, ipado oder batu (Bühler, p. 3344).

Nach Europa gelangte die erste Kunde über die Koka schon im Jahre 1499 durch den Bericht des spanischen Priesters Thomas Ortíz an seine geistlichen Vorgesetzten, wonach die Eingeborenen der Nordküste Südamerikas ein Kraut mit Namen hayo als Genußmittel gebrauchten. Die erste ausführliche Beschreibung über Kultur und Verwendung der Pflanze findet sich in einem 1553 gedruckten Werk des Pedro de Ciéza de León, der erstmals darauf aufmerksam macht, daß die Koka Kraft und Stärke verleihe und den Hunger vertreibe (Bühler, p. 3353).

Zur Zeit der Conquista kannte man die Koka in Kolumbien bei den Caucatalstämmen zwischen Popayán und Cali, bei Ibagué im Magdalenatal, auf der Sabana von Bogotá und bei den Stämmen der Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta. Heute ist der Kokagebrauch wegen seiner schädigenden Wirkung in Kolumbien offiziell verboten. Durch Dekret Nr. 95 von 1938 wurde der Verkauf von Koka, außer in Apotheken und Drogerien, durch das «Ministerio de Trabajo, Higiene y Prevesion Social» untersagt. Erweitert wurde dieses Verbot durch Dekret Nr. 578 von 1941 des gleichen Ministeriums, wonach eine genaue Aufstellung der bestehenden Kokapflanzen des Landes gefordert und ihre Zerstörung angeordnet

wird, bei gleichzeitigem Verbot von Neuanpflanzungen (Duque, 1945, p. 445 f). Natürlich kann dieses Verbot des Kokaanbaues nicht in allen abgelegenen Teilen des Landes streng überwacht und eingehalten werden.

Die Begründung für den Gebrauch der Koka ist seit der Conquista bis heute gleichgeblieben: sie solle den Hunger vertreiben und Kräfte geben. «Ohne Koka kann man nicht arbeiten», so erklärte man mir immer und immer wieder, wenn ich die Paez nach dem Grunde des Kokakauens fragte. Und tatsächlich, auf den langen Wegen zum Markt und bei jeder körperlichen Arbeit sieht man die Paez kauen; allerdings auch nur zur Arbeit, dann, wenn man Kraft braucht, nicht bei Festen und Feiern oder an Feiertagen. (Eine Ausnahme machen die Schamanen, s. unten).

Gekaut wird die bitter schmeckende Koka von beiden Geschlechtern, und die Jungen beginnen mit 12-14 Jahren, wenn sie auch anfangen ihrem Vater auf dem Felde bei der Arbeit zu helfen. Die Mädchen beginnen allgemein etwas später, und beide Geschlechter kauen im hohen Alter ziemlich stark und häufiger, als normal in jüngeren Jahren. Als Normaldosis wird von den Männern dreimal pro Tag Koka genommen, wobei jede Dosis etwa zwei bis drei Stunden anhält. Gegessen wird den ganzen Tag über nichts, nachdem man die erste Mahlzeit am frühen Morgen vor der Arbeit eingenommen und die zweite erst nach Heimkehr vom Felde am späten Nachmittag zu sich nimmt. In den Kokapausen wird ungegorener Zukkerrohrsaft (nyúšayumíl) getrunken, von dem jedermann eine Kalebasse mit einem bis zwei Liter mit sich führt.

Der etwa 80 bis 200 cm hohe Kokastrauch fällt schon von ferne durch seine frischen, hellgrünen, lanzettförmigen Blätter auf, die auf der Unterseite zwei flachgebogene Längslinien aufweisen. Bei den Paez von Calderas hat fast jede Familie ihre Kokasträucher, deren Blätter nach der Pflanzung vom ersten Jahre ab etwa 20 Jahre lang geerntet werden. Wer nicht selbst Kokasträucher besitzt, tauscht sich die Blätter gegen Branntwein, Weizen oder Mais ein (Umrechnungs- und Tauschkurse s. unter «Handel»). Innerhalb der Familie erntet jeder für sich so viele Blätter, wie er gerade braucht, sonst tauscht meist der Familienvater für die ganze Familie ein. Erntezeit ist das ganze Jahr hindurch (Abb. 174).

Vor dem Gebrauch werden die Blätter in einer Tonschale geröstet und dann in dem bunten Wollbeutel (kwatandyáha) zusammen mit einer kleinen Kalebasse mit Kalk mit sich geführt. Der Kalk (kwatánd) wird aus einem Kalkstein (kwatandkwát) gewonnen, der im ganzen Gebiet an verschiedenen Stellen ansteht und den sich Männer und Frauen je nach Bedarf suchen, oder der Mann schickt seine Frau, einige Steine zu holen. Diese Kalksteine werden zwei Stunden lang in ein stark angefachtes

Feuer gelegt, dann in eine Tonschale getan und kaltes Wasser darüber gegossen. Danach wird der gesprungene Stein zu Pulver zerstampft. Zum Genuß nimmt man eine Handvoll Blätter aus seinem Beutel und steckt sie in den Mund und kaut sie eine Zeitlang, bis man den Kalk dazutun kann. Dabei muß darauf geachtet werden, daß weder Zunge noch Lippen mit dem Kalk in Berührung kommen. Anfänger machen es so, daß sie den Kokabrei auf der Zunge mit dem Gaumen breitdrücken und sich eine Prise Kalk aus der birnenförmig geformten, völlig schmucklosen Kalebasse (kwatandóka) daraufstreuen; geübte Kokakauer nehmen eine Prise Kalk auf die Handoberseite zwischen Daumen und Zeigefinger und schütten diese mit Schwung in den geöffneten Mund. Der sich reichlich entwickelnde grüne Speichel wird zu einem Teile ausgespien, das meiste jedoch wird verschluckt. Alten Leuten rinnt er häufig aus dem Mund und tropft auf die Kleider (Abb. 179).

Die schädigende Wirkung der Koka scheint, nach meinen Erfahrungen bei den Paez und bei den kokakauenden kolumbianischen Arbeitern, in den meisten diesbezüglichen Studien übertrieben dargestellt. Von Interesse sind aber die Daten von C. Gutiérrez Noriega (1952), der die psychologische und physiologische Wirkung des Kokagenusses besonders bei den peruanischen Indios untersucht. Dort, im Gebiet des mit zwei bis vier Kilogramm pro Person und Jahr höchsten Kokakonsums, beträgt die tägliche Nahrungsmenge eines Arbeiters nur etwa 2000 Kalorien pro Tag. Bei gleichzeitigem Branntweingenuß machen sich bei der mangelhaften Ernährung körperliche und geistige Folgen naturgemäß stärker bemerkbar, als im Falle des Kokagebrauches bei gutem Ernährungszustand und als einzigem Genußmittel. Neben der Verbesserung der Ernährung und entsprechender Aufklärung wäre ein Branntweinverbot statt seiner Propagierung volksgesundheitlich wünschenswerter als ein Kokaverbot. Allerdings ziehen die Departamentos aus der Branntweinsteuer ihre Haupteinnahmen, während die Koka immer steuerfrei war.

Der Tabak (wáhi) wird von den Paez weder angebaut, noch in größeren Mengen verbraucht, da zum Ankauf von Tabak oder Zigaretten allgemein kein Geld vorhanden ist. Geschenkte Zigaretten aber rauchen beide Geschlechter, und zwar von Kindheit, d. h. mit zwei bis drei Jahren, an. Die Schamanen pflegen bei ihren Séancen und Zeremonien, zusammen mit Koka, Zigarettentabak zu kauen, der aber immer gekauft ist. Diese Séancen dauern viele Stunden oder die ganze Nacht über an, bei welcher Schamane und Patient gemeinsam ununterbrochen diese Mischung kauen.

Die Chicha (spr. Tschitscha) gehört zu den alkoholischen Getränken, die, hergestellt aus verschiedenen Ausgangsstoffen, bei den Eingeborenen

ganz Südamerikas verbreitet sind, wobei in der Waldregion (Venezuela, Brasilien) die Maniok-Chicha und in der Andenregion die Mais-Chicha vorherrscht (Cooper, p. 539 f und map. 11). Nach der Herstellung werden zwei Methoden unterschieden, je nachdem, ob es sich um stark zukkerhaltige Ausgangsstoffe (Honig, Zuckerrohr, Palmsaft, Ananas) oder mehr stärkehaltige Früchte (Maniok, Mais) handelt. Erstere fermentieren ohne Speichelzusatz und brauchen für die Zubereitung nicht gekaut zu werden, letztere benötigen vor oder nach dem Kochen zur Fermentierung den menschlichen Speichel.

Bei den Paez wird die Chicha (mbę́ca) nur aus dem Saft des Zuckerrohres hergestellt, einem Ausgangsstoff, der nicht amerikanisch ist, sondern aus Südasien stammt und erst in postkolumbischer Zeit nach Amerika gekommen ist (Maurizio, 1933, p. 75). Früher wurde die Chicha aus Mais hergestellt, wie heute noch bei den in höheren Regionen lebenden Nachbarn der Paez (z. B. Guambianos). Der Name für den Zuckerrohrsaft nyúlayumíl (= süßes Wasser) als für die ungegorene Chicha hat jedenfalls nichts mit dem Namen für die gegorene Chicha gemein. Für das Zukkerrohr gibt es zudem keinen eigenen Namen, sondern nyúla bedeutet auch «süß» und «Honig».

Das Zuckerrohr im Gebiet der Paez kann das ganze Jahr hindurch angepflanzt und auch geerntet werden. Der Saft des Rohres wird in der Zuckerrohrmühle (lapíče) ausgepreßt. Diese steht vor oder in jedem Hause; sie gehört so zu jeder Familie, wie jede ihr Zuckerrohrfeld und ihre Chicha hat. Letztere hat keinerlei Handelswert, sondern wird nur verschenkt, und jeder bekommt, der darum bittet. Die Zuckerrohrmühle (Fig. 28) der Paez von Calderas und des südlichen Tierradentro besteht aus zwei an jeder Seite geglätteten Baumstämmen, die die seitlichen Pfosten (mágrena) der Mühle bilden. Sie werden in die Erde gerammt und mit je zweimal zwei Absätzen versehen, die die waagerechten Führungsbalken (sę́po) für die drei Quetschwalzen aufnehmen. Diese Führungsbalken werden nur verkeilt. Irgendwelche Metallteile oder Nägel werden hier wie bei der ganzen Konstruktion nicht verwendet. Unter den unteren beiden Führungsbalken ist ein starkes Brett an den seitlichen Pfosten befestigt, auf dem die drei Walzen (ünk) aufliegen. Von diesen wird nur die mittlere mittels einer Querstange durch Menschenkraft oder durch ein Pferd gedreht, während die beiden seitlichen durch Zapfen bewegt werden, welche genauestens eingepaßt, aber nicht weiter verkeilt sind. Oberhalb der unteren beiden Walzen-Führungsbalken ist je eine waagerechte Stange zur Führung der zum Pressen hineingeschobenen Zuckerrohre angebunden. Unterhalb der Walzen liegt ein rechteckiges Brett (tablón) mit

zwei Längsrillen, in denen der ausgepreßte Zuckerrohrsaft seitlich abläuft. Falls zur Bewegung der Quetschwalzen ein Pferd verwendet wird, so geschieht seine Anschirrung mittels zweier Seile, die von einem um den Bauch gewickelten Seil des Pferdes ausgehen, ohne daß das Pferd, wie bei uns üblich, mit der Brust ziehe.

Aus dem nördlichen Tierradentro bildet H. Pinzier de Fábrega (pl. VI/1) eine andere Art von Zuckerrohrmühle ab, die nur zwei übereinanderliegende horizontale Walzen aufweist. Beide sind mit Zapfen zwischen zwei vertikalen Pfosten eingespannt und werden je an einer Seite mit der Hand gedreht. Der ausgepreßte Saft wird in einem darunter gehängten Beutel aufgefangen.

Bei der Chichaherstellung zu den Feiertagen ist es üblich, daß die Mühle nur durch Menschenkraft gedreht wird, von Männern oder Frauen. Man konnte allgemein beobachten, daß sich die leicht angetrunkenen Männer jeweils nur kurze Zeit mühten und dann durch die nüchterner wirkenden Frauen abgelöst wurden, die — mit ihrem Kind auf dem Rükken — eine beachtliche Ausdauer bei dieser körperlich recht schweren Arbeit bewiesen.

Fast jeder Familienvater und Hausbesitzer fertigt sich seine Zuckerrohrmühle selbst an, sonst hilft ein Nachbar. Berufschreiner gibt es nicht. Die Walzen werden mit einer Axt (swéla) und einer Fuchsschwanzsäge (serúćo) aus einem Baumstamm gesägt und grob geglättet. Die so bearbeiteten Zylinder werden im Zentrum von Basis und Oberseite mit einem kleinen Loch versehen und waagerecht mittels Pflöcken zwischen zwei in die Erde gerammte Pfosten gespannt, die mit einem Strick zusammengehalten werden. Dann werden mit einer Lehre (regla), die aus einem Brett mit Dornen besteht, in die sich drehende Trommel die Abstände der Zapfen genau eingeritzt.

Die Zuckerrohre werden mehrere Male von den Arbeitenden, deren je einer an jeder Seite hockt, durch die Quetschwalzen geführt, bis der Saft ausgepreßt ist, der in einem Holztrotsch oder in Kalebaß-Gefäßen aufgefangen wird (Abb. 175). Er wird zunächst stark erwärmt und dann in einen großen, bis zu fünf Meter langen, waagerecht stehenden Baumtrog (kánoa) getan, in dem sich immer bereits ein wenig Chicha befinden muß (Abb. 165). Danach wird er mit der im Trog befindlichen alten Chicha umgerührt, die kánoa mit Bananenblättern bedeckt, und am nächsten Morgen ist die Chicha bereits fertig zum Trinken. Mit fortschreitender Zeit wird die Chicha immer stärker in ihrem Alkoholgehalt. Am Mittag des gleichen Tages ist sie bereits stark genug, um Branntwein daraus zu destillieren. Falls man dies nicht tut, muß man am nächsten Tage zur Ver-

dünnung etwas Wasser dazu geben. Geschieht dies nicht, wird die Chicha weder getrunken noch kommt neuer Zuckerrohrsaft dazu, dann wird sie nach vier bis fünf Tagen sauer und bitter und kratzt sehr in der Kehle. Doch gibt es auch «Feinschmecker» unter den Paez, die die Chicha bis zu drei Wochen unangerührt weitergären lassen und sie erst dann derart scharf und sauer trinken.

Ohne einen Rest alter Chicha in der kánoa kann man keine neue Chicha herstellen. Der Zuckerrohrsaft würde, selbst wenn man ihn viele Tage lang stehen ließe, auch dann nur süß sein, aber keine gute Gärung hervorbringen. Nach fünf oder sieben Tagen entsteht jedoch (wohl durch den Säuregehalt des Holzes der leeren kánoa) eine gewisse Art von Gärung, aber von sehr schlechtem Geschmack.

Falls jemand eine größere Arbeit vorhat, zu der er Leute herbitten und für die Arbeiten dann auch selbstverständlich entsprechend bewirten muß, wird ein Tag vorher das Zuckerrohr gemahlen und am anderen Tage ist die Chicha fertig und kann angeboten werden. Wie es heißt, mache Chicha, in jedweder Menge genossen, keinerlei Beschwerden oder Kopfschmerzen.

Neben der Chicha-Herstellung, die in allen Familien betrieben wird, hat auch jede Familie in ihrem Hause einen Destillationsapparat, mit welchem man aus der einen Tag alten Chicha Branntwein destilliert. Diese Destillation ist allgemein Arbeit der Frauen in der Zeit, während welcher die Männer auf dem Felde sind. Sie kann aber auch von Männern oder Jugendlichen vorgenommen werden. Der Destillationsapparat (walyíndɛya) besteht aus drei Gefäßen, einem großen, 10 bis 15 Liter fassenden Tontopf, der zu zwei Drittel mit starker Chicha, Anis, einem Pfund Dill, Nelken, Zimt und anderen Kräutern gefüllt ist. Auf diesen wird ein zweiter Tontopf ohne Boden aufgesetzt und mit einem Brei aus Wasser und Holzasche luftdicht mit dem oberen Rand des unteren Chichatopfes verbunden. In den oberen Rand dieses zweiten Topfes sind drei Löcher gebohrt, durch die im Innern des Topfes, dicht unter der Mündung, ein flacher Holzteller festgebunden ist, der auf der einen Seite eine Rinne eingeschnitten hat, die durch ein Loch in der Topfwand nach außen führt und in ein Rohr mündet. Auf diesem zweiten Topf sitzt, luftdicht abgedichtet, eine flache Kupferschale. Beim Destillationsvorgang trifft der verdampfte Alkohol, durch den zweiten Topf hindurchgehend, auf den Boden der Kupferschale. In diese wird ständig kaltes Wasser eingefüllt. Der an der Unterseite der Kupferschale kondensierte Alkoholdampf tropft auf den Holzteller, rinnt durch das Abflußrohr nach außen und wird in Flaschen aufgefangen (Abb. 176).

d) Tierhaltung

Obwohl die Paez neben Kleinvieh auch Großvieh, Rinder und Pferde halten, sind sie doch im eigentlichen Sinne keine Viehzüchter. Sie haben weder mit der Zucht ihrer Tiere etwas zu tun, noch nutzen sie in größerem Umfang deren Arbeitskraft. Auch die Verwertung tierischer Produkte — besonders der des Großviehs — steht in keinem Verhältnis zu den vorhandenen Möglichkeiten. Am wenigsten genutzt werden die Pferde (hímba; Hengst = himbapítstę, Stute = himbaóitę), obwohl sie hin und wieder zum Zuckerrohrmahlen Verwendung finden. Man hat sie eigentlich nur, um sie zu haben und um als reich zu gelten. Sie werden weder als Zugtiere vor einem Wagen, noch als Lasttiere benutzt und als Reittiere nur hin und wieder, ohne Sattelzeug, von der Jugend. Erwachsene Männer reiten nicht, obwohl das bergige, schwer begehbare Land zum Reiten geradezu herausfordert und die Paez bei ihren Besuchen auf den Märkten fast alle Kolonisten zu Pferde sehen. Aber «wir sind es von unseren Vorfahren her gewöhnt, in den Bergen zu laufen», antworten sie, «und wir sind zu Fuß viel schneller als ihr zu Pferde». Damit haben sie nicht unrecht, und man möchte es keinem der durch Inzucht degenerierten Paez-Pferde zutrauen, an Marktagen seinen Reiter 30 km weit mehrmals überBerg und Tal von Calderas nach Inzá und zurück zu tragen. Da der Paez eine Leistung von seinen Pferden nicht verlangt, ist es verständlich, daß für ihn und sein Ansehen nur die Stückzahl von Interesse ist. Wie die Pferde aussehen, ist allgemein völlig gleichgültig, eine Zuchtwahl wird in keinem Falle getroffen. wie der Mensch auch von Paarung und Geburt seiner Tiere nichts weiß, sondern einen frischen Wurf allgemein erst feststellt, wenn er da ist. Die Trächtigkeitszeiten sind unbekannt. Von verschiedenen Seiten wurde mir versichert, Pferde, Kühe, Schafe und Schweine seien «ungefähr ein Jahr» trächtig. Eine Kastration der Hengste, Bullen und Schafböcke ist nicht bekannt, bei Ebern kommt sie hin und wieder vor, indem der Besitzer — kein Spezialist — den Ferkeln mit einem Messer die Testikel herausschneidet.

Ist der einzige Zweck der Pferdehaltung bei den Paez, deren eine möglichst große Anzahl zu haben, so ist es verständlich, daß man vor allem auf den Besitz von Stuten Wert legt. Die Geburt eines Stutfohlens ist deshalb eine große Freude, und jedermann würde gerne einen ausgewachsenen Hengst gegen ein Stutfohlen eintauschen, «da dieses wieder Fohlen gibt». Leider findet dieser Tausch nur allzu selten statt, da die Kolonisten an den degenerierten Pferden der Calderuner kein Interesse haben. Anders ist es bei den Kühen (kulá; Stier = toló, Färse = novílya). Hier ist die

Calderuner Rasse (schwarzbuntes «Holsteiner» und braunes Rindvieh) gesünder und meist auch kräftiger als die Rinder der Kolonisten. Zudem ist ihr Körper, wegen des etwas kälteren Klimas, fast völlig zecken- und ungezieferfrei, gegenüber den normalerweise von Larven und Maden wimmelnden Kühen der Bewohner tieferer Lagen. Zum Unterschied vom Pferdefleisch wird das Rindfleisch gegessen, die Milch aber nie genossen, «da sich die Calderuner Kühe nicht melken lassen». Das Zuchtziel ist auch hier wieder die möglichst große Zahl. Es wird deswegen nie vorkommen, daß eine Kuh oder ein Kalb geschlachtet würden. Die Bevorzugung einer besonderen Farbe, z. B. schwarz-weiß oder braun-weiß oder einfarbig schwarz oder weiß oder braun, konnte ich nicht feststellen. Alles ist dem Paez gleich lieb, da nur die Anzahl von Bedeutung ist. Eine besondere Verbundenheit eines Menschen mit seinem Vieh besteht nicht, da niemand Vieh verschenkt, weder als Geburtstags- noch als Paten- oder als Hochzeitsgeschenk. Besondere Namen oder Bezeichnungen für das Vieh oder Kosenamen werden nicht gebraucht.

Die Calderuner Rinder und Pferde weiden etwa zur Hälfte ihrer Gesamtzahl auf den Wiesen des Gemeindelandes. Es handelt sich um rund 40 Pferde und 60 Rinder. Die Zahl zeigt, daß nur ein kleiner Teil der Calderuner Familien eine Kuh oder ein Pferd sein Eigen nennt. Das Verhältnis wird noch ungünstiger, wenn man weiß, daß es drei reiche Familien gibt, die je etwa 10 bis 20 Rinder und Pferde besitzen. Die andere Hälfte des Großviehbestandes, sowie Schafe, Schweine und Kleinvieh, bleiben in der Nähe der Häuser und suchen sich dort ihr Futter. Sie können auch in den unbebauten Feldern der Nachbarn ihre Nahrung suchen; das Eindringen in die bebauten Felder ist ihnen durch die Zäune verwehrt.

Jeder Familienangehörige kennt jedes Stück seines Viehbestandes und die Männer auch jedes Stück Großvieh des ganzen Dorfes. Trotzdem sind Eigentumsmarken in Gebrauch, die für die Pferde in Brandstempeln aus Eisen mit dem Anfangsbuchstaben des Besitzers bestehen, wie sie auch bei den Kolonisten in Gebrauch und dort käuflich zu erwerben sind. Die Rinder haben als Eigentumsmarken kleine Einschnitte in den Ohren in Form eines Dreieckes, Viereckes oder Halbkreises oder in entsprechender Durchbohrung der Ohren. Die gleichen Eigentumszeichen bekommen auch die Schweine und Schafe in die Ohren.

Schafe (pila) werden hauptsächlich wegen der Wolle gehalten, obwohl sie auch gegessen werden. Der Gesamtbestand des Dorfes ist aber so gering, daß nur durchschnittlich jede dritte Familie ein bis zwei Schafe ihr Eigen nennt. Die übrigen Familien müssen sich die benötigte Wolle bei den Schafbesitzern gegen anderes eintauschen (s. unter «Handel und Ver-

kehr»). Schweine (čúče) sind wegen ihres Fleisches sehr begehrt, sie sind allerdings nicht zahlreich genug, als daß jede Familie eines besäße, wohl aber etwa jede zweite Familie. Sie laufen, wie alle anderen Haustiere, in der Nähe der Gehöfte frei herum und müssen sich ihre Nahrung suchen. Ihr Eindringen in die umzäunten Felder verhindert man, indem man ihnen ein aus drei Stäben gebildetes Gestell um den Hals hängt.

Ställe für die Tiere oder regelmäßige und besondere Fütterung oder Pflege ist nicht bekannt. Auf den Weideplätzen der Rinder und Pferde legt der Besitzer jeden Sonntag Steinsalz aus. Den Schweinen wirft man gelegentlich Arracacha- oder Maisabfälle vor das Haus, die sie sich dann suchen müssen. Hühner (átały; Hahn = atalyepítstę, Kücken = atalyelúčkwę) werden ab und zu mit Mais gefüttert oder picken von den Arracacha, die in der Wohnung herumliegen. Die kleinen Kücken werden gefüttert, indem die Frau ihnen etwas Mais vorkaut und ihnen den Brei hinspeit. Einige Hühner besitzt jede Familie, ihre Zahl wird jedoch nicht groß, da Fuchs und Nachbarn die frei Herumlaufenden immer wieder wegstehlen. Die Durchschnittszahl hält sich deswegen bei nur zwei bis drei Hühnern und einem Hahn pro Familie. In vielen Häusern laufen Meerschweinchen (fits) herum, die sich von den Abfällen der Küche nähren und deren Braten als Delikatesse geschätzt wird.

Hunde (álko) gibt es fast in jedem Haus. Sie sollen die Hühner vor dem Fuchs und das Haus vor fremden Menschen schützen. Wir haben aber keine wirklich bissigen Hunde angetroffen. Sie sind alle sehr unterernährt und feige, dazu von kleiner, kurzhaariger Rasse. Größere Hunde, etwa von der Größe unserer Schäferhunde, gibt es nicht. Ihre Nahrung müssen sie sich suchen, hauptsächlich besteht sie aus dem Fleisch krepierter Pferde, da die Menschen kein Pferdefleisch essen. Nur sehr selten bekommen sie einmal Reste menschlicher Mahlzeiten zugeworfen. Katzen (mil) sind selten. Nur wenige Familien besitzen eine. Sie dienen dem Menschen, indem sie Haus und Vorratsräume frei von Mäusen halten. Enten (páto) sind ebenfalls sehr selten, wir trafen nur je zwei in zwei Häusern. Sie werden als Braten sehr geschätzt.

Bienen (čí'nç) werden nur von wenigen Familien gehalten. Sie sind kleiner als unsere deutschen Honigbienen und von gelb-brauner Farbe. Besondere Bienenkörbe gibt es nicht, sondern man benutzt einen alten, ausgehöhlten, aber noch stehenden Baumstamm. In einem Falle nisteten sie in einem Hauspfosten neben dem Türeingang. Ihr Honig (čí'nç mil) ist dunkelbraun wie Sirup. Das Bienenwachs (čí'nç) wird zur Festigung der Agavefaserschnüre benutzt, mit denen man zerbrochene Chichaschalen repariert und zur Herstellung von Feuerwerkskörpern.

e) Jagd und Fischfang

Beides spielt im Wirtschaftshaushalt der Paez keine große Rolle. Eine besondere Klasse von Jägern oder Fischern gibt es zudem nicht. Die Jagd wird nur von Männern ausgeübt und erstreckt sich, aus Mangel an Großwild, im allgemeinen auf kleinere Säuger, Kaninchen, Affen und auf Vögel. Nur in den Bergen ist es möglich, die čái und gwágwa zu finden und zu jagen. Ersteres sei eine Art Hirsch, so wurde mir erklärt, und das gwágwa ein kleines Tier, ähnlich einem Dachs.

Die größte Häufigkeit der Jagdgänge eines Mannes liegt etwa bei einem Tag wöchentlich. Meistens gehen die Männer aber noch seltener auf die Jagd. Diese wird in der Nähe der Behausung alleine mit Hunden durchgeführt, während ein Jagdgang in den Bergen allgemein von mehreren Männer ausgeführt wird, da ein Mann alleine Angst vor gělyómp, dem Berggeist hat. Nur einen einzigen jungen Mann von etwa 18 Jahren trafen wir, der wöchentlich einmal alleine in die Berge auf Jagd geht. Er erzählte uns, daß man, um ein guter Jäger zu werden, sich zunächst bemühen müsse, einen Bären (ǵwiy) zu töten. Dessen Fett muß man sich dann in den rechten Unterarm einreiben, dadurch bekäme man gleiche Kräfte wie der Bär. Essen dürfe man dieses Fett aber nicht, da man sonst davon wahnsinnig würde. Nach dem Einreiben des Fettes, so erzählte der junge Jäger weiter, dürfe man eine Woche lang zu allen Mahlzeiten kein Salz essen. Irgendwelche weiteren Regeln oder Zeremonien hätte man nicht zu beachten. Wir erfuhren aber, daß man das Bärenfett auch als Heilmittel benutzen könne, und zwar müsse man bei Knochenbrüchen oder Verstauchungen den betreffenden Teil mit dem Bärenfett einreiben, und danach würde das verletzte Glied sofort heilen und bedeutend stärker werden als je zuvor. Bei seinen Pirschgängen trägt er auf dem Kopf eine Kappe aus dem Fell eines rotblond behaarten Affen (móno), die ihn in erster Linie vor den Dornen des Gebüsches schützen, aber auch das Anschleichen des Wildes erleichtern soll. Für zwei Pesos hat er sie uns ohne weiteres verkauft, da er, wie er sagte, durchaus in der Lage wäre, sich einen anderen Affen zu schießen. Angst vor dem gělyómp-Geist hätte er nicht, wohl aber die anderen Männer. Gělyómp schreit nämlich und lärmt, wenn die Menschen sein Revier in den Bergen betreten, so daß sie ganz verwirrt werden und sich verirren. Mehreren Männern zusammen aber könne der Berggeist nichts anhaben, da könne er lärmen so laut er wolle, sie ließen sich nicht ablenken. Natürlich dürfen die Männer, selbst wenn sie noch so viele sind, den Berggeist nicht beleidigen oder unnötig herausfordern, sondern müssen alles vermeiden, was gělyómp nicht leiden

kana. Er haßt nämlich alles Unreine und Schmutzige. Die Männer gehen deshalb immer nur gut gewaschen auf die Jagd, sie waschen sich sogar den ganzen Körper und auch die Ruana. Zusätzlich reiben sie sich noch mit den Reinigungskräutern šū und šáyuts ein, die sie vom Schamanen bekommen, um auch wirklich ganz sauber im körperlichen und rituellen Sinne zu sein. Wenn jemand aber an einer Beerdigung teilgenommen hat oder auch nur einen Leichenzug aus der Nähe sah, so hat er sehr viel «Pest» von dem Toten abbekommen und muß sich vor der Jagd noch besonders vom Schamanen reinigen lassen. Falls aber die Frau eines Jägers zur Zeit der Jagd gerade menstruiert, so nützt keine Reinigung; der Jäger ist zu «schmutzig» und muß zuhause bleiben, um nicht die Wut des gēlyómp herauszufordern und damit Unglück über die ganze Jagdgesellschaft zu bringen.

Diese besteht allgemein aus sechs Männern mit zwölf Hunden, ohne daß es sich jedoch dabei um eine regelrechte Treibjagd handelt. Die Jäger sind mit Schrotflinten ausgerüstet, deren glatter Lauf bei einem Kaliber von etwa 15 mm aus starkem Eisenblech besteht. Als Schrot nimmt man feinen Sand, das Pulver wird gekauft und mit einem Funken aus dem Feuersteinschloß entzündet.

Schonzeiten für die Tiere gibt es nicht; desgleichen ist gēlyómp nicht böse, weil etwa zu viel Wild gejagt werden könnte, denn «dies kommt nicht vor, da es soviel gar nicht gibt». Nach der Jagd aber befestigt der Jäger die Schwanzfedern der erbeuteten Vögel an der Innenseite des Daches seines Hauses und die sauber abgenagten Schädel der erjagten Vierfüßer an dessen Mittelpfahl oder mittlerem Giebelpfahl. Beides, um das nächste Mal bei der Jagd auf das gleiche Wild wieder Erfolg zu haben. Schwanzfedern der Vögel fand ich unter der Dachbedeckung fast jedes Hauses und häufig auch drei, fünf oder zehn Affen- oder Kaninchenschädel direkt befestigt am Hauspfahl oder übereinander aufgereiht an einer Schnur. Nur einmal fand ich am Giebelpfosten einer kleinen Feldhütte in mannshöhe unter einem Affenschädel eine sehr roh eingeritzte menschliche Figur mit einem ovalen Gesicht und sechs aufrecht stehenden Haaren auf dem Kopf (Abb. 200). Die Augen sind durch Kreise, die Nase durch ein langes Rechteck und der Mund durch ein Dreieck wiedergegeben. Der Körper ist rechteckig. Seitlich des Körpers sind zwei halbkreisförmige Linien eingeritzt. Die Arme setzen an diesen Halbkreisen als zwei gewinkelte Linien an und stehen etwas ab; in gleicher Art sind die Beine dargestellt, zwischen denen ein Dreieck wohl die Geschlechtsteile andeuten soll. An der Seite des Pfostens ist ein christliches Kreuz eingeschnitten. Es wurde mir erklärt, daß die menschliche Figur den «Teufel»

darstelle, aber mit der Jagd nichts zu tun hätte. Diese Erklärung ist natürlich unbefriedigend, aber ich konnte eine ähnliche Einritzung nirgends wiederfinden und auch nirgendwo eine Erklärung erlangen.*

Die Vogeljagd auf die taubengroßen tom-Vögel wird, außer mit der Schrot-Flinte, von fast allen Paez-Familien mit dem Netz (ōka) ausgeübt, das eine Höhe von etwa fünf Meter und eine Breite von zwanzig Meter hat. Man schlägt dazu auf einem Hügel oder dem Kamm eines Höhenzuges eine entsprechend breite Bresche in die Baum- oder Buschbewachsung und befestigt in der entstandenen Lücke das Netz. Die aufgescheuchten Vögel, die an dieser Stelle einen bequemen Durchlaß vermuten, fliegen in das Netz, verfangen sich darin und werden von den Fängern durch Umdrehen des Kopfes getötet. Eine andere Art des Vogelfanges besteht darin, daß man eine Schlinge aus Pferdehaar (nyákiwez; nyák = aufstellen, wez = Schnur) so an dem Zweig eines Baumes oder Strauches befestigt, daß die Schlinge in ein Vogelnest zu liegen kommt. Kehrt der Vogel in sein Nest zurück, verfängt sich die Schlinge an seinem Fuß und der Junge — denn Jungen sind es zumeist, die diese Arbeit der Schlingenstellerei ausüben — kann den Vogel ergreifen. Gleichermaßen mit Schlingen, allerdings aus Agavefaser, werden Kaninchen gefangen, indem man die Schlingen auf ihren Wechseln auslegt.

Der Fischfang wird mit der Angel am Fluß oder an Stauwehren mit Gift ausgeübt. Die Angel (wendyánsyuts) besteht aus gezwirnter Agaveschnur, an die ein Metallhaken und als Senker ein Stein angebunden sind. Als Köder wird am Haken ein kleiner Wurm befestigt. Geangelt wird nur von Männern, und zwar in der Dämmerung oder bei Nacht.

Das Fischen mit Giftpflanzen ist ein Kultur-Charakteristikum fast aller südamerikanischen Indianer. Insgesamt werden von ihnen zu diesem Zweck mehr als hundert Arten von Giftpflanzen benutzt, womit der Erdteil in dieser Hinsicht an der Spitze aller Kontinente steht (Heizer, p. 277). Bei den Paez wird die Giftpflanzenfischerei einmal im Jahr, in der Trockenzeit, als Gemeinschaftsfischerei an Stauwehren betrieben. Dazu wird — so wurde mir erklärt — zunächst von den Männern ein Staudamm aus Steinen und Erde errichtet. In das so abgeteilte Becken wirft man die mittels Steinen zerriebenen Kräuter, welcher nur hoch oben in den Bergen wachsen und einen Giftstoff enthalten. Diese Kräuter werden yúkse bzw. kēse genannt. Die Fische sollen darauf unmittelbar ster-

* Möglicherweise soll hier der «Donner» dargestellt sein, der als bedeutendste mythische Figur und auch als Hilfsgeist der Schamanen als ein kleiner Mann mit Schamanenstab und einer Triangel als Musikinstrument beschrieben wird, der seine Geschlechtsteile zur Schau stellt.

ben. Gefangen werden sie nur von Männern. Da aber die Giftkräuter so weit entfernt und nur schwer zu finden sind, würden die Männer an den Staustellen die Fische teilweise auch unvergiftet mit den bloßen Händen fangen.

f) Waffen

Die Waffen der Paez beschränken sich auf Jagdwaffen und auf Kinderspielzeug, da Kriege nicht mehr geführt werden. Die heute einzig bedeutsame Jagdwaffe ist die Schrotflinte. Als Kinderspielzeug existieren Steinschleuder (isot), Blasrohr (pāt) und neuerdings die Gummischleuder (káučéro).

In früherer Zeit sollen die Paez bei den Kämpfen mit den Spaniern 25 Handspannen lange Lanzen aus dem Holz der Chonta-Palme benutzt haben, sowie Flechtschilde bzw. Schilde aus Tapirhaut (Pittier, p. 327). Für gegenwärtigen oder auch früheren Gebrauch von Lanze und Schild konnte ich keine Bestätigung finden; meinen Gewährsleuten war weder Wort noch Sache geläufig. Von den Chronisten ist aber überliefert, daß die Paez, wie auch andere Gebirgsvölker dieses Gebietes, aus den Kämpfen mit den spanischen Reitern gelernt hatten, sich ihrer mit langen Lanzen zu erwehren. Für einen vorspanischen Gebrauch dieser Art Lanzen fehlt aber jeder Grund. Daß die Paez ursprünglich Geflechtschilde (opimb) hatten, ist nicht unwahrscheinlich. Interessant ist das Wort für den Fellschild (himba-kat), dessen gegenwärtige wörtliche Bedeutung «Pferde-Haut» ist. Ob «himba» in vorspanischer Zeit «Tapir» bedeutet hat, ist nicht zu eruieren.

Zur Verteidigung ihres Gebirgslandes hatten die Paez auch große Felssteine benutzt, die sie von den Höhen auf die Angreifer herabschleuderten. Schon früh gelang es ihnen aber auch, sich Eisen und Eisenwaffen zu verschaffen. Bereits in den Kämpfen zur Zeit der Conquista benutzten sie Schwerter und Macheten.

Mythologisch als von großer Bedeutung bei den Kämpfen mit den «Pijaos» ist die aus Agavefaser geflochtene Steinschleuder, deren Herstellung unten (s. unter «Flechten») beschrieben ist. Aus geographischen Gründen ist sie die typische Waffe der amerikanischen Gebirgsvölker von Feuerland bis Kanada, während das Blasrohr aus gleichen Gründen die typische Waffe vorwiegend des Amazonas- und Orinoco-Waldgebietes ist. Das gemeinsame Vorkommen von Blasrohr und Schleuder findet sich durchgehend von Mexiko bis Ecuador und in Bolivien (Friederici, 1911, pp. 71-73, Taf. 13).

Das Blasrohr der Paez besteht aus einem einteiligen Lauf und ist in seiner Konstruktion sehr einfach. Es wird nur von Männern hergestellt, zur Vogeljagd aber fast nur von Jungen gebraucht. Zur Herstellung benutzt man den dünen, geraden Stamm des fiza-Baumes, dessen Mark mit einem langen, glühend gemachten Eisenrohr von etwa 8 mm Stärke ausgebrannt wird. Die Länge des Rohres beträgt 2-3 m. Ein besonderes Mundstück wird nicht angebracht. Als Visier klebt man ein Stückchen Bienenwachs oberhalb der Mündung des Blasrohres auf. Als Geschosse dienen die kugelförmigen Früchte des ambák-Baumes, die im grünen Zustand gerade das richtige Kaliber haben. Die Schußweite beträgt etwa 20 m. Die Schußgenauigkeit ist nicht groß. Trotzdem gibt es Jungen, die oberhalb der Blasöffnung des Rohres mehr als 20 Kerben als Abschußliste der getöteten Vögel eingeschnitten haben.

4. HANDWERK UND TECHNIKEN

a) Faserbearbeitung

Das bei den Paez zum Flechten, Weben, Netzen oder Seilen verwandte Fasermaterial ist vorwiegend die Agave, die Baumwolle oder Schafwolle. Agave und Baumwolle sind altamerikanische Faserpflanzen, deren Heimat wahrscheinlich Mittelamerika ist, während die Verarbeitung der Schafwolle im peruanischen Hochland ihre Tradition in der Verarbeitung der Lama- bzw. Alpacawolle und der Wolle ihrer wild lebenden Verwandten, Vicuña und Guanaco, hat.

Die Agave (mbäts) wächst in allen Teilen des Tierradentro, und die Fasern ihrer fleischigen, wasserhaltigen Blätter werden zum Flechten, Weben, für die Herstellung der Netze und Seile verwandt. Die Gewinnung der Faser muß unmittelbar nach dem Abschlagen des bis zu 1,50 m langen Blattes von der Staude geschehen, da die Feuchtigkeit sehr rasch vergeht und die Entfernung des trockenen Fleisches von den Fasern dann nur sehr schwer möglich ist. Jedes Haus hat zu diesem Zweck im Schatten des Daches einen schräg gegen die Wand gelehnten Baumstamm, von dessen oberem Teil eine Schnur mit einem Hölzchen herabhängt. Dieses steckt man quer in das mit der Spitze nach unten hängende Blatt, und dann werden mit einem der Länge nach aufgespaltenen, sehr scharfkantigen halben Bambusrohr die fleischigen Teile des Agaveblattes rasch heruntergeschabt, bis nur noch die lang durchgehenden, sauberen Fasern

übrig bleiben (Abb. 177 und 178). Diese werden zum Trocknen lose um einen Balken gebunden, bis sie dann früher oder später versponnen und zum Gebrauch gezwirnt werden.

Um einen Faden aus den Agavefasern zu gewinnen, wenden Männer und Frauen verschiedene Techniken an. Männer drillen den Faden mit der Hand auf dem Oberschenkel, während Frauen die Agavefaser, wie auch die Schafwolle, mit der Spindel zu einem Faden verspinnen. Je nach Form der Spindel und ihrer Haltung werden bei den südamerikanischen Eingeborenen zwei Methoden des Spinnens unterschieden, die O. Frödin und E. v. Nordenskiöld nach ihrem charakteristischen Vorkommen als die Bororo- und Bakaïri-Methode bezeichnen. Die erstere Methode ist die kulturgeschichtlich ältere. Der Spindelstab ist hier von gleichmäßigem Querschnitt, und der Wirtel sitzt allgemein nahe dem unteren Ende. Beim Spinnen wird die Spindel mehr oder weniger waagerecht gehalten und mit ihrem unteren Ende auf eine in den Boden gesteckte Astgabel aufgelegt oder zwischen den Zehen gehalten. Der gesponnene Faden wird zunächst auf den kürzeren, unterhalb des Wirtels gelegenen Teil gewickelt und erst später auf den oberhalb liegenden Hauptteil aufgewickelt. Die Hauptverbreitung dieses Spindeltypes liegt östlich der Anden, in Mojos und im östlichen Ecuador. Die Bakaïrispindel, auch als »Andine Hängespindel« bezeichnet, ist durch eine konische Verdickung an ihrem unteren Ende gekennzeichnet. Der Wirtel ist von oben her auf den Spindelstab gestreift und kann, da bei der Bakaïrimethode nur in senkrechter Lage gesponnen wird, nicht abrutschen. Das obere Ende der Spindel ist oft mit einer Kerbe oder einem Haken versehen. Der Faden wird grundsätzlich an dem oberen, längeren Ende des Spindelstöckchens gebildet, also genau umgekehrt, als bei der Bororospindel. Die Verbreitung des Bakaïrityps ist eine sehr große; er kommt im gesamten Andenraum vor, wie auch im venezolanischen und brasilianischen Waldgebiet.

Die Spindeln der Paez (wágat; als Wollspindel: káswagat) und ihre Spinnmethoden lassen sich weder eindeutig als zum Bororo- noch als zum Bakaïrityp gehörig bezeichnen, da sie Elemente von beiden enthalten. Das schmucklose Spindelstöckchen ist gleichmäßig etwa 3 mm dick, der Wirtel (nyít) kann entweder fehlen oder ist sehr kunstlos in Form einer roh geschnitzten, diskusförmigen Knochen- oder Holzscheibe aufgeschoben. Nicht selten dient als Wirtelersatz ein Stückchen Maiskolben, eine Kartoffel oder eine Bohnenschote. Die Haltung der Spindel ist verschieden. Sie kann senkrecht frei nach unten hängen, in senkrechter Lage mit der Spitze auf einer Unterlage (Oberschenkel) aufliegen, oder sie wird waagerecht in der Luft oder sogar mit dem unteren Teil nach oben

gehalten (Abb. 179 bis 180). Die Haltung der Spindel hängt nicht davon ab, ob Agavefaser oder Wolle versponnen wird, sondern sie scheint willkürlich zu sein. Während diese Merkmale, wenigstens soweit die Spindel freihändig nach unten gehalten wird, auf das Bakaïrispinnen hinweisen, ist die Bildung des Fadens und sein vorläufiges Aufwickeln auf den unteren, kürzeren Teil der Spindel ein Merkmal des Bororospinnens, obwohl deren typische, gabelförmige Auflage bei waagerecht gehaltener Spindel hier fehlt. Die Spindel wird bei den Paez mit der rechten Hand geführt. Die linke zupft die Fasern und bildet den Faden. Die Frauen können dabei sitzen, stehen oder gehen. Soweit es sich um die Verarbeitung von Schafwolle handelt, pflegen die Frauen sie vorwiegend auf dem Wege zum Markt oder bei sonstigen Gängen zu verspinnen; beim Spinnen der Agavefaser sitzen sie vor dem Balken, um den die Fasern zum Trocknen aufgebunden worden sind.

Die Schafwolle (kas) wird grob gereinigt und zum Verspinnen ungewaschen um einen Stab gebunden (Abb. 179). Dieser ist 60-150 cm lang und wird mit seinem unteren Teil unter den Arm geklemmt. An seinem oberen Teil hat er eine Kerbe, in welcher eine Schnur befestigt ist, mit der die Wolle am Stab durch Umwickeln festgehalten wird. Damit sie nicht zu sehr austrocknet, wodurch das Verspinnen erschwert würde, schützt man sie durch Einhüllen in Blätter oder durch ein Tuch.

Nachdem der Faden einige Meter gesponnen und auf den unteren Teil der Spindel aufgewickelt worden ist, löst man ihn dort und wickelt ihn auf den oberen Teil. In dieser aufgewickelten Form, d. h. noch auf dem Spindelstab, kann der Faden nach Entfernung des Wirtels als Schützen beim Weben der Kleidungsstücke verwendet werden. Zum Weben der bunten Frauengürtel jedoch und zur Herstellung der wollenen Kokataschen wird nicht der einfache, sondern der gezwirnte Wollfaden benutzt. Die Agavefäden werden sogar grundsätzlich zu jedem Gebrauch gezwirnt. Dazu werden zwei Einzelfäden zu einem doppelten Faden in einer der Spinnrichtung entgegengesetzten Drehrichtung verdreht. Dieser Vorgang wird von Männern und Frauen verschieden durchgeführt. Erstere zwirnen entweder mit der Hand auf dem Oberschenkel oder benutzen dazu ein besonderes Instrument, die klafica, mit der auch die stärksten Seile hergestellt werden, während die Frauen auch das Zwirnen mit der Spindel vornehmen. Die Drehrichtung des gezwirnten Fadens ist bei Männern und Frauen verschieden. Nach dem vorhandenen Material wenden erstere bei der Handarbeit die Z-Zwirnung an, die Frauen bei Arbeit mit der Spindel die S-Zwirnung. Beim Zwirnen oder Seilen der Männer mit der klafica herrscht die S-Drehung vor. (Für die Angabe der

Drehrichtung nach diesen beiden Buchstaben ist die Richtung des vorne liegenden, schräglaufenden Teiles des senkrecht gehaltenen Fadens maßgebend, der parallel zum Mittelteil eines S oder Z verläuft [Fig. 34]).

Die Frauen streifen zum Zwirnen, nachdem sie den leicht beweglichen Spinnwirtel nach unten abgezogen haben, den gesponnenen Faden von der Spindel, fassen ihn dann in der Mitte und legen ihn in einer Schlaufe von neuem um die Spindel. Dann wird der so doppelt genommene Faden mit der rechten Hand gezwirnt, wobei er mit drei Fingern der linken Hand entwirrt und geführt wird (Abb. 180). Auch hierbei wird zunächst jeweils ein kleineres Stück auf dem unteren, schmaleren Teil der Spindel gezwirnt und erst später auf den längeren, oberen Teil aufgewickelt.

b) Seilen

Die Anfertigung von Seilen ist Männerarbeit. Es gibt zwar auch eine Art von Seilen aus Agavefaser, die von Frauen angefertigt wird (täpe), aber diese Seile werden in Form des Dreierzopfes aus drei Drähten geflochten und sind damit eine Flechtarbeit. Zweidrähtige Seile aus Agavefaser (mémwez) von beliebiger Länge werden in der gleichen Technik hergestellt, wie die dünnen, gezwirnten Agaveschnüre. Man benutzt dazu die klafíca (von span. clavícula?), ein lanzettförmiges, etwa 15 cm langes, flaches Stück Holz, das an seinem einen Ende eine Einkerbung und darunter eine runde Durchbohrung hat (Fig. 26). Durch diese wird waagerecht ein gleichlanger Stab gesteckt, der an seinem einen Ende eine Verdickung aufweist, welche das Abrutschen des Brettchens verhindert. Um die Einkerbung wird die Mitte eines mit der Hand gedrillten Fadens befestigt, und dann läßt man das Brettchen rotieren. Durch seine exzentrisch angebrachte Durchbohrung wirkt der längere Teil als Schwungmasse. Beim Drehen wird der daran befestigte Faden gezwirnt. Natürlich ist zu dieser Arbeit ein Gehilfe erforderlich, der das andere Ende des Fadens oder Seiles gefaßt hält. Auch dreidrähtige Seile (láso) können mit der klafíca hergestellt werden. Dazu werden die drei Spitzen der drei gedrillten Agavedrähte an der Einkerbung der klafíca festgebunden, und dann wird das Instrument auf die gleiche Weise gedreht. Ein Gehilfe sorgt für gleichmäßigen Drall und gleichmäßige Stärke des Seiles. Als dreidrähtiges Seil wird nach der beschriebenen Methode mit der klafíca auch ein Lasso aus Pferdehaaren (séltas) hergestellt. Die einzelnen Drähte werden vorher mit der Hand gedrillt, dann gezwirnt und als dritter Arbeitsgang das außerordentlich feste Seil von etwa 1 cm Durchmesser her-

gestellt. Mit der klafica werden auch die spiralförmig als Lederstreifen aus der Rinderhaut geschnittenen Lassos (kádya) gedrillt. Voraussetzung ist, daß die Haut in frischem oder nassem Zustand verarbeitet wird. Nachdem sie nach dem Drillen eine Zeitlang zum Trocknen ausgespannt ist, behält sie ihre spiralförmige Drehung bei. Diese läßt allerdings bei zu starker Zugbeanspruchung oder bei starker Durchnässung nach.

c) Netztechniken

Bei der Beschreibung der Netztechniken der Paez möchte ich zwischen der Schlingtechnik und der Knotentechnik unterscheiden. Zu den in Schlingtechnik hergestellten Gegenständen gehören die Tragtaschen aus Agavefaser (im folgenden «Fasertaschen» genannt) und die wollenen Kokabeutel, zu den in Knotentechnik hergestellten die Vogelnetze, Hängematten, Beerensiebe und Schleudern. Als Material dient Agavefaser oder Schafwolle, beides in der Form gezwirnter Fäden.

Zu den Arbeiten in *Schlingtechnik* gehört in unserem europäischen Kulturkreis beispielsweise das Stricken und Häkeln, und zwar in der Technik des Verschlingens. Der Einfachheit dieser Arbeitsmethode steht die unangenehme Begleiterscheinung gegenüber, daß man durch Zug an einem Faden das ganze Gewebe zerstören kann. Die Schlingtechnik der Paez-Stofferzeugung ist eine grundsätzlich andere. Sie besteht in der Technik des einfachen Einhängens. Rein äußerlich ist dabei zu bemerken, daß weder Nadel noch Häkelhaken, noch ein anderer Gegenstand zu ihrer Ausübung benutzt wird, sondern alles geschieht mit den Händen.

Zur Verbindung der Schlingen muß man den Faden in seiner ganzen Länge durch jede einzelne Schlinge hindurchführen. Da bei dieser Technik der Fadenvorrat in Form eines dicken Knäuls nicht oder nur unter großen Mühen durch die Schlingen passen würden, mußte man eine andere Art des Legens des Fadenvorrates ersinnen. Dies ist den Paez in einer sehr geschickten Weise gelungen, wobei man aus dem gleichen Material sogar einen brauchbaren Nadelersatz hat bilden können (Abb. 183). Der zu verarbeitende Faden, Wolle oder Agavefaser, wird der Länge nach mehrfach übereinandergelegt, leicht gedrillt und dann in der Mitte mit einem einfachen Faden zusammengefaßt. Dieser wird mehrfach so verknotet, daß er in eine Spitze ausläuft, die gleichzeitig als Flechtnadel dient. Dieser bis zu 4 m lange und 6-8 mm dick zusammengelegte Fadenvorrat kann leicht durch jede Schlinge der Fasertasche geführt werden. Wenn der Faden einmal der Länge nach aufgebraucht ist, läßt sich ohne

weiteres eine Schlaufe des Fadenvorrates durch die «Öse» der «Nadel» nachziehen, solange, bis der Vorrat aufgebraucht ist.

Die Methode der Herstellung der Fasertasche und des wollenen Kokabeutels ist grundsätzlich die gleiche. Die Arbeitszeit dauert zwei bis sechs Wochen. Bei der Fasertasche (yáha), deren größte in Höhe und Breite über einen Meter messen können, wird zunächst ein kleiner Boden geflochten, von dem aus man die Tasche in mehreren Absätzen glockenförmig zum Rande hin arbeitet. Zu Beginn dieses Verfahrens wird zwischen Daumen und Ringfinger einerseits und Zeige- und Mittelfinger andererseits zunächst ein kurzes Stück Faden gespannt, das mit der Fadenfortsetzung in Schlaufen lose und spiralförmig umwickelt wird. Dadurch entsteht die erste Maschenreihe (Fig. 30). Durch diese wird jetzt der folgende Fadenzug wieder zurückgeführt, indem er die vorher gebildeten Schlaufen lose faßt. Ist auf diese Weise fortfahrend der rechteckige Boden in einer Größe von etwa 2x5 cm hergestellt, so beginnt man an seiner einen Ecke mit dem ersten Absatz. Der Faden läuft auch hier, wie bei der ganzen Flechtarbeit, in der gleichen Technik. Um die Tasche zu verbreitern, werden in jede Schlaufe des Bodens soviele zusätzliche Reihen eingeschlungen, wie man den Beutel zu erweitern gedenkt.

Bei Ende der Arbeit wird drei Schlingen unterhalb seines oberen Randes in den Beutel eine breite Lochreihe eingearbeitet, die zur Befestigung des Tragbandes dient. Dieses Band endet, durch die Art des Webens (s. unten) bedingt, an beiden Enden in Schlaufen. Zur Befestigung wird die erste Schlaufe des Bandes von innen her durch eine Randöse geführt und zuerst oben herum nach hinten gelegt. Dann wird die zweite Schlaufe nach unten durch die erste Schlaufe geführt und dann erst durch die Öse des Beutels wieder zurück nach oben-hinten wie vorher. Die letzte Schlaufe des Bandes wird mit dem Anfangs- bzw.Endschußfaden des Tragbandes in einer Öse des Beutels verknotet.

Die Herstellung der wollenen Kokabeutel (kwatandyáha) wörtlich «Kalkbeutel»), deren Größe zwischen 12 und 35 cm schwankt, geschieht in der gleichen Technik, wie die Anfertigung der Fasertaschen. Der Arbeitsgang geht, nach Herstellung des Bodens, in drei Abschnitten vor sich, wobei sich der mittlere äußerlich durch sein farbiges, schachbrettartiges Muster abhebt, das oben und unten von einer Dreieckreihe begrenzt wird. Da dieser farbige Abschnitt ebenfalls in der Richtung vom Boden zum oberen Rand hin geflochten wird, ist für jeden Farbwechsel ein andersfarbiger Faden erforderlich. Diese verschiedenfarbigen Fäden sind in gleicher Art wie bei den Fasertaschen zu Seilen gedreht und mit einem Wollfaden, der als Flechtnadel dient, zusammengefaßt. Die Anzahl der

Farbquadrate in der Flächeneinheit ist konstant und ihre Anordnung verläuft, durch die Flechtarbeit bedingt, zwangsläufig diagonal (Abb. 154 und 203).

Die Befestigung des in Flechtweberei (s. unten) hergestellten Tragbandes an die Kokatasche geschieht in der gleichen Art, wie die des Tragbandes der Fasertasche.

Die in der *Knotentechnik* hergestellten Gewebe sind allgemein weitmaschig und umfassen in erster Linie die verschiedenartigen Netze. Die Knoten entstehen durch straffes Anziehen von geeigneten Schlaufen oder Verschlingungen, so daß sich die mehr oder weniger lockeren Maschen nicht mehr verschieben können. Zur gleichmäßigen Maschenherstellung wird bei den Vogelnetzen (öka) und Hängematten der Paez mit einem Maschenholz gearbeitet, dessen Höhe von etwa 5 cm der Maschengröße entspricht (Fig. 31). Das Material ist der gezwirnte Agavefaden. Zur Herstellung des Netzes — wie auch der Hängematte — werden die Schlaufen der Maschenreihen mittels des «symmetrischen Knotens» (Fig. 34 c) gebildet. Hierzu fährt der aufsteigende Faden von hinten nach vorn über den freien Maschenteil und läuft, diesen waagerecht umfahrend, in der entstandenen Schlaufe wieder nach unten. Das Maschenholz wird von unten her jeweils dicht an die Reihe der oberen Knoten angelegt, wobei es die neuen Knoten an seiner Unterseite straff einbinden. Dadurch ergeben sich völlig gleichmäßige Maschen. Die Maße des Vogelnetzes können — ausgespannt — die Größe von 5x20 m erreichen.

Die Hängematte (máka) ist, wie schon der spanische Name zeigt, Lehngut und allgemein nicht in den Andenkulturen verbreitet. Bei den Paez wird sie nur für Kinder benutzt. Ihre Ausmaße sind bei 100 Maschen etwa 100x100 cm. Die Aufhängung geschieht durch Agave- oder Pferdehaarseile, die durch die oberen und unteren Maschenreihen geschlungen und dann an Hauspfosten festgebunden werden.

Die Beerensiebe (tása) existieren in fast jedem Haushalt. Sie haben rund 30-60 cm Durchmesser und sind innerhalb eines runden Holzrahmens gespannt. Die Maschen werden mittels des «Fischnetzknotens» (Fig. 34 d) gebildet. Dieser zieht sich sehr stark zusammen und ist dann in seiner Struktur kaum zu erkennen.

Die Schleuder (ísut) wird in verschiedener Technik gearbeitet. Zu ihrer Herstellung werden die getrockneten Fasern des Agaveblattes benutzt, so wie sie nach der Entfleischung des Blattes anfallen. In die Spitze des Faserbündels wird ein Knoten gemacht und dieses sodann in zwei Teile geteilt. Beide werden mit der Hand in gleicher Richtung gedreht und danach durch Drehung in entgegengesetzter Richtung gezwirnt. So entsteht

— durch das natürlich sich verdickende Material bedingt — ein zweidrähtiges Seil von stetig wachsender Stärke. Da es nur mit der Hand gedreht wird, droht es bei größerer Dicke an Festigkeit einzubüßen. Nach etwa 50 cm wird deswegen der Strang in drei Teile geteilt und in etwa der gleichen Länge in der Art eines Dreierzopfes geflochten.

Zur Herstellung des Netzes für die Schleudersteinauflage (Fig. 29) werden die drei Flechtstränge in sieben Stränge aufgeteilt, die jeweils mit einem einfachen Fingerknoten von dem geflochtenen Teil getrennt werden. Aus jedem dieser Knoten setzen sich je zwei zweidrähtige Stränge fort, die, diagonal versetzt, durch einen Doppelfingerknoten verbunden werden.

Die Länge des Netzteiles beträgt etwa 20 cm. An seinem Ende geht er mittels eines einfachen Fingerknotens wieder in einen Dreierzopf über. Dabei ist zu bemerken, daß der zu Beginn des Zopfes in der Mitte liegende Strang von den Fäden eines daneben liegenden Knotens umfaßt wird. Damit wird verhindert, daß die Flechtarbeit sich in das Netz hinein auflöst und ihre Festigkeit einbüßt. Die gleiche Sicherung befindet sich auch an der anderen Seite des Netzes beim Übergang zum Zopfteil. Der weitere Arbeitsgang bis zur Fertigstellung der Schleuder geschieht entsprechend dem Anfang. Am einen Ende wird mittels eines Knotens eine bewegliche Schlaufe geknüpft, die zum Gebrauch der Schleuder über den Mittelfinger gezogen wird.

d) Flechten

Die Technik des Flechtens wird bei den Paez nur beim Bandflechten zur Herstellung der Strohhüte (Iwá) und zur Herstellung der dreidrähtigen Seile ausgeübt. Diese letzteren werden von den Frauen in verschiedener Länge und Stärke aus Agavefaser in der normalen Form des Dreierzopfes geflochten. Irgendwelche Arten von geflochtenen Körben, Sieben, Fächern, Bändern o. ä. gibt es bei den Paez nicht.

Die Form der Paez-Hüte scheint denen der Weißen nachgebildet. Sie ist für Männer, Frauen und Kinder gleich. Gearbeitet werden sie nur von Männern. Als Material dienen die trockenen Blätter des Iyéts-Schilfes, die zunächst in Bahnen von etwa 1 cm Breite gerissen werden. Zur Verarbeitung werden sie dann noch einmal durch Längsrisse in fünf bis zehn schmale Streifen von 1 bis 2 mm Breite eingeteilt. Von der Feinheit dieser Streifen hängt die Güte und der Wert des Hutes ab, denn je feiner die Flechtstreifen sind, desto wasserdichter und haltbarer ist der Hut. Er

wird aus einem einzigen geflochtenen Band (čemótč) durch spiralförmiges Aneinandernähen — von der Mitte des Hutes ausgehend — hergestellt.

Das Flechten des Bandes geschieht, ohne Hilfsmittel, in der Form des Diagonalgeflechtes mit elf Streifen (Fig. 33). Zu Beginn der Verarbeitung werden sie in der Mitte umgeknickt und damit doppelt genommen, derart, daß die Oberseite des Schilfblattes nach außen zu liegen kommt. In diese Anfangsknickung wird der zweite Streifen rechtwinkelig eingehängt und ebenfalls umgeknickt. Dies geschieht abwechselnd, bis alle elf Streifen zu dem etwa 6 bis 10 mm breiten Band verarbeitet sind. Die weitere Flechtarbeit wird mit den doppelten Streifen weiter durchgeführt. Dazu wird jeweils der erste Doppelstreifen von außen zur Mitte abwärts umgeknickt, um über den zweiten, unter den dritten und vierten und über den fünften und sechsten geführt zu werden. Von der anderen Seite wird mit dem jeweils äußeren Flechtstreifen entsprechend verfahren, so daß die Streifen von beiden Seiten abwechselnd immer nur bis zur Mitte geflochten werden. Dies ergibt ein sehr gleichmäßiges und festes Band.

Zum Aneinandernähen des Flechtbandes wird ein Faden der Agavefaser benutzt. Um der Hutkrempe eine genügende Steifheit zu geben, werden von unten her an den Nahtstellen Blattrippen mit aufgenäht.

e) Weben

Die Abgrenzung des Flechtens vom Weben ist nicht einheitlich. In der englisch geschriebenen Literatur wird beides allgemein nicht unterschieden. Nach H. Nevermann (pp. 4-6) müssen folgende Voraussetzungen für die einfachste Technik der Weberei, die Stabweberei, wie sie auch bei den Paez ausgeübt wird, gegeben sein: 1) Die Spannung der Fäden oder Fasern in einem Rahmen, 2) lange Schußfäden, 3) rechtwinkelige Kreuzung von Kette und Schuß, 4) mechanische Bildung des ersten und zweiten Faches. Der letzte Punkt ist dabei der entscheidende, denn während beim Flechten jeder Schußfaden einzeln über oder unter jedem einzelnen Kettfaden hindurchgeführt werden muß, geschieht dies beim Weben gleichzeitig über eine gewisse Anzahl von Längsfäden mittels eines Litzenstabes o. ä. Kompliziertere Arten der Weberei, beispielsweise die Brettchenweberei, Kamm- oder Litzengatterweberei, kommen bei den Paez nicht vor.

1. Webapparat für Tragbänder

Der Webapparat für die Tragbänder der Fasertaschen (vitoóläpç) besteht aus einem gegabelten Ast, dessen Schenkel einen nicht zu großen Abstand voneinander haben dürfen und möglichst parallel laufen sollen. Seine Größe beträgt 60 bis 80 cm in der Höhe und zwischen 20 und 60 cm in der Breite. Zwei dem Brust- und Kettbaum (plätegwę) entsprechende Stäbe für die senkrecht gespannten Kettfäden (yáhawes) werden waagerecht auf das Gabelgestell mit Rindenbast aufgebunden (Fig. 35).

Zum Weben in der bei den Paez geübten Methode entfällt eine besondere Schereinrichtung, die sonst beim Weben mit Spiralkette zum vorbereitenden Spannen der Kettfäden in irgendeiner Form erforderlich ist. Die Paez-Weberei geschieht nämlich weder nach der Methode der endlosen, rundlaufenden Kette, noch nach der Methode der endlichen, einebigen Kette, sondern bildet eine Mischung von beiden in der Form der sogenannten «falschen Spiralkette». Die Kettfäden laufen ringförmig um Brust- und Kettbaum und bilden zwei Ebenen, die eine unter, die andere über den Bäumen. Sie sind aber nicht in Spiralform gespannt, sondern wie eine Parallelkette. Ihre Befestigung geschieht durch ein waagerechtes Hölzchen, um das der erste Kettfaden mit einer Schlaufe gelegt wird. Dieser läuft dann um den ganzen Webrahmen bis wieder zum waagerechten Hölzchen, dieses von hinten nach vorne umfahrend, um wieder um den Webrahmen in umgekehrter Richtung zurückzugehen. Derartig alternierend werden sämtliche Kettfäden in der gewünschten Breite gespannt. Nachdem der letzte Kettfaden das waagerechte Hölzchen umlaufen hat, wird er verknotet und gleich als erster Schußfaden benutzt.

Das Weben geschieht nach der Methode der einfachen Stabweberei. Die Bindung ist stets die Leinwandbindung. Statt eines eigentlichen Trennstabes und Litzenstabes bilden bei den Paez Schlaufen aus Bast oder Agavefaser die Hilfsmittel für die mechanische Fachbildung. Die Trennschlaufe (batsnés) faßt die Kettfäden 1, 3, 5, 7 usw. gemeinsam; die Litzenschlaufen (nyúgwç) fassen die Kettfäden der geraden Zahlen einzeln in je einer langen Schlaufe, die oben ihrerseits zusammengebunden sind. Die mechanische Fachbildung geschieht durch wechselseitiges Hochziehen der Trenn- und Litzenschlaufen (Abb. 182).

Der Schützen (bánka) besteht nur aus einem aufgewickelten Fadenknäul; das Schwert (kyíta) ist aus dem harten Holz der Chonta-Palme geschnitzt, an beiden Seiten zugespitzt und von halbkreisförmigem Querschnitt.

Durch ihre Spannart lassen sich die Kettfäden während des Webens in

ihrer Gesamtheit um die waagerecht aufgebundenen Spanstäbe herumziehen, so daß das zu bearbeitende Webstück für den Schuß immer bequem vor der Weberin liegt. Anfang und Ende des Webteiles beginnen in einer Entfernung von etwa 3 cm vom waagerechten Hölzchen. Bei Beendigung wird der letzte Schußfaden am Rand der Kette verknotet. Nach Herausziehen des Hölzchens löst sich das Band vom Rahmen. Da die Kettfäden in Schlaufen auslaufen, kann sich das Gefüge des Bandes nicht lockern.

2. *Webapparat für Stoffe*

Das Weben der größer dimensionierten Stoffe für die Bekleidung geschieht ebenfalls in der Technik der Leinwandbindung und nach der gleichen Methode, wie das Weben der Tragbänder der Fasertaschen. Jede Frau ist hier- wie dazu in der Lage, denn sie muß alle von ihrer Familie für die Kleidung benötigten Stoffe selbst herstellen können; andernfalls hat kein Mädchen Aussicht geheiratet zu werden.

Der Webapparat steht senkrecht und besteht aus zwei kräftigen Pfosten, die in einem Abstand von etwa zwei Metern vor dem Hause, noch im Schutze des Daches, in den Boden gerammt sind. Wenig über dem Erdboden ist in jeden dieser Pfosten eine Kerbe geschlagen, in die der Brustbaum waagerecht eingelegt und festgebunden wird. Seine Lage nach der Höhe ist nicht veränderlich. Der ebenfalls waagerechte Kettbaum kann, je nach der Länge des zu webenden Stoffes, an den vertikalen Pfosten mittels Seilschlaufen höher oder tiefer festgebunden werden, wodurch eine gleichmäßige Spannung der Kettfäden erreicht wird.

Die wollenen, nicht gezwirnten Kettfäden werden in der gleichen Form gespannt wie bei den Tragbändern der Fasertaschen. Die Breite wird durch das zu webende Stoffstück bestimmt. Die Arbeitszeit für einen Frauenrock beträgt insgesamt etwa sechs Monate. Um bei dem fertigen Stück eine gewisse Schmuckwirkung zu erzielen, werden zwischen die ungefärbten schafwollenen Kettfäden gleiche ungefärbte oder andersfarbige Baumwollfäden gespannt, die beim späteren Färbvorgang mit den Pflanzenfarben diese Färbung nicht annehmen.

Der Trennstab besteht aus einem runden, geraden Holzstab. Die Litzenschlaufen werden von einer waagerecht gespannten Schnur gefaßt, die rechts und links, in der Höhe unverrückbar, an den beiden vertikalen Pfosten des Webapparates festgebunden ist. Das Schwert ist von halbkreisförmigem Querschnitt, an beiden Enden zugespitzt, und aus dem dunklen, harten Holz der Chonta-Palme geschnitzt. Seine Breite beträgt

drei bis vier Zentimeter, seine Länge etwa sechzig Zentimeter. Der Schützen besteht aus einem Stab, auf den der Faden quer aufgewickelt ist. Teilweise wird dazu die Spindel mit dem gesponnenen Faden benutzt.

Die Fachbildung zum Einführen des Schützen ist mühselig, da — durch die Breite des Webstückes bedingt — nicht alle entsprechenden Kettfäden gleichzeitig mittels der Litzenschlaufen vorgezogen werden können. Die Weberin vermag nur je etwa ein halbes Dutzend der Litzenschlaufen mit einer Hand zu ergreifen und vorzuziehen, um das Schwert langsam nachzuschieben und das Fach zu bilden. Noch ehe das Fach die Breite einer Schwertlänge erreicht hat, muß der Schützen bereits nachgeschoben werden, so daß der Schuß bei dem durch die Litzenschlaufen gebildeten Fach nur gewissermaßen in Raten durchgeführt werden kann (Abb. 181). Die Fachbildung mit dem hölzernen Trennstab ist wesentlich einfacher, da dieser zur Gegenfachbildung leicht vorgezogen werden kann und die Litzenschlaufen nachgeben.

Anfang und Ende des gewebten Stoffes hören in der Breite des nur dünnen Querstabes auf, da zum Schluß der Trennstab herausgezogen wird und der Querstab dessen Funktion übernimmt. In die stehen gebliebenen Anfangs- und Endschlaufen werden in der gleichen Form der Leinwandbildung mit der Hand Schußfäden nachgezogen, bis die Schlaufen ausgefüllt sind. Der jeweils letzte Schußfaden wird dreifach genommen, so daß ein fester Kantenabschluß entsteht.

3. Webapparat für Frauengürtel

Zum Weben der Frauengürtel (táw), der schwierigsten Webart bei der Paezweberei, war ursprünglich jede Frau in der Lage. Heute ist es fast eine Spezialistenarbeit, gibt es doch in Calderas nur noch fünf Frauen, welche die Frauengürtel selbst weben können. Eine von diesen, Talesia Pame, hat gar eine kleine Industrie aus dieser Fähigkeit entwickelt. Sie webt fast nur noch Frauengürtel und tauscht sich Nahrungsmittel u. a. dafür ein. Sie ist Anfang der dreißiger Jahre alt und hat drei Kinder. Ihre älteste Tochter, etwa zwölf Jahre alt, erlernt ebenfalls das Gürtelweben bei ihrer Mutter.

Der Webapparat (tawkyávitoń) ist grundsätzlich von gleicher Art, wie der für die Bänder der Fasertaschen. Das gabelförmige Gestell des Rahmens ist etwas breiter und entsprechend länger. Das Webmaterial ist Wolle. Die Vorbereitung für das Herstellen der verschiedenfarbigen Muster besteht im Spannen der entsprechenden farbigen Kettfäden, die, wie bei den Fasertaschenbändern, um ein kleines Querhölzchen gelegt werden.

Der Schußfaden ist immer einfarbig weiß und wird in Knäuelform als Schützen benutzt. Die allgemeine Anordnung der Kettfäden ist derart, daß an beiden Seiten außen eine Anzahl weißer Kettfäden gespannt werden, dann folgen vier rote, gelbe, blaue oder andersfarbige, die im fertig gewebten Band jeweils als ein durchlaufender farbiger Streifen erscheinen. Der ornamentierte Mittelteil besteht aus je vier weißen Kettfäden, denen je zwei rote folgen. Die letzteren dienen zur Herstellung des Musters und werden als die einzigen Kettfäden des Gürtels nicht in der Technik der Leinwandbindung gewebt. Sie sind derwegen in die Trennschlaufe, die jeden zweiten Kettfaden faßt, nicht mit eingeschlossen. Von Litzenschlaufen sind zwei vorhanden, deren eine die zur Trennschlaufe korrespondierenden Kettfäden und deren andere die roten Kettfäden der Zierkette des Mittelstreifens faßt (Abb. 187 bis 190).

Beim Weben in der Leinwandbindung werden Trenn- und Litzenschlaufen in normaler Technik benutzt. Die roten Kettfäden der zweiten Litzenschlaufe werden — je nach dem zu bildenden Muster insgesamt oder nur im Teil — hochgehoben, während darunter in normaler Leinwandbindung weiter gewebt wird. So entsteht bei gemeinsamem Hochheben aller roten Fäden als einfachstes Muster ein roter Querstreifen, dessen Höhe von der Länge der Zeit des Hochhebens der zweiten Litzenschlaufe abhängt. Bei der Herstellung von Ornamenten, für deren Bildung nur bestimmte rote Fäden benutzt werden, zählt die Weberin die benötigten ab und hält diese mit einem besonderen Trennstab, der aus einem Stückchen Rohr besteht, solange hoch. Die nicht benötigten roten Kettfäden fallen nach unten durch und erscheinen auf der Rückseite des Bandes teils als Negativmuster, teils werden sie von den weißen Kettfäden verdeckt.

Vorlagen für die Webmuster existieren nicht. Allgemein handelt es sich um traditionelle Formen — Menschen, Rauten, Dreiecke—, wenngleich auch phantasiebegabte Weberinnen lateinische Buchstaben in ihren Ornamentenschatz mit aufnehmen.

Das Ende des Bandes läuft, wegen des benötigten Raumes für die Einrichtung der mechanischen Fachbildung, in etwa 10 cm langen Schlaufen aus, die vom Kreuzstab abgenommen und mit je vier Streifen rund geflochten werden.

j) Flechtweben

Während die Tragbänder der Fasertaschen (yáha) in der Technik der Stabweberei in Leinwandbindung gewebt sind, werden die wollenen Trag-

bänder der Kokabeutel (kwatandyáha) in der Technik der Flechtweberei hergestellt. Darunter seien textile Techniken verstanden, die wegen der fehlenden mechanischen Fachbildung bei ihrer Herstellung nicht gewebt sind, wegen des vertikalen und horizontalen Verlaufes ihrer Fäden aber auch keine Geflechte darstellen. Die Bänder sind etwa 1,5 cm breit und 76 cm lang. Bei flüchtigem Hinsehen erwecken sie wegen ihrer Dicke den Anschein, als seien sie aus freier Hand geflochten. Ihre Dicke entsteht jedoch durch das Drehen und gleichzeitige Kreuzen der Kettfäden beim Flechten (vgl. Abb. 152).

Zur Anfertigung des Bandes ist ein gleicher Rahmen erforderlich wie zum Weben des Tragbandes der Fasertasche. Die Kettfäden sind in gleicher Art gespannt; Anfang und Ende sind an einem gleichartigen Querhölzchen befestigt. Kette und Schuß stehen senkrecht zueinander, eine mechanische Fachbildung findet aber nicht statt.

Zum Flechtvorgang, der von oben nach unten vor sich geht, werden — nach ihrer Reihenfolge — vier rote Kettfäden, vier weiße, vier blaue, vier weiße und wieder vier rote Fäden nebeneinander gespannt. Am Anfang webt man zunächst zwei bis drei Zentimeter in üblicher Leinwandbindung. Dann beginnt das Flechten des Bandes mit dem Rautenmuster. Hierbei wird der aus einem roten Faden gebildete Schuß durch jeweils zwei der gleichfarbigen, übereinandergedrehten Kettfäden hindurchgeführt. Die Drehung der Kettfäden geht zunächst in Richtung nach innen; die rechten Kettfäden werden also nach links gedreht, die linken nach rechts, aber jeweils in einer vollständigen Drehung von 360°. Ihre Reihenfolge ist nach der Drehung genau so, wie vorher. Zur Bildung des Rautenmusters werden gleichzeitig die gedrehten Kettfäden untereinander gekreuzt.

Zum Zurückführen des Schußfadens werden die noch gekreuzten Kettfäden mit einem zugespitzten Trennstab, meist dem Webschwert, von unten her nach oben angeschlagen und der Schußfaden durch die entstandene Öffnung zurückgeführt. Damit ist die Drehung der Kettfäden wieder aufgehoben. Die Lage der Kett- und Schußfäden entspricht jetzt wieder der normalen Leinwandbindung.

Zur Vervollständigung der Raute, d. h. zur Bildung des unteren Teiles, werden jetzt die Kettfäden umgekehrt, von innen nach außen gedreht, und dann wird sinngemäß in gleicher Weise verfahren wie beschrieben.

Die Schußfäden werden recht straff angezogen, so daß sie im Innern der Bindung verschwinden, und nur die Kettfäden zu sehen sind. Ihr Abstand untereinander ist — bedingt durch die gedrehten Kettfäden — verhältnismäßig groß.

Das entscheidende Merkmal dieser Flechtweberei und ihr Unterschied zur Weberei der gemusterten Frauengürtel (táw) besteht darin, daß auf Vorder- und Rückseite des Flechtbandes die gleichen Muster entstehen, jedoch jeweils um die Hälfte ihrer Größen gegeneinander versetzt.

Als Variante des beschriebenen einfachen Rautenmusters können zwei Rauten nebeneinander oder fünf kleine Rauten in diagonaler Anordnung auftreten. Hierbei zeigt die Rückseite allerdings nicht das gleiche Muster, sondern jeweils eines, das durch das Kreuzen der gedrehten Kettfäden entsteht.

g) *Färben*

Nach dem Empfinden der Paez ist schwarz die schönste Farbe. Fast alle selbst gewebten Kleidungsstücke der Männer und Frauen sind deswegen schwarz gefärbt, und selten nur sieht man Kleidungsstücke in der gelblich-weißen Naturfarbe der Schafwolle. Das Färben ist Frauenarbeit und geschieht mittels bestimmter Pflanzen, die jedoch nur tierisches Webmaterial, nicht aber pflanzliches färben. Diese Eigenschaft der Färbestoffe wird von den Paez zur Musterung der Kleidungsstücke benutzt, indem in die schafswollenen Stoffe einige baumwollene Kettfäden mit eingewebt werden, die bei der späteren Färbung ihre alte Farbe behalten.

Zur Schwarzfärbung der selbstgewebten Stoffe ist jede Frau in der Lage. Dazu werden die Stoffstücke in einem Topf etwa zwei Stunden lang mit den Blättern des ł̨al-Baumes oder des zótę-Baumes (nach Hernandez, 1946, p. 944, mit den Blättern eines Phyllanthus) gekocht und danach zwei Tage und zwei Nächte lang mit diesen Blättern in einer Grube in schwarzem, fetten Humusboden (ałáktič) eingegraben. Dann holt man sie wieder heraus, wäscht sie gut und läßt sie trocknen. Die Schwarzfärbung ist jetzt lichtecht und wasserfest. Die baumwollenen Zierstreifen innerhalb der Frauenkleidung, die bei diesem Färbevorgang nicht angegriffen werden, sind entweder naturfarben, rot oder grün. Sie werden von den Frauen bereits in der gewünschten Färbung gekauft, da Baumwolle bei den Paez nicht versponnen wird.

Die verschiedenfarbigen Fäden zur Herstellung der Kokataschen und der Frauengürtel wurden ursprünglich sämtlich von den Paez-Frauen mit Pflanzenfarben gefärbt. Heute geschieht dies nur noch teilweise, denn wer das nötige Geld hat, kauft sich auf dem Markt in Inzá oder Belalcazar Anilinfarben, die wegen ihrer kräftigeren Färbung und größeren Leuchtkraft beliebter sind. Desgleichen ist auch die in bereits gefärbten Fäden gekaufte Baumwolle für die Anfertigung der Frauengürtel beliebter, da sie heller bzw. glänzender ist.

Folgende Farben werden mit pflanzlichen Farbstoffen gefärbt: rot (mbę; auch Farbbezeichnung für rosa, ocker, braun) mit den Wurzeln eines Krautes, das bɛ́woęsę genannt wird. (Nach Hernandez ist dies die Rubiacee (Relbunium hypocarpium). Mit diesen Wurzeln läßt man die Wollfäden etwa eine Stunde lang kochen und legt sie dann in die Sonne. Zur Blaufärbung (sɛ́in; hellblau = sɛ́in-sɛ́in) werden die Fäden mit den Blättern des Nil-Baumes eine Stunde gekocht, zur Grünfärbung (oályę sɛ́in; oályę = Vogelart mit grünem Gefieder, also wörtlich «oályę-blau») mit den Blättern des tamp-Baumes und zur Gelbfärbung (ɪkítç) mit den Blättern des müzeç-Baumes. Die Färbergebnisse sind nicht immer gleichmäßig. Es treten immer einige Abweichungen im Farbton auf. Sie sind aber bei einiger Erfahrung von den gekauften chemischen Farben zu unterscheiden.

b) Töpferei

Die Kunst der Töpferei ist bei den Paez sehr wenig entwickelt und beschränkt sich im wesentlichen auf größere oder kleinere roh geformte, kugelförmige Kopftöpfe (mítç) mit leicht nach außen gebogener Mündung. Im Gebrauch werden sie nicht aufgehängt, sondern zum Kochen zwischen die drei Herdsteine gestellt. Kleinere, flachere Schalen dienen zum Rösten der Kokablätter. Henkelgefäße gibt es nicht. Es findet sich keinerlei Ornamentik, weder Bemalung, noch Einritzung, noch Fingereindrücke. Zum Trinken der Chicha oder zum Wasserholen werden nur Kürbiskalebassen (tóka) benutzt, die genau so unverziert und auf reine Zweckmäßigkeit abgestimmt sind wie die Keramik.

Die Herstellung der Töpfe ist Spezialistenarbeit. In Calderas gibt es drei Töpfer, von denen zwei Frauen sind. Von ihnen arbeitet aber nur einer, Santos Kiskue, auf Vorrat, während die anderen beiden nur auf Bestellung Töpfe anfertigen. Santos Kiskue ist etwa 40 Jahre alt, hat Frau und vier lebende Kinder, vier weitere sind gestorben. Er hat ein Pferd, aber keine Kuh und keine Schafe. Letztere kann er entbehren, da er seine Töpfe hauptsächlich gegen Wolle eintauscht.

Die Technik der Töpferei ist bei den Paez eine Spiralwulsttechnik. Da die Formen sehr einfach sind, ist eine besondere Lehrzeit bei einem Meister nicht unbedingt erforderlich; Santos Kiskue jedenfalls hat nach einem Unfall, von dem er ein steifes linkes Handgelenk zurückbehalten hat, selbständig mit der Herstellung von Töpfen begonnen. Er benutzt dazu den unvermischten Ton, der neben seinem Hause ansteht. Aus diesem formt er, indem er ihn immer wieder anfeuchtet, auf einem auf dem

Boden liegenden Brett eine gleichmäßig runde «Tonwurst», die er anschließend mit der flachen Hand plattdrückt. Daraus baut er spiralförmig seine Töpfe auf. Sie werden mit ihrem Unterteil auf eine flache Tonschale gesetzt, damit er sie beim Verstreichen der Fugen leicht drehen kann (Abb. 184 bis 186). Etwa eine Woche lang läßt er die frisch hergestellten Töpfe unter einem Dach trocknen, dann bringt er sie an einen Ort, an dem sich genügend trockenes Holz befindet. Hier stellt er die Töpfe recht eng zusammen, schichtet Holz und Zweige darüber und läßt sie etwa zwei Stunden lang brennen. Danach sind sie fertig zum Gebrauch.

i) Kerzenherstellung

Zu den drei kirchlichen Jahresfesten wird zur Ausschmückung der Kirche eine große Anzahl von Kerzen (mbéla; span. vela) gebraucht. Diese werden teilweise gekauft, größtenteils aber selbst angefertigt. Den Herstellungsvorgang kennt jedermann, zu den Festen ist es aber Männerarbeit. Das Wachs gewinnt man vom Waldlorbeer (Myrica pubescens Willd), dessen kleine, etwa 5-8 mm im Durchmesser messenden Früchte in großen Massen im April und Mai geerntet werden. Dazu werden die Zweige abgeschlagen und über dem runden Beerennetz, das in der Öffnung einer großen Fasertasche angebracht ist, von den Früchten entleert. Nachdem sie getrocknet sind, schüttet man sie in einen Beutel, kocht sie und drückt sie aus. Das in einem Gefäß aufgefangene und getrocknete Wachs war früher ein wichtiger Handelsartikel im Verkehr mit den Weißen. Zur Herstellung der Kerzen werden die Dochte mit dem Wachs solange übergossen, bis die richtige Stärke erreicht ist.

k) Feuerwerkskörper

Ohne eine möglichst große Anzahl von Feuerwerkskörpern abzubrennen, ist kein Fest und keine kirchliche Feier möglich. Die dazu erforderlichen Knallkörper werden von den Männern selbst angefertigt. Das Pulver aber muß gekauft werden. Über dessen Gewinnung ist man allgemein der Meinung, daß es aus Menschen hergestellt wird. Die Weißen, so glauben sie, mästeten Menschen, um sie dann aufzuhängen und ihnen lebend das Fett abzuzapfen, aus dem sie dann Pulver machen. Die Paez schicken deswegen nicht gerne ihre Kinder weit weg und lassen sie nicht zu den Weißen gehen, weil sie meinen, diese würden sie fangen, um aus ihnen Pulver zu bereiten.

Zur Herstellung der Feuerwerkskörper benutzt man ein Stückchen Schafsdarm, füllt es mit Pulver und umwickelt es fest mit einer Agavesehnur. Diese ist zur besseren Festigkeit mit Bienenwachs eingewachst. Von diesen Pulverkartuschen werden bei den kleineren Feuerwerkskörpern (kofies) eine und bei den größeren Feuerwerkskörpern (kwatóó) zwei übereinandergenommen, und darunter wird die Lunte gelegt, die aus einem 1-5 cm langen mit Pulver gefüllten Bambusröhrchen besteht (Fig. 32). Diese zwei bzw. drei Teile wickelt man in ein Maisblatt und befestigt es an einem Bambusspliß von 20-60 cm Länge. Beim Anzünden steigt der Feuerwerkskörper unter beträchtlichem Pfeifen bis zu 50 m hoch und zerplatzt dann.

5. HANDEL UND VERKEHR

Von einem Handel im kommerziellen Sinne kann man bei den Paez nicht sprechen, da sie untereinander fast nur tauschen und alles das, was mit Geschäften zusammenhängt, verabscheuen. Da es zudem einen Kaufmannsstand unter ihnen nicht gibt, fehlt auch jeder Zwischenhandel. Kaufleute werden als Nichtstuer angesehen, die man zwar braucht, aber trotzdem verachtet. Grundsätzlich herrscht die geschlossene Hauswirtschaft vor, und was die eine Familie nicht hat, tauscht sie möglichst innerhalb des gleichen Dorfes ein. Nur wenn das nicht möglich ist, es sich also um Industrieerzeugnisse handelt, geht man auf den regelmäßig abgehaltenen Wochenmarkt nach Inzá oder Belalcazar, um sich die notwendigen Gegenstände zu kaufen. Dazu gehören vor allen Dingen das Salz, dann auch die Spaten, Macheten, Aluminiumtöpfe, Messer, Scheren, Löffel, Nadeln, der Stoff für eine Hose, sowie alle europäische Kleidung. Weiterhin muß jede Art von Schmuck gekauft werden, wie Halsketten, Ohr- und Fingerringe, dann Baumwolle, da sie feiner ist und besser glänzt als Schafwolle, sowie Anilinfarben zum Färben der Frauengürtel und Kokabeutel, da sie leuchtender und klarer sind, als die einheimischen Pflanzenfarben. Der Weg zum Markt und der nötige Handel wird aber nicht aus Neigung zum Geschäftlichen, aus Freude am Handeln oder Unter- und Überbieten getan, sondern aus der Notwendigkeit des Erwerbes eines nicht selbst erzeugbaren Gegenstandes heraus. Wenn es irgend möglich ist versucht man, die benötigten Dinge im Dorf zu kaufen, beispielsweise von den Missionaren, und der Kauf mit Geld oder der Weg zum Markt ist gewissermaßen die ultima ratio. Dabei wird nicht gehandelt. Der Mann —

und es ist fast immer dieser, der einkauft — fragt nach dem Preis, und wenn er — wie meistens — zu hoch erscheint, sagt er «zu teuer». Geht der Händler herunter, wird meist gekauft, im anderen Falle geht man weiter zum nächsten Verkaufsstand.

Die Händler sind nie Paez, sondern immer weiße und mestizierte Kolonisten. Sie wissen natürlich um die Abneigung der Paez zum Handeln und fordern von vornherein einen zu hohen Preis, um nach dem obligatorischen «zu teuer» einen immer noch überhöhten Normalpreis zu verlangen. Dabei werden die Paez naturgemäß übervorteilt. Zu leicht lassen sie sich von einer schönen Aufmachung oder Verpackung blenden, beispielsweise von der Politur oder vom Silberpapier; auch wird ein teuerer grüner oder roter Kamm einem schwarzen vorgezogen. Glücklicherweise, so möchte man sagen, verfügen sie nie über viel Geld und können deswegen nicht zuviel ausgeben.

Bezeichnend ist die Art, wie ich die bunten Frauengürtel für unsere Sammlung erwerben mußte. Da jede Frau deren nur höchstens zwei, einen für die Befestigung des Rockes und den anderen zum Tragen des Kleinkindes besitzt, war der Kaufversuch immer zwecklos. Ich hatte deswegen auf dem Markt in Inzá einige Frauengürtel gekauft, die von den Guambianos, dem westlichen Nachbarstamm der Paez, angefertigt und in Inzá verkauft werden. Sie bestehen aus Baumwolle, deren weiße Färbung im frisch verarbeiteten Zustand erheblich glänzender ist, als die etwas gelbliche Schafwolle. Zudem glänzen deren Anilinfarben bedeutend frischer, als die pflanzlichen Farbstoffe der Paez-Farben. Leider sind sie kürzer als die Paez-Gürtel. Trotzdem wurde der Tausch meist gerne vorgenommen. Auch die Kokabeutel unserer Sammlung haben wir sämtlich durch Tausch erhalten, beispielsweise für eine Schere zum Bogotaner-Preise von 50 Centavos. Auf dem Markt in Inzá kostet eine solche etwa ein Peso. Dies wissen die Paez. Trotzdem vertauschten die gleichen Leute, die vorher einen Verkauf für fünf Pesos abgelehnt hatten, einen Beutel gegen eine Schere. Ähnlich war es mit den Eiern. Sie verkauften sie nicht für 20 Centavos, vertauschten sie aber für eine Wachskerze, die überall für 5 Centavos zu erhalten war.

Im Falle der eigenen Erzeugnisse findet ein Handel von Dorf zu Dorf nicht statt. Desgleichen gibt es keinen Austausch besonderer Spezialitäten außerhalb des Dorfes, da die Initiative zu besonderen Leistungen oder Außergewöhnlichkeiten immer von den Kolonisten bzw. von den fremden Händlern ausgeht. Untereinander kaufen und verkaufen die Paez allgemein nicht, sondern tauschen nur, da Geld bei ihnen sehr ungern benutzt wird. Dabei mag die Vorstellung mitspielen, daß ein verkaufter

Gegenstand, ein Ei beispielsweise, dem zurückbehaltenen Teil, in diesem Falle dem Huhn, Unglück bringt. Außerdem wird auch heute noch kaum Papiergeld angenommen, einmal deswegen, weil sie meist keinen besonderen Geldbeutel haben, sondern die Scheine in den Kokabeutel stecken, wo sie leicht zerrissen werden können, zum andern, weil viele ihr Geld einzugraben pflegen oder anderweitig verstecken. Dabei verschimmeln die Scheine recht schnell, während sich Hartgeld lange hält. Dieses ist im gesamten Tierradentrogebiet deshalb außerordentlich rar.

Beim Tausch von Lebensmitteln gibt es feste Sätze, die jeder kennt. Da man sich zudem immer bemüht, nur gute Ware zu liefern, entfällt jegliches Anpreisen und jeder Grund zum Handeln oder Feilschen. Es gibt ganz einfach ein: Entweder-Oder, zumal sich Konjunkturerscheinungen nicht auswirken und in Zeiten der Verknappung oder Not die Tauschsätze in keiner Weise erhöht werden. So waren zur Zeit meines Besuches die Schafe und damit die Wolle sehr knapp. Trotzdem wurde an dem Tauschverhältnis der Wolle eines Schafes gegen eine Tasche Mais nicht gerüttelt.

Die Schafe selbst wurden allgemein nicht getauscht, sondern nur die Wolle, die etwa ein Pfund ausmacht. Das Äquivalent ist ein Tomín (span. Stapel) Zuckerrohr, zu einem Haufen von etwa einem Meter Basisbreite und einem Meter Höhe gestapelt. Im Falle eines ausnahmsweisen Schaftausches wurden mir als Gegenwert 10 Tomín Zuckerrohr oder 12 Pfund Kokablätter oder 2 Arroba Mais genannt (1 span. Arroba entspricht etwa 12,5 kg). Hierbei, wie bei vielen Tauschgeschäften, weichen die üblichen Tauschäquivalente teilweise erheblich von den unter den Paez üblichen Marktpreisen ab. (Die offiziellen Markpreise im Handel mit den Kolonisten auf dem Wochenmarkt sind etwa fünfmal so hoch). So hat beispielsweise 1 Tomín Zuckerrohr 20 Centavos Wert, 1 Pfund Wolle eines Schafes aber 1 Peso. Auch Arracacha wird in der Form einer Tomín-Menge getauscht, die etwa 10-12 Stück ausmacht. Der Geldwert beträgt 10 Centavos. Ein Pfund Kokablätter wird gegen ein Pfund Salz (Wert 20 Centavos) oder ein Pfund Reis oder 10 Eier getauscht. Letztere kosten auf dem Wochenmarkt in Inzá das Stück 25 Centavos. Als Pfundgewichte benutzen die Paez Steine, die nach einem in Inzá vom Händler gekauften Pfund Salz geeicht werden. Als Waage dienen zwei Kalebaßschalen, die an einem Waagebalken befestigt sind.

Kartoffeln werden in Quartillas getauscht und in großen Holzschüsseln abgemessen, die von den Paez selbst angefertigt werden und etwa 10 Pfund enthalten. Der Gegenwert besteht in einer halben Flasche Branntwein. Diese würde beim Händler 80 Centavos betragen, wie die Tausch-

mengen eines Tomín Zuckerrohrs oder einer Fasertasche voll Mais zeigen. Gemüse- und Fruchtbananen werden in ganzen Büscheln (tlóits) getauscht, die aber im Tierradentro nur etwa 30 bis 50 Bananen umfassen. Zwei Büschel sind eine Tasche Mais wert. Bohnen werden wie Mais in Fasertaschen vertauscht, den gleichen Wert hat eine Tasche voll Kohl. Chicha wird nicht verkauft, sondern nur verschenkt.

Vieh kann gegen anderes Vieh getauscht werden oder auch gegen Nahrungsmittel. So hat ein Hengst den Wert von 20 Pfund Kokablättern oder einer Männer-Ruana; eine Stute jedoch ist viel teurer, sie wird gegen die Maisernte eines Feldes von etwa 100 Quadratmeter Fläche getauscht, selbst abzuernten vom Käufer. Desgleichen kann man die Ernte eines Maisfeldes gegen einen Stier oder eine Färse tauschen. (Letztere hat einen Geldeswert von 30 bis 40 Pesos). Der Tausch oder Verkauf einer Kuh hingegen ist in keinem Falle möglich. Schweine haben den relativ geringen Wert von nur 3-5 Pesos; sie werden gegen 5 Pfund Koka, 10 Taschen Mais oder 10 Tomín Zuckerrohr getauscht. Man kann auch eine kleine Sau oder einen ausgewachsenen Eber gegen einen Stier tauschen. Letzterer hat etwa 15 Pesos, eine Stute etwa 20-30 Pesos Wert. Hengste werden gerne gegen ein Stutfohlen getauscht. Ihr Wert wird mit 15 Pesos angegeben. Während der Tausch eines Hengstes gegen eine Kuh wegen ihres viel höheren Wertes unmöglich ist, werden oft Hengste gegen Bullen vertauscht, und zwar von Festgebern, die zur Bewirtung der Gäste ein Rind benötigen.

Bezeichnend ist, daß ein Pferd oder ein Rind nicht gegen schnell zu verbrauchende Nahrungsmittel, wie Mais, Arraçacha, Bohnen, Kartoffeln, Bananen u. a. vertauscht werden können, da diese nicht lange genug vorhalten und der Käufer der Nahrungsmittel glaubt, sonst nicht genügend Nutzen von seinem Tausch zu haben. Hingegen sind Kokablätter noch am Baum, Mais auf dem Halm oder ein Zuckerrohrfeld als Tauschmittel durchaus möglich. Victoriano beispielsweise hat sich ein Stutfohlen für ein Zuckerrohrfeld von etwa 50 mal 50 Meter Fläche eingetauscht, die der neue Besitzer bei Bedarf abernten kann. Solch ein Tausch ist aber nur derart strebsamen Leuten wie Victoriano möglich. Allgemein arbeitet der Paez viel zu ungern auf Vorrat, noch dazu, wenn er später nicht einmal den Nutzen davon haben soll; außerdem trinkt er viel zu gerne selbst seine Chicha, als daß er ein zweijähriges Zuckerrohrfeld weggibt.

Die Waren werden von Männern und Frauen zum Markt transportiert, allerdings mehr durch die ersteren als durch die Frauen. Dies scheint recht überraschend, denn die zivilisierten Indios, wie auch viele Kolonisten, pflegen unbeschwert von aller Last zum Markt zu reiten, während die

Frau zu Fuß die Waren hinterher schleppt. Von Calderas aus besuchen mehr Männer den Markt als Frauen. Für beide ist es ein sehr willkommener Anlaß, sich zu betrinken. Das von den Paez gern geübte Stehlen der sehr begehrten Bier- und Schnapsgläser versuchen die Besitzer der Schenken dadurch zu verhindern, daß sie die Gläser an den Ausschanktischen anketten.

An Markttagen pflegt man sehr früh aufzubrechen und transportiert die Lasten in den Fasertaschen auf die übliche Art: die Männer nehmen den Traggurt quer über die Brust und die Frauen halten ihn mit der Stirn. In beiden Fällen hängt der Beutel auf dem Rücken. Man reist allgemein in Gruppen zu zweien oder dreien, nicht selten trifft man aber auch Einzelgänger. Die Verpflegung wird mitgenommen, da unterwegs grundsätzlich nichts gekauft wird außer Chicha oder Branntwein. Sind Übernachtungen nötig, wird für diese nichts bezahlt. Man schläft entweder im Hausflur von Bekannten oder übernachtet auf dem freien Feld.

Zur Reise und für den Besuch des Marktes versucht man, wenigstens ein europäisches Kleidungsstück zu tragen, sei es ein Filzhut, ein Hemd oder eine Bluse. Die Qualität spielt eine nur geringe Rolle, da das schlechteste Hemd immer noch begehrter ist, als die feinste Ruana. Wer gar nichts an Kleidung erstehen kann, bindet sich als wenigstes ein schwarzes Band um den Hut, wie es auch die Filzhüte haben. In der Fasertasche wird die Verpflegung mitgeführt, gerösteter Mais, Kohl, Kartoffeln, Arracacha. Wer es ermöglichen kann, führt zwei oder drei der wollenen Kokabeutel mit sich, in deren einem sich Koka und Kalk, im anderen Geld und im dritten sich das Flechtmaterial für den Strohhut befindet. Dieser Flechtarbeit, die ja eigentlich keine Arbeit ist, sondern mehr eine »blinde Beschäftigung«, gehen fast alle Männer nach, wenn sie nichts weiter zu tun haben, sei es bei Besuchen, auf dem Wege zum Markt oder auch bei schamanischen Zeremonien. Gleich fleißig und immer beschäftigt mit dem Spinnen, dem Flechten der Fasertaschen oder der wollenen Kokabeutel sind die Frauen, wo man sie auch antrifft. Ihr Arbeitsmaterial führen sie, wie auch die Männer, in einem zweiten Wollbeutel mit sich.

Besondere Orientierungsmittel für die Reise sind nicht bekannt und auch nicht nötig, da niemand sein weiteres Wohngebiet verläßt. Wer einen Weg zum ersten Male macht, schließt sich an einen des Weges Kundigen an. Bei Nacht reist man nicht, deswegen fallen die Sterne als Orientierungsmittel fort. Die Durchschnittslast zum Verkauf an Markttagen beträgt etwa 20 bis 25 Pfund für Männer; geht ein Ehepaar gemeinsam, so pflegt der Mann die Last zu tragen und die Frau die Verpflegung. Die zurückgelegten Tagesstrecken sind beträchtlich. Von Calderas über San

Andrés zum Markt nach Inzá sind es fast 20 km. Zu Fuß braucht man dazu etwa sechs Stunden. Zu Pferde sind es nicht viel weniger, da man auf den steilen Wegen des Geländes nicht schnell reiten kann. Viele Paez schaffen diesen Weg an einem Tag hin und zurück, allerdings nur »ohne sich unterwegs zu betrinken», was nicht ganz einfach ist.

Die Verkehrsverbindungen bestehen aus schmalen Fußwegen, auf denen man nur hintereinander gehen oder reiten kann. An Straßen für Wagen oder Autos gibt es zur Zeit nur eine: die den Rio Paez aufwärts führende geschotterte Autostraße von La Plata nach Belalcazar. Seit Ende des Jahres 1952 baut man aber mit modernen amerikanischen Straßenbaugeräten an einer Verbindungsstraße nach Inzá, die dann das südliche, weniger bergige und rein von Kolonisten besiedelte Gebiet des Tierradentro und dessen Produkte, Kaffee und Panela, dem Verkehr erschließt. Diese Straßen werden direkt aus den teilweise sehr steilen Abhängen herausgeschnitten und überqueren die Flüsse und Bäche durch moderne Eisenbrücken.

Auch die Paez pflegen die Wasserläufe mittels Brücken zu überqueren. Ein Durchwaten ist nicht üblich, es sei denn, es handelt sich um ganz flache Bäche. Auch dann legt man meist große Steine hinein, über welche man trockenen Fußes ans andere Ufer gelangen kann. Nach ihrer Konstruktion kann man die Brücken der Paez in drei Gruppen einteilen. Da gibt es als einfachste Art zwei nebeneinandergelegte dicke Knüppel oder Baumstämme ohne Geländer, welche die um die Gehöfte und Gärten gezogenen Gräben überdecken, die einen Zaun ersetzen. Derartige Gräben sollen das Eindringen von Pferden, Rindern und Schweinen verhüten. Über die Flüsse*, beispielsweise den Rio Kokiyó, der das Calderuner Gebiet durchfließt, sind starke Brücken geschlagen, über die auch beladene Pferde ohne weiteres gehen können. Diese Art von Brücken besteht aus zwei in einem Abstand von gut einem Meter nebeneinandergelegten Baumstämmen, auf die als Belag querliegende Knüppel aufgebunden werden. Von den Belagknüppeln wird nur etwa jeder fünfte festgebunden, während die dazwischenliegenden durch je einen über die Hauptträger gelegten Längsbalken festgehalten werden. An beiden Seiten der Brücke werden senkrecht und waagerecht Stangen als Geländer angebunden, die gleichzeitig als Träger der Bedachung dienen. Diese ist ein Charakteristikum aller derartigen Brücken (Abb. 194 und 195). Man findet sie nicht nur bei den Brücken des Kolonistengebietes des Tierradentro, sondern bei-

* Die von H. Pittier (p. 320) aus dem Norden Tierradentros erwähnte einfachste Form einer Brücke, bei der an einer über den Fluß gespannten Liane die Menschen hinüberhangeln, habe ich nirgendwo gesehen.

spielsweise auch bei den Brücken des oberen Rio Magdalena, der Gegend um San Agustín.

Die dritte Art von Brücken sind zwei kunstvoll konstruierte Bogenbrücken aus Bambus über den Rio Paez bei Belalcazar und Avirama (Abb. 191 bis 193 und 196). Sie sind beide völlig gleichartig konstruiert und, wie auch alle anderen Brücken der Paez, ohne Nägel oder andere Eisenteile hergestellt, sondern nur mit Bast und Lianen zusammengebunden. Allerdings hat man jetzt zur Verstärkung zwei Drahtseile untergezogen. Obwohl schon die Spanier der Conquistadorenzeit von den «schwachen und biegsamen Bambusbrücken» und von «Lianenbrücken» des Tierradentro berichten (Hernandez, 1944, p. 189), scheint es sich doch bei diesen beiden genannten, relativ schwierig zu konstruierenden Bogenbrücken, nicht um eine ursprüngliche Paez-Technik zu handeln. Es wären dies nämlich die einzigen Hängebrücken dieser Art im vorspanischen Südamerika. Vielmehr scheint es sich bei diesen Konstruktionen um Lehngut von den Neger-Sklaven zu handeln, die schon in sehr früher Zeit in die Gegend um Belalcazar gebracht wurden, um die dortigen Gold- und Salzminen auszubeuten. Beide Brücken wären dann ein afrikanisches Kulturelement im Tierradentrogebiet. Sie sind nur für den Personenverkehr geeignet. Größere Tiere werden mit Hilfe von Seilen durch den Fluß gezogen und müssen teilweise schwimmen.

Bei beiden Pfostenbündel an jedem Ufer — eine sehr moderne Methode der Brückenverankerung —, an denen der Brückenbogen hängt, werden durch eine Anzahl weiter am Ufer stehender, in den Boden gerammter Pfähle gehalten. Als Verbindungs- und Haltematerial dienen Bambusstangen. Der von oben her gehaltene Laufsteg wird durch gespaltenen und breitgeklopften Bambus gebildet. Weitere Bambusrohre, von Lianen gehalten, bilden das Geländer. Bei der Konstruktion einer derartigen Bogenbrücke kommen die Bewohner der anliegenden Dörfer an beiden Ufern zusammen. Sie graben zwei lange und starke Bambusrohre mit den Enden in die Erde, so daß die Spitzen etwas zum Fluß hingeneigt sind. Dann beginnen die Gobernadores, als die Vorsteher des jeweiligen Gemeinderates, auf die Stangen zu klettern, die sich durch das Gewicht der Mitte des Flusses zuneigen, bis die Stangen zusammenstoßen und sich die beiden Gobernadores von jeder Seite die Hand reichen können. Schnell binden diese dann mit der einen Hand die zusammengefügten Spitzen der Bambusstangen mittels Lianen zusammen, womit der Anfang der Brükkenkonstruktion gemacht ist. Die Vollendung geschieht durch die übrigen Leute (nach Hernandez 1944, p. 190).

III. Gesellschaft

1. POLITISCHE ORGANISATION

DER STAMM DER PAEZ besteht aus den Bewohnern einer Anzahl von Dörfern des Tierradentro-Gebietes, die sich durch Sprache, Kleidung, Gebräuche und Traditionen als zusammengehörig betrachten. Ihre heutige politische Organisation basiert auf der Dorfgemeinschaft. Sie entspricht etwa der ursprünglichen Stammesorganisation. Auch zur Zeit der Conquista bildeten die Paez kein gemeinsames, zusammenhängendes Gemeinwesen und waren von Dorf zu Dorf ähnlich unabhängig und ohne Oberhäuptling wie heute. Lediglich in Kriegszeiten schlossen sich einige Dörfer zu einer Art loser Föderation zusammen, um den spanischen Eindringlingen kräftigeren Widerstand entgegensetzen zu können. Danach lösten sich die «Zweckverbände» aber jeweils wieder auf. Die politische Einflußnahme der Spanier in der Kolonialzeit wirkte sich dahin aus, daß die bis dahin bestehenden Ortschaften, deren jede den Raum eines Talkessels einnimmt, fest abgegrenzt wurden, um klare Verhältnisse gegenüber den weißen Landbesitzern zu schaffen. Die frühere Einteilung der Dörfer war im wesentlichen die gleiche, wie man aus der großen Zahl von alten Eingeborenennamen ersehen kann.

Die Leitung der damaligen Gemeinwesen bestand — wie es dem Charakter der Paez gemäß ist — wohl in ähnlicher Art wie heute in einer demokratischen Dorfführung. In Kriegszeiten lag die Leitung in Händen von Männern, die von den Spaniern — wie allgemein in ihren Kolonien — als Kaziken bezeichnet wurden. Die Paez haben diesen Namen als Rangbezeichnung auch für die Helden ihrer Traditionen übernommen. Tatsächlich entspricht ihr eigenes Wort «sät» für die politischen Führer in ihrer Mythologie mehr einem Kriegsanführer mit schamanischen Fähigkeiten als einem regulären Erb-Häuptlingstum einer klassenmäßig gegliederten Gesellschaft, wie wir es sonst bei den Stämmen des Caucatales oder den Sakralfürstentümern der Chibcha zur Zeit der Conquista antreffen.

Die heutige Zusammensetzung des Dorfrates (Cabildo) als Verwaltungsspitze eines jeden Dorfes schwankt in seiner Stärke je nach der Größe des Dorfes. In Calderas scheint er am vollständigsten zu sein. Seine Zusammensetzung und seine Aufgaben weisen ihn als Spitze eines demokratischen Gemeinwesens aus. Das Dorf ist weder klassenmäßig noch berufsmäßig gegliedert. Das Bewußtsein der Gleichheit aller ist so stark,

daß Außenseiter, die sich durch persönliche Leistung oder persönlichen Erwerb von anderen unterscheiden, gewaltsam auf das allen gemeinsame Niveau gebracht oder getötet werden. Der Leiter des Cabildo hat den pompösen spanischen Titel Gobernador. Im Paez entspricht diss der Bezeichnung tótens. Ihm zur Seite steht in Calderas als sein Stellvertreter der Gobernador Suplente; weitere Funktionäre sind der Alcalde (im Paez ká'nas), von denen es in Calderas zwei gibt, den Alcalde Mayor und den Alcalde Menor, weiter zwei Fiscales, drei Comisarios und ein Comisario Escolor, sowie ein Alguacil. Die Zusammensetzung des Cabildo in Santa Rosa ist folgende: ein Gobernador, ein Alcalde, ein Fiscal, ein Comisario Escolar und ein Alguacil. In Lame gibt es einen Gobernador, einen Gobernador Suplente, zwei Fiscales, einen Comisario und einen Alguacil. Der Cabildo in Togoima besteht aus dem Gobernador, dem Gobernador Suplente, zwei Alcaldes, zwei Fiscales, drei Comisarios, einem Comisario Escolar und einem Alguacil. Sieht man von den Doppel- und Dreifachbesetzungen ab, so stimmt die Zusammensetzung des Cabildo in den vier Dörfern überein. Dabei ist zu bemerken, daß nur für den Gobernador und den Alcalde Paez-Wörter existieren; für die übrigen Funktionäre werden spanische Bezeichnungen verwandt.

Die Autorität des Gobernadors als Leiter des Dorfes beruht mehr auf seinem persönlichen Ansehen als auf amtlichen Machtmitteln. Mit seinen Anordnungen und Aufträgen muß er deswegen sehr vorsichtig sein. Er läßt die gemeinsam gefaßten Beschlüsse des Dorfrates zum Wege- oder Brückenbau oder zur Ausbesserung der Kirche, der Schule oder des Gemeindehauses durchführen. Halten sich seine Anordnungen im Rahmen dessen, was auch die überwiegende Mehrheit des Dorfes für gut hält, so übt die Gesamtheit einen starken Druck auf Abseitsstehende aus. In krassen Fällen von Außenseitertum stehen ihm aber recht drastische Machtmittel zur Verfügung, die heute zwar nicht mehr so streng gehandhabt werden wie früher, deren Einsatz in der Hand eines energischen Gobernadors aber doch recht wirkungsvoll ist. Voraussetzung ist jedoch, daß der Gobernador weder ungerecht noch willkürlich vorgeht, bei allen Arbeiten ein gutes Beispiel gibt und als erster und letzter bei der Gemeinschaftsarbeit tätig ist. Wie wenig der Gobernador in der Lage ist, willkürliche Anordnungen innerhalb seines Dorfes zu erlassen, mag folgendes Beispiel illustrieren: An einem Sonnabend kam der Gobernador von Calderas vom Wochenmarkt in Inzá und besuchte mich in San Andrés. Als ich gesprächsweise erwähnte, am kommenden Montag nach Calderas zu kommen, empfahl er mir, doch recht früh einzutreffen. Er wüßte bereits, daß ich an allem Interesse habe, was sein Dorf angeht, und am Mon-

tag könnte ich einer Gemeinschaftsarbeit der Männer des ganzen Dorfes bei der Feldrodung beiwohnen. Da mein Dolmetscher erst am Montag zur Verfügung stand, konnte ich nicht schon am Sonntag aufbrechen, um am Montag zur Feldbestellung rechtzeitig anwesend zu sein. Ich bat ihn, die Gemeinschaftsarbeit doch um einen oder mehrere Tage zu verlegen. Das wäre ausgeschlossen, antwortete er mir, da diese Arbeit vom Cabildo auf den Montag festgelegt worden sei und er nicht in der Lage wäre, den Termin selbständig zu ändern. Ich bot ihm als Geschenk einen sehr schönen Reise-Machete mit Futteral für den Fall an, daß er die Arbeit zu verschieben in der Lage wäre. Die Paez besitzen nämlich im allgemeinen nur den schweren, breiten Arbeitsmachete zum Fällen der Bäume, den man auf dem Wege zum Markt nur schlecht mitschleppen kann. Als Waffe für die Reise sind deswegen die leichteren, verchromten Machetes sehr begehrt, die sich aber wegen des hohen Preises von zwölf Pesos bisher noch kein Calderuner leisten konnte. Ich hatte dieses Geschenk für den Gobernador schon längere Zeit bereitliegen, aber immer noch keinen rechten Grund zum Schenken gefunden. Diesmal schien mir der Anlaß sehr günstig und auch wirklich des Einsatzes wert. Der Gobernador, obwohl er höchst begierig war, das Instrument als erster Calderuner zu besitzen, erklärte meine Bitte als unerfüllbar, da alle Männer bereits für den Montag benachrichtigt wären. Ich wies daraufhin, daß er doch genügend Boten hätte, um seinen Leuten mitzuteilen, daß die Arbeit erst einige Tage später stattfinden würde. Er könne dies nicht entscheiden, erklärte er immer wieder, außerdem würden die Männer böse werden. Ich bot ihm an, diesen zur Versöhnung auf meine Kosten für zehn Pesos Chicha zu spendieren, soviel, wie sie noch kaum bekommen hatten. Er könne es nicht entscheiden, meinte er schließlich, er wolle es wohl versuchen und am Sonntag mit seinen Leuten reden, und er hoffe auch, mit Rücksicht auf die viele Chicha, daß ihm dies gelingen werde; versprechen aber könne er es nicht. Als ich am Montag in Calderas ankam, erfuhr ich, daß die Männer des Dorfes nicht ein zweites Mal zusammenkommen wollten und daß sie doch mit der Arbeit begonnen hätten.

Die Alcaldes und der Alguacil sind die Boten des Cabildo; sie benachrichtigen die Leute, wenn Gemeinschaftsarbeiten nötig sind. Der Alguacil führt außerdem die Prügelstrafen aus. Die drei Comisarios sind ebenfalls Boten und helfen dem Gobernador bei der Durchführung und Beaufsichtigung der öffentlichen Arbeiten. Den Fiscales obliegt — zusammen mit dem Gobernador — die Schmückung der Kirche. Sie sorgen für Kerzen und gehen dem Priester zur Hand. Nach C. Cuervo Marquez (Bd. II, p. 183) oblag den Fiscales früher auch die Verteidigung der Interessen des

Dorfes gegen die Übergriffe der Kolonisten. Der Comisario Escolar endlich ist verantwortlich für den Schulbesuch der Kinder. An ihn wenden sich die Missionsschwestern, als die Lehrerinnen, und er soll, nötigenfalls mit Gewalt, die Kinder zur Schule bringen.

Nicht unerwähnt soll bleiben, daß Calderas — und scheinbar nur diese Ortschaft — in vier Teile eingeteilt ist, deren jeder etwa eine Himmelsrichtung mit je rund fünfzig Häusern einnimmt. Je ein Alcalde, Alguacil, Fiscal und Comisario ist im Cabildo gleichberechtigter Vertreter eines Viertels. Zur Zeit ist der Alcalde der Vertreter des im Westen gelegenen Gebietes Yocashí, der Alguacil der Vertreter des im Norden gelegenen Gebietes Puélche, der Fiscal der des östlichen Gebietes Aépel und der Comisario der des südlichen Bishók. Die Verbindung eines Amtes mit der Vertretung eines Dorfviertels sei willkürlich, wurde mir erklärt, je nachdem, wo der Posteninhaber gerade wohnt. Die dienstliche Stellung innerhalb des Cabildo wird zuerst verteilt, und sie sei heute das Wichtigere. Je vier von ihnen übernehmen die Vertretung eines Dorfviertels. Der Comisario kann also, wenn er dort wohnt, Vertreter von Yocashí sein und der Alcalde Vertreter von Aépel. Der derzeitige Gobernador beispielsweise war vor zehn Jahren Fiscal. Da er im Dorfteil Puélche wohnt, war er auch gleichzeitig Vertreter dieses Viertels.

Zusätzlich zu dem Cabildo wurde noch in spanischer Kolonialzeit als Vertrauensmann zu den Missionen der Posten des Capitan eingeführt, der den weltlichen Behörden nicht unterstellt war und oft auch nicht demokratisch gewählt, sondern auf Lebenszeit von der Kirche ernannt wurde. Zu diesem Amt werden möglichst die Angehörigen einer alten, einflußreichen Familie ernannt, in denen dann ein Sohn oder Neffe dem Capitan im Amt nachfolgt, so daß diese Stellung in der Praxis oft innerhalb einer Familie erblich war. Der in Calderas am 18. Februar 1953 gestorbene Capitan, der dieses Amt etwa 20 Jahre innehatte, hieß Manuel José Guagáz. Sein Vorgänger war sein Vater Bruno Guagáz. Und obwohl mir der Gobernador erklärte, daß die Familie der Guagáz verblödet sei und zu keiner Arbeit mehr tauge, gab er es als wahrscheinlich zu, daß der Nachfolger des alten Capitan doch auch wieder ein Guagáz sein werde.

Der verstorbene Capitan war in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens krank und schwach, und so kam es, daß der Gobernador die im Cabildo führende Rolle spielte. Die wöchentlichen Ratsversammlungen wurden auch in seinem Hause abgehalten. Nach den Verhältnissen in anderen Dörfern ist es aber so, daß der Capitan praktisch nicht nur im Cabildo präsidiert, sondern daß seine Stimme auch etwas mehr Gewicht hat. Zum mindesten kann er beispielsweise durch sein Veto einen Brückenbau verhindern.

Freilich kann er ihn alleine, gegen den Willen des Cabildo, auch nicht durchsetzen oder gar befehlen.

Ein weiterer Funktionär, der ebenfalls durch die Missionen auf Lebenszeit ernannt wird, ist der Síndico, der die kirchlichen Steuerumlagen festsetzt und die Gelder verwaltet.

Die Wahl des Cabildo geschieht in jedem Jahr am ersten Dezember. Am folgenden 1. Januar muß der gewählte Cabildo vor den Verwaltungsautoritäten des Municipio erscheinen, wo jedes Mitglied seinen Würdestab verliehen bekommt und auf seine Pflichten vereidigt wird. Die Würdestäbe (kampo) gehören dem Dorf und werden von Jahr zu Jahr weitergegeben. Sie sind von rundem Durchmesser, etwa 80 bis 100 cm lang und 3 bis 5 cm dick und aus dem schwarzen, harten Holz der Chonta-Palme geschnitzt. Die Spitzen der Stöcke sind zu ihrem Schutz mit einer Messing- oder Eisenkappe beschlagen. Der Handgriff ist etwas dünner als der übrige Stock und am Ende zu einem Knauf verbreitert, der mit Silberblech beschlagen ist. Unterhalb des Handgriffes ist zusätzlich noch ein halbmondförmiges Stückchen Silberblech angebracht.

In früheren Jahren fand am ersten Tage des neuen Jahres an der schwer zugänglichen Lagune Juan Tama das Páramo de Moras eine mehrere Tage lang dauernde Zeremonie sowohl für den alten, als auch für den neu gewählten Cabildo statt. Sie begann unter Leitung eines Schamanen mit Chichatrinken, wonach dann der Kulturheros Juan Tama und die Geister der Vorfahren (?) vom Schamanen um Rat und Beistand für das kommende Jahr gebeten wurden. Ein Tanz und ein Bad in der Lagune schloß die Zeremonie (Bürg, pp. 340 f). Diese Zusammenkunft an der Lagune wird, nach meinen Informationen, seit einigen Jahren nicht mehr durchgeführt. Als Grund gibt man an, daß es um die Neujahrszeit herum mehrere Jahre hintereinander geregnet hätte. Danach hätten die Schamanen verkündet, daß Juan Tama mit diesem Zeichen auf eine weitere Durchführung der Zeremonie an seiner Lagune verzichte.

Die Wahl des Cabildo geschieht durch die Männer des ganzen Dorfes. Die Kandidaten müssen Bürger der betreffenden Ortschaft sein, d. h. sie müssen dort Landbesitz haben. Nie könnte ein Fremder in einem Paez-Dorf eine Funktion ausüben. Die Kandidaten können sich nicht selbst vorschlagen, sondern müssen von der Versammlung oder vom alten Cabildo nominiert werden. Wer von der Dorfversammlung das erste Mal für ein Amt gewählt wird, darf nicht ablehnen, sondern muß dieses annehmen. Erst die Wiederwahl, die bis zu fünf oder zehn Jahre hintereinander möglich ist, ist freiwillig. Reichtum oder Besitz des Kandidaten spielen keine Rolle. Der gegenwärtige Gobernador, Marcelo Muse, ist

etwa 30 Jahre alt. Zwei Kinder, ein etwa sechsjähriger Sohn und eine vierjährige Tochter leben, vier Kinder sind ihm gestorben. An materiellem Besitz gehören ihm fünf Pferde und zwei Schweine, aber keine Kuh und kein Schaf. Vor zehn Jahren war er bereits ein Jahr lang Fiscal. Nach der allgemeinen Auffassung der Paez soll der Gobernador nicht zu jung und nicht zu alt sein. Das beste Alter liege zwischen 30 und 50 Jahren. Die übrigen Posten, die ja in starkem Maße in Botendiensten bestehen, werden allgemein von jüngeren, unverheirateten Leuten besetzt, obwohl sie auch von verheirateten, bis zu 50jährigen Männern ausgefüllt werden können. Allgemein sucht sich der Gobernador ihm ergebene Leute aus, die für ihn auch die Strafen ausführen müssen, da ein Gobernador selbst nicht straft. Dazu haben vier Vertreter der unteren Posten eine dienstliche Peitsche, die aus einem 10 cm langen Stab mit einem etwa 80 cm langen, geflochtenen Riemen besteht.

Die Wahl selbst geht so vor sich, daß der Capitan die Kandidaten vorstellt mit der Frage: «Diesen als Gobernador, wollt ihr ihn?» und sie antworten: «Wir wünschen» oder «wir wünschen nicht». Interessant war zu beobachten, wie sich nach dem Tode des Capitan einer seiner Verwandten, Cerbelión Guagáz, um eine Ernennung als Capitan bemühte. Der Pfarrer bestand jedoch auf einer Wahl durch das Dorf. Und obwohl er sich sehr dafür einsetzte, daß Cerbelión gewählt würde, lehnte ihn das Dorf immer wieder ab, da er zu autokratisch wäre und man derartige Leute nicht mochte. Ein anderer wieder, der von allen als Capitan gerne gesehen wäre, mag selbst nicht. «Als Capitan bin ich ja nur der Büttel des Padre», antwortete er mir einmal auf meine Frage, warum er die Wahl nicht annehme. Und dazu hätte er keine Lust. Er war einmal Comisario und einmal Gobernador gewesen, und nun wollte er für den Rest seines Lebens seine Ruhe haben.

2. FAMILIENORGANISATION

Die Familie der Paez ist grundsätzlich die patrilineare Kleinfamilie, bestehend aus den Eltern und den unverheirateten Kindern. Diese schlafen, solange sie klein sind, mit den Eltern in der Küche, sobald sie größer sind, in einem Verschlag in einem anderen Teil des Hauses. Nach der Verheiratung errichten sie sich ihr eigenes Haus. Nicht unüblich ist es jedoch, daß die verheirateten Söhne mit ihren Frauen noch ein bis zwei Jahre im Hause des Vaters wohnen, bis sie das Geld für ein zunächst noch kleines Haus beisammen haben. Die Töchter verlassen mit ihrer Verheiratung

das väterliche Haus und wohnen dann bei ihren Männern, d. h. zunächst bei den Schwiegereltern.

Normalerweise hat somit jedes Haus nur eine Kochstelle, an der die Frau des Hauses kocht. Heiratet ein Sohn, so wird eine neue Küche abgeteilt und eine zweite Feuerstelle errichtet, an der die junge Frau kocht. Grundsätzlich hat jedes Ehepaar — und nur dieses — seine eigene Feuerstelle, denn für die Ernährung ist immer die Frau verantwortlich. Männer kochen nicht. Alte, alleinstehende Leute oder unverheiratete Mädchen oder Männer leben bei Verwandten oder Freunden, aber nie alleine, da der Einzelne sich weder schützen noch genügend versorgen kann.

Die Autorität des Vaters ist groß. Frau und Kinder schulden ihm unbedingten Gehorsam. Trotzdem hat der Mann nicht das Recht, persönliche Gebrauchsgegenstände oder selbst angefertigten Besitz der Familienmitglieder zu veräußern. So ist er beispielsweise nicht in der Lage, eine Kokatasche oder Fasertasche seiner Frau oder ein Spielzeug seiner Kinder zu verkaufen.

Die Kinder bekommen den Familiennamen des Vaters, die Frauen behalten aber ihren Mädchennamen auch in der Ehe bei. Ein äußerliches Kennzeichen in Kleidung oder Haartracht o. ä. für unverheiratete Mädchen und verheiratete Frauen gibt es nicht. Die Ehefrau ist verpflichtet, in ihrer Familie für Mann und Kinder zu arbeiten. Darüberhinaus kann sie sich persönliches Eigentum verschaffen, indem sie beispielsweise über den Bedarf ihrer Familie hinaus Stoffe webt und diese gegen Schmuck vertauscht.

Falls die jungen Leute noch bei den Eltern im Hause leben, ist die Schwiegertochter ihrer Schwiegermutter nicht unbedingt untergeordnet, wenngleich es nach der Ansprache bei der Hochzeitszeremonie den Anschein hat. Ein Abhängigkeitsverhältnis ist durch die getrennte Küche ausgeschaltet. Meist aber verstehen sich Schwiegermutter und Schwiegertochter gut, und dann ist es nicht selten, daß nur eine Frau für beide Familien kocht, denn Schwiegerscheu existiert nicht. Beide Frauen teilen sich dann auch die Arbeit der Reinigung des Hauses.

Eheliche Treue wird von beiden Ehepartnern verlangt, beim Mann nimmt man es aber mitunter nicht so streng. Wenn aber ein Mann seine Frau oder diese ihren Mann bei einer ehelichen Untreue überrascht, kann der betrogene Teil beide verprügeln (aber nicht töten) und sie dem Cabildo melden, der den schuldigen Teil noch einmal recht kräftig verprügeln läßt.

Uneheliche Kinder sind bei den Paez nicht selten. Falls ein unverheiratetes Mädchen ein Kind bekommt, erhält sie von ihren Eltern und

vom Cabildo solange Schläge, bis sie den Vater ihres Kindes angibt. Ist dies ein lediger junger Mann, muß er das Mädchen heiraten. Ein verheirateter Mann jedoch wird vom Cabildo verprügelt. Unterhaltszahlungen braucht er nicht zu leisten. Anders ist es, wenn ein verheirateter Mann keine Kinder hat. In diesem Falle wird grundsätzlich die Frau als die Schuldige angesehen. Dann darf er von einem unverheirateten Mädchen ein Kind bekommen, ohne daß er bestraft wird. Er erklärt dem Cabildo einfach, daß er viel Besitz hätte und daß er deswegen Kinder brauchte, die er von seiner Frau nicht bekommen könne. Der Mutter seines leiblichen Kindes gibt er eine Kuh, Kleider und einen hübschen Gürtel, und diese tritt ihr Kind dann an die Ehefrau des Vaters ihres Kindes ab. Dies kann er mehrere Male wiederholen, bis er genügend Kinder hat. Einem armen und besitzlosen Mann sei dies aber nicht erlaubt, wurde mir erklärt, denn «wozu braucht der Kinder?»

Zur Zeit der Menstruation und auch bei der Geburt eines Kindes hält sich die Frau in einem besonderen kleinen Hüttchen (dúyat) auf. Ihr Essen erhält sie entweder von ihrer Mutter, Schwester oder der Nachbarin eines Hauses, in dem mehrere Frauen leben. Diese kocht gleichzeitig auch für die Familienangehörigen der Menstruierenden mit. Die Angehörigen der aushilfsweise kochenden Frau erhalten ihr Essen von einem anderen weiblichen Mitglied in deren Familie. Die für das Essen sorgende Frau schafft auch das Holz für das zum Wärmen nötige Feuer im dúyat herbei. Weibliche Bewohner von Gehöften oder nur wenige Monate benutzten Feldhütten, die kein dúyat haben, gehen für diese Zeit zu einer benachbarten oder verwandten Familie. Im Falle einer Krankheit der Hausfrau übersiedelt diese in das Haus einer ihrer Schwestern oder weiblichen Angehörigen, wo sie gepflegt wird. Die männlichen Angehörigen der Kranken müssen dann zum Essen ebenfalls in das Haus dieser Verwandten gehen.

Neben den patrilinearen Kleinfamilien kennt man bei den Paez keine bewußten patrilinearen Sippen, wohl aber fühlen sich alle Träger des gleichen Familiennamens verwandt und dürfen sich nicht heiraten, selbst wenn sie wissentlich — dieses Wissen reicht nur zwei Generationen zurück — nicht verwandt sind. Unser Dolmetscher Victoriano Piñakuẽ beispielsweise darf nicht nur alle Mädchen des Vaternamens Piñakuẽ nicht heiraten, sondern auch nicht die Mädchen, deren Mütter Piñakuẽ heißen. Besonders schwierig liegen die Verhältnisse bei den Trägern des Namens Guagáz, dem alten Geschlecht, dessen Angehörige den Capitan stellen, und die zahlenmäßig etwa ein Viertel des Dorfes ausmachen. In Calderas finden die jungen Männer dieses Namens nicht immer ihre Frauen. Sie

müssen sie deswegen oft in anderen Dörfern suchen, obwohl dies allgemein nicht gerne getan wird. Wir haben damit bei den Páez exogame Sippen, d. h. Gruppen von Menschen männlicher Abstammung, die zwar zerstreut wohnen, aber ein gemeinsames Festhaus haben und die sich vermöge ihres gleichen Namens nicht heiraten können. Es fehlt ihnen aber das Bewußtsein, vom gleichen Vorfahren abzustammen. Desgleichen gibt es weder ein gemeinsames Sippenoberhaupt, noch besondere Trachten oder irgendwelche gemeinsamen Abzeichen. Die Träger von sechs Familiennamen, die gemeinsam mehr als 60 Prozent der Bevölkerung ausmachen, haben auf dem Dorfplatz je ein Festhaus, in denen die Träger des gleichen Namens zu den großen Jahresfesten, Inmaculada (8. 12.), Semana Santa (Ostern) und San Juan (24. 6.) zusammenkommen und gemeinsam essen und trinken. Die anderen Familien, die kein eigenes Festhaus haben, nehmen in den Festhäusern befreundeter Familien teil.

Die sechs größten Familien von Calderas sind: Guagáz, Piñakuẽ, Petíns, Oléz, Oriága, Pechéne.

Innerhalb der Sippen spielen die Verwandten keine Rolle, wohl aber die Paten (padrino, madrina) denen gegenüber strenge Etikette gewahrt wird. Junge oder Mädchen, Mann oder Frau, die ihre Taufpaten irgendwo treffen, müssen niederknien, um deren Segen zu empfangen.

Die Verwandtschaftsnomenklatur ist teilweise differenzierter als die unsere. Auffallend ist die gemeinsame Anrede für Vater und Kind und Mutter und Kind und die differenzierte Anrede für ältere und jüngere Geschwister. Die Bezeichnungen für Vater und Mutter werden danach unterschieden, ob man von den eigenen oder von fremden Vätern und Müttern spricht. Der eigene Vater ist táta, der fremde néi; die eigene Mutter ist máma, die fremde nihí. Gleichgültig ist dabei, ob ein Mann oder eine Frau die folgenden Beispiele sagt:

mein Vater	ãtç táta	meine Mutter	atç máma
dein Vater	inç táta	deine Mutter	inç máma
sein Vater	kyeç néi	seine Mutter	kyeç nihí
unsere Väter	kweł táta	unsere Mütter	kweł máma
ihre Väter	kyáṅweł néi	ihre Mütter	kyáṅweł nihí

Interessant ist, daß in der Anrede auch der fremde Vater bzw. die fremde Mutter des Gesprächspartners mit táta oder máma, wie die eigenen Eltern, bezeichnet werden.

Die Mitglieder der Verwandtschaft in der Elterngeneration, die unseren «Onkeln» und «Tanten» entsprechen, werden in der Anrede diffe-

renziert, je nachdem, ob es sich um Angehörige der mütterlichen oder väterlichen Linie handelt. In der weiblichen Verwandtschaft der mütterlichen Linie wird das Präfix «pe» vor die entsprechenden Bezeichnungen für die männlichen Verwandtschaftsmitglieder gesetzt. Außerdem fällt auf, daß für Stiefvater und Stiefmutter keine Wortverbindungen mit «Vater» bzw. «Mutter» gebraucht werden, sondern die gleichen Worte wie für Vaterbruder und Mutterschwester, bzw. den Ehegatten der Vaterschwester oder des Mutterbruders.

Vaterbruder	nyok	Vaterschwester	pętsots
Mutterbruder	ká'ka	Mutterschwester	pęnyok
Stiefvater	nyok	Stiefmutter	pęnyok
Vaterschwesters Mann	nyok	Mutterbruders Frau	pęnyok
Schwiegervater	táta	Schwiegermutter	máma

In der Kindergeneration ist das Fehlen von Bezeichnungen für Nichten und Neffen bemerkenswert. In Ermangelung eigener Paez-Wörter und -Begriffe werden spanische benützt. Es ist möglich, daß in vorspanischer Zeit die gesamte Kindergeneration, entweder die einer Großfamilie oder doch die der mütterlichen oder väterlichen Linie, nach Art des «klassifikatorischen Verwandtschaftssystems», von den Gliedern der Elterngeneration mit gleichen Namen bezeichnet wurde. Im Gegensatz zu unserem Verwandtschaftssystem, das auf der Gradnähe der Blutsverwandtschaft beruht, werden nach dem klassifikatorischen System nicht nur die eigenen Kinder als «Söhne» oder «Töchter» bezeichnet, sondern auch die der Geschwister. Entsprechend nennen die Kinder — im extremen Falle — die Geschwister der Eltern, also ihre Onkel und Tanten, gleichfalls «Vater» bzw. «Mutter».

Letzteres ist bei den Paez nicht der Fall, da zwischen den Nachkommen der väterlichen und mütterlichen Linie streng geschieden wird. Innerhalb dieser macht sich aber eine Tendenz zum klassifikatorischen System bemerkbar, einmal wegen der bereits zitierten gleichen Namen für Stiefvater bzw. Stiefmutter und Vaterschwesters Mann bzw. Mutterbruders Frau, zum anderen wegen der Unterscheidung, je nachdem die Geschwister älter oder jünger als der Sprechende sind.

Die Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen der Kindergeneration sind:

Sohn, kleiner	luč	Tochter, kleine	luč
Sohn, großer	ndyík	Tochter, große	nīs
Brudersohn (vom Mann aus)	sobríno	Brudertochter (von der Frau aus)	sobrína

Schwestersohn (vom Mann aus)	sobrino	Schwestertochter (von der Frau aus)	sobrina
Schwestertochter (vom Mann aus)	sobrina	Schwestersohn (von der Frau aus)	sobrino
Brudertochter (vom Mann aus)	sobrina	Brudersohn (von der Frau aus)	sobrino
Stiefsohn	sobrino	Stieftochter	sobrina
Schwiegersohn	nokwębió	Schwiegertochter	ndó
Brudertochtermann	sobrino	Schwestertochtermann	sobrino
Brudersohnfrau	sobrina	Schwestersohnfrau	sobrina

Innerhalb der eigenen Generation wird zwischen den älteren und jüngeren Brüdern bzw. Schwestern unterschieden. Im Sinne des über das klassifikatorische Verwandtschaftssystem Gesagten haben wir auch hier — nach der männlichen oder weiblichen Linie der Familie hin unterschieden — gleiche Bezeichnungen für Vettern, Basen und Stiefgeschwister.

Bruder (vom Mann)	yaktę	Schwester (v. d. Frau)	yaktę
Bruder (v. d. Frau)	nyił	Schwester (vom Mann)	pęł
älterer Bruder	yaktę ntę (ntę = älter)	ältere Schwester	pęł nóitę
jüngerer Bruder (wenn andere Leute von ihm reden)	yaktę noč (noč = jünger)	jüngere Schwester (wenn andere Leute von ihr reden)	pęł noč
wenn der eigene Bruder oder die eigene Schwester von den jüngeren Brüdern reden	yaktę npéi	wenn Geschwister von der jüngeren Schwester reden	pęł npéi
Vaterbruders Sohn*	yaktę	Mutterbruders Sohn*	yaktę
Vaterbruders Tochter*	pęł	Mutterbruders Tochter*	pęł
Vaterschwesters Sohn*	yaktę	Mutterschwesters Sohn*	yaktę
Vaterschwesters Tochter*	pęł	Mutterschwesters Tochter*	pęł

Bei Anreden von außerhalb der Familie Stehenden werden folgende Bezeichnungen gebraucht:

* Diese Bezeichnungen für Vettern und Basen gelten nur in der Anrede untereinander.

Vaterbruders Sohn oder Mutterbruders Sohn	pokatęnyák
Mutterbruders Tochter oder Vaterbruders Tochter	pokatępěnyí (pokats = Seite)

Stiefbruder yaktę Stiefschwester pęš

Die Bezeichnungen für die Schwäger und Schwägerinnen sind folgende:
Wenn der Bruder spricht:

Gattin des Bruders	só'ǫv	Gatte der Schwester	tsóǫm

Wenn die Schwester spricht:

Gattin des Bruders	tyínas	Gatte der Schwester	só'ǫv

Abseitiger gelegene Schwägerverhältnisse, die in unserer Verwandtschaftsnomenklatur nicht mehr als solche gekennzeichnet sind, werden bei den Paez noch in folgenden Fällen beachtet:

Vaterbrudertochters Mann	tsóǫm	Vaterschwestersohns Frau	só'ǫv
Mutterbrudertochters Mann	tsóǫm	Mutterschwestersohns Frau	só'ǫv

In der Großeltern- bzw. Enkelgeneration werden folgende Termini gebraucht:

Vaters Vater	īši	Vaters Mutter	pęndyi
Mutters Vater	īši	Mutters Mutter	pęndyi
Sohnes Sohn	nzón	Sohnes Tochter	nzón
Tochters Sohn	nzón	Tochters Tochter	nzón

Recht differenziert sind bei den Paez die Bezeichnungen für Menschen in verschiedenen Altersstufen oder Lebensumständen; beachtenswert sind die gemeinsamen Anredeformen für bestimmte Gruppen von Menschen oder von mehreren Menschen bestimmter Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse, die zeigen, daß das Individuum hier nicht losgelöst in der Familie steht, sonder eingeordnet ist als Teil eines Lebensgefüges.

Kind oder Junge	luč
Kleinkind (Junge oder Mädchen)	lučkwę
Säugling (Junge oder Mädchen)	lučléčkwę
Jüngling	pítstaty
Mann	pítstę
verheirateter Mann (außer wenn die eigene Frau von ihm spricht)	yō
alter Mann	īš
Witwer	ečpits
Mädchen	gnáskwę

Jungfrau	gnās
Frau	ōi
etwas ältere Frau	óitę
àlte Frau	pęnī
Witwe	éčoi
schwangere Frau	tóya
sterile Frau	ęma
verheiratete Frau (außer wenn der eigene Mann von ihr spricht)	imī
Gattin (anderer Männer)	nyó
Gatte (anderer Frauen)	nemī
Gattin (vom Gatten angeredet)	íkwę
Gatte (von der Gattin angeredet)	íngya
Ehepaar	ovényi
Waise, Halbwaise	váučo
Verwandter (allgemein)	nuevę́ī

Anreden:

Vater und Mutter gemeinsam (gleichgültig, ob von den eigenen Kindern oder von anderen Leuten)	ovényi oder pětām
Vater und Sohn gemeinsam (von anderen Leuten)	pěndyīk
Vater und Tochter gemeinsam (von anderen Leuten)	pěndyīs
Mutter und Sohn gemeinsam (von anderen Leuten)	pěndyīk
Mutter u. Tochter gemeinsam (von anderen Leuten)	pěndyīs

3. SITTEN IM LEBENS- UND TAGESLAUF

Die Paez machen allgemeinhin den Eindruck zufriedener Menschen, und es scheint, daß das Ehe- und Familienleben überdurchschnittlich gut ist. Natürlich sind die Beobachtungen darüber recht gering, vermag doch der Forscher, wegen der abgelegenen Lage der einzelnen Behausungen, immer nur einen jeweils kurzfristigen Einblick in die Familenverhältnisse zu nehmen. Dieselbe Abgeschiedenheit aber und das Bewußtsein des größeren Aufeinander-Angewiesenseins innerhalb der Familie begünstigt deren Zusammenhalt, wie es Konflikt- und Reibungsstoffe, die durch Weiberklatsch bei zu engem Aufeinanderwohnen entstehen, herabmindert.

Grundsätzlich wünscht sich jede Familie recht viele Kinder — so jedenfalls sagten alle befragten Männer. Zwei Calderuner Frauen jedoch ver-

trauten meiner Frau an, daß es ein Mittel gäbe — das sie und auch andere Frauen natürlich nicht anwenden! —, welches mit Sicherheit eine Empfängnis ausschließe: Man müsse etwas von dem Speichel einer Mula (der weiblichen, unfruchtbaren Kreuzung zwischen Pferd und Esel) essen, und dann würde man keine Kinder mehr bekommen. Dies täte eine Frau aber nur, wenn sie schon sehr viele Kinder geboren hat. Allgemein wünscht sich jedes Mädchen recht viele Kinder, denn dies ist das Haupterfordernis, um geheiratet zu werden. Zudem ist der Prozentsatz der unfruchtbaren Frauen — bei kinderlosen Ehen, sagt man, liege die Schuld immer bei der Frau — nicht gering. Nach Umfrage beträgt er etwa 10 Prozent. Männer wünschen sich im allgemeinen Jungen, die Frauen Mädchen, um eine Hilfe im Haushalt zu haben. Zwillingsgeburten sind selten; sie werden aber nicht als etwas Besonderes angesehen, sondern man freut sich darüber, wie über andere Kinder auch. Krüppelgeburten soll es nicht geben; ich sah aber mehrere Menschen mit Hasenscharten. Sie scheinen sich dessen zu schämen, denn bei Gesprächen mit uns hielten sie immer die Hand vor den Mund. Eine Kindestötung findet nicht statt. Bei Erkundigungen darüber wurde immer ganz entsetzt zurückgefragt, ob dies denn in meinem Lande der Fall wäre. Eine Überbevölkerung wäre auch bei höherer Kinderzahl — der Durchschnitt liegt bei drei bis vier lebenden Kindern pro Familie — nicht zu befürchten, da die Kindersterblichkeit über 50 Prozent beträgt. Die häufigste Todesursache für Kleinkinder ist Keuchhusten.

a) Geburt und Kindheit

Die Sorge der Eltern für das Kind beginnt schon vor der Geburt. Einer Schwangeren, die ihr erstes Kind erwartet, muß der Ehemann sehr oft beiwohnen, da sonst das Kind sehr schwächlich würde. Bei den nächsten Kindern ist dies nach Beginn der Schwangerschaft nicht mehr so oft erforderlich. Zwei Monate vor der Geburt darf die Schwangere das Haus nicht verlassen und kein Schweinefleisch essen, da dies «Pest» verursache und sie Magenschmerzen bekommen würde; dies sei sehr nachteilig für das Kind. Aus dem gleichen Grunde darf sie keine Bohnen und Zwiebeln essen; Fisch deswegen nicht, weil er aus dem kalten Element, dem Wasser, stammt und weil eine Schwangere nicht kalt werden darf.

Nach einem Gewährsmann zieht sich die Schwangere für die letzten zwei bis drei Wochen vor der Geburt ins Menstruationshüttchen (dúyat) zurück. In dieser Zeit kocht ihre Mutter oder eine andere weibliche Verwandte für die Familie. Nach einem anderen Gewährsmann zieht sich die

Frau erst zur Geburt ins dúyat zurück. In jedem Falle erfolgt dort die Geburt, die immer als sehr gefährlich angesehen wird. Grundsätzlich wird eine Hebamme (ndōsoknās) geholt. Diese ist, wie auch der Name sagt, kein Schamane. Sie hat mit schamanischen Funktionen nichts zu tun, sondern ist nur für Geburten oder äußerliche Verletzungen, wie Knochenbrüche oder Fleischwunden, zuständig.

Die Hebamme darf keine alte Frau sein. Sie wird vor der Geburt vom Ehemann der Schwangeren geholt und kommt immer. Mehrmals fragte ich, ob zur Not nicht auch ein Mann oder die Mutter helfen könnte, aber immer hieß es, die Hebamme komme immer, selbst wenn sie noch so beschäftigt wäre. Für ihre Hilfeleistung bekommt sie nur das Essen, es sei denn, daß Komplikationen eintreten. In diesem Falle bekommt sie Wolle oder einige Naturalien als Entgelt für ihre Hilfe.

Grundsätzlich befindet sich im dúyat nur die Hebamme und die Kreißende. Letztere befindet sich in Hockstellung. Sie hält sich mit den Händen an einem Gürtel fest, der um den Dachbalken des dúyat geschlungen ist. Ist kein Gürtel vorhanden, so kann auch der Ehemann anwesend sein, der dann seine Frau von hinten so umfaßt hält, daß sie sich ebenfalls in Hockstellung befindet. Die Hebamme nimmt das Kind in Empfang. Wenn seine Stellung anormal ist, zum Beispiel bei Steißlage des Kindes, wendet sie das Kind so, daß der Kopf nach unten liegt. Wenn das Kind dann noch nicht geboren wird, muß — wie man uns erklärte — die Mutter sterben, denn dann kann man nichts weiteres mehr tun. Es kommt dies jedoch nur selten vor.

Die Hebamme bringt ihre Heilkräuter mit, mit denen sie den Körper der Gebärenden einreibt. Das neugeborene Kind wird zuerst mit kaltem Wasser gewaschen und dann in ein Stück Ruana gewickelt und der Mutter übergeben. Das Abnabeln geschieht nicht mit dem Messer oder der Schere, sondern, nachdem die Nabelschnur (kolwát) zuvor mit einem selbst gesponnenen Wollfaden abgebunden wurde, mit dem scharfkantigen Rohr einer Schilfart. Der Vater darf sein Kind unmittelbar nach der Geburt sehen; die Mutter bleibt mit diesem aber noch etwa zwei Wochen im dúyat. Die Nachgeburt (duyáha) wird zusammen mit der Nabelschnur nahe dem Menstruationshaus vergraben. Der Vater gräbt dazu das Loch und die Mutter wirft beides hinein. Das Loch darf nicht zu flach sein, sonst würden sie die Hunde ausscharren, aber auch nicht zu tief, denn dann bekäme das Kind erst sehr spät und nur sehr schwer seine Zähne. Die richtige Tiefe soll bei etwa 30 cm liegen.

Vier bis sechs Tage nach der Geburt und nach dem ersten Bad bringt der Vater oder einer der Paten sein Kind zum Sakristan des Dorfes oder

zu den Missionarinnen, um es mit Wasser auf den Namen des christlichen Heiligen des Tauftages taufen zu lassen. Jedes Kind hat nur einen christlichen Vornamen und den Paez-Zunamen seines Vaters. Die Taufe durch den Pfarrer mit Öl findet später, bei passender Gelegenheit in Anwesenheit der Paten statt, an die sich ein Trink- und Eßgelage anschließt. An diesem nimmt auch die Mutter teil, nachdem sie das dúyat verlassen und sich, ihr Kind und ihre Kleider gewaschen hat und durch den Schamanen gereinigt worden ist.

Die Erziehung der Kinder liegt in der Hand der Eltern, welche sie ganz selbstverständlich und fast im Spiel die nötigen Fertigkeiten des Lebens lehren. Allerdings werden unfolgsame Kinder auch geschlagen, und zwar meist dann, wenn der Sohn keine rechte Lust hat, seinem Vater bei der Feldarbeit zu helfen. Im Strafen sind die Väter allgemein strenger als die Mütter und schlagen sie gegebenenfalls mit Lederriemen auf alle Körperteile. Auch Ohrfeigen sind zu beobachten. Wenn ein junger Mann sich im späteren Leben als faul erweist, wird dem Vater die Schuld gegeben, weil er seinen Sohn nicht richtig zur Arbeit angehalten habe. Uneheliche Söhne, denen die strenge Hand des Vaters fehlt, sollen oftmals mißraten, obwohl sie an sich sehr beliebt sind. Da sie ihren Vater nicht kennen, sind sie nämlich nicht verpflichtet, auf dessen Feld zu arbeiten. Umso begehrter sind sie als Aushilfsarbeiter auf den Feldern der anderen Familien. Wenn sie älter sind, können sie sich Land leihen und eine Familie gründen. Meist bekommen sie das Land sogar geschenkt. Sie brauchen also keineswegs zu verhungern. Ungünstiger sind uneheliche Töchter dran, da ihre Hilfe meist nicht vonnöten ist und ihre Mutter selbst keinen Haushalt hat. Dennoch sind ihre Heiratsaussichten nicht ungünstig, da ein Mädchen ja keine Mitgift bekommt, sondern nur auf Grund ihrer persönlichen Qualitäten geheiratet wird.

Heute besteht für alle Kinder die allgemeine Pflicht des Schulbesuches in den Missionsschulen, wo sie im Katechismus und in der spanischen Sprache unterrichtet werden und sich täglich unter Aufsicht einmal baden müssen.

Die Mutter stillt ihr Kind während der ersten sechs bis acht Monate ausschließlich, erst dann wird mit der Verabreichung festerer Nahrung begonnen, die sich aber in nichts von der der Erwachsenen unterscheidet, d. h. das Kind bekommt Yuca, Bohnen, Chicha, Branntwein usw. wie die Erwachsenen. Die Mutter säugt das Kind solange, bis das nächste kommt, also drei bis vier Jahre und darüberhinaus teilweise mit dem nächstgeborenen zusammen. Jede Frau, die ein Kind hat, hat allgemein auch Milch, wurde uns erklärt. Nur wenn die Mutter einmal weit weg

sein sollte, beispielsweise zu einer Besorgung auf dem Markt oder zum Holzholen, kann eine andere Mutter mit ihrer Milch dem Kinde aushelfen. In den seltenen Fällen, in denen eine Frau nicht genug Milch für die Nährung ihres Kindes hat, kann sie es irgendeiner anderen Frau geben, die aber dafür nichts bekommt. Es kommt auch vor, daß eine Familie mit zehn Kindern zu zahlreich wird, so daß die Nahrung nicht mehr ausreicht. In diesem Falle kann die Frau eines oder mehrere Kinder ihrer Mutter in Pflege geben. Hat sie aber keine Mutter mehr, muß sie diese selbst behalten. Im Falle, daß die Mutter kleiner Kinder stirbt und einen Säugling von weniger als zwei bis drei Monaten hinterläßt, der außer Milch noch keine andere Nahrung zu sich nehmen kann, sucht der Vater eine Frau, die ebenfalls einen Säugling hat und die mit ihrer Milch das fremde Kind zwei bis drei Jahre großzieht, bis es sprechen kann. Dann bekommt der Vater es wieder zurück und die Amme erhält als «Milchgeld» eine Kuh.

Getragen werden die Kinder normalerweise von der Mutter. Dazu ist der bunte gewebte Gürtel (táw) und das große Umschlagtuch (panyelón oder séntyatç) erforderlich, in das das Kind eingewickelt und von der Mutter auf dem Rücken getragen wird.

Die Spiele der Kinder sind allgemein belehrend für das spätere Leben. Die Jungen gehen mit dem Blasrohr (pāt), der geflochtenen Steinschleuder (ísot) oder der Gummischleuder (kaučéro) auf Vogeljagd, bzw. sie üben mit dem Lasso sich gegenseitig zu fangen, wobei das zu fangende Kind eine Kuh oder ein Pferd darstellt. Die Fähigkeit der Kinder, wie übrigens auch der Erwachsenen, im Gebrauch des Lassos ist nicht groß. Seine Handhabung zum Einfangen von Kühen oder Pferden wird als Sport angesehen, wie ja auch die ganze Viehzucht. Die Tiere lassen sich nicht leicht fangen, sondern müssen regelrecht überlistet werden. Zum Einfangen beispielsweise einer Kuh rennt der Lassoschwinger inmitten einer Gruppe mehrerer Männer oder Burschen zunächst hinter einigen anderen Kühen her, die sich in der Nähe der zu fangenden Kuh befinden. Die letztere fühlt sich recht sicher, da das Geschrei scheinbar nicht ihr gilt. Die Männer treiben die Kühe jetzt so, daß sie in die Nähe der zu fangenden kommen, dann schlägt der Lassowerfer einen scharfen Haken und wirft das Seil aus einer Entfernung von nur etwa drei Metern. Trotz der geringen Entfernung trifft nur etwa jeder dritte Wurf.

Zwei Jungenspielzeuge, als Zeitvertreib der Schuljugend mit Begeisterung geübt, sind der Kreisel (čúnga) und die Lochkugel (hénde). Letztere (Fig. 36) ist eine ausgehöhlte Fruchtkapsel von etwa fünf Zentimeter Durchmesser mit einem einen Zentimeter starken Loch an der Unterseite.

Genau diesem größerem Loch gegenüber ist ein kleines gebohrt. Durch das große und das kleine Loch wird von unten her eine gezwirnte, etwa 20 cm lange Agaveschnur geführt und oberhalb des kleinen Loches verknotet, so daß sie nicht wieder herausrutschen kann. Das andere Ende der Schnur ist in der Mitte eines etwa 15 cm langen Stäbchens verknotet, welches einen etwas geringeren Durchmesser hat, als das Loch auf der Unterseite der Fruchtkapsel. Beim Spiel hängt die Schnur der Kapsel vom Stäbchen herunter, welches mit einer Hand zur Hälfte gefaßt wird. Mit leichtem Schwung wirft man jetzt die am Faden befestigte Kapsel nach oben und versucht, sie mit dem Stab aufzufangen. Anfänger treffen das Loch selten oder nie, während es Geübteren viele Male hintereinander gelingt.

Der Kreisel besteht aus einem doppelkonischen Holzklötzchen von 4 bis 6 cm Höhe, das sich die Jungen selbst zurecht schnitzen und das auf der Oberseite in einen kleinen Knauf ausgeht. In die Spitze der unteren Seite ist ein kleiner Dorn hineingesteckt. In Bewegung gesetzt wird der Kreisel mit einer Schnur, die in zwei Schlaufen endet. Die eine wird über den Mittelfinger der Hand geschoben, die andere auf den Knauf der Oberseite des Kreisels. Von da wird sie zur Unterseite um den Dorn herumgeführt und dann spiralförmig um den unteren, konischen Teil des Kreisels aufwärts gewickelt. Zum Ingangsetzen wird der Kreisel auf den mit Brettern belegten Fußboden der Schule geworfen. Die am Mittelfinger befestigte Schlaufe bewirkt das Abrollen von der Schnur und seine Drehbewegung. Als Wettkampfregel gilt, den sich drehenden Kreisel mit einem anderen drehenden umzuwerfen.

Eine einfachere Art des Kreisels, die wie das Lochspiel ebenfalls «hénde» genannt wird, besteht aus einer runden Samenkapsel, in die ein senkrechter Stab eingesetzt ist, der etwa fünf Zentimeter herausragt. Zum Ingangsetzen sind eine gezwirnte Schnur und ein Brettchen erforderlich. Die Schnur wird mit dem einen Ende spiralförmig um den Stiel des Kreisels gewickelt und mit seinem anderen am Brettchen verknotet und dann abgezogen.

Neben diesen Spielen wird von den Knaben der Ringkampf sehr gepflegt. Im Burschen- und Jungmänneralter wird nicht mehr gerungen. Zu den Festen aber, wenn sie etwas getrunken haben, schlagen sich die jungen Männer, bei ausgestrecktem Arm, mit der Hand oder der Faust auf den Körper. Mehrere von ihnen bilden einen unregelmäßigen Kreis, aber ohne Parteien, und jeder versucht, den anderen von hinten zu schlagen.

Die Mädchen spielen mit Puppen (lõčinyi) von etwa 20 cm Höhe, welche sie sich aus Holz und Stoffresten selbst anfertigen. Auffällig ist, daß diese Puppen keine Kinder, sondern Erwachsene in voller Kleidung

darstellen. Ein Puppenmann beispielsweise besteht aus einem gegabelten Holz, dessen längerer Teil den Körper und dessen Gabel die Beine darstellen. Ein angebundenes Querholz deutet die Schultern an. Die Kleidung besteht aus einem Männerhemd, das mit einem Agavefaden in Höhe der Hüften «auf Taille» gebunden ist. Ein rechteckiges Stück Stoff mit einem waagerechten Loch in der Mitte wird als Ruana darübergezogen. Ein Gesicht ist weder bei der männlichen, noch bei der weiblichen Puppe angedeutet. Die Puppenfrau besteht nur aus einem geraden Stab, um dessen unteren Teil ein Stück Stoff als Rock gewickelt und mit einem roten Faden als Gürtel festgebunden wird. Auf dem Rücken trägt die Frau ein Kind, dargestellt durch ein in ein Stück Stoff eingewickeltes kleines Stück Holz. Der Stoff ist so um das Kind mit einem roten Faden befestigt, wie auch sonst Kinder gewickelt werden. Ihr Kind trägt die Puppenfrau in das große Umschlagtuch eingewickelt, der durch einen roten Faden, der als Gürtel dient, festgehalten wird.

b) Reife

Für die Jünglinge finden heute keine Riten oder Feiern mehr statt. In früherer Zeit wurden sie an die heilige Lagune Juan Tama oder auf die Höhen von Cuetando geführt, und dort mußten sie eine Hütte bauen und ein kleines Saatfeld als Beweis ihrer Fähigkeit als Mann und Hausvater anlegen (Hernandez 1944, p. 203).

Ein Mädchen besitzt mit der Pubertät die Volljährigkeit, d. h. es kann heiraten. Vorheriger und vorehelicher Verkehr ist nicht erlaubt. Anläßlich der ersten Menstruation wurde in früherer Zeit ein besonderer Tanz getanzt (itsa-kó), während welchem das junge Mädchen außerhalb des Festhauses nackt in einer Grube in Chicha gebadet wurde (Castello i Oroso, p. 85). Heute findet dies nicht mehr statt, sondern ein Mädchen nimmt, wenn es mit etwa 15 Jahren zum ersten Male ins dúyat geht, Agavefasern mit und flicht dort während der etwa fünf Tage, die es sich dort aufhält, eine sehr schöne, kleine Fasertasche (yáhaléčkwę) von etwa Faustgröße. Speisegebote o. ä. bestehen weiter nicht. Danach geht sie an einen entfernt gelegenen Fluß, um zu baden. Auf dem Wege dorthin läßt sie die Tasche fallen. Ein vorübergehender verheirateter Mann läßt sie liegen, denn er weiß, daß sie einem jungen Mädchen gehört. Ein junger Mann aber, der zufällig des Weges kommt, sieht die schön gearbeitete Tasche, hebt sie auf und benutzt sie als Geldtäschchen. Ohne daß er weiß, wer das Täschchen angefertigt hat, wird er — so ist man überzeugt — dieses Mädchen heiraten.

c) *Heirat*

Die heutige Eheform der Paez ist die Monogamie. H. Pittier de Fábrega (p. 314) schließt jedoch aus ihren Traditionen, daß die Paez früher polygam waren und erst durch die Erziehung seitens der Missionare zur Einehe übergegangen sind. Für eine regelrechte Mehrehe in früherer Zeit konnte ich nach ihrer Mythologie keinen Anhalt finden. Es verbietet aber das Sozial- und Lebensgefüge der Paez das Alleineleben der unverheirateten Mädchen. Falls diese keine Angehörigen haben oder im Hause von Verwandten kein Unterkommen finden können, nimmt sie ein anderer Mann in seiner Familie auf. Das Mädchen hilft dann bei der Verrichtung von Hausarbeiten, und der Hausvater kann Kinder von ihr bekommen, ohne daß das Mädchen aber — wenigstens heute — als seine zweite Frau im Rahmen einer regelrechten Heiratszeremonie geheiratet wird.

Wenn ein junger Mann heiraten will, so spricht er — im Normalfall — mit seinem Vater und dieser mit dem Vater seiner Auserwählten. Eine Werbung durch dritte, außerhalb der Familie stehende Personen ist nicht üblich, und die beiderseitigen Verwandten treten erst nach der offiziellen Hochzeitsfeier in Verkehr miteinander und tauschen Geschenke aus. Die beiden jungen Leute sind sich in der Regel schon früher einig, ehe die Väter miteinander sprechen. Erforderlich ist das Einverständnis des Mädchens aber nicht, denn das Übereinkommen des jungen Mannes mit den beiderseitigen Vätern ist völlig ausreichend, und das Mädchen wird in diesem Falle auch gegen seinen Willen verheiratet. Es soll dies aber sehr selten oder gar nie der Fall sein, denn es ist für ein Mädchen gefährlich, einem jungen Mann einen Korb zu geben. In diesem Fall würde dieser ausspeien und folgenden Fluch sprechen: «Toblel (unübersetzbar), ich wollte dich heiraten, aber du hast nicht gewollt; nun mußt du sterben!» Ich bezweifelte den Männern von Calderas gegenüber, daß dieser Fluch seine Wirkung tun könnte, aber da erzählte man mir die Geschichte von dem Mädchen, das keinen Paez heiraten wollte. Dieses Mädchen war wunderschön. (Schön sind übrigens nur unverheiratete Mädchen, nie wird eine verheiratete Frau als schön bezeichnet). Es war etwas dick — dünn gilt als häßlich —, immer sauber gewaschen, gut gekämmt, trug schöne Halsketten und Ohrringe, schön gewebte Kleider und einen wunderschönen, selbst gewebten Gürtel. Viele junge Männer von Calderas wollten es heiraten, aber es wollte mit keinem Calderuner verheiratet sein, sondern mit einem Weißen. Sie verließ deswegen ihr Dorf, um nach Popayán zu gehen (der einzigen größeren, bekannten Stadt). Sie lief sehr schnell. Es befand sich aber auf dem Wege im Páramo (Grenzgebirge) ein Pijao. Dieser er-

griff sie und nahm sie lebend mit in sein Haus. Dort zündete er ein Feuer an, tötete sie und fraß sie auf. Erläuternd fügte der Erzähler noch hinzu: Ein Mädchen, das keinen Calderuner sondern einen Weißen heiraten will, weil die Calderuner Männer ihm nicht schön genug wären, würde auf dem Wege nach der Stadt, noch ehe es diese erreicht hat, von einem Pijao gefressen. Es wäre dies deswegen auch von keinem Mädchen versucht worden. Lehrreich ist in diesem Zusammenhang ein umgekehrtes Beispiel. Der kolumbianische Kollege Segundo Bernal Villa, der mit uns zusammen im Park von San Andrés lebte und zu gleicher Zeit seinen ethnologischen und soziologischen Forschungen in Calderas nachging, hatte scherzhafterweise und um sich beliebt zu machen des öfteren erwähnt, daß er die Absicht hätte, sich in Calderas eine Braut zu suchen. Mit einer hübschen Calderunerin wurde er des öftern von Leuten im Dorfe angetroffen, wie er sich mit ihr unterhielt und spazierenging. Als er ihr eines Tages, in Unkenntnis oder Nichtbeachtung des betreffenden Brautwerbungsbrauches eine Flasche Branntwein schenkte, wurde sein Scherzen als Ernst aufgefaßt und sehr übel vermerkt. Das Mädchen wurde vom Cabildo zu schwerer Prügelstrafe verurteilt und nach deren Vollzug am nächsten Tage mit einem jungen Mann des Dorfes verheiratet.

Zur offiziellen Brautwerbung geht der Vater des jungen Mannes zum Hause der Eltern des Mädchens. Er nimmt eine Kürbiskalebasse mit etwa zehn Liter Chicha und fünf Flaschen Branntwein mit. Zunächst unterhält er sich mit der ganzen Familie des Mädchens eine halbe Stunde lang nur so leichthin, man macht viele Witze und unterhält sich über dieses und jenes. Dann fragt er den Vater des Mädchens, ob dessen Tochter nicht seinen Sohn heiraten möchte. Die Eltern antworten darauf, daß sie nur eine Tochter hätten und sie diese leider nicht verschenken könnten, da sie sie selbst so nötig brauchten. Danach unterhält man sich weiter, spricht über dieses und jenes und dann fragt der Vater des jungen Mannes ein zweites Mal, ob die Tochter des Hauses nicht seinen Sohn heiraten möchte. Aber auch diesmal antwortet der Vater des Mädchens, daß er nur eine Tochter habe und sie leider nicht weggeben könne. Dann unterhält man sich weiter, bis der Gast ein drittes Mal fragt: «Könnt ihr mir nicht eure Tochter für meinen Sohn geben?» Der Vater des Mädchens antwortet dann: «Gut, ich schenke deinem Sohn meine Tochter, aber ich erwarte, daß er sie immer gut behandelt und nicht schlecht über sie spricht!» Nun übergibt der Gast seine mitgebrachten Branntweinflaschen, die erste dem Brautvater, die zweite der Brautmutter, dann die dritte der Braut und danach auch ihren Brüdern und Schwestern je eine Flasche. Die mitgebrachte Chicha übergibt er insgesamt dem Brautvater, und dieser verteilt

an alle und gibt dem Überbringer und allen Anwesenden auch von seiner eigenen Chicha zu trinken. Dies wird die ganze Nacht über fortgesetzt, bis alle betrunken sind. Am Morgen geht dann die Schwiegertochter mit ihrem Schwiegervater gemeinsam zurück in das Haus des letzteren, und von da an lebt sie zusammen mit ihrem Mann bis zur Hochzeit.

Falls der Vater des Mädchens mit dem jungen Mann als Schwiegersohn nicht einverstanden sein sollte, würde er praktisch doch nichts gegen diese Verbindung seiner Tochter unternehmen, da er ein Heiratsgut ohnehin nicht zu zahlen braucht. Stellen sich erst einmal Kinder ein, so sind die Eltern ohnehin immer einverstanden. Wenn umgekehrt der Vater des jungen Mannes mit dessen Brautwahl nicht zufrieden ist, kann er ihm sein Haus verweigern. In diesem Falle pflegen die jungen Leute sich sogleich ein eigenes, zunächst kleines Häuschen zu bauen.

Die Hochzeit findet bei den Paez allgemein nicht sobald nach der Werbung statt, sondern erst nach einem Jahr oder später. Zunächst einmal beginnt eine Zeit der Probe, die aber durchaus ehelichen Charakter trägt. In dieser Zeit der «Probeehe» will man die hauswirtschaftlichen Fähigkeiten des Mädchens erproben, denn dieses bekommt in die Ehe keinerlei Mitgift von ihren Eltern oder sonstiges Eigentum mit, außer ihrer Kleidung. Da es soziale Gründe innerhalb der ungeschichteten Paez-Gemeinschaft für eine Brautwahl nicht gibt und ein Anreiz zur Heirat aus Gründen einer hohen Aussteuer oder wegen eines eventuellen geringen Braut-Preises wegfällt, gibt es auch keine Kinderverlobungen. Ein Mädchen hat als Braut und Ehefrau nur den Wert seiner Persönlichkeit und seiner persönlichen Fähigkeiten. Letzteres wiegt schwerer. Man verlangt von einer Frau, daß sie kochen und die Stoffe für die ganze Familie weben kann, daß sie nicht schwatzhaft ist, das Haus in Ordnung hält und vor allen Dingen, daß sie bei Nacht das Feuer unterhalten und morgens das Essen zeitig richten kann. Die Paez pflegen nämlich ihre erste Mahlzeit schon sehr früh, um fünf oder vier Uhr morgens einzunehmen; und schon eine Stunde vorher muß die Frau mit der Vorbereitung des Essens beginnen. Außerdem sind, wie wir gesehen haben, die Wände des Hauses nur aus nebeneinandergestellten Maisstengeln gebildet und geben kaum einen Schutz gegen die Kühle der Nacht ab. Man schläft deshalb um das Herdfeuer gelagert, und dieses muß alle zwei Stunden geschürt und mit Holz versorgt werden. Es ist dies Aufgabe der Frau, die deswegen nächst dem Feuer schläft. Sie kann praktisch ihr ganzes Leben lang keine Nacht durchschlafen.

Entspricht die Braut während des Probejahres nicht den Anforderungen des Mannes, kann sie entweder nicht kochen oder ist sie faul oder mag

sie morgens nicht gerne aufstehen, dann schickt er sie wieder zu ihrem Vater zurück. Da noch keine Hochzeitsfeier stattgefunden hat, führt das Zurückschicken des Mädchens zu keinerlei Verärgerung. Wohl aber, wenn aus der Probeehe Kinder hervorgegangen sind und der junge Mann es sich dann doch anders überlegt. In diesem Falle ist zwar an dessen Entschluß nichts zu ändern — er war ja offiziell noch nicht verheiratet —, er wird aber, da man eine solche Handlung verurteilt, vom Cabildo verprügelt. Danach kann er dann mit einem anderen Mädchen eine neue Probeehe beginnen. Die Kinder der vorherigen Probeehe (sie werden bei den Paez mit dem span. Wort «hijo natural» bezeichnet), bekommen den Namen der Mutter. Derartige «natürliche Kinder» gibt es nicht wenige. Die Mütter sind aber nicht verachtet oder deswegen schlecht angesehen und haben auch für eine spätere Ehe keineswegs schlechtere Aussichten. Die Kinder werden bei späterer Verheiratung der Mutter nicht adoptiert und behalten den Mutternamen bei. Man ist aber der Ansicht, daß derartige «natürliche Kinder» bald sterben. Sie sind nämlich nicht getauft, da der Pfarrer nur eheliche Kinder tauft oder für die Taufe eines unehelichen Kindes eine derart hohe Summe verlangt, daß sie die uneheliche Mutter nicht aufbringen kann.

Die eigentliche Hochzeitsfeier findet nach der Zeit der Probeehe statt. Heute ist mit dieser Hochzeitsfeier meist die vorausgehende kirchliche Trauung durch den katholischen Priester verbunden. Das Geld hierzu, wie zur Ausrichtung der Hochzeitsfeier, muß der junge Mann allein aufbringen. Dazu benötigt er viele Monate. Zuerst einmal muß er, neben den Kosten von zehn Pesos für die Trauung, das Geld für einen Ochsen beisammen haben, dann Chicha in genügender Menge vorbereiten, wozu etwa einen Monat lang Zuckerrohr gemahlen wird und auch noch für das übrige Essen sorgen. Vater oder Brüder helfen allgemein dabei nicht. Da die jungen Männer fast nie eigenes Rindvieh besitzen, müssen sie sich dessen Kaufpreis durch den Verkauf von landwirtschaftlichen Produkten verdienen. Man wählt dazu meist Weizen, da dieser schon ein halbes Jahr nach der Aussaat geerntet werden kann.

Zur Hochzeitsfeier werden etwa fünfzig Männer und Frauen eingeladen, nicht nur Verwandte, sondern auch Freunde, darunter die für die kirchliche Trauung nötigen Paten (padrino, madrina). Letztere sitzen bei dem Brautpaar (nikálo). Die beiderseitigen Eltern und Gäste verteilen sich zwanglos. Padrino und madrina müssen für diesen Hochzeitstag dem Bräutigam und der Braut neue Kleider schenken oder leihen, die sich in ihrer Art aber von der gewöhnlichen Alltagskleidung nur dadurch unterscheiden, daß sie neuer und sauberer ist. Irgendwelcher besonderer

Schmuck wird von niemandem angelegt. Die Hochzeit wird so begangen, daß morgens die kirchliche Trauung stattfindet, wonach die Gäste mit Musik zum Hochzeitshaus ziehen und ein kleines Mittagsmahl einnehmen, zu welchem aber nur wenig Chicha getrunken wird. Der Festochse wird an diesem Tage noch nicht geschlachtet, sondern erst zur «eigentlichen» (wie die Calderuner sagen) Hochzeitsfeier, die etwa einen Monat später im Hause des Bräutigams stattfindet. Der Ochse wird am Morgen geschlachtet, und am Nachmittag treffen die Gäste ein, setzen sich zwanglos zusammen und essen und trinken reichlich Chicha und Branntwein. Dazu spielt die Musik, zu der aber nicht getanzt wird. Vor Beginn des Essens, wenn alle noch nüchtern sind, hält der padrino eine Ansprache an die Brautleute, in der er etwa folgendes sagt: Ihr seid nun Mann und Frau, und du, als der Mann, sollst deine Frau nicht schlagen, und du, als Frau, sollst gegenüber deinem Mann keine schlechten Worte gebrauchen. Auch der Mann soll nicht schlecht über seine Frau sprechen, und die Frau soll gehorchen, wenn der Mann ihr etwas befiehlt und soll ihm in allen Dingen helfen! Danach nimmt er die Hand der Braut und reicht sie der Mutter des Bräutigams, die zu der Braut folgendermaßen spricht: Du bist jetzt in unsere Familie aufgenommen und hast für deinen Mann zu arbeiten und für ihn das Essen zu kochen und die Kleidung anzufertigen und alles für ihn zu regeln, außerdem mußt du mir im Hause helfen und meine Aufträge ausführen, sowie die meines Mannes, und du hast weder deinem Mann noch uns schlechte Worte zu sagen!

Die Hochzeitsfeier bemüht man sich, so glänzend wie möglich auszustatten, das heißt, die Gäste solange wie möglich reichlich zu bewirten. Bei manchen Familien erstreckt sich die Feier auf über eine Woche. Getanzt wird in Calderas nicht, wohl aber in anderen Paez-Ortschaften, wobei kolumbianische Volkstänze, meistens der offene Bambuco, getanzt werden.

Die Auflösung der Ehe durch Scheidung soll auch bei den nichtchristlichen Paez nicht vorkommen. Auch ein Getrenntleben von Eheleuten gibt es nicht, da Mann und Frau aus wirtschaftlichen Gründen aufeinander angewiesen sind. Allerdings kommt es — wie oben berichtet — nicht selten vor, daß verheiratete Männer außerhalb ihrer Ehe mit anderen unverheirateten Mädchen Kinder haben.

Bei Tod eines Ehepartners kann sich der überlebende Ehegatte wieder verheiraten. Er darf aber, während er für die erste Ehe nur Partner gleichen Namens nicht heiraten kann, in der zweiten Ehe auch keinen Partner heiraten, der den Namen des bzw. der Verstorbenen trägt. Es darf also beispielsweise Juán Piñakué, der in erster Ehe mit Ascensiona Kiskué verheiratet war, sich kein zweites Mal mit einer Kiskué verheiraten.

Witwer bleiben in ihren Häusern wohnen und heiraten, falls die Kinder noch nicht erwachsen sind, meist ein zweites Mal; sonst leben sie mit im Hause eines ihrer erwachsenen Söhne. Witwen werden, sofern sie älter sind, meist nicht mehr geheiratet. Sie gehen mit ihren Kindern dorthin zurück, wo sie hergekommen sind, also in das Haus ihrer Eltern. Leben diese nicht mehr, so haben sie Anrecht, zunächst im Hause desjenigen Bruders zu wohnen, welcher zur Zeit im Hause des verstorbenen Vaters wohnt. Falls dies nicht mehr bestehen sollte, so lebt die Witwe bei irgendeinem ihrer Brüder oder bei einem sonstigen Verwandten. Alleine als Frau kann sie jedenfalls nicht in einem Hause leben, sondern immer nur in dem eines Mannes.

d) Tod

Nach dem Glauben der Paez tritt der Tod hauptsächlich durch das Wirken der bösen Schamanen (nyiç) oder der bösen Geister eč, tûs und gělyómp ein (vgl. «Religion»). Dazu gehört auch die nicht seltene Todesursache durch Schwindsucht. Die Todesursachen der Kinder sind hauptsächlich Keuchhusten, sowie Magen- und Darmbeschwerden, letzteres hervorgerufen durch die für die Kinder sehr unsachgemäße Ernährung. Selbstmord ist völlig unbekannt.

Der Tod eines Mitgliedes der Gemeinschaft wird durch Familienangehörige und Nachbarn von Mann zu Mann weitergegeben. Getrauert und geklagt wird öffentlich nicht; beim Tode kleiner Kinder gebärdet man sich, als ob man sich freut, da diese nun ein «Engelchen» seien. (Bei den Kolonisten, wie auch bei den Paez wird das spanische Wort «angelito» benutzt). Früher pflegte man bei Todesfall das Haus zu verlassen und den Toten mit Lebensmitteln darin zurückzulassen (Castillo i Orosco, p. IX).

Die Bestattungsart ist für Männer, Frauen und Kinder gleich; soziale Unterschiede bestehen nicht. Jedoch weichen einige Gebräuche in anderen Paez-Gemeinschaften von denen der Calderuner ab. Es sei deshalb zunächst die Totenbestattung in Calderas beschrieben.

Dem Toten wird zur Bestattung möglichst gekaufte, d. h. «weiße» Kleidung angezogen, selbst wenn er der Allerärmste gewesen wäre und er eine solche Kleidung noch niemals getragen hätte. Den Angehörigen erwachsen aus diesem Grunde beträchtliche Kosten, die oft erst nach einer längeren Zeit beglichen werden können. Die Bestattung findet am folgenden Tag nach dem Todesfall statt. Dem Verstorbenen werden nur die Füße gewaschen. Diese Arbeit, wie auch die der Totenbekleidung, kann von Angehörigen oder auch von Fremden vorgenommen werden; es müssen

allerdings immer Männer sein, auch bei weiblichen Verstorbenen. Der Leichnam wird von zwei Männern auf einer aus zwei Baumstämmen gebildeten Bahre zum neben der Kirche gelegenen Friedhof gebracht, wo zwei weitere Männer, meist Angehörige, schon das Grab gegraben haben. Dies ist trapezförmig, in Höhe des Kopfes gut schulterbreit und an der Fußseite schmaler. Seine Länge ist auf die Größe des Verstorbenen abgestimmt. Die Richtung des Grabes ist absolut willkürlich. Es wird etwa 1.50 m ausgehoben und an seiner Sohle mit einer seitlichen Längsnische von etwa 40 cm Höhe versehen. Diese Nische wird allgemein an der linken Seite ausgehöhlt, manchmal aber auch rechts. Der Leichnam wird dort, ohne Bahre und ohne Beigaben, waagerecht und auf dem Rücken liegend hineingelegt, so daß er nicht mehr in den Schacht des Grabes hineinreicht. Schacht und Nische werden zudem noch durch senkrecht nebeneinander gestellte Pfähle und Stäbe abgetrennt, so daß der Verstorbene von der Erdfüllung des Grabes nicht berührt werden kann. Auf diese wird zur Kenntlichmachung an Kopf- oder Fußende ein etwa 1 m hoher Stein gelegt.

Der Pfarrer ist bei einer Beerdigung nicht anwesend, auch der für den Wohnbereich des Verstorbenen zuständige Schamane nicht. Letzterer betritt auch kein Haus, in dem sich ein Toter befindet. Die Teilnehmer des Leichenzuges, Männer, Frauen und Kinder, gehen gemeinsam zum Friedhof und dann wieder zurück in das Haus des Verstorbenen, wo jetzt eine große Bewirtung mit Essen, Chicha und Branntwein erfolgt. Letzterem wurde auch schon vorher, auf dem Wege zum und vom Bestattungsplatz, zugesprochen. Die Stimmung ist die ganze Zeit über lustig und angeregt, man lacht und macht Witze. Bevor die Teilnehmer bei Rückkehr von der Bestattung das Haus betreten, müssen sie zum Fluß, wo der Schamane sie erwartet, um sie das erste Mal von der «Pest» des Toten zu «reinigen» (vgl. «Religion»). Dann geht man gemeinsam zum Hause des Verstorbenen, das man aber noch nicht betreten darf, ehe der Schamane auch dieses mit den gleichen Mitteln gereinigt hat, mit denen er die Menschen von der «Pest» befreite. Es sind dies Wasser, dem Spezialkräuter und Kuhexkremente zugesetzt sind, das überall hingespritzt wird, sowie Branntwein, der mit Kräutern vermischt, vom Schamanen überall hingeprustet wird.

In Togoima konnten wir an der Bestattung von zwei kleinen Kindern (angelitos) teilnehmen. Die Gräber des Friedhofes dieses Ortes haben sämtlich Ost-West-Richtung. Die Nische ist immer links, der Tote liegt in Rückenlage, mit dem Kopf nach Westen. Die Größe des benötigten Grabes wird mit einem Bambusstab gemessen, der die Länge des Verstorbenen hat. Vor der Beerdigung wird im Hause getrunken, musiziert und

getanzt. Die Musik spielt auch bei der Bestattung und auf dem Wege zum Friedhof.

In dieser Hinsicht unterscheidet sich Calderas von allen anderen mir bekannten Indio- oder Kolonisten-Orten, denn dort wird in keinem Sterbefall musiziert oder getanzt. Beides geschieht beim Tode eines «angelito» aber nicht nur bei den in der Nähe der Kolonisten wohnenden Paez, sondern vor allen Dingen bei den weißen und gemischtfarbenen Kolonisten. So kamen am 1. Januar 1953, bald nach unserer Ankunft im archäologischen Park in San Andrés, zwei kleine Mädchen der Nachbarschaft zu uns und baten, ich möchte doch das «Engelchen» fotografieren. Ich war zunächst ärgerlich, denn kurze Zeit vorher war eine Gruppe von Kindern gekommen, die auf einem blumengeschmückten Tablett eine Puppe von Haus zu Haus trug und sie auch uns als Jesuskind vorstellte, welches Spenden für die am 6. Januar stattfindende Messe sammelte. Die Mädchen sagten mir aber, daß es sich bei dem Engelchen um das verstorbene, zwei Monate alte Kolonistenkind des Nachbarhauses handelte, welches die Mutter schon schön gewaschen und geschmückt hätte. Das Haus lag zwanzig Meter von dem unsrigen entfernt, und schon vor unserer Haustür hörte man die lustige Musik aus dem Nachbarhause, wie wir sie in gleicher Art schon Weihnachten und zur Sylvesterfeier gehört hatten. Im Hause war eine ganze Anzahl von Nachbarn und Verwandten in dem gleichen Raum versammelt, in dem auch das Kind aufgebahrt war. Man lachte, trank, sang und tanzte. Die Kapelle bestand — wie immer — aus einer Guitarre, einer Mandola und Rumbakugeln und wurde von den üblichen Musikanten ausgeführt. Einer von ihnen war der Vater des toten Kindes, ein zweiter dessen Onkel. Verwundert über dieses Treiben, fragte ich die Mutter, ob sie denn nicht etwas traurig wäre über den Verlust ihres Kindes. Sie gab dies zwar zu, sagte aber gleichzeitig, daß ihr Kind jetzt schon ein Engelchen sei, und dies wäre ein Grund zur Freude und zum Tanzen. Ich fragte, bis zu welchem Lebensalter man gestorbene Kinder als «Engelchen» bezeichnet. Man antwortete mir, daß sie, wenn sie noch nicht zwei oder drei Jahre alt wären, Engelchen «sind» und nicht nur so genannt würden. Das kleine Kind, von dem man auch immer nur als von dem Engelchen sprach, lag im Zimmer auf einem Tisch aufgebahrt, um es herum lagen Blumen, an seinem Kopfende stand ein Marienbild, davor vier Kerzen. Die Leute waren von Sylvester her noch nicht ganz nüchtern, und schon wieder kreiste die unvermeidliche Schnapsflasche. Am nächsten Tage fand die Bestattung durch die Verwandten statt. Das Kind war in einen Sarg gelegt worden, der von außen mit Sternen bemalt war. Die weiblichen Anverwandten hatten einen sogenannten «Baldachin» herge-

stellt, eine 2 m hohe Stange, an deren Spitze ein weißer, mit Blumen geschmückter Reif befestigt war, von dem elf bunte Papierbänder herabhingen, deren je eines jeder Teilnehmer trug. Auch ich wurde gebeten, eines zu nehmen, und dann ging es — ohne die Mutter des verstorbenen Kindes — mit Musik zum Friedhof, wo der kleine Sarg noch einmal geöffnet und dann formlos in die Erde gesenkt wurde.

Auch bei den Paez Togoimas wird beim Tode eines Kindes getrunken, getanzt und gesungen, und auch hier nimmt die Mutter an der Beerdigung auf dem Friedhof nicht teil. Die Leiche wird von einer Frau — meist der Patin — in einem kleinen Tragstuhl aus Bambus bei Musikbegleitung von Trommel, Pauke und Flöten zum Bestattungsplatz getragen, wo einige Männer das Grab mit der Seitennische schon ausgeschachtet hatten (Abb. 204 und 207). Das verstorbene Kind hat einige Blumen im Mund. Es wird in ein Tuch gewickelt und in Rückenlage, zusammen mit einem Blumenstrauß, in die Nische gelegt, welche durch die senkrecht nebeneinandergestellten Stäbe des Tragstuhles vom Schacht abgetrennt wurde. Die in die Grube geworfene Erde wird mit Pfählen sehr fest gestampft.

In Calderas geht die Mutter eines zu bestattenden «Engelchens» auch nicht mit auf den Friedhof. Der kleine Leichnam wird von der Patin, nicht in einem Tragstuhl, sondern nur in ein Tuch gehüllt, auf dem Arm getragen.

Die Bestattung der christlichen Indios von San Andrés zeigt in der Form des Grabes Übergänge vom Paez-Nischengrab zur einfachen, rechteckigen Grube der übrigen Christen. Wir nahmen teil an der Bestattung des Capitan, der von seinem betrunkenen Sohn im Streit erstochen worden war. Die Grabrichtung auf dem Friedhof in San Andrés ist immer Ost-West; der Kopf liegt auf der westlichen, im Gelände ansteigenden Seite. Statt einer seitlichen Nische wird am Grunde des Schachtes eine etwa 50 cm tiefe, trapezförmige Eintiefung gegraben, die waagerecht von dicht nebeneinander gelegtem Bambus so bedeckt wird, daß keine Erde herunterfallen kann und der Leichnam praktisch genau so von der darüberliegenden Erde geschützt ist, wie wenn er in einer seitlichen Nische liegen würde (Abb. 206). Man bestätigte mir ausdrücklich, daß man diese Grabform erst seit etwa zwanzig Jahren anwende, und daß man früher regelrechte Nischengräber erstellt hätte. Der Übergangscharakter dieser überdeckten Grube, aus dem Schachtgrab mit Seitennische, wird dadurch noch deutlicher, daß an der Kopfseite der Grube noch eine etwa 30 cm tiefe Nische eingegraben wurde, in die der Capitan ein Stück hineingelegt wurde, «damit wenigstens der Kopf in einer Nische liege».

Der in kolumbianische Kleidung gehüllte Leichnam wurde auf den Schultern zweier Männer auf einer Bahre herangetragen. Diese besteht aus zwei Stangen, welche durch kreuzweis in einem Abstand von 30 cm übereinander gebundene Querstäbe gehalten werden. Die Querstäbe sind paarweise, je oberhalb der einen und unterhalb der anderen Längsstange mit Lianen festgebunden (Abb. 205). Nach der Bestattung wurde die Bahre zerhackt und dann auf dem Friedhof liegen gelassen. Kurz vor dem Hinabsenken des Leichnams verabschieden sich die Familienangehörigen von ihm, indem sie niederknien und eine oder beide Hände vor sich von oben nach unten führen und dabei sagen: «Du gehst jetzt in den Himmel, und wir sehen uns nicht wieder; wir wünschen, daß es dir gut gehe!»

Nachdem der Leichnam hinabgesenkt und mit dem Kopf in die kleine Nische geschoben war, wurde die Bambusbedeckung sehr sorgfältig und dicht darüber gelegt. Dann packte man als Unterstes zunächst die Grasplaggen so lückenlos nebeneinander, wie sie auch auf der Erdoberfläche gelegen hatten. Sodann warfen Familienangehörige und Freunde mit der linken Hand soviele Hände voll Erde ins Grab, als der Betreffende Familienangehörige hat. Gemeinsam füllt man mit den Händen alle übrige Erde in die Grube. Für die Freunde des Verstorbenen ist dies eine Ehre; wer keine Freunde hat, dessen Familienangehörige müssen diese Arbeit selbst vornehmen. Sehr lange und gründlich wird jeweils nach einigen Händen voll Erde die Füllung der Grube mit Baumstämmen festgestampft. Es ist dies eine sehr lang andauernde und eingehende Beschäftigung, und man stampft umso länger, je beliebter der Verstorbene war. Im Falle der Bestattung des Capitan dauerte dies fast zwei Stunden. Durch das sehr feste Einstampfen der Erde hebt sich der Bestattungsplatz von dem umgebenden Gelände weder durch einen regelrechten Grabhügel, noch überhaupt durch eine kleine Erhöhung ab. Als Markierung dient ein Stein von 30-60 cm Größe, der entweder an das Kopf- oder das Fußende des Grabes gesetzt wird.

Während dem Toten keinerlei Beigaben in das Grab mitgegeben und auch keine Opfer verrichtet werden, geschieht dies im darauffolgenden Jahre am 8. Dezember, dem Fest der Inmaculada. An diesem Tag, und jedes Jahr wiederkehrend, opfern die Angehörigen den Geistern (áhimos) ihrer Verstorbenen, die man sich als Wind oder Schatten in ihrem ehemaligen Hause lebend denkt, deren Lieblingsspeisen: Fleisch, Yuca, Kartoffeln, Mais, Chicha, Branntwein, Koka o. a. Diese Gaben werden auf ein Bananenblatt auf dem Fußboden der Kirche niedergelegt, und dazu wird eine Kerze entzündet und daneben gestellt. Die kleinen Kinder bekommen keine Speisen, sondern Blumen als Gaben.

e) Tageslauf

Männer und Frauen verrichten die ihnen gemäßen Arbeiten. Die der Frauen sind am wenigsten abwechslungsreich, da das Essen täglich bereitet und Holz und Wasser zum Kochen bzw. zur Unterhaltung des nächtlichen Feuers regelmäßig herbeigeschafft werden muß. Die Arbeit der Frau ist zudem mehr an das Haus gebunden, während die Männer kürzere oder längere Pausen bei der Arbeit einlegen und dabei die Nachbarn besuchen, bei ihnen Zuckerrohr mahlen helfen und Chicha trinken. Stetigkeit ist ohnehin nicht die Stärke der Paez. Selten nur werden Arbeiten in einem ununterbrochenen Arbeitsgang erledigt, sondern fast immer stellten wir fest, daß die Männer am nächsten Tage mit etwas anderem beschäftigt waren, als am vorherigen. Freilich verlangt auch die Feldarbeit jeweils größere Pausen zwischen dem Roden, Trocknenlassen der umgeschlagenen Bäume, Verbrennen, Errichtung der Zäune aus dem übrig gebliebenen Holz und der Aussaat. Aber auch innerhalb jedes dieser Arbeitsgänge läßt man sich im allgemeinen Zeit. Wohl soll es Leute geben, die mehrere Wochen hindurch, bis zu einem Monat, ununterbrochen beim Roden eines Feldes arbeiten können; ich fand aber immer wieder, daß nach zwei bis vier Tagen Arbeit ein Ruhetag eingelegt wird. An einem Tag wird beispielsweise ein Stück des Feldes von Unkraut gereinigt, am nächsten wird die Zuckerrohrmühle ausgebessert, am übernächsten hilft man dem Nachbarn beim Hausbau oder Zuckerrohr mahlen, dann tut man tagelang gar nichts, weil man betrunken ist, und erst mehrere Tage später geht man dann wieder an das Unkrautjäten. Allerdings lassen sie sich bei einer einmal für den Tag vorgenommenen oder begonnenen Arbeit nicht unterbrechen. Mehrmals kam es vor, daß ich am Abend eine Familie besuchte, um mit ihr irgendetwas, für sie durchaus nichts Unangenehmes, für den nächsten Tag zu verabreden. Wenn diese sich aber schon etwas anderes vorgenommen hatte, mußte ich am übernächsten Tage wiederkommen. Auch auf dem Felde sind die Männer nicht oder nur sehr schwer abzulenken. Bei der Saat, dem Unkrautjäten, der Rodung oder einer anderen Arbeit auf dem Felde ließen sie sich nur während der Kokapausen zu einem Gespräch herbei, sonst konnte man sie bei diesen und ähnlichen Arbeiten, die bei sehr gleichmäßigem Arbeitstempo ausgeführt werden — vorausgesetzt, daß genügend Koka vorhanden ist —, kaum stören. Anders bei den Frauen. Diese lassen sich im Rahmen ihrer täglichen, ohnehin wenig verschiedenartigen häuslichen Arbeiten leicht ablenken. Sie sind es, die eigentlich am meisten innerhalb der Familie arbeiten, da sie, sobald sie verheiratet sind, keine Nacht ganz durchschlafen

können, sondern alle zwei Stunden das Feuer von neuem schüren müssen. Morgens stehen sie zudem früher auf und abends können sie erst später schlafen gehen. Am Tage etwas zu ruhen, ist völlig unbekannt. Trotzdem sind sie mit ihrem Los zufrieden und arbeiten gerne, da ja alle Frauen in der gleichen Art arbeiten und man es seit Generationen nicht anders kennt. Natürlich gibt es Arbeiten, die gerne getan werden und andere, die man weniger gerne tut. Ausschlaggebend scheint das Ziel der notwendigen Betätigung zu sein, denn alle für die Ernährung notwendigen Arbeiten werden gerne getan. So arbeiten die Männer beispielsweise gerne auf dem Feld, «da es für die Nahrung ist», pflanzen gerne Zuckerrohr oder bauen eine Zuckerrohrmühle, «da es zu trinken gibt»; und auch die Frauen schleppen gerne Feuerholz herbei, «da es für das Essen ist». Zu den ausgesprochen unangenehmen Arbeiten gehört bei den Frauen das Wäschewaschen, bei den Männern der Brückenbau. In diesen skizzierten Beispielen scheinen die Geschmäcker aller Paez gleich zu sein.

Während die Männer meist Strohhüte flechten, wenn sie nichts anderes zu tun haben, sind die Frauen mit dem Spinnen, der Herstellung der Kokataschen oder der Fasertaschen beschäftigt. Aber auch dabei wird nicht stetig gearbeitet, in dem Sinne etwa, daß man beispielsweise erst eine Tasche zuende arbeitet oder alle Vorbereitungen zum Weben eines Kleidungsstückes von vornherein trifft, sondern man arbeitet immer einmal ein wenig an jedem Arbeitsstück. Es wird also z. B. erst ein wenig gesponnen, dann Holz geholt, dann an einer Kokatasche gearbeitet und dann setzt man sich vielleicht ein Stündchen an den Webrahmen, um einige Zentimeter am Tragband der Fasertaschen weiter zu weben, sofern gerade Fasermaterial zur Hand ist. Man bereitet nämlich diese Flecht- und Webarbeiten nicht auf lange Sicht vor, sondern besorgt sich Wolle, spinnt sie, webt ein Stückchen weiter und läßt die Arbeit dann wieder eine oder mehrere Wochen hindurch ruhen. Trotzdem kennen die Frauen keine Perioden ausgesprochenen Müßigganges, wie die Männer. Dieses Nichtstun wird bei den Paez mit dem Wort spanischer Herkunft pasnyándo (paseando) bezeichnet. Man darf allerdings das Nichtstun auch nicht übertreiben, d. h. nicht länger als etwa zwei Wochen hintereinander «spazierengehen», denn sonst wird man als «alko» (Hund) bezeichnet, der von Haus zu Haus läuft, überall herumschnuppert und sich von anderen Leuten sein Fressen erbettelt. Es wird dies durch das ungeschriebene Gesetz der Paez begünstigt, einem Hungernden, ganz gleich, wo es sei, zu Essen zu geben, bis er satt ist. Dies wird sehr streng genommen, nicht nur, wenn Erwachsene die Bittsteller sind, sondern auch bei kleinen Kindern, eingedenk eines Vorkommens in der Urzeit, als Chauté eine Anzahl von

Menschen in Steine verwandelte, weil sie einem bittenden kleinen Kinde von ihrem Überfluß nichts zu essen gegeben hatten (vgl. Mythen). Wenn also irgendjemand «pasnyándo» in ein Haus tritt, erhält er zu essen. Besonders jüngere, unverheiratete Leute nutzen dies aus und arbeiten teilweise überhaupt nicht, sondern sie gehen alle Tage in ein anderes Haus. Sie erkundigen sich, wo gerade Zuckerrohr gemahlen wird, helfen dort, bekommen Chicha zu trinken und zu essen und gehen am nächsten Tage woanders hin. So gibt es einige Männer, die weder Haus noch Feld haben, aber doch ganz gut leben. Die Dorfbewohner kennen diese «Spaziergänger» zwar, sagen auch, daß sie Faulpelze seien, die nicht arbeiten; wenn sie dann aber zur Essenszeit kommen, erhalten sie doch ihr Essen und werden meist gerne dabehalten, da sie gut und lustig zu erzählen wissen, überall herumkommen und immer Neuigkeiten mitzuteilen haben. Wenn ein Mann verheiratet ist und Frau und Kinder hat, muß er natürlich sein eigenes Feld bebauen, um seine Familie ernähren zu können. Es gibt jedoch in Calderas auch einen verheirateten «Spaziergänger», der weder ein eigenes Haus noch ein eigenes Feld hat. Er lebt im Hause eines gutmütigen Mannes, dem er auf dem Felde und im Hause hilft. Es wird dies aber als Ausnahme angesehen.

Ein Dank für Gefälligkeiten oder erwiesene Wohltaten, die nach Auffassung der Paez selbstverständlich sind, ist ursprünglich nicht üblich gewesen. Heute bedankt man sich allerdings oft mit einem Dankwort spanischer Herkunft «slopage» (Dios se lo pague), ohne dabei aber das Gefühl einer Dankesschuld, wie gegenüber einem Begüterten oder Höherstehenden zu haben. Es gibt ja innerhalb der Paez-Gemeinschaften keine soziologisch fundierte Obrigkeit, desgleichen fehlt jede Art von Chef oder Brotgeber einer Anzahl von Leuten, die von diesem abhängig und ihm Gehorsam schuldig wären. Man ist deswegen gar nicht gezwungen, irgendjemandem zu gehorchen, den man nicht mag oder etwas zu tun, was man nicht möchte. Dementsprechend fehlt auch dem Ortsfremden und sogar dem Pfarrer gegenüber jeder Respekt, denn wenn die Calderuner sich in ihrem Dorf, «in ihrer Erde» befinden, sieht jeder jeden als gleich an. Nicht zuletzt spricht da auch eine allgemeine Kenntnis der Bewohner untereinander, ihrer Stärken und Schwächen mit, die ein Verstellen, eine unechte, nur von einer Obrigkeit herangetragene Autorität unmöglich macht. Es ist dies ein Grund — vielleicht der Hauptgrund —, weswegen die Calderuner bewußt mit den «Blancos» und deren Autoritäten nichts zu tun haben mögen. Dies aus dem Bewußtsein eigener Inferiorität herleiten zu wollen, hieße den Charakter der Paez völlig verkennen. Ihr Fehlen sozialer Klassen und damit die Unmöglichkeit des Herabblickens auf

den anderen, erklärt die allgemeine Achtung untereinander, die jedem gleichmäßig entgegengebracht wird. Jeder billigt jedem das zu, was er auch für sich ganz selbstverständlich erwartet und beansprucht. Daraus resultiert ein ganz natürliches Selbstgefühl, dessen Verletzung der Paez seitens der «Blancos» als sehr schmerzlich empfindet.

Innerhalb der Paez-Gemeinschaften wird die Pflicht des Grußes (gwéčaya) eines Jüngeren gegenüber einem Älteren streng befolgt. Auch eine «Familienfeindschaft» entbindet die jüngeren Leute nicht von dem respektvollen Gruß «pɛ̨teṅga» (übersetzt mit: «guten Tag») gegenüber den älteren Leuten der anderen Familien, die mit «pɛ̨'taw» danken. Das Abnehmen des Hutes ist dabei nicht üblich. Eine Begrüßung durch Handschlag findet nur unter Familienangehörigen oder gegenüber dem Paten oder der Patin bei dem Gruß «ndyósta utsmṅga» (Pate, wie geht es?) statt, wobei auch der Hut abgenommen wird. Gleichaltrige grüßen sich mit «ɛ̨wča» (wie geht's) und antworten mit «ɛ̨wčataw» (es geht gut). Allgemein unterhält man sich beim Treffen ein wenig, leitet das Gespräch mit einem Witz, einer Neuigkeit im Dorfe ein oder auch nur mit einer Bemerkung über das Wetter.

Wenn der Paez im Grunde als ein Individualist angesehen werden kann, so trifft dies doch nicht generell zu. Wegen des reichlich zur Verfügung stehenden Landes hat er zwar die Möglichkeit, sich abzusondern und sich wochenlang auf sein Einzelgehöft zurückzuziehen, trotzdem trinkt der Paez seine Chicha nicht gerne allein. Und meist helfen Freunde und Nachbarn nicht nur beim Hausbau oder bei der Rodung, sondern auch bei Aussaat oder kleineren Arbeiten. Die Arbeitskraft des Einzelnen bei der gegenseitigen Hilfe ist jedoch nur geliehen, da man sich bei den entsprechenden Arbeiten des Nachbarn wieder zu gemeinsamer Hilfe trifft. Der jeweilige Besitzer muß zu jeder Arbeit auch noch freigiebig Chicha und das Essen zur Verfügung stellen, dadurch ist jede gemeinsame Arbeit ein kleines Fest. Der tatsächliche Nutzeffekt der Gemeinschaftsarbeit ist gering, und man hat als außenstehender Besucher den Eindruck, daß das gemeinsame Essen und Trinken das Primäre sei, unterbrochen von jeweils nur kurzen Perioden der Arbeit. Bei nüchterner Berechnung — die natürlich kein Paez anstellt — kommt der gemeinsame Konsum bei der Gemeinschaftsarbeit den einzelnen teurer zu stehen, als wenn jeder seine erzeugten Produkte für sich alleine, auf einen entsprechend längeren Zeitraum verteilt, für sich verzehren würde. Die Praxis der Gemeinschaftsarbeit und des damit verbundenen gemeinsamen Verzehrens von Essen und Trinken unterstreicht also nicht unbedingt die Notwendigkeit von abgelegenen Einzelgehöften gegenüber einer geschlosenen Dorfanlage.

Aus dem Gesagten über die gemeinsame Arbeit und den damit verbundenen gemeinsamen Konsum ergibt sich, daß bei dieser Methode von Produktion und Konsumtion praktisch niemand große Reichtümer erwerben kann, denn je mehr jemand hat, desto mehr braucht er für die Bewirtung der Helfer. Theoretisch jedoch wäre es leicht möglich, zu Reichtum zu kommen, indem sich beispielsweise ein junger Mann jedes Jahr zusätzlich ein Stück Land zum Anbau von Weizen oder Zuckerrohr rodete und dessen Ertrag für Geld verkaufte oder gegen Pferde oder Kühe eintauschte. Dies müßte er mehrere Jahre hindurch tun, und dann würde sich seine Herde von Kühen und Stuten und damit sein Reichtum von ganz alleine vermehren. Die dazu nötige effektive Arbeit wäre gering. Trotzdem ist dies praktisch nicht möglich; einerseits deswegen, weil die Masse der Paez nicht so weit rechnet und denkt, und andererseits, weil die genügend Intelligenten und Fleißigen dem gefährlichen Neid der übrigen Mitglieder der Gemeinschaft ausgesetzt wären. Die Demokratisierung der Paez-Gemeinschaften begünstigt nicht nur das Gemeinsame, sondern hindert auch die Absonderung von demjenigen, was allen gemeinsam ist — u. a. auch der gemeinsamen Armut.

Man trägt eventuellen Besitz deswegen auch nicht zur Schau. Bezeichnenderweise haben wir erst im Rahmen der Bestandsaufnahme des Viehes, bei Ende unserer Arbeit, erfahren, daß es auch in Calderas so etwas wie reiche Leute gibt. Zu bemerken war dies für den Außenstehenden nicht, da diese Familien sich weder durch Tracht noch durch Lebenshaltung von anderen abheben. Im übrigen gaben sie mir gegenüber ihren Besitz — es handelte sich bei je drei Familien um mehr als zehn Rinder — gar nicht zu. Ich erfuhr es erst mehr oder weniger zufällig durch andere Leute. Einen Grund für das Verschweigen ihres Reichtums konnte ich bei diesen Familien nicht sehen, da sie ja weder irgendwelche Verpflichtungen haben, noch Steuern oder Abgaben zahlen. Eine besondere soziologische Rolle innerhalb ihrer Gemeinschaft spielen sie ebenfalls nicht, denn sie werden weder häufiger noch seltener zu den Dorfämtern gewählt. Sie gelten ganz einfach schon «seit immer» für reich, wobei bemerkt sei, daß es in der Sprache der Paez ein Wort für «reich» oder «arm» gar nicht gibt. Das für «arm» gebrauchte Wort «póre» stammt aus dem Spanischen (povre), und das für «reich» gebrauchte Wort «čáčanas» heißt auch gleichzeitig «stark» im physischen Sinne. Doch trotz dieser offensichtlichen Unwichtigkeit des Reichtums achtet man eifersüchtig darauf, daß kein anderer fleißiger Mann einer armen Familie reich wird und seinen Reichtum möglicherweise — durch kolumbianische Kleidung o. ä. — zur Schau trägt. Die bösen Schamanen würden ihn verzaubern oder vergiften

und die Nachbarn ihm seine Felder verwüsten, indem sie dort ihr Vieh hineintreiben. Er würde von allen geschnitten werden, und in der Trunkenheit würde man mit ihm Streit anfangen, um ihn zu töten. So jedenfalls geschah und geschieht es unserem Dolmetscher Victoriano. Er stammt nicht aus einer reichen Familie, will sich aber durch Fleiß und Tüchtigkeit Geld und Vieh erwerben. Von dem bei den Weißen verdienten Geld hat er sich auch bereits Kleidung der Weißen gekauft, die er nun stolz zur Schau trägt, und an den Festen verkauft er Wachskerzen und Süßigkeiten. Seine Dorfgenossen hassen ihn deswegen. Mehrmals schon mußte ihn der Pfarrer vor den Macheten betrunkener Männer schützen, die mit ihm Streit begonnen hatten, und auch in unserer Gegenwart, wenn wir mit ihm die verschiedenen Häuser besuchten, wurde er gelegentlich von Betrunkenen recht grob angepöbelt. Nicht zuletzt deswegen, weil er nach Auffassung der Calderuner nicht arbeitet. Immer wieder bemühte ich mich, den Leuten zu erklären, daß auch sie mit mir «spazierengehen» und Geld verdienen könnten, sofern auch sie spanisch zu sprechen vermöchten. Da dies nicht der Fall war, blieb mir gar nichts weiter übrig, als nur immer mit Victoriano zu arbeiten. Es half alles nichts: Victoriano wurde immer unbeliebter, und auch ich wurde nur als Nichtstuer angesehen. Von einem Betrunkenen, der statt der einen erhaltenen Zigarette vergeblich ein ganzes Päckchen als Geschenk verlangte, wurde auch ich als ein «alko», als ein Hund geschimpft, der nur immer von Haus zu Haus gehe und nicht arbeite. Ich tat so, als verstünde ich die Worte nicht, machte aber die gleiche Beobachtung, wie auch bei anderen Gelegenheiten von Streitfällen unter Indios, daß nämlich zwei Streitende nicht durch das Dazwischentreten Dritter getrennt werden. Man betrachtet einen Streit vielmehr als eine Angelegenheit der Beteiligten und als interessante Abwechslung im eintönigen Dasein des Tages und beobachtet mit sichtlichem Interesse den Ausgang. Außer dem Eingeborenenwort «alko» haben die Paez interessanterweise kein Schimpfwort in ihrer eigenen Sprache. Das einzige, allerdings in großer Häufigkeit gebrauchte Schimpfwort, ist das spanische «carajo!»

f) Arbeitsteilung zwischen Männern und Frauen

Wie wir an oben Angeführtem gesehen haben, kann das Individuum innerhalb der Paezgemeinschaften auf sich alleine gestellt nicht existieren. Die Männerarbeit wird durch die Frauenarbeit ergänzt und umgekehrt. Beide, Männer und Frauen, sind innerhalb ihrer Daseinsfristung auf ein-

ander angewiesen und selbst zur Bestreitung der primitivsten Lebensbedürfnisse voneinander abhängig. Ein Mann braucht eine Frau, die ihm Kleidung webt, und eine Frau kann kein Feld roden, — um nur ein Beispiel anzuführen. Die traditionellen, auf die Geschlecher bezogenen Arbeiten seien hier noch einmal zusammengefaßt. Dabei sind schon Übergänge zu neueren Lebensformen bemerkbar, so wie sie von den umwohnenden Kolonisten übernommen worden sind.

	Männer	Frauen	Kinder
Roden eines Landstückes	x		
Saat von Mais, Kartoffeln, Yuca, Zuckerrohr, Koka, Weizen	x		
Saat von Kohl und Bohnen	x	x	
Saat von Kürbis und Gurken	x	x	
Jäten	x		
Ernte von Mais, Kartoffeln, Koka, Weizen	x	x	
Ernte von Yuca, Kohl, Bohnen, Kürbis		x	
Ernte von Zuckerrohr	x	(x)	
Jagd	x		
Fischfang am Wehr	x	x	
Einsammeln von wildem Honig	x	x	x
Zubereitung von Speisen		x	
Zubereitung von Chicha und Branntwein	x	x	
Hausbau	x		
Feuerschlagen mit Stahl und Stein	x		
Feuerholz holen		x	
Wasserholen		x	x
Lasten tragen auf Märschen	x	x	
Verfertigung von Waffen	x		
Verfertigung von geflochtenen Hüten	x		
Verfertigung von Hängematten	x		
Verfertigung von Seilen	x		
Verfertigung von Musikinstrumenten	x		
Verfertigung von Feuerwerkskörpern	x		
Verfertigung von Vogelnetzen	x		
Verfertigung von Kinderspielzeug			x
Verfertigung von Tongefäßen	x	x	
Verfertigung von Fasertaschen		x	
Verfertigung von Kokataschen		x	
Verfertigung von Wachskerzen	x	x	x

	Männer (gekauft)	Frauen (gekauft)	Kinder
Schmuck			
Weben Flechtweben		x	
Färben		x	
Waschen der Frauenkleidung und der gewebten Männerkleidung		x	
Waschen der selbstgenähten Männerhosen	x		
Ausbessern der gewebten Kleidung		x	
Ausbessern der Männerhosen	x		

g) *Feste und Feiern*

Die öffentlichen Gemeinschaftsfeste der Paez, welche im Laufe des Jahres gefeiert und abgehalten werden, finden heute nur zu religiösen Anlässen an den drei Kirchenfeiertagen Semana Santa (Osterwoche), San Juán (24. Juni) und Inmaculada (8. Dezember) statt. Für die Paez sind dies in erster Linie Anlässe zu freudiger Zusammenkunft, um Feuerwerkskörper abzubrennen, um reichlich und ausgiebig zu essen und zu trinken. Ob es früher irgendwelche eigenständigen Feste um Saat und Ernte und den natürlichen Jahreszyklus gegeben hat, ist nicht sicher, und es scheint mir dies nicht einmal wahrscheinlich. Aus den Mythen und erhaltenen eigenständigen Gebräuchen der Paez geht nichts einen ackerbaulichen Lebensrhythmus Auszeichnendes hervor, sondern Religion, Mythologie und zeremonielles Brauchtum sind Reste jägerischer und schamanischer Geisteshaltung. Verständlich wird das Fehlen des zeremoniellen Lebens um Saat und Ernte durch die Möglichkeit, diese zu jeder Jahreszeit vornehmen zu können; eine Übereinstimmung von Jahres- und Wachstumsrhythmus mit einem entsprechenden natürlichen Festzyklus ist nicht gegeben.

Die organisatorische Leitung der Gemeinschaftsfeste hat der jeweilige Gobernador. Die eigentliche Durchführung des Festes, wozu die Bewirtung des ganzen Dorfes und die dazu nötige Gestellung von Essen und Trinken gehört, obliegt den zwei «Fiesteros» und ihren Gehilfen, den «Albaceros» und «Mayordomos». Fiestero zu sein ist eine Ehre, aber auch eine kostspielige Angelegenheit, denn dieses Amt kostet jeden zwei Rinder, die Verpflegung des Dorfes am Festtag und zudem die reichlich auszuteilende Chicha und den Branntwein. Und zwar nicht nur die Chicha, die am Festtage vom Dorf getrunken wird, sondern auch schon diejenige, die die Gehilfen bei der Chichaherstellung vor dem Fest trinken. Selbst wenn ein Fiestero sich schon vor dem Fest monatelang bei den Weißen

verdingt, um Geld zu verdienen, so ist er durch die sich aus dem Fest ergebenden Verbindlichkeiten oft auf Jahre hinaus verschuldet. Trotz der Kostspieligkeit dieses Amtes melden sich die Fiesteros — so wurde mir versichert — immer freiwillig. Gezwungen werden kann ohnehin niemand. Es ist dies aber auch nicht nötig, da immer mehr Anwärter für dieses Amt vorhanden sind als gebraucht werden. Wegen der sehr hohen Kosten kann aber niemand öfter, als insgesamt dreimal Fiestero sein. Diese Zahl ist nicht die absolute Höchstzahl, sondern stellt das sich aus den Vermögensverhältnissen der Paez ergebende normale Maximum dar. Albacero jedoch kann man öfter sein — bis zu zehnmal, wurde mir gesagt —, da dieser zur Bewirtung des Dorfes kein Rind, sondern nur ein Schwein für das Essen am Vorabend des Festes stiftet und die Kosten des Festzubehörs außerhalb der Verpflegung trägt (Schmückung der Kirche, Kerzen, Feuerwerkskörper und die «verrückte Kuh»). Die Mayordomos beteiligen sich nur mit Geldspenden an der Bezahlung des Pfarrers.

Fiestero und Albacero selbst arbeiten nicht, sondern warten nur den Gästen auf. Für die Zubereitung der Speisen haben sie ihre Gehilfen, Männer und Frauen, die freiwillig helfen und am Ende des Festes noch besonders bewirtet werden. Vor allen Dingen das Herbeitragen des Zukkerrohres von den Feldern für die großen Mengen der zu bereitenden Chicha ist eine harte Arbeit, will doch jeder Fiestero die meiste Chicha bereiten, da ein Fest nur dann schön ist, wenn man sich recht lange betrinken kann.

Am Hauptfeiertag der drei im wesentlichen gleichartig gestalteten Jahresfeste beginnen die Frauen im Festhause schon sehr früh mit der Vorbereitung des Festessens. Die Männer finden sich ebenfalls ein, es wird der Chicha kräftig zugesprochen, und die Musikanten spielen bereits vom frühen Morgen an. Nicht mehr ganz nüchtern versammelt man sich zur Messe, die begleitet wird vom Abbrennen der Feuerwerkskörper derer, die vor der Kirchentür geblieben sind. Danach folgt, angeführt von der unaufhörlich spielenden Musik, eine Prozession, ein Umzug um die Kirche mit dem mit Blumen geschmückten Bild des Herrn und denen der Heiligen.

Am Nachmittag ziehen die Fiesteros mit dem Cabildo und einer großen Anzahl Schaulustiger zur Kirche, um dem Pfarrer ein Geschenk an Lebensmitteln, Fleisch, Bananen, Gemüse und Eiern als Dank für die abgehaltene Messe zu überreichen. Danach gehen die beiden Fiesteros mit ihren Albaceros und der Musik durch das Dorf und treffen sich zu einer zeremoniellen Begrüßung vor dem Festhaus. Sie tauschen Branntwein, Chicha und Kerzen aus, wobei jeder dem anderen genau das gleiche gibt,

was er selbst auch empfängt. Nachdem sie sich gegenseitig genügend komplimentiert haben, wenden sie sich an die Umstehenden, halten eine kurze Ansprache, daß sich alle freuen sollen und verteilen alles an die Umstehenden. Bald danach versammeln sich alle auf dem Platz vor der Kirche, wo jetzt die «Vacaloca» angezündet wird. Diese «verrückte Kuh» besteht aus einer Anzahl halbrund gebogener und auf der Unterseite durch Querstäbe zusammengehaltener biegsamer Gerten, die hintereinander befestigt werden, wodurch das Gebilde die Form eines halben Zylinders erhält. Dieser wird mit einem Kuhfell bedeckt und bildet den Rumpf der verrückten Kuh. An dem einen Ende wird ein mit Bast und Zeitungspapier modellierter, möglichst echt wirkender Rinderschädel befestigt und am anderen Ende ein mit Agavefaser umwickelter Stab als Schwanz. Ein kräftiger junger Mann nimmt das Gestell der Kuh auf seine Schultern und dann wird es an den eigens dazu präparierten Stellen an Hörnern und Schwanz angezündet. Während die Musik spielt, läuft der junge Mann im Zickzack über den Platz, wobei sich die Jugend bemüht, die Kuh zu necken, während diese umgekehrt versucht, die Vorwitzigen auf die Hörner zu nehmen. Die Bedeutung dieses Spiels ist den Paez nicht klar. Es hat den Anschein, als handelte es sich um die nicht verstandene Nachahmung eines volkstümlichen Stierkampfes.

Alles geht nun zurück in die Festhäuser, wo die Musikanten auf einer Bank an der Schmalseite des Festhauses Platz genommen haben. Die Frauen hocken in einer großen Gruppe mit ihren Kindern in einer Ecke. Und dann beginnt die Bewirtung, bei welcher jeder, Männer, Frauen und Kinder, soviel essen und trinken kann, wie er vermag, mit Ausnahme allerdings der Fiesteros, die das alleinige Recht des Ausschankes von Chicha und Branntwein haben und sich selbst nicht betrinken, um ihr Amt gut ausüben zu können. Die Festgäste gehen für die Dauer des Festes nicht nach Hause, sondern essen, trinken und schlafen in den Festhäusern, lang hingestreckt auf dem Boden, wo sie sich gerade befinden. Mit mehr oder weniger Intensität — was das Essen und Trinken anbelangt — wird das Fest die ganze Woche hindurch fortgesetzt; arbeiten tut jedenfalls niemand, sondern zieht allenfalls «pasnyándo» von Haus zu Haus.

4. RECHT

Wenn auch das Rechtsleben der Paez, wegen seiner Verwobenheit mit allen Lebensäußerungen, nicht mit einer entwickelten Jurisprudenz zu vergleichen ist, so besitzen sie doch feste, ihren Lebensbedürfnissen ange-

paßte Ordnungen, deren Erhaltung von der gesamten Gemeinschaft gewährleistet wird. Zu diesen Rechtsordnungen gehören die bereits beschriebene politische und Familienorganisation, sowie die Sitten im Lebens- und Tageslauf. Im folgenden seien die Ordnungen des Eigentums, des Erbes und die Auffassungen der Paez über strafbare Handlungen und Strafen beschrieben.

Es gibt in Calderas Gemeindeland und Privatland. Ersteres sind die Ebenen der Flußniederung mit dem Gelände von Kirche, Schule, Gemeindehaus und den Festhäusern, während die Bergabhänge Privatbesitz derjenigen Familien sind, die sie zum ersten Male gerodet haben. An dem Gemeindeland, das im wesentlichen aus Weideland besteht, kann grundsätzlich jeder teilhaben. Hier lassen die Familien ihr Vieh weiden, bauen sich ihre Festhäuser und können sich auch an jeder beliebigen Stelle ein Stück Land abstecken und Wohnhäuser bauen. Letzteres war früher nicht üblich, da man sein eigenes Haus nur auf eigenem Grund und Boden erbaute. Heute wohnen bereits drei Familien, die des Cerbeleón Guagáz, des Clemente Lis und des Agustín Muse, auf Gemeindeland, nahe bei der Kirche und der Schule. Sie haben sich dort ihr Haus erbaut und ein Stück Land abgesteckt, auf welchem sie Gemüse und etwas Zuckerrohr anbauen. Man braucht hierzu niemanden um Erlaubnis zu fragen. Anders ist es bei dem Privatbesitz an den Berghängen. Zwar erbaut niemand sein Haus auf einem Stück Land, das ihm nicht gehört; es kommt aber vor, daß das eigene Land sehr weit abgelegen ist, und da bittet man dann wohl den Besitzer eines in der Nähe liegenden Landstückes um die Erlaubnis («licencia»; span. «behördliche Erlaubnis») zur Anlage eines Feldes für eine Ernte. Oft pflegt dies nicht der Fall zu sein, denn es ist allgemein in jeder Familie genügend Grund und Boden vorhanden. Es haben aber einige Familien erheblich größere Stücke Land als andere, so beispielsweise die Familie Guagáz, die nach meinen Informationen fast die Hälfte allen Privat-Grund und -Bodens besitzt. Die Erlaubnis zur Bodenbenutzung wird nur für Früchte mit kurzer Reifezeit erteilt, also für Weizen, Mais, Bohnen, Kohl, nicht aber für Zuckerrohr, Koka oder Bananen, die mehrere Jahre zur Reife brauchen bzw. jahrelang genutzt werden können. Als Pachtzins erhält der Besitzer einen kleinen Teil der Ernte, die auf dem Halm stehen gelassen wird und die dieser selbst abernten muß.

Grund und Boden kann grundsätzlich nicht verkauft werden, so wurde uns immer wieder gesagt, denn jeder Mann müsse sein Land für seine Söhne hinterlassen. Auch wenn ein Mann keine Söhne hat, darf er sein Land nicht verkaufen, sondern muß es seinen Brüdern übergeben. So lauteten alle Informationen auf meine direkten, diesbezüglichen Fragen.

Praktisch ist es jedoch durchaus möglich, Land zu verkaufen, und es wird dies auch nicht selten getan, nur sieht niemand ein, daß es sich tatsächlich um einen Landverkauf handelt, wenn ein Mann sich ein Stück Land rodet, es bebaut und die gesamte Ernte, einschließlich des Grund und Bodens, gegen ein Rind, ein Pferd o. ä. vertauscht. So machte es beispielsweise auch Victoriano, um ein Pferd zu erwerben. Er rodete und bepflanzte ein Landstück seines Vaters von etwa 2500 Quadratmeter mit Zuckerrohr, und als dies reif war, vertauschte er die Ernte, einschließlich des Landes, gegen eine Stute. Daß damit der Grundsatz, keinen Grund und Boden zu verkaufen, durchbrochen war, wollte niemand einsehen.

Das Land gehört dem Familienvater, der es in der Regel mit seinen erwachsenen Söhnen bewirtschaftet. Wenn die Söhne ihre eigenen Häuser haben, arbeiten sie im allgemeinen weiter mit dem Vater zusammen, da niemand gerne alleine arbeitet. Zur Ernte holen sich die betreffenden Ehefrauen die für ihre Familie benötigte Nahrung vom gemeinsamen Feld. Leben Vater und Sohn nicht in Eintracht, so muß der Sohn sein eigenes Feld mit eigener Ernte anlegen, wozu er sich dann zur Hilfe Freunde nehmen muß. Ihre Bewirtung ist bedeutend teurer, als die Familienhilfe, weil hier die Chicha zur Bewirtung fehlen darf. Aber auch in diesem Falle muß der Sohn den Vater und Besitzer des Familienlandes um Erlaubnis zur Landbebauung bitten. Diese wird allerdings nicht verweigert. Nach der Ernte fällt dieses Landstück, da es ja jetzt etwa zehn Jahre lang brach liegen bleibt, wieder an den Vater zurück, und der Sohn muß im nächsten Jahr den Vater für die Benutzung eines anderen Landstückes erneut um Erlaubnis bitten.

Neben dem Land gehört auch das Wohnhaus, das Menstruationshaus, sämtliche Tiere — einschließlich Hühner und Meerschweinchen —, alles Ackergerät und die Zuckerrohrmühle dem Familienvater. Eigentumsmarken an den Häusern, Feldern und Geräten sind nicht erforderlich, da jeder weiß, wem sie gehören.

Beim Tode des Familienvaters erbt dessen Haus und den Hauptanteil des Viehes der jüngste Sohn. Falls beispielsweise nur eine Kuh vorhanden ist, bekommt er sie. Desgleichen bekommt er alles derzeit bebaute Land. Das unbebaute wird gleichmäßig unter alle Söhne verteilt. Die Witwe, wie auch die Töchter, erben nichts. Erstere lebt dann in ihrem alten Hause weiter in der Familie des jüngsten Sohnes. Daß dieser bei der Verteilung des Erbes so bedeutend besser wegkommt, als die älteren, wird damit erklärt, daß die älteren schon längere Jahre gearbeitet und damit mehr Zeit und Gelegenheit hatten, zu eigenem Besitz zu gelangen. Die Bevorzugung des Jüngsten stelle damit nur einen gewissen Ausgleich dar. Stirbt der Va-

ter jung und hinterläßt er nur einen kleinen Sohn, so verwaltet seine Mutter für ihn den Besitz, bis er etwa 15 Jahre alt ist. Er braucht dann aber noch nicht zu heiraten. Sind mehrere jüngere Söhne vorhanden, so wohnen sie natürlich auch gemeinsam weiterhin im Hause des Vaters.

Abweichende Erbabsichten des Verstorbenen, beispielsweise einem älteren Lieblingssohn mehr zukommen zu lassen oder sein Haus oder Gerät nicht seinem jüngsten Sohn, sondern seinem Bruder zu hinterlassen, sind nicht möglich. Auch wenn ein Vater zehn Töchter und nur einen Sohn hätte und die Töchter alle nicht heirateten, so könnte er diesen doch nichts vererben. In einem solchen Falle würde der einzige Sohn für seine sämtlichen Schwestern mitsorgen müssen, denn Frauen können in einem Hause nicht allein wohnen und zur Landbestellung wären sie allein nicht in der Lage. Hat ein Mann keine Söhne, sondern nur Töchter, so helfen ihm bei der Feldbestellung allgemein die Schwiegersöhne. Vererben kann er ihnen aber nichts. Sein Landbesitz und Gerät bekommt derjenige seiner Brüder, der das Begräbnis ausrichtet, d. h. dem Verstorbenen die Trauerkleidung kauft und Chicha und Essen für die Trauergäste zur Verfügung stellt. Falls der Verstorbene — was kaum vorkommen soll — weder Söhne noch Brüder hat, erbt seinen gesamten Besitz derjenige Dorfbewohner, der das Begräbnis ausrichtet. Die Witwe zieht zu einem ihrer Brüder oder Schwestern oder einem sonstigen Verwandten.

Streitigkeiten und kleinere Vergehen, wie Diebstahl oder Ehebruch, werden innerhalb der Gemeinschaften vom Cabildo abgeurteilt, Mord oder schwere Körperverletzungen von der kolumbianischen staatlichen Justiz. Mord und Totschlag soll es früher nicht gegeben haben, erzählten uns die Alten; sie seien erst eine Folge der «weißen» Einflüsse und der Entmachtung des Cabildo. Man kann dies gut verstehen, denn in Calderas, wo der Dorfrat noch eine gewisse Macht und ein erhebliches Ansehen genießt, wäre es undenkbar, daß der Sohn seinen Vater ersticht. Dies geschah in San Andrés, wo der Cabildo nur noch in der Form von drei im Grunde macht- und ansehenlosen Funktionären existiert und wo die Jugend, durch die Einflüsse der Lebensumstände der weißen Kolonisten, nichts mehr von der alten Zucht und Sitte hält. In San Andrés war es, wo im März 1953 der Sohn des Capitan seinen Vater erstach. Dieser hatte nach dem Tode seiner ersten Frau ein zweites Mal geheiratet, weswegen ihm seine Kinder heftige Vorwürfe machten. Im betrunkenen Zustand kam es zu einer Schlägerei, in deren Verlauf der Vater dem Sohn das rechte Ohr zur Hälfte abschlug und dieser seinen Vater durch mehrere Messerstiche in den Leib tötete. Nach der Tat floh er; da man aber wußte, daß er nur bei Verwandten unterkommen könnte, nahm ihn der Gober-

nador der Ortschaft Lame im Hause seiner Schwester, wo er sich verborgen hielt, nach wenigen Tagen fest. Er wurde gefesselt nach San Andrés gebracht und dem Sindico, der auch gleichzeitig den Posten des Gobernadors inne hatte, übergeben. Dieser, ein älterer Mann im Alter des verstorbenen Capitan, redete auf den Mörder, der einen verschlossenen, fast trotzigen Eindruck machte, längere Zeit ein, hielt ihm das Verwerfliche seiner Tat, des Vatermordes vor, und dann wurde er zur Kirche geführt, in der der tote Capitan aufgebahrt war. Der Sohn sträubte sich zwar heftig, wurde aber gewaltsam vor den Leichnam geführt und brach davor weinend zusammen. Vor seiner Überführung nach Inzá durch zwei Mitglieder des Cabildo von San Andrés, steckten ihm Freunde und Verwandte, auch seine eigenen Familienangehörigen, einige Geldstücke zu, damit er sich im Gefängnis Lebensmittel kaufen könne. Seine Bewacher hinderten niemand daran, wie überhaupt die allgemeine Stimmung für den Mörder bedauernd, aber nicht ungünstig war.

Die in Calderas vom Cabildo verhängten Strafen sind immer Prügelstrafen. Sie wurden früher sehr rigoros durchgeführt. Freiheitsstrafen gibt es nicht. Heute urteilt der Cabildo nur soziale Verfehlungen, Schuldner und Diebstahl von Früchten des Feldes, eines Huhnes oder eines Schafes ab. Pferde- und Rinderdiebstahl wird schon dem Gericht in Inzá zur Ahndung übergeben. Der Geschädigte selbst darf den Übeltäter nicht bestrafen — auch nicht auf frischer Tat —, sondern muß alles dem Cabildo melden. Dort sind Capitan und Gobernador die Richter. Die anderen Mitglieder des Cabildo müssen ebenfalls anwesend sein, sie haben aber kein Stimmrecht. Die Verurteilung geht sehr schnell vonstatten. Der Übeltäter wird in den einen der beiden Räume des Gemeindehauses eingesperrt, und spätestens am nächsten Tage findet die Verhandlung statt. Die Strafsätze stehen fest. Es sind dies Prügelstrafen mit der Peitsche, die sich im Wiederholungsfalle erhöhen. So erhält der Dieb das erste Mal 10 Schläge, beim zweiten Male 20 und beim dritten Male 30 Schläge; bei weiterem Rückfall wird er in den Baumstamm gespannt. Der Diebstahl eines Schafes wird mit 10 Schlägen und dem Ersatz bzw. der Herausgabe des gestohlenen Stückes gestraft. Leugnet der Angeklagte, wird mit einem Mitglied des Cabildo eine Haussuchung durchgeführt. Wird nichts gefunden, muß man ihn wieder freilassen.

Darlehen werden ohne Sicherung bis zu 10 Pesos gegeben, darüber hinaus bekommt der Gläubiger als Sicherheit eine Kuh, ein Pferd, ein Schwein, Weizen oder Zuckerrohr. Man gibt die Darlehen nur bis zu einem Jahr, damit man es nicht vergißt. Zinsen werden nicht erhoben. Wenn der Schuldner nicht zahlen kann, wird ihm eine bestimmte Frist ge-

setzt, wenn er dann nicht bezahlt, wird das Versäumnis dem Cabildo mitgeteilt, der den Schuldigen mit der Peitsche bestraft. Leugnen nützt nichts, denn jedes Darlehensgeschäft wird nur vor Zeugen abgeschlossen. Wenn der Schuldner stirbt, werden die Forderungen des Gläubigers seinem Nachlaß entnommen, beispielsweise ein Machete, Kokabeutel oder Kleidung. Man kann auch Angehörige, beispielsweise Brüder, zur Begleichung der Schulden bitten. Diese sind aber nicht verpflichtet dafür aufzukommen, so daß im Falle eines verstorbenen armen Schuldners der Gläubiger sein Geld meist verloren hat. Verjährung gibt es nicht. Eine vom Schuldner vergessene Schuld kann vom Gläubiger auch nach Jahren noch eingetrieben werden, sofern Zeugen vorhanden sind. Ähnlich ist es beim Diebstahl von Feldfrüchten: Ist kein Zeuge vorhanden, kann niemand verurteilt werden. Ist der Zeuge jedoch als ehrenhaft und nicht lügnerisch bekannt, wird der Angeklagte, auch ohne zu gestehen, verurteilt. Eine dem Eid entsprechende Aussagebekräftigung gibt es nicht, desgleichen hat kein zu Unrecht Verurteilter die Berechtigung, zum Richter nach Inzá zu gehen. Für alle vom Cabildo geahndeten Vergehen ist Capitan und Gobernador die erste und letzte Instanz, wobei diese nicht willkürlich vorgehen, sondern sich weitgehend auf das Herkommen und die Meinung des Dorfes stützen. Dies trifft besonders zu, wenn jemand sich mehrmals hintereinander weigert, an den öffentlichen Arbeiten teilzunehmen; es äußert sich aber — und zwar ungünstig — auch dann, wenn ein armer Mann versucht, aus eigener Kraft zu Reichtum zu kommen. Es brechen nämlich nicht selten unter den Paez Streitigkeiten wegen Flurschadens aus, wenn die Haustiere des einen in die Äcker eines Nachbarn eingebrochen sind. Nun müssen die Zäune um jedes Feld herum immer in einem guten Zustand und entsprechend der Dauer der Benutzung des Feldes angelegt sein. Ein Zaun für ein Maisfeld, das zur Reife nur ein knappes Jahr benötigt, kann also leichter gebaut sein, als ein Zaun um ein Zuckerrohrfeld, das bis zur Reife drei Jahre braucht. Wenn dann fremde Tiere in die Felder mit einer guten Umzäunung einbrechen, kann der Besitzer sie töten oder doch verwunden, indem er beispielsweise einer Kuh den Schwanz abhackt. Schweinebesitzer befestigen ihren Schweinen dreieckförmige Gestelle um den Hals, um sie am Einbrechen in umzäunte Felder zu hindern. Wenn jedoch der Zaun schlecht ist und nicht besonders für das angelegte Feld neu errichtet worden war, hat der Besitzer der in das Feld eindringenden Tiere keine Schuld und der Feldbesitzer darf sie nicht töten. Natürlich ist die Stabilität eines Zaunes in starkem Maße eine Ansichtssache, und es kommt nicht selten vor, daß die Streitenden mit Macheten aufeinander losgehen und sich erheblich verwunden. Der

schuldige Teil wird dann nach Prüfung des Zaunes, gemäß dem Schiedsspruch des Cabildo, bestraft. Zunächst muß Ersatz für das Tier bzw. die zerstörte Feldfrucht geleistet werden, und dann kommt der Schuldige in den «Baumstamm». Es ist dies ein Strafmittel, das früher recht häufig auch in anderen Paez-Gemeinden angewendet wurde. Es besteht eigentlich aus zwei Baumstämmen, in die je zwei Kerben auf den gegenüberliegenden Seiten eingehauen sind. Der Verurteilte wird mit den Füßen in Höhe der Knöchel in diese recht engen Kerben hineingestellt, und dann werden die Baumstämme mit Lianen fest zusammengeschnürt. An dieser Arbeit beteiligen sich alle Mitglieder des Cabildo. Dann werden die zusammengebundenen Baumstämme an der Decke des Ratshauses befestigt, so daß der Verurteilte mit dem Kopf nach unten hängt und die Stämme ganz beträchtlich in das Fleisch einschneiden. Andere Arten der Bestrafung gab es nicht. Das Maß richtete sich nach der Anzahl der Stunden des Hängens, das von einer bis angeblich vierundzwanzig Stunden ausgedehnt wurde.

Die Ungerechtigkeiten gegenüber einem nach Reichtum strebenden Mann äußern sich seitens der neidischen Mitbürger dadurch, daß diese ihr Vieh in dessen gut umzäunte Felder hineintreiben. Dies geschieht so oft, bis der Betreffende keine Neigung mehr verspürt, durch Fleiß und Besitz über andere hinauszuragen. Eine Beschwerde beim Cabildo hat wenig Zweck, da der Gobernador nicht gegen die Meinung des ganzen Dorfes entscheiden kann und sich irgendwo schon eine schwächere Stelle im Zaun nachweisen läßt.

Weitere, nicht seltene Gelegenheiten, in denen der Cabildo als Richter in Tätigkeit treten muß, sind Ehebruch- und Alimentenklagen (s. oben). Um mündliche Beleidigung wird nicht geklagt, wie es dafür auch kein Strafmaß gibt. Man erwidert diese durch entsprechende Ausdrücke. Desgleichen sind unabsichtliche Körperverletzungen, beispielsweise durch einen Machete bei gemeinsamer Arbeit oder auch ein Todesfall beim Baumfällen, straffrei. Nur wenn jemand seinem Nächsten mit einer Gummischleuder bei der Vogeljagd ein Auge ausschösse, würde er bestraft, «aber nicht sehr streng».

IV. Geistige Kultur

1. SPRACHE

NACH A. v. HUMBOLDT werden die Sprachen nach ihrem inhaltlichen und ihrem formalen Element unterschieden und danach die Sprachen in drei Gruppen eingeteilt, die in der Folgezeit irrtümlicherweise auch als Entwicklungsphasen der Sprache gedeutet wurden. Als die älteste Stufe wurden hiernach die isolierenden Sprachen angesehen, welche die Formelemente durch selbständige Wörter mit noch erkennbarer inhaltlicher Bedeutung ausdrücken. Ihre Wörter sind, wie im Chinesischen, einsilbig, isolierend. Die zweite Gruppe bilden die agglutinierenden Sprachen, bei denen das Formelement durch deutlich erkennbare Affixe an das inhaltliche Element, den Stamm, angefügt wird. Hierzu werden besonders die uralaischen und die Bantu-Sprachen gerechnet. Die dritte Stufe nehmen die flektierenden Sprachen ein. Bei ihnen wird das Formelement durch innere Veränderungen des Stammes oder durch mit den Stämmen eng verwachsene Affixe ausgedrückt, wie beispielsweise in den indogermanischen und hamito-semitischen Sprachen.

Wenn auch in der Folgezeit diese Spracheinteilung als Schema einer Entwicklungsreihe aufgegeben wurde, so ist sie doch als ein erste, praktische Orientierung durchaus anwendbar. Für eine genauere Klassifikation einer Sprache ist eine Ausarbeitung der Laut- und Satzlehre erforderlich.

Das Paez ist eine agglutinierende Sprache. Die grammatischen Formen werden durch Aneinanderreihung von Silben gebildet. Die Aussprache ist für den Europäer schwierig. Sie hat Ähnlichkeit mit dem Kechua, von dem es eine Anzahl von Lehnwörtern übernommen hat.

Die ältesten sprachlichen Nachrichten über das Paez stammen von P. Eujenio del Castillo i Orosco, der um 1735 sein Sprachenmaterial als Missionar in Tálaga gesammelt hat. Es wurde 1877 von E. Uricoechea ergänzt und publiziert. Die gesammelten Daten umfassen einen Katechismus, ein Vokabular und eine Grammatik mit den Angaben über Personalpronomen und den Konjugationen von «sein» und «schreiben». Grammatik und Vokabular enthalten teilweise Formen und Wortbildungen, die der ursprünglichen Paez-Sprache fremd sind.

Weitere sprachliche Notizen sind von H. Pittier de Fábrega gesammelt. Es handelt sich um eine Ergänzung des Castillo'schen Vokabulars und um grammatische Daten. Von französischen Missionaren gesammelte Satzbeispiele der Paez von Pitayó veröffentlichte H. Lehmann.

In einer vergleichenden Studie untersuchen H. Beuchat und P. Rivet, basierend auf den oben angegebenen Veröffentlichungen, die sprachliche Einordnung des Paez innerhalb der Sprachgruppen Kolumbiens und ordnen es in die südwestliche der sechs Chibcha-Sprachgruppen ein. (Diese Chibcha sprechenden Stämme entsprechen weder archäologisch noch ethnologisch den eigentlichen Chibcha (Mwiska) der Sabana von Bogota!)

Das im folgenden vorzulegende sprachliche Material ist höchst lückenhaft. Die angegebenen Daten wurden aber meist mehrfach überprüft. Die Schwierigkeiten der sprachlichen Aufnahme lagen, neben der Kürze der zur Verfügung stehenden Zeit, in der fehlenden grammatischen Ausbildung des sonst sehr gut spanisch sprechenden Dolmetschers, der beim Diktat oder bei Übersetzungen den gleichen Satz in der Wiederholung oftmals ganz anders sagte; möglicherweise, weil er ihn so besser übersetzen konnte. Darauf aufmerksam gemacht, war die stereotype Antwort: «So kann man es auch sagen» oder «so sprechen wir halt». Hinzu kam, daß der Dolmetscher die ungewohnte geistige Konzentration für Sprachaufnahmen nur für zwei oder höchstens drei Stunden täglich aufbrachte, verteilt auf Vor- und Nachmittag.

a) Phonetik

Durch die Lage der einzelnen Ortschaften in abgeschlossenen Tälern bedingt, schwankt die Aussprache geringfügig von Ort zu Ort. Da bei der Sammlung der ethnologischen Daten von den Paez von Calderas ausgegangen wurde, ist auch das folgende Wörterverzeichnis mit meinem Calderuner Dolmetscher Victoriano Piñakuē aufgenommen worden.

Im Paez-Alphabet fällt die vollständige Palatalreihe auf, die alle Konsonanten umfaßt. Fast genau so zahlreich sind die Konsonantverbindungen mit englisch w. In der Transkription der Paez-Worte wurde von der spanischen Schreibweise abgewichen und folgendes Alphabet verwandt:

'	«glottal stop», wie im Deutschen ab'ändern
˜	nasaler Vokal
a	kurzes a, wie deutsch Ball
ā	langes a, wie deutsch schmal
ai	kein Diphtong, a+i wie Paez áimę (Stern), ohne «glottal stop»
b	immer stimmhaft, wie deutsch Baum
bw	b mit englisch w
by	palatalisiertes b
č	spanisch oder englisch ch, deutsch tsch
čy	palatalisiertes č
ç	dentaler ch-Laut, wie deutsch ich
d	immer stimmhaft, wie deutsch dumm, englisch and
dy	palatalisiertes d

e geschlossenes e, wie in deutsch Schnee, aber kurz
ē geschlossenes e, wie deutsch Schnee
ę offenes e, wie deutsch wenn, hätte
ę̄ offenes, langes e, wie deutsch Schäfer
ě (ə) zentralisiertes e, wie deutsch gern
ei kein Diphtong, e+i wie Paez néi (Vater), ohne «glottal stop»
f dentilabial, wie deutsch fein
g immer stimmhaft, wie deutsch gut, englisch pig
gw g mit englisch w
gy palatalisiertes g
h starkes h, zwischen h und ch in deutsch ach
hw h mit englisch w
hy palatalisiertes h
i kurzes i, wie deutsch wie, aber kurz
ī langes i, wie deutsch nie
k nicht aspiriert, wie im Deutschen
kw k mit englisch w
ky palatalisiertes k
l wie deutsch laufen; bei Lehnwörtern aus dem Spanischen für r verwandt
ly palatalisiertes l
m wie deutsch mein
mw m mit englisch w
my palatalisiertes m
n wie deutsch nur
nw n und englisch w
ny wie spanisch ñ, französisch gn
ṅ velares n, wie ng in deutsch singen
ṅw ṅ und englisch w
ṅy palatalisiertes ṅ
o kurzes, geschlossenes o, nicht näher festgestellt
ǫ offenes o, nicht näher festgestellt
ō langes, geschlossenes o, wie deutsch Not
oi kein Diphtong, o+i wie Paez ói (Frau), ohne «glottal stop»
p ohne Aspirierung, wie deutsch Paul
pw p mit englisch w
py palatalisiertes p
r nur selten in spanischen Wörtern, soweit dafür kein l gesprochen wird
s immer stimmlos, wie deutsch lassen
sy palatalisiertes s
ł sch wie deutsch schon
łw s mit englisch w
ły palatalisiertes ł
t ohne Aspirierung, wie deutsch Ton
ts wie z in deutsch zwei
tw t mit englisch w
ty palatalisiertes t
u wie im Deutschen gut; ist oft von einem o schwer zu unterscheiden
v dentilabiales v, wie deutsch warm
vy palatalisiertes v
w Halbvokal, wie englisch w
y Halbvokal, wie englisch York

z stimmhaftes s, wie deutsch Rose

zy palatalisiertes z

Die Konsonanten und Halbvokale im Paez sind die folgenden:

	Explosive fortes	Explosive lenes	Frikative fortes	Frikative lenes	Affrikate fortes	Affrikate lenes	Liquide	Nasale	Halbvokale
Hauch	'			h					
Velare -"- (palatal)	k ky	g gy						ṅ	
Palatale	ty	dy	hy ç		č čy		ly	ṅg ny-ñ	y
Alveolare -"- (palatal)	t	d	s sy	z zy	ts		l	n	
Alveolare mit Rausch -"- (palatal)			ł ły						
Labio-dentale -"- (palatal)			f	v vy					
Bilabiale -"- (palatal,	p py	p by						m my	w

Die Vokale sind die folgenden:

a, ā, ai, ę, ę̄, e, ē, ĕ (=ə), ei, i, ī, (ǫ), o, ō, oi, u.

Die Aussprache von ǫ und o wurde nicht genau genug beobachtet, desgleichen war die Aussprache bei o und u bei den verschiedenen Personen schwankend und schwierig zu unterscheiden. Ai, ei und oi sind keine Diphtonge, sondern werden getrennt gesprochen, jedoch ohne «glottal stop». Nicht immer eindeutig ist die Aussprache von ty und ky, z. B. tyita «Webschwert». Vor manchen mit b anlautenden Wörtern ist ein m zu hören, z. B. bei bāts (mbāts) «Agavefaser». Auch bei mit b anlautenden spanischen Lehnwörtern wird gerne ein m davor gesetzt. So wurde von den spanisch sprechenden Paez statt véal immer mbę̄l gesagt. Das ursprüngliche Paez-Alphabet enthält kein r; bei spanischen Lehnwörtern wird statt dessen ein l gesprochen, z. B. trapiče = lapiče, horno = olno, nuestro Señor Jesucristo = nuestlo Senyol Hesuklisto. Schwierigkeiten

macht eine Anzahl von Wörtern, die dem Fremden zunächst völlig gleichlautend erscheinen, sich in Wirklichkeit aber — außer durch den Zusammenhang — durch minimale Nasalunterschiede in der Aussprache unterscheiden. So heißt z. B. atç «ich», «heute», «Ruana» und «Grabstock».

Die Betonung ist durch einen Akzent (') oder durch ein Dehnungszeichen angegeben. Wörter ohne Betonungszeichen werden auf der vorletzten Silbe betont. Ein Akzent (') zwischen Vokal und folgendem Konsonanten hat Lautwert und kennzeichnet einen «glottal stop» (Kehlkopfverschlußlaut).

b) Grammatik

Das *Substantiv:* Einen *Artikel* gibt es nicht. Das Genus wird bei Wörtern für Sachen und Pflanzen nicht unterschieden. Bei Menschen und Tieren tritt eine solche Unterscheidung nur in Ausnahmefällen ein, denn die Terminologie der Menschen nach Geschlecht und Lebensalter bzw. -umständen durch spezielle Worte ist derart reich, daß besondere Bezeichnungen für das Geschlecht im allgemeinen nicht erforderlich sind (vgl. die Verwandtschaftsnomenklatur im Abschnitt «Familienorganisation»). Die Unterscheidung ist nicht nur bei Menschen so genau, sondern es wird z. B. auch der Mais mit völlig verschiedenen Wörtern bezeichnet, je nachdem, ob er reif ist, oder noch grün (kotç bzw. tsot). Zu einer dennoch notwendigen näheren Unterscheidung werden die Suffixe -pits (Mann) für das männliche Geschlecht und -ói (Frau) für das weibliche Geschlecht angewandt, z. B. éčpits «Witwer», éčoi «Witwe». Allgemein sind dies aber künstliche Unterscheidungen, die vorwiegend für Lehnwörter benutzt werden. Dabei geht man vom Allgemeinen oder Typischen aus. So ist átaly das «Huhn», und erst der Hahn wird als Spezielles aufgefaßt und mit dem Suffix -pits (atályepítstę) vom Huhn unterschieden. Das «Pferd» wird als Allgemeines aufgefaßt und als hímba bezeichnet, die speziellen Unterscheidungen sind himbapítstę «Hengst» und himbaóitę «Stute». Außerdem wird das Wort lečkwe (Kind) als Suffix zur Bezeichnung kleiner Lebewesen oder kleiner Sachen angehängt, z. B. luč «Kind», lučléčkwę «kleines Kind»; hímba «Pferd», himbaléčkwę «Fohlen»; átaly «Huhn», atályeléčkwę «Küken»; yat «Haus», yatléčkwę «kleines Haus»; witóñ «Baum», wítoñléčkwę «kleiner Baum».

Bei den *Verwandtschaftsnomen* gibt es zur Bezeichnung der weiblichen Verwandten das Präfix pę-, z. B. pętsots «Vaterschwester», pęnyok «Mutterschwester», «Stiefmutter», «Mutterbruders Frau». Innerhalb der Familie wird mit dem Präfix pę- ein *Dual* bezeichnet, z. B. pětām «Vater

und Mutter gemeinsam», pěndyík «Vater und Sohn gemeinsam» oder «Mutter und Sohn gemeinsam», pěndyis «Vater und Tochter gemeinsam» oder «Mutter und Tochter gemeinsam».

Das Suffix -nas kennzeichnet oft einen Zustand oder eine Tätigkeit und wird vorwiegend zur Bildung neuer Wörter verwandt: fisnās «Schreiber», ātycatynās «Schneider», yāsnās «Täufer» (Namengeber), pāsnās «Fremder, Ankommender», ká'nas «Bürgermeister», ndōsoknās «Hebamme», gnās «Jungfrau». «Sich betrinken» heißt toṅ, der «Betrunkene» tónas, ein «sich Betrinkender» tónyę. Die Formen tátyinas «Schöpfer» und tótenas «Gobernador» werden nur im Satz gebraucht. Als Einzelwort sagt man tákiyi bzw. tótens. Möglicherweise ist die Endung -nas nur eine in bestimmtem Zusammenhang gebrauchte, ähnlich, wie die nicht selten anzutreffenden Suffixe -pas und -sa. Von den Adjektiven enden einige im Positiv, andere im Komparativ auf -nas: čačanas (stark), waç nyíčkwęnas (schöner), waç ǵwnas (besser).

Einen allgemeinen *Plural* gibt es nicht. Zur näheren Bezeichnung wird entweder eine Zahl oder ein Indeterminativpronomen dazugesetzt, z. B. teč «eins», oder in der Mehrzahl ǵ'nzi «beide» (von ǵ'nz «zwei»), ko «mehrere», tak «viele». Als Personenplural wird teilweise das Suffix -weł benutzt, z. B. pítstewel «Menschen», Mogwel Stamm der Guambianos, čí'mewel «Weiße» (či'me = weiß).

Eine *Deklination* gibt es nicht. Die Satzstellung ist allgemein: Subjekt, Objekt, Prädikat. Der Nominativ ist nur aus seiner Stellung am Anfang des Satzes zu ersehen. Der Akkusativ steht nach dem Nominativ und allgemein vor dem Verb.

Atya na himbása vítępitsna óson «ich dieses Pferd diesem Mann gebe», ātya táwas tyaóinat ípak «ich den Gürtel (taw) von dieser Frau (ói) erhielt», kwéła élpas kyéhi óratępa óṅwetáw «wir Koka zu jeder Stunde essen», čōosoṅ pítstęčāta mahē, yátdę oíčāta mahē «im Feld Männer nur arbeiten, im Haus Frauen nur arbeiten», pálkitę táwala kíma ōsya «im Park viele Sandflöhe es gibt», aber: ātya evít kyákulása «ich verlor diese Kuh» (kula = Kuh), ātya pákan teč pęsnye «ich erhalte ein Geschenk».

Der *Genitiv* wird durch Voranstellung vor das Subjekt ausgedrückt. Pítstę łwáa «der Hut des Mannes» (łwa = Hut), ói táwa «der Gürtel der Frau» (taw = Gürtel), pítstę álko «der Hund des Mannes», tótęnas nyó «die Frau des Gobernadors».

Die *Negation* wird allgemein durch męt ausgedrückt, z. B. hip męt «ich habe nicht»; ṅéndya «mögen», ṅéndyi męt «nicht mögen»; ātya uwęt «ich habe Hunger», ātya ūwęmęt «ich habe keinen Hunger»; ātya teč nyákča hipt «ich einen Bruder habe» (Bruder = yactę), ātya teč nyákča

hip mę «ich habe einen Bruder nicht»; ātya teč pę́lča nyópa «ich eine Schwester nicht habe» (Schwester = pęl; «nyópa» wurde mir ebenfalls als «nicht haben» übersetzt).

Adjektive: Im Paez werden die Adjektive nachgestellt und nach Geschlecht und Zahl nicht verändert: yat īl «das alte Haus», pits īl «der alte Mann». Die Bedeutung der Adjektive ist teilweise differenzierter als im Deutschen, z. B. «stark»: pītstę čačat «der starke Mann», hímba čačāt «das starke Pferd», aber: mbę́ka pōs «die starke Chicha». Für «dick» werden folgende Adjektive verwandt: pítstę nyīl «der dicke Mann»; víton hōt «der dicke Baum». Desgleichen gibt es verschiedene Worte für jung oder alt, je nachdem es sich um Männer oder Frauen handelt.

Steigerungen werden durch waç «mehr» ausgedrückt: hímba ę́w «das gute Pferd», hímba waç ę́wnas «das bessere Pferd»; ói nyíčkwę «die schöne Frau», ói waç nyíčkwęnas «die schönere Frau»; ganl «häßlich», waç ganl «häßlicher»; wéča «wenig», waç wę́ «weniger».

Numeralia: Die Grundzahlen und Ordnungszahlen sind gleich. Das dezimale Zählsystem ist auf dem Zählen mit den Fingern aufgebaut. Die Zahlen sechs bis neun sind Zusammensetzungen mit «sáki» (sechs), wobei sieben als «sechs und zwei», acht als «sechs und drei» gebildet wird. Über zehn wird nicht gezählt. Für «sehr viele» wird im Paez «teč kwat» gesagt, wörtlich «ein Stein». Heute hat es die Bedeutung von «hundert».

1 teč	7 é'nzsáki
2 é'nz	8 téksaki
3 tek	9 pánssaki
4 pans	10 kosę́mba
5 tats	(wörtlich kóse pémba
6 sáki oder téčsaki	«Hände zuende»)

Pronomen: Die *Personalpronomen* sind für die Konjugation absolut notwendig. Sie werden vorangestellt. In der 1. Pers Sing. wird ausnahmslos nach mask. und fem. unterschieden, in der 2. Pers. Sing. nur in besonderen Fällen. Diese Fälle sind die Anreden von Ehegatten untereinander, von Geschwistern untereinander und Anreden an Respektspersonen. Sonst wird nach dem Geschlecht weder in der 2. Pers. Sing. noch bei anderen Formen des Singular und Plural unterschieden.

ich (mask.): atç; in der Verbindung mit dem Verb: ātya; bei den Konjugationen wird oft das Suffix -pa «auch» an die Personalpronomen angehängt: ātypa «ich auch»,

ich (fem.): ōk

du (mask. und fem.): inç. Jugendliche reden Ältere weder mit «inç» noch mit deren Namen an. Bei Männern müssen sie sich vorher nach dem Namen von dessen Sohn erkundigen (wenn nicht vorhanden: dessen Tochter) und reden ihn dann mit «Vater des ...» an. Falls der Betreffende keine Kinder hat, redet man ihn wie unter Gleichaltrigen mit dem Vornamen an, «da ein Mann, der keine Kinder hat, kein Mann ist». Ältere Frauen werden respektvoll mit «ïkf» angeredet.

du (Vater oder Mutter zum Sohn):	kwę
du (Vater oder Mutter zur Tochter):	ſča
du (Ehefrau zum Ehemann):	ſngya
du (Ehemann zur Ehefrau):	ſkwę
du (Bruder zum Bruder bzw. Schwester zur Schwester):	yaktę́
du (Bruder zur Schwester):	pę'ï
du (Schwester zum Bruder):	ndyïł
Sie (fem):	ïkf, respektvolle Anrede für ältere Frauen
er, sie es:	kya
wir (mask. und fem.):	kweł
sie (mask. und fem.):	kyáńweł

ihr: nicht bekannt; in der sinngemäßen Übersetzung wurde manchmal das Wort çúkai (alle) benutzt. In der Grammatik von Castillo i Orosco wird für «vosotros» das Paezwort «icuexs» (ikweł) angegeben. Dieses übersetzte mir der Dolmetscher mit «Ustedes». Zur Konjugation der Verben wird es nicht benutzt.

Die *Possessivpronomen* entsprechen — außer in der 3. Pers. Sing. — den Personalpronomen. Sie werden vorangestellt.

Die maskulinen Formen sind:			Die femininen Formen sind:		
mein Pferd	ätç	himba	mein Gürtel	ök	táwa
dein Pferd	inç	himba	dein Gürtel	inç	táwa
sein Pferd	kyeç	himba	ihr Gürtel	kyeç	táwa
unser Pferd	kweł	himba	unser Gürtel	kweł	táwa
ihr Pferd	kyáńweł	himba	ihr Gürtel	kyáńweł	táwa

Die *Demonstrativpronomen* sind: «na» (dieser, diese, dieses) und wítę (wörtl. «das andere») in Verbindung mit dem vorangestellten oder

nachgestellten «na» im Sinne von «jener, jene, jenes». Na ãtç «diese Ruana», wítęna ãtç «jene Ruana»; na hímba «dieses Pferd», wíte hímbana «jenes Pferd». Teilweise wird als Demonstrativpronomen die 3. Pers. Sing. des Personalpronomen benutzt (kya).

Als *Interrogativpronomen* hat «ma» die Bedeutung von «welcher, welche, welches» und «wieviele». Ma hímba «welches Pferd» ma hímbanang inç uwáy «welches Pferd hast du gekauft»; ma pits «welcher Mann», ma pítsnang inç ói «welchen Mann hast du gesehen»; ma ãtç «welche Ruana», ma ãtynak kya om «welche Ruana hat sie gewebt»; ma ói «welche Frau», ma óiwel twétsyo «welche Frauen laufen dort», mãnstyin «wieviele», mans vyó hípong «wieviel Geld hast du».

Indeterminativpronomen sind:

alle:	çúcai; çúcai pits «alle Männer», çúcai ói «alle Frauen»;
jeder:	tečteč (vgl. 1 = teč);
beide:	ę́'nzi (vgl. 2 = é'nz); é'nzi pits «beide Männer», ę́'nzi ói «beide Frauen»;
genug:	ãhna; ãhna vyó «genug Geld»;
irgendwer:	mãpa
niemand:	tẽčanyópa; tẽčanyópa máhimę́ta «niemand arbeitet»;
mehrere, verschiedene:	ko; ãtya ko hímba hipt «ich mehrere Pferde habe»;
viele:	tak; tak násа «viele Menschen»;
wenig:	wę́; sehr wénig: táwala wę́ha.

Verben: Die Nennformen der Tätigkeitswörter enden auf -ya. Die einzigen über das Konjugationssystem bisher veröfftenlichten Angaben finden sich bei Castillo i Orosco, der das Verbum «schreiben» in allen Paradigmen nach der lateinischen Grammatik konjugiert. Wortbildung des Musterzeitwortes, wie auch die Konjugation, sind künstlich und auf den Unterricht an Missionsschulen angelegt. In Calderas wird nicht so gesprochen.

Die im folgenden angegebenen Konjugationen einiger Verben stellen nicht alle Konjugationsmöglichkeiten dar, da — wie erwähnt — dem Dolmetscher die Kenntnis der spanischen Grammatik fehlte. Das Schema der Paradigmen ist deswegen weitgehend theoretisch. Gesprochen wird in der Umgangssprache anders, und besonders in der Erzählung verwandte der Dolmetscher Formen, die er im Spanischen mit Partizipialkonstruktionen wiedergab. Dennoch sind die hier wiedergegebenen For-

men «richtig» in dem Sinne, daß man so sprechen «kann» und bei Anwendung der Formen verstanden wird.

Neben den hier wiedergegebenen vier Zeitformen (Präsens, Futur und zwei Formen des Perfekts) gibt es wahrscheinlich auch dem Konjunktiv entsprechende Formen, die der Dolmetscher in spanisch aber weder verstand, noch wiedergeben konnte. Die Formen des Futurum werden nicht immer gebraucht. Sehr oft verwendet man das Präsens mit dem Zusatz «morgen» oder «später», z. B. ãtya gwágwan kúskay «ich spreche morgen» statt ãtya gwágwahípt «ich werde sprechen». Die Formen der beiden Vergangenheiten werden scheinbar willkürlich gebraucht. Auf diesbezügliche Fragen bekam ich immer nur die Antwort «man kann es so und auch so sagen». Auch hier ist allgemein der Zusatz óṅna «gestern» (im Zusammenhang: óṅnaha) oder esę «vor einiger Zeit» üblich.

Das abstrakte Hintereinander-Aufzählen der Formen einer Konjugation ist den Paez kaum möglich. Immer mußte ich Beispiele leicht faßlicher Art abfragen. Waren diese außerhalb des eben besprochenen Zusammenhanges, wurde ich oftmals aufgefordert, selbst die entsprechende Form zu bilden, was mir zur freudigen Überraschung der Paez jeweils an Hand meiner Musterbeispiele gelang. Ihre Bestätigung jedenfalls, «man kann es auch so sagen» erlaubt mir die Niederschrift der folgenden Paradigmen. Phonetische Unstimmigkeiten werden bewußt beibehalten, z. B. in der 2. Pers. Sing. die Endungen -eg und -eng, in der 3. Pers. Pl. die Endungen -yin oder yen. Im Präsens sind die 1. und 3. Pers. Sing. im allgemeinen gleich. Die zu allen Formen dazugehörenden Personalpronomen stehen vor dem Verb. Die feminine Form der 1. Pers. Sing. und die verschiedenen Formen der 2. Pers. Sing. wurden bei den Musterverben zugunsten der einfachen maskulinen Formen weggelassen.

õpya «leben»

Präsens:	ãtya õpon		*Futur:*	ãtya apohípt	
	inç õponeṅg			inç opohípeneṅg	
	kya õpon			kya opohípa	
	kweł õpontkaw			kweł opohíptaw	
	kyáṅweł õpotyin			kyáṅweł opohíptyin	
Perfekt:	ãtya õpokot	oder:	óṅnast	(óṅnaha)	
	inç õpoing	oder:	opnásiṅg	(óṅnaha)	
	kya õpok	oder:	óṅnasa	(óṅnaha)	
	kweł õpotaw	oder:	óṅnastaw	(óṅnaha)	
	kyáṅweł õpotç	oder:	óṅnastyin	(óṅnaha)	

Entsprechend wird óhoya «gehen» konjugiert, also

Präsens:	ātya óhon	*Futur:*	ātya ohohípt
	inç óhoneg		inç ohohípeneńg
	kya óhon		kya ohohípa
	kweł óhontkaw		kweł ohohíptaw
	kyáńweł óhoyen		kyáńweł ohohíptyin

Perfekt:	ātya óhokot	oder:	óhonast	(ęsę́)
	inç óhoing	oder:	ohonásińg	(ęsę́)
	kya óhok	oder:	ohonása	(ęsę́)
	kweł óhotaw	oder:	ohonástaw	(ęsę́)
	kyáńweł óhotç	oder:	ohonástyin	(ęsę́)

Entsprechend wird ústya «geben» konjugiert: Präsens: átya úson, inç úsoneńg, usw.

gwábya «sprechen»; hier verwandelt sich in der Konjugation das «b» in «g»:

Präsens:	ātya gwágwan	*Perfekt:*		
	inç gwágwaneńg, usw.		ātya gwágwakot	(óńnaha)
(bei anderer Gelegenheit wurde mir jedoch für «ich spreche» átya gwábal genannt).			inç gwáving	(óńnaha)
			kya gwáok	(óńnaha)
			kweł gwáotaw	(óńnaha)
Futur:	ātya gwágwahípt		kyáńweł gwáotç	(óńnaha)
	inç gwágwahípeneńg			
	usw.			

Im Futur und Perfekt etwas abweichend wird básya «antworten» konjugiert:

Präsens:	ātya báson	*Futur:*	ātya basohípt
	inç básoneg		inç básmańg
	kya báson		kya básmak
	kweł básontkaw		kweł básĕntaw
	kyáńweł básotyin		kyáńweł básmatç

Perfekt:	ātya bást	(ęsę́)
	inç básińg	(ęsę́)
	kya básk	(ęsę́)
	kweł bástaw	(ęsę́)
	kyáńweł bástç	(ęsę́)

Ähnlich píyeya «lernen»:

Präsens:	ātya píya'n	*Futur:*	ātya piyahípt
	inç piyáneṅg		inç píymaṅg
	kya piyán		kya píymak
	kweł piyántkaw		kweł píyĕmtaw
	kyáṅweł piyátyin		kyáṅweł píymatç

Perfekt: ātya píyt (óṅnaha)
inç píyiṅg (óṅnaha)
kya píyik (óṅnaha)
kweł píyĕtaw (óṅnaha)
kyáṅweł píyitç (óṅnaha)

«Sein» als Hilfsverb ist nicht bekannt, sondern nur ōsya als Verb im Sinne von «sich befinden».

Präsens:		*Futur:*
ich bin in Calderas	ātya Caldelaste ōst	ātya ōsohípt
du bist in Calderas	ínçpa Caldelaste ōsiṅg	inç ōsohípenen
er ist in Calderas	kyápa Caldelaste ōsĕn	kya ōsohípa
wir sind in Calderas	kwéłpa Caldelaste ōstaw	kweł ōsohíptaw
sie sind in Calderas	kyáṅwełpa Caldelaste ōstyin	kyáṅweł ōsohíptyin

Perfekt:	ātya ōsot	oder:	ōsnast
	inç ōsoing	oder:	ōsnasiṅg
	kya ōsok	oder:	ōsnasa
	kweł ōsotaw	oder:	ōsnastaw
	kyáṅweł ōsotç	oder:	ōsnastyin

Ohne Hilfsverb werden gebildet:

ich bin stark:	ātya čáčat	ich bin müde:	ātya wátyt
du bist stark:	inç čáčaing	du bist müde:	inç wátyenen
er ist stark:	kya čáča	er ist müde:	kya wátyin
wir sind stark:	kweł čáčataw	wir sind müde:	kweł wátytau
sie sind stark:	kyáṅweł čáčatyin	sie sind müde:	kyáṅweł wátytyin

Als Hilfsverb dient «haben» hípoya, das normal konjugiert wird:

Präsens:	ich habe	Flöhe	ātya pá'pa hīpt
	du hast	Flöhe	inçpa pá'pa hípĕneṅg
	er hat	Flöhe	kyápa pá'pa hípĕnen
	wir haben	Flöhe	kwéłpa pá'pa híptaw
	sie haben	Flöhe	kyáṅwełpa pa'pa híptyin

Futur:	ātya hípohīpt	*Perfekt:*	ātya hípokot
	inç hípohípeneṅg		inç híponiṅg
	kya hípohípa		kya híponeḳ
	kweł hípohíptaw		kweł hípoktaw
	kyáṅweł hípohítyin		kyáṅweł hípokotç

Entsprechend wird konjugiert:

ich habe Wasser: ātya yó hipt
inç yó hípĕneṅg, usw.

c) *Vokabular deutsch — paez*

Ader	wétsę (cf. Wurzel)
Achselhöhle	ponzękaç
Affe	kātsa oder miko (span. mico oder mono)
Aguacate (Frucht)	úçtsę
Ají (scharfes span. Gewürz)	áṅva
Alcalde (Bürgermeister)	ká'nas
alleine	téča
alles	çúkai
alt (Mann)	īs
alt (Frau)	pę̄nł̄ cf. Großvater / Großmutter
alt (Sache)	pę́tę
Ameise	ká'ka
Ananas	čáho
anderer	vítę
anfangen, beginnen	púṅtya
ich fange an	ātya púṅtyin
du fängst an	íngya púṅtyineṅg
Angel (mit Schnur, Senkstein und Haken)	wendyánsyuts
ankommen	pá'aça
ich komme an	ātya pá'an
du kommst an	inç pá'aneṅg
ich kam an	ātya pá'kot
antworten	básya
anzünden	imbę́hya

arbeiten	mahénya
ich arbeite	ãtya mahén
du arbeitest	inç mahénenǵ
ich arbeitete	ãtya mahékot oder mahénast
Arepa (gerösteter Mais)	wáts (cf. Brandfeld)
Arm	kósepil
beide Arme zur Spanne ausgestreckt	kota
[arm	pore (span. pobre)]
Arracacha	ã's
Asche	kóts (cf. Pulver)
Ast, Zweig	čãpç
atmen	úńsya
auf	koǵkoete
aufbewahren	çávya
aufhören, beenden	pémbaya
ich habe aufgehört zu essen	uń pémbaya (uń = essen)
aufstehen (morgens)	kyítya
Auge	yáç
[Augenblick	lato, (span. rato)]
Augenbraue	yéçkãs
außerdem	vítęveł
ausruhen	kásya
Axt aus Eisen	ãm
backen z. B. Arepa	kubítya
im Backofen	kákya
[Backofen	olno (span. horno)]
Bambus	mom
Banane (Gemüsebanane)	toló
Banane (Fruchtbanane)	gnayoíts
Bandwurm (häufige Krankheit)	łã'wa
Bank zum Schlafen	átoń
Bär	ǵłkwiy
Bart	wakás
Bauch	totç
bauen	kísya
hausbauen	yatkísya
Baumwolle	gwágwa
Baum	vitóń
sich befinden	õsya, ópya

begleiten	píkya
ich begleite dich	íngya píkya yóven
	dich begleiten ich gehe
beide (cf. zwei)	é'nzi
Bein	hímbę
belästigen	kučwávya
benötigen	pęçíya
Berg, Gebirge	yok
Berggeist	gělyómp
Besen (aus płańga-Kraut, immer mit der Hand gefegt)	çtábando
betrunken (wenn es einer vom andern feststellt)	toń
Betrunkener	tónas
ein sich Betrinkender	tónyę
Beutel aus Agave	puńsyáha
aus Wolle für Koka	kwatandyáha
bezahlen	ndavéya
Biene	čí'nç
Bienenwachs	čí'nç
Bienenhonig	čí'nç mil (cf. Zuckerrohrsaft)
[billig	baráto (span.)]
bitten	pẽnyiya
bitter	fí'tęta
Blasrohr	pat
Blatt vom Schilf, Mais, Baum, auch Papier	ets
Maisblatt	šímb'ęts
Zuckerrohrblatt	nyúša ęts
blau	séin (cf. grün)
hellblau	séin séin («ein bißchen blau»)
blind	yęçšime
Blitz	kwénayę
Blume	kítę
Blut	ẽ
Bohne	õs
böse	wésoę
Brandfeld	gwáts (cf. Arepa)
Branntwein (aus Chicha destilliert)	gwalyíndę
Braut	nikálo

Bräutigam	nikálo
Brautführer, heute: Padrino und	ndyósnei
Madrina	ndyósnę
braten (Fleisch)	kásya
brechen (cf. mahlen)	úṅdya
breit	tápe
brechen, zerbrechen	sóteya
zerbrochen	sótę
brennen	imbǵhya
anzünden	ōts
bringen	çúnya, tóṅgsya
Wasser holen	yó tóṅgsya
[Brot	pan (span.)]
Brücke	gwá
Bruder (des Mannes)	yaktǵ
Bruder (der Frau)	nyīš
Brust (Männer und Frauen)	čúčc (kechua)
Cabuya (Agave)	bāts
Chicha	mbǵka
Chicha-Kalebasse:	
große Kalebasse zum Schöpfen	čatç walá
kleine Kalebasse zum Trinken	čatç léčkwe
Chonta-Holz	čónda
Dach (cf. Haus; cf. weben)	yátominyē
Dachboden	atóṅ
Dachsparren	yatkát
Dämmerung (cf. dunkel)	wǵła či'nj (= halb dunkel)
danach	çs
[danke	slopágę (span. «Dios se lo pague»)
dasselbe	kyámiča
Daumen	kusenyí
Deckel	apá
denken	ṅsyádya
ich dachte	ātya ṅsyátkot, oder: ṅsyátynast
Destillationsapparat	walyíndęya
dick (Person)	nyís
dick, viel, dicht	hōt; gwála
Dieb	bísos
Donner	kapíš
Dorf	čāmp

Dorn	sōs
dort	widán
draußen	ĕka
drei	tek
drinnen	nyítę
du, dein (mask. und fem.)	inç
du (Vater oder Mutter zum Sohn)	kwę
du (Vater oder Mutter zur Tochter)	íča
du (Ehefrau zum Ehemann)	íngya
du (Ehemann zur Ehefrau)	íkwę
du (Bruder zum Bruder, bzw. Schwester zur Schwester)	yaktę́
du (Bruder zur Schwester)	pę'ĭ
du (Schwester zum Bruder)	ndyĭĭ
dumm	ul
Dunkelheit, dunkel (cf. Dämmerung)	či'nç
dürr	nzói
Durst, dürsten	nyúvęt
ich habe Durst	ātya nyúvęt
Ebene (Land)	nyúnda, ókwę
eben	ókwę
Ehepaar	pĕtām oder: ovényi
Ei	nzĭts
Eingeweide (cf. Inneres)	łákwę
eintreten	úkaya
einsam; einer	teč
der einzige	kyáça
Eisen (cf. Kupfer)	tsam
eng	nzōno
Enkel, -in	nzón
entschlüpfen (aus einem Ei)	úpya
er, sie, es	kya
ergreifen	ogwéya
erhalten	pákya
ich erhalte ein Geschenk	ātya pákan teč pę́tnyi
ich erhielt	ātya páknast, oder: pákot
sich erinnern	uńsyákya
ich erinnere mich an dich	ātya yātyin iṅgyas

[Erlaubnis	lisénsiames (span. licencia)]
Erde	kígwę
[Ernte	koséča (span. cosecha)]
erreichen	kapãtya
ich erreiche	ãtya kapátyin.
du erreichst	inç kapátyineńg
ich erreichte	ãtya kapátykot oder: kapátynast
Erstling (Erstgeborener)	nyáfi
desgl. 1. Schultag, oder wenn einer zum ersten Mal eine Arbeit macht, usw.)	nyáfi
essen	ńnya
iß	mę́
ich habe aufgehört zu essen	oń pémbaya
Familie	gibt es nicht
fallen	gwéteya
Fasertasche aus Agave	yáha
faul (Mensch)	wátykwę
faul (Frucht)	čímpy
Feder	kas
fehlen	peçivá
Feld, Acker	čõgs
Fell, Haut	kátç
[Felsen	pénya (span. peña)]
[Fenster	bentana (span. ventana)]
[Fest	fista (span. fiesta)]
Feuer zum Kochen	īpç
Feuerwerkskörper, großer	kwatóń
Feuerwerkskörper, kleiner	kwę́tes
Fieber	kókwętek
finden, treffen	úyiya
Finger	kosęmúl
Fingernagel	lyíly
Firstbalken	dahwãk
Fisch	wénty
Fischgiftpflanzen	kwę̃sę und yúksę
Fleisch	čič
fleißig, auch intelligent	katç
[Fliege	mõs (span. mosca)]
fliegen	açúya

alle Vögel fliegen	çúkay vičákwę ta'çúya
Menschen können nicht fliegen	pítstę nwę́la áhamęta açúya
auch Menschen können fliegen	kyáñwel pítstęwel áhatç açuya
Floh	pá'mpa
Flöte (Querflöte)	kói
Flügel	yokōt
[Fluch (einziger)	karího (span. carajo)]
Fluß, großer	yógwala
Fluß, kleiner	kitshwę́
fragen	péhnya (kechua)
Frau, das Weibliche (cf. Gattin)	ōi
Frau, verheiratete	imī
Frau, sterile	ę̄ma oder: mula (span.)
Frau, schwangere	tóya
Frau, alte	pę́nš
[Freund	amígo (span.)]
Freude	gwatóya
viel Vergnügen, viel Freude	gwála mwát
Friede	gibt es nicht
Frucht, allgemein	nyón
frühzeitig	ę́nyē
Fuchs	ši'
fühlen	ṅsyétya
füllen	ótaya
fünf	tats
Furcht	úṅyē
Fuß	čínda
Gatte (einer Ehefrau; von dritten so genannt)	nemí
Gatte (als Anrede der Ehefrau)	índya
Gattin (eines Ehemannes; von dritten so genannt)	nyó
Gattin (als Anrede des Ehemannes)	íkwę
geben	úsya
Gebirge	yok
geboren werden	gwaláya
das Kind ist geboren worden	lučkwę gwalátsa
[Gefäß	mbáso (span. vaso)]
gehen	ōkya; ōça; ohóya

Gehilfe des Gobernadors	yásnał noč (noč = gering)
gelb	łkītç
Geld (cf. Silber)	vyoęts
genug	āhna
geradeaus	sot
gering; jünger	noč
Geschenk	pęsnye
Gesicht	ndyíp
gestern	úńna oder: óńna
vor einiger Zeit	ęsę
gesund	káty oder ęw
ich bin gesund	atya ęvupt
glatt	çuńgda
[glauben	cleér (span. creer)]
gleich, gleichwertig	há'nda
es gibt	úńsa
es gibt nicht	męa
Gobernador	tótęns oder tótęnas
[Gold	oro (span.)] nach Castillo i Orosco: gueyo; (cf. Silber)
[Gott (cf. Schöpfer)	dyós (span. Dios)]
Grab der Paez	kyíwę kaç (cf. Erde)
Loch im Felsen = prähist. Grabhöhlen	kwát kaç (cf. Stein)
Grabstock (z. Setzen der Pflanzen und Maiskörner)	atç (cf. ich, heute, Ruana)
Granadilla (Frucht)	łlāl
Gras	tsíts
groß	gwála
sehr groß	tágwala
Großvater (je väterlicher- und mütterlicherseits)	īłi
Großmutter (—"—)	pęndyi
grün (cf. blau)	wályę séin (walyę = Vogelart, ähnlich einer Taube mit grünem Gefieder)
Gruß (als Oberbegriff)	gwéčaya
Gruß gegenüber Älteren	pęteńga
Antwort	pę'taw
Gruß dem Paten oder der Patin	utsméńga

Gruß Gleichaltrigen gegenüber	ǵwča
Antwort	ǵwčataw
Gruß bei Eintritt in ein Haus	payoét
Antwort	mkāč
Verabschiedung für kürzere Zeit	āčnapikāč
Antwort	kyámyo
Verabschiedung bis morgen	kóskay napikāč
Antwort	kyámyo
Verabschiedung für lange Zeit	esǵ napikāč
Guacheraca (Vogel)	fīnš
Guambiano (Stamm)	mógweš
Guarapo (Zuckerrohrsaft)	nyušayumíl (cf. süß; cf. Wasser)
Gurke	kambíč oder pína
Gürtel (für Männer aus Leder)	wílya
Gürtel (bunter gewebter Frauengürtel)	táw
Gunst	novávya
gut	ǵw
Haar	ndỳikās
haben (Hilfsverb)	hípoya
[Hacke für Weizensaat	pála wīk (= gebogene Schippe; pala = span.)]
Hagel	kwátomb
halb, Hälfte	wǵša
Hals	tyik
Halskette für Frauen (cf. Perle)	wača
Hand	kósę
[Hängematte	máca (span. hamaca)]
hängen	ādya
häßlich	ganš
hart	gweç
Haus	yat
Wohnhaus	ōpyat
großes Haus	yatwála
kleines Haus	yatléčkwę
neues Haus	yatúsę
Singhaus	mémyat
Menstruationshaus	dúyat
Feldhütte	ǵyatwá

Hütte für Chicha-Kanoas	ĕkídnyeyát
Vorratshaus	koryāvyat
Gemeindehaus	kabíldęyat
Haut, Fell	kātç
Hebamme	ndōsoknās
helfen	púčya
hell	snęn
heilen	yótsehya
heiraten	ogwéya
verheiratet sein	ogwenyē
um die Hand der Braut bitten	oypę'nyę
zusammenleben ohne verheiratet zu sein	pēndępits
Hemd für Männer	tóńdatç
Obergewand für Frauen	ipōtsaitç
herabsteigen	isáya
herausgehen	kásaya
hervorziehen	kódya
Herz (cf. Seele)	ūńs
heute	ātç
hier	átę
Himmel (als Firmament)	ę̄
Himmel (als Totenland)	mbęka kígwę («Chicha» «Erde» = Erde des Chicha)
Hirsch	čái
hoch	áts
hoffen	oytásya
höher, weiter oben (aber nicht zu weit)	kakanán
sehr weit oben	kotenán
Hölle	eč kígwę (= «Erde der eč-Geister» = tief unten in der Erde)
Holz	ęčna
Holzkohle	ípčač
Honig	mil (bei Castillo i Orosco: miski) (kechua)
[Hose für Männer	calsón (span. calzon)]
hören	pí'iya
Hügel (cf. Berg)	nzęk
Huhn	átaly (kechua)

Hahn	atalyepítstę
Küken	atalyeléčkwe
Hund	alko (kechua)
hundert	teč kwát
Hunger	wę̄
hunger haben (Verb)	węnya
ich habe Hunger, «ich hungere»	węt
Husten	pa
Keuchhusten	ak
Hut	šwá
ich, mein (mask.)	atç
ich, mein (fem.)	ōk
ihr (Poss. Pron.)	kyeç
Inneres des Menschen (Eingeweide; Inneres vom Baum, Ei, Stein)	šákwę
irgendwer	māpa
ja	hṁ
jagen	vítya
Jaguar	ĩ'
Jahr früher:	enztę (Bezeichnung für den einmal im Jahre stattfindenden großen Fischfang)
[jetzt:	ányo (span. año)]
jeder (cf. eins)	tečteč
jener	wítęna
jetzt	āči
jünger, geringer	noč
Jungfrau	gnās
Jüngling	pítstatç
Jungenspiel (Kugel mit Löchern, die in die Luft geworfen und mit Holzstab aufgefangen werden soll)	hęndę
Kalebasse (als Gefäß)	tóka
Kalk	kwátand
kalt	ętsę
«heute viel kalt es macht»	ātya wála ętsę yok
Kamm der Hühner und Hähne	yákwę
Kamm (Frisier-)	kyínd
kämmen	kyíndya

kämpfen	poyía
Kaninchen	kāpç
Kartoffel	ká'ka
Katze	mīl (kechua)
kaufen	gwéya
welches Pferd hast du gekauft?	ma hímbanaṅg inç uwáy?
Kazike	sāt
Kazikin	ūla
Kern einer Frucht, die man nicht essen kann	nyíny
Kern einer eßbaren Frucht	nyón
[Kerze	mbǵla (span. vela)]
Kind	luč
[natürliches Kind	hijo natural (span.)]
Kinn	kēmbámba
Kissen	péndyiki
Kleidung insgesamt	ātç
alte Kleidung	atyíl
klein	léčkwg
Knochen	ndyit
kochen	áhya
kochend (im Augenblick)	kǵlgya
gekocht	kǵlenyi
Kochtopf	mitç
[Kohl	kolis (span. col)]
kommen	pá'ça
Konkubine (heute Bezeichnung für nicht kirchlich getraut lebende Frauen)	mbídye
Koka	ēl
Kokabeutel	kwatandyáha («Kalkbeutel»)
Kopf	dyiktǵ
Kopfschmerz	dyiktçága
Körper	kókwe
krank	átsa
ich bin krank	ātya átsanopt
kratzen	yósya
Kraut	çot
Kreisel	čúṅga
Krieg	gibt es nicht

Kröte	sons
Kuh	kulá
[Stier	tólo (span. toro)]
[Färse	novílya (span. novilla)]
Kalb	kělalúčkwę
Kuhhaut zum Schlafen	ndę́hę
Kuhhorn	káčn
Kupfer (cf. Eisen)	tsam
Kürbis zum Essen	pętę́
Kalebasskürbis	tóka
kurz	múčkwę
lachen	šíkaya
Lagune	īk
lang	ço
langsam	tóntkwę
lassen	tyíkya
Lasso (cf. Seil)	
laufen	wo̧wóya
Laus	
Kopflaus	ę̄s
Kleiderlaus	çwatç
leben; auch: sich befinden	ōpya
ich lebe, ich befinde mich	ātya ōpon
Leber	mętç
legen, setzen	kyípa
Lehm, Ton, Töpfererde	čītç
leicht	tę́ymęt (wörtl. «nicht schwierig»)
leihen	ptyíça
lernen	píyeya
Leiter	afá
letzter	mę́mę́
Licht	çitç
lieben	wéndya
links	hę́mbo
Lippe (cf. Wort)	yúgwę
Loch	kafç
Löffel, großer zum Schöpfen	daví oder éhwa
Löffel, kleiner zum Essen	todlá'tç
Lüge, lügen	kaminyę̄
Luft	ę́sū

machen	vítya
ich mache	ãtya víton
Machete (großes Messer)	čilç gwála
Magen	tótç
mahlen	kóndya
Zuckerrohr mahlen mit Trapiche	nyúła kóndya
Mais mahlen mit Hand	kodç lólea
Mahlzeit (cf. essen)	oṅ
Früh	kõse oṅ
Nachmittag	fí'nzę oṅ
Mais	kodç
Mais, zarter zum Essen	tsot
gerösteter Maiskolben	wáts
Maiskorn	kodç nyíny
Mann jeglichen Alters als allg. Bezeichnung	pítstę
Weißer	múška pítstę od. či'mewel
verheirateter Mann	iyõ
alter Mann	ĩł
Maus, Ratte	úṅsa
Meerschweinchen	fits
Mehl (aus Mais)	ṅva
mehr, als Steigerung	waç
mehr (z. B. essen)	pẽn
nicht mehr	kyáwča
mehrere	ko
Menschen (Bezeichnung der Paez für sich selbst)	nása
Menschenfresser (Mann od. Frau)	õho
Menstruation	íts
Messer	čilç, pelnílya
Mitte	pyéndya
Mittel zur Wiederbelebung von Menschen, das nur die Pijaos, nicht die Calderuner kennen	yótsę
mögen	ṅéndya
Monat (cf. Mond)	ãtę
Mond (cf. Monat)	ãtę
Vollmond	ãtę miṅgwéntę
Halbmond («kleiner Mond))	ãtę lúčkwę

Morgen (Tageszeit)	kosē
morgen (nächster Tag)	kúskay
Mücke	fíng
müde	watç
Mund	wakátç
[Müßiggang, Besuch von Freunden usw.	pasnyándo (span. paseando)]
Mutter	nihí
Mutter (Anrede der eigenen Kinder)	máma
Nabelschnur	kolwát
Nachgeburt (cf. Menstruationshaus)	duyáha
Nachmittag	fí'nze
Nacht	kos
Nadel	nyóns
nahe	útya
nähen	kátya
Name (Vorname)	yās
Familienname	kiweyās
Namengeben, taufen	yaséya
Nase	its
Nasenloch	itskay
nehmen	tónya
nein, nicht	mgt
er nicht, das nicht	kyáńmg
Netz (Vogelnetz)	ōka
niemand	tę̄čanyópa
oben	kotenán
von oben nach unten	ōtkę
von unten nach oben	kę́kę
Ohr	tóńwa
Ohrring	tóńwa yatç
Onkel (Vaterbruder)	nyok
Onkel (Mutterbruder)	ká'ka (kechua)
[Pate	padríno (span.)]
[Patin	madrína (span.)]
Perle einer Halskette aus Glas	wáča
Pest, als allg. Krankheits- und Todesursache, sowie als Begriff der	

Unreinheit	uwẽ
Pferd	hímba
Hengst	himbapítstę
Stute	himbaćitę
Fohlen	himbaléčkwę oder põtrokwe
Pijao (Nachbarstamm)	pipłáw; früher: bemb
Preis, Wert	gibt es nicht
Priester	tikwę
Probe (von Chicha)	ísanye
prüfen	ísa
Pocken	mbõtswę
Pulver (Schieß- und Feuerwerkspulver; cf. Asche)	kõts
Puppe der Mädchen zum Spielen	lõčinyi
Quelle	uvá
Rat, raten	nyútçpénya
Ratte	úńsa
rauben	tsę́ça
Rauch	a
Rauch der Kerze	ípya
Rebhuhn	fil
rechts	pãtso
Regen	nos
es regnet	nospá'yę
geregnet	pá'nyę
Regenbogen	tũs
Regenzeit (cf. Regen)	nospá'nyę
reich (cf. stark)	čãčanas (oder hípenas)
reif (cf. Banane)	gnayoíts
reinigen (nach Beerdigung)	kok
[Reis	los (span. arroz)]
Reise	õhnosnye
reisend	õhnosnye
reisen	úçia
rennen	vevóya
Ring (Finger-)	solčíka
[Rippe	kostílya (span. costilla)]
Rock für Frauen	atçtól
Rohr zum Hutflechten	čĩ
roh	íkyi

rot, rosa, ocker, braun	mbę́
Ruana	kätsaţç (käts = darüber)
rufen	päyeya
rund, oval	çant
säen	óhya
Salz	nénga
Sandfloh	kíma
(«im Park viele Sandflöhe es gibt»)	pálkitę táwala kíma ösya
Same (Mais, Frijol, Weizen, Kartoffeln)	fíw
sauber	(gibt es nicht)
Schamane, guter, allgemein	tę́yu
Schamane, schlechter allgemein	nyíç
Schamane, guter, als Mann	tę́pits
Schamanin, gute	tę́oi
Schamanenstab	táma
saugen, rauchen	čándyaya
schade	sovényę
schädigen	sóbya
Schaf	píła
Schande, Scham	támye
Schatten	pšü
schenken	pę́sya
ich schenke	ätya pę́son
Scherbe	číla
Schere	pténzo
schicken	ikáya
schlafen	ndę́hya
schlafen gehen	pelóya
Schlange	ül; öl
schlecht	ewmę́nas
Schleuder (Steinschleuder, um Tiere vom Saatfeld fernzuhalten)	ísot
schließen	äpya
Schlinge zur Vogel- oder Kaninchenjagd	nyákiwez (nyak = aufstellen; wez = Schnur)
Schmerz	äga
Schmetterling	swáv

schmutzig	gánš
Schnecke	łápę
Schneckengehäuse (nicht zu berühren, da man sonst faul wird und schlecht arbeitet)	túka
schneiden	továkya
schnell, leicht	tond
schön, hübsch	nyíčkwę
Schöpfer, Gott; (cf. Sonne)	tákiyi oder tátyinas
schreiben, malen, streichen, färben	fis
schreien	gwáya
schreien vor Schmerz	pombę́
[Schuh	spato (span. zapato)]
Schuld	iwęhípo
mit Schuld beladen sein	iwęhíponyé
Schulden	yöl
Schulden machen	yólónye
Schulter	bámb
Schwager, (Gatte der Schwester, wenn der Bruder spricht)	tsóǫm
Schwager, (Gatte der Schwester, wenn die Schwester spricht)	sóǫv
Schwägerin, (Gattin d. Bruders, wenn der Bruder spricht)	sóǫv
Schwägerin, (Gattin des Bruders, wenn die Schwester spricht)	tyínas
Schwanz	menz
schwarz	kuč (kechua)
Schwein	čučę
Schwester (der Frau)	yaktę́
Schwester (des Mannes)	pęš
Schwiegermutter	máma
Schwiegersohn	nokwębyó
Schwiegertochter	ndo
Schwiegervater	táta
schwierig	tęĩ
sechs	tesáki
Seele während der Körper lebt (cf. Herz, atmen)	ũńs und tafí
Geist eines Toten	áhimos

sehen	téṅgye; õy
sehr	tā
sehr groß	tāwala
[Seife	kapón (span. jabon)]
Seil (zweidrähtig aus Agavefaser)	mémwez
Seil (dreidrähtig aus Agavefaser)	láso
Seil (von Frauen als Dreierzopf geflochten)	tápe
Seil (dreidrähtig aus Pferdehaar)	séltas
Seil aus Rindshaut (span. Lasso)	kádya
sein, seine (Poss. Pron.)	kyeç
sein = sich befinden	õsya
sein = leben	õpya
Seite, andere	winākę
setzen	káčya, kyíkya
setz dich!	mkač
ich setze mich	ātya kačídn
[Sichel für Weizenernte	osa (span. hoz)]
sie (mask. u. fem. Pers. Pron. Plur.)	kyáṅweł
ihr (Poss. Pron. Plur.)	kyáṅweł
Sie (nur fem.; Pers. Pron. Sing.)	ïkf
Sie (Pers. Pron.; span. «Ustedes»)	ïkweł
Sieb zum Beerenlesen	tása
Silber (auch Kleingeld)	vyó
singen	mę́mya
Sohn	ndyík
kleiner Sohn	łuč
Sohn und Vater oder Sohn und Mutter zusammen	pěndyík
so ist es	kyá vī
Sonne	sek (nach Castillo i Orosco ist sek die Hitze der Sonne. Die Sonne selbst sei itáki; cf. Schöpfer)
Sonntag (cf. Tag)	ki'sen (wörtl. «Tag ohne Arbeit»)
spät	fí'nzę
später (in Verbindung mit Verb-Formen des Futurum)	eṡę́
Spiel	pwę́ṡę
Spindel	wágat
Spinne	topa

Spinnwirtel	nyíṭ
sprechen, sagen	gwábya
Stab	kámbo
[Würdestab des Gobernadors	bastón (span.)]
Stapel	kělovíča
Staub	tond
stark, physisch	čăčanas
ich bin stark	ătya čăčat
ein starker Mann	pítstę čăčat
stark, z. B. Chicha	pōs
Stein	kwát
Mahlstein	oṅko kwát
Feuerstein (Herdstein)	ipç kwát
Kalkstein	kwátand kwát
sterben	óya
gestorben	onyę́
der Capitan ist gestorben	pítan onyę́
Stern	ā
großer Stern	āgwala
unbeweglicher Stern	wéndveš
beweglicher Stern («wie Mond»)	pōsveš
Sternnebel	ányeveš
Sternschnuppe	áimę
Stiefvater	nyok
Stiefmutter	pę́nyok
stinken	kamp
Stirn	sog
Stunde (wörtl.: «Zeitabschnitt, in dem einmal Koka genommen wird»)	ę́netç
suchen	pákwęya
[Sünde	pekál (span. pecado)]
Suppe	besonderes Wort gibt es nicht, da jedes Essen als Suppe gekocht wird.
süß (cf. Honig, cf. Zuckerrohr)	nyuła
Tabak	wáhi
Tag	ę̄n
jeder Tag	ę̄nisa
Tante (Mutterschwester)	pę́nyok
Tante (Mutterbruders Frau)	pę́nyok

Tante (Vaterschwester)	pętsots
tanzen	kúča
ich tanze	ātya kóhon
taub	muč
taufen	yaséya
Teller (aus Holz)	bič
[Tier	nimal (span. animal)]
Tochter	nīs
Tochter und Mutter oder Tochter und Vater zusammen	pěnīs
Topf aus Ton	mitç
großer Topf zum Kochen	mitywála
Topf aus Kalebasskürbis	tuka
Topf zum Chichaschöpfen	yáka
[Tor bei Viehweiden	pwelta (span. puerta)]
tot	onas
der Mann ist tot	pítstę onyúhsa
töten	íkya
Toter	onyē
[toter Säugling	aṅhelito (span. angelito)]
tragen (entweder eine Kalebasse in der Hand oder eine Tasche mit Brust oder Stirn)	tóṅsya
tragen auf der Schulter (Holz oder Zuckerrohr)	yákya
Traum, träumen	łávnyē
trocken	unç
Trockenzeit (cf. Sonne)	sek
Trommel	kwimb; kut
trinken	tónye
[Truthahn	pisko (span.)]
Tür des Hauses	vitç
überlegen	sóṅgya
übermorgen	kúskaykę
umarmen	łá'ṅdya
Umhangtuch für Frauen	panyelón oder sényatç
und	ča
und (in Verbindung mit Poss. Pron. z. B. «und er»)	kyáča
unten	táło oder kekenáho

unterbrechen	yópya
Vater	néi
Vater (Anrede des eigenen Vaters durch die Kinder)	táta
verlassen (cf. geboren werden)	kásenya
verlieren	ivítya
Blut verlieren	yač
ich verlor meinen Machete	ivít't čilç
verkaufen	tyuvéya
Versammlung	pěkākaye
verschiedene	ko
vertrauen	oló
verteidigen	ityíya
Verwandter allg.	nuvéĩ
viele	tak
sehr viele	táwala
vier	pans
violett (cf. blau)	mbę́ séin séin (wörtl.: «rot mit ein wenig blau»)
Vogel	víčakwę
Vogelnetz	ōka
voll	óta
vorgestern	úńga
vorher	oṅahē
vormittag	ę́pya
vollständig	há'nda
Vorname (cf. Name)	kiwęyás
Vorratshaus	kotyāvyat (wörtl. «Maisaufbewahrungshaus»)
vorübergehen	tę́kya
wachsen (cf. groß)	gwaláya
Wahrheit	īsa
Waise	váwčo
Wald	gibt es nicht
Wand des Hauses	īnd
wann	máwven
warm, Wärme (von Feuer oder Sonne)	āčaty
sich wärmen	bač
er geht sich wärmen	báčya

waschen	tyītya
waschen, den Körper	pę́mya
waschen, die Wäsche	tę́tya
waschen, die Hände	kwę́dya
Wasser	yó
schmutziges Wasser	yó ganl
sauberes Wasser	yó ę́w
weben	ominyē
ich webe eine Ruana	ātç ominyē
Webapparat für Ruanas	ātçtél
Webapparat für Frauengürtel	táwkyávitóṅ
Webapparat für Fasertaschen-Bänder	yáhaweskyávitóṅ
weit	ço'
es ist nicht weit	ítya çóomę (wörtl. «nahe, nicht weit»)
Weg	ndyí
weil	zyépaka
weinen	úṅnenya
weiß	čí'me
Weizen	skotç
Weizenkorn	skotç nyíny
welcher	ma
Welt	kigwein
wenig	wę́; wę́ha; wę́ča
weniger = «mehr wenig»	waç wę́
wer?	kyím
wieviel	ma; mánzęn
wild	tsam
Wind	wáça
wir (mask. und fem.; Pers. Pron.);	kwel
unser (mask. u. fem. Poss. Pron.)	kwel
wissen	híyuya
Gott weiß alles	tátyinas híya çúkay
ich weiß nicht	himę́to
Witwe (wörtl. «Frau des eč-Geistes»)	ečoí
Witwer (wörtl. «Mann des eč-Geistes»)	ečpíts
wo (cf. schlafen)	mdę́

wo kann ich schlafen	mdę́ mdęhędyit
Wolle	kas
Wolke	tãp
Wort (cf. Lippe)	yúgwę
wünschen, mögen	ṅéndya
ich mag nicht	ṅéndyi męt
Würzel der Pflanzen, Bäume (cf. Ader)	wétsę
Yuca	ãnya
zählen	ísaya
Zahn	kyĩt
zehn (wörtl.: «Hände zuende»)	kosę́ pémba; kosę́mba
«Zeichen» des Schamanen bei der Séance	itók
zeigen, lehren	tá'šya
[Zeuge	testígo (span.)]
zischen	ṅpaya
Zucker, Zuckerrohr (cf. süß, Honig)	nyúša (kechua)
[Zuckerrohrmühle	lapíče (span. trapiche)]
Zunge	tóne
zurückkehren	šwéndya
zusammen	há'nda
zusammensetzen	pákya
zwei	e'nz
[Zwiebel	sebólya (span. cebolla)]

d) Sprachprobe

nása šínyo

teč pítstęga nása šínyo. kyáka yókso óço vítyin. tyíčaka pęlnílya yáçčaka óhon. kasẽn kágač yóktę pẽnyátę ópon.

çtę́ ópkok teč pipšáw koę́s káko mbáston óro. číčaha óro mbastónasa kígwętę kyíkčaha. çtę́ ípyuka. ę́čna kompténdšaha kělovíčaha. çtę́ pónzękaçtę ĩpç kodyíčaha. çtę́ ípyutka. šíčaha tandyín kaóho kyányo pipšáw kwés gayo. kwés noč gáyo kyásonka tandyínoho. šíčaha toló kaítoṅsyo. teč ol kaítoṅsyo. kya toló dyísa ipyúčaha çtę́ kak. çtę́ olnápa cak. kyáčkęna õla ṅpág. tsẽ.

kyápkača nása šíha kya mbastonása kósehęn sóṅča. číčaha çte ší-

nyołaha pelnílyasa kósętę ãčaka lí'nyo. línaba ápka kya piplábasa kya mbástonasa cósęhęn. sónčaka piplábasa ap. tyígota kya piplába toló yópas ṅmę́. mbastónasa ṅmę wowóka.

kámbo nayát, wówoya púntçka. kyápkača nása líha piplło ęstę ka wowonóso. piplábasa ikẽnyíhika. kyápa piplába kámbos tyítmęka gwówo. gwętę yúčpa. kámbosa kyíkmęka.

tyányohá tek ęlnetç óta kawowó. tek ęlnetç ótasko pénya wítstę zęta. kyápkača líha çtę pényatwístę násayúča káčka. kyápkača piplába pęnyakę ísaṅkéča ókwę gwálatę. kyíčaha yat teč óka.

kyápcača teč látotę piplłáosa kyíwęlinç káse kya lína ógweya. kyápkača kya líha kítyen li' nyóča lwénden wowóka. teč elnétç ótatsko. kya ōl kākinyẽ kígwętey lwénden pāka.

lwénden pāčaha kya ōltyísa tęngen óṅsoka. násayúča. yáhapa ōnsóka: tólapa ōnsóka. óla sont otányilaka ṅ̄nso.

tyínapa fí'ndetsko yátęn óka. yáhasa tóṅglaha nyó. tálłtępačaha kya yáhasa nyónaka tása ndók.

Uebersetzung

Der Menschenjaguar

Ein Mann war ein Menschenjaguar. Er ging in die Berge, um zu jagen. Beim Gehen trug er ein Messer in der Hand. Um sich auszuruhen, setzte er sich mitten auf den Berg, der sich da befand.

Da kam ein Pijao, der Mitglied des Cabildo war, mit seinem goldenen Würdestab. Er setzte den Goldstab auf den Boden. Dann entzündete er ein Feuer. Holz schichtete er zu einem Stapel aufeinander. Dann zog er aus der Achselhöhle Feuer hervor. Dann entzündete er es.

Der Menschenjaguar bemerkte, daß der, der da ging, ein Pijao war, ein Mitglied des Cabildo. Es war ein Mitglied von geringem Rang, so bemerkte er. Dann trug (der Pijao) Bananen herbei, und eine Schlange trug er herbei. Diese Bananen briet er im entzündeten Feuer. Ebenso briet er die Schlange. Kurz darauf zischte die Schlange. tsẽ.

Der Menschenjaguar überlegte, wie er diesen Stab in die Hand bekommen könnte. Mit einem Messer in der Hand sprang der Menschenjaguar plötzlich los. Er sprang auf den Pijao los, um dessen Stab in die Hand zu nehmen. So überlegte er, als er auf den Pijao lossprang. Der Pijao jedoch unterbrach das Essen der Bananen. Er ergriff seinen Stab und lief davon, ohne zu essen.

Den Stab hielt er in der Hand, so fing er an zu laufen. Dann lief der Menschenjaguar hinter dem Pijao her. Fast tötete er den Pijao. Dieser ließ seinen Stab nicht los, während er lief. Er fiel hin, seinen Stab ließ er nicht los.

Es waren drei Stunden voll, solange lief er. Als drei Stunden zu Ende waren, kamen sie an einen Felsen. Dann verwandelte sich der Jaguar auf dem Felsen in einen Menschen und setzte sich nieder. Der Pijao stieg vom Felsen herab und ging zu einer großen Ebene. Er ging in sein Haus.

Nach einem Augenblick gehen die Pijaos heraus und kommen gelaufen, um diesen Jaguar zu ergreifen. Darauf verwandelte sich der Menschenjaguar ein anderes Mal in einen Jaguar und kehrt zurück und läuft weg. Drei volle Stunden (lief er zurück). Die gebratene Schlange lag auf der Erde, als er zurückkam.

Als er zurückkam, sah er die Schlange an ihrem Platz. Dann verwandelte er sich in einen Menschen zurück. Auch die Fasertasche war da. Auch die Bananen waren da. Die Schlange mit Wasser gefüllt (d. h. halb gar, noch wässerig) war da.

Es wurde Nachmittag, als er in sein Haus ging. Die Tasche brachte er seiner Frau. Er kam mit dieser Tasche zu seiner Frau. Als er angeklopft hatte, trat er ein.

1. ORIENTIERUNG UND ALLGEMEINE KENNTNISSE

Über das alte Weltbild der Paez läßt sich nichts Sicheres aussagen, da die christliche Beeinflussung in starkem Masse modifizierend gewirkt hat. Jedenfalls gibt es im Vokabular der Paez das Wort «tátyinas», das teilweise mit «Gott», teilweise — und der Wortbedeutung mehr entsprechend — mit «Schöpfer» übersetzt wird. Für die Bezeichnung des christlichen Gottes wird das Wort «Dios» verwandt. Tátyinas lebt, wie man mir sagte, im Himmel, auf der Erde und in der Erde. Er hat alle Menschen gemacht. Opfer bekommt er nicht. In schamanischen Zeremonien wird er nicht erwähnt.

Aus dem Vokabular geht hervor, daß neben der Erde und der Vorstellung eines Himmels bzw. des Firmamentes noch zwei Stätten des Todes geläufig waren. Das glückliche Todesland mbéka kígwę wird mit dem Himmel gleichgesetzt. Wörtlich heißt es «Land der Chicha», und wenn man die Paez kennt, versteht man, daß es sich dabei in jedem Falle um

ein glückliches Land handeln muß. Das der «Hölle» entsprechende Totenland wird als eĉ kígwę bezeichnet. Die eĉ sind die bösesten aller Geister. Sie wohnen in der Erde, weswegen bei dieser Bezeichnung wohl ein unterirdisches Land verstanden werden muß.

An natürlichen Zeitabschnitten sind nur Tage und Monate bekannt, sowie Arbeitstage und nicht-Arbeitstage (ki'sen). Letztere Bezeichnung wird heute für den Sonntag verwendet. Ursprünglich lag dieser Tag nicht fest, sondern man arbeitete und feierte, wie man sich gerade innerhalb einer größeren oder kleineren Gemeinschaft die Zeit einteilen konnte. Auch heute noch arbeiten die Leute zu Zeiten der Rodung mitunter wochenlang im Felde, ohne einen arbeitsfreien Tag einzulegen.

Der Zeitabschnitt eines Tages wird unterteilt in den Tag (ẽn) und die Nacht (kos). Die Morgenfrühe heißt kosẽ, der Nachmittag zur Zeit des Endes der Arbeit, die man nach dem Sonnenstand feststellt, fl'nze. Weitere Unterteilungen des Tages werden nach dem Zeitabschnitt eines élnetç vorgenommen, worunter man den Zeitraum des Kauens einer Dosis Koka versteht. In der Übersetzung wird diese Bezeichnung für die «Stunde» verwandt. Der größte Zeitabschnitt ist der Monat «āte» für dessen Bezeichnung das gleiche Wort wie für «Mond» benutzt wird. Für den Zeitraum eines Jahres verwendet man das spanische Wort año. Früher benutzte man das Wort enztę. Es ist die Bezeichnung für das jährlich einmal stattfindende große Gemeinschaftsfischen am Stauwehr zur Trockenzeit im Februar. Nicht als Zeitabschnitt, sondern als Jahreszeit werden die beiden Regenzeiten mit nospá'nye und die beiden Trockenzeiten des Jahres mit sek bezeichnet. Letzteres ist auch gleichzeitig das Wort für «Sonne».

Irgendwelche größeren geographischen Orientierungen oder regionale eigenständige Einteilungen waren nicht zu erfahren. Das gesamte Tierradentro ist ohnehin von zivilisierten Gebieten eingeschlossen — selbst eine Autostraße führt nach Belalcazar —, so daß viele Paez-Männer die umliegenden Landschaften und sogar Städte mit eigenen Augen gesehen haben. Nur in den westlichen Grenzbergen der Zentralkordillere, in Richtung Popayán, vermutet man die Wohngebiete der schrecklichen Menschenfresser, der Pijaos. Geographische Orientierungsmittel sind nicht bekannt. Man reist nur am Tage in Gruppen und schließt sich einem des Weges Kundigen an. Von den Sternen weiß man nur, daß es bewegliche und unbewegliche gibt, ohne sie jedoch näher oder nach ihren Bildern zu unterscheiden.

Erstaunlich ist, daß die Paez trotz der Siedlung in Einzelgehöften keinerlei optische oder akustische Verständigungsmittel über größere Ent-

fernungen besitzen. Bei dringenden Nachrichten oder Fragen schickt man Kinder.

Zahlen gibt es nur von 1 bis 6 und 10. Für die Bezeichnungen 7 bis 9 werden die entsprechenden spanischen Zahlwörter benutzt. Das Paez-Wort für «zehn» (kóeg pémba) heißt wörtlich «Hände zuende» und weist darauf hin, daß zum Zählen die Finger genommen wurden. Die Zehen werden zum Zählen nicht benutzt, sondern was über zehn hinausgeht, wird als «viel» (teč kwát), wörtlich «ein Stein», bezeichnet. Es ist heute die Bezeichnung für «hundert».

Die medizinischen Kenntnisse der Paez sind nicht bedeutend. Fast alle Krankheiten werden ohnehin als auf magische Ursachen beruhend angesehen und von den Schamanen behandelt (siehe unten). Knochenbrüche werden von der Hebamme behandelt, die Kuhfett darauf streicht und Blätter darüber wickelt. Geschient wird das gebrochene Glied nicht. Die Hebamme vermag bei schwerer Geburt das Kind in die richtige Lage zu drehen, wenn dann die Geburt nicht vonstatten geht, ist ihre Kunst zuende. Gegen Schlangenbisse weiß man kein Mittel. Bei Kopfschmerzen bindet man sich ein Blatt vor den Kopf. Bei Magenblähungen streicht man sich etwas Holzasche auf den Bauch. Bei Verletzungen durch den Machete, die stark bluten, wird das betreffende Glied oberhalb der verletzten Stelle abgebunden und die Wunde mit einem Stückchen Stoff abgedeckt. Der Schamane läßt den Verletzten fest mit allen Zähnen auf den eisernen Machete beißen.

3. RELIGION

Die Paez sind heute nominell Christen. Sie sind getauft und meist durch den katholischen Priester getraut. Die christliche Missionierung setzte bereits im 16. Jahrhundert ein, anfangs freilich mit geringem Erfolg, der sich auch nicht vergrößerte, als von 1630—1654 jesuitische Missionare die Missionstätigkeit übernahmen. Erst in den letzten Jahrzehnten stellten sich größere Fortschritte ein. Hand in Hand mit der Missionierung zum Christentum geht die Lehre und Einführung der spanischen Sprache und die Annahme von kolumbianischen Sitten und Gebräuchen. Heute befindet sich in fast jedem Dorf eine Missionsstation und eine Schule, deren Lehrerinnen meist die Missionarinnen sind. Die Eltern schicken ihre Kinder im allgemeinen nicht ungerne in die Schulen, da sie erkannt haben, daß die Kenntnisse des Spanischen und des Lesens und Schreibens gewisse Vorteile im Verkehr mit den Weißen mit sich bringen. Mit der

Schulerziehung ist naturgemäß eine gewisse Entfremdung von den alten Sitten und Gebräuchen der Paez verbunden, besonders denen religiöser und soziologischer Art. Dennoch sind in allen Paez- Gemeinschaften, in denen vom Großteil der Bevölkerung das Spanische nicht verstanden wird, zur Aufrechterhaltung insbesondere des sozialen Lebens noch die alten Funktionäre der ursprünglichen Paez-Religion vonnöten. Diese werden gemäß ihrem Wirken von der Religionswissenschaft als «Schamanen» bezeichnet. Sie bilden durch die Andersartigkeit ihrer religiösen Tätigkeit keineswegs eine unüberbrückbare Konkurrenz für die christlichen Missionen, sondern beide, christlicher Glaube und schamanisches Wirken, können im gegenwärtigen Kulturstadium der Paez durchaus nebeneinander existieren.

Faßt man bestehende religionswissenschaftliche Feststellungen ins Auge, so findet man Amt und Würde des Kultpriesters im Vollzug heiliger Handlungen beruhend, deren Ablauf als Notwendigkeit erfüllt werden muß, damit der natürliche und normale Werdegang im menschlichen Dasein keine Stockung erleidet. Ihre Aufgabe ist es, durch die Weihe der sakralen Handlungen die vorhandene Ordnung der Welt zu bestätigen. Die Schamanen aber wollen — im Gegenteil! — die gegebene Ordnung in Natur und Umwelt überbieten und durchbrechen. Ihre Größe und Autorität beruht darin, daß sie übernatürliche Dinge tun, daß sie Kranke heilen, mit Geistern kämpfen, ja, Tote zu neuem Leben erwecken. So jedenfalls wird von den größten dieser Art gesagt, deren Begabung in ihren geistigen, übernatürlichen Kräften, in der Meisterung außergewöhnlicher Zustände liegt. Dem «so ist es» des Kultpriesters setzt der Schamane das «so sollte es sein» entgegen (A. Friedrich).

a) Kennzeichen des Paez-Schamanismus

Die Paez-Schamanen sind in dem dargelegten Sinne keine Funktionäre eines Opferkultes, sondern Menschen, die übernatürliche Dinge tun. Es gibt von ihnen zwei Arten, die tęyu und die nyiç. Während der tęyu (als Mann tępits, als Frau tę́oi) ein guter Schamane, ein guter Arzt und Helfer der Menschen ist, ist der nyiç ein böser Schamane, ein böser Zauberer, ein Hexer. Beider schamanisches Wirken jedoch, als Religionsphänomen, ist längst nicht so ausgeprägt, wie wir es beispielsweise vom sibirischen oder nordamerikanischen Schamanismus her kennen.

Ob die Paez in früherer Zeit ein Kultpriestertum neben den heute tätigen Schamanen gekannt haben, ist nicht sicher. Sie gebrauchen jedenfalls zur Bezeichnung der Priester und Missionare das Wort tikwę, wel-

ches zu nichts anderem sonst verwendet wird. Das heutige eigenständige Denken der Paez, ihre gesamte geistige Haltung, kreist trotz Missionierung und Christentum um Zauber und Gegenzauber. Keine Verletzung, keine Krankheit, kein Mißwuchs, kein schlechter Viehstand wird auf natürliche Ursachen zurückgeführt, sondern alles ist das Werk bösen Zaubers. Da die Menschen selbst völlig von dieser Überzeugung durchdrungen und in dieser Idee eingefangen sind, entspricht der tatsächliche Erfolg der bösen Zauberer dem gewünschten; das heißt, ein Mensch, der weiß, daß er verzaubert ist, wird, das Unausweichliche seines Schicksals vor Augen, auch wirklich krank und stirbt. Opfer sind fast immer die sparsamsten und fleißigsten Mitglieder der Gemeinschaft, diejenigen, die durch Erfolge über die anderen hinausragen.

Irgendwelche bevorzugt betroffene Personen nach Alter, Geschlecht oder sozialem Stand — mit Ausnahme der guten Schamanen, die ununterbrochen das Angriffsziel der bösen sind — gibt es nicht. Wer sich in Kleidung und Lebensweise den Sitten der Weißen anpaßt, mit diesen Umgang pflegt, nicht mehr Koka kaut, mit modernen Werkzeugen arbeitet und seinen Ackerbau nach den Grundsätzen der Kolonisten betreiben will, wird durch die nyiç bekämpft.

Aber nicht nur das äußerliche Herausragen des Individuums aus der Menge ruft den Neid der nyiç hervor, sondern auch die allgemeine Beliebtheit eines Einzelnen, und damit ein gewisser persönlicher Einfluß innerhalb des Dorfes. So war beispielsweise der Vater unseres Victoriano Opfer einer bösen Zauberei. Er gilt als sehr intelligent, ist ein guter Arbeiter, weiß am besten Häuser und Brücken zu bauen und hat sogar eine Reise nach der Stadt Popayán unternommen. Wegen seiner Beliebtheit und seines immer guten Rates — so berichtet man — versuchte ein nyiç ihn aus Neid zu töten. Eines Nachts, als er schlief, raubte dieser ihm seine Seele. Sein Bruder aber merkte es und spie Koka auf sie. Am nächsten Tage wurde das Auge des Verzauberten weiß und wäre beinahe ausgelaufen, wenn nicht ein tęyu geholfen hätte. Auf diesem Auge blieb er aber bis heute blind.

Besonderes Ziel der bösen Zauberer sind die weißen Kolumbianer. Man fürchtet sich zwar, öffentlich etwas gegen sie zu unternehmen, aber die zauberischen Manipulationen der nyiç gegen diese sind allgemein bekannt. Davon betroffen sind in erster Linie die Weißen, die den Paez Land geraubt haben, wozu auch die Missionare gehören. Die nyiç versuchen dann, die Seelen der Weißen in ihre Gewalt zu bekommen, sie mit Kräutern zu behandeln und so träge zu machen, daß sie nicht mehr ins Tierradentro zurückkehren. Man sagt auch, daß die nyiç ihre Mittel

in der Kirche niedergelegt hatten, damit der Missionspfarrer aus Belalcazar nie mehr dorthin komme und sie nie mehr betrete.

Opfer der bösen Zauberei sind aber nicht nur Menschen und Tiere, sondern auch die bebauten Felder, die mittels Eier, Salz oder Schamhaaren verhext werden können. Die betroffenen Familien können sich dann nicht mehr ernähren, und die Familienväter müssen in manchen Fällen das Dorf verlassen, um sich bei den Weißen zu verdingen. Die Entfernung des Mißliebigen ist damit erreicht. Seine Rückkehr wird auf magischem Wege verhindert, indem der nyiç auf die Verbindungswege Spezialkräuter legt, die der betreffende nicht überschreiten kann.

Die Hilfsmittel der bösen Zauberei sind nicht etwa Gegenstände der zu verzaubernden Personen, die in einer pars-pro-toto-Handlung verwendet werden, sondern ausschließlich Teile oder Mittel aus dem Besitz des Zauberers, die zu ihrer Wirkung mit den Opfern selbst oder dessen Seele in enge Berührung gebracht werden müssen. Wünscht der nyiç seinem Opfer einen Unfall, so legt er diesem an irgendeine Stelle seines Hauses einen glatt polierten Stein aus dem Fluß. Die betreffende Person wird dann bald ausgleiten und stürzen und sich dabei die Knochen brechen oder verrenken. Eine andere Möglichkeit der Verzauberung besteht darin, daß der nyiç auf die Nahrungsmittel seines Opfers seine Mittel streicht. So berichtet ein Schamane von Santa Rosa, wie der ehemalige junge und tüchtige Gobernador Leonidas von der nyiç Dolores Dinó getötet wurde. Diese besuchte ihn eines Tages, als er alleine in seinem Garten arbeitete und warf einige ihrer eigenen Schamhaare in das Essen in seinem Kochtopf und dazu ein Bruchtstück von einem vorgeschichtlichen Tontopf der Pijao. Leonidas aß von diesem Mahl. Danach begann seine Kehle auszutrocknen und er konnte nur noch mit Mühe atmen, bis er schließlich starb.

Die bösen Schamanen sind allgemein öffentlich nicht bekannt. Es können aber tęyu und nyiç sowohl Männer als auch Frauen sein. Ja, der berühmteste und klügste tęyu, den wir trafen, war eine alte Frau, Felisa Ipia in Santa Rosa, die allerdings gleichzeitig auch als die böseste Zauberin gilt, die je existierte. Alle Krankheiten und Unglücke in Santa Rosa werden ihrem Wirken zugerechnet. Der Cabildo hat deswegen auch schon einmal alle ihre Heilkräuter verbrannt und ihren Schamanenstab zerbrochen. Doch wagt man gegen sie nichts Ernstliches mehr zu unternehmen, da man sie, wie alle bösen Zauberer, fürchtet. Früher hat man die überführten nyiç jeweils ganz schwer bestraft, nachdem aber viele Mitglieder des Cabildo durch Zauberei gestorben waren, wagt heute niemand mehr, die bekannten nyiç anzuklagen.

Zu dem Problem der männlichen und weiblichen Schamanen erklärte ein tęyu aus Calderas, daß Frauen an sich ein ausgezeichnetes Gefühl und damit beste Anlagen zum Schamanen hätten. Da sie aber verschlagener und hinterlistiger als die Männer seien, würden sich die weiblichen Schamanen jederzeit in eine böse Zauberin verwandeln können. Und gerade das mache sie so gefährlich und damit ungeeignet für den Beruf eines guten Schamanen.

Die Grenze zwischen tęyu und nyiç ist also fließend. Beide Aspekte des Schamanentums können in einer Person vereinigt sein, oder es kann der tęyu zu einem nyiç werden und umgekehrt. Deshalb sei im folgenden die Erscheinungsform des Schamanismus der tęyu beschrieben. Die nyiç basieren im Geistigen auf gleicher Grundlage. Sie zeigen ohnehin niemals ihre Kräuter und Hilfsmittel und lassen niemanden an ihren Zeremonien teilnehmen. Die tęyu hingegen gaben bei näherer Bekanntschaft bereitwilligst über ihr Wissen Auskunft und ließen uns auch an ihren Séancen teilnehmen.

b) Die Werdezeit des Schamanen

Die mir bekannten tęyu sind auf zweierlei Art Schamane geworden. Entweder haben sie bei einem tęyu mehr oder weniger lange Zeit gelernt, bis sie die «Zeichen» bekamen oder sie wurden unmittelbar durch eine Vision zum Schamanen berufen. Letzteres, als Folge einer besonderen Erwähltheit durch ein von höheren Wesen verursachtes Erlebnis, ist die ursprünglichere Art der Schamanenberufung, während eine regelrechte Lehre bei einem erfahrenen tęyu kennzeichnend ist für die Schamanen, die das Amt ihres Vaters und zum Teil auch das ihres Großvaters weiterführen. Diese «Erbschamanen» sind durchwegs nicht so magisch-kräftig, wie die durch eine Vision erstmalig Erwählten. Die Erbschamanen sind nur mehr die Fortführer gelernten schamanischen Handwerkes, während die erstmalig Erwählten die Fortführer der Tradition eines Menschen- und Tierschöpfers, eines heldischen Kriegsanführers und Befreiers ihres Volkes sind. Diese mythische bedeutende Figur der Paez-Tradition ist der Donner, der auch als der erste und magisch-kräftigste aller Schamanen gilt. Seine menschlichen Nachfolger als Schamanen standen ihm in früherer Zeit kaum nach, während die heutigen in ihren magischen Fähigkeiten allgemein bedeutend zurückstehen.

Die tęoi Felisa Ipia aus Santa Rosa ist etwa 70 Jahre alt (Abb. 199). Ihr Mann sowie sechs Kinder sind gestorben. Drei Kinder leben. Außer einigen Hühnern und Puten hält sie keine Tiere. Über ihre Berufung erzählt sie, sie habe ihren Ruf als Schamanin vom Donner empfangen.

Dieser lebe in der Lagune von Taibe. Er erschien ihr in einer schwarzen Wolke und stieg zu ihr in menschlicher Gestalt zur Erde herab und übergab ihr ihren Schamanenstab und ihre Heilkräuter, wobei er sagte, daß sie von ihm als tçoi berufen wäre. Sie übte dann ihre Kunst lange Zeit aus; die Leute sagten aber, daß sie ein böser Schamane, ein nyiç, wäre und brachten sie vor den Cabildo, damit sie bestraft würde. Da die Leute sich vor den nyiç sehr fürchten, hat sie dort viele Schläge bekommen, und zwar mit ihrem eigenen Schamanenstab. Danach hat man diesen zerbrochen und auf dem Dorfplatz samt ihren Heilkräutern verbrannt. Dann schickten sie sie in ihr Haus zurück, ohne ihren Stab und ohne ihre Heilkräuter. Als aber wieder jemand krank wurde, kamen die Leute doch wieder zu ihr und baten sie, dem Kranken zu helfen. Daraufhin fertigte ihr Mann, der aber kein Schamane war, einen neuen Stab an; sie selbst suchte sich wieder ihre Heilkräuter und konnte den Kranken helfen. Seitdem ist sie wieder als guter Schamane anerkannt und hilft allen, die zu ihr kommen. Ein anderer Schamane in Santa Rosa erklärte, daß er seine Berufung schon mit sechs Jahren erhalten hätte. Als er eines Tages auf dem Felde arbeitete, kam seine Mutter, schwarz gekleidet und mit einem Hut auf dem Kopf zu ihm und schalt ihn wegen seiner schlechten Arbeit. Als sie wegging, folgte er ihr, aber sie verschwand im Fluß. Als er nach Hause kam, stellte er fest, daß die Frau, die er sah, nicht seine Mutter gewesen sein konnte, da diese sich zu der Zeit auf dem Gemeinschaftsfeld befunden hatte, wo sie für die Arbeitenden kochte. Zweifellos war diese Frau ein Geist, bekannte er, die ihm sagen wollte, daß er Schamane werden sollte. Dies bestätigten ihm auch zwei Fasertaschen, die sie mit sich trug, und die genau denen entsprechen, wie sie auch die Schamanen für ihre Heilkräuter benutzen. Ein Schamane von Calderas erzählte, daß in einer Nacht ein wunderschönes blondes Kind mit der Haartracht der Frauen zu ihm kam, das aber der Donner war, und ihn aufforderte, Schamane zu werden.

Wenn man von selbst keine Visionen bekommt, kann man sie, um Schamane zu werden, auch willentlich suchen. Man dürfe dazu nur ganz wenig essen und müsse sich mindestens während eines Monates völlig des Ají (eines sehr scharfen Gewürzes) und des Salzes enthalten. (Das gleiche geschieht auch mit einem Jugendlichen, nachdem dieser unwillentlich eine Vision bekommen hat.) Der eine Vision Suchende geht dann ganz allein in die Berge, wo er lange über Berg und Tal wandert, bis er an einen schönen Platz kommt, wo er einen älteren Mann trifft. Auch dieser kaut, wie er selbst, Koka. Durch sein Aussehen und sein freundliches Verhalten flößt er dem Jungen Vertrauen ein, und dieser erzählt

ihm von seinen Wünschen, Schamane zu werden. Er erwähnt dabei, daß es in seinem Dorfe so viele kranke Leute gäbe, die seiner Hilfe bedürfen und daß er in die Berge gegangen sei, um die Heilkräuter, wie sie auch die Schamanen haben, zu suchen. Der Angesprochene erwidert, daß es in den Bergen wohl viele gute Heilkräuter gäbe, um damit die Menschen gesund zu machen. Damit überreicht er ihm eine Fasertasche voll mit Kräutern und erklärt ihm, bei welcher Krankheit dieses und bei welcher jenes helfe. Derart erklärend macht er den Jüngling mit allen Kräutern vertraut und erklärt ihm deren Anwendung. Dann zeigt er ihm die Herstellung des Schamanenstabes und läßt ihn schließlich die «Zeichen» fühlen, ohne deren Kenntnis die der Heilkräuter wertlos wäre, da diese ja nur in Verbindung mit den entsprechenden «Zeichen» angewendet werden können. (Vgl. dazu unter «Folklore» die ähnlichen Mythen von Llivan!) Wieder nach Hause zurückgekehrt, beginnt der Jüngling zunächst bei einem erfahrenen Schamanen zu lernen, um dann mit einer Krankenheilung innerhalb seiner eigenen Familie zu beginnen. Hat er Erfolg, kommen auch die anderen Leute, um seine Dienste in Anspruch zu nehmen.

Auch ohne eine Vision gehabt zu haben, kann man Schamane werden. Man geht dazu bei einem guten Schamanen in die Lehre und lernt dort mehrere Jahre hindurch die praktischen Handgriffe. Dazu gehört die Handhabung des Schamanenstabes, die Kenntnis der Heilkräuter und die Interpretation der «Zeichen», um die Krankenbehandlung erfolgreich werden zu lassen. Auch hier geschieht die erste Behandlung bei den Familienangehörigen unter Aufsicht des Schamanenlehrers. Vom Ausgang dieser Behandlung hängt sein Ansehen und sein weiterer Zuspruch innerhalb der Gemeinschaft ab.

Auf diese letztere Art sind einige der Calderuner «Erbschamanen» zu ihrem Amt gekommen. So der tępits Martin Chukue. Er ist etwa fünfzig Jahre alt. Seine Frau ist vor sechs Jahren gestorben. Von ihr hatte er vier Kinder, von denen drei ebenfalls gestorben sind. Von seiner zweiten Frau hat er ein Kind. Er wohnt in einem kleinen Haus, hat aber kein Feld, keine Kühe, Schafe oder Schweine. Sein Onkel war tępits. Mit diesem lebte er viele Jahre zusammen, bis er etwa dreißig Jahre alt wurde. Da empfing er zum ersten Male die «Zeichen» in seinem Arm, machte sich seinen Stab und wurde selbständig. Nach seiner Meinung kann man schamanieren nicht erlernen, sondern dies sei eine Vererbungsgabe. Er selbst hat keinen Sohn und keinen Schüler.

Der tępits Francisco Cuskue ist etwa vierzig Jahre alt, verheiratet, hat vier Töchter und einen Sohn. Zwei Kinder sind gestorben. Er hat weder

Kühe noch Schweine, Pferde oder Schafe und ist sehr arm. Seit seiner Kindheit hat er gelernt, denn Vater und Großvater waren auch Schamanen. Er will, daß auch sein Sohn Schamane wird. Dieser, etwa zehn Jahre alt, hat aber noch nicht mit der Lehre begonnen. Auf meine Frage, ob auch ich, als Fremder, Schamane werden könnte, bestätigte er, daß dies möglich wäre, erklärte aber, daß die Ausbildung sehr lange und schwierig sei. Man müsse von Kindheit an lernen, bis man etwa 25 oder 30 Jahre alt ist. Ich, in meinem Falle, sei bereits zu alt, um noch zu beginnen.

Der in der Nähe des Schamanen Francisco wohnende tepits Cerbeleón Niunda (Abb. 153), Sohn eines Schamanen, lernte bei seinem Vater und hat schon mit zehn Jahren «Zeichen» gehabt. Er ist jetzt schätzungsweise 55 Jahre alt (kein Paez weiß, wie alt er ist) und hatte zehn Kinder, von denen sechs gestorben sind. An Besitz hat er weder Pferd noch Kuh noch Schaf. Während alle Paez sich die Bergbächlein so ableiten, daß ein kleiner Wassergraben an ihrem Hause vorbeifließt und sie immer nur fließendes Wasser verbrauchen, haben die Schamanen Francisco und Cerbeleón ein gemeinsames, kleines Staubecken unterhalb einer Quelle, aus dem sie trinken und in das sie vor dem Trinken eines ihrer Heilkräuter, lü, hineinlegen. Auf Befragen erklärten beide, daß sie dies nicht aus einem besonderen Grunde täten und in dem Becken auch nichts entdecken könnten, weder Krankheiten noch die Zukunft.

So wie der gute Schamane durch eine Vision erwählt worden ist, so gilt dies auch für den bösen Zauberer. Für ihn gilt als Vorzeichen, ein nyiç zu werden, wenn er beispielsweise im Traume einen Vogel sieht, der in seinem Schnabel einen Esel hält, in dessen geöffneten Mund Fliegen hineinkriechen, oder ganz einfach der Traum von Schweinen. Seine Vision kann der angehende nyiç tagsüber oder nachts bekommen; man sagt, daß Leute, die viel während der Nacht unterwegs sind, am anfälligsten für die böse Zauberei seien, da sie zu diesen Zeiten die meisten Möglichkeiten zum Zusammentreffen mit bösen Geistern haben. Einen Lehrer brauchen sie im allgemeinen nicht, sondern sie können sich alleine ihre Kräuter suchen. Es gibt allerdings auch viele Leute, die die Zauberei gerne von anderen nyiç erlernen möchten wie es auch nyiç geben soll, die andere in ihrer Kunst unterweisen.

Meidungsvorschriften und Tabus erstrecken sich für den Schamanen auf eine gewisse geschlechtliche und ernährungsmäßige Enthaltsamkeit, ohne allerdings sonderlich umfangreich oder streng zu sein. Der Umgang mit seiner Frau ist ihm verboten, wenn er seine «Zeichen» fühlt. Außerdem darf er möglichst keinen Ají essen, um den Donner nicht zu sehr zu erzürnen. Auch Salz darf er nur sehr wenig essen, da der Donner auch

kein Salz ißt. Zu den Séancen, die immer in der Nacht stattfinden, tastet er den ganzen Tag, da ein voller Magen das Fühlen der «Zeichen» erschwert. Die sonstigen Meidungsgebote sind für den Schamanen die gleichen, wie für alle anderen Menschen auch. So darf man beispielsweise keine Schnecken töten, denn wenn man sie anrühren würde, würde man faul werden. Desgleichen darf der Schwarzspecht (ánza) nicht getötet werden, da man sich sonst bei der Arbeit den Machete in ähnlicher Art spalten würde, wie der Schwanz des Spechtes gebildet ist. Einem Fuchs ein geraubtes Huhn abzunehmen ist jungen Männern verboten, denn dann würde ein anderer Mann diesem die Braut oder die Frau wegnehmen. Nur alte Männer dürfen ein solches Huhn ruhig essen, wenn sie vorher mit einem Feuerbrand um das Haus gelaufen sind.

c) Schamanische Hilfsmittel

Unter den schamanischen Hilfsmitteln sind die «Zeichen» das wichtigste Erfahrungsmerkmal, während das äußere Zeremonialgerät gleich karg ist, wie die gesamte Paez-Kultur. Das einzige Zeremonialgerät ist der schmucklose Schamanenstab, dessen funktionelle Bedeutung aber hinter den schamanischen «Zeichen» (Itok) weit zurücktritt. «Sie sind wie das Picken eines Vogels», erklärt sie der Schamane Cerbeleón Niunda, und Francisco Cuskue schildert sie als verschieden schnelle Schläge seines Pulses. Sie empfangen und interpretieren zu können, ist die Grundlage des Schamane-Seins. Die Kenntnis der Heilkräuter, die Handhabung des Schamanenstabes, ja selbst die visionäre Schau des Donners alleine sind wertlos, wenn der Schamane keine Zeichen empfängt. Durch sie erfährt der tęyu die Krankheitsursache und die zur Heilung anzuwendenden Mittel, die immer in der Verabreichung von Kräutern bestehen. Jeder Schamane hat deshalb immer seine Fasertasche mit allen seinen Heilkräutern bei sich, um diese jederzeit zur Hand zu haben und anwenden zu können. Da eine Krankheit nach Auffassung der Paez aber keine physische Ursache hat, finden die zur Heilung verwendeten Kräuter ihre Anwendung auch nicht nach den medizinischen Erfahrungen des Schamanen, sondern nur nach seinen Zeichen.

Die von den Schamanen benutzten Kräuter sind die folgenden* čandúr, eš (Erythroxydon Coca), bičač (Hevea?) čulko (Oxalis sp.), čáyuts (Scutellaria racemosa Per.), čuwét, fisa, ečyútsę čime (Labiada?),

* Diese, wie auch einige weitere Daten zum Schamanismus der Paez entnehme ich der ausgezeichneten Zusammenstellung bei S. Bernal Villa (III).

gwepekas (Urera boccifera L.), kwése (Lonchocarpus?), limonsílyo (Cymbopogon citratus) nyika, nyundayuskey, łü (Spagnum sp.), łuwés (Peperomia sp.), łulápe, łupenyí (Peperomia sp.), tátsę, táyuskę (Peperomia sp.), ul níny (Hibiscur abelmoschus L.), umsim (Myrcia acuminata DC. Vell, aff., vitubítskwę, wáhi (Nicotiana Tabacum L.), yakúma, yúskay (Scleria cattarinensis Boeck).

Die meisten dieser Kräuter werden zunächst vom Schamanen gekaut und dann über die erkrankte Stelle gespien. Wenn ein Mensch im Sterben liegt, und seine Seele den Körper vom Herzen, über die Oberarme, den Puls der Unterarme und über die Fingerspitzen verläßt, wird beispielsweise das Kraut čáyuts von dem Schamanen von den Fingerspitzen her in Richtung zu den Achselhöhlen gespieen, um dem Verlassen der Seele Einhalt zu gebieten. Selten nur wird aus den Blättern ein Tee gekocht.

Außer den Mitteln, die der Schamane für die Krankenheilung anwenden muß, sagen ihm seine Zeichen auch Schicksal und Zukunft voraus oder verkünden ihm, ob sich Krankheiten bessern oder verschlechtern werden. Sie teilen ihm auch Ereignisse mit, die unmittelbar bevorstehen. So erfährt er durch sie, daß beispielsweise Kranke am nächsten Tage zu ihm mit der und der Krankheit oder dem und dem Anliegen kommen werden. Für alle diese Anlässe hat jeder Schamane seine Zeichen an bestimmten Körperstellen, von denen die auf der linken Körperhälfte allgemein etwas Ungünstiges bedeuten, die auf der rechten Körperhälfte irgendetwas Gutes. So bedeutet das Aufsteigen der Zeichen von der rechten Fußaußenseite zum Knöchel, daß die Heilkräuter wirken. Wenn die Zeichen von der linken Fußaußenseite aufwärtssteigen, so ist dies der Beweis, daß der nyiç siegen und der Verzauberte sterben muß. Steigen die Zeichen am rechten Fuß bis zum Schienbein, wird ein Familienangehöriger sterben und seine Seele in den Himmel gehen. Gehen die Zeichen die Innenseite des linken Fußes entlang, wird «Pest» kommen, der Kranke wird geisteskrank werden. Sind die Zeichen zwischen dem rechten Schienbein und der Ferse zu spüren und gehen sie nach der linken Seite, so ist dies ein Anzeichen für einen Kampf zwischen dem tęyu und dem nyiç. Ziehen sich die Zeichen vom linken Knöchel bis zu den Kniekehlen hinauf, so ist das bestellte Feld verzaubert. Zeichen in der linken Wade zeigen den Besuch einer bösen Schamanin an, Zeichen in der rechten Wade den Besuch einer guten alten Frau; Zeichen an den Außenseiten der rechten oder linken Waden zeigen entsprechend die Besuche eines nyiç bzw. eines guten alten Mannes an. Zeichen, die von der rechten Kniescheibe abwärts laufen, zeigen den Tod eines Menschen durch tûs oder gělyómp («Regenbogen» oder «Berggeist» als Geistwesen, s. u.) an. Zeichen an der

linken Kniescheibe bedeuten, daß der tęyu im Kampf mit dem nyiç siegen wird, Zeichen von den Oberschenkeln bis zu den Kniekehlen der rechten Fußes, daß der Patient an einer bösartigen «Pest» sterben wird. Gehen vom linken Oberschenkel die Zeichen abwärts, läuft draußen ein schlechter Mensch vorbei. Gehen die Zeichen von der rechten Hüfte bis zum Fuß, so wird die Ehefrau menstruieren. Sind die Zeichen an der zehnten Rippe der rechten Seite spürbar, wird der Kranke bald sterben, da er vom Berggeist gestochen worden ist. Die Zeichen an der zehnten linken Rippe künden die Ankunft eines schlechten Menschen an. Gehen die Zeichen vom rechten Ringfinger den Arm hinauf zum Herzen, so wird der Betreffende am nächsten Tag einen Verwandten beerdigen. Zeichen in der rechten Handfläche bedeuten, daß der Kranke gesund wird, Zeichen in der linken Handfläche, daß der Berggeist die Gaben nicht annimmt und der Kranke sterben muß. Durch Zeichen auf dem Handrücken der linken Hand gibt der Berggeist bekannt, daß die Opfergaben ungenügend sind. Gehen die Zeichen von der rechten Handfläche zum Hals, so bedeutet dies «Pest» von den Pijaos. Zeichen im rechten Daumen und in der Hand kündigen das Erscheinen des verlorenen oder verirrten Tieres an, Zeichen im linken Augenwinkel, daß das verlorene Tier geraubt und bereits von dem Dieb verspeist wurde; Zeichen im linken Arm kündigen die Ankunft des eč-Geistes an; Zeichen im rechten Oberarm kündigen dem Schamanen an, daß gute Leute ihn als Taufpaten bitten. Zeichen auf dem Kopf des Schamanen kündigen an, daß der nyiç die Pest schickt, und wenn die Zeichen vom Kopf in die linke Hand gehen, ist die Person bereits verhext. In dieser und ähnlicher Art der Interpretation ihrer Zeichen erfahren die Schamanen die Art aller Erkrankungen und die zur Hilfe benötigten Mittel. Ihr einziger Erfahrungsschatz sind damit ihre Zeichen, spüren sie diese nicht oder nicht mehr, so haben sie das wesentliche Merkmal ihres Schamane-Seins verloren.

Neben den beschriebenen schamanischen Zeichen sind den tęyu, wie auch den gewöhnlichen Menschen jeden Alters und Geschlechtes, die Träume ein wesentliches Erfahrungsmittel für die Schau des Zukünftigen, wie auch zur Bestätigung eines fremden — meist bösen — Einflusses auf die eigene Person. Wie der Erfolg des bösen Zaubers auf das Individuum durch die Selbstsuggestion wirkt, so auch das im Traum Erschaute. Letzteres durch das eigene, unmittelbare Traumerlebnis vielleicht noch intensiver; nur so ist das geradezu fatalistische Verhalten der Betroffenen zu verstehen. Unser Dolmetscher Victoriano beispielsweise ist einer der fleißigsten und tüchtigsten Calderuner. Er ist gewillt, sozial nicht auf dem Indio-Stand seines Dorfes stehenzubleiben. Er nimmt des-

halb von Zeit zu Zeit bei den weißen Kolonisten Arbeit an, um sich das Geld für kolumbianische Kleidung zu verdienen. Er wird deswegen im Dorf sehr gehaßt. Im betrunkenen Zustand haben die Männer schon oft gedroht, ihn umzubringen. Eines Tages kam er zu uns und sagte, wir müßten uns mit der Arbeit beeilen, denn er werde bald sterben. Dies sagte er keineswegs verstört, sondern lächelnd und mit dem Ausdruck völliger Überzeugung. Auf die Frage, warum, erklärte er, daß er in der Nacht träumte, wie er sich selbst im Grabe gesehen habe. Dies sei ein sicheres Zeichen, daß er sterben müsse. Er ließ sich von uns auch nicht beruhigen, denn er wisse, so sagte er, daß er unbeliebt im Dorfe sei, und man hätte ihn sowieso mit dem Tode bedroht, da er mehr gesehen habe als die anderen, bessere Kleidung trüge und Fleisch äße, anstatt im Dorfe zu arbeiten. Deswegen würden die nyiç ihn ganz bestimmt zu Tode bringen. Es bedurfte mehrerer Tage und aller Überzeugungskunst, um ihn von diesem Gedanken abzubringen. Immer wieder mußten wir darauf hinweisen, daß er doch ein Christ sei, und wir mußten ihm viele unserer Medikamente vorsorglich geben, bis er glaubte, daß er vielleicht doch nicht zu sterben brauchte. Sein Marienmedaillon jedenfalls, welches er immer bei sich trägt, hülfe nicht unbedingt gegen bösen Zauber. Im folgenden einige weitere Beispiele für Träume, die in irgendeiner Hinsicht von Bedeutung sind: wenn man träumt, daß einem eine Schlange beißt, so ist das ein Zeichen von Verzauberung; wenn jedoch im Traume ein anderer Mensch diese Schlange im Augenblick des Beißens tötet, wird ein tęyu die Verzauberung aufheben. Von Jaguaren und Katzen zu träumen zeigt an, daß sich unter dem Hause Gräber der Pijaos befinden. An der «Pest» der Pijaos wird jemand sterben, wenn man träumt, daß ein Jaguar die Hühner frißt. Von einem Scheiterhaufen zu träumen bedeutet, daß sich dort Gold befindet. Wenn man von einer Kuh träumt, wird die Frau sterben. Tötet man im Traum einen Stier oder ein Pferd, wird eine gute Person (ein Schamane) sterben. Wird man im Traum von Wespen gestochen, bedeutet das zukünftige Bestrafung. Im Traum Balken oder einen Chichatrog tragen, bedeutet bei einer baldigen Beerdigung zu helfen. Im Traume zu ersticken bedeutet Krieg, Gefangenschaft oder die Einlieferung ins Gefängnis. Weiterhin ist es immer ein schlechtes Zeichen, von Arracacha zu träumen; im Falle einer Reise würde einem beispielsweise ein Jaguar im Páramo fressen. Auch wenn man träumt, man würde unterhalb eines Felsens hindurchgehen können, so heißt dies ebenfalls, daß einen ein Jaguar fressen wird. Wenn jemand von einem pętę-Kürbis träumt, dann wird man von Pijaos gefressen werden, denn dieser Kürbis hat schwarze Kerne, und die Pijaos als Menschenfresser haben

schwarze Zähne. Falls man sich im Traum in der Nacht köstlich amüsiert und sehr viel gelacht hat, dann wird man am Tage sehr viel Ärger haben. Hat es in der Nacht im Traume sehr stark geregnet, so wird am nächsten Tage ein Huhn o. ä. gestohlen werden. Wenn jemand im Traum mit einem braunen Pferd sehr schnell die ganze Nacht hindurch geritten ist, so wird es einen schönen Tag geben, denn die braune oder rote Farbe ist die Farbe der Sonne (braun und rot ist das gleiche Wort); ein Traum von einem Ritt auf einem schwarzen Pferd hingegen bewirkt am nächsten Tag den Aufzug einer schwarzen Wolke, und dann wird es regnen. Wenn jemand vor der Aussaat von einer großen Lagune träumt, die ganz grün erscheint oder viel grüne Bewachsung um sich hat, so bedeutet dies, daß die darauffolgende Aussaat eine gute Ernte ergeben wird. Wer im Traum ein schwarzes Schwein sieht, hat in Wirklichkeit das Herz eines bösen Schamanen gesehen, d. h., er hat als guter Mensch die wandernde Seele eines schlechten Schamanen getroffen; es ist dies kein gutes Zeichen, aber es ist auch nicht so schlecht, daß man nun deswegen krank werden müßte. Von einer Schweineschlachtung zu träumen bedeutet, daß ein böser Zauberer sterben wird. Wenn man träumt, daß man sich auf dem Wege einen Dorn in den Fuß getreten hat, wird einem eine Schlange beißen. Fällt einem im Traume ein Zahn aus, so wird ein naher Angehöriger sterben. Tötet jemand anders einen großen Hahn, dann wird dessen Vater sterben, denn der Hahn ist das Herz des Vaters. Wenn man aber selbst im Traume einen großen Hahn schlachtet, so wird man seinen eigenen Vater umbringen. Träumt man, daß man an einem Tag sehr viel in seinem Felde gearbeitet hat, dann werden in dieses Feld wilde Tiere einbrechen, die die ganze Frucht vernichten. Träumt ein Mensch, daß er in ein tiefes Loch fällt, woraus er nicht wieder herauskommen kann, dann ist dies ein Zeichen, daß er sterben wird; denn ein böser Zauberer hat so die Seele eines Menschen geraubt, sie in einem tiefen Loch vergraben und die Erde wieder festgestampft.

Lassen Träume und schamanische Zeichen von einer relativ entwickelten spirituellen Verhaltensweise auf ein entsprechendes äußeres Zeremonialgerät des Schamanen schließen, so werden wir enttäuscht. Schmucklos, arm und unkünstlerisch wie die gesamte Kultur der Paez ist auch der Schamanenstab (tama), zu dem bei gewissen Zeremonien noch eine Liane (nika) hinzu tritt. Sonst gibt es weder besondere Kleidungs- oder Ausrüstungsstücke, noch irgendwelche weiteren Zeremonialgeräte, wie Kristalle, Masken oder Rasseln.

Der Schamanenstab besteht aus einem 50 bis 60 Zentimeter langen, glatten Stab aus dem harten Holz der Chonta-Palme. Er ist an der einen

Seite zugespitzt und von halbkreisförmigem Querschnitt. Diesen Stab macht sich jeder Schamane selbst vor seiner ersten Krankenbehandlung und gibt ihn nie aus der Hand. Wenn er stirbt, wird er mit ins Grab gegeben. Vor Beginn einer Séance steckt er ihn in den Boden, aber nicht direkt vor sich, sondern etwas seitwärts. Nur selten hat ihn ein Schamane während der Séance in der Hand. Als die einzige Ausnahme der ungeschmückten Schamanenstäbe kenne ich nur den der alten Felisa Ipia aus Santa Rosa. An ihrem Stab hat sie eine Anzahl von bunten Wollfäden festgebunden, die sie selbst gesponnen und mit selbst hergestellten Farben gefärbt hat. In diese Fäden hat sie die Seelen aller Dorfbewohner von Santa Rosa gesammelt. Wird jemand im Dorf krank, erfährt sie durch ihre Zeichen oder durch den Donner persönlich davon und kann auf diese Weise dem Kranken besser helfen, da sie sofort ihre Heilkräuter, vermischt mit Branntwein, auf die Wollfäden pusten und damit dem Kranken besser Hilfe bringen kann.

S. Bernal Villa weist darauf hin, daß die Bezeichnung für den Schamanenstab mit dem Namen des bedeutendsten Kulturheros der Paez, Juan Tama, übereinstimmt, der nach der Tradition Gesetzgeber, berühmter und siegreicher Heerführer, erster Häuptling und Schamane war. Nach anderen Überlieferungen war er der Sohn der Sterne, der Sohn des Donners, oder der Donner selbst. Die jetzigen Schamanen sehen den Stab als eine Gabe des Donners an und als ein Zeichen der geistigen Verbundenheit mit ihm. Ein Schamane von San Andrés berichtet über den Ursprung des Schamanenstabes, daß nach den Erzählungen der Alten der tama vom Donner selbst eingeführt wurde. Danach hatte einstmals ein Mann in den Bergen seine Hütte und sein Kartoffelfeld. Mit seinem Sohn erntete er das Feld ab. Eines Tages weigerte sich der Sohn, seinem Vater auf das Feld zu folgen, sondern wollte lieber in der Hütte zurückbleiben. Am nächsten Tage war der Sohn verschwunden, ohne irgendeine Spur zu hinterlassen. Vergeblich versuchte der Vater, seinen Aufenthaltsort zu ermitteln. Aber nach acht Tagen erschien der Sohn wieder in der Hütte. Er erzählte, daß er beim Großvater war, der ihn mit Branntwein, Arzneimitteln und diesem Stab beschenkte, den er in Händen hält, und der tama genannt würde. Der «Branntwein» war kaltes Wasser aus einem See, und die Arzneimittel in der Fasertasche waren Bergkräuter. Nachdem er dies gesagt hatte, fiel er in Trance und blieb wie tot liegen. Vierzehn Tage später bat er sterbend seinen Vater, ihm doch seinen tama zu reichen, denn der Donner hatte ihm gesagt, daß er sich damit verteidigen könnte und daß er im Falle von Krankheit die Arzneimittel nehmen sollte, die ihm dieser gegeben hatte. Er preßte den

Saft aus und trank ihn. Rasch wurde er gesund. Als er ihn auch anderen Kranken gab, wurden diese ebenfalls schnellstens gesund. Mit seinem Stab und seinen Arzneimitteln wurde er der beste Arzt weit und breit. Er starb in hohem Alter.

Ein anderer Schamane erklärte, daß der tama von einer Rettungstat der heiligen Jungfrau Maria herrühre. Als das Meer einmal unaufhörlich höher stieg und fast die ganze Erde bedeckt hatte, kamen die Menschen in große Gefahr. Die Jungfrau Maria hatte Mitleid mit ihnen. Sie zog den tama hervor und machte mit ihm die gleichen Bewegungen, wie sie heute die Schamanen machen. Daraufhin gingen die Wassermassen zurück. Ihren Stab ließ sie demjenigen Menschen zurück, der Schamane wurde. Dies sei der Ursprung des tama.

Wenn auch in der letzteren Erzählung nicht nur die Figur der Jungfrau Maria, sondern möglicherweise auch das Sintflutmotiv nicht dem Gedankengut der Paez entstammt, so ist doch der Ursprung des tama als Gabe einer höheren Macht bemerkenswert. Diese Macht, die für die Schamanen von größter Bedeutung ist als Geistwesen und als erster Schamane, ist der Donner. Er hat nach den Berichten durchaus auch den Charakter eines Hilfsgeistes, wenngleich er von den heutigen Schamanen fast nur noch gefürchtet wird. «Die alten Schamanen», versichern die jetzigen immer wieder, «waren noch magisch-kräftig genug, um mit dem Donner unmittelbar und zu jeder Zeit in Kommunikation zu treten; wir heutigen vermögen es nicht mehr». In früherer Zeit hatten die Mitglieder des Cabildo, unter Anleitung eines Schamanen, gemeinsam in der Lagune Juan Tama gebadet und dort ihre Würdestäbe weihen lassen. Heute findet dies aus Mangel an guten Schamanen nicht mehr statt. Die heutigen Schamanen haben nicht mehr die starken Visionen, wie die früheren, und deshalb sind sie auch nicht mehr so magisch-kräftig. Sie können nicht mehr so einfach mit dem Donner sprechen, wie ihre Vorgänger, und da sie schwächer sind, so glaubt man, würde der Donner sie töten.

Allgemein wird der Donner als von kleiner Gestalt beschrieben, der wie ein Paez-Mann mit Hut und schwarzer Ruana bekleidet ist. Eine Hose, so berichtet man, trüge er nicht, sondern stelle seine Geschlechtsteile zur Schau. Bei sich hätte er wie ein Schamane seinen tama, eine Fasertasche mit Arzneimitteln und ein «tíngalo» (Triangel) genanntes Musikinstrument. Es ist nicht unmöglich, daß sein Bild, zusammen mit einem christlichen Kreuz, in den Giebelpfosten einer Hütte in der Nähe des Parkes von San Andrés eingeritzt ist, das einen Mann mit großen, dreieckförmigen Geschlechtsteilen darstellt (Abb. 200).

Der Donner gilt bei allen Paez als größter Schamane und bei den tęyu als deren Meister. In der Folklore (s. unten) trägt er wohl oft andere Namen, wie Juan Tama, Llivan, Chauté, Juan Chiracol, es sind aber seine Züge, die darin zutage treten, sei es, daß er als sāt (Kazike) gegen die Pijaos kämpft, und sein Volk verteidigt, sei es, daß er — so ist man überzeugt — auch einmal wieder die verhaßten Weißen aus dem Tierradentro hinausjagen wird. Einen bösen Weißen, der in Tierradentro zu Besuch kommt, kündigt er den Paez durch einen Donnerschlag aus heiterem Himmel an. Wenn er über einem bestimmten Hause donnert, so zeigt er damit an, daß sich «Pest» darin befindet, und donnert er erst über dem Hause eines nyiç und dann über dem eines tęyu, so tut er dem guten Schamanen damit kund, daß er soeben verhext wurde.

Einige Geschichten wissen auch von Kämpfen der Schamanen gegen den Donner zu berichten, denn dieser raubte den Paez einstmals Vieh und Menschen. Das aber ist lange her, denn heute würde niemand mehr wagen, etwas gegen den Donner zu unternehmen. Die Calderuner Schamanen erzählen, daß die früheren tęyu in der Lage waren, jederzeit mit dem Donner zu sprechen und sich von ihm Rat zu holen. Die heutigen vermögen dies nicht mehr. Die alte Filisa aus Santa Rosa jedoch, die selbst vom Donner erwählt und in ihr Amt eingeführt worden ist, vermag auch heute noch mit dem Donner in Kommunikation zu treten. Allerdings kann sie das nicht immer, aber oftmals hat sie ihn in seiner Lagune aufgesucht, ist untergetaucht in das Wasser, auf dem Boden der Lagune bis zum Hause des Donners gegangen und hat von ihm Rat erbeten. Einer der Söhne des Donners, ebenfalls Schamane, war sogar ihr ständiger Begleiter, der sie überall beschützt hat. «Früher», erzählte sie, «hatte der Donner selbst die Leute geheilt. Heute ist es anders». Der Donner weiß, wenn jemand krank ist; wenn dann die Leute zu ihr kommen, um ein Mittel zu erbitten, dann kündigt der Donner vorher persönlich der Schamanin an: Es werden heute die und die Leute mit der und der Krankheit kommen. Er sagt ihr auch gleich, welche Mittel sie nehmen soll. Wenn dann die Leute kommen, um die Krankheit anzuzeigen, dann kann sie, da sie eine gute Freundin des Donners ist, immer mit besten Mitteln den Leuten helfen.

Der Donner, erzählte sie, hat viele Kinder. Diese kommen in die Welt durch eine Quelle oder durch einen Erdspalt, aus dem Wasser heraussickert. Sie haben die Größe kleiner Menschenkinder, sind aber sehr gut und mit einem schönen táw (Gürtel) gekleidet. Zum Aufwachsen und zu ihrer Ernährung brauchen sie drei Frauen als Dienerinnen. Diesen saugen sie die Milch ab, worauf die Frauen sterben müssen. Die Donnerkinder

selbst sind unfruchtbar und haben keine Kinder. Sie sind aber als Kinder des Donners immer große Kaziken und Schamanen gewesen.

Eines Tages zeigte sie mir einen kleinen Astknorren, eingehüllt in ein Stückchen Stoff. «Dies ist ein Kind des Donners, das ich von ihm habe», sagte sie dabei, «es sieht aus wie ein Ast, in Wirklichkeit lebt es aber und kann sprechen».

d) Krankheiten, Geister- und Seelenvorstellungen

Alle Krankheiten werden bei den Paez als durch magische Einflüsse entstanden erklärt, die ihre Ursache vorwiegend in böswilligem, absichtsvollen Wirken haben. Diese magischen, übernatürlichen Einflüsse sind entweder Verzauberungen durch die nyiç, magische Schädigungen durch die Geister eč, tũs oder gẽlyómp oder allgemein Ausflüsse des Unreinen, der «Pest» (uwẽ). Derartige Gründe, Pest zu erlangen und dadurch von Krankheit heimgesucht zu werden, resultieren vielfach aus der Unterlassung der vorgeschriebenen schamanischen Reinigungen. Diese müssen nach einer Beerdigung stattfinden oder wenn jemand auch nur einen Leichenzug gesehen oder ein Haus betreten hat, in dem sich ein Leichnam befindet. Genau so streng sind die Gebote um die gebärende oder menstruierende Frau. Zieht sich diese zu der entsprechenden Zeit nicht in das Menstruationshüttchen zurück, kohabitiert sie während dieser Tage oder unterläßt sie das anschließende Bad nach Menstruation und Geburt, so sind die Folgen gleich schwerwiegend. Den Mann befällt die Pest, wenn er das Essen von einer Menstruierenden annimmt. Die gleichen Folgen fallen auf denjenigen, der bei Hausbau oder der ersten Ernte nicht die entsprechenden Zeremonien durch den Schamanen durchführen läßt.

Die meisten Menschen sterben durch böse Einwirkungen der nyiç, der bösen Zauberer. Diese können — so ist man überzeugt — sowohl Einzelpersonen töten, als auch ganzen Dörfern die Pest schicken. Ihre Macht zum Bösen sieht man als fast unbegrenzt an. Außer durch Verhexung seitens eines nyiç gibt es für einen Menschen drei weitere Möglichkeiten krank zu werden oder zu sterben. Diese Ursachen sind gẽlyómp, tũs und eč. Alle drei sind sehr komplexe Begriffe und können grob mit «Berggeist», «Regenbogen» bzw. «Glühwürmchen» übersetzt werden, ohne daß allerdings der Paez-Begriff und die Übersetzung völlig identisch wären. Der tęyu weiß die Krankheitsursache sogleich durch seine Zeichen, die übrigen Menschen jedoch meist erst nach dem Tode des Kranken. Und zwar erkennt man den tũs als Krankheitsursache daran,

daß der Leichnam mit einem gekrümmten Glied (Arm oder Bein) daliegt, während beim eč als Todesursache Blut aus Mund oder Nase tritt. Es ist auch möglich, daß beide gemeinsam, tūs und eč, dem Menschen den Tod bringen, z. B. dann, wenn der Mensch gekrümmt daliegt und Blut aus Mund oder Nase tritt.

Der gělyómp-Geist wohnt vorwiegend in den Bergen, aber auch im Tal, an den Ufern der Bäche und Flüsse. Er verführt gerne die Wanderer in den Bergen, indem er dort oben lärmt und schreit; bei Nacht hört man sein Geschrei — wie das eines Menschen — auch im Tal, beim Dorf. Er ist ein wütender Feind alles Schmutzigen. Ein Jäger, der sich und seine Ruana vor der Jagd nicht gewaschen hat oder dessen Frau sich zur Zeit im Menstruationshäuschen befindet, wird von ihm bestraft. Er hat die Gestalt eines Menschen, manchmal die eines Mannes, manchmal aber auch die einer Frau oder eines Kindes. Gělyómp, sowie tūs und eč können dem Menschen Pest geben, so daß dieser stirbt. Pest kann man an und für sich an allen Orten und bei allen Gelegenheiten bekommen, gleichgültig, ob man wacht oder schläft. Die Pest der drei genannten Geister wird vorwiegend durch Stiche hervorgerufen, die nicht nur in den Körper, sondern auch in die Seele gehen. Dort, wo sie in den Körper eingedrungen sind, hinterlassen sie Einstiche, von roter Farbe beim gělyómp, von blauer beim tūs und von schwarzer beim eč. Die durch gělyómp verursachten Krankheiten äußern sich durch allgemeine Schmerzen, hervorgerufen durch das Eindringen eines seiner Haare. Es geschieht dies auf folgende Art: Es geht jemand einen Weg entlang und fühlt auf einmal einen stechenden Schmerz im Arm oder einem anderen Körperteil, wie wenn eine Nadel piekt. Obwohl man keinen Einstich entdecken kann, bleibt der Schmerz. Der Betreffende geht also zum tęyu, und dieser kann die Schmerzursache beseitigen, indem er mit seinen Kräutern über die erkrankte Stelle reibt, bis er aus dieser ein schwarzes Haar von 10 bis 15 Zentimeter Länge herausholt. Dieses Haar ist vom gělyómp, und wenn es der Schamane nicht herausgeholt hätte, müßte der davon Befallene sterben. Man kann sich in gewisser Weise auch selbst vor den Haaren des Berggeistes schützen, indem man sich, wenn man von einem Weg über die Berge oder einem Nachtmarsch heimkehrt, mit einem Feuerbrand über Füße und Körper fährt, um ein eventuell eingedrungenes Haar vom gělyómp zu verbrennen

Tūs, der «Regenbogen», lebt am Ufer von Wasserläufen und besonders an Quellen. Es gibt viele tūs, und zwar überall da, wo es auch Wasser gibt. Es gibt tūs, groß wie eine Schlange, rot und gelb gefärbt, und andere von der Größe nur eines Fingers. Die Menschen erkennen Krank-

heiten des tüs daran, daß der Befallene über und über mit Bläschen bedeckt ist und sich dauernd kratzen muß. Wenn es bei Sonnenschein regnet, geht tüs vom Ufer eines Flusses, wo er lebt, in den Himmel und von da wieder in einem Halbkreis zurück zur Erde. Besonders für Kinder ist der Regenbogen gefährlich. Wenn es bei Sonnenschein regnet, dürfen diese das Haus nicht verlassen, da sie sonst Kopfkrankheiten bekommen. Es sind dies nicht Kopfschmerzen, sondern Wunden, wie durch einen Machete hervorgerufen. Die tęyu haben aber Mittel, um den Regenbogen zum Verschwinden zu bringen, so daß die Kinder wieder ins Freie können.

Eč, die dritte der genannten Krankheits- und Todesursachen, ist die unangenehmste und gefährlichste, da eč die meisten Menschen tötet. Eč lebt in der Erde, kein Mensch hat ihn gesehen, außer einigen Schamanen. Um ihn zu sehen, brauchen diese aber nicht in die Erde einzudringen, sondern der eč selbst kommt, wenn ein tęyu ihn ruft. Er hat das Aussehen eines Menschen. Mit eč werden auch die Glühwürmchen bezeichnet, welche als seine Boten angesehen werden, die er ausschickt, um den Menschen die «Pest» zu bringen. Die Leute töten deshalb die Glühwürmchen, wenn sie sie fangen können. Aber der eč ist nicht böse, wenn die Menschen seine Boten töten, wenn er nur immer genug Opfer bekommt. Deshalb geben die Leute von jeder Flasche Branntwein ein Schnapsglas voll dem eč, d. h. sie schütten diese Menge auf den Boden; desgleichen bekommt der eč von jedem getöteten Tier (Huhn, Schwein, Kuh usw.) seinen Teil. Die Leute fragen dazu ihren tęyu, welche Teile vom Tier der eč verlangt und welche sie ihm opfern sollen. Wenn die Leute ein Tier töteten und äßen, ohne dem eč etwas anzubieten, tötet er dafür ein Kind dieser Familie. Wenn dann der Vater zu dem tęyu kommt und fragt, warum sein Kind gestorben sei, so sagt ihm dieser — der natürlich weiß, daß der Mann ein Schwein geschlachtet hat, ohne dem eč etwas zu geben —, daß dieses die Strafe des eč sei. Aber das kommt sehr selten vor, sondern der Mann übergibt die vom eč gewünschten Teile des Tieres, z. B. die Leber, Eingeweide oder Fleisch, dem Schamanen, und dieser übergibt sie dem eč, indem er sie in der Nacht an den von diesem gewünschten Ort bringt. Außerdem geben die Menschen dem eč vorsorglich Kräuter und Branntwein, die ihnen der Schamane aufgibt, je nach den Zeichen, die er vom eč empfangen hat.

Ist das Eindringen von Pest in den Körper eines Menschen eine Krankheitsursache, die den Tod bringen kann, so ist dieser schlimme Ausgang noch wahrscheinlicher, wenn einer der drei Geister oder auch ein nyiç eine menschliche Seele geraubt hat. Über diesen Fall erhielt ich verschie-

dene Angaben: Zunächst einmal gibt es zwei Wörter für Seele, ũns (u = nasal) und tafí, die jedem Menschen geläufig sind, über deren Unterschied man sich aber nicht im klaren ist. Die Schamanen Francisco und Cerbeleón erklärten, daß beides dasselbe sei; beide erklärten aber auch, daß ũns oder tafí, wenn diese im Traum den Menschen verlassen hätten und unterwegs seien, vom tũs, eč oder nyiç gefangen werden könnten, ohne daß der betreffende Mensch dies sofort merkte, sondern noch weiterlebte. Auf meinen Einwand, daß ũns oder tafí da doch wohl verschieden wären, wußten sie nicht zu antworten. Cerbeleón erklärte, daß, wenn der Mensch stürbe, seine ũns in den Himmel ginge und der Mensch selbst zum tafí würde. Er, sowie andere tęyu, wären auch in der Lage, die ũns eines Menschen zu fangen. So käme beispielsweise, wenn jemand bestohlen worden sei, der Bestohlene zum Cerbeleón. Dieser nimmt Koka, Tabak und Branntwein, und dann kann er die ũns des Diebes herbeiholen, sie ergreifen und töten. Der Dieb muß daraufhin sterben. Um die ũns in seine Gewalt zu bekommen, muß er vorher seine Hände mit den Kräutern ĩũ und vitubítskwe, sowie mit Branntwein reinigen. Die ũns habe die Form eines kleinen Tieres, erklärte er, sie könne fliegen und leuchte und sei etwa drei Zentimeter lang. Sie sei einem Glühwürmchen sehr ähnlich im Aussehen, aber anders als eč.

An diesem Punkt seiner Erklärung angelangt, verstummte Cerbeleón, und unser Dolmetscher Victoriano erklärte, wir müßten jetzt aber schnell weggehen. Damit verließ er geradezu fluchtartig das Haus, und wir mußten folgen. Draußen erklärte er uns, daß Cerbeleón ein «mal Brujo», ein nyiç, wäre, was er zwar schon immer geahnt habe, aber eben hätte dieser sich insofern verraten, als er erklärte, wie er die ũns von Menschen fangen und töten könne. Die Leute von Calderas erzählten sich, er besäße auch Kräuter, die er in Eier, Chicha oder andere Nahrungsmittel tun könne, worauf die Leute diese äßen und dann stürben. Einer der Söhne Cerbeleóns war ein Dieb und sei daraufhin auf folgende Weise gestorben: Der Bestohlene hätte zur Virgen Santisima gebetet, und Gott habe den Dieb mit dem Tode bestraft. Der Vater selbst, d. h. der Schamane Cerbeleón, sei ebenfalls ein Dieb und töte die Leute aus Neid um ihren Besitz.

Die Missionsschwestern bestätigten diese Aussage insofern, als Cerbeleón mehrmals versucht hätte, sie durch das Streuen von Kräutern in ihren Trinkwassergraben zu töten. Jetzt hätte er es aber aufgegeben. Uns selbst erschien er nur als ein eitler Schwätzer; er machte nicht den Eindruck, als ob er tatsächlich Zeichen empfinge oder mit Ernst bei der Sache wäre, sondern es schien, als ob er nur etwas von seinem Vater abge-

guckt hätte und dies handwerksmäßig ausführe, ohne innere Anteilnahme. Auch Francisco hatte Vater und Großvater als Schamanenvorgänger. Er war ebenfalls ziemlich unwissend, aber augenscheinlich guten Willens. Er tat sein Bestes, den Menschen zu helfen.

Völlig von seiner Berufung und Aufgabe durchdrungen, mit gutem Wissen, Ernst und Würde bei der schamanischen Arbeit, war Martin Chukue. Er war der für dessen Wohnung zuständige Schamane, als der Capitan von Calderas starb, und er führte auch die Reinigungszeremonie nach dessen Begräbnis durch. Martin erklärte die Todesursache des Capitans folgendermaßen: Der Capitan mußte sterben, weil der tüs die tafí-Seele des Capitans geraubt hatte. Der Capitan starb mit einem angezogenen linken Bein. Er starb sehr dünn, weil er lange nichts gegessen hatte, denn seine tafí-Seele wurde schon vor fünf Jahren geraubt. Damals begann der Kranke Schmerzen zu empfinden, und während der ganzen Zeit hatte er, Martin, mit dem tüs gekämpft, ihm Medikamente angeboten und versucht, ihn zu besänftigen.

Wenn die üns-Seele (üns hat auch gleichzeitig die Bedeutung von Herz!) den Körper verläßt, dann ist der Mensch endgültig tot. Und zwar verläßt üns den Körper auf dem Wege über die Oberarme, Unterarme, Fingerspitzen. Kurz bevor sie den Menschen verlassen hat, kann man sie noch ganz schwach als Pulsschlag bemerken, und wenn der Pulsschlag ganz aufhört, hat die üns den Körper verlassen und geht sofort in den Himmel. In welcher Form sie in den Himmel geht, konnte mir niemand genau sagen. Im Himmel hat sie jedoch wieder das normale menschliche Aussehen. Kindern legt man, wenn sie krank sind, um Hand- und Fußgelenke Wollfäden an, die man straff anzieht, um das Entweichen der üns zu verhindern oder doch mindestens zu erschweren.

Die alte Celia Uriaga aus Calderas, die uns zwei Märchen erzählte, aber selbst keine Schamanin ist, berichtete folgendes: Wenn der Mensch schläft und träumt, verläßt seine tafí den Körper, geht überall hin und erlebt das, was der Mensch im Traum erlebt. Wenn der Mensch stirbt, dann verläßt üns den Menschen über die Adern der Ober- und Unterarme, wo man den Puls spüren kann, und endlich über die Fingerspitzen. Tafí verläßt den Menschen ebenfalls, aber in Form eines Menschen mit weißer Kleidung. Während üns in den Himmel geht, bleibt tafí entweder beim Körper im Grabe oder geht auf der Erde umher, aber nicht als tafí, sondern als áhimos (Gespenst). Es kann von den Schamanen bei Nacht gesehen werden, aber auch von den Menschen um Mitternacht oder um zwei Uhr nachts, in Form einer menschlichen Gestalt am Wege sitzend. Aber es ist kein wirklicher Mensch, sondern mehr wie ein Wind.

Ahimos ist allgemein auf dem Begräbnisplatz, dort, wo der Leichnam begraben ist und wo die Knochen sind.

Nach Auskunft der alten tçoi Felisa verläßt die üns beim Tode des Menschen den Körper und geht in den Himmel. Sie verläßt den Körper über Unterarme, Hände und Fingerspitzen. Die Felisa selbst versucht, die üns eines Sterbenden zurückzuhalten, indem sie kräftig auf dessen Fingerspitzen bläst, nachdem sie vorher den Mund mit den Kräutern čáyuts und łuwéz sowie mit Branntwein vollgenommen hat. Gleichzeitig streicht sie mit den gleichen Kräutern in ihren Händen dem Kranken von den Fingerspitzen her die Arme aufwärts, um üns zurückzuhalten. Tafí verläßt den menschlichen Körper vor dem Tode. Dabei pfeift sie. Die Felisa kann sie sehen. Sie wandert einen Weg entlang, in guter Kleidung, und die Schamanin kann sie dadurch zurückholen, daß sie ihr mit einem sehr scharfkantigen Schilfrohr (nyíka) die Kleider zerreißt, und dann muß sie zum Körper zurückkehren (vgl. Abb. 199).

Außer den Schamanen kann nach ihrer Überzeugung niemand tafí sehen, mit Ausnahme der Hunde, wenn sie manchmal scheinbar grundlos heulen. Während üns in den Himmel geht, bleibt tafí auf der Erde und lebt in ihrem Hause als áhimos in Form eines Lufthauches weiter. (Dem Toten werden keinerlei Beigaben in das Grab mitgegeben, aber am folgenden 8. Dezember, dem Fest der Inmaculada und alle Jahre wiederkehrend, opfern die Angehörigen dem áhimos ihrer Verstorbenen deren Lieblingsspeisen: Fleisch, Mais, Chicha, Branntwein, Koka, Yuca usw. Diese Gaben werden auf einem Bananenblatt auf dem Fußboden der Kirche niedergelegt, und dazu wird eine Kerze angezündet). Auch den áhimos können nur Schamanen sehen.

Wann und woher ein Kind üns und tafí bekommt, weiß sie nicht. Sie glaubt, sobald das Herz des Kindes im Mutterleibe schlägt, hat das Kind üns; tafí bekommt es erst nach der Geburt. Tiere haben keine tafí; üns nur, wenn sie Menschen fressen.

e) Schamanische Séancen

Jede der schamanischen Séancen, sei es eine Krankenbehandlung, sei es eine Zeremonie beim Hausbau oder zur Beerdigung, ist im Grunde eine Reinigung von der «Pest» und damit eine Zeremonie magischer Praktiken. Alle diese Zeremonien und Séancen sind daher auch ihrem Wesen nach gleich. Sie unterscheiden sich nur in Einzelheiten, beispielsweise den verschiedenartigen Heilkräutern oder der Reihenfolge der verschiedenen Reinigungen. Zunächst möge die Beschreibung einer Reinigungszeremonie

durch den Schamanen Martin Chucue nach einer Beerdigung folgen. (Vgl. Abb. 208 bis 213.)

Am Begräbnis nimmt der Schamane nicht teil. Er betritt auch weder das Haus eines Verstorbenen, in dem sich noch der Leichnam befindet, noch begleitet er einen Trauerzug zum Friedhof. Die Trauergäste, Männer, Frauen und Kinder, gehen gemeinsam zum Friedhof und dann wieder zurück zum Trauerhaus. Bevor sie dies aber betreten dürfen, müssen sie zum Fluß, wo sie der Schamane erwartet, um sie das erste Mal zu reinigen. Danach geht man gemeinsam zum Trauerhaus, welches aber von den gereinigten Leuten noch nicht betreten werden darf, da es noch unrein ist. Der Schamane muß erst mit seinen Gehilfen das Haus mit den gleichen Mitteln reinigen, mit denen er die Menschen gereinigt hat, d. h. mit Wasser, dem Kräuter und Kuhexkremente zugesetzt sind. Danach können auch die Leute das Haus betreten und essen und trinken.

Den Termin der zweiten Zeremonie und Hauptreinigung erfährt der Schamane durch seine Zeichen vom eč. Er teilt diesen Termin den Teilnehmern der Beerdigung mit. Die zu Reinigenden — in erster Linie die nächsten Angehörigen — versammeln sich am Fluß und an einem eigens dazu bestimmten Platz, gekennzeichnet durch eine Anzahl von flachen Steinen. Diese sind unbedingt erforderlich; ohne Steine kein Reinigungsplatz. Die Leute sitzen zunächst vor den Steinen, und die Helfer des Schamanen tragen in Kalebassen Wasser herbei, das mit lũ-Kraut durchsetzt ist und an welches jeweils etwas von Kuhexkrementen getan wird, die in einem Topf am gleichen Platz bereitstehen. Der Schamane hat seinen Stab mit einer Liane umwickelt. Schon vor der Zeremonie kaute er ununterbrochen Koka und Tabak und trank reichlich Branntwein. Er geht zunächst mit Stab und Liane nach links und schlägt mit beiden in die Luft, wie wenn er gegen unsichtbare Geister kämpft. Dann geht er weiter, immer kämpfend, die anderen Richtungen des Platzes ab und zum Schluß noch einmal nach links. Dort haben seine Helfer ein Loch von etwa 30 Zentimeter Tiefe und 15 Zentimeter Durchmesser gegraben.

Nun wird zunächst die Wäsche des Verstorbenen und die Wäsche der Trauergäste herbeigetragen, die diese am Beerdigungstag benutzt haben. Man legt sie auf die Steine, und dann wird sie von Witwe und Tochter des Verstorbenen sehr lange und kräftig gewaschen und nachgespült.

Auch die übrigen Trauergäste haben, wie der Schamane, die ganze Zeit über Kokã gekaut und vom tęyu Branntwein zu trinken bekommen.

Nach der Wäsche kämpft der Schamane zunächst wie vorher, so, als ob er unsichtbare Geister vom Platz der Reinigungszeremonie wegtreiben wollte. Mit weitausholenden Schlägen fährt er langsam mit tama

und Liane durch die Luft. Besonders wendet er sich wieder nach links, denn links wohnt der böse ec, und zwar in der Erde*.

Danach gehen alle, der Schamane zuletzt, zum Loch auf der linken Seite und speien Koka hinein, anschließend nimmt jeder Branntwein und prustet diesen in Richtung nach links in die Luft. Danach beginnen die zu Reinigenden sich zu entkleiden, und jeder nimmt auf einem der Steine Platz. Die Gehilfen des Schamanen tragen in ihren Kalebassen gewaltige Wassermengen herbei — immer mit Kräutern und Kuhexkrementen versetzt —, und dann beginnen die sehr kräftigen körperlichen Waschungen. Das Wasser wird zunächst über den Kopf, dann über den Körper vorne und hinten so reichlich ausgegossen, daß jeder mindestens 25 Liter Wasser über sich ergehen lassen muß. Die Betreffenden selbst reiben sich den Körper sehr gründlich. Zum Schluß legt der Schamane jedem einige Kräuter auf den Kopf. Auch danach muß der Schamane wieder seinen Kampf mit Stab und Liane in der Luft kämpfen und Branntwein nach links prusten. Darauf steht jeder einzelne auf und wird mit Schamanenstab und Kräutern seitlich von links nach rechts und von unten nach oben vom Schamanen umfahren. Immer wieder trinken der Schamane und die Leute Branntwein, den sie nach links in die Luft ausspeien.

Nach den Waschungen der Leidtragenden, an die sich die Waschungen der Helfer und des Schamanen anschließen, setzen sich alle wieder auf ihren alten Platz, gegenüber den Steinen nieder. Der Schamane setzt sich daneben, den Stab vor sich in den Boden gesteckt, den Mund völlig mit Koka und Tabak gefüllt. Er nimmt dazu in kurzen Abständen einen Schluck Branntwein. So sitzt er etwa 20 Minuten, kauend und trinkend, und dann sagt er, daß die Zeichen in seiner Hand sehr schlecht seien und daß bald jemand sterben würde. Einer der anwesenden jungen Männer, Neffe des Verstorbenen und Gehilfe des Schamanen bei der Reinigung, fragt, wer sterben wird oder ob er es sogar selbst sein würde. Der Schamane, der monoton vor sich hinsprach und immer auf einen Punkt starrte, antwortete, ohne den Kopf zu wenden, er wisse nicht, wer sterben wird. Noch eine Weile bleibt der Schamane, immer weiter Koka kauend und Branntwein trinkend, sitzen, und dann erhebt er sich, und die Leute nehmen hinter den Steinen in einer Reihe Platz, erst die Männer, dann die Frauen. Der Schamane nimmt Kräuter in seine Hände, speit die eben gekaute Koka mit Tabak dazu und fährt damit um die Körper aller Anwesenden, immer von links unten die Seite aufwärts bis zum Kopf und wieder herunter zur rechten Seite, dann den Rücken auf-

* Die Linksrichtung hat nichts mit einer geographischen Richtung zu tun, auch nichts mit der Flußrichtung. Man sitzt mit dem Rücken zum Fluß.

wärts und die Vorderseite, und zum Schluß «saugt» er, indem er beide Fäuste übereinanderhält, alles Schmutzige, die letzten Reste der Pest, an drei Stellen aus dem Körper heraus. Zunächst rechts vom Hals in der Schlüsselbeingrube, dann auf der Mitte des Kopfes, und dann fährt er mit beiden Händen die Arme von den Schultern entlang abwärts bis zu den Fingerspitzen und saugt auf beiden Handflächen. Danach säubert er sich selbst auf die gleiche Weise, indem er sich den ganzen Körper mit seinen mit Kräutern gefüllten Händen von unten nach oben entlangfährt, worauf er nach links an das Loch geht, seinen Stab hineinsteckt und sichtlich etwas aus seinem Magen herauswürgt, wobei er diesen Vorgang durch Druck in die Magengrube mit seinen Händen unterstützt. Dann spuckt er das Herausgewürgte kräftig in das Loch. Danach nimmt er noch einmal Kräuter und Branntwein, sowie Koka in den Mund und spuckt sie ebenfalls in das Loch. Nun nimmt er von neuem Koka, Kräuter und Branntwein, kaut dieses und speit es auf seine Stabspitze und umfährt mit dieser die Körper aller Personen, wobei er erst langsam, dann schneller werdend von unten nach oben streicht, wie wenn er etwas im Körperinnern Befindliches von unten nach oben herausdrücken müßte. Dabei murmelt er Worte, die nicht zu verstehen sind und schleudert schließlich die Pest, die an der Stabspitze hängt, nach Reinigung jeder Person im hohen Bogen von sich. Mit dem Stab säubert er auch den Wäscheberg auf die gleiche Weise. Danach nimmt er wieder Koka und Kalk in den Mund sowie Kräuter, unter ihnen vor allem immer wieder Iũ, und gibt das gleiche den Leuten in den Mund. Danach reibt er sich die Hände mit Iũ ab, spuckt Branntwein darauf und nimmt die gleiche Reinigungszeremonie wie vorher an den Leuten vor, indem er wieder den Körper von unten nach oben entlangfährt und zum Schluß an Hals, Kopf und Händen die Pest aussaugt.

Die Beteiligten sind im Augenblick der Reinigung mit großem Ernst bei der Sache. Zwischenhindurch aber lachen sie und sprechen, und die Männer gehen ihrer Beschäftigung des Strohhutflechtens nach.

Nach diesen drei Reinigungen im Stehen folgt eine weitere Reinigung im Sitzen, wobei der Schamane seinen Stab vor jedem der Leute in den Boden steckt. Nach jeder Reinigung geht er an das Loch und speit alles kräftig hinein, wobei er jeweils anschließend den Mund mit Branntwein reinigt und diesen prustend ausspuckt. Nach dieser letzten Reinigung fährt er mit seinem Stab, vor dem Loch stehend, mehrere Male kreisförmig von unten nach oben durch die Luft und sticht mit der Spitze des Stabes dreimal in das Loch, wie wenn er von oben her mit dem Stab etwas Körperliches in das Loch hineinstecken wollte. Mehrere Male geht

er den ganzen Platz ab, mit seinem Stab schlagend, immer von rechts beginnend und etwa zehnmal Branntwein nach links prustend.

Zum Abschluß der Zeremonie wird das Loch mit einem Stein zugedeckt und Wasser mit lü-Kräutern darübergegossen. Alle Beteiligten spucken die vom Schamanen gegebenen Kräuter in ein zweites, etwa 50 Zentimeter daneben befindliches Loch, spülen den Mund kräftig mit Branntwein nach und spucken diesen gleichfalls in das danebenliegende Loch. Zum Abschluß der über vier Stunden dauernden Zeremonie bekommen alle vom Schamanen einen Schluck Branntwein und prusten diesen gemeinsam in Richtung nach links.

Wird der tçyu zu einer erkrankten Person gerufen, so muß er vor der eigentlichen Behandlung in einer besonderen Séance die Ursache der Erkrankung feststellen. Sie beginnt, wie bei allen Krankenzeremonien, etwa um acht Uhr abends und endet meist mehrere Stunden nach Mitternacht. Für seine Séancen benutzt er einen bestimmten Ort (kači), an welchem er im Beisein des Kranken seine Zeichen empfängt. In schweren Fällen von Krankheit kann die Behandlung auch im Hause stattfinden, doch sollen dann möglichst nicht Ají und Salz in der Nähe sein, Dinge, die der Donner nicht mag. In Fällen besonders schwerer Krankheit kann der Schamane auch an einen stillen, von Menschengeräuschen und Hundegebell verschonten Ort gehen, um dort alleine seine Zeichen zu empfangen.

Vor Beginn der Séance muß der Kranke dem tçyu eine halbe Fasertasche voll Koka, eine Flasche Branntwein und einige Zigarren übergeben, da es dem Schamanen ohne diese Mittel nicht möglich ist, die Zeichen zu empfangen. Seinen Stab steckt er etwas seitlich in den Boden, und dann setzt er sich dem Kranken gegenüber. Er entnimmt nun seiner Fasertasche die Heilkräuter und macht zunächst zwei gleiche Päckchen von verschiedenen gemischten Kräutern, deren jedes er in ein Maisblatt einwickelt. Mit jedem Kraut, das er seiner Fasertasche entnimmt, umfährt er zunächst seinen eigenen Körper, um sein Blut anzuregen und um besser seine Zeichen zu empfangen. Schon hier kann es sein, daß seine Zeichen ihm sagen, seine Mühen werden aussichtslos sein, weil der Kranke doch sterben muß. Nur wenn die Zeichen günstig sind, beginnen er und der Kranke das Päckchen mit den Heilkräutern zu kauen. Der Schamane nimmt nun seinen Stab und speit etwas von den gekauten Heilkräutern darauf, um zu vermeiden, daß die von dem nyiç geschickte Pest auf ihn selbst übergehen und ihn töten könnte. Dann steckt er den tama mit der Spitze in den Boden, um dem Donner kund zu tun, daß er nicht schlecht und fahrlässig, sondern genau nach seinen schamanischen Regeln verfahren will. Neben seinen Schamanenstab stellt er die Flasche mit

Branntwein, in die er einen Stengel des čayuts-Krautes steckt. Bleibt dieser senkrecht, ist es ein gutes Zeichen, fällt er zur Seite und geht er unter, ist es ein sehr schlechtes Vorzeichen. Auf die Mündung der Flasche setzt er noch ein kleines Kalebaßgefäß, ebenfalls mit čayuts-Kraut, das verhindern soll, daß die Pest den Schamanen überrascht und tötet. Dieser nimmt nun eine Handvoll Koka in den Mund und beginnt zu kauen. Unbeweglich schaut er auf seinen Stab, bereit zum Empfang seiner Zeichen. Von Zeit zu Zeit nimmt er mehr Koka und Kalk, teilt dem Kranken mit, daß die Zeichen günstig wären, daß seine Krankheit, die von der Pest käme, sich bald bessern würde. Dann steht er auf, geht auf den tama zu und speit das Gekaute kräftig aus. Er leert eine ganze Kalebasse Branntwein und prustet ihn in die Luft. Wieder kehrt er an seinen Platz zurück, nimmt von neuem Koka und Kalk und etwas Zigarrentabak in den Mund und bleibt wieder unbeweglich hocken. Nach etwa einer Stunde speit er das Gekaute in Richtung auf den Stab aus, ein gleiches tut der Kranke, und dann erheben sich beide. Der Schamane teilt dem Kranken nun mit, daß der Donner ihm eine Heilungsmöglichkeit gezeigt habe. Er würde jetzt seine speziellen Heilkräuter sammeln gehen und der Kranke müsse für eine gute Reinigung ein Pfund Kokablätter, sechs Zigarren, einen Liter Branntwein und Chicha mitbringen und zusätzlich noch einige Pfund Fleisch. Eindringlich schärft ihm der tęyu noch ein, ja keine Medikamente der Weißen einzunehmen, da er sonst bestimmt sterben müsse. Bei dieser wie auch bei anderen Séancen erklärten die Schamanen übereinstimmend, daß weder sie selbst den Platz der Séancen verließen, noch ihre Seelen ihren Körper verließen, um auf Reisen zu gehen. Ihr einziges Erfahrungsmerkmal seien die Zeichen, auf die allein sie lauschen.

An dem zur Reinigung von der Pest vereinbarten Abend bringt der Kranke dem Schamanen die benötigten Mittel, und dieser teilt alles in zwei Teile, einen für die Durchführung der Séance und den anderen als Opfer für den Donner. Letzteren Teil nimmt er zunächst und geht an einen bestimmten Platz, um ihn dem Donner anzubieten. Einen Teil des Branntweins speit er in die Luft, einen anderen trinkt er selbst, sobald der Donner seine Einwilligung zur Reinigung von der Krankheit und seine Zufriedenheit über die Gabe ausgedrückt hat.

Zur Reinigungszeremonie hocken sich der tęyu und der Kranke in der bei den Paez üblichen Art nebeneinander auf den Boden. Der tęyu steckt seinen Stab in die Erde und stellt die Branntweinflasche daneben. Mit Kokakauen und Branntweintrinken verrinnen die Stunden, unterbrochen nur von dem zeitweiligen Ausspeien des Gekauten seitens des Schama-

nen. Durch seine Zeichen erfährt er nach und nach die Ursache der Krankheit und auch die benötigten Heilmittel, die er nun dem Kranken verabreicht. Ein Päckchen mit den gleichen Kräutern legt er ihm noch auf den Kopf, als Schutz gegen den bösen eč-Geist. Der tęyu geht nun zur Seite und schlägt mit dem tama in die Luft, um die anwesende Pest zu entfernen. Dann fährt er mit diesem den ganzen Körper des Kranken aufwärts, beginnend an den Füßen und endend am Kopf, um die Pest aus dem Körper seines Patienten gewissermassen von unten nach oben herauszudrücken. An verschiedenen Körperteilen, der Schlüsselbeingrube, dem Nacken und auf dem Kopf, «saugt» er die Pest ab. In ein wenige Meter vor dem Platz der Zeremonie ausgehobenes Loch speit er nun den Inhalt seines Mundes hinein: Koka und Heilkräuter, vermischt mit der dem Kranken abgesogenen Pest. Einen Schluck Branntwein prustet er nun in die Luft, damit die Pest vollends entweiche und trinkt einen weiteren selbst, damit die Pest nicht in seinen Körper eindringe. Nun wird der Kranke gerufen. Dieser muß zunächst die Mischung von Koka mit Heilkräutern, die er die ganze Zeit über gekaut hat, in das gleiche Loch hineinspeien, und dann muß auch er zwei Schluck Branntwein zu sich nehmen; den einen muß er in die Luft prusten, den anderen schluckt er hinunter. Weitere Reinigungen des Kranken schließen sich an, indem dieser mit verschiedenartigen Kräutern umfahren und die Pest mehrmals abgesaugt und ins Loch gespien wird. Zum Abschluß folgt eine körperliche Reinigung des Kranken mit Wasser, dem šũ und yakúma als Heilkräuter beigegeben sind, damit er nun völlig von der Pest befreit sei. Der tęyu bittet zum Schluß den Donner, er möge verhindern, daß jemand dieses Loch, in dem die gefährliche Pest vergraben ist, aufdecke. Er bittet den Donner weiter, ihm auch bei den folgenden, späteren Krankenbehandlungen zu helfen. Dem Kranken wird mitgeteilt, daß die Zeichen günstig wären und ihm nochmals eingeschärft, weder Medikamente der Weißen zu benutzen, noch an diesem Loch, das die Pest enthält, jemals vorbeizugehen.

Neben diesen beiden bedeutendsten schamanischen Zeremonien, der Krankenbehandlung und der Reinigung der Angehörigen nach einem Begräbnis, werden die Fähigkeit des Schamanen und seine magischen, übernatürlichen Kräfte, auch zu vorbeugenden Zeremonien und Handlungen in Anspruch genommen. Dies ist besonders nötig, wenn Krankheitsepidemien — Pocken, Keuchhusten — innerhalb des Dorfes oder einer Familie auftreten. Im ersten Falle bittet der Cabildo einen Schamanen, von dem man weiß, daß er mit dem Donner sprechen kann, um die Abhaltung der entsprechenden Schutz-Zeremonien, im letzteren Falle bittet

ihn das älteste Mitglied der betroffenen Familie. Zunächst muß dazu ein Schwein getötet werden. Von allen Körperorganen der linken Seite schneidet man ein Stück ab und steckt alles in eine neue Fasertasche. Schamane und Cabildo brechen dann am Nachmittag nach der Lagune auf, in der man sich den Donner wohnend vorstellt, um diesen mit der Bitte um Abwendung der Krankheitsepidemie die Tasche mit den Fleischstückchen zu übergeben. Während dieser Zeit haben die zurückgebliebenen Frauen das übrige Fleisch zu einer Mahlzeit vorbereitet, die aber erst gemeinsam genossen wird, wenn nach zwölf Stunden Schamane und Cabildo von ihrer Zeremonie zurückkehren.

Bei mehreren Krankheits- und Todesfällen innerhalb einer Familie ist ebenfalls die Hilfe eines guten Schamanen erforderlich. Als die Ursache dieser, nur eine Familie betreffenden Todesfälle, wird allgemein die Pest angesehen, während nach einer Nachricht bei S. Bernal Villa hierfür die verstorbenen und erzürnten Familienmitglieder verantwortlich gemacht werden. In diesem Falle besorgt der Familienälteste Branntwein, Koka und Tabak, ruft die Familienmitglieder zusammen und bittet den Schamanen herbei. Dieser opfert den erzürnten Ahnengeistern ein fettes Schwein, das man zunächst eine ganze Nacht vor dem Haus festgebunden hat, während der Schamane in dieser Zeit mit den Geistern spricht, ob diese das Opfer annehmen. Getötet wird es von Angehörigen einer anderen Familie, da die Betroffenen keinerlei Arbeit oder Betätigung verrichten dürfen. Gebrüht wird das Schwein über einem Loch, in das man die Haare und Abfälle hineinwirft. Die Teile des Schweines, die die Ahnengeister durch die Zeichen des Schamanen als Opfer wünschen, werden mittels eines Holzstäbchens in eine Fasertasche getan. Die Frauen backen während dieser Zeit kleine Maisfladen, und zwar soviele, wie die Familie Tote zählt. Diese werden ebenfalls in die Tasche getan und dazu eine Menge anderer Nahrungsmittel. Außerdem schnitzt man in der gleichen Anzahl der Toten kleine Holzpüppchen, die wie die lebenden Paez gekleidet sind. Etwa vierzig Meter vom Haus entfernt gräbt man ein Grab mit Seitennische, genau so, wie es auch für die verstorbenen Menschen angefertigt wird. Am Abend geht der Schamane mit den Familienangehörigen dorthin und nimmt an ihnen die zeremonielle Reinigung vor. Danach bedeckt sich der Himmel mit dicken, schwarzen Wolken, nach deren Richtung hin der tęyu seine Heilkräuter speit. Nach zwei Stunden ziehen die Wolken nach links ab und geben die Sicht auf den sternenklaren Himmel frei. Nun legt der Schamane die Puppen (als Darstellungen der Totengeister) in die Seitennische des Grabes hinein, stellt eine Wachskerze dazu und bläst seine Heilkräuter darüber. Mit einem

Stein deckt er die Seitennische ab und legt nun die Tasche mit den Nahrungsmitteln in die Grube. Nachdem diese wieder mit Erde gefüllt ist, schreitet er zu einer erneuten Reinigung der Familienmitglieder, die ein drittes Mal im Hause und gleichzeitg an den Helfern beim Schweineschlachten und Backen vorgenommen wird. Gemeinsam ißt man nun zum Abschluß die eine Hälfte des Schweines, während die andere Hälfte dem Schamanen als Honorar gehört.

Eine weitere wichtige schamanische Zeremonie wird bei der Neukonstruktion eines Hauses vorgenommen. Hierbei speit der tęyu zur Einweihung auf den künftigen Feuerplatz des Hauses seine Kräuter und gräbt ein kleines Loch, in das er die Kräuter šũ und šulápe hineintut. Auf einem kleinen Holzstapel verbrennt er weitere Kräuter, deren Asche er aus dem Hause trägt. Von neuem entzündet er nun ein Feuer, in welchem er einen jungen Maiskolben brät und diesen einem Hund zu fressen gibt. Stirbt dieser nicht daran, so gilt dies als Zeichen, daß hier keine Pest mehr existiert und die Bewohner hier ruhig wohnen dürfen. Im anderen Falle müßten sie das Haus verlassen.

Im Sinne aller schamanischen Séancen der Paez, als eine Reinigung von der Pest oder zu ihrer Abwehr, ist auch die folgende Zeremonie vor der ersten Ernte eines neu gerodeten Feldstückes aufzufassen. Der Besitzer geht mit Koka, Chicha und Branntwein mit seinen Familienangehörigen und dem tęyu auf das Feld. Letzterer besprengt mit Wasser, dem Kräuter zugesetzt sind, zunächst das Feld und verteilt dann an alle Anwesenden kleine Päckchen mit Heilkräutern. Von jeder Fruchtart nimmt er nun eine Probe und formt daraus ein Bündel, um es dem Donner anzubieten. Nach dieser Gabe erntet der Besitzer von jeder Fruchtart eine Fasertasche voll und trägt sie nach Hause. Vor der linken Seite des Einganges stellt er alle Taschen nebeneinander nieder, und dann speit der Schamane seine Kräuter über sie, um sie von der Pest zu reinigen, die ohne diese Zeremonie sonst ins Haus getragen worden wäre. Nachdem die Früchte gekocht sind, werden sie dem Schamanen übergeben, der an jeden einzelnen der Anwesenden je eine Frucht verteilt und den Rest dem Donner als Gabe anbietet, der seinerseits alles dem Schamanen zurückgibt.

Ein guter Schamane kennt keine Kräuter oder sonstigen Mittel, um die Menschen zu schädigen oder sie zu töten. Diese Handlungen sind das Kennzeichen der nyiç. Wie wir aber gehört haben, ist die Grenze zwischen den guten und bösen Schamanen nicht sehr scharf gezogen; jeder könnte auch die Tätigkeiten des anderen ausführen, wenn auch der Donner — so ist man überzeugt — einem nyiç seine Hilfe nicht angedeihen läßt, so daß dieser allein auf seine schlechten und bösen Mittel

angewiesen ist. Zwischen dem tęyu und dem nyiç herrscht ein ständiger Kampf; nicht öffentlich zwar, aber im Geheimen. Ständig fühlen sich die tęyu von den bösen Machenschaften der nyiç verfolgt, und wer nur einen Augenblick in seiner Aufmerksamkeit nachläßt, wird von ihnen getötet. Siegesaussichten hat in diesem Kampf der magisch stärkere; da aber die nyiç ihre Erfolge über die guten Schamanen nicht öffentlich bekanntgeben, kann man nur von den Siegen der tęyu über die bösen Schamanen erfahren. So erzählt ein Schamane von Santa Rosa, daß er in seiner Jugend sehr heimtückisch und verschlagen gewesen sei und bereits viele Mittel kannte. Eines Tages erklärte ihm ein nyiç, der schon seine Mutter und seine Brüder getötet hatte, seine Feindschaft, weil er auf dem besten Wege war, ein guter Schamane zu werden. Er wurde krank, und seine Zeichen kündigten ihm an, daß er bald sterben würde. Nun gab es aber in Huila einen berühmten Schamanen, und diesen suchte er mit viel Branntwein und Koka auf. Sogleich erkannte dieser, daß es sich um Verzauberung seitens eines nyiç handelte. Die einzige Möglichkeit, mit dem Leben davonzukommen bestand darin, sofort die Seele des bösen Zauberers zu töten. Gemeinsam gruben sie dazu ein Loch und warteten darin während vieler Nächte auf die Seele des nyiç. Diese kam auch; da sie aber sehr argwöhnisch war, ließ sie sich nicht ergreifen. So verging mehr als ein Monat. Nacht um Nacht waren beide ohne zu schlafen auf der Lauer, und dann kam eines Nachts bei Tagesanbruch die Seele des bösen Zauberers. Der Schamane war aber bereit, er erhob seinen Stab, und mit einem kräftigen Schlag fiel sie in das Loch. Sofort wurde Erde daraufgehäuft und das Loch völlig zugedeckt. Zischend starb die Seele.

Da der junge Schamane aus Santa Rosa nun wieder gesund war, schickte ihn der alte Schamane nach Hause zurück. Er riet ihm aber, Kräuter mit sich zu führen, da es auf dem Wege Räuber gab. Vorsichtig ging dieser bis zu der gefährlichen Stelle, und da zeigten ihm schon seine Zeichen an, daß die Räuber in der Nähe waren. Sofort blies er seine Kräuter, und die Räuber fielen in tiefen Schlaf. Weiter auf dem Heimweg traf er auf einige Leute, die einen Verbrecher verfolgten. Sie gaben ihm Branntwein und Koka und baten ihn, ihnen von seinem Hause aus bei der Gefangennahme des Verbrechers zu helfen. Er streute sich darauf čayuts auf seine eigenen Füße, und der Verbrecher konnte daraufhin nicht mehr laufen, so daß ihn die Leute fangen konnten.

Andere Schamanen berichten, daß im Falle einer Verzauberung durch einen nyiç, der Verzauberte und seine Familienangehörigen ein Schwein schlachten und von jedem Organ ein Stück in eine Fasertasche tun. Die-

se bringen sie dem Schamanen, zusammen mit Branntwein, Koka und Zigarren. Das Fleisch dient als Köder für die Seele des Zauberers, denn beim ersten Hahnenschrei, wenn alle Anwesenden Koka kauen, komme diese, um sich die Tasche zu holen. Sie fällt aber in das darunter gegrabene Loch. Der Schamane wirft dann sofort Kräuter hinein, die Anwesenden die gekauten Kokapäckchen, und dann wird so schnell wie möglich die Grube zugedeckt. Wenn so seine Seele getötet ist, muß auch der Zauberer sterben.

Die gleiche Art des Seelenfanges, wie sie hier von den tgyu berichtet ist, üben auch die nyiç als häufigste Art der bösen Zauberei aus. Dazu gräbt der nyiç ein Loch und stellt sich darüber, um die umherziehende Seele seines Opfers zu erwarten. Diese ist wie eine leuchtende Kerze sichtbar. Befindet sie sich über dem Loch, versetzt ihr der nyiç mit seinem Stab einen kräftigen Schlag, so daß sie in das Loch fällt. Soll sie recht schnell sterben, wirft der nyiç stark wirkende Kräuter über sie und bedeckt das Loch mit Friedhofserde. Im anderen Falle hat er viele Möglichkeiten, der Seele und damit seinem Opfer langsamer wirkenden Schaden zu tun. Streut er das Kraut baw (aracea) über sie, bläht sich der Magen ihres Besitzers so stark auf, daß dieser stirbt. Wenn der nyiç Kalk über die Seele streut, erblindet der Mensch. Bei dem giftigen Kraut boračero (Datura sp.) wird der Besitzer der Seele wahnsinnig, auch der beißende Rauch der Agave ruft Wahnsinn hervor. Das Zusammentun der Blätter des čuwét (Krameria ixina?) mit der Seele bringt den Tod. Tod rufen auch die Kräuter kaspi (Toxicodendron striatum Kuntze), lečero (Euphorbia cotinifolia L.) und Pringamoza hervor.

f) Der soziologische Aspekt des Schamanismus

Wenn auch die schamanischen Zeremonien und die ihnen zugrunde liegenden Vorstellungen religiöser Art sind, so ist doch das Wirken des Schamanen ein ausgesprochen soziologisches Faktum. Ohne die Tätigkeit des tgyu kann weder die Familie noch die Dorfgemeinschaft existieren. Nur der Schamane ist es, der durch seine persönlichen Fähigkeiten das böse Wirken der nyiç, der tüs, eč und gělyómp-Geister ausgleichen und zum Guten wenden kann. Dabei besteht sein Wirken aber nicht nur in der Abwehr des bereits Eingetretenen, in der Heilung des Befallenen, sondern sein Wirken ist auch vorbeugend, ja prophetisch, indem er zukünftige Erkrankungen oder Todesfälle voraussagt. Kein Hausbau, keine neue Ernte kann zudem vorgenommen werden, ohne daß der tgyu zuvor die Früchte bzw. den Bauplatz von der Pest reinigt.

Er ist aber damit nicht nur Schützer des Einzelwesens oder der Einzelfamilie, sondern auch verantwortlich für das gedeihliche Nebeneinanderleben der Mitglieder des ganzen Dorfes. So ist es nicht verwunderlich, daß es die Schamanen sind — neben dem Donner unter seinen verschiedenen Namen —, die in den mythischen Überlieferungen die Kriegsanführer waren. Sie führten ihr Volk, vermöge ihrer magischen Begabung und Stärke, erfolgreich gegen die Pijaos und die Spanier. Mehrmals erzählten uns die Alten der verschiedenen Dörfer, daß der Donner die weißen Eindringlinge einmal wieder aus dem Tierradentro der Paez hinaustreiben und töten wird. Und es ist nur folgerichtig, wenn der Schamane von Santa Rosa, als Nachfolger des mythischen Donners, noch 1952 bei dem bevorstehenden Einfall einer bewaffneten Gruppe weißer Umstürzler, seine magischen Kräuter auf den zum Dorf führenden Weg spie, um sie zu verderben. Entsprechend handelt die alte Felisa Ipia, wenn sie in den Fäden ihres Schamanenstabes die Seelen aller Dorfbewohner gesammelt hält, um sie so besser gegenüber bösen, magischen Einwirkungen beschützen zu können.

Wegen dieser ihrer gewissen übernatürlichen Fähigkeiten, deren Wirkungen sich niemand innerhalb der Gemeinschaft entziehen kann, besitzen die tegu ein gewisses inoffizielles Ansehen. Hinzu kommt, daß sie alle mindestens dreißig bis vierzig Jahre alt sind und damit durch ihr Alter schon eine der natürlichen Voraussetzungen für die Anerkennung durch die Gemeinschaft erfüllen. Nicht wenige fühlen sich dadurch geehrt, herausgehoben aus der großen Menge, viele aber bestätigten mir, daß sie nur ungern Schamane seien, zwar berufen durch ihre Fähigkeit, die Zeichen zu empfangen, aber auch bedrückt durch die Last der Bürde ihrer Verantwortung.

In Zeiten von Krankheitsepidemien oder unerklärlichen, «übernatürlichen» Todesfällen sind sie der Mittelpunkt der Gemeinschaft, an den sich niemand vergeblich wendet. Und im Gespräch mit ihnen hatten wir im allgemeinen durchaus den Eindruck, uneigennützigen, hilfsbereiten Menschen gegenüber zu stehen. Aus ihrer Tätigkeit machen sie kein Geheimnis, und so gut es ging versuchten sie, uns ihre Erfahrungen und Kenntnisse mitzuteilen, die sie zum Wohle der Gemeinschaft anwenden.

4. MUSIK

In keinem Bereich der Kultur der Paez zeigt sich eine solche Armut, wie im Gesang und Tanz, den hervorragenden Äußerungen des Charakters und Geistes aller Völker. Kein eigenständiger Tanz wird bei den

Paez geübt und kein Lied habe ich singen hören. Es stellt dies zweifellos eine Verarmung dar, denn aus der Folklore ist zu ersehen, daß früher auch getanzt wurde. Der entsprechende Schluß ist zwingend auch aus der Ausübung einer sehr angenehm klingenden Musik zu ziehen. Die Kenntnis der Musik aber macht auch den Gesang höchst wahrscheinlich, zumal bei einem im Grunde lustigen und zu dauerndem Scherzen aufgelegten Volk. Ist es doch für das Mädchen, das träge bei scherzhafter Rede ist, sehr schwer, einen Mann zu bekommen. Und auf die Frage der bei Uricoechea verzeichneten Paez-Vokabel für «Singhaus» konnte mir der gute Victoriano zu seiner eigenen, größten Überraschung, sofort ein besonderes Wort seiner Sprache angeben «mémyat».

Was von den heute bei den Paez gebrauchten Musikinstrumenten ursprünglich ist, läßt sich nicht mit Sicherheit sagen. Auffällig ist das Fehlen jeder Art von Rasseln, dem hervorragenden Instrument der amerikanischen Eingeborenen*.

Das sich in jedem Haus befindliche Kuhhorn (káčn) ist im eigentlichen Sinne kein Musik-, sondern ein Signalinstrument. Es ist völlig schmucklos und gibt, aus einem an der Spitze abgesägten Horn bestehend, nur einen Ton her, der auf die gleiche Art hervorgerufen wird, wie der Ton eines Waldhornes oder einer Fanfare. Dieses Horn wird von den Männnern benutzt, wenn sie aus den Bergen nach dem gemeinsamen Fällen der zum Hausbau benötigten Bäume herabkommen, um dem Dorf von der Rückkunft Nachricht zu geben.

Die eigentliche Paez-Musik wird von einer Musikantengruppe ausgeführt, deren Instrumente aus einer mehr oder weniger großen Anzahl von Querflöten, einer Pauke, einer Trommel, einem Tamburin und einer Triangel bestehen (Abb. 202). Die Anzahl der Flöten schwankt zwischen fünf und fünfzehn. Tamburin und Triangel (číngalo) können fehlen. Letztere ist immer gekauft, desgleichen im allgemeinen der einseitig bespannte und mit Blechschellen versehene Tamburin (pandęrę́ta).

Dem Namen nach ist die Querflöte (koi) ein Paez-Instrument. Eine Untersuchung über Verbreitung oder kulturhistorisches Alter dieser Art von Flöten liegt für Amerika noch nicht vor; in der alten Welt ist sie jedenfalls jünger als Langflöte und Panflöte (Sachs, p. 147). Bei den

* Allerdings erwähnt Pittier de Fábrega (p. 325) unter den Musikinstrumenten der Paez eine Rassel (tsoóts) in Form einer Kalebasse mit einem Griff, die mit kleinen Steinen gefüllt war. Ob es sich nicht möglicherweise um ein Instrument der Neger von Belalcazar handelt, sei dahingestellt.

Paez hat sie 65 cm Länge und etwa 2,5 cm Durchmesser. Sie ist aus einer Rohrart hergestellt, die ebenfalls koi heißt und die nur in den Bergen wächst. Ihre Anfertigung ist Spezialistenarbeit. In Calderas ist Vicente Puche der derzeitig einzige Hersteller. Eine Flöte kann nur bei Vorlage einer anderen angefertigt werden, die aber keine Modellflöte eigens zur Konstruktion anderer ist, sondern irgendeine, die Vicente gerade zur Verfügung hat. Mir persönlich hat er beispielsweise ohne weiteres sein damals einziges Instrument verkauft. Zur Neuanfertigung würde er sich, wie er sagte, eine Flöte von einem Nachbarn leihen.

Das Flötenrohr ist zylindrisch und knotenlos. Die Abdichtung an der Seite des Blasloches geschieht mittels eines Stückchens ausgepreßten Zuckerrohres, das einige Zentimeter in die Flöte hineingeschoben wird. Die sechs Grifflöcher haben keinen gleichen Abstand untereinander. Das erste ist vom Blasloch 25 cm entfernt, das zweite Griffloch vom ersten 4,2 cm, das dritte vom zweiten 4,5 cm, das vierte vom dritten 4,2 cm, das fünfte vom vierten 3,8 cm und das sechste vom fünften 4 cm.

Die sieben, sehr scharfrandigen Löcher der Flöte haben gleichen Durchmesser. Sie werden mittels eines glühend gemachten Eisenrohres (barílya) von gleichem Durchmesser hineingebrannt. Ihre Lage und ihre Abstände werden von einer daneben gehaltenen Flöte übertragen und durch Einschnitte mittels eines Machete markiert (Abb. 203). Trotz der relativ übereinstimmenden Löcher hat jede Flöte eine etwas andere Abstimmung, hervorgerufen durch den wechselnden Durchmesser des Rohres.

Nach der von meinem Bruder Wilfried freundlichst vorgenommenen Untersuchung der von mir erworbenen Musterflöte des Vicente Puche, liegt deren Stimmung zwischen c und cis. Ihre sechs Grifflöcher ergeben eine anhemitonische Siebentonskala. Allerdings sind alle Tonschritte etwas unsauber, also nicht genau einen Ganztonschritt auseinander. Dies ist besonders auffällig vom dritten zum vierten Ton, wo wir spürbar weniger als eine große Sekunde haben, allerdings auch bedeutend mehr als einen Halbton. Es ist dies deswegen bemerkenswert, weil auch bei unserer diatonischen Durtonleiter zwischen diesen beiden Tönen ein entscheidender Halbtonschritt liegt.

Geblasen wird rechts- oder linksseitig. Die durch die schwere Feldarbeit verarbeiteten Finger bedecken die Grifflöcher, lang ausgestreckt, mit dem ersten oder zweiten Fingerglied.

Der Wert der Flöten ist nicht sehr hoch. An den Festtagen pflegt man sich in den Festhäusern zu betrinken, und dann werden die Flöten bei den folgenden Raufereien als Schlaginstrument benutzt und dabei zerbrochen.

Zu jeder Musikantengruppe gehört mindestens eine kleine zylindrische Trommel (káka) oder eine Pauke (kut), die beide zweiseitig bespannt und in ihren Dimensionen breiter als hoch sind. Trommel und Pauke sind in dieser Form wahrscheinlich Lehngut und in ganz Südamerika von den ehemaligen Negersklaven übernommen worden. Die Anfertigung bei den Paez ist Spezialistenarbeit. Zur Zeit ist Vicente Puche Hersteller der Flöten, wie auch der Trommeln. Früher gab es jedoch auch einen besonderen Meister, der nur Pauken und Trommeln hergestellt hat. Die Arbeitszeit für ihre Anfertigung beträgt 10 bis 14 Tage, da für jeden Arbeitsgang (Holz schneiden, trocknen lassen, für die verschiedenen Arbeitsgänge bei der Fellbearbeitung usw.) je ein Tag gerechnet wird. Der zylindrische Trommelkörper wird aus dem Holz des utsę-Baumes hergestellt. Die beiden Trommelfelle (katç) sind aus Kalbfell. Die Spannung geschieht mittels Schnüren aus Agavefaser, die zickzackförmig von Spannrahmen zu Spannrahmen über den Trommelkörper laufen. Sie werden durch eine endlose Schlaufe angezogen, die jeweils zwei Stränge der Spannschnüre umfaßt und gleichzeitig um den ganzen Trommelkörper liegt. Quer über das untere Fell ist als Rasseleinrichtung eine Schnur mit einem Hölzchen gespannt. Die Art der Konstruktion der Trommel und der Pauke ist in Calderas gleich. Eine Trommel in Santa Rosa ist insofern abweichend, als der obere und untere Spannrahmen aus je einer doppelt genommenen Rute besteht, zwischen die die Enden des Trommelfelles eingespannt sind (Fig. 37). Die Maße der kleinen Trommel ligen bei 16 cm Höhe und 22 cm Durchmesser, die der Pauke bei 40 cm Höhe und etwa 60 cm Durchmesser.

Bei Ausübung der Musik, zu der kein Text (mehr) bekannt ist, schlagen Trommel und Pauke den gleichen Rhythmus, aber in verschiedener Weise. Die Trommel wird mit zwei Trommelstöcken, die einfach zwei gewöhnliche, ungegliederte Stückchen Holz sind, auf dem Fell geschlagen. Die Pauke wird mit der einen Hand mit einem regelrechten, aus einem Stock mit einer Stoffumwicklung bestehenden, Schlägel geschlagen, während die andere Hand mit einem Stöckchen auf den Rahmen schlägt. Beim Dreivierteltakt, der hauptsächlichen Taktart, wird bei der Pauke mit dem Schlägel der einen Hand das erste und dritte Viertel einfach und das zweite Viertel in Achteln geschlagen. Die andere Hand schlägt mit dem anderen Stock auf dem Rahmen nach.

Ob dieser Paez-Rhythmus ursprünglich ist oder zusammen mit der Trommel übernommen wurde, ist nicht mit Sicherheit festzustellen. Wie in der Geschichte «Der Paez mit der Axt» ausgeführt wird, haben nach Überlieferung der Paez die Pijao-Frauen in früherer Zeit, als es noch

keine Trommeln gab, bei den Tänzen mit den Händen auf ihren Brüsten den Takt geschlagen. Wir dürfen annehmen, daß dies auch bei den früheren Paez zum Teil der Fall war. Nach E. Castillo i Orosco benutzten die Paez früher aufgehängte Chichacanoas als Trommeln (kwimb). Diese bestanden aus ausgehöhlten Baumstämmen und wurden jeweils bei dem kwimbkó-Tanz von allen Männern gemeinsam geschlagen, während die Frauen dabei sangen. Der derzeitige, auf den Trommeln geschlagene Rhythmus scheint jedoch weniger fest verankert als die Melodie. Letztere ist ihnen so lieb, daß sie zur Messe in der Missionskirche keine Choräle singen, sondern mit den gleichen Instrumenten die üblichen Melodien spielen, allerdings unverhältnismäßig langsamer. Trommel und Pauke kommen dabei aus dem Rhythmus, sie wissen mit ihren Instrumenten nichts Rechtes anzufangen und schlagen einfach gleichmäßige Sechzehntel. Es scheint damit, daß die Melodie ursprünglicher und somit in der Überlieferung der Paez fester verankert ist, und daß mit dem Lehngut der Trommel auch der entsprechende moderne Rhythmus übernommen wurde. Darin bestärkt mich eine Beobachtung bei der Musik der Neger von Tumaco, in der kolumbianischen Hafenstadt an der Pazifischen Küste. Dort, bei den Nachkommen einstiger Sklaven, sind heute noch westafrikanische Musikinstrumente mit entsprechenden Negerbezeichnungen in Gebrauch, unter anderem die xylophonähnliche Marimba, und zwei Trommeln, die konische, einseitig mit Fell bespannte Konuno und die doppelseitig bespannte, zylindrische Pauke, die Bombo. Letztere weist die gleiche Bespannungsart auf, wie die Paez-Pauke und wird ebenfalls mit zwei Schlägeln bearbeitet, von denen der eine, mit einem Rohgummikopf versehene, auf das Fell schlägt und der andere, ein einfacher Stab, auf den Rahmen des Trommelkörpers.

Die Musikanten sind immer Männer. Sie üben die Musik als Amateure aus, die aus Liebhaberei das eine oder andere Musikinstrument erlernen. Dabei ist die Trommel das beliebtere Instrument, während die Flötisten weniger zahlreich und vorwiegend auf bestimmte Familien beschränkt sind.

Die heute getanzten Tänze, die übrigens nicht jeder beherrscht, entsprechen dem kolumbianischen Bambuco, ohne allerdings die dazu nötige Gewandtheit und Leichtigkeit der Bewegungen, wie bei der kolumbianischen Landbevölkerung in anderen Teilen des Landes, erkennen zu lassen.

Anmerkungsweise seien die Tänze zitiert, die H. Pittier de Fabrega (nach E. Castillo i Orosco) von den Paez erwähnt und die in einigen Bezeichnungen auf eine eigenständige Kultur hinweisen: onza-kó «Mäu-

setanz», nwi-kó «Bussardtanz», itsa-kó Pubertätstanz der Mädchen, ek-koi-kó Tanz der Geisterflöte, tel-koi-kó Tanz der langen Flöte oder Kriegstanz, la-kó Tanz zur Einweihung eines Hauses u. a.

5. FOLKLORE

Das heutige Erzählgut der Paez ist weder reichhaltig noch vielgestaltig. Auch hierin hat zweifellos eine gewisse Verarmung stattgefunden, wie Bruchstücke größerer Mythenkomplexe erkennen lassen. Dazu gehören die «Geschichte von der Frau, aus deren Körper Nutzpflanzen hervorgehen», Geschichten um verwandelte Tiere und Menschen, wie auch Geschichten um Werjaguare. Auch die Erzählung von dem geisterhaft einherrollenden Menschenkopf hat in nord- und südamerikanischen Märchen eine außerordentlich große Verbreitung und eine vielfältige mondmythologische Bedeutung. Im Gegensatz dazu ist das völlige Fehlen von typischen Erzählungen über den Waldgeist (gëlyómp) bemerkenswert, obwohl dieser in den religiösen Vorstellungen der Paez eine wichtige Rolle spielt. Nur sehr schwach und farblos sind auch Tier- und Verwandlungsmärchen vertreten.

Leider wirkt sich bei der Mythenaufnahme die Kargheit der Mitteilungsbereitschaft der Paez besonders hemmend aus. Sind es doch vorwiegend die Alten, die Geschichten zu berichten wissen. Aber gerade diese stehen dem Fremden besonders ablehnend gegenüber. Die Chronisten und frühen Berichterstatter teilen uns über die Folklore der Paez nichts mit, und auch die jüngsten Reisenden der dreißiger Jahre wissen nur die Geschichte von Juan Tama zu berichten bzw. sprechen den Paez alle Mythologie ab.

Sicherlich ließen sich die von S. Bernal Villa und die von mir gesammelten Erzählungen bei noch besserem Kennenlernen der Alten vermehren. War doch die Unbeliebtheit unseres Dolmetschers gerade bei den Alten mitunter ein so großes Hindernis, daß Victoriano manche der mitgeteilten Erzählungen über seinen Vater oder Onkel von den entsprechenden Gewährsleuten erfragen mußte.

Die Themen der Erzählungen umfassen in der Hauptsache Geschichten um den Donner (Nr. 1—12), meist unter seinen Namen Juan Tama, Llivan, Chauté oder Juan Chiracol. Er ist in den Mythen der erste Schamane und Lehrmeister der heutigen Schamanen (vgl. unter «Religion») und bedeutend mächtiger als die Menschen. Er ist aber keine erhabene, numinose Figur. Im Gegenteil, die Menschen haben ihm in alter Zeit

manchmal recht übel mitgespielt, ihm Giftkräuter in seine Lagune geworfen und ihn sogar in einen Kasten eingesperrt. Eine zweite Gruppe von Erzählungen (Nr. 13—14) behandelt Geschichten um Geister, eine dritte (Nr. 15—16) Geschichten um Pijaos, die gefürchteten Menschenfresser und schrecklichen Feinde der Paez. Damit stehen in gewissem Zusammenhang Geschichten von Werjaguaren (Nr. 17—18). In der letzten Gruppe (Nr. 19—22) sind die restlichen, nicht näher zu klassifizierenden Erzählungen mitgeteilt. Um eine gewisse Vollständigkeit zu erzielen, sind die Erzählungen Nr. 1 und 2 von Juan Tama hier nach G. Bürg (p. 34 f) bzw. G. Hernandez de Alba (1946, p. 953) wiedergegeben und die Nr. 4, 9, 10 nach S. Bernal Villa (I).

1. Juan Tama, der Wassergeborene

Unter den Indianern von Vitomcó lebt folgende Erinnerung an Juan Tama: Vor langer Zeit herrschte eine Kazikin in Vitomcó, die kinderlos und daher stets traurig war, wenn sie darüber nachdachte, wer ihr in der Herrschaft folgen würde. Eines Tages, als sie am Zusammenfluß des Rio Paez mit einem Bach, der aus dem Páramo de Moras (aus der heute Juan Tama genannten Lagune) kommt, Wäche wusch, sah sie im Wasser ein schwimmendes Stück Holz, auf dem ein kleines Kind lag. Sie fischte es heraus, und da es ein Knabe war, nahm sie sich seiner an, erzog ihn und machte ihn, als er großjährig wurde, zum Kaziken. Dieser Kazike — heute Juan Tama genannt — war sehr weise und stark und führte sein Volk gegen die Spanier, als diese sich am Magdalenenstrom festsetzten. Das letztemal wurde er in der großen Schlacht von San Vicente am Paez gesehen, wo es ihm mit seinen Truppen gelang, die Spanier zu besiegen. Da er auf dem Wasser einhergeschwommen war, betrachtete man ihn nicht als einen gewöhnlichen Menschen, sondern man nahm an, daß er der Kazikin von deren Vorfahren geschickt wurde, oder aber auch, daß er direkt von den Göttern abstamme, die sich mit der Lagune von Juan Tama paarten, so daß diese seine Mutter ist. Als Juan Tama bei San Vicente sah, daß seine Leute siegten und seines Schutzes nicht mehr bedurften, verschwand er wieder. Er gab noch seinen Unterkaziken Anweisungen und zog sich dann zu seiner Mutter, der Lagune de Juan Tama zurück, wo er auch heute noch lebt, und von wo aus er die Geschicke seiner Indianer im Tierradentro leitet.

2. *Juan Tama, der Sohn des Morgensternes*

Eines Tages, als der Morgenstern besonders schön glänzte — so erzählt man sich bei den Paez von Lame —, fanden einige Leute ein Kind in einer Schlucht, die seitdem Sternenschlucht genannt wird. Dieses Kind war Juan Tama. Sie nahmen es und brachten es zu einer Frau, damit sie es aufzöge. Juan Tama aber saugte ihr die Milch so stark ab, daß sie der Frau ausging. Sie brachten ihn deswegen zu einer anderen Frau, aber mit der machte er es genau so. Die Leute sagten daher, daß er nicht von einer Frau genährt werden könnte und gaben ihm normale Erwachsenenkost.

Als er aufgewachsen war, heiratete er die Kazikin von Huila und wurde Häuptling aller Indios. Er belehrte sein Volk und befahl, daß sie ihr Land nur für sich behalten und sich nicht mit den Weißen mischen sollten, dann würden sie unbesiegbar sein. Als er seinen Tod nahen fühlte, ging er zur Lagune in den Páramo de Moras und sank im Wasser unter. Von dort war er gekommen, dorthin ging er wieder zurück. Er hatte keine Erben.

3. *Llivan, der Schamane und Retter der Paez*

Früher lebten die Pijaos in Plata Vieja und kamen jedes Jahr nach Calderas, um die Leute zu töten und zu fressen. Dabei zerstörten sie die Maisfelder. Die Calderuner hatten sehr große Angst und wußten nicht, was sie machen sollten. Es gab aber in Calderas zwei Männer, die stärker waren als alle anderen Männer. Dies waren Llivan und sein Bruder. Bei einem neuerlichen Einfall der Pijaos wurde Llivans Bruder gefangengenommen, während er selbst entkommen konnte. Die Pijaos töteten den Bruder und zogen ihm dann die Haut ab «wie einer Kuh» und schnitten das Fleisch von den Knochen und frassen es auf. Die Knochen legten sie dann wieder in die Haut und füllten an Stelle des Fleisches Asche in die Haut; dann nähten sie diese wieder zusammen, taten ein Mittel (yútsę) dazu und bekleideten den Bruder mit seinen Kleidungsstücken und der Ruana und setzten ihm seinen Hut auf und schickten ihn zu seinem Bruder zurück. (Hierzu erklärte der Berichterstatter: Das Mittel, das die Pijaos zur Wiederbelebung des Bruders verwandt hatten, kennen die Paez heute nicht. Das Wort wird auch heute für keinerlei Mittel oder Medizin der eigenen Schamanen oder weißen Ärzte verwandt. Es bezeichnet ein Mittel zur Wiederbelebung Toter, das es heute nicht mehr gibt.) Das Mittel wirkt aber nur so lange, bis ein ande-

rer den auf diese Weise Wiederbelebten anspricht. Als der Bruder Llivans nun auf sein Haus zukam, sah ihn Llivan zuerst, machte seine Mutter und seine Schwester darauf aufmerksam, und alle drei stürzten aus dem Haus, und Llivan rief: «Da kommt ja mein Bruder; ich dachte, die Pijaos hätten ihn getötet.» Bei diesen Worten fiel der Bruder in sich zusammen und blieb nur als ein Häufchen Staub mit etwas Haut und einigen Knochen liegen. Llivan, seine Mutter und seine Schwester weinten darauf sehr. Llivan sagte, er könnte jetzt nicht mehr im Hause leben. Er verließ es und ging in die Berge, ohne Salz, noch Gewürze, noch Fleisch zu essen, sondern er lebte nur von Kräutern. So ging er lange Zeit durch die Berge und litt furchtbaren Hunger. Schlafen mußte er unterhalb von Felsen. Er ging am Ufer des Baches Guacharaca entlang und stellte fest, daß das Wasser sehr schmutzig war. Er beschloß daraufhin, nachzusehen, wer das Wasser so schmutzig machte, und fand, flußaufwärts gehend, einen großgewachsenen, schönen Mann sitzend, der Steine in den Bach warf. (Auf meine Frage, ob davon das Wasser so schmutzig geworden sei, antwortete der Berichterstatter: «Ich glaube, der Llivan war ein Schamane; und weil er so lange Zeit nichts gegessen hatte, hat er geträumt, und in Wirklichkeit war das Wasser gar nicht schmutzig, sondern er hat es nur schmutzig gesehen. Und der andere Mann, der in Wirklichkeit der Donner war, war auch Schamane, und auf diese Weise bestand die Möglichkeit, daß sie zusammengetroffen sind.»)

Als Llivan den Mann am Bach sitzend antrifft, kommt er näher, ohne daß der andere ihn gewahr wird. Erst im letzten Augenblick dreht sich der andere um und fragt Llivan: «Was gehst du hier entlang?» Llivan antwortete: «Die Pijaos haben unsere Männer und meinen Bruder getötet und die Felder verwüstet». Der Mann fragte darauf: «Weswegen kämpfst du nicht mit den Pijaos, warum bist du so feige?» Llivan antwortete: «Mit was soll ich kämpfen, ich habe ja keine Waffe». Darauf sagte der andere: «Ich habe eine Schleuder, die ich dir leihen werde und mit der du kämpfen kannst». — «Aber wie soll ich damit kämpfen?» fragt Llivan. «Das will ich dir zeigen», antwortet der andere Mann, der in Wirklichkeit der Donner war, «paß gut auf!» Und Llivan schaute gespannt zu, wie der Donner die Schleuder nahm, sie hoch in die Luft warf und wie beim Niederfallen ein Blitz entstand mit starkem Donnergetöse und Wind und Regen, so daß der niederfallende Blitz Bäume zersplitterte und sie selbst beinahe getötet hätte. Dann gab der Donner Llivan die Schleuder, und Llivan warf sie ebenfalls, und er hatte die gleiche Wirkung. «Gut», sagte der Donner, «du kannst damit umgehen, nimm die Schleuder und kämpfe damit gegen die Pijaos. Hüte sie gut,

und wenn du damit gekämpft hast, werde ich dich rufen, und dann kommst du in mein Haus, das dort oben liegt.»

Llivan ging mit der Schleuder in das Haus seiner Mutter, zeigte die Schleuder aber niemand. Er legte sie in einen Topf und deckte einen Deckel darauf.

Eine Woche darauf kamen die Pijaos bis in die Gegend von Togoima und zogen in Richtung auf Calderas zu. Es war eine riesenhafte Zahl von Pijaos. Die Leute sammelten sich in Llivans Haus und hatten große Angst. Auch die Mutter und Schwester hatten Angst. Llivan aber sagte nichts. Er sagte weder, daß sie ruhig sein sollten, da er kämpfen würde, noch sagte er, daß er eine Schleuder hätte. Und als die Pijaos bis vor Llivans Haus gekommen waren, schickte er seine Mutter, daß sie ihm die Schleuder aus dem Topf hole. Die Mutter ging hin und sah aber in dem Topf nur eine grüne Schlange, keine Schleuder. Sie bekam daraufhin große Angst und lief zu ihrem Sohn zurück und sagte: «Es gibt dort in dem Topf keine Schleuder, sondern nur eine große, grüne Schlange; die kann ich nicht herausholen.» «Dummes Zeug», sagte Llivan, «bring mir die Schleuder, die in dem Topf ist; da ist keine Schlange drin.» (Hier erklärte der Berichterstatter, daß Llivans Mutter die Schleuder nicht habe sehen können, da sie ja kein Schamane war, wie ihr Sohn.)

Aber die Mutter hatte Angst und ging nicht. Währenddessen drangen die Pijaos in das Haus ein, und Llivan ging selbst an den Topf, um die Schleuder herauszuholen, die auch tatsächlich darin war. Ehe er mit ihr ausholte, um Blitz und Donner auf die Pijaos niederzuschleudern, sagte er noch zu Mutter und Schwester: «Kriecht unter den Topf, damit euch die Pijaos nicht fressen», aber da er im gleichen Augenblick die Schleuder warf, hatten sie keine Zeit mehr, sich so zu schützen, und der niederfahrende Donner und Blitz tötete alle Pijaos, sowie seine Mutter und Schwester. Daraufhin beugte er sich zu seiner Mutter nieder und schrie mit Donnerstimme in ihr Ohr «Ooooh», worauf sie wieder zum Leben erwachte. Und das gleiche machte er mit seiner Schwester. Llivan verließ daraufhin das Haus, um zu sehen, wieviel Pijaos tot waren; er ging bis Togoima, in einer Hand hielt er eine Schere, in der anderen einen Beutel und schnitt allen toten Pijaos Ohrringe und Halsketten ab und sammelte sie in seinem Beutel ein. Bei Togoima fand er in einem Loch einen jungen Pijao sitzen, der noch nicht getötet war und der bei sich ein menschliches Bein hatte, um es zu essen, da er Hunger hatte. «Ah», sagte Llivan, «du bist noch nicht tot?» — damit schleuderte er seinen Blitz und tötete auch diesen Pijao.

Llivan trug daraufhin allen Schmuck, den er den Pijaos abgenommen

hatte, in eine der unterirdischen prähistorischen Grabhöhlen (koátkaç), wie sie die Paez zur Bestattung ihrer Verstorbenen nicht benutzen. Diese Höhle war nahe an einem Fluß angelegt, und nachdem Llivan den Schmuck hineingelegt hatte, wuchs der Fluß an und überdeckte die Grabstätte mit den Schätzen.

Llivan kehrte daraufhin zu dem Hause seiner Mutter zurück und sagte: «Jetzt habe ich alle Pijaos getötet, und niemand wird mehr zurückkommen von ihnen. Aber jetzt kann ich nicht mehr bei euch wohnen. Da ich so viele Pijaos getötet habe, wäre es möglich, daß ich euch auch töte. Ich muß euch deswegen verlassen. Ich habe mir ein sehr schönes Haus in den Bergen gekauft und werde von nun an allein leben, aber nie sterben.» Die Mutter und die Schwester weinten beide, er aber nicht. Mutter und Schwester boten ihm an, ihn zu begleiten, aber er lehnte es ab. Daraufhin machte sich Llivan auf. Die Schwester ging hinterher, um zu sehen, wo Llivan entlangginge, aber Llivan wurde vom Wind begleitet, so daß er so schnell ging, daß ihm niemand folgen konnte. Die Schwester konnte nur noch sehen, wie sich Llivan weit hinten in die Luft erhob. Dann fing es an zu regnen, und die Wolken waren sehr tief, und Llivan fiel herunter in die Lagune Hipĕndyk. Von da an lebte Llivan in der Lagune und wurde Donner.

Diese ausführliche Geschichte erzählte mir Victoriano, nachdem er sie von seinem Vater und seinem Onkel erfahren hatte. Ähnlich, aber bedeutend unvollkommener, erzählte sie mir die alte Celia Uriaga in Calderas.

4. Juan Chiracol, der Sohn des Jaguars

Juan Chiracol stammt von zwei Mestizenmädchen ab, die von dem Berg Zenzepechi herabgekommen sind, nachdem sie vor den Pijaos flüchten mußten. Sie ernährten sich von Kartoffeln und anderen Produkten des Feldes, die sie dem Gebirgsboden mit viel Fleiß und mittels ihrer steinernen Werkzeuge abgewannen. Eines Tages wurden sie von den Pijaos überrascht. Sie fraßen das eine der Mädchen auf, das andere blieb alleine zurück.

Nach der Umarmung durch einen Jaguar wurde sie schwanger und gebar Juan Chiracol. Er war sehr intelligent. Er wußte von dem Leid, das die Pijaos seiner Mutter zugefügt hatten. Deswegen kämpfte er solange gegen sie, bis er alle ausgerottet hatte. Seine Mutter gewöhnte ihn an die Gegenwart des Jaguars und dieser umsorgte seinen Sohn Juan und brachte ihm viel Fleisch aus den Bergen. Als er groß war, verschwand der Jaguar.

Mutter und Sohn siedelten nun zu den Paez über und begannen mit dem Bau einer Kirche. Juan Chiracol gab den Paez viele Ratschläge. Er warnte sie, Land zu verkaufen, da dieses nur für die Paez sei, zu dessen Sicherung er ja gegen die Pijaos gekämpft hatte. Dann erklärte er ihnen, daß er nun nach der Lagune El Caspe gehen und nie mehr zurückkehren würde. Wenn er wütend wird, hört man ihn heute noch «uuuh» schreien.

Die Lagune El Caspe liegt sehr weit weg, an der Grenze von Ata. Sie soll sehr bösartig sein. Man glaubt, daß, wenn ein Baum umfällt oder ein Felsblock herunterstürzt, es Juan Chiracol ist, der damit seinen Unmut kundtun will. An Frauen, so sagt man, hatte er kein Interesse; deshalb gäbe es von ihm auch keine Nachkommen.

5. *Chauté verwandelt Menschen in Tiere*

Chauté richtete viel Unheil an, und deswegen brachten ihn die Menschen weit weg, dorthin, wo die Sonne herkommt. Dies geschah folgendermaßen: Früher gab es nur Menschen. Chauté aber machte aus Menschen Tiere, indem er sagte: du bist jetzt das und das! Der Chiguaco war früher ein Sakristan, weil er gut beten kann; der Chicao konnte gut pfeifen und die Guacharaca war früher ein großer Schwätzer. Das Kaninchen war früher ein sehr trügerischer Mensch; wenn der Hund es heute jagt, läßt es sich — boshafterweise — nicht greifen, sondern schlägt Haken und nochmals Haken.

Der Zimmermann konnte große Kästen machen, so große, daß man da einen Menschen hineinlegen konnte. Er versprach Chauté, ihm einen großen Kasten zu schenken. Als er ihn fertig gebaut hatte, zeigte er ihn Chauté, und dieser legte sich hinein, um zu prüfen, ob er groß genug wäre. Der Zimmermann machte den Deckel zu, und damit Chauté nicht herauskommen und noch weiteres Unheil anrichten konnte, vernagelte er ihn sorgfältig. Chauté bat den Zimmermann, ihn doch herauszulassen, dieser öffnete aber den Kasten nicht. Er bat ihn, doch wenigstens zwei Löcher in den Deckel zu schneiden, damit er etwas sehen könnte. Der Zimmermann nahm den Meißel und machte ein schönes Loch, und wie er das zweite anfertigen wollte, rutschte ihm das Handwerkszeug aus und schlug ihm ein Auge aus. «Ich werde blind!» schrie er, doch wie er das sagte, sah er Bäume und nur noch Bäume und nichts weiter. Er hatte sich in einen Specht verwandelt und meißelt mit seinem Schnabel von nun an nur noch Löcher in die Bäume und zieht darin seine Jungen auf. Chauté aber blieb in dem Kasten. Und wenn er sich darin bewegt, dann bebt die Erde.

6. Chauté läßt den Rio Paez entstehen

Ein Mann namens Chauté lief einen Weg sehr lange entlang, bis in den Páramo. Er hatte großen Durst, aber kein Wasser. Da stieß er in den Bergen auf einen Sumpf. Er suchte sich ein Rohr von ähnlicher Art, aus welchem die Flöten hergestellt werden, steckte dies in den Sumpf hinein und sog damit soviel Wasser heraus, bis er genug hatte. Vorher hatte das Wasser keinen Abfluß, jetzt aber folgte es Chauté, als er weiterging. Dieser fragte sich, warum es ihm nachliefe, und er fing an zu rennen. Aber das Wasser folgte ihm. Er kletterte vor Angst auf einen Baum hinauf. Das Wasser blieb zu seinen Füßen und bildete einen großen See, ohne nach irgendeiner Seite hin abzulaufen. Da kletterte der Mann wieder herunter, und das Wasser folgte ihm wieder. Chauté lief nun sehr schnell. Das Wasser blieb etwas zurück; um zu vermeiden, daß er eingeholt würde, lief Chauté nun zickzack. Seit der Zeit läuft der Fluß bei La Plata in vielen Windungen. Einen ganzen Tag lief er so weiter. Als er sehr müde wurde, ließ er sich in den großen Fluß (Rio Magdalena) hineinfallen. Seit der Zeit mündet dort der Rio Paez.

7. Chauté bestraft San Tomás

Ein Mann namens San Tomás verwandelte sich selbst in einen Vogel, ähnlich einem Aasgeier. Er fraß dann immer die Kadaver und Gedärme der gestorbenen Pferde. Jedesmal bat er seinen Neffen, den Schwarzspecht, um Erlaubnis. Dieser aber verweigerte sie ihm, da er selbst keine so guten Zähne hatte, um auch Kadaver zu fressen. San Tomás aber hatte gute Zähne, so daß er alles fressen konnte. Eines Tages kam ein Mann namens Chauté. Dieser hatte großen Neid auf San Tomás, da er soviel Fleisch fraß, sowie die Gedärme, Augen und Zunge. Um San Tomás zu strafen, verwandelte er sich in ein totes Pferd. San Tomás kam und dachte, es wäre ein gewöhnliches Pferd und begann es zu fressen. Als er seinen Kopf in den Bauch des toten Pferdes hineinsteckte, zog Chauté seinen Bauch zusammen und klemmte San Tomás ein. Dieser starb fast dabei und schlug nur noch matt mit den Flügeln. Danach öffnete Chauté wieder ein wenig den Bauch, so daß San Tomás den Kopf herausziehen konnte. Dieser war sehr verschrammt, seine Augen waren verschwollen und er hatte starke Kopfschmerzen. Er mußte sich ein Tuch um den Kopf binden und ging nach Hause.

Chauté verwandelte sich daraufhin wieder in einen Menschen und machte sich auf, San Tomás zu besuchen. »Ich habe wunderschönes

Fleisch» begrüßte er San Tomás, doch dieser schüttelte nur den Kopf und sagte: «Sprich nicht soviel, ich habe Kopfschmerzen und kann nicht essen.» Danach ging Chauté wieder weg.

8. Chauté verwandelt Menschen in Steine

Eines anderen Tages verwandelte sich Chauté in einen Kamm und legte sich auf den Weg. Eine Frau kam vorüber, nahm den Kamm auf und steckte ihn in ihren Beutel. Als sie eine Weile gegangen war, suchte sie ihren gefundenen Kamm vergeblich, er war verschwunden. Als sie dann ein Stück weiterging, begegnete sie einem kleinen Kinde. Dieses bat die Frau um etwas Zuckerrohr aus ihrer Fasertasche. Da es nur ein Kind war, lehnte sie ab. «Dann sollst du Stein sein», sagte das Kind, welches in Wirklichkeit Chauté war. Seitdem ist die Frau ein Stein.

Ähnliches machte Chauté bei einer anderen Gelegenheit. An einem Festtage, als die Leute viel Fleisch hatten, kam Chauté, als kleines Kind verwandelt, hinzu und bat die Erwachsenen um etwas Fleisch. «Du bekommst nichts, es reicht kaum für die Erwachsenen», sagten die Leute, «da bekommen Kinder nichts». «Nun, dann sollt ihr Stein sein», sagte das Kind, und die Menschen wurden zu Steinen.

9. Der Besuch des jungen Unbekannten

Eines Tages kam ein junger Mann nach Calderas, um auf einem der Höhenzüge der Ortschaft zu wohnen. Ein Mädchen besuchte ihn sehr häufig. Seine Mutter schalt es deswegen, es aber erklärte ihr, daß eine Schlange aus den Zweigen der Büsche Torcasa-Vögel herauszöge, und daß es diese einsammeln gehe. Bald bekam das Mädchen ein Kind, einen Sohn, aus dessen Körper eine Art von Würmern herauskamen. Seine junge Mutter befahl, diese nicht zu berühren oder gar herauszuziehen, da sie mit dem Leben ihres Kindes verbunden wären.

Eines Tages ging sie auf das Feld und hielt sich etwas länger auf. Ihr Kind, das sie zuhause gelassen hatte, wachte auf, und als es seine Großmutter in die Arme nahm, bemerkte diese die Würmer. Voller Ekel zog sie alle heraus. Das Kind starb danach.

Als die Mutter des Kindes zurückkam, klagte sie über dessen Tod und stürzte sich weinend in die nahe Lagune. Sie ertrank aber nicht, sondern verschwand nur darin. Desgleichen verschwand darin der junge Mann,

um mit ihr zusammen in der Lagune zu leben. Der Mutter des sich in der Lagune befindlichen Mädchens gelang es, einen Schamanen zu einer Zauberei zu veranlassen. Er nahm dazu die benutzten Tücher einer menstruierenden Frau und warf sie zusammen mit Kräutern in die Mitte der Lagune. Der junge Mann und das Mädchen verließen daraufhin die Lagune in einer schwarzen Wolke und gingen nach Santa Rosa. Die Lagune in Calderas trocknete ein. Einige Erdwälle auf den Wiesen bilden heute die Reste.

10. Wie der Donner die Frauen raubte

Einstmals hatte ein Mann ein Kartoffelfeld in Pueblito. Als er eines Tages dorthin ging, um zu ernten, traf er einen alten, häßlichen Mann mit einem großen, aus Zweigen geflochtenen Hut. Der Mann wandte den Blick und bemerkte, daß der Alte von einem umgestülpten Baum kam. Der Alte fragte, ob schon geerntet wäre. Der Besitzer antwortete, daß er einige Kartoffeln geerntet hätte. Der Alte bat daraufhin den Mann, ihm das Landstück zu verpachten, damit sie gemeinsam ernten könnten. Der Besitzer war damit nicht einverstanden, er hätte dafür aber andere große Felder, die er verpachten könnte. Der Alte aber bestand darauf, gerade mit dem Besitzer zusammen zu arbeiten. Sie setzten sich zu einer Unterhaltung nieder, aber sie konnten sich nicht einigen.

Auf einmal zog eine dicke schwarze Wolke auf, und es begann kräftig zu regnen. Die Leute liefen in die Feldhütte, um sich zu schützen, aber der Regen drang doch hinein. Der Alte folgte ihnen, blieb aber draußen und setzte sich auf einen Baumstamm. Die Leute bemerkten mit Erstaunen, daß ihm der Regen nichts anhaben konnte. Sie luden ihn ein, doch hereinzukommen, er aber lehnte ab. Das Wasser stieg jetzt immer höher, so daß die Leute wegrannten. Der Alte aber raubte die Frauen. Die Schamanen stellten später fest, daß der Alte der Donner gewesen war.

Nach einem anderen Erzähler trug sich die Geschichte folgendermassen zu: Auf einem Kartoffelfeld erntete eine alte Frau mit vier weiteren Personen aus ihrer Familie. Da setzte ein Wolkenbruch ein. Das jüngste Mädchen lief den Abhang des Feldes hinauf, und als es sich umschaute, verwandelte sich das Kartoffelfeld mit den Leuten darauf in eine Lagune. Das kleine Mädchen sah von oben, wie ein alter Mann mit einer Ruana und einem großen, aus Zweigen geflochtenen Hut kam und die Leute raubte.

11. Wie die Menschen den Donner vertrieben

Der Donner lebte einstmals in Calderas und seine Frau ebenfalls. Er hatte aber neben seiner Frau auch noch eine Geliebte. Diese wohnte in Santa Rosa, dort, wo jetzt die Lagune Bugta ist. Zusammen mit seiner Geliebten hatte er eine Tochter und ein sehr schönes Besitztum mit schönen, bebauten Feldern. In Calderas hatte der Donner aber die Leute erzürnt, weil er eine Frau und deren Tochter geraubt hatte, indem er ein Lasso auf den Weg legte. Die Calderuner taten deswegen Gift in einen Kürbis und warfen ihn in die Lagune. Der Donner mußte diese deswegen verlassen und die Lagune trocknet seit der Zeit ein.

Er ging daraufhin mit seiner Frau nach Santa Rosa. Da es dort aber noch keine Lagune gab, ließ er es über dem Ort der jetzigen Lagune stark regnen, so daß sich das Wasser in einem kleinen Teil sammelte und immer höher stieg. Als das Wasser das ganze Becken auffüllte, konnte der Donner nun darin mit seiner Frau und seiner Geliebten leben. Aber auch den Leuten von Santa Rosa fügte der Donner allerhand Übles zu. So fraß er eines Tages den Leuten von Santa Rosa eine Kuh auf. Die Menschen wurden darauf sehr böse und bauten einen Abflußgraben, um die Lagune trocken zu legen. Aber da bat der Donner um Verzeihung, und daraufhin ließen die Leute ihn in Ruhe, bis er wieder Übles tat. Da warfen die Schamanen von Santa Rosa, ebenso wie es auch die Calderuner getan hatten, Giftkräuter in das Wasser, so daß der Donner auch diese Lagune verlassen mußte. Seitdem lebt er in Barbacoa, wo sich ebenfalls eine Lagune befindet. Die Frau des Donners aber ist noch heute in der Lagune von Santa Rosa. Die alte Schamanin Felisa hat sie schon besucht, desgleichen den Donner selbst, wenn er manchmal zurückkehrt. Beide sehen wie Paez aus, sind sehr gut gekleidet und tragen genau die gleiche Tracht, wie die anderen Paez auch.

12. Der Kampf des Donners mit den Sternen

Als die Schamanin Felisa noch sehr jung war, stellte sie eines Tages an der Umzäunung der Lagune Vogelfallen auf, mit denen sie viele Vögel fing. Eines Tages traf sie dabei den Donner. Dieser war sehr böse. Er war überhaupt ein schlechter Mann, der alles Wasser der Lagune schmutzig machte, indem er viele Bäume in das Wasser geworfen hatte.

Nun gibt es unter den Sternen eine besondere Art, genannt püavel, die konnten den Donner nicht leiden. Sie stürzten sich vom Himmel in die Lagune herunter, um sie zu reinigen. Um den Donner zu ärgern, hatten sie die Lagune fast trocken gelegt. Der Donner war darüber sehr böse.

Aus Wut brüllte er so schrecklich, daß er seinen Mund bis zu den Ohren aufriß und die ganze Zunge heraushing. Daraufhin bekamen die pūsvel Angst und stiegen hinab auf den Grund der Lagune, wo der Donner sein Haus hatte und fragten ihn, warum er so laut brüllte. «Wegen euch natürlich!», antwortete er. Er bat dann aber die pūsvel um Entschuldigung, da er die Lagune zum Leben brauchte, und die Sterne haben ihm dann verziehen. Er mußte aber versprechen, nicht mehr so laut zu brüllen. Daraufhin gaben sie ihm ein Mittel, worauf sein Mund wieder zu einem schmalen, normalen Spalt zusammenwuchs. Die Sterne sind dann wieder an den Himmel zurückgekehrt, wo sie auch jetzt noch sind. Sie unterscheiden sich von den anderen Sternen dadurch, daß sie sich am Himmel bewegen.

13. Der rollende Kopf

Ein Mann aus Palma kam nach Calderas, um einen Schamanen zu besuchen. Dieser Besuch erstreckte sich bis um zwei Uhr nachts, um welche Zeit er Calderas verließ, um nach Palma zurückzukehren. Auf dem Wege kam er an einen Stein, auf dem ein menschlicher Kopf lag, wohl der eines Pijao. Zuerst sah er nur die Zähne in der Dunkelheit weiß blinken. Da der Mann aus Palma einen Stab bei sich hatte, hieb er mit den Worten «was grinst du hier auf dem Stein wie ein Maiskolben?» den Kopf vom Stein herunter. Der Kopf fiel herunter und rollte in einen Bach. Der Palmamann bekam daraufhin Angst und rannte seinen Weg weiter. Der Kopf aber verließ den Bach und eilte dem Manne nach, wobei er dauernd pfiff. Der Mann lief immer schneller und schneller, und da der Weg sehr steil war, konnte er bald nicht mehr laufen. Der Mann nahm daraufhin Tabak in seine Hände und fing den Kopf mittels seiner Ruana auf und warf ihn wieder im hohen Bogen in den Bach zurück. Er lief dann schnell weiter, bis er an einen sehr hohen Baum kam, den er rasch hinaufstieg und sich in der allerhöchsten Spitze versteckte. Der Kopf hatte in der Zeit sein Bachbett auf einem unterirdischen Wege verlassen und lief wieder hinter dem Manne her, aber da dieser auf dem Baum war, konnte der Kopf ihn nicht sehen und lief an dem Baum vorbei. Der Kopf lief und lief immer weiter, und da er den Mann nirgends finden konnte, kehrte er wieder zurück und fand am Fuße des Baumes den Geruch des Mannes. Er blickte nach oben und sah den Mann in der höchsten Spitze des Baumes sitzen. Der Kopf konnte aber den Baum nicht hochsteigen, und um den Mann zu erreichen ging er etwas zurück und sprang in die Luft. Er konnte den Mann aber doch nicht ganz erreichen und fiel wieder zu Boden. Daraufhin versuchte er es wieder und wieder, mehr als

hundert Mal, aber immer konnte er den Mann nicht erreichen, da er zu hoch saß. Daraufhin wurde der Kopf von den vielen vergeblichen Anstrengungen furchtbar müde, und da er weit nach Hause zu laufen hatte, mußte er von dem Mann, den er töten wollte, ablassen und zurückkehren, um nicht am Tage den Menschen zu begegnen. Der Palmamann kletterte darauf von seinem Baum herunter und konnte glücklich nach Hause gelangen.

14. Der weiße Hund

Der Vater des Victoriano ging an einem Samstag nach Belalcazar, wo er sich betrank. Nachts um zwei Uhr machte er sich auf den Rückweg. Unterwegs sah er einen weißen Hund, der sehr dünn war. Der Vater dachte, es wäre ein richtiger Hund, aber es war gar kein Hund, sondern die tafí-Seele eines Menschen. Auf einmal verwandelte sich dieser Hund in einen Menschen, sehr dünn und mager von Gestalt, dem das Herz aus dem Körper heraushing, so daß er vor der Brust baumelte. Der Vater versetzte daraufhin dem mageren Hund einen Schlag mit seinem Reisestecken, der diesen aber nicht traf. Daraufhin bekam der Vater Angst und riß aus. Aber der magere Mann lief immer hinter ihm her, so daß der Vater vor Angst außer Atem geriet und fast gestorben wäre. Daraufhin stellte sich der Vater ganz dumm und setzte sich einfach an den Weg, legte die Hände auf die Knie und schlief ein. Der magere Mann verließ ihn darauf. Als der Vater am Morgen erwachte, suchte er den Platz, wo er den mageren Hund zuerst getroffen hatte, aber er fand nur ein Gesträuch mit weißen Blüten. Der Vater war aber überzeugt, daß er eine tafí getroffen hatte.

(In der Nacht pflegt kein Paez weite Strecken zu gehen, da nachts die tafí-Seelen unterwegs sind. Und wenn eine tafí auf einen Menschen trifft, so ruft sie sofort eine ganze Anzahl anderer tafí herbei («etwa fünfzig») und diese bewirken den Tod eines Menschen, indem der Betreffende vor Furcht selbst stirbt.)

15. Begegnungen mit Pijaos

Ein junger Paezmann arbeitete bei einem reichen Grundbesitzer auf dessen Finca im Caucatal, etwa bei Popayán. Die Finca stand nahe am Berge. Eines Tages ging er in die Berge, da sein Herr sehr viel Vieh hatte. Auf dem Wege begegnete er einer Pijaofrau, die ihn ergriff und ihn in ihr Haus trug, um ihn zu fressen. In ihrem Hause waren viele Leute, und da sie ihn alleine fressen und nicht mit den vielen anderen Pijaos teilen

wollte, steckte sie ihn in einen großen Topf. Dieser war so groß wie ein Paez-Haus. Dort ließ sie ihn drei Tage lang drin. Während dieser Zeit tranken die Pijaos, aßen und tanzten. Nach drei Tagen, als alle Pijaos müde waren und schliefen, ging die Frau in die Berge, um Holz zu holen und Feuer zu machen, um den Paez-Jüngling zu braten. Dieser schaute währenddessen aus dem Gefäß heraus, in dem er gefangen war und erblickte auf den Herdsteinen zwei kleine Mädchen, die Töchter der Frau. Sie spielten und stießen die betrunkenen und schlafenden Pijaos an, die sich aber nicht rührten. Der Jüngling kletterte schnell aus seinem Gefäß heraus, nahm ein Stück Holz und schlug die beiden Mädchen tot. Rasch ergriff er einen Topf mit Gold und lief davon.

Als die Frau mit genügend Holz in ihr Haus zurückkehrte, fand sie ihre beiden Kinder tot vor. Sofort guckte sie in den Topf, und als sie darin den Paez-Jüngling nicht mehr fand, wurde sie wütend und lief schnell hinter ihm her. Der Jüngling lief drei Stunden lang, bis er auf eine große Rinderherde seines Herrn stieß, worin er sich inmitten der Rinder versteckte. Die Frau wollte ihn verfolgen, da sie aber so schlecht roch, wurden die Rinder böse, brüllten und stießen nach der Frau, und diese konnte den Jungen nicht ergreifen. (Die Pijaos kennen keine Rinder und keine Hunde, erläutert der Berichterstatter. Wenn ein Hund und ein Pijao zusamentreffen, tötet der Hund den Pijao auf der Stelle. Die Pijaos riechen nämlich völlig verschieden von den übrigen Menschen, ähnlich wie Tiere.) Als die Frau nun den Paez nicht erreichen konnte, kratzte sie sich vor Wut den Kopf mit den vielen Läusen. Sie konnte aber nichts machen, und deshalb kehrte sie in ihr Haus zurück und fraß ihre eigenen beiden toten Kinder auf.

Der Paez-Jüngling konnte jetzt in das Haus seines Herrn gehen und zeigte ihm den Topf mit Gold und berichtete von seinem Erlebnis. Das Gold schenkte er seinem Herrn. Dieser gab ihm viel Fleisch zu essen und gab ihm auch ein schönes Bett, worin er schlafen konnte. Als der Jüngling sich hineinlegte, starb er.

Anm. des Erzählers: Ein Paez, der eine Begegnung mit einem Pijao oder einem Jaguar hat, darf diese frühestens nach einem halben Jahre oder noch besser, erst nach einem Jahre den Leuten mitteilen. Tut er dies früher, so muß er sterben, wie auch die folgende Geschichte beweist.

Ein Pijao traf in den Bergen zwei Paez-Männer, von denen der eine sehr häßlich und schmutzig und der andere sehr sauber und schön war. Der Pijao tötete den sauberen und fraß ihn auf der Stelle auf. Den häßlichen und schmutzigen wollte er erst waschen und ging deshalb mit ihm an einen Bach. Der schmutzige Paez-Mann aber konnte schwimmen,

tauchte im Wasser unter und schwamm davon. Der Pijao-Mann konnte, wie alle Pijaos nicht schwimmen und warf Steine und Erde in das Wasser, aber es half ihm nichts. Der Paez-Mann konnte entkommen. Der Pijao blieb darauf sehr traurig am Ufer zurück. Der schmutzige Paez ging in sein Haus und erzählte seiner Familie sein Erlebnis, und daraufhin mußte auch er sterben.

16. Der Paez mit der Axt

Ein Pijao ging in die Berge, um Vögel zu fangen. Er benutzte dazu einen Stock, an den ein Mittel ähnlich wie Leim gestrichen war, mit dem er die Vögel anrührte, so daß sie daran hängen blieben. Dies tat er viele Jahre. Eines Tages kam er an ein Haus eines Paez, dessen Besitzer aber nicht anwesend war. In dem Haus lag nur eine Axt (wie der Erzähler hinzufügte: aus Eisen, denn die Pijaos kennen keinerlei Werkzeug, weder Messer noch Beile. Ihre Felder zur Aussaat können sie nur so anlegen, daß sie mit Steinen die Rinden der Bäume durchschlagen, worauf diese im Laufe eines Jahres vertrocknen. Nach dieser Zeit säen die Pijaos auf dem mit abgestorbenen Bäumen bestandenen Feld ihren Mais an. Sie können also, da sie keine Macheten zum Umschlagen der Bäume haben, noch keine richtigen Brandfelder anlegen wie die Paez, obwohl sie das Feuer kennen).

Der Pijao war über die Axt in dem Paez-Haus sehr erstaunt. Er rührte sie nicht an, hatte aber den Wunsch, sie zu besitzen. Am nächsten Tag kam er wieder zurück und traf den Besitzer an und bat ihn, ihm die Axt zu verkaufen. Aber der Paez wollte nicht. (Der Paez-Mann und der Pijao-Mann konnten gut zusammen reden und sich verstehen, erläutert der Erzähler, denn beide hatten in früherer Zeit dieselbe Sprache.) Der Pijao bot daraufhin einen ganzen Topf voll Gold für die Axt. Er müßte es sich natürlich aus dem Hause des Pijao abholen. Der Paez war damit einverstanden, und so machten sich beide gemeinsam auf den Weg zu dem Dorfe des Pijao. Da dieser wie alle Pijaos, zwar unbekleidet, aber viel größer als der Paez war, nahm er diesen auf die Schulter und trug ihn in sein Dorf. In der einen Hand hatte er die Axt, mit der er am Wege mit nur einem Schlag je einen Baum umhieb. Er hatte nämlich, wie alle Pijaos, unheimliche Kräfte.

Im Dorf angekommen, waren keinerlei Leute vorhanden, da minga-Tag war, ein Tag, an dem das ganze Dorf zu gemeinsamer Arbeit (Wege- oder Brückenbau) verpflichtet war. Der Pijao kam mit dem Paez-Mann in sein Haus, in welchem nur seine Mutter anwesend war, und er

bat sie, niemandem etwas zu verraten, denn dieser Paez sollte nicht, wie sonst, gefressen werden. Wenn nämlich die anderen Pijaos wüßten, daß in diesem Hause ein Paez sei, würden sie ihn fressen wollen. Mutter und Sohn gruben deshalb in einem Winkel der Hütte ein Loch, wo sie den Paez hineinsetzten und deckten eine große Holzschüssel darüber. Am Abend kamen viele Pijaos in dieses Haus und unterhielten sich und tranken, bis auf einmal mehrere Pijaos feststellten, daß es hier so angenehm nach Paez dufte. Die Mutter des Hauses antwortete darauf, daß dies, was so dufte, kein Paez sei, sondern ihr eigener Gestank. Alle lachten. Sie aßen dann immer weiter und betranken sich mit Chicha und fingen an zu tanzen. Die Musik machte ein Pijao-Mann mit seiner Querflöte, während die Frauen auf ihren Brüsten den Takt klopften. (Die Pijao-Frauen haben alle lang herunterhängende Brüste.)

Die Pijaos tanzten drei Tage und drei Nächte hintereinander, ohne zu schlafen. Danach fielen alle in Schlaf. Das ganze Haus war voll von den Tänzern. Sie schnarchten wie die Schweine; nur der Pijao, der den Paez gebracht hatte und seine Mutter schliefen nicht. Sie holten den Paez aus seinem Versteck und führten ihn in ein Zimmer, das ganz mit Gold angefüllt war. Hier durfte sich der Paez aussuchen, was er wollte. Er nahm sich einen Tontopf und füllte ihn ganz voll mit Gold und steckte diesen in seine Fasertasche. Der Pijao nahm ihn daraufhin wieder auf seine Schulter und trug ihn nach dessen Hause im Walde auf den Berg zurück. Erst nach einem Jahr wagte dieser den anderen Paez mitzuteilen, daß er Gold habe, und er verteilte dies unter die Leute des Dorfes.

Anmerkung des Erzählers: Die Pijaos hatten immer sehr viel Gold, das sie aus einer mit Wasser gefüllten Lagune herausholten. Sie mußten dazu einen Knaben oder Jüngling am Ufer der Lagune ins Wasser werfen, und sofort strömte das ganze Wasser an diesen Punkt und fraß den Jüngling auf. Dabei wurde für kurze Zeit die Lagune völlig trocken, und die Pijaos konnten das Gold, das sich am Grunde der Lagune befand, mit Töpfen herausholen. Immer wenn sie Gold haben wollten, mußten sie auf diese Art dem Wasser einen Knaben opfern. Und sie haben es oft getan, denn die Pijaos waren unermeßlich reich an Gold.

17. Der Menschenjaguar, der den Goldstab eines Pijao rauben wollte

Ein Mann, der ein Menschenjaguar war, ging zur Jagd in die Berge des Páramo. Als er sich auf dem Berg ausruhte, kam ein Pijao, der ein Mitglied niederen Ranges des Cabildo war. Er hatte einen sehr schönen

Stab aus Gold. Diesen steckte er in den Boden. Ohne den Menschenjaguar zu sehen, schichtete er Holz auf einen Stapel, zog aus seiner Achselhöhle Feuer hervor und entzündete das Holz. Dann trug er Bananen und eine Schlange herbei und begann sie zu braten. Tsẽ, zischte die Schlange.

Währenddessen überlegte der Menschenjaguar, wie er den Goldstab rauben könne. Er verwandelte sich in einen Jaguar, und mit einem Messer, das er in der Hand trug, sprang er auf den Pijao los, um ihm den Stab zu rauben. Der Pijao jedoch unterbrach sein Essen, nahm seinen Stab und lief davon. Der Stab war sehr schwer, aber er ließ ihn nicht los. Der Menschenjaguar lief hinterher. Fast tötete er den Pijao, dieser aber ließ seinen Stab nicht los. So liefen sie drei Stunden lang, bis sie an einen Felsen kamen, in dessen Nähe die Pijaos wohnten. Dort verwandelte sich der Jaguar wieder in einen Menschen und setzte sich dort hin. Der Pijao aber stieg herab in sein Dorf, das in einer großen Ebene lag. Er ging in sein Haus. Darauf kamen die Pijaos angelaufen, um den vermeintlichen Jaguar zu fangen. Dieser verwandelte sich vom Menschen wieder in einen Jaguar und rückte vor den Pijaos aus. Drei volle Stunden lief er wieder zurück an den Platz, wo der Pijao die Bananen und die Schlange gebraten hatte. Beides war noch da, auch die Fasertasche. Die Schlange war nur halb gar. Der Menschenjaguar setzte sich nieder und aß alles auf. Am Nachmittag ging er dann wieder in sein Haus zurück und nahm auch die Tasche mit, um sie seiner Frau zu zeigen. Nachdem er angeklopft hatte, trat er in sein Haus ein. (Hierzu bemerkte der Berichterstatter: Der Menschenjaguar war wahrscheinlich ein böser Schamane, denn früher konnten sich diese in Jaguare verwandeln, um Rinder und Schafe zu rauben. Wenn sie dann wieder in ihr Haus zurückkehrten, verwandelten sie sich wieder zurück in Menschen. Heute vermag sich niemand mehr in einen Jaguar zu verwandeln. Man braucht dazu ein besonderes Mittel (yutsę), das so aussieht, wie eine Raupe. Man kann es im Caucatal erhalten, aber niemand weiß, wo.)

18. Der Zweikampf zwischen Menschenjaguar und Bergjaguar

Auf einem Berge gab es einen Jaguar, der den Leuten alles Vieh raubte. Er raubte Hühner, Truthähne, Fohlen, Rindvieh. Er kam immer vom Berge herab und fraß diese Tiere. Die Leute waren deshalb sehr böse. An einem Tage machten sich sechs Männer auf, um den Jaguar zu töten. Bei sich hatten sie viele Hunde und viele Gewehre. Sie fanden den Jaguar auf dem Berge, dieser aber fraß alle Hunde auf und jagte den Leuten furchtbare Angst ein. Sie kehrten deshalb am Nachmittag wieder zurück, sehr

traurig und ohne Hunde. Sie hatten nun keine Hunde mehr, um an einem anderen Tage auf die Jagd zu gehen. Sie gingen deshalb am nächsten Tage zu einem Mann, der als sehr stark bekannt war und fragten ihn: «Warum gehst du nicht mit uns? Warum bist du so feige?» Dieser Mann war aber ein Menschenjaguar. Er konnte sich in einen Jaguar verwandeln, und er beschloß, den Bergjaguar zu töten. Er sagte den Leuten natürlich nicht, daß er sich in einen Jaguar verwandeln könnte, sondern er erklärte sich ganz einfach nur bereit, den Jaguar zu töten.

Am nächsten Morgen machte er sich sehr früh auf, nur mit seinem Machete bewaffnet. Die anderen Männer wollten den Menschenjaguar begleiten, dieser aber sagte: «Bleibt nur hier, ihr seid ja doch zu nichts nütze». Der Menschenjaguar ging dann ohne seinen Hund los, nur mit seinem Messer bewaffnet. Um etwa acht Uhr war der Jaguarmann in den Bergen und traf den Bergjaguar schlafend an. Der Mann verwandelte sich daraufhin in einen Jaguar, ließ sich die Krallen wachsen und begann Sträucher und Bäume umzuhauen, als hätte er eine Axt in den Händen. Als er sich dieserart gut die Krallen geschärft hatte, begann er laut zu brüllen. Der Bergjaguar wurde wach und erhob sich wütend. Sie gingen beide auf einen freien Platz und begannen zuerst nur zu spielen. Der Bergjaguar aber wollte nicht spielen und begann gleich ernsthaft zu kämpfen. Sie kämpften dann wild, etwa drei Stunden lang. Dann konnte der Bergjaguar den Menschenjaguar verwunden. Da aber dieser zuerst nur gespielt hatte, hatte er zum Schluß doch noch mehr Kräfte und konnte den Bergjaguar töten. (Anm. des Erzählers: Der Menschenjaguar ist immer stärker als der Bergjaguar, da ersterer Salz ißt.) Der Menschenjaguar verwandelte sich nun wieder zurück in einen Menschen, schnitt sich mit seinem Machete, den er mitgebracht hatte, die vier Füße des Bergjaguars ab und steckte sie in seinen Beutel. Den Tierkörper aber stellte er so auf, als ob der Jaguar noch lebte, den Kopf abwärts in Richtung zum Dorf der Menschen gerichtet.

Der Menschenjaguar ging nun als Mensch zurück ins Dorf und erzählte seiner Frau und den Leuten, daß er den Jaguar der Berge getötet habe. «Ich habe den Bergjaguar getötet, geht hin und seht nach, ob es so ist.»

Am anderen Tage machten sich die Leute auf und gingen in die Berge, um zu sehen, ob der Jaguar wirklich tot war. Sie führten Gewehre und Hunde mit sich. Diese hatten sie sich von woanders her besorgt. Sie kamen dahin, wo der Kampf stattgefunden hatte. Aber statt eines toten Jaguars fanden sie einen lebenden, der im Begriffe war, sich auf sie zu stürzen. Die Leute bekamen daraufhin furchtbare Angst. Sie gingen aber doch langsam näher, und da der Jaguar immer mit geschlossenen Au-

gen dastand, ohne sich zu rühren, gingen die Leute doch näher und entdeckten, daß er gar keine Füße mehr hatte. Dann sahen sie, daß er schon tot war und trugen ihn ins Tal in ihre Häuser.

19. Wie die Menschen das Feuer bekamen

Eine alte Frau besaß das Feuer. Eines Tages kam ein kleines Mädchen, um einen Feuerbrand zu erbitten. Die Frau gab ihm aber nur einige kleine Späne, die unterwegs ausgingen, ehe das Kind zuhause ankam. Es kehrte zurück, um bei der Alten einen neuen Feuerbrand zu erbitten, aber auch dieser reichte nicht bis nach Hause. Wieder kehrte das Mädchen zurück. Diesmal aber war die alte Frau nicht zuhause. Im Innern des Hauses brannte jedoch ein großer Holzstoß. Das Mädchen nahm einen großen, brennenden Zweig und lief weg. In diesem Augenblick kam die Alte zurück, sah das Kind und lief hinter dem Mädchen her, um ihm den Feuerbrand wieder abzunehmen. Dieses warf ihn vor Angst in einen trockenen Strohhaufen. Die Leute, die bis dahin noch kein Feuer gekannt hatten, holten sich von hier ihr Feuer. Der Ort heißt seitdem ipikwe = «Feuerberg».

Diese Geschichte wird in verschiedenen Versionen erzählt. Nach einer hatte die alte Frau immer das Feuer an die Leute verteilt, und als sie dies eines Tages nicht mehr wollte, ließ sie ihr Feuer ausgehen und verschwand mit einem glimmenden Feuerbrand. Die Leute merkten dies aber und verfolgten sie. Als die Alte feststellte, daß sie eingeholt wurde, versteckte sie den Feuerbrand neben dem Wege und verschwand im Fluß. Durch den Rauch aber fanden die Leute das Feuer und verteilten es unter sich und besaßen es von nun an.

In einer weiteren Version zog die alte Frau das Feuer jeweils aus ihrer Achselhöhle hervor, wenn die Leute sie darum baten. Als die Missionare kamen, erklärten sie das Feuer für Zauberei und verlangten, daß es geweiht würde oder sie müßte es abgeben. Die alte Frau aber wollte es weder weihen lassen, noch abgeben und floh deshalb. Beim Laufen wurde sie von den Flammen erfaßt, und als diese über sie zusammenschlugen, stürzte sie sich in den Fluß.

20. Das Mädchen, das sich in eine Schlange verwandelte

Eines Tages kam aus einer Quelle ein kleines Kind, das die Tochter des Donners war, hervor. Die Leute nahmen es auf, und ein Ehepaar erbot sich, es aufzuziehen. Als eines Tages der Pfarrer in das Dorf kam, um eine Messe zu lesen, gingen alle Leute in die Kirche. Auch die Pflege-

eltern des kleinen Findelkindes. Das kleine Kind wollte auch mit. Da es aber keine Kleider hatte, nahmen es seine Eltern nicht mit. Als diese weggegangen waren, ging das Kind hinterher, nur mit einem schlechten Stück Stoff bekleidet, um auch an der Messe teilzunehmen. Die Eltern waren schon in der Kirche, da kam das Kind an einen Bach und verwandelte sich in eine Schlange. Diese wuchs und wuchs und war bald so groß wie der Regenbogen. Sie schlängelte sich zur Kirche, die voller Menschen war, umfaßte mit ihrem Leib den ganzen Bau und steckte ihren Kopf zur Tür hinein. Sie fraß alle Menschen auf, mit Ausnahme ihrer Pflegeeltern, die sie laufen ließ. Sie reckte sich dann hoch auf bis zum Himmel, um auch noch die Jungfrau Maria aufzufressen. Als sie mit ihrem Kopf ganz hoch war, kamen zwei Adler herbeigeflogen und bissen sie mitten durch. Tot stürzte sie zu Boden. Darauf kam ein Mann mit einer Mula, zerstückelte die Schlange und lud die Teile seiner Mula auf und brachte sie weit weg. Dort verfaulte sie wahrscheinlich.

Es gab aber daraufhin Schlangen in allen Gegenden. Eine vor allen Dingen roch abscheulich, wenn die Sonne warm am Himmel stand. Auf den umliegenden Feldern raubte sie die Menschen und fraß sie auf. Diese baten daraufhin einen Engländer, die Schlange zu töten. Dieser kam und hängte in einen Baum eine große Fasertasche, in die er als Köder einen Menschen hineintat. Als die Schlange kam, um den Menschen zu fressen, schlug er ihr mit einem Säbel Kopf und Schwanz ab. Der Kopf flog in hohem Bogen durch die Luft und landete an einem Ort, der Ulnenga genannt wird. Der Schwanz flog bis zu einem Ort, der Luto genannt wird, wo sich heute noch viele Schlangen befinden.

21. Die getötete Frau, aus deren Körper Nutzpflanzen entstehen

Eine alte Frau von der Art von Menschen, die öho, Menschenfresser genannt werden und entweder Mann oder Frau, aber immer sehr alt sind und ein sehr großes Gesicht haben, ging in das Dorf Calderas, um Kinder zu rauben, die sie fressen wollte. Dort waren viele Menschen mit ihren Kindern. Sie erzählte den Leuten, daß sie die Kinder sehr liebe, und die Leute vertrauten ihr die Kinder an, damit sie sie bewache. Sie aber fraß die Kinder immer auf. Eines Tages versammelten sich die Leute und beschlossen, die alte Frau zu töten. Sie lebte in einem abseits gelegenen Haus. Die Leute trugen viel Holz herbei, schichteten es an den Wänden auf, so daß es bis zum Dach reichte und steckten es an. Das Haus und mit ihm die Alte verbrannte. Kurz vor ihrem Tode sprach sie die folgenden Worte: «Aus meinem Herzen werden Kartoffeln, Kür-

bisse und Zwiebeln entstehen.» Darauf starb sie. Ein halbes Jahr danach war an der Stelle, an der sie starb, ein Feld mit den genannten Früchten, die man vorher nicht gekannt hatte. Die Kartoffeln, sowie die anderen Früchte waren sehr groß, und als die Leute sie zerschnitten, befand sich in der Mitte von Kartoffel und Kürbis ein Blutstropfen.

22. Die gestohlenen Augen

Ein Mann lebte in seinem Haus auf dem Berge und hatte auf dem Hausboden eine große Anzahl von Kartoffeln aufbewahrt, um sie auf dem Felde zu setzen. Eines Tages, als der Besitzer abwesend war, kam ein Dieb, holte sich einige Kartoffeln herunter, entfachte das Feuer und briet sie darin. Danach entfernte er sich wieder. So machte er es viele Male, und der Besitzer wurde schon sehr böse, da er immer weniger Kartoffeln hatte. Als der Dieb wieder einmal kam, sich Kartoffeln herunterholte, ein Feuer entfachte und sie darin briet, nahm er sich, bevor er aß, «aus Dummheit» beide Augen heraus und legte sie auf einen der drei Herdsteine. Da trat der Besitzer der Kartoffeln, den der Dieb ja nicht sehen konnte, hinzu, erblickte die Augen und stieß sie mit dem Fuß ins Feuer, so daß sie mit einem Knall verbrannten. Der Dieb hörte zwar den Knall, dachte aber bei sich, wie schön knallen und zischen doch die Kartoffeln!

Als der Dieb alle Kartoffeln gegessen hatte, suchte er seine Augen, konnte sie aber nicht finden. Er verließ das Haus daraufhin sehr traurig, ohne Augen, und machte sich auf den Weg zu seinem eigenen Hause. Unterwegs begegnete er einer Ratte, die dort spazieren ging, und sie begannen ein Gespräch. Der Dieb klagte, daß er seine Augen verloren hätte und es ohne Augen sehr schwierig wäre, sie wieder zu finden. Er bat die Ratte, ihm doch eines der ihrigen zu leihen, nur solange, bis er seine eigenen Augen gefunden hätte. Die Ratte lieh ihm eines, aber da seine beide Augen verbrannt waren, konnte er sie natürlich nicht finden. Der Mann verwandelte sich daraufhin in Wind.

Die Ratte suchte zwar den Dieb ihres Auges lange Zeit, konnte ihn aber nicht finden. Ihr Sohn hatte, wie seine Mutter, auch nur ein Auge. Der Sohn hatte wieder einen Sohn, und dieser hatte auch nur ein Auge. Seit der Zeit haben die Nachkommen dieser Rattenfamilie nur ein Auge. Und deswegen kann man heute noch Ratten finden, die zwar Nase, Mund, Füße, Fell und Ohren einer Ratte, aber nur ein Auge oder sogar keines haben; diese gehen auf die Ratte zurück, die damals ihr eines Auge verliehen hatte.

V. Zusammenfassung und kulturhistorische Einordnung der Paez-Kultur

FASSEN WIR KURZ das Lebensbild der Paez und die Elemente ihrer Kultur zusammen, so stehen wir einem demokratischen, 25 000 Menschen umfassenden Bauernvolk gegenüber, in dem niemand Herr und niemand Knecht ist. Seit Jahrhunderten von der spanischen Kultur umgeben, haben sie ihre Sprache in weiten Teilen ihres Siedlungsgebietes bewahrt. Freilich müssen wir gleichzeitig eine kulturell in mancher Hinsicht beträchtliche Verarmung bei diesem im äußeren Erscheinungsbild recht nüchternen und sachlichen Volk feststellen.

Anthropologisch gehören sie zu der amerikanischen zentraliden Rasse (v. Eichstedt), bei auffälligem Vorwalten der Blutgruppe O. Wenn auch die letztere Feststellung nur eine Komponente des somatischen Erscheinungsbildes ausmacht, so ist es doch höchst interessant, das Vorherrschen dieser Blutgruppe bei einer großen Anzahl von amerikanischen Eingeborenen zu finden. Bei den Paez sind es 88,78%, bei den benachbarten Guambianos 84,25% (Lehmann, Duque y Fornaguera, p. 200), bei den Eingeborenen von Caldas 92,25% (Duque 1944, p. 626), bei den Sibundoy 84,42%, bei den Santiagos 94,23% (Paez-Perez y Freudenthal, p. 413) und bei den Pijaos findet sich die Blutgruppe O fast zu 100% (Reichel 1944, p. 517). Diese Untersuchungen an kolumbianischen Stämmen entsprechen einem weiter gefaßten Bild. Nach der Zusammenstellung bei G. Arcila Velez (p. 11) finden sich Menschen mit der Blutgruppe O bei den Eskimos zu 80,6%, bei den reinen nordamerikanischen Indianern zu 91,3%, bei den Navajo zu 72,7%, bei den Yucateken zu 97,7%, bei den Matacos zu 79% und bei den Guarani vom Rio Grande do Sul zu 100%.

Die Siedlungsform der Paez innerhalb der stark zerklüfteten Gebirgslandschaft des Tierradentro ist die lose Anordnung von Familieneinzelgehöften an den Berghängen, möglichst weit entfernt vom Nachbarn. Der Siedlungsbereich des Dorfes ist geographisch unveränderlich und umfaßt den natürlichen Bereich der Wohnhäuser und Gemarkungen eines Talkessels. Das Haus, als Familienmittelpunkt und soziales Zentrum für jeweils eine Familie, wird auf eigenem Grund und Boden errichtet. Man benützt es — je nach Art der Konstruktion — für eine Ernteperiode oder auch 10 bis 15 Jahre lang. Das Land gehört der Familie, die es das erste Mal gerodet hat. Daneben gibt es Gemeindeland zur freien Nutzung für alle Mitglieder des Dorfes. Das Innere der normalerweise

mit einem Walmdach versehenen Rechteckhäuser ist in zwei Räume unterteilt, deren einer als Küche und Wohnraum, der andere als Vorratsraum dient.

Die Kleidung der Männer und Frauen bedeckt Ober- und Unterkörper. Das Männerobergewand, kolumbianisch «Ruana», peruanisch «Poncho» genannt, ist ein an den Seiten offenes, ärmelloses Hemd. Es ist altamerikanisch, sowohl vom Relief des sog. «Sonnengottes» von Tiahuanaco, als auch aus einem Grabe aus vorspanischer Zeit aus Arica (Nordchile) bekannt (Montell, pp. 173—183). Bald nach der Conquista, seit der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts, wurde dieses andine Kleidungsstück, das einfach aus einem rechteckigen Stück Stoff mit einem Längsschlitz für den Kopf besteht, über das ganze Gebiet der andinen Gebirgskulturen verbreitet. Sein Name, «atç», bei den Paez hat sprachlich allerdings keine Parallele. Die Männerhose ist eindeutig spanisch. Die Frauentracht ist höchst einfach: zu einem Rock wird als Obergewand nur ein quer genommenes, rechteckiges Stück Stoff um den Oberkörper gelegt.

In wirtschaftlicher Hinsicht steht der Feldbau an erster Stelle. Er wird von den Männern in der Form des Brandrodungssystems mit zehnjährigem Rodungsturnus ausgeübt. Das einzige Feldbaugerät ist der Grabstock. Die Minimalfläche des bebauten Landes beträgt für eine Familie etwa einen Hektar. Die Hauptanbaufrüchte sind Mais und Zuckerrohr. Letzteres ist erst nach der Conquista eingeführt worden. Das Paezwort bedeutet «süß». Die Paezbezeichnung für Mais, «kotç», hat keine Parallele zu den entsprechenden Wörtern der Chibcha-, Kariben- oder Aruaksprachgruppe, sondern zum Kechua, wo der Mais «kuts» genannt wird (Birket-Smith, pp. 22—30). Die Genußmittel sind Koka und die Chicha aus Zuckerrohrsaft. Beide Paez-Worte, «eš» bzw. «mbéka», haben keine Parallele in anderen Sprachgruppen.

Hervorstehende, eine Pflanzerkultur auszeichnende Feste oder Riten um die Produkte des Feldbaues gibt es nicht, desgleichen geht aus den Mythen und dem religiösen Brauchtum der Paez nichts einen ackerbäuerlichen Lebensrhythmus Auszeichnendes hervor. Mythologie und zeremonielles Brauchtum sind Reste jägerischer Geisteshaltung. Es scheint, als hätten die Paez ihren primitiven Feldbau erst zur Zeit der Conquista oder kurz davor übernommen und nur die mechnische Anwendung der Handgriffe eines einfachen Grabstockbaues, ohne das sonst bei Pflanzervölkern ausgeprägte zeremonielle Brauchtum um Saat und Ernte, übernommen. Es ist nicht unwahrscheinlich, daß sie diesen Feldbau so betrieben haben, wie sie es von den Pijaos berichten. In der Erzählung

von dem Paez mit der Axt (Nr. 16) heißt es darüber, daß die Pijaos früher keine Werkzeuge kannten und dementsprechend zur Anlage eines richtigen Brandfeldes die Bäume nicht fällen konnten. Um Felder für ihre Aussaat zu erlangen, mußten sie mit Steinen die Rinde der Bäume durchschlagen. Nachdem diese vertrocknet waren, säten sie ihren Mais zwischen den vertrockneten Stämmen.

Bei der wirtschaftlich heute bedeutungslosen Jagd umgeben den Jäger eine Anzahl von Geboten, wie wir sie allenthalben bei Jägervölkern in der Welt finden. Der Fischfang wird mit Giftpflanzen an Stauwehren vorgenommen. Er fand als gemeinsamer Fischfang des ganzen Dorfes zur Februartrockenzeit bei dem niedrigsten Wasserstand des Jahres statt. Dieser große Jahresfischfang hieß enztę. Mit dem gleichen Wort wurde auch der Zeitabschnitt eines Jahres bezeichnet. Die Großviehzucht ist fast ein reiner Sport bzw. eine Sache des Ansehens und des Reichtums. Pferde werden nicht genutzt, Rinder nur zu den drei großen christlichen Jahresfesten (Semana Santa, San Juán, Inmaculada) geschlachtet.

An Waffen ist heute nur noch die Schrotflinte für die Jagd von Bedeutung. Als Kinderspielzeug wird das Kugelblasrohr und die Steinschleuder benutzt. In der Mythologie spielt letztere eine bedeutende Rolle als kriegsentscheidende Kampfwaffe.

Bei den handwerklichen Techniken des Flechtens und Webens herrscht die Verwendung von Agavefaser und Schafwolle vor, allgemein in der Form gesponnener und gezwirnter Fäden. Nach der Methode der Schlingtechnik werden die Tragtaschen aus Agavefaser und die wollenen Kokabeutel hergestellt, in der Knotentechnik Hängematten, Vogelnetze, Beerensiebe und Steinschleudern. Geflochten werden nur Strohhüte. Aus Agavefasern gewebt werden die Bänder der Fasertaschen, aus Schafwolle die Frauengürtel und die Kleidungsstücke der Männer und Frauen. Die Webmethode ist die einfache Stabweberei mit Leinwandbindung. Die Frauengürtel haben eine im Webvorgang gebildete Zierkette. Der Webrahmen ist senkrechtstehend, vom sogenannten «araukanischen» Typ (O'Neale, p. 115). An Stelle des Trennstabes haben wir je eine einfache Schlinge, statt des Litzenstabes ein Schlingenbündel. Die Kettfäden sind in der Form der «falschen Spiralkette» gespannt, einer Vermischung der Methode der endlosen, rundlaufenden Kette mit der Methode der endlichen, einebigen Kette. Diese echt amerikanische Form der Kettspannung findet sich sowohl bei den Nordwestküstenindianern, als auch bei den Stämmen des Gran Chaco (Olson, pp. 114—121). Kulturhistorisch sieht H. Nevermann die verschiedenen Formen der amerikanischen Weberei

als auf der Grundlage einer einheimischen oder vorpolynesischen Flechtweberei entstanden an. Bei den Paez finden wir in der Flechtweberei der Tragbänder der Kokataschen dieses technische Stadium.

Zum Färben werden Pflanzenfarben benutzt, die nur Schafwolle, nicht aber Baumwolle färben.

Die Töpferei ist sehr einfach. Es gibt nur in Spiralwulsttechnik hergestellte Halbkugeltöpfe und Schalen, beide ohne jede Verzierung.

Die heutige politische Organisation der Paez beruht auf der Dorfgemeinschaft. Sie wird von einem Dorfrat (Cabildo) geleitet, dessen Mitglieder für ein Jahr von den Männern des Dorfes gewählt werden. Die Bezeichnung der Mitglieder des Cabildo und ihre Funktionen sind zum Teil spanisch. In früherer Zeit waren die Führer der Paez oft Männer mit schamanischen Fähigkeiten. Das Dorf ist weder klassenmäßig noch berufsmäßig gegliedert. Niemand braucht einem anderen für Lohn zu dienen; Wort und Sache sind den Paez unbekannt. Der Familienvater bearbeitet mit seinen Söhnen oder Brüdern seine Felder, und wenn Freunde oder Nachbarn ihre Arbeitskraft dazu leihen, so wird dies durch die Mithilfe auf deren Feldern ausgeglichen.

Die Familienorganisation ist grundsätzlich die patrilineare, monogame Kleinfamilie, bestehend aus den Eltern und den unverheirateten Kindern. Hierin hat wohl die geringste Änderung innerhalb der Paez-Kultur stattgefunden. Die Kinder erhalten den Familiennamen des Vaters. Die Frau bekommt zur Ehe keinerlei Mitgift von ihren Eltern und behält ihren Mädchennamen bei. Da soziale oder finanzielle Gründe für eine Eheschließung entfallen, hat eine Frau nur den Wert ihrer Persönlichkeit und ihrer Fähigkeiten. Diese werden vor der eigentlichen Eheschließung in einem «Probejahr» geprüft.

Die Verwandtschaftsnomenklatur zeigt Reste eines «klassifikatorischen» Systems, in dem das Individuum eingeordnet ist als Teil eines Lebensgefüges und nicht profiliert, losgelöst innerhalb der Familie steht. Die Menschen werden nach bestimmten Alters- und Lebensumständen in der Anrede unterschieden und u. a. die Geschwister in der Anrede differenziert, je nachdem sie jünger oder älter als der Sprechende sind.

In der Kunst und Mythologie hat eine beträchtliche Verarmung stattgefunden. Es findet sich weder Gesang noch eigenständiger Tanz. Hervorzuheben ist die mit großer Begeisterung ausgeübte Musik mit Querflöten und Trommeln. Die derzeit von den Paez benutzte zylindrische, zweiseitig mit Fell bespannte Trommel ist in allen Teilen Amerikas Lehngut von den Negern. In früherer Zeit wurden zum Tanz und zur Nachrichtenübermittlung aufgehängte, ausgehöhlte Baumstämme benutzt, wie

sie heute als Tröge für die Chichabereitung Verwendung finden. Die früher vorhandenen Rasseln werden heute nicht mehr verwendet. Die von den Paez benutzten Querflöten mit sechs Blaslöchern sind postkolumbisch; jedenfalls finden sie sich in dieser Art weder archäologisch, noch rezent bei unbeeinflußten Indianern. Aus vorspanischer und gegenwärtiger Zeit sind als Querflötenform nur an beiden Enden verschlossene, mit zwei Blaslöchern versehene Flöten bekannt (Izikowitz, pp. 298 ff).

Im Erzählgut tritt kein geschlossenes Weltbild hervor. Die Hauptfigur in den Mythen ist der Donner, der als erster Schamane und als kriegerischer Anführer hervortritt. Er bildet jedoch keine erhabene, numinose Figur, sondern trägt teilweise Züge, wie sie in anderen Teilen Südamerikas den Waldgeistern zukommen. Einen besonderen Waldgeist (gëlyómp) gibt es bei den Paez ebenfalls. Er hat die Gestalt eines alten Mannes, mit großen, heraushängenden Geschlechtsteilen, und seine von ihm als Strafe für rituelle Unreinheit bei der Jagd verursachten Stiche bringen dem Menschen Krankheiten und Schmerzen. Mythologisch tritt er allerdings nicht hervor. Bruchstücke größerer Mythenkomplexe sind die Geschichte von der Frau, aus deren Körper Nutzpflanzen hervorgehen, die Geschichte um den geisterhaft einherrollenden Menschenkopf, Geschichten um verwandelte Tiere und Menschen, wie auch Geschichten um Werjaguare.

In der Paez-Religion gibt es kein Kultpriestertum mit Opfer und Gebet, wie es auch Kult und Verehrung numinoser Wesen nicht gibt. Die Paez-Religion ist ein Schamanismus, dessen zwei Formen durch den bösen Zauberer und durch den guten Schamanen als Arzt und Helfer gegen die böse Zauberei gebildet werden. Als Religionsphänomen ist der Paez-Schamanismus nicht so ausgeprägt wie der sibirische oder nordamerikanische. Hilfsgeister und Seelenreise als schamanische Mittel sind mit den schamanischen «Zeichen», dem «Donnerkind» und den Reisen des Schamanen zum Haus des Donners auf dem Grunde der Lagune nur rudimentär, Zeremonialgeräte fast nicht vorhanden. Dennoch ist die Tätigkeit besonders des guten Schamanen als Arzt und Helfer bei den durch magische Praktiken verursachten Krankheiten, wie auch seine Funktion als soziologischer Kristallisationspunkt der Gemeinschaft, durchaus ein schamanisches Phänomen.

Sprachlich gehört das Paez zu den agglutinierenden Sprachen, in denen das Formelement durch Affixe gebildet wird, die ganze Wortklassen charakterisieren. In der Phonetik fällt die alle Konsonanten umfassende Palatalreihe auf, sowie das häufige Vorkommen nasaler Vokale.

Die sprachliche Einordnung des Paez ist schwierig. Seit den Forschungen von H. Beuchat und P. Rivet wird es als Glied der Chibcha-Sprachen angesehen. Dies war nicht immer so. E. Castillo i Orosco betont 1735, daß sich das Paez in seiner grammatischen Struktur sehr vom Chibcha unterscheide (p. 63). Erst C. Cuervo Marquez hält das Paez für eine Chibcha-Sprache (p. 199). H. Pittier de Fábrega betont 1907, daß sich die Verwandtschaft des Paez nur auf die Regeln der grammatischen Konstruktion beziehe; das Vokabular ist völlig verschieden (p. 341). Beuchat und Rivet untersuchten dann 1910 in einer groß angelegten Studie die Gesamtheit der nordandinen Sprachen und stellten danach die Verbreitung der Chibcha-Sprachen von Nicaragua bis Ecuador fest. Die Mehrheit der kolumbianischen Stämme sprach danach Chibcha (pp. 193—198). Diese Einteilung ist von der Linguistik bislang weder näher überprüft, noch widerlegt worden. Es sei dies den Sprachwissenschaftlern überlassen. Hier seien nur einige Bemerkungen zu dem Problem der Chibchasprachen im allgemeinen und dem des Paez als angenommener Chibcha-Sprache im besonderen gestattet. Die Schwierigkeit des Sprachvergleiches im Nordandenraum liegt an dem völlig ungenügenden Vergleichsmaterial. Die Mehrzahl der untersuchten Stämme ist längst ausgestorben und von den wenigen lebenden ist selten ein genügend vollständiges Material vorhanden. Auch das eigentliche Chibcha (Mwiska) auf der Hochebene von Bogotá wird seit zweieinhalb Jahrhunderten nicht mehr gesprochen und ist nur literarisch bekannt. Für ihren Sprachvergleich wählen Beuchat und Rivet die lexikographische und die grammatische Methode. Das Gesamtvokabular der untersuchten Sprachen umfaßt rund 200 Wörter. Diese dienen als Vergleichsmaterial für 49 Sprachen, und zwar für das eigentliche Chibcha (Mwiska) und 23 weitere Sprachen und Dialekte in Nordkolumbien und Panama, sowie für 25 Sprachen und Dialekte südkolumbianischer Sprachen! Methodisch wird also so vorgegangen, daß eine lexikographische Übereinstimmung der Sprache A mit der Sprache B gefunden wird, eine andere Übereinstimmung der Sprache B mit der Sprache C, eine weitere Übereinstimmung der Sprache C mit der Sprache D usw. Im Beweis ist die Sprache A mit den Sprachen B, C, D usw. verwandt. Auf das Paez bezogen: In dem bei Beuchat und Rivet angeführten Vokabular findet sich keine direkt übereinstimmende Vokabel des Paez mit dem Chibcha! Dabei wurde nicht einmal eine Auswahl der Wörter nach ihrem qualitativen Gewicht vorgenommen. Es ist daher das völlige Fehlen von übereinstimmenden Bezeichnungen für Nahrungsmittel, Tiere, Nutzpflanzen, Metalle (Gold), Körperteile, Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen usw. besonders

bemerkenswert. Nach dem Vokabular ist es also nicht möglich, das Paez als Chibchasprache zu bezeichnen. Wie weit dies für die anderen südkolumbianischen Stämme, von denen meist nur ein sehr geringes Vokabular existiert, zutrifft, kann hier nicht erörtert werden. Jedenfalls finden sich — durch die enge Nachbarschaft mit kechua sprechenden Völkern in allen diesen Sprachen eine große Anzahl von Kechuawörtern. (Für das Paez vgl. die Zusammenstellungen bei Castillo i Orosco und Pittier de Fábrega). Grammatische Übereinstimmungen des Chibcha mit dem Paez sind vorhanden. Gleichzeitig aber weisen Beuchat und Rivet ausdrücklich daraufhin, daß das Paez die größten grammatischen Unterschiede innerhalb der verglichenen Sprachen mit dem Chibcha aufweist (p. 190/191). Zusammenfassend sei somit festgestellt, daß die Einordnung des Paez als Chibchasprache nicht als gesichert gelten kann. Die grammatischen Übereinstimmungen können genau so gut Reste einer älteren oder Überlagerungen seitens einer jüngeren Bevölkerungsschicht sein. Hinzu kommt, daß in den teilweise jahrhundertelangen Kämpfen seit der Conquista beträchtliche Bevölkerungsverschiebungen und -vermischungen stattgefunden haben. Möglicherweise sind die heute bestehenden oder überlieferten Stämme nur versprengte Reste oder Gruppierungen, die sich erst nach der Conquista aus anderen Stämmen gebildet haben.

Kulturell haben die Paez mit der Chibcha*kultur* gar nichts gemein. Die von H. Beuchat und Paul Rivet aufgestellte Chibcha-Sprachgruppe ist ein linguistischer Begriff, der auf einer lückenlosen Ausdehnung von Nicaragua bis Ecuador völlig verschiedenartige Kulturen umfaßt! So sind beispielsweise die Chibchasiedlungen auf der Hochebene von Bogotá eng geschlossene Dörfer, während die Paez in Einzelgehöften wohnen. Der Feldbau der Chibcha ist mit dem Gebrauch eines hölzernen Spatens, gegenüber dem Grabstock-Brandrodungsbau der Paez, relativ entwickelt. In der Technik steht die Herstellung der Chibchakeramik hoch über der der Paez, und Goldarbeiten sind von den Paez mit Sicherheit nicht hergestellt worden. Bei den Paez war die Schleuder die Hauptwaffe, bei den Chibcha Keule und Speer mit Speerschleuder. In der Chibchareligion haben wir einen Schöpfergott bzw. eine Stamm-Mutter mit einem Pantheon anderer Götter, mit Opfern von Gold und Smaragden, wir finden Heroen-Tempel, heilige Plätze und sakrale Könige, bei den Paez nur Schamanen.

Wir haben damit einen klaffenden Zwiespalt zwischen der Chibchasprachgruppe und der Chibchakultur. Wissenschaftliche Termini sollten jedoch eindeutig sein und nicht mit den gleichen Wörtern verschiedene Begriffe bezeichnen. So wird es richtigerweise in Europa z. B. mit

der indogermanischen Sprachfamilie, der dinarischen Rasse oder der bandkeramischen Kultur gehalten.

Der kulturelle Begriff der Chibcha ist der ältere. Um nicht die Kulturgruppe mit der davon völlig verschiedenen Sprachgruppe gleichzusetzen und zu verwechseln, sollte die Sprachgruppe anders benannt werden, zumal nicht sicher ist, ob das in Vokabular und Sprachaufbau Gemeinsame auf das Chibcha zurückgeht oder auf ein sprachlich anderes Substrat. Analog trifft das für die archäologischen Kulturen des Nordandenraumes zu, die sich auch in manchen Zügen gleichen, aber nicht auf die Chibchakultur zurückgehen.

Es bliebe die Frage nach der ethnischen Verwandtschaft der archäologischen Tierradentro-Kultur. Nach ihrem kargen materiellen und künstlerischen Kulturbesitz waren die Paez technisch zu den im Tierradentro existierenden Äußerungen einer entwickelten Kultur nicht in der Lage. Mit ihrem streng demokratischen Sozialgefüge fehlt ihnen auch die zur Erhaltung einer solchen Kultur nötige ständische Gliederung. Auch in den mythologischen Überlieferungen der Paez findet sich für eine Verwandtschaft mit der archäologischen Kultur kein Anhalt. Ähnlich scheint nur die Bestattungsart der Paez in einem Nischengrab; es ist dies aber typologisch nicht identisch mit dem Schachtgrab. Hinzu kommt die Differenz der Brandbestattung in der archäologischen Kultur, gegenüber der Skelettbestattung des ganzen Leichnams bei den Paez. Die Paez sind zudem ein lokal relativ eng begrenzter Stamm; die archäologische Kultur hingegen hat weiteste geographische Beziehungen in der Kunst*, im Stile ihrer steinernen Statuen, wie auch in der Bestattungsart in Schachtgräbern.

Künstlerische Beziehungen aber machen sprachlich weitere Beziehungen wahrscheinlich, als es faktisch für die Paez und ihre Nachbarn zutrifft. Es ist unter diesem Gesichtspunkt auch ein relativ entwickelter Handel zu vermuten. Die Veranlagung und gegenwärtige Tätigkeit der Paez bietet uns aber auch in dieser Hinsicht keine Stütze. Wir müssen deshalb das Vorhandensein der Paez in ihren heutigen Wohngebieten des Tierradentro als zeitlich auf die archäologische Kultur folgend ansehen. Ob sie als spätere Einwanderer innerhalb einer größeren Völkerbewegung die Zerstörer der archäologischen Kultur waren oder ob sie sich erst im Laufe der Kämpfe mit den Spaniern an den Stätten der archäologischen Kulturen niedergelassen haben, ist zur Zeit nicht zu klä-

* G. Hernandez de Alba (IV) fand in einer Grabkammer eine Halskette aus Sodalithfigürchen. Dieses Material ist sonst in Kolumbien nicht belegt. Es stammt aus einer bolivianischen Mine, und Kunstwerke daraus finden sich sowohl in Tiahuanaco, wie auch in peruanischen und argentinischen Fundstätten.

ren. Für letztere Annahme spricht, daß die Nachrichten der frühen Spanier über die angetroffenen Stämme und über deren geographische Lage nicht immer eindeutig sind. So läßt der P. Manuel Rodriguez (1684) die Paez im Páramo de las Papas wohnen, dem Páramo westlich San Agustín, in dem der Magdalena, Cauca und Caqueta entspringen. Auffällig ist auch, daß die ersten spanischen Berichte die Guambianos, die heutigen westlichen Nachbarn der Paez nicht erwähnen. Für die Annahme der Zugehörigkeit der Paez zu einer neu eingewanderten, kriegerischen Bevölkerung spricht, daß auch der im Kulturgebiet von San Agustín zur Zeit der Conquista wohnende Stamm der Andaki nichts mit der archäologischen Kultur zu tun hatte, sondern möglicherweise als deren Zerstörer anzusehen ist.

VI. Verzeichnis des fremdsprachlichen und Fachausdrücke

Alcalde	Kolumbianische Bezeichnung für den Bürgermeister eines Ortes oder Leiter eines Landkreises. Auch Bezeichnung für die örtlichen Eingeborenenautoritäten.
Ají	Sehr scharfe Mischung von Ajípfeffer mit Zwiebeln und anderen Gewürzen.
Arroba	Spanisches Gewichtsmaß von 12½ kg.
Cabildo	Kolumbianischer Gemeinderat. Bei den Paez Bezeichnung für den demokratisch gewählten Dorfrat.
Chaquira	Kolumbianische Bezeichnung für Glasperle.
Chicha	(spr. Tschitscha) Eingeborenenbier. Bei den Paez aus Zuckerrohr, bei den meisten anderen Andenindianern aus Mais, bei den südamerikanischen Waldindianern meist aus Maniok hergestellt.
Conquista	Zeit der spanischen Eroberung.
Conquistador	Spanischer Eroberer zur Zeit der Entdeckung Amerikas.
Finca	Plantagengehöft oder Landgut zum Anbau von Kaffee, Zuckerrohr, Bananen o. ä.
Gobernador	Span. Leiter der Verwaltung einer Provinz. Bei den Paez Leiter des dörflichen Gemeinderates.
Guaquero	Raubgräber prähistorischer, indianischer Grabstätten.

Hacienda	Im Tierradentro größerer Landbesitz.
Kazike	(Cacique) Westindische Bezeichnung für den Häuptling eines Dorfes oder Eingeborenenstammes, von den Spaniern allgemein als Bezeichnung für die Eingeborenenhäuptlinge innerhalb ihres Machtbereiches gebraucht. Die in der deutschsprachigen Literatur gebrauchte Übersetzung «Fürst» ist irreführend.
Lagune	See, Teich.
Machete	Buschmesser, langes Haumesser.
Milpa-System	Mittelamerikanische Bezeichnung für den periodischen Feldbau mittels vorausgehender Brandrodung; in Kolumbien roza, bei den Paez wáts genannt.
Minga	System dörflicher, unentgeltlicher Gemeinschaftsarbeit.
Municipio	Im Tierradentro eine Anzahl von Dörfern, etwa unserem Verwaltungskreis entsprechend.
Nyiç	Böser Schamane, böser Zauberer.
Panela	Eingedickter Zuckerrohrsaft. In Barrenform zu je etwa 1/2 kg transportiert und gehandelt. Übliche Form des Zuckerkonsums bei der kolumbianischen Landbevölkerung.
Páramo	Hochsteppe. Allgemeine Bezeichnung für die Kordillerenkämme.
Parcialidád	Im Tierradentro: Dorf mit dazugehörenden Ländereien.
Poncho	Ärmelloser Mantel der Andenindianer in Form einer rechteckigen oder quadratischen Decke mit einem Loch für den Kopf. In Kolumbien Ruana genannt.
Roza	Kolumbianisches Brandfeld. Vgl. Milpa.
Ruana	Kolumbianische Bezeichnung für Poncho.
Schamane	Populär: Medizinmann. Bei den Paez wird unterschieden zwischen bösen Schamanen (nyiç) und guten (tgyu). Erstere rauben Seelen, bringen Krankheiten oder Tod. Letztere sind als Gegenspieler der nyiç Ärzte im geistigen Bereich.
Tafí	Seele, die den Menschen im Schlafe verlassen kann.
Tama	Zeremonialstab des Schamanen.
Tgyu	Paez-Bezeichnung für den guten Schamanen.
Trapiche	Zuckerrohrmühle.
Tumba	Große, unterirdische Grabkammer.
üns	Seele, die den Menschen beim Tode verläßt.

1: Nachtigall SC15 Paez

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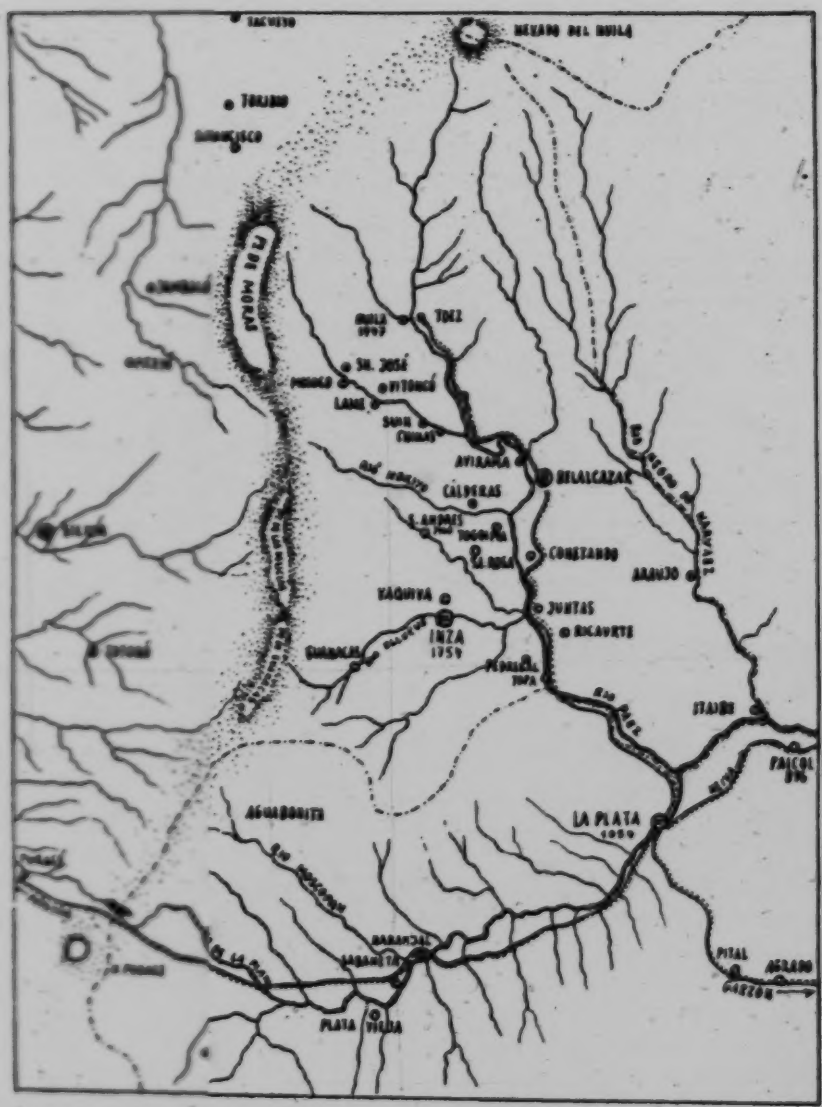
[End plate I]

1. Kolumbien

I: Nachtigall SC15 Paez

II [End plate II]
[Pl III-X not processed]



2. Tierradentro

[End plate XI]

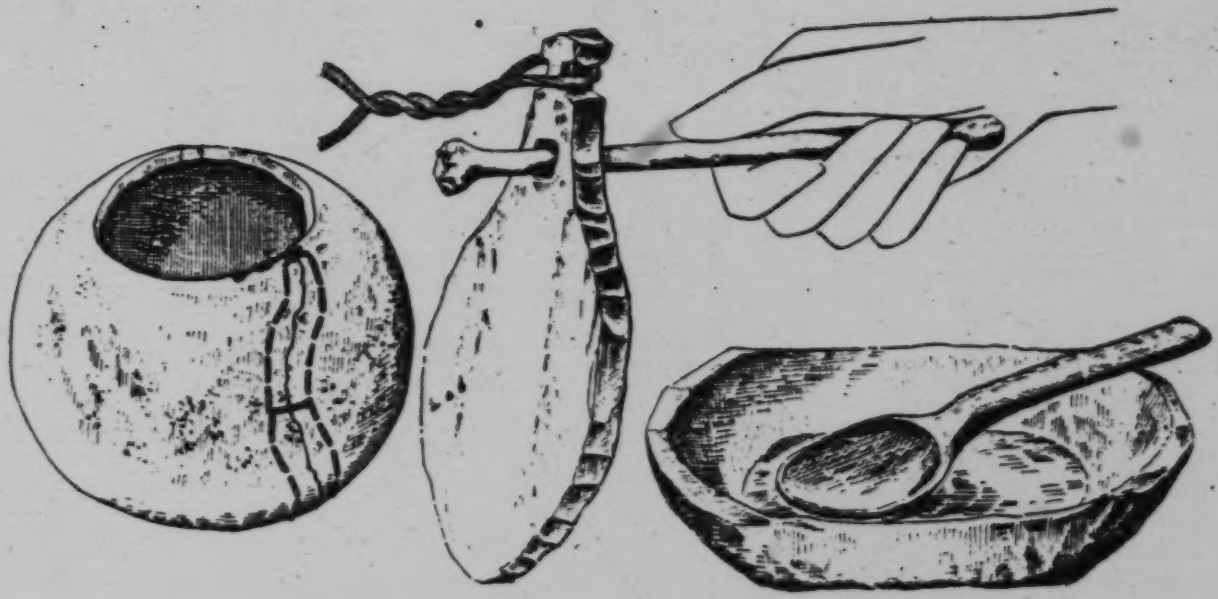


Fig. 25 Genähte Kürbiskalebasse Fig. 26 Klafika Fig. 27 Holzteller und Löffel

XII [End plate XII]

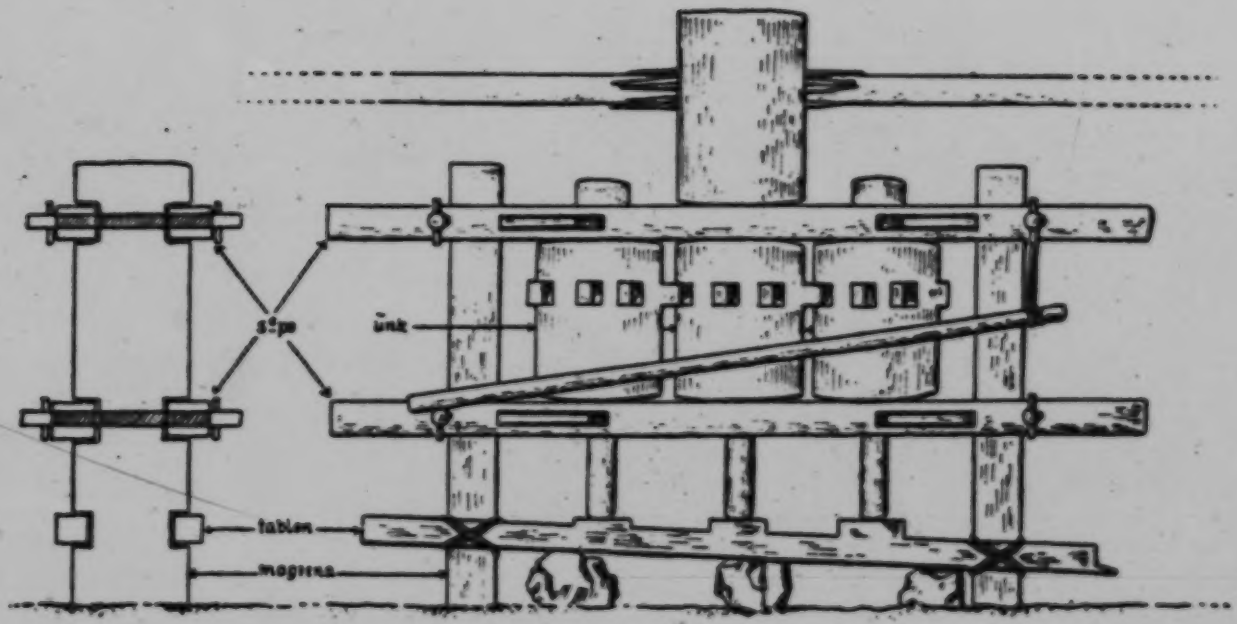


Fig. 18 Zuckerrohrmühle

[End plate XIII]

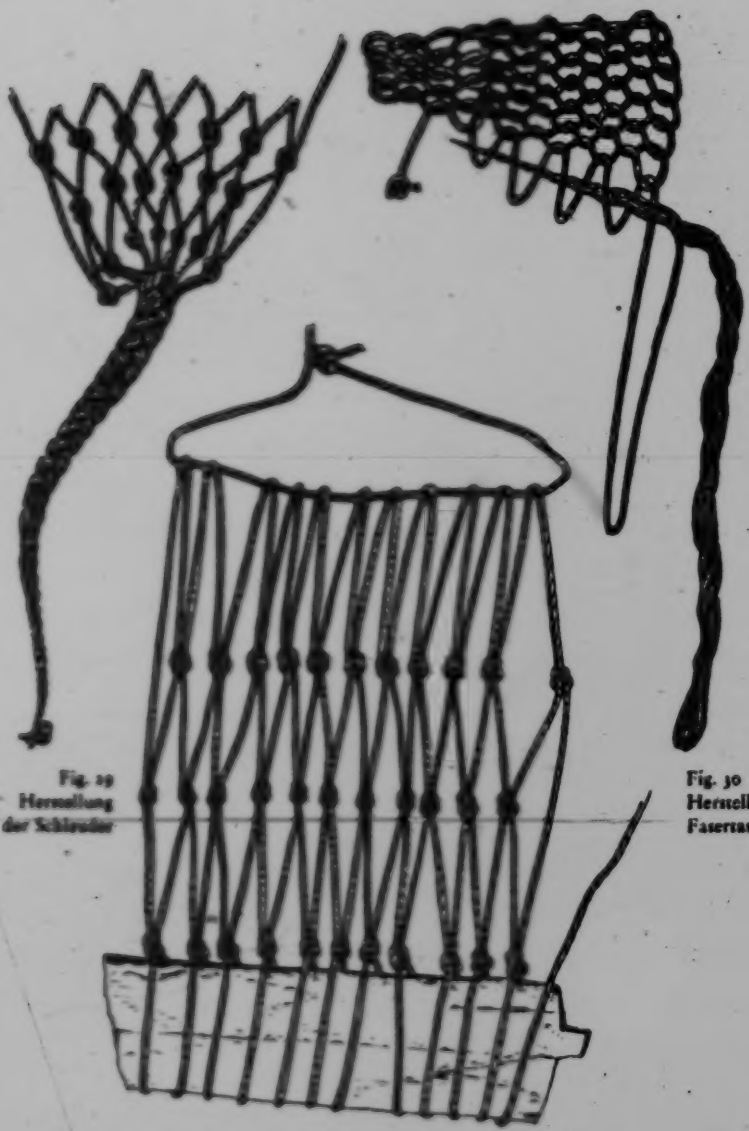


Fig. 29 Herstellung der Schleuder

Fig. 30 Herstellung der Faserrasche

Fig. 31 Anfertigung des Vogelnetzes

XIV [End plate XIV]

Fig. 32
Feuerwerkskörper

Fig. 33
Flechtstreifen zur Anfertigung der Strohhüte

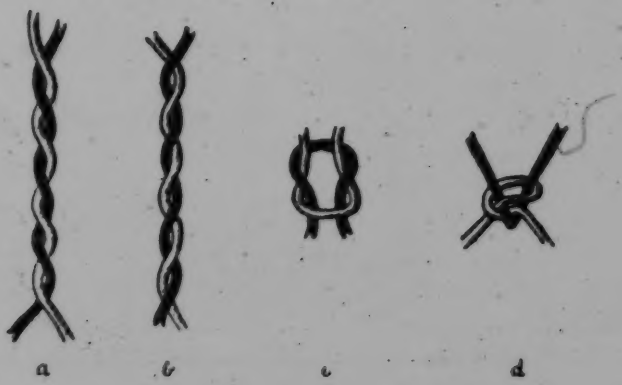


Fig. 34 a = S-Zwirnung b = Z-Zwirnung
c = symmetrischer Knoten d = Fischnetzknoten

[End plate XV] XV

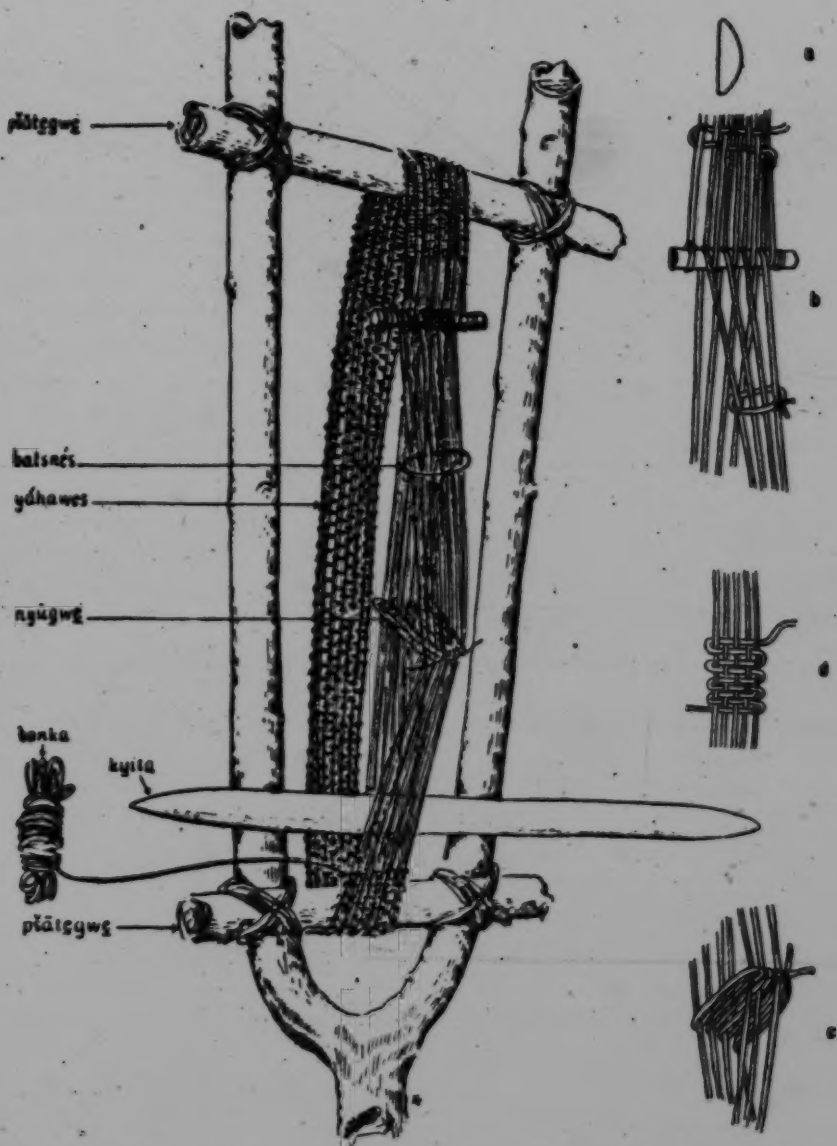


Fig. 35 Webapparat zur Herstellung der Tragbänder der Fasertaschen
a = Schnitt des Webschwertes
b = Spannmethode der Kettfäden
c = Litzenschlaufen
d = Webmutter

XVI [End plate XVI]

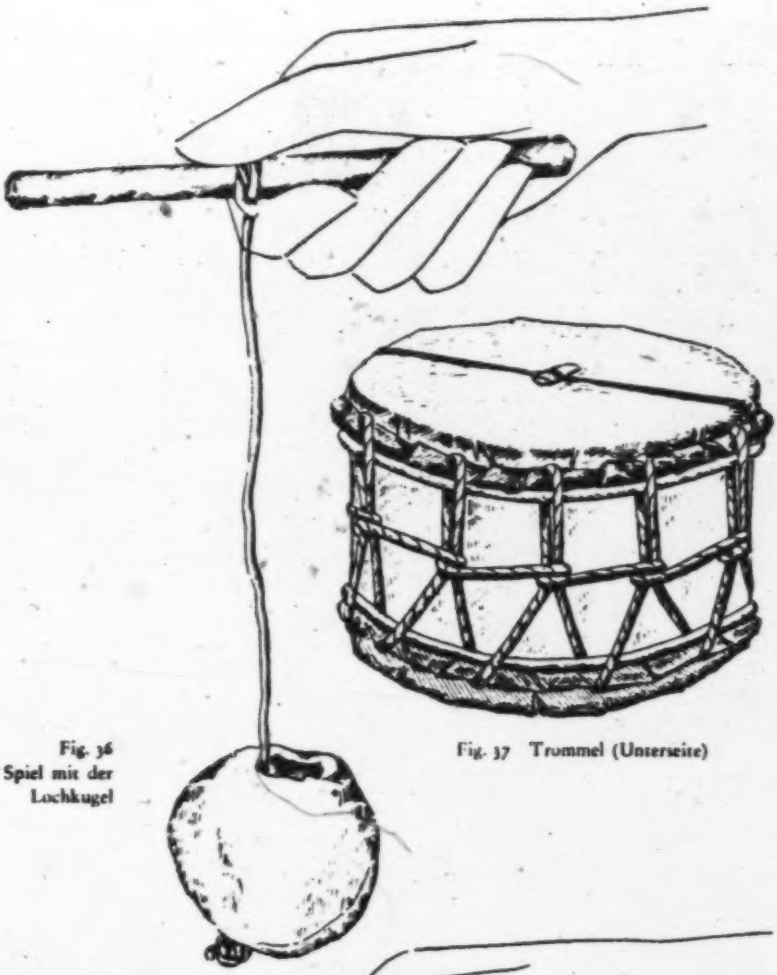
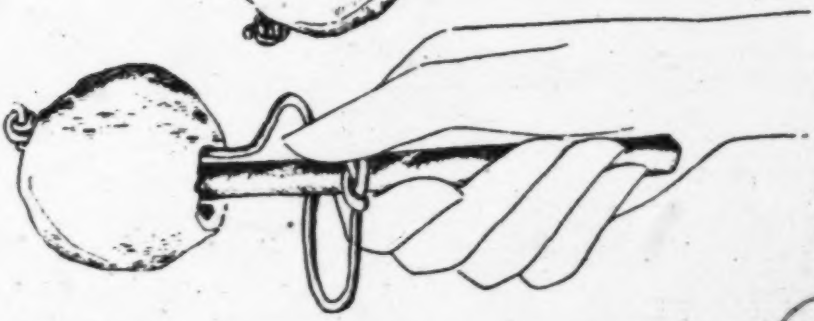


Fig. 36
Spiel mit der
Lochkugel

Fig. 37 Trommel (Unterseite)



[End plate XVII] XVII

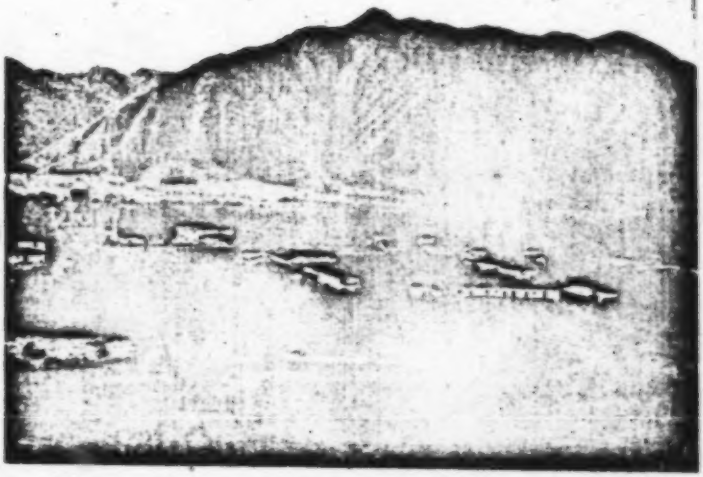


Abb. 1 La Plata, das südliche Handelszentrum des Tierradentro

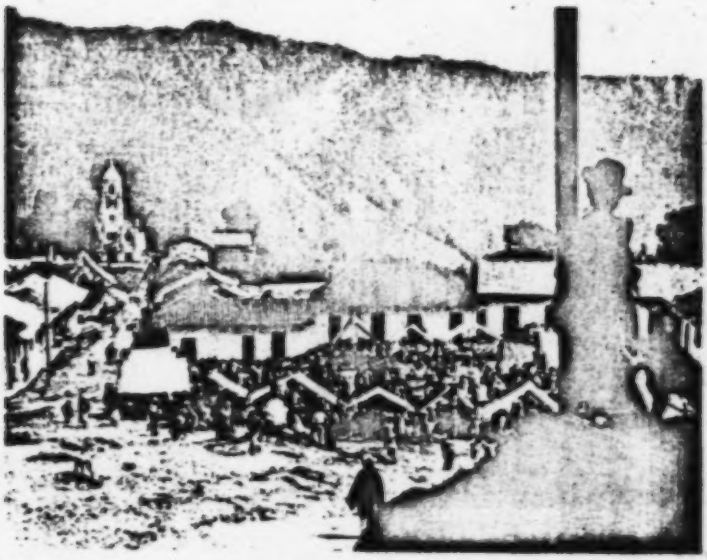


Abb. 2 Der Markt von Inzá

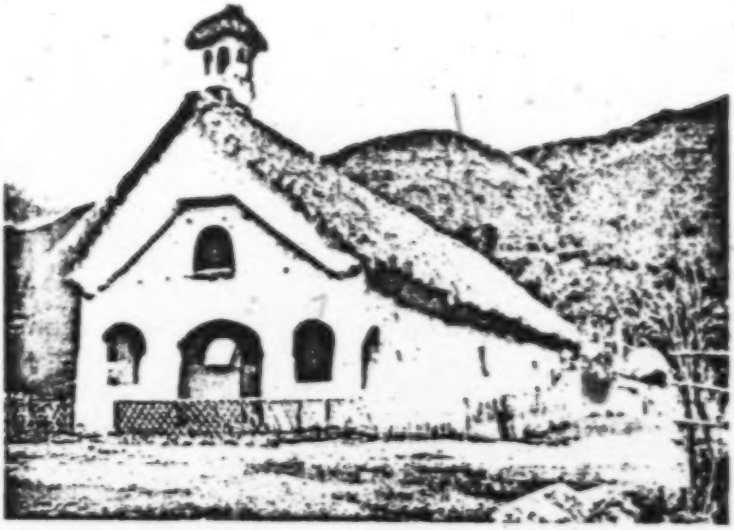


Abb. 3 Kirche von San Andrés

Abb. 4 Kirche von Santa Rosa

[End plate XIX]

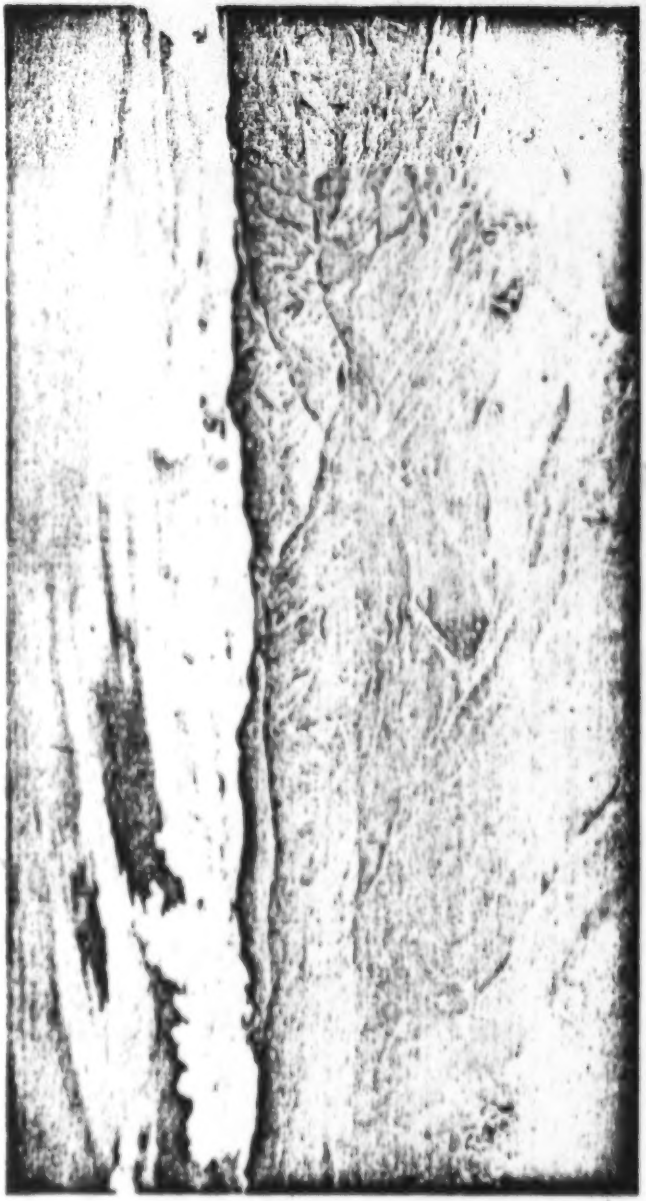


Abb. 1 Das südliche Tiermuseum

XX [End plate XX]

Abb. 6 Das Tal des Rio Paez

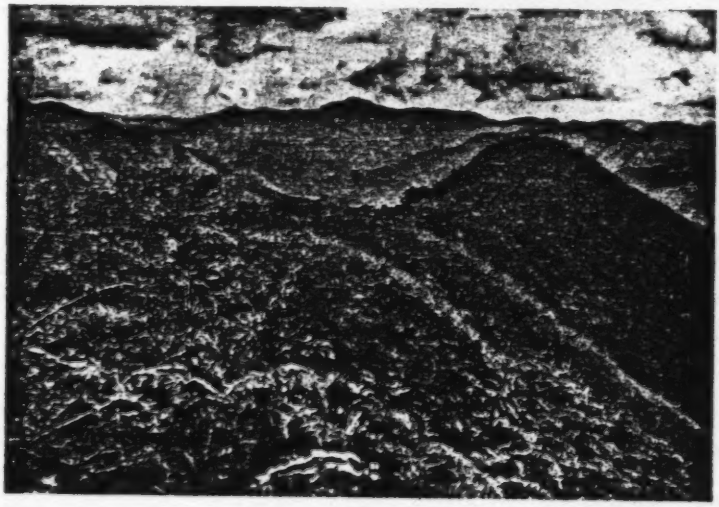


Abb. 7 .Der Filo de El Aguacate

[End plate XXI]

[Pr. XXII – LXXVI not processed]

XXI

Abb. 8 Das San-Andrés-Tal

Abb. 9 Der künstlich abgeflachte Hügel Segovia

[End plate LXXVII]

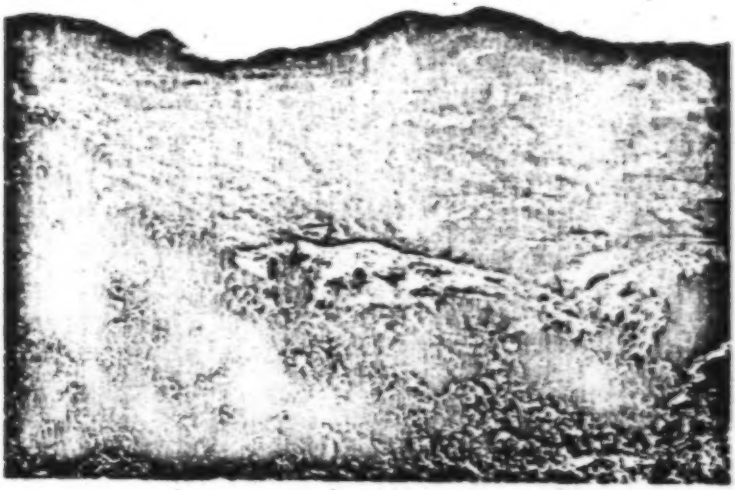


Abb. 146 Das Tal des Kokiyó mit Calderas

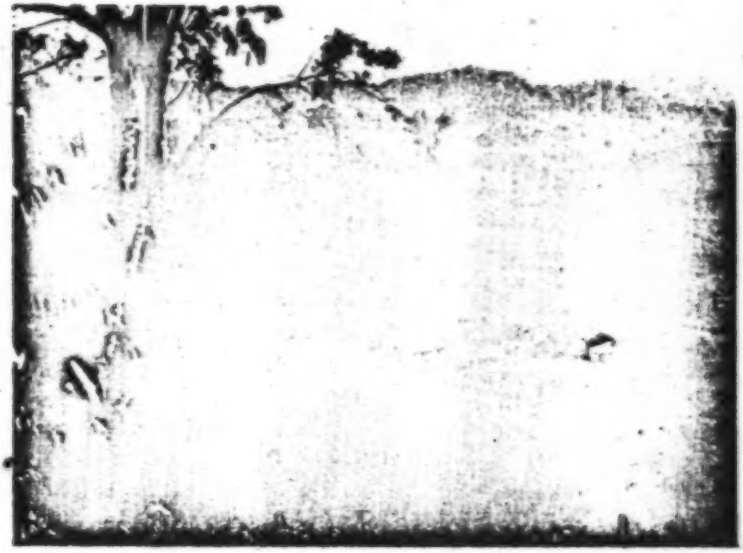


Abb. 147 Calderas mit Kirche und Festhäusern

LXXVIII [End plate LXXVIII]

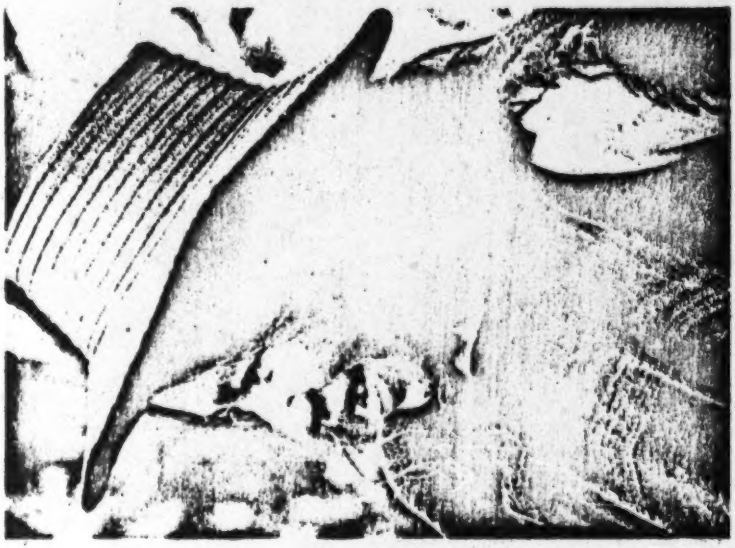


Abb. 148 und 149 Junge Frauen

[End plate LXXIX]

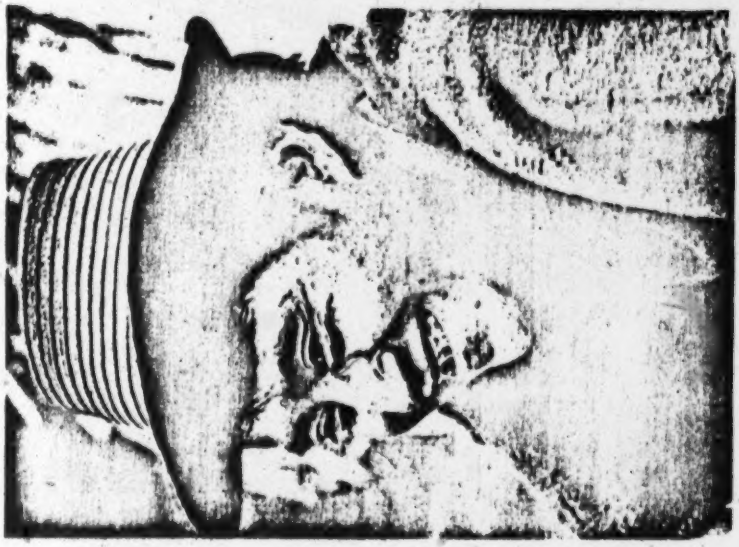


Abb. 150 und 151 Junge Minner

J: Nachtigall SC15 Page
LXXX [Red plate]

Abb. 152 Mutter mit Kind

Abb. 153 Der Schamane Cerbeleón Niunda

[End plate] LXXXI

Abb. 154 Haus mit Leiter

Abb. 155 Unser Dolmetscher Victoriano Piñaluá

1: Nachtigall SC15 Paez

LXXXII [End plate]

Abb. 156 Feldhütte

[End plate]

Abb. 157 Wohnhaus inmitten eines neugerodeten Feldes

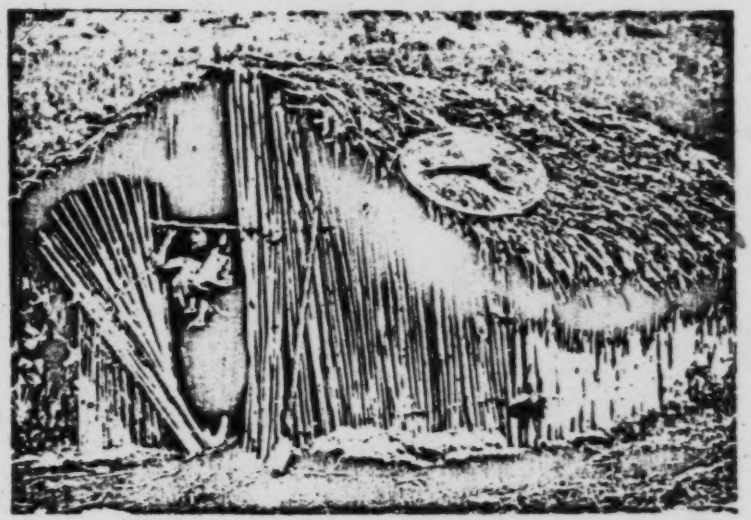


Abb. 158 Aus Maisstengeln gebildete Feldhütte

1: Nachtigall SC15 Paez

LXXXIV [End plate]

Abb. 159 Walmdachhaus

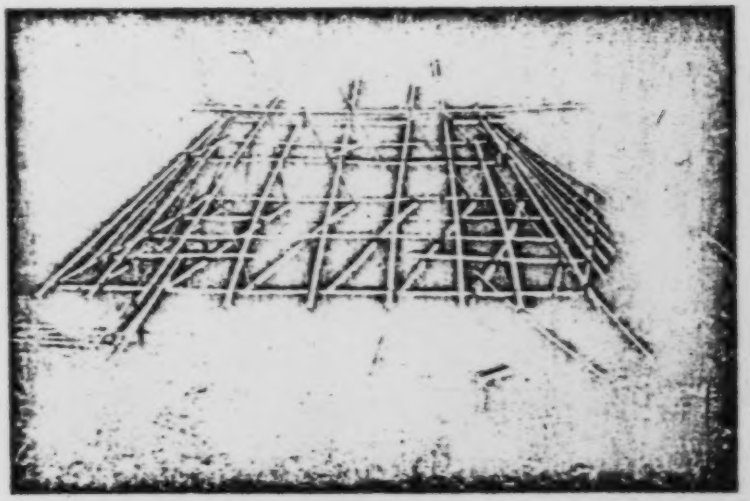


Abb. 160 Gerüst eines Wohnhauses aus Bambus

[End plate]

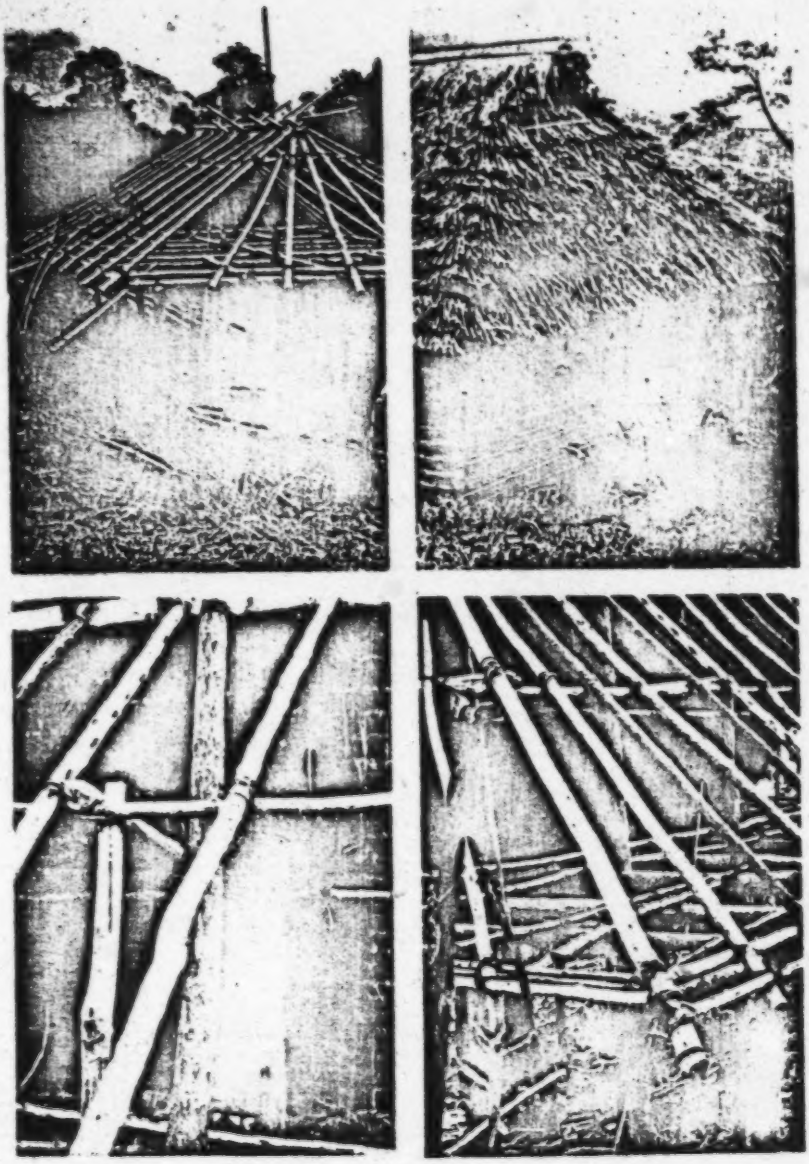


Abb. 161-164 Hauskonstruktionen

LXXXVI [End plate]

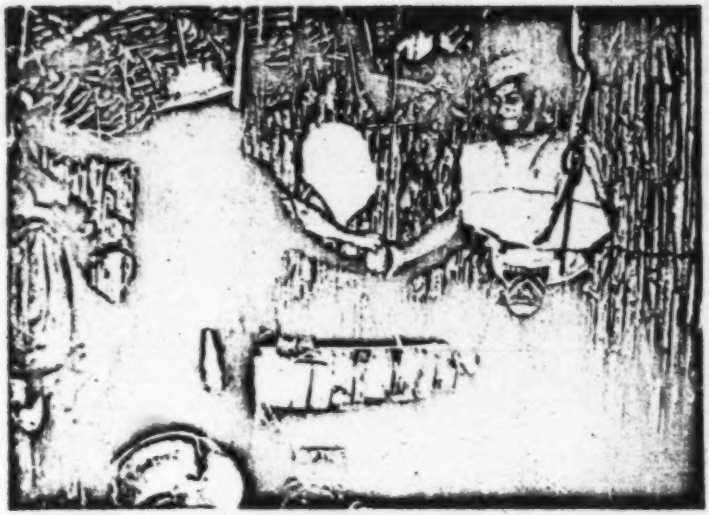


Abb. 165 Hausanbau mit dem Chichatrog

Abb. 166 Inneres eines Paez-Hauses

[End plate]

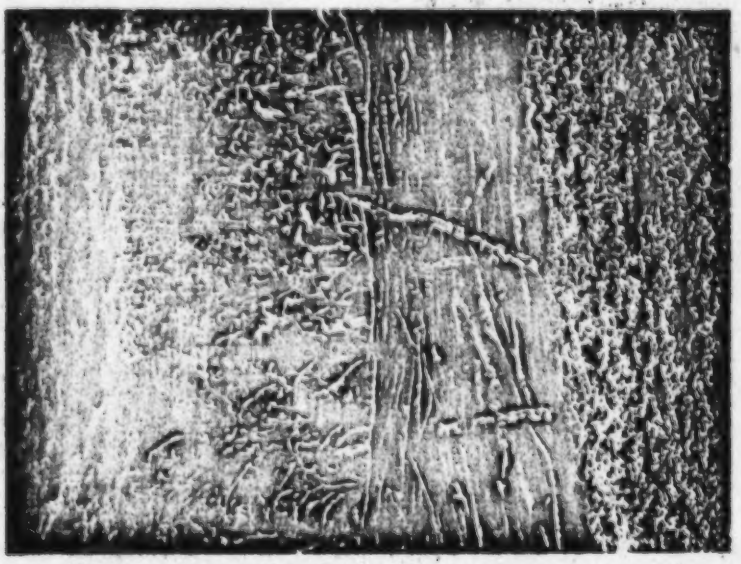


Abb. 168 Maisfeld mit Zaun

Abb. 167 Hausgarten der Paez

LXXXVIII [End plate]

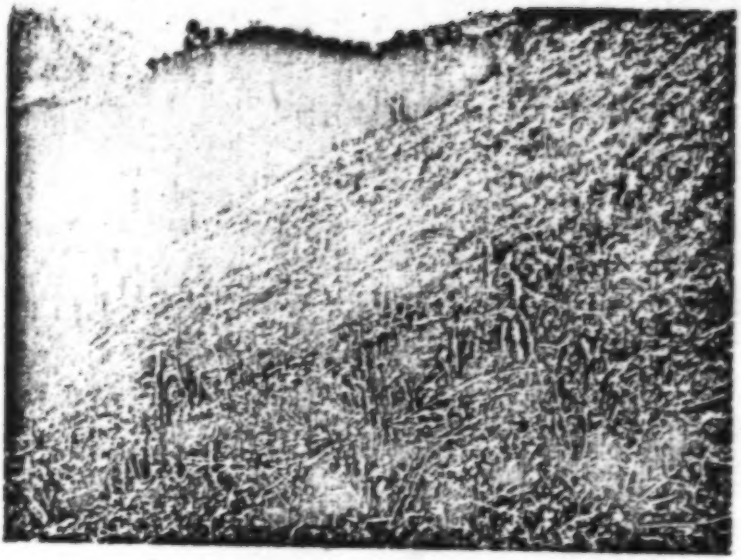
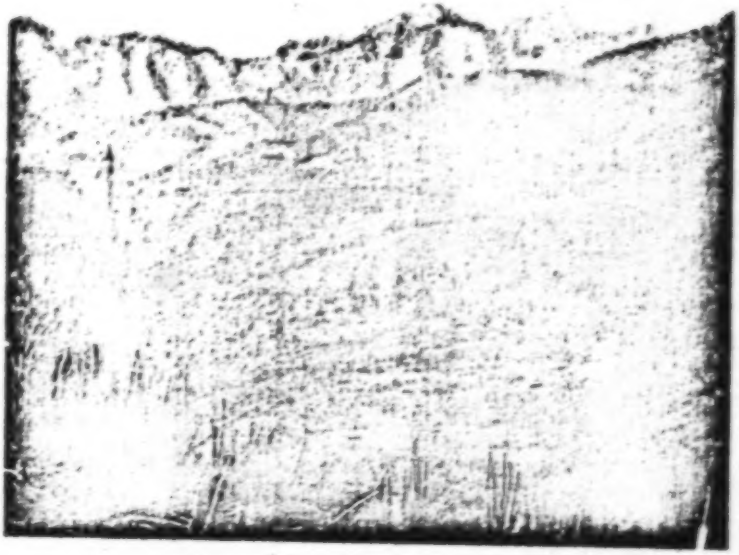


Abb. 169 Zum Brand vorbereitetes Feldstück



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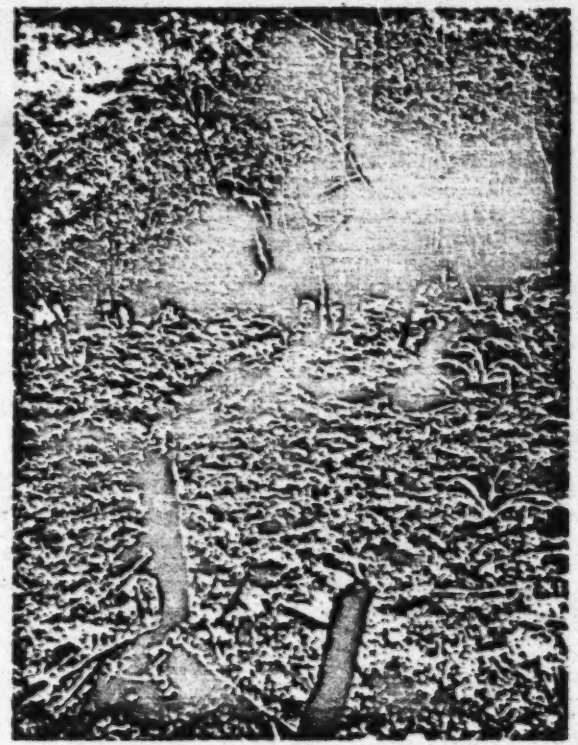

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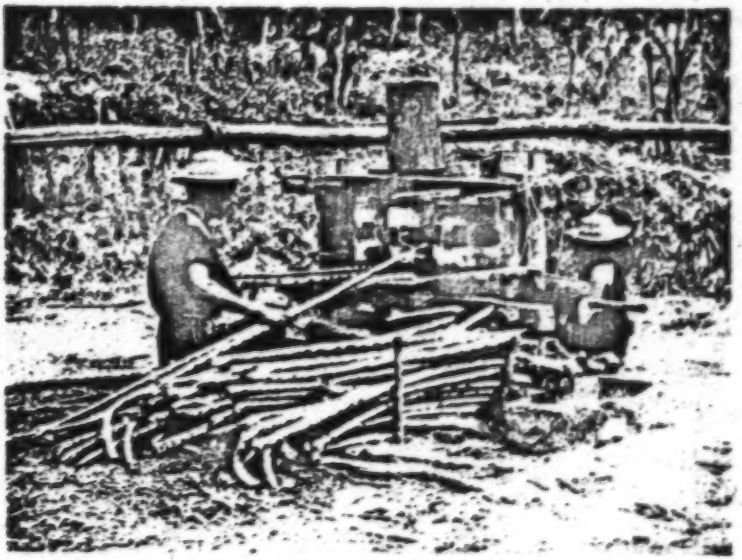

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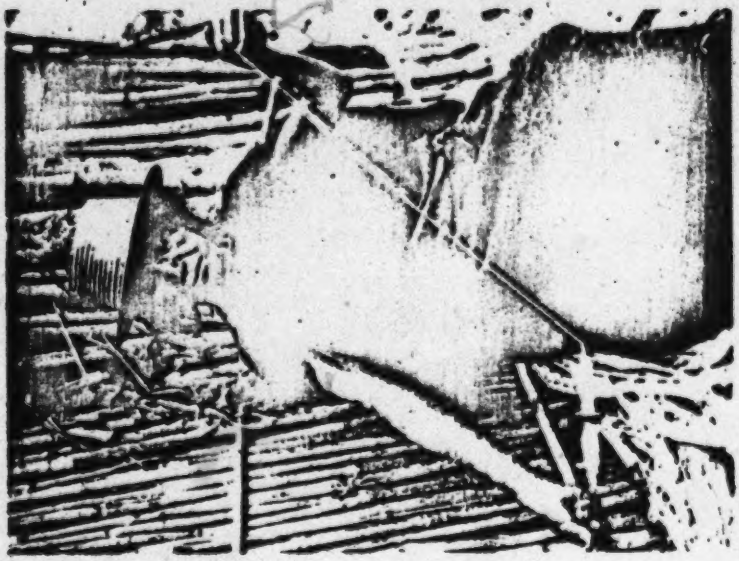

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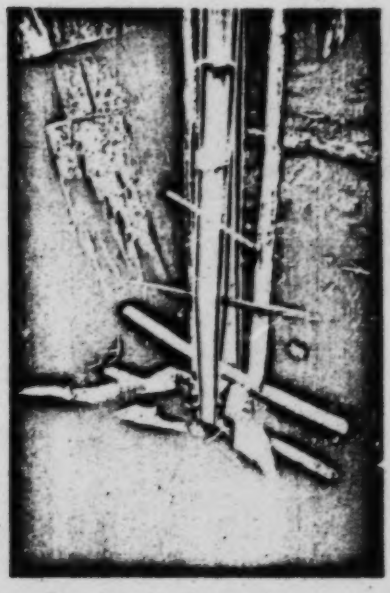

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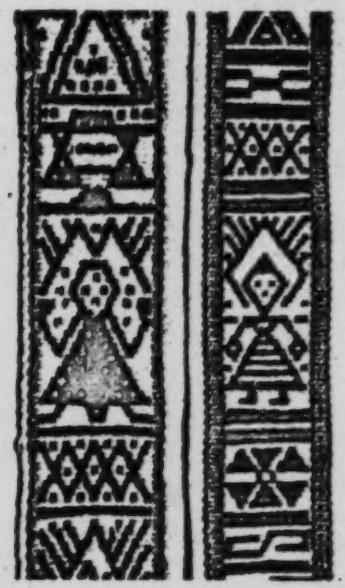

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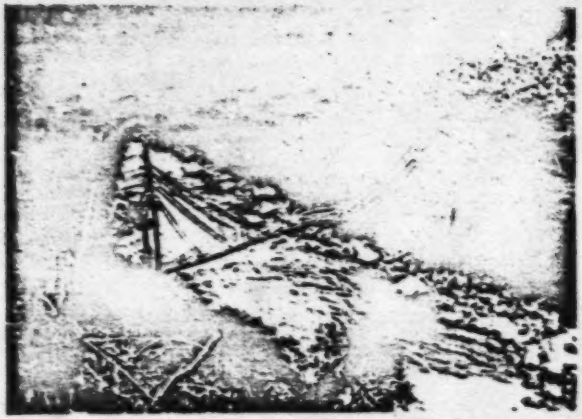

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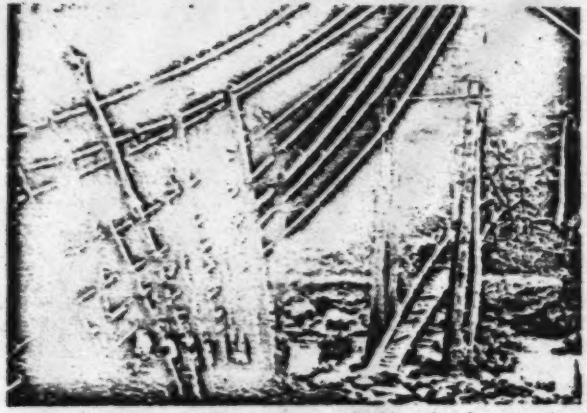

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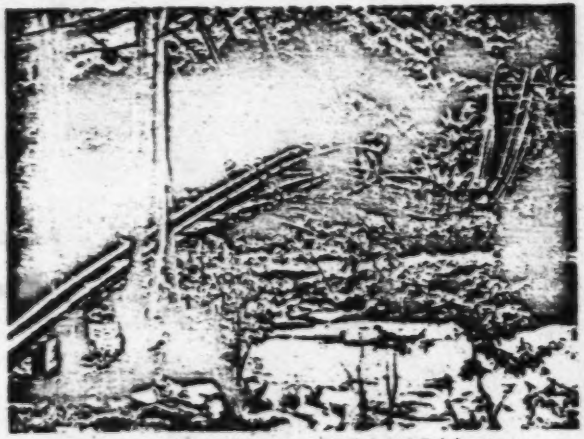

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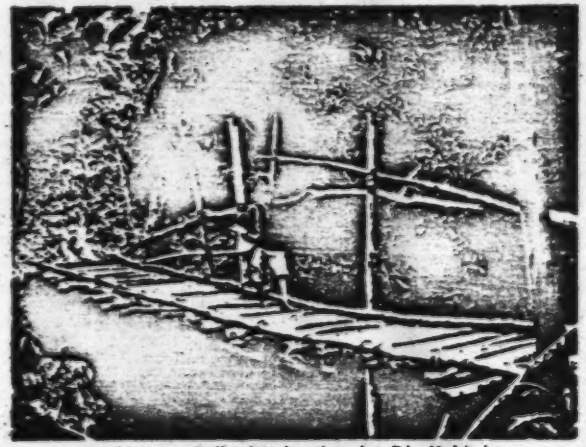

Abb. 194 Balkenbrücke über den Rio Kokiyó

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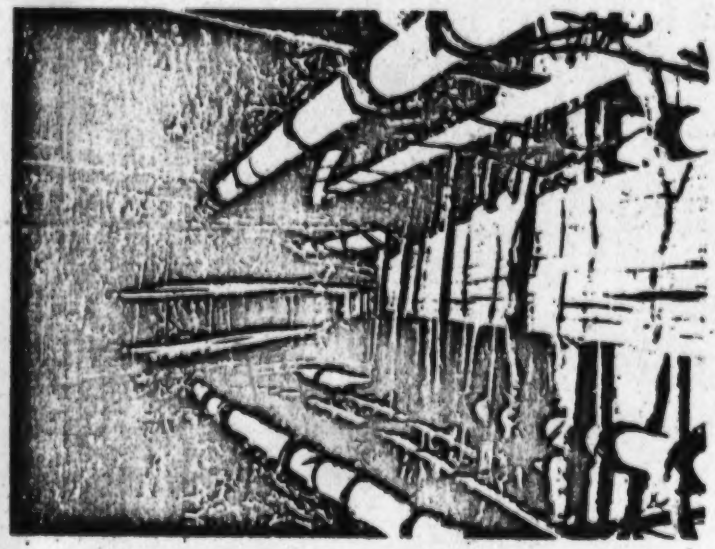
IC



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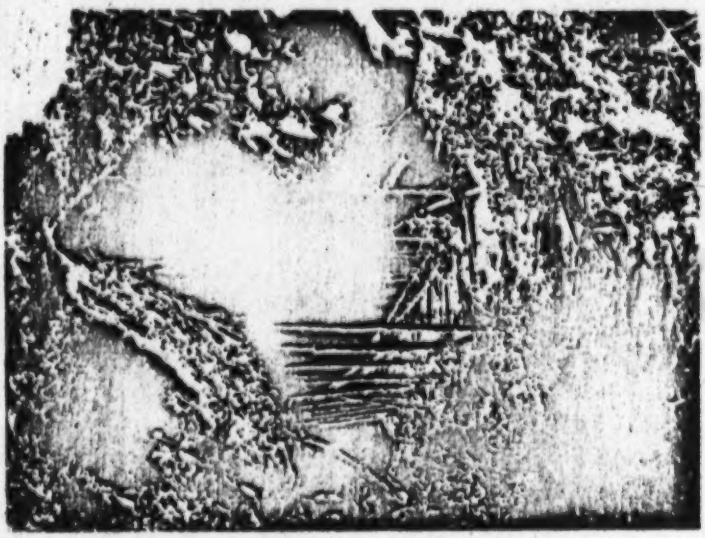

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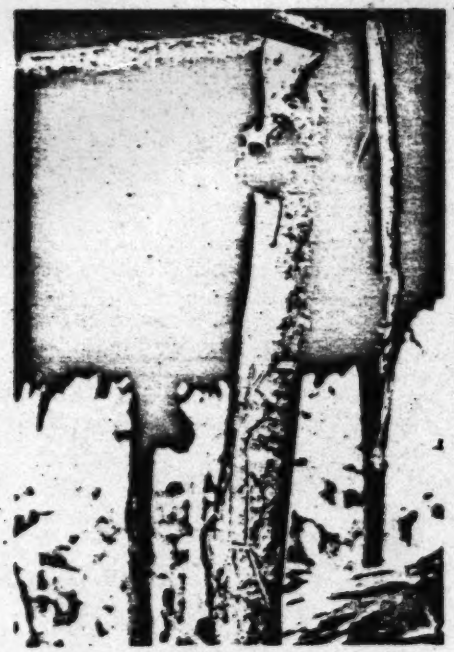

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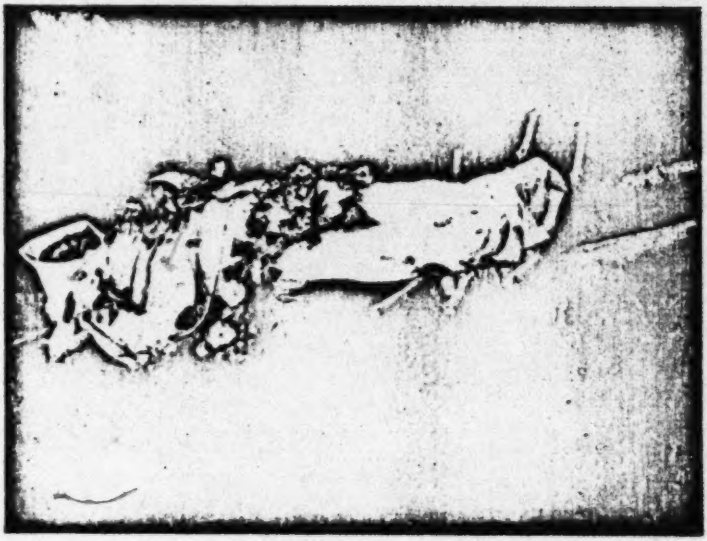

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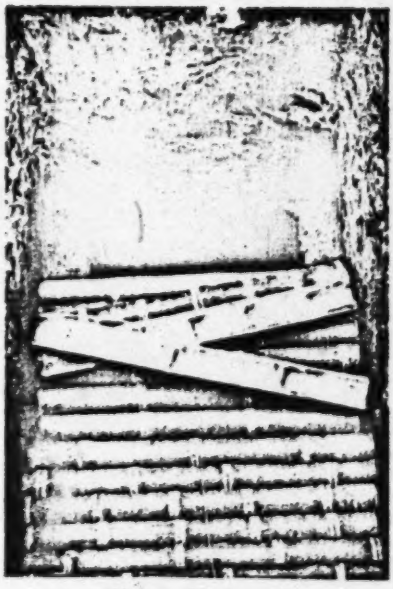

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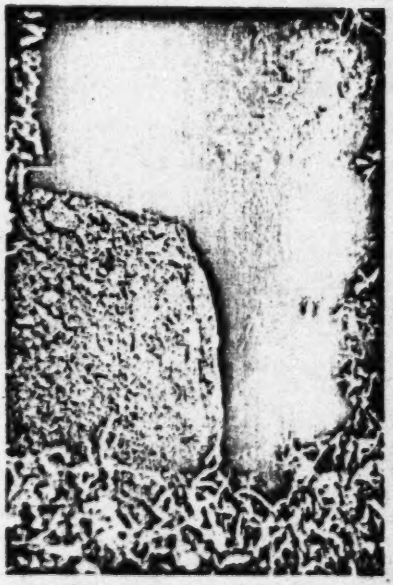

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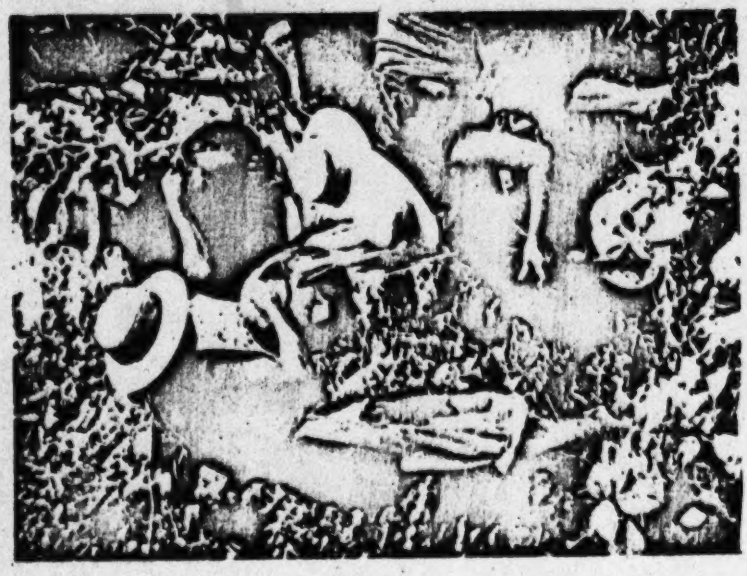

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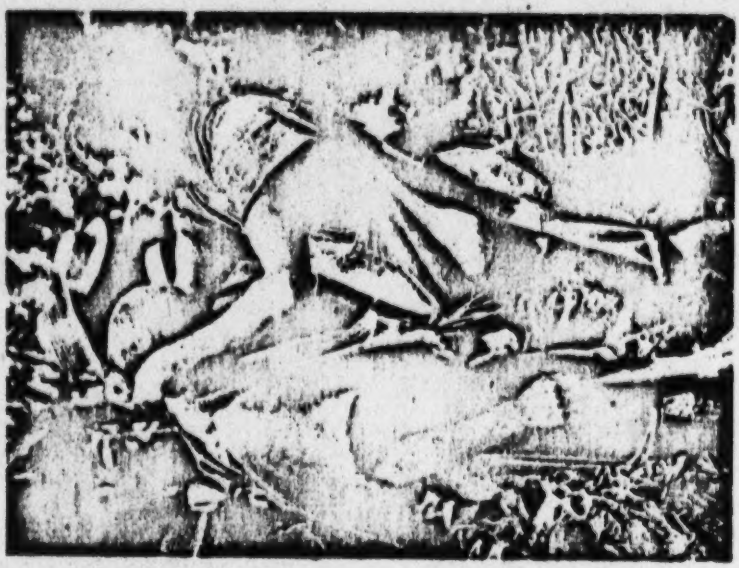

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Abb. 93 und 94 Bestattungsurnen der Grabkammer Nr. 11 von Segovia in situ. Die flache Decke der Kammer ist mit einem wabenförmigen Muster versehen.

CXVI [End plate]

TAFEL LXV

Abb. 95 Eingangsschacht der Grabkammer Nr. 26 von Segovia.

Abb. 96 Eingangsschacht der Grabkammer Nr. 32 von Segovia. Deutlich sichtbar ist das halbkreisförmige «Knochenloch» unmittelbar hinter dem Eingang.

TAFEL LXVI

Abb. 97 Dreifußgefäß mit nach außen gebogener Gefäßmündung. Ockerfarbiger Ton mit Spuren schwarzer Bemalung; Gesamthöhe 27 cm; Durchmesser 18 cm, Archäologisches Museum der Universität Popayan Nr. 42-2-18.

Abb. 98 Teller mit leicht nach außen gewölbtem Rand; roter Ton, schwarz bemalt; Höhe 6 cm, Durchmesser 18 cm (Grabung Alto de San Andrés).

Abb. 99 Keramikbruchstück aus der Grabkammer Nr. 28 des Filo de El Aguacate; Rot-schwarze Bemalung mit später angebrachter Dekoration in Form von mit weißer Paste ausgefüllten Punkten.

Abb. 100 Doppelausgußgefäß mit Bügelhenkel; ockerfarbiger, hartgebrannter Ton, rot bemalt; Höhe 17 cm, Durchmesser 14 cm (Grabung Alto de San Andrés.)

Abb. 101 Kugeltopf mit nach außen gebogener Mündung und zwei Henkelösen; Roter, hartgebrannter Ton, Spuren roter Bemalung, sowie Gebrauchsspuren in Form von Ruß; Höhe 11,5 cm, Durchmesser 12,5 cm (Grabung Alto de San Andrés).

Abb. 102 Kugeltopf mit nach außen gewölbter Gefäßmündung; brauner Ton; Höhe 9,5 cm, Durchmesser 12,5 cm (Grabung Alto de San Andrés).

TAFEL LXVII

Abb. 103 Knochenurne mit halbkugelförmigem Unterteil, grauer, stark mit Sand vermischter Ton, graue Bemalung; Vertikalriefen auf der Außenseite des Gefäßkörpers; Höhe 15 cm, Durchmesser 22 cm (Grabkammer Nr. 11 Segovia).

Abb. 104 Glockenförmige Knochenurne; ockerfarbiger Ton, unbemalt, an der Unterseite Rußspuren; Höhe 21 cm, Durchmesser 21 cm (Grabkammer Nr. 10, Segovia).

Abb. 105 Kugelförmige Knochenurne mit konkavem Hals; ockerfarbiger Ton; graue Bemalung; Vertikalriefen von der Schulter bis zur Gefäßunterseite; Höhe 13 cm, Durchmesser 10,5 cm (Grabkammer Nr. 32, Segovia).

Abb. 106 Knochenurne mit gezackter Gefäßmündung. Ockerfarbiger Ton, an der Unterseite Rußspuren; Höhe 19 cm, Durchmesser 19 cm (Grabkammer Nr. 11, Segovia).

Abb. 107 Knochenurne in Form einer flachen Schale ohne Standfläche; ockerfarbiger Ton, graue Bemalung; Höhe 10 cm, Durchmesser 31 cm (Grabkammer Nr. 11. Segovia).

TAFEL LXVIII

Abb. 108 Knochenurne mit halbkugelförmigem Unterteil und fast zylindrischem Oberteil. Mündung leicht nach außen gebogen. Ockerfarbiger Ton, innen rot bemalt, außen schwarze Negativmalerei mit dreieckförmigen Mustern auf rotem Grund. Im Boden ein kreisrundes Loch wie bei Abb. 109. Gesamthöhe 35 cm, Durchmesser 45 cm. (Grabkammer Nr. 11, Segovia).

I: Nachtigall SC15 Paez

[End plate]

Abb. 109 Knochenurne der gleichen Art und mit ähnlicher Dekoration wie Abb. 110. Auf der Gefäßunterseite ein kreisrundes Loch von 3 cm Durchmesser; Gesamthöhe der Urne 36 cm, Durchmesser 32 cm. (Grabkammer Nr. 11, Segovia).

Abb. 110 Knochenurne; Halbkugeliger Gefäßkörper mit konkavem Hals, beide durch einen horizontalen Wulstring getrennt; ockerfarbiger Ton, mit innerer und äußerer Bemalung. Auf der Außenseite Dekoration durch spiralförmige Punktreihen, die mit weißer Paste ausgefüllt sind; Höhe 45 cm, Durchmesser 37 cm (Grabkammer Nr. 11, Segovia).

Abb. 111 Knochenurne mit halbkugelförmigem Unterteil und konkavem Oberteil. Ockerfarbiger Ton, graue, zum Teil abgeplatzte Bemalung. Dekoration am Hals durch acht parallele Reihen mit weißer Paste ausgelegter Punktlinien. Höhe 38 cm, Durchmesser 33,5 cm. (Grabkammer Nr. 11, Segovia).

TAFEL LXIX

Abb. 112 Knochenurne mit Relief-Schlangen (restauriert). Roter Ton, rote Bemalung. Vertiefungen mit weißer Paste ausgefüllt. Höhe 30 cm, größter Durchmesser 25 cm. Museo Nacionál Bogotá, Nr. 46-XIII-6509.

Abb. 113 Knochenurne mit halbkugelförmigem Unterteil und konkavem Oberteil. Die Mündungsweite entspricht dem größten Durchmesser des Gefäßkörpers. Rote Bemalung innen und außen. Dekoration durch mäanderförmige, mit weißer Paste ausgefüllte Punktreihen auf rotem Grund. Höhe 45 cm, Durchmesser 43 cm. (Grabkammer Nr. 10, Segovia).

TAFEL LXX

Abb. 114 Bruchstücke eines Gefäßhalses mit Reliefdekoration. Sehr flach gestaltete menschliche Gesichter überragen den Gefäßrand und laufen in Vertikalwülsten aus, die untereinander durch gleiche Wülste verbunden sind. Auf ockerfarbigem Ton finden sich Reste schwarzer Bemalung. Die Reliefs sind durch mit weißer Paste ausgefüllte Punktreihen verziert. Gesamthöhe 25 cm. Archäologisches Museum der Universität Popayan Nr. 42-1-4.

Abb. 115 Bruchstück eines Gefäßrandes mit einem die Mündung überragenden menschlichen Gesicht. Von diesem laufen zwei Wülste, ähnlich Zöpfen, nach außen-abwärts. In dem sehr flach gestalteten Gesicht sind die Augen durch Kreise, die Pupillen durch Punkte dargestellt. Durch zwei gleiche, mit weißer Paste ausgefüllte Punkte sind die Nasenlöcher angedeutet. Über die Stirn laufen zwei waagrechte Linien. Ohren fehlen. Gesamthöhe 12,5 cm. Archäologisches Museum des Parkes von Tierradentro.

Abb. 116 Menschliche Relieffigur mit gewinkelt erhobenen Armen auf dem Bruchstück eines Gefäßrandes. Gesamtbreite 11 cm, Gesamthöhe 5 cm. Archäologisches Museum des Parkes von Tierradentro.

Abb. 117 Bruchstücke eines Gefäßrandes mit der Relieffigur eines Menschen (?). Höhe 14,5 cm, Breite 10 cm. Archäologisches Museum des Parkes von Tierradentro.

TAFEL LXXI

Abb. 118 und 121 Vorder- und Rückseite einer januskopfartigen Darstellung als Verzierung eines Gefäßrandes. Unterhalb des nach außen gerichteten Gesichtes ist die rohe Andeutung (durch Augen und Nase) eines zweiten Gesichtes

CXVIII [End plate]

erkennbar. Spuren roter Bemalung neben kreisförmigen, mit weißer Paste ausgefüllten Vertiefungen. Gesamthöhe des Bruchstückes 19 cm. Privatsammlung des Herrn Ricaurte Hurtado, Inzá.

Abb. 119 Gefäßhenkel mit zwei übereinander modellierten menschlichen Gesichtern. Gesamthöhe 21 cm. Privatsammlung des Herrn Ricaurte Hurtado, Inzá.

Abb. 120 Menschliche Figur aus braunem bis grauem Ton als Bruchstück einer Gefäßverzierung. Arme, Beine und linkes Ohr sind weggebrochen, das rechte Ohr ist in Form einer Öse gestaltet. Augen und Mund sind durch mit weißer Paste ausgelegte Vertiefungen gebildet. Drei ringförmige Vertiefungen bilden einen Brustschmuck. Höhe 13 cm. Archäologisches Museum des Parkes von Tierradentro.

TAFEL LXXII

Abb. 122 und 123 Menschlicher dreieckförmiger Kopf mit sehr flachem Gesicht und hakenförmig vorspringender Nase. Augen und Mund sind durch gleich große kreisförmige, mit weißer Paste ausgefüllte Vertiefungen dargestellt. Gleichartige Kreise finden sich als Ornamente an den Seiten des Kopfes. Stirn, Kinn und Wangen sind durch parallele Linien eingefaßt. Eine gleiche Linie läuft über den Nasenrücken. Höhe 9 cm, Breite 8,5 cm. Archäologisches Museum des Parkes von Tierradentro.

Abb. 124 und 125 Menschlicher Kopf mit sehr flach gestaltetem Gesicht. Augen und Mund sind durch kreisförmige Vertiefungen angedeutet, die Zunge hängt heraus. Die Ohren setzen henkelförmig an und haben kreisförmigen bzw. halbmondförmigen Gehörgang. Die Umrisse des Gesichtes werden durch geradlinige Einschnitte abgegrenzt, außerhalb deren der Kopf mit punktförmigen Vertiefungen versehen ist. Alle Vertiefungen sind mit weißer Paste ausgefüllt. Höhe 9,5 cm, Breite 10 cm. Archäologisches Museum des Parkes von Tierradentro.

TAFEL LXXIII

Abb. 126 Dreieckförmiges menschliches Gesicht mit geöffnetem Mund. Bruchstück eines Gefäßrandes. In Höhe der Schläfen zwei kreisförmige Ornamente als Andeutungen von Ohrpflöcken. Gesamthöhe 16 cm, Gesamtbreite 18,5 cm. Archäologisches Museum der Universität Popayan.

Abb. 127 Menschliches Gesicht mit der Darstellung von zwei zylindrischen, horizontal durch die Ohren gesteckten Pflöcken. Diese sind auf der Vorderseite mit sieben Vertiefungen versehen. Um die Mitte der Pflöcke spannen sich die Ränder der Ohren. Über die Stirn laufen zwei horizontale, über die Wangen je zwei vertikale Linien. Die Augen sind durch kreisförmige Vertiefungen dargestellt. Gleichartige Kreise bilden die Dekoration des Halses. Der Kehlkopf steht kropfartig hervor. Gesamtbreite 12 cm. Archäologisches Museum des Parkes von Tierradentro.

Abb. 128 Menschlicher Kopf. Durch die Ohren sind vertikal zwei große, zylinderförmige Pflöcke gesteckt. Dekoration durch mit weißer Paste ausgefüllte Punkte auf Stirn und Oberteilen der Ohrpflöcke. Höhe 5 cm, Breite 8 cm. Archäologisches Museum der Universität Popayan Nr. 42-2-15.

1: Nachtigall SC15 Paez

[End plate]

Abb. 129 Menschliches Reliefgesicht, von dem zwei Wülste ausgehen, Bruchstück eines Gefäßrandes. Dekoration der Wangen durch zwei parallele Einschnitte, der Wülste durch punktförmige Vertiefungen. Höhe des Bruchstückes 8 cm, Breite 13 cm. Archäologisches Museum der Universität Popayan Nr. 42-1-17.

Abb. 130 Menschlicher Kopf mit niedriger Stirn und stark vorspringender Nase. Innen hohl. Von den Augen läuft je eine punktierte Linie zum Mund. Höhe 9,5 cm, Breite 7,5 cm. Archäologisches Museum des Parkes von Tierradentro.

Abb. 131 Tonmaske mit geöffnetem Mund und kreisrunden, hervorstehenden Augen; auf den Wangen tiefe Querrippen, die eine Narbentatauierung darstellen, Höhe 10,5 cm, Museo Nacionál Bogotá.

TAFEL LXXIV

Abb. 132 Kugeltopf mit wulstförmigem Hals und zwei Henkelösen an der Gefäßmündung. Schwarz poliert. Dekoration durch mit weißer Paste ausgefüllte Parallellinien mit zwei dazwischenliegenden Reihen von Dreiecken. Höhe 13 cm, Durchmesser 18,7 cm. Museo Nacionál Bogotá. Nr. 42—I-2852.

Abb. 133 Glockenförmiger Topf, schwarz poliert und mit von der Mündung bis zum Gefäßboden laufenden diagonalen Einschnitten versehen. Höhe 14,5 cm, Mündungsdurchmesser 13 cm. Museo Nacionál Bogotá, Nr. 39-I-1552.

Abb. 134 Halbkugelförmige Schale mit kurzer, nach außen gebogener Mündung. Roter Ton, innen und außen schwarz bemalt. Verzierung auf dem Gefäßkörper durch dreieckförmige Einritzungen, auf der Mündung durch gestempelte Kreise.

Abb. 135 Kugeltopf mit stark eingezogenem Hals und wulstförmiger, nach außen gebogener Mündung. Auf der Schulter eingeritzte und mit weißer Paste ausgefüllte parallele Linien, dazwischen dreieckförmige Strichritzungen. Höhe 12,5 cm, Breite 16,5 cm. Museo Nacionál Bogotá, Nr. 38-I-1560.

TAFEL LXXV

Abb. 136 Fußschale mit nach außen gebogener Gefäßmündung. Hohler Fuß. Roter Ton mit roter Bemalung. Höhe 11 cm, größte Breite 14 cm. Museo Nacionál Bogotá, Nr. 42-I-2885.

Abb. 137 Fußschale mit nach innen gebogener Gefäßmündung. Brauner Ton, schwarz poliert. Auf dem oberen Rand Dekoration durch eine horizontale Linie und insgesamt fünf eingeritzte Dreiecke. Höhe 10,5 cm, größte Breite 14,5 cm. Archäologisches Museum des Parkes von Tierradentro.

Abb. 138 Kugelfläschchen mit hohem Hals. Roter Ton, teilweise schwarze Bemalung. Höhe 6,5 cm, Breite 5,5 cm. Archäologisches Museum des Parkes von Tierradentro.

Abb. 139 Gefäß in Form einer Frucht. Roter Ton; ohne Politur. Höhe 11 cm, Breite 11 cm. Museo Nacionál Bogotá, Nr. 42-I-2856.

Abb. 140 Kleine Fußschale. Ockerfarbiger Ton. Höhe 5 cm, Breite 8 cm. Archäologisches Museum der Universität Popayan, Nr. 44-3-23.

Abb. 141 Kugelfläschchen. Poröser, ockerfarbiger Ton. Höhe 3,5 cm. Archäologisches Museum der Universität Popayan, Nr. 44-3-31.

 [End plate]

TAFEL LXXVI

Abb. 142 Weibliche Figur aus einem Schachtgrab von Belalcazar. (Reproduktion nach einer Fotografie im Besitze des Ausgräbers, Herrn F. A. Pardo, Belalcazar).

Abb. 143 Goldschmuck und goldener Nasenring. (Reproduktion nach einer Fotografie im Besitze des Ausgräbers, Herrn Marcos Narváez, San Andrés).

Abb. 144 Keramikbruchstück eines menschlichen Gesichtes mit Nasenring. Höhe 6,5 cm. Archäologisches Museum des Parkes von Tierradentro.

Abb. 145 Goldmaske aus Inzá. Dargestellt ist ein Gesicht mit tierischer Schnauze und zwei Paar Reißzähnen. Die Augen sind nicht durchbohrt. Breite 14,3 cm, Gewicht 49 g. (Reproduktion nach Farbtafel in der »Revista de Indias« Nr. 6. Bogotá 1937).

TAFEL LXXVII

Abb. 146 Das Tal des Kokiyó mit der Ortschaft Calderas. Die Kahlfläche bildet das Gemeindeland, die bewachsenen Hänge sind Privateigentum.

Abb. 147 Calderas mit der Kirche und den Festhäusern.

TAFEL LXXVIII

Abb. 148 und 149 Junge Frauen.

TAFEL LXXIX

Abb. 150 und 151 Junge Männer.

TAFEL LXXX

Abb. 152 Mutter mit Kind. Die Kleidung wird mit Dornen zusammengehalten. Über der Schulter hängt das Tragband des Kokabeutels.

Abb. 153 Der Schamane Cerbeleón Niunda mit seiner Frau. Um den Hals hängt die Fasertasche mit den Heilkräutern.

TAFEL LXXXI

Abb. 154 Ein Mann aus Santa Rosa vor seinem Haus. Im Hintergrund eine aus einem Bambus geschnittene Leiter.

Abb. 155 Unser Dolmetscher Victoriano Piñakué in kolumbianischer Kleidung.

TAFEL LXXXII

Abb. 156 Sein Haus pflegt der Paez auf eigenem Grund und Boden inmitten seiner Felder anzulegen, teilweise nur für eine Ernteperiode. Das gebaute Feld wird durch einen Zaun umschlossen.

TAFEL LXXXIII

Abb. 157 Ein Wohnhaus inmitten eines neugerodeten Feldes. Der kleine Anbau links dient als Aufbewahrungsraum für die Chicha.

Abb. 158 Eine für eine Ernteperiode erbaute rechteckige Feldhütte. Die Wände sind aus Maisstengeln gebildet, das Dach ist mit Zuckerrohrblättern gedeckt.

[End plate]

TAFEL LXXXIV

Abb. 159 Walmdachhaus, dessen Dach mit Zuckerrohrblättern ausgebessert wird. Vor dem Haus die Zuckerrohrmühle, über die die ausgepreßten Röhre zum Trocknen gehängt sind. Links als Anbau das Menstruationshäuschen. Hinter dem Haus Gemüsebananen.

Abb. 160 Gerüst eines Wohnhauses aus Bambus.

TAFEL LXXXV

Abb. 161 Gerüst eines Wohnhauses.

Abb. 162 Wohnhaus der zivilisierten Paez im Bau. Die Wände werden, in pfostenstärke mit Erde ausgefüllt.

Abb. 163 und 164 Konstruktionseinzelheiten eines Paezhauses.

TAFEL LXXXVI

Abb. 165 Hausanbau mit dem Chichatrog. Vor dem Leib des Mannes hängt der bunt gemusterte Kokabeutel. Verheiratete Frauen tragen die Haare zu einem Zopf geflochten.

Abb. 166 Inneres eines Paez-Hauses. Tische, Bänke und Betten fehlen. Des nachts schläft man um den aus drei Feldsteinen gebildeten Herd auf dem Boden.

TAFEL LXXXVII

Abb. 167 Hausgarten der Paez mit Bananen, Zuckerrohr und Yuca.

Abb. 168 Maisfeld mit Zaun. Ein gekerbter Baumstamm diens als Leiter.

TAFEL LXXXVIII

Abb. 169 Zum Brand vorbereitetes Feldstück. Die Baumbewachsung ist in Hüfthöhe abgeschlagen worden.

Abb. 170 Gemarkung mit den schwarzen Flächen der durch Brand zur Aussaat vorbereiteten Felder.

TAFEL LXXXIX

Abb. 171 Paez beim Verbrennen der gefällten Bäume. Die Asche dient als Düngung.

Abb. 172 Männer beim Setzen der Zuckerrohrschößlinge mit dem Grabstock.

TAFEL XC

Abb. 173 Paez mit einer Last Zuckerrohr. Vor dem Leib hängt der Kokabeutel. Die Muskulatur der Männer ist durchweg gering.

Abb. 174 Ernte der Kokablätter.

TAFEL XCI

Abb. 175 Zuckerrohrmühle im Betrieb. Sie wird von Menschen oder von einem Pferd angetrieben. Die Zuckerrohre werden mehrmals durch die Quetschwalzen geführt, bis aller Saft ausgepreßt ist.

Abb. 176 Destillationsapparat, mit dem aus Chicha Branntwein gebrannt wird.

TAFEL XCII

Abb. 177 und 178 Frau beim Entfleischen der Agaveblätter mittels eines scharfkantigen halben Bambusrohres.

CXXII [End plate]

TAFEL XCIII

Abb. 179 Alte Frau beim Spinnen mit der Fallspindel. Der Kokasaft rinnt ihr aus dem Mund und wird teils mit dem Handrücken abgewischt, teils tropft er auf die Kleider.

Abb. 180 Frau beim Zwirnen des gesponnenen Wollfadens.

TAFEL XCIV

Abb. 181 Weberin bei der Herstellung der Wollstoffe.

Abb. 182 Webvorgang bei der Herstellung der Tragbänder für die Fasertaschen.

TAFEL XCV

Abb. 183 Frau beim Herstellen der Fasertaschen. Der Fadenvorrat muß durch jede einzelne Schlinge der Tasche geführt werden.

Abb. 184 Töpfer beim Verstreichen des Topfes. Um ihn besser drehen zu können, hat er ihn auf eine flache Tonschale gesetzt.

TAFEL XCVI

Abb. 185 Töpfer beim Ausrollen einer «Tonwurst». Die Herstellung der Töpfe geschieht in der Spiralwulsttechnik.

Abb. 186 Typen der Paezkeramik. Es sind Kugeltöpfe und flache Schalen ohne Standfläche. Der große Topf dient zur Chichabereitung, die beiden kleineren zum Kochen, die Schale zum Rösten der Kokablätter.

TAFEL XCVII

Abb. 187 Weberin bei der Herstellung der bunten Frauengürtel. Die vielen Querstäbe dienen zum Spannen der Kettfäden.

Abb. 188 Beim Weben der Zierkette. Über dem Schwert ist ein Trennstab sichtbar, der die zur Musterbildung z. Zt. nicht benötigten roten Kettfäden hochhält.

Abb. 189 und 190 Muster der bunten Frauengürtel.

TAFEL XCVIII

Abb. 191 Hängebrücke aus Bambus über den Rio Paez bei Avirama.

Abb. 192 Hängebrücke aus Bambus bei Belalcazar.

Abb. 193 Uferverankerung der Hängebrücke von Belalcazar.

Abb. 194 Balkenbrücke über den Rio Kokiyó bei Calderas, zur Zeit der Konstruktion.

TAFEL IC

Abb. 195 Balkenbrücke über den Rio Kokiyó bei Calderas mit dem für derartige Brücken charakteristischen Schutzdach.

Abb. 196 Laufsteg der Bambushängebrücke von Belalcazar.

TAFEL C

Abb. 197 Die größeren Schwestern versorgen in selbstverständlicher Weise ihre kleineren Geschwister und üben sich von Jugend an in den Pflichten einer Frau.

Abb. 198 Zu den Aufgaben der Frau gehört die Herstellung der Kleidungsstücke für die Familie und die Hausarbeit, einschließlich des Herbeischaffens des Brennholzes. Während die Männer schwere Lasten auf der Schulter tragen, benützen Frauen das Stirnband.

1: Nachtigall SC15 Paez

[End plate]

TAFEL CI

Abb. 199 Die Schamanin Felisa Ipia mit ihrem Schamanenstab und dem nyika-Rohr. In den an ihrem Stab befestigten Wollfäden hat sie die Seelen aller Bewohner von Santa Rosa gesammelt. Mit dem Schilfrohr zerreißt sie einer Seele die Kleidungsstücke, wenn diese einen Sterbenden verlassen will. Sie muß daraufhin in ihren Körper zurückkehren und der Mensch braucht nicht zu sterben.

Abb. 200 Giebelpfosten einer Jagdhütte mit der Schädeltrophäe eines erlegten Affen. Die am Giebelpfosten aufgehängten Schädel der Beutetiere, wie auch die Schwingenfedern der erlegten Vögel, sollen weiterhin guten Jagderfolg gewährleisten. Unter dem Trophäenschädel die eingeschnittene Figur eines Geistes neben dem christlichen Kreuz.

TAFEL CII

Abb. 201 Frau beim Mahlen des Maises mit dem Handmahlstein.

Abb. 202 Calderuner Musikgruppe. Die Instrumente sind Querflöte, Pauke, Trommel, Tamburin und Triangel.

TAFEL CIII

Abb. 203 Der Flötenbauer Vicente Puche markiert mit dem Machete die Lage der Grifflöcher auf einer neu herzustellenden Flöte. Mit dem glühend gemachten Eisenrohr unter seinem Arm werden die Löcher eingebrannt.

Abb. 204 Begräbnis eines an Keuchhusten gestorbenen Kindes in Togoima. Es wurde in einem Tragstühlchen zum Bestattungsplatz gebracht. Während der Beerdigung spielt die Musik.

TAFEL CIV

Abb. 205 Aufbahrung des von seinem Sohn erstochenen Capitan von San Andrés.

Abb. 206 Das Grab des Capitan. Anstelle des früher üblichen seitlichen Nischengrabes wurde hier eine besondere Vertiefung in den Boden der Grube gegraben und diese mit Bambus fest abgedeckt. Für den Kopf wurde eine zusätzliche Nische an der Schmalseite der Grube ausgetieft.

Abb. 207 Ein Nischengrab, das für ein Kind ausgehoben wurde.

TAFEL CV

Abb. 208 und 209 Rituelle Reinigung nach einem Begräbnis. Die Angehörigen des Verstorbenen waschen zuerst die Kleidungsstücke und werden dann selbst gewaschen.

TAFEL CVI

Abb. 210 und 211 Der Schamane Martin Chucue zieht mit seinen Kräutern die sich im Körper befindliche «Pest» nach oben und saugt sie an der Stelle der Fontanelle ab.

TAFEL CVII

Abb. 212 Der Schamane speit die «Pest» in ein Loch, schüttet Branntwein darüber und sticht mit seinem Schamanenstab hinterher.

Abb. 213 Mit Stab und Liane kämpft der Schamane gegen die Geister.

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ETHNOGRAPHIC AND LINGUISTIC NOTES ON THE PAEZ INDIANS OF TIERRA ADENTRO, CAUCA, COLOMBIA

BY

HENRY PITTIER DE FÁBREGA

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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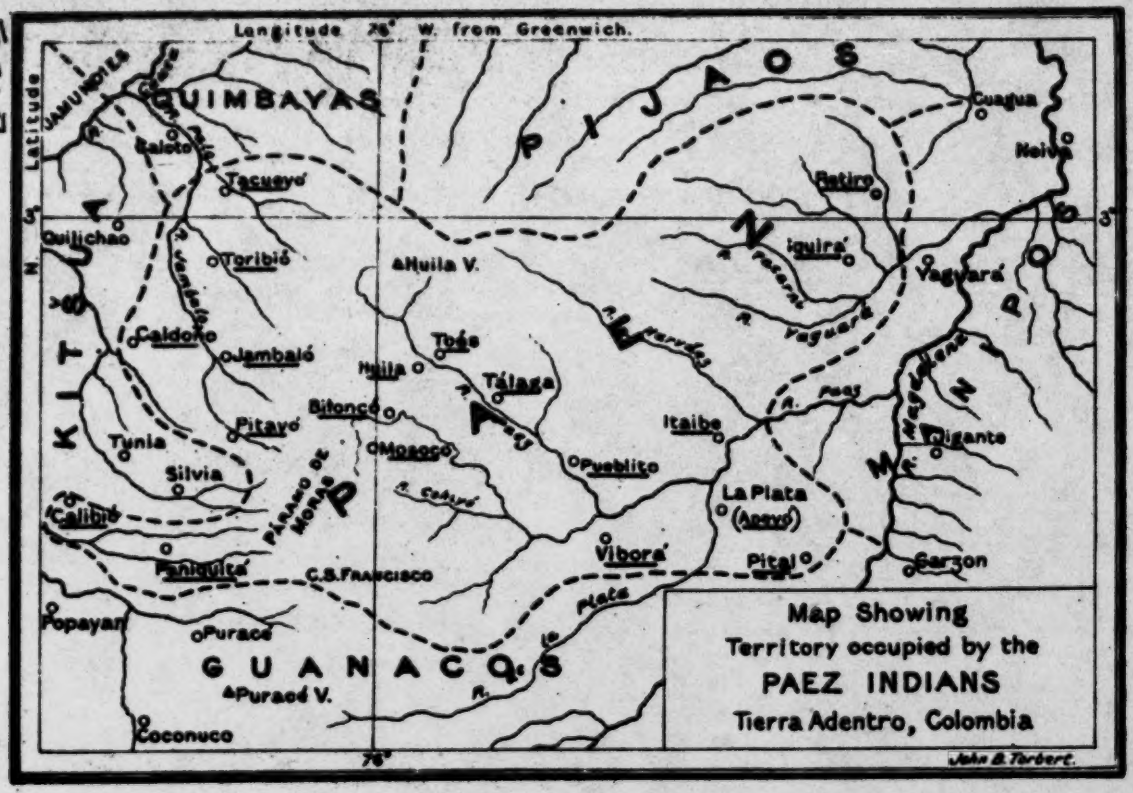

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ETHNOGRAPHIC AND LINGUISTIC NOTES ON THE PAEZ INDIANS OF TIERRA ADENTRO, CAUCA, COLOMBIA

By H. PITTIER DE FÁBREGA

Introduction

Very little is known of the ethnology of the aboriginal inhabitants of the western and central cordilleras of Colombia and the intervening broad valley of Cauca. The early historians and chroniclers have left only long lists of more or less confused tribal names, along with the recital of the protracted war of extermination conducted with conscienceless and selfish cruelty by the conquistadores. With few exceptions modern writers have found little or no opportunity to deal with what is left of these interesting people. 121

With special reference to the Paez Indians, who are the subject of these notes, our notions have hitherto been derived almost exclusively from the materials collected by Castillo y Orozco about 1735, and published in 1877 with brief analytical notes by the late Colombian scholar, Señor Don Ezequiel Uricoechea.[1] 127

Early in 1906 the writer visited the section of the central cordillera inhabited by the Paez, staying a few days at two of their principal villages, namely, at Tacueyó, at the headwaters of the Palo river on the western side of the mountains, and at Huila, at the junction of the Paez and San Vicente rivers, on the Indian reservation known as Tierra Adentro. The personnel of the expedition, in addition to the author, with a few friends and two servants, consisted of native Indians, so that good opportunities were afforded for becoming familiar with the Paez language and to gain an insight into native manners and customs. 114 [361]

[1] Eujenio del Castillo i Orozco, *Vocabulario Páez-Castellano, Catecismo, Nociones gramaticales i dos Pláticas*, (publicado) *con Adiciones, Correcciones i un Vocabulario Castellano-Páez*, por Ezequiel Uricoechea. Paris: 1877.

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121 The present object is not in any way to contribute an exhaustive monograph on the Paez, but simply to give a summary of our former knowledge of them, together with the chief results of the personal information collected during the visit referred to.

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

Former Occupants. "Planos de Indios." Huacas

101 174 In addition to the still existing tribes, traces of the former occupancy of the Cauca valley and the adjacent mountains by a dense Indian population are found at every step. The names of extinct groups, like the Hilamas, Ocaches, Jamundies, and others, impressed on the minds of the former Spanish inhabitants by reason of some of their more gruesome customs, have come down to the present generation, although the tribes, as such, have disappeared. Of the Hilamas and Ocaches it is said they were cannibals. At present their more or less mixed descendants still live in the villages of Las Pavas and Vijes, near Cali; the "Paveños" have become inveterate legal fighters, keeping their judges and alcaldes constantly occupied; while the "Vijeños," on the other hand, are now so peaceful that the court-house is known to have been closed for eighteen months at a time. [192 181 162]

101 114 Of the Jamundies I was told that they were indefatigable warriors, having fought the Spanish invaders to the last of their strength. Their name is perpetuated in that of the little town of Jamundi, near which I visited the very interesting vale of Agua Sucia, which may have been one of their principal strongholds, as well as a rich gold-washing place. The hills were and still are partly covered with graves, or *huacas*, and these have been found so abundant in gold objects as to have induced enterprising miners, or *huaqueros*, to conduct a stream of water from a long distance in order to completely wash the slopes. [103] [135] 172 I do not attempt to mention the fabulous riches that are said to have been extracted from this place and from several other no less rich discoveries. An immense amount of pottery, often highly ornamented, together with grinding-stones, hatchets,

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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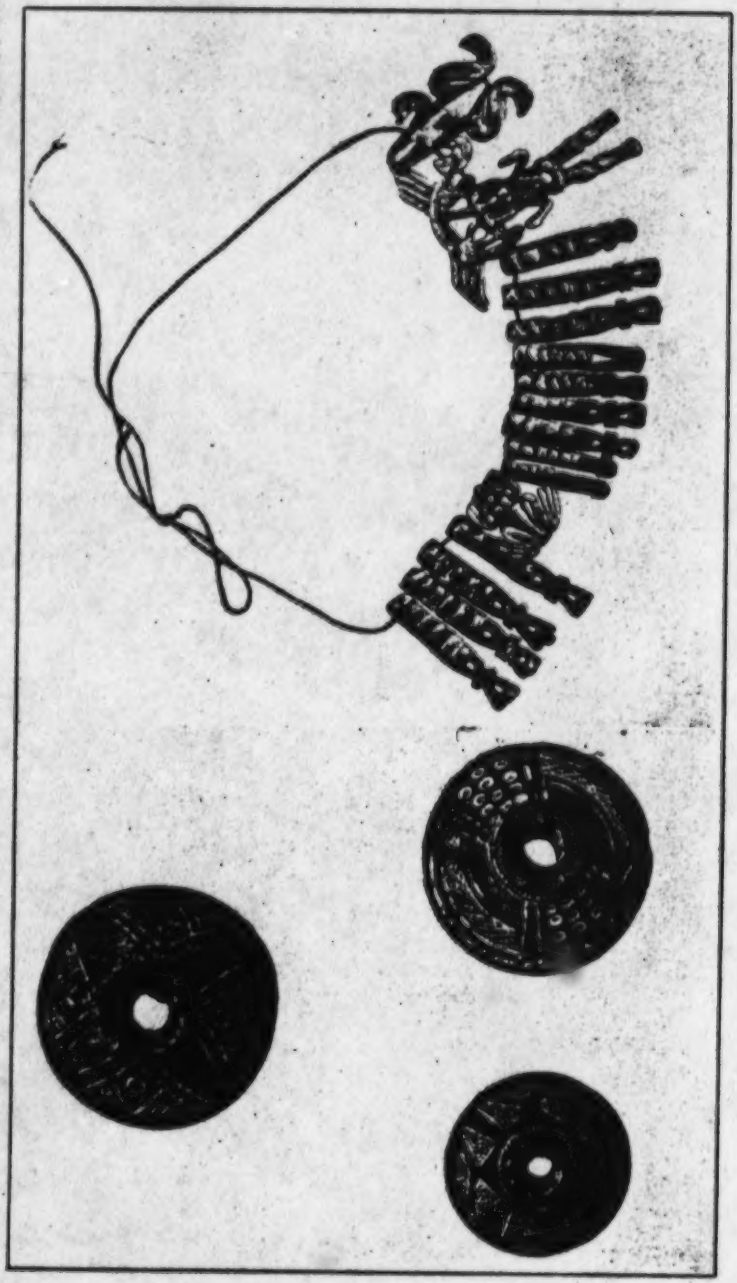

GOLD OBJECTS

172
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SPINDLE WHORLS

[facing P.307]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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emeralds, and other objects, were ruthlessly destroyed or scattered about, without consideration for their archeological or even for their intrinsic value. Among the pieces of pottery more commonly found are the small elegantly designed disks, or spindle-whorls, of which I procured several specimens for the United States National Museum (plate II, 1). I obtained also a minutely wrought spider, and one of the gold fish-hooks that are often met with on sand beaches along the streams. 172

The principal Jamundi relic of Agua Sucia, and which is not likely to be displaced for some time, is the so-called "Piedra de los Sacrificios," an immense block of old eruptive stone, covered with pictographs (plate III, 1). The miners and peasants living in the district believe that a definite meaning is attached to these rude drawings, and possibly some speculative archeologist will see in them more or less mystic symbolism that my lesser imagination fails to discover; for I think we must be contented with regarding them simply as the product of representative art in its infancy. A few of the glyphs are reproduced here, some giving an idea of the geometric notions of the draftsmen, while the others are rudiments of the art of designing (plate II, 1, and figures 1, 2). 172 212 [531]

On the way to Tacueyó I became acquainted for the first time with a so-called "plano de Indio," such as are found at short intervals on the mountain ridges of the entire Cauca region. While pursuing our way on the top of a very narrow spur, we suddenly found that the crest was cut across by a very deep ditch that showed every evidence of having been the work of man. Beyond this ditch the top of the hill had very probably been artificially leveled off so as to form a plane surface of about 15 meters in width and 20 meters in length. At the end of this esplanade the hill is cut by another ditch, identical with the first. The distance between the two ditches is very much greater than the length of the esplanade, amounting to more than 100 meters. 172

According to all indications, the level space was the site of an Indian house, and that part of the hill between the ditches is generally found to be full of graves, those on the house site 172 361

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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1. PIEDRA DE LOS SACRIFICIOS (TAMUNDÉ)
2. CUT HILL NEAR TACUEYÓ

[facing P. 308]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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172 containing, as a rule, gold objects and pieces of superior pottery.
361 We observed many of these "planos de Indios" on the road between Corinto and Tacueyó, their situation corresponding ex-

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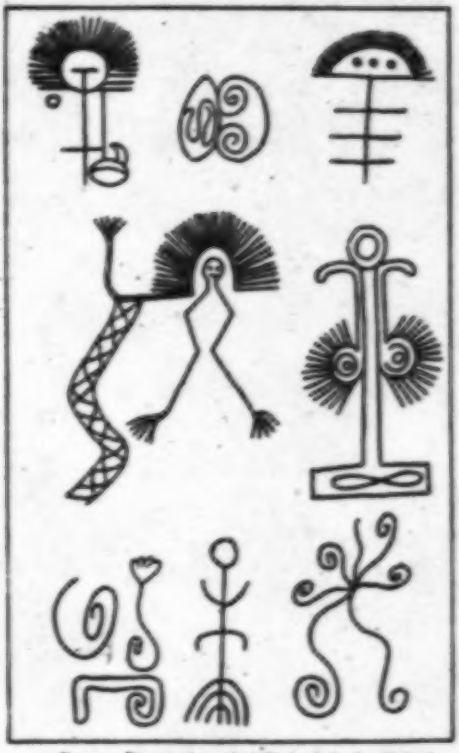

FIG. 1. — Pictographs on the "Piedra de los Sacrificios."

172 actly with what we know of the present habits of isolation of
361 the Paez Indians. The number of graves at each site does not however seem to agree with the former custom of these Indians
[844 of abandoning a house as soon as a birth or a death had taken
768] place in it.

As a very good example of the altitude at which the former

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

inhabitants of these valleys established their residences, I may 172
mention that the highest "plano" on the cordillera was found 361
at about 3,300 meters at El Alto de las Cruces, one of the spurs
of the Páramo de Buena Vista, the limit of the forest being here

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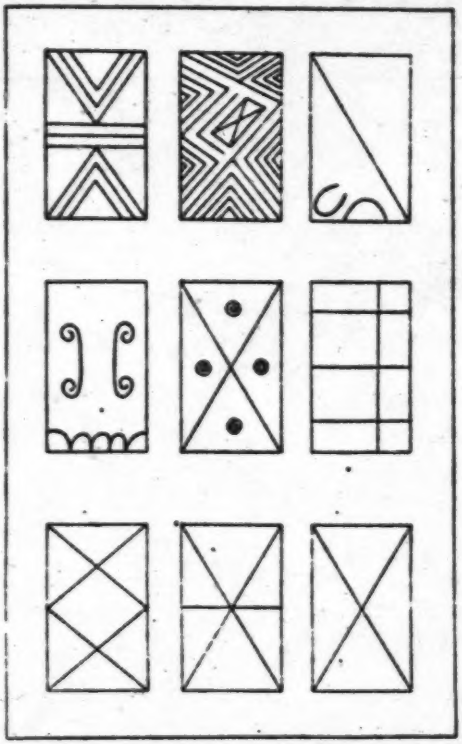

FIG. 2.—Geometrical figures on the "Piedra de los Sacrificios."

at about 3,600 meters. The greatest altitude of the abodes of 172
the present Indians scarcely exceeds 2,600 meters. 361

While on this subject I shall mention an explanation of the 173
"planos" as it was given by one of our Indians. "In old days," 202
205

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

173 he said, "the caciques or chieftains, had their messages trans-
202 mitted from valley to valley by means of runners who were
205 stationed at short intervals along the main roads. Each runner kept himself in readiness to start on the arrival of a message, thus insuring rapid transmission." As the "planos" and also the old trails are found on almost every ridge, it is difficult enough to judge of the value of this explanation; but, if I am not mistaken, such a system of communication existed without doubt at a short distance southward among the Incas of Ecuador and Peru, and perhaps extended into the Cauca valley.

172 On our return from Huila, while traveling between Toribió and Tacueyó, I noticed on the left an isolated hill with a part of its ridge separated from the rest by a deep cross-cut, evidently artificial. The top of the separated part looked in the distance as if also isolated by a ditch. My friend, Mr Emile Bizot, a mining engineer of wide experience in these parts, informs me that this is a common feature of the hilly district formerly inhabited by the natives, and that the enclosed surface always contains numerous graves (plate III, 2).

172 The high peaks of the most rugged districts of Tierra
532 Adentro are often crowned by isolated *huacas*, which are especially sought by treasure-hunters. At Tacueyó we had the opportunity of admiring a set of gold objects found in such graves and of which we made the photograph reproduced in plate II, 2. The frogs are of a type quite distinct from those with which I became familiar in Costa Rica. The representative of a human being recalls certain Chibchan idols, or, according to Mr W. E. Safford, Kitšua amulets. As to the thirteen remaining pieces of gold, quite thin and almost uniform in shape, they are perfectly new to me.

Former and Present Distribution

131 According to Father Ródriguez[1] the Paez, or Paós, Indians
114 lived on the summit and slopes of the *Cordillera de Guanacas*,
133 "sierra muy fria que llaman el Páramo de las Papas," a defini-

[1] P. Manuel Rodriguez, *El Marañon y Amazonas. Historia de los descubrimientos, entradas y reducciones de Naciones*, Madrid, 1684.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

tion which would correspond pretty well with the explanation given by subsequent authors, except for its last, untranslated member, which seems to imply a lack of geographical knowledge on the part of Father Rodriguez. According to modern maps, indeed, the term "Alto", or "Cordillera", de Guanacas, seems to apply only to the group or node of mountains north of the Coconucos and Puracé volcanoes, and south of the towering Huila. This includes the "Páramo de Moras," which we crossed on our return from Tierra Adentro, but not the *Páramo de las Papas*, which is situated south of the Puracé, at the headwaters of the Cauca, Caquetá, and Magdalena rivers. 131 114 133

If we admit, then, that in Father Rodriguez's description the name Páramo de las Papas is merely a lapsus for Páramo de Moras, the area given by him corresponds pretty well with that which is recognized as such by Uricoechea in his introduction to Castillo's work, excepting that the latter extends this area northward to include the upper Yaguará basin. According to Castillo, this last was probably inhabited by another *parcialidad*, which he calls Bemb, "indios infieles de nación pijaos." At Huila, when pointing northward to the valleys on the eastern slope of the volcano and asking who lived there, the Indians answered, "Los Pijaos", and among the Spanish people it is generally understood that the Paez and the Pijaos are one and the same. This is also the opinion of Reclus,[1] who says: "Among the various tribes that wandered through the thick forests of this [eastern] slope of the [central] Cordillera, the most barbarous were the *Pijaos* or *Paez*, who selected innocent victims to offer to their divinities. The enemy killed in a fight could be only indifferent to the gods; but a woman, a child, an inoffensive stranger, the pure ones, were welcome to the bloodthirsty genii." And these monstrous sacrifices must be repeated at short intervals to insure the permanent good-will of the gods. 131 114 101 [782 727]

The area given on the accompanying map (plate I)[1] corresponds with the above-mentioned description by Rodriguez, 101 103

[1] Reclus, *Géographie universelle*, XVIII, p. 305.

[1] [See P 304 – Analyst]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

101 only it might be necessary to modify it slightly if we were able
103 to localize all of the thirty-four villages or hamlets reputed to be of Paez stock and included in the following systematic list:

1. *Paez Basin*

As-at	Inzá	Suín
Chinas	Líme	Tálaga
Chitoco	Mosoco	Toés
Cuetandó	Nátaga	Vitoncó
El Pital	San Andrés de la Plata	Yaquirá
El Naranjal	San José	

2. *Palo Basin*

Jambaló	San Francisco	Toribío
Pitaió	Tacueyó	

3. *Orejas, Corre, and Pienlama Mountains*

Cajibio	Caldonió	Paniquitá

4. *Vagnará Basin*

El Retiro		Iquirá

5. *Locality Uncertain*

Abirama	Oayó	Ricaurte
Caldera	Pueblo Nuevo	Tobóima
La Troja	Pusó	

101 The principal neighbors of the Paez Indians, according to the above description of their territory, were to the north — the Quimbayas on the western slope of the central cordillera, and the Pijaos on the eastern slope. To their east were the Manipos, in the Magdalena valley; the Guanacos were on both watersheds of the central cordillera southward; and westward on the plains of the Cauca valley, the Kitšua and the Jamundies. The Kitšua were probably the most advanced in culture of all these different stocks, and the ones whose influence is more easily recognized
[177 in the customs and idiom of the Paez. Their language is also
191] the only one which has come down to us in its integrity.

101 There is no positive proof of the identity of the Paez and
174 Pijaos, and it is fair to state that there are many data pointing to the fact that originally they were merely neighbors, and allied against the Spaniards, as, for instance, in 1641, when they de-

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

stroyed the city of Caloto, then on the Magdalena river, according to Alcedo. But it is not unlikely that, later on, during their decline, the Pijaos, Paúa, and perhaps several other tribes became mixed, and those whom we now call *Paez* are the survivors in blood, customs, and traditions, of all these frequently named *parcialidades* or *naciones*. 101 174

Physical Characteristics

There is no special reference by former writers respecting the physical characteristics of these Indians, probably because of the apparent uniformity in type of all the tribes of tropical South America. According to my own very fleeting observations the Paez are small, broad-shouldered, with small bony hands, and feet broadened toward the extremities. Their skin is very dark, a character common to all Indians living at great altitudes. In the case of almost every adult, both male and female, coming under my observation, I observed a fine black pubescence covering all visible parts of the body. They appear to be generally strong and healthy, and their physical endurance is not below the average. On our trip across the cordillera each adult man carried at least thirty kilograms, and many of them more than fifty, and none complained of being too heavily laden, although the trail up to nearly 4,000 meters and down again was exceedingly rough and steep, requiring at times not only much exertion but equal presence of mind. 142 147

It is well to mention, after Uricoechea, that the Paeces are naturally inclined to warfare, and invariably join one side or the other in the unceasing Colombian revolutions. In early times they raided the Spanish establishments, the destruction of Caloto on two occasions (the first time in 1641) being still held by them in vivid remembrance as glorious feats of their ancestors. I was even assured that not long ago, during the last war, they were with difficulty prevented from making an incursion on the neighboring Cauca cattle ranches. 181 721

I was quite surprised to find among the Paez Indians a character that I had noticed previously in Central America, but of which no record could be found in current literature. I refer to 147

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147 the odor peculiar to the Indians, which becomes quite noticeable when they are sweating and which so closely resembles that of the secretion of the so-called *sahino*, or wild hog (*Dicotyles tajacu* L.), that I have more than once been deceived into believing that our trail crossed the path of a drove of these animals.

516 When at rest the Paez men almost invariably sit on their heels, the toes sustaining the whole weight of the body, while the women sit with their legs stretched together on the ground, [514] even when near the fire in their houses. In micturition young 481 girls remain standing. The gait of both men and women is short-paced and easy, the body being always slightly inclined forward, probably on account of the habit of carrying heavy loads.

824 Like all children of Nature, the Paez Indians are very keen 126 observers of their surroundings, as is shown by the minuteness of their differentiation in plants and in certain groups of insects. Castillo, for instance, gives the names of no fewer than six different varieties of ants —

[552]

kan-kik	*cĭi-kik-ne*	*oĭa-i*
kik-fants	*gnne-kandi*	*to-fiti*

and I collected very few plants for which they did not have a ready name.

Reproduction and Death

881 When a girl reached puberty the event was celebrated among the old Paez Indians by a special dance called *itsa-ko*, during which the young naked female was placed in a hole dug outside the hall-house and thoroughly washed with *chicha*. We have no 836 notice of pre-marital liberty being conceded to women, nor of the relation of children to parents in the family organization. As 595 tradition has it, the pre-conquest Paez were polygamous, and notwithstanding the efforts of the missionaries, it is almost certain that this practice has not completely disappeared. We know nothing about the existence of marriage ceremonies before 581 the introduction of the Catholic ritual. It is likely, however, [586] that marriages were endogamous and free, and, as such, a very frail institution, as Castillo informs us that even in his time

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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marriage bonds were not definitely made until experiment indicated the fecundity of the woman, and that the union was dissolved at the will of the husband if the wife proved to be barren. The same authority informs us that the wife had to give her husband the necessary clothing, while the husband provided food for the family. 581 [586] [585]

A custom mentioned by Castillo was that during menses the women spent the time sitting in small huts expressly built for that purpose, for fear of contaminating the common dwelling and of bringing disease and death to its occupants. 841

Rodriguez relates another custom in connection with childbirth and death: ". . . y siempre que pare la mujer, ó que muere alguno de su familia, desamparan la casa, dexando en ella al difunto con cantidad de bastimento y de la chicha, brebage, que beben: y á las casas donde parió la mujer, las dejan con las inmundicias de el parto, y acabadas de nacer las criatures, las laban, y se vañan sus madres, poniendose en viaje á buscar nuevo paraje para su habitacion, que siempre procuran sea en parte muy fragosa, por no ser visitados." 844

These details are confirmed by Castillo and were probably still observed in his time. As to what is done at present, and regarding the family organization in general, it is very difficult to obtain reliable information. The Indians are very jealous of their women, do not tolerate in them any intercourse with strangers, and become instantly distrustful when questioned about family matters. 152 593 609

With reference to death, Castillo differs from Rodriguez in that he states that a dying person was taken from the house, so that he did not actually die in it, and that the dwelling was destroyed by fire. He does not mention the custom of leaving food near the corpse, but states that the body was buried and a fence built around the grave. 768 763 764

Diseases

No diseases came under my observation during my stay at Huila and Tacueyó, and the Indians rather impressed me as being a healthy people. But if their vocabulary affords suffi- 164 [114]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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164 cient testimony, they have their share of physical ailments. Besides itch (*lel*), tumors of several kinds (*lol-sek*, tonsilitis; *koü*, tumor in the groin), they have original names for smallpox (*buzgné*), which I was told often rages among them, for diarrhœa (*u-tšilš*), dysentery (*mengné*), and intermittent or malarial fevers (*ya-ya-gné* in the ancient dialect, *kné-kné-né* in that spoken at the present day).

757 114 Of the practices and superstitions made use of in the cure of these diseases I could gain no information, but it is very probable that the Paez still have their own medicine-men.

Clothing. Personal Adornment

291 286 [231] At present the wool obtained from the numerous sheep kept by the Paez Indians plays the most important part in the clothing of both sexes. I cannot find any direct information on the fabrics used before the introduction of sheep by the Spaniards, [174 439] but it is most likely that the Paez obtained cotton from the Indians of the Cauca and Magdalena plains, the cultivation and the manufacture of which into thread must have formed one of the principal industries in the latter. I have already referred [172 174] to the great number of clay spindle-whorls found in the graves and on old dwelling sites throughout the Cauca valley. Judging by these we may feel sure that the former inhabitants were great spinners. On the other hand, the present Paez Indians still weave most of their own clothing, and there is no reason why they should not have done so formerly.

291 [177] The dress of the men consists of a pair of short trousers (*hiü*), that are evidently a concession to modern civilization. These are made of raw cotton cloth, or of imported fabrics, and reach from the waist to about the knees. Over the shoulders is worn a broad rectangular piece of white woolen homespun cloth, split in the middle in the form of a poncho so as to allow the head to pass through, and hanging free front and back. This is called *tund-atš*, i. e., 'the cloth that binds, or covers.' It is generally worn next to the skin, but sometimes a light cotton shirt, called *atš-petš*, is first put on. Over the *tund-atš* they carry on their left [276] side, hanging by straps that pass over the right shoulder, the coca

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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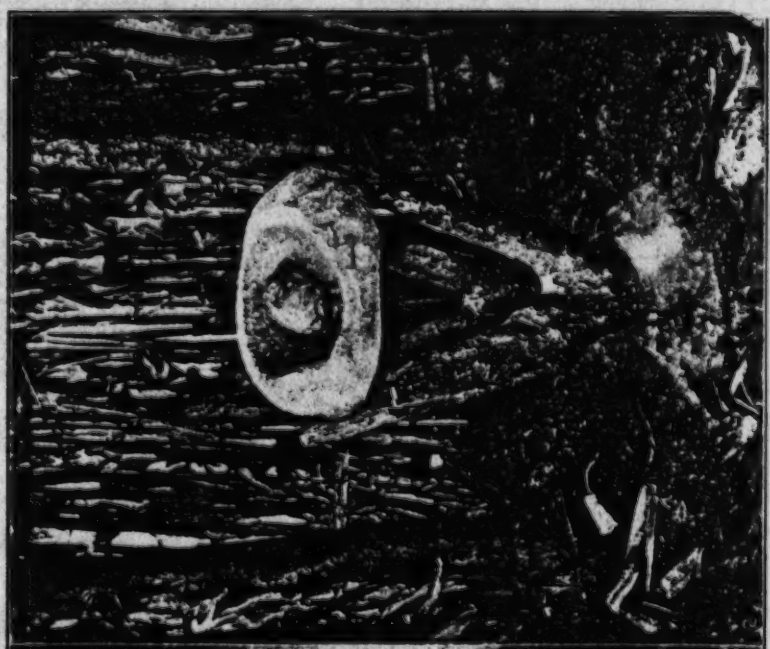

PAEZ GRINDING STONE

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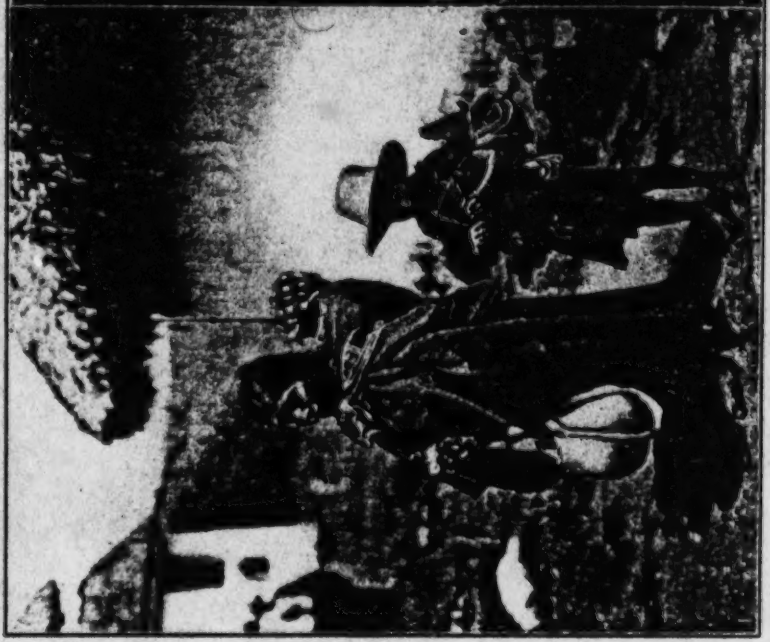


TRAVELING PAEZ WOMAN AND CHILDREN

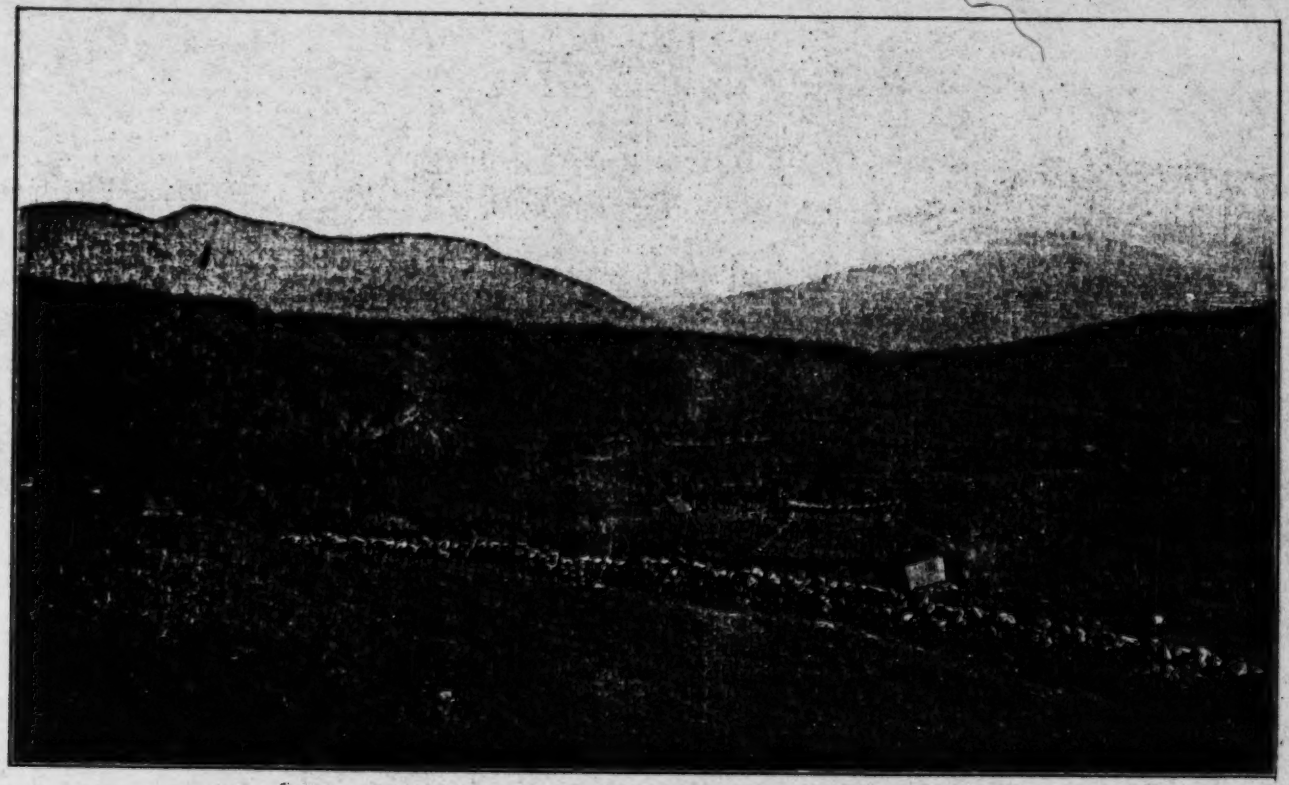
[facing P.317]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

bag and the small receptacle that contains the quicklime used 297.
with the former. When out of doors a second piece of woolen [276]
cloth, longer and narrower than the first and called simply *atß*, is thrown over the shoulders, with the head likewise thrust through the middle. A narrow-brimmed hat (*tsua*) the like of which is found among the Kitšua, is the usual complement of this dress. It is made of the outer skin of a tall grass (*Gynerium* [824]
saccharoides), resembling sugar-cane and common along rivers.

The women all dress in the same way, with fabrics invariably woven by themselves. The underwear, which is often dispensed with, consists of a narrow piece of woolen tissue used as a loin cloth, passing between the legs and then rolled around the hips. Over this article is worn a broad piece of dark woolen cloth, wrapped along the body and limbs in the form of a skirt. This is the *anaco*, or *pamb-atß*, and it is attached to the waist by means of a sash called *vilia*, the elaborateness and ornamentation of which vary with the wealth of the owner. The upper part of the body is covered with a ruana called *atß-tul*, sewed along the right side and on the right shoulder, but open at the left side, being simply pinned on the left shoulder with a wooden peg or a fish-bone. When traveling the women provide them- [482]
selves with another broad piece of cloth (*spatß*) which is used either as a cover or for wrapping the baby on the back. In the latter case the cloth is secured by means of a belt (plate IV, 1).

Women also wear necklaces, made now of common glass [301]
beads, silver coins, or small sea-shells, the number of strings [554]
depending on the wealth of the husband. The mention in Castillo's vocabulary of a word for bracelet (*kaschand-gunc-tsa*) indicates the former use of such ornament. Females have no [291]
headgear. Married women part their hair along the median 302
line of the head and allow it to hang back in two braids. Little girls wear their hair loosely behind the shoulders. In former times women painted their faces blue with the juice of a fruit called *kii*. Speaking of this custom, which seems to be obsolete now, Castillo facetiously says: "fruta . . . con cuyo zumo se pintan el rostro las Indias (*i aun las que no lo son*)." Men formerly decorated their bodies and faces with *tok*, the red color [824]



THE VILLAGE OF HUILA

The Houses are in the Patches of High Vegetation Scattered in the Savanna. In the Distance is the Huila Volcano, but the Extreme Summit is not Visible

[facing P.318]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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302 extracted from the seeds of *Bixa orellana*, which they applied
[524] by means of a cylinder of clay (*kaanda*) on which certain designs were carved. Specimens of such cylinders are often found in graves.

291 Children are very scantily clothed. The boys go about naked
515 until they reach their twelfth year, and the little girls wear only a short *atß-tul*. The clothing of the male and female adults seems to be worn as long as it lasts. As is the case with all Indians living at high altitudes, the Paez are not especially fond of bathing, and cleanliness is not a cardinal virtue with them.
[513] In retiring for the night, they simply wrap their garments tighter around them, the children using old rags in lieu of blankets.

386 The ornamentation of the *tilia*, or sash, with several brilliant
[182] colors and the desire of giving a uniform hue to the darker clothing of the women, gave origin to the art of dyeing, which very likely is to-day in its decline. The dyes were derived chiefly from plants. Black was obtained from *ßal*, an arborescent *Phyllanthus* that has a semi-domesticated appearance and forms characteristic thickets around inhabited places, like Vitoncó; the same color is also contained in the young pods of the *huarango* (*Cæsalpinia tinctoria*), a spiny tree often seen near the houses and extensively used at the present time for dyeing wool. The roots of *tuk-nétse*, a Rubiacea (*Relbunium hypocarpium* Hemsl.) akin to the madder, produce a scarlet color. Different kinds of blue dyes were extracted from the fruit of the jagua (*kii*, probably *Genipa* sp.) and from an *Indigofera*.
[177] Many other tinctorial plants very likely escaped my observation and are gradually passing out of use on account of the introduction of foreign fabrics.

DWELLINGS

342 The Paeces have permanent houses in their thirty-four villages and temporary abodes on their corn plantations. These latter are merely small huts, the walls of which are more or less elaborate according to the altitude, being made tighter near the upper limit of culture. They represent the primitive type of

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

They represent the primitive type of
habitation, the agglomerations being the result of the efforts of the missionaries. 342 [177]

The villages are generally in the open grazing districts at the bottom of the valleys, on side plateaus, or on broad ridges. They are not compact in the common sense of the word, but consist of isolated groups of houses, the approximate common center of which is often indicated by the whitewashed thatch-roofed church (plate v). 361

The walls of the permanent houses are made of a kind of *bajareque*, i. e., a skeleton of canes filled in with clay. In the better homes the interior is divided into two or more rooms, usually very small, with a hearth in the middle; but oftener there are no interior partitions, the dwelling consisting of a single square apartment. In every case that came under my observation the interior was very untidy. 342 353 [354] [356]

The Indians openly objected to our entering their houses, hence I could gain only casual glimpses of their domiciles, the furnishing of which seems to be an imitation of that of the dwellings of the few Spanish people living among them or in the immediate neighborhood. 352 123 177

Outside the houses they generally have a cane-crusher of primitive type, with horizontal smooth cylinders moved by means of levers at each end. A loom and a grinding stone are also seen occasionally under an adjacent shelter (plates IV,[1] and VI).[2] 407 286 412

There may often be seen, either about or inside the housse, very large jars used as receptacles in the elaboration of the chicha. These utensils seem to be almost the only survival of the ancient earthenware industry. The smaller pottery vessels which were seen occasionally had been taken from old graves. 415 [192]

Each group of houses, in which several generations of a single family dwell, is surrounded by a small enclosed field, planted with sugar-cane, plantains, oranges and other fruits, and greens and roots of daily use. The garden enclosure is formed by a ditch, inside of which is a wooden fence or a stone wall, the latter often crowned by a hedge of maguey (*Furcraea*), lechero (*Euphorbia*), borrachero (*Solanum*), and other bushes. 351 [592] [247]

[1] [See plate facing P. 317 — Analyst]
[2] [See plate facing P. 320 — Analyst]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

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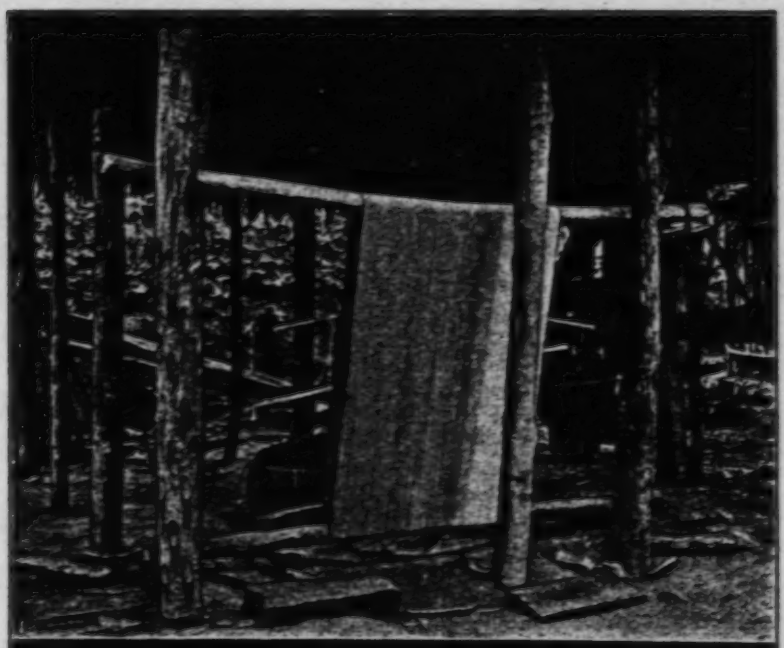

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PAEZ LOOM AND CANE CRUSHER

[facing P. 320]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SG15

351 In this way an efficient protection is afforded against depreda-
[347] tions by cattle or sheep.

Construction of Bridges

491 The Paez Indians are very clever bridge builders and are often called considerable distances to employ their skill in this direction. I observed three different types of native bridges, two of which were entirely new to me. The more primitive one consists simply of a vine stretched across a river, and crossed by hanging and progressing with the hands and arms. The second type is a frail-looking bamboo structure, the base of which is an arch free in the air, or suspended somewhat like our suspension bridges (plates VII, 2). 1

The third type of bridge is a much more substantial structure,
491 built of heavy timbers apparently with an understanding of the
335 laws of gravity. On each side of the river a pair of strong beams are built into pillars of stonework, so that the weight upon the immured extremities counterbalances the free ends independently of the supports by which the latter are upheld. Thus solidly fixed, the two pairs are opposite each other with a more or less wide space between their extremities. To span this, the ends of both pairs are first connected by means of transverse ties, inserted between beams and props, the whole being solidly lashed together with vines. On these ties two more beams of sufficient length are laid, which serve to complete the span. The main structure of the bridge being thus formed, a heavy floor, generally of round stems, is laid over it, and the whole is protected by a roof of elaborate construction (plates VII, 1, and VIII). It is useless to say that not a single nail is used to unite the numerous parts of the structure, a vine called *Makuia* being exclusively used for this purpose.

491 We saw two of these large structures, one on the Paez river near Huila, the other on the Moras river, on the trail from Vitoncó to Mosoco. But we were informed that most of the larger rivers in Tolima and elsewhere in the Magdalena valley are bridged in the same way, and that Paez Indians are in frequent requisition elsewhere as bridge-builders.

1 [See Plate facing P. 323 — Analyst]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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FOOD. CULTIVATED AND OTHER USEFUL PLANTS

The principal food of the Paez Indians is maize, or Indian corn, of which they grow several varieties, belonging to three distinct types, namely, a sweet corn (*tlulpi*), a soft corn (*kapio*), and the common flint corn. The words *tlulpi* and *kapio* belong to the Kitšua language, a fact that points to the southern origin of these varieties. Judging from tradition, as well as from the varietal names used elsewhere in the Cauca valley, the flint corn that is grown all over the country may possibly be of northern origin. The Paez language has only one word to designate all varieties of corn, and it is interesting to note that the one now in use (*kutš* or *kukš*) is quite distinct from that employed in Castillo's time (*kokari*). It is not unlikely that the present name was introduced by some of the tribes subsequently incorporated with the Paez.

262 243 [192 174] [192]

The *tlulpi*, or sweet corn, is usually eaten roasted or boiled on the cob. Of soft corn, or *kapio*, they make a kind of dough called *χtiouts*, which is the base of several culinary preparations, among them the tortilla (*kuáts*). *Kaš* is a gruel made of black corn; *mutši*, or *motši* (the Kitšua *motc*), is prepared by shelling the kernels without disintegrating them. Last, but not least, large quantities of the grain are used in the preparation of chicha (*kcha*).

262 252 [273]

Beans are generally cultivated along with maize. I noticed two varieties — *us kutš*, black beans, and *us kc*, red beans. The *osgual*, cited by Castillo as special to the village of Suin, are the seeds of the *Erythrina edulis* Triana, which I collected under the name of *us ual*; they are large, and when boiled taste almost exactly like the common horse-bean (*Faba vulgaris*).

244 262 [252]

Of scarcely less value as a food-staple are the several varieties of squashes, so generally cultivated and eaten as to have caused Castillo to express the opinion that "most of the Indians would perish should these fail in the province." The larger variety, *ápe-tots* (*Cucurbita maxima?*), is less common, and may have been introduced, although it already existed in Tierra Adentro in Castillo's time; *ápe*, the zapallo or pumpkin (*Cucurbita pepo*), is perhaps indigenous to the region, since the last native name,

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

244 now widely used all over Spanish America, is of Kitiua origin
262 (*zapayú*); *ápe-te*, the most extensively cultivated variety, is called *Mejicano* by the Spanish natives, although it seems to have been cultivated in the country from time immemorial.

Several interesting edible roots or tubers, mostly under cultivation, are relished by the Paez Indians. Thus *ãs*, or *ans* (*Arracacia esculenta*), a celery-like umbelliferous plant with large white roots; *unt*, a peculiar yam (*Dioscorea*); *uia* the cassava root; *kâka*, the potato, of which there are certainly several species; *tsqvi*, or *ñuil* (*Ullucus tuberosus*), a very remarkable *Chenopodiacea*, of the high Andean region; *puil*, *Tropæolum tuberosum*, another species, the cultivation of which seems to be restricted to a limited district of western South America. All these plants are more or less under cultivation, but the Indians also eat many wild roots which I had no opportunity to identify. *Kambitã* (*Cyclanthera pedata*), the singularly-shaped fruit of a Cucurbit, is used as a green vegetable along with the tender sprouts of several other plants.

245 Among the favorite fruits the plantain naturally ranks first,
262 and is conspicuous around the houses even at an altitude of 1,800 meters. The generic names are *plau*, suggesting the Spanish *plántano* or *plátano*, and *tulú*, a word that forms the root of *Tuluá*, the name of a town in a territory formerly occupied by the Quimbayas. The banana or *guinco*, corrupted into *kuiú*, is probably an imported variety, as are several others rarely met with.

Other fruits are the *papaya*, *paiá*, not mentioned by Castillo, and the name of which indicates a modern acquisition; *ñal*, one of the granadillas (*Passiflora edulis*); *ñahú*, the pineapple, which grows only in the lower region; *ãytse*, the aguacate (*Persea gratissima*); and also several species of *Inga*, the white pulp around the seeds of which is eaten.

There are two varieties of edible guavas, the one sweet (*Psidium guayaba*), the other sweet sour (*Ps. pomiferum*); and the berries of several *Melastomataceæ*, many of which escaped my observation, are enjoyed by both children and adults.

276 A plant very important in the Indian economy is the coca
[249]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

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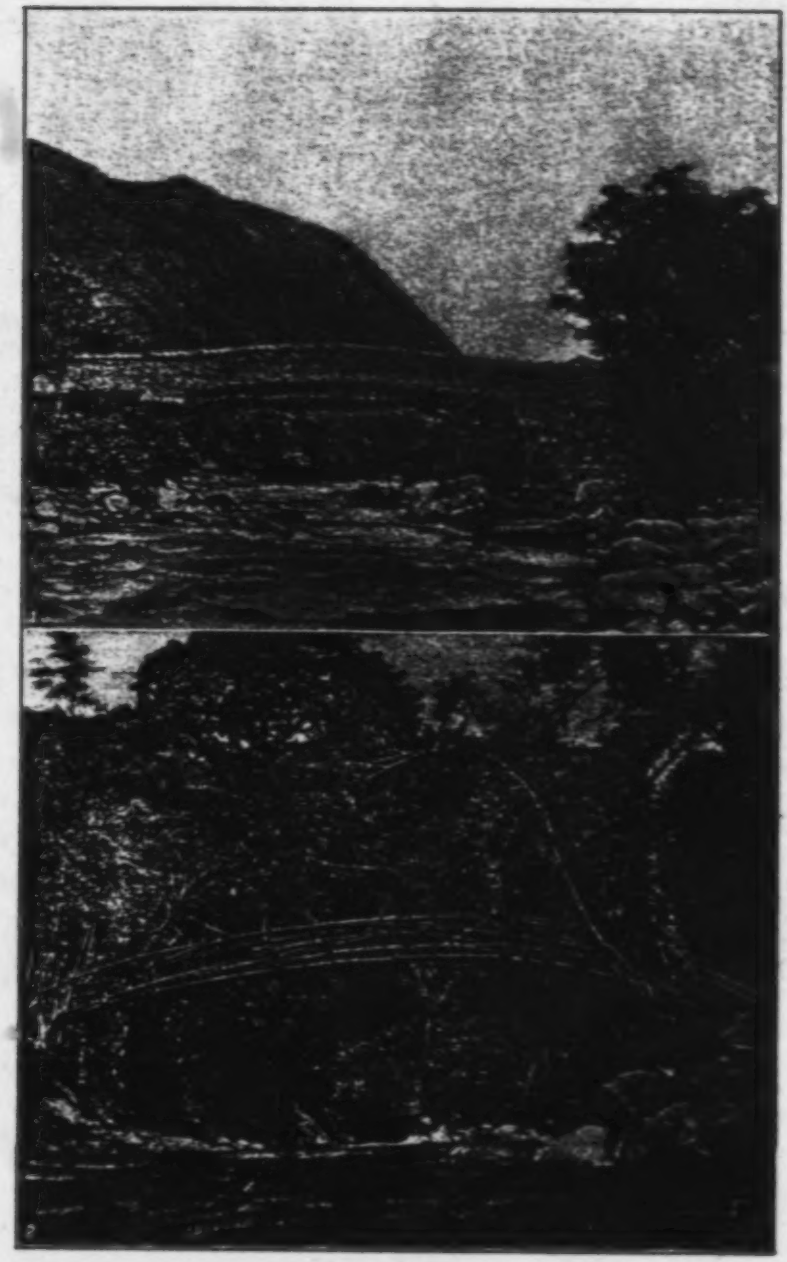

1. BRIDGE OVER PAEZ RIVER NEAR HUILA
2. BAMBOO BRIDGE AT TACUEYÓ

[facing P. 323]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

(*cl*). It is very little cultivated in Tierra Adentro, however, and the dry leaves are imported from the lower Paez and Tolima basins. To this product the Paez is indebted for his disgusting chewing and spitting habit, the use of which is still doubtful to me. Coca leaves are said to be a powerful reconstituent, allowing the Indians to endure long marches and great privation. But the women do not use it, and however often they may participate in these hardships, it is with the same endurance. At all events the Paez men never cease chewing and spitting. Each of them carries a supply of coca leaves in his *tiisa*, and the quicklime or *kwetaw* in a small gourd, both hanging at his left side. Now and then he ejects a mouthful of green saliva, making sure that there be a clean whitewashed wall near by, in order thus to decorate it. He then takes a new handful of leaves, sprinkles them with a little *kwetaw*, and fills his mouth again, ceasing this everlasting process only long enough to eat, drink, and sleep. 276 [249] [439] [461]

Tobacco is known in Tierra Adentro under the name of *wii-hi*, but it is never smoked or chewed. The sugar-cane, *wissa*, is cultivated in small patches. The only textile plant observed by me is a short-leaved agave called *sasto* (Span. *sagguy*). The larger part of the district inhabited by the Paez is above the region in which grows the bamboo called *gnadua*; but this beautiful grass is known to them under the name of *mom*, or *mam*. They transport canes of it from a distance for use in the construction of their lighter bridges; and at Huila, about 1,800 meters above sea-level, there was a small plantation of it, showing a primitive attempt at cultivation. 249 [248] 245

Several useful plants have been mentioned in connection with dyeing (page 318). Although in the Huila mountains there is at least one species of rubber-yielding *Sapium*, the Indians do not seem to have known of the elastic properties of its gum. 249

A most striking feature of the upper forest zone of the Palo valley is the wax-palm, *lime* (*Ceroxylon andicola*), which is also for the Indians an important economic plant on account of the wax which they obtain by scraping the lofty trunks (plate IX). This product they use mainly for illuminating purposes. Un- 314

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Page SC15

314 fortunately the tree is being rapidly destroyed, either in the gathering of the wax or through clearing for cultivation.

Religion, Customs, Superstitions

114 According to Rodriguez the Paez did not know of any reli-
771 gion. But this is diametrically opposed to Castillo's repeated mention of pagan rites still practised among his flock. Moreover, it is not reasonable to suppose that these Indians would have lived in close contact with the Kitšua, who were veritable sun-worshippers, without being influenced by their beliefs.

771 *Itaki*, the sun, was worshipped at special shrines built on the
786 cut-off summits (*itaki finô*) of high mountains. At certain dates,
821 fixed by their priests (*diçi*) in accordance with their omens, they
[787] congregated at these places and for many consecutive days gave themselves up to chicha drinking and all the lubric manifestations provoked by drunkenness. On these occasions no blood relation was respected; nor was there any limit to adultery. Later, after the missionaries had undertaken their civilizing work, the Indians secretly continued these hideous practices; indeed, it is even asserted that they have not yet given them up completely, although they may not commit the excesses that were formerly attributed to them, as such would be contrary to their present ideal standards.

535 Dances played an important part in all the diversions of the Paez. They were of several kinds, varying with the occasion. Castillo mentions the *guciô-kô*, money-begging dance (baile de pedir dinero), or *šita-ko* (sea-shell dance, baile de caracol), in
[534] which two sea-shells (bocinas), the one giving a low tone (bajon destemplado) and the other the treble, were played alternately for whole nights, remembering, "(a los cristianos) la noche de la prision de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, i á los indios, la chicha, baile i maldades que ejecutan." Other dances of which we generally have no description were *onza-kô*, the mouse dance; *neui-kô*, the buzzard dance; *itza-ko*, the puberty dance of females, to which allusion has already been made (page 314); *etš-kobi-ko*, the dance of the phantom reed; *tel-kobi-ko*, the dance of the long reed, or war-dance; *la-ko* the new-house dance; *kimb-ko*,

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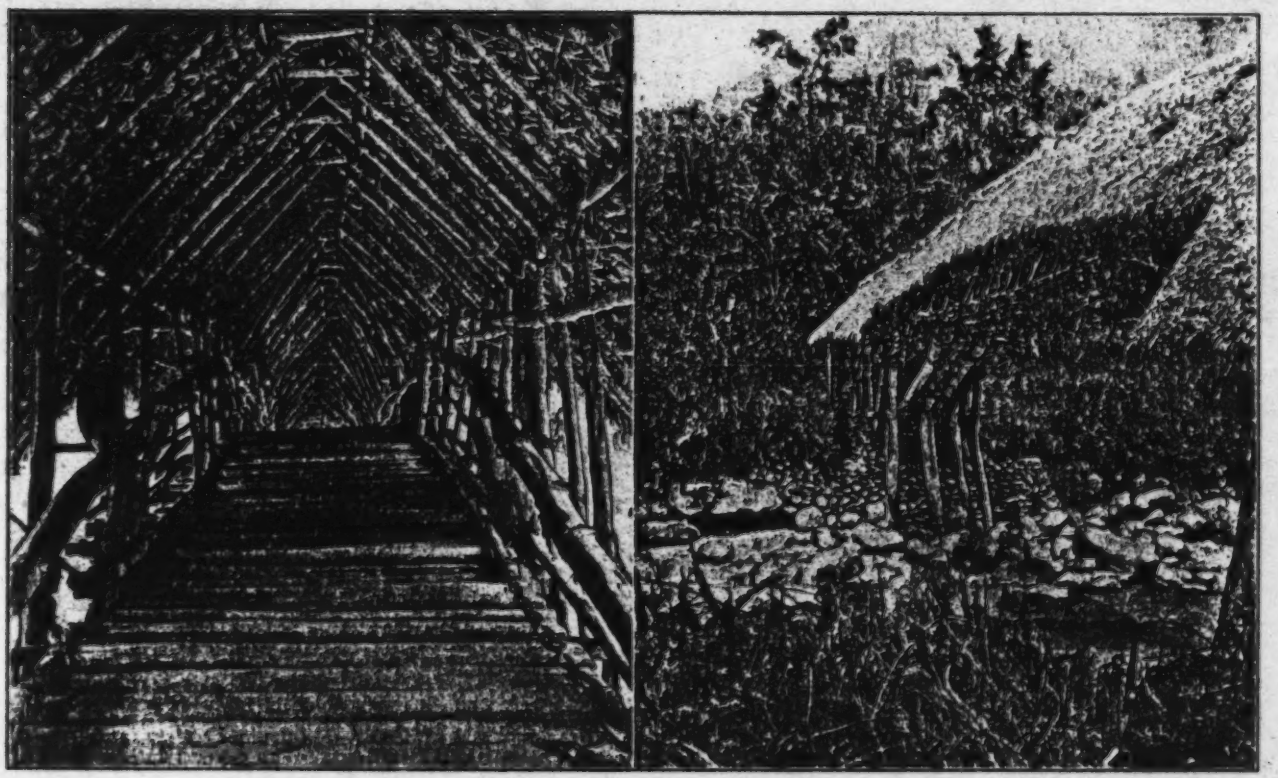

INTERIOR AND EXTERIOR OF BRIDGE OVER PAEZ RIVER NEAR HUILA

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335
491

[facing P. 325]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

the drum-dance, in which the women sang to the accompaniment of a drum; *vito-ko*, or *fitz-ko*, the stick-dance, etc. 535

In addition to the shells and reeds, the Indians also accompanied their dances with a kind of drum (*kimb*), consisting of a long wooden trough hung by its extremities; and the *tsoòts*, or rattle, a calabash containing small stones or hard canna seeds and provided with a handle. 535 534

According to Castillo the Paez had also other deities, corresponding somewhat to the lares of the ancient Latins, carved images of which were often found in the houses. The *dizi*, who were at one time priests, sorcerers, and medicine-men, lived in retirement and were considered as the keepers of the doctrines of a traditional civilizer of the nation, called *Guckiuii*. So strong was their influence in Castillo's time that he complains rather bitterly about it, and proceeds to explain how the true God, wishing to free the Paez from such a devilish guide, simply employed a subterfuge to drown him in the Paez river, together with two of his apostles! 776 778 [79]

The belief in a future existence is indicated, as Uricoechea relates, by the fact that the Indians never molested white dogs, in order that they might not be bitten by them at the doors of the house beyond the grave. 825 795

There were birds and other signs of good or of evil omen. A woman would never step over a leather rope stretched on the ground, but would lift it up and pass beneath. During the construction of bridges, two men constantly beat the waters to frighten away evil spirits. The death of a person was often attributed to witchcraft, and he whose face bore some likeness to that of the dead person was often regarded as the culprit, provided the patient in his cavings had not given the name of the supposed sorcerer. The soul of a cow whose fat had been used for illumination during religious ceremonies was believed to go directly to heaven: this last belief, however, must be of post-conquest origin. 787 761 754 825 774

Among themselves the Indians are jovial and contented. The approach of the men whom we often met on the trails around Huila was usually first detected by the sound of the 157 533 283

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

151 pipes they play while walking along, unless their hands are kept
533 busy plaiting braids of gynerium bark in the manufacture of
583 their hats. This is the exclusive occupation of the men.
[463] Women almost invariably walk along spinning wool, their distaff under the left arm and the spindle in the left hand, while the right hand is busy at the wool.

883 The Paez maidens are fond of flowers and are very playful.
157 On one occasion I observed several of them going up the hill
481 beyond the river, in front of the church at Huila, their arms entwined about one another's necks; then they began running up the steep hill as in a contest of endurance. As they became exhausted they threw themselves on the grass, while their movements showed that they were playing and joking all the time. These children of Nature are not unpleasant to look at,
[515 except for their usual lack of cleanliness; nor are they wanting
142] in coquetry, and they are often pretty. But in the presence of
[609] strangers they are extremely bashful, doing their utmost to keep in the background.

291 The old women are generally very ugly. Their clothing con-
515 sists only of dirty rags, and their skin is covered with the filth of years.

593 Relations between the sexes, especially between husbands
562 and wives, seem to be easy and without an air of superiority on the part of the former. On the few occasions that I had to entertain these people at their houses, the women took the same interest and the same part in the proceedings as the men, which was very different from what I observed among the Central American Indians.

609 Toward strangers, and especially toward Colombians of other
186 races, the attitude of the Indians is decidedly hostile. Unless induced by the prospect of profit they will neither sell anything nor lend any service, often refusing money and accepting only articles which they especially desire. They will not allow white
[563] or black people in their homes, and at Huila they are even unwilling that the only white family living there should share the practically inexhaustible supply of fuel scattered about in the near-by forest, or have horses or cattle pasturing on the almost

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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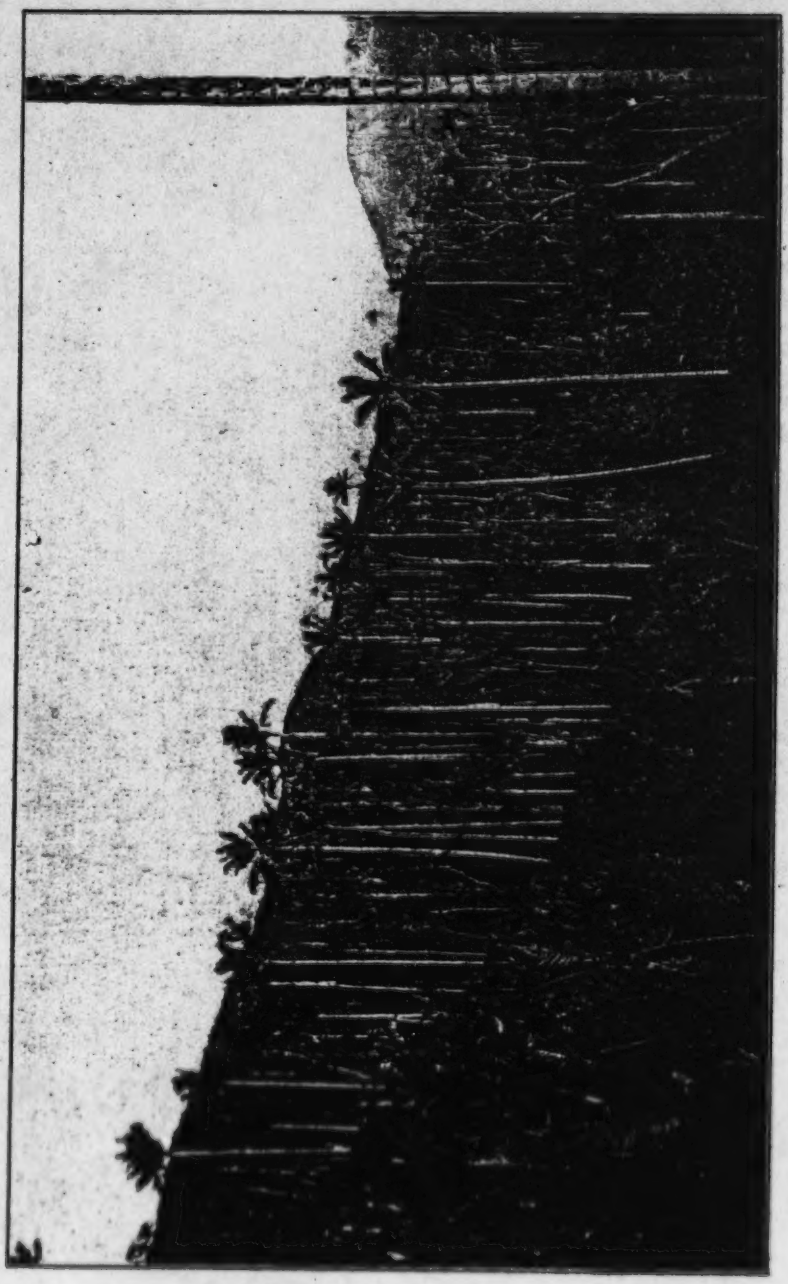

THE WAX PALM (*Ceroxylon andicola*)

[facing P. 327]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

deserted savannas. It must be said, in extenuation, that they have been subjected to much abuse by their neighbors of the "superior race." Moreover, the Paeces are naturally hostile to strangers, descending, as we have seen, from a warlike people. The old Paeces always went about armed, carrying a lance or javelin in the hand and ready to protect their bodies from the darts of an enemy by means of a shield of basket-work (*opimb*), or of tapir hide (*yimba-kât*). The warlike tendencies of the tribe were stimulated by means of periodical contests in which the most valiant warriors fought each other in the presence of the multitude.

To-day, as we have seen, the descendants of these have abundant opportunity to satisfy their fighting propensity by taking sides in the frequent quarrels of the political parties that thus far have kept Colombia in an almost continual turmoil.

Sexual intercourse between Paez women and men of other races is said not to exist; barbarous chastisement would be the fate of the offending female. It is to be expected, however, that the closer contact brought about by the gradual penetration of the Tierra Andentro by whites and negroes will soon overcome the purity of the Paez blood and open the way to amalgamation with the neo-Colombian race.

Reclus, cited above (page 311), gives us to understand that the Paez were cannibals, and the tradition current in the villages along the western foot of the cordillera confirms his intimation with reference to the Pijaos; for the coming of "el Pijao" is still a menace to children. The early chroniclers tell us of several anthropophagous tribes which lived in this region, and it is not unlikely that the Paeces had a share in that custom.

GRAMMATICAL NOTES

Castillo's *Nociones gramaticales* is limited to a list of the personal pronouns and the conjugation of the verbs 'to be' and 'to write.' A few more grammatical indications are incorporated in the vocabularies, but on the whole these data are very meager, and much remains to be done in this direction.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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194

I. — Phonetics

Vowels

	a	*a*	*ä*		
e	*ẻ*		*o*	*ö*	*ö*
i	*ỉ*		*ü*	*u*	*ü*
ä	*ẻ*	*ɪ*	*ö*	*ü*	

Consonants

		ḣ	*h*		
k	*g*	*χ*	*ẋ*		*ñ*
tɕ	*dz*	*ʒ*			
ts	*dz*				
t	*d*	*s*	*z*	*l*	*n*
p	*b*	*f*	*v*		*m*

194 In his introduction to Castillo's vocabularies, Uricoechea as-
114 serts, on the faith of the latter, that the Paez vowels are numerous, distinct from those of the Spanish language, and difficult of pronunciation. The Castilian language has only the five fundamental Latin vowels, while the Paez has three more, *ä*, *ö*, and *ü*, not including the nasalized vowels, which are not specifically distinct.

This can scarcely be called rich, but if by richness Uricoechea means euphony, then he is certainly correct. Indeed, the diphthongs *ai*, *eu*, *io*, *ua*, *ue*, *ui*, *uo*, recur with extreme frequency, and there are none of the half-mute vowels so often
194 met with in the dialects of the Chibchan group. Again, it cannot be said that the Paez, in its present phonetics, offers any serious difficulty to the student so far as pronunciation is concerned. I have given careful attention to this special question, and think that the above table of vowels and consonants is fairly adequate to an exact transcription of the language.

When we come to the comparison of consonants we find that the Paez has all the consonants used in classical Castilian except the *z* (*ð*, English *th*), and that it has *χ̇*, *tɕ*, *dz*, *ʒ*, *ts*, and *dz* in addition. Here we may be justified in speaking of abundance, inasmuch as these fundamental consonants are accompanied by quite a formidable array of compound ones, either

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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initial like *bll, ft, kb, kl, kn, kp, ks, kt, mb, pk, pl, pi, pt, it, tsk,* 194
or terminal like *fχ, kχ, pχ, mb, ni, nt.*

A further comparison of Castillo's material with my own 194
shows three chief points of divergence in the transcription of 114
words. One of them, namely, the prefixing of an initial *g* to words beginning with *na* or *ne*, is general among Spanish authors, there being as much difficulty for a Spaniard to pronounce correctly that broad diphthong as to express any foreign word beginning in *st, sp*, etc., without an initial *e*. Just as a Spaniard will say 'estreet,' 'esprout,' 'estyle,' he is sure to pronounce 'gwatchman,' if not 'gwatchiman,' 'gwarbler,' and so on. This misspelling, then, may be regarded as an idiosyncrasy of our author.

A second difference, often repeated and which must be considered as an error in the reproduction of the original text, is that the words ending in my vocabulary in *ts, fχ, kχ*, etc., end respectively in *ti, fi, ki*, etc., in Castillo's vocabulary, the terminal *s* and *χ* having almost uniformly been mistaken for an *i*. Examples: [192]

efi	for *efχ*,	eye-tooth.
equi	" *ekχ*,	fuel.
cafi	" *kafχ*,	gargante de.
cati	" *kats*,	hide, skin, peel.
conchi	" *kuntl*,	black.
miti	" *mitl* or *mits*,	pot.
tambi	" *tampχ*,	flank.

Unwritten languages are subject to rapid alteration. This is sufficient to explain the frequent change of *o* to *u*, and the suppression of the initials *a, e*, and *i*, in certain words. Following are a few examples of both cases: [192]

doj	has become	*duχ*,	weight.
rito	" "	*ftu*,	tree.
guaco	" "	*uâku*,	tick.
onza	" "	*kunza*,	mouse.
ioc	" "	*iuk*,	wood, fuel.
aloch	is now	*lutl*,	child.
alauech	" "	*lauetl*,	lizard.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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194	*efench*	is now	*fent*,	old (applied to female only).
114	*isos*	" "	*sus*,	urine.
[192]	*ahamp*	" "	*taap*,	fog, cloud.

In Castillo's vocabularies *xs* stands for *ś*, *z* for *ts* and *tz*, *ch* for *tš*. The final *h* is used only to prevent the coming together of the consonants *i* or *s* ending a word and the initial vowel of the following word in compound terms. For instance, we have *mesha*, for *mis-a*, it is not; *izhe* for *its-i*, to join, to marry, etc.

II. — WORD-FORMATION

192 *Remarks.* — A few preliminary remarks as to the vocabulary
114 given hereafter are necessary. In a general way it includes only words that are not found in Castillo's work. This is true especially of all isolated terms, but exceptions have been made when one of them is or contains a root of a whole family of words, in which case a few terms have been taken from Castillo's
114 vocabulary and their orthography adapted to our own.
192 Among those words not included in Castillo's, some have
197 simply escaped him, as, for instance, a number of plant names.
174 But many others are to-day replaced by quite distinct expressions, and this is perhaps one of the strongest indications that the present Paez are in reality a mixture of the remnants of several ancient tribes, like the Paez, the Pijaos, the Jamundies, and probably others, which resulted after Castillo's first survey of the language. As, with the exception of the Paez, we have not even fragmentary vocabularies of the tribes thus amalgamated, it is rather difficult to sustain such an hypothesis with linguistic testimony; but traditions still current and well-known examples of similar cases in other countries can be offered in support of it.

As we have in every case given Castillo's equivalent in the vocabulary, it is needless to reproduce here a list of the differences noted.

193 *Compound Nouns.* — The Paez language, like most of the
114 languages belonging to the Chibchan group, has suffixes indica-
[171] tive of form, size, matter, people, etc., that characterize whole classes of words. Castillo's vocabulary being far from exhaustive and written in a somewhat capricious way, it is not always

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easy to determine the words that form such families, and it remains for the future student to systematize and complete them. We are able, however, to give a few examples:

Kuė is indicative of smallness, fragility, and is found also in several terms referring to childhood or parental relations. Examples:

kuė	child.
a-kuė	monkey.
ala-kuė	child.
anl-kuė	nephew.
anl-tsun-kuė	grandson.
atl-kuė	nephew.
doz-kuė	nephew.
etl-kuė	orphan (phantom's son).
ñu-kuė	uncle, father's brother.
fe-ñu-kuė	aunt, father's sister.
tuku-kuė (onomatope)	a small dove.
uesa-kuė	girl.
ues-kuė	thread.
uitla-kuė	bird.

In the following words, however, the signification of the suffix is not apparent:

ak-kuė	burial.
eiz-ka-kuė	ant.
ia-kuė	ceremonial feather-dress.
ka-kuė	body.
imeta-kuė	dorsal spine.
ne-kuė	challenge, contest.
sa-kuė	heart of a tree.

Guė, meaning disease, is found as a suffix in a few known cases:

atla-guė	hectic fever (lit. hot-ache).
buts-guė	smallpox.
iaia-guė	intermittent fever.
su-guė	a medicinal plant.

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192 *Ñin* signifies a small, round object, and is found in:

ipi-ñin	ember, red-hot coal (lit. fire-seed).
kigue-ñin	clay bullet, used with the blow-gun.
sogua-ñin	powder.

The verbal desinence *nâs*, corresponding to the gerund tense, is largely used to form nouns that indicate condition or state, as in the following examples:

aknuk-nâs	coward, from *aknuk*, to be frightened.
atî-kats-nâs	tailor (*atî*, a piece of dress; *kats*, to sew).
do-nâs	lying-in woman (*do*, to bring forth, to give birth).
fis-nâs	the writer (*fis*, to write).
idîs-nâs	the one named (*idîs-a*, to call oneself).
idîse-nâs	he who baptizes (*idîs-e*, to baptize).
ikas-nâs	the chief, he who commands (*ikas-a*, to command).
ipons-nâs	he who is powerful (*ipons*, the Pleiades).
χip-nâs	the owner (*χip*, to have, to own).
pang-nâs	he who is sentenced (*pang*, to sentence, to condemn).
pas-nâs	the stranger, he who arrives (*pas*, to arrive).
sikia-nâs	he who knows (*sikia*, to know).
tôte-nâs	the governor, he who talks loud (*tôt*, to yell, to talk loud).
ukoments-nâs	a kind of wasp.

193 It is also found that large groups of compound nouns have the same initial word, generally in the form of a monosyllabic prefix. Among them, two are of peculiar interest, on account of the apparent specialization of the prefixes *ne* and *pe*, the first of which seems to indicate only relationship, while the second is still more restrictive and refers almost exclusively to relations between father, mother, and children. The signification of *ne* is obscure; while *pe*, used as a prefix before a noun, evidently indicates the coming together of two or of several things or persons. Both groups have been incorporated in the vocabulary, as have a large group of verbs with the same prefix *pe*, but which have seemingly no relation to each other.

Formation of Adjectives.—A good number of adjectives also end in *kui*, but this suffix seems to correspond to a form of the

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verb 'to be,' following what may be a noun or another adjective, and may be regarded as a predicate adjective or denominative verb: 193

ampa-kuł, lean, sad.
dità-kuł, pretty (Cast.).
dità-kuł, pretty (Pitt.).
dzuns-kuł, frail, slender.
its-kuł, lean.
łàla-kuł, small.
nu-kuł, small, low, of a river. [192]
o-kuł, plane, even.
pats-kuł, ugly.
pets-kuł, thin, like paper.
uàts-kuł, lazy.

It should not be inferred from the scarcity of this class of words in the examples given that the Paez language is lacking in them. On the contrary, a few examples show that, like many other primitive idioms, the Paez distinguishes gradations and categories in the qualities he attributes to an object or to different objects or persons. Thus, Castillo gives four different words for 'thick,' all of which, and one more, are still in use to-day. Now it is found that every one of them has a distinct signification or is applied in distinct cases:

ftse, thick, viscous, semi-liquid (of soup, mud, etc.). [192]
ȝot, thick (of a tree).
łiš, thick, stout (of a person).
iot, thick, bulky.
tat-a, thick or dense (of a forest, a jungle).

In the same way we have four expressions for 'large' three for 'soft,' etc., but without data to exemplify their use.

Reduplication is frequent in adjectives and seems to correspond to a superlative gradation.

The adjectives for 'young' and 'old' differ according to the sex of the person to whom they apply. The first is translated by *taki* when it applies to males, as in *pits-taki*, 'young man,' and by *kuc-nas* when applied to females. 'Old' is *inĩ*, or *tei* when referring to males, and *pcnĩ* (or *e-pcnĩ*) when used for females. [562] [561]

Formation of Verbs. — Owing to the brevity of my stay among the Paez Indians, I felt from the first a certain reluctance to enter into the intricate study of the verbs, fearing that, should 193 114

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193 I begin it, I might be induced to accept *a priori* as true
114 apparent rules which would then draw me into further mistakes. My former experience shows that a reliable comprehension of the infinite variations of the verbs, as bearing on flexion, derivation, etc., is not really acquired until one is fully cognizant of the spirit of the language to which they belong and is able to handle this almost as easily as his own.

In consequence of this, the few notes that follow are based mainly on the verbal terms included in Castillo's vocabulary.

193 (*a*) *Primitive Verbs.* — We find first that there are terms,
192 expressive of condition, action, or motion, that can be considered as essentially verbal, and could be called, for simplicity's sake, "primitive verbs." Here are a few of them:

dẽ, to sleep	*ôts*, to burn.
gugu, to run	*peû*, to beg, to ask.
ios, to fly	*pos*, to stretch.
kis, to fast	*pot*, to breathe.
ktond, to carry	*si*, to attend, to serve.
o, to eat	*so*, to take, to receive.
ô, to die	*sunî*, to soften, to knead.
ôp, to shut, to close	*tet*, to beat, to knock.
os, to give	*tetî*, to lick.
ôs, to plant	*tis*, to touch.
ots, to work wood (labrar madera).	

It is not unlikely that most of these verbs were originally nouns or adjectives, and that a few of them are still in use as such, although they do not so appear in the vocabulary. The following are given with a nominal, or a qualificative, and a verbal signification, and may be considered as true

(*b*) *Denominative Verbs* — susceptible of all flexions corresponding to person, mode, or time:

asptô-kuî, sad, to be sad.
atlatî, warm; *atlaô*, to be warm (*ô-atî*, to warm one's self).
ios-ô, standing, to be standing.
ipe-inka, thoughtful, to be thoughtful.
yuend, laying, to be laying.
paio-ki, careless, to be careless.

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ttitan, hung, hanging, to be hanging.
ít, hiccough, to gasp, to breathe one's last.
iz, rut, menstruum, to be in heat (applied to a female animal).
kami, to lie, lie.
hik-hi, light, to dawn.
kit, tooth; *kit-ik*, to lie on the abdomen (estar boca abajo).
ko-ín, food, to cook.
uetta, be merry, to be merry.

(*c*) *Verbal Prefixes.* — But more generally the transition from the adjective or from the noun is indicated by the prefix *i*, the exact sense of which is not clear. Thus —

ne-ío, wife;	*i-ío*, to marry (when the man marries).
ne-mi, husband;	*i-mi*, to marry (when the woman marries).
ñuns-a, arm-pit;	*i-ñuns*, to carry under the arm.
sus, urine;	*i-sus*, to urinate.
tíw, short;	*i-tíw*, to shorten.

Sometimes the radical word is already a verbal form, as in —

i-pi-ñas-á, to be jealous, to accuse; derived from *ñas-á*, to hit.
i-pet, to smell like; derived from *pet*, to stink.

In other cases of this class the prefix is *pe*, or *ka*, the meaning of which is equally obscure:

ñuts, to fix, to nail;	*pe-ñu*, to put together.
kit, a tooth;	*pe-kit*, to masticate.
tlantl, to suck;	*petlantl*, to suck.
gúgu, to run;	*ka-gú*, to roll down.
itse, to join;	*ka-itse*, to join, to put together.
kond, to break;	*ka-kond*, to carry off violently.
pang, to sentence;	*ka-pangó*, to punish.

III. — Parts of Speech

A. — *The Noun*

1. *Gender of Nouns.* — When gender is indicated, it is usually by means of suffixing the word *pits*, male, or *úi* (Cast. *ói*), female. Examples:

atall-pits, rooster;	*atall-úi*, hen.
de-pits, lover;	*de-úi*, sweetheart, concubine.

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193 This rule, however, applies only to persons or animals.
192 Plants and inanimate objects have no gender, so far as known. Moreover, many usual terms, mostly personal, have distinct forms according to sex. We have for instance:

doq-kuè, nephew;	*doq-nès*, niece.
inì, grandfather;	*nentì*, grandmother.
e-ît / *ne-î* } father;	*ne-sì*, mother.
ne-mì, husband;	*ne-úi*, wife.
ne-tson, brother-in-law;	*ne-soú*, sister-in-law.
sat, cacique, chieftain;	*eìa*, woman principal, cacique's wife.

2. *Number of Nouns.*—The prefix *pe*, already alluded to, may be considered as indicating duality; at least such is distinctly the case in the following instances:

pe-ndii, to be or to go together sister and brother.
pe-niit, son and father, or mother and daughter.
pe-peì, to be or to go together brother and sister.
pe-tam, male and female, together.
pe-tsik, son and mother, or son and father, together.

Plurality seems to be indicated in most instances simply by means of the determinative *uei* or *gueì*, many, except in the case of nouns designating persons, when the suffix *ueì*, or *gueì*, is used. But the same suffix appears also as a distinctive of collectivity, so that this point is not altogether clear. We have:

pits, man;	*pits-ueì*, men.
teì, adult;	*teì-ueì*, adults.

But also

E-it-ueì hus atlatl meng-a? Did you annoy your father? (Lit. Did you make your father's heart hot?)
father heart hot made

193 3. *Double Gender.*—It is interesting to find in the Paez lan-
601 guage a few cases of what De la Grasserie in a recent work[1] calls "double gender," i. e., nouns that express in a single word the sex of the person who speaks and the sex of the person

[1] Raoul de la Grasserie *De la Catégorie du Genre*, Paris, 1906.

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spoken of. These nouns all have reference to parental relations:

dii, brother of a sister.
cfei, sister of a brother.
iak-tè, elder sister of a sister.
ne-iak, younger sister of a sister.
ne-udii, brother of a brother.
ne-tè, elder brother of a brother.
pe-ré, younger brother of a brother.

B.— *The Adjective*

As in all languages of the Chibchan group, the Paez adjectives are invariable in gender and in number. The lists at hand are poor and incomplete, but the little we have seems to show a great choice of expressions to indicate degrees or shades in the use of qualificatives.

The superlative gradation seems to be indicated only by the adverb *atła*, 'very,' placed before or after the adjective. There is apparently no way to express a comparison.

C.— *Pronouns*

Our data on this subject are also very meager, and so incomplete that we are at a loss how to give any definite explanation.

In his *Nociones gramaticales* Castillo gives a table of the personal pronouns, from which we infer that there are two forms, according to gender, for both the subjective first and second person of the singular number. From the texts given by the same author, we also deduce that all the personal pronouns are used as possessive, and those of the third person as demonstrative.

In the conjugation of verbs the subject appears to be expressed chiefly by means of a suffix.

Following is Castillo's table:

I	Masc. *anki*, *antl* Fem. *oku*	we	*kuc-k-utl*, *kuc-k-u*, *ku-k-uel*
thou (you)	Masc. *inui* Fem. *itła*	you	*in-k-uel*, *i-k-uel*
he, that	Masc. *kina*, *kiana* ?	they, those	*kina-k-uel*

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193 The middle *k* of the plural forms is inserted apparently for the sake of euphony.

D.—*The Verb*

[121 114] As explained above, I did not endeavor to collect material for the study of verbs, by reason of the limited time at my disposal. Castillo's data are also very defective, but the paradigms presented by him as examples of conjugations are sufficient to afford an insight into the mechanism of conjugation. We reproduce the principal tenses with the object of showing that the verbal modifications referring to person, mode, and time, consist of a combination of the verbal root with the copulative or substantive verb and a suffix or ending that expresses the person. Our spelling differs somewhat from that used by [114] Friederich Müller,[1] who had no practical experience with the language:

(1) To be:

	Singular	Plural
	Præsens	
1st p.	*anki-t*, I am;	*ku-k-uel ta-u*, we are;
2d p.	*inui-ng*	*ik-uel ik-u*
3d p.	*kinâ-a*	*kinâ-(g-)uel i-a.*
	Perfectum	
1st p.	*anki-kit*, I was;	*ku-k-uel ta-u id*, we were;
2d p.	*inui-ng-id*	*ik-uel uek-u id*
3d p.	*kinâ-k-id*	*kina-g-uel ta id.*
	Futurum	
1st p.	*anki-uet*, I shall be;	*ku-k-uel uet-ka-u*, we shall be;
2d p.	*inui-ueng*	*ik-uel uek-u*
3d p.	*kinâ-uen*	*kina-k-uel pat-in.*

(2) To write, or to paint, *fiz*:

	Præsens	
1st p.	*anki fiz-ats-t*, I write;	*kuł-k-u-fiz-ats-ta-u*, we write;
2d p.	*inui fiz-ats-eng*	*ik-uel fiz-ats-ku-a*
3d p.	*kina fiz-ats-k*	*kina-g-uel fiz-ats-ki.*

[1] *Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft*, Bd. II, 358, Wien, 1882.

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Perfectum

1st p. *anki-i fis*, I wrote;	*kui-k-uel ta-u fis*, we wrote;
2d p. *imui-ug fis*	*ik-uel ik-u fis*
3d p. *kinú-k fis*	*kinú-g-uel tink fis.*

Futurum

1st p. *anki fis an-et*, I shall write;	*kui-k-uel fis an-et ka-u*, we shall write;
2d p. *imui fis an-eug.*	*ik-uel fis an-ek*
3d p. *kina fis an-en*	*kinú-g-uel fis a-tin.*

Castillo gives two more forms for the Præsens:

1st p. *fis ats-it*, I am writing, or painting;	*fis ats-i-ta-u*, we are (etc.);
2d p. *fis ats-ing*	*fis ats-ik-ua*
3d p. *fis ats-ik*	*fis ats-i-ta*

and

1st p. *fis n-op-i*, I am writing, or painting;	*fis op-ta-u*, we are (etc.);
2d p. *fis op-ugu*	*fis n-op-kua*
3d p. *fis n-op-a*	*fis n-op-ta.*

The infix *ats* is an affirmative particle; *op* is a kind of auxiliary verb, corresponding with 'to be,' or 'to have.' The *k* and *g* of the plural forms (1st and 3d pers.) are simply euphonic intercalations.

The imperative tense is often formed by prefixing or suffixing *mã*, with a frequent elision of the *ã*, as in the following examples:

Tund-e-mã! Run! (Hurry up!)
Tata mã-palla! Go (and) call (your) father!
Atta-mã! Go away!
Kta m-ue (*mã-ue*)! Catch the cow!
Io m-pis! Give (me) water!
Mi-io! Come!

E. — *Borrowed Words*

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(1) *From the Spanish.* — As might have been expected, we find in Paez quite a number of Spanish words, most of which are included in the following list: 177

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192.	*kmisa,*	for *camisa,*	shirt.
.177	*kuela,*	" *guinao,*	a variety of banana.
	kisu,	" *queso,*	cheese.
	kstil,	" *cuchillo,*	knife (machete).
	kuthi,	" *cocha,*	pig.
	leiti,	" *leche,*	milk.
	mama,	" *mamá,*	mother.
	mil,	" *miel,*	honey.
	pango,	" *banco,*	bench.
	sapi,	" *sapo,*	toad.
	sonda,	" *cinta,*	ribbon.
	tlapon,	" *eslabon,*	fire-steel.
	tiele,	" *tigre,*	jaguar.

(2) *From the Kitiua.* — In describing the territory occupied by the Paez and the neighboring tribes which later became consolidated with them, we have seen that it was, and is still, in close proximity to the northern end of the area occupied by the Kitiua (see the map, plate 1). Intercourse between these peoples has been necessarily frequent, and many words have become common to both languages. Castillo's editor, the late Professor Uricoechea, obtained a list of some of these words from Mr G. Pacheco Zegarra, who had perused Castillo's vocabulary. To these I added a few, notwithstanding which the list still remains very incomplete, as the lack of an extensive Kitiua dictionary, including the northern dialects, forbade any further effort on my part to make it longer:

[177]

Paez	*Kitiua*
ahuto, cinder	*ahiu,* cinder
atsi, to sneeze (onomatope)	*atsii,* to sneeze
atsil-pito, rooster	*atsil-pu,* rooster
anaku, part of woman dress	*anaku,* part of woman's dress
do-a, to stink	*as-nana,*
atta, very	*atta (aatta),* much, very
alko, dog	*alko,* dog
ai, yes	*ai,* yes
hipa-hi, to overtake by following	*hipa,* behind, after
hillim, drivel, dirt	*hilil,* drivel, dirt
handui, vulture (condor)	*hunter,* vulture
ia-yi, blooming sugar-cane	*ia-yia,* blooming sugar-cane, also a vine

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killka, paper, letter, book	*killka*, paper, letter, book	192
kattoni, to lick	*kattoni*, to bite	177
kikin, again	*kikin*, again	
kakka, father-in-law	*kakka*, father-in-law	
laki, lax, feeble, lazy	*llaki*, feeble faint, sad	
mutlai, to kiss	*mutlai*, kiss	
mil, cat	*misi*, *mitti*, cat	
miski, honey	*miski*, honey	
muti, boiled corn	*muti*, boiled corn	
ña, to complete, to finish	*ña*, so (Span. *ya*! ya se acabó = *ña*)	
ñuca, sugar-cane, sweet cane	*ñuk-ñu*, sweet, applied to any fruit	
piña-shia; to hate, to quarrel	*piña-tsina*, to be angry	
pisko, turkey	*pilku*, bird	
puki, watershed	*pucyu*, watershed	
pin, to ask	*pin?* who is it?	
tlumbe, sash to support the *anaku*	*tlumbi*, sash, girdle	
tlpi-pi, turkey	*tlumpi*, brown	
ukupa-ki, to push	*ukupa-tlii*, to push	
uás, a hut	*huási*, house	
vite-pasak, one hundred	*pattak*, one hundred	

(3) *From other Languages.* — It is likely that the Paez language borrowed many other terms from neighboring tribes, but thus far we lack the necessary material for comparison. As explained above, since Castillo's residence among these Indians their language seems to have undergone considerable change, especially in its vocabulary, a fact readily explained if we admit that the present Paez are composed of the remains of several tribes, greatly reduced in number by their wars with the Spanish conquerors and the hardships they suffered after their submission to the new rule. With the Chibcha, the analogies seem reduced to the rules of construction, the vocabulary being totally distinct. 192 174

F. — *The Numerals* 802

1. *Jas, vitett*	*tett*
2. *Ens*	*ens*
3. *Tek*	*tek*
4. *Pans*	*tans*

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5.	*Tats*	*tats*
6.	*Sanki*	*tesets, tesekẓ*
7.	*Ens-sanki*	
8.	*Tek-sanki, puki-pans*	
9.	*Pans-sanki*	
10.	*Kose-pemba*	*ksemba*
20.	*Ens-kose-pemba*	
30.	*Tek-kose-pemba*	
40.	*Pans-kose-pemba*	
100.	*Pasats-tla, vite-pasak*	
1000.	*kose-pemba-pasàts-tla*	

As indicated by the above examples, the Paez Indians formerly counted upon their fingers, so that their numeration was necessarily decimal. It is difficult, not to say impossible, to determine the meaning of the word *sanki*, for 'six,' but it seems to have been, as Castillo expresses it, a base for the series between five and ten. Thus *ens-sanki*, means the 'second six'; *tek-sanki*, the 'third six'; *pans-sanki*, the 'fourth six.' We also find that *puki-pans*, a second expression for *eight*, means the 'return of four.'

Kose-pemba, ten, means 'the hands completed,' an expression similar to that found in many other primitive languages. At present this system is found only in a mutilated form, including the numerals one to six, and ten. For other numbers Spanish is used. *Vitetl* has become reduced to *tetl*; and another expression, meaning apparently 'second one' (*tetl-ens?*), has been substituted for *sanki*.

IV. — Vocabulary

192 [26] The following vocabulary includes all words collected by the author and not found in Castillo's work, and also expressions of the latter that complete families of words with a common root. *H* means Huila, and *T* Tacueyó, villages in which words were collected. *Cast.* signifies Castillo; *Span.*, Spanish.

a, an (*ani, ati?*)	mine, my; our, ours
a-enẓ (T), *ia-enẓ* (H)	eye — Cast.: *ia-fi*
á-enẓ (T), *gué-gua* (H)	*Inga edulis*, a tree
alko (Kitlua word)	dog

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ālko + mut-kuł	*Solanum mammosum*, a plant; Span. *tetilla* 192 [601]
ain + de (T)	son-in-law. See *anł-indezá*
ain + hītl-kua (T)	son — Cast. has *ne-thik*; in the modern word is found the root of *a-łeft*, medieval word for boy, or girl
anio + ũés (T), *pũs* (H)	the Pleiades, a constellation
anł (nasal *a*, *ā*)	may signify my, mine
anł + indezá (H)	son-in-law [601]
anł + kuł (H), *aft + kuł* (T)	nephew — Cast.: *dez-kuł*
anł + māma (H), *māma + señor* (T)	maternal grandfather
anł + tāta (H), *tāta + señor* (T)	paternal grandfather
anł + tāta (H), *aft + bāba* (T)	father-in-law
anł + trán-kuł (H), *a-trán* (T)	grandson
anł + wasāk-ua (H), *aft-wāset* (T)	niece — Cast.: *dez-uet* [601]
anł + āi (H), *aft-āi* (T)	wife — Cast.: *ne-iõ*; see *āi*
ap	fly
ap + uēs	mosquito — (*uēs* means worm)
ātā	moon, month
ātā-łuft	crescent moon
ātā-łuft-a	new moon
ātā-tansa (T) / *ātā-tansia* (H)	waning moon
a-trán (T), *anł-trán-kuł* (H)	grandson — Cast.: *ne-tsom* (*tsom* = *trán*) [601]
aft (onomatope)	to sneeze
aft	ruana, a piece of native dress
aft + kas-nas	tailor (*kafs* = to sew)
aft + pitł	a piece of native male dress — Cast.: (*atipeft*)
aft + tul	a piece of woman's dress
aft + kuł (T)	nephew [601]
aft-ua-set (T)	niece
aft-āi (T)	wife; see also *anł*
ałā, ałān (H)	bed — Cast. has *de-hi-ue*; *dē* = sleep, *hi-ue* = place: a place to sleep
bamb (H)	shoulder — Cast.: *am-bamb*

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ben-dziki (H)	pillow — Cast.: *pe-ki-di-ki*
biún, viú, viún (H)	money — Cast.: *gut-iú*
biún + mbé	gold — Cast.: *guc-iú-mbé*
biún + tlime	silver money (Span. *plata blanca*)
bás	fly — Cast. has *ap*; *buts* is a small beetle that eats maize and other crops when they show their first leaves.
bufta	trumpet-tree (*Cecropia* sp.)
bátl	*Salvia* sp., a labiate plant — Span.: *parendera*
di	sleep
di + χek (T)	to sleep
di + χ ek-a (H)	to sleep
di + ki-ne	bed (= place to sleep)
di + ntl	sleepy, lazy
di + pits	lover
di + s-e	to sleep (Cast.)
di + ši	concubine
dits	egg
dits + kak (H)	penis
dí-na + kátl (T), *i-nil-kátl* (H)	mouth — Cast.: *i-ni*
dslt (H)	bone — Cast.: *dit*
dslts (H)	testicle
dúχ, dunk	heavy — Cast: *doχ*, to weigh
dúχ-a	very heavy
dtl, zl	trail, path — Cast.: *di*
dziχ (H), *nast-uml* (T)	medicine-man — Cast.: *dχi*, hechicero
dzik-io (T), *ši* (H)	woman, female
dzik-tl	head — Cast.: *dik-ti*
dzik-tl nasa dzik-tl (H), *dzit* (T)	skull
dzik-tl + tupχ (H), *iχ-kudt-kátl* (T)	forehead
dzip	face — Cast.: *dip*
dzins-kus	thin, slender — Cast.: *pis-kus*
dzit-cuχ	*Rhus juglandifolia*, a poisonous tree
i, ki	field (Span. *rosa*), blood

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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ĩ + pasta (T) *ĩ + pas* (H)	jungle, old field (Span. *rastrojo*)
ĩ + ul-tsz (H)	artery, vein
ĩ̃ĩ,	eye-tooth
ĩkĩ, ĩk-ge, ĩk̃	fuel, timber — Cast.: *ek-i*
ens	two
ens + ĩla uzla	few
ens, ẽs, esk	spring, dry season: according to Cast. *ens* or *ẽs* means also to fish; the dry season was called *ens-te*, i. e. fishing time, because the Indians fished only while the rivers were dry [221]
i-pil	midday
ĩs	louse
ĩl	coca
i-la-ĩ (H), *-i-la-ul* (T)	antbear — Cast.: *e-la-ki*
ĩslĩ-uet (H)	hip
ĩts	humming-bird (Span. *tomineja*)
etl	phantom, dumb
etl + guatl (Cast.)	caringano, large louse
etl + kuĩ	orphan (= phantom's son)
etl + ui (T) *etl + ui-ia*	widow (phantom's wife)
e-ul, pĩw-ze	shooting-star (Cast.: *kitti-tin*)
fĩ̃	wood, tree — Cast.: *nile, nill*
fĩ̃ + kiĩk	wood
fĩ̃ + kĩs, fĩ̃-kats	bark — Cast.: *cetl*
fĩ̃ + tĩs	root
fĩ̃ + tkep (H)	post — Cast.: *nuwyd*
fĩ̃ + tsime	*Tibouchina lepidota* Baill., a small tree with showy flowers
fuĩ (H)	ladder — Cast.: *aguĩ*
gua-kĩs (T), *kuĩ-kĩs* (H)	beard, bearded or white man — Cast.: *gua-gaz, in-guĩ-kas*
guĩ̃ĩ, uĩ, kett-uĩ (H)	hammock
kak (H)	cough
kĩkui-kil (T), *tĩ-pil* (H)	a myriapod (Span. *ceutopiés*)

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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192 *hā* (H) — blood

hin-ze, hás-utsa — the afternoon — Cast.: *finze*

hiá, giá (H) — trousers

hún — to grind

hún-ku-kuit, hil-kuet (H) — grinding-stone — Cast.: *hune kuet*

hunza — mouse — Cast.: *onza*

hũs (H) — heart — Cast.: *agnus*

hápe (H) — fence, hedge — Cast.: *ha-find*

hu-ák (H) — death

iá-a-uts (H) — net

iá-cuẽ (H), *a-cuẽ* (T)
iá-cuẽ + kats (H)
iá-ẽ + hatt (T) — eye — Cast.: *ia-fi*; eyelash

iéf-ats-ke (H) — tears

iánt, — volcano

[276] *iás,* — *Datura arborea*, a small tree, with large white flowers, having narcotic properties

ieh-tálin (T) — brother

[601] *ieh-tálin neel-te* (T) — elder brother — Cast.: *ne-teé*; *teé* = old

ieh-tálin mutl (T) — younger brother

ieh-tí (H) — brother

ieh-tí intí-ha (H) — elder brother

ieh-tí-mutl-hua (H) — younger brother

i-hats (Cast.) — to dress (when a man dresses)

i-hats-att, — inner piece of dress, a kind of shirt

i-huét (H) — knee, knee-cap

ins, — to dress (used by females only)

ins-att, — inner part of female dress

io-téz, téz-io — bunch

ip, iés — light, candle — Cast.: *ip-i*

ip + e-uéle (T) — fire

ip + iá, á — smoke

ip + ih-péts — spark

ip + imke-yetsa (H) — fire

ip + i-ñin — embers, red-hot coal

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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ip + iot	fire-place (Cast.)
ip + kat (H)	hearth, fireplace
ip + kult	hearthstone (Cast.), flint (T.)
ip + petti	flint (Cast.)
ip + ons	the Pleiades, a constellation
ip + sik (T)	firebrand
ip + ttanfia	coal (Cast.)
ip + tsik (H)	firebrand
ĩt	old — Cast.: *ins*
ĩt-kua	old, old man
ĩt-kats	hair on the body of grown people
ĩts	nose — Cast.: *ints*
ĩts-k-aeuɣ (T) / *ĩts-kafɣ*	nostrils — Cast.: *ints kaß*
itt-kuè	lean — Cast.: *tso-e*
itt-kuè-a	very lean
iù	silver
iú, iò	water
iù + ak-ti (H)	wound
iù-g-udla (T)	river, stream — Cast.: *io-mbo*
iù + its	headwaters of a river.
iù + kar (T) / *iù + lett-kuá* (H)	brook, spring
iù + pukà	border, river bank
iù + ti (T) / *iù + ti* (H)	otter — Cast.: *io-ti*
iù + uál (H)	river, stream
iùk (H)	breech — Cast.: *kuts*
iùk	wood, forest — Cast.: *iok*
iùk + ia-uès (T), *tàg-ia* (H)	vine
iùk-pèko (T) / *iùk-puka-so-iùk* (H)	forest edge
iùk-ua (H), *kbàm-ba* (T)	chin
iu-uè-gua	peace
ɣimba	horse
ɣimba + blill (H)	hoof
ɣimba + kàt	shield (Cast.)
ɣimba + kutt	tapir
ɣimbe-kuè-kuè (H)	thigh

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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ǵiu	long — Cast. : *io-ios*
ǵiú-ka	all
ǵút (*hiút, iút*)	herb — Cast. : *iot*
káß (T) / *kafǵi* (H)	ditch
kak	baked
kámbo (T), *támbo* (H)	stick, young tree
kamát (T) *kutta* (H)	drum — Cast. : *kimb*
kantl	ugly
kás (T) / *kátı*	skin, hide, peel — Cast. : *kati*
kénse	gullet
kia-tlá	only one (Span. : *uno no más*)
kit	tooth
kit + aka	toothache ; *aka* = ache, pain
kit + enil (T), *tsutl* (H)	molar tooth — Cast. : *toza*
kits	clay
ki-ua / *ki-uł*	soil, ground, native — Cast. : *ki-gue*
ki-ua + kutti (H) / *ki-ua + kutto* (T)	wild hog (*Dicotyles tajacu*) ; Span. : *tatabro*
ki-uł + nia	cassava-root (*Manihot utilissima*)
ki-uł + ptumb (H), *tukák* (T)	very small wild dove (*Columbigallina* sp.)
kla	cow, cattle
kla-kats	cowhide
klauetl (T), *laueti* (H)	lizard — Cast. : *alahuetl*
kpil, era-kpil	thunder — Cast. : *kapil*
kpil + kuey-nek	lightning — Cast. : *kuene*
kpil + ut-ue-tsa	storm
kpil + úy-tlek	it thunders hard
ktúme	eye-brow — Cast. : *atonkas*
kutb-kuł (H)	body — Cast. : *ka-kuł*
kuł-kue-ttk (H)	fever — Cast. : *isia-gut*
kutt	stone
kutt + kosi (T), *ítl-ità* (H)	pestle (Span. : *mano de piédra*) — Cast. : *kutt-akike, lol-tlik*

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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kuēt + mâl	stony beach, stony field (Span.: *pedregal*)
kuēt + muzē	sand
kuēt + lkin (T) *kuēt + lin* (H)	flint
kuhui (H)	lung
kuīya	food — Cast.: *kui-ia*
kukī (H) *kufi-kâl, kufi* (T)	corn — Cast.: *kokavi*
kukī + bā	red corn
kukī + kunfi	black corn
kukī + teul-i *kukī + tui*	corn-ear
kukī + tlime *kukī + nâ-ua*	white corn
kukī + unde-âte, unten-âte	harvesting season
kunfi	black — Cast.: *kunfti*
kûpi, lufi-kupi (H)	birth
kûs, kûsku	evening, night — Cast.: *kos*
kûs + ia *kûs + ii*	the morning — Cast.: *kos-kai*
kûs + utsa, kinze	afternoon — Cast.: *finze*
kusā	hand — Cast.: *kose*
kusā + bia (H)	finger
kusā + bia sēfuel	major finger
kusā + bia nûfi-kuē (H)	little finger
kusā + gûla (H)	thumb
kusā + mâl (H)	hand
kusā + pēts (H)	wrist — Cast.: *kose-peti*
kusā + pil (H)	fore-arm
kusā + pop (H)	palm of hand
kusā + uēttc	tendon
kusā + ûns (H)	pulse
kus-bē (T), *âl* (H)	snake — Cast.: *ol*
ksuns, tsuns, tsuts	thorn — Cast.: *tsons*
lâme	wax-palm (*Ceroxylum andicola*)
lanfi	a large rodent (*Cavia* sp.)
lefi-kua	small, narrow, low
lēfi-kuē tsa	piece, fragment
lûl	to grind — Cast.: *lol*

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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192 *lál + ia, hütt-hosi* — grinding pestle (Span. *mano de piedra*)

lál + kutt, kunku-kutt — grinding stone

lál + thik — small grinding-stone

lutt — child, male or female — Cast.: *alott*

lutt (H), *ain lutt + kua* (T) — son

lutt-kápi (T), *kápi* (H) — childbirth

lutt-ut, ut (T), *guaχ* (H) — hammock (*lutt-ut*=child-bridge)

maikχ — few, several

makinio — Tahiti plantain

[601] *mámo* (H), *paint* (T) — mother

mámá + sehor (T), *ant + mámo* — maternal grandfather

map ! — pull out !

mem — *Carica* sp., a wild pawpaw tree

mins (H) — tail

mä — excrement — Cast.: *ime*

mä-ain (H) — liver — Cast.: *mé-hi*

mä-tü (H) — bowels — Cast.: *ime-tö*

mä-ut — buzzard — Cast.: *ime-guei*

men-gut (H) — dysentery

mitúnχ — beverage

mótti, mutti — a corn meal — Cast.: *mátti*

muti-hi — tobacco

mum, afid — a tree with long, broad pods (*Inga* sp.)

mutt — sand

nain (H) — stomach

nósa — Indian. According to Cast. *nósa* means any being; at present it means people (*gens*), but applies to Indians only

[601] *nósa + pents* (T) — grandmother — Cast.: *epentt*

nósa + pitt-te (T) — man, Indian — Cast.: *pitt*

nósa + pigts (H) — man, Indian

nósa + ái (T) — woman, Indian

nóse + umá — medicine-man, sorcerer

nói + ma-huie-iua — market

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

ne + enl	grandmother
ne + hi	everyone's mother (Cast.)
ne + i	father
ne + iaß (Cast.)	first-born
ne + iak	sister of a sister
ne + iö	wife, spouse
ne + hnt-uklü	daughter in law
ne + nl	husband, spouse
ne + nöll	brother of a brother
ne + ti	mother
ne + sön	sister in law
ne + the	elder brother of any two
ne + tot	more powerful, also Pope (Cast.)
ne + tlik	son
ne + sem	grandson (Cast.)
ne + sow	brother-in-law (Cast.)
nete	ead, earthquake
niöns, niöns (H)	needle — Cast.: *nuec*
nil	thick, stout — Cast.: *di, di-up*
paini (T), *mama* (H)	mother — Cast.: *e-pe, ne-ti, ñi*
pamle + atl	part of female dress
pe	indicative of pairing, collecting, or of coming together, of two or several things or persons of the same kind
pe + fiä	to unite, to bind together
pe + kak	to collect or bring together many things
pe + ha	to increase, to add
pe + nöll	to be of to go together sister and brother
pe + nill	son and father, or son and mother
pe + nik-ue	aunt, father's sister
pe + pel	to be or to go together brother and sister
pe + tam	male and female together
pe + tuts	mother-in-law, aunt, father's sister
pe + utnil	the fence around a grave, made of many sticks tied together
pe + tlik	son and mother, or son and father
pe + vi	younger brother
pinal + ätau (H)	burial

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2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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192	*pénl*	old, when speaking of a female — Cast.: (*e-pentl*)
[601]	*pénl + kuè*	old woman, grandmother
	pèl	sister of a brother
	pèl + núi-taìn (T) *pèl + nu-te* (H)	elder sister of a brother
	pèl + núfl (T) *pèl + nufl-kuè* (H)	younger sister of a brother
	pèts (H)	sweat
	pets-ẓìta	throat
	pian dtàn usta	half
	pìkas	beam
[824]	*pindo*	*Gynerium saccharoides*, a tall grass used in making hats
	pinzò	*Alnus* sp., the South American alder
	pìpìo	bijao (*Heliconia* sp.) a plantain-like plant
	pìpìo + kniela (T) *pìpìo + kneia* (H)	dwarf plantain
[177]	*pìzko* (H), *tìpi-pi* (T)	turkey (Span.: *bimbo*, or *chumpipe*); both Paez words are derived from the Kitšua
	pìttka	a variety of large tick — Cast.: *guakò*
	pìlà	sheep — Cast.: *kapìla*
[824]	*pkind* (T) *pkind + a* (H)	guava tree (*Psidium guajava*)
	pkind + a-iùn (H) *pkind + bits* (T)	guava, fruit
	plàn (T)	plantain
	plàn + debèh	manzana, a variety of banana
	plàn + d-its	ripe plantain
	plàn + hàk	baked plantain
	plàn + hàts	plantain peel
	plàn + tskòẓ	boiled plantain
[824]	*plù*	shade — Cast.: *pnasà*
	pulì	*Tropæolum tuberosum*, a plant with edible tubers

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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pût	strong (in flavor) 192
lal	*Phyllanthus* sp., a small euphorbiaceous tree, the leaves of which give a black dye [386] [824]
satsâm	iron
sek	sun — Cat.: *itaki, taki: sek* also signifies dry season, and heat of the sun
limb (T), *dsa* (H)	young, half-grown maize, just before tasseling
limbe	puma — Cast.: *li*
listen	heap
listen + ôpla (Cast.)	to be heaped — *op* = all
llal	a passion flower the fruits of which are edible
sonâ	*Stylanthes guianensis*, a plant
sâ (T) / *sâ-uâ* (H)	sister-in-law — Cast.: *ne-sôu*
sus-tô	belly — Cast.: *to-ti*
lâm-pu (H)	navel — Cast.: *lamb*
ltâ-pando (H)	broom
ltu-bâfl (H), *tkâfɣ* (H)	hole
lull (H), *tsevi* (T)	*Ullucus tuberosus*, a plant with edible tubers
tâ, tâ	mountain — Cast.: *atlâ*
ta-âla	mountain group, mountain range (*serrania*)
tâmbuî (H), *tblim* (T)	occiput
tâuɣ	strap
teê	calabash used as a plate or cup
tîtî, tîtî-iat (H)	wall
topât	blow-gun—Cast.: *rito-pât*; Span.: *bodoquera* [441]
tôpi-tûpia	clean, free of obstruction
tsalfɣ (H)	upper-arm

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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192 *tsavi-i, uats tsa-eu* — burnt field (*rosa quemada*)
tsam — sand
tsik (H) — collar, neck — Cast.: *tine*
tsins (H) — back
tsi-tsi-ul, tski-uá — country, native land
tskóχ (T), *kuiga* (H) — boiled
tsméχ-me (H), *tsuá-uχ* (T) — butterfly
tsuá-uá — *Miconia æruginosa* Naud., a shrub
[601] *tsufχ* (H) — swelling — Cast.: *ekolò*
tsun — brother-in-law — Cast.: *me-tsòn*
tsüt — tender, edible corn — Cast.: *Iipi* (Span. of Cauca: *choclo*, from the Kitlua)
tsute — *Weinmannia* sp., a small tree
tlàeu (T), *tlaü* (H) — a large deer (*venado*) — Cast.: *tsavi*
tlàeu + lham (T) / *tlàü + bètl-kua* (H) — a small deer
tlakú — pineapple
tlànga — *Sida* sp., a woody weed
tlàn-tsa — strong (in vigor)
tse-ua-uá — *Miconia æruginosa* Rand., a bush
tlinda (H) — foot
tlinda + kòka (H) — ankle
tlinda + me-tú (H) — calf of the leg
tlinda + pil (H) — foreleg
tlinda + pop (H) — sole of the foot
tlinda + tant (H) — heel
tlinda + vits (H) — foot-finger, toe
tli (Cast.) — *Gynerium saccharoides*, a tall grass
tlits — roof
tlits-uá (T), *tsitl-ualá* (H) — quagmire, swamp
tlkàs — hair — Cast.: *dikas*
tlté-tènt — dust
tluá — hat — Cast.: *-tlluá*

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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tlnáft	louse, a very large variety called *carángano* by the Spanish natives — Cast.: *eti-guati* /192
tsui (T), *úkia-pits* (H)	husband — Cast.: *nemi* [601]
tsutl	woman's breast—Cast.: *hiki*
tukuè-tsè	*Relbunium hypocarpium*, a plant the roots of which give a red dye [386] [824]
tuhi (H)	plantain — Cast.: *tulö*; see also *plán*
tulü + kak	baked plantain
tulü + kàts	plantain peel
tulü + kuiga	boiled plantain
tuhü + its	ripe plantain
tíng-ua (H), *ti-ue* (T)	ear — Cast.: *tíguue*
tíng-ua + kafi-iaka (H)	ear-ache
tíng-ua + rits (H)	ear-lobe
tíng-uè-iekí	earring
tíe-kafz (T)	vent hole
típa	spider
títa (H)	first
udka	crab
udla	large, high, tall — Cast.: *gula*
udn-dziúns (H)	fishhook
udza-kua (H), *gudza-ko* (T)	daughter, girl [601]
uats-to / *uatl-ta*	tired
ud-tsa	necklace
uèll	parroquet
uense	agouti (*Dasyprocta* sp.) Span. *cuiacusa*
uentl	fish — Cast.: *gneundi*
uentl + patsl	a large, iguana-like lizard
uès (H), *guds* (T)	earthworm — Cast: *gues*
uès + kuè	thread
uè-ue-niè (H)	voice, word
uèza	wind — Cast.: *pneuma!*

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ái	maiden, woman, female — Cast.: *ói*
ái + ŋume	prostitute
ái + kul	female child
uin-dĩa (H)	elbow — Cast. : *fitsa*
uhlĩ	*Equisetum* sp., a cryptogamous plant
ulmé-ruk	*Daucus montanus* Willd., a plant
unpetl (T)	temple (of the head)
ánse-hal (H)	arm-pit — Cast. : *punsa haß*
ás (T), *hás* (H)	bean, kidney — Cast. : *os*
ás + habíno	pod, bean-pod
ás + bé	red bean
ás + kutl	black bean
us + mitl	scorpion
ás + wál	*Erythrina edulis* Triana, a leguminous tree, with edible seeds
átse (T), *áχtse* (H)	alligator pear — Cast. *ose*
utlitl	diarrhea
áχ	sparrow-hawk
vilχ (H)	finger-nail
vilia	sash, woman's belt
vil-vilχ (H)	claw
vitl	door — Cast.: *vite*
vittik, vittik-ua	bird — Cast.: *vittak-ue*

3:Bernal Villa E-5 (1952) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

Aspects of Paez Culture. Mythology and Tales from the Parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro

[Aspectos de la Cultura Paez. Mitología y Cuentos de la Parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro]

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[Title page]

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Aspects of Paez Culture
Mythology and Tales from the
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by Segundo Bernal Villa

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/281/ Chapter I

131 Geographic location.--In the northeastern part of the de-
133 partment of Cauca, like a spearhead embedded in the depart-
ment of Huila, is found the region of Tierradentro, formed by the numerous eastern spurs of the Central Cordillera. It has the shape of a triangle formed by the water divides of the hydrographic basins of the rivers Páez and Yaguará to the east and La Plata and Páez to the south. Toward the west, the Central Cordillera rises like a backbone, along which the paramos of Guanacas (3,518 meters), Las Delicias (3,750 meters), and Moras (3,670 meters) stand out. Toward the north, like a gigantic colossus and dominating the vertex of this geometric figure, stands Nevado del Huila (5,750 meters), the highest in Colombia, except for the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta.

133 Topography.--Actually, Tierradentro is a complex of mountains running in every direction, although along general lines they are oriented from west to east on the right bank of the Páez and from north to south on its left bank, rugged, steep, with lofty peaks and great gorges, canyons and hills, ravines and valleys, terraces and escarpments, ridges and plateaus, numerous gullies, rivers, and streams with violent
[484] currents and thundering noise. To travel through this region "is to go up or down," as was said by Fr. Pedro de Aguado (1).

1. Cited by Hernández de Alba (Gregorio), p. 925. /See the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 309./

/281 cont./

487 Routes of communication.--Until the fourth decade of the present century, the routes of penetration were horse paths which passed through the paramos of Guanacas, Las Delicias, and Moras, or through Inzá, Pedregal, Topa, and La Plata. The three first ones communicated with the Cauca valley, and the second with the /282/ Magdalena valley. These were the routes of the colonial era and, to a large extent, of the times [648] of the republic. The Guanacas route was the first to serve for communication between the kingdom of Quito and Santafé de Bogotá, owing, of course, to the more favorable attitude of the Guanaca Indians toward the conquistadores, who, taking advantage of their relationship with the Paez, made them their 797 allies and assistants. The first religious mission was established 175 in Guanacas in 1613. By way of the Paramo de Moras Captain 175 Juan de Ampudia entered Paez territory to take exemplary re- 648 venge for the tragic death of his colleague-at-arms, Captain Pedro de Añasco. To his disgrace and that of Spain, he met a terrible death on the cliffs of Togoima. By way of the same Paramo de Moras came the Adelantado Don Sebastián de Belalcázar, who had the same aims as his unfortunate predecessor, but this time his death, too, was added. The Paez gave him the most crushing defeat on the Peñón de Tálaga, and the Adelantado had to flee, leaving on the field of battle 491 the body of the heroic Captain García Tovar. The intense [484] traffic through these dangerous peaks and cold paramos decreased considerably with the opening of the Quindío road, and even much more with the inauguration of the La Plata-Belalcázar road. Tierradentro is connected by road with Popayán and 487 Neiva. Nowadays only the Indians from Mosoco, San José, and Vitoncó, and the Paez from Toribío, Tacueyó, and [788] Jambaló travel by way of the Paramo de Moras. That of Las Delicias is traveled by the Moguex, especially on their annual pilgrimages to the religious festivities of Our Lady of Nátaga. The Guanacas route is practically abandoned. There is also another route, traveled relatively frequently, which follows the

/282 cont./

487 Páez waters upstream, continues along the river Negro, climbs over the cordillera, and reaches Tacueyó.

133 Hydrography.--From north to south in a deep and steep bed runs the great Páez, whose frothy waves rush rapidly through the vertigo of the torrents, run swiftly while tracing spirals in the frenzied force of the whirlpools, or leap, being broken into a thousand fragments by the violent shock in the numerous falls and rapids. Born of the thaws on Huila, it receives along its eighty-kilometer course the turbulent /283/ rivers Muesga (San Vicente), Moras, Kukiyú, Ullucos, and La Plata on its right bank, and the Símbola and Negro de Narváez on its left. The Páez river drains all of Tierradentro.

137 Vegetation.--In the major part of the region there no longer exist the "dense and impenetrable forests" mentioned by Carlos Cuervo Márquez. The timber and medicinal species have practically disappeared. The Cinchona genus was heavily exploited during the second half of the past century, when the quinine industry flourished and constituted one of the most vigorous lines in the national economy. The large and dense forests have been cut down systematically by the Indians and colonists to such an extent that the latter are found as far as the steep crags of the Central Cordillera and the hydrographic [314] valleys of the Símbola and Negro de Narváez rivers. On the ridges where virgin forest has miraculously remained intact, it has been noted that it has been entirely cut down within a week in order to make a pasture for the llamas; it is not used, not even for firewood, much less for charcoal, the techniques for which seem to be unknown. In the plains and small valleys of the streams and rivers there is a thriving vegetation which for the most part is of cultural origin, since it was planted to shade the numerous coffee plantations. Gramineae abound. On the hills and plateaus, thickets and shrubs are common, while on the steep slopes pastures present their opulent greenness in winter /the rainy season/ and their yellow-brown tones in summer /the dry season/. The fields are prepared with

The fields are prepared with
/283 cont./
241 machetes and fire. They are the so-called rozas, a barbarous, primitive, and criminal method of agriculture. Burning is a habit of natives and colonists alike and goes so far that even the vegetation of the cliffs, crags, and escarpments is burned, where obviously no practical use can be derived and in addition it leaves the denuded rock at the mercy of the agents of erosion.

136 Fauna.--The fauna consists of a few classes of ophidians and small mammals: tinajos, coatis, pacas, armadillos, porcupines, foxes, deer, tapirs, sloths, and rabbits. Bears, ocelots, and pumas are found in the virgin montañas. Birds, such as wild pigeons and chachalacas, abound.

132 Climate.--There are no data on the rainfall, temperatures, /284/ and winds of this zone. The climate on the whole is temperate, or, to put it better, it is a coffee-growing climate.

361 Owing to the unevenness of the terrain, the natives inhabit
133 a region that extends from 1,000 meters (Itaibe) up to 2,500
132 meters above sea level (Suin, Mosoco, Vitoncó, and Lame). According to Dr. Gregorio Hernández de Alba, at the time of the Conquest the Paez peoples of Tierradentro inhabited "altitudes and climates between 2,620 meters with 13 degrees centigrade and 1,650 meters with 17 degrees centigrade on the average" (1).

1. Hernández de Alba (Gregorio), p. 917 /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 309/.

132 The atmospheric humidity and the rainfall increase as the cordillera becomes higher and snow-capped Huila draws nearer, with two summers and two winters, influenced, of course, by the topography, the vegetation, and proximity to the summit. There is an intense summer during the months of January and February, and another in July, August, and September. The winters are intense during the months of March-June and, on a smaller scale, in October-December. Snow-capped Huila

/284 cont./

132 gives rise to cold local winds that blow through the valley of the Páez, affecting chiefly the areas of Vitoncó, Suin, Chinas, San José, Mosoco, and also the parcialidad /a territorial division/ of Calderas itself. The variation in temperature is noticeable in these zones sometimes having hot days and very cold nights. Nebulosity is almost constant, especially in the northern zones.

241 Economy.--The topographic and climatic characteristics permit the cultivation of various plants, such as maize, beans, bananas, sugar cane, yuca, arracacha, and gourds in the temperate zones, and in the cold ones potatoes, maize, ullucos, [433] beans, gourds, and cabbage. The produce barely leaves a [439] surplus for trade with the parcialidades and urban centers of [438] Belalcázar, Inzá, and Valencia. The potato crops of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José serve for an active trade with the Paez of the western slope of the cordillera, across the Páramo de Moras.

433 Coffee and the production of panela are important lines 245 in the economy of the colonists and also of numerous groups 249 of acculturated natives. The coffee of Tierradentro is con- 177 sidered one of the best in the country, owing to the quality and mildness of the bean.

231 /285/ The raising of livestock flourishes among the civilized 437 groups. For the natives it serves for maintaining a barter trade with their neighbors, the white and mestizo colonists.

311 On the whole, native production is relatively scant, 433 giving rise to times of "hambruna" /ravenous hunger/ when [731] the summers or winters are rather harsh. The workable land lies in the small plains and valleys of rivers and streams, on the alluvial terraces, and on the plateaus. Comparing the size of Tierradentro with that of its arable land, the latter appears scant, a problem that is aggravated by the increase in population and the habitual burning.

101 Population.--Tierradentro is the country of the Paez, 361 who at the time of the Conquest were settled to the north of

/285 cont./

101 the Ullucos river, since to the south of it were found the Topas,
361 Yaguiváes, and Guanaca. It seems that in the fifteenth century,
[166 193] under the rule of the cacique Calambás, the Paez went over the cordillera and settled in Pitayó, Toribío, and Tacueyó.

162 Dr. José Pérez de Barradas gave a number of 30,000 souls.
[161] The census of 1938 gives a total of 17,578 inhabitants distributed as follows: municipio of Páez (Belalcázar), 13,861; municipio of Inzá, 3,717. The censuses of 1951 give a total of 25,495 inhabitants, with 15,388 in the municipio of Páez and 10,103 in that of Inzá. It is obvious that the census of 1938 was defective, especially with regard to the population of this last municipio.

[177] Of this population, approximately 80 per cent is Indian, acculturated for the most part, except for those of Calderas, Suin, and Chinas, where traditions are strong and their contacts with the white scant, and in addition there is great resistance to living with him.

142 The Paez are of medium height, with light brown skin, dark brown eyes, straight black hair, broad foreheads, rather pronounced cheekbones, pentagonal rather than oval faces,
361 robust constitutions, and rather broad shoulders. Their pueblos
796 consist of a church, a school, the house of the priest and of
342 the cabildo, and a few other houses which are occupied only at the times of religious fiestas; they live in ranchos that are rectangular in plan, with thatched roofs and walls made of tight rows of maize stalks, /286/ located on privately owned land and a considerable distance apart.

291 Dress.--The Paez dress simply. The man wears linen trousers, a poncho tied to the waist with a leather strap and another that falls freely from the shoulders, and a hat which they manufacture themselves with palm or bamboo leaves. The woman wears a wide skirt tied around the waist with a multicolored band preceding the folds made at the back, a poncho similar to the one worn by the men and also tied around

/286 cont./

291 the waist, and over it a rebozo or shawl of foreign make; they wear hats of masculine manufacture. They carry a thin stick
283 one meter long more or less, called kasguat, held under the left armpit, and at its upper end there is a bundle of wool to be spun, a task which they do at any time, while walking or sitting in the house, regardless of whether a child is resting on their backs or, when they are walking along the road, a heavy
301 load. Only the women wear ornaments consisting of multi-colored necklaces, earrings, and sometimes rings.

293 Both men and women usually carry three woolen pouches,
415 aside from others of fique, a very small one for money, a larger one for mambe /coca and lime for chewing/, and the third, which is the largest of all and holds the other two, is used to carry palm leaves or the plaited work made with them for the men, and other things for the women.

276 Coca.--All the Paez are "mambe chewers," men, women,
[461] and children, regarding coca as an article that gives strength,
[261] frees one from laziness, and mitigates hunger. Without it, of
[273] course, they will not work. Coca and chicha, fermented sugar-
[262] cane juice, play the role of real foods, given their starchy and scant diet.

631 Parcialidades and cabildos.--Politically, the Indians are
621 organized into parcialidades, each headed by a cabildo made up of a gobernador and substitute, a major alcalde and another minor one, two alguaciles, three fiscales, a comisario, a capitán, and a síndico elected each year and put in office by the respective alcaldías of the municipio, except for the last two, who are named for life and put in office by the /287/ Church. Their functions are administrative and police work, but in reality they exercise functions of social, legal, and religious control.

631 The parcialidades are bounded by the craggy peaks and the deep, rugged beds of the streams and rivers in such a way that each one circumscribes specific kinds of geography, and even of

/287 cont./

631 climate and vegetation. Although Paez culture is certainly unitary, each parcialidad presents different nuances which are evident even in the mythology and language. The antropomimia is quite different in each parcialidad.

Nowadays there are 16 parcialidades, four of which belong to the municipio of Inzá and the remaining 12 to that of Páez (Belalcázar).

771 Magic and medicine.--There are three institutions which
772 go in unison and encroach upon others, which explain the causation of sicknesses, the treatment for them, and serve as escape valves for aggression. They are:

a) The one made up of the trilogy of supernatural beings named Duende /ghost/, Echi, and Arco /rainbow/;

b) The institution of the medicine man, and

c) Sorcery.

753 a) Duende, Arco, and Echi are the causers of illnesses,
776 each of them producing a specific symptomatology which serves
[758] as the basis for the diagnostics of common people, a diagnostics
[787] corroborated by the divining activities of the medicine man. These supernatural beings cause illnesses by puncture, aroused by the annoyance that they suffer because of the sorcerers' practices, or by those who had contact with corpses and did not go through the mandatory purification, or because people have passed through places that are taboo, such as bogs and lagoons, or have failed to comply with the rites and ceremonies when slaughtering cattle or when harvesting new clearings, or because they have not observed "custom" at the first menstruation or childbirth.

756 b) In the institution of the medicine man the functions of
787 divination, magic, and medicine are entwined. More precisely, the medicine man is a diviner-shaman-curer who has undergone an /288/ apprenticeship in the profession with an esteemed and experienced master or with the help of a guardian spirit seen in actuality or in dreams; the latter are the best

medicine men,

000 /288 cont./

756 medicine men. To cure the patient, he divines which of the
755 supernatural beings caused the illness, proceeds to placate him,
[787] and then prescribes medicines to the patient. If the placation
is not successful, the patient literally sinks into despair. The
indispensable articles for all curing are coca, tobacco, and
[462] aguardiente. The medicine men are persons well along in years
[754] and belonging to the masculine sex. They cannot cure the
effects of sorcery, although they can protect themselves against
it.

754 c) Fifty per cent of all illnesses, the informants state,
[753] are caused by sorcery, and by the same token 50 per cent of
[761] the deaths, since sorcery is incurable. The sorcerers conceal
their activities, and it seems that all adults are potential sor-
754 cerers. The institution of sorcery is a true escape valve for the
154 strong aggressive impulses of the natives and to some extent
plays the role of a social regulator. Through it are channeled
the jealousy, resentment, and vengefulness of the natives.
The victims of sorcery are the most skillful and hard-working
individuals, those who have a good house, good crops, and a
growing number of domestic animals. Harvests and plantings
[683] generally are the object of sorcery. Sorcerers who are publicly
unmasked are exposed to the anger of the community and even
to exile, a measure taken not so much on account of their be-
[685] ing sorcerers as of their being thieves. All sorcerers are thieves.
Sorcery appears with considerable frequency in the symbolism
of dreams.

583 Marriage.--Marriage is monogamous and patrilocal. Both
[595] the chroniclers and Dr. Gregorio Hernández de Alba speak of
[591] the custom of the year of probation to acquaint the man with
[177] the skill, energy, and fecundity of his future wife. A thriving
[797] institution in times past, it is now in sharp decline owing to the
action of mission work. Obviously, the purpose of this insti-
tution is to find out whether the woman is hard-working, faith-
ful, not a thief, and to understand her ways in order to establish
a lasting union. Nowadays the Paez, before being married

/288 cont./
583 in the church, live together for a period of indeterminate duration, explaining that /289/ the man does not have enough money at hand to marry as soon as he asks the woman, and it is necessary to work in order to obtain it.

771 Religion.--The religion of the Paez is formally Catholicism,
177 but many of their traditions are hidden in it. The principal
[796] fiestas of the natives are religious ones, which acquire true strokes of splendor. The Catholic priest is called upon for the ceremonies of baptism, marriage, and cases of death.

Chapter II

631 Calderas.--Incrusted in the very heart of Tierradentro is the
131 Parcialidad of Calderas, bounded on the north by a high ridge
133 that separates it from Chinas and Avirama; on the east, La Muralla, the very model of a fault, separates it from Avirama, just as a ridge separates it from Togoima; to the south, deep gorges and high peaks separate it from San Andrés and Togoima; to the west, the Quebrada Guacharaca divides it from the Parcialidad of Lame.

133 It is crossed from west to east by the Quebrada Kukiyú,
631 actually a river in terms of the volume and violence of its waters, whose bed is deep, enclosed, and inaccessible. Its
[423] left bank is somewhat softened by a beautiful plateau of about 20 hectares, with fertile lands, abundant waters, and on which the pueblo rises; it belongs to the community, whereas the other lands are private property guaranteed by the fact that the owner either personally cleared the montaña or inherited it from his ancestors who cleared the forest. The right bank is steep, harsh,
[161] rugged. Numerous clearings are to be seen on these sloping
[311] lands, indicating the increase in population that compels them to cultivate lands of low fertility and great danger for the laborer.

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/289 cont./

142 The Calderuno /native of Calderas/ is rather tall, with a light copper skin, straight black hair, a straight nose somewhat flattened and broad at the base, slightly prominent cheekbones, dark brown eyes reminiscent of the Mongolian eye, a broad forehead, long and robust extremities, a slightly pentagonal face; many have mustaches, and, on the whole, the
157 features are rather /290/ handsome. On the other hand, he is talkative, communicative, deeply traditionalistic, proud
[361] of himself, and has a deep love of the land. Isolated as they
[177] are from the other parcialidades by natural accidents and far removed from the urban centers of Inzá and Belalcázar, they are shy, sullen, and withdrawn with the white, stubbornly opposed to contact with him, and, as a result their institutions, have suffered less from the impact of cultural mestization.
797 Not even the very church that has worked so persistently for the
177 catechization of these tribes, especially in this century through the Lazarist missionaries active since 1905, has been able to penetrate fully into the soul of these people.

114 I have carried out my research in this parcialidad since
773 the month of August of last year, with several interruptions.
[124] The myths and tales which I now present were gathered with patient labor after much waiting, for the natives, when questioned about these themes, nearly always reply with the word himeto ("I don't know"). There is no need to stress the importance of mythology as an institution in the so-called "primitive" cultures. Nor is it my intention to theorize on the subject. It is enough to say, in the words of Herskovits, that "mitología es como la carta constitucional de las creencias y presta sentido a la conducta ritual que se deriva de sus consagraciones /mythology is the constitutional charter of beliefs and gives meaning to the ritualistic behavior that is derived from its consecrations/" (1). The chroniclers tell

1. Herskovits, p. 409 /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 309/.

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114 us nothing about the religion and mythology of the Paez. Nor
773 do systematic modern studies exist. Nor do those who have had the opportunity to be in contact with them and to describe their customs and ways of life tell us about their religion and mythology. Furthermore, there are those who state that the Paez have no mythology. José Pérez de Barradas collected the myth of Juan Tama. Gregorio Hernández de Alba refers to it, and the Lazarist missionary Fr. David González also collected it and has it in his unpublished work, Los Paeces /The Paez/, in quite elaborate and synthetical form, as does G. Burg. It is obvious that a large part of the myths and tales which I am presenting, not to say all of them, have suffered modifications in the avatar of time, as the institutions also changed. Since mythology is the rationalization of conflicts created by the culture itself, it is subject to the directives /291/ of that society and culture. Its roots are inevitably of a sociological and cultural nature.

773 Many of the myths collected have a marked similarity to
776 that of Juan Tama. The predominant central motifs refer to
538 sex and aggression. The personages in the myths are Thunder, Llíban, Juan Chiracol, Chaute, and Santo Tomás. Llíban is regarded as Thunder's son, but everyone maintains that he is Thunder himself; he was a cacique, and the natives state that many of their caciques took refuge in the turbulent waters of the river. The last two personages merge and in reality form a single being. It is to be noted that in some accounts the tricky personage presented is not Tomás, who is a saint, but Pedro Dimales, his brother.

186 There is no need to emphasize the role played by the Pijao
793 in these accounts. The recollection of this people inured to
628 war is still fresh in the memory of the Calderunos, the characteristics of the struggle sustained against them still manifest, the fear that the name Pijao awakened still alive. To the Calderun mentality they seem like monsters, like animals of uncommon size and power, who drew fire from their armpits.

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773 They are in fact legendary personages who go beyond the
[186 boundaries of legend to enter the territory of myth, not only
[628 by their symbolism, but in their dramatic force, their socio-
logical framework, and their cultural function.

The mythology gravitates around the behavior of the natives, their attitudes toward the whites, the organization of the cabildo, illnesses, and death. Of Juan Chiracol, a 23-year-old informant says: "He warns when the mob is coming, he no longer warns, so." And of Thunder, it is said that he almost killed a padre because he went to the montaña to get wood to board up the school. "Thunder was defending the
538 wood," they say. The tales were always told around the fire,
773 with men, women, and children present, who sometimes laughed, at other times kept silent, but always corroborated, corrected, elaborated, or confirmed. The storytellers sometimes put on a serious face, accompanied their tale with mimicry, and once in a while they would burst into mocking laughter, as if to signify that what they were saying was worthless and they did not believe it. I was soon able to ascertain
115 their sociological and cultural value. The myths and tales
773 were collected with the help of an interpreter, a mestizo from San Andrés, about 35 /292/ years old, tall, muscular, quiet in manner, intelligent, calculating, with great charm and a knowledge of Paez and the Spanish language; he was familiar with the customs of the Calderunos, esteemed by them, and
773 skilled in his questioning. We present below the myths and
128 tales collected, leaving the other aspects of the culture for presentation in a complete monograph.

1. Thunder

*539 The old people related that at one time the area was full of Pijao. Thunder lived in Sukafi. In view of the growing number of Pijao, he decided to kill them. He stood on a tall stone that is to be found there, threw his lariat /boleadora/

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*539 and killed the Pijao up to Kuetando. Then he said to the medicine men that they could clear all the montañas, since all the animals were already dead. Saying this, he went to the lagoon of Vichaguau. This is why the cabildos of old went on nocturnal pilgrimages to the lagoon to speak with him. The medicine men believed that if the staffs of command were cooled off /enfriar/, very few people would die, since Thunder himself helped to sustain them with his remedies. The medicine men of today are not qualified to speak with Thunder; they cannot go because he kills them on the spot.

Informant: Mártin Kuskue, 50 years old, speaks very little Spanish.

Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

2. Thunder

The old people said that the lagoons abducted people. Actually it was Thunder.

Once a man had a potato field in Puelbits. It was a hollow, and there was a montaña. He went to harvest it. Around two o'clock in the afternoon there came an old man with a hat of twigs and massive and ugly in appearance. The harvester looked around and saw that he was coming along a fallen tree. The old man asked: "Are you already harvesting?" The man replied that he was and that he had already gathered a few. The old man asked if he would lease him the land so that they could work /293/ together. The owner replied that he did not know about leasing, because for this purpose there were large areas of land where one could work. The old man insisted that he greatly desired to live and work with him. He puzzled the people and they did not want to speak to him anymore because he was a very ugly old man and unknown to them. He sat down to converse with them, but they did not respond very much. He then drew to the place a black cloud which began to pour down a heavy rain on the potato field. The people took

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*539 shelter in the rancho that they had, but it was penetrated by the rain. The old man followed behind them and sat down on a log outside the rancho. They invited him to come in, but he refused. They were further puzzled to see that the old man did not feel the rain. They did not lose sight of him. The water was up to the legs and it did not matter to their visitor. The people took flight, but the old man abducted the women. When the great medicine men were consulted, they declared that the old man was Thunder. They chased him away, and a bog was left at the place where he had been.

Informant: Rosario Iko, 80 years old, does not know Spanish.
Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

Version I

Some young men had a large piece of cultivated land shaped like a funnel. They had potatoes, and the harvest was good. When all the potatoes had been gathered, they left the mamma /mamá/ with a granddaughter there. In the afternoon a terrible storm arose; the field began to be flooded. An old man with a very large hat of twigs arrived. The water was nearly knee-high. The old woman and the old man remained sitting there. The little girl climbed up, asking the old people to come also; she reached a high place and was safe. The old people did not move. The field was transformed into a lagoon.

Informant: Justo Muse, 33 years old, speaks Spanish.
Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

Version II

In a potato field an old woman and four other members of her family were harvesting. Suddenly there was a downpour, and one of them, a little girl, climbed to the crest, and when she reached the heights the potato field was transformed into a lagoon. The others remained inside it. The /294/ girl saw

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/294 cont./

539 from above that an old man in a cloak and a large hat of twigs went in. It is believed that those who remained inside the lagoon continued to live, since it seems that Thunder (the old man who went in) abducted them.

Informant: Juan Petins, 60 years old, knows Spanish.
Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

3. The Visit of the Young Stranger

The first inhabitants of Calderas related that a young man came to live on a ridge of the Parcialidad. A young girl visited him often. Her mother chided her for this, but she told her that a snake drew out dead pigeons for her from the branches and that she was going to collect them. Soon the girl was pregnant. She had a strange son, on whose body it could be seen that worms of some sort came out. The mother asked that great care be taken not to remove the worms because they were the child's very life. On one occasion the mother went to the fields and remained there for some time. Meanwhile the child woke up. The grandmother came to the hammock, took him in her arms, saw the worms, and removed them all. The child died. Its own mother returned and complained that there was no reason to kill the child. Since she was near a lagoon, she threw herself into it, but she did not drown. She merely vanished. So did the stranger. The medicine men said that the woman was living with the stranger in the lagoon. The grandmother decided to have magic performed on her and arranged for a meeting of medicine men. They asked for a Quito sapallo and the rags of a menstruating woman. They put them together and tossed them into the middle of the lagoon. The stranger and the girl fled to the lagoon of Santa Rosa. The one in Calderas dried out. The bogs in the pastures of Calderas are the remains of this lagoon. It is certain that the pair left at four o'clock in the afternoon in the midst of a black cloud. This is how it is known where they are.

Informant: Juan Petins.
Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

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4. Llíban, the Son of Thunder

Some medicine men once had a meeting, when there was gold among the Indians. The first medicine man wore a gold hat. He called on the medicine men to make a medication. He called a stream into existence and there picked up the son of Thunder. He had him nursed at the breast of girls 13 or 14 years old, who could only endure it for three or four months and then died. Finally, Llíban was able to eat special foods. He grew up and was given the name of Llíban. He became the best medicine man in Tierradentro. A Pijao tribe came to kill Thunder's son. They came by way of the Alto de Belén, the Muralla, the Quebrada Kukiyú, from every side. He was blockaded. Then the cacique decided to send for the necessary weapon: the lariat. Since he was at the mercy of the enemy, he sent a servant for it, telling him that it was inside a jar. Inside the jar he found a very large green snake. He was afraid. He returned to the cacique to tell him what he had seen. The latter went in person to get it and was not afraid. He took out the snake. The enemy was surrounding him on all sides. He threw the snake as a lariat, and all the Pijao as far as Togoima fell dead. He remained alive. And since he was the son of Thunder he went to his father. He did this to prove that he was indeed the son of Thunder.

According to another informant, the snake was lightning, and this is why sometimes there is loud thunder.

Informant: Celia Urriaga, 65 years old, does not speak Spanish.

Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

Version I

Llíban is said to have resulted from a gathering of some medicine men who were called together at the time by a cacica /female cacique/. The medicine men called into

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/295 cont./

*539 being a great flood in whose turbulent waters came the son of Thunder. They picked him up and took him to the cacica. They first fed him with the blood of selected girls who had not yet reached puberty. They became scarce because they died very soon. Llíban began to eat. They could not tame him, and they gave him the name of Llíban. He could not get used to living in a house and moved to Eshufi Ik ("bone lagoon."). When he left, he /296/ decided to exterminate the Pijao. The old people tell that at one time he made a plot in Calderas, with potatoes, maize, peas, and cabbage. He waited for the Pijao to come and take it. Thus it came to pass. He figured that they were all in the plot, turned himself into a Kuetaguata (stone of the seat /piedra de la silla/) and killed several at one blow. Those who remained alive thought that it was Llíban who had hurt them and decided to kill him. They went looking for him. Llíban killed them at the first climb.

Llíban advised the cacicas that they should make people respect the elders, see to it that the land did not fall into the hands of foreigners, and, if the Pijao returned, call him through the medicine men in order to exterminate them.

One day he said that he was leaving, and in spite of the entreaties he left Eshufi Ik and went on.

Informant: Felisa Ñunda, 70 years old, does not know Spanish.

Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

Version II

Once the water was dirty. A young boy went to see why the water was dirty. He met an old man called Llíban, who gave him a small object. "You can fight the Pijao," he told him. That small object was called isot (lariat), he took it and kept it in a jar. The Pijao came and he sent a servant, surely a relative, to bring it. When he returned, he said that there was no lariat, but only a snake; he did not bring it

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

*539 /296 cont./

because he was afraid. The boy went in person to fetch it; he threw with it, making a sound like thunder; he killed the Pijao as far as Kuetando. This boy was called Liîban, but he was a son of human beings. "I will go to live in a lagoon. I shall never die," he said. He must still be alive. Thunder sent a young boy so that he might turn into Thunder himself.

Informant: Victoriano Piñakué, 18 years old, speaks Spanish quite well.

/297/ 5. Juan Chiracol

It was known that Juan Chiracol had come from two "chinitas" /darlings/ who had come from above, from the Zenzepechi ridge, fleeing from the Pijao.

For food they had potatoes and other produce of the earth. With much labor, and with stone tools, they managed to clear the montaña.

At one time the Pijao came and ate one of them. The other one remained alone. She became pregnant by a jaguar, and from this union Juan Chiracol was born. He was very intelligent. He knew the sufferings that his mother had gone through; for this reason he fought the Pijao until he had exterminated them. The mother became used to the company of the jaguar, for the latter looked after his son Juan and brought meat from the mountain. When the child was grown, the jaguar left. Mother and son moved to the place where the cemetery now stands and began to build the church.

Chiracol gave much advice. He advised them not to sell the land, which was theirs alone and for which they had fought the Pijao. He said that he was leaving and that he would not return, but that he would watch them from the El Caspe Lagoon. When he is angry, he says uuuuh.

The lagoon of El Caspe is said to be very far away, on the borders of Atá. It has the reputation of being very rough. It is believed that when a tree falls or a rock slides down, it is

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

/297 cont./

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Juan Chiracol who is coming to scold them. Juan Chiracol is said not to have liked women, and for this reason he left no descendants.

Informant: Agustín Muse, 80 years old, does not know Spanish.

Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

6. Llîban and Juan Chiracol

Llîban was a sat (cacique) of Calderas in its western part, and this is why the first house located in the Puelchí hollow is called Llîban. Nowadays it is called Eshufi Ik. Juan Chiracol was also a sat, but in the eastern part. He hid in El Caspe, a very big lagoon located on the borders of Belalcázar, /298/ while Llîban went to the borders of Chinas. After vanquishing the Pijao, the two had a talk and disappeared, each to his own destination, at the places mentioned. Llîban advised good management; he told them that they were now free from the Pijao and that, in case the latter should return, he should be called through the medicine men. No one knows how he appeared. He had not been baptized, but seemed to be a Christian.

Informant: Agustín Muse.

Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

7. The Little Girl Who Became a Snake

On a certain occasion and during a flood, a little girl came out. The people took her in, and a married couple undertook to bring her up. When the priest came to celebrate a fiesta, the married couple and the people went to mass. The little girl also wanted to go, but because she had no dress they did not take her. The couple had gone far when the little girl went after them, impelled by her ardent desire to attend mass and covered only with an old shawl. When the couple reached

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

534 /298 cont./

the church, she reached the stream Yutuk. There she turned into a snake. The church was full of people. The snake approached the temple; it was as long as the rainbow and had two ears like a donkey. With its body it surrounded the church, encircling it, and put its head through the door. It ate all the people, except the couple raising it, who begged it to wait a while. They went out sorrowfully. After having eaten the people, the snake rose to the sky to devour the Virgin. When it was high, very high, two animals came (oh = eagles) from Puelchí, went through the air to the plaza, and bit the snake in two, nearly destroying it. It fell to the ground, undoubtedly dead. A man came with his mula /female mule/ to destroy it, mounted the mula, and ran far away. The snake probably rotted away there, but snakes appeared everywhere. In Ulnengá there was one in a bog that smelled horrible when warmed by the sun. It would come up and eat people who had fields. They told this to an Englishman, who with his sword cut off its head and its tail, both blue in color. The head flew through the air /299/ and fell in Ulnengá, while the tail fell at the spot called Loto.

Informant: Victoriano Piñakué.

8. Creation of the Páez River

537 823 Chautéh made the Páez river appear. He went very far along the path, certainly by way of the paramo. He was very thirsty and there was no water. On the mountain there was a marsh; he took a mountain reed, sank it into the marsh, sucked, abundant water came out, and he quenched his thirst. This water did not run in any direction. The man went on and the water followed him. Then he wondered why the water did not stay put. He ran and the water did too. He climbed on a branch, and the water remained stretched out at his feet, in a large pool, without overflowing anywhere. The man went on, and the water followed him. He would run for a long

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*539 /299 cont./
823 time, and the water would stay put for a little while, so that he could rest while the current approached. Chautéh ran in a zigzag to avoid being overtaken by the water. This is why in La Plata the river runs with many bends. The man was getting very tired, so he left the watercourse at the big river (Magdalena).

Informant: Victoriano Piñakué.

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9. Chautéh

Chautéh was causing much damage, and he was taken far away, to where the sun rises. He is inside a large box, but he has only one eye. Chautéh made all the animals. Before that they were people. The chiguaco was a sacristan because he can pray; the chicao can whistle, and the chachalaca is very talkative. The rabbit was a very mendacious man; when the dog gives chase, he does not allow himself to be caught, but constantly changes direction. There was a carpenter who knew how to make chests large enough to hold a man. He told Chautéh that he would make him one as a gift. He accepted the offer. The carpenter made it with great care; he finished it and showed it to him. Chautéh got in to measure it, and the chest was closed, never to open again. The carpenter nailed him in so that he would cause no more damage. Chautéh begged: "Open it, please." /300/ but no one opened it. Then he asked that two holes be made so that he could see. The carpenter took out his chisel and made one hole properly; when he was making the other, the tool slipped and put out one of his eyes. He has made me one-eyed, he said to himself, but while I am here he will be looking at tree trunks and opening tree trunks, nothing more. The carpenter turned into a little bird that opens up a hole in a tree trunk, lays eggs, and raises its young.

Informant: Victoriano Piñakué.

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

/300 cont./

10. The Sea

*539 823 On a certain occasion Tomás Dimales said to Pedro, his brother, that he had set up a test. Tomás would make a river, and Pedro would have to stop it. He accepted the proposal and set out running. In those days no one knew where the waters went. Pedro told his brother ahead of time that he would tell him when the river was stopped. So it came to pass. When Santo Tomás went to look, he found the sea there where Pedro was. The latter told him to note carefully whether the river was running. He had stopped the waters at this spot.

Informant: Vicente Puchi, 56 years old, speaks Spanish.

Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

11. Piedra Alta

Pedro and Tomás Dimales were two brothers, the former evil, the latter good. They lived together and went about as companions. In those days Calderas was flat. On a certain occasion they were passing the boundaries of the Muralla together; there were no rocks. Pedro said to Tomás: Look at the cliff that have formed; Tomás replied that that was not possible, since the region was flat. When he pointed to the spot, a large rock arose: it is the Piedra Alta /tall stone/.

Informant: Vicente Puchi.

*539 12. Pedro and Tomás Dimales

Tomás, being good, received Pedro when he was out walking. The latter would state his desire to help him in his work, and for a few days he would do it well. Once Tomás sent him to sow maize. He sowed it, but he threw all the seeds into a single hole. Another time Pedro /301/ went to weed maize, but all he did was to cut down the maize. On another occasion, Pedro was angry at Santo Tomás; he went to him and told him

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

/301 cont./

539 that he looked like a stone. His intention was to turn him into a stone. Since Tomás was a saint, his plan failed.

Informant: Guillermo Guagás, 35 years old, does not know Spanish.

Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

13. Santo Tomás

Santo Tomás was the brother of María Santísima, but he was very tricky and very ugly. To give an idea of what people said to him: he had lice, scabies; he was loathsome. If someone mumbled something, he turned him into stone. His sister was displeased by all the things he did, and she often admonished him, because if he went on like this he would destroy the world. It was he who left so many cliffs, rocks, and ugly stone . With one footstep he rocked the world. As for the Christians, sons of María Santísima, he turned them into stone. He committed so many offenses that María Santísima became angry. She went to the sky so as not to see all these iniquities. Her brother followed her; he reached the sky and María ordered him to return to the world; he went down in a gust of wind. Then he sent him to the end of the world, where he is. His annoying behavior came to an end. Sometimes he becomes angry and makes the earth shake, because he wants to get out, which María will not permit. It is said that María Santísima put him in bronze boxes /cajones/ by means of a trick. He cannot come out, but he makes the world shake.

Informant: Agustín Muse.

Interpreter: Marco Antiono Penkue.

Version I

In Lame they caught Santo Tomás. It is said that in Lame there is a stone on which he put his goad /rejo/ and sat down.

*539 [Parcialidad of Calderas]

/301 cont./

The marks are said to be there. While he was resting, he saw a beautiful bird. He was looking at it, fascinated, when they caught him and put him in a box. They put him to sleep; they buried him and planted a tree called tachi (tachuelo /Pictetia aristata; P. aculeata/).

[823] /302/ Earthquakes are caused by Santo Tomás when, tired of one position, he changes it in order to rest.

Informant: Corpus Guagás, 18 years old, knows Spanish.

Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

14. The Petrified Fiesta-house

At the place called Uikuet it is said that there was a house where a fiesta was celebrated. It is petrified. When the fiesta was in progress, a rather tattered little boy came to ask them for food. An old woman grumbled that there were so many people, why should they give anything to that boy? The latter left, saying, "I see stone." The entire house was turned to stone. The little boy grew large. It is said that one can still see the fallen jars. That little boy was Santo Tomás.

Informant: Corpus Guagás.

Interpreter: Avelino Penkue.

15. The Stones of Chaikin

[823] The two stones of Chaikin were made by Chautéh. Two women were carrying sugar cane. He asked them to give him sugar cane and they did not give him any. Then he turned them into stone.

Informant: Victoriano Piñakué.

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

/302 cont./

*539

16. The Mother of Salt

The old people could see the mother of salt. They saw a little old woman with tufts of hair that were balls of salt. The old people said that she was the mother of salt.

Informant: Justo Muse.

Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

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17. Fire

A little old woman possessed fire. A little girl went to ask her for a few small firebrands. The old woman merely gave her a few smoldering twigs, /303/ which went out before she got home. She came back again to ask for another firebrand, but the old woman was not there. The fire burned inside in thick firebrands. The girl took a big one. The old woman found out and went in pursuit of her, being niggardly about the brand. The girl ran, but when the old woman overtook her, she threw the fire into straw "ready" /jecha/ and good. The people who needed fire took it from this spot, which for this reason was called Ipikué (Plan of fire).

In those days they were making the pueblo. They were thinking about a name. If fire comes out, they said, it shall be called Calderas /caldrous/; if not, Buktá. The former came out, and the pueblo was called Calderas.

Informant: Victoriano Piñakué.

Version I

The old people relate that there was an old woman who possessed fire and who distributed it to the other people. Once she refused to give them any more fire, and she extinguished it in order to leave them without it. She saved only one burning stick and she ran off with it. The Indians ran after her, and as they were overtaking her, she dropped the brand

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

* /303 cont./

539 at one side of the path and hid in a river. By the smoke they
372 found the fire, and all the people were able to supply themselves from it. This one was not extinguished again. It is believed that the old woman was a Pijao.

Informant: Vicenta Tumbo, 40 years old, does not know Spanish.

Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

Version II

When religion had recently been introduced, there was an old woman who drew fire from her armpit and gave it to anyone who asked for it. The missionaries came and said that this fire was witchcraft and thus had to be blessed. The old woman fled so that the fire would not be taken from her and the blessing would not be given. As she went running off, the old woman set herself on fire, and the flames covered her completely. When she reached the river, which was in flood, she threw herself into it. The old woman is said to have been a monster (Pijao); she had a very large face, hair like a mane and rather gray.

Informant: Juan Petins.

Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

/304/ Version III

The old people related that once there was a little girl who had nothing. María Santísima appeared to her and asked her what she was doing, to which she replied that she was there. "You will have to blow on the fire," she said, "because even I am cold." Ordering her to fetch some kindling, María Santísima drew fire from her armpit. She warned her to preserve it, for without it they could not live. From it fire was
[103] obtained for everyone. This is why they gave the place the name of Calderas

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

* /304 cont./

539 name of Calderas. María Santísima gave the fire and disappeared.

Informant: Agustín Muse.

Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

18. The Mine-armadillo

*539 823 825 My father was inside a house. Suddenly he saw an animal that shone like a lamp; the light went up to the sky. The animal was a mine-armadillo which was climbing up the hill. If one succeeds in catching him, one puts him in a large box and gives him maize to eat. He turns into a mine, pure gold. Before catching him, one must have the silver ready, 50 or 100 pesos; one wraps him in a new kerchief and lifts him; he is very light. Without the silver, he is seen in the stream or on the path, but one cannot catch him; one puts his hand there where the armadillo is, withdraws it, and he does not move.

Informant: Victoriano Piñakué.

19. The Thin Man

* 539 774 781 My father bought a jar and carried it on his back. At night, drunk, he met the thin man sitting by the path; it was a soul. He was about to fall into the ditch, but the soul did not let him fall and accompanied him home as if he were his brother. Father, frightened, started falling, but the soul held him up; he carried a light, making the night very clear. Nevertheless he did not speak. The man looked like the Sisters; he was quite white.

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20. The Devil

My father, with a friend, was coming from Belalcázar on horseback; I was behind my father. The friend came last; he

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

/305/

*539 carried a big load. As they went down the El Tablón slope, they saw a man coming out in front of them. It rained a little there, but it soon cleared up; a cloud that was there rose and went away. The man ran hard, he was on a black, colimocho horse, and he woré a black rubber raincoat. My father went down to the El Tablón stream and found nothing. In the stream there was a door; he was unable to open it; the horse jumped. He looked all around, but found nothing. He looked for tracks and did not find them either. Then he thought that it was the devil.

21. The Jaguar Man

In the old days there were jaguar people, who were the same as the mountain jaguar that eats sheep. The men went out once with guns and dogs to hunt it, but without any success. They asked a jaguar man to hunt it. He went to the mountain with a machete /peinilla/, found the real jaguar, and started to play with it, until he became angry and killed it. The jaguar man was much stronger, because he ate salt. He put it on the path and told the other men to bring it down. They went with guns; the jaguar seemed alive; they believed that it was and went back. The jaguar man assured them that it was dead, so they came back and picked it up. Far, far away, there are jaguar men. In Cali. The white men themselves are jaguars. Jaguar men are thieves.

Version Number 1

Thieves turn into jaguars and take cattle to Garzón and Neiva. They go back home and again turn into human beings.

A man was walking in the paramo, hunting alone. He saw a Pijao who made fire by piling up kindling and drawing fire from his armpit. The Pijao had a gold staff, and the hunter said to himself, I shall take this staff from him.

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

* /305 cont./

539 He turned into a jaguar, while the Pijao took out bananas and a snake to eat. Once changed into a jaguar, he wanted to take the staff, and the Pijao ran for about three hours, closely followed by him, until he reached his pueblo. The jaguar changed into a man in order to see the pueblo, while the Pijao told his relatives, and the latter went out in pursuit of him. The man again turned into a jaguar, ran back to the starting point, and took home with him in a pouch /306/ the roasted bananas; he turned back into a man and told his wife what had happened.

22. The Man and the Thin Dog

My father was coming from the market and drinking chicha. He was drunk and fell asleep along the way. At midnight he woke up and went on. He saw a thin dog. He caught it. At once a very thin man came out with his heart hanging out. The man ran. My father also ran. Much farther on my father lashed out /fuetio/ at him. Without thinking, he fell flat and went to sleep. He woke up at dawn and only saw that he had grabbed at the flowers, for they were crushed. He had grabbed without thinking.

23. The Head

The head goes about alone. It comes from very far away. It goes about at night. It is merely a head with one tooth, one ear, and without a body. A man who was sitting on a stone with his staff saw it, caught it, and sent it to the river. The man set out running. The head came out of the stream to pursue him and went on beyond him, for the man had climbed a very high tree in order to hide. It came back and looked for the man with the odor. It saw him in the tree, but the head could not go that far. It bobbed and bobbed until the cock crew, at which time it went home. There it has relatives.

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

* /306 cont./

539 If dawn comes and it has not reached home, it asks for shelter from its relatives. On the following night it reaches its own home. The man climbed down the tree in fear and went home, telling everyone (wives, sisters, children, parents, and relatives) that he had seen this head.

The head may appear to any man, whether he is drunk or not. The animal goes downhill easily, but has a hard time going uphill.

It travels underground and comes out in the field.

24. The Animals

A man went to see a relative who lived far away. He drank chicha with a cousin. He got drunk and walked through the night. /307/ He carried a machete /peinilla/ and also a shotgun to kill chachalaca. He made a shot. Something came out that looked like a pig. He could not see anything, although he looked all around him. He took out his machete to defend himself, but he could not see anything. He shot his gun once more into the air, and then many animals came out, to judge by the noise that they made in the leaves of the trees, but nothing was to be seen; only the noise was heard and nothing more. The night was very dark; he struck matches, but they immediately went out. Then he shouted. A female relative heard him and went looking for him, accompanied by her little daughter. She carried a burning twig with which she frightened away the animals. They found the man in a ditch, took him out, and went off in fear. The women ahead and the man behind. Along the way there was a small stream, and an animal seemed to move in the water. The man looked behind and saw only two eyes shining and shouted, "look, here comes an animal," and passed the women. They did not see anything. They held up the light, and the animals remained quiet.

[825] At nine o'clock the animals are already walking about. During Holy Week they walk about a great deal. People cannot go out.

/307 cont./

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25. The Sky

Informant: Agustín Muse.
Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

Once when I was near death my soul climbed to the sky, which is a flat plain where the view extends to the horizon. The entrance is wooded. The Virgin told me that this land was for her sons and that I would have a piece. To reach the sky, one first goes along a good path and soon becomes lost; the most hidden one leads to the Virgin's palace. It is said that it is bad for one to eat the porcupine, because he will come before María Santísima dressed in its skin. He will go to the devil, and although the latter cannot pick him up, he has hooks with which to grab him. This is why, at the hour of retiring or rising, I pray to my God and to María.

[262]
[825]

The palace of María is of blinding splendor. It is very beautiful. The Virgin always holds the Child; only rarely does she put him down somewhere.

I tell my fellow men what I saw but they make fun of my account.

/308/ It is holy, they should respect it.

Good people go to heaven, that is to say, those who do not abuse other persons, say evil things, or are loutish.

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26. Origin of the Plants

The old people said that every kind of seed had been given by María Santísima, who drew them from her womb and gave them to the Christians in order for them to maintain themselves. Plants are thus inherited from María Santísima. She gave away every kind of seed when her brother was around. Hence his rage, since he wanted to give seeds and animals and could not. Perhaps the snakes were made by Santo Tomás. /The bibliography on p. 309 is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

[825]
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3: Bernal Villa SC15 Paez SC15

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[For information on the informants and interpreters used by the author in collecting specific examples of mythological tales from the Parcialidad of Calderas, see category 116, pp. 10-32.]

[For the text of various Paez myths and tales, see category 116, pp. 13-32.]

3: Bernal Villa SC15 Paez

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[Title Page]

3: Bernal Villa SC15 Paez

ASPECTOS DE LA CULTURA PAEZ

Mitología y Cuentos de la Parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro

Por

SEGUNDO BERNAL VILLA

[P.279]
[P.280 is blank]

3: Bernal Villa SC15 Paez

CAPITULO I

Situación geográfica—En el Departamento del Cauca y en su parte noreste, como una punta de lanza que se enclava en el Departamento del Huila, se halla la región de Tierradentro formada por los numerosos contrafuertes orientales de la Cordillera Central. Tiene la figura de un triángulo formado por las divisorias de aguas de las cuencas hidrográficas de los ríos Páez y Yaguará al oriente y La Plata y Páez al sur. Hacia el occidente, como espina dorsal, levántase la Cordillera Central en la que sobresalen los páramos de Guanacas (3.518 metros), de Las Delicias (3.750 metros) y de Moras (3.670 metros). Como coloso gigantesco y dominando el vértice de esta figura geométrica encuéntrase hacia el norte el Nevado del Huila (5.750 metros), el más alto de Colombia si se exceptúa la Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta.

Topografía—En realidad, Tierradentro es un comprimido de montañas que siguen las direcciones más caprichosas si bien en rasgos generales están orientadas de occidente a oriente en la margen derecha del Páez y de norte a sur en su margen izquierda; áspero, abrupto, de soberbias cuchillas e inmensas depresiones, de cañones y cerros, de hondonadas y valles, de terrazas y acantilados, de filos y altiplanicies, de numerosos ramblas, ríos y quebradas, de corrientes violentas y ruidos atronadores Transitar por estas regiones "ha de ser bajando o subiendo", según el decir de Fray Pedro de Aguado (1).

Vías de comunicación—Hasta la cuarta década del presente siglo las vías de penetración eran caminos de herradura que pasaban por los páramos de Guanacas, Las Delicias y Moras o por Inzá, Pedregal, Topa y La Plata. Los tres primeros comunicaban con el valle del Cauca y el segundo con el valle del Mag-

(1) Citado por Hernández de Alba (Gregorio). P. 925.

dalena. Eran los caminos de la época colonial y de gran parte de los tiempos de la república. El camino de Guanacas fue el primero que sirvió de comunicación entre el reino de Quito y Santafé de Bogotá, debido naturalmente a la mejor disposición de los indios Guanacas con los conquistadores, quienes aprovechando las dimensiones de aquéllos con los Paeces los convirtieron en sus aliados y ayudantes. En Guanacas se estableció la primera misión religiosa en 1613. Por el Páramo de Moras hizo su entrada al país de los Paeces el Capitán Juan de Ampudia, quien iba a tomar ejemplar venganza de la trágica muerte de su colega de armas el capitán Pedro de Añasco. Para desgracia suya y de España encontró terrible muerte en los acantilados de Togoima. Por el mismo Páramo de Moras hizo su entrada el Adelantado don Sebastián de Belalcázar, quien llevaba los mismos propósitos de su desgraciado antecesor, pero esta vez se sumaba también la muerte de éste. Los Paeces le propinaron la más estruendosa derrota en el Peñón de Tálaga y el Adelantado tuvo que salir en huída dejando en el campo de batalla el cadáver del heroico capitán García Tovar. El intenso tránsito por estas peligrosas breñas y los frígidos páramos disminuyeron sensiblemente con la apertura de la carretera del Quindío y mucho más aún con la inauguración de la carretera La Plata-Belalcázar. Tierradentro está unido por carretera con Popayán y Neiva. En la actualidad sólo transitan por el Páramo de Moras los indios de Mosoco, San José y Vitoncó y los Paeces de Toribío, Tacueyó y Jambaló. Por el de Las Delicias caminan los Moguex, sobre todo en sus anuales peregrinaciones a las festividades religiosas de Nuestra Señora de Nátaga. El camino de Guanacas está prácticamente abandonado. Existe también otro camino, transitado con relativa frecuencia, que sigue por el Páez aguas arriba, continúa el cauce del río Negro, trasmonta la cordillera y llega a Tacueyó.

Hidrografía—De norte a sur corre por profundo y encañonado cauce el caudaloso Páez, cuyas espumosas ondas se precipitan rápidamente en el vértigo de los raudales, siguen veloces formando espirales en la fuerza soberbia de los remolinos o saltan convertidas en mil pedazos por el choque violento en los numerosos cantos y bloques. Nacido de los deshielos del Huila, en sus ochenta kilómetros de recorrido recibe los turbulentos

ríos Muesga (San Vicente), Moras, Kukiyú, Ullucos y La Plata por su margen derecha y el Símbola y Negro de Narváez por la izquierda. El río Páez es el desagüadero de todo Tierradentro.

Vegetación—En la mayor parte del territorio ya no existen los "densos e impenetrables bosques" de que hablara Carlos Cuervo Márquez. Las especies madereras y medicinales están prácticamente desaparecidas. El género cinchona fue muy explotado en la segunda mitad del siglo pasado cuando la industria de la quina era floreciente y constituía uno de los más vigorosos renglones de la economía nacional. Los gruesos y espesos bosques han sido talados sistemáticamente por indios y colonos de tal manera que éstos se encuentran hacia las escarpadas breñas de la Cordillera Central y las hoyas hidrográficas de los ríos Símbola y Negro de Narváez. En las cuchillas donde el bosque virgen milagrosamente ha permanecido intacto, se ha observado que a la vuelta de una semana ha sido talado totalmente para ser, luégo, pasto de las llamas; no se aprovecha ni siquiera la leña, mucho menos el carbón cuyas técnicas de obtención parecen ser desconocidas. En las vegas y pequeños valles de las quebradas y ríos se encuentra una vigorosa vegetación en su mayor parte resultado cultural, pues ha sido sembrada para sombrío de las numerosas plantaciones de café. Abundan las gramíneas. En las lomas y altiplanicies los matorrales y arbustos son comunes en tanto que en los declives pinos los herbazales presentan su opulento verde en el invierno y la coloración pardo-amarillenta en los veranos. Las tierras de labor se preparan con machetes y fuego. Son las llamadas rozas, sistema bárbaro, primitivo y criminal de agricultura. La quema es un hábito de nativos y colonos y llega hasta tal punto que aún la vegetación de los riscos, breñas y acantilados es quemada donde evidentemente ninguna utilidad práctica puede obtenerse y en cambio sí deja la roca desnuda a merced de los agentes erógenos.

Fauna—La fauna está compuesta por algunas clases de ofidios y pequeños mamíferos: tinajos, cusumbes, guaguas, armadillos, erizos, zorros, venados, dantas, pericos ligeros y conejos. Los osos, tigrillos y pumas se encuentran en las montañas vírgenes. Abundan los volátiles como torcazas y guacharacas.

Clima—No existen observaciones de lluviosidad, temperatu-

ras y vientos de esta zona. El clima en su mayor parte es templado, mejor dicho, es clima de café.

Dado lo accidentado del terreno los naturales pueblan una área que se extiende desde los mil metros (Itaibe) hasta los dos mil quinientos metros sobre el nivel del mar (Suin, Mosoco, Vitoncó y Lame). Según el doctor Gregorio Hernández de Alba en el momento de la conquista los pueblos Paeces de Tierradentro habitaban "alturas y climas entre 2.620 metros con 13 grados centígrados y 1.650 metros con 17 grados en promedio" (1).

La humedad atmosférica y la lluviosidad aumenta a medida que asciende la cordillera y se acerca al nevado del Huila, notándose dos veranos y dos inviernos influídos, desde luego, por la topografía, la vegetación y la proximidad del nevado. Un verano intenso durante los meses de enero y febrero y otros en julio, agosto y septiembre. Los inviernos son intensos en los meses marzo-junio y en menor escala en octubre-diciembre. El nevado del Huila origina unos vientos locales, fríos que corren por la hoya del Páez afectando sobre todo las regiones de Vitoncó, Suin, Chinas, San José, Mosoco y aún la misma parcialidad de Calderas. La variabilidad de temperaturas es sensible en estas zonas, haciendo a veces días calurosos y noches muy frías. La nebulosidad es casi constante especialmente en las zonas del norte.

Economía—Las características topográficas y climáticas permiten el cultivo de varias plantas tales como el maíz, fríjol, plátano, caña de azúcar, yuca, arracacha, calabazas en los climas templados y en los fríos, papa, maíz, ullucos, habas, calabazas y repollos. La producción apenas si deja un excedente para sostener un comercio con las parcialidades y los centros urbanos de Belalcázar, Inzá y Valencia. La producción de papa de Mosoco, Vitoncó y San José sirve para un comercio activo con los Paeces de la vertiente occidental de la cordillera, a través del Páramo de Moras.

El café y la producción de panela son renglones sustantivos en la economía de los colonos y también de numerosos grupos indígenas aculturados. El café de Tierradentro es considerado como uno de los mejores del país por la calidad y suavidad del grano.

(1) Hernández de Alba (Gregorio). P. 917.

La ganadería es floreciente entre los grupos civilizados. A los indígenas les sirve para mantener un comercio de trueque con sus vecinos los colonos, blancos y mestizos.

En general la producción indígena es relativamente escasa originándose épocas de "hambruna" cuando los veranos o los inviernos son bastantes fuertes. Las tierras laborables se encuentran en las pequeñas vegas y valles de ríos y quebradas, en las terrazas aluviales y en las altiplanicies. Comparando la extensión de Tierradentro con sus tierras aptas para los cultivos, éstas resultan ser escasas, problema que se agudiza con el aumento de la población y la quema consuetudinaria.

Población—Tierradentro es el país de los Paeces que en el momento de la conquista estaban establecidos al norte del río Ullucos, pues al sur de éste se encontraban los topas, yaquiváes y guanacas. Parece que en el siglo XV, bajo el mando del cacique Calambás, los Páeces trasmontaron la cordillera y se establecieron en Pitayó, Toribío y Tacueyó.

El doctor José Pérez de Barradas asignaba un número de 30.000 almas. El censo de 1938 arroja un total de 17.578 habitantes repartidos así: municipio de Páez (Belalcázar) 13.861; municipio de Inzá, 3.717. Los censos de 1951 dan un total de 25.495 habitantes correspondiendo 15.388 al municipio de Páez y 10.103 al de Inzá. Salta a la vista que el censo de 1938 fue deficiente especialmente en lo que concierne a la población de este último municipio.

De esta población un ochenta por ciento, aproximadamente, es indígena, aculturados en su mayor parte, excepto los de Calderas, Suin y Chinas, donde las tradiciones son vigorosas y sus contactos con el blanco escasos, presentando, por otra parte, gran resistencia a la convivencia con el mismo.

Los Paeces son de mediana estatura, piel morena clara, ojos castaños oscuros, cabellos negros lisos, frente amplia, pómulos un tanto pronunciados, rostro más pentagonal que oval, complexión robusta y un tanto ancha de hombros. Poseen pueblos formados por la iglesia, la escuela, la casa cural y del cabildo y algunas otras casas que sólo son habitadas en las épocas de fiestas religiosas; viven en ranchos de planta rectangular, techo de paja y paredes compuestas por hileras de varas de caña de

maíz apretadas, situados en los terrenos de propiedad particular y a trechos considerables.

Vestido—Visten los Paeces de manera sencilla. El hombre usa calzón de lienzo, una ruana atada a la cintura con una correa y otra que se descuelga libremente de los hombros y un sombrero manufacturado por ellos mismos con hojas de pindo o caña brava. La mujer usa falda larga envuelta alrededor de la cintura sujeta con una faja multicolor previo los dobleces que se hacen en la espalda; una ruana semejante a la que usan los hombres, también sujeta a la cintura y sobre ésta un reboso o pañolón de fabricación extraña; portan sombrero de manufactura masculina. Llevan un palo delgado de un metro más o menos de largo, llamado *kasguat*, sujeto con la axila izquierda y en cuyo extremo superior va atado la lana para hilar, labor que realizan en todo momento, sea que esté caminando o sentada en la casa, sin detrimento, desde luego, de que sobre sus espaldas repose el niño o una pesada carga cuando deambula por los caminos. Unicamente las mujeres llevan adornos consistentes en collares multicolores, aretes y a veces anillos.

Tanto hombres como mujeres llevan generalmente tres jigras de lana, aparte de otras de fique, una muy pequeña para el dinero, otra más grande para el mambe y la tercera, mayor de todas, y que contiene a las otras dos, sirve para llevar las hojas de pindo o el trenzado de éste en el hombre y otros objetos en la mujer.

La coca—Todos los Paeces son "mambeadores", hombres, mujeres y niños, considerando la coca como artículo que da fuerza, quita la pereza y amortigua el hambre. Sin ella evidentemente no trabajan. La coca y la chicha, jugo de caña fermentado, desempeñan el papel de verdaderos alimentos dado su régimen alimenticio farináceo y escaso.

Parcialidades y cabildos—Políticamente los indígenas están organizados en parcialidades al frente de cada una de las cuales se encuentran un cabildo compuesto por un gobernador y suplente, un alcalde mayor y otro menor, dos alguaciles, tres fiscales, un comisario, un capitán y un síndico elegibles cada año y posesionados por la respectiva alcaldía del municipio, excepto los dos últimos que son vitalicios y posesionados por la

3: Bernal Villa SG15 Paez

Iglesia. Sus funciones son administrativo-policivas, pero en realidad ejercen funciones de regulación social, penal y religiosas.

Las parcialidades tienen como límites las fragosas cumbres o los profundos y borrascosos cauces de las quebradas y ríos de tal manera que cada una circunscribe modalidades geográficas específicas y aún de clima y de vegetación. Si bien es cierto que la cultura Páez es unitaria, cada parcialidad ofrece matices diferenciativos perceptibles hasta en la mitología y la lengua. La antropomimia es bastante peculiar en cada parcialidad.

En la actualidad existen diez y seis parcialidades, cuatro de las cuales pertenecen al municipio de Inzá y las doce restantes al de Páez (Belalcázar).

Magia y medicina—Existen tres instituciones que marchan al unísono e invaden otras, que explican la causación de enfermedades, el tratamiento de las mismas y sirve de válvula de escape a la agresividad. Ellas son:

a) La compuesta por la trilogía de serés sobrenaturales denominados. Duende, Echi y Arco;

b) La institución del médico bueno, y

c) La brujería.

a) El Duende, el Arco y el Echi son los causantes de las enfermedades, cada uno de los cuales produce una sintomatología específica que sirve de base para el diagnóstico del común de las gentes, diagnóstico que es corroborado por las actividades adivinatorias del médico bueno. Estos seres sobrenaturales producen las enfermedades por picadura, excitados por el enojamiento que ellos sufren debido a las manipulaciones de los brujos, o por los que han estado en contacto con cadáveres y no se han efectuado las purificaciones de rigor o porque las gentes han transitado por lugares tabú como barriales y lagunas o no han cumplido con los ritos y ceremonias en el degüello de ganado vacuno o en las cosechas de rozas nuevas o porque no han observado la "costumbre" en la primera menstruación o el partó.

b) En la institución del médico bueno se entrelazan las funciones de adivinación, magia y medicina. Más exactamente, el médico bueno es adivino-shaman-curandero que ha efectuado el

aprendizaje de la profesión con un maestro ponderado y de larga experiencia o mediante el auxilio del espíritu protector visto realmente o en sueños; éstos son los mejores médicos. Para curar al enfermo adivina cuál de los seres sobrenaturales es el causante de la enfermedad, procede a su contentamiento y luégo receta los medicamentos al paciente. En caso de que el contentamiento no se logre el enfermo queda virtualmente desahuciado. Son artículos imprescindibles en toda curación la coca, tabaco y aguardiente. Los médicos son personas entradas ya en años y pertenecientes al sexo masculino. No pueden curar los efectos de la brujería aunque sí están en capacidad de defenderse de ella.

c) El cincuenta por ciento de las enfermedades, afirman los informantes, son producidas por la brujería; por lo mismo el cincuenta por ciento de las muertes, puesto que la brujería es incurable. Los brujos están encubiertos y parece que todos los adultos son brujos en potencia. La institución de la brujería es una verdadera válvula de escape del acentuado impulso agresivo de los indígenas y juega en cierto modo un papel de regulador social. Por ella se canalizan la envidia, el resentimiento y la venganza de los naturales. Son víctimas de la brujería las personas más hábiles y trabajadoras, las que tienen buena casa, buenos cultivos y crecido número de animales domésticos. Las cosechas y en general las sementeras son objeto de la brujería. Los brujos públicamente señalados son acreedores al aborrecimiento de la comunidad y aún al destierro, medida que se toma no por ser propiamente brujo sino por ser ladrón. Todo brujo es ladrón. La brujería aparece con bastante frecuencia en el simbolismo de los sueños.

Matrimonio—El matrimonio es monógamo y patrilocal. Tanto los cronistas como el doctor Gregorio Hernández de Alba hablan de la costumbre del año de amaño, a fin de que el hombre pueda cerciorarse de la habilidad, actividad y fecundidad de la futura cónyuge. Institución vigorosa en tiempos pasados se encuentra en la actualidad en plena decadencia debido a la acción de la obra misional. Evidentemente el propósito de esta institución es convencerse de si la mujer es activa, fiel, nada ladrona y comprender su modo de ser para establecer una unión duradera. Hoy los Paeces antes de contraer nupcias por la iglesia viven un tiempo de duración indeterminada, explicando que

el hombre no tiene el dinero disponible para casarse tan pronto pide a su mujer y que es menester trabajar para conseguirlo.

Religión—La religión de los Paeces es formalmente la católica, pero dentro de ella se involucran muchas de sus tradiciones. Las principales fiestas de los indígenas son las religiosas, adquiriendo éstas verdaderos rasgos de pomposidad. Utilizan al sacerdote católico para las ceremonias de bautizos, matrimonios y casos de muerte.

CAPITULO II

Calderas—Incrustada en el corazón mismo de Tierradentro se encuentra la Parcialidad de Calderas, limitada hacia el norte por un elevado filo que la separa de Chinas y Avirama; hacia el este La Muralla, verdadero espejo de falla, la separa de Avirama de igual modo que un filo la separa de Togoima; hacia el sur los profundos ramblas y las elevadas cuchillas la separan de San Andrés y Togoima; hacia el oeste la Quebrada Guacharaca la limita con la Parcialidad de Lame.

De occidente a oriente la atraviesa la Quebrada Kukiyú, verdadero río por el caudal de aguas y la torrentuosidad de las mismas, cuyo cauce es profundo, encañonado, inaccesible. La margen izquierda es un tanto suavizada con una bella altiplanicie de unas veinte hectáreas aproximadamente, de tierras fértiles, abundantes aguas y sobre la cual se levanta el pueblo; pertenece a la comunidad en tanto que las otras tierras son de propiedad particular garantizada en el hecho de que el propietario o descuajó personalmente la montaña o la heredó de sus padres que derribaron los bosques. La margen derecha es empinada, abrupta, accidentada. Sobre estas tierras pinas se observan numerosas rozas indicativas del aumento de población que los obliga a labrar tierras de poca fertilidad y de gran peligro para el trabajador.

El calderuno tiene estatura más bien alta, cutis cobrizo claro, cabellos negros lisos, nariz recta, un tanto achatada y ancha en la base, pómulos ligeramente pronunciados, ojos de color castaño oscuro, recordando el ojo mongólico, frente amplia, extremidades largas y membrudas, rostro ligeramente pentagonal; muchos tienen bigotes y en general las facciones son más bien

hermosas. Por otra parte, es locuaz, comunicativo, profundamente tradicionalista, orgulloso de sí mismo, con un acendrado amor al terruño. Aislados como están de las demás parcialidades por accidentes naturales y distantes de los centros urbanos de Inzá y Belalcázar con el blanco son ariscos, hoscos, huraños, decididamente reacios a su contacto y por lo tanto sus instituciones han sufrido menos el impacto del mestizaje cultural. Ni aún la misma iglesia que tan tesoneramente ha venido laborando por la catequización de estas tribus, sobre todo en lo que llevamos del presente siglo por medio de los misioneros lazaristas que actúan desde 1905, ha podido penetrar de lleno en el alma de estas gentes.

En esta parcialidad he venido realizando mis investigaciones desde el mes de agosto del año pasado con muchas soluciones de continuidad. Los mitos y cuentos que ahora presento fueron recogidos tras de paciente labor y larga espera, pues los naturales al ser interrogados sobre estos temas casi siempre contestan con la palabra *himeto* (no sé). No hace falta recalcar la importancia de la mitología como institución en las culturas llamadas "primitivas". Ni está dentro de mi ánimo teorizar acerca de este tópico. Basta decir con las palabras de Herskovits que la "mitología es como la carta constitucional de las creencias y presta sentido a la conducta ritual que se deriva de sus consagraciones". (1) Nada nos dicen los cronistas acerca de la religión y mitología de los Paeces. Y estudios modernos sistemáticos tampoco existen. Quienes han tenido oportunidad de estar en contacto con ellos y escribir sus costumbres y formas de vida tampoco nos hablan de su religión y mitología. Aún más, alguien afirma que los Paeces no tienen mitología. José Pérez de Barradas ha recogido el mito de Juan Tama, Gregorio Hernández de Alba hace referencia del mismo y el misionero lazarista R. P. David González también lo ha recogido y lo tiene en su obra inédita, *Los Paeces*, en forma bastante elaborado y sintético, de igual manera que G. Burg. Es evidente que gran parte de los mitos y cuentos que presento, por no decir todos, han sufrido modificaciones en el avatar de los tiempos, puesto que las instituciones también han cambiado. Siendo la mítica racionalización de conflictos creados por la misma cultura está sujeta a las directrices

(1) Herskovits. P. 409.

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de esa sociedad y de esa cultura. Sus raíces son forzosamente de índole sociológica y cultural.

Muchos de los mitos recogidos presentan marcada semejanza con el de Juan Tama. Los motivos centrales predominantes se refieren a sexo y agresión. Los personajes de los mitos son el Trueno, Lliban, Juan Chiracol, Chaute y Santo Tomás. Lliban considérase como hijo del Trueno, pero todos sostienen que es el Trueno mismo; era cacique y los naturales afirman que muchos de sus caciques fueron recogidos en las ondas tumultuosas de los ríos. Los dos últimos personajes se identifican y forman en realidad un solo ser. Llama la atención que en algunos relatos que presenta el personaje pícaro no es Tomás, que es Santo, sino Pedro Dimales, su hermano.

No hace falta resaltar el papel que los Pijaos juegan en estos relatos. El recuerdo de este aguerrido pueblo está fresco aún en la memoria de los calderunos, patentes las características de la lucha sostenida con ellos, vivo el temor que despertaba el nombre Pijao. Ante la mentalidad calderuna aparecen como fenómenos, como animales, de proporciones y fuerzas descomunales que sacaban la candela de sus axilas. Constituyen de hecho personajes legendarios que traspasan las fronteras de la leyenda para invadir el territorio del mito no sólo por su simbolismo, sino por su dramatismo, su marco sociológico y su función cultural.

La mítica gravita en la conducta de los indígenas, en sus actitudes frente al blanco, en la organización del cabildo, en las enfermedades y en la muerte. De Juan Chiracol dice un informante de 23 años: "El avisa si llega la chusma, él no más avisa, pues". Y del Trueno afirman que casi mata a un padre, porque fue a la montaña a sacar madera para entablar la escuela. "El Trueno estaba mezquinando la madera", dicen. Los relatos fueron hechos siempre alrededor del fogón estando presentes hombres, mujeres y niños, los cuales unas veces reían, otras callaban pero siempre corroboraban, rectificaban, aumentaban o ratificaban. Los relatantes a veces adquirían el aspecto severo, acompañaban de mímica a sus relatos y de cuando en vez prorrumpían en una risa burlona como queriendo significar que lo que decían no tenía valor ni creían en ello. Luego he podido establecer su valor sociológico y cultural. Los mitos y cuentos fueron recogidos con el auxilio de un intérprete, mestizo de San Andrés, de unos treinta y

cinco años de edad, alto, musculado, de ademanes reposados, inteligente, calculador, magnífico don de gentes, con dominio de Páez y la lengua castellana; buen conocedor de las costumbres de los calderunos, estimado por ellos y atinado en sus interrogaciones. Presentamos a continuación los mitos y cuentos recogidos dejando los demás aspectos de la cultura para presentarlos en una monografía completa.

1—*El Trueno*

Contaban los ancianos que en un tiempo la región estaba llena de Pijaos. El Trueno vivía en *Sukafi*. En vista del crecido número de Pijaos resolvió matarlos. Se paró en una alta piedra que por allí existe, boleó la boleadora y mató los Pijaos hasta *Kuetando*. Dijo, entonces, a los médicos que podían tumbar todas las montañas, puesto que ya están muertos todos los animales. Diciendo esto se fue para la laguna de *Vichaguau*. Por eso es que los cabildos de antes marchaban en peregrinaje nocturno hacia la laguna a hablar con él. Los médicos tenían fe que haciendo enfriar las varas de mando moría muy poca gente ya que el mismo Trueno ayudaba a sostenerlos con sus remedios. Los médicos de ahora no son capacitados para hablar con el Trueno; no pueden ir porque de pronto los mata.

Informante: Martín Kuskue, 50 años, habla muy poco castellano.

Intérprete: Marco Antonio Penkue.

2—*El Trueno*

Decían los antiguos que las lagunas se robaban las gentes. En realidad era el Trueno.

Una vez un hombre tenía un papal en *Puelbits*. Era un hueco y había una montaña. Fue a cosecharlo. Cerca de las dos de la tarde llegó un viejo de sombrero de ramo, macizo, de mirada fea. El cosechador volvió la vista y observó que venía por un árbol derribado. El viejo preguntó: "¿Ya está cosechando?". El hombre contestó que sí y que ya tenía unas pocas recogidas. El viejo solicitó que le arrendara la tierra para trabajar en compa-

ñía. El dueño contestó que no sabía de arrendamiento, pues para eso había grandes extensiones de terreno dónde trabajar. El viejo insistió que tenía muchos deseos de vivir y trabajar con él. Causó admiración a las gentes y no quisieron hablar más con él porque era un viejo muy feo y desconocido. Se sentó a conversarles pero poco le contestaban. Atrajo, entonces, una nube negra empezó a llover a chorros en el papal. Guarneciéronse las gentes en el rancho que tenían, pero éste fue traspasado por la lluvia. El viejo los siguió detrás y se sentó en un palo fuera del rancho. Lo invitaron a que entrara y no quiso. Causó más extrañeza al ver que el viejo no sentía el agua. No le perdieron de vista. El agua llegaba a las piernas y al visitante no le importaba. Salieron las gentes en huída, pero el viejo se robó las mujeres. Averiguando a los grandes médicos manifestaron que el viejo era el Trueno. Lo corrieron quedando un barrial en el sitio donde estaba.

Informante: Rosario Iko, 80 años, no sabe castellano.

Intérprete: Marco Antonio Penkue.

Versión I

Unos muchachos tenían una labranza grande en forma de embudo. Tenían papas y la cosecha era abundante. Recogida toda la papa dejaron allí a la mamá con una nieta. A la tarde cayó una recia tempestad; la labranza empezó a lagunarse. Llegó un viejo con sombrero de ramo muy grande. El agua alcanzaba casi hasta la altura de la rodilla. La vieja y el viejo se quedaron allí sentados. La niña subió invitando a los viejos también a subir, alcanzó la altura y se salvó. Los viejos no se movieron. La labranza quedó convertida en laguna.

Informante: Justo Muse, 33 años, habla castellano.

Intérprete: Marco Antonio Penkue.

Versión II

En un papal estaba una vieja y cuatro personas más de su familia cosechándolo. De pronto cayó un aguacero y uno de ellos, una niña, subió al filo y cuando alcanzó la altura el papal se convirtió en laguna. Los otros se quedaron dentro de ella. La

niña vio desde arriba que entró un viejo de capa y sombrero grande de ramo. Se cree que los que se quedaron dentro de la laguna siguieron viviendo, pues parece que el Trueno (el viejo que entró) se los robó.

Informante: Juan Petins, 60 años, sabe castellano.

Intérprete: Marco Antonio Penkue.

3—*La visita del joven desconocido*

Contaban los primeros vivientes de Calderas que llegó un jovencito a vivir en un filo de la Parcialidad. Una muchacha lo visitaba muy a menudo. La madre la regañaba por esto pero ella le decía que una culebra le tiraba torcazas muertas desde unas ramas y que iba a recogerlas. De pronto la muchacha apareció en estado interesante. Tuvo un hijo raro, en el cuerpo se veía que le salían una especie de gusanos. La madre recomendaba tener mucho cuidado no quitarle los gusanos porque constituían la misma vida del niño. En una ocasión la madre salió hacia la labranza demorándose allí. Despertóse mientras tanto el niño. La abuela acercóse a la hamaca, lo tomó en sus brazos, observó los gusanos y se los quitó todos. El niño se murió. Regresó la propia madre y se quejó de que no había razón de haberle matado al niño. Como estaba cerca de una laguna se botó a ella pero no se ahogó. Desapareció únicamente. También el desconocido. Los médicos dijeron que la mujer vivía con el desconocido en la laguna. La abuela resolvió hacerla brujiar y promovió una reunión de médicos. Estos pidieron un sapallo quiteño y los trapos de una mujer menstruante. Los juntaron y los lanzaron a la mitad de la laguna. El desconocido y la muchacha se corrieron para la laguna de Santa Rosa. La de Calderas se secó. Los barriales de los potreros de Calderas son restos de esa laguna. De seguro que la pareja salió a las cuatro de la tarde en medio de una nube negra. Por eso se sabe dónde están.

Informante: Juan Petins.

Intérprete: Marco Antonio Penkue.

4—*Lliban, el hijo del Trueno*

Reuniéronse cierta vez unos médicos cuando el oro existía entre los indios. El médico primero llevaba un sombrero de oro. Convocó a los médicos para hacer un medicamento. Hizo crecer una quebrada y allí cogió al hijo del Trueno. Lo crió con el pecho de muchachas de trece y catorce años, las cuales sólo resistían tres o cuatro meses y se morían. Al fin *Lliban* pudo comer alimentos especiales. Se crió y le pusieron el nombre de *Lliban*. Resultó ser el mejor médico de Tierradentro. Una tribu Pijao venía a matar al hijo del Trueno. Lo rodearon por el Alto de Belén, por la Muralla, por la Quebrada *Kukiyú*, por todos los lados. Estaba bloqueado. Entonces el cacique resolvió mandar a traer el arma precisa: La boleadora. Como estaba pendiente del enemigo, envió a un criado por ella diciéndole que estaba dentro de una olla. Dentro de ella encontró una culebra verde muy grande. Tuvo miedo. Volvió donde el cacique a decir lo que había visto. Este en persona fue a traerla y no tuvo miedo. Sacó la culebra. El enemigo se acercaba por todos los lados. Boleó la culebra y murieron todos los Pijaos hasta *Togoima*. El quedó vivo. Y como era hijo del Trueno se fue donde su padre. Esto lo hizo para demostrar que sí era hijo del Trueno.

Según otro informante la culebra era el rayo, por eso es que a veces truena muy fuerte.

Informante: Celia Urriaga, 65 años, no habla castellano.

Intérprete: Marco Antonio Penkue.

Versión I

Lliban dizque había resultado de la reunión de unos médicos ordenada a la sazón por la voluntad de una cacica. Los médicos hicieron venir una soberbia creciente en cuyas ondas tumultuosas venía también el hijo del Trueno. Lo cogieron y se lo llevaron a la cacica. Empezaron a mantenerlo con sangre de escogidas muchachas impúberes. Comenzaron a escasear puesto que se morían muy pronto. *Lliban* empezó a comer. No pudieron domesticarlo y le pusieron el nombre de *Lliban*. No se amañó a vivir en casa y se trasladó a *Eshufi Ik* (laguna del oso). Al irse resol-

vió acabar con los pijaos. Cuentan los antiguos que en una ocasión estableció una huerta en Calderas con papas, maíz, alverjas, repollo. Esperó que vinieran los pijaos a quitársela. Así fue. Calculó que todos se encontraban en la huerta, se hizo en *Kuetaguata* (piedra de la silla) y en un azotón mató a muchos. Quienes quedaron vivos pensaron que era *Llíban* el que les ocasionaba daños y se propusieron matarlo. Salieron en su búsqueda. *Llíban* los mató en la primera subida.

Llíban aconsejó a las cacicas que hicieran respetar a los mayores; velaran porque las tierras no cayeran en manos de extranjeros y en caso de que volvieran los Pijaos lo llamaran por medio de los médicos para exterminarlos.

Un día dijo que se iba y a pesar de las súplicas salió de *Eshufi Ik* y se marchó.

Informante: Felisa Ñunda, 70 años, no sabe castellano.

Intérprete: Marco Antonio Penkue.

Versión II

Una vez estaba el agua sucia. Un muchacho fue a ver por qué estaba el agua sucia. Se encontró con un viejo llamado *Llíban*, quien le dio una cosita. "Ud. puede pelear con los Pijaos", le dijo. Esa cosita se llamaba *isot* (boleadora), la recibió y la guardó en una olla. Llegaron los Pijaos y mandó a un criado, seguramente un pariente, a traerla. A su regreso dijo que no había tal boleadora y que sólo existía una culebra; no la trajo porque tuvo miedo. El muchacho fue personalmente a traerla; boleó con ella, sonando como un trueno; mató a los Pijaos hasta *Kuetando*. Ese muchacho se llamaba *Llíban*, pero era hijo de gente. "Yo me iré a vivir a una laguna, yo no muero jamás", dijo. Tiene que estar vivo aún. El Trueno mandó a un muchacho para que se vuelva Trueno mismo.

Informante: Victoriano Piñakué, 18 años, habla bastante bien el castellano.

5—*Juan Chiracol*

Se sabía que Juan Chiracol había resultado de dos "chinitas" que habían venido de arriba, del filo de *Zenzepechi*, huyendo de los Pijaos.

Tenían para alimentarse papas y otros productos de la tierra. Con mucho trabajo y con herramientas de piedra alcanzaron a tumbar la montaña.

En una ocasión entraron los Pijaos y se comieron a una de ellas. La otra quedó sola. Se hizo embarazar de un tigre y de esta unión nació Juan Chiracol. Era muy inteligente. Sabía de los sufrimientos que la madre había pasado; por eso luchó contra los Pijaos hasta exterminarlos. La madre se enseñó con la compañía del tigre, pues éste cuidaba a su hijo Juan y traía carne del monte. Cuando éste estuvo grande el tigre se fue. Madre e hijo se trasladaron al lugar que ocupa el panteón y empezaron a construír la iglesia.

Chiracol dio muchos consejos. Les previno no vender las tierras, las cuales eran solamente de ellos y por cuya razón había luchado contra los Pijaos. Manifestó que se iba y que no volvería más, pero que estaría viéndolos de la Laguna de El Caspe. Cuando se enoja dice uuuuh.

La laguna de El Caspe dizque está muy lejos, en los linderos de Atá. Goza de la fama de ser muy brava. Se cree que cuando se cae un árbol o se desliza una peña es Juan Chiracol quien viene a regañarlos. A Juan Chiracol no dizque le gustaban las mujeres, por eso no dejó descendencia.

Informante: Agustín Muse, 80 años, no sabe castellano.

Intérprete: Marco Antonio Penkue.

6—*Lliban y Juan Chiracol*

Lliban era un *sat* (cacique) de Calderas en su parte occidental, de allí que la primera casa situada en la bajada de *Puelchí* se llame *Lliban*. Hoy se llama *Eshufi Ik*. Juan Chiracol era también un *sat* pero de la parte oriental. Se escondió en El Caspe, laguna muy grande situada por los linderos de Belalcázar mien-

tras que *Llíban* se hizo hacia los linderos de Chinas. Después de vencer a los Pijaos, conversaron los dos y desaparecieron siguiendo cada cual su propio destino, por los lados mencionados. *Llíban* aconsejó buen manejo; les manifestó que quedaban libres de Pijaos y que en caso de que éstos volviesen lo llamaran por medio de los médicos. No se sabe cómo apareció. No conoció el bautismo, pero parecía cristiano.

Informante: Agustín Muse.

Intérprete: Marco Antonio Penkue.

7—*La niña que se volvió serpiente*

En cierta ocasión y en una creciente de agua bajó una niña. La recogieron las gentes y un matrimonio se encargó de su crianza. Habiendo llegado el padre para celebrar una fiesta, el matrimonio y las gentes salieron para misa. La niña también quería ir pero como estaba sin vestido, no la llevaron. El matrimonio iría lejos cuando la niña salió detrás impulsada por sus ardientes deseos de asistir a la misa y cubierta apenas con un pañolón viejo. Cuando el matrimonio llegaba a la iglesia ella llegaba a la quebrada *Yutuk*. Allí se convirtió en serpiente. La iglesia estaba llena de gentes. La serpiente se acercó al templo; era larga como el arco iris y tenía dos orejas como de burro. Con su cuerpo rodeó la iglesia, circunscribiéndola y entró la cabeza por la puerta. Se comió a todas las gentes, menos al matrimonio que la estaba criando, el cual le suplicó se esperase un poquito. Salieron tristes. Acabando de comerse a las gentes, la serpiente se irguió hasta el cielo para devorar a la Virgen. Cuando estaba alta, muy alta, salieron dos animales (*Ok* = águilas) de *Puelchí* y por el aire se dirigieron a la plaza, mordieron a la sierpe en dos partes casi destrozándola. Esta cayó al suelo, seguramente muerta. Un hombre vino con una mula a destrozarla, montó la mula y corrió muy lejos. Allí posiblemente se pudrió la serpiente, pero aparecieron culebras por todas partes. En *Ulnengá* había una, en un chupadero que olía muy feo cuando calentaba el sol. Subía y se comía a las gentes que tenían labranzas. Avisaron a un inglés quien con su espada la destrozó por la cabeza y el rabo, ambos de color azul. La cabeza voló por el aire

y cayó en *Ulnengá* en tanto que el rabo cayó en el punto llamado Loto.

Informante: Victoriano Piñakué.

8—*Formación del río Páez*

Chauténh hizo nacer el río Páez. Iba muy lejos por el camino, seguramente por el páramo. Tenía mucha sed y no había agua. En el monte había un pantano; tomó un carrizo de monte, lo clavó en el pantano, absorbió, salió abundante agua y tomó hasta saciarse. Esta agua no corría para ningún lado. Caminó el hombre y el agua lo siguió. Entonces pensó por qué no se quedaba el agua. Corrió y el agua también. Se subió a un palo, el agua permaneció estancada a sus pies, haciendo charco grande sin desbordarse por ningún lado. Se fue el hombre y el agua lo siguió. Corrió mucho, el agua se quedaba un poquito, pudiendo entonces descansar mientras la corriente llegaba. *Chauténh* corría en zig-zag para evitar ser alcanzado por el agua. Por eso en La Plata el río corre con muchas vueltas. Como el hombre se cansaba mucho dejó a la corriente en el río grande (Magdalena).

Informante: Victoriano Piñakué.

9—*Chauténh*

Chauténh estaba causando muchos daños y se lo llevaron lejos, a donde sale el sol. Está dentro de un cajón grande pero con un solo ojo. *Chauténh* hizo todos los animales. Antes eran gentes. El chiguaco fué un hombre sacristán porque sabe rezar; el chicao sabe silbar y el guacharaca es muy charlón. El conejo fue un hombre muy mentiroso, cuando el perro caza no se deja coger, da vuelta y más vuelta. Había un hombre carpintero que sabía hacer baúles grandes como para acostar a un hombre. A *Chauténh* le dijo que le iba a hacer uno para regalárselo. Aceptó la promesa. El carpintero lo hizo cuidadosamente; lo terminó y se lo mostró. *Chauténh* se metió en él para medírselo y el baúl se cerró para no abrirse jamás. El carpintero para que no volviera a hacer más daños lo clavó. *Chauténh* suplicó: "Abrame, hágame el favor",

pero no le abrieron. Pidió entonces que le abrieran dos huecos para ver. El carpintero metió el escoplo y un hueco quedó bien; en el otro se le fue la herramienta y le sacó un ojo. A mí me hizo tuerto, se dijo, pero mientras yo esté aquí él estará mirando palos, y abriendo palos, nada más. El carpintero se convirtió en un pajarito que en un palo abre un hueco, pone huevos y hace cría.

Informante: Victoriano Piñakué.

10—*El mar*

Cierta ocasión Tomás Dimales díjole a Pedro, su hermano, que hiciera una prueba. Tomás sacaría un río y Pedro se encargaría de atajarlo. Aceptó la propuesta y echó a correr. Por aquel tiempo no se sabía dónde paraban las aguas. Pedro advirtió previamente a su hermano que le avisaría cuando el río hubiese sido atajado. Así fue. Cuando Santo Tomás fue a ver encontró el mar donde Pedro estaba. Este le dijo que se fijara bien si el río corría. En ese punto había detenido las aguas.

Informante: Vicente Puchi, 56 años, habla castellano.

Intérprete: Marco Antonio Penkue.

11—*Piedra Alta*

Pedro y Tomás Dimales eran dos hermanos, malo aquél y bueno éste. Vivían juntos y andaban en compañía. Por ese entonces Calderas era plano. En cierta ocasión recorrían juntos los linderos de la Muralla; no había peñas. Pedro le dijo a Tomás: Mira los peñones que se han formado; Tomás replicó que aquello no era posible siendo la región plana. Cuando señaló el sitio se levantó una gran peña: es la Piedra Alta.

Informante: Vicente Puchi.

12—*Pedro y Tomás Dimales*

Tomás siendo bueno recibía a Pedro cuando iba. Este le manifestaba sus deseos de ayudarle a trabajar y por unos días lo hacía bien. Una vez Tomás le mandó a sembrar maíz. Lo sembró pero toda la semilla la echó en un solo hueco. Otra vez Pedro

fue a desyerbar maíz pero su labor fue únicamente cortar el maíz. En otra ocasión, Pedro andaba enojado con Santo Tomás, llegó donde éste y le dijo que parecía una piedra. La intención era convertirlo en piedra. Como Tomás era Santo no logró su propósito.

Informante: Guillermo Guagás, 35 años, no sabe castellano.

Intérprete: Marco Antonio Penkue.

13—*Santo Tomás*

Santo Tomás era hermano de María Santísima, pero muy pícaro y muy feo. Para apreciar lo que la gente le decía tenía piojo, sarna; era asqueroso. Cuando alguien murmuraba lo convertía en piedra. A la hermana le disgustaba que hiciera todas estas cosas y muchas veces lo amonestó porque de seguir así acabaría con el mundo. El fue quien dejó tantos riscos, peñas, piedras feas. Con una pisada movía el mundo. A los cristianos, hijos de María Santísima, los convertía en Piedra. Cometió tántas faltas que María Santísima se enojó. Se marchó al cielo para no ver tántas iniquidades. Su hermano se fue detrás; llegó al cielo y María le ordenó que volviese al mundo; bajó en un ventarrón. En seguida lo mandó al fin del mundo, donde está. Se acabaron sus molestias. A veces se enoja y hace temblar la tierra, pues quiere como salir, cuestión que no permite María. Dixque María Santísima lo puso en cajones de bronce, mediante un ardid. No puede salir pero hace temblar al mundo.

Informante: Agustín Muse.

Intérprete: Marco Antonio Penkue.

Versión I

En Lame cogieron a Santo Tomás. En Lame dixque hay una piedra donde colocó el rejo y se sentó encima. Allí dixque están las señas. Cuando descansaba vió un pájaro bonito: embelesado en ello estaba cuando lo cogieron y lo metieron en un cajón. Lo hicieron dormir; lo enterraron y sembraron un palo llamado *tachi* (tachuelo).

Los temblores son producidos por Santo Tomás cuando cansado de una posición la cambia para descansar.

Informante: Corpus Guagás, 18 años, sabe castellano.

Intérprete: Marco Antonio Penkue.

14—*La casa de fiesta petrificada*

En el punto denominado *Uikuet* diaque había una casa que celebraba una fiesta. Está petrificada. Cuando la fiesta se efectuaba llegó un niño bastante harapiento a pedirles comida. Una vieja rezongó que habiendo tanta gente para qué iban a darle a ese pequeño. Salió éste y dijo: Yo veo piedra. Toda la casa se convertió en piedra. El pequeño se volvió grande. Todavía diaque se ven las ollas cayéndose. Aquel pequeño era Santo Tomás.

Informante: Corpus Guagás.

Intérprete: Avelino Penkue.

15—*Las piedras de Chaikin*

Las dos piedras de Chaikin las hizo *Chauté̂h*. Dos mujeres llevaban caña. Aquel les pidió que le regalasen caña y no le dieron. Entonces las convirtió en piedra.

Informante: Victoriano Piñakué.

16—*La madre de la sal*

Los antiguos veían a la madre de la sal. Veían una viejita con los moños que eran pelotas de sal. Los antiguos decían que esa era la madre de la sal.

Informante: Justo Muse.

Intérprete: Marco Antonio Penkue.

17—*La candela*

Una viejita poseía la candela. Una niñita fue a solicitarle unos tizoncitos. La vieja apenas le regaló unos bagacitos prendidos,

que se apagaron antes de llegar a la casa. Volvió nuevamente a pedir otro tizón, pero la vieja no estaba. La candela ardía adentro en gruesos tizones. La niña tomó uno grande. Se dio cuenta la vieja y salió en su persecución mezquinándole el tizón. La niña corría, pero cuando la vieja la alcanzó botó la candela en una paja "jecha" y buena. Las gentes que carecían de candela la sacaron de ese punto, llamado por tal razón, *Ipikué* (Plan de la candela).

En esos días estaban haciendo el pueblo. Pensaron en el nombre. Si sale la candela, dijeron, se le pone Calderas, de lo contrario *Buktá*. Salió lo primero y el pueblo se llamó Calderas.

Informante: Victoriano Piñakué.

Versión I

Los viejos cuentan que había una vieja poseedora de la candela y que la repartía a las demás gentes. Una vez no quiso darles más candela y la apagó con el fin de dejarlos sin ella. Conservó únicamente un palo encendido y se fugó con él. Los indios la persiguieron y cuando la alcanzaban abandonó el tizón a un lado del camino y se escondió en un río. Por el humo encontraron la candela y todas las gentes pudieron proveerse de ella. Esa sí ya no se volvió a apagar. Se cree que la vieja era pijao.

Informante: Vicenta Tumbo, 40 años, no sabe castellano.

Intérprete: Marco Antonio Penkue.

Versión II

Cuando recién entró la religión, había una vieja que se sacaba la candela del sobaco y se la daba a quien se la solicitaba. Llegaron los misioneros y dijeron que esa candela era bruja y que por lo tanto era menester bendecirla. La vieja salió en huída para no dejarse quitar la candela ni dejarse coger de lo bendito. Al salir corriendo la vieja se ardió y las llamas la cubrían íntegramente. Al llegar al río que estaba muy crecido se arrojó en él. La vieja dizque era un fenómeno (pijao); cara muy grande, pelo como crin y bastante cana.

Informante: Juan Petina.

Intérprete: Marco Antonio Penkue.

Versión III

Contaban los antiguos que una vez había una niña que nada poseía. Se le apareció María Santísima y le preguntó qué hacía, respondiéndole que allí estaba. "Vas a tener que soplar la candela, le dijo, porque hasta yo tengo frío". Ordenó que buscara unas chamicitas, María Santísima sacó la candela del sobaco. Le previno que la conservara, pues sin ella no podían vivir. De allí nació la candela para todos. Por eso le pusieron al lugar el nombre de Calderas. María Santísima dio la candela y se perdió.

Informante: Agustín Muse.
Intérprete: Marco Antonio Penkue.

18—*El armadillo de mina*

Mi papá estaba en una casa. De pronto miró un animal que alumbraba como lámpara; la luz subía hasta el cielo. El animal era un armadillo de mina que subía por el monte. Al lograr cogerlo se le echa en un baúl grande y se le pone maíz para que coma. Se vuelve mina, puro oro. Antes de cogerlo hay que alistar la plata, unos cincuenta pesos o cien; con un pañuelo nuevo se lo envuelve y se lo alza, es livianito. Sin la plata se lo ve en la quebrada o en el camino pero no se lo puede coger; mete la mano donde está el armadillo, la levanta y no se menea.

Informante: Victoriano Piñakué.

19—*El hombre flaco*

Mi papá compró una olla y se la cargó a la espalda. Por la noche borracho se encontró al hombre flaco, sentado en el camino, era un alma. El se iba a caer a la zanja, pero el alma no lo dejó caer y lo acompañó hasta la casa, como si fuera hermano. El papá asustado se caía pero el alma lo contenía; llevaba la luz, haciendo la noche muy clara. Sin embargo no hablaba. El hombre se parecía a las Madres, era bien blanco.

20—*El diablo*

Mi papá venía de Belalcázar a caballo, con un compadre; detrás de mi papá iba yo. El compadre se quedaba atrás; venía

con mucha carga. Tomando la bajada de El Tablón vieron que al frente salió un hombre. Allí llovió un poquito pero escampó pronto; una nube que estaba, se fue elevando. El hombre corrió mucho, iba en un caballo negro, colimocho y portaba un caucho negro. Mi papá bajó hasta la quebrada de El Tablón y no encontró nada. En la quebrada había una puerta, no pudo abrirla, el caballo saltó. Miró por todas partes y no halló nada. Buscó los rastros, tampoco los halló. Entonces pensó que era el diablo.

21—*El hombre Tigre*

Antes sí había gente tigre, que eran lo mismo que el tigre de monte, que se come las ovejas. Los hombres salieron, una vez, con escopeta y perro a cazarlo, sin éxito alguno. Convidaron a un hombre tigre para que lo cazara. Este se fue al monte con una peinilla, encontró al tigre verdadero y se puso a jugar con él, hasta que se enojó y lo mató. El hombre tigre tenía mucho más fuerza pues comía sal. Lo colocó en el camino y mandó a las demás gentes a traerlo. Fueron con escopetas; el tigre parecía vivo, así lo creyeron y se devolvieron. El hombre Tigre les aseguró que estaba muerto, regresaron y entonces ya lo cogieron. Lejos, muy lejos, hay hombres tigres. En Cali. Los blancos mismos son tigres. Los hombres tigres son ladrones.

Versión número 1

Los ladrones se vuelven tigres y se van a traer vacas a Garzón y Neiva. Regresan a su casa y nuevamente se convierten en hombres.

En el páramo andaba un hombre cazando solo. Vio a un pijao que prendió candela, amontonando chamiza y sacando fuego del sobaco. El pijao tenía un bastón de oro y el cazador dijo, yo le quito esa vara. Se volvió tigre, mientras el pijao sacaba plátano y culebra para comer. Cuando convertido en tigre quiso quitarle la vara, el pijao corrió como tres horas, seguido de cerca por él, hasta que llegó a su pueblo. El tigre se convirtió en hombre para mirar el pueblo, mientras el pijao avisaba a sus parientes y salían éstos en su persecución. El hombre se convirtió nuevamente en tigre, corrió, llegó al punto de partida y en una jigra

se llevó el plátano asado para su casa; volvióse hombre y contó a su mujer lo acaecido.

22—*El hombre y el perro flaco*

Mi papá venía del mercado, tomancho chicha. Se emborrachó y se durmió en el camino. A la media noche se despertó y siguió. Vió un perro flaco. Le pegó. Luégo salió un hombre bien flaco con el corazón colgando. El hombre corrió. Mi papá también corrió. Bien adelante mi papá lo fuetió. El sin pensar cayó en el plan y se durmió. Se despertó al amanecer y sólo vio que había pegado a las flores, pues estaban machacadas. Pegaba sin pensar.

23—*La cabeza*

La cabeza anda sola. Esa se levanta bien lejos. Anda de noche. Sólo es una cabeza con un diente, una oreja y sin cuerpo. Un hombre que estaba con un bordón sentado en una piedra la vió, le pegó y la mandó al río. El hombre salió corriendo. La cabeza salió de la quebrada a perseguirlo traspasándolo, pues el hombre se había trepado en un árbol altísimo, para esconderse. Se vuelve y busca al hombre con el olor. Lo mira en el árbol, pero hasta allí no alcanza la cabeza. Esta cabecea y cabecea hasta que canta el gallo, hora en que se fue para su casa. Allí tiene parientes. Si es hora del amanecer y si acaso no ha llegado a su casa pide posada donde sus parientes. A la siguiente noche llega a su propia casa. El hombre se bajó del árbol asustado y se fue a la casa avisando a todas las gentes (esposas, hermanas, hijos, papás, o parientes) de que había visto esta cabeza.

La cabeza puede salirle a cualquier hombre sea que ande borracho o no. El animal baja las pendientes fácilmente. En tanto que las escala con dificultad.

Va por debajo de la tierra y sale en el campo.

24—*Los animales*

Un hombre se fue donde un pariente que vivía lejos. Tomó chicha con un primo. Se emborrachó y caminó por la noche. Lle-

vaba una peinilla y además escopeta para matar guacharaca. Hizo un tiro. Se vino algo así como un puerco. No veía a nadie a pesar de que miraba por todas partes. Sacó la peinilla para defenderse, pero no veía nada. Disparó nuevamente su escopeta al aire, entonces salieron muchos animales, a juzgar por el ruido que hacían en las hojas de los árboles, pero no se veía nada, se oía el ruido y nada más. La noche estaba muy oscura, prendía fósforos pero se le apagaban pronto. Gritó entonces. Oyó una parienta y se fue a verlo en compañía de su hijita. Llevó un bagazo prendido, con el cual ahuyentó los animales. Al hombre lo encontraron en un zanjón, lo sacaron y se marcharon con miedo. Las mujeres adelante y el hombre atrás. En el camino había una quebradita y en el agua parecía que se movía un animal. El hombre miró atrás y vio brillar únicamente dos ojos y gritó: "ve, allí viene un animal" y se adelantó a las mujeres. Estas no vieron nada. Alumbraron y los animales se quedaron.

A las nueve de la noche ya están andando los animales. En Semana Santa andan mucho. La gente no puede salir.

25—*El cielo*

Informante: Agustín Muse.

Intérprete: Marco Antonio Penkue.

Una vez que estuve moribundo mi alma ascendió hasta el cielo, que es una planada donde la vista se pierde en el horizonte. Es boscoso a la entrada. La Virgen me dijo que ese terreno era para sus hijos y que yo tendría un pedazo. Para llegar al cielo primero se va por buen camino y luégo se pierde; el más emboscado, conduce al palacio de la Virgen. Dizque es malo comerse el erizo, porque ante María Santísima llega vestido con ese pelo. Va donde el diablo aunque éste no pueda cogerlo, tiene garabatos con los cuales se lo lleva. De allí que a la hora de acostarme o de levantarme invoco a mi Dios y a María.

El palacio de María enceguese con su resplandor. Es muy bonito. La Virgen siempre tiene el Niño, sólo rara vez lo coloca en algún sitio.

Lo que yo vi lo cuento a mis semejantes, pero ellos se burlan de mi relato.

Es sagrado, debían respetar.

Van al cielo los buenos, entendiéndose como tales los que no maltratan a las personas, ni hablan mal, ni son patanes.

26—*Origen de las plantas*

Los viejos decían que toda clase de semillas habían sido dadas por María Santísima, quien las sacaba del vientre y las daba a los cristianos para que se mantuviesen. Las plantas son, pues, herencia de María Santísima. Ella dejó toda clase de semillas cuando estuvo el hermano. De allí la rabia de éste, que deseando dar semillas y animales no podía. Tal vez las culebras las hizo Santo Tomás.

3: Bernal Villa SC15 Paez

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4:Bernal Villa E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

Aspects of Paez Culture. The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro.

[Aspectos de la Cultura Paez. La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro.]

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[Title page]

4:Bernal Villa--1 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

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I

Point of Departure

631 To the north of the municipio of Inzá and to the west of
[361] the confluence of the Ullucos and Páez rivers, two hours on horseback from the points just mentioned, the corregimiento /district governed by a corregidor/ of San Andrés is found on the left bank of the Pisimbalá torrent, an affluent of the
[175] Ullucos. Its name has been registered in the parochial books
[103] since 1736, when the priest José Fernández Belalcázar, as the
[797] representative of the Bishop of Popayán, initiated in San Andrés de Pisimbalá pastoral visits to the Paez pueblos.

361 San Andrés de Pisimbalá is a pueblo with the same characteristics that we have noted in other Paez centers; that is to say, it consists of a church, a school, the rectory, the house of the cabildo, and some others used solely for the celebration of religious fiestas. It is located on a small plateau, a ledge hanging on the declivity.

563 At the present time it is inhabited by whites and mestizos
177 whose ways of life, norms of behavior, and labor practices
361 have been imposed on the natives. Resistance to contact has
[648] been overcome, but active resentment against the white still
[566] crops out among the old people. Almost completely acculturated, many of them have sunk to the state of tenant farmers. The phenomenon of the colonization of Indians and land is the same everywhere. The Indian loses his land and sinks into servitude.

In 1926 the Municipal Council of Inzá created a settlement area with clearly delineated boundaries in a common agreement /178/ between the municipal authorities and the cabildo. The colonists established themselves in that area. The valley of the Pisimbalá torrent is narrow, but extremely fertile. It belongs in its entirety to a few families of colonists,

/178 cont./

361 who have established coffee and sugar-cane plantations and
[563] cattle ranches. The natives occupy the steep and barren sec-
177 tions.

The pueblo of San Andrés consists of 23 bahareque houses
[342] /houses with walls made with two faces of sticks with mud and stone between them/ with thatched roofs. Only one is of brick and tiles. In its general lines the plan is reminiscent of that of Spanish centers: a central plaza with houses around it.
346 The church, which is large, thatched, and white, has a hand-
361 some façade, with a bell tower, arches and columns, a style reminiscent of colonial architecture; it stands in the center of the plaza and was built in the first decade of the nineteenth century by Padre Joaquín Núñez y Tobar. On its south side there stands a large, very old and dilapidated building where the school and the rectory functions; on the other sides it is surrounded by the colonists' houses.

366 There are two stores with a regular supply of merchandise, and on Wednesdays there is a small market where one beef, a few agricultural products, and chicha are sold.

133 Toward the end of the Pisimbalá valley are found the not
175 very extensive plateaus of Argentina and El Rodeo. El Rodeo has marked historical significance; for a long time it was called Segovia. In the spirit of conquest and colonization, the town of Nueva Segovia was founded there by Captain Hernando Arias Saavedra in accordance with the mandate of Governor Sancho Espinar, who in 1578 gave up these lands after his vainglorious campaign against the Paez. It was short-lived. On this same plateau Mosquera's rebellion against the government of Don Mariano Ospina Rodríguez was won by his spectacular victory over the government forces headed by
[317] General Joaquín París (1). In spite of this, the markets for

1. González, David. Los paeces /The Paez/, manuscript.

/178 cont./

several leagues around were supplied for a long time with the salt extracted from the three salt deposits that still exist in Segovia. Across from these and on the other side of the Ullucos, in Vivorá, another salt deposit was also exploited.

At the confluence of the small stream called El Escaño and the Pisimbalá, on the right bank of the latter and at the foot of the ridge of Aguacate, the Archeological Park of /179/ Tierradentro, a branch of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, is located on an alluvial terrace covering an area of two hectares. Founded some 15 years ago, it is in charge of the care and conservation of the archeological monuments, which have been known to the scientific world since 1936, but to which reference was made as early as around the penultimate decade of the last century, when Dr. Carlos Cuervo Márquez carried out his explorations through the "lands of the Paez and much of the Nevado del Huila." Subterranean necropolises with columns, colonnades and niches, black and red geometric painting on a white background, statuary very similar to the Augustinian, ceramics and metalwork are the principal exponents of this culture hardly known in descriptive form.

The Archeological Park of Tierradentro has served as the center of operations for the scientific expeditions which the national government has sponsored, fostered, and supported during the last 15 years.

II

Over the Zigzags of the Road

In order to travel on winding roads one needs horses resistant to fatigue; a dashing spirit must yield to a solemn step, firm tread, and steady pace.

/179 cont./

123 At 11 o'clock in the morning we left the Park, bound for
484 Calderas. The road climbs through the Pisimbalá valley, at
491 first on its right bank and soon on the left, after crossing a wooden bridge with a plank roof; from this bridge to the pueblo of San Andrés, three streams have to be crossed: Chapéquís, La Virgen, and the cemetery stream. Along this short distance and at the edge of the road we counted ten houses, all of them thatched except one of masonry, tiles, oil paint, modern manufacture; the others have white washed walls, painted doors, and are generally clean and orderly. They are the houses of mestizos and colonists settled on their respective fincas.

At 11:30 we left the settlement and took the path that leads to Calderas; the road goes ever upward, in slow and slippery
123 zigzags. As we go along, we see houses with graphite-colored
342 roofs and walls which are black when made of mud or (and these are in the majority) yellow when they are of maize stalks; they lie as if submerged /180/ in the plantings of bananas, sugar cane, and yuca; bluish smoke rises vertically in thick columns from the openings.

123 At 12 o'clock we came out on the Mesón, Supok in the
133 Paez dialect, a small plateau oriented from north to south
[361] and bounded on the east and west by great depressions. Many native huts stand there.

[137] The beautiful valley of the Pisimbalá torrent comes into view in its entirety; contracted at times, then widening more, extensive in length and generally narrow, it descends in a gentle slope in pursuit of the noisy Ullucos; covered with thriving vegetation, it looks like a carpet of living green blending in its tones the stateliness of the cachimbos /búcare, Erytrina umbrosa/, cedars, guamás, gadua bamboo, and yarumos /Cecropia peltata/, and the splendor of the plantings of sugar cane and bananas and the pastures of the herders.

[131] An hour later we reached the Yukaichí ridge, the boundary of the parcialidades /territorial divisions/ of San Andrés and

/180 cont./

123 Calderas, and the water divide of the Kukiyú river and the
133 Pisimbalá torrent, the former a deep gorge, the latter an
[131] elongated basin. Toward the north, the outline of another ridge bounds the horizon and divides the parcialidades of Suin and Chinas. Prominent along it, the Vichaguau peak, the hill Dondotá with the double crests, between which, when the sky is clear, one can see Huila with its eternal snows, where the golden rays of the sun break into a silvery radiance. Toward the east one sees the hills of Chindavá and Potrerito, the heights of Togoima, and the canyon of the Páez. Toward the south stand the mountain ranges of Pangok and El Aguacate, which separates the valleys of the Pisimbalá and the Ullucos; the tablelands of Pedregal, Turminá, and Inzá; the sharp peak of Trueno /Thunder/, the "Kapich" of the natives, a summit
823 of silence, lightning, thunder, and storms. In the place where
173 the sun sets, there rises, stately and challenging, the sharp
648 peak of Hipinjí (1), on which, according to some Indians, lie
[133]
[104]

1. H = the English h.
   J = the French j.
   Sh = the French sh.

the images of saints, the bells, the clothing, the gold, and the silver which the Paez army carried away from San Sebastián de la Plata after murdering all of its white inhabitants, setting fire to the town, and filling up the famous silver mines which had given the town its name and brought large numbers of ad-
173 venturers and not a few misfortunes to the Indians. This legend
823 has fired the imagination of the whites and has led not a few to search for them. It is said that several whites went to the Hipinjí in search of the legendary treasure. At the /181/ /illustration appears here/ top of the peak a white flag was waving. One day there appeared on it the following mysterious order: "At 12 o'clock you may clear out this opening." Their enthusiasm was renewed, their fatigue forgotten, and they went to work eagerly. One worker was rewarded by blind

/181 cont./

173 fortune: his efforts brought to light a large jar overflowing with
823 gold. In his great joy he went running to his companions to tell

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173 them of the coveted find; in their eagerness they all flew to the
823 lucky spot, and oh! supreme misfortune, the treasure had vanished. Minutes later, the powder flask exploded, killing several, mutilating others, and leaving only a few alive. The whites localize the Hipinjí legend in Tumbichukue.

487 /182/ The descent to the Kukiyú is effected along a
499 vertical ridge, following a path with innumerable zigzags, an

/182 cont./

487 authentically native achievement which is a true work of
499 engineering; it could not have been done in any other spot or in any other way. The bridge over the Kukiyú was built with two thick beams over which thin cross-pieces have been fastened together with lianas; like all Paez bridges, it has a thatched roof and side rails.

III

Black, Smoking Dots on the Horizon

24/36/ From Yukaichí one can see almost the entire parcialidad
[133] of Calderas, exept for the left bank of the Kukiyú. On the ridge of a hill, at the end of a canyon, on a slight plateau, discreetly hidden on a gentle slope or on a bold declivity, one sees trapezoidal figures that glow like graphite, surrounded by rows of golden stalks of maize. They are the Indians' huts, built far apart, submerged in the green landscape of the plantings of bananas and sugar cane, and through whose openings a thick bluish smoke is always emerging, a sign of life and activity.

311 While to the Guajira /Goajiro/ livestock is a symbol of sustenance and the tending of herds its concomitant activity, to the Paez the land is the sustainer of man; the black layer that covers the rocks feeds the woodland /monte/ after the harvest; time will tell when it will be mature and ready for fencing in anew the clearings that will yield the longed-for maize, the plenteous arracacha, the small beans, the blooming cabbage, the thick and abundant santo wheat /trigo del santo/; in the grasslands graze the cattle with bright and variegated hides, small, swift horses of great endurance, the many herds of pigs that fight over the tender roots of shrubs, and the mild sheep that yield wool for the men's ponchos, the women's skirts, and the kuetand yahas of both.

/182 cont./

423 The work on the land is a daily exercise in co-operation.
461 Owership by an Indian is an unquestionable right, and its de-
[173] fense a categorical imperative. Lliban and Juan Chiracol
[628] fought the Pijao for the ownership of the land and to defend an
[648] inalienable right. Likewise, because the whites covet their land, they do not like to have them around /183/ and avoid receiving them under some pretext or other. Their security and
[795] their happiness lie in the ownership of land. Poverty as they understand it, a shortage of food and livestock, is due solely to the laziness of those who suffer it.

857 Children grow up in continuous communion with the
868 activities of their parents. While the girl helps her mother in household tasks and goes out with her to bring firewood from their respective clearings, the boys with their machete on their shoulder and their pouches of coca and mambe /lime/, exactly like their fathers, clean the clearings, build fences, weed their plantings, and when the maize ripens and the wheat grows tall, they spend the day defending them against the attacks of parrots, guaras, borugos, squirrels, and coatis. At an early age they are already doing the same tasks, but with the hope of building a house, marrying, raising children, and owning livestock, large quantities of coca, and sugar cane for their
342 chicha. In a way, the house is a necessary supplement to their pieces of land; furthermore, many are for the period of the clearings. The selection of a site for the house does not take into account either the beauty of the landscape or the levelness of the terrain, but rather the inaccessibility of both. Only when the house is to last for more than one generation will they attend to certain requisites: solidity, construction or privately owned land, and the selection of an adequate site by the medicine man (té éu). One fine day the owner selects
[759] a site: "This is a good place to build a house and to live," he
[787] says. Then he takes there the medicine man, who during the night "thinks about" whether the site is suitable or unsuitable; he chews coca and remedies, takes mouthfuls of aguardiente

/183 cont./

342 and blows them into the air; with a small staff called "tama"
756 he cleaves the air in such a way that sometimes he appears to
787 be frightening away the spirits, sometimes threatening them,
[823] and sometimes clubbing them. If the signs (reflex movements)
are felt on the right side, the site is favorable; the opposite
denotes that the site is uninhabitable. The spirits are angry,
[761] or there are Pijao bones and gold at the site. If the site has
not been selected by the medicine man, even if the house is a
handsome one it cannot be occupied, for its occupants would
die, beginning with the children, continuing with the mother,
342 and ending with the father. The medicine man himself pro-
756 hibits people from living in a house built without the fulfill-
ment of this requisite. The medicine man's dictum is rewarded
with a bottle of aguardiente, an egg (1) of coca, tobacco, a

[804] 1. A measure of weight equivalent to the weight of a hen's egg.

calabash of chicha, and usually a meal with chicken. /184/
[789] This is called "care" /cuido/. When the house is finished,
the medicine man will place special remedies at the ridgepole
to prevent the ghosts or echi from descending by way of it or
from being angered.

342 Then come the mingas /communal work-parties/. A house
476. is built with the help of others. The people are invited, in-
cluding the medicine man himself, who goes to work as a
laborer. The work is organized. First, they go to the wood-
land for wood; under the influence of the guarapo, voices re-
sound, loud laughter is heard, and the deep sound of the
"cacho" /horn/ rumbles in the montañas, multiplied by its
342 echoes. Soon they report to the man in charge. They level
335 out the ground that will serve as the house floor; they dig holes
476 in which to sink the posts approximately two meters apart,
driven in solidly, and tied at the top to cross-pieces with lianas
(guák); the posts outline the shape of the house, and they will

/184 cont./

342 bear its entire weight. Over this frame are placed transversally
335 the pikas, beams that go from one wall to another, to strengthen
476 the entire structure. Then the four-slope roof will be raised and covered with bundles of sugar-cane leaves (flushets) or straw (sits) which are fastened around the frame, starting at the bottom; it is completed by the ridgepiece, more massive and notched in a straight line on both sides to a depth of some 50 centimeters; at the apex, some mounds of straw are piled up at regular intervals and a cross is set in each one of them. The man in charge directs the last touches from the ground: "There is not enough straw over there; there is too much here," he notes in a commanding voice.

The walls are made with tall stalks of maize placed in a row between the posts and tied with crosswise bindings, likewise of stalks. The partitions of the interior rooms and the doors, generally one, which leads to the exterior, are made in the same way.

342 In the construction all do the same tasks, except for the
476 man in charge, who supervises. Neither the man in charge nor
465 the workers are paid anything, "it is not customary to pay among the Indians"; they are merely treated to chicha, aguardiente, a meal with meat, and coca. A calabash of chicha and a bottle of aguardiente are presented to the man in charge and shared with the helpers. When the work is done, they get drunk and dance.

342 The women do not participate directly in the /185/
462 /illustration appears here/ construction work; they cook, distribute
476 food, keep the house supplied with firewood and water, talk, and delouse and comb one another.

342 Three types of dwellings may be differentiated among the
177 Paez, in accordance with the greater or lesser introduction and acceptance of foreign architectural features, since nowadays elements of foreign origin are spreading and taking root: bahareque construction, interior division into rooms, the square

/185 cont./

342 house-plan, the use of nails, plank doors, and even locks and
177 keys to safeguard the dwelling; likewise, whitewashing is not unknown.

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342 The rectangular hut is the most primitive type of dwelling:
352 tiny and light, crude and totally artless; a two-slope roof, walls
353 of stalks laced together with an /186/ entrance door; an earthen
23/ floor; a kitchen in the center, with hides all around it; pouches suspended from the posts; on a three-legged beam, the grinding stone; a smoke-blackened interior; and living intimately with the guinea pigs.

/186 cont./

660 with the guinea pigs. These ranchos give the impression of
342 extreme poverty in their dwellings. None of them is of bahareque.

342 The second type of dwelling, which is more widespread
177 and shows a larger number of foreign architectural elements, is the large rectangular house with a four-slope roof, 15 to 20 meters long by four or five meters wide, with one or two doors and two or three rooms, one of which takes up two-thirds of the space made, and the last third is subdivided into the room intended for the kitchen and the other for the chicha troughs and
[841] pantry. Not a few of the dwellings of this type have a compart-
[343] ment for menstruating women (du yate léchukue), although as a rule small huts are built outside the house for this purpose.

[573] In this type of dwelling one commonly finds bahareque,
[352] sleeping platforms, plank doors, and sometimes whitewashed walls.

361 The settlement of Calderas is made up of this kind of
342 dwelling. It consists of 14 houses scattered at random on a
[312] beautiful plateau of some 20 hectares, covered with pastures
[796] and crossed by drainage ditches that bring water to five of the
[346] houses, which are permanently occupied; the others, although they have owners, serve only for religious fiestas when the fiestero /fiesta leader/ moves there with his retinue of mayordomos, laborers, cooks, and the utensils for serving
346 aguardiente, chicha, and food. These houses are spacious, 25
796 meters long by six meters wide; thick mud walls, with a plank door at the entrance; the enormous sala, fiuhne wala, is 13 meters long; here stand the sugar mill, the metate (ûkukuat), the notched ladder for climbing to the garret, the pango pil, crudely hewn rectangular beams on which the men sit, one of which is 10 meters long; firewood is piled in one of the corners; the floor is of earth unevenly smoothed. The concentrations of people who visit the fiestero in a daily stream gather in these spacious salas; here music echoes, the albacero /fiestero's assistant/ is taken care of, the dances take place, the drunks sleep, and the sugar cane is milled.

/186 cont./

346 There are four other small rooms, five meters /187/ long
796 by three meters wide. Two of them are independent of each other, with their respective doors opening into the sala; one serves as a kitchen and the other to roast the maize griddle-cakes. At the other end of the house are the two other rooms, connected with each other by one door and with the sala by another. The workers sleep in one, and in the other are the troughs of chicha, the bottles of aguardiente, and the laurel candles.

342 The third type of dwelling, very scarce in Calderas, has
249 a square floor plan. It has the sala, two kitchens, and the du yate léchukue. Whatever type of dwelling a Paez family may own, they all have as an indispensable accessory the sugar mill,
[262] either inside the house or outside it. Actually, if it is kept in
[273] mind that the basic sustenance of the natives is provided by
[276] maize, cabbage, chicha, and coca, this instrument is indispensable.

342 In addition, each house is supplied with water, taken from
312 springs, streams, or falls, through the extremely skillful construction of ditches which skirt the valleys, hills, and slopes. Their lands have abundant water. They are not familiar with artesian wells.

342 In a way, the enormous salas in the houses of Calderas
177 represent the ramadas which are found among the whites,
249 mestizos, and acculturated Indians of San Andrés; they are built independently of the dwellings, with a sugar mill and an oven to boil down the cane juice and make panela. In this parcialidad, the panela industry is quite well developed. In Calderas it does not exist.

584 Among the Paez, land, marriage, family, and house form
583 a close and indissoluble unit. It lends warmth and meaning to
[183] a number of emotional, sentimental, and sociological complexes. This begins when the pubescent boy feels the need for a partner who will help him in his work and assuage to some extent the rigors of solitude. The love awakened by a dark, shapely maiden impels him to ask her parents for her. "Give my your daughter. I am alone and need help in my work."

/187 cont./

583 says the youth after he has conferred upon the parents-in-law
[584] bottles of aguardiente and calabashes of chicha according to his means. The parents always accede to the request.

At midnight he goes off with her to the house of his parents, if he does not have one of his own. They will live together for several months, one year, two...; during this time he will find out whether the woman can cook, grind maize, carry water and firewood, weave ponchos and /188/ pouches, and he will become familiar with her fidelity, temperament, and
583 character. Only then will he look for a sponsor /padrino/,
585 seek out the priest, take communion and receive the nuptial
[608] blessing, and return to his house, where the bubbling troughs of chicha, the savory "mute" /maize stew/ boiling in the pot, the crude guitars and the pleasing chirimías /a kind of orchestra/ will complete the sealing of the union. They will go through the night, and sometimes days as well, drinking, eating, and dancing.

462 The building of the house on the land of his property will
594 soon follow. Gradually, the man will furnish it with pangopil
[372] for sitting, crude plates and spoons for eating, pots for cooking, hides and sometimes raised platforms for sleeping, a sugar mill to mill the juicy cane; he will bring water from distant sources, provide troughs in order to ferment chicha, purchase machetes, axes, and picks to work the land, plant bananas, sugar cane, onions, and cabbages in his garden; he will put together the barzos where he will keep the bundles of wheat, the ears /caspas/ of maize, the mulberry-colored beans; he will acquire a dog and also -- why not? it has been his ambition and his hope -- he will buy cattle for the fiestas and a horse to race for San Juan and to operate the sugar mill. The woman, on her part, will tend the guinea pigs, breed her chickens and turkeys, look after the pigs so they will not be lost, shear the sheep, weave her yaha gwala (fique bags) for carrying the compact ears of maize, the rustling beans, and the green cabbages

/188 cont./

462 from the plantings; she will laboriously make the multicolored
594 kuetand yahas which she will give as tokens of love to her hus-
[257] band. The children, who "are a blessing of God," will come and help the man work the land or lighten the woman's kitchen chores.

594 The household lends individuality, a sociological frame-
183 work, status, and function to the family. Land, a house, and a family are specific ambitions of the Paez people. Possibly they represent their most cherished ideals in life.

IV

Live Ritual Fire

372 In the mind of every individual, and in the spirit of the family, fire is a symbol, a symbol of the house and of the home. A house without fire is a dead, abandoned house.

372 In ancient times, when the Pijao went about spreading
773 terror and death, when the caciques came down on the /189/ /illustration appears here/ roaring waters of the great rivers beneath the imposing dark night sprinkled with stars, and even much earlier, the Indians began their daily round by requesting fire from an old, white-haired woman. This fire died out when night spread its dark cloak over the world. Only the old woman's fire was immortal. The monotony of this daily request for fire was transmuted into anguish when the wicked old woman decided to leave and take the fire with her in a piece of wood. They all ran after her, seized the firebrand, and obtained fire from it for all the Indian households. This fire could be preserved.

Thus run the mythical accounts of the origin of fire. They reflect its importance. The manner in which it is preserved, the care which is exercised so that a fire is always /190/ burning in the house, seem to be superstitious attitudes from an ancient

/190 cont./

372 cult of fire. In times past, fire was obtained with "steel and
773 tinder." Whatever the case may be, the mythical accounts

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372 disclose the usury of the owner of fire and anxiety when they were
773 on the verge of losing it. Nowadays, when through carelessness
[177] it goes out in a household, the matches of the whites are used to revive it.

513 The Indians go to bed early. At seven o'clock at night the
512 parents and the children lie down in a common bed on the dry hides of cattle, keeping on their bodies the clothes that covered

P /190 cont./
513 them during the day. They use no blankets. The woman
512 leaves sufficient wood on the fire for heat to protect them from
P the rigors of the cold of the night which filters through the
[262] stalks of the walls. In addition, over the fire there is a pot
[264] of "mute," beans, and cabbage, which, when cooked, will
P constitute the meal at daybreak. The fire is revived by the
[462] woman at 11 o'clock, an operation that is repeated about two o'clock in the morning. At four o'clock in the morning everyone is up. At dawn the woman distributes the food, and then the men come out of their houses with machetes in their belts, kuetand yaha filled with coca and mambe, to clear the woodland, weed the fields, or help with the hard work of their neighbors.

V

Anger, Rancor, and Politics

P
829 The Calderas Indians are arch conservatives. Tradition, pride, and a rebel spirit have much to do with their passion for politics. I do not speak of the conservative doctrine or of political concepts. They are conservatives by temperament and group solidarity. By the same token, their fanaticism is
P proverbial. The mere mention of the word "liberal" makes
829 609 them break out in a rash. Anyone who comes to Calderas for the first time is approached by the Indians out of curiosity. "What is your name?" "What do you want?" "Why did you come?" "What are you, liberal or conservative?" These are the questions with which the natives and even the local cabildo besiege the visitor. It should be added that those who wish to save their skins or to avoid being run out of town must main-
P tain that they are conservatives. It is said that in 1952 they
[797] [871] did not want to accept the Missionary Sisters who came to run
C the school which is supported by the national government.
[658]

/190 cont./

609 It was necessary for someone to tell them that they were sent by
797 /191/ Laureano Gómez before they all said: "Well, then, let
871
829 them remain."

666 In spite of their stubborn conservatism, the leaders of the
829 municipio cannot manage to make them vote for their chosen candidates unless they first get their ration of meat, chicha, and aguardiente. The ration and the vote form an indivisible unit.

829 "I am godo /Goth, pejorative for Spaniard/ to the marrow, a true conservative," exclaimed one of the important men of
[773] Calderas while he was drunk. "Juan Chiracol also was a conservative," said another.

829 The Indians of Tierradentro have been liberals since 1860,
175 thanks to the victor's aura gained by Mosquera on the plains
648 of Segovia. "The battle of Segovia" --says the padre David González--"in which the Indians took part and in which Mosquera encouraged the native ferocity, and the march on Bogotá, which fell to the rebel general, made him a demigod
[464] in the eyes of the Paez. Since the first days of the colony they have venerated the name Mosquera; the Marquis don Cristóbal Mosquera y Figueroa had been their master, their encomendero, he had taken them to Popayán in gangs to work on his haciendas, he had given to them the huge lands of his
[665] encomienda... Naturally the Indians of Tierradentro have been strongly bound since 1860 to the political faction which represented Mosquera, liberalism. In the armed struggles which later scourged the nation, the Paez staunchly bore the liberal standard."

829 In view of this, the political affiliation of the Calderas
665 Indians is an odd one; up to less than a decade ago, they formed a conservative island in the midst of a liberal majority. Possibly this attitude conceals a great desire to defend their lands. The Calderas people have no marked sympathy for the neighboring parcialidades. "They are Reds," say the natives,

/191 cont./

829 while the others contend for their land and reduce the extent
665 of the parcialidad. This is what the people of Avirama, Togoima, and Lame have done. Nowadays, their relations appear to be cordial, for their political differences, at least, seem to have been obliterated.

157 The Paez are extremely pugnacious, aggressive by nature; they are easily aroused and only with difficulty erase rancor from their minds. Their psychological characteristic seems [648] to be the explosion. History gives many authentic proofs. [669] Adverse to the Spanish yoke, destroyers of the colonial settlements, /192/ in the times of the republic they have served as instruments for blind ambitions and political revenge, and nearly all the civil uprisings have been nourished with their blood. They adjust easily to the military, guerilla, barbarian [579] spirit. The riots that have taken place in the present century are memorable: La Quintinada, La Collada, and the 28th of January, the first of which took place in 1916, the second in 1932, and the third in 1950, out of motives of racism, religion, and political rancor, respectively.

Persistence in vengeance, hair-raising and fearsome crimes, and the spilling of blood characterize many aspects of the social and political life of these Indians.

VI

Fiesteros, Albaceros, and Mayordomos

796 About three months before the celebration of the fiesta,
623 the cabildo begins to select the names of the fiesteros /fiesta leaders/ for the following year. When the candidates have been chosen, the entire cabildo goes to their home, where after much dilatory chatting they announce the authorized choice. The offer is rejected at first, but eventually the great honor is accepted.

/192 cont./

796 Then the new fiesteros look for assistants, called albaceros and mayordomos. At the close of the fiesta, accompanied by the cabildo and the old fiesteros, they go to the priest to be put on record and announced as the fiesteros for the following year. Each receives a church banner, and then in procession they walk round the church and proceed at once to one of the houses of the pueblo, previously requested from its owner, amidst the bursting of firecrackers and the strains of music. [273] There, chicha and aguardiente will be served to the albacero, mayordomos, and the others present, even before they have finished drinking the liquor of the old fiestero. They will also be given a meal, for which a bull has been slaughtered.

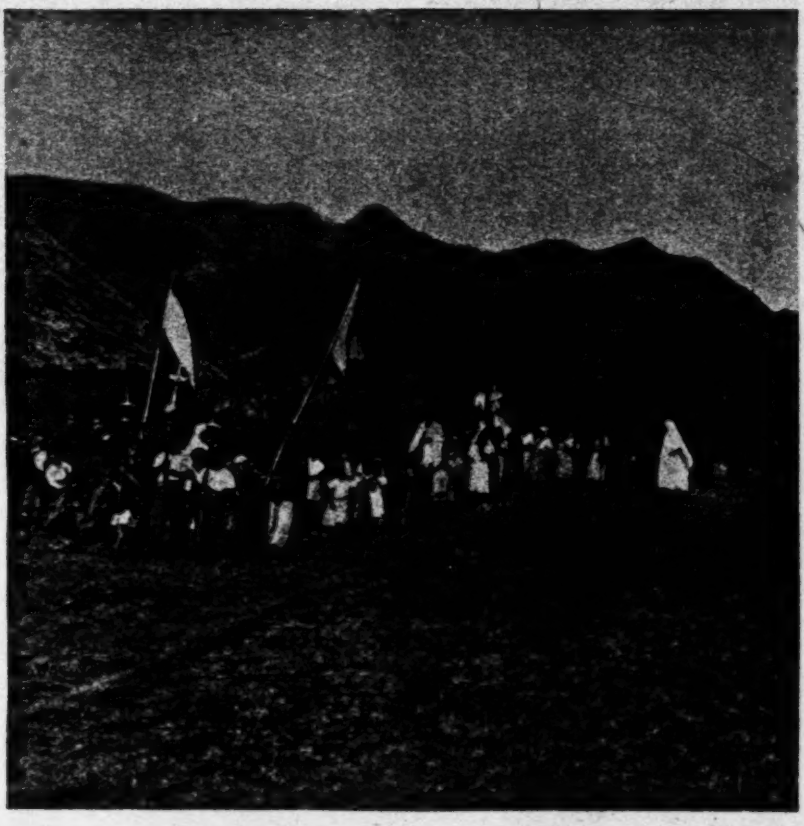
794 796 The months go by. The need for money to cover the costs is pressing. Fiesteros and albaceros, with their wives and sometimes also with a few friends, leave their land and, keeping to themselves, set out for Inzá, La Plata, or Popayán to sign up as laborers on haciendas which they know personally or through [465] trustworthy references. Their daily pay will be one peso and food. Not even coca /193/ /illustration appears here/ is part of their ration. Husband and wife do the same work and earn the same pay.

After two months they return once more to their land, carrying in their pouches gunpowder, wicks, and salt. Some- [574] times, a machete fastened to the belt. The fiestero bears the brunt of the expense: camarico (1) /footnote 1 is missing; the camarico is the gift customarily given to a guest/ for the priest and the latter's fees; candles for the altar; gunpowder for the Mass and the social functions; the cleaning of the church; "care" for the albacero and hospitality to visitors for the period of three weeks. The albacero is in charge of the celebration of vespers: lights for the church, the vacaloca /"crazy cow," a feature of the fiesta/, fireworks, and gunpowder.

The mayordomos contribute money (one peso) for the priest's fees and candles to light the church.

/194/
796 Both the fiestero and the albacero have laborers whom they select themselves. The fiestero has the following: three for the

[133]
[788]



distribution of food; three chicha-makers, two men and one woman; two millers of sugar cane; one fireworks-maker and two women as
796 cooks. The transporting of the sugar cane is done by volunteers
465 who help out daily in exchange for drink. The albacero has the same laborers, and although he does not kill a beef to reward them, he does sacrifice a pig to this end, especially for the fireworks-maker, with all the honors of the table and the demands of etiquette.

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/194 cont./

796 The albacero and fiestero with their respective wives do not work; their task is to look after the people.

796 554 Every religious fiesta has a chief fiestero and a secondary one, with their respective retinues of albaceros, mayordomos, and laborers. There is no difference of rank between the two. Both spend the same amount of money and perform the same tasks. Only the chief one performs them first; he thus has [578] primacy. Nevertheless, a certain rivalry seems to exist between the two. According to the extravagance and hospitality, there are comments as to whether the fiesta of one was better than that of the other. Prestige is also involved here. Thus, of the two fiesteros who gave the fiesta of San Juan this current year, that of the second one was said to be better, since he did not get drunk, attended all the religious ceremonies, and [273] looked after people very well. Only the last of these remarks is valid, because the abundance of food, chicha, and aguardiente was fundamental; continuous drunkenness is the mark of a good fiesta. On the other hand, he knew how to look after the people because he had already been fiestero at another time.

796 Three weeks before the festive day activity begins in the households of the fiesteros: milling the sugar cane, the distillation of the aguardiente, entertainment of visitors, and the making of candles and firecrackers.

Two weeks before the Mass, the fiesteros, accompanied by the cabildo, music, and firecrackers, go to take over the pueblo house, with their wives, cooks, chicha-makers, and food distributors.

All the public entertaining will be done in the spacious sala. The church banner will wave in front of the house.

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VII

The Milling, the Chicha and the Chicha-makers

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249 It remains to be said that the fiesta begins with the milling.
461 Although it is common to use a horse to operate the sugar mill,
[492] it is more usual at fiesta time to move it with human arms, masculine or feminine. It makes no difference. The two laborers for the milling squat on either side of the sugar mill, and one hands over the cane while the other receives the bagasse, which is piled up at one side to be handed back again; this is done up to 12 times in order to extract as much juice
[273] as possible. The millers do their work in silence when they are not drunk; while they do it with diligence, there is relaxation, laughter, shouts, and imprecations when they are under the influence of alcohol.

273 The juice is gathered in troughs, or less frequently in
249 calabashes and pots; it is heated to near the boiling point and
796 then emptied into the troughs, in which, inasmuch as they
[415] are well "cured," fermentation is rapid. The troughs are made of huge tree trunks that reach up to one meter and 50 centimeters in thickness and four or five meters in length. As they are depleted through consumption, they are refilled with fresh
[285] cane juice. The troughs are covered with small mats made
273 exclusively for the purpose. On the following day it is bubbly,
796 yellowish, with a pungent, sweetish flavor. It is the beka pes (strong chicha) of the natives, who drink it with relish and delight. Five gourdfuls of this liquor are sufficient to make them
273 drunk. Elsewhere called guarapo, while the Paez call it chicha,
182 it is of great importance in their social life and diet. With its
796 help the religious fiestas gain meaning, the mingas are carried
[262] out, baptisms and weddings are made more pleasant, and visitors are entertained.

273 Work without chicha is inconceivable, and while they work
461 they get no food whatever; they merely drink chicha and chew
262
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/195 cont./

262 coca. Chicha thus provides the calories for work, while coca
273 dulls the feeling of hunger. The consumption of chicha is
461 general among men and women, old people and children.
[276] There is no household without chicha for any length of time.
And during the short lapses when it runs low, they buy it or
[431] visit the households that have some. Among friends it is not
sold, but given as regalement: /196/ "talking, laughing, regaling," as the Indians accurately describe the situation.

249 Milling for the fiestas takes place daily and is in direct
273 proportion to the number of visitors. Milling for the mingas
461 lasts two days, one week for baptisms, and up to a month for
weddings.

273 The largest containers for chicha are the troughs, but use
415 is also made of pitchers and large earthenware pots buried in
the ground up to their rims.

273 The chicha-makers are the absolute masters of the troughs
463 while they are fulfilling their function. They distribute the
796 chicha, and even the fiestero himself must ask them for the
amount desired. No one takes chicha without their consent.
Furthermore, they accept the gifts which the visitors give to
the fiestero. The latter merely voices his thanks. Although
they keep taking chicha, they do not get drunk, so as to perform their task properly. They will have their day when they
can do so.

VIII

Sugar-cane Aguardiente

273 At fiesta time, aguardiente is distilled every two or three
[796] days. The distillation is quite easy. The still is prepared in
the following way:

[415] A good-sized earthenware pot, 50 to 60 centimeters high
and 25 to 30 centimeters in diameter, is filled with guarapo

/196 cont./

273 fermented for two days, mixed with anise, dill, cloves, cinna-
415 mon, anisillo, and bitopiskue. Sometimes verbena is also added. It rests on three stones which make up the hearth. Over the edges of this pot, and with the interstices filled with a paste of ashes to avoid any loss of steam, is put another pot of regular size: 30 centimeters high and 20 centimeters in diameter. Inside this one is put an ovoid wooden bowl, grooved, with a handle likewise grooved, which is connected to a reed tube that runs through the pot at mid-height, and through which the aguardiente runs into the containers (liters /litros/ and bottles). The base of this pot is pierced to permit the guarapo steam to go through. Above this pot is placed a copper pan about 15 centimeters high and 30 centimeters in diameter; the junctures are covered with a paste of ashes. On this pan there falls a continuous jet of cold water brought from the outside through a bamboo channel; the surplus comes out through a /197/ /illustration appears here/ reed tube set in an opening near the rim. When this fall of water is not feasible, the women undertake to change constantly the warm water for cold.

Stills of this kind distill approximately 15 liters.

The amounts of the ingredients are as follows:

Guarapo, two-thirds of the container.

Anise, three eggs /a measure; see footnote 1, p. 9/ (from Silvia or Neiva).

Dill, approximately 1 pound.

Anisillo (an aromatic herb), one egg.

Bitopiskue (a pungent herb), approximately half a pound.

Cloves, ten centavos (one ounce).

/198/Cinnamon, ten centavos (one ounce).

273 The distillation has nothing mysterious about it, although
784 it does have its precautions. Anyone can be present, but no one can say "venda" /bandage/, because the distillation would not produce anything. If someone goes out, he must do so in silence, but preferably he should not go out, because he will

/198 cont./

273 take with him the "heart" of the aguàrdiente, thus reducing the
784 quantity and detracting from its quality, for it will be "cold

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273 and tasteless."
[784] The distillation is done on any day and at any hour; the tax collectors do not go this far; control of this kind has never been permitted, and anyone who dared to do it would risk his
[186] life. Children drink this liquor from the age of three. Abstainers are inconceivable; "only Protestants do not drink," they conclude.

/198 cont./

IX

The Wax Comes from the Woodlands

796 Before the fiestero goes to stay in the pueblo, the laborers make the candles and distill the aguardiente while the fireworks-maker produces the firecrackers and rockets.

388 824 The candles are made with the wax of the wild laurel (1)

1. Myrica pubescens Willd.

recently extracted from seeds gathered months earlier from the bushes in the woodlands. Laurel, of course, is a shrub with lanceolate leaves, which grows wild in the clearings after the harvest. During the months of April and May the branches are heavy with lead-colored and tiny seeds very similar in form to the fruit of the coffee tree. They are a favorite food of the wild pigeons, and for this reason, while they are ripening, the owner, or preferably his children, constantly frightens them [756] away. This is a reinforcement of the magic protection supplied [789] by the medicine man at the suggestion of the owner of the woodland. He has performed the exorcism to frighten away the unwanted birds: he has loaded his shotgun with chayuts (2) and

2. Escrofulareacea.

shot at the pigeons. They will not return.

[415] The seeds are gathered in fique bags. Ten workers gather approximately one arroba in one day. /199/ For the period of one month the seeds will be left to dry, scattered in a corner of the house, so that the wax will come out white and not green as would happen if this were not done.

388 To extract the wax, the seeds are packed into small sacks or bags, boiled, and pressed at once. The wax falls with the hot water into a round container; on the following day, the water that remains at the bottom of the container is removed, and the wax is left to solidify further.

/199 cont./

388 Up to a few years ago, the extraction of laurel wax was the
43 only industry among the Calderas people that brought them monetary returns. And it was the sole article of active trading with the whites. At first the price was good; one peso a pound; nowadays it is barely worth 40 centavos. Thus, there is no
388 market for this article. The fiesteros and the albaceros have chunks of wax in their chambers. The laborers melt it in a copper pan and pour it at once into bamboo tubes, mixed with hot water so that it will not solidify at once. Into it they dip the notched wicks of different lengths so as to saturate them with wax, then bring them out into the air so that they will harden, saturate them once more with wax, and continue in this way until the candle has acquired the desired thickness. Several dozen are made; some large ones for the table, others of medium size for the church, and smaller ones for the mayordomos.

X

Gunpowder

389 The Paez are totally unfamiliar with the method of making
829 gunpowder. And to explain how it is obtained, they tell the
648 painful legend that it is made from human beings. It comes from a fat man, they say, fattened expressly for this purpose. He is hung up, a red-hot iron rod is inserted in his rectum; lard drips down; and this lard is the gunpowder. For this reason, they do not want to send their children to distant lands where the white man lives. They believe that they would be used to obtain gunpowder. "The white men greatly desire Indians in order to obtain gunpowder."

389 The Indians buy gunpowder in the urban centers. They
439 work it up. The technique is almost universally known.

/199 cont./

389 Explosive charges are made in the following way. The powder is packed into small sheepskin cartridges; these cartridges /200/ are tied tightly with maguey thread. Then they are pierced in such a way that the powder can come in contact with the correspondent fuse. They make with these explosive charges:

Firecrackers: a charge attached to a short stick.

Skyrockets: reed tubes full of powder, with one explosive charge, attached to a long pole. They rise to considerable heights and end with an explosion.

Stingers: firecrackers made of three charges attached to a stick.

Castle: a structure resembling half an ellipse, made of flexible rods to which the explosive charges are attached.

[796] The fireworks-maker is selected especially by the fiestero or the albacero, and at the time of the fiesta he distributes the firecrackers personally among the elders with a great show [465] of deference. The albacero must kill a pig or a sheep to reward him for his work.

[461] The making of these objects is slow: a month or even more, not because it is complicated, but because steady work on it is tiresome.

389 During the making of these firecrackers, with the relative 787 tranquility that this implies, a man may come to know of a 75 destiny which he possibly had not suspected: becoming a medicine man. While sitting at his work he may feel the "signs" that herald his future activity. This was the case with a medicine man of Calderas. As a young man he knew nothing about remedies or "signs." But as he was making firecrackers, he felt the signs. He had five children at the time. After that he learned what the good and the bad remedies were from another famous medicine man. He put his knowledge into practice, cured a sick man, and devoted himself to being a medicine man. The signs, they say, are sent by God.

4:Bernal Villa--31 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/200 cont./

XI

Gourd Vessels and Etiquette

415 554 273 There are three types of gourd vessels in which chicha is distributed and whose traditional order of use reflects hierarchy, majority, and high status; some gourd vessels are used for all those present, of both sexes and all ages; others, only for a specific class of people.

[192] The first type is small with an ovoid opening, made of half a gourd. In the Paez dialect it is called shup /201/ /illustration appears here/ shachi. All visitors, without distinction as to sex, age, or status, are presented with two matés of this type: the first one contains "strong water" to quench thirst, while the second contains chicha, the authentic strong chicha.

The second type of container is the shachi pitán (gourd-vessel capitan), of greater capacity than the first, ovoid in shape, and open at one end. The most respected persons of both sexes, adults and elders, are given chicha in these gourd vessels, /202/ after taking it from the shup shachi. They indicate a certain deference on the part of the host, and by the same token he wishes them to get drunk. Those who are favored with these gourds offer them to all present, who take them, taste the contents, and return them to the hands of the owner. The shachi pitán has gone from mouth to mouth, but the contents remain practically untouched; the owner is to drink it.

The laborers and mayordomos who are in his service, the albacero, the síndico /trustee/, and the highly respected elders, after having received chicha in the shup shachi and in the shachi pitán, receive a larger gourd vessel in which there is a tiny one (shachi léchukue), which is called suilté. The presentation of this has an etiquette of its own. The host comes out with the suilté in his hands, fills the shachi léchukue with

/202 cont./

415 chicha, and hands it to a person favored and respected by him;
554 the latter takes it, drinks from it, and returns the small gourd;
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415 then he is given the suilté. In turn, he fills the small gourd and
554 gives it to the man who presented it to him. Then he distributes
273 the chicha among all those present, beginning with the adults,

/202 cont./
415 men first and then women, and ending with the children of both
554 sexes. No one is left without a share.
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XII

The Cleaning of the Church

346 The so-called church of Calderas, a masonry structure, is a dilapidated old building, long and tall, with a two-slope thatched roof and a hemispherical bell tower supported by four beams set into the ridgepiece. Only the front of four columns with cornices and semicircular arches which form an antechamber lends the whole a certain charm.

346 What is called the cleaning of the church is the removal
794 of a few weeds that grow in the pavement in front of it and
796 clearing a line that encircles a small plaza. The task is minimal, but it is always performed. The act is symbolic more than anything else; what matters is the meeting of the fiesteros with their respective albaceros and laborers; an occasion for taking care of the albacero, an opportunity for merriment, talk, jokes, and even games.

Some 12 days before the fiesta and on a Thursday, accompanied by the cabildo, music, and firecrackers, the fiestero leaves his house and goes to occupy one in the pueblo. He takes /203/ along the bull that will be sacrificed on the following day. Two days later, that is to say, on Monday, the cleaning of the church is carried out. On rare occasions
[202] it is done on a Wednesday. The ringing of bells announces the invitation and later tells the people that the cleaning is over, whereupon they drink the two calabashes of chicha which each fiestero has brought; the firecrackers are set off; "the albacero has earned a meal," they say, and deserves the honors of the table. The fiestero will take care of him with

/203 cont./
346 meat and "mute," as well as more chicha and aguardiente.
794 After lunch the albacero goes home. There he waits for the
796 fiestero, who in the afternoon will bring him more chicha, more aguardiente, and more food.

796 A week after the cleaning of the church, the priest will
793 come to officiate at the religious ceremonies.

XIII

Instruments, Music and Dance

533 The musical groups of the Calderas people, true chirimías, /a kind of orchestra/, are deservedly famous both for the number of the musicians and for the beauty of their interpretations. Many are soft and delicate, most of them sad tunes,
534 but there are joyous ones as well. The musical instruments are few.

The flute (kuvi), made of a reed some 70 centimeters long; it has seven holes made by burning: the one in the upper part which serves for blowing, and 35 centimeters farther down are found the others, which correspond to the fingers of the hands, at intervals of three centimeters apart. They distinguish two types of flutes: those that produce melodic sounds, kuvinéhuish (major flute) and those that produce low tones, kuvinuch (minor flute).

[281] The bass drum (kut), made with the skin from sheep, calf, goat, or deer, the hair of which has been removed by fermentation underground.

The tambourine, around the edge of which is put several pairs of movable circular pieces of tin which produce a rhythmic sound.

The side drum or snare drum and the triangle to mark the rhythm.

/203 cont./

534 Some natives own and play guitars acquired in Popayán,
237 but there are some that they make themselves out of armadillo
439 shells.

The following are the compositions of ceremonial type
533 which are not accompanied by dancing.

/204/ /Illustration appears here./

Kulá ik kui (bull-slaughter-piece). Musical composition which is played at the moment of killing the beef to which the albacero and the laborers of the fiestero will be taken care of. Informants claim that this musical piece has no significance other than to entertain the people.

Plaza pá kui, a musical composition played when the musicians reach the church.

Misa kase kui, played when the Mass is over.

Chichi pékue kui, played when the meat is cut in pieces to treat the albacero. The workers place the chunks of meat on a trunk and cut them into small pieces with a machete /peinilla/.

There are other compositions peculiar to wedding ceremonies.

/205/ Novio mesa úku, played at the start of the wedding meal.

Úpiate kui, played halfway through the nuptial banquet.

Tunzi kamba kui, played at the close of the nuptial banquet.

All of these compositions are melodious and in 3/4 or 4/4 time.

The religious fiestas, mingas, weddings, and baptisms are occasions for music. There is no music at burials or at wakes for children.

[868] Musical compositions are learned from the "elders" out of personal interest. From childhood they learn how to play the bass drum, the side drum, and the triangle with great skill. They try the flute later. While rhythm instruments

/205 cont./

533 are played by a large number of people, those playing the melody (flutes) are few and usually restricted to a few families.

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534

533 The women do not play any musical instrument.

Secular singing is unknown; only religious songs are sung at the hours of prayer, the Mass, and the procession.

535 The dancing of the Calderas people is stylized and very
[171] similar to the Colombian bambuco. It is danced by mixed couples, separately or joined together. As a rule the dancers take on a certain air of gravity and concentration, and the onlookers follow their movements attentively. The woman always

/205 cont./

535 keeps her head low, with her eyes on the ground, attentive to the musical notes which she seems to interpret with her movements. One foot forward, then one back, in swift alternation; she suddenly stands in her partner's way, then does an about-face. She keeps her arms motionless against her abdomen.

The man, on his part, dances with his forehead held high, his arms motionless against his thighs, his face joyous. From time to time he shouts: "Viva the Conservative Party!" or "Viva el Cauca!"

It is customary for the fiestero and the albacero to dance with each other's wives, after their respective "care."

535 It is the rule for the newlyweds and the sponsors to open
608 the dancing at weddings. In the midst of the dancing and at
585 different times the bride and groom kneel before their sponsors /padrinos/ to receive /recitarles/ the blessing, the bride before the padrino and the groom before the madrina. The latter
[576] bless them and give them their hands to help them rise. After the dance of the newlyweds and the sponsors, the others present may dance, and in the midst of the dancing they, too, greet one another /206/ by placing the right hand over the other person's left shoulder and pressing it.

535 Although one colonial writer speaks of specific dances, nowadays they are only a memory; it is said that there is performed in Avirama the dance of the little bird (vicha ku), danced by young girls at dawn. Calderas informants say that it is very ugly and for this reason they do not dance it. It may possibly correspond to the Itza-ko noted by Pittier de Fábrega.

XIV

The Great Day

796 Before dawn raises its pale face above the black rims of the eastern peaks, the women have already left their hard beds

/206 cont./

796 of cowhide and are busy cooking the food, hastily reviving the kitchen fire. Meanwhile, the men talk and laugh hilariously.

[264] The house of the fiestero is bustling with activity. At six

[262] o'clock in the morning men and women have breakfasted on "mute," cabbage, bananas, yuca, and meat. Then, the women put on to cook, in a copper pan with a diameter of one meter and 50 centimeters, the mute for the laborers' lunch and for feasting the albacero after vespers. Next to this vessel they place another one of clay, slightly smaller, full of shelled maize with ashes. About four arrobas of maize will be consumed during this day.

With the bundles of firewood piled in one corner of the kitchen, and the water stored in jars, the women sit around the fire to nurse their children, spin wool, weave their pouches, and converse about matters of daily life.

In the course of the day there will be the sacrifice of the beef; the presentation of the "camarico" to the priest; the greeting of the albacero; the celebration of vespers with the vacaloca game; concluding with the meal given by the fiestero at midnight. On the following day there will be the Mass, a procession, the handing over of the banners to the new fiesteros, and the care given to the albacero.

/207/ XV

Scene between the Second Fiestero and Albacero

[805] The position of the sun indicates that it is nine o'clock in the morning. In the house of the albacero the muffled sounds of the bass drum and the melody of the flutes are heard.

While they play, the fiestero and his wife visit the albacero with a pot of stew /sancocho/, a bottle of aguardiente, a skyrocket, and a candle. The fiestero hands over what he has

[539] brought to the albacero, and his wife to the latter's wife. They sit around the fire. The dialogue is interesting:

/207 cont./

796 Albacero: The albacero is always behind the fiestero.
539 We shall make him dance.

Fiestero: We shall take chicha and have a good time.

The offers of chicha and aguardiente are repeated.

--Let us go to the slaughter of the little bull.

--And all of a sudden the bull would kill me, replies the albacero, cutting short the invitation of the fiestero. And he adds:

--You do a great deal in taking care of people; you seem to have more. I do not have anything.

--We are not just any family. We are Muse, replies the fiestero.

--What do you want from me that you do so much for me? Asks the albacero.

Meanwhile other men express their thoughts in sentimental and philosophical tones:

--This is our pueblo... We must talk... When we die, we shall not return.

--Because now that we are alive, and on our land, we must see each other often.

The old master of the house interrupts the conversation:

--It is well if you go with us. (Eviuha guechi pikin ustau.)

It is time to slaughter the beef. The fiesteros leave the house of the albacero. The musicians follow them.

XVI

Sacrifice of the Beef

231 Since the previous day the beef has remained in front of
796 the house tied to a post. Next to it are several piles of long, dry pieces of wood.

/208/ /Illustration appears here./

/208/

231 796 At about ten o'clock in the morning the special guests of the fiestero get ready to kill the beef. They are four. The

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231 796 musicians intone the kula kui while other men begin to cut the long, [533] dry pieces of wood into small fragments. Woodcutters, slaughterers, and musicians all begin their activities at once. The wood will serve to roast the maize griddlecakes.

[825] One of the slaughterers gathers the blood in a pan, while another one holds the head and tries to cover the eyes; he believes that if he does not do so, some other cow will attack him when he goes to catch it.

/208 cont./

231 After skinning it, they quarter it following a definite
796 sequence: the lower part of the hind legs (chinda), the lower
192 part of the front legs (kuse), the upper part of the hind legs (himbé), the upper part of the front legs (pala), the tail (mens), the flesh of the neck (chikichichi), the fat (sepo), upper intestine (chunchullo), lower intestine (meto), stomach (tuchi), /209/ trachea (pechita), lungs (mechto), heart (ús), liver
[827] (mechi), the gall (muahi), pancreas (shape)... They are familiar with most of the organs and their names, but not with their specific physiology.

262 Some of the pieces of meat go directly into the pan of
796 "mute," which is boiling and which the workers will eat for
252 lunch; others, to the barbecue where they will get the smoke from the kitchen.

Inside the house, in the fluhne wala, the women grind shelled maize on two metates to make maize griddlecakes. With maize flour and water they make a dough which various women shape with their hands into circular form. In a separate kitchen, two women and two men are busy roasting them. First they let them harden on a piece of broken earthenware and then complete the cooking in the embers of the hearth. An elderly man gathers those that are cooked into a bag. Another one occupies himself with singing religious songs and praying. The maize griddlecakes are used to take care of the albacero on the following day.

796 This work is performed enthusiastically by the women.
[462] --The days of the fiesta are for talking, says one woman.
[829] --One can live through life only by getting drunk, says
[273] another.

4:Bernal Villa--42 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/209 cont./

XVII

"Camarico" for the Priest

796 At four o'clock in the afternoon the fiestero and fiestera,
793 accompanied by their mayordomos, the cabildo, the musicians,
43/ and other people, with the church standards in front and with a profusion of gunpowder, parade past the rectory. Each one bears a gift for the priest, called camarico, which consists of victuals and meat: green bananas, potatoes, eggs, meat, and salt. First the man presents his, and then his wife. This represents a testimonial to the priest for having come to celebrate the Mass for them. The mayordomos also present him with eggs.

In the house of the albacero flutes and drums resound and shouts go up, indicating that he is ready to receive the greeting of the fiestero.

XVIII

Extravagance and Protocol

796 It is five o'clock in the afternoon. In the house of the
43/ fiestero firecrackers resound, while in that of the albacero there is much excitement. /210/ Both have their own chirimías. The time for the greeting and the exchange of gifts has come.

The fiestero and his wife, preceded by the church banners and followed by many attendants, the indispensable melodies of the chirimías, and the bursting of firecrackers and skyrockets, have left their home, each with a plate covered with a brightly colored kerchief, on which they bear the gift for the albacero and his wife, respectively, consisting of a cake /bizcochuelo/, a bottle of aguardiente, one large candle of laurel wax and

/210 cont./

796 two small ones, a skyrocket, and a firecracker; in addition, an
431 assistant carries a pot of chicha. The procession moves slowly forward. The albacero and his wife, on the other hand, have also left their home, with their retinue of attendants, the shooting of firecrackers, and the strains of music, carrying with them the same gifts as those brought by the fiesteros: chicha, aguardiente, cake, firecrackers, skyrockets, and
[354] candles. An assistant carries a showy lamp, made of flexible rods in hemispherical shape, adorned with a white pellicle similar to paper, obtained from the cabuya (1), and flowers

1. Fourcroya andina.

of various colors; it has four reeds to hold the candles.

The albacero waits for the fiestero very close to his home.

At the moment of the meeting, the fiestero and his wife each take one of the church banners and they take candles, which in turn are also lighted by the albacero and his wife. They exchange them: the fiestero with the albacero, and
796 their wives with each other. Then they kneel, with the men
576 face to face and the women likewise. The fiestero presents
431 the ceremonial greeting:

--"My friend: we are meeting at this spot. I have come to see you. Accept this small cake, even though it is quite tasteless."

--"Here we are together at this spot," replies the albacero.

796 While they are saying these words, they touch each other's
431 left shoulder with the right hand and press it; the wives greet
[576] each other in the same manner; following this, the fiestera greets the albacero, and the fiestero greets the latter's wife. The same protocol is observed. Immediately afterwards they exchange the gifts, the husbands on the one hand, and the wives on the other. Everything is distributed among their respective attendants. Only the candles are retained.

/210 cont./

796 Throughout all these actions, the music has not failed to
[533] sound, /211/ the ensemble of the albacero alternating with that of the fiestero. The tunes are joyous, the enthusiasm grows, and the bursts of firecrackers are frequent.

When everything has been consumed, the plates, kerchiefs, and pots are returned with mutual expressions of deep appreciation. The albacero invites the fiestero:

--"My brother: now let us go to my house. I have nothing to offer you, but what can we do."

--"Do not worry. I, too, am in the same situation as you."

They all remain in the house of the albacero until the ringing of the bells announces the hour of prayer. Very few attend, but the fiestero and albacero have an obligation to do so. The musicians go behind. The albacero sets in place the lamp which he exhibited at the greeting two hours earlier.

796 The lighting of the church is adequate. There are some
346 72 candles, of which those on the altar are from the fiestero
373 and the remainder from the albacero. There are four hanging lamps of the type already described. On cross-pieces supported by vertical beams and placed so that one is close to the altar and another at the exit door, numerous candles are held in fresh clay, in the same manner as in the cornices of the walls.

796 The religious performances are accompanied by native
533 music; monorhythmic and sad tunes alternate with joyous airs.

XIX

Torches and Vacaloca

796 While at the house of the fiestero the men kill the beef
532 and make up the bundles of firewood and the women roast the maize cakes, in the house of the albacero the chirimía plays, chicha is drunk from gourd containers, the lamp is made, and

/211 cont./

796 the vacaloca /"crazy cow"/ is fashioned. From the angles of
532a rectangle made of four rods tied with lianas, flexible rods are attached in a semicircle; over these is hung the hide of a cow; the skull of a cow, with its horns, is attached to the front part; the facial bones are covered with newspaper on which the cow's eyes, nose, and mouth are drawn with charcoal; the horns are wrapped in cloth soaked in laurel wax; at the hind part, a bunch of defibered cabuya forms the tail. In addition, with the same waxed cloth, three /212/ torches and one large match in the shape of a cross are made, exclusively for illumination.

On leaving the prayer session, a strong, husky youth puts the crude vacaloca on his shoulders, the waxed horns and the torches previously seized by other youths are set afire, the music sounds, the firecrackers are picked up, and the game begins. The young men attempt to set the tail on fire, while the vacaloca tries to pursue them and butt them with its burning horns. The clamor and mad frenzy begin. Everyone runs, everyone defies the charges of the symbolic animal. Soon the vacaloca takes a false step and falls with a crash, causing general hilarity. The fiestero and albacero, the musicians, the participants in the game, and the others present begin to move toward the house of the albacero. There they stop the game when the fuel of the torches is exhausted and the players are overcome by fatigue.

796 Inside the dwelling, in the ñuhne wala, the musicians in one corner, the women seated on the ground, the men on the pangos, their faces made golden by the rays from the torches, wait for the distribution of the calabashes of chicha and the liters of aguardiente with which the albacero is paying attention
[273] to the fiestero. In the middle of the sala and next to one of the pangos there is a crude table, blackened by smoke, dirt, and time, with two lighted candles at the ends of it; three calabashes of chicha set on sugar-cane bagasse, two bottles of aguardiente next to the end gourds, and next to the center

/212 cont./

796 one a liter of aguardiente. The fiestero sits at the center of
273 the table, his wife sits on his right and the síndico on his left. The albacero approaches, takes the liter in his hands, measures out a cup, and offers it to the fiestero. The latter accepts it, drinks, and returns it. From the hands of the albacero he receives the cup and the liter. The proceeds in the same fashion with the calabash inside of which is the shachi léchukúe. In the same manner he offers the other bottles and gourds to
[431] the wife of the fiestero and to the síndico. The distribution begins, for which the fiestero, fiestera, and the síndico call on three men to take charge of distributing the generous gift. The aguardiente is distributed by its owners themselves, who in each cup put small pieces of cake. The clamor increases in direct proportion to the consumption. Everyone drinks
796 alike: men, women, and children. This is the time for off-
522 color, rich, and abundant joking. The hour when fantasy
273 shines and takes wings. There is practically only one theme,
831 sex in all its forms and manifestations: desires, /213/ feats, wooing, pregnancy, childbirth, genitalia, and even sham coitus in public. Any allusion to sex causes hilarity; many aspects of life, attitudes, and work are associated with sex.

796 At midnight the bottles and calabashes are empty. The
[273] music has been continuous, the drunkenness has increased ... But it is not yet over. At the house of the fiestero they are awaited with another gift.

The fiestero and the albacero dance with each other's wives. When the dance is over, everyone goes out and vanishes in the darkness of the night on paths that cannot be seen, only divined. The sound of the bass drum indicates that the people, the nasa wala, are on their way to the house of the fiestero.

There they will find the pale yellowish light, the table next to a pango and toward the center of the ñuhne wala, with its two lighted candles, its calabashes of chicha, and its bottles of aguardiente. This time it is the albacero who will

/213 cont./

796 sit in the center, his wife on his right and the síndico on his left. The same etiquette and the same courtesies will be ob-
[264] served. When the liquor has been drunk, there will be a meal of cabbage and meat: large bowls for the albacero, his wife, and the síndico. For the others it will be served on platters. All of them will sip the broth, squeeze out the meat and cabbage with their hands, and put it in their pouches.

796 Overcome by the fatigue induced by several sleepless
513 nights, by the chicha, and the food, they will sleep on the ground. When dawn heralds the new day, the enormous sala, the fluhne wala, will present the sight of groups of people sleeping in a promiscuity of sex and age.

XX

The Saint's Procession

796 Immediately after the Mass, with the presence of those
788 who attended it and those who did not, the procession begins, the essence of the fiesta, according to Padre González. The image of San Juan, adorned with many flowers, is carried on a litter by the faithful, who frequently relieve one another, go round the church with a great profusion of gunpowder, and
[533] finally set off the fireworks castle. The music plays incessant-
796 ly and includes the singing of religious canticles. When the
492 procession is over and the saint has been placed on the altar,
526 the men mount their horses, most of them bareback, and set out to race madly /214/ across the plains of the locality. They give free rein to their enthusiasm, allow their spirits to expand, and whet their appetite for play. Groups of horsemen in clamorous flight leave behind them their shouts of "Viva San Juan." In everyday life action has been slow. Now the movement and excitement seem to counteract the sluggishness and heaviness of everyday life. The sweating animals

526 /214 cont./
796 reach the houses, where they have a short rest while their
492 owners greedily drink the guarapo offered them by the occupants.

The fiesteros and albaceros, accompanied by a great
796 number of people, go once more to the priest. They bring
793 him the names of the fiesteros for the following year. The priest reads aloud the names of the fiesteros, the albaceros, and the mayordomos. The pronunciation of each name is accompanied by the ringing of a bell which is entrusted to a fiscal; when the announcement is over, there is a general pealing of bells. Each fiestero is advised by 15 to 20 mayordomos.

796 Then, kneeling in front of the church door, the old fiesteros hand over the banners to the new ones. They form a procession, and upon ending it, in the same spot where the banners were exchanged, they hand them over to the síndico, who waves them in the air one by one and ends by seeming to
[787] drive them into the ground. If by chance the banner wraps it-
[763] self around its own staff, some misfortune will befall the new fiestero. As a rule it is an omen of death, which fills with great sadness the fiestero whose banner had this happen to it.

Now each fiestero goes home, bearing in his hands the banner of the saint.

XXI

Banquet for the Albacero

796 After the procession the fiestero goes to the house of the
574 albacero, where he receives attention with the above-mentioned calabashes of chicha and bottles of aguardiente. When this feast is over, the company moves to the house of the fiestero. In the center of the sala there stands next to the pango the table with two burning candles at the ends, the calabashes of chicha, and the liters of aguardiente. The albacero, síndico,

/214 cont./

796 and their respective wives do the honors of the table. With
574 the etiquette and courtesies already mentioned, the gift is
[576] presented to them and the corresponding distribution is made.
[431] /215/ The laborers and the fiesteros move from the sala
[576] to the kitchen and from there to the sala. "Guechi pikin ustau" (we are coming along), they say, upon entering the fiuhne wala. "Anjiha," reply those present.

The kitchen is full of prepared food, and the women are busy filling plates of various sizes; large ones, others medium-sized, and the smallest. The distributors are in charge of handing them out to the recipients. This time they will serve three different dishes:

[262] 1st, maize griddlecakes and meat; 2nd, stew made with bananas, potatoes, arracacha, and chopped meat; and 3rd, yuca, raw and cooked cabbage, and meat.

The albacero and wife and the síndico and spouse are congratulated with a bowlful of each of these three "courses." The mayordomos receive a smaller amount, and the rest of those present plates for everyday consumption.

Of these "courses," only the last one is distributed when there are many persons present. Everyone is equipped with a pouch. They sip the broth, squeeze out the solid food with their hands, and store it away in it. Drunkenness and fatigue permit little talk.

After eating, or rather, after having collected food, the
[535] music sounds. The fiestero and albacero dance with each other's wives. They carry lighted candles in their hands. The dance is slow, deliberate, halting. At the end, they all go to the house of the second fiestero to give him the church banners. He will repeat the same religious and social acts, with the same etiquette and the same courtesies.

/215 cont./

XXII

A Bath for San Juan

796 At four o'clock in the morning on June 24, the men, women, and children are up in every household. In that of the fiestero the kitchen fire is burning, the food is being cooked, [541] and everyone is drinking and talking. Outside, in the darkness of the night, numerous lights are shooting upward, ending with a flash accompanied by an explosion: they are the skyrockets fired out of the huts. To each explosion are added the cries: San Juan! San Juan! San Juan!

796 On the previous day and in each of the houses, a jet of 515 water was arranged to serve as a shower. Now everyone bathes. This bath is accompanied by firecrackers and shouts. /216/ This is one of the few occasions when the native bathes. For, although it is true that in childhood baths are quite frequent, adults bathe only for the fiesta of San Juan, in the washing of the dead, or when they have fever.

796 The bath of San Juan has the purpose of preventing both 515 persons and the animals that belong to them from getting sores 751 (scabies). Nevertheless, one of those who awoke in the house of the fiestero and who did not bathe palliates his fear: "I did not bathe. I have no animals. It does not matter if I get scabies."

--"You do have some, even if only 'two animals.' Bathe," replies his neighbor in a taunting, jesting tone.

--"I will bathe, but not my entire body, just my ...only."

The dialogue continues, loud and merry.

796 After the bath they catch a chicken. They all answer its squawks in chorus: San Juan, San Juan, San Juan. They [264] kill it. At six o'clock in the morning they are eating chicken stew.

In the house of the fiestero the following dialogue between parents is overheard as they hear their son crying:

/216 cont./

796 Father: "I want to beat this child because he cries too much."

Mother: "Why should you beat your child? It is not his fault. It is the fault of your penis."

431] At five o'clock in the morning the fiestero and his wife go to the house of the albacero with their "camarico": chicha, aguardiente, firecracker, skyrocket, candles, chicken, bananas, arracacha, yuca, meat, cumin seeds, and salt. At six o'clock they return.

The musicians play their instruments and the people make 522] jokes. One of them makes a taunting, jesting one referring to the activity of the previous night: "I am not going to mass, because I have no trousers. I have some, but they are stained." As the bells ring, the musicians and a few people go to mass.

XXIII

The Laborers' Day

796 When everything is over, the priest has left for Belalcázar, 465 the musicians with their swollen lips and aphonic throats have 574 gone home, and the people are gorged with chicha and aguardiente, the fiestero still has to pay attention to--to care for--his obliging laborers. /217/ /Illustration appears here./ They did not have the opportunity to parade to the house of the albacero or to vespers or in the procession. Not even to get drunk to the same degree as the guests. The fiestero is also grateful for their services. Now, in payment for it, he must take care of them. For this he has left part of the beef under the smoke of the hearth. They will have their trough of chicha, their bottles of aguardiente, their firecrackers. They will be served at the table where the albacero was attended to

/217 cont./

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492

796 and in the same fashion. Abundant food and drink will be the
465 testimonial of his gratitude. They will also have the musicians
574 and dance. They will wake up in the morning, like those at the fiesta, lying on the ground.

/218/

XXIV

The Race for the Rooster at Tumbichukue

103 The name of Tumbichukue is familiar to the colonists throughout Tierradentro. It is synonymous with fabulous treasures. In this place, it is said, the Paez buried all the gold and silver that they collected in the ill-fated settlement of Sebastián Quintero destroyed by them.

[131] Tumbichukue is a pass /vereda/ formed by the eastern slopes of the paramo of San Lucas and located between the Kukiyú and the Yusayú gorge (Guacharaca). It belongs to the parcialidad of Lame, and the road that goes from San Andrés [491] to Lame passes precisely there. This road is well traveled, its people more accessible to the whites.

796 On June 24 the men race their horses along the road.
541 It is a custom of Indians and whites "to race on the day of San Juan." The whites say that those who do not race their horses on the day of San Juan get scabies. The small, husky horses pant under the demands of their drunken riders. A wild race and shouts in an unsteady voice: Viva San Juan!

The people of the pass go to a small square along the road, near which lives the capitán of Lame. Indians from
184 San Andrés come to watch the race for the rooster. On the
796 other hand, in spite of the nearness, no Calderun /person from
291 Calderas/ is seen there. The women who are seen are clean,
177 with neatly braided hair; they wear black skirts, navy-blue
301 rebozos, pink blouses, numerous multi-colored necklaces,
541 bright earrings, and cloth hats. The monotonous dark or black necklaces characteristic of Paez apparel are nearly absent among these people. The classic pindo hat worn by the [491] Calderas people is absent. Spanish is spoken more frequently.

796 All the riders are concentrating on the cage and the
541 roosters.

/218 cont./

796 The cage is very similar to the lamp of the Calderun
541 albacero, with the added detail that the rods are adorned with panela candy (taffy) and carry four small flags. One of the riders reaches the cage, and on the following year he must return it exactly as it was when he took it. /219/ The candy is shared among those present, and the little flags are taken by the friends of the man who seized the cage; they must contribute to the expense.

Then comes the race for the rooster. It is spectacular. All those present closely watch the course of the game. The riders race quickly from one end to the other. As they pass beneath the rooster, they raise their hand in order to grab it, but merely graze it. The frenzy of the riders, the clamor of the people, and the bursting of firecrackers grow. Soon there is a terrible squawk, followed by a sudden silence. Two riders seized the rooster at the same time and in their hands hold fragments still quivering with life. The following year they will have to contribute a live rooster.

An informant explains that the man who gets the cage corresponds to the fiestero, the rooster to the albacero, and the flags to the mayordomos.

What follows is in the sphere of bacchic gaiety.

A chirimía delights the audience.

XXV

The Fiesta and the Numbers

796 The fiesteros are very reticent about supplying information
435 concerning the amount of their expenses. They merely say that they spend a great deal of money and among the things that they buy are arracacha, bananas, yuca, sugar cane, gunpowder, wax, salt, coca, and beeves.

/219 cont./

796 Nevertheless, here is the value of the expenses that a
435 fiestero provided, thanks to the suggestion made at the time by the priest who officiated at the religious ceremonies.

As a rule, they kill three beeves: one for being accepted for the fiesta, another for the cleaning of the church, and the third for the attentions shown to the albacero.

Articles purchased	Cost
1 bull	$40.00
1 heifer	35.00
1 female calf	12.00
20 arrobas of maize, at 60 centavos each	12.00
Sugar cane	2.50
2 pounds of gunpowder	7.00
/220/	
1 pound of candle wick	2.50
Bananas	2.50
Arracacha	7.50
1 arroba and a half of salt	7.50
2 pounds of anise	20.00
Fees for the priest	20.00
Total....	$168.50

To this must be added the purchase of coca for the laborers.

The fiesta is thus extremely costly for the Indians, who have no money, who do not produce to sell, and whose live-
[426] stock is exchanged, not for cash, but for goods. It is true that the mayordomos contribute one peso to pay the priest's fees and that the majority of the guests bring victuals to the fiestero; nevertheless, the fiestero is left with nothing but debts, which he will not pay off in less than three years.

/220 cont./

XXVI

Religious Fiestas

796 Among the Paez there are no secular collective celebrations. All are religious. They celebrate with pomp and grandeur: San Andrés, Semana Santa, San Juan, San Pedro and San Pablo, La Santa Cruz, El Día de Difuntos, La Inmaculada Concepción...

[178] The Lazarist missionary, David González, says that as
[179] far back as 1689 the fiestas were organized as they were found
[177] in 1905, that is to say, as they are today. Each pueblo was granted a patron saint and various other protectors. In spite of this, only San Juan Bautista and San Pedro and San Pablo, whose fiestas are celebrated when maize is eared /en macollaje/, the rains are heavier, and the winds are violent, the day of the dead /el día de difuntos/ with its offerings to the souls, the Inmaculada Concepción, when grain is abundant, and the Semana Santa (El Resucitado /The Resurrected/) were the fiestas and saints that aroused the most enthusiasm and sank the deepest roots in the souls of these natives.

771 The Paez, and especially those of Calderas, are religious
796 in externals, not in conviction; they are more concerned with
182 form than with substance. This is revealed in the religious fiestas of these natives. /221/ Few of them attend mass, and fewer yet pray at vespers. To the great majority of them, religious fiestas mean a squandering of gunpowder, lights, aguardiente, and chicha. An abundance of food. The pleasure of getting together. The joy of contact. The music, which assuages hardship, and the dancing, an exteriorization of feelings. It is the expansiveness that leads to gatherings, the sexual jokes that spring up among them without misgivings; it is the continuous drunkenness. It is the display of generosity, the exercises in co-operation and altruism.

796 The priest, as a punishment for failure to attend the Mass
793 on the part of the chief fiestero and albacero, refused to carry
718

/221 cont./

793 out the procession. The latter, reeling from chicha and lack
796 of sleep, arrived at the end of the Mass and learned of the
783 decision of the priest, who in addition advised them to save the gunpowder for the procession on the following day. They left. And although they did not march around the church and did not bear on their shoulders the image of the saint, they fired all the firecrackers, the skyrockets, and the fireworks castle to the strains of their native music. The procession was carried out symbolically.

796 The women and the men are dark in complexion and in
142 apparel. At these celebrations it is not unusual to see them
291 dressed in bright colors and brightly colored beads.
301

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[For information on the use of the vacaloca in the Paez fiesta of San Juan, see category 796.]

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[Title Page]

ASPECTOS DE LA CULTURA PAEZ

La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro

Por Segundo Bernal Villa

I

PUNTO DE PARTIDA

Hacia el norte del municipio de Inzá y al occidente de la confluencia de los ríos Ullucos y Páez, a dos horas de distancia a caballo de los sitios mencionados, se encuentra localizado el corregimiento de San Andrés sobre la margen izquierda del torrente Pisimbalá, afluente del Ullucos. Su nombre aparece registrado en los libros parroquiales desde 1736 cuando el sacerdote José Fernández Belalcázar, en representación del obispo de Popayán, inició por San Andrés de Pisimbalá la visita pastoral a los pueblos paeces.

San Andrés de Pisimbalá es un pueblo con las mismas características que observamos en otros núcleos paeces; es decir, consta de una iglesia, una escuela, la casa cural, la casa del cabildo y algunas otras utilizadas únicamente en la celebración de las fiestas religiosas. Está situada en una pequeña meseta, repisa suspendida en el declive.

En la actualidad, está poblado por blancos y mestizos cuyos métodos de vida, normas de conducta, formas de trabajo, se han impuesto entre los naturales. La resistencia al contacto ha sido vencida, pero todavía afloran en los viejos los resentimientos agresivos contra el blanco. Aculturados casi completamente, muchos de ellos están sumidos en la condición de terrazgueros. El fenómeno del colonizaje de indios y de tierras es el mismo en todas partes. El indio pierde sus tierras y queda postrado en la servidumbre.

En 1926 el Concejo Municipal de Inzá creó una área de población con límites claramente establecidos en común acuer-

do entre las autoridades municipales y el Cabildo. Dentro de esta área se establecieron los colonos. El valle del torrente Pisimbalá es estrecho pero fertilísimo. Todo él pertenece a unas pocas familias de colonos, que han establecido cafetales, cañaverales y hatos. Los indígenas ocupan las partes escarpadas y estériles.

El pueblo de San Andrés consta de veintitrés casas de bahareque y techo pajizo. Una sola es de ladrillo y teja. Su trazo recuerda las líneas generales de las fundaciones españolas: plaza central y casas en su derredor. La iglesia larga, pajiza, blanca, tiene un frontis hermoso, con un campanario, arcos y columnas, estilo que recuerda la arquitectura colonial; ocupa el centro de la plaza y fue construída en la primera década del siglo XIX por el Padre Joaquín Núñez y Tobar. En su costado sur se levanta un vetusto caserón donde funciona la escuela y la casa cural; por los otros puntos la circuyen casas de colonos.

Existen dos tiendas con un regular surtido de mercancías y los miércoles se realiza un pequeño mercado en el que se expende una res, algunos productos agrícolas y chicha.

Hacia la terminación del valle de Pisimbalá, encuéntranse las mesetas no muy extensas de Argentina y El Rodeo. El Rodeo tiene señalada importancia histórica; por largo tiempo se llamó Segovia. Con el espíritu de conquista y colonizaje, fundóse allí la ciudad de Nueva Segovia por el capitán Hernando Arias Saavedra en obedecimiento del mandato del Gobernador Sancho Espinar, quien en 1578 abandonó estas tierras después de su pomposa campaña contra los paeces. Tuvo vida efímera. En esta misma meseta se decidió en favor de Mosquera la revolución que había emprendido contra el gobierno de don Mariano Ospina Rodríguez al derrotar espectacularmente las fuerzas gobiernistas comandadas por el general Joaquín París (1). Asimismo, por mucho tiempo los mercados de muchas leguas a la redonda fueron abastecidos por la sal que se extraía de tres salares que todavía existen en Segovia. Frente a éstos y al otro lado del Ullucos, en Vivorá, también se explotaba otro salar.

En la confluencia de la pequeña quebrada denominada El Escaño con el Pisimbalá, sobre la margen derecha de éste, al pie del filo del Aguacate, sobre una terraza aluvial de dos hectáreas de extensión, hállase situado el Parque Arqueoló-

(1) González, David. Los paeces, manuscrito.

gico de Tierradentro, dependencia del Instituto Colombiano de Antropología. Fundado hace aproximadamente tres lustros, tiene a su cargo el cuidado y conservación de los monumentos arqueológicos conocidos en el mundo científico desde 1936 pero cuyas referencias se remontan hacia la penúltima década del siglo pasado, cuando el doctor Carlos Cuervo Márquez realizó sus exploraciones por tierras de los paeces y gran parte del nevado del Huila. Necrópolis subterráneas, con columnas, columnatas y nichos, pintura negra y roja geometrizada sobre fondo blanco, estatuaria muy semejante a la agustiniana, cerámica y orfebrería, constituyen los principales exponentes de esta cultura apenas conocida en forma descriptiva.

El Parque Arqueológico de Tierradentro ha sido el centro de operaciones de las expediciones científicas que el gobierno nacional ha auspiciado, estimulado y sostenido durante los últimos quince años.

II

POR LOS ZIG-ZAGS DEL CAMINO

Para viajar por caminos tortuosos ha menester de caballos resistentes a la fatiga; el brío debe ceder al paso reposado, pisada firme, marcha continua.

A las once de la mañana partimos del Parque rumbo a Calderas. El camino asciende por el valle del Pisimbalá, primero por su margen derecha y luego por la izquierda atravesando un puente de madera con techo de tabla; desde este puente hasta el pueblo de San Andrés, tres riachuelos cortan su paso: Chapequís, La Virgen y el riachuelo del cementerio. A lo largo de este corto trayecto y a la vera del camino contamos diez casas, pajizas todas excepto una que es de mampostería, teja, pintura al óleo, factura moderna; las otras tienen blancas las paredes, pintadas las puertas y por lo general son limpias y arregladas. Son las casas de mestizos y colonos asentadas en sus respectivas fincas.

A las once y media dejamos el poblado y tomamos la senda que conduce a Calderas; el camino va siempre en ascenso, en zig-zags lentos y resbalosos. A medida que avanzamos van apareciendo casas con techo color grafito, paredes negras cuando son de bahareque, o amarillas, que son las más, cuando las paredes son de caña de maíz; están como hundidas en

los platanares, cañaverales y yucales; el humo azuloso sale vertical y en espesos grumos, de las troneras.

A las doce del día salimos al Mesón, **Supok** en dialecto Páez, pequeña meseta orientada de norte a sur y limitada por este y oeste por grandes depresiones. Levántanse muchas casitas indígenas.

El hermoso valle del torrente Pisimbalá aparece a la vista en toda su extensión; recogido a veces, dilatado más allá, largo siempre y estrecho en la generalidad, desciende suavemente inclinado en busca del ruidoso Ullucos; vestido de una vigorosa vegetación, semeja una verdeante alfombra en cuyos matices participan la soberanía de los cachimbos, los cedros, guamos, guaduas y yarumos y el esplendor de los cañaverales, platanares y los herbazales de los potreros.

Una hora después alcanzamos el filo de **Yukaichi**, límite de las Parcialidades de San Andrés y Calderas y divisoria de aguas del río **Kukiyú** y el torrente Pisimbalá; aquel una profunda garganta y este un cuenco largo. Hacia el norte, el reborde de otro filo limita el horizonte y separa las parcialidades de Suin y Chinas. Destácase en él el pico de **Vichaguau**, el cerro **Dondotá** de doble cresta por medio de las cuales aparece, cuando el firmamento está despejado, el Huila de inmarcesibles amposé donde los áureos rayos solares se quiebran en argentinos resplandores. Hacia el oriente se mira los cerros de **Chindavá** y Potrerito, los collados de **Togoima** y el cañón del Páez. Hacia el sur, distínguense las sierras de **Pangok** y El Aguacate, que separa los valles del Pisimbalá y el Ullucos; las mesas de Pedregal, Turminá e Inzá; el picacho del Trueno, el **Kapich** de los indígenas, cima de silencios, rayos, truenos y tempestades. Por donde se oculta el sol levántase soberbio y desafiante el picacho de **Hipinji** (1), en el cual según el decir de algunos indios, reposan los santos, las campanas, las ropas, el oro y la plata que las huestes paeces arrastraron de San Sebastián de la Plata, después de haber asesinado a todos los moradores blancos, incendiado la ciudad y tapado las famosas minas de plata que dieron nombre a la ciudad, atrajeron gran número de aventureros y no pocas desdichas a los indios. Esta leyenda ha alimentado la fantasía de los blancos y ha impulsado a no pocos a su búsqueda. Cuéntase que al **Hipinji** fueron algunos blancos en busca del legendario tesoro. En la

(1) H = a la h inglesa.
J = a la j francesa.
Sh = a la sh francesa.

cresta del picacho ondeaba una bandera blanca. Un buen día apareció en ésta la siguiente orden misteriosa: "A las doce pueden abrir ese hueco". Se encendieron los afanes, se olvidaron las fatigas y se entregaron con tesón al trabajo. Un peón fue favorecido por la ciega fortuna: sus esfuerzos dieron con una olla, grande, rebosante de oro. En el colmo de su alegría salió en carrera a participarles a sus compañeros el anhelado hallazgo; impulsados por la ambición volaron todos al sitio de la fortuna: y oh! desdicha suma: el tesoro había desaparecido. Minutos después explotaba el polvorín que poseían matando a muchos, mutilando a varios y dejando con vida a muy pocos. La leyenda del **Hipinji** la localizan los blancos en **Tumbéchukue.**

El descenso al **Kukiyú** se efectúa por un filo vertical siguiendo un sendero de innumerables zig-zags, obra auténticamente indígena, es una verdadera obra de ingeniería: ni podía ser por otra parte y sólo podía ser como es. El puente sobre el **Kukiyú** está construído con dos vigas gruesas sobre las cuales se han cosido con bejucos travesaños delgados; como todo puente páez tiene un techo pajizo y barandas laterales.

A las dos de la tarde llegamos al lugar de nuestro destino.

III

PUNTOS NEGROS Y HUMEANTES EN EL HORIZONTE

Desde **Yukaichí** se divisa casi toda la parcialidad de Calderas, al menos la margen izquierda del **Kukiyú**. En el lomo de un collado, a la vuelta de un requiebro, en una meseta ligera, discretamente perdida en un suave declive, o en atrevida pendiente, vénse figuras trapezoidales con resplandores de grafito, sostenidas por hileras de doradas cañas de maíz. Son las casitas de los indios construídas a trechos distantes, hundidas en el verde paisaje de los platanares y cañaverales y por cuyas troneras despiden siempre un espeso y azulado humo, señal de vida y movimiento.

Mientras que para los guajiros el ganado es un símbolo de sustentación y el pastoreo la actividad concomitante, para los paeces la tierra es la sustentadora de los hombres; el negro manto que recubre las rocas, alimenta el monte después de las cosechas; el tiempo dirá cuándo estará maduro y "jecho" para cercar nuevamente las rozas que darán el apetecido maíz, la opulenta arracacha, el menudo fríjol, la lozana col, el grueso y abundante trigo del santo; en los herbazales se nutren las vacas de brillantes y abigarradas pieles; el menudo caballo de veloz carrera y acerada resistencia; las numerosas piaras que se disputan las tiernas raíces de los arbustos; la mansa oveja que brinda la lana para la ruana de los hombres, los anacos de las mujeres y las **kuetand yahas** de ambos.

El trabajo de la tierra constituye un ejercicio cuotidiano de la cooperación. La posesión por el indio es de un derecho indiscutible y la defensa un imperativo categórico. Por poseer la tierra y defender un derecho inalienable Lliban y Juan Chiracol lucharon contra los pijaos. Asimismo, porque los blancos codician sus tierras son enemigos de su convivencia

y se excusan de aceptarlos pretextando cualquier cosa. En la posesión de la tierra está su seguridad y su ventura. La pobreza, tal como ellos la entienden, como carencia de comida y animales, no se debe más que a la desidia de quienes la padecen.

Los niños crecen en comunión continua con las actividades de sus padres. Mientras que la niña ayuda a su madre en los quehaceres del hogar y sale en su compañía a traer la leña de sus rozas respectivas, los niños con su machete al hombro y su jigra de coca y mambe, parejos con su padre, limpian las rozas, hacen cercos, deshierban sus cultivos y cuando la mazorca graha y el trigo espiga, pásanse los días defendiéndolas de los ataques de los loros, guaras, borugos, ardillas y cusumbes. Jóvenes ya, realizan las mismas actividades pero con la esperanza de levantar su casa, casarse, crear hijos, tener animales, coca en abundancia y caña para su chicha. En cierto modo la casa es un apéndice necesario de sus parcelas; aún más, muchas tienen la duración de las rozas. La localización de éstas no contemplan ni la vistosidad del paisaje ni la suavidad del terreno, más bien la inaccesibilidad de las mismas. Unicamente cuando la casa rebasará la vida de una generación llenarán ciertos requisitos: fijeza, edificación en propiedad particular y escogencia del lugar adecuado por el médico bueno (té éu). Un buen día, el dueño determina el sitio: "Está bueno para hacer casa y vivir", dice. Entonces lleva al médico quien por la noche "piensa" si el sitio es conveniente o inconveniente; masca coca y remedios; toma buches de aguardiente y sopla al aire; con un pequeño bastón llamado "tama", hiende el aire en forma tal que a veces parece que asusta a los espíritus, otras los amenaza y en otras los garrotea. Si las señas, movimientos reflejos, se dan en el lado derecho el sitio es bondadoso, lo contrario denota que el sitio es inhabitable. Los espíritus están bravos o en el sitio existen huesos y oro pijaos. Cuando el lugar no ha sido escogido por el médico, aunque la casa sea hermosa, no pueden habitarla, porque los moradores se mueren, comenzando por los hijos, la madre luégo, terminando con el padre. El médico mismo prohibe a las gentes vivir en una casa construída sin llenar este requisito. El dictamen del médico es recompensado con una botella de aguardiente, un huevo (1) de coca, tabaco, un calabazo de chicha y generalmente con una comida de gallina.

(1) Medida de peso equivalente al peso de un huevo de gallina.

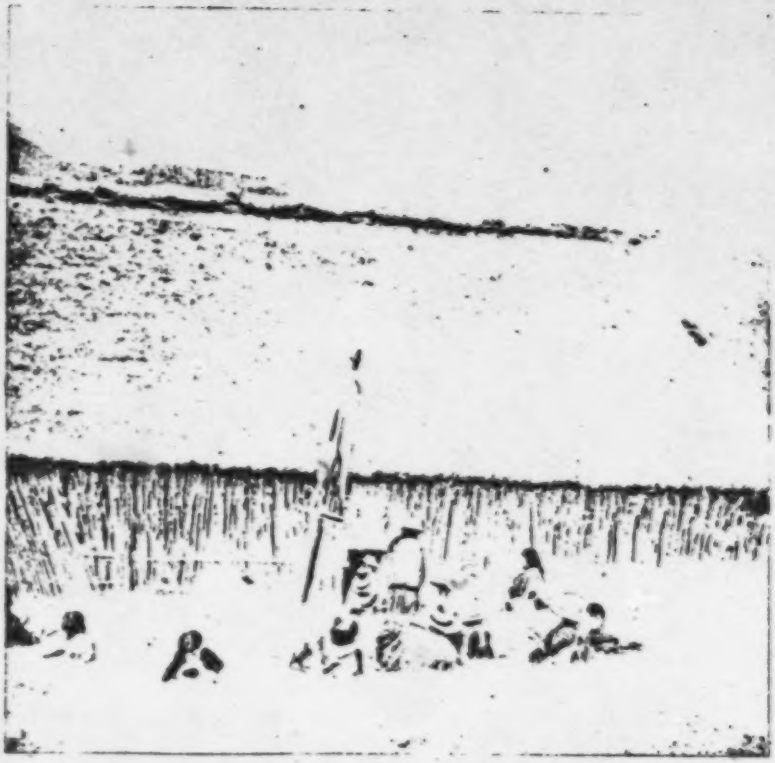
Esto se denomina "cuido". Cuando la casa esté terminada el médico pondrá en la cumbrera remedios especiales para evitar que el duende o echi desciendan por allí o puedan enfurecerse.

Después vienen las mingas. Una casa se construye con la ayuda de los demás. Se invita a las gentes, incluso el mismo médico va a trabajar como peón. Se organiza el trabajo. Primero van a traer la madera al monte; bajo la influencia del guarapo la algarabía es resonante; ruidosas las carcajadas; el sonido profundo del "cacho" retumba en las montañas multiplicándose en sus ecos. Luego se ponen a la disposición del maestro de obra. Aplanan la tierra, que formará el piso de la casa; abren los huecos para colocar los horcones, distantes el uno del otro dos metros aproximadamente, bien clavados y sujetos en la parte superior con travesaños amarrados con bejucos (**guák**); los horcones dibujan la forma de la casa y sobre ellos descansará todo su peso. Sobre esta armazón se ponen transversalmente las pikas, vigas que van de una pared a la otra, para dar solidez al conjunto. En seguida se levantará el techo a cuatro vertientes y se cubrirá con haces de hojas de caña de azúcar (**ñushets**) o de paja (**sits**) que se van sujetando en contorno y de abajo para arriba; se remata en la cumbrera, más abultada, recortada en línea recta en ambas vertientes a una caída de unos cincuenta centímetros; en el vértice y a espacios proporcionales se hacen unos amontonamientos de paja en cada uno de los cuales se clava una cruz. El maestro de obra dirige desde el suelo el remate: "Allí falta paja; acá tiene demás", observa con voz de mando.

Las paredes se forman con las altas cañas de maíz, colocándolas en hilera en medio de los horcones y atadas con bejucos a-travesaños, igualmente de caña; de la misma manera se construyen las divisiones de los cuartos interiores y las puertas que por lo general es una: la que da al exterior.

En la construcción todos desempeñan el mismo oficio, salvo el maestro de obra que dirige. Ni el maestro de obra ni los peones cobran, "no es costumbre entre los indios cobrar"; únicamente se cuida con chicha, aguardiente, comida con carne y coca. Al maestro de obra se le obsequia con un calabazo de chicha y una botella de aguardiente, los cuales son repartidos entre los mismos asistentes. Terminada la obra se emborrachan y bailan.

Las mujeres no toman parte directamente en la construc-



ción; ellas cocinan, reparten comida, proveen la casa de leña y agua, conversan, se espulgan mutuamente y se peinan.

Tres tipos de vivienda podemos distinguir entre los paeces, según la mayor o menor introducción y aceptación de elementos arquitectónicos extraños, pues, en la actualidad se generalizan y echan raíces elementos de ajena procedencia: la construcción en bahareque, divisiones interiores en departamentos, plantas de casas en forma de escuadra, utilización de clavos y puertas de tablas y aún hasta de chapas y llaves para asegurar la habitación; en igual forma no es desconocido el blanquimiento de las mismas.

El bohío de planta rectangular es el tipo de habitación más primitivo; menudo y liviano; tosco y sin estética alguna; techo de dos aguas; paredes de caña entretejida con una puerta

de entrada; piso de tierra; la cocina al centro, cueros a su alrededor; jigras colgadas de los horcones; sobre un madero de tres brazos la piedra de moler; interior ennegrecido por el humo; convivencia íntima con los cuyes. Estos ranchos dan la idea de pobreza extrema en sus moradores. Ninguno de éstos es de bahareque.

El segundo tipo de vivienda y el más generalizado y en el cual encontramos más elementos arquitectónicos extraños es la gran casa de planta rectangular, techo de cuatro vertientes, de 15 a 20 metros de largo por cuatro o cinco metros de ancho, con una o dos puertas y dos o tres departamentos, uno de los cuales ocupa las dos terceras partes del espacio construído y el tercio último se subdivide en los cuartos destinados a la cocina uno y para las canoas de chicha y despensa el otro. No son escasas las viviendas de este tipo que llevan el departamento para las mujeres menstruantes (**du yate léchukue**), aunque por lo general se construyan ranchitos aledaños a la casa para tal fin.

En este tipo de vivienda es común encontrar el bahareque, tarimas para dormir, puertas de tabla y a veces el blanquimiento de las paredes.

Esta casa de construcciones forman el pueblo de Calderas, constituído por catorce casas desordenadamente distribuídas en una hermosa meseta de unas veinte hectáreas, cubierta de pastos y atravesada por acequias que conducen el agua a cinco de las casas que son habitadas permanentemente; las otras, aunque tienen propietarios, sirven sólo para las fiestas religiosas cuando el fiestero se traslada allí con su séquito de mayordomos, peones, cocineras y utensilios para servir el aguardiente, la chicha y la comida. Estas casas son espaciosas, de 25 m. de largo por 6m. de ancho; gruesas paredes de barro, con una puerta de tabla a la entrada, la inmensa sala, **ñuhne wala**, tiene trece metros de largo; aquí están el trapiche, el metate (**úkukuat**), la escalera de muesca para subir al zarzo, los **pango pil**, vigas imperfectamente labradas en forma rectangular donde se sientan los hombres; uno de ellos tiene 10 m. de longitud; en uno de los rincones se amontona la leña; el piso es de tierra irregularmente aplanado. En estas espaciosas salas se verifican las concentraciones de gentes que en desfile diario visitan al fiestero; aquí resuena la música, se cuida al albacero, se efectúan los bailes, duermen los borrachos y se muele la caña.

Existen otros cuatro cuartos pequeños de cinco metros de

largo por tres de ancho. Dos de ellos son independientes entre sí con sus respectivas puertas que dan acceso a la sala; uno sirve de cocina y el otro para tostar la arepa. En el otro extremo de la casa están los otros dos unidos entre sí por una puerta y a la sala por otra. En el uno duermen los peones y en el otro están las canoas de chicha, las botellas de aguardiente y las ceras de laurel.

El tercer tipo de habitación, muy escaso en Calderas, es de planta en forma de escuadra. Tiene la sala, dos cocinas y el **du yate léchukue.** Sea cualquiera el tipo de habitación que una familia páez posée, todos tienen como aditamento inseparable, el trapiche, ya en el interior de la casa o ya ya fuera de ella. En realidad, si se tiene en cuenta que la sustentación básica de los indígenas está dada por el maíz, coles, chicha y coca, esta máquina es imprescindible.

Por otra parte, cada casa está provista de agua, tomada de los manantiales, arroyos o quebradas, mediante la habilísima construcción de acequias que sortean los valles, collados y pendientes. Sus tierras tienen abundantes aguas. Desconocen los pozos artesianos.

En cierta forma, las inmensas salas de las casas de Calderas representan las ramadas que se observan entre los blancos, mestizos e indígenas aculturados de San Andrés; aquí se construyen independientemente de la casa de habitación, con trapiche y horno para cocer el jugo de caña y fabricar la panela. En esta parcialidad, la industria de la panela está bastante desarrollada. En Calderas es desconocida.

Entre los paeces, tierra, matrimonio, familia y casa constituyen una unidad íntima, indisoluble. Da calor y sentido a una serie de complejos emotivos, sentimentales y sociológicos. Comienza cuando el muchacho púber siente la necesidad de una compañera que le ayude a trabajar y mitigue un tanto los ardores de la soledad. El amor despertado por una moza morena de formas tentadoras, lo impulsa a solicitarla a sus respectivos padres. "Dame tu hija. Estoy solo y necesito ayuda en mi trabajo", dice el muchacho una vez que, de acuerdo con sus posibilidades, ha cuidado a los suegros con botellas de aguardiente y calábazos de chicha. Los padres siempre acceden a los solicitantes.

A la media noche sale con ella para la casa de sus padres, cuando no tiene la propia. Vivirán juntos varios meses, un año, dos...; durante ese tiempo conocerá si la mujer sabe cocinar, moler maíz, acarrear agua y leña, tejer las ruanas y

las jigras, se dará cuenta de su fidelidad, temperamento y carácter. Sólo entonces buscará padrino, acudirá a donde el cura, comulgará y recibirá la bendición nupcial y regresará a su casa donde las burbujeantes canoas de chicha, el apetitoso "mute" que hierve en la paila, los rústicos tiples y las gratas chirimías, terminarán de sellar la unión. Con la bebida, la comida y la danza vencerán la noche y, a veces, también los días.

Luégo vendrá la construcción de la casa en terreno de su propiedad. Paulatinamente el hombre la irá llenando de **pangopil** para sentarse; de rústicos platos y cucharas para comer; de ollas para cocinar; cueros y a veces tarimas para dormir; del trapiche para moler la jugosa caña; traerá el agua de las fuentes distantes; la proveerá de canoas para fermentar la chicha; comprará machetes, hachas y barretones para labrar la tierra; sembrará plátanos, cañas, cebollas y coles en su huerta; coserá los barzos donde colocará los haces de trigo, las caspas de maíz, el morado fríjol; adquirirá su perro y también —¿por qué no? ha sido su ambición y su esperanza— comprará sus vacas para las fiestas y su caballo para correr San Juan y mover el trapiche. La mujer por su parte criará los cuyes, multiplicará sus gallinas y pavos, velará porque los puercos no se pierdan, esquilará su oveja, tejerá sus **yaha gwala** (jigras de fique) para traer las apretadas mazorcas, los sonoros fríjoles y las verdes coles de las sementeras; hará laboriosamente las multicolores **kuetand yahas** con las cuales rendirá un presente de amor a su marido. Vendrán los hijos que "son una bendición de Dios" con quienes trabajará la tierra el hombre o aliviará las faenas de la cocina la mujer.

La casa da individualidad a la familia, marco sociológico, status y función. La tierra, la casa y la familia son específicas ambiciones de las gentes paeces. Posiblemente representan sus más caros ideales de vida.

IV

FUEGO VIVO PARA UN CULTO

En la conciencia de cada individuo, en el espíritu familiar, el fuego es un símbolo; un símbolo de la casa y del hogar. Casa sin fuego es casa muerta, abandonada.

En la antigüedad, cuando vivían los pijaos sembrando el terror y la muerte, cuando los caciques descendían en las tu-

multuosas ondas de los caudalosos ríos, bajo la imponencia de la negra noche agujereada de estrellas, y mucho más antes todavía, los indios comenzaban su diario trajín solicitando el fuego a una vieja de cabello blanco. Este fuego fenecía cuando la noche extendía su negro manto por el mundo. Unicamente la hoguera de la vieja era inmortal. La monotonía de esta diaria demanda del fuego se convirtió en angustia cuando la perversa anciana resolvió marcharse llevándose consigo el fuego en un trozo de leña. Persiguiéronla todos, le arrebataron el tizón, del cual obtuvieron el fuego para todas las casas de los indios. Este fuego se pudo conservar.

Así rezan los relatos míticos del origen del fuego. Refleja, desde luego la importancia del mismo. La manera como lo conservan, el cuidado que tienen porque el fuego siempre esté

ardiendo en casa, parece que fueran actitudes supérstites de un antiguo culto del fuego. En tiempos pasados el fuego lo obtenían con "el eslabón y la yesca". Comoquiera que sea, los relatos míticos revelan usura de la poseedora del fuego y ansiedad cuando estuvieron a punto de perderlo. Hoy, cuando por descuido se ha extinguido en una casa, utilizan las cerillas de los blancos para reavivarlo.

Los indígenas se acuestan temprano. A las siete de la noche, sobre pieles secas de res, se tienden en cama general los padres y los hijos, conservando en sus cuerpos las ropas que los cubrieron en el día. No usan cobijas. La mujer deja abundante leña en el fogón con cuyo calor se defienden de los rigores del frío de la noche que se filtra por las paredes de cañas. Además, sobre el fogón está una olla de "mute", fríjoles y coles que, cocidos, constituirán el menú de la madrugada. El fuego es reavivado por la mujer a las once de la noche, operación que se repite a las dos de la mañana más o menos. A las cuatro de la mañana todos están en pie. Al amanecer la mujer reparte la comida y en seguida los hombres salen de sus casas con machete al cinto, **kuetand yaha** repleta de coca y mambe a rozar el monte, desyerbar la labranza o ayudar en la dura faena del vecino.

V

LA SAÑA, EL RENCOR Y LA POLITICA

Los indios calderas son conservadores cerrados a la banda. La tradición, el orgullo, la rebeldía tienen mucho que ver en su pasión política. Ni qué hablar de la doctrina conservadora ni de los conceptos políticos. Son conservadores por temperamento, por solidaridad de grupo. Por lo mismo el fanatismo es proverbial. El sólo nombre liberal les produce sarpullidos. Quienquiera que llegue a Calderas por primera vez, la curiosidad del indio estimula el contacto con el mismo. "Cómo te llamas?" "Qué quieres?" "A qué vienes?" "Qué eres, liberal o conservador?" Son las preguntas con que los indígenas y el propio cabildo asedian al visitante. Sobra decir que quien quiere salvar el pellejo o evitar que lo saquen en carrera desenfrenada debe decir inflexiblemente que es conservador. Cuéntase que en 1952 no querían aceptar a las Hermanas Misioneras que llegaban a dirigir la escuela que la nación sostiene. Fue menester que alguien les dijera que eran enviadas por

Laureano Gómez para que todos contestaran a boca llena: entonces, que se queden.

A pesar de su calado conservatismo, los jefes del municipio no logran hacerlos votar por las listas de sus preferencias si previamente no reciben su ración de carne, chicha y aguardiente. Ración y voto forman una unidad indisoluble.

"Yo soy godo hasta los tuétanos, conservador fino", exclamaba uno de los principales de Calderas en medio de su borrachera. "Juan Chiracol también fue conservador", decía otro.

Los indios de Tierradentro han sido liberales desde 1860, gracias a la aureola de vencedor que Mosquera conquistó en los llanos de Segovia. "La batalla de Segovia —dice el padre David González— en la cual tomaron parte los indios y en que Mosquera le dio pábulo a la ferocidad indígena, la marcha sobre Bogotá, que cayó en poder del General rebelde, convirtió a éste a los ojos de los paeces en un semidiós. Ellos desde los más antiguos tiempos de la colonia veneraban el apellido Mosquera; el Marqués don Cristóbal Mosquera y Figueroa había sido su amo, su encomendero, los había llevado a Popayán en cuadrillas a trabajar en sus haciendas, les había dado las inmensas tierras de su encomienda... Naturalmente los indios de Tierradentro desde 1860 quedaron ligados fuertemente al bando político que representaba Mosquera, el liberalismo. En las contiendas guerreras que en lo sucesivo azotaron a la nación los paeces estuvieson indefectiblemente bajo las toldas liberales".

Resulta, pues, singular la filiación política de los indios calderas; hasta no hace una década de años, formaban un islote conservador en medio de una muchedumbre liberal. Posiblemente esta actitud esconda el prurito de defender sus tierras. No son muy marcadas las simpatías de los calderas con las parcialidades limítrofes. "Son rojos" dicen los naturales, mientras los otros les disputan sus tierras y reducen la extensión de la parcialidad. Así han hecho los aviramas, los togoimas y lames. En la actualidad sus relaciones aparecen cordiales, pues, al menos, parecen haberse borrado las diferencias políticas.

Los paeces son extremadamente belicosos, de natural agresivo; se ensañan con facilidad y difícilmente borran el rencor de su alma. Parece que su característica psicológica es la explosión. La historia da muchas pruebas fehacientes. Reacios al yugo español, destructores de las fundaciones coloniales, en

tiempos de la república han servido de instrumentos de ciegas ambiciones y enconos políticos y con su sangre se han alimentado casi todas las contiendas civiles. Se plegan fácilmente al espíritu militar, caudillesco y bárbaro. Son memorables las asonadas habidas en el presente siglo: La Quintinada, la Collada y el 28 de enero, acaecidas en 1916 la primera, en 1932 la segunda y en 1950 la tercera, por motivos racistas, religiosos y rencores políticos, respectivamente.

Porfía en la venganza, crímenes espeluznantes y estremecedores, vertientes de sangre patentizan muchos aspectos de la vida social y política de estos indios.

VI

FIESTEROS, ALBACEROS Y MAYORDOMOS

Faltando más o menos tres meses para la celebración de la fiesta, el cabildo empieza a barajar los nombres de los fiesteros del próximo año. Elegidos los candidatos, el cabildo en pleno se traslada a la casa de éstos, donde después de charlas dilatorias manifiestan la determinación acordada. Las proposiciones se rechazan en principio, pero terminan aceptando el señalado honor.

En seguida, los nuevos fiesteros se dedican a buscar sus ayudantes llamados albaceros y mayordomos. Al finalizar la fiesta, acompañados del cabildo y de los viejos fiesteros, acuden donde el señor cura a hacerse anotar y anunciar como fiesteros del próximo año. Cada cual recibe la bandera de la iglesia, en procesión dan la vuelta a la misma y luego se marchan a una de las casas del pueblo previamente solicitada a su dueño, con el reventar de los cohetes y los acordes de la música. Allí se servirá la chicha y el aguardiente al albacero, mayordomos y asistentes, cuando todavía no han acabado de consumir los licores del viejo fiestero. Igualmente, se dará una comida, para la cual se ha matado un toro.

Pasan los meses. La búsqueda del dinero para sufragar los gastos es imperiosa. Fiesteros y albaceros, con sus mujeres y a veces también con algunos familiares, abandonan sus tierra y retraídos sobre sí mismos toman el camino de Inzá, La Plata o Popayán a contratarse como peones en las haciendas conocidas por ellos personalmente o por referencias fidedignas. Un peso y la comida será su jornal. Ni siquiera la coca

entra en su ración. Marido y mujer realizan los mismos trabajos y devengan el mismo jornal.

A los dos meses regresan nuevamente a su tierra portando en sus jigras la pólvora, el pabilo y la sal. A veces machete fajado al cinto. Sobre el fiestero recae el mayor número de gastos: camarico (1) para el señor cura y los derechos del mismo; bujías para el altar; pólvora para la misa y los cumplidos sociales; limpiada de la iglesia; "cuido" al albacero y atención a los visitantes por espacio de tres semanas. El albacero tiene a su cargo la celebración de las vísperas: alumbrado de la iglesia, vacaloca, castillo y pólvora.

Los mayordomos contribuyen con dinero (un peso) para los derechos del señor cura y velas para el alumbrado de la iglesia.

Tanto el fiestero como el albacero tienen sus peones nombrados por ellos mismos. El fiestero tiene los siguientes: tres para el reparto de la comida; tres chicheros: dos hombres y una mujer; dos moledores de caña; un cohetero y dos cocineras. El acarreo de la caña queda a cargo de los hombres de buena voluntad que asisten diariamente en pos de bebida. El albacero posee los mismos peones y aunque no mata res para gratificarlos sí sacrifica un cerdo para tal fin, especialmente al pirotécnico, con todos los honores de la mesa y el aparato de la etiqueta.

Albacero y fiestero con sus respectivas mujeres no trabajan; su oficio es atender a las gentes.

Toda fiesta religiosa tiene un fiestero principal y otro secundario, con sus respectivos séquitos de albaceros, mayordomos y peones. No existe diferencia de rango entre los dos. Ambos gastan y realizan los mismos actos. Unicamente que el principal verifica primero los actos; lleva, pues, la primacía. No obstante, parece existir cierta competencia entre los dos. Según el derroche y las atenciones se comenta si la fiesta del uno estuvo mejor que la del otro. Además, cierto prestigio implica esto. Así, de los dos fiesteros que acabaron la fiesta de San Juan en el presente año, la del segundo se dice que estuvo mejor, puesto que no se emborrachó, asistió a todas las ceremonias religiosas y atendió muy bien a las gentes. De estas apreciaciones sólo la última es válida, pues fue fundamental la abundancia de comida, chicha y aguardiente; la borrachera continua es índice de buena fiesta. Por otra parte, sabía atender las gentes ya que había sido fiestero en otra época.

Tres semanas antes del día festivo, en casa de los fiesteros se ponen en movimiento. Moliendas de caña, destilación del aguardiente, atención a los visitantes, fabricación de velas y cohetes.

A quince días de la misa los fiesteros, acompañados del cabildo, música y cohetes salen a tomar posesión de la casa del pueblo, con su mujer, sus cocineras, chicheros, repartidores de comida.

En la espaciosa sala se llevarán a cabo todas las atenciones populares. En frente de la casa estará flotando la bandera de la iglesia.

VII

LA MOLIENDA, LA CHICHA Y LOS CHICHEROS

Sobra decir que la fiesta comienza con la molienda. Aunque es común utilizar un caballo para mover el trapiche, lo más general en tiempos de fiesta es que lo muevan brazos humanos, masculinos o femeninos. Es igual. Los dos peones de la molienda colocados a lado y lado del trapiche, en cuclillas, pasa el uno las cañas mientras el otro recibe el bagazo que se va amontonando a un lado para luego repasarlo, labor que se hace hasta por doce veces con el fin de exprimir todo el jugo posible. Los moledores desempeñan el trabajo en silencio cuando no están borrachos; en tanto que lo hacen con diligencia, solaz, risa, gritos, imprecaciones, cuando padecen los efectos del alcohol.

El jugo se recoge en canoas y con menos frecuencia en calabazos y calderos; se lo calienta hasta cerca de la ebullición, para luégo vaciarlo a las canoas, en las que por estar completamente "curadas" la fermentación es rápida. Las canoas están hechas de enormes troncos que alcanzan hasta un metro con cincuenta centímetros de espesor por cuatro o cinco metros de largo. A medida que disminuyen con el consumo, se van rellenando con el jugo fresco de la caña. Las canoas permanecen tapadas con esterillas fabricadas exclusivamente para ese fin. Al día siguiente amanece burbujeante, amarillento, con un sabor dulce picante. Es el **beka pes** (chicha fuerte) de los indígenas que lo toman con fruición y deleite. Cinco totumadas de este licor son suficientes para emborracharlos. Guarapo se llama en otras partes, mientras que los paeces lo llaman chicha, de gran importancia para la vida social, y dietética de los mismos. A base de ella tienen significado las fiestas religiosas, se realizan las mingas, se ameniza los bautizos y matrimonios, se gratifica a los visitantes.

El trabajo sin la chicha no se concibe y en tanto trabajan no reciben alimento alguno; sólo se bebe chicha y se mambea. La chicha, pues, suministra las calorías para el trabajo mientras la coca amortigua la sensación de hambre. El consumo de chicha es general para hombres y mujeres, viejos y niños. No existe casa donde la chicha falte por largo tiempo. Y durante los cortos lapsos que escasea, la compran o frecuentan las casas que la poseen. Entre amigos no se vende, se regala:

"conversando, riendo, regalando", dicen acertadamente los indios para pintar esta situación.

Las moliendas de las fiestas son diarias y están en relación directa con el número de visitantes. Las moliendas para las mingas son de dos días, de una semana para los bautizos y hasta de un mes para los matrimonios.

Los recipientes más extendidos de la chicha son las canoas, pero también se utilizan cántaros y grandes ollas de arcilla, enterradas hasta el borde de las mismas.

Los chicheros son dueños absolutos de las canoas, mientras cumplen con su función. Ellos reparten la chicha y aún el mismo fiestero debe solicitarles la cantidad deseada. Nadie toma chicha sin su consentimiento. Asimismo, ellos reciben los regalos que los visitantes dan al fiestero. Este apenas agradece. Aunque siempre toman chicha, no se emborrachan, para cumplir bien con su oficio. Su día tendrán en que sí puedan hacerlo.

VIII

EL AGUARDIENTE DE CAÑA

En los días de la fiesta el aguardiente se destila cada dos o tres días. La destilación es bien fácil. Se prepara el alambique en la siguiente forma:

Una olla de arcilla de buen tamaño: 50 a 60 ctms. de altura por 25 a 30 ctms. de diámetro; contiene guarapo fermentado en dos días, mezclado con anís, eneldo, clavo, canela, anisillo y **bitepiskue**. A veces agregan berbena. Descansa sobre tres piedras que componen el fogón. Sobre los rebordes de esta olla y tapando los intersticios con una pasta de ceniza para evitar el escape del vapor, se coloca otra olla de regular tamaño: 30 cms. de altura por 20 cms. de diámetro. En el interior de ésta se pone un platón de madera ovoidal, acanalado, con un mango, igualmente acanalado, que se une a un tubo de carrizo que atraviesa la olla a la mitad de su altura, por donde corre el aguardiente a los envases (litros y botellas). El fondo de esta olla está perforado con el fin de que pase el vapor del guarapo. Encima de esta vasija se coloca una paila de cobre de unos 15 cm. de altura por unos 30 de diámetro; las junturas van cubiertas con pasta de ceniza. Sobre esta paila cae permanentemente un chorro de agua fría traída por un canal de guadua del exterior; el excedente sale por un tubo

de carrizo colocado en una abertura existente junto al borde. Cuando esta caída de agua no es factible, las mujeres se encargan de cambiar constantemente el agua caliente por fría.

Alambiques de este tipo destilan 15 litros más o menos.

La cantidad de los componentes son los siguientes:

Guarapo, las dos terceras partes del recipiente.

Anís, tres huevos (procedente de Silvia o Neiva).

Eneldo, una libra aproximadamente.

Anisillo (yerba aromática), un huevo.

Bitopiskue (yerba picante), media libra aproximadamente.

Clavo, diez centavos (una onza).
Canela, diez centavos (una onza).

La destilación no encierra ningún misterio. Aunque tiene sus prevenciones. Cualquiera puede asistir pero no puede decir "venda" porque la destilación no rinde. Si sale debe hacerlo en silencio, siendo preferible no salir, porque se llevaría consigo el "corazón" del aguardiente, disminuyendo consiguientemente la cantidad y desmejorando la calidad, pues se pone "frío y desabrido".

La destilación se verifica en cualquier día y a cualquier hora; hasta allá no llegan los celadores de rentas; jamás han permitido control de esta naturaleza y quien tiene la osadía de hacerlo arriesga la vida. Los niños consumen este licor desde los tres años. No conciben los abstemios; "sólo los evangélicos no toman", concluyen.

IX

LA CERA SE DA EN EL MONTE

Antes de que el fiestero salga a radicarse al pueblo, los peones labran las velas, destilan el aguardiente, mientras que el pirotécnico manufactura los cohetes y los castillos.

Las velas se fabrican con cera de laurel silvestre (1), obtenida no ha mucho tiempo de las pepitas colectadas en meses anteriores en los matorrales del monte. Evidentemente, el laurel es un matorral de hojas lanceoladas, que cría silvestre en las rozas después de la cosecha. Por los meses de abril y mayo las ramitas están cargadas de plomizas y menudas pepitas muy semejante a la forma como carga el café. Son comida predilecta de las torcazas y por lo mismo mientras maduran, el dueño, preferentemente los niños, las asustan constantemente. Es un refuerzo a la defensa mágica que ha realizado el médico bueno por insinuación del dueño del monte. Este mismo ha realizado el conjuro para ahuyentar las indeseadas aves: en la carga de su escopeta ha puesto **chayuts** (2) y ha disparado a las torcazas. No regresarán más.

La recolección de las pepitas se hace en mochilas de ilque. Diez peones recolectan en un día una arroba más o menos.

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(1) Myrica pubescens Willd.
(2) Escrofularéacea.

Por espacio de un mes las secarán dejándolas regadas en un rincón de la casa, para que la cera salga blanca y no verde como saldría de no hacer así.

Para extraer la cera se empacan las pepitas en pequeños costales o mochilas, se cocen así, para luego prensarlos. La cera desprendida cae con agua caliente a un recipiente circular; al día siguiente, se saca el agua que ha quedado en el fondo del recipiente y se deja allí la cera para que solidifique más.

Hasta no hace muchos años la extracción de la cera de laurel era la única industria entre los calderas que les daba ingresos monetarios. Y era el único artículo de comercio activo con los blancos. Desde luego, el precio era remunerativo, se vendía a peso la libra; en la actualidad, apenas vale cuarenta centavos. No existe, pues; mercado para este artículo. Los fiesteros y los albaceros tienen bloques de cera en sus estrados. Los peones la diluyen en una paila de cobre, la echan luego en tubos de guadua mezclada con agua caliente para evitar que se solidifique pronto. Allí van metiendo los pabilos recortados en diversos tamaños, para impregnarlos de cera, sacarlos al aire para que endurezcan, nuevamente impregnarlos de cera y así sucesivamente hasta dar a la vela el grosor deseado. Varias docenas se fabrican; unas grandes para la mesa, otras medianas para la iglesia y otras más pequeñas para los mayordomos.

X

LA POLVORA

Los paeces desconocen en absoluto el método de obtener pólvora. Y para explicar su obtención circula la dolorosa leyenda de que se hace de los seres humanos. Procede de un hombre gordo, dicen; engordado expresamente para ese fin. Lo cuelgan, le introducen una varilla de hierro al rojo vivo por el recto; chorrea manteca; esa manteca es la pólvora. Por eso no quieren mandar a sus hijos a tierras lejanas donde vive el blanco. Creen que servirán para obtener pólvora. "Los blancos quieren mucho a los indios para obtener pólvora".

Los indios compran la pólvora en los centros urbanos. La elaboran. La técnica casi es de dominio común.

Los granos explosivos los hacen de la siguiente manera. En cartuchitos de piel de oveja se llena la pólvora; estos cartuchos

se lían fuertemente con hilos de fique. En seguida se agujerean de manera que la pólvora pueda hacer contacto con la mecha correspondiente. Con estos granos explosivos se manufacturan:

Cohetes: un grano atado a un corto palito.

Voladores: tubos de carrizo lleno de pólvora con un grano explosivo, atado a una vara larga. Se elevan a alturas considerables y terminan con una explosión.

Pedreros: cohetes de tres granos atados a un palito.

Castillo: figura semejante a la mitad de una elipse, hecha con varas flexibles y sobre las cuales van atados los granos explosivos.

El pirotécnico es nombrado especialmente por el fiestero o el albacero y en el momento de la fiesta distribuye personalmente los cohetes entre los mayores, reluciendo su deferencia. El albacero tiene que matar un cerdo o una oveja para gratificarlo por su trabajo.

La elaboración de estos artefactos es morosa: un mes y hasta más; no porque sea complicado sino porque el trabajo continuo de esto es aburridor.

En la elaboración de estos cohetes, con la relativa quietud que esto implica, puede el hombre conocer un destino que posiblemente era insospechado: ser médico. Al estar sentado en su oficio puede sentir las "señas" que le anuncian su futura actividad. Así sucedió con un buen médico de Calderas. De joven nada sabía de remedios ni de "señas". Pero al estar haciendo cohetes sintió las señas. Tenía cinco hijos entonces. En seguida se puso a aprender con otro médico afamado cuáles eran los buenos o malos remedios. Puso en práctica sus conocimientos, curó a un enfermo y se consagró como buen médico. Las señas, dicen, son mandadas por Dios.

XI

TOTUMOS Y ETIQUETA

Existen tres tipos de totumos con los cuales se reparte la chicha y en cuyo orden de uso se vislumbra jerarquía, mayoridad y status elevado; unos totumos sirven para todos los asistentes de ambos sexos y de todas las edades; otros únicamente para determinada clase de gentes.

El primer tipo es pequeño, abierto ovoidalmente, formado por la mitad de un totumo. En dialecto páez se llama Shup

shachi. A todos los visitantes, sin distingos de sexo, edad, ni status se les brinda con dos mates de éstos; el primero es de "agua fuerte" para calmar la sed, en tanto que el segundo es de chicha, de la auténtica chicha fuerte.

El segundo tipo de vaso es el **shachi pitán** (totumo capitán), de mayor capacidad que el primero, de forma ovoidal y abierto por uno de los extremos. Las gentes de mayor respeto de ambos sexos, adultos y viejos, reciben chicha en estos totumos,

después de haber tomado en los **shup shachi**. Significa cierta deferencia de parte del anfitrión y por lo mismo quiere que se emborrachen. Los favorecidos con estos totumos brindan a todos los asistentes, quienes lo reciben, lo prueban y lo devuelven a manos del dueño. El **shachi pitán** ha pasado de boca en boca, pero el contenido permanece casi intacto; tiene que tomárselo el dueño.

Los peones y mayordomos que están a su servicio, el albacero, el síndico, los ancianos de gran deferencia, después de haber recibido chicha en el **shup shachi** y en el **shachi pitán**, reciben un totumo más grande y dentro del cual va un totumito pequeñito (**shachi léchukue**), se denomina **suilté**. La donación de esto tiene su etiqueta. El anfitrión sale con el **suilté** en las manos, llena el **shachi léchukue** de chicha y lo pasa a la persona de su preferencia y respeto; este recibe, bebe y devuelve el totumito; en seguida recibe el **suilté**. Este a su vez llena el totumito y obsequia a quien así lo atiende. Luego sigue repartiendo la chicha entre todos los asistentes, empezando por los mayores de edad, hombres primero y luego mujeres, y terminando con los niños de ambos sexos. Nadie se queda sin su ración.

XII

LIMPIADA DE LA IGLESIA

La llamada iglesia de Calderas, obra de mampostería, es un vetusto caserón, largo, alto, techo pajizo, de dos vertientes, con un campanario semiesférico sostenido por cuatro maderos que se afirman en la cumbrera. Solo un frente de cuatro columnas con cornizas y arcos de medio punto que forman una antecámara, le dan cierta gracia al conjunto.

Limpiar la iglesia llaman a la sacada de algunas hierbas que crecen en el empedrado de la parte frontal y a la aclaración de una línea que dibuja una plazuela. El trabajo es mínimo, pero se realiza siempre. La actividad es más que toda simbólica; lo que importa es la reunión de los fiesteros con sus respectivos albaceros y peones; el motivo para cuidar al albacero, la oportunidad para el esparcimiento, la charla, los chistes y aún para el juego mismo.

Faltando unos doce días para la fiesta y en un día jueves, acompañados por el cabildo, la música y los cohetes, el fiestero abandona su casa y pasa a ocupar una del pueblo. Trae

consigo el toro que será sacrificado al día siguiente. Dos días después, es decir, lunes, se efectúa la limpiada de la iglesia. Raras veces se realiza los miércoles. El repique de campanas anuncia el convite y el mismo avisará a las gentes que la limpiada ha terminado; siendo así, beben los dos calabazos de chicha que cada fiestero ha llevado; suenan los cohetes; "el albacero se ha ganado la comida", dicen y por lo tanto merece los honores de la mesa. El fiestero lo cuidará con carne y "mute", aparte de más chicha y aguardiente. Después de almorzar el albacero se marcha a su casa. Allí esperará al fiestero, quien a la tarde irá portando más chicha, más aguardiente y más comida.

Ocho días después de la limpiada de la iglesia llegará el señor cura a oficiar los actos religiosos.

XIII

INSTRUMENTOS, MUSICA Y DANZA

Los conjuntos musicales de los calderas, verdaderas chirimías, tienen merecida fama tanto por el número de los músicos como por la belleza de sus interpretaciones. Muchas de ellas son suaves y delicadas, tonadas tristes la mayoría pero también las hay alegres. Los instrumentos musicales son pocos.

La flauta (**kuvi**), hecha de carrizo de unos setenta cms. de longitud; consta de siete huecos labrados con fuego: el de la parte superior que sirve para soplar; treinta y cinco cms. más abajo encontramos los otros que corresponden a los dedos de las manos mediando tres cms. entre y uno y otro. Distinguen dos clases de flautas: las que dan sonidos melódicos, **kuvinéhuish** (flauta mayor) y las que dan sonidos bajos, **kuvinuch** (flauta menor).

El bombo (**kut**), hecho con piel de oveja, becerro, cabro o venado, peladas mediante la fermentación sufrida bajo la tierra.

La pandereta, en cuyo ruedo lleva varios pares de latas circulares movibles que producen un ruido acompasado.

El redoblante o caja y el triángulo para llevar el ritmo.

Algunos indígenas tienen y tocan tiples adquiridos en Popayán, aunque hay algunos facturados por ellos mismos con conchas de armadillo.

Las siguientes son las composiciones de tipo ceremonial que no van acompañadas de danza:

Kulá ik kui (toro—matanza—pieza). Composición musical que se toca en el momento de matar la res, con la cual se va a cuidar al albacero y a los peones del fiestero. Los informantes manifiestan que esta pieza musical no tiene más significado que el de divertir a las gentes.

Plaza pá kui, composición musical que se toca cuando los músicos llegan a la iglesia.

Misa kase kui, se toca al finalizar la misa.

Chichi pékue kui, tocan cuando pican la carne para cuidar al albacero. Los peones toman los trozos de carne sobre un tronco y con la peinilla la cortan en pedacitos.

Hay otras composiciones propias de la ceremonja del matrimonio.

Novio mesa úku, se tocan al comenzar la comida de los novios.

Úpiate kui, tocada a la mitad de la consumisión del banquete nupcial.

Tunzi kamba kui, tocada al final del banquete nupcial.

Todas estas composiciones son melodiosas, con tres o cuatro compases.

Las fiestas religiosas, las mingas, los matrimonios, los bautismos son las ocasiones para la música. Está ausente en los entierros, de igual manera que en los velorios de los niños.

Las composiciones musicales se aprenden de los "mayores" y por propio interés. Desde niños aprenden a tocar con maestría el bombo, el redoblante y el triángulo. Con la flauta ensayan después. Si bien los instrumentos de ritmo los tocan gran número de gentes, los de la melodía (flautas), son escasos, concentrándose más bien en contadas familias.

Las mujeres no manejan ningún instrumento musical..

El canto secular es desconocido; solo letrillas religiosas se cantan a la hora del rezo, de la misa y de la procesión.

El baile de los calderas es estilizado y recuerda con mucho al bambuco colombiano. Se baila por parejas mixtas, sueltas o amarradas. Por lo general los bailadores adquieren un cierto aire de gravedad y concentración y los espectadores siguen con atención sus movimientos. La mujer mantiene siempre la cabeza agachada con su mirada dirigida al suelo, atenta a las notas musicales que parece interpretarlas con su movimiento. Un pie adelante seguido de un traspiés; alternan luego; rápidamente corta el camino al parejo; da media vuelta. Los brazos los inmoviliza en el abdomen.

El hombre, en cambio, lleva la frente levantada, los brazos inmóviles sobre los muslos, su rostro refleja alegría. De cuando en cuando lanza un grito: "Viva el partido conservador!" "Viva el Cauca!"

Es costumbre el baile del fiestero y el albacero con sus mujeres intercambiadas, después de los "cuidos" respectivos.

En los bailes de matrimonio es regla iniciarlos los novios y padrinos únicamente. En medio del baile y por varias veces los novios se arrodillan a sus padrinos para recitarles el bendito. La novia al padrino y el novio a la madrina. Aquellos los bendicen y les pasan la mano para que se levanten. Después del baile de novios y padrinos pueden bailar los demás asistentes, quienes en medio del baile también se saludan colo-

cando la mano derecha sobre el hombro izquierdo correspondiente y estrechándoselas luego.

Si bien que algún escritor de la colonia habla de danzas específicas en la actualidad sólo se recuerda y dícese practican en Avirama: la danza del pajarito (**vicha ku**), bailada por las muchachas al amanecer. Los informantes de Calderas dicen que es muy fea y que por lo mismo no la bailan. Posiblemente corresponda al Itza - ko anotado por Pittier de Fábregas.

XIV

EL GRAN DIA

Antes de que la alborada asome su tez blanca por los negros rebordes de las cumbres de oriente, las mujeres ya han abandonado el duro lecho de las pieles de res y activan el cocimiento de los alimentos, atizando presurosas el fuego de la cocina. Entre tanto, los hombres conversan y ríen a mandíbula batiente. La casa del fiestero está en pleno movimiento. A las seis de la mañana hombres y mujeres han desayunado con "mute", coles, plátano, yuca y carne. En seguida las mujeres ponen a cocer en una paila de cobre de un metro con cincuenta centímetros de diámetro, el mute con que almorzarán los peones y se atenderá al albacero después de las vísperas. Junto a esta vasija se coloca otra de arcilla, ligeramente inferior en tamaño, rebosante de maíz deshollejado con ceniza. Cuatro arrobas de maíz, aproximadamente, se consumirán en este día.

Con los haces de leña apiñados en un rincón de la cocina, y el agua almacenada en ollas, las mujeres se sienten en derredor del fuego a dar de lactar a sus críos, hilar la lana, tejer sus jigras y conversar sobre cosas del diario vivir.

Con el correr del día habrá sacrificio de la res; donación del "camarico" al señor cura; saludo al albacero; celebración de vísperas con juego de vacaloca; concluyendo con la comida que el fiestero dará a la media noche. Para el día siguiente habrá misa, procesión, entrega de las banderas a los nuevos fiesteros y cuido al albacero.

XV

ESCENAS ENTRE FIESTERO Y ALBACERO SEGUNDOS

El sol del día señala las nueve de la mañana. En casa del albacero se oye los sordos sonidos del bombo, y la melodía de las flautas.

Mientras tocan, llega el fiestero y su mujer a visitar al albacero con una olla de sancocho, una botella de aguardiente, un volador y una vela. El fiestero entrega lo suyo al albacero y su mujer a la esposa de éste. Se sientan cerca del fuego. El diálogo es interesante:

Albacero: El albacero siempre está detrás del fiestero. Vamos a hacerlo bailar.

—Fiestero: Tomando chicha nos reiremos.

Reitéranse los ofrecimientos de chicha y aguardiente.

—Vamos a la matanza de un torito.

—De golpe el toro me mata a mí, replica el albacero cortándole la invitación al fiestero. Y agrega:

—Usted cuida mucho; parece que tuviera más cosas. Yo no tengo nada.

—Nosotros no somos cualquier familia. Somos Muse, responde el fiestero.

—¿Qué quiere de mí que está cuidando mucho? Pregunta el albacero.

Entre tanto otros hombres expresan conceptos en tono sentimental y filosófico:

—Este es nuestro pueblo... Tenemos que hablar... Cuando nos muramos no volveremos más.

—Porque ahora que estamos vivos, y en nuestra tierra, debemos vernos con frecuencia.

El viejo dueño de la casa interrumpe la conversación:

—Está bien que estén acompañando. (Eviuha guechi pikin ustau).

Es la hora de matar la res. Los fiesteros abandonan la casa del albacero. Los músicos siguen detrás.

XVI

SACRIFICIO DE LA RES

Desde el día anterior la res ha permanecido frente a la casa amarrada en un poste. Contiguo a ella están varios montones de largos maderos secos.

A eso de las diez de la mañana los invitados especiales del fiestero se alistan para matar la res. Son cuatro. Los músicos entonan el **kula kui** mientras otros hombres empiezan a formar trozos pequeños de los largos maderos secos. Leñadores, matadores y músicos inician a un tiempo la actividad. La leña servirá para asar la arepa.

De los matadores uno recoge la sangre en un caldero, otro la sujeta de la cabeza y procura taparle los ojos; piensa que de no hacer así, lo embestirá otra vaca cuando vaya a cogerla.

Después de desollarla, la descuartizan siguiendo determinado orden. Las patas traseras (**chinda**), las patas delanteras (**kuse**), los muslos (**himbé**), los brazos (**pala**), la cola (**mens**), la carne del pescuezo (**chikichichi**), el sebo (**sepo**), intestino delgado (**chunchullo**), intestino grueso (**meto**), estómago (**tu-**

chi), tráquea (pechita), pulmón (mechto), corazón (ús), hígado (mechi), hiel (muahi), páncreas (shape)... Conocen la mayoría de los órganos con sus nombres, pero desconocen su fisiología específica.

De los pedazos de carne unos van directamente a la paila del "mute", que está hirviendo y con lo cual almorzarán los peones; los otros a la barbacoa donde pueden recibir el humo de la cocina.

En el interior de la casa, en el ñuhne wala, las mujeres en dos metates muelen maíz deshollejado para hacer arepa. Con harina de maíz y agua forman una masa que varias mujeres se encargan de darle una forma circular con las manos. En cocina aparte, dos mujeres y dos hombres se ocupan de asarlas. Primero las endurecen en un tiesto y terminan el cocimiento en el rescoldo del fogón. Un hombre de edad recoge las que están cocidas en una mochila. El otro se ocupa en entonar letrillas religiosas y en rezar. La arepa sirve para cuidar al albacero en el día siguiente.

Esta actividad la realizan con entusiasmo las mujeres.

—Los días de la fiesta son para charlar, dice una mujer.

—La vida sólo se la vive emborrándose, pregona otra.

XVII

"CAMARICO" PARA EL SEÑOR CURA

A las cuatro de la tarde fiestero y fiestera, acompañados de sus mayordomos, del cabildo, de los músicos y demás gentes, con los estandartes de la iglesia adelante, y con derroche de pólvora, desfilan hacia la casa cural. Cada uno lleva un presente al sacerdote llamado "camarico" y que consiste en vituallas y carne: plátano verde, papas, huevos, carne y sal. Primero entrega el hombre y luego la mujer. Representa un testimonio al señor cura por haber asistido a celebrarles la misa. Los mayordomos también lo obsequian con huevos.

En casa del albacero suenan flautas y tambores y salen gritos dando a entender que están listos para recibir el saludo del fiestero.

XVIII

DERROCHE Y PROTOCOLO

Son las cinco de la tarde. En casa del fiestero suenan los cohetes, mientras que en la del albacero se nota agitación.

Uno y otro poseen sus chirimías. La hora del saludo y del intercambio de regalos ha llegado.

El fiestero y la mujer, precedidos por las banderas de la iglesia y seguidos por numerosos acompañantes, las imprescindibles melodías de las chirimías y el reventar de los cohetes y voladores, han salido de su casa con sendos platos cubiertos con pañuelos de vivos colores y sobre los cuales llevan el regalo para el albacero y la mujer, respectivamente, consistente en un bizcochuelo, una botella de aguardiente, una bujía grande de cera de laurel y dos pequeñas, un volador y un cohete; un ayudante lleva, además, un caldero de chicha. El cortejo avanza parsimoniosamente. El albacero y esposa, por otra parte, también han salido de su casa, con su séquito de acompañantes, el tronar de los cohetes y los acordes musicales, llevando consigo el mismo regalo que traen los fiesteros: chicha, aguardiente, bizcochuelo, cohetes, voladores y velas. Un ayudante lleva una vistosa lámpara, hecha con varas flexibles en forma de semiesfera, adornada con una película blanca semejante al papel, obtenida de la cabuya (1) y flores de variados colores; cuatro carrizos tiene para clavar las velas.

Es albacero espera al fiestero muy cerca de su casa.

En el momento del encuentro, el fiestero y su mujer toma cada uno las banderas de la iglesia, prenden velas, que a su turno también son encendidas por el albacero y su mujer. Las intercambian: el fiestero con el albacero y las mujeres entre sí. Luégo se arrodillan quedando vis a vis los varones y las hembras. El fiestero presenta el saludo ceremonial:

—"Mi compañero: Nos encontramos en este punto. Vine a verlo. Reciba este bizcochito aunque esté muy desabrido."

—"Así estamos acompañando en este punto", responde el albacero.

Mientras los labios pronuncian esas palabras, las diestras de ambos tocan los hombros izquierdos respectivos y estrechan luégo las manos; las mujeres se saludan en idénticos ademanes; acto seguido la fiestera saluda al albacero y el fiestero a la mujer de aquél. Obsérvase el mismo protocolo. Inmediatamente intercambian los regalos: los maridos por una parte y las esposas por la otra. Todo se reparte entre sus acompañantes respectivos. Unicamente las velas conservan.

En todos estos actos la música no ha dejado de sonar, alter-

(1) Fourcroya andina.

nando el conjunto del albacero con el del fiestero. Las tonadas son alegres, el entusiasmo creciente, nutridas las explosiones de los cohetes.

Cuando todo se ha consumido devuélvense los platos, los pañuelos y los calderos expresándose mutuamente sus profundos agradecimientos. El albacero invita al fiestero:

—"Mi hermano: Ahora vamos a mi casa. No tengo nada que ofrecerle, pero qué vamos a hacer."

—"No tenga cuidado. Yo también estoy en las mismas condiciones que usted."

En casa del albacero permanecen todos hasta que el repique de las campanas les anuncia el reso. Asisten muy pocos y por obligación el fiestero y albacero. Los músicos van detrás. El albacero coloca la lámpara que ha dos horas exhibió en el saludo.

El alumbrado de la iglesia es suficiente. Consta de unas setenta y dos velas, de las cuales las del altar son del fiestero y el resto del albacero. Existen cuatro lámparas flotantes del tipo ya descrito. Sobre atravesaños sostenidos por vigas verticales y situados uno cerca del altar y el otro a la puerta de salida, vénse numerosas bujías sostenidas en barro fresco, de igual modo que en las cornisas de las paredes.

Los actos religiosos son acompañados con la música indígena: tonadas monorrítmicas y tristes alternan con aires alegres.

XIX

ANTORCHAS Y VACALOCA

Mientras en la casa del fiestero los hombres matan la res, forman los haces de leña y las mujeres tuestan las arepas, en casa del albacero suena la chirimía, se bebe en totumas la chicha, se manufactura la lámpara y se forma la vacaloca. De los ángulos de un rectángulo, hecho con cuatro varas atadas con bejucos, amárrase en semicírculo varas flexibles; sobre éstas envuélvese un cuero de res; en la parte anterior átase un cráneo de vaca con sus astas; los huesos frontales se cubren con papel periódico en el cual, y con carbón, se dibuja los ojos, nariz y boca de la vaca; los cuernos se envuelven con una tela saturada de cera de laurel; en la parte posterior un atado de cabuya desflibrada forma la cola. Además, se manufacturan con la misma tela encerada, tres an-

torchas y un mechón a manera de cruz, exclusivamente para el alumbrado.

A la salida del reso, un muchacho fuerte y membrudo agarra sobre sus hombros la rústica vacaloca, encienden los encerados cuernos y antorchas que previamente las han tomado otros jóvenes, suena la música, se prenden los cohetes y se comienza el juego. Los jóvenes bregan por quemar la cola y la vacaloca por perseguirlos y cornearlos con sus encendidas astas. Comienza la algarabía y el loco frenesí. Todos corren, todos desafían las embestidas del simbólico animal. De pronto la vacaloca pisa en falso, cae estruendosamente, provocando la hilaridad general. Fiestero y albacero, músicos, acompañantes y jugadores empiezan a desplazarse a casa del albacero. Allí terminan el juego cuando el combustible de las antorchas se agota y los jugadores caen vencidos por la fatiga.

Dentro de la habitación, en el **fukue wala**, los músicos en un rincón, las mujeres sentadas en el suelo, los hombres en los **pangos**, con sus rostros dorados por los resplandores de las antorchas, esperan el reparto de los calabazos de chicha y los litros de aguardiente con que el albacero atiende al fiestero. En el centro de la sala y contiguo a uno de los **pangos** está una tosca mesa, negra de humo, mugre y tiempo con dos velas encendidas en sus extremos; tres calabazos de chicha asentados sobre bagazos de caña; dos botellas de aguardiente junto a los calabazos de los extremos; junto al del centro un litro de aguardiente. El centro de la mesa lo ocupa el fiestero, a su derecha se sienta su mujer y el síndico a su izquierda. Se acerca el albacero, toma el litro en sus manos, mide una copa y la brinda al fiestero. Este la recibe, bebe y se la devuelve. De manos del albacero recibe la copa y el litro. En idéntica forma procede con el calabazo, en cuyo interior se encuentra el **shachi léchukue**. De la misma manera brinda las otras botellas y calabazos a la mujer del fiestero y al síndico. Se inicia el repartimiento para el cual fiestero, fiestera y síndico llaman tres hombres para que se encarguen de distribuir el generoso presente. El aguardiente lo reparten sus propios dueños poniendo en cada copa pedacitos de bizcochuelo. La algarabía crece en proporción directa del consumo. Todos beben por igual: hombres, mujeres y niños. Es el momento del chiste verde, nutrido y abundante. La hora en que la fantasía se aclara y vuela. La temática es casi única: el sexo en todas sus formas y manifestaciones: deseos, reali-

naciones, galanteos, embarazos, partos, genitalia y aún simulacros de coito en público. Cualquier alusión al sexo causa hilaridad; muchos aspectos de la vida, actitudes, trabajo se asocian al sexo.

A la media noche han secado botellas y calabazos. La música ha sido contínua, la borrachera creciente... Pero todavía no se ha terminado. En la casa del fiestero los esperan con otro presente.

El fiestero y albacero bailan con sus mujeres intercambiados. Terminada la danza todos salen y se sumergen en la negrura de la noche por senderos que no se ven, se adivinan. El sonido del bombo indica que las gentes, los **nasa wala**, se encaminan a la casa del fiestero.

Allí se encontrará la luz pálida y amarillenta, la mesa contigua a un pango y hacia el centro del **ñuhne wala** con sus dos velas encendidas, sus calabazos de chicha y sus botellas de aguardiente. Esta vez es el albacero quien se sentará al centro, su mujer a su derecha y a su izquierda el síndico. Se observará la misma etiqueta y los mismos cumplidos. Terminados los licores, vendrá la comida de coles y carne: grandes bateas para el albacero, la mujer y el síndico. A los demás se servirá en platones. Todos sorberán el caldo, exprimirán carne y coles con la mano y las guardarán en sus jigras.

Vencidos por la fatiga de varias noches en vela, por la chicha y la comida dormirán en el suelo. Cuando la alborada anuncie el nuevo día la inmensa sala, el **ñuhne wala**, presentará el espectáculo de grupos de gentes dormidas en promiscuidad de sexo y de edades.

XX

LA PROCESION DEL SANTO

Inmediatamente después de la misa, con asistencia de los que la oyeron y de los que no la oyeron también, se da comienzo a la procesión, esencia de la fiesta según el decir del Padre González. La imagen de San Juan adornado con muchas flores es paseada en andas por los devotos que se relevan con frecuencia, dan la vuelta a la iglesia con gran derroche de pólvora y al final queman el castillo. La música no cesa de tocar e incluso se entonan cánticos religiosos. Terminada la procesión y colocado el santo en el altar, los hombren montan en sus caballos, la mayoría en pelo, y se lanzan frenéticos a

correr por los llanos de la localidad. Se da rienda suelta a su entusiasmo, expansión a su espíritu y se despierta el afán de jugar. Grupos de caballeros en veloz algarabía van dejando atrás sus gritos de "Viva San Juan". En la vida diaria las acciones han sido lentas. Esta vez el movimiento y el bullicio parecen ser réplica a la lentitud y pesantez del diario vivir. Las bestias sudorosas llegan a las casas donde tienen un rápido descanso mientras sus amos beben con avidez el guarapo que les brindan los caseros.

Los fiesteros y albaceros con gran acompañamiento de gentes se acercan nuevamente donde el señor cura. Llevan los nombres de los fiesteros del próximo año. El sacerdote va leyendo en voz alta los nombres de los fiesteros, de los albaceros, de los mayordomos. Cada nombre pronunciado va acompañado de un campanazo que un fiscal se encarga de darlo; terminado el anuncio se da un repique general. De 15 a 20 mayordomos se asesora cada fiestero.

En seguida, frente a la puerta de la iglesia, arrodillados, los viejos fiesteros entregan las banderas a los nuevos. Realizan la procesión y al terminarla, en el lugar mismo donde se traspasaron las banderas, entréganse éstas al síndico, quien las bate una por una en el aire y termina como clavándola al suelo. Si por casualidad la bandera se envuelve en su propia asta alguna desgracia le pasará al nuevo fiestero. Generalmente es un presagio de muerte que llena de inmensa tristeza al fiestero cuya bandera ha tenido este suceso.

Ahora, cada fiestero marcha a su casa portando en sus manos la bandera del santo.

XXI

BANQUETE PARA EL ALBACERO

Después de la procesión el fiestero acude a la casa del albacero, donde es atendido con los consabidos calabazos de chicha y las botellas de aguardiente. Finalizado este ágape, la concurrencia se traslada a casa del fiestero. En el centro de la sala destácase, contigua al pango, la mesa con dos velas ardiendo en los extremos, los calabazos de chicha y los litros de aguardiente. Hacen los honores de la misma, el albacero, síndico y sus respectivas mujeres. Con la etiqueta y cumplidos conocidos se les brinda el presente y se efectúa el reparto correspondiente.

Los peones y los fiesteros se mueven de la sala a la cocina y de ésta a la sala. **Guechi pikin ustau** (estamos acompañando), dicen aquéllos, al entrar al **ñuhne wala. Anjiha,** responden los asistentes.

La cocina está repleta de alimentos cocidos y las mujeres se afanan en llenar los platos de variados tamaños; grandes unos, medianos otros y pequeños los más. Los repartidores se encargarán de pasarlos al destinatario. Esta vez servirán tres platos diferentes:

1º Arepa y carne; 2º Sancocho compuesto de plátano, papa, arracacha y carne picada; y, 3º Yucas, coles en rama, cocidas, y carne.

El albacero y mujer, síndico y esposa son congratulados con una batea de cada uno de estos tres "servidos". Los mayordomos reciben en menos cantidad y el resto de los asistentes en los platos de consumisión diaria.

De estos "servidos" sólo el último se reparte cuando la asistencia es numerosa. Todos van provistos de jigras. Sorben el caldo, exprimen los sólidos con la mano y los guardan en ellas. La borrachera y el sueño hace que pocos hablen.

Después de comer, o mejor, de colectar comida, suena la música. El fiestero y albacero bailan con sus esposas intercambiadas. Llevan en sus manos velas encendidas. La danza es lenta, pausada, trastrabillante. Al terminar todos se dirigen a casa del segundo fiestero a entregarle las banderas de la iglesia. Este repetirá los mismos actos religiosos y sociales, con la misma etiqueta y los mismos cumplidos.

XXII

UN BAÑO POR SAN JUAN

A las cuatro de la mañana del día 24 de junio en todas las casas están en pie, hombres, mujeres y niños. En la del fiestero brilla el fuego de la cocina, se cocinan los alimentos y todos beben y conversan. Por fuera, en la espesura de la noche, vense subir disparadas numerosas luces en cuyo final brilla una centella acompañada de una explosión: son los voladores que salen de los bohíos. A cada explosión se suman los gritos: San Juan! San Juan! San Juan!

El día anterior y en cada una de las casas habíase arreglado un chorro de agua a manera de ducha. Ahora todos se bañan. Este baño va acompañado de cohetes y gritos. Cons-

tituye una de las pocas oportunidades en que el indígena se baña. Pues, si bien es cierto que en la niñez el baño es un tanto frecuente, los adultos se bañan únicamente por la fiesta de San Juan, en la limpiada del hielo de la muerte o cuando tienen fiebre.

El baño de San Juan tiene la virtud de evitar que tanto las personas como los animales pertenecientes a cada una de ellas, contraigan llagas (chande). No obstante uno de los amanecidos en la casa del fiestero, que no se ha bañado disculpa su temor: "Yo no me bañé. No tengo animales. No importa que me vuelva chandoso".

—Usted sí tiene aunque sea "dos animales". Báñese: Le replica en tono picaresco y burlón el vecino.

—Me baño, pero no todo el cuerpo, sino mi... solamente".

El diálogo sigue en ademán subido y jocundo.

Después del baño cogen un gallo. A los chillidos de éste todos hacen coro: San Juan, San Juan, San Juan. Lo matan. A las seis de la mañana están paladeando sancocho de gallo.

En casa del fiestero se oye el siguiente diálogo entre los padres al oír llorar a su propio hijo:

Padre: Yo quiero pegar a ese hijo porque llora mucho.

Madre: Por qué va a pegar a su hijo. El no tiene la culpa. La culpa la tiene su pene.

A las cinco de la mañana el fiestero y su mujer han salido a casa del albacero con su "camarico": chicha, aguardiente, cohete, volador, velas, gallina, plátano, arracacha, yuca, carne, cominos y sal. A las seis están de regreso.

Los músicos hacen sonar sus instrumentos y las gentes bromean. Uno de ellos suelta uno picaresco y burlón, denotando la acción de la noche anterior: "Yo no voy a misa, porque no tengo calzón. Tengo pero se ha pintado". A los repiques de la campana los músicos y algunas gentes acuden a la misa.

XXIII

EL DÍA DE LOS PEONES

Cuando todo ha pasado, el señor cura se ha marchado a Belalcázar, los músicos con los labios hinchados y sus gargantas afónicas se han retirado a sus hogares, las gentes han quedado ahitas de chicha y aguardiente, el fiestero todavía tiene que atender —cuidar— a sus serviciales peones.

Ellos no han tenido oportunidad de desfilar ni a la casa del albacero, ni a las vísperas, ni a la procesión. Ni siquiera emborracharse al tenor de los visitantes. El fiestero también está muy agradecido de sus servicios. Ahora en pago de ello tiene que cuidarlos. Para eso ha dejado parte de la res bajo el humo del fogón. Tendrán su canoa de chicha, sus botellas de aguardiente, sus cohetes. Se los servirá en la mesa en que se atendió al albacero y en la misma forma. Abundancia de comida y de bebida será el testimonio de su gratitud. También traerán los músicos y bailarán. Amanecerán como aquellos de la fiesta, revolcándose en el suelo.

XXIV

CORRIDA DE GALLOS EN TUMBICHUKUE

El nombre de **Tumbichukue** es familiar a los colonos de todo Tierradentro. Es sinónimo de fabulosos tesoros. En este lugar, se dice, enterraron los paeces todo el oro y la plata que recogieron en la desgraciada población de Sebastián Quintero destruída por ellos.

Tumbichukue es una vereda formada por las faldas orientales del páramo de San Lucas y comprendida entre el **Kukiyú** y la quebrada **Yusayú** (Guacharaca). Pertenece a la parcialidad de Lame y precisamente por allí atraviesa el camino que va de San Andrés a Lame. El tránsito por este camino es frecuente. Sus gentes más accesibles al blanco.

El 24 de junio los hombres corren a lo largo del camino en sus caballos. Es costumbre de los indios y de los blancos "correr el día de San Juan". Los blancos dicen que quien no corra sus caballos en el día de San Juan les da chande. Los caballos pequeños y membrudos soportan jadeantes las exigencias de su jinete ebrio. Carrera desenfrenada y grito a voz en cuello: Viva San Juan!

Las gentes de la vereda acuden a una pequeña plazuela del camino, junto a la cual vive el capitán de Lame. Indios de San Andrés llegan a hacer coro a la corrida de gallos. En cambio, a pesar de la cercanía, ningún calderuno se mira por allí. Las mujeres que se observan aquí son limpias y llevan bien trenzado su cabello; visten falda negra, rebozo azul marino, blusa rosada, numerosos collares abigarrados, zarcillos brillantes y sombrero de paño. La monotonía de los collares oscuros o negros, característica de la indumentaria páez, casi desaparece entre estas gentes. El clásico sombrero de pindo que llevan los calderas desaparece. El castellano se habla con más frecuencia.

Todos los caballeros están pendientes de la jaula y de los gallos.

La jaula es muy parecida a la lámpara del albacero calderuno, con la circunstancia de que las varas van adornadas con un melado de panela (melcocha) y portan cuatro banderitas. Alguno de los caballeros da alcance a esta jaula y el próximo año tiene que entregarla tal como y conforme se la

apropió. El melado se reparte entre el público y las banderitas las toman los amigos de quien alcanzó la jaula; tienen que contribuir a los gastos.

Luégo viene la corrida de los gallos. Es lo más espectacular. Todo el público está pendiente de las incidencias del juego. Los caballeros corren veloces de un extremo a otro. Al pasar por debajo del gallo, levantan la mano con el fin de arrancarlo; apenas si lo rozan. Aumenta el frenesí de los caballeros, la algarabía de las gentes, el reventar de los cohetes. De pronto hay un chillido atroz seguido de un silencio rápido. Dos caballeros agarraron al tiempo el gallo y en sus manos quedaron los pedazos en cuya carne tiembla todavía la vida. El próximo año tendrán que volverlo vivo.

Un informante explica que quien coge la jaula equivale al fiestero, el gallo al albacero y las banderas a los mayordomos.

Lo que de aquí en adelante sigue pertenece a la báquica alegría.

Una chirimía hace las delicias del público.

XXV

LA FIESTA Y LOS NUMEROS

Los fiesteros son muy parcos en el suministro de informes acerca de la cuantía de sus gastos. Apenas se contentan con decir que gastan mucho dinero y entre las cosas que compran están la arracacha, plátano, yuca, caña de azúcar, pólvora, cera, sal, coca y las reses.

No obstante, he aquí el valor de los gastos que suministró un fiestero gracias a la insinuación que en ese momento hizo el sacerdote que oficiaba las ceremonias religiosas.

Por lo general matan tres reses: una al recibir la fiesta, otra para la limpiada de la iglesia y la tercera para el cuido del albacero.

Artículos comprados	Costo
1 toro ... ... $	40.00
1 novilla	35.00
1 ternera...	12.00
20 arrobas de maíz, a $ 0.60 cada una... ...	12.00
Caña de azúcar	2.50
2 libras de pólvora...	7.00

1 libra de pabilo	2.50
Plátano	2.50
Arracacha	7.50
1 arroba y media de sal	7.50
2 libras de anís	20.00
Derechos del señor cura	20.00
Total	$ 168.50

A esto debe agregarse la compra de coca para los peones.

La fiesta resulta, pues, costosísima para los indios que no tienen dinero, ni producen para vender, ni sus ganados los enajenan por valores numerarios sino por cambio. Es cierto que los mayordomos contribuyen con un peso para pagar los derechos del señor cura y que la mayoría de los visitantes llevan víveres al fiestero; no obstante esto, en el haber del fiestero no queda más que deudas, de las cuales no saldrá antes de los tres años.

XXVI

FIESTAS RELIGIOSAS

Entre los paeces no existen fiestas seculares colectivas. Todas son religiosas. Celebran con pompa y esplendor: San Andrés, Semana Santa, San Juan, San Pedro y San Pablo, La Santa Cruz, El Día de Difuntos, La Inmaculada Concepción...

El misionero lazarista David González dice que ya desde 1689 las fiestas estaban organizadas tal como se las encontró en 1905, vale decir como están hoy en día. Cada pueblo fue favorecido con un santo patrón y con varios otros protectores. No obstante esto, sólo San Juan Bautista y San Pedro y San Pablo, cuyas fiestas se celebran cuando el maíz está en macollaje, las lluvias arrecian y los vientos soplan con violencia; el día de difuntos, con su ofrenda a las almas; la Inmaculada Concepción, cuando abundan los cereales; y la Semana Santa (El Resucitado) fueron las fiestas y santos que más entusiasmos despertaron y echaron raíces más profundas en el alma de estos indígenas.

Los paeces, y en especial los calderas, son religiosos en lo externo, no en la convicción; amigos más de la forma que del fondo. Así lo revelan las fiestas religiosas de estos natu-

rales. Son pocos los que oyen misa y menos los que rezan en las vísperas. Para la gran mayoría las fiestas religiosas significan derroche de pólvora, luces, aguardiente y chicha. La abundancia de la comida. El placer de la reunión. La alegría del contacto. La música lenitivo de penas y el baile exteriorización de sentimientos. Es la expansión que provoca las reuniones, el chiste sexual que brota en ellas sin recelos, es la borrachera continua. Es la exhibición de la generosidad, la gimnasia de la cooperación y el altruismo.

El sacerdote en castigo de la inasistencia a la misa del fiestero y albacero principales se negó a verificar la procesión. Estos, tambaleantes de chicha y de vigilia, llegaron al final de la misa, se informaron de la determinación del pastor de almas, quien, además, les recomendó reservaran la pólvora para la procesión del día siguiente. Salieron. Y aunque no dieron la vuelta a la iglesia, ni portaron sobre sus hombros la imagen del santo, quemaron todos los cohetes, los voladores y el castillo, a los acordes de su música aborigen. La procesión se realizó simbólicamente.

Las mujeres y los hombres son oscuros en su piel y en su indumentaria. En estas fiestas no es raro verlos ataviados en colores vivos y chaquiras de vistosos colores.

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aguardiente--an alcoholic beverage
arco--the rainbow spirit
kachí--special divination sites
kuetand tuka--a small calabash used to hold the lime employed in coca chewing
mambe--lime to be chewed with coca
pango pil--bench
ptans--literally "dirt": the evil sent by a sorcerer
té eu--curer, shaman
ut ká--"dirt-send": curing ceremonies at a family or individual level
ut peu--"dirt-wash": the purification ceremony performed by the shaman for the participants in a funeral
wé ká--"pest-send":the ritual by means of which an epidemic is ritually conjured away from a community by the shaman
yat put--"house-blown": the purification of the house of the deceased after a funeral

5:Bernal Villa E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Medicine and Magic among the Paez
[Medicina y Magia entre los Paeces]

Segundo Bernal Villa

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[Title page]

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Medicine and Magic Among the Paez

by

S. Bernal Villa

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Chapter I

The Te Eu

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Note:

sh is equivalent to the French ch (chaise).
ch is equivalent to the Spanish ch (techo).
j is equivalent to the French j (jardin).
h is equivalent to the Spanish j (rojo).

*
756
787

Symptomatology. The good curers, the authentic té eu, in whom the society believes and trusts, those who constitute a monolith of security in the face of the mysteries of illness and death, are those whose vocations were determined by a vision, more precisely by a hallucination. In this case, the fate of the men is inescapable, permits no deviation. This leitmotiv, vigorous in times past, is now on the wane.

A curer from the Parcialidad /a territorial division/ of Santa Rosa describes his vision as follows: "At the age of six, while I was tending a field in the montaña, I saw my mother dressed in black, with a white hat and pouches. She chided me for the poor quality of my work, saying that animals were ruining the field. She walked on and I followed her. At the stream she vanished. I went to my home and found out that the woman was not my mother, since at the moment of the

* /221 cont./
756 vision she was at a 'minga' /communal work-party/ cooking
757 pork for the laborers.

"There was no doubt but that this was a spirit telling me that I should become a curer. The pouches that she carried indicated this to me. This is why I never fail to take my medicine pouches."

Another curer, from the Parcialidad of Calderas, relates his vision as follows: "One night I saw a beautiful child, fair, with the hair of a woman, reddish, and dressed in a wrapper. This child was the Ghost /Duende/, /222/ from whom the
[178] curer's power comes. He is the same Kallumb as is seen by true curers, because nowadyas there are some who learn to cure through the teaching of others."

In the Parcialidad of San Andrés they say that the Ghost visits the curer when someone goes to consult him, to tell him what brought him and the advice that he should give.

It may also happen, says a Calderuno /native of Calderas/
[262] 19 years old, that someone wishes to become a curer. Then,
[263] he subjects himself to a diet. For one month he eats no salt or ají /Capsicum/. He goes at once to the mountain, alone, his head lowered, lost in thought, with the hope of finding a good friend whose counsel he can ask. At a magnificent spot, pleasant to the senses, he meets a man advanced in years, short of stature, good, generous, amiable in conversation, and amply educated, who chews coca like other Indians and, like them, also carries kuetand yahas (pouches). Filled with trust, he explains his wishes to become a curer, arguing that there are many people who are dying. He asks about the good remedies. The one questioned answers that there are good remedies for curing the sick and presents him with a pouch of them. This one is for such-and-such an illness, he says, this other one for that one, and so on successively, specifying the medicinal value of the remedies in the pouch. He instructs him in their use, technique and method. Up to the way of

* /222 cont./
756 making the tama /a staff/. That man's vision is a personal
787 one. No one else can see it. And it is the same thing that gives the "signs," without which it is impossible to cure, even if one knows the medicinal value of the remedies. When the interview is over, the man returns home with joy manifest on his face. He finishes his apprenticeship with another curer, begins to cure his children and members of his family, and soon, once his reputation has spread, others will come and request his services.

One who is going to be a curer sees visions from boyhood: Thunder /Trueno/ or the Ghost. This is the illumination of his future destiny. He cannot evade it, for Thunder or the Ghost may drive him insane.

[263] When a child tells of having had a vision, he is immediately prohibited from eating ají, his salt ration is reduced, and
[868] he is bathed with remedies. Then a good curer is sought to instruct him, and when he has the secrets of medicine, that teacher leads him to the lagoon to be consecrated by Thunder. "To see Thunder" -- says an /223/ informant -- "having him show the medicines, is a sign that one will become a very good curer."

* 754 When someone has a vision, care is taken that the sorcerer
756 does not find out about it, for out of wickedness he might show
787 him ají and hep (a plant) and drive him insane. This happened to the curer from Santa Rosa mentioned above. "He would finally have tossed me into the Páez river" -- he said -- "if a curer from Huila had not cured me. Even today, when I am drunk, I have crazy moments and sing."

* 756 Period of instruction. Instruction is given by a curer of
868 great repute in an empirical way, for the pupil accompanies his teacher for several years, during which he learns how to handle the tama, to recognize the value of the remedies, to interpret signs, to master the technique of the treatments. The first cures are usually accomplished with his children or

/223 cont./

* 756 868 members of his family and under the direction of his teacher. The demand for his services on the part of others depends on the outcome of these treatments. Many of the young curers of *756 554 554 866 Togoima, Calderas, and Santa Rosa learned in this manner. All of them state that their teachers had visions, and explicitly or implicitly admit their inferiority to them. "The ancestors had visions, and for this reason they must have been superior to us," says a curer from Calderas. Owing to this fact, people believe that the curers of today cannot talk to [929] Thunder. They would be killed. One of the reasons given to [623] explain why the cabildos /local councils/ of today do not go to the lagoon to wash the staffs of command is precisely the lack of curers like those of old.

* 756 868 Those who have had visions also place themselves under the direction of an experienced curer in order to learn the [782] secrets of the profession. The definitive consecration as a [778] curer is obtained when they offer the "Camarico" /a gift customarily given to guests/ to Thunder at the edge of the lagoon.

[554] Although an apprenticeship in medicine can be undertaken at a very early age, the practice requires one to be an adult of about 30 years of age and married or living with a woman. A "very young" curer would lie, informants say.

* 756 778 782 Consecration of the te eu. The true té eu, that is to say, those who have had visions, make the offering of the "Camarico /224/ to Thunder," a ceremony carried out at the edge of a lagoon, in order to be consecrated definitively as curers, since medicine is a heritage from Thunder.

The teacher asks the pupil for a white sheep and two new pouches. The animal is sacrificed, and from each organ on the left side a small piece is cut and placed in the pouch. This is the "Camarico for Thunder." With this gift, teacher and pupil set out for the lagoon, while at home the women cook the meat with the express order that no one may eat it until they return.

/224 cont./

At the edge of the lagoon the teacher-curer digs a hole, over which, and from the end of the tama, he suspends the camarico. Thunder requests from the pupil 10, 20, or 30 centavos, coins which he deposits in the hole. Then, he lowers the pouch and covers the hole with stones and earth. The curer bathes the pupil with shu and shulape (1). Thunder

1. 1. Cf. below, "Remedies" /see pp. 22ff./.

draws near to receive other gifts which he requests by means of the signs, to state that the youth may learn how to cure, to prohibit him emphatically from collecting bad remedies (for sorcery), and to request him to be charitable with people. Last of all, he orders him to return home.

At the teacher's home, chicha and aguardiente are drunk, and meat is eaten with stew. Then the teacher presents remedies to the pupil and tells him that henceforth he will merely need to apply them, warning about the patients who are in a very serious condition, but with the help of God he should try to cure them.

The signs. The signs are reflex movements which manifest themselves in the musculature of the curer. "They are like a circulation" -- says one té eu, "as when a person's muscle twitches in the eye or hand. The interpretation of these signs is done by the curer."

The signs come from Thunder or the Ghost. That is to say, from assisting spirits. There are also those who say that they come from God.

The signs are fundamental, basic in Paez medicine. Without them there cannot be curers, and there cannot be a curer who does not know how to interpret the signs. It is useless to have knowledge of the medicinal value of the plants. The curer is no more than an intermediary, a spokesman for

* /224 cont./
756 the assisting spirit. It is not enough to know whether certain
755 medicines correspond to certain signs. The té eu must /225/
divine which remedies will be useful for the particular case.
This is why the curer always carries a pouch with all the known
remedies. He takes one out and consults. If the signs do not
circulate, the remedy is useless; he takes out another and waits.
When they are felt insistently, then the remedy is appropriate.
Since the signs are given by the assisting spirit, it is he who
cures.

* 756 The signs may contribute to the discovery of a vocation.
463 If a man engaged in a manual task that does not imply motion
787 (the making of firecrackers, plates for cooking, pottery)
suddenly feels the movement of the signs, he must seek out a
teacher so that he will instruct him in the art of curing. He
cannot disobey them or he would go mad.

* 756 Even the curers themselves must practice the signs. If,
787 for example, no sick clients have come for two days, the
755 té eu must visit his Kachí (2) and practice the signs; otherwise,

2. See below, "Divination sites" /see p. 9/.

they may drive him insane. For this reason, the curer must
[888] practice his profession until old age begins. Old men lose the
signs because they cannot travel to go to the Kachí and practice
the signs.

* 756 All the informants affirm that signs on the left side signify
787 something bad, while those on the right indicate something
827 good. As a rule, the signs that are given in a certain part of
755 the body have a specific meaning. Minor differences may be
noted in the information provided by the curers, but they are
[124] matters of form rather than substance. There follows a table
of the symbolism of the signs, gathered from many profane
informants and curers from the Parcialidades of Santa Rosa,
Calderas, Togoima, Avisame, and San Andrés.

/225 cont./

Right:
The signs go down the leg: death; remedies will not help.
The signs climb up the foot and the tibia: a member of the family will die and go to heaven.
The signs go up the outer edge of the foot to above the ankle: the remedies will work.
The signs occur between the ankle and the heel and cross to the same spot on the

Left:
The signs go along the inner side of the foot: the pest is leaving; the patient is encouraged.
The signs go up the outer side of the foot: the sorcerer wins; the patient dies.
The signs go up from the ankle to the back of the knee: sorcery; field has a spell on it.
These same signs, but first

/226/

left side: contest between the Té eu and the sorcerer.
Calf (gemelluses): visit of a good woman; the ghost comes singing to point out the remedies.
Calf (outer part of the digits): a good man is coming to visit the curer.
Kneecap, signs that go down: a person will die from the rainbow or ghost.
Thigh: the signs run to the back of the knee and disappear: the person will die; fierce pest; serious matter.
Signs go down from the groin to the foot: the

occurring on the right and immediately passing to the left: rainbow /arco/ and Ghost.
Calf (gemelluses): a sorceress is coming to visit the curer.
Calf (extending from the digits): a sorcerer is coming to visit the curer.
Kneecap: fear of the sorcerer because he is winning over the Té eu; fear, fright, disaster.
Thigh, the signs go down: bad person going by.
Rib (the tenth): bad person is coming.
Back of the hand: the ghost does not accept the remedies because they are incomplete.
Palm of the hand: the person

/226 cont./

756 Right:
787 wife is about to
827 menstruate.
755 Rib (the tenth): the patient will die at once; sting of Kallumb.
The signs occur between the ring finger and heart: on the following day the person will wield a shovel to bury a dead person.
Palm of the hand: the person will receive a present; greeting from the ghost; improvement of the pest.
Palm of the hand and passes to the throat: Pijao "dirt."
Thumb and palm of the hand (simian line): the lost animal will appear, the signs indicate that it will be caught.
Biceps: a good person will ask him to be godfather at a baptism.
The signs go from the ear to the shoulder: the ears will be cut off.
Cheekbone to the outer corner of the eye: the patient will improve; the stolen animal will appear.
Eye and down the nose: wake.

Left:
will die of the pest; the ghost did not accept remedies.

Signs in the arm: the echi is coming.
Biceps: same meaning as for the right side.
Wrist: someone will give a scare; he will be caught.
Shoulder and they make an arc through the chest: rainbow.
Cheekbone to the outer corner of the eye: the stolen animal was eaten.
Eye and down the nose: a dead person.

/226 cont./

756 When the signs occur at the vertex (crown), the sorcerer
787 is about to send the pest, and if they go from the vertex to
827 the left hand, the person is under a spell.
755 If the signs occur in the gluteal muscles, an animal belonging to the person has died and the vultures are eating it.
756 In this way, the curers can know the nature of the illness
755 /227/ and the type of remedies required. To determine the spell and the sorcerer responsible.

To divine whether a stolen object can be recovered or not, and who the thieves are. To learn whether a patient will improve or die. To detect the presence of the Ghost, Rainbow, and Echi. To know in advance about the visits of good or bad persons.

The act of perceiving the signs is called to divine or "to
[273] think." Every patient must always bring tobacco, aguardiente,
[276] and coca. The aguardiente is used to call Thunder, Ghost and Echi and to satisfy them. The chewed coca and tobacco serve to make the signs circulate.

Divination sites. The té eu has a special divination site called Kachí. In it he practices the signs and perceives them
[263] when he has a patient to cure. If the patient is not in serious condition and comes in person to the house of the curer, then he can divine on its ground, even though there is the obstacle of the presence there of ají and salt, articles that Thunder does not like. The treatment, that is to say, the perception of signs and the corresponding cleansing, is carried out at night, at two or three in the morning.

If the patient is in very serious condition, the té eu must go to a site where he will not be disturbed by the shouting of people, the barking of dogs, or the noises of animals. A site almost completely removed from human haunts, such as a bog or a lagoon. He takes with him two or three hairs taken from the crown of each member of the family present, with which he makes a ball that he places amidst the shu /Sphagnum/.

/227 cont./

755 He remains at the site for about an hour. When the signs give
*756 hope, he leaves the hair and returns to the patient's house.

In treatments of this type, the curer requires as "provisions" a pig, a sheep, and chicha.

*755 Divining the illness. The curer demands from his clients
756 two eggs (3) of coca, two cigars, and half a liter of aguardiente.
273
276
[804]

3. One egg of coca is equivalent to the weight of a hen's egg.

He gathers the coca into a medium-sized pouch with great scrupulousness, for he does not allow a single leaf to be lost. He transfers the aguardiente to a bottle of his own and puts it in the same pouch with the coca, likewise the cigars. The divination is performed under the eaves of his house at 8:00 P.M.

/228/ He places the patient on his right, seated on a pango pil (bench); the pouches of remedies are placed on his left, along with the pouch containing the coca and aguardiente received from the patient.

*755 He begins by making two bundles of remedies with yacuma
756 blanca, ul ñiñ, ñundayuskei, bitopiskue, and chandur de castilla (4). Each remedy is extracted patiently from his pouch,

4. Cf. below, "Remedies" /see pp. 22ff./.

which contains all the remedies needed for his treatments, but not in any specific order. He does not show anxiety or haste; he observes great moderation. When he takes out the remedy, before placing it on the maize husk that will serve as wrapping for the bundle, he quickly passes it around his body, beginning at the right foot, going up this side to the crown of the head, and ending on the left side, in order to stimulate the blood
[827] so that the signs will circulate. As soon as he has finished passing it, the signs may go from the right calf upward,

/228 cont./

755 indicating hope, for if they moved from the knee to the foot,
756 there would be no need to receive the coca, tobacco, or
[127] aguardiente, for the patient would be incurable. Only when the signs are favorable does he take the pouch of remedies received from the patient and pass it around in the same way as he did the remedies, with the aim of invoking Thunder and Kallumb, his helpers.

75 He orders the patient to chew the bundle of remedies which he presented to him not long before. He picks up the tama (5) in his hands and blows on it with the remedies that he

5. Cf. below, "The tama" /see pp. 17-18/.

is chewing, which are the same as those chewed by the patient, for the purpose of preventing the ptans ("dirt") sent by the
[276] sorcerers from surprising the curer and killing him. In this case he may have the mambe /lime to be chewed with coca, or the coca and lime together/ in his hand and nevertheless remain motionless, with blood running from his mouth. Then, and to the front, he drives in the tama, the weapon of Thunder, to indicate to him that he is not working in a bad way, but in such a way and in accordance with his teachings. Before putting it in the ground, he passes it around his body so that it will protect him from the ptans.

[824] Next to the tama he puts the bottle of aguardiente, which
[763] he places a sprig of chayuts; if it remains upright and floats, it is a good sign, while if it tilts and sinks to the bottom, it is an omen of death. On top of the bottle he puts a small calabash to measure the aguardiente, in which is also put a sprig /229/ of chayuts; it serves as a preventive, for it prevents the ptans from catching the curer unprepared and killing him.

[276] Then he puts a handful of coca in his mouth and begins to chew; he remains seated, almost motionless, his eyes trained on the room and on the tama, attentive to the slightest motion;

/229 cont./

75 from time to time he puts in more coca and more mambe,
[276] which he takes from a small calabash (kuetand tuka), pours on his right fist, and throws with force into his mouth. He watches. Sorcerers work systematically to send him the ptans, and they must not catch him unprepared. The signs warn him as to when he must blow the chew in order to contain the ptans.

He tells the patient that the signs are favorable; there will be an immediate improvement. The pains which assail him are due to the ptans which he has from the vertex to the nape.

After 20 minutes in a motionless and expectant state, the curer stands up with his face raised, as though illuminated, walks jauntily to the tama, blows the chew violently; he fills the small gourd with aguardiente and tosses it into the air. This is the invitation to Thunder.

He returns again to his place, takes a cigar and crushes more than half of it, puts more mambe in his mouth, and remains quiet, his hands folded and his arms resting on his knees. Only the deepness of the night with its characteristic sounds disturbs this decisive moment. No carelessness. It might have fatal consequences. He remains in this position for about 40 minutes.

Then he takes the chew from his mouth with his hand and tosses it in the direction of the tama, after having passed it around his body. The patient does likewise. He immediately tells the sick man that he must return with all the remedies. He interrupts his work. Thunder has shown himself to be
75 favorable. Since the patient has ptans, a good "cleansing"
783 must be done, for which he must bring three pounds of meat to be eaten after the cleansing, chicha, one pound of coca, one liter of aguardiente, and six cigars. The curer himself must
[177] go to the lagoon in search of the remedies. He advises the patient that for a period of three months at least he must not use the drugs of the whites, for if he did so, he would die.

The cleansing of the ptans. At 7:00 P.M. the patient comes to the house of the curer. He hands over the medicines

/229 cont./

75 requested. /230/ He divides the aguardiente into two bottles:
783 one for Thunder and the other to drink. In Thunder's bottle he
[782] places a sprig of chayuts, after passing it around his body; the sprig remains floating and vertical, a good omen. He puts the coca in a special pouch, along with the aguardiente and cigars. He makes up two bundles of remedies with maize husks. One is for the patient, to chew and swallow the juice.

75 He divides the other bottle, takes chayuts, passes it around
78 his body, puts it in the small calabash, fills it with aguardiente, and goes out of the house to toast Thunder. Then he gathers his pouches of remedies, a calabash of chicha, the patient's coca, a candle, and matches, and he goes to the divination site. When Thunder comes, he will ask the curer what the patient has presented to him. The he will show him the chicha and aguardiente. Thunder, satisfied, will say: "Take this, since you received it." They will drink together. Thunder's share will be tossed into the air. The patient must remain inside the house. When the time comes, he will call him for the "cleansing."

75 Outside, the night is black as ebony. The silhouette of
783 the curer is barely visible. He sits under the eaves to the south of the house. He begins to chew the remedies after passing them around his body. He drives in the tama and beside it he places the bottle of aguardiente. Immediately after this, seated, almost squatting, with his hand folded, quiet and motionless, gazing into space, grave, self-controlled, conscious of his mission, imbued with his knowledge, he spends long hours conversing with Thunder and warding off the attacks of sorcerers. From time to time he gets up without haste, slowly, as slowly as the passing of the hours of the night, and he beats with the tama, displaying the energy that marks the activities of the curer. The patient, lying on a cowhide, with no covering other than his own clothes, sleeps near the fire; he wakes up at different times, pierced by the intense cold of the night; outside he hears the constant, rhythmic, regular, vigorous blowings of the medicine man.

/230 cont./

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783 At two in the morning, or rather, at the first cock's crow, the té eu calls the patient. The moon is full; the night seems white. The sick man sits to the right of the curer. He receives a bundle of remedies to chew. They are yacuma blanca, ul ñiñ, ñundayuskei, shugues, chandur, guepeyuskei. They help with the cleansing, and when spat out they will remove the "dirt" (ptans).

/231/ He places chayuts on the patient's crown in order to ward off any possible attack by the Echi. He advises him again not to use the remedies of the whites and, in case there is no improvement, always to return to the curer.

The curer passes to the right of the patient, about three meters. He points at him with the tama and blows out chewed coca and aguardiente in order to contain the black cloud (ptans) which may come at any moment. He comes to the patient and rubs him (cleanses him) with the tama, beginning with the right foot and continuing along this side; at the crown he rubs several times, sucks (absorbs the "dirt") for five or six breaths, rubs again; he lowers the tama to the throat, rubs, sucks the right shoulder, rubs again, and passes the tama to the nape of the neck, where he repeats the process; he ends up by bringing the tama down the left side. Over a hole dug previously to the left of the curer and about 15 meters away, he spits out everything that he had in his mouth and the dirt that he collected from the patient; he vomits; he blows one mouthful of aguardiente into the air, dismissing the "dirt," and drinks one so that the "dirt" will not enter again. He calls the patient, orders him to spit out the remedies that he has chewed, and hands him the bottle to measure out two drafts: one to be blown into the air and the other to be swallowed. He covers up the hole carefully. Curer and patient return to their places.

The té eu takes a good handful of shu and tashú, dips it in water in spite of the fact that it is quite damp, and goes to the patient. He begins the cleansing by going upward from the right foot. At the crown of the head, throat, and the nape of

/231 cont./

75 the neck, he exerts some pressure and the icy water runs down
783 the body. He goes down the left side and then goes to the hole to bury these remedies. With these remedies the body absorbs coolness. After having buried them, he blows aguardiente into the air and then drinks some more.

Once more at his place, he gives the patient a few herbs (shu and siempre viva?) to hold in his hand. He goes to the right of the patient and from there points to him with the tama and blows; he draws nearer, and he makes the familiar passes with the tama and the remedies named. He rubs the crown of the head (vertex), throat, and the nape of the neck.

[782] They go to the hole and toss the herbs into the hole. The curer takes a mouthful of aguardiente, stretches the tama toward the horizon, rises proudly, sets his eyes in the direction of the tama, blows violently several times, and soon his atti-
[191] tude becomes entreating. /232/ Actually, he prays in Spanish: "Lord, help us; I implore you for everyone." The té eu said later that he had prayed to Thunder, so that he would help him and would not permit the sorcerer to discover this hole where the "dirt" was buried. He drank a swallow. The patient blows a mouthful of aguardiente into the air and drinks a second one. They return to their places. The curer picks up the calabash of chicha, goes to the hole, and pours it out. It is a gift to Thunder.

Once more in his place, he puts yacuma, shu, and tashú into a calabash of cold water. He goes to the patient's right and from there sprinkles this water first on the house and then on the patient, who first removed his hat by order of the curer. This is a veritable bath, so that if any ptans should remain, it would be removed and he would be completely clean. The remaining water is poured into the hole. He blows aguardiente and drinks some more, the patient proceeding in the same way. The curer raises the tama and implores: "I pay you; I shall pay you." The curer said that he had spoken as follows:

/232 cont./

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783 "There are all the remedies that you pointed out to me. If another patient comes, help me." Then he pours out all the aguardiente as a toast to Thunder.

With this, the cleansing is over. It is 3:30 in the morning.

He advises the patient not to change the remedies and not to take a route below that hole. He states that the signs are favorable and that he asked God for the patient's improvement.

To summarize, the cleansing of the ptans is done at night, beginning at 8:00 or 9:00 P.M. and ending at 3:00 P.M. /sic/ approximately. The following procedure is observed:

1. The patient must give to the curer two eggs of coca, one bottle of aguardiente, and two cigars.

2. The curer puts these remedies in a special pouch. He makes up a few bundles of remedies with yacuma blanca, ul fiñ, fiundayuskei, bitopiskue, chandur de castilla, chayuts (Santa Rosa), or yacuma, chayuts, tayuskei, shugues, tatse, echiutse (Calderas). All of these remedies are passed around the body of the curer.

3. At the Kachí, he places the tama and aguardiente in a special spot, hands over to the patient a bundle of remedies for chewing, and puts chayuts (Santa Rosa) or guepekás (Calderas) on his own and the patient's vertex (crown).

4. The first cleansing is done with the tama, by rubbing and by sucking the vertex, the right shoulder, and the nape of the neck, in order to remove /233/ the ptans and spit it out into a hole to bury it. There is blowing and the drinking of aguardiente by curer and patient.

5. The same procedure is followed with the wet remedies (shu, tashú) to lend coolness to the body.

6. A new cleansing is carried out with other herbs (shu and siempre viva?) with the rubbings and the suckings at the places mentioned, the burying of them, and the blowing and drinking of aguardiente. In Santa Rosa, this is the moment when the curer makes his entreaty.

/233 cont./

75 7. The curer toasts Thunder with the chicha, sprinkling
783 it in the air.

8. The curer washes the patient with a calabash of remedies. He fills up completely the hole that contains the "dirt," sprinkles the remaining aguardiente, and ends the cleansing with some final advice. It is 3:00 or 4:00 in the morning.

All treatment of illness is carried out with this cleansing procedure. That is to say, when the impurity (ptans) has been removed from the body, the health of the patient is restored. The curer combats the ptans. In a sense, the cleansing is a hard fight in which the curer is engaged.

756 The tama. The tama is a chonta staff about 40 centi-
755 meters long and indispensable for every cure.

While in other cultures the medicine man uses the maraca as an indispensable accessory in the art of curing, viewing it as having a mythical origin and thus a sacred character and magical properties, and while, according to Roth, certain piai of the Guianas use wooden dolls in their conjurations (6), among the Paez this little staff called tama

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6. Métraux, Alfred. Le Shamanisme Chez les Indiens de l'Amerique du Sud Tropicale /Shamanism among the Indians of Tropical South America/." -- Acta Americana, Vol. II, No. 3, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1944, pp. 217-218.

755 is used. In Santa Rosa, a curer-sorceress uses in her treat-
756 ments a wooden dolly dressed like the people, received, ac-
532 cording to the informant, from Thunder himself, and called
552 "Soft wind of Thunder."

[773] According to all the evidence, this name is derived from that mythical personage, more precisely that culture hero,

* /233 cont./

756 called Juan Tama, who enjoys the fame of having been the
[755] founder of pueblos, a victorious warrior, a good leader,
[532] legislator, and famed curer.
[552] The tama is a defensive and offensive weapon of a sacred
[773] character /234/ and used exclusively by the curers; it protects
[751] from the attacks of the ptans and wards them off. It is a gift
[787] from Thunder and his badge. In visions, it is the first thing
[428] that he shows. When the curer dies, it may be inherited by
a young curer, but generally it is left near the cemetery.

* 756 A curer from Calderas, possibly the one most imbued with
539 his mission to defend the health of the people, states that the
tama was left from a deed performed by the Virgin in defense
of her children. On a certain occasion the sea was rising
implacably over the surface of the earth, putting the lives of
men in grave danger. The Virgin took pity on them, brought
out the tama, and made the motions now made by the curer.
The waters retreated. She left this staff for the man who became a curer. This was the origin of the tama.

Another curer from the Parcialidad of San Andrés gave us the following account concerning the origin of the tama:

"The elders say that the tama was left by Thunder himself. A man had a potato field and a rancho in the montaña. He went to harvest it with his son. One afternoon the boy refused to accompany his father, preferring to remain in the rancho. On the following day he disappeared without leaving a trace anywhere. All the steps taken by the father to locate his whereabouts were unsuccessful. On the eighth day, the boy reappeared in the rancho. The father naturally inquired as to his whereabouts and his activities. He replied that he had gone to the señor papa, who had given him the stick he carried in his hands, called tama, and aguardiente and remedies. The aguardiente was cold water from a lagoon, and the remedies were in a pouch. No sooner had he finished his tale than he fell into a deathlike trance. On the fifteenth day, at death's door, he asked his father to hand him the tama, for the señor

* /234 cont./

756 papa had told him to defend himself with it and in case of ill-
539 ness to take the remedies that he had given him. He extracted their juice and took it. He rapidly improved. He applied them to others and noted that they soon regained their health. With the tama and the remedies he became the best curer in the entire region. He died when he was an old man"

* 755 To combat ptans, the tama is used in conjunction with a
756 plant called "nica."

824 Theory of illness. Sicknesses are caused by the state of
753 oodily impurity called "dirt" /sucio/, cold /hielo/, or /235/
783 ptans. The causes are essentially magical and are interpreted more as a premeditated and inimical attack than as punishment by supernatural beings. There are those who state that sicknesses are sent by God, but if one repents, they are soon taken away. Be it said at once that this concept is neither general nor rooted in tradition. Sicknesses, then, do not have natural causes; nor do accidents, since they are provoked by sorcerers.

Impurities are caused by the following:

a) When a person who has been at a wake has not had himself "cleansed."

b) When people dress in the clothes of a deceased person without washing them with the appropriate remedies.

c) When the house where the corpse was watched over has not been cleansed.

d) When a woman does not spend her period of menstruation in the Du yate léchukue.

e) When a woman does not bathe after menstruation.

f) When the placenta has not been suitably buried in the appropriate place and with the required remedies.

g) When a man sleeps with a menstruating woman.

h) When the man who serves food to a menstruating woman has not bathed his body or washed his clothes.

i) When the woman, after observing the diet of childbirth, does not bathe.

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753 j) When there is no blowing of remedies while at the
783 montañas, bogs, or lagoons.

k) When there is no blowing of remedies prior to cutting wood for bridges, sugar mills, and canoes.

l) When, at the inauguration of a rancho or house, the house ceremonies have not been performed.

ll) When the house has been built over a Pijao "huaca," or when they merely come across one while working the land.

m) When the traditional ceremonies are not performed upon harvesting a new clearing.

754 n) Through the machinations of the sorcerers. These kill
753 the most people, for they not only send the pest to persons,
783 but also to the entire community. On the other hand, they provoke /236/ the Ghost, Rainbow, and Echi to anger and also do sorcery at the request of jealous or vengeful persons. The sorcerers have unlimited power.

Hernández de Alba, speaking of illness, generalizes in these words:

"Sickness was always thought to be caused by witchcraft or by someone's will. The evil force entered the body and made it impure; it had to be expelled or "cleansed," lest death ensue. If a delirious person told who was killing him, the individual mentioned was thought guilty; or, if, after a death, the face of the deceased should appear to somebody,
[834] the person was considered responsible. These beliefs are still
[821] in force today, and the Indians avoid the causes of sickness,
[765] such as having sexual intercourse wit /sic/ a menstruating woman, exposing the body to bad weather while there is a rainbow, and neglicting /sic/ to bathe after a burial or to purify a house where a death ocurred /sic/" /cited in English/ (7).

7. Hernández de Alba, Gr. 1946, p. 955. See also Pittier de Fábrega, H. 1907, p. 325.

/236 cont./

755 Since sicknesses have a magical origin, the treatments are
783 also magical in character. "The cleansing" is indispensable in every treatment, with its attendant remedies and movements.

165 Symptoms of sicknesses. Among the sicknesses clearly
164 identifiable by the natives are smallpox and whooping cough, given their characteristic symptoms. Some of the informants, not many, to be sure, state that their children died of such sicknesses.

165 On the whole, child mortality, which is rather high, is
761 said to be caused by, in order of frequency and in generic terms,
776 pest, Echi, and sorcery. The cases of death by the ghost and rainbow are few.

753 The symptomatologies given for the sicknesses are very
776 vague and even confused with one another. The Echi, ghost, and rainbow sting, not really the body, but the soul, leaving hairs in the body that cause fevers and sharp pains at the spot where they are found. These hairs, when placed in the palm of the hand, move as if they were alive. They differ in color: the red ones are from Kallumb, the reddish blue ones from
[755] the rainbow, and the black ones from Echi. The hairs are re-
[783] moved by rubbing with remedies prior to the cleansing.

/237/ It is said that the sting of pallumb /sic/ causes heaviness, lack of appetite, pains in the head and body, fever, and even insanity.

753 When the arco /literally "bow"/, called kitús, is referred
776 to, it is nothing other than the rainbow, which comes out at
821 any hour of the day, accompanied by a rainy drizzle, the "rainbow meow," which causes scabies (chande) in children
[755] when it falls upon them; it is not harmful for adults. The curers,
[789] and they alone, from their ranchos blow chewed remedies toward it, tobacco, chandur, llushamuanda, and yacuma
[755] negua, in order to make it disappear quickly. Other people chew remedies, when they have them at hand, and rub them on their bodies. There is a general idea that the rainbow causes

/237 cont./

753 cramps in the body, and furthermore that sorcerers see it in the
776 form of a turkey impelled to peck people.
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It seems obvious that what the Indians call Echimbe (red
753 Echi) or candelilla fina /thin glowworm/ is a firefly /luciérnaga/
825 somewhat difficult to capture and extremely fierce. They differentiate it perfectly well from the fire beetle /cocuyos (cucuyos)/. They say that it is an animal that God produced in
[755] order to harm the Christians. The curers call them and catch them in their Kachí, while other Indians, chewing coca, catch them anywhere and bring them to the curer to be buried.
[774] They believe that their fierceness is due to the fact that the
[829] souls of the Pijao are incarnated in them.

753 The symptoms of the sting of Echi are vague and imprecise and refer solely to bodily pains.

The symptoms of Pijao "dirt" are recognized by respiratory difficulties.

164 They differentiate perfectly well the venereal diseases,
757 which seem to be quite widespread in the acculturated parcialidades. In Calderas they are said to have spread widely among both sexes, without respect to age, and to have been treated with copper sulphate, for the remedies of the Indians were of no use. In Santa Rosa antibiotics are used. A curer in that parcialidad maintains that those diseases were brought from La Plata by wandering women and that it befell him to treat two cases: one was serious and the patient died; the second, not very advanced, he treated with yukchacha, montaña barbasco, and fisa (bitopat or bodoquero). He administered the juice for six days and subjected the patient to a diet of chicken exclusively.

755 Remedies. The remedies used by the Paez curer are
757 vegetal. As a rule they are prescribed in combination. Thus:
/238/ To clean away the ptans:

[783] Yacuma blanca, ul fiñi, fiundayuskei, shugues, chandur, guepeyuskey, chayuts.

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755 For the sting of Kallumb:

757 Chandur, flushamuenda, white and yellow guapeshú, nica, tobacco, chayuts.

For the sting of Echi:

Tatsé, ul fifi, yacuma blanca, shugues, tayuskei, siempre viva, shulape, shu, shupefifi.

For the sting of Rainbow:

Chandur, flushamuanda, black yacuma, ul fifi, chayuts.

All the above remedies are cooling and serve to allay fever.

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Native Name	Spanish Name	Scientific Name	Use
Chandur	. . .	?	Cooling. Used to clean away ptans. There are two varieties. The large one is called: Ñusha.
Esh	Coca	Erythróxydon /Erythroxylon/ coca.	Boiled roots and leaves: colic and diarrhea.
Bichach	Caucho /rubber/	Hevéa?	Leaves roasted in embers for fractures, dislocations, contusions. The dry leaf is removed and placed on cabuya tops for rapid healing.
Chulco	Chulco	Oxális sp.	Against smallpox.
Chayuts*	Contento, Alegría /sesame/	Scutellaria racemosa Per.	Panacea of the Paez.

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/239 cont./

Native Name	Spanish Name	Scientific Name	Use
Small chuwet	?	?	To propitiate streams.
Fisa, bitopat	Dodoquero	?	In combination with yukchacha and montaña barbasco, it is used to treat blennorrhagia.
Echiutse chime*	?	Labiada?	Against the pest. Bathing with this herb wards off Echi, especially when traveling at night.
Guepekás	Pringamoza. Ortiga /nettle/.	Urêra boccífera L.	Wards off ptans. Used for sorcery.
Kuese	Barbasco de lo caliente	Lonchocárpus?	In winter it is blown into the air to make summer come. Used against chande (scabies).

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Native Name	Spanish Name	Scientific Name	Use
Limoncillo	Limoncillo	Cymbopógon citrátus.	Infusion with panela and aguardiente against coldness for a woman in childbirth. Also used against diarrhea.
Nica	?	?	For combatting ptans. For hair of ghost.
/240/ Ñundayuskei	Pateperro	?	Against ptans. The juice for diarrhea; with tobacco, for stomach-ache. The water from this for toothache; spit out half the candle /candela/ to help allay the illness.
Shu*	?	Sphagnum sp.	For combatting ptans.
Shugués*	?	Peperomia sp.	For cleaning away ptans.

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Native Name	Spanish Name	Scientific Name	Use
Shulape	?	?	Against echi and for coughing.
Shupeñin*	?	Peperomia sp.	Echi and whooping cough.
Siempreviva		?	Tied to the head it allays pain.
Muahi	Tabaco	Nicotiana tabacum L.	With coca, it makes the "signs" circulate. Crushed, it checks hemorrhages. For combatting ptans.
Tap.	?	?	See Bichach.
Tatsé	?	?	For coughing; to restrain the pulse (us) when a child is frightened. Against ptans.
Tayuskei*		Peperomia sp.	For infections of the umbilicus. Whooping cough.

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Native Name	Spanish Name	Scientific Name	Use
Ul fiñ*	Culebrina, pepa de arco, monito almizclillo	Hibiscus abelmoschus L.	Ptans, echi, rainbow.
Yacuma blanca		?	Ptans.
Umsim*	Yacuma negra	Myrcia acuminata DC. Vell aff.	Against the rainbow.
Yuskei*		Scleria cattarinensis Boeck.	Ptans

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824 The plants marked with an asterisk were identified by the
[128] Herbario Nal. Colombiano, in particular by Dr. Jesús M.
[137] Idrobo.

[127] For the others, we were guided by the work, Plantas Utiles de Colombia /Useful Plants of Colombia/, by Dr. E. Pérez Arbeláez, published by the Imprenta Nacional de Bogotá in 1947.

75 The té eu and the community. In every culture, medicine
182 performs an eminently humanitarian function. Its nature is
171 sociological. No matter what its methods may be, its purpose is to save human lives. It combats illness, but also prevents it.

75 Among the Paez, medicine cures and prevents. The
182 community and the family perform special ceremonies intended to achieve these two purposes of medicine.

755 When the pest (epidemic) has spread through the com-
*756 munity, threatening its subsistence, the authorities (cabildo)
182 invite the curer to conjure away the danger by performing the
[731] wé ká.

When the illness prevails in a single family, markedly decreasing its members, the eldest invites the curer to perform
[765] the ut ká. After every burial the people must remove the ptans
[783] from their bodies and from the house where the death occurred. The curer is the only one who can do this.

241 The first fruits of plantings made on new lands not culti-
*756 vated before cannot be consumed until the curer has performed
783 the cleansing ceremonies. Thus, it is the curer who defends
182 the family -- preservation of the species -- who purifies the
789 harvests -- preservation of the individual -- and who also defends the community, warding off by means of his conjurations
*756 the epidemics and the individuals who threaten it. In 1952,
789 before an imminent attack by subversive armed groups on the
182 Parcialidad of Santa Rosa, the curer warded it off with maní de montaña /literally, "montaña peanut"/, chewed and blown on the path by which they were to come.

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731 Since the ceremonies mentioned have some differential
755 aspects, we shall look at them in detail.

756 Wé ká (pest-send). When the pest appears in a community,
783 smallpox, whooping cough, which are rapidly finishing off
/242/ the population, the cabildo takes the initiative for conjuring away the danger. It requests from the people coca, tobacco, and aguardiente, they arranges for a pig and invite a famous curer who can talk to Thunder. From the edge of a lagoon, by means of good remedies and the help of Thunder, the curer must ward off the pest.

[782] They sacrifice the pig. From its left side they take a small piece from all the organs and place them in a new pouch. They gather glowworms (Echis) and go to the lagoon. The retinue made up of the curer and the cabildo leaves at three in the afternoon, and twelve hours later they will be back at the point of departure. Meanwhile, the women have been busy preparing the meat, without eating a single piece of it. They have not slept either, for they have an obligation to wait for the retinue wide-awake. When they arrive, the meat and stew are distributed, and the chicha and aguardiente are drunk. With this the people are relieved and the pest is banished from the community.

755 Ut ká ("dirt"-send). This is exclusively a family affair.
756 When the members of a family are dying, there is ptans, says
783 an informant, while another one thinks, with more reason, that it is the angry spirits of the dead who want to finish off the family. In such a case, the eldest of the survivors arranges for coca, aguardiente, and tobacco, gathers the family members together, and calls the curer.

[787] The latter divines up to eight or ten nights. He captures up to 12 glowworms. He asks for a castrated and fat pig. He ties it up for an entire night and divines as to whether the souls of the dead members of the family will accept it. At dawn he orders it killed. The slaughterers, the chicha-makers, the carriers of the sugar cane, and the women cooks are not

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755 members of the family, that is to say, they do not carry the
*756 surname of those who are performing Ut ká. None of them
783 may work, not even at making hats or pouches.

[461] The hog is skinned and washed over a hole; the hair and offal in general must fall there. When Ut ká is not being per-
[787] formed, the hog is skinned in a trough. Meanwhile, the curer
[782] divines as to how much meat is wanted by the souls. The latter specify the quantity, and the té eu translates it on a small stick, which is immediately passed to the slaughterers, who must cut out the pieces in accordance with this measure and put them into a pouch. The curer drinks aguardiente and also has assistants who help in perceiving the signs.

[252] /243/ The women prepare the maize for "mute" /stewed
[262] corn/, make small tortillas, as many as there are souls of the dead in the family. They also prepare every kind of fruit and food, plantains, arracacha, bread, yuca, bananas, granadillas, cucumbers, maize, eggs, meats, etc., to protect them against the ptans. They put a little piece of the foods into the pouch.

755 They also prepare some wooden dolls, in a number equal
*756 to that of the dead. They dress them like Indians: hat, poncho,
783 trousers, shirt. About 40 meters from the house they dig a
532 grave just as they do to bury the dead: a rectangular cavity with a lateral chamber. The curer weighs out two eggs of coca, picks up two cigars and a bottle of aguardiente. At about eight at night all those from the family leave, except those who are not. The cleansing is about to be performed. Then black clouds, like balls, gather. The curer blows remedies toward them. After two hours, the clouds go toward the left, clearing the horizon and leaving the stars visible in the immensity of space. The curer proceeds with the burial. In the lateral chamber of the tomb he places the dolls (representations of the souls) and a candle of laurel wax, after blowing the remedies at them. He closes up the chamber with a stone and then puts in the glowworms and the pouch of food.

1/1 [i.e. the family members--Analyst]

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*755 He fills the grave[1] with earth and proceeds with the cleansing
756 of the members of the family. They return home. All the
783 workers come out, and again he cleanses all of them. Only then can they go inside. The women have all the food prepared with half of the pig, for the other half belongs to the curer. Chicha and aguardiente are drunk and then the food is served. When dawn breaks, the usual liquors are being consumed. The curer leaves and other people take charge of bringing him his provision. The curer receives it, gives thanks, and hangs it outside the house. He can eat it only when he has killed more glowworms.

With this the Ut ~~ka~~ is finished and the pest has been warded off from the family.

*756 Ut peu ("dirt"-wash). Immediately after the burial, and
764 on the bank of a river or a spring, the washing of the clothes
783 and the cleansing of the people are done. The curer prepares three calabashes of remedies made up of (1) water and cow dung, (2) with rue, bitopiskue, ñundayuskei, dachak (curíbano /Scleria floribunda/), crushed, and (3) with shu and shulape.

/244/ With these, and in the order given, the people wash their clothes and their bodies. The clothes of the deceased are washed by the heirs.

The curer, after washing his own feet with the same remedies, remains seated, perceiving the signs. He then prepares another calabash of remedies with shú, shulape, and yuskei, for washing the hands of all those present.

He starts cleansing the people, who are seated on stones. The curer goes to the left and comes from there, beating with the tama. On reaching the first person to be cleansed, he performs the same acts already mentioned, doing the same with the others. He vomits the sucked-out "dirt" into a hole, where the people also cast their chew of coca, tobacco, and yuskei. Then the medicine man washes his hands with aguardiente and the remedy previously prepared. Everyone

1 [i.e., the grave into which the dolls as representations of the souls, have been placed -- Analyst]

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756 takes two swallows: they blow one into the air and they drink
764 the second one. What remains is sprinkled into the air. Those
783 present are lined up in a row, and the curer again beats with the tama, first around the front part and then around the back part. He casts the collected dirt into the hole, covers it with a stone, and tamps down the earth. Now the people, clean of ptans, go to the house of the deceased.

Yat put (house-blown). After the ceremony of the Ut Peu, all the people go to the house of the deceased, which they do not enter until the blowing of the house has been done. Everyone who was in the house comes out. The curer prepares the same three calabashes of remedies which he used in the Ut Peu. He pours out the calabash of water-diluted cow-dung at the spot where the corpse lay, doing the same with the second one. With the third, that is to say, the one made up of shu and shulape, he sprinkles the entire house (patio, walls, rooms, roof). With this the people can go in and its occupants will
765 continue to live. Dr. Hernández de Alba describes the
756 cleansing as follows:
783 "A month after the death, a shaman purifies the house. The relatives and Friends kill a pig, cut it lengthwise in two halves, one for the shaman, the other for the ceremonial banquet. The shaman sweeps the house floor with the pig's legs and some special branches, with /sic/ are later buried. He chews coca, says some unintelligible words, and spites /sic/ leaves on the house walls. The residents and guests then enter the house for the final proof of purification. The shaman, standing in the center of the house, gives a dog half a tortilla. If the dog does not die, he divides the /245/ others /sic/ half among those present. He does the same with a piece of cooked meat, and if the dog still does not die, he bdows /sic/ chicha in all directions in the hut, and then divides what remains with those present. The hut and food are then declared clean. The food is then eaten and much chicha drunk" /cited in English/ (8).

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*765 756 783 [113] 8. See: "Mitología y Cuentos de la Parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro /Mythology and Tales from the Parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro/," Revista Colombiana de Antropologia, 1953.

[114] This type of cleansing has not been confirmed by any informant, curer or layman, young or old, male or female, from the Parcialidades of Santa Rosa, San Andrés, Calderas, Togoima, Avirama, or Mosoco.

342 796 *756 [241] Conjuration of the new rancho. To protect their fields from the voracity of wild animals, they build a small rancho. Before occupying it, they perform the following conjuration. The curer blows remedies in the center of the rancho where the hearth will be. He digs a hole and buries shu and shulape. He makes a fire and casts fiundayuskei and bitopiskue into it. He gathers up all the ashes and throws them outside the rancho. He revives the fire again and roasts a green ear of maize, which is given to a dog to eat. If the dog does not die, it is a sign that there is no pest there and the owners can occupy it. In the opposite case they must abandon it. In Santa Rosa the Té eu eats the ear of maize.

This same ceremony is performed upon beginning a house. They give the dog roasted maize since it is not the season for green ears. Then they drink chicha and aguardiente.

241 *756 E huse uña (clearing-eat). The harvesting of the crops from new clearings must be initiated by the curer. The owner of the field provides coca, tobacco, and aguardiente and invites the curer. The entire family goes to the field.

The té eu prepares a calabash of remedies based on Chayuts, shugues, tayuskei, echiutse, ul fiñ, tatse. He sprinkles the clearing with this. He distributes as many bundles of remedies as there are persons present, for them to chew, to swallow the juice, and to rub their bodies with the remainder.

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241 As soon as the curer has collected one fruit of every species to
756 be harvested, he makes up a bundle as on offering to the Ghost,
[782] since he is the owner of the earth.

[776] When this offering has been made, the owners harvest a pouch of each crop sown. They go home and /246/ put the pouches side by side in the left part of the entrance door for
[783] the curer to blow remedies again. Without this requisite, the pouches of food could not be brought into the house because they might carry the pest. The women begin to cook them. When the time for eating comes, the curer first passes around a cup of aguardiente with yuskei and bitopiskue. When there are potatoes, they are handed over to the curer after they are cooked. He distributes one specimen to everyone present; what remains is handed to the owner, who in turn gives generously to the curer.

If the first fruits are of maize or beans, the following is done:

With the green ears of maize, "loaves" /bollos/ or "wrappers" /envueltos/ are prepared; with the beans, a large bundle is made. Then the ears of maize, the bundle of beans, and the loaves are cooked. Aside from this, there is a pot of stew with chicken to provide for the curer.

The cooked ears of maize, beans, and loaves are assembled in a trough, and the cook distributes to all those present a sample of each type. Everyone eats, taking care to leave a little of each mouthful, which they pass to the curer. The latter makes a pile, ties it up, and hangs it from the ridge of the house so that the field seed which is being harvested will yield abundant fruit in the following year.

The husks of the ears of maize are piled outside the house, where the curer remains for one night with the object of capturing glowworms and killing them.

776 Assisting spirits. Thunder. All the informants state that Thunder is short in stature, about 1.40 meters, wears a large hat of twigs, underdrawers, a black poncho, tama, and pouch

/246 cont./

776 of remedies. In addition, some say that he has a long beard, does not wear trousers, shows his genitals, and carries a musical instrument called tíngalo (triangle).

*[756] He is a curer and teacher of all the Paez té eu; a protector of the nasa (people) and to some extent even their legislator. Sat (cacique) at the time of the Pijao, he defended them from their voracity and gave them good advice. He ordered that the staffs of command of the cabildo members be washed in the lagoon, abodes of Thunder, to prevent the pest from killing the people.

[823] Thunder is an immortal spirit. He is not seen. He is the guardian of gold and he kills those who dare to collect it. He 776 warns the people /247/ when an evil white is coming to visit 821 them by means of a very strong peal of thunder given when it 787 is not going to rain. If thunder strikes in front of a house, this indicates to the owner that he has the pest and that he should seek out a curer to cure him. If it thunders first at the sorcerer's house and immediately passes to that of the curer, it is a sign that the former is casting a spell on him.

* 756 When a patient requested the services of a curer from 776 Santa Rosa, a torrential rain accompanied by thunder fell during the night. On the following day he told the patient that he had talked to Thunder, who had advised him not to treat him unless he brought him everything that he had requested.

The only being that Thunder fears is the devil. He knows more treatments than the Ghost.

* 756 A curer-sorceress from Santa Rosa says that Thunder, called 776 Manuel José Tipo, had fallen in love with her. He gave her 787 serenades with the tíngalo, which were more frequent when the sorceress swept the patio of her house. During the serenades he taught her the remedies. He was at the point of carrying her away to the lagoon, if she had not defended herself vigorously.

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776 Manuel José Tipo was in Calderas (9). The people tossed

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9. Frazer, Sir James George. La Rama Dorada /The Golden Bough/, Fdo. de Cultura Económica, Mexico, 1951, pp. 33-34.

poison into the lagoon and he had to leave the place in the company of his wife. He went through the air to Santa Rosa, where, upon arriving, he let his wife fall. It killed her. In this parcialidad he was in love with a cacica /female cacique/. He always came to her well-dressed, with a rich bag of chachalacas. The father of the cacica, curious as to how he had killed so many chachalacas, followed him to the montaña and noted that when he undressed he had snakeskin on his back. He was a snake and for this reason caught birds with ease. He told this to his daughter. She, accompanied by a servant girl, set out on the following day for her field of very fertile soil. She had handsome fields of potatoes, cabbages, and onions. Thunder came to visit her. The place began to become a lagoon, and the servant girl warned her mistress of the danger that they were in. She paid no heed. Lucía Kalguesh, the cacica, remained there, living with Thunder. The lagoon was very rough, and Thunder deceived his wives a great deal. Then the puswesh (the stars) came down, cleared the forest around the lagoon, and dug out a drainage ditch for the purpose of /248/ drying it up. Just as they were about to achieve their end, Thunder came out and begged them not to dry up his dwelling. The angry puswesh sewed his mouth and cut off his tongue, for they were too big.

Thunder continued to behave badly, and the curers chased him to another lagoon, without his wife and children.

776 Kallumb. He lives in the springs and in the caves. He is a good spirit. The people say that the Virgin left a roving

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776 child to help the Indians, to protect them, and to instill a belief in her.

The ghosts look like angels and have a body covered with [727] down. Women may see them making the motions of weaving, in such a case they will become good weavers. Men may see them with pouches, indicating that they will become curers.

It is said that there are large and small ghosts. The former, when they rise, leave the rainbow behind them, like a trail. The latter do not keep company with the former and are less fierce. Both shriek like professional mourners.

* 756 The female Té eu. Women can be curers, people state; 562 there is no reason why the signs would not circulate for them. Nevertheless, no woman is a curer. In Santa Rosa there is a woman who, according to her own confession, is a good curer, has seen Thunder and conversed with him, and has good remedies. Thunder even gave her a wooden doll called "Soft wind [754] of Thunder," with which she gives treatments. But the community regards her as a most dangerous sorceress, and the cabildo has burned her remedies and has put her in the stocks. Furthermore, all the deaths caused by sorcery are blamed on her.

On the other hand, the behavior shown by the community is the same as that observed for all sorcerers, that is to say, detachment and resentment against her. A curer from Calderas explains the phenomenon as follows: women are cleverer than men; they have brilliant ideas and in general dominate the men. [754] A woman can become a curer, but at any time she might turn into a sorceress, because she is cleverer than a man. Sometimes she gets to the point where nothing matters to her. Hence women do not learn medicine.

* 756 Taboos of the Té eu. They refer above all to sex and food. 834 They do not have the full force and tenacity which they have 262 in other cultures.

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*756 While the curer is perceiving the signs, he cannot cohabit.
834 The sorcerer who is aware of this interdiction will, out of
754 malice and wickedness, take his wife to the kachí and cohabit with her, with the aim that the signs will not circulate for the
[826] curer and the glowworms will not rise. And to add to the wickedness, they leave in the kachí pubic hairs, which are poisonous.

*756 The curer cannot eat ají, especially the one called ají
262 de montaña, because this would anger Thunder and the Ghost.
[263] They do not eat salt, or consume very little of it. Thunder did not eat salt, they say. They eat the meat of the "pro-
[785] visions" after performing the cleansing. In the ceremonies of ut ká, wé ká, and ut peu, they fast for one day. That is to say, they eat at daybreak and eat again on the following day. Furthermore, since the treatments are given at night, frugality makes them sleep less.

787 Dreams of the Té eu. The interpretation of Paez dreams, as in the generality of popular interpretations of dreams, observes a certain relation between the manifest content of the dream and the action to come. To put it better, future events are deduced from the manifest content of the dream.

They believe firmly in the omens of the dreams, but they
* do nothing to forestall them. It is as if it were a fatality of
[756] destiny. There are no dreams peculiar to the curers. Interpretation is a common patrimony of the people. The attitude toward these omens is the same: to wait indifferently. Here are a few examples out of many:

787 To dream that a snake bites him, sorcery. But if in the
754 dream another person kills the snake at the moment when it bites him, a good curer will turn the sorcery from the victim to the sorcerer himself.

To dream that a herd of swine attacks him, they are practicing sorcery.

To dream of killing a pig, the sorcerer is going to be killed.

/249 cont./

787 To dream of jaguars and cats, there is a Pijao "huaca" inside the house.

To dream of a hearth, there is gold at the spot.

[763] To dream that a jaguar is eating the chickens, the person will die of the Pijao pest.

To dream of a cow, the wife will die.

To dream of killing a bull or a horse, a good person will die (curers):

To dream that wasps are stinging him, they are going to catch him.

[763] /250/ To dream that the teeth are falling out painlessly, a close relative will die.

To dream of eating ají, the person will become angry for insignificant reasons.

To dream of finding a new chumbe /band/, they are working for the rainbow to sting him; if he dreamed that he was wrapped in it, the rainbow has stung him.

To dream of carrying beams or canoes, he will help to bury a dead person.

To dream of receiving silver coins, he will suffer from blennorrhagia.

To dream of drowning, there will be a war and he will be taken prisoner, or he will simply be drafted into the army.

* 756 Payment of the Te eu. As a rule, the curers do not collect fees either in money or in kind. Their services are free. In the confirmation of the profusion the first thing that Thunder recommends is to be charitable toward people. One curer states that he does not cure as a business, for he collects neither money nor animals; people reward him with a small gift. Another curer is more dogmatic. To exploit people is to incur God's anger. The people's gratitude is always expressed in the "provisions" (meat, chicha, and aguardiente).

Out of the articles that the patient brings them for the treatments, only a little coca is left over for them. From the ceremonies for the initiation of the harvest they receive cooked

/250 cont./

756 and raw food. From the Ut ká and Wé ká they receive half of the animal sacrificed, chicha, and aguardiente. In case of a serious illness, they demand a pig, a sheep, and turkeys. But they get only a little.

756 554 Although there is no lack of information about curers who collect money for practicing their learning, such as a curer from Togoima who was in demand even in La Plata and Garzón, it may be stated that the curers do not grow rich in the profession. Rather, the practice of curing prejudices their economic activities. Some are quite poor, while others own large areas of land, good fields of maize, wheat, plantains, and arracacha, a few head of cattle, and several horses, pigs, sheep, and turkeys. They might be classified as rich. Of the five curers from the Parcialidad of Calderas, three may be regarded as rich, while of those regarded as sorcerers, only one is poor. Naturally, this has been acquired by inheritance /251/ rather than as the fruit of their own efforts. Their labors are performed in accordance with the norms that prevail in the community, that is to say, through the system of mingas. During the harvest they make a distribution of foods just as the others do. They participate actively in the work of the others, as well as at the fiestas and drinking bouts.

It remains to be noted that the richest of the community are not curers. On occasion they are frequently criticized when during the treatments they request pork and the patient is not improving. "You should be ashamed" -- they shout -- "you are eating mutton and the patient is dying."

"Good curers, in referring to those regarded as sorcerers, [754] say that they collect without fail. Whatever they see they ask for. The sorcerers say the same thing about the curers.

Social status of the Té eu. All the well-known curers are over 30 years of age. They are "elders" /mayores/ and for this reason respected by the community. It is said that the curers are no better than other men, but it is certain that they enjoy an aura of prestige and recognition different from that given by the concept of "majority" /mayoridad/.

/251 cont./

756 In any case, "the curers have something and are kind,"
554 said one informant. They are respected, and at entertainments they are attended to in the room where important people (síndico, capitán, gobernador, eminent old people) are received, and they are served on larger plates.

Prestige is an advantage of the curer. It is not unusual for the curer to command more devotion than the capitán of the Parcialidad.

All the curers claim to be happy in their profession, and many are grateful to their teacher for his instruction. The advantage of being a curer is to be waited on by people, to be singled out from among the others, and also to be pursued for his knowledge, says one Calderun curer. Everyone seeks him out as a good curer; many of them are regarded as priests, for people come daily to their homes to look for them. They have more power than other people.

The curer has a high social status by virtue of his functions. But for no reason other than these functions. He commands respect and recognition for services rendered. No one can treat him badly. If during a drinking bout he is offended in some way, on the following day they hasten to make amends.

756 /252/ Psychological characteristics of the Té eu. The
157 curers vary in age from 30 to 70 years old. As a rule, they
156 have eyes deeply set in the orbital sockets, a penetrating gaze, a readiness to converse and laugh, a gentle manner, not at all aggressive; they are temperate and show much self-control and sureness in their movements.

A characteristic motor habit: seated on a very low log, they give the impression of squatting; their arms rest on their knees and with their hands they stroke their temples or chin. This motor habit is prevalent among Paez men.

[177] Their clothing is typically Paez; they do not favor change,
[291] although they are friendly enough with whites. They always
757 advise their patients not to use the remedies of the whites or they will die.

* /252 cont./

756 They are very tractable, friendly, and in our cultural
156 terms we would say that they have a marvelous gift for dealing
157 with people.

[886] When they grow old, they cease to perceive the signs.
[787] They believe that when a curer dies, his death is heralded
by thunder. They live in permanent tension to counter the
[821] attacks of sorcerers. At the slightest symptom, they go to their
[763] kachí to divine and to take the appropriate precautions. They
eat little so as not to sleep at night; they do not suffer from
insomnia. They refrain from sexual relations and from ají
during their treatments.

[731] They attract the entire concern of the community when
epidemics occur. The true curers, those conscious of their
profession, are temperate, engrossed in the fight against sick-
ness, and of a kindly disposition. They inspire trust and do
not show egoism; they readily explain the secrets of their pro-
fession.

* 756 Competition among the Té eu. Some rivalry seems to
578 exist among the curers, and the natives even list the zones of
action of the curers. It is certain that a curer will boast of
having overpowered another in the latter's own area of practice.
A curer from Santa Rosa tells how he overpowered a colleague.

755 The informant went to give treatments to a white patient
*756 at Alto de Atarraya. There he found another curer who was
578 giving remedies that were useless. The patient provided for
them very well, with abundant chicha and aguardiente. The
new arrival drank with care. His colleague had already eaten
the pork, but the patient was following /253/ him. The two
curers prepared to fight. The new curer took his tama and
his coca and at nine at night prepared to divine. His assisting
spirit told him that the other one had given false remedies.
Thus he had to learn the effective remedies. He discovered
that the harm had been done by a native servant girl, along with
some neighbors who did not like him. At once he called in
the cook in order to question her and make sure of what she had

/253 cont./

755 done; she would have to confess, or else he would have her
*756 arrested. She was wholly to blame. The servant girl took
578 fright and replied that perhaps she might be responsible, since at one time she had picked up an echi and put it in an ají bush. And it was this angry echi that was now killing her employer. At once the curer went to the ají bush, removed the echi, and blew fresh remedies at it. He set about divining anew and found out that the rainbow had also put hairs on him. On the following day he removed them. The patient recovered; it was proved that he was a good curer, and demonstrated that the other one did not know anything.

754 The Té eu and the sorcerer. It is said that a sorcerer can
*756 at the same time be a good curer, but we know perfectly well that the Ghost and Thunder do not give their knowledge to the sorcerers. On the other hand, when a té eu is asked for information about the remedies of sorcerers, they invariably answer that they know nothing about them, for if they were to learn about these remedies they would lose their wisdom.

The curers believe that they are constantly pursued by
75 the sorcerers. Yet, they are able to kill them. A curer from
539 Santa Rosa related his success to us as follows:

774 "When I was a young boy, I was clever and mischievous; I already knew remedies. On one occasion a sorcerer declared his enmity toward me because I was becoming a good curer. I fell ill, and the signs indicated to me my approaching death. In Huila there lived a good curer, and I went there with plenty of coca and aguardiente. He told me that I would die if he did not go to work at once. It was sorcery, and he had to kill the sorcerer. I would have to stay with him for at least a month. 'Let us go to work and dig a hole in order to kill that fellow,' he said to me. He made the first hole, which we used for several nights, for the sorcerer whom we were seeking was very clever. He would call the soul and it would come, but it did not allow itself to be caught; it was very suspicious. The sorcerer was very dangerous, he had killed my mother and my brothers. We went on working. The

/253 cont./

75 month went by, and we were unable to catch it. We did not
539 sleep. The curer would make another hole, and another. We
774 were tired. 'We shall catch that scoundrel /254/ yet,' he
would say to me. When we went on to the seventh hole, at
the crowing of the first cock, the soul came. The curer had
his tama ready, and at once, zoom! he gave it a blow and it
fell into the hole; he tossed earth on top of it and tamped it
down well. After a few moments the soul made a whistling
sound. 'We killed it,' the curer exclaimed triumphantly. I
saw the sorcerer's soul. Then the curer told me to go back,
for I was cured. He advised me to take remedies with me,
since there are many robbers along the way. Thus it came to
pass. I was careful at the dangerous spots. The signs indicated
to me the presence of robbers and at once I blew remedies at
* them (kit sust). They went to sleep.

756 Farther on I met some people who were pursuing a criminal.
539 They gave me coca and aguardiente so that I might prepare
789 the remedies at my house and help to capture the criminal.
Thus it came to pass. I put chayuts around my feet and the
criminal was unable to walk. They caught him."

75 Others say that the one bewitched, with his relatives,
774 goes to the curer, bearing coca, tobacco, and aguardiente.
They kill a pig and put a piece from each organ into a small
pouch. This is the grease for catching the sorcerer's soul.
At the crowing of the first cock, when everyone is chewing
coca, the soul comes to get the small pouch, immediately
falls into the hole, and the curer tosses upon it fierce echi,
remedies, and the chews of all, and covers it and tamps down
[783] the earth. This is how he kills the sorcerer. He immediately
cleanses the sick person and his relatives. The danger has
* been averted.

756 When the curer feels the signs at the crown of his head,
717 ptans is being sent to him. He goes without delay to the kachí
783 with pringamoza, paramo cabuya, tama, and flica to wait

/254 cont./

for it. If a black cloud draws near, he cuts it with the tama. It is the ptans.

The relations between these two men, on whose activities a great part of the security of the group rests, are not cordial; they are relations of latent and permanent aggression. The sorcerers wait for carelessness on the part of the curer. If they catch him asleep, they kill him at once. The sorcerers use pieces of glass to put an end to the wisdom of the Te eu, that is to say, to the signs. They can call sicknesses, combine all the pests, and send them to another parcialidad or to the curer himself so that they will kill.

When a té eu meets a sorcerer, they barely greet each other; at night he takes every precaution.

The curers can accuse a sorcerer before the cabildo, but they are afraid to do so.

/255/

Chapter II

Nasa Jihi

The vision that decides a destiny. Just as a té eu needs to see visions in order to decide on his vocation, the sorcerer also decides by means of visions. For example, if in the beak of a bird there is seen a donkey with open mouth into which mosquitoes fly, or simply pigs, the person is fated to become a sorcerer. These visions are personal and usually occur in isolated spots, such as ravines or bogs, where animals cannot come, on any day or at any hour, for this can take place in the daytime or at night.

When a person claims to have seen a donkey, people say that he is going to eat people. It is commonly stated that those who like to walk about at night are more likely to become sorcerers, for they have the opportunity to meet with evil spirits.

/255 cont./

754 It is said that one who is to become a sorcerer does not need a teacher; he will discover the remedies and the evil spirits. Nevertheless, in the Parcialidad of Santa Rosa it is said that the most dangerous sorceress in the place teaches people how to do witchcraft.

754 *756 The té eu can easily become sorcerers, if they show interest in becoming familiar with their remedies. A sorcerer can be a good curer and cure people, but nevertheless he will demand better provisions.

754 *[756] As a rule, it is unusual for a té eu to be universally acknowledged as such, for many people, and the sorcerers among them, commonly designate them as nasa jihi (evil person).

[787] They may have the visions from a very early age, but the practice of sorcery begins in adulthood and is perfected with maturity. The sorcerers who are publicly acknowledged are about 35 years old, most of them being elders.

/256/ Sorcerers never show their remedies; much less is it possible to attend one of their sessions. This is a concealed activity. One knows who the sorcerers are by public identification. [124] All the information obtained about them is provided by the people and sometimes by the curer himself. [56] Nevertheless, none of them confesses practicing this activity; rather, on the contrary, they protest their innocence and claim to be the best persons in the community.

[623] [692] The remedies that the sorcerers possess are said to be well hidden, for if the cabildo were to find them, they would punish them irremediably.

[513] The sorcerers cast their spells at night. The natives say that they do not sleep. No sooner has night fallen than they are chewing coca and tobacco. They sleep during the day. They prefer the dark of night for performing their activities, although they do not have special days or specific hours.

The sorcerers do not introduce objects into the body (toads, hair, etc.), nor can they turn into animals.

/256 cont./

754 Sorceresses are numerous, and it seems that they are the most feared.

[787] Sorcerers receive signs from the devil and the evil spirits who help them appear in the form of snakes, donkeys, or pigs.

[825] They are different from the ghost and Rainbow. It is said that the pig teaches the person to be very fierce or inclined to drunkenness (drunks roll about on the floor like pigs in the mud); the donkey, to be a glutton.

In general it seems that every adult is a potential sorcerer, and all the more so those who deviate from the institutionalized norms of behavior.

754 554 578 Victims of sorcery. The victims of sorcery are found everywhere among the people, without any distinction as to sex or age, status or function. The sorcerer himself commonly takes the initiative, but he is also at the disposal of those who want to employ him.

The victims of sorcery frequently are those people who are efficient, hard-working, and frugal, virtues which in our society lead to the development of a capitalist economy.

754 554 153 578 In Santa Rosa they speak of the lamented death of one of their ex-gobernadores. He was young -- they say -- intelligent, a good conversationalist, /257/ and very hard-working. He owned much land and good fields of coffee, yuca, maize, and sugar cane. Jealousy, the source of discord and injustice, motivated the sorcerers Lorenzo Io and Dolores Oinó, his wife, who joined forces at once with the greatest of the sorceresses, Felisa Ipia, in order to put an end to this man's life. This is the judgment of the curers and the opinion of the community. But the accusation was made by the victim himself, who, in the course of his death agony, which was prolonged, dreamed of the above-mentioned sorcerers. The dying man repeatedly requested that the sorcerers should be sent for, so that he might settle accounts with them. When they left his house to attend to the wish of the dying man, he expired. He died convinced that they had cast a spell upon him.

/257 cont./

754 A curer from Santa Rosa, while taking a spell off a sick
554 person, explained that this man owned much land and that they
152 had cast a spell upon him in order to appropriate it.
598

In Calderas a man who can read, write, and make memorials for the Alcaldía of Inzá, a maker of fireworks, builder of houses, and good farmer, was naturally the cause of envy. A sorcerer wanted to kill him. He called his soul while he was asleep. But the one called was aided by the soul of his brother, who blew mambe toward him. On the following day his left eye became white and was on the point of dropping out. A curer was able to cure him, but he remained one-eyed. The two brothers remained enemies of the sorcerer.

754 On another occasion and in the same parcialidad, two
613 brothers gave a sorcerer a beating. In revenge he cast a spell
623 on both within a year. Fearful of punishment, the sorcerer went to other parcialidades, but on his return the cabildo put him in the stocks.

In the old days -- says a curer from Santa Rosa -- the cabildos punished the sorcerers. Those of today are afraid of them. The elders /mayores/ have died bewitched. Actually, the Indians refuse to serve on the cabildo or to accept the post of capitán for fear of the sorcerers.

754 The sorcerers are all thieves. They often steal under the
685 very eyes of the owner, who, fearful that they will cast a spell upon him, does not make the slightest protest. But the sorcerers, in turn, fearful that he might complain to the white authorities, cast a spell upon him.

754 In Calderas, those who purchase livestock to expand their small hacienda have been attacked by sorcery.

The Indian who has lived with the whites, who has adopted
754 their clothing, their dietary habits, and their agricultural and
177 cattle-raising techniques, /258/ and who has given up the
554 habit of consuming coca and chicha is not only the victim of magical attacks, but is the direct recipient of offensive words and deeds.

/258 cont./

754 Thus, the victims are "the most skillful, the most charitable
554 toward travelers, the friends of the whites, those who display the most friendliness among the natives, those who have much livestock, large tracts of land, good plantings." In this phrase are listed almost the full gamut of the victims of sorcery. From previous examples, we see that those who have land, animals, mental ability and manual dexterity, and good fields, the energetic numbers of the cabildo, those who take the path
[182] of transculturation, are victims of sorcery. In addition, revenge and resentment are evened up by means of sorcery.

754 It is not surprising that undesirable whites are victims of
648 sorcery. The undesirable ones are those who covet their lands. The curers, on their own initiative or supported by the cabildo, call the soul of the white at a strategic spot, capture it, whip it with pringamoza (Urticaceae) and put bad remedies on it so that it will never return to the region. They say that the white begins to feel too lazy to travel in the area and finally decides to return to his country.

[177] In parcialidades such as Calderas, where much resistance is shown against living with and contact with the white, there are some people who are such sorcerers and such enemies of the white that even in the church they leave enchanted eggs so that not even the priest will come.

754 Among the victims of sorcery are parturient women and newborn babies, when the sorcerer or other envious persons do not want a certain family to prosper.

The power of sorcerers extends not only to human beings
[433] and animals, but also to the plantings. The loss of a planting
[167] means suffering from hunger, a shortage of coca, and emi-
[464] gration of the parents to distant places in order to hire out as laborers.

In the clearing they may put enchanted eggs, salt, pubic hair, or capio maize in order that the planting be lost.

/258 cont./

754 Methods of sorcery. There are various procedures for
774 practicing sorcery:

/259/ a) The one most widespread and about which the most information is provided consists of digging a hole and waiting over it for the soul of the victim. It arrives, giving off light like a candle. At once the sorcerer hits it with the tama, and it falls into the hole. It is at his disposal; he can bury it, whip it, blow remedies or mambe upon it, show it harmful objects.

When a quick death is desired, the sorcerer buries the soul with bad remedies, tamping it down vigorously with earth from the cemetery. The soul comes out with a whistling sound when the person dies.

754 It may also be whipped with the following remedies:
774 Bao* (Araceae). The victim's stomach swells until he dies.
824 Borrachero (Datura sp.). Poisonous narcotic. The victim goes mad.

Cabuya (Agave sp.). The juice of the leaves is caustic. The victim rots away.

Caspi* (Toxicodendron striatum Kuntze). Poisonous shrub whose emanations cause irritation of the skin. The person swells up and dies.

Chuwet in Spanish, called estancadera (Krameria ixína?) by the whites. It has pointed leaves, which, when brought into contact with the soul, stab the person.

Lechero (Euphorbia cotinifolia L.), poisonous plant. The victim bursts.

Pringamoza. The hairs of this member of the Urticaceae enter the body, and when they reach the heart, the victim dies.

754 The sorcerer can blow mambe on the soul, leaving the
774 person blind, or drive him insane by moving toward it a deer skull with an echi inside.

He can also prick it with the bones and hair of porcupines, snake bones, claws of the swift parakeet, and talons of eagles.

/259 cont./

754 To facilitate the capture of the soul, the sorcerer gathers
774 the soil on which the victim has trod, with which the us (heart) falls easily.

754 b) The sorcerer can make angry the Ghost, Rainbow, and
776 Echi. Thus:

For the Ghost, he puts a large ají de montaña (Capsicum sp.) at the spot where he lives; the person passes by and dies of a few stings in the heart.

/260/ For the Rainbow, he puts the rags of a menstruating woman in springs, bogs, damp places. A person passes by, is stung, and dies.

For the echi, he puts remedies where the victim works; stung, he vomits blood and dies on the spot.

754 c) Another way to cast a spell is rubbing bad remedies on the salt, pork, or eggs that the victim is going to eat. If by chance someone else eats them, nothing happens, for the witchcraft was not directed against him.

[783] d) The sorcerers handle the pest as they please. They can send it to persons or to the entire community. The sorceress Felisa brings the pest to Santa Rosa even for business reasons.

[789] e) When the sorcerers do not wish a person to return, they place at a strategic spot on the road two bundles of chayuts pointing upward, and in addition they blow dry pringamoza.

f) A curer from Santa Rosa explains how a spell was cast on one of the former gobernadors of the parcialidad. The late Leonidas was working in his garden and his rancho was empty. Then a woman came in, dressed in black (Dolores Oinó), dropped into the pot of food some of her own pubic hair, and stole a piece of Pijao earthenware that contained silver. Leonidas ate this food and began to feel his throat become dry
[783] and to breathe with difficulty. Finally he died. The Pijao pest has the same symptoms.

g) When the sorcerer wants a person to suffer an accident (fracture, contusion, dislocation), he leaves somewhere in that person's house a very smooth stone taken from the stream. The person, wherever he may be, slips and falls.

/260 cont./

754 If a person kills himself in a fall, it is believed that the
[783] sorcerer sent him ptans.
[761] h) To cast a spell on the plantings, they use tobacco, matches, and other remedies with which they are burned and destroyed.

As will be noted, in their enchantments the sorcerers do not use any parts or objects belonging to the victim, such as hair, nails, clothing, etc. Most of the remedies that they use are herbs or objects that have properties noxious to man or can cause him harm.

The sorcerer believes that putting them in contact with the soul or simply with the body produces the desired effects.

754 /261/ Paez sorcery is a clear case of imitative or
789 homeopathic magic, according to Frazer's classic definition. It is "desire dominating the world with instruments born of desire " (10).

[108] 10. Ponce, Aníbal. Estudios de Psicología /Psychological Studies/, El Ateneo, Buenos Aires, 1947, p. 363.

754 The Paez fear illness and death and live in the fear that
182 the whites may take from them their land, their ranchos, their plantings, that is to say, their very sources of survival.

While the sorcerers attack the customs of a capitalist economy and transculturation openly, the curers protect the community against sickness and against the attacks of individuals or groups, by means of their divinations and their vigorous and constant conjurations. In this sense sorcerer and curer are identical. They protect the community.

683 Punishment of the sorcerers. The sorcerer is feared by
754 the entire population; identified throughout by it, he suffers general enmity; torrents of hatred arise against him, ending most of the time in violent punishment: confinement in the stocks, whippings, dunkings, and even exile.

/261 cont./

683 The aversion that the people of Santa Rosa have for the
554 sorceress Ipia is expressed clearly in the words of one té eu:
754 "This old woman should be brought to the pueblo, her remedies burned, she should be bathed in ají water, manacled, and kept like this overnight to prevent her from running away, bathing with her remedies, and turning back into a sorceress."

683 In this same parcialidad the sorcerers accused of having
[623] killed the former gobernador with their tricks were given the following punishment by the Cabildo.

The sorcerers, taken from their houses with all their pouches of remedies, were led to the pueblo. In the plaza and in the presence of the people, the capitán took from the pouches remedy after remedy, showing it to the public and asking about its uses. The remedies were unknown in most cases and the sorcerers gave no information about them. They made a large pile. The gobernador of the cabildo says that they even had earth from the cemetery. He sprinkled the remedies with gasoline, put the sorcerers in the middle, and lighted the fire. The frightened sorcerers begged for forgiveness, claiming that they were innocent.

It is said that in the pouches they found flowers of sulphur, with which they /262/ prepared a drink that they forced them to take in order to rid them of evil spirits. The sorcerers, on their part, say that the drink in question was a mixture of the excrements of domestic animals and human feces.

The sorcerers had to remain at the wake overnight and dig part of the grave. After the burial they were invited to the meal which is offered on such occasions, an invitation which they refused, but they were forced to attend. With the food it is said that they were given pubic hair, according to the sorcerers. Then the people tossed them into a pond.

683 In Calderas the punishments are more violent. In 1951,
184 they took a sorcerer, put him in the stocks for two days, forced him to take the drink of excrements, whipped him,

/262 cont./

683 and finally exiled him. The sorcerer nearly died. He com-
184 plained to the Alcadía of Inzá about the brutality of the cabildo. The Alcadía had the stocks destroyed by force, in spite of the protests of the natives. The punishments of the sorcerers in the Parcialidad of San Andrés were about the same up to some 30 years ago.

683 Often, when there is a very dangerous sorcerer, the curers
754 band together in order to kill him. They call his soul, and
756 when it draws near they hit it with a stick smeared with chayuts.
774 The soul leaves with a whistling sound. When a volcano erupts,
[823] it is a sign that the devil is punishing the souls of sorcerers.

754 Psychological characteristics of the sorcerers. Broadly
157 speaking, the sorcerers are timid, resentful, aloof, with a very
156 strong persecution complex; they try to avoid contact with people, believing that they see in each of them a presumed accuser; they tend to be self-supporting; suspicious to a high degree, they roundly deny the accusations of their victims, regarding themselves furthermore as good persons, sound and inoffensive; they pretend to know nothing about remedies, and it is very difficult to obtain any information from them about sorcery. Most of them are intelligent. Endoculturally they are at odds with their own group, insofar as they embody the struggle against the influences of foreign cultures.

The nasa are convinced that no sooner has the sun gone down than the sorcerers are already at work. The most dangerous ones sleep during the day. For this reason they regard as peculiar characteristics of the sorcerers red eyes, an evasive look, aloofness, an unpleasant appearance, egoism, and suspiciousness. They look like criminals, informants say.

182 /263/ Socio-dynamic value of sorcery. Within Paez
754 society, sorcery is vital, overly active, and gravitates into all the social interstices. But, as must be evident, at all times and places it pertains to the realm of concealment. Its executors are surreptitious. They always act in the shadows.

/263 cont./

182 The people perceive only the effects. Only the expectant
754 attitude announces to us its presence. The latent fears tell us of its vigor. The members of the cabildo, the capitán, the té eu, the working men, the parturient women have a strong fear of sorcery.

When the pest spreads through the community, when the elders die and their experience and advice are lost, thoughts
[761] turn inevitably to the power of the sorcerers. Most deaths are brought about by sorcerers, the informants say.

754 Sorcery is a powerful barrier against the introduction
182 of the customs of a capitalist economy and also against the
177 intrusion of the whites in their parcialidades. It is strange that sorcery should exist in the less acculturated parcialidades, while in San Andrés it has practically disappeared. It is said to have been vigorous until 1926, the year when the Municipal Council of Inzá established in the parcialidad a settlement area in which the whites settled. With this measure living together was inescapable and they chose to accept them. Nevertheless, during the drinking bouts of the old people, the tremendous resentment that has become natural to them still crops out.

182 Furthermore, it makes its influences felt in the distribution
754 of land. Each family has lands from which it lives. With the
423 increase in population the problem of their unequal distribution
[554] has become prominent. Those who have the most land are
[152] the targets of envy and sorcery; they are more prone to magical attacks aimed at taking away their land. Intrasocial tensions
754 appear to be brought into equilibrium by means of this insti-
182 tution. The fear of reprisals checks aggression. Revenge is too prejudicial, since it can be manifested not only against
[184] individuals, but also against animals and plantings. It is
[177] perfectly true to say that while in Calderas acts of bloodshed
[675] are rare and suicide is unknown, in San Andres, a parcialidad which is largely acculturated, the homicides, murders, and
[762] cases of arson are hair-raising.

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[For information on the various herbs and other pharmaceuticals used by the shaman in curing and purification ceremonies, see categories 755 and 783.]

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[For information on the training of apprentice shamans, see category 756.]

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[For information on the Paez shaman (té eu) and his function and status in the society, see category 116, pp. 1-11, 17-19, 29-36, and 38-47.]

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Medicina y Magia entre los Paeces

Por

S. BERNAL VILLA

[P 219]

CAPITULO I

El Te Eu

Sintomatología. Los médicos buenos, los auténticos *té eu*, en quienes la sociedad cree y confía, los que constituyen un monolito de seguridad frente a los misterios de la enfermedad y de la muerte, son aquellos cuyas vocaciones han sido determinadas por una visión, más exactamente por una alucinación. En este caso, el destino de los hombres es inexorable, no admite variación. Este *leiv motif*, vigoroso en tiempos pasados se encuentra en decadencia actualmente.

Un médico de la Parcialidad de Santa Rosa, explica así su visión: "A la edad de seis años, cuando estaba cuidando una labranza en la montaña, se me presentó mi madre vestida de negro, con un sombrero blanco y jigras. Me regañó por el mal desempeño de mi labor, criticándome que los animales están terminando con la labranza. Marchóse adelante y yo seguíla. En la quebrada desapareció. Fuí a mi casa y me di cuenta que aquella mujer no era mi madre, puesto que ella, en el momento de la visión, se encontraba en una "minga" cocinando carne de cerdo para los peones.

No cabía duda que era un espíritu que me decía que debía ser médico. Las jigras que llevaba así me lo indicaban. Por eso nunca dejo mis jigras de remedios".

Otro médico, de la Parcialidad de Calderas, relata así su visión: "Una noche ví un niño hermoso, rubio, con cabellera de mujer, colorado y vestido con una bata. Ese niño, era el Duende

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NOTA

sh equivale a ch francesa (chaise).
ch equivale a ch española (techo).
j equivale a j francesa (jardín).
h equivale a j española (rojo).

[P.220 is blank]

de quien procede el poder del médico. Es el mismo *Kallumb* que ven los médicos de verdad, porque en la actualidad existen unos que aprenden a curar por la enseñanza de otros".

En la Parcialidad de San Andrés informan que el Duende visita al médico cuando alguien va a visitarlo, el objeto que lo lleva y le dice los consejos que debe darle.

Puede suceder también, informa un calderuno de 19 años, que alguien quiera ser médico. Entonces, se somete a dieta. Durante un mes deja de comer sal y ají. Marcha, luego, hacia el monte, solitario, cabizbajo, pensativo, con la esperanza de encontrar un buen amigo de quien demandar consejo. En un sitio espléndido, agradable a los sentidos, se encuentra con un hombre entrado en años, bajo de estatura, bueno, generoso, amable en la conversación, amplio en las enseñanzas, que mambea como los demás indios y que, como éllos, lleva también *kuetand yahas* (jigras). Infundido de confianza, explica sus deseos de ser médico, argumentando que son muchas las gentes que se están muriendo. Inquiere por los remedios buenos. El interrogado contesta que existen buenos remedios para curar a los enfermos y le obsequia con una jigrada de ellos. Este sirve para tal enfermedad, le dice, este otro para aquélla y así sucesivamente va especificando el valor medicinal de los remedios de la jigra. Lo instruye en su uso, técnica y método. Hasta en la forma de fabricar la tama. La visión de aquel hombre es personal. No puede verlo otro. Y es el mismo que presta las "señas", sin las cuales no es posible curar, aún sabiendo el valor medicinal de los remedios. Terminada la entrevista, con la alegría manifiesta en el rostro, retorna el hombre a su casa. Acaba el aprendizaje con otro médico, empieza a curar a sus hijos y familiares y luego, una vez esparcida la fama, vendrán otros a solicitar sus servicios.

Quien va a ser médico desde muchacho ve visiones: el Trueno o el Duende. Es la iluminación de su futuro destino. No puede torcerlo, puesto que el Trueno o el Duende, pueden alocarlo.

Cuando un niño manifiesta haber tenido una visión, inmediatamente se le prohibe comer ají, se le disminuye su ración de sal y se lo baña con remedios. Dspués se le buscará un buen médico para que le enseñe y cuando ya esté en posesión de los secretos de la medicina, aquel maestro lo conducirá a la laguna para que el Trueno lo consagre. "Ver al Trueno —dice un in-

formante— mostrándole los remedios es señal de que va a ser muy buen médico".

Cuando una persona tiene una visión se evita cuidadosamente que el Brujo se de cuenta de esto, puesto que por maldad, puede mostrarle ají y *hep* (una planta) y volverla loca. Esto aconteció con el médico santaroseño, de quien hicimos ya referencia. "Habría terminado botándome al río Páez —dice— si un médico del Huila no me hubiera curado. Aún hoy, cuando estoy borracho, tengo loqueras y canto".

Período de enseñanza. La enseñanza la efectúa un médico de gran reputación en forma empírica, pues el discípulo acompaña a su maestro por varios años, durante los cuales aprende a manjear la tama, a conocer el valor de los remedios, a interpretar las señas, a dominar la técnica de las curaciones. Las primeras curaciones las realiza generalmente con sus hijos o familiares y bajo la dirección del maestro. Del éxito de estas curaciones depende la solicitud de sus servicios por parte de los demás. Muchos de los médicos jóvenes de Togoima, Calderas y Santa Rosa han aprendido por este medio. Todos ellos declaran que sus maestros si tuvieron visiones y explícita o implícitamente reconocen su inferioridad frente a ellos. "Los antepasados si tuvieron visiones y por lo mismo debieron ser superiores a nosotros", declara un médico de Calderas. Debido a esta circunstancia piensan las gentes que los médicos de ahora no pueden hablar con el Trueno. La mata. Una de las razones que aducen para explicar por qué los cabildos de ahora no van a la laguna a lavar las varas de mando, es precisamente, la carencia de médicos como los antiguos.

Quienes han tenido visiones también se ponen bajo la dirección de un médico experimentado para aprenderle los secretos de la profesión. La consagración definitiva como médico se logra cuando a la orilla de la laguna ofrende el "Camarico" para el Trueno.

Si bien el aprendizaje de la medicina pueden hacerlo desde muy jóvenes, el ejercicio requiere ser adulto de unos treinta años y casado o vivir con una mujer. Un médico "mocito", dicen los informantes, miente.

Consagración del te eu. Los *té eu* verdaderos, es decir aquellos que han tenido visiones, han realizado la ofrenda del "Cama-

rico al Trueno", ceremonia que se realiza a la orilla de una laguna, a fin de consagrarse definitivamente como médicos, ya que la medicina es una herencia del Trueno.

El maestro pide al discípulo una oveja blanca y dos jigras nuevas. Sacrifican el animal y de cada órgano del lado izquierdo cortan un pedacito y lo van llenando a la jigra. Esto constituye el "Camarico para el Trueno". Con este presente, maestro y discípulo, encamínanse a la laguna, mientras en la casa las mujeres cocen la carne con la advertencia expresa de que nadie puede comerla en tanto no regresen.

A la orilla de la laguna el médico maestro hace un hueco sobre el cual y del extremo de la tama, suspende el camarico. El Trueno solicita al discípulo diez, veinte, treinta centavos, monedas que las va depositando en el hueco. En seguida, hunde la jigra y tapa el hueco con piedras y tierra. El médico baña al discípulo con *shu y shulape (1)*. Acércase el Trueno para recibir otros rgalos que solicita por medio de las señas, para manifestar que aquel joven puede aprender a curar, prohibirle, enérgicamente, coger remedios malos (de brujería) y solicitarle sea caritativo con las gentes. Por último ordena regresar a su casa.

En casa del maestro se bebe chicha, aguardiente y se come la carne con sancocho. Después el maestro obsequia remedios al discípulo y le dice que en adelante no necesita sino aplicarlos, advirtiendo a los pacientes que están muy graves, pero que con la ayuda de Dios procuraría curarlos.

Las señas. Las señas son movimientos reflejos que se manifiestan en la musculatura del médico. "Son como una circulación —dice un *té eu* como cuando a una persona le brinca un músculo, el ojo o la mano. La interpretación de estas señas las hace el médico".

Las señas provienen del Trueno o del Duende. Es decir, de los espíritus auxiliares. No falta quien diga que las da Dios.

Las señas son fundamentales, básicas en la medicina paez. Sin ellas no hay médico posible y no puede haber médico sin saber interpretar las señas. De nada sirve tener conocimiento del valor medicinal de las plantas. El médico no es más que un intermediario, un vocero del espíritu auxiliar. No basta saber si a tales señas corresponden determinados remdios. El *té eu* tienen que

(1) Cf. Infra. Remedios.

adivinar qué remedios le van a servir para el caso. Por eso el médico siempre porta una jigrada de todos los remedios conocidos. Saca uno y consulta. Si las señas no corren el remedio no sirve; saca otro y espera. Cuando tocan insistentemente, entonces, el remedio es apropiado. Como las señas las da el espíritu auxiliar, es él quien cura.

Las señas pueden contribuír a despejar una vocación. Si un hombre dedicado a una labor manual que no implique movimiento (factura de cohetes, platos para la cocina, cerámica), siente súbitamente el movimiento de las señas, tiene que buscar un maestro para que le enseñe el arte de curar. No puede desobedecerlas porque se vuelve loco.

Aún los mismos médicos tienen que practicar las señas. Si por ejemplo en dos días no han venido clientes enfermos, el *té eu* tiene que visitar su Kachí *(2)* y practicar las señas; de lo contrario pueden volverlo loco. Por eso el médico tiene que ejercer la profesión hasta que comience la vejez. Los viejos pierden las señas porque no pueden caminar, acercarse al kachí y practicar las señas.

Todos los informantes afirman que las señas del lado izquierdo significan algo malo, en tanto que las de la derecha indican algo bueno. En general, las señas que se dan en determinada parte del cuerpo, tienen una significación específica. Se alcanzan a observar pequeñas diferencias en los informes que suministran los médicos, pero son mas bien de forma que de fondo. He aquí el cuadro del simbolismo de las señas recogido de muchos informantes profanos y médicos de las Parcialidades de Santa Rosa, Calderas, Togoima, Avisame y San Andrés.

DERECHA:	IZQUIERDA
Las señas bajan por la pierna: muerte; los remedios no ayudan.	Las señas salen por el borde interno del pie: se va la peste; el enfermo se alienta.
Las señas suben por el pie y la tibia: familiar se muere y se va al cielo.	Las señas suben por el borde externo del pie: gana el brujo; el enfermo muere.
Las señas suben por el borde externo del pie hasta arriba del tobillo: los remedios sirven.	Las señas suben del tobillo hasta la corva: brujiado; labranza brujiada.
Las señas dan entre el tobillo y el talón y pasan al mismo sitio del	Estas mismas señas, pero primero

(2) Cf. Infra. SITIOS DE ADIVINACION.

DERECHA

lado izquierdo: Duelo entre el *Té eu* y el brujo.
Pantorrilla (gemelos): visita de mujer buena; el duende viene cantando a mostrar los remedios.
Pantorrilla (Exterior de los dedos): hombre bueno que viene a visitar al médico.
Rótula, señas que bajan: persona muere de arco o duende.
Muslo: las señas corren hasta la corva y desaparecen: la persona muere; peste brava; sujeto grave.
Señas bajan desde ingle hasta el pie: la esposa va a menstruar.
Costilla (la décima): el enfermo muere pronto; picada de Kallumb.
Las señas dan entre los dedos anular y corazón: al otro día la persona va a empuñar la pala para enterrar un muerto.
Palma de la mano: La persona recibe regalo; saludo del duende; mejora de la peste.
Palma de la mano y pasa a la garganta: "sucio" de pijao.
Pulgar y palma de la mano (línea simia): el animal perdido aparece, las señas indican que va a coger lazo.
Bicepo: persona buena lo lleva para hacerlo compadre de bautismo.
Las señas van de la oreja al hombro: van a cortar las orejas.
Pómulo al ángulo externo del ojo: enfermo mejora; animal robado aparece.
Ojo y baja por la nariz: velorio.

IZQUIERDA

se dan en la derecha y luego pasan a la izquierda: arco y Duende.
Pantorrilla (gemelos): bruja que viene a visitar al médico.
Pantorrilla (Extensor de los dedos): brujo que viene a visitar al médico.
Rótula: temor del brujo porque va ganando el *Té eu;* miedo, susto, azar.
Muslo, bajan las señas; persona mala que pasa.
Costilla (la décima): persona mala que viene.
Dorso de la mano: El duende no recibe los remedios por incompletos.
Palma de la mano: la persona muere de la peste; duende no recibió remedios.

Señas en el brazo: viene el echi.
Biceps: significado idéntico al de la derecha.
Muñeca: alguien va a asustar; van a aprehenderlo.
Hombro y hacen arco por el pecho: arco.
Pómulo al ángulo externo del ojo: animal robado se lo comieron.
Ojo y baja por la nariz: muerto.

Cuando las señas dan en el vértex (corona), el brujo va a enviar la peste y si pasan del vértex a la mano izquierda, la persona está brujiada.

Si las señas dan en los músculos glúteos se ha muerto un animal de su propiedad y se lo están comiendo los cuervos.

En esta forma, los médicos pueden saber el tipo de enferme-

dad y la clase de remedios que son necesarios. Determinar la brujería y el brujo responsable.

Adivinar si un objeto robado puede recuperarse y no y quiénes son los ladrones. Saber si un enfermo se mejora o se muere. Detectar la presencia del Duende, Arco y Echi. Saber de antemano las visitas de las personas buenas y malas.

La actitud de percibir las señas se llama adivinar o "pensar". Todo paciente debe llevar siempre tabaco, aguardiente y coca. El aguardiente sirve para llamar al Trueno, Duende y Echi y contentarlos. La coca y el tabaco masticados, sirve para que corran las señas.

Sitios de adivinación. El *té eu* tiene un sitio especial de adivinación llamado *Kachí*. En él practica las señas y percibe cuando tiene un paciente que curar. Cuando el enfermo no es de gravedad y asiste personalmente a la casa del médico entonces puede adivinar en el solar de la misma, aunque tiene el inconveniente de existir allí ají y sal, artículos que no le gustan al Trueno. Las curaciones, es decir, la percepción de las señas y la limpiada correspondiente, se hacen por la noche, a las dos o tres de la mañana.

Si el enfermo es de suma gravedad el *té eu* tiene que acudir a un sitio donde no perturben ni los gritos de las gentes, ni el ladrido de los perros, ni el relincho de las bestias. Un sitio casi completamente alejado de huellas humanas tales como barriales y lagunas. Llévase consigo dos o tres pelos arrancados del vértex de cada uno de los familiares presentes, con los cuales forma una pelota que la coloca en medio del *shu*. En aquel sitio permanece una hora aproximadamente. Cuando las señas dan esperanzas abandona aquel pelo y regresa a la casa del paciente.

En curaciones de esta naturaleza el médico exige como "cuido" puerco, oveja y chicha.

Adivinando la enfermedad. El médico exige a sus clientes dos huevos (3) de coca, dos tabacos y medio litro de aguardiente. La coca la recibe en una jigra de mediano tamaño, con suma escrupulosidad, pues no permite que se pierda una sola hoja. El aguardiente lo traspasa en una botella de su propiedad y lo coloca en la misma jigra de la coca, igualmente que los tabacos. La adivinación la efectúa en el alar de su casa y a las 8 p. m.

(3) Un huevo de coca equivale al peso de un huevo de gallina.

Coloca al paciente a su derecha, sentado sobre un *pango pil* (banco); las jigras de remedios las sitúa a su izquierda, lo mismo que la jigra de coca y aguardiente recibida del paciente.

Empieza por formar dos atados de remedios con *yacuma blanca, ul ñiñ, ñundayuskei, bitopiskue. chandur* de castilla (4). Cada remedio va extrayéndolo pacientemente de su jigra, que contiene todos los remedios necesarios para sus curaciones, sin orden alguno. No muestra afán ni precipitación; observa mucha parsimonia. Al sacar el remedio, antes de colocarlo en la hoja de mazorca de maíz que servirá de envoltura al atado, le da rápidamente una vuelta por su cuerpo, iniciando por el pie derecho, subiendo por el mismo costado, pasa al vértex y termina por el lado izquierdo con el fin de excitar la sangre para que corran las señas. Tan pronto acaba de dar la vuelta las señas pueden ir de la pantorrilla derecha hacia arriba denotándose entonces esperanzas, pues si corrieran de la rodilla hacia el pie no habría necesidad de recibir la coca, el tabaco ni el aguardiente, pues el paciente no tiene cura. Solamente cuando las señas son favorables toma la jigra de remedios recibidos del cliente y le da la vuelta en forma idéntica a la de los remedios con el objeto de invocar al Trueno y Kallumb, sus ayudantes.

Ordena al paciente masticar el atado de remedios que no ha mucho le obsequió. Coge la tama (5) en sus manos, le sopla con los remedios que está mascando y que son los mismos que masca el paciente, con el fin de evitar que el *ptans* ("sucio") enviado por los brujos pueda sorprender al médico y matarlo. En este caso puede estar con el mambe en la mano y quedar, sin embargo, inmóvil, echando sangre por la boca. En seguida y al frente, clava la tama, arma del Trueno, para indicarle que no está trabajando mal sino tal y conforme a sus enseñanzas. Antes de enterrárla le da la vuelta por su cuerpo para que así lo defienda del *ptans*.

Junto a la tama coloca la botella de aguardiente dentro de la cual introduce una ramita de *chayuts;* cuando esta queda erecta y flotando es buen signo, en tanto que si ladea y cae al fondo es presagio de muerte. Encima de la botella coloca un calacito para medir el aguardiente dentro del cual va también una rami-

(4) Cf. Infra. REMEDIOS.
(5) Cf. Infra. LA TAMA.

ta de *chayuts*; sirve como preventivo, pues evita que el *ptans* tome desprevenido al médico y lo mate.

Después se mete un puñado de coca a la boca y empieza a mascar; permanece sentado, casi inmóvil, con la vista atenta al espacio y a la tama, sensitivo al menor movimiento; de cuando en cuando se mete más coca y más mambe, que lo saca de un calabazo pequeño (*kuetand tuka*), lo vierte sobre el puño derecho y lo arroja con fuerza a la boca. Atalaya. Los brujos trabajan sistemáticamente para enviarle el *ptans* y no pueden cogerlo desprevenido. Las señas le advierten cuando debe soplar la mascada para contener el *ptans*.

Anuncia al paciente que las señas son favorables; va a tener pronta mejoría. Los dolores que lo aquejan se deben al *ptans* que tiene desde el vértex hasta la nuca.

Después de veinte minutos de estatismo y espectativa, el médico se levanta con la frente erguida, como ilumiado, marcha con garbo hacia la tama, sopla con violencia la mascada; llena el calabacito con aguardiente y lo arroja al aire. Es la invitación al Trueno.

Regresa nuevamente a su sitio, toma tabaco y muerte más de la mitad, echa mas mambe a la boca, quédase quieto, cogidas las manos y los brazos descansando sobre las rodillas. Unicamente la profundidad de la noche con sus ruidos característicos perturban aquellos instantes decisivos. Nada de descuidos. Pueden tener consecuencias fatales. En esta actitud dura unos cuarenta minutos.

Saca en seguida con la mano la mascada de la boca y la arroja en dirección de la tama, después de haber dado la vuelta por su cuerpo. Igual cosa hace el paciente. Inmediatamente comunica al enfermo que debe volver con todos los remedios. Suspende sus trabajos. El Trueno se había mostrado favorable. Como el paciente tiene *ptans* debe efectuarse una buena "limpiada", para lo cual debe llevar tres libras de carne, para comer después de la limpiada, chicha, una libra de coca, un litro de aguardiente y seis tabacos. El médico mismo tiene que ir a la laguna en busca de los remedios. Aconseja al enfermo que por espacio de tres meses, por lo menos, no debe usar las drogas de los blancos, porque de ser así se muere.

La limpiada del ptans. A las siete p. m. el enfermo arriba a la casa del médico. Entrega los remedios solicitados. El aguar-

diente lo reparte en dos botellas: una para el Trueno y otra para beber. A la botella del Trueno le introduce una ramita de *chayuts*, previa la vuelta dada por el cuerpo; la ramita queda flotante y vertical, buen presagio. La coca la pone en una jigra especial, junto con el aguardiente y los tabacos. Con hojas de mazorcas de maíz forma dos atados de remedios. Uno es para el paciente para que masque y trague el zumo.

La otra botella, la subdivide, toma *chayuts*, da la vuelta por el cuerpo, lo coloca en el calabacito, lo llena de aguardiente y sale fuera de la casa a brindar al Trueno. En seguida recoge sus jigras de remedios, un calabazo de chicha, la coca del paciente, una vela y fósforos y sale al sitio de adivinación. Cuando el Trueno se acerque pedirá al médico las cosas con que el paciente lo ha cuidado. Entonces, le mostrará la chicha y el aguardiente. El Trueno satisfecho dirá: "Tómese eso ya que ha recibido". Beberán juntos. Lo que corresponda al Trueno lo arrojará al aire. El paciente debe quedarse dentro de la casa. Cuando sea la hora, lo llamará para la "limpiada".

Afuera, la noche está negra como el ébano. Apenas se divisa la silueta del médico. Ocupa el alar sur de la casa. Empieza a mascar los remedios previa la vuelta por su cuerpo. Clava la tama y al lado de esta coloca la botella de aguardiente. Luego, sentado, casi en cuclillas, cogido las manos, quieto inmóvil, con la mirada atenta al infinito, grave, parsimonioso, consciente de su misión, compenetrado de su saber, permanece largas horas dialogando con el Trueno y defendiéndose del ataque de los brujos. De cuando en cuando, levántase sin afanes, lentamente, tan lento como corren las horas de la noche, bate la tama con energía que delata la actividad del médico. El paciente, tendido sobre un cuero de res, sin más abrigo que sus propias ropas, cerca del fuego, duerme; despierta varias veces, hincado por el intenso frío de la noche; de fuera oye los soplos constantes, rítmicos, acompasados, enérgicos, del médico.

A las dos de la mañana, o mejor dicho, al canto del primer gallo, el *té eu* llama al paciente. La luna está en su plenitud; diríase que la noche está blanca. El enfermo se sienta a la derecha del médico. Recibe un atado de remedios para mascarlos. Son *yacuma blanca, ul ñiñ, ñundayuskei, shugues, chandur, guepeyuskei*. Estos ayudan a la limpieza y cuando se los escupa sacarán el "sucio" (*ptans*).

Coloca *chayuts* en el vértex del paciente como defensa de un posible ataque del Echi. Recomienda nuevamente no usar remedios de los blancos y en caso de no conseguir mejoría acudir siempre donde el médico.

Pasa el médico a la derecha del enfermo, a unos tres metros aproximadamente. Lo señala con la tama y sopla coca mascada con aguardiente a fin de contener la nube negra (*ptans*) que de inmediato puede llegar. Acércase al enfermo, y con la tama lo frota (lo limpia) empezando por el pie derecho y continuando por ese costado; en el vértex frota varias veces, chupa (absorbe el "sucio" por cinco o seis resuellos, frota nuevamente; baja la tama a la garganta, frota, chupa el hombro derecho, vuelve a frotar y pasa con la tama a la nuca, donde repite el proceso; termina bajando la tama por el costado izquierdo. Sobre un hueco hecho previamente a la izquierda del médico y a unos quince metros de distancia, escupe todo lo que tenía en la boca y el sucio que recogió del paciente; trasboca; sopla un trago de aguardiente al aire, despidiendo el "sucio" y bébese uno, para que no vuelva a entrar "sucio". Llama al enfermo, le ordena escupir los remedios que estaba mascando, le pasa la botella para que se mida dos tragos: uno para que lo sople al aire y el otro para que lo beba. Tapa con cuidado el hueco. Médico y enfermo regresan a sus sitios.

El *té eu* coge un buen puñado de *shu* y *tashú*, lo sumerge en agua a pesar de que cargan bastante humedad y acércase al paciente. Inicia la limpiada por el pie derecho hacia arriba. En el vértex, garganta y nuca hace mediana presión escurriendo la helada agua por el cuerpo. Baja por el costado izquierdo y se dirige al hueco a enterrar aquellos remedios. Con estos remedios el cuerpo coge frescura. Después de enterrados sopla aguardiente al aire y bébese otro.

Nuevamente en su sitio, pasa al enfermo unas yerbas (*shu* y siempre viva?) para que las tenga en la mano. Dirígese a la derecha del enfermo y desde allá lo señala con la tama y sopla; acércasele, con la tama y los remedios enunciados da la vuelta conocida. En la corona (vértex), garganta y nuca, frota.

Dirígense al hueco y echan las yerbas al hueco. El médico toma un buche de aguardiente, estira la tama al horizonte, yérguese soberbio, clava la mirada en dirección de la tama, sopla con violencia repetidas veces y de pronto tal actitud se torna su-

plicante. En efecto reza en castellano: "Señor ayúdanos; imploro por todo el mundo". El *té eu* dijo después que rezaba al Trueno, para que le ayude y no permita que el brujo descubra ese hueco donde está enterrado el "sucio". Se bebe un trago. El paciente sopla un buche de aguardiente al aire mientras el segundo se lo bebe. Regresan a sus sitios. El médico agarra el calabazo de chicha, encamínase al hueco y riégala. Es un obsequio al Trueno.

Nuevamente en su sitio pone en un calabazo de agua fría *yacuma, shu, tashú*. Váse a la derecha del paciente y desde allí aspergea esa agua primero a la casa y luego al paciente, quien previamente se ha quitado el sombrero por orden del médico. Es un verdadero baño a fin de que si queda todavía *ptans* lo saque y quede completamente limpio. El agua sobrante la riega en el hueco. Sopla aguardiente mientras el segundo se lo bebe, procediendo en idéntica forma el paciente. El médico levanta la tama e implora: "Yo te pago; yo te pagaré". El médico dijo haber dicho así: "Allí quedan los remedios completos que tu me enseñaste. Si viene otro enfermo ayúdame". Riega en seguida todo el aguardiente como brindis al Trueno.

Con esto, termina la limpiada. Son las tres y media de la mañana.

Aconseja al enfermo no cambiar los remedios ni tampoco caminar por debajo de aquel hueco. Manifiesta que las señas son favorables y que pidió a Dios para que se mejore.

En resumen, la limpiada del *ptans* se efectúa por la noche, iniciándose a las ocho o nueve p. m. y terminando a las 3 p. m., aproximadamente. Se observa los siguientes procedimientos:

1º El paciente debe dar al médico dos huevos de coca, una botella de aguardiente y dos tabacos.

2º El médico recibe estos remedios en una jigra especial. Elabora unos atados de remedios con *yacuma blanca, ul ñiñ, ñundayuskei, bitopiskue, chandur de castilla, chayuts* (Santa Rosa), o *yacuma, chayuts, tayuskei, shugues, tatse, echiutse* (Calderas). Todos estos remedios son pasados por el cuerpo del médico.

3º En el Kachí, sitúa la tama y aguardiente en un sitio especial, pasa al paciente un atado de remedios para que masque y coloca *chayuts* (Santa Rosa) o *guepekás* (Calderas) en el vértex (corona) del enfermo y de él mismo.

4º Efectúase la primera limpiada con la tama, frotando y chupando el vértex, el hombro derecho y la nuca a fin de sacar

el *ptans* y escupirlo en un hueco para enterrarlo. Hay soplada y bebida de aguardiente de médico y paciente.

5º En la misma forma se procede con los remedios húmedos (shun, tashú) para dar frescura al cuerpo.

6º se efectúa una nueva limpiada con otras yerbas (*shu* y siempre viva?), con los frotes y chupadas en los lugares consabidos, la enterrada de los mismos y la soplada y bebida de aguardiente. En Santa Rosa, en este momento el médico implora.

7º El médico brinda la chicha al Trueno, regándola al aire.

8º El médico baña al paciente con un calabazo de remedios. Tapa totalmente el hueco que contiene el "sucio", riega el aguardiente sobrante y con los últimos consejos termina la limpiada. Son las tres o cuatro de la mañana.

Todo tratamiento de las enfremedades se realiza por este método de la limpiada. Es decir, cuando se ha sacado la impureza (*ptans*), del cuerpo se consigue la salud del enfermo. El médico lucha contra el *ptans*. En cierta forma, la limpiada es una dura lid en que se compromete el médico.

La tama. La tama es una vara de chonta de unos cuarenta centímetros de largo, imprescindible en toda curación.

Mientras que en otras culturas el hombre-medicina utiliza la maraca como accesorio indispensable en el arte de curar, teniendo esta un origen mítico y por lo mismo un carácter sagrado y virtudes mágicas, y, segúún Roth, ciertos *piai* de las Guayanas se sirven en las conjuraciones de muñecos de madera, (6) entre los paeces se sirven de esta varita denominada tama. En Santa Rosa, una médica-bruja utiliza en sus curaciones un muñeco de madera, vestido como las gentes, recibido, según la informante, del mismo Trueno y llamado "Viento suave del Trueno".

Según todas las evidencias este nombre se deriva de aquel personaje mítico, héroe cultural mas exactamente, llamado Juan Tama, que goza de la aureola de haber sido fundador de pueblos, guerrero victorioso, buen gobernante, legislador, y médico afamado.

La tama es una arma defensiva y ofensiva, de carácter sa-

(6) Metraux, Alfred. *Le Shamanisme Chez les Indiens de l'Amerique du Sud Tropicale.—Acta Americana*. Vol. II. Nº 3. Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1944, pp. 217-218.

grada usada únicamente por los médicos, protege de los ataques del *ptans* y los aleja. Es una donación del Trueno y una insignia del mismo. En las visiones es lo primero que aquel muestra. Cuando el médico muere puede heredarla un médico joven, pero por lo general, la abandonan cerca del cementerio.

Un médico de Calderas, posiblemente el más compenetrado de su misión de defender la salud de las gentes, manifiesta que la tama quedó desde una hazaña que realizó la Virgen en defensa de sus hijos. En cierta ocasión el mar venía cubriendo implacablemente la superficie de la tierra poniendo en grave peligro la vida de los hombres. La Virgen compadecida de ellos, sacó la tama e hizo los movimientos que hoy hace el médico. Las aguas se retiraron. Aquella vara la dejó para el hombre que saliera médico. Este es el origen de la tama.

Otro médico de la Parcialidad de San Andrés nos hace el siguiente relato acerca del origen de la tama:

Comentan los mayores que la tama la dejó el mismo Trueno. Un hombre tenía un papal y un rancho en la montaña. Con su hijo fue a cosecharlo. Una tarde el muchacho se opuso a seguir al padre prefiriendo quedarse en el rancho. Al día siguiente desapareció sin dejar huellas por ninguna parte. Todas las diligencias del padre encaminadas a localizar el paradero, resultaron infructuosas. A los ocho días, el muchacho reapareció en el rancho. El padre, naturalmente, inquirió por su paradero y sus ocupaciones. Contestó que había estado donde el papá señor, quien le obsequió el palo que llevaba entre las manos, llamado tama, aguardiente y remedios. El aguardiente era agua fría de una laguna y los remedios los traía en una jigra. Tan pronto acabó de contar cayó en trance de muerte. A los quince días, moribundo ya, pidió al padre le pasara la tama, pues el papá señor le había dicho que se defendiera con ella y en caso de enfermar tomara los remedios que le había dado. Extrajo de ellos el zumo y se lo tomó. Mejoré rápidamente. Los aplicó a los particulares y observó que recuperaban la salud fácilmente. Con la tama y los remedios se convirtió en el mejor médico de todos los contornos. Murió cuando estaba viejo".

La tama para pelear con el *ptans* lleva adjunta un vegetal denominado "nica".

Teoría de la enfermedad. Las enfermedades son producidas por el estado de impureza corporal denominado "sucio", hielo o

ptans. Las causas son esencialmente mágicas y se interpretan más como ataque premeditado e inamistoso que como castigo de los seres sobrenaturales. No falta quien manifieste que las enfermedades son enviadas por Dios, pero que arrepentido las quita rápidamente. Desde luego, este concepto ni es general ni tiene raíces en la tradición. Las enfermedades, pues, no tienen causas naturales; ni aún los mismos accidentes, puesto que son provocados por los brujos.

Son causales de impureza los siguientes;

a) Cuando la persona que ha estado en un velorio no se ha hecho "limpiar".

b) Cuando se visten con las ropas de un difunto sin lavarlas con los remedios correspondientes.

c) Cuando no se ha limpiado la casa donde se ha velado el cadáver.

d) Cuando la mujer no pasa las menstruaciones en el *Du yate léchukue*.

e) Cuando la mujer después de la menstruación, no se ha bañado.

f) Cuando la placenta no se ha enterrado convenientemente en los sitios apropiados y con los remedios de rigor.

g) Cuando el hombre duerme con la mujer menstruante.

h) Cuando el hombre que sirve los alimentos a una menstruante no se ha bañado el cuerpo ni lavado sus ropas.

i) Cuando la mujer después de cumplir la dieta de parto, no se baña.

j) Cuando estando en las montañas, barriales, lagunas, no se sopla remedios.

k) Cuando antes de cortar madera para puentes, trapiches y canoas, no se soplan remedios.

l) Cuando en la inauguración de un rancho o casa no se han realizado las ceremonias del caso.

ll) Cuando la casa se ha edificado sobre una "guaca" de pijao o simplemente cuando se encuentran con ella al labrar la tierra.

m) Cuando no se realizan las ceremonias tradicionales en cosecha de roza nueva.

n) Por las manipulaciones de los brujos. Estos son los que mas gente matan, pues no solo envían la peste a las personas sino también a toda la comunidad. Por otra parte hacen enojar al

Duende, Arco y Echi y también hacen hechicerías a solicitud de las personas envidiosas o vengativas. Los Brujos tienen un poder ilimitado.

Hernández de Alba al hablar de la enfermedad generaliza en estos términos:

"Sickness was always thought to be caused by witchcraft or by someone's will. The evil force entered the body and made it impure; it had to be expelled or "cleansed", lest death ensue. If a delirious person told who was killing him, the individual mentioned was thought guilty; or, if, after a death, the face of the deceased should appear to somebody, the person was consid ered responsible. These beliefs are still in force today, and the Indians avoid the causes of sickness, such as having sexual intercourse wit a menstruating woman, exposing the body to bad weather while there is a rainbow, and neglicting to bathe after a burial or to purify a house where a death ocurred" (7).

Teniendo las enfermedades un origen mágico, las curaciones son también de carácter mágico. "La limpiada" es imprescindible en toda curación, con su cortejo de remedios y de movimientos.

Síntomas de las enfermedades. De las enfermedades claramente especificables por los indígenas están la viruela y la tos ferina, dado sus síntomas característicos. Algunos informantes, no muchos por cierto, manifiestan que sus hijos murieron con tales enfermedades.

En general, la mortalidad infantil, bastante elevada, dícese causada en orden de frecuencia por los términos genéricos peste, echi y brujería. Son contados los casos de muerte por duende y arco.

La sintomatología que de las enfermedades dan son muy vagas y aún se confunden las unas con las otras. El *Echi*, duende y arco pican, no propiamente al cuerpo sino al alma, dejando pelos en el cuerpo que originan fiebres y punzadas en el sitio que se encuentran. Estos pelos puestos en la palma de la mano se mueven como si fueran vivos. Difieren en el color: los colorados son de Kallumb, los azul rojos, del arco y los negros del *Echi*. Los pelos se sacan con frote de remedios, previa la limpiada.

(7) Hernández de Alba. Cr. 1946. p. 955. Véase, además, Pittier de Fábrega, H. 1907. p. 325.

Se dice que la picada de *pallumb* produce pesantez, inapetencia, dolores de cabeza y del cuerpo, fiebres y aún locura.

En cuanto al arco se refiere, denominado *kitús*, no es otro que el arco iris, que sale a cualquier hora del día, acompañado de llovizna, el "miao de arco", que produce sarna (*chande*) en los niños cuando los moja; no es nocivo para los adultos. Los médicos, y únicamente éllos, desde sus ranchos, le soplan remedios mascados: tabaco, chandur, ñushamuanda y yacuma negra, para que desaparezca pronto. Las otras gentes mascan los remedios y se frotan en el cuerpo, cuando los tienen a mano. Es general el concepto de que el arco produce encalambramiento del cuerpo y asimismo, que los brujos lo ven en forma de pavo impulsándolo a picar a las gentes.

Parece evidente, que lo que los indios llaman *Echimbe* (*Echi* rojo) o candelilla fina sea una luciérnaga, un tanto difícil de capturarla y supremamente brava. La diferencian perfectamente de los cocuyos. Dicen que es un animal que Dios ha dejado para que haga daño a los cristianos. Los médicos los llaman y los capturan en su Kachí, en tanto que los demás indios, mascando coca los capturan donde quiera y los entregan al médico para que los entierren. Consideran que su peligrosidad se debe a que en ellos se encarnan las almas de los pijaos.

Los síntomas de la picada de Echi son vagos e imprecisos refiriéndose solamente a dolores corporales.

En cuanto a los síntomas del "sucio" de pijao son reconocidos por las dificultades respiratorias.

Diferencian perfectamente las enfermedades venéreas que parecen estar muy extendidas en las parcialidades aculturadas. En Calderas se dice que se propagaron mucho en ambos sexos sin tener en cuenta la edad, curándose con piedra lipia, pues los remedios de los indios no sirvieron. En Santa Rosa usan antibióticos. Un médico de esta parcialidad afirma que aquellas enfermedades las trajeron de La Plata las mujeres andariegas y que le tocó atender dos casos: uno grave en que la paciente murió; el segundo, no muy avanzado lo trató con *yukchacha*, barbasco de montaña *y fisa* (*bitopat* o bodoquero). Dio el zumo durante seis días y sujetó a la paciente a una dieta exclusiva de gallina.

Remedios. Los remedios usados por el médico paez son vegetales. Generalmente los receta en combinación. Así:

Para limpiar el *ptans:*

Yacuma blanca, ul ñiñ, ñundayuskei, shugues, chandur, guepeyuskey, chayuts.

Para la picadura de *Kallumb:*

Chandur, ñushamuenda, guapeshú blanco y amarillo, *nica,* tabaco, *chayuts.*

Para la picadura de *Echi:*

Tatsé, ul ñiñ, yacuma blanca, shúgues, tayuskei, siempre viva, shulape, shu, shupeñiñ.

Para la picadura de *Arco:*

Chandur, ñushamuanda, yacuma negra, *ul ñiñ, chayuts.*

Todos los remedios anteriores son frescos, sirven para calmar fiebres.

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Nombre indígena	*Nombre castellano*	*Nombre científico*	*Usos*
Chandur	.....	?	Refrescante. Sirve para limpiar el *ptans*. Hay dos variedades. El grande llámase: ñusha.
Esh	Coca	Erythróxydon coca.	Raíz y hojas en cocimiento: cólicos y diarreas.
Bichach	Caucho	Hevéa ?	Hoja asada al rescoldo para fracturas, dislocamientos, contusiones. La hoja seca se quita y se coloca en los cogollos de cabuya para que sane rápidamente.
Chulco	Chulco	Oxális sp.	Contra la viruela.
Chayuts *	Contento, Alegría	Scutellaria racemosa Per.	Panacea de los paeces.
Chuwet pequeño	?	?	Para contentar las quebradas.
Fisa, bitopat	Dodoquero	?	En combinación con *yukchacha* y barbasco de montaña sirve para curar la blenorragia.
Echiutse chima *	?	Labiada ?	Contra la peste. Baños con esta yerba evita Echi, sobre todo cuando se camina de noche.
Guepekás	Pringamoza. Ortiga.	Uréra boccífera L.	Evita el ptans. Sirve para brujería.
Kuese	Barbasco de lo caliente.	Lonchocárpus ?	En invierno se sopla al aire para que venga el verano. Usase contra el chande (sarna).
Limoncillo	Limoncillo	Cymbopógon citrátus.	Infusión con panela y aguardiente contra el frío de una parturienta. Sirve también contra diarreas.
Nica	?	?	Para combatir el *ptans*. Para pelos de duende.

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Nombre indígena	*Nombre castellano*	*Nombre científico*	*Usos*
Ñundayuskei	Pateperro	?	Contra el *ptana*. El zumo para las diarreas; con tabaco para el dolor de estómago. El agua de ésta para dolores de muelas, escupir mitad de la candela para que ayude a matar la enfermedad.
Shu *	?	Sphagnum sp.	Para combatir el *ptana*.
Shugnés *	?	Peperomia sp.	Para limpiar el *ptana*.
Shulape	?	?	Contra el *echí* y para la tos.
Shupeñiñ *	?	Peperomia sp.	*Echí* y las ferina.
Siempreviva		?	Amarrada a la cabeza calma el dolor.
Muski	Tabaco	Nicotiána Tabácum L.	Con coca hace correr las "señas". Machacado detiene las hemorragias. Para combatir el *ptana*.
Tap.	?	?	V. *Bichapk*.
Tatsé	?	?	Para la tos; para contener el pulso (us) cuando el niño está asustado. Contra el *ptana*.
Tayuskei *		Peperomia sp.	Para infección del ombligo. Tos ferina.
Ul ñiñ *	Culebrina, pepa de arco, monito almiscillo.	Hibiscur abelmoschus L.	*Ptana*, *echí*, arco.
Yacuma blanca		?	*Ptana*.
Umsim *	Yacuma negra	Myrcia acuminata DC. Vell aff.	Contra el arco.
Yuskei *		Scleria cattarinensis Boeck.	*Ptana*.

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Las plantas señaladas con el asterisco han sido determinadas por el Herbario Nal. Colombiano, especialmente por el doctor Jesús M. Idrobo.

Para las otras nos hemos guiado por la obra *Plantas Utiles de Colombia*, del doctor E. Pérez Arbeláez, editado en la Imprenta Nacional de Bogotá en 1947.

El *té eu y la comunidad*. La medicina en todas las culturas cumple con una función eminentemente humanitaria. Su índole es sociológica. Sean cualesquiera los métodos que use, tiende a salvar las vidas humanas. Ataca la enfermedad, pero también la previene.

Entre los paeces la medicina cura y previene. La comunidad y la familia realizan ceremonias especiales tendientes a lograr estos dos cometidos de la medicina.

Cuando la peste (epidemia) ha cundido por la comunidad amenazando su subsistencia, las autoridades (Cabildo) invitan al médico para conjurar el peligro efectuando el *Wé ká*.

Cuando la enfermedad se enseñorea en una sola familia, disminuyendo sensiblemente sus miembros, el de mayor edad invita al médico para realizar el *Ut ká*. Después de todo entierro las gentes tienen que sacar el *ptans* de sus cuerpos y de la casa donde se produjo el deceso. El médico es el único que puede realizar esto.

Las primicias de las sementeras hechas en tierras nuevas, no cultivadas antes, no pueden consumirlas mientras el médico no realice las ceremonias de limpieza. De manera que es el médico quien defiende la familia —conservación de la especie— purifica las cosechas —conservación del individuo— y defiende también la comunidad alejando por medio de sus conjuros las epidemias y los individuos que atentan contra ella. En 1952, ante la inminencia de un ataque de grupos armados subversivos a la Parcialidad de Santa Rosa, el médico los detuvo con maní de montaña mascado y soplado al camino por el cual debían haber llegado.

Dado que las ceremonias enunciadas tienen algunos aspectos diferenciales, veámoslas en detalle.

We ka (peste-enviar). Cuando en una comunidad aparece la peste, viruela, tos ferina que están terminando rápidamente

con la población, el cabildo toma la iniciativa para conjurar el peligro. Solicita de las gentes coca, tabaco y aguardiente, alistan un cerdo e invitan a un médico reputado que pueda hablar con el Trueno. Desde la orilla de una laguna mediante los buenos remedios, y la ayuda del Trueno el médico tiene que alejar la peste.

Sacrifican el cerdo. De la parte izquierda sacan un pedacito de todos los órganos y los ponen en una jigra nueva. Recogen las candelillas (*Echis*) y se marchan a la laguna. La comitiva compuesta por el médico y el Cabildo sale a las tres de la tarde y doce horas después estarán de regreso al punto de partida. Mientras tanto, las mujeres se han ocupado de la preparación de la carne sin haber comido un solo pedazo. Tampoco han dormido, pues tienen la obligación de esperar despiertas a la comitiva. Cuando llegan se reparten la carne, el sancocho, y se bebe la chicha y el aguardiente. Con esto se alivian las gentes, se ahuyenta la peste de la comunidad.

Ut ká (*"sucio"-enviar*). Es exclusivamente familiar. Cuando en una familia se están muriendo sus componentes, tiene *ptans*, dice un informante, mientras que otro piensa, con más razón, que son los espíritus de los muertos enojados que quieren terminar con la familia. En tal caso, el de mayor edad, de los supervivientes, alista coca, aguardiente y tabaco, reune a sus familiares y llama al médico.

Este adivina hasta ocho o diez noches. Captura hasta doce candelillas. Pide un cerdo castrado y gordo. Lo amarra toda una noche y adivina si lo recibirán las almas de los familiares muertos. Al amanecer ordeña matarlo. Matadores, chicheros, acarreadores de caña y cocineras no pertenecen a la familia, es decir, no llevan el apellido de los que están haciendo *Ut ká*. Ninguno de estos puede trabajar, ni siquiera hacer sombreros o jigras.

El puerco lo pelan y lo lavan sobre un hueco; allí tiene que caer pelos y bazofia en general. Cuando no están haciendo *Ut ká* se pela el puerco en una artesa. Mientras tanto, el médico adivina qué tanto de carne quieren las almas. Estas especifican la cantidad que el *té eu* la traduce en un palito, que es pasado inmediatamente a los matadores, quienes deben sacar los pedacitos de acuerdo con esa medida y ponerlos en una jigra. El médico bebe aguardiente y posée también ayudantes que ayudan a sentir las señas.

Las mujeres pelan el "mute", hacen tortillas pequeñitas, tantas cuantas almas de difuntos de la familia, existan. Aprontan asímismo toda clase de frutos y comida: plátano, arracacha, pan, yuca, bananos, granadillas, pepinos, maíz, huevos, carnes etc., para defenderlos del *ptans*. Cada pedacito de los comestibles los echan a la jigra.

Preparan también unos muñecos de madera, siendo el número igual al de los difuntos. Los visten como los indios: sombrero, ruana, calzón, camisa. A unos cuarenta metros de distancia de la casa caban una tumba tal y conforme hacen para enterrar muertos: fosa rectangular con cámara lateral. El médico pesa dos huevos de coca, coge dos tabacos y una botella de aguardiente. A las ocho de la noche aproximadamente, salen todos los de la familia, excepto los que no lo son. Va a efectuarse la limpiada. Entonces arriman nubes negras como pelotas. El médico les sopla remedios. Después de dos horas, las nubes se marchan por la izquierda, despejándose el horizonte y dejando mirar en la inmensidad del espacio las estrellas. El médico procede al entierro. En la cámara lateral de la tumba coloca los muñecos (representación de las almas) y una vela de cera de laurel, después de soplarles los remedios. Con una piedra tapa la cámara y pone en seguida las candelillas con la jigra de comida. Rellena de tierra la tumba y procede a la limpiada de los familiares. Regresan a la casa. Salen todos los peones y limpia nuevamente a todos. Solo entonces pueden entrar. Las mujeres tienen preparada toda la comida con la mitad del cerdo, pues la otra es de propiedad del médico. Beben chicha y aguardiente y en seguida se sirve la comida. Amanecen consumiendo los clásicos licores. El médico se marcha y otras gentes se encargan de llevarle el cuido. El médico, recibe, agradece, y lo cuelga fuera de la casa. Solo puede comerlo cuando ha matado mas candelillas.

Con esto el *Ut ká* se ha terminado y la peste se ha alejado de la familia.

Ut peu (sucio-bañar). Inmediatamente después del entierro y a la orilla de un río o de una fuente se efectúa la lavada de las ropas y la limpiada de las gentes. El médico prepara tres calabazos de remedios compuesto el 1º, por agua y boñiga de vaca, el 2º con ruda, *bitopiskue, ñundayuskei, dachak* (curíbano), machacados, y el 3º con *shu* y *shulape*.

Con esto y en el orden enunciado las gentes lavan sus ropas y sus cuerpos. Las ropas del difunto son lavadas por los herederos.

El médico, después de bañarse los pies con esos mismos remedios, permanece sentado percibiendo las señas. Prepara en seguida otro calabazo de remedios con *shú*, *shulape* y *yuskei*, para lavar las manos de todos los asistentes.

Inicia la limpiada de las gentes, las cuales están sentadas sobre unas piedras. El médico marcha hacia la izquierda y desde allá viene batiendo la tama. Al llegar donde el primer limpiado realiza los mismos actos conocidos, haciendo lo mismo con los demás. El "sucio" chupado lo trasboca en un hueco, donde las gentes echan también su mascada de coca, tabaco y *yuskei*. En seguida el médico lava las manos con aguardiente y el remedio previamente preparado. Todos se miden dos tragos: uno soplan al aire y el segundo lo beben. Lo que sobra se riega al aire. Colocados los asistentes en fila el médico bate nuevamente la tama primero por la parte frontal y luego por la parte dorsal. El sucio recogido lo echa al hueco, lo tapa con una piedra y apisona tierra. Ahora, las gentes, limpios del *ptans*, se marchan a la casa del difunto.

Yat put (casa-soplada). Después de la ceremonia del Ut Peu, todas las gentes marchan a la casa del difunto, donde no entran mientras no se realice la soplada de la casa. Salen todos los que dentro de ella estaban. El médico prepara los mismos tres calabazos de remedios que utilizó en el *Ut Peu*. El calabazo de la boñiga de vaca, disuelta en agua, la echa en el sitio donde estuvo el cadáver, haciendo lo mismo con el segundo. Con el tercero, o sea, el compuesto de *shu* y *shulape*, aspergea toda la casa (patio, paredes, salas, techo). Con esto las gentes pueden entrar y sus moradores continuar viviendo. El Dr. Hernández de Alba, describe así la limpiada:

"Amonth after the death, a shaman purifies the house. The relatives and Friends kill a pig, cut it lengthwise in two halves, one for the shaman, the other for the ceremonial banquet. The shaman sweeps the house floor with the pig's legs and some special branches, with are later buried. He chews coca, says some unintelligible words, and spites leaves on the house walls. The residents and guests then enter the house for the final proof of purification. The shaman, standing in the center of the house, gives a dog half a tortilla. If the dog does not die, he divides the

others half among those present. He does the same with a piece of cooked meat, and if the dog still does not die, he bdows chicha in all directions in the hut, and then divides what remains with those present. The hut and food are then declared clean. The food is then eaten and much chicha drunk" (8).

Este tipo de limpiada no ha sido confirmada por ningún informante sea médico o profano, joven o viejo, varón o hembra, de las Parcialidades de Santa Rosa, San Andrés, Calderas, Togoima, Avirama y Mosoco.

Conjuro del rancho nuevo. Las gentes para defender sus labranzas de la voracidad de los animales salvajes, construyen un rancho pequeño. Antes de habitarlo efectúan el siguiente conjuro. El médico sopla remedios en el centro del rancho donde va a quedar el fogón. Cava un hueco y entierra *shu y shulape.* Prende la hoguera y le echa *ñundayuskei* y *bitopiskue.* Recoge toda la ceniza y la bota fuera del rancho. Atiza nuevamente el fuego y asa un choclo pequeño que se lo da a comer a un perro. Si el perro no se muere, es señal de que allí no existe peste y los dueños pueden habitarlo. De lo contrario tienen que abandonarlo. En Santa Rosa el choclo se lo come el *Té eu.*

Esta misma ceremonia se realiza en el estreno de una casa. Al perro le dan maíz tostado de no ser tiempo de choclos. Después beben chicha y aguardiente.

E huse uña (Rosa-nueva-comer). La cosecha de frutos de roza nueva debe ser iniciada por el médico. El dueño de la labranza consigue coca, tabaco y aguardiente e invita al médico. Toda la familia se traslada a la labranza.

El *té eu* prepara un calabazo de remedios a base de *Chayuts, shugues, tayuskei, echiutse, ul ñiñ, tatse.* Aspergea, con esto, la roza. Reparte tantos atados de remedios cuantos asistentes hayan, para que masquen, traguen el zumo y con el resto se froten el cuerpo. Luego el médico recoge un fruto de cada especie por cosechar, forma un atado para obsequiar al Duende, como dueño de la tierra que es.

Después de practicada esta ofrenda, los dueños cosechan una jigrada de cada fruto sembrado. Márchanse a la casa y en la

(8) Véase: Mitología y Cuentos de la Parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro. Revista Colombiana de Antropología. 1953.

parte izquierda de la puerta de entrada yuxtaponen las jigras para que el médico sople nuevamente remedios. Sin este requisito no pueden entrar las jigras de comida a la casa, porque pueden portar la peste. Las mujeres empiezan a cocinarlos. Llegada la hora del consumo, el médico reparte primeramente una copa de aguardiente con *yuskei* y *bitopiskue*. Cuando son papas después de cocidas las entregan al médico. Este reparte a todos los asistentes un ejemplar; lo que sobra entrega al dueño, quien a su vez regala abundantemente al médico.

Si las primicias son de maíz y fríjol, se hace lo siguiente:

Con los choclos se preparan "bollos" o "envueltos"; con el fríjol se forma un atado grande. Cocen, entonces, choclos, el atado de fríjoles y los bollos. Aparte, la olla de sancocho con gallina para cuidar al médico.

En una artesa recogen los choclos, fríjoles y bollos cocidos y la cocinera reparte a todos los asistentes con un ejemplar de cada especie. Todos comen cuidando de sobrar un poco de cada bocado, que lo pasan al médico. Este hace un montón, lo ata y lo cuelga en la cumbrera de la casa con el fin de que la semilla de labranza que se empieza a cosechar fructifique abundantemente en el año venidero.

Las envolturas de los choclos se amontonan fuera de la casa donde el médico se queda una noche con el objeto de capturar candelillas y matarlas.

Espíritus auxiliares. El Trueno. Todos los informantes afirman que el Trueno es de estatura pequeña, 1.40 m. aproximadamente, lleva sombrero grande de ramo, pantaloncillo, ruana negra, tama y jigra de remedios. Con todo, álguien dice que tiene barba larga, no usa calzones, exhibe los genitales y lleva un instrumento musical llamado *tíngalo* (triángulo).

Es médico y maestro de todos los *té eu* paeces; protector de los *nasa* (gentes) y en cierta forma hasta su legislador. *Sat* (cacique) en tiempo de los Pijaos, los defendió de la voracidad de éstos y les dio buenos consejos. Ordenó que las varas de mando de los cabildantes fuesen limpiadas en las lagunas, moradas del Trueno para evitar que la peste mate las gentes.

El Trueno es un espíritu inmortal. No se lo vé. Es guardián del oro y mata a quien se atreva a recogerlo. Anuncia a las gen-

tes cuando un blanco malo los va a visitar mediante un trueno fuertísimo dado cuando no va a llover. Si el trueno cae frente a una casa indica al dueño que está con peste y que debe buscar un médico para que lo cure. Si truena primero en la casa del brujo y luego pasa a la del médico, es señal de que aquel lo está brujiando.

Cuando un paciente solicitó los servicios de un médico de Santa Rosa, por la noche cayó una lluvia torrencial acompañada de truenos. Al día siguiente informó al paciente que había hablado con el Trueno quien le aconsejó no lo curara si no le llevaba todo lo que había exigido.

Al único que tiene miedo el Trueno es al diablo. Sabe más de curaciones que el Duende.

Una médica-bruja de Santa Rosa informa que el Trueno, llamado Manuel José Tipo, se había enamorado de ella. Con el *tíngalo* le daba serenatas, siendo mas frecuentes cuando la bruja barría el patio de la casa. En las serenatas le enseñaba los remedios. Estuvo a punto de llevársela a la laguna de no haberse defendido enérgicamente.

Manuel José Tipo estuvo en Calderas (9). Las gentes echaron veneno a la laguna y tuvo que abandonar el lugar en compañía de su mujer. Por los aires se dirigió a Santa Rosa donde al llegar dejó caer a la mujer. La mató. En esta Parcialidad estaba enamorado de una cacica. Siempre se le presentaba bien vestido, con opulenta cacería de guacharacas. Intrigado el padre de la cacica de la manera cómo mataba tantas guacharacas, siguiólo a la montaña y observó que al desvestirse tenía en la espalda cuero de culebra. Era culebra y por lo mismo cazaba con facilidad las aves. Informóle de esto a la hija. Esta acompañada de una sirvienta marchóse al día siguiente, a su labranza de tierras feracísimas. Tenía hermosas labranzas de papas, coles y cebollas. El Trueno llegó a visitarla. El lugar empezó a lagunarse y la sirvienta advirtió a la patrona del peligro que corrían. No hizo caso. Lucía Kalguesh, la cacica, se quedó viivendo con el Trueno. La laguna era muy brava y el Trueno engañaba mucho a las mujeres. Entonces bajaron los *puswesh* (las estrellas) rozaron los bosques circundantes a la laguna y cavaron una acequia con el objeto de

(9) Frazer, Sir James George. *La Rama Dorada.* Fdo. de Cultura Económica. México. 1951. pp. 33-34.

secarla. En el momento de lograr su cometido salió el Trueno a suplicarles no secaran su vivienda. Los *puswesh* enojados le cosieron la boca y le cortaron la lengua que eran muy grandes.

El Trueno continuó manejándose mal y los médicos lo corrieron para otra laguna, sin la mujer y los hijos.

Kallumb. Vive en los manantiales y en los socavones. Es un espíritu bueno. Las gentes cuentan que la Virgen dejó un niño ambulante para que ayudara a los indios, los protegiera e infundiera la creencia en élla.

Los duendes se parecen a los ángeles y tienen el cuerpo cubierto de vellos. Las mujeres pueden verlos haciendo los movimientos de tejer y en tal caso salen buenas tejedoras. Los hombres, mirarlos con las jigras indicativo de que van a ser médicos.

Se dice que existen duendes grandes y pequeños. Los primeros cuando se levantan dejan el arco iris tras de sí, como una estela. Los segundos no se juntan con él y son menos bravos que aquellos. Los unos y los otros gritan como plañideras.

La mujer Té eu. Las mujeres pueden ser médicas, afirman las gentes; no hay razón para que no les corra las señas. No obstante, ninguna mujer es médica. En Santa Rosa existe una mujer, que según su propia confesión es buena médica, ha visto al Trueno, conversando con él y tienen buenos remedios. Inclusive el Trueno le dio un muñeco de madera llamado "Viento suave del Trueno" con el cual efectúa las curaciones. Pero la comunidad la considera como bruja de las más peligrosas y el cabildo le ha quemado los remedios y la ha metido al cepo. Aún más, todas las muertes causadas por la brujería la responsabilizan a ella.

Por otra parte, el comportamiento frente a la comunidad es idéntico al que observan todos los brujos, es decir, aislamiento y resentimiento contra ella. Un médico de Calderas explica así el fenómeno: La mujer es más astuta que el hombre; tiene pensamientos brillantes y por lo general domina a los hombres. La mujer puede ser médica, pero en cualquier momento puede convertirse en bruja, porque es más astuta que el hombre. Llega a veces, hasta tal punto que no le importa nada. De allí que las mujeres no aprendan medicina.

Tabúes del Té eu. Se refieren más que todo a sexo y alimentación. No tienen toda la fuerza y tenacidad que se observa en otras culturas.

Cuando el médico está percibiendo las señas no puede cohabitar. El brujo que está al tanto de esta interdicción, por picardía y maldad, suele llevar a su mujer al kachí y cohabitar con ella con el objeto de que no corran las señas al médico ni las candelillas se levanten. Y para acrecentar la maldad, dejan en el kachí pelos púbicos, que son venenosos.

El médico no puede comer ají, sobretodo el denominado de montaña, pues se enoja el Trueno y el Duende. La sal no la comen o la consumen muy poco. El Trueno no comía sal, dicen. Las carnes de los "cuidos", la consumen después de realizar la limpiada. En las ceremonias de *ut ká, wé ká, ut peu* ayunan un día. Es decir, comen al amanecer y vuelven a comer al día siguiente. Además, como las curaciones se hacen de noche la frugalidad les produce menos sueño.

Sueños del Té eu. La interpretación de los sueños paeces, como en la generalidad de las interpretaciones de los sueños populares, observa cierta relación entre el contenido manifiesto del sueño y la acción por venir. Mejor dicho, del contenido manifiesto del sueño, deducen los futuros acontecimientos.

Creen firmemente en los anuncios de los sueños, pero no hacen nada para prevenirse. Es como si fuera una fatalidad del destino. No existen sueños especiales de los médicos. La interpretación es patrimonio común de las gentes. La actitud frente a estos anuncios es la misma, esperar indiferentemente. He aquí algunos ejemplos, pues son muchos:

Soñar que una culebra lo pica, brujería. Pero si en el sueño, otra persona mata la culebra en el momento de picarlo, un buen médico va a revirar la brujería de la víctima al propio brujo.

Soñar que una piara lo ataca, están brujiando.

Soñar matando a un puerco, van a matar al brujo.

Soñar tigres y gatos, dentro de la casa hay "guaca" de pijaos.

Soñar una hoguera, en el sitio hay oro.

Soñar que un tigre se come los pollitos, la persona va a morir con peste de pijao.

Soñar una vaca, muere la mujer.

Soñar matando un toro o un caballo, persona buena que muere (médicos).

Soñar que lo pican las avispas, le van a pegar.

Soñar que se le caen los dientes sin dolor, va a morir un familiar cercano.

Soñar comiendo ají, la persona va a enojar por motivos insignificantes.

Soñar cogiendo *chambe* nuevo, trabajan para que el arco lo pique y si sueña envuelto con el mismo, el arco lo ha picado.

Soñar cargando vigas, canoas, va a ayudar a enterrar un muerto.

Soñar recibiendo monedas de plata, va a enfermar con blenorragia.

Soñar ahogándose, va a haber guerra y lo van a tomar prisionero, o simplemente se lo van a llevar al cuartel.

Pago del Te eu. En general los médicos no cobran honorarios ni en dinero ni en especies. El servicio es gratuito. El Trueno en la confirmación de la profesión lo primero que recomienda es ser caritativos con las gentes. Un médico manifiesta que no cura por negocio, pues no cobra ni dinero ni animales; las gentes lo gratifican con un pequeño regalo. Otro médico es más dogmático. Explotar a las gentes enciende las iras de Dios. La gratitud de las personas siempre se hace ostensible en los "cuidos" (carne, chicha y aguardiente).

De los artículos que el paciente les lleva para las curaciones apenas les sobra un poco de coca. De las ceremonias de iniciación de las cosechas reciben comida cocida y cruda. Del *Ut ká* y *Wé ká* llevan la mitad del animal sacrificado, chicha y aguardiente. En caso de enfermedad grave, exigen puerco, oveja, pavos. Pero es poco lo que llevan.

Si bien no faltan informaciones de médicos que cobran dinero por el ejercicio de su saber, como un médico de Togoima solicitado hasta de La Plata y Garzón, se puede afirmar que los médicos no hacen riqueza alguna con la profesión. El ejercicio de la medicatura mas bien perjudica sus actividades económicas. Algunos son completamente pobres, en tanto que otros poseen grandes extensiones de terreno, buenas labranzas de maíz, trigo, plátanos, arracachas, algunas cabezas de ganado y varios caballos, puercos, ovejas y pavos. Se catalogan como ricos. De los cinco médicos de la Parcialidad de Calderas tres pueden considerarse como ricos en tanto que de los considerados como brujos, solo uno es pobre. Naturalmente, esto ha sido conseguido mas por

herencia que por el fruto de sus propios esfuerzos. Sus trabajos los realizan conforme a las normas que rigen en la comunidad, es decir, por el sistema de mingas. En la cosecha realizan la distribución de alimentos tal como hacen los demás. Participan activamente en el trabajo de los demás, así como también en las fiestas y borracheras.

Sobra advertir que los más ricos de la comunidad no son médicos. En algunas ocasiones son frecuentemente criticados, cuando en las curaciones solicitan puerco y la mejoría del enfermo no llega. "No seas sinvergüenza —le gritan—, tú comiendo oveja y el enfermo muriéndose".

Los médicos buenos al referirse a aquellos considerados como brujos, dicen que cobran indefectiblemente. Lo que encuentran van solicitando. En igual forma se expresan los brujos de los médicos.

Status social del Té eu. Todos los médicos conocidos pasan de los treinta años de edad. Son "mayores" y por lo mismo acreedores al respeto de la comunidad. Alguien manifiesta que los médicos no valen más que los otros hombres, pero lo cierto es que gozan de una aureola de prestigio y de reconocimiento, diferente al prodigado por el concepto de mayoridad.

De todas maneras, "los médicos tienen algo y son cariñosos", dice un informante. Se les respeta, y en los agasajos se los atiende en el cuarto que se reciben las gentes importantes (síndico, capitán, gobernador, ancianos prestigiosos) y se los sirve en platos más grandes.

El prestigio es una ventaja del médico. No es raro que quieran más al médico que al capitán de la Parcialidad.

Todos los médicos manifiestan estar contentos con su profesión y muchos agradecen a su maestro la enseñanza. Es ventaja de ser médico el ser atendido por el personal, distinguido entre los demás, y también ser perseguido por sus saberes, dice un médico calderuno. Al médico bueno lo busca todo el mundo; muchos se consideran como padres, pues diariamente llegan a sus casas a buscarlos. Tienen mas poder que las otras gentes.

El médico ocupa por su función un status social elevado. Pero nada más que por su función. Es acreedor al respeto y al reconocimiento de los favores recibidos. Nadie puede maltratarlo. Si en las borracheras recibe ofensa, al día siguiente, se apresuran a desagraviarlo.

Características psicológicas del Té eu. Los médicos tienen una edad que oscila entre los treinta y sesenta años. En general, tienen los ojos hundidos en los cuencos orbitarios, mirada penetrante, de conversación y risa fáciles, ademanes suaves, nada agresivos, parsimoniosos, manifiestan un gran dominio sobre sí mismos, y seguridad en sus movimientos.

Hábito motor característico: sentados sobre un madero muy bajo dan la impresión de estar en cuclillas; sus brazos descansan sobre las rodillas y con sus manos se acarician la sien o la barbilla. Este hábito motor predomina en los hombres paeces.

La indumentaria es genuinamente páez; poco partidarios de las innovaciones, aunque son bastante amables con los blancos. Aconsejan siempre a sus pacientes no usar los remedios de los blancos porque se mueren.

Son muy tratables, amables y en términos de nuestra cultura diríamos que tienen un magnífico don de gentes.

Cuando viejos dejan de percibir las señas.

Consideran que cuando muere el médico se anuncia su muerte con los truenos. Viven en tensión permanente contra los ataques de los brujos. A los menores síntomas salen a su kachí a adivinar y tomar las precauciones del caso. Comen poco para no dormir por la noche; son resistentes al insomnio. Se inhiben de sus relaciones sexuales y del ají, en sus curaciones.

Absorben todo el interés de la comunidad cuando se presentan las epidemias. Los médicos de verdad, los conscientes de su profesión, son parsimoniosos, de gran concentración en el combate de las enfermedades, de natural bondadoso. Infunden confianza y no manifiestan egoísmo; explican fácilmente los secretos de su profesión.

Competencia entre los Té eu. Entre los médicos parece existir cierta rivalidad y aún los indígenas alcanzan a enumerar zonas de acción de los médicos. Lo cierto es que un médico se vanagloría de haber vencido a otro en el mismo lugar de la práctica. Un médico de Santa Rosa cuenta como venció a un colega suyo.

El informante salió a hacer curaciones al Alto de Atarraya a un enfermo blanco. Allí encontró otro médico que daba los remedios que no servían. El enfermo los cuidó muy bien con abundante chicha y aguardiente. El recién llegado bebió con cuidado. Su colega se había comido ya el puerco, pero el enfermo seguía

lo mismo. Se pusieron a pelear los dos médicos. El nuevo médico cogió su tama y su coca y a las nueve de la noche se puso a adivinar. Su espíritu auxiliar le dijo que el otro había dado remedios falsos. Tenía que averiguar, pues, los remedios efectivos. Pudo ver que el mal se lo había hecho una sirvienta indígena, en compañía con unos vecinos que no lo querían. Inmediatamente llamó a la cocinera para indagarla y cerciorarse de lo que había hecho; tenía que confesarle, pues, de lo contrario la mandaba presa. Ella tenía toda la culpa. La sirvienta se asustó y respondió que tal vez sería ella la responsable, ya que en una ocasión había cogido un *echi* y colocándolo en una mata de ají. Y ese *echi* bravo era el que estaba matando al patrón. Inmediatamente el médico fue a la mata de ají, sacó el *echi* y le sopló remedios frescos. Se puso a adivinar nuevamente y observó que el arco le había metido también pelos. Al día siguiente se los sacó. Se mejoró el enfermo, probó que era buen médico y demostró que el otro no sabía nada.

El Té eu y el brujo. Se dice que un brujo puede ser a la vez médico bueno, pero sabemos perfectamente que el Duende y el Trueno no auxilian con su saber a los brujos. Por otra parte cuando a un *té eu* se les solicita información de los remedios de los brujos indefectiblemente responden que ellos no saben de eso, pues si averiguan por esos remedios, pierden su sabiduría.

Los médicos se consideran siempre perseguidos por los brujos. Pero aquellos, pueden matar a estos. Así nos relata el suceso un médico de Santa Rosa:

"Cuando yo era mocito era astuto y pícaro; sabía de remedios ya. En una ocasión un brujo se me declaró enemigo porque estaba saliendo buen médico. Me enfermé y las señas me indicaban mi próxima muerte. En Huila, vivía un buen médico y allá me fui con bastante coca y aguardiente. Me dijo que me moría si no trabajaba inmediatamente. Era brujería y había que matar al brujo. Debía permanecer con él un mes por lo menos. "Trabajamos y hacemos un hueco para matar ese tipo", me dijo. Hizo el primer hueco, que nos servía para varias noches, pues el brujo que buscaba era muy listo. Llamaba el alma, llegaba, pero no se dejaba coger; era muy maliciosa. El brujo era peligrosísimo, había matado a mi mamá y hermanos. Seguimos trabajando. Pasó el mes y no podíamos cogerlo. No dormíamos. El médico hacía otro hueco y otro. Estábamos cansados. Este pícaro lo cogemos

prque sí, me decía. Cuando iban por el séptimo hueco, al cantar el primer gallo, llegó el alma. El médico estaba con la tama lista y de pronto suás! le dió un garrotazo y cayó al hueco; echó tierra encima y apisonó bien. Después de pocos momentos silbó el alma. Lo matamos exclamó triunfante el médico. Yo ví el alma del brujo. Después el médico me dijo que me regresara, pues estaba curado. Me recomendó que trajera remedios, ya que en el camino hay muchos salteadores. Así fue. Me vine con malicia de los sitios peligrosos. Las señas me indicaron la presencia de los salteadores e inmediatamente les soplé remedios (*kit sust*). Se durmieron.

Más acá encontré unas gentes que perseguían un reo. Me dieron coca y aguardiente para que desde mi casa hiciera los remedios y facilitara la captura del reo. Así fue. Me puse *chayuts* envuelto en los pies y el reo no pudo andar. Lo prendieron".

Otros informan que el brujiado con sus familiares van donde el médico portando coca, tabaco y aguardiente. Matan puerco y en una jigrita recogen un pedazo de cada órgano. Este es el sebo para capturar el alma del brujo. Al canto del primer gallo cuando todos están mascando coca llega el alma a coger la jigrita, cae inmediatamente al hueco y el médico le pone *echi* bravo, remedios, la mambeada de todos tapa y apisona la tierra. Así mata al brujo. Limpia luego al enfermo y a los familiares. Se ha salvado del peligro.

Cuando el médico siente las señas en el vértex, están enviándole *ptans*. Sale sin pérdida de tiempo al *kachí* con pringamoza, cabuya de páramo, tama y nica a esperarlo. Si viene una nube negra la corta con la tama. Es el *ptans*.

Las relaciones de estos dos hombres, sobre cuyas funciones reposa gran parte de la seguridad del grupo, no son cordiales; son de agresión latente y permanente. Los brujos espían los descuidos del médico. Si lo cogen dormido lo matan instantáneamente. Los brujos usan vidrios para acabar con la sabiduría del *Te eu*, es decir con las señas. Pueden llamar a las enfermedades, juntar todás las pestes y enviarlas a otra parcialidad o al mismo médico para que mate.

Cuando un *té eu* se encuentra con un brujo, apenas se saludan; por la noche anda con todas las precauciones.

Los médicos pueden acusar al brujo ante el cabildo, pero le temen.

CAPITULO II

Nasa Jihi

La visión que define un destino. Así como un *té eu* para definir su vocación necesita ver visiones, el brujo también la define por medio de las visiones. Ver, por ejemplo, en el pico de un ave, un burro con la boca abierta en la cual entran moscos, o simplemente puercos, la persona está destinada a ser bruja. Estas visiones son personales y generalmente acontecen en partes solitarias, tales como chorreras, barriales, donde no puedan andar animales, no importa el día y la hora, pues esto puede acaecer de día o de noche.

Cuando una persona manifiesta haber visto un burro, las gentes comentan que va a comer gente. Es común afirmar que quienes gustan andar mucho por la noche están mas propensos a convertirse en brujos, porque tienen ocasión de encontrarse con los espíritus malos.

Se dice que quien va a ser brujo no necesita de maestro; el mismo va cateando los remedios y los espíritus malos. Sin embargo, en la Parcialidad de Santa Rosa informan que la bruja más peligrosa del lugar, enseña a las gentes a realizar maleficios.

Los *té eu* pueden fácilmente convertirse en brujos, si muestran interés por conocer los remedios de estos. Un brujo puede ser médico bueno y curar a las gentes pero asimismo exige mejores cuidos.

En general es raro que un *té eu* tenga un reconocimiento universal como tal, pues muchos y los brujos entre otros, los señalan fácilmente como *nasa jihi* (*gente mala*).

Las visiones pueden tenerlas desde muy jóvenes, pero el ejercicio de la brujería empieza en plena adultéz, perfeccionándose con la madurez. Los brujos señalados públicamente tienen una edad aproximada de 35 años, siendo en su mayoría viejos.

Los brujos jamás exhiben sus remedios, ni mucho menos es posible asistir a una de sus sesiones. Es una actividad encubierta. Se sabe quiénes son los brujos, por el señalamiento público. Todas las informaciones que se consiguen al respecto son dadas por las gentes y aún por el mismo médico. Así mismo, ninguno de ellos confiesa practicar esta actividad y antes por el contrario se curan en salud y se presentan como las mejores personas de la comunidad.

Los remedios que los brujos poseen, dícese estar bien escondidos, pues si el cabildo logra descubrirlos, los castigan irremediablemente.

Los brujos realizan sus encantamientos por la noche. No duermen, dicen los naturales. Apenas empieza la noche y ya están mascando coca y tabaco. Duermen de día. Prefieren la noche oscura para realizar sus actividades, si ben que no tienen días especiales, ni horas determinadas.

Los brujos no colocan objetos en el cuerpo (sapos, pelos, etc.), ni tampoco pueden convertirse en animales.

Las mujeres brujas son muy frecuentes y parece que son las más temidas.

Los brujos reciben las señas del diablo y los espíritus malos que ayudan a estos se presentan en forma de culebra, burro o cerdo. Son diferentes al duende y Arco. Dícese que el puerco enseña a la persona a ser muy brava o propende a la borrachera (el borracho se revuelca en el suelo como el cerdo en las charcas), el burro a ser glotón.

En general parece que todo adulto es brujo en potencia y con mayor razón quienes tratan de apartarse de las normas de conducta institucionalizadas.

Víctimas de la brujería. Las víctimas de la brujería se extienden a todas las gentes, sin distingos de sexo ni edad, ni status ni función. Es común que tome la iniciativa el mismo brujo, pero también está al servicio de quien desee utilizarlo.

Frecuentemente las víctimas de la brujería recaen en aquellas personas eficientes, trabajadoras y con espíritu de ahorro, virtudes que en nuestra sociedad conducen al desarrollo de una economía capitalista.

En Santa Rosa informan la lamentada muerte de uno de sus ex-gobernadores. Era joven —dicen—, inteligente, conversador,

muy trabajador. Tenía mucho terreno y buenas labranzas de café, yuca, maíz, caña de azúcar. La envidia, fuente de discordias y de injusticias, impulsó a los brujos Lorenzo Io y Dolores Oinó, esposa, asesorados, desde luego, con la mayor de las brujas Felisa Ipia, a terminar con la vida de este hombre. Este es el dictámen de los médicos y la voz de la comunidad. Pero la acusación la dió la misma víctima, quien en los estertores de la muerte, que fueron muchos, soñaba con los mencionados brujos. Repetidas veces suplicó el moribundo hicieran venir a los brujos para arreglar cuentas con ellos. Cuando estos salieron de su casa, para atender la solicitud del moribundo, expiró. Murió con el convencimiento de que aquellos lo habían brujiado.

Un médico de Santa Rosa al deshauciar a un enfermo explicaba que este hombre tenía muchos terrenos y lo habían brujiado para apropiarse de ellos.

En Calderas un hombre que sabe leer, escribir, hacer memoriales para la Alcaldía de Inzá, pirotécnico, constructor de casas, buen agricultor, era naturalmente motivo de envidia. Un brujo quiso matarlo. Invocó su alma cuando estaba dormido. Pero al llamado asistió el alma del hermano, a la cual le sopló mambe. Un día después se le blanquió el ojo izquierdo y estuvo a punto de salírsele. Un médico pudo curarlo, pero quedó tuerto. Los dos hermanos quedaron enemigos del brujo.

En otra ocasión y en la misma parcialidad dos hermanos le dieron garrote a un brujo. En venganza brujió a ambos en el término de un año. Temeroso el brujo del castigo se marchó a otras parcialidades, pero a su regreso el cabildo lo metió al cepo.

Antiguamente —dice un médico de Santa Rosa— los cabildos castigaban a los brujos. Los de ahora les tienen miedo. Los mayores han muerto brujiados. En realidad, los indios se niegan a servir en el Cabildo a aceptar el cargo de Capitán por temor a los brujos.

Los brujos son todos ladrones. Roban muchas veces a la vista del mismo dueño, quien temeroso de que lo brujeen, no eleva la menor protesta. Pero los brujos, a su vez, temerosos de que aquel se queje ante las autoridades de los blancos, lo brujean.

En Calderas, aquellos que compran ganados para aumentar su pequeña hacienda, han sido agredidos por la brujería.

El indio que ha convivido con el blanco, ha adoptado su indumentaria, su dieta alimenticia, sus técnicas agrícola-ganaderas

y ha abandonado el hábito de consumir coca y chicha, no solamente es víctima de las agresiones mágicas sino que directamente recibe ofensas de palabra y obra.

De manera que son víctimas "los más hábiles, los más cariñosos con los caminantes, los amigos del blanco, los que despliegan mayor simpatía entre los indígenas, quienes poseen mucho ganado, grandes extensiones de tierras, buenas sementeras". En estas frases casi están compendiadas la amplia gama de las víctimas de la brujería. Por los ejemplos anteriores vemos que los que tienen terrenos, animales, habilidad mental y destreza manual, buenas labranzas, los cabildantes enérgicos, los que toman el camino de la transculturación, son víctimas de la brujería. Asimismo por medio de la brujería se cobran las venganzas y los resentimientos.

No es sorprendente que los blancos indeseables sean víctimas de la brujería. Son indeseables aquellos que codician sus tierras. Los médicos por su propia iniciativa, o ayudados por el Cabildo, en lugares estratégicos convocan el alma del blanco, la capturan y la azotan con pringamoza (urticácea) y le echan remedios malos para que nunca mas vuelva por esos lugares. Manifiestan que el blanco empieza a sentir demasiada pereza para transitar por esos lugares y finalmente opta por volver a su tierra.

En Parcialidades como la de Calderas, donde presentan gran resistencia a la convivencia y contacto con el blanco existen unas gentes tan brujas y tan enemigos del blanco que incluso en la Iglesia ponen huevos brujiados a fin de que ni siquiera llegue el cura.

Cuéntanse entre las víctimas de la brujería las mujeres parturientas y los recién nacidos. Cuando el brujo u otros envidiosos no quieren que prospere determinada familia.

El poder de los brujos no solamente se extiende a los hombres y a los animales, sino también a las sementeras. La pérdida de un cultivo significa padecimiento de hambre, carencia de coca, emigración de los padres a lugares distantes a contratarse como peones.

En la roza pueden poner huevos, sal, pelos púbicos, maíz capio brujiados para que la sementera se pierda.

Maneras de brujiar. Existen varios procedimientos para practicar la brujería:

a) El más extendido y del cual más informaciones suministran consiste en la hechura de un hueco sobre el cual se espera el alma de la víctima. Esta llega alumbrando como una vela. Al instante el brujo la golpea con la tama y cae al hueco. Está a su disposición; puede enterrarla, azotarla, soplarle remedios, mambe, mostrarle objetos perjudiciales.

Cuando se desea una muerte rápida el brujo entierra el alma con remedios malos apisonando fuertemente con tierra de cementerio. El alma sale silbando cuando la persona muere.

También puede azotarla con los siguientes remedios:

*Bao** (arácea). El estómago de la víctima se infla hasta que muere.

Borrachero (Datúra sp.). Narcótico venenoso. El sujeto enloquece.

Cabuya (agáve sp.). El zumo de las hojas es cáustico. La persona se pudre.

*Caspi** (Toxicódéndron striatum Kuntze). Arbusto venenoso cuyas emanaciones producen irritaciones en la piel. La persona se hincha y muere.

Chuwet castellano, llamado por los blancos estancadera (Krameria ixína?). Posee las hojas punteadas, juntándolas al alma apuñalean a la persona.

Lechero (Euphórbia cotinifolia L.), planta venenosa. La persona se revienta.

Pringamoza. Los pelos de esta urticácea entran al cuerpo y cuando alcanzan el corazón muere el sujeto.

El brujo puede soplar mambe al alma dejando la persona ciega o enloquecerla moviéndole una calavera de venado con un *echi* por dentro.

También puede chuzarla con huesos y pelos de puerco espín, huesos de culebra, uñas de perico ligero, garras de águila.

Para faciliatr la captura del alma el brujo recoge la tierra que pisa la víctima con lo cual cae fácilmente el *us* (corazón).

b) El brujo puede hacer enojar el Duende, Arco y *Echi.* Así:

Al Duende le coloca un ají grande de montaña (cápsicum sp.) en el sitio donde vive; pasa la persona y muere con unas picadas al corazón.

Al Arco le coloca trapos de mujer menstruante en las fuentes barriales, lugares húmedos. Pasa una persona, la pica y muere.

Al *echi* pone remedios donde trabaja la víctima, picado trasboca sangre y muere allí mismo.

c) Otra manera de brujiar es untando remedios malos a la sal, tocino, huevos que va a comer la víctima. Si por casualidad se los come otro no le pasa nada, puesto que el maleficio no estaba dirigido para ella.

d) Los brujos manejan la peste a su antojo. Pueden enviarla a las personas o a la comunidad entera. La bruja Felisa lleva la peste a Santa Rosa hasta por negocio.

e) Cuando los brujos desean que una persona no regrese mas colocan en sitio estratégico del camino dos atados de *chayuts* apuntando hacia arriba y soplando además, pringamoza seca.

f) Un médico de Santa Rosa informa la manera cómo brujiaron a uno de los exgobernadores de la parcialidad. El finado Leonidas estaba trabajando en su huerta y su rancho estaba solo. Entonces entró una mujer vestida de negro (Dolores Oinó) echó en la olla de comida pelos púbicos de ella misma y raspó un tiesto de pijao que contenía plata. Leonidas comió esa comida y empezó a secársele la garganta y a respirar con dificultad. Finalmente murió. La peste de pijao tiene los mismos síntomas.

g) Cuando el brujo quiere que una persona sufra un accidente (fracturas, contusiones, dislocamientos), coloca en cualquier parte de la casa de aquel una piedra muy lisa, sacada de la quebrada. Esa persona en cualquier parte se resbala y cae.

Si una persona al caerse se mata se piensa que el brujo le ha enviado *ptans*.

h) Para brujiar las sementeras usan tabaco, fósforos y otros remedios con las cuales se chamusca y se pierde.

Como bien puede observarse, los brujos no utilizan para sus hechicerías partes u objetos pertenecientes a la víctima, tales como pelos, uñas, ropas, etc. La mayor parte de los remedios que usan son hierbas u objetos que tienen propiedades nocivas al hombre o pueden causarle daño.

El brujo piensa que al ponerlos en contacto con el alma o simplemente con el cuerpo produce los efectos deseados.

La brujería paez es un caso claro de magia imitativa u homeopática, según la clásica definición de Frazer. Es "el deseo dominando al mundo con instrumentos nacidos del deseo" (10).

Los paeces temen a la enfermedad y a la muerte y viven con el temor de que los blancos les arrebaten sus tierras, sus ranchos, sus sementeras, es decir, sus fuentes mismas de la supervivencia.

Mientras los brujos atacan los hábitos de la economía capitalista y abiertamente a la trasculturación, los médicos defienden la comunidad de las enfermedades y del ataque de individuos o de grupos, mediante sus adivinaciones y sus conjuros enérgicos y constantes. En este sentido brujo y médico se identifican. Defienden a la comunidad.

Castigo de los brujos. El brujo es temido por toda la población; identificado totalmente por ella goza de la animadversión general; se fomentan caudales de odios contra éllos, terminando en la mayor parte de las veces con castigos violentos: metida al cepo, azotamiento, baños y aún hasta el destierro.

La aversión que las gentes de Santa Rosa tienen por la bruja Ipia, se expresa nítidamente en las palabras de un *lé eu*: "A esta vieja hay que traerla al pueblo, quemarle los remedios, bañarla con agua de ají, maniatarla y hacerla amanecer así para evitar que se fugue, se bañe con sus remedios y se convierta nuevamente en bruja".

En esta misma parcialidad los brujos acusados de haber matado con sus artes al exgobernador recibieron el siguiente castigo del Cabildo.

Los brujos, sacados de sus casas con todas sus jigras de remedios, fueron conducidos al pueblo. En la plaza y en presencia de las gentes el capitán iba sacando de las jigras remedio por remedio, exhibiéndolo al público y preguntando sus usos. Los remedios eran desconocidos en su mayor parte y los brujos no informaban nada acerca de ellos. Formaron un montón. El Gobernador del cabildo informa que hasta tierra de cementerio habían tenido. Roció los remedios con gasolina, colocó en medio a los brujos y prendió fuego. Los brujos asustados imploraron perdón alegando que eran inocentes.

En la jigra dizque encontraron flor de azufre con el cual hi-

(10) Ponce, Aníbal. *Estudios de Psicología.* El Ateneo. Buenos Aires. 1947. p. 363.

cieron una bebida que los obligaron a tomar a fin de que se les alejara los malos espíritus. Los brujos por su parte informan que la tal bebida era una mezcla de excrementos de animales domésticos y heces humanas.

Los brujos tuvieron que amanecer en el velorio y cavar parte de la sepultura. Después del entierro los invitaron a la comida que se ofrece en estos casos, invitación que rechazaron, pero fueron obligados a asistir. En la comida dizque les dieron pelos púbicos, informan las brujos. Luego las gentes los echaron a un remanso.

En Calderas los castigos son más violentos. En 1951, prendieron a un brujo lo metieron dos días al cepo, le obligaron a tomar el brebaje de excrementos, lo azotaron y finalmente lo desterraron. El brujo casi se muere. Se quejó a la Alcaldía de Inzá de la brutalidad de su Cabildo. La Alcaldía hizo destruír por la fuerza el cepo, a pesar de las protestas de los indígenas. Algo por el estilo eran los castigos de los brujos en la Parcialidad de San Andrés hasta hace unos treinta años.

Muchas veces, cuando existe un brujo demasiado peligroso, se reunen los médicos para matarlo. Invocan el alma y cuando se acerca le aciertan un garrotazo con un palo untado de *chayuts*. El alma sale silbando. Cuando erupsiona un volcán es señal que el diablo está castigando el alma de los brujos.

Características psicológicas de los brujos. A grandes rasgos, los brujos son tímidos, resentidos, esquivos, con un delirio de persecución muy acentuado; procuran evitar el contacto con las gentes, creyendo ver en cada una de ellas los presuntos acusadores; tienden a autoabastecerse; desconfiados en sumo grado, niegan rotundamente las acusaciones de que son víctimas, considerándose así mismas como personas buenas, sanas e inofensivas; aparentan ignorar los remedios y es muy difícil que suministren informes sobre brujería. En su mayoría son inteligentes. Endoculturalmente son inconformes con su propio grupo, en tanto que encarnan la lucha contra la influencia de culturas extrañas.

Los *nasa* tienen el convencimiento de que apenas se oculta el sol, los brujos ya están entregados a sus actividades. Los más peligrosos duermen de día. Por lo mismo consideran como características peculiares de los brujos la vista colorada, mirada huidiza, esquivez, mal semblante, egoísmo, desconfianza. Tienen el aspecto de criminales, afirman los informantes.

Valor dinámico-social de la brujería. Dentro de la sociedad paez, la brujería es vital, demasiado actuante, gravita en todos los intersticios sociales. Pero, cómo se realiza, dónde y cuándo, pertenece al ámbito de lo encubierto. Sus ejecutores son subrepticios. Actúan siempre a la sombra. Las gentes únicamente perciben los efectos. Solo la actitud expectante nos denuncia su presencia. Los temores latentes nos hablan de su vigor. Los miembros del Cabildo, el capitán, los *té eu*, los hombres de trabajo, las mujeres parturientas temen poderosamente al brujo.

Cuando la peste cunde por la comunidad, cuando los mayores mueren perdiéndose sus experiencias y consejos, piensan irremediablemente en el poder de los brujos. Las muertes en su mayoría son provocadas por los brujos dicen los informantes.

La brujería constituye una barrera poderosa contra la importación de los hábitos de la economía capitalista y aún contra la intromisión del blanco en sus parcialidades. Resulta singular la existencia de la brujería en las parcialidades menos aculturadas en tanto que la de San Andrés prácticamente ha desaparecido. Se dice que era vigorosa hasta 1926, año en que el Concejo Municipal de Inzá creó en la parcialidad una área de población en la que se radicaron los blancos. Con esta medida la convivencia era forzosa y optaron por aceptarlos. Sin embargo en las borracheras de los viejos aún aflora el tremendo resentimiento connaturalizado en ellos.

Asimismo, deja sentir sus influencias en la distribución de las tierras. Cada familia posee terrenos de los cuales vive. Con el aumento de la población ha relievado el problema de la desigual distribución de las mismas. Es pasto de la envidia y de la brujería quienes más terreno poseen; son mas propensos a los ataques mágicos con el fin de quitarles las tierras. Las tensiones intrasociales, parece que se equilibran con esta institución. El temor a la represalia, aplaca las agresiones. La venganza es demasiado perjudicial, puesto que no solamente puede manifestarse contra la persona sino también contra los animales y las sementeras. Cabe perfectamente la observación de que mientras en Calderas son escasísimos los hechos de sangre y desconocido el suicidio, en San Andrés, parcialidad aculturada en su mayor parte, los homicidios, asesinatos e incendios, son espeluznantes.

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The Economy of the Paez

[Economía de los Paez]

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The Economy of the Paez

by

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/293/ General observations

433 Products of the soil make up the substantive part of the Páez economy. The Indians are barely familiar with a few manual arts practiced on very rare occasions. Hunting and gathering are quite secondary, and fishing even more so. Livestock-raising, while being an activity worthy of notice for its development, and for being, in addition, the essence of the native conception of wealth, serves more for carrying out disadvantageous barter transactions with the mestizo and white populations than for deriving a profit either in cash or in kind. The Páez economy is thus a direct one, devoid of intermediaries in the functions of production and consumption. The family consumes what it produces. The articles of consumption that are acquired are few. Essentially [439] they are salt, tools, cooking utensils, and clothing. On the other hand, the products that are sold are few: coffee, laurel wax, potatoes, garlic, and coca. It should be noted that the increase in some of these products is of recent date. Páez production merely provisions and seldom leaves a surplus to maintain regular trade. Foresight for times of scarcity exists, but it is neither sufficient nor organized.

221 Working the land conditions the daily activities of the Páez family. It might be said that the vital cycles are subordinated to the agricultural cycles. Basically, the year is divided into the months of the preparation of the soil and the months of the harvest, [166] including the protection of the crops in season. They devote the [464] months that fall between the extremes of this economic cycle to minor manual activities or they emigrate to hire out as day laborers

/293 cont./

221 on the fincas of the "whites" (1). The social life and the re-
[166]
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1. Generic term with which the natives designate all those who observe the norms of western culture, without any distinction as to race. For convenience we have adopted this usage, putting the term in quotation marks.

ligious fiestas are frequent during this period. The work is done /294/ with devotion and perseverance. It is not done in haste, but there is no resting either.

423 Every Páez family has its lands. This is its ambition. The
[183] primary source of its security. Every crag has an owner whose title has been won by the sweat of his brow. Every crag harbors a rancho that shelters a family. Every inch of land is passionately
[578] defended by the native. The disputes stirred up by this fact are not few. In like manner the cabildos are never so zealous as in the defense of the lands of the parcialidad /a territorial division/.
[648] The areas of settlement /areas of colonization by whites/ are spearheads in the very heart of the community. They were established against the full opposition of the natives. On the other hand, the defense of the land and the prevention of contamination by foreign peoples are postulates of the doctrine. The distribution of the houses suggests in advance the profusion of paths and private property.

When they win the scarce land, the distances and difficul-
[464] ties that loom are not important. They are good colonizers, and it is rare that persons who lack land hire themselves out as permanent peons or become tenant farmers on the great haciendas.
[181] They prefer independence above all.

311 To study the economy of the Páez, certain factors of a
133 geographico-physical and cultural nature cannot be overlooked. They are:

1. Thermic levels. The lands now occupied by the Páez of Tierradentro correspond to the thermic levels of cold and temperate. The contour line corresponding to 2,000 meters

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311 passes through Topa, Turminá, Guanacas, El Cabuyo, Malvasá,
/133 Pisimbalá, Lame, La Troja, and Irlanda, from where it twists eastward. The contour line of 3,000 meters, approximately parallel to the previous one, is very close to the ridge of the
[361] Central Cordillera. These two contour lines form a narrow zone that corresponds to the cold thermal level and within which are found the parcialidades of Toez, Huila, Vitoncó, San José, Mosoco, Lame, and Yaquivá, aside from a considerable area from the extinct parcialidades of Guanacas and Turminá.
311 This entire zone represents a "culturally influenced zone" in
[487] the literal sense that Professor Guhl gives it (2). A fine bridle-

2. Guhl, E. "Ambiente Geográfico-Humano de la Costa del Atlántico /Geographical-human Environment of the Atlantic Coast/," Revista Geográfica, p. 159.

[489] path joins Mosoco and Silvia, crossing the Paramo de Moras. The traffic of people is intense and constant during almost every /295/
311 month of the year. In the last decades, this has been an active zone
648 of native and "white" colonization. It still remains so. Coscuro
361 and Malvasá, in the Parcialidad of San Andrés, are purely "white" regions of colonization. But Tumbichukue, the high parts of Lame, Mosoco, San José, Huila, and Toez are zones of exclu-
361 sively native colonization. The importance of Mosoco is out-
311 standing. It was a great center of Páez settlement and still is, in the same manner as Pitayó and Tacueyó are on the other side of the Cordillera, but we cannot state on this account that "the major part of the settlements and the most important ones for the Paeces" are located in the cold region, as was stated
[177] categorically by Professor José Pérez de Barradas. Mosoco,
[433] fully in the process of acculturation, is a good producer of potatoes, wheat, and maize. It is the true Tierradentro in
[648] physiography, production, and progress. But in the times of
[175] the Conquest it was the people of Tálaga, Avirama, Calderas, and Togoima who defeated Ampudia and Belalcázar, and the

361 /295 cont./
311 strong political groupings had their principal seats at Tálaga,
643 Suin, and Avirama (3). "The place of residence of a cacique
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3. Hernández de Alba, Gr. "The Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia," pp. 915-960.

constituted a sort of settlement or gathering place, most of which remain today as Indian pueblos and retain their names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima," Chitoquez, Cuetando, Yaquivá, Pisimbalá, and Itaibe, all of them located at the
361 temperate thermal level. It is precisely along the course of
311 the Páez River and along the middle and lower courses of its
161 tributaries that the Páez population is now concentrated.

13 2. Physiography. Merely a single glance at the wild geography of Tierradentro will give an idea of the pattern of life of the Páez people. The physiography of the entire course of the Páez River, from Irlanda to Itaibe, with nearly all of its tributaries, is compressed into profiled accidents. It might be said that it forms a "thermic chimney," Professor Guhl's expression. It belongs to the temperate thermal level. This is the land of the great slopes covered with natural pastures and of the short, narrow vegas with fertile soils. There are those who speak of the fertility of all the soil of Tierradentro, classifying it, consequently, as a privileged zone. The concept proves to be deceptive, because it does not take into account the physiographic factor. We find the usable vegetal layer /296/ only in the extremely narrow vegas of the rivers, ravines, and streams, and in places
13 where the topography becomes a little smoother. The left bank
241 of the Páez River, from Toez to La Plata, is usable for agricul-
[233] ture and stock-raising only with difficulty, given the brutality of the slopes. Every tributary that enters on this side is a deep ravine isolated by ridges running from northeast to southwest. On the other hand, the left bank has important vegas. It is there that plantains, manioc, sugar cane, coca, arracacha, maize, and lately coffee and guadua bamboo are grown. The soils are essentially acid, and the Gramineae grow in abundance

/296 cont./

13 and are of very good quality. The wheat and coffee from the
241 municipio of Inzá enjoy a deserved reputation in the republic for the quantity and quality of their crops.

133 The Páez River receives approximately 32 watercourses on
134 the left bank, and 17 on the right. It is easy to imagine the ruggedness of the terrain if we bear in mind the fact that each
[241] one of them forms an impassable ravine. It is also easy to imagine the magnitude of the erosion, assisted by factors of a cultural nature, such as the systematic battle against herbaceous vegetation by means of the system of annual fires. The violence of the wild waters denudes and even forms veritable rivers of stone, such as are seen at the place called Vicanenga in the municipio of Páez. The streams and torrents sometimes swell to extraordinary proportions. In 1949 the Topa torrent completely washed away its small tributary valley, on which stood the hamlet known by the name of Brisas, now Valencia, a flood which was repeated in April of this year.

241 Of course, the extent of the workable land does not keep
133 pace with the increase in population. The physiography of the
134 cold thermal level, on the other hand, spreads out and flattens
[161] a little, the horizon broadens, the patches of arboreal vegetation increase, and the plots multiply, like veritable chessboards in Mosoco, San José, and Vitoncó. Their soils nourish maize, wheat, potatoes, ullucos, nasturtium, and garlic. On the dividing lines between the plots there rise, like green walls, the plantings of cabuya.

161 3. Population density. The growth of the indigenous popu-
361 lation in general, and of the "white" one in particular, has
311 compelled the former to utilize lands increasingly more difficult, steep, /297/ and sterile, or to emigrate in search of uncultivated land. As early as the time of the Conquest we find notes on the spread of the Páez people to the western slopes of the Central Cordillera, forming such nuclei as Pitayó, Tacueyó, and San Francisco. Nowadays, we find Páez groups on the eastern slopes of the Western Cordillera in the department of Cauca, in the departments of Huila and Tolima, and in the Cauca Valley, as Páez

/297 cont./

/6/ outposts, the centers of Chinche and Potrerillos to the north of
31/ the settlement of Palmira (4).
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4. Duque Gómez, L. "Problemas Sociales de algunas parcialidades indígenas del Occidente de Colombia /Social problems of some native parcialidades of western Colombia/," p. 187.

Agriculture and horticulture

241 Agriculture and horticulture constitute the primary source
133 of subsistence for the Páez. It covers a wide hypsometric zone
[433] that goes from 1,000 meters (La Plata, Huila) to well beyond the contour line of 3,000 meters in altitude above sea level (Mosoco). Naturally, the species cultivated vary with the thermal level, and, consequently, the dietetic regimen. What do not vary are the methods of cultivation and, above all, the magical practices
241 associated with them. There are also variations in the extent
134 and the type of cultivable soils. Those used the most in Tierradentro are the ones included in the temperate thermal level. We have already discussed their fertility and extent. The soils of the cold thermal level are fertile and more extensive. Thick humus layers are found in Lame, Mosoco, San José, La Troja, Irlanda, Guanacas, Turminá, and Coscuro. These are, of course, truly privileged zones. Nevertheless, the soils are not rationally utilized or conserved. The land is exploited in an exhaustive manner. A clearing will not tolerate two consecutive plantings. Thus, each year new land, new clearing, new fencing, and new burning are required. After having been harvested once, the ground is abandoned, and in the course of the years it once more becomes covered with shrubs and thickets. After seven years, more or less, the land is again cleared of its underbrush, and the same cultivated species are planted once more. In Calderas, Santa Rosa, and Togoima, maize, arracacha, frijoles, cabbages, potatoes, and sometimes peas are planted. The process described earlier is typical of these parcialidades. In Mosoco and the cold parts generally, maize, potatoes, /298/ broad beans, and frijoles are planted in the same clearing, and

/298 cont./

241 in some cases, fruit trees, and after this, wheat. In San Andrés,
134 especially in the vegas, maize, plantains, frijoles, arracacha, manioc, sugar cane, and coffee are planted. Thus, there is not proper utilization of the soil or protection of it, aside from the several years of rest. They are not familiar with fertilizers, the rotation of crops, or irrigation systems.

241 It is interesting to note that the families of San Andrés,
423 Calderas, Lame, and Mosoco generally have lands in the low places along the rivers and streams and in the high places where arboreal vegetation abounds, which they call the "montaña." In this way, they can cultivate cold and temperate zone plants (Calderas, San Andrés, Lame) or take advantage of the annual seasonal cycle in the high parts of the Cordillera (Mosoco).

244 A principal dwelling is erected on one of the fincas, while
342 on the others ranchos where the families live during the months of harvest are built. It is at the principal dwelling where the garden is made with plantains, sugar cane, onions, coriander, coca, cabbage (San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Calderas, Togoima), or with cabbage, garlic, onions, yuca de pipchao /yams/, peaches, and apples (Lame, Mosoco, Vitoncó). Peppers are cultivated in the gardens. This principal dwelling forms what in our culture is called hogar /hearth, home/. It is here that the fire is always maintained, that the ears of maize, bundles of wheat, bags of frijoles, tools, troughs, cooking utensils, and sugar mills are kept, where the chickens, guinea pigs, pigs, and turkeys live.

249 Industrial crops practically do not exist. There are no
[248] tobacco or cotton plantations. Sugar-cane plantings are not
[273] extensive among the natives. They are used solely for pro-
[778] ducing guarapo, which has almost completely replaced the maize chicha. Only the whites and a few mestizos have extensive sugar-cane fields for producing panela.

248 Figue thrives in Tierradentro. But it is in Vitoncó and Lame that there are numerous plantings of cabuya of very good quality in terms of the size and quantity of the fiber, planted on the boundaries of the properties. This wealth is not utilized as much as it should be. The natives merely make pouches and lassos for internal consumption.

P /298 cont./
245 Guadua bamboo thrives in the temperate valleys. It is of excellent quality. In most cases it serves as shade for the coffee. Its increase would redound in obvious benefits.

P 249 /299/ In spite of the fact that plantings of coca are pro-
C [249] scribed by Colombian law, it is cultivated for consumption at
[656] almost every home, and in some parcialidades there are numerous
P [435] plantings for commercial purposes. The value of the leaf is high. A pound is quoted at three pesos.

P C 313 Sawmills are found in Coscuro, Toez, the Símbola River, and the Salado stream. But this is almost exclusively an industry
P C [785] of the "whites." Only in San Andrés and Mosoco was it possible to see native sawyers. There is no reforestation.

P 241 172 137 In a large part of the parcialidades of San Andrés, Calderas, Lame, Mosoco, and Vitoncó, and the entire valley of the Páez River, the clearings seem to have been done in quite remote times. There are no forests, but remnants are found along the crests and ridges that separate the valleys and in the windings where the human foot does not venture to tread. The cliffs are covered with uniform savanna vegetation.

P 172 241 In many parcialidades there are archeological remains belonging to an unknown civilization earlier than that of the Páez.
P [783] The lands where these elements are found are utilized without any qualms. But when the plantings are in a "new clearing," the natives take the precaution of performing the required purifications before beginning to consume the crops, in order to avoid the "Pijao" plague which might happen if the crops had been in contact with the archeological remains, "pijaos" in the expression of the natives.

P 245 The cultivation of fruit trees is not very widespread, in spite of the fact that up to not very long ago Inzá enjoyed the reputation of being the producer of peaches and apples of very good quality. Nowadays they are cultivated for commercial purposes in Vitoncó, La Troja, and El Cabuyo, where true orchards of these trees are maintained with care. The fruits are splendid and are harvested during the first three months of the

/299 cont./

245 year. Traders in Silvia sell the crops at up to 14 pesos an arroba.
[439] Lame produces perhaps the best peaches, but they are not suitable for export because they are easily damaged. There are also numerous plantings in Tumbichukue and Calderas, although they do not have much care.

247 Floriculture does not exist among the Páez, and they cannot understand the labor that the "whites" invest in their gardens. They are always of the opinion that food plants should be sown on such lands.

241 Among the cultivated plants, they regard as native maize ("the /300/ Pijao had maize"), the hartón /large-sized/ plantain ("the Pijao also had it"), frijoles, mejicano /squash, Cucurbita pepo/, cabbages, and the cane "criolla" /Creole, native/, while coca, they say, seems rather to have come from the "whites."

241 Species cultivated and zones of cultivation

137 Here is a list of the food plants cultivated by the Páez (5):

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[128]

5. We thank the Herbario Nacional Colombiano, especially Dr. Jesús M. Idrobo, for the scientific identification of the plants.

/300 cont./

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Common Name	Latin Name	Páez Name
Maize	Zea mais L.	kuki
Plantain	Musa paradisiaca L.	tulí
Banana	Musa sapientum L.	kineño (6)
Manioc	Manihot utilissima L.	ñu
Sweet potato	Ipomea batatas Poit. Andigenum	ut
Potato	Solanum tuberosum	kúku
Arracacha	Arracacia xanthorrhiza Bancr.	as (7)
Sugar cane	Saccharum officinarum L.	ñuuka
Cabbage	Brassica oleracea var. acephala	kulles (8)
Onion	Allium cepa L.	squlle (9)
Frijol	Phaseolus vulgaris L.	us
Ullucos	Ullucus tuberosus ex Lozano	shubil
Wheat	Triticum aestivum L.	senchi
Barley	Hordeum vulgare L.	sebera (10)
Garlic	Allium sativum L.	ahos
Nasturtium	Tropaeolum tuberosum R. et P.	puel
Squash	Cucurbita maxima Duchesne	Ape
Squash	Cucurbita pepo L.	Peti
Broad bean	Vicia Faba L.	epes (11)
Peas	Pisum sativum L.	ápés
Peppers	Capsicum sp.	ánsas
Coriander	Coriandrum sativum L.	kiandós (12)
Avocado	Persea americana Mill.	ítse
Orange	Citrus sinensis (L) Osbeck	limes
Apple	Pyrus malus L.	manzanas
Peach	Prunus persica L. /Prunus/	kuhue

6. From the Spanish: guineo.

7. Underlined vowels indicate nasalization:

[104] sh = French ch (chaise); ch = Spanish ch (chicha); j = French j (jardín); h = Spanish j (rojo).

8. From the Spanish: coles.

9. From the Spanish: cebolla.

10. From the Spanish: cebada.

11. From the Spanish: habas.

12. From the Spanish: cilantro.

/301/

Common Name	Latin Name	Páez Name
241 Pineapple	Ananas comosus (L.) Camargo	chahá
137 Granadilla	Passiflora Ligularis Juss.	ahiá
Coffee	Coffea Arabiga L.	café
192 Ground cherry	Physalis sp.	chimbá
Chachafruto	Erythrina edulis Triana ex Micheli	ázual
Pepino	Solanum muricatum Ait.	pina
Yam	Dioscorea sp.	ahuá
Other cultivated plants:		
Coca	Erythroxylon coca Lam.	uá
Bamboo	Guadua angustifolia Kuth	wuan
Bottle gourd	Lagenaria vulgaris Serg.	tuka
Calabash tree	Crescentia cujete L.	shipuka
Cabuya	Fourcroa cabuya Trel.	huis
Dill	Anethum graveolens L.	linoje
Mint	Mentha viridis L.	suchá
Rue	Ruta graveolens.	huda

/222 In reality, as far as a certain type of frijole that the natives
241 call "kacha" is concerned, as well as the ground cherry, the chachafruto, fruits in general, and all the plants listed under "Other cultivated plants," with the exception of coca, the word "cultivated" is unsuitable, since they are practically in a semiwild state. The natives make use of their fruits, consumption thus being occasional and not always necessary.

133 Although it would appear that the territory of the Páez, at the
241 time of the Conquest, extended up to very close to the Magdalena
361 River, the principal nucleus of the population was located in the
[131] temperate zone and in the cold zone. The thermal levels determine
[161] the zones of cultivation. One of them goes from 1,000 to 2,000 meters and includes the entire valley of the Páez from Huila to La Plata, and the middle and lower courses of its tributaries Símbola, the river Negro de Narváez, Moras, Kukiyú, and Ullucos. Within it are located the capitals of the district, Inzá and Belalcázar, and the following native aldeas: Itaibe, Chitóquez (Ricaurte), Cuetando, Yaquivá, San Andrés de Pisimbalá, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Avizama, Chinas, Suin, Tálaga, Toez y Huila (Byla), as well as Valencia, Topa, Pedregal, and Turminá. They cultivate principally plantains, manioc, maize, sugar cane, frijoles, arracacha, coca, and coffee,

/301 cont./

133 which is in full development. The other zone goes from 2,000 to
241 3,000 meters and contains the pueblos of Calderas, Lame, Mosoco,
361 San José, La Troja, Vitoncó, and Irlanda. They cultivate potatoes, maize, ullucos, wheat, garlic, and nasturtium.

241 In the cultivation of cane, the Paez differentiate the following /302/ varieties: java /Java/, criolla, amarilla /yellow/ (mum ñusha), negra /black/ (ñusha kuchi). Of maize: capio (white, tender, and mulberry-colored) or kukiguafi, the calentano maize /maize of the hot regions/ or kukibah, the hard calentano, and the fine or kukimull. Of potatoes, the kaka chime (white), the kaka kuchi (with mulberry-colored skin), the kaka bé (red), and the tusa /corncob/ potato (has a mulberry-colored heart). Of manioc, they distinguish the noli, guaturunga, pitaleña, negra /black/, and colorada /red/. Of these, the first and last yield in a year and in three years, respectively, and the others in two years.

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Agricultural Cycles

Crop	Planted	Harvested	Successive Harvests
	March-May	In 8 months (temperate)	An annual harvest
Maize	May-Aug.	In 10 months (cold)	An annual harvest
	March-May	In 7 months (temperate)	An annual harvest
Frijole	May-Aug.	In 8 months (cold)	An annual harvest
Broad beans	May-Aug.	In 10 months	An annual harvest
Potato	Oct.-Dec. (paramo)	In 5 months	An annual harvest
	April-Aug.	In 5 months	An annual harvest
Ullucos	April-June	In 5 months	An annual harvest
Wheat	July-Sept.	In 8 months	An annual harvest
Manioc	Any month	In a year (noli)	Continuous
Plantain	Any month	In 2 years	Continuous

/302 cont./

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433

Crop	Planted	Harvested	Successive Harvests
Arracacha	Any month	In 2 years	Continuous
Sweet potato	Any month	In 6 months	Continuous
Coca	March-April	In 1 year	Every 3 months
Onion	Any month	In 2 months	Continuous
Garlic	Feb.-April	In 4 months	Cut every 6-8 months
Cane	April-May	In 2 years	
Coffee	March-April	In 3 years	2 harvests per year

Manioc, arracacha, sweet potatoes, plantains, onions, and cabbages are harvested throughout the year and in any month.

/303/ Coffee is harvested during the months of October and November (principal harvest) and in May and June (mid-year harvest).

In Calderas (Tumbichukue, Lame, El Cuartel, La Troja, and Vitoncó), they harvest peaches chiefly during the months [439] of February and March. Although they consume this fruit, the major part is intended for sale.

In the parcialidades of temperate climate, they consume, though not systematically, the fruits: avocado, orange, guava, and star apple.

In the parcialidad of Mosoco and toward the first half of the year, they harvest potatoes, maize, frijoles, broad beans, barley, wheat, and ullucos. The harvest begins with frijoles and immediately continues with maize, broad beans, potatoes, wheat, and barley, ending with the harvest of ullucos, which is done in the month of August.

The harvests of potatoes, nasturtium tubers, and ullucos of the first half of the year are done with splendid results in the "paramo," a mountainous region that merges into the savannas of the Paramo de Moras. This area, conquered in

/303 cont./

241 relatively recent times, has fertile and humid soils. The harvests
433 are large and of excellent quality. It produces profitable yields.
244 The real production of Mosoco potatoes is there. They them-
[492] selves designate it as the principal harvest. During the months of April and May, when the potatoes are being harvested, numerous droves of pack animals carry the produce daily to the market
[435] in Silvia. The profits from this crop are dependable. The cultivators state that even selling at four pesos per arroba it gives a profit. Normally an arroba of potatoes is quoted at six or seven pesos. The planting of potatoes in the paramo begins in October, is intensified in November and December, and the last is done in January. They take advantage of the mildness of the climate
[132] at this time. During the months of June, July, and August the
[484] winter is harsh, with intense cold and hurricane winds. Crossing the paramos at this time is quite perilous.

241 In San José, La Troja, El Cabuyo, El Cuartel, Lame, and
433 Vitoncó, during the first four months of the year, wheat, barley, maize, frijoles, broad beans, and peaches are harvested.

Toward the months of October, November, and December, harvesting is done in Suin, Chinas, Calderas, San Andrés, Togoima, Santa Rosa, and Mosoco itself and consists principally of Maize, frijoles, ullucos, potatoes, and coffee. They constitute what we might /304/ call the second harvests of the year in Tierradentro. The planting begins after Ash Wednesday (March approximately) and is intensified in the months of April and May.
244 The last is done in July. The potato seed planted at about this
433 time in Mosoco comes from the harvest in the "paramo." This is a secondary planting of scant yield. It usually results in losses, but the Mosoco cultivators plant with the aim of preserving the seed. It is interesting to note that the sole agricultural activity of one trader based in Mosoco is the planting of potatoes in the
[434] paramo. He dispenses with the July sowing altogether. He prefers to buy the seed in Silvia, he pays the entire labor force, and in spite of these investments, which are high, he gets a good profit.

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241 Aside from maize, a basic product of consumption in all
433 the parcialidades, some of them emphasize certain crops primarily intended for commercial purposes. Thus, Mosoco produces potatoes and garlic; San José, wheat; Vitoncó, wheat and peaches; Lame, wheat and laurel wax; Togoima, coca; and the others, coffee.

241 The months of the most intense labor in the temperate
433 zone correspond to the first five of the year, and especially to February and March, in order to take advantage of the sunny days during those months for the burning and the sowing, which in turn will benefit from the rains of April, May, and June. During this time, the reserves of the previous year's harvests are consumed, which, let it be said in passing, do not amount
[132] to much. Thus, the months of scarcity are June, July, and August, and those of relative abundance, October, November, and December; the former relatively dry and the latter with copious rainfall.

In Mosoco this schedule varies considerably, owing to the
[132] peculiar climate and the geographical position. The rains are constant in almost every month of the year; nevertheless, one can count on a few weeks of sunshine during the months of January and February. In the middle of the year, when the trade winds blow from the southeast, the winter is harsh. Thus, the months of intense labor are April, May, and June and coincide exactly with the harvesting of potatoes, wheat, and maize, and also those of November and December, for the planting of potatoes in the "paramo." March, April, and May, are months of plenty, and to some extent September and October as well. It would seem that there should not be any months of "hambruna" /extreme hunger/, but there are.

/305/ It is clear that the people of Mosoco work more and harder than the other natives; they actually harvest in almost every month of the year, but, like the others, they have months of "hambruna," which are September, October, and November, in spite of the fact that during these months they harvest potatoes and ullucos, but they call them such because they do not have
600 maize. The cultivation of potatoes on a large scale began more

The cultivation of potatoes on a large scale
/305 cont./ began more
244 or less two decades ago. "From 1925 to 1930 the one who
433 planted the most potatoes was Ezequiel Mulcué, who caused amazement among the people; now the least planted is 20 arrobas," says one informant. Nowadays there are natives who sow up to 200 arrobas in a year, of which only 70 are planted in the "paramo," and they yield better results than the other arrobas planted. Then, we ask, why do the people of Mosoco have their months of hunger?

262 The basic product of the Paez diet is maize. It was in
154 the past and it continues to be so in the present. Psychologi-
[198] cally, they feel completely satisfied when they have maize for consumption. Its absence causes a sensation of dietary dissatis-
[243] faction. Before the era of the potato, the cultivation of maize and wheat predominated.

461 During the months of July, August, September, and Octo-
464 ber, the natives have little work. This is why those from
166 Vitoncó, San José, Lame, and Suin go and sign up as peons on the fincas of the "whites" on the other side of the Cordillera (Popayán, Corinto, and even in the Cauca Valley). They return toward the end of the year, when the maize and wheat harvests are drawing near. The natives of Calderas, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, and Togoima go to the fincas of Inzá or La Plata. They return in October when the maize harvests are approaching. It must be said that this labor force is excellent and cheap. And for this reason very much in demand.

The natives of Mosoco have sufficient work in their own country.

Clearings /rozas/

241 The term roza is used generically for the extent of land
433 cleared, burned, cleaned, and fenced, ready for planting. It is found on every private property. It has an area of approximately one hectare. Clearings of two or more hectares are rare. An increase in production does not reflect an enlargement of the clearings, but rather their multiplication and the utilization of ever more rugged and /306/ sterile lands. The natives, to

/306 cont./

241 indicate the size of their clearings, refer to the quantity of maize
433 planted, that is to say, four cuartillas (approximately two arrobas). Since each clearing does not produce more than one annual harvest, the Páez calculate the size of their property in terms of years. Thus, if asked how much land they own, they state that they have two, four, six, or ten years. Which is the same as saying that they have land where they can lay out two, four, six, or ten separate clearings. Thus, among the Páez, one year is not merely a measure of time, but also an agrarian measure.

241 The clearings are never made in the foothills covered with grass /pajonales/. They are laid out where thick brush or true forest is found. Seen from a distance, they look like open rectangles or squares in the midst of forest or brush. When they are laid out in virgin montaña, the work begins in October. But ordinarily it is during the months of December, January, and February that the natives are busy at this task. These are summer months, and furthermore there is food for consumption. The summer sun rapidly dries out the underbrush, and toward the end of February and through the month of March it is completely burned. When passing through Tierradentro at this time of year, one sees black patches everywhere. At the same time, all the grasses on the slopes are burned so that with the winter rains they will come back vigorously and serve as pasture for the animals.

Burning is the most widespread and most deep-rooted system of agriculture in Tierradentro. It is the most effective way to clear the lands full of vines, grass, brush, and trees, and, logically, the most economical. It combats all sorts of insects injurious to the plantings, and poisonous reptiles, which are not scarce. The ashes produced, when they are not carried away by the rushing waters, are a true corrective for the unquestionably acid soils. The burning of the grasses is essential, for aside from doing away with the dry straw, a veritable thicket that prevents the shoots from growing, it also does away with ticks. The tender shoots of the herbaceous plants make splendid fodder for the bovine, mule, and wool-bearing livestock. Unfortunately, these burnings are not done in a creative spirit, but
000 rather in a destructive one. Fire is also set to the vegetation on

Fire is also set to the vegetation on
/306 cont./
241 the ridges, crests, and windings, where no obvious advantage
185 can be gained and where, instead, it destroys a vegetation that virtually /307/ could be turned into a barrier that would prevent the danger of the animals.

The clearings are also laid out on the banks of brooks, streams, rivers, springs, and damp hollows, which, from a lucrative standpoint, is excellent, since it is precisely there that the harvest yields the most, but it is very harmful, since it destroys the vegetation that preserves the moisture and holds the soil, thus avoiding erosion.

241 The clearing is done by all the male members of the
476 family. But more generally the mingas /communal work-parties/ do it. In this case, the workers first cut with their machetes the grasses, branches, vines, etc., in the lower part of the forest; then, with axes and machetes, they fell the trees. It should be noted that these trees are not cut at the base, but more or less at eye level. The fallen trees are allowed to dry for approximately one month and then are burned. The thick logs remain intact, as does the brush. This is piled up, and sticks are cut to make fencing. This work is also done by mingas. First the stakes are driven in about a meter apart. Then sticks and branches are woven in. The fences are made so tight that they prevent dogs,
[417] pigs, and other animals from entering. People enter by means of a stick with notches that leans against the fence on either side. These sticks are called afa, and they are also placed at difficult spots on the paths, chiefly for crossing obstructions.

241 In Mosoco, where the lands are cleared and divided into lots, clearings do not exist. Only in the "paramo," the mountainous region, can they be observed. But the custom of leaving the land uncultivated for several years has not disap-
[824] peared. The fences are made of lechero /Euphorbia/ stakes, a tree that has the peculiarity of taking root and continuing to live. But the use of barbed wire is steadily increasing.

Planting and harvesting

[152] Planting is conditioned by the pluviometrical conditions in Tierradentro. The summer months are January, February, March, July, August, and September, and those of winter are

/307 cont./

241 April, May, June, October, November, and December. Natu-
132 rally, these periods of summer are relative and correspond in reality to the temperate zone. In Mosoco and the high parts of the Cordillera, /308/ a fine rain is falling almost constantly, if not an actual downpour. In July, August, and September, the winter is harsh, influenced entirely by the trade winds from the southeast.

Bearing these climatic factors in mind, planting is done during the months of March, April, and May. They take advantage of the rains of these months. This agricultural cycle is common for all of Tierradentro including Mosoco proper. The "páramuna" part of Mosoco is excepted, for the reasons listed earlier.

243 Of the cultivable species, maize occupies the dominant place in the agricultural activity of Tierradentro. The preparation of the soil differs somewhat in the temperate and cold thermal levels. Whereas cleaning out and burning the underbrush are sufficient in the temperate one, planting beds are made in the cold one. Maize seed is selected from the best and most filled-out ears, avoiding the small kernels at the points. They believe that they would not fruit, calling them, for this reason, "maize-man," and, on the other hand, calling the big kernels
[842] that yield produce "maize-woman." They make the association that it is the women who have children, even though they do not conceive of fertility without concourse with the man.

243 It is common to have mingas for sowing. In this way the
244 work is soon finished. On the appointed day, eight to ten
476 laborers assemble, with bags full of maize tied at their waists;
[462] they start sowing very early. This is a masculine activity, al-
[184] though in Lame and Mosoco women also participate. The holes are made with a strong, pointed stick at intervals of one meter and 50 centimeters and to a depth of 10 to 15 centimeters. Six or seven kernels are placed in each hole. They bury the frijole next to the logs that remain from the clearing. Peas are also commonly sown there. The seeds of bottle gourds and ahuyama/ squash, /Cucurbita maxima/, which are sown in the maize fields,

/308 cont./

243 are also selected; the larger, round one is regarded as the
244 woman and the less vigorous one as the man. In the cold climates
476 they usually sow, in addition, broad beans and wheat, and in the temperate ones arracacha, manioc, plantains, and other species.

243 In three months, when the maize is man-high, weeding
476 is done. The underbrush is uprooted and left on the same ground to dry out and rot. It serves as fertilizer for the plantings. But the natives have no conception of fertilizers, and any suggestion made in this connection is regarded by them /309/ as a waste of time. There are also mingas for weeding, and boys and even women participate. In about six months the dry and yellow leaves are stripped from the stalks, a task which they call descalzar /to discalceate/; they believe that this makes the tender leaves acquire a dark-green color and the ears grow
[824] strong. The stripped leaves are used to cover the roofs of the ranchos which are built for watching over the plantings and to house the family at harvest time.

243 The fields are attacked by flocks of parrots and chamones
825 /a kind of bird/; they are driven away with scarecrows (kanasá), which are put in strategic places. Squirrels and dogs are also enemies of maize, and to protect it they build traps or use their shotguns. In addition, the women and children constantly go around the fields. Next to the rancho a high platform is often built, from which the integrity of the plantings can be guarded.

243 The natives know that droughts parch the sown ground and
789 an exaggerated winter injures them. When the leaves are scorched
754 and the plant does not make ears, they think then that envious people (the sorcerers) have cast a spell on the maize. In such cases, they call the good curer (tẽ eu) to lift the spell. Protection thus has a magical character (13).

13. Bernal Villa, S. "Magia of Medicina entre los Paeces /Magic and Medicine among the Paez/," p. 245.

/309 cont./

685 The natives do not steal maize. If they need some, they
243 buy it from their neighbor. Such transactions are made at very
[432] low prices. If someone refuses to sell, that is to say, "is stingy
[623] with maize," the buyer threatens to rob him, although he never
[692] does it if he is a good person, but will if he is bad (sorcerer). Such thefts are punished by the cabildo.

243 When the ear of maize is filled out and tender (choclo /a
[789] roasting ear/) consumption begins, after the performance of magical practices if the produce is from a new clearing (14).

14. Ibid., p. 246.

Consumption begins at the outer part and all around the field, leaving the central part to turn into dry maize. If someone picks maize from just any part, people comment acidly that he "eats like a dog." The harvesting of the maize is done in one or two days. Relatives and friends are invited to help
[476] and are rewarded with approximately one arroba. The same
[465] amount is also given to those who helped disinterestedly with the clearing and sowing.

243 /310/ An informant from Mosoco says that it is customary
431 among the natives to present relatives and friends with a "carrera" /stretch, row/ of each harvest. Those of wheat and barley are excepted. The carrera consists in harvesting all the "matas" /bushes, sprigs/ that remain around the plantings, since, as we have seen, the harvesting is done from the periphery to the center. The beneficiaries in turn do the same, so that the amounts received are reciprocally returned. This favor to relatives and friends carries with it implicit factors of understanding and affection, for not all receive this manifestation of esteem.
243 The same informant says that the consumption of roasting ears
574 begins with what is called "cura de la labranza" /treatment of the field/, which consists of the following: The owner invites his relatives and friends to a kind of banquet with an abundance of tender-maize cakes /bollos/ or tamales /envueltos/, chicken, and other select dishes.

/310 cont./

243 As may be noted, the magical practices of the té eu are
756 absent, although there still exists that of the eating, which in
789 other parcialidades complements his practices.

249 The cultivation of sugar cane is quite widespread in the
273 temperate thermal level, although the plantings are not extensive and are not pursued for commercial purposes; they serve only for obtaining guarapo (fermented cane juice) for individual and collective labor and for social affairs. Guarapo is an essential part of the domestic economy, in the same manner
249 as coca. It is not produced for public pay. Each house has its
257 sugar mill, either outside or in its interior, but there are no ovens or other accessories for producing panela. The latter industry belongs exclusively to the white or mestizo people.

249 The cultivation of the cane requires three weedings before the first cutting. Three cuttings with good results are generally obtained from each planting.

245 The cultivation of coffee is also very widespread. Its expansion is of recent date, but it already has strong and universal acceptance, like cane and plantains. The method of cultivation suffers from certain deficiencies: the shade is insufficient and inadequate; there is no pruning; the care is not very satis-
[433] factory; many do not have pulping machines. The coffee
245 plantings produce several arrobas per year. The monetary in-
434 come of the natives in the temperate zone is provided basically by
[439] coffee. They sell it to steady and familiar customers for prices
[452] that are usually low. The coffee plantings secure credit for the natives; they often collect money or merchandise against a future
245 harvest. Coffee has permitted them /311/ to acquire dishes, to
434 modify their clothing, to enrich their agricultural equipment,
177 to buy every once in a while the drugs of the "whites." At harvest time they eat meat regularly, and they are also able to pay wages for the improvement of their fincas. But, above all,
[273] it opens the doors of the liquor stores to them. They consume considerable amounts of alcoholic beverages. They have not yet learned to make good use of their monetary income.

/311 cont./

243 Wheat is cultivated with special emphasis in the areas of Lame, El Cuartel, La Troja, and Vitonco. It is destined primarily for sale. It is planted along with maize, although there are already clearings intended exclusively for its cultiva-
[412] tion. They reap it with knives, rarely with sickles. They do not bind it into sheaves, but make bundles and hang it from the eaves or beams of the house. When dry, they thresh it with wooden chubs /masas/ and separate out its husks by exposing it to the
[256] wind. They grind it at once in hydraulic mills built by them themselves and take it to market. They have no sifters to separate the bran.

128 Below /see pp. 25-33 / we present a statistical table on
241 the production of the various species cultivated by 25 families
433 of Mosoco, 8 of Lame, and 15 of San Andrés including that of
[563] some mestizos and whites, marked with an asterisk, in order to make some comparisons and to estimate the volume of production. We specify the percentage of the production intended for sale. For obvious reasons, we have omitted the names of the family heads, identifying them solely by number in order. The statistical data correspond to the production in the year 1953.
[124] In spite of the fact that this type of investigation presents some
[123] difficulties, owing to the reluctance of people to reveal the data on their production they are in general completely trustworthy, since they were collected after a firm interpersonal relationship had been established between the investigator and the person investigated. In addition, they appreciably agree with our observations noted in "General observations" on Páez agriculture.

/312/ Potato cultivation in Mosoco

244 We have deliberately omitted anything about the cultivation of potatoes in order to deal with it more thoroughly.

The methods of cultivation differ somewhat from those commonly practiced in the other parcialidades. The soil is prepared in beds that follow the direction of the slope. The

The
/312 cont./

244 pluviometrical system in this region is relatively high, and the
[134] soils are saturated with moisture. As a result, this method of making the beds pursues a protective aim for the seeds and fruits. Each bed is raised by a thickness of 60 centimeters, with a distance of one meter between one and the next. The formation of the beds has two stages: the molding /moldeada/ and the raising /alzada/. The former consists of lifting the grass covering and folding it over itself, following the capricious undulations of the ground. It is left like this for several weeks, while the grass completely rots away. This is the only fertilizer. Then comes the planting and after this the raising, an operation which consists of covering the molding with the crumbled earth taken from the part where the grass cover was lifted. In this fashion, the beds have abundant soil in which the roots can grow. The planting does not require any weeding.

In the region that the people of Mosoco call "paramo,"
[243] potatoes are planted without order or rows of any sort. In Moras-Mosoco, as in San José, Lame, Tumbichukue, and Vitoncó, two rows of maize are planted at the edge of the beds and within them the potatoes, very close together and without any sort of order. Frijoles, broad beans, peas, or cabbages are also planted
[243] there. Cultivation is multiple and thus exhaustive. After this harvest, wheat is sown, and then the land is left to lie fallow for three or four years, after which the process is repeated. Naturally, these collective sowings rapidly exhaust the soils. Hence, the May and June sowings yield poorly and usually are lost.

The work is done by the members of the family. Mingas
[476] are still in force as a system of collective labor. They are usually
[464] attended by consanguineous and political familiars. Contract labor is common with Guambiano natives. Mosoco day-laborers are not encountered.

The potato harvest is selected into three classes: large, seed, and birucha. The first serves exclusively for the market, while
000 the last is for family consumption. /In the original text, the following tables for Mosoco, Lame, and San Andres, with the observations deduced from them, appear on two sheets inserted between pages 312 and 313./

6: Bernal Villa--25 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

MOSOCO

	Fams.	Maize				Wheat			
		A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
243	1.*	120	120	...	.....	15	15	...	.....
433	2.	60	60	...	.....	15	...	15	100.0
439	3.	20	20	...	.....	10	6	4	60,0
563	4.	44	39	5	11,3	12	4	8	66,6
	5.	18	18	...	.....	10	1,5	8,5	85,0
	6.	12	12	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
	7.	5	5	...	.....	53	8	45	84,9
	8.	20	20	...	.....	10	...	10	100,0
	9.	20	20	...	.....	45	...	45	100,0
	10.	24	24	...	.....	15	15	...	.....
	11.	3	3	...	.....	6	4	2	33,3
	12.	8	8	...	.....	6	6	...	.....
	13.	10	10	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
	14.	23	23	...	.....	6	6	...	.....
	15.	20	20	...	.....	20	5	15	75,0
	16.	16	15	...	.....	20	10	10	50,0
	17.	12	12	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
	18.	24	24	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
	19.	25	23	2	8,0	9	9	...	.....
	20.	16	16	...	.....	25	5	20	80,0
	21.	12	12	...	.....	40	16	24	60,0
	22.	10	10	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
	23.	12	12	...	.....	45	4	41	91,1
	24.	16	16	...	.....	20	4	16	80,0
	25.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

LAME

1.*	30	30	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	25	25	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	8	8	...	.....	3	3(2)	...	.....
4.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
5.	35	35	...	.....	20	...	20	100,0
6.	80	80	...	.....	5	.(2)	5	100,0
7.	20	20	...	.....	2	2(2)	...	.....
8.	50	50	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

Note: A, indicates the arrobas produced; C, arrobas consumed; V, arrobas sold; and %, the percentage sold. /The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

2. Loss of the harvest.

6: Bernal Villa--26 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

MOSOCO

Fams.	Broad Beans A	C	V	%	Garlic A	C	V	%
1.*	80	80	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	5	5	...	.....	9	...	9	100,0
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.	8	7	1	12,5	...	...	...	.....
5.	2	2	...	.....	1,5	0,5	1	66,6
6.	8	8	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
7.	1	1	...	.....	3	1	2	66,6
8.	1	1	...	.....	6	2	4	66,6
9.	8	8	...	.....	12	...	12	100,0
10.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
11.	1	1	...	.....	5	2	3	60,0
12.	1	1	...	.....	6	1	5	83,3
13.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
14.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.	8	8	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
16.	2	2	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
17.	2	2	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
18.	5	5	...	.....	15	3	12	80,0
19.	...	...	...	.....	2,5	...	2,5	100,0
20.	5	5	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
21.	3	3	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
22.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
23.	...	...	...	.....	2	2	...	.....
24.	...	...	...	.....	10	2	8	80,0
25.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

LAME

1.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	(3)
5.	...	...	...	.....	2,5	...	2,5	100,0
6.	16	16	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
8.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

Note: A, indicates the arrobas produced; C, arrobas consumed; V, arrobas sold; and %, the percentage sold. /The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

3. This informant is white; his sole activity is trading.

6: Bernal Villa--27 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

MOSOCO

Fams.	Ullucos				Nasturtium			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
244 1.	30	30	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
433 2.	20	20	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
439 3.	...	...	...	.....	5	5	...	.....
563 4.	3	3	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
6.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
8.	15	15	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
9.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
10.	8	8	...	.....	20	20	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
12.	10	10	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
13.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
14.	40	40	...	.....	40	40	...	.....
15.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
16.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
17.	...	...	...	.....	1	1	...	.....
18.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
19.	30	14	16	53,3	...	...	...	.....
20.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
21.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
22.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
23.	15	15	1	.....	20	20	...	.....
24.	16	12	4	25,0	...	...	...	.....
25.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

LAME

1.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
6.	25	15	10	40,0	25	17	8	32,0
7.	4	4	...	.....	5	...	5	100,0
8.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

Note: A, indicates the arrobas produced; C, arrobas consumed; V, arrobas sold; and %, the percentage sold. /The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

6: Bernal Villa--28 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

MOSOCO

	Fams.	Frijoles A	Frijoles C	Frijoles V	Frijoles %	Potatoes A	Potatoes C	Potatoes V	Potatoes %
244	1.*	6	6	...	.....	(1)			
433	2.	15	15	1	.....				
439	3.	...	...	...	.....				
563	4.	6	...	6	100,0				
	5.	...	...	...	.....				
	6.	...	...	...	.....				
	7.	...	...	...	.....				
	8.	...	...	...	.....				
	9.	...	...	...	.....				
	10.	...	...	...	.....				
	11.	...	...	...	.....				
	12.	...	...	...	.....				
	13.	...	...	...	.....				
	14.	...	...	...	.....				
	15.	...	...	...	.....				
	16.	...	...	...	.....				
	17.	...	...	...	.....				
	18.	5	5	...	.....				
	19.	1	1	...	.....				
	20.	4	4	...	.....				
	21.	...	...	...	.....				
	22.	6	6	...	.....				
	23.	...	...	...	.....				
	24.	...	...	...	.....				
	25.*	...	...	...	.....				

LAME

1.*	...	(2)	...	.....	70	...	70	100,0
2.	8	8	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	(2)	...	.....
4.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
6.	8	...	8	100,0	50	20	30	60,0
7.	1	1	...	.....	18	...	18	100,0
8.	10	10	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

Note: A, indicates the arrobas produced; C, arrobas consumed; V, arrobas sold; and %, the percentage sold. /The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

1. The potato production is itemized in a separate table.

2. Loss of the harvest.

241 433 From the above table, and relying exclusively on the data given there, we can deduce the following observations:

1. The production of Mosoco is superior to that of Lame, both in quantity and in the variety of species cultivated.

2. The numerical data indicate that there is underproduction, and for that very reason it may be deduced that there is underconsumption, although these data are rough estimates, since the only approximately exact figures that the natives keep are for the production of potatoes.

[243] [244] 3. The production of wheat, garlic, and potatoes is intended almost exclusively for the market, like that of barley, the production of which is not included in the statistical table, because we only have three figures of Mosoco and three for Lame. On the other hand, the production of maize, frijoles, barley, broad beans, ullucos, and nasturtium tubers is intended almost wholly for internal consumption.

[243] 4. Maize is the basic article of consumption, but the production given does not reflect this fact. Nevertheless, it does not include the amount consumed as roasting ears.

5. Losses of the harvest are frequent in Lame, owing to the lack of fertilizers.

[276] [262] [464] 6. Underproduction is compensated for by a larger consumption of coca (Lame) or by the acquisition of other food items such as panela, lard, bread, and coffee (Mosoco). On the other hand, underproduction explains why the natives go and sign up as day laborers on the haciendas of the "whites."

SAN ANDRES

244
245
433
439
563
427

Fams.	Coffee				Plantains			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	80	...	80	100,0	300(1)	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	3	...	3	100,0	300(2)	...	...	.....
4.	1	...	1	100,0	50(1)	...	...	.....
5.	15	...	15	100,0	120	118	2	1,6
6.	3	...	3	100,0	300	300	...	.....
7.	3(5)	...	3	100,0	100(1)	...	...	.....
8.	4	...	4	100,0	50(1)	...	...	.....
9.	5	...	5	100,0	150(4)	...	...	.....
10.*	80	...	80	100,0	30(1)	...	...	.....
11.	45	...	45	100,0	...	...	...	.....
12.	...(5)	...	...	.....	100	50	50	50,0
13.	...(5)	...	...	.....	300	100	200	66,6
14.*	6	...	6	100,0	250(1)	...	...	.....
15.*	8	...	8	100,0	100(1)	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

1. Number of plantain plantings that the informant has now.

2. Indicates the number of plantings at present. Last year he gathered about 30 bunches.

4. Indicates the number of plantings at present. Last year he gathered about 30 bunches.

5. Tenant farmer.

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Fams.	Maize				Manioc			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	50	50	...	.....	200	160	40	20,0
2.	29	24	5	17,2	64	52	11	17,1
3.	9	9	...	.....	25	25	...	.....
4.	80	80	...	.....	30	30	...	.....
5.	3	3	...	.....	85	85	...	.....
6.	30	30	...	.....	25(3)	...	...	.....
7.	2	2	...	.....	100	100	...	.....
8.	12	12	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
9.	50	40	10	20,0	60	35	25	41,6
10.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	.....	60(3)	35	25	41,6
12.	8(3)	8	...	.....	50	25	25	50,0
13.	16	4	12	71,6	150	75	75	50,0
14.*	...	...	...	.....	500(6)	...	...	.....
15.*	40	40	...	.....	500(6)	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English. /

3. Personal estimate of the author.

6. Informant's estimate of the future harvest.

6: Bernal Villa--32 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Fams.	Sugar Cane				Arracacha			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	500	...	500	100,0	40	20	20	50,0
2.	...	...	...	.....	20	12	8	40,0
3.	...	...	...	.....	4	4	...	.....
4.	(7)	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
5.	20	...	20	100,0	4	4	...	.....
6.	(7)	...	...	.....	25(3)	...	...	.....
7.	(7)	...	...	.....	17	17	1	.....
8.	(7)	...	...	.....	15(3)	...	...	.....
9.	(7)	...	...	.....	20	20	20	50,0
10.*	(7)	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
11.	40	...	40	100,0	20	20	20	50,0
12.	(7)	...	...	.....	18	9	9	50,0
13.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
14.*	(7)	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.*	100	...	100	100,0	...	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English.

3. Personal estimate of the author.

7. Owns plantings of sugar cane.

6: Bernal Villa--33 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15
San Andres

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Fam.	Coca				Frijoles			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	4	4	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	5	4	1	20,0
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
6.	...	...	...	(8)	3	3	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
8.	...	...	...	(8)	8	8	...	.....
9.	...	...	...	(8)	20	10	10	50,0
10.*	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
12.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
13.	6	2	4	66,6	5	1	4	80,0
14.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

8. Owns plantings of coca.

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From the above table we can make the following deductions:

[245]
[434]
[439]

1. The coffee production is wholly intended for sale. It thus constitutes the principal source of monetary income for the natives and, of course, for the "whites."

2. Maize, frijoles, sugar cane, and coca are intended almost exclusively for internal consumption. The production of panela indicated in the table refers to the whites and mestizos.

[262]
[276]
[273]

3. The food base of San Andrés is provided by maize, plantains, manioc, and arracacha. At the time of the coffee harvest, meat is consumed. Coca and guarapo indispensably complement this dietary regimen.

6: Bernal Villa--34 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

[Mosoco]

/313/

128 We present below a statistical table on the potato produc-
244 tion of 25 families. Nearly all of them have two harvests per
43 year. The first row represents the November planting and the second one that of May and June. For those who have only one harvest a year, the planting is in the month of November.

We establish, in arrobas, the amount planted, the amount harvested, and that intended for sale and for consumption. We specify in Colombian pesos the value received from sales, an estimate of the amount alloted for consumption, the total value of the harvests, and the costs. An arroba of potatoes is sold for four pesos, on the average, at the place of harvest. In Silvia it is quoted at six. The quantity left for consumption is valued
[465] at two pesos per arroba, a standard price for everyone. Costs include only the expenses for mingas, wage labor, and contract labor. Family labor is excluded. We also determine the percentage of the total harvest allotted for sale.

6: Bernal Villa--35 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

/313 cont./ [Mosoco]

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Families	Planting A	Harvest A	A	Sales $	%	Consumption A	$	Total Value of Harvest	Costs $
1.*	100	250	100	675,00		70	140,00		97,00
	64 (15)	125	53	212,00		72	144,00		68,00
	164	375	233	887,00	62,1	144	284,00	1.161,00	165,00
2.	30	100	70	350,00	70,0	30	60,00	410,00	.....
3.	20	20	15	67,50		15	30,00		.....
	15 (16)	20	16	105,00		10	20,00		.....
	35	50	25	172,50	50,0	25	50,00	222,50	.....
4.	30	150	100	350,00	66,6	50	100,00	450,00	.....
5.	5	25	2	6,00		23	26,00		.....
	15 (15)	9	...	....		9	18,00		.....
	20	34	2	6,00	8,3	32	44,00	50,00	.....
6.	20	70	40	160,00		30	60,00		15,00
	30 (16)	32	...	....		32	24,00		.....
	50	82	40	160,00	42,7	62	84,00	244,00	15,00

/The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

15. Planting by agreement. One provides the seed and the other the land and labor.

16. Total or partial loss of the harvest.

6: Bernal Villa--36 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

[Moroco]

/314/

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Families	Planting A	Harvest A	A	Sales $	%	Consumption A	Consumption $	Total Value of Harvest	Costs $
7.	30	40	---	----	---	40	[illegible]		[illegible] (17)
	40 (16)	30	---	----	---	30	[illegible]		------
	70	70	---	----	---	70	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
8.	40	40	---	----	---	40	[illegible]		------
	20 (16)	10	---	----	---	20	[illegible]		------
	60	50	---	----	---	60	[illegible]	[illegible]	------
9.	15	35	36	[illegible]		17	[illegible]		------
	40 (16)	--	---	----		--	----		[illegible]
	55	35	36	[illegible]	45,7	17	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
10.	40	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		60	[illegible]		------
	30	50	---	----		50	[illegible]		------
	70	250	140	[illegible]	56,0	110	[illegible]	[illegible]	------
11.	15	25	15	[illegible]		10	[illegible]		------
	20 (16)	15	---	----		15	[illegible]		------
	35	40	15	[illegible]	37,5	25	[illegible]	[illegible]	------
12.	30	100	70	[illegible]		30	[illegible]		[illegible] (18)
	30	80	70	[illegible]		30	[illegible]		[illegible]
	60	180	140	[illegible]	77,7	50	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
13.	40	80	50	[illegible]		30	[illegible]		------
	35 (16)	35	---	----		35	[illegible]		------
	75	115	50	[illegible]	43,4	65	[illegible]	[illegible]	------
14.	30	60	24	[illegible]		36	[illegible]		------
	30 (16)	40	8	[illegible]		32	[illegible]		------
	60	100	32	[illegible]	32,0	68	[illegible]	[illegible]	------
15.	20	160	100	[illegible]		60	[illegible]		[illegible] (17)
	20	100	36	[illegible]		76	[illegible]		[illegible]
	50	260	124	[illegible]	47,6	136	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
16.	35	100	50	[illegible]		50	[illegible]		------
	25	60	36	[illegible]		36	[illegible]		------
	60	160	74	[illegible]	46,2	86	[illegible]	[illegible]	------

16. Total or partial loss of the harvest.

17. Minga expenses.

18. Expenses of minga and wages.

6: Bernal Villa--37 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

/315/ [Moreco]

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	Families	Planting A	Harvest A	A	Sales $	%	Consumption A	Consumption $	Total Value of Harvest	Costs $
11.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
12.	70	700	446	1.722,50		254	508,00			309,50 (19)
	227 (15)	276	81	259,00		195	186,00			---
	297	976	527	1.981,00	54,1	447	694,00	2.677,00		309,50
19.	30	300	250	1.000,00		30	100,00			65,00
	25	25	8	32,00		27	54,00			37,50 (20)
	55	325	258	1.032,00	77,0	77	154,00	1.186,00		72,50
20.	50	50	40	160,00		40	80,00			(22) 60,72
	50	50	30	80,00		40	120,00			---
	100	100	80	240,00	37,5	100	200,00	440,00		72,00
21.	20	60	32	192,00		28	56,00			---
	20	40	16	80,00		24	48,00			---
	40	100	48	272,00	42,0	52	104,00	376,00		---
22.	5	15	8	32,00		7	14,00			---
	5 (16)	5	---	---		5	10,00			---
	10	20	8	32,00	40,0	12	24,00	56,00		---
23.	20	60	30	120,00		30	60,00			---
	20 (16)	20	---	---		20	40,00			133,00 (17)
	40	80	30	120,00	37,5	50	100,00	220,00		133,00
	20 (16)	20	---	---		20	40,00			---
	20	40	8	32,00		22	44,00			135,00
	50	60	8	32,00	13,3	52	104,00	136,00		135,00
25.*	190 (22)	190	500	2.115,00	94,3	30	60,00	2.175,00		1.702,00

15. Planting by agreement. One provides the seed and the other the land and labor.

16. Total or partial loss of the harvest.

17. Minga expenses.

19. Expenses for wage and contract labor and minga.

20. Expenses for wage and contract labor.

21. Expenses for contract labor.

22. Seed purchased.

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105 Potatoes are the principal crop in the parcialidad of Mosoco
[178] and the primary source of the natives' monetary income. It has
[244] made possible the establishment of intensive trade with the municipio of Silvia and has plainly had repercussions in the modification of rules of behavior and the restructuring of institutions. The transformation embraces nearly all aspects of Páez culture.

In the first place, work has intensified. The people of Mosoco have permanent work throughout the year. The women participate directly in the preparation of the soil, the planting, and the harvesting.

The children of both sexes go to school regularly, learn basic skills, and utilize them in everyday life. Mosoco is the only part of Tierradentro where there is a private school supervised by a native.

[191] Bilingualism is general. The "chontales," that is to say, persons who do not speak Spanish, are very few. There are not more than ten.

[276] The consumption of coca has disappeared among all the youthful element.

[262] The alimentary diet and schedule have been altered con-
[264] siderably. They have breakfast very early in the morning, lunch at noon, and dinner at nightfall. Milk, panela, lard, meat, and bread are consumed regularly.

The utensils are completely modern, consisting of aluminum and iron pieces.

There are wooden beds for sleeping, and blankets as well.

The houses are better built and furnished. There are houses of adobe and tile. Two tile-works inclusively already exist in the parcialidad.

The people are hospitable and generous toward foreign visitors.

[291] The clothing of the men is almost completely transformed. They dress like any Colombian peasant. The palm hat worn in other parcialidades has disappeared from this region. The women are clean, orderly, and talkative. They retain the slit skirt and sash, but have adopted chemises and the blue rebozo of the

/316 cont./

105 Guambianos. They adorn themselves with showy necklaces and
178 pins. Not a few of them wear fine gold earrings.

[232] Livestock-raising has intensified and is in full swing. Norman cattle are replacing and being crossed with the native cattle. The same thing has happened with the wool-bearing livestock. The /317/ saddle and pack horses are indispensable for every family. The natives also possess fine breeds of hogs and domestic fowl.

[565] Social stratification is in full progress. Rich and poor families can already be named.

Mosoco women seldom marry natives from other, less acculturated parcialidades. People speak of mingas, and even of burials, of the rich and poor, a larger number of people going to those of the former.

They live on good terms with the whites and treat them as equals. There are many good native dealers.

These natives are thoroughly familiar with the methods of curing, the use of remedies, and sorcery. But the té eu and even more the nara jihi (sorcerer) are on the wane. Many consult the doctor of the "whites" in Silvia and use the drugs of the "whites." They are less superstitious.

They are believers by conviction. A few are Protestants with great reasoning powers.

The cabildo retains its power and is duly respected.

The properties are duly parceled out. Many of them are planted with pastos de selección /literally, choice pasture grasses/. Fences with barbed wire are frequently encountered.

Agricultural implements

412 Among the implements used in agriculture, only the
[241] digging stick for planting maize (uhach) is of native manufacture.
[177] The others are of European origin.

The universal implement among the Paez is the machete. With it the clearings are made, the ground is cleaned, and the fields, the montañas are felled, sugar mills are made, and bridges are laid over rivers and streams. They prefer it large and with a leather sheath that they fasten to the belt. They are

/317 cont./

412 never without it. Inseparable from a man's body, they put it on for journeys, fiestas, and work. On the other hand, it is also the weapon of attack and defense par excellence. They have few rivals in wielding the machete. In the cleaning out of underbrush they are peerless. As a rule, the number of machetes corresponds to the number of adults in the family. The persons who own more than four machetes are rare.

The shovels /palas/ and small bars /barretones/ needed for making the beds and holes and for weeding are also common. The shovels, which /318/ are owned in larger numbers than machetes, are not used to dig, but to scrape the ground; they are handled horizontally, away from the body. Shovels that form an angle with the handle are unknown.

Iron bars, spades /palendras, spade, hoe/, and picks are rare, especially the last two.

A few Mosoco families possess sickles and knives for reaping wheat.

The tools are sharpened on sandstone, although files are also used frequently.

A few natives possess saws, handsaws, troceras, chisels, and gouges for making a few objects out of wood.

In the statistical table presented one can see the frequency of the agricultural implements that they possess. It also indicates the nominal value of these implements.

6: Bernal Villa--41 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Fams.	Machetes		Shovels		Small Bars		Axes		Spades		Bars	
1.*	4	$ 22,00	4	$ 8,00	3	$ 7,50	2	$ 20,00	1	$ 5,00	1	$ 20,00
2.	2	10,00	1	3,00	..	....	1	5,00	..	....	..	....
3.	3	30,00	5	15,00	1	4,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
4.	3	15,00	3	9,00	2	10,00	2	10,00	1	4,00	1	6,00
5.	1	8,00	1	3,00	1	3,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
6.	2	24,00	2	8,00	2	6,00	..	....	..	....	1	12,00
7.	2	9,00	2	5,00	1	3,00	2	9,00	..	....	1	5,00
8.	2	12,00	2	6,00	2	10,00	1	6,00	..	....	1	10,00
9.	3	24,00	5	20,00	2	7,00	2	12,00	..	....	2	20,00
10.	4	20,00	5	12,50	2	10,00	2	14,00	..	....	..	....
11.	1	6,00	2	5,00	1	3,00	1	6,00	..	....	..	....
12.	4	16,00	6	15,00	4	16,00	2	8,00	..	....	1	5,00
13.	4	40,00	4	12,00	2	10,00	3	15,00	..	....	1	10,00
14.	8	48,00	10	30,00	6	30,00	5	25,00	..	....	..	....
15.	1	12,00	2	6,00	5	25,00	5	25,00	..	....	..	....
16.	1	12,00	2	8,00	1	6,00	1	6,00	..	....	1	8,00
17.	1	8,00	1	3,00	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....
18.	2	23,00	2	6,00	2	8,00	1	3,00	1	8,00	1	20,00
19.	3	21,00	3	9,00	1	4,00	2	10,00	..	....	..	....
20.	8	80,00	8	20,00	4	20,00	2	20,00	..	....	..	....
21.	7	42,00	6	18,00	2	12,00	2	10,00	..	....	..	....
22.	2	6,00	5	15,00	4	10,00	2	10,00	..	....	1	5,00
23.	1	10,00	2	6,00	1	5,00	1	5,00	..	....	1	6,00
24.	2	14,00	2	4,00	1	3,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
25.*	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....

/The commas in the figures are to be read as points in the translation to English./

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LAME:

Fams.	Machetes		Shovels		Small Bars		Axes		Spades		Bars	
1.°	--	----	4	14,00	2	10,00	--	----	--	----	--	----
2.	1	12,00	4	20,00	1	6,00	1	7,00	--	----	--	----
3.	2	9,00	2	8,00	1	3,00	1	6,00	--	----	--	----
4.°	3	16,00	2	14,00	1	7,00	--	----	--	----	--	----
5.	3	30,00	4	12,00	1	5,00	--	----	--	----	--	----
6.	2	14,00	2	8,00	1	6,00	--	----	--	----	--	----
7.	3	30,00	4	14,00	4	20,00	--	----	--	----	--	----
8.	3	22,00	2	10,00	1	6,00	--	----	--	----	--	----

SAN ANDRES:

Fams.	Machetes		Shovels		Small Bars		Axes		Spades		Bars	
1.°	6	24,00	8	20,00	3	12,00	--	----	--	----	8	15,00
2.	2	16,00	2	6,00	1	7,00	1	4,00	--	----	--	----
3.	1	7,00	--	----	--	----	1	8,00	--	----	--	----
4.	3	15,00	2	10,00	1	5,00	1	6,00	--	----	--	----
5.	2	14,00	4	12,00	1	6,00	1	2,00	--	----	--	----
6.	1	10,00	1	2,50	1	7,00	--	----	--	----	--	----
7.	--	----	--	----	--	----	--	----	--	----	--	----
8.	3	11,00	3	9,00	1	5,00	1	4,50	--	----	--	----
9.	1	3,00	3	9,00	1	10,00	--	----	--	----	--	----
10.°	2	10,00	1	3,00	1	3,00	--	----	--	----	--	----
11.	3	24,00	4	14,00	3	10,50	2	12,00	--	----	--	----
12.	3	30,00	2	8,00	1	3,00	1	8,00	--	----	--	----
13.	3	15,00	1	3,00	--	----	1	3,00	--	----	--	----
14.°	3	19,50	6	18,00	3	15,00	--	----	--	----	--	----
15.°	4	20,00	5	22,50	1	5,00	--	----	--	----	--	----

/The commas in the figures are to be read as points in the translation to English./

Domestic animals

231 The Páez have bovine, equine, porcine, and wool-bearing livestock, turkeys, chickens, dogs, and cats. The guinea pig is the only American domestic animal that is raised in many homes.

231 124 An accurate investigation of the livestock would present serious difficulties, in view of the suspicion of the natives. In the parcialidad of Calderas, information on the subject is almost invariably distorted, whether direct or indirect methods of investigation are employed. Acquiring data of this nature would be problematical even for the mestizo traders with a relatively high standing among the natives and very familiar with them. In our investigating zeal we visited almost all the households in this parcialidad, covering the entire territory on foot. In the shade of thickets, in the fields and pastures, a goodly number of bovines, equines, and wool-bearers are seen grazing. Once in a while one comes upon herds of swine feeding on grasses and roots. In the communal llano of Calderas /320/ about 36 head of cattle ordinarily graze. In all of these households

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231 chickens were not lacking. But it was impossible to obtain trust-
124 worthy information about this wealth. A mestizo trader very familiar with the region estimates that in Calderas there must be no fewer than about 350 head of cattle, a figure that is well
[162] deserving of credit. This parcialidad has approximately 150 families. In the statistical table that we present below 55 families are represented, for many of which the data are incomplete and others have an approximate value, deduced from information by third parties and from direct observation. The statistical tables for the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, and San Andrés correspond to reality.

233 Lands intended exclusively for pasture do not exist, with
[311] the exception of that which, on account of its rugged topography and deforestation, covered with grasses that become green again in winter, cannot be used for anything except for pasture, with the risk, of course, that the animals might wander away. In general the animals graze in the stubble, in the communal pastures, in the shade of the brush and thickets. In Calderas, for example, most of the livestock is hidden from strangers' eyes. They eat the branches and grasses that grow on lands that were once fields. In this way they grow wild and shy, but fat and exempt from disease. To catch these animals is equivalent to going on a real hunting expedition in that trained dogs participate, and 10 or 15 men outfitted with their respective lassos and suitably distributed in especially good places for lassoing, detaining, deflecting, or directing the progress of the animal being chased by the dogs. This work is done preferably on Sundays, at the special invitation of the cattleowners, either to brand the calves or to catch a cow intended for trade, sale, or slaughter. When the work is done, a good amount of chicha is consumed. Only the livestock that grazes on the communal llano is visible to strangers and relatively tame.

232 Everyone prefers females for reproduction. The males
439 are consumed, sold, or traded for young females and, rarely, for
231 other articles. Often there is a lack of breeding bulls. In such cases the cows do not calve and are regarded as sterile, a fact that is duly exploited by the white and mestizo traders in order to

propose "trades".

/320 cont./

231 propose "trades." Traders who are interested in a cow, once
439 they have located the true /321/ owner, assail him with proposi-
tions for a trade. They offer young, fertile heifers, smaller
in size and usually thin. In exchange, they obtain a large and
231 fat cow. The profits are more than 200%. Before handing over
439 the animal, the native invariably requests a bottle of aguardiente
789 and pulls out a few hairs from the left eye or lower leg of the cow
[782] as an offering to the Duende /ghost/, the virtual owner of the
lands and animals and potentially the protector of their multi-
plication. Likewise he blows chayuts (Scutellaria racemosa Per.)
on the rope with which the cow will be led, so that it will not
create difficulties along the way. There are frequent statements
by whites and mestizos, cattle traders, to the effect that, when
this requisite was not met, the cow stopped halfway on the
journey and could not be budged by any human power. Then it
sufficed to blow at the rope with chayuts to make her move again.
How can this be explained? The persons relating the story re-
231 peatedly ask.

262 Occasions for the consumption of cattle are mingas, re-
[796] ligious fiestas, and, on a small scale, the post-matrimonial and
[527] baptismal "cuidos" (courtesies for the sponsors). The meat and
[281] the skin are both used. The latter is not tanned, but dried in
[234] the sun and used as a sort of mattress for sleeping. The milk is
not used. When they sacrifice a head of cattle that comes from
262 "wild" places, such as bogs, lagoons, or montañas, they take the
782 precaution of calling the Té eu. He orders them to take a small
756 piece from each organ and to put a little blood on a reed. He
231 wraps all this in a leaf, puts a sprig of contento (chayuts) on top
of it, then goes toward the east, and, in a spot determined by
him, leaves the bundle, taking care always to put it to the left
of things such as trunks or rocks. This placement does not have
any special ceremony associated with it; it is not accompanied
by prayers or the blowing of medicines, and it does not take
place at a specific time. It is an offering to the Duende which
is performed before consuming the meat, the primary purpose
of which is to please him.

/321 cont./

231 The slaughtering of the head of cattle for consumption
[796] at religious fiestas is accompanied by music (1).
[533]

1. Bernal Villa, S. "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," p. 208.

[232] Of the equine livestock, they also prefer the females for
492 reproduction. Horses are used for the milling of sugar cane, for
484 the transport of loads, for long journeys. Many own saddles,
[249] /322/ although generally deteriorated ones. Women never ride
[482] on horseback. On long journeys the woman walks with a heavy
[562] load on her back, while the man rides without carrying anything to hinder him.

231 The horses of the Páez are small, but very hardy and suitable for the rugged and difficult roads. They do not own mules or
[754] donkeys. In Calderas it is said that someone brought a donkey
[789] for the purpose of producing young mules, but the envious ones (sorcerers) cast a spell on it and killed it. Nor do they own goats, which they regard as very thievish and destructive.

In the houses they raise guinea pigs, chickens, and turkeys, and, on a smaller scale, ducks. Furthermore, dogs,
[422] cats, and hogs are also raised. The former belong indifferently to men or women, while hogs and dogs are the exclusive property of the men.

The scant care given to domestic animals is worthy of note. There are no corrals of any sort, nor special caretakers
[233] for the animals. Cattle are commonly left to fend for themselves in the pastures, and only every 15 days, or, more frequently, once a month, are they rounded up by their respective owners to
[232] check on their existence or multiplication. They know about the need to give salt to cattle, but this article is supplied in small quantities and at very long intervals. Most of the animals of Calderas go to a small spring of brackish water in Tumbichukue. Among the other domestic animals, only the chickens, turkeys, and guinea pigs are fed regularly with grass, maize, manioc, and

/322 cont./

231 arracacha. Dogs, cats, and pigs live, the first on kitchen refuse, the second by hunting mice, and the last on grasses and roots from the thickets. They are not familiar with breeds of cattle, hogs, and sheep. Only the guinea pig is regarded as American, while the other animals are said to be genuinely Spanish.

[236] Sheep seem to have emotional value because they provide the wool for people's clothing. They are kept with affection and rarely sold or eaten.

Dogs also seem to have emotional value because of being the guardian of the houses and fields. In addition, they have symbolic value: they are the iron curtain, the protective barrier against the dark memory of the Pijao. If the latter were to reappear again, the natives argue, they would not be able to approach /323/ the houses, because dogs live there, which would inspire fear in the Pijao, for they are so dangerous for them that mere contact with their footprints or their hair would kill them. In the legends and tales there is frequent reference to these de-
[552] fensive concepts. The dogs have special names: Guagás (white),
[635] kuchi (black), salgento, pitán, policía. Dogs that eat sheep are invariably killed with a shotgun without previous consultation with the owner.

[262] Guinea pigs are the favorite food of children. They kill
[252] them by strangling them and eat them boiled. These animals are
[782] not used as offerings to the Duende. Nor do they serve as presents
[755] for friends or relatives. They are also used to combat mental illness by covering the patient's forehead with the entrails of the still living animal.

235 They "cuidan" /show special attention/ to favorite persons
[554] with chickens and eggs. They have mingas with turkeys. Eggs
[262] are consumed, but in general they are sold.
[432] They use the honey and the wax from the hives of wild bees.
222 The honey, they say, is good for persons who suffer from "cold."
237 With the wax they soften hide lassos, and they occasionally use it
[757] for illumination. Domestic hives do not exist.

231 Wild animals, such as parrots, chicaos /a kind of bird/, squirrels, and micos, are never domesticated.

/328 cont./

231 There are no animal "pets," and none of the domestic animals serve as playthings or are regarded simply as "pretty." They all have a utilitarian purpose.

[556] The possession of domestic animals is a symbol of wealth. The owner of large tracts of land does not regard himself as rich, while the one who has domestic animals does.

231 There are commercial transactions with animals among the
435 natives. The prices are very low. "The Indian is poor," they
438 say, "he has no silver." For this reason, animals that among the whites would bring 200 pesos or more are sold among the natives for half the price or even less.

233 This state of affairs hardly exists among the natives of the
232 parcialidad of Mosoco. There are already ranches dedicated
[246] solely to livestock-raising. Some are planted with pasture grasses, especially poa. There is a marked tendency to improve the livestock, in quality as well as quantity. They know the excellence of the Norman and Holstein among the cattle and the Merino
231 among the sheep. They have special breeds of hogs and chickens.
[232] Many /324/ own mules and splendid riding horses. Commercial
[438] transactions involving animals bring a just price even among the natives themselves. Some of them are marvelous traders. They
782 still retain the practice of making an offering to the Duende when
[233] slaughtering cattle or pigs. On the savannas of the Paramo de Moras the natives have magnificent herds. Livestock-raising in Mosoco is thus an industry at the height of development that deserves full attention on the part of the authorities.

23 In the statistical table that we present below one can observe the expansion of the livestock industry in Mosoco and com-
[128] pare it with those of Lame, San Andrés, and Calderas. The owners are natives, except for the whites and mestizos marked with an asterisk.

/324 cont./

23
563
435
422

NOSOCO:

Fams.	Bovines		Equines		Pigs		Wool-bearers		Fowl Raised	
1.°	2	$ 500,00	11	$ 1.300,00	2	$ 200,00	15	$ 360,00	9	$ 45,00
2.	--	------	3	550,00	1	100,00	--	------	10	30,00
3.	--	------	3	600,00	2	160,00	10	200,00	15	75,00
4.	8	2.050,00	5	800,00	1	60,00	--	------	7	35,00
5.	--	------	3	170,00	1	15,00	2	25,00	4	10,00
6.	4	1.400,00	4	1.300,00	1	30,00	--	------	2	10,00
7.	8	1.360,00	12	1.730,00	5	200,00	4	60,00	12	72,00
8.	6	2.400,00	3	600,00	--	------	2	30,00	5	30,00
9.	4	1.200,00	2	700,00	9	180,00	20	300,00	20	80,00
10.	--	------	3	500,00	3	30,00	--	------	17	102,00
11.	26	6.300,00 (23)	10	2.700,00	1	30,00	15	150,00	10	42,00
12.	6	750,00	3	470,00	1	15,00	9	360,00	3	24,00
13.	14	2.870,00	11	2.650,00	1	30,00	--	------	6	30,00
14.	1	300,00	2	600,00	1	15,00	14	210,00	3	60,00
15.	15	2.500,00	6	2.200,00	2	45,00	--	------	8	60,00
16.	8	1.600,00	4	600,00	--	------	3	30,00	12	60,00
17.	--	------	--	------	--	------	--	------	--	------
18.	11	2.350,00	4	1.250,00	2	300,00	12	600,00	25	75,00
19.	2	600,00	3	1.200,00	1	60,00	4	200,00	10	60,00
20.	7	800,00	4	2.000,00	--	------	--	------	4	20,00
21.	18	4.300,00	5	1.500,00	2	300,00	--	------	12	45,00
22.	--	------	6	900,00	--	------	--	------	2	30,00
23.	6	900,00	4	650,00	2	30,00	--	------	8	60,00
24.	3	650,00	2	300,00	2	250,00	10	200,00	4	60,00
25.°	20	5.000,00	2	2.000,00	2	100,00	10	300,00	16	80,00

/The commas in the figures in these tables should be read as points in the translation to English./

23. Belong to four brothers.

/325/

23
563
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422

LANE:

Fams.	Bovines		Equines		Pigs		Wool-bearers		Fowl Raised	
1.*	..	.....	7	1.500,00	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....
2.	..	.....	2	[illegible]	7	[illegible]	5	[illegible]	15	[illegible]
3.	8	[illegible]	6	[illegible]	..	.....	6	[illegible]	8	[illegible]
4.*	10	1.500,00	12	2.500,00	..	.....	..	.....	10	[illegible]
5.	5	[illegible]	6	[illegible]	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....
6.	2	[illegible]	2	[illegible]	5	[illegible]	2	[illegible]	5	[illegible]
7.	5	[illegible]	6	[illegible]	3	[illegible]	5	[illegible]	10	[illegible]
8.	2	[illegible]	3	[illegible]	4	[illegible]	3	[illegible]	2	[illegible]

SAN ANDRES:

1.*	15	[illegible]	2	1.700,00	5	[illegible]	..	.....	25	[illegible]
2.	..	.....	1	[illegible]	..	.....	..	.....	6	[illegible]
3.	..	.....	1	[illegible]	..	.....	..	.....	6	[illegible]
4.	1	[illegible]	..	.....	2	[illegible]	2	[illegible]	5	[illegible]
5.	..	.....	2	[illegible]	2	[illegible]	2	[illegible]	6	[illegible]
6.	..	.....	..	.....	2	[illegible]	..	.....	6	[illegible]
[427] 7.	..	..... (24)	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	7	[illegible]
8.	5	1.250,00	2	[illegible]	5	[illegible]	3	[illegible]	10	[illegible]
9.	4	[illegible]	..	.....	2	[illegible]	..	.....	40	[illegible]
10.*	..	.....	2	[illegible]	..	.....	..	.....	24	[illegible]
11.	..	.....	2	[illegible]	2	[illegible]	..	.....	25	[illegible]
[427] 12.	..	..... (24)	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....
13.	..	..... (24)	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	5	[illegible]
14.*	5	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	6	[illegible]	5	[illegible]	16	[illegible]
15.*	10	[illegible]	6	[illegible]	3	[illegible]	..	.....	60	[illegible]

CALDERAS:

1.	1	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	2	[illegible]	..	.....	1	[illegible]
2.	3	[illegible]	3	[illegible]	5	[illegible]	..	.....	3 !	[illegible]
3.	..	.....	..	.....	1	[illegible]	..	.....	10 !	[illegible]
4.	..	.....	4	[illegible]	5	[illegible]	3 !	[illegible]	4 !	[illegible]
5.	..	.....	..	.....	1	[illegible]	..	.....	1	[illegible]
6.	4	[illegible]	3	[illegible]	5	[illegible]	5	[illegible]	10	[illegible]
7.	..	.....	..	.....	1	[illegible]	..	.....	6	[illegible]
8.	4	[illegible]	5	[illegible]	5 !	[illegible]	10	[illegible]	8 !	[illegible]
9.	4 !	[illegible]	2	[illegible]	4	[illegible]	2	[illegible]	5	[illegible]
10.	10	[illegible]	10	[illegible]	10	[illegible]	3 !	[illegible]	..	.....
11.	..	.....	5	[illegible]	3	[illegible]	2	[illegible]	4	[illegible]
12.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	6 !	[illegible]
13.	..	.....	2	[illegible]	..	.....	2	[illegible]	2	[illegible]
14.	..	.....	5	[illegible]	4 !	[illegible]	6	[illegible]	6 !	[illegible]
15.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	6	[illegible]	4	[illegible]
16.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	6 !	[illegible]
17.	4	[illegible]	..	.....	..	.....	2	[illegible]	8 !	[illegible]
18.	..	.....	4	[illegible]	6	[illegible]	..	.....	3	[illegible]
19.	..	.....	2	[illegible]	..	.....	..	.....	7	[illegible]

24. Tenant farmer.

! Estimates by the author.

6: Bernal Villa--50 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

/326/ [calderas]

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Fams.		Bovines		Equines		Pigs		Wool-bearers		Fowl Raised	
20.	--	.....	--	.....	--	.....	5	100,00	2	30,00
21.	--	.....	--	.....	3	60,00	--	.....	3	16,00
22.	--	.....	3	320,00	4 !	80,00	--	.....	8 !	40,00
23.	3	300,00	2	160,00	4 !	80,00	4 !	80,00	--	.....
24.	5	500,00	1	100,00	--	.....	2	40,00	15	90,00
25.	3	300,00	1	100,00	3	90,00	--	.....	--	.....
26.	3	300,00	1	100,00	--	.....	--	.....	--	.....
27.	--	.....	1	100,00	--	.....	--	.....	13	65,00
28.	--	.....	1	90,00	--	.....	--	.....	1	5,00
29.	--	.....	4	320,00	--	.....	--	.....	8 !	40,00
30.	1	100,00	1	80,00	--	.....	--	.....	8 !	35,00
31.	5	500,00	1	80,00	--	.....	--	.....	6 !	24,00
32.	--	.....	--	.....	--	.....	--	.....	1	4,00
33.	--	.....	1	80,00	--	.....	--	.....	--	.....
34.	8	800,00	5	500,00	10 !	200,00	4	80,00	10 !	50,00
35.	--	.....	4	320,00	--	.....	--	.....	10	50,00
36.	15	1.500,00	5 !	500,00	--	.....	20	400,00	--	.....
37.	4	400,00	4	400,00	--	.....	10	200,00	10 !	50,00
38.	--	.....	1	100,00	--	.....	--	.....	5 !	25,00
39.	--	.....	1	100,00	--	.....	--	.....	6 !	30,00
40.	2	200,00	--	.....	2	40,00	--	.....	--	.....
41.	--	.....	3	320,00	--	.....	--	.....	5	25,00
42.	--	.....	1	80,00	--	.....	--	.....	--	.....
43.	--	.....	--	.....	--	.....	--	.....	6 !	25,00
44.	--	.....	1	80,00	--	.....	3	30,00	--	.....
45.	--	.....	--	.....	--	.....	2	20,00	6 !	25,00
46.	4	400,00	--	.....	--	.....	--	.....	4	20,00
47.	--	.....	3	240,00	2	40,00	--	.....	--	.....
48.	--	.....	5	400,00	1	20,00	--	.....	9	35,00
49.	8	800,00	2	160,00	10 !	200,00	--	.....	10 !	40,00
50.	4	400,00	3	240,00	6	120,00	--	.....	10 !	35,00
51.	--	.....	1	80,00	--	.....	1	10,00	6 !	22,00
52.	--	.....	3	240,00	--	.....	--	.....	6 !	22,00
53.	1	160,00	2	160,00	--	.....	2	20,00	4	20,00
54.	2	200,00	2	200,00	2 !	40,00	3 !	30,00	--	.....
55.	--	.....	4	320,00	--	.....	2	20,00	8 !	24,00

! Estimates by the author.

/326 cont./

262 [252] The chachafruto (úsual), a leguminous plant that bears rather sweet fruits which are eaten merely boiled in water, readily grows in the stubble and thickets; this is a favorite food of children. It bears fruit during the months of August and September. They also gather mushrooms (kalaguai), orejas de palo /literally, ears of wood/ (kallumbo) that grow round and white on rotting trunks, fríjol /327/ cacha (us tape) that abounds in thickets, moras (sutsion) and the ground cherries (chimbú) that grow in profusion in the maize fields and with which they make cakes or tamales and mush /mazamorra/ mixed with ground maize. Likewise, they gather wild granadillas (shlal).

224 [411] [789] Hunting is of minor importance among the Páez. Shotguns and dogs are needed. Authentic lovers of hunting are few, and there are no magical rites or ceremonies connected with it.

Hunting is most frequently done to protect the plantings or the herds. We have seen that the enemies of maize are coatis, guaras, squirrels, and birds. The chickens are attacked by wolf-dogs. On the savannas of the Paramo de Moras bears are the most common enemies of the herds.

[237] In Calderas, the hunters customarily keep the skulls of the captured booty inside the house, on one of the wall posts. In one of them we counted five coati skulls, two from guaras, and one from a wolf. Hunting is done on Sundays and at any time of the year. They go to selected locations with dogs, shotguns, and provisions. The dog raises the game and the men wait in strategic spots, with their shotguns ready to shoot it. If the shot misses, they set out after the game on a fast run. When they hunt deer, they have a minga. For the hunting of guaras they use traps consisting of nets which they place at the exit of the haunts of these animals. Bats are hunted with bags. As soon as they fall, they are kicked to death, for these animals easily break out of bags. [262] [252] They are eaten roasted. Armadillo meat is rather favored. Sparrow hawks are hunted with blowguns. "The Indians are poor" -- says an informant from Calderas -- "and for this reason they make blowguns and hunt birds. God made the birds so that the poor would eat them and not steal." Wild pigeons are hunted on the ridges by means of traps that are well concealed. Chamones, 223 [411]

Chamones

/327 cont./

223 black birds, are not eaten because they are probably animals of
825 the devil. It is said that in times past the Calderas Indians ate
262 beetles, the reason that they are nicknamed tandayaha (one who
[578] eats beetles), an epithet which they regard as offensive and which nearly always irritates them. The Calderunos say that they do not
[224] eat worms or the meat of rabbits and snakes. They regard as game
[223] animals the guara, deer, coati, armadillo, bat, and various species of birds.

224 Concerning bear hunting, the people of Mosoco relate /328/ real feats performed by Indians in open fights with the ani-
[237] mals. Bear fat is highly esteemed among the natives and "whites."

226 Fishing is less important than hunting. The rivers and streams contain sardines and coruntas /small river-fish/. During Holy Week and at Christmas they engage in fishing, when the
[462] water is low, by means of barbasco, nets, and hooks. This is strictly a masculine activity. In the Paez River they fish during the months of January and February and generally in months of drought.

They also gather crabs.

Laurel wax industry

388 Laurel, introduced by a man from Popayan /el payanés/,
824 Agustín Valencia, has played an important role in the economy of some parcialidades of Tierradentro. It grows wild in Calderas, Tumbichukue, Lame, San Andrés, Chinas, and Suin. The production of wax was the only industry in these parcialidades that permitted them to maintain regular trade with the "whites."

388 A mestizo trader from Mosoco says that he was a great ex-
43 porter of laurel wax. "It was the native industry" -- he says -- by means of which salt, trousers, shirts, hats, and centavos came." In this business, he states, he made one arroba of profit per load. The pound was quoted at a peso in Silvia. The informant says that in the years 1946 and 1947 he took out from 800 to 1,000 arrobas of wax. He almost had a monopoly on the business. What little wax escaped him was purchased by traders from Belalcázar, who in turn took it by way of Mosoco to Silvia. The chief consumers of this product were the soap factories of Cali. The laurel wax industry waned in 1950, when those factories

/328 cont./

388 began to use other types of raw materials. The death blow was
43 thus given to the only home industry of the above-mentioned regions. Wax is still gathered, but the price for an arroba in Silvia does not reach eight pesos. There is no longer any profit.
388 The Indians go on using it to make candles for household con-
[373] sumption and above all for illumination at religious fiestas. We
[796] have described the methods of gathering, extracting, and manufacturing laurel wax in the work entitled "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," published in the Revista Colombiana de Folklore, Number 2 of 1953.

/329/

Mingas

476 The minga is the most widespread form of labor among the
461 Páez. The natives can work for themselves alone and are excellent laborers. But the task would demand more of their time
[464] and effort. Thus, the minga serves to prevent "boredom" during the work, to gain time, and to provide a labor force which would otherwise be hard to obtain.

476 The minga then is a co-operative system of labor whereby the interested party invites a specific number of acquaintances to perform a job, duly rewarding them with food, drink, and coca. "Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense," says Hernández de Alba /cited in English/.

476 Indispensable articles of reward are meat, chicha, and, in
554 nearly all the parcialidades, coca. The incidence of the mingas is thus almost in direct proportion to the possession of domestic
[231] animals. Those who lack such stock, that is to say, the poor according to the concepts of Páez culture, work alone or in the company of their sons, if they have any.

476 In the course of the cultivation cycle the following mingas
241 are held: to fell the trees (clearings); to pile up the wood that remains after the burning and to cut stakes for the fence; to build fences; to do the planting and weeding.

In Calderas a minga for clearing is carried out in the following way:

/329 cont./

476 The master of the minga kills a head of cattle or, more
241 commonly, a pig. He prepares a trough of chicha (fermented sugar-cane juice), several bottles of aguardiente, an arroba of mote (maize skinned with ashes), and procures a few pounds of coca. He invites the men of his choice. At dawn on the day agreed upon for the job, all those invited, with their tools on their shoulders, proceed with shouts to the house of the minguero. There they are given one egg (25) of coca, chicha, and a dish of

25. Measure of weight equivalent to a hen's egg.

476 mote with meat. At 8:00 A.M. they are all at work. Up to
461 30 laborers attend. They take along to the place of the work
241 calabashes of chicha to drink during the rest periods, which correspond exactly to the "botada de la mambeada" /taking the chew of coca/. In the course of the day they have three mambeadas, and thus three rest periods. They more or less coincide with 10:00 A.M., 12:00 noon, and 2:00 P.M. During these rest periods they sit, talk, laugh, drink /330/ chicha, and soon go back to the work enthusiastically. They do it steadily and diligently.
476 No one talks then. At 4:00 P.M. they leave work and go to the
241 house of the minguero, where their respective wives are already. Everyone receives chicha and aguardiente. Then the food, consisting of a large wooden platter full of mote, stew /revuelto/ with frijoles, arracacha, plantains, and three pieces of meat. Since they cannot eat all this, they put it in fique knapsacks to
[782] take it to their respective homes. After eating, they pray, always invoking the deceased relatives of the minguero, whether
[273] they be ancestors, collaterals, or descendants. Then, they re-
[535] ceive new gourds of chicha until they are drunk. Very often
[578] they dance. There is no lack of fighting on these occasions.

476 According to an informant from Calderas, one minga with
435 15 laborers costs the following:

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	1 bull	$40.00
	1 1/2 arrobas of maize	1.50
	2 pounds of coca	3.00
	3 loads of chicha	6.00
	Total	$50.00

The prices cited above prevail only among the natives. Among the "whites" an arroba of maize costs $6.00, a pound of coca $3.00, the cattle $25.00 per arroba, and chicha has a higher value. In the expenses of the minga there is no mention of the cost of aguardiente, frijoles, arracacha, and plantains, which are usually mixed with the mote. It should be noted that the articles listed are produced on the same finca, with the exception of the coca, which has to be purchased. In San Andrés the mingas consist of six to ten laborers more or less, usually relatives. Mote, stew with plantains, manioc, arracacha, pork, chicha, and coca are served. No cattle are killed, and there is no dancing after the work. The costs of the minga are as follows:

	1 pig	$35.00
	1 trough of chicha	2.00
	1 arroba of maize	1.50
	1 pound of coca	1.00
	3 pounds of salt	0.60
/331/	3 pounds of frijoles	0.60
	2 arrobas of manioc	1.00
	2 bunches of plantains	2.00
	Total	$43.70

476 In Lame the chicha is purchased in Suin and Chinas, as is the coca. They commonly kill a pig.

In Mosoco we had the opportunity to observe a minga for the raising of the seed beds. There were three women, one boy, and five men. They were relatives. They had eaten at seven
461 in the morning. They worked in a group without distinction as
476 to sex or age, talking and laughing. Only the older ones, who usually chew coca, worked in silence, for talk produces

/331 cont./

461 insalivation, which disturbs the normal consumption of coca.
476 They worked steadily until 10:00 A.M., when they took a short rest. Then they went on working until 1:00 P.M., when they were served "refreshments," consisting of a cup of coffee and two large maize griddlecakes /arepas/ seasoned with salt and two eggs, which had been toasted on a piece of earthenware and finished by roasting in the hot ashes of the hearth. They went on working until 3:30 P.M. and then went to the house of the minguero. The reward usually consists of the following:

476 Two bowls of chicha; then a large platter with mote, stew
465 with potatoes or ullucos. They eat what they can and put the rest in an aluminum pan which they brought for this purpose, or they simply put it in a fique knapsack to take it to their respective homes. After this, they receive still another bowl of mote without meat. Then, once more, two bowls of chicha and, following this, a large pot overflowing with chicha to be distributed among those present. This is done for each of the persons in-
[273] vited. The consumption of chicha is thus abundant. After this they are given aguardiente. Already drunk, they organize a dance. All this, of course, among the natives of means. Among the poor, the mingas are usually made up of relatives, who "conceal the scarcity." No dancing is done.

476 In the mingas of Mosoco, they sacrifice bulls, calves, or pigs, and they always purchase one or two pounds of coffee and two or three arrobas of panela. From their own finca they consume wheat or maize flour, potatoes, ullucos, or broad beans.
[461] Coca has been replaced by "refreshments." During the work there
[276] are periods of rest that /332/ correspond roughly to taking a chew of coca in other parcialidades. The young people of Mosoco do not chew coca, but the old custom still influences the work. On the other hand, it is obvious that a minga in Mosoco is more expensive than paying wages, since various articles are purchased, and, in addition, they sacrifice cows or pigs worth more than 100
[464] pesos. But the mingas are indispensable in Mosoco as a means of obtaining labor which otherwise would be impossible to get. No one signs up for wages, because everyone has his own lands to work.

/332 cont./

476 From the data on the mingas in the three parcialidades,
184 we see that on the whole they have similar rules. But in Mosoco there is already a modified procedure, both in the rewards and in the form of the work. In San Andrés, Calderas, and Lame, a minga is relatively cheaper than paying wages, since they actually buy only salt and coca, when they do not cultivate it on their own fincas.

Communal tasks

476 Among the Páez there is another type of co-operative labor
651 different from the system of the mingas. It might be called communal work, and it pertains basically to the execution of tasks for the common welfare, such as, for example, the construction and maintenance of the roads, bridges, public buildings (schools, church, rectory, house of the cabildo) and the cultivation of the clearing of the saint.

To this end, the cabildo calls upon all the able-bodied men in the parcialidad, who come supplied with their respective rations of coca and work tools.

The execution of the works of communal interest is a duty of every member of the parcialidad, and anyone who refuses to lend his aid is punished by the cabildo and often taken before the Colombian authorities. The greater or lesser effectiveness of this obligation naturally depends on the moral authority of the members of the cabildo and, above all, of the Capitán of the parcialidad. In many parcialidades, the members openly refuse to give their share of labor, and in such cases the roads and public buildings are in precarious condition.

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Foresight and storage

477 In all of the native dwellings there are frames plaited with
353 rods and vines above the hearth and also at what we might call
251 the open ceiling. The ones of the fireplace are suspended, while the others rest on the braces or crosspieces that give strength to the walls of the house. This already clearly indicates to us that the natives have foresight. On these frames there are ears of maize tied by their own husks, bundles of wheat, and

/333 cont./
417 bags full of frijoles, which are also suspended from the wall
353 posts. This is also where the grains (lumps) of salt are kept.
251 The amounts kept for the months of scarcity are not sufficient, but there are other comestibles that help them: domestic ani-
[244] mals, cabbages, onions, sugar cane, and coca. In Lame and Mosoco they cultivate a plant which they call ijuca de pijao. It
[464] is an edible discoria /Dioscorea/. We have also seen that want is avoided by going to work as laborers on the fincas of the "whites."

[263] Meat is also kept on the frame above the hearth. They utilize the smoke to preserve it. Salt is not used for this purpose.

251 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José, where large quantities of wheat are planted, one frequently finds under the eaves of thatched houses bundles of wheat that remain hanging for several months. In this way they preserve it from the attacks of small rodents, and the grain is of excellent quality because it dries out thoroughly.

261 During times of scarcity, the natives do not seek solace in
273 religion. Actually, their defense is in the sale of their own work-
276 ing capacity for a small daily wage, a few eggs of coca, and
[771] food. It should be noted that guarapo and coca are splendid
[464] sedatives against the pangs of hunger. It is curious that one of the
[465] most noted religious fiestas of Calderas is held precisely during a time of scarcity. Large quantities of guarapo are consumed for nearly a month.

Provision of water and firewood

312 In Tierradentro the rainfall is relatively high. As a result, water abounds in small and /334/ large watercourses. This geographical factor leads the natives to bring the water close to their homes by means of a system of drainage ditches that are true engineering works. The distances that have to be faced or the accidents of the terrain make no difference. When necessary,
[177] they use bamboo tubes as artificial channels. This system has been adopted by the "whites" and even by the towns. Since the high parts on both margins of the Paez River are bare of vegetation,

/334 cont./

312 water abounds during the rainy season. Then the stream beds, dry during the summer (ravines), swell disproportionately. During the summer months, the scarcity of water is still a serious problem.

313 In areas where water is scarce, there is also a scarcity of firewood, owing to the intensive deforestation. As the felling of the trees moves out from the populated centers of Tierradentro, the acquisition of this item becomes increasingly difficult. The fuel problem in Belalcázar, Cuetando, Chitoquez, Valencia, [314] and Guasdualejo is becoming increasingly serious. Furthermore, [439] charcoal is neither used nor produced for trade in Tierradentro.

[312] Providing firewood for feeding the hearth, as well as water, [462] is more an activity for women and children than for men. In most of the parcialidades, firewood abounds, and ordinarily each dwelling has sufficient reserves to maintain the fire on the hearth. In cold parcialidades, such as Calderas and Lame, reviving the fire through the night is essential for protection [513] against the cold. The natives sleep around the hearth, from which comes the warmth that they need for sleeping, since they use no covering other than the clothing on their own bodies and no mattress other than a hard cowhide.

376 The abundance of water also facilitates the construction of 256 hydraulic mills, in order to utilize this motive force. They are relatively numerous.

Property

423 The lands of the native communities are protected. That is to say, they belong to the parcialidad. They are inalienable. In addition, they are exempt from taxes. This peculiarity of our legislation has fortunately permitted the preservation of the [311] Paez group and their culture. The lands contained within the parcialidades are uncultivated, usable, /335/ or in use. The uncultivated lands of the communities of Tierradentro are rapidly being colonized.

In each parcialidad there is a specific amount of land that belongs to all the members of the community. It is communal

land.

000 /335 cont./
423 land. On it usually stand the native pueblos, and from it the
623 municipal councils have set aside the so-called settlement areas,
648 into which, since they belong to the municipio, "white" penetration has been possible.

423 Private ownership of land is acquired essentially through
425 adjudication, through work, and through inheritance. It may also be acquired through gift or sale, but this is quite rare.

423 Since the true owner of the protected lands is the cabildo,
425 it is this institution that distributes the lands to each member
623 of the community. The titles that it grants are called adjudications. The condition for enjoying possession of a specific parcel is residence in the community and, above all, work. In the case where an individual has idle lands because he cannot manage to work them, the cabildo reserves the right to take this part away from him in order to give it to someone who needs it. Those who through special circumstances live elsewhere, outside of the parcialidad, lose their right to possession of the land.

423 Although it is true that in the distribution of land made by
425 the cabildo it venerates, respects, and is guided by the laws of
623 justice, it is also true that they are not exempt from committing
662 unjust acts. If a member of the community can advantageously entertain and show courtesies to the members of the cabildo and is interested in acquiring more land, he can obtain it in this way. It is relatively easy to suborn the cabildo. Then the cabildo can wrong some in order to benefit others. But this defect may be corrected with the selection of men who can fulfill their functions as members of the cabildo competently and with the exercise of sound directive policies on the part of the municipal executive.

423 Now then. It is also true that some natives have more
623 land than others. But this is due to the fact that their respective
428 ancestors cleared more forest than others. They colonized more land. Their right of ownership is granted through labor. "The ancestors" -- says a Calderun informant -- "worked the montaña and this is why we have land. This land does not belong to the cabildo." This procedure is still followed in the parcialidades where there is still uncultivated land. /336/ The cabildo has

/336 cont./

423 no rights over land won by the sweat of the brow. It is inherited
623 directly by the sons. In such cases the cabildo confirms owner-
428 ship by issuing the respective adjudication.

423 When the colonization has been done by several persons,
578 usually brothers, and the division of the land does not satisfy one of the parties, famous litigations take place that eat up the small savings of the families. The feeling for ownership of land is highly developed among the natives, and the usurpation of the slightest piece of ground gives rise to quarrels, enmities, and
42 litigations. The sale of land to "whites" is prohibited by
[648] Colombian law and by the consuetudinary law of the natives. But among the natives themselves transactions can be made with immovables. They do not sell the land, but the ownership. The owner of land is the man. A widow, too, can be an owner by inheritance from the husband. Single women do not own land.

422 The bovine, equine, porcine, and wool-bearing livestock belong to the man, although a few women own pigs and sheep. Turkeys, chickens, cats, and guinea pigs belong to the women, and so do dishes, spoons, pots, grinding stones,
[428] calabashes, and bags. These are inherited through the female line. Children are owners merely of their own clothes.

423 Concerning communal property, we have already seen that in each parcialidad there are several hectares of land that
[794] belong to all the members of the parcialidad. Also regarded as communal property are public works, such as roads, bridges, the main ditches, the house of the cabildo, and the church, and they collectively maintain them; likewise regarded as the property of the parcialidad are the sums of money collected for the church, the produce of the clearing of the saint, and any livestock or mills that it might own.

428 Concerning inheritance, let us look first at the concepts
[842] expressed by an informant from Calderas. Asked about the ideal number of children for native families, he replied that everyone wished to have many children. "When one dies and one has land, who can handle it? The ancestors worked the montaña, and this is why we have land. We are five brothers and we work

/336 cont./

428 together. The land does not belong to the cabildo. Women do not inherit. Only the men. The women go with their husbands. Among the men it is divided into equal shares. The /337/ sons are the legitimate heirs.* If a man dies without leaving sons, [593] his brother inherits. A brother can be asked for a piece of land to [423] work. And he gives it. If we are niggardly about it, what will [425] my brother eat, how will he support his children. The eldest son is important, because if the father dies, it is he who takes charge of the family."

The words are nearly all textual. One may deduce from them that inheritance is carried out through the male line. It is the men who inherit the land, houses, and animals, in equal shares. The women virtually do not inherit, since, when they marry, they go with the husband. The sons are the legitimate heirs. If a man dies without leaving progeny, his brothers inherit.

423 The women, nevertheless, can also be heirs and in equal 428 shares with the men, if the husband has no land to work. Cases [591] are not frequent, but neither are they rare, when the man goes to live in his wife's home, where he remains and works the land [563] which belongs to him through his wife's right. Likewise some "whites" who managed to marry natives have the right of usufruct over the lands of their wives, and the latter demand land to work from the cabildo if they do not possess any.

423 Another Calderun informant, one of the major owners of 428 land in extensity wishes to leave it to his sons without dividing it. Since there is enough land, there is no reason for them to quarrel. Since two of his sons went to Cali when they were small, he says that if they should return there is land for them to work. 423 The lands are solely for the men; the women marry and go with the husband. Referring to the llano of Calderas, he says that it belongs to all of the members of the community. They may build their houses there, while those from other parcialidades [342] have no right to do so. If a member builds a house on the com- [476] munal llano, all the others are obliged to help him with timber and labor. Even the women. The land is communal because the cabildo has decided upon it. Some have plots on this

/337 cont./

423 communal land, since they have a right to it and anyone can do so. Those who come from elsewhere have a right to the communal land provided that they have grown up there. In Calderas there are people from Lame who own their land because they have cleared the montaña. Nowadays there are no more montañas [591] to clear, and thus persons from elsewhere cannot come in. If a [582] Calderuno marries a woman from another parcialidad, his father-in-law or brothers-in-law must give land /338/ to his wife and the spouse thus enters the community. Thus spoke the informant.

Distribution of implements, stock, and crops

121 We are basing the distribution of implements, stock, and crops on the research carried out in the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, San Andrés, and Calderas.

162 The parcialidad of Mosoco has, approximately, some 250 families with an average of 4 children; Lame, some 130 with an average of 3 children; San Andrés, some 200 with an average of 4 children; and Calderas, some 150 families with 3 children on the average also. In Mosoco we studied 25 families, or 10% of the total; in Lame, 8 or 5.3%; in San Andrés, 15 or 7.5%, and in Calderas 55 or 36.6%. In the first parcialidad listed there is one family of a mestizo and another of a white, which are equivalent to 8% of the total families investigated; in the second, two families of whites are represented, equivalent to 25% of the total families investigated; in the third, 26.6% of the total families investigated are represented by two families of whites and two families of mestizos. No family of "whites" lives in Calderas.

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Average Distribution of Agricultural Implements per Family

Parcialidad (26)	Machetes T	Machetes P	Shovels T	Shovels P	Small bars T	Small bars P	Axes T	Axes P	Spades T	Spades P	Bars T	Bars P
Mosoco	71	2	85	3	50	2	39	1	3	-	13	-
Lame	16	2	26	3	12	1	2	-	-	-	-	-
San Andrés . . .	37	2	42	2	18	1	9	-	-	-	3	-

26. Note: T indicates the total implements of the families investigated. P indicates the average number of implements for each family.

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412 Bearing in mind that of the 48 families investigated, 52%
422 are from Mosoco, 16.6% from Lame, and 31.2% from San
[162] Andrés, we can make the following deductions: The average
/339/ number of machetes owned by each family in the three
parcialidades is two. This indicates the universality of this
implement.

Implements for working the land are more numerous in Mosoco and Lame than in San Andrés, especially in the former, where shovels almost reach 4 and the small bars 2 per family. This is explained by the fact that in those parcialidades they do not need to clear the lands, but only raise the beds in the pastures.

The number of axes for each family in Mosoco is almost double.
[423] The reason for this is that almost all the families own land in the
[311] mountainous part called "paramo." The clearing of wooded areas is intensive in Mosoco because they still exist. In San Andrés and Lame, virgin montañas have almost disappeared.

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Average Distribution of Domestic Animals per Family

Parcialidad	Bovines				Equines				Swine				Wool-bearers				Fowl Raised			
	T	P	B	%	T	P	B	%	T	P	B	%	T	P	B	%	T	P	B	%
Mosoco	171	6	22	12,8	113	4	13	11,5	42	1	4	9,5	130	5	25	19,2	243	8	25	10,3
Lame	32	4	10	31,2	44	5	19	43,1	19	2	—	—	21	2	—	—	50	6	10	20,0
San Andrés	60	4	50	83,3	27	1	19	70,3	20	1	14	50,0	12	—	5	41,6	231	16	135	58,7
Calderas	98	1	—	—	114	2	—	—	107	2	—	—	97	1	—	—	271	4	—	—

Note: T indicates the total animals of the families investigated.

P indicates the average number of animals for each family investigated.

B indicates the number of animals for the "white" families.

% indicates the percentage of the total animals that is owned by the "whites."

/The commas in the figures are to be read as points for the translation to English./

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422 For each native family in the three parcialidades and in
23 their respective order, there is on the average the following animals: Bovines, six, three, and one; equines, four, six, zero; swine, one, three, one; wool-bearers, four, three, zero; fowl raised, ten, six, fifteen. In Calderas this is what is given in the table.

23 It is obvious that livestock-raising in Mosoco is an authentic native industry, with the implication of a relative technical improvement in it. Whereas, in the other three parcialidades, it is of no special importance, especially in Calderas. The live-
[563] stock industry in San Andrés is the exclusive patrimony of whites and mestizos.

6: Bernal Villa--68 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Average Distribution of Crops per Family

Parcialidad	Maize T	Maize P	Maize B	Maize %	Wheat T	Wheat P	Wheat B	Wheat %	Broad Beans T	Broad Beans P	Broad Beans B	Broad Beans %	Garlic T	Garlic P	Garlic	Garlic %
Mosoco	550	22	120	21,8	202	15	15	8,5	140	5	80	57,1	72	3	—	—
Lama	348	21	20	12,1	10	3	—	—	16	2	—	—	2	—	—	—
	Ullucos				**Nasturtium**				**Frijoles**				**Potatoes**			
Mosoco	187	7	—	—	136	5	—	—	43	1	6	13,9	4.300	172	865	20,0
Lama	25	3	—	—	25	3	—	—	27	3	—	—	138	17	70	50,7
	Coffee				**Plantains (27)**				**Maize**				**Frijoles**			
San Andrés	254	17	174	68,5	2050	136	680	33,1	327	22	90	27,5	40	3	—	—
	Manioc				**Arracacha**											
San Andrés	1.849	123	1.200	64,8	183	12	40	21,8								

Note: T indicates the total arrobas produced by the family investigated.

P, the average number of arrobas for each one of these families.

B, the arrobas produced by the "whites," and %, the percentage that the latter produce in relation to the totals indicated.

/The commas in the figures are to be read as points, and the points as commas, in the translation to English./

27. The figures indicate the number of plantain trees producing.

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241 433 Thus, a native family of Mosoco and Lame, in their respective order, has for its subsistence throughout the year 18 and 36 arrobas of maize, 16 and 5 arrobas of wheat, 2.5 and 2.5 arrobas of broad beans, 3 and 0 arrobas of garlic, 8 and 4 arrobas of ullucos, 5 and 4 arrobas of nasturtium tubers, 1.5 and 4.5 arrobas of frijoles, and 149 and 11 arrobas of potatoes. A native family of San Andrés has 7 arrobas of coffee, 124 bunches of plantains, 21.5 arrobas of maize, 59 arrobas of manioc, 13 [249] arrobas of arracacha, and 4 arrobas of frijoles. Unfortunately it is impossible to obtain statistics on the production of coca and, above all, on the amount of sugar cane consumed in the form of guarapo, which makes it impossible for us to find out in what ways and in what amounts it complements the consumption of each family.

As for maize, we see that the amounts for the families of San Andrés and Lame are superior to those for the families of Mosoco. Those for Lame are exactly double. But while in the latter, aside from coffee, there is no species produced for sale, in Mosoco, on the other hand, there are wheat, garlic, and potatoes for such a purpose. From which we deduce that the smaller the number of crops intended for trade that there is in a parcialidad, the larger will be the production of species for internal consumption, above all those that can be preserved for long periods of time, such as maize, frijoles, and broad beans. Ullucos, potatoes, and, above all, nasturtium tubers demand almost immediate consumption. The same is true of plantains, manioc, and arracacha. This is the reason why the families of San Andrés and Lame have at their disposal larger quantities of maize and frijoles than those of Mosoco.

Division of activities according to sex

462 From the earliest age, differences are established in the technological, economic, and everyday activities.

Among the Páez, only the man can make palm hats for the woman and for himself, wield the machete with full skill and dexterity, fashion the trough, sugar mill and the plates for eating, and play the musical instruments. On the other hand, only the

/343 cont./

462 woman can weave the kuetand yaha (mambe pouch) for carrying coca and mambe /lime for the chew/, weave the fique bags for carrying things, weave the ponchos and the skirts, spin wool and cabuya. Naturally, these differences in activities are observed by children, and they practice them from the earliest age, especially if there is stimulation /344/ by the persons who live with them. The differences in daily, technological, and economic [241] activities are strictly observed. In agriculture, however, men [178] and women are beginning to share the work equally. This phenomenon is, of course, recent.

The scheme that we present below shows the distribution of activities according to sex.

Activity	Men	Women
Construction of houses	yes	
Construction of roads, drainage ditches, bridges	yes	
Preparation of fique and making lassos	yes	
Making hats	yes	
Making plates and spoons of wood	yes	
Making troughs and sugar mills	yes	
Slaughtering animals and drying hides	yes	
Use of weapons	yes	
Spinning		yes
Weaving		yes
Cooking		yes
Making kuentand yaha (wool)		yes
Making yahas (fique)		yes
Making calabashes	yes	yes
Sewing men's underdrawers	yes	
Washing and mending	yes (28)	yes

28. Rarely.

Ceramics	yes or	yes

/344 cont./

462

Activity	Men	Women
Making the fire		yes
Clearings	yes	
Planting, weeding, and harvesting	yes	yes
Gathering		yes (29)

[857]

29. Task of women and of children under six.

Trade	yes	yes
Hunting and fishing	yes	
Communal work	yes	
Mingas	yes	
Supplying firewood and water		yes
Ownership	yes	yes (30)

30. Rarely.

Carpentry	yes	
Making fireworks	yes	
Tending livestock	yes	
Barbering	yes	
Milling	yes	yes
Musical instruments	yes	
Consumption of coca	yes	yes
Consumption of alcohol	yes	yes
Consumption of tobacco	yes	yes

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427

Tenant farmers of San Andrés

In the haciendas that lie above the valley of the Pisimbalí torrent and the left bank of the Ullucos River, some 35 native families live as tenant farmers. There are five haciendas that make use of this type of servitude. Many of these families have developed and become established within the hacienda itself. Others have been driven to this condition out of a lack of land from which to derive sustenance.

[San Andrés]

/345 cont./

427 San Andrés is the sole region of Tierradentro, as far as we
161 know, where tenant farmers are found. Although the number of persons sunk in this servitude is no higher than 100, the mere occurrence of this phenomenon already tells us of an excess of population, at least in the parcialidades of San Andrés and Santa
[131] Rosa, from which the tenant farmers came. On the other hand, the scattering of the Páez group through this very department of Cauca, the departments of Huila and Tolima, and even through
[311] the department of the Valle is well known. The colonization of the uncultivated lands in Tierradentro by the natives has been systematic and intensive during recent years. There is the utilization of ever more inaccessible lands for agriculture in the temperate thermal level. All of these are factors that clearly tell us of an excess in the Páez population.

427 Here is what a tenant farmer told us about the phenomenon
241 of tenant farming: As a tenant farmer he has the right to own a
466 house, a garden, and a clearing. The house and garden are contiguous and complementary. His garden occupies one plaza /a Colombian measure with 80 meters to the side/ more or less, and in it he has planted plantains (about 200 trees), oranges (about five trees), onions, arracacha, manioc, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, and some 200 coca trees. He has surrounded the garden with barbed wire provided by the owner in order to avoid damage by the animals of the hacienda. He can lay out his clearing on any site of the hacienda. It changes every year. In his present clearing he has planted 1,500 manioc plants; 200 of arracacha (he could not find more seed); maize; small frijoles /frijol chiquito/ (in one month he hills the "sprigs," in two months they flower, and in three months he harvests) and large frijoles /frijol grande/, and, finally, about two loads of sugar-
[433] cane shoots (seed). The produce of the clearing and of the garden is primarily for consumption, but if there is a surplus he may sell it to anyone, even though the owner urges him not
[249] to sell to anyone but himself. The sugar cane is milled in the
[257] /346/ sugar mill of the owner, with the subsequent use of his implements to make panela, half of what is produced being given to him.

/346 cont./

466 given to him. From the harvests of maize, frijoles, and
427 arracacha the owner receives one bag (approximately half an
[241] arroba) of each product, and one or two bunches of the plantains.

231 He says that the hacienda owner has permitted him to raise
427 animals, but he has none, because he spends more time working
466 on the hacienda than in his own house. He says that he owned
[235] some 20 sheep, but is finished with them. Now he has only eight chickens.

427 The informant is the son of another tenant farmer and
466 grew up on this very hacienda. He has owned the house in which he now lives for 18 years. He has not signed any kind of document with the owner and has not been bothered by him about the possession of the house, but rather, on the contrary, has been urged by him to repair the house. In exchange for the use of the house and the land he is obliged to pay three days for rent
[465] per month, eating his own food and using his own tools. On the other days of the month he works for the same owner for daily wages, earning two pesos a day, excluding, of course, the days of religious or national holidays. Each week he re-
[452] ceives 12 pesos. From the owner he buys maize, manioc, and frijoles on credit, which is immediately deducted in labor. The owner only gives him salt and bananas. The panela comes from what he produces.

466 Since the informant specializes in milling and the making
427 of panela, he ordinarily does nothing else. His work begins at
257 six in the morning and ends at ten at night. He is assisted by his
[463] wife, who earns one peso a day, a deaf and dumb son who earns
[512] nothing, and another son who carries the cane to the sugar mill.
[465] This one is married, is also a tenant farmer, earns two pesos a day, and has a separate clearing. His wife does not help in the work because she stays at home caring for the house, looking after the children, and weeding the garden and the clearing.

427 At the mill he works even on Sundays at wrapping panela,
257 a task that cannot be neglected. Ordinarily he spends two weeks
461 at the mill and has the following one free (without pay) to rest,
466 to look after his own field, or to hire out his labor to anyone who

466 /346 cont./
427 needs it (nominal). On the following week he must return to
257 work at the hacienda.
[461] /347/ Each week he produces some 40 arrobas of panela.
[433] The informant boils it down, his wife mills with the deaf and dumb son, and the other son strips the cane. The milling
[422] equipment is expensive and thus belongs to the hacienda. His own tools are two shovels, one small bar, and three machetes, with which he works for the hacienda. The owner of the hacienda has tried to dismiss him three times. Once because he made panela for another owner; it displeases the owner to have him work elsewhere, especially at a mill. The informant did not want to leave his house.

427 The plantings that he has made have sometimes been
241 lost because of the wetness of the soil, leaving no solution but
466 to plant again. The owner does not help at all in such calamities. He has the right to plant as much as he wishes.
[423] Now he owns about 200 coffee trees, but the owner has forbidden him to plant more trees.

427 The informant has seven children, five of whom are females;
465 three of them earn a peso a day working on the hacienda, harvest-
466 ing and weeding coffee. One who is younger earns 50 centavos, and the son pays land rent and earns a daily wage of two pesos. The owner is not honest. To pay the daily wages he usually takes out bills of ten or twenty pesos and sends one of the peons to exchange them for smaller currency, which is always short when it is received. He pays in part and later maintains that the total was met.

Another informant from the same hacienda says that for two years of vaquería (tending cattle) the owner gave him in payment for his labor one mare that is not worth 30 pesos. While doing this work he suffered hunger and worked too hard. Now, aside from having remunerated him very badly, he demands the payment of rent for the two years that he was engaged in this work.

In general terms, the tenant farmers of San Andrés, in exchange for the use of half a hectare of land, one garden, and one house, are obliged: to pay three days of rent per month, providing their own food; to work as day laborers for the hacienda,

/347 cont./

427 earning a small daily wage (the maximum daily wage that they
466 earn is two pesos, but this is exceptional; ordinarily the men
465 earn one peso and the women 80 centavos); not to work on other fincas; to sell the surplus from their crops to the owners of the hacienda themselves, especially if it is coffee; to divide in half or distribute in equal parts with the owner the panela obtained /348/ from the ovens of the hacienda; the wife and children of the tenant farmers are also obliged to work on the hacienda. They have the right to plant any crop except coffee. They earn nothing on Sundays or on religious or national holidays, nor do they receive any remuneration for extra hours of work. They do not get any social services. When the owner is good, he gives them salt and, ordinarily, one "spot" of plantain (a ration of cooked plantains).

427 Many are sons of tenant farmers born on the hacienda itself.
466 Others have suffered in this servitude for more than ten years. Although a few have freed themselves from this situation, most of them resist giving up their rancho and their garden when the owners want to dispossess them. One tenant-farmer informant, when questioned as to whether his situation was good or bad, said: "I have to be satisfied, what else can I do if from childhood I have been here" (on the hacienda). Besides, he figures that if the owner wants to remove him, he will have to pay him
[423] for the improvements in his garden. Here and there a tenant farmer with more than 20 years of usufruct from his piece of land has already refused to pay his rent.

One tenant farmer who has worked for several owners recalls that some were good, but most of them were bad, ambitious, exploiters, who had their laborers work too hard, cheated in the wages, and one even gave them beatings.

Alimentary diet

262 We wish to note that most of the notes concerning the diet
[121] were gathered in the parcialidad of Calderas.

/348 cont./

262 Maize is the species most intensively cultivated, the one of major consumption and the one that satisfies the most psychologically. We have already seen the case of the "hambruna" /extreme hunger/ in Mosoco, where, in spite of the harvest of other produce, it seems to be precisely because there is no [252] maize. With maize they make mote, griddlecakes /arepas/, tamales /envueltos/, and "sango" a maize soup/, in addition to eating it toasted or roasted when it is tender.

252 262 Mote is practically the raw material of the daily foods. It is obtained by boiling the maize in water and ashes until the cuticle is completely loose and then washing it in an abundance of water. This mote is put on to boil, and when it has gone through three "boilings," that is to say, the water has been changed three times, one tosses into it first dry frijoles, then plantains, manioc, arracacha, /349/ cabbages, and meat if [263] there is any, and lastly onions, cumin, and saffron. Salt, which is always preferred in grains or lumps, is put in by each individual, who takes the grain and mixes it into his own dish until he thinks that he has enough. They do not eat food highly salted. This kind of food is a "pot-au-feu," the one most widespread among the people and the one which they eat daily. The informants consider it "delicious."

The griddlecakes /arepas/ are made with dry or tender maize. With the first, they skin the maize in ashes and then they grind it not too fine; the resulting flour is mixed with boiling water and ground once more, this time very fine. With this mass the women make large, round griddlecakes, harden them on a heated piece of earthenware, and finish roasting them in the embers of the hearth. These are the griddlecakes of the religious fiestas of Calderas. When they want the griddlecakes to have "a good taste," they put in salt, onions, or coriander (in Mosoco we have seen that they put in eggs); these are griddlecakes for family consumption. To make griddlecakes from roasting ears, they shell the ear, grind the mass well, and, without any kind of condiments, they make the griddlecakes and harden and roast them in the familiar form. The frequency of

/349 cont./

252 consumption of griddlecakes is low in most of the parcialidades,
262 but in Mosoco it is almost daily. These natives take their coffee
[272] and milk with griddlecakes, which are good substitutes for bread.

The "envueltos" or cakes are made when there are roasting ears. Shelled, ground, and unsifted, the small masses extend along the husks of the same ear, removed carefully by cutting
[263] off with a knife the thicker part of the ear. No condiment of any kind is put in because the roasting ear in itself has "good flavor." The envueltos, once cooked, are eaten with sancocho /a stew/. They say that it is a "very tasty" dish. Ordinarily, when they make envueltos they kill a pig or chickens and invite relatives to eat them. The eating of envueltos is implicitly associated with the start of the maize harvest, in which the local curer plays a part.

"Sango" is based on finely ground and unsifted maize flour, which is put in the pot when the frijoles are sufficiently cooked. They make sure that the soup does not thicken too much. They also add to this dish chopped cabbage, onions, or coriander for "flavor."

Frijoles are very necessary, very tasty, and the most common food; /350/ mote without frijoles is not tasty; frijoles have flavor and the 'cacha' are the tastiest, and especially green, the (tender) little things are eaten with the shell," says an informant from Calderas.

Frijoles are eaten in sancocho. When the frijoles are cooked sufficiently, one adds plantains peeled and in pieces, arracacha peeled, washed, and cut up, manioc prepared like the arracacha, chopped onions, and saffron. Meat or lard is added if they have any. This dish is said to be "tasty." Frijoles are also eaten mixed with mejicano /squash, Cucurbita pepo/. The beans are boiled first, and when they are thought to be sufficiently cooked the finely chopped mejicano is added and, much later, ground maize. When all this is cooked, they eat it without salt, saying that it is as tasty as the rice with milk of the "whites." They also eat mejicano with well-cooked mote and frijoles, and it is very tasty if cows' feet are added to it.

/350 cont./

252 Cabbages are cultivated in the gardens and are almost never
262 lacking throughout the year; they are eaten daily, chopped into
244 the dish of the day. At religious fiestas it is customary to cook
[796] the cabbages "on the bough," that is to say, with their respective stalks, and serve them as a special dish. White cabbage is seldom cultivated and thus its consumption is almost null. The few heads grown in the cold part of San Andrés are intended for sale.

252 Plantains are eaten preferably in sancocho, and their con-
262 sumption is intensive in the temperate climate. They are also eaten roasted, in which case they are preferred with meat or entrails. Potatoes, especially in Mosoco, are eaten with gravy, a favorite dish for entertaining "white" or civilized visitors. This dish is prepared with water, milk, eggs, onions, and meat. The potatoes are peeled and washed well. In Calderas they are also eaten in this fashion, but frijoles are added to them as well.

In general wheat is cultivated to be milled and sold. Sometimes it is eaten in griddlecakes, in which case the dough is prepared with water and panela. They also make soup with wheat flour, without removing the bran, with cabbages, frijoles, and salt.

Sweet potatoes are consumed in small quantities. They are washed, cooked, and eaten without salt and with peppers. They prepare peppers by cooking them in a pot (a bag, said the informant) and adding onions, coriander, and salt. This condiment thickens and keeps for about a month.

Chachafruto is cooked with frijoles or in the soup, but it is also eaten by itself and skinned. It is very tasty.

273 /351/ Sugar cane serves solely for extracting the juice and
[249] fermenting it. With the guarapo, thirst is quenched, mingas are held, "courtesies" are shown, religious fiestas and social life in general are carried on. From cane juice, duly fermented, alcoholic beverages are also extracted. They make chicha from maize, but this is not prevalent.

/351 cont./

273 The maize is ground, and they cook the flour with plenty of water; this liquid is removed and put in a trough to ferment [272] for several days, adding panela to it. It is said that this chicha is tastier than guarapo, but that it does not inebriate and does not work satisfactorily; it serves only to quench thirst, like the "cola" (carbonated drink) of the "whites."

262 Peaches and apples are eaten in the regions where they are produced, and oranges as well, but in general the consumption of fruit is very low.

252 262 Guinea pigs are eaten when the family wants meat. They kill them by breaking their necks; then they wet them with cold water and put them in the embers of the fire in order to loosen the hide and skin them; they are washed, the entrails are removed, they are washed again, and then they are cooked in the pot of sancocho, mote, "sango," or maize-ball soup; some people eat the entrails, while others do not. The guinea pig is regarded as "tasty."

With chicken special attention is shown to favorite friends and to compadres, and mingas are held. At the fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, it is customary to eat chicken. After being plucked, the entrails are removed, it is washed, and it is cooked in the pot of sancocho or mote. The natives regard the leg as the best piece, and for this reason this is what they present to the elders (compadres, fathers, eldest sons); to the others they give a piece of breast or any other part. The head goes to the owner. The washed and cooked entrails are also distributed among all present. Turkeys and ducks are prepared and consumed in the same manner.

From the pig some organs are eaten roasted: pancreas, kidneys, intestines, and the meat of the backbone; the bacon 262 is kept to flavor food; the rest is eaten boiled. When a pig is killed out of the mere desire to use the meat, portions are distributed to the "elders" of the family (fathers-in-law, fathers, etc.), and the same thing is done when cattle is slaughtered. [237] From them they use the meat, the hide, and the horns for making [534] whistles which are blown when a house is being built in the [342] [234]

262 /351 cont./
[234] settlement and when they are dragging down /352/ the timber;
[237] the milk is not used, except in Mosoco, where we have seen
[534] that it is really consumed.
[342]

The Calderunos say that sheep are eaten frequently in the
[231] temperate regions such as Avirama and San Andrés, but few are consumed in Calderas; some say that sheep give wool for clothing, "Why eat them when they provide ponchos," and others state that to eat mutton brings bad luck, because it would be like eating one's papa.

262 When there are visits by "elders" such as compadres, older
574 brothers, fathers-in-law, or own fathers, they are entertained ("cuida") with dishes different from the ordinary ones, based essentially around barnyard fowl and eggs. If there is meat, a large piece is cooked. The compadres, in turn, bring as a gift griddle-cakes (about 15), eggs (about 10), and frequently chickens.

262 There is no special diet for children; they eat exactly the
846 same as adults. There are differences of diet according to sex only when the woman has just given birth. Then, she is given ground maize, arracacha, manioc, ripe plantain, laying hens ("these
[261] are nice and fat"), and mutton. The mejicano is proscribed for them, because it brings cold into the stomach and gives much pain; onions, because they cause a stomach ailment and rot the in-
[844] testines; pork and the fríjol bueno for the same reason. Peppers are also taboo for parturient women.

262 For hard labor, it is regarded as good to eat mote, with
263 cabbage, fríjol bueno, and well salted, because it gives strength for the daily activities; if one eats the same thing (" a good dish"), but without salt, they say that one is already hungry by the middle of the day.

262 Foods regarded as aphrodisiacs are "sango," prepared with
832 finely ground and sifted maize, and raw eggs.

261 Of the foods that they eat, they believe that chicha and water are transformed into blood, and the maize, potatoes, fríjoles, and arracacha into flesh.

To gain weight, they believe that it is necessary to eat and not to work, rather than to follow a special diet.

/352 cont./

261 The natives lose weight -- says an informant -- because first they eat good and abundant food, and then they do not have [262] enough to eat and, naturally, grow thin. In times of scarcity ("hambruna"), they eat frijol cacha and its tender leaves, in the same way as they eat mejicano leaves; cabbages are gathered leaf by leaf, for at this time of year they are less abundant. When there is nothing more to eat they kill a cow and eat meat; they hunt /353/ wild pigeons or chachalacas, cook them, and [273] drink the broth with salt. They also make chicha, and the old [276] people get drunk every day; the consumption of coca increases: "the people chew and chew so as not to feel too hungry"; the little ones suffer hunger because they do not know how to chew, and they eat mejicano, which does not require the salt that they try to save. Finally, they end up going to the fincas of the "whites" to earn food, coca, and a few centavos.

264 When they do not work, they have one meal at 3:00 P.M. and another at 6:00 P.M. After the first meal they lie down and say, "We are making estancia," that is to say, digesting and [261] getting nourishment. Skinned maize with saffron, chicken, plantains, and peppers gives more "estancia."

261 They barely eat enough unskinned maize, which they cook as mote, but they eat to excess the sancocho of potatoes and frijol bueno because it is so good. No one eats an entire chicken. It is divided. In the former state they would believe that the chicken was stolen. Mejicano makes some people vomit, because they are used to eating meat, and they are the ones who might be thieves.

As a rule, everyone eats only one plate of food; if they eat [758] two, they cannot walk. The curers eat little in order to be able to [787] spend the night in vigil, devoted to their activities; they always [262] eat eggs and they avoid eating peppers in order to be able to [263] feel the "signs" (31).

31. Vernal Villa, S. "Magia y Medicina entre los Paeces /Magic and Medicine among the Paez/," p. 248.

/353 cont./

262 The Indians like meat, but they state that they eat any type of food; they believe that the "whites" eat better, because the Indians cannot eat meat every day nor spend money on lard or meat. They only eat the produce that they cultivated.

264 The Indians have two meals a day: one at dawn and the other one in the afternoon when the sun is setting. The women and children have one meal at midday, from what was left over from the morning. The principal and large meal is cooked at [252] night. Before lying down the women hang from a wooden or iron hook, or from a wire, the pot with mote or frijoles and stir up the fire at least three times during the night; at four in the morning they add the easily cooked products and eat at the first light of day.

574 The natives are generous and hospitable among themselves; 262 no sooner does a visitor enter a home than they offer him whatever they have available: chicha or food.

177 /354/ In the parcialidad of Mosoco, which is undergoing 262 complete acculturation, the diet is changing visibly and the 264 eating hours have changed fundamentally. Coffee, panela, bacon, meat, and maize griddlecakes are consumed regularly.

Trading

43 Except for the parcialidad of Mosoco, the natives produce primarily for internal consumption; but the self-provisioning is insufficient, for they suffer a few months of scarcity. As a result, trading must necessarily be restricted and scanty. In Calderas, Suin, and Chinas, animals are ordinarily exchanged, large, fat cows being surrendered for smaller, thin, fertile heifers and a few pesos besides. We have already referred to this extensively in discussing the livestock. We have also seen how the only industry intended exclusively for trade, that of laurel wax, was a patrimony of San Andrés, Calderas, Tumbichukue, Lame, Suin, and Chinas, and that the drop in price was a fatal blow for the industry. Thus, aside from coffee, potatoes, wheat, and garlic, which are intended almost entirely for trade, nothing remains but small amounts of manioc, arracacha, plantains,

/354 cont./

43 onions, cabbages, barley, and eggs, with which it is not possible to maintain regular trading. The Indians, without exception, buy salt and also acquire hats, shirts, trousers, machetes, shovels, bars, axes, knives, aluminum pots, cups, iron plates, spoons, candles, soap, and aguardiente. Less frequently, large and brilliantly colored kerchiefs for the children, and tweezers /pinzas/ and necklaces for the women.

439 San Andrés is a small native settlement which has been
443 inhabited by the "whites" since the settlement area was estab-
438 lished. It contains three stores that sell some merchandise,
[162] some drugs, beer, aguardiente, and bread. Two of them have gramophones. There are also two other stores, which sell chicha and aguardiente exclusively. On Wednesdays a small market is held. In front of one of the houses, peddlers and traders from other areas display their wares; on the small plaza an awning is raised by an acculturated native woman in order to sell food, and a little farther there is a stand where meat is sold. The market starts moving at dawn. The natives bring small amounts of manioc, arracacha, white cabbage, eggs, coffee, and onions, /355/ which are bought immediately by the "whites." Then the butcher starts selling meat, usually in two-pound portions, which are what the natives buy. The peddlers sell a few trinkets and commodities. At 9:00 A.M. the liquor places
[273] begin to move. At ten in the morning the market is over, and
[578] at midday and in the afternoon only drunken natives are to be
[643] seen. At those times quarrels between them are frequent, and often the natives' aggressiveness is channeled against the "whites," as they assert that they are the true owners of the land and the settlement. The natives have the habit of selling their articles (coffee, eggs) only to persons known to them, even if others can pay them better prices.

On Wednesdays there are also markets in Guasdualejo (Togoima) and Turminá; on Thursdays in Valencia, and on
[491] Saturdays in Inzá and Belalcázar. Those of Belalcázar and Valencia, because they are connected by vehicular road with La Plata (Huila), are better attended and have a larger volume of trade. Large numbers of natives from different parcialidades

/355 cont./

443 of the municipio and even from Calderas flock to the market
438 in Belalcázar. Itinerant peddlers are numerous in Tierradentro,
439 and several of them walk through the parcialidades offering their wares. The articles that they sell are few. Traders also travel through the parcialidades, chiefly to acquire cattle that bring them handsome profits. But there are also those who go from
439 house to house to buy agricultural produce. A trader from
426 Mosoco, mestizo, bilingual, boasts of his friendship with the natives and of the trips that he took, up to about four years ago, through Suin, Chinas, Calderas, Avirama, and Lame, distributing ("showering") advance money for maize, frijoles, laurel wax, saffron, and cattle. "A debt with Indians is never lost," he states categorically, to emphasize the Indians' honesty. At harvest time he returned to collect the products bought and he took them directly to Silvia. He also says that from San Andrés he took from 100 to 200 arrobas of panela each month to sell in Mosoco. Lately, owing to the impassable condition of the Inzá roads, he has given up this business.

443 The parcialidad of Mosoco, and in general the entire
438 hydrographic valley of the Moras River, which contains the
439 parcialidades of San José, Mosoco, Vitoncó, Lame, Suin, and Chinas, trades with the municipio /356/ of Silvia, located on the western slopes of the Central Cordillera. All of the agricultural production goes there: potatoes, maize, wheat, barley, peaches, garlic, broad beans, and ullucos. Only when the prices of agricultural produce are low in Silvia, do they go to Belalcázar and Valencia. But this rarely happens. From Silvia they bring, in exchange, all their tools, their clothing, drugs, and housewares. The Mosoco women are the chief buyers of woolen rebozos (rebosos de Castilla), showy necklaces, gold earrings, and hairpins; the men, of fine cloth hats, fabric for their trousers, and shirts.

437 The riding paths in that area are surprisingly well main-
[476] tained. Each year, in the summertime, all of the neighbors take charge of needed repairs, and they are an obvious contrast to the riding paths of the municipio of Inzá. The people of

The people of
/356 cont./
43 Mosoco have numerous droves of pack animals for handling the
628 import and export traffic, in which the Guambianos (with their
492 horses), called kasukos by the people of Mosoco, who regard them as good friends and not very different from themselves, also participate. The fact is that they live together, work together, and do their trading jointly.

563 The relations between "whites" and natives in Mosoco
621 seem to be cordial and based on mutual respect.

Family economy

594 The Paez family is basically an economic unit. It is made up of the parents and the children, and it represents a
[602] closed but effective circle. They do not go beyond their own
[476] limits in any way, so that the mingas and the distribution of the
[431] first fruits of the harvests are carried out primarily with consanguineal and political relations.

594 The manner in which this economic unit functions and in
462 which its members collaborate can be clearly understood from the division of the activities by sex. The supreme management of the family economy rests in the hands of the man; it is he who owns the land, the house, the tools, and the domestic animals. His arm has not been taught to wield anything but the machete, the axe, and the shovel. He is the owner of the crops and the one who determines where, how, and when work is to be done. His primary work is outside the house: on the land itself. The woman, on /357/ the other hand, remains inside the house, and her basic work is connected with the administration and working up of the products handed over to her by the man. Cooking and
[464] weaving are her specialities. It is true that the woman hires
[178] herself out as a day laborer on the fincas of the "whites" and that in some parcialidades, such as Mosoco, she participates directly in the preparation of the land and the weeding of the crops, but this is a relatively new phenomenon and is not yet universally accepted among the natives.

261 In general terms, the primary incentive for economic activity
594 dealing with food is the satisfaction of the basic needs of the individual and the survival of the family group. It is the security

/357 cont./

261 that is provided by having what is to be consumed. An abundance
594 of guarapo and maize undoubtedly gives them great gratification. When these products are abundant the religious fiestas, mingas, and "entertainments" are good, the natives say, and they describe at great length the incidents as they unfold.

178 But, in spite of the fact that the work capacity of the in-
241 dividual is acknowledged, that the possession of domestic animals
433 lends a certain prestige within the group, and that the abundance
[554] of food and guarapo brings gratification, the agricultural cycle
[231] remains stationary within the lineaments of time, of the systems of labor, and of the quantity of seed. They produce essentially
178 for consumption. The stimulation of prestige does not exist. In
433 many parcialidades, the habits of a capitalistic economy are openly
[754] combated by the sorcerers (32). Nevertheless, we have already

32. Bernal Villa, S. op. cit., p. 256.

had the opportunity to state that the introduction of the cultivation of coffee (temperate zone), the development of livestock-raising and of the cultivation of potatoes in Mosoco, and the creation of settlement areas in the very heart of the native parcialidades are rapidly modifying all of the institutions of Páez culture. The family economy of self-provisioning and of small barter operations is changing perceptibly into a purely money economy. By the same process the routine monotony is disappearing from production and is being replaced by new techniques of work, a greater quantity of production, and a greater volume of trade.

434 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, and San Andrés, we
121 made an investigation of familial income and expenses /358/ for
124 the year 1953, on the basis of questionnaires prepared by the Comisión de Planeamiento de la Seguridad Social Campesina of the Ministerio del Trabajo, questionnaires that were filled out by us for the said commission with reference to Tierradentro.

/358 cont./

434 There were 48 families investigated, of which 25 were
[121] from Mosoco, 8 from Lame, and 15 from San Andrés. They are identified by numbers in order.

The sources of monetary income are provided by agriculture, especially by potatoes, wheat, garlic, and coffee; by livestock-raising, that is to say, the sale of animals, including derivatives such as milk and cheeses, as well as barnyard fowl; by business transactions, including the resale of agricultural and livestock products produced by the natives; by daily wages, including some contract work; by crafts, which include manufactures (blankets, rugs, sashes, pouches, sewing, ceramics, and tile-making) and hydraulic mills; by freightage, that is to say, the profit from renting beasts of burden; by the previous year's savings; and by loans.

At first sight agriculture stands out as the principal source of family income, corresponding specifically to potatoes, wheat, and garlic for Mosoco, laurel wax and potatoes for Lame, and coffee for San Andrés. But in the parcialidad of Mosoco livestock is not merely complementary, but as important as agriculture itself. Even more so. In nine of the 25 families investigated, livestock-raising balances the family budget, which the deficit
[427] was due to the loss of harvests. We also observed that the renting of beasts of burden is an important factor in the family income; an incipient development of family industry that represents sources of monetary income; and, finally, the income from daily wages in the parcialidad is rather limited. In the parcialidades of Lame and San Andrés, on the other hand, livestock-raising occupies a secondary position, and the family income is complemented, when agriculture produces an imbalance, chiefly by day labor.

434 Trade is primarily an activity of the "whites," and so are
563 industries of elaboration such as panela and cheese. In regard to
[439] trade we found one case of a "white" family established in a parcialidad, whose only source of income through life has been nothing but the profits from trade.

434 /359/ The statistical tables on income which we present below demonstrate to us with numbers the arguments of our guesses, since they permit us to compare the incomes of the families in the three native parcialidades and give us a clear idea of the process of acculturation which is taking place in the parcialidad of Mosoco.

6: Bernal Villa--89 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

/359 cont./

Family Income

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Fams.	Agriculture $	Agriculture %	Livestock $	Livestock %	Trade $	Trade %	Daily Wages $	Daily Wages %	Crafts $	Crafts %	Freightage $	Freightage %	
1.*	871,00	17,9	760,00	15,6	2.410,00	49,6	.....	.....	210,00	4,3	.....	....	(33)
2.	563,00	79,5	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	85,00	12,0	(34)
3.	182,00	31,0	105,00	17,8	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	(35)
4.	285,00	36,3	500,00	63,6	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
5.	48,50	9,5	35,50	6,9	82,00	16,2	151,00	29,6	.....	....	192,00	37,7	
6.	145,00	13,9	750,00	71,9	.....	....	.....	.....	148,00	14,1	.....	....	
7.	250,00	22,1	700,00	61,9	180,00	15,9	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
8.	90,00	12,6	620,00	87,3	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
9.	399,00	31,3	73,00	5,7	.....	....	.....	.....	500,00	39,3	300,00	23,5	
10.	480,00	59,0	51,00	6,2	.....	....	270,00	33,2	12,00	1,4	.....	....	
11.	94,00	16,3	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	480,00	83,6	
12.	736,00	100,0	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
13.	250,00	23,5	600,00	56,6	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	210,00	19,7	
14.	136,00	11,3	935,00	78,1	.....	....	.....	.....	126,00	10,5	.....	....	
15.	734,00	55,6	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	236,00	16,6	360,00	27,6	
16.	483,00	73,6	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	344,00	26,3	
17.	.....	....	....	....	.....	....	300,00	100,0	.....	....	.....	....	
18.	1.910,00	98,7	....	....	25,00	1,2	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
19.	1.086,00	68,4	500,00	31,5	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
20.	267,00	47,0	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	300,00	52,9	
21.	428,00	72,5	130,00	22,0	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	32,00	5,4	
22.	296,00	22,6	800,00	60,8	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	216,00	16,4	
23.	366,00	60,3	180,00	29,5	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	60,00	9,8	
24.	166,00	37,2	200,00	44,8	.....	....	.....	.....	30,00	6,7	50,00	11,2	
25.*	1.672,00	16,2	2.690,00	26,7	2.782,00	26,8	.....	.....	300,00	29,8	.....	....	
LAME													
1.*	280,00	10,3	....	....	1.352,00	49,8	.....	.....	.....	....	1.080,00	39,8	
2.	75,00	26,7	30,00	10,7	.....	....	120,00	42,8	13,50	4,8	42,00	14,9	
3.	.....	....	....	....	206,00	45,1	.....	.....	.....	....	....	....	(36)
4.*	.....	....	....	....	2.732,00	100,0	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
5.	132,00	22,2	40,00	6,7	.....	....	270,00	45,7	.....	....	.....	....	(37)
6.	470,00	92,1	....	....	40,00	7,8	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
7.	307,00	38,3	71,50	25,6	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	100,00	36,1	
8.	252,00	96,5	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	12,00	4,5	.....	....	

Note: The peso sign ($) indicates the total monetary income, and % indicates the percentage of income from one activity in relation to the total income. /The commas in the figures should be read as points, and the points as commas, in the translation to English./

33. The deficit was compensated for by a loan of $600.00, which is equivalent to 12.3% of the total income.

34. Deficit compensated for by $60.00 saved in 1952, or 8.4% of the income.

35. Deficit compensated for by $300.00 saved in 1952, or 51.1% of the income.

36. Deficit compensated for by $250.00 saved in 1952, or 54.8% of the income.

37. Deficit compensated for by $150.00 saved in 1952, or 25.3% of the total income.

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Fams.	Agriculture $	Agriculture %	Agriculture $	Agriculture %	Livestock $	Livestock %	Trade $	Trade %	Day Wages $	Day Wages %	Crafts $	Crafts %
1.*	3.120,00	52,7	1.400,00	27,5	500,00	9,4	.....	.....	.....	....	225,00	4,4
2.	48,00	54,2	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	40,50	45,7	.....	....
3.	132,00	70,5	....	....	.....	....	55,00	29,4	.....	....	.....	....
4.	22,20	28,3	....	....	.....	....	56,00	71,6	.....	....	.....	....
5.	380,00	62,2	....	....	.....	....	45,00	7,3	191,00	30,5	.....	....
6.	152,50	61,6	....	....	.....	....	95,00	38,3	.....	....	.....	....
[454] 7.	87,00	26,6	....	....	.....	....	240,00	73,3	.....	....	.....	....
8.	195,00	42,3	200,00	43,4	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	.... (38)
9.	320,00	72,6	120,00	27,2	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
10.*	2.000,00	29,2	....	....	260,00	38,7	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
11.	1.455,00	53,1	600,00	24,8	600,00	24,8	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
12.	170,00	100,0	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
13.	650,00	100,0	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
14.*	190,00	4,8	1.870,00	46,5	800,00	22,8	120,00	3,1	800,00	22,8	.....	....
15.*	379,00	14,4	....	....	100,00	3,8	.....	.....	2.143,10	81,7	.....	....

/The headings are obviously in error on this table./

38. Deficit compensated for by $65.00 saved in 1952, or 14.1% of the income.

511 In the statistical table of expenses, the first thing that we observe in the three parcialidades is the small amount of money spent under the headings "Drugs," "Medical Service," "Taxes," and "Education."

75 The protection of the health of adults and children is fundamental among the Páez. Child mortality has a high percentage,
511 [165] and parasitosis, diarrhea, and tuberculosis are almost endemic.
[164] But in Páez culture the care of the té eu (good curer) and the nasa jihi (sorcerer); the former protects people from illness and from the curses of the latter; the sorcerer with his magic powers can take people's lives. On the other hand, the té eu openly condemn the use of the drugs and the medical service of the "whites."
[182] These two institutions still enjoy great power and basically govern almost all of the institutional life of the Páez. In Mosoco seven heads of families spent small sums of money for the purchase of drugs. /The following table and illustrations appear between p. 360 and p. 361 in the original text./

[text continues on p. 108]

6: Bernal Villa--91 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

Family Expenses -- 1953

MOSOCO /See p. 94 for the note and footnotes for this table./

Farms.	Drugs		Medical		Food		Clothing	
	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%
1.*	500,00	10,3	300,00	6,1	2.798,00	57,6	980,00	20,2
2.	... ..	...	... ..	..	410,10	57,9	195,50	27,6
3.	... ..	...	... ..	..	288,00	56,3	151,00	28,1
4.	6,00	0,2	... ..	..	316,40	40,3	103,00	13,1
5.	... ..	...	... ..	..	345,60	67,5	108,50	20,7
6.	... ..	...	... ..	..	690,60	66,2	176,00	16,8
7.	... ..	...	... ..	..	402,40	35,6	81,90	7,2
8.	... ..	...	... ..	..	276,80	38,9	137,00	19,2
9.	10,00	0,6	... ..	..	558,00	43,7	223,00	17,4
10.	... ..	...	... ..	..	456,50	56,1	214,00	26,3
11.	10,00	1,7	... ..	..	151,80	26,4	88,50	15,4
12.	... ..	...	... ..	..	327,60	45,1	159,70	21,9
13.	10,00	0,6	... ..	..	734,40	69,2	133,00	12,5
14.	... ..	...	... ..	..	461,60	38,5	278,00	23,2
15.	... ..	...	... ..	..	383,20	29,4	158,50	12,1
16.	... ..	...	... ..	..	195,76	35,7	113,00	20,5
17.	... ..	...	... ..	..	189,60	63,2	62,00	20,6
18.	43,00	2,2	... ..	..	426,66	22,0	168,80	8,7
19.	65,00	4,0	... ..	..	213,33	13,4	294,70	18,5
20.	... ..	...	... ..	..	238,30	42,0	82,00	14,4
21.	... ..	...	... ..	..	188,00	31,8	104,50	17,7
22.	... ..	...	... ..	..	221,20	16,8	191,00	14,5
23.	... ..	...	... ..	..	192,00	31,6	166,00	27,3
24.	6,00	1,3	... ..	..	155,00	34,7	173,50	38,6
25.*	120,00	1,1	12,00	0,1	3.566,40	35,4	2.497,70	24,8

LAME

1.*	5,00	0,1	18,00	0,6	698,40	25,7	420,00	15,4
2.	0,70	0,2	... ..	..	55,20	19,6	114,00	40,6
3.	5,10	1,1	... ..	..	158,40	34,7	91,40	20,0
4.*	40,00	1,6	... ..	..	1.173,12	42,9	268,00	9,8
5.	... ..	...	... ..	..	66,00	11,1	64,00	10,8
6.	... ..	...	... ..	..	93,00	18,2	61,00	11,9
7.	3,00	1,0	... ..	..	115,50	41,4	37,50	13,4
8.	... ..	...	... ..	..	170,40	64,5	54,50	20,6

SAN ANDRES

1.*	8,00	0,1	... ..	..	2,265,60	42,5	801,00	15,0
2.	... ..	...	... ..	..	23,25	25,1	27,00	30,5
3.	... ..	...	... ..	..	75,00	40,1	64,00	34,1
4.	... ..	...	... ..	..	29,60	37,8	46,05	58,8
5.	28,00	4,4	... ..	..	172,80	27,6	98,30	15,7
6.	... ..	...	... ..	..	68,00	27,8	81,00	32,7
7.	... ..	...	... ..	..	168,40	48,0	68,50	20,9
8.	... ..	...	... ..	..	165,60	36,0	154,00	33,4
9.	... ..	...	... ..	..	106,50	24,2	115,00	26,1
10.*	... ..	...	... ..	..	933,60	41,6	357,00	15,9
11.	15,00	0,5	... ..	..	1.444,80	52,9	372,00	13,6
12.	... ..	...	... ..	..	19,20	11,2	59,80	35,1
13.	10,00	1,5	... ..	..	115,20	17,7	44,00	6,7
14.*	103,50	2,6	5,00	0,1	1.684,80	43,3	554,60	14,2
15.*	... ..	...	... ..	..	960,00	36,6	280,50	10,6

6: Bernal Villa--92 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954SC15 Paez SC15

Mosoco Family Expenses -- 1953

Fams.	Taxes $	Taxes %	Education $	Education %	Candles-soap $	Candles-soap %	Coca $	Coca %
511 1.	*1,70	..	30,00	0,6	120,00	2,4	... ..	...
563 2.	... ..	..	8,80	1,2	21,60	3,0	... ..	...
651 3.	... ..	..	... ..	...	21,60	3,0	... ..	...
871 4.	... ..	..	6,00	0,8	64,80	8,2	... ..	...
5.	... ..	..	5,00	0,9	45,60	8,9	... ..	...
6.	... ..	..	10,00	0,9	57,60	5,5	... ..	...
7.	... ..	..	... ..	...	45,60	4,0	... ..	...
8.	... ..	..	... ..	...	50,40	7,0	... ..	...
9.	... ..	..	... ..	...	57,00	4,4	... ..	...
10.	... ..	..	... ..	...	60,00	7,3	72,00	8,8
11.	... ..	..	... ..	...	36,00	6,2	... ..	...
12.	... ..	..	... ..	...	68,40	9,4	... ..	...
13.	... ..	..	... ..	...	72,00	6,7	... ..	...
14.	... ..	..	4,00	0,3	28,00	2,3	... ..	...
15.	... ..	..	... ..	...	68,40	5,2	96,00	7,3
16.	... ..	..	... ..	...	26,40	4,8	... ..	...
17.	... ..	..	... ..	...	18,00	6,0	... ..	...
18.	... ..	..	... ..	...	84,00	4,3	... ..	...
19.	... ..	..	30,00	1,8	... ..	...	... ..	...
20.	... ..	..	... ..	...	36,00	6,3	... ..	...
21.	... ..	..	... ..	...	50,40	8,5	120,00	20,3
22.	11,60	0,8	... ..	...	100,00	7,2	... ..	...
23.	... ..	..	... ..	...	57,60	9,5	... ..	...
24.	... ..	..	5,00	1,1	62,00	3,9	... ..	...
25.	*4,50	..	1.745,00	17,3	150,00	1,4	... ..	...

Lame

1.	*... ..	..	30,00	1,2	28,80	1,0	... ..	...
2.	... ..	..	... ..	...	14,40	5,1	60,00	21,3
3.	... ..	..	... ..	...	8,00	1,7	... ..	...
4.	*... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	... ..	...
5.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	180,00	30,4
6.	... ..	..	... ..	...	9,60	1,8	54,00	10,5
7.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	72,00	25,8
8.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	... ..	...

San Andres

1.	*2,40	..	180,00	3,3	?	?	... ..	...
2.	... ..	..	... ..	..	?	?	30,00	33,8
3.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	... ..	...
4.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	... ..	...
5.	5,00	0,8	8,00	1,2	37,20	5,9	96,00	15,3
6.	... ..	..	... ..	...	36,00	14,5	40,00	16,0
7.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	48,00	14,6
8.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	17,50	3,8
9.	... ..	..	5,00	1,1	30,00	6,7	24,00	5,4
10.	*24,20	3,3	... ..	...	67,20	3,0	... ..	...
11.	7,75	0,2	60,00	2,1	108,00	3,9	... ..	...
12.	... ..	..	... ..	...	21,60	12,7	... ..	...
13.	... ..	..	... ..	...	28,80	4,6	... ..	...
14.	*... ..	..	515,00	13,2	?	?	... ..	...
15.	*13,00	0,6	15,00	0,5	?	?	... ..	...

6: Bemal Villa--93 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954

SC15 Paez SC15

Mosoco Family Expenses -- 1953

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Fams.	Amusements $	Amusements %	Finca Improvements $	Finca Improvements %	Savings $	Savings %	
1.*	120,00	2,6	.....	...	.....	...	
2.	60,00	8,6	.....	...	12,00	1,6	
3.	126,60	23,5	.....	...	.....	...	(1)
4.	2,00	0,3	130,00	14,0	176,00	22,5	
5.	34,00	6,6	.....	...	.....	...	(2)
6.	25,00	2,4	60,00	3,8	44,00	4,2	
7.	150,00	13,2	110,00	9,7	339,60	30,0	
8.	60,00	8,6	.....	...	195,00	26,6	
9.	100,00	7,7	.....	...	324,00	25,0	
10.	10,00	1,2	.....	...	.....	...	
11.	.....	...	.....	...	287,70	50,1	
12.	50,00	6,8	75,00	10,3	45,30	6,2	
13.	36,00	3,6	.....	...	73,00	6,9	
14.	60,00	5,0	250,00	20,8	115,60	9,6	
15.	192,00	14,7	200,00	15,3	201,90	15,5	
16.	50,00	9,1	.....	...	161,04	29,5	
17.	.....	...	.....	...	30,60	10,1	
18.	30,00	1,2	160,00	8,2	1.033,54	53,3	
19.	10,00	0,6	128,00	8,0	844,97	53,2	
20.	10,00	1,7	192,00	33,8	8,70	1,5	
21.	30,00	5,0	.....	...	97,10	16,6	
22.	100,00	7,6	95,20	7,2	630,90	48,3	
23.	60,00	9,9	.....	...	130,60	21,5	
24.	80,00	17,9	.....	...	.....	...	(3)
25.*	226,00	2,2	361,00	3,5	1.356,00	13,6	(4)

Lame

1.*	.....	...	375,00	13,8	1.135,90	41,8	
2.	18,00	6,6	.....	...	18,20	6,6	
3.	30,00	6,5	.....	...	163,10	35,7	
4.*	.....	...	710,00	25,9	540,88	19,7	
5.	.....	...	.....	...	282,00	47,6	
6.	.....	...	144,00	22,3	147,90	29,0	
7.	.....	...	.....	...	50,50	18,1	
8.	26,00	9,8	.....	...	13,10	4,9	

San Andres

1.*	240,00	4,5	1.060,50	19,9	747,50	14,0	
2.	8,75	0,8	.....	...	7,50	0,6	
3.	.....	...	.....	...	29,00	15,6	
4.	.....	...	.....	...	2,55	3,2	
5.	85,20	11,6	.....	...	94,30	15,0	
6.	20,00	8,0	.....	...	2,50	1,0	
7.	24,00	7,3	.....	...	28,10	8,5	
8.	130,00	28,2	.....	...	.....	...	(5)
9.	100,00	22,7	.....	...	52,60	11,3	
10.*	200,00	8,9	366,00	16,3	242,00	10,8	
11.	.....	...	500,00	18,2	227,65	8,3	
12.	.....	...	.....	...	69,40	40,8	
13.	.....	...	.....	...	452,00	69,5	
14.	100,20	2,5	292,00	7,5	593,20	15,2	(6)
15.*	10,00	0,3	360,00	13,7	983,60	37,5	

511 /The following note and footnotes appear under the preceding
563 table in the original text./

NOTE: The peso sign ($) indicates the total expenses and % indicates the percentage of expenses under one heading with relation to the total expenses. /The commas in the figures should be read as points, and the points as commas, in the translation to English./

1. Deficit of 50 pesos or 8.6%.

2. Deficit of 39 pesos or 4.6%.

3. Deficit of 29.50 pesos or 7.5%.

4. Transportation expenses 35 pesos or 0.3%.

5. Deficit of 7.10 pesos or 1.4%.

6. Transportation expenses 39.90 pesos or 1.6%.

6: Bernal Villa--95 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro I: A clearing on the slope in El Cuartel (Vitoncó).

6: Bernal Villa--96 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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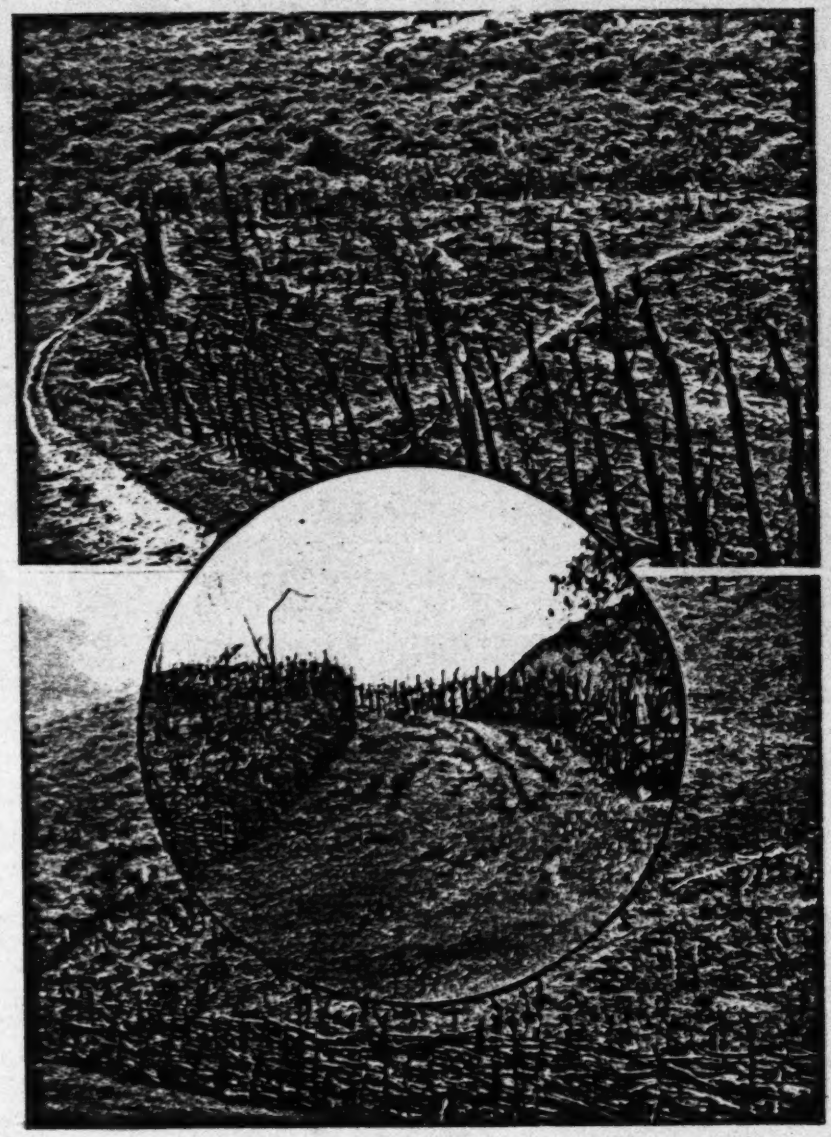

Tierradentro II: Clearings ready for sowing, showing the finished fences and the typical manner of making them (Tumbichukue and Lame).

6: Bernal Villa--97 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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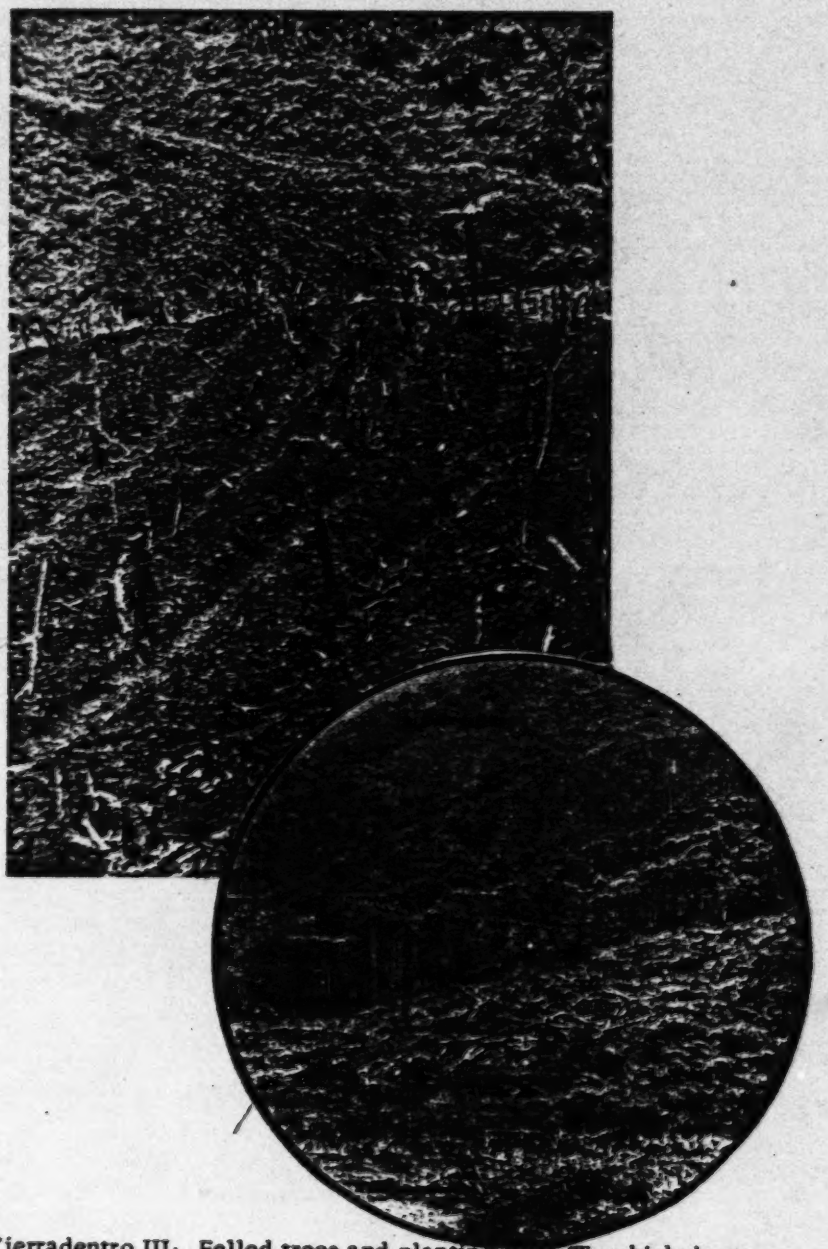

Tierradentro III: Felled trees and planting beds (Tumbichukue).

6: Bernal Villa--98 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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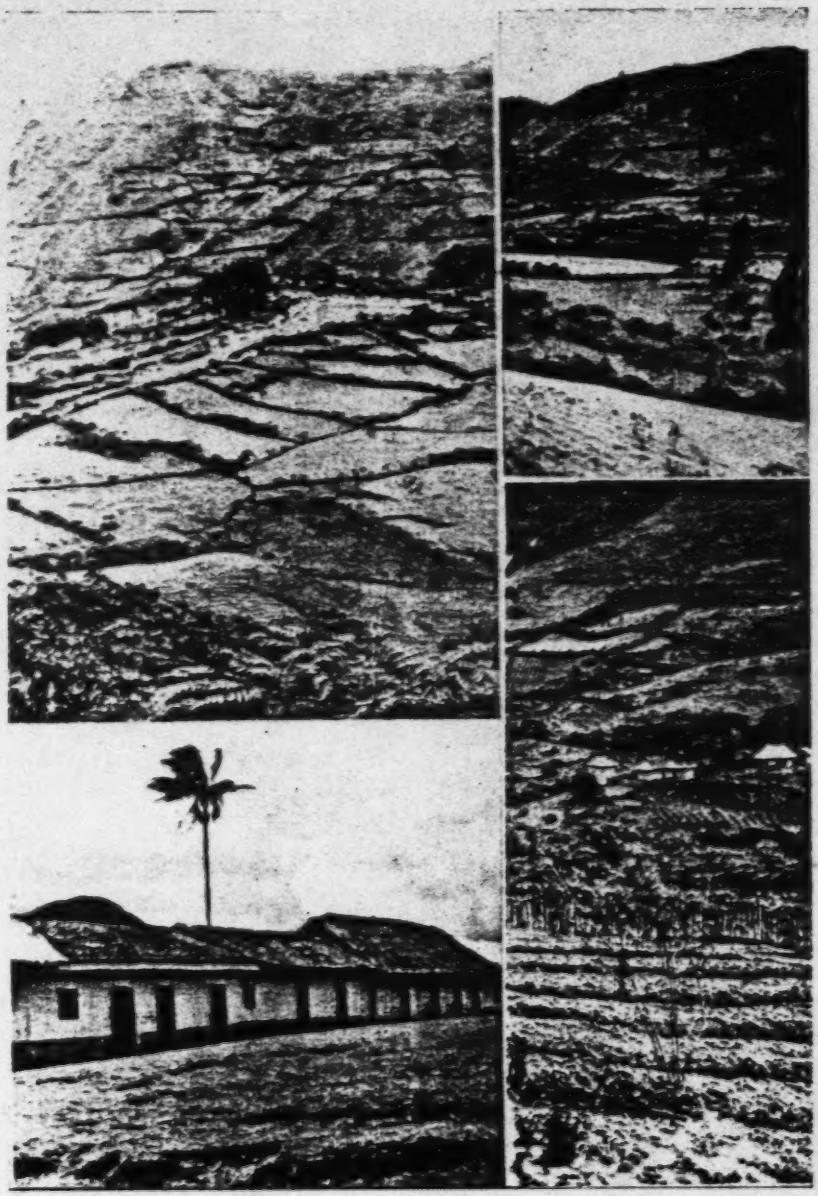

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Tierradentro IV: Views of Mosoco. Above: left, panoramic view of Mosoco; right, partial view of the Mosoco plateau. Below: left, houses of Mosoco; right, dwellings, planting beds, and fences of "lechero."

6: Bernal Villa--99 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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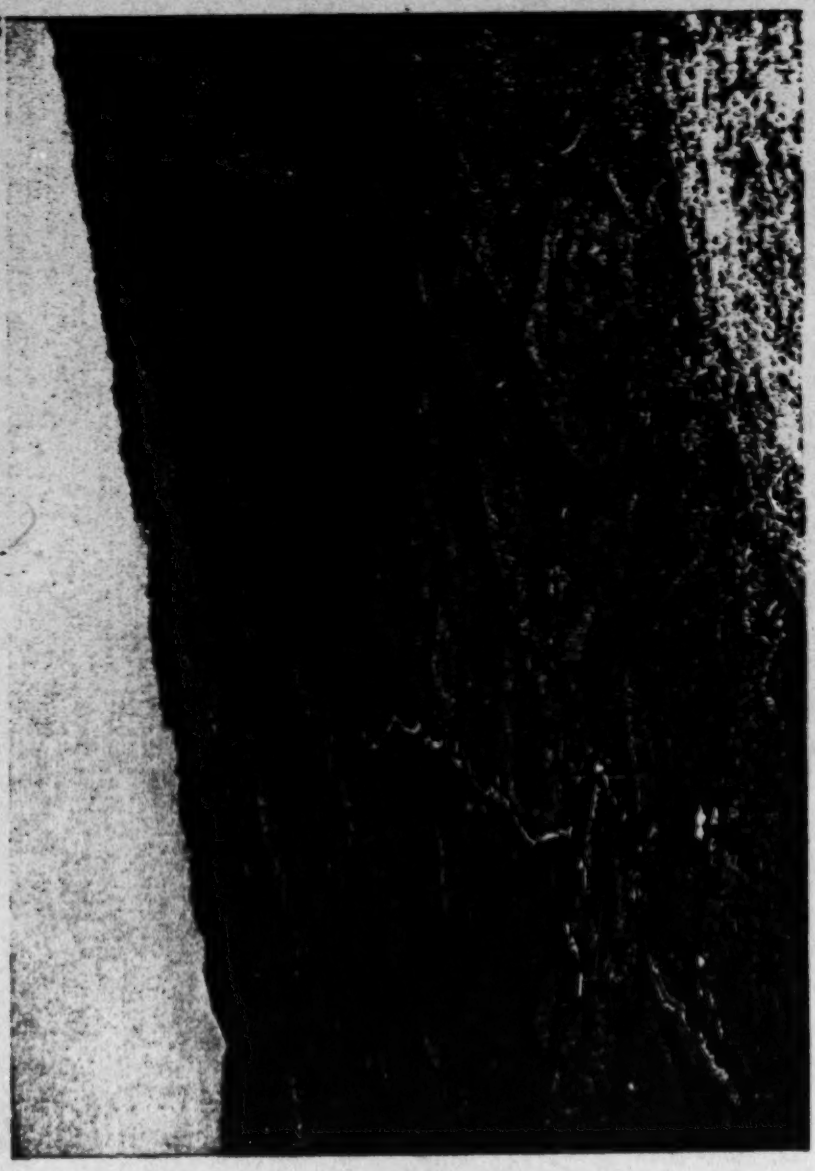

Tierradentro V: View of the route from Moras (Mosoco), showing the road that leads to Silvia.

6: Bernal Villa--100 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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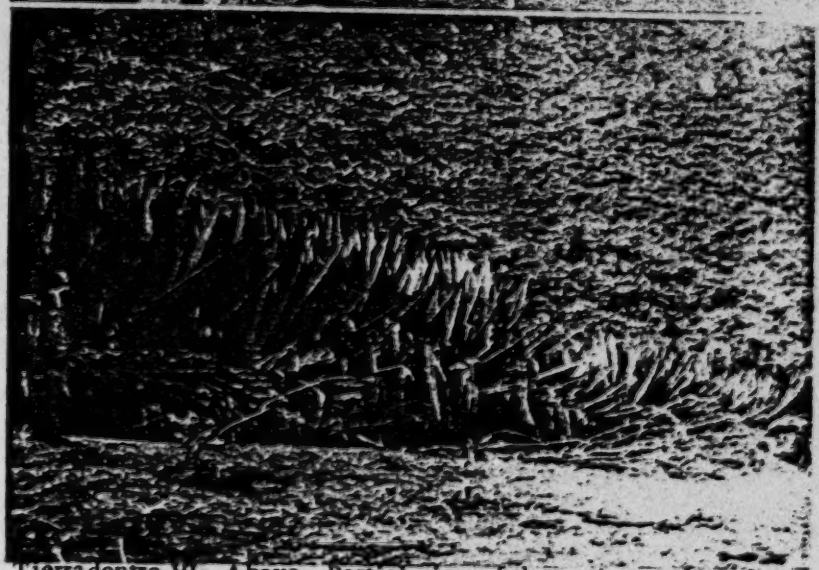

Tierradentro VI: Above: Partial view of the native pueblo of Lame.
Below: Plantings of cabuya (Lame).

6: Bernal Villa--101 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro VII: Narrow valley of the Paez River in Juntas, showing the alluvial terraces and the small vegas with plantings of coffee.

6: Bernal Villa--102 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

Tierradentro VIII: Dwelling in El Cuartel (Vitoncó). Note the pigs in front, the manner of storing wheat beneath the eaves of the house, and the supply of firewood.

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6: Bernal Villa--103 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro IX: Sugar mill of wood and the milling (Togoima).

6: Bernal Villa--104 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro X: Indian woman of Mosoco "mambe-ing" /chewing coca and lime/ and weaving a kuetand yaha (pouch) for mambe). She is a té eu of the parcialidad.

6: Bernal Villa--105 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro XI. Indian of Calderas, showing the typical manner of wearing the kuetand yaha and the yahas (fique pouches). In the background, the Parque Arqueológico of Tierradentro.

6: Bernal Villa--106 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro XII: Two married couples from Calderas in the Parque Arqueológico of Tierradentro. The one on the right is a very young married couple.

6: Bernal Villa- 107 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro XIII: Gobernador of the parcialidad of San Andrés, with his staff of command and a machete at his belt.

/361/

75 Their importance is emphasized if we make a comparison
511 with the parcialidad of San Andrés, where there is a Centro de
743 Salud duly staffed by a registered nurse, and furthermore, not far away, there is the Centro de Higiene of Inzá, staffed by a doctor and a group of nurses whose services are free and who also distribute free drugs. In spite of this, the natives do not always go to these centers, preferring their own doctors and most commonly the té eu of Calderas.

651 Concerning taxes, we have already said that the immovables
511 of the native communities are exempt from this type of encumbrance; hence, the column reserved for this type of expense remains empty. The few figures that are found in it are payments on immovables within the settlement area and, in one case or another, the payment of taxes for the exercise of trade in various plazas of the municipio of Inzá.

511 The amounts devoted to the education of children are the
871 smallest, if we except those of the "white" informants, some of
[563] whom have their children in high schools, in rural normal schools,
[115] and even at the university. In the parcialidades of San Andrés and Lame, they are practically null. The children of San Andrés go to school, as a rule, unprovided with school supplies, carrying in their bags provisions for lunch, consisting of manioc and cooked plantains, mote, and roasted maize, since the dwellings are located at a distance of several kilometers from the school, with very bad and rugged paths. School cafeterias and the donating of school supplies are more than indispensable in these regions. These children go to school irregularly and do not remain there for more than two years; they are taught in Spanish, and on the
[562] whole the benefit is minimal. Girls attend in smaller numbers
[212] than boys; the adults believe that women do not need to learn to read and write. This situation is different in Mosoco. The children of both sexes attend school and try to attend regularly, and many walk several kilometers a day; the fathers of families are interested in having their children learn to read, write, and count, and for this reason they try to outfit them with some equipment for their tasks of apprenticeship.

/361 cont./

276 The consumption of coca has disappeared almost completely
511 in Mosoco; the few data on expenses that appear in the statisti-
[178] cal table pertain exclusively to elderly informants. /362/ In Lame and San Andrés, on the other hand, the consumption is general and considerable sums, in comparison with the total income, are spent to procure this article. In San Andres, the expenses for this fancy would be higher if there were not a cer-
511 tain number of coca trees in each garden. The monies invested in improvements on immovables and livestock-raising are frequent in Mosoco, while in the other two parcialidades they are practically absent. This already implies a veritable process of capitalization, an activity unknown to the majority of the native population of Tierradentro.

The largest and most constant expenses were paid out, in this order, for food, clothing, amusements, and the acquisition of candles and soap.

511 As far as food in Mosoco is concerned, purchases of panela,
43 coffee, lard (fat), and salt appear for all 25 families; the purchase of maize and rice appears for 12 families. They also buy chocolate, bread, and plantains with some frequency. They do not consume manioc. For the eight families of Lame purchases of panela, salt, and coffee appear, and in one case or another the acquisition of rice, lard, manioc, plantains, and meat. In San Andrés the articles most in demand for the home are meat, panela, and salt, which appear for more than half the families investigated, but the purchase of maize, lard, potatoes, manioc, and plantains also figures with some frequency. On analyzing the statistical table of expenses for the three parcialidades, we find rather interesting coincidences that exist between the higher percentages for food and the deficiencies in agricultural production, either because of the loss of harvests or the scarcity of seed. In the former case, which refers primarily to Mosoco, we have already seen that the budgetary imbalance is compensated for by the sale of domestic animals, especially cattle, and in the latter case, which refers to the other two parcialidades, the low production is compensated for by the sale of labor.

/362 cont./

511 The articles of clothing most in demand are trousers, shirts,
438 hats, underwear, rebozos, and sashes (Mosoco), large shawls
439 /pañolones/ (Lame and San Andrés), and smocks for the children.
[301] Ponchos are also purchased with some frequency. In Mosoco,
[223] gold earrings are ornaments appreciated by the women, in contrast to other parcialidades where gold is /363/ regarded as taboo. The natives wear no sandals or shoes. It should also be noted that the women's skirts are not purchased, but made at home; while in Mosoco the purchase of the reboso de Castilla /Spanish shawl/ is quite frequent and a sign of elegance, in the other parcialidades
511 they buy pañolones. If we compare the figures for food and clothing, the percentage of the income devoted to the former in Mosoco, with two exceptions, is higher than that devoted to clothing. In Lame, and especially in San Andrés, the percentages for food and clothing tend to be the same, and often the latter is higher than the former. The phenomenon is not strange if we bear in mind that in these two parcialidades cultivation is more for internal consumption than for sale. As for "Amusements," although various expenses have been included among them, they refer basically to expenses for the fancy for alcoholic and fermented beverages. Naturally, the expenses are necessarily higher, as we shall see later. As for lighting, in spite of the fact that in San Andrés and Lame it is made out of wild laurel wax, stearic candles are also purchased, and in Mosoco they are always
511 purchased. Soap is purchased by all the natives. In the column
454 showing the part for savings we note that only six of the 48 families
[434] investigated have no figures for it.* And in order to make a few deductions, we have made an analysis of the incomes of the 48 families studied:

*[see p. 93 for this table -- Analyst]

/363 cont./

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Parcialidad	Less than $100.00	From $100.00 to $500.00	From $500.00 to $1,000.00	From $1,000.00 to $2,000.00	From $2,000.00 to $5,000.00	More than $5,000.00
Mosoco	-	2	12	9	1	1
Lame	-	4	2	-	2	-
San Andrés	2	6	2	-	4	1
Totals	2	12	16	9	7	2

We thus observe that 28 of the 48 families studied, or 78.3%, have incomes of less than 1,000 pesos, with which savings [426] practically cannot exist. Even with regard to the Mosoco family [691] identified by the number 18, which in the Savings column has the amount of $1,034.24 ¾ we were able to verify that this amount /364/ was strictly nominal and that the head of the family had resorted to the Caja Agraria to ask for a loan of $500.00 to make improvements on his finca, a loan which he indeed obtained; through indirect information we were able to ascertain that the amount given as savings was possibly spent on the expenses of a [563] lawsuit for land which a brother-in-law was prosecuting. The savings of the "white" families are true and also those of some few native families, but in general terms what we would calculate as savings can be assigned to the "Amusements" column; the natives live from day to day. The impulse to save does not exist or is minimal. We had the opportunity to verify that there is no prudence with regard to expenses when considerable sums are received, such as, for example, those that come from the sale of coffee. The modest savings of the natives go up in smoke

¾ [column actually reads $1033.24, see p. 93-Au.]

/364 cont./

511 in the cantinas, in lawsuits over land, or for religious fiestas.
434 These arguments are confirmed, on the other hand, by the
454 statistical table on income in that only five native families in the three parcialidades made up the deficits in their budgets of last year with sums saved in 1952.

Economy and acculturation

121 Before closing the present work we wish to describe in
177 broad outline the process of acculturation which is now going on in some Páez parcialidades.

[101] The material on Páez culture which we have published and that which we are now elaborating on were collected in the parcialidades located on the right bank of the Paez River, leaving aside those located on the left bank of this river, owing above all to factors of public order which have been disturbing their peace for several years.

[178] The native communities of San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Calderas, Avirama, Suin, Chinas, Lame, Vitoncó, Huila, Toez, and Tálaga are more traditionalistic, live in accordance with the institutions of the culture, and for this reason we regard them as more "primitive." On the other hand, the community of Mosoco, suspended on the slopes of the Central Cordillera itself and extending into the very heart of the Paramo de Moras, is fully in the process of transformation.

[648] /365/ Our research was begun in the parcialidad of Calderas,
[101] isolated, by reasons of a geographical nature, from the principal centers of the "white" population and whose inhabitants have defended their independence at all costs and have been hostile to living with the "whites" (39). From here comes the greater part

39. Bernal Villa, S. "Mitología y cuentos de la parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro /Mythology and tales from the parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro/," pp. 289 ff.

[101] of our materials. But we also carried out systematic investigations in San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Lame, Vitoncó, Tálaga, and, lastly, in Mosoco.

/365 cont./

177 For our outline of acculturation, we understand by diffusion
[121] achieved cultural transmission, and by acculturation cultural trans-
[127] mission in process, terms expounded by Professor Melville J. Herskovits in his book, El Hombre y sus obras /Man and his Works/.

Within Páez culture there is widely diffused, to the point of constituting an integral part of the cultural body, the following economic elements of alien origin and, more concretely, of European origin:

[231] All of the domestic animals with the exception of the
[137] guinea pig, bananas, sugar cane (the variety known as "criolla"), wheat, barley, garlic, coffee, peaches, apples, and oranges, the agricultural implements, the hydraulic mills, sugar mills, the guadua bamboo, and some varieties of pasture grass, such as orejuela /Alchemilla pectinata/, kikuyu, and poa.

177 Throughout the pages of this work, we have emphasized in
361 particular the cultural developments in process, that is to say, the
563 phenomenon of acculturation. It is obvious that this phenomenon has appeared, with greater or lesser intensity, in those parcialidades where there have been created areas of settlement, within which a specific number of "white" families have settled. But the intensity of the acculturative phenomenon does not rest merely on this fact or on the number of families who live by the norms of Western culture. San Andrés, for example, had its settlement area established for all practical purposes in 1928 and now reckons with more than 20 "white" families, with its nearness to the settlement of Inzá, and, for nearly 15 years, with the Parque Arqueológico of Tierradentro, to some extent a tourist attraction, and yet the process of acculturation is minimal and cannot be compared with the intensity of the same phenomenon in Mosoco, where the settlement area /366/ was created in 1923 and where
177 nowadays there are not more than 12 families of "whites." In
[487] Mosoco there is another factor: the riding path that joins the
[491] municipio of Belalcázar with that of Silvia, a road that has existed since pre-conquest times. Mosoco has been and still
[628] continues to be the mandatory stopping place. In addition, this parcialidad has had intensive contacts with the Guambiano group and the Páez group from the other side of the Cordillera, who are more acculturated.

/367 cont./

177 [137] varieties are being introduced, such as "java," for example, which, although the natives call it "wild," they nevertheless praise for its quality and recommend its cultivation.

Such are the general outlines of acculturation in some parcialidades of Tierradentro.

113

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/366 cont./

[77] are more acculturated. All of these circumstances have permitted the extensification of the cultivation of garlic, wheat, and especially potatoes, as well as the extensification and intensification of livestock-raising, which, in turn, has given rise to a series of phenomena now in the full process of development, such as the modification of work schedules and agricultural cycles, the regularization of trade and transport, the appearance of the habit of capitalization and of the use of credit, the use of barbed wire for fencing, reforestation on a eucalyptus base, the development of household industries, modification of the diet and eating times, adoption of specific objects of adornment by the women (gold earrings), disappearance of coca consumption ("decultuation," to use Fernando Ortiz's neologism), social stratification, the undermining of the institutions of the té eu and the nasa jihi, the calming of the real and magical aggressiveness against the "whites," intensification of primary education, and greater conviction in religious beliefs.

In the temperate zone in general and in San Andrés in particular, the cultivation of coffee is in full swing, and the consequences of this economic fact are beginning to be visible. The palm hat, very common in the parcialidad of Calderas, is not seen very much among the Andresunos, who are adopting the cloth hat of the "whites"; some of them already wear sandals or shoes, and likewise the use of the poncho and of the bag of a manufacture foreign to the culture is spreading; the agricultural implements are being enriched in the same manner as modern housewares; although the most widespread labor system in the parcialidad is that of the mingas, some already pay daily wages for work on their fields; the consumption of meat and panela is [756] quite frequent when there are coffee harvests. It is also interest- [554] ing that in the entire parcialidad there are only two té eu, who are not greatly respected, though they utilize the services of the té eu of Calderas.

[137] /367/ The "criolla" is the most widespread variety of sugar cane and the one which has been fully accepted by the natives, to the point of being regarded as their own, but other new

6: Bernal Villa--116 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

/367 cont./

113 Hernandez de Alba, Gr. "The Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia," Handbook of South American Indians, Vol. 2, Washington, 1946, pp. 915-960.

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[Title Page]

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ECONOMIA DE LOS PAEZ

Por

SEGUNDO BERNAL VILLA

[P. 291]
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Consideraciones generales

Los productos de la tierra constituyen la parte sustantiva de la economía Páez. Apenas conocen los indios algunas artes manuales practicadas muy raras veces. La recolección y la cacería son actividades bastante secundarias y, mucho más aún, la pesquería. La ganadería, con ser una actividad de merecida consideración por su desarrollo y por ser, además, la esencia de la concepción indígena de la riqueza, sirve más para efectuar operaciones desventajosas de trueque con la población blanca y mestiza que para derivar lucro bien sea en dinero o en especies. La economía Páez es, pues, directa, carente de intermediarios en las funciones de producción y de consumo. La familia consume lo que produce. Pocos son los artículos de consumisión que se adquieren. Se refieren esencialmente a la sal, las herramientas, los artefactos culinarios y al vestido. Asímismo, pocos son los productos que se expenden. El café, la cera de laurel, la papa, los ajos y la coca. Cabe advertir. que el incremento de algunos de estos productos, es de reciente data. La producción Páez apenas abastece y rara vez deja un excedente para sostener un comercio regular. La previsión para las épocas de carestía existe, pero no es suficiente ni organizada.

El trabajo de la tierra condiciona las actividades diarias de la familia Páez. Podría decirse que los ciclos vitales se sumergen en los ciclos agrícolas. Primordialmente, el año se divide en meses de la preparación de la tierra y en meses de la cosecha incluyendo la defensa de los productos en sazón. Los meses comprendidos entre los extremos de este ciclo económico se dedican a pequeñas actividades manuales o emigran a contratarse como jornaleros en las fincas de los "blancos" (1). La vida social y las fiestas religiosas son frecuentes en este lapso. El trabajo se reali-

(1) Término genérico con que los indígenas designan a todos los que poseen las normas de la cultura occidental sin discriminación racial. Para comodidad del trabajo adoptamos esta acepción poniendo la palabra entre comillas.

za con devoción y constancia. No se efectúa con prisa pero tampoco se descansa.

Cada familia Páez posee sus terrenos. Es su ambición. La fuente primaria de su seguridad. Cada fragosidad tiene un dueño cuyo título ha sido ganado con el sudor de la propia frente. Cada fragosidad esconde el rancho que aloja a la familia. Cada pulgada de tierra es defendida por el indígena con pasión. No son pocos los pleitos suscitados por este hecho. Asímismo, los Cabildos nunca son tan celosos como en la defensa de los terrenos de la Parcialidad. Las áreas de población constituyen puntas de lanza en el corazón mismo de la comunidad. Se han establecido con la plena oposición de los indígenas. Por otra parte, la defensa de las tierras y la incontaminación con pueblos extraños son postulados de la mítica. La distribución de las casas sugieren de antemano la profusión de los caminos y la propiedad privada.

Cuando la tierra escasea la conquistan, no importan las distancias ni las dificultades que sobresalgan. Son buenos colonizadores y raras son las personas que careciendo de tierra se contratan como peones permanentes o se convierten en terrazgueros de los grandes hacendados. Prefieren antetodo, la independencia.

Al estudiar la economía de los Páez no se pueden pasar por alto algunos factores de índole geográfico-físicos y culturales. Ellos son:

1º *Pisos térmicos.* Las tierras ocupadas actualmente por los Páez de Tierradentro, corresponden a los pisos térmicos frío y templado. La curva de nivel correspondiente a los dos mil metros pasa por *Topa, Turminá, Guanacas,* El Cabuyo, *Malvasá, Pisimbalá, Lame,* La Troja e Irlanda, desde donde tuerce hacia el oriente. La curva de los tres mil metros, sensiblemente paralela a la anterior, está pegada muy cerca del espinazo de la Cordillera Central. Forman estas dos curvas una zona estrecha que corresponde al piso térmico frío y dentro de la cual se encuentran las Parcialidades de *Toez, Huila, Vitoncó,* San José, *Mosoco, Lame* y *Yaquivá,* además de una considerable extensión de las extintas parcialidades de *Guanacas* y *Turminá.* Representa toda esta zona una "región culturalmente influída" en el sentido literal que le da el Profesor Guhl (2). Un magnífico camino de herradura une a *Mosoco* con Silvia, atravesando el Páramo de Moras. El tránsito de gentes es intenso y constante en casi todos

(2) Guhl, E. *Ambiente Geográfico-Humano de la Costa del Atlántico.* Revista Geográfica, p. 159.

los meses del año. En los últimos decenios, ha sido una zona activa de colonización indígena y "blanca". Lo sigue siendo aún. *Coscuro* y *Malvasá*, en la Parcialidad de San Andrés, son regiones de colonización netamente "blanca". Pero *Tumbichukue*, las partes altas de *Lame*, *Mosoco*, San José, *Huila* y *Toez* son zonas de colonización exclusivamente indígenas. La importancia de *Mosoco* es relievante. Fue un gran centro de población Páez y lo sigue siendo aún, en igual forma que lo son *Pitayó* y *Tacueyó* al otro lado de la Cordillera, pero no por ello podemos afirmar que "la mayor parte de las poblaciones y las más importantes para los Paeces" se hallen situadas en la región fría como lo afirma categóricamente el Profesor José Pérez de Barradas. *Mosoco*, en pleno proceso de aculturación, es buen productor de papa, trigo y maíz. Es el verdadero Tierradentro por la fisiografía, la producción y el progreso. Pero en tiempos de la conquista fueron los *tálagas*, *aviramas*, calderas y *Togoimas*, quienes derrotaron a Ampudia y Belalcázar, y los grupos políticos fuertes tenían como sedes principales a *Tálaga*, *Suin* y *Avirama* (3). "El lugar de residencia de un cacique constituía una especie de población o sitios de reuniones, la mayoría de los cuales permanecen hoy como pueblos de indios y conservan sus nombres tales como *Suin*, *Tálaga*, *Avirama*, *Togoima*," *Chitoquez*, *Cuetando*, *Yaquivá*, *Pisimbalá* e *Itaibe*, todos ellos localizados en el piso térmico templado. Es precisamente en el curso del río Páez y en los cursos medio e inferior de sus afluentes donde actualmente se concentra la población Páez.

2º *Fisiografía*. Ya la simple ojeada de la loca geografía de Tierradentro, sugiere al espíritu el esquema de vida del pueblo Páez. La fisiografía de todo el curso del río Páez, desde Irlanda hasta *Itaibe*, con casi todos sus afluentes, se constriñe en perfilados accidentes. Pudiera decirse que forma una "chimenea térmica", expresión ésta del Profesor Guhl. Pertenece al piso térmico templado. Es la tierra de las grandes pendientes cubiertas de pastos naturales y de las estrechas y cortas vegas de suelos feracísimos. No faltan quiénes hablen de la feracidad de todo el suelo de Tierradentro, calificándolo, consecuencialmente, como zona de privilegio. El concepto resulta engañoso porque no se tiene en cuenta el factor fisiográfico. La capa vegetal aprovecha-

(3) Hernández de Alba, Gr. *The Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia*. pp. 915-960.

ble únicamente la encontramos en las estrechísimas vegas de los ríos, ramblas y quebradas y en las partes donde la topografía se suaviza un poco. La rivera izquierda del río Páez, desde *Toez* hasta La Plata, difícilmente es aprovechable para la agricultura y la ganadería, dada la brutalidad de las pendientes. Cada afluente que entra por ese lado es un zanjón separado por filos orientados de noreste a suroeste. Más bien la margen izquierda ofrece vegas importantes. Es allí donde crecen con vigor el plátano, la yuca, la caña de azúcar, la coca, la arracacha, el maíz y últimamente el café y la guadua. Las tierras son esencialmente ácidas y las gramíneas se producen en abundancia y de muy buena calidad. El trigo y el café del municipio de Inzá gozan de merecida reputación en la república por la abundancia y calidad de los granos.

Treinta y dos cursos de agua, aproximadamente, recibe el río Páez por la margen izquierda, y diez y siete por la derecha. Fácil es imaginar lo quebrado del terreno, si tenemos en cuenta que cada uno de ellos forma un zanjón infranqueable. Fácil es, también, imaginar la magnitud de la erosión, ayudada por factores de índole cultural, tal como el combate sistemático de la vegetación herbácea mediante el sistema de las quemas anuales. La violencia de las aguas salvajes denuda y aún forma verdaderos ríos de piedras, tal como se observa en el punto denominado *Vicannenga*, en el municipio de Páez. Los riachuelos y torrentes tienen, a veces, descomunales crecidas. En 1949 el torrente de *Topa* arrastró íntegramente su pequeño valle de confluencia, sobre el cual estaba asentado el caserío conocido con el nombre de Brisas, hoy Valencia, creciente que nuevamente se repitió en abril del presente año.

Naturalmente, la extensión de suelos laborables, no guarda proporción con el crecimiento de la población. La fisiografía del piso térmico frío, en cambio, se distiende y suaviza, el horizonte se amplía, las manchas de vegetación arbórea se acrecientan, se multiplican las parcelas semejando verdaderos tableros de ajedrez en *Mosoco*, San José y *Vitoncó*. Sus suelos nutren el maíz, el trigo, la papa, el ulluco, la majua y los ajos. Por las divisiones de la parcelas se levantan, como muros verdes, las plantaciones de cabuya.

3º *Densidad de población*. El aumento de la población indígena en general y de la "blanca" en particular, ha obligado a aquéllos a utilizar o terrenos cada vez más difíciles, empinados

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y estériles o a emigrar en busca de terrenos baldíos. Ya desde la época de la conquista tenemos noticias de la expansión del pueblo Páez hacia las vertientes occidentales de la Cordillera Central, formando núcleos como *Pitayó*, *Tacueyó* y San Francisco. En la actualidad encontramos grupos Páez en las vertientes orientales de la Cordillera Occidental en el Departamento del Cauca, en los departamentos de Huila y Tolima, y en el Valle del Cauca, como avanzada Páez, los centros de Chinche y Potrerillos al norte de la población de Palmira (4).

Agricultura y horticultura

La agricultura y la horticultura constituyen la fuente primordial de subsistencia de los Páez. Abarca una amplia zona hipsométrica que va desde los mil metros (La Plata, Huila) y rebasa holgadamente la línea de los tres mil metros de altura sobre el nivel del mar *(Mosoco)*. Naturalmente, las especies de cultivo varían con los pisos térmicos y, consecuencialmente, el régimen dietético. Lo que sí no varían son los métodos de cultivo y, sobre todo, las prácticas mágicas asociadas a él. Igualmente, varían la extensión y los tipos de suelos cultivables. Los más aprovechados en Tierradentro son los comprendidos en el piso térmico templado. Vimos ya la feracidad y extensión de los mismos. Los suelos del piso térmico frío son feraces y mayores en extensión. Gruesas capas humosas se observan en *Lame*, *Mosoco*, San José, La Troja, Irlanda, *Guanacas*, *Turminá* y *Coscuro*. Constituyen, desde luego, auténticas zonas de privilegio. Con todo, los suelos no son racionalmente aprovechados ni conservados. La explotación de la tierra se hace en forma exhaustiva. Una rocería no resiste dos cultivos consecutivos. De manera, pues, que cada año es menester un nuevo terreno, nueva rocería, nuevo cercado y nueva quema. Una vez efectuada la cosecha se abandona el rastrojo y con el correr de los años se recubre nuevamente de arbustos y matorrales. A los siete años, más o menos, se limpia otra vez el terreno de las malezas y se vuelven a sembrar las mismas especies de cultivos. En Calderas, Santa Rosa y *Togoima* se siembra maíz, arracacha, fríjoles, coles, papas, y, a veces arvejas. El proceso anteriormente descrito es típico de esas parcialidades. En *Mosoco* y partes frías en general, se siembra en la misma roza maíz, papas,

(4) Duque Gómez, L. *Problemas Sociales de algunas parcialidades indígenas del Occidente de Colombia*, p. 187.

habas, fríjoles, árboles frutales en algunas partes y después de esto trigo. En San Andrés, especialmente en las vegas, se siembra maíz, plátano, fríjol, arracacha, yuca, caña de azúcar, y café. No existe, pues, un conveniente aprovechamiento del suelo ni defensa del mismo, aparte de los varios años de descanso. No conocen los abonos, ni la rotación de cultivos, ni los sistemas de riego.

Es interesante anotar que las familias de San Andrés, Calderas, *Lame* y *Mosoco*, tienen, generalmente, tierras en las partes bajas de los ríos y quebradas y en las partes altas donde abunda la vegetación arbórea, denominadas, por ellos, la "montaña". De esta suerte, pueden realizar cultivos de zona fría y templada (Calderas, San Andrés, Lame) o aprovechar el ciclo estacional anual de las partes altas de la cordillera *(Mosoco)*.

En una de las fincas se levanta la vivienda principal, en tanto que en las otras se construyen ranchos donde vivirán las familias en los meses de cosecha. Es en la casa principal donde se forma la huerta con plátano, caña de azúcar, cebolla, cilantro, coca, coles (San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Calderas, Togoima) o con coles, ajos, cebolla, yuca de *pipchao*, duraznos y manzanas *(Lame, Mosoco, Vitoncó)*. El ají se cultiva en las huertas. Esta casa principal forma lo que en nuestra cultura se llama hogar. Es aquí donde el fuego se conserva siempre, donde se guardan las mazorcas de maíz, los haces de trigo, las jigras de fríjoles, las herramientas, las canoas, la vajilla, y los trapiches; donde viven las gallinas, los cuyes, los puercos y los pavos.

Cultivos industriales prácticamente no existen. No se hallan plantaciones de tabaco y algodón. Las plantaciones de caña de azúcar, entre los indígenas, son de poca extensión. Sirven únicamente para obtener guarapo, que ha reemplazado casi por completo a la chicha de maíz. Sólo los blancos y algunos mestizos poseen extensos cañaverales para la obtención de la panela.

El fique en Tierradentro prospera muy bien. Pero es en *Vitoncó* y *Lame* donde se observan numerosas plantaciones de cabuya de muy buena calidad por la extensión y abundancia de la fibra, sembradas en los alinderamientos de las propiedades. Esta riqueza no tiene todo el aprovechamiento que debiera tener. Los indígenas apenas confeccionan jigras y lazos para el consumo interno.

La guadua prospera muy bien en los valles templados. Es de excelente calidad. En la mayor parte de los casos sirve como sombrío del café. Su incremento redundaría en evidentes beneficios.

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Aunque las plantaciones de coca están proscritas por la ley colombiana en casi todos los hogares se cultiva con fines consumitivos y en algunas parcialidades se observan numerosas plantaciones con fines comerciales. El valor de la hoja es alto. Una libra se cotiza a tres pesos.

Aserríos de madera existen en *Coscuro*, *Toez*, el río de la *Símbola*, la quebrada del Salado. Pero es una industria casi exclusivamente de los "blancos". Unicamente en San Andrés y *Mosoco* ha sido posible observar aserradores indígenas. No hay reforestación.

En gran parte de las parcialidades de San Andrés, Calderas, *Lame*, *Mosoco* y *Vitoncó* y toda la hoya del río Páez los desmontes parecen haber sido efectuados en tiempos bastantes remotos. No se encuentran bosques, pero se hallan restos a lo largo de los filos y cuchillas que separan los valles y en los recovecos donde no alcanza a hollar la planta humana. Los escarpes están recubiertos de uniforme vegetación de sabana.

En muchas parcialidades existen restos arqueológicos pertenecientes a una ignota civilización anterior a la de los Páez. Las tierras donde existen estos elementos son aprovechados sin temor alguno. Pero cuando los cultivos están en "roza nueva" los naturales tienen la precaución de efectuar las purificaciones de rigor, antes de empezar a consumir los productos, para evitar la peste de "pijao" que puede sobrevenir en caso de que los frutos hayan estado en contacto con los restos arqueológicos, "pijaos" en el decir de los indígenas.

La fruticultura no está muy extendida, si bien que hasta no hace mucho tiempo Inzá gozó de la fama de ser productor de duraznos y manzanas de muy buena calidad. En la actualidad se cultivan con fines comerciales en *Vitoncó*, La Troja y El Cabuyo, donde existen verdaderos huertos de estos árboles mantenidos con cuidado. Los frutos son magníficos y se cosechan en los tres primeros meses del año. Negociantes de Silvia rematan las cosechas, cotizándose hasta catorce pesos la arroba. *Lame* produce quizá los mejores duraznos, pero no son aptos para la exportación porque se dañan fácilmente. Tambien existen numerosas plantaciones en *Tumbichukue* y Calderas, aunque sin mayores cuidados.

Entre los Páez la floricultura no existe y no justifican el trabajo que los "blancos" invierten en sus jardines. Opinan siempre que en aquellas tierras debe sembrarse plantas alimenticias.

De las plantas cultivadas consideran indígenas el maíz ("los

Pijaos tenían maíz"), el plátano hartón ("también tenían los Pijaos"), el fríjol, el mejicano, las coles y la caña "criolla", mientras que la coca, dicen, parece [illegible]ás de los "blancos".

Especies cultivadas y zonas de cultivo

Hé aquí la lista de las plantas alimenticias que cultivan los Páez (5):

Nombre vulgar	*Nombre latino*	*Nombre Páez*
Maíz	Zea maiz L.	*kuki*
Plátano	Musa paradisiaca L.	*tulú*
Banano	Musa sapientum L.	*kineño* (6)
Yuca	Manihot utilissima L.	*ña*
Batata	Ipomea batatas Poit. Andigenum	*ut*
Papa	Solanum tuberosum	*káka*
Arracacha	Arracacia xanthorrhiza Bancr.	*as* (7)
Caña de azúcar	Saccharum officinarum L.	*ñusha*
Col	Brassica oleracea var. acephala	*kulles* (8)
Cebolla	Allium cepa L.	*spulla* (9)
Fríjol	Phaseolus vulgaris L.	*us*
Ullucos	Ullucos tuberosus ex Lozano	*shubill*
Trigo	Triticum aestivum L.	*scuchi*
Cebada	Hordeum vulgare L.	*sebara* (10)
Ajos	Allium sativum L.	*akos*
Majuas	Tropaeolum tuberosum R. et P.	*puel*
Ahuyama	Cucurbita maxima Duchesne	*Ape*
Mejicano	Cucurbita pepo L.	*Peté*
Habas	Vicia Faba L.	*apas* (11)
Arvejas	Pisum sativum L.	*alpés*
Ají	Capsicum sp.	*ámus*
Cilantro	Coriandrum sativum L.	*klandós* (12)
Aguacate	Persea americana Mill.	*útse*
Naranjas	Citrus sinensis (L) Osbeck	*llimas*
Manzanas	Pyrus malus L.	*manzanas*
Durazno	Frunus persica L.	*lashno*

(5) Agradecemos al Herbario Nacional Colombiano, especialmente al doctor Jesús M. Idrobo, por la determinación científica de las plantas.
(6) Del castellano: guineo.
(7) Vocal subrayada indica nasalización: sh = a la ch francesa (chaise); ch = a la ch española (chicha); j = a la j francesa (jardin); h = a la j española (rojo).
(8) Del castellano: coles.
(9) Del castellano: cebolla.
(10) Del castellano: cebada.
(11) Del castellano: habas.
(12) Del castellano: cilantro.

Nombre vulgar	*Nombre latino*	*Nombre Páez*
Piña	Ananas comosus (L) Camargo	*chakú*
Granadilla	Passiflora Ligularis Juss.	*shlul*
Café	Coffea Arabiga L.	*café*
Uvilla	Physalis sp.	*chimbú*
Chachafruto	Erythrina edulis Triana ex Michell	*ásual*
Pepino	Solanum muricatum Ait.	*pina*
Yuca de pipchao	Dioscorea sp.	*shud*
Otros cultivos:		
Coca	Erythroxylon coca Lam.	*esh*
Guadua	Guadua angustifolia Kuth	*mam*
Calabazo	Lagenaria vulgaris Serg.	*tuka*
Totumo	Crescentia cujete L.	*shiptuke*
Cabuya	Fourcrea cabuya Trel.	*bats*
Eneldo	Anethum graveolens L.	*llinoju*
Yerbabuena	Mentha viridis L.	*tachú*
Ruda	Ruta graveolens.	*luda*

En realidad, para cierta clase de fríjol que los indígenas llaman "kacha", para la uvilla, el chachafruto, frutas en general y todas las plantas especificadas como otros cultivos, excepto la coca, la palabra cultivo resulta inadecuada, puesto que se dan casi en estado semisilvestre. Los indígenas aprovechan sus frutos siendo el consumo, por lo tanto, ocasional y no siempre necesario.

Si bien parece que el territorio de los Páez, en tiempos de la Conquista, se extendió hasta muy próximo al río Magdalena, el núcleo principal de la población estuvo localizada en la zona templada y en la zona fría. Los pisos térmicos determinan las zonas de cultivo. Una va de los mil a los dos mil metros y comprende toda la hoya del Páez desde Huila hasta La Plata y los cursos medio e inferior de sus afluentes *Símbola*, río Negro de Narváez, Moras, *Kukiyú* y Ullucos. En ella quedan situadas las capitales de distrito Inzá y Belalcázar y las siguientes aldeas indígenas: *Itaibe*, *Chitóquez* (Ricaurte), *Cuetando*, *Yaquivá*, San Andrés de *Pisimbalá*, Santa Rosa, *Togoima*, *Avirama*, *Chinas*, *Suin*, *Tálaga*, *Toez y Huila* (*Byla*), además, de Valencia, *Topa*, Pedregal y *Turminá*. Cultivan predominantemente plátano, yuca, maíz, caña de azúcar, fríjol, arracacha, coca y el café que está en pleno desarrollo. La otra zona va de los dos mil a los tres mil metros y contiene los pueblos de Calderas, *Lame*, *Mosoco*, San José, La Troja, Vitoncó e Irlanda. Cultivan papa, maíz, ullucos, trigo, ajos y majuas.

Del cultivo de la caña los Páez distinguen las siguientes va-

riedades: java, criolla, amarilla (*mum ñusha*), negra (*ñusha kuchi*). Del maíz el capio (blanco, blando y morado) o *kukiguafi*, el maíz calentano o *kukibah*, el calentano duro, y fino o *kukimull*. De la papa la *kaka chime* (blanca), la *kaka kuchi* (de cutícula morada), la *kaka bé* (colorada) y la papa tusa (tiene el corazón morado). De la yuca distinguen la noli, guaturunga, pitaleña, negra y colorada. De éstas la primera y la última se dan al año y a los tres años respectivamente y las otras a los dos años.

Ciclos agrícolas

Cultivo	*Siembra*	*Cosecha*	*Cosechas sucesivas*
Maíz	marzo-mayo	A los 8 meses (templado)	Una cosecha anual
	mayo-agosto	A los 10 meses (frío)	Una cosecha anual
Fríjol	marzo-mayo	A los 7 meses (templado)	Una cosecha anual
	mayo-agosto	A los 8 meses (frío)	Una cosecha anual
Habas	mayo-agosto	A los 10 meses	Una cosecha anual
Papa	octubre-diciembre (páramo)	A los 5 meses	Una cosecha anual
	abril-agosto	A los 5 meses	Una cosecha anual
Ullucos	abril-junio	A los 5 meses	Una cosecha anual
Trigo	julio-septiembre	A los 8 meses	Una cosecha anual
Yuca	cualquier mes	Al año (noli)	Continuo
Plátano	cualquier mes	A los 2 años	Continuo
Arracacha	cualquier mes	A los 2 años	Continuo
Batata	cualquier mes	A los 6 meses	Continuo
Coca	marzo-abril	Al año	Cada tres meses
Cebolla	cualquier mes	A los 2 meses	Continuo
Ajos	febrero-abril	A los 4 meses	Corte cada 6-8 meses
Caña	abril-mayo	A los 2 años	
Café	marzo-abril	A los 3 años	2 cosechas al año

Durante todo el año y en cualquier mes cosechan yuca, arracacha, batata, plátano, cebolla y coles.

El café lo cosechan en los meses de octubre y noviembre (cosecha principal) y en mayo y junio (mitaca).

En Calderas, *Tumbichukue*, *Lame*, El Cuartel, La Troja y *Vitoncó* cosechan duraznos principalmente en los meses de febrero y marzo. Aunque consumen esta fruta la mayor parte está destinada para la venta.

En las parcialidades de clima templado consumen, aunque no sistemáticamente, frutas: aguacates, naranjas, guabas, caimitos.

En la parcialidad de *Mosoco* y hacia la primera mitad del año cosechan papa, maíz, fríjol, habas, cebada, trigo y ullucos. La cosecha empieza con el fríjol y se continúa, luégo, con el maíz, haba, papa, trigo, cebada, terminando con la cosecha de ullucos que se realiza en el mes de agosto.

Las cosechas de papa, majua y ullucos, de la primera mitad del año, se hacen con magníficos resultados en el "páramo", región montañosa que muere en las sabanas del Páramo de Moras. Esta región, conquistada en tiempos relativamente recientes, es de suelos feraces y húmedos. Las cosechas se dan abundantes y de excelente calidad. Produce pingües beneficios. Aquí está la verdadera producción de papa de *Mosoco*. Ellos mismos la designan como cosecha principal. En los meses de abril y mayo, en que se efectúan las cosechas de papa, numerosas recuas sacan diariamente esta producción al mercado de Silvia. Las utilidades de esta siembra son seguras. Los cultivadores informan que aún vendiendo a cuatro pesos la arroba se obtiene ganancia. Normalmente la arroba de papas se cotiza a seis y siete pesos. Las siembras de papa en el "páramo" empiezan en octubre, se intensifican en noviembre y diciembre y en enero s ralizan las últimas. Aprovechan la benignidad del clima en este tiempo. En los meses de junio, julio y agosto el invierno es fuerte, con fríos intensos y vientos huracanados. El tránsito de los páramos por esta época ofrece serios peligros.

En San José, la Troja, El Cabuyo, El Cuartel, *Lame*, *Vitoncó*, durante los cuatro primeros meses del año se cosecha trigo, cebada, maíz, fríjol, habas y duraznos.

Hacia los meses de octubre, noviembre y diciembre realizan cosechas en *Suin*, *Chinas*, Calderas, San Andrés, *Togoima*, Santa Rosa y *Mosoco* propiamente dicho y consisten principalmente de maíz, fríjol, ullucos, papas y café. Forman lo que pudiéramos

llamar las segundas cosechas del año en Tierradentro. Las siembras comienzan después del miércoles de ceniza (marzo aproximadamente) y se acentúan en los meses de abril y mayo. Las últimas se hacen en julio. La semilla de papa que siembran por este tiempo en *Mosoco* proviene de la cosecha en el "páramo". Son siembras secundarias de escaso rendimiento. Generalmente producen pérdidas, pero los cultivadores mosoqueños siembran con el fin de conservar la semilla. Es interesante hacer resaltar que la única actividad agrícola que realiza un comerciante radicado en *Mosoco* es la siembra de papa en el "páramo". Prescinde totalmente de la siembra de julio. Prefiere comprar la semilla en Silvia, paga toda la fuerza de trabajo, y a pesar de estas inversiones que son altas, obtiene jugosos beneficios.

Aparte del maíz, producto de consumo básico en todas las parcialidades, algunas de éstas dan preponderancia a determinados cultivos destinados especialmente para el comercio. Así, pues, *Mosoco*, produce papas y ajos; San José, trigo; *Vitoncó*, trigo y duraznos; *Lame*, trigo y cera de laurel; Togoima, coca y las demás café.

Los meses de más intenso trabajo en la zona templada corresponden a los cinco primeros del año, especialmente, a los de febrero y marzo, con el fin de aprovechar los días de sol de estos meses, efectuar las quemas y realizar las siembras, que a su vez se beneficiarán con las lluvias de abril, mayo y junio. Durante esta época se consumen las reservas de las cosechas del año anterior, que dicho sea de paso, no son muchas. De esta manera tenemos que los meses de escasez son junio, julio y agosto, y los de relativa abundancia octubre, noviembre y diciembre; aquéllos de un relativo verano y éstos de abundantes lluvias.

En *Mosoco* varía sensiblemente este esquema debido a la peculiaridad de su clima y a la posición geográfica. Las lluvias son constantes casi en todos los meses del año; no obstante, puede contarse con algunas semanas de sol en los meses de enero y febrero. A mediados del año cuando soplan los vientos alisios del SE. el invierno es violento. Así, pues, los meses de intenso trabajo son abril, mayo y junio y coinciden, p recisamente, con las cosechas de papa, trigo y maíz; también lo son los de noviembre y diciembre, por las siembras de papa en el "páramo". Son meses de abundancia marzo, abril y mayo y algo también septiembre y octubre. Aparentemente no debería existir meses de "hambruna", pero sí los hay.

Es evidente que los mosoqueños trabajan más y mejor que los otros indígenas; prácticamente cosechan en casi todos los meses del año, pero tienen como los otros meses de "hambruna", que son septiembre, octubre y noviembre, a pesar de que en estos meses cosechan papas y ullucos; pero los llaman así porque no tienen maíz. El cultivo de la papa en grande escala comenzó hace, más o menos, dos decenios. "De 1925 a 1930 quien más sembraba papa era Ezequiel Mulcué, lo cual producía asombro entre las gentes; ahora quien menos siembra son veinte arrobas", dice un informante. En la actualidad hay indígenas que siembran hasta doscientas arrobas en el año, de las cuales solo setenta se siembran en el "páramo" y se obtienen mejores resultados que de las otras arrobas sembradas. Entonces, nos preguntamos, por qué los mosoqueños tienen sus meses de hambre?

El producto básico de la alimentación Páez es el maíz. Lo fue antaño y lo sigue siendo actualmente. Psicológicamente se sienten plenamente satisfechos cuando tienen maíz que consumir. Su ausencia produce sensación de insatisfacción alimenticia. Antes de la era de la papa predominaban los cultivos de maíz y trigo.

Durante los meses de julio, agosto, septiembre y octubre, los indígenas tienen poco trabajo. Es así cómo los de *Vitoncó*, San José, *Lame*, *Suin*, salen a contratarse como peones en las fincas de los "blancos" al otro lado de la Cordillera (Popayán, Corinto y hasta en el Valle del Cauca). Regresan a finales del año cuando están próximas las cosechas de maíz y trigo. Los indígenas de Calderas, San Andrés, Santa Rosa y Togoima salen a las fincas de Inzá o La Plata. Regresan en octubre cuando las cosechas de maíz están cercanas. Huelga decir que esta mano de obra es excelente y barata. Y por lo mismo muy solicitada.

Los indígenas de *Mosoco* tienen trabajo suficiente en su propio terruño.

Rozas

Se llama genéricamente roza a la extensión de tierra desmontada, quemada, limpiada y cercada, lista para la siembra. Se halla en cada propiedad particular. Tiene una extensión de una hectárea aproximadamente. Rozas de dos o más hectáreas son escasas. El aumento de la producción no se refleja en el ensanchamiento de las rozas, sino más bien en la multiplicación de las mismas y en la utilización de terrenos cada vez más escabrosos y

estériles. Los indígenas para explicar la extensión de sus rozas apelan a la cantidad de maíz sembrado, es decir, cuatro cuartillas (dos arrobas aproximadamente). Como cada roza no produce más que una cosecha anual, los Páez cuentan la extensión de sus propiedades por años. Así, si se les pregunta qué extensión de terreno poseen, manifiestan que tienen dos, cuatro, seis, diez, años. Lo que equivale a decir que tienen un terreno donde se pueden establecer dos, cuatro, seis, diez rozas distintas. De manera que un año, entre los Páez, no solamente es una medida de tiempo sino, también, agraria.

Las rozas no las hacen nunca en las faldas cubiertas de pajonales. Se establecen donde existen matorrales tupidos o bosques verdaderos. Miradas a distancia, semejan claros rectangulares o cuadrangulares en medio de los bosques o matorrales. Cuando se establecen en una montaña virgen los trabajos se inician en octubre. Pero comúnmente es en los meses de diciembre, enero y febrero cuando los indígenas están atareados en esta faena. Son meses de verano, y, además, tienen alimentos qué consumir. Con los soles del verano secan rápidamente las chamizas y a fines de febrero y todo el mes de marzo se queman íntegramente. Recorriendo Tierradentro por esta época se contemplan manchas negras por doquier. Por otra parte, se queman todos los pajonales de las pendientes con el fin de que, con las aguas del invierno, renazcan con vigor y puedan pastar los animales.

La quema es el sistema agrario más extendido y más arraigado en Tierradentro. Es el medio más efectivo de limpiar los terrenos llenos de lianas, pajonales, matorrales y árboles, y, lógicamente, el más económico. Con ella se combaten toda clase de insectos dañinos a las plantaciones y ofidios venenosos que no son escasos. La ceniza producida, cuando no es arrastrada por las aguas salvajes, constituye un verdadero correctivo de los suelos indudablemente ácidos. La quema de los pajonales es imprescindible, pues aparte de acabar con la paja seca, verdadera maleza que no permite prosperar los retoños, termina con la garrapata. Los tiernos retoños de los herbáceos constituyen un magnífico alimento del ganado vacuno, mular y lanar. Desafortunadamente estas quemas no se realizan con un sentido creador sino, más bien, destructivo. Se pone fuego también a la vegetación de los filos, cuchillas y recovecos, donde ninguna evidente utilidad puede obtenerse y antes, por el contrario, se destruye una vegetación que virtualmente

podría convertirse en barrera que impediría el despeñadero de los animales.

Las rozas también se establecen en las orillas de los arroyos, quebradas, ríos, fuentes, huecos húmedos que, desde el punto de vista lucrativo, es excelente, puesto que es allí, precisamente, donde mejor rinde la cosecha, pero es completamente perjudicial, puesto que destruye la vegetación que conserva la humedad y mantiene fijos los suelos, evitando, de este modo, la erosión.

La rocería se efectúa con todos los miembros varones de la familia. Pero lo más general es que se realicen mingas. En tal caso, los peones con sus machetes cortan primero las hierbas, ramas, lianas, etc., que quedan debajo del monte; luego con hachas y machetes tumban los árboles. Es de notar que estos árboles no se cortan por la base sino a la altura de los ojos más o menos. La tala se deja secar un mes aproximadamente y luego se quema. Los maderos gruesos quedan intactos de igual manera que las chamizas. Estas se amontonan y los palos se cortan para estantillos de la cerca. Para esta obra también se hacen mingas. Se paran primero los estantillos con un metro de distancia aproximadamente. Luego se entrecruzán varas y chamizas. Las cercas quedan tan tupidas que evitan la entrada de perros, cerdos y otros animales. La entrada de las gentes se hace por medio de un palo con muescas que se recuesta sobre la cerca en ambos lados. Estos palos se denominan *afa*, los cuales se colocan también en partes difíciles de los caminos sobre todo para salvar barrancos.

En *Mosoco*, donde los terrenos son limpios y parcelados, las rocerías no existen. Solo en el "páramo", región montañosa, puede observárselas. Pero la costumbre de dejar el terreno sin cultivar por varios años no ha desaparecido. Las cercas se hacen con estantillos de lechero, árbol que tiene la particularidad de enraizar y seguir viviendo. Pero el uso de alambre de púa es cada vez más creciente.

Siembra y cosecha

Las siembras están condicionadas por el régimen pluviométrico de Tierradentro. Son meses de verano enero, febrero, marzo, julio, agosto, septiembre, y de invierno son abril, mayo, junio, octubre, noviembre y diciembre. Naturalmente, estas épocas de verano son relativas y corresponden prácticamente a la zona templada. En *Mosoco* y partes altas de la cordillera casi constantemente

pérdida de tiempo. En las deshierbas también hacen mingas e intervienen muchachos y hasta mujeres. A los seis meses aproximadamente, arrancan las hojas secas y amarillas de las cañas, labor que denominan descalzar; piensan que haciendo así las hojas tiernas adquieren un color verde-oscuro y las mazorcas crecen vigorosas. Las hojas arrancadas sirven para cubrir el techo de los ranchos que construyen para cuidar las sementeras y para alojar a la familia en tiempos de la cosecha.

Las labranzas son atacadas por bandadas de loros y chamones; las ahuyentan con espantapájaros (*kanasá*) que colocan en sitios estratégicos. Las ardillas y los perros son también enemigos del maíz y para defenderlo construyen trampas o hacen uso de sus escopetas. Por otra parte, las mujeres y los niños rodean constantemente las labranzas. Junto al rancho construyen, muchas veces, una alta barbacoa, desde la cual se puede vigilar la integridad de las sementeras.

Los indígenas consideran que las sequías agostan los sembrados y el invierno exagerado los perjudica. Cuando las hojas se chamuscan y la planta no forma mazorca, piensan, entonces, que los envidiosos (los brujos) han brujiado el maíz. En tal caso, llaman al médico bueno *(té eu)* para que levante la brujería. La defensa, es pues, de tipo mágico (13).

Los indígenas no roban maíz. Si necesitan lo compran al vecino. Las transacciones se hacen a precios muy bajos. Si alguno se niega a vender, es decir, "mezquina el maíz", el comprador amenaza robarle, aunque nunca lo hace, si es gente buena, pero lo hace si es malo (brujo). Estos hurtos son castigados por el Cabildo.

Cuando la mazorca está granada y tierna (choclo) comienza el consumo, previa la realización de prácticas mágicas, cuando el producto es de roza nueva (14). El consumo empieza por la parte externa y al derredor de la labranza, dejando la parte central para que se convierta en maíz seco. Si alguien coge el maíz de cualquier parte, las gentes observan ácidamente que "come como los perros". La cosecha de maíz la hacen en uno o dos días. Invitan a los familiares para que ayuden y son gratificados con una arroba aproximadamente. Obsequian también igual cantidad a las personas que desinteresadamente ayudaron a efectuar la roza y siembra.

(13) Bernal Villa, *S. Magia y Medicina entre los Paeces*. p. 245.
(14) Ibid., p. 246.

están cayendo lluvias menudas cuando no son verdaderos aguaceros. En julio, agosto y septiembre el invierno es crudo, influito totalmente por los vientos alisios del SE.

Teniendo en cuenta estos factores climáticos las siembras se verifican en los meses de marzo, abril y mayo. Aprovechan las lluvias de estos meses. Este ciclo agrícola es común para todo Tierradentro inclusive *Mosoco* propiamente dicho. Exceptúase la parte "paramuna" de *Mosoco*, por las razones enunciadas anteriormente.

De las especies cultivables el maíz ocupa lugar preponderante en la actividad agrícola de Tierradentro. La preparación del suelo difiere un tanto en los pisos térmicos templado y frío. Mientras que en el templado la limpia y quema de malezas es suficiente, en el frío se forman eras. La semilla del maíz es escogida de la mejor y más granada mazorca, evitando los granos menudos de las puntas. Consideran que éstos no fructifican denominándolos por lo mismo "maíz-hombre", llamando, en cambio, "maíz-mujer" a los granos gruesos que sí dan frutos. Hacen la asociación de que son las mujeres las que tienen hijos, si bien que no conciben la fecundación sin el concurso del hombre.

Para las siembras es común hacer mingas. Así la labor se termina pronto. El día convenido se reúnen de ocho a diez peones con las jigras repletas de maíz atadas a la cintura; desde muy temprano inician la siembra. Esta es una actividad masculina, si bien que en *Lame* y *Mosoco* ya intervienen también las mujeres. Los huecos se abren con bastón fuerte y puntiagudo, observando una distancia de un metro con cincuenta centímetros y una profundidad de diez a quince centímetros. En cada hueco se colocan de seis a siete granos. El fríjol lo entierran junto a los maderos que han quedado de la rocería. Acostumbran sembrar allí mismo también arvejas. Las semillas de calabaza o ahuyama, que se siembran en los maizales, también son seleccionadas, considerándose la más grande y redonda como mujer y la menos vigorosa como hombre. En los climas fríos acostumbran a sembrar, además, habas y trigo y en los templados arracachas, yucas, plátanos y otras especies.

A los tres meses, cuando el maíz alcanza la estatura del hombre, se realizan deshierbas. La maleza es desraizada y dejada sobre el mismo terreno para que seque y pudra. Sirve de abono a las plantaciones. Pero los indígenas no poseen ideas acerca de los abonos y toda sugerencia que se haga al respecto creen que es

Un informante de *Mosoco* manifiesta que es costumbre entre los indígenas regalar a los familiares una "carrera" de cada cosecha. Exceptúase las de trigo y cebada. La carrera consiste en cosechar todas las "matas" que quedan en contorno de las sementeras, pues, como hemos visto, la cosecha se realiza de la periferia hacia el centro. Los beneficiados, a su vez, hacen lo mismo, de manera que se devuelven recíprocamente la cantidad recibida. El obsequio hacia los familiares lleva implícito factores de entendimiento y afecto, pues no todos reciben esta manifestación de aprecio. El mismo informante manifiesta que la consumisión de choclos comienza con lo que se denomina "cura de la labranza" y que consiste en lo siguiente: El dueño convida a los familiares a una especie de banquete en el que abundan bollos de maíz tierno o envueltos, gallinas y otros platos selectos.

Como se puede observar las prácticas mágicas del *té eu* están ausentes, si aunque todavía subsiste el de la comida que en las otras parcialidades complementa a las prácticas de aquél.

El cultivo de la caña de azúcar está bastante difundido en el piso térmico templado, aunque los cultivos no son extensos ni persiguen fines comerciales; sirve únicamente para obtener guarapo (jugo de caña fermentado) para los trabajos individuales, colectivos y para atenciones sociales. El guarapo es parte integral de la economía doméstica, de la misma forma que lo es la coca. No fabrican para el estipendio público. Cada casa tiene su trapiche bien sea aledaño o en el interior de la misma, pero no poseen hornos ni demás accesorios para la obtención de la panela. Esta industria es exclusiva de la gente blanca o mestiza.

El cultivo de la caña exige tres deshierbas hasta el momento del primer corte. De cada siembra se obtienen, generalmente, tres cortes con buenos resultados.

Muy extendido está también el cultivo del café. Su incremento es de data reciente, pero ya tiene aceptación vigorosa y universal como la caña y el plátano. La forma del cultivo adolece de algunas fallas: el sombrío es deficiente e inadecuado; la poda no existe; el cuidado no muy satisfactorio; muchos no poseen despulpadoras mecánicas. Los cafetales les produce varias arrobas al año. Los ingresos monetarios de los indígenas de la zona templada están dados básicamente por el café. Lo venden a clientes fijos y conocidos a precios ordinariamente bajos. Los plantíos de café respaldan el crédito del indígena; perciben, muchas veces, dinero o mercancía por la futura cosecha. El café les ha permi-

tido adquirir elementos de vajilla, modificar su indumentaria, enriquecer sus herramientas agrícolas, comprar, de cuando en vez, drogas de los "blancos". En los tiempos de cosecha consumen regularmente carne y también les permite pagar jornales para el adelanto de sus fincas. Pero, sobre todo, les abre las puertas de los estancos. Consumen buenas cantidades de bebidas alcohólicas. Todavía no han aprendido a hacer buen uso de sus ingresos monetarios.

El trigo se cultiva con especial predominancia en las veredas de *Lame*, El Cuartel, La Troja y *Vitoncó*. Está destinado primordialmente para la venta. Se siembra asociado al maíz, pero ya se destinan rozas exclusivas para este cultivo. Lo siegan con cuchillos, raras veces con hoces. No lo engavillan sino que forman haces y lo cuelgan en los aleros de las casas o en las tirantas de las mismas. Una vez seco, lo desgranan con masas de madera y separan sus envolturas exponiéndolo al viento. Luego lo muelen en molinos hidráulicos construídos por ellos mismos y lo sacan a la venta. No tienen cernidores para separar el salvado.

A continuación, presentamos un cuadro estadístico de la producción de las diversas especies cultivadas por 25 familias de *Mosoco*, 8 de *Lame* y 15 de San Andrés, incluyendo la de algunos mestizos y blancos, señalados con asterisco, para poder efectuar algunas comparaciones y apreciar el volumen de producción. Especificamos el porcentaje de la producción destinado a la venta. Por razones obvias, suprimimos los nombres de los jefes de familia, identificándolos únicamente con el número de orden. Los datos estadísticos corresponden a la producción del año de 1953. Si bien que esta clase de investigaciones ofrece algunas dificultades, debido a la renuencia de las gentes a revelar los datos de su producción, son dignos, en general, de todo crédito, pues se han recogido una vez que se ha establecido una sólida relación interpersonal entre investigador e investigado. Además, corresponden sensiblemente, con nuestras observaciones escritas en Consideraciones generales de la agricultura Páez.

Cultivo de papa en Mosoco

Deliberadamente hemos dejado el cultivo de papa para tratarlo con más detenimiento.

Los métodos de cultivo difieren un tanto de los comúnmente practicados en las otras parcialidades. El terreno se prepara en eras que siguen la dirección de la pendiente. El régimen pluviométrico en esta región es relativamente alto y los suelos están saturados de humedad. Por consiguiente, esta manera de formar las eras persiguen un fin defensivo de las semillas y los frutos. Cada era se levanta con un espesor de sesenta centímetros y con un metro de distancia entre una y otra. La formación de las eras tienen dos etapas: la moldeada y la alzada. La primera consiste en levantar la capa de hierba y doblarla sobre sí mismo, siguiendo las caprichosas ondulaciones del terreno. Se la deja así, por varias semanas, mientras pudre completamente la hierba. Esto es el único abono. Luégo viene la siembra y sobre ésta la alzada, operación que consiste en cubrir la moldeada con la tierra desmenuzada que sacan de la parte de donde levantaron la capa de hierba. De suerte y manera, que las eras quedan con abundante tierra, donde las raíces pueden extenderse. El cultivo no necesita de deshierbas.

En la región que los mosoqueños llaman "páramo" siembran la papa sin formar orden ni hilera alguna. En Moras-*Mosoco*, así como en San José, *Lame*, *Tumbichukue* y *Vitoncó*, siembran dos hileras de maíz en el borde de las eras y en el interior de éstas la papa muy tupido y sin orden alguno. Allí mismo siembran fríjoles, habas, arvejas o coles. El cultivo es múltiple y, por lo tanto, exhaustivo. Pasada esta cosecha se siembra trigo y, luégo, se deja descansar la tierra unos tres o cuatro años, en que se vuelve a repetir el proceso. Naturalmente, estas siembras colectivas agotan rápidamente los suelos. De allí, que las siembras de mayo y junio rindan poco y generalmente se pierdan.

En cuanto al trabajo lo realizan los miembros familiares. Las mingas todavía están vigentes como sistema de trabajo colectivo. A ellas asisten, generalmente, familiares consanguíneos y políticos. Trabajo por contratos son frecuentes con indígenas guambianos. Jornaleros mosóqueños no se encuentran.

La cosecha de papa es seleccionada en tres clases: gruesa, semilla y birucha. La primera sirve exclusivamente para el mercado, en tanto que la última para el consumo familiar.

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MOSOCO

FLIAS.	MAIZ A	MAIZ C	MAIZ V	MAIZ %	TRIGO A	TRIGO C	TRIGO V	TRIGO %	HABAS A	HABAS C	HABAS V	HABAS %
1.*	120	120	...	.....	15	15	...	.....	80	80	...	.....
2.	60	60	...	.....	15	...	15	100.0	5	5	...	.....
3.	20	20	...	.....	10	6	4	60,0	...	...	...	.....
4.	44	39	5	11,3	12	4	8	66,6	8	7	1	12,5
5.	18	18	...	.....	10	1,5	8,5	85,0	2	2	...	.....
6.	12	12	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	8	8	...	.....
7.	5	5	...	.....	53	8	45	84,9	1	1	...	.....
8.	20	20	...	.....	10	...	10	100,0	1	1	...	.....
9.	20	20	...	.....	45	...	45	100,0	8	8	...	.....
10.	24	24	...	.....	15	15	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
11.	3	3	...	.....	6	4	2	33,3	1	1	...	.....
12.	8	8	...	.....	6	6	...	.....	1	1	...	.....
13.	10	10	...	.....	10	10	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
14.	23	23	...	.....	6	6	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.	20	20	...	.....	20	5	15	75,0	8	8	...	.....
16.	16	15	...	.....	20	10	10	50,0	2	2	...	.....
17.	12	12	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	2	2	...	.....
18.	24	24	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	5	5	...	.....
19.	25	23	2	8,0	9	9	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
20.	16	16	...	.....	25	5	20	80,0	5	5	...	.....
21.	12	12	...	.....	40	16	24	60,0	3	3	...	.....
22.	10	10	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
23.	12	12	...	.....	45	4	41	91,1	...	...	...	.....
24	16	16	...	.....	20	4	16	80,0	...	...	...	.....
25.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

LAME

1.*	30	30	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	25	25	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	8	8	...	.....	3	3(2)	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
5.	35	35	...	.....	20	...	20	100,0	...	...	...	.....
6.	80	80	...	.....	5	.(2)	5	100,0	16	16	...	.....
7.	20	20	...	.....	2	2(2)	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
8.	50	50	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

Del cuadro anterior y ateniéndonos exclusivamente a los datos all deducir las siguientes observaciones:

1º—La producción de Mosoco es superior a la de Lame tanto en canti de especies cultivadas.

2º—Los datos numéricos indican que existe subproducción, deducir que hay subconsumo, si bien que aquellos datos son apreciaciones a gro es contabilidad mas o menos exacta que llevan los indígenas es en la p

3º—La producción de trigo, ajos y papa se destina casi exclusivame mismo modo que la de la cebada, cuya producción no figura en el cua

NOTA: A, indica las arrobas producidas; C, arrobas consumidas; V % porcentaje de lo vendido.

(1) La producción de papa se especifica en cuadro aparte.
(2) La pérdida de la cosecha.
(3) Este informante es blanco, su única actividad es el negocio.

B312-A

HABAS			AJOS				ULLUCOS				
C	V	%	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%	A
80	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	30	30	...	.....	...
5	...	.....	9	...	9	100,0	20	20	...	.....	10
...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	5
7	1	12,5	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....	10
2	...	.....	1,5	0,5	1	66,6	...	...	...	.....	...
8	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...
1	...	.....	3	1	2	66,6	...	...	...	.....	...
1	...	.....	6	2	4	66,6	15	15	...	.....	10
8	...	.....	12	...	12	100,0	...	...	...	.....	...
...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	8	8	...	.....	20
1	...	.....	5	2	3	60,0	...	...	...	.....	...
1	...	.....	6	1	5	83,3	10	10	...	.....	10
...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...
...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	40	40	...	.....	40
8	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...
2	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...
2	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	1
5	...	.....	15	3	12	80,0	...	...	...	.....	...
...	...	.....	2,5	...	2,5	100,0	30	14	16	53,3	...
5	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...
3	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...
...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...
...	...	.....	2	2	...	.....	15	15	1	.....	20
...	...	.....	10	2	8	80,0	16	12	4	25,0	...
...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...
...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...
...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...
...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...
...	...	.....	...	...	...	(3)	...	...	...	.....	...
...	...	.....	2,5	...	2,5	100,0	...	...	...	.....	...
16	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	25	15	10	40,0	25
...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	4	4	...	.....	5
...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...

vamente a los datos allí expresados podemos

a de Lame tanto en cantidad como en variedad

subproducción, deduciéndose, por lo mismo, s son apreciaciones a grosso modo, pues la úni- los indígenas es en la producción de papa. destina casi exclusivamente para la venta, del ción no figura en el cuadro estadístico, porque

apenas poseemos tres datos de Moseco frijol, cebada, habas, ulluco y majuas

4º—El maíz es artículo de básico co circunstancia. No obstante, no contempl

5º—Las pérdidas de las cosechas son

6º—La subproducción se compensa co sición de otros artículos alimenticios ta subproducción explica, por otra parte, leros en las haciendas de los "blancos".

arrobas consumidas; V, arrobas vendidas, y

nadro aparte.

idad es el negocio.

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S	MAJUAS				FRIJOL				PAPA			
%	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
.....	...	...	...	.....	6	6	...	.....	(1)			
.....	10	10	...	.....	15	15	1	.....				
.....	5	5	...	.....	...	...	...	.....				
.....	10	10	...	.....	6	...	6	100,0				
.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....				
.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....				
.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....				
.....	10	10	...	.....	...	...	...	.....				
.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....				
.....	20	20	...	.....	...	...	...	.....				
.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....				
.....	10	10	...	.....	...	...	...	.....				
.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....				
.....	40	40	...	.....	...	...	...	.....				
.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....				
.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....				
.....	1	1	...	.....	...	...	...	.....				
.....	...	...	...	.....	5	5	...	.....				
53,3	...	...	...	.....	1	1	...	.....				
.....	...	...	...	.....	4	4	...	.....				
.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....				
.....	...	...	...	.....	6	6	...	.....				
.....	20	20	...	.....	...	...	...	.....				
25,0	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....				
.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....				

.....	...	...	...	.....	...	(2)	...	.....	70	...	70	100,0
.....	...	...	...	.....	8	8	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...	(1)	...	.....
.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
40,0	25	17	8	32,0	8	...	8	100,0	50	20	30	60,0
.....	5	...	5	100,0	1	1	...	.....	18	...	18	100,0
.....	...	...	...	.....	10	10	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

datos de Mosoco y tres de Lame. En cambio, la producción de maíz, llucos y majuas se destina casi por completo al consumo interno.
ulo de básico consumo, pero la producción expresada no refleja esta nte, no contempla la cantidad consumida en choclo.
las cosechas son frecuentes en Lame, debido a la ausencia de abonos.
n se compensa con el mayor consumo de coca (*Lame*) o con la adqui- s alimenticios tales como panela, manteca, pan y café (*Mosoco*). La por otra parte, por qué los indígenas salen a contratarse como jorna- de los "blancos".

[P. 312-A3]

SAN ANDRES

FLIAS.	CAFE				PLATANO				M
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%	A
1.*	80	...	80	100,0	300(1)	...	...	.....	50
2.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	29
3.	3	...	3	100,0	300(2)	...	...	.....	9
4.	1	...	1	100,0	50(1)	...	...	.....	80
5.	15	...	15	100,0	120	118	2	1,6	3
6.	3	...	3	100,0	200	200	...	.....	30
7.	3(5)	...	3	100,0	100(1)	...	...	.....	2
8.	4	...	4	100,0	50(1)	...	...	.....	12
9.	5	...	5	100,0	150(4)	...	...	.....	50
10.*	80	...	80	100,0	30(1)	...	...	.....	...
11.	45	...	45	100,0	...	...	...	.....	...
12.	...(5)	...	...	.....	100	50	50	50,0	8(3)
13.	...(5)	...	...	.....	300	100	200	66,6	14
14.*	6	...	6	100,0	250(1)	...	...	.....	...
15.*	8	...	8	100,0	100(1)	...	...	.....	40

Del cuadro anterior podemos hacer las siguientes c

1ª—La producción de café se destina íntegramente ; principal de ingresos monetarios de los indígenas y, s

2ª—El maíz, fríjol, caña de azúcar y coca están des

(1) Número de plantaciones de plátano que posee
(2) Indica el número de plantaciones actuales. El si
(3) Estimativo personal del autor.
(4) Indica el número de plantaciones actuales. El si
(5) Terrazguero.
(6) Estimativo del informante de la futura cosecha.
(7) Posee plantaciones de caña.
(8) Posee plantaciones de coca.

[P. 312-B1]

MAIZ				YUCA						C
%	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%	A	C
.....	50	50	...	.....	200	160	40	20,0	500	...
.....	29	24	5	17,2	64	53	11	17,1	...	...
.....	9	9	...	.....	25	25	...	.....	...	...
.....	80	80	...	.....	30	30	...	.....	(7)	...
1,6	3	3	...	.....	85	85	...	.....	20	...
.....	30	30	...	.....	25(3)	...	...	.....	(7)	...
.....	2	2	...	.....	100	100	...	.....	(7)	...
.....	12	12	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	(7)	...
.....	50	40	10	20,0	60	35	25	41,6	(7)	...
.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	(7)	...
.....	...	...	...	.....	60(3)	35	25	41,6	40	...
50,0	8(3)	8	...	.....	50	25	25	50,0	(7)	...
66,6	14	4	10	71,4	150	75	75	50,0	...	...
.....	...	...	...	.....	500(6)	...	...	.....	(7)	...
.....	40	40	...	.....	500(6)	...	...	.....	100	...

acer las siguientes deducciones:

ustina íntegramente para la venta. Constituye, pues, la fuente le los indígenas y, naturalmente, de los "blancos".

tar y coca están destinados casi exclusivamente para el con-

sumo interno. La mestizos.

3º—La base de cacha. En las épo este régimen alim

plátano que posee actualmente el informante.

lones actuales. El año pasado recogió unos 30 racimos.

ar.

lones actuales. El año pasado recogió unos 30 racimos.

r la futura cosecha.

[P.312-B2]

	CAÑA				ARRACACHA					CO
%	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%	A	C
20,0	500	...	500	100,0	40	20	20	50,0	4	4
17,1	...	...	...	.....	20	12	8	40,0	...	...
.....	...	...	...	.....	4	4	...	.....	...	...
.....	(7)	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...
.....	20	...	20	100,0	4	4	...	.....	...	...
.....	(7)	...	...	.....	25 (3)	...	...	.....	...	...
.....	(7)	...	...	.....	17	17	1	.....	...	...
.....	(7)	...	...	.....	15 (3)	...	...	.....	...	...
41,6	(7)	...	...	.....	20	10	10	50,0	...	...
.....	(7)	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...
41,6	40	...	40	100,0	20	10	10	50,0	...	...
50,0	(7)	...	...	.....	18	9	9	50,0	...	...
50,0	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	6	2
.....	(7)	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...
.....	100	...	100	100,0	...	...	...	.....	...	...

sumo interno. La producción de panela señalada en el cuadro corresponde a lo mestizos.

3º—La base de la alimentación de San Andrés está dada por el maíz, plátano, c cacha. En las épocas de cosechas de café consumen carne. Complementan indispen este régimen alimenticio la coca y el guarapo.

[P.312-B3]

6: Bernal Villa SC15 Paez

	COCA				FRIJOL			
%	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
50,0	4	4	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
40,0	...	...	...	.....	5	4	1	20,0
.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
.....	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
.....	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
.....	...	...	...	(8)	3	3	...	.....
.....	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
.....	...	...	...	(8)	8	8	...	.....
50,0	...	...	...	(8)	20	10	10	50,0
.....	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
50,0	..	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
50,0	..	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
.....	6	2	4	66,6	5	1	4	80,0
..	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
.....	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

dro corresponde a los blancos y

por el maíz, plátano, cuya y arra-
complementan indispensablemente

[P.312-B4]

Presentamos a continuación un cuadro estadístico de la producción de papa de 25 familias. Casi todos realizan dos cosechas al año. La primera fila corresponde a la siembra de noviembre y la segunda a la de mayo y junio. Quienes realizan sólo una cosecha al año, la siembra corresponde al mes de noviembre.

En arrobas, establecemos, la cantidad sembrada, la cantidad cosechada y la destinada a la venta y al consumo. En pesos colombianos especificamos el valor producido por la venta, el estimativo de la cantidad dedicada al consumo, el valor total de las cosechas y los costos. La arroba de papa la venden a cuatro pesos, en promedio, en el mismo lugar de cosecha. En Silvia se cotiza a seis. La cantidad dejada para el consumo está cotizada a dos pesos arroba, precio standard para todos. Los costos incluyen únicamente las erogaciones por mingas, jornales y contratos. Está excluído el trabajo familiar. Establecemos también el porcentaje del total de la cosecha dedicada a la venta.

Familia	Siembra	Cosecha	Venta			Consumo		V. total cosecha	Costos
	A	A	A	$	%	A	$		$
1.ª	100	250	180	675,00		70	140,00		97,00
	64 (15)	125	53	212,00		72	144,00		68,00
	164	375	233	887,00	62,1	144	284,00	1.161,00	165,00
2.	30	100	70	350,00	70,0	30	60,00	410,00	.....
3.	20	30	15	67,50		15	30,00		.....
	15 (16)	20	10	105,00		10	20,00		.....
	35	50	25	172,50	50,0	25	50,00	222,50	.....
4.	30	150	100	350,00	66,6	50	100,00	450,00	.....
5.	5	15	2	6,00		13	25,00		.....
	15 (15)	9	...	....		9	18,00		.....
	20	24	2	6,00	8,3	22	44,00	50,00	.....
6.	20	70	40	160,00		30	60,00		15,00
	30 (16)	12	...	....		12	24,00		.....
	50	82	40	160,00	48,7	42	84,00	244,00	15,00

Familia	Blancos	Cosechas	Ventas				Consumo		V. total cosecha	Costos
	A	A	A	$	%	A	$			$
7.	30	40	...	....	...	40	80,00		32,00 (17)	
	40 (16)	30	...	....	...	30	60,00		.....	
	70	70	...	....	...	70	140,00	140,00	32,00	
8.	40	40	...	....	...	40	80,00		.....	
	30 (16)	30	...	....	...	30	60,00		.....	
	60	30	...	....	...	60	120,00	120,00	.....	
9.	15	35	16	72,00		17	34,00		.....	
	40 (16)	..	...	....		..	....		32,00	
	15	35	16	72,00	45,7	17	34,00	106,00	32,00	
10.	40	200	140	600,00		60	120,00		.....	
	30	50	...	....		50	100,00		.....	
	70	250	140	600,00	56,0	110	220,00	700,00	.....	
11.	15	25	15	60,00		10	20,00		.....	
	20 (16)	15	...	....		15	30,00		.....	
	35	40	15	60,00	37,5	25	50,00	110,00	.....	
12.	30	100	70	350,00		30	60,00		99,00 (16)	
	30	80	70	350,00		30	60,00		30,00	
	60	180	140	700,00	77,7	60	120,00	800,00	129,00	
13.	60	80	50	250,00		30	60,00		.....	
	35 (16)	35	...	....		35	70,00		.....	
	75	115	50	250,00	43,4	65	130,00	380,00	.....	
14.	30	60	24	100,00		36	72,00		.....	
	30 (16)	40	8	32,00		32	64,00		.....	
	60	100	32	132,00	32,0	68	136,00	272,00	.....	
15.	30	160	130	600,00		60	120,00		75,00 (17)	
	30	100	36	120,00		76	152,00		30,00	
	60	260	166	720,00	67,0	136	272,00	992,00	105,00	
16.	35	100	30	200,00		50	100,00		.....	
	25	60	36	120,00		36	72,00		.....	
	60	160	96	320,00	60,0	86	172,00	540,00	.....	

Papelón	Siembra	Cosecha		Venta		Consumo		V. total cosecha	Costos
	A	A	A	$	%	A	$		$
17.	---	---	---	----	---	---	------	------	------
18.	70	700	446	1.722,00		254	508,00		399,20 (19)
	127 (15)	274	81	259,00		193	386,00		------
	197	974	527	1.991,00	54,1	447	894,00	2.877,00	399,20
19.	50	300	250	1.000,00		50	100,00		45,00
	25	35	8	32,00		27	54,00		27,70 (20)
	75	335	258	1.032,00	77,0	77	154,00	1.186,00	72,70
20.	50	80	40	160,00		40	80,00		(21) 60'62
	30	80	20	80,00		60	120,00		------
	80	160	60	240,00	37,5	100	200,00	440,00	72,00
21.	20	60	32	192,00		28	56,00		------
	20	40	16	80,00		24	48,00		------
	40	100	48	272,00	48,0	52	104,00	376,00	------
22.	5	15	8	32,00		7	14,00		------
	5 (16)	5	---	----		5	10,00		------
	10	20	8	32,00	40,0	12	24,00	56,00	------
23.	20	60	30	120,00		30	60,00		------
	20 (16)	20	---	----		20	40,00		133,00 (17)
	40	80	30	120,00	37,5	50	100,00	220,00	133,00
	20 (16)	20	---	----		20	40,00		------
	20	40	8	32,00		32	64,00		125,00
	50	60	8	32,00	13,3	52	104,00	136,00	125,00
25.°	120 (22)	530	500	1.115,00	94,3	30	60,00	1.175,00	1.702,00

(15) Siembra al partido. Uno pone semilla y otro tierra y trabajo.
(16) Pérdida total o parcial de la cosecha.
(17) Costos de minga.
(18) Costos de minga y jornales.
(19) Costos de jornales, contratos y minga.
(20) Costos de contratos y jornales.
(21) Costos de contratos.
(22) Semilla comprada.

La papa constituye el principal cultivo de la parcialidad de *Mosoco* y la fuente primordial de los ingresos monetarios indígenas. Ha permitido establecer un intenso comercio con el municipio de Silvia y abiertamente ha repercutido en la modificación de pautas de conducta y la reestructuración de instituciones. La transformación abarca casi todos los aspectos de la cultura Páez.

En primer lugar, el trabajo se ha intensificado. Los mosoqueños tienen trabajo permanente a lo largo de todo el año. Las mujeres intervienen directamente en la preparación de la tierra, la siembra y la cosecha.

Los niños de ambos sexos concurren puntualmente a la escuela, aprenden los conocimientos elementales y los utilizan en la vida práctica. En *Mosoco* es la única parte de Tierradentro donde existe una escuela particular regentada por un indígena.

El bilinguismo es general. Los "chontales", es decir, personas que no hablan castellano, son limitadísimos. No rebasan de diez.

El consumo de la coca ha desaparecido en todos los elementos jóvenes.

La dieta alimenticia y el horario se ha modificado substancialmente. Desayunan en las primeras horas de la mañana, almuerzan al mediodía y comen al anochecer. Consumen regularmente leche, panela, manteca, carne y pan.

La vajilla es completamente moderna, consistente en piezas de aluminio y hierro.

Tienen camas de madera para dormir y también cobijas.

Las casas son mejor construídas y acondicionadas. Se encuentran casas de adobe y teja. Inclusive existen ya dos galpones en la parcialidad.

Las gentes son hospitalarias y generosas con los visitantes extraños.

El vestido del hombre está casi completamente transformado. Visten como cualquier campesino colombiano. El sombrero de pindó, que usan en otras parcialidades, ha desaparecido en esta región. Las mujeres son limpias, arregladas y locuaces. Conservan el anaco y el chumbe, pero han adoptado camisas y el reboso azul de los guambianos. Se adornan con collares y prendedores vistosos. No son pocas las que portan aretes de oro fino.

La ganadería se ha intensificado y continúa en pleno auge. Vacunos normandos están reemplazando y siendo cruzados con los criollos. Igual cosa está acaeciendo con el ganado lanar. Los

caballos de silla y de carga son indispensables para cada familia. Los indígenas poseen, también, razas finas de cerdos y de aves de corral.

La estratificación social está en plena marcha. Se numeran ya familias ricas y pobres.

Difícilmente casan mujeres mosoqueñas con indígenas de otras parcialidades menos aculturadas. Se habla de mingas, y aún de entierros, de ricos y pobres, afluyendo mayor número de gentes donde los primeros.

Conviven bien con los blancos y los tratan como sus iguales. Existen muy buenos negociantes indígenas.

Los métodos de curación, uso de remedios y la brujería son perfectamente conocidos por estos indígenas. Pero el *té eu* y, aún más, el *nara jihi* (brujo) está en decadencia. Muchos consultan al médico de los "blancos" en Silvia y utilizan las drogas de los "blancos". Son menos supersticiosos.

Son creyentes por convicción. Los hay algunos que son protestantes con un gran poder de raciocinio.

El cabildo conserva su fuerza y es debidamente acatado.

Las propiedades están debidamente parceladas. Muchas tienen sembrado pastos de selección. Es muy frecuente observar cercas con alambre de púa.

Herramientas agrícolas

De los utensilios empleados en la agricultura, únicamente el bastón para sembrar el maíz (*uhach*) es de manufactura autóctona. Los demás son de procedencia europea.

La herramienta universal entre los Páez es el machete. Con el se efectúan las rozas, se limpian los terrenos, y las labranzas, se talan las montañas, se labran los trapiches y se montan los puentes sobre los ríos y quebradas. Prefiérenlo grande y con funda de cuero que amarran a la cintura. No lo abandonan jamás. Inseparable del cuerpo del hombre, lo lucen en los viajes, las fiestas y los trabajos. Por otra parte, es el arma de ataque y defensa, por excelencia. Tienen pocos rivales como macheteros. En la limpia de malezas son insuperables. En general, el número de machetes corresponde al número de adultos de la familia. Son contadas las personas que poseen más de cuatro machetes.

Comunes son también las palas y barretones indispensables para la factura de eras, huecos y deshierbas. Las palas, que tie-

nen en mayor número que los machetes, no la usan para cabar la tierra sino para raspar; su manejo es en sentido horizontal, del cuerpo hacia afuera. Las palas que forman ángulo con el mango son desconocidas.

Las barras de hierro, palendras y picos son poco frecuentes, sobre todo las dos últimas.

Alguna que otra familia mosoqueña posee hoces y cuchillos para la siega de trigo.

Las herramientas las afilan en areniscas, aunque también utilizan con frecuencia las limas.

Algunos naturales poseen sierras, serruchos, troceros, escoplos y gubias para facturar algunos objetos en madera.

En el presente cuadro estadístico puede observarse la frecuencia de cada uno de los utensilios agrícolas que poseen. Contempla también el valor nominal de las herramientas.

MOSOCO:

Fiias.	Machetes.		Palas.		Barretones		Hachas		Palendras		Barras	
1.°	4	$ 32,00	4	$ 8,00	3	$ 7,50	2	$ 20,00	1	$ 5,00	1	$ 20,00
2.	2	10,00	1	3,00	..	....	1	5,00	..	....	..	....
3.	3	30,00	5	15,00	1	4,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
4.	3	15,00	3	9,00	2	10,00	2	10,00	1	4,00	1	6,00
5.	1	8,00	1	3,00	1	3,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
6.	2	24,00	2	8,00	2	6,00	..	....	..	....	1	12,00
7.	2	9,00	2	5,00	1	3,00	2	9,00	..	....	1	5,00
8.	3	12,00	2	6,00	2	10,00	1	6,00	..	....	1	10,00
9.	3	24,00	3	20,00	2	7,00	3	12,00	..	....	2	20,00
10.	4	28,00	5	12,50	2	10,00	2	14,00	..	....	..	....
11.	1	6,00	2	5,00	1	3,00	1	6,00	..	....	..	....
12.	4	16,00	6	15,00	4	16,00	2	8,00	..	....	1	5,00
13.	4	40,00	4	12,00	2	10,00	3	15,00	..	....	1	10,00
14.	8	48,00	10	30,00	6	30,00	5	25,00	..	....	..	....
15.	1	12,00	2	6,00	5	25,00	5	25,00	..	....	..	....
16.	1	12,00	2	8,00	1	6,00	1	6,00	..	....	1	8,00
17.	1	8,00	1	3,00	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....
18.	2	23,00	2	6,00	2	8,00	1	3,00	1	3,00	1	20,00
19.	3	21,00	3	9,00	1	4,00	2	10,00	..	....	..	....
20.	8	80,00	8	20,00	4	20,00	2	20,00	..	....	..	....
21.	7	42,00	6	18,00	2	12,00	2	10,00	..	....	..	....
22.	2	6,00	5	15,00	4	10,00	2	10,00	..	....	1	5,00
23.	1	10,00	2	6,00	1	5,00	1	5,00	..	....	1	6,00
24.	3	14,00	2	4,00	1	3,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
25.°	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....

LAME:

Fila.	Machetes.		Palas.		Barretones		Hachas		Palanduras		Barras	
1.°	..	....	4	14,00	2	10,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
2.	1	12,00	6	30,00	1	6,00	1	7,00	..	....	..	....
3.	2	9,00	2	8,00	1	3,00	1	6,00	..	....	..	....
4.°	2	16,00	2	14,00	1	7,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
5.	3	30,00	4	12,00	1	5,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
6.	2	14,00	2	8,00	1	6,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
7.	3	30,00	4	16,00	4	20,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
8.	2	22,00	2	10,00	1	6,00	..	....	..	....	..	....

SAN ANDRES:

1.°	4	24,00	8	20,00	2	12,00	..	....	..	....	3	15,00
2.	2	16,00	2	6,00	1	7,00	1	4,00	..	....	..	....
3.	1	7,00	..	....	..	....	1	3,00	..	....	..	....
4.	2	15,00	2	10,00	1	5,00	1	6,00	..	....	..	....
5.	2	14,00	4	12,00	1	6,00	1	3,00	..	....	..	....
6.	1	10,00	1	3,50	1	7,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
7.	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....
8.	3	11,00	3	9,00	1	5,00	1	4,50	..	....	..	....
9.	1	3,00	3	9,00	1	10,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
10.°	2	10,00	1	3,00	1	3,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
11.	3	24,00	4	14,00	3	10,50	2	12,00	..	....	..	....
12.	3	30,00	2	8,00	1	2,00	1	8,00	..	....	..	....
13.	3	15,00	1	3,00	..	....	1	3,00	..	....	..	....
14.°	3	19,50	6	13,20	3	15,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
15.°	4	20,00	5	12,50	1	5,00	..	....	..	....	..	....

Animales domésticos

Los Páez tienen ganado vacuno, caballar, porcino, lanar, pavos, gallinas, perros y gatos. Unicamente el cuy es el animal doméstico americano que se cría en muchos hogares.

Una investigación pecuaria exacta ofrece serias dificultades, dada la suspicacia de los indígenas. En la parcialidad de Calderas, los informes al respecto resultan casi siempre adulterados sea que se utilicen métodos directos o indirectos de información. Aún para los negociantes mestizos de un relativo ascendiente entre los indígenas y muy conocedores de los mismos, resulta problemático adquirir datos al respecto. En el afán investigativo hemos visitado casi todos los hogares de esta parcialidad, recorriendo a pie todo el territorio. A la sombra de los matorrales, en los rastrojos y potreros se observan pastando buen número de vacunos, caballares y lanares. De cuando en vez se encuentran piaras alimentándose con yerbas y raíces. En el llano comunal de Cal-

deras, ordinariamente pastan unas treinta y seis reses. En todos los hogares no faltan las gallinas. Pero una información fidedigna de esta riqueza no ha sido posible obtenerla. Algún negociante mestizo muy conocedor de la región calcula que en Calderas no debe existir menos de unas 350 reses, dato que merece bastante crédito. Esta parcialidad tiene poco más o menos unas ciento cincuenta familias. En el cuadro estadístico que más abajo presentamos figuran 55 familias en muchas de los cuales los datos son incompletos y otros tienen un valor aproximado, deducidos por informes de terceros y por la observación directa. Los cuadros estadísticos de las parcialidades de *Mosoco, Lame* y San Andrés corresponden a la realidad.

Tierras destinadas exclusivamente al pastoreo no existen si exceptuamos aquellas que por razón de su brava topografía y desforestación, cubiertas de pajonales que reverdecen con el invierno, no pueden utilizarse más que para el pastoreo, corriendo, naturalmente, los riesgos de que los animales se desempeñen. Lo general es que los animales pasten en los rastrojos, en los potreros comunales, en la sombra de los arbustos y matorrales. En Calderas, por ejemplo, la mayor parte del ganado está a cubierto de las miradas extrañas. Se alimentan con las ramas y hierbas que crecen en los terrenos que en otra época fueron labranzas. En ese medio se desarrollan bravos y ariscos, pero gordos y exentos de enfermedades. Prender estos animales equivale a realizar una verdadera labor de cacería en que intervienen perros amaestrados, y diez o quince hombres provistos de sus lazos respectivos y distribuídos convenientemente en sitios especiales bien para enlazar, detener, desviar, o dirigir la marcha de la bestia, perseguida por los perros. Esta labor se realiza de preferencia los domingos, por convite especial de los dueños de ganado, sea para marcar los becerros o para prender la res destinada al cambio, venta o degüello. Concluída la labor se consume bastante chicha. Sólo el ganado que pasta en el llano comunal es visible a los extraños y relativamente manso.

Todos prefieren las hembras para la reproducción. Los machos son consumidos, vendidos o cambiados por hembras jóvenes y, rara vez, por otros artículos. Muchas veces carecen de reproductores. En tal caso las vacas no dan crías y son consideradas estériles, hecho, que es debidamente aprovechado por los negociantes blancos y mestizos para proponer "cambios". Los negociantes interesados en una res, una vez localizado el verdadero

dueño, lo asedian con proposiciones de cambio. Aquellos ofrecen novillas jóvenes, fértiles, de menor tamaño y generalmente flacas. Obtienen, a cambio, una res grande y gorda. Los beneficios rebasan el 200%. Antes de entregar el animal, el indígena exige inflexiblemente, una botella de aguardiente, arranca unos pelos del ojo o pata izquierdos de la res, para ofrendar al Duende, dueño virtual de las tierras y animales y, potencialmente, protector de la multiplicación de éstos. Asímismo, sopla *chayuts* (Scutellaria racemosa Per.) al lazo que conducirá a la res para que ésta no presente dificultades en el camino. Son frecuentes las declaraciones de blancos y mestizos, negociantes de ganado, acerca del hecho de que habiendo faltado este requisito, la res se ha echado en la mitad del trayecto, no habiendo poder humano que la obligue a movilizarse. Entonces, ha bastado soplar el lazo con *chayuts* para que nuevamente se ponga en marcha. Cómo se explica este hecho? Preguntan repetidas veces los relatantes.

Son ocasiones para el consumo de vacunos las mingas, las fiestas religiosas y, en menor escala, los "cuidos" (atenciones a los padrinos) post-matrimoniales y bautismos. Aprovechan la carne y la piel. Esta no se curte, se seca al sol y sirve a manera de colchón para dormir. No consumen la leche. Cuando sacrifican una res que procede de sitios "bravos", tales como pantanos, lagunas, montañas, tienen la precaución de llamar al *Té eu*. Este ordena sacar un pedacito de cada órgano, envasar en un carrizo un poco de sangre. Todo esto lo envuelve en una hoja, encima del cual coloca una ramita de contento *(chayuts)*, se dirige en seguida hacia el oriente y en un lugar determinado por él mismo, abandona el atado, cuidando de colocarlo siempre a la izquierda de las cosas tales como troncos o piedras. Esta colocación no lleva ceremonial especial, ni va acompañada de rezos, ni soplada de medicamentos, ni tampoco tiene una hora especial. Es una ofrenda al Duende, que se realiza antes de consumir la carne, cuyo objeto primordial es tenerlo contento.

El degüello de la res para consumir en las fiestas religiosas va acompañado de música (1).

Del ganado caballar prefieren también las hembras para la reproducción. Los caballos sirven para la molienda de caña, para el transporte de carga, para viajes largos. Muchos poseen aperos,

(1) Bernal Villa, S. La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro, p. 208.

aunque generalmente deteriorados. Las mujeres jamás montan a caballo. En los viajes largos la mujer va a pie, con un pesado fardo a la espalda, mientras que el hombre cabalga sin portar nada que le estorbe.

Los caballos de los Páez son pequeños pero muy resistentes y aptos para los caminos quebrados y difíciles. No poseen mulas ni burros. En Calderas cuéntase que alguien llevó un burro con el fin de producir muletos, pero los envidiosos (brujos) lo brujiaron y lo mataron. Tampoco poseen cabras por considerarlas muy ladronas y dañinas.

En las habitaciones se crían cuyes, gallinas y pavos; en menor proporción los patos. Asímismo, se observa la crianza de perros, gatos y cerdos. Aquellos pertenecen indistintamente a la mujer o al hombre, en tanto que los cerdos y los perros son de pertenencia exclusiva del hombre.

Llama la atención el escaso cuidado que tienen con los animales domésticos. No existen corrales de ninguna especie, ni cuidadores especiales de animales. Comúnmente el ganado vacuno se abandona en los lugares de pastaje y sólo cada quince días, y con más frecuencia cada mes, es rodeado por sus respectivos dueños para constatar su existencia o las reproducciones del caso. Saben de la necesidad de dar sal al ganado, pero este artículo lo suministran en poca cantidad y muy de cuando en cuando. La mayor parte de los animales de Calderas buscan un pequeño manantial de agua salobre existente en *Tumbichukue*. De los otros animales domésticos, únicamente las gallinas, pavos y cuyes son alimentados regularmente con yerba, maíz, yuca y arracacha. Los perros, los gatos y los cerdos viven, los primeros de los desperdicios de la cocina, los segundos de la cacería de ratones y los últimos de yerbas y raíces de los matorrales. Desconocen razas de vacunos, porcinos y lanares. Solamente el cuy es considerado como americano, en tanto que los otros animales dicen ser genuinamente españoles.

La oveja parece poseer un valor emotivo, porque provee de lana para el vestido de las gentes. La conservan con cariño y difícilmente la venden o la comen.

El perro también parece tener un valor emotivo por ser el guardián de las casas y de las labranzas. Por otro lado tiene un valor simbólico: es la cortina de hierro, la barrera que los escuda del tenebroso recuerdo de los Pijaos. En caso de estos reaparecieran nuevamente, arguyen los indígenas, no podrían acercarse

a las viviendas, porque allí vive el perro que atemorizaría a los Pijaos, pues es tan peligroso para ellos, que el simple contacto con su rastro o sus pelos, los mataría. En las leyendas y cuentos es frecuente la alusión de estos pensamientos defensivos. Los perros tienen nombres especiales: *Guagás* (blanco), *kuchi* (negro), salgento, pitán, policía. Perro que se come las ovejas es irremediablemente matado con una escopeta sin previa consulta del dueño.

Los cuyes representan el alimento preferido de los niños. Los matan ahorcándolos y los comen cocidos. Con estos animales no se hace ofrenda al Duende. Tampoco sirven para agasajar a amigos o familiares. Los utilizan, también, para combatir enfermedades mentales cubriendo la frente de los pacientes con las entrañas de los animales todavía vivos.

Con gallinas y huevos "cuidan" a las personas de sus preferencias. Con los pavos hacen mingas. Los huevos los consumen, aunque lo general es que los vendan.

De las colmenas de abejas silvestres aprovechan la miel y la cera. La miel, dicen, es buena para las personas que sufren de "frío". Con la cera suavizan lazos de piel y de vez en cuando la utilizan para el alumbrado. Colmenas domésticas no existen.

Animales de monte tales como loros, chicaos, ardillas y micos no se domestican jamás.

No existen animales "pets", ni ninguno de los domésticos sirven de juguetes o que sean considerados, simplemente, como "bonitos". Todos éstos tienen un fin utilitario.

La posesión de animales domésticos es símbolo de riqueza. El propietario de grandes extensiones de tierra no se considera como rico, mientras que el que tiene animales domésticos sí.

Operaciones comerciales de animales existe entre los indígenas. Las cotizaciones son muy bajas. "El indio es pobre, dicen, no tiene plata". Por lo mismo, animales que entre los blancos se cotizan a doscientos pesos y más, entre los indígenas se ferean a mitad de precio y hasta menos.

Para los indígenas de la parcialidad de *Mosoco* casi no juega este estado de cosas. Existen, ya, potreros destinados exclusivamente a la ganadería. Algunos están sembrados de pastos especialmente el poa. Existe marcada tendencia a mejorar la ganadería tanto en número como en calidad. Conocen las excelencias del normando y holstein entre los vacunos y del merino entre el lanar. Tienen razas especiales de cerdos y gallinas. Muchos po-

6: Bernal Villa SC15 Paez

seen mulas y magníficos caballos de silla. Las transacciones comerciales de animales tienen el precio justo aún entre los mismos indígenas. Algunos son estupendos negociantes. Conservan todavía la práctica de sacar la ofrende para el Duende en los degüellos de vacunos y de cerdos. En las sabanas del Páramo de Moras tienen los indígenas magníficos hatos. La ganadería en *Mosoco* es, pues, una industria en pleno desarrollo, que merece toda la atención por parte de las esferas oficiales.

En el cuadro estadísticos que a continuación presentamos puede observarse el desarrollo de la industria pecuaria de *Mosoco* y compararla con las de *Lame*, San Andrés y Calderas. Los propietarios son indígenas, salvo los blancos y mestizos señalados con un asterisco.

MOSOCO:

Fincas.	Vacunos.		Caballares.		Porcinos.		Lanares.		Avícolas.	
1.°	2	$ 500,00	11	$ 1.800,00	2	$ 200,00	15	$ 360,00	9	$ 45,00
2.	..	.....	3	550,00	1	100,00	..	.....	10	20,00
3.	...	.....	3	400,00	2	160,00	10	200,00	15	75,00
4.	8	2.050,00	5	900,00	1	40,00	..	.....	7	22,00
5.	..	.....	1	170,00	1	15,00	2	25,00	6	18,00
6.	4	1.400,00	4	1.300,00	1	30,00	..	.....	2	10,00
7.	8	1.360,00	12	1.710,00	5	240,00	4	60,00	18	72,00
8.	6	2.000,00	3	600,00	..	.....	2	30,00	5	20,00
9.	6	1.200,00	2	700,00	9	180,00	20	300,00	20	80,00
10.	..	.....	3	500,00	3	30,00	..	.....	17	102,00
11.	26	6.100,00 (23)	10	2.700,00	1	10,00	15	150,00	10	62,00
12.	6	750,00	3	470,00	1	15,00	9	360,00	8	24,00
13.	14	2.070,00	11	2.910,00	1	30,00	..	.....	6	30,00
14.	1	100,00	2	600,00	1	15,00	14	210,00	8	40,00
15.	15	2.500,00	6	2.800,00	2	45,00	..	.....	8	40,00
16.	8	1.600,00	4	600,00	..	.....	3	30,00	12	60,00
17.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....
18.	11	2.100,00	4	1.350,00	2	100,00	12	600,00	25	75,00
19.	3	600,00	3	1.200,00	1	60,00	4	200,00	10	40,00
20.	7	800,00	4	2.000,00	..	.....	..	.....	4	20,00
21.	18	4.100,00	5	1.200,00	2	100,00	..	.....	13	45,00
22.	..	.....	6	900,00	..	.....	..	.....	2	10,00
23.	6	900,00	4	650,00	2	50,00	..	.....	8	40,00
24.	3	450,00	2	200,00	2	250,00	10	200,00	4	40,00
25.°	20	5.000,00	2	2.000,00	2	100,00	10	500,00	16	80,00

LANE:

Fliar.	Vacunos.		Caballares.		Porcinos.		Lanares.		Aviculas.	
1.°	..	.....	7	1.500,00	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....
2.	..	.....	2	200,00	7	285,00	5	80,00	15	60,00
3.	8	755,00	6	950,00	..	.....	6	180,00	2	22,00
4.°	10	1.500,00	12	3.100,00	..	.....	..	.....	10	40,00
5.	5	390,00	6	600,00	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....
6.	2	250,00	2	240,00	5	65,00	2	40,00	5	25,00
7.	5	500,00	6	800,00	3	80,00	5	50,00	10	50,00
8.	2	200,00	3	150,00	4	56,00	3	45,00	2	8,00

SAN ANDRES:

1.°	35	7.000,00	8	1.700,00	5	200,00	..	.....	25	115,00
2.	..	.....	1	130,00	..	.....	..	.....	6	30,00
3.	..	.....	1	80,00	..	.....	..	.....	6	36,00
4.	1	100,00	..	.....	1	40,00	2	30,00	5	25,00
5.	..	.....	2	200,00	2	40,00	2	60,00	6	21,00
6.	..	.....	..	.....	1	200,00	..	.....	6	30,00
7.	..	..... (24)	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	7	28,00
8.	5	1.250,00	2	500,00	5	80,00	3	30,00	10	30,00
9.	4	800,00	..	.....	3	160,00	..	.....	40	120,00
10.°	..	.....	2	550,00	..	.....	..	.....	14	70,00
11.	..	.....	3	450,00	2	50,00	..	.....	85	75,000
12.	..	..... (24)	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....
13.	..	..... (24)	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	5	25,00
14.°	5	2.000,00	1	400,00	6	550,00	5	150,00	36	180,00
15.°	10	4.000,00	6	1.800,00	3	300,00	..	.....	60	300,00

CALDERAS:

1.	1	120,00	1	150,00	2	70,00	..	.....	1	6,00
2.	3	300,00	3	300,00	3	80,00	..	.....	8 !	40,00
3.	..	.....	..	.....	1	40,00	..	.....	10 !	58,00
4.	..	.....	4	400,00	5	100,00	3 !	30,00	6 !	30,00
5.	..	.....	..	.....	1	20,00	..	.....	1	5,00
6.	4	600,00	3	300,00	8	240,00	5	100,00	10	50,00
7.	..	.....	..	.....	2	60,00	..	.....	6	30,00
8.	4	320,00	5	300,00	5 !	150,00	10	100,00	8 !	48,00
9.	4 !	400,00	2	100,00	4	80,00	2	20,00	5	25,00
10.	10	1.500,00	10	1.000,00	10	200,00	3 !	30,00	..	.....
11.	..	.....	5	400,00	3	60,00	2	30,00	4	26,00
12.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	6 !	30,00
13.	..	.....	2	100,00	..	.....	2	20,00	2	10,00
14.	..	.....	5	400,00	4 !	80,00	6	90,00	6 !	30,00
15.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	4	80,00	4	26,00
16.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	6 !	30,00
17.	4	600,00	..	.....	..	.....	3	30,00	8 !	60,00
18.	..	.....	4	320,00	4	80,00	..	.....	3	16,00
19.	..	.....	2	120,00	..	.....	..	.....	7	38,00

Fincas.	Vacunos.		Caballares.		Porcinos.		Lanares.		Avícolas.	
20.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	5	100,00	2	10,00
21.	..	.....	..	.....	3	60,00	..	.....	3	16,00
22.	..	.....	3	320,00	4 !	80,00	..	.....	8 !	40,00
23.	3	300,00	2	160,00	4 !	80,00	4 !	80,00	..	.....
24.	5	500,00	1	100,00	..	.....	2	40,00	15	90,00
25.	3	300,00	1	100,00	3	90,00	..	.....	..	.....
26.	3	300,00	1	100,00	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....
27.	..	.....	1	100,00	..	.....	..	.....	13	65,00
28.	..	.....	1	90,00	..	.....	..	.....	1	5,00
29.	..	.....	4	320,00	..	.....	..	.....	8 !	40,00
30.	1	100,00	1	80,00	..	.....	..	.....	8 !	35,00
31.	5	500,00	1	80,00	..	.....	..	.....	6 !	24,00
32.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	1	6,00
33.	..	.....	1	80,00	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....
34.	8	800,00	5	500,00	10 !	200,00	4	80,00	10 !	50,00
35.	..	.....	4	320,00	..	.....	..	.....	10	50,00
36.	15	1.500,00	5 !	500,00	..	.....	20	400,00	..	.....
37.	4	400,00	4	400,00	..	.....	10	200,00	10 !	50,00
38.	..	.....	1	100,00	..	.....	..	.....	5 !	25,00
39.	..	.....	1	100,00	..	.....	..	.....	6 !	30,00
40.	2	200,00	..	.....	2	40,00	..	.....	..	.....
41.	..	.....	2	120,00	..	.....	..	.....	5	25,00
42.	..	.....	1	80,00	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....
43.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	6 !	25,00
44.	..	.....	1	80,00	..	.....	3	30,00	..	.....
45.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	2	20,00	6 !	25,00
46.	4	400,00	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	4	20,00
47.	..	.....	3	240,00	2	40,00	..	.....	..	.....
48.	..	.....	5	400,00	1	20,00	..	.....	9	35,00
49.	3	300,00	2	160,00	10 !	200,00	..	.....	10 !	40,00
50.	4	400,00	3	240,00	6	120,00	..	.....	10 !	35,00
51.	..	.....	1	80,00	..	.....	1	10,00	6 !	18,00
52.	..	.....	3	240,00	..	.....	..	.....	6 !	18,00
53.	1	100,00	2	160,00	..	.....	2	20,00	4	20,00
54.	2	200,00	2	200,00	2 !	40,00	3 !	30,00	..	.....
55.	..	.....	4	320,00	..	.....	2	30,00	8 !	24,00

Recolección, caza y pesca

En los rastrojos y matorrales crece fácilmente el chachafruto *(úsual)*, leguminosa que da unos frutos un tanto dulces y que los consumen cocidos simplemente en agua; es alimento preferido de los niños. Fructifica en los meses de agosto y septiembre. Recogen, también, hongos *(kalaguai)*, orejas de palo *(kallumbo)* que crecen redondas y blancas en los troncos podridos, fríjol

(23) Parámetros a centro hectáreas.
(24) Terrenguero.
! Estimativos del autor.

cacha *(us tape)*, que abunda en los matorrales, moras *(sutsion)* y las uvillas *(chimbú)* que crecen abundantes en los maizales y con las cuales hacen bollos o envueltos y mazamorra mezclada con maíz molido. De igual manera recogen granadillas de monte *(shlal)*.

La cacería tiene escasa importancia entre los Páez. Es menester de escopetas y perros. Auténticos aficionados a la cacería son pocos, y de ella están ausentes ritos y ceremonias mágicas.

La cacería más frecuente se realiza para defender las sementeras o los hatos. Hemos visto que los enemigos del maíz son cusumbes, guaras, ardillas y aves. Las gallinas son atacadas por perros-lobos. En las sabanas del Páramo de Moras el oso es el enemigo más frecuente de los hatos.

En Calderas, los cazadores acostumbran a conservar en el interior de la casa y sobre uno de los postes de la pared, los cráneos de las presas logradas. En una de ellas contamos cinco cráneos de cusumbe, dos de guara y uno de lobo. Realizan la cacería los domingos y en cualquier época. Salen con perros, escopetas y fiambre a los lugares escogidos. El perro levanta la presa y los hombres esperan en sitios estratégicos listos con sus escopetas para dispararle. En caso de fallar el tiro salen detrás de la presa en veloz carrera. Cuando cazan venados hacen minga. En la cacería de guaras utilizan trampas consistentes en redes que colocan a la salida de las guaridas de estos animales. Los murciélagos los cazan con jigras. Tan pronto caen los matan a patadas, pues estos animales rompen fácilmente las jigras. Los comen asados. La carne de armadillo es bastante preferida. Los avichuchos los cazan con bodoquera. "Los indios son pobres —dice un informante de Calderas— y por lo mismo hacen bodoqueras y cazan aves. Dios crió a los pajaritos para que coman los pobres y no roben". Las torcazas las cazan en los filos mediante trampas colocadas en forma bastante disimulada. Los chamones, unas aves negras, no los comen porque dizque son animales del diablo. Se dice que en tiempos pasados los indios Calderas comían cucarrones, razón por la cual los apodan *tandayaha* (come cucarrones), epíteto que lo consideran ofensivo y los irrita casi siempre. Los calderunos dicen que no comen gusanos, carne de conejo y de culebras. Consideran como animales de cacería guara, venado, cusumbe, armadillo, murciélago y diversas clases de aves.

Acerca de la cacería de osos los mosoqueños cuentan verda-

deras hazañas realizadas por indios en lucha abierta con las fieras. La manteca de oso es muy estimada entre los indígenas y "blancos".

La pesca es menos importante que la cacería. Los ríos y quebradas tienen sardinas y coruntas. En Semana Santa y Nochebuena realizan actividades pesqueras, mediante el secamiento de las corrientes, la utilización de barbasco, redes y anzuelos. Es una actividad netamente masculina. En el río Paáz pescan en los meses de enero y febrero y en general en los meses de sequía.

Recogen también cangrejos.

Industria de la cera de laurel

El laurel, introducido por el payanés Agustín Valencia, ha jugado un papel relievante en la economía de algunas parcialidades de Tierradentro. Se da algo silvestre en Calderas, *Tumbichukue, Lame,* San Andrés, *Chinas* y *Suin.* La obtención de la cero era la única industria de estas parcialidades que les permitía mantener un comercio regular con los "blancos".

Un mestizo negociante de *Mosoco* informa que fue gran exportador de cera de laurel. "Era la industria indígena —dice— con la que entraba la sal, el calzón, la camisa, el sombrero y los centavos". En este negocio, declara, que le quedaba una arroba de beneficio por carga. La libra se cotizaba a peso en Silvia. En los años de 1946 y 1947, el informante dice haber sacado de unas ochocientas a mil arrobas de cera. Era casi el monopolizador del negocio. La poca cera que se le escapaba la compraban los negociantes de Belalcázar, quienes, a su vez, la sacaban por *Mosoco,* a Silvia. Los principales consumidores de este artículo eran las fábricas de jabón de Cali. La industria de la cera de laurel decayó en 1950, cuando aquellas fábricas comenzaron a utilizar otra clase de materias primas. De esta suerte se le dio el golpe de gracia a la única industria casera de las regiones arriba mencionadas. Todavía se sigue recogiendo cera, pero el precio de la arroba en Silvia no llega a ocho pesos. Ya no produce beneficios. Los indígenas la siguen utilizando para la fabricación de velas para el consumo casero y sobretodo para el alumbrado en las fiestas religiosas. Los métodos de recolección, extracción y manufactura de la cera de laurel los hemos descrito en el trabajo intitulado *"La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro"*, publicado en la Revista Colombiana de Folklore, número 2 de 1953.

Las mingas

La minga es la forma de trabajo más extendida entre los Páez. Los indígenas pueden trabajar por sí solos y son excelentes trabajadores. Pero la tarea les demanda mayor tiempo y mayores esfuerzos. Entonces la minga sirve para no "aburrirse" en el trabajo, para ganar tiempo y para disponer de mano de obra que en otra forma sería difícil conseguirla.

La minga, es, pues, un sistema cooperativo de trabajo mediante el cual el interesado invita a un determinado número de personas conocidas para realizar una labor, retribuyéndolos debidamente con alimentos, bebida y mambe. "Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense", dice Hernández de Alba.

Artículos indispensables de la retribución son la carne, la chicha y, en casi todas las parcialidades, la coca. La frecuencia de las mingas, está, pues, casi en proporción directa con la posesión de animales domésticos. Quienes carecen de estos semovientes, es decir los pobres, en concepto de la cultura Páez, trabajan solos o en compañía de sus hijos si los tienen.

En el ciclo de los cultivos realizan las siguientes mingas: Para talar el monte (rocerías); para amontonar la madera que queda después de las quemas y cortar estantillos para la cerca; para construir cercas; para efectuar las siembras y deshierbas.

En Calderas una minga para rocería se desarrolla en la siguiente forma:

El dueño de la minga mata una res o, más comúnmente, un cerdo. Prepara una canoa de chicha (jugo de caña de azúcar fermentado), varias botellas de aguardiente, una arroba de mote (maíz pelado con ceniza) y adquiere algunas libras de coca. Invita a los hombres de su preferencia. A la madrugada del día convenido para el trabajo, todos los invitados con su herramienta al hombro, se dirigen gritando a la casa del minguero. Allí reciben un huevo (25) de coca, chicha y un plato de mote con carne. A las 8 a. m., todos están trabajando. Asisten hasta treinta peones. Al lugar de trabajo llevan calabazos de chicha para beber en los descansos, que corresponden exactamente con la "botada de la mambeada". En el día realizan tres mambeadas y, por lo tanto, tienen tres descansos. Coinciden más o menos con 10 a. m., 12 m. y 2 p. m. Durante estos descansos se sientan, conversan, ríen, beben chi-

(25) Medida de peso equivalente a un huevo de gallina.

cha y luego reinician con entusiasmo el trabajo. Este lo realizan con diligencia y constancia. Nadie conversa, entonces. A las 4 p. m., abandonan el trabajo y se dirigen a la casa del minguero, donde ya se encuentran también sus respectivas mujeres. Todos reciben chicha y aguardiente. Luego la comida, consistente en un plato grande de madera, repleto de mote, revuelto con fríjol, arracacha, plátano y tres pedazos de carne. Como no pueden consumir todo esto, lo guardan en mochilas de fique para llevarlo a sus respectivas casas. Después de la comida, rezan invocando do siempre a los familiares fenecidos del minguero, bien sean antecesores, colaterales o descendientes. En seguida, reciben nuevos totumos de chicha hasta que se emborrachan. Muchas veces forman bailes. En estas ocasiones no están ausentes las peleas.

Según un informante de Calderas, una minga con 15 peones cuesta lo siguiente:

1 toro ....$	40-00
1 arroba y media de maíz	1-50
2 libras de coca	3-00
3 cargas de chicha	6-00
Total ....$	50-00

Las cotizaciones arriba enunciadas imperan únicamente entre los indígenas. Entre los "blancos" la arroba de maíz se cotiza a $ 6-00, la libra de coca a $ 3-00, los vacunos a $ 25-00, la arroba y la chicha tiene un valor más alto. En los costos de la minga faltan las cotizaciones de aguardiente, fríjol, arracacha y plátano, que generalmente revuelven con el mote. Cabe advertir que los artículos enunciados son producidos en la misma finca a excepción de la coca que tienen que comprarla. En San Andrés las mingas constan más o menos de seis a diez peones, ordinariamente, familiares. Distribuyen mote, revuelto con plátano, yuca, arracacha, carne de cerdo, chicha y coca. No matan res ni bailan tampoco después del trabajo. Los costos de la minga son los siguientes:

1 cerdo ....$	35-00
1 canoa de chicha	2-00
1 arroba de maíz	1-50
1 libra de coca	1-00
3 libras de sal	0-60

3 libras de fríjol	0-60
2 arrobas de yuca	1-00
2 racimos de plátano	2-00
Total ....$	43-70

En *Lame* compran la chicha en *Suin* y *Chinas*, de igual manera que la coca. Comúnmente, matan un cerdo.

En *Mosoco* tuvimos la oportunidad de observar una minga de alzada de eras. Estaban tres mujeres, un muchacho y cinco hombres. Eran familiares. Habían comido a las siete de la mañana. Trabajaban en grupo sin distinción de sexo y edad, conversando y riéndose. Unicamente los viejos, que son generalmente mambeadores, trabajaban aisladamente, pues la charla produce insalivación que perturba el normal consumo de la coca. Trabajaron continuamente hasta las 10 a. m. hora en que tomaron un pequeño descanso. Luego continuaron el trabajo hasta la 1 p. m. cuando les sirvieron el "entredía" consistente en una taza de café y dos arepas grandes de maíz, sazonadas con sal y dos huevos, tostadas en un tiesto y acabadas de asar en el rescoldo del fogón. Siguieron trabajando hasta las 3 y media p. m. y se dirigieron luego a la casa del minguero. La retribución consiste generalmente en lo siguiente:

Dos escudillas con chicha; luego, un plato grande con mote, revuelto con papa o ullucos. Consumen lo que pueden y el resto lo echan en un caldero de aluminio, que llevan para el efecto o, sencillamente, lo guardan en una mochila de fique, para llevar a la casa respectiva. Después de esto, reciben todavía otra escudilla con mote sin carne. En seguida, nuevamente dos escudillas con chicha y, acto seguido, un caldero grande rebosante de chicha para que lo repartan entre todos los asistentes. Esto se hace con cada uno de los invitados. El consumo de chicha es, pues, abundante. Después reciben aguardiente. Borrachos ya, organizan el baile. Estos, naturalmente entre los indígenas pudientes. Entre los pobres las mingas se hacen generalmente con los familiares, quienes "disimulan la escasez". No hacen bailes.

En las mingas de *Mosoco* sacrifican toros, terneros o cerdos y se compran siempre una o dos libras de café y dos o tres arrobas de panela. De la propia finca consumen harina de trigo, o de maíz, papas, ullucos o habas. La coca ha sido sustituída por el "entredía". En el trabajo existen minutos de descanso que co-

rresponden más o menos con la botada de la mambeada en las otras parcialidades. Los mosoqueños jóvenes ya no mambean, pero la vieja costumbre todavía disciplina el trabajo. Por otra parte, es evidente que una minga en *Mosoco* resulta más cara que pagar jornales, pues, son varios los artículos que compran y, además, sacrifican reses o cerdos que valen más de cien pesos. Pero las mingas en *Mosoco* son indispensables, como medio de obtener mano de obra que de otra suerte sería imposible conseguir. Nadie se contrata por jornales, puesto que todos tienen sus terrenos para trabajar.

A través de los datos de las mingas de las tres parcialidades nos damos cuenta que en general tienen pautas comunes. Pero en *Mosoco* resulta ya el proceso modificatorio, tanto en los cuidados como en la forma de trabajo. En San Andrés, Calderas y *Lame* una minga resulta relativamente más barata que pagar jornales, pues en realidad no compran más que sal y coca, cuando no la cultivan en sus propias fincas.

Trabajos comunales

Entre los Páez existe otro tipo de trabajo cooperativo diferente al sistema de las mingas. Se puede llamar trabajo comunal y, se refiere, esencialmente, a ejecución de obras de beneficio común, tales como, por ejemplo, la construcción y conservación de los caminos, de los puentes, de los edificios públicos (escuelas, iglesia, casa cural, casa del cabildo) y el cultivo de la roza del santo.

Con tal fin el Cabildo convoca a todos los hombres hábiles de la parcialidad, los cuales asisten provistos de sus respectivas raciones de coca y herramientas de trabajo.

La ejecución de las obras de interés comunal es un deber de cada miembro de la parcialidad y quien se niegue a prestar su concurso es castigado por el Cabildo y muchas veces conducido ante las autoridades colombianas. La mayor o menor efectividad de esta obligación depende, desde luego, de la autoridad moral de los miembros del Cabildo y sobre todo del Capitán de la parcialidad. En muchas parcialidades los miembros se resisten abiertamente a prestar su contingente de trabajo y en tales casos los caminos y edificios públicos se hallan en precarias condiciones.

Previsión y almacenamiento

En todas las habitaciones indígenas se encuentran barbacoas tejidas con varas y bejucos encima del fogón y también en lo que pudiéramos llamar cielo raso. Las del fogón son colgantes, mientras que las otras descansan sobre las tirantas o atravesaños que dan solidez a las paredes de la habitación. Esto nos indica ya claramente, que los indígenas tienen espíritu de previsión. Sobre estas barbacoas se hallan mazorcas de maíz amarradas con sus propias envolturas, haces de trigo, mochilas llenas de fríjoles, las cuales también se acostumbran a colgar de los postes de la pared. También se guardan allí los granos (terrones) de sal. Las cantidades que se conservan para desafiar los meses de carestía no son suficientes, pero tienen otros comestibles que los favorecen: animales domésticos, coles, cebollas, caña de azúcar y coca. En *Lame* y *Mosoco* cultivan una planta que la denominan yuca de pijao. Es una discoria comestible. Hemos visto también que la escasez se sortea saliendo a trabajar como peones en las fincas de los "blancos".

En la barbacoa que está encima del fogón se guarda también la carne. Aprovechan el humo para conservarla. La sal no se utiliza para este fin.

En las parcialidades de *Mosoco, Vitoncó* y San José, donde siembran buenas cantidades de trigo, es frecuente encontrar en los aleros de las casas pajizas, haces de trigo que duran colgados por varios meses. En esta forma lo preservan del ataque de pequeños roedores y el grano resulta de excelente calidad, pues seca muy bien.

En las épocas de escasez, los indígenas no buscan refugio en la religión. En realidad su defensa está en la venta de la propia fuerza de trabajo por un jornal reducido, unos huevos de coca y la comida. Sobra decir, que el guarapo y la coca son magníficos sedativos del acicate de la necesidad alimenticia. Es singular que una de las fiestas religiosas más sonadas de Calderas se realiza precisamente en época de escasez. Ingieren buenas cantidades de guarapo por espacio de casi un mes.

Provisión de agua y leña

En Tierradentro el grado de pluviosidad es relativamente alto. En consecuencia el agua abunda en corrientes de pequeños y

grandes caudales. Este factor de tipo geográfico, induce a los indígenas a situar el agua al pie de la casa, mediante el sistema de acequias que representan verdaderas obras de ingeniería. No importa las distancias que haya que sortear, ni tampoco la accidentalidad del terreno. Cuando es menester, utilizan guaduas como canales artificiales. Este sistema ha sido adoptado por los "blancos" y aún por los propios poblados. Las partes altas de ambas márgenes del río Páez, desnudas de vegetación, el agua abunda en tiempo de las lluvias. Entonces los hechos acuáticos, secos en el verano (ramblas), crecen de manera desproporcionada. Allí en el verano la escasez de agua no deja ya de ser un serio problema.

En las partes donde el agua es escasa, también es escasa la leña, debido a la intensa desforestación. A medida que la tala se aleja de los centros poblados de Tierradentro, la adquisición de este artículo va siendo cada vez más difícil. El problema de combustibles en Belalcázar, *Cuetando, Chitoquez*, Valencia y Guadualejo, va siendo cada vez mayor. Por lo demás, en Tierradentro, no se utiliza carbón vegetal ni se produce para el comercio.

La provisión de leña para alimentar el hogar, así como la del agua, es actividad más femenina e infantil que masculina. En la mayor parte de las parcialidades abunda la leña y ordinariamente cada habitación mantiene reservas suficientes para mantener el fuego del hogar. En las parcialidades frías como Calderas y *Lame*, el avivamiento del hogar por la noche es fundamental, para defenderse del frío. Los indígenas duermen al rededor del fogón, de donde proviene el calor que necesitan para dormir, pues no utilizan más mantas que las ropas de su propio cuerpo ni más colchón que un cuero duro de res.

La abundancia de agua hace también fácil la construcción de molinos hidrálicos, para aprovechar esta fuerza motriz. Ellos relativamente abundan.

Propiedad

Las tierras de las comunidades indígenas son de resguardo. Es decir, pertenecen a la parcialidad: Son inalienables e inajenables. Están, además, exentas del pago de impuestos. Esta particularidad de nuestra legislación ha permitido, afortunadamente, la conservación del grupo Páez y de su cultura. Las tierras comprendidas dentro de las parcialidades son baldías o aprovecha-

bles o aprovechadas. Las tierras baldías de las comunidades de Tierradentro están siendo rápidamente colonizadas.

En cada parcialidad existe una determinada extensión de tierra que pertenece a todos los miembros de la comunidad. Es tierra comunal. En ella se asientan, generalmente los pueblos indígenas y de ella han tomado los concejos municipales, las llamadas áreas de población, donde por razón de pertenecer al municipio, ha sido posible la penetración de los "blancos".

La propiedad particular de la tierra se adquiere esencialmente por adjudicación, por trabajo y por herencia. También pueden adquirirse por donación o por compra, pero esto es bastante raro.

Como el auténtico dueño de las tierras de resguardo es el Cabildo, es esta institución la que distribuye las tierras a cada uno de los miembros de la comunidad. Los títulos que otorga se llaman adjudicaciones. Es condición para disfrutar la posesión de una determinada parcela la residencia en la comunidad y, sobretodo, el trabajo. En caso de que un individuo tenga tierras ociosas, porque no alcanza a trabajarlas, el Cabildo se reserva el derecho de quitarle esa parte para donarlo a quien la necesite. Quien por circunstancias especiales vive en otro lugar, fuera de la parcialidad, pierde el derecho de posesión de la tierra.

Si bien es cierto, que en la distribución de tierras que realiza el Cabildo, este acata, respeta y se guía por los fueros de la justicia, también es cierto, que no están exentos de cometer actos injustos. Si un comunero puede atender y cuidar convenientemente a los miembros del Cabildo y está interesado en adquirir más tierras, puede lograrlo mediante este método. Sobornar al Cabildo es relativamente fácil. Entonces el Cabildo puede perjudicar a unos para beneficiar a otros. Pero esta falla se corrige escogiendo a hombres que puedan desempeñar cabalmente sus funciones de cabildantes y ejerciendo una sana política directriz de parte del ejecutivo municipal.

Ahora bien. También es cierto que unos indígenas tienen más terreno que otros. Pero esto se debe a que los antecesores respectivos han descuajado más bosque que otros. Han colonizado más tierra. Su derecho de propiedad está dado por el trabajo. "Los antiguos —dice un informante calderuno— han trabajado la montaña y por eso tenemos terreno. Esta tierra no pertenece al Cabildo". Este proceso se sigue en la actualidad en las parcialidades donde todavía existen tierras baldías. Sobre las tierras

conquistadas con el sudor de la frente no tiene derecho el Cabildo. Se heredan directamente a los hijos. En tal caso el Cabildo confirma la propiedad mediante la expedición de la respectiva adjudicación.

Cuando la colonización se ha realizado por varias personas, comúnmente hermanos, y la repartición de la tierra no satisface a una de las partes se suscitan sonados pleitos en donde se consumen las pequeñas economías familiares. El sentido de la posesión de la tierra está muy desarrollado entre los indígenas y la usurpación de mínimas extensiones de tierra da origen a disgustos, enemistades y pleitos. La venta de terreno a "blancos" está prohibida por la ley colombiana y por el derecho consuetudinario de los indígenas. Pero entre los propios indígenas pueden realizar operaciones con los inmuebles. No venden el terreno sino la posesión. El propietario de las tierras es el hombre. La mujer viuda también puede ser propietaria por herencia del marido. Las mujeres solteras no poseen tierras.

El ganado vacuno, caballar, porcino y lanar pertenece al hombre, si bien que alguna que otra mujer es poseedora de cerdos y ovejas. Los pavos, gallinas, gatos y cuyes pertenecen a las mujeres, de igual manera que los platos, cucharas, ollas, piedras de moler, calabazas y mochilas. Son heredables por línea femenina. Los niños son propietarios únicamente de sus propios vestidos.

Respecto a la propiedad comunal hemos visto ya que en cada parcialidad existen varias hectáreas de terreno que pertenece a todos los miembros de la parcialidad. También se consideran de propiedad comunal las obras públicas tales como caminos, puentes, acequias matrices, la casa del Cabildo, la iglesia y abogan colectivamente por su conservación; de la misma forma consideran como propiedad de la parcialidad los dineros que recogen para la iglesia, los productos de la roza del santo y la ganadería y molinos que aquélla pueda poseer.

Sobre la herencia miremos en primer lugar los conceptos expresados por un informante de Calderas. Inquirido por el número ideal de hijos de las familias indígenas, contestó que todos deseaban poseer bastantes hijos. "Cuando uno se muere y uno tiene terreno, quién puede manejarlo? Los antiguos han trabajado la montaña, por eso tenemos terreno. Somos cinco hermanos y trabajamos juntos. El terreno no pertenece al Cabildo. Las mujeres no heredan. Unicamente los hombres. Las mujeres se van con sus maridos. A los hombres se les reparte por partes iguales. Los hi-

jos son los herederos legítimos. En caso de que el hombre muera sin dejar hijos, hereda el hermano. Al hermano se le puede pedir un pedazo de terreno para trabajar. Y éste da. Si mezquinamos, mi hermano qué come, con qué mantiene a los hijos. El hijo mayor tiene importancia porque si el padre muere, es él quien se hace cargo de la familia".

Las palabras son casi todas textuales. Dedúcese de ello que la herencia se verifica por la línea masculina. Son los hombres quienes heredan los terrenos, casas y animales, en partes iguales. Las mujeres virtualmente no heredan, pues al casarse se van con el marido. Los hijos son los herederos legítimos. En caso de que un hombre muera sin dejar descendencia heredan los hermanos.

Las mujeres, no obstante, pueden ser herederas también y en partes iguales con los hombres, cuando el marido no tiene tierras dónde trabajar. No son frecuentes, aunque tampoco son raros, los casos en que el hombre váse a vivir a la casa de su mujer, donde se queda trabajando los terrenos que por derecho de su esposa le pertenecen. Asímismo, algunos "blancos" que han logrado casarse con indígenas tienen derecho a usufructuar los terrenos de su mujer y esta misma exige al Cabildo tierras para trabajar cuando no las posee.

Otro informante calderuno, uno de los mayores poseedores de tierra en extensión, desea dejarla sin dividirla a sus hijos. Habiendo bastante tierra no tienen por qué pelear. Como dos de sus hijos se han marchado desde pequeños a Cali, dice, que si regresan les queda tierra para trabajar. Las tierras quedan únicamente para los hombres, las mujeres se casan y se van con el marido. Referente al llano de Calderas manifiesta que pertenece a todos los comuneros. Pueden hacer sus casas allí, los de otra parcialidad no tienen derecho. Si un comunero construye una casa en el llano comunal, todos los demás están obligados a ayudarle con madera y trabajo. Hasta las propias mujeres. El terreno es comunal porque el Cabildo lo ha determinado. Algunos tienen en ese terreno comunal solares, puesto que tienen derecho a ello y cualquiera puede hacerlo. Quienes proceden de otra parte tienen derecho al terreno comunal, siempre y cuando se hayan desarrollado allí. En Calderas hay lameños que tienen sus terrenos porque han descuajado la montaña. En la actualidad ya no hay montañas que talar, por lo mismo ya no pueden llegar personas de otra parte. Si un calderuno se casa con una mujer de otra parcialidad, el suegro o los cuñados tienen que darle terre-

no a la mujer y el esposo ingresa de hecho a la comunidad. Así habló el informante.

Distribución de enseres, semovientes y cultivos

La distribución de enseres, semovientes y cultivos la hacemos basándonos en las investigaciones efectuadas en las parcialidades de *Mosoco*, *Lame*, San Andrés y Calderas.

La parcialidad de *Mosoco* tiene, aproximadamente, unas 250 familias con 4 hijos en promedio; *Lame* unas 130 con 3 hijos en promedio; San Andrés unas 200 con 4 hijos en promedio y Calderas, unas 150 familias con 3 hijos también en promedio. En *Mosoco* hemos estudiado 25 familias, o sea el 10% del total; en *Lame* 8 o sea el 5,3%; en San Andrés 15 o sea el 7,5% y en Calderas 55 o sea el 36,6%. En la primera parcialidad enunciada figura una familia de un mestizo y otra de un blanco, las que equivalen al 8% del total de familias investigadas; en la segunda están representadas dos familias de blancos, equivalentes al 25% del total de familias investigadas; en la tercera el 26,6% del total de familias investigadas están representadas por dos familias de blancos y dos familias de mestizos. En Calderas no vive ninguna familia de "blancos".

DISTRIBUCION PROMEDIADA DE HERRAMIENTAS AGRICOLAS POR FAMILIAS

Parcialidad	Machetes		Palas		Barretones		Hachas		Palanquetas		Rastrillos	
(26)	T	P	T	P	T	P	T	P	T	P	T	P
Mosoco	71	2	85	3	50	2	39	1	3	—	13	—
Lame	16	2	26	3	12	1	2	—	—	—	—	—
San Andrés. . . .	37	2	42	2	18	1	9	—	—	—	3	—

Teniendo en cuenta que de las 48 familias investigadas el 52,0% son de *Mosoco*, el 16,6% de *Lame* y el 31,2% de San Andrés, podemos hacer las siguientes deducciones: El promedio

(26) Nota: T indica el total de herramientas de las familias investigadas. P indica el promedio de herramientas que le corresponde a cada familia.

de machetes que posee cada familia en las tres parcialidades es de dos. Indica la universalidad de esta herramienta.

Las herramientas para labrar la tierra son más numerosas en *Mosoco* y *Lame* que en San Andrés, sobre todo en la primera donde las palas casi alcanzan a 4 y los barretones a 2 por cada familia. Ello se explica porque en aquellas parcialidades no tienen que rozar los terrenos sino levantar las eras en los potreros.

El número de hachas por cada familia de *Mosoco* casi se duplican. La razón está en que casi todas las familias poseen tierras en la parte montañosa denominada "páramo". La tala de bosques es intensa en *Mosoco* porque los hay todavía. En San Andrés y *Lame* las montañas vírgenes casi han desaparecido.

DISTRIBUCION PROMEDIADA DE ANIMALES DOMESTICOS POR FAMILIAS

PARCIALIDAD	VACUNOS				CABALLARES				PORCINOS				LANARES				AVICOLAS			
	T	P	B	%	T	P	B	%	T	P	B	%	T	P	B	%	T	P	B	%
Mosoco	171	6	22	12,8	113	4	13	11,5	42	1	4	9,5	130	5	25	19,2	240	9	55	22,9
Lasso	22	4	10	45,2	44	8	19	43,1	19	3	—	—	21	3	—	—	50	6	20	40,0
San Andrés	60	4	30	50,0	27	1	19	70,3	28	1	14	50,0	22	—	9	41,0	232	16	120	51,7
Calderas	98	1	—	—	114	2	—	—	107	2	—	—	97	1	—	—	271	4	—	—

Nota: T indica el total de animales de las familias investigadas.
P indica el promedio de animales que corresponde a cada familia investigada.
B indica el número de animales que corresponde a las familias "blancas".
% indica el porcentaje poseído por los "blancos" del total de animales.

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6: Bernal Villa SC15 Paes

A cada familia indígena de las tres parcialidades y en su orden respectivo le corresponde en promedio los siguientes animales: Vacunos: seis, tres y uno; caballares: cuatro, seis, cero; porcinos: uno, tres, uno; lanares: cuatro, tres, cero; avícolas: diez, seis, quince. A Calderas le corresponde lo señalado en el cuadro.

Salta a la vista que la ganadería en *Mosoco* es una auténtica industria indígena que lleva implícito un relativo mejoramiento técnico de la misma. En tanto que, en las otras tres parcialidades no tiene relieves de importancia, sobre todo en Calderas. La industria ganadera de San Andrés es patrimonio exclusivo de blancos y mestizos.

DISTRIBUCION PROMEDIADA DE LOS CULTIVOS POR FAMILIAS

PARCIALIDAD	MAIZ				TRIGO				HABAS				AJOS			
	T	P	B	%	T	P	B	%	T	P	B	%	T	P		%
Mosoco	550	22	120	21,8	392	15	15	3,5	140	5	80	57,1	72	3	—	—
Lamo	242	31	30	12,1	50	3	—	—	16	2	—	—	2	—	—	—
	ULLUCOS				MAJUAS				FRIJOL				PAPA			
Mosoco	187	7	—	—	236	3	—	—	43	1	6	13,9	4.300	172	865	20,0
Lamo	25	3	—	—	25	3	—	—	27	3	—	—	120	17	70	58,7
	CAFE				PLATANO (27)				MAIZ				FRIJOL			
San Andrés	254	17	176	68,5	2050	136	680	33,1	327	22	90	27,5	40	3	—	—
	YUCA				ARRACACHA											
San Andrés	1.040	123	1.200	64,5	183	12	40	21,8								

Nota: T indica el total de arrobas producidas por la familia investigada.
P el promedio de arrobas que corresponde a cada una de esas familias.
B las arrobas producidas por los "blancos" y % el porcentaje que éstos producen con relación a los totales indicados.

(27) Las cifras indican el número de árboles de plátano en producción.

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SC15 Paez
6: Bernal Villa

De esta suerte una familia indígena de *Mosoco* y *Lame*, en su orden respectivo, cuenta para la subsistencia a lo largo de todo el año, con 18 y 36 arrobas de maíz; 16 y 5 arrobas de trigo, 2,5 y 2,5 arrobas de habas; 3 y cero arrobas de ajos; 8 y 4 arrobas de ullucos; 5 y 4 arrobas de majuas; 1,5 y 4,5 arrobas de fríjol y 149 y 11 arrobas de papas. Una familia indígena de San Andrés cuenta con 7 arrobas de café; 124 racimos de plátanos; 21,5 arrobas de maíz; 59 arrobas de yuca; 13 arrobas de arracacha y 4 arrobas de fríjol. Desgraciadamente es imposible obtener una estadística de la producción de coca y, sobre todo, de la cantidad de caña de azúcar consumida en guarapo, lo cual nos imposibilita saber cómo y en qué cantidad complementa el consumo de cada familia.

En cuanto al maíz vemos que las cantidades que corresponden a las familias de San Andrés y *Lame* son superiores a las de las familias de *Mosoco*. Las de *Lame* son el doble exactamente. Pero mientras que en aquéllas no se producen, aparte del café, especies para la venta, en *Mosoco*, en cambio, están el trigo, los ajos y la papa para tal fin. De ello deducimos, que a menor número de cultivos destinados para el comercio haya en una parcialidad, mayor será la producción de especies de consumo interno, primando sobre todo los que se pueden conservar por largo tiempo, tales como el maíz, el fríjol y las habas. Los ullucos, las papas y, sobre todo, las majuas, exigen un consumo casi inmediato. De igual manera acontece con el plátano, la yuca y la arracacha. Es ésta la razón de por qué las familias de San Andrés y *Lame* disponen de mayores cantidades de maíz y fríjol que las de *Mosoco*.

Repartición de actividades según el sexo

Desde la más temprana edad se establece diferencias en las actividades tecnológicas, económicas y de rutina diaria.

Entre los Páez únicamente el hombre puede hacer el sombrero de pindo para la mujer y para sí, manejar el machete con toda habilidad y destreza, labrar la canoa, el trapiche, los platos para comer, tocar los instrumentos musicales. En cambio, sólo la mujer puede tejer la *kuetand yaha* (jigra del mambe) para portar la coca y el mambe, tejer la mochila de fique para llevar cosas, tejer las ruanas y los anacos, hilar la lana y la cabuya. Naturalmente estas diferencias de actividades las observan los niños y practican desde la más temprana edad, sobre todo si existe esti-

mulación de las personas que conviven con ellos. La diferenciación de actividades diarias, tecnológicas y económicas se observan estrictamente. En la agricultura, con todo, empiezan a trabajar hombres y mujeres por partes iguales. El fenómeno natural mente es nuevo.

El esquema que a continuación publicamos muestra la distribución de actividades según el sexo.

Actividad	*Hombres*	*Mujeres*
Construcción de casas	sí	
Construcción de caminos, acequias y puentes	sí	
Preparación de fique y elaboración de lazos	sí	
Manufactura de sombreros	sí	
Manufactura de platos y cucharas de madera	sí	
Manufactura de canoas y trapiches	sí	
Matanza de animales y secado de pieles	sí	
Uso de armas	sí	
Hilados		sí
Tejidos		sí
Culinaria		sí
Manufactura de *kuestand yuka* (lana)		sí
Manufacturas de *yuhas* (fique)		sí
Manufactura de calabazos	sí	sí
Costura de pantoloncillos	sí	
Lavado y remendado	sí (28)	sí
Cerámica	sí	sí
Producción del fuego		sí
Rozas	sí	
Siembra, deshierba y cosecha	sí	sí
Recolección		sí (29)
Comercio	sí	sí
Caza y pesca	sí	
Trabajos comunales	sí	
Mingas	sí	
Aprovisionamiento de leña y agua		sí
Propiedad	sí	sí (30)
Carpintería	sí	
Pirotecnia	sí	
Pastoreo	sí	
Peluquería	sí	
Molienda	sí	sí
Instrumenos musicales	sí	
Consumo de coca	sí	sí
Consumo de alcohol	sí	sí
Consumo de tabaco	sí	sí

(28) Raras veces.
(29) Labor femenina y de menores de seis años.
(30) Raras veces.

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Terrazgueros de San Andrés

En las haciendas que quedan sobre la hoya del torrente *Pisimbalá* y la margen izquierda del río Ullucos viven unas treinta y cinco familias indígenas en calidad de terrazgueros. Cinco son las haciendas que utilizan esta clase de servidumbre. Muchas de esas familias se han desarrollado y constituído en el seno mismo de la hacienda. Otras se han visto empujadas hacia esa condición por carecer de tierras de qué derivar el sustento.

San Andrés es la única región de Tierradentro, que nosotros sepamos, donde existen terrazgueros. Si bien que el número de personas sumidas en esta servidumbre no es superior a ciento, la simple afloración del fenómeno nos habla ya de un excedente de población, por lo menos de las parcialidades de San Andrés y Santa Rosa de las cuales son originarios los terrazgueros. Por otra parte, es bien conocido la diseminación del grupo Páez por el mismo Departamento del Cauca, los departamentos de Huila y Tolima y aún por el Departamento del Valle. La colonización de tierras baldías tierradentrunas por los indígenas ha sido sistemática e intensa en los últimos años. La utilización de tierras cada vez más inaccesibles para la agricultura en el piso térmico templado. Todos éstos son factores que nos están hablando claramente de excedentes de la población Páez.

He aquí lo que nos informa un terrazguero acerca del fenómeno de la terrazguería: Como terrazguero tiene derecho a poseer una casa, una huerta y una roza. La casa y huerta son contiguas y complementarias. Su huerta ocupa más o menos una plaza y en ella tiene sembrado plátano (unos 200 árboles), naranjas (unos cinco árboles), cebolla, arracacha, yuca, caña de azúcar, batata y unos doscientos árboles de coca. La huerta la ha cercado con alambre de púa, suministrado por el patrón para evitar daños de los animales de la hacienda. La roza puede establecerla en cualesquier sitio de la hacienda. Cambia cada año. En su actual roza tiene sembrado 1.500 arbolitos de yuca; 200 de arracacha (no encontró más semilla); maíz; fríjol chiquito (al mes aporca las "matas", a los dos meses florece y a los tres cosecha) y fríjol grande y, finalmente, unas dos cargas de cogollo (semilla) de caña de azúcar. Los productos de la roza y de la huerta son para el consumo, primordialmente, pero si le queda algún excedente puede venderlo a quienquiera, si bien que el patrón le recomienda no vender a otros sino a él mismo. La caña de azúcar muele en el

trapiche del patrón con el consiguiente uso de los implementos para obtener panela dejándole a aquél la mitad del producido. De las cosechas de maíz, fríjol y arracacha obsequia al patrón una jigrada (media arroba aproximadamente) de cada producto y del plátano uno o dos racimos.

Manifiesta que el hacendado le ha autorizado para criar animales, pero no los posee porque más permanece en los trabajos de la hacienda que en la propia casa. Dice que tuvo unas veinte ovejas, pero acabó con ellas. Ahora posee únicamente ocho gallinas.

El informante es hijo de otro terrazguero, se crió en la misma hacienda. La casa que actualmente habita la posee desde hace 18 años. No ha firmado ninguna clase de documentos con el patrón sin que por ello sea molestado por la posesión de la vivienda y, antes por el contrario, aquél le recomienda que arregle la casa. A cambio del usufructo de la vivienda y de la tierra está obligado a pagar tres días de terraje por cada mes, alimentándose por propia cuenta y utilizando sus propias herramientas. Los demás días del mes trabaja a jornal para el mismo patrón, devengando dos pesos diarios, excluyendo, naturalmente, los días de fiestas religiosas o nacionales. Cada semana recibe doce pesos. Al patrón le compra maíz, yuca y fríjol a crédito descontando luego en el trabajo. Aquél únicamente le regala sal y bananos. La panela la toma él mismo de la que produce.

Como el informante es especializado en molienda y fabricación de panela, ordinariamente no se ocupa más que en ello. Su labor comienza a las seis de la mañana y termina a las diez de la noche. Le ayudan su mujer, que gana un peso diario, un hijo sordomudo que no gana nada y otro hijo que acarrea la caña hasta el trapiche. Este es casado, también terrazguero, devenga dos pesos al día y posee su roza aparte. La esposa de éste no ayuda a la labor, pues se queda cuidando la casa y atendiendo a los hijos y deshierbando la huerta y la roza.

En la molienda trabaja hasta los domingos envolviendo panela, labor que no se puede descuidar. Ordinariamente invierte dos semanas en la molienda, teniendo la siguiente libre (sin remuneración) para descansar, atender su propia labranza o alquilar su fuerza de trabajo a quien la necesite (nominal). A la siguiente semana tiene la obligación de volver a trabajar nuevamente en la hacienda.

Cada semana saca unas cuarenta arrobas de panela. El informante cocina, la mujer muele con el hijo sordomudo y el otro hijo alista la caña. El equipo de la molienda es costoso y por eso es de la hacienda. Las herramientas de su propiedad son 2 palas, un barretón y tres machetes con las cuales trabaja para la hacienda. El dueño de la hacienda ha intentado sacarlo tres veces. Una vez porque estuvo de panelero donde otro hacendado; al patrón le disgusta que trabaje en otra parte sobre todo si es en molienda. El informante no quiso abandonar su casa.

Las siembras que ha efectuado se han perdido, a veces, por la humedad del suelo, no quedando más solución que volver a sembrar. El patrón no remedia en nada esta calamidad. Tiene derecho a sembrar todo lo que quiera. Actualmente posee unos doscientos árboles de café, pero el dueño le ha prohibido sembrar más árboles.

El informante tiene siete hijos, de los cuales cinco son mujeres; tres de ellas ganan un peso diario trabajando en la hacienda en cosechas y deshierbas de café. Una menor gana cincuenta centavos y el varón paga terraje y devenga un jornal de dos pesos. El patrón no es honrado. Para pagar jornales acostumbra sacar billetes de diez o veinte pesos, manda a alguien de los peones para que los cambie por moneda fraccionaria que al recibirla siempre hace falta algo. Paga parcialmente y después manifiesta que la cancelación ha sido total.

Otro informante de la misma hacienda dice que por dos años de vaquería (cuidar vacunos), el patrón le dio en pago de su trabajo una yegua que no alcanza a valer treinta pesos. En ese oficio padeció hambre y trabajó demasiado. Ahora, aparte de haberlo remunerado muy mal, le exige el pago de terraje de los dos años que estuvo dedicado a esa labor.

En términos generales, los terrazgueros de San Andrés por el usufructo de media hectárea de tierra, una huerta y una casa, están obligados a: pagar mensualmente tres días de terraje, alimentándose por propia cuenta; a trabajar como jornaleros de la hacienda, devengando un diario reducido (el jornal máximo que devengan es dos pesos, pero es excepcional; ordinariamente devengan un peso los hombres y ochenta centavos las mujeres); a no trabajar en otras fincas; a vender el excedente de los cultivos a los propios dueños de la hacienda, sobre todo si es café; a promediar o repartir por partes iguales con el patrón la panela ob-

tenida en los hornos de la hacienda; la esposa e hijos de los terrazgueros también están obligados a trabajar en la hacienda. Tienen derecho a sembrar cualesquier cultivo, excepto el café. No devengan los domingos ni los días de fiestas religiosas o nacionales ni tampoco reciben remuneración de las horas extras de trabajo. No tienen prestaciones sociales. Cuando el patrón es bueno les obsequia sal y, ordinariamente, una "mancha" de plátano (ración de plátano cocido).

Muchos son hijos de terrazgueros nacidos en la propia hacienda. Otros llevan más de diez años en esta servidumbre. Aunque algunos se han liberado de esta situación, la mayoría se obstina a abandonar su rancho y su huerta, cuando los patrones quieren despojarlos. Un informante terrazguero al ser interrogado sobre si su situación es buena o mala, dice: "Contento tengo que estar, qué más puedo hacer si desde pequeño soy de allí" (de la hacienda). Además, reflexiona que si el patrón quiere sacarlo, tiene que comprarle las mejoras de su huerta. Alguno que otro terrazguero, con más de veinte años de usufructuar su pedazo de tierra, se ha negado ya a pagar el terraje.

Un terrazguero que ha tenido muchos patrones recuerda que algunos eran buenos, pero los más eran malos, ambiciosos, explotadores, que hacían trabajar demasiado, engañaban en los pagos y, alguno, hasta garrote dio a los trabajdores.

Dieta alimenticia

Hacemos la advertencia que la mayor parte de las notas acerca de la dieta alimenticia fueron recogidas en la parcialidad de Calderas.

El maíz es la especie más intensamente cultivada, la de mayor consumo y la que más satisface psicológicamente. Hemos visto ya el caso de la "hambruna" en *Mosoco*, donde, a pesar de cosechar otros productos, aparece ésta, precisamente porque no hay maíz. Con el maíz preparan mote, arepas, envueltos y "sango", aparte de comerlo tostado o asado cuando está tierno.

El mote es prácticamente la materia prima de las comidas diarias. Lo obtienen hirviendo el maíz en agua y ceniza hasta que la cutícula esté completamente suelta, y en seguida lo lavan en abundante agua. Este mote lo ponen a cocer y cuando ha pasado tres "hervores", es decir se le ha cambiado agua por tres veces, se le echa fríjol seco primero, luégo plátano, yuca, arracacha,

coles y carne, si la hay y, por último, cebollas, cominos y azafrán. La sal, que siempre la prefieren de grano o terrón, la echa cada cual tomando el grano y batiéndolo en su respectivo plato hasta que considere suficiente. No comen muy salado. Este tipo de comida es un "pot au feu", el más extendido entre las gentes y el que consumen diariamente. Los informantes la consideran "sabrosa".

Las arepas las preparan de maíz seco o tierno. Con el primero pelan el maíz en ceniza y, luégo, lo muelen no muy fino; la harina resultante la mezclan con agua hervida para molerla nuevamente y, en esta vez, muy fina. Con esta masa, las mujeres, hacen unas arepas grandes y redondas, las endurecen en un tiesto caldeado y terminan de asarlas en el rescoldo del fogón. Estas son las arepas de las fiestas religiosas de Calderas. Cuando desean que las arepas tengan "buen sabor" le echan sal, cebolla o cilantro (en *Mosoco* hemos visto que le echan huevos); son arepas de consumisión familiar. Para hacer arepas de choclo, desgranan la mazorca, muelen muy bien la masa y sin ninguna clase de condimentos, hacen las arepas y las endurecen y asan en la forma conocida. La frecuencia de consumisión de arepas es baja en la mayor parte de las parcialidades, pero en *Mosoco* es casi diaria. Estos indígenas toman café y leche con arepas, las cuales reemplazan debidamente al pan.

Los "envueltos" o bollos los hacen cuando hay choclos. Desgranado, molido y sin cernir alargan las masitas en las hojas del mismo choclo, sacadas cuidadosamente, cortando con un cuchillo la parte más gruesa de la mazorca. No le echan ninguna clase de condimentos porque el choclo por sí mismo tiene "buen sabor". Los envueltos, una vez cocidos, los comen con sancocho. Dicen que es una comida "muy sabrosa". Ordinariamente, cuando hacen envueltos matan cerdo o gallinas e invitan familiares para el consumo. La comida de envueltos lleva implícito la iniciación de la cosecha de maíz, en la que interviene el médico del lugar.

El "sango" se hace a base de harina de maíz finamente molida y sin cernir que se echa en la olla cuando el fríjol ha hervido suficientemente. Tienen el cuidado de que la sopa no se espese. Agregan también a este menú coles picadas, cebolla o cilantro para que "dé sabor".

"El fríjol es muy necesario, muy sabroso y que se come más;

mote sin fríjol no es sabroso; el fríjol tiene sabor y el 'cacha' es el más sabroso y sobre todo verde, los bichecitos (tiernos) se comen con cáscara", dice un informante de Calderas.

El fríjol lo comen en sancocho. Una vez hervidos suficientemente los fríjoles echan plátano descascarados y en pedazos, arracacha, descascarada, lavada y pedaceada, yuca, en igual forma que la arracacha, cebolla picada y azafrán. Agregan carne o manteca si poseen. Esta comida, dicen, que es "sabrosa". El fríjol también lo comen revuelto con mejicano. Ponen a hervir primero el fríjol y cuando ya consideran suficiente agregan mejicano menudamente pedaceado y, mucho después, agregan maíz molido. Cocido todo esto, comen sin sal, manifestando que es tan sabroso como el arroz con leche de los "blancos". El mejicano también lo comen con mote y fríjol debidamente cocidos y queda muy sabroso si a esto se le agrega patas de res.

Las coles las cultivan en las huertas y casi nunca faltan a través de todo el año; se comen diariamente, pedaceadas en el menú del día. En las fiestas religiosas acostumbran a cocer las coles en rama, es decir con su respectivo tallo, y servirlas como plato especial. Los repollos cultivan muy poco y por lo mismo su consumo es casi nulo. Los pocos que cultivan en la parte fría de San Andrés se destinan para la venta.

El plátano lo comen preferentemente en sancocho y el consumo es intenso en el clima templado. También lo comen asado y en tal caso lo prefieren con carne o vísceras. La papa, especialmente en *Mosoco*, la comen en caldo, plato favorito para atender a los visitantes "blancos" o civilizados. Esta comida la preparan con agua, leche, huevos, cebolla y carne. Las papas peladas y bien lavadas. En Calderas la consumen también en esta forma, pero le agregan, además, fríjoles.

El trigo en general se cultiva para molerlo y venderlo. A veces, lo comen en arepa y en tal caso, la masa se prepara con agua y panela. También hacen sopa con harina de trigo, sin extraer el salvado, con coles, fríjoles y sal.

La batata consumen en poca cantidad. La lavan, la cocen y la comen sin sal y con ají. El ají lo preparan cociéndolo en una olla (una jigrada, dice el informante) y agregándole cebolla, cilantro y sal. Este condimento queda espeso y dura más o menos un mes.

El chachafruto se cocina con fríjoles o en la sopa, pero se come solo y despellejado. Sabe muy bien.

La caña de azúcar sirve únicamente para extraer el jugo y fermentarlo. Con el guarapo se calma la sed, se hace mingas, se efectúa los "cuidos", las fiestas religiosas y, en general, hacen una vida social. Del jugo de caña, debidamente fermentado, extraen también bebidas alcohólicas. Del maíz hacen chicha, pero no es corriente.

Muelen el maíz y la harina la cocinan con bastante agua, este líquido lo sacan y lo ponen a fermentar en una canoa por varios días agregándole panela. Esta chicha, dicen que es más sabrosa que el guarapo, pero que no embriaga ni se trabaja a satisfacción, sirve únicamente para calmar la sed, como la "cola" (bebida gaseosa) de los "blancos".

Consumen duraznos y manzanas en las regiones donde se produce, también naranjas, pero, en general, el consumo de frutas es muy bajo.

El cuy lo comen cuando la familia desea carne. Lo matan desnucándolo, luégo lo mojan en agua fría, para volcarlo en seguida en el rescoldo del fogón para ablandar el pelo y pelarlo; lo lavan, le sacan las vísceras, lo lavan nuevamente y luégo lo ponen a cocer en la olla de sancocho, mote "sango", o sopa de masitas de maíz; unos consumen las vísceras, mientras que otros no. Consideran que el cuy es "sabroso".

Con la gallina se cuida a los amigos preferenciales, a los compadres, se hace mingas. En la fiesta de San Juan en Calderas es costumbre comer gallinas. Una vez pelada, le sacan las vísceras, la lavan y la ponen a cocer en la olla de sancocho o mote. Los indígenas consideran que la pierna es la mejor presa y, por lo mismo, es la que brindan a los mayores (compadres, padres, hijos mayores); a los demás reparten un pedazo de pechuga y cualquier otra presa. La cabeza queda para el dueño. Las vísceras lavadas y cocidas, también se reparten entre todos. En la misma forma preparan y consumen los pavos o los patos.

Del cerdo algunos órganos se comen asados: páncreas, riñón, intestinos y la carne del espinazo; el tocino se guarda para sazonar las comidas; lo demás se come cocido. Cuando matan cerdo con el simple deseo de aprovechar la carne reparten raciones a los "mayores" de la familia (suegros, padres, etc.), lo cual sucede también cuando matan vacunos. De éstos aprovechan la carne, la piel, los cuernos para hacer silbatos que suenan cuando están construyendo habitación en el poblado y cuando arrastran

la madera; la leche no aprovechan, excepto en *Mosoco*, donde hemos visto que verdaderamente la consumen.

Los calderunos dicen que la oveja la comen mucho en las regiones templadas tales como Avirama y San Andrés, pero en Calderas la consumen poco; unos dicen que la oveja da la lana para el vestido: "para qué va a comer, si da la ruana" y otros manifiestan que comer oveja trae mala suerte, porque es como si se comiera al papá.

Cuando hay visitas de "mayores" tales como compadres, hermano mayor, suegros o los propios padres se los atiende ("cuida") con comidas distintas a las ordinarias, a base esencialmente de aves de corral y de huevos. Si tienen carne cocinan un pedazo considerable. Los compadres llevan como regalo, a su vez, arepas (unas 15), huevos (unos 10) y muchas veces gallinas.

Para los niños no existe dieta especial, comen exactamente lo mismo que los adultos. Diferencias de dietas por sexos únicamente se presenta cuando la mujer acaba de dar a luz. Entonces, le dan maíz molido, arracacha, yuca, plátano maduro, gallina ponedora ("éstas son bien gordas") y carne de oveja. Les está proscrito el mejicano porque entra "frío" en el estómago y duele mucho; cebollas porque da una enfermedad en el estómago y pudre los intestinos; la carne de cerdo y el fríjol bueno, por esta misma razón. El ají también es tabú para las parturientas.

Para los trabajos fuertes consideran que es bueno comer mote, con coles, fríjol bueno y bien salado, porque da resistencia para la faena diaria; comiendo esto mismo ("una buena comida") pero sin sal, dicen que a medio día ya da hambre.

Como alimentos afrodisíacos se consideran el "sango" preparado con maíz bien molido y cernido y los huevos crudos.

De los alimentos que consumen consideran que la chicha y el agua se convierten en sangre y el maíz, la papa, el fríjol, la arracacha, en carne.

Para engordar consideran que es menester, antes que dieta especial, comer y no trabajar.

Los indígenas se enflaquecen —dice un informante— porque primero comen abundante y bueno y después no consiguen qué comer y, claro, se enflaquecen. En los tiempos de escasez ("hambruna") comen fríjol cacha y la hoja tierna del mismo en igual forma que la hoja de mejicano; la col la recogen hoja por hoja, pues en esta época son menos abundante. Cuando ya no hay nada más que comer matan una vaca y se alimentan con carne; cazan

torcazas o guacharacas, las cocinan y toman el caldo con sal. También hacen chicha y los viejos se emborrachan todos los días; el consumo de coca se acentúa: "las gentes mascan y mascan para que no dé mucha hambre"; los pequeños sí padecen hambre porque no saben mascar, comen mejicano que no necesita de sal, la cual procuran ahorrarla. Por último terminan saliendo a las fincas de los "blancos" a ganar la comida, la coca y unos pocos centavos.

Cuando no trabajan efectúan una comida a las tres p. m. y otra a las seis p. m. Después de la primera comida se acuestan y dicen "estamos haciendo estancia", es decir digeriendo y nutriéndose. El maíz pelado, con azafrán, gallina, plátano y ají da más "estancia".

El maíz sin pelar que lo cocinan como mote comen apenas lo suficiente, pero comen hasta en exceso, por ser agradable el sancocho de papa con fríjol bueno. Nadie se come una gallina entera. Se reparte. De ser así consideran que la gallina es robada. El mejicano produce a algunos vómito, porque están enseñados a comer carne y éstos sólo pueden ser los ladrones.

En general todos comen un plato únicamente; si comen dos no pueden andar. Los médicos comen poco para poder pasar la noche en vigilia dedicado a sus actividades; consumen siempre huevos y evitan comer ají, para poder sentir las "señas" (31).

Los indios apetecen la carne, pero manifiestan que comen cualquier clase de comida; consideran que los "blancos" comen mejor, porque los indios no pueden comer carne todos los días, ni gastan dinero en manteca o carne. Se alimentan únicamente de los productos que cultivan.

Los indios realizan dos comidas al día: una al amanecer y otra en la tarde cuando el sol está en pleno ocaso. Las mujeres y los niños realizan una comida al mediodía, de la que sobró de la mañana. La comida principal y abundante se cocina en la noche. Las mujeres antes de acostarse cuelgan de un gancho de madera o de hierro o de un alambre la olla con mote o fríjoles y avivan el fuego por lo menos tres veces en la noche; a las cuatro de la mañana agregan los productos fácilmente cocinables y comen con los primeros albores del día.

Los indígenas entre sí son generosos y hospitalarios; tan pronto entra un visitante a una casa lo atienden con lo primero que tengan disponible: chicha o comida.

(31) Bernal Villa, S. Magia y Medicina entre los Paeces, p. 248.

En la parcialidad de *Mosoco*, en pleno proceso de aculturación, la dieta está variando visiblemente y el horario de la comida ha cambiado fundamentalmente. Se consumen regularmente café, panela, tocino, carne y arepas.

Comercio

Exceptuando la parcialidad de *Mosoco*, los indígenas producen primordialmente para el consumo interno; pero el autoabastecimiento es incompleto puesto que padecen algunos meses de escasez. Consecuencialmente el comercio tiene necesariamente que ser restringido y de escaso volumen. En Calderas, *Suin*, *Chinas*, los animales ordinariamente se cambian entregando vacunos grandes y gordos por novillas de menor tamaño, flacas, fértiles y algunos pesos de encima. El caso ya lo hemos referido ampliamente al tratar de la ganadería. También hemos visto cómo la única industria destinada exclusivamente al comercio, la cera de laurel, era patrimonio de San Andrés, Calderas, *Tambichukue*, *Lame*, *Suin* y *Chinas* y que la baja del precio constituyó un golpe mortal para la industria. Aparte, pues, del café, la papa, el trigo y los ajos, que se destinan casi totalmente al comercio, no quedan más que pequeñas cantidades de yuca, arracachas, plátano, cebollas, coles, cebada y huevos con los cuales no es posible sostener un comercio regular. Los indios compran sin excepción la sal y también adquieren sombreros, camisas, pantalones, machetes, palas, barretones, hachas, cuchillos, calderos de aluminio, tazas, platos de hierro, cucharas, velas, jabón y aguardiente. Con menos frecuencia pañuelos grandes de vistosos colores para los niños, pinzas y collares para las mujeres.

San Andrés es un pequeño poblado indígena que, desde que se creó el área de población, está habitado por los "blancos". Allí existen tres tiendas que expenden algo de mercancía, algo de drogas, cerveza, aguardiente y pan. Dos de ellas poseen gramófonos. También existen otras dos tiendas que expenden chicha y aguardiente exclusivamente. Los miércoles se realiza un pequeño mercado. En la acera de una de las casas cacharreros y comerciantes de otras partes extienden su mercancía; en la placita se levanta un toldo de una indígena aculturada, para vender comida y más allá una tarima para el expendio de la carne. Al amanecer empieza a moverse el mercado. Los indígenas sacan pequeñas cantidades de yuca, arracacha, repollos, huevos, café y cebollas

que son compradas inmediatamente por los "blancos". En seguida el matancero comienza a vender la carne generalmente de dos en dos libras que es lo que compran los indígenas. Los escharreros venden algunas baratijas y mercaderías. A las nueve a. m. comienzan a moverse los estanco. A las diez de la mañana se ha terminado el mercado y al mediodía y en la tarde no se observa más que indígenas borrachos. Entonces son frecuentes las riñas entre sí y no son pocas las veces, en que la agresividad indígena se canaliza contra los "blancos", manifestando que ellos son los verdaderos dueños de la tierra y del poblado. Los indígenas acostumbran vender sus artículos (café, huevos) únicamente a personas conocidas, no importa que otros puedan pagárselos a mejores precios.

Los miércoles también hay mercados en Guaduatejo *(Toguisa)* y *Turmiá*: los viernes en Valencia y los sábados en Inzá y Belalcázar. Los de Belalcázar y Valencia, por estar comunicados con vía carreteable con La Plata (Huila), son más concurridos y de mayor movimiento comercial. Al mercado de Belalcázar afluye una gran cantidad de indígenas de diferentes parcialidades del municipio e inclusive de Calderas. Los vendedores ambulantes son numerosos en Tierradentro y varios andan a pie por las parcialidades ofreciendo sus mercancías. No son muchos los artículos que expenden. Los negociantes también hacen correrías por las parcialidades en consecución primordialmente de ganado vacuno que les deja pingües beneficios. Pero también hay quienes van de casa en casa comprándoles sus artículos agrícolas. Un negociante de *Mosoco*, mestizo, bilingüe, se ufana de su amistad con los indígenas y de las correrías que hacía, hasta hace unos cuatro años, por *Suin*, *Chinas*, Calderas, *Asirama*, *Lame*, distribuyendo ("regando") dinero adelantado por maíz, fríjol, cera de laurel, azafrán y ganado vacuno. "Deuda con indio no se pierde" afirma categóricamente, para resaltar la honradez de los indios. En las épocas de cosecha volvía nuevamente a recoger los productos comprados y los sacaba directamente a Silvia. Igualmente manifiesta que de San Andrés llevaba mensualmente de 100 a 200 arrobas de panela para expenderla en *Mosoco*. Ultimamente, dado lo intransitable de los caminos de Inzá, ha abandonado este negocio.

La parcialidad de *Mosoco* y, en general toda la hoya hidrográfica del río Moras, que comprende las parcialidades de San José, *Mosoco*, *Vitonó*, *Lame*, *Suin* y *Chinas*, comercia con el municí-

pio de Silvia, situado en las vertientes occidentales de la Cordillera Central. Allá va toda la producción agrícola: papa, maíz, trigo, cebada, duraznos, ajos, habas y ullucos. Solamente cuando los precios de los artículos agrícolas están bajos en Silvia, los conducen a Belalcázar y Valencia. Pero sucede raras veces. De Silvia traen, en cambio, toda su herramienta, su ropa, drogas y vajilla. Las mujeres mosoqueñas son compradoras principales de los rebosos de lana (rebosos de Castilla), de vistosos collares, aretes de oro y prendedores del cabello; los hombres de los sombreros finos de paño, de los géneros para sus pantalones y las camisas.

Los caminos de herradura de aquella región sorprenden por su buena conservación. Cada año, por el verano, todos los vecinos se encargan de los arreglos convenientes y evidentemente contrastan con los caminos de herradura del municipio de Inzá. Los mosoqueños tienen numerosas recuas para atender el movimiento de importación y exportación, en el que participan también los Guambianos (con sus caballerías) denominados por los mosoqueños *kasukos* a quienes consideran como buenos amigos y no muy diferentes de ellos mismos. Lo cierto es que viven juntos, trabajan juntos y comercian mancomunadamente.

Las relaciones entre los "blancos" e indígenas en *Mosoco* parecen ser cordiales y de mutuo respeto.

Economía familiar

La familia Páez constituye, esencialmente, una unidad económica. Está formada por los padres y los hijos y representa un círculo cerrado pero efectivo. No rebasan en ninguna manera sus propios límites, si bien que las mingas y la distribución de primicias de las cosechas se hacen especialmente con parientes consanguíneos y políticos.

La manera como funciona esta unidad económica y como colaboran sus miembros puede apreciarse claramente en la distribución de las actividades por sexos. La dirección suprema de la economía familiar descansa en las manos del hombre; él es quien posee la tierra, la habitación, las herramientas y los animales domésticos. Su brazo no ha aprendido a manejar más que el machete, el hacha o la pala. Es el dueño de los cultivos y quien determina dónde, cómo y cuándo se debe trabajar. Su actividad primordial está fuera de la casa: en la misma tierra. La mujer, en

cambio, permanece dentro de la vivienda y su actividad básica se refiere a la administración y elaboración de los productos que le entrega el hombre. La culinaria y los tejidos son su especialidad. Es cierto que la mujer se contrata como jornalera en las fincas de los "blancos" y que en algunas parcialidades tal como en *Mosoco*, interviene directamente en la preparación de la tierra y las desyerbas de los cultivos pero éste es un fenómeno relativamente nuevo y todavía aún sin aquiescencia universal entre los indígenas.

En términos generales, el incentivo primordial de la actividad económica referente a alimentos es la satisfacción de las necesidades básicas del individuo y la supervivencia del grupo familiar. Es la seguridad que proporciona el tener qué consumir. La abundancia de guarapo y de maíz les produce, indudablemente, excelentes gratificaciones. Con estos productos en abundancia, las fiestas religiosas, las mingas y los "cuidos" son buenos, dicen los indígenas y comentan largamente las incidencias de su desarrollo.

Mas, a pesar de que se reconoce la capacidad de trabajo individual; la posesión de animales domésticos da cierta prestancia dentro del grupo; y, la abundancia de comida y guarapo, produce gratificaciones, el ciclo agrícola permanece estacionario en los lineamientos del tiempo, de los sistemas de trabajo y de la cantidad de siembra. Producen esencialmente para el consumo. No existe el estímulo del prestigio. En muchas parcialidades los hábitos de economía capitalista son abiertamente combatidos por los brujos (32). Sin embargo, hemos tenido ya la oportunidad de exponer que la introducción del cultivo del café (zona templada), el desarrollo de la ganadería y del cultivo de la papa en *Mosoco* y la creación de áreas de población en el corazón mismo de las parcialidades indígenas, está modificando aceleradamente todas las instituciones de la cultura Páez. La economía familiar de autoabastecimiento y de pequeñas operaciones de trueque van transformándose sensiblemente en economía puramente dineraria. Del mismo proceso de la producción va desapareciendo la monótona rutina y siendo reemplazada por nuevas técnicas de trabajo, mayor cantidad de producción y superior movimiento comercial.

En las parcialidades de *Mosoco*, *Lame* y San Andrés hemos realizado una investigación de ingresos y egresos familiares co-

(32) Bernal Villa S. op. cit., p. 256.

rrespondientes a 1953, en base de los cuestionarios elaborados por la Comisión de Planeamiento de la Seguridad Social Campesina del Ministerio del Trabajo, cuestionarios que fueron llenados por nosotros para dicha comisión en lo tocante a Tierradentro.

Son 48 familias investigadas de las cuales 25 corresponden a *Mosoco*, 8 a *Lame* y 15 a San Andrés. Ellas están especificadas por los números de orden.

Las fuentes de ingresos monetarios están dadas por la agricultura especialmente por la papa, trigo, ajos y café; por la ganadería, o sea la venta de animales, incluyendo los derivados como la leche y quesos, así como también las aves de corral; por los negocios, comprendiendo como tal la reventa de los productos agrícolas y ganaderos producidos por los indígenas; por los jornales incluyendo algunos contratos de trabajo; por la artesanía que comprende manufacturas (cobijas, alfombras, chumbes, jigras, costuras, cerámica y elaboración de teja) y molinos hidráulicos; por los fletes, o sea la utilidad proveniente del alquiler de bestias de carga; por los ahorros del año anterior; y, por los préstamos.

Resalta a primera vista la agricultura como fuente principal de los ingresos familiares, correspondiendo específicamente la papa, el trigo y el ajo para *Mosoco*, la cera de laurel y la papa para *Lame*, y el café para San Andrés. Pero en la parcialidad de *Mosoco* la ganadería es no solo complementaria sino tan importante como la misma agricultura. Aún más. En nueve de las 25 familias investigadas, la ganadería equilibra el presupuesto familiar, cuyo déficit se debió a la pérdida de las cosechas. Observamos también, que el alquiler de las bestias de carga constituye un factor importante de los ingresos familiares; un incipiente desarrollo de la industria familiar que representan fuentes de ingresos monetarios; y, finalmente, los ingresos por jornales en la parcialidad son bastante limitados. En las parcialidades de *Lame* y San Andrés, en cambio, la ganadería ocupa un lugar secundario y el complemento de ingresos familiares, cuando la agricultura produce desequilibrios, lo da, especialmente, el trabajo a jornal.

El negocio es actividad primordialmente de los "blancos", de igual manera que las industrias de elaboración tales como panela y quesos. Respecto del negocio encontramos el caso de una familia "blanca" incrustada en una parcialidad, cuya fuente única de ingresos a lo largo de toda la vida no ha sido otra cosa que las utilidades dejadas por el negocio.

Los cuadros estadísticos de ingresos que presentamos a continuación nos demuestran con números los argumentos de nuestros acertos, a la vez que nos permiten verificar comparaciones de los ingresos de las familias de las tres parcialidades indígenas y nos dan una idea clara del proceso de aculturación que se está efectuando en la parcialidad de *Mosoco*.

INGRESOS FAMILIARES

Fam.	Agricultura		Ganadería		Mineria		Jornales		Artesanía		Fletes		
	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%	
1.°	871.00	17.9	700.00	14.4	2.050.00	49.6	.....	.....	210.00	4.3	.....	....	(18)
2.	500.00	79.5	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	85.00	13.0	(30)
3.	140.00	31.0	105.00	17.8	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	(18)
4.	205.00	36.3	500.00	48.6	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
5.	60.50	9.5	35.50	6.9	80.00	16.0	150.00	29.0	.....	....	140.00	27.7	
6.	145.00	13.9	750.00	71.9	.....	....	.....	.....	140.00	14.1	.....	....	
7.	250.00	22.1	700.00	61.9	500.00	44.0	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
8.	90.00	12.6	600.00	87.3	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
9.	300.00	21.3	75.00	5.3	.....	....	.....	.....	500.00	35.3	300.00	21.3	
10.	600.00	58.0	97.00	6.2	.....	....	270.00	26.0	12.00	1.4	.....	....	
11.	95.00	16.3	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	400.00	68.0	
12.	750.00	100.0	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
13.	250.00	22.5	600.00	54.0	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	250.00	22.5	
14.	134.00	11.3	935.00	78.5	.....	....	.....	.....	104.00	8.8	.....	....	
15.	734.00	52.6	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	234.00	16.8	300.00	21.6	
16.	660.00	73.6	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	140.00	26.3	
17.	.....	....	....	....	.....	....	360.00	100.0	.....	....	.....	....	
18.	1.900.00	98.7	....	....	25.00	1.3	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
19.	1.000.00	68.6	500.00	31.5	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
20.	367.00	47.0	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	500.00	52.9	
21.	600.00	72.5	230.00	22.0	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	35.00	5.6	
22.	290.00	22.6	600.00	46.8	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	255.00	16.6	
23.	360.00	68.1	300.00	34.5	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	60.00	9.0	
24.	360.00	57.2	300.00	44.8	.....	....	.....	.....	30.00	4.7	50.00	11.2	
25.°	1.675.00	34.5	2.000.00	36.7	2.700.00	36.8	.....	.....	900.00	19.8	.....	....	
LAME													
1.°	200.00	14.3	....	....	1.100.00	49.0	.....	.....	.....	....	1.000.00	29.0	
2.	75.00	34.7	50.00	34.7	.....	....	150.00	42.0	11.50	1.0	40.00	11.0	
3.	.....	....	....	....	900.00	45.2	.....	.....	.....	....	....	....	(30)
4.°	.....	....	....	....	2.700.00	100.0	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
5.	172.00	22.3	40.00	6.7	.....	....	270.00	45.7	.....	....	.....	....	(37)
6.	470.00	92.3	....	....	40.00	7.9	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
7.	107.00	38.3	71.50	25.6	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	100.00	36.3	
8.	252.00	95.5	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	12.00	4.5	.....	....	

SAN ANDRES

Fiestas	Agricultores $	Agricultores %	Agricultores $	Agricultores %	Comerciantes $	Comerciantes %	Empleados $	Empleados %	Jornaleros $	Jornaleros %	Artesanado $	Artesanado %	
1.º	1.120,00	50,7	1.000,00	31,5	500,00	9,4	.....	.....	.....	....	300,00	6,8	
2.	60,00	54,2	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	60,00	45,7	.....	....	
3.	100,00	30,5	....	....	.....	....	50,00	39,6	.....	....	.....	....	
4.	22,50	30,3	....	....	.....	....	56,00	71,6	.....	....	.....	....	
5.	300,00	62,5	....	....	.....	....	62,00	7,1	700,00	30,5	.....	....	
6.	112,50	60,6	....	....	.....	....	95,00	50,5	.....	....	.....	....	
7.	87,00	30,0	....	....	.....	....	140,00	70,0	.....	....	.....	....	
8.	195,00	42,3	300,00	65,4	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	(38)
9.	300,00	72,6	120,00	27,2	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
10.º	2.000,00	80,2	....	....	500,00	30,7	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
11.	1.000,00	32,3	600,00	54,0	600,00	34,0	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
12.	170,00	100,0	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
13.	600,00	100,0	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
14.º	190,00	4,2	1.000,00	40,5	600,00	22,0	120,00	5,1	600,00	22,0	.....	....	
15.º	270,00	11,1	....	....	300,00	5,0	.....	.....	2.140,50	81,7	.....	....	

NOTA: El signo de pesos ($) indica el total de ingresos monetarios, y % indica el porcentaje de ingresos de una actividad en relación con los ingresos totales.

(38) El Alférez le ha comprometido con un préstamo de $ 600,00, lo que equivale al 12,5% de los ingresos totales.—(34) Debe-le comprometido con $ 60,00 abonados en 1952, o sea el 8,0% de los ingresos. (35) Debe-le comprometido con $ 300,00 abonados en 1952, o sea el 51,1% de los ingresos.—(36) Debe-le comprometido con $ 250,00 abonados en 1952, o sea el 11,0%. de los ingresos. (37) Debe-le comprometido con $ 120,00 abonados en 1952, o sea el 25,5% de los ingresos totales.—(38) Debe-le comprometido con $ 60,00 abonados en 1952, o sea el 14,1% de los ingresos.

En el cuadro estadístico de los egresos lo que a primera vista observamos en las tres parcialidades son las escasas sumas de dinero destinadas a los capítulos de Drogas, Servicio Médico, Impuestos y Educación.

La defensa de la salud de adultos y de niños es fundamental entre los Páez. La mortalidad infantil es de un elevado porcentaje y la parasitosis, las diarreas y la tuberculosis son casi endémicas. Pero el cuidado de la salud y la conservación de la vida, en la cultura Páez, descansa en manos del *tê ea* (médico bueno) y del *nasa jûki* (brujo); el primero defiende a las personas de las enfermedades y de los maleficios del segundo; el brujo puede con su poder mágico privar de la vida a las personas. Por otra parte, los *tê ea* combaten abiertamente la utilización de las drogas y del servicio médico de los "blancos". Estas dos instituciones gozan todavía de una gran fuerza y en el fondo casi regulan toda la vida institucional de los Páez. En *Mosoco* siete jefes de familia han destinado pequeñas sumas de dinero a la compra de drogas.

EGRESOS F

MOSCOO

FLIAS.	Drogas		Médico		Alimentación		Vestido		Impuestos		E
	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%	
1.°	300,00	10,3	300,00	6,1	2.790,00	57,6	900,00	20,2	1,70	..	3
2.	... ..	...	... ..	..	410,10	57,9	195,50	27,6	... ..	..	
3.	... ..	...	... ..	..	288,00	56,3	151,00	29,1	... ..	..	..
4.	4,00	0,8	... ..	..	316,40	60,3	103,00	19,1	... ..	..	
5.	... ..	...	... ..	..	345,00	67,5	100,50	20,7	... ..	..	
6.	... ..	...	... ..	..	690,60	66,2	176,00	16,8	... ..	..	1
7.	... ..	...	... ..	..	402,40	35,6	81,90	7,2	... ..	..	..
8.	... ..	...	... ..	..	276,00	38,9	137,00	19,3	... ..	..	..
9.	10,00	0,6	... ..	..	550,00	43,7	223,00	17,6	... ..	..	..
10.	... ..	...	... ..	..	456,50	56,1	214,00	26,3	... ..	..	..
11.	10,00	1,7	... ..	..	151,80	26,4	88,50	15,4	... ..	..	..
12.	... ..	...	... ..	..	327,60	45,1	159,70	21,9	... ..	..	..
13.	10,00	0,6	... ..	..	734,60	49,3	183,00	12,5	... ..	..	..
14.	... ..	...	... ..	..	461,60	38,5	278,00	23,2	... ..	..	.
15.	... ..	...	... ..	..	301,50	29,4	158,50	12,1	... ..	..	..
16.	... ..	...	... ..	..	195,76	35,7	113,00	20,5	... ..	..	..
17.	... ..	...	... ..	..	189,60	68,3	62,00	20,6	... ..	..	..
18.	40,00	2,2	... ..	..	426,66	23,0	160,00	8,7	... ..	..	..
19.	65,00	4,0	... ..	..	213,33	13,6	294,70	18,5	... ..	..	3
20.	... ..	...	... ..	..	228,30	43,0	82,00	14,6	... ..	..	..
21.	... ..	...	... ..	..	188,00	31,8	104,50	17,7	... ..	..	..
22.	... ..	...	... ..	..	221,50	16,3	191,00	14,5	11,60	0,8	..
23.	... ..	...	... ..	..	192,00	31,6	166,00	27,3	... ..	..	..
24.	6,00	1,0	... ..	..	155,00	34,7	173,50	38,6	... ..	..	:
25.°	120,00	1,1	12,00	0,1	3.566,60	35,6	2.497,70	24,8	4,50	..	1.74

LAME

1.°	5,00	0,1	18,00	0,6	698,60	25,7	420,00	15,4	... ..	..	3
2.	0,70	0,2	... ..	..	55,30	19,6	114,00	40,6	... ..	..	...
3.	5,10	1,1	... ..	..	158,60	34,7	91,60	20,0	... ..	..	...
4.°	60,00	1,4	... ..	..	1.173,12	42,9	268,00	9,8	... ..	..	...
5.	... ..	...	... ..	..	66,00	11,1	64,00	10,8	... ..	..	...
6.	... ..	...	... ..	..	98,00	18,2	61,00	11,9	... ..	..	...
7.	3,00	1,0	... ..	..	115,50	41,6	37,50	13,4	... ..	..	...
8.	... ..	...	... ..	..	179,60	64,5	54,50	20,6	... ..	..	...

SAN ANDRES

1.°	2,00	0,1	... ..	..	2.265,60	42,5	801,00	15,0	2,60	..	180
2.	... ..	...	... ..	..	22,25	25,1	27,00	30,5	... ..	..	...
3.	... ..	...	... ..	..	75,00	40,1	64,00	34,1	... ..	..	...
4.	... ..	...	... ..	..	29,60	37,8	46,05	58,8	... ..	..	...
5.	20,00	4,0	... ..	..	172,00	27,6	98,30	15,7	5,00	0,8	8
6.	... ..	...	... ..	..	68,00	27,8	81,00	32,7	... ..	..	...
7.	... ..	...	... ..	..	168,60	48,0	68,50	20,9	... ..	..	...
8.	... ..	...	... ..	..	165,60	36,0	154,00	33,4	... ..	..	...
9.	... ..	...	... ..	..	106,50	24,2	115,00	26,1	... ..	..	5
10.°	... ..	...	... ..	..	983,60	41,6	357,00	15,9	74,30	3,3	...
11.	15,00	0,5	... ..	..	1.444,80	52,9	372,00	13,6	7,75	0,2	60
12.	... ..	...	... ..	..	19,20	11,2	59,80	35,1	... ..	..	...
13.	10,00	1,5	... ..	..	115,50	17,7	44,00	6,7	... ..	..	...
14.°	102,50	2,6	5,00	0,1	1.684,00	43,3	554,60	14,2	... ..	..	515,
15.°	... ..	...	... ..	..	960,00	36,6	280,50	10,6	13,00	0,4	15,

NOTA: El signo de pesos ($) indica el total de egresos y % indica el porcentaje de egresos de un (1) Déficit de $ 50,00 o sea el 8,6%.- (2 Déficit de $ 39,00 o sea el 4,6%.- (3) Déficit de $ 29,50 o sea o sea el 1,6%.- (6) Gastos de transporte 39,90 o sea el 1,6%.

[P 360 - A]

6: Bernal Villa SC15 Paez

EGRESOS FAMILIARES - 1953

Impuestos		Educación		Velas - Jabón		Coca		Diversiones		M
$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%	
1,70	..	30,00	0,6	120,00	2,4	.... ..	...	120,00	2,4	.
.... ..	..	8,80	1,2	21,60	3,0	.... ..	...	60,00	8,4	..
.... ..	..	.... ..	...	21,60	3,0	.... ..	...	136,40	23,5	..
.... ..	..	6,00	0,8	64,80	8,2	.... ..	...	2,00	0,3	.
.... ..	..	5,00	0,9	45,60	8,9	.... ..	...	34,00	6,6	..
.... ..	..	10,00	0,9	57,60	5,5	.... ..	...	25,00	2,4	
.... ..	..	.... ..	...	45,60	4,0	.... ..	...	150,00	13,2	.
.... ..	..	.... ..	...	50,40	7,0	.... ..	...	60,00	8,4	.
.... ..	..	.... ..	...	57,00	4,4	.... ..	...	100,00	7,7	.
.... ..	..	.... ..	...	60,00	7,3	72,00	8,8	10,00	1,2	.
.... ..	..	.... ..	...	36,00	6,2	.... ..	...	.... ..	...	.
.... ..	..	.... ..	...	60,40	9,4	.... ..	...	50,00	6,8	
.... ..	..	.... ..	...	72,00	6,7	.... ..	...	36,00	3,4	.
.... ..	..	4,00	0,3	28,00	2,3	.... ..	...	60,00	5,0	
.... ..	..	.... ..	...	68,40	5,2	96,00	7,3	192,00	14,7	
.... ..	..	.... ..	...	26,40	4,8	.... ..	...	50,00	9,1	.
.... ..	..	.... ..	...	18,00	6,0	.... ..	...	.... ..	...	.
.... ..	..	.... ..	...	84,00	4,3	.... ..	...	30,00	1,2	
.... ..	..	38,00	1,8	.... ..	...	.... ..	...	18,00	0,6	
.... ..	..	.... ..	...	36,00	6,3	.... ..	...	10,00	1,7	
.... ..	..	.... ..	...	50,40	8,5	120,00	20,3	30,00	5,0	.
11,60	0,8	.... ..	...	100,00	7,2	.... ..	...	100,00	7,6	
.... ..	..	.... ..	...	57,60	9,5	.... ..	...	60,00	9,9	.
.... ..	..	5,00	1,1	62,00	8,9	.... ..	...	80,00	17,9	.
4,50	..	1.745,00	17,3	150,00	1,4	.... ..	...	226,00	2,2	
.... ..	..	30,00	1,2	28,80	1,0	.... ..	...	.... ..	...	
.... ..	..	.... ..	...	14,40	5,1	60,00	21,3	18,00	5,4	
.... ..	..	.... ..	...	8,00	1,7	.... ..	...	30,00	6,5	
.... ..	..	.... ..	...	?	?	.... ..	...	.... ..	...	
.... ..	..	.... ..	...	?	?	180,00	30,4	.... ..	...	.
.... ..	..	.... ..	...	9,60	1,8	54,00	10,5	.... ..	...	
.... ..	..	.... ..	...	?	?	72,00	25,8	.... ..	...	
.... ..	..	.... ..	...	?	?	.... ..	...	26,00	9,3	
2,40	..	180,00	3,3	?	?	.... ..	...	240,00	4,5	
.... ..	..	.... ..	...	?	?	30,00	33,8	0,75	0,8	
.... ..	..	.... ..	...	?	?	.... ..	...	.... ..	...	
.... ..	..	.... ..	...	?	?	.... ..	...	.... ..	...	
5,00	0,8	8,00	1,2	37,20	5,9	96,00	15,3	85,20	13,6	
.... ..	..	.... ..	...	36,00	14,5	40,00	16,0	20,00	8,0	
.... ..	..	.... ..	...	?	?	48,00	14,6	24,00	7,3	
.... ..	..	.... ..	...	?	?	17,50	3,8	130,00	28,2	
.... ..	..	5,00	1,1	30,00	6,7	24,00	5,4	100,00	22,7	
74,20	3,3	.... ..	...	67,20	3,0	.... ..	...	200,00	8,9	
7,75	0,2	60,00	2,1	108,00	3,9	.... ..	...	.... ..	..	
.... ..	..	.... ..	...	21,60	12,7	.... ..	...	.... ..	...	
.... ..	..	.... ..	...	28,80	4,4	.... ..	...	.... ..	...	
.... ..	..	515,00	13,2	?	?	.... ..	...	100,00	2,5	
13,00	0,4	15,00	0,5	?	?	.... ..	...	10,00	0,3	

ntaje de egresos de un capítulo con relación a los egresos totales.
déficit de $ 29,50 o sea el 7,5%. (4) Gastos de transporte $ 35,00 o sea el 0,3%. (5) Déf

[P 360 - B]

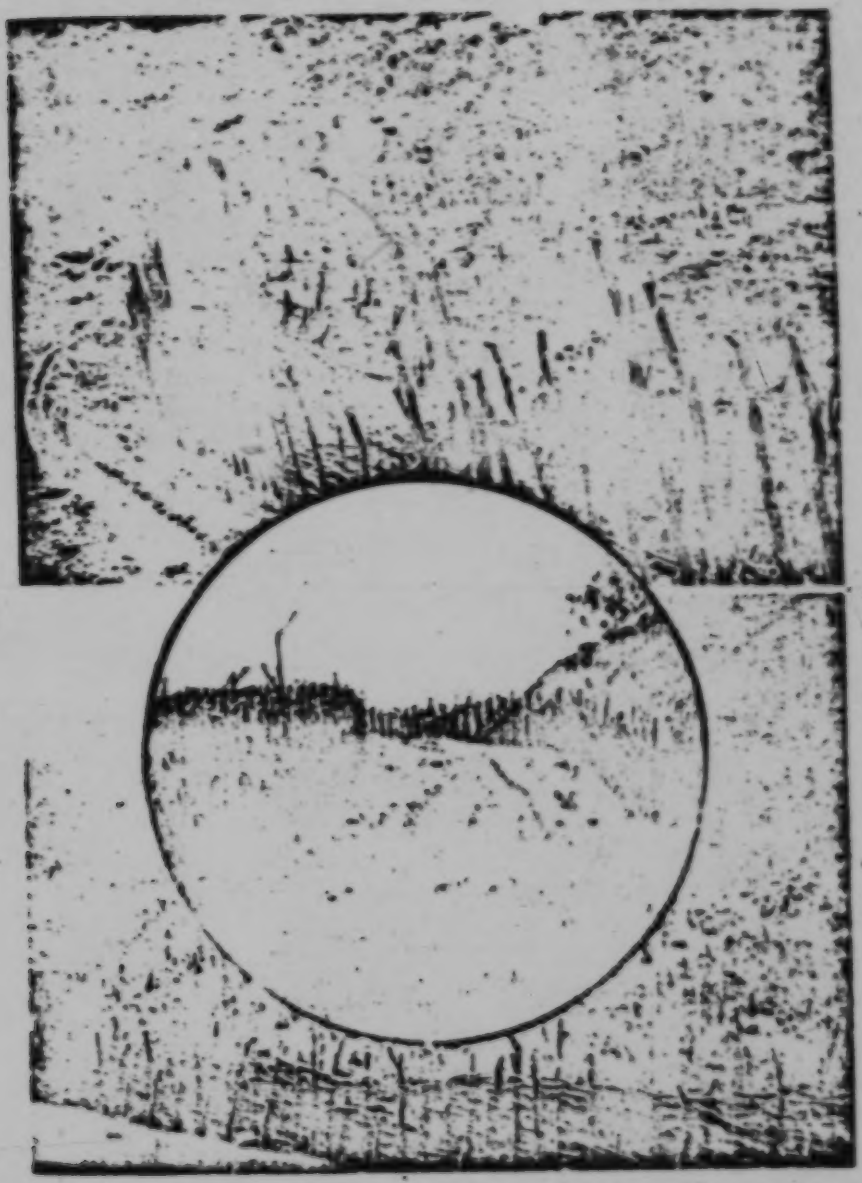
ca	Diversiones		Mejoras Finca		Ahorros		
%	$	%	$	%	$	%	
...	120,00	2,4	.....	...	.....	...	
...	60,00	8,4	.....	...	12,00	1,6	
...	126,40	23,5	.....	...	.....	...	(1)
...	2,00	0,3	110,00	14,0	176,80	22,5	
...	34,00	6,6	.....	...	.....	...	(2)
...	25,00	2,4	40,00	3,8	44,40	4,2	
...	150,00	13,2	110,00	9,7	339,60	30,0	
...	60,00	8,6	.....	...	195,80	26,4	
...	100,00	7,7	.....	...	324,00	26,0	
8,8	10,00	1,2	.....	...	.....	...	
...	.....	...	.....	...	287,70	50,1	
...	50,00	6,8	75,00	10,3	45,30	6,2	
...	36,80	3,4	.....	...	73,80	6,9	
...	60,00	5,0	250,00	20,8	115,40	9,6	
7,3	192,00	14,7	200,00	15,3	201,90	15,5	
...	50,00	9,1	.....	...	161,84	29,5	
...	.....	...	.....	...	30,40	10,1	
...	30,00	1,2	160,00	8,2	1.033,24	53,3	
...	10,00	0,6	128,00	8,0	844,97	53,2	
...	10,00	1,7	192,00	33,8	8,70	1,5	
20,3	30,00	5,0	.....	...	97,10	16,4	
...	100,00	7,6	95,30	7,2	630,90	48,3	
...	60,00	9,9	.....	...	130,40	21,5	
...	80,00	17,9	.....	...	.....	...	(3)
...	226,00	2,2	361,00	3,5	1.356,00	13,4	(4)
...	.....	...	375,00	13,8	1.135,90	41,8	
21,3	18,00	6,4	.....	...	18,20	6,4	
...	30,00	6,5	.....	...	165,10	35,7	
...	.....	...	710,00	25,9	540,88	19,7	
30,4	.....	...	.....	...	282,00	47,6	
10,5	.....	...	144,00	28,3	147,90	29,0	
25,8	.....	...	.....	...	50,50	18,1	
...	26,00	9,8	.....	...	13,10	4,9	
...	240,00	4,5	1.060,50	19,9	747,50	14,0	
33,8	0,75	0,8	.....	...	7,50	8,4	
...	.....	...	.....	...	29,00	15,4	
...	.....	...	.....	...	2,55	3,2	
15,3	85,20	13,6	.....	...	94,80	15,0	
16,0	20,00	8,0	.....	...	2,50	1,0	
14,6	24,00	7,3	.....	...	28,10	8,5	
3,8	130,00	28,2	.....	...	.....	...	(5)
5,4	100,00	22,7	.....	...	58,60	13,3	
...	200,00	8,9	366,00	16,3	242,00	10,8	
...	.....	...	500,00	18,2	227,45	8,3	
...	.....	...	.....	...	69,40	40,8	
...	.....	...	.....	...	452,00	69,5	
...	100,00	2,5	292,00	7,5	593,20	15,2	(6)
...	10,00	0,3	360,00	13,7	983,60	37,5	

tales.
:5,00 o sea el 0,3 %.- (5) Déficit de $ 7,10

[P. 360-C]

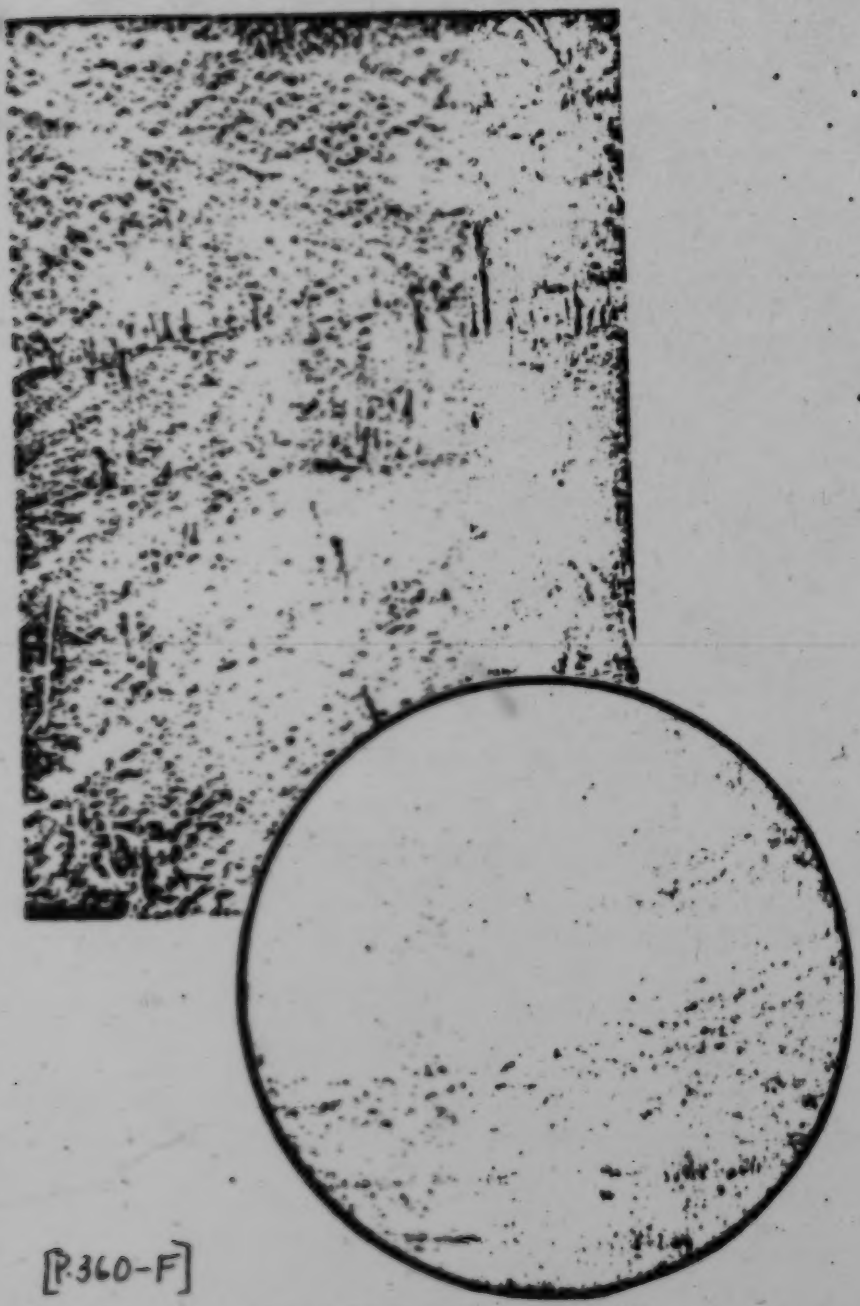
Tierradentro I: Una casa en la pendiente en El Cacaral (Vitonó).

[P. 360-D]



Tiwanakuano II: Rasos Bajos para la cámara mortuoria los cuerpo resaltados y la nuevo tipico de barrios (Tiwanakuano y Lasa).

[R 360-E]



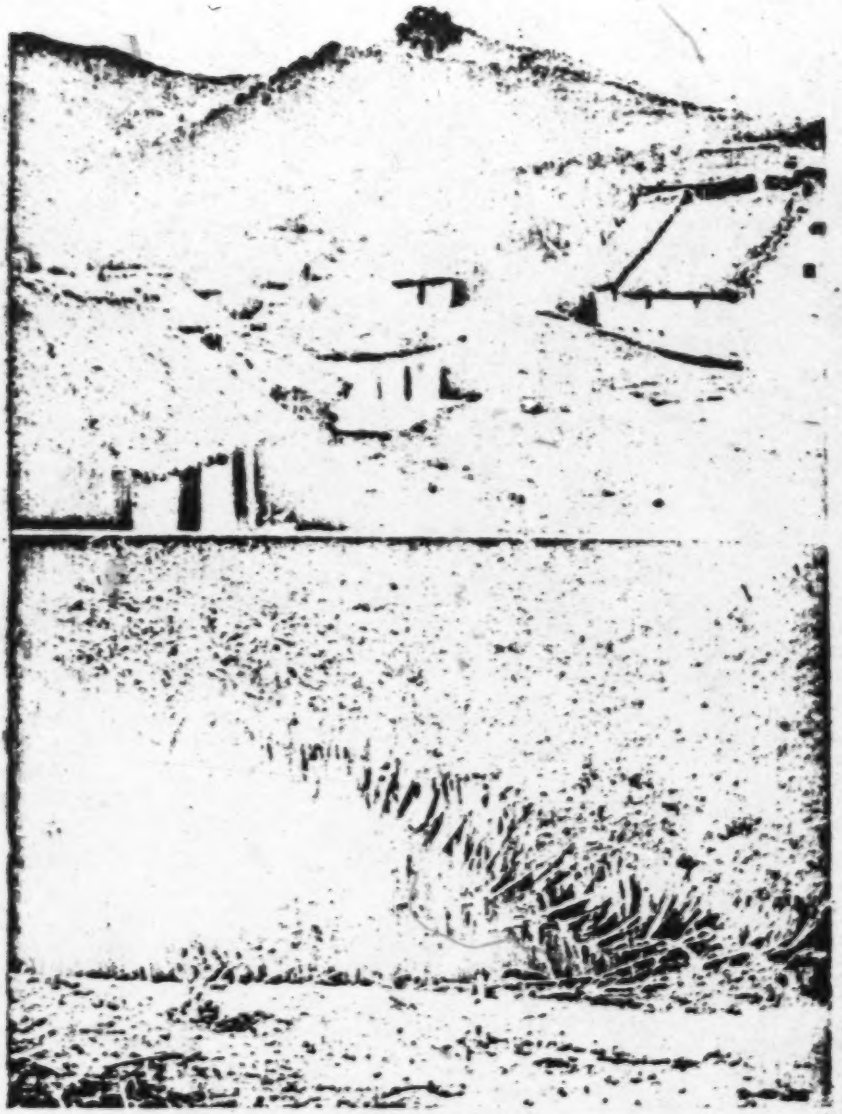
[P.360-F]

Transducers III: [illegible] , eye (Tumbirbakse).

Timrodentro IV: Paisajes de Moxeno. *Arriba:* izquierda: Vista panorámica de Moxeno; derecha: Vista parcial del altiplano moxequeño. *Abajo:* izquierda: Casas de Moxeno; derecha: Viviendas, eras y corrales de "lechero".

[P.360-G]

[P. 360-H]

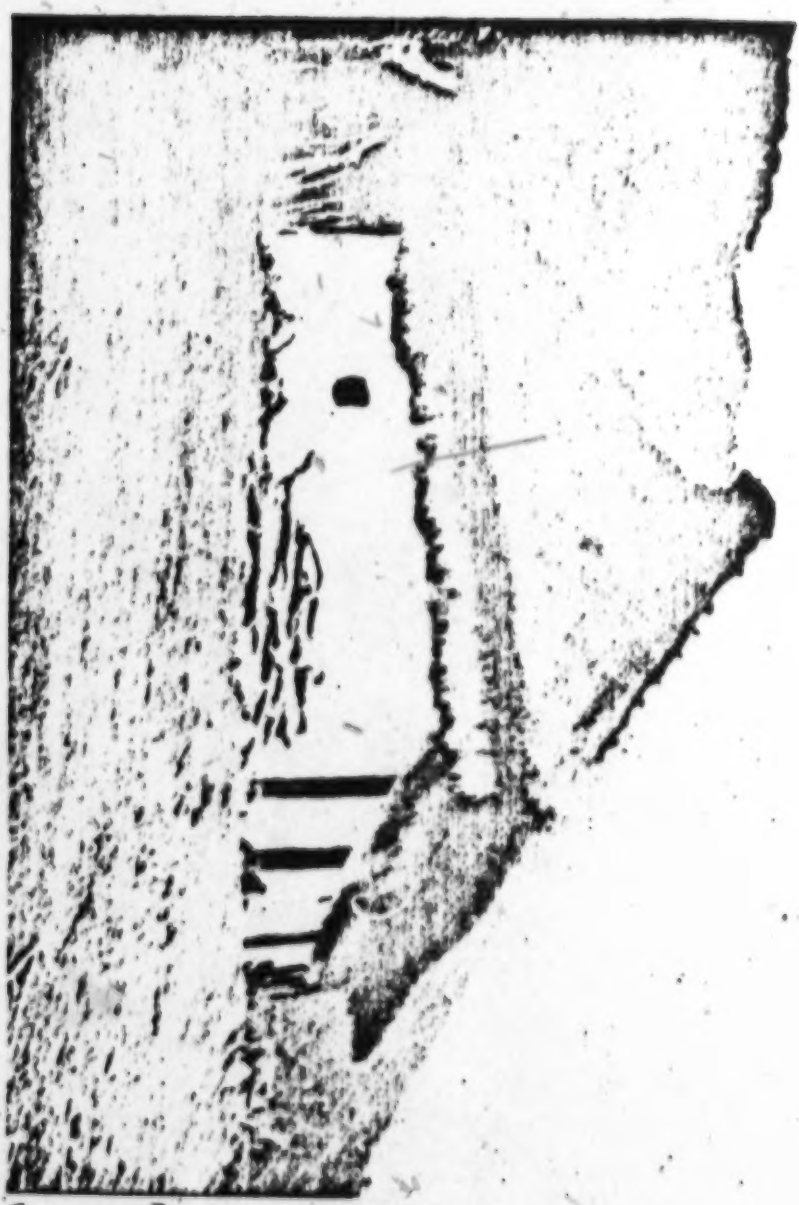


Tierradentro VI: *Arriba:* Vista parcial del pueblo indígena de Lame.
Abajo: Plantaciones de Cabuya (Lame).

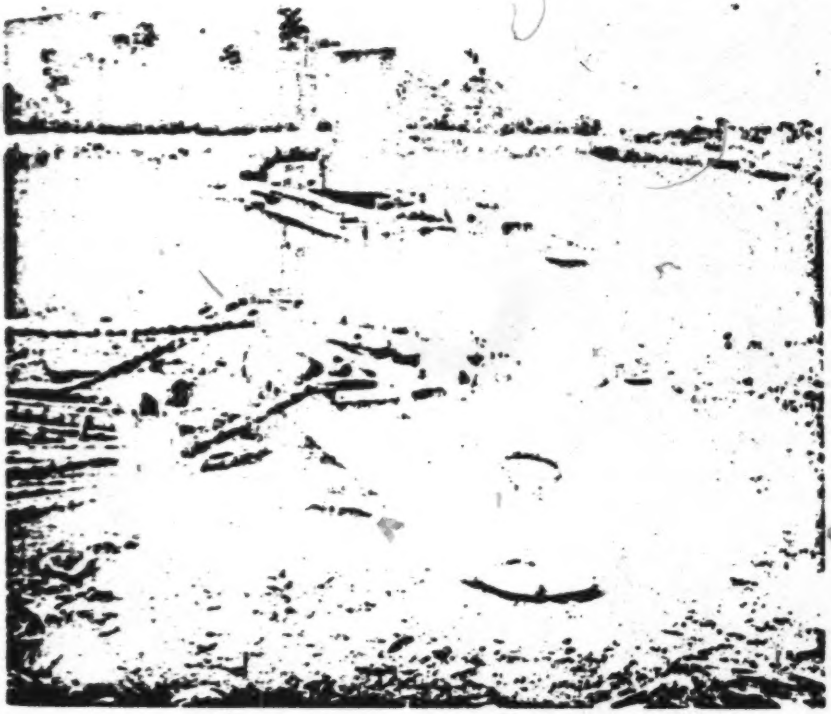
[P.360-I]

Tierradentro VII: Estrecho valle del río Páez en Juntas, mostrando las terrazas aluviales y las reducidas vegas con plantaciones de café.

[P. 360-J]



[P. 360-K]



Tierradentro IX: Trapiche de madera y la molienda (Tapaima).

[P. 360-L]

Cerrodentro X: India de Mamora "mambeando" y tejiendo la *kuetand yaka* (jigra de mambe). Es una tí ca de la parcialidad.

P 360—M]

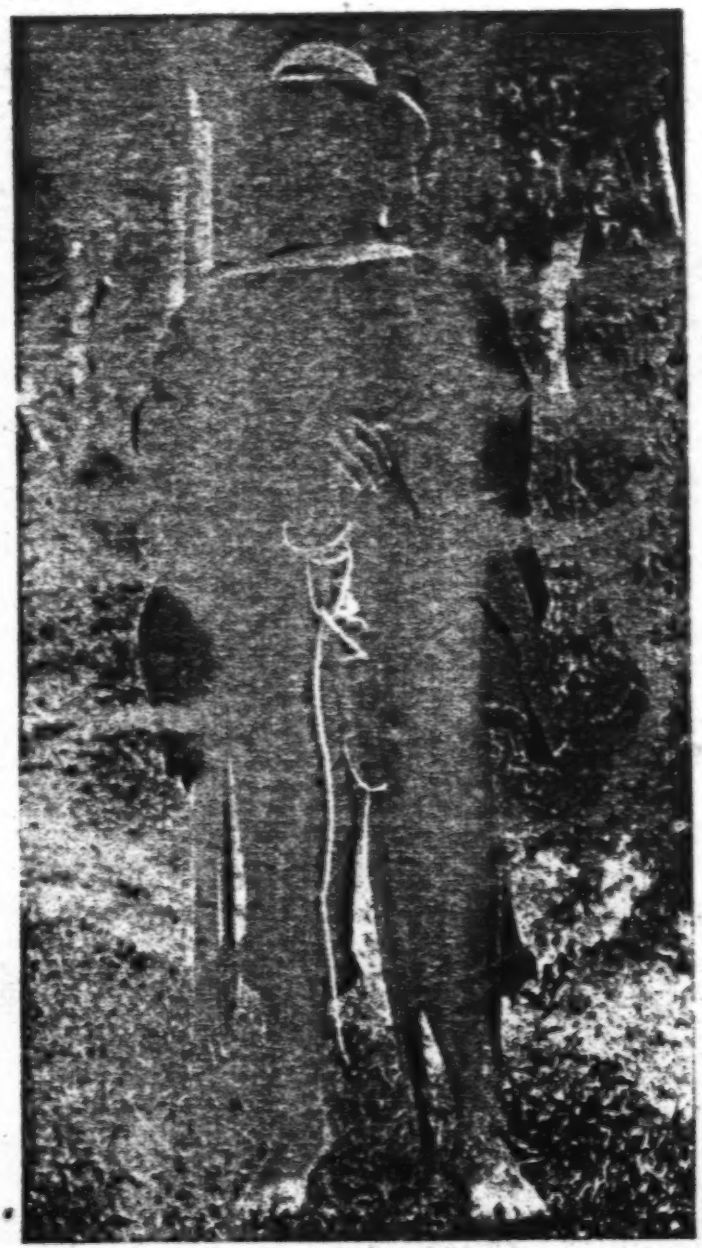
Tierradentro XI: Indio de Calderas, mostrando la forma típica de portar la *kurtand* vaho y las yahos (jipiras de fique). Al fondo el Parque Arqueológico de Tierradentro.

[P. 360-N]

6: Bernal Villa SC15 Paez

[P.360-0]

6: Bernal Villa SC15 Paez



[P. 360 - P]

Su importancia resalta si comparamos con la parcialidad de San Andrés donde existe un Centro de Salud debidamente atendido por una enfermera graduada y, además, a no muy larga distancia, cuentan con el Centro de Higiene de Inzá, atendido por un médico y un grupo de enfermeras cuyos servicios son gratuitos y distribuyen también gratuitamente las drogas, no obstante esto, los indígenas no siempre acuden a los mencionados centros prefiriendo sus propios médicos y más comúnmente los *té eu* de Calderas.

Acerca de los impuestos hemos expresado ya que los inmuebles de las comunidades indígenas están exentas de esta clase de gravámenes; de allí que la columna destinada a esta clase de erogaciones se halla vacía. Las pocas cifras que en ella figuran son pagos de inmuebles comprendidos dentro del área de población y para alguno que otro el pago de impuesto por el ejercicio del comercio en diferentes plazas del municipio de Inzá.

Las sumas dedicadas para la educación de los hijos son ínfimas si exceptuamos las de los informantes "blancos", algunos de los cuales tienen sus hijos en colegios de bachillerato, en Normales Rurales y hasta en la Universidad. En las parcialidades de San Andrés y *Lame* prácticamente son nulas. Los niños de San Andrés asisten a la escuela desprovistos, en general, de útiles escolares, portando en sus jigras el avió para el almuerzo consistente en yucas y plátanos cocidos, en mote, maíz tostado, pues las habitaciones están situadas a varios kilómetros de distancia de la escuela con caminos pésimos y accidentados. Los Restaurantes Escolares y la donación de útiles escolares son más que indispensables en estas regiones. Estos niños asisten irregularmente a la escuela y no cursan más de dos años; la enseñanza la reciben en el idioma castellano y por lo general el aprovechamiento es mínimo. Las mujeres asisten en menor proporción que los varones; los adultos consideran que las mujeres no tienen necesidad de aprender a leer y escribir. Esta situación cambia en *Mosoco*. Los niños de ambos sexos asisten y procuran asistir regularmente a la escuela, recorriendo muchas varios kilómetros diariamente; los padres de familia tienen interés porque sus hijos aprendan a leer, escribir y contar y, por lo mismo, procuran ya de dotarlos de algunos útiles para sus trabajos de aprendizaje.

El consumo de la coca ha desaparecido casi completamente en Mosoco; los pocos datos de erogaciones que en el cuadro estadístico aparecen pertenecen exclusivamente a informantes ancianos.

En *Lame* y San Andrés, por el contrario, el consumo es general y se destinan sumas considerables, comparadas con los ingresos totales, para la adquisición de este artículo. En San Andrés, las erogaciones por este concepto serían mayores si en cada huerta no se tuviera un determinado número de árboles de coca. Los dineros invertidos en las mejoras de inmuebles y de la ganadería son frecuentes en *Mosoco* mientras que en las otras dos parcialidades están prácticamente ausentes. Aquello implica ya un verdadero proceso de capitalización, actividad desconocida para la mayor parte de la población indígena de Tierradentro.

Las mayores y constantes erogaciones están dadas en su orden, por la alimentación, el vestido, las diversiones y la adquisición de velas y jabón.

Referente a la alimentación en *Mosoco* aparecen en todas las veinticinco familias las compras de panela, café, manteca (cebo) y sal; las compras de maíz y arroz aparecen en doce familias. Con alguna frecuencia compran también chocolate, pan y plátanos. No consumen yucas. En las ocho familias de *Lame* aparecen las compras de panela, sal y café y en alguno que otro las adquisiciones de arroz, manteca, yuca, plátanos y carne. En San Andrés los artículos de mayor demanda para el hogar son carne, panela y sal, que aparecen en más de la mitad de las familias investigadas, pero también figuran con alguna frecuencia las compras de maíz, manteca, papas, yucas y plátanos. Al hacer el análisis del cuadro estadístico de egresos de las tres parcialidades hallamos las coincidencias, bastante singulares, que existen entre los mayores porcentajes destinados a la alimentación y las deficiencias de producción agrícola sea por las pérdidas de las cosechas o por la escasez de la siembra. En el caso primero, que se refiere primordialmente a *Mosoco*, hemos visto ya que el desequilibrio presupuestal se compensa con la venta de animales domésticos, especialmente vacunos y en el caso segundo, que se refiere a las otras dos parcialidades, la baja producción se compensa con la venta de la fuerza de trabajo.

Las prendas de vestir de mayor demanda son pantalones, camisas, sombreros, ropa interior, reboso y chumbes (*Mosoco*), pañolones (*Lame y San Andrés*) y batas para los niños. También se compran con alguna frecuencia ruanas. En *Mosoco* los aretes de oro constituyen adornos apetecidos por las mujeres, hecho éste que contrasta con las demás parcialidades donde el oro es con-

siderado como tabú. Los indígenas no usan ni alpargatas ni calzado. Cabe observar también que los anacos de las mujeres no se compran sino que se manufacturan en la propia casa; mientras que *Mosoco* la compra del reboso de Castilla es muy frecuente y signo de elegancia en las otras parcialidades compran pañolones. Si comparamos las cifras correspondientes a la alimentación y al vestido los porcentajes de ingresos destinados a la primera en *Mosoco*, salvo dos excepciones, son superiores a los destinados para el vestido. En *Lame* y, sobretodo, en San Andrés los porcentajes de alimentación y del vestido tienden a equipararse y muchas veces los de èste superan a los de aquél. El fenómeno no es raro si tenemos en cuenta que en estas dos parcialidades se cultiva más para el consumo interno que para el expendio. Tocante a las "diversiones", aunque en ellas se han incluído gastos varios, se refieren básicamente a los gastos por concepto de bebidas alcohólicas y fermentadas. Desde luego, las erogaciones son necesariamente mayores, como lo veremos después. En cuanto al alumbrado si bien que en San Andrés y Lame las fabrica de la cera de laurel silvestre también compran velas esteáricas y en *Mosoco* se compran siempre. Jabón compran todos los indígenas.
En la columna correspondiente a la sección de ahorros observamos que únicamente 6 de las 48 familias investigadas no tienen cifras que lo denoten. Y para hacer algunas deducciones nos permitimos hacer un análisis de los ingresos de las 48 familias estudiadas:

Parcialidad	Menores de $ 100.00	De $ 100.00 a $ 500.00	De $ 500.00 a $ 1.000.00	De $ 1.000.00 a $ 2.000.00	De $ 2.000.00 a $ 5.000.00	Más de $ 5.000.00
Mosoco.	—	2	12	9	1	1
Lame	—	4	2	--	2	—
San Andrés.	2	6	2	—	4	1
Totales.	2	12	16	9	7	2

Observamos, pues, que 28 de las 48 familias estudiadas, o sea el 78,3%, tienen ingresos menores de mil pesos, con los cuales, prácticamente, no puede existir ahorros. Aún con la familia mosoqueña señalada con el número 18 que tiene en la columna de Ahorros la suma de $ 1.034,24 pudimos comprobar que este va-

lor era netamente nominal y que el jefe de familia había recurrido a la Caja Agraria a solicitar un préstamo de $ 500,00, para atender a las mejoras de su finca, préstamo que efectivamente lo obtuvo; por informaciones indirectas pudimos saber que aquel valor que figura como ahorros fue posiblemente invertido en los gastos de un pleito por tierras que sostiene un cuñado suyo. Los ahorros de las familias "blancas" son verídicos y también los de algunas contadas familias indígenas, pero, en términos generales, lo que nosotros contabilizamos como ahorros pueden adscribirse a la columna de las "diversiones"; los indígenas viven al orden del día. El espíritu de ahorro no existe o es mínimo. Hemos tenido oportunidad de constatar que no existe prudencia en los gastos cuando reciben sumas considerables, tales como por ejemplo, las provenientes de la venta del café. Las modestas economías de los indígenas se esfuman en las cantinas, en los pleitos por tierras o en las fiestas religiosas. Estos argumentos están confirmados, por otra parte, en el cuadro estadístico de los ingresos en el que únicamente cinco familias indígenas de las tres parcialidades compensaron los déficits presupuestales del año pasado con sumas ahorradas en 1952.

Economía y aculturación

Antes de finalizar el presente trabajo queremos dejar planteado, a *grosso modo*, el proceso de aculturación vigente actualmente en algunas parcialidades Páez.

El material de la cultura Páez que hemos publicado y el que estamos elaborando actualmente lo hemos recogido en las parcialidades situadas en la margen derecha del río Páez, prescindiendo de aquellas situaciones en la margen izquierda del mismo río, debido, más que todo, a factores de orden público que desde hace varios años, han estado pertubando la tranquilidad de las mismas.

Las comunidades indígenas de San Andrés, Santa Rosa, *Togoima*, *Calderas*, *Avirama*, *Suin*, *Chinas*, *Lame*, *Vitoncó*, *Huila*, *Toez* y *Tálaga*, son más tradicionalistas, viven conforme a las instituciones de la cultura y, por lo mismo, las consideramos como más "primitivas". En cambio, la comunidad de *Mosoco*, recogida en las propias vertientes de la Cordillera Central y que se extiende hasta el corazón mismo del páramo de Moras, está en pleno proceso de transformación.

6: Bernal Villa SC15 Paez

Nuestras investigaciones las iniciamos en la parcialidad de Calderas, aislada, por razones de índole geográfica, de los principales centros de población "blanca" y cuyos habitantes han defendido a toda costa su independencia y se han manifestado hoscos a la convivencia con los "blancos" (39). De aquí procede la mayor parte de nuestros materiales. Pero hemos realizado investigaciones sistemáticas también en San Andrés, Santa Rosa, *Togoima, Lame, Vitoncó, Tálaga* y, últimamente en *Mosoco.*

Para nuestro planteamiento de la aculturación entendemos como difusión la *trasmisión cultural conseguida* y como aculturación la *trasmisión cultural en marcha*, conceptos expuestos por el Profesor Melville J. Herskovits en su libro El Hombre y sus obras.

Dentro de la cultura Páez están ampliamente difundidos, hasta el punto de constituir parte integrante del corpus cultural, los siguientes elementos de tipo económico de procedencia extraña y más concretamente de procedencia europea:

Todos los animales domésticos a excepción del cuy, el banano, la caña de azúcar (la variedad conocida con el nombre de "criolla"), el trigo, la cebada, los ajos, el café, los duraznos, manzanas y naranjas, las herramientas agrícolas, los molinos hidráulicos, los trapiches, la guadua y algunas especies de pastos tales como el orejuela, el kikuyo y el poa.

A través de las páginas del presente trabajo hemos hecho resaltar con especialidad los procesos culturales en marcha, es decir, el fenómeno de la aculturación. Es evidente que este fenómeno se ha presentado, con mayor o menor intensidad, en las parcialidades donde se han creado áreas de población, dentro de las cuales se han radicado un determinado número de familias "blancas". Pero la intensidad del fenómeno aculturativo no depende de este hecho simplemente ni del número de familias que viven con las normas de la cultura occidental. San Andrés, por ejemplo, tiene su área de población establecida prácticamente en 1928 y cuenta actualmente con más de veinte familias "blancas", con la proximidad de la población de Inzá y, desde hace cerca de tres lustros, con el Parque Arqueológico de Tierradentro, centro de un relativo movimiento turístico, y, sin embargo, el proceso de aculturación es mínimo y jamás se puede comparar con la intensidad del mismo fenómeno de *Mosoco*, donde el área de pobla-

(39) Vernal Villa, S. Mitología y cuentos de la parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro, p. 289 sgts.

ción fue creada en 1923 y en la actualidad no cuenta con más de doce familias de "blancos". *Mosoco* tiene otra circunstancia: el camino de herradura que une al municipio de Belalcázar con el de Silvia, camino que ya existía desde los tiempos de la pre-conquista. *Mosoco* ha sido y continúa siéndolo aún el lugar de hospedaje obligatorio. Además esta parcialidad ha tenido contactos acentuados con el grupo Guambiano y el grupo Páez del otro lado de la Cordillera, de hecho más aculturados. Todas estas circunstancias han permitido la extensificación de los cultivos de ajos, del trigo y, sobre todo, de la papa, así como también la extensificación e intensificación de la ganadería, lo cual, a su vez, ha dado origen a una serie de fenómenos, actualmente en pleno proceso de desenvolvimiento, tales como la modificación de las pautas de trabajo y de los ciclos agrícolas, la regularización del comercio y del transporte, surgimiento del hábito de capitalización y del aprovechamiento del crédito, utilización de alambre de púa para las cercas, repoblación forestal a base de eucaliptus, incremento de las industrias caseras, modificación de la dieta alimenticia y de los horarios de comida, adaptación de determinados objetos de adorno por parte de las mujeres (aretes de oro), desaparecimiento del consumo de coca (deculturación para utilizar el neologismo de Fernando Ortiz), estratificación social, socavamiento de las instituciones del *té eu* y del *nasa jihi*, apaciguamiento de la agresividad real y mágica contra los "blancos", intensificación de la educación primaria, mayor convicción en los credos religiosos.

En la zona templada en general y en San Andrés en particular el cultivo del café está en pleno auge y las consecuencias de este hecho económico empiezan a vislumbrarse. El sombrero de pindo, muy común en la parcialidad de Calderas, se observa poco entre los andresunos, quienes están adoptando el sombrero de paño de los "blancos", algunos usan ya alpargatas o zapatos e igualmente se está extendiendo el uso de la ruana y del saco de manufactura extraña a la cultura; las herramientas agrícolas se están enriqueciendo de la misma manera que la vajilla moderna; aunque el sistema de trabajo más extendido en la parcialidad es el de las mingas, algunos ya pagan jornales para el trabajo de sus labranzas; el consumo de carne y panela es bastante frecuente cuando hay cosechas de café. Es singular también que en toda la parcialidad solamente existan dos *té eu* sin mayor crédito si bien que utilizan los servicios de los *té eu* de Calderas. .

La "criolla" es la variedad de caña de azúcar más extendida y la que ha sido totalmente aceptada por los indígenas hasta el punto de considerarla como propia, pero se están introduciendo otras variedades nuevas tales como la "java", por ejemplo, que aunque los indígenas dicen que es "brava", no obstante denotan su valor y recomiendan su cultivo.

Tales son los lineamientos generales de la aculturación en algunas parcialidades de Tierradentro.

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Moguex

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[Title Page]

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THE HIGHLAND TRIBES OF SOUTHERN COLOMBIA[1]

By Gregorio Hernández de Alba

INTRODUCTION

Between the *Esmeralda* and *Cara* in Ecuador and the *Quimbaya* in the modern Department of Caldas to the north, the conquistadors, especially Governor Don Sebastián de Belalcázar, found a large number of tribes of different languages and cultures (map 1, *No. 24*; map 7). These tribes occupied the mountains of the complicated Andean system, the valleys of the many rivers, and the slopes toward the low, jungle lands of southeastern Colombia. Because of the fertility of the soils, the mild climate, which was largely cool and healthy, the rich gold and silver mines, and the situation of the lands between the important Colonial centers of Santa Fé (now Bogotá) and Quito, which they were founding, the conquistadors greatly desired to conquer and pacify the tribes, as the Spanish chroniclers and historians call the extermination of the Indians. Some peoples, like the *Pasto* living in the present Department of Nariño, north of Ecuador, readily submitted to the overlordship of the encomenderos and hacendados, and adopted their customs and beliefs. Others, like the *Andaquí*, changed their habitat, and moved down from the region of San Agustín and the headwaters of the Magdalena River eastward to the hot jungles, where they were safe from enslavement. Some, like the *Páez* and *Moguex*, protected by the ruggedness of the Sierras of their territory, resisted the Spaniards and succeeded in large measure in perpetuating their traditions. Others, however, like the *Pijao*, who were seasoned warriors, fought bloodily against the White invaders until they were totally exterminated.

The first historians of the conquest of this part of America[2] held different opinions on the cultural and linguistic relationships between these tribes. Some claimed that the dialects differed so greatly from one tribe to another as to be mutually unintelligible; others maintained that all the peoples of the Andean area of Colombia had the same cul-

[1] This study was prepared in Washington, D. C., where the Bureau of American Ethnology, of the Smithsonian Institution, the Library of Congress, and the Library of the Pan American Union facilitated my investigation as previously the Government of Colombia, my wife (who was also my companion in field work), and my friends, the *Páez* Indians of Tierradentro, had furthered it.

[2] Cieza de León, 1922; Aguado, 1916; Simón, 1623-82; Oviedo y Valdés, 1851-55; Velasco, 1841-44.

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175 ture, with only slight differences in dialects and customs. Some
197 authorities affirmed that these Indians had no kind of religion; others
114 gave details which reveal a highly developed religion and an organized
[174] cult. In spite of these contradictory statements and in spite of the fact that today only the *Moguez* (*Guambia*) and *Páez* Indians retain indigenous cultures, it is possible to sketch the cultural picture of these Indians at the moment of their first contact with the Spanish soldiers by reexamining the chroniclers of the Conquest according to ethnological criteria, by utilizing modern linguistics, and by studying the
174 ethnology of the present-day peoples.[3] It is also possible to trace the
177 acculturation during the Colonial Period, when new European usages were introduced, and to depict the social and cultural conditions of the present day. The modern penetration of highways into the Indian territory and the official policy of changing the indigenous communities are likely to bring an end to these few remaining examples of primitive Andean societies, which have survived in spite of a poor economy, bad sanitary conditions, and missionary efforts to eradicate their traditions.

12/ A fertile field for future research lies in continuing anthropological studies in the central mass of the Colombian Andes. The region is as important for physical geography as for ethnology, as its mountain chains run in various directions to form valleys and diversified environments.

[172] It also contains the archeological remains, known as San Agustín and Tierradentro, which long antedate the Conquest and which have an undetermined origin and relationship to cultures in other parts of America. The present article, however, does not deal with these, but is limited to ethnology.

GEOGRAPHY

13/ The tribes considered in this article occupied the eastern halves of the present Departments of Nariño and Cauca, almost all of the Department of Huila, the southern part of Tolima, and the eastern zone of the Department of the Valle del Cauca, which embraces the western spurs of the Cordillera Central as far as Calarcá in Caldas. The region lies between 1° and 4° 40′ N. lat. and 1° and 3° 40′ west of the meridian
133 of Bogotá. The country consists of high mountains of the Andean system, which bifurcate at the Ecuadorean border to form the Cordillera Occidental, which runs to Panamá, and the Cordillera Central, which approaches the Atlantic coast of Colombia. Each branch has high plains (altiplanos), small valleys with rivers which are tributaries of the Patía River to the west, and high mountain peaks, some of which are volcanoes, like Pasto, Galeras, and Cumbal. The area of

[3] For the languages, see especially Jijón y Caamaño, 1940-41; Castillo I Orosco, 1878; and Castellví, 1934. For ethnology, see Douay, 1900; Pittier de Fábrega, 1907; Ortiz, 1938; Guerra F., 1942; Jijón y Caamaño, 1936-38 Otero, 1938; Albis, 1934. See also Languages, pp. 921-922.

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The area of this study is delimited on the west by the valley of the Patía River and by the Cuembi, Nambi, and Cuaiquer Rivers, and on the east by the divide between the rivers running to the Pacific Ocean and those flowing eastward into the Caquetá and Putumayo Rivers. P 133 121

All this region is cool to temperate throughout the year, the extremes being at Túquerres, which lies at 3,104 m. (9,433 feet) elevation and has a mean temperature of 11° C., and Ancuyá at 1,358 m. (4,380 feet) with a mean temperature of 21° C. The greater part of the population lives between 2,890 m. (about 9,470 feet) with 12° C., as at Ipiales, and 2,020 m. (about 6,630 feet) with 18° C., as at Buesaco. P 132 P

Farther north, the Cordillera Central forms a great mountain mass at the sources of the Cauca and Magdalena Rivers, the latter delimiting the Cordillera Oriental, which extends toward the northeast, entering Venezuela and stopping at the Atlantic Coast. In the Department of Cauca, the native peoples occupied the altiplanos and the mountain slopes of the central portion of the Andes and of the Cordillera Central and Cordillera Oriental. Some of the mountains are snow-capped, like Coconucos (4,800 m.; 15,746 feet) and such volcanoes as Puracé (4,908 m.; 16,102 feet) and Sotará (4,580 m.; 15,026 feet). There are high páramos, swept by icy winds, where only the frailejón (*Espeletia hartwegiana*) and certain grasses grow. Below these heights, the topography is hilly and grandiose, with a succession of hills, terraces, altiplanos, ravines, cañons, and valleys. 133 P

Some tribes, like the *Coconuco* and *Moguex*, live in the cold mountain spurs toward the Cauca River; others, like the *Páez* and *Guanaca*, in the high páramos with a climate like that at Moras (3,670 m.; 12,040 feet), Guanacas (3,518 to 3,750 m.; 11,541 to 12,303 feet), Las Delicias, and other places to the east. The *Popayanense* occupy the temperate Valley of Pubén. The *Pijao* lived in the last mountains of the Cordillera Central toward the Magdalena River, which, like the valley of this river, is low and warm, and extended to the Cauca Valley in the neighborhood of Buga. 101 361 PO [101] [361] P

The country inhabited by the *Popayanense* at the Conquest has an altitude of 1,760 m. (5,775 ft.) and a mean temperature of 18° C.; the *Páez* in Tierradentro, 1,650 to 2,620 m. (5,774 to 8,595 ft.) and 13 to 17° C.; the *Moguex*, 2,521 m. (8,270 ft.) and 14° C. at Silvia; the *Andaquí* in the region of San Agustín, 1,695 m. (5,561 ft.) and 18° C.; the *Yalcón* and *Timaná*, 1,100 m. (3,608 ft.) and 24° C.; and the *Pijao*, 873 m. (2,864 ft.) and 25° C. at Carnicerías, and 1,700 m. (5,577 ft.) and 18° C. at Pijao (Caldas). 133 132 PO [133] [132]

Such differences in climate with the consequent differences in flora and fauna contributed to the variations in economy and culture. The high peaks of the cordilleras and the deep rivers were frontiers between the tribes, clearly separating them from one another—the *Moguex* P 101 131

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101 from the *Páez*, the *Páez* from the *Pijao*, the *Andaqui* from the *Tama*
131 of Bajo Huila.

This extremely varied habitat offers a great range of food resources
241 and of possibilities for agricultural crops. In the high, cold moun-
133 tains and altiplanos, between 2,500 and 3,000 m. (about 8,200 to 9,800
132 ft.) elevation, where the mean temperature is 11 to 15° C., the principal crops were potatoes (*Solanum andigenum*), ullucos (*Ullucus tuberosus*), and cubios (*Tropaeolum tuberosum*). In the medium zone, between 1,600 and 2,500 m. (about 5,200 to 8,200 feet), with a temperature of 15 to 20° C., the main crop was maize (*Zea mays*), but arracacha (*Arracacia esculenta*), quinoa (*Chenopodium quinoa*), and sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*), were also cultivated. In the low, warm zone between 500 to 1,600 m. (about 1,600 to 5,200 feet), with a temperature of 20 to 28° C., the main crops were maize, sweet manioc or yuca (*Manihot utilissima*) and beans (*Phaseolus vulgaris*).

136 The cold lands also produced in addition to these principal crops,
[241] maize, squash (*Cucurbita maxima*), wild fruits, birds including ducks (Anatidae), doves (Columbidae), guans (*Penelope*), mammals such as the spectacled bear (*Tremarctos ornatus majori*), and other small, wild beasts like the armadillo (*Dasypus novemcinctus*), guaratinajo (*Dinomys branickii*), guatin (*Dasyprocta fuliginosa candelensis*), and
[231] small fish from the rivers and lakes. The guinea pig (curí or cuy,
[262] *Cavia aperea*), which is prolific in all the climates, was the only domesticated animal and is an important source of food of the modern Indians.

241 The inhabitants of the medium, humid zone were more favored by nature in that crops grew faster and in greater variety. In addition to the plants named, they grew achira (*Canna edulis*), auyama (*Cucurbita verrucosa*), beans (frijoles), and peanuts (*Arachis hypogaea*).
262 Among the great variety of wild foods were fruits, granadilla (*Passi-*
137 *flora ligularis*), guayaba (*Psidium*), guama (*Inga* spp.), avocados
136 (*Persea Americana*), papaya (*Carica papaya*), guanabana (*Annona muricata*), and chirimoya (*Annona cherimolia*), and such animals as deer (*Mazama rufina*, *M. gualea*, and *Odocoileus virginianus consul*), rabbits (*Sylvilagus fulvescens*), guinea pigs, various rodents, and large birds, such as chachalacas (*Ortalis*) and guans (*Penelope*).

Additional foods of the low, warm regions were sweet potatoes, beans (frijoles), and yams (*Dioscorea alata*); such fruits as pineapples (*Ananas sativus*), papaya, custard apple (*Annona squamosa*), cactus fruit (*Opuntia* spp.), and plantains (*Musa paradisaica*); and large fish from the rivers.[4]

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[127] [4] The scientific names of the plants were taken from Cortés, 1919. The mammals were tentatively identified by Dr. Remington Kellogg, of the Division of Mammals, U. S. National Museum, and the birds by Dr. Alexander Wetmore, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

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TRIBAL DIVISIONS

Captain Sebastián de Belalcázar was the first conquistador who went north from Quito and entered the Andean region of what is today Colombia. He passed through the territory of the Pasto and Popayán Rivers to reach the region of Neiva and beyond in 1535–36.

At the time of their discovery, the native peoples north of Ecuador were very numerous, but the chroniclers, for example Cieza de León, who crossed this region in 1545 and is its outstanding historian, gave their locations and designations in a very confused manner. The historians classified the aboriginal peoples either according to small villages or groups of houses, slight differences of dialects, or slight cultural variations, so that the true classifications are very difficult to make.

Modern ethnological studies and a critical interpretation of the chroniclers somewhat clarify the cultural panorama of these regions, however, and it is now possible to list the following tribal divisions which existed just before the Conquest [5] (map 7):

Pasto.—The *Pasto* (*Koaiker*, *Cuaiquer*, *Quayquer*, *Coaiquer*,[6] etc.) (Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38), who had a uniform language and culture throughout their villages, were distributed from the town of Tuza between the Mira and San Juan Rivers northward throughout the mountains to the valley of the Patía River and toward the northeast to the southern boundary of the present Department of Cauca. Eastward, they extended to the country of the *Quillacinga*, which began at the Guáitara River (Cieza, 1880, ch. 33). In the west, they occupied the western portion of Nariño, but accurate information is lacking on some tribes, which like the *Abades*, *Masteles* (Juán López de Velasco *in* Guerra, 1942) and *Patía* of the lower Patía River, lived toward the Pacific Coast region. The Angasmayo River in *Pasto* territory was the limit of the conquest of the *Inca* Guaynacapa (Cieza, 1880, ch. 37). Ortíz locates this river southeast of Nariño but other authors identify it with the Mayo River farther to the north.

There was a large number of native groups or villages within this area. Among these Cieza mentions the *Ascual*, *Mallama*, *Túcurres*, (*Tulcan*), *Zapuys*, *Iles*, *Guaimatal*, *Funes*, *Chapal*, *Males*, *Piales*, *Pupiales*, *Turca*, some of which are south of the Colombia-Ecuador border, *Cumba*, and others, and adds that, "All these peoples and chiefs had and have the name of *Pastos*" (Cieza, 1932, ch. 33). Guerra gives other names of small groups (parcialidades).

Quillacinga.—East and southeast of the *Pasto* lived the *Quillacinga*. Padre Velasco (1841–44, vol. 3) identified them with the *Pasto*, but cultural and linguistic differences between these tribes leave no doubt that Cieza de León (1880, ch. 33), was correct in considering them a

[5] Castelvi, 1894; Guerra, 1942; Jijón y Caamaño, 1940–41; Ortiz, 1937 d, 1938 c; and Otero, 1938, 1939.

[6] The *Coaiquer* are sometimes treated as a subgroup of the *Pasto*. (See this volume, pp. 927–936, 957–968.)

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Po 101 361 distinct people. The present city of Pasto was founded in *Quillacinga* territory in the valley of Atris, which was occupied by several small groups: the *Isancales*, *Paguanes*, *Zacuampues*, *Chorros* (Velasco, 1841–44, 2:153), *Mocondino*, *Bejendino*, *Buyzaco*, *Guajanzangua*, *Mocozonduque*, *Guacuanquer*, and *Macazamata* (Cieza, 1932, ch. 33). *Quillacinga* territory extended from the frontier of the *Pasto* on the west, i. e., the Guáitara River, eastward to the mountain ridges from which flow the Caquetá and Putumayo Rivers. Its northern and northeastern limits are the high páramo of the Letrero and the sources of the Cauca River. Recent investigations show that it extends south to the district of Puerres (Guerra, 1942). (See also Ortiz, this volume, p. 911.)

Po 101 **Popayanense.**—North of the *Quillacinga* in the province of the *Popayanense*, which is well delimited by the Cauca River valley and by the first spurs of the Cordillera Oriental and Cordillera Central, were numerous peoples who had the same general culture, although some of the first historians differentiate them. These tribes, which may Po collectively be called *Popayanense*, perhaps included the *Puracé*. The [622] many small groups so lacked political unity, however, that Cieza said "That there were no men among them who were feared," i. e., they P lacked chiefs.

101 **Coconuco, Moguex, and Páez.**—In the hills and small valleys of the eastern slopes of the Cordillera Central were groups of distinctive and strongly organized people. The *Coconuco*, the *Moguex* (*Guambía*), and the *Páez* lived on the eastern slope of the Cordillera, and the P *Guamza* (*Guamsa*), *Malausa*, *Polindara*, *Palace*, *Tembio*, *Colaza*, *Zotara*, and *Guachicone* on the western slope of the Cordillera (Cieza, [97] 1932, ch. 32). Linguistically and culturally,[7] these tribes were very homogeneous. There were three important subgroups: (1) the *Coconuco*, *Cotara* (*Zotara*), and *Colaza;* (2) the *Moguex* (*Guambía*), *Totoró*, and *Polindara;* (3) the *Páez*, with groups on both slopes of the Cordillera Central. (See also Lehmann, this volume, p. 969.)

Andaquí and neighboring tribes.—The *Andaquí* lived in the mountains from the source of the Magdalena River to near Timaná and south to the high ridges which form the watershed between the upper P Magdalena River and the Fragua and upper Caquetá Rivers (Velasco [172] in Ternaux Compans, 1840, pp. 167–68; Pérez, 1862). This zone contains the important archeological remains known as San Agustín (Arroyo, 1907). The territory of the *Yalcón* (*Cambi*) was between the headwaters of the Río de la Plata and the Magdalena River (Simón, 1882–92, vol. 4, Noticia cuarta, ch. iii). The *Timaná* were found by the conquistadors to the southeast of this region, between the Guarapas and Magdalena Rivers centering around Timaná (Velasco, in Ternaux Compans, 1840, 3:26). The *Páez* lived to the north of the

[7] Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38, 2:186; Otero, 1938.

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Yalcón and *Timaná* in an area delimited by the high crests of the Cordillera Central on the west, the snowcapped peak of Huila on the north, the valley of the Páez River on the east, and the region of the Río de la Plata and the Moscopán River on the South (Cieza, 1932, ch. 32), although some groups lived in the valley of the Cauca River bordering the Cordillera on the west (Otero, 1939). |4|

Pijao.—The *Pijao* (*Pinao*) were the strongest and most warlike neighbors of the *Páez*. They inhabited the eastern slopes of the Cordillera Central from La Plata to Ibagué, which included the region of the Río de la Plata and the left side of the Páez River, but extended to near Buga on the western slope of the Cordillera Central. The Páez River formed their frontier with the *Páez* and was their southwestern limit. They extended northward to the territory of the *Quimbaya*, and one of their divisions lived in the Cauca Valley, near Buga. (Simón, 1882–92, vol. 3, ch. 53, p. 330; vol. 4, ch. 24, p. 156; Ordoñez de Ceballos, 1938, chap. 28.) The *Pijao* were bordered on the north by the *Quimbaya* and *Panche*, on the east by the peoples occupying the hot valley of the Magdalena River, on the south by the tribes of the upper Putumayo and Caquetá Rivers, and on the west by the peoples already mentioned and by the *Gorrón* and *Lile*, near the Pacific Ocean. Near them in the Huila Plains were the *Tama*.

SOURCES

Conquest and Colonial Periods.—Acosta (1848), especially for the *Quillacina*; Aguado (1916), an account of the *Pijao*, *Páez*, and *Anabeima* written about 1570 by a Franciscan Friar; Andagoya (1892); Aragón (1930); Arroyo (1907); Belalcázar (Benalcázar) (1936), a letter written in 1549 (see also Jijón y Caamaño (1936–38); Buenaventura (1936); on Belalcázar's itinerary; Castellanos (1852); Cieza de León (1880, 1932); Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al Adelantado Capitán don Sebastián de Benalcázar (1936); Cuervo, A. B. (1894); Descobar (*in* Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38, vol. 2); Espejo de Variedades (*in* Ternaux Compans, 1840), a soldier's account of 15 years at Quito and Popayán, written in 1575; García Borrero (1935 a, 1935 b), on Huila; Guerra F. (1942), on the *Pasto* and *Quillacinga*; Informe de Misioneros (*in* Cuervo, 1894, sec. 2, vol. 4, pp. 248–78, 500); Jijón y Caamaño (1936–38, 1939, 1940–41); Olano (1910); Ordoñez de Ceballos (1938); Otero d'Costa (1935 a, 1935 b); Oviedo y Valdés (1851–55); Piedrahita (1688); Posada (1910); Relaciones geográficas de Indias (1897, vols. 3, 4); Relación del Arzbispo (1910); Robledo (1936–38); Rodriguez (1684); Silvestre (1927), a manuscript dated 1789; Simón (1882–92), accounts written in 1623 and later; Tascon (1938); Velasco (1840, 1841–44). 113

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P 113 **Contemporary descriptions.**—Albis (1934), describing a visit to the *Andaquí* in 1854; Bollaert (1860); Brisson (1899), good on the *Pasto*; Castellví (1934), on language groups; Castillo i Orosco (1878), on *Páez* language; Censo de la Población de la República de Colombia (1924); Cortés (1919), on the flora; Cuervo, M. C. (1920), on archeology and ethnology; Garganta Fabrega (1942), on coca; Douay (1900), on language; Jiménez (1936), on geography; Ortíz (1935), on the native communities of Jamondino and Males; Otero (1938), on the *Guanaca* and (1939) on languages in the Departamento del Cauca; Pérez (1862), on the geography of Cauca; Pittier de Fabrega (1907), on the *Páez;* Reclus (1893); Thrasher, (1860–61); and Triana (1907).

LANGUAGES

P 197 175 Ever since the chroniclers wrote of the Conquest, the problem of the native languages in this part of Colombia has been extremely complicated. One writer affirmed, "It is certain that there are more languages differing from another than there are leagues in the whole province" (Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38, 2: 179–82). According to the "Relación de los Sucesos de Pedrarias Dávila," by Governor Andagoya, the Spaniards ascending the Cauca Valley found within 2 leagues east of Cali:

> There are other peoples with a different language from that of the *Lili*. In the ten leagues of the road toward Popayán there is another people of another language . . . toward the other cordillera of the mountains in the eastern part . . . the language of Popayán extends some ten leagues toward the south. And from the top of the mountains toward the valley of Timaná is another different language and ten leagues beyond [from Popayán] from one cordillera to the other there are other different languages all the way to Quito. [Cuervo, 1894, 2:112.]

P 197 But modern linguistic studies in this region have classified the languages spoken at the time of the Conquest as follows:

Chibchan family
- *Chibcha-Aruaco* group
  - *Aruaco* subgroup
    - *Andaquí* (Castellví, 1934)
- *Talamanca-Barbacoa* group
  - *Páez* subgroup
    - *Páez, Paniquitá, Quilla*
    - *Totoró, Polindara, Moguex* (*Guambia*), *Coconuco*, and *Guanaca*
    - *Pijao, Panche, Quimbaya, Paniágora**
- *Cochean* (*Kamsá*) family
  - *Quillacinga* subgroup (Castellví)
- *Tucanoan* family
  - *Pasto* subgroup†

Po [197]

*Castellví, 1934; *Jijón y Caamaño*, 1936; and Otero, 1938.
†Rivet cited by Guerra. Jijón y Caamaño classifies the *Pasto* or *Cosiquer* language in the *Talamanca-Barbacoa* group of the *Chibchan* family.

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P 197 Po [197]

All the region of Popayán and of the *Páez* in the Cordillera Central thus spoke closely related and very similar dialects which were often grouped. For example, the dialects of the *Pijao*, *Páez*, *Timaná*, and *Yalcón* were classed together. In the south, an area of the *Pasto* language extended to Ecuador. Between the *Pasto* and *Páez*, bordering also on the *Pijao*, the native peoples spoke *Quillacinga* and *Andaquí*.

Of all these languages, there survive today only *Páez*, which is spoken in Tierradentro, and its dialect, *Paniquitá*, on the western slope of the Cordillera Central in Toribío, Caldono, Jambaló, and in parts of Silvia and Totoró. *Moguex* and the related *Totoró* and *Polindara* are spoken in Silvia and in the regions of Totoró and Polindara, according to Otero. *Andaquí* is spoken by only a few scattered groups surviving in the lower region of the Caquetá River.

HISTORY

P 175 648

After Don Sebastián de Belalcázar founded the City of Quito, he sent Diego de Tapia on a voyage of exploration toward the north in 1535 (Otero d'Costa, 1935 a). This expedition discovered the new lands of the Cordillera as far as the large Quillacinga River, today the Carchi River. This river became the point of departure for important travels in the same year by Pedro de Añasco, and in 1536 by Belalcázar, who founded Cali and Popayán, both key points for future expeditions and discoveries. These were the first White contacts with the Andean tribes of southern Colombia. In 1538, Belalcázar undertook a second expedition from Quito, crossing the Cordillera through *Páez* territory and then passing among the *Pijao* Indians. Both tribes resisted him with their feeble arms. He continued toward the east until he met the expeditions of Jiménez de Quesada and Federman at Bogotá. With the foundation of outposts by Jiménez de Quesada in the lands called the New Kingdom of Granada, Añasco was sent back to found Timaná in the territory of the *Timaná* and *Yalcón*. This city was to be the base for communications between Perú, Quito, Popayán, and Santa Fé de Bogotá.

Po 175 648 [411]

The *Pasto* and *Quillacinga*, after a few encounters with the Spanish soldiers, in which they always suffered bloody defeats because of the weakness of their weapons (arrows, lances, wooden swords, and sometimes slings) and because the Spaniards used horses and hunting dogs, began to surrender. The inhabitants of the Valley of Popayán, who were poor warriors, also ceased to struggle. These tribes had previously suffered the *Inca* invasion, which had extended north to the Angasmayo River, which washed their lands. But the *Páez*, *Moguex*, *Andaquí*, and *Pijao*, thanks to the rugged mountains in their territory and to their more bellicose character and better organization, presented a serious obstacle to the Spaniards' ideal route, which had been drawn

P 175 648

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,√(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

[75 648 [266] [727] by Belalcázar between the Kingdom of Quito and Bogotá. Few Spaniards wished to adventure through these wild lands where the Indians were strong and ambushed them. The founders of Timaná were constantly attacked, and the frightening legend of cannibalism began to spread. It was said that Spaniards were the preferred victims, and that the Indians considered the flesh of enemies the finest morsels in their great victory feasts. The soldiers collected some gold in the so-called penetrations (entradas) of the country—attacks really made to kill the natives, to destroy their crops, and to burn their houses. All of this made the Indians resist more strongly, but it was necessary to clear the road to Santa Fé, and the war of extermination went on without respite. Belalcázar himself returned to *Páez* territory and was defeated at the rocky cliff of Talagá in 1541, only to return with more than 200 soldiers, of whom 100 had horses, and spread blood and fire among the Indian villages. But the Indians made reprisals. They assailed Timaná and killed its mayor, after putting out his eyes and leading him through the market places with a cord passed through his face. This act of vengeance was to satisfy Gaitana, a valiant warlike Indian woman who had formed various Indian alliances against the Spaniards because they burned her son. In 1543, the *Pijao* destroyed the town of Los Angeles, recently founded in the Neiva Valley. They continually attacked the area surrounding Ibagué, but many of them were defeated and killed in 1556 in the plains of Chaparral by Francisco de Trejo's troops. Both Spaniards and Indians were stubborn in their struggles, the Indians being unwilling to make peace as long as they were being killed and their crops destroyed.

The struggle was rekindled in 1562 when Captain Domingo Lozano, having requested the privilege of conquering the Indians, organized an army and entered *Páez* territory. He founded the town of San Vicente de Páez near Huila Mountain in order to ensure Spanish domination of the heart of the country. But the Indians ambushed his soldiers and gradually killed off the cavalry, the Spaniards' strongest troops. Eventually, they destroyed San Vicente and again controlled their own rugged lands. The *Pijao*, meanwhile, fought to the death. They destroyed Villa Vieja or Neiva in 1569 and, allied with the *Páez*, took San Sebastián de la Plata in 1577, killing all its inhabitants and burning the houses. They finally put an end to and avenged the Spaniards' exploitation of a silver mine which had been discovered in *Moscopan* and *Yalcón* territory in 1551.

Fleeing Spanish pressure which extended from Timaná toward the heart of the Andes, the *Andaquí*, exhausted by the wars, followed the high hills to the east, and began in 1564 to descend toward the Caquetá River.

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The King of Spain, receiving word of the troubles in this region, ordered Don Juan de Borja, his Governor at Santa Fé, to carry out the "pacification of the province," meaning the extermination of its inhabitants. The decisive war started in Chaparral in 1605 and ended in 1608 when a Spanish witness wrote of this territory, where the *Páez* had remained free for so many years, that the provinces "were so desolated that the troops could not find Indians to fight, houses to plunder, or roots or grain to eat, and, if some Indian remained, instead of daring to plant boldly, he sowed four handfuls of grain here, two more there in the shadows and cover of the trees . . . they went about harrassed, thin, and emaciated until life was ended, for the soldiers saw corpses of people dead of hunger or sickness at every step" (Simón, 1882–92, Septima Noticia, ch. 49, vol. 5, pp. 314–15). A document in the ecclesiastical archives of Páez, dated July 17, 1638, states that in the lands adjoining the *Páez* there lived a *Pijao* Indian named Ambrosio, who had said that Captain Andrés de Zúñiga could now well enjoy this country because there were *Pijao* but not *Páez* Indians in it and because the *Pijao* saw themselves doomed and the land had no proprietor. 175 648

The *Guanaca*, who, because their chief was an enemy of the *Páez* chief, had allied themselves with the Spaniards in order to attack the *Páez*, were the first to surrender and join a Spanish colony. The first road between Popayán and Santa Fé passed through their territory, where the Spaniards established a hostelry for traders. This district was given to the Jesuits, who established the Church of Guanacas and, later, a town of the same name. But the Indians felt another lethal force of European origin—disease which they were unable to withstand. In 1790, a smallpox epidemic so reduced them that they abandoned their town, and the few survivors retired to the narrow mesa, where the modern town of Inza is situated. Here they gradually disappeared altogether. [797] [177] [164] [731]

The *Páez* continued to resist and defend their lands against Spanish missionization, so that the road to Guanaca never became secure. The extinction of the *Pijao*, the lack of important quantities of gold in the area, and the difficulty of the terrain, which was such that the Chronicler Pedro de Aguado said "to travel through *Páez* territory is to go up and down," caused the Spaniards to abandon interest in dominating these peoples. They were content to establish the Guanacas mission, and, a little later, the parish of Tálaga. Subsequently, as these Indians, who were isolated in their high mountains, were allowed to retain their customs and beliefs without interference, they did not protest when small groups of Whites peacefully occupied certain places in their lands. 175 648 797

Thus began the true Colonial Period for those tribes which survived the wars of the Conquest. The encomienda system was inaugurated, 175 648

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P 175 648 in which a Spaniard held a territory occupied by Indians. The natives, under a chief who was protected by the White authorities and P [652] who made contact between the master, or encomendero, and his sub- [651] jects, had to give a certain number of days' work and a specified P tribute in products of the lands, animals, gold, or manufactures. The [177] encomiendas made no effort to Hispanicize the Indians, but continued to loot and massacre them. The Indians, reduced to utter misery, gave up all their artistic and industrial activities, and devoted the greater part of their time to the service of the master or to seeking products to pay the obligatory tribute. To remedy this situation, the Spanish Crown decreed the native "parcialidad," giving surviving P groups reservations and prohibiting their employment in transporting [623] men and goods over the highways. This reform was never entirely carried out, however, and the Indians, in spite of having their own government, the cabildo or Indian council, continued in servitude P or debt slavery.

[621] The native Indian government consisted generally of a governor, [631] a first mayor (alcalde mayor), a second mayor (alcalde segundo), a trustee (sindico or fiscal), and constables (alguaciles), the last a kind of police who transmitted to the people the orders which the Whites gave through the governors or mayors, and who carried out penalties P of imprisonment, of placing in stocks, and whipping, which the P 175 first Spaniards introduced into the punishment of the natives. At the 648 same time, the Christianization of the Indians began. It succeeded 797 in an imperfect way, however, for the Indian attended Masses, ar- 438 ranged and participated in processions, and did not miss the solemn 273 ceremonies a single Sunday largely because on the same day he brought his own products to the pueblo for sale, bought salt or meat which he P needed, and devoted himself to drinking chicha, the traditional drink 175 which he had always taken on religious or social occasions.

648 The Indians of Nariño, descendants of the *Pasto*, lost their language Po and many of their customs during the Colonial Period, although they continued to live as natives on their reservations, which daily became [463] smaller because of the encroachments by the neighboring Whites or [333] Mestizos. They became farmers with small landholdings and, occasionally, masons in the cities. The *Moguez* and *Pdez*, however, P 175 retained their language and the greater part of their customs. Some 648 of them, especially the men who had to deal with the Whites, learned a little Spanish, and they continued throughout the Colonial Period P to defend their lands and their traditions. To religious practices in- [191] troduced by the missionaries, they added such elements as the offer P of food to the souls of the dead. They added to the Colonial council (cabildo) the office of captain, an official who, unlike the rest of the [622] council, was not responsible to civilian authorities but had life tenure, sometimes a hereditary position, and more authority within the group.

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P [161]

The captain was, therefore, like the aboriginal hereditary cacique, the chief of each aboriginal group.

The decrease of the native population was accelerated until, in the Province of Popayán, according to "Descripción del Reyno de Santa Fé de Bogotá," by Francisco Silvestre (1927), there were in 1789 only 64,463 inhabitants—3,603 families of Whites, 6,022 of Indians, 4,793 of freemen (Negroes), and 3,247 slaves (Negroes), who worked in the mines and haciendas and replaced the Indians, who were disappearing. When the revolution against Spain began, the various groups of Indians in this region behaved very differently, each according to the disposition previously shown. The *Pasto* followed the Spanish troops, forming a royalist unit that was difficult to conquer, whereas the *Páez* took the part of the Republic and were led by the celebrated Indian Chief, Gregorio Calambás, who was shot by Warleta, and thus became a martyr of Colombian Independence.

Po [175] [648]

With the consolidation of the Republic, the laws of Colombia established reservations for the Indians, but the neglect and exploitation characteristic of the Colonial Period continued, and there were only a few missions. There has not been contemplated until now any economic, cultural, or sanitary betterment of these natives. Most of them finally have disappeared, vanquished by diseases, by economic want, which the new necessities created and contact with civilization aggravated, and by the shrinkage of their reservation lands through the ambition of those who made it a policy to break up the native communities through official subdivision of their lands.

THE CULTURE OF THE PASTO, COAIQUER, QUILLACINGA, AND POPAYANENSE

The *Pasto* or *Coaiquer*, the *Quillacinga*, and the *Popayanense* formed a culturally homogeneous group at the time of the Conquest and later experienced very similar acculturation.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Farming.—Subsistence was based on intensive horticulture. Each family had its own small fields and grew potatoes and other tubers, xíquimas, a grain which Cieza calls cebada, quinio or quinoa, and maize, of which there was little in *Pasto* territory but much elsewhere.

A simple, pointed stick is used today in Nariño for planting.

The historians do not mention communal work in agriculture, but probably it was carried out in the form of labor loans (minga) between individuals, as today in Nariño and Cauca. The beneficiary of help in harvesting crops has to give each helper a basketful of the produce, a form of compensation called "chindé." He is also obligated to give similar help to the others. This communal labor is more solemn when the Indians work and plant the lands of the

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

Today the special industry is the extraction of oil from the "mil pesos" palm. Hunting and war are the principal occupations of the men. They involve very important rites conducted by the captain or cacique, assisted by a deputy or second in command of a group. These rites are performed as follows (Albis, 1934):

In preparing for an attack on the *Wiloto*, the deputy captain takes his men to hunt animals, while the women prepare chicha and "caguana." Upon their return, the hunters adorn themselves, dance, and drink chicha, and then go to their houses. The following day they catch "conga" ants, whose bite causes fever, and place them in a palm-leaf mat so that their heads stick out. The captain's wife picks up the mat and lets the ants bite her husband on his legs to make him strong, on his breast to make him brave, on his face to prevent him from sleeping, and on the chin to make him silent. The captains then make the ants bite the back and legs of the women, so that young *Wiloto* prisoners will be diligent helpers. Afterward the captains each eat three ants mixed with water. If they have pains, the hunt will be successful. After this, the captain, carrying a turtle shell, speaks to the women, admonishing and scolding them, and then retires to a separate house, where he holds a conference with his men, forecasting the probable outcome of the fight and exhorting the men to avenge those who may be killed by the *Wiloto*. That night they hold ritual dances and mimic animals. Two balsa-wood images are placed at the door of the main building and two Indians must pierce them with their spears while running. These two Indians are whipped after their feat by all those present. At dawn they plant a pole in the middle of the yard or square, pour water around it, and dance there until they have made mud, and then spend the day gathering food for the departing warriors. In order to be strong and to capture many young *Wiloto*, each warrior has to place an arm in a bag full of "yuco" ants until it is thoroughly bitten. Upon departing, the captain gives his wife a knotted hemp cord (a kind of quipu). She unties a knot every night and thus knows when to expect him back and on what day the fight will take place. The day of the battle she remains in the hut where the hunters stayed the first day; otherwise they will be unable to capture any *Wiloto* children. With other women she waits there 3 days for the men to return and then, after leaving there an "araraita," a palm branch, the women return to their homes to prepare more chicha. If the expedition is successful, the men return with great demonstrations of joy, but if it fails, they hit everything and bemoan their luck. The captain's principal wife upbraids her husband. After a community meal, all go home and resume their occupations.

Menstruating women throughout this area remain in a special house weaving hemp. They may have no visitors. At the end of the period, they bathe and return to their dwellings.

At childbirth, a woman must remain at home 3 months, while her husband stays in his hammock, refraining from labor and dieting lest his child die. After 3 months the parents anoint themselves and child with "jagua" fruit and resume normal life.

THE CULTURE OF THE MOGUEX AND PÁEZ

Although the *Moguex* and *Páez* have distinct territories and different dialects, their ethnology may be described together because of the great similarity of their economy with its agricultural basis, their social organization, and their general culture.

7:Hernández de Alba E-54(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The main subsistence of these tribes was and still is based on the cultivation of potatoes, which grow in great quantities in the higher portions of the territory known as Tierradentro, and maize, which is acclimated to the temperate and cold zones. There are three varieties of maize: sweet, soft, and hard. Additional crops were and are yuca or manioc, sweet potatoes, auyamas, ullucos, purutos, frijoles, arracacha, and various other vegetables, and a variety of fruits, including bananas, guayavas, avocados, papayas, [178] pineapples, and passion fruit. Today the *Páez* and *Moguex* are be- [433] ginning to grow wheat, coffee, which is an important item in their [273] economy, and sugarcane, from which is made a coarse sugar and molasses for their fermented drink, guarapo.

241 The men and women of each family generally cultivate the family 476 plot, but for large-scale maize or coffee planting, and for cultivation of the lands of the Church or saint, they work communally, and have meetings called "mingas." Communal work for any particular [782] individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense. The [273] beneficiary must feed his helpers, generally sacrificing a pig and preparing great quantities of chicha for the libations and nocturnal dances after the work. All adults must participate in working the Church lands, but each brings his own food.

241 Implements of cultivation are the digging stick, or macana, for 412 making holes for planting, machetes and axes for destroying vege- 407 tation, and picks and shovels for removing earth, except where re- 492 placed by plows pulled by animal traction.

Domesticated animals.—Domesticated animals include chickens, 231 turkeys, some pigs, dogs, and a few horses and cows. All but the [177] turkeys are of European origin. These animals are rarely sold or killed for food, except for feast days, magical ceremonies, meetings, [438] and visits of relatives, friends or distinguished White men. But [251] sometimes the Indians buy meat in the weekly market and hang it over the hearth, where it is preserved by the smoke.

A custom which has persisted since the beginning of the Colonial 574 Period is that of always giving a guest the "camarico" or "cariño" 431 (affection), a present varying from an egg to a chicken, together with some potatoes, vegetables, and coffee beans.

262 Formerly, meat was obtained from wild rather than domesticated 136 animals—boars (zaínos), guaras, guatines, birds, and guinea pigs, the 231 last being true domesticated animals kept in some numbers in the native houses.

252 **Food preparation.**—Food was cooked in pottery ollas, but metal and [415] enamel ware is now often used. The *Páez* make "mute," a soup of [177] boiled maize, cabbage, squash, and potatoes, and "cocido," a soup

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

of manioc, arracacha, potatoes, beans, sweet maize, and pieces of meat. Meat is sometimes roasted. Maize, the staple, is made into tortillas or soup, or is roasted on the ear. Coffee, much of which is consumed, is roasted in a pottery vessel, ground, and made into an infusion sweetened with coarse sugar. 252 [272]

Kitchen utensils include pottery ollas and vessels, and a footless elliptical stone metate with a central concavity, which lies directly on the floor or is supported on sticks driven in the soil. Meat is kept smoked over the fireplace, and other food is stored on shelves of cane woven into the roof sticks or in hanging hemp bags or gourds. Each gourd has a broad half-gourd suspended above it, open side down, so that a rat descending from above slides off the gourd onto the floor. 415 251 [353] [825]

The first daily meal is taken at daybreak and consists of "mute." There is no noonday meal, but the evening repast resembles breakfast. Between meals, the Indians chew coca two or three times to sustain their strength and allay hunger. For refreshment and stimulation, they drink guarapo, carrying it to work in gourds. 264 [276] [273]

They cultivate pepper (ají) for a condiment, but purchase salt in the weekly market. The latter is so scarce that instead of mixing it with food they pass a lump around, each person licking it. Before the Conquest, three salt deposits were exploited in this territory, the most important being that near the modern municipality of Belalcázar or Páez. Here the local chief had the salt water boiled down to obtain blocks of salt, which he traded with other tribes for diverse products, or with which he bought help in his wars against the neighboring *Pijao*. Sometimes he permitted other *Páez* to exploit the deposit. Near the present-day Indian center of Ricaurte on the Ullucos River is another salt works that was much used in ancient times, but today is abandoned. Another source of salt was at Huila, where, during the Conquest, the Indians ambushed the Spaniards who sought it, and killed their horses. 317 263 [244] [439] [648]

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Each *Páez* and *Moguex* family has its own house, located on a point or flat place in the mountains some distance from its neighbors. The aboriginal house seems to have been rectangular, which still is the only form. It was so lightly constructed of cane and sticks with thatched roof that the Spanish soldiers during the foundation of San Vicente de Páez "carried some Indian houses to their barracks because they were small and suited to it" (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 9). Some distance from the dwelling, they always built a small woman's house. Under Spanish influence, some houses were divided into rooms, and built more solidly of "bahareque" construction, i. e., walls consisting of two faces of sticks with mud and rocks between (pl. 185). 342 [361] 177 342

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,W(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

342 [177] Some had wooden doors and windows, and were built with nails and wires, though most were still made with vegetable materials.

The modern *Moguex* house has two rooms. The main one, entered through a small door, serves as storeroom for goods to be sold, reception hall, dancing place, and a room in which to keep watch over the dead. The other is a pantry for provisions and drinks; here are kept kitchen utensils. In the center is the fireplace and around it dried cowhides or platform beds made of horizontal poles tied to stakes driven in the ground. One's neighbors aid him to build his house, transporting heavy timbers over light rollers and singing rhythmically as they heave together. If the owner of a new house is a man of means, he pays for a feast of benediction or consecration carried out with a Catholic priest, a godfather, and a godmother.

[354] [352] [476] [461] [554] [778]

The *Páez* does all this and in addition puts some pieces of silver money under his house to assure his good fortune. In the main house he places the metate on stakes, and in a secondary house, the press for extracting wax from laurel, one or more troughs or hollowed trunks, and large jars for chicha and guarapo. From the roof frame hang bags, or "mochilas," of netted hemp for belongings. There is also a bamboo candlestick, the wooden feast drum, sometimes a tiple or small guitar, and, nailed to the wall, a spindle. Outside, the loom stands against the wall Beyond it is the sugarcane mill, which is made of a section of tree trunk with a hole above a projection on which the cane is pressed by hand with a rod which crosses the hole. Some mills consist of two or three wooden cylinders rotated by animal power.

352 [415] [353] [354] [524] [283] 404 286 249

In each maize field is a small, temporary house and a high platform where a watchman frightens the parrots and parakeets with periodic cries and motions.

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Each *Páez* group today has its communally built pueblo, with "bahareque" buildings grouped around a rectangular plaza: a church, with its arched portico and small tower in imitation of Colonial architecture, a house for the priest, a school, and two or three large houses for meetings and fiestas, where they dance, sing, and sleep during fiesta days. But ordinarily, the people remain at their distant houses and fields, and do not live at the pueblo, the only permanent inhabitants of which are a few Whites and Mestizos.

177 361

ENGINEERING WORKS

The Spaniards found bridges which they described as "weak and flexible bridges of bamboo" and "bridges of vines." A territory so broken and crossed with so many rivers and canyons naturally stimulated the *Páez* in the construction of bridges and the laying out of roads. Today they make four kinds of bridges: (1) A simple vine or cable stretched across the river; (2) a kind of wooden stairs placed

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7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

obliquely across the rocks; (3) an arched bridge of bamboo floored 491
with spaced sticks, equipped with a hand rail on each side, and sup- 499
ported with stones, bamboo braces, and vines (pl. 185, *bottom, right*);
and (4) a covered bridge with thatched roof, built of heavy logs sup-
ported by sticks and stones and floored with boards—a marvel of
calculated strength, which, like the third type, is made entirely of
vegetable materials yet can support loaded animals. To build an 499
arched bridge, two groups of Indians approach opposite sides of the
river and each plants a long, strong pole sloping out over the stream.
The chief of each group then climbs out his pole until his weight bends
it down to meet that from the opposite side, whereupon, clinging with
one hand, they lash the ends together with creepers. This constitutes the main element of the bridge which is then completed by the other Indians.

TRANSPORTATION

Some Indians now have horses and use them for traveling and for 489
transporting large burdens, but, in general, transportation is by foot, 492
objects being carried on the back or in netted sacks hung by a strap, 492
especially when visiting markets. A woman carries not only a heavy
load but her small child suspended on her back in a blue woolen
blanket held with a broad woven band, or "chumbe." Peculiarly
Andean is the custom that the man travels on horseback while the
woman follows on foot with a large burden.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The *Moguex* and *Páez* formerly wore only small cotton blankets 291
(mantas), although most of them "went about naked even on the cold
mountains" (Rodríguez, 1684, bk. 2, ch. 1). They painted their 302
bodies with bixa, using, according to Del Castillo i Orozco, stamps
to apply the color. The paint also protected them against the strong [757]
sunlight and insects. They went barefoot, as all the natives in [825]
Colombia. According to one chronicler, their hair was "shorn" [291]
(Robledo, in Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38). They wore breast and
nose ornaments of pure gold or a gold and copper alloy, and necklaces 301
of small figures, beads, small stones, and snails.

Soon after the beginning of the Conquest, the Indians commenced 291
to use wide, long shirts of a very crude weave and hats which were so 177
closely woven that they would hold water. The latter, which the
Spaniards called "tacillas de Páez" (Páez bowls), are still in use.
The Spanish encomenderos required that the Indians working on
their haciendas near Popayán be dressed. This was the origin of the
characteristic garment worn today, which combines the old small
blanket (manta) with European dress. *Moguex* men wear short linen
pants, and a blue flannel sash which covers them to their knees.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

291 177 They protect the upper part of the body with a black poncho tied at the belt, or a shirt with a poncho over it. Women wear two skirts, the under skirt being black and the outer one white or gray. Both are held at the waist by a sash woven with figures. They cover their busts with two blankets which are fastened at the shoulders with [293] wood, copper, or silver pins. Both sexes carry pouches woven of [415] hemp which, like these Indians, are called "guambías." Their straw hats are dish-shaped, with small brims hardly distinguishable from the shallow crowns. The hats, always too large for their heads, are held on by two cords, one passing under the chin and the other behind the neck, around the hair. The women also wear woolen shawls, silver earrings, rings, and heavy necklaces of glass, shells, and silver. For festivals they prefer hats with the brim divided into two parts, front and back. These are lined with dark-blue cloth, with red and yellow on the brim.

When working, the *Páez* wear short linen pants or long woolen ones and a large woolen poncho tied at the waist. When going to market, they wear an additional poncho and a woolen pouch for coca. When [292] traveling on the páramos, they wear a knit hemp cloak covered with large, thin leaves of *Gynerium saccharoides*, which protects them from the rain. The women wear a narrow woven cotton band, passed between the legs and tied at the waist, one, two, or more black or gray woolen skirts gathered at the waist and held by a woven sash, [482] and two small mantas, like those of the *Moguex*. In traveling, a [854] shawl is worn for covering and to carry the child. They adorn themselves also with strings or necklaces of glass or other beads, or white chaquiras, and sometimes are added silver pendants of Colonial origin. [292] During festivals the women wear brightly colored blouses of imported fabrics and the men linen shirts.

MANUFACTURES

285 **Basketry.**—The *Páez* and *Moguex* make a few twilled baskets of cane strips and two kinds of hats. The hats are woven with the coiled or sewed technique. The spiraled warp in one kind consists of a thin bundle of rush or straw, and in the other of a braid made with seven [462] strands. The latter is more common. Both are made by men who [292] prepare materials while resting at home or traveling on the road. Weaving also includes waterproof capes made by tying sheaves of [824] leaves or straw to a net of hemp cord.

Cordage.—Rope making is practiced extensively. Hemp (fique) 283 is the raw material, and is made into cords for fishing nets, bird trap nets, bags or pouches for carrying belongings and products, foundation nets for the leaf rain capes, and cordage for various other purposes. The sisal or hemp (fique) leaves are scraped over the sharp edge of a board to loosen the fibers, which are then washed, dried, and twisted

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PLATE 185.—**Páez houses and bridge.** *Top (left):* Family dwelling with menstrual hut at left. San Andrés. *Bottom (right):* *Páez* Indians and house, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Top (right):* Large communal fiesta house, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Bottom (left):* Suspension bridge, Tierradentro. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942-A]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5W(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

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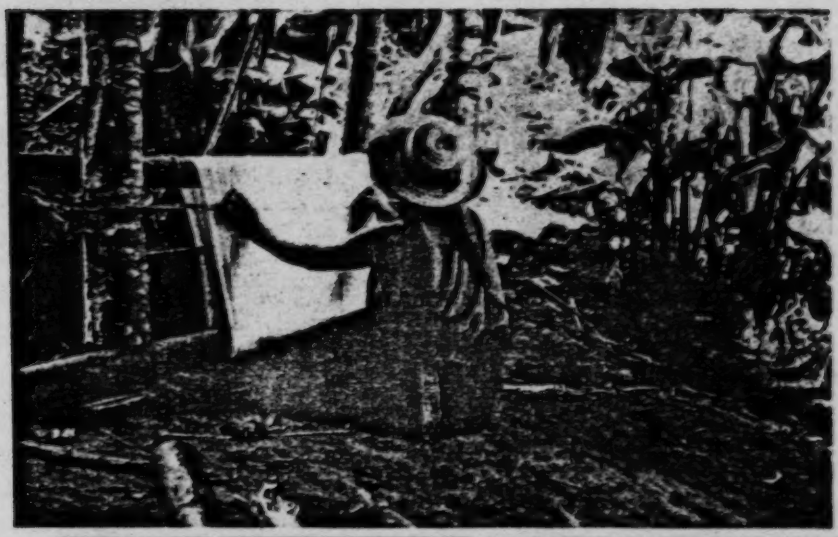

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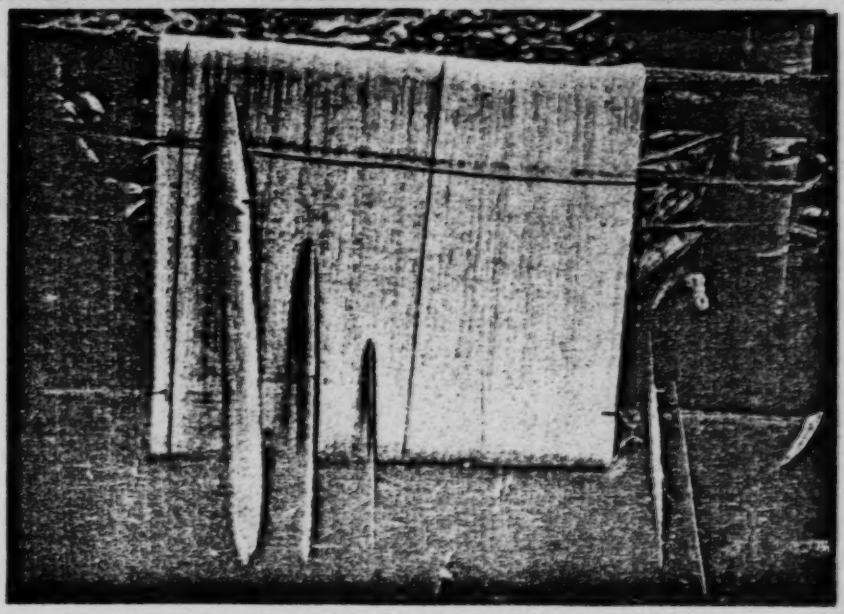

PLATE 186.—*Páez weaving. Top:* Woman weaving a woolen skirt. *Bottom:* Loom and weaving utensils. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942B]

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PLATE 187.—**Páez weaving and spinning.** *Top:* Woman spinning wool while walking, San Andrés, Tierradentro. *Bottom:* Men weaving straw hats. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 C]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5)(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez
Pasto SC17

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PLATE 188.—**Quillacinga musicians.** *Top:* Musicians and banner carrier at Siburdoy dressed for fiesta. *Bottom:* Musicians dressed in ordinary clothes. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 -D]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Páez SC15
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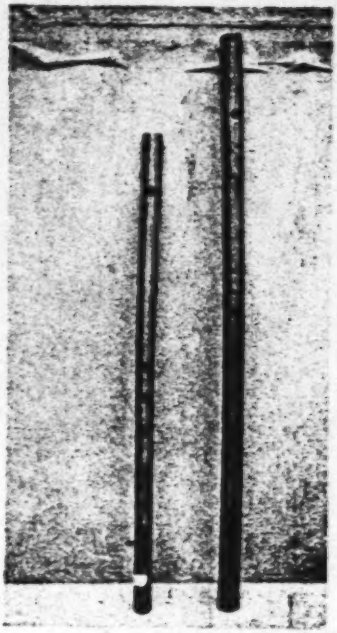

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PLATE 189.—**Páez and Quillacinga musical instruments.** *Top: Páez* drums. *Center (left: Quillacinga* panpipes. *Bottom (left): Quillacinga* vibration instruments of turtle shell. *Bottom (right): Quillacinga* flutes. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942-E]

7:Hernández de Alba E-S/H(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

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PLATE 190.—**Páez and Moguex Indians at the markets of Inzá, Tierradentro.** *Top: Páez* Indians buying coca. *Bottom: Moguex* Indians. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 - F]

?:Hernández de Alba E-5/4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

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PLATE 191.—**Páez markets in Tierradentro.** *Top:* Market in Huila. *Bottom:* Selling chicha at San Andrés. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 G]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
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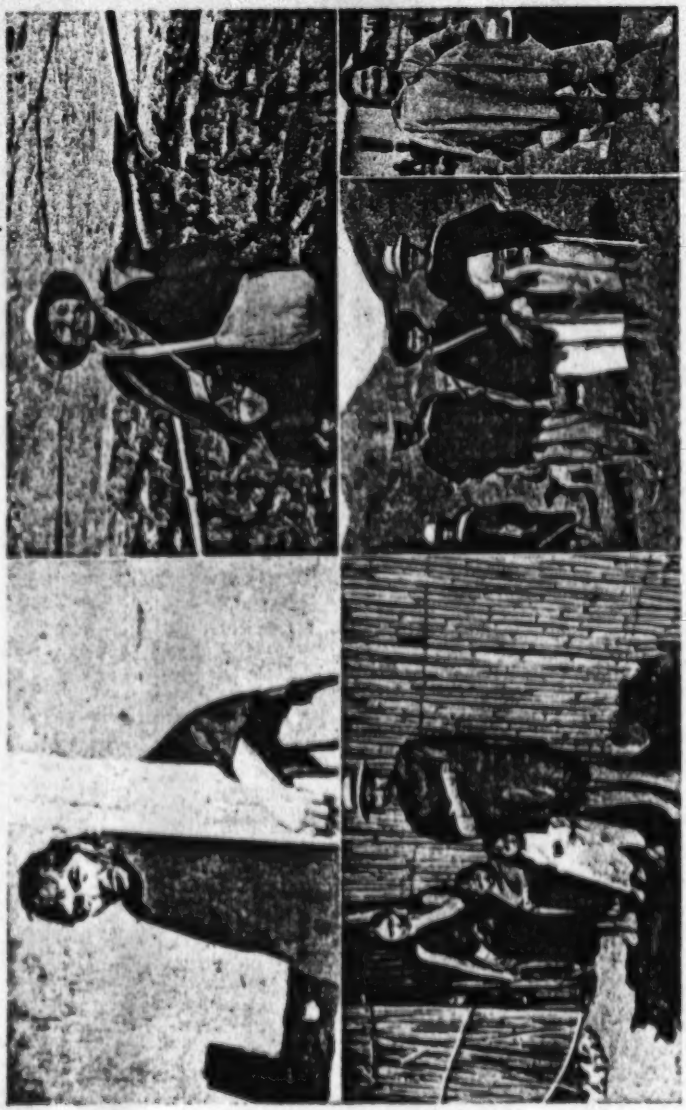

PLATE 102.—Páez types. *Top (left)*: *Páez man*, Tierradentro. *Top (right)*: Woman with necklaces and bags woven of wool and bast fibers, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Bottom (left)*: Indians, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Bottom (center)*: Indians, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Bottom (right)*: Man at Inzá, Tierradentro. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 - H)

Hernández de Alba E-5,1 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

with the right hand over the naked thigh. Two strands are similarly twisted together until the desired thickness is obtained. 283

Gourds.—Gourds are still widely used. They are picked when ripe, cleaned out, and dried. With small openings, they serve as containers for beverages and powdered lime. Some are made into bowls and others are cut up to make spoons. Today these objects are undecorated, but formerly in Timaná they were painted with a resin varnish very similar to that used in Pasto. (See p. 930.) Before the Spanish domination, gourds were also used as frames over which were stretched the prepared skin of the heads of their enemies killed in war. 415 824 [314] [727]

Metallurgy.—The metallurgy of these Indians was the same as that practiced throughout most of Colombia. The metals were gold, copper, and an alloy of the two (tumbaga). It is recorded that the Indians "worked gold," but the processes are not described. Specimens found recently in the territory, however, show molding, casting, and hammering. Metal objects included nose ornaments, parrot-shaped breastplates, necklaces with small animal figures, and some anthropomorphic idols. Gold occurs in this territory, particularly on the upper Páez or the Suin River. 325 [301] [532] [135]

Ceramics.—These tribes made and still make coiled pottery. Modern vessel forms include large jars for storing beverages and poorly shaped, crudely decorated containers for preparing and serving food. There is no individual specialization in this task, women making pots for their own family and not for trade. 323

Stone and wooden artifacts.—The native Indians made stone axes of a simple design, but stonework disappeared during the time of colonization, when the Indians could obtain manufactured iron weapons and utensils such as machetes, axes, hoes, shovels, etc. The manufacture of wooden objects—weaving, cooking, and farming implements and weapons—was furthered by the use of metal tools, and now is well developed, as exemplified by the trapiche (cane mill), a true machine made of wood. 324 182 179 322 249 179

Weaving.—Weaving, little practiced before the Conquest, developed with the post-Contact need for wearing more clothes and with the introduction of sheep, whose wool was used in addition to cotton. Weaving was and is exclusively the work of women (pl. 186). They prepare fine, uniform yarn with a common spindle, which they handle as they walk along the road (pl. 187, *top*). The loom is vertical, made of two horizontal rods fastened to two uprights. The warp runs vertically with a continuous thread. The horizontal weft is pressed down with a wooden sword. They also weave hemp bands on the loom. Woolen blankets are woven in natural colors, but some sashes have bright colors made of imported wool or of home-dyed wool. For red, they use one of the Rubiaceae (*Relbunium hypocarpium*), and for 286 [177] [462] [386]

?:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

286 [386] blue, the fruit of the jagua palm (kii), probably *Genipa* sp. A woven fabric is made black by burying it for several days with clay and branches of a *Phyllanthus* which they call "sal."

[531] They make woolen bags by hand, using a kind of crochet technique without needles, and decorate them with rectangular and rhomboid figures. Some bags are made of hemp (fique), in which case the stitches are larger and the article has greater elasticity.

411 **Weapons.**—For weapons, the *Páez* used large, thick lances of black [824] or chonta palm, 20 to 25 palms or more long, clubs or macanas, stones [171] thrown with slings, large rocks rolled down from heights, spear throwers like those used by the *Chibcha*, and shields of jaguar, puma, or [177] bear skin. The *Páez* quickly adopted iron arms from the Spaniards, and in the last wars of the Conquest they used steel swords and knives. [172] In a recently discovered grave were copper bells, a golden breastplate, shield bars of tumbaga, a Spanish dagger, and a curved knife of the Arabian or north African type used by the conquistadors.

[223] Today the *Páez* use the club or macana, ordinary guns, machetes, knives, and, for killing birds, the blowgun.

354 **Fire making.**—Fires are generally made today with flint and steel, [372] but some Indians use modern matches. For both heating and cook- [177] ing, the fire is made on the ground in the main house, surrounded by stones which help support the pots. It is covered at night, and almost never goes out.

354 Illumination is provided not only by the fire but by candles made of 824 wax from the wax palm and from seeds of a wild laurel. The latter are cooked and pressed in a bag so that the wax drips into a half [388] calabash or pot to form a semispherical lump. It is melted to make candles with cotton wicks. The *Páez* use these themselves and also sell them, for they are superior to candles made of animal tallow. A cruder means of lighting consists of transfixing a large number of "higuerilla" seeds on a long, thin bamboo splinter. When the splinter is laid horizontally and lighted, the first seed burns strongly, after which the flame passes from seed to seed, lasting some 15 minutes and throwing a fair light a few feet around.

COMMERCE

438 Each week a market is held in the municipio or in some of the small 439 native villages (pls. 190, 191). The Indians sell vegetables, tortillas, eggs, chickens, and laurel wax, and buy salt, brown sugar, and espe- [435] cially lime (mambe) to be chewed with coca. Each product has a price in Colombian money, whether by quantity or weight. The unit [804] of weight is called an "egg," and more or less equals the weight of a [273] chicken egg. After his few customary transactions, paid for either in cash or in terms, in which the future coffee crop is mortgaged to the

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

civilized tradesman, the Indian turns to drinking guarapo or chicha and becomes drunk. Often a heated discussion, always spoken in Spanish and not in *Páez*, leads to insults and perhaps to blows and injuries. A man's wife usually maneuvers him from the village and, if he falls asleep on the road, she sits by him warding off dangers.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political structure.—The *Moguex*, *Páez*, *Guanaca*, *Timaná*, and *Yalcón*, despite their great similarity in language and culture, formed separate groups at the time of the Conquest. Each was divided into several communities (parcialidades), of which those of the *Páez* were the most numerous. The *Guanaca* were split between two principal caciques, one of whom, Anabeima, joined the Spaniards against the *Páez* of Avirama. The other cacique was Esmisa, Anabeima's brother-in-law. Each *Páez* community had its own chief, but the communities were grouped into three great divisions. One consisted of the *Páez*, *Tálaga*, *Simurga*, and *Taravira*, on the shores of the Páez River. The chiefs of three of these groups were brothers; that of the fourth was their sister, whose name was Taravira. Another group was headed by Suin, and his son, Esmisa. In the third group, Avirama was joined by other neighboring chiefs of less importance.

Each community (cacicado) consisted of several polygynous families under a male chief (pl. 185, *top, left*). Each family had its own house, located some distance from its neighbor's. All the members of a community gathered for general work, and all or several of the communities united for war, either against the *Pijao*, their feared neighbors, or against the Spaniards.

The place of a cacique's residence was a sort of focal point and meeting place, and today most of such places are Indian villages with the same names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima (formerly Toboima), etc. The present *Páez* Indian reservation of Tierradentro is divided politically into two municipios—Páez or Belalcázar and Inzá—with 22 communities, each governed by its own councils (cabildos, of Colonial origin) and by the municipal authorities. The cabildo is elected annually. The Indians, however, are jealous defenders of their traditions, and insist on a captain and síndico, each with life tenure, to act as their own leaders and as true representatives of the cacique. Their duties are moral and fiscal and carry a certain divine authority, as they are inaugurated in the local church. The cabildo, on the other hand, has only administrative and police powers; it divides the land, orders work to be done, and executes the municipal orders. The members of a cabildo hold office for 1 year and receive no remuneration. They are elected on the first of December by all the male adults, or "macaneros," that is, the Indians who participate in the communal work according to a

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631 list presented by a council composed of former governors, the cap-
666 tain, and the síndico. The meeting may object to the list, but gen-
[651] erally accepts it. On the following January 1, the cabildo-elect must appear at the office of the municipal mayor to receive the staffs, their insignia of office, and to assume their duties and responsibilities. The offices are: Governor and alternate, commissioner, two mayors (alcaldes), two constables (alguaciles), and three prosecutors (fiscales), one of whom is a young man assigned to learn the ways of government. The mayors, constables, and prosecutors are something like bosses or policemen, and execute orders issued by the Governor or by the captain or the municipal authorities to a community through the Governor.

423 **Property.**—The Indians today do not own any real property in the usual sense. The land assigned to an entire community is allotted
[651] to each adult for his use when he becomes a macanero, that is, capable
[554] of giving one day's work each year for the collective planting for the benefit of the saint and as many days as may be required by the cabildo for the repair of roads, bridges, etc., or for work in the village. The right to the use of the land may pass to the heirs, wife and children, in the absence of which it reverts to the community or the cabildo.

422 The house was formerly typical personal or movable property, which could be easily abandoned, dismantled, or destroyed. The same holds today for fragile cane dwellings. There are few houses so solidly built that they constitute real or immovable property.
[764] Other personal property, such as utensils, clothes, weapons, adorn-
[428] ments, and jewels, was formerly buried with the owner. These things and livestock, planted fields, and crops are now inherited by the
[177] members of the deceased's family. In general, Colombian law is
[692] being implanted by the judges and municipal mayors, although the cabildo judges some minor offenses and punishes the offenders by
[623] whipping, imprisonment, or stocks (cepo), a form of torment retained
[681] from Colonial times.

Although the Indians' communities have in most cases titles of
691 limits of their lands dating from Colonial times, there are still liti-
648 gations on boundaries. An interesting case is the struggle of the Indians to dislodge a settlement of Negroes from the old salt works
[423] in Ambostá, where they were abandoned many years ago by a rich Popayán family who took them there to work the mines. The female Indian chief (cacica) of this territory allowed the Negroes to live on a hill, called "the hill of the fifteen Negroes." The Negroes are not organized under a cabildo, but have a chief who represents them. They all contribute to a special religious feast in the municipio, and provide means to continue the suit for the possession of the hill against the Indians.

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The *Páez* family is completely under the authority of the father, whose wife and children obey him implicitly and may be punished by him. Nonetheless, the father must obtain his wife's permission to sell or exchange goods she produced, such as bags for coca, sashes, etc. Precise etiquette is maintained between fathers and godfathers (compadres). Whenever a man meets his father or his godfather, he must kneel to receive his blessing. The fathers and godfathers must embrace whenever they meet. In one case a young man was the godfather of his father's new son by another wife, so that in meeting his father the young man had to kneel bareheaded, and then stand with his hat on and embrace his father as a godparent. The father did not call him "son" but "compadre." 594 [425] 608 576

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—A very old custom among these peoples is that at childbirth the mother should retire to a special house or go to the mountains. If she was delivered in the home, she and the baby were bathed, and then the family left the hut and built a new one elsewhere. 844

Today both the *Moguex* and *Páez* have a special hut for childbirth. The day after the child is born, the mother is placed in a hole up to her head and bathed with an infusion of leaves of "moquita," after which she washes the clothes and objects worn during delivery. She then returns to work and lives again at home. In the special hut, a *Páez* woman is assisted in childbirth by another woman, or, as a last resort, by her husband, who must bathe immediately afterward. Two days later, the mother circumcises her son or destroys the virginity of her daughter. Four or five days after the birth and after the first bath, the father takes the child to the sacristan of the community for baptism with water, and then returns it to the mother. The afterbirth must be buried or burned at the place of the birth. About 15 days later, the mother takes a bath and washes her child and her clothes and objects, and returns home. Later, the child is baptized with oil in the church by the priest with the godparents present. This is an occasion for general dancing and drunkenness. 846 [757] [345] [844] [304] [851] [844] [851] [608]

Puberty.—At puberty a girl was formerly taken by her parents to a hill, placed in a hole, and bathed. Each Indian then took her a gift. Pittier de Fábrega (1907) notes that at a later period a girl's puberty was celebrated with the "Itsa-kó" dance, the girl, bathed with chicha, remaining in the hole. Today, a woman must retire during her menstrual periods to a special hut, where other women bring her food and build a fire to warm her. Afterward, she bathes, washes her clothes and objects, and then returns home. 881 [431] [535] 841 343

Men, until recently, underwent a sort of initiation, in which they were taken to the shores of the sacred lagoon of Juan Tama or to the 881

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881 heights of Cuetando, where they built a hut and planted a miniature field as proof of their masculine aptitude.

797 **Education.**—Today the Indians are educated principally by their
871 parents in the customs and tasks pertaining to each sex. Some boys
[868] and a few girls are sent to the few missionary schools, where they are given religious instruction and are taught Spanish, arithmetic, geography, the history of Colombia, and modern embroidery or light
[562] basketwork. The *Páez* are reluctant to send their daughters to the schools because they feel that women should keep the traditions of
[177] their people. The missionary schools strive to change the native language and the cultural traditions which have given the Indian community social cohesion.

595 **Marriage.**[11]—Formerly polygyny was prevalent, but now Catholi-
[77] cism has imposed monogamy. The Indians continue, however, to
583 practice trial marriage (amaño). A marriage is arranged as follows:

584 The bride is selected by the young man's parents or by himself. His parents and two witnesses or godparents then visit her house to request her for the groom. They also serve as advisors to the young woman, in case she disapproves the marriage. The visitors carry half-filled bottles of rum (aguardiente) and some special garments for the girl. The young man's father offers the girl's father a half-bottle, acceptance of which means, as usual among the *Páez*, that the second party is well disposed toward the proposal and the negotiations may proceed. If the girl's mother agrees, the boy's mother presents her a half-bottle of liquor. The godfather or witness gives another half-bottle to the girl's father and the
583 godmother gives one to the mother. The visitors now leave, taking the girl, who then begins a year of trial marriage, during which the young man seeks proof that the girl is able to bear children, is active, cooks well, can weave, and
585 can cultivate the land. After the trial period, the man may return the girl to her parents or they marry in the Catholic Church, holding a feast which, like all
527 such celebrations, is called a "cuido." The couple and their parents and godparents are accompanied by an orchestra (chirimía) to the house where the feast is to be held. Here the bride puts on a modern dress, a ribbon on her hair, necklaces, and earrings, while the groom is with his godfather. As the guests arrive, chicha is distributed frequently, music is played, and then there is a feast of thick soup, generally with chicken, cooked yuca, arracacha, and roast or baked meat. In the afternoon, after more music and chicha drinking, the "refresco," really a banquet or social communion, is served. Six bottles of wine made from cane molasses, cinnamon, and cloves, and cake are given to the bride, groom, godmother,
[782] and godfather, who give some to everyone present. A prayer, led by the head of
[775] the house, then asks the souls of the dead to bless the marriage and give permission to dance. First, the godfather dances with the bride, then the godmother with the groom, after which everyone dances. The feast lasts 5 days, depending on the wealth of the family. Chicha is served and accepted with the phrase, "May God pay you, compadrito, for accompanying us. Accompany us more."

764 **Death.**—At a death, the family formerly buried the deceased inside the house with his possessions, and abandoned it. Some communities, however, preferred to cremate the body or dry it over the fire. The

[114] [727]

[11] I thank my wife and companion, Helena Ospina de Hernández, for her research in 1936 on matrimonial matters.

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The graves were "large and deep," and chiefs were buried with some of their wives and with food and chicha (Cieza, 1932, ch. 32). 764 766

In Colonial times, according to Del Castillo, the *Páez* removed a dying person from his hut but burned the house if anyone died in it. They had given up cremation, however, and buried in the earth, building a fence around the grave. Today, they cover the corpse with a white shroud and place it in the middle of the house with candles and flowers. Here it is watched over one night by relatives and friends, and then buried in a cemetery, where each relative tosses some earth into the grave saying, "Go with God." The mourners then bathe in the river without disrobing, and in the evening hold a banquet with chicha, sancocho (vegetable stew), meat, and tortillas. For 9 days a cross, a container of water, and a candle must be kept on the deceased's bed, the water being kept there so that the soul may drink. The relatives pray every night. A month after the death, a shaman purifies the house. The relatives and friends kill a pig, cut it lengthwise in two halves, one for the shaman, the other for the ceremonial banquet. The shaman sweeps the house floor with the pig's legs and some special branches, which are later buried. He chews coca, says some unintelligible words, and spits leaves on the house walls. The residents and guests then enter the house for the final proof of purification. The shaman, standing in the center of the house, gives a dog half a tortilla. If the dog does not die, he divides the other half among those present. He does the same with a piece of cooked meat, and if the dog still does not die, he blows chicha in all directions in the hut, and then divides what remains with those present. The hut and food are then declared clean The food is then eaten and much chicha drunk.

178 764 [763] 765 764 765 756 783

The modern burial customs of the *Moguex* differ somewhat from those of the *Páez*. The former dance for 9 days before and after burying a dead child. Because of the special ceremonies for adults, young Indians gather and prepare wood to be burned at their own funerals. When an adult dies, relatives and friends bring wood, food, and money to the house, and work for his family, who pray and weep for 3 days over the body. On the fourth day, they carry the body in a procession to the cemetery. Upon passing a house or inn where the deceased was accustomed to take chicha, they stop and drink. The burial procedure is like that of the *Páez*. Back at the house, they purify the objects used by the deceased over the fire, and leave his clothes and the hide he used as a bed at the river 9 days, after which they may be used. Meanwhile, the guests remain with the deceased's family, helping them. On the 9th day, they extinguish all lights and go to the nearest hill to mourn, while a shaman remains in the house to catch the soul of the deceased. He chews coca, spits it in all directions, and beats around with sticks to make the soul come out. Then he lights

764 184 [766] [535] [275] [783] 765 756 787 775 184

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756 787 775 784 the fire and turns on the lights, and everyone returns to examine a layer of fine ashes placed beforehand at the door. If the ashes shows the footprints of an angel, they believe that the soul is saved, but if the footprints are those of a bird, they believe that the soul is condemned to hell. In some cases they ascertain the fate of the soul by the kind of bird prints.

WARFARE

726 The *Páez* and *Moguex* were particularly warlike. Their attacks were staged in the morning, accompanied by yells and the sound of trumpets, horns, sea shells, and drums. They were generally armed [411] with great spears or pikes, spear throwers, and slings. When fighting, they would first hurl javelins with their spear throwers, then use their slings, the missiles for which they carried in a pouch, and finally pick up their spears or pikes for man-to-man struggle. They also formed closed squadrons, men with clubs alternating with spearmen. The former would step forward to wield their clubs, and then draw back to their positions for protection. Their best defense was on high ridges, from which they rolled large stones on their enemies. They perfected these natural defenses by cutting or camouflaging paths on which they prepared ambushes. They built trenches or pitfalls, which caused the attacking Spaniards much trouble.

628 The principal enemies of these peoples were the *Pijao* and the Span- [648] ish soldiers. The *Páez* remember the *Pijao* well, and call the stone [532] statues in their territory "portraits of Pijaos," and the painted tombs, [764] "houses of Pijaos." They are afraid to see the statues or visit the tombs.

To insult an enemy killed in war, they cut off his penis and placed it 727 on the road.

266 Some historians ascribe cannibalism to the *Páez* and the *Moguex*, which seems to have no basis in fact. They kept trophy heads and stuffed the skins of their enemies, but did not eat their foe. There are, however, numerous historical references which state that in the wars [175] against the Spaniards, the *Páez* left the bodies of dead enemies for the [648] *Pijao* to eat, and that they cremated their own dead or dried them [764] over a slow fire, which Friar Pedro Simón (1882–92, ch. 23) mistook for a means for preserving the flesh so that it could be eaten later.

[114] As war trophies, they kept enemy heads, which they preserved with resins, and the skins of their entire bodies, which they filled with ashes 727 (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 3). They even preserved the [314] heads of the Spaniards' horses. They carried these trophies to wars, meetings, and feasts.

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ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Arts included sculpture, small, cast gold idols and figures, and painting. Their best known art objects are those decorated with lacquer or resin, found in the Timaná region, and the stylized representations of beings which women still weave on cotton sashes. 532 [3/4]

Music.—These tribes formerly played on trumpets, drums, large sea shells called "fotutos," cornets, and cane flutes. These instruments were played not only to accompany dances but also when going into battle. The sea shell trumpet was used during the Colonial Period but has been abandoned. The drums are made of hollowed trunks, and the drumheads of animal skins The flutes are made of cane, and vary in length and thickness. They are capable of such variation in tonality that the musical combination is pleasant to the ear. 534

A kind of orchestra, known as a "chirimía," today consists of a large drum to beat time, a small drum to play a rhythmic roll, and flutes to carry the tune. Each community has its orchestra, but every Indian is a flute player and loves to play his instrument when traveling over the hills. The music is nearly always sad and has absorbed some of the regional Colombian popular airs. It has few variations, and changes to a solemn tone on funerals. The *Páez* love their own music so much that, instead of using the Gregorian music of the Catholic rites, they have imposed their own music on the religious ceremonies. Thus, at Mass, they play the special music used when an animal is to be killed and eaten. Other music accompanies the bursting of skyrockets and firecrackers. There is music for the Elevation, for the Creed, and for the Requiem Mass. Certain musical pieces are called simply "bambuco" (local airs), though they have some variations. 533 [177]

Native songs narrated the triumphs and feats in war, but none have been collected, and all are now forgotten. Today the Indians sing only some modern Colombian airs or religious songs. [177]

Dances.—Dances were very important to these Indians, being held for war, for religious ceremonies, for weddings, and for sexual initiation. During Colonial times, Del Castillo i Orozco reported the following dances; most of which, as their names show, apparently had not suffered any change under Spanish influence: 535

Gueyo coo, a dance to ask for money.
Vito coo, a dance of the rod or stick.
Xeita coo, a dance of sea shells or of the armadillo. It was accompanied by two sea shells of different tones.
Onsa coo, a dance of rats.
Imegnuei coo, a dance of the sparrow hawk.
Ech covi coo, a dance of the phantom's flutes.
Bel covi coo, a dance for great festivities.
Quimb coo, a dance of the drum.
Itsa bó, added by Pittier de Fábrega, a dance of girls' puberty.

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Moguex

535 There is much dancing today. The sexes perform in couples or separately. Among the *Moguex*, some of the expert dancers are paid to dance with all couples in a sort of "bambuco." Dancing is always a part of *Páez* ceremonies for the death of children, baptismals, weddings, saint holidays, and meetings for collective work (mingas) held in the evening when people return from their plantations.

Dancing, as other social events, is subject to a special ceremony [585] or etiquette, strongly connected with religious beliefs. For example, in the wedding celebration, a prayer is first said in which the souls of [608] the dead are asked permission to dance, or "scrape the floor," as they call dancing. Only the godparents and the bride and groom may [527] dance at the beginning.

The *Páez* do not masquerade, but the *Moguex* always masquerade 526 during the period of carnival preceding Holy Week.

[524] **Games.**—Games do not hold an important place among these peoples. The children amuse themselves by imitating the activities [857] of their elders. The only game recorded is simulated warfare, performed as a part of a rite in honor of the dead after a communal [769] feast. Two teams under their captains or caciques attacked and shot arrows at each other. Even if some contestants were killed or wounded, no one bore a grudge.

276 **Narcotics.**—The *Páez* and the *Moguex* chewed coca leaves mixed in the mouth with lime powder. Coca chewing is widespread among [756] men, but very little practiced by women. It is used especially by the shaman when he is practicing. In Colonial times the use of coca [177] spread to the rural population of Mestizos and Whites in Nariño, Cauca, and Huila.

273 **Alcoholic beverages.**—These Indians formerly made chicha of maize, but today they ferment it with sugarcane molasses. They also have [178] fermented sugarcane juice (guarapo), and a sort of rum (aguardiente). The latter is distilled clandestinely in their huts from guarapo and certain herbs fermented together in earthenware crocks. The Indians drink guarapo every day, but restrict the use of chicha and the stronger guarapo and aguardiente to market days, religious feast days, burials, weddings, mingas or meetings for work, and witchcraft [462] ceremonies. Guarapo and chicha are made by women, who sometimes chew the maize to increase its fermentation. They are stored in large, hollowed tree trunks and in large earthen jars, which are kept in a special place in the hut. There is never a lack of these beverages for home use and for welcoming an unexpected visitor.

RELIGION

175 The early Spaniards had little understanding of the religion of these 771 people. They reported that the Indians had but few idols and no temples or places of worship. Castillo mentions that they wor-

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Castillo mentions that they wor-
shiped the sun, in whose honor they met and danced in places called "Itaqui-finó," i. e., the place where the sun revealed its mysteries; and that they venerated a kind of culture hero called Guequiau. It was he who instructed shamans (mohanes). 175 771 776 [756]

This hero has a counterpart in the religious legend of Juan Tama, the Son of the Star. One day when the Morning Star shone very brightly, some Indians found a child in a gorge—ever since called the Gorge of the Star. This was Juan Tama. They picked him up and entrusted him to a woman to nurse, but he nursed so much that her milk dried up. He was given to another woman, whom he also made very weak. They then said that he could not be nursed by a woman, and gave him food. After he grew up, he married the female chief of Huila, Doña María Mendiguagua, and became chief of all the Indians. He instructed people and explained to them how to keep the land for themselves and not mix with White people. He pronounced them invincible and summoned a chief from Pitayó, called Calambás, whom he appointed his manager. Calambás rebelled,[13] but was defeated by Juan Tama, who pardoned him on account of his bravery, and conferred on him and his heirs the right to rule the *Páez* in Bitoncó. As death approached, Juan Tama went to the lake on the páramo of Moras and sank into the waters. He had come out of this place and returned to it, leaving no heirs.[14] 773 776

In the neighborhood of Bitoncó there is a rock with what appears to be human footprints. When the Indians pass it, they uncover their heads and say, "The Holy One came this way." Another remnant of the cult of Juan Tama is the custom that each member of the council spends one week at the shores of the lake before the end of his term to render an account to Juan Tama of his actions in office. Likewise, newly elected officers, as soon as they receive their staffs or insignia of authority, spend a week at the lake. They toss silver coins into it, wash their staffs, and pray for strength to rule well. This ceremony, performed with the greatest secrecy, is called the "curing of the staffs." Recently, however, the Indians have stopped "curing" their staffs in the lake, for they say that Juan Tama is angry, and whenever they approach the lake, it rains and storms badly. 776 823 [623] [621] [631] [821]

In the Guanacas section there was another sacred lagoon, called Tumbachí, which was recently drained because a snake that lived there attracted girls and kept them for a whole year, and then returned them when they were about to become mothers.

These tribes believed that the soul comes back to life. 775

Witchcraft was strongly developed among these Indians, who still believe in most of its practices, in spite of the catechization forced upon them by the missionaries. 754 177

[13] During the War of Independence, as well as in subsequent revolutions, the Indians of the family named Calambás distinguished themselves as warriors. [669]

[14] We are indebted to Father David González for this legend, told to him by an old Indian in Lame. [114]

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754 upon them by the missionaries. The power to do evil is not limited to the witches, but is possessed by anyone who entertains a momentary feeling of envy, and to women, who may not walk over a stick or a cord [841] stretched on the ground. Contact with women during their men- [846] struation or during the days following childbirth causes the "mokokoy" [753] to persecute the men and make them ill.

825 Animals possess the power to prognosticate evil. A document 787 written in 1730 [14] tells that an Indian killed a rooster because he had 763 crowed before daybreak, and said, "Rooster, you are forecasting my death, but I shall kill you first." They believe the same thing when certain birds sing. For example, the call of an owl at midnight brings death to someone. And certain small birds called "ulchik" and others called "bich" warn whomever hears their singing that he will meet with disaster. The box turtle follows people warning them that they are going to die.

825 Del Castillo says that the Indians will not strike white dogs, so that 775 they will not be bitten by them when they enter the future life.

The belief in spirits (kl'iumb) is quite general. Among these 776 spirits is the "pitsuala" which persecutes people, makes them ill, and 753 even kills them. The rainbow, or "Etskituns," causes a rash to break [821] out all over the body of anyone who ventures out while the rainbow shines, and the drizzle that generally accompanies the rainbow will harm a person who gets wet in it if he does not bathe immediately. When the rainbow appears, they stay indoors, and blow or spit tobacco in its direction.

776 They believe that the lagoon on the snowcapped peak, Huila, is [823] charmed, and that if they try to go near it wind and hail storms rise. [821] Supernatural evil forces are supposed to be present during many social activities, such as dancing, meetings, funerals, house building, [491] and bridge construction. When a bridge is built, two Indians beat [331] the water constantly to drive away evil spirits. When traveling on the mountains they place small stones or coins on top of some large [484] natural rock to assure a successful trip and to avoid angering the [782] spirit of the mountain.

[825] Sometimes these spiritual forces assume a bodily form, as in the [753] case of the fireflies, which bring diseases or which may be wrapped in [754] Santa María leaves and placed in the path of an intended victim. Most feared are the ghosts of the dead, which consequently are the 782 most propitiated. The *Moguex* and the *Páez* ask their permission to 769 dance, and honor them in a special rite, which blends old beliefs with [775] new religious concepts. Thus, offerings are made to the souls during the first days of November, or whenever the curate is able to visit the Indian village. Each person offers some products from his farm, in-

[14] Statement made by Javier de Oroseo y Cuellar in a lawsuit by the Indians of Tobolma for the possession of land. From the ecclesiastical files of Belalcázar, or Páez.

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Moguex

cluding vegetables, cornbread, eggs, and chicha, which he piles on the church floor, together with wax candles—one if the person does not have anyone in particular to remember, two for each deceased relative. When Mass begins, they throw flowers on the presbytery, as an offering to the souls of children. Afterward, they go to the cemetery in procession, and the souls of the departed come down to the empty church to take the food. Later, the people sell whatever the souls left or failed to eat. Everyone buys something, the captain's assistant collecting the money, while the constables of the council, raising their whips and shouting insults, prevent frauds in the general disorder. The money from the sale is given to the priest to pay him for the work in the rites. As each person leaves the church, he kisses a crucifix held by the sacristan at the church door. They kiss it once for each dead person whom they wish to remember and pay a cent each time. In addition to offering food at the church, the *Moguex* cover their tables at home with food, which is also intended for the souls of their dead, and at the end of 2 or 3 days they eat the food, saying that they are eating what the souls have left.

769 782 [624] [625]

Christmas and Holy Week are both great occasions for the Indians, who celebrate them with music and some of their ancient rites. Even though a priest may not be present, they conduct the rites in a manner that dates from Colonial days, when a *Páez* Indian named Undachí tried to combine Catholicism with their own religion. The man claimed to be able to see God, who used to come among the Indians and talk to him in his own *Páez* language. The new religion included a chapel, Mass, and candle and flower offerings.

796 771 177 [781]

Sickness.—Sickness was always thought to be caused by witchcraft or by someone's will. The evil force entered the body and made it impure; it had to be expelled or "cleansed," lest death ensue. If a delirious person told who was killing him, the individual mentioned was thought guilty; or, if, after a death, the face of the deceased should appear to somebody, the person was considered responsible. These beliefs are still in force today, and the Indians avoid the causes of sickness, such as having sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman, exposing the body to bad weather while there is a rainbow, and neglecting to bathe after a burial or to purify a house where a death occurred.

753 754 [787] 753 178

To fight disease they still have shamans. *Moguex* shamans use tobacco, coca, plants known as yacuna and chundar, and rum in their practice. After remaining shut up in a dark room for a night, they either confess their inability to cure the sick person or proceed to administer the traditional medicines. Sickness is conceptualized as an animal, which enters the stomach, head, or other part of the body. In former times, the shaman fasted with the sick person, abstaining from salt and fats and taking only coca and chicha. Today, he requires that only the patient fast.

756 [753] [785]

7:Hernández de Alba F 5,4(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

requires that only the patient fast. He spits coca juice on various parts of the sick man's body, and at night performs a ritual to "take out the dirt," i. e., the cause of the disease. In the course of his treatment, the shaman goes out to a hill to gather fireflies. He places them in a vessel and buries them, as they are supposed to be the harmful evil spirits sent by the person who caused the sickness. They are thought to turn against the person who sent them, whom the shaman identifies by his shadow, which he detects in the darkness of the night.

THE CULTURE OF THE PIJAO

Despite 48 expeditions prior to 1611 against the *Pijao*, one of the most fearsome and savage people in Colombia, the Spaniards learned little about their culture. Friar Pedro Simón collected the most details regarding their usages and customs.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Pijao food was very similar to that of the peoples previously described. The most common cultivated plants were maize, yuca, arracacha, beans, potatoes, and other roots and tubers; and many fruits, such as avocados (cura), papayas, plums, pineapples, and uchuva (a kind of cherry). The Indians got many fish from the rivers, especially the Magdalena River, and on the mountains they hunted pumas and "ocumares," a sort of anteater. They cultivated vegetables, but not fruit trees, in fields which the Spaniards always sought to destroy and burn.

HABITATIONS

Dwellings were spacious and high. They had walls of wood and mud (bahareque) whitewashed with clay or white earth, and were provided with furnishings, such as wooden chairs. The conquerors found the chief, Carlacá or Calarcá, sitting in state in one of those chairs in his house. Some people lived temporarily under the shelter of trees and palms, perhaps only while farming.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The *Pijao* generally went entirely naked, hence the name "Pinao" (men of large sex) given by the Spaniards, a word which soon became "Pijao." They painted their bodies with the substance obtained from the seeds of the arnotto tree, and some groups wore small cotton blankets (mantas). Men and women protected their heads and long hair with hats, not unlike bonnets, woven of palm leaves. They adorned their bodies with many feathers in a manner which the Spaniards described as "quaint and odd liveries made of feathers in various and pleasant colors," and wore some gold ornaments. They

[pp. 957 ff Not processed]

cabildo--a community council
captain--a community chief
egg--a unit of weight which is more or less equivalent to a chicken's egg
macanero--the name given to one who is required to give one day's work each year for the collective planting for the benefit of the saint and as many days as may be required by the cabildo for repair of roads, bridges, etc., or for general work in the village
mingas--meetings for collective work
mohanes--shamans

7: Hernández de Alba SC15 Paez SC15

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[Information on communal labor forces as forms of required work levies will be found in category 651.]

8: Bernal Villa E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

Bases for the Study of the Social Organization of the Paez
[Bases para el Estudio de la Organización Social de los Páez]

Segundo Bernal Villa

Bogotá: 1955
Revista Colombiana de Antropología
Vol. 4, pp. 165-188

Translated from the Spanish by Sydney Muirden

Human Relations Area Files
1966

[Title page]

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600 Bases for the Study of the Social Organization of the Páez

By
Segundo Bernal Villa.

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124 /167/ The material for the study of the kinship system of
128 the Páez was collected in the month of May, 1953, thanks to the
[114] enthusiastic collaboration of Victoriano Piñakué, 18 years of age,
[115] bilingual, and a native of the parcialidad /a village and the lands
belonging to it/ of Calderas. With this material we made an
analysis of the kinship system, which we present below without
any major modifications. It was later discussed with several na-
tive men of the parcialidad of San Andrés, who found it to be
correct. At the end of May, 1954, we had the opportunity to
discuss it again in Mosoco with two male informants of the lo-
[197] cality. They found practically no phonological differences, in
spite of the fact that the Páez spoken in that parcialidad showed
some different nuances in relation to that spoken in the other
124 parcialidades. They made only one fundamental observation,
128 which we accepted, since we consider it to be convincing. It
601 refers to the terms used to designate the sons and daughters of the
brothers and sisters of EGO. According to Piñakué, they are
designated with the Spanish terms: sobrino and sobrina /nephew
and niece/. Jorge Mulcué (Mosqueño /a person from Mosoco/
58 years old) affirmed that they are designated with the words kué
or wásak (son and daughter) preceded by the possessive my (anji).

601 Men and women use the same terms for both the paternal
and the maternal line, with certain exceptions, subordinating the
real degree of kinship to the generation. The Páez system of
kinship terminology is, therefore, classificatory and bilateral.

/167 cont./

601 Seemingly there is no terminology for designating the older and younger brothers of the generation of EGO, although in practice this distinction stands out. EGO is obliged to greet older brothers and the older members of the community in general, and there also exists the obligation of being greeted by the younger brothers and, in general, by all the younger members of the community.

Among the adults of both sexes, married and with children, the use of teknonymous forms is general.

114 /168/ The only two studies of kinship systems made in Colombia are from the pen of Professor Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff working among the Iroka and the Kogi. That of the Iroka was [104] done with the collaboration of Alexander L. Clark. With the intention of facilitating subsequent comparative studies on the subject, we have adopted his system for presenting the materials, especially the abbreviations of the kinship terms in the Spanish language /the English equivalents for the abbreviations of the Spanish terms are given on p. 10 /.

127 Before finishing with this brief introduction, we wish to
128 place on record our sincere thanks to Señor Víctor Bedoya for his voluntary transcription of unpublished documents from the Archivo Nacional relating to the Páez, and to Professor Marcos Fulop for his valuable observations and opportune suggestions which brought much light to obscure sections of our work.

Analysis of Kinship Terms

601

Consanguineous Relatives

A--EGO's Generation:

a) Masculine EGO: Brothers and sons of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, are grouped in a single category and classified as brothers (iaktê).

b) Sisters and daughters of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, are grouped in a single category and classified as sisters (Pesh).

601
[104]

/168 cont./

Sh = the French ch (chaise); ch = the Spanish ch (chicha); j = the French j (jardin); h = the Spanish j (rojo).

c) Feminine EGO: sisters and daughters of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, are grouped in a single category and classified as sisters (iaktẽ).

d) Brothers and sons of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, are grouped in a single category and classified as brothers (jish).

B--First Ascendant Generation:

a) For father and mother, separate words are used (tãta and mãma). /Figs. 1 and 2 appear here./

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b) The brothers and sisters of the father and the sons and daughters of the brothers and sisters of the father of the father (grandfather) are grouped in a single category and classified as uncles and aunts (ñuk and pẽsuts, respectively).

c) The brothers and sisters of the mother and the sons and daughters of the brothers and sisters of the mother of the mother (grandmother) are grouped in a single category and classified as uncles and aunts (kãhka and pẽñuk, respectively).

C--Second Ascendant Generation:

a) One term is used for both grandfathers (ishí) and one term for both grandmothers (penshí).

b) The brothers and sisters of the grandparents, for both the paternal and maternal lines, are grouped in a single category and classified as grandfathers and grandmothers (ishí, penshí).

D--Third Ascendant Generation:

a) The great-grandfathers are designated with one term (ishí wãla) and the great-grandmothers with another one (penshí wãla).

E--First Descendent Generation:

a) The sons, the daughters, and the sons and daughters of brothers and sisters, real or classificatory, for both the paternal and maternal lines, are grouped into a single category and designated as sons and daughters (kuẽ or jik and wãsak or nis, respectively).

8: Bernal Villa--4 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC

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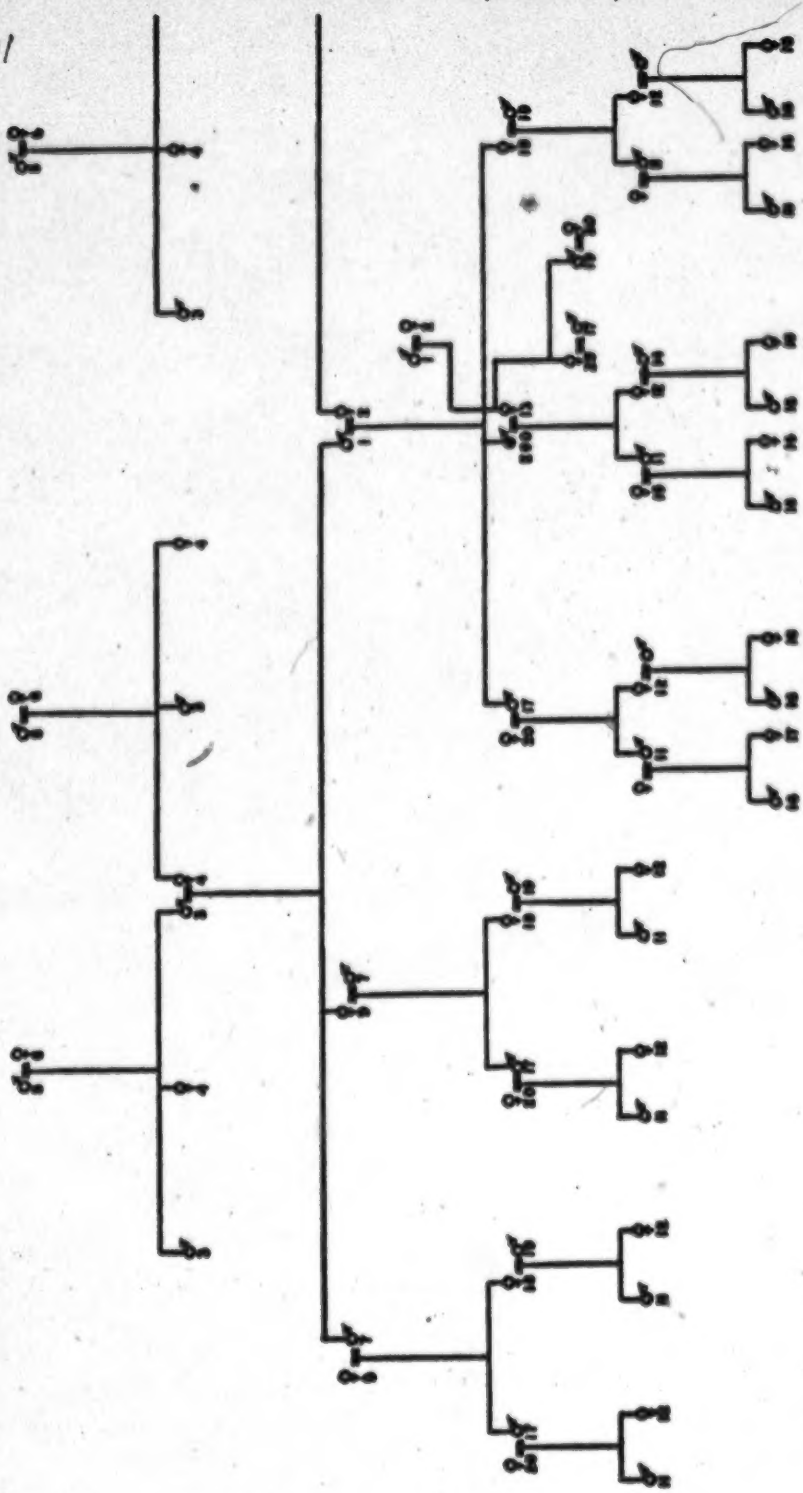

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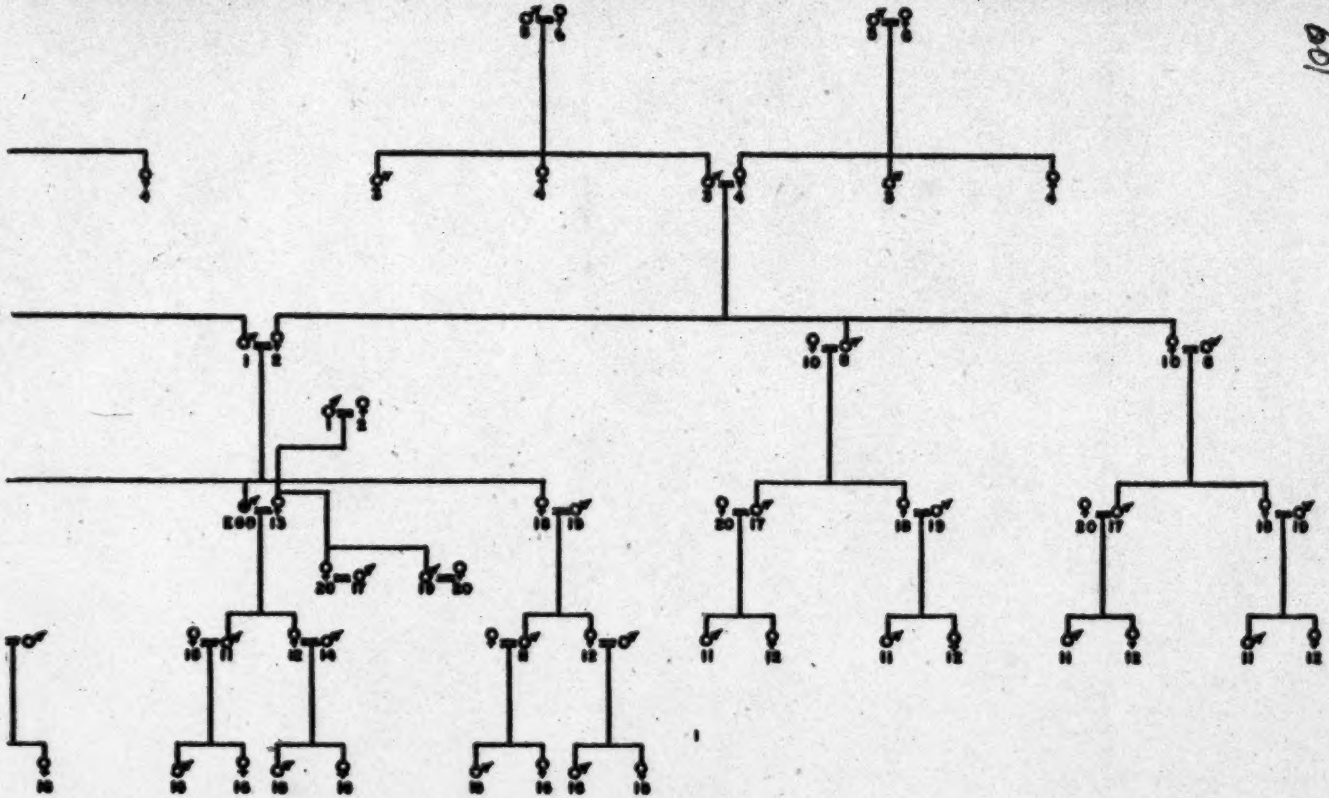

Fig. 1. Kinship, Masculine Ego.

8: Bernal Villa--6 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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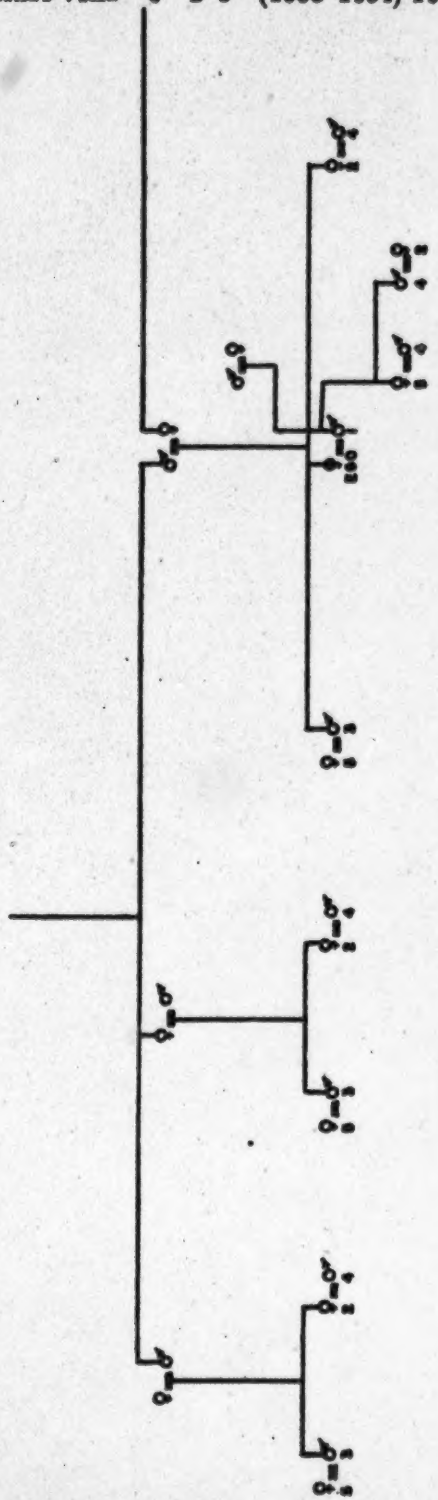

Fig. 2. Kinship, Feminine Ego.

601

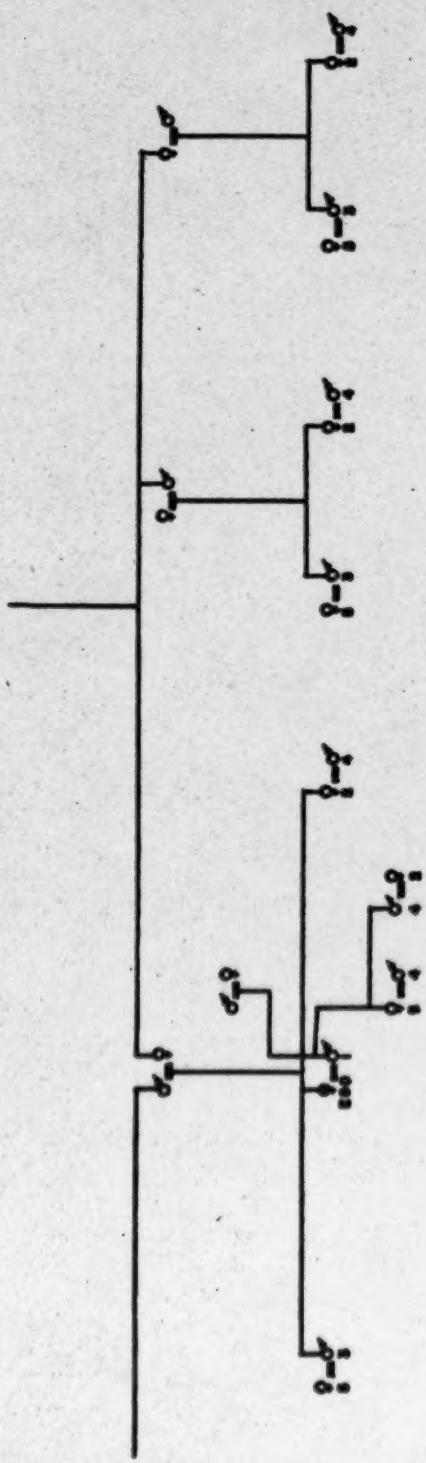

Fig. 2. Kinship, Feminine Ego.

/169 cont./

60/ F--Second Descendent Generation:

a) Sons and daughters of sons and daughters (grandchildren), the same as sons and daughters of brothers and sisters, are grouped into a single category without distinction as to sex and are designated as grandchildren (nson).

G--Third Descendent Generation:

a) The children of sons and daughters of sons and daughters (great-grandchildren) are grouped without distinction as to sex into a single category and designated with the same term used for grandchildren (nson).

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Additional Differences

1--Sex: Sex is distinguished terminologically in all generations except in the second and third descendent generation.

2--Age: For brothers and sisters, real and classificatory with respect to the relative age of EGO, it is not differentiated terminologically, although there is discrimination with regard to it in the patterns of conduct, since EGO greets those older than himself, but is himself greeted by those who are younger.

3--Kinship:

a) Masculine EGO: Brothers are not distinguished terminologically from the sons of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, and the term with which they are designated does not indicate to which line they belong.

Sisters are not distinguished from the daughters of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, and the term with which they are designated does not specify to which line they belong.

Feminine EGO: Brothers are not distinguished terminologically from the sons of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, and the term with which they are designated does not specify to which line they belong.

Sisters are not distinguished terminologically from the daughters of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, and the term with which they are designated does not specify the line to which they belong.

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601 b) First ascendant generation:

The father and his brothers are distinguished terminologically from the brothers of the mother; the latter and her sisters are distinguished terminologically from the sisters of the former.

c) Second ascendant generation: there are no kinship distinctions.

d) First descendent generation: no kinship distinctions are made between real or classificatory sons.

In-law Relatives

1--a) Masculine EGO: The brothers of the wife, the husbands of the sisters and the husbands of the daughters of the brothers and sisters of the parents are designated with one term (sum).

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b) The sisters of the wife, the wives of the brothers, the wives of the brothers of the wife, and the wives of the sons of the brothers and sisters of the parents are designated with one term (sub).

c) One term is used to designate the husband of the sister of the wife. In general, the husbands of the sisters of the wife are designated among themselves with the same term that is used to designate among themselves the wives of the brothers of EGO (iakté).

d) Feminine EGO: The brothers of the husband, the husbands of the sisters, the husbands of the sisters of the husband, and the husbands of the daughters of the brothers and sisters of the parents are designated with one term (sub).

e) The sisters of the husband, the wives of the brothers, and the wives of the sons of the brothers and sisters of the parents are designated with one term (chinás).

/171 cont./

601 2--a) Father-in-law and mother-in-law are designated with separate terms (táta, máma).

b) The husbands of the daughters and the wives of the sons are designated with different terms (ndó, nukué miyú, respectively).

Kinship Terms

[104] Abbreviations:

p = father
m = mother
hno = brother
hna = sister
ho = son
ha = daughter
co = spouse
d = of, of the

Spanish	Masculine Ego	Feminine Ego
1 — p	*tatá*	*tatá*
2 — m	*mamá*	*mamá*
3 — p-d-p	*ishi*	*ishi*
4 — m-d-p	*pénshi*	*pénshi*
5 — p-d-m	*ishi*	*ishi*
6 — m-d-m	*pénshi*	*pénshi*
7 — p-d-p-d-p	*ishi wála*	*ishi wála*

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Spanish	Masculine Ego	Feminine Ego
8 — m-d-p-d-p	pénshi wála	pénshi wála
9 — p-d-m-d-m	ishi wála	ishi wála
10 — m-d-m-d-m	pénshi wála	pénshi wála
11 — hno-d-p	ñuk	ñuk
12 — hna-d-p	pésuts	pésuts
13 — hno-d-m	káhka	káhka
14 — hna-d-m	péñuk	péñuk
15 — hno	iaktê	jish
16 — hna	pesh	iaktê
17 — ho-d-hno-d-p	iaktê	jish
18 — ho-d-hna-d-p	iaktê	jish
19 — ha-d-hno-d-p	pesh	iaktê
20 — ha-d-hna-d-p	pesh	iaktê
21 — ho-d-hno-d-m	iaktê	jish
22 — ho-d-hna-d-m	iaktê	jish
23 — ha-d-hno-d-m	pesh	iaktê
24 — ha-d-hna-d-m	pesh	iaktê
25 — ho- (1)	kué	kué
26 — ha (2)	wásak	wásak
27 — ho-d-ho-d-hno-d-p	kué	kué
28 — ha-d-ho-d-hno-d-p	wásak	wásak
29 — ho-d-ho-d-hna-d-p	kué	kué
30 — ha-d-ho-d-hna-d-p	wásak	wásak
31 — ho-d-ha-d-hno-d-p	kué	kué
32 — ha-d-ha-d-hno-d-p	wásak	wásak
33 — ho-d-ha-d-hna-d-p	kué	kué
34 — ha-d-ha-d-hna-d-p	wásak	wásak
35 — ho-d-ho-d-hno-d-m	kué	kué
36 — ha-d-ho-d-hno-d-m	wásak	wásak
37 — ho-d-ha-d-hno-d-m	kué	kué
38 — ha-d-ha-d-hno-d-m	wásak	wásak
39 — ho-d-ho-d-hna-d-m	kué	kué
40 — ha-d-ho-d-hna-d-m	wásak	wásak
41 — ho-d-ha-d-hna-d-m	kué	kué
42 — ha-d-ha-d-hna-d-m	wásak	wásak
43 — ho-d-ho	nson	nson
44 — ha-d-ho	nson	nson
45 — ho-d-ha	nson	nson

1. Son is also designated with the term jik, but it is less used.

2. Daughter is also designated with the term nis.

601

Spanish	Masculine Ego	Feminine Ego
46 — ha-d-ha	nson	nson
47 — ho-d-ho-d-hna	nson	nson
48 — ha-d-ho-d-hna	nson	nson
49 — ho-d-ha-d-hna	nson	nson
50 — ha-d-ha-d-hna	nson	nson
51 — ho-d-ho-d-hno	nson	nson
52 — ha-d-ho-d-hno	nson	nson
53 — ho-d-ha-d-hno	nson	nson
54 — ha-d-ha-d-hno	nson	nson
55 — ho-d-ho-d-ho	nson	nson
56 — ha-d-ho-d-ho	nson	nson
57 — ho-d-ha-d-ho	nson	nson
58 — ha-d-ha-d-ho	nson	nson
59 — ho-d-ho-d-ha	nson	nson
60 — ha-d-ho-d-ha	nson	nson
61 — ho-d-ha-d-ha	nson	nson
62 — ha-d-ha-d-ha	nson	nson
63 — co	niyú	nenl
64 — p-d-co	tatá	táta
65 — m-d-co	máma	máma
66 — co-d-ho	nukué miyú	nukué miyú
67 — co-d-ha	ndó	ndó
68 — hno-d-co	sum	sub
69 — hna-d-co	sub	chinás
70 — co-d-hno	sub	chinás
71 — co-d-hna	sum	sub
72 — co-d-hno-d-co	sub	iaktí
73 — co-d-hna-d-co	iaktí	sub
74 — co-d-hno-d-p	pésuts	pésuts
75 — co-d-hna-d-p	ñuk	ñuk
76 — co-d-hno-d-m	péñuk	péñuk
77 — co-d-hna-d-m	hókka	hókka
78 — co-d-ho-d-hno-d-p	sub	chinás
79 — co-d-ha-d-hno-d-p	sum	sub
80 — co-d-ho-d-hna-d-p	sub	chinás
81 — co-d-ha-d-hna-d-p	sum	sub
82 — co-d-ho-d-hno-d-m	sub	chinás
83 — co-d-ha-d-hno-d-m	sum	sub
84 — co-d-ho-d-hna-d-m	sub	chinás
85 — co-d-ha-d-hna-d-m	sum	sub

8: Bernal Villa--13 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955
SC15 Paez SC15

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Application of Kinship Terms

A--Masculine Ego (see Fig. 1)

1 — *Táta* . . . . . p; p-d-co
2 — *Máma* . . . . m; m-d-co
3 — *Ishi* . . . . . p-d-p; p-d-m; hno-d-p-d-p; hno-d-p-d-m; hno-d-m-d-m; hno-d-m-d-p.
4 — *Pénshi* . . . . m-d-p; m-d-m; hna-d-p-d-p; hna-d-m-d-m; hna-d-m-d-p; hna-d-p-d-m.
5 — *Ishi wála* . . . p-d-p-d-p; p-d-m-d-m; p-d-m-d-p; p-d-p-d-m.
6 — *Pénshi wála* . m-d-p-d-p; m-d-m-d-p; m-d-p-d-m; m-d-m-d-m.
7 — *Ñuk* . . . . . hno-d-p; ho-d-hno-d-p-d-p; ho-d-hna-d-p-d-p; co-d-hna-d-p.
8 — *Káhka* . . . hno-d-m; ho-d-hno-d-m-d-m; ho-d-hna-d-m-d-m; co-d-hna-d-m.
9 — *Pésuts* . . . . hna-d-p; ha-d-hno-d-p-d-p; ha-d-hna-d-p-d-p; co-d-hno-d-p.
10 — *Péñuk* . . . . hna-d-m; ha-d-hno-d-m-d-m; ha-d-hna-d-m-d-m; co-d-hno-d-m.
11 — *Kuá* (o *jik*) . ho; ho-d-hno; ho-d-hna; ho-d-ho-d-hno-d-p; ho-d-ho-d-hna-d-p; ho-d-ha-d-hno-d-p; ho-d-ha-d-hna-d-p; ho-d-ho-d-hno-d-m; ho-d-ho-d-hna-d-m; ho-d-ha-d-hno-d-m; ho-d-ha-d-hna-d-m.
12 — *Wásak* (o *nis*) ha; ha-d-hno; ha-d-hna; ha-d-ho-d-hno-d-p; ha-d-ho-d-hno-d-p; ha-d-ha-d-hno-d-p; ha-d-ha-d hna-d-p; ha-d-ho-d-hno-d-m; ha-d-ho-d-hna-d-m; ha-d-ha-d-hno-d-m; ha-d-ha-d-hna-d-m;
13 — *Niyú* . . . . . co
14 — *Ndó* . . . . . co-d-ha
15 — *Nukué Miyú* . co-d-ho
16 — *Nson* . . . . . ho-d-ho; ha-d-ho; ho-d-ha; ha-d-ha; ho-d-ho-d-hna; ha-d-ho-d-hna; ha-d-ha-d-hna; ho-d-ha-d-hna; ho-d-ho-d-hno; ha-d-ho-d-hno; ho-d-ha-d-hno; ha-d-ha-d-hno.
17 — *Iakté* . . . . hno; ho-d-hno-d-p; ho-d-hna-d-p; ho-d-hno-d-m; ho-d-hna-d-m; co-d-hna-d-co.
18 — *Pesk* . . . . . hna; ha-d-hno-d-p; ha-d-hna-d-p; ha-d-hno-d-m; ha-d-hna-d-m.

601 19 — *Sum* . . . . . hno-d-co; co-do-hna; co-d-ha-d-hno-d-p; co-d-ha-d-hna-d-p; co-d-ha-d-hno-d-m; co-d-ha-d-hna-d-m.

20 — *Sub* . . . . . hna-d-co; co-d-hno-d-co; co-d-hno; co-d-ho-d-hno-d-p; co-d-ho-d-hna-d-p; co-d-ho-d-hno-d-m; co-d-ho-d-hna-d-m.

B--Feminine Ego (see Fig. 2)

1 — *Nemi* . . . . . co.

2 — *Iakti* . . . . . hna; ha-d-hno-d-p; ha-d-hna-d-p; ha-d-hno-d-m; ha-d-hna-d-m; co-d-hno-d-co.

3 — *Jish* . . . . . hno; ho-d-hno-d-p; ho-d-hna-d-p; ho-d-hno-d-m; ho-d-hna-d-m.

4 — *Sub* . . . . . hno-d-co; co-d-hna-d-co; co-d-hna; co-d-ha-d-hno-d-p; co-d-ha-d-hna-d-p; co-d-ha-d-hno-d-m; co-d-ha-d-hna-d-m.

5 — *Chinás* . . . . hna-d-co; co-d-hno; co-d-ho-d-hno-d-p; co-d-ho-d-hna-d-p; co-d-ho-d-hno-d-m; co-d-ho-d-hna-d-m.

The remaining kinship terms are common for masculine and feminine EGO.

Additional Observations

193 601 A father, in referring to his children of both sexes, places the possessive my (anji) in front of the kinship term, thus:

Anji kué (my son); anji jikuesh (my sons).
Anji wásak (my daughter); anji wasakuesh (my daughters).
Anji nson (my grandson); anji nsonmuesch (my grandsons).

A mother, in referring to her children of both sexes, places the possessive my (uk) in front of the kinship term, thus:

Uk kué (my son); uk kuémuesh (my sons).
Uk wásak (my daughter); uk wásakuesh (my daughters).
Uk nson (my grandson); uk nsonmuesch (my grandsons).

/175 cont./

193 In like manner, the children, in referring to their
601 parents, place in front the possessive anji or uk, according to whether the speakers are male or female, respectively.

Anjí téwesh (my parents, male speaker).
Uk tewesh (my parents, female speaker).
Anji ishiwesh (my grandparents).
Uk ishiwesh (my grandparents).

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557 Non-relatives designate the grandparents: nesh wála.
576 When a speaker is younger than the person referred to, and
609 that person is a father, the correct way to speak of him is "the father of so-and-so," for example: if our informant Victoriano Piñakué (18 years old) wants to refer to Cerveleón Guagás (55 years old), he does not simply mention him by name, because this is a "grosería" /rudeness/, but he says "the father of Alfonso" (who is his eldest son), Pons nei, or Marcelo nei if he refers to the father of Marcelo. If the first-born is dead, he would say unás nei, father of the deceased. If the speaker is older than the person referred to, he may simply call him by name, but only when there is familiarity between the two; otherwise he must use the form previously mentioned. Thus, for example, Vicente Puche, who is older then Julián Piñakué (father of our informant), and since he is familiar with him, simply calls him Kilián; if he were not, he would say Vit nei (father of Victoriano). The identical form is followed for a woman older than the speaker, for example: Pons nihi (mother of Alfonso); Vit nihi (mother of Victoriano); Unás nihi (mother of the deceased).

If our informant Piñakué wishes to express this thought, "Cerveleón, I want something," he must say, "Father of Alfonso, I want something" (Pons nei tech yugüe guau wet). He may call him simply Cerveleón, but far away from him and when he is among people who are not relatives, but, he adds, this is not respectful. If Cerveleón heard this said, he would be annoyed.

/176 cont./

551 In referring to a grandfather, for example, Alfonso's,
609 one would say, Pons nei, if the speaker is well known to Alfonso; otherwise he would say Liõn nei (father of Cerveleõn), especially if he were in the presence of the grandfather.

In referring to the paternal uncle of Alfonso, one would say: Pons niñuk.

In referring to the maternal uncle of Alfonso, one would say: Pons nekãhka.

In referring to the paternal aunt of Alfonso, one would say: Pons nsuts.

In referring to the maternal aunt of Alfonso, one would say: Pons nihiñuk.

Relations between Relatives

603 As we have seen, general respect is owed to older persons
[188] by younger persons. Patterns of conduct between grandparents and grandchildren are governed by emotional factors, these being more or less affectionate, according to their mutual comportment. If the grandparents /177/ are kind to their grandchildren, they are given their love and consideration; if the contrary is the case, the attitude is one of cold respect. If the grandchildren say "what an old pig he is," the grandfather will not love them.

604 It is affirmed that with the paternal and maternal uncles
551 an identical pattern of conduct is observed. They cannot be designated solely by name. Thus, if Victoriano Piñakuẽ addresses his uncle by his name, the latter will reply that he has no manners, for he should show respect. "You must say uncle," he advises. His mother will scold him: "you are rude to speak like
604 that, say uncle." Greater respect is owed to Ego's older uncles than to uncles younger than he is. To the former he gives a blessing as he does to his parents. One should not mention "cosas feas" /ugly things/ in their presence or joke with them. If the uncle wishes to joke with the nephew, the latter should

/177 cont./

604 laugh, but nothing more. The uncle's wife is to be called aunt and she receives the nephew's blessing because she is older. He may not joke with her. Should she become a widow (echui), the nephew may not marry her because he must respect her. We have not been able to find any information that might make one suspect avuncular or amitate relations.

605 Cousins of the first degree, paternal and maternal, respect each other and avoid aggressive attitudes among themselves. Between male cousins presents of harvest produce may be made, which is not done with the female cousins, for they live with their respective husbands.

602 The parents of married couples call each other compadre (compale). There is no difference of comportment between them; the greeting is given by the first one to see his compadre.

606 Sexual relations between father-in-law and daughter-in-law are [835] prohibited, just as between son-in-law and mother-in-law. There are cases in which the parents-in-law do not care for their son-in-law, and also in which the parents-in-law do not care for their daughter-in-law.

607 Following the general standards of conduct, EGO shows more respect toward his older brothers-in-law than toward the younger ones. A man may not cohabit with the wife of his brother, which is characterized as "mucha grosería" /great rudeness/. The husband may cohabit with the sister of his wife, [587] but it is characterized as "muy feo" /very ugly/. The marriage of a man to the widow of his brother or that of a woman to the widower of her sister is also regarded as wrong. Relations between brothers-in-law are cordial; "they respect each other as though they belonged to the same family."

The brothers and sisters of the husband treat the brothers and sisters of the wife as compadres. They may marry each other.

[602] /178/ The sons of the brothers and sisters of the father are nothing to the sons of the brothers and sisters of the mother. They do not speak to each other.

/178 cont./

The Family

594 361 The social group par excellence in Páez culture is the nuclear family. Its importance stands out if we consider that 175 the Páez live dispersed within their geographic area. Both the 594 chroniclers and the parish priests who concerned themselves 361 with them emphasize this characteristic. In 1751 the priest of Tálaga, Licenciado Eugenio del Castillo y Orozco, wrote in his report to Don Juan Francisco de Eguizaval, Governor and Captain General of the city of Popayán and its provinces, "that by command of his Illustrious Lordship Don Francisco José de Figueredo y Victoria on the Council of His Majesty, currently Bishop of this Diocese, I reported to the Governor previous to your Lordship, stating that since the year 1719, when I was in these Provinces assisting as interpreter for the Very Excellent Don Pedro Felipe García, then inspector for them, and afterwards in 1731 the same for Dr. D. Francisco Gómez Constantino, I learned that the Indians of this province had been inclined to live dispersed at various distances and only sat together at drinking parties in the homes of their Caciques or Capataces when they came from some Riria (which they call Necue) or to celebrate the first menstruation of a woman (which they call Izacó) or for another cause for vain observance, and, after finishing, they again separate" (3). Multiple efforts were made by the

177 797 361

3. Archivo Nacional de Bogotá. "Cartas de contrabando /Contraband Letters/," Vol. 14, Fol. 228.

parish priests and by the governors of the colonial period to " "reducirlos a vida sociable" /reduce them to a social life/, but the "bárbara naturaleza" /barbarous nature/ of these natives made their efforts fruitless. And this cultural trait is still

/178 cont./

177 effectively maintained (4). In each house, scattered over the
797
361

4. Bernal Villa, S. "La fiesta de San Juan en Calderas Tierradentro /The fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," 1953, p. 182.

In each house, scattered over the
594 ruggedness of the prominences, live a pair of adults of the op-
[361] posite sex and their children. It is this nuclear family that cares for and maintains its old parents and attends to their burial when they die, that completes the religious festivals with traditional pomp and rigor (5), that defends its /179/ interests from the

5. Ibid., pp. 192 ff.

attacks of strangers, that in former times celebrated the "Riria" (which they call Necue) (6) or the first menstruation of a woman

6. In the Vocabulario Páez-Castellano /Spanish-Páez Vocabulary/ of del Castillo y Orozco there is the word Nécue, which has the following textual definition: desafío; pelea que es un desafío solemne tan antiguo como el jentilismo entre los páeces, de dos campeones cada uno con el común de su bando /competition, a fight that is a solemn competition as old as paganism among the Paez, of two champions, each one with the community of his faction/.

(which they call Izacó), and, finally, that manufactures its troughs for chicha ("another cause for vain observance," of which del Castillo y Orozco speaks) in order to carry out the "bebezones"
594 /drinking parties/ with all who seek to participate. It is this
574 nuclear family that "cuida" /takes care of/ relatives who arrive,
609 that offers hospitality to the native traveler and that shows cold silence toward the visitor from Western culture.

/179 cont./

594 Associated with the nuclear family primordially are the functions of reproduction, the rearing of children, and the education of the latter. On procreation depends also the importance of economic functions.

581 The orientation of the sexual instinct is a secondary end.
589 Indeed, Páez culture demands that every individual form a
[183] family, once he has acquired the capacity for procreation. In
[842] the parcialidad of Calderas they look upon children as a blessing
[775] from God, regarding celibates "como violadores de la cruz" /as violators of the cross/(marriage); celibacy is condemned, in the rationalization that the person who dies celibate goes to the
[754] Nevado del Huila, considered by them as hell. The celibacy of a woman is exceptional, and when it occurs they believe that she becomes a witch. They think something similar about some
581 widows. One woman of some fifty years of age says that
589 "marriage is fundamental and obligatory, for the grandfathers
775 used to say that to a woman who is not married the devil gives a black dog for a husband in hell" (7). Another woman declared

[825] 7. They regarded white dogs as companions and guides in the future life and fear that "if molested they will come out and bite them at the entrance to the future abode."

that at times she feels sorrow for the death of an unmarried daughter, "because the devil would give her a husband."

581 The culture considers it an obligation of parents to marry
183 off their daughters even if they are very young. Furthermore
[582] the young men aspire to "build their house, marry, produce children, have animals, coca in abundance, and sugar cane
[842] for their chicha" (8). The incentive to marry is to have children,

8. Bernal Villa, S. 1953, op. cit., p. 183.

for which purpose it is necessary to have assurance /180/ that the woman is fecund,

842 /180 cont./
583 the woman is fecund. For this the culture offers the institutional
581 device of "amaño," by which the man lives with the woman for a
183 time before legalizing the marriage. And we are given clear
175 and precise information about this by Licenciado Eugenio del
595 Castillo y Orozco and his brother, Licentiado Isidro del Castillo
583 y Hrozco /sic/, in their respective reports which they gave to the Governor and Captain General mentioned above: "that they followed the evil custom of living in intimate relations for a long time with the woman whom they were to marry, and if after the marriage they had no offspring they would leave her and seek another woman who might be fecund and whom they thought they might marry if they were not married to their own wives (as Manuel Bolza, an Indian of this village (9), wished

9. Tálaga.

to do), and as was done by Antonio Cofongo (an Indian of San Antonio de las Chinas), from whom he learned not to break up the legitimate religious marriage, which could be prohibited, and who suggested that they get out of the difficulty by any false means, even to arranging for others, from the lowest Indian to the highest, to testify to a lying statement, and if anyone dissented from it and would not follow the wish of the Cacique or Moján, fear caused the dissenters to escape to other parts; some fled with their concubines when they were not acceptable to her parents or relatives, others to avoid work, and others from necessity" (10) ..."and that they flee from all their vices and

10. Archivo Nacional de Bogotá, op. cit., Folio 228.

sins, which are: witchcraft, drunkenness, and concubinage" (11).

11. Archivo Nacional de Bogotá, op. cit., Folio 230.

/180 cont./

583 In Paris on the first of March, 1877, Esequiel Uricoechea
[175] wrote in his introduction to the Vocabulario: "Marriage in the sense in which we accept it today did not exist among the Páeces: two people lived a married life for some time and the marriage was not legalized without the previous certainty that
[192] the woman was fecund. It is natural then, that we find among the Páeces, as among the Peruvians, two verbs (imi and iyó) which indicate respectively the woman accepts the man and the man takes the woman. The woman was obliged to give clothing to the husband, and he "to provide sustenance for the family" (12).

12. Castillo y Orozdo, E. del. Vocabulario Páez-Castellano /Paez-Spanish Vocabulary/, 1877, p. XIV.

Our informants from Calderas confirm the effectiveness of this custom, some justifying it by the need of the future husband /181/ to obtain the money to pay the expenses of the wedding, others in order to "catear" /sample, find out/ if the woman is honest, a worker, and faithful, and there was no lack of those who clearly stated that this trial marriage "is customary because if the woman should turn out to be machorra /barren/ there is no marriage." When such occurs the man returns the woman to her parents without any problem standing in the way, which would not be the case if they were married by the Church, in which case the return is not possible.

162 Our investigations concerning the frequency of the "amaño"
583 in the established families of some parcialidades of Tierradentro
595 showed the following results:
184 Calderas: 42 families (28% of the approximate total of Calderun families). 57.1% of these families practiced the amaño: 42.9% were married first by the Church.

San Andrés: 13 families (6.5% of the approximate total of San Andrés families). 92.3% were married first by the Church; 7.7% practiced the amaño.

/181 cont./

162 Lame: 8 families (6.2% of the approximate total of Lame
583 families). 87.5% were married first by the Church; 12.5% prac-
595 ticed the amaño.
184 Mosoco: 26 families (10.4% of the approximate total of families in Mosoco). 88.1% followed the Catholic law; 11.6% practiced the amaño.

Although the percentages for the parcialidades of San Andrés and Lame may not reflect fully the real situation concerning the custom owing to the paucity of data, one can clearly see the vigor that it still has in Calderas, a parcialidad less acculturated,
581 of course, than the others. Once the man is convinced of the
594 fertility of his mate, the marriage is legalized at the altar of the
[585] Catholic Church. Then the economic co-operation of the spouses, initiated at the beginning of their married life, is stabilized and gains strength, and the marriage becomes, as one of our informants remarked, an association for the "mutual benefit of the contracting parties, to serve each other, without in any way
594 being a burden to either of them." The man enlarges his clear-
462 ings in order to take care of "the sustenance of the family," plants sugar cane and coca in order to obtain chicha and narcotic for holding mingas /work parties/, in order to celebrate religious festivals, in order to "cuidar" his relatives and to relax with his friends; he hires himself out as a peon /182/ in order to acquire money and to buy shawls for his wife, wool and cloth that the woman makes into camisas for herself, her husband, and her sons, and trousers for these last, begins to build his house, if he does not have one, on the lot that his father has assigned to him, to make a home for his family. The woman, on her part, administers the products that her husband brings to her, weaves the ruana /poncho/ and kuetand-yaha (mambe pouch /a bag for the ingredients of chews/) for the husband and children, prepares the food, raises hens and pigs, and cares for her children less than three years old (13). In this manner, among the Páez, marriage,

13. For the division of activities according to sex, see our work "Economía de los Páez /Economy of the Paez/," /published in the

/182 cont./

462 13. (cont.)
594 Revista Colombiana de Antropología, Vol. III, 1954.

361 In this manner, among the Paez, marriage,
182 family, land, and house form an intimate unit, indissoluble and
594 in part explaining the above-mentioned phenomenon of the re-
581 luctance to live grouped in towns or cities.

423 Basically the residence of the nuclear family is patrilocal-
591 neolocal. When the man, accompanied by his escort, goes to
[584] ask for his future consort, and, after certain definite formalities are fulfilled, the future parents-in-law hand her over, she is taken to live in the house of his parents (when he has not built
591 his own). In it he arranges a separate room with a kitchen for
596 cooking, a cowhide to sleep on, and space in which to keep their provisions, their kitchen utensils, and work tools. The new
[583] spouses are independent of their respective parents. The man assists in the work of his parents-in-law and the woman in the work of hers, but in neither case does it constitute an obligation
[594] for them. When a bachelor, the man works to take care of his own needs and to assist in the support of the paternal economy; once married he works to support his family.

582 The man chooses his wife within the parcialidad, although
177 he may marry women from other parcialidades. But neither men nor women may marry persons from Western culture ("whites"). In Calderas there was a case of a possible marriage between a native woman and a "white." The cabildo removed this possibility, obliging the native woman to marry a member of the parcialidad. If it is a man who wishes to try to marry a "white" woman, he must leave the village. They consider that when the "whites" enter the community, they invariably appropriate their land.

582 The selection of spouses within the parcialidades is /183/ determined by the laws of incest. Unions between parents and children and real brothers and sisters are incestuous and severely prohibited. Also relations between cousins of the first degree of both lines and those of uncles and nieces are condemned, although not

proscribed.

/183 cont./

605 proscribed. With respect to relations between cousins, they
835 state that whoever has them cannot pass the Páramo /crests of the cordilleras/ (Guanacas, Delicias, Moras), because the tiger will eat them. They add, however, that nothing will happen to them if such unions take place without any prelude, laughter, or merriment.

582 In deciding upon the spouses there exists a very singular
551 cultural trait. A man never chooses his future wife from among women bearing his own surname. Thus, a Muse does not choose a Muse for his wife, although she may live in another parcialidad. They believe that there may be kinship relations
551 between them. Cases in which a husband and wife do have the
582 same surname are very rare, and when that happens the husband
851 endeavors to introduce his wife by her mother's name. A case that we were able to observe unexpectedly was during the baptism of a baby girl solemnized in the church at Inzá. For elementary reasons we are concealing the names of the actual parents, and we shall suppose that the father is called Manuel Kiguasú and the mother María Kiguasú. In order to register the baptism of the child, the priest asked for the name of the parents. "Manuel Kiguasú," answered the father of the child, but upon being asked the name of his wife, he did not say that she was called María Kiguasú, as in reality she was, being the legitimate daughter of a Kiguasú, but María Vitechi, a name inherited from her mother. The case acquires more importance if one takes into account the fact that the so-called Manuel Kiguasú is a mestizo
551 who lives among the "whites" and deals with them. We found
582 the same situation in the genealogical record of the family of Nicanor Guagás of the parcialidad of Calderas. Rosario Ido, widow of Nicanor Guagás, bears the name of her mother, a native of the parcialidad of Cuetando, and not that of her father, Agustín Guagás, she being a legitimate daughter. Although in the same records Nicolasa Guagás does not conceal her surname in mentioning that of her deceased husband, Manuel José Guagás, a marriage authorized by the Church, for Nicolasa states that she is her husband's niece. The name of the nuclear family, that is to

/183 cont./

557 say, the surname, is transmitted through the paternal line. The
582 wife retains it throughout her life, but does not transmit it to her children. A son of hers will bear only the father's surname.
604 According to an /184/ informant from Calderas a man respects his paternal uncles and aunts in the same manner as the maternal uncles, but not the maternal aunt, because "she is not a real relative;...she is a woman and not a man ... the men (older) have to be respected the same as the old women" and, generalizing, adds: "of the uncles and aunts one respects the men more than the women and the paternal uncles more than
601 the maternal ones." Although the terms for designating the
604 uncles and aunts of EGO differentiate sex and specify the line to which they belong, EGO considers the relationship of the paternal uncles and aunts to be closer than that of the maternal ones, and although the uncles call the sons of their brothers "sons," there does not exist among the present-day Páez a clear concept of parallel uncles and cross uncles and, consequently, of parallel and cross cousins. Masculine EGO calls paternal and maternal male cousins Iakté, paternal and maternal female cousins pesh, making them equal with his own sisters and brothers, and feminine EGO calls paternal and maternal female cousins Iakté, paternal and maternal male cousins Jish, making
601 them equal also with her own brothers and sisters. But logically
604 such a distinction must have existed, to judge from the conduct
582 observed in the selection of mates and in the respect that EGO pays to his uncles and aunts, this being more pronounced for the paternal than for the maternal ones and greater still for the men.
114 Eugenio del Castillo y Orozco corroborates our argument. In
60 his Vocabulario he states that the mother-in-law is called by the
582 same term as the one designating the father's sister (pezoz), and the father-in-law by the same term as the one for designating the mother's brother (cacca). This means that in the eighteenth century in-law kinship specified the origin of the spouses, clearly showing marriage between cross cousins.

60 All these traits make us think that possibly there were
614 patrilineal exogamous clans, now manifested by some types of
174 stereotyped conduct,

/184 cont./

stereotyped conduct. It should nevertheless be stated that the present-day Páez surnames were still given names in the eighteenth century, chosen capriciously by the mother and not transmissible to the descendants (14). The adoption of surnames and

14. Castillo y Orozco, E. de., op. cit., p. 75.

their heritability through the paternal line is the result of the doctrinal work of the Catholic missionaries, and their assimilation and integration into Páez culture must have been carried out in accordance with certain aspects of a sociological nature existing previously. The same /an unpaginated genealogical chart appears here/ /185/ present-day monogamy of the Páez appears to be the result of a strong Catholic Christian influence, since in pre-Colombian times they were polygamous (15).

15. Hernández de Alba, Gr. "The Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia," 1946, p. 948.

The supreme authority in the nuclear family rests with the father; when he is missing, with the mother; and, when both are missing, with the most intelligent of the group. The husband orders, the woman only asks. The woman is always under the control of the man: the father, the brother, the husband. She has no liberty of movement. The cabildo has authority over orphaned women, including that of having them marry. One of our informants in Calderas was a fatherless orphan and had been brought up in Avirama in the company of her stepfather. Being of age, an Avirameño asked for her in marriage, but the cabildo of Calderas stopped the marriage, brought her back to the parcialidad, made her spend the night in the quarters of the cabildo, and on the following day made her marry a lad of 14 whom she did not know. Since she resisted, they beat her, admonishing her at the same time that if she did not do it, she would be married to a black dog in the future life. "There being

[text continues on p. 33]

8: Bernal Villa

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p. 29
p. 30
p. 31

Chart of Positions of the Nicanor Guagás family's Genealogy.
/Following p. 27/

8: Bernal Villa--28 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

Genealogy of the family of Nicanor Guagás, parcialidad of Calderas. It includes several nuclear families which live in different places in the parcialidad /see p. 32 for the explanations of the symbols/.

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- 1. Nicanor Guagás m.
- + 2. Rosario Iko 80 *
  - 3. Damiana Guagás 65
  - + 4. Bonifacio Muse m.
    - 22. Justo Muse 38
      - 67. Isabel Muse 7
      - 68. Juan Muse 3.
      - 69. Fenerio M. 3ms. m. A.
      - 70. Concha M. 2mg.
    - 23. Julia Pame 30
    - 24. Marcelo Muse 35
      - 71. Vicente M. 3. m. C.
      - 72. Manuel T. M. 6
      - 73. María S. M. 4
      - 74. Rafael M. 1mg.
    - + 25. Rosalía Ramos 30
    - 26. María S. Muse 30
      - 75. Nicolás G. 5 m.
      - 76. Alberto G. 12
      - 77. Francisca G. 6
      - 78. Justiniano G. 3
      - 79. Natividad G. 3 m.
      - 80. Ismael G. 1ms. C.
    - + 27. Juan Guagás m.
    - 28. Gabriel Muse m
    - 29. Paulina Muse m.
    - 30. Magdalena Muse 22
      - 81. Paulino P. 3
      - 82. Juana P. 1
    - + 31. Pedro Pame
    - 32. Jacinto Muse 20
    - + 33. Leocadia Shukué 20
    - 34. María Muse 40
      - 83. Ramón Villané 12

8: Bernal Villa--29 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

- 5. Nicolasa Guagás 38
- + 6. Manuel Guagás m.
  - 34. María Muse 40
  - +35. José Villanó 40
    - 83. Ramón Villanó 12 — 847
    - 84. Juana Villanó 8 — 551
    - 85. María S. V. 7 — 754
    - 86. Marcelino V. 3 — 753
    - 87. Alfonso V. 3 m. H — 594
  - 36. Delfina Muse 23 E — 173
  - +37. Venancio Guagás 25 — 16
    - 88. Jacinto Guagás 6
    - 89. Isabel G. 8ma.
  - 38. Marcelina Guagás 22
  - +39. Alfonso Tova 30
    - 90. Magdalena Tova 2
  - 40. Gregoria Guagás
  - 41. Agustina Guagás
  - 42. Virginia Guagás
  - 43. Manuel J. Guagás 10
- 7. Raimundo Guagás 35
- + 8. María J. Pame 27
  - 44 — 2
- 9. Pascual Guagás m.
- 10. José D. Guagás m.
- 11. Juan Guagás m.
- 12. Juana Guagás
- +14. Primitivo Io
  - 45. Benito Io 36
  - +46. Antonia Ikinás 22
    - 91. Miguel Io 3ma. in. J
    - 92. Patrocinio Io 2

8: Bernal Villa--30 E-5 (1953-1954) 1956 SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

- 10. José D. Guagás m.
- 11. Juan Guagás m.
- 12. Juana Guagás
  - +14. Primitivo Io
  - 45. Benito Io 36
    - +46. Antonia Ikinás 22
    - 91. Miguel Io 3ms. m. J
    - 92. Patrocinio Io 2
  - 47. Esteban Io 38
    - +48. Rosalía Puche 30 E
    - 93. Santiago I. m. F.
    - 94. Tránsito I. 10
    - 95. Santos I. 6
    - 96. Raimundo I. 1
    - 97. Cruz Io m. C
  - ~~49. Margarita Io 35~~
    - +50. Julio Ikinás 35
    - ~~98. Eusebio Ikinás 4~~
    - 99. Lorenzo Ikinás 2ms.
    - 101. Santos I. 1ms. m. D
- 14. Catalina Guagás 50
  - +15. Demesio Ule m.
  - 51. Dionisia Ule 22
    - +52. Celio Muse 27
    - 102
      - 2
- 16. Trinidad Guagás
  - +17. Manuel Ule
  - 53. Bautista Ule
  - 54. Felisa Ule
  - 55. Cristina Ule
  - 56. Pedro Ule
- 18. José D. Guagás
  - 57. Juana Guagás 30
    - 103. Josefina T. 1ms.

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8: Bernal Villa--31 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955
SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

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- 55. Cristina Ule
- 56. Pedro Ule

- 18. José D. Guagás
- +19. Jacinta Muse
  - 57. Juana Guagás 30
    - +58. Narciso Tumbo 40
      - 103. Josefina T. 1ms.
      - 104. Alejandro T. 5 m. B
      - 105. Rufina T. 1ms. m. C
      - 106. Floro T. 4 m. D
      - 107. Cruz T. 1ms. m. A
  - 59. Aurelio Guagás 35
    - +60. Vicenta Kuskue 30.
      - 108. Pedro Guagás 2
  - 61. Marcelino Guagás 50
    - +62. Trinidad Puche 50
      - 109. Feliciano G. 1ms. m.
      - 110. Bruno G. 25
      - 111. Magdalena G. 20
      - 112. Ramón G. 10
      - 113. Agustín G. 1ms. m.
      - 114. Felisa G. 1ms. m.
  - 63. Quiterio Guagás
    - +64. Petrona Pame
  - 65. Martina Guagás 27
    - +66. Rufino Ikinás 30
      - 115. Julio Ikinás 10
      - 116. Gregoria I. 8
      - 117. Pascual I. 4 m.
- 20. A woman m.
- 21. A woman m.

8: Bernal Villa--32 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15
[Parcialidad of Calderas]

Explanations for the symbols of the chart on pp. 28-31./

16
173
594
753
754
847

*The parents of Rosario Iko were called Agustín Guagás and Concepción Iko, the latter a native of Cuetando. Rosario bears the surname of the mother because of being married to a Guagás.

A. Stung by Echi

B. Poisoned

C. Bewitched.

D. Whooping cough.

E. An abortion.

F. Smallpox.

G. Hernia.

H. Duende.

J. Plague.

m. dead.

ms. months.

/185 cont./

623 no other solution, I had to marry, "reflected the informant," for
736 such was the law. The cabildo finds husbands for female orphans
562 (guaiches). Any youth could ask the cabildo for an orphan for a
583 wife and it would give her."

The husband may punish his wife. We were able to ob-
593 serve the case of a native Calderuno who with tears in his eyes
[586] asked for the help of the priest to get back his wife who had abandoned him because he had given her some blows with the flat of a machete, injuring her. The complaining husband explained that the maltreatment given to his wife had not been of any importance, and, anyway, she had cost him twelve pesos, meaning by this the amount paid to the priest to celebrate the
593 nuptials. They punish the wife when on returning from work
684 they find her drunk and without food prepared for eating. Likewise they whip her or cuff her in cases of infidelity. Absolute
[837] fidelity is demanded from both spouses, and transgressions from this standard seem to be infrequent.

Such cases as present themselves are settled by the cabildo,
593 as we were able to observe in Mosoco, where a husband, through
623 the suggestion of his own mother, accused his wife of infidelity.
684 The cabildo /186/ in session went to the house of the plaintiff
692 to establish responsibility in the presence of the interested parties. According to an informant from Calderas, when a married man has a child by an unmarried girl, his wife complains before the cabildo. If it finds the girl guilty, it punishes her with lashes and authorizes the complainant to cut the hair of her rival.
[848] The child born in this way, said the informant, dies of the plague.
[753] Cases of infidelity on the part of the husband a number of times arouse violent reactions on the part of the wife, up to the point of liquidating her rival in a barbarous and merciless manner, as occurred in San Andrés where out of jealousy a woman practically quartered the body of the other woman, and whose penal judgment was given in the city of Popayán not many months ago.

/186 cont./

837 Should an unfaithful wife conceive a child by a man
851 racially white and the husband not be aware of it, the latter considers it his child even if it should inherit the characteristics of its progenitor. He will simply observe, "Why do my children come like this?" His wife answers him, "I don't know; it may
581 be echi or Pijao." In general marriages are well established and
593 stable, in spite of the fact that occasional tensions may arise between spouses. Divorce is unknown among the Páez. Extinction
586 of marriages by separation or the abandonment of one of the spouses is rare. In Calderas they can count on the fingers of one hand the cases where a man has abandoned his wife. "This is very ugly in a person, it should never happen," comments a woman. Cases in which a woman abandons the husband are much rarer still, being bitterly criticized when they occur.

594 The mother has the obligation to feed and care for her
854 children up to when they can leave home. Labor which she
[853] truly performs with love and care. The children suckle until they are two years old and even up to three, a period during which she never leaves them at any time. She cradles them on her breast or in the hammock and carries them on her shoulders,
594 attending to them lovingly whenever they cry. The father looks
867 after his boys from the time that they gain complete mastery of
[593] the biped state, without this making him less loving toward his daughters. Then he begins to take his sons everywhere.

During religious festivals they sit at his side, participate in the conversation of their elders, and are served food and
[273] drink in the same way as their elders. In Calderas and in /187/ San Andrés we had the opportunity to observe children five years old reeling under the effects of chicha and aguardiente. At this age, when they begin to take part in the economic life of the family group, the father teaches them to chew coca. The father conscientiously performs this labor of endoculturation.

597 We have not come across any cases of adopted children.
736 When both parents die, the children stay in the home of the nearest relative.

593 The conduct of the children toward their parents is that of deep respect. Nevertheless, in Calderas we witnessed the verbal

8: Bernal Villa--36 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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/187 cont./

593 and de facto (with a machete) aggression of a married son (23 years old) against his parents, and the situation calmed down when the father succeeded in disarming the aggressor.

Brothers and sisters respect each other. They avoid aggression, and when they are little they play together. The younger brothers greet the older ones, and when the latter marry, they receive, kneeling, the blessing of the former.

[241] The fruits of the harvests are shared among the brothers,
[476] just as they also mutually help one another in the arduous agricultural work. According to an informant, men care more for their brothers than for their sisters, because the latter, upon marrying, leave the home. Nevertheless they show affection in their conduct with both sexes. Relations between sisters and the mother are intimate, as they live together under the same
[855] roof and intermingle in performing the same work. The older ones help to bring up the younger brothers and sisters. The latter call the eldest brother and eldest sister táta and máma, names that they abandon when they have reached adulthood.
[627] In case of a fight involving one of the brothers, the others go to his assistance and take vengeance if anyone has been injured,
[623] but this is not an obligation. Quarrels between brothers may
[692] arise over the distribution of land. In the greater number of such cases the cabildo settles the differences.

602 Relations between the families united among themselves by blood ties are intimate. They visit one another frequently and are shown painstaking treatment.

593 Mingas[1] are organized more readily among brothers, who
[476] "cover up their poverty." In the religious festivals they mutually
[651] back one another and during occasional meetings they endeavor
[796] to drink and eat together.

1/ [i.e., meetings for collective work - Analyst]

8:Bernal Villa SC15 Paez

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[title page]

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8:Bernal Villa SC15 Paez

Bases para el Estudio de la Organización Social de los Páez

Por

SEGUNDO BERNAL VILLA

[p. 165]

[p. 166 is blank]

El material para el estudio del sistema de parentesco de los Páez fue recogido en el mes de mayo de 1953, gracias a la colaboración entusiasta de Victoriano *Piñakué*, de 18 años de edad, bilingüe y oriundo de la parcialidad de Calderas. Con estos materiales realizamos el análisis del sistema de parentesco, que sin mayores modificaciones, presentamos más abajo. Posteriormente fue confrontado con algunos indígenas varones de la parcialidad de San Andrés, quienes lo hallaron correcto. A fines de mayo de 1954 tuvimos la oportunidad de confrontarlo nuevamente en *Mosoco* con dos informantes varones de la localidad. Prácticamente no hallaron diferencias fonológicas, a pesar de que el Páez hablado en aquella parcialidad ofrece algunos matices diferenciativos en relación con el hablado en las otras parcialidades. Una sola observación fundamental hicieron, que la hemos aceptado por considerarla convincente. Es la referente a los términos usados para designar a los hijos e hijas de los hermanos y hermanas de EGO. Según *Piñakué* se los designa con los términos castellanos: sobrino y sobrina. Jorge *Mulcué* (mosqueño de 58 años) afirma que se los designa con las palabras *kué* o *wásak* (hijo e hija) anteponiéndoles el posesivo mi *(anji)*.

Hombres y mujeres utilizan, tanto de la línea paterna como materna, salvo algunas excepciones, los mismos términos subordinando el grado real de parentesco a la generación. El sistema de terminología de parentesco de los Páez es, pues, clasificatorio y bilateral.

Al parecer, no existe terminología para designar a los hermanos mayores y a los menores de la generación de EGO, bien que en el comportamiento resalta esta distinción. EGO está en el deber de saludar a los hermanos mayores, y a los mayores en general de la comunidad, en tanto que existe el deber de ser saludado por los hermanos menores, y, en general, por todos los menores de la comunidad.

Entre los mayores de edad, de ambos sexos, casados y con hijos es general el uso de formas tecnonímicas.

Los dos únicos estudios de sistemas de parentesco realizados en Colombia se deben a la pluma del Profesor Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff efectuados entre los Iroka y los Kogi. El de los Iroka fue realizado con la colaboración de Alexander L. Clark. Con el ánimo de facilitar posteriores estudios comparativos sobre esta materia, hemos adoptado su sistema de presentación de materiales, especialmente las abreviaturas de términos de parentesco de la lengua castellana.

Antes de finalizar con esta breve introducción queremos dejar constancia de nuestros vivos agradecimientos al señor Víctor Bedoya por su espontánea transcripción de documentos inéditos del Archivo Nacional referente a los Páez, y, al Profesor Marcos Fulop por sus valiosas observaciones y oportunas sugerencias que dieron muchas luces a partes oscuras de nuestro trabajo.

ANALISIS DE TERMINOS DE PARENTESCO

Parientes consanguíneos

A—GENERACION DE EGO:

a) EGO masculino: Hermanos e hijos de tíos y tías, paternos y maternos, se agrupan en una sola categoría, clasificándose como hermanos *(iakté)*.

b) Hermanas e hijas de tíos y tías, paternos y maternos, se agrupan en una sola categoría, clasificándose como hermanas *(Pesh)*.

c) EGO femenino: hermanas e hijas de tíos y tías, paternos y maternos, se agrupan en una sola categoría, clasificándose como hermanas *(iakté)*.

d) Hermanos e hijos de tíos y tías, paternos y maternos, se agrupan en una sola categoría, clasificándose como hermanos *(jish)*.

B—*PRIMERA GENERACION* ASCENDENTE:

a) Para el padre y la madre se utilizan términos aislantes *(tóta y máma)*.

Sh= a la ch francesa (chalet); ch= a la ch española (chicha); j= a la J francesa (jardin); h= a la J española (rojo).

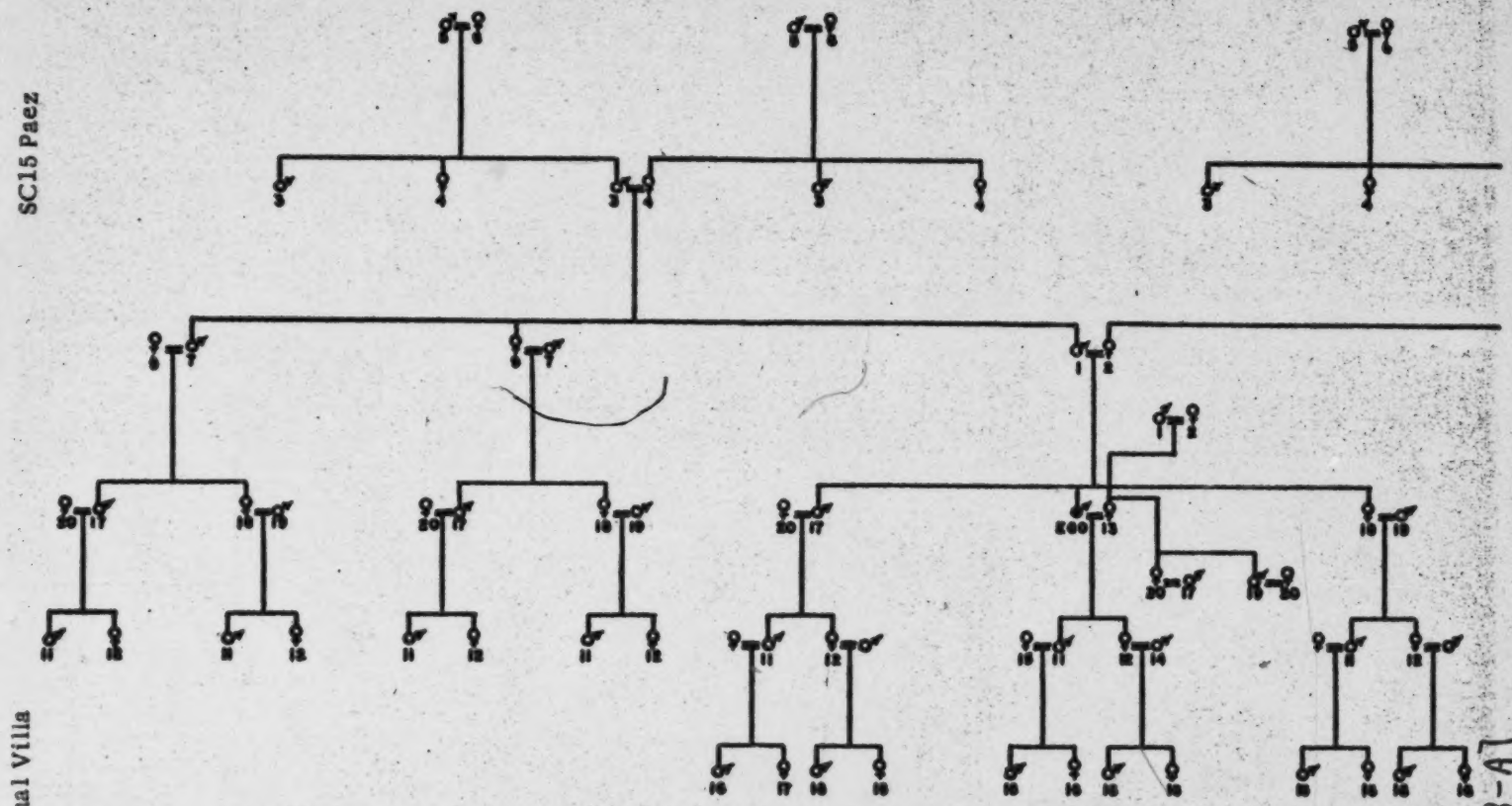

Figura I PARENTESCO EGO MASCULINO.

[U-891.5]

Figura I PARENTESCO EGO MASCULINO.

[P.168-B]

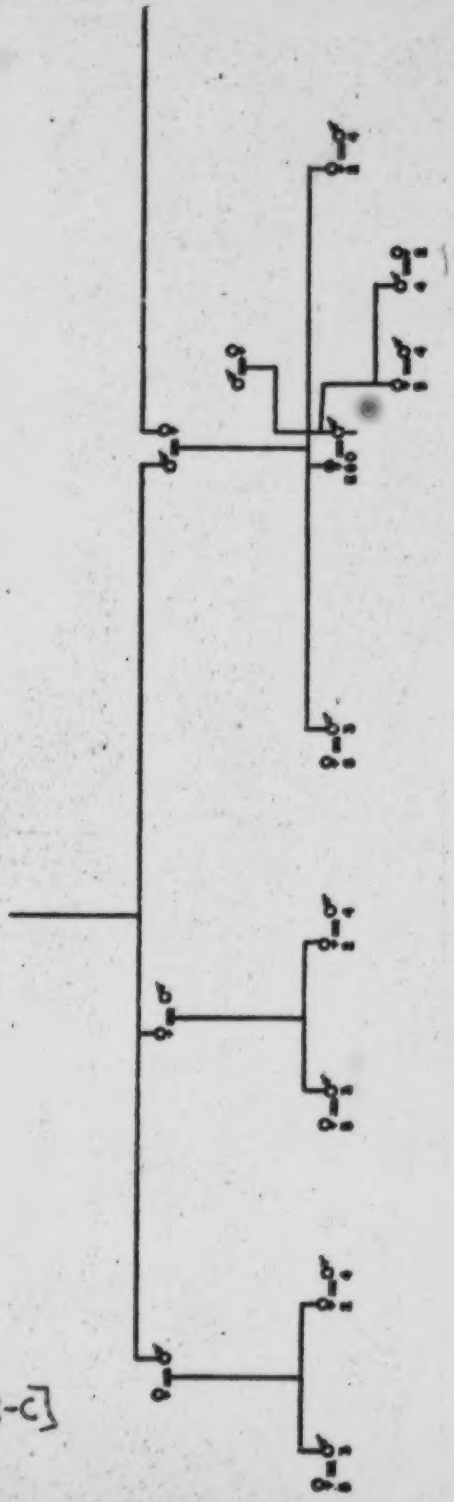

Figure 2 PARENTESCO EGO FEMENINO

[P.168-C]

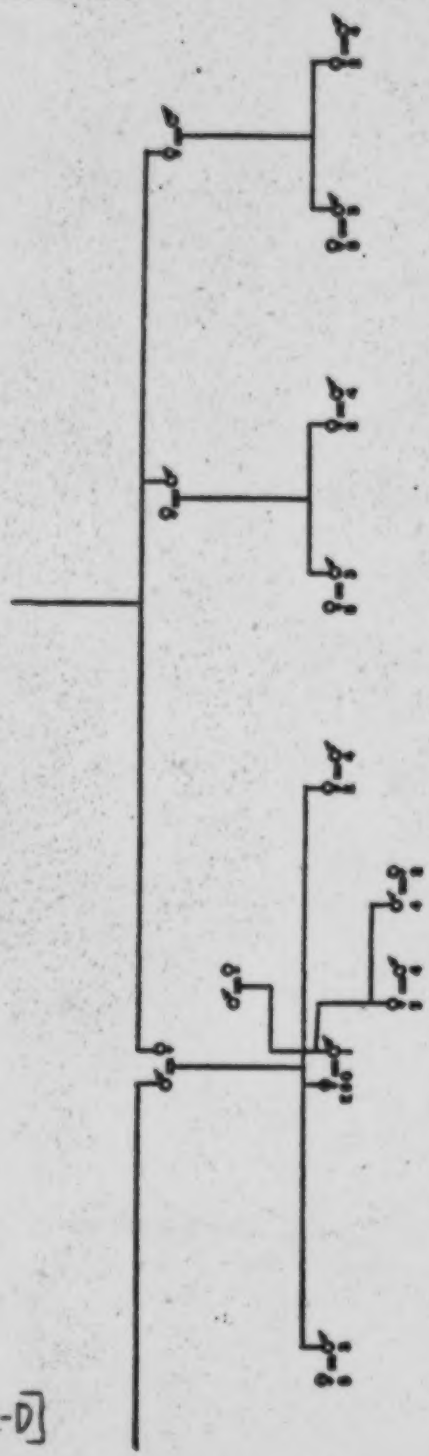

Figure 2 PARENTESCO EGO FEMENINO

[P.168-D]

b) Los hermanos y hermanas del padre y los hijos e hijas de los hermanos y hermanas del papá de papá (abuelo) se agrupan en una sola categoría clasificándose como tíos y tías (*fuk* y *pézuts*, respectivamente).

c) Los hermanos y hermanas de la madre y los hijos e hijas de los hermanos y hermanas de la mamá de mamá (abuela) se agrupan en una sola categoría clasificándose como tíos y tías (*kákka* y *péñuk*, respectivamente).

C—SEGUNDA GENERACION ASCENDENTE:

a) Se utiliza un término para ambos abuelos *(ishi)* y un término para ambas abuelas *(penshi)*.

b) Los hermanos y hermanas de los abuelos, tanto por la línea paterna como por la materna, se agrupan en una sola categoría clasificándose como abuelos y abuelas *(ishi, penshi)*.

D—TERCERA GENERACION ASCENDENTE:

a) Los bisabuelos se designan con un término *(ishi wála)* y las bisabuelas con otro *(penshi wála)*.

E—PRIMERA GENERACION DESCENDENTE:

a) Los hijos, las hijas y los hijos e hijas de hermanos y hermanas, reales o clasificatorios, tanto por la línea paterna como materna, se agrupan en una sola categoría y se designan como hijos e hijas (*kué* o *jik* y *wásak* o *nis*, respectivamente).

F—SEGUNDA GENERACION DESCENDENTE:

a) Hijos e hijas de hijos e hijas (nietos) lo mismo que hijos e hijas de hermanos y hermanas se agrupan en una sola categoría sin distinción de sexo y se designan como nietos *(nson)*.

G—TERCERA GENERACION DESCENDENTE:

a) Los hijos de hijos e hijas de hijos e hijas (bimietos) se agrupan sin distinción de sexo, en una sola categoría y se designan con el mismo término usado para los nietos *(nson)*.

DIFERENCIAS ADICIONALES

1—Sexo: Terminológicamente se distingue el sexo en todas las generaciones, salvo en la segunda y tercera generación descendente.

2—Edad: Hermanos y hermanas reales y clasificatorios con respecto a la edad relativa de EGO, no se diferencia terminológicamente, aunque sí se la discrimina en los patrones de conducta, pues EGO saluda a quienes son mayores que él en tanto que es saludado por los menores.

3—Parentesco:

a) EGO masculino :Terminológicamente, los hermanos no se distinguen de los hijos de los tíos y tías, paternos y maternos, y el término con que se designan no hace referencia a qué línea pertenecen.

Las hermanas no se distinguen de las hijas de los tíos y tías, paternos y maternos, y el término con que se designan no hace especificación a qué línea pertenecen.

EGO femenino: terminológicamente, los hermanos no se distinguen de los hijos de los tíos y tías, paternos y maternos, y el término con que se designan no especifica a qué línea pertenecen.

Terminológicamente, las hermanas no se distinguen de las hijas de los tíos y tías, paternos y maternos, y el término con que se designan no especifica a qué línea pertenecen.

b) Primera generación ascendente:

El padre y los hermanos se distinguen, terminológicamente, de los hermanos de la madre; ésta y sus hermanas se distinguen, terminológicamente, de las hermanas de aquél.

c) Segunda generación ascendente: no existen diferenciaciones de parentesco.

d) Primera generación descendente: no hacen diferenciaciones de parentesco entre hijos rales o clasificatorios.

PARIENTES POLITICOS

1—a) EGO Masculino: A los hermanos de la esposa, a los esposos de las hermanas y a los esposos de las hijas de los hermanos y hermanas de los padres se designan con un término *(sum)*.

b) A las hermanas de la esposa, a las esposas de los hermanos, a las esposas de los hermanos de la esposa y a las esposas de los hijos de los hermanos y hermanas de los padres, se designan con un término *(sub)*.

c) Se utiliza un término para designar al esposo de la hermana de la esposa. En general, los esposos de las hermanas de la esposa se designan entre sí con el mismo término que sirve para designarse entre sí las esposas de los hermanos de EGO *(iakté)*.

d) EGO femenino: A los hermanos del esposo, a los esposos de las hermanas, a los esposos de las hermanas del esposo y a los esposos de las hijas de los hermanos y hermanas de los padres se designan con un término *(sub)*.

e) A las hermanas del esposo, a las esposas de los hermanos y a las esposas de los hijos de los hermanos y hermanas de los padres se designan con un término *(chinás)*.

2—a) Suegro y suegra se designan con términos aislantes *(táta, máma)*.

b) Los esposos de las hijas y las esposas de los hijos se designan con términos diferentes (*ndó, nukué miyú*, respectivamente).

TERMINOS DE PARENTESCO

Abreviaturas: p = padre
m = madre
hno = hermano
hna = hermana
ho = hijo
ha = hija
co = cónyuge
d = de, del

Castellano	Ego Masculino	Ego Femenino
1 — p	*tatá*	*tatá*
2 — m	*mamá*	*mamá*
3 — p-d-p	*ishí*	*ishí*
4 — m-d-p	*pénshí*	*pénshí*
5 — p-d-m	*ishí*	*ishí*
6 — m-d-m	*pénshí*	*pénshí*
7 — p-d-p-d-p	*ishí udía*	*ishí udía*

Castellano	Eco Masculino	Eco Femenino
8 — m-d-p-d-p	*pinshí wála*	*pinshí wála*
9 — p-d-m-d-m	*ishí wála*	*ishí wála*
10 — m-d-m-d-m	*pinshí wála*	*pinshí wála*
11 — hno-d-p	*ñuk*	*ñuk*
12 — hna-d-p	*pésuts*	*pésuts*
13 — hno-d-m	*kókka*	*kókka*
14 — hna-d-m	*péñuk*	*péñuk*
15 — hno	*iskté*	*jísh*
16 — hna	*pesh*	*iskté*
17 — ho-d-hno-d-p	*iskté*	*jísh*
18 — ho-d-hna-d-p	*iskté*	*jísh*
19 — ha-d-hno-d-p	*pesh*	*iskté*
20 — ha-d-hna-d-p	*pesh*	*iskté*
21 — ho-d-hno-d-m	*iskté*	*jísh*
22 — ho-d-hna-d-m	*iskté*	*jísh*
23 — ha-d-hno-d-m	*pesh*	*iskté*
24 — ha-d-hna-d-m	*pesh*	*iskté*
25 — ho- (1)	*kué*	*kué*
26 — ha (2)	*wásak*	*wásak*
27 — ho-d-ho-d-hno-d-p	*kué*	*kué*
28 — ha-d-ho-d-hno-d-p	*wásak*	*wásak*
29 — ho-d-ho-d-hna-d-p	*kué*	*kué*
30 — ha-d-ho-d-hna-d-p	*wásak*	*wásak*
31 — ho-d-ha-d-hno-d-p	*kué*	*kué*
32 — ha-d-ha-d-hno-d-p	*wásak*	*wásak*
33 — ho-d-ha-d-hna-d-p	*kué*	*kué*
34 — ha-d-ha-d-hna-d-p	*wásak*	*wásak*
35 — ho-d-ho-d-hno-d-m	*kué*	*kué*
36 — ha-d-ho-d-hno-d-m	*wásak*	*wásak*
37 — ho-d-ha-d-hno-d-m	*kué*	*kué*
38 — ha-d-ha-d-hno-d-m	*wásak*	*wásak*
39 — ho-d-ho-d-hna-d-m	*kué*	*kué*
40 — ha-d-ho-d-hna-d-m	*wásak*	*wásak*
41 — ho-d-ha-d-hna-d-m	*kué*	*kué*
42 — ha-d-ha-d-hna-d-m	*wásak*	*wásak*
43 — ho-d-ho	*nson*	*nson*
44 — ha-d-ho	*nson*	*nson*
45 — ho-d-ha	*nson*	*nson*

(1) Al hijo también se le designa con el término *jiz*, pero es menos usado.
(2) A la hija también se le designa con el término *nis*.

Castellano	Eco Masculino	Eco Femenino
46 — ha-d-ha	nsoh	nsoh
47 — ho-d-ho-d-hna	nsoh	nsoh
48 — ha-d-ho-d-hna	nsoh	nsoh
49 — ho-d-ha-d-hna	nsoh	nsoh
50 — ha-d-ha-d-hna	nsoh	nsoh
51 — ho-d-ho-d-hno	nsoh	nsoh
52 — ha-d-ho-d-hno	nsoh	nsoh
53 — ho-d-ha-d-hno	nsoh	nsoh
54 — ha-d-ha-d-hno	nsoh	nsoh
55 — ho-d-ho-d-ho	nsoh	nsoh
56 — ha-d-ho-d-ho	nsoh	nsoh
57 — ho-d-ha-d-ho	nsoh	nsoh
58 — ha-d-ha-d-ho	nsoh	nsoh
59 — ho-d-ho-d-ha	nsoh	nsoh
60 — ha-d-ho-d-ha	nsoh	nsoh
61 — ho-d-ha-d-ha	nsoh	nsoh
62 — ha-d-ha-d-ha	nsoh	nsoh
63 — co	*nbyú*	*nemí*
64 — p-d-co	*tatá*	*táta*
65 — m-d-co	*máma*	*máma*
66 — co-d-ho	*nukuú mbyú*	*nukuú mbyú*
67 — co-d-ha	*ndó*	*ndó*
68 — hno-d-co	*sum*	*sub*
69 — hna-d-co	*sub*	*chindz*
70 — co-d-hno	*sub*	*chindz*
71 — co-d-hna	*sum*	*sub*
72 — co-d-hno-d-co	*sub*	*iaktí*
73 — co-d-hna-d-co	*iaktí*	*sub*
74 — co-d-hno-d-p	*pésuts*	*pésuts*
75 — co-d-hna-d-p	*ñuh*	*ñuh*
76 — co-d-hno-d-m	*péñuh*	*péñuh*
77 — co-d-hna-d-m	*kíhka*	*kíhka*
78 — co-d-ho-d-hno-d-p	*sub*	*chindz*
79 — co-d-ha-d-hno-d-p	*sum*	*sub*
80 — co-d-ho-d-hna-d-p	*sub*	*chindz*
81 — co-d-ha-d-hna-d-p	*sum*	*sub*
82 — co-d-ho-d-hno-d-m	*sub*	*chindz*
83 — co-d-ha-d-hno-d-m	*sum*	*sub*
84 — co-d-ho-d-hna-d-m	*sub*	*chindz*
85 — co-d-ha-d-hna-d-m	*sum*	*sub*

APLICACION DE TERMINOS DE PARENTESCO

A - Ego Masculino (V. Fig. 1)

1 — *Tóto* . . . . . p; p-d-co
2 — *Máma* . . . . . m; m-d-co
3 — *Ishí* . . . . . p-d-p; p-d-m; hno-d-p-d-p; hno-d-p-d-m; hno-d-m-d-m; hno-d-m-d-p.
4 — *Pínshí* . . . . m-d-p; m-d-m; hna-d-p-d-p; hna-d-m-d-m; hna-d-m-d-p; hna-d-p-d-m.
5 — *Ishí wála* . . . p-d-p-d-p; p-d-m-d-m; p-d-m-d-p; p-d-p-d-m.
6 — *Pínshí wála* . m-d-p-d-p; m-d-m-d-p; m-d-p-d-m; m-d-m-d-m.
7 — *Ñuk* . . . . . hno-d-p; ho-d-hno-d-p-d-p; ho-d-hna-d-p-d-p; co-d-hna-d-p.
8 — *Kúkha* . . . hno-d-m; ho-d-hno-d-m-d-m; ho-d-hna-d-m-d-m; co-d-hna-d-m.
9 — *Píuts* . . . . hna-d-p; ha-d-hno-d-p-d-p; ha-d-hna-d-p-d-p; co-d-hno-d-p.
10 — *Píúuk* . . . . hna-d-m; ha-d-hno-d-m-d-m; ha-d-hna-d-m-d-m; co-d-hno-d-m.
11 — *Kuá* (o *jík*) . ho; ho-d-hno; ho-d-hna; ho-d-ho-d-hno-d-p; ho-d-ha-d-hna-d-p; ho-d-ha-d-hno-d-p; ho-d-ha-d-hna-d-p; ho-d-ho-d-hna-d-m; ho-d-ho-d-hna-d-m; ho-d-ha-d-hno-d-m; ho-d-ha-d-hna-d-m.
12 — *Wúuk* (o *nia*) ha; ha-d-hno; ha-d-hna; ha-d-ho-d-hno-d-p; ha-d-ho-d-hno-d-p; ha-d-ha-d-hno-d-p; ha-d-ha-d hna-d-p; ha-d-ho-d-hno-d-m; ha-d-ho-d-hna-d-m; ha-d-ha-d-hno-d-m; ha-d-ha-d-hna-d-m;
13 — *Nlyá* . . . . . co
14 — *Ndá* . . . . . co-d-ha
15 — *Nakuá Mlyá* . co-d-ho
16 — *Naca* . . . . ho-d-ho; ha-d-ho; ho-d-ha; ha-d-ha; ho-d-ho-d-hna; ha-d-ho-d-hna; ho-d-ha-d-hna; ho-d-ha-d-hna; ho-d-ho-d-hno; ha-d-ho-d-hno; ho-d-ha-d-hno; ha-d-ha-d-hno.
17 — *Ishtá* . . . . hno; ho-d-hno-d-p; ho-d-hna-d-p; ho-d-hno-d-m; ho-d-hna-d-m; co-d-hna-d-co.
18 — *Pesh* . . . . . hna; ha-d-hno-d-p; ha-d-hna-d-p; ha-d-hno-d-m; ha-d-hna-d-m.

19 — *Sum* . . . . . hno-d-co; co-do-hna; co-d-ho-d-hno-d-p; co-d-ho-d-hna-d-p; co-d-ho-d-hno-d-m; co-d-ho-d-hna-d-m.

20 — *Sub* . . . . . hna-d-co; co-d-hno-d-co; co-d-hno; co-d-ho-d-hno-d-p; co-d-ho-d-hna-d-p; co-d-ho-d-hno-d-m; co-d-ho-d-hna-d-m.

B.—EGO FEMENINO (V. Fig. 2).

1 — *Nemé* . . . . . co.

2 — *Iskté* . . . . . hna; ho-d-hno-d-p; ho-d-hna-d-p; ho-d-hno-d-m; ho-d-hna-d-m; co-d-hno-d-co.

3 — *Itsh* . . . . . hno; ho-d-hno-d-p; ho-d-hna-d-p; ho-d-hno-d-m; ho-d-hna-d-m.

4 — *Sub* . . . . . hno-d-co; co-d-hna-d-co; co-d-hna; co-d-ho-d-hno-d-p; co-d-ho-d-hna-d-p; co-d-ho-d-hno-d-m; co-d-ho-d-hna-d-m.

5 — *Chinés* . . . . hna-d-co; co-d-hno; co-d-ho-d-hno-d-p; co-d-ho-d-hna-d-p; co-d-ho-d-hno-d-m; co-d-ho-d-hna-d-m.

Los demás términos de parentesco son comunes para EGO masculino y femenino.

OBSERVACIONES ADICIONALES

Un padre al referirse a sus hijos, de ambos sexos, antepone el posesivo mi *(anji)* al término de parentesco, así:

Anji kué (mi hijo) *anji jikuesh* (mis hijos).

Anji wásak (mi hija); *anji wasakuesh* (mis hijas).

Anji nson (mi nieto); *anji nsonmuesch* (mis nietos).

La madre al referirse a sus hijos, de ambos sexos, antepone el posesivo mi *(uk)* al término de parentesco, así:

Uk kué (mi hijo) *uk kuémuesh* (mis hijos).

Uk wásak (mi hija) *uk wásakuesh* (mis hijas).

Uk nson (mi nieto) *uk nsonmuesch* (mis nietos).

En igual forma los hijos al referirse a sus padres anteponen el posesivo *anji* o *uk*, según que los hablantes sean hombres o mujeres, respectivamente.

Anji téwesh (mis padres, hablante masculino).

Uk tewesh (mis padres, hablante femenino).

Anji iskiwesh (mis abuelos).

Uk iskiwesh (mis abuelos).

Los no parientes designan a los abuelos: *nesà wála.*

Cuando un hablante es menor que la persona referida y siendo éste padre, la forma correcta de mencionarlo es el padre de fulano, así por ejemplo: si nuestro informante Victoriano *Piñakué* (18 años) quiere referirse a Cerveleón *Guagás* (55 años) no lo menciona simplemente por su nombre, puesto que es una "grosería", sino que dice el padre de Alfonso (que es su hijo mayor): *Pons nei,* o *Marcelo Nei,* si se refiere al padre de Marcelo. Si el primogénito es muerto diría: *unás nei,* padre del finado. Si el hablante es mayor que el referido puede llamarlo sencillamente por su nombre, siempre y cuando exista confianza entre los dos, pues de lo contrario, tiene que usar la forma antes mencionada. Así por ejemplo, Vicente *Puche,* es mayor que Julián *Piñakué* (padre de nuestro informante) como tiene confianza le dice simplemente *Kilián;* si no la tuviera diría *Vit nei* (padre de Victoriano). En idéntica forma se procede con una mujer mayor que el hablante, ejemplo: *Pons nihi* (madre de Alfonso); *Vit nihi* (Madre de Victoriano) *Unás nihi* (madre del finado).

Si nuestro informante *Piñakué* quiere expresar este pensamiento: "Cerveleón yo quiero una cosa", debe decir padre de Alfonso yo quiero una cosa *(Pons nei tech yugüe guau wet).* Puede denominarlo simplemente Cerveleón pero lejos de él, y cuando está en medio de gente, no parientes, pero, agrega, esto no es de respeto. Si oyera Cerveleón decir así, se enojaría.

Al referirse a un abuelo, por ejemplo, el de Alfonso, se dirá: *Pons nei,* si el hablante es muy conocido de Alfonso, de lo contrario se dirá: *Lión nei* (padre de Cerveleón), máxime si se está delante del abuelo.

Al referirse al tío paterno de Alfonso, se dirá: *Pons niñuk.*

Al referirse al tío materno de Alfonso, se dirá: *Pons nekáhka.*

Al referirse a la tía paterna de Alfonso, se dirá: *Pons nsuts.*

Al referirse a la tía materna de Alfonso, se dirá: *Pons nihiñuk.*

RELACIONES ENTRE PARIENTES

Como hemos visto es general el respeto que deben los menores hacia los mayores. Los patrenes de conducta entre abuelos y nietos están regulados por el factor emocional, siendo más o menós afectuosos según el comportamiento entre ambos. Si los abue-

los son buenos con sus nietos son acreedores a la consideración y cariño de éstos, de lo contrario la actitud es de frío respeto. Si los nietos dicen: "que viejo tan puerco" el abuelo no los quiere.

Se afirma que con los tíos paternos y maternos se observa idénticos patrones de conducta. No se los puede designar únicamente por su nombre. Así, si Victoriano *Piñakué* llama a su tío por su nombre, éste le replica que no tiene consejo, pues debe respetar. "Usted tiene que decir tío", aconseja. La madre lo reprende: "grosero para qué dice así, diga tío". A los tíos mayores de Ego se les debe mayor respeto que a los tíos menores de éste. A los primeros les dará el bendito como a los padres. No se debe hablar de "cosas feas", delante de ellos ni tampoco chancearse con los mismos. Si el tío quiere chancearse con el sobrino, éste ríe y no más. A la esposa del tío también se le llama tía y recibe del sobrino el bendito porque es mayor. No puede chancearse con ella. En el supuesto que enviudara *(echui)* el sobrino no puede casarse con ella porque hay que respetarla. No hemos encontrado datos que pudieran hacer sospechar relaciones avunculares o amitades.

Primos de primer grado, maternos y paternos, se respetan y evitan actitudes agresivas entre ellos. Entre primos varones pueden obsequiarse con los productos de las cosechas, lo que no hacen con las primas, pues ellas viven con sus respectivos esposos.

Los padres de los cónyuges se llaman entre sí compadres *(compale)*. No existe diferencia de comportamiento entre ellos, el saludo lo da el que primero ve a su compadre. Relaciones sexuales entre suegro y nuera están prohibidas lo mismo que entre yerno y suegra. Se dan casos en que los suegros no quieren a su yerno y también en que los suegros no quieren a su nuera.

Siguiendo las pautas generales de conducta, EGO respeta más a sus cuñados mayores que a los menores. Un hombre no puede cohabitar con la esposa del hermano, se califica de "mucha grosería". El esposo puede cohabitar con la hermana de la esposa, pero se califica de "muy feo". También se mira mal el matrimonio de un hombre con la viuda de su hermano o el de una mujer con el viudo de su hermana. El trato entre concuñados es cordial; "se respetan como si fueran de la misma casa".

Los hermanos y hermanas del esposo se tratan con los hermanos y hermanas de la esposa como compadres. Pueden casarse entre ellos.

Los hijos de los hermanos y hermanas del papá no son nada para los hijos de los hermanos y hermanas de la mamá. No se dicen nada entre ellos.

LA FAMILIA

El grupo social por excelencia, en la cultura Páez, es la familia nuclear. Su importancia resalta si se tiene en cuenta que los Páez viven diseminados dentro de su ámbito geográfico. Tanto los cronistas, como los curas doctrineros, que se ocuparon de ellos, hacen resaltar esta característica. En 1751, el cura de *Tálaga*, Licenciado Eugenio del Castillo y Orozco, escribía, en su informe rendido al señor don Juan Francisco de Eguizaval, Gobernador y Capitán General de la ciudad de Popayán y sus Provincias, "que por mandado de su Señoría Ilustrísima, el señor don Francisco José de Figueredo y Victoria en el Consejo de su Majestad, Obispo actual de este Obispado hice informe al señor Gobernador anterior de vuestra Señoría, y representando que desde el año de mil setecientos diecinueve, que estuve en estas Provincias asistiéndole de intérprete al Excmo. don Pedro Felipe García, visitador que fué de ellas y después en el de mil setecientos treinta y uno de lo mismo al Dr. D. Francisco Gómez Constantino supe que los indios de esta provincia avían sido inclinados a vivir separados en diversas distancias y solo asentarse en algunos bebezones en casas de sus Caciques o Capataces cuando venían de alguna Riria (que llaman Necue) o a celebrar el primer menstruo de la mujer (que llaman Izacú) o por otra causa de vana observancia, y acababa, volverse a separar" (3). Múltiples fueron los esfuerzos de los curas doctrineros y de los gobernantes de la época colonial para "reducirlos a vida sociable", pero la "bárbara naturaleza" de estos naturales hacía infructuosos sus esfuerzos. Y este rasgo cultural se mantiene vigente aún (4). En cada casa, diseminada en las rugosidades del relieve, se aloja una pareja de adultos de sexo opuesto y sus hijos. Es esta familia nuclear la que cuida y mantiene a sus ancianos padres y efectúa el entierro cuando aquellos fenecen; la misma que acaba las fiestas religiosas con la pompa y rigor tradicionales (5); la que defiende los

(3) *Archivo Nacional de Bogotá*. Cartas de contrabando. Tomo 14. Fol. 228.
(4) Bernal Villa, S. *La fiesta de San Juan en Calderas Tierradentro*. 1953, p. 182.
(5) Ibid., p. 192 y sgts.

propios intereses del ataque de extraños; la que en tiempos anteriores celebraba la "Riria (que llaman Necue) (6) o el primer menstruo de la mujer (que llaman Izacó)" y en fin, la que fabrica sus canoas de chicha ("otra causa de vana observancia" que habla del Castillo y Orozco) para efectuar las "bebezones" con todos los que llegan en su demanda. Es esta familia nuclear la que "cuida" a los parientes que llegan, la que brinda hospitalidad al transeúnte indígena y la que muestra un silencio áspero al visitante de la cultura occidental.

A la familia nuclear están asociados primordialmente las funciones de reproducción, la crianza de los niños y la educación de los mismos. De la procreación depende también la importancia de las funciones económicas.

La orientación del instinto sexual es un fin secundario. En efecto, la cultura Páez exige de cada individuo, una vez que ha alcanzado la capacidad de procrear, forme una familia. En la parcialidad de Calderas ven en los hijos una bendición de Dios, considerando a los célibes "como violadores de la cruz" (matrimonio); el celibato se condena en la racionalización de que la persona que muere soltera se va al nevado del Huila, considerado por ellos como el infierno. Es excepcional el celibato de una mujer y cuando tal sucede piensan que se convierte en bruja. Algo semejante piensan de algunas viudas. Una mujer, de unos cincuenta años, manifiesta que "el matrimonio es fundamental y obligatorio, pues los abuelos decían que la mujer que no se casa, el diablo le da un perro negro por marido en el infierno" (7). Otra mujer manifiesta que, a veces, tiene pesar por la muerte de una hija soltera, "porque el diablo le pondría marido".

La cultura considera que es obligación de los padres casar a sus hijas así sean muy jóvenes. Por otra parte, los muchachos aspiran a "levantar su casa, casarse, crear hijos, tener animales, coca en abundancia y caña para su chicha" (8). El incentivo del matrimonio es tener hijos para cuyo fin es menester cerciorarse

(6) En el *Vocabulario Páez Castellano* de del Castillo y Orozco existe la palabra Nécue que da la siguiente definición textual: desafío; pelea que es un desafío solemne tan antiguo como el jestilismo entre los páezes, de dos campeones cada uno con el común de su bando.

(7) A los perros blancos los consideraban como compañeros y guías en la otra vida y tienen el temor de que "molestándolos salen a morderlos a la entrada de la morada futura".

(8) Bernal Villa, S. 1953, *op. cit.* p. 183.

si la mujer es fecunda. Por eso, la cultura ofrece la herramienta institucional del "amaño", según el cual, el hombre convive por un tiempo con la mujer antes de legalizar el matrimonio. Y de esto nos dan claras y precisas noticias el Licenciado Eugenio del Castillo y Orozco y su hermano el Licenciado Isidro del Castillo y Horosco en sus respectivos informes que rindieron al Gobernador y Capitán General arriba mencionado: "que ussaban la corruptela de hazer por mucho tiempo experiencia de la mujer con quien se avían de cassar, y así después de cassada no tenía prole, la dejaban y buscaban otra que fuesse fecunda y que creían se podían cassar con ella si no estaban velados con su propia mujer (como lo quiso ejecutar Manuel Bolza, indio de este pueblo) (9) y la ejecutó Antonio Cofongo (indio de San Antonio de las Chinas) y que por éste avía observado no dividir el cassamiento de las velaciones sino que fuesse tiempo prohibido o instasse sacarlos en mal estado y que este lo celaban haciéndose alto unos a otros y otros a los otros desde el menos indio hasta el principal, testificando un dicho con una mentira general en la qual si alguno discordaba y no seguía la mente del Cacique o Moján de miedo huía a diversas partes; y que otros se huían con las mancebas quando no eran a beneplácito de los padres o parientes de ella, otros de pereza y otros de necesidad". (10)... "y que huyesen de todos sus vicios y pecados como son: brujerías, borracheras y amancebamientos" (11).

El primero de marzo de 1877, en París, Ezequiel Uricoechea escribía en su introducción al *Vocabulario*: "El casamiento, en el sentido que lo tomamos hoi, no existía entre los Páeces: Vivían vida marital dos personas por algun tiempo i no se perfeccionaba el matrimonio sin que antes hubiera certidumbre de que la mujer era fecunda. Natural es pues, que encontremos entre los Paeces, como entre los Peruanos, dos verbos *(imi* e *iyó)* que indican respectivamente aceptar hombre la mujer i tomar mujer el hombre. La mujer tenía la obligación de dar de vestir al marido i éste la de dar el sustento a la familia" (12). Nuestros informantes de Calderas confirman la vigencia de esta costumbre justificándola unos por la necesidad que tiene el presunto esposo de

(9) Tálaga.
(10) *Archivo Nacional de Bogotá*, op. cit. Folio 228.
(11) *Archivo Nacional de Bogotá*, op. cit. Folio 230.
(12) Castillo y Orozco, E. del *Vocabulario Páez-Castellano* 1877, p. XIV.

conseguir dinero para pagar los costos del matrimonio, otros para "catear" si la mujer es honrada, trabajadora y fiel y no faltó quien dijera claramente que esta convivencia matrimonial "es costumbre, pues si la mujer resulta *machorra* no hay matrimonio". Cuando así sucede, el hombre devuelve la mujer a sus padres, sin que esto implique problema alguno, lo que no sucede cuando están casados por la Iglesia, en cuyo caso ya no es posible la devolución.

Nuestras investigaciones acerca de la frecuencia del "amaño" en familias constituídas de algunas parcialidades de Tierradentro, arrojaron los siguientes resultados:

Calderas: 42 familias (28% del total aproximado de familias calderunas). El 57.1% de estas familias practican el amaño; el 42.9% casaron primero por la Iglesia.

San Andrés: 13 familias (6.5% del total aproximado de familias de San Andrés). El 92.3% casaron primero por la Iglesia; el 7,7% practicaron el amaño.

Lame: 8 familias (6.2% del total aproximado de familias de *Lame*). El 87.5% casaron primero por la Iglesia; el 12.5% practicaron el amaño.

Mosoco: 26 familias (10.4% del total aproximado de familias de *Mosoco*). El 88.1% siguió la ley católica; el 11.6% practicó el amaño.

Si bien que los porcentajes correspondientes a las parcialidades de San Andrés y *Lame*, no reflejan a cabalidad la situación real de la costumbre por lo escaso de los datos, bien puede verse del vigor que goza todavía en Calderas, parcialidad desde luego menos aculturada que las otras. Convencido el hombre de la fertilidad de su cónyuge se legaliza el matrimonio en el altar de la Iglesia Católica. Entonces, la cooperación económica de los cónyuges iniciada desde el principio de su vida marital, se estabiliza y cobra fuerza y el matrimonio se constituye como dice un informante en una asociación para "beneficio mutuo de los contrayentes, para servirse del uno al otro, sin que de ninguna manera sea una carga para cualquiera de los dos". El hombre amplía sus rozas para atender "al sustento de la familia", siembre caña de azúcar y coca para obtener chicha y narcótico para realizar mingas, para celebrar fiestas religiosas, para "cuidar" a sus parientes y recrearse con sus amigos; se contrata como peón

para adquirir dinero y comprar pañolones para su esposa, lana y telas que la mujer convertirá en camisas para sí, para su esposo y sus hijos y pantalones para estos últimos, comienza a construír su casa, si es que no la tiene, en el lote que le ha asignado su padre, para dar un hogar a su familia. La mujer, por su parte administra los productos que le entrega el esposo, teje la ruana y *kuetand-yaha* (jigra de mambe) para el esposo y los hijos, prepara los alimentos, cría gallinas y cerdos y cuida de sus menores de tres años (13). De esta suerte entre los Páez matrimonio, familia, tierra y casa forman una unidad íntima, indisoluble y explica en parte el fenómeno arriba mencionado de la renuencia a vivir agrupados en pueblos o ciudades.

Básicamente la residencia de la familia nuclear es patrilocal-neolocal. Cuando el hombre, acompañado de su séquito, va a solicitar a su futura cónyuge, y después de llenadas determinadas formalidades, los presuntos suegros se la entregan, se la lleva a vivir a casa de sus padres (cuando no ha construído la propia). En ella establece un cuarto aparte con su cocina para cocinar, cuero de res para dormir, espacio para guardar sus provisiones, sus utensilios de cocina y herramientas de trabajo. Los nuevos esposos son independientes de sus respectivos padres. El hombre ayuda a trabajar a sus suegros y la mujer a los de ella, pero en ningún caso constituye una obligación para ambos. Cuando soltero el hombre trabaja para atender a sus propias necesidades y para coadyuvar al sostenimiento de la economía paterna; casado ya, trabaja para sostener a su familia.

El hombre escoge su esposa dentro de la parcialidad, si bien que puede casarse con mujeres de otras parcialidades. Pero ni hombres ni mujeres pueden casarse con personas de la cultura occidental ("blancos"). En Calderas se dio el caso de un posible matrimonio entre un indígena y un "blanco". El cabildo cortó de plano esta posibilidad obligando a casar a la indígena con un miembro de la parcialidad. Si es el hombre quien pretende casarse con una "blanca" debe abandonar el lugar. Consideran que al entrar los "blancos" a la comunidad, se apropian irremediablemente de sus tierras.

La escogencia de cónyuges dentro de las parcialidades está

(13) Para la repartición de actividades según el sexo véase nuestro trabajo *Economía de los Páez*, publicado en Revista Colombiana de Antropología. Vol. III, 1954.

determinada por las leyes del incesto. Son incestuosas las uniones entre padres e hijos y hermanos y hermanas reales y están severamente prohibidas. También se condenan, aunque no están proscritas, las relaciones entre primos de primer grado de ambas líneas y las de tíos y sobrinas. Respecto a las relaciones entre primos manifiestan que quienes las tuvieren no pueden pasar el Páramo (Guanacas, Delicias, Moras) porque se los come el tigre. Sin embargo, agregan, que nada les sucedería si tales uniones se verifican sin preludio, risas, ni chanzas.

En la determinación de los cónyuges existe un rasgo cultural muy singular. Un hombre no escoge su futura cónyuge entre mujeres que llevan su propio apellido. Así, pues, un *Muse* no escoge a una *Muse* por esposa, así sea que esta viva en otra parcialidad. Consideran que entre ellos pueden existir relaciones de parentesco. Casos en que un esposo y una esposa lleven el mismo apellido son muy raros y cuando tal sucede el esposo procura presentar a la esposa con el apellido de la madre de ésta. El caso pudimos observarlo desprevenidamente en un bautizo de una niña efectuado en la Iglesia de Inzá. Por razones elementales ocultamos los nombres de los verdaderos padres y suponemos que el padre se llama Manuel *Kiguasú* y la madre María *Kiguasú*. Para sentar la partida de bautismo de la niña el sacerdote preguntó por el nombre de los padres, "Manuel *Kiguasú*" repuso el padre de la niña, pero al ser inquirido por el nombre de su esposa no dijo llamarse María *Kiguasú*, como en realidad se llamaba por ser hija legítima de un *Kiguasú*, sino María *Vitechi*, apellido heredado de la madre de ésta. El caso tiene más importancia si se tiene en cuenta que el supuesto Manuel *Kiguasú* es un mestizo que vive entre los "*blancos*" y comercia con ellos. El mismo caso lo encontramos en el cuadro genealógico de la familia de Nicanor *Guagás*, de la parcialidad de Calderas. Rosario *Iko*, viuda de Nicanor *Guagás* lleva el apellido de la madre, oriunda de la parcialidad de *Cuetando*, y no el del padre Agustín *Guagás*, siendo hija legítima. Bien que en el mismo cuadro Nicolasa *Guagás*, no oculta su apellido al mencionar el de su finado esposo, Manuel José *Guagás*, matrimonio autorizado por la Iglesia, pues, Nicolasa dice ser sobrina de su esposo. El nombre de la familia nuclear, es decir, el apellido se trasmite por la línea paterna. La mujer lo conserva por toda la vida pero no lo trasmite a sus hijos. Un hijo de ésta únicamente lleva el apellido del padre. Según un

informante de Calderas, un hombre respeta a los tíos y tías paternos, del mismo modo que a los tíos maternos, pero a la tía materna no, porque "no es bien pariente; ....es mujer y no es hombre.... a los hombres (mayores) hay que respetar lo mismo que a las viejitas" y generalizando aclara: "de los tíos se respeta más a los hombres que a las mujeres y más a los tíos paternos que maternos". Si bien que los términos para designar a los tíos de EGO hacen diferencia de sexo y especifican la línea a la cual pertenecen, EGO considera más estrecho el parentesco de los tíos y tías paternos que maternos, y, que los tíos llaman hijos a los hijos de los hermanos, no existe un claro concepto, entre los Páez actuales de tíos paralelos y tíos cruzados, y, consecuencialmente, entre primos paralelos y primos cruzados. EGO masculino llama *Iakté* a los primos paternos y maternos, *pesh* a las primas paternas y maternas, equiparándolos con sus propios hermanos y hermanas y EGO femenino denomina *Iakté* a las primas paternas y maternas, *Jish* a los primos paternos y maternos, equiparándolos también con sus propias hermanas y hermanos. Pero lógicamente debió existir tal distinción a juzgar por la conducta observada en la escogencia de los cónyuges y en el respeto que EGO tributa a sus tíos, siendo más acentuado para los paternos que los maternos, y mucho más aún para los varones. Eugenio del Castillo y Orozco corrobora nuestros argumentos. En su *Vocabulario* dice que a la suegra se le denomina con el mismo término que se designa a la hermana del padre *(pezoz)* y al suegro con el mismo término con que se designa al hermano de la madre *(cacca)*. Esto quiere decir que en el siglo XVIII el parentesco político especificaba la procedencia de los cónyuges evidenciándose claramente el matrimonio entre primos cruzados.

Todos estos rasgos nos hacen pensar que posiblemente existieron clanes patrilineales exogámicos manifiestos ahora en algunos tipos de conducta estereotipada. Cabe advertir, no obstante, que los apellidos Páez de ahora, eran todavía nombres propios en el siglo XVIII, elegidos caprichosamente por la madre y no trasmisibles a los descendientes (14). La adopción de apellidos y su heredabilidad por línea paterna es obra de la labor doctrinera de los misioneros católicos y la asimilación e integración en la cultura Páez debió haberse efectuado de conformidad con algunos aspectos de índole sociológica existentes anteriormente. La misma

(14) Castillo y Orozco. E. de. op. cit., p. 75.

[P.184-A]

- 1. Nicomer Guagis m.
- + 2. Rosario Iko 80 *
  - 3. Damiana Guagis 65
  - + 4. Bonifacio Muse m.
    - 22. Justo Muse 33
      - 67. Isabel Muse 7
      - 68. Juan Muse 3.
      - 69. Fosario M. 3ms. m. A.
      - 70. Concha M. 2ms.
    - 23. Julia Pame 30
    - 24. Marcelo Muse 35
      - 71. Vicente M. 3. m. C.
      - 72. Manuel T. M. 6
      - 73. María S. M. 4
      - 74. Rafael M. 1ms.
    - +25. Rosalia Ramos 30
    - 26. María S. Muse 30
      - 75. Nicolás G. 5 m.
      - 76. Alberto G. 12
      - 77. Francisca G. 6
      - 78. Justiniano G. 3
      - 79. Natividad G. 3 m.
      - 80. Ismael G. 1ms. C.
    - +27. Juan Guagis m.
    - 28. Gabriel Muse m.
    - 29. Paulina Muse m.
    - 30. Magdalena Muse 22
      - 81. Paulino P. 3
      - 82. Juana P. 1
    - +31. Pedro Pame
    - 32. Jacinto Muse 20
    - +33. Leocadia Shukué 20
    - 34. María Muse 40
      - 83. Ramón Villanó 12
      - 84. Juana Villanó 8
      - 85. María S. V. 7
      - 86. Marcelino V. 3
      - 87. Alfonso V. 3 m. H
    - +35. José Villanó 40

- 34. María Muse 40
  - 83. Ramón Villanó 12
  - 84. Juana Villanó 8
  - 85. María S. V. 7
  - 86. Marcelino V. 3
  - 87. Alfonso V. 3 m. H
- +35. José Villanó 40
- 36. Delfina Muse 23 E
  - 88. Jacinto Guagás 6
  - 89. Isabel G. 8ma.
- +37. Venancio Guagás 25

- 5. Nicolasa Guagás 38
  - 38. Marcelina Guagás 22
    - 90. Magdalena Tova 2
  - +39. Alfonso Tova 30
  - 40. Gregoria Guagás
  - 41. Agustina Guagás
  - 42. Virginia Guagás
  - 43. Manuel J. Guagás 10
- + 6. Manuel Guagás m.

- 7. Raimundo Guagás 35
  - 44 — 2
- + 8. María J. Pame 27

- 9. Pascual Guagás m.
- 10. José D. Guagás m.
- 11. Juan Guagás m.
- 12. Juana Guagás
  - 45. Benito Io 36
    - 91. Miguel Io 3ma. m. J
    - 92. Patrocinio Io 2
  - +46. Antonia Ikinás 22
- +14. Primitivo Io

[R 184-B]

P. 184-C

10. José D. Guagón m.

11. Juan Guagón m.

12. Juana Guagón
+14. Primitivo Io

- 45. Benito Io 36
  - +46. Antonia Ikinás 22
  - 91. Miguel Io 3ms. m. J
  - 92. Petrocinio Io 2
- 47. Esteban Io 38
  - +48. Rosalía Puche 30 E
  - 93. Santiago I. m. F.
  - 94. Tránsito I. 10
  - 95. Santos I. 6
  - 96. Raimundo I. 1
  - 97. Cruz Io m. C
- ~~49. Margarita Io 26~~
  - +50. Julio Ikinás 35
  - ~~98. Eusebio Ikinás 4~~
  - 99. Lorenzo Ikinás 2ms.
  - 101. Santos I. 1ms. m. D

14. Catalina Guagón 50
+15. Demesio Ule m.

- 51. Dionisia Ule 22
  - +52. Celio Muse 27
  - 102 — 2

16. Trinidad Guagón
+17. Manuel Ule

- 53. Bautista Ule
- 54. Felisa Ule
- 55. Cristina Ule
- 56. Pedro Ule

18. José D. Guagón
- 57. Juana Guagón 30
  - 103. Josefina T. 1ms.

P184-D

- 55. Cristina Ulè
- 56. Pedro Ule

- 18. José D. Guagás
  - +19. Jacinta Muse
  - 57. Juana Guagás 30
    - +58. Narciso Tumbo 40
    - 103. Josefina T. 1ms.
    - 104. Alejandro T. 5 m. B
    - 105. Rufina T. 1ms. m. C
    - 106. Floro T. 4 m. D
    - 107. Cruz T. 1ms. m. A
  - 59. Aurelio Guagás 35
    - +60. Vicenta Kuskue 30.
    - 108. Pedro Guagás 2
  - 61. Marcelino Guagás 50.
    - +62. Trinidad Puche 50
    - 109. Feliciano G. 1ms. m.
    - 110. Bruno G. 25
    - 111. Magdalena G. 20
    - 112. Ramón G. 10
    - 113. Agustín G. 1ms. m.
    - 114. Felisa G. 1ms. m.
  - 63. Quiterio Guagás
    - +64. Petrona Pame
  - 65. Martina Guagás 27
    - +66. Rufino Ikinás 30
    - 115. Julio Ikinás 10
    - 116. Gregoria I. 8
    - 117. Pascual I. 4 m.
- 20. Una mujer m.
- 21. Una mujer m.

Bernal Villa

[R-154-E]

• Los padres de Rosario Iko se llamaban Agustín Guagás y Concepción Iko, esta oriunda de Cuetando. Rosario lleva el apellido de la madre por haberse casado con un Guagás.

A. Picado el *Echi*.
B. Envenenado.
C. Brujiado
D. Tos ferina
E. Un aborto
F. Viruela
G. Hernia
H. *Duende*
J. Peste.
m. muerto
ms. mesca.

Genealogía de la familia de Nicanor Guagás, parcialidad de Calderas. Incluye varias familias nucleares que viven en distintos sitios de la Parcialidad.

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monogamia actual de los Páez parece ser el resultado de una fuerte influencia cristiana católica, pues en tiempos precolombianos eran polígamos (15).

La suprema autoridad de la familia nuclear descansa en el padre; cuando falta éste, en la mujer, y, no existiendo ambos, en el más inteligente del grupo. El marido manda, la mujer solo pregunta. La mujer está siempre bajo el control del hombre: el papá, el hermano, el esposo. No tiene libertad de movimiento. Sobre las mujeres huérfanas tiene derecho el cabildo, el cual, inclusive, las hace casar. Una de nuestras informantes de Calderas era huérfana de padre y se había criado en *Avirama* en compañía de su padrastro; siendo mayor la solicitó un aviramеño para matrimonio, pero el cabildo de Calderas impidió el enlace, pues la regresó a la parcialidad, la hizo amanecer una noche en la casa del cabildo y al día siguiente la obligaron a casarse con un mozo de 14 años a quien no conocía. Como opusiese resistencia, la azotaron, amonestándola al tiempo, que si no lo hacía, en la otra vida se casaría con un perro negro. "Sin otra solución tuve que casarme, reflexiona la informante, pues las leyes eran así. El cabildo busca esposo a las huérfanas *(gusiches)*. Cualquier mocito podía pedir al cabildo una huérfana para esposa y éste se la concedía".

El marido puede castigar a la mujer. Pudimos observar el caso de un indígena Calderuno que con lágrimas en los ojos solicitaba la ayuda del sacerdote para recuperar a su esposa que lo había abandonado porque aquél le había propinado unos planazos con el machete alcanzándola a lesionar. El quejumbroso esposo aclaraba que no había sido gran cosa el maltrato propinado a su mujer y en cambio le había costado doce pesos, dando a entender con esto el valor pagado al cura al celebrar las nupcias. Castigan a la mujer cuando al regresar del trabajo la encuentran borracha y sin alimentos preparados para comer. Asímismo la vapulan o le dan de puños en los casos de infidelidad. Se exige absoluta fidelidad de ambos esposos y las transgresiones de esta norma parecen ser poco frecuentes.

Los que se presentan los dirime el Cabildo, tal como lo pudimos observar en *Mosoco*, donde un esposo, por sugerencia de su propia madre, acusó a su esposa de infidelidad. El Cabildo

(15) Hernández de Alba, G: *The Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia*, 1948, p. 948.

se trasladó en pleno a la casa del demandante para establecer responsabilidad en presencia de los interesados. Según un informante de Calderas cuando un hombre casado tiene un hijo en una mujer soltera, la esposa de aquél se querella ante el Cabildo. Si éste la encuentra responsable la castiga con azotes y autoriza a la querellante para que le corte el cabello a su rival. El hijo habido en esta forma, dice el informante, su muere con la peste. Casos de infidelidad del esposo provoca muchas veces reacciones tremendas de la esposa llegando hasta el caso de liquidar en forma bárbara e inmesericorde a su rival, como aconteció en San Andrés donde una mujer por celos prácticamente descuartizó el cuerpo de otra y cuyo juicio penal se falló en la ciudad de Popayán no hace muchos meses.

Si una esposa infiel concibe un hijo de un hombre racialmente blanco, sin que el esposo se entere, éste lo considera como su hijo, así sea que herede las características de su progenitor. Unicamente observa: "¿por qué salen mis hijos así?" La esposa le contesta: "No sé; será *echi* o pijao". En general los matrimonios son bien constituídos y estables a pesar de que pueden surgir tensiones entre esposos. El divorcio es desconocido entre los Páez. Extinción de matrimonios por separación o abandono de uno de los cónyuges son raros. En Calderas cuentan con los dedos de la mano los casos en que el hombre haya abandonado a su mujer. "Esto es muy feo en una persona, no debe ser así", comenta una mujer. Los casos en que una mujer abandona al marido son mucho más raros todavía, siendo criticados acremente cuando se presentan.

La madre tiene la obligación de alimentar y cuidar a sus hijos hasta que estén en capacidad de abandonar la casa. Labor que la cumple, verdaderamente con cariño y esmero. Los hijos lactan hasta los dos años y aún hasta los tres, lapso en el cual no los abandonan en ningún momento. Los mecen en su seno o en la hamaca y los portan en sus espaldas, atendiéndolos con solicitud cada vez que lloran. El padre se ocupa de sus hijos varones desde el momento en que han logrado el dominio completo de la bipedestación, sin que por ellos deje de ser cariñosò con sus hijas. Entonces empieza a llevar a sus hijos a todas partes.

En las fiestas religiosas los sientan a su lado, participan de la conversación de los mayores, de la comida y bebida siendo servidos en la misma forma que los mayores. En Calderas y en

San Andrés hemos tenido oportunidad de observar menores de cinco años trastabillar bajo los efectos de la chicha y el aguardiente. En esta edad, cuando empiezan a participar en la vida económica del grupo familiar, el padre les enseña a mambear. Esta labor de endoculturación la cumple el padre a conciencia.

No hemos encontrado casos de hijos adoptivos. Cuando mueren ambos padres los niños quedan en la casa del pariente más cercano.

La conducta de los hijos para con los padres es la de un profundo respeto. Sin embargo en Calderas presenciamos la agresión verbal y de hecho (con machete) de un hijo (23 años) casado hacia sus padres y el caso se apaciguó cuando el padre logró desarmar al agresor.

Los hermanos y hermanas se respetan. Evitan la agresión y cuando pequeños juegan juntos. Los hermanos menores saludan a los mayores y cuando éstos se casan reciben el bendito arrodillados de aquellos. Entre los hermanos varones se participan de los frutos de las cosechas, así como también se ayudan mutuamente en las arduas labores agrícolas. Según un informante el hombre quiere más a sus hermanos varones que a sus hermanas, porque éstas al casarse abandonan la casa. No obstante, demuestran afecto en el comportamiento de ambos sexos. Las relaciones entre hermanas y la mamá son estrechas, pues conviven juntas, bajo el mismo techo y compenetradas en la realización de un mismo oficio. Las mayores ayudan a criar a los hermanos menores. Estos designan como *téta* y *máma* al hermano mayor y la hermana mayor, nominación que abandonan cuando han alcanzado la mayor edad. En casos de riña de uno de los hermanos los otros salen en su ayuda y cobran venganza si alguno ha sido agredido, pero esto no es una obligación. Riñas entre hermanos pueden suscitarse por el reparto de tierras. La mayor parte de las veces el Cabildo zanja estas diferencias.

Las relaciones de familias unidas entre sí por lazos de sangre son estrechas. Se visitan frecuentemente, recibiendo trato esmerado. Las mingas se realizan más fácilmente entre hermanos que "disimulan la pobreza". En las fiestas religiosas se respaldan mutuamente y en los encuentros ocasionales procuran beber y comer juntos.

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1: Nachtigall--215 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/292 cont./

5. Folklore

*539 The present fund of tales of the Paez is neither rich nor varied. Here, too, a certain impoverishment has undoubtedly taken place, as may be seen from fragments of larger complexes of myths. Among these there are the "Story of the Woman from Whose Body Useful Plants Come Forth," stories about transformed animals and human beings, as well as stories about werejaguars. [171] The story of the ghostly human head that comes rolling by is also extraordinarily widespread in North and South American legends [176] and has a manifold lunar-mythological meaning. In contrast to this, the complete absence of typical stories about the forest spirit (gĕlyŏmp) is noteworthy, although the latter plays an important role in the religious conceptions of the Paez. Animal and transformation tales are only very dull and colorless.

114 Unfortunately, the reluctance of the Paez to communicate 609 is particularly frustrating in the recording of the myths. It is *539 primarily the old people who can tell stories. But they are the [887] very ones who are particularly standoffish toward the stranger. The chroniclers and early reporters tell us nothing about the folklore of the Paez, and even the most recent travelers of the 'thirties report only the story of Juan Tama or deny that the Paez have any mythology at all.

● 12 The stories collected by S. Bernal Villa and by myself could 609 surely be augmented with better acquaintance among the old *539 people. The unpopularity of our interpreter, especially among [554] the old people, was sometimes so great an obstacle that Victoriano had to ask suitable informants for some of the stories told about his father or uncle.

*539 The themes of the stories chiefly consist of tales about Thunder (Nos. 1-12), mostly under his names of Juan Tama, Llivan, Chauté, or Juan Chiracol. In the myths he is the first shaman and teacher of the present-day shamans (see under "Religion" /see pp. 176 ff. /) and considerably more powerful than human beings. He is not an exalted, numinous figure, however. On the contrary, people in olden days /293/ sometimes treated him quite badly, threw poisonous herbs in his lagoon,

1: Nachtigall--1 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Foreword by the Editor

124 This second volume of our series of studies contains a portion of the research which my collaborator, Dr. Horst Nachtigall, was able to carry out in 1952/53 in Colombia. The volume testifies to the fact that our scientific work at the Institut für Völkerkunde of the University of Mainz is not limited to desk research. Rather, we endeavor, in keeping with the scope of the problems in our field, to gather new observations in various parts of the world through fieldwork and in this way to help fill the large gaps in our knowledge of peoples living close to nature. Such research must necessarily also extend to the prehistoric evidence of human culture in the areas visited. Thanks to his extensive preoccupation with the special field of pre- and ancient history, Dr. Nachtigall was in a position to obtain the present material from the Colombian archeological province of Tierradentro.

Being occupied myself at the present time with ethnographic work in another corner of the world, I am particularly happy about the publication of this first volume of results from the fieldwork of our Mainz Institut für Völkerkunde. I thank [122] our publisher, Dr. H. Wyss, and the Deutsche Forschungsgemein- [128] schaft for their kind understanding and their active help, which have made this publication possible.

Gilgit, Pakistan, May 23, 1955. Adolf Friedrich

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Words of Thanks by the Author

The description of the archeology and ethnology of Tierradentro presented in the following represents the first part of the scientific results of the Colombian journey undertaken with my wife, which was instigated by the Director of the Institut für Völkerkunde of the University of Mainz, Herr Prof. Dr. Adolf Friedrich, and carried out through his negotiations with German and Colombian authorities. The course of the journey and the preliminary summary of scientific results have already been published elsewhere.

/105 cont./

C 162 The inhabitants of Tierradentro may be divided into three groups, according to the degree of civilization: a) the colonists living south of the Rio Ullucus, who speak Spanish and have nothing in common with the Paez. In habits and customs they correspond to the general, more or less strongly mestizo, Colombian rural population. Furthermore, the population of Balalcázar, consisting predominantly of Negroes, has nothing in common with the Paez. They were brought there by the Spaniards in colonial times as slaves, in order to exploit the salt mines that were used by the Paez even in ancient times. Today salt C [316] extraction is no longer profitable. The Negroes live partly on gold-washing in the Rio Paez, which is undertaken in primitive T [563] fashion with wooden pans, the workers standing up to their knees in water. The Paez do not generally intermarry with the Negroes, [186] but, on the contrary, despise them, since they know that they at one time came there as slaves.

P 162 361 563 b) The Paez who north of the Rio Ullucus have settled both banks of the Rio Paez as far north as Nevado del Huila. They have in part intermarried with the white and mestizo colonist P [103] population. The /106/ places inhabited by them are: Araujo, Avirama, Belalcázar, Cuetando, Mosoco, Ricaurte, San Andrés, San José, Tálaga, Toez, Togóima.

T 162 103 P 114 121 P 181 648 101 c) The pure Paez villages of Calderas, Chinas, Huila, Lame, Santa Rosa, Suin and Vitoncó. Among these the Paez of Calderas have preserved their cultural individuality most purely. We worked primarily among them, and the present material, insofar as nothing is said to the contrary, refers to the culture of the Paez of Calderas. The Calderun, as the inhabitants of Calderas are known in the country, are by far the most unapproachable of all the Paez. They have best kept to this day the three laws of Juan Tama, the mythical hero of the Paez, which were originally strictly observed by all. These three laws say: 1. Tierradentro is solely and exclusively the land of the Paez, 2. the Paez may never intermarry with other races, 3. the Paez are invincible as long as they keep these laws. The third law in particular has well-founded justification, since for centuries

1: Nachtigall--152 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

IV. Spiritual Culture

1. Language

121 According to A. v. Humboldt, languages are differentiated by the elements of content and form, and, accordingly, languages are divided into three groups, which in the following period were erroneously interpreted as stages of the development of language. According to this, the oldest stage was represented by the isolating languages, which express form elements by means of independent words with the meaning still recognizable as far as content is concerned. Their words, as in Chinese, are monosyllabic, isolating. The second group is made up of the agglutinative languages, in which the element of form is added to the element of content, the stem, through clearly recognizable affixes. The Ural-Altaic and the Bantu languages in particular are put here. The inflected languages occupy the third stage. In them the form element is expressed by inner changes of the stem or by affixes closely intergrown with the stems, as, for example, in the Indo-Germanic and Hamito-Semitic languages.

Even though this classification of languages was subsequently abandoned as the schema of a sequence of development, it is nevertheless quite applicable as an initial, practical orientation. For the more precise classification of a language, the working out of the phonetics and syntax is required.

197 193 Paez is an agglutinative language. The grammatical forms are built up by a succession of syllables. The pronunciation is difficult for a European. It is similar to Kechua /Quechua/, from which a number of loanwords have been adopted.

175 797 192 193 114 The oldest linguistic reports about the Paez come from P. Eujenio del Castillo i Orosco, who collected his linguistic material around 1735, as a missionary in Tálaga. It was supplemented and published by E. Uricoechea in 1877. The collected data include a catechism, a vocabulary, and a grammar with information about personal pronouns and the conjugations of "to be" and "to write." The grammar and vocabulary contain some forms and word formations that are alien to the original Paez language.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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ETHNOGRAPHIC AND LINGUISTIC NOTES ON THE PAEZ INDIANS OF TIERRA ADENTRO, CAUCA, COLOMBIA

By H. PITTIER DE FÁBREGA

Introduction

Very little is known of the ethnology of the aboriginal inhabitants of the western and central cordilleras of Colombia and the intervening broad valley of Cauca. The early historians and chroniclers have left only long lists of more or less confused tribal names, along with the recital of the protracted war of extermination conducted with conscienceless and selfish cruelty by the conquistadores. With few exceptions modern writers have found little or no opportunity to deal with what is left of these interesting people. 121

With special reference to the Paez Indians, who are the subject of these notes, our notions have hitherto been derived almost exclusively from the materials collected by Castillo y Orozco about 1735, and published in 1877 with brief analytical notes by the late Colombian scholar, Señor Don Ezequiel Uricoechea.[1] 127

Early in 1906 the writer visited the section of the central cordillera inhabited by the Paez, staying a few days at two of their principal villages, namely, at Tacueyó, at the headwaters of the Palo river on the western side of the mountains, and at Huila, at the junction of the Paez and San Vicente rivers, on the Indian reservation known as Tierra Adentro. The personnel of the expedition, in addition to the author, with a few friends and two servants, consisted of native Indians, so that good opportunities were afforded for becoming familiar with the Paez language and to gain an insight into native manners and customs. 114 [361]

[1] Eujenio del Castillo i Orozco, *Vocabulario Páez-Castellano, Catecismo, Nociones gramaticales i dos Plática*s, (publicado) *con Adiciones, Correcciones i un Vocabulario Castellano-Páez*, por Ezequiel Uricoechea. Paris: 1877.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

121 The present object is not in any way to contribute an exhaustive monograph on the Paez, but simply to give a summary of our former knowledge of them, together with the chief results of the personal information collected during the visit referred to.

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

Former Occupants. "Plasos de Indios." Huacas

101 174 In addition to the still existing tribes, traces of the former occupancy of the Cauca valley and the adjacent mountains by a dense Indian population are found at every step. The names of extinct groups, like the Hilamas, Ocaches, Jamundies, and others, impressed on the minds of the former Spanish inhabitants by reason of some of their more gruesome customs, have come down to the present generation, although the tribes, as such, have disappeared. Of the Hilamas and Ocaches it is said [692 they were cannibals. At present their more or less mixed 181 descendants still live in the villages of Las Pavas and Vijes, 162] near Cali; the "Paveños" have become inveterate legal fighters, keeping their judges and alcaldes constantly occupied; while the "Vijeños," on the other hand, are now so peaceful that the court-house is known to have been closed for eighteen months at a time.

101 114 Of the Jamundies I was told that they were indefatigable warriors, having fought the Spanish invaders to the last of their strength. Their name is perpetuated in that of the little town [103] of Jamundi, near which I visited the very interesting vale of Agua Sucia, which may have been one of their principal strongholds, as well as a rich gold-washing place. The hills were and still are partly covered with graves, or *huacas*, and these have [135] been found so abundant in gold objects as to have induced enterprising miners, or *huaqueros*, to conduct a stream of water from a long distance in order to completely wash the slopes. 172 I do not attempt to mention the fabulous riches that are said to have been extracted from this place and from several other no less rich discoveries. An immense amount of pottery, often highly ornamented, together with grinding-stones, hatchets,

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

193 The middle *k* of the plural forms is inserted apparently for the sake of euphony.

D.—*The Verb*

[121 114] As explained above, I did not endeavor to collect material for the study of verbs, by reason of the limited time at my disposal. Castillo's data are also very defective, but the paradigms presented by him as examples of conjugations are sufficient to afford an insight into the mechanism of conjugation. We reproduce the principal tenses with the object of showing that the verbal modifications referring to person, mode, and time, consist of a combination of the verbal root with the copulative or substantive verb and a suffix or ending that expresses the person. Our spelling differs somewhat from that used by [114] Friederich Müller,[1] who had no practical experience with the language:

(1) To be:

	Singular	Plural
	Præsens	
1st p.	*anki-t*, I am;	*ku-k-ueł ta-u*, we are;
2d p.	*inui-ng*	*ik-ueł ik-u*
3d p.	*kinâ-a*	*kinâ-(g-)ueł i-a.*
	Perfectum	
1st p.	*anki-kit*, I was;	*ku-k-ueł ta-u iâ*, we were;
2d p.	*inui-ng-iâ*	*ik-ueł nek-u iâ*
3d p.	*kinâ-k-iâ*	*kina-g-ueł ta iâ.*
	Futurum	
1st p.	*anki-net*, I shall be;	*ku-k-ueł net-ka-u*, we shall be;
2d p.	*inui-neng*	*ik-ueł nek-u*
3d p.	*kinâ-nen*	*kina-k-ueł pat-in.*

(2) To write, or to paint, *fis*:

	Præsens	
1st p.	*anki fis-ats-t*, I write;	*kuł-k-u-fis-ats-ta-u*, we write;
2d p.	*inui fis-ats-eng*	*ik-ueł fis-ats-ku-a*
3d p.	*kina fis-ats-k*	*kina-g-ueł fis-ats-tâ.*

[1] *Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft*, Bd. II, 358, Wien, 1882.

/337 cont./

423 communal land, since they have a right to it and anyone can do so. Those who come from elsewhere have a right to the communal land provided that they have grown up there. In Calderas there are people from Lame who own their land because they have cleared the montaña. Nowadays there are no more montañas [591] to clear, and thus persons from elsewhere cannot come in. If a [582] Calderuno marries a woman from another parcialidad, his father-in-law or brothers-in-law must give land /338/ to his wife and the spouse thus enters the community. Thus spoke the informant.

Distribution of implements, stock, and crops

●121 We are basing the distribution of implements, stock, and crops on the research carried out in the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, San Andrés, and Calderas.

162 The parcialidad of Mosoco has, approximately, some 250 families with an average of 4 children; Lame, some 130 with an average of 3 children; San Andrés, some 200 with an average of 4 children; and Calderas, some 150 families with 3 children on the average also. In Mosoco we studied 25 families, or 10% of the total; in Lame, 8 or 5.3%; in San Andrés, 15 or 7.5%, and in Calderas 55 or 36.6%. In the first parcialidad listed there is one family of a mestizo and another of a white, which are equivalent to 8% of the total families investigated; in the second, two families of whites are represented, equivalent to 25% of the total families investigated; in the third, 26.6% of the total families investigated are represented by two families of whites and two families of mestizos. No family of "whites" lives in Calderas.

/347 cont./

427 earning a small daily wage (the maximum daily wage that they
466 earn is two pesos, but this is exceptional; ordinarily the men
465 earn one peso and the women 80 centavos); not to work on other fincas; to sell the surplus from their crops to the owners of the hacienda themselves, especially if it is coffee; to divide in half or distribute in equal parts with the owner the panela obtained /348/ from the ovens of the hacienda; the wife and children of the tenant farmers are also obliged to work on the hacienda. They have the right to plant any crop except coffee. They earn nothing on Sundays or on religious or national holidays, nor do they receive any remuneration for extra hours of work. They do not get any social services. When the owner is good, he gives them salt and, ordinarily, one "spot" of plantain (a ration of cooked plantains).

427 Many are sons of tenant farmers born on the hacienda itself.
466 Others have suffered in this servitude for more than ten years. Although a few have freed themselves from this situation, most of them resist giving up their rancho and their garden when the owners want to dispossess them. One tenant-farmer informant, when questioned as to whether his situation was good or bad, said: "I have to be satisfied, what else can I do if from childhood I have been here" (on the hacienda). Besides, he figures that if the owner wants to remove him, he will have to pay him
[423] for the improvements in his garden. Here and there a tenant farmer with more than 20 years of usufruct from his piece of land has already refused to pay his rent.

One tenant farmer who has worked for several owners recalls that some were good, but most of them were bad, ambitious, exploiters, who had their laborers work too hard, cheated in the wages, and one even gave them beatings.

Alimentary diet

262 We wish to note that most of the notes concerning the diet
● [121] were gathered in the parcialidad of Calderas.

/357 cont./

261 that is provided by having what is to be consumed. An abundance
594 of guarapo and maize undoubtedly gives them great gratification. When these products are abundant the religious fiestas, mingas, and "entertainments" are good, the natives say, and they describe at great length the incidents as they unfold.

178 But, in spite of the fact that the work capacity of the in-
241 dividual is acknowledged, that the possession of domestic animals
433 lends a certain prestige within the group, and that the abundance
[554] of food and guarapo brings gratification, the agricultural cycle
[231] remains stationary within the lineaments of time, of the systems of labor, and of the quantity of seed. They produce essentially
178 for consumption. The stimulation of prestige does not exist. In
433 many parcialidades, the habits of a capitalistic economy are openly
[754] combated by the sorcerers (32). Nevertheless, we have already

32. Bernal Villa, S. op. cit., p. 256.

had the opportunity to state that the introduction of the cultivation of coffee (temperate zone), the development of livestock-raising and of the cultivation of potatoes in Mosoco, and the creation of settlement areas in the very heart of the native parcialidades are rapidly modifying all of the institutions of Páez culture. The family economy of self-provisioning and of small barter operations is changing perceptibly into a purely money economy. By the same process the routine monotony is disappearing from production and is being replaced by new techniques of work, a greater quantity of production, and a greater volume of trade.

434 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, and San Andrés, we
● 121 made an investigation of familial income and expenses /358/ for
124 the year 1953, on the basis of questionnaires prepared by the Comisión de Planeamiento de la Seguridad Social Campesina of the Ministerio del Trabajo, questionnaires that were filled out by us for the said commission with reference to Tierradentro.

/358 cont./

434 There were 48 families investigated, of which 25 were
● [121] from Mosoco, 8 from Lame, and 15 from San Andrés. They are identified by numbers in order.

The sources of monetary income are provided by agriculture, especially by potatoes, wheat, garlic, and coffee; by livestock-raising, that is to say, the sale of animals, including derivatives such as milk and cheeses, as well as barnyard fowl; by business transactions, including the resale of agricultural and livestock products produced by the natives; by daily wages, including some contract work; by crafts, which include manufactures (blankets, rugs, sashes, pouches, sewing, ceramics, and tile-making) and hydraulic mills; by freightage, that is to say, the profit from renting beasts of burden; by the previous year's savings; and by loans.

At first sight agriculture stands out as the principal source of family income, corresponding specifically to potatoes, wheat, and garlic for Mosoco, laurel wax and potatoes for Lame, and coffee for San Andrés. But in the parcialidad of Mosoco livestock is not merely complementary, but as important as agriculture itself. Even more so. In nine of the 25 families investigated, livestock-raising balances the family budget, which the deficit
[427] was due to the loss of harvests. We also observed that the renting of beasts of burden is an important factor in the family income; an incipient development of family industry that represents sources of monetary income; and, finally, the income from daily wages in the parcialidad is rather limited. In the parcialidades of Lame and San Andrés, on the other hand, livestock-raising occupies a secondary position, and the family income is complemented, when agriculture produces an imbalance, chiefly by day labor.

434 Trade is primarily an activity of the "whites," and so are
563 industries of elaboration such as panela and cheese. In regard to
[439] trade we found one case of a "white" family established in a parcialidad, whose only source of income through life has been nothing but the profits from trade.

/364 cont./

in the cantinas, in lawsuits over land, or for religious fiestas. These arguments are confirmed, on the other hand, by the statistical table on income in that only five native families in the three parcialidades made up the deficits in their budgets of last year with sums saved in 1952.

Economy and acculturation

Before closing the present work we wish to describe in broad outline the process of acculturation which is now going on in some Páez parcialidades.

The material on Páez culture which we have published and that which we are now elaborating on were collected in the parcialidades located on the right bank of the Paez River, leaving aside those located on the left bank of this river, owing above all to factors of public order which have been disturbing their peace for several years.

The native communities of San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Calderas, Avirama, Suin, Chinas, Lame, Vitoncó, Huila, Toez, and Tálaga are more traditionalistic, live in accordance with the institutions of the culture, and for this reason we regard them as more "primitive." On the other hand, the community of Mosoco, suspended on the slopes of the Central Cordillera itself and extending into the very heart of the Paramo de Moras, is fully in the process of transformation.

/365/ Our research was begun in the parcialidad of Calderas, isolated, by reasons of a geographical nature, from the principal centers of the "white" population and whose inhabitants have defended their independence at all costs and have been hostile to living with the "whites" (39). From here comes the greater part

39. Bernal Villa, S. "Mitología y cuentos de la parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro /Mythology and tales from the parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro/," pp. 289 ff.

of our materials. But we also carried out systematic investigations in San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Lame, Vitoncó, Tálaga, and, lastly, in Mosoco.

/365 cont./

177 For our outline of acculturation, we understand by diffusion
[121] achieved cultural transmission, and by acculturation cultural trans-
[127] mission in process, terms expounded by Professor Melville J. Herskovits in his book, El Hombre y sus obras /Man and his Works/.

Within Páez culture there is widely diffused, to the point of constituting an integral part of the cultural body, the following economic elements of alien origin and, more concretely, of European origin:

[231] All of the domestic animals with the exception of the
[137] guinea pig, bananas, sugar cane (the variety known as "criolla"), wheat, barley, garlic, coffee, peaches, apples, and oranges; the agricultural implements, the hydraulic mills, sugar mills, the guadua bamboo, and some varieties of pasture grass, such as orejuela /Alchemilla pectinata/, kikuyu, and poa.

177 Throughout the pages of this work, we have emphasized in
361 particular the cultural developments in process, that is to say, the
563 phenomenon of acculturation. It is obvious that this phenomenon has appeared, with greater or lesser intensity, in those parcialidades where there have been created areas of settlement, within which a specific number of "white" families have settled. But the intensity of the acculturative phenomenon does not rest merely on this fact or on the number of families who live by the norms of Western culture. San Andrés, for example, had its settlement area established for all practical purposes in 1928 and now reckons with more than 20 "white" families, with its nearness to the settlement of Inzá, and, for nearly 15 years, with the Parque Arqueológico of Tierradentro, to some extent a tourist attraction, and yet the process of acculturation is minimal and cannot be compared with the intensity of the same phenomenon in Mosoco, where the settlement area /366/ was created in 1923 and where
177 nowadays there are not more than 12 families of "whites." In
[487] Mosoco there is another factor: the riding path that joins the
[491] municipio of Belalcázar with that of Silvia, a road that has existed since pre-conquest times. Mosoco has been and still
[628] continues to be the mandatory stopping place. In addition, this parcialidad has had intensive contacts with the Guambiano group and the Páez group from the other side of the Cordillera, who are more accutturated.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

175 ture, with only slight differences in dialects and customs. Some
197 authorities affirmed that these Indians had no kind of religion; others
114 gave details which reveal a highly developed religion and an organized
[174] cult. In spite of these contradictory statements and in spite of the fact that today only the *Moguex* (*Guambia*) and *Páez* Indians retain indigenous cultures, it is possible to sketch the cultural picture of these Indians at the moment of their first contact with the Spanish soldiers by reexamining the chroniclers of the Conquest according to ethnological criteria, by utilizing modern linguistics, and by studying the
174 ethnology of the present-day peoples.[3] It is also possible to trace the
177 acculturation during the Colonial Period, when new European usages were introduced, and to depict the social and cultural conditions of the present day. The modern penetration of highways into the Indian territory and the official policy of changing the indigenous communities are likely to bring an end to these few remaining examples of primitive Andean societies, which have survived in spite of a poor economy, bad sanitary conditions, and missionary efforts to eradicate their traditions.

12/ A fertile field for future research lies in continuing anthropological studies in the central mass of the Colombian Andes. The region is as important for physical geography as for ethnology, as its mountain chains run in various directions to form valleys and diversified environments.

[172] It also contains the archeological remains, known as San Agustín and Tierradentro, which long antedate the Conquest and which have an undetermined origin and relationship to cultures in other parts of America. The present article, however, does not deal with these, but is limited to ethnology.

GEOGRAPHY

13/ The tribes considered in this article occupied the eastern halves of the present Departments of Nariño and Cauca, almost all of the Department of Huila, the southern part of Tolima, and the eastern zone of the Department of the Valle del Cauca, which embraces the western spurs of the Cordillera Central as far as Calarcá in Caldas. The region lies between 1° and 4° 40′ N. lat. and 1° and 3° 40′ west of the meridian
133 of Bogotá. The country consists of high mountains of the Andean system, which bifurcate at the Ecuadorean border to form the Cordillera Occidental, which runs to Panamá, and the Cordillera Central, which approaches the Atlantic coast of Colombia. Each branch has high plains (altiplanos), small valleys with rivers which are tributaries of the Patía River to the west, and high mountain peaks, some of which are volcanoes, like Pasto, Galeras, and Cumbal. The area of

[3] For the languages, see especially Jijón y Caamaño, 1940-41; Castillo i Orosco, 1878; and Castellví, 1934. For ethnology, see Douay, 1900; Pittier de Fábrega, 1907; Ortiz, 1935; Guerra F., 1942; Jijón y Caamaño, 1936-38; Otero, 1938; Albis, 1934. See also Languages, pp. 921-922.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

The area of this study is delimited on the west by the valley of the Patía River and by the Cuembi, Nambi, and Cuaiquer Rivers, and on the east by the divide between the rivers running to the Pacific Ocean and those flowing eastward into the Caquetá and Putumayo Rivers. P 133 121

All this region is cool to temperate throughout the year, the extremes being at Túquerres, which lies at 3,104 m. (9,433 feet) elevation and has a mean temperature of 11° C., and Ancuyá at 1,358 m. (4,380 feet) with a mean temperature of 21° C. The greater part of the population lives between 2,890 m. (about 9,470 feet) with 12° C., as at Ipiales, and 2,020 m. (about 6,630 feet) with 18° C., as at Buesaco. P 132 P 133

Farther north, the Cordillera Central forms a great mountain mass at the sources of the Cauca and Magdalena Rivers, the latter delimiting the Cordillera Oriental, which extends toward the northeast, entering Venezuela and stopping at the Atlantic Coast. In the Department of Cauca, the native peoples occupied the altiplanos and the mountain slopes of the central portion of the Andes and of the Cordillera Central and Cordillera Oriental. Some of the mountains are snow-capped, like Coconucos (4,800 m.; 15,746 feet) and such volcanoes as Puracé (4,908 m.; 16,102 feet) and Sotará (4,580 m.; 15,026 feet). There are high páramos, swept by icy winds, where only the frailejón (*Espeletia hartwegiana*) and certain grasses grow. Below these heights, the topography is hilly and grandiose, with a succession of hills, terraces, altiplanos, ravines, cañons, and valleys.

Some tribes, like the *Coconuco* and *Moguex*, live in the cold mountain spurs toward the Cauca River; others, like the *Páez* and *Guanaca*, in the high páramos with a climate like that at Moras (3,670 m.; 12,040 feet), Guanacas (3,518 to 3,750 m.; 11,541 to 12,303 feet), Las Delicias, and other places to the east. The *Popayanense* occupy the temperate Valley of Pubén. The *Pijao* lived in the last mountains of the Cordillera Central toward the Magdalena River, which, like the valley of this river, is low and warm, and extended to the Cauca Valley in the neighborhood of Buga. P 101 361 PO [101] [361]

The country inhabited by the *Popayanense* at the Conquest has an altitude of 1,760 m. (5,775 ft.) and a mean temperature of 18° C.; the *Páez* in Tierradentro, 1,650 to 2,620 m. (5,774 to 8,595 ft.) and 13 to 17° C.; the *Moguex*, 2,521 m. (8,270 ft.) and 14° C. at Silvia; the *Andaquí* in the region of San Agustín, 1,695 m. (5,561 ft.) and 18° C.; the *Yalcón* and *Timaná*, 1,100 m. (3,608 ft.) and 24° C.; and the *Pijao*, 873 m. (2,864 ft.) and 25° C. at Carnicerías, and 1,700 m. (5,577 ft.) and 18° C. at Pijao (Caldas). P 133 132 PO [133] [132]

Such differences in climate with the consequent differences in flora and fauna contributed to the variations in economy and culture. The high peaks of the cordilleras and the deep rivers were frontiers between the tribes, clearly separating them from one another—the *Moguex* P 101 131

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

Today the special industry is the extraction of oil from the "mil pesos" palm. Hunting and war are the principal occupations of the men. They involve very important rites conducted by the captain or cacique, assisted by a deputy or second in command of a group. These rites are performed as follows (Albis, 1934):

In preparing for an attack on the *Witoto*, the deputy captain takes his men to hunt animals, while the women prepare chicha and "caguana." Upon their return, the hunters adorn themselves, dance, and drink chicha, and then go to their houses. The following day they catch "conga" ants, whose bite causes fever, and place them in a palm-leaf mat so that their heads stick out. The captain's wife picks up the mat and lets the ants bite her husband on his legs to make him strong, on his breast to make him brave, on his face to prevent him from sleeping, and on the chin to make him silent. The captains then make the ants bite the back and legs of the women, so that young *Witoto* prisoners will be diligent helpers. Afterward the captains each eat three ants mixed with water. If they have pains, the hunt will be successful. After this, the captain, carrying a turtle shell, speaks to the women, admonishing and scolding them, and then retires to a separate house, where he holds a conference with his men, forecasting the probable outcome of the fight and exhorting the men to avenge those who may be killed by the *Witoto*. That night they hold ritual dances and mimic animals. Two balsa-wood images are placed at the door of the main building and two Indians must pierce them with their spears while running. These two Indians are whipped after their feat by all those present. At dawn they plant a pole in the middle of the yard or square, pour water around it, and dance there until they have made mud, and then spend the day gathering food for the departing warriors. In order to be strong and to capture many young *Witoto*, each warrior has to place an arm in a bag full of "yuco" ants until it is thoroughly bitten. Upon departing, the captain gives his wife a knotted hemp cord (a kind of quipu). She unties a knot every night and thus knows when to expect him back and on what day the fight will take place. The day of the battle she remains in the hut where the hunters stayed the first day; otherwise they will be unable to capture any *Witoto* children. With other women she waits there 3 days for the men to return and then, after leaving there an "araraita," a palm branch, the women return to their homes to prepare more chicha. If the expedition is successful, the men return with great demonstrations of joy, but if it fails, they hit everything and bemoan their luck. The captain's principal wife upbraids her husband. After a community meal, all go home and resume their occupations.

Menstruating women throughout this area remain in a special house weaving hemp. They may have no visitors. At the end of the period, they bathe and return to their dwellings.

At childbirth, a woman must remain at home 3 months, while her husband stays in his hammock, refraining from labor and dieting lest his child die. After 3 months the parents anoint themselves and child with "jagua" fruit and resume normal life.

THE CULTURE OF THE MOGUEX AND PÁEZ

Although the *Moguex* and *Páez* have distinct territories and different dialects, their ethnology may be described together because of the great similarity of their economy with its agricultural basis, their social organization, and their general culture.

1: Nachtigall--1 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/8/

Foreword by the Editor

124 This second volume of our series of studies contains a portion of the research which my collaborator, Dr. Horst Nachtigall, was able to carry out in 1952/53 in Colombia. The volume testifies to the fact that our scientific work at the Institut für Völkerkunde of the University of Mainz is not limited to desk research. Rather, we endeavor, in keeping with the scope of the problems in our field, to gather new observations in various parts of the world through fieldwork and in this way to help fill the large gaps in our knowledge of peoples living close to nature. Such research must necessarily also extend to the prehistoric evidence of human culture in the areas visited. Thanks to his extensive preoccupation with the special field of pre- and ancient history, Dr. Nachtigall was in a position to obtain the present material from the Colombian archeological province of Tierradentro.

Being occupied myself at the present time with ethnographic work in another corner of the world, I am particularly happy about the publication of this first volume of results from the fieldwork of our Mainz Institut für Völkerkunde. I thank [122] our publisher, Dr. H. Wyss, and the Deutsche Forschungsgemein- [128] schaft for their kind understanding and their active help, which have made this publication possible.

Gilgit, Pakistan, May 23, 1955. Adolf Friedrich

/9/

Words of Thanks by the Author

The description of the archeology and ethnology of Tierradentro presented in the following represents the first part of the scientific results of the Colombian journey undertaken with my wife, which was instigated by the Director of the Institut für Völkerkunde of the University of Mainz, Herr Prof. Dr. Adolf Friedrich, and carried out through his negotiations with German and Colombian authorities. The course of the journey and the preliminary summary of scientific results have already been published elsewhere.

/9 cont./

114 Our stay in Colombia lasted a year, from August 8, 1952,
[10] to August 12, 1953. During this time I worked first under the direction of Herr P. Pedro José Ramirez Sendoya as Investigador at the Instituto Etnológica Nacionál, beginning September 20, 1952, as Jefe de Arqueología at the Instituto Colombiano de
[126] Antropología. After several weeks of inventorying the antiquities in the region of San Agustín we traveled to Tierradentro where we collected the field material of the present publication during the period from December 24, 1952, to April 24, 1953.

● 122 The scientific work in Colombia was financed by the Ministerio de Educación and the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología. On this occasion I should also like to express my sincerest thanks to the then Minister of Education, Herr Dr. Lucio Pabón Nuñez, and to the Director of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, Herr Dr. Antonio Andrade Crispino, for the help rendered. Here I should also like to thank the Vice-President of the Academia de Ciencias Naturales, Herr Prof. Dr. P. Enrique Perez Arbelaez, who, during the early period of my stay in Colombia, smoothed many paths for me. I am no less grateful to the colleagues of the Institute for the scientific help given to me, as well as to the workers in Tierradentro for their diligence in the difficult and, at the beginning of the rainy period, quite unpleasant work of digging.

126 For the research and travel equipment, a number of firms
122 generously put material at our disposal. For the photographs published in this book I had the use of a Leica III f with Elmar /10/ 1:3.5 and accessories, as well as a Rolleiflex with Tessar 1:3.5. For special photographic purposes Rodenstock-Heligon 1:2.8 wide-angle lens, a Steinheil-Culminar 1:2.8 telephoto lens, and Proximeters I and II from H. Schneider & Co. were used with the Leica, and with the Rolleiflex the Rolleikin equipment with the Rolleinars 1 and 2. The interior shots of the grave holes and the native houses were taken with Osram SO and Philipps Pf 45 flash bulbs, as well as with Seuthe flash capsultes. Adox KB 17 and R 18, as well as Perutz Perpantic film, served as negative material for the photographs.

/10 cont./

128 [114] For assistance in drawing up the manuscript, I should like first of all to thank my wife, who accompanied me on all my trips in Colombia, recorded the field research there stenographically, and has attended to transcribing the manuscript. I thank Herr Prof. Dr. E. L. Rapp, Mainz, for his friendly advice with regard to the transcription of the Paez language, and Herr Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Geilmann, Mainz, for the roentgenographic examination of the prehistoric teeth and bones available from the grave chambers of Tierradentro. Here, too, I should like to thank the artist of the Institut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte of the University of Mainz, Fräulein Margot Kunzmann, for the technical drawings and maps, and the Herrn. cand. phil. Wolfgang Lindig for proofreading.

● 122 [128] The Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, which had already financed my journey both ways and granted a considerable allowance for working up the scientific results, also assumed part of the printing costs for this publication. For this I should like to express my respectful gratitude to the President of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. For public and private financial and moral support I must thank Herr Ministerial Director Prof. Dr. Hans Becker and Ministerial Counselor Dr. Otto Wegner of the Ministry of Public Worship and Education /Kultusministerium/ of the Rhineland-Palatinate, the Chief Burgomaster of the city of Mainz, Herr Franz Stein, the Curator of the University of Mainz, Herr Fritz Eichholz, and the Chairman of the Supervisory Council of the Dykerhoff Portland-Zementwerke AG., Herr Consul Alexander v. Engelberg.

Mainz, October 1, 1954. H. N.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

THE HIGHLAND TRIBES OF SOUTHERN COLOMBIA[1]

By Gregorio Hernández de Alba

INTRODUCTION

Between the *Esmeralda* and *Cara* in Ecuador and the *Quimbaya* in the modern Department of Caldas to the north, the conquistadors, especially Governor Don Sebastián de Belalcázar, found a large number of tribes of different languages and cultures (map 1, *No. 24*; map 7). These tribes occupied the mountains of the complicated Andean system, the valleys of the many rivers, and the slopes toward the low, jungle lands of southeastern Colombia. Because of the fertility of the soils, the mild climate, which was largely cool and healthy, the rich gold and silver mines, and the situation of the lands between the important Colonial centers of Santa Fé (now Bogotá) and Quito, which they were founding, the conquistadors greatly desired to conquer and pacify the tribes, as the Spanish chroniclers and historians call the extermination of the Indians. Some peoples, like the *Pasto* living in the present Department of Nariño, north of Ecuador, readily submitted to the overlordship of the encomenderos and hacendados, and adopted their customs and beliefs. Others, like the *Andaquí*, changed their habitat, and moved down from the region of San Agustín and the headwaters of the Magdalena River eastward to the hot jungles, where they were safe from enslavement. Some, like the *Páez* and *Moguex*, protected by the ruggedness of the Sierras of their territory, resisted the Spaniards and succeeded in large measure in perpetuating their traditions. Others, however, like the *Pijao*, who were seasoned warriors, fought bloodily against the White invaders until they were totally exterminated.

The first historians of the conquest of this part of America[2] held different opinions on the cultural and linguistic relationships between these tribes. Some claimed that the dialects differed so greatly from one tribe to another as to be mutually unintelligible; others maintained that all the peoples of the Andean area of Colombia had the same cul-

[1] This study was prepared in Washington, D. C., where the Bureau of American Ethnology, of the Smithsonian Institution, the Library of Congress, and the Library of the Pan American Union facilitated my investigation as previously the Government of Colombia, my wife (who was also my companion in field work), and my friends, the *Páez* Indians of Tierradentro, had furthered it.

[2] Cieza de León, 1922; Agustín, 1916; Simón, 1882-92; Oviedo y Valdés, 1851-55; Velasco, 1841-44.

/106 cont./

648 it was impossible for the Spaniards to conquer Tierradentro and
[101 181] subjugate the Paez.

Even today the Paez love their independence above all. And even though they cannot accomplish anything by force against the "whites," by which they mean the colonists and the Colombians in general, they nevertheless hate them with impotent fury. "Muiska pešu" (*), "white robber," is what they call the

* Concerning the transcription and phonetics of Paez words, cf. pp. 154-156.

colonists who took their land from them. The latter, however, more industrious than the Paez, need land for their numerous children. They cannot see why the best and virgin soil should remain unused in the hands of the Paez.

361 The rivers arising in the heights as a result of the water flowing down in the mountainous country form enclosed valley basins, each of which contains a village politically. These are, however, not villages in our sense, since the houses do not lie together, but separately, scattered on the slopes of the entire
● 123 valley basin as individual farms. This decentralized position of
361 a village rendered the ethnological work considerably more difficult, since one cannot keep an eye on "his" village and survey all the inhabitants together. Hence it is very difficult to become acquainted with all the people of the village, since in each case one must go great distances from one house to another and at the same time usually very laboriously climb a slope. How often it happened that the inhabitants were not at home at the moment or did not want to be seen or spoken to. For, at first, the Calderun did not by any means care to see us, and even after months of life and visits among them, the old people looked back with nostalgia on the times when /107/ all intruding whites were killed.
123 Today, moreover, not only whites, but even foreigners come to
[177] Calderas. "If we speak to them and treat them well," they said, "then more and more whites will come here." How often it happened that we visited one of the old men, who, I was told,

/107 cont./

● 123 knew tales he could tell, and to whom we gave tobacco and salt and a few other small gifts, a knife, a hoe, or an aluminum cup. At the moment he had a headache, he said. I gave him a few tablets, and we agreed that I would come back the next morning and he would tell me a few tales. When we arrived the next day, after hours of tramping, his wife told us that her husband had gone into the mountains very early that morning in order to cut wood.

115 Our first visit in Calderas took place in the company of the interpreter, Marcos Antonio Penkue, a Paez about 40 years old from San Andrés, who regarded himself as very civilized and who had reached a certain position of wealth. He served as a [191] soldier on the Brazilian border and speaks Spanish well. On his [245] finca /see the glossary, p. 249/ he has about 2,000 coffee trees, [439] whose yield he sells in Inzá on the market. He also carries on [464] other business there by functioning as an interpreter and middleman for the non-Spanish-speaking and generally unbusinesslike Paez. During our work in Calderas he combined business with his services. [233] The Paez are ardent cattle-raisers, albeit not in our economic sense, but purely for sport and the pleasure of numbers. A cow-calf is much more valuable to them than a full-grown bull, for [437] it will produce another calf and increase the herd. Thus, Marcos Antonio exchanged calves for bulls in Calderas and, indeed, bought [434] some cattle himself. These business transactions bring him about 200 to 250 pesos profit per head, since among themselves the Paez ask only low prices, about 50 pesos for a bull. His selling 115 price on the market in Inzá amounts to about 300 pesos. He re- 124 garded the work with us as highly troublesome, but he knew what he was worth to us. His fee rose from three pesos a day at the beginning to ten pesos. Translations that seemed to him too complicated or explanations that were too long for him he would give "in essence" in a few words, after which my counterquestions obviously annoyed him. One day when I had planned some important work, but he some important business, he hid our horses and calmly let us look for them all day long, while he, under the pretext of searching for the horses, carried on his business until he "found" them in the evening.

/109 cont./

124 One day, at the sight of a freshly cleared field on the
423 highest mountain slopes, I asked a Paez working there to whom this land belonged and whether the person concerned had always owned it. He answered that he himself was the owner and that previously the parcel had been ownerless. He said that he had cleared it for himself and only recently built his house here in order to live here. In answer to my question as to whether there was any more ownerless land, he explained to me that the highest and inaccessible mountain peaks which are still covered with big trees and have never been cleared do not belong to anyone and that any Paez could clear a piece on them, which would then become his property. Later I called Victoriano to task, saying that actually there still was ownerless land. "Yes," he then answered me, "of course there is still ownerless land, but it is so poor that it has no value."

157 Far from their village, on the way to market, and generally in /110/ places away from home, the Paez, if they
[123] are alone or in the minority, are timid and reserved. If they are together in large numbers, however, or, even better, in
[522] their own house, they are usually quite bold and impudent and loudly made their jokes at our expense. Indeed, jocularity is a
157 prominent characteristic of the Paez. No talk, no conversation,
521 be it ever so unimportant, is begun without joking -- often of
522 an erotic nature. The importance of conducting such a light,
[831] idle conversation is shown by the fact that serious-minded girls are scarcely ever married.

123 They made fun of my wife in particular, for they found
522 it altogether ugly that she wore long pants. Numerous jokes
157 were made about this, which we, of course, did not understand, and for this reason we, in turn, had to take the initiative by making a joke which was then acknowledged gratefully and usually
609 with quick-wittedness. On the whole, respect toward strangers
522 inside their dwelling is unknown to them. In larger groups they
159 make their asides even in a strange environment, accompanied by much laughter. Since one does not understand them, one
[797] easily gets the impression that they are silly. In their own houses they also mimic the visiting mission priest by repeating

/110 cont./

609 parts of the Mass, as they have understood it, in an exaggeratedly
522 dramatic fashion. The priest has a difficult office in any case.
797 They do not understand his sermons and teachings in the church,
159 conducted in the Spanish language. If he speaks their own language, his inevitable mistakes are commented upon amid loud laughter.

123 On our first visit to Calderas, a man about 30 years old met us at the boundary of the village and asked us in a gruff tone whether we did not know that this land was only for the Paez. No white man had any business here. We should turn back, for no one wanted our visit. Marcos Antonio intervened and explained that we had only come to bring gifts to the Calderun and that we had no intention of settling down in Calderas. We would surely leave again the next day. The man let this pass and warned us upon departure not to dare try to steal any land.
[223] Even later we never obtained permission from the cabildo, the village council, to remain in the village more than a week at a time. Our reputation among the younger people of the village improved from week to week, on the one hand because we offered a cigarette to each man and each woman with whom we had an opportunity to talk, but even more because -- as we were told later -- we were friendly to everyone and always /111/ laughed.
[648] As a matter of fact, it would never occur to any of the white or mixed-colored colonists to favor a Calderun even with a glance. On the contrary, in the houses lying along the road, the dogs are trained to attack the Indios. True, these dogs are all undernourished and generally very cowardly. The Paez man need only raise his machete or a club in order to ward off the dog. We were the first whites who did something completely out of the ordinary in that we were always friendly, without any mental reservations, and always greeted them first, in their language. And this not only in Calderas, but also in Inzá and on the roads to the market. This friendliness was taken in good part on all sides. Then later, after we were able to show and to give them the first photographs of themselves, they were definitely pleased to be photographed and now and then offered us an egg or a bowl of chicha /see the glossary, p. 248/ when we photographed them.

/117 cont./

342 761 783 [78] [773] [628] 961 783 123 Anyone may build himself a house of whatever size he wishes on his own land in the mountains, as well as on the above-mentioned community land in the valley, but he must first ask the shaman acting for him whether any bones of the Pijao are in the ground on the piece of land in mind. As comes out in the myths, the Pijao in ancient times were the frightful and militarily cleverer enemies of the Paez. Their bones (eč ndyít Pijao) contain "pest." This pest is a very complex and significant concept among the Paez (cf. under "Religion" /see p. 191/), and the pest of the Pijao bones is capable of killing the people living above them. How very much our interpreter Victoriano, one of the most enlightened Paez, was affected by this fear came out when he worked with us in the archeological park in San Andrés. For lack of space he had to sleep in the tool room, where, however, he felt very comfortable and, with a camp bed and mattress, had built himself probably the best bed of his life. One day we opened a large prehistoric grave-chamber, which contained more than 80 bone-urns with the remains of cremations. Since we could not accommodate such a large number of urns in our living room, which at the same time served as our museum, we had to put a number of them in the tool room. I left the skeletal remains in several of them in order to save them for a later examination. Weeping, Victoriano begged me please not to put in his tool room any urns containing bones, because the bones might have come from the Pijao, who would surely kill him. Even the washed and cleaned urns, he assured us, contained very much "pest," so that at the next opportunity he wanted to go to Calderas and have himself "purified" by his home shaman. He failed to do this, and when after a few days he had a toothache, he traced this back to the action of the pest from the burial urns previously filled with bones.

342 761 783 756 787 /118/ The shaman's testing of the ground proposed as the building site is not done by digging or sampling the ground; rather, the one who wishes to build goes to the house of the shaman in the evening with coca, tobacco, and brandy, tells him of his wish, and then both sit down on the ground next to each other

/172 cont./

623 title of gobernador. In Paez this corresponds to the designation tõtens. At his side, in Calderas, stands the gobernador suplente as his representative; other functionaries are the alcalde /see the glossary, p. 248 / (in Paez ka'nas), of whom there are two in Calderas, the alcalde mayor and the alcalde menor, furthermore two fiscales, three comisarios, and one comisario escolar, as well as an alguacil. The composition of the cabildo in Santa Rosa is the following: a gobernador, an alcalde, a fiscal, a comisario escolar, and an alguacil. In Lame there are a gobernador, a gobernador suplente, two fiscales, one comisario, and one alguacil. The cabildo in Togoima consists of the gobernador, the gobernador suplente, two alcaldes, two fiscales, three comisarios, one comisario escolar, and one alguacil. Aside from the double and triple occupancies, the composition of the cabildo is the same in the four villages. It should be noted that there are Paez words only for the gobernador and the alcalde; Spanish designations are used for the rest of the functionaries.

623 554 The authority of the gobernador as the leader of the village rests more on his personal prestige than on official means of power. He must therefore be very cautious with his regulations and instructions. He has the collectively conceived decisions of the village council carried out with respect to road or bridge building or the repair of the church, the school, or the com-
[626] munity house. While his regulations remain within the scope of what the great majority of the village also regards as good, the collectivity exerts strong pressure on those who stand apart. In flagrant instances of apartness, however, he has quite drastic measures at his disposal, which, though they are today no longer as strictly wielded as formerly, can nevertheless be very effective in the hands of an energetic gobernador. It is taken for granted, however, that the gobernador acts neither unjustly nor arbitrarily, sets a good example in all undertakings, and is active first and
123 last in the communal work. How little the gobernador is in a
623 position to issue arbitrary orders within his village may be illus-
554 trated by the following example: One Saturday the gobernador

/172 cont./

123 of Calderas came from the weekly market in Inzá and visited
623 me in San Andrés. When in the course of the conversation I
554 mentioned that I would be coming to Calderas on the following
Monday, he suggested that I arrive there early. He said that
he already knew that I was interested in everything concerning
[476] his village and on Monday /173/ I could be present at a com-
munity project for all the men of the village in clearing a field.
Since my interpreter was not free until Monday, I could not set
out on Sunday in order to be present in time for the field work
on Monday. I begged him to postpone the communal project
for a day or two. That would be impossible, he replied, since
this work had been decided upon for Monday by the cabildo and
123 he was not in a position to change the date independently. I
623 offered him as a gift a very handsome travel-machete with a
554 sheath, in case he might be in a position to postpone the work.
411 Generally the Paez own only the heavy, broad work-machete for
felling trees, which they can drag along with them on the way to
[435] market only with difficulty. As a weapon for traveling, therefore,
the lighter, chrome-plated machetes are greatly coveted, but
on account of their high price of 12 pesos no Calderun has here-
123 tofore been able to afford one. I had put this gift aside for the
623 gobernador some time before, but had never found the proper
554 reason for presenting it. This time the occasion seemed very
favorable and really worthwhile. The gobernador, although he was
extremely anxious to be the first Calderun to possess the imple-
ment, explained that my request could not be fulfilled, since
all the men had already been notified for Monday. I pointed out
that he surely had enough messengers to inform his people that
the work would not take place until a few days later. He could
not make the decision to do this; he kept explaining that in
addition the men would be angry. I proposed to him that I would
treat them, at my expense, to ten pesos' worth of chicha to
placate them, an amount that they had hardly ever had before.
He could not make a decision; he finally said that he would try
and would speak to his people on Sunday, and he hoped, in view
of so much chicha, that he would succeed, but he could not

/173 cont./

123 promise it. When I arrived in Calderas on Monday I found that
623 the men of the village had not wanted to meet a second time and
554 that they had indeed begun the work.

623 The alcaldes and the alguacil are the messengers of the
[203] cabildo; they notify the people when communal projects are
[696] necessary. Moreover, the alguacil administers corporal punish-
[203] ment. The three comisarios are likewise messengers and help
[794] the gobernador carry out and supervise public projects. It is the duty of the fiscales -- together with the gobernador -- to decorate the church. They provide candles and help the priest. According to C. Cuervo Marquez (Vol. II, p. 183), the fiscales formerly also had the duty of defending the interests of the /174/
871 village against the encroachments of the colonists. The comisario
623 escolar, finally, is responsible for the school attendance of the
[797] children. The mission sisters, as the teachers, turn to him and
[875] he is supposed to get the children to school, by force, if necessary.

It should not remain unmentioned that Calderas -- and ap-
621 parently this village only -- is divided into four parts, each of
623 which occupies roughly a cardinal point and has about 50 houses.
[361] An alcalde, alguacil, fiscal, and comisario are each an equal representative of a quarter in the cabildo. At present the alcalde is the representative of the western region of Yocashí, the alguacil the representative of the northern region of Puélche, the fiscal that of the eastern region of Aépel, and the comisario that of the southern Bishók. I was told that the connection between an office and the representation of a village quarter is arbitrary, depending on where the occupant of the post happens to live. The official position within the cabildo is first assigned, and today it is the more important. Four of them take over the representation of a village quarter each. Thus, the comisario, if he lives there, may be the representative from Yocashí, and the alcalde the representative of Aépel. The present gobernador, for example, was fiscal ten years ago. Since he lives in the village section of Puélche, he was at the same time the representative of this quarter.

/183 cont./

601 Forms of address:

father and mother together (whether by their own children or other persons)	ovĕnyi or pĕtām
father and son together (by other persons)	pĕndyīk
father and daughter together (by other persons)	pĕndyīs
mother and son together (by other persons)	pĕndyīk
mother and daughter together (by other persons)	pĕndyīs

3. Customs during the Course of Life and of a Day

182 The Paez generally give the impression of being contented
593 human beings, and it seems that marriage and family life are
[159] better than average. Of course, the observations on this are very
[114] scanty, for, on account of the remote location of the individual dwellings, the research worker always has only a brief glimpse of family conditions at any one time. This very solitude, however, and the consciousness of greater dependence on one another within the family favors its cohesion, even as it reduces the conflict and irritation which arise through women's gossip when people live too closely on top of one another.

842 Basically every family wants a great many children -- at
[123] any rate so said all the men questioned. Two Calderun women, however, /184/ confided to my wife that there was a remedy -- which they and other women, too, naturally did not use! -- that
[825] would with certainty prevent conception: One must eat some of
[237] the spittle of a mula (the female, infertile cross between horse and donkey), and then one would no longer have children. They said that a woman does this only when she has already given birth to a great many children. In general every girl desires a great

In general
842 /184 cont./every girl desires a great
[581] many children, for this is the chief requirement for being married. Moreover, the percentage of barren women -- in childless marriages,
[162] they say, the fault is always the woman's -- is not small. According to inquiries, it comes to about 10 per cent. Men generally want boys; the women, girls, in order to have help in the house-
845 hold. Twin births are rare, but they are not regarded as anything special; rather, people are happy about them as they are about other children. Deformities at birth are said not to occur; however, I saw several persons with cleft palates. They seem to be ashamed of this, for in conversations with us they always held
847 their hands over their mouths. Infanticide does not occur. To
● 123 inquiries about this, there was always the completely horrified counterquestion as to whether that was the case in my country.
165 Overpopulation is not to be feared, even with a larger number
[163] of children -- the average is three to four living children per family -- since infant mortality comes to more than 50 per cent.
[164] Whooping cough is the most frequent cause of death among small children.

a) Birth and Childhood

843 The parents' concern for the child begins even before birth. The husband of a pregnant woman expecting her first child must sleep with her very frequently, for otherwise the child would be very weak. In the case of subsequent children this is no longer
[783] required so often after the beginning of pregnancy. The pregnant woman may not leave the house or eat pork for two months before the birth, since this causes "pest" and she would have stomach
[822] pains; this would be very detrimental to the child. For the same reason she may not eat beans and onions, and no fish because it comes from the cold element, water, and because a pregnant woman must not become cold.

843 According to one informant, the pregnant woman retires
343 to the menstruation hut (dúyat) two to three weeks before the
124 birth. During this time her mother or another female relative cooks for the family. According to another informant, the
000 /185/ woman does not retire to the dúyat until the birth. In any

/200 cont./

46/ On one day, for example, a portion of the field is cleared of weeds, on the next the sugar-cane mill is repaired, on the day after that a neighbor is helped with housebuilding or milling sugar cane, then nothing is done for days because of drinking, and not until several days later is the weeding begun again. Once they have planned or begun a project for the day, however, they [123] will not let themselves be interrupted. Several times it happened that I would visit a family in the evening, in order to plan something which would be not at all unpleasant for them for the next day. But if they had already planned something else, I was obliged to come back on the day after that. In the fields, too, the men are not to be diverted, or only with difficulty. During the sowing, weeding, clearing, or other work on the field, they let themselves be drawn into conversation only during the coca pauses; at other times one could scarcely disturb them at these and similar tasks which are accomplished in a very even tempo -- provided that enough coca is available. It is different with the women. They let themselves be easily diverted from their daily, little varied household tasks. They are the ones who really do the most work within the family, for, as soon as they are married, they are never able to sleep through the night, /201/ but must stir the fire anew every two hours. Furthermore, they get up earlier in the morning, and they cannot go to bed until later at night. To rest a bit during the day is completely unknown. Nonetheless, they are satisfied with their lot and work happily, since all the women work in the same fashion and they have known nothing else for generations. There are, of course, tasks which are done willingly and others which are done less willingly. The goal of the necessary occupation seems to be decisive, for all the tasks necessary for nourishment are done willingly. Thus, the men, for example, like to work in the field, "since it is for food," like to plant sugar cane or build a sugar mill, "since it produces something to drink"; and the women, too, like to drag in firewood, [296] "since it is for meals." Washing clothes is one of the decidedly [499] unpleasant tasks of the women, as bridge-building is among the [462] men. In the examples sketched here, the tastes of all the Paez seem to be alike.

/204 cont./

556 special sociological role within their community, for they are elected neither more frequently nor more rarely to the village offices. They have simply "always" been considered wealthy, though it should be noted that in the language of the Paez there [192] is no word at all for "rich" or "poor." The word used for "poor," "pōre," comes from the Spanish (povre), and the word used for "rich," "čačanas," at the same time means "strong" in the physi-
556 cal sense. Despite this apparent unimportance of wealth, how-
626 ever, it is jealously seen to that no other industrious man of a poor family will become rich and possibly put his wealth -- by means of Colombian dress or something similar -- on display. The evil shamans would put a spell on him or poison him, /205/ and the neighbors would devastate his fields by driving their cattle there. He would be cut by everyone, and people in a state of intoxica-
115 tion would start a fight with him in order to kill him. At any
556 rate, this is what happened and is happening to our interpreter,
626 Victoriano. He does not come from a wealthy family, but he wants to acquire money and livestock through diligence and [291] ability. From the money he earned among the whites he has [177] already bought himself the clothing of the whites, which he now proudly displays, and at festivals he sells wax candles and sweets. His fellow-villagers hate him on that account. The priest has had to protect him several times already from the machetes of drunken men who had started a fight with him; and in our presence, too, when we visited various houses with him, he was occasionally very rudely heckled by drunken men. Not least because, in the opinion
115 of the Calderun, he is not working. Again and again I tried to ex-
● 123 plain to the people that they, too, could "go walking" with me and
556 earn money if they were able to speak Spanish. Since this was
626 not the case, there was nothing else for me to do but always work with Victoriano. Nothing helped; Victoriano became more and more unpopular, and I, too, was regarded as a do-nothing. A
123 drunken man who, instead of the one cigarette he was given, vainly demanded an entire pack as a present abused me, too, as an "alko," a dog, who is always going from house to house and does not work.

/205 cont./

578 I acted as though I did not understand the words, but observed the
[123] same thing as on other occasions of disputes among Indios, namely, that two who are quarreling are not separated by a third stepping in. Rather, a dispute is regarded as an affair of the participants and as an interesting diversion in the monotonous daily existence, and the outcome is observed with obvious interest. Apart from the native word "alko," the Paez, interestingly enough, have no abusive word in their own language. The only term of abuse, but used very frequently, is the Spanish "carajo!"

f) Division of Labor between Men and Women

462 As we have seen from what was said above, the individual left to his own resources cannot exist in the Paez communities. The men's work is supplemented by the women's work, and vice versa. Both men and women are dependent upon each other to make a living /206/ and rely on each other for their most primitive vital needs. A man needs a woman who weaves clothes for him, and a woman cannot clear a field -- to cite but one example. The traditional tasks in relation to the sexes may be
[177] summarized once again here. Transitions toward newer ways of life are noticeable, as these have been taken over from the surrounding colonists.

462

	Men	Women	Children
857 Clearing a piece of land	x		
Sowing maize, potatoes, yuca, sugar cane, coca, wheat	x		
Sowing cabbage and beans	x	x	
Sowing gourds and cucumbers	x	x	
Weeding	x		
Harvesting maize, potatoes, coca, wheat	x	x	

In his opinion, one cannot
/261 cont./
756 learn how to become a shaman; rather, this is a hereditary gift.
[827] He himself has no son and no pupils.

The tepits Francisco Cuskue is about 40 years old, married, and has four daughters and one son. Two children died. He has neither /262/ cows nor pigs, horses or sheep, and is very poor. He learned from childhood on, for his father and grandfather were also shamans. He wants his son to become a shaman, too. The latter, about ten years old, has not yet begun the apprenticeship, [123] however. In reply to my question as to whether I, too, as a stranger, might become a shaman, he asserted that this would be possible, but said that the training is very long and difficult. One has to learn from childhood on, until one is about 25 or 30 years old. I, in my case, am already too old to begin.

The tepits Cerbeleón Niunda (Ill. 153 /see p. 267/), who lives near the shaman Francisco, is the son of a shaman, was taught by his father, and had the "signs" when he was only ten years old. He is now, as an estimate, 55 years old (no Paez knows how old he is) and had ten children, six of whom died. In the way
756 of possessions he has neither horse nor cow nor sheep. Whereas
312 all Paez divert the mountain brooks so that a small ditch flows past their houses and they always use only flowing water, the shamans Francisco and Cerbeleón have a small joint reservoir below a spring, from which they drink and into which, before drinking, they place one of their medicinal herbs, ˇsũ. When questioned, both stated that they did not do this for any special reason and could not find out about anything in the reservoir, neither sickness nor the future.

754 Just as the good shaman was chosen by a vision, this also ap-
787 plies for the evil sorcerer. It is regarded as an omen that he is to become a nyiç if, for example, in a dream he sees a bird that in its beak holds a donkey, into whose open mouth flies are
754 crawling, or simply if he dreams about pigs. The prospective nyiç may have his vision during the day or at night; it is said that people who are abroad a great deal during the night are the most susceptible to evil sorcery, since at this time they have the

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

They represent the primitive type of habitation, the agglomerations being the result of the efforts of the missionaries. 342 [177]

The villages are generally in the open grazing districts at the bottom of the valleys, on side plateaus, or on broad ridges. They are not compact in the common sense of the word, but consist of isolated groups of houses, the approximate common center of which is often indicated by the whitewashed thatch-roofed church (plate v). 361

The walls of the permanent houses are made of a kind of *bajareque*, i. e., a skeleton of canes filled in with clay. In the better homes the interior is divided into two or more rooms, usually very small, with a hearth in the middle; but oftener there are no interior partitions, the dwelling consisting of a single square apartment. In every case that came under my observation the interior was very untidy. 342 353 [354] [356]

The Indians openly objected to our entering their houses, hence I could gain only casual glimpses of their domiciles, the furnishing of which seems to be an imitation of that of the dwellings of the few Spanish people living among them or in the immediate neighborhood. 352 123 177

Outside the houses they generally have a cane-crusher of primitive type, with horizontal smooth cylinders moved by means of levers at each end. A loom and a grinding stone are also seen occasionally under an adjacent shelter (plates iv,[1] 2, and vi).[2] 407 286 412

There may often be seen, either about or inside the housse, very large jars used as receptacles in the elaboration of the chicha. These utensils seem to be almost the only survival of the ancient earthenware industry. The smaller pottery vessels which were seen occasionally had been taken from old graves. 415 [192]

Each group of houses, in which several generations of a single family dwell, is surrounded by a small enclosed field, planted with sugar-cane, plantains, oranges and other fruits, and greens and roots of daily use. The garden enclosure is formed by a ditch, inside of which is a wooden fence or a stone wall, the latter often crowned by a hedge of maguey (*Furcræa*), lechero (*Euphorbia*), borrachero (*Solanum*), and other bushes. 351 [592] [247]

[1] [See plate facing P. 317 — Analyst]

[2] [See plate facing P. 320 — Analyst]

/178 cont./

133 several leagues around were supplied for a long time with the
175 salt extracted from the three salt deposits that still exist in
3/7 Segovia. Across from these and on the other side of the Ullucos, in Vivorá, another salt deposit was also exploited.

114 At the confluence of the small stream called El Escaño
172 and the Pisimbalá, on the right bank of the latter and at the
[133] foot of the ridge of Aguacate, the Archeological Park of /179/ Tierradentro, a branch of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, is located on an alluvial terrace covering an area of two hectares. Founded some 15 years ago, it is in charge of the care and conservation of the archeological monuments, which have been known to the scientific world since 1936, but to which reference was made as early as around the penultimate decade of the last century, when Dr. Carlos Cuervo Márquez carried out his explorations through the "lands of the Paez and much of the Nevado del Huila." Subterranean necropolises with columns, colonnades and niches, black and red geometric painting on a white background, statuary very similar to the Augustinian, ceramics and metalwork are the principal exponents of this culture hardly known in descriptive form.

The Archeological Park of Tierradentro has served as the center of operations for the scientific expeditions which the national government has sponsored, fostered, and supported during the last 15 years.

II

Over the Zigzags of the Road

491 In order to travel on winding roads one needs horses re-
• 123 sistant to fatigue; a dashing spirit must yield to a solemn
484 step, firm tread, and steady pace.
492

/179 cont./

123 At 11 o'clock in the morning we left the Park, bound for
484 Calderas. The road climbs through the Pisimbalá valley, at
491 first on its right bank and soon on the left, after crossing a wooden bridge with a plank roof; from this bridge to the pueblo of San Andrés, three streams have to be crossed: Chapequís, La Virgen, and the cemetery stream. Along this short distance and at the edge of the road we counted ten houses, all of them thatched except one of masonry, tiles, oil paint, modern manufacture; the others have white washed walls, painted doors, and are generally clean and orderly. They are the houses of mestizos and colonists settled on their respective fincas.

At 11:30 we left the settlement and took the path that leads to Calderas; the road goes ever upward, in slow and slippery
123 zigzags. As we go along, we see houses with graphite-colored
342 roofs and walls which are black when made of mud or (and these are in the majority) yellow when they are of maize stalks; they lie as if submerged /180/ in the plantings of bananas, sugar cane, and yuca; bluish smoke rises vertically in thick columns from the openings.

123 At 12 o'clock we came out on the Mesón, Supok in the
133 Paez dialect, a small plateau oriented from north to south
[361] and bounded on the east and west by great depressions. Many native huts stand there.

[137] The beautiful valley of the Pisimbalá torrent comes into view in its entirety; contracted at times, then widening more, extensive in length and generally narrow, it descends in a gentle slope in pursuit of the noisy Ullucos; covered with thriving vegetation, it looks like a carpet of living green blending in its tones the stateliness of the cachimbos /búcare, Erytrina umbrosa/, cedars, guamás, gadua bamboo, and yarumos /Cecropia peltata/, and the splendor of the plantings of sugar cane and bananas and the pastures of the herders.

[131] An hour later we reached the Yukaichí ridge, the boundary of the parcialidades /territorial divisions/ of San Andrés and

/180 cont./

/23 Calderas, and the water divide of the Kukiyú river and the
/33 Pisimbalá torrent, the former a deep gorge, the latter an
[131] elongated basin. Toward the north, the outline of another ridge bounds the horizon and divides the parcialidades of Suin and Chinas. Prominent along it, the Vichaguau peak, the hill Dondotá with the double crests, between which, when the sky is clear, one can see Huila with its eternal snows, where the golden rays of the sun break into a silvery radiance. Toward the east one sees the hills of Chindavá and Potrerito, the heights of Togoima, and the canyon of the Páez. Toward the south stand the mountain ranges of Pangok and El Aguacate, which separates the valleys of the Pisimbalá and the Ullucos; the tablelands of Pedregal, Turminá, and Inzá; the sharp peak of Trueno /Thunder/, the "Kapich" of the natives, a summit
823 of silence, lightning, thunder, and storms. In the place where
173 the sun sets, there rises, stately and challenging, the sharp
649 peak of Hipinjí (1), on which, according to some Indians, lie
[133]
[104]

1. H = the English h.
   J = the French j.
   Sh = the French sh.

the images of saints, the bells, the clothing, the gold, and the silver which the Paez army carried away from San Sebastián de la Plata after murdering all of its white inhabitants, setting fire to the town, and filling up the famous silver mines which had given the town its name and brought large numbers of ad-
/73 venturers and not a few misfortunes to the Indians. This legend
823 has fired the imagination of the whites and has led not a few to search for them. It is said that several whites went to the Hipinjí in search of the legendary treasure. At the /181/ /illustration appears here/ top of the peak a white flag was waving. One day there appeared on it the following mysterious order: "At 12 o'clock you may clear out this opening." Their enthusiasm was renewed, their fatigue forgotten, and they went to work eagerly. One worker was rewarded by blind

/311 cont./

243 Wheat is cultivated with special emphasis in the areas of Lame, El Cuartel, La Troja, and Vitoncó. It is destined primarily for sale. It is planted along with maize, although there are already clearings intended exclusively for its cultiva-
[412] tion. They reap it with knives, rarely with sickles. They do not bind it into sheaves, but make bundles and hang it from the eaves or beams of the house. When dry, they thresh it with wooden clubs /masas/ and separate out its husks by exposing it to the
[256] wind. They grind it at once in hydraulic mills built by them themselves and take it to market. They have no sifters to separate the bran.

128 Below /see pp. 25-33 / we present a statistical table on
241 the production of the various species cultivated by 25 families
433 of Mosoco, 8 of Lame, and 15 of San Andrés including that of
[563] some mestizos and whites, marked with an asterisk, in order to make some comparisons and to estimate the volume of production. We specify the percentage of the production intended for sale. For obvious reasons, we have omitted the names of the family heads, identifying them solely by number in order. The statistical data correspond to the production in the year 1953.
[124] In spite of the fact that this type of investigation presents some
[123] difficulties, owing to the reluctance of people to reveal the data on their production they are in general completely trustworthy, since they were collected after a firm interpersonal relationship had been established between the investigator and the person investigated. In addition, they appreciably agree with our observations noted in "General observations" on Páez agriculture.

/312/ Potato cultivation in Mosoco

244 We have deliberately omitted anything about the cultivation of potatoes in order to deal with it more thoroughly.

The methods of cultivation differ somewhat from those commonly practiced in the other parcialidades. The soil is prepared in beds that follow the direction of the slope. The

/107 cont./

123 knew tales he could tell, and to whom we gave tobacco and salt and a few other small gifts, a knife, a hoe, or an aluminum cup. At the moment he had a headache, he said. I gave him a few tablets, and we agreed that I would come back the next morning and he would tell me a few tales. When we arrived the next day, after hours of tramping, his wife told us that her husband had gone into the mountains very early that morning in order to cut wood.

115 Our first visit in Calderas took place in the company of the interpreter, Marcos Antonio Penkue, a Paez about 40 years old from San Andrés, who regarded himself as very civilized and who had reached a certain position of wealth. He served as a [191] soldier on the Brazilian border and speaks Spanish well. On his [245] finca /see the glossary, p. 249 / he has about 2,000 coffee trees, [439] whose yield he sells in Inzá on the market. He also carries on [464] other business there by functioning as an interpreter and middleman for the non-Spanish-speaking and generally unbusinesslike Paez. During our work in Calderas he combined business with his services. [233] The Paez are ardent cattle-raisers, albeit not in our economic sense, but purely for sport and the pleasure of numbers. A cow-calf is much more valuable to them than a full-grown bull, for [437] it will produce another calf and increase the herd. Thus, Marcos Antonio exchanged calves for bulls in Calderas and, indeed, bought [434] some cattle himself. These business transactions bring him about 200 to 250 pesos profit per head, since among themselves the Paez ask only low prices, about 50 pesos for a bull. His selling price on the market in Inzá amounts to about 300 pesos. He re- 115 124 garded the work with us as highly troublesome, but he knew what he was worth to us. His fee rose from three pesos a day at the beginning to ten pesos. Translations that seemed to him too complicated or explanations that were too long for him he would give "in essence" in a few words, after which my counterquestions obviously annoyed him. One day when I had planned some important work, but he some important business, he hid our horses and calmly let us look for them all day long, while he, under the pretext of searching for the horses, carried on his business until he "found" them in the evening.

/108 cont./

115 Victoriano likes to parade his outward standing of higher
156 culture openly. He possesses soap, a toothbrush, a small brush
554 for grooming his eyebrows, and perfume. He uses all these
[598] toilet articles very frequently. He is not afraid of the jealousy of his Calderun fellow-villagers; he always carries his machete /see the glossary, p. 249/ with him in order to defend himself. He wants to marry a "white" woman outside of Calderas (cf. also "The Course of a Day" /see p. 133 /).

● 124 /109/ In the work an attempt was made as a matter of
286 principle to observe all the activities of the Paez ourselves;
386 when this was not feasible, two different informants were questioned if possible. Two examples will show, however, that errors can creep in, even with the most careful work: I had the dyeing process for the black-dyed fabrics explained to me by the interpreter Marcos, according to whom they are first boiled with certain leaves, and then all of this is placed in black humus earth for two days. When the same question was put to Victoriano, he stated that the black coloring occurs if the fabric is placed in black humus earth for two days. At my suggestion that the fabric first had to be boiled with leaves, he delightedly agreed with me. When called to account as to why he had not told me that, he replied: "Well, you did not ask me about that; you only wanted to know how the material becomes black!"

124 One cannot speak sufficiently often and again and again
423 in different ways about the same subject, for to the Paez the necessity or the meaning of explanations for things self-evident to them is usually incomprehensible. Thus in the case described there was as little ill-intent or even mere carelessness as in the following case: In roaming over boundary lines, I inquired as to which fields were private property and which were community property. We came to the general conclusion that the lowlands were community property and the mountain slopes the private property of the man or family who had first cleared the land. I asked Victoriano several times as to whether there were any pieces of land that at present had no owner. He stated emphatically that all the land had been disposed of and there was no longer any ownerless land.

/109 cont./

124 423 One day, at the sight of a freshly cleared field on the highest mountain slopes, I asked a Paez working there to whom this land belonged and whether the person concerned had always owned it. He answered that he himself was the owner and that previously the parcel had been ownerless. He said that he had cleared it for himself and only recently built his house here in order to live here. In answer to my question as to whether there was any more ownerless land, he explained to me that the highest and inaccessible mountain peaks which are still covered with big trees and have never been cleared do not belong to anyone and that any Paez could clear a piece on them, which would then become his property. Later I called Victoriano to task, saying that actually there still was ownerless land. "Yes," he then answered me, "of course there is still ownerless land, but it is so poor that it has no value."

157 Far from their village, on the way to market, and generally in /110/ places away from home, the Paez, if they [123] are alone or in the minority, are timid and reserved. If they are together in large numbers, however, or, even better, in [522] their own house, they are usually quite bold and impudent and loudly made their jokes at our expense. Indeed, jocularity is a 157 prominent characteristic of the Paez. No talk, no conversation, 521 be it ever so unimportant, is begun without joking -- often of 522 an erotic nature. The importance of conducting such a light, [834] idle conversation is shown by the fact that serious-minded girls are scarcely ever married.

123 They made fun of my wife in particular, for they found 522 it altogether ugly that she wore long pants. Numerous jokes 157 were made about this, which we, of course, did not understand, and for this reason we, in turn, had to take the initiative by making a joke which was then acknowledged gratefully and usually 609 with quick-wittedness. On the whole, respect toward strangers 522 inside their dwelling is unknown to them. In larger groups they 159 make their asides even in a strange environment, accompanied by much laughter. Since one does not understand them, one [797] easily gets the impression that they are silly. In their own houses they also mimic the visiting mission priest by repeating

Among the Paez, fishing with

/145 cont./

226 poisonous plants is done once a year, in the dry season, as com-
824 munity fishing with weirs. For this purpose -- it was explained to me -- a dam of stones and earth is first made by the men. The herbs, which only grow high in the mountains and contain a poisonous substance, and which have been pulverized with stones, are tossed into the pool thus partitioned off. These herbs are called yũkse or kẽse. The fish are said to die from them immediately. /146/ They are caught only by the men. But since the poisonous herbs are so far away and are to be found only with difficulty, the men are said to catch the fish sometimes unpoisoned at the weirs with their bare hands.

f) Weapons

411 The weapons of the Paez are limited to hunting weapons
[726] and children's toys, since wars are no longer fought. The only important hunting weapon today is the shotgun. As children's
[524] playthings there are the stone-sling (ísot), blowgun (pãt), and in in recent times the elastic sling (káučéro).

[824] In former times, in the battles with the Spaniards, the
[714] Paez were said to have used lances 25 handspans long made from the wood of the chonta palm, as well as plaited shields or shields
[237] of tapir skin (Pittier, p. 327). I could find no confirmation for the
[124] present-day or even earlier use of lance and shield; my informants
[175] were familiar with neither the word nor the object. From the chroniclers, however, it is reported that the Paez, as well as other mountain peoples of this region, had learned from their battles with Spanish horsemen to defend themselves with long lances. There is, however, absolutely no foundation for a pre-Spanish use
714 of this type of lance. It is not unlikely that the Paez originally had plaited shields (opimb). The word for skin shield (himba-kat) is interesting; its present literal meaning is "horse skin." Whether himba meant "tapir" in pre-Spanish times cannot be ascertained.

In general
842 /184 cont./every girl desires a great
[581] many children, for this is the chief requirement for being married. Moreover, the percentage of barren women -- in childless marriages,
[162] they say, the fault is always the woman's -- is not small. According to inquiries, it comes to about 10 per cent. Men generally want boys; the women, girls, in order to have help in the house-
845 hold. Twin births are rare, but they are not regarded as anything special; rather, people are happy about them as they are about other children. Deformities at birth are said not to occur; however, I saw several persons with cleft palates. They seem to be ashamed of this, for in conversations with us they always held
847 their hands over their mouths. Infanticide does not occur. To
123 inquiries about this, there was always the completely horrified counterquestion as to whether that was the case in my country.
165 Overpopulation is not to be feared, even with a larger number
[163] of children -- the average is three to four living children per family -- since infant mortality comes to more than 50 per cent.
[164] Whooping cough is the most frequent cause of death among small children.

a) Birth and Childhood

843 The parents' concern for the child begins even before birth. The husband of a pregnant woman expecting her first child must sleep with her very frequently, for otherwise the child would be very weak. In the case of subsequent children this is no longer
[783] required so often after the beginning of pregnancy. The pregnant woman may not leave the house or eat pork for two months before the birth, since this causes "pest" and she would have stomach
[822] pains; this would be very detrimental to the child. For the same reason she may not eat beans and onions, and no fish because it comes from the cold element, water, and because a pregnant woman must not become cold.

843 According to one informant, the pregnant woman retires
343 to the menstruation hut (dúyat) two to three weeks before the
● 124 birth. During this time her mother or another female relative cooks for the family. According to another informant, the
000 /185/ woman does not retire to the dúyat until the birth. In any

/216 cont./

114 Further linguistic notes were collected by H. Pittier de
192 Fábrega. These supplemented Castillo's vocabulary and gram-
193 matical data. H. Lehmann published examples of sentences of the Paez from Pitayó collected by French missionaries.

197 /217/ In a comparative study based on the aforementioned
114 publications, H. Beuchat and P. Rivet investigated the linguistic classification of Paez within the language groups of Colombia and classified it in the southwestern group of the six Chibcha language groups. (These Chibcha-speaking tribes correspond neither archeologically nor ethnologically to the true Chibcha (Mwiska) of the savanna of Bogotá!)

124 The linguistic material presented in the following is ex-
126 tremely fragmentary. The data given, however, were for the
197 most part checked several times. The difficulties of linguistic recording lay, aside from the brief time at our disposal, in the lack of grammatical training of the interpreter, who otherwise spoke Spanish very well, but who, during dictation or in translations, often said the same sentence entirely differently when repeating it; possibly because he could translate it better this way. When his attention was called to this, the stereotyped answer was: "One can say it that way, too" or "that is the way we speak." Another thing was that the interpreter was able to summon up the unusual mental concentration for linguistic recording for only two or at most three hours daily, distributed over the forenoon and afternoon.

a) Phonetics

194 As a result of the location of the individual villages in iso-
[197] lated valleys, the pronunciation varies slightly from place to
[124] place. Since we started with the Paez of Calderas in our collection of ethnological data, the following word list was also made with my Calderun interpreter, Victoriano Piñakuẽ.

In the Paez alphabet the complete palatal range, which includes all consonants, is noteworthy. Almost as numerous are the consonant combinations with the English "w." In the

/224 cont./

193 no one: tečanyópa; tečanyópa máhiméta, "no one is working";

several, various: ko; ātya ko hímba hipt, "I several horses have";

many: tak; tak nása, "many people";

little: wé; very little: táwala wéha.

193 114 Verbs: The infinitive forms of the verbs end in -ya. The only data thus far published about the conjugation system are to be found in Castillo i Orosco, who conjugates the verb "to write" [177] in all paradigms according to Latin grammar. The word formation of the model verb and the conjugation are artificial and set [797] up for teaching at the mission schools. People do not speak that way in Calderas.

193 124 177 The conjugations of a few verbs given in the following do not represent all the conjugation possibilities, since -- as was mentioned -- the interpreter lacked a knowledge of Spanish grammar. Hence the schema of the paradigms is largely theoretical. Everyday speech is different, and especially in storytelling the interpreter used forms which he reproduced in Spanish with participial constructions. Nevertheless the forms reproduced here are /225/ "correct" in the sense that one "can" speak this way and be understood while using the forms.

193 [124] Besides the four tenses reproduced here (present, future, and two forms of the perfect), there are probably also forms corresponding to the conjunctive, which, however, the interpreter neither understood nor was able to reproduce in Spanish. The forms of the future are not always used. Very often the present is used with the addition of "tomorrow" or "later," for example, ātya gwágwan kúskay, "I speak tomorrow," instead of ātya gwágwahípt, "I shall speak." The forms of the two past tenses are apparently used arbitrarily. To my questions on this point I always merely received the answer: "one can say it this way and also that way." Here, too, the addition of ónna, "yesterday" (in context: ónnaha), or esé, "some time ago," is customary.

[126] The abstract, consecutive listing of the forms of a conjugation is hardly possible for the Paez. I always had to make

/258 cont./

754 Afterward his throat began to dry out and he could breathe only with difficulty, until he finally died.

754 The evil shamans are not generally known publicly. Men
756 as well as women, however, may be teyu and nyic. In fact, the
[562] most famous and clever teyu whom we met was an old woman,
[753] Felisa Ipia in Santa Rosa, who at the same time, however, is re-
[623] garded as the most evil sorceress who ever existed. All the sick-
[683] ness and misfortune in Santa Rosa are ascribed to her acts. For this reason the cabildo once burned all her medicinal herbs and broke her shaman's staff. But people no longer dare to undertake anything serious against her, since they fear her, as they do all evil sorcerers. In former times the convicted nyic were always very severely punished, but since many members of the cabildo have died as a result of sorcery, no one any longer dares to accuse the well-known nyic today.

754 /259/ With regard to the problem of male and female shamans,
756 a teyu from Calderas explained that women as such had an excellent
562 sense of feeling and therefore the best talent as shamans. Since they are more crafty and cunning than men, however, the female shamans can transform themselves into an evil sorceress at any time. And that is precisely what makes them so dangerous and hence unfit for the calling of a good shaman.

754 The border between teyu and nyic, therefore, is flexible.
756 Both aspects of shamanism may be united in one person, or a teyu may become a nyic and vice versa. In the following, therefore, the teyu form of manifestation of shamanism will be described. In spirit the nyic are based on the same foundation. They never show their herbs and remedies and allow no one to take part in
[124] their ceremonies. The teyu, on the other hand, on closer acquaintance were quite willing to give information about their knowledge and to let us take part in their séances.

/274 cont./

774 (u = nasal) and taff, with which everyone is familiar, although
776 they are not sure about the distinction between the two. The
753 shamans Francisco and Cerbeleón said that the two were the same; but both of them also said that ũns or taff, if they had left the person in his dream and were abroad, could be caught by tũs, eč, or nyiç without the person's becoming aware of this immediately, but rather he still went on living. To my objection that in this case ũns and taff were probably different, they did not know how
[775] to answer; Cerbeleón stated that if a person dies, his ũns goes to heaven and the person himself becomes taff. He and other teyu
756 were able to catch the ũns of a human being. Thus, for example,
774 if someone had been robbed, he would come to Cerbeleón. The
754 latter takes coca, tobacco, and brandy, and then he can bring forth the ũns of the thief, seize it, and kill it. The thief must
[783] then die. In order to get the ũns in his power, he must first cleanse
[824] his hands with the herbs šũ and vitubítskwe, as well as with brandy.
[276] The ũns has the form of a small animal, he explained; it can fly and glows and is about three centimeters long. It is very similar to a firefly in appearance, but different from eč.

554 Having reached this point in his explanation, Cerbeleón grew
754 silent, and our interpreter Victoriano said that we should now have
756 to depart, but quickly. With that he left the house in positive
[124] flight, and we were obliged to follow. Outside he explained to us that Cerbeleón was a "mal brujo," a nyiç, which, to be sure, he had always suspected before, but just now Cerbeleón had given himself away inasmuch as he had said that he could catch and
[682] kill the ũns of human beings. The people of Calderas also say that he possessed herbs that he could put in eggs, chicha, or other food, whereupon people would eat them and then die. One of the sons of Cerbeleón was a thief and had died in the following manner: The one who was robbed had prayed to the Virgen Santisima /Holy Virgin/, and God had punished the thief with death. The father himself, that is, the shaman Cerbeleón, is also a thief and kills people out of envy for their possessions.

The mission sisters confirmed this statement insofar as Cerbeleón had several times attempted to kill them by sprinkling

/286 cont./

182 no new harvest may be undertaken until the teyu has first cleansed
756 of the pest the building site or the crops, respectively.

/287/ He is, however, not only the protector of the individual or the individual family, but is also responsible for the beneficial [773] co-existence of the members of the whole village. Thus, it is not surprising that it was the shamans -- besides Thunder under his various names -- who were the war leaders in the mythical tradi- [926] tions. Thanks to their magical gifts and strength, they successfully led their people against the Pijao and the Spaniards. Several times the elders of the various villages told us that one day Thunder will again drive the white intruders out of the Tierradentro of the [648] Paez and kill them. And it is only logical that, as late as 1952, [789] on the occasion of an impending attack by an armed group of white revolutionaries, the shaman of Santa Rosa, as the successor of the mythical Thunder, should spit his magic herbs on the road leading to the village, in order to destroy them. Old Felisa Ipia is behaving in a similar manner when she keeps the souls of all the village inhabitants gathered together in the threads of her shaman's staff, in order to be able to protect them better against evil, magical influences.

756 On account of these certain supernatural abilities of theirs, the
554 effects of which no one in the community can evade, the teyu
[815] have a certain unofficial authority. In addition, they are all at least 30 to 40 years old and thus, by their very age, fulfill one of the natural prerequisites for recognition by the community. Not a few of them feel honored by this, set apart from the great mass of people, but many assured me that they were shamans only unwillingly, that though they were called by their ability to receive signs, they were nevertheless oppressed by the weight of the burden of their responsibility.

756 During times of epidemics of disease or inexplicable, "super-
124 natural" deaths, they are the focal point of the community, to
[182] which no one appeals in vain. And in conversations with them we generally had the distinct impression of facing unselfish, helpful human beings. They make no secret of their activity, and they tried, as best they could, to tell us about their experiences and knowledge which they use for the good of the community.

3: Bernal Villa SC15 Paez SC15

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[For information on the informants and interpreters used by the author in collecting specific examples of mythological tales from the Parcialidad of Calderas, see category 116, pp. 10-32.]

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

/289 cont./

142 The Calderuno /native of Calderas/ is rather tall, with a light copper skin, straight black hair, a straight nose somewhat flattened and broad at the base, slightly prominent cheekbones, dark brown eyes reminiscent of the Mongolian eye, a broad forehead, long and robust extremities, a slightly pentagonal face; many have mustaches, and, on the whole, the 157 features are rather /290/ handsome. On the other hand, he is talkative, communicative, deeply traditionalistic, proud [361] of himself, and has a deep love of the land. Isolated as they [177] are from the other parcialidades by natural accidents and far removed from the urban centers of Inzá and Belalcázar, they are shy, sullen, and withdrawn with the white, stubbornly opposed to contact with him, and, as a result their institutions have suffered less from the impact of cultural mestization. 797 Not even the very church that has worked so persistently for the 177 catechization of these tribes, especially in this century through the Lazarist missionaries active since 1905, has been able to penetrate fully into the soul of these people.

114 I have carried out my research in this parcialidad since 773 the month of August of last year, with several interruptions. [124] The myths and tales which I now present were gathered with patient labor after much waiting, for the natives, when questioned about these themes, nearly always reply with the word himeto ("I don't know"). There is no need to stress the importance of mythology as an institution in the so-called "primitive" cultures. Nor is it my intention to theorize on the subject. It is enough to say, in the words of Herskovits, that "mitología es como la carta constitucional de las creencias y presta sentido a la conducta ritual que se deriva de sus consagraciones /mythology is the constitutional charter of beliefs and gives meaning to the ritualistic behavior that is derived from its consecrations/" (1). The chroniclers tell

1. Herskovits, p. 409 /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 309/.

* /224 cont./
756 the assisting spirit. It is not enough to know whether certain
755 medicines correspond to certain signs. The té eu must /225/
divine which remedies will be useful for the particular case.
This is why the curer always carries a pouch with all the known
remedies. He takes one out and consults. If the signs do not
circulate, the remedy is useless; he takes out another and waits.
When they are felt insistently, then the remedy is appropriate.
Since the signs are given by the assisting spirit, it is he who
cures.

* 756 The signs may contribute to the discovery of a vocation.
463 If a man engaged in a manual task that does not imply motion
787 (the making of firecrackers, plates for cooking, pottery)
suddenly feels the movement of the signs, he must seek out a
teacher so that he will instruct him in the art of curing. He
cannot disobey them or he would go mad.

* 756 Even the curers themselves must practice the signs. If,
787 for example, no sick clients have come for two days, the
755 té eu must visit his Kachí (2) and practice the signs; otherwise,

2. See below, "Divination sites" /see p. 9 /.

they may drive him insane. For this reason, the curer must
[888] practice his profession until old age begins. Old men lose the
signs because they cannot travel to go to the Kachí and practice
the signs.

* 756 All the informants affirm that signs on the left side signify
787 something bad, while those on the right indicate something
827 good. As a rule, the signs that are given in a certain part of
755 the body have a specific meaning. Minor differences may be
noted in the information provided by the curers, but they are
● [124] matters of form rather than substance. There follows a table
of the symbolism of the signs, gathered from many profane
informants and curers from the Parcialidades of Santa Rosa,
Calderas, Togoima, Avisame, and San Andrés.

/255 cont./

754 It is said that one who is to become a sorcerer does not need a teacher; he will discover the remedies and the evil spirits. Nevertheless, in the Parcialidad of Santa Rosa it is said that the most dangerous sorceress in the place teaches people how to do witchcraft.

754 *756 The té eu can easily become sorcerers, if they show interest in becoming familiar with their remedies. A sorcerer can be a good curer and cure people, but nevertheless he will demand better provisions.

754 *[756] As a rule, it is unusual for a té eu to be universally acknowledged as such, for many people, and the sorcerers among them, commonly designate them as nasa jihi (evil person).

[787] They may have the visions from a very early age, but the practice of sorcery begins in adulthood and is perfected with maturity. The sorcerers who are publicly acknowledged are about 35 years old, most of them being elders.

/256/ Sorcerers never show their remedies; much less is it possible to attend one of their sessions. This is a concealed activity. One knows who the sorcerers are by public identification. All the information obtained about them is provided by the people and sometimes by the curer himself. Nevertheless, none of them confesses practicing this activity; rather, on the contrary, they protest their innocence and claim to be the best persons in the community.

● [124] [156]

[623] [692] The remedies that the sorcerers possess are said to be well hidden, for if the cabildo were to find them, they would punish them irremediably.

[513] The sorcerers cast their spells at night. The natives say that they do not sleep. No sooner has night fallen than they are chewing coca and tobacco. They sleep during the day. They prefer the dark of night for performing their activities, although they do not have special days or specific hours.

The sorcerers do not introduce objects into the body (toads, hair, etc.), nor can they turn into animals.

/311 cont./

243 Wheat is cultivated with special emphasis in the areas of Lame, El Cuartel, La Troja, and Vitoncó. It is destined primarily for sale. It is planted along with maize, although there are already clearings intended exclusively for its cultiva-
[412] tion. They reap it with knives, rarely with sickles. They do not bind it into sheaves, but make bundles and hang it from the eaves or beams of the house. When dry, they thresh it with wooden clubs /masas/ and separate out its husks by exposing it to the
[256] wind. They grind it at once in hydraulic mills built by them themselves and take it to market. They have no sifters to separate the bran.

128 Below /see pp. 25-33 / we present a statistical table on
241 the production of the various species cultivated by 25 families
433 of Mosoco, 8 of Lame, and 15 of San Andrés including that of
[563] some mestizos and whites, marked with an asterisk, in order to make some comparisons and to estimate the volume of production. We specify the percentage of the production intended for sale. For obvious reasons, we have omitted the names of the family heads, identifying them solely by number in order. The statistical data correspond to the production in the year 1953.
[124] In spite of the fact that this type of investigation presents some
[123] difficulties, owing to the reluctance of people to reveal the data on their production they are in general completely trustworthy, since they were collected after a firm interpersonal relationship had been established between the investigator and the person investigated. In addition, they appreciably agree with our observations noted in "General observations" on Páez agriculture.

/312/ Potato cultivation in Mosoco

244 We have deliberately omitted anything about the cultivation of potatoes in order to deal with it more thoroughly.

The methods of cultivation differ somewhat from those commonly practiced in the other parcialidades. The soil is prepared in beds that follow the direction of the slope. The

/319/

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LAME:

Fams.	Machetes		Shovels		Small Bars		Axes		Spades		Bars	
1.°	--	....	4	14,00	2	10,00	--	....	--	....	--	....
2.	1	12,00	4	20,00	1	6,00	1	7,00	--	....	--	....
3.	2	9,00	2	8,00	1	3,00	1	6,00	--	....	--	....
4.°	2	16,00	2	14,00	1	7,00	--	....	--	....	--	....
5.	3	30,00	4	12,00	1	5,00	--	....	--	....	--	....
6.	2	14,00	2	8,00	1	6,00	--	....	--	....	--	....
7.	3	30,00	4	16,00	4	20,00	--	....	--	....	--	....
8.	3	12,00	2	10,00	1	6,00	--	....	--	....	--	....

SAN ANDRES:

1.°	6	24,00	8	20,00	3	12,00	--	....	--	....	3	15,00
2.	2	16,00	2	6,00	1	7,00	1	4,00	--	....	--	....
3.	1	7,00	--	....	--	....	1	8,00	--	....	--	....
4.	3	15,00	2	10,00	1	5,00	1	6,00	--	....	--	....
5.	2	14,00	4	12,00	1	6,00	1	3,00	--	....	--	....
6.	1	10,00	1	3,50	1	7,00	--	....	--	....	--	....
7.	--	....	--	....	--	....	--	....	--	....	--	....
8.	3	11,00	3	9,00	1	5,00	1	4,50	--	....	--	....
9.	1	3,00	3	9,00	1	10,00	--	....	--	....	--	....
10.°	2	10,00	1	3,00	1	3,00	--	....	--	....	--	....
11.	3	24,00	4	14,00	3	10,50	2	12,00	--	....	--	....
12.	3	10,00	2	8,00	1	2,00	1	8,00	--	....	--	....
13.	3	15,00	1	3,00	--	....	1	3,00	--	....	--	....
14.°	3	19,50	6	11,20	3	15,00	--	....	--	....	--	....
15.°	4	20,00	5	12,50	1	5,00	--	....	--	....	--	....

/The commas in the figures are to be read as points in the translation to English./

Domestic animals

231 The Páez have bovine, equine, porcine, and wool-bearing livestock, turkeys, chickens, dogs, and cats. The guinea pig is the only American domestic animal that is raised in many homes.

231 An accurate investigation of the livestock would present serious
● 124 difficulties, in view of the suspicion of the natives. In the parcialidad of Calderas, information on the subject is almost invariably distorted, whether direct or indirect methods of investigation are employed. Acquiring data of this nature would be problematical even for the mestizo traders with a relatively high standing among the natives and very familiar with them. In our investigating zeal we visited almost all the households in this parcialidad, covering the entire territory on foot. In the shade of thickets, in the fields and pastures, a goodly number of bovines, equines, and wool-bearers are seen grazing. Once in a while one comes upon herds of swine feeding on grasses and roots. In the communal llano of Calderas /320/ about 36 head of cattle ordinarily graze. In all of these households

/320 cont./

231 chickens were not lacking. But it was impossible to obtain trust-
● 124 worthy information about this wealth. A mestizo trader very familiar with the region estimates that in Calderas there must be no fewer than about 350 head of cattle, a figure that is well
[162] deserving of credit. This parcialidad has approximately 150 families. In the statistical table that we present below 55 families are represented, for many of which the data are incomplete and others have an approximate value, deduced from information by third parties and from direct observation. The statistical tables for the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, and San Andrés correspond to reality.

233 Lands intended exclusively for pasture do not exist, with
[311] the exception of that which, on account of its rugged topography and deforestation, covered with grasses that become green again in winter, cannot be used for anything except for pasture, with the risk, of course, that the animals might wander away. In general the animals graze in the stubble, in the communal pastures, in the shade of the brush and thickets. In Calderas, for example, most of the livestock is hidden from strangers' eyes. They eat the branches and grasses that grow on lands that were once fields. In this way they grow wild and shy, but fat and exempt from disease. To catch these animals is equivalent to going on a real hunting expedition in that trained dogs participate, and 10 or 15 men outfitted with their respective lassos and suitably distributed in especially good places for lassoing, detaining, deflecting, or directing the progress of the animal being chased by the dogs. This work is done preferably on Sundays, at the special invitation of the cattleowners, either to brand the calves or to catch a cow intended for trade, sale, or slaughter. When the work is done, a good amount of chicha is consumed. Only the livestock that grazes on the communal llano is visible to strangers and relatively tame.

232 Everyone prefers females for reproduction. The males
439 are consumed, sold, or traded for young females and, rarely, for
231 other articles. Often there is a lack of breeding bulls. In such cases the cows do not calve and are regarded as sterile, a fact that is duly exploited by the white and mestizo traders in order to

propose 'trades'.

/357 cont./

261 that is provided by having what is to be consumed. An abundance
594 of guarapo and maize undoubtedly gives them great gratification. When these products are abundant the religious fiestas, mingas, and "entertainments" are good, the natives say, and they describe at great length the incidents as they unfold.

178 But, in spite of the fact that the work capacity of the in-
241 dividual is acknowledged, that the possession of domestic animals
433 lends a certain prestige within the group, and that the abundance
[554] of food and guarapo brings gratification, the agricultural cycle
[231] remains stationary within the lineaments of time, of the systems of labor, and of the quantity of seed. They produce essentially
178 for consumption. The stimulation of prestige does not exist. In
433 many parcialidades, the habits of a capitalistic economy are openly
[754] combated by the sorcerers (32). Nevertheless, we have already

32. Bernal Villa, S. op. cit., p. 256.

had the opportunity to state that the introduction of the cultivation of coffee (temperate zone), the development of livestock-raising and of the cultivation of potatoes in Mosoco, and the creation of settlement areas in the very heart of the native parcialidades are rapidly modifying all of the institutions of Páez culture. The family economy of self-provisioning and of small barter operations is changing perceptibly into a purely money economy. By the same process the routine monotony is disappearing from production and is being replaced by new techniques of work, a greater quantity of production, and a greater volume of trade.

434 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, and San Andrés, we
121 made an investigation of familial income and expenses /358/ for
124 the year 1953, on the basis of questionnaires prepared by the Comisión de Planeamiento de la Seguridad Social Campesina of the Ministerio del Trabajo, questionnaires that were filled out by us for the said commission with reference to Tierradentro.

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/165/

100 Bases for the Study of the Social Organization of the Páez

By
Segundo Bernal Villa.

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124 /167/ The material for the study of the kinship system of
128 the Páez was collected in the month of May, 1953, thanks to the
[114] enthusiastic collaboration of Victoriano Piñakuĕ, 18 years of age,
[115] bilingual, and a native of the parcialidad /a village and the lands
belonging to it/ of Calderas. With this material we made an
analysis of the kinship system, which we present below without
any major modifications. It was later discussed with several na-
tive men of the parcialidad of San Andrés, who found it to be
correct. At the end of May, 1954, we had the opportunity to
discuss it again in Mosoco with two male informants of the lo-
[197] cality. They found practically no phonological differences, in
spite of the fact that the Páez spoken in that parcialidad showed
some different nuances in relation to that spoken in the other
124 parcialidades. They made only one fundamental observation,
128 which we accepted, since we consider it to be convincing. It
601 refers to the terms used to designate the sons and daughters of the
brothers and sisters of EGO. According to Piñakuĕ, they are
designated with the Spanish terms: sobrino and sobrina /nephew
and niece/. Jorge Mulcuĕ (Mosqueño /a person from Mosoco/
58 years old) affirmed that they are designated with the words kuĕ
or wásak (son and daughter) preceded by the possessive my (anji).
601 Men and women use the same terms for both the paternal
and the maternal line, with certain exceptions, subordinating the
real degree of kinship to the generation. The Páez system of
kinship terminology is, therefore, classificatory and bilateral.

/9 cont./

114 [101] Our stay in Colombia lasted a year, from August 8, 1952, to August 12, 1953. During this time I worked first under the direction of Herr P. Pedro José Ramirez Sendoya as Investigador at the Instituto Etnológica Nacionál, beginning September 20, 1952, as Jefe de Arqueología at the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología. After several weeks of inventorying the antiquities [126] in the region of San Agustín we traveled to Tierradentro where we collected the field material of the present publication during the period from December 24, 1952, to April 24, 1953.

122 The scientific work in Colombia was financed by the Ministerio de Educación and the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología. On this occasion I should also like to express my sincerest thanks to the then Minister of Education, Herr Dr. Lucio Pabón Nuñez, and to the Director of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, Herr Dr. Antonio Andrade Crispino, for the help rendered. Here I should also like to thank the Vice-President of the Academia de Ciencias Naturales, Herr Prof. Dr. P. Enrique Perez Arbelaez, who, during the early period of my stay in Colombia, smoothed many paths for me. I am no less grateful to the colleagues of the Institute for the scientific help given to me, as well as to the workers in Tierradentro for their diligence in the difficult and, at the beginning of the rainy period, quite unpleasant work of digging.

126 122 For the research and travel equipment, a number of firms generously put material at our disposal. For the photographs published in this book I had the use of a Leica III f with Elmar /10/ 1:3.5 and accessories, as well as a Rolleiflex with Tessar 1:3.5. For special photographic purposes Rodenstock-Heligon 1:2.8 wide-angle lens, a Steinheil-Culminar 1:2.8 telephoto lens, and Proximeters I and II from H. Schneider & Co. were used with the Leica, and with the Rolleiflex the Rolleikin equipment with the Rolleinars 1 and 2. The interior shots of the grave holes and the native houses were taken with Osram SO and Philipps Pf 45 flash bulbs, as well as with Seuthe flash capsultes. Adox KB 17 and R 18, as well as Perutz Perpantic film, served as negative material for the photographs.

/143 cont./

224 mountain spirit. We met only a single young man of about 18 who goes hunting alone in the mountains once a week. He told us that, in order to become a good hunter, one must first try to [789] kill a bear (éšwiy). One must then rub its fat into the right [237] lower-arm, which would give him the same powers as the bear. [262] One is not permitted to eat this fat, however, because it would [828] make him insane. After rubbing in the fat, the young hunter [263] continued, one may not eat salt at any meal for a week. There are no further rules and ceremonies of any kind to be observed. [237] We learned, however, that one can also use bear fat as a heal- [752 757] ing remedy, and, to be sure, for bone fractures or sprains one must rub the affected part with bear fat, whereupon the injured limb will heal immediately and will become considerably 224 stronger than ever before. For stalking he wears on his head a 292 cap made of the skin of a reddish-blond hairy monkey (móno), [825] which in the first place protects him from the thorns of the bushes, but which is also supposed to facilitate creeping up on [439] game. He sold it to us for two pesos without hesitation, since, [126] as he said, he was perfectly capable of shooting another monkey 224 for himself. He was not afraid of the gělyómp spirit, but the 776 other men were, for gělyómp screams and makes a noise when human beings enter his area in the mountains, so that they become quite confused and go astray. The mountain spirit cannot do anything to several men together, however, since he could make as much noise as he pleased, but they would not let them- 224 selves be diverted. Of course, the men, even if there are ever so 776 many of them, must not offend the mountain spirit or provoke 515 him unnecessarily, but rather must avoid everything that gělyómp 783 does not like. /144/ For instance, he hates everything impure [296] and filthy. Hence the men always only go hunting well washed; [824] they even wash the entire body, and the ruana, too. In addition, they rub themselves with the cleansing herbs šu and šayuts, which they obtain from the shaman, in order to be really altogether [761] clean in a physical and ritual sense. But if someone has taken part in a burial or has merely seen a funeral procession close by, he has picked up a good deal of "pest" from the dead and must have himself specially purified by the shaman before hunting.

/164 cont./

439 cloth for trousers, and all European clothing. Furthermore, every type of ornament must be bought, such as necklaces, earrings, and finger rings, then cotton, since it is finer and shinier than sheep wool, and aniline dyes for dyeing women's belts and coca bags, since they are more brilliant and clearer than the native vegetable dyes. The trip to market and the necessary trade, however, are not undertaken because of an inclination for business, pleasure in bargaining or in underbidding or outbidding, but out of the necessity to procure an [438] article that they cannot make themselves. If it is at all [797] possible, one tries to buy the required things in the village, for example, from the missionaries, and the purchase with money or the trip to market is, so to speak, the ultima ratio. 437 They do not bargain. The man -- /165/ and it is almost al- 439 ways he who shops -- asks the price, and if it seems too high -- [462] as in most cases -- he says "too expensive." If the tradesman lowers the price, he usually buys; if not, he goes on to the next stand.

The traders are never Paez, but always white and mestizo colonists. They know, of course, about the disinclination of the Paez to bargain, and they charge too high a price to begin with, so as to ask a still inflated normal price after the obligatory "too expensive." Thus the Paez are naturally cheated. They let themselves be too easily dazzled by an attractive display or packaging, for example, by the polish or the silver paper; also a more expensive green or red comb is preferred over a black one. Fortunately, one might say, they never have much money and can therefore never spend too much.

●126 The way in which I was obliged to acquire the women's 439 colored belts for our collection is characteristic. Since every woman possesses only two at the most, one to fasten her skirt and the other to carry her baby, any attempt to buy them was [101] always useless. I had therefore bought at the market in Inzá a few women's belts which are made by the Guambiano, the tribe neighboring the Paez on the west, and are sold in Inzá. [184] They are made of cotton, the white color of which in the freshly

/165 cont./

126 worked state is considerably more brilliant than the somewhat
439 yellowish sheep wool. Moreover, their aniline dyes gleam much
184 more brightly than the vegetable dyestuffs of the Paez dyes.
126 Unfortunately, they are shorter than the Paez belts. Neverthe-
439 less, the trade was most happily made. The coca pouches of
437 our collection, too, we acquired entirely by way of barter, for example, for a pair of scissors at the Bogotá price of 50 centavos. At the market in Inzá such a pair costs about a peso. The Paez know this. Nevertheless, the same persons who had previously refused a sale for five pesos exchanged a pouch for a pair of scissors. It was the same with eggs. They would not sell them for 20 centavos, but traded them for a wax candle which was available everywhere for five centavos.

43 In the case of their own products, there is no trade from village to village. Nor is there any exchange of certain specialties outside the village, since the initiative for special achievements or the unusual always comes from the colonists or foreign traders. In general the Paez do not buy and sell among themselves, but only barter, since money is used very unwillingly among them. Their idea that an article sold, /166/ for example, an egg, may bring misfortune to the part retained, in this case the chicken, may play a role in this. Moreover, even today paper money is scarcely ever accepted, first because they usually do not have a special pocketbook, but put the bills in their coca pouch, where they may be easily torn, and, secondly, because many are in the habit of burying their money or hiding it somewhere. In this way the bills soon become moldy, whereas hard money lasts a long time. The latter is therefore extremely rare in the entire Tierradentro area.

435 In the barter of foodstuffs there are certain rates that every-
437 body knows. Since, furthermore, they always make an effort to furnish only satisfactory goods, there are no exaggerated claims or any reason for bargaining or haggling. It is simply: either-or, especially since market phenomena have no effects, and the barter rates are in no way increased in times of shortage or want. Thus, at the time of my visit, sheep and therefore wool were very

/216 cont./

114 Further linguistic notes were collected by H. Pittier de
192 Fábrega. These supplemented Castillo's vocabulary and gram-
193 matical data. H. Lehmann published examples of sentences of the Paez from Pitayó collected by French missionaries.

197 /217/ In a comparative study based on the aforementioned
114 publications, H. Beuchat and P. Rivet investigated the linguistic classification of Paez within the language groups of Colombia and classified it in the southwestern group of the six Chibcha language groups. (These Chibcha-speaking tribes correspond neither archeologically nor ethnologically to the true Chibcha (Mwiska) of the savanna of Bogotá!)

124 The linguistic material presented in the following is ex-
126 tremely fragmentary. The data given, however, were for the
197 most part checked several times. The difficulties of linguistic recording lay, aside from the brief time at our disposal, in the lack of grammatical training of the interpreter, who otherwise spoke Spanish very well, but who, during dictation or in translations, often said the same sentence entirely differently when repeating it; possibly because he could translate it better this way. When his attention was called to this, the stereotyped answer was: "One can say it that way, too" or "that is the way we speak." Another thing was that the interpreter was able to summon up the unusual mental concentration for linguistic recording for only two or at most three hours daily, distributed over the forenoon and afternoon.

a) Phonetics

194 As a result of the location of the individual villages in iso-
[197] lated valleys, the pronunciation varies slightly from place to
[124] place. Since we started with the Paez of Calderas in our collection of ethnological data, the following word list was also made with my Calderun interpreter, Victoriano Piñakuẽ.

In the Paez alphabet the complete palatal range, which includes all consonants, is noteworthy. Almost as numerous are the consonant combinations with the English "w." In the

/224 cont./

193 no one: tĕčanyópa; tĕčanyópa máhiméta, "no one is working";

several, various: ko; ãtya ko hímba hipt, "I several horses have";

many: tak; tak nása, "many people";

little: wé; very little: táwala wéha.

193 114 Verbs: The infinitive forms of the verbs end in -ya. The only data thus far published about the conjugation system are to be found in Castillo i Orosco, who conjugates the verb "to write" [177] in all paradigms according to Latin grammar. The word formation of the model verb and the conjugation are artificial and set [797] up for teaching at the mission schools. People do not speak that way in Calderas.

193 124 177 The conjugations of a few verbs given in the following do not represent all the conjugation possibilities, since -- as was mentioned -- the interpreter lacked a knowledge of Spanish grammar. Hence the schema of the paradigms is largely theoretical. Everyday speech is different, and especially in storytelling the interpreter used forms which he reproduced in Spanish with participial constructions. Nevertheless the forms reproduced here are /225/ "correct" in the sense that one "can" speak this way and be understood while using the forms.

193 [124] Besides the four tenses reproduced here (present, future, and two forms of the perfect), there are probably also forms corresponding to the conjunctive, which, however, the interpreter neither understood nor was able to reproduce in Spanish. The forms of the future are not always used. Very often the present is used with the addition of "tomorrow" or "later," for example, ãtya gwágwan kúskay, "I speak tomorrow," instead of ãtya gwágwahípt, "I shall speak." The forms of the two past tenses are apparently used arbitrarily. To my questions on this point I always merely received the answer: "one can say it this way and also that way." Here, too, the addition of óñna, "yesterday" (in context: óñnaha), or esé, "some time ago," is customary.

• [126] The abstract, consecutive listing of the forms of a conjugation is hardly possible for the Paez. I always had to make

/225 cont./

193 inquiries with reference to examples that were easily comprehensible.
126 If these lay outside of the context just discussed, I was often requested to provide the appropriate form myself, which I always succeeded in doing with the help of my examples, to the joyful surprise of the Paez. Their confirmation in each case, that "one can say it that way, too," permits me to set down the following
193 paradigms. Phonetic discrepancies are purposely retained, for
128 example, in the second person singular the endings -eg and -eng, in the third person plural the endings -yin or -yen. In the present, the first and third persons singular are generally the same. The personal pronouns for all forms are placed before the verb. In the model verbs the feminine form of the first person singular and the various forms of the second person singular were omitted in favor of the simple masculine forms.

193 ōpya, "to live"

Present:	ātya ōpon		Future:	ātya apohípt	
	inç ōponeng			inç opohípeneng	
	kya ōpon			kya opohípa	
	kweš ōpontkaw			kweš opohíptaw	
	kyáñweš ōpotyin			kyáñweš opohíptyin	
Perfect:	ātya ōpokot		or:	ópnast	(óñnaha)
	inç ōpoing		or:	opnásing	(óñnaha)
	kya ōpok		or:	ópnasa	(óñnaha)
	kweš ōpotaw		or:	ópnastaw	(óñnaha)
	kyáñweš ōpotç		or:	ópnastyin	(óñnaha)

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

802

5.	*Tats*	*tats*
6.	*Sanki*	*tesets, tesekẓ*
7.	*Ens-sanki*	
8.	*Tek-sanki, puki-pans*	
9.	*Pans-sanki*	
10.	*Kose-pemba*	*ksemba*
20.	*Ens-kose-pemba*	
30.	*Tek-kose-pemba*	
40.	*Pans-kose-pemba*	
100.	*Pasats-tla, vite-pasak*	
1000.	*kose-pemba-pasàts-tla*	

As indicated by the above examples, the Paez Indians formerly counted upon their fingers, so that their numeration was necessarily decimal. It is difficult, not to say impossible, to determine the meaning of the word *sanki*, for 'six,' but it seems to have been, as Castillo expresses it, a base for the series between five and ten. Thus *ens-sanki*, means the 'second six'; *tek-sanki*, the 'third six'; *pans-sanki*, the 'fourth six.' We also find that *puki-pans*, a second expression for *eight*, means the 'return of four.'

Kose-pemba, ten, means 'the hands completed,' an expression similar to that found in many other primitive languages. At present this system is found only in a mutilated form, including the numerals one to six, and ten. For other numbers Spanish is used. *Vitetß* has become reduced to *tetß*; and another expression, meaning apparently 'second one' (*tetß-ens?*), has been substituted for *sanki*.

IV. — Vocabulary

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[126]

The following vocabulary includes all words collected by the author and not found in Castillo's work, and also expressions of the latter that complete families of words with a common root. *H* means Huila, and *T* Tacueyó, villages in which words were collected. *Cast.* signifies Castillo; *Span.*, Spanish.

a, an (*anl, atl?*)	mine, my; our, ours
a-enẓ (T), *ia-enẓ* (H)	eye — Cast.: *ia-ß*
à-enẓ (T), *guà-gua* (H)	*Inga edulis*, a tree
alko (Kithua word)	dog

/103 cont./

127 We know little about the other Indian cultures of southern Colombia existing at the time of the Conquista. The conquistadors had tasks other than drawing up scientific ethnographic descriptions of their cruel enemies. Nevertheless, working with subtle methods, modern ethnological and linguistic research in the old sources has produced outstanding results.

114 Our knowledge is very inadequate with regard to the Paez, 127 who, with approximately 25,000 persons, constitute the largest [161] non-Spanish-speaking population group within Colombia, next to the Goajiro, the inhabitants of the Guajira Peninsula in the northern part of the country. The oldest dates come from [797] Eugenio Castillo i Orosco, who, from 1735-1755, was active as a missionary in Tálaga -- often at the risk of his life, as he reports -- and wrote down a vocabulary, a grammar, and some cultural data about the Paez. This manuscript was printed in 1877. Further ethnological data are given by the Colombian general, Carlos Cuervo Marquez, who, on his extensive journeys, also traveled through the Tierradentro region from north to south and produced the first reports about its archeological cultures. The next one, in terms of time, to report on the Paez was the American ethnologist, Henri Pittier de Fábrega, who in 1906, coming out of the central part of the Cauca Valley from the northwest by way of Corinto and Toribió, spent a few days in Tacueyó and Huila. Georg Bürg, who first investigated the archeological objects of Tierradentro more thoroughly, likewise lived for a time among the Paez and gives a few ethnographic notes in his report. In his comprehensive survey of the highland tribes of southern Colombia, Gregorio Hernandez de Alba also reports about the Paez, with whom he became acquainted in connection with his own research. Graciliano Arcila Velez undertook a blood-group examination on 303 Paez. The first thorough special study of Paez culture from the standpoint of the religious and social life was made at the time of our stay in Tierradentro by the Director of the Archeological Park of San Andrés, Segundo Bernal Villa.

1: Nachtigall--19 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15
Colombia SC1
Tierradentro

/103 cont./

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[127]

Since, therefore, a total description of the culture of the Paez does not yet exist, a tribal monograph on the Paez is herewith presented in the following, in which, besides the data from my own investigations, the results of the earlier investigators have been incorporated. Much will have escaped me -- as a result of the short time at my disposal and the inaccessibility of the population -- much that was part of the domestic economy /104/ of Paez culture has already been destroyed as a result of advancing civilization and is therefore lost forever. In the following description of the cultural heritage of the Paez a division has been made, for working purposes, with regard to material and spiritual culture and with regard to the description of social forms. In practice a sharp line of demarcation cannot normally be drawn within a culture between these aspects of it, since these three areas do not lead a separate existence, but are closely bound up with the acting human being as the creator and bearer of culture. This is true to a greater extent for primitive peoples, where all areas of human activity are much more closely linked together, than in modern high culture where the individual sectors of activity are specialized to a high degree and accordingly may be treated and investigated separately. Thus if, for practical reasons, in the following tribal description the form of settlement is described under material culture and shamanism under spiritual culture, nevertheless both factors are also of great importance from the sociological point of view. Conversely, family organization, for example, as part of the description of society, is also very closely bound up with the economy and techniques in the primarily material realm, and also with religion.

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C
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2. Demography

Altogether the Tierradentro area embraces about 5,000 square kilometers, of which about 3,000 square kilometers fall in the region north of the Rio Ullucus. Its 18 villages are divided into two municipios (administrative districts) /see the glossary, p.249 /, the southern one of which includes three villages with Inzá as the seat of the administration, while the northern one

/263 cont./

756 fact, even the visionary sight of Thunder are worthless by them-
787 selves, if the shaman does not receive any signs. By means of them
278 the teyu discovers the cause of sickness and the means to be employed for healing it, which always consist of the dispensing of herbs. For this reason every shaman always has his fiber bag with all his medicinal herbs with him, in order to have them at hand
[753] and to be able to apply them at any time. Since, however, an illness does not have a physical cause, according to the opinion of the Paez, the herbs used for healing are not applied in accordance with the medical experiences of the shaman, but solely in accordance with his signs.

756 The herbs used by the shamans are the following (*):
278
137
[127]

*I am taking these, as well as some other data on the shamanism of the Paez, from the excellent summary by S. Bernal Villa (III) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 323/.

ǎndúr, eš (Erythroxylon coca), bičač (Hevea?), čulko (Oxalis, sp.), čáyuts (Scutellaria racemosa Per.), čuwét, fisa, ečyútse čime (Labiada?), /264/ gwepekas (Urera boccifera L.), kwése (Lonchocarpus?), limonsflyo (Cymbopogon citratus), nyika, nyundayuskey, šu (Spagnum sp.), šuwés (Peperomia sp.), šulápe, šupenyí (Peperomia sp.), tátse, táyuske (Peperomia sp.), ul níny (Hibiscus abelmoschus L.), umsim (Myricia acuminata DC. Vell, aff.), vitubítskwe, wáhi (Nicotiana tabacum L.), yakúma, yúskay (Scleria cattarinensis Boeck).

755 Most of these herbs are first chewed by the shaman and then
756 spat over the affected part. If a person is dying and his soul leaves
278 his body from the heart by way of the upper arms, the pulse of the
[774] lower arms, and the finger tips, the herb čáyuts, for example, is spat by the shaman from the finger tips in the direction of the armpits, in order to check the departure of the soul. Only rarely is a tea brewed from the leaves.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

ETHNOGRAPHIC AND LINGUISTIC NOTES ON THE PAEZ INDIANS OF TIERRA ADENTRO, CAUCA, COLOMBIA

By H. PITTIER DE FÁBREGA

Introduction

Very little is known of the ethnology of the aboriginal inhabitants of the western and central cordilleras of Colombia and the intervening broad valley of Cauca. The early historians and chroniclers have left only long lists of more or less confused tribal names, along with the recital of the protracted war of extermination conducted with conscienceless and selfish cruelty by the conquistadores. With few exceptions modern writers have found little or no opportunity to deal with what is left of these interesting people. 121

With special reference to the Paez Indians, who are the subject of these notes, our notions have hitherto been derived almost exclusively from the materials collected by Castillo y Orozco about 1735, and published in 1877 with brief analytical notes by the late Colombian scholar, Señor Don Ezequiel Uricoechea.[1] 127

Early in 1906 the writer visited the section of the central cordillera inhabited by the Paez, staying a few days at two of their principal villages, namely, at Tacueyó, at the headwaters of the Palo river on the western side of the mountains, and at Huila, at the junction of the Paez and San Vicente rivers, on the Indian reservation known as Tierra Adentro. The personnel of the expedition, in addition to the author, with a few friends and two servants, consisted of native Indians, so that good opportunities were afforded for becoming familiar with the Paez language and to gain an insight into native manners and customs. 114 [361]

[1] Eujenio del Castillo i Orozco, *Vocabulario Páez-Castellano, Catecismo, Nociones gramaticales i dos Pláticas*, (publicado) *con Adiciones, Correcciones i un Vocabulario Castellano-Páez*, por Ezequiel Uricoechea. Paris: 1877.

/241/

824 The plants marked with an asterisk were identified by the
[128] Herbario Nal. Colombiano, in particular by Dr. Jesús M.
[137] Idrobo.

[127] For the others, we were guided by the work, Plantas Utiles de Colombia /Useful Plants of Colombia/, by Dr. E. Pérez Arbeláez, published by the Imprenta Nacional de Bogotá in 1947.

75 The té eu and the community. In every culture, medicine
182 performs an eminently humanitarian function. Its nature is
171 sociological. No matter what its methods may be, its purpose is to save human lives. It combats illness, but also prevents it.

75 Among the Paez, medicine cures and prevents. The
182 community and the family perform special ceremonies intended to achieve these two purposes of medicine.

755 When the pest (epidemic) has spread through the com-
*756 munity, threatening its subsistence, the authorities (cabildo)
182 invite the curer to conjure away the danger by performing the
[731] wé ká.

When the illness prevails in a single family, markedly decreasing its members, the eldest invites the curer to perform
[765] the ut ká. After every burial the people must remove the ptans
[783] from their bodies and from the house where the death occurred. The curer is the only one who can do this.

241 The first fruits of plantings made on new lands not culti-
*756 vated before cannot be consumed until the curer has performed
783 the cleansing ceremonies. Thus, it is the curer who defends
182 the family -- preservation of the species -- who purifies the
789 harvests -- preservation of the individual -- and who also defends the community, warding off by means of his conjurations
*756 the epidemics and the individuals who threaten it. In 1952,
789 before an imminent attack by subversive armed groups on the
182 Parcialidad of Santa Rosa, the curer warded it off with maní de montaña /literally, "montaña peanut"/, chewed and blown on the path by which they were to come.

/365 cont./

177 For our outline of acculturation, we understand by diffusion
[121] achieved cultural transmission, and by acculturation cultural trans-
[127] mission in process, terms expounded by Professor Melville J. Herskovits in his book, El Hombre y sus obras /Man and his Works/.

Within Páez culture there is widely diffused, to the point of constituting an integral part of the cultural body, the following economic elements of alien origin and, more concretely, of European origin:

[231] All of the domestic animals with the exception of the
[137] guinea pig, bananas, sugar cane (the variety known as "criolla"), wheat, barley, garlic, coffee, peaches, apples, and oranges, the agricultural implements, the hydraulic mills, sugar mills, the guadua bamboo, and some varieties of pasture grass, such as orejuela /Alchemilla pectinata/, kikuyu, and poa.

177 Throughout the pages of this work, we have emphasized in
361 particular the cultural developments in process, that is to say, the
563 phenomenon of acculturation. It is obvious that this phenomenon has appeared, with greater or lesser intensity, in those parcialidades where there have been created areas of settlement, within which a specific number of "white" families have settled. But the intensity of the acculturative phenomenon does not rest merely on this fact or on the number of families who live by the norms of Western culture. San Andrés, for example, had its settlement area established for all practical purposes in 1928 and now reckons with more than 20 "white" families, with its nearness to the settlement of Inzá, and, for nearly 15 years, with the Parque Arqueológico of Tierradentro, to some extent a tourist attraction, and yet the process of acculturation is minimal and cannot be compared with the intensity of the same phenomenon in Mosoco, where the settlement area /366/ was created in 1923 and where
177 nowadays there are not more than 12 families of "whites." In
[487] Mosoco there is another factor: the riding path that joins the
[491] municipio of Belalcázar with that of Silvia, a road that has existed since pre-conquest times. Mosoco has been and still
[628] continues to be the mandatory stopping place. In addition, this parcialidad has had intensive contacts with the Guambiano group and the Páez group from the other side of the Cordillera, who are more acculturated,

?:Hernández de Alba E-5,+(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

101 from the *Páez*, the *Páez* from the *Pijao*, the *Andaqui* from the *Tama*
131 of Bajo Huila.

This extremely varied habitat offers a great range of food resources
241 and of possibilities for agricultural crops. In the high, cold moun-
133 tains and altiplanos, between 2,500 and 3,000 m. (about 8,200 to 9,800
132 ft.) elevation, where the mean temperature is 11 to 15° C., the principal crops were potatoes (*Solanum andigenum*), ullucos (*Ullucus tuberosus*), and cubios (*Tropaeolum tuberosum*). In the medium zone, between 1,600 and 2,500 m. (about 5,200 to 8,200 feet), with a temperature of 15 to 20° C., the main crop was maize (*Zea mays*), but arracacha (*Arracacia esculenta*), quinoa (*Chenopodium quinoa*), and sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*), were also cultivated. In the low, warm zone between 500 to 1,600 m. (about 1,600 to 5,200 feet), with a temperature of 20 to 28° C., the main crops were maize, sweet manioc or yuca (*Manihot utilissima*) and beans (*Phaseolus vulgaris*).

136 The cold lands also produced in addition to these principal crops,
[241] maize, squash (*Cucurbita maxima*), wild fruits, birds including ducks (Anatidae), doves (Columbidae), guans (*Penelope*), mammals such as the spectacled bear (*Tremarctos ornatus majori*), and other small, wild beasts like the armadillo (*Dasypus novemcinctus*), guaratinajo (*Dinomys branickii*), guatin (*Dasyprocta fuliginosa candelensis*), and
[231] small fish from the rivers and lakes. The guinea pig (curí or cuy,
[262] *Cavia aperea*), which is prolific in all the climates, was the only domesticated animal and is an important source of food of the modern Indians.

241 The inhabitants of the medium, humid zone were more favored by nature in that crops grew faster and in greater variety. In addition to the plants named, they grew achira (*Canna edulis*), auyama (*Cucurbita verrucosa*), beans (frijoles), and peanuts (*Arachis hypogaea*).
262 Among the great variety of wild foods were fruits, granadilla (*Passi-*
137 *flora ligularis*), guayaba (*Psidium*), guama (*Inga* spp.), avocados
136 (*Persea Americana*), papaya (*Carica papaya*), guanabana (*Annona muricata*), and chirimoya (*Annona cherimolia*), and such animals as deer (*Mazama rufina*, *M. gualea*, and *Odocoileus virginianus consul*), rabbits (*Sylvilagus fulvescens*), guinea pigs, various rodents, and large birds, such as chachalacas (*Ortalis*) and guans (*Penelope*).

Additional foods of the low, warm regions were sweet potatoes, beans (frijoles), and yams (*Dioscorea alata*); such fruits as pineapples (*Ananas sativus*), papaya, custard apple (*Annona squamosa*), cactus fruit (*Opuntia* spp.), and plantains (*Musa paradisaica*); and large fish from the rivers.[4]

[127] [4] The scientific names of the plants were taken from Cortés, 1919. The mammals were tentatively identified by Dr. Remington Kellogg, of the Division of Mammals, U. S. National Museum, and the birds by Dr. Alexander Wetmore, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5)/(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

881 heights of Cuetando, where they built a hut and planted a miniature field as proof of their masculine aptitude.

797 **Education.**—Today the Indians are educated principally by their
871 parents in the customs and tasks pertaining to each sex. Some boys
[868] and a few girls are sent to the few missionary schools, where they are given religious instruction and are taught Spanish, arithmetic, geography, the history of Colombia, and modern embroidery or light
[562] basketwork. The *Páez* are reluctant to send their daughters to the schools because they feel that women should keep the traditions of
[177] their people. The missionary schools strive to change the native language and the cultural traditions which have given the Indian community social cohesion.

595 **Marriage.**[11]—Formerly polygyny was prevalent, but now Catholi-
[77] cism has imposed monogamy. The Indians continue, however, to
583 practice trial marriage (amaño). A marriage is arranged as follows:

584 The bride is selected by the young man's parents or by himself. His parents and two witnesses or godparents then visit her house to request her for the groom. They also serve as advisors to the young woman, in case she disapproves the marriage. The visitors carry half-filled bottles of rum (aguardiente) and some special garments for the girl. The young man's father offers the girl's father a half-bottle, acceptance of which means, as usual among the *Páez*, that the second party is well disposed toward the proposal and the negotiations may proceed. If the girl's mother agrees, the boy's mother presents her a half-bottle of liquor. The godfather or witness gives another half-bottle to the girl's father and the
583 godmother gives one to the mother. The visitors now leave, taking the girl, who then begins a year of trial marriage, during which the young man seeks proof that the girl is able to bear children, is active, cooks well, can weave, and
585 can cultivate the land. After the trial period, the man may return the girl to her parents or they marry in the Catholic Church, holding a feast which, like all
527 such celebrations, is called a "cuido." The couple and their parents and godparents are accompanied by an orchestra (chirimía) to the house where the feast is to be held. Here the bride puts on a modern dress, a ribbon on her hair, necklaces, and earrings, while the groom is with his godfather. As the guests arrive, chicha is distributed frequently, music is played, and then there is a feast of thick soup, generally with chicken, cooked yuca, arracacha, and roast or baked meat. In the afternoon, after more music and chicha drinking, the "refresco," really a banquet or social communion, is served. Six bottles of wine made from cane molasses, cinnamon, and cloves, and cake are given to the bride, groom, godmother,
[782] and godfather, who give some to everyone present. A prayer, led by the head of
[775] the house, then asks the souls of the dead to bless the marriage and give permission to dance. First, the godfather dances with the bride, then the godmother with the groom, after which everyone dances. The feast lasts 5 days, depending on the wealth of the family. Chicha is served and accepted with the phrase, "May God pay you, compadrito, for accompanying us. Accompany us more."

764 **Death.**—At a death, the family formerly buried the deceased inside the house with his possessions, and abandoned it. Some communities, however, preferred to cremate the body or dry it over the fire. The

[114] [11] I thank my wife and companion, Helena Ospina de Hernández, for her research in 1936 on matrimonial matters.
[127]

/167 cont./

601 Seemingly there is no terminology for designating the older and younger brothers of the generation of EGO, although in practice this distinction stands out. EGO is obliged to greet older brothers and the older members of the community in general, and there also exists the obligation of being greeted by the younger brothers and, in general, by all the younger members of the community.

Among the adults of both sexes, married and with children, the use of teknonymous forms is general.

114 /168/ The only two studies of kinship systems made in Colombia are from the pen of Professor Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff working among the Iroka and the Kogi. That of the Iroka was [104] done with the collaboration of Alexander L. Clark. With the intention of facilitating subsequent comparative studies on the subject, we have adopted his system for presenting the materials, especially the abbreviations of the kinship terms in the Spanish language /the English equivalents for the abbreviations of the Spanish terms are given on p. 10 /.

● 127 Before finishing with this brief introduction, we wish to
128 place on record our sincere thanks to Señor Víctor Bedoya for his voluntary transcription of unpublished documents from the Archivo Nacional relating to the Páez, and to Professor Marcos Fulop for his valuable observations and opportune suggestions which brought much light to obscure sections of our work.

Analysis of Kinship Terms

601

Consanguineous Relatives

A--EGO's Generation:

a) Masculine EGO: Brothers and sons of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, are grouped in a single category and classified as brothers (iaktê).

b) Sisters and daughters of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, are grouped in a single category and classified as sisters (Pesh).

1: Nachtigall--1 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/8/

Foreword by the Editor

121 This second volume of our series of studies contains a portion of the research which my collaborator, Dr. Horst Nachtigall, was able to carry out in 1952/53 in Colombia. The volume testifies to the fact that our scientific work at the Institut für Völkerkunde of the University of Mainz is not limited to desk research. Rather, we endeavor, in keeping with the scope of the problems in our field, to gather new observations in various parts of the world through fieldwork and in this way to help fill the large gaps in our knowledge of peoples living close to nature. Such research must necessarily also extend to the prehistoric evidence of human culture in the areas visited. Thanks to his extensive preoccupation with the special field of pre- and ancient history, Dr. Nachtigall was in a position to obtain the present material from the Colombian archeological province of Tierradentro.

Being occupied myself at the present time with ethnographic work in another corner of the world, I am particularly happy about the publication of this first volume of results from the fieldwork of our Mainz Institut für Völkerkunde. I thank [122] our publisher, Dr. H. Wyss, and the Deutsche Forschungsgemein- [128] schaft for their kind understanding and their active help, which have made this publication possible.

Gilgit, Pakistan, May 23, 1955. Adolf Friedrich

/9/

Words of Thanks by the Author

The description of the archeology and ethnology of Tierradentro presented in the following represents the first part of the scientific results of the Colombian journey undertaken with my wife, which was instigated by the Director of the Institut für Völkerkunde of the University of Mainz, Herr Prof. Dr. Adolf Friedrich, and carried out through his negotiations with German and Colombian authorities. The course of the journey and the preliminary summary of scientific results have already been published elsewhere.

/10 cont./

128 [114] For assistance in drawing up the manuscript, I should like first of all to thank my wife, who accompanied me on all my trips in Colombia, recorded the field research there stenographically, and has attended to transcribing the manuscript. I thank Herr Prof. Dr. E. L. Rapp, Mainz, for his friendly advice with regard to the transcription of the Paez language, and Herr Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Geilmann, Mainz, for the roentgenographic examination of the prehistoric teeth and bones available from the grave chambers of Tierradentro. Here, too, I should like to thank the artist of the Institut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte of the University of Mainz, Fräulein Margot Kunzmann, for the technical drawings and maps, and the Herrn. cand. phil. Wolfgang Lindig for proofreading.

122 [128] The Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, which had already financed my journey both ways and granted a considerable allowance for working up the scientific results, also assumed part of the printing costs for this publication. For this I should like to express my respectful gratitude to the President of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. For public and private financial and moral support I must thank Herr Ministerial Director Prof. Dr. Hans Becker and Ministerial Counselor Dr. Otto Wegner of the Ministry of Public Worship and Education /Kultusministerium/ of the Rhineland-Palatinate, the Chief Burgomaster of the city of Mainz, Herr Franz Stein, the Curator of the University of Mainz, Herr Fritz Eichholz, and the Chairman of the Supervisory Council of the Dykerhoff Portland-Zementwerke AG., Herr Consul Alexander v. Engelberg.

Mainz, October 1, 1954. H. N.

Colombia SC/
Tierradentro

/103 cont./

128 [127] Since, therefore, a total description of the culture of the Paez does not yet exist, a tribal monograph on the Paez is herewith presented in the following, in which, besides the data from my own investigations, the results of the earlier investigators have been incorporated. Much will have escaped me -- as a result of the short time at my disposal and the inaccessibility of the population -- much that was part of the domestic economy /104/ of Paez culture has already been destroyed as a result of advancing civilization and is therefore lost forever. In the following description of the cultural heritage of the Paez a division has been made, for working purposes, with regard to material and spiritual culture and with regard to the description of social forms. In practice a sharp line of demarcation cannot normally be drawn within a culture between these aspects of it, since these three areas do not lead a separate existence, but are closely bound up with the acting human being as the creator and bearer of culture. This is true to a greater extent for primitive peoples, where all areas of human activity are much more closely linked together, than in modern high culture where the individual sectors of activity are specialized to a high degree and accordingly may be treated and investigated separately. Thus if, for practical reasons, in the following tribal description the form of settlement is described under material culture and shamanism under spiritual culture, nevertheless both factors are also of great importance from the sociological point of view. Conversely, family organization, for example, as part of the description of society, is also very closely bound up with the economy and techniques in the primarily material realm, and also with religion.

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Altogether the Tierradentro area embraces about 5,000 square kilometers, of which about 3,000 square kilometers fall in the region north of the Rio Ullucus. Its 18 villages are divided into two municipios (administrative districts) /see the glossary, p.249 /, the southern one of which includes three villages with Inzá as the seat of the administration, while the northern one

/225 cont./

193 inquiries with reference to examples that were easily comprehensible.
126 If these lay outside of the context just discussed, I was often requested to provide the appropriate form myself, which I always succeeded in doing with the help of my examples, to the joyful surprise of the Paez. Their confirmation in each case, that "one can say it that way, too," permits me to set down the following
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● 128 example, in the second person singular the endings -eg and -eng, in the third person plural the endings -yin or -yen. In the present, the first and third persons singular are generally the same. The personal pronouns for all forms are placed before the verb. In the model verbs the feminine form of the first person singular and the various forms of the second person singular were omitted in favor of the simple masculine forms.

193 ōpya, "to live"

Present:	ātya ōpon	Future:	ātya apohípt
	inç ōponeng		inç opohípeneng
	kya ōpon		kya opohípa
	kweš ōpontkaw		kweš opohíptaw
	kyáñweš ōpotyin		kyáñweš opohíptyin

Perfect:	ātya ōpokot	or:	ópnast	(óñnaha)
	inç ōpoing	or:	opnásing	(óñnaha)
	kya ōpok	or:	ópnasa	(óñnaha)
	kweš ōpotaw	or:	ópnastaw	(óñnaha)
	kyáñweš ōpotç	or:	ópnastyin	(óñnaha)

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

/291 cont./

773 They are in fact legendary personages who go beyond the
[186] boundaries of legend to enter the territory of myth, not only
[628] by their symbolism, but in their dramatic force, their sociological framework, and their cultural function.

The mythology gravitates around the behavior of the natives, their attitudes toward the whites, the organization of the cabildo, illnesses, and death. Of Juan Chiracol, a 23-year-old informant says: "He warns when the mob is coming, he no longer warns, so." And of Thunder, it is said that he almost killed a padre because he went to the montaña to get wood to board up the school. "Thunder was defending the
538 wood," they say. The tales were always told around the fire,
773 with men, women, and children present, who sometimes laughed, at other times kept silent, but always corroborated, corrected, elaborated, or confirmed. The storytellers sometimes put on a serious face, accompanied their tale with mimicry, and once in a while they would burst into mocking laughter, as if to signify that what they were saying was worthless and they did not believe it. I was soon able to ascertain
115 their sociological and cultural value. The myths and tales
773 were collected with the help of an interpreter, a mestizo from San Andrés, about 35 /292/ years old, tall, muscular, quiet in manner, intelligent, calculating, with great charm and a knowledge of Paez and the Spanish language; he was familiar with the customs of the Calderunos, esteemed by them, and
773 skilled in his questioning. We present below the myths and
• 128 tales collected, leaving the other aspects of the culture for presentation in a complete monograph.

1. Thunder

*539 The old people related that at one time the area was full of Pijao. Thunder lived in Sukafi. In view of the growing number of Pijao, he decided to kill them. He stood on a tall stone that is to be found there, threw his lariat /boleadora/

/241/

824 The plants marked with an asterisk were identified by the
● [128] Herbario Nal. Colombiano, in particular by Dr. Jesús M.
[137] Idrobo.

[127] For the others, we were guided by the work, Plantas Utiles de Colombia /Useful Plants of Colombia/, by Dr. E. Pérez Arbeláez, published by the Imprenta Nacional de Bogotá in 1947.

75 The té eu and the community. In every culture, medicine
182 performs an eminently humanitarian function. Its nature is
171 sociological. No matter what its methods may be, its purpose is to save human lives. It combats illness, but also prevents it.

75 Among the Paez, medicine cures and prevents. The
182 community and the family perform special ceremonies intended to achieve these two purposes of medicine.

755 When the pest (epidemic) has spread through the com-
*756 munity, threatening its subsistence, the authorities (cabildo)
182 invite the curer to conjure away the danger by performing the
[731] wé ká.

When the illness prevails in the single family, markedly decreasing its members, the eldest invites the curer to perform
[765] the ut ká. After every burial the people must remove the ptans
[783] from their bodies and from the house where the death occurred. The curer is the only one who can do this.

241 The first fruits of plantings made on new lands not culti-
*756 vated before cannot be consumed until the curer has performed
783 the cleansing ceremonies. Thus, it is the curer who defends
182 the family -- preservation of the species -- who purifies the
789 harvests -- preservation of the individual -- and who also defends the community, warding off by means of his conjurations
*756 the epidemics and the individuals who threaten it. In 1952,
789 before an imminent attack by subversive armed groups on the
182 Parcialidad of Santa Rosa, the curer warded it off with maní de montaña /literally, "montaña peanut"/, chewed and blown on the path by which they were to come.

/293 cont./

221 on the fincas of the "whites" (1). The social life and the re-
[166]
[464]
[192]
[197]
[128]

1. Generic term with which the natives designate all those who observe the norms of western culture, without any distinction as to race. For convenience we have adopted this usage, putting the term in quotation marks.

ligious fiestas are frequent during this period. The work is done /294/ with devotion and perseverance. It is not done in haste, but there is no resting either.

423 Every Páez family has its lands. This is its ambition. The
[183] primary source of its security. Every crag has an owner whose title has been won by the sweat of his brow. Every crag harbors a rancho that shelters a family. Every inch of land is passionately
[571] defended by the native. The disputes stirred up by this fact are not few. In like manner the cabildos are never so zealous as in the defense of the lands of the parcialidad /a territorial division/.
[648] The areas of settlement /areas of colonization by whites/ are spearheads in the very heart of the community. They were established against the full opposition of the natives. On the other hand, the defense of the land and the prevention of contamination by foreign peoples are postulates of the doctrine. The distribution of the houses suggests in advance the profusion of paths and private property.

When they win the scarce land, the distances and difficul-
[464] ties that loom are not important. They are good colonizers, and it is rare that persons who lack land hire themselves out as permanent peons or become tenant farmers on the great haciendas.
[181] They prefer independence above all.

311 To study the economy of the Páez, certain factors of a
133 geographico-physical and cultural nature cannot be overlooked. They are:

1. Thermic levels. The lands now occupied by the Páez of Tierradentro correspond to the thermic levels of cold and temperate. The contour line corresponding to 2,000 meters

/299 cont./

245 year. Traders in Silvia sell the crops at up to 14 pesos an arroba.
[439] Lame produces perhaps the best peaches, but they are not suitable for export because they are easily damaged. There are also numerous plantings in Tumbichukue and Calderas, although they do not have much care.

247 Floriculture does not exist among the Páez, and they cannot understand the labor that the "whites" invest in their gardens. They are always of the opinion that food plants should be sown on such lands.

241 Among the cultivated plants, they regard as native maize ("the /300/ Pijao had maize"), the hartón /large-sized/ plantain ("the Pijao also had it"), frijoles, mejicano /squash, Cucurbita pepo/, cabbages, and the cane "criolla" /Creole, native/, while coca, they say, seems rather to have come from the "whites."

241 Species cultivated and zones of cultivation

137 Here is a list of the food plants cultivated by the Páez (5):

192

●[128]

5. We thank the Herbario Nacional Colombiano, especially Dr. Jesús M. Idrobo, for the scientific identification of the plants.

/311 cont./

243 Wheat is cultivated with special emphasis in the areas of Lame, El Cuartel, La Troja, and Vitoncó. It is destined primarily for sale. It is planted along with maize, although there are already clearings intended exclusively for its cultiva-
[412] tion. They reap it with knives, rarely with sickles. They do not bind it into sheaves, but make bundles and hang it from the eaves or beams of the house. When dry, they thresh it with wooden clubs /masas/ and separate out its husks by exposing it to the
[256] wind. They grind it at once in hydraulic mills built by them themselves and take it to market. They have no sifters to separate the bran.

128 Below /see pp. 25-33 / we present a statistical table on
241 the production of the various species cultivated by 25 families
433 of Mosoco, 8 of Lame, and 15 of San Andrés including that of
[563] some mestizos and whites, marked with an asterisk, in order to make some comparisons and to estimate the volume of production. We specify the percentage of the production intended for sale. For obvious reasons, we have omitted the names of the family heads, identifying them solely by number in order. The statistical data correspond to the production in the year 1953.
[124] In spite of the fact that this type of investigation presents some
[123] difficulties, owing to the reluctance of people to reveal the data on their production they are in general completely trustworthy, since they were collected after a firm interpersonal relationship had been established between the investigator and the person investigated. In addition, they appreciably agree with our observations noted in "General observations" on Páez agriculture.

/312/ Potato cultivation in Mosoco

244 We have deliberately omitted anything about the cultivation of potatoes in order to deal with it more thoroughly.

The methods of cultivation differ somewhat from those commonly practiced in the other parcialidades. The soil is prepared in beds that follow the direction of the slope. The

[Mosoco]

/313/

128 244 43 We present below a statistical table on the potato production of 25 families. Nearly all of them have two harvests per year. The first row represents the November planting and the second one that of May and June. For those who have only one harvest a year, the planting is in the month of November.

We establish, in arrobas, the amount planted, the amount harvested, and that intended for sale and for consumption. We specify in Colombian pesos the value received from sales, an estimate of the amount alloted for consumption, the total value of the harvests, and the costs. An arroba of potatoes is sold for four pesos, on the average, at the place of harvest. In Silvia it is quoted at six. The quantity left for consumption is valued [465] at two pesos per arroba, a standard price for everyone. Costs include only the expenses for mingas, wage labor, and contract labor. Family labor is excluded. We also determine the percentage of the total harvest allotted for sale.

/323 cont./

231 There are no animal "pets," and none of the domestic animals serve as playthings or are regarded simply as "pretty." They all have a utilitarian purpose.

[556] The possession of domestic animals is a symbol of wealth. The owner of large tracts of land does not regard himself as rich, while the one who has domestic animals does.

231 There are commercial transactions with animals among the
435 natives. The prices are very low. "The Indian is poor," they
438 say, "he has no silver." For this reason, animals that among the whites would bring 200 pesos or more are sold among the natives for half the price or even less.

233 This state of affairs hardly exists among the natives of the
232 parcialidad of Mosoco. There are already ranches dedicated
[246] solely to livestock-raising. Some are planted with pasture grasses, especially poa. There is a marked tendency to improve the livestock, in quality as well as quantity. They know the excellence of the Norman and Holstein among the cattle and the Merino
231 among the sheep. They have special breeds of hogs and chickens.
[232] Many /324/ own mules and splendid riding horses. Commercial
[438] transactions involving animals bring a just price even among the
[782] natives themselves. Some of them are marvelous traders. They still retain the practice of making an offering to the Duende when
[233] slaughtering cattle or pigs. On the savannas of the Paramo de Moras the natives have magnificent herds. Livestock-raising in Mosoco is thus an industry at the height of development that deserves full attention on the part of the authorities.

23 In the statistical table that we present below one can observe the expansion of the livestock industry in Mosoco and com-
[128] pare it with those of Lame, San Andrés, and Calderas. The owners are natives, except for the whites and mestizos marked with an asterisk.

8: Bernal Villa--1 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/165/

600 Bases for the Study of the Social Organization of the Páez

By
Segundo Bernal Villa.

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124 /167/ The material for the study of the kinship system of
128 the Páez was collected in the month of May, 1953, thanks to the
[114] enthusiastic collaboration of Victoriano Piñakué, 18 years of age,
[115] bilingual, and a native of the parcialidad /a village and the lands
belonging to it/ of Calderas. With this material we made an
analysis of the kinship system, which we present below without
any major modifications. It was later discussed with several na-
tive men of the parcialidad of San Andrés, who found it to be
correct. At the end of May, 1954, we had the opportunity to
discuss it again in Mosoco with two male informants of the lo-
[197] cality. They found practically no phonological differences, in
spite of the fact that the Páez spoken in that parcialidad showed
some different nuances in relation to that spoken in the other
124 parcialidades. They made only one fundamental observation,
128 which we accepted, since we consider it to be convincing. It
601 refers to the terms used to designate the sons and daughters of the
brothers and sisters of EGO. According to Piñakué, they are
designated with the Spanish terms: sobrino and sobrina /nephew
and niece/. Jorge Mulcué (Mosqueño /a person from Mosoco/
58 years old) affirmed that they are designated with the words kué
or wásak (son and daughter) preceded by the possessive my (anji).
601 Men and women use the same terms for both the paternal
and the maternal line, with certain exceptions, subordinating the
real degree of kinship to the generation. The Páez system of
kinship terminology is, therefore, classificatory and bilateral.

/167 cont./

601 Seemingly there is no terminology for designating the older and younger brothers of the generation of EGO, although in practice this distinction stands out. EGO is obliged to greet older brothers and the older members of the community in general, and there also exists the obligation of being greeted by the younger brothers and, in general, by all the younger members of the community.

Among the adults of both sexes, married and with children, the use of teknonymous forms is general.

114 /168/ The only two studies of kinship systems made in Colombia are from the pen of Professor Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff working among the Iroka and the Kogi. That of the Iroka was [104] done with the collaboration of Alexander L. Clark. With the intention of facilitating subsequent comparative studies on the subject, we have adopted his system for presenting the materials, especially the abbreviations of the kinship terms in the Spanish language /the English equivalents for the abbreviations of the Spanish terms are given on p. 10 /.

127 Before finishing with this brief introduction, we wish to
128 place on record our sincere thanks to Señor Víctor Bedoya for his voluntary transcription of unpublished documents from the Archivo Nacional relating to the Páez, and to Professor Marcos Fulop for his valuable observations and opportune suggestions which brought much light to obscure sections of our work.

Analysis of Kinship Terms

601

Consanguineous Relatives

A--EGO's Generation:

a) Masculine EGO: Brothers and sons of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, are grouped in a single category and classified as brothers (Iaktê).

b) Sisters and daughters of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, are grouped in a single category and classified as sisters (Pesh).

361 /295 cont./
311 strong political groupings had their principal seats at Tálaga,
643 Suin, and Avirama (3). "The place of residence of a cacique
175
[622]
[103]

3. Hernández de Alba, Gr. "The Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia," pp. 915-960.

constituted a sort of settlement or gathering place, most of which remain today as Indian pueblos and retain their names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima," Chitoquez, Cuetando, Yaquivá, Pisimbalá, and Itaibe, all of them located at the
361 temperate thermal level. It is precisely along the course of
311 the Páez River and along the middle and lower courses of its
161 tributaries that the Páez population is now concentrated.

● 13 2. Physiography. Merely a single glance at the wild geography of Tierradentro will give an idea of the pattern of life of the Páez people. The physiography of the entire course of the Páez River, from Irlanda to Itaibe, with nearly all of its tributaries, is compressed into profiled accidents. It might be said that it forms a "thermic chimney," Professor Guhl's expression. It belongs to the temperate thermal level. This is the land of the great slopes covered with natural pastures and of the short, narrow vegas with fertile soils. There are those who speak of the fertility of all the soil of Tierradentro, classifying it, consequently, as a privileged zone. The concept proves to be deceptive, because it does not take into account the physiographic factor. We find the usable vegetal layer /296/ only in the extremely narrow vegas of the rivers, ravines, and streams, and in places
13 where the topography becomes a little smoother. The left bank
241 of the Páez River, from Toez to La Plata, is usable for agricul-
[233] ture and stock-raising only with difficulty, given the brutality of the slopes. Every tributary that enters on this side is a deep ravine isolated by ridges running from northeast to southwest. On the other hand, the left bank has important vegas. It is there that plantains, manioc, sugar cane, coca, arracacha, maize, and lately coffee and guadua bamboo are grown. The soils are essentially acid, and the Gramineae grow in abundance

/296 cont./

13 241 and are of very good quality. The wheat and coffee from the municipio of Inzá enjoy a deserved reputation in the republic for the quantity and quality of their crops.

133 134 The Páez River receives approximately 32 watercourses on the left bank, and 17 on the right. It is easy to imagine the ruggedness of the terrain if we bear in mind the fact that each [241] one of them forms an impassable ravine. It is also easy to imagine the magnitude of the erosion, assisted by factors of a cultural nature, such as the systematic battle against herbaceous vegetation by means of the system of annual fires. The violence of the wild waters denudes and even forms veritable rivers of stone, such as are seen at the place called Vicanenga in the municipio of Páez. The streams and torrents sometimes swell to extraordinary proportions. In 1949 the Topa torrent completely washed away its small tributary valley, on which stood the hamlet known by the name of Brisas, now Valencia, a flood which was repeated in April of this year.

241 133 134 [161] Of course, the extent of the workable land does not keep pace with the increase in population. The physiography of the cold thermal level, on the other hand, spreads out and flattens a little, the horizon broadens, the patches of arboreal vegetation increase, and the plots multiply, like veritable chessboards in Mosoco, San José, and Vitoncó. Their soils nourish maize, wheat, potatoes, ullucos, nasturtium, and garlic. On the dividing lines between the plots there rise, like green walls, the plantings of cabuya.

161 361 311 3. Population density. The growth of the indigenous population in general, and of the "white" one in particular, has compelled the former to utilize lands increasingly more difficult, steep, /297/ and sterile, or to emigrate in search of uncultivated land. As early as the time of the Conquest we find notes on the spread of the Páez people to the western slopes of the Central Cordillera, forming such nuclei as Pitayó, Tacueyó, and San Francisco. Nowadays, we find Páez groups on the eastern slopes of the Western Cordillera in the department of Cauca, in the departments of Huila and Tolima, and in the Cauca Valley, as Páez

7tHernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

THE HIGHLAND TRIBES OF SOUTHERN COLOMBIA[1]

By Gregorio Hernández de Alba

INTRODUCTION

Between the *Esmeralda* and *Cara* in Ecuador and the *Quimbaya* in the modern Department of Caldas to the north, the conquistadors, especially Governor Don Sebastián de Belalcázar, found a large number of tribes of different languages and cultures (map 1, *No. 24*; map 7). These tribes occupied the mountains of the complicated Andean system, the valleys of the many rivers, and the slopes toward the low, jungle lands of southeastern Colombia. Because of the fertility of the soils, the mild climate, which was largely cool and healthy, the rich gold and silver mines, and the situation of the lands between the important Colonial centers of Santa Fé (now Bogotá) and Quito, which they were founding, the conquistadors greatly desired to conquer and pacify the tribes, as the Spanish chroniclers and historians call the extermination of the Indians. Some peoples, like the *Pasto* living in the present Department of Nariño, north of Ecuador, readily submitted to the overlordship of the encomenderos and hacendados, and adopted their customs and beliefs. Others, like the *Andaquí*, changed their habitat, and moved down from the region of San Agustín and the headwaters of the Magdalena River eastward to the hot jungles, where they were safe from enslavement. Some, like the *Páez* and *Moguex*, protected by the ruggedness of the Sierras of their territory, resisted the Spaniards and succeeded in large measure in perpetuating their traditions. Others, however, like the *Pijao*, who were seasoned warriors, fought bloodily against the White invaders until they were totally exterminated.

P 175 648 P PO [13] PO [648] [177] P [166] P

The first historians of the conquest of this part of America[2] held different opinions on the cultural and linguistic relationships between these tribes. Some claimed that the dialects differed so greatly from one tribe to another as to be mutually unintelligible; others maintained that all the peoples of the Andean area of Colombia had the same cul-

175 197 114

[1] This study was prepared in Washington, D. C., where the Bureau of American Ethnology, of the Smithsonian Institution, the Library of Congress, and the Library of the Pan American Union facilitated my investigation as previously the Government of Colombia, my wife (who was also my companion in field work), and my friends, the *Páez* Indians of Tierradentro, had furthered it.

[2] Ciesa de León, 1932; Aguado, 1916; Simón, 1882-82; Oviedo y Valdés, 1851-55; Velasco, 1841-44.

P [122]

/102 cont./

175 glossary, p. 248/, and, by means of reservation laws, protected
177 the Paez from the gradually advancing colonists. In this way the
648 Paez were able to preserve their language and customs to a con-
[178] siderable extent, in contrast to the other mountain tribes of
Colombia, who have long since been absorbed in the Spanish-
175 Colombian culture. In the struggles for independence from the
648 Spanish crown under Simon Bolivar from 1812 to 1824, the Paez
fought for their liberation on the republican side under Gregorio
Calambás. Their leader was captured and shot. After the
victorious termination of the struggles for independence, Gregorio
Calambás became one of the martyrs of Colombian independence (*).

* According to V. A. Bedoya, P. J. Ramirez Sendoya, and G. Hernandez de Alba (VII).

175 The Pijao perished like the Guanaca. After having oc-
101 cupied, before the Conquista, almost the entire area of the
648 present-day department of Tolima east of the Central Cordillera,
[131] as the eastern neighbors of the Quimbaya, they perished in
countless battles with the Spaniards. As late as the eighteenth
century, remnants of them lived in the valley of the Rio Negro
de Narvaez, as neighbors of the Paez. They, called Bemb by the
Paez, as well as the Guanaca, spoke languages that differed
from the Paez. They could not understand one another.

178 Besides the Paez, the culture of the Guambiano, a
101 neighboring tribe called Mogweš by the Paez, has been preserved
114 to a certain extent up to the present day. The Guambiano in-
habit the west side of the Central Cordillera and today live in
the valley of the Piendamó around Silvia. The life and customs
of his tribe have been recently represented by the Guambiano
Francisco Tumiña Pillumbe in a number of very instructive /103/
drawings, each of which was provided with a brief text by
Gregorio Hernandez de Alba.

/320 cont./

105 We are therefore obliged to regard the presence of the Paez in
172 their present settlement areas of Tierradentro as subsequent to the
174 archeological culture. Whether, as later immigrants within a larger population movement, they were the destroyers of the archeological culture, or whether they settled on the sites of the archeological culture only in the course of their wars with the
105 Spaniards cannot be clarified at the present time. /321/ The
172 latter assumption is corroborated by the fact that the reports of
174 the early Spaniards about the tribes that they encountered and
114 about their geographical position are not always clear. For exam-
● 131 ple, P. Manuel Rodriquez (1684) has the Paez living in the Páramo de las Papas, the páramo west of San Agustín, in which
101 rise the Magdalena, Cauca, and Caqueta. It is also remarkable
105 that the first Spanish reports do not mention the Guambiano, the
114 present-day western neighbors of the Paez. The assumption that
172 the Paez were affiliated with a newly immigrated, war-like
174 population is corroborated by the fact that the tribe of the Andaki /Andaqui/ living in the culture area of San Agustín at the time of the Conquista also had nothing to do with the archeological culture, but may possibly be regarded as the destroyers of it.

VI. List of Foreign and Technical Terms

104

Alcalde	Colombian designation for the burgomaster of a town or head of a district. Also the designation for local native authorities.
Ají	Very pungent mixture of ají pepper with onions and other spices.
Arroba	Spanish measure of weight of 12 1/2 kilograms.
Cabildo	Colombian community council. Among the Paez the designation for the democratically chosen village council.
Chaquira	Columbian designation for glass bead.
Chicha	(pronounced tschitscha) Native beer. Made of sugar cane among the Paez, of maize among most of the other Andean Indians, usually made of manioc among the South American Forest Indians.

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1. Colombia

1/1 [more lengthy descriptions of each figure and illustration in this section will be found in cat. 116, pp. 295-303-

1: Nachtigall--252 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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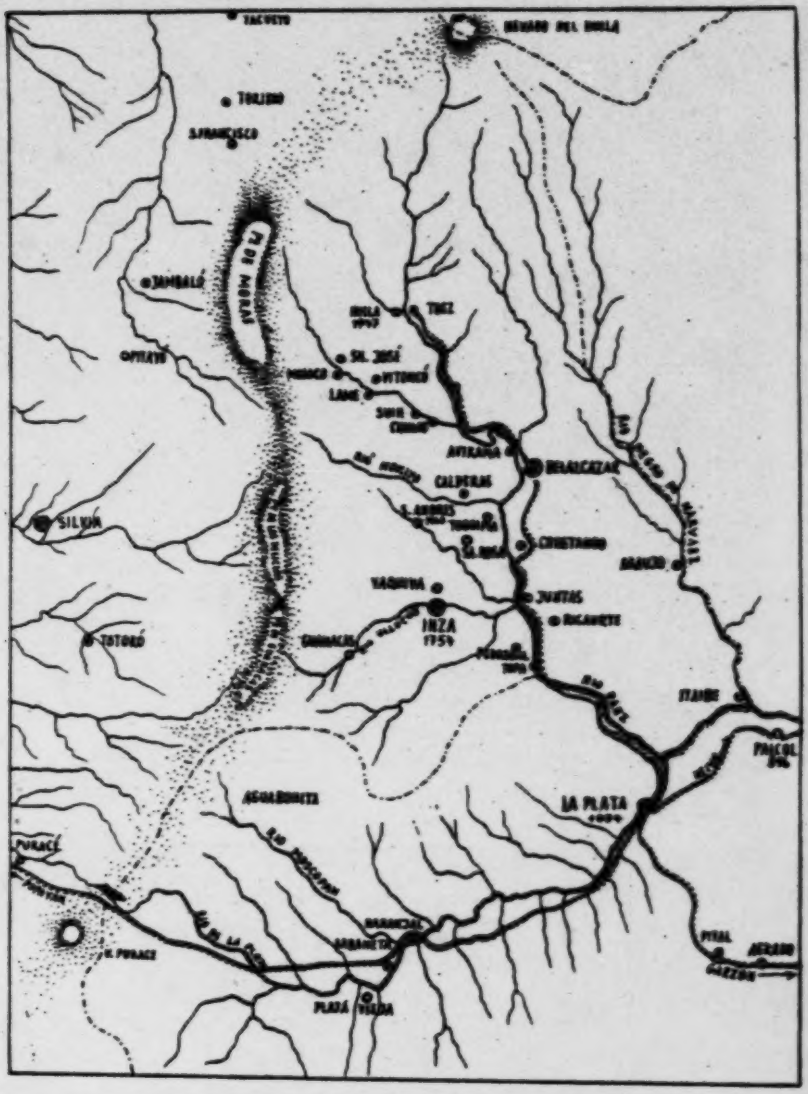

2. Tierradentro

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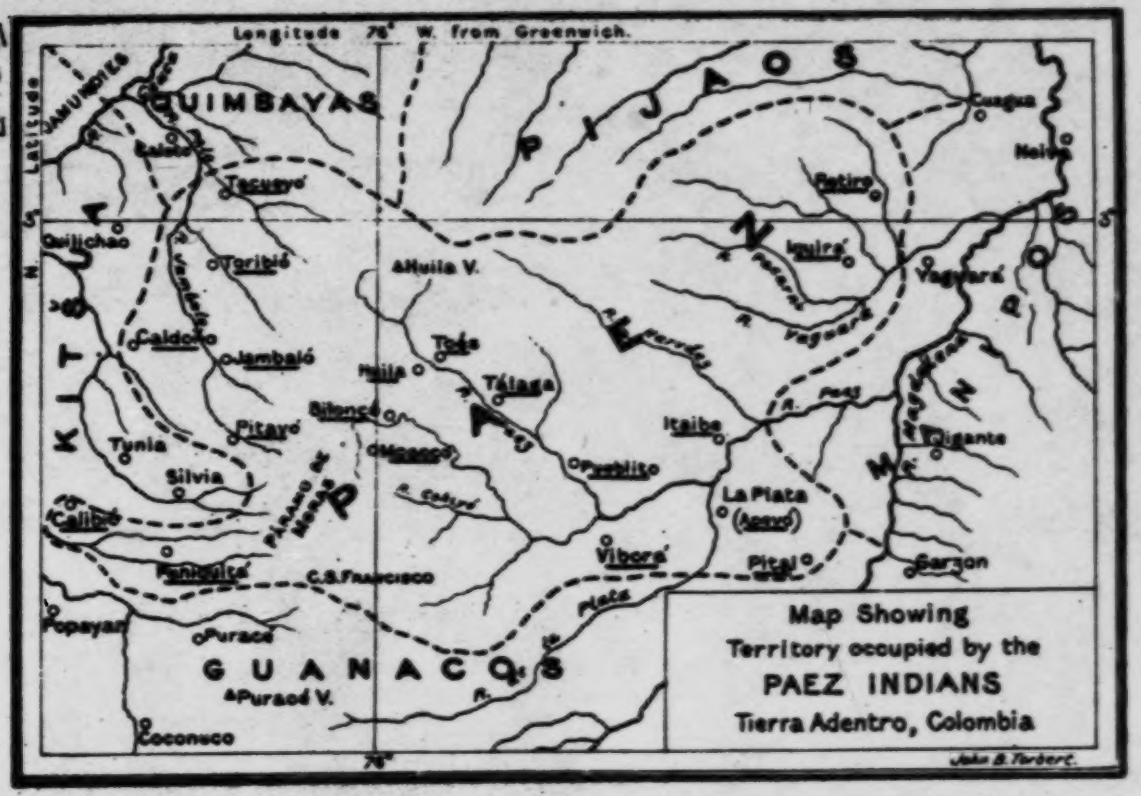
2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

[P.304]



2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

173 he said, "the caciques or chieftains, had their messages trans-
202 mitted from valley to valley by means of runners who were
205 stationed at short intervals along the main roads. Each runner kept himself in readiness to start on the arrival of a message, thus insuring rapid transmission." As the "planos" and also the old trails are found on almost every ridge, it is difficult enough to judge of the value of this explanation; but, if I am not mistaken, such a system of communication existed without doubt at a short distance southward among the Incas of Ecuador and Peru, and perhaps extended into the Cauca valley.

172 On our return from Huila, while traveling between Toribió and Tacueyó, I noticed on the left an isolated hill with a part of its ridge separated from the rest by a deep cross-cut, evidently artificial. The top of the separated part looked in the distance as if also isolated by a ditch. My friend, Mr Emile Bizot, a mining engineer of wide experience in these parts, informs me that this is a common feature of the hilly district formerly inhabited by the natives, and that the enclosed surface always contains numerous graves (plate III, 2).

172 The high peaks of the most rugged districts of Tierra
532 Adentro are often crowned by isolated *huacas*, which are especially sought by treasure-hunters. At Tacueyó we had the opportunity of admiring a set of gold objects found in such graves and of which we made the photograph reproduced in plate II, 2. The frogs are of a type quite distinct from those with which I became familiar in Costa Rica. The representative of a human being recalls certain Chibchan idols, or, according to Mr W. E. Safford, Kitšua amulets. As to the thirteen remaining pieces of gold, quite thin and almost uniform in shape, they are perfectly new to me.

Former and Present Distribution

● 131 According to Father Rodriguez[1] the Paez, or Paós, Indians
114 lived on the summit and slopes of the *Cordillera de Guanacas*,
133 "sierra muy fria que llaman el Páramo de las Papas," a defini-

[1] P. Manuel Rodriguez, *El Marañon y Amazonas. Historia de los descubrimientos, entradas y reducciones de Naciones*, Madrid, 1684.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

tion which would correspond pretty well with the explanation given by subsequent authors, except for its last, untranslated member, which seems to imply a lack of geographical knowledge on the part of Father Rodriguez. According to modern maps, indeed, the term "Alto", or "Cordillera", de Guanacas, seems to apply only to the group or node of mountains north of the Coconucos and Puracé volcanoes, and south of the towering Huila. This includes the "Páramo de Moras," which we crossed on our return from Tierra Adentro, but not the *Páramo de las Papas*, which is situated south of the Puracé, at the headwaters of the Cauca, Caquetá, and Magdalena rivers. 131 114 133

If we admit, then, that in Father Rodriguez's description the name Páramo de las Papas is merely a lapsus for Páramo de Moras, the area given by him corresponds pretty well with that which is recognized as such by Uricoechea in his introduction to Castillo's work, excepting that the latter extends this area northward to include the upper Yaguará basin. According to Castillo, this last was probably inhabited by another *parcialidad*, which he calls Bemb, "indios infieles de nación pijaos." At Huila, when pointing northward to the valleys on the eastern slope of the volcano and asking who lived there, the Indians answered, "Los Pijaos", and among the Spanish people it is generally understood that the Paez and the Pijaos are one and the same. This is also the opinion of Reclus,[1] who says: "Among the various tribes that wandered through the thick forests of this [eastern] slope of the [central] Cordillera, the most barbarous were the *Pijaos* or *Paez*, who selected innocent victims to offer to their divinities. The enemy killed in a fight could be only indifferent to the gods; but a woman, a child, an inoffensive stranger, the pure ones, were welcome to the bloodthirsty genii." And these monstrous sacrifices must be repeated at short intervals to insure the permanent good-will of the gods. 131 114 101 [782 727]

The area given on the accompanying map (plate I)[2] corresponds with the above-mentioned description by Rodriguez, 101 103

[1] Reclus, *Géographie universelle*, XVIII, p. 305.

[2] [See p 304 – Analyst]

3:Bernal Villa--1 F-5 (1952) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

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Aspects of Paez Culture
Mythology and Tales from the Parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro
by Segundo Bernal Villa

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/281/ Chapter I

131 Geographic location.--In the northeastern part of the de-
133 partment of Cauca, like a spearhead embedded in the department of Huila, is found the region of Tierradentro, formed by the numerous eastern spurs of the Central Cordillera. It has the shape of a triangle formed by the water divides of the hydrographic basins of the rivers Páez and Yaguará to the east and La Plata and Páez to the south. Toward the west, the Central Cordillera rises like a backbone, along which the paramos of Guanacas (3,518 meters), Las Delicias (3,750 meters), and Moras (3,670 meters) stand out. Toward the north, like a gigantic colossus and dominating the vertex of this geometric figure, stands Nevado del Huila (5,750 meters), the highest in Colombia, except for the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta.

133 Topography.--Actually, Tierradentro is a complex of mountains running in every direction, although along general lines they are oriented from west to east on the right bank of the Páez and from north to south on its left bank, rugged, steep, with lofty peaks and great gorges, canyons and hills, ravines and valleys, terraces and escarpments, ridges and plateaus, numerous gullies, rivers, and streams with violent
[484] currents and thundering noise. To travel through this region "is to go up or down," as was said by Fr. Pedro de Aguado (1).

1. Cited by Hernández de Alba (Gregorio), p. 925. /See the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 309./

/288 cont./

583 in the church, live together for a period of indeterminate duration, explaining that /289/ the man does not have enough money at hand to marry as soon as he asks the woman, and it is necessary to work in order to obtain it.

771 Religion.--The religion of the Paez is formally Catholicism,
177 but many of their traditions are hidden in it. The principal
[796] fiestas of the natives are religious ones, which acquire true strokes of splendor. The Catholic priest is called upon for the ceremonies of baptism, marriage, and cases of death.

Chapter II

631 Calderas.--Incrusted in the very heart of Tierradentro is the
131 Parcialidad of Calderas, bounded on the north by a high ridge
133 that separates it from Chinas and Avirama; on the east, La Muralla, the very model of a fault, separates it from Avirama, just as a ridge separates it from Togoima; to the south, deep gorges and high peaks separate it from San Andrés and Togoima; to the west, the Quebrada Guacharaca divides it from the Parcialidad of Lame.

133 It is crossed from west to east by the Quebrada Kukiyú,
631 actually a river in terms of the volume and violence of its waters, whose bed is deep, enclosed, and inaccessible. Its
[423] left bank is somewhat softened by a beautiful plateau of about 20 hectares, with fertile lands, abundant waters, and on which the pueblo rises; it belongs to the community, whereas the other lands are private property guaranteed by the fact that the owner either personally cleared the montaña or inherited it from his ancestors who cleared the forest. The right bank is steep, harsh,
[161] rugged. Numerous clearings are to be seen on these sloping
[311] lands, indicating the increase in population that compels them to cultivate lands of low fertility and great danger for the laborer.

/179 cont./

123 At 11 o'clock in the morning we left the Park, bound for
484 Calderas. The road climbs through the Pisimbalá valley, at
491 first on its right bank and soon on the left, after crossing a wooden bridge with a plank roof; from this bridge to the pueblo of San Andrés, three streams have to be crossed: Chapequís, La Virgen, and the cemetery stream. Along this short distance and at the edge of the road we counted ten houses, all of them thatched except one of masonry, tiles, oil paint, modern manufacture; the others have white washed walls, painted doors, and are generally clean and orderly. They are the houses of mestizos and colonists settled on their respective fincas.

At 11:30 we left the settlement and took the path that leads to Calderas; the road goes ever upward, in slow and slippery
123 zigzags. As we go along, we see houses with graphite-colored
342 roofs and walls which are black when made of mud or (and these are in the majority) yellow when they are of maize stalks; they lie as if submerged /180/ in the plantings of bananas, sugar cane, and yuca; bluish smoke rises vertically in thick columns from the openings.

123 At 12 o'clock we came out on the Mesón, Supok in the
133 Paez dialect, a small plateau oriented from north to south
[361] and bounded on the east and west by great depressions. Many native huts stand there.

[137] The beautiful valley of the Pisimbalá torrent comes into view in its entirety; contracted at times, then widening more, extensive in length and generally narrow, it descends in a gentle slope in pursuit of the noisy Ullucos; covered with thriving vegetation, it looks like a carpet of living green blending in its tones the stateliness of the cachimbos /búcare, Erytrina umbrosa/, cedars, guamás, gadua bamboo, and yarumos /Cecropia peltata/, and the splendor of the plantings of sugar cane and bananas and the pastures of the herders.

[134] An hour later we reached the Yukaichí ridge, the boundary of the parcialidades /territorial divisions/ of San Andrés and

/180 cont./

123 Calderas, and the water divide of the Kukiyú river and the
153 Pisimbalá torrent, the former a deep gorge, the latter an
[131] elongated basin. Toward the north, the outline of another ridge bounds the horizon and divides the parcialidades of Suin and Chinas. Prominent along it, the Vichaguau peak, the hill Dondotá with the double crests, between which, when the sky is clear, one can see Huila with its eternal snows, where the golden rays of the sun break into a silvery radiance. Toward the east one sees the hills of Chindavá and Potrerito, the heights of Togoima, and the canyon of the Páez. Toward the south stand the mountain ranges of Pangok and El Aguacate, which separates the valleys of the Pisimbalá and the Ullucos; the tablelands of Pedregal, Turminá, and Inzá; the sharp peak of Trueno /Thunder/, the "Kapich" of the natives, a summit
123 of silence, lightning, thunder, and storms. In the place where
173 the sun sets, there rises, stately and challenging, the sharp
148 peak of Hipinjí (1), on which, according to some Indians, lie
[133]
[104]

1. H = the English h.
   J = the French j.
   Sh = the French sh.

the images of saints, the bells, the clothing, the gold, and the silver which the Paez army carried away from San Sebastián de la Plata after murdering all of its white inhabitants, setting fire to the town, and filling up the famous silver mines which had given the town its name and brought large numbers of ad-
173 venturers and not a few misfortunes to the Indians. This legend
123 has fired the imagination of the whites and has led not a few to search for them. It is said that several whites went to the Hipinjí in search of the legendary treasure. At the /181/ /illustration appears here/ top of the peak a white flag was waving. One day there appeared on it the following mysterious order: "At 12 o'clock you may clear out this opening." Their enthusiasm was renewed, their fatigue forgotten, and they went to work eagerly. One worker was rewarded by blind

4:Bernal Villa--53 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

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XXIV

The Race for the Rooster at Tumbichukue

103 The name of Tumbichukue is familiar to the colonists throughout Tierradentro. It is synonymous with fabulous treasures. In this place, it is said, the Paez buried all the gold and silver that they collected in the ill-fated settlement of Sebastián Quintero destroyed by them.

[131] Tumbichukue is a pass /vereda/ formed by the eastern slopes of the paramo of San Lucas and located between the Kukiyú and the Yusayú gorge (Guacharaca). It belongs to the parcialidad of Lame, and the road that goes from San Andrés [491] to Lame passes precisely there. This road is well traveled, its people more accessible to the whites.

796 On June 24 the men race their horses along the road.
541 It is a custom of Indians and whites "to race on the day of San Juan." The whites say that those who do not race their horses on the day of San Juan get scabies. The small, husky horses pant under the demands of their drunken riders. A wild race and shouts in an unsteady voice: Viva San Juan!

The people of the pass go to a small square along the road, near which lives the capitán of Lame. Indians from
184 San Andrés come to watch the race for the rooster. On the
796 other hand, in spite of the nearness, no Calderun /person from
291 Calderas/ is seen there. The women who are seen are clean,
177 with neatly braided hair; they wear black skirts, navy-blue
301 rebozos, pink blouses, numerous multi-colored necklaces,
541 bright earrings, and cloth hats. The monotonous dark or black necklaces characteristic of Paez apparel are nearly absent among these people. The classic pindo hat worn by the [191] Calderas people is absent. Spanish is spoken more frequently.

796 All the riders are concentrating on the cage and the
541 roosters.

Common Name	Latin Name	Páez Name
241 Pineapple	**Ananas comosus (L) Camargo**	***chahú***
137 Granadilla	**Passiflora Ligularis Jurs.**	***shlal***
Coffee	**Coffea Arabiga L.**	***café***
192 Ground cherry	**Physalis sp.**	***chimbú***
Chachafruto	**Erythrina edukis Triana ex Micheli**	***úsual***
Pepino	**Solanum muricatum Ait.**	***pina***
Yam	**Dioscorea sp.**	***shuá***
Other cultivated plants:		
Coca	**Erythroxylon coca Lam.**	***esh***
Bamboo	**Guadua angustifolia Kuth**	***mum***
Bottle gourd	**Lagenaria vulgaris Serg.**	***tuka***
Calabash tree	**Crescentia cujete L.**	***shiptuka***
Cabuya	**Foucrea cabuya Trel.**	***bats***
Dill	**Anethum graveolens L.**	***llinojo***
Mint	**Mentha viridis L.**	***tachá***
Rue	**Ruta graveolens.**	***luda***

222 In reality, as far as a certain type of frijole that the natives
241 call "kacha" is concerned, as well as the ground cherry, the chachafruto, fruits in general, and all the plants listed under "Other cultivated plants," with the exception of coca, the word "cultivated" is unsuitable, since they are practically in a semiwild state. The natives make use of their fruits, consumption thus being occasional and not always necessary.

133 Although it would appear that the territory of the Páez, at the
241 time of the Conquest, extended up to very close to the Magdalena
361 River, the principal nucleus of the population was located in the
[131] temperate zone and in the cold zone. The thermal levels determine
[101] the zones of cultivation. One of them goes from 1,000 to 2,000 meters and includes the entire valley of the Páez from Huila to La Plata, and the middle and lower courses of its tributaries Símbola, the river Negro de Narváez, Moras, Kukiyú, and Ullucos. Within it are located the capitals of the district, Inzá and Belalcázar, and the following native aldeas: Itaibe, Chitóquez (Ricaurte), Cuetando, Yaquivá, San Andrés de Pisimbalá, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Avirama, Chinas, Suin, Tálaga, Toez y Huila (Byla), as well as Valencia, Topa, Pedregal, and Turminá. They cultivate principally plantains, manioc, maize, sugar cane, frijoles, arracacha, coca, and coffee,

/345 cont./

427 San Andrés is the sole region of Tierradentro, as far as we
161 know, where tenant farmers are found. Although the number of persons sunk in this servitude is no higher than 100, the mere occurrence of this phenomenon already tells us of an excess of population, at least in the parcialidades of San Andrés and Santa
[131] Rosa, from which the tenant farmers came. On the other hand, the scattering of the Páez group through this very department of Cauca, the departments of Huila and Tolima, and even through
[311] the department of the Valle is well known. The colonization of the uncultivated lands in Tierradentro by the natives has been systematic and intensive during recent years. There is the utilization of ever more inaccessible lands for agriculture in the temperate thermal level. All of these are factors that clearly tell us of an excess in the Páez population.

427 Here is what a tenant farmer told us about the phenomenon
241 of tenant farming: As a tenant farmer he has the right to own a
466 house, a garden, and a clearing. The house and garden are contiguous and complementary. His garden occupies one plaza /a Colombian measure with 80 meters to the side/ more or less, and in it he has planted plantains (about 200 trees), oranges (about five trees), onions, arracacha, manioc, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, and some 200 coca trees. He has surrounded the garden with barbed wire provided by the owner in order to avoid damage by the animals of the hacienda. He can lay out his clearing on any site of the hacienda. It changes every year. In his present clearing he has planted 1,500 manioc plants; 200 of arracacha (he could not find more seed); maize; small frijoles /fríjol chiquito/ (in one month he hills the "sprigs," in two months they flower, and in three months he harvests) and large frijoles /fríjol grande/, and, finally, about two loads of sugar-
[433] cane shoots (seed). The produce of the clearing and of the garden is primarily for consumption, but if there is a surplus he may sell it to anyone, even though the owner urges him not
[249] to sell to anyone but himself. The sugar cane is milled in the
[257] /346/ sugar mill of the owner, with the subsequent use of his implements to make panela, half of what is produced being given to him.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5y (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

175 ture, with only slight differences in dialects and customs. Some
197 authorities affirmed that these Indians had no kind of religion; others
114 gave details which reveal a highly developed religion and an organized
[174] cult. In spite of these contradictory statements and in spite of the fact that today only the *Moguex* (*Guambia*) and *Páez* Indians retain indigenous cultures, it is possible to sketch the cultural picture of these Indians at the moment of their first contact with the Spanish soldiers by reexamining the chroniclers of the Conquest according to ethnological criteria, by utilizing modern linguistics, and by studying the ethnology of the present-day peoples.[3] It is also possible to trace the
174 acculturation during the Colonial Period, when new European usages
177 were introduced, and to depict the social and cultural conditions of the present day. The modern penetration of highways into the Indian territory and the official policy of changing the indigenous communities are likely to bring an end to these few remaining examples of primitive Andean societies, which have survived in spite of a poor economy, bad sanitary conditions, and missionary efforts to eradicate their traditions.

121 A fertile field for future research lies in continuing anthropological studies in the central mass of the Colombian Andes. The region is as important for physical geography as for ethnology, as its mountain chains run in various directions to form valleys and diversified environments.

[172] It also contains the archeological remains, known as San Agustín and Tierradentro, which long antedate the Conquest and which have an undetermined origin and relationship to cultures in other parts of America. The present article, however, does not deal with these, but is limited to ethnology.

GEOGRAPHY

●131 The tribes considered in this article occupied the eastern halves of the present Departments of Nariño and Cauca, almost all of the Department of Huila, the southern part of Tolima, and the eastern zone of the Department of the Valle del Cauca, which embraces the western spurs of the Cordillera Central as far as Calarcá in Caldas. The region lies between 1° and 4° 40′ N. lat. and 1° and 3° 40′ west of the meridian of Bogotá. The country consists of high mountains of the Andean
133 system, which bifurcate at the Ecuadorean border to form the Cordillera Occidental, which runs to Panamá, and the Cordillera Central, which approaches the Atlantic coast of Colombia. Each branch has high plains (altiplanos), small valleys with rivers which are tributaries of the Patía River to the west, and high mountain peaks, some of which are volcanoes, like Pasto, Galeras, and Cumbal. The area of

[3] For the languages, see especially Jijón y Caamaño, 1940-41; Castillo I Orozco, 1879; and Castelvi, 1934. For ethnology, see Douay, 1900; Pittier de Fábrega, 1907; Ortiz, 1938; Guerra F., 1942; Jijón y Caamaño, 1936-39 Otero, 1938; Albó, 1934. See also Languages, pp. 821-822.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

The area of this study is delimited on the west by the valley of the Patía River and by the Cuembi, Nambi, and Cuaiquer Rivers, and on the east by the divide between the rivers running to the Pacific Ocean and those flowing eastward into the Caquetá and Putumayo Rivers. P 133 121

All this region is cool to temperate throughout the year, the extremes being at Túquerres, which lies at 3,104 m. (9,433 feet) elevation and has a mean temperature of 11° C., and Ancuyá at 1,358 m. (4,380 feet) with a mean temperature of 21° C. The greater part of the population lives between 2,890 m. (about 9,470 feet) with 12° C., as at Ipiales, and 2,020 m. (about 6,630 feet) with 18° C., as at Buesaco. P 132 P 133

Farther north, the Cordillera Central forms a great mountain mass at the sources of the Cauca and Magdalena Rivers, the latter delimiting the Cordillera Oriental, which extends toward the northeast, entering Venezuela and stopping at the Atlantic Coast. In the Department of Cauca, the native peoples occupied the altiplanos and the mountain slopes of the central portion of the Andes and of the Cordillera Central and Cordillera Oriental. Some of the mountains are snow-capped, like Coconucos (4,800 m.; 15,746 feet) and such volcanoes as Puracé (4,908 m.; 16,102 feet) and Sotará (4,580 m.; 15,026 feet). There are high páramos, swept by icy winds, where only the frailejón (*Espeletia hartwegiana*) and certain grasses grow. Below these heights, the topography is hilly and grandiose, with a succession of hills, terraces, altiplanos, ravines, cañons, and valleys.

Some tribes, like the *Coconuco* and *Moguez*, live in the cold mountain spurs toward the Cauca River; others, like the *Páez* and *Guanaca*, in the high páramos with a climate like that at Moras (3,670 m.; 12,040 feet), Guanacas (3,518 to 3,750 m.; 11,541 to 12,303 feet), Las Delicias, and other places to the east. The *Popayanense* occupy the temperate Valley of Pubén. The *Pijao* lived in the last mountains of the Cordillera Central toward the Magdalena River, which, like the valley of this river, is low and warm, and extended to the Cauca Valley in the neighborhood of Buga. P 101 361. PO [101] [361]

The country inhabited by the *Popayanense* at the Conquest has an altitude of 1,760 m. (5,775 ft.) and a mean temperature of 18° C.; the *Páez* in Tierradentro, 1,650 to 2,620 m. (5,774 to 8,595 ft.) and 13 to 17° C.; the *Moguez*, 2,521 m. (8,270 ft.) and 14° C. at Silvia; the *Andaquí* in the region of San Agustín, 1,695 m. (5,561 ft.) and 18° C.; the *Yalcón* and *Timaná*, 1,100 m. (3,608 ft.) and 24° C.; and the *Pijao*, 873 m. (2,864 ft.) and 25° C. at Carnicerías, and 1,700 m. (5,577 ft.) and 18° C. at Pijao (Caldas). P 133 132 PO [133] [132]

Such differences in climate with the consequent differences in flora and fauna contributed to the variations in economy and culture. The high peaks of the cordilleras and the deep rivers were frontiers between the tribes, clearly separating them from one another—the *Moguez* P 101 131

?:Hernández de Alba E-5,1(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

101 from the *Páez*, the *Páez* from the *Pijao*, the *Andaqui* from the *Tama*
● 131 of Bajo Huila.

This extremely varied habitat offers a great range of food resources
241 and of possibilities for agricultural crops. In the high, cold moun-
133 tains and altiplanos, between 2,500 and 3,000 m. (about 8,200 to 9,800
132 ft.) elevation, where the mean temperature is 11 to 15° C., the principal crops were potatoes (*Solanum andigenum*), ullucos (*Ullucus tuberosus*), and cubios (*Tropaeolum tuberosum*). In the medium zone, between 1,600 and 2,500 m. (about 5,200 to 8,200 feet), with a temperature of 15 to 20° C., the main crop was maize (*Zea mays*), but arracacha (*Arracacia esculenta*), quinoa (*Chenopodium quinoa*), and sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*), were also cultivated. In the low, warm zone between 500 to 1,600 m. (about 1,600 to 5,200 feet), with a temperature of 20 to 28° C., the main crops were maize, sweet manioc or yuca (*Manihot utilissima*) and beans (*Phaseolus vulgaris*).

136 The cold lands also produced in addition to these principal crops,
[241] maize, squash (*Cucurbita maxima*), wild fruits, birds including ducks (Anatidae), doves (Columbidae), guans (*Penelope*), mammals such as the spectacled bear (*Tremarctos ornatus majori*), and other small, wild beasts like the armadillo (*Dasypus novemcinctus*), guaratinajo (*Dinomys branickii*), guatin (*Dasyprocta fuliginosa candelensis*), and
[231] small fish from the rivers and lakes. The guinea pig (curí or cuy,
[262] *Cavia aperea*), which is prolific in all the climates, was the only domesticated animal and is an important source of food of the modern Indians.

241 The inhabitants of the medium, humid zone were more favored by nature in that crops grew faster and in greater variety. In addition to the plants named, they grew achira (*Canna edulis*), auyama (*Cucurbita verrucosa*), beans (frijoles), and peanuts (*Arachis hypogaea*).
262 Among the great variety of wild foods were fruits, granadilla (*Passi-*
137 *flora ligularis*), guayaba (*Psidium*), guama (*Inga* spp.), avocados
136 (*Persea Americana*), papaya (*Carica papaya*), guanabana (*Annona muricata*), and chirimoya (*Annona cherimolia*), and such animals as deer (*Mazama rufina*, *M. gualea*, and *Odocoileus virginianus consul*), rabbits (*Sylvilagus fulvescens*), guinea pigs, various rodents, and large birds, such as chachalacas (*Ortalis*) and guans (*Penelope*).

Additional foods of the low, warm regions were sweet potatoes, beans (frijoles), and yams (*Dioscorea alata*); such fruits as pineapples (*Ananas sativus*), papaya, custard apple (*Annona squamosa*), cactus fruit (*Opuntia* spp.), and plantains (*Musa paradisaica*); and large fish from the rivers.[4]

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[127] [4] The scientific names of the plants were taken from Cortés, 1919. The mammals were tentatively identified by Dr. Remington Kellogg, of the Division of Mammals, U. S. National Museum, and the birds by Dr. Alexander Wetmore, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

Here the mountain slopes which

/14 cont./

C 311 134 only 70 years ago were still covered with dense tree growth are now cleared to gain pasture areas for stock-raising, thus causing P 361 extensive erosion of the normally already very thin humus covering and a certain sterility of the soil. The situation is different ● 132 in the villages still exclusively inhabited by Indios in northern Tierradentro. They lie in part considerably higher (Mosoco, P [244] Vitoncó, Suin, and Lame about 2,500 meters). Here the nights are already perceptibly cold. Coffee no longer thrives, in its P [233] stead maize and potatoes. It is also the best climate for cattle-raising. The mountain slopes, due to relatively sparse settle- P [311] ment on the part of the Paez, have not all been put to economic [134] use as yet; the /15/ tree growth guarantees natural water conservation throughout the year.

C 132 The two rainy periods of the year are from May to June and October to December. During these times, especially in the rainy period of the first half of the year, it rains in considerable amounts every day, whereas the dry periods are regularly free of precipitation.

C 317 175 Tierradentro's wealth underground has not yet been explored with modern means. In pre-Spanish times, and even [135] after the Conquista /the Spanish conquest; see the glossary, C 175 p. 249 /, numerous salt beds were exploited. The Spaniards 317 brought Negro slaves into Tierradentro as mine workers, whose 563 descendants make up a considerable part of the population of 464 Belalcázar. Today some of them work as gold-washers on the 316 banks of the Rio Paez. In Indian times gold was still obtained C 316 at Tálaga, San Vicente, and Jambaló. In the southern part of C [103] Tierradentro the silver mines were a significant economic factor near the city of La Plata -- so-named because of its important finds.

C 487 From colonial times up to five years ago only the routes passable for human beings and horses (caminos de herradura /bridle paths/) were available for traffic routes. The two chief connections were from Inzá over Paramo de las Guanacas to Silvia and Popayán and into the Cauca Valley, as well as from Inzá via La Plata into the Magdalena Valley.

/112 cont./

142 age the hair seldom becomes white. We met only one woman with slightly graying hair and an old man with a gray, sparse
[302] beard, but dark hair. The beard among men is scant. The beard hair is regularly plucked (see Ills. 148 to 155 /see pp. 265-268/).

143 According to the blood-group analysis of the Paez, among the 303 individuals examined there were 88.78 per cent of blood group 0, 6.93 per cent of blood group A, and 4.29 per cent of blood group B. The blood group A+B is not represented (G. Arcila Velez, pp. 11-14).

229 The racial concept of Indian is foreign to the Paez themselves. To them "Indio" designates a cultural status. My colleague, Segundo Bernal Villa, an Indian from the region of Pasto, was designated as "blanco" because of his European clothing. And when our interpreter Victoriano bought himself "white clothing" (hat, pants, shirt, shoes) with the money he earned, he was called a "white" in his village and accordingly treated with hostility.

161 The population figures for the Paez do not seem either to increase or decrease, as far as the uncivilized Paez are con-
165 cerned, for example, in Calderas. Infant mortality comes to more
164 than 50 per cent. The most common cause of sickness is whooping cough. The health of children who survive their second year, as well as of adults, is -- considering the circumstances -- quite good. True, one scarcely sees old people over 60 (and
[132] those who look that old are probably younger). The most fre-
[362] quent illness of adults is tuberculosis, which claims numerous victims, since the nights are very cold and the cold and wind can
[262] penetrate through the light walls of the houses unhindered. More-
[273] over, no fat of any kind is commonly eaten. Another illness from which many Paez suffer, which, however, is not taken seriously, is stomach trouble caused by the drinking of brandy even during
[254] infancy and the unsuitable diet in childhood. Infants are given
[262] beans, cabbage, and yuca, but no milk, except mother's milk.

500 /120 cont./
354 the simplest possible form. Three rocks provide the lateral sup-
415 port or stand for the pots, of which there are two at most, a
metal one, usually of aluminum, and an earthen one. Very
poor families have only one earthen pot, which is relatively
[417] cheap to buy. The earthen pot cannot be hung up; it is set
between the three fire-stones in such a way that it cannot tip
over, whereas the aluminum pot is hung by its handle on a soot-
covered, angled stick that hangs down from the ridge (Ill. 166
352 /see p. 273/). Above the fire area there hangs a frame made
[251] of maize canes and about one square meter in size, on which
[353] household utensils and, above all, the rock salt for salting food
are stored, airy and dry. Tables, chairs, or stools of any kind
[237] are unknown. One generally sits on the hairy side of an un-
[513] tanned and hence board-stiff cowhide, on which one also /121/
sleeps, or one sits on a beam, a block of wood, or a stone. Paez
[177] who have seen house furnishings in Inzá or in the dwellings of white
colonists have sometimes built for themselves as a bed a sort
of bench 30-50 centimeters high, consisting of sticks or reeds
[513] laid side by side. For sleeping the customary cowhide is spread
on it. These sleeping benches are not used for sitting.

342 The nights in Calderas are generally quite cool, and
362 the light construction of the walls with cracks between the in-
● 132 dividual maize stalks does not in any way prevent the cold wind
from coming in. In a few houses, near the sleeping area, I saw
the walls sealed by means of expressed sugar-cane piled up
462 horizontally. For sleeping, the members of the family lie down
[354] in a circle around the fire area, where the fire must be kept going
[513] all through the night. This, like all housework, is the task of
the woman, who must gather sufficient fuel beforehand and get up
every two hours during the night to stir up the fire. Furthermore,
[264] she must get up an hour earlier in the morning in order to have
the first meal, which is eaten around five o'clock, sometimes
[461] even at four o'clock, prepared on time. In spite of this, the
men think that they are the ones who do the hardest work and that
basically they are the only ones in the village who really work.

/254 cont./

804 The period of a day is subdivided into the day (ẽn) and the
192 night (kos). Early morning is called kosẽ; afternoon at the time when work is at an end, which is reckoned by the position of the sun, is called fí'nze. Other subdivisions of the day are made according to the interval of an ẽšnetc, meaning the time it takes to chew a dose of coca. In translation this designation is used for "hour." The largest period of time is the month, ãte, which is designated by the same word as for "moon." For the period of a year the Spanish word año is used. In former times the word
[221] enzte was used. It is the designation for the large annual com-
[226] munal fishing at the weir during the dry season in February. The
[132] two rainy seasons, called nospá'nye, and the two dry seasons of the year, called sek, are not regarded as time intervals, but as seasons. The latter is at the same time the word for "sun."

823 No large geographical orientations or regional, individual
[491] divisions of any kind could be discovered. Moreover, all of Tierradentro is enclosed by civilized areas -- there is even an auto road leading to Belalcázar -- so that many Paez men have seen the surrounding countryside and even cities with their own eyes.
[101] Only the western bordering mountains of the Central Cordillera,
[186] in the direction of Popayán, are conjectured to be the habitation
123 area of the dreadful man-eaters, the Pijao. Geographical means
484 of orientation are unknown. Traveling is done only during the day, in groups, and in company with a person who knows the way.
821 Of the stars it is only known that there stars that move and fixed ones, without their being distinguished in greater detail or according to constellations.

202 It is amazing that, in spite of their settlement pattern of
[361] individual farms, the Paez do not have any optical or acoustical
[203] means of communication over larger distances. /255/ In case of urgent news or questions, children are sent.

802 There are numbers only from one to six and ten. For the designations seven to nine the corresponding Spanish numbers are used. The Paez word for "ten" (kóse pémba) literally means "no more hands" and indicates that the fingers were used for counting. The toes are not used for counting; anything beyond ten is

The fields are prepared with
/283 cont./
241 machetes and fire. They are the so-called rozas, a barbarous, primitive, and criminal method of agriculture. Burning is a habit of natives and colonists alike and goes so far that even the vegetation of the cliffs, crags, and escarpments is burned, where obviously no practical use can be derived and in addition it leaves the denuded rock at the mercy of the agents of erosion.

136 Fauna.--The fauna consists of a few classes of ophidians and small mammals: tinajos, coatis, pacas, armadillos, porcupines, foxes, deer, tapirs, sloths, and rabbits. Bears, ocelots, and pumas are found in the virgin montañas. Birds, such as wild pigeons and chachalacas, abound.

● 132 Climate.--There are no data on the rainfall, temperatures, /284/ and winds of this zone. The climate on the whole is temperate, or, to put it better, it is a coffee-growing climate.

361 Owing to the unevenness of the terrain, the natives inhabit
133 a region that extends from 1,000 meters (Itaibe) up to 2,500
132 meters above sea level (Suin, Mosoco, Vitoncó, and Lame). According to Dr. Gregorio Hernández de Alba, at the time of the Conquest the Paez peoples of Tierradentro inhabited "altitudes and climates between 2,620 meters with 13 degrees centigrade and 1,650 meters with 17 degrees centigrade on the average" (1).

1. Hernández de Alba (Gregorio), p. 917 /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 309/.

132 The atmospheric humidity and the rainfall increase as the cordillera becomes higher and snow-capped Huila draws nearer, with two summers and two winters, influenced, of course, by the topography, the vegetation, and proximity to the summit. There is an intense summer during the months of January and February, and another in July, August, and September. The winters are intense during the months of March-June and, on a smaller scale, in October-December. Snow-capped Huila

/284 cont./

132 gives rise to cold local winds that blow through the valley of the Páez, affecting chiefly the areas of Vitoncó, Suin, Chinas, San José, Mosoco, and also the parcialidad /a territorial division/ of Calderas itself. The variation in temperature is noticeable in these zones sometimes having hot days and very cold nights. Nebulosity is almost constant, especially in the northern zones.

241 Economy.--The topographic and climatic characteristics permit the cultivation of various plants, such as maize, beans, bananas, sugar cane, yuca, arracacha, and gourds in the temperate zones, and in the cold ones potatoes, maize, ullucos, [433] beans, gourds, and cabbage. The produce barely leaves a [439] surplus for trade with the parcialidades and urban centers of [438] Belalcázar, Inzá, and Valencia. The potato crops of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José serve for an active trade with the Paez of the western slope of the cordillera, across the Páramo de Moras.

433 Coffee and the production of panela are important lines 245 in the economy of the colonists and also of numerous groups 249 of acculturated natives. The coffee of Tierradentro is con- 177 sidered one of the best in the country, owing to the quality and mildness of the bean.

231 /285/ The raising of livestock flourishes among the civilized 437 groups. For the natives it serves for maintaining a barter trade with their neighbors, the white and mestizo colonists.

311 On the whole, native production is relatively scant, 433 giving rise to times of "hambruna" /ravenous hunger/ when [731] the summers or winters are rather harsh. The workable land lies in the small plains and valleys of rivers and streams, on the alluvial terraces, and on the plateaus. Comparing the size of Tierradentro with that of its arable land, the latter appears scant, a problem that is aggravated by the increase in population and the habitual burning.

101 Population.--Tierradentro is the country of the Paez, 361 who at the time of the Conquest were settled to the north of

/303 cont./

241 relatively recent times, has fertile and humid soils. The harvests
433 are large and of excellent quality. It produces profitable yields.
244 The real production of Mosoco potatoes is there. They them-
[492] selves designate it as the principal harvest. During the months of April and May, when the potatoes are being harvested, numerous droves of pack animals carry the produce daily to the market
[435] in Silvia. The profits from this crop are dependable. The cultivators state that even selling at four pesos per arroba it gives a profit. Normally an arroba of potatoes is quoted at six or seven pesos. The planting of potatoes in the paramo begins in October, is intensified in November and December, and the last is done in January. They take advantage of the mildness of the climate
[132] at this time. During the months of June, July, and August the
[484] winter is harsh, with intense cold and hurricane winds. Crossing the paramos at this time is quite perilous.

241 In San José, La Troja, El Cabuyo, El Cuartel, Lame, and
433 Vitoncó, during the first four months of the year, wheat, barley, maize, frijoles, broad beans, and peaches are harvested.

Toward the months of October, November, and December, harvesting is done in Suin, Chinas, Calderas, San Andrés, Togoima, Santa Rosa, and Mosoco itself and consists principally of Maize, frijoles, ullucos, potatoes, and coffee. They constitute what we might /304/ call the second harvests of the year in Tierradentro. The planting begins after Ash Wednesday (March approximately) and is intensified in the months of April and May.
244 The last is done in July. The potato seed planted at about this
433 time in Mosoco comes from the harvest in the "paramo." This is a secondary planting of scant yield. It usually results in losses, but the Mosoco cultivators plant with the aim of preserving the seed. It is interesting to note that the sole agricultural activity of one trader based in Mosoco is the planting of potatoes in the
[434] paramo. He dispenses with the July sowing altogether. He prefers to buy the seed in Silvia, he pays the entire labor force, and in spite of these investments, which are high, he gets a good profit.

/304 cont./

241 433 Aside from maize, a basic product of consumption in all the parcialidades, some of them emphasize certain crops primarily intended for commercial purposes. Thus, Mosoco produces potatoes and garlic; San José, wheat; Vitoncó, wheat and peaches; Lame, wheat and laurel wax; Togoima, coca; and the others, coffee.

241 433 The months of the most intense labor in the temperate zone correspond to the first five of the year, and especially to February and March, in order to take advantage of the sunny days during those months for the burning and the sowing, which in turn will benefit from the rains of April, May, and June. During this time, the reserves of the previous year's harvests are consumed, which, let it be said in passing, do not amount [132] to much. Thus, the months of scarcity are June, July, and August, and those of relative abundance, October, November, and December; the former relatively dry and the latter with copious rainfall.

In Mosoco this schedule varies considerably, owing to the [132] peculiar climate and the geographical position. The rains are constant in almost every month of the year; nevertheless, one can count on a few weeks of sunshine during the months of January and February. In the middle of the year, when the trade winds blow from the southeast, the winter is harsh. Thus, the months of intense labor are April, May, and June and coincide exactly with the harvesting of potatoes, wheat, and maize, and also those of November and December, for the planting of potatoes in the "paramo." March, April, and May, are months of plenty, and to some extent September and October as well. It would seem that there should not be any months of "hambruna" /extreme hunger/, but there are.

/305/ It is clear that the people of Mosoco work more and harder than the other natives; they actually harvest in almost every month of the year, but, like the others, they have months of "hambruna," which are September, October, and November, in spite of the fact that during these months they harvest potatoes and ullucos, but they call them such because they do not have 600 maize. The cultivation of potatoes on a large scale began more

Fire is also set to the vegetation on
/306 cont./
241 the ridges, crests, and windings, where no obvious advantage
185 can be gained and where, instead, it destroys a vegetation that virtually /307/ could be turned into a barrier that would prevent the danger of the animals.

The clearings are also laid out on the banks of brooks, streams, rivers, springs, and damp hollows, which, from a lucrative standpoint, is excellent, since it is precisely there that the harvest yields the most, but it is very harmful, since it destroys the vegetation that preserves the moisture and holds the soil, thus avoiding erosion.

241 The clearing is done by all the male members of the
476 family. But more generally the mingas /communal work-parties/ do it. In this case, the workers first cut with their machetes the grasses, branches, vines, etc., in the lower part of the forest; then, with axes and machetes, they fell the trees. It should be noted that these trees are not cut at the base, but more or less at eye level. The fallen trees are allowed to dry for approximately one month and then are burned. The thick logs remain intact, as does the brush. This is piled up, and sticks are cut to make fencing. This work is also done by mingas. First the stakes are driven in about a meter apart. Then sticks and branches are woven in. The fences are made so tight that they prevent dogs,
[417] pigs, and other animals from entering. People enter by means of a stick with notches that leans against the fence on either side. These sticks are called afa, and they are also placed at difficult spots on the paths, chiefly for crossing obstructions.

241 In Mosoco, where the lands are cleared and divided into lots, clearings do not exist. Only in the "paramo," the mountainous region, can they be observed. But the custom of leaving the land uncultivated for several years has not disap-
[824] peared. The fences are made of lechero /Euphorbia/ stakes, a tree that has the peculiarity of taking root and continuing to live. But the use of barbed wire is steadily increasing.

Planting and harvesting

• [152] Planting is conditioned by the pluviometrical conditions in Tierradentro. The summer months are January, February, March, July, August, and September, and those of winter are

/307 cont./

241 April, May, June, October, November, and December. Natu-
132 rally, these periods of summer are relative and correspond in reality to the temperate zone. In Mosoco and the high parts of the Cordillera, /308/ a fine rain is falling almost constantly, if not an actual downpour. In July, August, and September, the winter is harsh, influenced entirely by the trade winds from the southeast.

Bearing these climatic factors in mind, planting is done during the months of March, April, and May. They take advantage of the rains of these months. This agricultural cycle is common for all of Tierradentro including Mosoco proper. The "páramuna" part of Mosoco is excepted, for the reasons listed earlier.

243 Of the cultivable species, maize occupies the dominant place in the agricultural activity of Tierradentro. The preparation of the soil differs somewhat in the temperate and cold thermal levels. Whereas cleaning out and burning the underbrush are sufficient in the temperate one, planting beds are made in the cold one. Maize seed is selected from the best and most filled-out ears, avoiding the small kernels at the points. They believe that they would not fruit, calling them, for this reason, "maize-man," and, on the other hand, calling the big kernels
[842] that yield produce "maize-woman." They make the association that it is the women who have children, even though they do not conceive of fertility without concourse with the man.

243 It is common to have mingas for sowing. In this way the
244 work is soon finished. On the appointed day, eight to ten
476 laborers assemble, with bags full of maize tied at their waists;
[462] they start sowing very early. This is a masculine activity, al-
[184] though in Lame and Mosoco women also participate. The holes are made with a strong, pointed stick at intervals of one meter and 50 centimeters and to a depth of 10 to 15 centimeters. Six or seven kernels are placed in each hole. They bury the frijole next to the logs that remain from the clearing. Peas are also commonly sown there. The seeds of bottle gourds and ahuyama/ squash, /Cucurbita maxima/, which are sown in the maize fields,

Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

The area of
this study is delimited on the west by the valley of the Patía River and by the Cuembi, Nambi, and Cuaiquer Rivers, and on the east by the divide between the rivers running to the Pacific Ocean and those flowing eastward into the Caquetá and Putumayo Rivers. P 133 121

All this region is cool to temperate throughout the year, the extremes being at Túquerres, which lies at 3,104 m. (9,433 feet) elevation and has a mean temperature of 11° C., and Ancuyá at 1,358 m. (4,380 feet) with a mean temperature of 21° C. The greater part of the population lives between 2,890 m. (about 9,470 feet) with 12° C., as at Ipiales, and 2,020 m. (about 6,630 feet) with 18° C., as at Buesaco. P 132 P 133

Farther north, the Cordillera Central forms a great mountain mass at the sources of the Cauca and Magdalena Rivers, the latter delimiting the Cordillera Oriental, which extends toward the northeast, entering Venezuela and stopping at the Atlantic Coast. In the Department of Cauca, the native peoples occupied the altiplanos and the mountain slopes of the central portion of the Andes and of the Cordillera Central and Cordillera Oriental. Some of the mountains are snow-capped, like Coconucos (4,800 m.; 15,746 feet) and such volcanoes as Puracé (4,908 m.; 16,102 feet) and Sotará (4,580 m.; 15,026 feet). There are high páramos, swept by icy winds, where only the frailejón (*Espeletia hartwegiana*) and certain grasses grow. Below these heights, the topography is hilly and grandiose, with a succession of hills, terraces, altiplanos, ravines, cañons, and valleys.

Some tribes, like the *Coconuco* and *Moguex*, live in the cold mountain spurs toward the Cauca River; others, like the *Páez* and *Guanaca*, in the high páramos with a climate like that at Moras (3,670 m.; 12,040 feet), Guanacas (3,518 to 3,750 m.; 11,541 to 12,303 feet), Las Delicias, and other places to the east. The *Popayanenses* occupy the temperate Valley of Pubén. The *Pijao* lived in the last mountains of the Cordillera Central toward the Magdalena River, which, like the valley of this river, is low and warm, and extended to the Cauca Valley in the neighborhood of Buga. P 101 361. Po [101] [361]

The country inhabited by the *Popayanenses* at the Conquest has an altitude of 1,760 m. (5,775 ft.) and a mean temperature of 18° C.; the *Páez* in Tierradentro, 1,650 to 2,620 m. (5,774 to 8,595 ft.) and 13 to 17° C.; the *Moguex*, 2,521 m. (8,270 ft.) and 14° C. at Silvia; the *Andaquí* in the region of San Agustín, 1,695 m. (5,561 ft.) and 18° C.; the *Yalcón* and *Timaná*, 1,100 m. (3,608 ft.) and 24° C.; and the *Pijao*, 873 m. (2,864 ft.) and 25° C. at Carnicerías, and 1,700 m. (5,577 ft.) and 18° C. at Pijao (Caldas). P 133 132 Po [133] [132]

Such differences in climate with the consequent differences in flora and fauna contributed to the variations in economy and culture. The high peaks of the cordilleras and the deep rivers were frontiers between the tribes, clearly separating them from one another—the *Moguex* P 101 131

7:Hernández de Alba E-5;(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15

101 from the *Páez*, the *Páez* from the *Pijao*, the *Andaqui* from the *Tama*
131 of Bajo Huila.

This extremely varied habitat offers a great range of food resources
241 and of possibilities for agricultural crops. In the high, cold moun-
133 tains and altiplanos, between 2,500 and 3,000 m. (about 8,200 to 9,800
132 ft.) elevation, where the mean temperature is 11 to 15° C., the principal crops were potatoes (*Solanum andigenum*), ullucos (*Ullucus tuberosus*), and cubios (*Tropaeolum tuberosum*). In the medium zone, between 1,600 and 2,500 m. (about 5,200 to 8,200 feet), with a temperature of 15 to 20° C., the main crop was maize (*Zea mays*), but arracacha (*Arracacia esculenta*), quinoa (*Chenopodium quinoa*), and sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*), were also cultivated. In the low, warm zone between 500 to 1,600 m. (about 1,600 to 5,200 feet), with a temperature of 20 to 28° C., the main crops were maize, sweet manioc or yuca (*Manihot utilissima*) and beans (*Phaseolus vulgaris*).

136 The cold lands also produced in addition to these principal crops,
[241] maize, squash (*Cucurbita maxima*), wild fruits, birds including ducks (Anatidae), doves (Columbidae), guans (*Penelope*), mammals such as the spectacled bear (*Tremarctos ornatus majori*), and other small, wild beasts like the armadillo (*Dasypus novemcinctus*), guaratinajo (*Dinomys branickii*), guatin (*Dasyprocta fuliginosa candelensis*), and
[231] small fish from the rivers and lakes. The guinea pig (curí or cuy,
[262] *Cavia aperea*), which is prolific in all the climates, was the only domesticated animal and is an important source of food of the modern Indians.

241 The inhabitants of the medium, humid zone were more favored by nature in that crops grew faster and in greater variety. In addition to the plants named, they grew achira (*Canna edulis*), auyama (*Cucurbita verrucosa*), beans (frijoles), and peanuts (*Arachis hypogaea*).
262 Among the great variety of wild foods were fruits, granadilla (*Passi-*
137 *flora ligularis*), guayaba (*Psidium*), guama (*Inga* spp.), avocados
136 (*Persea Americana*), papaya (*Carica papaya*), guanabana (*Annona muricata*), and chirimoya (*Annona cherimolia*), and such animals as deer (*Mazama rufina*, *M. gualea*, and *Odocoileus virginianus consul*), rabbits (*Sylvilagus fulvescens*), guinea pigs, various rodents, and large birds, such as chachalacas (*Ortalis*) and guans (*Penelope*).

Additional foods of the low, warm regions were sweet potatoes, beans (frijoles), and yams (*Dioscorea alata*); such fruits as pineapples (*Ananas sativus*), papaya, custard apple (*Annona squamosa*), cactus fruit (*Opuntia* spp.), and plantains (*Musa paradisiaca*); and large fish from the rivers.[4]

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[127] [4] The scientific names of the plants were taken from Cuatrecasas, 1949. The mammals were tentatively identified by Dr. Remington Kellogg, of the Division of Mammals, U. S. National Museum, and the birds by Dr. Alexander Wetmore, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

1: Nachtigall--251 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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1. Colombia ‡

‡ [more lengthy descriptions of each figure and illustration in this section will be found in cat. 116, pp. 295-303.]

1: Nachtigall--252 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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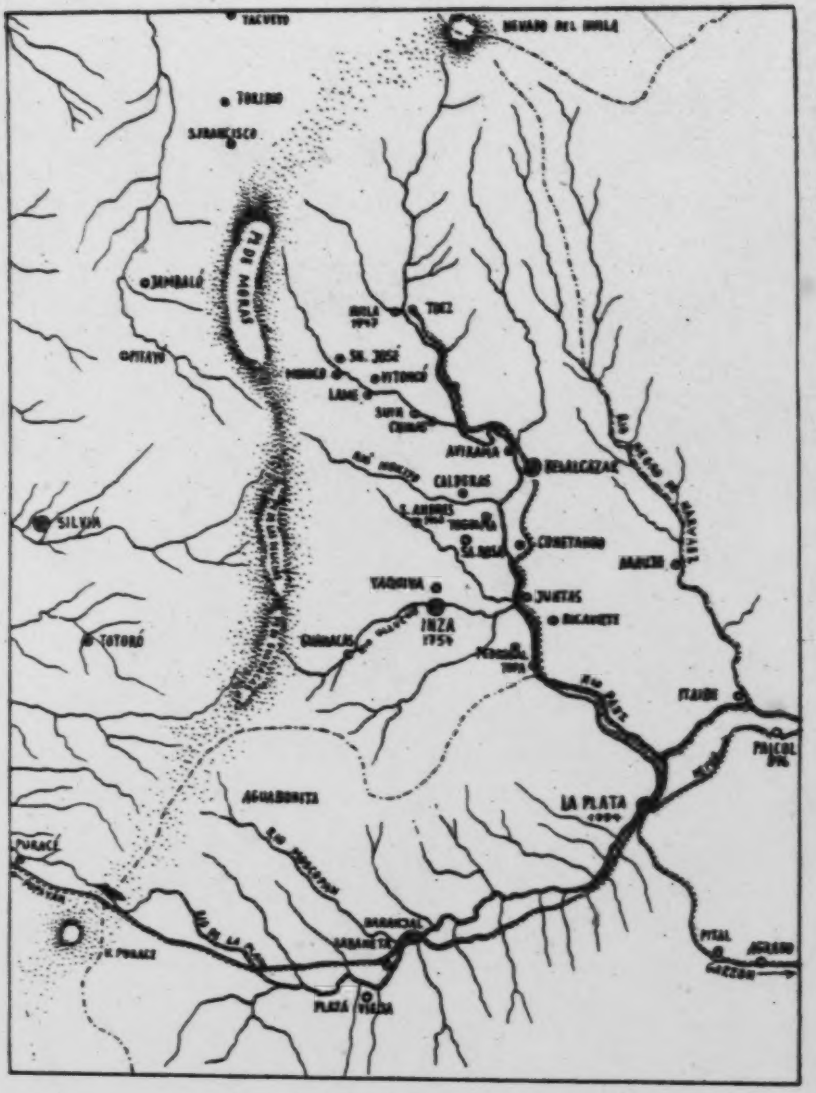

2. Tierradentro

1: Nachtigall--259 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15
Colombia SC1

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Ill. 1. La Plata, the southern trade center of Tierradentro.

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Ill. 2. The market of Inzá.

1: Nachtigall--261 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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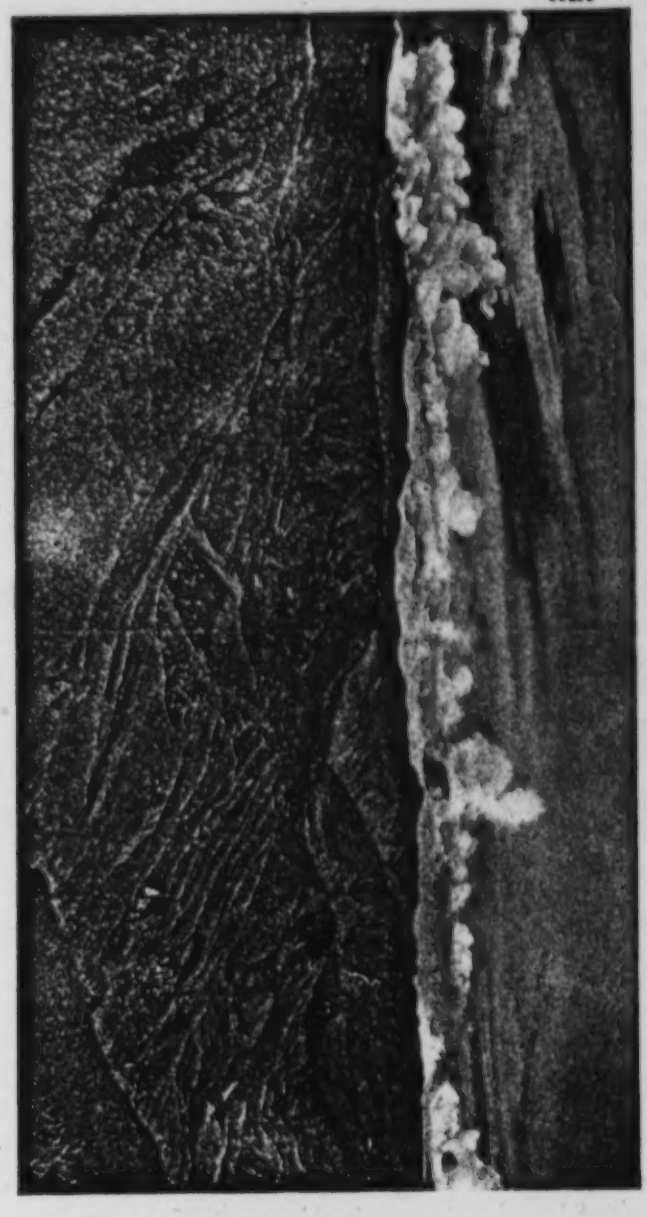

Ill. 5. Southern Tierradentro.

1: Nachtigall--262 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 6. The valley of the Rio Paez.

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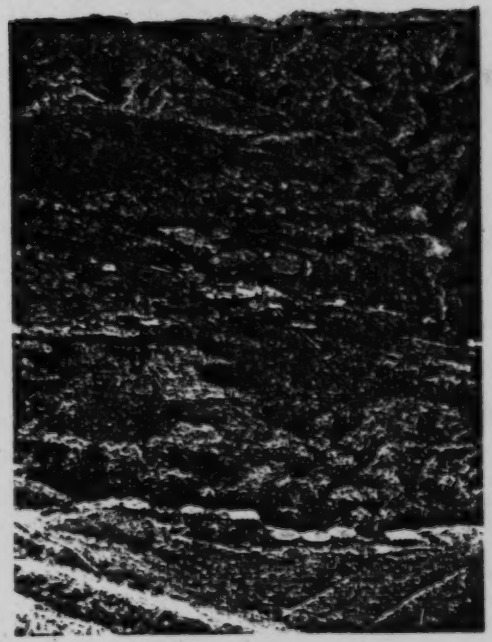
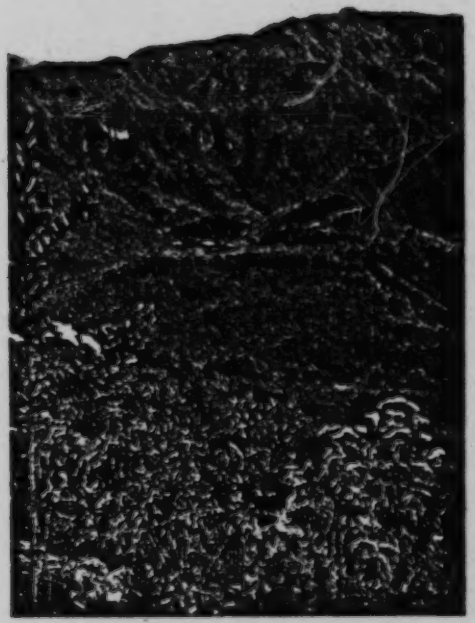
Ill. 7. The Filo de El Aguacate.

1: Nachtigall--263 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 SC15 Paez SC15



Ill. 8. The San Andrés valley.



Ill. 9. The artificially leveled-off hill Segovia.

/Ills. 10-145 on Plates XXII-LXXVI are omitted in the translation./

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1: Nachtigall--264 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 146. The valley of the Kokiyó with Calderas.

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Ill. 147. Calderas with church and festival houses.

1: Nachtigall--275 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 169. Section of a field readied for burning.

Ill. 170. Area used by the village, with fields cleared by burning.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

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1. PIEDRA DE LOS SACRIFICIOS (TAMINDÍ)
2. CUT HILL NEAR TACUETÓ

[facing P. 308]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

173 he said, "the caciques or chieftains, had their messages trans-
202 mitted from valley to valley by means of runners who were
205 stationed at short intervals along the main roads. Each runner kept himself in readiness to start on the arrival of a message, thus insuring rapid transmission." As the "planos" and also the old trails are found on almost every ridge, it is difficult enough to judge of the value of this explanation; but, if I am not mistaken, such a system of communication existed without doubt at a short distance southward among the Incas of Ecuador and Peru, and perhaps extended into the Cauca valley.

172 On our return from Huila, while traveling between Toribió and Tacueyó, I noticed on the left an isolated hill with a part of its ridge separated from the rest by a deep cross-cut, evidently artificial. The top of the separated part looked in the distance as if also isolated by a ditch. My friend, Mr Emile Bizot, a mining engineer of wide experience in these parts, informs me that this is a common feature of the hilly district formerly inhabited by the natives, and that the enclosed surface always contains numerous graves (plate III, 2).

172 The high peaks of the most rugged districts of Tierra
532 Adentro are often crowned by isolated *huacas*, which are especially sought by treasure-hunters. At Tacueyó we had the opportunity of admiring a set of gold objects found in such graves and of which we made the photograph reproduced in plate II, 2. The frogs are of a type quite distinct from those with which I became familiar in Costa Rica. The representative of a human being recalls certain Chibchan idols, or, according to Mr W. E. Safford, Kitšua amulets. As to the thirteen remaining pieces of gold, quite thin and almost uniform in shape, they are perfectly new to me.

Former and Present Distribution

131 According to Father Rodriguez[1] the Paez, or Paós, Indians
114 lived on the summit and slopes of the *Cordillera de Guanacas*,
133 "sierra muy fria que llaman el Páramo de las Papas," a defini-

[1] P. Manuel Rodriguez, *El Marañon y Amazonas. Historia de los descubrimientos, entradas y reducciones de Naciones*, Madrid, 1684.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

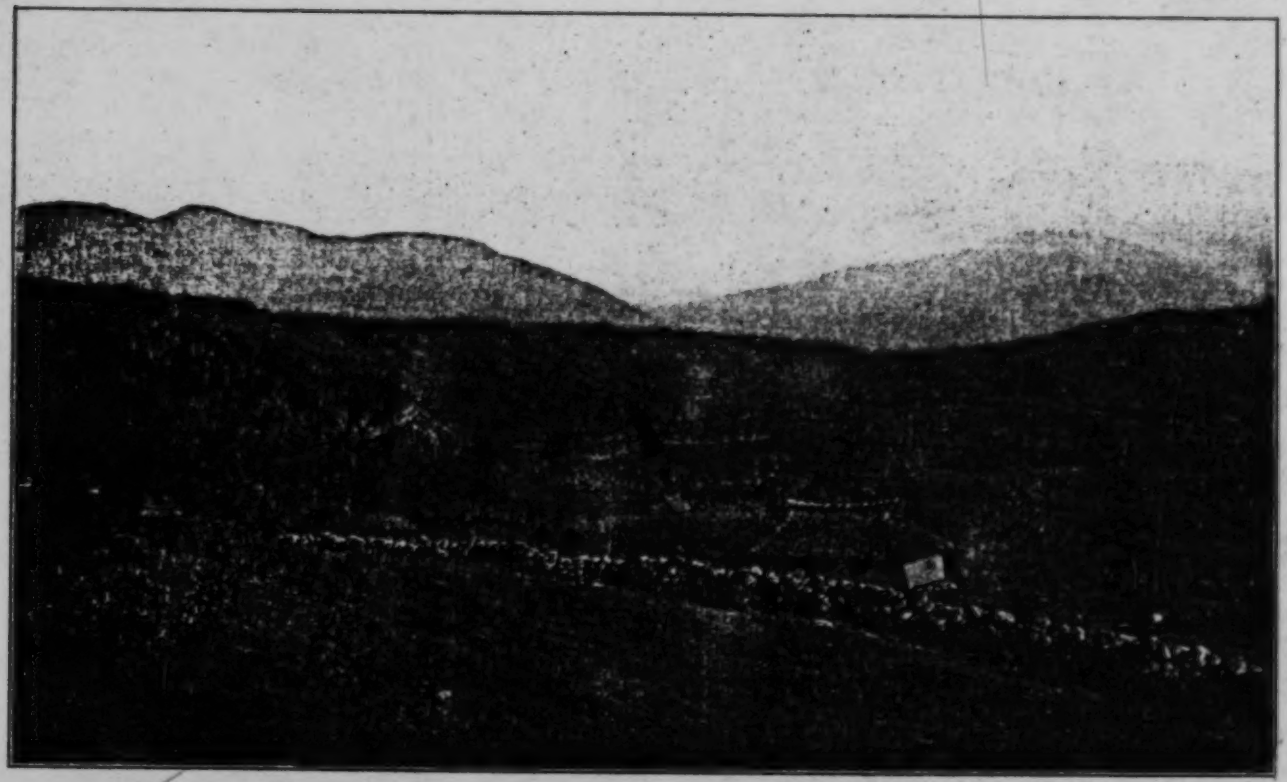
tion which would correspond pretty well with the explanation given by subsequent authors, except for its last, untranslated member, which seems to imply a lack of geographical knowledge on the part of Father Rodriguez. According to modern maps, indeed, the term "Alto", or "Cordillera" de Guanacas, seems to apply only to the group or node of mountains north of the Coconucos and Puracé volcanoes, and south of the towering Huila. This includes the "Páramo de Moras," which we crossed on our return from Tierra Adentro, but not the *Páramo de las Papas*, which is situated south of the Puracé, at the headwaters of the Cauca, Caquetá, and Magdalena rivers. 131 114 133

If we admit, then, that in Father Rodriguez's description the name Páramo de las Papas is merely a lapsus for Páramo de Moras, the area given by him corresponds pretty well with that which is recognized as such by Uricoechea in his introduction to Castillo's work, excepting that the latter extends this area northward to include the upper Yaguará basin. According to Castillo, this last was probably inhabited by another *parcialidad*, which he calls Bemb, "indios infieles de nacion pijaos." At Huila, when pointing northward to the valleys on the eastern slope of the volcano and asking who lived there, the Indians answered, "Los Pijaos", and among the Spanish people it is generally understood that the Paez and the Pijaos are one and the same. This is also the opinion of Reclus,[1] who says: "Among the various tribes that wandered through the thick forests of this [eastern] slope of the [central] Cordillera, the most barbarous were the *Pijaos* or *Paez*, who selected innocent victims to offer to their divinities. The enemy killed in a fight could be only indifferent to the gods; but a woman, a child, an inoffensive stranger, the pure ones, were welcome to the bloodthirsty genii." And these monstrous sacrifices must be repeated at short intervals to insure the permanent good-will of the gods. 131 114 101 [782 727]

The area given on the accompanying map (plate I)[1] corresponds with the above-mentioned description by Rodriguez, 101 103

[1] Reclus, *Géographie universelle*, XVIII, p. 305.

[1] [See p 304 – Analyst]



THE VILLAGE OF HUILA

The Houses are in the Patches of High Vegetation Scattered in the Savanna. In the Distance is the Huila Volcano, but the Extreme Summit is not Visible

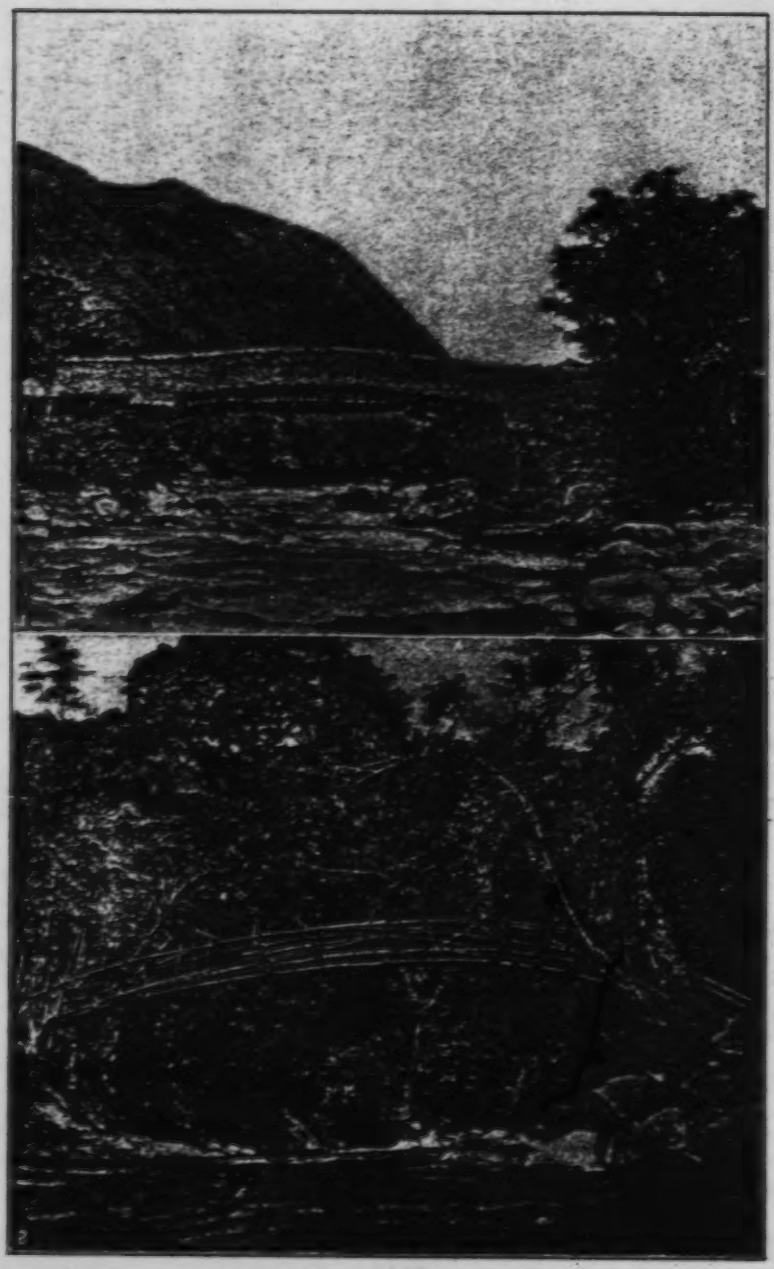
2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

361
133
342

[facing P.318]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

491
133



1. BRIDGE OVER PAEZ RIVER NEAR HOILA
2. BAMBOO BRIDGE AT TACUEYÓ

[facing p. 323]

THE WAX PALM (*Ceroxylon andicola*)

[Facing P. 327]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4,5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

133
137

3:Bernal Villa--1 E-5 (1952) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/279/

900

Aspects of Paez Culture
Mythology and Tales from the
Parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro
by Segundo Bernal Villa

/Page 280 is blank./

/281/ Chapter I

131 Geographic location.--In the northeastern part of the de-
●133 partment of Cauca, like a spearhead embedded in the depart-
ment of Huila, is found the region of Tierradentro, formed by the numerous eastern spurs of the Central Cordillera. It has the shape of a triangle formed by the water divides of the hydrographic basins of the rivers Páez and Yaguará to the east and La Plata and Páez to the south. Toward the west, the Central Cordillera rises like a backbone, along which the paramos of Guanacas (3,518 meters), Las Delicias (3,750 meters), and Moras (3,670 meters) stand out. Toward the north, like a gigantic colossus and dominating the vertex of this geometric figure, stands Nevado del Huila (5,750 meters), the highest in Colombia, except for the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta.

133 Topography.--Actually, Tierradentro is a complex of mountains running in every direction, although along general lines they are oriented from west to east on the right bank of the Páez and from north to south on its left bank, rugged, steep, with lofty peaks and great gorges, canyons and hills, ravines and valleys, terraces and escarpments, ridges and plateaus, numerous gullies, rivers, and streams with violent
[484] currents and thundering noise. To travel through this region "is to go up or down," as was said by Fr. Pedro de Aguado (1).

1. Cited by Hernández de Alba (Gregorio), p. 925. /See the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 309./

/282 cont./

487 Páez waters upstream, continues along the river Negro, climbs over the cordillera, and reaches Tacueyó.

● 133 Hydrography.--From north to south in a deep and steep bed runs the great Páez, whose frothy waves rush rapidly through the vertigo of the torrents, run swiftly while tracing spirals in the frenzied force of the whirlpools, or leap, being broken into a thousand fragments by the violent shock in the numerous falls and rapids. Born of the thaws on Huila, it receives along its eighty-kilometer course the turbulent /283/ rivers Muesga (San Vicente), Moras, Kukiyú, Ullucos, and La Plata on its right bank, and the Símbola and Negro de Narváez on its left. The Páez river drains all of Tierradentro.

137 Vegetation.--In the major part of the region there no longer exist the "dense and impenetrable forests" mentioned by Carlos Cuervo Márquez. The timber and medicinal species have practically disappeared. The Cinchona genus was heavily exploited during the second half of the past century, when the quinine industry flourished and constituted one of the most vigorous lines in the national economy. The large and dense forests have been cut down systematically by the Indians and colonists to such an extent that the latter are found as far as the steep crags of the Central Cordillera and the hydrographic [314] valleys of the Símbola and Negro de Narváez rivers. On the ridges where virgin forest has miraculously remained intact, it has been noted that it has been entirely cut down within a week in order to make a pasture for the llamas; it is not used, not even for firewood, much less for charcoal, the techniques for which seem to be unknown. In the plains and small valleys of the streams and rivers there is a thriving vegetation which for the most part is of cultural origin, since it was planted to shade the numerous coffee plantations. Gramineae abound. On the hills and plateaus, thickets and shrubs are common, while on the steep slopes pastures present their opulent greenness in winter /the rainy season/ and their yellow-brown tones 600 in summer /the dry season/. The fields are prepared with

The fields are prepared with
/283 cont./

241 machetes and fire. They are the so-called rozas, a barbarous, primitive, and criminal method of agriculture. Burning is a habit of natives and colonists alike and goes so far that even the vegetation of the cliffs, crags, and escarpments is burned, where obviously no practical use can be derived and in addition it leaves the denuded rock at the mercy of the agents of erosion.

136 Fauna.--The fauna consists of a few classes of ophidians and small mammals: tinajos, coatis, pacas, armadillos, porcupines, foxes, deer, tapirs, sloths, and rabbits. Bears, ocelots, and pumas are found in the virgin montañas. Birds, such as wild pigeons and chachalacas, abound.

132 Climate.--There are no data on the rainfall, temperatures, /284/ and winds of this zone. The climate on the whole is temperate, or, to put it better, it is a coffee-growing climate.

361 Owing to the unevenness of the terrain, the natives inhabit
133 a region that extends from 1,000 meters (Itaibe) up to 2,500
132 meters above sea level (Suin, Mosoco, Vitoncó, and Lame). According to Dr. Gregorio Hernández de Alba, at the time of the Conquest the Paez peoples of Tierradentro inhabited "altitudes and climates between 2,620 meters with 13 degrees centigrade and 1,650 meters with 17 degrees centigrade on the average" (1).

1. Hernández de Alba (Gregorio). p. 917 /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 309/.

132 The atmospheric humidity and the rainfall increase as the cordillera becomes higher and snow-capped Huila draws nearer, with two summers and two winters, influenced, of course, by the topography, the vegetation, and proximity to the summit. There is an intense summer during the months of January and February, and another in July, August, and September. The winters are intense during the months of March-June and, on a smaller scale, in October-December. Snow-capped Huila

/288 cont./
583 in the church, live together for a period of indeterminate duration, explaining that /289/ the man does not have enough money at hand to marry as soon as he asks the woman, and it is necessary to work in order to obtain it.

771 Religion.--The religion of the Paez is formally Catholicism,
177 but many of their traditions are hidden in it. The principal
[796] fiestas of the natives are religious ones, which acquire true strokes of splendor. The Catholic priest is called upon for the ceremonies of baptism, marriage, and cases of death.

Chapter II

631 Calderas.--Incrusted in the very heart of Tierradentro is the
131 Parcialidad of Calderas, bounded on the north by a high ridge
● 133 that separates it from Chinas and Avirama; on the east, La Muralla, the very model of a fault, separates it from Avirama, just as a ridge separates it from Togoima; to the south, deep gorges and high peaks separate it from San Andrés and Togoima; to the west, the Quebrada Guacharaca divides it from the Parcialidad of Lame.

133 It is crossed from west to east by the Quebrada Kukiyú,
631 actually a river in terms of the volume and violence of its waters, whose bed is deep, enclosed, and inaccessible. Its
[423] left bank is somewhat softened by a beautiful plateau of about 20 hectares, with fertile lands, abundant waters, and on which the pueblo rises; it belongs to the community, whereas the other lands are private property guaranteed by the fact that the owner either personally cleared the montaña or inherited it from his ancestors who cleared the forest. The right bank is steep, harsh,
[161] rugged. Numerous clearings are to be seen on these sloping
[311] lands, indicating the increase in population that compels them to cultivate lands of low fertility and great danger for the laborer.

/178 cont./

361 who have established coffee and sugar-cane plantations and
[563] cattle ranches. The natives occupy the steep and barren sec-
[177] tions.

[342] The pueblo of San Andrés consists of 23 bahareque houses /houses with walls made with two faces of sticks with mud and stone between them/ with thatched roofs. Only one is of brick and tiles. In its general lines the plan is reminiscent of that of Spanish centers: a central plaza with houses around it.

346 The church, which is large, thatched, and white, has a hand-
361 some façade, with a bell tower, arches and columns, a style reminiscent of colonial architecture; it stands in the center of the plaza and was built in the first decade of the nineteenth century by Padre Joaquín Núñez y Tobar. On its south side there stands a large, very old and dilapidated building where the school and the rectory functions; on the other sides it is surrounded by the colonists' houses.

366 There are two stores with a regular supply of merchandise, and on Wednesdays there is a small market where one beef, a few agricultural products, and chicha are sold.

●133 Toward the end of the Pisimbalá valley are found the not
175 very extensive plateaus of Argentina and El Rodeo. El Rodeo has marked historical significance; for a long time it was called Segovia. In the spirit of conquest and colonization, the town of Nueva Segovia was founded there by Captain Hernando Arias Saavedra in accordance with the mandate of Governor Sancho Espinar, who in 1578 gave up these lands after his vainglorious campaign against the Paez. It was short-lived. On this same plateau Mosquera's rebellion against the government of Don Mariano Ospina Rodríguez was won by his spectacular victory over the government forces headed by
[317] General Joaquín París (1). In spite of this, the markets for

1. González, David. Los paeces /The Paez/, manuscript.

/178 cont./

several leagues around were supplied for a long time with the salt extracted from the three salt deposits that still exist in Segovia. Across from these and on the other side of the Ullucos, in Vivorá, another salt deposit was also exploited.

At the confluence of the small stream called El Escaño and the Pisimbalá, on the right bank of the latter and at the foot of the ridge of Aguacate, the Archeological Park of /179/ Tierradentro, a branch of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, is located on an alluvial terrace covering an area of two hectares. Founded some 15 years ago, it is in charge of the care and conservation of the archeological monuments, which have been known to the scientific world since 1936, but to which reference was made as early as around the penultimate decade of the last century, when Dr. Carlos Cuervo Márquez carried out his explorations through the "lands of the Paez and much of the Nevado del Huila." Subterranean necropolises with columns, colonnades and niches, black and red geometric painting on a white background, statuary very similar to the Augustinian, ceramics and metalwork are the principal exponents of this culture hardly known in descriptive form.

The Archeological Park of Tierradentro has served as the center of operations for the scientific expeditions which the national government has sponsored, fostered, and supported during the last 15 years.

II

Over the Zigzags of the Road

In order to travel on winding roads one needs horses resistant to fatigue; a dashing spirit must yield to a solemn step, firm tread, and steady pace.

/179 cont./

123 At 11 o'clock in the morning we left the Park, bound for
484 Calderas. The road climbs through the Pisimbalá valley, at
491 first on its right bank and soon on the left, after crossing a wooden bridge with a plank roof; from this bridge to the pueblo of San Andrés, three streams have to be crossed: Chapequís, La Virgen, and the cemetery stream. Along this short distance and at the edge of the road we counted ten houses, all of them thatched except one of masonry, tiles, oil paint, modern manufacture; the others have white washed walls, painted doors, and are generally clean and orderly. They are the houses of mestizos and colonists settled on their respective fincas.

At 11:30 we left the settlement and took the path that leads to Calderas; the road goes ever upward, in slow and slippery
123 zigzags. As we go along, we see houses with graphite-colored
342 roofs and walls which are black when made of mud or (and these are in the majority) yellow when they are of maize stalks; they lie as if submerged /180/ in the plantings of bananas, sugar cane, and yuca; bluish smoke rises vertically in thick columns from the openings.

123 At 12 o'clock we came out on the Mesón, Supok in the
●133 Paez dialect, a small plateau oriented from north to south
[361] and bounded on the east and west by great depressions. Many native huts stand there.

[137] The beautiful valley of the Pisimbalá torrent comes into view in its entirety; contracted at times, then widening more, extensive in length and generally narrow, it descends in a gentle slope in pursuit of the noisy Ullucos; covered with thriving vegetation, it looks like a carpet of living green blending in its tones the stateliness of the cachimbos /búcare, Erytrina umbrosa/, cedars, guamás, gadua bamboo, and yarumos /Cecropia peltata/, and the splendor of the plantings of sugar cane and bananas and the pastures of the herders.

[131] An hour later we reached the Yukaichí ridge, the boundary of the parcialidades /territorial divisions/ of San Andrés and

/180 cont./

123 Calderas, and the water divide of the Kukiyú river and the
● 133 Pisimbalá torrent, the former a deep gorge, the latter an
[131] elongated basin. Toward the north, the outline of another ridge bounds the horizon and divides the parcialidades of Suin and Chinas. Prominent along it, the Vichaguau peak, the hill Dondotá with the double crests, between which, when the sky is clear, one can see Huila with its eternal snows, where the golden rays of the sun break into a silvery radiance. Toward the east one sees the hills of Chindavá and Potrerito, the heights of Togoima, and the canyon of the Páez. Toward the south stand the mountain ranges of Pangok and El Aguacate, which separates the valleys of the Pisimbalá and the Ullucos; the tablelands of Pedregal, Turminá, and Inzá; the sharp peak of Trueno /Thunder/, the "Kapich" of the natives, a summit
123 of silence, lightning, thunder, and storms. In the place where
173 the sun sets, there rises, stately and challenging, the sharp
048 peak of Hipinjí (1), on which, according to some Indians, lie
(133)
[104]

1. H = the English h.
J = the French j.
Sh = the French sh.

the images of saints, the bells, the clothing, the gold, and the silver which the Paez army carried away from San Sebastián de la Plata after murdering all of its white inhabitants, setting fire to the town, and filling up the famous silver mines which had given the town its name and brought large numbers of ad-
173 venturers and not a few misfortunes to the Indians. This legend
123 has fired the imagination of the whites and has led not a few to search for them. It is said that several whites went to the Hipinjí in search of the legendary treasure. At the /181/ /illustration appears here/ top of the peak a white flag was waving. One day there appeared on it the following mysterious order: "At 12 o'clock you may clear out this opening." Their enthusiasm was renewed, their fatigue forgotten, and they went to work eagerly. One worker was rewarded by blind

/182 cont./

487 authentically native achievement which is a true work of
499 engineering; it could not have been done in any other spot or in any other way. The bridge over the Kukiyú was built with two thick beams over which thin cross-pieces have been fastened together with lianas; like all Paez bridges, it has a thatched roof and side rails.

III

Black, Smoking Dots on the Horizon

241 36 From Yukaichí one can see almost the entire parcialidad
[183] of Calderas, exept for the left bank of the Kukiyú. On the ridge of a hill, at the end of a canyon, on a slight plateau, discreetly hidden on a gentle slope or on a bold declivity, one sees trapezoidal figures that glow like graphite, surrounded by rows of golden stalks of maize. They are the Indians' huts, built far apart, submerged in the green landscape of the plantings of bananas and sugar cane, and through whose openings a thick bluish smoke is always emerging, a sign of life and activity.

38 While to the Guajira /Goajiro/ livestock is a symbol of sustenance and the tending of herds its concomitant activity, to the Paez the land is the sustainer of man; the black layer that covers the rocks feeds the woodland /monte/ after the harvest; time will tell when it will be mature and ready for fencing in anew the clearings that will yield the longed-for maize, the plenteous arracacha, the small beans, the blooming cabbage, the thick and abundant santo wheat /trigo del santo/; in the grasslands graze the cattle with bright and variegated hides, small, swift horses of great endurance, the many herds of pigs that fight over the tender roots of shrubs, and the mild sheep that yield wool for the men's ponchos, the women's skirts, and the kuetand yahas of both.

/194/

796 Both the fiestero and the albacero have laborers whom they select themselves. The fiestero has the following: three for the

[133]
[788]

distribution of food; three chicha-makers, two men and one woman; two millers of sugar cane; one fireworks-maker and two women as
796 cooks. The transporting of the sugar cane is done by volunteers
465 who help out daily in exchange for drink. The albacero has the same laborers, and although he does not kill a beef to reward them, he does sacrifice a pig to this end, especially for the fireworks-maker, with all the honors of the table and the demands of etiquette.

[p. 22 skipped in paginating - Analyst]

/198 cont./

273 take with him the "heart" of the aguardiente, thus reducing the
784 quantity and detracting from its quality, for it will be "cold

●133
534
291

273 and tasteless."
[784] The distillation is done on any day and at any hour; the tax collectors do not go this far; control of this kind has never been permitted, and anyone who dared to do it would risk his
[186] life. Children drink this liquor from the age of three. Abstainers are inconceivable; "only Protestants do not drink," they conclude.

4:Bernal Villa--32 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/202 cont./

415 chicha, and hands it to a person favored and respected by him;
554 the latter takes it, drinks from it, and returns the small gourd;
273

133
291

415 then he is given the suilté. In turn, he fills the small gourd and
554 gives it to the man who presented it to him. Then he distributes
273 the chicha among all those present, beginning with the adults.

/293 cont./

221 on the fincas of the "whites" (1). The social life and the re-
[166]
[464]
[192]
[179]
[128]

1. Generic term with which the natives designate all those who observe the norms of western culture, without any distinction as to race. For convenience we have adopted this usage, putting the term in quotation marks.

ligious fiestas are frequent during this period. The work is done /294/ with devotion and perseverance. It is not done in haste, but there is no resting either.

423 Every Páez family has its lands. This is its ambition. The
[183] primary source of its security. Every crag has an owner whose title has been won by the sweat of his brow. Every crag harbors a rancho that shelters a family. Every inch of land is passionately
[577] defended by the native. The disputes stirred up by this fact are not few. In like manner the cabildos are never so zealous as in the defense of the lands of the parcialidad /a territorial division/.
[648] The areas of settlement /areas of colonization by whites/ are spearheads in the very heart of the community. They were established against the full opposition of the natives. On the other hand, the defense of the land and the prevention of contamination by foreign peoples are postulates of the doctrine. The distribution of the houses suggests in advance the profusion of paths and private property.

When they win the scarce land, the distances and difficul-
[464] ties that loom are not important. They are good colonizers, and it is rare that persons who lack land hire themselves out as permanent peons or become tenant farmers on the great haciendas.
[181] They prefer independence above all.

311 To study the economy of the Páez, certain factors of a
133 geographico-physical and cultural nature cannot be overlooked. They are:

1. Thermic levels. The lands now occupied by the Páez of Tierradentro correspond to the thermic levels of cold and temperate. The contour line corresponding to 2,000 meters

/294 cont./

311 passes through Topa, Turminá, Guanacas, El Cabuyo, Malvasá,
●/33 Pisimbalá, Lame, La Troja, and Irlanda, from where it twists eastward. The contour line of 3,000 meters, approximately parallel to the previous one, is very close to the ridge of the
[361] Central Cordillera. These two contour lines form a narrow zone that corresponds to the cold thermal level and within which are found the parcialidades of Toez, Huila, Vitoncó, San José, Mosoco, Lame, and Yaquivá, aside from a considerable area from the extinct parcialidades of Guanacas and Turminá.
311 This entire zone represents a "culturally influenced zone" in
[487] the literal sense that Professor Guhl gives it (2). A fine bridle-

2. Guhl, E. "Ambiente Geográfico-Humano de la Costa del Atlántico /Geographical-human Environment of the Atlantic Coast/," Revista Geográfica, p. 159.

[489] path joins Mosoco and Silvia, crossing the Paramo de Moras. The traffic of people is intense and constant during almost every /295/
311 month of the year. In the last decades, this has been an active zone
648 of native and "white" colonization. It still remains so. Coscuro
361 and Malvasá, in the Parcialidad of San Andrés, are purely "white" regions of colonization. But Tumbichukue, the high parts of Lame, Mosoco, San José, Huila, and Toez are zones of exclu-
361 sively native colonization. The importance of Mosoco is out-
311 standing. It was a great center of Páez settlement and still is, in the same manner as Pitayó and Tacueyó are on the other side of the Cordillera, but we cannot state on this account that "the major part of the settlements and the most important ones for the Paeces" are located in the cold region, as was stated
[177] categorically by Professor José Pérez de Barradas. Mosoco,
[433] fully in the process of acculturation, is a good producer of potatoes, wheat, and maize. It is the true Tierradentro in
[648] physiography, production, and progress. But in the times of
[175] the Conquest it was the people of Tálaga, Avirama, Calderas, and Togoima who defeated Ampudia and Belalcázar, and the

/296 cont./

13 and are of very good quality. The wheat and coffee from the
241 municipio of Inzá enjoy a deserved reputation in the republic for the quantity and quality of their crops.

●133 The Páez River receives approximately 32 watercourses on
134 the left bank, and 17 on the right. It is easy to imagine the ruggedness of the terrain if we bear in mind the fact that each
[241] one of them forms an impassable ravine. It is also easy to imagine the magnitude of the erosion, assisted by factors of a cultural nature, such as the systematic battle against herbaceous vegetation by means of the system of annual fires. The violence of the wild waters denudes and even forms veritable rivers of stone, such as are seen at the place called Vicanenga in the municipio of Páez. The streams and torrents sometimes swell to extraordinary proportions. In 1949 the Topa torrent completely washed away its small tributary valley, on which stood the hamlet known by the name of Brisas, now Valencia, a flood which was repeated in April of this year.

241 Of course, the extent of the workable land does not keep
133 pace with the increase in population. The physiography of the
134 cold thermal level, on the other hand, spreads out and flattens
[161] a little, the horizon broadens, the patches of arboreal vegetation increase, and the plots multiply, like veritable chessboards in Mosoco, San José, and Vitoncó. Their soils nourish maize, wheat, potatoes, ullucos, nasturtium, and garlic. On the dividing lines between the plots there rise, like green walls, the plantings of cabuya.

161 3. Population density. The growth of the indigenous popu-
361 lation in general, and of the "white" one in particular, has
311 compelled the former to utilize lands increasingly more difficult, steep, /297/ and sterile, or to emigrate in search of uncultivated land. As early as the time of the Conquest we find notes on the spread of the Páez people to the western slopes of the Central Cordillera, forming such nuclei as Pitayó, Tacueyó, and San Francisco. Nowadays, we find Páez groups on the eastern slopes of the Western Cordillera in the department of Cauca, in the departments of Huila and Tolima, and in the Cauca Valley, as Páez

/297 cont./

/6/ outposts, the centers of Chinche and Potrerillos to the north of
31/ the settlement of Palmira (4).
36/

4. Duque Gómez, L. "Problemas Sociales de algunas parcialidades indígenas del Occidente de Colombia /Social problems of some native parcialidades of western Colombia/," p. 187.

Agriculture and horticulture

24/ Agriculture and horticulture constitute the primary source
133 of subsistence for the Páez. It covers a wide hypsometric zone,
[433] that goes from 1,000 meters (La Plata, Huila) to well beyond the contour line of 3,000 meters in altitude above sea level (Mosoco). Naturally, the species cultivated vary with the thermal level, and, consequently, the dietetic regimen. What do not vary are the methods of cultivation and, above all, the magical practices
241 associated with them. There are also variations in the extent
134 and the type of cultivable soils. Those used the most in Tierradentro are the ones included in the temperate thermal level. We have already discussed their fertility and extent. The soils of the cold thermal level are fertile and more extensive. Thick humus layers are found in Lame, Mosoco, San José, La Troja, Irlanda, Guanacas, Turminá, and Coscuro. These are, of course, truly privileged zones. Nevertheless, the soils are not rationally utilized or conserved. The land is exploited in an exhaustive manner. A clearing will not tolerate two consecutive plantings. Thus, each year new land, new clearing, new fencing, and new burning are required. After having been harvested once, the ground is abandoned, and in the course of the years it once more becomes covered with shrubs and thickets. After seven years, more or less, the land is again cleared of its underbrush, and the same cultivated species are planted once more. In Calderas, Santa Rosa, and Togoima, maize, arracacha, frijoles, cabbages, potatoes, and sometimes peas are planted. The process described earlier is typical of these parcialidades. In Mosoco and the cold parts generally, maize, potatoes, /298/ broad beans, and frijoles are planted in the same clearing, and

/301/

Common Name	Latin Name	Páez Name
241 Pineapple	Ananas comosus (L.) Camargo	chuhá
137 Granadilla	Passiflora Ligularis Jura.	shlal
Coffee	Coffea Arabiga L.	café
192 Ground cherry	Physalis sp.	chimbá
Chachafruto	Erythrina edulis Triana ex Micheli	ásual
Pepino	Solanum muricatum Ait.	pina
Yam	Dioscorea sp.	shuá
Other cultivated plants:		
Coca	Erythroxylon coca Lam.	esh
Bamboo	Guadua angustifolia Kuth	mum
Bottle gourd	Lagenaria vulgaris Serg.	tuka
Calabash tree	Crescentia cujete L.	shiptuka
Cabuya	Fourcrea cabuya Trel.	bats
Dill	Anethum graveolens L.	llinojo
Mint	Mentha viridis L.	tuchá
Rue	Ruta graveolens.	luda

222 241 In reality, as far as a certain type of frijole that the natives call "kacha" is concerned, as well as the ground cherry, the chachafruto, fruits in general, and all the plants listed under "Other cultivated plants," with the exception of coca, the word "cultivated" is unsuitable, since they are practically in a semiwild state. The natives make use of their fruits, consumption thus being occasional and not always necessary.

●133 241 361 [131] [161] Although it would appear that the territory of the Páez, at the time of the Conquest, extended up to very close to the Magdalena River, the principal nucleus of the population was located in the temperate zone and in the cold zone. The thermal levels determine the zones of cultivation. One of them goes from 1,000 to 2,000 meters and includes the entire valley of the Páez from Huila to La Plata, and the middle and lower courses of its tributaries Símbola, the river Negro de Narváez, Moras, Kukiyú, and Ullucos. Within it are located the capitals of the district, Inzá and Belalcázar, and the following native aldeas: Itaibe, Chitóquez (Ricaurte), Cuetando, Yaquivá, San Andrés de Pilimbalá, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Avirama, Chinas, Suin, Tálaga, Toez y Huila (Byla), as well as Valencia, Topa, Pedregal, and Turminá. They cultivate principally plantains, manioc, maize, sugar cane, frijoles, arracacha, coca, and coffee,

/301 cont./

133 which is in full development. The other zone goes from 2,000 to
241 3,000 meters and contains the pueblos of Calderas, Lame, Mosoco,
361 San José, La Troja, Vitoncó, and Irlanda. They cultivate potatoes, maize, ullucos, wheat, garlic, and nasturtium.

241 In the cultivation of cane, the Paez differentiate the following /302/ varieties: java /Java/, criolla, amarilla /yellow/ (mum ñusha), negra /black/ (ñusha kuchi). Of maize: capio (white, tender, and mulberry-colored) or kukiguafi, the calentano maize /maize of the hot regions/ or kukibah, the hard calentano, and the fine or kukimull. Of potatoes, the kaka chime (white), the kaka kuchi (with mulberry-colored skin), the kaka bé (red), and the tusa /corncob/ potato (has a mulberry-colored heart). Of manioc, they distinguish the noli, guaturunga, pitaleña, negra /black/, and colorada /red/. Of these, the first and last yield in a year and in three years, respectively, and the others in two years.

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Agricultural Cycles

Crop	Planted	Harvested	Successive Harvests
	March-May	In 8 months (temperate)	An annual harvest
Maize	May-Aug.	In 10 months (cold)	An annual harvest
	March-May	In 7 months (temperate)	An annual harvest
Frijole	May-Aug.	In 8 months (cold)	An annual harvest
Broad beans	May-Aug.	In 10 months	An annual harvest
Potato	Oct.-Dec. (paramo)	In 5 months	An annual harvest
	April-Aug.	In 5 months	An annual harvest
Ullucos	April-June	In 5 months	An annual harvest
Wheat	July-Sept.	In 8 months	An annual harvest
Manioc	Any month	In a year (noli)	Continuous
Plantain	Any month	In 2 years	Continuous

6: Bernal Villa--95 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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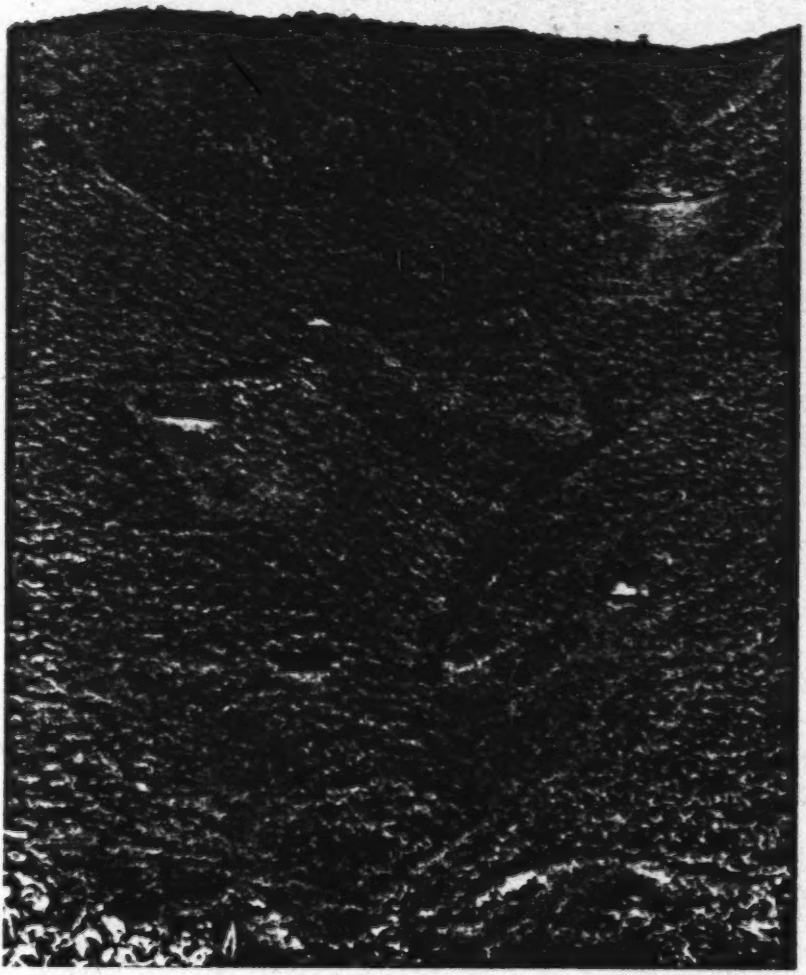

Tierradentro I: A clearing on the slope in El Cuartel (Vitoncó).

6: Bernal Villa--98 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro IV: Views of Mosoco. Above: left, panoramic view of Mosoco; right, partial view of the Mosoco plateau. Below: left, houses of Mosoco; right, dwellings, planting beds, and fences of "lechero."

6: Bernal Villa--99 E-5 (1952-1956) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

Tierradentro V: View of the route from Moras (Mosoco), showing the road that leads to Silvia.

6: Bernal Villa--100 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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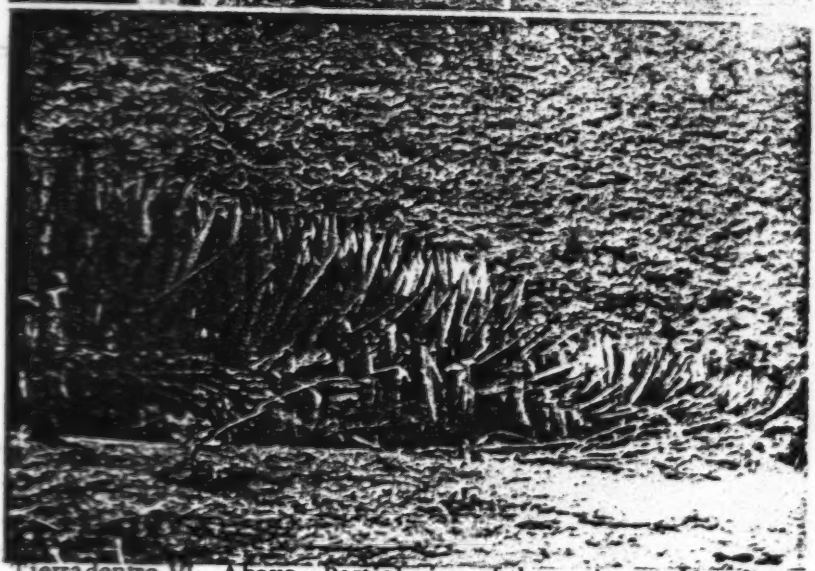

Tierradentro VI: Above: Partial view of the native pueblo of Lame.
Below: Plantings of cabuya (Lame).

6: Bernal Villa--101 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro VII: Narrow valley of the Paez River in Juntas, showing the alluvial terraces and the small vegas with plantings of coffee.

6: Bernal Villa--106 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro XII: Two married couples from Calderas in the Parque Arqueológico of Tierradentro. The one on the right is a very young married couple.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15

175 ture, with only slight differences in dialects and customs. Some
197 authorities affirmed that these Indians had no kind of religion; others
114 gave details which reveal a highly developed religion and an organized
[174] cult. In spite of these contradictory statements and in spite of the fact that today only the *Moguex* (*Guambia*) and *Páez* Indians retain indigenous cultures, it is possible to sketch the cultural picture of these Indians at the moment of their first contact with the Spanish soldiers by reexamining the chroniclers of the Conquest according to ethnological criteria, by utilizing modern linguistics, and by studying the ethnology of the present-day peoples.[3] It is also possible to trace the
174 acculturation during the Colonial Period, when new European usages
177 were introduced, and to depict the social and cultural conditions of the present day. The modern penetration of highways into the Indian territory and the official policy of changing the indigenous communities are likely to bring an end to these few remaining examples of primitive Andean societies, which have survived in spite of a poor economy, bad sanitary conditions, and missionary efforts to eradicate their traditions.

121 A fertile field for future research lies in continuing anthropological studies in the central mass of the Colombian Andes. The region is as important for physical geography as for ethnology, as its mountain chains run in various directions to form valleys and diversified environments.

[172] It also contains the archeological remains, known as San Agustín and Tierradentro, which long antedate the Conquest and which have an undetermined origin and relationship to cultures in other parts of America. The present article, however, does not deal with these, but is limited to ethnology.

GEOGRAPHY

131 The tribes considered in this article occupied the eastern halves of the present Departments of Nariño and Cauca, almost all of the Department of Huila, the southern part of Tolima, and the eastern zone of the Department of the Valle del Cauca, which embraces the western spurs of the Cordillera Central as far as Calarcá in Caldas. The region lies between 1° and 4° 40′ N. lat. and 1° and 3° 40′ west of the meridian
133 of Bogotá. The country consists of high mountains of the Andean system, which bifurcate at the Ecuadorean border to form the Cordillera Occidental, which runs to Panamá, and the Cordillera Central, which approaches the Atlantic coast of Colombia. Each branch has high plains (altiplanos), small valleys with rivers which are tributaries of the Patía River to the west, and high mountain peaks, some of which are volcanoes, like Pasto, Galeras, and Cumbal. The area of

[3] For the languages, see especially Jijón y Caamaño, 1940-41; Castillo i Orosco, 1878; and Castellví, 1934. For ethnology, see Douay, 1900; Pittier de Fábrega, 1907; Ortiz, 1935; Guerra F., 1942; Jijón y Caamaño, 1936-38 Otero, 1938; Albis, 1934. See also Languages, pp. 921-922.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

The area of this study is delimited on the west by the valley of the Patía River and by the Cuembi, Nambi, and Cuaiquer Rivers, and on the east by the divide between the rivers running to the Pacific Ocean and those flowing eastward into the Caquetá and Putumayo Rivers. P 133 121

All this region is cool to temperate throughout the year, the extremes being at Túquerres, which lies at 3,104 m. (9,433 feet) elevation and has a mean temperature of 11° C., and Ancuyá at 1,358 m. (4,380 feet) with a mean temperature of 21° C. The greater part of the population lives between 2,890 m. (about 9,470 feet) with 12° C., as at Ipiales, and 2,020 m. (about 6,630 feet) with 18° C., as at Buesaco. P 132 P

Farther north, the Cordillera Central forms a great mountain mass at the sources of the Cauca and Magdalena Rivers, the latter delimiting the Cordillera Oriental, which extends toward the northeast, entering Venezuela and stopping at the Atlantic Coast. In the Department of Cauca, the native peoples occupied the altiplanos and the mountain slopes of the central portion of the Andes and of the Cordillera Central and Cordillera Oriental. Some of the mountains are snow-capped, like Coconucos (4,800 m.; 15,746 feet) and such volcanoes as Puracé (4,908 m.; 16,102 feet) and Sotará (4,580 m.; 15,026 feet). There are high páramos, swept by icy winds, where only the frailejón (*Espeletia hartwegiana*) and certain grasses grow. Below these heights, the topography is hilly and grandiose, with a succession of hills, terraces, altiplanos, ravines, cañons, and valleys. 133 P

Some tribes, like the *Coconuco* and *Moguex*, live in the cold mountain spurs toward the Cauca River; others, like the *Páez* and *Guanaca*, in the high páramos with a climate like that at Moras (3,670 m.; 12,040 feet), Guanacas (3,518 to 3,750 m.; 11,541 to 3,750 m.; 11,541 to 12,303 feet), Las Delicias, and other places to the east. The *Popayanense* occupy the temperate Valley of Pubén. The *Pijao* lived in the last mountains of the Cordillera Central toward the Magdalena River, which, like the valley of this river, is low and warm, and extended to the Cauca Valley in the neighborhood of Buga. 101 361. PO [101] [361]

The country inhabited by the *Popayanense* at the Conquest has an altitude of 1,760 m. (5,775 ft.) and a mean temperature of 18° C.; the *Páez* in Tierradentro, 1,650 to 2,620 m. (5,774 to 8,595 ft.) and 13 to 17° C.; the *Moguex*, 2,521 m. (8,270 ft.) and 14° C. at Silvia; the *Andaquí* in the region of San Agustín, 1,695 m. (5,561 ft.) and 18° C.; the *Yalcón* and *Timaná*, 1,100 m. (3,608 ft.) and 24° C.; and the *Pijao*, 873 m. (2,864 ft.) and 25° C. at Carnicerías, and 1,700 m. (5,577 ft.) and 18° C. at Pijao (Caldas). P 133 132 Po [133] [132]

Such differences in climate with the consequent differences in flora and fauna contributed to the variations in economy and culture. The high peaks of the cordilleras and the deep rivers were frontiers between the tribes, clearly separating them from one another—the *Moguex* P 101 131

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15

101 from the *Páez*, the *Páez* from the *Pijao*, the *Andaqui* from the *Tama*
13) of Bajo Huila.

This extremely varied habitat offers a great range of food resources
241 and of possibilities for agricultural crops. In the high, cold moun-
●133 tains and altiplanos, between 2,500 and 3,000 m. (about 8,200 to 9,800
132 ft.) elevation, where the mean temperature is 11 to 15° C., the principal crops were potatoes (*Solanum andigenum*), ullucos (*Ullucus tuberosus*), and cubios (*Tropaeolum tuberosum*). In the medium zone, between 1,600 and 2,500 m. (about 5,200 to 8,200 feet), with a temperature of 15 to 20° C., the main crop was maize (*Zea mays*), but arracacha (*Arracacia esculenta*), quinoa (*Chenopodium quinoa*), and sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*), were also cultivated. In the low, warm zone between 500 to 1,600 m. (about 1,600 to 5,200 feet), with a temperature of 20 to 28° C., the main crops were maize, sweet manioc or yuca (*Manihot utilissima*) and beans (*Phaseolus vulgaris*).

136 The cold lands also produced in addition to these principal crops,
[241] maize, squash (*Cucurbita maxima*), wild fruits, birds including ducks (Anatidae), doves (Columbidae), guans (*Penelope*), mammals such as the spectacled bear (*Tremarctos ornatus majori*), and other small, wild beasts like the armadillo (*Dasypus novemcinctus*), guaratinajo (*Dinomys branickii*), guatin (*Dasyprocta fuliginosa candelensis*), and
[231] small fish from the rivers and lakes. The guinea pig (curí or cuy,
[262] *Cavia aperea*), which is prolific in all the climates, was the only domesticated animal and is an important source of food of the modern Indians.

241 The inhabitants of the medium, humid zone were more favored by nature in that crops grew faster and in greater variety. In addition to the plants named, they grew achira (*Canna edulis*), auyama (*Cucurbita verrucosa*), beans (frijoles), and peanuts (*Arachis hypogaea*).
262 Among the great variety of wild foods were fruits, granadilla (*Passi-*
137 *flora ligularis*), guayaba (*Psidium*), guama (*Inga* spp.), avocados
136 (*Persea Americana*), papaya (*Carica papaya*), guanabana (*Annona muricata*), and chirimoya (*Annona cherimolia*), and such animals as deer (*Mazama rufina*, *M. gualea*, and *Odocoileus virginianus consul*), rabbits (*Sylvilagus fulvescens*), guinea pigs, various rodents, and large birds, such as chachalacas (*Ortalis*) and guans (*Penelope*).

Additional foods of the low, warm regions were sweet potatoes, beans (frijoles), and yams (*Dioscorea alata*); such fruits as pineapples (*Ananas sativus*), papaya, custard apple (*Annona squamosa*), cactus fruit (*Opuntia* spp.), and plantains (*Musa paradisaica*); and large fish from the rivers.[1]

[127] [1] The scientific names of the plants were taken from Cortés, 1919. The mammals were tentatively identified by Dr. Remington Kellogg, of the Division of Mammals, U. S. National Museum, and the birds by Dr. Alexander Wetmore, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5# (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

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PLATE 187.—**Páez weaving and spinning.** *Top:* Woman spinning wool while walking, San Andrés, Tierradentro. *Bottom:* Men weaving straw hats. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 c]

Here the mountain slopes which
/14 cont./
C 311 only 70 years ago were still covered with dense tree growth are
134 now cleared to gain pasture areas for stock-raising, thus causing
P extensive erosion of the normally already very thin humus cover-
361 ing and a certain sterility of the soil. The situation is different
132 in the villages still exclusively inhabited by Indios in northern
Tierradentro. They lie in part considerably higher (Mosoco,
P Vitoncó, Suin, and Lame about 2,500 meters). Here the nights
[244] are already perceptibly cold. Coffee no longer thrives, in its
P stead maize and potatoes. It is also the best climate for cattle-
[233] raising. The mountain slopes, due to relatively sparse settle-
P [311] ment on the part of the Paez, have not all been put to economic
● [134] use as yet; the /15/ tree growth guarantees natural water con-
servation throughout the year.

C 132 The two rainy periods of the year are from May to June and October to December. During these times, especially in the rainy period of the first half of the year, it rains in considerable amounts every day, whereas the dry periods are regularly free of precipitation.

C 317 Tierradentro's wealth underground has not yet been ex-
175 plored with modern means. In pre-Spanish times, and even
[135] after the Conquista /the Spanish conquest; see the glossary,
C 175 p. 249 /, numerous salt beds were exploited. The Spaniards
317 brought Negro slaves into Tierradentro as mine workers, whose
563 descendants make up a considerable part of the population of
464 Belalcázar. Today some of them work as gold-washers on the
316 banks of the Rio Paez. In Indian times gold was still obtained
C 316 at Tálaga, San Vicente, and Jambaló. In the southern part of
C Tierradentro the silver mines were a significant economic factor
[103] near the city of La Plata -- so-named because of its important finds.

C 487 From colonial times up to five years ago only the routes passable for human beings and horses (caminos de herradura /bridle paths/) were available for traffic routes. The two chief connections were from Inzá over Paramo de las Guanacas to Silvia and Popayán and into the Cauca Valley, as well as from Inzá via La Plata into the Magdalena Valley.

C /128 cont./
311 those of the colonists in Tierradentro. In the territory of the
[137] latter there is almost no forest anywhere; all the slopes have been
[233] deforested and artificially, but not through excessive agricultural
C cultivation, made into pasture areas for the livestock of the
311 colonists or large landowners. This has upset the natural water
312 economy of the region. The water flowing off unchecked dur-
134 ing the rainy season washes away the humus earth and forms
C deep gullies on the slopes. The soil thus eroded is infertile.
[361] The mountain slopes dry out completely during the dry seasons,
P so that dwellings can only rarely be built in the higher locations
311 because of the lack of water. In the areas used solely by the
134 natives, in which a natural alternation of cultivated and fallow
312 land is observed, there are countless channels and small brooks
361 that make it possible to put a house near running water at almost
P every spot on the landscape.

241 Every task of the Paez that is connected with the fields,
461 be it clearing, sowing, or harvesting, is done extraordinarily
476 willingly by all participants, "because it is for food." There is
P simply no such thing as anyone unwilling to work in the fields.
134 The soil is not very fertile, since the major part of the moun-
241 tains in the region of Calderas consists of slate which often stands
[135] out bare and on the slopes is covered with a layer of humus or
P loam only 20 to 50 centimeters deep on the average. In the
241 valley the humus layer is often more than a meter deep. The
P abundant land available, however, does not make the utmost
[342] utilization imperative. And although the numerous mountain
brooks are diverted in such a way that every house has its running
water, nevertheless there is no acute inducement for irrigation or
terraced cultivation, nor does the use of them seem to be known.

Maize occupies the major part of the cultivated area, closely followed by sugar cane, the raw product for the manufacture of chicha. Both constitute the basic production of agriculture, and there is no Paez family that does not cultivate sugar cane and maize on its land. The size of the cultivated areas cleared by burning varies. The smallest fields that we saw

/296 cont./

13 and are of very good quality. The wheat and coffee from the
241 municipio of Inzá enjoy a deserved reputation in the republic for the quantity and quality of their crops.

133 The Páez River receives approximately 32 watercourses on
134 the left bank, and 17 on the right. It is easy to imagine the ruggedness of the terrain if we bear in mind the fact that each
[241] one of them forms an impassable ravine. It is also easy to imagine the magnitude of the erosion, assisted by factors of a cultural nature, such as the systematic battle against herbaceous vegetation by means of the system of annual fires. The violence of the wild waters denudes and even forms veritable rivers of stone, such as are seen at the place called Vicanenga in the municipio of Páez. The streams and torrents sometimes swell to extraordinary proportions. In 1949 the Topa torrent completely washed away its small tributary valley, on which stood the hamlet known by the name of Brisas, now Valencia, a flood which was repeated in April of this year.

241 Of course, the extent of the workable land does not keep
133 pace with the increase in population. The physiography of the
134 cold thermal level, on the other hand, spreads out and flattens
[161] a little, the horizon broadens, the patches of arboreal vegetation increase, and the plots multiply, like veritable chessboards in Mosoco, San José, and Vitoncó. Their soils nourish maize, wheat, potatoes, ullucos, nasturtium, and garlic. On the dividing lines between the plots there rise, like green walls, the plantings of cabuya.

161 3. Population density. The growth of the indigenous popu-
361 lation in general, and of the "white" one in particular, has
311 compelled the former to utilize lands increasingly more difficult, steep, /297/ and sterile, or to emigrate in search of uncultivated land. As early as the time of the Conquest we find notes on the spread of the Páez people to the western slopes of the Central Cordillera, forming such nuclei as Pitayó, Tacueyó, and San Francisco. Nowadays, we find Páez groups on the eastern slopes of the Western Cordillera in the department of Cauca, in the departments of Huila and Tolima, and in the Cauca Valley, as Páez

/297 cont./

/6/ outposts, the centers of Chinche and Potrerillos to the north of
31/ the settlement of Palmira (4).
36/

4. Duque Gómez, L. "Problemas Sociales de algunas parcialidades indígenas del Occidente de Colombia /Social problems of some native parcialidades of western Colombia/," p. 187.

Agriculture and horticulture

24/ Agriculture and horticulture constitute the primary source
133 of subsistence for the Páez. It covers a wide hypsometric zone
[433] that goes from 1,000 meters (La Plata, Huila) to well beyond the contour line of 3,000 meters in altitude above sea level (Mosoco). Naturally, the species cultivated vary with the thermal level, and, consequently, the dietetic regimen. What do not vary are the methods of cultivation and, above all, the magical practices
24/ associated with them. There are also variations in the extent
● 134 and the type of cultivable soils. Those used the most in Tierradentro are the ones included in the temperate thermal level. We have already discussed their fertility and extent. The soils of the cold thermal level are fertile and more extensive. Thick humus layers are found in Lame, Mosoco, San José, La Troja, Irlanda, Guanacas, Turminá, and Coscuro. These are, of course, truly privileged zones. Nevertheless, the soils are not rationally utilized or conserved. The land is exploited in an exhaustive manner. A clearing will not tolerate two consecutive plantings. Thus, each year new land, new clearing, new fencing, and new burning are required. After having been harvested once, the ground is abandoned, and in the course of the years it once more becomes covered with shrubs and thickets. After seven years, more or less, the land is again cleared of its underbrush, and the same cultivated species are planted once more. In Calderas, Santa Rosa, and Togoima, maize, arracacha, frijoles, cabbages, potatoes, and sometimes peas are planted. The process described earlier is typical of these parcialidades. In Mosoco and the cold parts generally, maize, potatoes, /298/ broad beans, and frijoles are planted in the same clearing, and

/298 cont./

241 in some cases, fruit trees, and after this, wheat. In San Andrés,
●134 especially in the vegas, maize, plantains, frijoles, arracacha, manioc, sugar cane, and coffee are planted. Thus, there is not proper utilization of the soil or protection of it, aside from the several years of rest. They are not familiar with fertilizers, the rotation of crops, or irrigation systems.

241 It is interesting to note that the families of San Andrés,
423 Calderas, Lame, and Mosoco generally have lands in the low places along the rivers and streams and in the high places where arboreal vegetation abounds, which they call the "montaña." In this way, they can cultivate cold and temperate zone plants (Calderas, San Andrés, Lame) or take advantage of the annual seasonal cycle in the high parts of the Cordillera (Mosoco).

244 A principal dwelling is erected on one of the fincas, while
342 on the others ranchos where the families live during the months of harvest are built. It is at the principal dwelling where the garden is made with plantains, sugar cane, onions, coriander, coca, cabbage (San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Calderas, Togoima), or with cabbage, garlic, onions, yuca de pipchao /yams/, peaches, and apples (Lame, Mosoco, Vitoncó). Peppers are cultivated in the gardens. This principal dwelling forms what in our culture is called hogar /hearth, home/. It is here that the fire is always maintained, that the ears of maize, bundles of wheat, bags of frijoles, tools, troughs, cooking utensils, and sugar mills are kept, where the chickens, guinea pigs, pigs, and turkeys live.

249 Industrial crops practically do not exist. There are no
[248] tobacco or cotton plantations. Sugar-cane plantings are not
[273] extensive among the natives. They are used solely for pro-
[778] ducing guarapo, which has almost completely replaced the maize chicha. Only the whites and a few mestizos have extensive sugar-cane fields for producing panela.

248 Figue thrives in Tierradentro. But it is in Vitoncó and Lame that there are numerous plantings of cabuya of very good quality in terms of the size and quantity of the fiber, planted on the boundaries of the properties. This wealth is not utilized as much as it should be. The natives merely make pouches and lassos for internal consumption.

The
/312 cont./

244 pluviometrical system in this region is relatively high, and the
[134] soils are saturated with moisture. As a result, this method of making the beds pursues a protective aim for the seeds and fruits. Each bed is raised by a thickness of 60 centimeters, with a distance of one meter between one and the next. The formation of the beds has two stages: the molding /moldeada/ and the raising /alzada/. The former consists of lifting the grass covering and folding it over itself, following the capricious undulations of the ground. It is left like this for several weeks, while the grass completely rots away. This is the only fertilizer. Then comes the planting and after this the raising, an operation which consists of covering the molding with the crumbled earth taken from the part where the grass cover was lifted. In this fashion, the beds have abundant soil in which the roots can grow. The planting does not require any weeding.

In the region that the people of Mosoco call "paramo,"
[243] potatoes are planted without order or rows of any sort. In Moras-Mosoco, as in San José, Lame, Tumbichukue, and Vitoncó, two rows of maize are planted at the edge of the beds and within them the potatoes, very close together and without any sort of order. Frijoles, broad beans, peas, or cabbages are also planted
[243] there. Cultivation is multiple and thus exhaustive. After this harvest, wheat is sown, and then the land is left to lie fallow for three or four years, after which the process is repeated. Naturally, these collective sowings rapidly exhaust the soils. Hence, the May and June sowings yield poorly and usually are lost.

The work is done by the members of the family. Mingas
[476] are still in force as a system of collective labor. They are usually
[464] attended by consanguineous and political familiars. Contract labor is common with Guambiano natives. Mosoco day-laborers are not encountered.

The potato harvest is selected into three classes: large, seed, and birucha. The first serves exclusively for the market, while
000 the last is for family consumption. /In the original text, the following tables for Mosoco, Lame, and San Andres, with the observations deduced from them, appear on two sheets inserted between pages 312 and 313./

C /128 cont./
311 those of the colonists in Tierradentro. In the territory of the
[137] latter there is almost no forest anywhere; all the slopes have been
[233] deforested and artificially, but not through excessive agricultural
C cultivation, made into pasture areas for the livestock of the
311 colonists or large landowners. This has upset the natural water
312 economy of the region. The water flowing off unchecked dur-
134 ing the rainy season washes away the humus earth and forms
C deep gullies on the slopes. The soil thus eroded is infertile.
[361] The mountain slopes dry out completely during the dry seasons,
P so that dwellings can only rarely be built in the higher locations
311 because of the lack of water. In the areas used solely by the
134 natives, in which a natural alternation of cultivated and fallow
312 land is observed, there are countless channels and small brooks
361 that make it possible to put a house near running water at almost
P every spot on the landscape.

241 Every task of the Paez that is connected with the fields,
461 be it clearing, sowing, or harvesting, is done extraordinarily
476 willingly by all participants, "because it is for food." There is
P simply no such thing as anyone unwilling to work in the fields.
134 The soil is not very fertile, since the major part of the moun-
241 tains in the region of Calderas consists of slate which often stands
[135] out bare and on the slopes is covered with a layer of humus or
P loam only 20 to 50 centimeters deep on the average. In the
241 valley the humus layer is often more than a meter deep. The
P abundant land available, however, does not make the utmost
[312] utilization imperative. And although the numerous mountain
brooks are diverted in such a way that every house has its running
water, nevertheless there is no acute inducement for irrigation or
terraced cultivation, nor does the use of them seem to be known.

Maize occupies the major part of the cultivated area, closely followed by sugar cane, the raw product for the manufacture of chicha. Both constitute the basic production of agriculture, and there is no Paez family that does not cultivate sugar cane and maize on its land. The size of the cultivated areas cleared by burning varies. The smallest fields that we saw

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

121 The present object is not in any way to contribute an exhaustive monograph on the Paez, but simply to give a summary of our former knowledge of them, together with the chief results of the personal information collected during the visit referred to.

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

Former Occupants. "Planos de Indios." Huacas

101 174 In addition to the still existing tribes, traces of the former occupancy of the Cauca valley and the adjacent mountains by a dense Indian population are found at every step. The names of extinct groups, like the Hilamas, Ocaches, Jamundies, and others, impressed on the minds of the former Spanish inhabitants by reason of some of their more gruesome customs, have come down to the present generation, although the tribes, as such, have disappeared. Of the Hilamas and Ocaches it is said they were cannibals. At present their more or less mixed descendants still live in the villages of Las Pavas and Vijes, near Cali; the "Paveños" have become inveterate legal fighters, keeping their judges and alcaldes constantly occupied; while the "Vijeños," on the other hand, are now so peaceful that the court-house is known to have been closed for eighteen months at a time. [692 181 162]

101 114 Of the Jamundies I was told that they were indefatigable warriors, having fought the Spanish invaders to the last of their strength. Their name is perpetuated in that of the little town of Jamundi, near which I visited the very interesting vale of Agua Sucia, which may have been one of their principal strongholds, as well as a rich gold-washing place. The hills were and still are partly covered with graves, or *huacas*, and these have been found so abundant in gold objects as to have induced enterprising miners, or *huaqueros*, to conduct a stream of water from a long distance in order to completely wash the slopes. 172 I do not attempt to mention the fabulous riches that are said to have been extracted from this place and from several other no less rich discoveries. An immense amount of pottery, often highly ornamented, together with grinding-stones, hatchets, [103] [135]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

with the right hand over the naked thigh. Two strands are similarly twisted together until the desired thickness is obtained. 283

Gourds.—Gourds are still widely used. They are picked when ripe, cleaned out, and dried. With small openings, they serve as containers for beverages and powdered lime. Some are made into bowls and others are cut up to make spoons. Today these objects are undecorated, but formerly in Timaná they were painted with a resin varnish very similar to that used in Pasto. (See p. 930.) Before the Spanish domination, gourds were also used as frames over which were stretched the prepared skin of the heads of their enemies killed in war. 415 824 [314] [727]

Metallurgy.—The metallurgy of these Indians was the same as that practiced throughout most of Colombia. The metals were gold, copper, and an alloy of the two (tumbaga). It is recorded that the Indians "worked gold," but the processes are not described. Specimens found recently in the territory, however, show molding, casting, and hammering. Metal objects included nose ornaments, parrot-shaped breastplates, necklaces with small animal figures, and some anthropomorphic idols. Gold occurs in this territory, particularly on the upper Páez or the Suin River. 325 [301] [532] [135]

Ceramics.—These tribes made and still make coiled pottery. Modern vessel forms include large jars for storing beverages and poorly shaped, crudely decorated containers for preparing and serving food. There is no individual specialization in this task, women making pots for their own family and not for trade. 323

Stone and wooden artifacts.—The native Indians made stone axes of a simple design, but stonework disappeared during the time of colonization, when the Indians could obtain manufactured iron weapons and utensils such as machetes, axes, hoes, shovels, etc. The manufacture of wooden objects—weaving, cooking, and farming implements and weapons—was furthered by the use of metal tools, and now is well developed, as exemplified by the trapiche (cane mill), a true machine made of wood. 324 182 179 322 249 179

Weaving.—Weaving, little practiced before the Conquest, developed with the post-Contact need for wearing more clothes and with the introduction of sheep, whose wool was used in addition to cotton. Weaving was and is exclusively the work of women (pl. 186). They prepare fine, uniform yarn with a common spindle, which they handle as they walk along the road (pl. 187, *top*). The loom is vertical, made of two horizontal rods fastened to two uprights. The warp runs vertically with a continuous thread. The horizontal weft is pressed down with a wooden sword. They also weave hemp bands on the loom. Woolen blankets are woven in natural colors, but some sashes have bright colors made of imported wool or of home-dyed wool. For red, they use one of the Rubiaceae (*Relbunium hypocarpium*), and for 286 [177] [462] [386]

The fields are prepared with
/283 cont./

241 machetes and fire. They are the so-called rozas, a barbarous, primitive, and criminal method of agriculture. Burning is a habit of natives and colonists alike and goes so far that even the vegetation of the cliffs, crags, and escarpments is burned, where obviously no practical use can be derived and in addition it leaves the denuded rock at the mercy of the agents of erosion.

136 Fauna.--The fauna consists of a few classes of ophidians and small mammals: tinajos, coatis, pacas, armadillos, porcupines, foxes, deer, tapirs, sloths, and rabbits. Bears, ocelots, and pumas are found in the virgin montañas. Birds, such as wild pigeons and chachalacas, abound.

132 Climate.--There are no data on the rainfall, temperatures, /284/ and winds of this zone. The climate on the whole is temperate, or, to put it better, it is a coffee-growing climate.

361 Owing to the unevenness of the terrain, the natives inhabit
133 a region that extends from 1,000 meters (Itaibe) up to 2,500
132 meters above sea level (Suin, Mosoco, Vitoncó, and Lame). According to Dr. Gregorio Hernández de Alba, at the time of the Conquest the Paez peoples of Tierradentro inhabited "altitudes and climates between 2,620 meters with 13 degrees centigrade and 1,650 meters with 17 degrees centigrade on the average" (1).

1. Hernández de Alba (Gregorio), p. 917 /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 309/.

132 The atmospheric humidity and the rainfall increase as the cordillera becomes higher and snow-capped Huila draws nearer, with two summers and two winters, influenced, of course, by the topography, the vegetation, and proximity to the summit. There is an intense summer during the months of January and February, and another in July, August, and September. The winters are intense during the months of March-June and, on a smaller scale, in October-December. Snow-capped Huila

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,1(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

101 from the *Páez*, the *Páez* from the *Pijao*, the *Andaqui* from the *Tama*
131 of Bajo Huila.

This extremely varied habitat offers a great range of food resources
241 and of possibilities for agricultural crops. In the high, cold moun-
133 tains and altiplanos, between 2,500 and 3,000 m. (about 8,200 to 9,800
132 ft.) elevation, where the mean temperature is 11 to 15° C., the principal crops were potatoes (*Solanum andigenum*), ullucos (*Ullucus tuberosus*), and cubios (*Tropaeolum tuberosum*). In the medium zone, between 1,800 and 2,500 m. (about 5,200 to 8,200 feet), with a temperature of 15 to 20° C., the main crop was maize (*Zea mays*), but arracacha (*Arracacia esculenta*), quinoa (*Chenopodium quinoa*), and sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*), were also cultivated. In the low, warm zone between 500 to 1,600 m. (about 1,600 to 5,200 feet), with a temperature of 20 to 28° C., the main crops were maize, sweet manioc or yuca (*Manihot utilissima*) and beans (*Phaseolus vulgaris*).

●136 The cold lands also produced in addition to these principal crops,
[241] maize, squash (*Cucurbita maxima*), wild fruits, birds including ducks (Anatidae), doves (Columbidae), guans (*Penelope*), mammals such as the spectacled bear (*Tremarctos ornatus majori*), and other small, wild beasts like the armadillo (*Dasypus novemcinctus*), guaratinajo (*Dinomys branickii*), guatin (*Dasyprocta fuliginosa candelensis*), and
[231] small fish from the rivers and lakes. The guinea pig (curí or cuy,
[262] *Cavia aperea*), which is prolific in all the climates, was the only domesticated animal and is an important source of food of the modern Indians.

241 The inhabitants of the medium, humid zone were more favored by nature in that crops grew faster and in greater variety. In addition to the plants named, they grew achira (*Canna edulis*), auyama (*Cucurbita verrucosa*), beans (frijoles), and peanuts (*Arachis hypogaea*).
262 Among the great variety of wild foods were fruits, granadilla (*Passi-*
137 *flora ligularis*), guayaba (*Psidium*), guama (*Inga* spp.), avocados
136 (*Persea Americana*), papaya (*Carica papaya*), guanabana (*Annona muricata*), and chirimoya (*Annona cherimolia*), and such animals as deer (*Mazama rufina*, *M. gualea*, and *Odocoileus virginianus consul*), rabbits (*Sylvilagus fulvescens*), guinea pigs, various rodents, and large birds, such as chachalacas (*Ortalis*) and guans (*Penelope*).

Additional foods of the low, warm regions were sweet potatoes, beans (frijoles), and yams (*Dioscorea alata*); such fruits as pineapples (*Ananas sativus*), papaya, custard apple (*Annona squamosa*), cactus fruit (*Opuntia* spp.), and plantains (*Musa paradisaica*); and large fish from the rivers.[4]

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[127] [4] The scientific names of the plants were taken from Cortés, 1919. The mammals were tentatively identified by Dr. Remington Kellogg, of the Division of Mammals, U. S. National Museum, and the birds by Dr. Alexander Wetmore, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

1

7:Hernández de Alba E-54(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The main subsistence of these tribes was and still is based on the cultivation of potatoes, which grow in great quantities in the higher portions of the territory known as Tierradentro, and maize, which is acclimated to the temperate and cold zones. There are three varieties of maize: sweet, soft, and hard. Additional crops were and are yuca or manioc, sweet potatoes, auyamas, ullucos, purutos, frijoles, arracacha, and various other vegetables, and a variety of fruits, including bananas, guayavas, avocados, papayas, [478] pineapples, and passion fruit. Today the *Páez* and *Moguex* are be- [433] ginning to grow wheat, coffee, which is an important item in their [273] economy, and sugarcane, from which is made a coarse sugar and molasses for their fermented drink, guarapo.

241 The men and women of each family generally cultivate the family 476 plot, but for large-scale maize or coffee planting, and for cultivation of the lands of the Church or saint, they work communally, and have meetings called "mingas." Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense. The [782] beneficiary must feed his helpers, generally sacrificing a pig and pre- [273] paring great quantities of chicha for the libations and nocturnal dances after the work. All adults must participate in working the Church lands, but each brings his own food.

241 Implements of cultivation are the digging stick, or macana, for 412 making holes for planting, machetes and axes for destroying vege- 407 tation, and picks and shovels for removing earth, except where re- 492 placed by plows pulled by animal traction.

Domesticated animals.—Domesticated animals include chickens, 231 turkeys, some pigs, dogs, and a few horses and cows. All but the [177] turkeys are of European origin. These animals are rarely sold or killed for food, except for feast days, magical ceremonies, meetings, and visits of relatives, friends or distinguished White men. But [438] sometimes the Indians buy meat in the weekly market and hang it [251] over the hearth, where it is preserved by the smoke.

A custom which has persisted since the beginning of the Colonial 574 Period is that of always giving a guest the "camarico" or "cariño" 431 (affection), a present varying from an egg to a chicken, together with some potatoes, vegetables, and coffee beans.

262 Formerly, meat was obtained from wild rather than domesticated 136 animals—boars (zaínos), guaras, guatines, birds, and guinea pigs, the 231 last being true domesticated animals kept in some numbers in the native houses.

252 **Food preparation.**—Food was cooked in pottery ollas, but metal and [415] enamel ware is now often used. The *Páez* make "mute," a soup of [177] boiled maize, cabbage, squash, and potatoes, and "cocido," a soup

The house

/122 cont./

356 is swept by the women every day with a broom (ctábando) con-
824 sisting of shrubs of the psánga plant. This plant at the same
[825] time drives away fleas. The rubbish is swept out of the house in such a way that even the entrance is clean.

351 All around the house and surrounding it at some distance
417 either a fence is erected or a ditch dug about one meter deep,
[231] within which the poultry and usually the pigs and sheep are kept.
[131] In Calderas, where, because of the low temperature, bamboo
[313] no longer grows, the fence is made of wood obtained from the natural growth when a piece of land is burned off. Stakes are driven vertically into the ground at intervals of about two meters and the interspaces filled with small tree trunks, branches, and twigs up to a good meter in length, lying horizontally. Climbing over this fence is done with notched tree trunks or bamboo stalks placed obliquely against the fence as a ladder. Similar notched tree trunks also serve as ladders in the houses (Ills. 168 and 154 /see pp.274 and 268 /).

514 There are no privies. On account of the isolation of the houses, however, it is never difficult for the Paez to find a place off in the brush or in the forest. We never found the paths
264 and the vicinity of the houses soiled with filth. The Paez showed
[412] the same tact in eating and at other gatherings. We never experienced smacking of lips or belching, even though their eating habits are somewhat crude, for, lacking spoons, they are in the habit of simply shoving their food from the plate into the mouth with the fingers.

/123/ 2. Clothing and Ornaments

291 The Paez today wear clothing covering their upper and lower bodies. In ancient times, according to the reports of chroniclers, some of them were said to have worn small cotton cloaks, although the majority of them "went about naked, even in the cold mountains" (cited by Hernandez, 1944, p. 191,
[302] from P. M. Rodriguez, 1684). They were also said to have painted their bodies with color and to have made imprints on them with

stamps,

P /134 cont./

276 Coca (ēs) is a shrub whose alkaloid leaves, containing
●137 cocaine, tanning substances, and various volatile oils, were used as stimulants even before the time of the Conquista, chiefly among the natives of the Cordilleras region. Almost 200 species of it are known, most of which, namely 137, occur in America (Walger, p. 9). It flourishes almost without exception between the tropics, from Honduras to Bolivia, in a temperature that generally remains between 15 and 20 degrees. In too low a temperature the leaves are small and worthless; in too hot a climate they lose strength and content. The most favorable elevation is between 700 and 1,700 meters.

P The word coca comes from the Kechŭa /Quechua/ lan-
279 guage (coca or cuca), which, however, does not state anything
192 definite about the origin and use of the plant, for the Kechŭa-
171 speaking tribes of Ecuador are the very ones who do not use the plant (Cooper, p. 549). In the northern part of South America the designation hayo, hahiu is customary, in northeastern Peru ebee, hibia, hibio, and in the Amazon region generally, names like ypadu, ypatu, ipado, or batu (Bühler, p. 3344).

P The first information about coca reached Europe as early
175 as 1499 through the report of the Spanish priest, Thomas Ortíz, to
276 his spiritual superiors, according to which the natives of the northern coast of South America used a plant called hayo as a means of enjoyment. The first detailed description of the cultivation and use of the plant is found in a work, printed in 1553, by Pedro de Ciéza de León, who for the first time calls attention to the fact that coca bestows strength and vigor and drives away hunger (Bühler, p. 3353).

P At the time of the Conquista, coca was known in Colombia
276 among the Cauca Valley tribes between Popayán and Cali, near
171 Ibagué in the Magdalena Valley, on the savanna of Bogotá, and
P among the tribes of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta. Today the
276 use of coca is officially forbidden in Colombia on account of its
c harmful effects. According to Decree No. 95 of 1938, the sale
656 of coca, except in apothecary shops and drugstores, was forbidden

P C /134 cont./

276 by the "Ministerio de Trabajo, Higiene y Prevesion Social."
C This prohibition was extended by Decree No. 578 of 1941 by the
656 same ministry, according to which an exact list of the existing coca plants of the country was demanded and their destruction ordered, /135/ with a simultaneous prohibition against new plantings (Duque, 1945, pp. 445 f.). Of course this prohibition against coca planting cannot be strictly supervised and enforced in all the remote parts of the country.

P The argument for the use of coca has remained the same
276 from the time of the Conquista to this day: it is supposed to
461 drive away hunger and to give strength. "Without coca one cannot work," I was told over and over again when I asked the Paez the reason for chewing coca. And, as a matter of fact, one sees the Paez chewing it on the long trips to market and during every physical task; but only at work, when one needs strength, and not during festivals and celebrations or on festive days. (The shamans are an exception, see below.)

P The bitter tasting coca is chewed by both sexes, and the
276 boys begin at 12-14 years of age, when they also begin helping
P their father with the work in the fields. The girls generally begin
[887] somewhat later, and in old age both sexes chew quite heavily and more frequently than is normal in younger years. The men take coca three times a day as a normal dose, and each dose lasts about two to three hours. Nothing is eaten all day after taking the first meal early in the morning before work; the second one
P is not eaten until after they return home from the fields in the
[272] late afternoon. During the pauses for coca, unfermented sugarcane juice (nyũsayumfl) is drunk, everyone carrying a calabash with one to two liters of it with him.

P The coca shrub, about 80 to 200 centimeters high, is
276 striking even at a distance because of its fresh, light green,
249 lancet-shaped leaves, which have two slightly curved longitudinal
● [137] lines on the underside. Among the Paez of Calderas almost every family has its coca shrubs, the leaves of which, after plant-
P ing, are harvested from the first year for about 20 years. Anyone
[437] who does not own coca shrubs himself trades for the leaves in

P
C
/136 cont./
276 are naturally more in evidence than in the case of the use of
146 coca with good nutrition and as the only indulgence. Along
273 with improved nutrition and corresponding enlightenment, a
prohibition on brandy instead of its propagation would be more
C desirable for the health of the people than a prohibition on coca.
[651] The departments, however, draw their chief income from the
P brandy tax, whereas coca was always tax-free.

276 Tobacco (wáhi) is neither planted by the Paez nor con-
[249] sumed in large amounts, since there is generally no money
available for the purchase of tobacco or cigarettes. Both sexes,
P however, smoke gift cigarettes, and, to be sure, from child-
hood, that is, from two to three years of age. The shamans
[756] in their séances and ceremonies are in the habit of chewing
[755] cigarette tobacco along with coca, but it is always purchased.
These séances last many hours or throughout the night, during
which shamans and patients together chew this mixture uninter-
ruptedly.

P
273 Chicha (pronounced tschitscha) is one of the alcoholic
[171] beverages which, made out of various raw materials, are wide-
spread among the natives /137/ throughout South America, with
manioc chicha predominating in the forest region (Venezuela,
Brazil) and maize chicha in the Andean region (Cooper, pp.
539 f. and Map 11). Two methods of production are distin-
guished, according to whether it is a matter of raw materials
with a high sugar content (honey, sugar cane, palm sap, pine-
apple) or more starchy crops (manioc, maize). The former ferment
without the addition of saliva and need not be chewed in the
preparation; the latter need human saliva before or after cook-
P ing in order to ferment.

[137] Among the Paez chicha (mbéca) is made only from the
juice of sugar cane, a raw material that is not American, but
came from southern Asia and did not come to America until the
post-Columbian period (Maurizio, 1933, p. 75). Formerly
chicha was made out of maize, as it still is today among the
neighbors of the Paez living in higher regions (for example, the
Guambiano). The name for sugar-cane juice, nyúšayumfl

/263 cont./

756 fact, even the visionary sight of Thunder are worthless by them-
787 selves, if the shaman does not receive any signs. By means of them
278 the teyu discovers the cause of sickness and the means to be employed for healing it, which always consist of the dispensing of herbs. For this reason every shaman always has his fiber bag with all his medicinal herbs with him, in order to have them at hand
[753] and to be able to apply them at any time. Since, however, an illness does not have a physical cause, according to the opinion of the Paez, the herbs used for healing are not applied in accordance with the medical experiences of the shaman, but solely in accordance with his signs.

756 The herbs used by the shamans are the following (*):
278
●137
[127]

*I am taking these, as well as some other data on the shamanism of the Paez, from the excellent summary by S. Bernal Villa (III) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 323/.

čandúr, eš (Erythroxylon coca), bičač (Hevea?), čulko (Oxalis, sp.), čáyuts (Scutellaria racemosa Per.), čuwét, fisa, ečyútse čime (Labiada?), /264/ gwepekas (Urera boccifera L.), kwése (Lonchocarpus?), limonsflyo (Cymbopogon citratus), nyika, nyundayuskey, šu (Spagnum sp.), šuwés (Peperomia sp.), šulápe, šupenyí (Peperomia sp.), tátse, táyuske (Peperomia sp.), ul níny (Hibiscus abelmoschus L.), umsim (Myricia acuminata DC. Vell, aff.), vitubítskwe, wáhi (Nicotiana tabacum L.), yakúma, yúskay (Scleria cattarinensis Boeck).

755 Most of these herbs are first chewed by the shaman and then
756 spat over the affected part. If a person is dying and his soul leaves
278 his body from the heart by way of the upper arms, the pulse of the
[774] lower arms, and the finger tips, the herb čáyuts, for example, is spat by the shaman from the finger tips in the direction of the armpits, in order to check the departure of the soul. Only rarely is a tea brewed from the leaves.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

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1. PIEDRA DE LOS SACRIFICIOS (TAMUNDÍ)
2. CUT HILL NEAR TACUEYÓ

[facing P. 308]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

133
137

THE WAX PALM (*Ceroxylon andicola*)

MEMOIRS, I, PL. III

AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

[facing P. 327]

/282 cont./

487 Páez waters upstream, continues along the river Negro, climbs over the cordillera, and reaches Tacueyó.

133 Hydrography.--From north to south in a deep and steep bed runs the great Páez, whose frothy waves rush rapidly through the vertigo of the torrents, run swiftly while tracing spirals in the frenzied force of the whirlpools, or leap, being broken into a thousand fragments by the violent shock in the numerous falls and rapids. Born of the thaws on Huila, it receives along its eighty-kilometer course the turbulent /283/ rivers Muesga (San Vicente), Moras, Kukiyú, Ullucos, and La Plata on its right bank, and the Símbola and Negro de Narváez on its left. The Páez river drains all of Tierradentro.

● 137 Vegetation.--In the major part of the region there no longer exist the "dense and impenetrable forests" mentioned by Carlos Cuervo Márquez. The timber and medicinal species have practically disappeared. The Cinchona genus was heavily exploited during the second half of the past century, when the quinine industry flourished and constituted one of the most vigorous lines in the national economy. The large and dense forests have been cut down systematically by the Indians and colonists to such an extent that the latter are found as far as the steep crags of the Central Cordillera and the hydrographic [314] valleys of the Símbola and Negro de Narváez rivers. On the ridges where virgin forest has miraculously remained intact, it has been noted that it has been entirely cut down within a week in order to make a pasture for the llamas; it is not used, not even for firewood, much less for charcoal, the techniques for which seem to be unknown. In the plains and small valleys of the streams and rivers there is a thriving vegetation which for the most part is of cultural origin, since it was planted to shade the numerous coffee plantations. Gramineae abound. On the hills and plateaus, thickets and shrubs are common, while on the steep slopes pastures present their opulent greenness in winter /the rainy season/ and their yellow-brown tones in summer /the dry season/. The fields are prepared with

/179 cont./

123 At 11 o'clock in the morning we left the Park, bound for
484 Calderas. The road climbs through the Pisimbalá valley, at
491 first on its right bank and soon on the left, after crossing a wooden bridge with a plank roof; from this bridge to the pueblo of San Andrés, three streams have to be crossed: Chapequís, La Virgen, and the cemetery stream. Along this short distance and at the edge of the road we counted ten houses, all of them thatched except one of masonry, tiles, oil paint, modern manufacture; the others have white washed walls, painted doors, and are generally clean and orderly. They are the houses of mestizos and colonists settled on their respective fincas.

At 11:30 we left the settlement and took the path that leads to Calderas; the road goes ever upward, in slow and slippery
123 zigzags. As we go along, we see houses with graphite-colored
342 roofs and walls which are black when made of mud or (and these are in the majority) yellow when they are of maize stalks; they lie as if submerged /180/ in the plantings of bananas, sugar cane, and yuca; bluish smoke rises vertically in thick columns from the openings.

123 At 12 o'clock we came out on the Mesón, Supok in the
133 Paez dialect, a small plateau oriented from north to south
[361] and bounded on the east and west by great depressions. Many native huts stand there.

•[137] The beautiful valley of the Pisimbalá torrent comes into view in its entirety; contracted at times, then widening more, extensive in length and generally narrow, it descends in a gentle slope in pursuit of the noisy Ullucos; covered with thriving vegetation, it looks like a carpet of living green blending in its tones the stateliness of the cachimbos /búcare, Erytrina umbrosa/, cedars, guamás, gadua bamboo, and yarumos /Cecropia peltata/, and the splendor of the plantings of sugar cane and bananas and the pastures of the herders.

[131] An hour later we reached the Yukaichí ridge, the boundary of the parcialidades /territorial divisions/ of San Andrés and

/241/

824 The plants marked with an asterisk were identified by the
[128] Herbario Nal. Colombiano, in particular by Dr. Jesús M.
[137] Idrobo.

[127] For the others, we were guided by the work, Plantas Utiles de Colombia /Useful Plants of Colombia/, by Dr. E. Pérez Arbeláez, published by the Imprenta Nacional de Bogotá in 1947.

75 The té eu and the community. In every culture, medicine
182 performs an eminently humanitarian function. Its nature is
171 sociological. No matter what its methods may be, its purpose is to save human lives. It combats illness, but also prevents it.

75 Among the Paez, medicine cures and prevents. The
182 community and the family perform special ceremonies intended to achieve these two purposes of medicine.

755 When the pest (epidemic) has spread through the com-
*756 munity, threatening its subsistence, the authorities (cabildo)
182 invite the curer to conjure away the danger by performing the
[731] wé ká.

When the illness prevails in a single family, markedly decreasing its members, the eldest invites the curer to perform
[765] the ut ká. After every burial the people must remove the ptans
[783] from their bodies and from the house where the death occurred. The curer is the only one who can do this.

241 The first fruits of plantings made on new lands not culti-
*756 vated before cannot be consumed until the curer has performed
783 the cleansing ceremonies. Thus, it is the curer who defends
182 the family -- preservation of the species -- who purifies the
789 harvests -- preservation of the individual -- and who also defends the community, warding off by means of his conjurations
*756 the epidemics and the individuals who threaten it. In 1952,
789 before an imminent attack by subversive armed groups on the
182 Parcialidad of Santa Rosa, the curer warded it off with maní de montaña /literally, "montaña peanut"/, chewed and blown on the path by which they were to come.

P /298 cont./

245 Guadua bamboo thrives in the temperate valleys. It is of excellent quality. In most cases it serves as shade for the coffee. Its increase would redound in obvious benefits.

P 249 /299/ In spite of the fact that plantings of coca are pro-
C [249] scribed by Colombian law, it is cultivated for consumption at
[656] almost every home; and in some parcialidades there are numerous
P [435] plantings for commercial purposes. The value of the leaf is high. A pound is quoted at three pesos.

Pc 313 Sawmills are found in Coscuro, Toez, the Símbola River,
Pc [785] and the Salado stream. But this is almost exclusively an industry of the "whites." Only in San Andrés and Mosoco was it possible to see native sawyers. There is no reforestation.

P 241 172 137 In a large part of the parcialidades of San Andrés, Calderas, Lame, Mosoco, and Vitoncó, and the entire valley of the Páez River, the clearings seem to have been done in quite remote times. There are no forests, but remnants are found along the crests and ridges that separate the valleys and in the windings where the human foot does not venture to tread. The cliffs are covered with uniform savanna vegetation.

P 172 241 In many parcialidades there are archeological remains be-
P [783] longing to an unknown civilization earlier than that of the Páez. The lands where these elements are found are utilized without any qualms. But when the plantings are in a "new clearing," the natives take the precaution of performing the required purifications before beginning to consume the crops, in order to avoid the "Pijao" plague which might happen if the crops had been in contact with the archeological remains, "pijaos" in the expression of the natives.

P 245 The cultivation of fruit trees is not very widespread, in spite of the fact that up to not very long ago Inzá enjoyed the reputation of being the producer of peaches and apples of very good quality. Nowadays they are cultivated for commercial purposes in Vitoncó, La Troja, and El Cabuyo, where true orchards of these trees are maintained with care. The fruits are splendid and are harvested during the first three months of the

/299 cont./

245 year. Traders in Silvia sell the crops at up to 14 pesos an arroba.
[439] Lame produces perhaps the best peaches, but they are not suitable for export because they are easily damaged. There are also numerous plantings in Tumbichukue and Calderas, although they do not have much care.

247 Floriculture does not exist among the Páez, and they cannot understand the labor that the "whites" invest in their gardens. They are always of the opinion that food plants should be sown on such lands.

241 Among the cultivated plants, they regard as native maize ("the /300/ Pijao had maize"), the hartón /large-sized/ plantain ("the Pijao also had it"), frijoles, mejicano /squash, Cucurbita pepo/, cabbages, and the cane "criolla" /Creole, native/, while coca, they say, seems rather to have come from the "whites."

241 Species cultivated and zones of cultivation
137 Here is a list of the food plants cultivated by the Páez (5):
192
[128]

5. We thank the Herbario Nacional Colombiano, especially Dr. Jesús M. Idrobo, for the scientific identification of the plants.

/300 cont./

241
●137
192

Common Name	Latin Name	Páez Name
Maize	Zea mais L.	kuki
Plantain	Musa paradisiaca L.	tuli
Banana	Musa sapientum L.	kineño (6)
Manioc	Manihot utilissima L.	ñe
Sweet potato	Ipomea batatas Poit. Andigenum	ni
Potato	Solanum tuberosum	kiku
Arracacha	Arracacia xanthorrhiza Bancr.	ni (7)
Sugar cane	Saccharum officinarum L.	ñuche
Cabbage	Brassica oleracea var. acephala	kulles (8)
Onion	Allium cepa L.	apulla (9)
Frijol	Phaseolus vulgaris L.	ni
Ullucos	Ullucus tuberosus ex Lozano	ukubil
Wheat	Triticum aestivum L.	ecuchi
Barley	Hordeum vulgare L.	ebera (10)
Garlic	Allium sativum L.	ekoe
Nasturtium	Tropaeolum tuberosum R. et P.	puel
Squash	Cucurbita maxima Duchesne	Ape
Squash	Cucurbita pepo L.	Peti
Broad bean	Vicia Faba L.	epes (11)
Peas	Pisum sativum L.	alpés
Peppers	Capsicum sp.	ówue
Coriander	Coriandrum sativum L.	klandós (12)
Avocado	Persea americana Mill.	ítse
Orange	Citrus sinensis (L.) Osbeck	limas
Apple	Pyrus malus L.	manzanas
Peach	Prunus persica L. /Prunus/	kukno

6. From the Spanish: guineo.

7. Underlined vowels indicate nasalization:

[104] sh = French ch (chaise); ch = Spanish ch (chicha); j = French (jardín); h = Spanish j (rojo).

8. From the Spanish: coles.

9. From the Spanish: cebolla.

10. From the Spanish: cebada.

11. From the Spanish: habas.

12. From the Spanish: cilantro.

Common Name	Latin Name	Páez Name
Pineapple	**Ananas comosus (L.) Camargo**	***chahú***
Granadilla	**Passiflora Ligularis Jurs.**	***shlal***
Coffee	**Coffea Arabiga L.**	***café***
Ground cherry	**Physalis sp.**	***chimbú***
Chachafruto	**Erythrina edulis Triana ex Micheli**	***úsual***
Pepino	**Solanum muricatum Ait.**	***pina***
Yam	**Dioscorea sp.**	***shué***
Other cultivated plants:		
Coca	**Erythroxylon coca Lam.**	***esh***
Bamboo	**Guadua angustifolia Kuth**	***mum***
Bottle gourd	**Lagenaria vulgaris Serg.**	***tuka***
Calabash tree	**Crescentia cujete L.**	***shiptuka***
Cabuya	**Fouerea cabuya Trel.**	***bats***
Dill	**Anethum graveolens L.**	***llinojo***
Mint	**Mentha viridis L.**	***techá***
Rue	**Ruta graveolens.**	***buda***

In reality, as far as a certain type of frijole that the natives call "kacha" is concerned, as well as the ground cherry, the chachafruto, fruits in general, and all the plants listed under "Other cultivated plants," with the exception of coca, the word "cultivated" is unsuitable, since they are practically in a semiwild state. The natives make use of their fruits, consumption thus being occasional and not always necessary.

Although it would appear that the territory of the Páez, at the time of the Conquest, extended up to very close to the Magdalena River, the principal nucleus of the population was located in the temperate zone and in the cold zone. The thermal levels determine the zones of cultivation. One of them goes from 1,000 to 2,000 meters and includes the entire valley of the Páez from Huila to La Plata, and the middle and lower courses of its tributaries Símbola, the river Negro de Narváez, Moras, Kukiyú, and Ullucos. Within it are located the capitals of the district, Inzá and Belalcázar, and the following native aldeas: Itaibe, Chitóquez (Ricaurte), Cuetando, Yaquivá, San Andrés de Pisimbalá, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Avirama, Chinas, Suin, Tálaga, Toez y Huila (Byla), as well as Valencia, Topa, Pedregal, and Turminá. They cultivate principally plantains, manioc, maize, sugar cane, frijoles, arracacha, coca, and coffee,

/365 cont./

177 For our outline of acculturation, we understand by diffusion
[121] achieved cultural transmission, and by acculturation cultural trans-
[127] mission in process, terms expounded by Professor Melville J. Herskovits in his book, El Hombre y sus obras /Man and his Works/.

Within Páez culture there is widely diffused, to the point of constituting an integral part of the cultural body, the following economic elements of alien origin and, more concretely, of European origin:

[231] All of the domestic animals with the exception of the
[137] guinea pig, bananas, sugar cane (the variety known as "criolla"), wheat, barley, garlic, coffee, peaches, apples, and oranges, the agricultural implements, the hydraulic mills, sugar mills, the guadua bamboo, and some varieties of pasture grass, such as orejuela /Alchemilla pectinata/, kikuyu, and poa.

177 Throughout the pages of this work, we have emphasized in
361 particular the cultural developments in process, that is to say, the
563 phenomenon of acculturation. It is obvious that this phenomenon has appeared, with greater or lesser intensity, in those parcialidades where there have been created areas of settlement, within which a specific number of "white" families have settled. But the intensity of the acculturative phenomenon does not rest merely on this fact or on the number of families who live by the norms of Western culture. San Andrés, for example, had its settlement area established for all practical purposes in 1928 and now reckons with more than 20 "white" families, with its nearness to the settlement of Inzá, and, for nearly 15 years, with the Parque Arqueológico of Tierradentro, to some extent a tourist attraction, and yet the process of acculturation is minimal and cannot be compared with the intensity of the same phenomenon in Mosoco, where the settlement area /366/ was created in 1923 and where
177 nowadays there are not more than 12 families of "whites." In
[487] Mosoco there is another factor: the riding path that joins the
[491] municipio of Belalcázar with that of Silvia, a road that has existed since pre-conquest times. Mosoco has been and still
[628] continues to be the mandatory stopping place. In addition, this parcialidad has had intensive contacts with the Guambiano group and the Páez group from the other side of the Cordillera, who are more accutturated.

/366 cont./

[77] are more acculturated. All of these circumstances have permitted the extensification of the cultivation of garlic, wheat, and especially potatoes, as well as the extensification and intensification of livestock-raising, which, in turn, has given rise to a series of phenomena now in the full process of development, such as the modification of work schedules and agricultural cycles, the regularization of trade and transport, the appearance of the habit of capitalization and of the use of credit, the use of barbed wire for fencing, reforestation on a eucalyptus base, the development of household industries, modification of the diet and eating times, adoption of specific objects of adornment by the women (gold earrings), disappearance of coca consumption ("deculturation," to use Fernando Ortiz's neologism), social stratification, the undermining of the institutions of the té eu and the nasa jihi, the calming of the real and magical aggressiveness against the "whites," intensification of primary education, and greater conviction in religious beliefs.

In the temperate zone in general and in San Andrés in particular, the cultivation of coffee is in full swing, and the consequences of this economic fact are beginning to be visible. The palm hat, very common in the parcialidad of Calderas, is not seen very much among the Andresunos, who are adopting the cloth hat of the "whites"; some of them already wear sandals or shoes, and likewise the use of the poncho and of the bag of a manufacture foreign to the culture is spreading; the agricultural implements are being enriched in the same manner as modern housewares; although the most widespread labor system in the parcialidad is that of the mingas, some already pay daily wages for work on their fields; the consumption of meat and panela is [756] quite frequent when there are coffee harvests. It is also interest- [554] ing that in the entire parcialidad there are only two té eu, who are not greatly respected, though they utilize the services of the té eu of Calderas.

● [137] /367/ The "criolla" is the most widespread variety of sugar cane and the one which has been fully accepted by the natives, to the point of being regarded as their own, but other new

/367 cont./

177 varieties are being introduced, such as "java," for example,
[137] which, although the natives call it "wild," they nevertheless praise for its quality and recommend its cultivation.

Such are the general outlines of acculturation in some parcialidades of Tierradentro.

113

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7:Hernández de Alba E-5,1(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

101 from the *Páez*, the *Páez* from the *Pijao*, the *Andaqui* from the *Tama*
13 of Bajo Huila.

This extremely varied habitat offers a great range of food resources
241 and of possibilities for agricultural crops. In the high, cold moun-
133 tains and altiplanos, between 2,500 and 3,000 m. (about 8,200 to 9,800
132 ft.) elevation, where the mean temperature is 11 to 15° C., the principal crops were potatoes (*Solanum andigenum*), ullucos (*Ullucus tuberosus*), and cubios (*Tropaeolum tuberosum*). In the medium zone, between 1,600 and 2,500 m. (about 5,200 to 8,200 feet), with a temperature of 15 to 20° C., the main crop was maize (*Zea mays*), but arracacha (*Arracacia esculenta*), quinoa (*Chenopodium quinoa*), and sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*), were also cultivated. In the low, warm zone between 500 to 1,600 m. (about 1,600 to 5,200 feet), with a temperature of 20 to 28° C., the main crops were maize, sweet manioc or yuca (*Manihot utilissima*) and beans (*Phaseolus vulgaris*).

136 The cold lands also produced in addition to these principal crops,
[241] maize, squash (*Cucurbita maxima*), wild fruits, birds including ducks (Anatidae), doves (Columbidae), guans (*Penelope*), mammals such as the spectacled bear (*Tremarctos ornatus majori*), and other small, wild beasts like the armadillo (*Dasypus novemcinctus*), guaratinajo (*Dinomys branickii*), guatin (*Dasyprocta fuliginosa candelensis*), and
[231] small fish from the rivers and lakes. The guinea pig (curí or cuy,
[262] *Cavia aperea*), which is prolific in all the climates, was the only domesticated animal and is an important source of food of the modern Indians.

241 The inhabitants of the medium, humid zone were more favored by nature in that crops grew faster and in greater variety. In addition to the plants named, they grew achira (*Canna edulis*), auyama (*Cucurbita verrucosa*), beans (frijoles), and peanuts (*Arachis hypogaea*).
262 Among the great variety of wild foods were fruits, granadilla (*Passi-*
●137 *flora ligularis*), guayaba (*Psidium*), guama (*Inga* spp.), avocados
136 (*Persea Americana*), papaya (*Carica papaya*), guanabana (*Annona muricata*), and chirimoya (*Annona cherimolia*), and such animals as deer (*Mazama rufina*, *M. gualea*, and *Odocoileus virginianus consul*), rabbits (*Sylvilagus fulvescens*), guinea pigs, various rodents, and large birds, such as chachalacas (*Ortalis*) and guans (*Penelope*).

Additional foods of the low, warm regions were sweet potatoes, beans (frijoles), and yams (*Dioscorea alata*); such fruits as pineapples (*Ananas sativus*), papaya, custard apple (*Annona squamosa*), cactus fruit (*Opuntia* spp.), and plantains (*Musa paradisaica*); and large fish from the rivers.[4]

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[127] [4] The scientific names of the plants were taken from Cortés, 1919. The mammals were tentatively identified by Dr. Remington Kellogg, of the Division of Mammals, U. S. National Museum, and the birds by Dr. Alexander Wetmore, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

/111 cont./

3. Anthropological Remarks

114 Since I did not take any anthropological measurements
141 among the Paez personally, I cannot give any numerical data. These investigations were undertaken during my stay by the Colombian anthropologist, Nestor Usacategui, but have not yet been published.

•14 From the somatic point of view, as far as the men are concerned, they are generally medium-sized, slim, with narrow shoulders, seldom thickset. As practiced climbers and mountaineers, they are never obese. They do not give the impression of being undernourished, but their padding of fat is very thin. Their arm and body musculature is also poorly developed (cf. Ill. 173 /see p. 277/). They are unable to lift large loads.
[482] A maximum of 25 kilograms is transported by means of the fiber bags hanging down on their backs and carried with a chest-band. Their calves are muscular, but not fat. Fallen arches prevail
[481] generally. Their gait is slightly bowlegged; the great toes point inward during walking. The same somatic peculiarities are also found among the women. In youth they are well-proportioned, in old age never fat.

141 In general brachycephaly predominates, but it is not extreme. The faces are oval, the cheekbones only slightly prominent. The nose is primarily straight, sometimes slightly concave, and of medium width. Among women one sometimes finds slightly distended alae. The forehead /112/ is high, straight,
142 and steep. The eyebrows are not very pronounced. The eyes are sometimes slightly slanting and show -- especially among women -- a slight Mongolian fold. The mouth is large, the lips somewhat puffy. The eye color is dark brown and shining, the skin color medium-brown. In Avirama there was proudly introduced to us a family whose members, along with normal skin-color and dark eyes, have reddish-blond hair. One of the grandfathers was said to have been lighter colored and to have had even lighter hair. The normal color of the hair is dark; the hair is straight, but not stiff, and sometimes wavy. Even in old

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/112 cont./

142 age the hair seldom becomes white. We met only one woman with slightly graying hair and an old man with a gray, sparse
[302] beard, but dark hair. The beard among men is scant. The beard hair is regularly plucked (see Ills. 148 to 155 /see pp. 265-268/).

143 According to the blood-group analysis of the Paez, among the 303 individuals examined there were 88.78 per cent of blood group 0, 6.93 per cent of blood group A, and 4.29 per cent of blood group B. The blood group A+B is not represented (G. Arcila Velez, pp. 11-14).

829 The racial concept of Indian is foreign to the Paez themselves. To them "Indio" designates a cultural status. My colleague, Segundo Bernal Villa, an Indian from the region of Pasto, was designated as "blanco" because of his European clothing. And when our interpreter Victoriano bought himself "white clothing" (hat, pants, shirt, shoes) with the money he earned, he was called a "white" in his village and accordingly treated with hostility.

161 The population figures for the Paez do not seem either to increase or decrease, as far as the uncivilized Paez are con-
165 cerned, for example, in Calderas. Infant mortality comes to more
164 than 50 per cent. The most common cause of sickness is whooping cough. The health of children who survive their second year, as well as of adults, is -- considering the circumstances -- quite good. True, one scarcely sees old people over 60 (and
[132] those who look that old are probably younger). The most fre-
[362] quent illness of adults is tuberculosis, which claims numerous victims, since the nights are very cold and the cold and wind can
[262] penetrate through the light walls of the houses unhindered. More-
[273] over, no fat of any kind is commonly eaten. Another illness from which many Paez suffer, which, however, is not taken seriously, is stomach trouble caused by the drinking of brandy even during
[154] infancy and the unsuitable diet in childhood. Infants are given
[262] beans, cabbage, and yuca, but no milk, except mother's milk.

1: Nachtigall--265 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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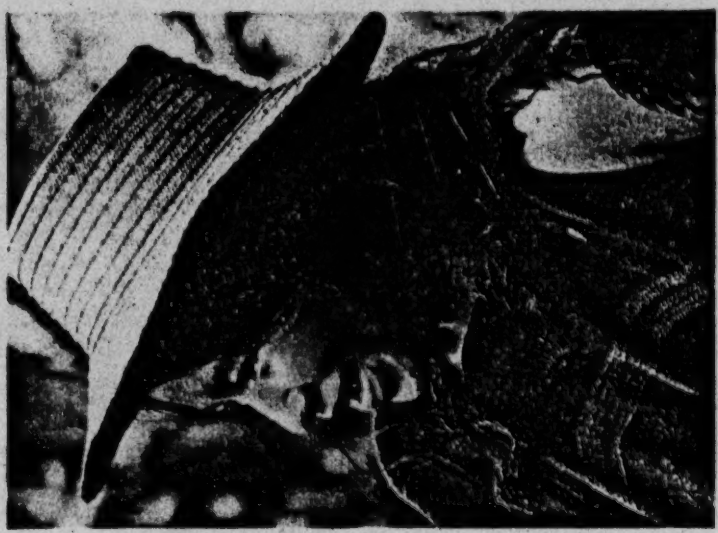

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Ills. 148 and 149. Young women.

1: Nachtigall--26 6 E-5 '(1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

Ills. 150 and 151. Young men.

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1: Nachtigall--267 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 153. The shaman Cerbeleón Niunda.

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P574
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Ill. 152. Mother with child.

1: Nachtigall--268 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 154. House with ladder.

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Ill. 155. Our interpreter, Victoriano Piñakué.

1: Nachtigall--277 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

XC

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Ill. 174. Harvesting the coca leaves.

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● 142
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302
415

Ill. 173. Paez with sugar cane.

1: Nachtigall--282 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

Ill. 184. Smoothing out the seams of a pot.

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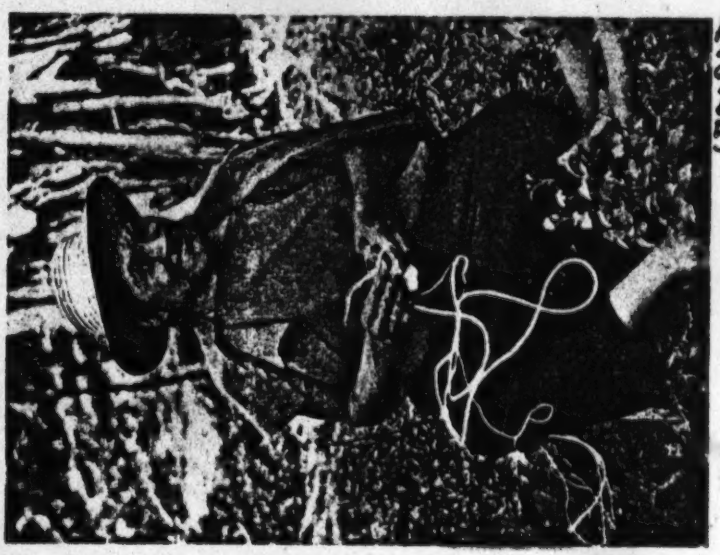

Ill. 183. Making a fiber bag

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1: Nachtigall--287 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15
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Ill. 197. Manner of carrying children.

Ill. 198. Women carry heavy loads with the forehead-band.

1: Nachtigall--288 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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532
776

Ill. 200. Skull trophy and figure of a spirit.

CI

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Ill. 199. The shaman Felisia Ipia with her shaman's staff.

1: Nachtigall--289 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

142
252
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415
516
291

Ill. 201. Grinding maize with the hand-grindstone.

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Ill. 202. Calderun music group.

/CXXI cont./

Plate XC

000

Ill. 173. Paez with a load of sugar cane. In front of his stomach hangs the coca pouch. The musculature of the men is generally slight.

•[142]

Ill. 174. Harvesting coca leaves.

Plate XCI

Ill. 175. Sugar mill in operation. It is driven by human beings or by a horse. The sugar cane is put through the crushing cylinders several times until all the juice is expressed.

Ill. 176. Distillation apparatus with which brandy is distilled from chicha.

Plate XCII

[412] Ill. 177 and 178. Woman defleshing agave leaves with a sharp-edged halved bamboo tube.

/CXXII/

Plate XCIII

Ill. 179. Old woman spinning with the drop spindle. Coca juice runs out of her mouth and is sometimes wiped off with the back of her hand, sometimes it drips on her clothing.

Ill. 180. Woman twisting the spun wool thread.

Plate XCIV

Ill. 181. Weaver making wool cloth.

Ill. 182. Weaving process in making the carrying bands for the fiber bags.

Plate XCV

Ill. 183. Woman making fiber bags. The thread supply must be drawn through each separate loop of the bag.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

stroyed the city of Caloto, then on the Magdalena river, according to Alcedo. But it is not unlikely that, later on, during their decline, the Pijaos, Paés, and perhaps several other tribes became mixed, and those whom we now call *Paez* are the survivors in blood, customs, and traditions, of all these frequently named *parcialidades* or *naciones*. 101 174

Physical Characteristics

There is no special reference by former writers respecting the physical characteristics of these Indians, probably because of the apparent uniformity in type of all the tribes of tropical South America. According to my own very fleeting observations the Paez are small, broad-shouldered, with small bony hands, and feet broadened toward the extremities. Their skin is very dark, a character common to all Indians living at great altitudes. In the case of almost every adult, both male and female, coming under my observation, I observed a fine black pubescence covering all visible parts of the body. They appear to be generally strong and healthy, and their physical endurance is not below the average. On our trip across the cordillera each adult man carried at least thirty kilograms, and many of them more than fifty, and none complained of being too heavily laden, although the trail up to nearly 4,000 meters and down again was exceedingly rough and steep, requiring at times not only much exertion but equal presence of mind. 1420 147

It is well to mention, after Uricoechea, that the Paeces are naturally inclined to warfare, and invariably join one side or the other in the unceasing Colombian revolutions. In early times they raided the Spanish establishments, the destruction of Caloto on two occasions (the first time in 1641) being still held by them in vivid remembrance as glorious feats of their ancestors. I was even assured that not long ago, during the last war, they were with difficulty prevented from making an incursion on the neighboring Cauca cattle ranches. 181 121

I was quite surprised to find among the Paez Indians a character that I had noticed previously in Central America, but of which no record could be found in current literature. I refer to 147

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

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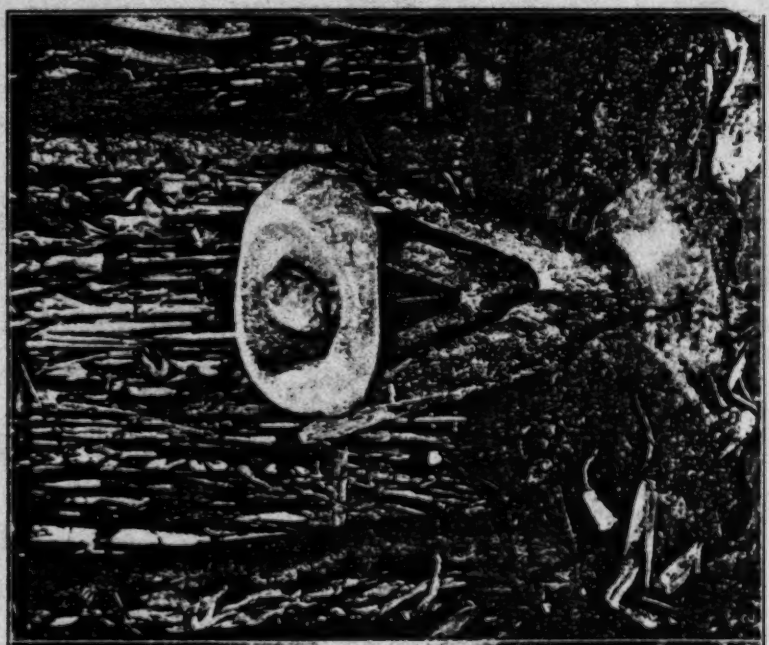
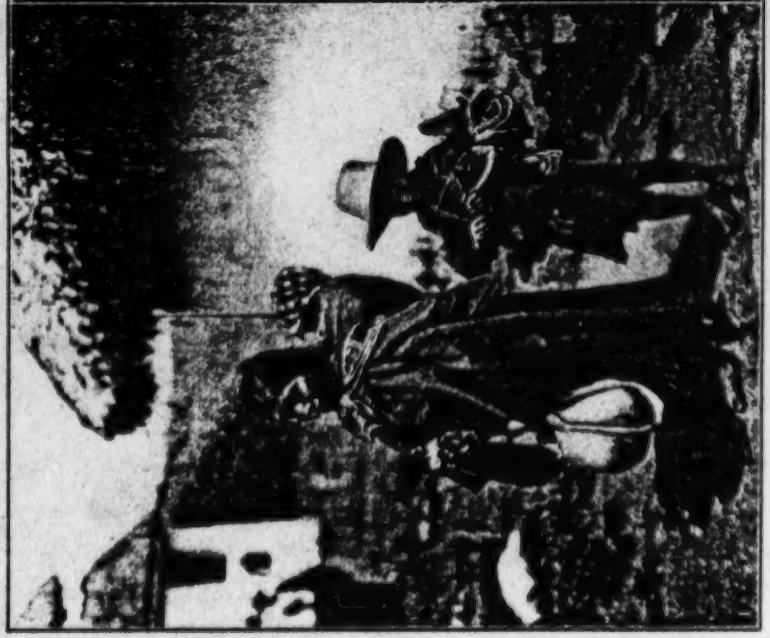


PAEZ GRINDING STONE



TRAVELING PAEZ WOMAN AND CHILDREN

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[facing P.317]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

157 pipes they play while walking along, unless their hands are kept
533 busy plaiting braids of gynerium bark in the manufacture of
383 their hats. This is the exclusive occupation of the men.
[463] Women almost invariably walk along spinning wool, their distaff under the left arm and the spindle in the left hand, while the right hand is busy at the wool.

883 The Paez maidens are fond of flowers and are very playful.
157 On one occasion I observed several of them going up the hill
481 beyond the river, in front of the church at Huila, their arms entwined about one another's necks; then they began running up the steep hill as in a contest of endurance. As they became exhausted they threw themselves on the grass, while their movements showed that they were playing and joking all the time. These children of Nature are not unpleasant to look at,
[515 except for their usual lack of cleanliness; nor are they wanting
142] in coquetry, and they are often pretty. But in the presence of
[609] strangers they are extremely bashful, doing their utmost to keep in the background.

291 The old women are generally very ugly. Their clothing con-
515 sists only of dirty rags, and their skin is covered with the filth of years.

593 Relations between the sexes, especially between husbands
562 and wives, seem to be easy and without an air of superiority on the part of the former. On the few occasions that I had to entertain these people at their houses, the women took the same interest and the same part in the proceedings as the men, which was very different from what I observed among the Central American Indians.

609 Toward strangers, and especially toward Colombians of other
186 races, the attitude of the Indians is decidedly hostile. Unless induced by the prospect of profit they will neither sell anything nor lend any service, often refusing money and accepting only articles which they especially desire. They will not allow white
[563] or black people in their homes, and at Huila they are even unwilling that the only white family living there should share the practically inexhaustible supply of fuel scattered about in the near-by forest, or have horses or cattle pasturing on the almost

/285 cont./

101 the Ullucos river, since to the south of it were found the Topas,
361 Yaguiváes, and Guanaca. It seems that in the fifteenth century,
[166 193] under the rule of the cacique Calambás, the Paez went over the cordillera and settled in Pitayó, Toribío, and Tacueyó.

162 Dr. José Pérez de Barradas gave a number of 30,000 souls.
[161] The census of 1938 gives a total of 17,578 inhabitants distributed as follows: municipio of Páez (Belalcázar), 13,861; municipio of Inzá, 3,717. The censuses of 1951 give a total of 25,495 inhabitants, with 15,388 in the municipio of Páez and 10,103 in that of Inzá. It is obvious that the census of 1938 was defective, especially with regard to the population of this last municipio.

[177] Of this population, approximately 80 per cent is Indian, acculturated for the most part, except for those of Calderas, Suin, and Chinas, where traditions are strong and their contacts with the white scant, and in addition there is great resistance to living with him.

142 The Paez are of medium height, with light brown skin, dark brown eyes, straight black hair, broad foreheads, rather pronounced cheekbones, pentagonal rather than oval faces,
361 robust constitutions, and rather broad shoulders. Their pueblos
796 consist of a church, a school, the house of the priest and of
342 the cabildo, and a few other houses which are occupied only at the times of religious fiestas; they live in ranchos that are rectangular in plan, with thatched roofs and walls made of tight rows of maize stalks, /286/ located on privately owned land and a considerable distance apart.

291 Dress.--The Paez dress simply. The man wears linen trousers, a poncho tied to the waist with a leather strap and another that falls freely from the shoulders, and a hat which they manufacture themselves with palm or bamboo leaves. The woman wears a wide skirt tied around the waist with a multicolored band preceding the folds made at the back, a poncho similar to the one worn by the men and also tied around

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

/289 cont./

●142 The Calderuno /native of Calderas/ is rather tall, with a light copper skin, straight black hair, a straight nose somewhat flattened and broad at the base, slightly prominent cheekbones, dark brown eyes reminiscent of the Mongolian eye, a broad forehead, long and robust extremities, a slightly pentagonal face; many have mustaches, and, on the whole, the
157 features are rather /290/ handsome. On the other hand, he is talkative, communicative, deeply traditionalistic, proud
[361] of himself, and has a deep love of the land. Isolated as they
[177] are from the other parcialidades by natural accidents and far removed from the urban centers of Inzá and Belalcázar, they are shy, sullen, and withdrawn with the white, stubbornly opposed to contact with him, and, as a result their institutions, have suffered less from the impact of cultural mestization.
797 Not even the very church that has worked so persistently for the
177 catechization of these tribes, especially in this century through the Lazarist missionaries active since 1905, has been able to penetrate fully into the soul of these people.

114 I have carried out my research in this parcialidad since
773 the month of August of last year, with several interruptions.
[124] The myths and tales which I now present were gathered with patient labor after much waiting, for the natives, when questioned about these themes, nearly always reply with the word himeto ("I don't know"). There is no need to stress the importance of mythology as an institution in the so-called "primitive" cultures. Nor is it my intention to theorize on the subject. It is enough to say, in the words of Herskovits, that "mitología es como la carta constitucional de las creencias y presta sentido a la conducta ritual que se deriva de sus consagraciones /mythology is the constitutional charter of beliefs and gives meaning to the ritualistic behavior that is derived from its consecrations/" (1). The chroniclers tell

1. Herskovits, p. 409 /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 309/.

/181 cont./

173 fortune: his efforts brought to light a large jar overflowing with
823 gold. In his great joy he went running to his companions to tell

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173 them of the coveted find; in their eagerness they all flew to the
823 lucky spot, and oh! supreme misfortune, the treasure had vanished. Minutes later, the powder flask exploded, killing several, mutilating others, and leaving only a few alive. The whites localize the Hipinjí legend in Tumbichukue.

487 /182/ The descent to the Kukiyú is effected along a
499 vertical ridge, following a path with innumerable zigzags, an

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231 796 At about ten o'clock in the morning the special guests of the fiestero get ready to kill the beef. They are four. The

●142 534 291

231 796 musicians intone the kula kui while other men begin to cut the long, [533] dry pieces of wood into small fragments. Woodcutters, slaughterers, and musicians all begin their activities at once. The wood will serve to roast the maize griddlecakes.

[825] One of the slaughterers gathers the blood in a pan, while another one holds the head and tries to cover the eyes; he believes that if he does not do so, some other cow will attack him when he goes to catch it.

/221 cont./

793 out the procession. The latter, reeling from chicha and lack
796 of sleep, arrived at the end of the Mass and learned of the
798 decision of the priest, who in addition advised them to save the gunpowder for the procession on the following day. They left. And although they did not march around the church and did not bear on their shoulders the image of the saint, they fired all the firecrackers, the skyrockets, and the fireworks castle to the strains of their native music. The procession was carried out symbolically.

796 The women and the men are dark in complexion and in
● 142 apparel. At these celebrations it is not unusual to see them
291 dressed in bright colors and brightly colored beads.
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6: Bernal Villa--104 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro X: Indian woman of Mosoco "mambe-ing" /chewing coca and lime/ and weaving a kuetand yaha (pouch) for mambe). She is a té eu of the parcialidad.

6: Bernal Villa--105 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro XI. Indian of Calderas, showing the typical manner of wearing the kuetand yaha and the yahas (fique pouches). In the background, the Parque Arqueológico of Tierradentro.

6: Bernal Villa- 107 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro XIII: Gobernador of the parcialidad of San Andrés, with his staff of command and a machete at his belt.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5# (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

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PLATE 187.—**Páez weaving and spinning.** *Top:* Woman spinning wool while walking, San Andrés, Tierradentro. *Bottom:* Men weaving straw hats. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 c]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5)(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez
Pasto SC17

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PLATE 188.—**Quillacinga musicians.** *Top:* Musicians and banner carrier at Siburdoy dressed for fiesta. *Bottom:* Musicians dressed in ordinary clothes. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 D]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/1(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

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PLATE 190.—**Páez and Moguex Indians at the markets of Inzá, Tierradentro.** *Top: Páez* Indians buying coca. *Bottom: Moguex* Indians. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 - F]

?:Hernández de Alba E-8,4(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

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PLATE 192.—Páez types. *Top (left):* *Páez* man, Tierradentro. *Top (right):* Woman with necklace and bags woven of wool and bast fibers, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Bottom (left):* Indians, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Bottom (center):* Indians, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Bottom (right):* Man at Inzá, Tierradentro. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 - H)

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Chiriguano SF10
Choroti SK6
Mataco SI7
Tehuelche SH5
Caraja SP9
Tucano SQ19
Guarani SM4
Timbira SO8
Araucanians SG4
Paez SC15
Canari SD4
Jivaro SD9
Aymara SF5
Ona SH4
Yahgan SH6

/For information on genic locations based on Streng's diagram of co-ordinates of the blood groups of the natives of South America, see: 4: Hill et al., 8818 Warao, Category 116, pp. 107-114./

/112 cont./

142 age the hair seldom becomes white. We met only one woman with slightly graying hair and an old man with a gray, sparse [302] beard, but dark hair. The beard among men is scant. The beard hair is regularly plucked (see Ills. 148 to 155 /see pp. 265-268/).

143 According to the blood-group analysis of the Paez, among the 303 individuals examined there were 88.78 per cent of blood group 0, 6.93 per cent of blood group A, and 4.29 per cent of blood group B. The blood group A+B is not represented (G. Arcila Velez, pp. 11-14).

829 The racial concept of Indian is foreign to the Paez themselves. To them "Indio" designates a cultural status. My colleague, Segundo Bernal Villa, an Indian from the region of Pasto, was designated as "blanco" because of his European clothing. And when our interpreter Victoriano bought himself "white clothing" (hat, pants, shirt, shoes) with the money he earned, he was called a "white" in his village and accordingly treated with hostility.

161 The population figures for the Paez do not seem either to increase or decrease, as far as the uncivilized Paez are con-
165 cerned, for example, in Calderas. Infant mortality comes to more
164 than 50 per cent. The most common cause of sickness is whooping cough. The health of children who survive their second year, as well as of adults, is -- considering the circumstances -- quite good. True, one scarcely sees old people over 60 (and [132] those who look that old are probably younger). The most fre-
[362] quent illness of adults is tuberculosis, which claims numerous victims, since the nights are very cold and the cold and wind can [262] penetrate through the light walls of the houses unhindered. More-
[273] over, no fat of any kind is commonly eaten. Another illness from which many Paez suffer, which, however, is not taken seriously, is stomach trouble caused by the drinking of brandy even during [354] infancy and the unsuitable diet in childhood. Infants are given [262] beans, cabbage, and yuca, but no milk, except mother's milk.

/313 cont./
105 settlement. At the same time, however, we must certainly confirm a cultural impoverishment, considerable in some respects, among these people who outwardly seem quite prosaic and matter-of-fact.

105 Anthropologically they belong to the American Centraloid
143 /zentraliden/ race (v. Eichstedt /see the bibliography in the
144 foreign text, pp. 323-327, for this and the following references/) with a striking predominance of blood group 0. Although the latter fact is only one component of the somatic picture, it is extremely interesting to find a predominance of this blood group among a large number of American natives. Among the Paez there are 88.78%, among the neighboring Guambiano 84.25% (Lehmann, Duque y Fornaguera, p. 200), among the natives of Caldas 92.25% (Duque, 1944, p. 626), among the Sibundoy 84.42%, among the Santiagos 94.23% (Paez-Perez y Freudenthal, p. 413), and among the Pijao the blood group 0 is almost 100% (Reichel, 1944, p. 517). These investigations of Colombian tribes agree with a more comprehensive picture. According to the analysis of G. Arcila Velez (p. 11), 80.6% of the people among the Eskimo are of blood group 0, 91.3% among the pure North American Indians, 72.7% among the Navajo, 97.7% among the Yucatecans, 79% among the Mataco, and 100% among the Guarani of the Rio Grande do Sul.

105 The form of settlement of the Paez in the deeply fissured
[361] mountainous region of Tierradentro is the loose arrangement of individual family-farms on the mountain slopes, as far from neighbors as possible. The village settlement-area is geographically invariable and embraces the natural area of the dwellings and the land used within a valley basin. The house, as the family focus and social center for one family in each case, is built on the family's own land. It is used -- depending on the type of construction -- for a harvest period or for ten to 15 years. The land belongs to the family that first cleared it. Besides this there is community land for the free use of all members of the village. The interior of the normally /314/ hip-roofed rectangular houses is divided into two rooms, one of which serves as the kitchen and living room, the other as a storage room.

/313 cont./

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P /135 cont./
276 exchange for brandy, wheat, or maize (for exchange and barter
249 rates, see "Trade" /see pp. 92-94 /). Within the family each
437 one harvests for himself as many leaves as he happens to need;
otherwise the father of the family usually barters for the entire
family. Harvest time is throughout the year (Ill. 174 /see
P p. 277 /).

276 Before use the leaves are roasted in a clay bowl and then
317 carried around in the colored wool pouch (kwatandyáha), together
[415] with a small calabash containing lime. The lime (kwatánd) is
obtained from limestone (kwatandkwát) which crops out at various places throughout the region and which men and women look for as it is needed, or the husband sends his wife to fetch a few stones. These pieces of limestone are put in a vigorously fanned fire for two hours, /136/ then in a clay bowl, and cold water is
P poured over them. After that the cracked stone is pounded to
276 powder. To enjoy it, one takes a handful of leaves out of his pouch and puts them in the mouth and chews them for a while, until the lime can be added. Care must be taken that neither the tongue nor lips come in contact with the lime. Beginners press the coca mash flat against their tongues with their gums and sprinkle a pinch of lime from the pear-shaped, absolutely unadorned calabash (kwatandóka) upon it; practiced coca-chewers take a pinch of lime on the back of the hand between thumb and index finger and toss it into the open mouth with a flourish. The green saliva copiously produced is partly spat out, but most of
P it is swallowed. In the case of old people it often runs out of the
C mouth and drips on the clothing (Ill. 179 /see p. 280 /).

276 According to my experiences among the Paez and the
P coca-chewing Colombian workers, the harmful effect of coca
C seems to be exaggerated in most of the studies on the subject.
276 Of interest, however, are the data of C. Gutiérrez Noriega (1952),
146 who investigates the psychological and physiological effect of
273 taking coca, especially among the Peruvian Indios. There, in the region of the greatest coca consumption, two to four kilograms per person and year, the daily amount of food for a worker is only about 2,000 calories per day. With a simultaneous drinking of brandy and an inadequate diet, physical and mental consequences

P C /136 cont./
276 are naturally more in evidence than in the case of the use of
146 coca with good nutrition and as the only indulgence. Along
273 with improved nutrition and corresponding enlightenment, a
prohibition on brandy instead of its propagation would be more
C desirable for the health of the people than a prohibition on coca.
[651] The departments, however, draw their chief income from the
P brandy tax, whereas coca was always tax-free.

276 Tobacco (wáhi) is neither planted by the Paez nor con-
[249] sumed in large amounts, since there is generally no money
available for the purchase of tobacco or cigarettes. Both sexes,
P however, smoke gift cigarettes, and, to be sure, from child-
[755] hood, that is, from two to three years of age. The shamans
[755] in their séances and ceremonies are in the habit of chewing
cigarette tobacco along with coca, but it is always purchased.
These séances last many hours or throughout the night, during
which shamans and patients together chew this mixture uninter-
ruptedly.

P 273 Chicha (pronounced tschitscha) is one of the alcoholic
[171] beverages which, made out of various raw materials, are wide-
spread among the natives /137/ throughout South America, with
manioc chicha predominating in the forest region (Venezuela,
Brazil) and maize chicha in the Andean region (Cooper, pp.
539 f. and Map 11). Two methods of production are distin-
guished, according to whether it is a matter of raw materials
with a high sugar content (honey, sugar cane, palm sap, pine-
apple) or more starchy crops (manioc, maize). The former ferment
without the addition of saliva and need not be chewed in the
preparation; the latter need human saliva before or after cook-
P ing in order to ferment.

[137] Among the Paez chicha (mbéca) is made only from the
juice of sugar cane, a raw material that is not American, but
came from southern Asia and did not come to America until the
post-Columbian period (Maurizio, 1933, p. 75). Formerly
chicha was made out of maize, as it still is today among the
neighbors of the Paez living in higher regions (for example, the
Guambiano). The name for sugar-cane juice, nyũ̃ãyumĩ

/113/

Physicians are not consulted in any case. All illnesses that do not show external influences are traced back to evil sorcery or to the "pest" (see under "Religion"/see p. 191 ff./). They must therefore be treated by the native shamans /see the glossary, p. 250 /. Open wounds and injuries are treated by the midwife. Now and then, however, people visit the mission station in order to have a tooth pulled, on which occasion the nurses without reservation praise their great steadfastness in enduring pain.

The impairment to health caused by the consumption of coca and chicha seems to me to be exaggerated by the authorities; it would be even less with sensible and nourishing food. The prohibition against coca consumption and the government's battle against coca and chicha give the impression of being more a struggle against a brandy tax deficit, for alcohol under the state monopoly may be sold to any Indio in any quantity. The fact that the Paez generally does not work hard and continuously probably has nothing to do with any degeneration caused by the stimulants mentioned, but rather it is quite simply his psychological attitude which does not let him see why a human being should strive for things which seem unnecessary to him, things beyond his animal necessities of life, eating and reproduction. I often asked whether, in their opinion, there might come a time when the Paez, too, would wear only Colombian clothing or even use electric lighting. They had never thought about it and in no instance had an answer.

II. Material Culture

1. The Dwelling

a) The Settlement

Politically and sociologically the Paez villages of Tierradentro embrace the inhabitants of a valley basin more or less closed off by the surrounding mountains. In their structure, however, they are not villages in our sense, by which we understand a locally concentrated aggregation of a number of houses,

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

stroyed the city of Caloto, then on the Magdalena river, according to Alcedo. But it is not unlikely that, later on, during their decline, the Pijaos, Paés, and perhaps several other tribes became mixed, and those whom we now call *Paez* are the survivors in blood, customs, and traditions, of all these frequently named *parcialidades* or *naciones*. 101 174

Physical Characteristics

There is no special reference by former writers respecting the physical characteristics of these Indians, probably because of the apparent uniformity in type of all the tribes of tropical South America. According to my own very fleeting observations the Paez are small, broad-shouldered, with small bony hands, and feet broadened toward the extremities. Their skin is very dark, a character common to all Indians living at great altitudes. In the case of almost every adult, both male and female, coming under my observation, I observed a fine black pubescence covering all visible parts of the body. They appear to be generally strong and healthy, and their physical endurance is not below the average. On our trip across the cordillera each adult man carried at least thirty kilograms, and many of them more than fifty, and none complained of being too heavily laden, although the trail up to nearly 4,000 meters and down again was exceedingly rough and steep, requiring at times not only much exertion but equal presence of mind. 142 147

It is well to mention, after Uricoechea, that the Paeces are naturally inclined to warfare, and invariably join one side or the other in the unceasing Colombian revolutions. In early times they raided the Spanish establishments, the destruction of Caloto on two occasions (the first time in 1641) being still held by them in vivid remembrance as glorious feats of their ancestors. I was even assured that not long ago, during the last war, they were with difficulty prevented from making an incursion on the neighboring Cauca cattle ranches. 181 121

I was quite surprised to find among the Paez Indians a character that I had noticed previously in Central America, but of which no record could be found in current literature. I refer to 147

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

147 the odor peculiar to the Indians, which becomes quite noticeable when they are sweating and which so closely resembles that of the secretion of the so-called *sahino*, or wild hog (*Dicotyles tajacu* L.), that I have more than once been deceived into believing that our trail crossed the path of a drove of these animals.

516 When at rest the Paez men almost invariably sit on their heels, the toes sustaining the whole weight of the body, while the women sit with their legs stretched together on the ground, [544] even when near the fire in their houses. In micturition young 481 girls remain standing. The gait of both men and women is short-paced and easy, the body being always slightly inclined forward, probably on account of the habit of carrying heavy loads.

824 Like all children of Nature, the Paez Indians are very keen 826 observers of their surroundings, as is shown by the minuteness of their differentiation in plants and in certain groups of insects. Castillo, for instance, gives the names of no fewer than six different varieties of ants —

[552]

kan-kik	*cĩ-kik-ue*	*eĩa-i*
kik-finis	*gnue-kandi*	*to-fiti*

and I collected very few plants for which they did not have a ready name.

Reproduction and Death

881 When a girl reached puberty the event was celebrated among the old Paez Indians by a special dance called *itsa-ko*, during which the young naked female was placed in a hole dug outside the ball-house and thoroughly washed with *chicha*. We have no 836 notice of pre-marital liberty being conceded to women, nor of the relation of children to parents in the family organization. As 595 tradition has it, the pre-conquest Paez were polygamous, and notwithstanding the efforts of the missionaries, it is almost certain that this practice has not completely disappeared. We know nothing about the existence of marriage ceremonies before 581 the introduction of the Catholic ritual. It is likely, however, [586] that marriages were endogamous and free, and, as such, a very frail institution, as Castillo informs us that even in his time

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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marriage bonds were not definitely made until experiment indicated the fecundity of the woman, and that the union was dissolved at the will of the husband if the wife proved to be barren. The same authority informs us that the wife had to give her husband the necessary clothing, while the husband provided food for the family. 581 [586] [585]

A custom mentioned by Castillo was that during menses the women spent the time sitting in small huts expressly built for that purpose, for fear of contaminating the common dwelling and of bringing disease and death to its occupants. 841

Rodriguez relates another custom in connection with childbirth and death: ". . . y siempre que pare la mujer, ó que muere alguno de su familia, desamparan la casa, dexando en ella al difunto con cantidad de bastimento y de la chicha, brebage, que beben: y á las casas donde parió la mujer, las dejan con las inmundicias de el parto, y acabadas de nacer las criatures, las laban, y se vañan sus madres, poniendose en viaje á buscar nuevo paraje para su habitacion, que siempre procuran sea en parte muy fragosa, por no ser visitados." 844

These details are confirmed by Castillo and were probably still observed in his time. As to what is done at present, and regarding the family organization in general, it is very difficult to obtain reliable information. The Indians are very jealous of their women, do not tolerate in them any intercourse with strangers, and become instantly distrustful when questioned about family matters. 152 593 609

With reference to death, Castillo differs from Rodriguez in that he states that a dying person was taken from the house, so that he did not actually die in it, and that the dwelling was destroyed by fire. He does not mention the custom of leaving food near the corpse, but states that the body was buried and a fence built around the grave. 768 763 764

Diseases

No diseases came under my observation during my stay at Huila and Tacueyó, and the Indians rather impressed me as being a healthy people. But if their vocabulary affords suffi- 164 [114]

/256 cont./

754 Sorceresses are numerous, and it seems that they are the most feared.

[787] Sorcerers receive signs from the devil and the evil spirits who help them appear in the form of snakes, donkeys, or pigs.

[825] They are different from the ghost and Rainbow. It is said that the pig teaches the person to be very fierce or inclined to drunkenness (drunks roll about on the floor like pigs in the mud); the donkey, to be a glutton.

In general it seems that every adult is a potential sorcerer, and all the more so those who deviate from the institutionalized norms of behavior.

754 554 578 Victims of sorcery. The victims of sorcery are found everywhere among the people, without any distinction as to sex or age, status or function. The sorcerer himself commonly takes the initiative, but he is also at the disposal of those who want to employ him.

The victims of sorcery frequently are those people who are efficient, hard-working, and frugal, virtues which in our society lead to the development of a capitalist economy.

754 554 152 578 In Santa Rosa they speak of the lamented death of one of their ex-gobernadores. He was young -- they say -- intelligent, a good conversationalist, /257/ and very hard-working. He owned much land and good fields of coffee, yuca, maize, and sugar cane. Jealousy, the source of discord and injustice, motivated the sorcerers Lorenzo Io and Dolores Oinó, his wife, who joined forces at once with the greatest of the sorceresses, Felisa Ipia, in order to put an end to this man's life. This is the judgment of the curers and the opinion of the community. But the accusation was made by the victim himself, who, in the course of his death agony, which was prolonged, dreamed of the above-mentioned sorcerers. The dying man repeatedly requested that the sorcerers should be sent for, so that he might settle accounts with them. When they left his house to attend to the wish of the dying man, he expired. He died convinced that they had cast a spell upon him.

/257 cont./

757 A curer from Santa Rosa, while taking a spell off a sick
554 person, explained that this man owned much land and that they
152 had cast a spell upon him in order to appropriate it.
578 In Calderas a man who can read, write, and make memorials for the Alcaldía of Inzá, a maker of fireworks, builder of houses, and good farmer, was naturally the cause of envy. A sorcerer wanted to kill him. He called his soul while he was asleep. But the one called was aided by the soul of his brother, who blew mambe toward him. On the following day his left eye became white and was on the point of dropping out. A curer was able to cure him, but he remained one-eyed. The two brothers remained enemies of the sorcerer.

754 On another occasion and in the same parcialidad, two
683 brothers gave a sorcerer a beating. In revenge he cast a spell
623 on both within a year. Fearful of punishment, the sorcerer went to other parcialidades, but on his return the cabildo put him in the stocks.

In the old days -- says a curer from Santa Rosa -- the cabildos punished the sorcerers. Those of today are afraid of them. The elders /mayores/ have died bewitched. Actually, the Indians refuse to serve on the cabildo or to accept the post of capitán for fear of the sorcerers.

754 The sorcerers are all thieves. They often steal under the
685 very eyes of the owner, who, fearful that they will cast a spell upon him, does not make the slightest protest. But the sorcerers, in turn, fearful that he might complain to the white authorities, cast a spell upon him.

754 In Calderas, those who purchase livestock to expand their small hacienda have been attacked by sorcery.

The Indian who has lived with the whites, who has adopted
754 their clothing, their dietary habits, and their agricultural and
177 cattle-raising techniques, /258/ and who has given up the
554 habit of consuming coca and chicha is not only the victim of magical attacks, but is the direct recipient of offensive words and deeds.

/263 cont./

182 The people perceive only the effects. Only the expectant
754 attitude announces to us its presence. The latent fears tell us of its vigor. The members of the cabildo, the capitán, the té eu, the working men, the parturient women have a strong fear of sorcery.

When the pest spreads through the community, when the elders die and their experience and advice are lost, thoughts
[761] turn inevitably to the power of the sorcerers. Most deaths are brought about by sorcerers, the informants say.

754 Sorcery is a powerful barrier against the introduction
182 of the customs of a capitalist economy and also against the
177 intrusion of the whites in their parcialidades. It is strange that sorcery should exist in the less acculturated parcialidades, while in San Andrés it has practically disappeared. It is said to have been vigorous until 1926, the year when the Municipal Council of Inzá established in the parcialidad a settlement area in which the whites settled. With this measure living together was inescapable and they chose to accept them. Nevertheless, during the drinking bouts of the old people, the tremendous resentment that has become natural to them still crops out.

182 Furthermore, it makes its influences felt in the distribution
754 of land. Each family has lands from which it lives. With the
423 increase in population the problem of their unequal distribution
[554] has become prominent. Those who have the most land are
[152] the targets of envy and sorcery; they are more prone to magical attacks aimed at taking away their land. Intrasocial tensions
754 appear to be brought into equilibrium by means of this insti-
182 tution. The fear of reprisals checks aggression. Revenge is too prejudicial, since it can be manifested not only against
[184] individuals, but also against animals and plantings. It is
[177] perfectly true to say that while in Calderas acts of bloodshed
[675] are rare and suicide is unknown, in San Andres, a parcialidad
[762] which is largely acculturated, the homicides, murders, and cases of arson are hair-raising.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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deserted savannas. It must be said, in extenuation, that they have been subjected to much abuse by their neighbors of the "superior race." Moreover, the Paeces are naturally hostile to strangers, descending, as we have seen, from a warlike people. The old Paeces always went about armed, carrying a lance or javelin in the hand and ready to protect their bodies from the darts of an enemy by means of a shield of basket-work (*opimb*), or of tapir hide (*yimba-kât*). The warlike tendencies of the tribe were stimulated by means of periodical contests in which the most valiant warriors fought each other in the presence of the multitude.

To-day, as we have seen, the descendants of these have abundant opportunity to satisfy their fighting propensity by taking sides in the frequent quarrels of the political parties that thus far have kept Colombia in an almost continual turmoil.

Sexual intercourse between Paez women and men of other races is said not to exist; barbarous chastisement would be the fate of the offending female. It is to be expected, however, that the closer contact brought about by the gradual penetration of the Tierra Andentro by whites and negroes will soon overcome the purity of the Paez blood and open the way to amalgamation with the neo-Colombian race.

Reclus, cited above (page 311), gives us to understand that the Paez were cannibals, and the tradition current in the villages along the western foot of the cordillera confirms his intimation with reference to the Pijaos; for the coming of "el Pijao" is still a menace to children. The early chroniclers tell us of several anthropophagous tribes which lived in this region, and it is not unlikely that the Paeces had a share in that custom.

GRAMMATICAL NOTES

Castillo's *Nociones gramaticales* is limited to a list of the personal pronouns and the conjugation of the verbs 'to be' and 'to write.' A few more grammatical indications are incorporated in the vocabularies, but on the whole these data are very meager, and much remains to be done in this direction.

000 /288 cont./
756 medicine men. To cure the patient, he divines which of the
755 supernatural beings caused the illness, proceeds to placate him,
[787] and then prescribes medicines to the patient. If the placation is not successful, the patient literally sinks into despair. The indispensable articles for all curing are coca, tobacco, and
[462] aguardiente. The medicine men are persons well along in years
[754] and belonging to the masculine sex. They cannot cure the effects of sorcery, although they can protect themselves against it.

754 c) Fifty per cent of all illnesses, the informants state,
[753] are caused by sorcery, and by the same token 50 per cent of
[761] the deaths, since sorcery is incurable. The sorcerers conceal their activities, and it seems that all adults are potential sor-
754 cerers. The institution of sorcery is a true escape valve for the
● 154 strong aggressive impulses of the natives and to some extent plays the role of a social regulator. Through it are channeled the jealousy, resentment, and vengefulness of the natives. The victims of sorcery are the most skillful and hard-working individuals, those who have a good house, good crops, and a growing number of domestic animals. Harvests and plantings
[683] generally are the object of sorcery. Sorcerers who are publicly unmasked are exposed to the anger of the community and even to exile, a measure taken not so much on account of their be-
[685] ing sorcerers as of their being thieves. All sorcerers are thieves. Sorcery appears with considerable frequency in the symbolism of dreams.

583 Marriage.--Marriage is monogamous and patrilocal. Both
[595] the chroniclers and Dr. Gregorio Hernández de Alba speak of
[591] the custom of the year of probation to acquaint the man with
[177] the skill, energy, and fecundity of his future wife. A thriving
[797] institution in times past, it is now in sharp decline owing to the action of mission work. Obviously, the purpose of this institution is to find out whether the woman is hard-working, faithful, not a thief, and to understand her ways in order to establish a lasting union. Nowadays the Paez, before being married

The cultivation of potatoes on a large scale
/305 cont./ began more
244 or less two decades ago. "From 1925 to 1930 the one who
433 planted the most potatoes was Ezequiel Mulcué, who caused amazement among the people; now the least planted is 20 arrobas," says one informant. Nowadays there are natives who sow up to 200 arrobas in a year, of which only 70 are planted in the "paramo," and they yield better results than the other arrobas planted. Then, we ask, why do the people of Mosoco have their months of hunger?

262 The basic product of the Paez diet is maize. It was in
154 the past and it continues to be so in the present. Psychologi-
[198] cally, they feel completely satisfied when they have maize for consumption. Its absence causes a sensation of dietary dissatis-
[243] faction. Before the era of the potato, the cultivation of maize and wheat predominated.

461 During the months of July, August, September, and Octo-
464 ber, the natives have little work. This is why those from
166 Vitoncó, San José, Lame, and Suin go and sign up as peons on the fincas of the "whites" on the other side of the Cordillera (Popayán, Corinto, and even in the Cauca Valley). They return toward the end of the year, when the maize and wheat harvests are drawing near. The natives of Calderas, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, and Togoima go to the fincas of Inzá or La Plata. They return in October when the maize harvests are approaching. It must be said that this labor force is excellent and cheap. And for this reason very much in demand.

The natives of Mosoco have sufficient work in their own country.

Clearings /rozas/

241 The term roza is used generically for the extent of land
433 cleared, burned, cleaned, and fenced, ready for planting. It is found on every private property. It has an area of approximately one hectare. Clearings of two or more hectares are rare. An increase in production does not reflect an enlargement of the clearings, but rather their multiplication and the utilization of ever more rugged and /306/ sterile lands. The natives, to

Everyone grants everyone else

/203 cont./

571 whatever he expects and claims for himself, quite as a matter of
829 course. This results in an entirely natural self-esteem, injury to
●155 which on the part of the "blancos" is felt as very painful by the Paez.

576 Within the Paez communities the obligation of a greeting (gwéčaya) by a younger person to an older one is strictly observed. Even a "family feud" does not absolve the younger people from the respectful greeting "pétenga" (translated by "good day") toward the older people of other families, who acknowledge it with " "pé'taw." Removing one's hat at the same time is not customary.

[608] A greeting by shaking hands takes place only among members of the family or with one's godfather or godmother with the salutation "ndyósta utsménga" (Godparent, how are you?), during which the hat is also removed. Contemporaries greet each other with

[521] "éwča" (how are you) and reply with "éwčataw" (I am well). Generally people chat awhile when they meet, introduce the conversation with a joke, a bit of news in the village, or perhaps merely a remark about the weather.

156 Though the Paez may be regarded basically as an individualist, this does not hold true universally. On account of the abundantly available land, it is possible for him to isolate himself and withdraw for weeks at a time to his separate farm, but

461 nonetheless the Paez does not like to drink his chicha alone. And
476 usually friends and neighbors help, not only with housebuilding or
156 clearing, but also with sowing and lesser tasks. The labor of the individual, in instances of mutual help, is merely loaned, however, since the same persons meet again for joint aid on the corresponding tasks of a neighbor. The owner in question must also make chicha and food liberally available for each task, which makes every joint task a small feast. The actual useful effects of the communal work are slight, and, as a visitor from the outside, one has the impression that the joint eating and drinking is the primary thing, interrupted at times by only brief periods of work. On sober consideration -- which no Paez, of course, undertakes -- the joint consumption in connection with a communal task is more expensive for the individual than if each person himself over a correspondingly

/108/

115 We then looked for another interpreter, the Calderun Victoriano Piñakué, about 17 years old and very open-minded with regard to "white" civilization. His father even once visited Popayán, the capital of the department of Cauca. Through this he had a somewhat broader outlook and became involved in a quarrel with a bad shaman, in which the latter took one of his eyes by magic. Since then old Piñakué has been blind in one eye. A younger brother of Victoriano is going to school in Inzá and is the helper of the sacristan there. Victoriano is very much interested in one day becoming acquainted with Popayán or even Bogotá. He speaks Spanish quite well and has already earned money on occasion in the service of the white colonists and in La Plata as a construction worker, in order to buy clothing of the whites for himself. By "white" the Paez mean the Spanish culture of the Colombians, namely, clothing, education, and corresponding customs, not, however, skin color or other characteristics of the white race.

[191] [464] [829]

Victoriano set great store by dressing, not like a Paez, but like a white. He was an enthusiastic fellow-worker, not, however, out of greed for money, but out of sincere interest, and at every opportunity he would ask how things were among us in Germany. With a great craving for knowledge, he would again and again have our photos of Europe explained to him, and he even made an effort to learn German.

115 156 554 In his native village of Calderas the work with Victoriano was very difficult, since he was very unpopular because he dresses like a white. Several times, when his fellow villagers were drunk, they even wanted to murder him. Once when we visited a house together, he was heckled by some tipsy men: he was called a sluggard who does nothing the whole day but talk with the "doctores" and go for walks. Besides, they said, he thinks that he is better than the rest of the Paez because he wears "white" clothing. When Victoriano replied that in his work among the whites it would be impossible for him to wear the Calderun costume, but that in his dress he was obliged to adjust to his environment, they retorted that he went to the whites merely in order to be able to eat more meat.

/108 cont./

115 Victoriano likes to parade his outward standing of higher
156 culture openly. He possesses soap, a toothbrush, a small brush
554 for grooming his eyebrows, and perfume. He uses all these
[598] toilet articles very frequently. He is not afraid of the jealousy of his Calderun fellow-villagers; he always carries his machete /see the glossary, p. 249/ with him in order to defend himself. He wants to marry a "white" woman outside of Calderas (cf. also "The Course of a Day" /see p. 133 /).

124 /109/ In the work an attempt was made as a matter of
286 principle to observe all the activities of the Paez ourselves;
386 when this was not feasible, two different informants were questioned if possible. Two examples will show, however, that errors can creep in, even with the most careful work: I had the dyeing process for the black-dyed fabrics explained to me by the interpreter Marcos, according to whom they are first boiled with certain leaves, and then all of this is placed in black humus earth for two days. When the same question was put to Victoriano, he stated that the black coloring occurs if the fabric is placed in black humus earth for two days. At my suggestion that the fabric first had to be boiled with leaves, he delightedly agreed with me. When called to account as to why he had not told me that, he replied: "Well, you did not ask me about that; you only wanted to know how the material becomes black!"

124 One cannot speak sufficiently often and again and again
423 in different ways about the same subject, for to the Paez the necessity or the meaning of explanations for things self-evident to them is usually incomprehensible. Thus in the case described there was as little ill-intent or even mere carelessness as in the following case: In roaming over boundary lines, I inquired as to which fields were private property and which were community property. We came to the general conclusion that the lowlands were community property and the mountain slopes the private property of the man or family who had first cleared the land. I asked Victoriano several times as to whether there were any pieces of land that at present had no owner. He stated emphatically that all the land had been disposed of and there was no longer any ownerless land.

/201 cont./

461 28 Whereas the men for the most part plait straw hats when they have nothing else to do, the women are busy with spinning and making the coca bags or the fiber bags. But even at this they do not work steadily in the sense, say, that they complete first one bag, for example, or make all the preparations from the outset for weaving an article of clothing; rather, they always work a little at a time on each task. Thus, for example, first a little spinning is done, then wood is fetched, then a coca bag is worked on, and then perhaps a brief hour is spent at the loom in order to weave a few centimeters more on the carrying band of the fiber bags, if the fiber material is at hand. No preparations are made for this plaiting and weaving for a long period in advance, but rather one provides herself with wool, spins it, weaves a bit farther, and then drops the work again for a week or more. Nevertheless, the women do not have periods of out-and-out idleness, like the men.

461 574 156 [192] This doing-nothing is designated among the Paez with a word of Spanish origin pasnyándo (paseando). To be sure, one must not overdo the inactivity, that is, not "go for a walk" longer than about two weeks in succession, for otherwise one is called "alko" (dog), who runs from house to house, sniffs about everywhere, and gets his food from other people by begging. This is encouraged by the unwritten law of the Paez, to give food to a starving person, [773] wherever it may be, until he is satisfied. This is taken very seriously, not only when adults are the petitioners, but also in the case of small children, in memory of an event in prehistoric times when Chauté /202/ turned a number of persons into stones because they had not given a begging child anything to eat out of their surplus (see the myths /see p. 224/). Hence if anyone enters a house "pasnyándo," he is given something to eat. Younger, unmarried people in particular take advantage of this and sometimes do not work at all, but go to a different house every day. They inquire as to where sugar cane is being milled, help there, are given chicha to drink and food to eat, and the next day go somewhere else. Thus there are some men who have neither house nor field, but nevertheless live quite well. To be sure, the

/202 cont./

461 villagers know these "strollers," and even say that they are
574 sluggards who do not work; but if they then come at mealtime, they
●156 get their food and are usually kept there gladly, because they know how to tell stories well and amusingly, go around everywhere, and always have news to impart. If a man is married and has a wife and children, he must, of course, cultivate his own field, in order to be able to feed his family. In Calderas, however, there is even a married "stroller" who has neither a house of his own nor his own field. He lives in the house of a good-natured man whom he helps in the field and in the house. But this is regarded as an exception.

829 Thanks for favors or benefits bestowed, which, according
571 to the view of the Paez, are taken for granted, were not custom-
[576] ary originally. Today, however, thanks are often expressed with
[178] a word of Spanish origin "slopage" (Dios se lo pague), without, however, any feeling of a debt of gratitude, such as toward a
[621] wealthy person or a person in a superior position. Within the Paez communities there is, to be sure, no sociologically established authority; similarly, there is no chief or employer of a number of people who would be dependent upon him and owe him obedience. Hence no one is forced to obey anyone whom he does not like or to do anything that he may not care to do. Accordingly, there is no respect for strangers to the place or even for the priest, for when the Calderun are in their village, "on their soil," everyone regards everyone else as equal. Not the least important in this connection is the general understanding of one another by the inhabitants, their strengths and weaknesses, which makes pretense, any spurious authority simply assumed by an official, impossible. This is one reason -- perhaps the principal reason -- why the Calderun purposely do not want to have anything to do with the "blancos" and their officials. An attempt to trace this back to an awareness of their own inferiority indicates a complete misunder-
[565] standing of the character of the Paez. Their lack of social classes, and therefore the impossibility of looking down on /203/ another person, explains their general respect for one another, which is bestowed on everyone equally. Everyone grants everyone else

Everyone grants everyone else

/203 cont./

571 whatever he expects and claims for himself, quite as a matter of
829 course. This results in an entirely natural self-esteem, injury to
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/203 cont./

461 longer period of time, consumed the products he himself raised.
476 Thus the practice of communal work and the joint consumption
●156 of food and drink connected with it do not unconditionally emphasize the necessity for remote individual farms as against the compact village layout.

556 /204/ From what has been said about joint work and the
461 joint consumption associated with it, it follows that, with this
[478] method of production and consumption, practically no one can acquire great wealth, for the more a person has, the more he needs to entertain his helpers. Theoretically, however, it would be easy to become rich, if, for example, a young man would clear an additional piece of land each year for the planting of wheat or sugar cane and sell its yield for money or barter it for horses or cows. He would have to do this for several years, and then his herd of cows and mares would increase quite automatically, and with it his wealth. The actual work necessary for this
556 would be slight. Nevertheless, this is not possible in practice,
626 because, on the one hand, most of the Paez do not calculate and think so far ahead, and, on the other hand, the sufficiently intelligent and industrious ones would be subject to the dangerous envy of the other members of the community. The democratization of the Paez communities not only favors what is common, but also prevents the individualization of what is common to all -- among other things, even the common poverty.

For this reason no show is made of any possessions that one
556 might have. Significantly, only in connection with taking an inventory of livestock at the end of our work did we discover that even in Calderas there are comparatively rich people. This was not to be seen by an outsider, since these families do not stand out from the others either by dress or by way of life. Moreover, they did not tell me anything about their property -- a matter of more than ten head of cattle in the case of three families. I learned about it more or less accidentally from other
[65] people. In the case of these families, I could not see any reason for the concealment of their wealth, since they do not have any obligations or taxes or fees to pay. They likewise do not play a

/251 cont./

756 In any case, "the curers have something and are kind,"
554 said one informant. They are respected, and at entertainments they are attended to in the room where important people (síndico, capitán, gobernador, eminent old people) are received, and they are served on larger plates.

Prestige is an advantage of the curer. It is not unusual for the curer to command more devotion than the capitán of the Parcialidad.

All the curers claim to be happy in their profession, and many are grateful to their teacher for his instruction. The advantage of being a curer is to be waited on by people, to be singled out from among the others, and also to be pursued for his knowledge, says one Calderun curer. Everyone seeks him out as a good curer; many of them are regarded as priests, for people come daily to their homes to look for them. They have more power than other people.

The curer has a high social status by virtue of his functions. But for no reason other than these functions. He commands respect and recognition for services rendered. No one can treat him badly. If during a drinking bout he is offended in some way, on the following day they hasten to make amends.

756 /252/ Psychological characteristics of the Té eu. The
157 curers vary in age from 30 to 70 years old. As a rule, they
156 have eyes deeply set in the orbital sockets, a penetrating gaze, a readiness to converse and laugh, a gentle manner, not at all aggressive; they are temperate and show much self-control and sureness in their movements.

A characteristic motor habit: seated on a very low log, they give the impression of squatting; their arms rest on their knees and with their hands they stroke their temples or chin. This motor habit is prevalent among Paez men.

[177] Their clothing is typically Paez; they do not favor change,
[291] although they are friendly enough with whites. They always
[757] advise their patients not to use the remedies of the whites or they will die.

* /252 cont./

756 They are very tractable, friendly, and in our cultural
● 156 terms we would say that they have a marvelous gift for dealing
157 with people.

[886] When they grow old, they cease to perceive the signs.
[787] They believe that when a curer dies, his death is heralded
[821] by thunder. They live in permanent tension to counter the
[763] attacks of sorcerers. At the slightest symptom, they go to their kachí to divine and to take the appropriate precautions. They eat little so as not to sleep at night; they do not suffer from insomnia. They refrain from sexual relations and from ají during their treatments.

[731] They attract the entire concern of the community when epidemics occur. The true curers, those conscious of their profession, are temperate, engrossed in the fight against sickness, and of a kindly disposition. They inspire trust and do not show egoism; they readily explain the secrets of their profession.

* 756 Competition among the Té eu. Some rivalry seems to
578 exist among the curers, and the natives even list the zones of action of the curers. It is certain that a curer will boast of having overpowered another in the latter's own area of practice. A curer from Santa Rosa tells how he overpowered a colleague.

755 The informant went to give treatments to a white patient
* 756 at Alto de Atarraya. There he found another curer who was
578 giving remedies that were useless. The patient provided for them very well, with abundant chicha and aguardiente. The new arrival drank with care. His colleague had already eaten the pork, but the patient was following /253/ him. The two curers prepared to fight. The new curer took his tama and his coca and at nine at night prepared to divine. His assisting spirit told him that the other one had given false remedies. Thus he had to learn the effective remedies. He discovered that the harm had been done by a native servant girl, along with some neighbors who did not like him. At once he called in the cook in order to question her and make sure of what she had

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754 It is said that one who is to become a sorcerer does not need a teacher; he will discover the remedies and the evil spirits. Nevertheless, in the Parcialidad of Santa Rosa it is said that the most dangerous sorceress in the place teaches people how to do witchcraft.

754 *756 The té eu can easily become sorcerers, if they show interest in becoming familiar with their remedies. A sorcerer can be a good curer and cure people, but nevertheless he will demand better provisions.

754 *[756] As a rule, it is unusual for a té eu to be universally acknowledged as such, for many people, and the sorcerers among them, commonly designate them as nasa jihi (evil person).

[787] They may have the visions from a very early age, but the practice of sorcery begins in adulthood and is perfected with maturity. The sorcerers who are publicly acknowledged are about 35 years old, most of them being elders.

/256/ Sorcerers never show their remedies; much less is it possible to attend one of their sessions. This is a concealed activity. One knows who the sorcerers are by public identification. [124] All the information obtained about them is provided by the people and sometimes by the curer himself. Nevertheless, ●[156] none of them confesses practicing this activity; rather, on the contrary, they protest their innocence and claim to be the best persons in the community.

[623] [692] The remedies that the sorcerers possess are said to be well hidden, for if the cabildo were to find them, they would punish them irremediably.

[513] The sorcerers cast their spells at night. The natives say that they do not sleep. No sooner has night fallen than they are chewing coca and tobacco. They sleep during the day. They prefer the dark of night for performing their activities, although they do not have special days or specific hours.

The sorcerers do not introduce objects into the body (toads, hair, etc.), nor can they turn into animals.

/262 cont./

683 and finally exiled him. The sorcerer nearly died. He com-
184 plained to the Alcadía of Inzá about the brutality of the cabildo. The Alcadía had the stocks destroyed by force, in spite of the protests of the natives. The punishments of the sorcerers in the Parcialidad of San Andrés were about the same up to some 30 years ago.

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754 band together in order to kill him. They call his soul, and
756 when it draws near they hit it with a stick smeared with chayuts.
774 The soul leaves with a whistling sound. When a volcano erupts,
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754 Psychological characteristics of the sorcerers. Broadly
157 speaking, the sorcerers are timid, resentful, aloof, with a very
156 strong persecution complex; they try to avoid contact with people, believing that they see in each of them a presumed accuser; they tend to be self-supporting; suspicious to a high degree, they roundly deny the accusations of their victims, regarding themselves furthermore as good persons, sound and inoffensive; they pretend to know nothing about remedies, and it is very difficult to obtain any information from them about sorcery. Most of them are intelligent. Endoculturally they are at odds with their own group, insofar as they embody the struggle against the influences of foreign cultures.

The nasa are convinced that no sooner has the sun gone down than the sorcerers are already at work. The most dangerous ones sleep during the day. For this reason they regard as peculiar characteristics of the sorcerers red eyes, an evasive look, aloofness, an unpleasant appearance, egoism, and suspiciousness. They look like criminals, informants say.

182 /263/ Socio-dynamic value of sorcery. Within Paez
754 society, sorcery is vital, overly active, and gravitates into all the social interstices. But, as must be evident, at all times and places it pertains to the realm of concealment. Its executors are surreptitious. They always act in the shadows.

/109 cont./

124 One day, at the sight of a freshly cleared field on the
423 highest mountain slopes, I asked a Paez working there to whom this land belonged and whether the person concerned had always owned it. He answered that he himself was the owner and that previously the parcel had been ownerless. He said that he had cleared it for himself and only recently built his house here in order to live here. In answer to my question as to whether there was any more ownerless land, he explained to me that the highest and inaccessible mountain peaks which are still covered with big trees and have never been cleared do not belong to anyone and that any Paez could clear a piece on them, which would then become his property. Later I called Victoriano to task, saying that actually there still was ownerless land. "Yes," he then answered me, "of course there is still ownerless land, but it is so poor that it has no value."

● 157 Far from their village, on the way to market, and generally in /110/ places away from home, the Paez, if they
[123] are alone or in the minority, are timid and reserved. If they
[522] are together in large numbers, however, or, even better, in their own house, they are usually quite bold and impudent and loudly made their jokes at our expense. Indeed, jocularity is a
157 prominent characteristic of the Paez. No talk, no conversation,
521 be it ever so unimportant, is begun without joking -- often of
522 an erotic nature. The importance of conducting such a light,
[134] idle conversation is shown by the fact that serious-minded girls are scarcely ever married.

123 They made fun of my wife in particular, for they found
522 it altogether ugly that she wore long pants. Numerous jokes
157 were made about this, which we, of course, did not understand, and for this reason we, in turn, had to take the initiative by making a joke which was then acknowledged gratefully and usually
609 with quick-wittedness. On the whole, respect toward strangers
522 inside their dwelling is unknown to them. In larger groups they
159 make their asides even in a strange environment, accompanied by much laughter. Since one does not understand them, one
[797] easily gets the impression that they are silly. In their own houses they also mimic the visiting mission priest by repeating

/110 cont./

609 parts of the Mass, as they have understood it, in an exaggeratedly
522 dramatic fashion. The priest has a difficult office in any case.
797 They do not understand his sermons and teachings in the church,
157 conducted in the Spanish language. If he speaks their own language, his inevitable mistakes are commented upon amid loud laughter.

123 On our first visit to Calderas, a man about 30 years old met us at the boundary of the village and asked us in a gruff tone whether we did not know that this land was only for the Paez. No white man had any business here. We should turn back, for no one wanted our visit. Marcos Antonio intervened and explained that we had only come to bring gifts to the Calderun and that we had no intention of settling down in Calderas. We would surely leave again the next day. The man let this pass and warned us upon departure not to dare try to steal any land.

[623] Even later we never obtained permission from the cabildo, the village council, to remain in the village more than a week at a time. Our reputation among the younger people of the village improved from week to week, on the one hand because we offered a cigarette to each man and each woman with whom we had an opportunity to talk, but even more because -- as we were told later -- we were friendly to everyone and always /111/ laughed.

[648] As a matter of fact, it would never occur to any of the white or mixed-colored colonists to favor a Calderun even with a glance. On the contrary, in the houses lying along the road, the dogs are trained to attack the Indios. True, these dogs are all undernourished and generally very cowardly. The Paez man need only raise his machete or a club in order to ward off the dog. We were the first whites who did something completely out of the ordinary in that we were always friendly, without any mental reservations, and always greeted them first, in their language. And this not only in Calderas, but also in Inzá and on the roads to the market. This friendliness was taken in good part on all sides. Then later, after we were able to show and to give them the first photographs of themselves, they were definitely pleased to be photographed and now and then offered us an egg or a bowl of chicha /see the glossary, p. 248/ when we photographed them.

/113 cont./

361 but rather we are /114/ concerned, almost without exception, with individual farms scattered on the slopes of the mountains, where the families live in the midst of their cultivated fields (cf. Ills. 156 and 157 /see p. 269 and 270/). The Paez is by [157] no means an unsociable person and likes to take part in the festivals, but he does not like to live closely confined in a village and to have his neighbors always around him; rather, he prefers to live quite far away from the next house, surrounded by his animals, in order to be able to go about his daily work in the fields undisturbed with his family.

423 609 Every Paez has a strong tie to "his soil," and the fear that he could be robbed of his soil and land dictates his unfriendly and forbidding attitude toward the stranger. Besides, for centuries their experiences with the whites have been too unfortunate for the Paez to be able to understand that a stranger might come for entirely unselfish reasons, merely in order to become acquainted with them and their country.

423 [342] [428] The Paez builds his house, as the family's focus and social center, only upon his own land, which he inherited from his fathers and which, through all subsequent generations, belongs to the family that first cultivated it. There is land in sufficient quantity in every family; in case of need anyone can also find ownerless, uncleared land on the highest sites of the mountain ranges.

Whereas the slopes of the mountains are private property after the initial clearing, the valley floor with the community house and the festival plaza is community land. The houses are 487 [487] connected with one another, as well as with the village plaza, by means of footpaths which are always very narrow because the Paez, even in larger numbers, never walk side by side, but always one behind the other. Originally even the connecting trails between the individual villages, the trails that had to be taken to the weekly markets in Belalcázar or Inzá, were no wider. In more recent times, however, visits on the part of secular and religious authorities made it necessary to widen the trails for riders.

31 Since there are no compact settlements among the Paez, there is also no geographical variations of the village. The church

/183 cont./

601 Forms of address:

father and mother together (whether by their own children or other persons)	ovēnyi or pětām
father and son together (by other persons)	pěndyīk
father and daughter together (by other persons)	pěndyīs
mother and son together (by other persons)	pěndyīk
mother and daughter together (by other persons)	pěndyīs

3. Customs during the Course of Life and of a Day

182 593 [159] [114] The Paez generally give the impression of being contented human beings, and it seems that marriage and family life are better than average. Of course, the observations on this are very scanty, for, on account of the remote location of the individual dwellings, the research worker always has only a brief glimpse of family conditions at any one time. This very solitude, however, and the consciousness of greater dependence on one another within the family favors its cohesion, even as it reduces the conflict and irritation which arise through women's gossip when people live too closely on top of one another.

842 [123] Basically every family wants a great many children -- at any rate so said all the men questioned. Two Calderun women, however, /184/ confided to my wife that there was a remedy -- which they and other women, too, naturally did not use! -- that [825] would with certainty prevent conception: One must eat some of [237] the spittle of a mula (the female, infertile cross between horse and donkey), and then one would no longer have children. They said that a woman does this only when she has already given birth to a great many children. In general every girl desires a great

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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the drum-dance, in which the women sang to the accompani- 535
ment of a drum; *vito-ko*, or *fits-ko*, the stick-dance, etc.

In addition to the shells and reeds, the Indians also accom- 535
panied their dances with a kind of drum (*kimb*), consisting of a 534
long wooden trough hung by its extremities; and the *tsoits*, or rattle, a calabash containing small stones or hard canna seeds and provided with a handle.

According to Castillo the Paez had also other deities, corre- 776
sponding somewhat to the lares of the ancient Latins, 778
carved images of which were often found in the houses. The *diqi*, who were at one time priests, sorcerers, and medicine-men, [79]
lived in retirement and were considered as the keepers of the doctrines of a traditional civilizer of the nation, called *Gnekiasi*. So strong was their influence in Castillo's time that he complains rather bitterly about it, and proceeds to explain how the true God, wishing to free the Paez from such a devilish guide, simply employed a subterfuge to drown him in the Paez river, together with two of his apostles!

The belief in a future existence is indicated, as Uricoechea 825
relates, by the fact that the Indians never molested white dogs, 795
in order that they might not be bitten by them at the doors of the house beyond the grave.

There were birds and other signs of good or of evil omen. 787
A woman would never step over a leather rope stretched on the ground, but would lift it up and pass beneath. During the construction of bridges, two men constantly beat the waters to frighten away evil spirits. The death of a person was often 761
attributed to witchcraft, and he whose face bore some likeness 754
to that of the dead person was often regarded as the culprit, provided the patient in his cravings had not given the name of the supposed sorcerer. The soul of a cow whose fat had been 805
used for illumination during religious ceremonies was believed 774
to go directly to heaven: this last belief, however, must be of post-conquest origin.

Among themselves the Indians are jovial and contented. 157
The approach of the men whom we often met on the trails 533
around Huila was usually first detected by the sound of the 283

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

157 pipes they play while walking along, unless their hands are kept
283 283 busy plaiting braids of gynerium bark in the manufacture of
[663] their hats. This is the exclusive occupation of the men. Women almost invariably walk along spinning wool, their distaff under the left arm and the spindle in the left hand, while the right hand is busy at the wool.

885 The Paez maidens are fond of flowers and are very playful.
157 On one occasion I observed several of them going up the hill
481 beyond the river, in front of the church at Huila, their arms entwined about one another's necks; then they began running up the steep hill as in a contest of endurance. As they became exhausted they threw themselves on the grass, while their movements showed that they were playing and joking all the time. These children of Nature are not unpleasant to look at,
[515 except for their usual lack of cleanliness; nor are they wanting
142] in coquetry, and they are often pretty. But in the presence of
[609] strangers they are extremely bashful, doing their utmost to keep in the background.

291 The old women are generally very ugly. Their clothing con-
515 sists only of dirty rags, and their skin is covered with the filth of years.

593 Relations between the sexes, especially between husbands
562 and wives, seem to be easy and without an air of superiority on the part of the former. On the few occasions that I had to entertain these people at their houses, the women took the same interest and the same part in the proceedings as the men, which was very different from what I observed among the Central American Indians.

609 Toward strangers, and especially toward Colombians of other
186 races, the attitude of the Indians is decidedly hostile. Unless induced by the prospect of profit they will neither sell anything nor lend any service, often refusing money and accepting only articles which they especially desire. They will not allow white
[565] or black people in their homes, and at Huila they are even unwilling that the only white family living there should share the practically inexhaustible supply of fuel scattered about in the near-by forest, or have horses or cattle pasturing on the almost

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

/289 cont./

142 The Calderuno /native of Calderas/ is rather tall, with a light copper skin, straight black hair, a straight nose somewhat flattened and broad at the base, slightly prominent cheekbones, dark brown eyes reminiscent of the Mongolian eye, a broad forehead, long and robust extremities, a slightly pentagonal face; many have mustaches, and, on the whole, the
157 features are rather /290/ handsome. On the other hand, he is talkative, communicative, deeply traditionalistic, proud
[36] of himself, and has a deep love of the land. Isolated as they
[177] are from the other parcialidades by natural accidents and far removed from the urban centers of Inzá and Belalcázar, they are shy, sullen, and withdrawn with the white, stubbornly opposed to contact with him, and, as a result their institutions, have suffered less from the impact of cultural mestization.
797 Not even the very church that has worked so persistently for the
177 catechization of these tribes, especially in this century through the Lazarist missionaries active since 1905, has been able to penetrate fully into the soul of these people.

114 . I have carried out my research in this parcialidad since
773 the month of August of last year, with several interruptions.
[124] The myths and tales which I now present were gathered with patient labor after much waiting, for the natives, when questioned about these themes, nearly always reply with the word himeto ("I don't know"). There is no need to stress the importance of mythology as an institution in the so-called "primitive" cultures. Nor is it my intention to theorize on the subject. It is enough to say, in the words of Herskovits, that "mitología es como la carta constitucional de las creencias y presta sentido a la conducta ritual que se deriva de sus consagraciones /mythology is the constitutional charter of beliefs and gives meaning to the ritualistic behavior that is derived from its consecrations/" (1). The chroniclers tell

1. Herskovits, p. 409 /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 309/.

/191 cont./

829 while the others contend for their land and reduce the extent
665 of the parcialidad. This is what the people of Avirama, Togoima, and Lame have done. Nowadays, their relations appear to be cordial, for their political differences, at least, seem to have been obliterated.

●157 The Paez are extremely pugnacious, aggressive by nature; they are easily aroused and only with difficulty erase rancor from their minds. Their psychological characteristic seems [648] to be the explosion. History gives many authentic proofs. [669] Adverse to the Spanish yoke, destroyers of the colonial settlements, /192/ in the times of the republic they have served as instruments for blind ambitions and political revenge, and nearly all the civil uprisings have been nourished with their blood. They adjust easily to the military, guerilla, barbarian [579] spirit. The riots that have taken place in the present century are memorable: La Quintinada, La Collada, and the 28th of January, the first of which took place in 1916, the second in 1932, and the third in 1950, out of motives of racism, religion, and political rancor, respectively.

Persistence in vengeance, hair-raising and fearsome crimes, and the spilling of blood characterize many aspects of the social and political life of these Indians.

VI

Fiesteros, Albaceros, and Mayordomos

796 About three months before the celebration of the fiesta,
623 the cabildo begins to select the names of the fiesteros /fiesta leaders/ for the following year. When the candidates have been chosen, the entire cabildo goes to their home, where after much dilatory chatting they announce the authorized choice. The offer is rejected at first, but eventually the great honor is accepted.

/251 cont./

756 554 In any case, "the curers have something and are kind," said one informant. They are respected, and at entertainments they are attended to in the room where important people (síndico, capitán, gobernador, eminent old people) are received, and they are served on larger plates.

Prestige is an advantage of the curer. It is not unusual for the curer to command more devotion than the capitán of the Parcialidad.

All the curers claim to be happy in their profession, and many are grateful to their teacher for his instruction. The advantage of being a curer is to be waited on by people, to be singled out from among the others, and also to be pursued for his knowledge, says one Calderun curer. Everyone seeks him out as a good curer; many of them are regarded as priests, for people come daily to their homes to look for them. They have more power than other people.

The curer has a high social status by virtue of his functions. But for no reason other than these functions. He commands respect and recognition for services rendered. No one can treat him badly. If during a drinking bout he is offended in some way, on the following day they hasten to make amends.

756 /252/ Psychological characteristics of the Té eu. The 157 curers vary in age from 30 to 70 years old. As a rule, they 156 have eyes deeply set in the orbital sockets, a penetrating gaze, a readiness to converse and laugh, a gentle manner, not at all aggressive; they are temperate and show much self-control and sureness in their movements.

A characteristic motor habit: seated on a very low log, they give the impression of squatting; their arms rest on their knees and with their hands they stroke their temples or chin. This motor habit is prevalent among Paez men.

[177] Their clothing is typically Paez; they do not favor change, [291] although they are friendly enough with whites. They always [757] advise their patients not to use the remedies of the whites or they will die.

* /252 cont./

756 They are very tractable, friendly, and in our cultural
156 terms we would say that they have a marvelous gift for dealing
●157 with people.

When they grow old, they cease to perceive the signs.
[886] They believe that when a curer dies, his death is heralded
[787] by thunder. They live in permanent tension to counter the
[821] attacks of sorcerers. At the slightest symptom, they go to their
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8: Bernal Villa

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p. 31

Chart of Positions of the Nicanor Guagás family's Genealogy.
/Following p. 27/

Genealogy of the family of Nicanor Guagás, parcialidad of Calderas. It includes several nuclear families which live in different places in the parcialidad /see p. 32 for the explanations of the symbols/.

● 16 173 594 753 754 551 847

— 1. Nicanor Guagás m.
+ 2. Rosario Iko 80 *

— 3. Damiana Guagás 65
+ 4. Bonifacio Muse m.

— 22. Justo Muse 38
23. Julia Pame 30

— 67. Isabel Muse 7
68. Juan Muse 3.
69. Rosario M. 3ms. m. A.
70. Concha M. 2mg.

— 24. Marcelo Muse 35
+25. Rosalía Ramos 30

— 71. Vicente M. 3. m. C.
72. Manuel T. M. 6
73. María S. M. 4
74. Rafael M. 1mg.

— 26. María S. Muse 30
+27. Juan Guagás m.

— 75. Nicolás G. 5 m.
76. Alberto G. 12
77. Francisca G. 6
78. Justiniano G. 3
79. Natividad G. 3 m.
80. Ismael G. 1ms. C.

— 28. Gabriel Muse m.

— 29. Paulina Muse m.

— 30. Magdalena Muse 22
+31. Pedro Pame

— 81. Paulino P. 3
82. Juana P. 1

— 32. Jacinto Muse 20
+33. Leocadia Shukuá 20

— 34. María Muse 40

— 83. Ramón Villanó 12

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[Parcialidad of Calderas]

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- 34. María Muse 40
  - 83. Ramón Villanó 12
  - 84. Juana Villanó 8
  - 85. María S. V. 7
  - 86. Marcelino V. 3
  - 87. Alfonso V. 3 m. H
- +35. José Villanó 40
- 36. Delfina Muse 23 E
  - 88. Jacinto Guagás 6
  - 89. Isabel G. 8ms.
- +37. Venancio Guagás 25

- 5. Nicolasa Guagás 38
  - 38. Marcelina Guagás 22
    - 90. Magdalena Tova 2
  - +39. Alfonso Tova 30
  - 40. Gregoria Guagás
  - 41. Agustina Guagás
  - 42. Virginia Guagás
  - 43. Manuel J. Guagás 10
- + 6. Manuel Guagás m.

- 7. Raimundo Guagás 35
  - 44 — 2
- + 8. María J. Pame 27

- 9. Pascual Guagás m.
- 10. José D. Guagás m.
- 11. Juan Guagás m.
- 12. Juana Guagás
  - 45. Benito Io 36
    - 91. Miguel Io 3ms. m. J
    - 92. Patrocinio Io 2
  - +46. Antonia Ikinás 22
- +14. Primitivo Io

8: Bernal Villa--30 E-5 (1953-1954) 1966 SC15 Paez SC15

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- 10. José D. Guagás m.
- 11. Juan Guagás m.
- 12. Juana Guagás
  - +14. Primitivo Io
  - 45. Benito Io 36
    - +46. Antonia Ikinás 22
    - 91. Miguel Io 3ms. m. J
    - 92. Patrocinio Io 2
  - 47. Esteban Io 38
    - +48. Rosalía Puche 30 E
    - 93. Santiago I. m. F.
    - 94. Tránsito I. 10
    - 95. Santos I. 6
    - 96. Raimundo I. 1
    - 97. Cruz Io m. C
  - 49. Margarita Io 25
    - +50. Julio Ikinás 35
    - ~~98. Eusebio Ikinás 4~~
    - 99. Lorenzo Ikinás 2ms.
    - 101. Santos I. 1ms. m. D
- 14. Catalina Guagás 50
  - +15. Demesio Ule m.
  - 51. Dionisia Ule 22
    - +52. Celio Muse 27
    - 102 — 2
- 16. Trinidad Guagás
  - +17. Manuel Ule
  - 53. Bautista Ule
  - 54. Felisa Ule
  - 55. Cristina Ulé
  - 56. Pedro Ule
- 18. José D. Guagás
  - 57. Juana Guagás 30
    - 103. Josefina T. 1ms.

8: Bemal Villa--31 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955
SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

● 16
173
594
753
754
551
847

- 55. Cristina Ule
- 56. Pedro Ule

- 18. José D. Guagás
- +19. Jacinta Muse
  - 57. Juana Guagás 30
    - +58. Narciso Tumbo 40
      - 103. Josefina T. 1ms.
      - 104. Alejandro T. 5 m. B
      - 105. Rufina T. 1ms. m. C
      - 106. Floro T. 4 m. D
      - 107. Cruz T. 1ms. m. A
  - 59. Aurelio Guagás 35
    - +60. Vicenta Kuskur 30.
      - 108. Pedro Guagás 2
  - 61. Marcelino Guagás 50.
    - +62. Trinidad Puche 50
      - 109. Feliciano G. 1ms. m.
      - 110. Bruno G. 25
      - 111. Magdalena G. 20
      - 112. Ramón G. 10
      - 113. Agustín G. 1ms. m.
      - 114. Felisa G. 1ms. m.
  - 63. Quiterio Guagás
    - +64. Petrona Pame
  - 65. Martina Guagás 27
    - +66. Rufino Ikinás 30
      - 115. Julio Ikinás 10
      - 116. Gregoria I. 8
      - 117. Pascual I. 4 m.
- 20. A woman m.
- 21. A woman m.

8: Bernal Villa--32 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

Explanations for the symbols of the chart on pp. 28-31./

● 16
173
594
753
754
847

*The parents of Rosario Iko were called Agustín Guagás and Concepción Iko, the latter a native of Cuetando. Rosario bears the surname of the mother because of being married to a Guagás.

A. Stung by Echi

B. Poisoned

C. Bewitched.

D. Whooping cough.

E. An abortion.

F. Smallpox.

G. Hernia.

H. Duende.

J. Plague.

m. dead.

ms. months.

Colombia SC1
Tierradentro

C /13 cont./
133 Negro de Narvaez, the principal rivers of Tierradentro. They
C drain into the Magdalena River, like all the rivers on the eastern
487 slope of the Central Cordillera. The principal traffic routes of
133 Tierradentro also lead to the Magdalena Valley, the most im-
C portant one leading down to the Rio Paez by way of /14/ La Plata
[632] to Neiva or Garzón. Thus, La Plata forms the center of trade and communication for this area, which economically, however, is not yet very accessible.

Even the earliest chroniclers described Tierradentro as a land of "eternal up and down." As a matter of fact, despite its excellent climate for colonization, the large number of small rivers cutting deep into the mountains represents a great obstacle
P to accessibility for communication, without which more extensive
[161] agricultural production is not profitable. The impassability is
[101] one of the reasons that the Paez Indians here, with a total number of about 25,000 persons, have maintained themselves racially pure and, in a few mountain valleys, in a relatively original state culturally.

C The climatic differences of this region lying less than
132- three degrees of latitude north of the equator are considerable, de-
133 pending on the elevation. Neiva, lying 472 meters high on the
a
[633] Magdalena River and the capital of the department of Huila, is one of the warmest cities of Colombia with an average temperature of 30°. Nevado del Huila, lying only 75 kilometers to the west in a straight line, is covered with eternal snow. In between there is an average temperature of 21° at 1,200 meters elevation
C
[361] and one of 11° at 3,000 meters. The predominant elevation of the settlements in the southern part of Tierradentro lies between 1,400 and 1,700 meters, which corresponds to a mean temperature of
C
[245] 18-20°. This is the best climate for the Colombian coffee. At
[249] the same time it is an excellent climate and elevation for the
[233] planting of sugar cane and maize and for cattle-raising, economic
P activities that only the colonists profit by in a commercial sense.
C
[648] The Paez villages lying in this climate are therefore extensively
P overrun by colonists, and broad stretches of land have been taken
[361] by them for agricultural use. Here the mountain slopes which
C
[311]

/103 cont./

127 We know little about the other Indian cultures of southern Colombia existing at the time of the Conquista. The conquistadors had tasks other than drawing up scientific ethnographic descriptions of their cruel enemies. Nevertheless, working with subtle methods, modern ethnological and linguistic research in the old sources has produced outstanding results.

114 Our knowledge is very inadequate with regard to the Paez,
127 who, with approximately 25,000 persons, constitute the largest
[164] non-Spanish-speaking population group within Colombia, next to the Goajiro, the inhabitants of the Guajira Peninsula in the northern part of the country. The oldest dates come from
[797] Eugenio Castillo i Orosco, who, from 1735-1755, was active as a missionary in Tálaga -- often at the risk of his life, as he reports -- and wrote down a vocabulary, a grammar, and some cultural data about the Paez. This manuscript was printed in 1877. Further ethnological data are given by the Colombian general, Carlos Cuervo Marquez, who, on his extensive journeys, also traveled through the Tierradentro region from north to south and produced the first reports about its archeological cultures. The next one, in terms of time, to report on the Paez was the American ethnologist, Henri Pittier de Fábrega, who in 1906, coming out of the central part of the Cauca Valley from the northwest by way of Corinto and Toribió, spent a few days in Tacueyó and Huila. Georg Bürg, who first investigated the archeological objects of Tierradentro more thoroughly, likewise lived for a time among the Paez and gives a few ethnographic notes in his report. In his comprehensive survey of the highland tribes of southern Colombia, Gregorio Hernandez de Alba also reports about the Paez, with whom he became acquainted in connection with his own research. Graciliano Arcila Velez undertook a blood-group examination on 303 Paez. The first thorough special study of Paez-culture from the standpoint of the religious and social life was made at the time of our stay in Tierradentro by the Director of the Archeological Park of San Andrés, Segundo Bernal Villa.

/112 cont./

142 age the hair seldom becomes white. We met only one woman with slightly graying hair and an old man with a gray, sparse beard, but dark hair. The beard among men is scant. The [302] beard hair is regularly plucked (see Ills. 148 to 155 /see pp. 265-268/).

143 According to the blood-group analysis of the Paez, among the 303 individuals examined there were 88.78 per cent of blood group 0, 6.93 per cent of blood group A, and 4.29 per cent of blood group B. The blood group A+B is not represented (G. Arcila Velez, pp. 11-14).

829 The racial concept of Indian is foreign to the Paez themselves. To them "Indio" designates a cultural status. My colleague, Segundo Bernal Villa, an Indian from the region of Pasto, was designated as "blanco" because of his European clothing. And when our interpreter Victoriano bought himself "white clothing" (hat, pants, shirt, shoes) with the money he earned, he was called a "white" in his village and accordingly treated with hostility.

161 The population figures for the Paez do not seem either to increase or decrease, as far as the uncivilized Paez are con-
165 cerned, for example, in Calderas. Infant mortality comes to more
164 than 50 per cent. The most common cause of sickness is whooping cough. The health of children who survive their second year, as well as of adults, is -- considering the circumstances -- quite good. True, one scarcely sees old people over 60 (and [132] those who look that old are probably younger). The most fre- [362] quent illness of adults is tuberculosis, which claims numerous [262] victims, since the nights are very cold and the cold and wind can [273] penetrate through the light walls of the houses unhindered. More- over, no fat of any kind is commonly eaten. Another illness from which many Paez suffer, which, however, is not taken seriously, is stomach trouble caused by the drinking of brandy even during [254] infancy and the unsuitable diet in childhood. Infants are given [262] beans, cabbage, and yuca, but no milk, except mother's milk.

/312 cont./

539 when the thief again came, took down some potatoes, kindled a fire, and roasted them in it, he took out both of his eyes "out of foolishness" before he ate and laid them on one of the three hearthstones. Then the owner of the potatoes, whom the thief, of course, could not see, stepped up, saw the eyes, and kicked them into the fire, so that they burned with a bang. The thief heard the bang, to be sure, but thought to himself, how fine the potatoes are popping and sizzling!

When the thief had eaten all the potatoes, he looked for his eyes, but could not find them. He then left the house very sadly, without eyes, and set out for his own house. On the way he met a rat who was out walking there, and they started a conversation. The thief complained that he had lost his eyes and that, without eyes, it was very difficult to find them again. He begged the rat to lend him one of hers only until he had found his own eyes again. The rat lent him one, but since both of his eyes were burned, he could not, of course, find them. The man then turned himself into wind.

The rat searched for the thief of her eye for a long time, but could not find him. Her son, like his mother, also had only one eye. The son in turn had a son, and he, too, had only one eye. Since that time the descendants of this rat family have only one eye. And that is why one can still find rats today who, to be sure, have the nose, mouth, feet, skin, and ears of a rat, but only one eye or none at all; they go back to that rat who once lent one of her eyes.

/313/

105 V. Summary and Culture-historical Classification of Paez Culture

[161] [621] [177] [197] If we briefly summarize the sketch of Paez life and the elements of their culture, we find before us a democratic agricultural people of 25,000 persons, among whom no one is master and no one servant. Surrounded for centuries by Spanish culture, they have preserved their language in extensive sections of their area of settlement.

/285 cont./

101 the Ullucos river, since to the south of it were found the Topas,
361 Yaguiváes, and Guanaca. It seems that in the fifteenth century,
[166 193] under the rule of the cacique Calambás, the Paez went over the cordillera and settled in Pitayó, Toribío, and Tacueyó.

162 Dr. José Pérez de Barradas gave a number of 30,000 souls.
[161] The census of 1938 gives a total of 17,578 inhabitants distributed as follows: municipio of Páez (Belalcázar), 13,861; municipio of Inzá, 3,717. The censuses of 1951 give a total of 25,495 inhabitants, with 15,388 in the municipio of Páez and 10,103 in that of Inzá. It is obvious that the census of 1938 was defective, especially with regard to the population of this last municipio.

[177] Of this population, approximately 80 per cent is Indian, acculturated for the most part, except for those of Calderas, Suin, and Chinas, where traditions are strong and their contacts with the white scant, and in addition there is great resistance to living with him.

142 The Paez are of medium height, with light brown skin, dark brown eyes, straight black hair, broad foreheads, rather pronounced cheekbones, pentagonal rather than oval faces,
361 robust constitutions, and rather broad shoulders. Their pueblos
796 consist of a church, a school, the house of the priest and of
342 the cabildo, and a few other houses which are occupied only at the times of religious fiestas; they live in ranchos that are rectangular in plan, with thatched roofs and walls made of tight rows of maize stalks, /286/ located on privately owned land and a considerable distance apart.

291 Dress.--The Paez dress simply. The man wears linen trousers, a poncho tied to the waist with a leather strap and another that falls freely from the shoulders, and a hat which they manufacture themselves with palm or bamboo leaves. The woman wears a wide skirt tied around the waist with a multicolored band preceding the folds made at the back, a poncho similar to the one worn by the men and also tied around

/288 cont./
583 in the church, live together for a period of indeterminate duration, explaining that /289/ the man does not have enough money at hand to marry as soon as he asks the woman, and it is necessary to work in order to obtain it.

771 Religion.--The religion of the Paez is formally Catholicism,
177 but many of their traditions are hidden in it. The principal
[796] fiestas of the natives are religious ones, which acquire true strokes of splendor. The Catholic priest is called upon for the ceremonies of baptism, marriage, and cases of death.

Chapter II

631 Calderas.--Incrusted in the very heart of Tierradentro is the
131 Parcialidad of Calderas, bounded on the north by a high ridge
133 that separates it from Chinas and Avirama; on the east, La Muralla, the very model of a fault, separates it from Avirama, just as a ridge separates it from Togoima; to the south, deep gorges and high peaks separate it from San Andrés and Togoima; to the west, the Quebrada Guacharaca divides it from the Parcialidad of Lame.

133 It is crossed from west to east by the Quebrada Kukiyú,
631 actually a river in terms of the volume and violence of its waters, whose bed is deep, enclosed, and inaccessible. Its
[423] left bank is somewhat softened by a beautiful plateau of about 20 hectares, with fertile lands, abundant waters, and on which the pueblo rises; it belongs to the community, whereas the other lands are private property guaranteed by the fact that the owner either personally cleared the montaña or inherited it from his ancestors who cleared the forest. The right bank is steep, harsh,
[161] rugged. Numerous clearings are to be seen on these sloping
[311] lands, indicating the increase in population that compels them to cultivate lands of low fertility and great danger for the laborer.

361 /295 cont./
311 strong political groupings had their principal seats at Tálaga,
643 Suin, and Avirama (3). "The place of residence of a cacique
175
[622]
[103]

3. Hernández de Alba, Gr. "The Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia," pp. 915-960.

constituted a sort of settlement or gathering place, most of which remain today as Indian pueblos and retain their names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima," Chitoquez, Cuetando, Yaquivá, Pisimbalá, and Itaibe, all of them located at the
361 temperate thermal level. It is precisely along the course of
311 the Páez River and along the middle and lower courses of its
● 161 tributaries that the Páez population is now concentrated.

13 2. Physiography. Merely a single glance at the wild geography of Tierradentro will give an idea of the pattern of life of the Páez people. The physiography of the entire course of the Páez River, from Irlanda to Itaibe, with nearly all of its tributaries, is compressed into profiled accidents. It might be said that it forms a "thermic chimney," Professor Guhl's expression. It belongs to the temperate thermal level. This is the land of the great slopes covered with natural pastures and of the short, narrow vegas with fertile soils. There are those who speak of the fertility of all the soil of Tierradentro, classifying it, consequently, as a privileged zone. The concept proves to be deceptive, because it does not take into account the physiographic factor. We find the usable vegetal layer /296/ only in the extremely narrow vegas of the rivers, ravines, and streams, and in places
13 where the topography becomes a little smoother. The left bank
241 of the Páez River, from Toez to La Plata, is usable for agricul-
[233] ture and stock-raising only with difficulty, given the brutality of the slopes. Every tributary that enters on this side is a deep ravine isolated by ridges running from northeast to southwest. On the other hand, the left bank has important vegas. It is there that plantains, manioc, sugar cane, coca, arracacha, maize, and lately coffee and guadua bamboo are grown. The soils are essentially acid, and the Gramineae grow in abundance

/296 cont./

13 and are of very good quality. The wheat and coffee from the
241 municipio of Inzá enjoy a deserved reputation in the republic for the quantity and quality of their crops.

133 The Páez River receives approximately 32 watercourses on
134 the left bank, and 17 on the right. It is easy to imagine the ruggedness of the terrain if we bear in mind the fact that each
[241] one of them forms an impassable ravine. It is also easy to imagine the magnitude of the erosion, assisted by factors of a cultural nature, such as the systematic battle against herbaceous vegetation by means of the system of annual fires. The violence of the wild waters denudes and even forms veritable rivers of stone, such as are seen at the place called Vicanenga in the municipio of Páez. The streams and torrents sometimes swell to extraordinary proportions. In 1949 the Topa torrent completely washed away its small tributary valley, on which stood the hamlet known by the name of Brisas, now Valencia, a flood which was repeated in April of this year.

241 Of course, the extent of the workable land does not keep
133 pace with the increase in population. The physiography of the
134 cold thermal level, on the other hand, spreads out and flattens
[161] a little, the horizon broadens, the patches of arboreal vegetation increase, and the plots multiply, like veritable chessboards in Mosoco, San José, and Vitoncó. Their soils nourish maize, wheat, potatoes, ullucos, nasturtium, and garlic. On the dividing lines between the plots there rise, like green walls, the plantings of cabuya.

161 3. Population density. The growth of the indigenous popu-
361 lation in general, and of the "white" one in particular, has
311 compelled the former to utilize lands increasingly more difficult, steep, /297/ and sterile, or to emigrate in search of uncultivated land. As early as the time of the Conquest we find notes on the spread of the Páez people to the western slopes of the Central Cordillera, forming such nuclei as Pitayó, Tacueyó, and San Francisco. Nowadays, we find Páez groups on the eastern slopes of the Western Cordillera in the department of Cauca, in the departments of Huila and Tolima, and in the Cauca Valley, as Páez

/297 cont./

/61/ outposts, the centers of Chinche and Potrerillos to the north of
31/ the settlement of Palmira (4).
36/

4. Duque Gómez, L. "Problemas Sociales de algunas parcialidades indígenas del Occidente de Colombia /Social problems of some native parcialidades of western Colombia/," p. 187.

Agriculture and horticulture

24/ Agriculture and horticulture constitute the primary source
133 of subsistence for the Páez. It covers a wide hypsometric zone
[433] that goes from 1,000 meters (La Plata, Huila) to well beyond the contour line of 3,000 meters in altitude above sea level (Mosoco). Naturally, the species cultivated vary with the thermal level, and, consequently, the dietetic regimen. What do not vary are the methods of cultivation and, above all, the magical practices
24/ associated with them. There are also variations in the extent
134 and the type of cultivable soils. Those used the most in Tierradentro are the ones included in the temperate thermal level. We have already discussed their fertility and extent. The soils of the cold thermal level are fertile and more extensive. Thick humus layers are found in Lame, Mosoco, San José, La Troja, Irlanda, Guanacas, Turminá, and Coscuro. These are, of course, truly privileged zones. Nevertheless, the soils are not rationally utilized or conserved. The land is exploited in an exhaustive manner. A clearing will not tolerate two consecutive plantings. Thus, each year new land, new clearing, new fencing, and new burning are required. After having been harvested once, the ground is abandoned, and in the course of the years it once more becomes covered with shrubs and thickets. After seven years, more or less, the land is again cleared of its underbrush, and the same cultivated species are planted once more. In Calderas, Santa Rosa, and Togoima, maize, arracacha, frijoles, cabbages, potatoes, and sometimes peas are planted. The process described earlier is typical of these parcialidades. In Mosoco and the cold parts generally, maize, potatoes, /298/ broad beans, and frijoles are planted in the same clearing, and

/301/

Common Name	Latin Name	Páez Name
241 Pineapple	**Ananas comosus (L) Camargo**	**chaká**
137 Granadilla	**Passiflora Ligularis Juss.**	**shlal**
Coffee	**Coffea Arabiga L.**	**café**
192 Ground cherry	**Physalis sp.**	**chimbá**
Chachafruto	**Erythrina edulis Triana ex Michell**	**ásual**
Pepino	**Solanum muricatum Ait.**	**pina**
Yam	**Dioscorea sp.**	**shuá**
Other cultivated plants:		
Coca	**Erythroxylon coca Lam.**	**esh**
Bamboo	**Guadua angustifolia Kuth**	**mum**
Bottle gourd	**Lagenaria vulgaris Serg.**	**tuka**
Calabash tree	**Crescentia cujete L.**	**shipituka**
Cabuya	**Foucrea cabuya Trel.**	**bats**
Dill	**Anethum graveolens L.**	**llinojo**
Mint	**Mentha viridis L.**	**tachá**
Rue	**Ruta graveolens.**	**luda**

222 In reality, as far as a certain type of frijole that the natives
241 call "kacha" is concerned, as well as the ground cherry, the chachafruto, fruits in general, and all the plants listed under "Other cultivated plants," with the exception of coca, the word "cultivated" is unsuitable, since they are practically in a semiwild state. The natives make use of their fruits, consumption thus being occasional and not always necessary.

133 Although it would appear that the territory of the Páez, at the
241 time of the Conquest, extended up to very close to the Magdalena
361 River, the principal nucleus of the population was located in the
[131] temperate zone and in the cold zone. The thermal levels determine
[161] the zones of cultivation. One of them goes from 1,000 to 2,000 meters and includes the entire valley of the Páez from Huila to La Plata, and the middle and lower courses of its tributaries Símbola, the river Negro de Narváez, Moras, Kukiyú, and Ullucos. Within it are located the capitals of the district, Inzá and Belalcázar, and the following native aldeas: Itaibe, Chitóquez (Ricaurte), Cuetando, Yaquivá, San Andrés de Pisimbalá, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Avirama, Chinas, Suin, Tálaga, Toez y Huila (Byla), as well as Valencia, Topa, Pedregal, and Turminá. They cultivate principally plantains, manioc, maize, sugar cane, frijoles, arracacha, coca, and coffee,

/345 cont./

427 San Andrés is the sole region of Tierradentro, as far as we
161 know, where tenant farmers are found. Although the number of persons sunk in this servitude is no higher than 100, the mere occurrence of this phenomenon already tells us of an excess of population, at least in the parcialidades of San Andrés and Santa
[131] Rosa, from which the tenant farmers came. On the other hand, the scattering of the Páez group through this very department of Cauca, the departments of Huila and Tolima, and even through
[311] the department of the Valle is well known. The colonization of the uncultivated lands in Tierradentro by the natives has been systematic and intensive during recent years. There is the utilization of ever more inaccessible lands for agriculture in the temperate thermal level. All of these are factors that clearly tell us of an excess in the Páez population.

427 Here is what a tenant farmer told us about the phenomenon
241 of tenant farming: As a tenant farmer he has the right to own a
466 house, a garden, and a clearing. The house and garden are contiguous and complementary. His garden occupies one plaza /a Colombian measure with 80 meters to the side/ more or less, and in it he has planted plantains (about 200 trees), oranges (about five trees), onions, arracacha, manioc, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, and some 200 coca trees. He has surrounded the garden with barbed wire provided by the owner in order to avoid damage by the animals of the hacienda. He can lay out his clearing on any site of the hacienda. It changes every year. In his present clearing he has planted 1,500 manioc plants; 200 of arracacha (he could not find more seed); maize; small frijoles /fríjol chiquito/ (in one month he hills the "sprigs," in two months they flower, and in three months he harvests) and large frijoles /fríjol grande/, and, finally, about two loads of sugar-
[433] cane shoots (seed). The produce of the clearing and of the garden is primarily for consumption, but if there is a surplus he may sell it to anyone, even though the owner urges him not
[249] to sell to anyone but himself. The sugar cane is milled in the
[257] /346/ sugar mill of the owner, with the subsequent use of his implements to make panela, half of what is produced being given to him.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

P 175 648 P [161] Po [175] [648]

The captain was, therefore, like the aboriginal hereditary cacique, the chief of each aboriginal group.

The decrease of the native population was accelerated until, in the Province of Popayán, according to "Descripción del Reyno de Santa Fé de Bogotá," by Francisco Silvestre (1927), there were in 1789 only 64,463 inhabitants—3,603 families of Whites, 6,022 of Indians, 4,793 of freemen (Negroes), and 3,247 slaves (Negroes), who worked in the mines and haciendas and replaced the Indians, who were disappearing. When the revolution against Spain began, the various groups of Indians in this region behaved very differently, each according to the disposition previously shown. The *Pasto* followed the Spanish troops, forming a royalist unit that was difficult to conquer, whereas the *Páez* took the part of the Republic and were led by the celebrated Indian Chief, Gregorio Calambás, who was shot by Warleta, and thus became a martyr of Colombian Independence.

With the consolidation of the Republic, the laws of Colombia established reservations for the Indians, but the neglect and exploitation characteristic of the Colonial Period continued, and there were only a few missions. There has not been contemplated until now any economic, cultural, or sanitary betterment of these natives. Most of them finally have disappeared, vanquished by diseases, by economic want, which the new necessities created and contact with civilization aggravated, and by the shrinkage of their reservation lands through the ambition of those who made it a policy to break up the native communities through official subdivision of their lands.

THE CULTURE OF THE PASTO, COAIQUER, QUILLACINGA, AND POPAYANENSE

The *Pasto* or *Coaiquer*, the *Quillacinga*, and the *Popayanense* formed a culturally homogeneous group at the time of the Conquest and later experienced very similar acculturation.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Farming.—Subsistence was based on intensive horticulture. Each family had its own small fields and grew potatoes and other tubers, xíquimas, a grain which Cieza calls cebada, quinio or quinoa, and maize, of which there was little in *Pasto* territory but much elsewhere.

A simple, pointed stick is used today in Nariño for planting.

The historians do not mention communal work in agriculture, but probably it was carried out in the form of labor loans (minga) between individuals, as today in Nariño and Cauca. The beneficiary of help in harvesting crops has to give each helper a basketful of the produce, a form of compensation called "chindé." He is also obligated to give similar help to the others. This communal labor is more solemn when the Indians work and plant the lands of the

/15 cont./

La Plata into the Magdalena Valley. Since the construction of an auto road from La Plata to Belalcázar, there is a good road connection both to the Cauca Valley and to the Magdalena Valley. From La Plata a bus goes to Garzón in four hours and to Neiva in seven hours. At the present time both cities have twice-weekly air service to Bogotá and Neiva, besides a daily train connection with the capital of the country. It takes about ten hours by bus to go from La Plata over the Central Cordillera to Popayán. From Popayán there is daily air service to all parts of the country.

Most of the archeological sites and the most important ones lie near the small village of San Andrés, on the hilltops and ranges of the valley of the same name. The place lies about six kilometers straight north of Inzá, separated from it by the Rio Ullucus and El Aguacate range. In order to get from La Plata to San Andrés, one first takes the road toward Belalcázar up the Rio Paez to Juntas, the point of confluence of the Rio Ullucus with the Rio Paez. From Juntas one must ride horseback west into the mountains for about three hours in order to reach San Andrés. This place is a village with the same characteristics as all Paez villages, that is to say, it consists of only /16/ a church, a school, the house of the town council, and a few other houses used by merchants and by the inhabitants for religious festivals. The latter, Paez Indians and colonists, live on individual farms on the slopes of the mountains along the valleys of the small streams, in a very unfavorable distribution, to be sure, as far as the Paez are concerned: the white and mixed-colored colonists live in the fertile valleys, mainly along the river courses, where they grow coffee, maize, and sugar cane, whereas the Indios must be content with the relatively unfruitful slopes.

C /104 cont./
632 includes 15 villages with Belalcázar as the administrative seat.
[103] Belalcázar, which takes its name from the conquistador Sebastian de Belalcazar, but not altogether correctly, since the latter was unable to conquer the Tierradentro area, is at the same time the
P 162 seat of the Apostolic Prefect for Tierradentro. According to the
C 162 632 census of 1938, the population of Tierradentro, consisting of mixed-colored colonists and racially pure Indios, contains 17,578 inhabitants, distributed over Belalcázar with 13,861 and Inzá with 3,717 inhabitants. The more recent count of 1951, with a total of 25,495 inhabitants, showed a considerably larger figure, of which 15,388 fall to the municipio of Balalcazar and 10,103 to
C [114] the municipio of Inzá. A comparison of the two counts of 1938 and 1951 shows /105/ a notable error in the count in the municipio of Inzá for the year 1938 (figures cited in Bernal Villa [I], p. 285).

P 641 [162] [851] [191] Of this number about 80 per cent are natives who today are largely civilized, that is, they are baptized and speak some Spanish. Politically they, too, are basically full citizens of the country; they may vote and be drafted into military service, but
P 641 423 do not pay any taxes. In one respect, however, fortunately for them, they are regarded as "minors" before the law; in their totality they own all the landed property of Tierradentro, but
P 641 423 691 648 the individual man is not in a position to sell his land. This is supposed to keep the Paez from losing their settlement area to the whites. In practice this law is not always strictly observed, for otherwise neither the colonists nor the large landowners, who are slowly but surely pushing their pasture and agricultural lands into the territory of the natives, could be in Tierradentro. The latter cannot in fact defend themselves against this, for, due to lack of money, no one among them is in a position to complain in court. If a complaint is nevertheless made, the Indios always lose, as, for example, in Itaibe, in the southeastern part of Tierradentro, where the Spaniards began to colonize as early as 1636 and where for many years lawsuits were carried on by the Indios in vain. Moreover, no judge is able to undertake anything against a rich landowner or against the missions likewise owning land.

/105 cont./

C 162 The inhabitants of Tierradentro may be divided into three groups, according to the degree of civilization: a) the colonists living south of the Rio Ullucus, who speak Spanish and have nothing in common with the Paez. In habits and customs they correspond to the general, more or less strongly mestizo, Colombian rural population. Furthermore, the population of Balalcázar, consisting predominantly of Negroes, has nothing in common with the Paez. They were brought there by the Spaniards in colonial times as slaves, in order to exploit the salt mines that were used by the Paez even in ancient times. Today salt C [316] extraction is no longer profitable. The Negroes live partly on gold-washing in the Rio Paez, which is undertaken in primitive T [563] fashion with wooden pans, the workers standing up to their knees [186] in water. The Paez do not generally intermarry with the Negroes, but, on the contrary, despise them, since they know that they at one time came there as slaves.

P 162 361 563 b) The Paez who north of the Rio Ullucus have settled both banks of the Rio Paez as far north as Nevado del Huila. They have in part intermarried with the white and mestizo colonist P [103] population. The /106/ places inhabited by them are: Araujo, Avirama, Belalcázar, Cuetando, Mosoco, Ricaurte, San Andrés, San José, Tálaga, Toez, Togóima.

T 162 103 P 114 121 P 181 648 101 c) The pure Paez villages of Calderas, Chinas, Huila, Lame, Santa Rosa, Suin and Vitoncó. Among these the Paez of Calderas have preserved their cultural individuality most purely. We worked primarily among them, and the present material, insofar as nothing is said to the contrary, refers to the culture of the Paez of Calderas. The Calderun, as the inhabitants of Calderas are known in the country, are by far the most unapproachable of all the Paez. They have best kept to this day the three laws of Juan Tama, the mythical hero of the Paez, which were originally strictly observed by all. These three laws say: 1. Tierradentro is solely and exclusively the land of the Paez, 2. the Paez may never intermarry with other races, 3. the Paez are invincible as long as they keep these laws. The third law in particular has well-founded justification, since for centuries

/114 cont./

361 with graveyard, the community house, festival houses, and, more recently, mission station and school are the central pole, whereas the family houses are always built in other places, but on one's own land (Ills. 146-147 /see p. 264/). Sometimes 342 one erects a house merely for one harvest, that is, for half a 361 year, in the middle of his field that is to be harvested. During the work and harvest it may then happen that a Paez family will not see its neighbors for several weeks.

361 The size of the villages varies; Calderas is one of the [162] largest Paez /115/ communities and contains about 200 houses with approximately 1,000 inhabitants. Other villages, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Lame, and others, are substantially smaller. 484 In each case it takes considerable time to cross a village, be- 361 cause this means, of course, crossing the entire valley basin in question. In the case of Calderas this is more than three hours [487] for a European on horseback. The Paez, it is true, travel over the steep short-cuts much more quickly on foot.

b) The House

342 For laying out a house one looks for a building spot as 312 close as possible to a small brook, large numbers of which flow down from the slopes of the mountains and unite at the foot of the valley floor to form the Kokiyó River (literally "maize water"). When it is impossible to lay out a house directly on a brook, the water is led from above through a small ditch past the house. This, as well as any other running water, may always be drunk. [514] It is known that the residents living above this house now and then urinate in the water, but "that does not matter at all," I was assured.

591 In principle, only one family, consisting of father, mother, [594] and children, lives in a dwelling. The married sons must build their own houses. It is customary, however, for newlyweds to go [342] on living in the house of the father for a time, until they have [476] saved enough chicha and food to feed the friends who will help them build their house. In one case, however, in the house of

/178 cont./

614 bearers of the name Guagáz, the old family whose members furnish the capitan and who numerically make up about a quarter of the village. The young men of this name do not always find their wives in Calderas. They /179/ must therefore often look for them in other villages, although in general this is preferably not done. Thus we have among the Paez exogamous kin-groups, that is, groups of persons of male descent, who, to be sure, live dispersed, but have a common festival house, and who cannot marry each other because of their same name. They lack the consciousness of being descended from the same ancestor, however. Similarly, there is neither a common kin-group chief, nor [162] special costumes, or any other common insignia. The bearers of [346] six family names, who together make up more than 60 per cent of the population, have festival houses on the village plaza, in each of which the bearers of the same name meet for the big annual festivals, Immaculada (December 8), Semana Santa (Easter), and San Juan (June 24), and eat and drink together. The other families, who have no festival house of their own, take part in the festival houses of friends' families.

[551] The six large families of Calderas are: Guagáz, Piñakuē, Petíns, Oléz, Oriága, Pechéne.

614 Within the kin groups, relatives play no role, but the god-
602 parents (padrino, madrina) do, and strict etiquette is observed with
608 respect to them. Boy or girl, man or woman who meet their god-
576 parents anywhere must kneel down to receive their blessing.

601 The kinship nomenclature is in part more differentiated than ours. The common form of address for father and child and mother and child and the differentiated address for older and younger siblings are striking. The designations for father and mother are differentiated according to whether one speaks of one's own or of foreign fathers and mothers. One's own father is táta, the foreign one néi; one's own mother is máma, the foreign one nihí. It does not matter whether a man or a woman is speaking in the following examples:

In general
842 /184 cont./every girl desires a great
[581] many children, for this is the chief requirement for being married. Moreover, the percentage of barren women -- in childless marriages,
[162] they say, the fault is always the woman's -- is not small. According to inquiries, it comes to about 10 per cent. Men generally want boys; the women, girls, in order to have help in the house-
845 hold. Twin births are rare, but they are not regarded as anything special; rather, people are happy about them as they are about other children. Deformities at birth are said not to occur; however, I saw several persons with cleft palates. They seem to be ashamed of this, for in conversations with us they always held
847 their hands over their mouths. Infanticide does not occur. To
123 inquiries about this, there was always the completely horrified counterquestion as to whether that was the case in my country.
165 Overpopulation is not to be feared, even with a larger number
[163] of children -- the average is three to four living children per family -- since infant mortality comes to more than 50 per cent.
[164] Whooping cough is the most frequent cause of death among small children.

a) Birth and Childhood

843 The parents' concern for the child begins even before birth. The husband of a pregnant woman expecting her first child must sleep with her very frequently, for otherwise the child would be very weak. In the case of subsequent children this is no longer
[783] required so often after the beginning of pregnancy. The pregnant woman may not leave the house or eat pork for two months before the birth, since this causes "pest" and she would have stomach
[822] pains; this would be very detrimental to the child. For the same reason she may not eat beans and onions, and no fish because it comes from the cold element, water, and because a pregnant woman must not become cold.

843 According to one informant, the pregnant woman retires
343 to the menstruation hut (dúyat) two to three weeks before the
124 birth. During this time her mother or another female relative cooks for the family. According to another informant, the
000 */185/ woman does not retire to the dúyat until the birth. In any

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

121 The present object is not in any way to contribute an exhaustive monograph on the Paez, but simply to give a summary of our former knowledge of them, together with the chief results of the personal information collected during the visit referred to.

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

FORMER OCCUPANTS. "PLANOS DE INDIÓS." HUACAS

101 174 In addition to the still existing tribes, traces of the former occupancy of the Cauca valley and the adjacent mountains by a dense Indian population are found at every step. The names of extinct groups, like the Hilamas, Ocaches, Jamundies, and others, impressed on the minds of the former Spanish inhabitants by reason of some of their more gruesome customs, have come down to the present generation, although the tribes, as such, have disappeared. Of the Hilamas and Ocaches it is said they were cannibals. At present their more or less mixed [692 181 descendants still live in the villages of Las Pavas and Vijes, near Cali; the "Paveños" have become inveterate legal fighters, 162] keeping their judges and alcaldes constantly occupied; while the "Vijeños," on the other hand, are now so peaceful that the court-house is known to have been closed for eighteen months at a time.

101 Of the Jamundies I was told that they were indefatigable 114 warriors, having fought the Spanish invaders to the last of their strength. Their name is perpetuated in that of the little town [103] of Jamundi, near which I visited the very interesting vale of Agua Sucia, which may have been one of their principal strongholds, as well as a rich gold-washing place. The hills were and still are partly covered with graves, or *huacas*, and these have [135] been found so abundant in gold objects as to have induced enterprising miners, or *huaqueros*, to conduct a stream of water from a long distance in order to completely wash the slopes. 172 I do not attempt to mention the fabulous riches that are said to have been extracted from this place and from several other no less rich discoveries. An immense amount of pottery, often highly ornamented, together with grinding-stones, hatchets,

/285 cont./

101 the Ullucos river, since to the south of it were found the Topas,
361 Yaguiváes, and Guanaca. It seems that in the fifteenth century,
[166-173] under the rule of the cacique Calambás, the Paez went over the cordillera and settled in Pitayó, Toribío, and Tacueyó.

162 Dr. José Pérez de Barradas gave a number of 30,000 souls.
[161] The census of 1938 gives a total of 17,578 inhabitants distributed as follows: municipio of Páez (Belalcázar), 13,861; municipio of Inzá, 3,717. The censuses of 1951 give a total of 25,495 inhabitants, with 15,388 in the municipio of Páez and 10,103 in that of Inzá. It is obvious that the census of 1938 was defective, especially with regard to the population of this last municipio.

[177] Of this population, approximately 80 per cent is Indian, acculturated for the most part, except for those of Calderas, Suin, and Chinas, where traditions are strong and their contacts with the white scant, and in addition there is great resistance to living with him.

142 The Paez are of medium height, with light brown skin, dark brown eyes, straight black hair, broad foreheads, rather pronounced cheekbones, pentagonal rather than oval faces,
361 robust constitutions, and rather broad shoulders. Their pueblos
796 consist of a church, a school, the house of the priest and of
342 the cabildo, and a few other houses which are occupied only at the times of religious fiestas; they live in ranchos that are rectangular in plan, with thatched roofs and walls made of tight rows of maize stalks, /286/ located on privately owned land and a considerable distance apart.

291 Dress.--The Paez dress simply. The man wears linen trousers, a poncho tied to the waist with a leather strap and another that falls freely from the shoulders, and a hat which they manufacture themselves with palm or bamboo leaves. The woman wears a wide skirt tied around the waist with a multicolored band preceding the folds made at the back, a poncho similar to the one worn by the men and also tied around

/320 cont./

231 chickens were not lacking. But it was impossible to obtain trust-
124 worthy information about this wealth. A mestizo trader very familiar with the region estimates that in Calderas there must be no fewer than about 350 head of cattle, a figure that is well
[162] deserving of credit. This parcialidad has approximately 150 families. In the statistical table that we present below 55 families are represented, for many of which the data are incomplete and others have an approximate value, deduced from information by third parties and from direct observation. The statistical tables for the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, and San Andrés correspond to reality.

233 Lands intended exclusively for pasture do not exist, with
[311] the exception of that which, on account of its rugged topography and deforestation, covered with grasses that become green again in winter, cannot be used for anything except for pasture, with the risk, of course, that the animals might wander away. In general the animals graze in the stubble, in the communal pastures, in the shade of the brush and thickets. In Calderas, for example, most of the livestock is hidden from strangers' eyes. They eat the branches and grasses that grow on lands that were once fields. In this way they grow wild and shy, but fat and exempt from disease. To catch these animals is equivalent to going on a real hunting expedition in that trained dogs participate, and 10 or 15 men outfitted with their respective lassos and suitably distributed in especially good places for lassoing, detaining, deflecting, or directing the progress of the animal being chased by the dogs. This work is done preferably on Sundays, at the special invitation of the cattleowners, either to brand the calves or to catch a cow intended for trade, sale, or slaughter. When the work is done, a good amount of chicha is consumed. Only the livestock that grazes on the communal llano is visible to strangers and relatively tame.

232 Everyone prefers females for reproduction. The males
439 are consumed, sold, or traded for young females and, rarely, for
231 other articles. Often there is a lack of breeding bulls. In such cases the cows do not calve and are regarded as sterile, a fact that is duly exploited by the white and mestizo traders in order to

propose "trades".

/337 cont./

423 communal land, since they have a right to it and anyone can do so. Those who come from elsewhere have a right to the communal land provided that they have grown up there. In Calderas there are people from Lame who own their land because they have cleared the montaña. Nowadays there are no more montañas [591] to clear, and thus persons from elsewhere cannot come in. If a [582] Calderuno marries a woman from another parcialidad, his father-in-law or brothers-in-law must give land /338/ to his wife and the spouse thus enters the community. Thus spoke the informant.

Distribution of implements, stock, and crops

121 We are basing the distribution of implements, stock, and crops on the research carried out in the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, San Andrés, and Calderas.

● 162 The parcialidad of Mosoco has, approximately, some 250 families with an average of 4 children; Lame, some 130 with an average of 3 children; San Andrés, some 200 with an average of 4 children; and Calderas, some 150 families with 3 children on the average also. In Mosoco we studied 25 families, or 10% of the total; in Lame, 8 or 5.3%; in San Andrés, 15 or 7.5%, and in Calderas 55 or 36.6%. In the first parcialidad listed there is one family of a mestizo and another of a white, which are equivalent to 8% of the total families investigated; in the second, two families of whites are represented, equivalent to 25% of the total families investigated; in the third, 26.6% of the total families investigated are represented by two families of whites and two families of mestizos. No family of "whites" lives in Calderas.

/338 cont./

412 Bearing in mind that of the 48 families investigated, 52%
422 are from Mosoco, 16.6% from Lame, and 31.2% from San
[162] Andrés, we can make the following deductions: The average
/339/ number of machetes owned by each family in the three parcialidades is two. This indicates the universality of this implement.

Implements for working the land are more numerous in Mosoco and Lame than in San Andrés, especially in the former, where shovels almost reach 4 and the small bars 2 per family. This is explained by the fact that in those parcialidades they do not need to clear the lands, but only raise the beds in the pastures.

The number of axes for each family in Mosoco is almost double.
[423] The reason for this is that almost all the families own land in the
[311] mountainous part called "paramo." The clearing of wooded areas is intensive in Mosoco because they still exist. In San Andrés and Lame, virgin montañas have almost disappeared.

/354 cont./

43 onions, cabbages, barley, and eggs, with which it is not possible to maintain regular trading. The Indians, without exception, buy salt and also acquire hats, shirts, trousers, machetes, shovels, bars, axes, knives, aluminum pots, cups, iron plates, spoons, candles, soap, and aguardiente. Less frequently, large and brilliantly colored kerchiefs for the children, and tweezers /pinzas/ and necklaces for the women.

439 San Andrés is a small native settlement which has been
443 inhabited by the "whites" since the settlement area was estab-
438 lished. It contains three stores that sell some merchandise,
[162] some drugs, beer, aguardiente, and bread. Two of them have gramophones. There are also two other stores, which sell chicha and aguardiente exclusively. On Wednesdays a small market is held. In front of one of the houses, peddlers and traders from other areas display their wares; on the small plaza an awning is raised by an acculturated native woman in order to sell food, and a little farther there is a stand where meat is sold. The market starts moving at dawn. The natives bring small amounts of manioc, arracacha, white cabbage, eggs, coffee, and onions, /355/ which are bought immediately by the "whites." Then the butcher starts selling meat, usually in two-pound portions, which are what the natives buy. The peddlers sell a few trinkets and commodities. At 9:00 A.M. the liquor places
[273] begin to move. At ten in the morning the market is over, and
[578] at midday and in the afternoon only drunken natives are to be
[643] seen. At those times quarrels between them are frequent, and often the natives' aggressiveness is channeled against the "whites," as they assert that they are the true owners of the land and the settlement. The natives have the habit of selling their articles (coffee, eggs) only to persons known to them, even if others can pay them better prices.

On Wednesdays there are also markets in Guasdualejo (Togoima) and Turminá; on Thursdays in Valencia, and on
[491] Saturdays in Inzá and Belalcázar. Those of Belalcázar and Valencia, because they are connected by vehicular road with La Plata (Huila), are better attended and have a larger volume of trade. Large numbers of natives from different parcialidades

/180 cont./

583 In Paris on the first of March, 1877, Esequiel Uricoechea
[175] wrote in his introduction to the Vocabulario: "Marriage in the sense in which we accept it today did not exist among the Páeces: two people lived a married life for some time and the marriage was not legalized without the previous certainty that
[192] the woman was fecund. It is natural then, that we find among the Páeces, as among the Peruvians, two verbs (imi and iyó) which indicate respectively the woman accepts the man and the man takes the woman. The woman was obliged to give clothing to the husband, and he "to provide sustenance for the family" (12).

12. Castillo y Orozdo, E. del. Vocabulario Páez-Castellano /Paez-Spanish Vocabulary/, 1877, p. XIV.

Our informants from Calderas confirm the effectiveness of this custom, some justifying it by the need of the future husband /181/ to obtain the money to pay the expenses of the wedding, others in order to "catear" /sample, find out/ if the woman is honest, a worker, and faithful, and there was no lack of those who clearly stated that this trial marriage "is customary because if the woman should turn out to be machorra /barren/ there is no marriage." When such occurs the man returns the woman to her parents without any problem standing in the way, which would not be the case if they were married by the Church, in which case the return is not possible.

●162 Our investigations concerning the frequency of the "amaño"
583 in the established families of some parcialidades of Tierradentro
595 showed the following results:
184 Calderas: 42 families (28% of the approximate total of Calderun families). 57.1% of these families practiced the amaño: 42.9% were married first by the Church.

San Andrés: 13 families (6.5% of the approximate total of San Andrés families). 92.3% were married first by the Church; 7.7% practiced the amaño.

/181 cont./

162 Lame: 8 families (6.2% of the approximate total of Lame
583 families). 87.5% were married first by the Church; 12.5% prac-
595 ticed the amaño.
184 Mosoco: 26 families (10.4% of the approximate total of families in Mosoco). 88.1% followed the Catholic law; 11.6% practiced the amaño.

Although the percentages for the parcialidades of San Andrés and Lame may not reflect fully the real situation concerning the custom owing to the paucity of data, one can clearly see the vigor that it still has in Calderas, a parcialidad less acculturated,
581 of course, than the others. Once the man is convinced of the
594 fertility of his mate, the marriage is legalized at the altar of the
[585] Catholic Church. Then the economic co-operation of the spouses, initiated at the beginning of their married life, is stabilized and gains strength, and the marriage becomes, as one of our informants remarked, an association for the "mutual benefit of the contracting parties, to serve each other, without in any way
594 being a burden to either of them." The man enlarges his clear-
462 ings in order to take care of "the sustenance of the family," plants sugar cane and coca in order to obtain chicha and narcotic for holding mingas /work parties/, in order to celebrate religious festivals, in order to "cuidar" his relatives and to relax with his friends; he hires himself out as a peon /182/ in order to acquire money and to buy shawls for his wife, wool and cloth that the woman makes into camisas for herself, her husband, and her sons, and trousers for these last, begins to build his house, if he does not have one, on the lot that his father has assigned to him, to make a home for his family. The woman, on her part, administers the products that her husband brings to her, weaves the ruana /poncho/ and kuetand-yaha (mambe pouch /a bag for the ingredients of chews/) for the husband and children, prepares the food, raises hens and pigs, and cares for her children less than three years old (13). In this manner, among the Páez, marriage,

13. For the division of activities according to sex, see our work "Economía de los Páez /Economy of the Paez/," /published in the

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842 /184 cont./every girl desires a great
[581] many children, for this is the chief requirement for being married. Moreover, the percentage of barren women -- in childless marriages,
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845 hold. Twin births are rare, but they are not regarded as anything special; rather, people are happy about them as they are about other children. Deformities at birth are said not to occur; however, I saw several persons with cleft palates. They seem to be ashamed of this, for in conversations with us they always held
847 their hands over their mouths. Infanticide does not occur. To
123 inquiries about this, there was always the completely horrified counterquestion as to whether that was the case in my country.
165 Overpopulation is not to be feared, even with a larger number
[163] of children -- the average is three to four living children per family -- since infant mortality comes to more than 50 per cent.
[164] Whooping cough is the most frequent cause of death among small children.

a) Birth and Childhood

843 The parents' concern for the child begins even before birth. The husband of a pregnant woman expecting her first child must sleep with her very frequently, for otherwise the child would be very weak. In the case of subsequent children this is no longer
[783] required so often after the beginning of pregnancy. The pregnant woman may not leave the house or eat pork for two months before the birth, since this causes "pest" and she would have stomach
[822] pains; this would be very detrimental to the child. For the same reason she may not eat beans and onions, and no fish because it comes from the cold element, water, and because a pregnant woman must not become cold.

843 According to one informant, the pregnant woman retires
343 to the menstruation hut (dúyat) two to three weeks before the
124 birth. During this time her mother or another female relative cooks for the family. According to another informant, the
000 /185/ woman does not retire to the dúyat until the birth. In any

/101 cont./

175 648 Nineteen years later, in 1562, Domingo Lozano made a new attempt to exploit the rich silver mines of Timaná and La Plata. He was obliged to withdraw, however, only to return the next year with reinforced troops. He founded the city of San Vicente de Paez, but only two months later, in an attack by the Paez on the city founded by him, he lost his life. An auxiliary body of troops advancing in forced marches from Popayán was also completely destroyed. After this new expulsion of the conquerors, the Paez allied themselves with the Pijao, who had destroyed Neiva in 1569. Together they attacked and plundered the silver mines of the city of La Plata in 1577, killed all the inhabitants, and set fire to the houses.

As a result of these unfavorable reports, the Spanish king energetically ordered the "pacification of the province," which from 1605-1608 was carried out so successfully that finally the troops could not find any Indios to fight or houses to plunder. In 1605, after the lost battle of Itaibe, the Paez retreated to the region of their inaccessible mountains still occupied by them today. Their western neighbors, the Guanaca, allied themselves with the Spaniards, and the latter put through their territory the [997] connecting road from /102/ Popayán to Bogotá. In 1613 the Jesuits set up the first mission station and a rest station for travelers ● [164] in the town of Guanacas. In 1790 most of the Guanaca fell [731] victim to an introduced smallpox epidemic. The survivors withdrew to the present Inzá, where they were absorbed among the colonists. Nothing has remained of their language.

175 648 797 The Paez continued to defend their country against the Spaniards and against missionization and, by their sudden attacks, made the road to Bogotá never quite safe. And then in the subsequent period the Spaniards had little interest in missionizing and civilizing the Paez. After the Guanacas station, only one 648 mission was founded in Tálaga. Because of the location of the 177 individual communities, enclosed by high mountain ranges, a 175 few villages were able to remain uninfluenced by Spanish civiliza- [36] tion for quite a long time. Later the authorities supported the establishment of native self-government, the cabildo /see the

/112 cont./

142 age the hair seldom becomes white. We met only one woman with slightly graying hair and an old man with a gray, sparse
[302] beard, but dark hair. The beard among men is scant. The beard hair is regularly plucked (see Ills. 148 to 155 /see pp. 265-268/).

143 According to the blood-group analysis of the Paez, among the 303 individuals examined there were 88.78 per cent of blood group 0, 6.93 per cent of blood group A, and 4.29 per cent of blood group B. The blood group A+B is not represented (G. Arcila Velez, pp. 11-14).

829 The racial concept of Indian is foreign to the Paez themselves. To them "Indio" designates a cultural status. My colleague, Segundo Bernal Villa, an Indian from the region of Pasto, was designated as "blanco" because of his European clothing. And when our interpreter Victoriano bought himself "white clothing" (hat, pants, shirt, shoes) with the money he earned, he was called a "white" in his village and accordingly treated with hostility.

161 The population figures for the Paez do not seem either to increase or decrease, as far as the uncivilized Paez are con-
165 cerned, for example, in Calderas. Infant mortality comes to more
● 164 than 50 per cent. The most common cause of sickness is whooping cough. The health of children who survive their second year, as well as of adults, is -- considering the circumstances -- quite good. True, one scarcely sees old people over 60 (and
[132] those who look that old are probably younger). The most fre-
[362] quent illness of adults is tuberculosis, which claims numerous victims, since the nights are very cold and the cold and wind can
[262] penetrate through the light walls of the houses unhindered. More-
[273] over, no fat of any kind is commonly eaten. Another illness from which many Paez suffer, which, however, is not taken seriously, is stomach trouble caused by the drinking of brandy even during
[854] infancy and the unsuitable diet in childhood. Infants are given
[262] beans, cabbage, and yuca, but no milk, except mother's milk.

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842 /184 cont./every girl desires a great
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a) Birth and Childhood

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[783] required so often after the beginning of pregnancy. The pregnant woman may not leave the house or eat pork for two months before the birth, since this causes "pest" and she would have stomach
[822] pains; this would be very detrimental to the child. For the same reason she may not eat beans and onions, and no fish because it comes from the cold element, water, and because a pregnant woman must not become cold.

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343 to the menstruation hut (dúyat) two to three weeks before the
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d) Death

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164 here also is the not infrequent cause of death through consumption.
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[192] the Paez, the Spanish word "angelito" is used.) In former times it was customary to abandon the house when death occurred and to leave the deceased and some food in it (Castillo i Orosco, p. IX).

764 The manner of burial is the same for men, women, and
184 children; there are no social differences. A few customs in other Paez communities, however, differ from those of the Calderun. Therefore the burial of the dead in Calderas will be described first.

[177] For burial the deceased is dressed if possible in purchased,
[291] that is, "white" clothing, even if he was the poorest of the poor and had never worn such clothing. For this reason the relatives incur considerable expense, which often cannot be paid for a long time. Burial takes place the day after death. Only the feet of the deceased are washed. This work, as well as dressing the deceased, may be done by relatives or even by outsiders; they must, /196/ however, always be men, even in the case of female deceased persons. The body is taken by two men on a bier made of two tree trunks to the graveyard next to the church, where two other men, usually relatives, have already dug the grave. The latter is trapezoid-shaped, a good shoulder's breadth at head height and narrower at the foot end. Its length is determined by the size of the deceased. The direction of the grave is completely arbitrary.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

marriage bonds were not definitely made until experiment indicated the fecundity of the woman, and that the union was dissolved at the will of the husband if the wife proved to be barren. The same authority informs us that the wife had to give her husband the necessary clothing, while the husband provided food for the family. 581 [586] [585]

A custom mentioned by Castillo was that during menses the women spent the time sitting in small huts expressly built for that purpose, for fear of contaminating the common dwelling and of bringing disease and death to its occupants. 841

Rodriguez relates another custom in connection with childbirth and death: ". . . y siempre que pare la mujer, ó que muere alguno de su familia, desamparan la casa, dexando en ella al difunto con cantidad de bastimento y de la chicha, brebage, que beben: y á las casas donde parió la mujer, las dejan con las inmundicias de el parto, y acabadas de nacer las criatures, las laban, y se vañan sus madres, poniendose en viaje á buscar nuevo paraje para su habitacion, que siempre procuran sea en parte muy fragosa, por no ser visitados." 844

These details are confirmed by Castillo and were probably still observed in his time. As to what is done at present, and regarding the family organization in general, it is very difficult to obtain reliable information. The Indians are very jealous of their women, do not tolerate in them any intercourse with strangers, and become instantly distrustful when questioned about family matters. 152 593 609

With reference to death, Castillo differs from Rodriguez in that he states that a dying person was taken from the house, so that he did not actually die in it, and that the dwelling was destroyed by fire. He does not mention the custom of leaving food near the corpse, but states that the body was buried and a fence built around the grave. 768 763 764

Diseases

No diseases came under my observation during my stay at Huila and Tacueyó, and the Indians rather impressed me as being a healthy people. But if their vocabulary affords suffi- 164 [114]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

164 cient testimony, they have their share of physical ailments. Besides itch (*lel*), tumors of several kinds (*lol-sek*, tonsilitis; *koii*, tumor in the groin), they have original names for smallpox (*buzgni*), which I was told often rages among them, for diarrhœa (*u-tšitš*), dysentery (*mengni*), and intermittent or malarial fevers (*ya-ya-gni* in the ancient dialect, *kni-kni-ni* in that spoken at the present day).

757 114 Of the practices and superstitions made use of in the cure of these diseases I could gain no information, but it is very probable that the Paez still have their own medicine-men.

Clothing. Personal Adornment

291 286 [231] At present the wool obtained from the numerous sheep kept by the Paez Indians plays the most important part in the clothing of both sexes. I cannot find any direct information on the fabrics used before the introduction of sheep by the Spaniards, [174 439] but it is most likely that the Paez obtained cotton from the Indians of the Cauca and Magdalena plains, the cultivation and the manufacture of which into thread must have formed one of the principal industries in the latter. I have already referred [192 174] to the great number of clay spindle-whorls found in the graves and on old dwelling sites throughout the Cauca valley. Judging by these we may feel sure that the former inhabitants were great spinners. On the other hand, the present Paez Indians still weave most of their own clothing, and there is no reason why they should not have done so formerly.

291 [177] The dress of the men consists of a pair of short trousers (*hiii*), that are evidently a concession to modern civilization. These are made of raw cotton cloth, or of imported fabrics, and reach from the waist to about the knees. Over the shoulders is worn a broad rectangular piece of white woolen homespun cloth, split in the middle in the form of a poncho so as to allow the head to pass through, and hanging free front and back. This is called *tund-atš*, i. e., 'the cloth that binds, or covers.' It is generally worn next to the skin, but sometimes a light cotton shirt, called *atš-petš*, is first put on. Over the *tund-atš* they carry on their left [276] side, hanging by straps that pass over the right shoulder, the coca

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easy to determine the words that form such families, and it remains for the future student to systematize and complete them. We are able, however, to give a few examples: 193 114

Kuė is indicative of smallness, fragility, and is found also in several terms referring to childhood or parental relations. Examples: 192 193

kuė	child.
a-kuė	monkey.
ala-kuė	child.
anł-kuė	nephew.
anł-tsun-kuė	grandson.
atł-kuė	nephew.
doχ-kuė	nephew.
eł-kuė	orphan (phantom's son).
ñu-kuė	uncle, father's brother.
pe-ñu-kuė	aunt, father's sister.
tuku-kuė (onomatope)	a small dove.
uesa-kuė	girl.
ues-kuė	thread.
uitła-kuė	bird.

In the following words, however, the signification of the suffix is not apparent:

ak-kuė	burial.
eiχ-ka-kuė	ant.
ia-kuė	ceremonial feather-dress.
ka-kuė	body.
imeta-kuė	dorsal spine.
ne-kuė	challenge, contest.
sa-kuė	heart of a tree.

Guė, meaning disease, is found as a suffix in a few known cases:

atła-guė	hectic fever (lit. hot-ache). [164]
buts-guė	smallpox.
iaia-guė	intermittent fever.
su-guė	a medicinal plant.

/236 cont./

755 783 Since sicknesses have a magical origin, the treatments are also magical in character. "The cleansing" is indispensable in every treatment, with its attendant remedies and movements.

165 164 Symptoms of sicknesses. Among the sicknesses clearly identifiable by the natives are smallpox and whooping cough, given their characteristic symptoms. Some of the informants, not many, to be sure, state that their children died of such sicknesses.

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/237 cont./

753 cramps in the body, and furthermore that sorcerers see it in the
776 form of a turkey impelled to peck people.
821

It seems obvious that what the Indians call Echimbe (red
753 Echi) or candelilla fina /thin glowworm/ is a firefly /luciérnaga/
825 somewhat difficult to capture and extremely fierce. They differentiate it perfectly well from the fire beetle /cocuyos (cucuyos)/. They say that it is an animal that God produced in
[755] order to harm the Christians. The curers call them and catch them in their Kachí, while other Indians, chewing coca, catch them anywhere and bring them to the curer to be buried.
[774] They believe that their fierceness is due to the fact that the
[829] souls of the Pijao are incarnated in them.

753 The symptoms of the sting of Echi are vague and imprecise and refer solely to bodily pains.

The symptoms of Pijao "dirt" are recognized by respiratory difficulties.

● 164 They differentiate perfectly well the venereal diseases,
757 which seem to be quite widespread in the acculturated parcialidades. In Calderas they are said to have spread widely among both sexes, without respect to age, and to have been treated with copper sulphate, for the remedies of the Indians were of no use. In Santa Rosa antibiotics are used. A curer in that parcialidad maintains that those diseases were brought from La Plata by wandering women and that it befell him to treat two cases: one was serious and the patient died; the second, not very advanced, he treated with yukchacha, montaña barbasco, and fisa (bitopat or bodoquero). He administered the juice for six days and subjected the patient to a diet of chicken exclusively.

755 Remedies. The remedies used by the Paez curer are
757 vegetal. As a rule they are prescribed in combination. Thus:
/238/ To clean away the ptans:

[783] Yacuma blanca, ul fiñ, ñundayuskei, shugues, chandur, guepeyuskey, chayuts.

/360/

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2.	48,00	54,2	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	40,50	45,7	.....	....
3.	132,00	70,5	....	....	.....	....	55,00	29,4	.....	....	.....	....
4.	22,50	28,3	....	....	.....	....	56,00	71,6	.....	....	.....	....
5.	320,00	62,2	....	....	.....	....	45,00	7,1	191,00	30,5	.....	....
6.	152,50	61,6	....	....	.....	....	95,00	38,3	.....	....	.....	....
7.	87,00	26,6	....	....	.....	....	240,00	73,3	.....	....	.....	....
8.	195,00	42,3	200,00	43,4	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	.... (38)
9.	320,00	72,6	120,00	27,2	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
10.*	2.000,00	55,2	....	....	360,00	10,7	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
11.	1.455,00	53,1	600,00	24,8	600,00	24,8	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
12.	170,00	100,0	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
13.	650,00	100,0	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
14.*	190,00	4,1	1.210,00	46,5	580,00	22,3	120,00	3,1	580,00	22,8	.....	....
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75 The protection of the health of adults and children is fundamental among the Páez. Child mortality has a high percentage, and parasitosis, diarrhea, and tuberculosis are almost endemic. But in Páez culture the care of the té eu (good curer) and the nasa jihi (sorcerer), the former protects people from illness and from the curses of the latter; the sorcerer with his magic powers can take people's lives. On the other hand, the té eu openly condemn the use of the drugs and the medical service of the "whites." These two institutions still enjoy great power and basically govern almost all of the institutional life of the Páez. In Mosoco seven heads of families spent small sums of money for the purchase of drugs. /The following table and illustrations appear between p. 360 and p. 361 in the original text./

[text continues on p. 108]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

The King of Spain, receiving word of the troubles in this region, ordered Don Juan de Borja, his Governor at Santa Fé, to carry out the "pacification of the province," meaning the extermination of its inhabitants. The decisive war started in Chaparral in 1605 and ended in 1608 when a Spanish witness wrote of this territory, where the *Páez* had remained free for so many years, that the provinces "were so desolated that the troops could not find Indians to fight, houses to plunder, or roots or grain to eat, and, if some Indian remained, instead of daring to plant boldly, he sowed four handfuls of grain here, two more there in the shadows and cover of the trees . . . they went about harrassed, thin, and emaciated until life was ended, for the soldiers saw corpses of people dead of hunger or sickness at every step" (Simón, 1882–92, Septima Noticia, ch. 49, vol. 5, pp. 314–15). A document in the ecclesiastical archives of Páez, dated July 17, 1638, states that in the lands adjoining the *Páez* there lived a *Pijao* Indian named Ambrosio, who had said that Captain Andrés de Zúñiga could now well enjoy this country because there were *Pijao* but not *Páez* Indians in it and because the *Pijao* saw themselves doomed and the land had no proprietor. 175 648

The *Guanaca*, who, because their chief was an enemy of the *Páez* chief, had allied themselves with the Spaniards in order to attack the *Páez*, were the first to surrender and join a Spanish colony. The first road between Popayán and Santa Fé passed through their territory, where the Spaniards established a hostelry for traders. This district was given to the Jesuits, who established the Church of Guanacas and, later, a town of the same name. But the Indians felt another lethal force of European origin—disease which they were unable to withstand. In 1790, a smallpox epidemic so reduced them that they abandoned their town, and the few survivors retired to the narrow mesa, where the modern town of Inza is situated. Here they gradually disappeared altogether. [797] [177] [164] [731]

The *Páez* continued to resist and defend their lands against Spanish missionization, so that the road to Guanaca never became secure. The extinction of the *Pijao*, the lack of important quantities of gold in the area, and the difficulty of the terrain, which was such that the Chronicler Pedro de Aguado said "to travel through *Páez* territory is to go up and down," caused the Spaniards to abandon interest in dominating these peoples. They were content to establish the Guanacas mission, and, a little later, the parish of Tálaga. Subsequently, as these Indians, who were isolated in their high mountains, were allowed to retain their customs and beliefs without interference, they did not protest when small groups of Whites peacefully occupied certain places in their lands. 175 648 797

Thus began the true Colonial Period for those tribes which survived the wars of the Conquest. The encomienda system was inaugurated, 175 648

/112 cont./

142 age the hair seldom becomes white. We met only one woman with slightly graying hair and an old man with a gray, sparse
[302] beard, but dark hair. The beard among men is scant. The beard hair is regularly plucked (see Ills. 148 to 155 /see pp. 265-268/).

143 According to the blood-group analysis of the Paez, among the 303 individuals examined there were 88.78 per cent of blood group 0, 6.93 per cent of blood group A, and 4.29 per cent of blood group B. The blood group A+B is not represented (G. Arcila Velez, pp. 11-14).

829 The racial concept of Indian is foreign to the Paez themselves. To them "Indio" designates a cultural status. My colleague, Segundo Bernal Villa, an Indian from the region of Pasto, was designated as "blanco" because of his European clothing. And when our interpreter Victoriano bought himself "white clothing" (hat, pants, shirt, shoes) with the money he earned, he was called a "white" in his village and accordingly treated with hostility.

161 The population figures for the Paez do not seem either to increase or decrease, as far as the uncivilized Paez are con-
● 165 cerned, for example, in Calderas. Infant mortality comes to more
164 than 50 per cent. The most common cause of sickness is whooping cough. The health of children who survive their second year, as well as of adults, is -- considering the circumstances -- quite good. True, one scarcely sees old people over 60 (and
[132] those who look that old are probably younger). The most fre-
[362] quent illness of adults is tuberculosis, which claims numerous victims, since the nights are very cold and the cold and wind can
[262] penetrate through the light walls of the houses unhindered. More-
[273] over, no fat of any kind is commonly eaten. Another illness from which many Paez suffer, which, however, is not taken seriously, is stomach trouble caused by the drinking of brandy even during
[854] infancy and the unsuitable diet in childhood. Infants are given
[262] beans, cabbage, and yuca, but no milk, except mother's milk.

In general
842 /184 cont./every girl desires a great
[581] many children, for this is the chief requirement for being married. Moreover, the percentage of barren women -- in childless marriages,
[162] they say, the fault is always the woman's -- is not small. According to inquiries, it comes to about 10 per cent. Men generally want boys; the women, girls, in order to have help in the house-
845 hold. Twin births are rare, but they are not regarded as anything special; rather, people are happy about them as they are about other children. Deformities at birth are said not to occur; however, I saw several persons with cleft palates. They seem to be ashamed of this, for in conversations with us they always held
847 their hands over their mouths. Infanticide does not occur. To
123 inquiries about this, there was always the completely horrified counterquestion as to whether that was the case in my country.
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511 [165] and parasitosis, diarrhea, and tuberculosis are almost endemic.
[164] But in Páez culture the care of the té eu (good curer) and the nasa jihi (sorcerer); the former protects people from illness and from the curses of the latter; the sorcerer with his magic powers can take people's lives. On the other hand, the té eu openly condemn the use of the drugs and the medical service of the "whites."
[182] These two institutions still enjoy great power and basically govern almost all of the institutional life of the Páez. In Mosoco seven heads of families spent small sums of money for the purchase of drugs. /The following table and illustrations appear between p. 360 and p. 361 in the original text./

[text continues on p. 108]

6: Bernal Villa--1 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

/291/

The Economy of the Paez

by

Segundo Bernal Villa

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/293/ General observations

433 Products of the soil make up the substantive part of the Páez economy. The Indians are barely familiar with a few manual arts practiced on very rare occasions. Hunting and gathering are quite secondary, and fishing even more so. Livestock-raising, while being an activity worthy of notice for its development, and for being, in addition, the essence of the native conception of wealth, serves more for carrying out disadvantageous barter transactions with the mestizo and white populations than for deriving a profit either in cash or in kind. The Páez economy is thus a direct one, devoid of intermediaries in the functions of production and consumption. The family consumes what it produces. The articles of consumption that are acquired are few. Essentially [439] they are salt, tools, cooking utensils, and clothing. On the other hand, the products that are sold are few: coffee, laurel wax, potatoes, garlic, and coca. It should be noted that the increase in some of these products is of recent date. Páez production merely provisions and seldom leaves a surplus to maintain regular trade. Foresight for times of scarcity exists, but it is neither sufficient nor organized.

221 Working the land conditions the daily activities of the Páez family. It might be said that the vital cycles are subordinated to the agricultural cycles. Basically, the year is divided into the months of the preparation of the soil and the months of the harvest, [166] including the protection of the crops in season. They devote the [464] months that fall between the extremes of this economic cycle to minor manual activities or they emigrate to hire out as day laborers

/293 cont./

221 on the fincas of the "whites" (1). The social life and the re-
[166]
[464]
[192]
[179]
[128]

1. Generic term with which the natives designate all those who observe the norms of western culture, without any distinction as to race. For convenience we have adopted this usage, putting the term in quotation marks.

ligious fiestas are frequent during this period. The work is done /294/ with devotion and perseverance. It is not done in haste, but there is no resting either.

423 Every Páez family has its lands. This is its ambition. The
[183] primary source of its security. Every crag has an owner whose title has been won by the sweat of his brow. Every crag harbors a rancho that shelters a family. Every inch of land is passionately
[578] defended by the native. The disputes stirred up by this fact are not few. In like manner the cabildos are never so zealous as in the defense of the lands of the parcialidad /a territorial division/.
[648] The areas of settlement /areas of colonization by whites/ are spearheads in the very heart of the community. They were established against the full opposition of the natives. On the other hand, the defense of the land and the prevention of contamination by foreign peoples are postulates of the doctrine. The distribution of the houses suggests in advance the profusion of paths and private property.

When they win the scarce land, the distances and difficul-
[464] ties that loom are not important. They are good colonizers, and it is rare that persons who lack land hire themselves out as permanent peons or become tenant farmers on the great haciendas.
[181] They prefer independence above all.

311 To study the economy of the Páez, certain factors of a
133 geographico-physical and cultural nature cannot be overlooked. They are:

1. Thermic levels. The lands now occupied by the Páez of Tierradentro correspond to the thermic levels of cold and temperate. The contour line corresponding to 2,000 meters

/285 cont./

101 the Ullucos river, since to the south of it were found the Topas,
361 Yaguiváes, and Guanaca. It seems that in the fifteenth century,
[166] [193] under the rule of the cacique Calambás, the Paez went over the cordillera and settled in Pitayó, Toribío, and Tacueyó.

162 Dr. José Pérez de Barradas gave a number of 30,000 souls.
[161] The census of 1938 gives a total of 17;578 inhabitants distributed as follows: municipio of Páez (Belalcázar), 13,861; municipio of Inzá, 3,717. The censuses of 1951 give a total of 25,495 inhabitants, with 15,388 in the municipio of Páez and 10,103 in that of Inzá. It is obvious that the census of 1938 was defective, especially with regard to the population of this last municipio.

[177] Of this population, approximately 80 per cent is Indian, acculturated for the most part, except for those of Calderas, Suin, and Chinas, where traditions are strong and their contacts with the white scant, and in addition there is great resistance to living with him.

142 The Paez are of medium height, with light brown skin, dark brown eyes, straight black hair, broad foreheads, rather pronounced cheekbones, pentagonal rather than oval faces,
361 robust constitutions, and rather broad shoulders. Their pueblos
796 consist of a church, a school, the house of the priest and of
342 the cabildo, and a few other houses which are occupied only at the times of religious fiestas; they live in ranchos that are rectangular in plan, with thatched roofs and walls made of tight rows of maize stalks, /286/ located on privately owned land and a considerable distance apart.

291 Dress.--The Paez dress simply. The man wears linen trousers, a poncho tied to the waist with a leather strap and another that falls freely from the shoulders, and a hat which they manufacture themselves with palm or bamboo leaves. The woman wears a wide skirt tied around the waist with a multicolored band preceding the folds made at the back, a poncho similar to the one worn by the men and also tied around

The cultivation of potatoes on a large scale
/305 cont./ began more
244 or less two decades ago. "From 1925 to 1930 the one who
433 planted the most potatoes was Ezequiel Mulcué, who caused amazement among the people; now the least planted is 20 arrobas," says one informant. Nowadays there are natives who sow up to 200 arrobas in a year, of which only 70 are planted in the "paramo," and they yield better results than the other arrobas planted. Then, we ask, why do the people of Mosoco have their months of hunger?

262 The basic product of the Paez diet is maize. It was in
154 the past and it continues to be so in the present. Psychologi-
[198] cally, they feel completely satisfied when they have maize for consumption. Its absence causes a sensation of dietary dissatis-
[243] faction. Before the era of the potato, the cultivation of maize and wheat predominated.

461 During the months of July, August, September, and Octo-
464 ber, the natives have little work. This is why those from
166 Vitoncó, San José, Lame, and Suin go and sign up as peons on the fincas of the "whites" on the other side of the Cordillera (Popayán, Corinto, and even in the Cauca Valley). They return toward the end of the year, when the maize and wheat harvests are drawing near. The natives of Calderas, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, and Togoima go to the fincas of Inzá or La Plata. They return in October when the maize harvests are approaching. It must be said that this labor force is excellent and cheap. And for this reason very much in demand.

The natives of Mosoco have sufficient work in their own country.

Clearings /rozas/

241 The term roza is used generically for the extent of land
433 cleared, burned, cleaned, and fenced, ready for planting. It is found on every private property. It has an area of approximately one hectare. Clearings of two or more hectares are rare. An increase in production does not reflect an enlargement of the clearings, but rather their multiplication and the utilization of ever more rugged and /306/ sterile lands. The natives, to

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

THE HIGHLAND TRIBES OF SOUTHERN COLOMBIA[1]

By Gregorio Hernández de Alba

INTRODUCTION

Between the *Esmeralda* and *Cara* in Ecuador and the *Quimbaya* in the modern Department of Caldas to the north, the conquistadors, especially Governor Don Sebastián de Belalcázar, found a large number of tribes of different languages and cultures (map 1, *No. 24*; map 7). These tribes occupied the mountains of the complicated Andean system, the valleys of the many rivers, and the slopes toward the low, jungle lands of southeastern Colombia. Because of the fertility of the soils, the mild climate, which was largely cool and healthy, the rich gold and silver mines, and the situation of the lands between the important Colonial centers of Santa Fé (now Bogotá) and Quito, which they were founding, the conquistadors greatly desired to conquer and pacify the tribes, as the Spanish chroniclers and historians call the extermination of the Indians. Some peoples, like the *Pasto* living in the present Department of Nariño, north of Ecuador, readily submitted to the overlordship of the encomenderos and hacendados, and adopted their customs and beliefs. Others, like the *Andaquí*, changed their habitat, and moved down from the region of San Agustín and the headwaters of the Magdalena River eastward to the hot jungles, where they were safe from enslavement. Some, like the *Páez* and *Moguex*, protected by the ruggedness of the Sierras of their territory, resisted the Spaniards and succeeded in large measure in perpetuating their traditions. Others, however, like the *Pijao*, who were seasoned warriors, fought bloodily against the White invaders until they were totally exterminated.

The first historians of the conquest of this part of America[2] held different opinions on the cultural and linguistic relationships between these tribes. Some claimed that the dialects differed so greatly from one tribe to another as to be mutually unintelligible; others maintained that all the peoples of the Andean area of Colombia had the same cul-

[1] This study was prepared in Washington, D. C., where the Bureau of American Ethnology, of the Smithsonian Institution, the Library of Congress, and the Library of the Pan American Union facilitated my investigation as previously the Government of Colombia, my wife (who was also my companion in field work), and my friends, the *Páez* Indians of Tierradentro, had furthered it.

[2] Ciza de León, 1932; Aguado, 1916; Simón, 1882-92; Oviedo y Valdés, 1851-55; Velasco, 1841-44.

/258 cont./

754 Thus, the victims are "the most skillful, the most charitable
554 toward travelers, the friends of the whites, those who display the most friendliness among the natives, those who have much livestock, large tracts of land, good plantings." In this phrase are listed almost the full gamut of the victims of sorcery. From previous examples, we see that those who have land, animals, mental ability and manual dexterity, and good fields, the energetic numbers of the cabildo, those who take the path
[182] of transculturation, are victims of sorcery. In addition, revenge and resentment are evened up by means of sorcery.

754 It is not surprising that undesirable whites are victims of
648 sorcery. The undesirable ones are those who covet their lands. The curers, on their own initiative or supported by the cabildo, call the soul of the white at a strategic spot, capture it, whip it with pringamoza (Urticaceae) and put bad remedies on it so that it will never return to the region. They say that the white begins to feel too lazy to travel in the area and finally decides to return to his country.

[177] In parcialidades such as Calderas, where much resistance is shown against living with and contact with the white, there are some people who are such sorcerers and such enemies of the white that even in the church they leave enchanted eggs so that not even the priest will come.

754 Among the victims of sorcery are parturient women and newborn babies, when the sorcerer or other envious persons do not want a certain family to prosper.

The power of sorcerers extends not only to human beings
[433] and animals, but also to the plantings. The loss of a planting
[167] means suffering from hunger, a shortage of coca, and emi-
[464] gration of the parents to distant places in order to hire out as laborers.

In the clearing they may put enchanted eggs, salt, pubic hair, or capio maize in order that the planting be lost.

/126 cont./

433 only on the basis of knowledge about their rites, ceremonial acts, mythology, cultic preparations, or festivals of thanksgiving.
433 This is difficult in view of the great cultural poverty of the Paez,
241 but it is noteworthy that nothing connected with agriculture or
[233] with cattle-raising reveals any kind of cultic relationship.
Neither during sowing nor harvesting was I able to observe or
[224] learn of any kind of typical agricultural rites, whereas in connection with hunting, now economically unimportant, a number of precepts and prohibitions surround the hunter before and after his hunting.

a) Agriculture

243 The chief crop in the Calderun region, as among the Paez
• 191 generally, is maize, which was at the same time the most im-
114 portant cultivated plant and the basic food of the American peoples from Patagonia to Canada in pre-Colombian times. To this day the discussion about its culture-historical origin has not come to an end. Formerly Central America was regarded as the original land of its cultivation. On ethno- /127/ botanical grounds and plant-geographical investigations, K. Birket-Smith (p. 32) assumes that the original land of maize cultivation is not Central America, but northern South America, since, according to the more recent botanical discoveries, the original form of maize is believed to have been found in the form of the pod corn (Zea mays tunicata) of the Andean countries. Not to be left unmentioned are the voices which most recently have argued for an Asiatic origin of maize, as well as of cotton (Zerries, 1952, pp. 104/5).

If we compare these hypotheses about the origin of maize with the first authenticated reports about its occurrence in America, we find as the oldest date the year 1493, when Columbus had already brought maize to Europe from his first journey across the ocean. As early as 1525 maize was extensively cultivated in the fields of Andalusia (Schweinfurt, pp. 514 f).

P /134 cont./

276 Coca (ēs) is a shrub whose alkaloid leaves, containing
137 cocaine, tanning substances, and various volatile oils, were used as stimulants even before the time of the Conquista, chiefly among the natives of the Cordilleras region. Almost 200 species of it are known, most of which, namely 137, occur in America (Walger, p. 9). It flourishes almost without exception between the tropics, from Honduras to Bolivia, in a temperature that generally remains between 15 and 20 degrees. In too low a temperature the leaves are small and worthless; in too hot a climate they lose strength and content. The most favorable elevation is between 700 and 1,700 meters.

P The word coca comes from the Kechŭa /Quechua/ lan-
279 guage (coca or cuca), which, however, does not state anything
192 definite about the origin and use of the plant, for the Kechŭa-
171 speaking tribes of Ecuador are the very ones who do not use the plant (Cooper, p. 549). In the northern part of South America the designation hayo, hahiu is customary, in northeastern Peru ebee, hibia, hibio, and in the Amazon region generally, names
P like ypadu, ypatu, ipado, or batu (Bühler, p. 3344).

The first information about coca reached Europe as early
175 as 1499 through the report of the Spanish priest, Thomas Ortíz, to
276 his spiritual superiors, according to which the natives of the northern coast of South America used a plant called hayo as a means of enjoyment. The first detailed description of the cultivation and use of the plant is found in a work, printed in 1553, by Pedro de Ciéza de León, who for the first time calls attention to the fact that coca bestows strength and vigor and drives away hunger (Bühler, p. 3353).

P At the time of the Conquista, coca was known in Colombia
276 among the Cauca Valley tribes between Popayán and Cali, near
171 Ibagué in the Magdalena Valley, on the savanna of Bogotá, and
P among the tribes of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta. Today the
276 use of coca is officially forbidden in Colombia on account of its
C harmful effects. According to Decree No. 95 of 1938, the sale
656 of coca, except in apothecary shops and drugstores, was forbidden

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P
C
/136 cont./
276 are naturally more in evidence than in the case of the use of
146 coca with good nutrition and as the only indulgence. Along
273 with improved nutrition and corresponding enlightenment, a
prohibition on brandy instead of its propagation would be more
C desirable for the health of the people than a prohibition on coca.
[651] The departments, however, draw their chief income from the
P brandy tax, whereas coca was always tax-free.

276 Tobacco (wáhi) is neither planted by the Paez nor con-
[249] sumed in large amounts, since there is generally no money
available for the purchase of tobacco or cigarettes. Both sexes,
P however, smoke gift cigarettes, and, to be sure, from child-
[755] hood, that is, from two to three years of age. The shamans
[755] in their séances and ceremonies are in the habit of chewing
cigarette tobacco along with coca, but it is always purchased.
These séances last many hours or throughout the night, during
which shamans and patients together chew this mixture uninter-
ruptedly.

P
273 Chicha (pronounced tschitscha) is one of the alcoholic
[171] beverages which, made out of various raw materials, are wide-
spread among the natives /137/ throughout South America, with
manioc chicha predominating in the forest region (Venezuela,
Brazil) and maize chicha in the Andean region (Cooper, pp.
539 f. and Map 11). Two methods of production are distin-
guished, according to whether it is a matter of raw materials
with a high sugar content (honey, sugar cane, palm sap, pine-
apple) or more starchy crops (manioc, maize). The former ferment
without the addition of saliva and need not be chewed in the
preparation; the latter need human saliva before or after cook-
P ing in order to ferment.

[137] Among the Paez chicha (mbéca) is made only from the
juice of sugar cane, a raw material that is not American, but
came from southern Asia and did not come to America until the
post-Columbian period (Maurizio, 1933, p. 75). Formerly
chicha was made out of maize, as it still is today among the
neighbors of the Paez living in higher regions (for example, the
Guambiano). The name for sugar-cane juice, nyúšayumĩ

/145 cont./

532 776 carving anywhere else or obtain an explanation anywhere (*).

* Possibly this is supposed to represent "Thunder," who, as the most important mythical figure and also as the shamans' assistant spirit, is described as a small man with the shaman staff and a triangle as a musical instrument, who displays his sexual parts.

223 Bird-hunting for the pigeon-sized tom birds is carried on by almost all Paez families with the net (ōka), as well as with the shotgun. The net is about five meters high and 20 meters wide. For this purpose a correspondingly wide breach is cut in the growth of trees or bushes on a hill or the ridge of a mountain chain, and the net fastened in the opening produced. The flushed birds, who think that there is a convenient passage at this place, fly into the net, get caught in it, and are then killed by the [237] capturers, who twist their heads. Another type of bird-catching consists of fastening a noose made of horsehair (nyákiwez; nyák = to set up, wez = string) to the twig of a tree or shrub in such a [857] way that the noose rests in a bird's nest. When the bird returns to its nest, the noose becomes entangled in its foot, and the boy -- for it is mostly boys who engage in this task of noose-setting -- 224 is able to seize the bird. Rabbits are caught in the same way with nooses, but made of agave fibers, by laying the nooses where they pass.

226 Fishing is done with hook and line at the river or with [283] poison in weirs. The fishing line (wendyánsyuts) consists of twined agave string to which are tied a metal hook and a stone as a sinker. A small worm is fastened to the hook as bait. [462] Angling is done only by men, and at twilight or at night.

226 Fishing with poisonous plants is a cultural characteristic 824 of almost all South American Indians. For this purpose a total ● 171 of more than 100 species of poisonous plants are used by them, which means that this part of the world leads all the continents in this respect (Heizer, p. 277). Among the Paez, fishing with

/146 cont./

726 In order to defend their mountain country the Paez also used
[725] large rocks which they hurled down on the attackers from the
[177] heights. They, too, however, soon succeeded in obtaining iron
[411] and iron weapons. In their battles at the time of the Conquista
they were already using swords and machetes.

411 The stone-sling plaited of agave fibers, whose manufacture
726 is described below (see under "Plaiting" /see pp. 85-86 /), is
773 of great importance mythologically in the battles with the "Pijao."
628 For geographical reasons it is the typical weapon of the American
411 mountain peoples from Tierra del Fuego to Canada, whereas the
● 171 blowgun, for similar reasons, is the typical weapon chiefly of the
Amazonas and Orinoco forest area. The simultaneous occurrence
of blowgun and sling is found all the way from Mexico to Ecuador
and in Bolivia (Friederici, 1911, pp. 71-73, Pl. 13).

411 /147/ The blowgun of the Paez consists of a single barrel and
is very simple in its construction. It is made only by men, but
[462] for bird-hunting is used almost solely by boys. To make it, one
[857] uses the thin, straight trunk of the fíza tree, the pith of which is
[223] burned out with a long iron tube about eight millimeters in di-
ameter and heated red-hot. The length of the tube is two to
three meters. No special mouthpiece is attached. As a sight a
little piece of beeswax is pasted above the mouth of the blowgun.
[824] The ball-shaped fruits of the smbák tree, which have exactly the
right caliber when green, are used as shot. The range amounts
[211] to about 20 meters. The accuracy of the shot is not great. Never-
theless, there are boys who have carved more than 20 notches
above the blowhole of the tube as a record of the birds killed.

4. Crafts and Techniques

a) Treatment of Fibers

283 The fiber material used by the Paez for plaiting, weaving,
nets, or ropes is primarily agave, cotton, or sheep wool. Agave
and cotton are ancient American fiber plants whose homeland is
probably Central America, while working with sheep wool has its
tradition in the Peruvian Highlands, in working with llama or

/147 cont./

283 alpaca wool and the wool of their wild relatives, the vicuña and guanaco.

283 824 The agave (mbāts) grows in all parts of Tierradentro, and the fibers of its fleshy, watery leaves are used for plaiting, weaving, and the making of nets and ropes. The fiber must be obtained immediately after the leaf, 1.50 meters long, is struck off the plant, since the moisture is lost very rapidly and it is then very difficult to remove the dry flesh from the fibers. For this purpose every house has a tree trunk leaning diagonally against the wall in the shadow of the roof, and a string with a small stick hangs down from the upper part of it. This is stuck crosswise into the leaf hanging tip-downward, and then the pulpy parts of the agave leaf are scraped downward rapidly with a very sharp-edged, halved bamboo tube split lengthwise, until only the long, continuous, clean fibers /148/ remain (Ills. 177 and 178 /see p.279 /). These are tied loosely around a beam to dry, until sooner or later they are spun and twisted for use.

283 [462] Men and women employ different techniques to obtain thread from the agave fibers. The men twist the thread with the hand on the upper thigh, whereas the women spin the agave fiber, like the sheep wool, into thread with the spindle. Two methods of spinning are distinguished among the South American natives, depending on the shape of the [114] spindle and the way it is held. O. Frödin and E. v. [171] Nordenskiöld call these the Bororo and the Bakaïri /Bacairi/ methods, according to their characteristic occurrence. The first method is the older culture-historically. In this case the spindle staff is symmetrical in cross-section and the whorl is generally near the lower end. In spinning, the spindle is held more or less horizontally and is placed with the lower end on a forked twig stuck into the ground or is held between the toes. The spun thread is first wound onto the shorter part below the whorl and only later wound up on the main [171] part above. The principal area of distribution of this type

/148 cont./

283 of spindle lies east of the Andes, in Mojos and in eastern Ecuador.
● 171 The Bakaïri spindle, also designated as the "Andean drop spindle," is characterized by a conical thickening at its lower end. The whorl is slipped onto the spindle staff from above and cannot slide off, since by the Bakaïri method spinning is done only in a vertical position. The upper end of the spindle is often provided with a notch or a hook. In principle the thread is formed at the upper, longer end of the spindle shaft, in other words, exactly the opposite of the Bororo spindle. The area of distribution of the Bakaïri type is a very large one; it occurs throughout the Andean area, as well as in the Venezuelan and Brazilian forest region.

283 The spindles of the Paez (wágat; as wool spindle: káswagat) and their spinning methods cannot be said to belong strictly to either the Bororo or the Bakaïri type, since they contain elements of both. The unadorned spindle shaft is uniformly about three millimeters thick, the whorl (nyít) may either be absent or is slipped on very artlessly in the form of a crudely carved, discus-
[824] shaped bone or wood disk. Not infrequently a piece of an ear of maize, a potato, or a bean pod will serve as a whorl substitute. The spindle is held in different ways. It may hang down free perpendicularly, with the tip in perpendicular position resting on a support (upper thigh), or it is held horizontally in the air or even with the lower part upward /149/ (Ills. 179 to 180 /see p. 280 /). The position of the spindle does not depend on whether agave fiber or wool is spun, but rather it seems to be
[171] arbitrary. Whereas these characteristics point to Bakaïri spinning, at least insofar as the spindle is held downward without support, the way the thread is made and its being wound temporarily on the lower, shorter part of the spindle are characteristic of Bororo spinning, although its typical fork-shaped support, with the spindle held horizontally, is absent here. Among the Paez, the spindle is worked with the right hand. The left plucks the fibers and forms the thread. The women can sit, stand, or walk during this. Insofar as it is a matter of working with sheep wool, the women are in the habit of spinning it chiefly on the way to the

/287 cont./

4. Music

533 In no area of Paez culture is poverty evident to such an ex-
535 tent as in song and dance, the predominant expressions of the character and spirit of all peoples. No peculiar dance is per-
[173] formed among the /288/ Paez, and I heard no song sung. This undoubtedly represents an impoverishment, for it may be seen
533 from the folklore that in former times there was dancing. A similar conclusion must also be drawn about the playing of very
[173] agreeable music. Their knowledge of music, however, makes it
[181] highly probable that song also existed, especially among a people that is basically jolly and constantly disposed to jest. In fact,
[581 521 522 192] it is very difficult for a girl who is slow in jocular conversation to get a husband. And to my question about the Paez word for "sing house" listed in Uricoechea, the amiable Victoriano, to his own great surprise, was immediately able to give me a special word in his language, "mẽmyat."

534 It is not possible to say with certainty which of the musical instruments used by the Paez today is an original one. The ab-
[171] sence of any kind of rattle, the outstanding instrument of the American natives, is surprising (*).

* Pittier de Fábrega (p. 325) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 326/, however, mentions among the musical instruments of the Paez a rattle (tsoõts) in the form of a calabash with a handle, which was filled with small stones. Whether this may not perhaps be an instrument of the Negroes of Belalcázar is still undecided.

534 The cow horn (kǎčn) found in every house is not in the true
202 sense a musical instrument, but one for signaling. It is completely undecorated and, consisting of a horn sawed off at the tip, gives only one tone, which is produced in the same manner as the tone of a bugle or fanfare. This horn is used by the men when they come down from the mountains after a joint felling of the trees needed for housebuilding, in order to notify the village of their return.

P /291 cont./
533 properly with their instruments and simply uniformly beat sixteenths.
[177] Thus it seems that the melody is more original and hence more
534 firmly anchored in the tradition of the Paez, and that with the
C borrowing of the drum, the corresponding modern rhythm was also
533 adopted. This has been corroborated for me by an observation per-
534 taining to the music of the Negroes of Tumaco in the Colombian
[177] port city on the Pacific coast. There, among the descendants of onetime slaves, West African musical instruments with corresponding Negro designations are still in use today, among others the xylophone-like marimba and two drums, the conical konuno with skin stretched over one side and the cylindrical bass drum covered with skin on both sides, the bombo. The latter shows the same type of stretching as the Paez bass drum and is also played with two drumsticks, one of which, provided with a raw-rubber knob, is struck on the skin and the other, a simple stick, on the frame of the body of the drum.

P
533 The musicians are always men. They play the music as
[462] amateurs who learn one or another instrument because they have taken a fancy to it. The drum is the more popular instrument, whereas flutists are less numerous and primarily limited to certain families.

P
535 The dances danced today, which, by the way, not everyone
[171] masters, correspond to the Colombian bambuco, though they do not show the dexterity and lightness of movement required for that, such as is found among the Colombian rural population in other parts of the country.

P
535 By way of a note, there should be cited the dances which H.
114 Pittier de Fabrega (based on E. Castillo i Orosco) mentions for the Paez and which in some of the designations, point to an independent culture: onza-kó, /292/ "mouse dance," nwi-kó "buzzard dance," itsa-kó, puberty dance of the girls, eč-koi-kó, dance of the spirit-flute, tel-koi-kó, dance of the long flute or war dance, la-kó, dance to dedicate a house, etc.

/292 cont./

5. Folklore

*539 The present fund of tales of the Paez is neither rich nor varied. Here, too, a certain impoverishment has undoubtedly taken place, as may be seen from fragments of larger complexes of myths. Among these there are the "Story of the Woman from Whose Body Useful Plants Come Forth," stories about transformed animals and human beings, as well as stories about werejaguars. [171] The story of the ghostly human head that comes rolling by is also extraordinarily widespread in North and South American legends [176] and has a manifold lunar-mythological meaning. In contrast to this, the complete absence of typical stories about the forest spirit (gĕlyŏmp) is noteworthy, although the latter plays an important role in the religious conceptions of the Paez. Animal and transformation tales are only very dull and colorless.

114 609 *539 [887] Unfortunately, the reluctance of the Paez to communicate is particularly frustrating in the recording of the myths. It is primarily the old people who can tell stories. But they are the very ones who are particularly standoffish toward the stranger. The chroniclers and early reporters tell us nothing about the folklore of the Paez, and even the most recent travelers of the 'thirties report only the story of Juan Tama or deny that the Paez have any mythology at all.

12 609 *539 [554] The stories collected by S. Bernal Villa and by myself could surely be augmented with better acquaintance among the old people. The unpopularity of our interpreter, especially among the old people, was sometimes so great an obstacle that Victoriano had to ask suitable informants for some of the stories told about his father or uncle.

*539 The themes of the stories chiefly consist of tales about Thunder (Nos. 1-12), mostly under his names of Juan Tama, Llivan, Chauté, or Juan Chiracol. In the myths he is the first shaman and teacher of the present-day shamans (see under "Religion" /see pp. 176 ff. /) and considerably more powerful than human beings. He is not an exalted, numinous figure, however. On the contrary, people in olden days /293/ sometimes treated him quite badly, threw poisonous herbs in his lagoon,

/314 cont./

105 The clothing of the men and women covers the upper and lower body. The men's upper garment, called "ruana" in Colombia, "poncho" in Peru, is a sleeveless shirt open at the sides. It is ancient American, known both from the relief of the so-called "sun god" of Tiahuanaco and from a grave of the pre-Spanish [291] period in Arica (northern Chile) (Montell, pp. 173-183). Soon [171] after the Conquista, since the second half of the sixteenth century, this Andean article of clothing, which consists simply of a square piece of cloth with an elongated slit for the head, was distributed throughout the area of the Andean mountain cultures. Its name, "atc," among the Paez, however, has no parallel linguistically. [177] The men's trousers are clearly Spanish. The women's costume is most simple: as an upper garment to a skirt a rectangular piece of cloth is simply put crosswise over their upper bodies.

[241] From an economic point of view, field cultivation is primary. It is carried out by the men in the form of the burned-clearing system with a ten-year clearing cycle. The only field tool is the [433] digging stick. The minimal area of cultivated land for one family is about one hectare. The principal crops are maize and sugar [177] cane. The latter was not introduced until after the Conquista. The Paez word means "sweet." The Paez designation for maize, "kotc," has no parallel with the corresponding words of the Chibcha, Carib, or Aruac /Arawak/ language groups, but with Kechua /Quechua/, where maize is called "kuts" (Birket-Smith, pp. 22-30). The stimulants are coca and chicha made of sugar-cane juice. Both Paez words, ez and mbēka, respectively, have no parallels in other language groups.

105 241 There are no outstanding festivals indicative of a planter's culture or rites associated with the products of field cultivation, nor does anything indicating an agricultural rhythm of life appear in the myths and religious customs of the Paez. The mythology and ceremonial customs are remnants of a hunter's attitude of mind. It appears as though the Paez did not adopt their primitive agriculture until the time of the Conquista or shortly before, and adopted only the mechanical application of the methods of simple digging-stick farming, without the ceremonial customs associated

/315 cont./

105 "Araucanian" type (O'Neale, p. 115). In place of the shed rod we have a simple loop; in place of the heddle rod, a bundle of loops.

105 The warp threads are stretched in the form of the "false spiral warp,"
286 a mixture of the method of the continuous, circular warp with the
171 method of the terminating flat warp. This genuinely American way of stretching the warp is found among the Northwest Coast Indians as well as among the tribes of the Gran Chaco (Olson, pp. 114-121). Culture-historically H. Nevermann regards the various forms of American weaving /316/ as having originated on the basis of a native or pre-Polynesian plait-weaving. Among the Paez we find this technical stage in the plait-weaving of the carrying bands of the coca bags.

105 For dyeing, vegetable dyes are used, which dye only sheep wool, but not cotton.

Pottery is very simple. There are only hemispherical pots and bowls made with the spiral coil technique, both without any ornamentation.

The present political organization of the Paez is based on the village community. It is led by a village council (cabildo), whose members are chosen for a year from among the men of the village. The designations for the members of the cabildo and their functions are in part Spanish. In former times the leaders of the Paez were
[621] often men with shamanistic abilities. The village is not organized
[565] by either classes or occupations. No one need serve another for
[463] pay; the word and the thing are unknown to the Paez. The father
[464] of the family with his sons or brothers works his fields, and if
[476] friends or neighbors lend their help, it is compensated for by assistance in their fields.

[594] The family organization is basically the patrilineal,
[178] monogomous nuclear family, consisting of the parents and the unmarried children. Here there has probably been the least
[851] change in Paez culture. The children are given the family of the
[533] father. For her marriage the woman receives no dowry of any kind from her parents, and she keeps her maiden name. Since there are no social or financial reasons for concluding a marriage, a woman has only the merit of her personality and abilities. These are tested during a "trial year" before the actual conclusion of the marriage.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

194	*epench*	is now	*pent*,	old (applied to female only).
114	*isos*	" "	*sus*,	urine.
[192]	*atamp*	" "	*taap*,	fog, cloud.

In Castillo's vocabularies *.rs* stands for *ʒ*, *z* for *ts* and *tz*, *ch* for *tš*. The final *h* is used only to prevent the coming together of the consonants *i* or *s* ending a word and the initial vowel of the following word in compound terms. For instance, we have *mesha*, for *mis-a*, it is not; *ishc* for *its-i*, to join, to marry, etc.

II. — Word-formation

192 *Remarks.* — A few preliminary remarks as to the vocabulary
114 given hereafter are necessary. In a general way it includes only words that are not found in Castillo's work. This is true especially of all isolated terms, but exceptions have been made when one of them is or contains a root of a whole family of words, in which case a few terms have been taken from Castillo's
114 vocabulary and their orthography adapted to our own.
192 Among those words not included in Castillo's, some have
197 simply escaped him, as, for instance, a number of plant names.
174 But many others are to-day replaced by quite distinct expressions, and this is perhaps one of the strongest indications that the present Paez are in reality a mixture of the remnants of several ancient tribes, like the Paez, the Pijaos, the Jamundies, and probably others, which resulted after Castillo's first survey of the language. As, with the exception of the Paez, we have not even fragmentary vocabularies of the tribes thus amalgamated, it is rather difficult to sustain such an hypothesis with linguistic testimony; but traditions still current and well-known examples of similar cases in other countries can be offered in support of it.

As we have in every case given Castillo's equivalent in the vocabulary, it is needless to reproduce here a list of the differences noted.

193 *Compound Nouns.* — The Paez language, like most of the
114 languages belonging to the Chibchan group, has suffixes indica-
[171] tive of form, size, matter, people, etc., that characterize whole classes of words. Castillo's vocabulary being far from exhaustive and written in a somewhat capricious way, it is not always

/205 cont./

533 are played by a large number of people, those playing the melody (flutes) are few and usually restricted to a few families.

291/
534

533 The women do not play any musical instrument.

Secular singing is unknown; only religious songs are sung at the hours of prayer, the Mass, and the procession.

535 The dancing of the Calderas people is stylized and very similar to the Colombian bambuco. It is danced by mixed couples, separately or joined together. As a rule the dancers take on a certain air of gravity and concentration, and the onlookers follow their movements attentively. The woman always

[171]

/241/

824 The plants marked with an asterisk were identified by the
[128] Herbario Nal. Colombiano, in particular by Dr. Jesús M.
[137] Idrobo.

[127] For the others, we were guided by the work, Plantas Utiles de Colombia /Useful Plants of Colombia/, by Dr. E. Pérez Arbeláez, published by the Imprenta Nacional de Bogotá in 1947.

75 The té eu and the community. In every culture, medicine
182 performs an eminently humanitarian function. Its nature is
171 sociological. No matter what its methods may be, its purpose is to save human lives. It combats illness, but also prevents it.

75 Among the Paez, medicine cures and prevents. The
182 community and the family perform special ceremonies intended to achieve these two purposes of medicine.

755 When the pest (epidemic) has spread through the com-
*756 munity, threatening its subsistence, the authorities (cabildo)
182 invite the curer to conjure away the danger by performing the
[731] wé ká.

When the illness prevails in a single family, markedly decreasing its members, the eldest invites the curer to perform
[765] the ut ká. After every burial the people must remove the ptans
[783] from their bodies and from the house where the death occurred. The curer is the only one who can do this.

241 The first fruits of plantings made on new lands not culti-
*756 vated before cannot be consumed until the curer has performed
783 the cleansing ceremonies. Thus, it is the curer who defends
182 the family -- preservation of the species -- who purifies the
789 harvests -- preservation of the individual -- and who also defends the community, warding off by means of his conjurations
*756 the epidemics and the individuals who threaten it. In 1952,
789 before an imminent attack by subversive armed groups on the
182 Parcialidad of Santa Rosa, the curer warded it off with maní de montaña /literally, "montaña peanut"/, chewed and blown on the path by which they were to come.

?:Hernández de Alba E-5¥(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

286 [386] blue, the fruit of the jagua palm (kii), probably *Genipa* sp. A woven fabric is made black by burying it for several days with clay and branches of a *Phyllanthus* which they call "sal."

[531] They make woolen bags by hand, using a kind of crochet technique without needles, and decorate them with rectangular and rhomboid figures. Some bags are made of hemp (fique), in which case the stitches are larger and the article has greater elasticity.

411 **Weapons.**—For weapons, the *Páez* used large, thick lances of black [824] or chonta palm, 20 to 25 palms or more long, clubs or macanas, stones [171] thrown with slings, large rocks rolled down from heights, spear throwers like those used by the *Chibcha*, and shields of jaguar, puma, or [179] bear skin. The *Páez* quickly adopted iron arms from the Spaniards, and in the last wars of the Conquest they used steel swords and knives. [172] In a recently discovered grave were copper bells, a golden breastplate, shield bars of tumbaga, a Spanish dagger, and a curved knife of the Arabian or north African type used by the conquistadors.

[223] Today the *Páez* use the club or macana, ordinary guns, machetes, knives, and, for killing birds, the blowgun.

354 **Fire making.**—Fires are generally made today with flint and steel, but some Indians use modern matches. For both heating and cook- [372] ing, the fire is made on the ground in the main house, surrounded [177] by stones which help support the pots. It is covered at night, and almost never goes out.

354 Illumination is provided not only by the fire but by candles made of wax from the wax palm and from seeds of a wild laurel. The latter 824 are cooked and pressed in a bag so that the wax drips into a half [388] calabash or pot to form a semispherical lump. It is melted to make candles with cotton wicks. The *Páez* use these themselves and also sell them, for they are superior to candles made of animal tallow. A cruder means of lighting consists of transfixing a large number of "higuerilla" seeds on a long, thin bamboo splinter. When the splinter is laid horizontally and lighted, the first seed burns strongly, after which the flame passes from seed to seed, lasting some 15 minutes and throwing a fair light a few feet around.

COMMERCE

438 Each week a market is held in the municipio or in some of the small 439 native villages (pls. 190, 191). The Indians sell vegetables, tortillas, eggs, chickens, and laurel wax, and buy salt, brown sugar, and espe- [435] cially lime (mambe) to be chewed with coca. Each product has a price in Colombian money, whether by quantity or weight. The unit [804] of weight is called an "egg," and more or less equals the weight of a chicken egg. After his few customary transactions, paid for either in [273] cash or in terms, in which the future coffee crop is mortgaged to the

/15 cont./

600 C 491/ C 489 [494] [509] [497] C [494] C [509] La Plata into the Magdalena Valley. Since the construction of an auto road from La Plata to Belalcázar, there is a good road connection both to the Cauca Valley and to the Magdalena Valley. From La Plata a bus goes to Garzón in four hours and to Neiva in seven hours. At the present time both cities have twice-weekly air service to Bogotá and Neiva, besides a daily train connection with the capital of the country. It takes about ten hours by bus to go from La Plata over the Central Cordillera to Popayán. From Popayán there is daily air service to all parts of the country.

P C 172 489 361 P C [492] P C 361 162 C [241] Most of the archeological sites and the most important ones lie near the small village of San Andrés, on the hilltops and ranges of the valley of the same name. The place lies about six kilometers straight north of Inzá, separated from it by the Rio Ullucus and El Aguacate range. In order to get from La Plata to San Andrés, one first takes the road toward Belalcázar up the Rio Paez to Juntas, the point of confluence of the Rio Ullucus with the Rio Paez. From Juntas one must ride horseback west into the mountains for about three hours in order to reach San Andrés. This place is a village with the same characteristics as all Paez villages, that is to say, it consists of only /16/ a church, a school, the house of the town council, and a few other houses used by merchants and by the inhabitants for religious festivals. The latter, Paez Indians and colonists, live on individual farms on the slopes of the mountains along the valleys of the small streams, in a very unfavorable distribution, to be sure, as far as the Paez are concerned: the white and mixed-colored colonists live in the fertile valleys, mainly along the river courses, where they grow coffee, maize, and sugar cane, whereas the Indios must be content with the relatively unfruitful slopes.

/296 cont./

539 bent down to his mother and shouted into her ear with the voice of thunder, "Ooooh," whereupon she came back to life. And he did the same thing to his sister. Llivan then left the house in order to see how many Pijao were dead; he went as far as Togoima, holding a pair of scissors in one hand and a bag in the other, and cut off the earrings and necklaces of all the dead Pijao and gathered them up in his bag. Near Togoima he found a young Pijao who had not yet been killed sitting in a hole; he had a human leg that he was going to eat because he was hungry. "Ah," said Llivan, "you are not yet dead?" -- whereupon he hurled his lightning and killed this Pijao also.

[192] Then Llivan carried all the ornaments that he had taken off the Pijao /297/ into one of the underground prehistoric burial caves (koátkac) of the kind that the Paez do not use to bury their dead. This cave was located near a river, and after Llivan had put down the ornaments, the river rose and covered the burial site with the treasures.

Then Llivan returned to the house of his mother and said: "Now I have killed all the Pijao and none of them will ever come back. But now I can no longer live with you. Since I have killed so many Pijao, it is possible that I might kill you, too. I must therefore leave you. I bought myself a very beautiful house in the mountains and shall live alone from now on, but never die." His mother and sister both wept, but not he. Mother and sister offered to accompany him, but he declined. Then Llivan set out. His sister followed, in order to see where Llivan went, but Llivan was accompanied by the wind and therefore he went so fast that no one could follow him. The sister could only see that Llivan rose far behind into the air. Then it began to rain, and the clouds were very low, and Llivan fell down into the Hipendyk Lagoon. Thenceforth Llivan lived in the lagoon and became Thunder.

[115] Victoriano told me this detailed story after learning it from his father and his uncle. Old Celia Uriaga of Calderas told it to me in a similar way but much less completely.

C 105 Pc 197 /320 cont./ what is common in the vocabulary and structure of the language goes back to Chibcha or to a linguistically different substratum. Analogously this is true of the archeological cultures of the northern Andean area, which are also similar in many aspects, but do not go back to the Chibcha culture.

P 105 172 174 There remains the question of the ethnic relationship of the archeological Tierradentro-culture. In view of their meager material and artistic cultural possessions, the Paez were technically not capable of the manifestations of an advanced culture that exist in Tierradentro. With their strictly democratic social structure, they also lack the organization by estate needed to maintain such a culture. Even in the mythological traditions of the Paez, there is no hint of any relationship with the archeological culture. The only similarity seems to be the Paez method of burial in a niche grave; typologically, however, this is not identical with the shaft grave. In addition there is the difference of the cremation burial in the archeological culture in contrast to the skeleton burial of the entire corpse among the Paez. Moreover, the Paez are a local, relatively narrowly circumscribed tribe; the archeological culture, on the other hand, has the most extensive geographical relationships in the art (*), in the style of

> * G. Hernandez de Alba (IV) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 324/ found a necklace of small sodalite figures in a grave chamber. This material is otherwise not found in Colombia. It comes from a Bolivian mine, and works of art made of it are found in Tiahuanaco as well as in Peruvian and Argentinian sites.

their stone statues, and in the method of burial in shaft graves.

Artistic relationships, however, make probable more extensive linguistic relationships than is the case for the Paez and their neighbors. From this standpoint a relatively well-developed trade may also be assumed. The disposition and present activity of the Paez, however, does not give us any support in this respect either.

/320 cont./

105 We are therefore obliged to regard the presence of the Paez in
172 their present settlement areas of Tierradentro as subsequent to the
174 archeological culture. Whether, as later immigrants within a larger population movement, they were the destroyers of the archeological culture, or whether they settled on the sites of the archeological culture only in the course of their wars with the
105 Spaniards cannot be clarified at the present time. /321/ The
172 latter assumption is corroborated by the fact that the reports of
174 the early Spaniards about the tribes that they encountered and
114 about their geographical position are not always clear. For exam-
131 ple, P. Manuel Rodriquez (1684) has the Paez living in the Páramo de las Papas, the páramo west of San Agustín, in which
101 rise the Magdalena, Cauca, and Caqueta. It is also remarkable
105 that the first Spanish reports do not mention the Guambiano, the
114 present-day western neighbors of the Paez. The assumption that
172 the Paez were affiliated with a newly immigrated, war-like
174 population is corroborated by the fact that the tribe of the Andaki /Andaquí/ living in the culture area of San Agustín at the time of the Conquista also had nothing to do with the archeological culture, but may possibly be regarded as the destroyers of it.

VI. List of Foreign and Technical Terms

104

Alcalde	Colombian designation for the burgomaster of a town or head of a district. Also the designation for local native authorities.
Ají	Very pungent mixture of ají pepper with onions and other spices.
Arroba	Spanish measure of weight of 12 1/2 kilograms.
Cabildo	Colombian community council. Among the Paez the designation for the democratically chosen village council.
Chaquira	Columbian designation for glass bead.
Chicha	(pronounced tschitscha) Native beer. Made of sugar cane among the Paez, of maize among most of the other Andean Indians, usually made of manioc among the South American Forest Indians.

1: Nachtigall--262 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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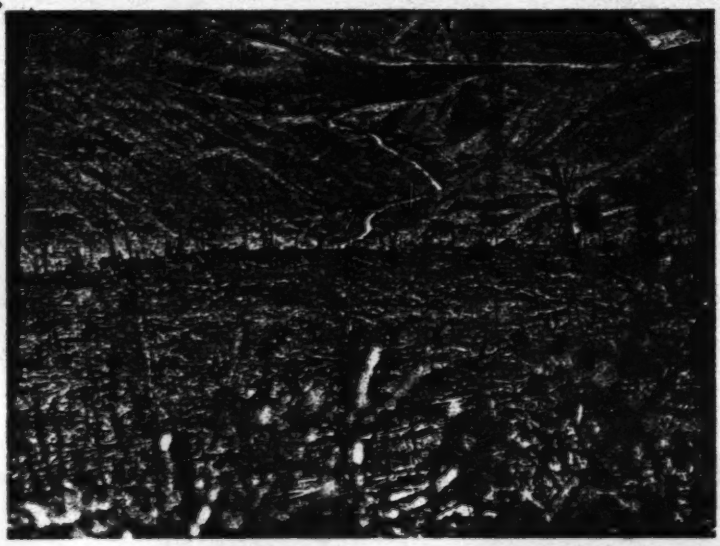

Ill. 6. The valley of the Rio Paez.

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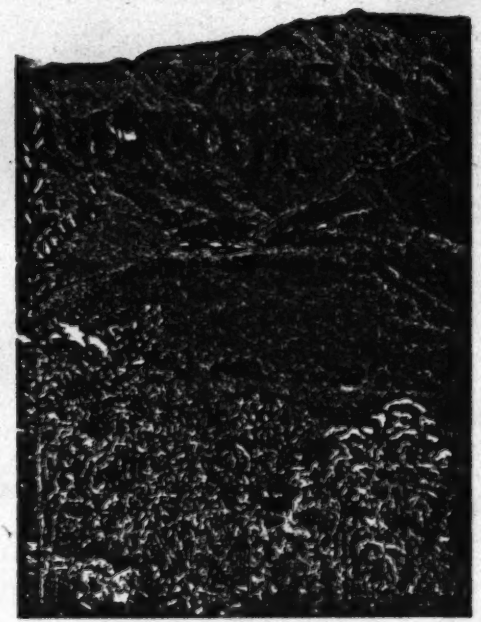
Ill. 7. The Filo de El Aguacate.

1: Nachtigall--263 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

Ill. 8. The San Andrés valley.



Ill. 9. The artificially leveled-off hill Segovia.

/Ills. 10-145 on Plates XXII-LXXVI are omitted in the translation./

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000 /CX cont./

a = Section of the weaving sword
b = Method of stretching the warp threads and inserting the first weft thread
c = Heddle loops
d = Weaving patterns

Plate XVI

36. a and b: game with the hole-ball
37. Drum (underside)

/CXI/ Illustrations

Plate XVII

[491] Ill. 1. View of La Plata, the southern trade center of Tierradentro. From here the roads lead to the cities of the Magdalena Valley and the Cauca Valley.

Ill. 2. The market of Inzá at the time of the weekly market.

Plate XVIII

Ill. 3 and 4. The churches of San Andrés and Santa Rosa built in the last century.

Plate XIX

Ill. 5. Southern Tierradentro, the settlement area of the colonists, as seen from the highest point of the Filo de El Aguacate. In the background, right, the deeply cut valley of the Rio Ullucus.

Plate XX

[491] [241] Ill. 6. The valley of the Rio Paez above Togoima with the La Plata-Belalcázar automobile road. In the foreground a field of the Paez Indians that has been cleared by burning.

• [172] Ill. 7. The archeological site on the Filo de El Aguacate. The crest of the ridge is leveled off somewhat for the emplacement of the 41 grave chambers.

1: Nachtigall--297 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/CXI cont./

Plate XXI

/According to the plate itself, the caption given here for Ill. 8 belongs with Ill. 9, and vice versa./

Ill. 8. The artificially leveled-off hill of Segovia with the archeological site. The entrance gate is at the left. On the right is the elevated portion with the protective roofs of the Seven-Niche-Grave-chambers Nos. 35-38. In the background, the Filo de El Aguacate. From its highest point the grave chambers extend to the small elevation on the right edge of the picture.

Ill. 9. The San Andrés Valley. In the foreground, the grave chambers arranged on two levels at the archeological site of Alto de San Andrés. Grave chambers 1 and 6 are provided with rectangular protective roofs. The five large statues of El Tablon are faintly visible on the almost circular area behind the village church.

/Ills. 10-145 on Plates XXII-LXXVI, and listed on pp. CXI-CXX, are omitted in the translation./

/CXX/

Plate LXXVII

Ill. 146. The valley of the Kokiyó with the town of Calderas. The bare surface is the community land, the overgrown slopes are private property.

Ill. 147. Calderas with the church and the festival houses.

Plate LXXVIII

Ills. 148 and 149. Young women.

Plate LXXIX

Ills. 150 and 151. Young men.

Plate LXXX

Ill. 152. Mother with child. The clothes are held together with thorns. The carrying band of the coca pouch hangs over the shoulder.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

121 The present object is not in any way to contribute an exhaustive monograph on the Paez, but simply to give a summary of our former knowledge of them, together with the chief results of the personal information collected during the visit referred to.

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

FORMER OCCUPANTS. "PLANOS DE INDIOS." HUACAS

101 174 In addition to the still existing tribes, traces of the former occupancy of the Cauca valley and the adjacent mountains by a dense Indian population are found at every step. The names of extinct groups, like the Hilamas, Ocaches, Jamundies, and others, impressed on the minds of the former Spanish inhabitants by reason of some of their more gruesome customs, have come down to the present generation, although the tribes, as such, have disappeared. Of the Hilamas and Ocaches it is said they were cannibals. At present their more or less mixed [692 181 162] descendants still live in the villages of Las Pavas and Vijes, near Cali; the "Paveños" have become inveterate legal fighters, keeping their judges and alcaldes constantly occupied; while the "Vijeños," on the other hand, are now so peaceful that the court-house is known to have been closed for eighteen months at a time.

101 114 Of the Jamundies I was told that they were indefatigable warriors, having fought the Spanish invaders to the last of their strength. Their name is perpetuated in that of the little town [103] of Jamundi, near which I visited the very interesting vale of Agua Sucia, which may have been one of their principal strongholds, as well as a rich gold-washing place. The hills were and still are partly covered with graves, or *huacas*, and these have [135] been found so abundant in gold objects as to have induced enterprising miners, or *huaqueros*, to conduct a stream of water from a long distance in order to completely wash the slopes. 172 I do not attempt to mention the fabulous riches that are said to have been extracted from this place and from several other no less rich discoveries. An immense amount of pottery, often highly ornamented, together with grinding-stones, hatchets,

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

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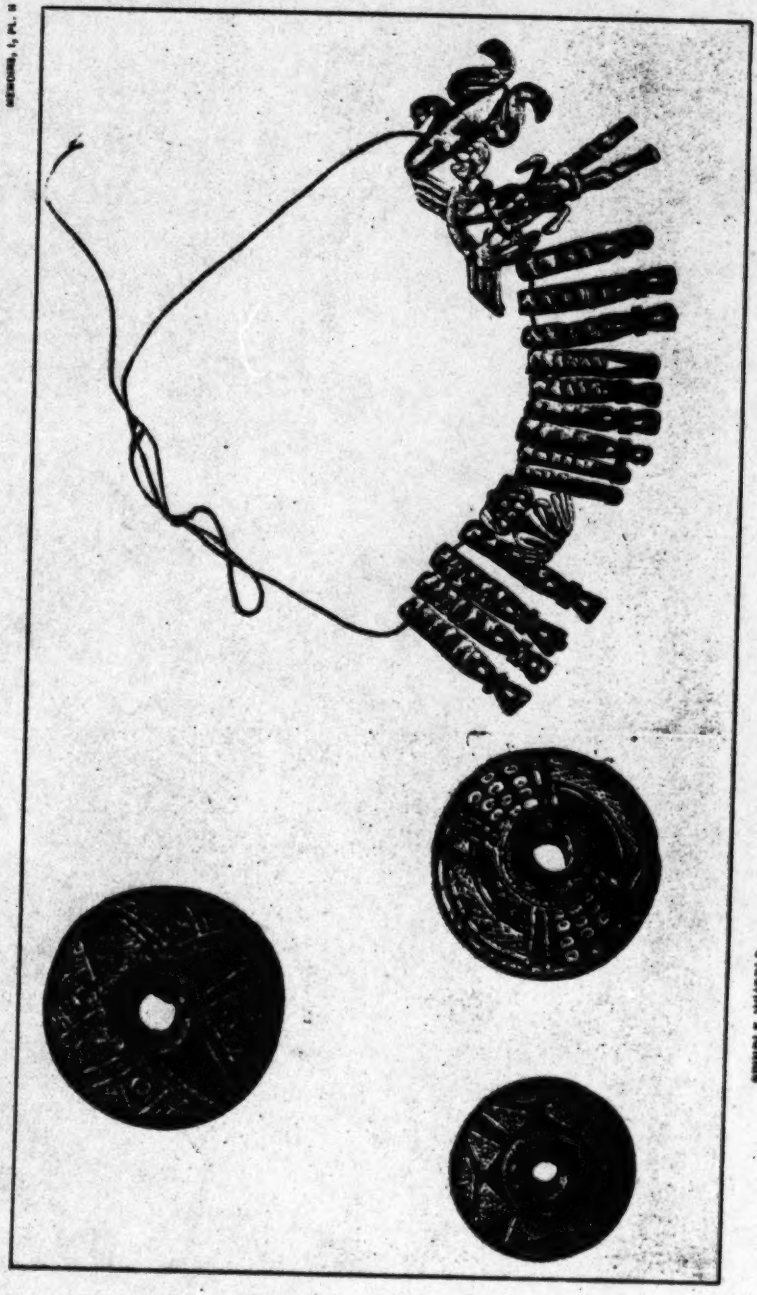

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[facing P.307]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

emeralds, and other objects, were ruthlessly destroyed or scattered about, without consideration for their archeological or even for their intrinsic value. Among the pieces of pottery more commonly found are the small elegantly designed disks, or spindle-whorls, of which I procured several specimens for the United States National Museum (plate II, 1). I obtained also a minutely wrought spider, and one of the gold fish-hooks that are often met with on sand beaches along the streams. 172

The principal Jamundí relic of Agua Sucia, and which is not likely to be displaced for some time, is the so-called "Piedra de los Sacrificios," an immense block of old eruptive stone, covered with pictographs (plate III, 1). The miners and peasants living in the district believe that a definite meaning is attached to these rude drawings, and possibly some speculative archeologist will see in them more or less mystic symbolism that my lesser imagination fails to discover; for I think we must be contented with regarding them simply as the product of representative art in its infancy. A few of the glyphs are reproduced here, some giving an idea of the geometric notions of the draftsmen, while the others are rudiments of the art of designing (plate II, 1, and figures 1, 2). 172 212 [531]

On the way to Tacueyó I became acquainted for the first time with a so-called "plano de Indio," such as are found at short intervals on the mountain ridges of the entire Cauca region. While pursuing our way on the top of a very narrow spur, we suddenly found that the crest was cut across by a very deep ditch that showed every evidence of having been the work of man. Beyond this ditch the top of the hill had very probably been artificially leveled off so as to form a plane surface of about 15 meters in width and 20 meters in length. At the end of this esplanade the hill is cut by another ditch, identical with the first. The distance between the two ditches is very much greater than the length of the esplanade, amounting to more than 100 meters. 172

According to all indications, the level space was the site of an Indian house, and that part of the hill between the ditches is generally found to be full of graves, those on the house site 172 361

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

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1. PIEDRA DE LOS SACRIFICIOS (TAMUNDÉ)
2. CUT HILL NEAR TACUEYÓ

[facing P. 308]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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172 containing, as a rule, gold objects and pieces of superior pottery.
361 We observed many of these "planos de Indios" on the road between Corinto and Tacueyó, their situation corresponding ex-

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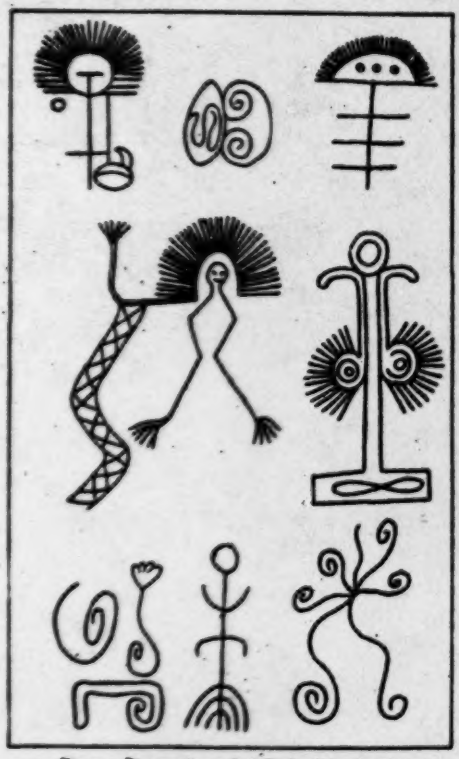

FIG. 2. — Pictographs on the "Piedra de los Sacrificios."

172 actly with what we know of the present habits of isolation of
361 the Paez Indians. The number of graves at each site does not however seem to agree with the former custom of these Indians
[844 of abandoning a house as soon as a birth or a death had taken
768] place in it.

As a very good example of the altitude at which the former

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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inhabitants of these valleys established their residences, I may mention that the highest "plano" on the cordillera was found at about 3,300 meters at El Alto de las Cruces, one of the spurs of the Páramo de Buena Vista, the limit of the forest being here

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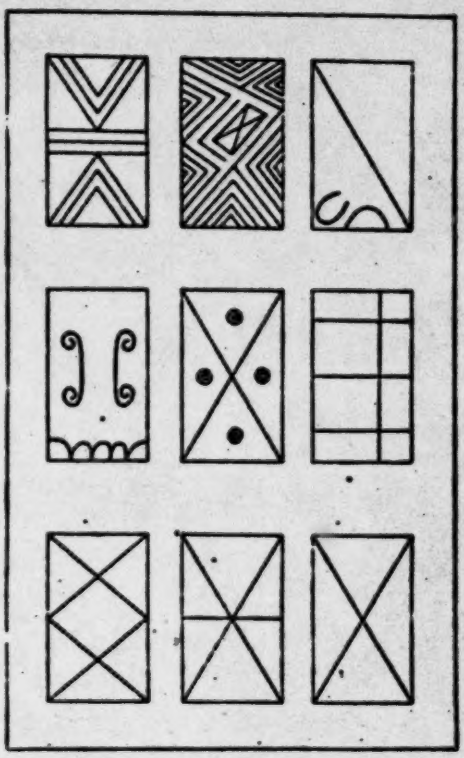

FIG. 2.—Geometrical figures on the "Piedra de los Sacrificios."

at about 3,600 meters. The greatest altitude of the abodes of the present Indians scarcely exceeds 2,600 meters.

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While on this subject I shall mention an explanation of the "planos" as it was given by one of our Indians. "In old days,"

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2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

173 he said, "the caciques or chieftains, had their messages trans-
202 mitted from valley to valley by means of runners who were
205 stationed at short intervals along the main roads. Each runner kept himself in readiness to start on the arrival of a message, thus insuring rapid transmission." As the "planos" and also the old trails are found on almost every ridge, it is difficult enough to judge of the value of this explanation; but, if I am not mistaken, such a system of communication existed without doubt at a short distance southward among the Incas of Ecuador and Peru, and perhaps extended into the Cauca valley.

172 On our return from Huila, while traveling between Toribió and Tacueyó, I noticed on the left an isolated hill with a part of its ridge separated from the rest by a deep cross-cut, evidently artificial. The top of the separated part looked in the distance as if also isolated by a ditch. My friend, Mr Emile Bizot, a mining engineer of wide experience in these parts, informs me that this is a common feature of the hilly district formerly inhabited by the natives, and that the enclosed surface always contains numerous graves (plate III, 2).

172 The high peaks of the most rugged districts of Tierra
532 Adentro are often crowned by isolated *huacas*, which are especially sought by treasure-hunters. At Tacueyó we had the opportunity of admiring a set of gold objects found in such graves and of which we made the photograph reproduced in plate II, 2. The frogs are of a type quite distinct from those with which I became familiar in Costa Rica. The representative of a human being recalls certain Chibchan idols, or, according to Mr W. E. Safford, Kitšua amulets. As to the thirteen remaining pieces of gold, quite thin and almost uniform in shape, they are perfectly new to me.

Former and Present Distribution

131 According to Father Rodriguez[1] the Paez, or Paós, Indians
114 lived on the summit and slopes of the *Cordillera de Guanacas*,
133 "sierra muy fria que llaman el Páramo de las Papas," a defini-

[1] P. Manuel Rodriguez, *El Marañon y Amazonas. Historia de los descubrimientos, entradas y reducciones de Naciones*, Madrid, 1684.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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164 cient testimony, they have their share of physical ailments. Besides itch (*lel*), tumors of several kinds (*lol-sek*, tonsilitis; *koii*, tumor in the groin), they have original names for smallpox (*hnzgni*), which I was told often rages among them, for diarrhœa (*n-tsitš*), dysentery (*mengni*), and intermittent or malarial fevers (*ya-ya-gni* in the ancient dialect, *kni-kni-ni* in that spoken at the present day).

757 Of the practices and superstitions made use of in the cure of
114 these diseases I could gain no information, but it is very probable that the Paez still have their own medicine-men.

Clothing. Personal Adornment

291 At present the wool obtained from the numerous sheep kept
286 by the Paez Indians plays the most important part in the cloth-
[231] ing of both sexes. I cannot find any direct information on the fabrics used before the introduction of sheep by the Spaniards,
[174 but it is most likely that the Paez obtained cotton from the In-
439] dians of the Cauca and Magdalena plains, the cultivation and the manufacture of which into thread must have formed one of the principal industries in the latter. I have already referred
[192 to the great number of clay spindle-whorls found in the graves
174] and on old dwelling sites throughout the Cauca valley. Judging by these we may feel sure that the former inhabitants were great spinners. On the other hand, the present Paez Indians still weave most of their own clothing, and there is no reason why they should not have done so formerly.

291 The dress of the men consists of a pair of short trousers (*hiii*),
[177] that are evidently a concession to modern civilization. These are made of raw cotton cloth, or of imported fabrics, and reach from the waist to about the knees. Over the shoulders is worn a broad rectangular piece of white woolen homespun cloth, split in the middle in the form of a poncho so as to allow the head to pass through, and hanging free front and back. This is called *tund-atš*, i. e., 'the cloth that binds, or covers.' It is generally worn next to the skin, but sometimes a light cotton shirt, called *atš-petš*, is first put on. Over the *tund-atš* they carry on their left
[276 side, hanging by straps that pass over the right shoulder, the coca

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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They represent the primitive type of
habitation, the agglomerations being the result of the efforts of 342 [177]
the missionaries.

The villages are generally in the open grazing districts at the 361
bottom of the valleys, on side plateaus, or on broad ridges. They are not compact in the common sense of the word, but consist of isolated groups of houses, the approximate common center of which is often indicated by the whitewashed thatch-roofed church (plate v).

The walls of the permanent houses are made of a kind of 342
bajareque, i. e., a skeleton of canes filled in with clay. In the 353
better homes the interior is divided into two or more rooms, usually very small, with a hearth in the middle; but oftener [354]
there are no interior partitions, the dwelling consisting of a single square apartment. In every case that came under my [356]
observation the interior was very untidy.

The Indians openly objected to our entering their houses, 352
hence I could gain only casual glimpses of their domiciles, the 123
furnishing of which seems to be an imitation of that of the 177
dwellings of the few Spanish people living among them or in the immediate neighborhood.

Outside the houses they generally have a cane-crusher of 407
primitive type, with horizontal smooth cylinders moved by means of levers at each end. A loom and a grinding stone are 286
also seen occasionally under an adjacent shelter (plates IV,[1] and VI).[2] 412

There may often be seen, either about or inside the house, 415
very large jars used as receptacles in the elaboration of the chicha. These utensils seem to be almost the only survival of the ancient earthenware industry. The smaller pottery vessels which were seen occasionally had been taken from old graves. [192]

Each group of houses, in which several generations of a 351
single family dwell, is surrounded by a small enclosed field, [592]
planted with sugar-cane, plantains, oranges and other fruits, and greens and roots of daily use. The garden enclosure is formed by a ditch, inside of which is a wooden fence or a stone wall, the latter often crowned by a hedge of maguey (*Furcræa*), [247]
lechero (*Euphorbia*), borrachero (*Solanum*), and other bushes.

[1] [See plate facing p. 317 — Anal st]
[2] [See plate facing p. 320 — Anal st].

/178 cont./

several leagues around were supplied for a long time with the salt extracted from the three salt deposits that still exist in Segovia. Across from these and on the other side of the Ullucos, in Vivorá, another salt deposit was also exploited.

At the confluence of the small stream called El Escaño and the Pisimbalá, on the right bank of the latter and at the foot of the ridge of Aguacate, the Archeological Park of /179/ Tierradentro, a branch of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, is located on an alluvial terrace covering an area of two hectares. Founded some 15 years ago, it is in charge of the care and conservation of the archeological monuments, which have been known to the scientific world since 1936, but to which reference was made as early as around the penultimate decade of the last century, when Dr. Carlos Cuervo Márquez carried out his explorations through the "lands of the Paez and much of the Nevado del Huila." Subterranean necropolises with columns, colonnades and niches, black and red geometric painting on a white background, statuary very similar to the Augustinian, ceramics and metalwork are the principal exponents of this culture hardly known in descriptive form.

The Archeological Park of Tierradentro has served as the center of operations for the scientific expeditions which the national government has sponsored, fostered, and supported during the last 15 years.

II

Over the Zigzags of the Road

In order to travel on winding roads one needs horses resistant to fatigue; a dashing spirit must yield to a solemn step, firm tread, and steady pace.

P /298 cont./

245 Guadua bamboo thrives in the temperate valleys. It is of excellent quality. In most cases it serves as shade for the coffee. Its increase would redound in obvious benefits.

P 249 /299/ In spite of the fact that plantings of coca are pro-
C [249] scribed by Colombian law, it is cultivated for consumption at
[656] almost every home, and in some parcialidades there are numerous
P [435] plantings for commercial purposes. The value of the leaf is high. A pound is quoted at three pesos.

Pc 313 Sawmills are found in Coscuro, Toez, the Símbola River,
Pc [785] and the Salado stream. But this is almost exclusively an industry of the "whites." Only in San Andrés and Mosoco was it possible to see native sawyers. There is no reforestation.

P 241 In a large part of the parcialidades of San Andrés, Calderas,
● 172 Lame, Mosoco, and Vitoncó, and the entire valley of the Páez
137 River, the clearings seem to have been done in quite remote times. There are no forests, but remnants are found along the crests and ridges that separate the valleys and in the windings where the human foot does not venture to tread. The cliffs are covered with uniform savanna vegetation.

P 172 In many parcialidades there are archeological remains be-
241 longing to an unknown civilization earlier than that of the Páez.
P [783] The lands where these elements are found are utilized without any qualms. But when the plantings are in a "new clearing," the natives take the precaution of performing the required purifications before beginning to consume the crops, in order to avoid the "Pijao" plague which might happen if the crops had been in contact with the archeological remains, "pijaos" in the expression of the natives.

P 245 The cultivation of fruit trees is not very widespread, in spite of the fact that up to not very long ago Inzá enjoyed the reputation of being the producer of peaches and apples of very good quality. Nowadays they are cultivated for commercial purposes in Vitoncó, La Troja, and El Cabuyo, where true orchards of these trees are maintained with care. The fruits are splendid and are harvested during the first three months of the

7:Hernández de Alba E-5y (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

175 ture, with only slight differences in dialects and customs. Some
197 authorities affirmed that these Indians had no kind of religion; others
114 gave details which reveal a highly developed religion and an organized
[174] cult. In spite of these contradictory statements and in spite of the fact that today only the *Moguex* (*Guambia*) and *Páez* Indians retain indigenous cultures, it is possible to sketch the cultural picture of these Indians at the moment of their first contact with the Spanish soldiers by reexamining the chroniclers of the Conquest according to ethnological criteria, by utilizing modern linguistics, and by studying the ethnology of the present-day peoples.[3] It is also possible to trace the
174 acculturation during the Colonial Period, when new European usages
177 were introduced, and to depict the social and cultural conditions of the present day. The modern penetration of highways into the Indian territory and the official policy of changing the indigenous communities are likely to bring an end to these few remaining examples of primitive Andean societies, which have survived in spite of a poor economy, bad sanitary conditions, and missionary efforts to eradicate their traditions.

121 A fertile field for future research lies in continuing anthropological studies in the central mass of the Colombian Andes. The region is as important for physical geography as for ethnology, as its mountain chains run in various directions to form valleys and diversified environments.

[172] It also contains the archeological remains, known as San Agustín and Tierradentro, which long antedate the Conquest and which have an undetermined origin and relationship to cultures in other parts of America. The present article, however, does not deal with these, but is limited to ethnology.

GEOGRAPHY

131 The tribes considered in this article occupied the eastern halves of the present Departments of Nariño and Cauca, almost all of the Department of Huila, the southern part of Tolima, and the eastern zone of the Department of the Valle del Cauca, which embraces the western spurs of the Cordillera Central as far as Calarcá in Caldas. The region lies between 1° and 4° 40′ N. lat. and 1° and 3° 40′ west of the meridian
133 of Bogotá. The country consists of high mountains of the Andean system, which bifurcate at the Ecuadorean border to form the Cordillera Occidental, which runs to Panamá, and the Cordillera Central, which approaches the Atlantic coast of Colombia. Each branch has high plains (altiplanos), small valleys with rivers which are tributaries of the Patía River to the west, and high mountain peaks, some of which are volcanoes, like Pasto, Galeras, and Cumbal. The area of

[3] For the languages, see especially Jijón y Caamaño, 1940-41; Castillo i Orozco, 1878; and Castellví, 1934. For ethnology, see Douay, 1900; Pittier de Fábrega, 1907; Ortiz, 1938; Guerra F., 1942; Jijón y Caamaño, 1936-38 Otero, 1938; Albís, 1934. See also Languages, pp. 921-922.

Hernández de Alba E-5#(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

distinct people. The present city of Pasto was founded in *Quillacinga* territory in the valley of Atris, which was occupied by several small groups: the *Isancales*, *Paguanes*, *Zacuampues*, *Chorros* (Velasco, 1841–44, 2:153), *Mocondino*, *Bejendino*, *Buyzaco*, *Guajansangua*, *Mocozonduque*, *Guacuanquer*, and *Macaramata* (Cieza, 1932, ch. 33). *Quillacinga* territory extended from the frontier of the *Pasto* on the west, i. e., the Guáitara River, eastward to the mountain ridges from which flow the Caquetá and Putumayo Rivers. Its northern and northeastern limits are the high páramo of the Letrero and the sources of the Cauca River. Recent investigations show that it extends south to the district of Puerres (Guerra, 1942). (See also Ortiz, this volume, p. 911.)

Popayanense.—North of the *Quillacinga* in the province of the *Popayanense*, which is well delimited by the Cauca River valley and by the first spurs of the Cordillera Oriental and Cordillera Central, were numerous peoples who had the same general culture, although some of the first historians differentiate them. These tribes, which may collectively be called *Popayanense*, perhaps included the *Puracé*. The many small groups so lacked political unity, however, that Cieza said "That there were no men among them who were feared," i. e., they lacked chiefs.

Coconuco, Moguex, and Páez.—In the hills and small valleys of the eastern slopes of the Cordillera Central were groups of distinctive and strongly organized people. The *Coconuco*, the *Moguex* (*Guambía*), and the *Páez* lived on the eastern slope of the Cordillera, and the *Guamza* (*Guamsa*), *Malausa*, *Polindara*, *Palaces*, *Tembio*, *Colaza*, *Zotara*, and *Guachicone* on the western slope of the Cordillera (Cieza, 1932, ch. 32). Linguistically and culturally,[7] these tribes were very homogeneous. There were three important subgroups: (1) the *Coconuco*, *Cotara* (*Zotara*), and *Colaza;* (2) the *Moguex* (*Guambía*), *Totoró*, and *Polindara;* (3) the *Páez*, with groups on both slopes of the Cordillera Central. (See also Lehmann, this volume, p. 969.)

Andaquí and neighboring tribes.—The *Andaquí* lived in the mountains from the source of the Magdalena River to near Timaná and south to the high ridges which form the watershed between the upper Magdalena River and the Fragua and upper Caquetá Rivers (Velasco in Ternaux Compans, 1840, pp. 167–68; Pérez, 1862). This zone contains the important archeological remains known as San Agustín (Arroyo, 1907). The territory of the *Yalcón* (*Cambi*) was between the headwaters of the Río de la Plata and the Magdalena River (Simón, 1882–92, vol. 4, Noticia cuarta, ch. iii). The *Timaná* were found by the conquistadors to the southeast of this region, between the Guarapas and Magdalena Rivers centering around Timaná (Velasco, in Ternaux Compans, 1840, 3:26). The *Páez* lived to the north of the

[7] Jijón y Caamaño, 1938–39, 2:186; Otero, 1939.

?Hernández de Alba E-5,4(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

286 [386] blue, the fruit of the jagua palm (kii), probably *Genipa* sp. A woven fabric is made black by burying it for several days with clay and branches of a *Phyllanthus* which they call "sal."

[531] They make woolen bags by hand, using a kind of crochet technique without needles, and decorate them with rectangular and rhomboid figures. Some bags are made of hemp (fique), in which case the stitches are larger and the article has greater elasticity.

411 **Weapons.**—For weapons, the *Páez* used large, thick lances of black [824] or chonta palm, 20 to 25 palms or more long, clubs or macanas, stones [171] thrown with slings, large rocks rolled down from heights, spear throwers like those used by the *Chibcha*, and shields of jaguar, puma, or [179] bear skin. The *Páez* quickly adopted iron arms from the Spaniards, and in the last wars of the Conquest they used steel swords and knives. [172] In a recently discovered grave were copper bells, a golden breastplate, shield bars of tumbaga, a Spanish dagger, and a curved knife of the Arabian or north African type used by the conquistadors.

[223] Today the *Páez* use the club or macana, ordinary guns, machetes, knives, and, for killing birds, the blowgun.

354 **Fire making.**—Fires are generally made today with flint and steel, but some Indians use modern matches. For both heating and cook- [372] ing, the fire is made on the ground in the main house, surrounded [177] by stones which help support the pots. It is covered at night, and almost never goes out.

354 Illumination is provided not only by the fire but by candles made of wax from the wax palm and from seeds of a wild laurel. The latter 824 are cooked and pressed in a bag so that the wax drips into a half [388] calabash or pot to form a semispherical lump. It is melted to make candles with cotton wicks. The *Páez* use these themselves and also sell them, for they are superior to candles made of animal tallow. A cruder means of lighting consists of transfixing a large number of "higuerilla" seeds on a long, thin bamboo splinter. When the splinter is laid horizontally and lighted, the first seed burns strongly, after which the flame passes from seed to seed, lasting some 15 minutes and throwing a fair light a few feet around.

COMMERCE

438 Each week a market is held in the municipio or in some of the small 439 native villages (pls. 190, 191). The Indians sell vegetables, tortillas, eggs, chickens, and laurel wax, and buy salt, brown sugar, and espe- [435] cially lime (mambe) to be chewed with coca. Each product has a price in Colombian money, whether by quantity or weight. The unit [804] of weight is called an "egg," and more or less equals the weight of a [273] chicken egg. After his few customary transactions, paid for either in cash or in terms, in which the future coffee crop is mortgaged to the

C /18 cont./
172 discovery value of the objects brought to light, the landowners
656 often have them dug up by guaqueros and sold for their own
423 benefit. Digging for spoils on the part of the guaqueros is, of course, forbidden by the law mentioned. Since, however, the archeological sites are almost never in the vicinity of cities or police stations, this uncontrollable digging is practiced even today in large parts of the country, to the detriment of the science of archeology.

C The excavation sites belonging to the park lie within sight
172 of the administration building. The other sites are often to be
484 reached only by very narrow and steep paths. For example, in
487 order to reach El /19/ Canadá, one travels on horseback for an
C [492] hour. It takes just as long to climb on foot the Filo de El Aguacate, to which the detour on horseback takes more than twice as long. At least the same amount of time, one to three hours, is also generally required for the trip from one village to another.

C The sharply fissured, steeply rising mountains around the
133 archeological park represent the typical panorama of the
172 Tierradentro region (Ills. 5-9 /see pp. 261-263/). The archeological sites with the grave chambers are always on heights, the simpler ones on the peaks of the highest ridges, the largest and
C most splendid ones on leveled-off hilltops below these. One has
133 the best view of the valley of San Andrés from its western end,
361 the Yokaichí ridge, beyond which the valley of Kokiyó, with the village of Calderas, begins. From here one has a broad view as far as the Dondotá ridge, which borders the towns of Suin and Chinas. To the north the Chíndava Mountains border the village of Togóima. Looking eastward in the direction of our ascent, the houses of Supón lie directly below us, then comes the village of San Andrés, then about two kilometers downstream the administrative building for the park, and about two kilometers below
C the park the point Cruzero, from which the road from San Andrés
133 to Juntas branches off in the direction of Inzá. Still farther east,
P [823] forming the imposing background of this mountainous landscape,
[776] lie the towns of Pedregál and Turminá, and behind them the
[173]

Colombia SC1
Tierradentro

C /19 cont./
133 dome of "Picacho des Trueno," the mountain of thunder and
D lightning, in which the Paez of San Andrés believe that the
[823] thunder lives and in which -- in the opinion of some Indios --
[776] the Paez, after the destruction of the city of La Plata (1577),
[173] hid the captured gold and silver, the bells and figures of saints
C of the old Spanish silver city devastated by them.

126 My own archeological research in the Tierradentro region
172 includes an inventory of the archeological objects, as well as
114 prehistoric excavations within the sites of the Alto de San Andrés, the Filo de El Aguacate, El Canadá, and Segovia. For the inventory, exact outline and sectional drawings of the various grave types were first of all undertaken. The photographs of the grave chambers /not reproduced for the translation/ show all the types of decoration that occur. Furthermore, the statues present in the Tierradentro region, as well as the types of ceramics, are completely illustrated /not reproduced for the translation/. The excavations include intact grave-chambers not yet opened by pirate diggers, with the first completely preserved burial urns of the Tierradentro culture of the chambered graves.

C /20/ In the description and numbering of the grave cham-
172 bers the numbering used after the establishment of the park was changed. On the Alto de San Andrés today this is the reverse of what it was formerly, since the entrance of the now fenced-in area lies in the direction of the San Andrés River. The present grave chamber No. 1 corresponds to the No. 12 of G. Hernandez de Alba and J. Perez de Barradas. In Segovia, too, the numbering of the grave chambers has changed. The only chambers published thus far, Nos. H. 1 and H 2 of G. Hernandez de Alba, or Nos. 1 and 2 of J. Perez de Barradas, now lie farthest from the entrance and correspond to Nos. 35 and 38. The designations of a few of the sites were also changed. The archeological site "Necropolis de San Andrés" is now officially called "Alto de San Andrés," the "Loma Alta de San Andrés" is now "Filo de El Aguacate," and the "Parte alta del potrero de las Huacas" is now "El Duende." /The remainder of p. 20 and pp. 21-96 are omitted in the translation./

/287 cont./

4. Music

533 In no area of Paez culture is poverty evident to such an ex-
535 tent as in song and dance, the predominant expressions of the character and spirit of all peoples. No peculiar dance is per-
[173] formed among the /288/ Paez, and I heard no song sung. This undoubtedly represents an impoverishment, for it may be seen
533 from the folklore that in former times there was dancing. A similar conclusion must also be drawn about the playing of very
[173] agreeable music. Their knowledge of music, however, makes it
[181] highly probable that song also existed, especially among a people
[581 521 522 192] that is basically jolly and constantly disposed to jest. In fact, it is very difficult for a girl who is slow in jocular conversation to get a husband. And to my question about the Paez word for "sing house" listed in Uricoechea, the amiable Victoriano, to his own great surprise, was immediately able to give me a special word in his language, "mẽmyat."

534 It is not possible to say with certainty which of the musical
[171] instruments used by the Paez today is an original one. The absence of any kind of rattle, the outstanding instrument of the American natives, is surprising (*).

* Pittier de Fábrega (p. 325) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 326/, however, mentions among the musical instruments of the Paez a rattle (tsoóts) in the form of a calabash with a handle, which was filled with small stones. Whether this may not perhaps be an instrument of the Negroes of Belalcázar is still undecided.

534 The cow horn (kǎčn) found in every house is not in the true
202 sense a musical instrument, but one for signaling. It is completely undecorated and, consisting of a horn sawed off at the tip, gives only one tone, which is produced in the same manner as the tone of a bugle or fanfare. This horn is used by the men when they come down from the mountains after a joint felling of the trees needed for housebuilding, in order to notify the village of their return.

/290 cont./

534 is wound around the entire body of the drum. A string with a small piece of wood as a rattle device is stretched across the lower skin. The method of construction of the drum and the bass drum [184] is the same in Calderas. A drum in Santa Rosa differs in that each of the stretchers, upper and lower, consists of a switch used double, with the edges of the drum skin clamped in between (Fig. 37 /see p. 258 /). The measurements of the small drum are 16 centimeters in height and 22 centimeters in diameter, those of the bass drum 40 centimeters in height and about 60 centimeters in diameter.

533 In playing the music, for which no text is (any longer) known, the drum and the bass drum beat the same rhythm, but in a different manner. The drum is beaten on the skin with two drumsticks, which are simply two ordinary, inarticulated pieces of wood. The bass drum is beaten with one hand with a regular drumstick consisting of a stick with a wrapping of cloth, while the other hand beats against the frame with a little stick. In three-quarter time, the principal kind of time, the bass drum is beaten with the drumstick in one hand, the first and third quarter regularly and the second quarter in eighths. The other hand beats afterwards with the other stick on the frame.

533 Whether this Paez rhythm is original or was taken over with
● 173 the drum cannot be determined with certainty. According to the tradition of the Paez, as told in the story "The Paez with the Ax," the Pijao women in former times, when as yet /291/ there were no drums, beat out the rhythm on their breasts with their hands during the dances. We may assume that this was also in part the case
533 among the earlier Paez. According to E. Castillo i Orosco, the
[175] Paez formerly used hanging chichacanoas /chicha troughs/ as drums
[534] (kwimb). They consisted of hollowed-out tree trunks and during the kwimbkó dance were beaten by all the men together, while the women sang. The rhythm beaten on the drums at the present time, however, seems to be less firmly anchored than the melody. They
[797] are so fond of the latter that they do not sing hymns at the Mass in
[177] the mission church, but play the customary melodies on the same instruments, albeit disproportionately slower. The drum and the bass lose the beat in doing this; they do not know how to begin

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

inhabitants of these valleys established their residences, I may 172
mention that the highest "plano" on the cordillera was found 361
at about 3,300 meters at El Alto de las Cruces, one of the spurs of the Páramo de Buena Vista, the limit of the forest being here

172
212
531

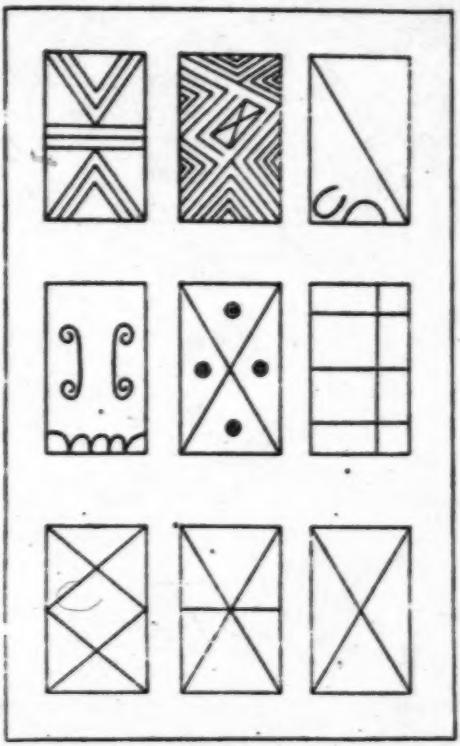

FIG. 2.—Geometrical figures on the "Piedra de los Sacrificios."

at about 3,600 meters. The greatest altitude of the abodes of 172
the present Indians scarcely exceeds 2,600 meters. 361

While on this subject I shall mention an explanation of the 173
"planos" as it was given by one of our Indians. "In old days," 202
205

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

173 he said, "the caciques or chieftains, had their messages trans-
202 mitted from valley to valley by means of runners who were
205 stationed at short intervals along the main roads. Each runner kept himself in readiness to start on the arrival of a message, thus insuring rapid transmission." As the "planos" and also the old trails are found on almost every ridge, it is difficult enough to judge of the value of this explanation; but, if I am not mistaken, such a system of communication existed without doubt at a short distance southward among the Incas of Ecuador and Peru, and perhaps extended into the Cauca valley.

172 On our return from Huila, while traveling between Toribío and Tacueyó, I noticed on the left an isolated hill with a part of its ridge separated from the rest by a deep cross-cut, evidently artificial. The top of the separated part looked in the distance as if also isolated by a ditch. My friend, Mr Emile Bizot, a mining engineer of wide experience in these parts, informs me that this is a common feature of the hilly district formerly inhabited by the natives, and that the enclosed surface always contains numerous graves (plate III, 2).

172 The high peaks of the most rugged districts of Tierra
532 Adentro are often crowned by isolated *huacas*, which are especially sought by treasure-hunters. At Tacueyó we had the opportunity of admiring a set of gold objects found in such graves and of which we made the photograph reproduced in plate II, 2. The frogs are of a type quite distinct from those with which I became familiar in Costa Rica. The representative of a human being recalls certain Chibchan idols, or, according to Mr W. E. Safford, Kitšua amulets. As to the thirteen remaining pieces of gold, quite thin and almost uniform in shape, they are perfectly new to me.

Former and Present Distribution

131 According to Father Rodriguez[1] the Paez, or Paós, Indians
114 lived on the summit and slopes of the *Cordillera de Guanacas*,
133 "sierra muy fria que llaman el Páramo de las Papas," a defini-

[1] P. Manuel Rodriguez, *El Marañon y Amazonas. Historia de los descubrimientos, entradas y reducciones de Naciones*, Madrid, 1684.

/285 cont./

101 the Ullucos river, since to the south of it were found the Topas,
36/ Yaguiváes, and Guanaca. It seems that in the fifteenth century,
[166-173] under the rule of the cacique Calambás, the Paez went over the cordillera and settled in Pitayó, Toribío, and Tacueyó.

162 Dr. José Pérez de Barradas gave a number of 30,000 souls.
[161] The census of 1938 gives a total of 17,578 inhabitants distributed as follows: municipio of Páez (Belalcázar), 13,861; municipio of Inzá, 3,717. The censuses of 1951 give a total of 25,495 inhabitants, with 15,388 in the municipio of Páez and 10,103 in that of Inzá. It is obvious that the census of 1938 was defective, especially with regard to the population of this last municipio.

[177] Of this population, approximately 80 per cent is Indian, acculturated for the most part, except for those of Calderas, Suin, and Chinas, where traditions are strong and their contacts with the white scant, and in addition there is great resistance to living with him.

142 The Paez are of medium height, with light brown skin, dark brown eyes, straight black hair, broad foreheads, rather pronounced cheekbones, pentagonal rather than oval faces,
361 robust constitutions, and rather broad shoulders. Their pueblos
796 consist of a church, a school, the house of the priest and of
342 the cabildo, and a few other houses which are occupied only at the times of religious fiestas; they live in ranchos that are rectangular in plan, with thatched roofs and walls made of tight rows of maize stalks, /286/ located on privately owned land and a considerable distance apart.

291 Dress.--The Paez dress simply. The man wears linen trousers, a poncho tied to the waist with a leather strap and another that falls freely from the shoulders, and a hat which they manufacture themselves with palm or bamboo leaves. The woman wears a wide skirt tied around the waist with a multicolored band preceding the folds made at the back, a poncho similar to the one worn by the men and also tied around

/180 cont./

123 Calderas, and the water divide of the Kukiyú river and the
133 Pisimbalá torrent, the former a deep gorge, the latter an
[131] elongated basin. Toward the north, the outline of another ridge bounds the horizon and divides the parcialidades of Suin and Chinas. Prominent along it, the Vichaguau peak, the hill Dondotá with the double crests, between which, when the sky is clear, one can see Huila with its eternal snows, where the golden rays of the sun break into a silvery radiance. Toward the east one sees the hills of Chindavá and Potrerito, the heights of Togoima, and the canyon of the Páez. Toward the south stand the mountain ranges of Pangok and El Aguacate, which separates the valleys of the Pisimbalá and the Ullucos; the tablelands of Pedregal, Turminá, and Inzá; the sharp peak of Trueno /Thunder/, the "Kapich" of the natives, a summit
823 of silence, lightning, thunder, and storms. In the place where
●173 the sun sets, there rises, stately and challenging, the sharp
648 peak of Hipinjí (1), on which, according to some Indians, lie
[133]
[104]

1. H = the English h.
   J = the French j.
   Sh = the French sh.

the images of saints, the bells, the clothing, the gold, and the silver which the Paez army carried away from San Sebastián de la Plata after murdering all of its white inhabitants, setting fire to the town, and filling up the famous silver mines which had given the town its name and brought large numbers of ad-
173 venturers and not a few misfortunes to the Indians. This legend
823 has fired the imagination of the whites and has led not a few to search for them. It is said that several whites went to the Hipinjí in search of the legendary treasure. At the /181/ /illustration appears here/ top of the peak a white flag was waving. One day there appeared on it the following mysterious order: "At 12 o'clock you may clear out this opening." Their enthusiasm was renewed, their fatigue forgotten, and they went to work eagerly. One worker was rewarded by blind

/181 cont./

173 823 fortune: his efforts brought to light a large jar overflowing with gold. In his great joy he went running to his companions to tell

142 291 302

173 823 them of the coveted find; in their eagerness they all flew to the lucky spot, and oh! supreme misfortune, the treasure had vanished. Minutes later, the powder flask exploded, killing several, mutilating others, and leaving only a few alive. The whites localize the Hipinjí legend in Tumbichukue.

487 499 /182/ The descent to the Kukiyú is effected along a vertical ridge, following a path with innumerable zigzags, an

/182 cont./

423 The work on the land is a daily exercise in co-operation.
461 Owership by an Indian is an unquestionable right, and its de-
[173] fense a categorical imperative. Lliban and Juan Chiracol
[628] fought the Pijao for the ownership of the land and to defend an
[648] inalienable right. Likewise, because the whites covet their land, they do not like to have them around /183/ and avoid receiving them under some pretext or other. Their security and
[735] their happiness lie in the ownership of land. Poverty as they understand it, a shortage of food and livestock, is due solely to the laziness of those who suffer it.

857 Children grow up in continuous communion with the
868 activities of their parents. While the girl helps her mother in household tasks and goes out with her to bring firewood from their respective clearings, the boys with their machete on their shoulder and their pouches of coca and mambe /lime/, exactly like their fathers, clean the clearings, build fences, weed their plantings, and when the maize ripens and the wheat grows tall, they spend the day defending them against the attacks of parrots, guaras, borugos, squirrels, and coatis. At an early age they are already doing the same tasks, but with the hope of building a house, marrying, raising children, and owning livestock, large quantities of coca, and sugar cane for their
342 chicha. In a way, the house is a necessary supplement to their pieces of land; furthermore, many are for the period of the clearings. The selection of a site for the house does not take into account either the beauty of the landscape or the levelness of the terrain, but rather the inaccessibility of both. Only when the house is to last for more than one generation will they attend to certain requisites: solidity, construction or privately owned land, and the selection of an adequate site by the medicine man (té éu). One fine day the owner selects
[759] a site: "This is a good place to build a house and to live," he says. Then he takes there the medicine man, who during the
[787] night "thinks about" whether the site is suitable or unsuitable; he chews coca and remedies, takes mouthfuls of aguardiente

8: Bernal Villa

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SC15 Paez SC15

p. 28
p. 29
p. 30
p. 31

Chart of Positions of the Nicanor Guagás family's Genealogy.
/Following p. 27/

8: Bernal Villa--28 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

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Genealogy of the family of Nicanor Guagás, parcialidad of Calderas. It includes several nuclear families which live in different places in the parcialidad /see p. 32 for the explanations of the symbols/.

- 1. Nicanor Guagás m.
- + 2. Rosario Iko 80 °
  - 3. Damiana Guagás 65
  - + 4. Bonifacio Muse m.
    - 22. Justo Muse 33
      - 67. Isabel Muse 7
      - 68. Juan Muse 3.
      - 69. Fosario M. 3ma. m. A.
      - 70. Concha M. 2mq.
    - 23. Julia Pame 30
    - 24. Marcelo Muse 35
      - 71. Vicente M. 3. m. C.
      - 72. Manuel T. M. 6
      - 73. María S. M. 4
      - 74. Rafael M. 1mq.
    - +25. Rosalía Ramos 30
    - 26. María S. Muse 30
      - 75. Nicolás G. 5 m.
      - 76. Alberto G. 12
      - 77. Francisca G. 6
      - 78. Justiniano G. 3
      - 79. Natividad G. 3 m.
      - 80. Ismael G. 1ma. C.
    - +27. Juan Guagás m.
    - 28. Gabriel Muse m.
    - 29. Paulina Muse m.
    - 30. Magdalena Muse 22
      - 81. Paulino P. 3
      - 82. Juana P. 1
    - +31. Pedro Pame
    - 32. Jacinto Muse 20
    - +33. Leocadia Shukué 20
    - 34. María Muse 40
      - 83. Ramón Villané 12

8: Bernal Villa--29 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

16 173 594 753 754 551 847

- 34. María Muse 40
  - 83. Ramón Villanó 12
  - 84. Juana Villanó 8
  - 85. María S. V. 7
  - 86. Marcelino V. 3
  - 87. Alfonso V. 3 m. H
- +35. José Villanó 40
- 36. Delfina Muse 23 E
  - 88. Jacinto Guagás 6
  - 89. Isabel G. 8ms.
- +37. Venancio Guagás 25

- 5. Nicolasa Guagás 38
  - 38. Marcelina Guagás 22
    - 90. Magdalena Tova 2
  - +39. Alfonso Tova 30
  - 40. Gregoria Guagás
  - 41. Agustina Guagás
  - 42. Virginia Guagás
  - 43. Manuel J. Guagás 10
- + 6. Manuel Guagás m.

- 7. Raimundo Guagás 35
  - 44 — 2
- + 8. María J. Pame 27

- 9. Pascual Guagás m.

- 10. José D. Guagás m.

- 11. Juan Guagás m.

- 12. Juana Guagás
  - 45. Benito Io 36
    - 91. Miguel Io 3ms. m. J
    - 92. Patrocinio Io 2
  - +46. Antonia Ikinás 22
- +14. Primitivo Io

8: Bernal Villa--30 E-5 (1953-1964) 1956 SC15 Paez SC15

[Garcia, Idad of Calderas]

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- 10. José D. Guagia m.
- 11. Juan Guagia m.
- 12. Juana Guagia
  - +14. Fritilivo Io
  - +46. Antonia Ikinía 22
    - 91. Miguel Io 3ma. in. J
    - 92. Patrocinio Io 2
  - 45. Benito Io 36
    - 47. Eakban Io 38
      - 93. Santiago I. m. F.
      - 94. Trainilo I. 10
      - 95. Santos I. 6
      - 96. Raimundo I. 1
      - 97. Cruz Io m. C
    - +48. Rosalía Puche 30 E
    - 49. Margarita Io 86
      - +50. Julio Ikinía 35
      - 98. Eustiche Ikinía 1
      - 99. Lorenzo Ikinía 2ma.
      - 101. Santos I. 1ma. m. D
- 14. Catalina Guagia 50
  - +15. Demecio Ule m.
  - 51. Dionisia Ule 22
    - +52. Celio Muse 27
    - 102
      - 2
- 16. Trinidad Guagia
  - +17. Manuel Ule
  - 53. Bautista Ule
    - 54. Felisa Ule
    - 55. Cristina Ule
    - 56. Pedro Ule
- 18. José D. Guagia
  - 57. Juana Guagia 30
    - 103. Josefina T. Ima.

8: Bemal Villa--31 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955
SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

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- 55. Cristina Ule
- 56. Pedro Ule

- 18. José D. Guagás
- +19. Jacinta Muse
  - 57. Juana Guagás 30
    - +58. Narciso Tumbo 40
      - 103. Josefina T. 1ms.
      - 104. Alejandro T. 5 m. B
      - 105. Rufina T. 1ms. m. C
      - 106. Floro T. 4 m. D
      - 107. Cruz T. 1ms. m. A
  - 59. Aurelio Guagás 35
    - +60. Vicenta Kuskue 30.
      - 108. Pedro Guagás 2
  - 61. Marcelino Guagás 50.
    - +62. Trinidad Puche 50
      - 109. Feliciano G. 1ms. m.
      - 110. Bruno G. 25
      - 111. Magdalena G. 20
      - 112. Ramón G. 10
      - 113. Agustín G. 1ms. m.
      - 114. Felisa G. 1ms. m.
  - 63. Quiterio Guagás
    - +64. Petrona Pame
  - 65. Martina Guagás 27
    - +66. Rufino Ikinás 30
      - 115. Julio Ikinás 10
      - 116. Gregoria I. 8
      - 117. Pascual I. 4 m.
- 20. A woman m.
- 21. A woman m.

8: Bernal Villa--32 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

Explanations for the symbols of the chart on pp. 28-31./

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*The parents of Rosario Iko were called Agustín Guagás and Concepción Iko, the latter a native of Cuetando. Rosario bears the surname of the mother because of being married to a Guagás.

A. Stung by Echi

B. Poisoned

C. Bewitched.

D. Whooping cough.

E. An abortion.

F. Smallpox.

G. Hernia.

H. Duende.

J. Plague.

m. dead.

ms. months.

/289 cont./

534 by cuts with a machete (Ill. 203 /see p. 290/). In spite of the
322 relatively correspondent holes, each flute has a slightly different tone caused by the varying diameter of the tube.

533 According to the investigation kindly undertaken by my
534 brother Wilfried on the sample flute of Vicente Puche that I acquired, it is tuned between C and C-sharp. Its six finger-holes produce a nonsemitonic seven-tone scale. All the tone steps, however, are somewhat inexact, that is, not exactly a whole tone-step apart. This is particularly noticeable from the third to the fourth tone where we perceptibly have less than a major second, but considerably more than a half step. This is noteworthy because in our diatonic major scale there is also a definite half-step between these two tones.

The blowing is on the right or left side. The extended fingers, work-worn by the heavy field work, cover the finger holes with the first or second joint.

534 The value of the flute is not very high. On festive days
[678] people are in the habit of becoming intoxicated in the festival
[796] houses and in the subsequent brawls the flutes are used as striking
[273] instruments and thus broken.

/290/ Every music group has at least one small cylindrical drum (káka) or a bass drum (kut), both of which are covered with skin on two sides and are wider than high in their dimensions.
[177] Drum and bass drum in this form are probably borrowed and were
[174] taken over throughout South America from former Negro slaves. Their manufacture among the Paez is specialist's work. At
[463] present Vicente Puche makes the flutes as well as the drums. In former times, however, there was a special expert who made only
[461] drums and bass drums. The work time for their manufacture amounts to 10 to 14 days, since one day is allowed for each operation (cutting wood, drying it, for the various processes in treating
[824] the skins, etc.). The cylindrical body of the drum is made from
[237] the wood of the utsé tree. The two drum-skins (katc) are made of calfskin. They are stretched with cords made of agave fiber, which run in a zigzag from one stretcher to the other over the body of the drum. They are tightened by a continuous loop that encircles two strands of the stretching cords at a time and at the same time

C 105 Pc 197 /320 cont./

what is common in the vocabulary and structure of the language goes back to Chibcha or to a linguistically different substratum. Analogously this is true of the archeological cultures of the northern Andean area, which are also similar in many aspects, but do not go back to the Chibcha culture.

P 105 172 174 There remains the question of the ethnic relationship of the archeological Tierradentro-culture. In view of their meager material and artistic cultural possessions, the Paez were technically not capable of the manifestations of an advanced culture that exist in Tierradentro. With their strictly democratic social structure, they also lack the organization by estate needed to maintain such a culture. Even in the mythological traditions of the Paez, there is no hint of any relationship with the archeological culture. The only similarity seems to be the Paez method of burial in a niche grave; typologically, however, this is not identical with the shaft grave. In addition there is the difference of the cremation burial in the archeological culture in contrast to the skeleton burial of the entire corpse among the Paez. Moreover, the Paez are a local, relatively narrowly circumscribed tribe; the archeological culture, on the other hand, has the most extensive geographical relationships in the art (*), in the style of

> * G. Hernandez de Alba (IV) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 324/ found a necklace of small sodalite figures in a grave chamber. This material is otherwise not found in Colombia. It comes from a Bolivian mine, and works of art made of it are found in Tiahuanaco as well as in Peruvian and Argentinian sites.

their stone statues, and in the method of burial in shaft graves.

Artistic relationships, however, make probable more extensive linguistic relationships than is the case for the Paez and their neighbors. From this standpoint a relatively well-developed trade may also be assumed. The disposition and present activity of the Paez, however, does not give us any support in this respect either.

/320 cont./

105 We are therefore obliged to regard the presence of the Paez in
172 their present settlement areas of Tierradentro as subsequent to the
174 archeological culture. Whether, as later immigrants within a larger population movement, they were the destroyers of the archeological culture, or whether they settled on the sites of the archeological culture only in the course of their wars with the
105 Spaniards cannot be clarified at the present time. /321/ The
172 latter assumption is corroborated by the fact that the reports of
174 the early Spaniards about the tribes that they encountered and
114 about their geographical position are not always clear. For exam-
131 ple, P. Manuel Rodriquez (1684) has the Paez living in the Páramo de las Papas, the páramo west of San Agustín, in which
101 rise the Magdalena, Cauca, and Caqueta. It is also remarkable
105 that the first Spanish reports do not mention the Guambiano, the
114 present-day western neighbors of the Paez. The assumption that
172 the Paez were affiliated with a newly immigrated, war-like
174 population is corroborated by the fact that the tribe of the Andaki /Andaqui/ living in the culture area of San Agustín at the time of the Conquista also had nothing to do with the archeological culture, but may possibly be regarded as the destroyers of it.

VI. List of Foreign and Technical Terms

104

Alcalde	Colombian designation for the burgomaster of a town or head of a district. Also the designation for local native authorities.
Ají	Very pungent mixture of ají pepper with onions and other spices.
Arroba	Spanish measure of weight of 12 1/2 kilograms.
Cabildo	Colombian community council. Among the Paez the designation for the democratically chosen village council.
Chaquira	Columbian designation for glass bead.
Chicha	(pronounced tschitscha) Native beer. Made of sugar cane among the Paez, of maize among most of the other Andean Indians, usually made of manioc among the South American Forest Indians.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

121 The present object is not in any way to contribute an exhaustive monograph on the Paez, but simply to give a summary of our former knowledge of them, together with the chief results of the personal information collected during the visit referred to.

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

Former Occupants. "Planos de Indios." Huacas

101 174 In addition to the still existing tribes, traces of the former occupancy of the Cauca valley and the adjacent mountains by a dense Indian population are found at every step. The names of extinct groups, like the Hilamas, Ocaches, Jamundies, and others, impressed on the minds of the former Spanish inhabitants by reason of some of their more gruesome customs, have come down to the present generation, although the tribes, as such, have disappeared. Of the Hilamas and Ocaches it is said they were cannibals. At present their more or less mixed descendants still live in the villages of Las Pavas and Vijes, near Cali; the "Paveños" have become inveterate legal fighters, keeping their judges and alcaldes constantly occupied; while the "Vijeños," on the other hand, are now so peaceful that the court-house is known to have been closed for eighteen months at a time.

101 114 Of the Jamundies I was told that they were indefatigable warriors, having fought the Spanish invaders to the last of their strength. Their name is perpetuated in that of the little town of Jamundí, near which I visited the very interesting vale of Agua Sucia, which may have been one of their principal strongholds, as well as a rich gold-washing place. The hills were and still are partly covered with graves, or *huacas*, and these have been found so abundant in gold objects as to have induced enterprising miners, or *huaqueros*, to conduct a stream of water from a long distance in order to completely wash the slopes. I do not attempt to mention the fabulous riches that are said to have been extracted from this place and from several other no less rich discoveries. An immense amount of pottery, often highly ornamented, together with grinding-stones, hatchets,

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

101 only it might be necessary to modify it slightly if we were able
103 to localize all of the thirty-four villages or hamlets reputed to be of Paez stock and included in the following systematic list:

1. *Paez Basin*

As-at	Inzá	Suin
Chinas	Líme	Tálaga
Chitoco	Mosoco	Toés
Cuetandó	Nátaga	Vitoncó
El Pital	San Andrés de la Plata	Vaquirá
El Naranjal	San José	

2. *Palo Basin*

Jambaló	San Francisco	Toribío
Pitaió	Tacueyó	

3. *Orejas, Corre, and Piendamo Mountains*

Cajibio	Caldonió	Paniquitá

4. *Vaguará Basin*

El Retiro		Iquirá

5. *Locality Uncertain*

Abirama	Osyó	Ricaurte
Caldera	Pueblo Nuevo	Tobóima
La Troja	Pusó	

101 The principal neighbors of the Paez Indians, according to the above description of their territory, were to the north — the Quimbayas on the western slope of the central cordillera, and the Pijaos on the eastern slope. To their east were the Manipos, in the Magdalena valley; the Guanacos were on both watersheds of the central cordillera southward; and westward on the plains of the Cauca valley, the Kitšua and the Jamundíes. The Kitšua were probably the most advanced in culture of all these different stocks, and the ones whose influence is more easily recognized
[177 in the customs and idiom of the Paez. Their language is also
191] the only one which has come down to us in its integrity.

There is no positive proof of the identity of the Paez and
101 Pijaos, and it is fair to state that there are many data pointing to
174 the fact that originally they were merely neighbors, and allied against the Spaniards, as, for instance, in 1641, when they de-

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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stroyed the city of Caloto, then on the Magdalena river, accord- 101
ing to Alcedo. But it is not unlikely that, later on, during their 174
decline, the Pijaos, Paós, and perhaps several other tribes became mixed, and those whom we now call *Paez* are the survivors in blood, customs, and traditions, of all these frequently named *parcialidades* or *naciones*.

Physical Characteristics

There is no special reference by former writers respecting the 142
physical characteristics of these Indians, probably because of the apparent uniformity in type of all the tribes of tropical South America. According to my own very fleeting observations the Paez are small, broad-shouldered, with small bony hands, and feet broadened toward the extremities. Their skin is very dark, a character common to all Indians living at great altitudes. In the case of almost every adult, both male and female, coming under my observation, I observed a fine black pubescence covering all visible parts of the body. They appear to be gen- 147
erally strong and healthy, and their physical endurance is not below the average. On our trip across the cordillera each adult man carried at least thirty kilograms, and many of them more than fifty, and none complained of being too heavily laden, although the trail up to nearly 4,000 meters and down again was exceedingly rough and steep, requiring at times not only much exertion but equal presence of mind.

It is well to mention, after Uricoechea, that the Paeces are 181
naturally inclined to warfare, and invariably join one side or the 721
other in the unceasing Colombian revolutions. In early times they raided the Spanish establishments, the destruction of Caloto on two occasions (the first time in 1641) being still held by them in vivid remembrance as glorious feats of their ancestors. I was even assured that not long ago, during the last war, they were with difficulty prevented from making an incursion on the neighboring Cauca cattle ranches.

I was quite surprised to find among the Paez Indians a charac- 147
ter that I had noticed previously in Central America, but of which no record could be found in current literature. I refer to

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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164 cient testimony, they have their share of physical ailments. Besides itch (*lel*), tumors of several kinds (*lol-sek*, tonsilitis; *koii*, tumor in the groin), they have original names for smallpox (*buzgui*), which I was told often rages among them, for diarrhœa (*u-tsits*), dysentery (*mengui*), and intermittent or malarial fevers (*ya-ya-gui* in the ancient dialect, *kui-kui-ni* in that spoken at the present day).

757 114 Of the practices and superstitions made use of in the cure of these diseases I could gain no information, but it is very probable that the Paez still have their own medicine-men.

Clothing. Personal Adornment

291 286 [23] At present the wool obtained from the numerous sheep kept by the Paez Indians plays the most important part in the clothing of both sexes. I cannot find any direct information on the fabrics used before the introduction of sheep by the Spaniards, [174 439] but it is most likely that the Paez obtained cotton from the Indians of the Cauca and Magdalena plains, the cultivation and the manufacture of which into thread must have formed one of the principal industries in the latter. I have already referred [92 174] to the great number of clay spindle-whorls found in the graves and on old dwelling sites throughout the Cauca valley. Judging by these we may feel sure that the former inhabitants were great spinners. On the other hand, the present Paez Indians still weave most of their own clothing, and there is no reason why they should not have done so formerly.

291 [177] The dress of the men consists of a pair of short trousers (*hiii*), that are evidently a concession to modern civilization. These are made of raw cotton cloth, or of imported fabrics, and reach from the waist to about the knees. Over the shoulders is worn a broad rectangular piece of white woolen homespun cloth, split in the middle in the form of a poncho so as to allow the head to pass through, and hanging free front and back. This is called *tund-atš*, i. e., 'the cloth that binds, or covers.' It is generally worn next to the skin, but sometimes a light cotton shirt, called *atš-petš*, is first put on. Over the *tund-atš* they carry on their left [276 side, hanging by straps that pass over the right shoulder, the coca

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

FOOD. CULTIVATED AND OTHER USEFUL PLANTS

The principal food of the Paez Indians is maize, or Indian corn, of which they grow several varieties, belonging to three distinct types, namely, a sweet corn (*tšulpi*), a soft corn (*kapio*), and the common flint corn. The words *tšulpi* and *kapio* belong to the Kitšua language, a fact that points to the southern origin of these varieties. Judging from tradition, as well as from the varietal names used elsewhere in the Cauca valley, the flint corn that is grown all over the country may possibly be of northern origin. The Paez language has only one word to designate all varieties of corn, and it is interesting to note that the one now in use (*kutš* or *kukš*) is quite distinct from that employed in Castillo's time (*kokavi*). It is not unlikely that the present name was introduced by some of the tribes subsequently incorporated with the Paez.

262 243 [192] [174] [192]

The *tšulpi*, or sweet corn, is usually eaten roasted or boiled on the cob. Of soft corn, or *kapio*, they make a kind of dough called *χhiontš*, which is the base of several culinary preparations, among them the tortilla (*kuáts*). *Kaš* is a gruel made of black corn; *mutši*, or *motši* (the Kitšua *motc*), is prepared by shelling the kernels without disintegrating them. Last, but not least, large quantities of the grain are used in the preparation of chicha (*beka*).

262 252 [273]

Beans are generally cultivated along with maize. I noticed two varieties — *us kutš*, black beans, and *us bi*, red beans. The *osgual*, cited by Castillo as special to the village of Suin, are the seeds of the *Erythrina edulis* Triana, which I collected under the name of *us ual*; they are large, and when boiled taste almost exactly like the common horse-bean (*Faba vulgaris*).

244 262 [252]

Of scarcely less value as a food-staple are the several varieties of squashes, so generally cultivated and eaten as to have caused Castillo to express the opinion that "most of the Indians would perish should these fail in the province." The larger variety, *ápe-tots* (*Cucurbita maxima?*), is less common, and may have been introduced, although it already existed in Tierra Adentro in Castillo's time; *ápe*, the zapallo or pumpkin (*Cucurbita pepo*), is perhaps indigenous to the region, since the last native name,

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

194	*epench*	is now	*pens*,	old (applied to female only).
114	*isus*	" "	*sus*,	urine.
[192]	*atamp*	" "	*taap*,	fog, cloud.

In Castillo's vocabularies *xs* stands for *s*, *z* for *ts* and *tz*, *ch* for *tš*. The final *h* is used only to prevent the coming together of the consonants *i* or *s* ending a word and the initial vowel of the following word in compound terms. For instance, we have *mesha*, for *mes-a*, it is not; *ishc* for *its-i*, to join, to marry, etc.

II. — Word-formation

192 114 *Remarks.* — A few preliminary remarks as to the vocabulary given hereafter are necessary. In a general way it includes only words that are not found in Castillo's work. This is true especially of all isolated terms, but exceptions have been made when one of them is or contains a root of a whole family of words, in which case a few terms have been taken from Castillo's 114 vocabulary and their orthography adapted to our own.

192 197 174 Among those words not included in Castillo's, some have simply escaped him, as, for instance, a number of plant names. But many others are to-day replaced by quite distinct expressions, and this is perhaps one of the strongest indications that the present Paez are in reality a mixture of the remnants of several ancient tribes, like the Paez, the Pijaos, the Jamundies, and probably others, which resulted after Castillo's first survey of the language. As, with the exception of the Paez, we have not even fragmentary vocabularies of the tribes thus amalgamated, it is rather difficult to sustain such an hypothesis with linguistic testimony; but traditions still current and well-known examples of similar cases in other countries can be offered in support of it.

As we have in every case given Castillo's equivalent in the vocabulary, it is needless to reproduce here a list of the differences noted.

193 114 [171] *Compound Nouns.* — The Paez language, like most of the languages belonging to the Chibchan group, has suffixes indicative of form, size, matter, people, etc., that characterize whole classes of words. Castillo's vocabulary being far from exhaustive and written in a somewhat capricious way, it is not always

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

killka, paper, letter, book	*killka*, paper, letter, book	192
kattoni, to lick	*kattoni*, to bite	177
kikin, again	*kikin*, again	
kakka, father-in-law	*kakka*, father-in-law	
laki, lax, feeble, lazy	*llaki*, feeble faint, sad	
mutlai, to kiss	*mutlai*, kiss	
mil, cat	*misi*, *mitti*, cat	
miski, honey	*miski*, honey	
muti, boiled corn	*muti*, boiled corn	
ña, to complete, to finish	*ña*, so (Span. *ya*! *yá se acabó* = *ña*)	
ñusa, sugar-cane, sweet cane	*ñuk-ñu*, sweet, applied to any fruit	
piñu-skia; to hate, to quarrel	*piña-tsina*, to be angry	
pisko, turkey	*pitku*, bird	
puki, watershed	*pucyu*, watershed	
pein, to ask	*pin?* who is it?	
tlumbe, sash to support the *anaku*	*tlumbi*, sash, girdle	
tlpi-pi, turkey	*tlumpi*, brown	
ukupa-ki, to push	*ukupa-tlii*, to push	
uás, a hut	*huási*, house	
vite-pasak, one hundred	*patlak*, one hundred	

(3) *From other Languages.* — It is likely that the Paez language borrowed many other terms from neighboring tribes, but thus far we lack the necessary material for comparison. As explained above, since Castillo's residence among these Indians their language seems to have undergone considerable change, especially in its vocabulary, a fact readily explained if we admit that the present Paez are composed of the remains of several tribes, greatly reduced in number by their wars with the Spanish conquerors and the hardships they suffered after their submission to the new rule. With the Chibcha, the analogies seem reduced to the rules of construction, the vocabulary being totally distinct. 192 174

F. — *The Numerals* 802

1. *Ias, vitell*	*tell*
2. *Ens*	*ens*
3. *Tek*	*tek*
4. *Pans*	*pans*

7:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

175 ture, with only slight differences in dialects and customs. Some
197 authorities affirmed that these Indians had no kind of religion; others
114 gave details which reveal a highly developed religion and an organized
[174] cult. In spite of these contradictory statements and in spite of the fact that today only the *Moguex* (*Guambia*) and *Páez* Indians retain indigenous cultures, it is possible to sketch the cultural picture of these Indians at the moment of their first contact with the Spanish soldiers by reexamining the chroniclers of the Conquest according to ethnological criteria, by utilizing modern linguistics, and by studying the ethnology of the present-day peoples.[3] It is also possible to trace the
174 acculturation during the Colonial Period, when new European usages
177 were introduced, and to depict the social and cultural conditions of the present day. The modern penetration of highways into the Indian territory and the official policy of changing the indigenous communities are likely to bring an end to these few remaining examples of primitive Andean societies, which have survived in spite of a poor economy, bad sanitary conditions, and missionary efforts to eradicate their traditions.

12/ A fertile field for future research lies in continuing anthropological studies in the central mass of the Colombian Andes. The region is as important for physical geography as for ethnology, as its mountain chains run in various directions to form valleys and diversified environments.

[172] It also contains the archeological remains, known as San Agustín and Tierradentro, which long antedate the Conquest and which have an undetermined origin and relationship to cultures in other parts of America. The present article, however, does not deal with these, but is limited to ethnology.

GEOGRAPHY

13/ The tribes considered in this article occupied the eastern halves of the present Departments of Nariño and Cauca, almost all of the Department of Huila, the southern part of Tolima, and the eastern zone of the Department of the Valle del Cauca, which embraces the western spurs of the Cordillera Central as far as Calarcá in Caldas. The region lies between 1° and 4° 40′ N. lat. and 1° and 3° 40′ west of the meridian
133 of Bogotá. The country consists of high mountains of the Andean system, which bifurcate at the Ecuadorean border to form the Cordillera Occidental, which runs to Panamá, and the Cordillera Central, which approaches the Atlantic coast of Colombia. Each branch has high plains (altiplanos), small valleys with rivers which are tributaries of the Patía River to the west, and high mountain peaks, some of which are volcanoes, like Pasto, Galeras, and Cumbal. The area of

[3] For the languages, see especially Jijón y Caamaño, 1940-41; Castillo I Orosco, 1878; and Castellví, 1934. For ethnology, see Douay, 1900; Pittier de Fábrega, 1907; Ortiz, 1935; Guerra F., 1942; Jijón y Caamaño, 1936-39 Otero, 1938; Albis, 1934. See also Languages, pp. 921-922.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

TRIBAL DIVISIONS

Captain Sebastián de Belalcázar was the first conquistador who went north from Quito and entered the Andean region of what is today Colombia. He passed through the territory of the Pasto and Popayán Rivers to reach the region of Neiva and beyond in 1535–36.

At the time of their discovery, the native peoples north of Ecuador were very numerous, but the chroniclers, for example Cieza de León, who crossed this region in 1545 and is its outstanding historian, gave their locations and designations in a very confused manner. The historians classified the aboriginal peoples either according to small villages or groups of houses, slight differences of dialects, or slight cultural variations, so that the true classifications are very difficult to make.

Modern ethnological studies and a critical interpretation of the chroniclers somewhat clarify the cultural panorama of these regions, however, and it is now possible to list the following tribal divisions which existed just before the Conquest [6] (map 7):

Pasto.—The *Pasto* (*Koaiker*, *Cuaiquer*, *Quayquer*, *Coaiquer*,[6] etc.) (Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38), who had a uniform language and culture throughout their villages, were distributed from the town of Tuza between the Mira and San Juan Rivers northward throughout the mountains to the valley of the Patía River and toward the northeast to the southern boundary of the present Department of Cauca. Eastward, they extended to the country of the *Quillacinga*, which began at the Guáitara River (Cieza, 1880, ch. 33). In the west, they occupied the western portion of Nariño, but accurate information is lacking on some tribes, which like the *Abades*, *Masteles* (Juán López de Velasco *in* Guerra, 1942) and *Patía* of the lower Patía River, lived toward the Pacific Coast region. The Angasmayo River in *Pasto* territory was the limit of the conquest of the *Inca* Guaynacapa (Cieza, 1880, ch. 37). Ortíz locates this river southeast of Nariño but other authors identify it with the Mayo River farther to the north.

There was a large number of native groups or villages within this area. Among these Cieza mentions the *Ascual*, *Mallama*, *Túcurres*, (*Tulcan*), *Zapuys*, *Iles*, *Guaimatal*, *Funes*, *Chapal*, *Males*, *Piales*, *Pupiales*, *Turca*, some of which are south of the Colombia-Ecuador border, *Cumba*, and others, and adds that, "All these peoples and chiefs had and have the name of *Pastos*" (Cieza, 1932, ch. 33). Guerra gives other names of small groups (parcialidades).

Quillacinga.—East and southeast of the *Pasto* lived the *Quillacinga*. Padre Velasco (1841–44, vol. 3) identified them with the *Pasto*, but cultural and linguistic differences between these tribes leave no doubt that Cieza de León (1880, ch. 33), was correct in considering them a

[6] Castellví, 1934; Guerra, 1942; Jijón y Caamaño, 1940–41; Ortíz, 1937 d, 1938 c; and Otero, 1928, 1939.

[6] The *Coaiquer* are sometimes treated as a subgroup of the *Pasto*. (See this volume, pp. 927–936, 937–938.)

/183 cont./

557 say, the surname, is transmitted through the paternal line. The
582 wife retains it throughout her life, but does not transmit it to her children. A son of hers will bear only the father's surname.
604 According to an /184/ informant from Calderas a man respects his paternal uncles and aunts in the same manner as the maternal uncles, but not the maternal aunt, because "she is not a real relative;...she is a woman and not a man ... the men (older) have to be respected the same as the old women" and, generalizing, adds: "of the uncles and aunts one respects the men more than the women and the paternal uncles more than
601 the maternal ones." Although the terms for designating the
604 uncles and aunts of EGO differentiate sex and specify the line to which they belong, EGO considers the relationship of the paternal uncles and aunts to be closer than that of the maternal ones, and although the uncles call the sons of their brothers "sons," there does not exist among the present-day Páez a clear concept of parallel uncles and cross uncles and, consequently, of parallel and cross cousins. Masculine EGO calls paternal and maternal male cousins Iakté, paternal and maternal female cousins pesh, making them equal with his own sisters and brothers, and feminine EGO calls paternal and maternal female cousins Iakté, paternal and maternal male cousins Jish, making
601 them equal also with her own brothers and sisters. But logically
604 such a distinction must have existed, to judge from the conduct
582 observed in the selection of mates and in the respect that EGO pays to his uncles and aunts, this being more pronounced for the paternal than for the maternal ones and greater still for the men.
114 Eugenio del Castillo y Orozco corroborates our argument. In
60 his Vocabulario he states that the mother-in-law is called by the
582 same term as the one designating the father's sister (pezoz), and the father-in-law by the same term as the one for designating the mother's brother (cacca). This means that in the eighteenth century in-law kinship specified the origin of the spouses, clearly showing marriage between cross cousins.

60 All these traits make us think that possibly there were
614 patrilineal exogamous clans, now manifested by some types of
●174 stereotyped conduct,

1: Nachtigall--13 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

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Part II

Ethnography

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I. Introduction

1. Historical Sketch of the History of the Paez since the Conquista

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When the Spanish general, Sebastian de Belalcazar, as lieutenant general of Francisco Pizarro, conquered the northern part of the Inca kingdom and founded the city of Quito in the year 1534, he made careful inquiries about the countries lying farther north. Then he met a foreign Indian who gave his name as Muquetá and that of his cacique /see "Kazike" in the glossary, p. 249/ as Gogotá. When he was further questioned as to whether his country contained the metal that the Spaniards called gold, he eagerly affirmed this and added that in his country there is a lagoon /see the glossary, p. 249/, upon which his cacique travels with a raft several times a year, powdered from head to foot with gold dust, so that he looks like a gilded man. In this fashion he offers gold objects to the sun, whereupon he washes off his body and offers this gold, too, as a sacrifice. This story was the reason that Sebastian de Belalcazar in 1535 sent Diego de Tapia on an exploration to the north, in the direction of the land of El Dorado, the gilded man. He reached the present Rio Carchi. This became the starting point of the conquest of southern Colombia by the Spaniards.

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The resistance against the intruders shown by the natives of southern Colombia differed. The tribes of the Pasto and Quillacinga and the Cauca Valley tribes around Popayán offered only slight resistance. They had already been subjugated earlier by the soldiers of the Inca, whose kingdom with its northernmost expansion reached as far as Rio Ancasmayo. The Paez, Guambiano, Andaqui, and Pijao, on the other hand, living in barely accessible

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175 648 parts of the Central Cordillera, offered the Spaniards violent and quite successful resistance. In the same year that Belalcazar sent out the first expedition, a troop of Spaniards under Pedro de Añasco set out for the north. In 1536 Belalcazar likewise followed him. In the course of that year he founded the cities of Popayán and Cali in the Cauca Valley, important /100/ starting points for further explorations. The latter proceeded in the direction of the Central Cordillera, the paramos of Moras and Guanacos, and Tierradentro. Amid constant battles with the Paez, who at that time occupied a considerably larger area than today, Belalcazar was repulsed and was obliged to return to Popayán and Lima, leaving behind 26 Spaniards, among them several officers. In 1537 he undertook a second assault from Popayán, in order to reach the land of El Dorado through Tierradentro. With 100 horsemen, 200 infantrymen, and more than a thousand Indios as porters, he came to the Magdalena River without being hindered by the Paez. After four months of hard fighting with the natives of the Magdalena Valley, he finally, on the plateau of Bogotá, met the conquistador Gonzalo Jimenez de Quesada, who had shortly before come from the north. A threatened clash of weapons between the two conquerors was prevented by the arrival of a third conquistador, that is, when Nikolaus Federmann, the German mercenary leader who was in the service of the Welsers /a German banking house/, reached Bogotá from the east, through the lowlands of Venezuela.

We again hear about the martial activity of the Paez when in 1538/39 Pedro de Añasco, with immeasurably cruel treatment of the natives, pushed into the Magdalena Valley, in order to keep open, at the command of Belalcazar, the connecting route from Quito to Santa Fé de Bogatá, the capital of the newly founded viceroyalty of New Granada. In a desperate battle 5,000 warriors of the united Timaná, Yalçon, Paez, and Apirama succeeded in overpowering the Spaniards and capturing their leader, Pedro de Añasco. The Indios provided a dreadful fate for him, who had had the son of the female cacique of the Timaná, Gaitana, burned. Gaitana, upon whose urging the

/100 cont./

175 alliance of the tribes against the Spaniards had come about, had
648 him dragged from village to village and one of his limbs hacked off each day.

In order to avenge the death of his comrade-in-arms, Juan de Ampudia with his mercenaries then set out in 1539/40 from Popayán for Tierradentro. But he and his mercenaries were overcome by the same fate. He himself lost his life, and his men were driven back by the Paez amid great losses. Not discouraged by this fate of his predecessors, Francisco García set out on a new expedition into Tierradentro, but he, too, failed completely. The cacique Gaitana achieved, by means of fiery speeches, a renewed alliance of the Timaná, Paez, Yalcon, Apirama, Guanaca, and Pijao, and with 10,000 men she fell upon the city of Timaná and /101/ destroyed it. Its defender, Diego Ruiz des Campo, fell in an attempt, with his riders, to break through the dense swarm of Indian troops armed with the new weapon of lances 40 spans long.

Soon afterward Juan Cabrera was called from Neiva to Timaná for its reconstruction. The Yalcon offered peace and their co-operation in the reconstruction of the city destroyed by them. Juan Cabrera accepted this, and then, when the Yalcon and their caciques were assembled, he fell upon them from ambush and killed their caciques and the greater part of the men. There has not been a tribe of Yalcon since then.

The Paez remained intact and kept their peace until in 1543 Belalcazar returned from a brief stay in Spain and now, with 1,000 horsemen and fully equipped, undertook from Popayán an expedition of retaliation against the Paez. The Paez, fighting for their freedom in their mountains, stood up against the most experienced general of Spain. After severe, bloody losses Belalcazar was obliged to withdraw in defeat. From then on he made no further attempts to subjugate the Paez (*).

* There is a detailed description of this era, briefly sketched here, in H. Trimborn (1954), pp. 67-84 /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 327/.

/101 cont./

•175 648 Nineteen years later, in 1562, Domingo Lozano made a new attempt to exploit the rich silver mines of Timaná and La Plata. He was obliged to withdraw, however, only to return the next year with reinforced troops. He founded the city of San Vicente de Paez, but only two months later, in an attack by the Paez on the city founded by him, he lost his life. An auxiliary body of troops advancing in forced marches from Popayán was also completely destroyed. After this new expulsion of the conquerors, the Paez allied themselves with the Pijao, who had destroyed Neiva in 1569. Together they attacked and plundered the silver mines of the city of La Plata in 1577, killed all the inhabitants, and set fire to the houses.

As a result of these unfavorable reports, the Spanish king energetically ordered the "pacification of the province," which from 1605-1608 was carried out so successfully that finally the troops could not find any Indios to fight or houses to plunder. In 1605, after the lost battle of Itaibe, the Paez retreated to the region of their inaccessible mountains still occupied by them today. Their western neighbors, the Guanaca, allied themselves with the Spaniards, and the latter put through their territory the [997] connecting road from /102/ Popayán to Bogotá. In 1613 the Jesuits set up the first mission station and a rest station for travelers [164] in the town of Guanacas. In 1790 most of the Guanaca fell [731] victim to an introduced smallpox epidemic. The survivors withdrew to the present Inzá, where they were absorbed among the colonists. Nothing has remained of their language.

175 648 797 The Paez continued to defend their country against the Spaniards and against missionization and, by their sudden attacks, made the road to Bogotá never quite safe. And then in the subsequent period the Spaniards had little interest in missionizing and civilizing the Paez. After the Guanacas station, only one 648 mission was founded in Tálaga. Because of the location of the 172 individual communities, enclosed by high mountain ranges, a 175 few villages were able to remain uninfluenced by Spanish civiliza- [36] tion for quite a long time. Later the authorities supported the establishment of native self-government, the cabildo /see the

/102 cont./

175 glossary, p. 248/, and, by means of reservation laws, protected
177 the Paez from the gradually advancing colonists. In this way the
648 Paez were able to preserve their language and customs to a con-
[178] siderable extent, in contrast to the other mountain tribes of
Colombia, who have long since been absorbed in the Spanish-
175 Colombian culture. In the struggles for independence from the
648 Spanish crown under Simon Bolivar from 1812 to 1824, the Paez
fought for their liberation on the republican side under Gregorio
Calambás. Their leader was captured and shot. After the
victorious termination of the struggles for independence, Gregorio
Calambás became one of the martyrs of Colombian independence (*).

* According to V. A. Bedoya, P. J. Ramirez Sendoya, and G. Hernandez de Alba (VII).

175 The Pijao perished like the Guanaca. After having oc-
101 cupied, before the Conquista, almost the entire area of the
648 present-day department of Tolima east of the Central Cordillera,
[151] as the eastern neighbors of the Quimbaya, they perished in
countless battles with the Spaniards. As late as the eighteenth
century, remnants of them lived in the valley of the Rio Negro
de Narvaez, as neighbors of the Paez. They, called Bemb by the
Paez, as well as the Guanaca, spoke languages that differed
from the Paez. They could not understand one another.

178 Besides the Paez, the culture of the Guambiano, a
101 neighboring tribe called Mogweĭ by the Paez, has been preserved
114 to a certain extent up to the present day. The Guambiano in-
habit the west side of the Central Cordillera and today live in
the valley of the Piendamó around Silvia. The life and customs
of his tribe have been recently represented by the Guambiano
Francisco Tumiña Pillumbe in a number of very instructive /103/
drawings, each of which was provided with a brief text by
Gregorio Hernandez de Alba.

P /134 cont./

276 Coca (ĕs) is a shrub whose alkaloid leaves, containing
137 cocaine, tanning substances, and various volatile oils, were used as stimulants even before the time of the Conquista, chiefly among the natives of the Cordilleras region. Almost 200 species of it are known, most of which, namely 137, occur in America (Walger, p. 9). It flourishes almost without exception between the tropics, from Honduras to Bolivia, in a temperature that generally remains between 15 and 20 degrees. In too low a temperature the leaves are small and worthless; in too hot a climate they lose strength and content. The most favorable elevation is between 700 and 1,700 meters.

P The word coca comes from the Kechŭa /Quechua/ lan-
279 guage (coca or cuca), which, however, does not state anything
192 definite about the origin and use of the plant, for the Kechŭa-
171 speaking tribes of Ecuador are the very ones who do not use the plant (Cooper, p. 549). In the northern part of South America the designation hayo, hahiu is customary, in northeastern Peru ebee, hibia, hibio, and in the Amazon region generally, names like ypadu, ypatu, ipado, or batu (Bühler, p. 3344).

P The first information about coca reached Europe as early
175 as 1499 through the report of the Spanish priest, Thomas Ortíz, to
276 his spiritual superiors, according to which the natives of the northern coast of South America used a plant called hayo as a means of enjoyment. The first detailed description of the cultivation and use of the plant is found in a work, printed in 1553, by Pedro de Ciéza de León, who for the first time calls attention to the fact that coca bestows strength and vigor and drives away hunger (Bühler, p. 3353).

P At the time of the Conquista, coca was known in Colombia
276 among the Cauca Valley tribes between Popayán and Cali, near
171 Ibagué in the Magdalena Valley, on the savanna of Bogotá, and
P among the tribes of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta. Today the
C 276 use of coca is officially forbidden in Colombia on account of its
c harmful effects. According to Decree No. 95 of 1938, the sale
656 of coca, except in apothecary shops and drugstores, was forbidden

Among the Paez, fishing with

/145 cont./

226 poisonous plants is done once a year, in the dry season, as com-
824 munity fishing with weirs. For this purpose -- it was explained to me -- a dam of stones and earth is first made by the men. The herbs, which only grow high in the mountains and contain a poisonous substance, and which have been pulverized with stones, are tossed into the pool thus partitioned off. These herbs are called yúkse or kēse. The fish are said to die from them immediately. /146/ They are caught only by the men. But since the poisonous herbs are so far away and are to be found only with difficulty, the men are said to catch the fish sometimes unpoisoned at the weirs with their bare hands.

f) Weapons

411 The weapons of the Paez are limited to hunting weapons
[726] and children's toys, since wars are no longer fought. The only important hunting weapon today is the shotgun. As children's
[524] playthings there are the stone-sling (ísot), blowgun (pāt), and in in recent times the elastic sling (káučéro).

[824] In former times, in the battles with the Spaniards, the
[714] Paez were said to have used lances 25 handspans long made from the wood of the chonta palm, as well as plaited shields or shields
[237] of tapir skin (Pittier, p. 327). I could find no confirmation for the
[124] present-day or even earlier use of lance and shield; my informants
[175] were familiar with neither the word nor the object. From the chroniclers, however, it is reported that the Paez, as well as other mountain peoples of this region, had learned from their battles with Spanish horsemen to defend themselves with long lances. There is, however, absolutely no foundation for a pre-Spanish use
714 of this type of lance. It is not unlikely that the Paez originally had plaited shields (opimb). The word for skin shield (himba-kat) is interesting; its present literal meaning is "horse skin." Whether himba meant "tapir" in pre-Spanish times cannot be ascertained.

/169 cont./
491 rivers (*), for example, the Rio Kokiyó, which flows through

[114] * I did not see anywhere the simplest form of a bridge mentioned by H. Pittier (p. 320) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 326/ in the northern part of Tierradentro, a bridge which people cross hand over hand on a liana stretched across the river.

the Calderun region, there are strong bridges over which even
491 loaded horses may go without trouble. This type of bridge
499 consists of two tree trunks placed a good meter apart, upon which poles are tied crosswise as planking. Only about every fifth planking pole is lashed, while the ones in between are held fast by a longitudinal beam laid over each of the main supports. On either side of the bridge, poles are tied vertically and horizontally as a railing and at the same time serve to support the roofing. The latter is a characteristic of all such bridges (Ills. 194 and 195 /see pp. 285 and 286/). One finds it not only on the bridges in the colonists' region of Tierradentro, but /170/ also, for example, on the bridges of the upper Magdalena River, the region around San Agustín.

The third type of bridge is found in two artfully constructed arched bridges made of bamboo over the Rio Paez at Belalcázar and Avirama (Ills. 191 to 193 and 196 /see pp. 285 and 286/).
[284] They are both quite similar in construction and, like all the other bridges of the Paez, made without nails or other iron parts, but simply lashed with bast and lianas. For reinforcement, however, two wire cables have now been stretched underneath.
491 Although even the Spaniards at the time of the conquistadors
177 report on the "weak and flexible bamboo bridges" and on the
499 "liana bridges" of Tierradentro (Hernandez, 1944, p. 189), in
[175] the case of the two above-mentioned arched bridges, which are relatively difficult to construct, it seems not to be a matter of an original Paez technique. Indeed, these would be the only suspension bridges of this type in pre-Spanish South America.

/216/

IV. Spiritual Culture

1. Language

121 According to A. v. Humboldt, languages are differentiated by the elements of content and form, and, accordingly, languages are divided into three groups, which in the following period were erroneously interpreted as stages of the development of language. According to this, the oldest stage was represented by the isolating languages, which express form elements by means of independent words with the meaning still recognizable as far as content is concerned. Their words, as in Chinese, are monosyllabic, isolating. The second group is made up of the agglutinative languages, in which the element of form is added to the element of content, the stem, through clearly recognizable affixes. The Ural-Altaic and the Bantu languages in particular are put here. The inflected languages occupy the third stage. In them the form element is expressed by inner changes of the stem or by affixes closely intergrown with the stems, as, for example, in the Indo-Germanic and Hamito-Semitic languages.

Even though this classification of languages was subsequently abandoned as the schema of a sequence of development, it is nevertheless quite applicable as an initial, practical orientation. For the more precise classification of a language, the working out of the phonetics and syntax is required.

197 193 Paez is an agglutinative language. The grammatical forms are built up by a succession of syllables. The pronunciation is difficult for a European. It is similar to Kechua /Quechua/, from which a number of loanwords have been adopted.

175 797 192 193 114 The oldest linguistic reports about the Paez come from P. Eujenio del Castillo i Orosco, who collected his linguistic material around 1735, as a missionary in Tálaga. It was supplemented and published by E. Uricoechea in 1877. The collected data include a catechism, a vocabulary, and a grammar with information about personal pronouns and the conjugations of "to be" and "to write." The grammar and vocabulary contain some forms and word formations that are alien to the original Paez language.

/290 cont./

534 is wound around the entire body of the drum. A string with a small piece of wood as a rattle device is stretched across the lower skin. The method of construction of the drum and the bass drum [184] is the same in Calderas. A drum in Santa Rosa differs in that each of the stretchers, upper and lower, consists of a switch used double, with the edges of the drum skin clamped in between (Fig. 37 /see p. 258 /). The measurements of the small drum are 16 centimeters in height and 22 centimeters in diameter, those of the bass drum 40 centimeters in height and about 60 centimeters in diameter.

533 In playing the music, for which no text is (any longer) known, the drum and the bass drum beat the same rhythm, but in a different manner. The drum is beaten on the skin with two drumsticks, which are simply two ordinary, inarticulated pieces of wood. The bass drum is beaten with one hand with a regular drumstick consisting of a stick with a wrapping of cloth, while the other hand beats against the frame with a little stick. In three-quarter time, the principal kind of time, the bass drum is beaten with the drumstick in one hand, the first and third quarter regularly and the second quarter in eighths. The other hand beats afterwards with the other stick on the frame.

533 Whether this Paez rhythm is original or was taken over with 173 the drum cannot be determined with certainty. According to the tradition of the Paez, as told in the story "The Paez with the Ax," the Pijao women in former times, when as yet /291/ there were no drums, beat out the rhythm on their breasts with their hands during the dances. We may assume that this was also in part the case 533 among the earlier Paez. According to E. Castillo i Orosco, the [175] Paez formerly used hanging chichacanoas /chicha troughs/ as drums [534] (kwimb). They consisted of hollowed-out tree trunks and during the kwimbkó dance were beaten by all the men together, while the women sang. The rhythm beaten on the drums at the present time, however, seems to be less firmly anchored than the melody. They [797] are so fond of the latter that they do not sing hymns at the Mass in [177] the mission church, but play the customary melodies on the same instruments, albeit disproportionately slower. The drum and the bass lose the beat in doing this; they do not know how to begin

/281 cont./

487 Routes of communication.--Until the fourth decade of the present century, the routes of penetration were horse paths which passed through the paramos of Guanacas, Las Delicias, and Moras, or through Inzá, Pedregal, Topa, and La Plata. The three first ones communicated with the Cauca valley, and the second with the /282/ Magdalena valley. These were the routes of the colonial era and, to a large extent, of the times [648] of the republic. The Guanacas route was the first to serve for communication between the kingdom of Quito and Santafé de Bogotá, owing, of course, to the more favorable attitude of the Guanaca Indians toward the conquistadores, who, taking advantage of their relationship with the Paez, made them their 797 allies and assistants. The first religious mission was established ● 175 in Guanacas in 1613. By way of the Paramo de Moras Captain 175 Juan de Ampudia entered Paez territory to take exemplary re- 648 venge for the tragic death of his colleague-at-arms, Captain Pedro de Añasco. To his disgrace and that of Spain, he met a terrible death on the cliffs of Togoima. By way of the same Paramo de Moras came the Adelantado Don Sebastián de Belalcázar, who had the same aims as his unfortunate predecessor, but this time his death, too, was added. The Paez gave him the most crushing defeat on the Peñón de Tálaga, and the Adelantado had to flee, leaving on the field of battle 491 the body of the heroic Captain García Tovar. The intense [484] traffic through these dangerous peaks and cold paramos decreased considerably with the opening of the Quindío road, and even much more with the inauguration of the La Plata-Belalacázar road. Tierradentro is connected by road with Popayán and 487 Neiva. Nowadays only the Indians from Mosoco, San José, and Vitoncó, and the Paez from Toribío, Tacueyó, and [788] Jambaló travel by way of the Paramo de Moras. That of Las Delicias is traveled by the Moguex, especially on their annual pilgrimages to the religious festivities of Our Lady of Nátaga. The Guanacas route is practically abandoned. There is also another route, traveled relatively frequently, which follows the

4:Bernal Villa--1 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/177/

I

Point of Departure

631 To the north of the municipio of Inzá and to the west of
[361] the confluence of the Ullucos and Páez rivers, two hours on horseback from the points just mentioned, the corregimiento /district governed by a corregidor/ of San Andrés is found on the left bank of the Pisimbalá torrent, an affluent of the
[175] Ullucos. Its name has been registered in the parochial books
[103] since 1736, when the priest José Fernández Belalcázar, as the
[797] representative of the Bishop of Popayán, initiated in San Andrés de Pisimbalá pastoral visits to the Paez pueblos.

361 San Andrés de Pisimbalá is a pueblo with the same characteristics that we have noted in other Paez centers; that is to say, it consists of a church, a school, the rectory, the house of the cabildo, and some others used solely for the celebration of religious fiestas. It is located on a small plateau, a ledge hanging on the declivity.

563 At the present time it is inhabited by whites and mestizos
177 whose ways of life, norms of behavior, and labor practices
361 have been imposed on the natives. Resistance to contact has
[648] been overcome, but active resentment against the white still
[566] crops out among the old people. Almost completely acculturated, many of them have sunk to the state of tenant farmers. The phenomenon of the colonization of Indians and land is the same everywhere. The Indian loses his land and sinks into servitude.

In 1926 the Municipal Council of Inzá created a settlement area with clearly delineated boundaries in a common agreement /178/ between the municipal authorities and the cabildo. The colonists established themselves in that area. The valley of the Pisimbalá torrent is narrow, but extremely fertile. It belongs in its entirety to a few families of colonists,

/178 cont./

361 who have established coffee and sugar-cane plantations and
[563] cattle ranches. The natives occupy the steep and barren sec-
[177] tions.

The pueblo of San Andrés consists of 23 bahareque houses
[342] /houses with walls made with two faces of sticks with mud and stone between them/ with thatched roofs. Only one is of brick and tiles. In its general lines the plan is reminiscent of that of Spanish centers: a central plaza with houses around it.
346 The church, which is large, thatched, and white, has a hand-
361 some façade, with a bell tower, arches and columns, a style reminiscent of colonial architecture; it stands in the center of the plaza and was built in the first decade of the nineteenth century by Padre Joaquín Núñez y Tobar. On its south side there stands a large, very old and dilapidated building where the school and the rectory functions; on the other sides it is surrounded by the colonists' houses.

366 There are two stores with a regular supply of merchandise, and on Wednesdays there is a small market where one beef, a few agricultural products, and chicha are sold.

133 Toward the end of the Pisimbalá valley are found the not
•175 very extensive plateaus of Argentina and El Rodeo. El Rodeo has marked historical significance; for a long time it was called Segovia. In the spirit of conquest and colonization, the town of Nueva Segovia was founded there by Captain Hernando Arias Saavedra in accordance with the mandate of Governor Sancho Espinar, who in 1578 gave up these lands after his vainglorious campaign against the Paez. It was short-lived. On this same plateau Mosquera's rebellion against the government of Don Mariano Ospina Rodríguez was won by his spectacular victory over the government forces headed by
[317] General Joaquín París (1). In spite of this, the markets for

1. González, David. Los paeces /The Paez/, manuscript.

/178 cont./

several leagues around were supplied for a long time with the salt extracted from the three salt deposits that still exist in Segovia. Across from these and on the other side of the Ullucos, in Vivorá, another salt deposit was also exploited.

At the confluence of the small stream called El Escaño and the Pisimbalá, on the right bank of the latter and at the foot of the ridge of Aguacate, the Archeological Park of /179/ Tierradentro, a branch of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, is located on an alluvial terrace covering an area of two hectares. Founded some 15 years ago, it is in charge of the care and conservation of the archeological monuments, which have been known to the scientific world since 1936, but to which reference was made as early as around the penultimate decade of the last century, when Dr. Carlos Cuervo Márquez carried out his explorations through the "lands of the Paez and much of the Nevado del Huila." Subterranean necropolises with columns, colonnades and niches, black and red geometric painting on a white background, statuary very similar to the Augustinian, ceramics and metalwork are the principal exponents of this culture hardly known in descriptive form.

The Archeological Park of Tierradentro has served as the center of operations for the scientific expeditions which the national government has sponsored, fostered, and supported during the last 15 years.

II

Over the Zigzags of the Road

In order to travel on winding roads one needs horses resistant to fatigue; a dashing spirit must yield to a solemn step, firm tread, and steady pace.

/190 cont./

609 It was necessary for someone to tell them that they were sent by
797 /191/ Laureano Gómez before they all said: "Well, then, let
871
829 them remain."

666 In spite of their stubborn conservatism, the leaders of the
829 municipio cannot manage to make them vote for their chosen candidates unless they first get their ration of meat, chicha, and aguardiente. The ration and the vote form an indivisible unit.

829 "I am godo /Goth, pejorative for Spaniard/ to the marrow, a true conservative," exclaimed one of the important men of
[773] Calderas while he was drunk. "Juan Chiracol also was a conservative," said another.

829 The Indians of Tierradentro have been liberals since 1860,
●175 thanks to the victor's aura gained by Mosquera on the plains
648 of Segovia. "The battle of Segovia" --says the padre David González--"in which the Indians took part and in which Mosquera encouraged the native ferocity, and the march on Bogotá, which fell to the rebel general, made him a demigod
[464] in the eyes of the Paez. Since the first days of the colony they have venerated the name Mosquera; the Marquis don Cristóbal Mosquera y Figueroa had been their master, their encomendero, he had taken them to Popayán in gangs to work on his haciendas, he had given to them the huge lands of his
[665] encomienda... Naturally the Indians of Tierradentro have been strongly bound since 1860 to the political faction which represented Mosquera, liberalism. In the armed struggles which later scourged the nation, the Paez staunchly bore the liberal standard."

829 In view of this, the political affiliation of the Calderas
665 Indians is an odd one; up to less than a decade ago, they formed a conservative island in the midst of a liberal majority. Possibly this attitude conceals a great desire to defend their lands. The Calderas people have no marked sympathy for the neighboring parcialidades. "They are Reds," say the natives,

/294 cont./

311 passes through Topa, Turminá, Guanacas, El Cabuyo, Malvasá,
133 Pisimbalá, Lame, La Troja, and Irlanda, from where it twists eastward. The contour line of 3,000 meters, approximately parallel to the previous one, is very close to the ridge of the
[361] Central Cordillera. These two contour lines form a narrow zone that corresponds to the cold thermal level and within which are found the parcialidades of Toez, Huila, Vitoncó, San José, Mosoco, Lame, and Yaquivá, aside from a considerable area from the extinct parcialidades of Guanacas and Turminá.
311 This entire zone represents a "culturally influenced zone" in
[487] the literal sense that Professor Guhl gives it (2). A fine bridle-

2. Guhl, E. "Ambiente Geográfico-Humano de la Costa del Atlántico /Geographical-human Environment of the Atlantic Coast/," Revista Geográfica, p. 159.

[489] path joins Mosoco and Silvia, crossing the Paramo de Moras. The traffic of people is intense and constant during almost every /295/
311 month of the year. In the last decades, this has been an active zone
641 of native and "white" colonization. It still remains so. Coscuro
361 and Malvasá, in the Parcialidad of San Andrés, are purely "white" regions of colonization. But Tumbichukue, the high parts of Lame, Mosoco, San José, Huila, and Toez are zones of exclu-
361 sively native colonization. The importance of Mosoco is out-
311 standing. It was a great center of Páez settlement and still is, in the same manner as Pitayó and Tacueyó are on the other side of the Cordillera, but we cannot state on this account that "the major part of the settlements and the most important ones for the Paeces" are located in the cold region, as was stated
[177] categorically by Professor José Pérez de Barradas. Mosoco,
[433] fully in the process of acculturation, is a good producer of potatoes, wheat, and maize. It is the true Tierradentro in
[648] physiography, production, and progress. But in the times of
[175] the Conquest it was the people of Tálaga, Avirama, Calderas, and Togoima who defeated Ampudia and Belalcázar, and the

361 /295 cont./
311 strong political groupings had their principal seats at Tálaga,
643 Suin, and Avirama (3). "The place of residence of a cacique
175
[622] 3. Hernández de Alba, Gr. "The Highland
[103] Tribes of Southern Colombia," pp. 915-960.

constituted a sort of settlement or gathering place, most of which remain today as Indian pueblos and retain their names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima," Chitoquez, Cuetando, Yaquivá, Pisimbalá, and Itaibe, all of them located at the
361 temperate thermal level. It is precisely along the course of
311 the Páez River and along the middle and lower courses of its
161 tributaries that the Páez population is now concentrated.

13 2. Physiography. Merely a single glance at the wild geography of Tierradentro will give an idea of the pattern of life of the Páez people. The physiography of the entire course of the Páez River, from Irlanda to Itaibe, with nearly all of its tributaries, is compressed into profiled accidents. It might be said that it forms a "thermic chimney," Professor Guhl's expression. It belongs to the temperate thermal level. This is the land of the great slopes covered with natural pastures and of the short, narrow vegas with fertile soils. There are those who speak of the fertility of all the soil of Tierradentro, classifying it, consequently, as a privileged zone. The concept proves to be deceptive, because it does not take into account the physiographic factor. We find the usable vegetal layer /296/ only in the extremely narrow vegas of the rivers, ravines, and streams, and in places
13 where the topography becomes a little smoother. The left bank
291 of the Páez River, from Toez to La Plata, is usable for agricul-
[233] ture and stock-raising only with difficulty, given the brutality of the slopes. Every tributary that enters on this side is a deep ravine isolated by ridges running from northeast to southwest. On the other hand, the left bank has important vegas. It is there that plantains, manioc, sugar cane, coca, arracacha, maize, and lately coffee and guadua bamboo are grown. The soils are essentially acid, and the Gramineae grow in abundance

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

THE HIGHLAND TRIBES OF SOUTHERN COLOMBIA[1]

By Gregorio Hernández de Alba

INTRODUCTION

Between the *Esmeralda* and *Cara* in Ecuador and the *Quimbaya* in the modern Department of Caldas to the north, the conquistadors, especially Governor Don Sebastián de Belalcázar, found a large number of tribes of different languages and cultures (map 1, *No. 24*; map 7). These tribes occupied the mountains of the complicated Andean system, the valleys of the many rivers, and the slopes toward the low, jungle lands of southeastern Colombia. Because of the fertility of the soils, the mild climate, which was largely cool and healthy, the rich gold and silver mines, and the situation of the lands between the important Colonial centers of Santa Fé (now Bogotá) and Quito, which they were founding, the conquistadors greatly desired to conquer and pacify the tribes, as the Spanish chroniclers and historians call the extermination of the Indians. Some peoples, like the *Pasto* living in the present Department of Nariño, north of Ecuador, readily submitted to the overlordship of the encomenderos and hacendados, and adopted their customs and beliefs. Others, like the *Andaquí*, changed their habitat, and moved down from the region of San Agustín and the headwaters of the Magdalena River eastward to the hot jungles, where they were safe from enslavement. Some, like the *Páez* and *Moguex*, protected by the ruggedness of the Sierras of their territory, resisted the Spaniards and succeeded in large measure in perpetuating their traditions. Others, however, like the *Pijao*, who were seasoned warriors, fought bloodily against the White invaders until they were totally exterminated.

The first historians of the conquest of this part of America[2] held different opinions on the cultural and linguistic relationships between these tribes. Some claimed that the dialects differed so greatly from one tribe to another as to be mutually unintelligible; others maintained that all the peoples of the Andean area of Colombia had the same cul-

[1] This study was prepared in Washington, D. C., where the Bureau of American Ethnology, of the Smithsonian Institution, the Library of Congress, and the Library of the Pan American Union facilitated my investigation as previously the Government of Colombia, my wife (who was also my companion in field work), and my friends, the *Páez* Indians of Tierradentro, had furthered it.

[2] Cieza de León, 1922; Aguado, 1916; Simón, 1882-82; Oviedo y Valdés, 1851-55; Velasco, 1841-44.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

175 ture, with only slight differences in dialects and customs. Some
197 authorities affirmed that these Indians had no kind of religion; others
114 gave details which reveal a highly developed religion and an organized
[174] cult. In spite of these contradictory statements and in spite of the fact that today only the *Moguex* (*Guambia*) and *Páez* Indians retain indigenous cultures, it is possible to sketch the cultural picture of these Indians at the moment of their first contact with the Spanish soldiers by reexamining the chroniclers of the Conquest according to ethnological criteria, by utilizing modern linguistics, and by studying the ethnology of the present-day peoples.[3] It is also possible to trace the
174 acculturation during the Colonial Period, when new European usages
177 were introduced, and to depict the social and cultural conditions of the present day. The modern penetration of highways into the Indian territory and the official policy of changing the indigenous communities are likely to bring an end to these few remaining examples of primitive Andean societies, which have survived in spite of a poor economy, bad sanitary conditions, and missionary efforts to eradicate their traditions.

12/ A fertile field for future research lies in continuing anthropological studies in the central mass of the Colombian Andes. The region is as important for physical geography as for ethnology, as its mountain chains run in various directions to form valleys and diversified environments.

[172] It also contains the archeological remains, known as San Agustín and Tierradentro, which long antedate the Conquest and which have an undetermined origin and relationship to cultures in other parts of America. The present article, however, does not deal with these, but is limited to ethnology.

GEOGRAPHY

13/ The tribes considered in this article occupied the eastern halves of the present Departments of Nariño and Cauca, almost all of the Department of Huila, the southern part of Tolima, and the eastern zone of the Department of the Valle del Cauca, which embraces the western spurs of the Cordillera Central as far as Calarcá in Caldas. The region lies between 1° and 4° 40′ N. lat. and 1° and 3° 40′ west of the meridian
133 of Bogotá. The country consists of high mountains of the Andean system, which bifurcate at the Ecuadorean border to form the Cordillera Occidental, which runs to Panamá, and the Cordillera Central, which approaches the Atlantic coast of Colombia. Each branch has high plains (altiplanos), small valleys with rivers which are tributaries of the Patía River to the west, and high mountain peaks, some of which are volcanoes, like Pasto, Galeras, and Cumbal. The area of

[3] For the languages, see especially Jijón y Caamaño, 1940-41; Castillo I Orozco, 1878; and Castellví, 1934. For ethnology, see Douay, 1900; Pittier de Fábrega, 1907; Ortiz, 1935; Guerra F., 1942; Jijón y Caamaño, 1936-38; Otero, 1938; Albis, 1934. See also Languages, pp. 921-922.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

TRIBAL DIVISIONS

Captain Sebastián de Belalcázar was the first conquistador who went north from Quito and entered the Andean region of what is today Colombia. He passed through the territory of the Pasto and Popayán Rivers to reach the region of Neiva and beyond in 1535–36.

At the time of their discovery, the native peoples north of Ecuador were very numerous, but the chroniclers, for example Cieza de León, who crossed this region in 1545 and is its outstanding historian, gave their locations and designations in a very confused manner. The historians classified the aboriginal peoples either according to small villages or groups of houses, slight differences of dialects, or slight cultural variations, so that the true classifications are very difficult to make.

Modern ethnological studies and a critical interpretation of the chroniclers somewhat clarify the cultural panorama of these regions, however, and it is now possible to list the following tribal divisions which existed just before the Conquest [5] (map 7):

Pasto.—The *Pasto* (*Koaiker, Cuaiquer, Quayquer, Coaiquer,*[6] etc.) (Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38), who had a uniform language and culture throughout their villages, were distributed from the town of Tuza between the Mira and San Juan Rivers northward throughout the mountains to the valley of the Patía River and toward the northeast to the southern boundary of the present Department of Cauca. Eastward, they extended to the country of the *Quillacinga*, which began at the Guáitara River (Cieza, 1880, ch. 33). In the west, they occupied the western portion of Nariño, but accurate information is lacking on some tribes, which like the *Abades, Masteles* (Juán López de Velasco in Guerra, 1942) and *Patía* of the lower Patía River, lived toward the Pacific Coast region. The Angasmayo River in *Pasto* territory was the limit of the conquest of the *Inca* Guaynacapa (Cieza, 1880, ch. 37). Ortíz locates this river southeast of Nariño but other authors identify it with the Mayo River farther to the north.

There was a large number of native groups or villages within this area. Among these Cieza mentions the *Ascual, Mallama, Túcurres,* (*Tulcan*), *Zapuys, Iles, Guaimatal, Funes, Chapal, Males, Piales, Pupiales, Turca,* some of which are south of the Colombia-Ecuador border, *Cumba,* and others, and adds that, "All these peoples and chiefs had and have the name of *Pastos*" (Cieza, 1932, ch. 33). Guerra gives other names of small groups (parcialidades).

Quillacinga.—East and southeast of the *Pasto* lived the *Quillacinga.* Padre Velasco (1841–44, vol. 3) identified them with the *Pasto,* but cultural and linguistic differences between these tribes leave no doubt that Cieza de León (1880, ch. 33), was correct in considering them a

[5] Castellví, 1934; Guerra, 1942; Jijón y Caamaño, 1940–41; Ortíz, 1937 d, 1938 a; and Osorio, 1938, 1939.

[6] The *Coaiquer* are sometimes treated as a subgroup of the *Pasto.* (See this volume, pp. 827–828, 867–868.)

?Hernández de Alba E-5,v(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
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P 113 **Contemporary descriptions.**—Albis (1934), describing a visit to the *Andaquí* in 1854; Bollaert (1860); Brisson (1899), good on the *Pasto*; Castellví (1934), on language groups; Castillo i Orosco (1878), on *Páez* language; Censo de la Población de la República de Colombia (1924); Cortés (1919), on the flora; Cuervo, M. C. (1920), on archeology and ethnology; Garganta Fabrega (1942), on coca; Douay (1900), on language; Jiménez (1936), on geography; Ortíz (1935), on the native communities of Jamondino and Males; Otero (1938), on the *Guanacas* and (1939) on languages in the Departamento del Cauca; Pérez (1862), on the geography of Cauca; Pittier de Fabrega (1907), on the *Páez;* Reclus (1893); Thrasher, (1860–61); and Triana (1907).

LANGUAGES

P 197 175 Ever since the chroniclers wrote of the Conquest, the problem of the native languages in this part of Colombia has been extremely complicated. One writer affirmed, "It is certain that there are more languages differing from another than there are leagues in the whole province" (Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38, 2: 179–82). According to the "Relación de los Sucesos de Pedrarias Dávila," by Governor Andagoya, the Spaniards ascending the Cauca Valley found within 2 leagues east of Cali:

> There are other peoples with a different language from that of the *Lili*. In the ten leagues of the road toward Popayán there is another people of another language . . . toward the other cordillera of the mountains in the eastern part . . . the language of Popayán extends some ten leagues toward the south. And from the top of the mountains toward the valley of Timaná is another different language and ten leagues beyond [from Popayán] from one cordillera to the other there are other different languages all the way to Quito. [Cuervo, 1894, 2:112.]

P 197 But modern linguistic studies in this region have classified the languages spoken at the time of the Conquest as follows:

- *Chibchan family*
  - *Chibcha-Aruaco group*
    - *Aruaco subgroup*
      - *Andaquí* (Castellví, 1934)
  - *Taironaco-Barbacoa group*
    - *Páez subgroup*
      - *Páez, Paniquitá, Quilla*
      - *Totoró, Polindara, Moguex (Guambía), Cocoruco,* and *Guanaca*
      - *Pijao, Panche, Quimbaya, Pantágora**
  - *Cachaca (Kamsá) family*
    - *Quillacinga subgroup* (Castellví)
  - *Tucanoan family*
    - *Pasto subgroup*†

Po [197]

*Castellví, 1934; *Jijón y Caamaño*, 1938; and Otero, 1938.

†Rivet cited by Guerra. Jijón y Caamaño classifies the *Pasto* or *Cuaiquer* language in the *Taironaco-Barbacoa* group of the *Chibchan* family.

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Pasto SC17

All the region of Popayán and of the *Páez* in the Cordillera Central thus spoke closely related and very similar dialects which were often grouped. For example, the dialects of the *Pijao*, *Páez*, *Timand*, and *Yalcón* were classed together. In the south, an area of the *Pasto* language extended to Ecuador. Between the *Pasto* and *Páez*, bordering also on the *Pijao*, the native peoples spoke *Quillacinga* and *Andaquí*.

P 197 Po [197]

Of all these languages, there survive today only *Páez*, which is spoken in Tierradentro, and its dialect, *Paniquitá*, on the western slope of the Cordillera Central in Toribío, Caldono, Jambaló, and in parts of Silvia and Totoró. *Moguez* and the related *Totoró* and *Polindara* are spoken in Silvia and in the regions of Totoró and Polindara, according to Otero. *Andaquí* is spoken by only a few scattered groups surviving in the lower region of the Caquetá River.

HISTORY

After Don Sebastián de Belalcázar founded the City of Quito, he sent Diego de Tapia on a voyage of exploration toward the north in 1535 (Otero d'Costa, 1935 a). This expedition discovered the new lands of the Cordillera as far as the large Quillacinga River, today the Carchi River. This river became the point of departure for important travels in the same year by Pedro de Añasco, and in 1536 by Belalcázar, who founded Cali and Popayán, both key points for future expeditions and discoveries. These were the first White contacts with the Andean tribes of southern Colombia. In 1538, Belalcázar undertook a second expedition from Quito, crossing the Cordillera through *Páez* territory and then passing among the *Pijao* Indians. Both tribes resisted him with their feeble arms. He continued toward the east until he met the expeditions of Jiménez de Quesada and Federman at Bogotá. With the foundation of outposts by Jiménez de Quesada in the lands called the New Kingdom of Granada, Añasco was sent back to found Timaná in the territory of the *Timaná* and *Yalcón*. This city was to be the base for communications between Perú, Quito, Popayán, and Santa Fé de Bogotá.

P 175 648

The *Pasto* and *Quillacinga*, after a few encounters with the Spanish soldiers, in which they always suffered bloody defeats because of the weakness of their weapons (arrows, lances, wooden swords, and sometimes slings) and because the Spaniards used horses and hunting dogs, began to surrender. The inhabitants of the Valley of Popayán, who were poor warriors, also ceased to struggle. These tribes had previously suffered the *Inca* invasion, which had extended north to the Angasmayo River, which washed their lands. But the *Páez*, *Moguez*, *Andaquí*, and *Pijao*, thanks to the rugged mountains in their territory and to their more bellicose character and better organization, presented a serious obstacle to the Spaniards' ideal route, which had been drawn

Po 175 648 [411]
P 175 648

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[75
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[266]
[727]

by Belalcázar between the Kingdom of Quito and Bogotá. Few Spaniards wished to adventure through these wild lands where the Indians were strong and ambushed them. The founders of Timaná were constantly attacked, and the frightening legend of cannibalism began to spread. It was said that Spaniards were the preferred victims, and that the Indians considered the flesh of enemies the finest morsels in their great victory feasts. The soldiers collected some gold in the so-called penetrations (entradas) of the country—attacks really made to kill the natives, to destroy their crops, and to burn their houses. All of this made the Indians resist more strongly, but it was necessary to clear the road to Santa Fé, and the war of extermination went on without respite. Belalcázar himself returned to *Páez* territory and was defeated at the rocky cliff of Talagá in 1541, only to return with more than 200 soldiers, of whom 100 had horses, and spread blood and fire among the Indian villages. But the Indians made reprisals. They assailed Timaná and killed its mayor, after putting out his eyes and leading him through the market places with a cord passed through his face. This act of vengeance was to satisfy Gaitana, a valiant warlike Indian woman who had formed various Indian alliances against the Spaniards because they burned her son. In 1543, the *Pijao* destroyed the town of Los Angeles, recently founded in the Neiva Valley. They continually attacked the area surrounding Ibagué, but many of them were defeated and killed in 1556 in the plains of Chaparral by Francisco de Trejo's troops. Both Spaniards and Indians were stubborn in their struggles, the Indians being unwilling to make peace as long as they were being killed and their crops destroyed.

The struggle was rekindled in 1562 when Captain Domingo Lozano, having requested the privilege of conquering the Indians, organized an army and entered *Páez* territory. He founded the town of San Vicente de Páez near Huila Mountain in order to ensure Spanish domination of the heart of the country. But the Indians ambushed his soldiers and gradually killed off the cavalry, the Spaniards' strongest troops. Eventually, they destroyed San Vicente and again controlled their own rugged lands. The *Pijao*, meanwhile, fought to the death. They destroyed Villa Vieja or Neiva in 1569 and, allied with the *Páez*, took San Sebastián de la Plata in 1577, killing all its inhabitants and burning the houses. They finally put an end to and avenged the Spaniards' exploitation of a silver mine which had been discovered in *Moscopan* and *Yalcón* territory in 1551.

Fleeing Spanish pressure which extended from Timaná toward the heart of the Andes, the *Andaquí*, exhausted by the wars, followed the high hills to the east, and began in 1564 to descend toward the Caquetá River.

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The King of Spain, receiving word of the troubles in this region, ordered Don Juan de Borja, his Governor at Santa Fé, to carry out the "pacification of the province," meaning the extermination of its inhabitants. The decisive war started in Chaparral in 1605 and ended in 1608 when a Spanish witness wrote of this territory, where the *Páez* had remained free for so many years, that the provinces "were so desolated that the troops could not find Indians to fight, houses to plunder, or roots or grain to eat, and, if some Indian remained, instead of daring to plant boldly, he sowed four handfuls of grain here, two more there in the shadows and cover of the trees . . . they went about harrassed, thin, and emaciated until life was ended, for the soldiers saw corpses of people dead of hunger or sickness at every step" (Simón, 1882–92, Septima Noticia, ch. 49, vol. 5, pp. 314–15). A document in the ecclesiastical archives of Páez, dated July 17, 1638, states that in the lands adjoining the *Páez* there lived a *Pijao* Indian named Ambrosio, who had said that Captain Andrés de Zúñiga could now well enjoy this country because there were *Pijao* but not *Páez* Indians in it and because the *Pijao* saw themselves doomed and the land had no proprietor. 175 648

The *Guanaca*, who, because their chief was an enemy of the *Páez* chief, had allied themselves with the Spaniards in order to attack the *Páez*, were the first to surrender and join a Spanish colony. The first road between Popayán and Santa Fé passed through their territory, where the Spaniards established a hostelry for traders. This district was given to the Jesuits, who established the Church of Guanacas and, later, a town of the same name. But the Indians felt another lethal force of European origin—disease which they were unable to withstand. In 1790, a smallpox epidemic so reduced them that they abandoned their town, and the few survivors retired to the narrow mesa, where the modern town of Inza is situated. Here they gradually disappeared altogether. [797] [177] [164] [731]

The *Páez* continued to resist and defend their lands against Spanish missionization, so that the road to Guanaca never became secure. The extinction of the *Pijao*, the lack of important quantities of gold in the area, and the difficulty of the terrain, which was such that the Chronicler Pedro de Aguado said "to travel through *Páez* territory is to go up and down," caused the Spaniards to abandon interest in dominating these peoples. They were content to establish the Guanacas mission, and, a little later, the parish of Tálaga. Subsequently, as these Indians, who were isolated in their high mountains, were allowed to retain their customs and beliefs without interference, they did not protest when small groups of Whites peacefully occupied certain places in their lands. 175 648 797

Thus began the true Colonial Period for those tribes which survived the wars of the Conquest. The encomienda system was inaugurated, 175 648

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P 175 648 in which a Spaniard held a territory occupied by Indians. The natives, under a chief who was protected by the White authorities and P [652] who made contact between the master, or encomendero, and his sub- [651] jects, had to give a certain number of days' work and a specified P tribute in products of the lands, animals, gold, or manufactures. The [177] encomiendas made no effort to Hispanicize the Indians, but continued to loot and massacre them. The Indians, reduced to utter misery, gave up all their artistic and industrial activities, and devoted the greater part of their time to the service of the master or to seeking products to pay the obligatory tribute. To remedy this situation, the Spanish Crown decreed the native "parcialidad," giving surviving P groups reservations and prohibiting their employment in transporting [623] men and goods over the highways. This reform was never entirely carried out, however, and the Indians, in spite of having their own government, the cabildo or Indian council, continued in servitude P or debt slavery.

[621] The native Indian government consisted generally of a governor, [631] a first mayor (alcalde mayor), a second mayor (alcalde segundo), a trustee (sindico or fiscal), and constables (alguaciles), the last a kind of police who transmitted to the people the orders which the Whites gave through the governors or mayors, and who carried out penalties P of imprisonment, of placing in stocks, and whipping, which the 175 first Spaniards introduced into the punishment of the natives. At the 648 same time, the Christianization of the Indians began. It succeeded 797 in an imperfect way, however, for the Indian attended Masses, ar- 438 ranged and participated in processions, and did not miss the solemn 273 ceremonies a single Sunday largely because on the same day he brought his own products to the pueblo for sale, bought salt or meat which he P needed, and devoted himself to drinking chicha, the traditional drink 175 which he had always taken on religious or social occasions.

648 The Indians of Nariño, descendants of the *Pasto*, lost their language Po and many of their customs during the Colonial Period, although they [463] continued to live as natives on their reservations, which daily became [333] smaller because of the encroachments by the neighboring Whites or Mestizos. They became farmers with small landholdings and, occasionally, masons in the cities. The *Moguex* and *Páez*, however, P 175 retained their language and the greater part of their customs. Some 648 of them, especially the men who had to deal with the Whites, learned a little Spanish, and they continued throughout the Colonial Period P to defend their lands and their traditions. To religious practices in- [191] troduced by the missionaries, they added such elements as the offer P of food to the souls of the dead. They added to the Colonial council [622] (cabildo) the office of captain, an official who, unlike the rest of the council, was not responsible to civilian authorities but had life tenure, sometimes a hereditary position, and more authority within the group.

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Pasto SC17

The captain was, therefore, like the aboriginal hereditary cacique, the chief of each aboriginal group. P 175 648

The decrease of the native population was accelerated until, in the Province of Popayán, according to "Descripción del Reyno de Santa Fé de Bogotá," by Francisco Silvestre (1927), there were in 1789 only 64,463 inhabitants—3,603 families of Whites, 6,022 of Indians, 4,793 of freemen (Negroes), and 3,247 slaves (Negroes), who worked in the mines and haciendas and replaced the Indians, who were disappearing. When the revolution against Spain began, the various groups of Indians in this region behaved very differently, each according to the disposition previously shown. The *Pasto* followed the Spanish troops, forming a royalist unit that was difficult to conquer, whereas the *Páez* took the part of the Republic and were led by the celebrated Indian Chief, Gregorio Calambás, who was shot by Warleta, and thus became a martyr of Colombian Independence. P [161] Po [175] [648]

With the consolidation of the Republic, the laws of Colombia established reservations for the Indians, but the neglect and exploitation characteristic of the Colonial Period continued, and there were only a few missions. There has not been contemplated until now any economic, cultural, or sanitary betterment of these natives. Most of them finally have disappeared, vanquished by diseases, by economic want, which the new necessities created and contact with civilization aggravated, and by the shrinkage of their reservation lands through the ambition of those who made it a policy to break up the native communities through official subdivision of their lands.

THE CULTURE OF THE PASTO, COAIQUER, QUILLACINGA, AND POPAYANENSE

The *Pasto* or *Coaiquer*, the *Quillacinga*, and the *Popayanenses* formed a culturally homogeneous group at the time of the Conquest and later experienced very similar acculturation.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Farming.—Subsistence was based on intensive horticulture. Each family had its own small fields and grew potatoes and other tubers, xiquimas, a grain which Cieza calls cebada, quinio or quinoa, and maize, of which there was little in *Pasto* territory but much elsewhere.

A simple, pointed stick is used today in Nariño for planting.

The historians do not mention communal work in agriculture, but probably it was carried out in the form of labor loans (minga) between individuals, as today in Nariño and Cauca. The beneficiary of help in harvesting crops has to give each helper a basketful of the produce, a form of compensation called "chindé." He is also obligated to give similar help to the others. This communal labor is more solemn when the Indians work and plant the lands of the

7:Hernández de Alba E-Sj (no date) 1948 SC15 Page SC15
Moguex

756 787 775 784 the fire and turns on the lights, and everyone returns to examine a layer of fine ashes placed beforehand at the door. If the ashes show the footprints of an angel, they believe that the soul is saved, but if the footprints are those of a bird, they believe that the soul is condemned to hell. In some cases they ascertain the fate of the soul by the kind of bird prints.

WARFARE

726 The *Páez* and *Moguex* were particularly warlike. Their attacks were staged in the morning, accompanied by yells and the sound of trumpets, horns, sea shells, and drums. They were generally armed with great spears or pikes, spear throwers, and slings. When fighting, [411] they would first hurl javelins with their spear throwers, then use their slings, the missiles for which they carried in a pouch, and finally pick up their spears or pikes for man-to-man struggle. They also formed closed squadrons, men with clubs alternating with spearmen. The former would step forward to wield their clubs, and then draw back to their positions for protection. Their best defense was on high ridges, from which they rolled large stones on their enemies. They perfected these natural defenses by cutting or camouflaging paths on which they prepared ambushes. They built trenches or pitfalls, which caused the attacking Spaniards much trouble.

628 The principal enemies of these peoples were the *Pijao* and the Spanish soldiers. The *Páez* remember the *Pijao* well, and call the stone [648] statues in their territory "portraits of Pijaos," and the painted tombs, [632] "houses of Pijaos." They are afraid to see the statues or visit the [764] tombs.

To insult an enemy killed in war, they cut off his penis and placed it 727 on the road.

266 Some historians ascribe cannibalism to the *Páez* and the *Moguex*, which seems to have no basis in fact. They kept trophy heads and stuffed the skins of their enemies, but did not eat their foe. There are, however, numerous historical references which state that in the wars [175] against the Spaniards, the *Páez* left the bodies of dead enemies for the [648] *Pijao* to eat, and that they cremated their own dead or dried them [764] over a slow fire, which Friar Pedro Simón (1882–92, ch. 23) mistook [114] for a means for preserving the flesh so that it could be eaten later.

As war trophies, they kept enemy heads, which they preserved with 72 resins, and the skins of their entire bodies, which they filled with ashes [314] (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 3). They even preserved the heads of the Spaniards' horses. They carried these trophies to wars, meetings, and feasts.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

535 There is much dancing today. The sexes perform in couples or separately. Among the *Moguex*, some of the expert dancers are paid to dance with all couples in a sort of "bambuco." Dancing is always a part of *Páez* ceremonies for the death of children, baptismals, weddings, saint holidays, and meetings for collective work (mingas) held in the evening when people return from their plantations.

Dancing, as other social events, is subject to a special ceremony [585] or etiquette, strongly connected with religious beliefs. For example, in the wedding celebration, a prayer is first said in which the souls of [608] the dead are asked permission to dance, or "scrape the floor," as they call dancing. Only the godparents and the bride and groom may [527] dance at the beginning.

526 The *Páez* do not masquerade, but the *Moguex* always masquerade during the period of carnival preceding Holy Week.

[524] **Games.**—Games do not hold an important place among these peoples. The children amuse themselves by imitating the activities [857] of their elders. The only game recorded is simulated warfare, performed as a part of a rite in honor of the dead after a communal [769] feast. Two teams under their captains or caciques attacked and shot arrows at each other. Even if some contestants were killed or wounded, no one bore a grudge.

276 **Narcotics.**—The *Páez* and the *Moguex* chewed coca leaves mixed in the mouth with lime powder. Coca chewing is widespread among men, but very little practiced by women. It is used especially by [756] the shaman when he is practicing. In Colonial times the use of coca [177] spread to the rural population of Mestizos and Whites in Nariño, Cauca, and Huila.

273 **Alcoholic beverages.**—These Indians formerly made chicha of maize, but today they ferment it with sugarcane molasses. They also have [178] fermented sugarcane juice (guarapo), and a sort of rum (aguardiente). The latter is distilled clandestinely in their huts from guarapo and certain herbs fermented together in earthenware crocks. The Indians drink guarapo every day, but restrict the use of chicha and the stronger guarapo and aguardiente to market days, religious feast days, burials, weddings, mingas or meetings for work, and witchcraft [462] ceremonies. Guarapo and chicha are made by women, who sometimes chew the maize to increase its fermentation. They are stored in large, hollowed tree trunks and in large earthen jars, which are kept in a special place in the hut. There is never a lack of these beverages for home use and for welcoming an unexpected visitor.

RELIGION

175 The early Spaniards had little understanding of the religion of these 771 people. They reported that the Indians had but few idols and no temples or places of worship. Castillo mentions that they wor-

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguez

Castillo mentions that they wor-

175 shiped the sun, in whose honor they met and danced in places called 771 "Itaqui-finó," i. e., the place where the sun revealed its mysteries; 776 and that they venerated a kind of culture hero called Guequiau. It was he who instructed shamans (mohanes). [756]

This hero has a counterpart in the religious legend of Juan Tama, 773 the Son of the Star. One day when the Morning Star shone very 776 brightly, some Indians found a child in a gorge—ever since called the Gorge of the Star. This was Juan Tama. They picked him up and entrusted him to a woman to nurse, but he nursed so much that her milk dried up. He was given to another woman, whom he also made very weak. They then said that he could not be nursed by a woman, and gave him food. After he grew up, he married the female chief of Huila, Doña María Mendiguagua, and became chief of all the Indians. He instructed people and explained to them how to keep the land for themselves and not mix with White people. He pronounced them invincible and summoned a chief from Pitayó, called Calambás, whom he appointed his manager. Calambás rebelled,[12] but was defeated by Juan Tama, who pardoned him on account of his bravery, and conferred on him and his heirs the right to rule the *Páez* in Bitoncó. As death approached, Juan Tama went to the lake on the páramo of Moras and sank into the waters. He had come out of this place and returned to it, leaving no heirs.[13]

In the neighborhood of Bitoncó there is a rock with what appears 776 to be human footprints. When the Indians pass it, they uncover 823 their heads and say, "The Holy One came this way." Another rem- [623] nant of the cult of Juan Tama is the custom that each member of the council spends one week at the shores of the lake before the end of his term to render an account to Juan Tama of his actions in office. Likewise, newly elected officers, as soon as they receive their staffs or insignia of authority, spend a week at the lake. They toss silver [621] coins into it, wash their staffs, and pray for strength to rule well. [631] This ceremony, performed with the greatest secrecy, is called the "curing of the staffs." Recently, however, the Indians have stopped [821] "curing" their staffs in the lake, for they say that Juan Tama is angry, and whenever they approach the lake, it rains and storms badly.

In the Guanacas section there was another sacred lagoon, called Tumbachí, which was recently drained because a snake that lived there attracted girls and kept them for a whole year, and then returned them when they were about to become mothers.

These tribes believed that the soul comes back to life. 775

Witchcraft was strongly developed among these Indians, who still 754 believe in most of its practices, in spite of the catechization forced 177 upon them by the missionaries.

[12] During the War of Independence, as well as in subsequent revolutions, the Indians of the family named Calambás distinguished themselves as warriors. [669]

[13] We are indebted to Father David González for this legend, told to him by an old Indian in Lame. [114]

/178 cont./

The Family

594 361 The social group par excellence in Páez culture is the nuclear family. Its importance stands out if we consider that ●175 the Páez live dispersed within their geographic area. Both the 594 chroniclers and the parish priests who concerned themselves 361 with them emphasize this characteristic. In 1751 the priest of Tálaga, Licenciado Eugenio del Castillo y Orozco, wrote in his report to Don Juan Francisco de Eguizaval, Governor and Captain General of the city of Popayán and its provinces, "that by command of his Illustrious Lordship Don Francisco José de Figueredo y Victoria on the Council of His Majesty, currently Bishop of this Diocese, I reported to the Governor previous to your Lordship, stating that since the year 1719, when I was in these Provinces assisting as interpreter for the Very Excellent Don Pedro Felipe García, then inspector for them, and afterwards in 1731 the same for Dr. D. Francisco Gómez Constantino, I learned that the Indians of this province had been inclined to live dispersed at various distances and only sat together at drinking parties in the homes of their Caciques or Capataces when they came from some Riria (which they call Necue) or to celebrate the first menstruation of a woman (which they call Izacó) or for another cause for vain observance, and, after finishing, they again separate" (3). Multiple efforts were made by the

177 797 361

3. Archivo Nacional de Bogotá. "Cartas de contrabando /Contraband Letters/," Vol. 14, Fol. 228.

parish priests and by the governors of the colonial period to "reducirlos a vida sociable" /reduce them to a social life/, but the "bárbara naturaleza" /barbarous nature/ of these natives made their efforts fruitless. And this cultural trait is still

842 /180 cont./
583 the woman is fecund. For this the culture offers the institutional
581 device of "amaño," by which the man lives with the woman for a
182 time before legalizing the marriage. And we are given clear
175 and precise information about this by Licenciado Eugenio del
595 Castillo y Orozco and his brother, Licentiado Isidro del Castillo
583 y Hrozco /sic/, in their respective reports which they gave to the Governor and Captain General mentioned above: "that they followed the evil custom of living in intimate relations for a long time with the woman whom they were to marry, and if after the marriage they had no offspring they would leave her and seek another woman who might be fecund and whom they thought they might marry if they were not married to their own wives (as Manuel Bolza, an Indian of this village (9), wished

9. Tálaga.

to do), and as was done by Antonio Cofongo (an Indian of San Antonio de las Chinas), from whom he learned not to break up the legitimate religious marriage, which could be prohibited, and who suggested that they get out of the difficulty by any false means, even to arranging for others, from the lowest Indian to the highest, to testify to a lying statement, and if anyone dissented from it and would not follow the wish of the Cacique or Moján, fear caused the dissenters to escape to other parts; some fled with their concubines when they were not acceptable to her parents or relatives, others to avoid work, and others from necessity" (10) ..."and that they flee from all their vices and

10. Archivo Nacional de Bogotá, op. cit., Folio 228.

sins, which are: witchcraft, drunkenness, and concubinage" (11).

11. Archivo Nacional de Bogotá, op. cit., Folio 230.

/180 cont./

583 In Paris on the first of March, 1877, Esequiel Uricoechea
[175] wrote in his introduction to the Vocabulario: "Marriage in the sense in which we accept it today did not exist among the Páeces: two people lived a married life for some time and the marriage was not legalized without the previous certainty that
[192] the woman was fecund. It is natural then, that we find among the Páeces, as among the Peruvians, two verbs (imi and iyó) which indicate respectively the woman accepts the man and the man takes the woman. The woman was obliged to give clothing to the husband, and he "to provide sustenance for the family" (12).

12. Castillo y Orozdo, E. del. Vocabulario Páez-Castellano /Paez-Spanish Vocabulary/. 1877, p. XIV.

Our informants from Calderas confirm the effectiveness of this custom, some justifying it by the need of the future husband /181/ to obtain the money to pay the expenses of the wedding, others in order to "catear" /sample, find out/ if the woman is honest, a worker, and faithful, and there was no lack of those who clearly stated that this trial marriage "is customary because if the woman should turn out to be machorra /barren/ there is no marriage." When such occurs the man returns the woman to her parents without any problem standing in the way, which would not be the case if they were married by the Church, in which case the return is not possible.

162 Our investigations concerning the frequency of the "amaño"
583 in the established families of some parcialidades of Tierradentro
595 showed the following results:
184 Calderas: 42 families (28% of the approximate total of Calderun families). 57.1% of these families practiced the amaño; 42.9% were married first by the Church.

San Andrés: 13 families (6.5% of the approximate total of San Andrés families). 92.3% were married first by the Church; 7.7% practiced the amaño.

/101 cont./

175 648 Nineteen years later, in 1562, Domingo Lozano made a new attempt to exploit the rich silver mines of Timaná and La Plata. He was obliged to withdraw, however, only to return the next year with reinforced troops. He founded the city of San Vicente de Paez, but only two months later, in an attack by the Paez on the city founded by him, he lost his life. An auxiliary body of troops advancing in forced marches from Popayán was also completely destroyed. After this new expulsion of the conquerors, the Paez allied themselves with the Pijao, who had destroyed Neiva in 1569. Together they attacked and plundered the silver mines of the city of La Plata in 1577, killed all the inhabitants, and set fire to the houses.

As a result of these unfavorable reports, the Spanish king energetically ordered the "pacification of the province," which from 1605-1608 was carried out so successfully that finally the troops could not find any Indios to fight or houses to plunder. In 1605, after the lost battle of Itaibe, the Paez retreated to the region of their inaccessible mountains still occupied by them today. Their western neighbors, the Guanaca, allied themselves with the Spaniards, and the latter put through their territory the [997] connecting road from /102/ Popayán to Bogotá. In 1613 the Jesuits set up the first mission station and a rest station for travelers [164] in the town of Guanacas. In 1790 most of the Guanaca fell [734] victim to an introduced smallpox epidemic. The survivors withdrew to the present Inzá, where they were absorbed among the colonists. Nothing has remained of their language.

175 648 797 The Paez continued to defend their country against the Spaniards and against missionization and, by their sudden attacks, made the road to Bogotá never quite safe. And then in the subsequent period the Spaniards had little interest in missionizing and civilizing the Paez. After the Guanacas station, only one 648 mission was founded in Tálaga. Because of the location of the 179 175 individual communities, enclosed by high mountain ranges, a few villages were able to remain uninfluenced by Spanish civiliza- [36] tion for quite a long time. Later the authorities supported the establishment of native self-government, the cabildo /see the

/102 cont./

175 glossary, p. 248/, and, by means of reservation laws, protected
● 177 the Paez from the gradually advancing colonists. In this way the
648 Paez were able to preserve their language and customs to a con-
[178] siderable extent, in contrast to the other mountain tribes of
Colombia, who have long since been absorbed in the Spanish-
175 Colombian culture. In the struggles for independence from the
648 Spanish crown under Simon Bolivar from 1812 to 1824, the Paez
fought for their liberation on the republican side under Gregorio
Calambás. Their leader was captured and shot. After the
victorious termination of the struggles for independence, Gregorio
Calambás became one of the martyrs of Colombian independence (*).

* According to V. A. Bedoya, P. J. Ramirez Sendoya, and G. Hernandez de Alba (VII).

175 The Pijao perished like the Guanaca. After having oc-
101 cupied, before the Conquista, almost the entire area of the
648 present-day department of Tolima east of the Central Cordillera,
[151] as the eastern neighbors of the Quimbaya, they perished in
countless battles with the Spaniards. As late as the eighteenth
century, remnants of them lived in the valley of the Rio Negro
de Narvaez, as neighbors of the Paez. They, called Bemb by the
Paez, as well as the Guanaca, spoke languages that differed
from the Paez. They could not understand one another.

178 Besides the Paez, the culture of the Guambiano, a
101 neighboring tribe called Mogweš by the Paez, has been preserved
114 to a certain extent up to the present day. The Guambiano in-
habit the west side of the Central Cordillera and today live in
the valley of the Piendamó around Silvia. The life and customs
of his tribe have been recently represented by the Guambiano
Francisco Tumiña Pillumbe in a number of very instructive /103/
drawings, each of which was provided with a brief text by
Gregorio Hernandez de Alba.

/106 cont./

648 it was impossible for the Spaniards to conquer Tierradentro and [101] [181] subjugate the Paez.

Even today the Paez love their independence above all. And even though they cannot accomplish anything by force against the "whites," by which they mean the colonists and the Colombians in general, they nevertheless hate them with impotent fury. "Muiska pešu" (*), "white robber," is what they call the

* Concerning the transcription and phonetics of Paez words, cf. pp. 154-156.

colonists who took their land from them. The latter, however, more industrious than the Paez, need land for their numerous children. They cannot see why the best and virgin soil should remain unused in the hands of the Paez.

361 The rivers arising in the heights as a result of the water flowing down in the mountainous country form enclosed valley basins, each of which contains a village politically. These are, however, not villages in our sense, since the houses do not lie together, but separately, scattered on the slopes of the entire 123 valley basin as individual farms. This decentralized position of 361 a village rendered the ethnological work considerably more difficult, since one cannot keep an eye on "his" village and survey all the inhabitants together. Hence it is very difficult to become acquainted with all the people of the village, since in each case one must go great distances from one house to another and at the same time usually very laboriously climb a slope. How often it happened that the inhabitants were not at home at the moment or did not want to be seen or spoken to. For, at first, the Calderun did not by any means care to see us, and even after months of life and visits among them, the old people looked back with nostalgia on the times when /107/ all intruding whites were killed. 123 Today, moreover, not only whites, but even foreigners come to [177] Calderas. "If we speak to them and treat them well," they said, "then more and more whites will come here." How often it happened that we visited one of the old men, who, I was told,

/113/

175 Physicians are not consulted in any case. All illnesses that do not show external influences are traced back to evil sorcery or to the "pest" (see under "Religion"/see p. 191 ff./). They must therefore be treated by the native shamans /see the glossary, p. 250 /. Open wounds and injuries are treated by the midwife. Now and then, however, people visit the mission station in order to have a tooth pulled, on which occasion the nurses without reservation praise their great steadfastness in enduring pain.

273 276 648 The impairment to health caused by the consumption of coca and chicha seems to me to be exaggerated by the authorities; it would be even less with sensible and nourishing food. The prohibition against coca consumption and the government's battle against coca and chicha give the impression of being more a struggle against a brandy tax deficit, for alcohol under the state monopoly may be sold to any Indio in any quantity. The fact that the Paez generally does not work hard and continuously probably has nothing to do with any degeneration caused by the stimulants mentioned, but rather it is quite simply his psychological attitude which does not let him see why a human being should strive for things which seem unnecessary to him, things beyond his animal necessities of life, eating and reproduction. I often asked whether, in their opinion, there might come a time when the Paez, too, would wear only Colombian clothing or even use electric lighting. They had never thought about it and in no instance had an answer.

461 829

II. Material Culture

1. The Dwelling

a) The Settlement

361 Politically and sociologically the Paez villages of Tierradentro embrace the inhabitants of a valley basin more or less closed off by the surrounding mountains. In their structure, however, they are not villages in our sense, by which we understand a locally concentrated aggregation of a number of houses,

600 /120 cont./

354 415 the simplest possible form. Three rocks provide the lateral sup-
port or stand for the pots, of which there are two at most, a
metal one, usually of aluminum, and an earthen one. Very
poor families have only one earthen pot, which is relatively
[417] cheap to buy. The earthen pot cannot be hung up; it is set
between the three fire-stones in such a way that it cannot tip
over, whereas the aluminum pot is hung by its handle on a soot-
covered, angled stick that hangs down from the ridge (Ill. 166
352 /see p. 273/). Above the fire area there hangs a frame made
[251] of maize canes and about one square meter in size, on which
[353] household utensils and, above all, the rock salt for salting food
are stored, airy and dry. Tables, chairs, or stools of any kind
[237] are unknown. One generally sits on the hairy side of an un-
tanned and hence board-stiff cowhide, on which one also /121/
[513] sleeps, or one sits on a beam, a block of wood, or a stone. Paez
[771] who have seen house furnishings in Inzá or in the dwellings of white
colonists have sometimes built for themselves as a bed a sort
of bench 30-50 centimeters high, consisting of sticks or reeds
[513] laid side by side. For sleeping the customary cowhide is spread
on it. These sleeping benches are not used for sitting.

342 The nights in Calderas are generally quite cool, and
362 the light construction of the walls with cracks between the in-
132 dividual maize stalks does not in any way prevent the cold wind
from coming in. In a few houses, near the sleeping area, I saw
the walls sealed by means of expressed sugar-cane piled up
462 horizontally. For sleeping, the members of the family lie down
[354] in a circle around the fire area, where the fire must be kept going
[513] all through the night. This, like all housework, is the task of
the woman, who must gather sufficient fuel beforehand and get up
every two hours during the night to stir up the fire. Furthermore,
[264] she must get up an hour earlier in the morning in order to have
the first meal, which is eaten around five o'clock, sometimes
[461] even at four o'clock, prepared on time. In spite of this, the
men think that they are the ones who do the hardest work and that
basically they are the only ones in the village who really work.

/121 cont./

372 In case the fire should go out, which happens very rarely, the men, if they have no matches, know how to make fire by striking the blade of the iron machete with a stone and catching the sparks in the dry tinder of expressed sugar-cane. To fan this or a dying fire the hat is used as a fire fan, instead of a special fan. A few times I also saw a reed tube (yotá) about 50 centimeters long, which is blown into with the mouth and which thus acts like a bellows.

352 Infants do not as a rule sleep on the floor, but in ham-
[854] mocks (máka), which, however, as the name indicates, were
[513] not originally Paez. Nevertheless all the men know how to
[286] make them out of agave fibers, which is done with the same knotting technique as in the manufacture of nets for bird hunting.
415 Moreover, a few bags (yáha) made of agave fibers, which con-
[286] tain beans, maize, or other supplies, hang on the wall posts.
[353] Arracacha lies on the floor. For drinking chicha, which is allowed
[273] to ferment in large, hollowed-out tree troughs, calabashes (tőka) are used, but they are plain and undecorated. Cracked cala-
[249] bashes are sewed with a waxed agave thread (Fig. 25 /see p.253/). The calabash gourd is grown in the house garden /122/
412 of every family; its meat is inedible. Furthermore, an oval or
352 rectangular grindstone on which maize is ground with a smaller hand-stone is found in every household. It usually lies on the floor in a corner of the house, but sometimes it is set about one meter high on two forked posts.

412 Meals are taken with wooden spoons (todšá'tc) off of
415 wooden plates (bič), which are carved by the Paez themselves
264 (Fig. 27 /see p. 253/). Aluminum or enamel bowls were rarely
[322] encountered in Calderas. Plates and mugs of aluminum were
[177] therefore always coveted gift articles, along with kitchen knives, needles, safety pins, matches, and salt.

356 Cleanliness within the house is surprisingly great, consider-
515 ing that the Paez wash their bodies but seldom and their hands only when they are "very dirty." This is the case when a person has been working in a burned field and has cleared away the
000 sooty, burned tree trunks and the burned underbrush. The house

/123 cont./

291 stamps. Soon after the Conquista they adopted the upper garment
177 and the straw hat still worn today.

The clothing of the men consists of the upper garment, linen trousers, the cloak (called "poncho" in Peru, "ruana" in Colombia /see the glossary, p. 250 /) and the waterproof, plaited
291 straw hat. The upper garment and the ruana are woven by the
294 women out of sheep wool, whereas the linen trousers are made
286 by the men themselves out of purchased fabrics. This is note-
177 worthy culture-historically, for cutting clothing from woven
[462] fabrics was unknown to the South American Indians in pre-Colombian times, since fabrics were not woven "by the meter" to be sewed later into clothing as desired; rather, the shape of the subsequent article of clothing was already taken into con-
296 sideration at the start of the weaving. It follows from the method of manufacture that torn fabrics are never repaired by the women with a ready-made patch, but are always darned in imitation of
[462] the texture of the cloth. It is different for men's trousers, the materials of which are bought by the men and sewed by them themselves, never by the women. Once these -- as well as the purchased shirts -- are torn, they are never darned, but always repaired by the men by means of a patch sewed underneath.
296 Thus, we have here the fixed rule that woven clothing is never-
177 patched, but is darned, whereas the sewed clothing is never darned,
462 but is always patched. The former is women's work, the latter men's work.

291 The garment covering the upper body of the men (tondatc; for lack of an appropriate European designation it is called upper garment in the following) is not a sleeveless shirt, since the sides are not sewed together, but are open. It is quite simply a rectangular woven piece of wool about 60 centimeters wide and 160 centimeters long, whose warp threads run lengthwise. A slit about 30 centimeters long is left open in the center for the neck. It is pulled on over the head, and the lower ends are either stuffed into the trousers or left hanging over them. In the latter case they must be secured with a strap tied over them (Ills. 154 /see p. 268/, 165, 166 /see p. 273/, 171 /see p. 276 /, 202 /see p. 289 /, 203 /see p. 290/).

/124 cont./

291 The upper garment (ipotsatc) is a simple, rectangular piece of cloth about 160 centimeters long and 80 centimeters wide, which, when being put on, is held crosswise so that the warp and ornamental threads run crosswise. When it is on, it covers only the bosom, back, and one side, whereas the other one remains more or less free (Ills. 166 /see p. 273/ and 178 /see p.279 /). In use it is put on from one side of the body over the bosom to the other side, and then led across the back to the original side again. The back /125/ part is now pulled up and fastened over both shoulders to the bosom part with a thorn (tõpo) or a safety pin. The part that hangs down is tucked into the skirt. In general the women try to buy colored, usually red blouses in the market for festival days, and these then replace the old, simple cloth. The skirts, however, are not exchanged for other clothing, because the purchased fabrics are not nearly as durable and also do not have the necessary width.

Outside the house the women usually wear a shawl over the ipotsatc; they either weave one (senyatc) for themselves or [854] purchase it (panyelõn). In any case it is necessary for carrying bables, for they are wrapped in it and secured with the colored belt (tãw) (Ills. 152 /see p. 267 /, 166 /see p. 273 /, 178. /see p. 279/, 183 /see p. 282 /).

292 There is no special, original ceremonial dress or any special clothing for dignitaries. The latter carry, as their only [293] distinguishing mark, the chonta staff introduced to them by the [177] Spaniards. For festivals and ceremonies people try to wear either items of European clothing or a new outfit of the customary garments. For a Christian burial it is the duty of the members of [764] the family to bury the deceased in the clothing of white Colombians. [177]

291 Small children usually run around naked or have a scrap of cloth hung over them in the style of the ruana. Larger boys wear either a large ruana reaching to the upper thighs, which is held together by a belt, or they already wear trousers. Smaller girls are usually dressed in a piece of cloth reaching from the upper body down over the knees, which is drawn over one shoulder. Older girls wear the clothing of the women. No distinction is

/146 cont./

726 In order to defend their mountain country the Paez also used
[725] large rocks which they hurled down on the attackers from the
[177] heights. They, too, however, soon succeeded in obtaining iron
[411] and iron weapons. In their battles at the time of the Conquista they were already using swords and machetes.

411 The stone-sling plaited of agave fibers, whose manufacture
726 is described below (see under "Plaiting" /see pp. 85-86 /), is
773 of great importance mythologically in the battles with the "Pijao."
628 For geographical reasons it is the typical weapon of the American
411 mountain peoples from Tierra del Fuego to Canada, whereas the
191 blowgun, for similar reasons, is the typical weapon chiefly of the Amazonas and Orinoco forest area. The simultaneous occurrence of blowgun and sling is found all the way from Mexico to Ecuador and in Bolivia (Friederici, 1911, pp. 71-73, Pl. 13).

411 /147/ The blowgun of the Paez consists of a single barrel and is very simple in its construction. It is made only by men, but
[462] for bird-hunting is used almost solely by boys. To make it, one
[857] uses the thin, straight trunk of the fíza tree, the pith of which is
[223] burned out with a long iron tube about eight millimeters in diameter and heated red-hot. The length of the tube is two to three meters. No special mouthpiece is attached. As a sight a little piece of beeswax is pasted above the mouth of the blowgun.
[824] The ball-shaped fruits of the smbák tree, which have exactly the right caliber when green, are used as shot. The range amounts
[211] to about 20 meters. The accuracy of the shot is not great. Nevertheless, there are boys who have carved more than 20 notches above the blowhole of the tube as a record of the birds killed.

4. Crafts and Techniques

a) Treatment of Fibers

283 The fiber material used by the Paez for plaiting, weaving, nets, or ropes is primarily agave, cotton, or sheep wool. Agave and cotton are ancient American fiber plants whose homeland is probably Central America, while working with sheep wool has its tradition in the Peruvian Highlands, in working with llama or

/153 cont./

286 [177] The hammock (máka), as the Spanish name already indicates, is a borrowed article and not generally distributed in the Andean cultures. Among the Paez it is used only for children. Its dimensions, with 100 meshes, are about 100 by 100 centimeters. It is hung up with agave or horsehair ropes, which are looped through the upper and lower rows of meshes and then tied to house posts.

[415] The berry sieves (tása) are present in almost every household. They are about 30-60 centimeters in diameter and are stretched inside a round wooden frame. The meshes are formed by means of the "fishnet knot" (Fig. 34d /see p. 256 /). This draws together very closely and is then scarcely recognizable in its structure.

283 The sling (ísut) is made with various techniques. For its manufacture the dried fibers of the agave leaf are used just as they are obtained when the leaf is stripped. A knot is made at the tip of the bundle of fibers, and it is then divided into two parts. Both are turned by hand in the same direction and then twined by rotation in the opposite direction. This produces /154/ -- conditioned by the naturally thickening material -- a two-strand rope of steadily increasing strength. Since it is twisted only by hand, it threatens to lose its tightness with greater thickness. Hence, after about 50 centimeters, the hank is divided into three parts and plaited for about the same length in the manner of a three-strand braid.

286 284 To make the net for holding the sling stone (Fig. 29 /see p.255 /), the three plaiting strands are divided into seven strands which, in each case, are separated from the plaited part by a simple finger knot. From each of these knots two double strands continue, which, put diagonally, are tied together by a double finger knot.

The length of the net part is about 20 centimeters. At its end it changes back to a three-strand braid by way of a simple finger knot. It should be noted in this connection that the middle strand at the beginning of the braid is caught in the threads of an adjacent knot. This prevents the plaiting from loosening up as it goes into the net and losing its tightness. The same

/161 cont./
286 show the same design, but rather one that results from the cross-
531 ing of the twisted warp threads.

g) Dyeing

386 The Paez feel that black is the most beautiful color.
824 Hence almost all the home-woven garments of the men and
[822] women are dyed black, and only rarely does one see articles of clothing in the yellowish-white natural color of sheep wool.
[462] Dyeing is women's work and is done with certain plants, which, however, dye only the animal material used in weaving, but
[294] not that from plants. This peculiarity of the dyes is utilized by the Paez to make patterns in their clothing by weaving into the sheep-wool fabrics a few cotton warp threads, which, in the subsequent dyeing, retain their original color.

Every woman is in a position to dye her home-woven fabrics black. To do this the pieces of fabric are boiled in a pot for about two hours, along with the leaves of the šal tree or the zóte tree (according to Hernandez, 1946, p. 944, with the leaves of a Phyllanthus) and then buried for two days and two nights with these leaves in a pit in black, rich humus earth (ašáktič). Then they are taken out again, washed thoroughly, and allowed to dry. The black dye is now lightfast and waterproof. The cotton ornamental stripes in the women's clothing, which are not affected by this dyeing process, are either natural
[283] in color, red, or green. They are bought by the women in the desired color, since cotton is not spun by the Paez.

586 The threads of different colors used to make the coca bags
824 and the women's belts were originally all dyed by the Paez
177 women with vegetable dyes. Today this is done only in part,
[439] for anyone who has the money buys aniline dyes at the market in Inzá or Belalcázar; they are more popular because of their stronger coloring and greater luminosity. Similarly, the cotton purchased in thread already dyed is more popular for making women's belts, since it is brighter or more brilliant.

/167 cont./

484 while the /168/ woman on foot lugs the goods behind. From
439 Calderas more men than women visit the market. For both it
482 is a very welcome occasion to become intoxicated. The
[273] owners of the taverns try to prevent the stealing of the much
[275] coveted beer and whiskey glasses, popularly practiced by the Paez, by chaining the glasses to the tavern tables.

On market days it is customary to leave very early and to transport the loads in the fiber bags in the customary way: the men take the carrying belt diagonally across their chests and the women hold it with their foreheads. In both cases the bag hangs on their backs. Then generally travel in groups of twos or threes, but not infrequently one also meets solitary
[432] individuals. Provisions are taken along, for, as a matter of
[273] principle, nothing is bought on the way except chicha or brandy.
[485] If it is necessary to stay overnight, nothing is paid for this. They sleep either at the entrance of a house of acquaintances or spend the night in the open field.

439 For traveling and for the visit to the market they try to wear
484 at least one article of European clothing, a felt hat, a shirt, or
[291] a blouse. The quality plays only a minor role, since the worst
[177] shirt is still more desirable than the finest ruana. A person who cannot buy anything in the way of clothing at least ties a black
[262] band around his hat, such as the felt hats have. Provisions are carried along in the fiber bag, roasted maize, cabbage, potatoes,
[415] arracacha. A person who can carries with him two or three of
484 the woolen coca pouches, in one of which there is coca and lime,
461 in another one money, and in the third the plaiting material
[285] for the straw hat. Almost all the men do this plaiting work, which actually is not work at all, but more like a "blind occupation," when they have nothing else to do, either when visiting, on the way to market, or also during the shaman ceremonies.
[283] The women, no matter where one meets them, are equally in-
[285] dustrious and always busy with spinning or plaiting the fiber bags or the wool coca-pouches. Like the men, they carry their work material with them in a second wool pouch.

/169 cont./
491 rivers (*), for example, the Rio Kokiyó, which flows through

[114]

* I did not see anywhere the simplest form of a bridge mentioned by H. Pittier (p. 320) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 326/ in the northern part of Tierradentro, a bridge which people cross hand over hand on a liana stretched across the river.

the Calderun region, there are strong bridges over which even
491 loaded horses may go without trouble. This type of bridge
499 consists of two tree trunks placed a good meter apart, upon which poles are tied crosswise as planking. Only about every fifth planking pole is lashed, while the ones in between are held fast by a longitudinal beam laid over each of the main supports. On either side of the bridge, poles are tied vertically and horizontally as a railing and at the same time serve to support the roofing. The latter is a characteristic of all such bridges (Ills. 194 and 195 /see pp. 285 and 286/). One finds it not only on the bridges in the colonists' region of Tierradentro, but /170/ also, for example, on the bridges of the upper Magdalena River, the region around San Agustín.

The third type of bridge is found in two artfully constructed arched bridges made of bamboo over the Rio Paez at Belalcázar and Avirama (Ills. 191 to 193 and 196 /see pp. 285 and 286/).
[284] They are both quite similar in construction and, like all the other bridges of the Paez, made without nails or other iron parts, but simply lashed with bast and lianas. For reinforcement, however, two wire cables have now been stretched underneath.
491 Although even the Spaniards at the time of the conquistadors
● 177 report on the "weak and flexible bamboo bridges" and on the
499 "liana bridges" of Tierradentro (Hernandez, 1944, p. 189), in
[175] the case of the two above-mentioned arched bridges, which are relatively difficult to construct, it seems not to be a matter of an original Paez technique. Indeed, these would be the only suspension bridges of this type in pre-Spanish South America.

/170 cont./

491 Rather, these constructions seem to be a borrowing from the
177 Negro slaves who were brought into the region around Belalcázar
499 in very early times in order to work the gold and salt mines there. Both bridges would then be an African culture element in the Tierradentro region. They are suitable only for people. Larger animals are pulled through the river with ropes and must swim part of the way.

499 The two groups of posts on each bank -- a very modern method of bridge anchorage -- upon which the arch of the bridge hangs, are supported by a number of stakes driven into the ground farther up the bank. Bamboo poles serve as joining and holding material. The footway held from above is made with split bamboo, pounded flat. Additional bamboo tubes, secured by
[476] lianas, form the railing. For the construction of such an arched bridge the inhabitants from the adjacent villages along both shores come together. They bury the ends of two long and strong bamboo tubes in the ground, so that their tips lean
[623] slightly toward the river. Then the gobernadores /see the glossary, p. 249/, as the heads of the town councils at the time, start climbing up the poles, which, as a result of the weight, lean toward the center of the river, until the poles touch and the two gobernadores can shake hands from either side. With one hand they then quickly tie the joined tips of the bamboo poles together by means of lianas, which is the first step in the bridge construction. It is completed by the rest of the people (from Hernandez, 1944, p. 190).

/171/

III. Society

1. Political Organization

619 The tribe of the Paez consists of the inhabitants of a number of villages of the Tierradentro region who regard themselves as belonging together because of language, clothing, habits, and
621 traditions. Their present-day political organization is based on the village community. It corresponds roughly to the original

/171 cont./

621 tribal organization. Even at the time of the Conquista the Paez
[622] did not form a common, cohesive community and were similarly independent from village to village and without a chief,
[623] just as today. Only in times of war did a few villages join together
[648] in a sort of loose federation, in order to be able to offer stronger resistance to the Spanish intruders. Afterwards, however, the
177 "alliance for convenience" dissolved. The political influence
361 of the Spaniards during the colonial period had the effect of
131 fixing the boundaries of the villages that had existed up to that time, each of which occupies the area of a valley basin, in order to create clear relationships with respect to the white landowners. The former arrangement of the villages was essentially the same, as one may see from the large number of old native names.

621 The control of the community at that time -- in keeping with
622 the character of the Paez -- was probably in a democratic village management, in a fashion similar to that of today. In times of war leadership was in the hands of men who were called caciques /see "Kazike" in the glossary, p. 249/ by the Spaniards -- as was the case generally in their colonies. The Paez have also taken over this name as a rank designation for the heroes of their traditions. Actually, their own word "sāt" for the political leaders in their mythology corresponds more to a war leader with shamanistic abilities than to a regular hereditary chieftainship of a society organized by classes, such as we find among the tribes of the Cauca Valley or the sacred principalities of the Chibcha at the time of the Conquista.

621 The present-day composition of the village council (cabildo)
623 as the administrative head of each village varies in strength according to the size of the village. It seems to be the most nearly complete in Calderas. Its composition and its tasks show
[565] that it is the head of a democratic community. The village is
[626] not organized by classes or by occupations. The consciousness of the equality of all is so strong /172/ that outsiders who distinguish themselves from others through personal achievement or personal acquisition are brought down to the common level by
623 force or killed. The leader of the cabildo has the grand Spanish

/174 cont./

624 In addition to the cabildo, there was introduced in Spanish
[177] colonial times, as the trusted agent of the missions, the post of capitan, who was not subordinate to the secular authorities and often was not democratically elected, but appointed by the church for life. Appointed to this office, if possible, are the members of an old, influential family, in which a son or nephew then succeeds the capitan in office, so that in practice this position was often hereditary within a family. The capitan in Calderas, who died February 18, 1953 and who had held this office for about 20 years, was named Manuel José Guagáz. His predecessor was his father, Bruno Guagáz. And though the gobernador told me that the family of the Guagáz were feeble-minded and no longer fit for any work, he admitted that it was probable that the successor of the old capitan would nevertheless be another Guagáz.

623 The deceased capitan was ill and weak during the last years
624 of his life, and thus it came about that the gobernador played the leading role in the cabildo. The weekly council meetings were also held in his house. According to conditions in other villages, however, the capitan in practice not only presides in the cabildo, but his voice also has somewhat more weight. At least, he is able to prevent a bridge from being built, for example, through his veto. /175/ True, he cannot accomplish it or even order it by himself, against the will of the cabildo.

623 Another functionary, who is likewise appointed by the mis-
651 sions for life, is the síndico, who fixes the ecclesiastical tax assessments and administers the funds.

623 The election of the cabildo takes place every year on the
293 first of December. On the following January first, the elected
[666] cabildo must appear before the administrative authorities of the municipio /see the glossary, p. 249/, where each member is given his staff of office and is sworn in for his duties. The staffs of office (kampo) belong to the village and are handed on from year to year. They are round in diameter, about 80 to 100 centimeters long and three to five centimeters thick, and carved out of the black, hard wood of the chonta palm. The tips of the sticks are fitted with a brass or iron cap for their protection. The handle is somewhat thinner than the rest of the stick and enlarged at the end to form a knob which is covered with silver leaf. Below the

601 /179 cont./

my father	ãtc táta	my mother	atc máma
your father	inc táta	your mother	inc máma
his father	kyec néi	his mother	kyec nihí
our fathers	kweš táta	our mothers	kweš máma
their fathers	kyáñweš néi	their mothers	kyáñweš nihí

It is interesting that in address the foreign father or the foreign mother of the partner in conversation is called táta or máma, like one's own parents.

The relatives in the parents' generation, who correspond to our "uncles" and "aunts," are differentiated in address, /180/ depending on whether they are relatives in the maternal or paternal line. In the case of the female relatives in the maternal line the prefix "pe" is placed in front of the corresponding designations for the male relatives. It is also striking that for stepfather and stepmother no word combinations with "father" or "mother" are used, but rather the same words as for the father's brother and mother's sister, or the spouses of the father's sister or the mother's brother.

father's brother	nyok	father's sister	pétsots
mother's brother	ká'ka	mother's sister	pényok
stepfather	nyok	stepmother	pényok
father's sister's husband	nyok	mother's brother's wife	pényok
father-in-law	táta	mother-in-law	máma

In the children's generation the absence of designations for [177] nieces and nephews is noteworthy. For lack of specific Paez words and concepts, Spanish ones are used. It is possible that in pre-Spanish times the entire children's generation, either that of an extended family /Grossfamilie/ or at any rate that of the maternal or paternal line, was designated by the same name by members of the parents' generation in the manner of the "classificatory kinship

/186 cont./

[77 Today all children are obliged to attend school in the
797 mission schools, where they are taught the catechism and the
871 Spanish language and must bathe once a day under supervision.
515 The mother nurses her child exclusively during the first six
853 to eight months; only then is the giving of more solid food begun, which, however, does not differ in any way from that of adults, that is to say, the child is given yuca, beans, chicha, brandy, etc., like the adults. The mother suckles the child until the next one arrives, namely, three to four years, and sometimes beyond that, along with the one born next. Every woman who has a child generally also has milk, we were told. Only if the mother should be far away, /187/ for example, on an errand at the market or out fetching wood, may another woman help the child with her milk. In the rare cases in which a woman does not have enough milk to feed her child, she may give it to some
853 other woman, who, however, does not receive anything for it. It
855 may also happen that a family with ten children has become so
[593] large that the food is no longer adequate. In this case the woman may leave one or several children in the care of her mother. If she no longer has a mother, however, she must keep them herself. In case the mother of small children dies and leaves a baby of less than two or three months who still cannot eat any food other than milk, the father looks for a woman who likewise has a nursing baby and who brings up the strange child with her milk for two or three years, until it can talk. Then the father takes it back, and the wet nurse is given a cow as "milk money."

854 Ordinarily the children are carried by the mother. The
482 colored woven belt (táw) and the large shawl (panyelón or séntyatc), in which the child is wrapped and carried by the mother on her back, are needed for this.

857 The games of the children are generally instructive for their
868 later life. The boys go bird hunting with the blowgun (pāt), the plaited stone-sling (ísot), or the elastic sling (kaučéro), or they practice catching each other with the lasso, during which the child
[231] to be caught represents a cow or a horse. The ability of the children, and of the adults, too, by the way, in the use of the lasso is not

/194 cont./

585 those of my husband, and you are not to say bad words either to your husband or to us!

The wedding celebration is as brilliant as possible, which means entertaining the guests lavishly as long as possible. In some families the celebration goes on for more than a week. [535] There is no dancing in Calderas, but in other Paez villages [177] Colombian folk dances, usually the open bambuco, are danced.

586 A dissolution of the marriage through divorce is said not to occur even among the non-Christian Paez. Also there is no separation of married people, since man and wife are dependent on each [837] other for economic reasons. Yet it not infrequently happens -- [848] as reported above -- that married men have children outside their marriage with other unmarried girls.

587 In case of the death of one partner, the surviving spouse may remarry. But whereas for the first marriage he merely could not marry a partner of the same name, in the second marriage he also may not marry a partner bearing the name of the deceased. Thus, for example, Juán Piñakué, who in his first marriage was wed to Ascensiona Kiskué, may not marry a Kiskué a second time.

589 /195/ Widowers continue to live in their houses and, if the 591 children are not yet grown, usually marry a second time; otherwise they live in the house of one of their grown sons. Widows, if [587] they are older, usually do not marry again. With their children they go back to where they came from, namely, the house of their parents. If the latter are no longer living, they have the right, for the time being, to live in the house of whichever brother happens to be living at the time in the house of the deceased father. If the house is no longer standing, the widow lives with one of her brothers or with other relatives. In any case, she cannot, as a woman, live alone in a house, but always only in one belonging to a man.

/195 cont./

d) Death

761 According to the belief of the Paez, death occurs chiefly
776 through the action of the evil shamans (nyic) or the evil spirits
165 ec, tus, and gělyómp (see "Religion" /see pp. 191ff./). Included
164 here also is the not infrequent cause of death through consumption.
[262] Causes of death of children are chiefly whooping cough, as well as stomach and intestinal disorders, the latter brought about by a
[762] diet very unsuitable for children. Suicide is completely unknown.

764 The death of a member of the community is passed on from
[763] man to man by members of the family and neighbors. There is
[203] no public mourning or lamentation; upon the death of small
[765] children, people act as though they were glad, since the children
[192] are now "little angels." (Among the colonists, as well as among the Paez, the Spanish word "angelito" is used.) In former times it was customary to abandon the house when death occurred and to leave the deceased and some food in it (Castillo i Orosco, p. IX).

764 The manner of burial is the same for men, women, and
184 children; there are no social differences. A few customs in other Paez communities, however, differ from those of the Calderun. Therefore the burial of the dead in Calderas will be described first.

[177] For burial the deceased is dressed if possible in purchased,
[291] that is, "white" clothing, even if he was the poorest of the poor and had never worn such clothing. For this reason the relatives incur considerable expense, which often cannot be paid for a long time. Burial takes place the day after death. Only the feet of the deceased are washed. This work, as well as dressing the deceased, may be done by relatives or even by outsiders; they must, /196/ however, always be men, even in the case of female deceased persons. The body is taken by two men on a bier made of two tree trunks to the graveyard next to the church, where two other men, usually relatives, have already dug the grave. The latter is trapezoid-shaped, a good shoulder's breadth at head height and narrower at the foot end. Its length is determined by the size of the deceased. The direction of the grave is completely arbitrary.

/204 cont./

556 special sociological role within their community, for they are elected neither more frequently nor more rarely to the village offices. They have simply "always" been considered wealthy, though it should be noted that in the language of the Paez there [192] is no word at all for "rich" or "poor." The word used for "poor," "póre," comes from the Spanish (povre), and the word used for "rich," "čáčanas," at the same time means "strong" in the physi-
556 cal sense. Despite this apparent unimportance of wealth, how-
626 ever, it is jealously seen to that no other industrious man of a poor family will become rich and possibly put his wealth -- by means of Colombian dress or something similar -- on display. The evil shamans would put a spell on him or poison him, /205/ and the neighbors would devastate his fields by driving their cattle there. He would be cut by everyone, and people in a state of intoxica-
115 tion would start a fight with him in order to kill him. At any
556 rate, this is what happened and is happening to our interpreter,
626 Victoriano. He does not come from a wealthy family, but he wants to acquire money and livestock through diligence and [291] ability. From the money he earned among the whites he has [177] already bought himself the clothing of the whites, which he now proudly displays, and at festivals he sells wax candles and sweets. His fellow-villagers hate him on that account. The priest has had to protect him several times already from the machetes of drunken men who had started a fight with him; and in our presence, too, when we visited various houses with him, he was occasionally very rudely heckled by drunken men. Not least because, in the opinion
115 of the Calderun, he is not working. Again and again I tried to ex-
123 plain to the people that they, too, could "go walking" with me and
556 earn money if they were able to speak Spanish. Since this was
626 not the case, there was nothing else for me to do but always work with Victoriano. Nothing helped; Victoriano became more and more unpopular, and I, too, was regarded as a do-nothing. A
123 drunken man who, instead of the one cigarette he was given, vainly demanded an entire pack as a present abused me, too, as an "alko," a dog, who is always going from house to house and does not work.

/205 cont./

578 [123] I acted as though I did not understand the words, but observed the same thing as on other occasions of disputes among Indios, namely, that two who are quarreling are not separated by a third stepping in. Rather, a dispute is regarded as an affair of the participants and as an interesting diversion in the monotonous daily existence, and the outcome is observed with obvious interest. Apart from the native word "alko," the Paez, interestingly enough, have no abusive word in their own language. The only term of abuse, but used very frequently, is the Spanish "carajo!"

f) Division of Labor between Men and Women

462 As we have seen from what was said above, the individual left to his own resources cannot exist in the Paez communities. The men's work is supplemented by the women's work, and vice versa. Both men and women are dependent upon each other to make a living /206/ and rely on each other for their most primitive vital needs. A man needs a woman who weaves clothes for him, and a woman cannot clear a field -- to cite but one example. The traditional tasks in relation to the sexes may be [177] summarized once again here. Transitions toward newer ways of life are noticeable, as these have been taken over from the surrounding colonists.

462

	Men	Women	Children
857 Clearing a piece of land	x		
Sowing maize, potatoes, yuca, sugar cane, coca, wheat	x		
Sowing cabbage and beans	x	x	
Sowing gourds and cucumbers	x	x	
Weeding	x		
Harvesting maize, potatoes, coca, wheat	x	x	

P /212-cont./
428 guests. In case the deceased has neither sons nor brothers --
P which scarcely ever happens, it is said -- the villager who takes
[768] care of the burial inherits his entire property. The widow moves in with one of her brothers or sisters or some other relative.

T Disputes and misdemeanors, such as theft or adultery, are
692 judged within the communities by the cabildo; murder or serious
625 C bodily injury, by the Colombian state judiciary. It was said that
[692] murder and manslaughter did not occur in former times, the old
T 682 people told us; they are a consequence of "white" influences
623 and the weakening of the cabildo. One can well understand this,
182 for in Calderas where the village council still enjoys a certain
[177] amount of power and considerable prestige, it would be unthinkable
P for a son to stab his father to death. This happened in San Andrés
[177] where the cabildo exists only in the form of three functionaries who are basically powerless and without standing and where the young people, through the influences of the living conditions of the white colonists, no longer have any feeling for the old discipline and customs. It was in San Andrés in March, 1953, that the son of the capitan stabbed his father to death. The
P latter, after the death of his first wife, had married a second
[593] time, for which his children reproached him vehemently. In a drunken state, this led to a brawl, in the course of which the father struck off half of his son's right ear and the son killed his father with several knife stabs in the abdomen. After the deed, he fled; but since it was known that he could find shelter only with relatives, the /213/ gobernador of the town of Lame seized him
P a few days later in the house of his sister, where he had hidden.
[624] He was brought to San Andrés in chains and delivered over to the sindico, who was simultaneously occupying the position of gobernador. The latter, an older man of the age of the deceased capitan, tried for some time to reason with the murderer, who gave the impression of being uncommunicative and almost sullen; he pointed out to him the baseness of his deed, of patricide, and then he was led to the church in which the dead capitan was lying in state. The son resisted violently, but was forcibly led up to the corpse and broke down weeping before it. Before he was transferred

/224 cont./

193 no one: tēčanyópa; tēčanyópa máhiméta, "no one is working";

several, various: ko; ātya ko hímba hipt, "I several horses have";

many: tak; tak nása, "many people";

little: wé; very little: táwala wēha.

193 114 Verbs: The infinitive forms of the verbs end in -ya. The only data thus far published about the conjugation system are to be found in Castillo i Orosco, who conjugates the verb "to write" [177] in all paradigms according to Latin grammar. The word formation of the model verb and the conjugation are artificial and set [797] up for teaching at the mission schools. People do not speak that way in Calderas.

193 124 177 The conjugations of a few verbs given in the following do not represent all the conjugation possibilities, since -- as was mentioned -- the interpreter lacked a knowledge of Spanish grammar. Hence the schema of the paradigms is largely theoretical. Everyday speech is different, and especially in storytelling the interpreter used forms which he reproduced in Spanish with participial constructions. Nevertheless the forms reproduced here are /225/ "correct" in the sense that one "can" speak this way and be understood while using the forms.

193 [124] Besides the four tenses reproduced here (present, future, and two forms of the perfect), there are probably also forms corresponding to the conjunctive, which, however, the interpreter neither understood nor was able to reproduce in Spanish. The forms of the future are not always used. Very often the present is used with the addition of "tomorrow" or "later," for example, ātya gwágwan kúskay, "I speak tomorrow," instead of ātya gwágwahípt, "I shall speak." The forms of the two past tenses are apparently used arbitrarily. To my questions on this point I always merely received the answer: "one can say it this way and also that way." Here, too, the addition of ónna, "yesterday" (in context: ónnaha), or esé, "some time ago," is customary.

[126] The abstract, consecutive listing of the forms of a conjugation is hardly possible for the Paez. I always had to make

/253 cont./

539 When he came back, he saw the snake in its place. Then he changed back into a human being. The fiber bag was there, too. The bananas were there, too. The snake filled with water (that is, underdone, still watery) was there.

It was afternoon when he went into his house. The bag he brought to his wife. He came to his wife with this bag. When he had knocked, he entered.

2. Orientation and General Knowledge

772 776 177 Nothing definite can be said about the ancient Paez conception of the world, since Christian influence has had a strongly modifying effect. In any case, there is in the Paez vocabulary the word "tátyinas," which is sometimes translated as "god," and sometimes -- and corresponding better with the meaning of the word -- as "creator." The word "Dios" is used to designate the Christian God. Tátyinas, I was told, lives in heaven, on the earth, and in the earth. He made all human beings. He does not receive sacrifices. He is not mentioned in shamanistic ceremonies.

772 775 The vocabulary shows that, besides the earth and the conception of a heaven or of the firmament, there were also two places of the dead that were familiar. The happy land of death, mbéka kígwe, is like heaven. Literally it means "land of chicha," and if one knows the Paez, one realizes that in any case it must be /254/ a happy land. The land of the dead corresponding to [776] "hell" is called eč kígwe. The eč are the most evil of all spirits. They live in the earth; hence this designation must refer to a subterranean land.

804 461 As for natural periods of time, only days and months are known, as well as work days and non-work days (ki'sen). The latter designation is now used for Sunday. Originally this was not a fixed day; rather, people worked and celebrated as they could arrange the time within a larger or smaller community. Even today, during the times of clearing, the people sometimes work for weeks in the field, without inserting a work-free day.

/255 cont./
802 designated as "much" (teč kwát), literally "one stone." Today it is the designation for "hundred."

75 The medical knowledge of the Paez is not great. Almost all illnesses are regarded as based on magical causes and are treated by the shamans (see below//see pp. 190 ff./). Broken bones are treated by the midwife, who rubs on cow fat and wraps [845] leaves around them. The broken bone is never put in splints. In a difficult birth the midwife is able to turn the child into the right position; if then the birth does not go well, her skill is at an end. No remedy is known for snake bite. In the case of headaches, a leaf is tied to the front of the head. For flatulence some wood ashes are rubbed on the abdomen. For injuries caused by a machete and bleeding profusely, a tourniquet is applied to the affected limb, above the place of the injury, and the wound is covered with a small piece of cloth. The shaman has the injured person bite hard with all his teeth on the iron machete.

3. Religion

771 The Paez today are nominally Christians. They are baptized
797 and usually married by the Catholic priest. The Christian missionizing began as early as the sixteenth century, at first, to be sure, with little success, which did not increase when from 1630-1654 Jesuit missionaries took over the mission work. Only in the last decades
797 has there been greater progress. Hand in hand with the conversion
177 to Christianity go the introduction and teaching of the Spanish lan-
871 guage and the adoption of Colombian customs and habits. Today in almost every village there is a mission station and a school, the teachers of which are mostly women missionaries. In general the parents do not send their children to school unwillingly, for they have realized that knowledge of Spanish and of reading and writing is accompanied by certain advantages in their relations with the
[178] whites. In connection with the /256/ schooling, of course, there is
[756] some alienation from the old habits and customs of the Paez, especially those of a religious and sociological nature. Nevertheless,

/256 cont./

797 in all Paez communities in which Spanish is not understood by the
177 majority of the population, the old functionaries of the original
178 Paez religion are needed to maintain the social life in particular.
871 In accordance with their activity, they are designated as "shamans"
756 by theologians. Because of the dissimilar nature of their religious activity, they do not by any means represent unbridgeable competition for the Christian missions; rather, both, the Christian faith and shamanistic activity, can exist side by side in the present stage of culture of the Paez.

771 If one considers existing theological convictions, one finds
793 that the office and dignity of the cult priest rest on the performance
756 of sacred acts which must of necessity be fulfilled so that the
182 natural and normal development of human existence is not obstructed. His task is to confirm the existing world order through the consecration of sacerdotal acts. The shamans, however, -- on the contrary! -- want to outdo and break through the given order of nature and the environment. Their greatness and authority rest on the fact that they do supernatural things, that they heal the sick, struggle with spirits, yes, awaken the dead to new life. This, at any rate, is said of the greatest of their kind, whose talent lies in their spiritual, supernatural powers, in their mastering of extraordinary circumstances. Over against the cult priest's "thus it is," the shaman puts his "thus it should be" (A. Friedrich).

a) Characteristics of Paez Shamanism

756 The Paez shamans, in the sense given, are not functionaries
754 of a sacrificial cult, but persons who do supernatural things. There are two types of them, the teyu and the nyic. Whereas the teyu (tepits as a man, téoi as a woman) is a good shaman, a good doctor and helper of human beings, the nyic is an evil shaman, an evil sorcerer, a hexer. The shamanistic activity of both, however, as a religious phenomenon, is not nearly as distinctive as, for example, the shamanism that we are familiar with in Siberia or North America.

/256 cont./

771 It is not certain whether in former times the Paez had a cult
[793] priesthood besides shamans such as are practicing today. In any
[756] case, to designate the priests and missionaries they use the word
[797] tikwe, /257/ which is not used for anything else. The present-
771 day characteristic thinking of the Paez, their entire mental atti-
754 tude, revolves around magic and countermagic, despite mission-
[797] izing and Christianity. No injury, no illness, no deformity, no
[177] poor livestock is traced back to natural causes, but rather every-
thing is the work of evil magic. Since the people themselves
are fully convinced of this belief and ensnared by this idea, the
actual achievement of the evil sorcerers corresponds to what is
desired; that is to say, a person who knows he is bewitched,
being mindful of the inevitability of his fate, actually becomes
554 ill and dies. The victims are almost always the most thrifty
and industrious members of the community, those who tower
above the others because of their success.

754 There are no persons who are privileged because of age,
177 sex, or social position -- with the exception of the good shamans,
who are incessantly the target of the evil ones. Anyone who, in
dress and way of living, adopts the customs of the whites, is in
the habit of associating with them, no longer chews coca, works
with modern tools, and wants to carry on his farming according
to the principles of the colonists is opposed by the nyic.

754 It is not only the outward superiority of the individual over
554 the masses that evokes the envy of the nyic, but also the general
popularity of an individual, and with it a certain personal influ-
ence within the village. Thus, for example, the father of our
Victoriano was the victim of an evil charm. He is regarded as very
intelligent, is a good worker, knows best how to build houses and
bridges, and has even undertaken a journey to the city of Popayán.
On account of his popularity and the good advice he always gives --
so it is reported -- a nyic tried to kill him out of envy. One
[755] night when he was asleep the nyic robbed him of his soul. His
brother noticed it, however, and spat coca on it. The next day
the eye of the bewitched one became white and was close to
running out, if a teyu had not helped. He is blind in that eye,
however, to this day.

/265 cont./

756 right ring finger up the arm to the heart, the person concerned
826 will bury a relative on the next day. Signs in the palm of the
787 right hand mean that the sick person will get well; signs in the
[763] palm of the left hand, that the mountain spirit is not accepting the gifts and the patient must die. By means of signs on the back of the left hand the mountain spirit makes it known that the offerings are insufficient. If the signs go from the palm of the right hand to the neck, this means "pest" from the Pijao. Signs in the right thumb and in the hand announce the appearance of a lost or strayed animal; signs in the corner of the left eye, that the lost animal has been stolen and has already been eaten by the thief; signs in the left arm announce the arrival of the ec spirit; signs in the right upper arm announce to the shaman that good people are asking him to be the sponsor at a christening. Signs on the head of the shaman announce that the nyic will send the pest, and if the signs go from the head into the left hand, the
756 person is already bewitched. In these and similar ways of
787 interpreting their signs, the shamans discover the nature of all illnesses and the means required to cure them. Thus their signs are their only treasure of experience, and if they do not feel them, or no longer feel them, they have lost the essential characteristic of being shamsns.

787 Besides the shamanistic signs described, for the teyu as well
828 as for ordinary human beings of every age and sex dreams are an essential means of experience for looking into the future, as well as for confirmation of a foreign -- usually evil -- influence on one's own person. Just as the effects of evil magic on the individual are brought about through auto-suggestion, so, too, what is seen in a dream. The latter perhaps even more intensively because of a person's own, direct dream experience; only in this way can one understand the positively fatalistic attitude of the persons
115 concerned. Our interpreter Victoriano, for example, is one of the
787 most industrious and capable Calderun. He is determined not to
828 remain socially on the Indio level of his village. He therefore
554 [770] takes /266/ work from time to time among the white colonists,
[764] in order to earn money for Colombian clothing. He is therefore

/268 cont./

756 without leaving a trace. In vain the father tried to find out where
773 he was staying. After eight days, however, the son again appeared in the hut. He said that he had been with his grandfather, who had given him brandy, medicines, and this staff that he held in his hand and that was called tama. The "brandy" was cold water from a lake, and the medicines in the fiber bag were mountain herbs. After he had said this, he fell into a trance and lay there as though dead. Fourteen days later, as he lay dying, he asked his father to hand him his tama, for Thunder had told him that he could defend himself with it and that, in case of illness, he should take the medicines that he had given him. He squeezed /269/ out the juice and drank it. Quickly he became well. When he gave it to other sick persons, they, too, became well immediately. With his staff and his medicines he became the best doctor far and wide. He died at an advanced age.

775 Another shaman said that the tama stems from a lifesaving
773 act of the Holy Virgin Mary. Once when the sea rose constantly
177 higher and had covered almost the entire earth, human beings were in great danger. The Virgin Mary took pity on them. She drew forth the tama and with it made the same motions that the shamans make with it today. The masses of water then receded. She left her staff behind for the person who became a shaman. This is supposed to be the origin of the tama.

Although in the latter story not only the figure of the Virgin Mary, but possibly also the motif of the Deluge did not originate in the thought of the Paez, nevertheless the origin of the tama as
756 a gift from a higher power is noteworthy. This power, which,
776 for the shamans, is of the greatest significance as a spirit being
787 and as the first shaman, is Thunder. According to reports, he also positively has the character of an assistant spirit, even though he is almost only feared by the present-day shamans. "The old shamans," the present ones constantly assert, "were still powerful enough magically to establish communication with Thunder directly and at any time; we today are no longer able
778 to do it." In former times the members of the cabildo, under the
756 guidance of a shaman, bathed together in the lagoon of Juan Tama
623

/280 cont./

755 755c that his signs tell him that his efforts will be in vain, because the patient must die. Only if the signs are favorable, do he and the patient start chewing the little packet of medicinal herbs. The shaman now takes his staff and spits some of the chewed medicinal herbs on it, to prevent the pest sent by nyiç from possibly being transferred to him and killing him. Then he thrusts the tama into the ground with the point, in order to announce to Thunder that he does not wish to act badly and carelessly, but exactly in accord-
[824] [787] ance with his shamanistic rules. He sets the bottle of /281/ brandy, into which he puts a stalk of the čayuts herb, beside his shaman's staff. If the stalk remains vertical, it is a good sign; if it falls to one side and goes under, it is a very bad omen. On the mouth of the bottle he also places a small calabash vessel, likewise containing the čayuts herb, which is supposed to prevent the pest from taking the shaman by surprise and killing him. He now puts a handful of coca into his mouth and starts to chew. Motionless, he gazes at his staff, ready to receive his signs. From time to time he takes more coca and lime, tells the patient that his signs are favorable, that his illness, which comes from the pest, will soon get better. Then he gets up, goes to his tama, and vigorously spits out the chew. He empties a whole calabash of brandy and squirts it into the air. Again he returns to his seat, once again takes coca and lime and a little cigar tobacco into his mouth, and again remains squatting motionless. After about an hour he spits the chew in the direction of the staff, the patient does the same, and then both get up. The shaman now tells the
[783] patient that Thunder has shown him the possibility of a cure. He will now go and gather his special medicinal herbs, and for a good purification the patient will have to bring a pound of coca leaves, six cigars, a liter of brandy and chicha, and, in addition,
[177] [186] a few pounds of meat. The teyu urgently enjoins him not to take any of the medicine of the whites under any circumstances, for otherwise he must surely die. At this séance, as well as at others, the shamans all agreed that neither did they themselves leave the place of the séance nor did their souls leave their bodies to go wandering. The signs, to which alone they give heed, are the only characteristic of their experience.

/289 cont./

534 by cuts with a machete (Ill. 203 /see p. 290/). In spite of the
322 relatively correspondent holes, each flute has a slightly different tone caused by the varying diameter of the tube.

533 According to the investigation kindly undertaken by my
534 brother Wilfried on the sample flute of Vicente Puche that I acquired, it is tuned between C and C-sharp. Its six finger-holes produce a nonsemitonic seven-tone scale. All the tone steps, however, are somewhat inexact, that is, not exactly a whole tone-step apart. This is particularly noticeable from the third to the fourth tone where we perceptibly have less than a major second, but considerably more than a half step. This is noteworthy because in our diatonic major scale there is also a definite half-step between these two tones.

The blowing is on the right or left side. The extended fingers, work-worn by the heavy field work, cover the finger holes with the first or second joint.

534 The value of the flute is not very high. On festive days
[578] people are in the habit of becoming intoxicated in the festival
[796] houses and in the subsequent brawls the flutes are used as striking
[273] instruments and thus broken.

/290/ Every music group has at least one small cylindrical drum (káka) or a bass drum (kut), both of which are covered with skin on two sides and are wider than high in their dimensions.
[177] Drum and bass drum in this form are probably borrowed and were
[194] taken over throughout South America from former Negro slaves. Their manufacture among the Paez is specialist's work. At
[463] present Vicente Puche makes the flutes as well as the drums. In former times, however, there was a special expert who made only
[461] drums and bass drums. The work time for their manufacture amounts to 10 to 14 days, since one day is allowed for each operation (cutting wood, drying it, for the various processes in treating
[824] the skins, etc.). The cylindrical body of the drum is made from
[237] the wood of the utsé tree. The two drum-skins (katc) are made of calfskin. They are stretched with cords made of agave fiber, which run in a zigzag from one stretcher to the other over the body of the drum. They are tightened by a continuous loop that encircles two strands of the stretching cords at a time and at the same time

/290 cont./

534 is wound around the entire body of the drum. A string with a small piece of wood as a rattle device is stretched across the lower skin. The method of construction of the drum and the bass drum [184] is the same in Calderas. A drum in Santa Rosa differs in that each of the stretchers, upper and lower, consists of a switch used double, with the edges of the drum skin clamped in between (Fig. 37 /see p. 258 /). The measurements of the small drum are 16 centimeters in height and 22 centimeters in diameter, those of the bass drum 40 centimeters in height and about 60 centimeters in diameter.

533 In playing the music, for which no text is (any longer) known, the drum and the bass drum beat the same rhythm, but in a different manner. The drum is beaten on the skin with two drumsticks, which are simply two ordinary, inarticulated pieces of wood. The bass drum is beaten with one hand with a regular drumstick consisting of a stick with a wrapping of cloth, while the other hand beats against the frame with a little stick. In three-quarter time, the principal kind of time, the bass drum is beaten with the drumstick in one hand, the first and third quarter regularly and the second quarter in eighths. The other hand beats afterwards with the other stick on the frame.

533 173 Whether this Paez rhythm is original or was taken over with the drum cannot be determined with certainty. According to the tradition of the Paez, as told in the story "The Paez with the Ax," the Pijao women in former times, when as yet /291/ there were no drums, beat out the rhythm on their breasts with their hands during the dances. We may assume that this was also in part the case 533 among the earlier Paez. According to E. Castillo i Orosco, the [175] Paez formerly used hanging chichacanoas /chicha troughs/ as drums [534] (kwimb). They consisted of hollowed-out tree trunks and during the kwimbkó dance were beaten by all the men together, while the women sang. The rhythm beaten on the drums at the present time, however, seems to be less firmly anchored than the melody. They [797] are so fond of the latter that they do not sing hymns at the Mass in [177] the mission church, but play the customary melodies on the same instruments, albeit disproportionately slower. The drum and the bass lose the beat in doing this; they do not know how to begin

P /291 cont./
533 properly with their instruments and simply uniformly beat sixteenths.
[177] Thus it seems that the melody is more original and hence more
534 firmly anchored in the tradition of the Paez, and that with the borrowing of the drum, the corresponding modern rhythm was also
C 533 adopted. This has been corroborated for me by an observation per-
534 taining to the music of the Negroes of Tumaco in the Colombian
[177] port city on the Pacific coast. There, among the descendants of onetime slaves, West African musical instruments with corresponding Negro designations are still in use today, among others the xylophone-like marimba and two drums, the conical konuno with skin stretched over one side and the cylindrical bass drum covered with skin on both sides, the bombo. The latter shows the same type of stretching as the Paez bass drum and is also played with two drumsticks, one of which, provided with a raw-rubber knob, is struck on the skin and the other, a simple stick, on the frame of the body of the drum.

P 533 The musicians are always men. They play the music as
[462] amateurs who learn one or another instrument because they have taken a fancy to it. The drum is the more popular instrument, whereas flutists are less numerous and primarily limited to certain families.

P 535 The dances danced today, which, by the way, not everyone
[171] masters, correspond to the Colombian bambuco, though they do not show the dexterity and lightness of movement required for that, such as is found among the Colombian rural population in other parts of the country.

P 535 By way of a note, there should be cited the dances which H.
114 Pittier de Fabrega (based on E. Castillo i Orosco) mentions for the Paez and which in some of the designations, point to an independent culture: onza-kó, /292/ "mouse dance," nwi-kó "buzzard dance," itsa-kó, puberty dance of the girls, eč-koi-kó, dance of the spirit-flute, tel-koi-kó, dance of the long flute or war dance, la-kó, dance to dedicate a house, etc.

* /312 cont./

539 when the thief again came, took down some potatoes, kindled a fire, and roasted them in it, he took out both of his eyes "out of foolishness" before he ate and laid them on one of the three hearth-stones. Then the owner of the potatoes, whom the thief, of course, could not see, stepped up, saw the eyes, and kicked them into the fire, so that they burned with a bang. The thief heard the bang, to be sure, but thought to himself, how fine the potatoes are popping and sizzling!

When the thief had eaten all the potatoes, he looked for his eyes, but could not find them. He then left the house very sadly, without eyes, and set out for his own house. On the way he met a rat who was out walking there, and they started a conversation. The thief complained that he had lost his eyes and that, without eyes, it was very difficult to find them again. He begged the rat to lend him one of hers only until he had found his own eyes again. The rat lent him one, but since both of his eyes were burned, he could not, of course, find them. The man then turned himself into wind.

The rat searched for the thief of her eye for a long time, but could not find him. Her son, like his mother, also had only one eye. The son in turn had a son, and he, too, had only one eye. Since that time the descendants of this rat family have only one eye. And that is why one can still find rats today who, to be sure, have the nose, mouth, feet, skin, and ears of a rat, but only one eye or none at all; they go back to that rat who once lent one of her eyes.

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105 V. Summary and Culture-historical Classification of Paez Culture

[161] [621] [177] [197] If we briefly summarize the sketch of Paez life and the elements of their culture, we find before us a democratic agricultural people of 25,000 persons, among whom no one is master and no one servant. Surrounded for centuries by Spanish culture, they have preserved their language in extensive sections of their area of settlement.

/314 cont./

105 The clothing of the men and women covers the upper and lower body. The men's upper garment, called "ruana" in Colombia, "poncho" in Peru, is a sleeveless shirt open at the sides. It is ancient American, known both from the relief of the so-called "sun god" of Tiahuanaco and from a grave of the pre-Spanish [291] period in Arica (northern Chile) (Montell, pp. 173-183). Soon [171] after the Conquista, since the second half of the sixteenth century, this Andean article of clothing, which consists simply of a square piece of cloth with an elongated slit for the head, was distributed throughout the area of the Andean mountain cultures. Its name, "atç," among the Paez, however, has no parallel linguistically. [177] The men's trousers are clearly Spanish. The women's costume is most simple: as an upper garment to a skirt a rectangular piece of cloth is simply put crosswise over their upper bodies.

[241] From an economic point of view, field cultivation is primary. It is carried out by the men in the form of the burned-clearing system with a ten-year clearing cycle. The only field tool is the [433] digging stick. The minimal area of cultivated land for one family is about one hectare. The principal crops are maize and sugar [177] cane. The latter was not introduced until after the Conquista. The Paez word means "sweet." The Paez designation for maize, "kotç," has no parallel with the corresponding words of the Chibcha, Carib, or Aruac /Arawak/ language groups, but with Kechua /Quechua/, where maize is called "kuts" (Birket-Smith, pp. 22-30). The stimulants are coca and chicha made of sugar-cane juice. Both Paez words, eẽ and mbéka, respectively, have no parallels in other language groups.

105 241 There are no outstanding festivals indicative of a planter's culture or rites associated with the products of field cultivation, nor does anything indicating an agricultural rhythm of life appear in the myths and religious customs of the Paez. The mythology and ceremonial customs are remnants of a hunter's attitude of mind. It appears as though the Paez did not adopt their primitive agriculture until the time of the Conquista or shortly before, and adopted only the mechanical application of the methods of simple digging-stick farming, without the ceremonial customs associated

/316 cont./

105 601 The kinship nomenclature shows remnants of a "classificatory" system, into which the individual is fitted as part of a living structure and does not stand out in profile, detached within the family. Persons are differentiated in address according to certain circumstances of age and life, and, among others, siblings are differentiated in address, according to whether they are younger or older than the speaker.

105 53 In art and mythology a considerable impoverishment has taken place. There is neither song nor any peculiar dance. The music of transverse flutes and drums, performed with great enthusiasm, is to be stressed. The cylindrical drum with skin stretched on two sides, which is used at the present time by the Paez, is in all parts of America a loan from the Negroes. In earlier times hanging, hollowed-out tree-trunks were used for the dance and for conveying information, such as /317/ are used today as troughs for making chicha. The rattles formerly present are no longer used today. The transverse flutes with six blowholes used by the Paez are post-Columbian; at any rate they are not found in this form either archeologically or recently among uninfluenced Indians. The only transverse flute form known from pre-Spanish and modern times are flutes that are stopped at both ends and provided with two blowholes (Izikowitz, pp. 298 ff.).

105 773 776 In the fund of tales no comprehensive picture of the world emerges. The chief figure in the myths is Thunder, who appears as the first shaman and as a war leader. He is not, however, an exalted, numinous figure, but rather to some extent has characteristics attributed to forest spirits in other parts of South America. [784] There is also a special forest spirit (gĕlyŏmp) among the Paez. He [224] has the figure of an old man with large, exposed sexual parts, and his stings inflicted as punishment for ritual uncleanness in connection with hunting cause the human being sickness and pain. He does not, however, appear mythologically. Fragments of larger myth-complexes are the story of the woman from whose body useful plants arise, the story about the ghostly human head that comes rolling along, stories about transformed animals and human beings, and stories about werejaguars.

1: Nachtigall--268 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

291
142
417

Ill. 154. House with ladder.

115
142
177
291

Ill. 155. Our interpreter, Victoriano Piñakué.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

101 only it might be necessary to modify it slightly if we were able
103 to localize all of the thirty-four villages or hamlets reputed to be of Paez stock and included in the following systematic list:

1. *Paez Basin*

As-at	Inzá	Suín
Chinas	Lâme	Tálaga
Chitoco	Mosoco	Toés
Cuetandó	Nátaga	Vitoncó
El Pital	San Andrés de la Plata	Yaquirá
El Naranjal	San José	

2. *Palo Basin*

Jambaló	San Francisco	Toribío
Pitaió	Tacueyó	

3. *Orejas, Corre, and Picudama Mountains*

Cajibio	Caldonió	Paniquitá

4. *Vagnará Basin*

El Retiro		Iquirá

5. *Locality Uncertain*

Abirama	Osyó	Ricaurte
Caldera	Pueblo Nuevo	Tobóima
La Troja	Pusó	

101 The principal neighbors of the Paez Indians, according to the above description of their territory, were to the north — the Quimbayas on the western slope of the central cordillera, and the Pijaos on the eastern slope. To their east were the Manipos, in the Magdalena valley; the Guanacos were on both watersheds of the central cordillera southward; and westward on the plains of the Cauca valley, the Kitšua and the Jamundies. The Kitšua were probably the most advanced in culture of all these different stocks, and the ones whose influence is more easily recognized
[177 in the customs and idiom of the Paez. Their language is also
191] the only one which has come down to us in its integrity.

There is no positive proof of the identity of the Paez and
101 Pijaos, and it is fair to state that there are many data pointing to
174 the fact that originally they were merely neighbors, and allied against the Spaniards, as, for instance, in 1641, when they de-

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

164 cient testimony, they have their share of physical ailments. Besides itch (*lel*), tumors of several kinds (*lol-sek*, tonsilitis; *koü*, tumor in the groin), they have original names for smallpox (*buzgné*), which I was told often rages among them, for diarrhœa (*u-tsitš*), dysentery (*mengné*), and intermittent or malarial fevers (*ya-ya-gné* in the ancient dialect, *kné-kné-né* in that spoken at the present day).

757 114 Of the practices and superstitions made use of in the cure of these diseases I could gain no information, but it is very probable that the Paez still have their own medicine-men.

Clothing. Personal Adornment

291 286 [231] At present the wool obtained from the numerous sheep kept by the Paez Indians plays the most important part in the clothing of both sexes. I cannot find any direct information on the fabrics used before the introduction of sheep by the Spaniards, [174 439] but it is most likely that the Paez obtained cotton from the Indians of the Cauca and Magdalena plains, the cultivation and the manufacture of which into thread must have formed one of the principal industries in the latter. I have already referred [172 174] to the great number of clay spindle-whorls found in the graves and on old dwelling sites throughout the Cauca valley. Judging by these we may feel sure that the former inhabitants were great spinners. On the other hand, the present Paez Indians still weave most of their own clothing, and there is no reason why they should not have done so formerly.

291 [177] The dress of the men consists of a pair of short trousers (*hiü*), that are evidently a concession to modern civilization. These are made of raw cotton cloth, or of imported fabrics, and reach from the waist to about the knees. Over the shoulders is worn a broad rectangular piece of white woolen homespun cloth, split in the middle in the form of a poncho so as to allow the head to pass through, and hanging free front and back. This is called *tund-atš*, i. e., 'the cloth that binds, or covers.' It is generally worn next to the skin, but sometimes a light cotton shirt, called *atš-petš*, is first put on. Over the *tund-atš* they carry on their left [276] side, hanging by straps that pass over the right shoulder, the coca

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

302 extracted from the seeds of *Bixa orellana*, which they applied
[824] by means of a cylinder of clay (*kaanda*) on which certain designs were carved. Specimens of such cylinders are often found in graves.

291 Children are very scantily clothed. The boys go about naked
515 until they reach their twelfth year, and the little girls wear only a short *atš-tul*. The clothing of the male and female adults seems to be worn as long as it lasts. As is the case with all Indians living at high altitudes, the Paez are not especially fond of bathing, and cleanliness is not a cardinal virtue with them.
[513] In retiring for the night, they simply wrap their garments tighter around them, the children using old rags in lieu of blankets.

386 The ornamentation of the *vilia*, or sash, with several brilliant
[182] colors and the desire of giving a uniform hue to the darker clothing of the women, gave origin to the art of dyeing, which very likely is to-day in its decline. The dyes were derived chiefly from plants. Black was obtained from *šal*, an arborescent *Phyllanthus* that has a semi-domesticated appearance and forms characteristic thickets around inhabited places, like Vitoncó; the same color is also contained in the young pods of the *huarango* (*Cæsalpinia tinctoria*), a spiny tree often seen near the houses and extensively used at the present time for dyeing wool. The roots of *tuk-uĉtse*, a Rubiacea (*Relbunium hypocarpium* Hemsl.) akin to the madder, produce a scarlet color. Different kinds of blue dyes were extracted from the fruit of the jagua (*kii*, probably *Genipa* sp.) and from an *Indigofera*.
[177] Many other tinctorial plants very likely escaped my observation and are gradually passing out of use on account of the introduction of foreign fabrics.

Dwellings

342 The Paeces have permanent houses in their thirty-four villages and temporary abodes on their corn plantations. These latter are merely small huts, the walls of which are more or less elaborate according to the altitude, being made tighter near the upper limit of culture. They represent the primitive type of

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

They represent the primitive type of habitation, the agglomerations being the result of the efforts of the missionaries. 342 [177]

The villages are generally in the open grazing districts at the bottom of the valleys, on side plateaus, or on broad ridges. They are not compact in the common sense of the word, but consist of isolated groups of houses, the approximate common center of which is often indicated by the whitewashed thatch-roofed church (plate v). 361

The walls of the permanent houses are made of a kind of *bajareque*, i. e., a skeleton of canes filled in with clay. In the better homes the interior is divided into two or more rooms, usually very small, with a hearth in the middle; but oftener there are no interior partitions, the dwelling consisting of a single square apartment. In every case that came under my observation the interior was very untidy. 342 353 [354] [356]

The Indians openly objected to our entering their houses, hence I could gain only casual glimpses of their domiciles, the furnishing of which seems to be an imitation of that of the dwellings of the few Spanish people living among them or in the immediate neighborhood. 352 123 177

Outside the houses they generally have a cane-crusher of primitive type, with horizontal smooth cylinders moved by means of levers at each end. A loom and a grinding stone are also seen occasionally under an adjacent shelter (plates iv,[1] and vi).[2] 407 286 412

There may often be seen, either about or inside the housse, very large jars used as receptacles in the elaboration of the chicha. These utensils seem to be almost the only survival of the ancient earthenware industry. The smaller pottery vessels which were seen occasionally had been taken from old graves. 415 [192]

Each group of houses, in which several generations of a single family dwell, is surrounded by a small enclosed field, planted with sugar-cane, plantains, oranges and other fruits, and greens and roots of daily use. The garden enclosure is formed by a ditch, inside of which is a wooden fence or a stone wall, the latter often crowned by a hedge of maguey (*Furcræa*), lechero (*Euphorbia*), borrachero (*Solanum*), and other bushes. 351 [592] [247]

[1] [See plate facing p. 317 — Analyst]

[2] [See plate facing p. 320 — Analyst]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

deserted savannas. It must be said, in extenuation, that they have been subjected to much abuse by their neighbors of the "superior race." Moreover, the Paeces are naturally hostile to strangers, descending, as we have seen, from a warlike people. The old Paeces always went about armed, carrying a lance or javelin in the hand and ready to protect their bodies from the darts of an enemy by means of a shield of basket-work (*opimb*), or of tapir hide (*χimba-kdt*). The warlike tendencies of the tribe were stimulated by means of periodical contests in which the most valiant warriors fought each other in the presence of the multitude.

To-day, as we have seen, the descendants of these have abundant opportunity to satisfy their fighting propensity by taking sides in the frequent quarrels of the political parties that thus far have kept Colombia in an almost continual turmoil.

Sexual intercourse between Paez women and men of other races is said not to exist; barbarous chastisement would be the fate of the offending female. It is to be expected, however, that the closer contact brought about by the gradual penetration of the Tierra Andentro by whites and negroes will soon overcome the purity of the Paez blood and open the way to amalgamation with the neo-Colombian race.

Reclus, cited above (page 311), gives us to understand that the Paez were cannibals, and the tradition current in the villages along the western foot of the cordillera confirms his intimation with reference to the Pijaos; for the coming of "el Pijao" is still a menace to children. The early chroniclers tell us of several anthropophagous tribes which lived in this region, and it is not unlikely that the Paeces had a share in that custom.

GRAMMATICAL NOTES

Castillo's *Nociones gramaticales* is limited to a list of the personal pronouns and the conjugation of the verbs 'to be' and 'to write.' A few more grammatical indications are incorporated in the vocabularies, but on the whole these data are very meager, and much remains to be done in this direction.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

193

Perfectum

1st p.	*anki-t fis*, I wrote;	*kuè-k-uel ta-u fis*, we wrote;
2d p.	*inui-ng fis*	*ik-uel ik-u fis*
3d p.	*kinâ-k fis*	*kinâ-g-uel tink fis.*

Futurum

1st p.	*anki fis an-et*, I shall write;	*kuè-k-uel fis an-et ka-u*, we shall write;
2d p.	*inui fis an-eng.*	*ik-uel fis an-ek*
3d p.	*kina fis an-en*	*kinâ-g-uel fis a-tin.*

Castillo gives two more forms for the Præsens:

1st p.	*fis ats-it*, I am writing, or painting;	*fis ats-i-ta-u*, we are (etc.);
2d p.	*fis ats-ing*	*fis ats-ik-ua*
3d p.	*fis ats-ik*	*fis ats-i-ta*

and

1st p.	*fis n-op-t*, I am writing, or painting;	*fis op-ta-u*, we are (etc.);
2d p.	*fis op-nga*	*fis n-op-kua*
3d p.	*fis n-op-a*	*fis n-op-ta.*

The infix *ats* is an affirmative particle; *ôp* is a kind of auxiliary verb, corresponding with 'to be,' or 'to have.' The *k* and *g* of the plural forms (1st and 3d pers.) are simply euphonic intercalations.

The imperative tense is often formed by prefixing or suffixing *mä*, with a frequent elision of the *ä*, as in the following examples:

Tund-e-mä! Run! (Hurry up!)
Tata mä-palla! Go (and) call (your) father!
Atta-mä! Go away!
Kla m-ue (mä-ue)! Catch the cow!
Io m-pts! Give (me) water!
Mi-io! Come!

E. — *Borrowed Words*

192
177

(1) *From the Spanish.* — As might have been expected, we find in Paez quite a number of Spanish words, most of which are included in the following list:

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

192
.177

kmisa,	for *camisa*,	shirt.
kneia,	" *guineo*,	a variety of banana.
kiso,	" *queso*,	cheese.
ktiil,	" *cuchillo*,	knife (machete).
kutti,	" *coche*,	pig.
letti,	" *leche*,	milk.
mama,	" *mamá*,	mother.
mil,	" *miel*,	honey.
pango,	" *banco*,	bench.
sap,	" *sapo*,	toad.
senda,	" *cinta*,	ribbon.
tlapon,	" *eslabon*,	fire-steel.
ticle,	" *tigre*,	jaguar.

(2) *From the Kitšua.* — In describing the territory occupied by the Paez and the neighboring tribes which later became consolidated with them, we have seen that it was, and is still, in close proximity to the northern end of the area occupied by the Kitšua (see the map, plate 1). Intercourse between these peoples has been necessarily frequent, and many words have become common to both languages. Castillo's editor, the late Professor Uricoechea, obtained a list of some of these words from Mr G. Pacheco Zegarra, who had perused Castillo's vocabulary. To these I added a few, notwithstanding which the list still remains very incomplete, as the lack of an extensive Kitšua dictionary, including the northern dialects, forbade any further effort on my part to make it longer:

D77]

Paez	*Kitšua*
akets, cinder	*akku*, cinder
atsi, to sneeze (onomatope)	*atsii*, to sneeze
atall-pits, rooster	*atall-pa*, rooster
anaku, part of woman dress	*anaku*, part of woman's dress
ds-a, to stink	*as-nana*,
atia, very	*átia* (*antia*), much, very
alko, dog	*allko*, dog
aú, yes	*aú*, yes
kipa-ki, to overtake by following	*kipa*, behind, after
killim, drivel, dirt	*kelli*, drivel, dirt
kandul, vulture (condor)	*kuntur*, vulture
ia-yi, blooming sugar-cane	*ia-yin*, blooming sugar-cane, also a vine

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

killka, paper, letter, book	*killka*, paper, letter, book
kaftoni, to lick	*kaftoni*, to bite
kikin, again	*kikin*, again
kakka, father-in-law	*kakka*, father-in-law
laki, lax, feeble, lazy	*llaki*, feeble faint, sad
mutlai, to kiss	*mutlai*, kiss
mil, cat	*misi*, *mitti*, cat
miski, honey	*miski*, honey
muti, boiled corn	*muti*, boiled corn
lla, to complete, to finish	*lla*, so (Span. *ya*! ya se acabó = *lla*)
llusa, sugar-cane, sweet cane	*llak-llu*, sweet, applied to any fruit
pillu-skia; to hate, to quarrel	*pilla-tsina*, to be angry
pisko, turkey	*pilku*, bird
puki, watershed	*pucyu*, watershed
pein, to ask	*pin ?* who is it?
tlumbe, sash to support the *anaku*	*tlumbi*, sash, girdle
tlpi-pi, turkey	*tlumpi*, brown
ukupa-ki, to push	*ukupa-tlii*, to push
uás, a hut	*huási*, house
vite-pasak, one hundred	*patlak*, one hundred

(3) *From other Languages.* — It is likely that the Paez language borrowed many other terms from neighboring tribes, but thus far we lack the necessary material for comparison. As explained above, since Castillo's residence among these Indians their language seems to have undergone considerable change, especially in its vocabulary, a fact readily explained if we admit that the present Paez are composed of the remains of several tribes, greatly reduced in number by their wars with the Spanish conquerors and the hardships they suffered after their submission to the new rule. With the Chibcha, the analogies seem reduced to the rules of construction, the vocabulary being totally distinct.

F. — *The Numerals*

1. *Jas*, *vitetl*	*tetl*
2. *Ens*	*ens*
3. *Tek*	*tek*
4. *Pans*	*tans*

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

192	*pénl*	old, when speaking of a female — Cast.: (*e-pentl*)
[601]	*pénl + kuł*	old woman, grandmother
	pél	sister of a brother
	pél + nái-tain (T) *pel + nu-le* (H)	elder sister of a brother
	pél + nátl (T) *pél + nutl-kuł* (H)	younger sister of a brother
	péts (H)	sweat
	pets-χlta	throat
	pian dłán usta	half
	pikas	beam
[824]	*pindo*	*Gynerium saccharoides*, a tall grass used in making hats
	pinsó	*Alnus* sp., the South American alder
	piplo	bijao (*Heliconia* sp.) a plantain-like plant
	piplo + knieia (T) *piplo + kneia* (H)	dwarf plantain
● [177]	*pizko* (H), *tłpi-pi* (T)	turkey (Span.: *bimbo*, or *chumpipe*); both Paez words are derived from the Kithua
	pittka	a variety of large tick — Cast.: *guakó*
	pitá	sheep — Cast.: *kapila*
[824]	*phind* (T) *phind + a* (H)	guava tree (*Psidium guajava*)
	phind + a-iún (H) *phind + bits* (T)	guava, fruit
	plán (T)	plantain
	plán + debih	manzana, a variety of banana
	plán + d-its	ripe plantain
	plán + hák	baked plantain
	plán + háts	plantain peel
	plán + tshúχ	boiled plantain
[824]	*plũ*	shade — Cast.: *pnasó*
	pull	*Tropaeolum tuberosum*, a plant with edible tubers

/284 cont./

132 gives rise to cold local winds that blow through the valley of the Páez, affecting chiefly the areas of Vitoncó, Suin, Chinas, San José, Mosoco, and also the parcialidad /a territorial division/ of Calderas itself. The variation in temperature is noticeable in these zones sometimes having hot days and very cold nights. Nebulosity is almost constant, especially in the northern zones.

241 Economy.--The topographic and climatic characteristics permit the cultivation of various plants, such as maize, beans, bananas, sugar cane, yuca, arracacha, and gourds in the temperate zones, and in the cold ones potatoes, maize, ullucos, [433] beans, gourds, and cabbage. The produce barely leaves a [439] surplus for trade with the parcialidades and urban centers of [438] Belalcázar, Inzá, and Valencia. The potato crops of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José serve for an active trade with the Paez of the western slope of the cordillera, across the Páramo de Moras.

433 Coffee and the production of panela are important lines 245 in the economy of the colonists and also of numerous groups 249 of acculturated natives. The coffee of Tierradentro is con- 177 sidered one of the best in the country, owing to the quality and mildness of the bean.

231 /285/ The raising of livestock flourishes among the civilized 437 groups. For the natives it serves for maintaining a barter trade with their neighbors, the white and mestizo colonists.

311 On the whole, native production is relatively scant, 433 giving rise to times of "hambruna" /ravenous hunger/ when [731] the summers or winters are rather harsh. The workable land lies in the small plains and valleys of rivers and streams, on the alluvial terraces, and on the plateaus. Comparing the size of Tierradentro with that of its arable land, the latter appears scant, a problem that is aggravated by the increase in population and the habitual burning.

101 Population.--Tierradentro is the country of the Paez, 36/ who at the time of the Conquest were settled to the north of

/285 cont./

101 the Ullucos river, since to the south of it were found the Topas,
361 Yaguiváes, and Guanaca. It seems that in the fifteenth century,
[166 193] under the rule of the cacique Calambás, the Paez went over the cordillera and settled in Pitayó, Toribío, and Tacueyó.

162 Dr. José Pérez de Barradas gave a number of 30,000 souls.
[161] The census of 1938 gives a total of 17,578 inhabitants distributed as follows: municipio of Páez (Belalcázar), 13,861; municipio of Inzá, 3,717. The censuses of 1951 give a total of 25,495 inhabitants, with 15,388 in the municipio of Páez and 10,103 in that of Inzá. It is obvious that the census of 1938 was defective, especially with regard to the population of this last municipio.

[177] Of this population, approximately 80 per cent is Indian, acculturated for the most part, except for those of Calderas, Suin, and Chinas, where traditions are strong and their contacts with the white scant, and in addition there is great resistance to living with him.

142 The Paez are of medium height, with light brown skin, dark brown eyes, straight black hair, broad foreheads, rather pronounced cheekbones, pentagonal rather than oval faces,
361 robust constitutions, and rather broad shoulders. Their pueblos
796 consist of a church, a school, the house of the priest and of
342 the cabildo, and a few other houses which are occupied only at the times of religious fiestas; they live in ranchos that are rectangular in plan, with thatched roofs and walls made of tight rows of maize stalks, /286/ located on privately owned land and a considerable distance apart.

291 Dress.--The Paez dress simply. The man wears linen trousers, a poncho tied to the waist with a leather strap and another that falls freely from the shoulders, and a hat which they manufacture themselves with palm or bamboo leaves. The woman wears a wide skirt tied around the waist with a multicolored band preceding the folds made at the back, a poncho similar to the one worn by the men and also tied around

000 /288 cont./
756 medicine men. To cure the patient, he divines which of the
755 supernatural beings caused the illness, proceeds to placate him,
[787] and then prescribes medicines to the patient. If the placation
is not successful, the patient literally sinks into despair. The
indispensable articles for all curing are coca, tobacco, and
[462] aguardiente. The medicine men are persons well along in years
[754] and belonging to the masculine sex. They cannot cure the
effects of sorcery, although they can protect themselves against
it.

754 c) Fifty per cent of all illnesses, the informants state,
[753] are caused by sorcery, and by the same token 50 per cent of
[761] the deaths, since sorcery is incurable. The sorcerers conceal
their activities, and it seems that all adults are potential sor-
754 cerers. The institution of sorcery is a true escape valve for the
154 strong aggressive impulses of the natives and to some extent
plays the role of a social regulator. Through it are channeled
the jealousy, resentment, and vengefulness of the natives.
The victims of sorcery are the most skillful and hard-working
individuals, those who have a good house, good crops, and a
growing number of domestic animals. Harvests and plantings
[683] generally are the object of sorcery. Sorcerers who are publicly
unmasked are exposed to the anger of the community and even
to exile, a measure taken not so much on account of their be-
[685] ing sorcerers as of their being thieves. All sorcerers are thieves.
Sorcery appears with considerable frequency in the symbolism
of dreams.

583 Marriage.--Marriage is monogamous and patrilocal. Both
[595] the chroniclers and Dr. Gregorio Hernández de Alba speak of
[591] the custom of the year of probation to acquaint the man with
[177] the skill, energy, and fecundity of his future wife. A thriving
[797] institution in times past, it is now in sharp decline owing to the
action of mission work. Obviously, the purpose of this insti-
tution is to find out whether the woman is hard-working, faith-
ful, not a thief, and to understand her ways in order to establish
a lasting union. Nowadays the Paez, before being married

/288 cont./
583 in the church, live together for a period of indeterminate duration, explaining that /289/ the man does not have enough money at hand to marry as soon as he asks the woman, and it is necessary to work in order to obtain it.

771 Religion.--The religion of the Paez is formally Catholicism,
177 but many of their traditions are hidden in it. The principal
[796] fiestas of the natives are religious ones, which acquire true strokes of splendor. The Catholic priest is called upon for the ceremonies of baptism, marriage, and cases of death.

Chapter II

631 Calderas.--Incrusted in the very heart of Tierradentro is the
131 Parcialidad of Calderas, bounded on the north by a high ridge
133 that separates it from Chinas and Avirama; on the east, La Muralla, the very model of a fault, separates it from Avirama, just as a ridge separates it from Togoima; to the south, deep gorges and high peaks separate it from San Andrés and Togoima; to the west, the Quebrada Guacharaca divides it from the Parcialidad of Lame.

133 It is crossed from west to east by the Quebrada Kukiyú,
631 actually a river in terms of the volume and violence of its waters, whose bed is deep, enclosed, and inaccessible. Its
[423] left bank is somewhat softened by a beautiful plateau of about 20 hectares, with fertile lands, abundant waters, and on which the pueblo rises; it belongs to the community, whereas the other lands are private property guaranteed by the fact that the owner either personally cleared the montaña or inherited it from his ancestors who cleared the forest. The right bank is steep, harsh,
[161] rugged. Numerous clearings are to be seen on these sloping
[311] lands, indicating the increase in population that compels them to cultivate lands of low fertility and great danger for the laborer.

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

/289 cont./

142 The Calderuno /native of Calderas/ is rather tall, with a light copper skin, straight black hair, a straight nose somewhat flattened and broad at the base, slightly prominent cheekbones, dark brown eyes reminiscent of the Mongolian eye, a broad forehead, long and robust extremities, a slightly pentagonal face; many have mustaches, and, on the whole, the 157 features are rather /290/ handsome. On the other hand, he is talkative, communicative, deeply traditionalistic, proud [361] of himself, and has a deep love of the land. Isolated as they [177] are from the other parcialidades by natural accidents and far removed from the urban centers of Inzá and Belalcázar, they are shy, sullen, and withdrawn with the white, stubbornly opposed to contact with him, and, as a result their institutions, have suffered less from the impact of cultural mestization. 797 Not even the very church that has worked so persistently for the 177 catechization of these tribes, especially in this century through the Lazarist missionaries active since 1905, has been able to penetrate fully into the soul of these people.

114, I have carried out my research in this parcialidad since 773 the month of August of last year, with several interruptions. [124] The myths and tales which I now present were gathered with patient labor after much waiting, for the natives, when questioned about these themes, nearly always reply with the word himeto ("I don't know"). There is no need to stress the importance of mythology as an institution in the so-called "primitive" cultures. Nor is it my intention to theorize on the subject. It is enough to say, in the words of Herskovits, that "mitología es como la carta constitucional de las creencias y presta sentido a la conducta ritual que se deriva de sus consagraciones /mythology is the constitutional charter of beliefs and gives meaning to the ritualistic behavior that is derived from its consecrations/" (1). The chroniclers tell

1. Herskovits, p. 409 /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 309/.

4:Bernal Villa--1 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

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I

Point of Departure

631 To the north of the municipio of Inzá and to the west of
[361] the confluence of the Ullucos and Páez rivers, two hours on horseback from the points just mentioned, the corregimiento /district governed by a corregidor/ of San Andrés is found on the left bank of the Pisimbalá torrent, an affluent of the
[175] Ullucos. Its name has been registered in the parochial books
[63] since 1736, when the priest José Fernández Belalcázar, as the
[797] representative of the Bishop of Popayán, initiated in San Andrés de Pisimbalá pastoral visits to the Paez pueblos.

361 San Andrés de Pisimbalá is a pueblo with the same characteristics that we have noted in other Paez centers; that is to say, it consists of a church, a school, the rectory, the house of the cabildo, and some others used solely for the celebration of religious fiestas. It is located on a small plateau, a ledge hanging on the declivity..

563 At the present time it is inhabited by whites and mestizos
177 whose ways of life, norms of behavior, and labor practices
361 have been imposed on the natives. Resistance to contact has
[648] been overcome, but active resentment against the white still
[566] crops out among the old people. Almost completely acculturated, many of them have sunk to the state of tenant farmers. The phenomenon of the colonization of Indians and land is the same everywhere. The Indian loses his land and sinks into servitude.

In 1926 the Municipal Council of Inzá created a settlement area with clearly delineated boundaries in a common agreement /178/ between the municipal authorities and the cabildo. The colonists established themselves in that area. The valley of the Pisimbalá torrent is narrow, but extremely fertile. It belongs in its entirety to a few families of colonists,

/178 cont./

361 who have established coffee and sugar-cane plantations and
[563] cattle ranches. The natives occupy the steep and barren sec-
[177] tions.

The pueblo of San Andrés consists of 23 bahareque houses
[342] /houses with walls made with two faces of sticks with mud and stone between them/ with thatched roofs. Only one is of brick and tiles. In its general lines the plan is reminiscent of that of Spanish centers: a central plaza with houses around it.
346 The church, which is large, thatched, and white, has a hand-
361 some façade, with a bell tower, arches and columns, a style reminiscent of colonial architecture; it stands in the center of the plaza and was built in the first decade of the nineteenth century by Padre Joaquín Núñez y Tobar. On its south side there stands a large, very old and dilapidated building where the school and the rectory functions; on the other sides it is surrounded by the colonists' houses.

366 There are two stores with a regular supply of merchandise, and on Wednesdays there is a small market where one beef, a few agricultural products, and chicha are sold.

133 Toward the end of the Pisimbalá valley are found the not
175 very extensive plateaus of Argentina and El Rodeo. El Rodeo has marked historical significance; for a long time it was called Segovia. In the spirit of conquest and colonization, the town of Nueva Segovia was founded there by Captain Hernando Arias Saavedra in accordance with the mandate of Governor Sancho Espinar, who in 1578 gave up these lands after his vainglorious campaign against the Paez. It was short-lived. On this same plateau Mosquera's rebellion against the government of Don Mariano Ospina Rodríguez was won by his spectacular victory over the government forces headed by
[317] General Joaquín París (1). In spite of this, the markets for

1. González, David. Los paeces /The Paez/, manuscript.

/184 cont./

342 bear its entire weight. Over this frame are placed transversally
335 the pikas, beams that go from one wall to another, to strengthen
476 the entire structure. Then the four-slope roof will be raised and covered with bundles of sugar-cane leaves (flushets) or straw (sits) which are fastened around the frame, starting at the bottom; it is completed by the ridgepiece, more massive and notched in a straight line on both sides to a depth of some 50 centimeters; at the apex, some mounds of straw are piled up at regular intervals and a cross is set in each one of them. The man in charge directs the last touches from the ground: "There is not enough straw over there; there is too much here," he notes in a commanding voice.

The walls are made with tall stalks of maize placed in a row between the posts and tied with crosswise bindings, likewise of stalks. The partitions of the interior rooms and the doors, generally one, which leads to the exterior, are made in the same way.

342 In the construction all do the same tasks, except for the
476 man in charge, who supervises. Neither the man in charge nor
465 the workers are paid anything, "it is not customary to pay among the Indians"; they are merely treated to chicha, aguardiente, a meal with meat, and coca. A calabash of chicha and a bottle of aguardiente are presented to the man in charge and shared with the helpers. When the work is done, they get drunk and dance.

342 The women do not participate directly in the /185/
462 /illustration appears here/ construction work; they cook, distribute
476 food, keep the house supplied with firewood and water, talk, and delouse and comb one another.

342 Three types of dwellings may be differentiated among the
177 Paez, in accordance with the greater or lesser introduction and acceptance of foreign architectural features, since nowadays elements of foreign origin are spreading and taking root: bahareque construction, interior division into rooms, the square

/185 cont./

342 house-plan, the use of nails, plank doors, and even locks and
177 keys to safeguard the dwelling; likewise, whitewashing is not unknown.

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342 The rectangular hut is the most primitive type of dwelling:
352 tiny and light, crude and totally artless; a two-slope roof, walls
353 of stalks laced together with an /186/ entrance door; an earthen
231 floor; a kitchen in the center, with hides all around it; pouches suspended from the posts; on a three-legged beam, the grinding stone; a smoke-blackened interior; and living intimately with the guinea pigs.

/186 cont./

with the guinea pigs. These ranchos give the impression of extreme poverty in their dwellings. None of them is of bahareque.

The second type of dwelling, which is more widespread and shows a larger number of foreign architectural elements, is the large rectangular house with a four-slope roof, 15 to 20 meters long by four or five meters wide, with one or two doors and two or three rooms, one of which takes up two-thirds of the space made, and the last third is subdivided into the room intended for the kitchen and the other for the chicha troughs and pantry. Not a few of the dwellings of this type have a compartment for menstruating women (du yate léchukue), although as a rule small huts are built outside the house for this purpose.

In this type of dwelling one commonly finds bahareque, sleeping platforms, plank doors, and sometimes whitewashed walls.

The settlement of Calderas is made up of this kind of dwelling. It consists of 14 houses scattered at random on a beautiful plateau of some 20 hectares, covered with pastures and crossed by drainage ditches that bring water to five of the houses, which are permanently occupied; the others, although they have owners, serve only for religious fiestas when the fiestero /fiesta leader/ moves there with his retinue of mayordomos, laborers, cooks, and the utensils for serving aguardiente, chicha, and food. These houses are spacious, 25 meters long by six meters wide; thick mud walls, with a plank door at the entrance; the enormous sala, fiuhne wala, is 13 meters long; here stand the sugar mill, the metate (ũkukuat), the notched ladder for climbing to the garret, the pango pil, crudely hewn rectangular beams on which the men sit, one of which is 10 meters long; firewood is piled in one of the corners; the floor is of earth unevenly smoothed. The concentrations of people who visit the fiestero in a daily stream gather in these spacious salas; here music echoes, the albacero /fiestero's assistant/ is taken care of, the dances take place, the drunks sleep, and the sugar cane is milled.

/186 cont./

346 There are four other small rooms, five meters /187/ long
796 by three meters wide. Two of them are independent of each other, with their respective doors opening into the sala; one serves as a kitchen and the other to roast the maize griddle-cakes. At the other end of the house are the two other rooms, connected with each other by one door and with the sala by another. The workers sleep in one, and in the other are the troughs of chicha, the bottles of aguardiente, and the laurel candles.

342 The third type of dwelling, very scarce in Calderas, has
249 a square floor plan. It has the sala, two kitchens, and the du yate léchukue. Whatever type of dwelling a Paez family may own, they all have as an indispensable accessory the sugar mill,
[262] either inside the house or outside it. Actually, if it is kept in
[273] mind that the basic sustenance of the natives is provided by
[276] maize, cabbage, chicha, and coca, this instrument is indispensable.

342 In addition, each house is supplied with water, taken from
312 springs, streams, or falls, through the extremely skillful construction of ditches which skirt the valleys, hills, and slopes. Their lands have abundant water. They are not familiar with artesian wells.

342 In a way, the enormous salas in the houses of Calderas
● 177 represent the ramadas which are found among the whites,
249 mestizos, and acculturated Indians of San Andrés; they are built independently of the dwellings, with a sugar mill and an oven to boil down the cane juice and make panela. In this parcialidad, the panela industry is quite well developed. In Calderas it does not exist.

584 Among the Paez, land, marriage, family, and house form
583 a close and indissoluble unit. It lends warmth and meaning to
[183] a number of emotional, sentimental, and sociological complexes. This begins when the pubescent boy feels the need for a partner who will help him in his work and assuage to some extent the rigors of solitude. The love awakened by a dark, shapely maiden impels him to ask her parents for her. "Give my your daughter. I am alone and need help in my work,"

/190 cont./

372 cult of fire. In times past, fire was obtained with "steel and
773 tinder." Whatever the case may be, the mythical accounts

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372 disclose the usury of the owner of fire and anxiety when they were
773 on the verge of losing it. Nowadays, when through carelessness
[177] it goes out in a household, the matches of the whites are used to revive it.

513 The Indians go to bed early. At seven o'clock at night the
512 parents and the children lie down in a common bed on the dry hides of cattle, keeping on their bodies the clothes that covered

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XXIV

The Race for the Rooster at Tumbichukue

103 The name of Tumbichukue is familiar to the colonists throughout Tierradentro. It is synonymous with fabulous treasures. In this place, it is said, the Paez buried all the gold and silver that they collected in the ill-fated settlement of Sebastián Quintero destroyed by them.

[131] Tumbichukue is a pass /vereda/ formed by the eastern slopes of the paramo of San Lucas and located between the Kukiyú and the Yusayú gorge (Guacharaca). It belongs to the parcialidad of Lame, and the road that goes from San Andrés [491] to Lame passes precisely there. This road is well traveled, its people more accessible to the whites.

796 On June 24 the men race their horses along the road.
541 It is a custom of Indians and whites "to race on the day of San Juan." The whites say that those who do not race their horses on the day of San Juan get scabies. The small, husky horses pant under the demands of their drunken riders. A wild race and shouts in an unsteady voice: Viva San Juan!

The people of the pass go to a small square along the road, near which lives the capitán of Lame. Indians from
184 San Andrés come to watch the race for the rooster. On the
796 other hand, in spite of the nearness, no Calderun /person from
291 Calderas/ is seen there. The women who are seen are clean,
177 with neatly braided hair; they wear black skirts, navy-blue
301 rebozos, pink blouses, numerous multi-colored necklaces,
541 bright earrings, and cloth hats. The monotonous dark or black necklaces characteristic of Paez apparel are nearly absent among these people. The classic pindo hat worn by the [91] Calderas people is absent. Spanish is spoken more frequently.

796 All the riders are concentrating on the cage and the
541 roosters.

/220 cont./

XXVI

Religious Fiestas

796 Among the Paez there are no secular collective celebrations. All are religious. They celebrate with pomp and grandeur: San Andrés, Semana Santa, San Juan, San Pedro and San Pablo, La Santa Cruz, El Día de Difuntos, La Inmaculada Concepción...

[178] The Lazarist missionary, David González, says that as [179] far back as 1689 the fiestas were organized as they were found in 1905, that is to say, as they are today. Each pueblo was [177] granted a patron saint and various other protectors. In spite of this, only San Juan Bautista and San Pedro and San Pablo, whose fiestas are celebrated when maize is eared /en macollaje/, the rains are heavier, and the winds are violent, the day of the dead /el día de difuntos/ with its offerings to the souls, the Inmaculada Concepción, when grain is abundant, and the Semana Santa (El Resucitado /The Resurrected/) were the fiestas and saints that aroused the most enthusiasm and sank the deepest roots in the souls of these natives.

771 The Paez, and especially those of Calderas, are religious 796 in externals, not in conviction; they are more concerned with 182 form than with substance. This is revealed in the religious fiestas of these natives. /221/ Few of them attend mass, and fewer yet pray at vespers. To the great majority of them, religious fiestas mean a squandering of gunpowder, lights, aguardiente, and chicha. An abundance of food. The pleasure of getting together. The joy of contact. The music, which assuages hardship, and the dancing, an exteriorization of feelings. It is the expansiveness that leads to gatherings, the sexual jokes that spring up among them without misgivings; it is the continuous drunkenness. It is the display of generosity, the exercises in co-operation and altruism.

796 The priest, as a punishment for failure to attend the Mass 793 on the part of the chief fiestero and albacero, refused to carry 718

/229 cont./

75 from time to time he puts in more coca and more mambe,
[276] which he takes from a small calabash (kuetand tuka), pours on his right fist, and throws with force into his mouth. He watches. Sorcerers work systematically to send him the ptans, and they must not catch him unprepared. The signs warn him as to when he must blow the chew in order to contain the ptans.

He tells the patient that the signs are favorable; there will be an immediate improvement. The pains which assail him are due to the ptans which he has from the vertex to the nape.

After 20 minutes in a motionless and expectant state, the curer stands up with his face raised, as though illuminated, walks jauntily to the tama, blows the chew violently; he fills the small gourd with aguardiente and tosses it into the air. This is the invitation to Thunder.

He returns again to his place, takes a cigar and crushes more than half of it, puts more mambe in his mouth, and remains quiet, his hands folded and his arms resting on his knees. Only the deepness of the night with its characteristic sounds disturbs this decisive moment. No carelessness. It might have fatal consequences. He remains in this position for about 40 minutes.

Then he takes the chew from his mouth with his hand and tosses it in the direction of the tama, after having passed it around his body. The patient does likewise. He immediately tells the sick man that he must return with all the remedies. He interrupts his work. Thunder has shown himself to be
75 favorable. Since the patient has ptans, a good "cleansing"
783 must be done, for which he must bring three pounds of meat to be eaten after the cleansing, chicha, one pound of coca, one liter of aguardiente, and six cigars. The curer himself must
• [177] go to the lagoon in search of the remedies. He advises the patient that for a period of three months at least he must not use the drugs of the whites, for if he did so, he would die.

The cleansing of the ptans. At 7:00 P.M. the patient comes to the house of the curer. He hands over the medicines

* /251 cont./

756 In any case, "the curers have something and are kind,"
554 said one informant. They are respected, and at entertainments they are attended to in the room where important people (síndico, capitán, gobernador, eminent old people) are received, and they are served on larger plates.

Prestige is an advantage of the curer. It is not unusual for the curer to command more devotion than the capitán of the Parcialidad.

All the curers claim to be happy in their profession, and many are grateful to their teacher for his instruction. The advantage of being a curer is to be waited on by people, to be singled out from among the others, and also to be pursued for his knowledge, says one Calderun curer. Everyone seeks him out as a good curer; many of them are regarded as priests, for people come daily to their homes to look for them. They have more power than other people.

The curer has a high social status by virtue of his functions. But for no reason other than these functions. He commands respect and recognition for services rendered. No one can treat him badly. If during a drinking bout he is offended in some way, on the following day they hasten to make amends.

* 756 /252/ Psychological characteristics of the Té eu. The
157 curers vary in age from 30 to 70 years old. As a rule, they
156 have eyes deeply set in the orbital sockets, a penetrating gaze, a readiness to converse and laugh, a gentle manner, not at all aggressive; they are temperate and show much self-control and sureness in their movements.

A characteristic motor habit: seated on a very low log, they give the impression of squatting; their arms rest on their knees and with their hands they stroke their temples or chin. This motor habit is prevalent among Paez men.

[177] Their clothing is typically Paez; they do not favor change,
[291] although they are friendly enough with whites. They always
[757] advise their patients not to use the remedies of the whites or they will die.

/257 cont./

757 554 152 598 A curer from Santa Rosa, while taking a spell off a sick person, explained that this man owned much land and that they had cast a spell upon him in order to appropriate it.

In Calderas a man who can read, write, and make memorials for the Alcaldía of Inzá, a maker of fireworks, builder of houses, and good farmer, was naturally the cause of envy. A sorcerer wanted to kill him. He called his soul while he was asleep. But the one called was aided by the soul of his brother, who blew mambe toward him. On the following day his left eye became white and was on the point of dropping out. A curer was able to cure him, but he remained one-eyed. The two brothers remained enemies of the sorcerer.

754 813 623 On another occasion and in the same parcialidad, two brothers gave a sorcerer a beating. In revenge he cast a spell on both within a year. Fearful of punishment, the sorcerer went to other parcialidades, but on his return the cabildo put him in the stocks.

In the old days -- says a curer from Santa Rosa -- the cabildos punished the sorcerers. Those of today are afraid of them. The elders /mayores/ have died bewitched. Actually, the Indians refuse to serve on the cabildo or to accept the post of capitán for fear of the sorcerers.

754 685 The sorcerers are all thieves. They often steal under the very eyes of the owner, who, fearful that they will cast a spell upon him, does not make the slightest protest. But the sorcerers, in turn, fearful that he might complain to the white authorities, cast a spell upon him.

754 In Calderas, those who purchase livestock to expand their small hacienda have been attacked by sorcery.

754 177 554 The Indian who has lived with the whites, who has adopted their clothing, their dietary habits, and their agricultural and cattle-raising techniques, /258/ and who has given up the habit of consuming coca and chicha is not only the victim of magical attacks, but is the direct recipient of offensive words and deeds.

/258 cont./

754 Thus, the victims are "the most skillful, the most charitable
554 toward travelers, the friends of the whites, those who display the most friendliness among the natives, those who have much livestock, large tracts of land, good plantings." In this phrase are listed almost the full gamut of the victims of sorcery. From previous examples, we see that those who have land, animals, mental ability and manual dexterity, and good fields, the energetic numbers of the cabildo, those who take the path
[182] of transculturation, are victims of sorcery. In addition, revenge and resentment are evened up by means of sorcery.

754 It is not surprising that undesirable whites are victims of
648 sorcery. The undesirable ones are those who covet their lands. The curers, on their own initiative or supported by the cabildo, call the soul of the white at a strategic spot, capture it, whip it with pringamoza (Urticaceae) and put bad remedies on it so that it will never return to the region. They say that the white begins to feel too lazy to travel in the area and finally decides to return to his country.

[177] In parcialidades such as Calderas, where much resistance is shown against living with and contact with the white, there are some people who are such sorcerers and such enemies of the white that even in the church they leave enchanted eggs so that not even the priest will come.

754 Among the victims of sorcery are parturient women and newborn babies, when the sorcerer or other envious persons do not want a certain family to prosper.

The power of sorcerers extends not only to human beings
[433] and animals, but also to the plantings. The loss of a planting
[167] means suffering from hunger, a shortage of coca, and emi-
[464] gration of the parents to distant places in order to hire out as laborers.

In the clearing they may put enchanted eggs, salt, pubic hair, or capio maize in order that the planting be lost.

/263 cont./

182 754 The people perceive only the effects. Only the expectant attitude announces to us its presence. The latent fears tell us of its vigor. The members of the cabildo, the capitán, the té eu, the working men, the parturient women have a strong fear of sorcery.

When the pest spreads through the community, when the elders die and their experience and advice are lost, thoughts [761] turn inevitably to the power of the sorcerers. Most deaths are brought about by sorcerers, the informants say.

754 182 177 Sorcery is a powerful barrier against the introduction of the customs of a capitalist economy and also against the intrusion of the whites in their parcialidades. It is strange that sorcery should exist in the less acculturated parcialidades, while in San Andrés it has practically disappeared. It is said to have been vigorous until 1926, the year when the Municipal Council of Inzá established in the parcialidad a settlement area in which the whites settled. With this measure living together was inescapable and they chose to accept them. Nevertheless, during the drinking bouts of the old people, the tremendous resentment that has become natural to them still crops out.

182 754 423 [554] [152] Furthermore, it makes its influences felt in the distribution of land. Each family has lands from which it lives. With the increase in population the problem of their unequal distribution has become prominent. Those who have the most land are the targets of envy and sorcery; they are more prone to magical attacks aimed at taking away their land. Intrasocial tensions 754 182 appear to be brought into equilibrium by means of this institution. The fear of reprisals checks aggression. Revenge is too prejudicial, since it can be manifested not only against [184] individuals, but also against animals and plantings. It is [177] perfectly true to say that while in Calderas acts of bloodshed [675] are rare and suicide is unknown, in San Andres, a parcialidad which is largely acculturated, the homicides, murders, and [762] cases of arson are hair-raising.

/293 cont./

221 on the fincas of the "whites" (1). The social life and the re-
[166]
[464]
[192]
[177]
[128]

1. Generic term with which the natives designate all those who observe the norms of western culture, without any distinction as to race. For convenience we have adopted this usage, putting the term in quotation marks.

ligious fiestas are frequent during this period. The work is done /294/ with devotion and perseverance. It is not done in haste, but there is no resting either.

423 Every Páez family has its lands. This is its ambition. The
[183] primary source of its security. Every crag has an owner whose title has been won by the sweat of his brow. Every crag harbors a rancho that shelters a family. Every inch of land is passionately
[570] defended by the native. The disputes stirred up by this fact are not few. In like manner the cabildos are never so zealous as in the defense of the lands of the parcialidad /a territorial division/.
[648] The areas of settlement /areas of colonization by whites/ are spearheads in the very heart of the community. They were established against the full opposition of the natives. On the other hand, the defense of the land and the prevention of contamination by foreign peoples are postulates of the doctrine. The distribution of the houses suggests in advance the profusion of paths and private property.

When they win the scarce land, the distances and difficul-
[464] ties that loom are not important. They are good colonizers, and it is rare that persons who lack land hire themselves out as permanent peons or become tenant farmers on the great haciendas.
[181] They prefer independence above all.

311 To study the economy of the Páez, certain factors of a
133 geographico-physical and cultural nature cannot be overlooked. They are:

1. Thermic levels. The lands now occupied by the Páez of Tierradentro correspond to the thermic levels of cold and temperate. The contour line corresponding to 2,000 meters

/294 cont./

311 passes through Topa, Turminá, Guanacas, El Cabuyo, Malvasá,
133 Pisimbalá, Lame, La Troja, and Irlanda, from where it twists eastward. The contour line of 3,000 meters, approximately parallel to the previous one, is very close to the ridge of the
[361] Central Cordillera. These two contour lines form a narrow zone that corresponds to the cold thermal level and within which are found the parcialidades of Toez, Huila, Vitoncó, San José, Mosoco, Lame, and Yaquivá, aside from a considerable area from the extinct parcialidades of Guanacas and Turminá.
311 This entire zone represents a "culturally influenced zone" in
[487] the literal sense that Professor Guhl gives it (2). A fine bridle-

2. Guhl, E. "Ambiente Geográfico-Humano de la Costa del Atlántico /Geographical-human Environment of the Atlantic Coast/," Revista Geográfica, p. 159.

[489] path joins Mosoco and Silvia, crossing the Paramo de Moras. The traffic of people is intense and constant during almost every /295/
311 month of the year. In the last decades, this has been an active zone
648 of native and "white" colonization. It still remains so. Coscuro
361 and Malvasá, in the Parcialidad of San Andrés, are purely "white" regions of colonization. But Tumbichukue, the high parts of Lame, Mosoco, San José, Huila, and Toez are zones of exclu-
361 sively native colonization. The importance of Mosoco is out-
311 standing. It was a great center of Páez settlement and still is, in the same manner as Pitayó and Tacueyó are on the other side of the Cordillera, but we cannot state on this account that "the major part of the settlements and the most important ones for the Paeces" are located in the cold region, as was stated
[177] categorically by Professor José Pérez de Barradas. Mosoco,
[433] fully in the process of acculturation, is a good producer of potatoes, wheat, and maize. It is the true Tierradentro in
[648] physiography, production, and progress. But in the times of
[175] the Conquest it was the people of Tálaga, Avirama, Calderas, and Togoima who defeated Ampudia and Belalcázar, and the

/310 cont./

243 As may be noted, the magical practices of the té eu are
756 absent, although there still exists that of the eating, which in
789 other parcialidades complements his practices.

249 The cultivation of sugar cane is quite widespread in the
273 temperate thermal level, although the plantings are not extensive and are not pursued for commercial purposes; they serve only for obtaining guarapo (fermented cane juice) for individual and collective labor and for social affairs. Guarapo is an essential part of the domestic economy, in the same manner
249 as coca. It is not produced for public pay. Each house has its
257 sugar mill, either outside or in its interior, but there are no ovens or other accessories for producing panela. The latter industry belongs exclusively to the white or mestizo people.

249 The cultivation of the cane requires three weedings before the first cutting. Three cuttings with good results are generally obtained from each planting.

245 The cultivation of coffee is also very widespread. Its expansion is of recent date, but it already has strong and universal acceptance, like cane and plantains. The method of cultivation suffers from certain deficiencies: the shade is insufficient and inadequate; there is no pruning; the care is not very satis-
[433] factory; many do not have pulping machines. The coffee
245 plantings produce several arrobas per year. The monetary in-
434 come of the natives in the temperate zone is provided basically by
[439] coffee. They sell it to steady and familiar customers for prices
[452] that are usually low. The coffee plantings secure credit for the natives; they often collect money or merchandise against a future
245 harvest. Coffee has permitted them /311/ to acquire dishes, to
434 modify their clothing, to enrich their agricultural equipment,
177 to buy every once in a while the drugs of the "whites." At harvest time they eat meat regularly, and they are also able to pay wages for the improvement of their fincas. But, above all,
[273] it opens the doors of the liquor stores to them. They consume considerable amounts of alcoholic beverages. They have not yet learned to make good use of their monetary income.

/316 cont./

105 Guambianos. They adorn themselves with showy necklaces and
178 pins. Not a few of them wear fine gold earrings.

[232] Livestock-raising has intensified and is in full swing. Norman cattle are replacing and being crossed with the native cattle. The same thing has happened with the wool-bearing livestock. The /317/ saddle and pack horses are indispensable for every family. The natives also possess fine breeds of hogs and domestic fowl.

[565] Social stratification is in full progress. Rich and poor families can already be named.

Mosoco women seldom marry natives from other, less acculturated parcialidades. People speak of mingas, and even of burials, of the rich and poor, a larger number of people going to those of the former.

They live on good terms with the whites and treat them as equals. There are many good native dealers.

These natives are thoroughly familiar with the methods of curing, the use of remedies, and sorcery. But the té eu and even more the nara jihi (sorcerer) are on the wane. Many consult the doctor of the "whites" in Silvia and use the drugs of the "whites." They are less superstitious.

They are believers by conviction. A few are Protestants with great reasoning powers.

The cabildo retains its power and is duly respected.

The properties are duly parceled out. Many of them are planted with pastos de selección /literally, choice pasture grasses/. Fences with barbed wire are frequently encountered.

Agricultural implements

412 Among the implements used in agriculture, only the
[241] digging stick for planting maize (uhach) is of native manufacture.
[177] The others are of European origin.

The universal implement among the Paez is the machete. With it the clearings are made, the ground is cleaned, and the fields, the montañas are felled, sugar mills are made, and bridges are laid over rivers and streams. They prefer it large and with a leather sheath that they fasten to the belt. They are

/333 cont./

417 bags full of frijoles, which are also suspended from the wall
353 posts. This is also where the grains (lumps) of salt are kept.
251 The amounts kept for the months of scarcity are not sufficient, but there are other comestibles that help them: domestic ani-
[244] mals, cabbages, onions, sugar cane, and coca. In Lame and Mosoco they cultivate a plant which they call ijuca de pijao. It
[464] is an edible discoria /Dioscorea/. We have also seen that want is avoided by going to work as laborers on the fincas of the "whites."

[263] Meat is also kept on the frame above the hearth. They utilize the smoke to preserve it. Salt is not used for this purpose.

251 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José, where large quantities of wheat are planted, one frequently finds under the eaves of thatched houses bundles of wheat that remain hanging for several months. In this way they preserve it from the attacks of small rodents, and the grain is of excellent quality because it dries out thoroughly.

261 During times of scarcity, the natives do not seek solace in
273 religion. Actually, their defense is in the sale of their own work-
276 ing capacity for a small daily wage, a few eggs of coca, and
[771] food. It should be noted that guarapo and coca are splendid
[464] sedatives against the pangs of hunger. It is curious that one of the
[465] most noted religious fiestas of Calderas is held precisely during a time of scarcity. Large quantities of guarapo are consumed for nearly a month.

Provision of water and firewood

312 In Tierradentro the rainfall is relatively high. As a result, water abounds in small and /334/ large watercourses. This geographical factor leads the natives to bring the water close to their homes by means of a system of drainage ditches that are true engineering works. The distances that have to be faced or the accidents of the terrain make no difference. When necessary,
• [177] they use bamboo tubes as artificial channels. This system has been adopted by the "whites" and even by the towns. Since the high parts on both margins of the Paez River are bare of vegetation,

/353 cont./

262 The Indians like meat, but they state that they eat any type of food; they believe that the "whites" eat better, because the Indians cannot eat meat every day nor spend money on lard or meat. They only eat the produce that they cultivated.

264 The Indians have two meals a day: one at dawn and the other one in the afternoon when the sun is setting. The women and children have one meal at midday, from what was left over from the morning. The principal and large meal is cooked at [252] night. Before lying down the women hang from a wooden or iron hook, or from a wire, the pot with mote or frijoles and stir up the fire at least three times during the night; at four in the morning they add the easily cooked products and eat at the first light of day.

574 The natives are generous and hospitable among themselves; 262 no sooner does a visitor enter a home than they offer him whatever they have available: chicha or food.

● 177 /354/ In the parcialidad of Mosoco, which is undergoing 262 complete acculturation, the diet is changing visibly and the 264 eating hours have changed fundamentally. Coffee, panela, bacon, meat, and maize griddlecakes are consumed regularly.

Trading

43 Except for the parcialidad of Mosoco, the natives produce primarily for internal consumption; but the self-provisioning is insufficient, for they suffer a few months of scarcity. As a result, trading must necessarily be restricted and scanty. In Calderas, Suin, and Chinas, animals are ordinarily exchanged, large, fat cows being surrendered for smaller, thin, fertile heifers and a few pesos besides. We have already referred to this extensively in discussing the livestock. We have also seen how the only industry intended exclusively for trade, that of laurel wax, was a patrimony of San Andrés, Calderas, Tumbichukue, Lame, Suin, and Chinas, and that the drop in price was a fatal blow for the industry. Thus, aside from coffee, potatoes, wheat, and garlic, which are intended almost entirely for trade, nothing remains but small amounts of manioc, arracacha, plantains,

/364 cont./

511 in the cantinas, in lawsuits over land, or for religious fiestas.
434 These arguments are confirmed, on the other hand, by the
454 statistical table on income in that only five native families in the three parcialidades made up the deficits in their budgets of last year with sums saved in 1952.

Economy and acculturation

121 Before closing the present work we wish to describe in
177 broad outline the process of acculturation which is now going on in some Páez parcialidades.

[101] The material on Páez culture which we have published and that which we are now elaborating on were collected in the parcialidades located on the right bank of the Paez River, leaving aside those located on the left bank of this river, owing above all to factors of public order which have been disturbing their peace for several years.

[178] The native communities of San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Calderas, Avirama, Suin, Chinas, Lame, Vitoncó, Huila, Toez, and Tálaga are more traditionalistic, live in accordance with the institutions of the culture, and for this reason we regard them as more "primitive." On the other hand, the community of Mosoco, suspended on the slopes of the Central Cordillera itself and extending into the very heart of the Paramo de Moras, is fully in the process of transformation.

[648] /365/ Our research was begun in the parcialidad of Calderas,
[101] isolated, by reasons of a geographical nature, from the principal centers of the "white" population and whose inhabitants have defended their independence at all costs and have been hostile to living with the "whites" (39). From here comes the greater part

39. Bernal Villa, S. "Mitología y cuentos de la parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro /Mythology and tales from the parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro/," pp. 289 ff.

[101] of our materials. But we also carried out systematic investigations in San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Lame, Vitoncó, Tálaga, and, lastly, in Mosoco.

/365 cont./

177 For our outline of acculturation, we understand by diffusion
[121] achieved cultural transmission, and by acculturation cultural trans-
[127] mission in process, terms expounded by Professor Melville J. Herskovits in his book, El Hombre y sus obras /Man and his Works/.

Within Páez culture there is widely diffused, to the point of constituting an integral part of the cultural body, the following economic elements of alien origin and, more concretely, of European origin:

[231] All of the domestic animals with the exception of the
[137] guinea pig, bananas, sugar cane (the variety known as "criolla"), wheat, barley, garlic, coffee, peaches, apples, and oranges, the agricultural implements, the hydraulic mills, sugar mills, the guadua bamboo, and some varieties of pasture grass, such as orejuela /Alchemilla pectinata/, kikuyu, and poa.

177 Throughout the pages of this work, we have emphasized in
361 particular the cultural developments in process, that is to say, the
563 phenomenon of acculturation. It is obvious that this phenomenon has appeared, with greater or lesser intensity, in those parcialidades where there have been created areas of settlement, within which a specific number of "white" families have settled. But the intensity of the acculturative phenomenon does not rest merely on this fact or on the number of families who live by the norms of Western culture. San Andrés, for example, had its settlement area established for all practical purposes in 1928 and now reckons with more than 20 "white" families, with its nearness to the settlement of Inzá, and, for nearly 15 years, with the Parque Arqueológico of Tierradentro, to some extent a tourist attraction, and yet the process of acculturation is minimal and cannot be compared with the intensity of the same phenomenon in Mosoco, where the settlement area /366/ was created in 1923 and where
177 nowadays there are not more than 12 families of "whites." In
[487] Mosoco there is another factor: the riding path that joins the
[491] municipio of Belalcázar with that of Silvia, a road that has existed since pre-conquest times. Mosoco has been and still
[628] continues to be the mandatory stopping place. In addition, this parcialidad has had intensive contacts with the Guambiano group and the Páez group from the other side of the Cordillera, who are more accutturated.

/366 cont./

[77] are more acculturated. All of these circumstances have permitted the extensification of the cultivation of garlic, wheat, and especially potatoes, as well as the extensification and intensification of livestock-raising, which, in turn, has given rise to a series of phenomena now in the full process of development, such as the modification of work schedules and agricultural cycles, the regularization of trade and transport, the appearance of the habit of capitalization and of the use of credit, the use of barbed wire for fencing, reforestation on a eucalyptus base, the development of household industries, modification of the diet and eating times, adoption of specific objects of adornment by the women (gold earrings), disappearance of coca consumption ("deculturation," to use Fernando Ortiz's neologism), social stratification, the undermining of the institutions of the té eu and the nasa jihi, the calming of the real and magical aggressiveness against the "whites," intensification of primary education, and greater conviction in religious beliefs.

In the temperate zone in general and in San Andrés in particular, the cultivation of coffee is in full swing, and the consequences of this economic fact are beginning to be visible. The palm hat, very common in the parcialidad of Calderas, is not seen very much among the Andresunos, who are adopting the cloth hat of the "whites"; some of them already wear sandals or shoes, and likewise the use of the poncho and of the bag of a manufacture foreign to the culture is spreading; the agricultural implements are being enriched in the same manner as modern housewares; although the most widespread labor system in the parcialidad is that of the mingas, some already pay daily wages for work on their fields; the consumption of meat and panela is [756] quite frequent when there are coffee harvests. It is also interest- [554] ing that in the entire parcialidad there are only two té eu, who are not greatly respected, though they utilize the services of the té eu of Calderas.

[137] /367/ The "criolla" is the most widespread variety of sugar cane and the one which has been fully accepted by the natives, to the point of being regarded as their own, but other new

/367 cont./

177 [137] varieties are being introduced, such as "java," for example, which, although the natives call it "wild," they nevertheless praise for its quality and recommend its cultivation.

Such are the general outlines of acculturation in some parcialidades of Tierradentro.

113

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7:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

175 ture, with only slight differences in dialects and customs. Some
197 authorities affirmed that these Indians had no kind of religion; others
114 gave details which reveal a highly developed religion and an organized
[174] cult. In spite of these contradictory statements and in spite of the fact that today only the *Moguex* (*Guambia*) and *Páez* Indians retain indigenous cultures, it is possible to sketch the cultural picture of these Indians at the moment of their first contact with the Spanish soldiers by reexamining the chroniclers of the Conquest according to ethnological criteria, by utilizing modern linguistics, and by studying the ethnology of the present-day peoples.[3] It is also possible to trace the
174 acculturation during the Colonial Period, when new European usages
● 177 were introduced, and to depict the social and cultural conditions of the present day. The modern penetration of highways into the Indian territory and the official policy of changing the indigenous communities are likely to bring an end to these few remaining examples of primitive Andean societies, which have survived in spite of a poor economy, bad sanitary conditions, and missionary efforts to eradicate their traditions.

12/ A fertile field for future research lies in continuing anthropological studies in the central mass of the Colombian Andes. The region is as important for physical geography as for ethnology, as its mountain chains run in various directions to form valleys and diversified environments.

[172] It also contains the archeological remains, known as San Agustín and Tierradentro, which long antedate the Conquest and which have an undetermined origin and relationship to cultures in other parts of America. The present article, however, does not deal with these, but is limited to ethnology.

GEOGRAPHY

13/ The tribes considered in this article occupied the eastern halves of the present Departments of Nariño and Cauca, almost all of the Department of Huila, the southern part of Tolima, and the eastern zone of the Department of the Valle del Cauca, which embraces the western spurs of the Cordillera Central as far as Calarcá in Caldas. The region lies between 1° and 4° 40′ N. lat. and 1° and 3° 40′ west of the meridian
133 of Bogotá. The country consists of high mountains of the Andean system, which bifurcate at the Ecuadorean border to form the Cordillera Occidental, which runs to Panamá, and the Cordillera Central, which approaches the Atlantic coast of Colombia. Each branch has high plains (altiplanos), small valleys with rivers which are tributaries of the Patía River to the west, and high mountain peaks, some of which are volcanoes, like Pasto, Galeras, and Cumbal. The area of

[3] For the languages, see especially Jijón y Caamaño, 1940-41; Castillo I Orozco, 1878; and Castelvi, 1934. For ethnology, see Douay, 1900; Pittier de Fábrega, 1907; Ortiz, 1935; Guerra F., 1942; Jijón y Caamaño, 1936-38; Otero, 1938; Albis, 1934. See also Languages, pp. 921-922.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

The King of Spain, receiving word of the troubles in this region, ordered Don Juan de Borja, his Governor at Santa Fé, to carry out the "pacification of the province," meaning the extermination of its inhabitants. The decisive war started in Chaparral in 1605 and ended in 1608 when a Spanish witness wrote of this territory, where the *Páez* had remained free for so many years, that the provinces "were so desolated that the troops could not find Indians to fight, houses to plunder, or roots or grain to eat, and, if some Indian remained, instead of daring to plant boldly, he sowed four handfuls of grain here, two more there in the shadows and cover of the trees . . . they went about harrassed, thin, and emaciated until life was ended, for the soldiers saw corpses of people dead of hunger or sickness at every step" (Simón, 1882–92, Septima Noticia, ch. 49, vol. 5, pp. 314–15). A document in the ecclesiastical archives of Páez, dated July 17, 1638, states that in the lands adjoining the *Páez* there lived a *Pijao* Indian named Ambrosio, who had said that Captain Andrés de Zúñiga could now well enjoy this country because there were *Pijao* but not *Páez* Indians in it and because the *Pijao* saw themselves doomed and the land had no proprietor. 175 648

The *Guanaca*, who, because their chief was an enemy of the *Páez* chief, had allied themselves with the Spaniards in order to attack the *Páez*, were the first to surrender and join a Spanish colony. The first road between Popayán and Santa Fé passed through their territory, where the Spaniards established a hostelry for traders. This district was given to the Jesuits, who established the Church of Guanacas and, later, a town of the same name. But the Indians felt another lethal force of European origin—disease which they were unable to withstand. In 1790, a smallpox epidemic so reduced them that they abandoned their town, and the few survivors retired to the narrow mesa, where the modern town of Inza is situated. Here they gradually disappeared altogether. [797] [177] [164] [731]

The *Páez* continued to resist and defend their lands against Spanish missionization, so that the road to Guanaca never became secure. The extinction of the *Pijao*, the lack of important quantities of gold in the area, and the difficulty of the terrain, which was such that the Chronicler Pedro de Aguado said "to travel through *Páez* territory is to go up and down," caused the Spaniards to abandon interest in dominating these peoples. They were content to establish the Guanacas mission, and, a little later, the parish of Tálaga. Subsequently, as these Indians, who were isolated in their high mountains, were allowed to retain their customs and beliefs without interference, they did not protest when small groups of Whites peacefully occupied certain places in their lands. 175 648 797

Thus began the true Colonial Period for those tribes which survived the wars of the Conquest. The encomienda system was inaugurated, 175 648

?:Hernández de Alba E-5,#(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

in which a Spaniard held a territory occupied by Indians. The natives, under a chief who was protected by the White authorities and who made contact between the master, or encomendero, and his subjects, had to give a certain number of days' work and a specified tribute in products of the lands, animals, gold, or manufactures. The encomiendas made no effort to Hispanicize the Indians, but continued to loot and massacre them. The Indians, reduced to utter misery, gave up all their artistic and industrial activities, and devoted the greater part of their time to the service of the master or to seeking products to pay the obligatory tribute. To remedy this situation, the Spanish Crown decreed the native "parcialidad," giving surviving groups reservations and prohibiting their employment in transporting men and goods over the highways. This reform was never entirely carried out, however, and the Indians, in spite of having their own government, the cabildo or Indian council, continued in servitude or debt slavery.

The native Indian government consisted generally of a governor, a first mayor (alcalde mayor), a second mayor (alcalde segundo), a trustee (sindico or fiscal), and constables (alguaciles), the last a kind of police who transmitted to the people the orders which the Whites gave through the governors or mayors, and who carried out penalties of imprisonment, of placing in stocks, and whipping, which the first Spaniards introduced into the punishment of the natives. At the same time, the Christianization of the Indians began. It succeeded in an imperfect way, however, for the Indian attended Masses, arranged and participated in processions, and did not miss the solemn ceremonies a single Sunday largely because on the same day he brought his own products to the pueblo for sale, bought salt or meat which he needed, and devoted himself to drinking chicha, the traditional drink which he had always taken on religious or social occasions.

The Indians of Nariño, descendants of the *Pasto*, lost their language and many of their customs during the Colonial Period, although they continued to live as natives on their reservations, which daily became smaller because of the encroachments by the neighboring Whites or Mestizos. They became farmers with small landholdings and, occasionally, masons in the cities. The *Moguex* and *Páez*, however, retained their language and the greater part of their customs. Some of them, especially the men who had to deal with the Whites, learned a little Spanish, and they continued throughout the Colonial Period to defend their lands and their traditions. To religious practices introduced by the missionaries, they added such elements as the offer of food to the souls of the dead. They added to the Colonial council (cabildo) the office of captain, an official who, unlike the rest of the council, was not responsible to civilian authorities but had life tenure, sometimes a hereditary position, and more authority within the group.

7:Hernández de Alba E-54(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The main subsistence of these tribes was and still is based on the cultivation of potatoes, which grow in great quantities in the higher portions of the territory known as Tierradentro, and maize, which is acclimated to the temperate and cold zones. There are three varieties of maize: sweet, soft, and hard. Additional crops were and are yuca or manioc, sweet potatoes, auyamas, ullucos, purutos, frijoles, arracacha, and various other vegetables, and a variety of fruits, including bananas, guayavas, avocados, papayas, [178] pineapples, and passion fruit. Today the *Páez* and *Moguex* are be- [433] ginning to grow wheat, coffee, which is an important item in their [273] economy, and sugarcane, from which is made a coarse sugar and molasses for their fermented drink, guarapo.

241 The men and women of each family generally cultivate the family 476 plot, but for large-scale maize or coffee planting, and for cultivation of the lands of the Church or saint, they work communally, and have meetings called "mingas." Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense. The [782] beneficiary must feed his helpers, generally sacrificing a pig and pre- [273] paring great quantities of chicha for the libations and nocturnal dances after the work. All adults must participate in working the Church lands, but each brings his own food.

241 Implements of cultivation are the digging stick, or macana, for 412 making holes for planting, machetes and axes for destroying vege- 407 tation, and picks and shovels for removing earth, except where re- 492 placed by plows pulled by animal traction.

Domesticated animals.—Domesticated animals include chickens, 231 turkeys, some pigs, dogs, and a few horses and cows. All but the [177] turkeys are of European origin. These animals are rarely sold or killed for food, except for feast days, magical ceremonies, meetings, and visits of relatives, friends or distinguished White men. But [438] sometimes the Indians buy meat in the weekly market and hang it [251] over the hearth, where it is preserved by the smoke.

A custom which has persisted since the beginning of the Colonial 574 Period is that of always giving a guest the "camarico" or "cariño" 431 (affection), a present varying from an egg to a chicken, together with some potatoes, vegetables, and coffee beans.

262 Formerly, meat was obtained from wild rather than domesticated 136 animals—boars (zaínos), guaras, guatines, birds, and guinea pigs, the 231 last being true domesticated animals kept in some numbers in the native houses.

252 **Food preparation.**—Food was cooked in pottery ollas, but metal and [415] enamel ware is now often used. The *Páez* make "mute," a soup of [177] boiled maize, cabbage, squash, and potatoes, and "cocido," a soup

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Moguex

of manioc, arracacha, potatoes, beans, sweet maize, and pieces of meat. Meat is sometimes roasted. Maize, the staple, is made into tortillas or soup, or is roasted on the ear. Coffee, much of which is consumed, is roasted in a pottery vessel, ground, and made into an infusion sweetened with coarse sugar. 252 [272]

Kitchen utensils include pottery ollas and vessels, and a footless elliptical stone metate with a central concavity, which lies directly on the floor or is supported on sticks driven in the soil. Meat is kept smoked over the fireplace, and other food is stored on shelves of cane woven into the roof sticks or in hanging hemp bags or gourds. Each gourd has a broad half-gourd suspended above it, open side down, so that a rat descending from above slides off the gourd onto the floor. 415 251 [353] [825]

The first daily meal is taken at daybreak and consists of "mute." There is no noonday meal, but the evening repast resembles breakfast. Between meals, the Indians chew coca two or three times to sustain their strength and allay hunger. For refreshment and stimulation, they drink guarapo, carrying it to work in gourds. 264 [276] [273]

They cultivate pepper (ají) for a condiment, but purchase salt in the weekly market. The latter is so scarce that instead of mixing it with food they pass a lump around, each person licking it. Before the Conquest, three salt deposits were exploited in this territory, the most important being that near the modern municipality of Belalcázar or Páez. Here the local chief had the salt water boiled down to obtain blocks of salt, which he traded with other tribes for diverse products, or with which he bought help in his wars against the neighboring *Pijao*. Sometimes he permitted other *Páez* to exploit the deposit. Near the present-day Indian center of Ricaurte on the Ullucos River is another salt works that was much used in ancient times, but today is abandoned. Another source of salt was at Huila, where, during the Conquest, the Indians ambushed the Spaniards who sought it, and killed their horses. 317 263 [244] [439] [648]

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Each *Páez* and *Moguex* family has its own house, located on a point or flat place in the mountains some distance from its neighbors. The aboriginal house seems to have been rectangular, which still is the only form. It was so lightly constructed of cane and sticks with thatched roof that the Spanish soldiers during the foundation of San Vicente de Páez "carried some Indian houses to their barracks because they were small and suited to it" (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 9). Some distance from the dwelling, they always built a small woman's house. Under Spanish influence, some houses were divided into rooms, and built more solidly of "bahareque" construction, i. e., walls consisting of two faces of sticks with mud and rocks between (pl. 185). 342 [361] 177 342

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Moguex

342 [177] Some had wooden doors and windows, and were built with nails and wires, though most were still made with vegetable materials.

The modern *Moguex* house has two rooms. The main one, entered through a small door, serves as storeroom for goods to be sold, reception hall, dancing place, and a room in which to keep watch over the dead. The other is a pantry for provisions and drinks; here are kept kitchen utensils. In the center is the fireplace and around it dried cowhides or platform beds made of horizontal poles tied to stakes driven in the ground. One's neighbors aid him to build his house, transporting heavy timbers over light rollers and singing rhythmically as they heave together. If the owner of a new house is a man of means, he pays for a feast of benediction or consecration carried out with a Catholic priest, a godfather, and a godmother.

354 352 476 461 554 778

The *Páez* does all this and in addition puts some pieces of silver money under his house to assure his good fortune. In the main house he places the metate on stakes, and in a secondary house, the press for extracting wax from laurel, one or more troughs or hollowed trunks, and large jars for chicha and guarapo. From the roof frame hang bags, or "mochilas," of netted hemp for belongings. There is also a bamboo candlestick, the wooden feast drum, sometimes a tiple or small guitar, and, nailed to the wall, a spindle. Outside, the loom stands against the wall Beyond it is the sugarcane mill, which is made of a section of tree trunk with a hole above a projection on which the cane is pressed by hand with a rod which crosses the hole. Some mills consist of two or three wooden cylinders rotated by animal power.

352 415 353 354 524 283 404 286 249

In each maize field is a small, temporary house and a high platform where a watchman frightens the parrots and parakeets with periodic cries and motions.

243 342

Each *Páez* group today has its communally built pueblo, with "bahareque" buildings grouped around a rectangular plaza: a church, with its arched portico and small tower in imitation of Colonial architecture, a house for the priest, a school, and two or three large houses for meetings and fiestas, where they dance, sing, and sleep during fiesta days. But ordinarily, the people remain at their distant houses and fields, and do not live at the pueblo, the only permanent inhabitants of which are a few Whites and Mestizos.

177 361

ENGINEERING WORKS

The Spaniards found bridges which they described as "weak and flexible bridges of bamboo" and "bridges of vines." A territory so broken and crossed with so many rivers and canyons naturally stimulated the *Páez* in the construction of bridges and the laying out of roads. Today they make four kinds of bridges: (1) A simple vine or cable stretched across the river; (2) a kind of wooden stairs placed

491 499

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Moguex

obliquely across the rocks; (3) an arched bridge of bamboo floored with spaced sticks, equipped with a hand rail on each side, and supported with stones, bamboo braces, and vines (pl. 185, *bottom, right*); and (4) a covered bridge with thatched roof, built of heavy logs supported by sticks and stones and floored with boards—a marvel of calculated strength, which, like the third type, is made entirely of vegetable materials yet can support loaded animals. To build an arched bridge, two groups of Indians approach opposite sides of the river and each plants a long, strong pole sloping out over the stream. The chief of each group then climbs out his pole until his weight bends it down to meet that from the opposite side, whereupon, clinging with one hand, they lash the ends together with creepers. This constitutes the main element of the bridge which is then completed by the other Indians. 491 499 499

TRANSPORTATION

Some Indians now have horses and use them for traveling and for transporting large burdens, but, in general, transportation is by foot, objects being carried on the back or in netted sacks hung by a strap, especially when visiting markets. A woman carries not only a heavy load but her small child suspended on her back in a blue woolen blanket held with a broad woven band, or "chumbe." Peculiarly Andean is the custom that the man travels on horseback while the woman follows on foot with a large burden. 489 482 492

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The *Moguex* and *Páez* formerly wore only small cotton blankets (mantas), although most of them "went about naked even on the cold mountains" (Rodríguez, 1684, bk. 2, ch. 1). They painted their bodies with bixa, using, according to Del Castillo i Orozco, stamps to apply the color. The paint also protected them against the strong sunlight and insects. They went barefoot, as all the natives in Colombia. According to one chronicler, their hair was "shorn" (Robledo, in Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38). They wore breast and nose ornaments of pure gold or a gold and copper alloy, and necklaces of small figures, beads, small stones, and snails. 291 302 [757] [825] [291] 301

Soon after the beginning of the Conquest, the Indians commenced to use wide, long shirts of a very crude weave and hats which were so closely woven that they would hold water. The latter, which the Spaniards called "tacillas de Páez" (Páez bowls), are still in use. The Spanish encomenderos required that the Indians working on their haciendas near Popayán be dressed. This was the origin of the characteristic garment worn today, which combines the old small blanket (manta) with European dress. *Moguex* men wear short linen pants, and a blue flannel sash which covers them to their knees. 291 177

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Moguex

291 They protect the upper part of the body with a black poncho tied at
177 the belt, or a shirt with a poncho over it. Women wear two skirts, the under skirt being black and the outer one white or gray. Both are held at the waist by a sash woven with figures. They cover their busts with two blankets which are fastened at the shoulders with
[293] wood, copper, or silver pins. Both sexes carry pouches woven of
[415] hemp which, like these Indians, are called "guambías." Their straw hats are dish-shaped, with small brims hardly distinguishable from the shallow crowns. The hats, always too large for their heads, are held on by two cords, one passing under the chin and the other behind the neck, around the hair. The women also wear woolen shawls, silver earrings, rings, and heavy necklaces of glass, shells, and silver. For festivals they prefer hats with the brim divided into two parts, front and back. These are lined with dark-blue cloth, with red and yellow on the brim.

When working, the *Páez* wear short linen pants or long woolen ones and a large woolen poncho tied at the waist. When going to market, they wear an additional poncho and a woolen pouch for coca. When
[292] traveling on the páramos, they wear a knit hemp cloak covered with large, thin leaves of *Gynerium saccharoides*, which protects them from the rain. The women wear a narrow woven cotton band, passed between the legs and tied at the waist, one, two, or more black or gray woolen skirts gathered at the waist and held by a woven sash,
[482] and two small mantas, like those of the *Moguex*. In traveling, a
[854] shawl is worn for covering and to carry the child. They adorn themselves also with strings or necklaces of glass or other beads, or white chaquiras, and sometimes are added silver pendants of Colonial origin.
[292] During festivals the women wear brightly colored blouses of imported fabrics and the men linen shirts.

MANUFACTURES

285 **Basketry.**—The *Páez* and *Moguex* make a few twilled baskets of cane strips and two kinds of hats. The hats are woven with the coiled or sewed technique. The spiraled warp in one kind consists of a thin bundle of rush or straw, and in the other of a braid made with seven
[462] strands. The latter is more common. Both are made by men who prepare materials while resting at home or traveling on the road.
[292] Weaving also includes waterproof capes made by tying sheaves of
[824] leaves or straw to a net of hemp cord.

Cordage.—Rope making is practiced extensively. Hemp (fique)
283 is the raw material, and is made into cords for fishing nets, bird trap nets, bags or pouches for carrying belongings and products, foundation nets for the leaf rain capes, and cordage for various other purposes. The sisal or hemp (fique) leaves are scraped over the sharp edge of a board to loosen the fibers, which are then washed, dried, and twisted

7tHernández de Alba E-5,1 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

with the right hand over the naked thigh. Two strands are similarly twisted together until the desired thickness is obtained. 283

Gourds.—Gourds are still widely used. They are picked when ripe, cleaned out, and dried. With small openings, they serve as containers for beverages and powdered lime. Some are made into bowls and others are cut up to make spoons. Today these objects are undecorated, but formerly in Timaná they were painted with a resin varnish very similar to that used in Pasto. (See p. 930.) Before the Spanish domination, gourds were also used as frames over which were stretched the prepared skin of the heads of their enemies killed in war. 415 824 [314] [721]

Metallurgy.—The metallurgy of these Indians was the same as that practiced throughout most of Colombia. The metals were gold, copper, and an alloy of the two (tumbaga). It is recorded that the Indians "worked gold," but the processes are not described. Specimens found recently in the territory, however, show molding, casting, and hammering. Metal objects included nose ornaments, parrot-shaped breastplates, necklaces with small animal figures, and some anthropomorphic idols. Gold occurs in this territory, particularly on the upper Páez or the Suin River. 325 [301] [532] [135]

Ceramics.—These tribes made and still make coiled pottery. Modern vessel forms include large jars for storing beverages and poorly shaped, crudely decorated containers for preparing and serving food. There is no individual specialization in this task, women making pots for their own family and not for trade. 323

Stone and wooden artifacts.—The native Indians made stone axes of a simple design, but stonework disappeared during the time of colonization, when the Indians could obtain manufactured iron weapons and utensils such as machetes, axes, hoes, shovels, etc. The manufacture of wooden objects—weaving, cooking, and farming implements and weapons—was furthered by the use of metal tools, and now is well developed, as exemplified by the trapiche (cane mill), a true machine made of wood. 324 182 199 322 249 199

Weaving.—Weaving, little practiced before the Conquest, developed with the post-Contact need for wearing more clothes and with the introduction of sheep, whose wool was used in addition to cotton. Weaving was and is exclusively the work of women (pl. 186). They prepare fine, uniform yarn with a common spindle, which they handle as they walk along the road (pl. 187, *top*). The loom is vertical, made of two horizontal rods fastened to two uprights. The warp runs vertically with a continuous thread. The horizontal weft is pressed down with a wooden sword. They also weave hemp bands on the loom. Woolen blankets are woven in natural colors, but some sashes have bright colors made of imported wool or of home-dyed wool. For red, they use one of the Rubiaceae (*Relbunium hypocarpium*), and for 286 [177] [462] [386]

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blue, the fruit of the jagua palm (kii), probably *Genipa* sp. A woven fabric is made black by burying it for several days with clay and branches of a *Phyllanthus* which they call "sal."

They make woolen bags by hand, using a kind of crochet technique without needles, and decorate them with rectangular and rhomboid figures. Some bags are made of hemp (fique), in which case the stitches are larger and the article has greater elasticity.

Weapons.—For weapons, the *Páez* used large, thick lances of black or chonta palm, 20 to 25 palms or more long, clubs or macanas, stones thrown with slings, large rocks rolled down from heights, spear throwers like those used by the *Chibcha*, and shields of jaguar, puma, or bear skin. The *Páez* quickly adopted iron arms from the Spaniards, and in the last wars of the Conquest they used steel swords and knives. In a recently discovered grave were copper bells, a golden breastplate, shield bars of tumbaga, a Spanish dagger, and a curved knife of the Arabian or north African type used by the conquistadors.

Today the *Páez* use the club or macana, ordinary guns, machetes, knives, and, for killing birds, the blowgun.

Fire making.—Fires are generally made today with flint and steel, but some Indians use modern matches. For both heating and cooking, the fire is made on the ground in the main house, surrounded by stones which help support the pots. It is covered at night, and almost never goes out.

Illumination is provided not only by the fire but by candles made of wax from the wax palm and from seeds of a wild laurel. The latter are cooked and pressed in a bag so that the wax drips into a half calabash or pot to form a semispherical lump. It is melted to make candles with cotton wicks. The *Páez* use these themselves and also sell them, for they are superior to candles made of animal tallow. A cruder means of lighting consists of transfixing a large number of "higuerilla" seeds on a long, thin bamboo splinter. When the splinter is laid horizontally and lighted, the first seed burns strongly, after which the flame passes from seed to seed, lasting some 15 minutes and throwing a fair light a few feet around.

COMMERCE

Each week a market is held in the municipio or in some of the small native villages (pls. 190, 191). The Indians sell vegetables, tortillas, eggs, chickens, and laurel wax, and buy salt, brown sugar, and especially lime (mambe) to be chewed with coca. Each product has a price in Colombian money, whether by quantity or weight. The unit of weight is called an "egg," and more or less equals the weight of a chicken egg. After his few customary transactions, paid for either in cash or in terms, in which the future coffee crop is mortgaged to the

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Mogues

631 list presented by a council composed of former governors, the cap-
666 tain, and the síndico. The meeting may object to the list, but gen-
[651] erally accepts it. On the following January 1, the cabildo-elect must appear at the office of the municipal mayor to receive the staffs, their insignia of office, and to assume their duties and responsibilities. The offices are: Governor and alternate, commissioner, two mayors (alcaldes), two constables (alguaciles), and three prosecutors (fiscales), one of whom is a young man assigned to learn the ways of government. The mayors, constables, and prosecutors are something like bosses or policemen, and execute orders issued by the Governor or by the captain or the municipal authorities to a community through the Governor.

423 Property.—The Indians today do not own any real property in the usual sense. The land assigned to an entire community is allotted
[651] to each adult for his use when he becomes a macanero, that is, capable
[534] of giving one day's work each year for the collective planting for the benefit of the saint and as many days as may be required by the cabildo for the repair of roads, bridges, etc., or for work in the village. The right to the use of the land may pass to the heirs, wife and children, in the absence of which it reverts to the community or the cabildo.

422 The house was formerly typical personal or movable property, which could be easily abandoned, dismantled, or destroyed. The same holds today for fragile cane dwellings. There are few houses so solidly built that they constitute real or immovable property.
[764] Other personal property, such as utensils, clothes, weapons, adorn-
[428] ments, and jewels, was formerly buried with the owner. These things and livestock, planted fields, and crops are now inherited by the
[177] members of the deceased's family. In general, Colombian law is being implanted by the judges and municipal mayors, although the
[692] cabildo judges some minor offenses and punishes the offenders by
[623] whipping, imprisonment, or stocks (cepo), a form of torment retained
[681] from Colonial times.

Although the Indians' communities have in most cases titles of
691 limits of their lands dating from Colonial times, there are still liti-
648 gations on boundaries. An interesting case is the struggle of the
[423] Indians to dislodge a settlement of Negroes from the old salt works in Ambostá, where they were abandoned many years ago by a rich Popayán family who took them there to work the mines. The female Indian chief (cacica) of this territory allowed the Negroes to live on a hill, called "the hill of the fifteen Negroes." The Negroes are not organized under a cabildo, but have a chief who represents them. They all contribute to a special religious feast in the municipio, and provide means to continue the suit for the possession of the hill against the Indians.

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881 heights of Cuetando, where they built a hut and planted a miniature field as proof of their masculine aptitude.

797 **Education.**—Today the Indians are educated principally by their
871 parents in the customs and tasks pertaining to each sex. Some boys
[868] and a few girls are sent to the few missionary schools, where they are given religious instruction and are taught Spanish, arithmetic, geography, the history of Colombia, and modern embroidery or light
[562] basketwork. The *Páez* are reluctant to send their daughters to the schools because they feel that women should keep the traditions of
[177] their people. The missionary schools strive to change the native language and the cultural traditions which have given the Indian community social cohesion.

595 **Marriage.**[11]—Formerly polygyny was prevalent, but now Catholi-
[77] cism has imposed monogamy. The Indians continue, however, to
583 practice trial marriage (amaño). A marriage is arranged as follows:

584 The bride is selected by the young man's parents or by himself. His parents and two witnesses or godparents then visit her house to request her for the groom. They also serve as advisors to the young woman, in case she disapproves the marriage. The visitors carry half-filled bottles of rum (aguardiente) and some special garments for the girl. The young man's father offers the girl's father a half-bottle, acceptance of which means, as usual among the *Páez*, that the second party is well disposed toward the proposal and the negotiations may proceed. If the girl's mother agrees, the boy's mother presents her a half-bottle of liquor. The godfather or witness gives another half-bottle to the girl's father and the
583 godmother gives one to the mother. The visitors now leave, taking the girl, who then begins a year of trial marriage, during which the young man seeks proof that the girl is able to bear children, is active, cooks well, can weave, and
585 can cultivate the land. After the trial period, the man may return the girl to her parents or they marry in the Catholic Church, holding a feast which, like all
527 such celebrations, is called a "cuido." The couple and their parents and godparents are accompanied by an orchestra (chirimía) to the house where the feast is to be held. Here the bride puts on a modern dress, a ribbon on her hair, necklaces, and earrings, while the groom is with his godfather. As the guests arrive, chicha is distributed frequently, music is played, and then there is a feast of thick soup, generally with chicken, cooked yuca, arracacha, and roast or baked meat. In the afternoon, after more music and chicha drinking, the "refresco," really a banquet or social communion, is served. Six bottles of wine made from cane molasses, cinnamon, and cloves, and cake are given to the bride, groom, godmother,
[782] and godfather, who give some to everyone present. A prayer, led by the head of
[775] the house, then asks the souls of the dead to bless the marriage and give permission to dance. First, the godfather dances with the bride, then the godmother with the groom, after which everyone dances. The feast lasts 5 days, depending on the wealth of the family. Chicha is served and accepted with the phrase, "May God pay you, compadrito, for accompanying us. Accompany us more."

764 **Death.**—At a death, the family formerly buried the deceased inside the house with his possessions, and abandoned it. Some communities, however, preferred to cremate the body or dry it over the fire. The

[114] [11] I thank my wife and companion, Helena Ospina de Hernández, for her research in 1956 on matrimonial
[127] matters.

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Moguex

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Arts included sculpture, small, cast gold idols and figures, and painting. Their best known art objects are those decorated with lacquer or resin, found in the Timaná region, and the stylized representations of beings which women still weave on cotton sashes. 532 [3/4]

Music.—These tribes formerly played on trumpets, drums, large sea shells called "fotutos," cornets, and cane flutes. These instruments were played not only to accompany dances but also when going into battle. The sea shell trumpet was used during the Colonial Period but has been abandoned. The drums are made of hollowed trunks, and the drumheads of animal skins The flutes are made of cane, and vary in length and thickness. They are capable of such variation in tonality that the musical combination is pleasant to the ear. 534

A kind of orchestra, known as a "chirimía," today consists of a large drum to beat time, a small drum to play a rhythmic roll, and flutes to carry the tune. Each community has its orchestra, but every Indian is a flute player and loves to play his instrument when traveling over the hills. The music is nearly always sad and has absorbed some of the regional Colombian popular airs. It has few variations, and changes to a solemn tone on funerals. The *Páez* love their own music so much that, instead of using the Gregorian music of the Catholic rites, they have imposed their own music on the religious ceremonies. Thus, at Mass, they play the special music used when an animal is to be killed and eaten. Other music accompanies the bursting of skyrockets and firecrackers. There is music for the Elevation, for the Creed, and for the Requiem Mass. Certain musical pieces are called simply "bambuco" (local airs), though they have some variations. 533 [177]

Native songs narrated the triumphs and feats in war, but none have been collected, and all are now forgotten. Today the Indians sing only some modern Colombian airs or religious songs. [177]

Dances.—Dances were very important to these Indians, being held for war, for religious ceremonies, for weddings, and for sexual initiation. During Colonial times, Del Castillo i Orozco reported the following dances, most of which, as their names show, apparently had not suffered any change under Spanish influence: 535

Guaya coo, a dance to ask for money.
Vite coo, a dance of the rod or stick.
Xeita coo, a dance of sea shells or of the armadillo. It was accompanied by two sea shells of different tones.
Onse coo, a dance of rats.
Imaguari coo, a dance of the sparrow hawk.
Ech cori coo, a dance of the phantom's flutes.
Bel cori coo, a dance for great festivities.
Quimb coo, a dance of the drum.
Itsa bó, added by Pittier de Fábrega, a dance of girls' puberty.

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Moguex

535 There is much dancing today. The sexes perform in couples or separately. Among the *Moguex*, some of the expert dancers are paid to dance with all couples in a sort of "bambuco." Dancing is always a part of *Páez* ceremonies for the death of children, baptismals, weddings, saint holidays, and meetings for collective work (mingas) held in the evening when people return from their plantations.

Dancing, as other social events, is subject to a special ceremony [585] or etiquette, strongly connected with religious beliefs. For example, in the wedding celebration, a prayer is first said in which the souls of [608] the dead are asked permission to dance, or "scrape the floor," as they call dancing. Only the godparents and the bride and groom may [527] dance at the beginning.

526 The *Páez* do not masquerade, but the *Moguex* always masquerade during the period of carnival preceding Holy Week.

[524] **Games.**—Games do not hold an important place among these peoples. The children amuse themselves by imitating the activities [857] of their elders. The only game recorded is simulated warfare, performed as a part of a rite in honor of the dead after a communal [769] feast. Two teams under their captains or caciques attacked and shot arrows at each other. Even if some contestants were killed or wounded, no one bore a grudge.

276 **Narcotics.**—The *Páez* and the *Moguex* chewed coca leaves mixed in the mouth with lime powder. Coca chewing is widespread among men, but very little practiced by women. It is used especially by [756] the shaman when he is practicing. In Colonial times the use of coca [177] spread to the rural population of Mestizos and Whites in Nariño, Cauca, and Huila.

273 **Alcoholic beverages.**—These Indians formerly made chicha of maize, but today they ferment it with sugarcane molasses. They also have [178] fermented sugarcane juice (guarapo), and a sort of rum (aguardiente). The latter is distilled clandestinely in their huts from guarapo and certain herbs fermented together in earthenware crocks. The Indians drink guarapo every day, but restrict the use of chicha and the stronger guarapo and aguardiente to market days, religious feast days, burials, weddings, mingas or meetings for work, and witchcraft [462] ceremonies. Guarapo and chicha are made by women, who sometimes chew the maize to increase its fermentation. They are stored in large, hollowed tree trunks and in large earthen jars, which are kept in a special place in the hut. There is never a lack of these beverages for home use and for welcoming an unexpected visitor.

RELIGION

175 The early Spaniards had little understanding of the religion of these 771 people. They reported that the Indians had but few idols and no temples or places of worship. Castillo mentions that they wor-

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

Castillo mentions that they wor-

shiped the sun, in whose honor they met and danced in places called "Itaqui-finó," i. e., the place where the sun revealed its mysteries; and that they venerated a kind of culture hero called Guequiau. It was he who instructed shamans (mohanes).

This hero has a counterpart in the religious legend of Juan Tama, the Son of the Star. One day when the Morning Star shone very brightly, some Indians found a child in a gorge—ever since called the Gorge of the Star. This was Juan Tama. They picked him up and entrusted him to a woman to nurse, but he nursed so much that her milk dried up. He was given to another woman, whom he also made very weak. They then said that he could not be nursed by a woman, and gave him food. After he grew up, he married the female chief of Huila, Doña María Mendiguagua, and became chief of all the Indians. He instructed people and explained to them how to keep the land for themselves and not mix with White people. He pronounced them invincible and summoned a chief from Pitayó, called Calambás, whom he appointed his manager. Calambás rebelled,[13] but was defeated by Juan Tama, who pardoned him on account of his bravery, and conferred on him and his heirs the right to rule the *Páez* in Bitoncó. As death approached, Juan Tama went to the lake on the páramo of Moras and sank into the waters. He had come out of this place and returned to it, leaving no heirs.[14]

In the neighborhood of Bitoncó there is a rock with what appears to be human footprints. When the Indians pass it, they uncover their heads and say, "The Holy One came this way." Another remnant of the cult of Juan Tama is the custom that each member of the council spends one week at the shores of the lake before the end of his term to render an account to Juan Tama of his actions in office. Likewise, newly elected officers, as soon as they receive their staffs or insignia of authority, spend a week at the lake. They toss silver coins into it, wash their staffs, and pray for strength to rule well. This ceremony, performed with the greatest secrecy, is called the "curing of the staffs." Recently, however, the Indians have stopped "curing" their staffs in the lake, for they say that Juan Tama is angry, and whenever they approach the lake, it rains and storms badly.

In the Guanacas section there was another sacred lagoon, called Tumbachí, which was recently drained because a snake that lived there attracted girls and kept them for a whole year, and then returned them when they were about to become mothers.

These tribes believed that the soul comes back to life.

Witchcraft was strongly developed among these Indians, who still believe in most of its practices, in spite of the catechization forced upon them by the missionaries.

[13] During the War of Independence, as well as in subsequent revolutions, the Indians of the family named Calambás distinguished themselves as warriors.

[14] We are indebted to Father David González for this legend, told to him by an old Indian in Lame.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

cluding vegetables, cornbread, eggs, and chicha, which he piles on the church floor, together with wax candles—one if the person does not have anyone in particular to remember, two for each deceased relative. When Mass begins, they throw flowers on the presbytery, as an offering to the souls of children. Afterward, they go to the cemetery in procession, and the souls of the departed come down to the empty church to take the food. Later, the people sell whatever the souls left or failed to eat. Everyone buys something, the captain's assistant collecting the money, while the constables of the council, raising their whips and shouting insults, prevent frauds in the general disorder. The money from the sale is given to the priest to pay him for the work in the rites. As each person leaves the church, he kisses a crucifix held by the sacristan at the church door. They kiss it once for each dead person whom they wish to remember and pay a cent each time. In addition to offering food at the church, the *Moguex* cover their tables at home with food, which is also intended for the souls of their dead, and at the end of 2 or 3 days they eat the food, saying that they are eating what the souls have left.

Christmas and Holy Week are both great occasions for the Indians, who celebrate them with music and some of their ancient rites. Even though a priest may not be present, they conduct the rites in a manner that dates from Colonial days, when a *Páez* Indian named Undachí tried to combine Catholicism with their own religion. The man claimed to be able to see God, who used to come among the Indians and talk to him in his own *Páez* language. The new religion included a chapel, Mass, and candle and flower offerings.

Sickness.—Sickness was always thought to be caused by witchcraft or by someone's will. The evil force entered the body and made it impure; it had to be expelled or "cleansed," lest death ensue. If a delirious person told who was killing him, the individual mentioned was thought guilty; or, if, after a death, the face of the deceased should appear to somebody, the person was considered responsible. These beliefs are still in force today, and the Indians avoid the causes of sickness, such as having sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman, exposing the body to bad weather while there is a rainbow, and neglecting to bathe after a burial or to purify a house where a death occurred.

To fight disease they still have shamans. *Moguex* shamans use tobacco, coca, plants known as yacuna and chundar, and rum in their practice. After remaining shut up in a dark room for a night, they either confess their inability to cure the sick person or proceed to administer the traditional medicines. Sickness is conceptualized as an animal, which enters the stomach, head, or other part of the body. In former times, the shaman fasted with the sick person, abstaining from salt and fats and taking only coca and chicha. Today, he requires that only the patient fast.

/178 cont./

The Family

594 361 The social group par excellence in Páez culture is the nuclear family. Its importance stands out if we consider that 175 the Páez live dispersed within their geographic area. Both the 594 chroniclers and the parish priests who concerned themselves 361 with them emphasize this characteristic. In 1751 the priest of Tálaga, Licenciado Eugenio del Castillo y Orozco, wrote in his report to Don Juan Francisco de Eguizaval, Governor and Captain General of the city of Popayán and its provinces, "that by command of his Illustrious Lordship Don Francisco José de Figueredo y Victoria on the Council of His Majesty, currently Bishop of this Diocese, I reported to the Governor previous to your Lordship, stating that since the year 1719, when I was in these Provinces assisting as interpreter for the Very Excellent Don Pedro Felipe García, then inspector for them, and afterwards in 1731 the same for Dr. D. Francisco Gómez Constantino, I learned that the Indians of this province had been inclined to live dispersed at various distances and only sat together at drinking parties in the homes of their Caciques or Capataces when they came from some Riria (which they call Necue) or to celebrate the first menstruation of a woman (which they call Izacó) or for another cause for vain observance, and, after finishing, they again separate" (3). Multiple efforts were made by the

177 797 361

3. Archivo Nacional de Bogotá. "Cartas de contrabando /Contraband Letters/," Vol. 14, Fol. 228.

parish priests and by the governors of the colonial period to " "reducirlos a vida sociable" /reduce them to a social life/, but the "bárbara naturaleza" /barbarous nature/ of these natives made their efforts fruitless. And this cultural trait is still

/178 cont./

177 effectively maintained (4). In each house, scattered over the
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4. Bernal Villa, S. "La fiesta de San Juan en Calderas Tierradentro /The fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," 1953, p. 182.

In each house, scattered over the
594 ruggedness of the prominences, live a pair of adults of the op-
[361] posite sex and their children. It is this nuclear family that cares for and maintains its old parents and attends to their burial when they die, that completes the religious festivals with traditional pomp and rigor (5), that defends its /179/ interests from the

5. Ibid., pp. 192 ff.

attacks of strangers, that in former times celebrated the "Riria" (which they call Necue) (6) or the first menstruation of a woman

6. In the Vocabulario Páez-Castellano /Spanish-Páez Vocabulary/ of del Castillo y Orozco there is the word Nécue, which has the following textual definition: desafío; pelea que es un desafío solemne tan antiguo como el jentilismo entre los páeces, de dos campeones cada uno con el común de su bando /competition, a fight that is a solemn competition as old as paganism among the Paez, of two champions, each one with the community of his faction/.

(which they call Izacó), and, finally, that manufactures its troughs for chicha ("another cause for vain observance," of which del Castillo y Orozco speaks) in order to carry out the "bebezones"
594 /drinking parties/ with all who seek to participate. It is this
574 nuclear family that "cuida" /takes care of/ relatives who arrive,
609 that offers hospitality to the native traveler and that shows cold silence toward the visitor from Western culture.

/182 cont./

462 13. (cont.)
594 Revista Colombiana de Antropología, Vol. III, 1954.

361 In this manner, among the Paez, marriage,
182 family, land, and house form an intimate unit, indissoluble and
594 in part explaining the above-mentioned phenomenon of the re-
581 luctance to live grouped in towns or cities.

473 Basically the residence of the nuclear family is patrilocal-
591 neolocal. When the man, accompanied by his escort, goes to
[584] ask for his future consort, and, after certain definite formalities are fulfilled, the future parents-in-law hand her over, she is taken to live in the house of his parents (when he has not built
591 his own). In it he arranges a separate room with a kitchen for
596 cooking, a cowhide to sleep on, and space in which to keep their provisions, their kitchen utensils, and work tools. The new
[583] spouses are independent of their respective parents. The man assists in the work of his parents-in-law and the woman in the work of hers, but in neither case does it constitute an obligation
[594] for them. When a bachelor, the man works to take care of his own needs and to assist in the support of the paternal economy; once married he works to support his family.

582 The man chooses his wife within the parcialidad, although
● 177 he may marry women from other parcialidades. But neither men nor women may marry persons from Western culture ("whites"). In Calderas there was a case of a possible marriage between a native woman and a "white." The cabildo removed this possibility, obliging the native woman to marry a member of the parcialidad. If it is a man who wishes to try to marry a "white" woman, he must leave the village. They consider that when the "whites" enter the community, they invariably appropriate their land.

582 The selection of spouses within the parcialidades is /183/ determined by the laws of incest. Unions between parents and children and real brothers and sisters are incestuous and severely prohibited. Also relations between cousins of the first degree of both lines and those of uncles and nieces are condemned, although not

prescribed.

/184 cont./

0-00 stereotyped conduct. It should nevertheless be stated that the
551 present-day Páez surnames were still given names in the eight-
178 eenth century, chosen capriciously by the mother and not trans-
[177] missible to the descendants (14). The adoption of surnames and
[797]

14. Castillo y Orozco, E. de., op. cit., p. 75.

their heritability through the paternal line is the result of the doctrinal work of the Catholic missionaries, and their assimilation and integration into Páez culture must have been carried out in accordance with certain aspects of a sociological nature
595 existing previously. The same /an unpaginated genealogical
177 chart appears here/ /185/ present-day monogamy of the Páez
797 appears to be the result of a strong Catholic Christian influence, since in pre-Colombian times they were polygamous (15).

15. Hernández de Alba, Gr. "The Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia," 1946, p. 948.

594 The supreme authority in the nuclear family rests with the father; when he is missing, with the mother; and, when both are missing, with the most intelligent of the group. The
[562] husband orders, the woman only asks. The woman is always under the control of the man: the father, the brother, the hus-
623 band. She has no liberty of movement. The cabildo has au-
736 thority over orphaned women, including that of having them
562 marry. One of our informants in Calderas was a fatherless orphan
583 and had been brought up in Avirama in the company of her stepfather. Being of age, an Avirameño asked for her in marriage, but the cabildo of Calderas stopped the marriage, brought her back to the parcialidad, made her spend the night in the quarters of the cabildo, and on the following day made her marry a lad of 14 whom she did not know. Since she resisted, they beat her, admonishing her at the same time that if she did not do it, she would be married to a black dog in the future life. "There being

[text continues on p. 33]

/102 cont./

175 glossary, p. 248/, and, by means of reservation laws, protected
177 the Paez from the gradually advancing colonists. In this way the
648 Paez were able to preserve their language and customs to a con-
[178] siderable extent, in contrast to the other mountain tribes of Colombia, who have long since been absorbed in the Spanish-
175 Colombian culture. In the struggles for independence from the
648 Spanish crown under Simon Bolivar from 1812 to 1824, the Paez fought for their liberation on the republican side under Gregorio Calambás. Their leader was captured and shot. After the victorious termination of the struggles for independence, Gregorio Calambás became one of the martyrs of Colombian independence (*).

* According to V. A. Bedoya, P. J. Ramirez Sendoya, and G. Hernandez de Alba (VII).

175 The Pijao perished like the Guanaca. After having oc-
101 cupied, before the Conquista, almost the entire area of the
648 present-day department of Tolima east of the Central Cordillera,
[151] as the eastern neighbors of the Quimbaya, they perished in countless battles with the Spaniards. As late as the eighteenth century, remnants of them lived in the valley of the Rio Negro de Narvaez, as neighbors of the Paez. They, called Bemb by the Paez, as well as the Guanaca, spoke languages that differed from the Paez. They could not understand one another.

178 Besides the Paez, the culture of the Guambiano, a
101 neighboring tribe called Mogweš by the Paez, has been preserved
114 to a certain extent up to the present day. The Guambiano inhabit the west side of the Central Cordillera and today live in the valley of the Piendamó around Silvia. The life and customs of his tribe have been recently represented by the Guambiano Francisco Tumiña Pillumbe in a number of very instructive /103/ drawings, each of which was provided with a brief text by Gregorio Hernandez de Alba.

/188 cont./

524 causes the unwinding of the string and its revolving motion. The rule of the competition is to knock over the turning top with another turning one.

A simpler kind of top, which, like the hole game, is also called hénde, consists of a round seed capsule into which a vertical rod is inserted and protrudes about five centimeters. To set it in motion, a twisted string and a small board are required. One end of the string is wound spirally around the stem of the top and the other is knotted to the board and then pulled off.

526 Besides these games, wrestling is greatly enjoyed by the
• [178] boys. Youths and young men no longer wrestle. On the occasion of the festivals, however, when they have drunk a little, the young men hit each other on their bodies, with arm outstretched, with the hand or fist. Several of them form an irregular circle, but without taking sides, and each tries to hit the other from behind.

524 The girls play with dolls (ločinyi) about 20 centimeters high, which they make themselves out of wood and remnants of cloth. It is remarkable that these dolls do not represent children, but adults fully dressed. /189/ A doll man, for example, consists of a forked stick, the longer part of which represents the body, and the forks, the legs. A cross-stick tied on indicates the shoulders. The clothing consists of a man's shirt, which is tied and "fitted" at the height of the hips with an agave string. A rectangular piece of cloth with a horizontal hole in the center is drawn over it as a ruana. A face is not indicated on either the male or the female doll. The doll woman consists of only a straight rod, around the lower part of which a piece of cloth is wrapped as a skirt and tied with a red thread as a belt. On her back the woman carries a child, represented by a small piece of wood wrapped in a piece of cloth. The cloth is fastened around the child with a red thread in the way children are wrapped. The doll woman carries her child wrapped in the large shawl, which is held fast by a red thread which serves as the belt.

/189 cont./

b) Maturity

881 Today no rites or ceremonies for the youths take place any
[178] more. In former times they were led to the sacred lagoon of Juan
[778] Tama or to the heights of Cuetando, and there they had to build a hut and lay out a small cornfield as proof of their capabilities as a man and father of a household (Hernandez, 1944, p. 203).

[582] A girl comes of age with puberty, that is to say, she may
[836] marry. Before that and before marriage, intercourse is not per-
[535] mitted. On the occasion of the first menstruation in former times a special dance was performed (itsa-kó), during which the young girl was bathed naked in chicha in a pit outside the festival house
881 (Castillo i Orosco, p. 85). Today this no longer takes place;
285 rather, a girl, when she goes to the dúyat for the first time at
787 about 15 years of age, takes along agave fibers and during the
[178] approximately five days that she stays there plaits a very pretty,
[262] small fiber bag (yāhalečkwe) about the size of a fist. There are no additional food prohibitions or similar things. After that she goes to a distant river to bathe. On the way there she lets the bag fall. A married man passing by lets it lie, for he knows that it belongs to a young girl. A young man, however, who happens to be coming that way sees the beautifully worked bag, picks it up, and uses it as a small money-bag. Without knowing who made the little bag, he will -- people are convinced -- marry this girl.

/190/ c) Marriage

595 The present form of marriage of the Paez is monogamy.
114 H. Pittier de Fábrega (p. 314), however, concludes from their traditions that the Paez were formerly polygamous and were converted to monogamy only through education on the part of the missionaries. I could find no clue in their mythology for actual
595 polygamy in former times. The social structure and way of life
591 of the Paez, however, prohibits living alone for unmarried girls.
[589] In case they have no relatives or do not find lodging in the house of relatives, another man takes them into his family. The girl

/190 cont./ The girl

595 then helps with household tasks and the father of the house may
591 have children by her, without his marrying the girl -- today at
● 178 any rate -- as his second wife in a regular marriage ceremony.

584 If a young man wants to marry, he speaks -- in the normal case -- to his father, and the latter with the father of his chosen one. Courtship through a third person outside the family is not customary, and the relatives on the two sides do not enter into communication with one another and exchange presents until after the official wedding ceremony. As a rule, the two young people have reached an agreement earlier, before the fathers speak to each other. The consent of the girl, however, is not required, for the agreement of the young man with the two fathers is fully adequate, and in this case the girl is given in marriage
584 even against her will. But this is said to be the case very rarely
754 or never, for it is dangerous for a girl to refuse a young man's
539 proposal of marriage. In this case he would spit and utter the following curse: "Toblel (untranslatable), I wanted to marry you, but you did not want it; now you must die!" I told the men of Calderas that I doubted whether this curse could have any effect, but then I was told the story of the girl who did not want to marry
[832] a Paez. This girl was very beautiful. (By the way, only unmarried girls are called beautiful; a married woman is never described as beautiful.) She was slightly fat -- being thin is regarded as ugly -- was always washed clean and well combed, and wore beautiful necklaces and earrings, handsomely woven clothing, and an exquisite belt that she herself wove. Many young men of Calderas wanted to marry her, but she did not want to marry a Calderun, only a white. She therefore left her village to go to Popayán (the only larger, well-known city). She walked very fast. On the way, however, in the páramo (bordering mountains) there was a Pijao. He /191/ seized her and took her into his house alive. There he kindled a fire, killed her, and devoured her. By way of explanation the storyteller added: A girl who does not want to marry a Calderun but a white, because the Calderun men are not handsome enough, would, on the way to

/192 cont./

581 around the hearth fire, and this must be stirred and provided with
462 wood every two hours. This is the task of the wife, who, there-
513 fore, sleeps next to the fire. Throughout practically her whole life, she is never able to sleep all through the night.

583 If during the trial year the bride does not meet the demands of the man, if she either cannot cook or is lazy or /193/ does not like to get up in the morning, he sends her back to her father. Since no wedding celebration has taken place, sending back the girl leads to no resentment of any kind. It does, however, if children have resulted from the trial marriage and the young man
[684] nevertheless changes his mind. In this case, to be sure, nothing
[623] can be changed with regard to his decision -- after all, he has not yet been officially married -- but, since such an action is condemned, he is beaten by the cabildo. He may then begin a
583 new trial marriage with another girl. The children of the previ-
848 ous trial marriage (they are designated by the Paez with the
[557] Spanish term hijo natural) are given the name of the mother. There are not a few such "natural children." The mothers, however, are not scorned or judged harshly on that account and do not by any means have poorer prospects for a subsequent marriage. The children are not adopted in case of a subsequent marriage by the
[761] mother and keep their mother's name. It is believed, however,
[851] that such "natural children" will soon die. They are not baptized, since the priest baptizes only legitimate children, or else demands such a large sum for the baptism of an illegitimate child that the unmarried mother cannot raise it.

585 The actual wedding celebration takes place after the period
[178] of the trial marriage. Today the prior marriage service by the Catholic priest in the church is usually combined with this wedding celebration. The money for this, as for the expenses of the wedding celebration, must be raised by the young man himself.
[435] This takes him many months. First of all, besides the cost of ten pesos for the marriage service, he must have collected the money for an ox, then prepare chicha in sufficient quantities, for which sugar cane is milled for about a month, and also provide for the rest of the food. In general his father or brothers do not

/198 cont./

764 protected from the earth above it as if it were lying in a lateral
184 niche (Ill. 206 /see p. 291/). It was expressly confirmed to me
[178] that this form of grave has been used for only about 20 years, and that previously regular niche-graves had been made. The transitional character of this covered pit from the shaft grave with the lateral niche becomes even more apparent from the fact that an additional niche was dug about 30 centimeters deep at the head end of the pit, into which the capitan was laid part way, "so that at least the head is lying in a niche."

/199/ The corpse, wrapped in Colombian clothing, was carried on a bier on the shoulders of two men. The bier consists of two poles held by cross-sticks lashed crosswise one above the other at intervals of 30 centimeters. The cross-sticks are lashed with lianas in pairs, each one above the one longitudinal pole and below the other one (Ill. 205 /see p. 291/). After the burial, the bier was chopped up and then left lying in the graveyard.
[201] Shortly before the lowering of the corpse, the members of the
[516] family take leave of it by kneeling down and moving one or both hands before them from above downward and saying: "You are now going to heaven, and we shall not see each other again; we hope it may go well with you!"

After the corpse was lowered and its head pushed into the small niche, the bamboo covering was very carefully and tightly laid over it. Then the pieces of sod as the bottom layer were packed next to each other as closely as they had been when lying on the surface of the ground. The members of the family and the friends, with their left hands, then tossed as many handfuls of earth into the grave as the person concerned has family relatives. Together they fill the grave with all the rest of the earth with their hands. This is an honor for the friends of the deceased; if a person has no friends, the members of his family must do this work themselves. After a few handfuls of earth, the filling of the pit is always stamped down long and thoroughly with tree trunks. This is a very long and exhaustive occupation, and the more beloved the deceased was, the longer the stamping. In the case of the burial of the capitan, this lasted almost two hours. As a

/202 cont./

461/ villagers know these "strollers," and even say that they are
574 sluggards who do not work; but if they then come at mealtime, they
156 get their food and are usually kept there gladly, because they know how to tell stories well and amusingly, go around everywhere, and always have news to impart. If a man is married and has a wife and children, he must, of course, cultivate his own field, in order to be able to feed his family. In Calderas, however, there is even a married "stroller" who has neither a house of his own nor his own field. He lives in the house of a good-natured man whom he helps in the field and in the house. But this is regarded as an exception.

829 Thanks for favors or benefits bestowed, which, according
571 to the view of the Paez, are taken for granted, were not custom-
[576] ary originally. Today, however, thanks are often expressed with
[178] a word of Spanish origin "slopage" (Dios se lo pague), without, however, any feeling of a debt of gratitude, such as toward a
[621] wealthy person or a person in a superior position. Within the Paez communities there is, to be sure, no sociologically established authority; similarly, there is no chief or employer of a number of people who would be dependent upon him and owe him obedience. Hence no one is forced to obey anyone whom he does not like or to do anything that he may not care to do. Accordingly, there is no respect for strangers to the place or even for the priest, for when the Calderun are in their village, "on their soil," everyone regards everyone else as equal. Not the least important in this connection is the general understanding of one another by the inhabitants, their strengths and weaknesses, which makes pretense, any spurious authority simply assumed by an official, impossible. This is one reason -- perhaps the principal reason -- why the Calderun purposely do not want to have anything to do with the "blancos" and their officials. An attempt to trace this back to an awareness of their own inferiority indicates a complete misunder-
[565] standing of the character of the Paez. Their lack of social classes, and therefore the impossibility of looking down on /203/ another person, explains their general respect for one another, which is bestowed on everyone equally. Everyone grants everyone else

/209 cont./

4. Law

671 Although the legal life of the Paez cannot be compared to a well-developed jurisprudence, on account of its being interwoven with all manifestations of life, they nevertheless have fixed regulations adapted to their vital needs, /210/ the preservation of which is guaranteed by the entire community. To these legal regulations belong the political and family organization already described, as well as the customs in the course of life and of daily living. In the following the regulations governing property and inheritance and the views of the Paez concerning punishable acts and punishments are to be described.

423 In Calderas there is community land and private land. The former consists of the river lowlands with the territory of the church, school, community house, and festival houses, whereas the mountain slopes are the private property of those families who cleared them for the first time. Basically, everyone may have an interest in the community land, which consists essentially of pasture land. Here the families can pasture their animals, build themselves festival houses, and stake off a piece of land for [178] themselves anywhere they like and build dwellings. The latter was not customary formerly when a person built his own house only on his own land. Today there are already three families, those of Cerbeleón Guagáz, of Clemente Lis, and of Agustín Muse, who live on community land near the church and the school. They built their houses there and staked off a piece of land on which they cultivate vegetables and some sugar cane. There is no need to ask anyone for permission to do this. The situation is different in the 423 case of private property on the mountain slopes. True, no one 427 builds his house on a piece of land that does not belong to him; yet it may happen that one's own land is very far away, and then a person will ask the owner of a parcel of land nearby for permission ("licencia": Spanish "authorized permission") to plant a field for a harvest. This is not often the case, for generally there is enough land in each family. A few families, however, have

/255 cont./
802 designated as "much" (tec̆ kwát), literally "one stone." Today it is the designation for "hundred."

75 The medical knowledge of the Paez is not great. Almost all illnesses are regarded as based on magical causes and are treated by the shamans (see below//see pp. 190 ff./). Broken bones are treated by the midwife, who rubs on cow fat and wraps [845] leaves around them. The broken bone is never put in splints. In a difficult birth the midwife is able to turn the child into the right position; if then the birth does not go well, her skill is at an end. No remedy is known for snake bite. In the case of headaches, a leaf is tied to the front of the head. For flatulence some wood ashes are rubbed on the abdomen. For injuries caused by a machete and bleeding profusely, a tourniquet is applied to the affected limb, above the place of the injury, and the wound is covered with a small piece of cloth. The shaman has the injured person bite hard with all his teeth on the iron machete.

3. Religion

771 The Paez today are nominally Christians. They are baptized
797 and usually married by the Catholic priest. The Christian missionizing began as early as the sixteenth century, at first, to be sure, with little success, which did not increase when from 1630-1654 Jesuit missionaries took over the mission work. Only in the last decades
797 has there been greater progress. Hand in hand with the conversion
177 to Christianity go the introduction and teaching of the Spanish lan-
871 guage and the adoption of Colombian customs and habits. Today in almost every village there is a mission station and a school, the teachers of which are mostly women missionaries. In general the parents do not send their children to school unwillingly, for they have realized that knowledge of Spanish and of reading and writing is accompanied by certain advantages in their relations with the
[178] whites. In connection with the /256/ schooling, of course, there is
[756] some alienation from the old habits and customs of the Paez, especially those of a religious and sociological nature. Nevertheless,

/256 cont./

797 in all Paez communities in which Spanish is not understood by the
177 majority of the population, the old functionaries of the original
178 Paez religion are needed to maintain the social life in particular.
871 In accordance with their activity, they are designated as "shamans"
756 by theologians. Because of the dissimilar nature of their religious activity, they do not by any means represent unbridgeable competition for the Christian missions; rather, both, the Christian faith and shamanistic activity, can exist side by side in the present stage of culture of the Paez.

771 If one considers existing theological convictions, one finds
793 that the office and dignity of the cult priest rest on the performance
756 of sacred acts which must of necessity be fulfilled so that the
182 natural and normal development of human existence is not obstructed. His task is to confirm the existing world order through the consecration of sacerdotal acts. The shamans, however, -- on the contrary! -- want to outdo and break through the given order of nature and the environment. Their greatness and authority rest on the fact that they do supernatural things, that they heal the sick, struggle with spirits, yes, awaken the dead to new life. This, at any rate, is said of the greatest of their kind, whose talent lies in their spiritual, supernatural powers, in their mastering of extraordinary circumstances. Over against the cult priest's "thus it is," the shaman puts his "thus it should be" (A. Friedrich).

a) Characteristics of Paez Shamanism

756 The Paez shamans, in the sense given, are not functionaries
754 of a sacrificial cult, but persons who do supernatural things. There are two types of them, the teyu and the nyic. Whereas the teyu (tepits as a man, téoi as a woman) is a good shaman, a good doctor and helper of human beings, the nyic is an evil shaman, an evil sorcerer, a hexer. The shamanistic activity of both, however, as a religious phenomenon, is not nearly as distinctive as, for example, the shamanism that we are familiar with in Siberia or North America.

/315 cont./

105 "Araucanian" type (O'Neale, p. 115). In place of the shed rod we have a simple loop; in place of the heddle rod, a bundle of loops.

105 The warp threads are stretched in the form of the "false spiral warp,"
286 a mixture of the method of the continuous, circular warp with the
171 method of the terminating flat warp. This genuinely American way of stretching the warp is found among the Northwest Coast Indians as well as among the tribes of the Gran Chaco (Olson, pp. 114-121). Culture-historically H. Nevermann regards the various forms of American weaving /316/ as having originated on the basis of a native or pre-Polynesian plait-weaving. Among the Paez we find this technical stage in the plait-weaving of the carrying bands of the coca bags.

105 For dyeing, vegetable dyes are used, which dye only sheep wool, but not cotton.

Pottery is very simple. There are only hemispherical pots and bowls made with the spiral coil technique, both without any ornamentation.

The present political organization of the Paez is based on the village community. It is led by a village council (cabildo), whose members are chosen for a year from among the men of the village. The designations for the members of the cabildo and their functions are in part Spanish. In former times the leaders of the Paez were
[621] often men with shamanistic abilities. The village is not organized
[565] by either classes or occupations. No one need serve another for
[463] pay; the word and the thing are unknown to the Paez. The father
[464] of the family with his sons or brothers works his fields, and if
[476] friends or neighbors lend their help, it is compensated for by assistance in their fields.

[594] The family organization is basically the patrilineal,
[178] monogomous nuclear family, consisting of the parents and the unmarried children. Here there has probably been the least
[851] change in Paez culture. The children are given the family of the
[533] father. For her marriage the woman receives no dowry of any kind from her parents, and she keeps her maiden name. Since there are no social or financial reasons for concluding a marriage, a woman has only the merit of her personality and abilities. These are tested during a "trial year" before the actual conclusion of the marriage.

/220 cont./

XXVI

Religious Fiestas

796 Among the Paez there are no secular collective celebrations. All are religious. They celebrate with pomp and grandeur: San Andrés, Semana Santa, San Juan, San Pedro and San Pablo, La Santa Cruz, El Día de Difuntos, La Inmaculada Concepción...

[178] The Lazarist missionary, David González, says that as far back as 1689 the fiestas were organized as they were found [179] in 1905, that is to say, as they are today. Each pueblo was [177] granted a patron saint and various other protectors. In spite of this, only San Juan Bautista and San Pedro and San Pablo, whose fiestas are celebrated when maize is eared /en macollaje/, the rains are heavier, and the winds are violent, the day of the dead /el día de difuntos/ with its offerings to the souls, the Inmaculada Concepción, when grain is abundant, and the Semana Santa (El Resucitado /The Resurrected/) were the fiestas and saints that aroused the most enthusiasm and sank the deepest roots in the souls of these natives.

771 The Paez, and especially those of Calderas, are religious 796 in externals, not in conviction; they are more concerned with 182 form than with substance. This is revealed in the religious fiestas of these natives. /221/ Few of them attend mass, and fewer yet pray at vespers. To the great majority of them, religious fiestas mean a squandering of gunpowder, lights, aguardiente, and chicha. An abundance of food. The pleasure of getting together. The joy of contact. The music, which assuages hardship, and the dancing, an exteriorization of feelings. It is the expansiveness that leads to gatherings, the sexual jokes that spring up among them without misgivings; it is the continuous drunkenness. It is the display of generosity, the exercises in co-operation and altruism.

796 The priest, as a punishment for failure to attend the Mass 793 on the part of the chief fiestero and albacero, refused to carry 718

* /221 cont./
756 vision she was at a 'minga' /communal work-party/ cooking
757 pork for the laborers.

"There was no doubt but that this was a spirit telling me that I should become a curer. The pouches that she carried indicated this to me. This is why I never fail to take my medicine pouches."

Another curer, from the Parcialidad of Calderas, relates his vision as follows: "One night I saw a beautiful child, fair, with the hair of a woman, reddish, and dressed in a wrapper. This child was the Ghost /Duende/, /222/ from whom the
● [178] curer's power comes. He is the same Kallumb as is seen by true curers, because nowadyas there are some who learn to cure through the teaching of others."

In the Parcialidad of San Andrés they say that the Ghost visits the curer when someone goes to consult him, to tell him what brought him and the advice that he should give.

It may also happen, says a Calderuno /native of Calderas/
[262] 19 years old, that someone wishes to become a curer. Then,
[263] he subjects himself to a diet. For one month he eats no salt or ají /Capsicum/. He goes at once to the mountain, alone, his head lowered, lost in thought, with the hope of finding a good friend whose counsel he can ask. At a magnificent spot, pleasant to the senses, he meets a man advanced in years, short of stature, good, generous, amiable in conversation, and amply educated, who chews coca like other Indians and, like them, also carries kuetand yahas (pouches). Filled with trust, he explains his wishes to become a curer, arguing that there are many people who are dying. He asks about the good remedies. The one questioned answers that there are good remedies for curing the sick and presents him with a pouch of them. This one is for such-and-such an illness, he says, this other one for that one, and so on successively, specifying the medicinal value of the remedies in the pouch. He instructs him in their use, technique and method. Up to the way of

The cultivation of potatoes on a large scale
/305 cont./ began more
244 or less two decades ago. "From 1925 to 1930 the one who
433 planted the most potatoes was Ezequiel Mulcué, who caused amazement among the people; now the least planted is 20 arrobas," says one informant. Nowadays there are natives who sow up to 200 arrobas in a year, of which only 70 are planted in the "paramo," and they yield better results than the other arrobas planted. Then, we ask, why do the people of Mosoco have their months of hunger?

262 The basic product of the Paez diet is maize. It was in
154 the past and it continues to be so in the present. Psychologi-
[198] cally, they feel completely satisfied when they have maize for consumption. Its absence causes a sensation of dietary dissatis-
[243] faction. Before the era of the potato, the cultivation of maize and wheat predominated.

461 During the months of July, August, September, and Octo-
464 ber, the natives have little work. This is why those from
166 Vitoncó, San José, Lame, and Suin go and sign up as peons on the fincas of the "whites" on the other side of the Cordillera (Popayán, Corinto, and even in the Cauca Valley). They return toward the end of the year, when the maize and wheat harvests are drawing near. The natives of Calderas, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, and Togoima go to the fincas of Inzá or La Plata. They return in October when the maize harvests are approaching. It must be said that this labor force is excellent and cheap. And for this reason very much in demand.

The natives of Mosoco have sufficient work in their own country.

Clearings /rozas/

241 The term roza is used generically for the extent of land
433 cleared, burned, cleaned, and fenced, ready for planting. It is found on every private property. It has an area of approximately one hectare. Clearings of two or more hectares are rare. An increase in production does not reflect an enlargement of the clearings, but rather their multiplication and the utilization of ever more rugged and /306/ sterile lands. The natives, to

/316/

105 Potatoes are the principal crop in the parcialidad of Mosoco
178 and the primary source of the natives' monetary income. It has
[244] made possible the establishment of intensive trade with the municipio of Silvia and has plainly had repercussions in the modification of rules of behavior and the restructuring of institutions. The transformation embraces nearly all aspects of Páez culture.

In the first place, work has intensified. The people of Mosoco have permanent work throughout the year. The women participate directly in the preparation of the soil, the planting, and the harvesting.

The children of both sexes go to school regularly, learn basic skills, and utilize them in everyday life. Mosoco is the only part of Tierradentro where there is a private school supervised by a native.

[191] Bilingualism is general. The "chontales," that is to say, persons who do not speak Spanish, are very few. There are not more than ten.

[276] The consumption of coca has disappeared among all the youthful elements.

[262] The alimentary diet and schedule have been altered con-
[264] siderably. They have breakfast very early in the morning, lunch at noon, and dinner at nightfall. Milk, panela, lard, meat, and bread are consumed regularly.

The utensils are completely modern, consisting of aluminum and iron pieces.

There are wooden beds for sleeping, and blankets as well.

The houses are better built and furnished. There are houses of adobe and tile. Two tile-works inclusively already exist in the parcialidad.

The people are hospitable and generous toward foreign visitors.

[291] The clothing of the men is almost completely transformed. They dress like any Colombian peasant. The palm hat worn in other parcialidades has disappeared from this region. The women are clean, orderly, and talkative. They retain the slit skirt and sash, but have adopted chemises and the blue rebozo of the

/316 cont./

105 Guambianos. They adorn themselves with showy necklaces and
● 178 pins. Not a few of them wear fine gold earrings.

[232] Livestock-raising has intensified and is in full swing. Norman cattle are replacing and being crossed with the native cattle. The same thing has happened with the wool-bearing livestock. The /317/ saddle and pack horses are indispensable for every family. The natives also possess fine breeds of hogs and domestic fowl.

[565] Social stratification is in full progress. Rich and poor families can already be named.

Mosoco women seldom marry natives from other, less acculturated parcialidades. People speak of mingas, and even of burials, of the rich and poor, a larger number of people going to those of the former.

They live on good terms with the whites and treat them as equals. There are many good native dealers.

These natives are thoroughly familiar with the methods of curing, the use of remedies, and sorcery. But the té eu and even more the nara jihi (sorcerer) are on the wane. Many consult the doctor of the "whites" in Silvia and use the drugs of the "whites." They are less superstitious.

They are believers by conviction. A few are Protestants with great reasoning powers.

The cabildo retains its power and is duly respected.

The properties are duly parceled out. Many of them are planted with pastos de selección /literally, choice pasture grasses/. Fences with barbed wire are frequently encountered.

Agricultural implements

412 Among the implements used in agriculture, only the
[241] digging stick for planting maize (uhach) is of native manufacture.
[177] The others are of European origin.

The universal implement among the Paez is the machete. With it the clearings are made, the ground is cleaned, and the fields, the montañas are felled, sugar mills are made, and bridges are laid over rivers and streams. They prefer it large and with a leather sheath that they fasten to the belt. They are

/343 cont./

462 woman can weave the kuetand yaha (mambe pouch) for carrying coca and mambe /lime for the chew/, weave the fique bags for carrying things, weave the ponchos and the skirts, spin wool and cabuya. Naturally, these differences in activities are observed by children, and they practice them from the earliest age, especially if there is stimulation /344/ by the persons who live with them. The differences in daily, technological, and economic [241] activities are strictly observed. In agriculture, however, men [178] and women are beginning to share the work equally. This phenomenon is, of course, recent.

The scheme that we present below shows the distribution of activities according to sex.

Activity	Men	Women
Construction of houses	yes	
Construction of roads, drainage ditches, bridges	yes	
Preparation of fique and making lassos	yes	
Making hats	yes	
Making plates and spoons of wood	yes	
Making troughs and sugar mills	yes	
Slaughtering animals and drying hides	yes	
Use of weapons	yes	
Spinning		yes
Weaving		yes
Cooking		yes
Making kuentand yaha (wool)		yes
Making yahas (fique)		yes
Making calabashes	yes	yes
Sewing men's underdrawers	yes	
Washing and mending	yes (28)	yes

28. Rarely.

Ceramics	yes or	yes

The people of
/356 cont./
43 Mosoco have numerous droves of pack animals for handling the
628 import and export traffic, in which the Guambianos (with their
492 horses), called kasukos by the people of Mosoco, who regard them as good friends and not very different from themselves, also participate. The fact is that they live together, work together, and do their trading jointly.

563 The relations between "whites" and natives in Mosoco
621 seem to be cordial and based on mutual respect.

Family economy

594 The Paez family is basically an economic unit. It is made up of the parents and the children, and it represents a
[602] closed but effective circle. They do not go beyond their own
[476] limits in any way, so that the mingas and the distribution of the
[431] first fruits of the harvests are carried out primarily with consanguineal and political relations.

594 The manner in which this economic unit functions and in
462 which its members collaborate can be clearly understood from the division of the activities by sex. The supreme management of the family economy rests in the hands of the man; it is he who owns the land, the house, the tools, and the domestic animals. His arm has not been taught to wield anything but the machete, the axe, and the shovel. He is the owner of the crops and the one who determines where, how, and when work is to be done. His primary work is outside the house: on the land itself. The woman, on /357/ the other hand, remains inside the house, and her basic work is connected with the administration and working up of the products handed over to her by the man. Cooking and
[464] weaving are her specialities. It is true that the woman hires
● [178] herself out as a day laborer on the fincas of the "whites" and that in some parcialidades, such as Mosoco, she participates directly in the preparation of the land and the weeding of the crops, but this is a relatively new phenomenon and is not yet universally accepted among the natives.

261 In general terms, the primary incentive for economic activity
594 dealing with food is the satisfaction of the basic needs of the individual and the survival of the family group. It is the security

/357 cont./

261 that is provided by having what is to be consumed. An abundance
594 of guarapo and maize undoubtedly gives them great gratification. When these products are abundant the religious fiestas, mingas, and "entertainments" are good, the natives say, and they describe at great length the incidents as they unfold.

●178 But, in spite of the fact that the work capacity of the in-
241 dividual is acknowledged, that the possession of domestic animals
433 lends a certain prestige within the group, and that the abundance
[554] of food and guarapo brings gratification, the agricultural cycle
[231] remains stationary within the lineaments of time, of the systems of labor, and of the quantity of seed. They produce essentially
178 for consumption. The stimulation of prestige does not exist. In
433 many parcialidades, the habits of a capitalistic economy are openly
[754] combated by the sorcerers (32). Nevertheless, we have already

32. Bernal Villa, S. op. cit., p. 256.

had the opportunity to state that the introduction of the cultivation of coffee (temperate zone), the development of livestock-raising and of the cultivation of potatoes in Mosoco, and the creation of settlement areas in the very heart of the native parcialidades are rapidly modifying all of the institutions of Páez culture. The family economy of self-provisioning and of small barter operations is changing perceptibly into a purely money economy. By the same process the routine monotony is disappearing from production and is being replaced by new techniques of work, a greater quantity of production, and a greater volume of trade.

434 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, and San Andrés, we
121 made an investigation of familial income and expenses /358/ for
124 the year 1953, on the basis of questionnaires prepared by the Comisión de Planeamiento de la Seguridad Social Campesina of the Ministerio del Trabajo, questionnaires that were filled out by us for the said commission with reference to Tierradentro.

/361 cont./

276 The consumption of coca has disappeared almost completely
511 in Mosoco; the few data on expenses that appear in the statisti-
[178] cal table pertain exclusively to elderly informants. /362/ In Lame and San Andrés, on the other hand, the consumption is general and considerable sums, in comparison with the total income, are spent to procure this article. In San Andres, the expenses for this fancy would be higher if there were not a cer-
511 tain number of coca trees in each garden. The monies invested in improvements on immovables and livestock-raising are frequent in Mosoco, while in the other two parcialidades they are practically absent. This already implies a veritable process of capitalization, an activity unknown to the majority of the native population of Tierradentro.

The largest and most constant expenses were paid out, in this order, for food, clothing, amusements, and the acquisition of candles and soap.

511 As far as food in Mosoco is concerned, purchases of panela,
43 coffee, lard (fat), and salt appear for all 25 families; the purchase of maize and rice appears for 12 families. They also buy chocolate, bread, and plantains with some frequency. They do not consume manioc. For the eight families of Lame purchases of panela, salt, and coffee appear, and in one case or another the acquisition of rice, lard, manioc, plantains, and meat. In San Andrés the articles most in demand for the home are meat, panela, and salt, which appear for more than half the families investigated, but the purchase of maize, lard, potatoes, manioc, and plantains also figures with some frequency. On analyzing the statistical table of expenses for the three parcialidades, we find rather interesting coincidences that exist between the higher percentages for food and the deficiencies in agricultural production, either because of the loss of harvests or the scarcity of seed. In the former case, which refers primarily to Mosoco, we have already seen that the budgetary imbalance is compensated for by the sale of domestic animals, especially cattle, and in the latter case, which refers to the other two parcialidades, the low production is compensated for by the sale of labor.

/364 cont./

511 in the cantinas, in lawsuits over land, or for religious fiestas.
434 These arguments are confirmed, on the other hand, by the
454 statistical table on income in that only five native families in the three parcialidades made up the deficits in their budgets of last year with sums saved in 1952.

Economy and acculturation

121 Before closing the present work we wish to describe in
177 broad outline the process of acculturation which is now going on in some Páez parcialidades.

[101] The material on Páez culture which we have published and that which we are now elaborating on were collected in the parcialidades located on the right bank of the Paez River, leaving aside those located on the left bank of this river, owing above all to factors of public order which have been disturbing their peace for several years.

● [178] The native communities of San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Calderas, Avirama, Suin, Chinas, Lame, Vitoncó, Huila, Toez, and Tálaga are more traditionalistic, live in accordance with the institutions of the culture, and for this reason we regard them as more "primitive." On the other hand, the community of Mosoco, suspended on the slopes of the Central Cordillera itself and extending into the very heart of the Paramo de Moras, is fully in the process of transformation.

[648] /365/ Our research was begun in the parcialidad of Calderas,
[101] isolated, by reasons of a geographical nature, from the principal centers of the "white" population and whose inhabitants have defended their independence at all costs and have been hostile to living with the "whites" (39). From here comes the greater part

39. Bernal Villa, S. "Mitología y cuentos de la parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro /Mythology and tales from the parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro/," pp. 289 ff.

[101] of our materials. But we also carried out systematic investigations in San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Lame, Vitoncó, Tálaga, and, lastly, in Mosoco.

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Moguex

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The main subsistence of these tribes was and still is based on the cultivation of potatoes, which grow in great quantities in the higher portions of the territory known as Tierradentro, and maize, which is acclimated to the temperate and cold zones. There are three varieties of maize: sweet, soft, and hard. Additional crops were and are yuca or manioc, sweet potatoes, auyamas, ullucos, purutos, frijoles, arracacha, and various other vegetables, and a variety of fruits, including bananas, guayavas, avocados, papayas, pineapples, and passion fruit. Today the *Páez* and *Moguex* are beginning to grow wheat, coffee, which is an important item in their economy, and sugarcane, from which is made a coarse sugar and molasses for their fermented drink, guarapo.

[178] [433] [273]

241 476 The men and women of each family generally cultivate the family plot, but for large-scale maize or coffee planting, and for cultivation of the lands of the Church or saint, they work communally, and have meetings called "mingas." Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense. The beneficiary must feed his helpers, generally sacrificing a pig and preparing great quantities of chicha for the libations and nocturnal dances after the work. All adults must participate in working the Church lands but each brings his own food.

[782] [273]

241 412 407 492 Implements of cultivation are the digging stick, or macana, for making holes for planting, machetes and axes for destroying vegetation, and picks and shovels for removing earth, except where replaced by plows pulled by animal traction.

231 **Domesticated animals.**—Domesticated animals include chickens, turkeys, some pigs, dogs, and a few horses and cows. All but the turkeys are of European origin. These animals are rarely sold or killed for food, except for feast days, magical ceremonies, meetings, and visits of relatives, friends or distinguished White men. But sometimes the Indians buy meat in the weekly market and hang it over the hearth, where it is preserved by the smoke.

[177] [438] [251]

574 431 A custom which has persisted since the beginning of the Colonial Period is that of always giving a guest the "camarico" or "cariño" (affection), a present varying from an egg to a chicken, together with some potatoes, vegetables, and coffee beans.

262 136 231 Formerly, meat was obtained from wild rather than domesticated animals—[illegible] (zaínos), guaras, guatines, birds, and guinea pigs, the last being true domesticated animals kept in some numbers in the native houses.

252 **Food preparation.**—Food was cooked in pottery ollas, but metal and enamel ware is now often used. The *Páez* make "mute," a soup of boiled maize, cabbage, squash, and potatoes, and "cocido," a soup

[415] [177]

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Moguex

civilized tradesman, the Indian turns to drinking guarapo or chicha and becomes drunk. Often a heated discussion, always spoken in Spanish and not in *Páez*, leads to insults and perhaps to blows and injuries. A man's wife usually maneuvers him from the village and, if he falls asleep on the road, she sits by him warding off dangers.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political structure.—The *Moguez*, *Páez*, *Guanaca*, *Timand*, and *Yalcón*, despite their great similarity in language and culture, formed separate groups at the time of the Conquest. Each was divided into several communities (parcialidades), of which those of the *Páez* were the most numerous. The *Guanaca* were split between two principal caciques, one of whom, Anabeima, joined the Spaniards against the *Páez* of Avirama. The other cacique was Esmisa, Anabeima's brother-in-law. Each *Páez* community had its own chief, but the communities were grouped into three great divisions. One consisted of the *Páez*, *Tálaga*, *Simurga*, and *Taravira*, on the shores of the Páez River. The chiefs of three of these groups were brothers; that of the fourth was their sister, whose name was Taravira. Another group was headed by Suin, and his son, Esmisa. In the third group, Avirama was joined by other neighboring chiefs of less importance.

Each community (cacicado) consisted of several polygynous families under a male chief (pl. 185, *top, left*). Each family had its own house located some distance from its neighbor's. All the members of a community gathered for general work, and all or several of the communities united for war, either against the *Pijao*, their feared neighbors, or against the Spaniards.

The place of a cacique's residence was a sort of focal point and meeting place, and today most of such places are Indian villages with the same names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima (formerly Toboima), etc. The present *Páez* Indian reservation of Tierradentro is divided politically into two municipios—Páez or Belalcázar and Inzá—with 22 communities, each governed by its own councils (cabildos, of Colonial origin) and by the municipal authorities. The cabildo is elected annually. The Indians, however, are jealous defenders of their traditions, and insist on a captain and síndico, each with life tenure, to act as their own leaders and as true representatives of the cacique. Their duties are moral and fiscal and carry a certain divine authority, as they are inaugurated in the local church. The cabildo, on the other hand, has only administrative and police powers; it divides the land, orders work to be done, and executes the municipal orders. The members of a cabildo hold office for 1 year and receive no remuneration. They are elected on the first of December by all the male adults, or "macaneros," that is, the Indians who participate in the communal work according to a

1:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
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The graves were "large and deep," and chiefs were buried with some of their wives and with food and chicha (Cieza, 1932, ch. 32). 764 766

In Colonial times, according to Del Castillo, the *Páez* removed a dying person from his hut but burned the house if anyone died in it. They had given up cremation, however, and buried in the earth, building a fence around the grave. Today, they cover the corpse with a white shroud and place it in the middle of the house with candles and flowers. Here it is watched over one night by relatives and friends, and then buried in a cemetery, where each relative tosses some earth into the grave saying, "Go with God." The mourners then bathe in the river without disrobing, and in the evening hold a banquet with chicha, sancocho (vegetable stew), meat, and tortillas. For 9 days a cross, a container of water, and a candle must be kept on the deceased's bed, the water being kept there so that the soul may drink. The relatives pray every night. A month after the death, a shaman purifies the house. The relatives and friends kill a pig, cut it lengthwise in two halves, one for the shaman, the other for the ceremonial banquet. The shaman sweeps the house floor with the pig's legs and some special branches, which are later buried. He chews coca, says some unintelligible words, and spits leaves on the house walls. The residents and guests then enter the house for the final proof of purification. The shaman, standing in the center of the house, gives a dog half a tortilla. If the dog does not die, he divides the other half among those present. He does the same with a piece of cooked meat, and if the dog still does not die, he blows chicha in all directions in the hut, and then divides what remains with those present. The hut and food are then declared clean The food is then eaten and much chicha drunk.

178 764 [763] 765 764 765 756 783

The modern burial customs of the *Moguex* differ somewhat from those of the *Páez*. The former dance for 9 days before and after burying a dead child. Because of the special ceremonies for adults, young Indians gather and prepare wood to be burned at their own funerals. When an adult dies, relatives and friends bring wood, food, and money to the house, and work for his family, who pray and weep for 3 days over the body. On the fourth day, they carry the body in a procession to the cemetery. Upon passing a house or inn where the deceased was accustomed to take chicha, they stop and drink. The burial procedure is like that of the *Páez*. Back at the house, they purify the objects used by the deceased over the fire, and leave his clothes and the hide he used as a bed at the river 9 days, after which they may be used. Meanwhile, the guests remain with the deceased's family, helping them. On the 9th day, they extinguish all lights and go to the nearest hill to mourn, while a shaman remains in the house to catch the soul of the deceased. He chews coca, spits it in all directions, and beats around with sticks to make the soul come out. Then he lights

764 184 [766] [535] [275] [783] 765 756 787 775 184

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
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535 There is much dancing today. The sexes perform in couples or separately. Among the *Moguex*, some of the expert dancers are paid to dance with all couples in a sort of "bambuco." Dancing is always a part of *Páez* ceremonies for the death of children, baptismals, weddings, saint holidays, and meetings for collective work (mingas) held in the evening when people return from their plantations.

Dancing, as other social events, is subject to a special ceremony [585] or etiquette, strongly connected with religious beliefs. For example, in the wedding celebration, a prayer is first said in which the souls of [608] the dead are asked permission to dance, or "scrape the floor," as they call dancing. Only the godparents and the bride and groom may [527] dance at the beginning.

The *Páez* do not masquerade, but the *Moguex* always masquerade 526 during the period of carnival preceding Holy Week.

[524] **Games.**—Games do not hold an important place among these peoples. The children amuse themselves by imitating the activities [857] of their elders. The only game recorded is simulated warfare, performed as a part of a rite in honor of the dead after a communal [769] feast. Two teams under their captains or caciques attacked and shot arrows at each other. Even if some contestants were killed or wounded, no one bore a grudge.

276 **Narcotics.**—The *Páez* and the *Moguex* chewed coca leaves mixed in the mouth with lime powder. Coca chewing is widespread among men, but very little practiced by women. It is used especially by [756] the shaman when he is practicing. In Colonial times the use of coca [177] spread to the rural population of Mestizos and Whites in Nariño, Cauca, and Huila.

273 **Alcoholic beverages.**—These Indians formerly made chicha of maize, but today they ferment it with sugarcane molasses. They also have [178] fermented sugarcane juice (guarapo), and a sort of rum (aguardiente). The latter is distilled clandestinely in their huts from guarapo and certain herbs fermented together in earthenware crocks. The Indians drink guarapo every day, but restrict the use of chicha and the stronger guarapo and aguardiente to market days, religious feast days, burials, weddings, mingas or meetings for work, and witchcraft [462] ceremonies. Guarapo and chicha are made by women, who sometimes chew the maize to increase its fermentation. They are stored in large, hollowed tree trunks and in large earthen jars, which are kept in a special place in the hut. There is never a lack of these beverages for home use and for welcoming an unexpected visitor.

RELIGION

175 The early Spaniards had little understanding of the religion of these 771 people. They reported that the Indians had but few idols and no temples or places of worship. Castillo mentions that they wor-

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

cluding vegetables, cornbread, eggs, and chicha, which he piles on the church floor, together with wax candles—one if the person does not have anyone in particular to remember, two for each deceased relative. When Mass begins, they throw flowers on the presbytery, as an offering to the souls of children. Afterward, they go to the cemetery in procession, and the souls of the departed come down to the empty church to take the food. Later, the people sell whatever the souls left or failed to eat. Everyone buys something, the captain's assistant collecting the money, while the constables of the council, raising their whips and shouting insults, prevent frauds in the general disorder. The money from the sale is given to the priest to pay him for the work in the rites. As each person leaves the church, he kisses a crucifix held by the sacristan at the church door. They kiss it once for each dead person whom they wish to remember and pay a cent each time. In addition to offering food at the church, the *Moguex* cover their tables at home with food, which is also intended for the souls of their dead, and at the end of 2 or 3 days they eat the food, saying that they are eating what the souls have left.

769 782 [624] [625]

Christmas and Holy Week are both great occasions for the Indians, who celebrate them with music and some of their ancient rites. Even though a priest may not be present, they conduct the rites in a manner that dates from Colonial days, when a *Páez* Indian named Undachí tried to combine Catholicism with their own religion. The man claimed to be able to see God, who used to come among the Indians and talk to him in his own *Páez* language. The new religion included a chapel, Mass, and candle and flower offerings.

796 771 177 [781]

Sickness.—Sickness was always thought to be caused by witchcraft or by someone's will. The evil force entered the body and made it impure; it had to be expelled or "cleansed," lest death ensue. If a delirious person told who was killing him, the individual mentioned was thought guilty; or, if, after a death, the face of the deceased should appear to somebody, the person was considered responsible. These beliefs are still in force today, and the Indians avoid the causes of sickness, such as having sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman, exposing the body to bad weather while there is a rainbow, and neglecting to bathe after a burial or to purify a house where a death occurred.

753 754 [787] 753 178

To fight disease they still have shamans. *Moguex* shamans use tobacco, coca, plants known as yacuna and chundar, and rum in their practice. After remaining shut up in a dark room for a night, they either confess their inability to cure the sick person or proceed to administer the traditional medicines. Sickness is conceptualized as an animal, which enters the stomach, head, or other part of the body. In former times, the shaman fasted with the sick person, abstaining from salt and fats and taking only coca and chicha. Today, he requires that only the patient fast.

756 [753] [785]

/184 cont./

stereotyped conduct. It should nevertheless be stated that the present-day Páez surnames were still given names in the eighteenth century, chosen capriciously by the mother and not transmissible to the descendants (14). The adoption of surnames and

14. Castillo y Orozco, E. de., op. cit., p. 75.

their heritability through the paternal line is the result of the doctrinal work of the Catholic missionaries, and their assimilation and integration into Páez culture must have been carried out in accordance with certain aspects of a sociological nature existing previously. The same /an unpaginated genealogical chart appears here/ /185/ present-day monogamy of the Páez appears to be the result of a strong Catholic Christian influence, since in pre-Colombian times they were polygamous (15).

15. Hernández de Alba, Gr. "The Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia," 1946, p. 948.

The supreme authority in the nuclear family rests with the father; when he is missing, with the mother; and, when both are missing, with the most intelligent of the group. The husband orders, the woman only asks. The woman is always under the control of the man: the father, the brother, the husband. She has no liberty of movement. The cabildo has authority over orphaned women, including that of having them marry. One of our informants in Calderas was a fatherless orphan and had been brought up in Avirama in the company of her stepfather. Being of age, an Aviramen̜o asked for her in marriage, but the cabildo of Calderas stopped the marriage, brought her back to the parcialidad, made her spend the night in the quarters of the cabildo, and on the following day made her marry a lad of 14 whom she did not know. Since she resisted, they beat her, admonishing her at the same time that if she did not do it, she would be married to a black dog in the future life. "There being

[text continues on p. 33]

/105 cont./

C 162 The inhabitants of Tierradentro may be divided into three groups, according to the degree of civilization: a) the colonists living south of the Rio Ullucus, who speak Spanish and have nothing in common with the Paez. In habits and customs they correspond to the general, more or less strongly mestizo, Colombian rural population. Furthermore, the population of Balalcázar, consisting predominantly of Negroes, has nothing in common with the Paez. They were brought there by the Spaniards in colonial times as slaves, in order to exploit the salt mines that were used by the Paez even in ancient times. Today salt C [316] extraction is no longer profitable. The Negroes live partly on gold-washing in the Rio Paez, which is undertaken in primitive T fashion with wooden pans, the workers standing up to their knees [563] in water. The Paez do not generally intermarry with the Negroes, [186] but, on the contrary, despise them, since they know that they at one time came there as slaves.

P 162 b) The Paez who north of the Rio Ullucus have settled 361 both banks of the Rio Paez as far north as Nevado del Huila. 563 They have in part intermarried with the white and mestizo colonist P population. The /106/ places inhabited by them are: Araujo, [103] Avirama, Belalcázar, Cuetando, Mosoco, Ricaurte, San Andrés, San José, Tálaga, Toez, Togóima.

T c) The pure Paez villages of Calderas, Chinas, Huila, 162 Lame, Santa Rosa, Suin and Vitoncó. Among these the Paez 103 of Calderas have preserved their cultural individuality most P purely. We worked primarily among them, and the present ma- 114 terial, insofar as nothing is said to the contrary, refers to the 121 culture of the Paez of Calderas. The Calderun, as the inhabitants P of Calderas are known in the country, are by far the most unap- 181 proachable of all the Paez. They have best kept to this day the 648 three laws of Juan Tama, the mythical hero of the Paez, which 101 were originally strictly observed by all. These three laws say: 1. Tierradentro is solely and exclusively the land of the Paez, 2. the Paez may never intermarry with other races, 3. the Paez are invincible as long as they keep these laws. The third law in particular has well-founded justification, since for centuries

/106 cont./

648 it was impossible for the Spaniards to conquer Tierradentro and
[101 181] subjugate the Paez.

Even today the Paez love their independence above all. And even though they cannot accomplish anything by force against the "whites," by which they mean the colonists and the Colombians in general, they nevertheless hate them with impotent fury. "Muiska pešu" (*), "white robber," is what they call the

* Concerning the transcription and phonetics of Paez words, cf. pp. 154-156.

colonists who took their land from them. The latter, however, more industrious than the Paez, need land for their numerous children. They cannot see why the best and virgin soil should remain unused in the hands of the Paez.

361 The rivers arising in the heights as a result of the water flowing down in the mountainous country form enclosed valley basins, each of which contains a village politically. These are, however, not villages in our sense, since the houses do not lie together, but separately, scattered on the slopes of the entire
123 valley basin as individual farms. This decentralized position of
361 a village rendered the ethnological work considerably more difficult, since one cannot keep an eye on "his" village and survey all the inhabitants together. Hence it is very difficult to become acquainted with all the people of the village, since in each case one must go great distances from one house to another and at the same time usually very laboriously climb a slope. How often it happened that the inhabitants were not at home at the moment or did not want to be seen or spoken to. For, at first, the Calderun did not by any means care to see us, and even after months of life and visits among them, the old people looked back with nostalgia on the times when /107/ all intruding whites were killed.
123 Today, moreover, not only whites, but even foreigners come to
[177] Calderas. "If we speak to them and treat them well," they said, "then more and more whites will come here." How often it happened that we visited one of the old men, who, I was told,

If someone

/266 cont./

787 dreams of peté squash, he will be devoured by the Pijao, for this
[266] squash has black seeds, and the Pijao as man-eaters have /267/ black teeth. If one has been greatly amused in a dream at night and has laughed a great deal, he will have a great deal of vexation during the day. If it rained heavily in a dream at night, a chicken or something similar will be stolen the next day. If in a dream someone has ridden very fast all night long on a brown horse, the day will be beautiful, for the brown or red color is the color of the sun (the same word is used for brown and red); dreaming of riding a black horse, on the other hand, will cause a black cloud to come up the next day, and then it will rain. If, before sowing, someone dreams of a big lagoon that appears all green or has a great deal of green growth around it, this means that the subsequent sowing will produce a good harvest. Anyone who sees a black pig in his dream has in reality seen the heart of an evil shaman, that is to say, he, as a good human being, has met the wandering soul of an evil shaman; this is not a good sign, but neither is it so bad that one would have to fall ill on account of it. Dreaming about the slaughtering of a pig means that an evil sorcerer will die. If one dreams that a thorn entered his foot on
[763] the road, a snake will bite him. If one's tooth drops out in a dream, a close relative will die. If someone else kills a large rooster, his father will die, for the rooster is the heart of the father. But if a person himself slaughters a large rooster in a dream, he will murder his own father. If one dreams that he has worked a great deal in his field on one day, then wild animals will break
[754] into this field and destroy the entire crop. If a person dreams that
[763] he is falling into a deep hole and cannot get out again, this is a sign that he will die, for an evil sorcerer has thus stolen the soul of a human being, buried it in a deep hole, and stamped down the earth again.

756 If dreams and shamanistic signs of a relatively advanced spiritual attitude lead to the conclusion that there is a corresponding external ceremonial outfit for the shaman, we shall be disap-
[181] pointed. The shaman's staff (tama), to which a liana (nika) is added for certain ceremonies, is unadorned, poor, and inartistic, like the entire culture of the Paez.

/287 cont./

4. Music

533 In no area of Paez culture is poverty evident to such an ex-
535 tent as in song and dance, the predominant expressions of the character and spirit of all peoples. No peculiar dance is per-
[173] formed among the /288/ Paez, and I heard no song sung. This undoubtedly represents an impoverishment, for it may be seen
533 from the folklore that in former times there was dancing. A similar conclusion must also be drawn about the playing of very
[173] agreeable music. Their knowledge of music, however, makes it
[181] highly probable that song also existed, especially among a people
[581] that is basically jolly and constantly disposed to jest. In fact,
[521] it is very difficult for a girl who is slow in jocular conversation to
[522] get a husband. And to my question about the Paez word for "sing
[192] house" listed in Uricoechea, the amiable Victoriano, to his own great surprise, was immediately able to give me a special word in his language, "mẽmyat."

534 It is not possible to say with certainty which of the musical
[171] instruments used by the Paez today is an original one. The absence of any kind of rattle, the outstanding instrument of the American natives, is surprising (*).

* Pittier de Fábrega (p. 325) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 326/, however, mentions among the musical instruments of the Paez a rattle (tsoóts) in the form of a calabash with a handle, which was filled with small stones. Whether this may not perhaps be an instrument of the Negroes of Belalcázar is still undecided.

534 The cow horn (kǎčn) found in every house is not in the true
202 sense a musical instrument, but one for signaling. It is completely undecorated and, consisting of a horn sawed off at the tip, gives only one tone, which is produced in the same manner as the tone of a bugle or fanfare. This horn is used by the men when they come down from the mountains after a joint felling of the trees needed for housebuilding, in order to notify the village of their return.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

121 The present object is not in any way to contribute an exhaustive monograph on the Paez, but simply to give a summary of our former knowledge of them, together with the chief results of the personal information collected during the visit referred to.

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

Former Occupants. "Planos de Indios." Huacas

101 In addition to the still existing tribes, traces of the former
174 occupancy of the Cauca valley and the adjacent mountains by a dense Indian population are found at every step. The names of extinct groups, like the Hilamas, Ocaches, Jamundies, and others, impressed on the minds of the former Spanish inhabitants by reason of some of their more gruesome customs, have come down to the present generation, although the tribes, as such, have disappeared. Of the Hilamas and Ocaches it is said they were cannibals. At present their more or less mixed
[172 descendants still live in the villages of Las Pavas and Vijes,
181 near Cali; the "Paveños" have become inveterate legal fighters,
162] keeping their judges and alcaldes constantly occupied; while the "Vijeños," on the other hand, are now so peaceful that the court-house is known to have been closed for eighteen months at a time.

101 Of the Jamundies I was told that they were indefatigable
114 warriors, having fought the Spanish invaders to the last of their strength. Their name is perpetuated in that of the little town
[103] of Jamundi, near which I visited the very interesting vale of Agua Sucia, which may have been one of their principal strongholds, as well as a rich gold-washing place. The hills were and still are partly covered with graves, or *huacas*, and these have
[135] been found so abundant in gold objects as to have induced enterprising miners, or *huaqueros*, to conduct a stream of water from a long distance in order to completely wash the slopes.
172 I do not attempt to mention the fabulous riches that are said to have been extracted from this place and from several other no less rich discoveries. An immense amount of pottery, often highly ornamented, together with grinding-stones, hatchets,

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

stroyed the city of Caloto, then on the Magdalena river, according to Alcedo. But it is not unlikely that, later on, during their decline, the Pijaos, Paés, and perhaps several other tribes became mixed, and those whom we now call *Paez* are the survivors in blood, customs, and traditions, of all these frequently named *parcialidades* or *naciones*. 101 174

Physical Characteristics

There is no special reference by former writers respecting the physical characteristics of these Indians, probably because of the apparent uniformity in type of all the tribes of tropical South America. According to my own very fleeting observations the Paez are small, broad-shouldered, with small bony hands, and feet broadened toward the extremities. Their skin is very dark, a character common to all Indians living at great altitudes. In the case of almost every adult, both male and female, coming under my observation, I observed a fine black pubescence covering all visible parts of the body. They appear to be generally strong and healthy, and their physical endurance is not below the average. On our trip across the cordillera each adult man carried at least thirty kilograms, and many of them more than fifty, and none complained of being too heavily laden, although the trail up to nearly 4,000 meters and down again was exceedingly rough and steep, requiring at times not only much exertion but equal presence of mind. 142 147

It is well to mention, after Uricoechea, that the Paeces are naturally inclined to warfare, and invariably join one side or the other in the unceasing Colombian revolutions. In early times they raided the Spanish establishments, the destruction of Caloto on two occasions (the first time in 1641) being still held by them in vivid remembrance as glorious feats of their ancestors. I was even assured that not long ago, during the last war, they were with difficulty prevented from making an incursion on the neighboring Cauca cattle ranches. 181 721

I was quite surprised to find among the Paez Indians a character that I had noticed previously in Central America, but of which no record could be found in current literature. I refer to 147

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

deserted savannas. It must be said, in extenuation, that they have been subjected to much abuse by their neighbors of the "superior race." Moreover, the Paeces are naturally hostile to strangers, descending, as we have seen, from a warlike people. The old Paeces always went about armed, carrying a lance or javelin in the hand and ready to protect their bodies from the darts of an enemy by means of a shield of basket-work (*opimb*), or of tapir hide (*yimba-kât*). The warlike tendencies of the tribe were stimulated by means of periodical contests in which the most valiant warriors fought each other in the presence of the multitude.

To-day, as we have seen, the descendants of these have abundant opportunity to satisfy their fighting propensity by taking sides in the frequent quarrels of the political parties that thus far have kept Colombia in an almost continual turmoil.

Sexual intercourse between Paez women and men of other races is said not to exist; barbarous chastisement would be the fate of the offending female. It is to be expected, however, that the closer contact brought about by the gradual penetration of the Tierra Andentro by whites and negroes will soon overcome the purity of the Paez blood and open the way to amalgamation with the neo-Colombian race.

Reclus, cited above (page 311), gives us to understand that the Paez were cannibals, and the tradition current in the villages along the western foot of the cordillera confirms his intimation with reference to the Pijaos; for the coming of "el Pijao" is still a menace to children. The early chroniclers tell us of several anthropophagous tribes which lived in this region, and it is not unlikely that the Paeces had a share in that custom.

GRAMMATICAL NOTES

Castillo's *Nociones gramaticales* is limited to a list of the personal pronouns and the conjugation of the verbs 'to be' and 'to write.' A few more grammatical indications are incorporated in the vocabularies, but on the whole these data are very meager, and much remains to be done in this direction.

/293 cont./

221 on the fincas of the "whites" (1). The social life and the re-
[166]
[464]
[192]
[177]
[128]

1. Generic term with which the natives designate all those who observe the norms of western culture, without any distinction as to race. For convenience we have adopted this usage, putting the term in quotation marks.

ligious fiestas are frequent during this period. The work is done /294/ with devotion and perseverance. It is not done in haste, but there is no resting either.

423 Every Páez family has its lands. This is its ambition. The
[183] primary source of its security. Every crag has an owner whose title has been won by the sweat of his brow. Every crag harbors a rancho that shelters a family. Every inch of land is passionately
[571] defended by the native. The disputes stirred up by this fact are not few. In like manner the cabildos are never so zealous as in the defense of the lands of the parcialidad /a territorial division/.
[648] The areas of settlement /areas of colonization by whites/ are spearheads in the very heart of the community. They were established against the full opposition of the natives. On the other hand, the defense of the land and the prevention of contamination by foreign peoples are postulates of the doctrine. The distribution of the houses suggests in advance the profusion of paths and private property.

When they win the scarce land, the distances and difficul-
[464] ties that loom are not important. They are good colonizers, and it is rare that persons who lack land hire themselves out as permanent peons or become tenant farmers on the great haciendas.
[181] They prefer independence above all.

311 To study the economy of the Páez, certain factors of a
133 geographico-physical and cultural nature cannot be overlooked. They are:

1. Thermic levels. The lands now occupied by the Páez of Tierradentro correspond to the thermic levels of cold and temperate. The contour line corresponding to 2,000 meters

/183 cont./

601 Forms of address:

father and mother together (whether by their own children or other persons)	ovēnyi or pĕtām
father and son together (by other persons)	pĕndyīk
father and daughter together (by other persons)	pĕndyīs
mother and son together (by other persons)	pĕndyīk
mother and daughter together (by other persons)	pĕndyīs

3. Customs during the Course of Life and of a Day

182 The Paez generally give the impression of being contented
593 human beings, and it seems that marriage and family life are
[159] better than average. Of course, the observations on this are very
[114] scanty, for, on account of the remote location of the individual dwellings, the research worker always has only a brief glimpse of family conditions at any one time. This very solitude, however, and the consciousness of greater dependence on one another within the family favors its cohesion, even as it reduces the conflict and irritation which arise through women's gossip when people live too closely on top of one another.

842 Basically every family wants a great many children -- at
[123] any rate so said all the men questioned. Two Calderun women, however, /184/ confided to my wife that there was a remedy -- which they and other women, too, naturally did not use! -- that
[825] would with certainty prevent conception: One must eat some of
[237] the spittle of a mula (the female, infertile cross between horse and donkey), and then one would no longer have children. They said that a woman does this only when she has already given birth to a great many children. In general every girl desires a great

/212 cont./

guests. In case the deceased has neither sons nor brothers -- which scarcely ever happens, it is said -- the villager who takes care of the burial inherits his entire property. The widow moves in with one of her brothers or sisters or some other relative.

Disputes and misdemeanors, such as theft or adultery, are judged within the communities by the cabildo; murder or serious bodily injury, by the Colombian state judiciary. It was said that murder and manslaughter did not occur in former times, the old people told us; they are a consequence of "white" influences and the weakening of the cabildo. One can well understand this, for in Calderas where the village council still enjoys a certain amount of power and considerable prestige, it would be unthinkable for a son to stab his father to death. This happened in San Andrés where the cabildo exists only in the form of three functionaries who are basically powerless and without standing and where the young people, through the influences of the living conditions of the white colonists, no longer have any feeling for the old discipline and customs. It was in San Andrés in March, 1953, that the son of the capitan stabbed his father to death. The latter, after the death of his first wife, had married a second time, for which his children reproached him vehemently. In a drunken state, this led to a brawl, in the course of which the father struck off half of his son's right ear and the son killed his father with several knife stabs in the abdomen. After the deed, he fled; but since it was known that he could find shelter only with relatives, the /213/ gobernador of the town of Lame seized him a few days later in the house of his sister, where he had hidden. He was brought to San Andrés in chains and delivered over to the sindico, who was simultaneously occupying the position of gobernador. The latter, an older man of the age of the deceased capitan, tried for some time to reason with the murderer, who gave the impression of being uncommunicative and almost sullen; he pointed out to him the baseness of his deed, of patricide, and then he was led to the church in which the dead capitan was lying in state. The son resisted violently, but was forcibly led up to the corpse and broke down weeping before it. Before he was transferred

/213 cont./

682 to Inzá by two members of the cabildo of San Andrés, friends and
623 relatives, as well as members of his own family, slipped him a
●182 few coins so that he would be able to buy himself food in prison. His guards did not prevent anyone from doing this, and in general the feeling for the murderer was commiserating, but not unfavorable.

623 The punishments inflicted in Calderas by the cabildo are al-
692 ways floggings. In earlier times they were very rigorously carried
[681] out. There is no imprisonment. Today the cabildo judges only
[697] social misdeeds, debtors, and the theft of field crops, a chicken, or a sheep. Horse and cattle theft goes to the court in Inzá for punishment. The injured one himself may not punish the malefactor -- not even if caught red-handed - but must report everything
[693] to the cabildo. There the capitan and gobernador are the judges.
[624] The other members of the cabildo must likewise be present, but they have no vote. The sentence is very quickly passed. The malefactor is locked into one of the two rooms of the community
623 house, and the trial takes place on the next day at the latest. The
685 punishments are fixed. They consist of lashes with the whip, which
692 are increased for repetition. Thus, the thief receives ten lashes the first time, 20 the second time, and 30 lashes the third time; in case of further lapses he is shackled in the tree trunk. The theft of a sheep is punished with ten lashes and the replacement or giving up of the stolen object. If the accused protests, a house search is carried out with a member of the cabildo. If nothing is found, he must be set free again.

426 Loans up to ten pesos are given without security; beyond that the creditor is given a cow, a horse, a pig, wheat, or sugar cane as security. Loans are given only up to a year, so that the matter is not forgotten. Interest is not charged. If the debtor is unable to pay, a definite term is /214/ set for him; if he does not pay then, the lapse is reported to the cabildo, which punishes the offender with the whip. Denial is useless, for every loan transaction is concluded only before witnesses. If the debtor dies, the claims of the creditor are taken from his estate, for example, a machete, coca bag, or clothing. One may also ask relatives, for example brothers, to settle the debt. They are not obliged to repay it,

/256 cont./

797 in all Paez communities in which Spanish is not understood by the
177 majority of the population, the old functionaries of the original
178 Paez religion are needed to maintain the social life in particular.
871 In accordance with their activity, they are designated as "shamans"
756 by theologians. Because of the dissimilar nature of their religious activity, they do not by any means represent unbridgeable competition for the Christian missions; rather, both, the Christian faith and shamanistic activity, can exist side by side in the present stage of culture of the Paez.

771 If one considers existing theological convictions, one finds
793 that the office and dignity of the cult priest rest on the performance of sacred acts which must of necessity be fulfilled so that the
756 natural and normal development of human existence is not ob-
● 182 structed. His task is to confirm the existing world order through the consecration of sacerdotal acts. The shamans, however, -- on the contrary! -- want to outdo and break through the given order of nature and the environment. Their greatness and authority rest on the fact that they do supernatural things, that they heal the sick, struggle with spirits, yes, awaken the dead to new life. This, at any rate, is said of the greatest of their kind, whose talent lies in their spiritual, supernatural powers, in their mastering of extraordinary circumstances. Over against the cult priest's "thus it is," the shaman puts his "thus it should be" (A. Friedrich).

a) Characteristics of Paez Shamanism

756 The Paez shamans, in the sense given, are not functionaries
754 of a sacrificial cult, but persons who do supernatural things. There are two types of them, the teyu and the nyic. Whereas the teyu (tepits as a man, téoi as a woman) is a good shaman, a good doctor and helper of human beings, the nyic is an evil shaman, an evil sorcerer, a hexer. The shamanistic activity of both, however, as a religious phenomenon, is not nearly as distinctive as, for example, the shamanism that we are familiar with in Siberia or North America.

/286 cont./

75 possible. After his soul has thus been killed, the sorcerer, too,
774 must die.

754 The same type of soul-capture as is reported here by the teyu
774 is also the most common method of evil sorcery practiced by the nyiç. The nyiç digs a hole and stations himself above it, in order to await the wandering soul of his victim. It is visible, like a lighted candle. When it is over the hole, the nyiç gives it a powerful blow with his staff, so that it falls into the hole. If it is supposed to die very quickly, the nyiç throws strongly efficacious herbs over it and covers the hole with graveyard soil. If not, he has many possibilities of inflicting on the soul, and therefore on
754 his victim, injury that takes effect more slowly. If he sprinkles
774 the herb baw (Araceae) over it, the stomach of its owner becomes so
824 distended that he dies. If the nyiç sprinkles lime over the soul, the person becomes blind. In the case of the poisonous herb boračero (Datura sp.), the owner of the soul becomes insane; the stinging smoke of the agave also produces insanity. Putting the leaves of the čuwět (Krameria ixina?) and the soul together brings death. The herbs kaspi (Toxicodendron striatum Kuntze), lečero (Euphorbia cotinifolia L.), and Pringamoza also cause death.

f) The Sociological Aspect of Shamanism

● 182 Although the shamanistic ceremonies and the conceptions
756 underlying them are of a religious nature, nevertheless the activity of the shaman is a definite sociological fact. Without the activity of the teyu, neither the family nor the village community can exist. It is only the shaman who, through his personal abilities, is able to counteract the evil effects of the nyiç, the tũs, eč, and gělyómp spirits and turn them into something good. His activity, however, consists not only in the repulsion of what has already appeared, in the healing of what has happened, but his activity is also preventive, in fact, prophetic, for he predicts future sicknesses or deaths. Moreover, no house construction,

/286 cont./

182 no new harvest may be undertaken until the teyu has first cleansed
756 of the pest the building site or the crops, respectively.

/287/ He is, however, not only the protector of the individual or the individual family, but is also responsible for the beneficial
[773] co-existence of the members of the whole village. Thus, it is not surprising that it was the shamans -- besides Thunder under his various names -- who were the war leaders in the mythical tradi-
[726] tions. Thanks to their magical gifts and strength, they successfully led their people against the Pijao and the Spaniards. Several times the elders of the various villages told us that one day Thunder will again drive the white intruders out of the Tierradentro of the
[648] Paez and kill them. And it is only logical that, as late as 1952,
[789] on the occasion of an impending attack by an armed group of white revolutionaries, the shaman of Santa Rosa, as the successor of the mythical Thunder, should spit his magic herbs on the road leading to the village, in order to destroy them. Old Felisa Ipia is behaving in a similar manner when she keeps the souls of all the village inhabitants gathered together in the threads of her shaman's staff, in order to be able to protect them better against evil, magical influences.

756 On account of these certain supernatural abilities of theirs, the
554 effects of which no one in the community can evade, the teyu
[885] have a certain unofficial authority. In addition, they are all at least 30 to 40 years old and thus, by their very age, fulfill one of the natural prerequisites for recognition by the community. Not a few of them feel honored by this, set apart from the great mass of people, but many assured me that they were shamans only unwillingly, that though they were called by their ability to receive signs, they were nevertheless oppressed by the weight of the burden of their responsibility.

756 During times of epidemics of disease or inexplicable, "super-
124 natural" deaths, they are the focal point of the community, to
[182] which no one appeals in vain. And in conversations with them we generally had the distinct impression of facing unselfish, helpful human beings. They make no secret of their activity, and they tried, as best they could, to tell us about their experiences and knowledge which they use for the good of the community.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

302 extracted from the seeds of *Bixa orellana*, which they applied
[514] by means of a cylinder of clay (*kaanda*) on which certain designs were carved. Specimens of such cylinders are often found in graves.

291 Children are very scantily clothed. The boys go about naked
515 until they reach their twelfth year, and the little girls wear only a short *atß-tul*. The clothing of the male and female adults seems to be worn as long as it lasts. As is the case with all Indians living at high altitudes, the Paez are not especially fond of bathing, and cleanliness is not a cardinal virtue with them.
[513] In retiring for the night, they simply wrap their garments tighter around them, the children using old rags in lieu of blankets.

386 The ornamentation of the *vilia*, or sash, with several brilliant
[182] colors and the desire of giving a uniform hue to the darker clothing of the women, gave origin to the art of dyeing, which very likely is to-day in its decline. The dyes were derived chiefly from plants. Black was obtained from *Ital*, an arborescent *Phyllanthus* that has a semi-domesticated appearance and forms characteristic thickets around inhabited places, like Vitoncó; the same color is also contained in the young pods of the *huarango* (*Cæsalpinia tinctoria*), a spiny tree often seen near the houses and extensively used at the present time for dyeing wool. The roots of *tuk-uitse*, a Rubiacea (*Relbunium hypocarpium* Hemsl.) akin to the madder, produce a scarlet color. Different kinds of blue dyes were extracted from the fruit of the jagua (*kii*, probably *Genipa* sp.) and from an *Indigofera*.
[177] Many other tinctorial plants very likely escaped my observation and are gradually passing out of use on account of the introduction of foreign fabrics.

Dwellings

342 The Paeces have permanent houses in their thirty-four villages and temporary abodes on their corn plantations. These latter are merely small huts, the walls of which are more or less elaborate according to the altitude, being made tighter near the upper limit of culture. They represent the primitive type of

/287 cont./

631 climate and vegetation. Although Paez culture is certainly unitary, each parcialidad presents different nuances which are evident even in the mythology and language. The antropomimia is quite different in each parcialidad.

Nowadays there are 16 parcialidades, four of which belong to the municipio of Inzá and the remaining 12 to that of Páez (Belalcázar).

771 Magic and medicine.--There are three institutions which
●132 go in unison and encroach upon others, which explain the causation of sicknesses, the treatment for them, and serve as escape valves for aggression. They are:

a) The one made up of the trilogy of supernatural beings named Duende /ghost/, Echi, and Arco /rainbow/;

b) The institution of the medicine man, and

c) Sorcery.

753 a) Duende, Arco, and Echi are the causers of illnesses,
776 each of them producing a specific symptomatology which serves
[755] as the basis for the diagnostics of common people, a diagnostics
[787] corroborated by the divining activities of the medicine man. These supernatural beings cause illnesses by puncture, aroused by the annoyance that they suffer because of the sorcerers' practices, or by those who had contact with corpses and did not go through the mandatory purification, or because people have passed through places that are taboo, such as bogs and lagoons, or have failed to comply with the rites and ceremonies when slaughtering cattle or when harvesting new clearings, or because they have not observed "custom" at the first menstruation or childbirth.

756 b) In the institution of the medicine man the functions of
787 divination, magic, and medicine are entwined. More precisely, the medicine man is a diviner-shaman-curer who has undergone an /288/ apprenticeship in the profession with an esteemed and experienced master or with the help of a guardian spirit seen in actuality or in dreams; the latter are the best

medicine men.

4:Bernal Villa--24 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

VII

The Milling, the Chicha and the Chicha-makers

796
249 It remains to be said that the fiesta begins with the milling.
461 Although it is common to use a horse to operate the sugar mill,
[492] it is more usual at fiesta time to move it with human arms, masculine or feminine. It makes no difference. The two laborers for the milling squat on either side of the sugar mill, and one hands over the cane while the other receives the bagasse, which is piled up at one side to be handed back again; this is done up to 12 times in order to extract as much juice
[273] as possible. The millers do their work in silence when they are not drunk; while they do it with diligence, there is relaxation, laughter, shouts, and imprecations when they are under the influence of alcohol.

273 The juice is gathered in troughs, or less frequently in
249 calabashes and pots; it is heated to near the boiling point and
796 then emptied into the troughs, in which, inasmuch as they
[415] are well "cured," fermentation is rapid. The troughs are made of huge tree trunks that reach up to one meter and 50 centimeters in thickness and four or five meters in length. As they are depleted through consumption, they are refilled with fresh
[285] cane juice. The troughs are covered with small mats made
273 exclusively for the purpose. On the following day it is bubbly,
796 yellowish, with a pungent, sweetish flavor. It is the beka pes (strong chicha) of the natives, who drink it with relish and delight. Five gourdfuls of this liquor are sufficient to make them
273 drunk. Elsewhere called guarapo, while the Paez call it chicha,
●182 it is of great importance in their social life and diet. With its
796 help the religious fiestas gain meaning, the mingas are carried
[262] out, baptisms and weddings are made more pleasant, and visitors are entertained.

273 Work without chicha is inconceivable, and while they work
461 they get no food whatever; they merely drink chicha and chew
262
276

4:Bernal Villa--56 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/220 cont./

XXVI

Religious Fiestas

796 Among the Paez there are no secular collective celebrations. All are religious. They celebrate with pomp and grandeur: San Andrés, Semana Santa, San Juan, San Pedro and San Pablo, La Santa Cruz, El Día de Difuntos, La Inmaculada Concepción...

[178] The Lazarist missionary, David González, says that as [179] far back as 1689 the fiestas were organized as they were found [177] in 1905, that is to say, as they are today. Each pueblo was granted a patron saint and various other protectors. In spite of this, only San Juan Bautista and San Pedro and San Pablo, whose fiestas are celebrated when maize is eared /en macollaje/, the rains are heavier, and the winds are violent, the day of the dead /el día de difuntos/ with its offerings to the souls, the Inmaculada Concepción, when grain is abundant, and the Semana Santa (El Resucitado /The Resurrected/) were the fiestas and saints that aroused the most enthusiasm and sank the deepest roots in the souls of these natives.

771 796 ●182 The Paez, and especially those of Calderas, are religious in externals, not in conviction; they are more concerned with form than with substance. This is revealed in the religious fiestas of these natives. /221/ Few of them attend mass, and fewer yet pray at vespers. To the great majority of them, religious fiestas mean a squandering of gunpowder, lights, aguardiente, and chicha. An abundance of food. The pleasure of getting together. The joy of contact. The music, which assuages hardship, and the dancing, an exteriorization of feelings. It is the expansiveness that leads to gatherings, the sexual jokes that spring up among them without misgivings; it is the continuous drunkenness. It is the display of generosity, the exercises in co-operation and altruism.

796 793 718 The priest, as a punishment for failure to attend the Mass on the part of the chief fiestero and albacero, refused to carry

/241/

824 The plants marked with an asterisk were identified by the
[128] Herbario Nal. Colombiano, in particular by Dr. Jesús M.
[137] Idrobo.

[127] For the others, we were guided by the work, Plantas Utiles de Colombia /Useful Plants of Colombia/, by Dr. E. Pérez Arbeláez, published by the Imprenta Nacional de Bogotá in 1947.

75 The tẽ eu and the community. In every culture, medicine
● 182 performs an eminently humanitarian function. Its nature is
171 sociological. No matter what its methods may be, its purpose is to save human lives. It combats illness, but also prevents it.

75 Among the Paez, medicine cures and prevents. The
182 community and the family perform special ceremonies intended to achieve these two purposes of medicine.

755 When the pest (epidemic) has spread through the com-
*756 munity, threatening its subsistence, the authorities (cabildo)
182 invite the curer to conjure away the danger by performing the
[731] wẽ kã.

When the illness prevails in a single family, markedly decreasing its members, the eldest invites the curer to perform
[765] the ut kã. After every burial the people must remove the ptans
[783] from their bodies and from the house where the death occurred. The curer is the only one who can do this.

241 The first fruits of plantings made on new lands not culti-
*756 vated before cannot be consumed until the curer has performed
783 the cleansing ceremonies. Thus, it is the curer who defends
182 the family -- preservation of the species -- who purifies the
789 harvests -- preservation of the individual -- and who also defends the community, warding off by means of his conjurations
*756 the epidemics and the individuals who threaten it. In 1952,
789 before an imminent attack by subversive armed groups on the
182 Parcialidad of Santa Rosa, the curer warded it off with maní de montaña /literally, "montaña peanut"/, chewed and blown on the path by which they were to come.

/258 cont./

754 554 Thus, the victims are "the most skillful, the most charitable toward travelers, the friends of the whites, those who display the most friendliness among the natives, those who have much livestock, large tracts of land, good plantings." In this phrase are listed almost the full gamut of the victims of sorcery. From previous examples, we see that those who have land, animals, mental ability and manual dexterity, and good fields, the energetic numbers of the cabildo, those who take the path [182] of transculturation, are victims of sorcery. In addition, revenge and resentment are evened up by means of sorcery.

754 648 It is not surprising that undesirable whites are victims of sorcery. The undesirable ones are those who covet their lands. The curers, on their own initiative or supported by the cabildo, call the soul of the white at a strategic spot, capture it, whip it with pringamoza (Urticaceae) and put bad remedies on it so that it will never return to the region. They say that the white begins to feel too lazy to travel in the area and finally decides to return to his country.

[177] In parcialidades such as Calderas, where much resistance is shown against living with and contact with the white, there are some people who are such sorcerers and such enemies of the white that even in the church they leave enchanted eggs so that not even the priest will come.

754 Among the victims of sorcery are parturient women and newborn babies, when the sorcerer or other envious persons do not want a certain family to prosper.

The power of sorcerers extends not only to human beings [433] and animals, but also to the plantings. The loss of a planting [167] means suffering from hunger, a shortage of coca, and emi- [464] gration of the parents to distant places in order to hire out as laborers.

In the clearing they may put enchanted eggs, salt, pubic hair, or capio maize in order that the planting be lost.

/260 cont./

754 If a person kills himself in a fall, it is believed that the
[783] sorcerer sent him ptans.
[761] h) To cast a spell on the plantings, they use tobacco, matches, and other remedies with which they are burned and destroyed.

As will be noted, in their enchantments the sorcerers do not use any parts or objects belonging to the victim, such as hair, nails, clothing, etc. Most of the remedies that they use are herbs or objects that have properties noxious to man or can cause him harm.

The sorcerer believes that putting them in contact with the soul or simply with the body produces the desired effects.

754 /261/ Paez sorcery is a clear case of imitative or
789 homeopathic magic, according to Frazer's classic definition. It is "desire dominating the world with instruments born of desire" (10).

[18] 10. Ponce, Aníbal. Estudios de Psicología /Psychological Studies/, El Ateneo, Buenos Aires, 1947, p. 363.

757 The Paez fear illness and death and live in the fear that
●182 the whites may take from them their land, their ranchos, their plantings, that is to say, their very sources of survival.

While the sorcerers attack the customs of a capitalist economy and transculturation openly, the curers protect the community against sickness and against the attacks of individuals or groups, by means of their divinations and their vigorous and constant conjurations. In this sense sorcerer and curer are identical. They protect the community.

683 Punishment of the sorcerers. The sorcerer is feared by
754 the entire population; identified throughout by it, he suffers general enmity; torrents of hatred arise against him, ending most of the time in violent punishment: confinement in the stocks, whippings, dunkings, and even exile.

/262 cont./

683 and finally exiled him. The sorcerer nearly died. He com-
184 plained to the Alcadía of Inzá about the brutality of the cabildo. The Alcadía had the stocks destroyed by force, in spite of the protests of the natives. The punishments of the sorcerers in the Parcialidad of San Andrés were about the same up to some 30 years ago.

683 Often, when there is a very dangerous sorcerer, the curers
754 band together in order to kill him. They call his soul, and
756 when it draws near they hit it with a stick smeared with chayuts.
774 The soul leaves with a whistling sound. When a volcano erupts,
[823] it is a sign that the devil is punishing the souls of sorcerers.

754 Psychological characteristics of the sorcerers. Broadly
157 speaking, the sorcerers are timid, resentful, aloof, with a very
156 strong persecution complex; they try to avoid contact with people, believing that they see in each of them a presumed accuser; they tend to be self-supporting; suspicious to a high degree, they roundly deny the accusations of their victims, regarding themselves furthermore as good persons, sound and inoffensive; they pretend to know nothing about remedies, and it is very difficult to obtain any information from them about sorcery. Most of them are intelligent. Endoculturally they are at odds with their own group, insofar as they embody the struggle against the influences of foreign cultures.

The nasa are convinced that no sooner has the sun gone down than the sorcerers are already at work. The most dangerous ones sleep during the day. For this reason they regard as peculiar characteristics of the sorcerers red eyes, an evasive look, aloofness, an unpleasant appearance, egoism, and suspiciousness. They look like criminals, informants say.

182 /263/ Socio-dynamic value of sorcery. Within Paez
754 society, sorcery is vital, overly active, and gravitates into all the social interstices. But, as must be evident, at all times and places it pertains to the realm of concealment. Its executors are surreptitious. They always act in the shadows.

/263 cont./

182 754 The people perceive only the effects. Only the expectant attitude announces to us its presence. The latent fears tell us of its vigor. The members of the cabildo, the capitán, the té eu, the working men, the parturient women have a strong fear of sorcery.

When the pest spreads through the community, when the elders die and their experience and advice are lost, thoughts [761] turn inevitably to the power of the sorcerers. Most deaths are brought about by sorcerers, the informants say.

754 182 177 Sorcery is a powerful barrier against the introduction of the customs of a capitalist economy and also against the intrusion of the whites in their parcialidades. It is strange that sorcery should exist in the less acculturated parcialidades, while in San Andrés it has practically disappeared. It is said to have been vigorous until 1926, the year when the Municipal Council of Inzá established in the parcialidad a settlement area in which the whites settled. With this measure living together was inescapable and they chose to accept them. Nevertheless, during the drinking bouts of the old people, the tremendous resentment that has become natural to them still crops out.

182 754 423 [554] [152] Furthermore, it makes its influences felt in the distribution of land. Each family has lands from which it lives. With the increase in population the problem of their unequal distribution has become prominent. Those who have the most land are the targets of envy and sorcery; they are more prone to magical attacks aimed at taking away their land. Intrasocial tensions 754 182 appear to be brought into equilibrium by means of this institution. The fear of reprisals checks aggression. Revenge is too prejudicial, since it can be manifested not only against [184] individuals, but also against animals and plantings. It is [177] perfectly true to say that while in Calderas acts of bloodshed [675] are rare and suicide is unknown, in San Andres, a parcialidad which is largely acculturated, the homicides, murders, and [762] cases of arson are hair-raising.

6: Bernal Villa--90 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

/360/

SAN ANDRES

434
563

Fams.	Agriculture $	Agriculture %	Agriculture $	Agriculture %	Livestock $	Livestock %	Trade $	Trade %	Day Wages $	Day Wages %	Crafts $	Crafts %
1.*	3.120,00	58,7	1.460,00	27,5	500,00	9,4	.....	.....	.....	....	225,00	4,6
2.	48,00	54,3	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	40,50	45,7	.....	....
3.	132,00	70,5	....	....	.....	....	55,00	29,4	.....	....	.....	....
4.	22,50	28,3	....	....	.....	....	56,00	71,6	.....	....	.....	....
5.	309,00	62,2	....	....	.....	....	45,00	7,1	191,00	30,5	.....	....
6.	152,50	61,6	....	....	.....	....	95,00	38,3	.....	....	.....	....
7.	87,00	26,6	....	....	.....	....	240,00	73,3	.....	....	.....	....
8.	195,00	42,3	200,00	43,4	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	.... (38)
9.	320,00	72,6	120,00	27,2	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
10.*	2.000,00	89,2	....	....	240,00	10,7	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
11.	1.455,00	53,1	600,00	24,8	680,00	24,8	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
12.	170,00	100,0	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
13.	650,00	100,0	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
14.*	190,00	4,2	1.810,00	46,5	880,00	22,8	120,00	3,1	880,00	22,8	.....	....
15.*	379,00	14,4	....	....	100,00	3,8	.....	.....	2.143,10	81,7	.....	....

[454]

/The headings are obviously in error on this table./

38. Deficit compensated for by $65.00 saved in 1952, or 14.1% of the income.

511 In the statistical table of expenses, the first thing that we observe in the three parcialidades is the small amount of money spent under the headings "Drugs," "Medical Service," "Taxes," and "Education."

75 The protection of the health of adults and children is fundamental among the Páez. Child mortality has a high percentage, and parasitosis, diarrhea, and tuberculosis are almost endemic. But in Páez culture the care of the té eu (good curer) and the nasa jihi (sorcerer); the former protects people from illness and from the curses of the latter; the sorcerer with his magic powers can take people's lives. On the other hand, the té eu openly condemn the use of the drugs and the medical service of the "whites." These two institutions still enjoy great power and basically govern almost all of the institutional life of the Páez. In Mosoco seven heads of families spent small sums of money for the purchase of drugs. /The following table and illustrations appear between p. 360 and p. 361 in the original text./

511 [165] [164] [182]

[text continues on p. 108]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,1 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

with the right hand over the naked thigh. Two strands are similarly twisted together until the desired thickness is obtained. 283

Gourds.—Gourds are still widely used. They are picked when ripe, cleaned out, and dried. With small openings, they serve as containers for beverages and powdered lime. Some are made into bowls and others are cut up to make spoons. Today these objects are undecorated, but formerly in Timaná they were painted with a resin varnish very similar to that used in Pasto. (See p. 930.) Before the Spanish domination, gourds were also used as frames over which were stretched the prepared skin of the heads of their enemies killed in war. 415 324 [314] [727]

Metallurgy.—The metallurgy of these Indians was the same as that practiced throughout most of Colombia. The metals were gold, copper, and an alloy of the two (tumbaga). It is recorded that the Indians "worked gold," but the processes are not described. Specimens found recently in the territory, however, show molding, casting, and hammering. Metal objects included nose ornaments, parrot-shaped breastplates, necklaces with small animal figures, and some anthropomorphic idols. Gold occurs in this territory, particularly on the upper Páez or the Suin River. 325 [301] [532] [135]

Ceramics.—These tribes made and still make coiled pottery. Modern vessel forms include large jars for storing beverages and poorly shaped, crudely decorated containers for preparing and serving food. There is no individual specialization in this task, women making pots for their own family and not for trade. 323

Stone and wooden artifacts.—The native Indians made stone axes of a simple design, but stonework disappeared during the time of colonization, when the Indians could obtain manufactured iron weapons and utensils such as machetes, axes, hoes, shovels, etc. The manufacture of wooden objects—weaving, cooking, and farming implements and weapons—was furthered by the use of metal tools, and now is well developed, as exemplified by the trapiche (cane mill), a true machine made of wood. 324 182 322 249

Weaving.—Weaving, little practiced before the Conquest, developed with the post-Contact need for wearing more clothes and with the introduction of sheep, whose wool was used in addition to cotton. Weaving was and is exclusively the work of women (pl. 186). They prepare fine, uniform yarn with a common spindle, which they handle as they walk along the road (pl. 187, *top*). The loom is vertical, made of two horizontal rods fastened to two uprights. The warp runs vertically with a continuous thread. The horizontal weft is pressed down with a wooden sword. They also weave hemp bands on the loom. Woolen blankets are woven in natural colors, but some sashes have bright colors made of imported wool or of home-dyed wool. For red, they use one of the Rubiaceae (*Relbunium hypocarpium*), and for 286 [177] [482] [386]

/182 cont./

462 13. (cont.)
594 Revista Colombiana de Antropología, Vol. III, 1954.

361 In this manner, among the Paez, marriage,
182 family, land, and house form an intimate unit, indissoluble and
594 in part explaining the above-mentioned phenomenon of the re-
581 luctance to live grouped in towns or cities.

473 Basically the residence of the nuclear family is patrilocal-
591 neolocal. When the man, accompanied by his escort, goes to
[584] ask for his future consort, and, after certain definite formalities are fulfilled, the future parents-in-law hand her over, she is taken to live in the house of his parents (when he has not built
591 his own). In it he arranges a separate room with a kitchen for
596 cooking, a cowhide to sleep on, and space in which to keep their provisions, their kitchen utensils, and work tools. The new
[583] spouses are independent of their respective parents. The man assists in the work of his parents-in-law and the woman in the work of hers, but in neither case does it constitute an obligation
[594] for them. When a bachelor, the man works to take care of his own needs and to assist in the support of the paternal economy; once married he works to support his family.

582 The man chooses his wife within the parcialidad, although
177 he may marry women from other parcialidades. But neither men nor women may marry persons from Western culture ("whites"). In Calderas there was a case of a possible marriage between a native woman and a "white." The cabildo removed this possibility, obliging the native woman to marry a member of the parcialidad. If it is a man who wishes to try to marry a "white" woman, he must leave the village. They consider that when the "whites" enter the community, they invariably appropriate their land.

582 The selection of spouses within the parcialidades is /183/ determined by the laws of incest. Unions between parents and children and real brothers and sisters are incestuous and severely prohibited. Also relations between cousins of the first degree of both lines and those of uncles and nieces are condemned, although not

prescribed.

/186 cont./

346 There are four other small rooms, five meters /187/ long
796 by three meters wide. Two of them are independent of each other, with their respective doors opening into the sala; one serves as a kitchen and the other to roast the maize griddle-cakes. At the other end of the house are the two other rooms, connected with each other by one door and with the sala by another. The workers sleep in one, and in the other are the troughs of chicha, the bottles of aguardiente, and the laurel candles.

342 The third type of dwelling, very scarce in Calderas, has
249 a square floor plan. It has the sala, two kitchens, and the du yate léchukue. Whatever type of dwelling a Paez family may own, they all have as an indispensable accessory the sugar mill,
[240] either inside the house or outside it. Actually, if it is kept in
[273] mind that the basic sustenance of the natives is provided by
[276] maize, cabbage, chicha, and coca, this instrument is indispensable.

342 In addition, each house is supplied with water, taken from
312 springs, streams, or falls, through the extremely skillful construction of ditches which skirt the valleys, hills, and slopes. Their lands have abundant water. They are not familiar with artesian wells.

342 In a way, the enormous salas in the houses of Calderas
177 represent the ramadas which are found among the whites,
249 mestizos, and acculturated Indians of San Andrés; they are built independently of the dwellings, with a sugar mill and an oven to boil down the cane juice and make panela. In this parcialidad, the panela industry is quite well developed. In Calderas it does not exist.

584 Among the Paez, land, marriage, family, and house form
583 a close and indissoluble unit. It lends warmth and meaning to
[183] a number of emotional, sentimental, and sociological complexes. This begins when the pubescent boy feels the need for a partner who will help him in his work and assuage to some extent the rigors of solitude. The love awakened by a dark, shapely maiden impels him to ask her parents for her. "Give my your daughter. I am alone and need help in my work."

/188 cont./

462 from the plantings; she will laboriously make the multicolored
594 kuetand yahas which she will give as tokens of love to her hus-
[257] band. The children, who "are a blessing of God," will come and help the man work the land or lighten the woman's kitchen chores.

594 The household lends individuality, a sociological frame-
183 work, status, and function to the family. Land, a house, and a family are specific ambitions of the Paez people. Possibly they represent their most cherished ideals in life.

IV

Live Ritual Fire

372 In the mind of every individual, and in the spirit of the family, fire is a symbol, a symbol of the house and of the home. A house without fire is a dead, abandoned house.

372 In ancient times, when the Pijao went about spreading
773 terror and death, when the caciques came down on the /189/ /illustration appears here/ roaring waters of the great rivers beneath the imposing dark night sprinkled with stars, and even much earlier, the Indians began their daily round by requesting fire from an old, white-haired woman. This fire died out when night spread its dark cloak over the world. Only the old woman's fire was immortal. The monotony of this daily request for fire was transmuted into anguish when the wicked old woman decided to leave and take the fire with her in a piece of wood. They all ran after her, seized the firebrand, and obtained fire from it for all the Indian households. This fire could be preserved.

Thus run the mythical accounts of the origin of fire. They reflect its importance. The manner in which it is preserved, the care which is exercised so that a fire is always /190/ burning in the house, seem to be superstitious attitudes from an ancient

/293 cont./

221 on the fincas of the "whites" (1). The social life and the re-
[166]
[464]
[192]
[177]
[128]

1. Generic term with which the natives designate all those who observe the norms of western culture, without any distinction as to race. For convenience we have adopted this usage, putting the term in quotation marks.

ligious fiestas are frequent during this period. The work is done /294/ with devotion and perseverance. It is not done in haste, but there is no resting either.

423 Every Páez family has its lands. This is its ambition. The
[183] primary source of its security. Every crag has an owner whose title has been won by the sweat of his brow. Every crag harbors a rancho that shelters a family. Every inch of land is passionately
[578] defended by the native. The disputes stirred up by this fact are not few. In like manner the cabildos are never so zealous as in the defense of the lands of the parcialidad /a territorial division/.
[648] The areas of settlement /areas of colonization by whites/ are spearheads in the very heart of the community. They were established against the full opposition of the natives. On the other hand, the defense of the land and the prevention of contamination by foreign peoples are postulates of the doctrine. The distribution of the houses suggests in advance the profusion of paths and private property.

When they win the scarce land, the distances and difficul-
[464] ties that loom are not important. They are good colonizers, and it is rare that persons who lack land hire themselves out as permanent peons or become tenant farmers on the great haciendas.
[181] They prefer independence above all.

311 To study the economy of the Páez, certain factors of a
133 geographico-physical and cultural nature cannot be overlooked. They are:

1. Thermic levels. The lands now occupied by the Páez of Tierradentro correspond to the thermic levels of cold and temperate. The contour line corresponding to 2,000 meters

/179 cont./

594 Associated with the nuclear family primordially are the functions of reproduction, the rearing of children, and the education of the latter. On procreation depends also the importance of economic functions.

581 The orientation of the sexual instinct is a secondary end.
589 Indeed, Páez culture demands that every individual form a
[183] family, once he has acquired the capacity for procreation. In
[842] the parcialidad of Caldenas they look upon children as a blessing
[775] from God, regarding celibates "como violadores de la cruz" /as violators of the cross/(marriage); celibacy is condemned, in the rationalization that the person who dies celibate goes to the
[757] Nevado del Huila, considered by them as hell. The celibacy of a woman is exceptional, and when it occurs they believe that she becomes a witch. They think something similar about some
581 widows. One woman of some fifty years of age says that
589 "marriage is fundamental and obligatory, for the grandfathers
775 used to say that to a woman who is not married the devil gives a black dog for a husband in hell" (7). Another woman declared

[825] 7. They regarded white dogs as companions and guides in the future life and fear that "if molested they will come out and bite them at the entrance to the future abode."

that at times she feels sorrow for the death of an unmarried daughter, "because the devil would give her a husband."

581 The culture considers it an obligation of parents to marry
183 off their daughters even if they are very young. Furthermore
[582] the young men aspire to "build their house, marry, produce children, have animals, coca in abundance, and sugar cane
[842] for their chicha" (8). The incentive to marry is to have children,

8. Bernal Villa, S. 1953, op. cit., p. 183.

for which purpose it is necessary to have assurance /180/ that the woman is fecund.

842 /180 cont./
583 the woman is fecund. For this the culture offers the institutional
581 device of "amaño," by which the man lives with the woman for a
183 time before legalizing the marriage. And we are given clear
175 and precise information about this by Licenciado Eugenio del
595 Castillo y Orozco and his brother, Licentiado Isidro del Castillo
583 y Hrozco /sic/, in their respective reports which they gave to the Governor and Captain General mentioned above: "that they followed the evil custom of living in intimate relations for a long time with the woman whom they were to marry, and if after the marriage they had no offspring they would leave her and seek another woman who might be fecund and whom they thought they might marry if they were not married to their own wives (as Manuel Bolza, an Indian of this village (9), wished

9. Tálaga.

to do), and as was done by Antonio Cofongo (an Indian of San Antonio de las Chinas), from whom he learned not to break up the legitimate religious marriage, which could be prohibited, and who suggested that they get out of the difficulty by any false means, even to arranging for others, from the lowest Indian to the highest, to testify to a lying statement, and if anyone dissented from it and would not follow the wish of the Cacique or Moján, fear caused the dissenters to escape to other parts; some fled with their concubines when they were not acceptable to her parents or relatives, others to avoid work, and others from necessity" (10) ..."and that they flee from all their vices and

10. Archivo Nacional de Bogotá, op. cit., Folio 228.

sins, which are: witchcraft, drunkenness, and concubinage" (11).

11. Archivo Nacional de Bogotá, op. cit., Folio 230.

/164 cont./

439 cloth for trousers, and all European clothing. Furthermore, every type of ornament must be bought, such as necklaces, earrings, and finger rings, then cotton, since it is finer and shinier than sheep wool, and aniline dyes for dyeing women's belts and coca bags, since they are more brilliant and clearer than the native vegetable dyes. The trip to market and the necessary trade, however, are not undertaken because of an inclination for business, pleasure in bargaining or in under-bidding or outbidding, but out of the necessity to procure an [438] article that they cannot make themselves. If it is at all [797] possible, one tries to buy the required things in the village, for example, from the missionaries, and the purchase with money or the trip to market is, so to speak, the ultima ratio.
437 They do not bargain. The man -- /165/ and it is almost al-
439 ways he who shops -- asks the price, and if it seems too high --
[462] as in most cases -- he says "too expensive." If the tradesman lowers the price, he usually buys; if not, he goes on to the next stand.

The traders are never Paez, but always white and mestizo colonists. They know, of course, about the disinclination of the Paez to bargain, and they charge too high a price to begin with, so as to ask a still inflated normal price after the obligatory "too expensive." Thus the Paez are naturally cheated. They let themselves be too easily dazzled by an attractive display or packaging, for example, by the polish or the silver paper; also a more expensive green or red comb is preferred over a black one. Fortunately, one might say, they never have much money and can therefore never spend too much.

126 The way in which I was obliged to acquire the women's
439 colored belts for our collection is characteristic. Since every woman possesses only two at the most, one to fasten her skirt and the other to carry her baby, any attempt to buy them was [101] always useless. I had therefore bought at the market in Inzá a few women's belts which are made by the Guambiano, the tribe neighboring the Paez on the west, and are sold in Inzá.
[184] They are made of cotton, the white color of which in the freshly

/165 cont./

126 worked state is considerably more brilliant than the somewhat
439 yellowish sheep wool. Moreover, their aniline dyes gleam much
184 more brightly than the vegetable dyestuffs of the Paez dyes.
126 Unfortunately, they are shorter than the Paez belts. Neverthe-
439 less, the trade was most happily made. The coca pouches of
437 our collection, too, we acquired entirely by way of barter, for example, for a pair of scissors at the Bogotá price of 50 centavos. At the market in Inzá such a pair costs about a peso. The Paez know this. Nevertheless, the same persons who had previously refused a sale for five pesos exchanged a pouch for a pair of scissors. It was the same with eggs. They would not sell them for 20 centavos, but traded them for a wax candle which was available everywhere for five centavos.

43 In the case of their own products, there is no trade from village to village. Nor is there any exchange of certain specialties outside the village, since the initiative for special achievements or the unusual always comes from the colonists or foreign traders. In general the Paez do not buy and sell among themselves, but only barter, since money is used very unwillingly among them. Their idea that an article sold, /166/ for example, an egg, may bring misfortune to the part retained, in this case the chicken, may play a role in this. Moreover, even today paper money is scarcely ever accepted, first because they usually do not have a special pocketbook, but put the bills in their coca pouch, where they may be easily torn, and, secondly, because many are in the habit of burying their money or hiding it somewhere. In this way the bills soon become moldy, whereas hard money lasts a long time. The latter is therefore extremely rare in the entire Tierradentro area.

435 In the barter of foodstuffs there are certain rates that every-
437 body knows. Since, furthermore, they always make an effort to furnish only satisfactory goods, there are no exaggerated claims or any reason for bargaining or haggling. It is simply: either-or, especially since market phenomena have no effects, and the barter rates are in no way increased in times of shortage or want. Thus, at the time of my visit, sheep and therefore wool were very

/195 cont./

d) Death

761 According to the belief of the Paez, death occurs chiefly
776 through the action of the evil shamans (nyic) or the evil spirits
165 ec, tus, and gělyómp (see "Religion" /see pp. 191ff./). Included
164 here also is the not infrequent cause of death through consumption.
[262] Causes of death of children are chiefly whooping cough, as well
as stomach and intestinal disorders, the latter brought about by a
[762] diet very unsuitable for children. Suicide is completely unknown.

764 The death of a member of the community is passed on from
[763] man to man by members of the family and neighbors. There is
[203] no public mourning or lamentation; upon the death of small
[765] children, people act as though they were glad, since the children
[192] are now "little angels." (Among the colonists, as well as among the Paez, the Spanish word "angelito" is used.) In former times it was customary to abandon the house when death occurred and to leave the deceased and some food in it (Castillo i Orosco, p. IX).

764 The manner of burial is the same for men, women, and
184 children; there are no social differences. A few customs in other Paez communities, however, differ from those of the Calderun. Therefore the burial of the dead in Calderas will be described first.

[77] For burial the deceased is dressed if possible in purchased,
[29] that is, "white" clothing, even if he was the poorest of the poor and had never worn such clothing. For this reason the relatives incur considerable expense, which often cannot be paid for a long time. Burial takes place the day after death. Only the feet of the deceased are washed. This work, as well as dressing the deceased, may be done by relatives or even by outsiders; they must, /196/ however, always be men, even in the case of female deceased persons. The body is taken by two men on a bier made of two tree trunks to the graveyard next to the church, where two other men, usually relatives, have already dug the grave. The latter is trapezoid-shaped, a good shoulder's breadth at head height and narrower at the foot end. Its length is determined by the size of the deceased. The direction of the grave is completely arbitrary.

/196 cont./

764 It is dug out about 1.50 meters and at the bottom provided with
● 184 a lateral longitudinal niche about 40 centimeters high. This niche is generally hollowed out on the left side, but sometimes on the right. The body is laid in this, without the bier and without accessories, horizontally on its back, so that it no longer extends into the shaft of the grave. The shaft and the niche are, in addition, separated by vertical stakes and rods placed side by side so that the deceased cannot be touched by the earth filling the grave. On the latter, a stone about one meter high is placed at the head or foot end for identification.

[793] The priest is not present at a burial, nor is the shaman who
[756] acts for the district of the deceased. The latter also does not enter a house in which there is a dead person. The participants in the funeral procession, men, women, and children, go to the graveyard together and then back again to the house of the deceased, where lavish entertainment with food, chicha, and brandy now follows. The latter was also drunk copiously on the way to and from the burial place. The mood during the entire time is
756 jolly and animated; people laugh and make jokes. Before the
764 participants enter the house upon their return from the burial,
783 they must go to the river where the shaman awaits them, in order
184 to "cleanse" them of the "pest" of the deceased for the first time (see "Religion"). Then they go together to the house of the deceased, which they may not enter, however, until the shaman has also cleansed this with the same remedies with which he freed the human beings of the "pest." These are water, to which special herbs and cow excrement are added, sprinkled everywhere, as well as brandy, which, mixed with herbs, the shaman squirts everywhere.

764 In Togoima we were able to take part in the burial of two
184 small children (angelitos). The graves of the cemetery in this town all have an east-west direction. The niche is always at the left, the body lies on its back with the head toward the west. The size of the grave required is measured with a bamboo stick that is
[273] as long as the deceased. Before the burial, there is drinking,
[535] music, and dancing in the house. /197/ Music is also played at
[533] the burial and on the way to the graveyard.

P /197 cont./

● 184 764 533 535 C 764 533 535 C 123 In this respect Calderas differs from all the other Indio or colonist towns known to me, for there neither music nor dancing is done on the occasion of a death. Both are done at the death of an "angelito," not only among the Paez living in the vicinity of colonists, but, above all, among the white and mixed-colored colonists. Thus, on January 1, 1953, soon after our arrival in the archeological park of San Andrés, two small girls of the neighborhood came to us and asked if I would photograph the "little angel." At first I was annoyed, for a short time before a group of children had come, carrying a doll on a flower-bedecked tray from house to house, and they presented it to us, too, as the child Jesus who was collecting contributions for the mass that was to take place on January 6. The girls told me, however, that this little angel was the deceased, two-months-old child of the colonists in the neighboring house, whose mother had already washed and adorned it beautifully. The house was 20 meters away from our own, and even from our door one could already hear jolly music from the neighboring house, such as we had already heard at Christmas and at the New Year's Eve celebration. In the house a large number of neighbors and relatives were gathered in the same room in C [534] which the child was laid out. People were laughing, drinking, singing, and dancing. The orchestra -- as always -- consisted of a guitar, a mandola, and rumba balls, and the usual musicians played in it. One of them was the father of the dead child, a second one, its uncle. Astonished at the bustle, I asked the mother whether she was not a little sad over the loss of her child. She admitted that she was, but at the same time said that her child was now a little angel and this was grounds for joy and dancing. I asked up to what age deceased children are called "little angels." I was told that if they are not yet two or three years old they "are" little angels and not merely called that. The small child, whom they always referred to only as the little angel, was laid out in the room on a table, flowers lay all around it, and at its head stood an image of the Virgin Mary with four candles in front C [273] of it. The people were not yet quite sober from New Year's Eve and already the inevitable liquor bottle was making the rounds again. On the next day the burial by the relatives took place.

Sp /197 cont./
764 The child had been laid in a coffin which was painted on the out-
C 123 side with stars. The female relatives had made a so-called "canopy,"
/198/ a pole two meters high, on the tip of which was fastened a white hoop decorated with flowers, from which hung eleven colored paper streamers, one of which was carried by each of the participants. I, too, was asked to take one, and then we set out -- without the mother of the deceased child -- with music, for the graveyard where the small coffin was opened once more and then lowered
P into the earth without formality.

764 Among the Paez of Togoima, too, there is drinking, dancing,
● 184 and singing at the death of a child, and here, too, the mother does
[273] not take part in the burial at the graveyard. The body is carried
[533] by a woman -- usually the godmother -- in a small sedan chair of
[535] bamboo, accompanied by the music of drum, timpano, and flute,
[608] to the burial place where several men have already scooped out a grave with the lateral niche (Ills. 204 and 207 /see pp. 290 and 291/). The deceased child has a few flowers in its mouth. It is wrapped in a cloth and is laid in a recumbent position, along with a bouquet of flowers, in the niche, which is separated from the shaft by the rods of the sedan chair placed vertically side by side. The earth thrown into the pit is stamped down very firmly with posts.

P In Calderas, too, the mother of a "little angel" to be buried
[608] does not go along to the graveyard. The small corpse is carried by the godmother, not in a sedan chair, but simply wrapped in a cloth, on her arm.

The burial of the Christian Indios of San Andrés shows transi-
P tions in the shape of the grave from the Paez niche-grave to the
[674] simple, rectangular pit of the other Christians. We took part in the burial of the capitan who had been stabbed by his drunken son during a quarrel. The direction of the grave in the cemetery of San Andrés is always east-west; the head lies on the west side with the ground sloping upward. Instead of a lateral niche, a trapezoidal hollow about 50 centimeters deep is dug at the bottom of the shaft, which is covered horizontally by bamboo put so closely together that no earth can fall down, and the corpse is practically just as well

/198 cont./

764 protected from the earth above it as if it were lying in a lateral
●184 niche (Ill. 206 /see p. 291/). It was expressly confirmed to me
[178] that this form of grave has been used for only about 20 years, and that previously regular niche-graves had been made. The transitional character of this covered pit from the shaft grave with the lateral niche becomes even more apparent from the fact that an additional niche was dug about 30 centimeters deep at the head end of the pit, into which the capitan was laid part way, "so that at least the head is lying in a niche."

/199/ The corpse, wrapped in Colombian clothing, was carried on a bier on the shoulders of two men. The bier consists of two poles held by cross-sticks lashed crosswise one above the other at intervals of 30 centimeters. The cross-sticks are lashed with lianas in pairs, each one above the one longitudinal pole and below the other one (Ill. 205 /see p. 291/). After the burial, the bier was chopped up and then left lying in the graveyard.
[201] Shortly before the lowering of the corpse, the members of the
[516] family take leave of it by kneeling down and moving one or both hands before them from above downward and saying: "You are now going to heaven, and we shall not see each other again; we hope it may go well with you!"

After the corpse was lowered and its head pushed into the small niche, the bamboo covering was very carefully and tightly laid over it. Then the pieces of sod as the bottom layer were packed next to each other as closely as they had been when lying on the surface of the ground. The members of the family and the friends, with their left hands, then tossed as many handfuls of earth into the grave as the person concerned has family relatives. Together they fill the grave with all the rest of the earth with their hands. This is an honor for the friends of the deceased; if a person has no friends, the members of his family must do this work themselves. After a few handfuls of earth, the filling of the pit is always stamped down long and thoroughly with tree trunks. This is a very long and exhaustive occupation, and the more beloved the deceased was, the longer the stamping. In the case of the burial of the capitan, this lasted almost two hours. As a

/199 cont./

764 result of the very hard stamping of the earth, the burial place
● 184 does not stand out from the surrounding terrain either because of a regular grave mound or because of any kind of slight elevation. A stone 30-60 centimeters in size serves as a marker, which is set either at the head or the foot end of the grave.

769 Whereas the deceased is given no accessories at all in the
[764] grave to take with him and no offerings are given this is done in
[796] the following year on December 8, the festival of the Immaculada. On this day, and each year recurrently, the relatives offer the spirits (âhimos) of their deceased, whom they think of as wind or shadows living in their former houses, their favorite foods: meat, yuca, potatoes, maize, chicha, brandy, coca, etc. These gifts are laid on a banana leaf on the floor of the church, and a candle is lighted and placed beside them. Small children do not get food, but flowers as gifts.

/200/

e) The Course of a Day

461 Men and women perform the tasks appropriate to them.
462 Those of the women are the least varied, since meals must be prepared daily and wood and water must be fetched regularly for cooking or for maintaining the nightly fire. Moreover, the work of the woman is more bound up with the house, whereas the men have shorter or longer pauses in their work and during these they visit neighbors, help them mill sugar cane, and drink chicha.
461 Steadiness is not the strong point of the Paez to begin with. It is but seldom that tasks are completed in an uninterrupted process; rather, we almost always found that on the following day the men were busy with something different from the previous day. To be sure, field work always requires long pauses between the clearing, the drying of the felled trees, burning, erecting the fences out of the remaining wood, and sowing. But even within each of these stages of work they generally take their time. True, there are said to be persons who can work for several weeks, up to a month, uninterruptedly in the clearing of a field, but I found again and again that after two to four days of work, a day of rest is inserted.

/290 cont./

534 is wound around the entire body of the drum. A string with a small piece of wood as a rattle device is stretched across the lower skin. The method of construction of the drum and the bass drum
• [184] is the same in Calderas. A drum in Santa Rosa differs in that each of the stretchers, upper and lower, consists of a switch used double, with the edges of the drum skin clamped in between (Fig. 37 /see p. 258 /). The measurements of the small drum are 16 centimeters in height and 22 centimeters in diameter, those of the bass drum 40 centimeters in height and about 60 centimeters in diameter.

533 In playing the music, for which no text is (any longer) known, the drum and the bass drum beat the same rhythm, but in a different manner. The drum is beaten on the skin with two drumsticks, which are simply two ordinary, inarticulated pieces of wood. The bass drum is beaten with one hand with a regular drumstick consisting of a stick with a wrapping of cloth, while the other hand beats against the frame with a little stick. In three-quarter time, the principal kind of time, the bass drum is beaten with the drumstick in one hand, the first and third quarter regularly and the second quarter in eighths. The other hand beats afterwards with the other stick on the frame.

533 Whether this Paez rhythm is original or was taken over with
173 the drum cannot be determined with certainty. According to the tradition of the Paez, as told in the story "The Paez with the Ax," the Pijao women in former times, when as yet /291/ there were no drums, beat out the rhythm on their breasts with their hands during the dances. We may assume that this was also in part the case
533 among the earlier Paez. According to E. Castillo i Orosco, the
[175] Paez formerly used hanging chichacanoas /chicha troughs/ as drums
[534] (kwimb). They consisted of hollowed-out tree trunks and during the kwimbkó dance were beaten by all the men together, while the women sang. The rhythm beaten on the drums at the present time, however, seems to be less firmly anchored than the melody. They
[797] are so fond of the latter that they do not sing hymns at the Mass in
[177] the mission church, but play the customary melodies on the same instruments, albeit disproportionately slower. The drum and the bass lose the beat in doing this; they do not know how to begin

4:Bernal Villa--53 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

XXIV

The Race for the Rooster at Tumbichukue

103 The name of Tumbichukue is familiar to the colonists throughout Tierradentro. It is synonymous with fabulous treasures. In this place, it is said, the Paez buried all the gold and silver that they collected in the ill-fated settlement of Sebastián Quintero destroyed by them.

[131] Tumbichukue is a pass /vereda/ formed by the eastern slopes of the paramo of San Lucas and located between the Kukiyú and the Yusayú gorge (Guacharaca). It belongs to the parcialidad of Lame, and the road that goes from San Andrés [491] to Lame passes precisely there. This road is well traveled, its people more accessible to the whites.

796 On June 24 the men race their horses along the road.
541 It is a custom of Indians and whites "to race on the day of San Juan." The whites say that those who do not race their horses on the day of San Juan get scabies. The small, husky horses pant under the demands of their drunken riders. A wild race and shouts in an unsteady voice: Viva San Juan!

The people of the pass go to a small square along the road, near which lives the capitán of Lame. Indians from
●184 San Andrés come to watch the race for the rooster. On the
796 other hand, in spite of the nearness, no Calderun /person from
291 Calderas/ is seen there. The women who are seen are clean,
177 with neatly braided hair; they wear black skirts, navy-blue
301 rebozos, pink blouses, numerous multi-colored necklaces,
541 bright earrings, and cloth hats. The monotonous dark or black necklaces characteristic of Paez apparel are nearly absent among these people. The classic pindo hat worn by the [491] Calderas people is absent. Spanish is spoken more frequently.

796 All the riders are concentrating on the cage and the
541 roosters.

/261 cont./

683 The aversion that the people of Santa Rosa have for the
554 sorceress Ipia is expressed clearly in the words of one té eu:
754 "This old woman should be brought to the pueblo, her remedies burned, she should be bathed in ají water, manacled, and kept like this overnight to prevent her from running away, bathing with her remedies, and turning back into a sorceress."

683 In this same parcialidad the sorcerers accused of having
[623] killed the former gobernador with their tricks were given the following punishment by the Cabildo.

The sorcerers, taken from their houses with all their pouches of remedies, were led to the pueblo. In the plaza and in the presence of the people, the capitán took from the pouches remedy after remedy, showing it to the public and asking about its uses. The remedies were unknown in most cases and the sorcerers gave no information about them. They made a large pile. The gobernador of the cabildo says that they even had earth from the cemetery. He sprinkled the remedies with gasoline, put the sorcerers in the middle, and lighted the fire. The frightened sorcerers begged for forgiveness, claiming that they were innocent.

It is said that in the pouches they found flowers of sulphur, with which they /262/ prepared a drink that they forced them to take in order to rid them of evil spirits. The sorcerers, on their part, say that the drink in question was a mixture of the excrements of domestic animals and human feces.

The sorcerers had to remain at the wake overnight and dig part of the grave. After the burial they were invited to the meal which is offered on such occasions, an invitation which they refused, but they were forced to attend. With the food it is said that they were given pubic hair, according to the sorcerers. Then the people tossed them into a pond.

683 In Calderas the punishments are more violent. In 1951,
184 they took a sorcerer, put him in the stocks for two days, forced him to take the drink of excrements, whipped him,

/262 cont./

683 and finally exiled him. The sorcerer nearly died. He com-
184 plained to the Alcadía of Inzá about the brutality of the cabildo. The Alcadía had the stocks destroyed by force, in spite of the protests of the natives. The punishments of the sorcerers in the Parcialidad of San Andrés were about the same up to some 30 years ago.

683 Often, when there is a very dangerous sorcerer, the curers
754 band together in order to kill him. They call his soul, and
756 when it draws near they hit it with a stick smeared with chayuts.
774 The soul leaves with a whistling sound. When a volcano erupts,
[823] it is a sign that the devil is punishing the souls of sorcerers.

754 Psychological characteristics of the sorcerers. Broadly
157 speaking, the sorcerers are timid, resentful, aloof, with a very
156 strong persecution complex; they try to avoid contact with people, believing that they see in each of them a presumed accuser; they tend to be self-supporting; suspicious to a high degree, they roundly deny the accusations of their victims, regarding themselves furthermore as good persons, sound and inoffensive; they pretend to know nothing about remedies, and it is very difficult to obtain any information from them about sorcery. Most of them are intelligent. Endoculturally they are at odds with their own group, insofar as they embody the struggle against the influences of foreign cultures.

The nasa are convinced that no sooner has the sun gone down than the sorcerers are already at work. The most dangerous ones sleep during the day. For this reason they regard as peculiar characteristics of the sorcerers red eyes, an evasive look, aloofness, an unpleasant appearance, egoism, and suspiciousness. They look like criminals, informants say.

182 /263/ Socio-dynamic value of sorcery. Within Paez
754 society, sorcery is vital, overly active, and gravitates into all the social interstices. But, as must be evident, at all times and places it pertains to the realm of concealment. Its executors are surreptitious. They always act in the shadows.

/263 cont./

182 The people perceive only the effects. Only the expectant
754 attitude announces to us its presence. The latent fears tell us of its vigor. The members of the cabildo, the capitán, the té eu, the working men, the parturient women have a strong fear of sorcery.

When the pest spreads through the community, when the elders die and their experience and advice are lost, thoughts
[761] turn inevitably to the power of the sorcerers. Most deaths are brought about by sorcerers, the informants say.

754 Sorcery is a powerful barrier against the introduction
182 of the customs of a capitalist economy and also against the
177 intrusion of the whites in their parcialidades. It is strange that sorcery should exist in the less acculturated parcialidades, while in San Andrés it has practically disappeared. It is said to have been vigorous until 1926, the year when the Municipal Council of Inzá established in the parcialidad a settlement area in which the whites settled. With this measure living together was inescapable and they chose to accept them. Nevertheless, during the drinking bouts of the old people, the tremendous resentment that has become natural to them still crops out.

182 Furthermore, it makes its influences felt in the distribution
754 of land. Each family has lands from which it lives. With the
423 increase in population the problem of their unequal distribution
[554] has become prominent. Those who have the most land are
[152] the targets of envy and sorcery; they are more prone to magical attacks aimed at taking away their land. Intrasocial tensions
754 appear to be brought into equilibrium by means of this insti-
182 tution. The fear of reprisals checks aggression. Revenge is too prejudicial, since it can be manifested not only against
[184] individuals, but also against animals and plantings. It is
[177] perfectly true to say that while in Calderas acts of bloodshed
[675] are rare and suicide is unknown, in San Andres, a parcialidad
[762] which is largely acculturated, the homicides, murders, and cases of arson are hair-raising.

/307 cont./

241 April, May, June, October, November, and December. Natu-
132 rally, these periods of summer are relative and correspond in reality to the temperate zone. In Mosoco and the high parts of the Cordillera, /308/ a fine rain is falling almost constantly, if not an actual downpour. In July, August, and September, the winter is harsh, influenced entirely by the trade winds from the southeast.

Bearing these climatic factors in mind, planting is done during the months of March, April, and May. They take advantage of the rains of these months. This agricultural cycle is common for all of Tierradentro including Mosoco proper. The "páramuna" part of Mosoco is excepted, for the reasons listed earlier.

243 Of the cultivable species, maize occupies the dominant place in the agricultural activity of Tierradentro. The preparation of the soil differs somewhat in the temperate and cold thermal levels. Whereas cleaning out and burning the underbrush are sufficient in the temperate one, planting beds are made in the cold one. Maize seed is selected from the best and most filled-out ears, avoiding the small kernels at the points. They believe that they would not fruit, calling them, for this reason, "maize-man," and, on the other hand, calling the big kernels
[842] that yield produce "maize-woman." They make the association that it is the women who have children, even though they do not conceive of fertility without concourse with the man.

243 It is common to have mingas for sowing. In this way the
244 work is soon finished. On the appointed day, eight to ten
476 laborers assemble, with bags full of maize tied at their waists;
[462] they start sowing very early. This is a masculine activity, al-
[184] though in Lame and Mosoco women also participate. The holes are made with a strong, pointed stick at intervals of one meter and 50 centimeters and to a depth of 10 to 15 centimeters. Six or seven kernels are placed in each hole. They bury the frijole next to the logs that remain from the clearing. Peas are also commonly sown there. The seeds of bottle gourds and ahuyama/ squash, /Cucurbita maxima/, which are sown in the maize fields,

/332 cont./

476 From the data on the mingas in the three parcialidades,
184 we see that on the whole they have similar rules. But in Mosoco there is already a modified procedure, both in the rewards and in the form of the work. In San Andrés, Calderas, and Lame, a minga is relatively cheaper than paying wages, since they actually buy only salt and coca, when they do not cultivate it on their own fincas.

Communal tasks

476 Among the Páez there is another type of co-operative labor
651 different from the system of the mingas. It might be called communal work, and it pertains basically to the execution of tasks for the common welfare, such as, for example, the construction and maintenance of the roads, bridges, public buildings (schools, church, rectory, house of the cabildo) and the cultivation of the clearing of the saint.

To this end, the cabildo calls upon all the able-bodied men in the parcialidad, who come supplied with their respective rations of coca and work tools.

The execution of the works of communal interest is a duty of every member of the parcialidad, and anyone who refuses to lend his aid is punished by the cabildo and often taken before the Colombian authorities. The greater or lesser effectiveness of this obligation naturally depends on the moral authority of the members of the cabildo and, above all, of the Capitán of the parcialidad. In many parcialidades, the members openly refuse to give their share of labor, and in such cases the roads and public buildings are in precarious condition.

/333/

Foresight and storage

487 In all of the native dwellings there are frames plaited with
353 rods and vines above the hearth and also at what we might call
251 the open ceiling. The ones of the fireplace are suspended, while the others rest on the braces or crosspieces that give strength to the walls of the house. This already clearly indicates to us that the natives have foresight. On these frames there are ears of maize tied by their own husks, bundles of wheat, and

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

The graves were "large and deep," and chiefs were buried with some of their wives and with food and chicha (Cieza, 1932, ch. 32). 764 766

In Colonial times, according to Del Castillo, the *Páez* removed a dying person from his hut but burned the house if anyone died in it. They had given up cremation, however, and buried in the earth, building a fence around the grave. Today, they cover the corpse with a white shroud and place it in the middle of the house with candles and flowers. Here it is watched over one night by relatives and friends, and then buried in a cemetery, where each relative tosses some earth into the grave saying, "Go with God." The mourners then bathe in the river without disrobing, and in the evening hold a banquet with chicha, sancocho (vegetable stew), meat, and tortillas. For 9 days a cross, a container of water, and a candle must be kept on the deceased's bed, the water being kept there so that the soul may drink. The relatives pray every night. A month after the death, a shaman purifies the house. The relatives and friends kill a pig, cut it lengthwise in two halves, one for the shaman, the other for the ceremonial banquet. The shaman sweeps the house floor with the pig's legs and some special branches, which are later buried. He chews coca, says some unintelligible words, and spits leaves on the house walls. The residents and guests then enter the house for the final proof of purification. The shaman, standing in the center of the house, gives a dog half a tortilla. If the dog does not die, he divides the other half among those present. He does the same with a piece of cooked meat, and if the dog still does not die, he blows chicha in all directions in the hut, and then divides what remains with those present. The hut and food are then declared clean. The food is then eaten and much chicha drunk.

178 764 [763] 765 764 765 756 783

The modern burial customs of the *Moguex* differ somewhat from those of the *Páez*. The former dance for 9 days before and after burying a dead child. Because of the special ceremonies for adults, young Indians gather and prepare wood to be burned at their own funerals. When an adult dies, relatives and friends bring wood, food, and money to the house, and work for his family, who pray and weep for 3 days over the body. On the fourth day, they carry the body in a procession to the cemetery. Upon passing a house or inn where the deceased was accustomed to take chicha, they stop and drink. The burial procedure is like that of the *Páez*. Back at the house, they purify the objects used by the deceased over the fire, and leave his clothes and the hide he used as a bed at the river 9 days, after which they may be used. Meanwhile, the guests remain with the deceased's family, helping them. On the 9th day, they extinguish all lights and go to the nearest hill to mourn, while a shaman remains in the house to catch the soul of the deceased. He chews coca, spits it in all directions, and beats around with sticks to make the soul come out. Then he lights

764 184 [766] [535] [275] [783] 765 756 787 775 184

7:Hernández de Alba E-5Y (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

765 756 787 775 784 the fire and turns on the lights, and everyone returns to examine a layer of fine ashes placed beforehand at the door. If the ashes shows the footprints of an angel, they believe that the soul is saved, but if the footprints are those of a bird, they believe that the soul is condemned to hell. In some cases they ascertain the fate of the soul by the kind of bird prints.

WARFARE

726 The *Páez* and *Moguex* were particularly warlike. Their attacks were staged in the morning, accompanied by yells and the sound of trumpets, horns, sea shells, and drums. They were generally armed with great spears or pikes, spear throwers, and slings. When fighting, they would first hurl javelins with their spear throwers, then use their slings, the missiles for which they carried in a pouch, and finally pick up their spears or pikes for man-to-man struggle. They also formed closed squadrons, men with clubs alternating with spearmen. The former would step forward to wield their clubs, and then draw back to their positions for protection. Their best defense was on high ridges, from which they rolled large stones on their enemies. They perfected these natural defenses by cutting or camouflaging paths on which they prepared ambushes. They built trenches or pitfalls, which caused the attacking Spaniards much trouble.

[411]

628 The principal enemies of these peoples were the *Pijao* and the Spanish soldiers. The *Páez* remember the *Pijao* well, and call the stone statues in their territory "portraits of Pijaos," and the painted tombs, "houses of Pijaos." They are afraid to see the statues or visit the tombs.

[648] [632] [764]

To insult an enemy killed in war, they cut off his penis and placed it on the road.

727

266 Some historians ascribe cannibalism to the *Páez* and the *Moguex*, which seems to have no basis in fact. They kept trophy heads and stuffed the skins of their enemies, but did not eat their foe. There are, however, numerous historical references which state that in the wars against the Spaniards, the *Páez* left the bodies of dead enemies for the *Pijao* to eat, and that they cremated their own dead or dried them over a slow fire, which Friar Pedro Simón (1882–92, ch. 23) mistook for a means for preserving the flesh so that it could be eaten later.

[175] [648] [764]

[114] As war trophies, they kept enemy heads, which they preserved with resins, and the skins of their entire bodies, which they filled with ashes (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 3). They even preserved the heads of the Spaniards' horses. They carried these trophies to wars, meetings, and feasts.

727 [314]

/180 cont./

583 In Paris on the first of March, 1877, Esequiel Uricoechea
[175] wrote in his introduction to the Vocabulario: "Marriage in the sense in which we accept it today did not exist among the Páeces: two people lived a married life for some time and the marriage was not legalized without the previous certainty that
[192] the woman was fecund. It is natural then, that we find among the Páeces, as among the Peruvians, two verbs (imi and iyó) which indicate respectively the woman accepts the man and the man takes the woman. The woman was obliged to give clothing to the husband, and he "to provide sustenance for the family" (12).

12. Castillo y Orozdo, E. del. Vocabulario Páez-Castellano /Paez-Spanish Vocabulary/, 1877, p. XIV.

Our informants from Calderas confirm the effectiveness of this custom, some justifying it by the need of the future husband /181/ to obtain the money to pay the expenses of the wedding, others in order to "catear" /sample, find out/ if the woman is honest, a worker, and faithful, and there was no lack of those who clearly stated that this trial marriage "is customary because if the woman should turn out to be machorra /barren/ there is no marriage." When such occurs the man returns the woman to her parents without any problem standing in the way, which would not be the case if they were married by the Church, in which case the return is not possible.

162 Our investigations concerning the frequency of the "amaño"
583 in the established families of some parcialidades of Tierradentro
595 showed the following results:

184 Calderas: 42 families (28% of the approximate total of Calderun families). 57.1% of these families practiced the amaño: 42.9% were married first by the Church.

San Andrés: 13 families (6.5% of the approximate total of San Andrés families). 92.3% were married first by the Church; 7.7% practiced the amaño.

/181 cont./

162 Lame: 8 families (6.2% of the approximate total of Lame
583 families). 87.5% were married first by the Church; 12.5% prac-
595 ticed the amaño.
184 Mosoco: 26 families (10.4% of the approximate total of families in Mosoco). 88.1% followed the Catholic law; 11.6% practiced the amaño.

Although the percentages for the parcialidades of San Andrés and Lame may not reflect fully the real situation concerning the custom owing to the paucity of data, one can clearly see the vigor that it still has in Calderas, a parcialidad less acculturated,
581 of course, than the others. Once the man is convinced of the
594 fertility of his mate, the marriage is legalized at the altar of the
[585] Catholic Church. Then the economic co-operation of the spouses, initiated at the beginning of their married life, is stabilized and gains strength, and the marriage becomes, as one of our informants remarked, an association for the "mutual benefit of the contracting parties, to serve each other, without in any way
594 being a burden to either of them." The man enlarges his clear-
462 ings in order to take care of "the sustenance of the family," plants sugar cane and coca in order to obtain chicha and narcotic for holding mingas /work parties/, in order to celebrate religious festivals, in order to "cuidar" his relatives and to relax with his friends; he hires himself out as a peon /182/ in order to acquire money and to buy shawls for his wife, wool and cloth that the woman makes into camisas for herself, her husband, and her sons, and trousers for these last, begins to build his house, if he does not have one, on the lot that his father has assigned to him, to make a home for his family. The woman, on her part, administers the products that her husband brings to her, weaves the ruana /poncho/ and kuetand-yaha (mambe pouch /a bag for the ingredients of chews/) for the husband and children, prepares the food, raises hens and pigs, and cares for her children less than three years old (13). In this manner, among the Páez, marriage,

13. For the division of activities according to sex, see our work "Economía de los Páez /Economy of the Paez/," /published in the

/167 cont./

435 Livestock can be exchanged for other livestock or for food-
437 stuffs. For example, a stallion has the value of 20 pounds of coca leaves or a man's ruana; a mare, however, is much dearer and is exchanged for the maize harvest of a field about 100 square meters in area, to be harvested by the buyer himself. Similarly, one can exchange the harvest of a maize field for a steer or a heifer. (The latter has a monetary value of 30 to 40 pesos.) The exchange or sale of a cow, on the other hand, is not possible under any circumstances. Pigs have the relatively low value of only three to five pesos; they are exchanged for five pounds of coca, ten bags of maize, or ten tomín of sugar cane. One may also exchange a small sow or a full-grown hog for a steer. The latter has the value of about 15 pesos, a mare about 20 to 30 pesos. Stallions are gladly exchanged for a foal. They are valued at 15 pesos. Whereas the exchange of a stallion for a cow is impossible because of the latter's higher value, stallions are often exchanged for bulls, especially by hosts who need beef to feed their guests.

It is significant that a head of cattle or a horse cannot be exchanged for quickly consumed foodstuffs, such as maize, arracacha, beans, potatoes, bananas, etc., since the latter do not last long enough and the buyer of the foodstuffs feels that he will not get sufficient use out of his exchange. On the other hand, coca leaves still on the tree, maize on the stalk, or a sugar cane field are quite possible as media of exchange. Victoriano, for example, exchanged for a foal a sugar cane field about 50 by 50 meters in area, which the new owner may harvest as needed. Such an exchange, however, is possible only for
• [185] persons who are as industrious as Victoriano. In general the Paez is much too disinclined to work for a future supply, especially if he is not even to have the use of it later on; besides, he is much too fond of drinking his own chicha to give away a two-year old sugar cane field.

439 The goods are transported to the market by men and women,
482 albeit more by the former than by women. This seems quite
484 surprising, for the civilized Indios, as well as many colonists, are in the habit of riding to market unencumbered by any load,

Fire is also set to the vegetation on
/306 cont./
241 the ridges, crests, and windings, where no obvious advantage
85 can be gained and where, instead, it destroys a vegetation that virtually /307/ could be turned into a barrier that would prevent the danger of the animals.

The clearings are also laid out on the banks of brooks, streams, rivers, springs, and damp hollows, which, from a lucrative standpoint, is excellent, since it is precisely there that the harvest yields the most, but it is very harmful, since it destroys the vegetation that preserves the moisture and holds the soil, thus avoiding erosion.

241 The clearing is done by all the male members of the
476 family. But more generally the mingas /communal work-parties/ do it. In this case, the workers first cut with their machetes the grasses, branches, vines, etc., in the lower part of the forest; then, with axes and machetes, they fell the trees. It should be noted that these trees are not cut at the base, but more or less at eye level. The fallen trees are allowed to dry for approximately one month and then are burned. The thick logs remain intact, as does the brush. This is piled up, and sticks are cut to make fencing. This work is also done by mingas. First the stakes are driven in about a meter apart. Then sticks and branches are woven in. The fences are made so tight that they prevent dogs,
[417] pigs, and other animals from entering. People enter by means of a stick with notches that leans against the fence on either side. These sticks are called afa, and they are also placed at difficult spots on the paths, chiefly for crossing obstructions.

241 In Mosoco, where the lands are cleared and divided into lots, clearings do not exist. Only in the "paramo," the mountainous region, can they be observed. But the custom of leaving the land uncultivated for several years has not disap-
[824] peared. The fences are made of lechero /Euphorbia/ stakes, a tree that has the peculiarity of taking root and continuing to live. But the use of barbed wire is steadily increasing.

Planting and harvesting

[152] Planting is conditioned by the pluviometrical conditions in Tierradentro. The summer months are January, February, March, July, August, and September, and those of winter are

/105 cont./

C 162 The inhabitants of Tierradentro may be divided into three groups, according to the degree of civilization: a) the colonists living south of the Rio Ullucus, who speak Spanish and have nothing in common with the Paez. In habits and customs they correspond to the general, more or less strongly mestizo, Colombian rural population. Furthermore, the population of Balalcázar, consisting predominantly of Negroes, has nothing in common with the Paez. They were brought there by the Spaniards in colonial times as slaves, in order to exploit the salt mines that were used by the Paez even in ancient times. Today salt C [316] extraction is no longer profitable. The Negroes live partly on gold-washing in the Rio Paez, which is undertaken in primitive T [563] fashion with wooden pans, the workers standing up to their knees in water. The Paez do not generally intermarry with the Negroes, [186] but, on the contrary, despise them, since they know that they at one time came there as slaves.

P 162 361 563 b) The Paez who north of the Rio Ullucus have settled both banks of the Rio Paez as far north as Nevado del Huila. They have in part intermarried with the white and mestizo colonist P [103] population. The /106/ places inhabited by them are: Araujo, Avirama, Belalcázar, Cuetando, Mosoco, Ricaurte, San Andrés, San José, Tálaga, Toez, Togóima.

T 162 103 c) The pure Paez villages of Calderas, Chinas, Huila, Lame, Santa Rosa, Suin and Vitoncó. Among these the Paez of Calderas have preserved their cultural individuality most P purely. We worked primarily among them, and the present ma- 114 121 terial, insofar as nothing is said to the contrary, refers to the culture of the Paez of Calderas. The Calderun, as the inhabitants P 181 of Calderas are known in the country, are by far the most unap- 648 proachable of all the Paez. They have best kept to this day the 101 three laws of Juan Tama, the mythical hero of the Paez, which were originally strictly observed by all. These three laws say: 1. Tierradentro is solely and exclusively the land of the Paez, 2. the Paez may never intermarry with other races, 3. the Paez are invincible as long as they keep these laws. The third law in particular has well-founded justification, since for centuries

/254 cont./

804 The period of a day is subdivided into the day (ēn) and the
192 night (kos). Early morning is called kosē; afternoon at the time when work is at an end, which is reckoned by the position of the sun, is called fi'nze. Other subdivisions of the day are made according to the interval of an ěšnetc, meaning the time it takes to chew a dose of coca. In translation this designation is used for "hour." The largest period of time is the month, ãte, which is designated by the same word as for "moon." For the period of a year the Spanish word año is used. In former times the word
[221] enzte was used. It is the designation for the large annual com-
[226] munal fishing at the weir during the dry season in February. The
[132] two rainy seasons, called nospá'nye, and the two dry seasons of the year, called sek, are not regarded as time intervals, but as seasons. The latter is at the same time the word for "sun."

823 No large geographical orientations or regional, individual
[491] divisions of any kind could be discovered. Moreover, all of Tierradentro is enclosed by civilized areas -- there is even an auto road leading to Belalcázar -- so that many Paez men have seen the surrounding countryside and even cities with their own eyes.
601 Only the western bordering mountains of the Central Cordillera,
[186] in the direction of Popayán, are conjectured to be the habitation
123 area of the dreadful man-eaters, the Pijao. Geographical means
484 of orientation are unknown. Traveling is done only during the day, in groups, and in company with a person who knows the way.
821 Of the stars it is only known that there stars that move and fixed ones, without their being distinguished in greater detail or according to constellations.

202 It is amazing that, in spite of their settlement pattern of
[361] individual farms, the Paez do not have any optical or acoustical
[203] means of communication over larger distances. /255/ In case of urgent news or questions, children are sent.

802 There are numbers only from one to six and ten. For the designations seven to nine the corresponding Spanish numbers are used. The Paez word for "ten" (kóse pémba) literally means "no more hands" and indicates that the fingers were used for counting. The toes are not used for counting; anything beyond ten is

/280 cont./

755 756 that his signs tell him that his efforts will be in vain, because the patient must die. Only if the signs are favorable, do he and the patient start chewing the little packet of medicinal herbs. The shaman now takes his staff and spits some of the chewed medicinal herbs on it, to prevent the pest sent by nyiç from possibly being transferred to him and killing him. Then he thrusts the tama into the ground with the point, in order to announce to Thunder that he does not wish to act badly and carelessly, but exactly in accord-
[824] ance with his shamanistic rules. He sets the bottle of /281/
[787] brandy, into which he puts a stalk of the čayuts herb, beside his shaman's staff. If the stalk remains vertical, it is a good sign; if it falls to one side and goes under, it is a very bad omen. On the mouth of the bottle he also places a small calabash vessel, likewise containing the čayuts herb, which is supposed to prevent the pest from taking the shaman by surprise and killing him. He now puts a handful of coca into his mouth and starts to chew. Motionless, he gazes at his staff, ready to receive his signs. From time to time he takes more coca and lime, tells the patient that his signs are favorable, that his illness, which comes from the pest, will soon get better. Then he gets up, goes to his tama, and vigorously spits out the chew. He empties a whole calabash of brandy and squirts it into the air. Again he returns to his seat, once again takes coca and lime and a little cigar tobacco into his mouth, and again remains squatting motionless. After about an hour he spits the chew in the direction of the staff, the patient does the same, and then both get up. The shaman now tells the
[783] patient that Thunder has shown him the possibility of a cure. He will now go and gather his special medicinal herbs, and for a good purification the patient will have to bring a pound of coca leaves, six cigars, a liter of brandy and chicha, and, in addition,
[177] a few pounds of meat. The teyu urgently enjoins him not to take
[186] any of the medicine of the whites under any circumstances, for otherwise he must surely die. At this séance, as well as at others, the shamans all agreed that neither did they themselves leave the place of the séance nor did their souls leave their bodies to go wandering. The signs, to which alone they give heed, are the only characteristic of their experience.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

157 pipes they play while walking along, unless their hands are kept
583 busy plaiting braids of gynerium bark in the manufacture of
[463] their hats. This is the exclusive occupation of the men. Women almost invariably walk along spinning wool, their distaff under the left arm and the spindle in the left hand, while the right hand is busy at the wool.

883 The Paez maidens are fond of flowers and are very playful.
157 On one occasion I observed several of them going up the hill
481 beyond the river, in front of the church at Huila, their arms entwined about one another's necks; then they began running up the steep hill as in a contest of endurance. As they became exhausted they threw themselves on the grass, while their movements showed that they were playing and joking all the time. These children of Nature are not unpleasant to look at,
[515 except for their usual lack of cleanliness; nor are they wanting
142] in coquetry, and they are often pretty. But in the presence of
[609] strangers they are extremely bashful, doing their utmost to keep in the background.

291 The old women are generally very ugly. Their clothing con-
515 sists only of dirty rags, and their skin is covered with the filth of years.

593 Relations between the sexes, especially between husbands
562 and wives, seem to be easy and without an air of superiority on the part of the former. On the few occasions that I had to entertain these people at their houses, the women took the same interest and the same part in the proceedings as the men, which was very different from what I observed among the Central American Indians.

609 Toward strangers, and especially toward Colombians of other
186 races, the attitude of the Indians is decidedly hostile. Unless induced by the prospect of profit they will neither sell anything nor lend any service, often refusing money and accepting only articles which they especially desire. They will not allow white
[563] or black people in their homes, and at Huila they are even unwilling that the only white family living there should share the practically inexhaustible supply of fuel scattered about in the near-by forest, or have horses or cattle pasturing on the almost

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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deserted savannas. It must be said, in extenuation, that they have been subjected to much abuse by their neighbors of the "superior race." Moreover, the Paeces are naturally hostile to strangers, descending, as we have seen, from a warlike people. The old Paeces always went about armed, carrying a lance or javelin in the hand and ready to protect their bodies from the darts of an enemy by means of a shield of basket-work (*opimb*), or of tapir hide (*yimba-kdt*). The warlike tendencies of the tribe were stimulated by means of periodical contests in which the most valiant warriors fought each other in the presence of the multitude.

To-day, as we have seen, the descendants of these have abundant opportunity to satisfy their fighting propensity by taking sides in the frequent quarrels of the political parties that thus far have kept Colombia in an almost continual turmoil.

Sexual intercourse between Paez women and men of other races is said not to exist; barbarous chastisement would be the fate of the offending female. It is to be expected, however, that the closer contact brought about by the gradual penetration of the Tierra Andentro by whites and negroes will soon overcome the purity of the Paez blood and open the way to amalgamation with the neo-Colombian race.

Reclus, cited above (page 311), gives us to understand that the Paez were cannibals, and the tradition current in the villages along the western foot of the cordillera confirms his intimation with reference to the Pijaos; for the coming of "el Pijao" is still a menace to children. The early chroniclers tell us of several anthropophagous tribes which lived in this region, and it is not unlikely that the Paeces had a share in that custom.

GRAMMATICAL NOTES

Castillo's *Nociones gramaticales* is limited to a list of the personal pronouns and the conjugation of the verbs 'to be' and 'to write.' A few more grammatical indications are incorporated in the vocabularies, but on the whole these data are very meager, and much remains to be done in this direction.

/290/

114 us nothing about the religion and mythology of the Paez. Nor
773 do systematic modern studies exist. Nor do those who have had the opportunity to be in contact with them and to describe their customs and ways of life tell us about their religion and mythology. Furthermore, there are those who state that the Paez have no mythology. José Pérez de Barradas collected the myth of Juan Tama. Gregorio Hernández de Alba refers to it, and the Lazarist missionary Fr. David González also collected it and has it in his unpublished work, Los Paeces /The Paez/, in quite elaborate and synthetical form, as does G. Burg. It is obvious that a large part of the myths and tales which I am presenting, not to say all of them, have suffered modifications in the avatar of time, as the institutions also changed. Since mythology is the rationalization of conflicts created by the culture itself, it is subject to the directives /291/ of that society and culture. Its roots are inevitably of a sociological and cultural nature.

773 Many of the myths collected have a marked similarity to
776 that of Juan Tama. The predominant central motifs refer to
538 sex and aggression. The personages in the myths are Thunder, Llíban, Juan Chiracol, Chaute, and Santo Tomás. Llíban is regarded as Thunder's son, but everyone maintains that he is Thunder himself; he was a cacique, and the natives state that many of their caciques took refuge in the turbulent waters of the river. The last two personages merge and in reality form a single being. It is to be noted that in some accounts the tricky personage presented is not Tomás, who is a saint, but Pedro Dimales, his brother.

●186 There is no need to emphasize the role played by the Pijao
793 in these accounts. The recollection of this people inured to
628 war is still fresh in the memory of the Calderunos, the characteristics of the struggle sustained against them still manifest, the fear that the name Pijao awakened still alive. To the Calderun mentality they seem like monsters, like animals of uncommon size and power, who drew fire from their armpits.

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

/291 cont./

773 They are in fact legendary personages who go beyond the
[186] boundaries of legend to enter the territory of myth, not only
[628] by their symbolism, but in their dramatic force, their socio-
logical framework, and their cultural function.

The mythology gravitates around the behavior of the natives, their attitudes toward the whites, the organization of the cabildo, illnesses, and death. Of Juan Chiracol, a 23-year-old informant says: "He warns when the mob is coming, he no longer warns, so." And of Thunder, it is said that he almost killed a padre because he went to the montaña to get wood to board up the school. "Thunder was defending the
538 wood," they say. The tales were always told around the fire,
773 with men, women, and children present, who sometimes laughed, at other times kept silent, but always corroborated, corrected, elaborated, or confirmed. The storytellers sometimes put on a serious face, accompanied their tale with mimicry, and once in a while they would burst into mocking laughter, as if to signify that what they were saying was worthless and they did not believe it. I was soon able to ascertain
115 their sociological and cultural value. The myths and tales
773 were collected with the help of an interpreter, a mestizo from San Andrés, about 35 /292/ years old, tall, muscular, quiet in manner, intelligent, calculating, with great charm and a knowledge of Paez and the Spanish language; he was familiar with the customs of the Calderunos, esteemed by them, and
773 skilled in his questioning. We present below the myths and
128 tales collected, leaving the other aspects of the culture for presentation in a complete monograph.

1. Thunder

*539 The old people related that at one time the area was full of Pijao. Thunder lived in Sukafi. In view of the growing number of Pijao, he decided to kill them. He stood on a tall stone that is to be found there, threw his lariat /boleadora/

/198 cont./

273 take with him the "heart" of the aguardiente, thus reducing the
784 quantity and detracting from its quality, for it will be "cold

133
534
291

273 and tasteless."
[784] The distillation is done on any day and at any hour; the tax collectors do not go this far; control of this kind has never been permitted, and anyone who dared to do it would risk his
[186] life. Children drink this liquor from the age of three. Abstainers are inconceivable; "only Protestants do not drink," they conclude.

Colombia SC1
Tierradentro

C /104 cont./
632 includes 15 villages with Belalcázar as the administrative seat.
[103] Belalcázar, which takes its name from the conquistador Sebastian de Belalcazar, but not altogether correctly, since the latter was unable to conquer the Tierradentro area, is at the same time the
P 162 seat of the Apostolic Prefect for Tierradentro. According to the
C 162 census of 1938, the population of Tierradentro, consisting of mixed-
632 colored colonists and racially pure Indios, contains 17,578 inhabitants, distributed over Belalcázar with 13,861 and Inzá with 3,717 inhabitants. The more recent count of 1951, with a total of 25,495 inhabitants, showed a considerably larger figure, of which 15,388 fall to the municipio of Balalcazar and 10,103 to
C [114] the municipio of Inzá. A comparison of the two counts of 1938 and 1951 shows /105/ a notable error in the count in the municipio of Inzá for the year 1938 (figures cited in Bernal Villa [I], p. 285).

P 641 Of this number about 80 per cent are natives who today
[162] are largely civilized, that is, they are baptized and speak some
[851] Spanish. Politically they, too, are basically full citizens of the
● [191] country; they may vote and be drafted into military service, but
P do not pay any taxes. In one respect, however, fortunately for
641 them, they are regarded as "minors" before the law; in their
423 totality they own all the landed property of Tierradentro, but
P the individual man is not in a position to sell his land. This is
641 supposed to keep the Paez from losing their settlement area to
423 the whites. In practice this law is not always strictly observed,
691 for otherwise neither the colonists nor the large landowners, who
648 are slowly but surely pushing their pasture and agricultural lands into the territory of the natives, could be in Tierradentro. The latter cannot in fact defend themselves against this, for, due to lack of money, no one among them is in a position to complain in court. If a complaint is nevertheless made, the Indios always lose, as, for example, in Itaibe, in the southeastern part of Tierradentro, where the Spaniards began to colonize as early as 1636 and where for many years lawsuits were carried on by the Indios in vain. Moreover, no judge is able to undertake anything against a rich landowner or against the missions likewise owning land.

/107 cont./

123 knew tales he could tell, and to whom we gave tobacco and salt and a few other small gifts, a knife, a hoe, or an aluminum cup. At the moment he had a headache, he said. I gave him a few tablets, and we agreed that I would come back the next morning and he would tell me a few tales. When we arrived the next day, after hours of tramping, his wife told us that her husband had gone into the mountains very early that morning in order to cut wood.

115 Our first visit in Calderas took place in the company of the interpreter, Marcos Antonio Penkue, a Paez about 40 years old from San Andrés, who regarded himself as very civilized and who had reached a certain position of wealth. He served as a [191] soldier on the Brazilian border and speaks Spanish well. On his [245] finca /see the glossary, p. 249/ he has about 2,000 coffee trees, [439] whose yield he sells in Inzá on the market. He also carries on [464] other business there by functioning as an interpreter and middleman for the non-Spanish-speaking and generally unbusinesslike Paez. During our work in Calderas he combined business with his services. [233] The Paez are ardent cattle-raisers, albeit not in our economic sense, but purely for sport and the pleasure of numbers. A cow-calf is much more valuable to them than a full-grown bull, for [437] it will produce another calf and increase the herd. Thus, Marcos Antonio exchanged calves for bulls in Calderas and, indeed, bought [434] some cattle himself. These business transactions bring him about 200 to 250 pesos profit per head, since among themselves the Paez ask only low prices, about 50 pesos for a bull. His selling price on the market in Inzá amounts to about 300 pesos. He re- 115 124 garded the work with us as highly troublesome, but he knew what he was worth to us. His fee rose from three pesos a day at the beginning to ten pesos. Translations that seemed to him too complicated or explanations that were too long for him he would give "in essence" in a few words, after which my counterquestions obviously annoyed him. One day when I had planned some important work, but he some important business, he hid our horses and calmly let us look for them all day long, while he, under the pretext of searching for the horses, carried on his business until he "found" them in the evening.

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115 We then looked for another interpreter, the Calderun Victoriano Piñakué, about 17 years old and very open-minded with regard to "white" civilization. His father even once visited Popayán, the capital of the department of Cauca. Through this he had a somewhat broader outlook and became involved in a quarrel with a bad shaman, in which the latter took one of his eyes by magic. Since then old Piñakué has been blind in one eye. A younger brother of Victoriano is going to school in Inzá and is the helper of the sacristan there. Victoriano is very much interested in one day becoming acquainted with Popayán or even Bogotá. He speaks Spanish quite well and has already earned money on occasion in the service of the white colonists and in La Plata as a construction worker, in order to buy clothing of the whites for himself. By "white" the Paez mean the Spanish culture of the Colombians, namely, clothing, education, and corresponding customs, not, however, skin color or other characteristics of the white race.

[191] [464] [829]

Victoriano set great store by dressing, not like a Paez, but like a white. He was an enthusiastic fellow-worker, not, however, out of greed for money, but out of sincere interest, and at every opportunity he would ask how things were among us in Germany. With a great craving for knowledge, he would again and again have our photos of Europe explained to him, and he even made an effort to learn German.

115 156 554 In his native village of Calderas the work with Victoriano was very difficult, since he was very unpopular because he dresses like a white. Several times, when his fellow villagers were drunk, they even wanted to murder him. Once when we visited a house together, he was heckled by some tipsy men: he was called a sluggard who does nothing the whole day but talk with the "doctores" and go for walks. Besides, they said, he thinks that he is better than the rest of the Paez because he wears "white" clothing. When Victoriano replied that in his work among the whites it would be impossible for him to wear the Calderun costume, but that in his dress he was obliged to adjust to his environment, they retorted that he went to the whites merely in order to be able to eat more meat.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

101 only it might be necessary to modify it slightly if we were able
103 to localize all of the thirty-four villages or hamlets reputed to be of Paez stock and included in the following systematic list:

1. *Paez Basin*

As-at	Inzá	Suín
Chinas	Líme	Tálaga
Chitoco	Moosco	Toés
Cuetandó	Nátaga	Vitonció
El Pital	San Andrés de la Plata	Yaquirá
El Naranjal	San José	

2. *Palo Basin*

Jambaló	San Francisco	Toribío
Pitaió	Tacueyó	

3. *Ovejas, Corre, and Picudama Mountains*

Cajibio	Caldonió	Paniquitá

4. *Vagnará Basin*

El Retiro		Iquirá

5. *Locality Uncertain*

Abirama	Osyó	Ricaurte
Caldera	Pueblo Nuevo	Tobóima
La Troja	Pusó	

101 The principal neighbors of the Paez Indians, according to the above description of their territory, were to the north — the Quimbayas on the western slope of the central cordillera, and the Pijaos on the eastern slope. To their east were the Manipos, in the Magdalena valley; the Guanacos were on both watersheds of the central cordillera southward; and westward on the plains of the Cauca valley, the Kitšua and the Jamundíes. The Kitšua were probably the most advanced in culture of all these different stocks, and the ones whose influence is more easily recognized
[177 in the customs and idiom of the Paez. Their language is also
191] the only one which has come down to us in its integrity.

There is no positive proof of the identity of the Paez and
101 Pijaos, and it is fair to state that there are many data pointing to
174 the fact that originally they were merely neighbors, and allied against the Spaniards, as, for instance, in 1641, when they de-

4:Bernal Villa--53 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

XXIV

The Race for the Rooster at Tumbichukue

103 The name of Tumbichukue is familiar to the colonists throughout Tierradentro. It is synonymous with fabulous treasures. In this place, it is said, the Paez buried all the gold and silver that they collected in the ill-fated settlement of Sebastián Quintero destroyed by them.

[134] Tumbichukue is a pass /vereda/ formed by the eastern slopes of the paramo of San Lucas and located between the Kukiyú and the Yusayú gorge (Guacharaca). It belongs to the parcialidad of Lame, and the road that goes from San Andrés [491] to Lame passes precisely there. This road is well traveled, its people more accessible to the whites.

796 On June 24 the men race their horses along the road.
541 It is a custom of Indians and whites "to race on the day of San Juan." The whites say that those who do not race their horses on the day of San Juan get scabies. The small, husky horses pant under the demands of their drunken riders. A wild race and shouts in an unsteady voice: Viva San Juan!

The people of the pass go to a small square along the road, near which lives the capitán of Lame. Indians from
184 San Andrés come to watch the race for the rooster. On the
796 other hand, in spite of the nearness, no Calderun /person from
291 Calderas/ is seen there. The women who are seen are clean,
177 with neatly braided hair; they wear black skirts, navy-blue
301 rebozos, pink blouses, numerous multi-colored necklaces,
541 bright earrings, and cloth hats. The monotonous dark or black necklaces characteristic of Paez apparel are nearly absent among these people. The classic pindo hat worn by the [491] Calderas people is absent. Spanish is spoken more frequently.

796 All the riders are concentrating on the cage and the
541 roosters.

/231 cont./

75 the neck, he exerts some pressure and the icy water runs down
783 the body. He goes down the left side and then goes to the hole to bury these remedies. With these remedies the body absorbs coolness. After having buried them, he blows aguardiente into the air and then drinks some more.

Once more at his place, he gives the patient a few herbs (shu and siempre viva?) to hold in his hand. He goes to the right of the patient and from there points to him with the tama and blows; he draws nearer, and he makes the familiar passes with the tama and the remedies named. He rubs the crown of the head (vertex), throat, and the nape of the neck.

[782] They go to the hole and toss the herbs into the hole. The curer takes a mouthful of aguardiente, stretches the tama toward the horizon, rises proudly, sets his eyes in the direction of the tama, blows violently several times, and soon his atti-
[191] tude becomes entreating. /232/ Actually, he prays in Spanish: "Lord, help us; I implore you for everyone." The té eu said later that he had prayed to Thunder, so that he would help him and would not permit the sorcerer to discover this hole where the "dirt" was buried. He drank a swallow. The patient blows a mouthful of aguardiente into the air and drinks a second one. They return to their places. The curer picks up the calabash of chicha, goes to the hole, and pours it out. It is a gift to Thunder.

Once more in his place, he puts yacuma, shu, and tashú into a calabash of cold water. He goes to the patient's right and from there sprinkles this water first on the house and then on the patient, who first removed his hat by order of the curer. This is a veritable bath, so that if any ptans should remain, it would be removed and he would be completely clean. The remaining water is poured into the hole. He blows aguardiente and drinks some more, the patient proceeding in the same way. The curer raises the tama and implores: "I pay you; I shall pay you." The curer said that he had spoken as follows:

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105 Potatoes are the principal crop in the parcialidad of Mosoco
178 and the primary source of the natives' monetary income. It has
[244] made possible the establishment of intensive trade with the municipio of Silvia and has plainly had repercussions in the modification of rules of behavior and the restructuring of institutions. The transformation embraces nearly all aspects of Páez culture.

In the first place, work has intensified. The people of Mosoco have permanent work throughout the year. The women participate directly in the preparation of the soil, the planting, and the harvesting.

The children of both sexes go to school regularly, learn basic skills, and utilize them in everyday life. Mosoco is the only part of Tierradentro where there is a private school supervised by a native.

[191] Bilingualism is general. The "chontales," that is to say, persons who do not speak Spanish, are very few. There are not more than ten.

[276] The consumption of coca has disappeared among all the youthful elements.

[262] The alimentary diet and schedule have been altered con-
[264] siderably. They have breakfast very early in the morning, lunch at noon, and dinner at nightfall. Milk, panela, lard, meat, and bread are consumed regularly.

The utensils are completely modern, consisting of aluminum and iron pieces.

There are wooden beds for sleeping, and blankets as well.

The houses are better built and furnished. There are houses of adobe and tile. Two tile-works inclusively already exist in the parcialidad.

The people are hospitable and generous toward foreign visitors.

[291] The clothing of the men is almost completely transformed. They dress like any Colombian peasant. The palm hat worn in other parcialidades has disappeared from this region. The women are clean, orderly, and talkative. They retain the slit skirt and sash, but have adopted chemises and the blue rebozo of the

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

P 175 648 in which a Spaniard held a territory occupied by Indians. The natives, under a chief who was protected by the White authorities and P [652] who made contact between the master, or encomendero, and his subjects, [651] had to give a certain number of days' work and a specified P tribute in products of the lands, animals, gold, or manufactures. The [177] encomiendas made no effort to Hispanicize the Indians, but continued to loot and massacre them. The Indians, reduced to utter misery, gave up all their artistic and industrial activities, and devoted the greater part of their time to the service of the master or to seeking products to pay the obligatory tribute. To remedy this situation, the Spanish Crown decreed the native "parcialidad," giving surviving P groups reservations and prohibiting their employment in transporting [623] men and goods over the highways. This reform was never entirely carried out, however, and the Indians, in spite of having their own government, the cabildo or Indian council, continued in servitude P or debt slavery.

[621] The native Indian government consisted generally of a governor, [631] a first mayor (alcalde mayor), a second mayor (alcalde segundo), a trustee (sindico or fiscal), and constables (alguaciles), the last a kind of police who transmitted to the people the orders which the Whites gave through the governors or mayors, and who carried out penalties P of imprisonment, of placing in stocks, and whipping, which the 175 first Spaniards introduced into the punishment of the natives. At the 648 same time, the Christianization of the Indians began. It succeeded 797 in an imperfect way, however, for the Indian attended Masses, ar- 438 ranged and participated in processions, and did not miss the solemn 273 ceremonies a single Sunday largely because on the same day he brought his own products to the pueblo for sale, bought salt or meat which he needed, and devoted himself to drinking chicha, the traditional drink P which he had always taken on religious or social occasions.

175 648 The Indians of Nariño, descendants of the *Pasto*, lost their language and many of their customs during the Colonial Period, although they Po continued to live as natives on their reservations, which daily became [463] smaller because of the encroachments by the neighboring Whites or [333] Mestizos. They became farmers with small landholdings and, occasionally, masons in the cities. The *Moguez* and *Páez*, however, P 175 retained their language and the greater part of their customs. Some 648 of them, especially the men who had to deal with the Whites, learned a little Spanish, and they continued throughout the Colonial Period P to defend their lands and their traditions. To religious practices in- ●[191] troduced by the missionaries, they added such elements as the offer P of food to the souls of the dead. They added to the Colonial council (cabildo) the office of captain, an official who, unlike the rest of the [622] council, was not responsible to civilian authorities but had life tenure, sometimes a hereditary position, and more authority within the group.

● 192

[For special vocabularies associated with various aspects of material culture, see the following pages in category 116:

houses and house construction -- pp. 33-38
household tools, implements and furnishings -- pp. 40-41
clothing and ornaments -- pp. 42-45
agriculture -- pp. 49-53
extraction of sugar cane juice and use of juice for chicha -- pp. 58-61
animal husbandry--pp. 62-65
hunting, fishing and fowling -- pp. 65-69
weapons -- pp. 69-70
crafts and techniques -- pp. 72-90.

P /134 cont./

276 137 Coca (ēs) is a shrub whose alkaloid leaves, containing cocaine, tanning substances, and various volatile oils, were used as stimulants even before the time of the Conquista, chiefly among the natives of the Cordilleras region. Almost 200 species of it are known, most of which, namely 137, occur in America (Walger, p. 9). It flourishes almost without exception between the tropics, from Honduras to Bolivia, in a temperature that generally remains between 15 and 20 degrees. In too low a temperature the leaves are small and worthless; in too hot a climate they lose strength and content. The most favorable elevation is between 700 and 1,700 meters.

P 279 192 171 The word coca comes from the Kechŭa /Quechua/ language (coca or cuca), which, however, does not state anything definite about the origin and use of the plant, for the Kechŭa-speaking tribes of Ecuador are the very ones who do not use the plant (Cooper, p. 549). In the northern part of South America the designation hayo, hahiu is customary, in northeastern Peru ebee, hibia, hibio, and in the Amazon region generally, names like ypadu, ypatu, ipado, or batu (Bühler, p. 3344).

P 175 276 The first information about coca reached Europe as early as 1499 through the report of the Spanish priest, Thomas Ortíz, to his spiritual superiors, according to which the natives of the northern coast of South America used a plant called hayo as a means of enjoyment. The first detailed description of the cultivation and use of the plant is found in a work, printed in 1553, by Pedro de Ciéza de León, who for the first time calls attention to the fact that coca bestows strength and vigor and drives away hunger (Bühler, p. 3353).

P 276 171 P C 276 C 656 At the time of the Conquista, coca was known in Colombia among the Cauca Valley tribes between Popayán and Cali, near Ibagué in the Magdalena Valley, on the savanna of Bogotá, and among the tribes of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta. Today the use of coca is officially forbidden in Colombia on account of its harmful effects. According to Decree No. 95 of 1938, the sale of coca, except in apothecary shops and drugstores, was forbidden

/181 cont./

60/ In addressing persons outside the family the following designations are used:

/182/

father's brother's son or mother's brother's son	pokatenyák
mother's brother's daughter or father's brother's daughter	pokatépěnyí (pokats = side)
stepbrother yakté	stepsister peš

The designations for brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are the following:

If the brother speaks:

wife of the brother	só'ov	husband of the sister	tsóom

If the sister speaks:

wife of the brother	tyínas	husband of the sister	só'ov

More distant in-law relationships which in our kinship nomenclature are no longer distinguished as such are still taken into account by the Paez in the following instances:

father's brother's daughter's husband	tsóom	father's sister's son's wife	só'ov
mother's brother's daughter's husband	tsóom	mother's sister's son's wife	só'ov

In the generation of the grandparents or grandchildren, the following terms are used:

father's father	ísi	father's mother	péndyi
mother's father	ísi	mother's mother	péndyi
son's son	nzón	son's daughter	nzón
daughter's son	nzón	daughter's daughter	nzón

[192] The designations for persons at various age levels or circumstances of life are highly differentiated among the Paez; the

/182 cont./

601 mutual forms of address for certain groups of persons or of several
● 192 persons with certain kinship connections, which show that here the individual does not stand detached within the family, but is fitted in as part of a living structure, are noteworthy.

child or boy	luč
small child (boy or girl)	lučkwe
baby (boy or girl)	lučléčkwe
youth	pítstaty
man	pítste
married man (except when his own wife speaks of him)	iyõ
old man	ĩš
widower	ečpits
girl	gnáskwe

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maiden	gnãs
woman	õi
somewhat older woman	óite
old woman	penš
widow	éčoi
pregnant woman	tóya
sterile woman	ema
married woman (except when her own husband is speaking of her)	imĩ
wife (of other men)	nyó
husband (of other women)	nemĩ
wife (addressed by husband)	íkwe
husband (addressed by wife)	íngya
married couple	ovényi
orphan, half-orphan	váučo
relative (general)	nuevéš

/195 cont./

d) Death

761 According to the belief of the Paez, death occurs chiefly
776 through the action of the evil shamans (nyic) or the evil spirits
165 ec, tus, and gělyómp (see "Religion" /see pp. 191ff./). Included
164 here also is the not infrequent cause of death through consumption.
[262] Causes of death of children are chiefly whooping cough, as well as stomach and intestinal disorders, the latter brought about by a
[762] diet very unsuitable for children. Suicide is completely unknown.

764 The death of a member of the community is passed on from
[763] man to man by members of the family and neighbors. There is
[203] no public mourning or lamentation; upon the death of small
[765] children, people act as though they were glad, since the children
● [192] are now "little angels." (Among the colonists, as well as among the Paez, the Spanish word "angelito" is used.) In former times it was customary to abandon the house when death occurred and to leave the deceased and some food in it (Castillo i Orosco, p. IX).

764 The manner of burial is the same for men, women, and
184 children; there are no social differences. A few customs in other Paez communities, however, differ from those of the Calderun. Therefore the burial of the dead in Calderas will be described first.

[177] For burial the deceased is dressed if possible in purchased,
[290] that is, "white" clothing, even if he was the poorest of the poor and had never worn such clothing. For this reason the relatives incur considerable expense, which often cannot be paid for a long time. Burial takes place the day after death. Only the feet of the deceased are washed. This work, as well as dressing the deceased, may be done by relatives or even by outsiders; they must, /196/ however, always be men, even in the case of female deceased persons. The body is taken by two men on a bier made of two tree trunks to the graveyard next to the church, where two other men, usually relatives, have already dug the grave. The latter is trapezoid-shaped, a good shoulder's breadth at head height and narrower at the foot end. Its length is determined by the size of the deceased. The direction of the grave is completely arbitrary.

/201 cont./

461 Whereas the men for the most part plait straw hats when they
28 have nothing else to do, the women are busy with spinning and making the coca bags or the fiber bags. But even at this they do not work steadily in the sense, say, that they complete first one bag, for example, or make all the preparations from the outset for weaving an article of clothing; rather, they always work a little at a time on each task. Thus, for example, first a little spinning is done, then wood is fetched, then a coca bag is worked on, and then perhaps a brief hour is spent at the loom in order to weave a few centimeters more on the carrying band of the fiber bags, if the fiber material is at hand. No preparations are made for this plaiting and weaving for a long period in advance, but rather one provides herself with wool, spins it, weaves a bit farther, and then drops the work again for a week or more. Nevertheless, the women do not have periods of out-and-out idleness, like the men.
461 This doing-nothing is designated among the Paez with a word of
574 Spanish origin pasnyándo (paseando). To be sure, one must not
156 overdo the inactivity, that is, not "go for a walk" longer than
[192] about two weeks in succession, for otherwise one is called "alko" (dog), who runs from house to house, sniffs about everywhere, and gets his food from other people by begging. This is encouraged by the unwritten law of the Paez, to give food to a starving person,
[773] wherever it may be, until he is satisfied. This is taken very seriously, not only when adults are the petitioners, but also in the case of small children, in memory of an event in prehistoric times when Chauté /202/ turned a number of persons into stones because they had not given a begging child anything to eat out of their surplus (see the myths /see p. 224/). Hence if anyone enters a house "pasnyándo," he is given something to eat. Younger, unmarried people in particular take advantage of this and sometimes do not work at all, but go to a different house every day. They inquire as to where sugar cane is being milled, help there, are given chicha to drink and food to eat, and the next day go somewhere else. Thus there are some men who have neither house nor field, but nevertheless live quite well. To be sure, the

/204 cont./

556 special sociological role within their community, for they are elected neither more frequently nor more rarely to the village offices. They have simply "always" been considered wealthy, though it should be noted that in the language of the Paez there [192] is no word at all for "rich" or "poor." The word used for "poor," "póre," comes from the Spanish (povre), and the word used for "rich," "čačanas," at the same time means "strong" in the physi-
556 cal sense. Despite this apparent unimportance of wealth, how-
626 ever, it is jealously seen to that no other industrious man of a poor family will become rich and possibly put his wealth -- by means of Colombian dress or something similar -- on display. The evil shamans would put a spell on him or poison him, /205/ and the neighbors would devastate his fields by driving their cattle there. He would be cut by everyone, and people in a state of intoxica-
115 tion would start a fight with him in order to kill him. At any
556 rate, this is what happened and is happening to our interpreter,
626 Victoriano. He does not come from a wealthy family, but he wants to acquire money and livestock through diligence and [291] ability. From the money he earned among the whites he has [177] already bought himself the clothing of the whites, which he now proudly displays, and at festivals he sells wax candles and sweets. His fellow-villagers hate him on that account. The priest has had to protect him several times already from the machetes of drunken men who had started a fight with him; and in our presence, too, when we visited various houses with him, he was occasionally very rudely heckled by drunken men. Not least because, in the opinion
115 of the Calderun, he is not working. Again and again I tried to ex-
123 plain to the people that they, too, could "go walking" with me and
556 earn money if they were able to speak Spanish. Since this was
626 not the case, there was nothing else for me to do but always work with Victoriano. Nothing helped; Victoriano became more and more unpopular, and I, too, was regarded as a do-nothing. A
123 drunken man who, instead of the one cigarette he was given, vainly demanded an entire pack as a present abused me, too, as an "alko," a dog, who is always going from house to house and does not work.

1: Nachtigall--152 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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IV. Spiritual Culture

1. Language

124 According to A. v. Humboldt, languages are differentiated by the elements of content and form, and, accordingly, languages are divided into three groups, which in the following period were erroneously interpreted as stages of the development of language. According to this, the oldest stage was represented by the isolating languages, which express form elements by means of independent words with the meaning still recognizable as far as content is concerned. Their words, as in Chinese, are monosyllabic, isolating. The second group is made up of the agglutinative languages, in which the element of form is added to the element of content, the stem, through clearly recognizable affixes. The Ural-Altaic and the Bantu languages in particular are put here. The inflected languages occupy the third stage. In them the form element is expressed by inner changes of the stem or by affixes closely intergrown with the stems, as, for example, in the Indo-Germanic and Hamito-Semitic languages.

Even though this classification of languages was subsequently abandoned as the schema of a sequence of development, it is nevertheless quite applicable as an initial, practical orientation. For the more precise classification of a language, the working out of the phonetics and syntax is required.

197 193 Paez is an agglutinative language. The grammatical forms are built up by a succession of syllables. The pronunciation is difficult for a European. It is similar to Kechua /Quechua/, from which a number of loanwords have been adopted.

175 797 192 193 114 The oldest linguistic reports about the Paez come from P. Eujenio del Castillo i Orosco, who collected his linguistic material around 1735, as a missionary in Tálaga. It was supplemented and published by E. Uricoechea in 1877. The collected data include a catechism, a vocabulary, and a grammar with information about personal pronouns and the conjugations of "to be" and "to write." The grammar and vocabulary contain some forms and word formations that are alien to the original Paez language.

/216 cont./

114 Further linguistic notes were collected by H. Pittier de
192 Fábrega. These supplemented Castillo's vocabulary and gram-
193 matical data. H. Lehmann published examples of sentences of the Paez from Pitayó collected by French missionaries.

197 /217/ In a comparative study based on the aforementioned
114 publications, H. Beuchat and P. Rivet investigated the linguistic classification of Paez within the language groups of Colombia and classified it in the southwestern group of the six Chibchá language groups. (These Chibcha-speaking tribes correspond neither archeologically nor ethnologically to the true Chibcha (Mwiska) of the savanna of Bogotá!)

124 The linguistic material presented in the following is ex-
126 tremely fragmentary. The data given, however, were for the
197 most part checked several times. The difficulties of linguistic recording lay, aside from the brief time at our disposal, in the lack of grammatical training of the interpreter, who otherwise spoke Spanish very well, but who, during dictation or in translations, often said the same sentence entirely differently when repeating it; possibly because he could translate it better this way. When his attention was called to this, the stereotyped answer was: "One can say it that way, too" or "that is the way we speak." Another thing was that the interpreter was able to summon up the unusual mental concentration for linguistic recording for only two or at most three hours daily, distributed over the forenoon and afternoon.

a) Phonetics

194 As a result of the location of the individual villages in iso-
[197] lated valleys, the pronunciation varies slightly from place to
[124] place. Since we started with the Paez of Calderas in our collection of ethnological data, the following word list was also made with my Calderun interpreter, Victoriano Piñakuĕ.

In the Paez alphabet the complete palatal range, which includes all consonants, is noteworthy. Almost as numerous are the consonant combinations with the English "w." In the

/254 cont./

804 The period of a day is subdivided into the day (ẽn) and the
● 192 night (kos). Early morning is called kosẽ; afternoon at the time when work is at an end, which is reckoned by the position of the sun, is called fí'nze. Other subdivisions of the day are made according to the interval of an ẽnetc, meaning the time it takes to chew a dose of coca. In translation this designation is used for "hour." The largest period of time is the month, ãte, which is designated by the same word as for "moon." For the period of a year the Spanish word año is used. In former times the word
[221] enzte was used. It is the designation for the large annual com-
[226] munal fishing at the weir during the dry season in February. The
[132] two rainy seasons, called nospá'nye, and the two dry seasons of the year, called sek, are not regarded as time intervals, but as seasons. The latter is at the same time the word for "sun."

823 No large geographical orientations or regional, individual
[491] divisions of any kind could be discovered. Moreover, all of Tierradentro is enclosed by civilized areas -- there is even an auto road leading to Belalcázar -- so that many Paez men have seen the surrounding countryside and even cities with their own eyes.
601 Only the western bordering mountains of the Central Cordillera,
[186] in the direction of Popayán, are conjectured to be the habitation
123 area of the dreadful man-eaters, the Pijao. Geographical means
484 of orientation are unknown. Traveling is done only during the day, in groups, and in company with a person who knows the way.
821 Of the stars it is only known that there stars that move and fixed ones, without their being distinguished in greater detail or according to constellations.

202 It is amazing that, in spite of their settlement pattern of
[361] individual farms, the Paez do not have any optical or acoustical
[203] means of communication over larger distances. /255/ In case of urgent news or questions, children are sent.

802 There are numbers only from one to six and ten. For the designations seven to nine the corresponding Spanish numbers are used. The Paez word for "ten" (kóse pémba) literally means "no more hands" and indicates that the fingers were used for counting. The toes are not used for counting; anything beyond ten is

/287 cont./

4. Music

533 In no area of Paez culture is poverty evident to such an ex-
535 tent as in song and dance, the predominant expressions of the character and spirit of all peoples. No peculiar dance is per-
[173] formed among the /288/ Paez, and I heard no song sung. This undoubtedly represents an impoverishment, for it may be seen
533 from the folklore that in former times there was dancing. A similar conclusion must also be drawn about the playing of very
[173] agreeable music. Their knowledge of music, however, makes it
[181] highly probable that song also existed, especially among a people
[581 521 522] that is basically jolly and constantly disposed to jest. In fact, it is very difficult for a girl who is slow in jocular conversation to get a husband. And to my question about the Paez word for "sing
[192] house" listed in Uricoechea, the amiable Victoriano, to his own great surprise, was immediately able to give me a special word in his language, "mẽmyat."

534 It is not possible to say with certainty which of the musical
[171] instruments used by the Paez today is an original one. The absence of any kind of rattle, the outstanding instrument of the American natives, is surprising (*).

> * Pittier de Fábrega (p. 325) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 326/, however, mentions among the musical instruments of the Paez a rattle (tsoóts) in the form of a calabash with a handle, which was filled with small stones. Whether this may not perhaps be an instrument of the Negroes of Belalcázar is still undecided.

534 The cow horn (kǎčn) found in every house is not in the true
202 sense a musical instrument, but one for signaling. It is completely undecorated and, consisting of a horn sawed off at the tip, gives only one tone, which is produced in the same manner as the tone of a bugle or fanfare. This horn is used by the men when they come down from the mountains after a joint felling of the trees needed for housebuilding, in order to notify the village of their return.

/318 cont./

105 assumed Chibcha language in particular. The difficulty of language
114 comparison in the northern Andean area lies in the wholely in-
197 adequate material for comparison. The majority of the tribes investigated have died out long ago, and there is seldom sufficiently complete material available from the few living ones. Even the true Chibcha (Mwiska) on the plateau of Bogotá has not been spoken for two and a half centuries and is known only from the literature. Beuchat and Rivet choose the lexicographic and grammatical method for their language comparison. The total vocabulary of the languages investigated contains about 200 words. These serve as comparative material for 49 languages, namely, for true Chibcha (Mwiska) and 23 other languages and dialects in northern Colombia and Panama, as well as for 25 languages and dialects of southern Colombian languages! Methodologically the procedure was to find a lexicographic agreement between language A and language B, another agreement between language B and language C, a further agreement between language C and language D, etc. In the proof, language A is related to languages B,
105 C, D, etc. Applied to Paez: In the vocabulary given by Beuchat
114 and Rivet there is no Paez word in direct agreement with Chibcha!
192 Nor was there even a choice of words according to their qualita-
197 tive significance. Thus it is especially noteworthy that there is a complete lack of corresponding designations for food, animals, useful plants, metals (gold), parts of the body, kinship designations, etc. /319/ On the basis of the vocabulary, therefore, it is not possible to designate Paez as a Chibcha language. To what extent this applies to the other southern Colombian tribes, for whom there usually exists only a very limited vocabulary, cannot be discussed here. In any case, there is a large number of Kechua /Quechua/ words in all these languages -- as a result of the close proximity to Kechua-speaking peoples. (For Paez, cf. the
105 compilations in Castillo i Orosco and Pittier de Fábrega.) Gram-
197 matical agreements between Chibcha and Paez do exist. At the
[114] same time, however, Beuchat and Rivet expressly point out that,
[193] of the languages compared, Paez shows the greatest grammatical differences with Chibcha (pp. 190/191). In summary it may be

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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FOOD. CULTIVATED AND OTHER USEFUL PLANTS

The principal food of the Paez Indians is maize, or Indian corn, of which they grow several varieties, belonging to three distinct types, namely, a sweet corn (*tšulpi*), a soft corn (*kapio*), and the common flint corn. The words *tšulpi* and *kapio* belong to the Kitšua language, a fact that points to the southern origin of these varieties. Judging from tradition, as well as from the varietal names used elsewhere in the Cauca valley, the flint corn that is grown all over the country may possibly be of northern origin. The Paez language has only one word to designate all varieties of corn, and it is interesting to note that the one now in use (*kutš* or *kukì*) is quite distinct from that employed in Castillo's time (*kokavi*). It is not unlikely that the present name was introduced by some of the tribes subsequently incorporated with the Paez. 262 243 [192] [174] [192]

The *tšulpi*, or sweet corn, is usually eaten roasted or boiled on the cob. Of soft corn, or *kapio*, they make a kind of dough called *χhiontš*, which is the base of several culinary preparations, among them the tortilla (*kuáts*). *Kaš* is a gruel made of black corn; *mutši*, or *motši* (the Kitšua *motc*), is prepared by shelling the kernels without disintegrating them. Last, but not least, large quantities of the grain are used in the preparation of chicha (*beka*). 262 252 [273]

Beans are generally cultivated along with maize. I noticed two varieties — *us kutš*, black beans, and *us bì*, red beans. The *osgual*, cited by Castillo as special to the village of Suin, are the seeds of the *Erythrina edulis* Triana, which I collected under the name of *us ual*; they are large, and when boiled taste almost exactly like the common horse-bean (*Faba vulgaris*). 244 262 [252]

Of scarcely less value as a food-staple are the several varieties of squashes, so generally cultivated and eaten as to have caused Castillo to express the opinion that "most of the Indians would perish should these fail in the province." The larger variety, *ápe-tots* (*Cucurbita maxima?*), is less common, and may have been introduced, although it already existed in Tierra Adentro in Castillo's time; *ápe*, the zapallo or pumpkin (*Cucurbita pepo*), is perhaps indigenous to the region, since the last native name,

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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initial like *ll, ft, kb, kl, kn, kp, ks, kt, mb, pk, pl, pš, pt, št, tsk,* 194
or terminal like *fχ, kχ, pχ, mk, nš, nt.*

A further comparison of Castillo's material with my own 194
shows three chief points of divergence in the transcription of 114
words. One of them, namely, the prefixing of an initial *g* to words beginning with *ne* or *ne*, is general among Spanish authors, there being as much difficulty for a Spaniard to pronounce correctly that broad diphthong as to express any foreign word beginning in *st, sp*, etc., without an initial *e*. Just as a Spaniard will say 'estreet,' 'esprout,' 'estyle,' he is sure to pronounce 'gwatchman,' if not 'gwatchiman,' 'gwarbler,' and so on. This misspelling, then, may be regarded as an idiosyncrasy of our author.

A second difference, often repeated and which must be considered as an error in the reproduction of the original text, is that the words ending in my vocabulary in *ts, fχ, kχ*, etc., end respectively in *ti, fi, ki*, etc., in Castillo's vocabulary, the terminal *s* and *χ* having almost uniformly been mistaken for an *i*. Examples: [192]

efi	for	*efχ*,	eye-tooth.
equi	"	*ekχ*,	fuel.
cafi	"	*kafχ*,	gargante de.
cati	"	*kats*,	hide, skin, peel.
conchi	"	*kuntl*,	black.
miti	"	*mitl* or *mits*,	pot.
tambi	"	*tampχ*,	flank.

Unwritten languages are subject to rapid alteration. This is sufficient to explain the frequent change of *o* to *u*, and the suppression of the initials *a, e*, and *i*, in certain words. Following are a few examples of both cases: [192]

doj	has become		*duχ*,	weight.
rito	"	"	*ftu*,	tree.
guaco	"	"	*nāku*,	tick.
ouza	"	"	*kuuza*,	mouse.
ioc	"	"	*iuk*,	wood, fuel.
aloch	is now		*lutl*,	child.
alaueck	"	"	*lauetl*,	lizard.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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194 *epeuch*	is now	*pent,*	old (applied to female only).
114 *isos*	" "	*sus,*	urine.
[192] *atamp*	" "	*taap,*	fog, cloud.

In Castillo's vocabularies *rs* stands for *ʒ*, *z* for *ts* and *tz*, *ch* for *tſ*. The final *h* is used only to prevent the coming together of the consonants *i* or *s* ending a word and the initial vowel of the following word in compound terms. For instance, we have *mesha*, for *mis-a*, it is not; *ishe* for *its-é*, to join, to marry, etc.

II. — Word-formation

192 114 *Remarks.* — A few preliminary remarks as to the vocabulary given hereafter are necessary. In a general way it includes only words that are not found in Castillo's work. This is true especially of all isolated terms, but exceptions have been made when one of them is or contains a root of a whole family of words, in which case a few terms have been taken from Castillo's 114 192 vocabulary and their orthography adapted to our own.

197 174 Among those words not included in Castillo's, some have simply escaped him, as, for instance, a number of plant names. But many others are to-day replaced by quite distinct expressions, and this is perhaps one of the strongest indications that the present Paez are in reality a mixture of the remnants of several ancient tribes, like the Paez, the Pijaos, the Jamundies, and probably others, which resulted after Castillo's first survey of the language. As, with the exception of the Paez, we have not even fragmentary vocabularies of the tribes thus amalgamated, it is rather difficult to sustain such an hypothesis with linguistic testimony; but traditions still current and well-known examples of similar cases in other countries can be offered in support of it.

As we have in every case given Castillo's equivalent in the vocabulary, it is needless to reproduce here a list of the differences noted.

193 114 [171] *Compound Nouns.* — The Paez language, like most of the languages belonging to the Chibchan group, has suffixes indicative of form, size, matter, people, etc., that characterize whole classes of words. Castillo's vocabulary being far from exhaustive and written in a somewhat capricious way, it is not always

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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easy to determine the words that form such families, and it remains for the future student to systematize and complete them. 193 114
We are able, however, to give a few examples:

Kuć is indicative of smallness, fragility, and is found also in several terms referring to childhood or parental relations. 192 193
Examples:

kuć	child.
a-kuć	monkey.
ala-kuć	child.
anl-kuć	nephew.
anl-tsun-kuć	grandson.
atl-kuć	nephew.
dry-kuć	nephew.
etl-kuć	orphan (phantom's son).
ñu-kuć	uncle, father's brother.
ñe-ñu-kuć	aunt, father's sister.
ñuñu-kuć (onomatope)	a small dove.
uesa-kuć	girl.
ues-kuć	thread.
uitta-kuć	bird.

In the following words, however, the signification of the suffix is not apparent:

ak-kuć	burial.
eij-ka-kuć	ant.
ia-kuć	ceremonial feather-dress.
ka-kuć	body.
imeta-kuć	dorsal spine.
ne-kuć	challenge, contest.
sa-kuć	heart of a tree.

Gui, meaning disease, is found as a suffix in a few known cases:

atta-gui	hectic fever (lit. hot-ache). [164]
buts-gui	smallpox.
iuia-gui	intermittent fever.
su-gui	a medicinal plant.

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Ñin signifies a small, round object, and is found in:

ipi-ñin	ember, red-hot coal (lit. fire-seed).
kigue-ñin	clay bullet, used with the blow-gun.
sogua-ñin	powder.

The verbal desinence *nās*, corresponding to the gerund tense, is largely used to form nouns that indicate condition or state, as in the following examples:

aknuk-nās	coward, from *aknuk*, to be frightened.
atš-kats-nās	tailor (*atš*, a piece of dress; *kats*, to sew).
do-nās	lying-in woman (*do*, to bring forth, to give birth).
fis-nās	the writer (*fis*, to write).
iās-nās	the one named (*iās-a*, to call oneself).
iāse-nās	he who baptizes (*iās-e*, to baptize).
ikas-nās	the chief, he who commands (*ikas-a*, to command).
ipons-nās	he who is powerful (*ipons*, the Pleiades).
χip-nās	the owner (*χip*, to have, to own).
pang-nās	he who is sentenced (*pang*, to sentence, to condemn).
pas-nās	the stranger, he who arrives (*pas*, to arrive).
sikia-nās	he who knows (*sikia*, to know).
tōte-nās	the governor, he who talks loud (*tōt*, to yell, to talk loud).
ukoments-nās	a kind of wasp.

193 It is also found that large groups of compound nouns have the same initial word, generally in the form of a monosyllabic prefix. Among them, two are of peculiar interest, on account of the apparent specialization of the prefixes *ne* and *pe*, the first of which seems to indicate only relationship, while the second is still more restrictive and refers almost exclusively to relations between father, mother, and children. The signification of *ne* is obscure; while *pe*, used as a prefix before a noun, evidently indicates the coming together of two or of several things or persons. Both groups have been incorporated in the vocabulary, as have a large group of verbs with the same prefix *pe*, but which have seemingly no relation to each other.

Formation of Adjectives.—A good number of adjectives also end in *kuí*, but this suffix seems to correspond to a form of the

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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verb 'to be,' following what may be a noun or another adjective, and may be regarded as a predicate adjective or denominative verb: 193

ampa-kuł, lean, sad.
ditł-kuł, pretty (Cast.).
dtitł-kuł, pretty (Pitt.).
dzuns-kuł, frail, slender.
its-kuł, lean.
łała-kuł, small.
nu-kuł, small, low, of a river. [192]
o-kuł, plane, even.
pats-kuł, ugly.
pets-kuł, thin, like paper.
uáts-kuł, lazy.

It should not be inferred from the scarcity of this class of words in the examples given that the Paez language is lacking in them. On the contrary, a few examples show that, like many other primitive idioms, the Paez distinguishes gradations and categories in the qualities he attributes to an object or to different objects or persons. Thus, Castillo gives four different words for 'thick,' all of which, and one more, are still in use to-day. Now it is found that every one of them has a distinct signification or is applied in distinct cases:

fitse, thick, viscous, semi-liquid (of soup, mud, etc.). [192]
ɣot, thick (of a tree).
ñiš, thick, stout (of a person).
iot, thick, bulky.
tat-a, thick or dense (of a forest, a jungle).

In the same way we have four expressions for 'large' three for 'soft,' etc., but without data to exemplify their use.

Reduplication is frequent in adjectives and seems to correspond to a superlative gradation.

The adjectives for 'young' and 'old' differ according to the sex of the person to whom they apply. The first is translated by *taki* when it applies to males, as in *pits-taki*, 'young man,' and by *kue-nas* when applied to females. 'Old' is *inš*, or *teĭ* when referring to males, and *pcnš* (or *e-pcnš*) when used for females. [562] [561]

Formation of Verbs. — Owing to the brevity of my stay among the Paez Indians, I felt from the first a certain reluctance to enter into the intricate study of the verbs, fearing that, should 193 114

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193 114 I begin it, I might be induced to accept *a priori* as true apparent rules which would then draw me into further mistakes. My former experience shows that a reliable comprehension of the infinite variations of the verbs, as bearing on flexion, derivation, etc., is not really acquired until one is fully cognizant of the spirit of the language to which they belong and is able to handle this almost as easily as his own.

In consequence of this, the few notes that follow are based mainly on the verbal terms included in Castillo's vocabulary.

193 192 (*a*) *Primitive Verbs.* — We find first that there are terms, expressive of condition, action, or motion, that can be considered as essentially verbal, and could be called, for simplicity's sake, "primitive verbs." Here are a few of them:

di, to sleep	*ôts*, to burn.
gigw, to run	*pcâ*, to beg, to ask.
ies, to fly	*pas*, to stretch.
kis, to fast	*pot*, to breathe.
ktond, to carry	*ti*, to attend, to serve.
o, to eat	*ts*, to take, to receive.
ô, to die	*tunt*, to soften, to knead.
ôp, to shut, to close	*tet*, to beat, to knock.
os, to give	*tett*, to lick.
ôt, to plant	*vis*, to touch.

ots, to work wood (labrar madera).

It is not unlikely that most of these verbs were originally nouns or adjectives, and that a few of them are still in use as such, although they do not so appear in the vocabulary. The following are given with a nominal, or a qualificative, and a verbal signification, and may be considered as true

(*b*) *Denominative Verbs* — susceptible of all flexions corresponding to person, mode, or time:

ampô-kud, sad, to be sad.
atkatl, warm; *atkad*, to be warm (*ô-atl*, to warm one's self).
ies-ô, standing, to be standing.
ipe-inka, thoughtful, to be thoughtful.
yacud, laying, to be laying.
paio-ki, careless, to be careless.

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thitan, hung, hanging, to be hanging.
ti, hiccough, to gasp, to breathe one's last.
ii, rut, menstruum, to be in heat (applied to a female animal).
hami, to lie, lie.
hit-hi, light, to dawn.
hit, tooth; *hit-ik*, to lie on the abdomen (estar boca abajo).
ke-ia, food, to cook.
netta, be merry, to be merry.

(*c*) *Verbal Prefixes.* — But more generally the transition from the adjective or from the noun is indicated by the prefix *i*, the exact sense of which is not clear. Thus —

ne-io, wife;	*i-io*, to marry (when the man marries).
ne-mi, husband;	*i-mi*, to marry (when the woman marries).
puns-a, arm-pit;	*i-puns*, to carry under the arm.
sus, urine;	*i-sus*, to urinate.
tiu, short;	*i-tiu*, to shorten.

Sometimes the radical word is already a verbal form, as in —

i-pi-ttas-a, to be jealous, to accuse; derived from *ttas-a*, to hit.
i-pot, to smell like; derived from *pot*, to stink.

In other cases of this class the prefix is *pe*, or *ka*, the meaning of which is equally obscure:

ftuts, to fix, to nail;	*pe-ftu*, to put together.
hit, a tooth;	*pe-hit*, to masticate.
ttantl, to suck;	*petlantl*, to suck.
gógu, to run;	*ka-gó*, to roll down.
itse, to join;	*ka-itse*, to join, to put together.
hond, to break;	*ka-hond*, to carry off violently.
pang, to sentence;	*ka-pangó*, to punish.

III. — Parts of Speech

A. — *The Noun*

1. *Gender of Nouns.* — When gender is indicated, it is usually by means of suffixing the word *pits*, male, or *ii* (Cast. *ói*), female. Examples:

atall-pits, rooster;	*atall-ii*, hen.
de-pits, lover;	*de-ii*, sweetheart, concubine.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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193 This rule, however, applies only to persons or animals.
192 Plants and inanimate objects have no gender, so far as known. Moreover, many usual terms, mostly personal, have distinct forms according to sex. We have for instance:

doχ-kuĕ, nephew;	*doχ-uĕs*, niece.
inĕ, grandfather;	*nentĕ*, grandmother.
e-ĕĕ / *ne-ĕ* } father;	*ne-si*, mother.
ne-mĕ, husband;	*ne-ŭĕ*, wife.
ne-tson, brother-in-law;	*ne-soŭ*, sister-in-law.
sat, cacique, chieftain;	*oĕa*, woman principal, cacique's wife.

2. *Number of Nouns.*—The prefix *pe*, already alluded to, may be considered as indicating duality; at least such is distinctly the case in the following instances:

pe-ndii, to be or to go together sister and brother.
pe-niiĕ, son and father, or mother and daughter.
pe-peĕ, to be or to go together brother and sister.
pe-tam, male and female, together.
pe-tsik, son and mother, or son and father, together.

Plurality seems to be indicated in most instances simply by means of the determinative *uei* or *guei*, many, except in the case of nouns designating persons, when the suffix *neĕ*, or *gueĕ*, is used. But the same suffix appears also as a distinctive of collectivity, so that this point is not altogether clear. We have:

pits, man;	*pits-neĕ*, men.
teĕ, adult;	*teĕ-neĕ*, adults.

But also

E-ĕ-neĕ hus attatĕ meng-a? Did you annoy your father? (Lit. Did you make your father's hea t hot?)
father heart hot made

193 3. *Double Gender.*—It is interesting to find in the Paez lan-
601 guage a few cases of what De la Grasserie in a recent work[1] calls "double gender," i. e., nouns that express in a single word the sex of the person who speaks and the sex of the person

[1] Raoul de la Grasserie *De la Catégorie du Genre*, Paris, 1906.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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Perfectum

1st p. *anki-t fis*, I wrote;	*kuł-k-uel ta-u fis*, we wrote;
2d p. *inui-ng fis*	*ik-uel ik-u fis*
3d p. *kinâ-k fis*	*kinâ-g-uel tink fis.*

Futurum

1st p. *anki fis an-et*, I shall write;	*kuł-k-uel fis an-et ka-u*, we shall write;
2d p. *inui fis an-eng.*	*ik-uel fis an-ek*
3d p. *kina fis an-en*	*kinâ-g-uel fis a-tin.*

Castillo gives two more forms for the Præsens:

1st p. *fis ats-it*, I am writing, or painting;	*fis ats-i-ta-u*, we are (etc.);
2d p. *fis ats-ing*	*fis ats-ik-ua*
3d p. *fis ats-ik*	*fis ats-i-ta*

and

1st p. *fis u-op-t*, I am writing, or painting;	*fis op-ta-u*, we are (etc.);
2d p. *fis op-nga*	*fis u-op-kua*
3d p. *fis u-op-a*	*fis u-op-ta.*

The infix *ats* is an affirmative particle; *ôp* is a kind of auxiliary verb, corresponding with 'to be,' or 'to have.' The *k* and *g* of the plural forms (1st and 3d pers.) are simply euphonic intercalations.

The imperative tense is often formed by prefixing or suffixing *mâ*, with a frequent elision of the *â*, as in the following examples:

Tund-e-mâ! Run! (Hurry up!)
Tata mâ-palla! Go (and) call (your) father!
Atta-mâ! Go away!
Kla u-ue (mâ-ue)! Catch the cow!
Io u-pts! Give (me) water!
Mi-io! Come!

E. — *Borrowed Words*

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(1) *From the Spanish.* — As might have been expected, we find in Paez quite a number of Spanish words, most of which are included in the following list:

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kmisa,	for *camisa,*	shirt.
kneia,	" *guinea,*	a variety of banana.
kiso,	" *queso,*	cheese.
kitil,	" *cuchillo,*	knife (machete).
kutti,	" *coche,*	pig.
letti,	" *leche,*	milk.
mama,	" *mamá,*	mother.
mil,	" *miel,*	honey.
pango,	" *banco,*	bench.
sap,	" *sapo,*	toad.
senda,	" *cinta,*	ribbon.
slapon,	" *eslabon,*	fire-steel.
ticle,	" *tigre,*	jaguar.

(2) *From the Kitšua.* — In describing the territory occupied by the Paez and the neighboring tribes which later became consolidated with them, we have seen that it was, and is still, in close proximity to the northern end of the area occupied by the Kitšua (see the map, plate 1). Intercourse between these peoples has been necessarily frequent, and many words have become common to both languages. Castillo's editor, the late Professor Uricoechea, obtained a list of some of these words from Mr G. Pacheco Zegarra, who had perused Castillo's vocabulary. To these I added a few, notwithstanding which the list still remains very incomplete, as the lack of an extensive Kitšua dictionary, including the northern dialects, forbade any further effort on my part to make it longer:

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Paez	*Kitšua*
akots, cinder	*akku,* cinder
atsi, to sneeze (onomatope)	*atsii,* to sneeze
atall-pits, rooster	*atall-pa,* rooster
anaku, part of woman dress	*anaku,* part of woman's dress
as-a, to stink	*as-nana,*
atša, very	*atša* (*antša*), much, very
alko, dog	*allko,* dog
aú, yes	*aú,* yes
kipa-ki, to overtake by following	*kipa,* behind, after
killim, drivel, dirt	*kelli,* drivel, dirt
kandul, vulture (condor)	*kuntur,* vulture
ia-yi, blooming sugar-cane	*ia-yin,* blooming sugar-cane, also a vine

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killka, paper, letter, book	*killka*, paper, letter, book	192
kattoni, to lick	*kattoni*, to bite	177
kikin, again	*kikin*, again	
kakka, father-in-law	*kakka*, father-in-law	
laki, lax, feeble, lazy	*llaki*, feeble faint, sad	
mutlai, to kiss	*mutlai*, kiss	
mil, cat	*misi*, *mitti*, cat	
miski, honey	*miski*, honey	
muti, boiled corn	*muti*, boiled corn	
lla, to complete, to finish	*lla*, so (Span. *yá*! yà se acabó = *lla*)	
lusa, sugar-cane, sweet cane	*luk-lu*, sweet, applied to any fruit	
pilu-skia; to hate, to quarrel	*pila-tsina*, to be angry	
pisko, turkey	*pilku*, bird	
puki, watershed	*pucyu*, watershed	
pein, to ask	*pin?* who is it?	
tlumbe, sash to support the *anaku*	*tlumbi*, sash, girdle	
tlpi-pi, turkey	*tlumpi*, brown	
ukupa-ki, to push	*ukupa-tlii*, to push	
uás, a hut	*huási*, house	
vite-pasak, one hundred	*patlak*, one hundred	

(3) *From other Languages.*— It is likely that the Paez language borrowed many other terms from neighboring tribes, but thus far we lack the necessary material for comparison. As explained above, since Castillo's residence among these Indians their language seems to have undergone considerable change, especially in its vocabulary, a fact readily explained if we admit that the present Paez are composed of the remains of several tribes, greatly reduced in number by their wars with the Spanish conquerors and the hardships they suffered after their submission to the new rule. With the Chibcha, the analogies seem reduced to the rules of construction, the vocabulary being totally distinct. 192 174

F. — *The Numerals* 802

1. *Ias, viteti*	*teti*
2. *Ens*	*ens*
3. *Tek*	*tek*
4. *Pans*	*tans*

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5.	*Tats*	*tats*
6.	*Sanki*	*tesets, teseki̇*
7.	*Ens-sanki*	
8.	*Tek-sanki, puki-pans*	
9.	*Pans-sanki*	
10.	*Kose-pemba*	*ksemba*
20.	*Ens-kose-pemba*	
30.	*Tek-kose-pemba*	
40.	*Pans-kose-pemba*	
100.	*Pasats-tla, vite-pasak*	
1000.	*kose-pemba-pasats-tla*	

As indicated by the above examples, the Paez Indians formerly counted upon their fingers, so that their numeration was necessarily decimal. It is difficult, not to say impossible, to determine the meaning of the word *sanki*, for 'six,' but it seems to have been, as Castillo expresses it, a base for the series between five and ten. Thus *ens-sanki*, means the 'second six'; *tek-sanki*, the 'third six'; *pans-sanki*, the 'fourth six.' We also find that *puki-pans*, a second expression for *eight*, means the 'return of four.'

Kose-pemba, ten, means 'the hands completed,' an expression similar to that found in many other primitive languages. At present this system is found only in a mutilated form, including the numerals one to six, and ten. For other numbers Spanish is used. *Vitetl* has become reduced to *tetl*; and another expression, meaning apparently 'second one' (*tetl-ens?*), has been substituted for *sanki*.

IV. — Vocabulary

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The following vocabulary includes all words collected by the author and not found in Castillo's work, and also expressions of the latter that complete families of words with a common root. *H* means Huila, and *T* Tacueyó, villages in which words were collected. *Cast.* signifies Castillo; *Span.*, Spanish.

a, an (*anl, atl?*)	mine, my; our, ours
a-eu̇ (T), *ia-eu̇* (H)	eye — Cast.: *ia-fi*
á-eu̇ (T), *guá-gua* (H)	*Inga edulis*, a tree
alko (Kithus word)	dog

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ālho + mut-kuł	*Solanum mammosum*, a plant; Span. *tetilla* 192 [601]
ain + do (T)	son-in-law. See *anł-indaχá*
ain + hēll-kua (T)	son — Cast. has *ne-tlik*; in the modern word is found the root of *a-łell*, medieval word for boy, or girl
anio + ūts (T), *pūs* (H)	the Pleiades, a constellation
anł (nasal *a*, *āł*)	may signify my, mine
anł + indaχá (H)	son-in-law [601]
anł + kuł (H), *atł + kuł* (T)	nephew — Cast.: *doχ-kuł*
anł + máma (H), *máma + señor* (T)	maternal grandfather
anł + táta (H), *táta + señor* (T)	paternal grandfather
anł + táta (H), *atł + háka* (T)	father-in-law
anł + tsún-kuł (H), *a-tsún* (T)	grandson
anł + uasáh-ua (H), *atł-uásset* (T)	niece — Cast.: *doχ-ues*
anł + āi (H), *atł-āi* (T)	wife — Cast.: *ne-iō*; see *āi* [601]
ap	fly
ap + uts	mosquito — (*uts* means worm)
ātā	moon, month
ātā-łułł	crescent moon
ātā-łułł-a	new moon
ātā-tansa (T), *ātā-tansia* (H)	waning moon
a-tsún (T), *anł-tsún-kuł* (H)	grandson — Cast.: *ne-tsom* (*tsom* = *tsún*) [601]
atł (onomatope)	to sneeze
atł	ruana, a piece of native dress
atł + kas-nas	tailor (*kats* = to sew)
atł + pètł	a piece of native male dress — Cast.: (*atipetł*)
atł + tul	a piece of woman's dress
atł + kuł (T)	nephew [601]
atł-ua-set (T)	niece
atł-āi (T)	wife; see also *anł*
atā, athu (H)	bed — Cast. has *de-ki-ue*; *dē* = sleep, *ki-ue* = place: a place to sleep
hamb (H)	shoulder — Cast.: *am-hamb*

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ben-dziki (H)	pillow — Cast. : *pe-ki-di-ki*
biún, viò, viún (H)	money — Cast. : *gué-iò*
biún + mbè	gold — Cast. : *gue-iò-mbè*
biún + ttime	silver money (Span. *plata blanca*)
bás	fly — Cast. has *ap* ; *buts* is a small beetle that eats maize and other crops when they show their first leaves.
bufta	trumpet-tree (*Cecropia* sp.)
bátt	*Salvia* sp., a labiate plant — Span. : *parendera*
dè	sleep
dè + χek (T)	to sleep
dè + χ ek-a (H)	to sleep
dè + ki-ue	bed (= place to sleep)
dè + ntt	sleepy, lazy
dè + pits	lover
dè + s-e	to sleep (Cast.)
dè + ái	concubine
dits	egg
dits + kak (H)	penis
di-ua + kátt (T), *i-uá-kats* (H)	mouth — Cast.: *i-uè*
dzit (H)	bone — Cast.: *dit*
dzits (H)	testicle
dóχ, dunk	heavy — Cast : *doχ*, to weigh
dóχ-a	very heavy
dzi, zi	trail, path — Cast.: *di*
dziχ (H), *mazi-umi* (T)	medicine-man — Cast.: *diχi*, hechicero
dzik-io (T), *ái* (H)	woman, female
dzik-tè	head — Cast.: *dik-tè*
dzik-tè nasa dzik-tè (H), *dzit* (T)	skull
dzik-tè + tupχ (H), *iχ-kuát-kátt* (T)	forehead
dzip	face — Cast.: *dip*
dzáns-kue	thin, slender — Cast.: *pis-kue*
dzát-euχ	*Rhus juglandifolia*, a poisonous tree
è, kè	field (Span. *rosa*), blood

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ĕ + posta (T) *ĕ + pos* (H)	jungle, old field (Span. *rastrojo*)
ĕ + ut-tse (H)	artery, vein
ĕfĩ,	eye-tooth
ĕkĩ, *ĕk-ge*, *ĕfĩ*	fuel, timber — Cast.: *ek-i*
ens	two
ens + ĕte uste	few
ens, *ĕs*, *sek*	spring, dry season: according to Cast. *ens* or *ĕs* means also to fish; the dry season was called *ens-te*, i. e. fishing time, because the Indians fished only while the rivers were dry [221]
ĕ-pĩĕ	midday
ĕs	louse
ĕt	coca
ĕ-lo-ĕ (H), *-ĕ-lo-ui* (T)	anthear — Cast.: *e-lo-hi*
ĕshi-uet (H)	hip
ĕts	humming-bird (Span. *tomingo*)
ĕtĩ	phantom, dumb
ĕtĩ + guati (Cast.)	caràngano, large louse
ĕtĩ + kuĕ	orphan (= phantom's son)
ĕtĩ + ĕi (T) *ĕtĩ + ĕi-ia*	widow (phantom's wife)
e-uĕ, *pĕu-ze*	shooting-star (Cast.: *hitti-tin*)
fũ	wood, tree — Cast.: *vito*, *vitĩ*
fũ + kiĕh	wood
fũ + kĕs, *fũ-kets*	bark — Cast.: *cati*
fũ + tĕs	root
fũ + flap (H)	post — Cast.: *nonepĕ*
fũ + tsime	*Tibouchina lepidota* Baill., a small tree with showy flowers
fuĕ (H)	ladder — Cast.: *agué*
gua-kĕs (T), *iuĕ-kĕs* (H)	beard, bearded or white man — Cast.: *gue-gas*, *iu-gué-kas*
guĕ̃, *uĕ*, *lutti-uĕ* (H)	hammock
kak (H)	cough
kĕkai-bil (T), *kĕ-pil* (H)	a myriapod (Span. *centopiés*)

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hã (H)	blood
hin-ze, hũs-utsa	the afternoon — Cast.: *finze*
hiũ, χiũ (H)	trousers
hũn	to grind
hũn-ku-kuẽt, hũl-kuet (H)	grinding-stone — Cast.: *hune kuet*
hunza	mouse — Cast.: *onza*
hũs (H)	heart — Cast.: *agnus*
hũpe (H)	fence, hedge — Cast.: *ha-finé*
hu-ũk (H)	death
iá-a-uts (H)	net
iá-euχ (H), *a-euχ* (T)	eye — Cast.: *ia-fi*
iá-euχ + kãts (H) } *iá-χ + kats* (T) }	eyelash
itf-dzi-ke (H)	tears
iãnɪ,	volcano
[276] *iãɪ*,	*Datura arborea*, a small tree, with large white flowers, having narcotic properties
iek-tãin (T)	brother
[601] *iek-tãin neel-te* (T)	elder brother — Cast.: *ne-teé*; *'teé* = old
iek-tãin nutf (T)	younger brother
iek-tẽ (H)	brother
iek-tẽ intẽ-ha (H)	elder brother
iek-tẽ-nutl-kua (H)	younger brother
i-kats (Cast.)	to dress (when a man dresses)
i-kats-atf,	inner piece of dress, a kind of shirt
i-kuẽt (H)	knee, knee-cap
ins,	to dress (used by females only)
ins-atf,	inner part of female dress
io-its, its-io	bunch
ip, ibɪ	light, candle — Cast.: *ip-i*
ip + e-uãla (T)	fire
ip + iá, á	smoke
ip + ik-pãts	spark
ip + imbe-χetsa (H)	fire
ip + i-ẽin	embers, red-hot coal

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ip + iet	fire-place (Cast.)
ip + hat (H)	hearth, fireplace
ip + kulí	hearthstone (Cast.), flint (T.)
ip + petti	flint (Cast.)
ip + ous	the Pleiades, a constellation
ip + sik (T)	firebrand
ip + tlanfia	coal (Cast.)
ip + tlik (H)	firebrand
ĩi	old — Cast.: *ins*
ĩi-kua	old, old man
ĩi-kats	hair on the body of grown people
ĩts	nose — Cast.: *ints*
ĩts-k-acuχ (T) / *ĩts-kafχ*	nostrils — Cast.: *ints kafi*
ĩtl-kuá	lean — Cast.: *tso-e*
ĩtl-kuá-a	very lean
iú	silver
iú, iò	water
iú + ak-ti (H)	wound
iú-g-ada (T)	river, stream — Cast.: *io-mho*
iú + its	headwaters of a river.
iú + kar (T) / *iú + kefi-kuá* (H)	brook, spring
iú + pukú	border, river bank
iú + li (T) / *iú + li* (H)	otter — Cast.: *io-li*
iú + uál (H)	river, stream
iúk (H)	breech — Cast.: *kuts*
iúk	wood, forest — Cast.: *iok*
iúk + io-uts (T), *tlχ-ia* (H)	vine
iúk-pkho (T) / *iúk-puka-so-iúk* (H)	forest edge
iúk-ua (H), *kkám-ka* (T)	chin
iu-ui-gua	peace
χimba	horse
χimba + kill (H)	hoof
χimba + kát	shield (Cast.)
χimba + kuft	tapir
χimbe-kuá-kuá (H)	thigh

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ǵiu	long — Cast. : *io-ios*
ǵiú-ka	all
ǵút (*hiút, iút*)	herb — Cast. : *iot*
hǵß (T) / *ha ǵǵi* (H)	ditch
hak	baked
hámbo (T), *támbo* (H)	stick, young tree
hamát (T) *hutto* (H)	drum — Cast. : *himb*
hanti	ugly
hás (T) / *háts*	skin, hide, peel — Cast. : *hati*
hinse	gullet
hia-thá	only one (Span. : *uno no más*)
hit	tooth
hit + aka	toothache ; *aka* = ache, pain
hit + enit (T), *tsuit* (H)	molar tooth — Cast. : *tosa*
hits	clay
hi-ua / *hi-uí*	soil, ground, native — Cast. : *hi-gue*
hi-ua + hutti (H) / *hi-ua + hutto* (T)	wild hog (*Dicotyles tajacu*) ; Span. : *tatabro*
hi-uí + nia	cassava-root (*Manihot utilissima*)
hi-uí + ptumb (H), *tuhúk* (T)	very small wild dove (*Columbigallina* sp.)
kla	cow, cattle
kla-hats	cowhide
klaueti (T), *laueti* (H)	lizard — Cast. : *alahueti*
kpiì, era-kpiì	thunder — Cast. : *kapii*
kpiì + kuey-nok	lightning — Cast. : *kuene*
kpiì + ui-ue-tsa	storm
kpiì + ǵy-tlek	it thunders hard
ktíme	eye-brow — Cast. : *atonhas*
kutò-kuí (H)	body — Cast. : *ko-kuí*
kuí-kue-ótk (H)	fever — Cast. : *iaia-gui*
kuít	stone
kuít + kosi (T), *kúl-ió* (H)	pestle (Span. : *mano de piédra*) — Cast. : *kuít-ahke, lol-ítik*

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kuět + mâl	stony beach, stony field (Span.: *pedregal*)
kuět + musĕ	sand
kuět + lkin (T) *kuět + lin* (H)	flint
kuhul (H)	lung
kuiga	food — Cast.: *koi-ia*
kukẓ (H) *kuti-kâl, kuti* (T)	corn — Cast.: *kokavi*
kukẓ + bâ	red corn
kukẓ + kuntî	black corn
kukẓ + ĕeul-i *kukẓ + tvi*	corn-ear
kukẓ + tlime *kukẓ + nô-ua*	white corn
kukẓ + unde-âte, unten-âte	harvesting season
kuntî	black — Cast.: *kontti*
kûpi, luti-kupi (H)	birth
kûs, kûsku	evening, night — Cast.: *kos*
kûs + ia *kûs + ti*	the morning — Cast.: *kos-kai*
kûs + ulsa, hinze	afternoon — Cast.: *finze*
kusâ	hand — Cast.: *kose*
kusâ + bia (H)	finger
kusâ + bia nĕfuel	major finger
kusâ + bia nûti-kuĕ (H)	little finger
kusâ + gûla (H)	thumb
kusâ + mâl (H)	hand
kusâ + pêts (H)	wrist — Cast.: *kose-peti*
kusâ + pil (H)	fore-arm
kusâ + pop (H)	palm of hand
kusâ + uĕtse	tendon
kusâ + ûns (H)	pulse
kus-bĕ (T), *âl* (H)	snake — Cast.: *ol*
ksuns, tsuns, tsuts	thorn — Cast.: *tsons*
lâme	wax-palm (*Ceroxylum andicola*)
lantî	a large rodent (*Cavia* sp.)
letî-kua	small, narrow, low
lĕtî-kuĕ tsa	piece, fragment
lâl	to grind — Cast.: *lol*

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192 *lúl + ia, kuèt-kosi*	grinding pestle (Span. *mano de piedra*)
lúl + kuèt, kunku-kuèt	grinding stone
lúl + tlik	small grinding-stone
luft	child, male or female — Cast.: *alott*
luft (H), *ain luft + kua* (T)	son
luft-kùpi (T), *kùpi* (H)	childbirth
luft-uè, uè (T), *guaχ* (H)	hammock (*luft-uè*=child-bridge)
maikχ	few, several
makènio	Tahiti plantain
[601] *máma* (H), *paint* (T)	mother
mámà + sellor (T), *ant + máma*	maternal grandfather
map !	pull out !
mem	*Carica* sp., a wild pawpaw tree
mènt (H)	tail
mà	excrement — Cast.: *ime*
mà-ain (H)	liver — Cast.: *mè-ki*
mà-tù (H)	bowels — Cast.: *ime-tò*
mà-uè	buzzard — Cast.: *ime-gnuei*
men-guè (H)	dysentery
mitúnχ	beverage
mòtti, muftt	a corn meal — Cast.: *mùti*
muti-hi	tobacco
mum, afid	a tree with long, broad pods (*Inga* sp.)
muzè	sand
nain (H)	stomach
nàsa	Indian. According to Cast. *nàsa* means any being; at present it means people (*gens*), but applies to Indians only
[601] *nàsa + pents* (T)	grandmother — Cast.: *epentt*
nàsa + pitt-te (T)	man, Indian — Cast.: *pitt*
nàsa + pitts (H)	man, Indian
nàsa + ùi (T)	woman, Indian
nàse + umà	medicine-man, sorcerer
nàt + ma-kuie-iua	market

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

ne + enl	grandmother
ne + hi	everyone's mother (Cast.)
ne + i	father
ne + iafi (Cast.)	first-born
ne + iak	sister of a sister
ne + ib	wife, spouse
ne + kuè-uñiò	daughter in law
ne + ml	husband, spouse
ne + ndil	brother of a brother
ne + ñi	mother
ne + sòu	sister in law
ne + tìe	elder brother of any two
ne + tot	more powerful, also Pope (Cast.)
ne + tlik	son
ne + tom	grandson (Cast.)
ne + zon	brother-in-law (Cast.)
nete	end, earthquake
niòns, niòns (H)	needle — Cast.: *nonz*
nil	thick, stout — Cast.: *di, di-up*
painl (T), *máma* (H)	mother — Cast.: *e-pe, ne-ñi, ñi*
pambe + afl	part of female dress
pe	indicative of pairing, collecting, or of coming together, of two or several things or persons of the same kind
pe + fiú	to unite, to bind together
pe + kak	to collect or bring together many things
pe + ña	to increase, to add
pe + ndil	to be or to go together sister and brother
pe + nill	son and father, or son and mother
pe + nùk-ue	aunt, father's sister
pe + pel	to be or to go together brother and sister
pe + tam	male and female together
pe + tsuts	mother-in-law, aunt, father's sister
pe + ntsil	the fence around a grave, made of many sticks tied together
pe + tlik	son and mother, or son and father
pe + vi	younger brother
pend + dtau (H)	burial

192
601

192

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

192	*pénî*	old, when speaking of a female — Cast.: (*e-pentî*)
[601]	*pénî + kuè*	old woman, grandmother
	pîî	sister of a brother
	pîî + nûi-tain (T) *pîî + nu-tz* (H)	elder sister of a brother
	pîî + nûtî (T) *pîî + nutî-kuè* (H)	younger sister of a brother
	pêtz (H)	sweat
	pets-ʒîta	throat
	pian dîân usta	half
	pikaz	beam
[824]	*pindo*	*Gynerium saccharoides*, a tall grass used in making hats
	pinzò	*Alnus* sp., the South American alder
	pipto	bijao (*Heliconia* sp.) a plantain-like plant
	pipto + kniela (T) *pipto + kneia* (H)	dwarf plantain
[177]	*pizho* (H), *ttpi-pi* (T)	turkey (Span.: *himbo*, or *chum-pipe*); both Paez words are derived from the Kitlua
	pittka	a variety of large tick — Cast.: *guakò*
	pitò	sheep — Cast.: *kapita*
[824]	*pkind* (T) *pkind + a* (H)	guava tree (*Psidium guajava*)
	pkind + a-iûn (H) *pkind + bitz* (T)	guava, fruit
	plân (T)	plantain
	plân + debèh	manzana, a variety of banana
	plân + d-itz	ripe plantain
	plân + kâk	baked plantain
	plân + kâtz	plantain peel
	plân + tskâʒ	boiled plantain
[824]	*plũ*	shade — Cast.: *pnazò*
	puêl	*Tropeolum tuberosum*, a plant with edible tubers

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

pát	strong (in flavor)
ʒal	*Phyllanthus* sp., a small euphorbiaceous tree, the leaves of which give a black dye
satsám	iron
sek	sun — Cat.: *itaki, taki*: *sek* also signifies dry season, and heat of the sun
ʒimb (T), *dza* (H)	young, half-grown maize, just before tasseling
ʒimbe	puma — Cast.: *ʒi*
ʒisten	heap
ʒisten + ápta (Cast.)	to be heaped — *ap* = all
ʒlal	a passion flower the fruits of which are edible
sond	*Stylanthes guianensis*, a plant
sú (T) / *sú-uá*	sister-in-law — Cast.: *ne-sin*
sus-tó	belly — Cast.: *to-ti*
ʒám-pu (H)	navel — Cast.: *ʒamb*
ʒtá-pando (H)	broom
ʒtu-háfl (H), *tkáfʒ* (H)	hole
ʒuil (H), *tsení* (T)	*Ullucus tuberosus*, a plant with edible tubers
tá, tá	mountain — Cast.: *atlá*
ta-ála	mountain group, mountain range (*serrania*)
támbuĩ (H), *tíhim* (T)	occiput
tdug	strap
tet	calabash used as a plate or cup
títi, tíiti-iat (H)	wall
tepát	blow-gun—Cast.: *rito-pát*; Span.: *bodoquera*
tépi-tépia	clean, free of obstruction
tsalfʒ (H)	upper-arm

192

[386]
[824]

[411]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

● 192

tsari-t, uats tsa-eu	burnt field (*rosa quemada*)
tsam	sand
tsik (H)	collar, neck — Cast.: *tine*
tsins (H)	back
tsi-tsi-uł, tski-uá	country, native land
tskúχ (T), *kuiχa* (H)	boiled
tsmíχ-me (H), *tsuá-uχ* (T)	butterfly
tsuá-ua	*Miconia æruginosa* Naud., a shrub
[601] *tsufχ* (H)	swelling — Cast.: *ekolö*
tsun	brother-in-law — Cast.: *ne-tsòn*
tsũt	tender, edible corn — Cast.: *lipi* (Span. of Cauca: *choclo*, from the Kitlua)
tsuie	*Weinmannia* sp., a small tree
tlàeu (T), *tlaü* (H)	a large deer (*venado*) — Cast.: *tsari*
tlàeu + lham (T) *tlaü + bétl-kua* (H)	a small deer
tlahú	pineapple
tlánga	*Sida* sp., a woody weed
tlàn-tsa	strong (in vigor)
tse-ua-uá	*Miconia æruginosa* Rand., a bush
tlinda (H)	foot
tlinda + kàka (H)	ankle
tlinda + me-tú (H)	calf of the leg
tlinda + pil (H)	foreleg
tlinda + pop (H)	sole of the foot
tlinda + tani (H)	heel
tlinda + vits (H)	foot-finger, toe
tli (Cast.)	*Gynerium saccharoides*, a tall grass
tlits	roof
tlits-uá (T), *tsitl-walá* (H)	quagmire, swamp
tlkás	hair — Cast.: *dikas*
tlté-tònt	dust
tlué	hat — Cast.: *-tlué*

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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tłuáti	louse, a very large variety called *caráingano* by the Spanish natives — Cast.: *eti-guati* 192
tsui (T), *úkia-pits* (H)	husband — Cast.: *nemi* [601]
tsuti	woman's breast—Cast.: *kiki*
tukuł-tsł	*Relbunium hypocarpium*, a plant the roots of which give a red dye [386] [824]
tulú (H)	plantain — Cast.: *tulö*; see also *plán*
tulú + kak	baked plantain
tulú + kats	plantain peel
tulú + kuiya	boiled plantain
tulú + its	ripe plantain
tíng-ua (H), *ti-ue* (T)	ear — Cast.: *tógnue*
tíng-ua + kafs-iaka (H)	ear-ache
tíng-ua + vits (H)	ear-lobe
tíng-uł-ieki	earring
tíe-kafz (T)	vent hole
tipa	spider
títa (H)	first
uáka	crab
uála	large, high, tall — Cast.: *gula*
uán-dziins (H)	fishhook
uásu-kua (H), *guásu-ko* (T)	daughter, girl [601]
uats-to } *uatł-ta* }	tired
uá-tsa	necklace
uéll	parroquet
uense	agouti (*Dasyprocta* sp.) Span. *cutacusa*
uentł	fish — Cast.: *gneundi*
uentł + patsi	a large, iguana-like lizard
uès (H), *guás* (T)	earthworm — Cast: *gues*
uès + kuł	thread
uł-ue-niż (H)	voice, word
uźya	wind — Cast.: *pneuma!*

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

192 *ái*	maiden, woman, female — Cast.: *ái*
ái + ùume	prostitute
ái + kui	female child
uin-dia (H)	elbow — Cast. : *fitsa*
uklè	*Equisetum* sp., a cryptogamous plant
ulmi-zuk	*Daucus montanus* Willd., a plant
unjetl (T)	temple (of the head)
ùnze-hai (H)	arm-pit — Cast. : *punna haß*
ùs (T), *hùs* (H)	bean, kidney — Cast. : *os*
ùs + bobino	pod, bean-pod
ùs + bè	red bean
ùs + kutl	black bean
us + mitl	scorpion
ùs + uál	*Erythrina edulis* Triana, a leguminous tree, with edible seeds
ùtse (T), *ùytse* (H)	alligator pear — Cast. *ese*
utlitl	diarrhea
ùẓ	sparrow-hawk
viẓ (H)	finger-nail
vilia	sash, woman's belt
vil-viẓ (H)	claw
vitl	door — Cast.: *vite*
vittih, vittih-ue	bird — Cast.: *vittah-ue*

4:Bernal Villa--31 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/200 cont./

XI

Gourd Vessels and Etiquette

415 554 273 There are three types of gourd vessels in which chicha is distributed and whose traditional order of use reflects hierarchy, majority, and high status; some gourd vessels are used for all those present, of both sexes and all ages; others, only for a specific class of people.

[192] The first type is small with an ovoid opening, made of half a gourd. In the Paez dialect it is called shup /201/ /illustration appears here/ shachi. All visitors, without distinction as to sex, age, or status, are presented with two matés of this type: the first one contains "strong water" to quench thirst, while the second contains chicha, the authentic strong chicha.

The second type of container is the shachi pitán (gourd-vessel capitan), of greater capacity than the first, ovoid in shape, and open at one end. The most respected persons of both sexes, adults and elders, are given chicha in these gourd vessels, /202/ after taking it from the shup shachi. They indicate a certain deference on the part of the host, and by the same token he wishes them to get drunk. Those who are favored with these gourds offer them to all present, who take them, taste the contents, and return them to the hands of the owner. The shachi pitán has gone from mouth to mouth, but the contents remain practically untouched; the owner is to drink it.

The laborers and mayordomos who are in his service, the albacero, the síndico /trustee/, and the highly respected elders, after having received chicha in the shup shachi and in the shachi pitán, receive a larger gourd vessel in which there is a tiny one (shachi léchukue), which is called suilté. The presentation of this has an etiquette of its own. The host comes out with the suilté in his hands, fills the shachi léchukue with

/208 cont./

231 After skinning it, they quarter it following a definite
796 sequence: the lower part of the hind legs (chinda), the lower
192 part of the front legs (kuse), the upper part of the hind legs (himbé), the upper part of the front legs (pala), the tail (mens), the flesh of the neck (chikichichi), the fat (sepo), upper intestine (chunchullo), lower intestine (meto), stomach (tuchi), /209/ trachea (pechita), lungs (mechto), heart (ús), liver
[827] (mechi), the gall (muahi), pancreas (shape)... They are familiar with most of the organs and their names, but not with their specific physiology.

262 Some of the pieces of meat go directly into the pan of
796 "mute," which is boiling and which the workers will eat for
252 lunch; others, to the barbecue where they will get the smoke from the kitchen.

Inside the house, in the fluhne wala, the women grind shelled maize on two metates to make maize griddlecakes. With maize flour and water they make a dough which various women shape with their hands into circular form. In a separate kitchen, two women and two men are busy roasting them. First they let them harden on a piece of broken earthenware and then complete the cooking in the embers of the hearth. An elderly man gathers those that are cooked into a bag. Another one occupies himself with singing religious songs and praying. The maize griddlecakes are used to take care of the albacero on the following day.

796 This work is performed enthusiastically by the women.
[462] --The days of the fiesta are for talking, says one woman.
[829] --One can live through life only by getting drunk, says
[273] another.

/293 cont./

221 on the fincas of the "whites" (1). The social life and the re-
[166]
[464]
[192]
[197]
[128]

1. Generic term with which the natives designate all those who observe the norms of western culture, without any distinction as to race. For convenience we have adopted this usage, putting the term in quotation marks.

ligious fiestas are frequent during this period. The work is done /294/ with devotion and perseverance. It is not done in haste, but there is no resting either.

423 Every Páez family has its lands. This is its ambition. The
[183] primary source of its security. Every crag has an owner whose title has been won by the sweat of his brow. Every crag harbors a rancho that shelters a family. Every inch of land is passionately
[571] defended by the native. The disputes stirred up by this fact are not few. In like manner the cabildos are never so zealous as in the defense of the lands of the parcialidad /a territorial division/.
[648] The areas of settlement /areas of colonization by whites/ are spearheads in the very heart of the community. They were established against the full opposition of the natives. On the other hand, the defense of the land and the prevention of contamination by foreign peoples are postulates of the doctrine. The distribution of the houses suggests in advance the profusion of paths and private property.

When they win the scarce land, the distances and difficul-
[464] ties that loom are not important. They are good colonizers, and it is rare that persons who lack land hire themselves out as permanent peons or become tenant farmers on the great haciendas.
[181] They prefer independence above all.

311 To study the economy of the Páez, certain factors of a
133 geographico-physical and cultural nature cannot be overlooked. They are:

1. Thermic levels. The lands now occupied by the Páez of Tierradentro correspond to the thermic levels of cold and temperate. The contour line corresponding to 2,000 meters

/299 cont./

245 year. Traders in Silvia sell the crops at up to 14 pesos an arroba.
[439] Lame produces perhaps the best peaches, but they are not suitable for export because they are easily damaged. There are also numerous plantings in Tumbichukue and Calderas, although they do not have much care.

247 Floriculture does not exist among the Páez, and they cannot understand the labor that the "whites" invest in their gardens. They are always of the opinion that food plants should be sown on such lands.

241 Among the cultivated plants, they regard as native maize ("the /300/ Pijao had maize"), the hartón /large-sized/ plantain ("the Pijao also had it"), frijoles, mejicano /squash, Cucurbita pepo/, cabbages, and the cane "criolla" /Creole, native/, while coca, they say, seems rather to have come from the "whites."

241 Species cultivated and zones of cultivation

137 Here is a list of the food plants cultivated by the Páez (5):

●192

[128]

5. We thank the Herbario Nacional Colombiano, especially Dr. Jesús M. Idrobo, for the scientific identification of the plants.

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Common Name	Latin Name	Páez Name
Maize	Zea mais L.	kuki
Plantain	Musa paradisiaca L.	tulí
Banana	Musa sapientum L.	kineño (6)
Manioc	Manihot utilissima L.	ñu
Sweet potato	Ipomea batatas Poit. Andigenum	ut
Potato	Solanum tuberosum	báka
Arracacha	Arracacia xanthorrhiza Bancr.	as (7)
Sugar cane	Saccharum officinarum L.	ñusha
Cabbage	Brassica oleracea var. acephala	kulles (8)
Onion	Allium cepa L.	apulla (9)
Frijol	Phaseolus vulgaris L.	us
Ullucos	Ullucos tuberosus ex Lozano	akubil
Wheat	Triticum aestivum L.	acuchi
Barley	Hordeum vulgare L.	sebara (10)
Garlic	Allium sativum L.	akos
Nasturtium	Tropaeolum tuberosum R. et P.	puel
Squash	Cucurbita maxima Duchesne	Ape
Squash	Cucurbita pepo L.	Pesé
Broad bean	Vicia Faba L.	apas (11)
Peas	Pisum sativum L.	alpés
Peppers	Capsicum sp.	ánua
Coriander	Coriandrum sativum L.	klandós (12)
Avocado	Persea americana Mill.	útse
Orange	Citrus sinensis (L) Osbeck	llimas
Apple	Pyrus malus L.	manzanas
Peach	Frunus persica L. /Prunus/	lashno

6. From the Spanish: guineo.

7. Underlined vowels indicate nasalization:

[104] sh = French ch (chaise); ch = Spanish ch (chicha); j = French j (jardín); h = Spanish j (rojo).

8. From the Spanish: coles.

9. From the Spanish: cebolla.

10. From the Spanish: cebada.

11. From the Spanish: habas.

12. From the Spanish: cilantro.

	Common Name	Latin Name	Páez Name
241	Pineapple	**Ananas comosus (L) Camargo**	***chahú***
137	Granadilla	**Passiflora Ligularis Jurs.**	***shlal***
	Coffee	**Coffea Arabiga L.**	***café***
192	Ground cherry	**Physalis sp.**	***chimbú***
	Chachafruto	**Erythrina edukis Triana ex Micheli**	***úsual***
	Pepino	**Solanum muricatum Ait.**	***pina***
	Yam	**Dioscorea sp.**	***shuá***
	Other cultivated plants:		
	Coca	**Erythroxylon coca Lam.**	***esh***
	Bamboo	**Guadua angustifolia Kuth**	***mum***
	Bottle gourd	**Lagenaria vulgaris Serg.**	***tuka***
	Calabash tree	**Crescentia cujete L.**	***shiptuka***
	Cabuya	**Foucrea cabuya Trel.**	***bats***
	Dill	**Anethum graveolens L.**	***llinojo***
	Mint	**Mentha viridis L.**	***tachá***
	Rue	**Ruta graveolens.**	***luda***

222 In reality, as far as a certain type of frijole that the natives
241 call "kacha" is concerned, as well as the ground cherry, the chachafruto, fruits in general, and all the plants listed under "Other cultivated plants," with the exception of coca, the word "cultivated" is unsuitable, since they are practically in a semiwild state. The natives make use of their fruits, consumption thus being occasional and not always necessary.

133 Although it would appear that the territory of the Páez, at the
241 time of the Conquest, extended up to very close to the Magdalena
361 River, the principal nucleus of the population was located in the
[131] temperate zone and in the cold zone. The thermal levels determine
[161] the zones of cultivation. One of them goes from 1,000 to 2,000 meters and includes the entire valley of the Páez from Huila to La Plata, and the middle and lower courses of its tributaries Símbola, the river Negro de Narváez, Moras, Kukiyú, and Ullucos. Within it are located the capitals of the district, Inzá and Belalcázar, and the following native aldeas: Itaibe, Chitóquez (Ricaurte), Cuetando, Yaquivá, San Andrés de Pisimbalá, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Avirama, Chinas, Suin, Tálaga, Toez y Huila (Byla), as well as Valencia, Topa, Pedregal, and Turminá. They cultivate principally plantains, manioc, maize, sugar cane, frijoles, arracacha, coca, and coffee,

/180 cont./

583 In Paris on the first of March, 1877, Esequiel Uricoechea
[175] wrote in his introduction to the Vocabulario: "Marriage in the sense in which we accept it today did not exist among the Páeces: two people lived a married life for some time and the marriage was not legalized without the previous certainty that
[192] the woman was fecund. It is natural then, that we find among the Páeces, as among the Peruvians, two verbs (imi and iyó) which indicate respectively the woman accepts the man and the man takes the woman. The woman was obliged to give clothing to the husband, and he "to provide sustenance for the family" (12).

12. Castillo y Orozdo, E. del. Vocabulario Páez-Castellano /Paez-Spanish Vocabulary/, 1877, p. XIV.

Our informants from Calderas confirm the effectiveness of this custom, some justifying it by the need of the future husband /181/ to obtain the money to pay the expenses of the wedding, others in order to "catear" /sample, find out/ if the woman is honest, a worker, and faithful, and there was no lack of those who clearly stated that this trial marriage "is customary because if the woman should turn out to be machorra /barren/ there is no marriage." When such occurs the man returns the woman to her parents without any problem standing in the way, which would not be the case if they were married by the Church, in which case the return is not possible.

162 Our investigations concerning the frequency of the "amaño"
583 in the established families of some parcialidades of Tierradentro
595 showed the following results:

184 Calderas: 42 families (28% of the approximate total of Calderun families). 57.1% of these families practiced the amaño: 42.9% were married first by the Church.

San Andrés: 13 families (6.5% of the approximate total of San Andrés families). 92.3% were married first by the Church; 7.7% practiced the amaño.

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IV. Spiritual Culture

1. Language

121 According to A. v. Humboldt, languages are differentiated by the elements of content and form, and, accordingly, languages are divided into three groups, which in the following period were erroneously interpreted as stages of the development of language. According to this, the oldest stage was represented by the isolating languages, which express form elements by means of independent words with the meaning still recognizable as far as content is concerned. Their words, as in Chinese, are monosyllabic, isolating. The second group is made up of the agglutinative languages, in which the element of form is added to the element of content, the stem, through clearly recognizable affixes. The Ural-Altaic and the Bantu languages in particular are put here. The inflected languages occupy the third stage. In them the form element is expressed by inner changes of the stem or by affixes closely intergrown with the stems, as, for example, in the Indo-Germanic and Hamito-Semitic languages.

Even though this classification of languages was subsequently abandoned as the schema of a sequence of development, it is nevertheless quite applicable as an initial, practical orientation. For the more precise classification of a language, the working out of the phonetics and syntax is required.

197 193 Paez is an agglutinative language. The grammatical forms are built up by a succession of syllables. The pronunciation is difficult for a European. It is similar to Kechua /Quechua/, from which a number of loanwords have been adopted.

175 797 192 193 114 The oldest linguistic reports about the Paez come from P. Eujenio del Castillo i Orosco, who collected his linguistic material around 1735, as a missionary in Tálaga. It was supplemented and published by E. Uricoechea in 1877. The collected data include a catechism, a vocabulary, and a grammar with information about personal pronouns and the conjugations of "to be" and "to write." The grammar and vocabulary contain some forms and word formations that are alien to the original Paez language.

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114 Further linguistic notes were collected by H. Pittier de
192 Fábrega. These supplemented Castillo's vocabulary and gram-
193 matical data. H. Lehmann published examples of sentences of the Paez from Pitayó collected by French missionaries.

197 /217/ In a comparative study based on the aforementioned
114 publications, H. Beuchat and P. Rivet investigated the linguistic classification of Paez within the language groups of Colombia and classified it in the southwestern group of the six Chibcha language groups. (These Chibcha-speaking tribes correspond neither archeologically nor ethnologically to the true Chibcha (Mwiska) of the savanna of Bogotá!)

124 The linguistic material presented in the following is ex-
126 tremely fragmentary. The data given, however, were for the
197 most part checked several times. The difficulties of linguistic recording lay, aside from the brief time at our disposal, in the lack of grammatical training of the interpreter, who otherwise spoke Spanish very well, but who, during dictation or in translations, often said the same sentence entirely differently when repeating it; possibly because he could translate it better this way. When his attention was called to this, the stereotyped answer was: "One can say it that way, too" or "that is the way we speak." Another thing was that the interpreter was able to summon up the unusual mental concentration for linguistic recording for only two or at most three hours daily, distributed over the forenoon and afternoon.

a) Phonetics

194 As a result of the location of the individual villages in iso-
[197] lated valleys, the pronunciation varies slightly from place to
[124] place. Since we started with the Paez of Calderas in our collection of ethnological data, the following word list was also made with my Calderun interpreter, Victoriano Piñakuẽ.

In the Paez alphabet the complete palatal range, which includes all consonants, is noteworthy. Almost as numerous are the consonant combinations with the English "w." In the

/220 cont./

194 alike at first, but in reality differ -- aside from context -- in minimal nasal differences in pronunciation. Thus, for example, atc means "I," "today," "ruana," and "digging stick."

Stress is indicated by an accent (ˈ) or by a circumflex. Words without a mark for stress are stressed on the penultimate syllable. An accent (ˈ) between a vowel and the following consonant has sound value and indicates a "glottal stop" (glottal catch).

b) Grammar

● 193 The substantive: There is no article. Gender is not distinguished in words for things and plants. In the case of human beings and animals such a distinction occurs only in exceptional cases, for the terminology for human beings with respect to sex and age or circumstances is so rich in special words that special designations for the sex in general are not required (cf. the kinship nomenclature in the section "Family Organization"). The distinction is not only so exact with respect to human beings, but even maize, for example, is designated by entirely different words, depending on whether it is ripe or still green (kotc or tsot). If a more precise distinction is nevertheless required, the suffixes -pits (man) for the male sex and -ói (woman for the female sex are used, for example, éčpits, "widower," éčoi, "widow." In general, however, these are artificial distinctions which are used primarily for loanwords. In this case one proceeds from the general or typical. Thus, átaly is the "chicken," and it is the rooster that is singled out and distinguished from the chicken by the suffix -pits (átályepítste). "Horse" is regarded as general and is designated as hímba; the special distinctions are himbapítste, "stallion," and himbaóite, "mare." Moreover, the word lečkwe (child) is added as a suffix to designate small living creatures or small things, for example, luč, "child," lučléčkwe "small child"; hímba, "horse," himbaléčkwe, "foal"; átaly, "chicken," atályeléčkwe, "little chicken"; yat, "house," yatléčkwe, "small

/220 cont./

193 house"; witõñ, "tree," wítoñléčkwe, "small tree."

193 601 In the case of kinship nouns, there is a prefix pe- for designating female relatives, for example, pétsots, "father's sister," pěnyok, "mother's sister," "stepmother," "mother's brother's wife." Within the family a dual is designated with the prefix pe-, for example, pětãm, "father /221/ and mother together," pěndyík, "father and son together" or "mother and son together," pěndyĩs, "father and daughter together" or "mother and daughter together."

193 The suffix -nas often designates a state or an activity and is used chiefly to form new words: fisnãs, "writer," ãtycatynãs, "tailor," yãsnãs, "baptizer" (name-giver), pãsnãs, "stranger, new arrival," ká'nas, "burgomaster," ndõsoknãs, "midwife," gnãs, "virgin." "To become intoxicated" is toñ, the "drunken man" tónas, "one who is becoming intoxicated" tónye. The forms tátyinas, "creator," and tótenas, "gobernador," are used only in sentences. As an individual word one says tákiyi or tótens, respectively. Possibly the ending -nas is one used only in a specific context, like the suffixes -pas and -sa, which are not infrequently encountered. In the case of adjectives, some in the positive and others in the comparative end in -nas: čačanas (strong), wac nyíčkwenas (more beautiful), wac éwnas (better).

There is no general plural. For a more precise designation either a number or an indefinite pronoun is added, for example, teč, "one," or in the plural, é'nzí, "both" (from é'nz, "two"), ko, "several," tak, "many." For the plural in connection with persons the suffix -weš is used in part, for example, pítstewes, "people," Mogweš, tribe of Guambiano, či'meweš, "whites" (či'me=white).

There is no declension. The sentence order is generally: subject, object, predicate. The nominative is to be distinguished only by its position at the beginning of the sentence. The accusative comes after the nominative and generally before the verb.

Atya na himbása vítepitsna óson, "I this horse this man give," ãtya táwas tyaóinat ípak, "I the belt (taw) from this woman (of)

193 /221 cont./
received," kwéša éšpas kyéhi óratepa óñwetáw, "we coca at any hour eat," čõosoñ pítstečãta mahẽ, yátde oíčãta mahẽ, "in the field men only work, in the house women only work," pálkite táwala kíma õsya, "in the park many sand fleas there are," but: ãtya evít kyákulása, "I lost this cow" (kula = cow), ãtya pákan teč pésnye, "I receive a present."

The genitive is expressed by its position before the subject. Pítste šwáa, "the hat of the man" (šwa = hat), ói táwa, "the belt of the woman" (taw = belt), pítste álko, "the dog of the man," tótenas nyó, "the wife of the gobernador."

Negation is generally expressed by met, for example, hip met, "I do not have"; ñéndya, "to like," ñéndyi met, "not to like"; ãtya uwẽt, "I am hungry," ãtya ũwemẽt, "I am not hungry"; ãtya teč nyákča hipt, "I a brother have" (brother = yacté), ãtya teč nyákča /222/ hip met, "I have a brother not"; ãtya teč péšča nyópa, "I a sister not have" (sister = peš; "nyópa" was likewise translated for me as "not have").

Adjective: In the Paez the adjectives follow and do not change with respect to sex and number: yat ĩš, "the old house" pits ĩš, "the old man." The meaning of the adjective is in some cases differentiated more than in German, for example, "strong": pítste čãčat, "the strong man," hímba čãčat, "the strong horse," but: mbéka põs, "the strong chicha." For "stout," the following adjectives are used: pítste nyíš, "the stout man"; víton hõt "the stout tree." Likewise there are different words for young or old, depending on whether it is a matter of men or women.

Comparisons are expressed by wac, "more": hímba éw, "the good horse," hímba wac éwnas, "the better horse"; ói nyíčkwe, "the beautiful woman," ói wac nyíčkwenas, "the more beautiful woman"; ganš, "ugly," wac ganš, "uglier"; wéča, "little," wac wẽ, "less."

/222 cont./

802 Numerals: The cardinal numbers and the ordinal numbers are the same. The decimal counting system is built up on counting with the fingers. The numbers six to nine are compounds with "sáki" (six), whereby seven is formed as "six and two," eight as "six and three." There is no counting beyond ten. For "very many" one says "teč kwat" in Paez, literally "one stone." Today it has the meaning of "hundred."

1	teč	7	é'nzsáki
2	é'nz	8	tēksaki
3	tek	9	pánssaki
4	pans	10	kosēmba (literally kōse pēmba "end of hands")
5	tats		
6	sáki or tēčsaki		

● 193 Pronouns: The personal pronouns are absolutely necessary for conjugation. They are put at the beginning. In the first person singular a distinction is made without exception between masculine and feminine; in the second person singular, only in special cases. These cases are the address of spouses to each other, of siblings among themselves, and address to persons of respect. Otherwise there is no distinction according to sex either in the second person singular or in other forms of the singular and plural.

I (masc.): atc; in connection with the verb, ātya; in the conjugations the suffix -pa, "too /auch, "too, also, likewise"/," is often added to the personal pronouns, ātypa, "I, too."

I (fem): ōk.

/223/

193 576 you (masc. and fem.): inc. Young people address older ones neither with "inc" nor with their names. In the case of men, they must first inquire about the name of the man's son (or if he has none, his daughter) and then

/223 cont./

193 576

address him as "father of ..." If the person concerned has no children, one addresses him, like contemporaries, by his first name, "since a man who has no children is no man."

Older women are respectfully addressed "ĩkf."

193 601

you (father or mother to son):	kwe
you (father or mother to daughter):	ĩča
you (wife to husband):	ĩngya
you (husband to wife):	ĩkwe
you (brother to brother or sister to sister):	yakté
you (brother to sister):	pe'š
you (sister to brother):	ndyĩš
you (fem.):	ĩkf, respectful address for older women
he, she, it:	kya
we (masc. and fem.):	kweš
they (masc. and fem.):	kyáṅweš

193 [576]

you /plural/: not known; in the corresponding translation the word cúkai (all) was sometimes used. In the grammar of Castillo i Orosco, the Paez word "icuexs" (ikweš) is given for "vosotros." The interpreter translated this for me as "Ustedes." It is not used to conjugate verbs.

[114]

The possessive pronouns correspond -- except in the third person singular -- to the personal pronouns. They are placed first.

/223 cont./

193 The masculine forms are:

my	horse	ãtc	himba
your	horse	inc	himba
his	horse	kyec	himba
our	horse	kweš	himba
their	horse	kyánweš	himba

The feminine forms are:

my	belt	ōk	táwa
your	belt	inc	táwa
her	belt	kyec	táwa
our	belt	kweš	táwa
their	belt	kyánweš	táwa

The demonstrative pronouns are: "na" (this) and wíte (literally, "the other") in combination with /224/ "na," before or after, in the sense of "that." Na ãtc, "this ruana," wítena ãtc,, "that ruana"; na hímba, "this horse," wíte hímbana "that horse." Sometimes the third person singular of the personal pronoun (kya) is used as a demonstrative pronoun.

As an interrogative pronoun "ma" has the meaning of "which" and "how many." Ma hímba, "which horse," ma hímbanang inc uwáy, "which horse did you buy"; ma pits, "which man," ma pítsnang inc ói, "which man did you see"; ma ãtc "which ruana," ma ãtynak kya om, "which ruana did she weave"; ma ói, "which woman," ma óiweš twétsyo, "which women are walking there," mãnstyin, "how many," mans vyó hípong, "how much money have you."

Indefinite pronouns are:

all: cúcai; cúcai pits, "all men,"
cúcai ói, "all women";

each: tečteč (cf. 1 = teč);

both: é'nzi (cf. 2 = é'nz); é'nzi pits, "both men,"
é'nzi ói, "both women";

enough: ãhna; ãhna vyó, "enough money";

anyone: mãpa

/224 cont./

193 no one: tĕčanyópa; tĕčanyópa máhiméta, "no one is working";

several, various: ko; ãtya ko hímba hípt, "I several horses have";

many: tak; tak nása, "many people";

little: wé; very little: táwala wẽha.

193 114 Verbs: The infinitive forms of the verbs end in -ya. The only data thus far published about the conjugation system are to be found in Castillo i Orosco, who conjugates the verb "to write" [177] in all paradigms according to Latin grammar. The word formation of the model verb and the conjugation are artificial and set [797] up for teaching at the mission schools. People do not speak that way in Calderas.

193 124 177 The conjugations of a few verbs given in the following do not represent all the conjugation possibilities, since -- as was mentioned -- the interpreter lacked a knowledge of Spanish grammar. Hence the schema of the paradigms is largely theoretical. Everyday speech is different, and especially in storytelling the interpreter used forms which he reproduced in Spanish with participial constructions. Nevertheless the forms reproduced here are /225/ "correct" in the sense that one "can" speak this way and be understood while using the forms.

193 [124] Besides the four tenses reproduced here (present, future, and two forms of the perfect), there are probably also forms corresponding to the conjunctive, which, however, the interpreter neither understood nor was able to reproduce in Spanish. The forms of the future are not always used. Very often the present is used with the addition of "tomorrow" or "later," for example, ãtya gwágwan kúskay, "I speak tomorrow," instead of ãtya gwágwahípt, "I shall speak." The forms of the two past tenses are apparently used arbitrarily. To my questions on this point I always merely received the answer: "one can say it this way and also that way." Here, too, the addition of óñna, "yesterday" (in context: óñnaha), or esé, "some time ago," is customary.

[126] The abstract, consecutive listing of the forms of a conjugation is hardly possible for the Paez. I always had to make

/225 cont./

193 inquiries with reference to examples that were easily comprehensible.
126 If these lay outside of the context just discussed, I was often requested to provide the appropriate form myself, which I always succeeded in doing with the help of my examples, to the joyful surprise of the Paez. Their confirmation in each case, that "one can say it that way, too," permits me to set down the following
193 paradigms. Phonetic discrepancies are purposely retained, for
128 example, in the second person singular the endings -eg and -eng, in the third person plural the endings -yin or -yen. In the present, the first and third persons singular are generally the same. The personal pronouns for all forms are placed before the verb. In the model verbs the feminine form of the first person singular and the various forms of the second person singular were omitted in favor of the simple masculine forms.

193 ōpya, "to live"

Present:	ātya ōpon	Future:	ātya apohípt
	inç ōponeng		inç opohípeneng
	kya ōpon		kya opohípa
	kweš ōpontkaw		kweš opohíptaw
	kyáñweš ōpotyin		kyáñweš opohíptyin

Perfect:	ātya ōpokot	or:	ópnast	(óñnaha)
	inç ōpcing	or:	opnásing	(óñnaha)
	kya ōpok	or:	ópnasa	(óñnaha)
	kweš ōpotaw	or:	ópnastaw	(óñnaha)
	kyáñweš ōpotç	or:	ópnastyin	(óñnaha)

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●/93 In like manner óhoya, "to go," is therefore conjugated:

Present:	ātya óhon	Future:	ātya ohohípt	
	inç óhoneg		inç ohohípeneṅg	
	kya óhon		kya ohohípa	
	kweš óhontkaw		kweš ohohíptaw	
	kyáṅweš óhoyen		kyáṅweš ohohíptyin	
Perfect:	ātya óhokot	or:	óhonast	(esé)
	inç óhoing	or:	ohonásiṅg	(esé)
	kyá óhok	or:	ohonása	(esé)
	kweš óhotaw	or:	ohonástaw	(esé)
	kyáṅweš óhotç	or:	ohonástyin	(esé)

In like manner úsya, "to give," is conjugated: present: átya úson, inç úsoneṅg, etc.

gwábya, "to speak"; here the "b" becomes "g" in the conjugation:

Present: ātya gwágwan
inç gwágwaneṅg, etc.
(on another occasion, however, I was given átya gwábal for "I speak").

Perfect:	ātya gwágwakot	(óṅnaha)
	inç gwáving	(óṅnaha)
	kya gwáok	(óṅnaha)
	kweš gwáotaw	(óṅnaha)
	kyáṅweš gwáotç	(óṅnaha)

Future: ātya gwágwahípt
inç gwágwahípeneṅg
etc.

/226 cont./

●193 In the future and perfect, básya, "to answer," is conjugated slightly differently:

Present:		Future:	
	ãtya báson		ãtya basohípt
	inç básoneg		inç básmaṅg
	kya báson		kya básmak
	kweš básontkaw		kweš básĕntaw
	kyáṅweš básotyin		kyáṅweš básmatç

Perfect:		
	ãtya bást	(esé)
	inç básiṅg	(esé)
	kya básk	(esé)
	kweš bástaw	(esé)
	kyáṅweš bástç	(esé)

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Similarly píyeya, "to learn":

Present:		Future:	
	ãtya píya'n		ãtya piyahípt
	inç piyáneṅg		inç píymaṅg
	kya piyán		kya píymak
	kweš piyántkaw		kweš píyĕmtaw
	kyáṅweš piyátyin		kyáṅweš píymatç

Perfect:		
	ãtya píyt	(ónnaha)
	inç píyiṅg	(ónnaha)
	kya píyik	(ónnaha)
	kweš píyĕtaw	(ónnaha)
	kyáṅweš píyitç	(ónnaha)

"To be" as an auxiliary verb is not known, but only õsya as a verb in the sense of "to be found."

Present:		Future:
I am in Calderas	ãtya Caldelaste õst	ãtya õsohípt
you are in Calderas	íncpa Caldelaste õsiṅg	inç õsohípenen
he is in Calderas	kyápa Caldelaste õsĕn	kya õsohípa
we are in Calderas	kwéšpa Caldelaste õstaw	kweš õsohíptaw
they are in Calderas	kyáṅwešpa Caldelaste õstyin	kyáṅweš õsohíptyin

/227 cont./

193 Perfect:

ātya ōsot		or:	ōsnast
inç ōsoing		or:	ōsnasiṅg
kya ōsok		or:	ōsnasa
kweš ōsotaw		or:	ōsnastaw
kyáṅweš ōsotç		or:	ōsnastyin

Formed without auxiliary verbs:

I am	strong:	ātya čáčat	I am	tired:	ātya wátyt
you are	strong:	inç čáčaing	you are	tired:	inç wátyenen
he is	strong:	kya čáča	he is	tired:	kya wátyin
we are	strong:	kweš čáčataw	we are	tired:	kweš wátytau
they are	strong:	kyáṅweš čáčatyin	they are	tired:	kyáṅweš wátytyin

"To have," hípoya, which is conjugated normally, serves as an auxiliary verb:

Present:	I have	fleas	ātya pá'pa hīpt
	you have	fleas	inçpa pá'pa hípěneṅg
	he has	fleas	kyápa pá'pa hípěnen
	we have	fleas	kwéšpa pá'pa híptaw
	they have	fleas	kyáṅwešpa pa'pa híptyin

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Future:	ātya hípohīpt	Perfect:	ātya hípokot
	inç hípohípeneṅg		inç híponiṅg
	kya hípohípa		kya híponek
	kweš hípohíptaw		kweš hípoktaw
	kyáṅweš hípohítyin		kyáṅweš hípokotç

In like manner, one conjugates:

I have water: ātya yó hipt

inç yó hípěneṅg, etc.

/Section c), "German-Paez Vocabulary," has been omitted in the translation; see pp. 228-251 of the foreign text./

/318 cont./

105 assumed Chibcha language in particular. The difficulty of language
114 comparison in the northern Andean area lies in the wholely in-
197 adequate material for comparison. The majority of the tribes investigated have died out long ago, and there is seldom sufficiently complete material available from the few living ones. Even the true Chibcha (Mwiska) on the plateau of Bogotá has not been spoken for two and a half centuries and is known only from the literature. Beuchat and Rivet choose the lexicographic and grammatical method for their language comparison. The total vocabulary of the languages investigated contains about 200 words. These serve as comparative material for 49 languages, namely, for true Chibcha (Mwiska) and 23 other languages and dialects in northern Colombia and Panama, as well as for 25 languages and dialects of southern Colombian languages! Methodologically the procedure was to find a lexicographic agreement between language A and language B, another agreement between language B and language C, a further agreement between language C and language D, etc. In the proof, language A is related to languages B,
105 C, D, etc. Applied to Paez: In the vocabulary given by Beuchat
114 and Rivet there is no Paez word in direct agreement with Chibcha!
192 Nor was there even a choice of words according to their qualita-
197 tive significance. Thus it is especially noteworthy that there is a complete lack of corresponding designations for food, animals, useful plants, metals (gold), parts of the body, kinship designations, etc. /319/ On the basis of the vocabulary, therefore, it is not possible to designate Paez as a Chibcha language. To what extent this applies to the other southern Colombian tribes, for whom there usually exists only a very limited vocabulary, cannot be discussed here. In any case, there is a large number of Kechua /Quechua/ words in all these languages -- as a result of the close proximity to Kechua-speaking peoples. (For Paez, cf. the
105 compilations in Castillo i Orosco and Pittier de Fábrega.) Gram-
197 matical agreements between Chibcha and Paez do exist. At the
[114] same time, however, Beuchat and Rivet expressly point out that,
[193] of the languages compared, Paez shows the greatest grammatical differences with Chibcha (pp. 190/191). In summary it may be

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deserted savannas. It must be said, in extenuation, that they have been subjected to much abuse by their neighbors of the "superior race." Moreover, the Paeces are naturally hostile to strangers, descending, as we have seen, from a warlike people. The old Paeces always went about armed, carrying a lance or javelin in the hand and ready to protect their bodies from the darts of an enemy by means of a shield of basket-work (*opinuß*), or of tapir hide (*yimba-kát*). The warlike tendencies of the tribe were stimulated by means of periodical contests in which the most valiant warriors fought each other in the presence of the multitude.

To-day, as we have seen, the descendants of these have abundant opportunity to satisfy their fighting propensity by taking sides in the frequent quarrels of the political parties that thus far have kept Colombia in an almost continual turmoil.

Sexual intercourse between Paez women and men of other races is said not to exist; barbarous chastisement would be the fate of the offending female. It is to be expected, however, that the closer contact brought about by the gradual penetration of the Tierra Andentro by whites and negroes will soon overcome the purity of the Paez blood and open the way to amalgamation with the neo-Colombian race.

Reclus, cited above (page 311), gives us to understand that the Paez were cannibals, and the tradition current in the villages along the western foot of the cordillera confirms his intimation with reference to the Pijaos; for the coming of "el Pijao" is still a menace to children. The early chroniclers tell us of several anthropophagous tribes which lived in this region, and it is not unlikely that the Paeces had a share in that custom.

GRAMMATICAL NOTES

Castillo's *Nociones gramaticales* is limited to a list of the personal pronouns and the conjugation of the verbs 'to be' and 'to write.' A few more grammatical indications are incorporated in the vocabularies, but on the whole these data are very meager, and much remains to be done in this direction.

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194	*epruch*	is now	*pens*,	old (applied to female only).
114	*isus*	" "	*sus*,	urine.
[192]	*atamp*	" "	*taap*,	fog, cloud.

In Castillo's vocabularies *rs* stands for *s*, *z* for *ts* and *tz*, *ch* for *tt*. The final *h* is used only to prevent the coming together of the consonants *i* or *s* ending a word and the initial vowel of the following word in compound terms. For instance, we have *mesha*, for *mis-a*, it is not; *ishe* for *its-i*, to join, to marry, etc.

II. — Word-formation

192 *Remarks.* — A few preliminary remarks as to the vocabulary
114 given hereafter are necessary. In a general way it includes only words that are not found in Castillo's work. This is true especially of all isolated terms, but exceptions have been made when one of them is or contains a root of a whole family of words, in which case a few terms have been taken from Castillo's
114 vocabulary and their orthography adapted to our own.
192 Among those words not included in Castillo's, some have
197 simply escaped him, as, for instance, a number of plant names.
174 But many others are to-day replaced by quite distinct expressions, and this is perhaps one of the strongest indications that the present Paez are in reality a mixture of the remnants of several ancient tribes, like the Paez, the Pijaos, the Jamundies, and probably others, which resulted after Castillo's first survey of the language. As, with the exception of the Paez, we have not even fragmentary vocabularies of the tribes thus amalgamated, it is rather difficult to sustain such an hypothesis with linguistic testimony; but traditions still current and well-known examples of similar cases in other countries can be offered in support of it.

As we have in every case given Castillo's equivalent in the vocabulary, it is needless to reproduce here a list of the differences noted.

193 *Compound Nouns.* — The Paez language, like most of the
114 languages belonging to the Chibchan group, has suffixes indica-
[171] tive of form, size, matter, people, etc., that characterize whole classes of words. Castillo's vocabulary being far from exhaustive and written in a somewhat capricious way, it is not always

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easy to determine the words that form such families, and it remains for the future student to systematize and complete them. We are able, however, to give a few examples: 193 114

Kuė is indicative of smallness, fragility, and is found also in several terms referring to childhood or parental relations. Examples: 192 193

kuė	child.
a-kuė	monkey.
ala-kuė	child.
anl-kuė	nephew.
anl-tsun-kuė	grandson.
atl-kuė	nephew.
doŋ-kuė	nephew.
etl-kuė	orphan (phantom's son).
ñu-kuė	uncle, father's brother.
pe-ñu-kuė	aunt, father's sister.
tuku-kuė (onomatope)	a small dove.
ueza-kuė	girl.
uez-kuė	thread.
uitla-kuė	bird.

In the following words, however, the signification of the suffix is not apparent:

ak-kuė	burial.
ciŋ-ka-kuė	ant.
ia-kuė	ceremonial feather-dress.
ka-kuė	body.
imeta-kuė	dorsal spine.
ne-kuė	challenge, contest.
sa-kuė	heart of a tree.

Guė, meaning disease, is found as a suffix in a few known cases:

atla-guė	hectic fever (lit. hot-ache). [164]
buts-guė	smallpox.
iaia-guė	intermittent fever.
su-guė	a medicinal plant.

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Nin signifies a small, round object, and is found in:

ipi-nin	ember, red-hot coal (lit. fire-seed).
kigue-nin	clay bullet, used with the blow-gun.
segua-nin	powder.

The verbal desinence *nàs*, corresponding to the gerund tense, is largely used to form nouns that indicate condition or state, as in the following examples:

aknuk-nàs	coward, from *aknuk*, to be frightened.
atì-kats-nàs	tailor (*atì*, a piece of dress; *kats*, to sew).
do-nàs	lying-in woman (*do*, to bring forth, to give birth).
fìs-nàs	the writer (*fìs*, to write).
idìs-nàs	the one named (*idìs-a*, to call oneself).
idìse-nàs	he who baptizes (*idìs-e*, to baptize).
ikas-nàs	the chief, he who commands (*ikas-a*, to command).
ipons-nàs	he who is powerful (*ipons*, the Pleiades).
χìp-nàs	the owner (*χìp*, to have, to own).
pang-nàs	he who is sentenced (*pang*, to sentence, to condemn).
pas-nàs	the stranger, he who arrives (*pas*, to arrive).
sikia-nàs	he who knows (*sikia*, to know).
tòte-nàs	the governor, he who talks loud (*tòt*, to yell, to talk loud).
ukoments-nàs	a kind of wasp.

193 It is also found that large groups of compound nouns have the same initial word, generally in the form of a monosyllabic prefix. Among them, two are of peculiar interest, on account of the apparent specialization of the prefixes *nc* and *pc*, the first of which seems to indicate only relationship, while the second is still more restrictive and refers almost exclusively to relations between father, mother, and children. The signification of *nc* is obscure; while *pc*, used as a prefix before a noun, evidently indicates the coming together of two or of several things or persons. Both groups have been incorporated in the vocabulary, as have a large group of verbs with the same prefix *pc*, but which have seemingly no relation to each other.

Formation of Adjectives. — A good number of adjectives also end in *kuí*, but this suffix seems to correspond to a form of the

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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verb 'to be,' following what may be a noun or another adjective, and may be regarded as a predicate adjective or denominative verb: 193

ampa-kuł, lean, sad.
dilł-kuł, pretty (Cast.).
dłiłł-kuł, pretty (Pitt.).
dzuns-kuł, frail, slender.
its-kuł, lean.
łála-kuł, small.
nu-kuł, small, low, of a river. [192]
o-kuł, plane, even.
pats-kuł, ugly.
pets-kuł, thin, like paper.
uáts-kuł, lazy.

It should not be inferred from the scarcity of this class of words in the examples given that the Paez language is lacking in them. On the contrary, a few examples show that, like many other primitive idioms, the Paez distinguishes gradations and categories in the qualities he attributes to an object or to different objects or persons. Thus, Castillo gives four different words for 'thick,' all of which, and one more, are still in use to-day. Now it is found that every one of them has a distinct signification or is applied in distinct cases:

fitse, thick, viscous, semi-liquid (of soup, mud, etc.). [192]
χot, thick (of a tree).
łłł, thick, stout (of a person).
iot, thick, bulky.
tat-a, thick or dense (of a forest, a jungle).

In the same way we have four expressions for 'large' three for 'soft,' etc., but without data to exemplify their use.

Reduplication is frequent in adjectives and seems to correspond to a superlative gradation.

The adjectives for 'young' and 'old' differ according to the sex of the person to whom they apply. The first is translated by *taki* when it applies to males, as in *pits-taki*, 'young man,' and by *kue-nas* when applied to females. 'Old' is *inŭ*, or *tei* [561] when referring to males, and *pcnŭ* (or *e-pcnŭ*) when used for females. [562]

Formation of Verbs. — Owing to the brevity of my stay among the Paez Indians, I felt from the first a certain reluctance to enter into the intricate study of the verbs, fearing that, should 193 114

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193 114 I begin it, I might be induced to accept *a priori* as true apparent rules which would then draw me into further mistakes. My former experience shows that a reliable comprehension of the infinite variations of the verbs, as bearing on flexion, derivation, etc., is not really acquired until one is fully cognizant of the spirit of the language to which they belong and is able to handle this almost as easily as his own.

In consequence of this, the few notes that follow are based mainly on the verbal terms included in Castillo's vocabulary.

193 192 (*a*) *Primitive Verbs.* — We find first that there are terms, expressive of condition, action, or motion, that can be considered as essentially verbal, and could be called, for simplicity's sake, "primitive verbs." Here are a few of them:

dî, to sleep	*ôts*, to burn.
gôgu, to run	*peh*, to beg, to ask.
ios, to fly	*pas*, to stretch.
kis, to fast	*pot*, to breathe.
ktond, to carry	*si*, to attend, to serve.
o, to eat	*so*, to take, to receive.
ô, to die	*tunt*, to soften, to knead.
ôp, to shut, to close	*tet*, to beat, to knock.
os, to give	*tetl*, to lick.
ôs, to plant	*vis*, to touch.
ots, to work wood (labrar madera).	

It is not unlikely that most of these verbs were originally nouns or adjectives, and that a few of them are still in use as such, although they do not so appear in the vocabulary. The following are given with a nominal, or a qualificative, and a verbal signification, and may be considered as true

(*b*) *Denominative Verbs* — susceptible of all flexions corresponding to person, mode, or time:

ampô-kuô, sad, to be sad.
aftatî, warm; *aftaô*, to be warm (*ô-aft*, to warm one's self).
ios-ô, standing, to be standing.
ipe-inka, thoughtful, to be thoughtful.
χuend, laying, to be laying.
paia-hi, careless, to be careless.

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A2

tlitan, hung, hanging, to be hanging.
ti, hiccough, to gasp, to breathe one's last.
is, rut, menstruum, to be in heat (applied to a female animal).
kami, to lie, lie.
kik-ki, light, to dawn.
kit, tooth; *kit-ik*, to lie on the abdomen (estar boca abajo).
ko-ia, food, to cook.
uetla, be merry, to be merry.

(*c*) *Verbal Prefixes.* — But more generally the transition from the adjective or from the noun is indicated by the prefix *i*, the exact sense of which is not clear. Thus —

ne-io, wife;	*i-io*, to marry (when the man marries).
ne-mi, husband;	*i-mi*, to marry (when the woman marries).
puns-a, arm-pit;	*i-puns*, to carry under the arm.
sus, urine;	*i-sus*, to urinate.
tlu, short;	*i-tlu*, to shorten.

Sometimes the radical word is already a verbal form, as in —

i-pi-ñas-á, to be jealous, to accuse; derived from *ñas-á*, to hit.
i-pot, to smell like; derived from *pot*, to stink.

In other cases of this class the prefix is *pe*, or *ka*, the meaning of which is equally obscure:

fiuts, to fix, to nail;	*pe-fiu*, to put together.
kit, a tooth;	*pe-kit*, to masticate.
tlantl, to suck;	*petlantl*, to suck.
gógu, to run;	*ka-gó*, to roll down.
itse, to join;	*ka-itse*, to join, to put together.
kond, to break;	*ka-kond*, to carry off violently.
pang, to sentence;	*ka-pangó*, to punish.

III. — Parts of Speech

A. — *The Noun*

1. *Gender of Nouns.* — When gender is indicated, it is usually by means of suffixing the word *pits*, male, or *ii* (Cast. *ói*), female. Examples:

atall-pits, rooster;	*atall-ii*, hen.
de-pits, lover;	*de-ii*, sweetheart, concubine.

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193 This rule, however, applies only to persons or animals.
192 Plants and inanimate objects have no gender, so far as known. Moreover, many usual terms, mostly personal, have distinct forms according to sex. We have for instance:

doχ-kuč, nephew;	*doχ-nès*, niece.
inî, grandfather;	*nentî*, grandmother.
e-it / *ne-i* } father;	*ne-si*, mother.
ne-mi, husband;	*ne-ñi*, wife.
ne-tson, brother-in-law;	*ne-soñ*, sister-in-law.
sat, cacique, chieftain;	*eta*, woman principal, cacique's wife.

2. *Number of Nouns.*—The prefix *pe*, already alluded to, may be considered as indicating duality; at least such is distinctly the case in the following instances:

pe-ndii, to be or to go together sister and brother.
pe-niiî, son and father, or mother and daughter.
pe-peî, to be or to go together brother and sister.
pe-tam, male and female, together.
pe-tsik, son and mother, or son and father, together.

Plurality seems to be indicated in most instances simply by means of the determinative *uei* or *gueî*, many, except in the case of nouns designating persons, when the suffix *ueî*, or *gueî*, is used. But the same suffix appears also as a distinctive of collectivity, so that this point is not altogether clear. We have:

pits, man;	*pits-ueî*, men.
teč, adult;	*teč-ueî*, adults.

But also

E-it-ueî	*hus*	*atîatî*	*meng-a?*	Did you annoy your father? (Lit. Did you make your father's hea t hot?)
father	heart	hot	made	

193 3. *Double Gender.*—It is interesting to find in the Paez lan-
601 guage a few cases of what De la Grasserie in a recent work[1] calls "double gender," i. e., nouns that express in a single word the sex of the person who speaks and the sex of the person

[1] Raoul de la Grasserie *De la Catégorie du Genre*, Paris, 1906.

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spoken of. These nouns all have reference to parental relations:

dii, brother of a sister.
epei, sister of a brother.
iak-ti, elder sister of a sister.
ne-iak, younger sister of a sister.
ne-udii, brother of a brother.
ne-tei, elder brother of a brother.
pe-ti, younger brother of a brother.

B.— *The Adjective*

As in all languages of the Chibchan group, the Paez adjectives are invariable in gender and in number. The lists at hand are poor and incomplete, but the little we have seems to show a great choice of expressions to indicate degrees or shades in the use of qualificatives.

The superlative gradation seems to be indicated only by the adverb *atha*, 'very,' placed before or after the adjective. There is apparently no way to express a comparison.

C.— *Pronouns*

Our data on this subject are also very meager, and so incomplete that we are at a loss how to give any definite explanation.

In his *Nociones gramaticales* Castillo gives a table of the personal pronouns, from which we infer that there are two forms, according to gender, for both the subjective first and second person of the singular number. From the texts given by the same author, we also deduce that all the personal pronouns are used as possessive, and those of the third person as demonstrative.

In the conjugation of verbs the subject appears to be expressed chiefly by means of a suffix.

Following is Castillo's table:

I	Masc. *anki*, *anti* Fem. *oku*	we	*kuc-k-uei*, *kuc-k-u*, *ku-k-uei*
thou (you)	Masc. *inui* Fem. *itta*	you	*in-k-uei*, *i-k-uei*
he, that	Masc. *kina*, *kiana* ?	they, those	*kina-k-uei*

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193 The middle *k* of the plural forms is inserted apparently for the sake of euphony.

D.—*The Verb*

[121 114] As explained above, I did not endeavor to collect material for the study of verbs, by reason of the limited time at my disposal. Castillo's data are also very defective, but the paradigms presented by him as examples of conjugations are sufficient to afford an insight into the mechanism of conjugation. We reproduce the principal tenses with the object of showing that the verbal modifications referring to person, mode, and time, consist of a combination of the verbal root with the copulative or substantive verb and a suffix or ending that expresses the person. Our spelling differs somewhat from that used by [114] Friederich Müller,[1] who had no practical experience with the language:

(1) To be:

	Singular	Plural
	Præsens	
1st p.	*anki-t*, I am;	*ku-k-uel ta-u*, we are;
2d p.	*inui-ng*	*ik-uel ik-u*
3d p.	*kinà-a*	*kinà-(g-)uel i-a.*
	Perfectum	
1st p.	*anki-kil*, I was;	*ku-k-uel ta-u ib*, we were;
2d p.	*inui-ng-ib*	*ik-uel nek-u ib*
3d p.	*kinà-k-ib*	*kina-g-uel ta ib.*
	Futurum	
1st p.	*anki-net*, I shall be;	*ku-k-uel net-ka-u*, we shall be;
2d p.	*inui-neng*	*ik-uel nek-u*
3d p.	*kinà-nen*	*kina-k-uel pat-in.*

(2) To write, or to paint, *fis*:

	Præsens	
1st p.	*anki fis-ats-t*, I write;	*kuè-k-u-fis-ats-ta-u*, we write;
2d p.	*inui fis-ats-eng*	*ik-uel fis-ats-ku-a*
3d p.	*kina fis-ats-k*	*kina-g-uel fis-ats-ib.*

[1] *Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft*, Bd. II, 358, Wien, 1882.

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Perfectum

1st p.	*anki-t fis*, I wrote;	*kuł-k-uel ta-u fis*, we wrote;
2d p.	*imui-ug fis*	*ik-uel ik-u fis*
3d p.	*kinâ-k fis*	*kinâ-g-uel tink fis.*

Futurum

1st p.	*anki fis an-et*, I shall write;	*kuł-k-uel fis an-et ka-u*, we shall write;
2d p.	*imui fis an-eng.*	*ik-uel fis an-ek*
3d p.	*kina fis an-en*	*kinâ-g-uel fis a-tin.*

Castillo gives two more forms for the Præsens:

1st p.	*fis ats-it*, I am writing, or painting;	*fis ats-i-ta-u*, we are (etc.);
2d p.	*fis ats-ing*	*fis ats-ik-ua*
3d p.	*fis ats-ik*	*fis ats-i-ta*

and

1st p.	*fis n-op-t*, I am writing, or painting;	*fis op-ta-u*, we are (etc.);
2d p.	*fis op-nga*	*fis n-op-kua*
3d p.	*fis n-op-a*	*fis n-op-ta.*

The infix *ats* is an affirmative particle; *ôp* is a kind of auxiliary verb, corresponding with 'to be,' or 'to have.' The *k* and *g* of the plural forms (1st and 3d pers.) are simply euphonic intercalations.

The imperative tense is often formed by prefixing or suffixing *mä*, with a frequent elision of the *ä*, as in the following examples:

Tund-e-mä! Run! (Hurry up!)
Tata mä-palla! Go (and) call (your) father!
Atta-mä! Go away!
Kla m-ue (*mä-ue*)! Catch the cow!
Io m-pts! Give (me) water!
Mi-io! Come!

E. — *Borrowed Words*

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(1) *From the Spanish.* — As might have been expected, we find in Paez quite a number of Spanish words, most of which are included in the following list:

601 19 — *Sum* . . . . . kno-d-co; co-d-kno; co-d-ho-d-kno-d-p; co-d-ho-d-kno-d-p; co-d-ho-d-kno-d-m; co-d-ho-d-kno-d-m.

20 — *Sub* . . . . . kno-d-co; co-d-kno-d-co; co-d-kno; co-d-ho-d-kno-d-p; co-d-ho-d-kno-d-p; co-d-ho-d-kno-d-m; co-d-ho-d-kno-d-m.

B--Feminine Ego (see Fig. 2)

1 — *Nemi* . . . . . co.

2 — *Iaksi* . . . . . kno; ho-d-kno-d-p; ho-d-kno-d-p; ho-d-kno-d-m; ho-d-kno-d-m; co-d-kno-d-co.

3 — *Jiuk* . . . . . kno; ho-d-kno-d-p; ho-d-kno-d-p; ho-d-kno-d-m; ho-d-kno-d-m.

4 — *Sub* . . . . . kno-d-co; co-d-kno-d-co; co-d-kno; co-d-ho-d-kno-d-p; co-d-ho-d-kno-d-p; co-d-ho-d-kno-d-m; co-d-ho-d-kno-d-m.

5 — *Chinás* . . . . kno-d-co; co-d-kno; co-d-ho-d-kno-d-p; co-d-ho-d-kno-d-p; co-d-ho-d-kno-d-m; co-d-ho-d-kno-d-m.

The remaining kinship terms are common for masculine and feminine EGO.

Additional Observations

193 601 A father, in referring to his children of both sexes, places the possessive my (anji) in front of the kinship term, thus:

Anji kué (my son); anji jikuesh (my sons).
Anji wásak (my daughter); anji wasakuesh (my daughters).
Anji nson (my grandson); anji nsonmuesch (my grandsons).

A mother, in referring to her children of both sexes, places the possessive my (uk) in front of the kinship term, thus:

Uk kué (my son); uk kuémuesh (my sons).
Uk wásak (my daughter); uk wásakuesh (my daughters).
Uk nson (my grandson); uk nsonmuesch (my grandsons).

/175 cont./

193 601 In like manner, the children, in referring to their parents, place in front the possessive anji or uk, according to whether the speakers are male or female, respectively.

Anjí téwesh (my parents, male speaker).
Uk tewesh (my parents, female speaker).
Anji ishiwesh (my grandparents).
Uk ishiwesh (my grandparents).

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557 576 609 Non-relatives designate the grandparents: nesh wála.

When a speaker is younger than the person referred to, and that person is a father, the correct way to speak of him is "the father of so-and-so," for example: if our informant Victoriano Piñakué (18 years old) wants to refer to Cerveleón Guagás (55 years old), he does not simply mention him by name, because this is a "grosería" /rudeness/, but he says "the father of Alfonso" (who is his eldest son), Pons nei, or Marcelo nei if he refers to the father of Marcelo. If the first-born is dead, he would say unás nei, father of the deceased. If the speaker is older than the person referred to, he may simply call him by name, but only when there is familiarity between the two; otherwise he must use the form previously mentioned. Thus, for example, Vicente Puche, who is older then Julián Piñakué (father of our informant), and since he is familiar with him, simply calls him Kilián; if he were not, he would say Vit nei (father of Victoriano). The identical form is followed for a woman older than the speaker, for example: Pons nihi (mother of Alfonso); Vit nihi (mother of Victoriano); Unás nihi (mother of the deceased).

If our informant Piñakué wishes to express this thought, "Cerveleón, I want something," he must say, "Father of Alfonso, I want something" (Pons nei tech yugüe guau wet). He may call him simply Cerveleón, but far away from him and when he is among people who are not relatives, but, he adds, this is not respectful. If Cerveleón heard this said, he would be annoyed.

/216 cont./

114 Further linguistic notes were collected by H. Pittier de
192 Fábrega. These supplemented Castillo's vocabulary and gram-
193 matical data. H. Lehmann published examples of sentences of the Paez from Pitayó collected by French missionaries.

197 /217/ In a comparative study based on the aforementioned
114 publications, H. Beuchat and P. Rivet investigated the linguistic classification of Paez within the language groups of Colombia and classified it in the southwestern group of the six Chibcha language groups. (These Chibcha-speaking tribes correspond neither archeologically nor ethnologically to the true Chibcha (Mwiska) of the savanna of Bogotá!)

124 The linguistic material presented in the following is ex-
126 tremely fragmentary. The data given, however, were for the
197 most part checked several times. The difficulties of linguistic recording lay, aside from the brief time at our disposal, in the lack of grammatical training of the interpreter, who otherwise spoke Spanish very well, but who, during dictation or in translations, often said the same sentence entirely differently when repeating it; possibly because he could translate it better this way. When his attention was called to this, the stereotyped answer was: "One can say it that way, too" or "that is the way we speak." Another thing was that the interpreter was able to summon up the unusual mental concentration for linguistic recording for only two or at most three hours daily, distributed over the forenoon and afternoon.

a) Phonetics

194 As a result of the location of the individual villages in iso-
[197] lated valleys, the pronunciation varies slightly from place to
[124] place. Since we started with the Paez of Calderas in our collection of ethnological data, the following word list was also made with my Calderun interpreter, Victoriano Piñakué.

In the Paez alphabet the complete palatal range, which includes all consonants, is noteworthy. Almost as numerous are the consonant combinations with the English "w." In the

/217 cont./ In the
194 transcription of Paez words we departed from the Spanish spelling
104 and used the following alphabet:

'	"glottal stop," as in the German ab'ändern
~	nasal vowel
a	short a, as in the German Ball
ā	long a, as in the German schmal
ai	not a diphthong, a+i as in the Paez áime (star), without "glottal stop"
b	always voiced, as in the German Baum
bw	b with the English w
by	palatalized b
č	Spanish or English ch, German tsch
čy	palatalized č
ç	dental ch sound, as in the German ich
d	always voiced, as in the German dumm, English "and"
dy	palatalized d
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e	closed e, as in the German Schnee, but short
ē	closed e, as in the German Schnee
e	open e, as in the German wenn, hätte
ē	open, long e, as in the German Schäfer
ĕ (ə)	centralized e, as in German gern
ei	not a diphthong, e+i as in the Paez néi (father), without "glottal stop"
f	dentilabial, as in the German fein
g	always voiced, as in the German gut, English "pig"
gw	g with the English w
gy	palatalized g
h	strong h, between h and the ch in German ach
hw	h with the English w
hy	palatalized h
i	short i, as in the German wie, but short
ī	long i, as in the German nie
k	not aspirated, as in the German
kw	k with the English w
ky	palatalized k
l	as in the German laufen; used in place of r in loanwords from the Spanish
ly	palatalized l
m	as in the German mein

/218 cont./

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mw	m with the English w
my	palatalized m
n	as in the German nur
nw	n and the English w
ny	like the Spanish ñ, French gn
ṅ	velar n, like ng in the German singen
ṅw	ṅ and the English w
ṅy	palatalized ṅ
o	short, closed o, not identified more precisely
o̱	open o, not identified more precisely
ō	long, closed o, as in the German Not
oi	not a diphthong, o+i as in the Paez ôi (woman), without "glottal stop"
p	without aspiration, as in the German "Paul"
pw	p with the English w
py	palatalized p
r	only rarely in Spanish words where l is not spoken in place of it
s	always voiceless, as in the German lassen
sy	palatalized s
ʃ	sch as in the German schon
ʃw	s with the English w
ʃy	palatalized ʃ
t	without aspiration, as in the German Ton
ts	like the z in the German zwei
tw	t with the English w
ty	palatalized t
u	as in the German gut; often difficult to distinguish from o
v	dentilabial v, as in the German warm
vy	palatalized v
w	semivowel, like the English w
y	semivowel, as in the English "York"
z	voiced s, as in the German Rose
zy	palatalized z

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The consonants and semivowels in Paez are the following:

● 194

	Plosive fort	Plosive lene	Fricative fort	Fricative lene	Affricate fort	Affricate lene	Liquid	Nasal	Semi-vowel
Aspirate	'			h					
Velars " (palatal)	k ky	g gy						ṅ	
Palatals	ty	dy	hy ç		č čy		ly	ṅg ny-ñ	y
Alveolars " (palatal)	t	d	s sy	z zy	ts		l	n	
Alveolars with hushing sound " (palatal)			š šy						
Labiodentals " (palatal)			f	v vy					
Bilabials " (palatal)	p py	p by						m my	w

The vowels are the following:

a, ā, ai, e, ē, e, ē, ě (=ə), ei, i, ī, (o), o, ō, oi, u.

The pronunciation of "o" and "o" was not observed accurately enough; similarly, the pronunciation of "o" and "u" varied among different persons and was difficult to distinguish. "Ai," "ei," and "oi" are not diphthongs, but are pronounced separately, but without any "glottal stop." The pronunciation of "ty" and "ky" is not always unequivocal, for example, tyita, "weaving sword." In front of some words beginning with "b" one can hear an "m," for example, in bāts (mbāts), "agave fiber." Also, in the case of Spanish loanwords beginning with "b," an "m" is popularly put in front of them. Thus, mbē! instead of véa! was always said by the Spanish-speaking Paez. The original Paez alphabet contains no "r"; in Spanish loanwords "l" is used instead, for example, trapiče = lapiče, horno = olno, nuestro Señor Jesucristo = neustlo Senyol Hesuklisto. Difficulties /220/ are caused by a number of words which to the stranger seem to sound exactly

/220 cont./

194 alike at first, but in reality differ -- aside from context -- in minimal nasal differences in pronunciation. Thus, for example, atc means "I," "today," "ruana," and "digging stick."

Stress is indicated by an accent (ˈ) or by a circumflex. Words without a mark for stress are stressed on the penultimate syllable. An accent (ˈ) between a vowel and the following consonant has sound value and indicates a "glottal stop" (glottal catch).

b) Grammar

193 The substantive: There is no article. Gender is not distinguished in words for things and plants. In the case of human beings and animals such a distinction occurs only in exceptional cases, for the terminology for human beings with respect to sex and age or circumstances is so rich in special words that special designations for the sex in general are not required (cf. the kinship nomenclature in the section "Family Organization"). The distinction is not only so exact with respect to human beings, but even maize, for example, is designated by entirely different words, depending on whether it is ripe or still green (kotc or tsot). If a more precise distinction is nevertheless required, the suffixes -pits (man) for the male sex and -ói (woman for the female sex are used, for example, éčpits, "widower," éčoi, "widow." In general, however, these are artificial distinctions which are used primarily for loanwords. In this case one proceeds from the general or typical. Thus, átaly is the "chicken," and it is the rooster that is singled out and distinguished from the chicken by the suffix -pits (átályepítste). "Horse" is regarded as general and is designated as hímba; the special distinctions are himbapítste, "stallion," and himbaóite, "mare." Moreover, the word lečkwe (child) is added as a suffix to designate small living creatures or small things, for example, luč, "child," lučléčkwe "small child"; hímba, "horse," himbaléčkwe, "foal"; átaly, "chicken," atályeléčkwe, "little chicken"; yat, "house," yatléčkwe, "small

/317 cont./

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771 and prayer, just as there is also no cult or worship of numinous
756 beings. The Paez religion is a shamanism, the two forms of which are the evil sorcerer and the good shaman as doctor and helper against evil sorcery. As a religious phenomenon Paez shamanism is not as distinctive as the Siberian or the North American shamanism. Assistant spirits and the soul journey as shamanistic means are only rudimentary with the shamanistic "signs," the "thunder child," and the journeys of the shaman to the house of Thunder on the bottom of the lagoon; there is almost no ceremonial apparatus. Nevertheless, the activity of the good shaman in particular, as doctor and helper in sickness caused by magical practices, as well as his function as sociological crystallization point of the community, is entirely a shamanistic phenomenon.

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2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

194

I. — Phonetics

Vowels

	a	*a*	*ä*		
e	*ẽ*		*o*	*ɔ*	*ɔ̃*
i	*ĩ*		*ũ*	*u*	*ũ*
ä	*ẽ*	*ɨ*	*ɔ̃*	*ũ*	

Consonants

		ẋ	*x*		
k	*g*	*χ*	*χ̇*		*ŋ*
tɨ	*dɨ*	*ɨ*			
ts	*dz*				
t	*d*	*s*	*z*	*l*	*n*
p	*b*	*f*	*v*		*m*

194 In his introduction to Castillo's vocabularies, Uricoechea as-
114 serts, on the faith of the latter, that the Paez vowels are numerous, distinct from those of the Spanish language, and difficult of pronunciation. The Castilian language has only the five fundamental Latin vowels, while the Paez has three more, *ä*, *ɔ̃*, and *ũ*, not including the nasalized vowels, which are not specifically distinct.

This can scarcely be called rich, but if by richness Uricoechea means euphony, then he is certainly correct. Indeed, the diphthongs *ai*, *eu*, *io*, *ua*, *ue*, *ui*, *uo*, recur with extreme frequency, and there are none of the half-mute vowels so often
194 met with in the dialects of the Chibchan group. Again, it cannot be said that the Paez, in its present phonetics, offers any serious difficulty to the student so far as pronunciation is concerned. I have given careful attention to this special question, and think that the above table of vowels and consonants is fairly adequate to an exact transcription of the language.

When we come to the comparison of consonants we find that the Paez has all the consonants used in classical Castilian except the *z* (*ð*, English *th*), and that it has *χ̇*, *tɨ*, *dɨ*, *ɨ*, *ts*, and *dz* in addition. Here we may be justified in speaking of abundance, inasmuch as these fundamental consonants are accompanied by quite a formidable array of compound ones, either

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

initial like *bll, ft, kb, kl, kn, kp, ks, kt, mb, pk, pl, pš, pt, st, tsk,* 194
or terminal like *fχ̇, kχ̇, pχ̇, mb, nš, nt.*

A further comparison of Castillo's material with my own 194
shows three chief points of divergence in the transcription of 114
words. One of them, namely, the prefixing of an initial *g* to words beginning with *na* or *ne*, is general among Spanish authors, there being as much difficulty for a Spaniard to pronounce correctly that broad diphthong as to express any foreign word beginning in *st, sp*, etc., without an initial *e*. Just as a Spaniard will say 'estreet,' 'esprout,' 'estyle,' he is sure to pronounce 'gwatchman,' if not 'gwatchiman,' 'gwarbler,' and so on. This misspelling, then, may be regarded as an idiosyncrasy of our author.

A second difference, often repeated and which must be considered as an error in the reproduction of the original text, is that the words ending in my vocabulary in *ts, fχ̇, kχ̇*, etc., end respectively in *ti, fi, ki*, etc., in Castillo's vocabulary, the terminal *s* and *χ̇* having almost uniformly been mistaken for an *i*. Examples: [192]

efi	for *efχ̇*,	eye-tooth.
equi	" *ekχ̇*,	fuel.
cafi	" *kafχ̇*,	gargante de.
cati	" *kats*,	hide, skin, peel.
conchi	" *kwntl*,	black.
miti	" *mitl* or *mits*,	pot.
tambi	" *tampχ̇*,	flank.

Unwritten languages are subject to rapid alteration. This is sufficient to explain the frequent change of *o* to *u*, and the suppression of the initials *a, e*, and *i*, in certain words. Following are a few examples of both cases: [192]

doj	has become	*duχ̇*,	weight.
rito	" "	*fitu*,	tree.
gnaco	" "	*nâku*,	tick.
ouza	" "	*kuuza*,	mouse.
ioc	" "	*iuk*,	wood, fuel.
aloch	is now	*lutl*,	child.
alawch	" "	*lawetl*,	lizard.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

194	*epench*	is now	*pent*,	old (applied to female only).
114	*ites*	" "	*sus*,	urine.
[192]	*atamp*	" "	*taap*,	fog, cloud.

In Castillo's vocabularies *.rs* stands for *ʒ*, *z* for *ts* and *tz*, *ch* for *tš*. The final *h* is used only to prevent the coming together of the consonants *i* or *s* ending a word and the initial vowel of the following word in compound terms. For instance, we have *mesha*, for *mes-a*, it is not; *izhe* for *its-e*, to join, to marry, etc.

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1: Nachtigall--152 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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IV. Spiritual Culture

1. Language

121 According to A. v. Humboldt, languages are differentiated by the elements of content and form, and, accordingly, languages are divided into three groups, which in the following period were erroneously interpreted as stages of the development of language. According to this, the oldest stage was represented by the isolating languages, which express form elements by means of independent words with the meaning still recognizable as far as content is concerned. Their words, as in Chinese, are monosyllabic, isolating. The second group is made up of the agglutinative languages, in which the element of form is added to the element of content, the stem, through clearly recognizable affixes. The Ural-Altaic and the Bantu languages in particular are put here. The inflected languages occupy the third stage. In them the form element is expressed by inner changes of the stem or by affixes closely intergrown with the stems, as, for example, in the Indo-Germanic and Hamito-Semitic languages.

Even though this classification of languages was subsequently abandoned as the schema of a sequence of development, it is nevertheless quite applicable as an initial, practical orientation. For the more precise classification of a language, the working out of the phonetics and syntax is required.

● 197 193 Paez is an agglutinative language. The grammatical forms are built up by a succession of syllables. The pronunciation is difficult for a European. It is similar to Kechua /Quechua/, from which a number of loanwords have been adopted.

175 797 192 193 114 The oldest linguistic reports about the Paez come from P. Eujenio del Castillo i Orosco, who collected his linguistic material around 1735, as a missionary in Tálaga. It was supplemented and published by E. Uricoechea in 1877. The collected data include a catechism, a vocabulary, and a grammar with information about personal pronouns and the conjugations of "to be" and "to write." The grammar and vocabulary contain some forms and word formations that are alien to the original Paez language.

/216 cont./

114 Further linguistic notes were collected by H. Pittier de
192 Fábrega. These supplemented Castillo's vocabulary and gram-
193 matical data. H. Lehmann published examples of sentences of the Paez from Pitayó collected by French missionaries.

●197 /217/ In a comparative study based on the aforementioned
114 publications, H. Beuchat and P. Rivet investigated the linguistic classification of Paez within the language groups of Colombia and classified it in the southwestern group of the six Chibcha language groups. (These Chibcha-speaking tribes correspond neither archeologically nor ethnologically to the true Chibcha (Mwiska) of the savanna of Bogotá!)

124 The linguistic material presented in the following is ex-
126 tremely fragmentary. The data given, however, were for the
197 most part checked several times. The difficulties of linguistic recording lay, aside from the brief time at our disposal, in the lack of grammatical training of the interpreter, who otherwise spoke Spanish very well, but who, during dictation or in translations, often said the same sentence entirely differently when repeating it; possibly because he could translate it better this way. When his attention was called to this, the stereotyped answer was: "One can say it that way, too" or "that is the way we speak." Another thing was that the interpreter was able to summon up the unusual mental concentration for linguistic recording for only two or at most three hours daily, distributed over the forenoon and afternoon.

a) Phonetics

194 As a result of the location of the individual villages in iso-
[197] lated valleys, the pronunciation varies slightly from place to
[124] place. Since we started with the Paez of Calderas in our collection of ethnological data, the following word list was also made with my Calderun interpreter, Victoriano Piñakuẽ.

In the Paez alphabet the complete palatal range, which includes all consonants, is noteworthy. Almost as numerous are the consonant combinations with the English "w." In the

* /312 cont./

539 when the thief again came, took down some potatoes, kindled a fire, and roasted them in it, he took out both of his eyes "out of foolishness" before he ate and laid them on one of the three hearthstones. Then the owner of the potatoes, whom the thief, of course, could not see, stepped up, saw the eyes, and kicked them into the fire, so that they burned with a bang. The thief heard the bang, to be sure, but thought to himself, how fine the potatoes are popping and sizzling!

When the thief had eaten all the potatoes, he looked for his eyes, but could not find them. He then left the house very sadly, without eyes, and set out for his own house. On the way he met a rat who was out walking there, and they started a conversation. The thief complained that he had lost his eyes and that, without eyes, it was very difficult to find them again. He begged the rat to lend him one of hers only until he had found his own eyes again. The rat lent him one, but since both of his eyes were burned, he could not, of course, find them. The man then turned himself into wind.

The rat searched for the thief of her eye for a long time, but could not find him. Her son, like his mother, also had only one eye. The son in turn had a son, and he, too, had only one eye. Since that time the descendants of this rat family have only one eye. And that is why one can still find rats today who, to be sure, have the nose, mouth, feet, skin, and ears of a rat, but only one eye or none at all; they go back to that rat who once lent one of her eyes.

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105 V. Summary and Culture-historical Classification of Paez Culture

[161] If we briefly summarize the sketch of Paez life and the ele-
[621] ments of their culture, we find before us a democratic agricultural people of 25,000 persons, among whom no one is master and no
[177] one servant. Surrounded for centuries by Spanish culture, they have
[197] preserved their language in extensive sections of their area of settlement.

/317 cont./

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756 beings. The Paez religion is a shamanism, the two forms of which are the evil sorcerer and the good shaman as doctor and helper against evil sorcery. As a religious phenomenon Paez shamanism is not as distinctive as the Siberian or the North American shamanism. Assistant spirits and the soul journey as shamanistic means are only rudimentary with the shamanistic "signs," the "thunder child," and the journeys of the shaman to the house of Thunder on the bottom of the lagoon; there is almost no ceremonial apparatus. Nevertheless, the activity of the good shaman in particular, as doctor and helper in sickness caused by magical practices, as well as his function as sociological crystallization point of the community, is entirely a shamanistic phenomenon.

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/318 cont./

105 assumed Chibcha language in particular. The difficulty of language
114 comparison in the northern Andean area lies in the wholely in-
● 197 adequate material for comparison. The majority of the tribes investigated have died out long ago, and there is seldom sufficiently complete material available from the few living ones. Even the true Chibcha (Mwiska) on the plateau of Bogotá has not been spoken for two and a half centuries and is known only from the literature. Beuchat and Rivet choose the lexicographic and grammatical method for their language comparison. The total vocabulary of the languages investigated contains about 200 words. These serve as comparative material for 49 languages, namely, for true Chibcha (Mwiska) and 23 other languages and dialects in northern Colombia and Panama, as well as for 25 languages and dialects of southern Colombian languages! Methodologically the procedure was to find a lexicographic agreement between language A and language B, another agreement between language B and language C, a further agreement between language C and language D, etc. In the proof, language A is related to languages B,
105 C, D, etc. Applied to Paez: In the vocabulary given by Beuchat.
114 and Rivet there is no Paez word in direct agreement with Chibcha!
192 Nor was there even a choice of words according to their qualita-
197 tive significance. Thus it is especially noteworthy that there is a complete lack of corresponding designations for food, animals, useful plants, metals (gold), parts of the body, kinship designations, etc. /319/ On the basis of the vocabulary, therefore, it is not possible to designate Paez as a Chibcha language. To what extent this applies to the other southern Colombian tribes, for whom there usually exists only a very limited vocabulary, cannot be discussed here. In any case, there is a large number of Kechua /Quechua/ words in all these languages -- as a result of the close proximity to Kechua-speaking peoples. (For Paez, cf. the
105 compilations in Castillo i Orosco and Pittier de Fábrega.) Gram-
197 matical agreements between Chibcha and Paez do exist. At the
[114] same time, however, Beuchat and Rivet expressly point out that,
[193] of the languages compared, Paez shows the greatest grammatical differences with Chibcha (pp. 190/191). In summary it may be

P /319 cont./
105 concluded that the classification of Paez as a Chibcha language
197 cannot be regarded as definite. The grammatical agreements may just as well be remnants of an older, or superimpositions of a younger, population layer. In addition there is the fact that in the sometimes centuries-long struggles since the Conquista considerable shifting and intermingling of populations have taken place. It is possible that the tribes existing or surviving today are only scattered remains or groupings that have been made up from other tribes only after the Conquista.

C P 105 P [197] P E [361] P C [241] [412] P C [323] P [325] P C [411] P C [771]

Culturally the Paez have nothing at all in common with Chibcha culture. The Chibcha language group established by H. Beuchat and Paul Rivet is a linguistic concept, which, in an uninterrupted extension from Nicaragua to Ecuador, embraces completely different cultures! For example, the Chibcha settlements on the plateau of Bogotá are compact villages, whereas the Paez live on individual farms. The agriculture of the Chibcha, with the use of a wooden spade, is relatively advanced in comparison with the digging stick and burned-clearing cultivation of the Paez. Technically the manufacture of Chibcha ceramics is far above that of the Paez, and it is certain that the Paez did not do any gold work. Among the Paez the sling was the principal weapon; among the Chibcha, club and spear with the spear thrower. In the Chibcha religion we have a creator-god or a tribal mother with a pantheon of other gods, with offerings of gold and emeralds; we find hero-temples, holy places, and sacred kings, while among the Paez, only shamans.

C 105 P C 197

Thus we have a gaping division between the Chibcha language group and the Chibcha culture. Scientific terms, however, should be unequivocal and not designate different concepts with the same words. This is done correctly in Europe, for example, with /320/ the Indo-Germanic family of languages, the Dinaric race, or the band-ceramics culture.

The cultural concept of the Chibcha is the older one. In order not to identify and confuse the culture group with the language group which is completely different from it, the language group should have a different name, especially since it is not certain whether

C 105 /320 cont./
what is common in the vocabulary and structure of the language
C 197 goes back to Chibcha or to a linguistically different substratum. Analogously this is true of the archeological cultures of the northern Andean area, which are also similar in many aspects, but do not go back to the Chibcha culture.

P 105 172 174 There remains the question of the ethnic relationship of the archeological Tierradentro-culture. In view of their meager material and artistic cultural possessions, the Paez were technically not capable of the manifestations of an advanced culture that exist in Tierradentro. With their strictly democratic social structure, they also lack the organization by estate needed to maintain such a culture. Even in the mythological traditions of the Paez, there is no hint of any relationship with the archeological culture. The only similarity seems to be the Paez method of burial in a niche grave; typologically, however, this is not identical with the shaft grave. In addition there is the difference of the cremation burial in the archeological culture in contrast to the skeleton burial of the entire corpse among the Paez. Moreover, the Paez are a local, relatively narrowly circumscribed tribe; the archeological culture, on the other hand, has the most extensive geographical relationships in the art (*), in the style of

* G. Hernandez de Alba (IV) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 324/ found a necklace of small sodalite figures in a grave chamber. This material is otherwise not found in Colombia. It comes from a Bolivian mine, and works of art made of it are found in Tiahuanaco as well as in Peruvian and Argentinian sites.

their stone statues, and in the method of burial in shaft graves.

Artistic relationships, however, make probable more extensive linguistic relationships than is the case for the Paez and their neighbors. From this standpoint a relatively well-developed trade may also be assumed. The disposition and present activity of the Paez, however, does not give us any support in this respect either.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

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?:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

THE HIGHLAND TRIBES OF SOUTHERN COLOMBIA[1]

By Gregorio Hernández de Alba

INTRODUCTION

Between the *Esmeralda* and *Cara* in Ecuador and the *Quimbaya* in the modern Department of Caldas to the north, the conquistadors, especially Governor Don Sebastián de Belalcázar, found a large number of tribes of different languages and cultures (map 1, *No. 24*; map 7). These tribes occupied the mountains of the complicated Andean system, the valleys of the many rivers, and the slopes toward the low, jungle lands of southeastern Colombia. Because of the fertility of the soils, the mild climate, which was largely cool and healthy, the rich gold and silver mines, and the situation of the lands between the important Colonial centers of Santa Fé (now Bogotá) and Quito, which they were founding, the conquistadors greatly desired to conquer and pacify the tribes, as the Spanish chroniclers and historians call the extermination of the Indians. Some peoples, like the *Pasto* living in the present Department of Nariño, north of Ecuador, readily submitted to the overlordship of the encomenderos and hacendados, and adopted their customs and beliefs. Others, like the *Andaquí*, changed their habitat, and moved down from the region of San Agustín and the headwaters of the Magdalena River eastward to the hot jungles, where they were safe from enslavement. Some, like the *Páez* and *Moguez*, protected by the ruggedness of the Sierras of their territory, resisted the Spaniards and succeeded in large measure in perpetuating their traditions. Others, however, like the *Pijao*, who were seasoned warriors, fought bloodily against the White invaders until they were totally exterminated.

The first historians of the conquest of this part of America[2] held different opinions on the cultural and linguistic relationships between these tribes. Some claimed that the dialects differed so greatly from one tribe to another as to be mutually unintelligible; others maintained that all the peoples of the Andean area of Colombia had the same cul-

[1] This study was prepared in Washington, D. C., where the Bureau of American Ethnology, of the Smithsonian Institution, the Library of Congress, and the Library of the Pan American Union facilitated my investigation as previously the Government of Colombia, my wife (who was also my companion in field work), and my friends, the *Páez* Indians of Tierradentro, had furthered it.

[2] Cieza de León, 1932; Aguado, 1916; Simón, 1882-82; Oviedo y Valdés, 1851-55; Velasco, 1841-44.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15

175 ture, with only slight differences in dialects and customs. Some
197 authorities affirmed that these Indians had no kind of religion; others
114 gave details which reveal a highly developed religion and an organized
[174] cult. In spite of these contradictory statements and in spite of the fact that today only the *Moguex* (*Guambia*) and *Páez* Indians retain indigenous cultures, it is possible to sketch the cultural picture of these Indians at the moment of their first contact with the Spanish soldiers by reexamining the chroniclers of the Conquest according to ethnological criteria, by utilizing modern linguistics, and by studying the ethnology of the present-day peoples.[3] It is also possible to trace the
174 acculturation during the Colonial Period, when new European usages
177 were introduced, and to depict the social and cultural conditions of the present day. The modern penetration of highways into the Indian territory and the official policy of changing the indigenous communities are likely to bring an end to these few remaining examples of primitive Andean societies, which have survived in spite of a poor economy, bad sanitary conditions, and missionary efforts to eradicate their traditions.

121 A fertile field for future research lies in continuing anthropological studies in the central mass of the Colombian Andes. The region is as important for physical geography as for ethnology, as its mountain chains run in various directions to form valleys and diversified environments.

[172] It also contains the archeological remains, known as San Agustín and Tierradentro, which long antedate the Conquest and which have an undetermined origin and relationship to cultures in other parts of America. The present article, however, does not deal with these, but is limited to ethnology.

GEOGRAPHY

131 The tribes considered in this article occupied the eastern halves of the present Departments of Nariño and Cauca, almost all of the Department of Huila, the southern part of Tolima, and the eastern zone of the Department of the Valle del Cauca, which embraces the western spurs of the Cordillera Central as far as Calarcá in Caldas. The region lies between 1° and 4° 40′ N. lat. and 1° and 3° 40′ west of the meridian
133 of Bogotá. The country consists of high mountains of the Andean system, which bifurcate at the Ecuadorean border to form the Cordillera Occidental, which runs to Panamá, and the Cordillera Central, which approaches the Atlantic coast of Colombia. Each branch has high plains (altiplanos), small valleys with rivers which are tributaries of the Patía River to the west, and high mountain peaks, some of which are volcanoes, like Pasto, Galeras, and Cumbal. The area of

[3] For the languages, see especially Jijón y Caamaño, 1940-41; Castillo I Orozco, 1878; and Castellví, 1934. For ethnology, see Douay, 1900; Pittier de Fábrega, 1907; Ortiz, 1935; Guerra F., 1942; Jijón y Caamaño, 1936-38; Otero, 1938; Alfés, 1934. See also Languages, pp. 921-922.

Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

distinct people. The present city of Pasto was founded in *Quillacinga* territory in the valley of Atria, which was occupied by several small groups: the *Isancales*, *Paguanes*, *Zacuampues*, *Chorros* (Velasco, 1841–44, 2:153), *Mocondino*, *Bejendino*, *Buyzaco*, *Guajanzangua*, *Mocozonduqus*, *Guacuanquer*, and *Macaxamata* (Cieza, 1932, ch. 33). *Quillacinga* territory extended from the frontier of the *Pasto* on the west, i. e., the Guáitara River, eastward to the mountain ridges from which flow the Caquetá and Putumayo Rivers. Its northern and northeastern limits are the high páramo of the Letrero and the sources of the Cauca River. Recent investigations show that it extends south to the district of Puerres (Guerra, 1942). (See also Ortíz, this volume, p. 911.)

Popayanense.—North of the *Quillacinga* in the province of the *Popayanense*, which is well delimited by the Cauca River valley and by the first spurs of the Cordillera Oriental and Cordillera Central, were numerous peoples who had the same general culture, although some of the first historians differentiate them. These tribes, which may collectively be called *Popayanense*, perhaps included the *Puracé*. The many small groups so lacked political unity, however, that Cieza said "That there were no men among them who were feared," i. e., they lacked chiefs.

Coconuco, Moguex, and Páez.—In the hills and small valleys of the eastern slopes of the Cordillera Central were groups of distinctive and strongly organized people. The *Coconuco*, the *Moguex* (*Guambía*), and the *Páez* lived on the eastern slope of the Cordillera, and the *Guamza* (*Guamea*), *Malausa*, *Polindara*, *Palace*, *Tembio*, *Colaza*, *Zotara*, and *Guachicone* on the western slope of the Cordillera (Cieza, 1932, ch. 32). Linguistically and culturally,[7] these tribes were very homogeneous. There were three important subgroups: (1) the *Coconuco*, *Cotara* (*Zotara*), and *Colaza;* (2) the *Moguex* (*Guambía*), *Totoró*, and *Polindara;* (3) the *Páez*, with groups on both slopes of the Cordillera Central. (See also Lehmann, this volume, p. 969.)

Andaquí and neighboring tribes.—The *Andaquí* lived in the mountains from the source of the Magdalena River to near Timaná and south to the high ridges which form the watershed between the upper Magdalena River and the Fragua and upper Caquetá Rivers (Velasco in Ternaux Compans, 1840, pp. 167–68; Pérez, 1862). This zone contains the important archeological remains known as San Agustín (Arroyo, 1907). The territory of the *Yalcón* (*Cambi*) was between the headwaters of the Río de la Plata and the Magdalena River (Simón, 1882–92, vol. 4, Noticia cuarta, ch. iii). The *Timaná* were found by the conquistadors to the southeast of this region, between the Guarapas and Magdalena Rivers centering around Timaná (Velasco, in Ternaux Compans, 1840, 3:26). The *Páez* lived to the north of the

[7] Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38, 2:188; Otero, 1939.

?:Hernández de Alba E-5,V(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC 17

P 113 **Contemporary descriptions.**—Albis (1934), describing a visit to the *Andaquí* in 1854; Bollaert (1860); Brisson (1899), good on the *Pasto*; Castellví (1934), on language groups; Castillo i Orosco (1878), on *Páez* language; Censo de la Población de la República de Colombia (1924); Cortés (1919), on the flora; Cuervo, M. C. (1920), on archeology and ethnology; Garganta Fabrega (1942), on coca; Douay (1900), on language; Jiménez (1936), on geography; Ortíz (1935), on the native communities of Jamondino and Males; Otero (1938), on the *Guanaca* and (1939) on languages in the Departamento del Cauca; Pérez (1862), on the geography of Cauca; Pittier de Fabrega (1907), on the *Páez;* Reclus (1893); Thrasher, (1860–61); and Triana (1907).

LANGUAGES

P ● 197 175 Ever since the chroniclers wrote of the Conquest, the problem of the native languages in this part of Colombia has been extremely complicated. One writer affirmed, "It is certain that there are more languages differing from another than there are leagues in the whole province" (Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38, 2: 179–82). According to the "Relación de los Sucesos de Pedrarias Dávila," by Governor Andagoya, the Spaniards ascending the Cauca Valley found within 2 leagues east of Cali:

> There are other peoples with a different language from that of the *Lili*. In the ten leagues of the road toward Popayán there is another people of another language . . . toward the other cordillera of the mountains in the eastern part . . . the language of Popayán extends some ten leagues toward the south. And from the top of the mountains toward the valley of Timaná is another different language and ten leagues beyond [from Popayán] from one cordillera to the other there are other different languages all the way to Quito. [Cuervo, 1894, 2:112.]

P 197 But modern linguistic studies in this region have classified the languages spoken at the time of the Conquest as follows:

- *Chibchan* family
  - *Chibcha-Aruaco* group
    - *Aruaco* subgroup
      - *Andaquí* (Castellví, 1934)
  - *Talamanca-Barbacoa* group
    - *Páez* subgroup
      - *Páez, Paniquitá, Quilla*
      - *Totoró, Polindara, Moguex* (*Guambia*), *Cocoauco*, and *Guanaca*
      - *Pijao, Pancha, Quimbaya, Paniágua**
  - Po [197] *Cochean* (*Kamsá*) family
    - *Quillacinga* subgroup (Castellví)
  - *Tucanoan* family
    - *Pasto* subgroup†

*Castellví, 1934; *Jijón y Caamaño*, 1938; and Otero, 1938.
†Rivet cited by Guerra. Jijón y Caamaño classifies the *Pasto* or *Cuaiquer* language in the *Talamanca-Barbacoa* group of the *Chibchan* family.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,¶ (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

All the region of Popayán and of the *Páez* in the Cordillera Central thus spoke closely related and very similar dialects which were often grouped. For example, the dialects of the *Pijao*, *Páez*, *Timaná*, and *Yalcón* were classed together. In the south, an area of the *Pasto* language extended to Ecuador. Between the *Pasto* and *Páez*, bordering also on the *Pijao*, the native peoples spoke *Quillacinga* and *Andaquí*.

P 197 Po [197]

Of all these languages, there survive today only *Páez*, which is spoken in Tierradentro, and its dialect, *Paniquitá*, on the western slope of the Cordillera Central in Toribío, Caldono, Jambaló, and in parts of Silvia and Totoró. *Moguex* and the related *Totoró* and *Polindara* are spoken in Silvia and in the regions of Totoró and Polindara, according to Otero. *Andaquí* is spoken by only a few scattered groups surviving in the lower region of the Caquetá River.

HISTORY

P 175 648

After Don Sebastián de Belalcázar founded the City of Quito, he sent Diego de Tapia on a voyage of exploration toward the north in 1535 (Otero d'Costa, 1935 a). This expedition discovered the new lands of the Cordillera as far as the large Quillacinga River, today the Carchi River. This river became the point of departure for important travels in the same year by Pedro de Añasco, and in 1536 by Belalcázar, who founded Cali and Popayán, both key points for future expeditions and discoveries. These were the first White contacts with the Andean tribes of southern Colombia. In 1538, Belalcázar undertook a second expedition from Quito, crossing the Cordillera through *Páez* territory and then passing among the *Pijao* Indians. Both tribes resisted him with their feeble arms. He continued toward the east until he met the expeditions of Jiménez de Quesada and Federman at Bogotá. With the foundation of outposts by Jiménez de Quesada in the lands called the New Kingdom of Granada, Añasco was sent back to found Timaná in the territory of the *Timaná* and *Yalcón*. This city was to be the base for communications between Perú, Quito, Popayán, and Santa Fé de Bogotá.

Po 175 648 [411]

The *Pasto* and *Quillacinga*, after a few encounters with the Spanish soldiers, in which they always suffered bloody defeats because of the weakness of their weapons (arrows, lances, wooden swords, and sometimes slings) and because the Spaniards used horses and hunting dogs, began to surrender. The inhabitants of the Valley of Popayán, who were poor warriors, also ceased to struggle. These tribes had previously suffered the *Inca* invasion, which had extended north to the Angasmayo River, which washed their lands. But the *Páez*, *Moguex*, *Andaquí*, and *Pijao*, thanks to the rugged mountains in their territory and to their more bellicose character and better organization, presented a serious obstacle to the Spaniards' ideal route, which had been drawn

P 175 648

/165/

600 Bases for the Study of the Social Organization of the Páez

By
Segundo Bernal Villa.

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124 /167/ The material for the study of the kinship system of
128 the Páez was collected in the month of May, 1953, thanks to the
[114] enthusiastic collaboration of Victoriano Piñakuĕ, 18 years of age,
[115] bilingual, and a native of the parcialidad /a village and the lands
belonging to it/ of Calderas. With this material we made an
analysis of the kinship system, which we present below without
any major modifications. It was later discussed with several na-
tive men of the parcialidad of San Andrés, who found it to be
correct. At the end of May, 1954, we had the opportunity to
discuss it again in Mosoco with two male informants of the lo-
[197] cality. They found practically no phonological differences, in
spite of the fact that the Páez spoken in that parcialidad showed
some different nuances in relation to that spoken in the other
124 parcialidades. They made only one fundamental observation,
128 which we accepted, since we consider it to be convincing. It
601 refers to the terms used to designate the sons and daughters of the
brothers and sisters of EGO. According to Piñakuĕ, they are
designated with the Spanish terms: sobrino and sobrina /nephew
and niece/. Jorge Mulcuĕ (Mosqueño /a person from Mosoco/
58 years old) affirmed that they are designated with the words kuĕ
or wĕsak (son and daughter) preceded by the possessive my (anji).
601 Men and women use the same terms for both the paternal
and the maternal line, with certain exceptions, subordinating the
real degree of kinship to the generation. The Páez system of
kinship terminology is, therefore, classificatory and bilateral.

/198 cont./

764 protected from the earth above it as if it were lying in a lateral
184 niche (Ill. 206 /see p. 291/). It was expressly confirmed to me
[178] that this form of grave has been used for only about 20 years, and that previously regular niche-graves had been made. The transitional character of this covered pit from the shaft grave with the lateral niche becomes even more apparent from the fact that an additional niche was dug about 30 centimeters deep at the head end of the pit, into which the capitan was laid part way, "so that at least the head is lying in a niche."

/199/ The corpse, wrapped in Colombian clothing, was carried on a bier on the shoulders of two men. The bier consists of two poles held by cross-sticks lashed crosswise one above the other at intervals of 30 centimeters. The cross-sticks are lashed with lianas in pairs, each one above the one longitudinal pole and below the other one (Ill. 205 /see p. 291/). After the burial, the bier was chopped up and then left lying in the graveyard.
[201] Shortly before the lowering of the corpse, the members of the
[516] family take leave of it by kneeling down and moving one or both hands before them from above downward and saying: "You are now going to heaven, and we shall not see each other again; we hope it may go well with you!"

After the corpse was lowered and its head pushed into the small niche, the bamboo covering was very carefully and tightly laid over it. Then the pieces of sod as the bottom layer were packed next to each other as closely as they had been when lying on the surface of the ground. The members of the family and the friends, with their left hands, then tossed as many handfuls of earth into the grave as the person concerned has family relatives. Together they fill the grave with all the rest of the earth with their hands. This is an honor for the friends of the deceased; if a person has no friends, the members of his family must do this work themselves. After a few handfuls of earth, the filling of the pit is always stamped down long and thoroughly with tree trunks. This is a very long and exhaustive occupation, and the more beloved the deceased was, the longer the stamping. In the case of the burial of the capitan, this lasted almost two hours. As a

/254 cont./

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192 night (kos). Early morning is called kosẽ; afternoon at the time when work is at an end, which is reckoned by the position of the sun, is called ff'nze. Other subdivisions of the day are made according to the interval of an ẽšnetc, meaning the time it takes to chew a dose of coca. In translation this designation is used for "hour." The largest period of time is the month, ãte, which is designated by the same word as for "moon." For the period of a year the Spanish word año is used. In former times the word
[221] enzte was used. It is the designation for the large annual com-
[226] munal fishing at the weir during the dry season in February. The
[132] two rainy seasons, called nospá'nye, and the two dry seasons of the year, called sek, are not regarded as time intervals, but as seasons. The latter is at the same time the word for "sun."

823 No large geographical orientations or regional, individual
[491] divisions of any kind could be discovered. Moreover, all of Tierradentro is enclosed by civilized areas -- there is even an auto road leading to Belalcázar -- so that many Paez men have seen the surrounding countryside and even cities with their own eyes.
601 Only the western bordering mountains of the Central Cordillera,
[186] in the direction of Popayán, are conjectured to be the habitation
123 area of the dreadful man-eaters, the Pijao. Geographical means
484 of orientation are unknown. Traveling is done only during the day, in groups, and in company with a person who knows the way.
821 Of the stars it is only known that there stars that move and fixed ones, without their being distinguished in greater detail or according to constellations.

• 202 It is amazing that, in spite of their settlement pattern of
[361] individual farms, the Paez do not have any optical or acoustical
[203] means of communication over larger distances. /255/ In case of urgent news or questions, children are sent.

802 There are numbers only from one to six and ten. For the designations seven to nine the corresponding Spanish numbers are used. The Paez word for "ten" (kóse pémba) literally means "no more hands" and indicates that the fingers were used for counting. The toes are not used for counting; anything beyond ten is

/287 cont./

4. Music

533 In no area of Paez culture is poverty evident to such an ex-
535 tent as in song and dance, the predominant expressions of the character and spirit of all peoples. No peculiar dance is per-
[173] formed among the /288/ Paez, and I heard no song sung. This undoubtedly represents an impoverishment, for it may be seen
533 from the folklore that in former times there was dancing. A similar conclusion must also be drawn about the playing of very
[173] agreeable music. Their knowledge of music, however, makes it
[181] highly probable that song also existed, especially among a people
[581 521 522] that is basically jolly and constantly disposed to jest. In fact, it is very difficult for a girl who is slow in jocular conversation to
[192] get a husband. And to my question about the Paez word for "sing house" listed in Uricoechea, the amiable Victoriano, to his own great surprise, was immediately able to give me a special word in his language, "mémyat."

534 It is not possible to say with certainty which of the musical
[171] instruments used by the Paez today is an original one. The absence of any kind of rattle, the outstanding instrument of the American natives, is surprising (*).

* Pittier de Fábrega (p. 325) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 326/, however, mentions among the musical instruments of the Paez a rattle (tsoóts) in the form of a calabash with a handle, which was filled with small stones. Whether this may not perhaps be an instrument of the Negroes of Belalcázar is still undecided.

534 The cow horn (kǎčn) found in every house is not in the true
202 sense a musical instrument, but one for signaling. It is completely undecorated and, consisting of a horn sawed off at the tip, gives only one tone, which is produced in the same manner as the tone of a bugle or fanfare. This horn is used by the men when they come down from the mountains after a joint felling of the trees needed for housebuilding, in order to notify the village of their return.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

inhabitants of these valleys established their residences, I may 172
mention that the highest "plano" on the cordillera was found 361
at about 3,300 meters at El Alto de las Cruces, one of the spurs
of the Páramo de Buena Vista, the limit of the forest being here

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212
531

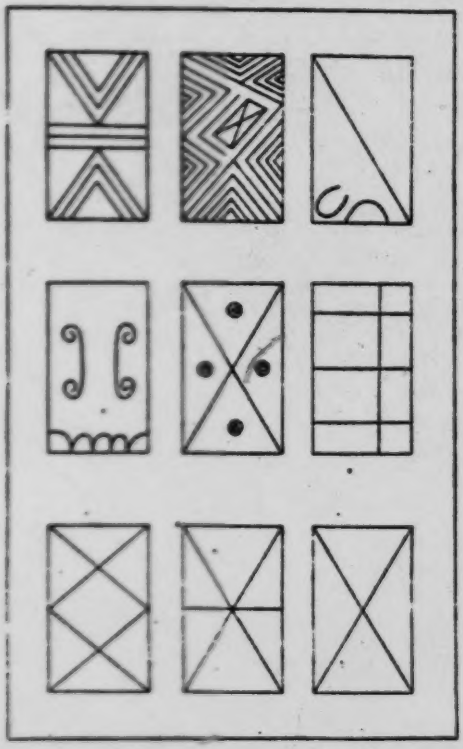

FIG. 2.—Geometrical figures on the "Piedra de los Sacrificios."

at about 3,600 meters. The greatest altitude of the abodes of 172
the present Indians scarcely exceeds 2,600 meters. 361

While on this subject I shall mention an explanation of the 173
"planos" as it was given by one of our Indians. "In old days," 202
205

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

173 he said, "the caciques or chieftains, had their messages trans-
202 mitted from valley to valley by means of runners who were
205 stationed at short intervals along the main roads. Each runner kept himself in readiness to start on the arrival of a message, thus insuring rapid transmission." As the "planos" and also the old trails are found on almost every ridge, it is difficult enough to judge of the value of this explanation; but, if I am not mistaken, such a system of communication existed without doubt at a short distance southward among the Incas of Ecuador and Peru, and perhaps extended into the Cauca valley.

172 On our return from Huila, while traveling between Toribió and Tacueyó, I noticed on the left an isolated hill with a part of its ridge separated from the rest by a deep cross-cut, evidently artificial. The top of the separated part looked in the distance as if also isolated by a ditch. My friend, Mr Emile Bizot, a mining engineer of wide experience in these parts, informs me that this is a common feature of the hilly district formerly inhabited by the natives, and that the enclosed surface always contains numerous graves (plate III, 2).

172 The high peaks of the most rugged districts of Tierra
532 Adentro are often crowned by isolated *huacas*, which are especially sought by treasure-hunters. At Tacueyó we had the opportunity of admiring a set of gold objects found in such graves and of which we made the photograph reproduced in plate II, 2. The frogs are of a type quite distinct from those with which I became familiar in Costa Rica. The representative of a human being recalls certain Chibchan idols, or, according to Mr W. E. Safford, Kitšua amulets. As to the thirteen remaining pieces of gold, quite thin and almost uniform in shape, they are perfectly new to me.

Former and Present Distribution

131 According to Father Ródriguez[1] the Paez, or Paós, Indians
114 lived on the summit and slopes of the *Cordillera de Guanacas*,
133 "sierra muy fria que llaman el Páramo de las Papas," a defini-

[1] P. Manuel Rodriguez, *El Marañon y Amazonas. Historia de los descubrimientos, entradas y reducciones de Naciones*, Madrid, 1684.

/202 cont./
415 men first and then women, and ending with the children of both
554 sexes. No one is left without a share.
273

XII

The Cleaning of the Church

346 The so-called church of Calderas, a masonry structure, is a dilapidated old building, long and tall, with a two-slope thatched roof and a hemispherical bell tower supported by four beams set into the ridgepiece. Only the front of four columns with cornices and semicircular arches which form an antechamber lends the whole a certain charm.

346 What is called the cleaning of the church is the removal
794 of a few weeds that grow in the pavement in front of it and
796 clearing a line that encircles a small plaza. The task is minimal, but it is always performed. The act is symbolic more than anything else; what matters is the meeting of the fiesteros with their respective albaceros and laborers; an occasion for taking care of the albacero, an opportunity for merriment, talk, jokes, and even games.

Some 12 days before the fiesta and on a Thursday, accompanied by the cabildo, music, and firecrackers, the fiestero leaves his house and goes to occupy one in the pueblo. He takes /203/ along the bull that will be sacrificed on the following day. Two days later, that is to say, on Monday, the cleaning of the church is carried out. On rare occasions
[202] it is done on a Wednesday. The ringing of bells announces the invitation and later tells the people that the cleaning is over, whereupon they drink the two calabashes of chicha which each fiestero has brought; the firecrackers are set off; "the albacero has earned a meal," they say, and deserves the honors of the table. The fiestero will take care of him with

/173 cont./

123 promise it. When I arrived in Calderas on Monday I found that
623 the men of the village had not wanted to meet a second time and
554 that they had indeed begun the work.

623 The alcaldes and the alguacil are the messengers of the
[203] cabildo; they notify the people when communal projects are
[696] necessary. Moreover, the alguacil administers corporal punish-
[203] ment. The three comisarios are likewise messengers and help
[794] the gobernador carry out and supervise public projects. It is the duty of the fiscales -- together with the gobernador -- to decorate the church. They provide candles and help the priest. According to C. Cuervo Marquez (Vol. II, p. 183), the fiscales formerly also had the duty of defending the interests of the /174/
871 village against the encroachments of the colonists. The comisario
623 escolar, finally, is responsible for the school attendance of the
[797] children. The mission sisters, as the teachers, turn to him and
[875] he is supposed to get the children to school, by force, if necessary.

621 It should not remain unmentioned that Calderas -- and ap-
623 parently this village only -- is divided into four parts, each of
[361] which occupies roughly a cardinal point and has about 50 houses. An alcalde, alguacil, fiscal, and comisario are each an equal representative of a quarter in the cabildo. At present the alcalde is the representative of the western region of Yocashí, the alguacil the representative of the northern region of Puélche, the fiscal that of the eastern region of Aépel, and the comisario that of the southern Bishók. I was told that the connection between an office and the representation of a village quarter is arbitrary, depending on where the occupant of the post happens to live. The official position within the cabildo is first assigned, and today it is the more important. Four of them take over the representation of a village quarter each. Thus, the comisario, if he lives there, may be the representative from Yocashí, and the alcalde the representative of Aépel. The present gobernador, for example, was fiscal ten years ago. Since he lives in the village section of Puélche, he was at the same time the representative of this quarter.

/195 cont./

d) Death

761 According to the belief of the Paez, death occurs chiefly
776 through the action of the evil shamans (nyic) or the evil spirits
165 ec, tis, and gělyómp (see "Religion" /see pp. 191ff./). Included
164 here also is the not infrequent cause of death through consumption.
[262] Causes of death of children are chiefly whooping cough, as well as stomach and intestinal disorders, the latter brought about by a
[762] diet very unsuitable for children. Suicide is completely unknown.

764 The death of a member of the community is passed on from
[763] man to man by members of the family and neighbors. There is
[203] no public mourning or lamentation; upon the death of small
[765] children, people act as though they were glad, since the children
[192] are now "little angels." (Among the colonists, as well as among the Paez, the Spanish word "angelito" is used.) In former times it was customary to abandon the house when death occurred and to leave the deceased and some food in it (Castillo i Orosco, p. IX).

764 The manner of burial is the same for men, women, and
184 children; there are no social differences. A few customs in other Paez communities, however, differ from those of the Calderun. Therefore the burial of the dead in Caldera; will be described first.

[77] For burial the deceased is dressed if possible in purchased,
[29] that is, "white" clothing, even if he was the poorest of the poor and had never worn such clothing. For this reason the relatives incur considerable expense, which often cannot be paid for a long time. Burial takes place the day after death. Only the feet of the deceased are washed. This work, as well as dressing the deceased, may be done by relatives or even by outsiders; they must, /196/ however, always be men, even in the case of female deceased persons. The body is taken by two men on a bier made of two tree trunks to the graveyard next to the church, where two other men, usually relatives, have already dug the grave. The latter is trapezoid-shaped, a good shoulder's breadth at head height and narrower at the foot end. Its length is determined by the size of the deceased. The direction of the grave is completely arbitrary.

/254 cont./

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2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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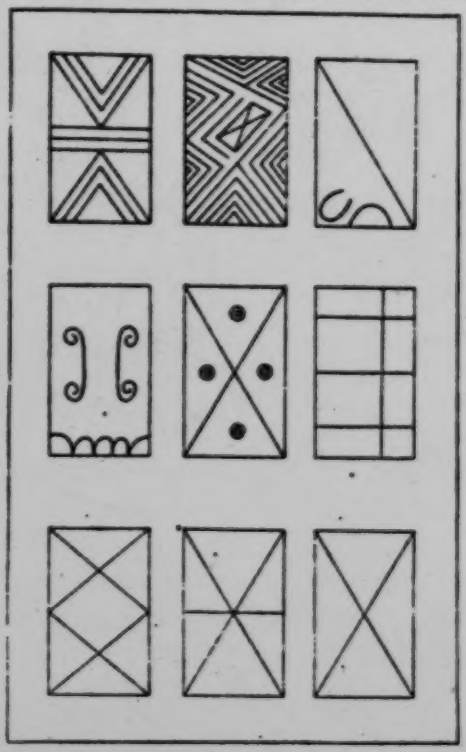

FIG. 2.—Geometrical figures on the "Piedra de los Sacrificios."

at about 3,600 meters. The greatest altitude of the abodes of 172
the present Indians scarcely exceeds 2,600 meters. 361

While on this subject I shall mention an explanation of the 173
"planos" as it was given by one of our Indians. "In old days," 202
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2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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173 he said, "the caciques or chieftains, had their messages trans-
202 mitted from valley to valley by means of runners who were
205 stationed at short intervals along the main roads. Each runner kept himself in readiness to start on the arrival of a message, thus insuring rapid transmission." As the "planos" and also the old trails are found on almost every ridge, it is difficult enough to judge of the value of this explanation; but, if I am not mistaken, such a system of communication existed without doubt at a short distance southward among the Incas of Ecuador and Peru, and perhaps extended into the Cauca valley.

172 On our return from Huila, while traveling between Toribió and Tacueyó, I noticed on the left an isolated hill with a part of its ridge separated from the rest by a deep cross-cut, evidently artificial. The top of the separated part looked in the distance as if also isolated by a ditch. My friend, Mr Emile Bizot, a mining engineer of wide experience in these parts, informs me that this is a common feature of the hilly district formerly inhabited by the natives, and that the enclosed surface always contains numerous graves (plate III, 2).

172 The high peaks of the most rugged districts of Tierra
532 Adentro are often crowned by isolated *huacas*, which are especially sought by treasure-hunters. At Tacueyó we had the opportunity of admiring a set of gold objects found in such graves and of which we made the photograph reproduced in plate II, 2. The frogs are of a type quite distinct from those with which I became familiar in Costa Rica. The representative of a human being recalls certain Chibchan idols, or, according to Mr W. E. Safford, Kitsua amulets. As to the thirteen remaining pieces of gold, quite thin and almost uniform in shape, they are perfectly new to me.

Former and Present Distribution

131 According to Father Ródriguez[1] the Paez, or Paós, Indians
114 lived on the summit and slopes of the *Cordillera de Guanacas*,
133 "sierra muy fria que llaman el Páramo de las Papas," a defini-

[1] P. Manuel Rodriguez, *El Marañon y Amazonas. Historia de los descubrimientos, entradas y reducciones de Naciones*, Madrid, 1684.

/214 cont./

426 however, so that in the case of a deceased poor debtor, the creditor has usually lost his money. Prescription does not occur.
685 A debt forgotten by the debtor may be collected by the creditor
695 years later, if there are witnesses. The situation is similar for
426 the theft of field crops: If there is no witness, no one can be found guilty. If, however, the witness is known as honorable and not deceitful, the accused is judged guilty, even without a con-
692 fession. There is no statement of confirmation corresponding to
695 the oath; similarly, no one condemned for wrongdoing has the
623 right to go to Inzá to the judge. For all misdeeds punished by the
208 [782] cabildo, the capitan and gobernador are the first and last authority; they do not act arbitrarily, however, but rely largely on custom
[686] and the opinion of the village. This is especially true if someone refuses several times in succession to take part in public works, but it also comes out -- unfavorably -- if a poor man tries to
623 become wealthy on his own. For example, disputes not infrequently
692 break out among the Paez on account of damage to cultivated
685 fields when the domestic animals of one person have broken into
578 the fields of a neighbor. Now the fences around each field must always be in good condition and put up in accordance with the term of use of the field. A fence for a maize field, which requires barely a year to mature, may be more lightly built than a fence around a sugar-cane field, which requires three years to mature. Then when strange animals break into fields with good fencing, the owner may kill them or at least wound them, for example, by
[231] cutting off a cow's tail. The owners of pigs fasten a triangular-shaped frame around the necks of their pigs to prevent them from breaking into fenced fields. If the fence is in poor condition, however, and has not been newly erected especially for the planted field, the owner of the animals breaking into the field is not to blame and the owner of the field may not kill them. Of course, the soundness of a fence is to a great extent a matter of opinion, and it happens not infrequently that the disputants go after each
696 other with machetes and wound each other considerably. The
685
417 /215/ guilty party is then, after an inspection of the fence, punished
681

/215 cont./

696 according to the decision of the cabildo. First of all, the animal
685 or the crop destroyed must be replaced, and then the offender is
417 put in the "tree trunk." This is a form of punishment that was
681 formerly used very frequently in other Paez communities, too.
[824] Actually it consists of two tree trunks, into each of which two notches are chopped on opposing sides. The condemned person is put in, with his feet up to the ankles in these rather narrow notches, and then the tree trunks are tightly bound together with
[623] lianas. All the members of the cabildo take part in this work. Then the bound tree trunks are fastened to the ceiling of the council house, so that the condemned man hangs head downward and the trunks cut into his flesh very considerably. There were no other types of punishment. The degree was determined by the number of hours of hanging, which extended from one to, allegedly, 24 hours.

556 Injustices on the part of envious fellow-citizens toward a
626 man striving for wealth manifest themselves by their driving their animals into the man's well-fenced fields. This is done until the person in question no longer feels any inclination to excel over others
[623] through diligence and property. Little is accomplished by com-
[692] plaining to the cabildo, since the gobernador cannot make a de-
[208] cision that runs counter to the opinion of the entire village, and a weak spot in the fence can always be demonstrated somewhere.

692 Other and not infrequent occasions on which the cabildo must
623 act as judge are complaints concerning adultery and support (see
68 above). There are no complaints about verbal insults, just as there is no punishment for this. They are countered by matching expressions. Similarly, unintentional bodily injury, for example, by a machete during joint work or a case of death during tree-cutting, is not punishable. Only if a person shoots his neighbor's eye out with an elastic sling during bird hunting would he be punished, "but not very severely."

/146 cont./

726 In order to defend their mountain country the Paez also used
[726] large rocks which they hurled down on the attackers from the
[777] heights. They, too, however, soon succeeded in obtaining iron
[411] and iron weapons. In their battles at the time of the Conquista they were already using swords and machetes.

411 The stone-sling plaited of agave fibers, whose manufacture
726 is described below (see under "Plaiting" /see pp. 85-86 /), is
773 of great importance mythologically in the battles with the "Pijao."
668 For geographical reasons it is the typical weapon of the American
411 mountain peoples from Tierra del Fuego to Canada, whereas the
171 blowgun, for similar reasons, is the typical weapon chiefly of the Amazonas and Orinoco forest area. The simultaneous occurrence of blowgun and sling is found all the way from Mexico to Ecuador and in Bolivia (Friederici, 1911, pp. 71-73, Pl. 13).

411 /147/ The blowgun of the Paez consists of a single barrel and
[462] is very simple in its construction. It is made only by men, but
[157] for bird-hunting is used almost solely by boys. To make it, one
[223] uses the thin, straight trunk of the fíza tree, the pith of which is burned out with a long iron tube about eight millimeters in diameter and heated red-hot. The length of the tube is two to three meters. No special mouthpiece is attached. As a sight a little piece of beeswax is pasted above the mouth of the blowgun.
[224] The ball-shaped fruits of the smbák tree, which have exactly the right caliber when green, are used as shot. The range amounts
[211] to about 20 meters. The accuracy of the shot is not great. Nevertheless, there are boys who have carved more than 20 notches above the blowhole of the tube as a record of the birds killed.

4. Crafts and Techniques

a) Treatment of Fibers

233 The fiber material used by the Paez for plaiting, weaving, nets, or ropes is primarily agave, cotton, or sheep wool. Agave and cotton are ancient American fiber plants whose homeland is probably Central America, while working with sheep wool has its tradition in the Peruvian Highlands, in working with llama or

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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emeralds, and other objects, were ruthlessly destroyed or scattered about, without consideration for their archeological or even for their intrinsic value. Among the pieces of pottery more commonly found are the small elegantly designed disks, or spindle-whorls, of which I procured several specimens for the United States National Museum (plate II, 1). I obtained also a minutely wrought spider, and one of the gold fish-hooks that are often met with on sand beaches along the streams. 172

The principal Jamundi relic of Agua Sucia, and which is not likely to be displaced for some time, is the so-called "Piedra de los Sacrificios," an immense block of old eruptive stone, covered with pictographs (plate III, 1). The miners and peasants living in the district believe that a definite meaning is attached to these rude drawings, and possibly some speculative archeologist will see in them more or less mystic symbolism that my lesser imagination fails to discover; for I think we must be contented with regarding them simply as the product of representative art in its infancy. A few of the glyphs are reproduced here, some giving an idea of the geometric notions of the draftsmen, while the others are rudiments of the art of designing (plate II, 1, and figures 1, 2). 172 212 [531]

On the way to Tacueyó I became acquainted for the first time with a so-called "plano de Indio," such as are found at short intervals on the mountain ridges of the entire Cauca region. While pursuing our way on the top of a very narrow spur, we suddenly found that the crest was cut across by a very deep ditch that showed every evidence of having been the work of man. Beyond this ditch the top of the hill had very probably been artificially leveled off so as to form a plane surface of about 15 meters in width and 20 meters in length. At the end of this esplanade the hill is cut by another ditch, identical with the first. The distance between the two ditches is very much greater than the length of the esplanade, amounting to more than 100 meters. 172

According to all indications, the level space was the site of an Indian house, and that part of the hill between the ditches is generally found to be full of graves, those on the house site 172 361

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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172 containing, as a rule, gold objects and pieces of superior pottery.
361 We observed many of these "planos de Indios" on the road between Corinto and Tacueyó, their situation corresponding ex-

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FIG. 2. — Pictographs on the "Piedra de los Sacrificios."

172 actly with what we know of the present habits of isolation of
361 the Paez Indians. The number of graves at each site does not however seem to agree with the former custom of these Indians
[844 of abandoning a house as soon as a birth or a death had taken
768] place in it.

As a very good example of the altitude at which the former

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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inhabitants of these valleys established their residences, I may mention that the highest "plano" on the cordillera was found at about 3,300 meters at El Alto de las Cruces, one of the spurs of the Páramo de Buena Vista, the limit of the forest being here

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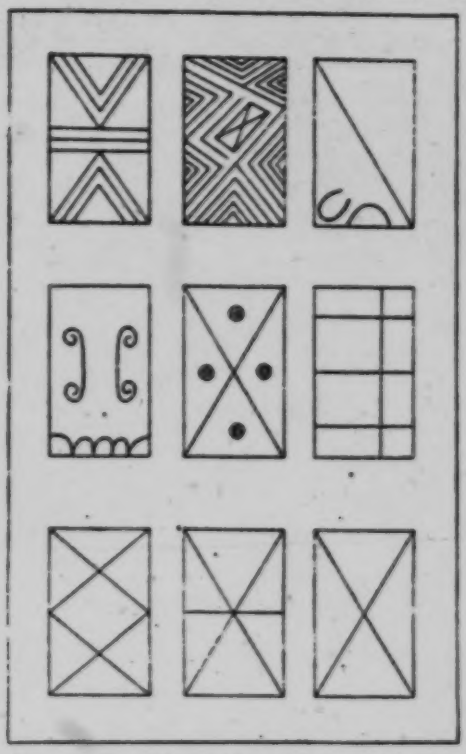

FIG. 9.—Geometrical figures on the "Piedra de los Sacrificios."

at about 3,600 meters. The greatest altitude of the abodes of the present Indians scarcely exceeds 2,600 meters.

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While on this subject I shall mention an explanation of the "planos" as it was given by one of our Indians. "In old days,"

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/361/

75 Their importance is emphasized if we make a comparison
511 with the parcialidad of San Andrés, where there is a Centro de
743 Salud duly staffed by a registered nurse, and furthermore, not far away, there is the Centro de Higiene of Inzá, staffed by a doctor and a group of nurses whose services are free and who also distribute free drugs. In spite of this, the natives do not always go to these centers, preferring their own doctors and most commonly the tê eu of Calderas.

651 Concerning taxes, we have already said that the immovables
511 of the native communities are exempt from this type of encumbrance; hence, the column reserved for this type of expense remains empty. The few figures that are found in it are payments on immovables within the settlement area and, in one case or another, the payment of taxes for the exercise of trade in various plazas of the municipio of Inzá.

511 The amounts devoted to the education of children are the
871 smallest, if we except those of the "white" informants, some of
[563] whom have their children in high schools, in rural normal schools,
[115] and even at the university. In the parcialidades of San Andrés and Lame, they are practically null. The children of San Andrés go to school, as a rule, unprovided with school supplies, carrying in their bags provisions for lunch, consisting of manioc and cooked plantains, mote, and roasted maize, since the dwellings are located at a distance of several kilometers from the school, with very bad and rugged paths. School cafeterias and the donating of school supplies are more than indispensable in these regions. These children go to school irregularly and do not remain there for more than two years; they are taught in Spanish, and on the
[562] whole the benefit is minimal. Girls attend in smaller numbers
[212] than boys; the adults believe that women do not need to learn to read and write. This situation is different in Mosoco. The children of both sexes attend school and try to attend regularly, and many walk several kilometers a day; the fathers of families are interested in having their children learn to read, write, and count, and for this reason they try to outfit them with some equipment for their tasks of apprenticeship.

1: Nachtigall--142 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/207 cont./

g) Festivals and Celebrations

796 The public community festivals of the Paez which are celebrated and observed in the course of the year nowadays take place only on religious occasions, on the three church holidays Semana Santa (Easter week), San Juán (June 24), and Immaculada (December 8). For the Paez these are primarily occasions for joyful gatherings, for setting off fireworks, and for eating and drinking richly and abundantly. It is not certain whether in former times there were any indigenous festivals in connection with sowing and harvesting and the natural cycle of the year, 796 and to me this does not even seem probable. There is nothing 221 in the myths and surviving indigenous customs of the Paez that 241 points to an agricultural rhythm of life; rather, religion, mythology, and ceremonial practice are remnants of a hunting and shamanistic attitude of mind. The absence of a ceremonial life connected with sowing and harvesting becomes understandable in view of the fact that it is possible to do this at any time of the year: there is no correlation between a seasonal and growth rhythm and a corresponding natural festival cycle.

796 The gobernador at the time is in charge of organizing the community festivals. The actual running of the festival, which includes the entertainment of the entire village and the serving of the necessary food and drink, is the duty of the two "fiesteros" and their helpers, the "albaceros" and "mayordomos." It is an [554] honor to be fiestero, but also an expensive matter, for this office costs each one two head of cattle, the food for the village on the festival day, and, in addition, the liberal distribution of chicha and brandy. And, to be sure, not only the chicha that is drunk by the village on the day of the festival, but also that which the helpers [426] drink when they make the chicha before the festival. Even if a fiestero hires himself out to the whites months before the festival /208/ in order to earn money, he often remains in debt for years afterward as a result of the obligations arising from the festival. In spite of the costliness of this office, the fiesteros -- so I was

/254 cont./

804 The period of a day is subdivided into the day (ēn) and the
192 night (kos). Early morning is called kosē; afternoon at the time when work is at an end, which is reckoned by the position of the sun, is called ff'nze. Other subdivisions of the day are made according to the interval of an ěšnetc, meaning the time it takes to chew a dose of coca. In translation this designation is used for "hour." The largest period of time is the month, ãte, which is designated by the same word as for "moon." For the period of a year the Spanish word año is used. In former times the word
[221] enzte was used. It is the designation for the large annual com-
[226] munal fishing at the weir during the dry season in February. The
[132] two rainy seasons, called nospá'nye, and the two dry seasons of the year, called sek, are not regarded as time intervals, but as seasons. The latter is at the same time the word for "sun."

823 No large geographical orientations or regional, individual
[491] divisions of any kind could be discovered. Moreover, all of Tierradentro is enclosed by civilized areas -- there is even an auto road leading to Belalcázar -- so that many Paez men have seen the surrounding countryside and even cities with their own eyes.
601 Only the western bordering mountains of the Central Cordillera,
[186] in the direction of Popayán, are conjectured to be the habitation
123 area of the dreadful man-eaters, the Pijao. Geographical means
484 of orientation are unknown. Traveling is done only during the day, in groups, and in company with a person who knows the way.
821 Of the stars it is only known that there stars that move and fixed ones, without their being distinguished in greater detail or according to constellations.

202 It is amazing that, in spite of their settlement pattern of
[361] individual farms, the Paez do not have any optical or acoustical
[203] means of communication over larger distances. /255/ In case of urgent news or questions, children are sent.

802 There are numbers only from one to six and ten. For the designations seven to nine the corresponding Spanish numbers are used. The Paez word for "ten" (kóse pémba) literally means "no more hands" and indicates that the fingers were used for counting. The toes are not used for counting; anything beyond ten is

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ĕ + pusta (T) *ĕ + pua* (H)	jungle, old field (Span. *rastrojo*)
ĕ + uĕ-tsr (H)	artery, vein
ĕfĩ,	eye-tooth
ĕkẽ, ĕk-ge, ĕfĩ	fuel, timber — Cast.: *ek-é*
ens	two
ens + ĕta uata	few
ens, ĕs, ĕsk	spring, dry season: according to Cast. *ens* or *ĕs* means also to fish; the dry season was called *ens-te*, i. e. fishing time, because the Indians fished only while the rivers were dry [221]
ĕ-pĩã	midday
ĕt	louse
ĕl	coca
ĕ-lo-ĕ (H), *-ĕ-le-ul* (T)	anteater — Cast.: *e-lo-li*
ĕshi-uet (H)	hip
ĕts	humming-bird (Span. *tomínejo*)
etĩ	phantom, dumb
etĩ + guati (Cast.)	caringano, large louse
etĩ + kuĕ	orphan (= phantom's son)
etĩ + ĕi (T) *etĩ + ĕi-ia*	widow (phantom's wife)
e-ul, pĕn-se	shooting-star (Cast.: *hilli-tin*)
fũ	wood, tree — Cast.: *vilo, vilĩ*
fũ + kiĕh	wood
fũ + kĕs, fũ-kets	bark — Cast.: *cati*
fũ + ĕks	root
fũ + ĕtap (H)	post — Cast.: *nonejó*
fũ + tsime	*Tibouchina lepidota* Baill., a small tree with showy flowers
fuĕ (H)	ladder — Cast.: *agué*
gua-kĕs (T), *iuĕ-kĕs* (H)	beard, bearded or white man — Cast.: *gue-gas, in-gué-kas*
guĕẽ, uĕ, kuĕl-uĕ (H)	hammock
kak (H)	cough
kĕkai-kil (T), *kĕ-pil* (H)	a myriapod (Span. *centópits*)

6: Bernal Villa--1 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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The Economy of the Paez

by

Segundo Bernal Villa

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/293/ General observations

433 Products of the soil make up the substantive part of the Páez economy. The Indians are barely familiar with a few manual arts practiced on very rare occasions. Hunting and gathering are quite secondary, and fishing even more so. Livestock-raising, while being an activity worthy of notice for its development, and for being, in addition, the essence of the native conception of wealth, serves more for carrying out disadvantageous barter transactions with the mestizo and white populations than for deriving a profit either in cash or in kind. The Páez economy is thus a direct one, devoid of intermediaries in the functions of production and consumption. The family consumes what it produces. The articles of consumption that are acquired are few. Essentially [439] they are salt, tools, cooking utensils, and clothing. On the other hand, the products that are sold are few: coffee, laurel wax, potatoes, garlic, and coca. It should be noted that the increase in some of these products is of recent date. Páez production merely provisions and seldom leaves a surplus to maintain regular trade. Foresight for times of scarcity exists, but it is neither sufficient nor organized.

221 Working the land conditions the daily activities of the Páez family. It might be said that the vital cycles are subordinated to the agricultural cycles. Basically, the year is divided into the months of the preparation of the soil and the months of the harvest, [166] including the protection of the crops in season. They devote the [464] months that fall between the extremes of this economic cycle to minor manual activities or they emigrate to hire out as day laborers

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●221 on the fincas of the "whites" (1). The social life and the re-
[166]
[464]
[192]
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[128]

1. Generic term with which the natives designate all those who observe the norms of western culture, without any distinction as to race. For convenience we have adopted this usage, putting the term in quotation marks.

ligious fiestas are frequent during this period. The work is done /294/ with devotion and perseverance. It is not done in haste, but there is no resting either.

423 Every Páez family has its lands. This is its ambition. The
[183] primary source of its security. Every crag has an owner whose title has been won by the sweat of his brow. Every crag harbors a rancho that shelters a family. Every inch of land is passionately
[578] defended by the native. The disputes stirred up by this fact are not few. In like manner the cabildos are never so zealous as in the defense of the lands of the parcialidad /a territorial division/.
[648] The areas of settlement /areas of colonization by whites/ are spearheads in the very heart of the community. They were established against the full opposition of the natives. On the other hand, the defense of the land and the prevention of contamination by foreign peoples are postulates of the doctrine. The distribution of the houses suggests in advance the profusion of paths and private property.

When they win the scarce land, the distances and difficul-
[464] ties that loom are not important. They are good colonizers, and it is rare that persons who lack land hire themselves out as permanent peons or become tenant farmers on the great haciendas.
[181] They prefer independence above all.

311 To study the economy of the Páez, certain factors of a
133 geographico-physical and cultural nature cannot be overlooked. They are:

1. Thermic levels. The lands now occupied by the Páez of Tierradentro correspond to the thermic levels of cold and temperate. The contour line corresponding to 2,000 meters

	Common Name	Latin Name	Páez Name
241	Pineapple	**Ananas comosus (L) Cazargo**	***chahú***
137	Granadilla	**Passiflora Ligularis Jura.**	***shlal***
	Coffee	**Coffea Arabiga L.**	***café***
192	Ground cherry	**Physalis sp.**	***chimbú***
	Chachafruto	**Erythrina edukis Triana ex Micheli**	***úsual***
	Pepino	**Solanum muricatum Ait.**	***pina***
	Yam	**Dioscorea sp.**	***shuá***
	Other cultivated plants:		
	Coca	**Erythroxylon coca Lam.**	***esh***
	Bamboo	**Guadua angustifolia Kuth**	***mam***
	Bottle gourd	**Lagenaria vulgaris Serg.**	***tuka***
	Calabash tree	**Crescentia cujete L.**	***shiptuka***
	Cabuya	**Foucrea cabuya Trel.**	***bats***
	Dill	**Anethum graveolens L.**	***llinojo***
	Mint	**Mentha viridis L.**	***tachá***
	Rue	**Ruta graveolens.**	***luda***

222 In reality, as far as a certain type of frijole that the natives
241 call "kacha" is concerned, as well as the ground cherry, the chachafruto, fruits in general, and all the plants listed under "Other cultivated plants," with the exception of coca, the word "cultivated" is unsuitable, since they are practically in a semiwild state. The natives make use of their fruits, consumption thus being occasional and not always necessary.

133 Although it would appear that the territory of the Páez, at the
241 time of the Conquest, extended up to very close to the Magdalena
361 River, the principal nucleus of the population was located in the
[131] temperate zone and in the cold zone. The thermal levels determine
[161] the zones of cultivation. One of them goes from 1,000 to 2,000 meters and includes the entire valley of the Páez from Huila to La Plata, and the middle and lower courses of its tributaries Símbola, the river Negro de Narváez, Moras, Kukiyú, and Ullucos. Within it are located the capitals of the district, Inzá and Belalcázar, and the following native aldeas: Itaibe, Chitóquez (Ricaurte), Cuetando, Yaquivá, San Andrés de Pisimbalá, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Avirama, Chinas, Suin, Tálaga, Toez y Huila (Byla), as well as Valencia, Topa, Pedregal, and Turminá. They cultivate principally plantains, manioc, maize, sugar cane, frijoles, arracacha, coca, and coffee,

/322 cont./

231 arracacha. Dogs, cats, and pigs live, the first on kitchen refuse, the second by hunting mice, and the last on grasses and roots from the thickets. They are not familiar with breeds of cattle, hogs, and sheep. Only the guinea pig is regarded as American, while the other animals are said to be genuinely Spanish.

[236] Sheep seem to have emotional value because they provide the wool for people's clothing. They are kept with affection and rarely sold or eaten.

Dogs also seem to have emotional value because of being the guardian of the houses and fields. In addition, they have symbolic value: they are the iron curtain, the protective barrier against the dark memory of the Pijao. If the latter were to reappear again, the natives argue, they would not be able to approach /323/ the houses, because dogs live there, which would inspire fear in the Pijao, for they are so dangerous for them that mere contact with their footprints or their hair would kill them. In the legends and tales there is frequent reference to these de-
[552] fensive concepts. The dogs have special names: Guagás (white),
[685] kuchi (black), salgento, pitán, policía. Dogs that eat sheep are invariably killed with a shotgun without previous consultation with the owner.

[262] Guinea pigs are the favorite food of children. They kill
[252] them by strangling them and eat them boiled. These animals are
[782] not used as offerings to the Duende. Nor do they serve as presents
[755] for friends or relatives. They are also used to combat mental illness by covering the patient's forehead with the entrails of the still living animal.

235 They "cuidan" /show special attention/ to favorite persons
[554] with chickens and eggs. They have mingas with turkeys. Eggs
[262] are consumed, but in general they are sold.
[432] They use the honey and the wax from the hives of wild bees.
222 The honey, they say, is good for persons who suffer from "cold."
237 With the wax they soften hide lassos, and they occasionally use it
[757] for illumination. Domestic hives do not exist.

231 Wild animals, such as parrots, chicaos /a kind of bird/, squirrels, and micos, are never domesticated.

/144 cont./

have himself specially purified by the shaman before hunting. In case the wife of a hunter happens to be menstruating at the very time of the hunt, however, purification is of no avail; the hunter is too "dirty" and must stay at home, so as not to provoke the wrath of the gĕlyómp and thus bring misfortune on the entire hunting party.

The latter generally consists of six men with 12 dogs, without there being any regular battues, however. The hunters are equipped with shotguns, whose smooth barrels, with a caliber of about 15 millimeters, consist of strong sheet-iron. Fine sand is used as shot; powder is purchased and ignited with a spark from the flintlock.

There are no closed seasons for animals; nor is gĕlyómp angry, say, because too much game might be hunted, for "this does not happen, since there is not that much." After hunting, however, the hunter fastens the tail feathers of the birds killed to the inner side of the roof of his house and the cleanly gnawed skulls of the four-footed animals killed to its center post or center gable-post, both so as to be successful again the next time in hunting the same game. I found tail feathers of birds under the roof covering of almost every house, and frequently also three, five, or ten monkey or rabbit skulls fastened directly to the house post or strung one above the other on a string. Only once did I find, on the gable post of a small field-hut, at a man's height, below a monkey skull, a very crudely incised human figure with an oval face and six hairs standing straight up on the head (Ill. 200 /see p. 288 /). The eyes are represented by circles, the nose by a long rectangle, and the mouth by a triangle. The body is rectangular. Two semicircular lines are incised on the sides of the body. The arms start at these semicircles as two bent lines and stick out somewhat; the legs are represented in a similar way; a triangle between them is probably supposed to indicate the genitals. A Christian cross is carved on the side of the post. I was told that the human figure represents the "devil," /145/ but had nothing to do with hunting. This explanation is, of course, unsatisfactory, but I was unable to find any similar

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532 776 carving anywhere else or obtain an explanation anywhere (*).

* Possibly this is supposed to represent "Thunder," who, as the most important mythical figure and also as the shamans' assistant spirit, is described as a small man with the shaman staff and a triangle as a musical instrument, who displays his sexual parts.

● 223 Bird-hunting for the pigeon-sized tom birds is carried on by almost all Paez families with the net (ōka), as well as with the shotgun. The net is about five meters high and 20 meters wide. For this purpose a correspondingly wide breach is cut in the growth of trees or bushes on a hill or the ridge of a mountain chain, and the net fastened in the opening produced. The flushed birds, who think that there is a convenient passage at this place, fly into the net, get caught in it, and are then killed by the [237] capturers, who twist their heads. Another type of bird-catching consists of fastening a noose made of horsehair (nyákiwez; nyák = to set up, wez = string) to the twig of a tree or shrub in such a [857] way that the noose rests in a bird's nest. When the bird returns to its nest, the noose becomes entangled in its foot, and the boy -- for it is mostly boys who engage in this task of noose-setting -- 224 is able to seize the bird. Rabbits are caught in the same way with nooses, but made of agave fibers, by laying the nooses where they pass.

226 Fishing is done with hook and line at the river or with [283] poison in weirs. The fishing line (wendyánsyuts) consists of twined agave string to which are tied a metal hook and a stone as a sinker. A small worm is fastened to the hook as bait. [462] Angling is done only by men, and at twilight or at night.

226 824 171 Fishing with poisonous plants is a cultural characteristic of almost all South American Indians. For this purpose a total of more than 100 species of poisonous plants are used by them, which means that this part of the world leads all the continents in this respect (Heizer, p. 277). Among the Paez, fishing with

/146 cont./

726 In order to defend their mountain country the Paez also used
[725] large rocks which they hurled down on the attackers from the
[177] heights. They, too, however, soon succeeded in obtaining iron
[411] and iron weapons. In their battles at the time of the Conquista they were already using swords and machetes.

411 The stone-sling plaited of agave fibers, whose manufacture
726 is described below (see under "Plaiting" /see pp. 85-86 /), is
773 of great importance mythologically in the battles with the "Pijao."
628 For geographical reasons it is the typical weapon of the American
411 mountain peoples from Tierra del Fuego to Canada, whereas the
171 blowgun, for similar reasons, is the typical weapon chiefly of the Amazonas and Orinoco forest area. The simultaneous occurrence of blowgun and sling is found all the way from Mexico to Ecuador and in Bolivia (Friederici, 1911, pp. 71-73, Pl. 13).

411 /147/ The blowgun of the Paez consists of a single barrel and
is very simple in its construction. It is made only by men, but
[462] for bird-hunting is used almost solely by boys. To make it, one
[857] uses the thin, straight trunk of the fíza tree, the pith of which is
● [223] burned out with a long iron tube about eight millimeters in diameter and heated red-hot. The length of the tube is two to three meters. No special mouthpiece is attached. As a sight a little piece of beeswax is pasted above the mouth of the blowgun.
[324] The ball-shaped fruits of the smbák tree, which have exactly the right caliber when green, are used as shot. The range amounts
[211] to about 20 meters. The accuracy of the shot is not great. Nevertheless, there are boys who have carved more than 20 notches above the blowhole of the tube as a record of the birds killed.

4. Crafts and Techniques

a) Treatment of Fibers

283 The fiber material used by the Paez for plaiting, weaving, nets, or ropes is primarily agave, cotton, or sheep wool. Agave and cotton are ancient American fiber plants whose homeland is probably Central America, while working with sheep wool has its tradition in the Peruvian Highlands, in working with llama or

/326 cont./

262 [252] The chachafruto (ũsual), a leguminous plant that bears rather sweet fruits which are eaten merely boiled in water, readily grows in the stubble and thickets; this is a favorite food of children. It bears fruit during the months of August and September. They also gather mushrooms (kalaguai), orejas de palo /literally, ears of wood/ (kallumbo) that grow round and white on rotting trunks, fríjol /327/ cacha (us tape) that abounds in thickets, moras (sutsion) and the ground cherries (chimbũ) that grow in profusion in the maize fields and with which they make cakes or tamales and mush /mazamorra/ mixed with ground maize. Likewise, they gather wild granadillas (shlal).

224 [411] [789] Hunting is of minor importance among the Páez. Shotguns and dogs are needed. Authentic lovers of hunting are few, and there are no magical rites or ceremonies connected with it.

Hunting is most frequently done to protect the plantings or the herds. We have seen that the enemies of maize are coatis, guaras, squirrels, and birds. The chickens are attacked by wolf-dogs. On the savannas of the Paramo de Moras bears are the most common enemies of the herds.

[237] In Calderas, the hunters customarily keep the skulls of the captured booty inside the house, on one of the wall posts. In one of them we counted five coati skulls, two from guaras, and one from a wolf. Hunting is done on Sundays and at any time of the year. They go to selected locations with dogs, shotguns, and provisions. The dog raises the game and the men wait in strategic spots, with their shotguns ready to shoot it. If the shot misses, they set out after the game on a fast run. When they hunt deer, they have a minga. For the hunting of guaras they use traps consisting of nets which they place at the exit of the haunts of these animals. Bats are hunted with bags. As soon as they fall, they are kicked to death, for these animals easily break out of bags. [262] [252] They are eaten roasted. Armadillo meat is rather favored. Sparrow hawks are hunted with blowguns. "The Indians are poor" -- says an informant from Calderas -- "and for this reason they 223 [411] make blowguns and hunt birds. God made the birds so that the poor would eat them and not steal." Wild pigeons are hunted on the ridges by means of traps that are well concealed. Chamones,

Chamones

/327 cont./

223 black birds, are not eaten because they are probably animals of
825 the devil. It is said that in times past the Calderas Indians ate
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224 Concerning bear hunting, the people of Mosoco relate
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[237] mals. Bear fat is highly esteemed among the natives and "whites."

226 Fishing is less important than hunting. The rivers and streams contain sardines and coruntas /small river-fish/. During Holy Week and at Christmas they engage in fishing, when the
[462] water is low, by means of barbasco, nets, and hooks. This is strictly a masculine activity. In the Paez River they fish during the months of January and February and generally in months of drought.

They also gather crabs.

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Laurel wax industry

388 Laurel, introduced by a man from Popayan /el payanés/,
824 Agustín Valencia, has played an important role in the economy of some parcialidades of Tierradentro. It grows wild in Calderas, Tumbichukue, Lame, San Andrés, Chinas, and Suin. The production of wax was the only industry in these parcialidades that permitted them to maintain regular trade with the "whites."

388 A mestizo trader from Mosoco says that he was a great ex-
43 porter of laurel wax. "It was the native industry" -- he says -- by means of which salt, trousers, shirts, hats, and centavos came in." In this business, he states, he made one arroba of profit per load. The pound was quoted at a peso in Silvia. The informant says that in the years 1946 and 1947 he took out from 800 to 1,000 arrobas of wax. He almost had a monopoly on the business. What little wax escaped him was purchased by traders from Belalcázar, who in turn took it by way of Mosoco to Silvia. The chief consumers of this product were the soap factories of Cali. The laurel wax industry waned in 1950, when those factories

?:Hemández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
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286 [386] blue, the fruit of the jagua palm (kii), probably *Genipa* sp. A woven fabric is made black by burying it for several days with clay and branches of a *Phyllanthus* which they call "sal."

[531] They make woolen bags by hand, using a kind of crochet technique without needles, and decorate them with rectangular and rhomboid figures. Some bags are made of hemp (fique), in which case the stitches are larger and the article has greater elasticity.

411 **Weapons.**—For weapons, the *Páez* used large, thick lances of black [824] or chonta palm, 20 to 25 palms or more long, clubs or macanas, stones [171] thrown with slings, large rocks rolled down from heights, spear throwers like those used by the *Chibcha*, and shields of jaguar, puma, or [177] bear skin. The *Páez* quickly adopted iron arms from the Spaniards, and in the last wars of the Conquest they used steel swords and knives. [172] In a recently discovered grave were copper bells, a golden breastplate, shield bars of tumbaga, a Spanish dagger, and a curved knife of the Arabian or north African type used by the conquistadors.

[223] Today the *Páez* use the club or macana, ordinary guns, machetes, knives, and, for killing birds, the blowgun.

354 **Fire making.**—Fires are generally made today with flint and steel, [372] but some Indians use modern matches. For both heating and cook- [177] ing, the fire is made on the ground in the main house, surrounded by stones which help support the pots. It is covered at night, and almost never goes out.

354 Illumination is provided not only by the fire but by candles made of 824 wax from the wax palm and from seeds of a wild laurel. The latter [388] are cooked and pressed in a bag so that the wax drips into a half calabash or pot to form a semispherical lump. It is melted to make candles with cotton wicks. The *Páez* use these themselves and also sell them, for they are superior to candles made of animal tallow. A cruder means of lighting consists of transfixing a large number of "higuerilla" seeds on a long, thin bamboo splinter. When the splinter is laid horizontally and lighted, the first seed burns strongly, after which the flame passes from seed to seed, lasting some 15 minutes and throwing a fair light a few feet around.

COMMERCE

438 Each week a market is held in the municipio or in some of the small 439 native villages (pls. 190, 191). The Indians sell vegetables, tortillas, eggs, chickens, and laurel wax, and buy salt, brown sugar, and espe- [435] cially lime (mambe) to be chewed with coca. Each product has a price in Colombian money, whether by quantity or weight. The unit [804] of weight is called an "egg," and more or less equals the weight of a [273] chicken egg. After his few customary transactions, paid for either in cash or in terms, in which the future coffee crop is mortgaged to the

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433 only on the basis of knowledge about their rites, ceremonial acts, mythology, cultic preparations, or festivals of thanksgiving.
433 This is difficult in view of the great cultural poverty of the Paez,
241 but it is noteworthy that nothing connected with agriculture or
[233] with cattle-raising reveals any kind of cultic relationship.
Neither during sowing nor harvesting was I able to observe or
[224] learn of any kind of typical agricultural rites, whereas in connection with hunting, now economically unimportant, a number of precepts and prohibitions surround the hunter before and after his hunting.

a) Agriculture

243 The chief crop in the Calderun region, as among the Paez
171 generally, is maize, which was at the same time the most im-
114 portant cultivated plant and the basic food of the American peoples from Patagonia to Canada in pre-Colombian times. To this day the discussion about its culture-historical origin has not come to an end. Formerly Central America was regarded as the original land of its cultivation. On ethno- /127/ botanical grounds and plant-geographical investigations, K. Birket-Smith (p. 32) assumes that the original land of maize cultivation is not Central America, but northern South America, since, according to the more recent botanical discoveries, the original form of maize is believed to have been found in the form of the pod corn (Zea mays tunicata) of the Andean countries. Not to be left unmentioned are the voices which most recently have argued for an Asiatic origin of maize, as well as of cotton (Zerries, 1952, pp. 104/5).

If we compare these hypotheses about the origin of maize with the first authenticated reports about its occurrence in America, we find as the oldest date the year 1493, when Columbus had already brought maize to Europe from his first journey across the ocean. As early as 1525 maize was extensively cultivated in the fields of Andalusia (Schweinfurt, pp. 514 f).

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231 There are dogs (álko) in almost every house. They are supposed to protect the chickens from the fox and the house from strange persons. We never met any really vicious dogs, however. They are all very undernourished and cowardly and, in addition, are of a small, short-haired breed. There are no larger dogs, say, [262] of the size of our shepherd dogs. They must hunt for their food, which consists chiefly of the meat of dead horses, since the people do not eat horse meat. Only very rarely are the remains of human meals tossed to them. Cats (mǐs) are rare. Only a few families have one. They serve human beings by keeping the [235] house and storerooms free of mice. Ducks (páto) are likewise very [262] rare; we came across only two each in two houses. They are greatly prized as roasts.

Bees (čǐ'nc) are kept by only a few families. They are smaller than our German honeybees and of a yellowish brown color. There are no special beehives; rather, an old, hollow, but still standing tree-trunk is used. In one case they nested in a house post next to the doorway. Their honey (čǐ'nc mil) is dark brown, [237] like syrup. Beeswax (čǐ'nc) is used to strengthen the agave-fiber string with which broken chicha bowls are repaired and fireworks are made.

/143/ e) Hunting and Fishing

224 Neither plays any great role in the economy of the Paez. [433] Moreover, there is no special class of hunters or fishermen. Hunting is practiced only by the men and, for lack of big game, generally extends to smaller mammals, rabbits, monkeys, and to birds. Only in the mountains is it possible to find and to hunt the čái and gwágwa. The former is a kind of deer, so I was told, and the gwágwa a small animal similar to a badger.

The greatest frequency of the hunting trips of a man is about one day a week. Mostly, however, the men go hunting [231] less often. This is done alone with dogs in the vicinity of the [776] houses, whereas a hunting trip in the mountains is generally made by several men, since a man alone is afraid of gělyŏmp, the mountain spirit.

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224 mountain spirit. We met only a single young man of about 18 who goes hunting alone in the mountains once a week. He told us that, in order to become a good hunter, one must first try to [789] kill a bear (éswiy). One must then rub its fat into the right [237] lower-arm, which would give him the same powers as the bear. [262] One is not permitted to eat this fat, however, because it would [828] make him insane. After rubbing in the fat, the young hunter [263] continued, one may not eat salt at any meal for a week. There are no further rules and ceremonies of any kind to be observed. [237] We learned, however, that one can also use bear fat as a heal- [752] [757] ing remedy, and, to be sure, for bone fractures or sprains one must rub the affected part with bear fat, whereupon the injured limb will heal immediately and will become considerably 224 stronger than ever before. For stalking he wears on his head a 292 cap made of the skin of a reddish-blond hairy monkey (móno), [825] which in the first place protects him from the thorns of the bushes, but which is also supposed to facilitate creeping up on [439] game. He sold it to us for two pesos without hesitation, since, [126] as he said, he was perfectly capable of shooting another monkey 224 for himself. He was not afraid of the gělyómp spirit, but the 776 other men were, for gělyómp screams and makes a noise when human beings enter his area in the mountains, so that they become quite confused and go astray. The mountain spirit cannot do anything to several men together, however, since he could make as much noise as he pleased, but they would not let them- 224 selves be diverted. Of course, the men, even if there are ever so 776 many of them, must not offend the mountain spirit or provoke 515 him unnecessarily, but rather must avoid everything that gělyómp 783 does not like. /144/ For instance, he hates everything impure [296] and filthy. Hence the men always only go hunting well washed; [824] they even wash the entire body, and the ruana, too. In addition, they rub themselves with the cleansing herbs šu and ǧáyuts, which they obtain from the shaman, in order to be really altogether [761] clean in a physical and ritual sense. But if someone has taken part in a burial or has merely seen a funeral procession close by, he has picked up a good deal of "pest" from the dead and must have himself specially purified by the shaman before hunting.

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/314 cont./

105 with sowing and harvesting otherwise characteristic of peoples
241 who plant. It is not improbable that they practiced this field
[412] cultivation as they describe it for the Pijao. In the story /315/ of the Paez with the ax (No. 16) it is said that the Pijao were not familiar with tools in former times and, accordingly, could not fell trees to lay out a proper burned-off field. In order to obtain fields for their sowing, they were obliged to split the bark of trees with stones. After these were dried, they sowed their maize between the dead trunks.

105 In connection with hunting, economically insignificant today,
[224] the hunter is surrounded by a number of prohibitions such as we find everywhere among hunting peoples throughout the world.
[226] Fishing is carried on with poisonous plants at weirs. It took place as a joint fishing expedition of the entire village in the February dry season when the water was at its lowest level of the year. This large annual fishing expedition was called enzte. The time
[233] period of one year was also designated with the same word. Raising
[556] large livestock is almost purely a sport or a matter of appearance
[231] and wealth. Horses are not used; cattle are slaughtered only for the three large annual Christian festivals (Semana Santa, San Juán, Immaculada).

Among weapons, only the shotgun for hunting is of significance
[773] today. The pellet blowgun and the stone-sling are used as toys. In
[411] the mythology the latter plays an important part as a decisive weapon in war.

In the handcraft techniques of plaiting and weaving, the use of agave fiber and sheep wool predominates, generally in the form of spun and twisted threads. The carrying bags of agave fiber and the wool coca bags are made by the loop technique; the hammocks, bird nets, berry sieves, and stone-slings by the knot technique. Only straw hats are plaited. The bands of the fiber bags are woven out of agave fibers; the women's belts and the articles of clothing of men and women, out of sheep wool. The weaving method is simple rod-weaving with the linen texture. The women's belts have an ornamental warp formed during the weaving process. The weaving frame is vertical, of the so-called

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105 601 The kinship nomenclature shows remnants of a "classificatory" system, into which the individual is fitted as part of a living structure and does not stand out in profile, detached within the family. Persons are differentiated in address according to certain circumstances of age and life, and, among others, siblings are differentiated in address, according to whether they are younger or older than the speaker.

105 53 In art and mythology a considerable impoverishment has taken place. There is neither song nor any peculiar dance. The music of transverse flutes and drums, performed with great enthu-
[177] siasm, is to be stressed. The cylindrical drum with skin stretched on two sides, which is used at the present time by the Paez, is in all parts of America a loan from the Negroes. In earlier times hanging, hollowed-out tree-trunks were used for the dance and for conveying information, such as /317/ are used today as troughs for making chicha. The rattles formerly present are no longer used today. The transverse flutes with six blowholes used by the Paez are post-Columbian; at any rate they are not found in this form either archeologically or recently among uninfluenced Indians. The only transverse flute form known from pre-Spanish and modern times are flutes that are stopped at both ends and provided with two blowholes (Izikowitz, pp. 298 ff.).

105 773 776 In the fund of tales no comprehensive picture of the world emerges. The chief figure in the myths is Thunder, who appears as the first shaman and as a war leader. He is not, however, an exalted, numinous figure, but rather to some extent has charac-
[784] teristics attributed to forest spirits in other parts of South America. There is also a special forest spirit (gĕlyŏmp) among the Paez. He
[224] has the figure of an old man with large, exposed sexual parts, and his stings inflicted as punishment for ritual uncleanness in connection with hunting cause the human being sickness and pain. He does not, however, appear mythologically. Fragments of larger myth-complexes are the story of the woman from whose body useful plants arise, the story about the ghostly human head that comes rolling along, stories about transformed animals and human beings, and stories about werejaguars.

1: Nachtigall--288 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 199. The shaman Felisia Ipia with her shaman's staff.

Ill. 200. Skull trophy and figure of a spirit.

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[462] water is low, by means of barbasco, nets, and hooks. This is strictly a masculine activity. In the Paez River they fish during the months of January and February and generally in months of drought.

They also gather crabs.

Laurel wax industry

388 Laurel, introduced by a man from Popayan /el payanés/,
824 Agustín Valencia, has played an important role in the economy of some parcialidades of Tierradentro. It grows wild in Calderas, Tumbichukue, Lame, San Andrés, Chinas, and Suin. The production of wax was the only industry in these parcialidades that permitted them to maintain regular trade with the "whites."

388 A mestizo trader from Mosoco says that he was a great ex-
43 porter of laurel wax. "It was the native industry" -- he says -- by means of which salt, trousers, shirts, hats, and centavos came in." In this business, he states, he made one arroba of profit per load. The pound was quoted at a peso in Silvia. The informant says that in the years 1946 and 1947 he took out from 800 to 1,000 arrobas of wax. He almost had a monopoly on the business. What little wax escaped him was purchased by traders from Belalcázar, who in turn took it by way of Mosoco to Silvia. The chief consumers of this product were the soap factories of Cali. The laurel wax industry waned in 1950, when those factories

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532 776 carving anywhere else or obtain an explanation anywhere (*).

* Possibly this is supposed to represent "Thunder," who, as the most important mythical figure and also as the shamans' assistant spirit, is described as a small man with the shaman staff and a triangle as a musical instrument, who displays his sexual parts.

223 Bird-hunting for the pigeon-sized tom birds is carried on by almost all Paez families with the net (ōka), as well as with the shotgun. The net is about five meters high and 20 meters wide. For this purpose a correspondingly wide breach is cut in the growth of trees or bushes on a hill or the ridge of a mountain chain, and the net fastened in the opening produced. The flushed birds, who think that there is a convenient passage at this place, fly into the net, get caught in it, and are then killed by the [237] capturers, who twist their heads. Another type of bird-catching consists of fastening a noose made of horsehair (nyákiwez; nyák = to set up, wez = string) to the twig of a tree or shrub in such a [857] way that the noose rests in a bird's nest. When the bird returns to its nest, the noose becomes entangled in its foot, and the boy -- for it is mostly boys who engage in this task of noose-setting -- 224 is able to seize the bird. Rabbits are caught in the same way with nooses, but made of agave fibers, by laying the nooses where they pass.

● 226 Fishing is done with hook and line at the river or with [283] poison in weirs. The fishing line (wendyánsyuts) consists of twined agave string to which are tied a metal hook and a stone as a sinker. A small worm is fastened to the hook as bait. [462] Angling is done only by men, and at twilight or at night.

226 824 171 Fishing with poisonous plants is a cultural characteristic of almost all South American Indians. For this purpose a total of more than 100 species of poisonous plants are used by them, which means that this part of the world leads all the continents in this respect (Heizer, p. 277). Among the Paez, fishing with

Among the Paez, fishing with

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226 824 poisonous plants is done once a year, in the dry season, as community fishing with weirs. For this purpose -- it was explained to me -- a dam of stones and earth is first made by the men. The herbs, which only grow high in the mountains and contain a poisonous substance, and which have been pulverized with stones, are tossed into the pool thus partitioned off. These herbs are called yūkse or kēse. The fish are said to die from them immediately. /146/ They are caught only by the men. But since the poisonous herbs are so far away and are to be found only with difficulty, the men are said to catch the fish sometimes unpoisoned at the weirs with their bare hands.

f) Weapons

411 [726] The weapons of the Paez are limited to hunting weapons and children's toys, since wars are no longer fought. The only important hunting weapon today is the shotgun. As children's [524] playthings there are the stone-sling (ísot), blowgun (pāt), and in in recent times the elastic sling (káučéro).

[824] [714] [237] [124] [175] In former times, in the battles with the Spaniards, the Paez were said to have used lances 25 handspans long made from the wood of the chonta palm, as well as plaited shields or shields of tapir skin (Pittier, p. 327). I could find no confirmation for the present-day or even earlier use of lance and shield; my informants were familiar with neither the word nor the object. From the chroniclers, however, it is reported that the Paez, as well as other mountain peoples of this region, had learned from their battles with Spanish horsemen to defend themselves with long lances. There is, however, absolutely no foundation for a pre-Spanish use 714 of this type of lance. It is not unlikely that the Paez originally had plaited shields (opimb). The word for skin shield (himba-kat) is interesting; its present literal meaning is "horse skin." Whether himba meant "tapir" in pre-Spanish times cannot be ascertained.

/254 cont./

804 The period of a day is subdivided into the day (ẽn) and the
192 night (kos). Early morning is called kosẽ; afternoon at the time when work is at an end, which is reckoned by the position of the sun, is called fí'nze. Other subdivisions of the day are made according to the interval of an ésnetc, meaning the time it takes to chew a dose of coca. In translation this designation is used for "hour." The largest period of time is the month, ãte, which is designated by the same word as for "moon." For the period of a year the Spanish word año is used. In former times the word
[221] enzte was used. It is the designation for the large annual com-
[226] munal fishing at the weir during the dry season in February. The
[132] two rainy seasons, called nospá'nye, and the two dry seasons of the year, called sek, are not regarded as time intervals, but as seasons. The latter is at the same time the word for "sun."

823 No large geographical orientations or regional, individual
[491] divisions of any kind could be discovered. Moreover, all of Tierradentro is enclosed by civilized areas -- there is even an auto road leading to Belalcázar -- so that many Paez men have seen the surrounding countryside and even cities with their own eyes.
601 Only the western bordering mountains of the Central Cordillera,
[186] in the direction of Popayán, are conjectured to be the habitation
123 area of the dreadful man-eaters, the Pijao. Geographical means
484 of orientation are unknown. Traveling is done only during the day, in groups, and in company with a person who knows the way.
821 Of the stars it is only known that there stars that move and fixed ones, without their being distinguished in greater detail or according to constellations.

202 It is amazing that, in spite of their settlement pattern of
[361] individual farms, the Paez do not have any optical or acoustical
[203] means of communication over larger distances. /255/ In case of urgent news or questions, children are sent.

802 There are numbers only from one to six and ten. For the designations seven to nine the corresponding Spanish numbers are used. The Paez word for "ten" (kóse pémba) literally means "no more hands" and indicates that the fingers were used for counting. The toes are not used for counting; anything beyond ten is

/314 cont./

105 with sowing and harvesting otherwise characteristic of peoples
241 who plant. It is not improbable that they practiced this field
[442] cultivation as they describe it for the Pijao. In the story /315/ of the Paez with the ax (No. 16) it is said that the Pijao were not familiar with tools in former times and, accordingly, could not fell trees to lay out a proper burned-off field. In order to obtain fields for their sowing, they were obliged to split the bark of trees with stones. After these were dried, they sowed their maize between the dead trunks.

105 In connection with hunting, economically insignificant today,
[224] the hunter is surrounded by a number of prohibitions such as we find everywhere among hunting peoples throughout the world.
[226] Fishing is carried on with poisonous plants at weirs. It took place as a joint fishing expedition of the entire village in the February dry season when the water was at its lowest level of the year. This large annual fishing expedition was called enzte. The time
[233] period of one year was also designated with the same word. Raising
[556] large livestock is almost purely a sport or a matter of appearance
[231] and wealth. Horses are not used; cattle are slaughtered only for the three large annual Christian festivals (Semana Santa, San Juán, Immaculada).

Among weapons, only the shotgun for hunting is of significance
[773] today. The pellet blowgun and the stone-sling are used as toys. In
[441] the mythology the latter plays an important part as a decisive weapon in war.

In the handcraft techniques of plaiting and weaving, the use of agave fiber and sheep wool predominates, generally in the form of spun and twisted threads. The carrying bags of agave fiber and the wool coca bags are made by the loop technique; the hammocks, bird nets, berry sieves, and stone-slings by the knot technique. Only straw hats are plaited. The bands of the fiber bags are woven out of agave fibers; the women's belts and the articles of clothing of men and women, out of sheep wool. The weaving method is simple rod-weaving with the linen texture. The women's belts have an ornamental warp formed during the weaving process. The weaving frame is vertical, of the so-called

Chamones

/327 cont./

223 black birds, are not eaten because they are probably animals of
825 the devil. It is said that in times past the Calderas Indians ate
262 beetles, the reason that they are nicknamed tandayaha (one who
[578] eats beetles), an epithet which they regard as offensive and which nearly always irritates them. The Calderunos say that they do not
[224] eat worms or the meat of rabbits and snakes. They regard as game
[223] animals the guara, deer, coati, armadillo, bat, and various species of birds.

224 Concerning bear hunting, the people of Mosoco relate
/328/ real feats performed by Indians in open fights with the ani-
[237] mals. Bear fat is highly esteemed among the natives and "whites."

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231 There are no animal "pets," and none of the domestic animals serve as playthings or are regarded simply as "pretty." They all have a utilitarian purpose.

[556] The possession of domestic animals is a symbol of wealth. The owner of large tracts of land does not regard himself as rich, while the one who has domestic animals does.

231 There are commercial transactions with animals among the
435 natives. The prices are very low. "The Indian is poor," they
438 say, "he has no silver." For this reason, animals that among the whites would bring 200 pesos or more are sold among the natives for half the price or even less.

233 This state of affairs hardly exists among the natives of the
232 parcialidad of Mosoco. There are already ranches dedicated
[246] solely to livestock-raising. Some are planted with pasture grasses, especially poa. There is a marked tendency to improve the livestock, in quality as well as quantity. They know the excellence of the Norman and Holstein among the cattle and the Merino
231 among the sheep. They have special breeds of hogs and chickens.
[232] Many /324/ own mules and splendid riding horses. Commercial
[438] transactions involving animals bring a just price even among the
[782] natives themselves. Some of them are marvelous traders. They still retain the practice of making an offering to the Duende when
[233] slaughtering cattle or pigs. On the savannas of the Paramo de Moras the natives have magnificent herds. Livestock-raising in Mosoco is thus an industry at the height of development that deserves full attention on the part of the authorities.

● 23 In the statistical table that we present below one can observe the expansion of the livestock industry in Mosoco and com-
[128] pare it with those of Lame, San Andrés, and Calderas. The owners are natives, except for the whites and mestizos marked with an asterisk.

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MOSOCO:

Fams.		Bovines		Equines		Pigs		Wool-bearers		Fowl Raised	
1.*	2	$ 500,00	11	$ 1.800,00	2	$ 200,00	15	$ 360,00	9	$ 45,00
2.	..	.....	3	550,00	1	100,00	..	.....	10	30,00
3.	..	.....	3	400,00	2	160,00	10	200,00	15	75,00
4.	8	1.050,00	5	800,00	1	40,00	..	.....	7	35,00
5.	..	.....	1	170,00	1	15,00	2	25,00	6	18,00
6.	4	1.400,00	4	1.300,00	1	30,00	..	.....	2	10,00
7.	8	1.360,00	12	1.710,00	5	160,00	4	60,00	18	72,00
8.	6	2.400,00	3	600,00	..	.....	2	30,00	5	20,00
9.	6	1.200,00	2	700,00	9	180,00	20	300,00	20	80,00
10.	..	.....	3	500,00	3	30,00	..	.....	17	102,00
11.	26	6.100,00 (23)	10	2.700,00	1	10,00	15	150,00	10	42,00
12.	6	750,00	3	470,00	1	15,00	9	360,00	8	24,00
13.	14	2.070,00	11	2.610,00	1	30,00	..	.....	6	30,00
14.	1	100,00	2	600,00	1	15,00	14	210,00	8	40,00
15.	15	2.500,00	6	2.800,00	2	45,00	..	.....	8	40,00
16.	8	1.600,00	4	600,00	..	.....	3	30,00	12	60,00
17.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....
18.	11	2.200,00	4	1.350,00	2	180,00	12	600,00	25	75,00
19.	2	600,00	3	1.500,00	1	60,00	4	200,00	10	40,00
20.	7	800,00	4	2.000,00	..	.....	..	.....	4	20,00
21.	18	4,100,00	5	1.500,00	2	100,00	..	.....	13	65,00
22.	..	.....	6	900,00	..	.....	..	.....	2	10,00
23.	6	900,00	4	650,00	2	50,00	..	.....	8	40,00
24.	3	450,00	2	200,00	2	250,00	10	200,00	4	40,00
25.*	20	5.000,00	2	2.000,00	2	100,00	10	500,00	16	80,00

/The commas in the figures in these tables should be read as points in the translation to English./

23. Belong to four brothers.

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LANE:

Fams.	Bovines		Equines		Pigs		Wool-bearers		Fowl Raised	
1.°	..	.....	7	1.500,00	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....
2.	..	.....	2	200,00	7	285,00	5	80,00	15	60,00
3.	8	755,00	6	950,00	..	.....	6	180,00	8	32,00
4.°	10	1.500,00	12	3.100,00	..	.....	..	.....	10	40,00
5.	5	300,00	6	600,00	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....
6.	2	250,00	2	200,00	5	65,00	2	40,00	5	25,00
7.	3	500,00	6	800,00	3	90,00	5	50,00	10	50,00
8.	2	300,00	3	150,00	4	56,00	3	45,00	2	8,00

SAN ANDRES:

1.°	35	7.000,00	8	1.700,00	5	300,00	..	.....	25	115,00
2.	..	.....	1	120,00	..	.....	..	.....	6	30,00
3.	..	.....	1	80,00	..	.....	..	.....	6	36,00
4.	1	300,00	..	.....	3	40,00	2	30,00	5	25,00
5.	..	.....	2	250,00	2	40,00	2	60,00	6	30,00
6.	..	.....	..	.....	1	200,00	..	.....	6	30,00
[427] 7.	..	..... (24)	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	7	30,00
8.	5	1.250,00	2	500,00	5	80,00	3	30,00	10	30,00
9.	4	800,00	..	.....	3	140,00	..	.....	40	120,00
10.°	..	.....	2	350,00	..	.....	..	.....	14	70,00
11.	..	.....	3	450,00	2	30,00	..	.....	25	75,000
[427] 12.	..	..... (24)	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....
13.	..	..... (24)	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	5	25,00
14.°	5	2.000,00	1	400,00	6	350,00	5	150,00	36	180,00
15.°	10	4.000,00	6	1.500,00	3	300,00	..	.....	60	300,00

CALDERAS:

1.	1	120,00	1	150,00	2	70,00	..	.....	1	6,00
2.	3	300,00	3	300,00	2	80,00	..	.....	8 !	40,00
3.	..	.....	..	.....	1	40,00	..	.....	10 !	50,00
4.	..	.....	4	400,00	5	100,00	3 !	30,00	6 !	30,00
5.	..	.....	..	.....	1	30,00	..	.....	1	5,00
6.	4	400,00	3	300,00	8	200,00	5	100,00	10	50,00
7.	..	.....	..	.....	2	40,00	..	.....	6	30,00
8.	4	320,00	5	300,00	5 !	150,00	10	100,00	8 !	40,00
9.	4 !	400,00	2	200,00	6	30,00	2	30,00	5	25,00
10.	10	1.500,00	10	1.000,00	10	200,00	3 !	30,00	..	.....
11.	..	.....	5	400,00	3	60,00	2	30,00	4	20,00
12.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	6 !	30,00
13.	..	.....	2	300,00	..	.....	2	30,00	2	10,00
14.	..	.....	5	400,00	4 !	80,00	6	90,00	4 !	20,00
15.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	4	80,00	4	20,00
16.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	6 !	30,00
17.	4	400,00	..	.....	..	.....	2	30,00	8 !	40,00
18.	..	.....	4	320,00	4	80,00	..	.....	3	15,00
19.	..	.....	2	250,00	..	.....	..	.....	7	30,00

24. Tenant farmer.

! Estimates by the author.

/326/ [Calderas]

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Fams.		Bovines		Equines		Pigs		Wool-bearers		Fowl Raised	
20.	--	.....	--	.....	--	.....	5	[illegible]	2	[illegible]	
21.	--	.....	--	.....	3	[illegible]	--	.....	3	[illegible]	
22.	--	.....	3	[illegible]	4 !	[illegible]	--	.....	8 !	[illegible]	
23.	3	[illegible]	2	[illegible]	4 !	[illegible]	4 !	[illegible]	--	.....	
24.	5	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	--	.....	2	[illegible]	15	[illegible]	
25.	3	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	3	[illegible]	--	.....	--	.....	
26.	3	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	--	.....	--	.....	--	.....	
27.	--	.....	1	[illegible]	--	.....	--	.....	13	[illegible]	
28.	--	.....	1	[illegible]	--	.....	--	.....	1	[illegible]	
29.	--	.....	4	[illegible]	--	.....	--	.....	8 !	[illegible]	
30.	1	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	--	.....	--	.....	8 !	[illegible]	
31.	5	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	--	.....	--	.....	6 !	[illegible]	
32.	--	.....	--	.....	--	.....	--	.....	1	[illegible]	
33.	--	.....	1	[illegible]	--	.....	--	.....	--	.....	
34.	8	[illegible]	5	[illegible]	10 !	[illegible]	4	[illegible]	10 !	[illegible]	
35.	--	.....	4	[illegible]	--	.....	--	.....	10	[illegible]	
36.	15	1.[illegible]	5 !	[illegible]	--	.....	20	[illegible]	--	.....	
37.	4	[illegible]	4	[illegible]	--	.....	10	[illegible]	10 !	[illegible]	
38.	--	.....	1	[illegible]	--	.....	--	.....	5 !	[illegible]	
39.	--	.....	1	[illegible]	--	.....	--	.....	6 !	[illegible]	
40.	2	[illegible]	--	.....	2	[illegible]	--	.....	--	.....	
41.	--	.....	2	[illegible]	--	.....	--	.....	5	[illegible]	
42.	--	.....	1	[illegible]	--	.....	--	.....	--	.....	
43.	--	.....	--	.....	--	.....	--	.....	6 !	[illegible]	
44.	--	.....	1	[illegible]	--	.....	3	[illegible]	--	.....	
45.	--	.....	--	.....	--	.....	2	[illegible]	6 !	[illegible]	
46.	4	[illegible]	--	.....	--	.....	--	.....	4	[illegible]	
47.	--	.....	3	[illegible]	2	[illegible]	--	.....	--	.....	
48.	--	.....	5	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	--	.....	9	[illegible]	
49.	8	[illegible]	2	[illegible]	10 !	[illegible]	--	.....	10 !	[illegible]	
50.	4	[illegible]	3	[illegible]	6	[illegible]	--	.....	10 !	[illegible]	
51.	--	.....	1	[illegible]	--	.....	1	[illegible]	6 !	[illegible]	
52.	--	.....	3	[illegible]	--	.....	--	.....	6 !	[illegible]	
53.	1	[illegible]	2	[illegible]	--	.....	2	[illegible]	4	[illegible]	
54.	2	[illegible]	2	[illegible]	2 !	[illegible]	3 !	[illegible]	--	.....	
55.	--	.....	4	[illegible]	--	.....	2	[illegible]	8 !	[illegible]	

! Estimates by the author.

6: Bernal Villa--66 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Average Distribution of Domestic Animals per Family

Parcialidad	Bovines				Equines				Swine				Wool-bearers				Fowl Raised			
	T	P	B	%	T	P	B	%	T	P	B	%	T	P	B	%	T	P	B	%
Moscoso	171	6	22	12,8	113	[illegible]	13	11,5	43	1	4	9,5	130	5	25	19,2	262	8	25	10,2
Lamo	33	4	10	31,3	44	5	19	43,1	19	2	—	—	21	2	—	—	50	6	10	20,0
San Andrés	60	4	50	83,3	27	1	19	70,3	28	1	14	50,0	13	—	5	41,6	251	16	135	53,7
Calderón	98	1	—	—	114	2	—	—	107	2	—	—	97	1	—	—	271	4	—	—

Note: T indicates the total animals of the families investigated.

P indicates the average number of animals for each family investigated.

B indicates the number of animals for the "white" families.

% indicates the percentage of the total animals that is owned by the "whites."

/The commas in the figures are to be read as points for the translation to English./

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422 For each native family in the three parcialidades and in
● 23 their respective order, there is on the average the following animals: Bovines, six, three, and one; equines, four, six, zero; swine, one, three, one; wool-bearers, four, three, zero; fowl raised, ten, six, fifteen. In Calderas this is what is given in the table.

23 It is obvious that livestock-raising in Mosoco is an authentic native industry, with the implication of a relative technical improvement in it. Whereas, in the other three parcialidades, it is of no special importance, especially in Calderas. The live-
[563] stock industry in San Andrés is the exclusive patrimony of whites and mestizos.

/116 cont./

343 In addition to these dwellings only a few houses have
[574] separate buildings, such as, for example, one or, if need be,
[513] two storehouses or a small house (yatléčkwe) in which friends
and neighbors sleep when they help the owner for days for the
251 joint work of expressing sugar cane or for the harvest. In the
343 storehouse (kotyāvyat: literally "maize storehouse") only maize
[262] and beans are stored, not wheat or garden produce. Fruit, yuca,
potatoes, and arracacha are not kept on hand or stored at all,
but always merely fetched as needed and eaten immediately.
Wheat is tied in bundles below the ears on stalks about 20 centimeters long and hung up under the roof above the fire. Maize and beans may be kept up to two years in the storehouse. For this purpose horizontal cross-sticks are fastened in it, over which the ears are hung, and racks consisting of maize stalks
[425] laid close together are constructed for the beans. These racks,
too, are hung up, if possible, or at least are fastened quite
high above the floor so that the mice (úńsa) cannot get to them.
[231] In addition, a cat (mīš) is shut up in the storehouse, if one is
available. Stalls for the livestock are unknown.

34 In the middle of the village of Calderas, on community land, stand the church (iglésia), the community house (kabīldeyát), and the six festival houses of the six largest families (Ill. 147 /see p. 264 /). In their construction, they are likewise hip-roofed houses, but their walls are built in the manner of the colonists' houses, /117/ out of vertical posts, on the inside and outside of which bamboo poles or straight branches are tied horizontally. To strengthen the posts the interstices are filled with earth, clay, and, in the lower part, also with stones. The filling is spread smoothly and the wall whitewashed inside and
[373] out. Whereas light enters the other houses through the door and
the not very tightly sealed walls made of maize stalks placed side
by side, light can enter the above-mentioned houses consisting of
solid walls only through the relatively small door and the opening
of the roof ridge, which makes the interior rather dark.

/119 cont./

574 would ever enter a house whose occupants were not present. We
576 never succeeded in persuading Victoriano to enter an empty house, although he knew that we were always greatly interested in learning about the interior of houses and their furnishings.

342 The door of the house is only in rare cases a wide board which at the top and bottom on one side runs out into two pegs which turn in a socket, one in the threshold and one in the doorframe. The entrance is generally constructed in the same fashion as the wall (ĩnd), which /120/ consists of vertical maize stalks placed next to one another as closely as possible and lashed by means of bast or a liana to one another and to two horizontal maize stalks. The latter always reach from side post to side post. At the place for the door, the rigid wall is interrupted, and the vertically placed maize stalks, only loosely bound with bast, may be shoved a little to one side, whereby they drag along the ground (Ill. 158 /see p. 270/).

●[231] Dogs, cats, and chickens are kept in the houses, but not pigs, which live out of doors all the time, exactly like the cows, horses, and sheep.

c) Household Implements

Generally the house has only one division into two rooms, the smaller of which is the kitchen, living room, and bedroom, the larger serving as storage and supply room. The wall between these two rooms is likewise only made out of maize stalks set next to one another vertically. In the "large" houses the larger [249] part contains the sugar mill, by means of which undiluted sugar-
[404] cane juice may be produced, even in rainy weather. In case
596 adult married sons live in their father's house, a separate com-
342 partment divided off in the same manner is built for these families and furnished as a kitchen, either next to the living room of the parents or -- as in most cases -- on the other side of the
354 house. The hearth area is the family center, and every married
596 woman, in case she is living as a daughter-in-law in the house of the father-in-law, has her own hearth area. The latter has

the simplest possible form

The house

/122 cont. /

356 is swept by the women every day with a broom (ctábando) con-
824 sisting of shrubs of the pǎ́ħga plant. This plant at the same
[825] time drives away fleas. The rubbish is swept out of the house in such a way that even the entrance is clean.

351 All around the house and surrounding it at some distance
417 either a fence is erected or a ditch dug about one meter deep,
● [231] within which the poultry and usually the pigs and sheep are kept.
In Calderas, where, because of the low temperature, bamboo
[137] no longer grows, the fence is made of wood obtained from the
[313] natural growth when a piece of land is burned off. Stakes are driven vertically into the ground at intervals of about two meters and the interspaces filled with small tree trunks, branches, and twigs up to a good meter in length, lying horizontally. Climbing over this fence is done with notched tree trunks or bamboo stalks placed obliquely against the fence as a ladder. Similar notched tree trunks also serve as ladders in the houses (Ills. 168 and 154 /see pp.274 and 268 /).

514 There are no privies. On account of the isolation of the houses, however, it is never difficult for the Paez to find a place off in the brush or in the forest. We never found the paths
264 and the vicinity of the houses soiled with filth. The Paez showed
[412] the same tact in eating and at other gatherings. We never experienced smacking of lips or belching, even though their eating habits are somewhat crude, for, lacking spoons, they are in the habit of simply shoving their food from the plate into the mouth with the fingers.

/123/ 2. Clothing and Ornaments

291 The Paez today wear clothing covering their upper and lower bodies. In ancient times, according to the reports of chroniclers, some of them were said to have worn small cotton cloaks, although the majority of them "went about naked, even in the cold mountains" (cited by Hernandez, 1944, p. 191,
[302] from P. M. Rodriguez, 1684). They were also said to have painted their bodies with color and to have made imprints on them with

stamps.

/140/

d) Animal Husbandry

231 Although the Paez keep large livestock, cattle and
233 horses, along with small livestock, they are not livestock-
[232] raisers in the true sense. They neither have anything to do
[492] with the breeding of their animals nor do they utilize their labor
[237] power to any great extent. The utilization of animal products,
too -- especially those of the large livestock -- bears no rela-
231 tion to the existing possibilities. Horses (hímba; stallion =
492 himbapítste, mare = himbaóite) are used least of all, though they
[556] do find use now and then in milling sugar cane. Actually, people have them only to have them and to be considered rich. They are used neither as draft horses in front of wagons nor as beasts of burden, and only now and then as riding animals, without a saddle, by young people. Adult men do not ride, even
231 though the mountainous country, difficult to traverse on foot,
484 fairly challenges one to ride, and the Paez, on their visits to the
492 markets, see almost all the colonists on horseback. But "we are accustomed from the time of our forefathers to walk in the mountains," they reply, "and we are much faster on foot than you are on horseback." They are not wrong about this, and one would not like to trust one of the Paez horses, degenerated through inbreeding, to carry its rider on market days 30 kilometers over
232 hill and dale from Calderas to Inzá and back again. Since the
[556] Paez does not demand service of his horses, it is understandable that only the number of head counts for him and his reputation. How the horses look generally matters not at all; in no case is there any breeding selection, nor does a man know anything about the mating and birth of his animals, but generally finds out about a new litter only after it has arrived. Gestation times are unknown. From various parties I was assured that horses, cows, sheep, and pigs were pregnant "about a year." Castration of stallions, bulls, and rams is not known; it happens now and then in the case of boars, with the owner -- no specialist -- cutting out the testicles of the young pigs with a knife.

/140 cont./

231 439 Since the only purpose of keeping horses among the Paez is to have as large a number as possible, it is understandable that they place importance above all on the possession of mares. The birth of a filly is therefore a great joy and everyone would be happy to trade a grown stallion for a filly, "because it again gives foals." Unfortunately this exchange takes place only all too rarely, because the colonists are not interested in the degenerate horses of the Calderun. It is different with cows (kulá; steer = toló, heifer = novílya). Here the /141/ Calderun breed (black mottled "Holstein" and brown cattle) is healthier and usually also stronger than the cattle of the colonists. Moreover, on account of the somewhat cooler climate, their bodies are almost completely free of ticks and vermin, in contrast to the cows belonging to the inhabitants of lower altitudes, normally 231 crawling with larvae and maggots. Unlike horse meat, beef is [262] eaten, but milk is never drunk, "since the Calderun never have [272] the cows milked." The breeding goal here, too, is the greatest possible number. Thus it would never happen that a cow or calf would be slaughtered. I could not learn of any preference for a particular color, for example, black-white or brown-white, or uniformly all black or white or brown. All are liked equally well [431] by the Paez, since only the number is important. There is no special attachment between a person and his livestock, for no one gives away livestock, either as a birthday, christening, or [552] wedding present. Special names or designations for livestock or pet names are not used.

233 About half the total number of Calderun cattle and horses 422 graze on the pastures of community land. This means about 40 231 horses and 60 cattle. The figure shows that only a small number of Calderun families own a cow or a horse. The proportion [554] becomes even less favorable when one learns that there are three rich families who own about ten to 20 head of cattle and horses each. The other half of the large stock, as well as sheep, pigs, and small stock, remain near the houses and seek their fodder there. [241] They may also forage in the uncultivated fields of neighbors; they are prevented by the fences from breaking into the cultivated fields.

/141 cont./

231 Every member of the family knows every head of its herd
233 of livestock, and the men every head of the large livestock of
422 the entire village. Nevertheless, marks of ownership are used, which, for the horses, consist of branding irons with the first initial of the owner, such as are used by the colonists and may be bought there. The cattle have as marks of ownership small cuts in their ears in the form of a triangle, square, or semicircle, or a corresponding piercing of the ears. Pigs and sheep have the same marks of ownership in their ears.

231 Sheep (pĩsa) are kept chiefly for their wool, though they
236 are also eaten. The total stock of the village, however, is so
[262] small that only every third family on the average owns one or
[422] two sheep. The other families must obtain the wool they need
[437] from the sheep owners in exchange for other things (see under "Trade and Transportation" /see p. 92 /). /142/ Pigs (čúče)
231 are greatly coveted because of their meat, but there are not
[422] enough of them so that every family can own one, only about every second family. Like all the other domestic animals, they roam about freely in the vicinity of the farmyard and must forage for their food. They are prevented from getting into the fenced fields by having a frame made of three sticks hung around their necks.

[343] Stalls for the animals or regular and special feeding or
[232] care are unknown. The owner puts rock salt in the pasture areas for the cattle and horses every Sunday. Occasionally scraps of arracacha or maize are thrown in front of the house for the pigs, which must then forage for them. Chickens (átaly; rooster =
235 atalyepítse, chick = atalyelúčkwe are now and then fed with maize or peck at the arracacha lying about in the dwelling. To feed baby chicks the woman chews some maize and spits out the
[685] mash for them. Every family has a few chickens, but their number does not grow large because foxes and neighbors are always
[422] stealing those wandering free. Hence the average figure remains
231 at only two to three chickens and a rooster per family. In many
262 houses guinea pigs (fits) run about, living on refuse from the kitchen and, when roasted, prized as a delicacy.

/142 cont./

231 There are dogs (álko) in almost every house. They are supposed to protect the chickens from the fox and the house from strange persons. We never met any really vicious dogs, however. They are all very undernourished and cowardly and, in addition, are of a small, short-haired breed. There are no larger dogs, say, [262] of the size of our shepherd dogs. They must hunt for their food, which consists chiefly of the meat of dead horses, since the people do not eat horse meat. Only very rarely are the remains of human meals tossed to them. Cats (mis) are rare. Only a few families have one. They serve human beings by keeping the [235] house and storerooms free of mice. Ducks (páto) are likewise very [262] rare; we came across only two each in two houses. They are greatly prized as roasts.

Bees (čí'nc) are kept by only a few families. They are smaller than our German honeybees and of a yellowish brown color. There are no special beehives; rather, an old, hollow, but still standing tree-trunk is used. In one case they nested in a house post next to the doorway. Their honey (čí'nc mil) is dark brown, [237] like syrup. Beeswax (čí'nc) is used to strengthen the agave-fiber string with which broken chicha bowls are repaired and fireworks are made.

/143/ e) Hunting and Fishing

224 Neither plays any great role in the economy of the Paez. [433] Moreover, there is no special class of hunters or fishermen. Hunting is practiced only by the men and, for lack of big game, generally extends to smaller mammals, rabbits, monkeys, and to birds. Only in the mountains is it possible to find and to hunt the čái and gwágwa. The former is a kind of deer, so I was told, and the gwágwa a small animal similar to a badger.

The greatest frequency of the hunting trips of a man is about one day a week. Mostly, however, the men go hunting [231] less often. This is done alone with dogs in the vicinity of the [776] houses, whereas a hunting trip in the mountains is generally made by several men, since a man alone is afraid of gělyómp, the mountain spirit.

/186 cont./

[77 Today all children are obliged to attend school in the
797 mission schools, where they are taught the catechism and the
871 Spanish language and must bathe once a day under supervision.
515 The mother nurses her child exclusively during the first six
853 to eight months; only then is the giving of more solid food begun, which, however, does not differ in any way from that of adults, that is to say, the child is given yuca, beans, chicha, brandy, etc., like the adults. The mother suckles the child until the next one arrives, namely, three to four years, and sometimes beyond that, along with the one born next. Every woman who has a child generally also has milk, we were told. Only if the mother should be far away, /187/ for example, on an errand at the market or out fetching wood, may another woman help the child with her milk. In the rare cases in which a woman does not have enough milk to feed her child, she may give it to some
853 other woman, who, however, does not receive anything for it. It
855 may also happen that a family with ten children has become so
[593] large that the food is no longer adequate. In this case the woman may leave one or several children in the care of her mother. If she no longer has a mother, however, she must keep them herself. In case the mother of small children dies and leaves a baby of less than two or three months who still cannot eat any food other than milk, the father looks for a woman who likewise has a nursing baby and who brings up the strange child with her milk for two or three years, until it can talk. Then the father takes it back, and the wet nurse is given a cow as "milk money."

854 Ordinarily the children are carried by the mother. The
482 colored woven belt (táw) and the large shawl (panyelón or séntyatc), in which the child is wrapped and carried by the mother on her back, are needed for this.

857 The games of the children are generally instructive for their
868 later life. The boys go bird hunting with the blowgun (pāt), the plaited stone-sling (ísot), or the elastic sling (kaučéro), or they practice catching each other with the lasso, during which the child
[231] to be caught represents a cow or a horse. The ability of the children, and of the adults, too, by the way, in the use of the lasso is not

/187 cont./

857 great. Handling it for catching cows or horses is regarded as sport,
868 as, indeed, is animal-raising in general. The animals are not easy
231 to catch, but must really be outwitted. To catch a cow, for example, the lasso-wielder, in the midst of a group of several men or youths, first runs behind a few other cows that are near the cow to be captured. The latter feels quite secure, since the shouting apparently does not apply to her. The men now drive the cows in such a way that they come close to the one being captured; then the lasso-thrower doubles back and throws the rope at a distance of only about three meters. In spite of the short distance, only about every third throw is successful.

524 Two boys' playthings, used with enthusiasm as a pastime of school children, are the top (čũnga) and the hole-ball (hẽnde). The latter (Fig. 36 /see p. 258 /) is a hollowed-out fruit capsule about five centimeters in diameter, with a hole one centimeter in size on the underside. /188/ Exactly opposite this larger hole, a small one is bored. A twisted agave string about 20 centimeters long is drawn through the large and the small hole from below and knotted above the small hole so that it cannot slide out again. The other end of the string is knotted in the center of a small rod about 15 centimeters long, which is slightly smaller in diameter than the hole on the underside of the fruit capsule. In play the string of the capsule hangs down from the rod, half of which is grasped with one hand. With a gentle swing one now tosses upward the capsule attached to the string and tries to catch it with the rod. Beginners seldom or never hit the hole, whereas more practiced persons succeed many times in a row.

[522] The top consists of a small double-conical chunk of wood four to six centimeters high, which boys carve out for themselves and which ends in a small knob on the upper side. A small thorn is stuck into the tip on the underside. The top is set in motion with a string that ends in two loops. One of these is drawn over the middle finger of the hand, the other over the knob on the upper side of the top. From there it is led to the underside around the thorn and then wrapped spirally upward around the lower, conical part of the top. To set it in motion, the top is thrown on the plank floor of the school. The loop fastened to the middle finger

/214 cont./

426 however, so that in the case of a deceased poor debtor, the creditor has usually lost his money. Prescription does not occur.
685 A debt forgotten by the debtor may be collected by the creditor
695 years later, if there are witnesses. The situation is similar for
426 the theft of field crops: If there is no witness, no one can be found guilty. If, however, the witness is known as honorable and not deceitful, the accused is judged guilty, even without a con-
692 fession. There is no statement of confirmation corresponding to
695 the oath; similarly, no one condemned for wrongdoing has the
623 right to go to Inzá to the judge. For all misdeeds punished by the
208 [782] cabildo, the capitan and gobernador are the first and last authority; they do not act arbitrarily, however, but rely largely on custom
[686] and the opinion of the village. This is especially true if someone refuses several times in succession to take part in public works, but it also comes out -- unfavorably -- if a poor man tries to
623 become wealthy on his own. For example, disputes not infrequently
692 break out among the Paez on account of damage to cultivated
685 fields when the domestic animals of one person have broken into
578 the fields of a neighbor. Now the fences around each field must always be in good condition and put up in accordance with the term of use of the field. A fence for a maize field, which requires barely a year to mature, may be more lightly built than a fence around a sugar-cane field, which requires three years to mature. Then when strange animals break into fields with good fencing, the owner may kill them or at least wound them, for example, by
[231] cutting off a cow's tail. The owners of pigs fasten a triangular-shaped frame around the necks of their pigs to prevent them from breaking into fenced fields. If the fence is in poor condition, however, and has not been newly erected especially for the planted field, the owner of the animals breaking into the field is not to blame and the owner of the field may not kill them. Of course, the soundness of a fence is to a great extent a matter of opinion, and it happens not infrequently that the disputants go after each
696 other with machetes and wound each other considerably. The
685 /215/ guilty party is then, after an inspection of the fence, punished
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/314 cont./

105 with sowing and harvesting otherwise characteristic of peoples
241 who plant. It is not improbable that they practiced this field
[412] cultivation as they describe it for the Pijao. In the story /315/ of the Paez with the ax (No. 16) it is said that the Pijao were not familiar with tools in former times and, accordingly, could not fell trees to lay out a proper burned-off field. In order to obtain fields for their sowing, they were obliged to split the bark of trees with stones. After these were dried, they sowed their maize between the dead trunks.

105 In connection with hunting, economically insignificant today,
[224] the hunter is surrounded by a number of prohibitions such as we find everywhere among hunting peoples throughout the world.
[226] Fishing is carried on with poisonous plants at weirs. It took place as a joint fishing expedition of the entire village in the February dry season when the water was at its lowest level of the year. This large annual fishing expedition was called enzte. The time
[233] period of one year was also designated with the same word. Raising
[556] large livestock is almost purely a sport or a matter of appearance
[231] and wealth. Horses are not used; cattle are slaughtered only for the three large annual Christian festivals (Semana Santa, San Juán, Immaculada).

Among weapons, only the shotgun for hunting is of significance
[773] today. The pellet blowgun and the stone-sling are used as toys. In
[411] the mythology the latter plays an important part as a decisive weapon in war.

In the handcraft techniques of plaiting and weaving, the use of agave fiber and sheep wool predominates, generally in the form of spun and twisted threads. The carrying bags of agave fiber and the wool coca bags are made by the loop technique; the hammocks, bird nets, berry sieves, and stone-slings by the knot technique. Only straw hats are plaited. The bands of the fiber bags are woven out of agave fibers; the women's belts and the articles of clothing of men and women, out of sheep wool. The weaving method is simple rod-weaving with the linen texture. The women's belts have an ornamental warp formed during the weaving process. The weaving frame is vertical, of the so-called

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

164 cient testimony, they have their share of physical ailments. Besides itch (*lel*), tumors of several kinds (*lol-sek*, tonsilitis; *koii*, tumor in the groin), they have original names for smallpox (*hugmi*), which I was told often rages among them, for diarrhœa (*u-tlitl*), dysentery (*mengmi*), and intermittent or malarial fevers (*ya-ya-gmi* in the ancient dialect, *kmi-kmi-mi* in that spoken at the present day).

757 114 Of the practices and superstitions made use of in the cure of these diseases I could gain no information, but it is very probable that the Paez still have their own medicine-men.

Clothing. Personal Adornment

291 286 [231] At present the wool obtained from the numerous sheep kept by the Paez Indians plays the most important part in the clothing of both sexes. I cannot find any direct information on the fabrics used before the introduction of sheep by the Spaniards, [174 439] but it is most likely that the Paez obtained cotton from the Indians of the Cauca and Magdalena plains, the cultivation and the manufacture of which into thread must have formed one of the principal industries in the latter. I have already referred [172 174] to the great number of clay spindle-whorls found in the graves and on old dwelling sites throughout the Cauca valley. Judging by these we may feel sure that the former inhabitants were great spinners. On the other hand, the present Paez Indians still weave most of their own clothing, and there is no reason why they should not have done so formerly.

291 [177] The dress of the men consists of a pair of short trousers (*hiii*), that are evidently a concession to modern civilization. These are made of raw cotton cloth, or of imported fabrics, and reach from the waist to about the knees. Over the shoulders is worn a broad rectangular piece of white woolen homespun cloth, split in the middle in the form of a poncho so as to allow the head to pass through, and hanging free front and back. This is called *tund-atl*, i. e., 'the cloth that binds, or covers.' It is generally worn next to the skin, but sometimes a light cotton shirt, called *atl-petl*, is first put on. Over the *tund-atl* they carry on their left [276] side, hanging by straps that pass over the right shoulder, the coca

/284 cont./

132 gives rise to cold local winds that blow through the valley of the Páez, affecting chiefly the areas of Vitoncó, Suin, Chinas, San José, Mosoco, and also the parcialidad /a territorial division/ of Calderas itself. The variation in temperature is noticeable in these zones sometimes having hot days and very cold nights. Nebulosity is almost constant, especially in the northern zones.

241 Economy.--The topographic and climatic characteristics permit the cultivation of various plants, such as maize, beans, bananas, sugar cane, yuca, arracacha, and gourds in the temperate zones, and in the cold ones potatoes, maize, ullucos, [433] beans, gourds, and cabbage. The produce barely leaves a [439] surplus for trade with the parcialidades and urban centers of [438] Belalcázar, Inzá, and Valencia. The potato crops of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José serve for an active trade with the Paez of the western slope of the cordillera, across the Páramo de Moras.

433 Coffee and the production of panela are important lines 245 in the economy of the colonists and also of numerous groups 249 of acculturated natives. The coffee of Tierradentro is con- 177 sidered one of the best in the country, owing to the quality and mildness of the bean.

● 231 /285/ The raising of livestock flourishes among the civilized 437 groups. For the natives it serves for maintaining a barter trade with their neighbors, the white and mestizo colonists.

311 On the whole, native production is relatively scant, 433 giving rise to times of "hambruna" /ravenous hunger/ when [731] the summers or winters are rather harsh. The workable land lies in the small plains and valleys of rivers and streams, on the alluvial terraces, and on the plateaus. Comparing the size of Tierradentro with that of its arable land, the latter appears scant, a problem that is aggravated by the increase in population and the habitual burning.

101 Population.--Tierradentro is the country of the Paez, 361 who at the time of the Conquest were settled to the north of

/185 cont./

342 177 house-plan, the use of nails, plank doors, and even locks and keys to safeguard the dwelling; likewise, whitewashing is not unknown.

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342 352 353 23/ The rectangular hut is the most primitive type of dwelling: tiny and light, crude and totally artless; a two-slope roof, walls of stalks laced together with an /186/ entrance door; an earthen floor; a kitchen in the center, with hides all around it; pouches suspended from the posts; on a three-legged beam, the grinding stone; a smoke-blackened interior; and living intimately with the guinea pigs.

/207 cont./

796 Albacero: The albacero is always behind the fiestero.
539 We shall make him dance.

Fiestero: We shall take chicha and have a good time.

The offers of chicha and aguardiente are repeated.

--Let us go to the slaughter of the little bull.

--And all of a sudden the bull would kill me, replies the albacero, cutting short the invitation of the fiestero. And he adds:

--You do a great deal in taking care of people; you seem to have more. I do not have anything.

--We are not just any family. We are Muse, replies the fiestero.

--What do you want from me that you do so much for me? Asks the albacero.

Meanwhile other men express their thoughts in sentimental and philosophical tones:

--This is our pueblo... We must talk... When we die, we shall not return.

--Because now that we are alive, and on our land, we must see each other often.

The old master of the house interrupts the conversation:

--It is well if you go with us. (Eviuha guechi pikin ustau.)

It is time to slaughter the beef. The fiesteros leave the house of the albacero. The musicians follow them.

XVI

Sacrifice of the Beef

●231 Since the previous day the beef has remained in front of
796 the house tied to a post. Next to it are several piles of long, dry pieces of wood.

/208/ /Illustration appears here./

/208/

231 796 At about ten o'clock in the morning the special guests of the fiestero get ready to kill the beef. They are four. The

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231 796 musicians intone the kula kui while other men begin to cut the long, [533] dry pieces of wood into small fragments. Woodcutters, slaughterers, and musicians all begin their activities at once. The wood will serve to roast the maize griddlecakes.

[825] One of the slaughterers gathers the blood in a pan, while another one holds the head and tries to cover the eyes; he believes that if he does not do so, some other cow will attack him when he goes to catch it.

/208 cont./

231 After skinning it, they quarter it following a definite
796 sequence: the lower part of the hind legs (chinda), the lower
192 part of the front legs (kuse), the upper part of the hind legs (himbé), the upper part of the front legs (pala), the tail (mens), the flesh of the neck (chikichichi), the fat (sepo), upper intestine (chunchullo), lower intestine (meto), stomach (tuchi), /209/ trachea (pechita), lungs (mechto), heart (ús), liver
[827] (mechi), the gall (muahi), pancreas (shape)... They are familiar with most of the organs and their names, but not with their specific physiology.

262 Some of the pieces of meat go directly into the pan of
796 "mute," which is boiling and which the workers will eat for
252 lunch; others, to the barbecue where they will get the smoke from the kitchen.

Inside the house, in the fluhne wala, the women grind shelled maize on two metates to make maize griddlecakes. With maize flour and water they make a dough which various women shape with their hands into circular form. In a separate kitchen, two women and two men are busy roasting them. First they let them harden on a piece of broken earthenware and then complete the cooking in the embers of the hearth. An elderly man gathers those that are cooked into a bag. Another one occupies himself with singing religious songs and praying. The maize griddlecakes are used to take care of the albacero on the following day.

796 This work is performed enthusiastically by the women.
[462] --The days of the fiesta are for talking, says one woman.
[829] --One can live through life only by getting drunk, says
[273] another.

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LANE:

Fams.	Machetes		Shovels		Small Bars		Axes		Spades		Bars	
1.°	..	....	4	14,00	2	10,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
2.	1	12,00	4	20,00	1	6,00	1	7,00	..	....	..	....
3.	2	9,00	2	8,00	1	3,00	1	6,00	..	....	..	....
4.°	2	16,00	2	14,00	1	7,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
5.	3	20,00	4	12,00	1	5,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
6.	2	14,00	2	8,00	1	6,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
7.	3	20,00	4	16,00	4	20,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
8.	3	22,00	2	10,00	1	6,00	..	....	..	....	..	....

SAN ANDRES:

1.°	6	24,00	8	20,00	3	12,00	..	....	..	....	3	15,00
2.	2	16,00	2	6,00	1	7,00	1	4,00	..	....	..	....
3.	1	7,00	..	....	..	....	1	8,00	..	....	..	....
4.	3	15,00	2	10,00	1	5,00	1	6,00	..	....	..	....
5.	2	14,00	4	12,00	1	6,00	1	3,00	..	....	..	....
6.	1	10,00	1	3,50	1	7,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
7.	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....
8.	3	11,00	3	9,00	1	5,00	1	4,50	..	....	..	....
9.	1	3,00	3	9,00	1	10,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
10.°	2	10,00	1	3,00	1	3,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
11.	3	24,00	4	14,00	3	10,50	2	12,00	..	....	..	....
12.	3	20,00	2	8,00	1	2,00	1	8,00	..	....	..	....
13.	3	15,00	1	3,00	..	....	1	3,00	..	....	..	....
14.°	3	19,50	6	13,50	3	15,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
15.°	4	20,00	5	12,50	1	5,00	..	....	..	....	..	....

/The commas in the figures are to be read as points in the translation to English./

Domestic animals

231 The Páez have bovine, equine, porcine, and wool-bearing livestock, turkeys, chickens, dogs, and cats. The guinea pig is the only American domestic animal that is raised in many homes.

231 124 An accurate investigation of the livestock would present serious difficulties, in view of the suspicion of the natives. In the parcialidad of Calderas, information on the subject is almost invariably distorted, whether direct or indirect methods of investigation are employed. Acquiring data of this nature would be problematical even for the mestizo traders with a relatively high standing among the natives and very familiar with them. In our investigating zeal we visited almost all the households in this parcialidad, covering the entire territory on foot. In the shade of thickets, in the fields and pastures, a goodly number of bovines, equines, and wool-bearers are seen grazing. Once in a while one comes upon herds of swine feeding on grasses and roots. In the communal llano of Calderas /320/ about 36 head of cattle ordinarily graze. In all of these households

/320 cont./

231 chickens were not lacking. But it was impossible to obtain trust-
124 worthy information about this wealth. A mestizo trader very familiar with the region estimates that in Calderas there must be no fewer than about 350 head of cattle, a figure that is well
[162] deserving of credit. This parcialidad has approximately 150 families. In the statistical table that we present below 55 families are represented, for many of which the data are incomplete and others have an approximate value, deduced from information by third parties and from direct observation. The statistical tables for the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, and San Andrés correspond to reality.

233 Lands intended exclusively for pasture do not exist, with
[311] the exception of that which, on account of its rugged topography and deforestation, covered with grasses that become green again in winter, cannot be used for anything except for pasture, with the risk, of course, that the animals might wander away. In general the animals graze in the stubble, in the communal pastures, in the shade of the brush and thickets. In Calderas, for example, most of the livestock is hidden from strangers' eyes. They eat the branches and grasses that grow on lands that were once fields. In this way they grow wild and shy, but fat and exempt from disease. To catch these animals is equivalent to going on a real hunting expedition in that trained dogs participate, and 10 or 15 men outfitted with their respective lassos and suitably distributed in especially good places for lassoing, detaining, deflecting, or directing the progress of the animal being chased by the dogs. This work is done preferably on Sundays, at the special invitation of the cattleowners, either to brand the calves or to catch a cow intended for trade, sale, or slaughter. When the work is done, a good amount of chicha is consumed. Only the livestock that grazes on the communal llano is visible to strangers and relatively tame.

232 Everyone prefers females for reproduction. The males
439 are consumed, sold, or traded for young females and, rarely, for
231 other articles. Often there is a lack of breeding bulls. In such cases the cows do not calve and are regarded as sterile, a fact that is duly exploited by the white and mestizo traders in order to

propose "trades".

/320 cont./

231 propose "trades." Traders who are interested in a cow, once
439 they have located the true /321/ owner, assail him with proposi-
tions for a trade. They offer young, fertile heifers, smaller
in size and usually thin. In exchange, they obtain a large and
231 fat cow. The profits are more than 200%. Before handing over
439 the animal, the native invariably requests a bottle of aguardiente
789 and pulls out a few hairs from the left eye or lower leg of the cow
[782] as an offering to the Duende /ghost/, the virtual owner of the
lands and animals and potentially the protector of their multi-
plication. Likewise he blows chayuts (Scutellaria racemosa Per.)
on the rope with which the cow will be led, so that it will not
create difficulties along the way. There are frequent statements
by whites and mestizos, cattle traders, to the effect that, when
this requisite was not met, the cow stopped halfway on the
journey and could not be budged by any human power. Then it
sufficed to blow at the rope with chayuts to make her move again.
How can this be explained? The persons relating the story re-
peatedly ask.

231 Occasions for the consumption of cattle are mingas, re-
262 ligious fiestas, and, on a small scale, the post-matrimonial and
[796] baptismal "cuidos" (courtesies for the sponsors). The meat and
[527] the skin are both used. The latter is not tanned, but dried in
[281] the sun and used as a sort of mattress for sleeping. The milk is
[234] not used. When they sacrifice a head of cattle that comes from
262 "wild" places, such as bogs, lagoons, or montañas, they take the
782 precaution of calling the Té eu. He orders them to take a small
756 piece from each organ and to put a little blood on a reed. He
231 wraps all this in a leaf, puts a sprig of contento (chayuts) on top
of it, then goes toward the east, and, in a spot determined by
him, leaves the bundle, taking care always to put it to the left
of things such as trunks or rocks. This placement does not have
any special ceremony associated with it; it is not accompanied
by prayers or the blowing of medicines, and it does not take
place at a specific time. It is an offering to the Duende which
is performed before consuming the meat, the primary purpose
of which is to please him.

/321 cont./

231 The slaughtering of the head of cattle for consumption
[796] at religious fiestas is accompanied by music (1).
[533]

1. Bernal Villa, S. "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," p. 208.

[232] Of the equine livestock, they also prefer the females for
492 reproduction. Horses are used for the milling of sugar cane, for
484 the transport of loads, for long journeys. Many own saddles,
[249] /322/ although generally deteriorated ones. Women never ride
[482] on horseback. On long journeys the woman walks with a heavy
[562] load on her back, while the man rides without carrying anything to hinder him.

231 The horses of the Páez are small, but very hardy and suitable for the rugged and difficult roads. They do not own mules or
[754] donkeys. In Calderas it is said that someone brought a donkey
[789] for the purpose of producing young mules, but the envious ones (sorcerers) cast a spell on it and killed it. Nor do they own goats, which they regard as very thievish and destructive.

In the houses they raise guinea pigs, chickens, and turkeys, and, on a smaller scale, ducks. Furthermore, dogs,
[422] cats, and hogs are also raised. The former belong indifferently to men or women, while hogs and dogs are the exclusive property of the men.

The scant care given to domestic animals is worthy of note. There are no corrals of any sort, nor special caretakers
[233] for the animals. Cattle are commonly left to fend for themselves in the pastures, and only every 15 days, or, more frequently, once a month, are they rounded up by their respective owners to
[232] check on their existence or multiplication. They know about the need to give salt to cattle, but this article is supplied in small quantities and at very long intervals. Most of the animals of Calderas go to a small spring of brackish water in Tumbichukue. Among the other domestic animals, only the chickens, turkeys, and guinea pigs are fed regularly with grass, maize, manioc, and

/322 cont./

231 arracacha. Dogs, cats, and pigs live, the first on kitchen refuse, the second by hunting mice, and the last on grasses and roots from the thickets. They are not familiar with breeds of cattle, hogs, and sheep. Only the guinea pig is regarded as American, while the other animals are said to be genuinely Spanish.

[236] Sheep seem to have emotional value because they provide the wool for people's clothing. They are kept with affection and rarely sold or eaten.

Dogs also seem to have emotional value because of being the guardian of the houses and fields. In addition, they have symbolic value: they are the iron curtain, the protective barrier against the dark memory of the Pijao. If the latter were to reappear again, the natives argue, they would not be able to approach /323/ the houses, because dogs live there, which would inspire fear in the Pijao, for they are so dangerous for them that mere contact with their footprints or their hair would kill them. In the legends and tales there is frequent reference to these de-
[552] fensive concepts. The dogs have special names: Guagás (white),
[685] kuchi (black), salgento, pitán, policía. Dogs that eat sheep are invariably killed with a shotgun without previous consultation with the owner.

[262] Guinea pigs are the favorite food of children. They kill
[252] them by strangling them and eat them boiled. These animals are
[782] not used as offerings to the Duende. Nor do they serve as presents
[755] for friends or relatives. They are also used to combat mental illness by covering the patient's forehead with the entrails of the still living animal.

235 They "cuidan" /show special attention/ to favorite persons
[554] with chickens and eggs. They have mingas with turkeys. Eggs
[262] are consumed, but in general they are sold.

[432] They use the honey and the wax from the hives of wild bees.
222 The honey, they say, is good for persons who suffer from "cold."
237 With the wax they soften hide lassos, and they occasionally use it
[757] for illumination. Domestic hives do not exist.

231 Wild animals, such as parrots, chicaos /a kind of bird/, squirrels, and micos, are never domesticated.

/323 cont./

231 There are no animal "pets," and none of the domestic animals serve as playthings or are regarded simply as "pretty." They all have a utilitarian purpose.

[556] The possession of domestic animals is a symbol of wealth. The owner of large tracts of land does not regard himself as rich, while the one who has domestic animals does.

231 There are commercial transactions with animals among the
435 natives. The prices are very low. "The Indian is poor," they
438 say, "he has no silver." For this reason, animals that among the whites would bring 200 pesos or more are sold among the natives for half the price or even less.

233 This state of affairs hardly exists among the natives of the
232 parcialidad of Mosoco. There are already ranches dedicated
[246] solely to livestock-raising. Some are planted with pasture grasses, especially poa. There is a marked tendency to improve the livestock, in quality as well as quantity. They know the excellence of the Norman and Holstein among the cattle and the Merino
231 among the sheep. They have special breeds of hogs and chickens.
[232] Many /324/ own mules and splendid riding horses. Commercial
[438] transactions involving animals bring a just price even among the
[782] natives themselves. Some of them are marvelous traders. They still retain the practice of making an offering to the Duende when
[233] slaughtering cattle or pigs. On the savannas of the Paramo de Moras the natives have magnificent herds. Livestock-raising in Mosoco is thus an industry at the height of development that deserves full attention on the part of the authorities.

23 In the statistical table that we present below one can observe the expansion of the livestock industry in Mosoco and com-
[128] pare it with those of Lame, San Andrés, and Calderas. The owners are natives, except for the whites and mestizos marked with an asterisk.

/328 cont./

388 began to use other types of raw materials. The death blow was
43 thus given to the only home industry of the above-mentioned regions. Wax is still gathered, but the price for an arroba in Silvia does not reach eight pesos. There is no longer any profit.
388 The Indians go on using it to make candles for household con-
[373] sumption and above all for illumination at religious fiestas. We
[796] have described the methods of gathering, extracting, and manufacturing laurel wax in the work entitled "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," published in the Revista Colombiana de Folklore, Number 2 of 1953.

/329/

Mingas

476 The minga is the most widespread form of labor among the
461 Páez. The natives can work for themselves alone and are excellent laborers. But the task would demand more of their time
[464] and effort. Thus, the minga serves to prevent "boredom" during the work, to gain time, and to provide a labor force which would otherwise be hard to obtain.

476 The minga then is a co-operative system of labor whereby the interested party invites a specific number of acquaintances to perform a job, duly rewarding them with food, drink, and coca. "Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense," says Hernández de Alba /cited in English/.

476 Indispensable articles of reward are meat, chicha, and, in
554 nearly all the parcialidades, coca. The incidence of the mingas is thus almost in direct proportion to the possession of domestic
[231] animals. Those who lack such stock, that is to say, the poor according to the concepts of Páez culture, work alone or in the company of their sons, if they have any.

476 In the course of the cultivation cycle the following mingas
241 are held: to fell the trees (clearings); to pile up the wood that remains after the burning and to cut stakes for the fence; to build fences; to do the planting and weeding.

In Calderas a minga for clearing is carried out in the following way:

/346 cont./

466 given to him. From the harvests of maize, frijoles, and
427 arracacha the owner receives one bag (approximately half an
[241] arroba) of each product, and one or two bunches of the plantains.

●231 He says that the hacienda owner has permitted him to raise
427 animals, but he has none, because he spends more time working
466 on the hacienda than in his own house. He says that he owned
[235] some 20 sheep, but is finished with them. Now he has only eight chickens.

427 The informant is the son of another tenant farmer and
466 grew up on this very hacienda. He has owned the house in which he now lives for 18 years. He has not signed any kind of document with the owner and has not been bothered by him about the possession of the house, but rather, on the contrary, has been urged by him to repair the house. In exchange for the use of the house and the land he is obliged to pay three days for rent
[465] per month, eating his own food and using his own tools. On the other days of the month he works for the same owner for daily wages, earning two pesos a day, excluding, of course, the days of religious or national holidays. Each week he re-
[452] ceives 12 pesos. From the owner he buys maize, manioc, and frijoles on credit, which is immediately deducted in labor. The owner only gives him salt and bananas. The panela comes from what he produces.

466 Since the informant specializes in milling and the making
427 of panela, he ordinarily does nothing else. His work begins at
257 six in the morning and ends at ten at night. He is assisted by his
[463] wife, who earns one peso a day, a deaf and dumb son who earns
[512] nothing, and another son who carries the cane to the sugar mill.
[465] This one is married, is also a tenant farmer, earns two pesos a day, and has a separate clearing. His wife does not help in the work because she stays at home caring for the house, looking after the children, and weeding the garden and the clearing.

427 At the mill he works even on Sundays at wrapping panela,
257 a task that cannot be neglected. Ordinarily he spends two weeks
461 at the mill and has the following one free (without pay) to rest,
466 to look after his own field, or to hire out his labor to anyone who

262 /351 cont./
[234] settlement and when they are dragging down /352/ the timber;
[237] the milk is not used, except in Mosoco, where we have seen
[534] that it is really consumed.
[342]

The Calderunos say that sheep are eaten frequently in the
● [231] temperate regions such as Avirama and San Andrés, but few are consumed in Calderas; some say that sheep give wool for clothing, "Why eat them, when they provide ponchos," and others state that to eat mutton brings bad luck, because it would be like eating one's papa.

262 When there are visits by "elders" such as compadres, older
584 brothers, fathers-in-law, or own fathers, they are entertained ("cuida") with dishes different from the ordinary ones, based essentially around barnyard fowl and eggs. If there is meat, a large piece is cooked. The compadres, in turn, bring as a gift griddle-cakes (about 15), eggs (about 10), and frequently chickens.

262 There is no special diet for children; they eat exactly the
846 same as adults. There are differences of diet according to sex only when the woman has just given birth. Then, she is given ground maize, arracacha, manioc, ripe plantain, laying hens ("these
[261] are nice and fat"), and mutton. The mejicano is proscribed for them, because it brings cold into the stomach and gives much pain; onions, because they cause a stomach ailment and rot the in-
[844] testines; pork and the fríjol bueno for the same reason. Peppers are also taboo for parturient women.

262 For hard labor, it is regarded as good to eat mote, with
263 cabbage, fríjol bueno, and well salted, because it gives strength for the daily activities; if one eats the same thing (" a good dish"), but without salt, they say that one is already hungry by the middle of the day.

262 Foods regarded as aphrodisiacs are "sango," prepared with
832 finely ground and sifted maize, and raw eggs.

261 Of the foods that they eat, they believe that chicha and water are transformed into blood, and the maize, potatoes, fríjoles, and arracacha into flesh.

To gain weight, they believe that it is necessary to eat and not to work, rather than to follow a special diet.

/357 cont./

261 that is provided by having what is to be consumed. An abundance
594 of guarapo and maize undoubtedly gives them great gratification. When these products are abundant the religious fiestas, mingas, and "entertainments" are good, the natives say, and they describe at great length the incidents as they unfold.

178 But, in spite of the fact that the work capacity of the in-
241 dividual is acknowledged, that the possession of domestic animals
433 lends a certain prestige within the group, and that the abundance
[554] of food and guarapo brings gratification, the agricultural cycle
[231] remains stationary within the lineaments of time, of the systems of labor, and of the quantity of seed. They produce essentially
178 for consumption. The stimulation of prestige does not exist. In
433 many parcialidades, the habits of a capitalistic economy are openly
[754] combated by the sorcerers (32). Nevertheless, we have already

32. Bernal Villa, S. op. cit., p. 256.

had the opportunity to state that the introduction of the cultivation of coffee (temperate zone), the development of livestock-raising and of the cultivation of potatoes in Mosoco, and the creation of settlement areas in the very heart of the native parcialidades are rapidly modifying all of the institutions of Páez culture. The family economy of self-provisioning and of small barter operations is changing perceptibly into a purely money economy. By the same process the routine monotony is disappearing from production and is being replaced by new techniques of work, a greater quantity of production, and a greater volume of trade.

434 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, and San Andrés, we
121 made an investigation of familial income and expenses /358/ for
124 the year 1953, on the basis of questionnaires prepared by the Comisión de Planeamiento de la Seguridad Social Campesina of the Ministerio del Trabajo, questionnaires that were filled out by us for the said commission with reference to Tierradentro.

/365 cont./

177 For our outline of acculturation, we understand by diffusion
[121] achieved cultural transmission, and by acculturation cultural trans-
[127] mission in process, terms expounded by Professor Melville J. Herskovits in his book, El Hombre y sus obras /Man and his Works/.

Within Páez culture there is widely diffused, to the point of constituting an integral part of the cultural body, the following economic elements of alien origin and, more concretely, of European origin:

[231] All of the domestic animals with the exception of the
[137] guinea pig, bananas, sugar cane (the variety known as "criolla"), wheat, barley, garlic, coffee, peaches, apples, and oranges, the agricultural implements, the hydraulic mills, sugar mills, the guadua bamboo, and some varieties of pasture grass, such as orejuela /Alchemilla pectinata/, kikuyu, and poa.

177 Throughout the pages of this work, we have emphasized in
361 particular the cultural developments in process, that is to say, the
563 phenomenon of acculturation. It is obvious that this phenomenon has appeared, with greater or lesser intensity, in those parcialidades where there have been created areas of settlement, within which a specific number of "white" families have settled. But the intensity of the acculturative phenomenon does not rest merely on this fact or on the number of families who live by the norms of Western culture. San Andrés, for example, had its settlement area established for all practical purposes in 1928 and now reckons with more than 20 "white" families, with its nearness to the settlement of Inzá, and, for nearly 15 years, with the Parque Arqueológico of Tierradentro, to some extent a tourist attraction, and yet the process of acculturation is minimal and cannot be compared with the intensity of the same phenomenon in Mosoco, where the settlement area /366/ was created in 1923 and where
177 nowadays there are not more than 12 families of "whites." In
[487] Mosoco there is another factor: the riding path that joins the
[491] municipio of Belalcázar with that of Silvia, a road that has existed since pre-conquest times. Mosoco has been and still
[628] continues to be the mandatory stopping place. In addition, this parcialidad has had intensive contacts with the Guambiano group and the Páez group from the other side of the Cordillera, who are more accutturated.

?Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1968 SC15 Paez SC15

101 from the *Páez*, the *Páez* from the *Pijao*, the *Andaqui* from the *Tama*
13 of Bajo Huila.

This extremely varied habitat offers a great range of food resources
241 and of possibilities for agricultural crops. In the high, cold moun-
133 tains and altiplanos, between 2,500 and 3,000 m. (about 8,200 to 9,800
132 ft.) elevation, where the mean temperature is 11 to 15° C., the principal crops were potatoes (*Solanum andigenum*), ullucos (*Ullucus tuberosus*), and cubios (*Tropaeolum tuberosum*). In the medium zone, between 1,600 and 2,500 m. (about 5,200 to 8,200 feet), with a temperature of 15 to 20° C., the main crop was maize (*Zea mays*), but arracacha (*Arracacia esculenta*), quinoa (*Chenopodium quinoa*), and sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*), were also cultivated. In the low, warm zone between 500 to 1,600 m. (about 1,600 to 5,200 feet), with a temperature of 20 to 28° C., the main crops were maize, sweet manioc or yuca (*Manihot utilissima*) and beans (*Phaseolus vulgaris*).

136 The cold lands also produced in addition to these principal crops,
[241] maize, squash (*Cucurbita maxima*), wild fruits, birds including ducks (Anatidae), doves (Columbidae), guans (*Penelope*), mammals such as the spectacled bear (*Tremarctos ornatus majori*), and other small, wild beasts like the armadillo (*Dasypus novemcinctus*), guaratinajo (*Dinomys branickii*), guatin (*Dasyprocta fuliginosa candelensis*), and
[231] small fish from the rivers and lakes. The guinea pig (curí or cuy,
[262] *Cavia aperea*), which is prolific in all the climates, was the only domesticated animal and is an important source of food of the modern Indians.

241 The inhabitants of the medium, humid zone were more favored by nature in that crops grew faster and in greater variety. In addition to the plants named, they grew achira (*Canna edulis*), auyama (*Cucurbita verrucosa*), beans (frijoles), and peanuts (*Arachis hypogaea*).
262 Among the great variety of wild foods were fruits, granadilla (*Passi-*
137 *flora ligularis*), guayaba (*Psidium*), guama (*Inga* spp.), avocados
136 (*Persea Americana*), papaya (*Carica papaya*), guanabana (*Annona muricata*), and chirimoya (*Annona cherimolia*), and such animals as deer (*Mazama rufina*, *M. gualea*, and *Odocoileus virginianus consul*), rabbits (*Sylvilagus fulvescens*), guinea pigs, various rodents, and large birds, such as chachalacas (*Ortalis*) and guans (*Penelope*).

Additional foods of the low, warm regions were sweet potatoes, beans (frijoles), and yams (*Dioscorea alata*); such fruits as pineapples (*Ananas sativus*), papaya, custard apple (*Annona squamosa*), cactus fruit (*Opuntia* spp.), and plantains (*Musa paradisaica*); and large fish from the rivers.[4]

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[127] [4] The scientific names of the plants were taken from Cortés, 1919. The mammals were tentatively identified by Dr. Remington Kellogg, of the Division of Mammals, U. S. National Museum, and the birds by Dr. Alexander Wetmore, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

7:Hernández de Alba E-54(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The main subsistence of these tribes was and still is based on the cultivation of potatoes, which grow in great quantities in the higher portions of the territory known as Tierradentro, and maize, which is acclimated to the temperate and cold zones. There are three varieties of maize: sweet, soft, and hard. Additional crops were and are yuca or manioc, sweet potatoes, auyamas, ullucos, purutos, frijoles, arracacha, and various other vegetables, and a variety of fruits, including bananas, guayavas, avocados, papayas, pineapples, and passion fruit. Today the *Páez* and *Moguex* are beginning to grow wheat, coffee, which is an important item in their economy, and sugarcane, from which is made a coarse sugar and molasses for their fermented drink, guarapo.

[178] [433] [273]

241 476 The men and women of each family generally cultivate the family plot, but for large-scale maize or coffee planting, and for cultivation of the lands of the Church or saint, they work communally, and have meetings called "mingas." Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense. The beneficiary must feed his helpers, generally sacrificing a pig and preparing great quantities of chicha for the libations and nocturnal dances after the work. All adults must participate in working the Church lands, but each brings his own food.

[782] [273]

241 412 407 492 Implements of cultivation are the digging stick, or macana, for making holes for planting, machetes and axes for destroying vegetation, and picks and shovels for removing earth, except where replaced by plows pulled by animal traction.

231 **Domesticated animals.**—Domesticated animals include chickens, turkeys, some pigs, dogs, and a few horses and cows. All but the turkeys are of European origin. These animals are rarely sold or killed for food, except for feast days, magical ceremonies, meetings, and visits of relatives, friends or distinguished White men. But sometimes the Indians buy meat in the weekly market and hang it over the hearth, where it is preserved by the smoke.

[177] [438] [251]

574 431 A custom which has persisted since the beginning of the Colonial Period is that of always giving a guest the "camarico" or "cariño" (affection), a present varying from an egg to a chicken, together with some potatoes, vegetables, and coffee beans.

262 136 231 Formerly, meat was obtained from wild rather than domesticated animals—boars (zaínos), guaras, guatines, birds, and guinea pigs, the last being true domesticated animals kept in some numbers in the native houses.

252 **Food preparation.**—Food was cooked in pottery ollas, but metal and enamel ware is now often used. The *Páez* make "mute," a soup of boiled maize, cabbage, squash, and potatoes, and "cocido," a soup

[415] [177]

/140/

d) Animal Husbandry

231 Although the Paez keep large livestock, cattle and
233 horses, along with small livestock, they are not livestock-
[232] raisers in the true sense. They neither have anything to do
[492] with the breeding of their animals nor do they utilize their labor
[237] power to any great extent. The utilization of animal products,
too -- especially those of the large livestock -- bears no rela-
231 tion to the existing possibilities. Horses (himba; stallion =
492 himbapítste, mare = himbaóite) are used least of all, though they
[556] do find use now and then in milling sugar cane. Actually, people have them only to have them and to be considered rich. They are used neither as draft horses in front of wagons nor as beasts of burden, and only now and then as riding animals, with-
231 out a saddle, by young people. Adult men do not ride, even
484 though the mountainous country, difficult to traverse on foot,
492 fairly challenges one to ride, and the Paez, on their visits to the markets, see almost all the colonists on horseback. But "we are accustomed from the time of our forefathers to walk in the mountains," they reply, "and we are much faster on foot than you are on horseback." They are not wrong about this, and one would not like to trust one of the Paez horses, degenerated through inbreeding, to carry its rider on market days 30 kilometers over
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[556] Paez does not demand service of his horses, it is understandable that only the number of head counts for him and his reputation. How the horses look generally matters not at all; in no case is there any breeding selection, nor does a man know anything about the mating and birth of his animals, but generally finds out about a new litter only after it has arrived. Gestation times are unknown. From various parties I was assured that horses, cows, sheep, and pigs were pregnant "about a year." Castration of stallions, bulls, and rams is not known; it happens now and then in the case of boars, with the owner -- no specialist -- cutting out the testicles of the young pigs with a knife.

/141 cont./

231 Every member of the family knows every head of its herd
233 of livestock, and the men every head of the large livestock of
422 the entire village. Nevertheless, marks of ownership are used, which, for the horses, consist of branding irons with the first initial of the owner, such as are used by the colonists and may be bought there. The cattle have as marks of ownership small cuts in their ears in the form of a triangle, square, or semicircle, or a corresponding piercing of the ears. Pigs and sheep have the same marks of ownership in their ears.

231 Sheep (pǐša) are kept chiefly for their wool, though they
236 are also eaten. The total stock of the village, however, is so
[262] small that only every third family on the average owns one or
[422] two sheep. The other families must obtain the wool they need
[437] from the sheep owners in exchange for other things (see under "Trade and Transportation" /see p. 92 /). /142/ Pigs (čúče)
231 are greatly coveted because of their meat, but there are not
[422] enough of them so that every family can own one, only about every second family. Like all the other domestic animals, they roam about freely in the vicinity of the farmyard and must forage for their food. They are prevented from getting into the fenced fields by having a frame made of three sticks hung around their necks.

[343] Stalls for the animals or regular and special feeding or
[232] care are unknown. The owner puts rock salt in the pasture areas for the cattle and horses every Sunday. Occasionally scraps of arracacha or maize are thrown in front of the house for the pigs, which must then forage for them. Chickens (ǎtaly; rooster =
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[422] stealing those wandering free. Hence the average figure remains
231 at only two to three chickens and a rooster per family. In many
262 houses guinea pigs (fits) run about, living on refuse from the kitchen and, when roasted, prized as a delicacy.

/316 cont./

105 178 Guambianos. They adorn themselves with showy necklaces and pins. Not a few of them wear fine gold earrings.

[232] Livestock-raising has intensified and is in full swing. Norman cattle are replacing and being crossed with the native cattle. The same thing has happened with the wool-bearing livestock. The /317/ saddle and pack horses are indispensable for every family. The natives also possess fine breeds of hogs and domestic fowl.

[565] Social stratification is in full progress. Rich and poor families can already be named.

Mosoco women seldom marry natives from other, less acculturated parcialidades. People speak of mingas, and even of burials, of the rich and poor, a larger number of people going to those of the former.

They live on good terms with the whites and treat them as equals. There are many good native dealers.

These natives are thoroughly familiar with the methods of curing, the use of remedies, and sorcery. But the té eu and even more the nara jihi (sorcerer) are on the wane. Many consult the doctor of the "whites" in Silvia and use the drugs of the "whites." They are less superstitious.

They are believers by conviction. A few are Protestants with great reasoning powers.

The cabildo retains its power and is duly respected.

The properties are duly parceled out. Many of them are planted with pastos de selección /literally, choice pasture grasses/. Fences with barbed wire are frequently encountered.

Agricultural implements

412 [241] [177] Among the implements used in agriculture, only the digging stick for planting maize (uhach) is of native manufacture. The others are of European origin.

The universal implement among the Paez is the machete. With it the clearings are made, the ground is cleaned, and the fields, the montañas are felled, sugar mills are made, and bridges are laid over rivers and streams. They prefer it large and with a leather sheath that they fasten to the belt. They are

/320 cont./

231 chickens were not lacking. But it was impossible to obtain trust-
124 worthy information about this wealth. A mestizo trader very familiar with the region estimates that in Calderas there must be no fewer than about 350 head of cattle, a figure that is well
[162] deserving of credit. This parcialidad has approximately 150 families. In the statistical table that we present below 55 families are represented, for many of which the data are incomplete and others have an approximate value, deduced from information by third parties and from direct observation. The statistical tables for the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, and San Andrés correspond to reality.

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[311] the exception of that which, on account of its rugged topography and deforestation, covered with grasses that become green again in winter, cannot be used for anything except for pasture, with the risk, of course, that the animals might wander away. In general the animals to graze in the stubble, in the communal pastures, in the shade of the brush and thickets. In Calderas, for example, most of the livestock is hidden from strangers' eyes. They eat the branches and grasses that grow on lands that were once fields. In this way they grow wild and shy, but fat and exempt from disease. To catch these animals is equivalent to going on a real hunting expedition in that trained dogs participate, and 10 or 15 men outfitted with their respective lassos and suitably distributed in especially good places for lassoing, detaining, deflecting, or directing the progress of the animal being chased by the dogs. This work is done preferably on Sundays, at the special invitation of the cattleowners, either to brand the calves or to catch a cow intended for trade, sale, or slaughter. When the work is done, a good amount of chicha is consumed. Only the livestock that grazes on the communal llano is visible to strangers and relatively tame.

● 232 Everyone prefers females for reproduction. The males
439 are consumed, sold, or traded for young females and, rarely, for
231 other articles. Often there is a lack of breeding bulls. In such cases the cows do not calve and are regarded as sterile, a fact that is duly exploited by the white and mestizo traders in order to

propose 'trades'.

/321 cont./

231 The slaughtering of the head of cattle for consumption
[796] at religious fiestas is accompanied by music (1).
[533]

1. Bernal Villa, S. "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," p. 208.

[232] Of the equine livestock, they also prefer the females for
492 reproduction. Horses are used for the milling of sugar cane, for
484 the transport of loads, for long journeys. Many own saddles,
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231 The horses of the Páez are small, but very hardy and suitable for the rugged and difficult roads. They do not own mules or
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In the houses they raise guinea pigs, chickens, and turkeys, and, on a smaller scale, ducks. Furthermore, dogs,
[422] cats, and hogs are also raised. The former belong indifferently to men or women, while hogs and dogs are the exclusive property of the men.

The scant care given to domestic animals is worthy of note. There are no corrals of any sort, nor special caretakers
[233] for the animals. Cattle are commonly left to fend for themselves in the pastures, and only every 15 days, or, more frequently, once a month, are they rounded up by their respective owners to
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/323 cont./

231 There are no animal "pets," and none of the domestic animals serve as playthings or are regarded simply as "pretty." They all have a utilitarian purpose.

[556] The possession of domestic animals is a symbol of wealth. The owner of large tracts of land does not regard himself as rich, while the one who has domestic animals does.

231 There are commercial transactions with animals among the
435 natives. The prices are very low. "The Indian is poor," they
438 say, "he has no silver." For this reason, animals that among the whites would bring 200 pesos or more are sold among the natives for half the price or even less.

233 This state of affairs hardly exists among the natives of the
232 parcialidad of Mosoco. There are already ranches dedicated
[246] solely to livestock-raising. Some are planted with pasture grasses, especially poa. There is a marked tendency to improve the livestock, in quality as well as quantity. They know the excellence of the Norman and Holstein among the cattle and the Merino
231 among the sheep. They have special breeds of hogs and chickens.
[232] Many /324/ own mules and splendid riding horses. Commercial
[438] transactions involving animals bring a just price even among the
[782] natives themselves. Some of them are marvelous traders. They still retain the practice of making an offering to the Duende when
[233] slaughtering cattle or pigs. On the savannas of the Paramo de Moras the natives have magnificent herds. Livestock-raising in Mosoco is thus an industry at the height of development that deserves full attention on the part of the authorities.

23 In the statistical table that we present below one can observe the expansion of the livestock industry in Mosoco and com-
[128] pare it with those of Lame, San Andrés, and Calderas. The owners are natives, except for the whites and mestizos marked with an asterisk.

Here the mountain slopes which
/14 cont./
C 311 134 only 70 years ago were still covered with dense tree growth are now cleared to gain pasture areas for stock-raising, thus causing extensive erosion of the normally already very thin humus covering and a certain sterility of the soil. The situation is different P 361 132 in the villages still exclusively inhabited by Indios in northern Tierradentro. They lie in part considerably higher (Mosoco, P [244] Vitoncó, Suin, and Lame about 2,500 meters). Here the nights are already perceptibly cold. Coffee no longer thrives, in its P [233] stead maize and potatoes. It is also the best climate for cattle-raising. The mountain slopes, due to relatively sparse settle- P [311] ment on the part of the Paez, have not all been put to economic [134] use as yet; the /15/ tree growth guarantees natural water conservation throughout the year.

C 132 The two rainy periods of the year are from May to June and October to December. During these times, especially in the rainy period of the first half of the year, it rains in considerable amounts every day, whereas the dry periods are regularly free of precipitation.

C 317 175 Tierradentro's wealth underground has not yet been explored with modern means. In pre-Spanish times, and even [135] after the Conquista /the Spanish conquest; see the glossary, C 175 p. 248 /, numerous salt beds were exploited. The Spaniards 317 brought Negro slaves into Tierradentro as mine workers, whose 563 descendants make up a considerable part of the population of 464 Belalcázar. Today some of them work as gold-washers on the 316 banks of the Rio Paez. In Indian times gold was still obtained C 316 at Tálaga, San Vicente, and Jambaló. In the southern part of C [103] Tierradentro the silver mines were a significant economic factor near the city of La Plata -- so-named because of its important finds.

C 487 From colonial times up to five years ago only the routes passable for human beings and horses (caminos de herradura /bridle paths/) were available for traffic routes. The two chief connections were from Inzá over Paramo de las Guanacas to Silvia and Popayán and into the Cauca Valley, as well as from Inzá via La Plata into the Magdalena Valley.

/107 cont./

123 knew tales he could tell, and to whom we gave tobacco and salt and a few other small gifts, a knife, a hoe, or an aluminum cup. At the moment he had a headache, he said. I gave him a few tablets, and we agreed that I would come back the next morning and he would tell me a few tales. When we arrived the next day, after hours of tramping, his wife told us that her husband had gone into the mountains very early that morning in order to cut wood.

115 Our first visit in Calderas took place in the company of the interpreter, Marcos Antonio Penkue, a Paez about 40 years old from San Andrés, who regarded himself as very civilized and who had reached a certain position of wealth. He served as a [191] soldier on the Brazilian border and speaks Spanish well. On his [245] finca /see the glossary, p. 249 / he has about 2,000 coffee trees, [439] whose yield he sells in Inzá on the market. He also carries on [464] other business there by functioning as an interpreter and middleman for the non-Spanish-speaking and generally unbusinesslike Paez. During our work in Calderas he combined business with his services. [233] The Paez are ardent cattle-raisers, albeit not in our economic sense, but purely for sport and the pleasure of numbers. A cow-calf is much more valuable to them than a full-grown bull, for [437] it will produce another calf and increase the herd. Thus, Marcos Antonio exchanged calves for bulls in Calderas and, indeed, bought [434] some cattle himself. These business transactions bring him about 200 to 250 pesos profit per head, since among themselves the Paez ask only low prices, about 50 pesos for a bull. His selling 115 price on the market in Inzá amounts to about 300 pesos. He re- 124 garded the work with us as highly troublesome, but he knew what he was worth to us. His fee rose from three pesos a day at the beginning to ten pesos. Translations that seemed to him too complicated or explanations that were too long for him he would give "in essence" in a few words, after which my counterquestions obviously annoyed him. One day when I had planned some important work, but he some important business, he hid our horses and calmly let us look for them all day long, while he, under the pretext of searching for the horses, carried on his business until he "found" them in the evening.

/126 cont./

433 only on the basis of knowledge about their rites, ceremonial acts, mythology, cultic preparations, or festivals of thanksgiving.

433 This is difficult in view of the great cultural poverty of the Paez,
241 but it is noteworthy that nothing connected with agriculture or
[233] with cattle-raising reveals any kind of cultic relationship.

Neither during sowing nor harvesting was I able to observe or
[224] learn of any kind of typical agricultural rites, whereas in connection with hunting, now economically unimportant, a number of precepts and prohibitions surround the hunter before and after his hunting.

a) Agriculture

243 The chief crop in the Calderun region, as among the Paez
171 generally, is maize, which was at the same time the most im-
114 portant cultivated plant and the basic food of the American peoples from Patagonia to Canada in pre-Colombian times. To this day the discussion about its culture-historical origin has not come to an end. Formerly Central America was regarded as the original land of its cultivation. On ethno- /127/ botanical grounds and plant-geographical investigations, K. Birket-Smith (p. 32) assumes that the original land of maize cultivation is not Central America, but northern South America, since, according to the more recent botanical discoveries, the original form of maize is believed to have been found in the form of the pod corn (Zea mays tunicata) of the Andean countries. Not to be left unmentioned are the voices which most recently have argued for an Asiatic origin of maize, as well as of cotton (Zerries, 1952, pp. 104/5).

If we compare these hypotheses about the origin of maize with the first authenticated reports about its occurrence in America, we find as the oldest date the year 1493, when Columbus had already brought maize to Europe from his first journey across the ocean. As early as 1525 maize was extensively cultivated in the fields of Andalusia (Schweinfurt, pp. 514 f).

/140/

d) Animal Husbandry

231 Although the Paez keep large livestock, cattle and
233 horses, along with small livestock, they are not livestock-
[232] raisers in the true sense. They neither have anything to do
[492] with the breeding of their animals nor do they utilize their labor
[237] power to any great extent. The utilization of animal products,
too -- especially those of the large livestock -- bears no rela-
231 tion to the existing possibilities. Horses (himba; stallion =
492 himbapítste, mare = himbaóite) are used least of all, though they
[556] do find use now and then in milling sugar cane. Actually, people have them only to have them and to be considered rich. They are used neither as draft horses in front of wagons nor as beasts of burden, and only now and then as riding animals, with-
231 out a saddle, by young people. Adult men do not ride, even
484 though the mountainous country, difficult to traverse on foot,
492 fairly challenges one to ride, and the Paez, on their visits to the markets, see almost all the colonists on horseback. But "we are accustomed from the time of our forefathers to walk in the mountains," they reply, "and we are much faster on foot than you are on horseback." They are not wrong about this, and one would not like to trust one of the Paez horses, degenerated through inbreeding, to carry its rider on market days 30 kilometers over
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/140 cont./

231 439 Since the only purpose of keeping horses among the Paez is to have as large a number as possible, it is understandable that they place importance above all on the possession of mares. The birth of a filly is therefore a great joy and everyone would be happy to trade a grown stallion for a filly, "because it again gives foals." Unfortunately this exchange takes place only all too rarely, because the colonists are not interested in the degenerate horses of the Calderun. It is different with cows (kulá; steer = tolô, heifer = novflya). Here the /141/ Calderun breed (black mottled "Holstein" and brown cattle) is healthier and usually also stronger than the cattle of the colonists. Moreover, on account of the somewhat cooler climate, their bodies are almost completely free of ticks and vermin, in contrast to the cows belonging to the inhabitants of lower altitudes, normally 231 crawling with larvae and maggots. Unlike horse meat, beef is [262] eaten, but milk is never drunk, "since the Calderun never have [272] the cows milked." The breeding goal here, too, is the greatest possible number. Thus it would never happen that a cow or calf would be slaughtered. I could not learn of any preference for a particular color, for example, black-white or brown-white, or uniformly all black or white or brown. All are liked equally well [431] by the Paez, since only the number is important. There is no special attachment between a person and his livestock, for no one gives away livestock, either as a birthday, christening, or [552] wedding present. Special names or designations for livestock or pet names are not used.

● 233 About half the total number of Calderun cattle and horses 422 graze on the pastures of community land. This means about 40 231 horses and 60 cattle. The figure shows that only a small num- [554] ber of Calderun families own a cow or a horse. The proportion becomes even less favorable when one learns that there are three rich families who own about ten to 20 head of cattle and horses each. The other half of the large stock, as well as sheep, pigs, and small stock, remain near the houses and seek their fodder there. [241] They may also forage in the uncultivated fields of neighbors; they are prevented by the fences from breaking into the cultivated fields.

/141 cont./

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233 of livestock, and the men every head of the large livestock of
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/314 cont./

105 with sowing and harvesting otherwise characteristic of peoples
241 who plant. It is not improbable that they practiced this field
[442] cultivation as they describe it for the Pijao. In the story /315/ of the Paez with the ax (No. 16) it is said that the Pijao were not familiar with tools in former times and, accordingly, could not fell trees to lay out a proper burned-off field. In order to obtain fields for their sowing, they were obliged to split the bark of trees with stones. After these were dried, they sowed their maize between the dead trunks.

105 In connection with hunting, economically insignificant today,
[224] the hunter is surrounded by a number of prohibitions such as we find everywhere among hunting peoples throughout the world.
[226] Fishing is carried on with poisonous plants at weirs. It took place as a joint fishing expedition of the entire village in the February dry season when the water was at its lowest level of the year. This large annual fishing expedition was called enzte. The time
[233] period of one year was also designated with the same word. Raising
[556] large livestock is almost purely a sport or a matter of appearance
[231] and wealth. Horses are not used; cattle are slaughtered only for the three large annual Christian festivals (Semana Santa, San Juán, Immaculada).

Among weapons, only the shotgun for hunting is of significance
[773] today. The pellet blowgun and the stone-sling are used as toys. In
[441] the mythology the latter plays an important part as a decisive weapon in war.

In the handcraft techniques of plaiting and weaving, the use of agave fiber and sheep wool predominates, generally in the form of spun and twisted threads. The carrying bags of agave fiber and the wool coca bags are made by the loop technique; the hammocks, bird nets, berry sieves, and stone-slings by the knot technique. Only straw hats are plaited. The bands of the fiber bags are woven out of agave fibers; the women's belts and the articles of clothing of men and women, out of sheep wool. The weaving method is simple rod-weaving with the linen texture. The women's belts have an ornamental warp formed during the weaving process. The weaving frame is vertical, of the so-called

361 /295 cont./
311 strong political groupings had their principal seats at Tálaga,
643 Suin, and Avirama (3). "The place of residence of a cacique
175
[622]
[103]

3. Hernández de Alba, Gr. "The Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia," pp. 915-960.

constituted a sort of settlement or gathering place, most of which remain today as Indian pueblos and retain their names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima," Chitoquez, Cuetando, Yaquivá, Pisimbalá, and Itaibe, all of them located at the
361 temperate thermal level. It is precisely along the course of
311 the Páez River and along the middle and lower courses of its
161 tributaries that the Páez population is now concentrated.

13 2. Physiography. Merely a single glance at the wild geography of Tierradentro will give an idea of the pattern of life of the Páez people. The physiography of the entire course of the Páez River, from Irlanda to Itaibe, with nearly all of its tributaries, is compressed into profiled accidents. It might be said that it forms a "thermic chimney," Professor Guhl's expression. It belongs to the temperate thermal level. This is the land of the great slopes covered with natural pastures and of the short, narrow vegas with fertile soils. There are those who speak of the fertility of all the soil of Tierradentro, classifying it, consequently, as a privileged zone. The concept proves to be deceptive, because it does not take into account the physiographic factor. We find the usable vegetal layer /296/ only in the extremely narrow vegas of the rivers, ravines, and streams, and in places
13 where the topography becomes a little smoother. The left bank
241 of the Páez River, from Toez to La Plata, is usable for agricul-
[233] ture and stock-raising only with difficulty, given the brutality of the slopes. Every tributary that enters on this side is a deep ravine isolated by ridges running from northeast to southwest. On the other hand, the left bank has important vegas. It is there that plantains, manioc, sugar cane, coca, arracacha, maize, and lately coffee and guadua bamboo are grown. The soils are essentially acid, and the Gramineae grow in abundance

/320 cont./

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/323 cont./

231 There are no animal "pets," and none of the domestic animals serve as playthings or are regarded simply as "pretty." They all have a utilitarian purpose.

[556] The possession of domestic animals is a symbol of wealth. The owner of large tracts of land does not regard himself as rich, while the one who has domestic animals does.

231 435 438 There are commercial transactions with animals among the natives. The prices are very low. "The Indian is poor," they say, "he has no silver." For this reason, animals that among the whites would bring 200 pesos or more are sold among the natives for half the price or even less.

● 233 232 [246] This state of affairs hardly exists among the natives of the parcialidad of Mosoco. There are already ranches dedicated solely to livestock-raising. Some are planted with pasture grasses, especially poa. There is a marked tendency to improve the livestock, in quality as well as quantity. They know the excellence of the Norman and Holstein among the cattle and the Merino among the sheep. They have special breeds of hogs and chickens. Many /324/ own mules and splendid riding horses. Commercial transactions involving animals bring a just price even among the natives themselves. Some of them are marvelous traders. They still retain the practice of making an offering to the Duende when slaughtering cattle or pigs. On the savannas of the Paramo de Moras the natives have magnificent herds. Livestock-raising in Mosoco is thus an industry at the height of development that deserves full attention on the part of the authorities.

231 [232] [438] [782] [233]

23 [128] In the statistical table that we present below one can observe the expansion of the livestock industry in Mosoco and compare it with those of Lame, San Andrés, and Calderas. The owners are natives, except for the whites and mestizos marked with an asterisk.

/320 cont./

231 propose "trades." Traders who are interested in a cow, once
439 they have located the true /321/ owner, assail him with propositions for a trade. They offer young, fertile heifers, smaller in size and usually thin. In exchange, they obtain a large and
231 fat cow. The profits are more than 200%. Before handing over
439 the animal, the native invariably requests a bottle of aguardiente
789 and pulls out a few hairs from the left eye or lower leg of the cow
[782] as an offering to the Duende /ghost/, the virtual owner of the lands and animals and potentially the protector of their multiplication. Likewise he blows chayuts (Scutellaria racemosa Per.) on the rope with which the cow will be led, so that it will not create difficulties along the way. There are frequent statements by whites and mestizos, cattle traders, to the effect that, when this requisite was not met, the cow stopped halfway on the journey and could not be budged by any human power. Then it sufficed to blow at the rope with chayuts to make her move again. How can this be explained? The persons relating the story repeatedly ask.

231 Occasions for the consumption of cattle are mingas, re-
262 ligious fiestas, and, on a small scale, the post-matrimonial and
[796] baptismal "cuidos" (courtesies for the sponsors). The meat and
[527] the skin are both used. The latter is not tanned, but dried in
[281] the sun and used as a sort of mattress for sleeping. The milk is
[234] not used. When they sacrifice a head of cattle that comes from
262 "wild" places, such as bogs, lagoons, or montañas, they take the
782 precaution of calling the Té eu. He orders them to take a small
756 piece from each organ and to put a little blood on a reed. He
231 wraps all this in a leaf, puts a sprig of contento (chayuts) on top of it, then goes toward the east, and, in a spot determined by him, leaves the bundle, taking care always to put it to the left of things such as trunks or rocks. This placement does not have any special ceremony associated with it; it is not accompanied by prayers or the blowing of medicines, and it does not take place at a specific time. It is an offering to the Duende which is performed before consuming the meat, the primary purpose of which is to please him.

/351 cont./

273 The maize is ground, and they cook the flour with plenty of water; this liquid is removed and put in a trough to ferment [272] for several days, adding panela to it. It is said that this chicha is tastier than guarapo, but that it does not inebriate and does not work satisfactorily; it serves only to quench thirst, like the "cola" (carbonated drink) of the "whites."

262 Peaches and apples are eaten in the regions where they are produced, and oranges as well, but in general the consumption of fruit is very low.

252 262 Guinea pigs are eaten when the family wants meat. They kill them by breaking their necks; then they wet them with cold water and put them in the embers of the fire in order to loosen the hide and skin them; they are washed, the entrails are removed, they are washed again, and then they are cooked in the pot of sancocho, mote, "sango," or maize-ball soup; some people eat the entrails, while others do not. The guinea pig is regarded as "tasty."

With chicken special attention is shown to favorite friends and to compadres, and mingas are held. At the fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, it is customary to eat chicken. After being plucked, the entrails are removed, it is washed, and it is cooked in the pot of sancocho or mote. The natives regard the leg as the best piece, and for this reason this is what they present to the elders (compadres, fathers, eldest sons); to the others they give a piece of breast or any other part. The head goes to the owner. The washed and cooked entrails are also distributed among all present. Turkeys and ducks are prepared and consumed in the same manner.

From the pig some organs are eaten roasted: pancreas, kidneys, intestines, and the meat of the backbone; the bacon 262 is kept to flavor food; the rest is eaten boiled. When a pig is killed out of the mere desire to use the meat, portions are distributed to the "elders" of the family (fathers-in-law, fathers, etc.), and the same thing is done when cattle is slaughtered. [237] From them they use the meat, the hide, and the horns for making [534] whistles which are blown when a house is being built in the

[342]

[334]

262 /351 cont./
[234] settlement and when they are dragging down /352/ the timber;
[237] the milk is not used, except in Mosoco, where we have seen
[534] that it is really consumed.
[342]

The Calderunos say that sheep are eaten frequently in the
[231] temperate regions such as Avirama and San Andrés, but few are consumed in Calderas; some say that sheep give wool for clothing, "Why eat them, when they provide ponchos," and others state that to eat mutton brings bad luck, because it would be like eating one's papa.

262 When there are visits by "elders" such as compadres, older
574 brothers, fathers-in-law, or own fathers, they are entertained ("cuida") with dishes different from the ordinary ones, based essentially around barnyard fowl and eggs. If there is meat, a large piece is cooked. The compadres, in turn, bring as a gift griddle-cakes (about 15), eggs (about 10), and frequently chickens.

262 There is no special diet for children; they eat exactly the
846 same as adults. There are differences of diet according to sex only when the woman has just given birth. Then, she is given ground maize, arracacha, manioc, ripe plantain, laying hens ("these
[261] are nice and fat"), and mutton. The mejicano is proscribed for them, because it brings cold into the stomach and gives much pain; onions, because they cause a stomach ailment and rot the in-
[844] testines; pork and the frijol bueno for the same reason. Peppers are also taboo for parturient women.

262 For hard labor, it is regarded as good to eat mote, with
263 cabbage, frijol bueno, and well salted, because it gives strength for the daily activities; if one eats the same thing (" a good dish"), but without salt, they say that one is already hungry by the middle of the day.

262 Foods regarded as aphrodisiacs are "sango," prepared with
832 finely ground and sifted maize, and raw eggs.

261 Of the foods that they eat, they believe that chicha and water are transformed into blood, and the maize, potatoes, frijoles, and arracacha into flesh.

To gain weight, they believe that it is necessary to eat and not to work, rather than to follow a special diet.

/141 cont./

231 Every member of the family knows every head of its herd
233 of livestock, and the men every head of the large livestock of
422 the entire village. Nevertheless, marks of ownership are used, which, for the horses, consist of branding irons with the first initial of the owner, such as are used by the colonists and may be bought there. The cattle have as marks of ownership small cuts in their ears in the form of a triangle, square, or semicircle, or a corresponding piercing of the ears. Pigs and sheep have the same marks of ownership in their ears.

231 Sheep (pĩa) are kept chiefly for their wool, though they
236 are also eaten. The total stock of the village, however, is so
[262] small that only every third family on the average owns one or
[422] two sheep. The other families must obtain the wool they need
[437] from the sheep owners in exchange for other things (see under "Trade and Transportation" /see p. 92 /). /142/ Pigs (čúče)
231 are greatly coveted because of their meat, but there are not
[422] enough of them so that every family can own one, only about every second family. Like all the other domestic animals, they roam about freely in the vicinity of the farmyard and must forage for their food. They are prevented from getting into the fenced fields by having a frame made of three sticks hung around their necks.

[343] Stalls for the animals or regular and special feeding or
[232] care are unknown. The owner puts rock salt in the pasture areas for the cattle and horses every Sunday. Occasionally scraps of arracacha or maize are thrown in front of the house for the pigs, which must then forage for them. Chickens (ãtaly; rooster =
235 atalyepĩtste, chick = atalyelũčkwe are now and then fed with maize or peck at the arracacha lying about in the dwelling. To feed baby chicks the woman chews some maize and spits out the
[685] mash for them. Every family has a few chickens, but their number does not grow large because foxes and neighbors are always
[422] stealing those wandering free. Hence the average figure remains
231 at only two to three chickens and a rooster per family. In many
262 houses guinea pigs (fits) run about, living on refuse from the kitchen and, when roasted, prized as a delicacy.

/142 cont./

231 There are dogs (álko) in almost every house. They are supposed to protect the chickens from the fox and the house from strange persons. We never met any really vicious dogs, however. They are all very undernourished and cowardly and, in addition, are of a small, short-haired breed. There are no larger dogs, say, [262] of the size of our shepherd dogs. They must hunt for their food, which consists chiefly of the meat of dead horses, since the people do not eat horse meat. Only very rarely are the remains of human meals tossed to them. Cats (mǐs) are rare. Only a few families have one. They serve human beings by keeping the [235] house and storerooms free of mice. Ducks (páto) are likewise very [262] rare; we came across only two each in two houses. They are greatly prized as roasts.

Bees (čǐ'nc) are kept by only a few families. They are smaller than our German honeybees and of a yellowish brown color. There are no special beehives; rather, an old, hollow, but still standing tree-trunk is used. In one case they nested in a house post next to the doorway. Their honey (čǐ'nc mil) is dark brown, [237] like syrup. Beeswax (čǐ'nc) is used to strengthen the agave-fiber string with which broken chicha bowls are repaired and fireworks are made.

/143/ e) Hunting and Fishing

224 Neither plays any great role in the economy of the Paez. [433] Moreover, there is no special class of hunters or fishermen. Hunting is practiced only by the men and, for lack of big game, generally extends to smaller mammals, rabbits, monkeys, and to birds. Only in the mountains is it possible to find and to hunt the čái and gwągwa. The former is a kind of deer, so I was told, and the gwągwa a small animal similar to a badger.

The greatest frequency of the hunting trips of a man is about one day a week. Mostly, however, the men go hunting [231] less often. This is done alone with dogs in the vicinity of the [776] houses, whereas a hunting trip in the mountains is generally made by several men, since a man alone is afraid of gělyómp, the mountain spirit.

/322 cont./

231 arracacha. Dogs, cats, and pigs live, the first on kitchen refuse, the second by hunting mice, and the last on grasses and roots from the thickets. They are not familiar with breeds of cattle, hogs, and sheep. Only the guinea pig is regarded as American, while the other animals are said to be genuinely Spanish.

[236] Sheep seem to have emotional value because they provide the wool for people's clothing. They are kept with affection and rarely sold or eaten.

Dogs also seem to have emotional value because of being the guardian of the houses and fields. In addition, they have symbolic value: they are the iron curtain, the protective barrier against the dark memory of the Pijao. If the latter were to reappear again, the natives argue, they would not be able to approach /323/ the houses, because dogs live there, which would inspire fear in the Pijao, for they are so dangerous for them that mere contact with their footprints or their hair would kill them. In the legends and tales there is frequent reference to these de-
[552] fensive concepts. The dogs have special names: Guagás (white),
[685] kuchi (black), salgento, pitán, policía. Dogs that eat sheep are invariably killed with a shotgun without previous consultation with the owner.

[262] Guinea pigs are the favorite food of children. They kill
[252] them by strangling them and eat them boiled. These animals are
[782] not used as offerings to the Duende. Nor do they serve as presents
[755] for friends or relatives. They are also used to combat mental illness by covering the patient's forehead with the entrails of the still living animal.

●235 They "cuidan" /show special attention/ to favorite persons
[554] with chickens and eggs. They have mingas with turkeys. Eggs
[262] are consumed, but in general they are sold.
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222 The honey, they say, is good for persons who suffer from "cold."
237 With the wax they soften hide lassos, and they occasionally use it
[757] for illumination. Domestic hives do not exist.

231 Wild animals, such as parrots, chicaos /a kind of bird/, squirrels, and micos, are never domesticated.

/346 cont./

466 given to him. From the harvests of maize, frijoles, and
427 arracacha the owner receives one bag (approximately half an
[241] arroba) of each product, and one or two bunches of the plantains.

231 He says that the hacienda owner has permitted him to raise
427 animals, but he has none, because he spends more time working
466 on the hacienda than in his own house. He says that he owned
[235] some 20 sheep, but is finished with them. Now he has only eight chickens.

427 The informant is the son of another tenant farmer and
466 grew up on this very hacienda. He has owned the house in which he now lives for 18 years. He has not signed any kind of document with the owner and has not been bothered by him about the possession of the house, but rather, on the contrary, has been urged by him to repair the house. In exchange for the use of the house and the land he is obliged to pay three days for rent
[465] per month, eating his own food and using his own tools. On the other days of the month he works for the same owner for daily wages, earning two pesos a day, excluding, of course, the days of religious or national holidays. Each week he re-
[452] ceives 12 pesos. From the owner he buys maize, manioc, and frijoles on credit, which is immediately deducted in labor. The owner only gives him salt and bananas. The panela comes from what he produces.

466 Since the informant specializes in milling and the making
427 of panela, he ordinarily does nothing else. His work begins at
257 six in the morning and ends at ten at night. He is assisted by his
[463] wife, who earns one peso a day, a deaf and dumb son who earns
[512] nothing, and another son who carries the cane to the sugar mill.
[465] This one is married, is also a tenant farmer, earns two pesos a day, and has a separate clearing. His wife does not help in the work because she stays at home caring for the house, looking after the children, and weeding the garden and the clearing.

427 At the mill he works even on Sundays at wrapping panela,
257 a task that cannot be neglected. Ordinarily he spends two weeks
461 at the mill and has the following one free (without pay) to rest,
466 to look after his own field, or to hire out his labor to anyone who

/141 cont./

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233 of livestock, and the men every head of the large livestock of
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262 houses guinea pigs (fits) run about, living on refuse from the kitchen and, when roasted, prized as a delicacy.

/149 cont./

283 market or on other errands; when spinning agave fibers, they sit in front of the beam around which the fibers have been tied to dry.

[236] Sheep wool (kas) is roughly cleaned and for spinning is wound, unwashed, around a rod (Ill. 179 /see p.280 /). The latter is 60-150 centimeters long and is gripped under the arm by its lower part. On its upper part it has a notch in which is fastened a string to wind around the wool and hold it on the rod. To prevent it from drying out too much, which would make spinning difficult, it is protected by being wrapped in leaves or by a cloth.

After several meters of thread have been spun and wound on the lower part of the spindle, it is removed from there and wound on the upper part. In this wound form, that is, still on the spindle staff, the thread, after the removal of the whorl, may be used as [236] a shuttle in weaving garments. For weaving the colored belts of the women, however, and for making the wool coca bags, not the simple, but the twisted wool thread is used. The agave threads are even twisted on principle for every type of use. For this purpose two single threads are twisted into a double thread 283 in a rotating direction counter to the spinning direction. This 462 process is carried out differently by men and women. The former twist either with the hand on the upper thigh or use a special instrument, the klafíca, with which the strongest ropes are also made, whereas the women use the spindle even for twisting. The direction of rotation of the twisted thread is different for men and women. Depending on the material, the former use the Z-twist in their handwork, the women the S-twist in their work with the spindle. In the twisting or ropemaking with the klafíca done by the men, the S-rotation prevails. (For indicating the /150/ direction of rotation according to these two letters, the direction of the front, diagonal part of the vertically held thread, which runs parallel to the middle part of an S or Z, is the determining factor [Fig. 34 /see p. 256/].)

/322 cont./

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600 /120 cont./
354 the simplest possible form. Three rocks provide the lateral sup-
415 port or stand for the pots, of which there are two at most, a
metal one, usually of aluminum, and an earthen one. Very
poor families have only one earthen pot, which is relatively
[417] cheap to buy. The earthen pot cannot be hung up; it is set
between the three fire-stones in such a way that it cannot tip
over, whereas the aluminum pot is hung by its handle on a soot-
covered, angled stick that hangs down from the ridge (Ill. 166
352 /see p. 273/). Above the fire area there hangs a frame made
[251] of maize canes and about one square meter in size, on which
[353] household utensils and, above all, the rock salt for salting food
are stored, airy and dry. Tables, chairs, or stools of any kind
● [237] are unknown. One generally sits on the hairy side of an un-
tanned and hence board-stiff cowhide, on which one also /121/
[513] sleeps, or one sits on a beam, a block of wood, or a stone. Paez
[177] who have seen house furnishings in Inzá or in the dwellings of white
colonists have sometimes built for themselves as a bed a sort
of bench 30-50 centimeters high, consisting of sticks or reeds
[513] laid side by side. For sleeping the customary cowhide is spread
on it. These sleeping benches are not used for sitting.

342 The nights in Calderas are generally quite cool, and
362 the light construction of the walls with cracks between the in-
132 dividual maize stalks does not in any way prevent the cold wind
from coming in. In a few houses, near the sleeping area, I saw
the walls sealed by means of expressed sugar-cane piled up
462 horizontally. For sleeping, the members of the family lie down
[354] in a circle around the fire area, where the fire must be kept going
[513] all through the night. This, like all housework, is the task of
the woman, who must gather sufficient fuel beforehand and get up
every two hours during the night to stir up the fire. Furthermore,
[264] she must get up an hour earlier in the morning in order to have
the first meal, which is eaten around five o'clock, sometimes
[461] even at four o'clock, prepared on time. In spite of this, the
men think that they are the ones who do the hardest work and that
basically they are the only ones in the village who really work.

/131 cont./

243 other hand by means of the semicircularly curved sickle. In case
[251] the wheat is not sold immediately, the bundles of ears are tied together and stored under the house roof, above the fire area. Whereas the kernels are shelled off the maize ears by hand by the
• [237] women as needed, the wheat is threshed. For this purpose a cowhide is put on the floor, a bundle of wheat ears is held securely on the hide with one hand, and with the other hand the ears are beaten with a club until the grains are removed.

244 The other produce used in the diet is planted in the house garden, which likewise is used every year as long as the house is occupied. The yield is generally good because the Paez have learned from the colonists the importance of regular fertilization. Each harvested plot is carefully dug up again with the spade and strewed with the refuse from the house and the collected manure of the cows and horses. Human excrement is not used; it is "too ugly," Everyday, in addition, the kitchen refuse (maize and bean husks, banana peels, arracacha and yuca scraps), as well as the excrement /132/ of the guinea pigs (fits) kept in the kitchen, is scattered in the garden and tossed on the vegetable plots.

The most important garden plant is white cabbage (kólis). The women buy the small plants from a woman in the village who raises them from seed. The planting time is March, when the rainy season begins. Potatoes (ká'ka) are seldom planted. They are very small, have a yellow flesh, and are of poor quality. Sowing time is whenever one wishes. The men make a small hole with the digging stick and put one or two small potatoes in it and carefully cover up the hole again. After a month one can already hill them with the hands, and after four months, harvest them. To do this, the entire family digs them out with their
[821] hands. Arracacha (ā's) may likewise be planted throughout the year, but yields the best harvest if it is planted with the full moon. In harvesting it a digging stick is used. Yuca (ānya) is seldom eaten, for the climate is too cold to grow it in Calderas. In the lower villages the ripening period is two years.

245 A very important crop that plays a great role in the diet
[262] of the Paez is the banana, which was not native to America originally (Schweinfurt, pp. 504 f.). Two large groups are

/132 cont./

245 differentiated: that of the fruit or sugar bananas, and that of the vegetable or mealy bananas. Both kinds are known to the Paez, to be sure, but only the vegetable bananas (tolõ), whose starchy fruits must be cooked first before being eaten, like potatoes, because they are difficult to digest, are important for them, as for all tropical peoples. The fruit bananas (gnayoſts), the only bananas eaten in Europe, are seldom eaten by the Paez and generally are not cultivated. They are planted by means of slips, which in Calderas bear from the third year on and yield harvests
244 for many years. Other crops grown in the house garden and eaten from time to time are cucumbers (kambſč or pſna, according to the species), squash (pete), and the wild granadilla (šlāl).

b) Food Preparation

264 The Paez eat only two meals a day, the first one (kosē oñ) about four or five o'clock in the morning before work, and the second (fi'nz oñ) at three or four o'clock in the afternoon, after returning from work in the fields. In between, that is, while working on the often quite distant fields, coca /133/ is taken and sugar-cane juice drunk every two to three hours. The morning and evening meals do not differ in content and vary
252 little from day to day. They are cooked without meat, without
262 fat, without salt, as well as without any other seasoning. Cook-
[263] ing with fat is customary only on festive days in the festival house.
[237] On this occasion a blood sausage is made from the blood of cattle, sheep, or pigs, for which the intestines are cleaned and then cooked with blood, salt, onions, and caraway, as well as with another herb (pléo). Meat is not put into the intestines, and likewise no fat.

262 There is no desire for greater variety in food and drink. I was scarcely able to discover any individual differences in taste among the Calderun, for everyone eats everything, and they all regard beans or cabbage or both together as the best food and bean leaves as the worst.

/140/

d) Animal Husbandry

231 Although the Paez keep large livestock, cattle and
233 horses, along with small livestock, they are not livestock-
[232] raisers in the true sense. They neither have anything to do
[492] with the breeding of their animals nor do they utilize their labor
[237] power to any great extent. The utilization of animal products,
too -- especially those of the large livestock -- bears no rela-
231 tion to the existing possibilities. Horses (hímba; stallion =
492 himbapítste, mare = himbaóite) are used least of all, though they
[556] do find use now and then in milling sugar cane. Actually, people have them only to have them and to be considered rich. They are used neither as draft horses in front of wagons nor as beasts of burden, and only now and then as riding animals, without a saddle, by young people. Adult men do not ride, even
231 though the mountainous country, difficult to traverse on foot,
484 fairly challenges one to ride, and the Paez, on their visits to the
492 markets, see almost all the colonists on horseback. But "we are accustomed from the time of our forefathers to walk in the mountains," they reply, "and we are much faster on foot than you are on horseback." They are not wrong about this, and one would not like to trust one of the Paez horses, degenerated through inbreeding, to carry its rider on market days 30 kilometers over
232 hill and dale from Calderas to Inzá and back again. Since the
[556] Paez does not demand service of his horses, it is understandable that only the number of head counts for him and his reputation. How the horses look generally matters not at all; in no case is there any breeding selection, nor does a man know anything about the mating and birth of his animals, but generally finds out about a new litter only after it has arrived. Gestation times are unknown. From various parties I was assured that horses, cows, sheep, and pigs were pregnant "about a year." Castration of stallions, bulls, and rams is not known; it happens now and then in the case of boars, with the owner -- no specialist -- cutting out the testicles of the young pigs with a knife.

/142 cont./

231 There are dogs (álko) in almost every house. They are supposed to protect the chickens from the fox and the house from strange persons. We never met any really vicious dogs, however. They are all very undernourished and cowardly and, in addition, are of a small, short-haired breed. There are no larger dogs, say, [262] of the size of our shepherd dogs. They must hunt for their food, which consists chiefly of the meat of dead horses, since the people do not eat horse meat. Only very rarely are the remains of human meals tossed to them. Cats (mīš) are rare. Only a few families have one. They serve human beings by keeping the [235] house and storerooms free of mice. Ducks (páto) are likewise very [262] rare; we came across only two each in two houses. They are greatly prized as roasts.

Bees (čí·nc) are kept by only a few families. They are smaller than our German honeybees and of a yellowish brown color. There are no special beehives; rather, an old, hollow, but still standing tree-trunk is used. In one case they nested in a house post next to the doorway. Their honey (čī·nc mil) is dark brown, [237] like syrup. Beeswax (čī·nc) is used to strengthen the agave-fiber string with which broken chicha bowls are repaired and fireworks are made.

/143/ e) Hunting and Fishing

224 Neither plays any great role in the economy of the Paez. [433] Moreover, there is no special class of hunters or fishermen. Hunting is practiced only by the men and, for lack of big game, generally extends to smaller mammals, rabbits, monkeys, and to birds. Only in the mountains is it possible to find and to hunt the čái and gwágwa. The former is a kind of deer, so I was told, and the gwágwa a small animal similar to a badger.

The greatest frequency of the hunting trips of a man is about one day a week. Mostly, however, the men go hunting [231] less often. This is done alone with dogs in the vicinity of the [776] houses, whereas a hunting trip in the mountains is generally made by several men, since a man alone is afraid of gělyŏmp, the mountain spirit.

/143 cont./

224 mountain spirit. We met only a single young man of about 18 who goes hunting alone in the mountains once a week. He told us that, in order to become a good hunter, one must first try to [789] kill a bear (éšwiy). One must then rub its fat into the right [237] lower-arm, which would give him the same powers as the bear. [262] One is not permitted to eat this fat, however, because it would [828] make him insane. After rubbing in the fat, the young hunter [263] continued, one may not eat salt at any meal for a week. There are no further rules and ceremonies of any kind to be observed. [237] We learned, however, that one can also use bear fat as a heal- [752] ing remedy, and, to be sure, for bone fractures or sprains one [757] must rub the affected part with bear fat, whereupon the injured limb will heal immediately and will become considerably 224 stronger than ever before. For stalking he wears on his head a 292 cap made of the skin of a reddish-blond hairy monkey (mónо), [825] which in the first place protects him from the thorns of the bushes, but which is also supposed to facilitate creeping up on [439] game. He sold it to us for two pesos without hesitation, since, [126] as he said, he was perfectly capable of shooting another monkey 224 for himself. He was not afraid of the gělyómp spirit, but the 776 other men were, for gělyómp screams and makes a noise when human beings enter his area in the mountains, so that they be- come quite confused and go astray. The mountain spirit cannot do anything to several men together, however, since he could make as much noise as he pleased, but they would not let them- 224 selves be diverted. Of course, the men, even if there are ever so 776 many of them, must not offend the mountain spirit or provoke 515 him unnecessarily, but rather must avoid everything that gělyómp 783 does not like. /144/ For instance, he hates everything impure [296] and filthy. Hence the men always only go hunting well washed; [824] they even wash the entire body, and the ruana, too. In addition, they rub themselves with the cleansing herbs šũ and žayuts, which they obtain from the shaman, in order to be really altogether [761] clean in a physical and ritual sense. But if someone has taken part in a burial or has merely seen a funeral procession close by, he has picked up a good deal of "pest" from the dead and must have himself specially purified by the shaman before hunting.

/145 cont./

532 776 carving anywhere else or obtain an explanation anywhere (*).

* Possibly this is supposed to represent "Thunder," who, as the most important mythical figure and also as the shamans' assistant spirit, is described as a small man with the shaman staff and a triangle as a musical instrument, who displays his sexual parts.

223 Bird-hunting for the pigeon-sized tom birds is carried on by almost all Paez families with the net (ōka), as well as with the shotgun. The net is about five meters high and 20 meters wide. For this purpose a correspondingly wide breach is cut in the growth of trees or bushes on a hill or the ridge of a mountain chain, and the net fastened in the opening produced. The flushed birds, who think that there is a convenient passage at this place, fly into the net, get caught in it, and are then killed by the [237] capturers, who twist their heads. Another type of bird-catching consists of fastening a noose made of horsehair (nyákiwez; nyák = to set up, wez = string) to the twig of a tree or shrub in such a [857] way that the noose rests in a bird's nest. When the bird returns to its nest, the noose becomes entangled in its foot, and the boy -- for it is mostly boys who engage in this task of noose-setting -- 224 is able to seize the bird. Rabbits are caught in the same way with nooses, but made of agave fibers, by laying the nooses where they pass.

226 Fishing is done with hook and line at the river or with [283] poison in weirs. The fishing line (wendyánsyuts) consists of twined agave string to which are tied a metal hook and a stone as a sinker. A small worm is fastened to the hook as bait. [462] Angling is done only by men, and at twilight or at night.

226 824 171 Fishing with poisonous plants is a cultural characteristic of almost all South American Indians. For this purpose a total of more than 100 species of poisonous plants are used by them, which means that this part of the world leads all the continents in this respect (Heizer, p. 277). Among the Paez, fishing with

Among the Paez, fishing with

/145 cont./

226 poisonous plants is done once a year, in the dry season, as com-
824 munity fishing with weirs. For this purpose -- it was explained to me -- a dam of stones and earth is first made by the men. The herbs, which only grow high in the mountains and contain a poisonous substance, and which have been pulverized with stones, are tossed into the pool thus partitioned off. These herbs are called yúkse or kēse. The fish are said to die from them immediately. /146/ They are caught only by the men. But since the poisonous herbs are so far away and are to be found only with difficulty, the men are said to catch the fish sometimes unpoisoned at the weirs with their bare hands.

f) Weapons

411 The weapons of the Paez are limited to hunting weapons
[726] and children's toys, since wars are no longer fought. The only important hunting weapon today is the shotgun. As children's
[524] playthings there are the stone-sling (ísot), blowgun (pāt), and in in recent times the elastic sling (káučéro).

[824] In former times, in the battles with the Spaniards, the
[714] Paez were said to have used lances 25 handspans long made from the wood of the chonta palm, as well as plaited shields or shields
[237] of tapir skin (Pittier, p. 327). I could find no confirmation for the
[124] present-day or even earlier use of lance and shield; my informants
[175] were familiar with neither the word nor the object. From the chroniclers, however, it is reported that the Paez, as well as other mountain peoples of this region, had learned from their battles with Spanish horsemen to defend themselves with long lances. There is, however, absolutely no foundation for a pre-Spanish use
714 of this type of lance. It is not unlikely that the Paez originally had plaited shields (opimb). The word for skin shield (himba-kat) is interesting; its present literal meaning is "horse skin." Whether himba meant "tapir" in pre-Spanish times cannot be ascertained.

/163 cont./

389 The powder, however, must be bought. As for its production,
822 the general opinion is that it is made from human beings. The
829 whites, they believe, fatten human beings, then hang them,
[439] and, while they are still alive, tap their fat, from which they then make powder. That is why the Paez do not like to send their children far away and do not let them go to the whites, because they believe that the latter would catch them in order to make powder from them.

824 /164/ To make the fireworks a piece of sheep gut is used,
389 filled with powder and wound tightly with an agave string.
[237] The latter is waxed with beeswax for extra strength. One of
[283] these powder cases is used for the smaller firecrackers (koẽtes), while two, one over the other, are used for the larger firecrackers (kwatõn), and under these is placed the fuse, which consists of a small bamboo tube, one to five centimeters long, filled with powder (Fig. 32 /see p. 256 /). These two or three parts are wrapped in a maize leaf and fastened to a bamboo splice 20-60 centimeters long. When it is lighted, the firecracker rises to a height of 50 meters with a considerable whistle and then explodes.

5. Trade and Transportation

438 One cannot speak of trade in the commercial sense among the Paez, for they trade almost solely among themselves and
[441] abhor everything that has to do with business. Moreover, since there is no merchant class among them, there is no carrying trade. Merchants are regarded as do-nothings who, though they
[437] are needed, are nevertheless despised. Fundamentally the self-contained household economy predominates, and whatever one family does not have it barters for within the same village if
439 possible. Only when this is not possible, thus when industrial products are involved, does one go to the weekly market held regularly at Inzá or Belalcázar, in order to buy the necessary articles. These include, above all, salt, as well as spades, machetes, aluminum pots, knives, scissors, spoons, needles,

/183 cont./

601 Forms of address:

father and mother together (whether by their own children or other persons)	ovĕnyi or pĕtăm
father and son together (by other persons)	pĕndyĭk
father and daughter together (by other persons)	pĕndyĭs
mother and son together (by other persons)	pĕndyĭk
mother and daughter together (by other persons)	pĕndyĭs

3. Customs during the Course of Life and of a Day

182 593 [157] [114] The Paez generally give the impression of being contented human beings, and it seems that marriage and family life are better than average. Of course, the observations on this are very scanty, for, on account of the remote location of the individual dwellings, the research worker always has only a brief glimpse of family conditions at any one time. This very solitude, however, and the consciousness of greater dependence on one another within the family favors its cohesion, even as it reduces the conflict and irritation which arise through women's gossip when people live too closely on top of one another.

842 [123] Basically every family wants a great many children -- at any rate so said all the men questioned. Two Calderun women, however, /184/ confided to my wife that there was a remedy -- which they and other women, too, naturally did not use! -- that [825] [237] would with certainty prevent conception: One must eat some of the spittle of a mula (the female, infertile cross between horse and donkey), and then one would no longer have children. They said that a woman does this only when she has already given birth to a great many children. In general every girl desires a great

/277 cont./

756 765 783 [787] The shaman learns the date of the second ceremony and principal purification through his signs from ec. He announces this date to those who participated at the burial. Those to be purified -- primarily the nearest relatives -- gather at the river and at a place set apart for this, marked by a number of flat [823] stones. These are absolutely necessary; without stones, no puri- [237] fication site. First the people sit in front of the stones, and the helpers of the shaman fetch calabashes filled with water that is mixed with the su herb and to which some cow excrement, standing ready in a pot at the same place, is added. The shaman has wound a liana around his staff. Even before the ceremony, he chewed coca and tobacco uninterruptedly and drank brandy copiously. First he goes to the left with the staff and liana and beats the air with both, as though he were struggling with invisible spirits. Then, always struggling, he goes in the other directions of the site, and, finally, once more to the left. There his helpers have dug a hole about 30 centimeters deep and 15 centimeters in diameter.

Now the linen of the deceased and the linen of the mourners [296] which they used on the day of burial are brought forth. They are placed on the stones and then washed and rinsed long and vigorously by the widow and the daughter of the deceased.

The rest of the mourners, like the shaman, have been chewing coca the whole time and get brandy to drink from the teyu.

After the washing, the shaman next struggles as before, as though he wanted to drive invisible spirits away from the site of the purification ceremony. With wide sweeping blows he moves his tama /278/ and liana slowly through the air. In particular he [823] turns to the left again, for to the left lives the evil ec, and to be [776] sure, in the ground (*).

* The direction left has nothing to do with any geographical direction or with the direction of the river. They sit with their backs to the river.

/289 cont./

534 by cuts with a machete (Ill. 203 /see p. 290/). In spite of the
322 relatively correspondent holes, each flute has a slightly different tone caused by the varying diameter of the tube.

533 According to the investigation kindly undertaken by my
534 brother Wilfried on the sample flute of Vicente Puche that I acquired, it is tuned between C and C-sharp. Its six finger-holes produce a nonsemitonic seven-tone scale. All the tone steps, however, are somewhat inexact, that is, not exactly a whole tone-step apart. This is particularly noticeable from the third to the fourth tone where we perceptibly have less than a major second, but considerably more than a half step. This is noteworthy because in our diatonic major scale there is also a definite half-step between these two tones.

The blowing is on the right or left side. The extended fingers, work-worn by the heavy field work, cover the finger holes with the first or second joint.

534 The value of the flute is not very high. On festive days
[578] people are in the habit of becoming intoxicated in the festival
[796] houses and in the subsequent brawls the flutes are used as striking
[273] instruments and thus broken.

/290/ Every music group has at least one small cylindrical drum (kâka) or a bass drum (kut), both of which are covered with skin on two sides and are wider than high in their dimensions.
[177] Drum and bass drum in this form are probably borrowed and were
[194] taken over throughout South America from former Negro slaves. Their manufacture among the Paez is specialist's work. At
[463] present Vicente Puche makes the flutes as well as the drums. In former times, however, there was a special expert who made only
[461] drums and bass drums. The work time for their manufacture amounts to 10 to 14 days, since one day is allowed for each operation (cutting wood, drying it, for the various processes in treating
[824] the skins, etc.). The cylindrical body of the drum is made from
[237] the wood of the utsé tree. The two drum-skins (katc) are made of calfskin. They are stretched with cords made of agave fiber, which run in a zigzag from one stretcher to the other over the body of the drum. They are tightened by a continuous loop that encircles two strands of the stretching cords at a time and at the same time

/203 cont./

534 Some natives own and play guitars acquired in Popayán,
●237 but there are some that they make themselves out of armadillo
439 shells.

The following are the compositions of ceremonial type
533 which are not accompanied by dancing.

/204/ /Illustration appears here./

Kulá ik kui (bull-slaughter-piece). Musical composition which is played at the moment of killing the beef to which the albacero and the laborers of the fiestero will be taken care of. Informants claim that this musical piece has no significance other than to entertain the people.

Plaza pá kui, a musical composition played when the musicians reach the church.

Misa kase kui, played when the Mass is over.

Chichi pékue kui, played when the meat is cut in pieces to treat the albacero. The workers place the chunks of meat on a trunk and cut them into small pieces with a machete /peinilla/.

There are other compositions peculiar to wedding ceremonies.

/205/ Novio mesa úku, played at the start of the wedding meal.

Úpiate kui, played halfway through the nuptial banquet.

Tunzi kamba kui, played at the close of the nuptial banquet.

All of these compositions are melodious and in 3/4 or 4/4 time.

The religious fiestas, mingas, weddings, and baptisms are occasions for music. There is no music at burials or at wakes for children.

[868] Musical compositions are learned from the "elders" out of personal interest. From childhood they learn how to play the bass drum, the side drum, and the triangle with great skill. They try the flute later. While rhythm instruments

/322 cont./

231 arracacha. Dogs, cats, and pigs live, the first on kitchen refuse, the second by hunting mice, and the last on grasses and roots from the thickets. They are not familiar with breeds of cattle, hogs, and sheep. Only the guinea pig is regarded as American, while the other animals are said to be genuinely Spanish.

[236] Sheep seem to have emotional value because they provide the wool for people's clothing. They are kept with affection and rarely sold or eaten.

Dogs also seem to have emotional value because of being the guardian of the houses and fields. In addition, they have symbolic value: they are the iron curtain, the protective barrier against the dark memory of the Pijao. If the latter were to reappear again, the natives argue, they would not be able to approach /323/ the houses, because dogs live there, which would inspire fear in the Pijao, for they are so dangerous for them that mere contact with their footprints or their hair would kill them. In the legends and tales there is frequent reference to these de-
[552] fensive concepts. The dogs have special names: Guagás (white),
[685] kuchi (black), salgento, pitán, policía. Dogs that eat sheep are invariably killed with a shotgun without previous consultation with the owner.

[262] Guinea pigs are the favorite food of children. They kill
[252] them by strangling them and eat them boiled. These animals are
[782] not used as offerings to the Duende. Nor do they serve as presents
[755] for friends or relatives. They are also used to combat mental illness by covering the patient's forehead with the entrails of the still living animal.

235 They "cuidan" /show special attention/ to favorite persons
[554] with chickens and eggs. They have mingas with turkeys. Eggs
[262] are consumed, but in general they are sold.
[432] They use the honey and the wax from the hives of wild bees.
222 The honey, they say, is good for persons who suffer from "cold."
●237 With the wax they soften hide lassos, and they occasionally use it
[757] for illumination. Domestic hives do not exist.

231 Wild animals, such as parrots, chicaos /a kind of bird/, squirrels, and micos, are never domesticated.

/326 cont./

262 [252] The chachafruto (ûsual), a leguminous plant that bears rather sweet fruits which are eaten merely boiled in water, readily grows in the stubble and thickets; this is a favorite food of children. It bears fruit during the months of August and September. They also gather mushrooms (kalaguai), orejas de palo /literally, ears of wood/ (kallumbo) that grow round and white on rotting trunks, frîjol /327/ cacha (us tape) that abounds in thickets, moras (sutsion) and the ground cherries (chimbû) that grow in profusion in the maize fields and with which they make cakes or tamales and mush /mazamorra/ mixed with ground maize. Likewise, they gather wild granadillas (shlal).

224 [441] [789] Hunting is of minor importance among the Páez. Shotguns and dogs are needed. Authentic lovers of hunting are few, and there are no magical rites or ceremonies connected with it.

Hunting is most frequently done to protect the plantings or the herds. We have seen that the enemies of maize are coatis, guaras, squirrels, and birds. The chickens are attacked by wolf-dogs. On the savannas of the Paramo de Moras bears are the most common enemies of the herds.

[237] In Calderas, the hunters customarily keep the skulls of the captured booty inside the house, on one of the wall posts. In one of them we counted five coati skulls, two from guaras, and one from a wolf. Hunting is done on Sundays and at any time of the year. They go to selected locations with dogs, shotguns, and provisions. The dog raises the game and the men wait in strategic spots, with their shotguns ready to shoot it. If the shot misses, they set out after the game on a fast run. When they hunt deer, they have a minga. For the hunting of guaras they use traps consisting of nets which they place at the exit of the haunts of these animals. Bats are hunted with bags. As soon as they fall, they are kicked to death, for these animals easily break out of bags. [262] [252] They are eaten roasted. Armadillo meat is rather favored. Sparrow hawks are hunted with blowguns. "The Indians are poor" -- says an informant from Calderas -- "and for this reason they make blowguns and hunt birds. God made the birds so that the poor would eat them and not steal." Wild pigeons are hunted on the ridges by means of traps that are well concealed. Chamones, 223 [411]

Chamones

/327 cont./

223 black birds, are not eaten because they are probably animals of
825 the devil. It is said that in times past the Calderas Indians ate
262 beetles, the reason that they are nicknamed tandayaha (one who
[578] eats beetles), an epithet which they regard as offensive and which nearly always irritates them. The Calderunos say that they do not
[224] eat worms or the meat of rabbits and snakes. They regard as game
[223] animals the guara, deer, coati, armadillo, bat, and various species of birds.

224 Concerning bear hunting, the people of Mosoco relate /328/ real feats performed by Indians in open fights with the ani-
[237] mals. Bear fat is highly esteemed among the natives and "whites."

226 Fishing is less important than hunting. The rivers and streams contain sardines and coruntas /small river-fish/. During Holy Week and at Christmas they engage in fishing, when the
[462] water is low, by means of barbasco, nets, and hooks. This is strictly a masculine activity. In the Paez River they fish during the months of January and February and generally in months of drought.

They also gather crabs.

Laurel wax industry

388 Laurel, introduced by a man from Popayan /el payanés/,
824 Agustín Valencia, has played an important role in the economy of some parcialidades of Tierradentro. It grows wild in Calderas, Tumbichukue, Lame, San Andrés, Chinas, and Suin. The production of wax was the only industry in these parcialidades that permitted them to maintain regular trade with the "whites."

388 A mestizo trader from Mosoco says that he was a great ex-
43 porter of laurel wax. "It was the native industry" -- he says -- by means of which salt, trousers, shirts, hats, and centavos came in." In this business, he states, he made one arroba of profit per load. The pound was quoted at a peso in Silvia. The informant says that in the years 1946 and 1947 he took out from 800 to 1,000 arrobas of wax. He almost had a monopoly on the business. What little wax escaped him was purchased by traders from Belalcázar, who in turn took it by way of Mosoco to Silvia. The chief consumers of this product were the soap factories of Cali. The laurel wax industry waned in 1950, when those factories

/351 cont./

273 The maize is ground, and they cook the flour with plenty of water; this liquid is removed and put in a trough to ferment [272] for several days, adding panela to it. It is said that this chicha is tastier than guarapo, but that it does not inebriate and does not work satisfactorily; it serves only to quench thirst, like the "cola" (carbonated drink) of the "whites."

262 Peaches and apples are eaten in the regions where they are produced, and oranges as well, but in general the consumption of fruit is very low.

252 262 Guinea pigs are eaten when the family wants meat. They kill them by breaking their necks; then they wet them with cold water and put them in the embers of the fire in order to loosen the hide and skin them; they are washed, the entrails are removed, they are washed again, and then they are cooked in the pot of sancocho, mote, "sango," or maize-ball soup; some people eat the entrails, while others do not. The guinea pig is regarded as "tasty."

With chicken special attention is shown to favorite friends and to compadres, and mingas are held. At the fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, it is customary to eat chicken. After being plucked, the entrails are removed, it is washed, and it is cooked in the pot of sancocho or mote. The natives regard the leg as the best piece, and for this reason this is what they present to the elders (compadres, fathers, eldest sons); to the others they give a piece of breast or any other part. The head goes to the owner. The washed and cooked entrails are also distributed among all present. Turkeys and ducks are prepared and consumed in the same manner.

From the pig some organs are eaten roasted: pancreas, kidneys, intestines, and the meat of the backbone; the bacon 262 is kept to flavor food; the rest is eaten boiled. When a pig is killed out of the mere desire to use the meat, portions are distributed to the "elders" of the family (fathers-in-law, fathers, etc.), and the same thing is done when cattle is slaughtered. [237] From them they use the meat, the hide, and the horns for making [534] whistles which are blown when a house is being built in the [342] [234]

262 /351 cont./
[234] settlement and when they are dragging down /352/ the timber;
[237] the milk is not used, except in Mosoco, where we have seen
[534] that it is really consumed.
[342]

The Calderunos say that sheep are eaten frequently in the
[231] temperate regions such as Avirama and San Andrés, but few are consumed in Calderas; some say that sheep give wool for clothing, "Why eat them, when they provide ponchos," and others state that to eat mutton brings bad luck, because it would be like eating one's papa.

262 When there are visits by "elders" such as compadres, older
574 brothers, fathers-in-law, or own fathers, they are entertained ("cuida") with dishes different from the ordinary ones, based essentially around barnyard fowl and eggs. If there is meat, a large piece is cooked. The compadres, in turn, bring as a gift griddle-cakes (about 15), eggs (about 10), and frequently chickens.

262 There is no special diet for children; they eat exactly the
846 same as adults. There are differences of diet according to sex only when the woman has just given birth. Then, she is given ground maize, arracacha, manioc, ripe plantain, laying hens ("these
[261] are nice and fat"), and mutton. The mejicano is proscribed for them, because it brings cold into the stomach and gives much pain; onions, because they cause a stomach ailment and rot the in-
[844] testines; pork and the frijol bueno for the same reason. Peppers are also taboo for parturient women.

262 For hard labor, it is regarded as good to eat mote, with
263 cabbage, frijol bueno, and well salted, because it gives strength for the daily activities; if one eats the same thing (" a good dish"), but without salt, they say that one is already hungry by the middle of the day.

262 Foods regarded as aphrodisiacs are "sango," prepared with
832 finely ground and sifted maize, and raw eggs.

261 Of the foods that they eat, they believe that chicha and water are transformed into blood, and the maize, potatoes, frijoles, and arracacha into flesh.

To gain weight, they believe that it is necessary to eat and not to work, rather than to follow a special diet.

Here the mountain slopes which

/14 cont./

C 311 134 only 70 years ago were still covered with dense tree growth are now cleared to gain pasture areas for stock-raising, thus causing P 361 132 extensive erosion of the normally already very thin humus covering and a certain sterility of the soil. The situation is different in the villages still exclusively inhabited by Indios in northern Tierradentro. They lie in part considerably higher (Mosoco, P [244] Vitoncó, Suin, and Lame about 2,500 meters). Here the nights are already perceptibly cold. Coffee no longer thrives, in its P [233] stead maize and potatoes. It is also the best climate for cattle-P [311] raising. The mountain slopes, due to relatively sparse settlement on the part of the Paez, have not all been put to economic [134] use as yet; the /15/ tree growth guarantees natural water conservation throughout the year.

C 132 The two rainy periods of the year are from May to June and October to December. During these times, especially in the rainy period of the first half of the year, it rains in considerable amounts every day, whereas the dry periods are regularly free of precipitation.

C 317 175 Tierradentro's wealth underground has not yet been explored with modern means. In pre-Spanish times, and even [135] after the Conquista /the Spanish conquest; see the glossary, C 175 p. 249 /, numerous salt beds were exploited. The Spaniards 317 brought Negro slaves into Tierradentro as mine workers, whose 563 descendants make up a considerable part of the population of 464 Belalcázar. Today some of them work as gold-washers on the 316 banks of the Rio Paez. In Indian times gold was still obtained C 316 at Tálaga, San Vicente, and Jambaló. In the southern part of C [103] Tierradentro the silver mines were a significant economic factor near the city of La Plata -- so-named because of its important finds.

C 487 From colonial times up to five years ago only the routes passable for human beings and horses (caminos de herradura /bridle paths/) were available for traffic routes. The two chief connections were from Inzá over Paramo de las Guanacas to Silvia and Popayán and into the Cauca Valley, as well as from Inzá via La Plata into the Magdalena Valley.

/126 cont./

433 only on the basis of knowledge about their rites, ceremonial acts, mythology, cultic preparations, or festivals of thanksgiving.
433 This is difficult in view of the great cultural poverty of the Paez,
241 but it is noteworthy that nothing connected with agriculture or
[233] with cattle-raising reveals any kind of cultic relationship.
Neither during sowing nor harvesting was I able to observe or
[224] learn of any kind of typical agricultural rites, whereas in connection with hunting, now economically unimportant, a number of precepts and prohibitions surround the hunter before and after his hunting.

a) Agriculture

243 The chief crop in the Calderun region, as among the Paez
171 generally, is maize, which was at the same time the most im-
114 portant cultivated plant and the basic food of the American peoples from Patagonia to Canada in pre-Colombian times. To this day the discussion about its culture-historical origin has not come to an end. Formerly Central America was regarded as the original land of its cultivation. On ethno- /127/ botanical grounds and plant-geographical investigations, K. Birket-Smith (p. 32) assumes that the original land of maize cultivation is not Central America, but northern South America, since, according to the more recent botanical discoveries, the original form of maize is believed to have been found in the form of the pod corn (Zea mays tunicata) of the Andean countries. Not to be left unmentioned are the voices which most recently have argued for an Asiatic origin of maize, as well as of cotton (Zerries, 1952, pp. 104/5).

If we compare these hypotheses about the origin of maize with the first authenticated reports about its occurrence in America, we find as the oldest date the year 1493, when Columbus had already brought maize to Europe from his first journey across the ocean. As early as 1525 maize was extensively cultivated in the fields of Andalusia (Schweinfurt, pp. 514 f).

P /127 cont./

● 241 [243] Maize cultivation, like every other kind of tillage among the Paez, is done by the system of burning off clearings, a form of cultivation which is widespread among all tropical agriculturalists and is commonly known in America under the designation "milpa system." The term is Central American (probably Aztec) and means "maize field" or "bare surface in the forest," but the latter always in the sense of a burned-over piece of land planted with maize. The Colombian word corresponding to the designation "milpa" is "roza," to which in Peru the designation "chacra" generally corresponds, although there the word is also used for terraced fields that are cultivated regularly every year.

The basis of the milpa system of clearing by burning is an extensive type of agriculture, in which, before sowing, new land is cleared of its growth by burning and after the harvest is (again) abandoned for several years or forever. This type of agriculture is feasible in sparsely settled regions in which there is sufficient land to permit the intervals between the separate burnings of the clearings to be long enough. If the intervals are too brief and the land burned over too often, all kinds of taller growth are eradicated. The grass covering which then forms and grows all through the year makes the land worthless for agricultural use, whereupon a larger population can no longer feed itself from its land. This is demonstrated in large areas of Central America where the dense population living in large urban cultural centers has exhausted the soil with the milpa system to such an extent that today many of these old culture areas are
p treeless, uninhabited grassland.

114 241 O. F. Cook (p. 323) regards /128/ the simultaneous cultivation of one-fifth to one-tenth of the available land as a sound form of the milpa system. This corresponds to a clearing cycle of five to ten years. There is sufficient land for this in Calderas. A cleared field is cultivated there once, at most twice in succession, and then it is left to rest at least ten, but usually
c 311 15 to 20 years (Ill. 146 /see p. 264/). The areas used by the Indio villages, then, present a picture completely different from

C /128 cont./
311 those of the colonists in Tierradentro. In the territory of the
[137] latter there is almost no forest anywhere; all the slopes have been
[233] deforested and artificially, but not through excessive agricultural
C cultivation, made into pasture areas for the livestock of the
311 colonists or large landowners. This has upset the natural water
312 economy of the region. The water flowing off unchecked dur-
134 ing the rainy season washes away the humus earth and forms
C deep gullies on the slopes. The soil thus eroded is infertile.
[361] The mountain slopes dry out completely during the dry seasons,
P so that dwellings can only rarely be built in the higher locations
311 because of the lack of water. In the areas used solely by the
134 natives, in which a natural alternation of cultivated and fallow
312 land is observed, there are countless channels and small brooks
361 that make it possible to put a house near running water at almost
P every spot on the landscape.

241 Every task of the Paez that is connected with the fields,
461 be it clearing, sowing, or harvesting, is done extraordinarily
476 willingly by all participants, "because it is for food." There is
P simply no such thing as anyone unwilling to work in the fields.
134 The soil is not very fertile, since the major part of the moun-
241 tains in the region of Calderas consists of slate which often stands
[135] out bare and on the slopes is covered with a layer of humus or
P loam only 20 to 50 centimeters deep on the average. In the
241 valley the humus layer is often more than a meter deep. The
P abundant land available, however, does not make the utmost
[342] utilization imperative. And although the numerous mountain
brooks are diverted in such a way that every house has its running
water, nevertheless there is no acute inducement for irrigation or
terraced cultivation, nor does the use of them seem to be known.

Maize occupies the major part of the cultivated area, closely followed by sugar cane, the raw product for the manufacture of chicha. Both constitute the basic production of agriculture, and there is no Paez family that does not cultivate sugar cane and maize on its land. The size of the cultivated areas cleared by burning varies. The smallest fields that we saw

/128 cont./

241 were only ten by ten meters /129/ square, whereas the largest continuous field occupied an area of about 500 by 250 meters. I was assured, however, that such a large area of land was not required for one family and that the owner would use this large [433] cleared field only little by little for planting. A family can live, so I was told, from a field that measures about 100 by 100 meters, [244] which corresponds to the area of one hectare. In addition, every house has a vegetable garden of about 1,000 square meters in area for the planting of vegetable bananas /cooking bananas/, cabbage, beans, cucumbers, and onions.

241 The clearing of the fields, like the sowing, is done only 476 by men, whereas the harvest may be gathered by women or men. 464 Several men always participate in the clearing and sowing; one [462] man never works alone. At the very least his brothers or sons help him. Otherwise he must ask friends who must be served food and chicha during the work, and whom he likewise helps in 241 a similar instance. On the field intended for planting, first the thinner trees at a height of about one to one and a half meters are cut down with the machete and left lying on the ground as they fall. With this the first part of the work is done, and one has two to four weeks' rest until the felled young trees and branches are dry, but not dried up. Then the men go out into the field again and light the wood, but only the thinner branches of less than an arm's thickness are consumed. This burning takes a few days, and it is not infrequent that a woman helps her husband on [515] the last day in order to burn up the remaining wood. The Paez, by the way, give this handling of the sooty trunks as the only time that they get dirty and must wash their hands afterwards (Ills. 169 to 171 /see pp.275 -276/).

241 The fence which each field must have for protection 417 against the freely roaming domestic animals is built out of the unburned branches and tree trunks. For this purpose rather thick poles are rammed vertically into the ground, and the remaining branches and tree trunks piled up horizonatally to a height of a good meter. In order to climb over this fence one puts a notched tree trunk against it on both sides as a ladder (afá) (Ill. 168 /see

p. 274/).

000 /129 cont./
351 p.274 /). The same fencing with the same ladder construction
417 generally also surrounds the house gardens of the Paez farms. In case the houseowner has larger domestic animals, such as cows, horses, and sheep, a gate (puélta) consisting either of a regular lath door or a barrier of horizontal beams is built into
[224] the fence surrounding his house. In the villages of the civilized Paez, in the /130/ environs of which tree growth is inadequate for the construction of a wooden fence, bamboo is used for the vertical poles, and bundles of dry maize stalks for the horizontal parts.

• 241 The entire agriculture of the Paez is digging-stick culti-
412 vation (Ill. 172 /see p. 276/). Hoe culture was originally unknown. The house gardens, only recently laid out after the model of the colonists and in which European plants such as cabbage, cucumbers, and onions are cultivated, are turned over with the spade (pála). The digging stick (āty) consists merely of a pointed tree-trunk or pole, though recently broad iron tips with
243 a socket are being put on the digging sticks more and more. Maize may be sowed throughout the year, but it is generally sowed in April when the rainy season begins. Several men always participate, making holes in the ground about one meter apart in every direction with the digging stick, and putting six to eight maize kernels into each hole. The holes are covered again with only very little earth with the foot, "so that the sprout can come out more easily." The ripening period of ten to 12 months is relatively long. After half a year the field is cleared of weeds once. The harvest period is spread out over approximately half a year, provided that sufficiently large amounts of maize were planted; and for this half
[262] year the people practically live "from the stalk." First the young maize (tsőt; maize in general, kőty) is eaten half-ripe and only later are the ripe ears harvested and eaten. Every day the men or women go into the field with their bags made of agave fibers and break off only as much as is needed each time for the meal.

249 Whereas maize may be cultivated at all elevations in
[243] Calderas, sugar cane (nyűša) thrives only in the lower, protected localities of the Kokiyó Valley. Its ripening period of two to

/140 cont./

231 439 Since the only purpose of keeping horses among the Paez is to have as large a number as possible, it is understandable that they place importance above all on the possession of mares. The birth of a filly is therefore a great joy and everyone would be happy to trade a grown stallion for a filly, "because it again gives foals." Unfortunately this exchange takes place only all too rarely, because the colonists are not interested in the degenerate horses of the Calderun. It is different with cows (kulá; steer = toló, heifer = novflya). Here the /141/ Calderun breed (black mottled "Holstein" and brown cattle) is healthier and usually also stronger than the cattle of the colonists. Moreover, on account of the somewhat cooler climate, their bodies are almost completely free of ticks and vermin, in contrast to the cows belonging to the inhabitants of lower altitudes, normally 231 crawling with larvae and maggots. Unlike horse meat, beef is [262] eaten, but milk is never drunk, "since the Calderun never have [272] the cows milked." The breeding goal here, too, is the greatest possible number. Thus it would never happen that a cow or calf would be slaughtered. I could not learn of any preference for a particular color, for example, black-white or brown-white, or uniformly all black or white or brown. All are liked equally well [431] by the Paez, since only the number is important. There is no special attachment between a person and his livestock, for no one gives away livestock, either as a birthday, christening, or [552] wedding present. Special names or designations for livestock or pet names are not used.

233 422 231 About half the total number of Calderun cattle and horses graze on the pastures of community land. This means about 40 horses and 60 cattle. The figure shows that only a small number of Calderun families own a cow or a horse. The proportion [554] becomes even less favorable when one learns that there are three rich families who own about ten to 20 head of cattle and horses each. The other half of the large stock, as well as sheep, pigs, and small stock, remain near the houses and seek their fodder there. [241] They may also forage in the uncultivated fields of neighbors; they are prevented by the fences from breaking into the cultivated fields.

/207 cont./

g) Festivals and Celebrations

796 The public community festivals of the Paez which are celebrated and observed in the course of the year nowadays take place only on religious occasions, on the three church holidays Semana Santa (Easter week), San Juán (June 24), and Immaculada (December 8). For the Paez these are primarily occasions for joyful gatherings, for setting off fireworks, and for eating and drinking richly and abundantly. It is not certain whether in former times there were any indigenous festivals in connection with sowing and harvesting and the natural cycle of the year,
796 and to me this does not even seem probable. There is nothing
221 in the myths and surviving indigenous customs of the Paez that
● 241 points to an agricultural rhythm of life; rather, religion, mythology, and ceremonial practice are remnants of a hunting and shamanistic attitude of mind. The absence of a ceremonial life connected with sowing and harvesting becomes understandable in view of the fact that it is possible to do this at any time of the year; there is no correlation between a seasonal and growth rhythm and a corresponding natural festival cycle.

796 The gobernador at the time is in charge of organizing the community festivals. The actual running of the festival, which includes the entertainment of the entire village and the serving of the necessary food and drink, is the duty of the two "fiesteros" and their helpers, the "albaceros" and "mayordomos." It is an
[554] honor to be fiestero, but also an expensive matter, for this office costs each one two head of cattle, the food for the village on the festival day, and, in addition, the liberal distribution of chicha and brandy. And, to be sure, not only the chicha that is drunk by the village on the day of the festival, but also that which the helpers
[426] drink when they make the chicha before the festival. Even if a fiestero hires himself out to the whites months before the festival /208/ in order to earn money, he often remains in debt for years afterward as a result of the obligations arising from the festival. In spite of the costliness of this office, the fiesteros -- so I was

/210 cont./

423 considerably larger parcels of land than others, for example, the
427 Guagáz family, who, according to my information, own almost half of all private land. Permission for the use of land is granted only for crops with a short ripening period, namely, wheat, maize, beans, and cabbage, but not sugar cane, coca, or bananas, which need several years to mature, in other words, can be used for years. As rent the owner receives a small portion of the harvest, which is left on the stalk and which he must harvest himself.

423 As a matter of principle, land cannot be bought, we were
[428] told repeatedly, for every man must leave his land to his sons. Even if a man has no sons, he may not sell his land, but must hand it over to his brothers. This was the information always
423 given in answer to my direct questions on the subject. /211/ In
437 practice, however, it is quite possible to sell land, and this is not infrequently done, but no one realizes that a land sale actually takes place when a man clears a piece of land for himself, plants it, and exchanges the entire harvest, including the land, for a
[115] head of cattle, a horse, etc. This is what Victoriano did, for example, in order to acquire a horse. He cleared and planted a piece of his father's land, about 2,500 square meters, to sugar cane, and when this was mature, he exchanged the harvest, including the land, for a mare. Nobody wanted to admit that this violated the principle of not selling land.

423 The land belongs to the father of the family, who, as a rule,
241 tills it with his grown sons. If the sons have their own houses,
59 they generally go on working with their father, since no one likes to work alone. At the harvest, the respective wives fetch the food
423 required for their families from the common field. If father and
427 son do not live in amity, the son must plant and harvest his own
593 field, for which he is then obliged to accept the help of friends.
241 It is considerably more expensive to entertain them than family
[476] help, for in the latter case there need not be any chicha for entertainment. Even in this instance, however, the son must ask his father and owner of the family land for permission to cultivate the land. This is not denied, however, After the harvest, this piece of land, since it will lie fallow now for about ten years, goes back

/211 cont./

423 to the father, and the next year the son must ask his father anew
427 for permission to use another piece of land.

593 Besides the land, the father of the family also owns the
241 dwelling, the menstruation house, all the animals -- including
422 chickens and guinea pigs -- all agricultural implements, and the
423 sugar mill. Property marks on the houses, fields, and implements are not required, for everyone knows to whom they belong.

428 Upon the death of the father of the family, the youngest son inherits his house and the greater part of the livestock. If, for example, there is only one cow, he gets it. Similarly, he gets all the land under cultivation at the time. The uncultivated land is divided equally among all the sons. The widow,
[768] like the daughters, inherits nothing. The former then continues to live in her old house in the family of the youngest son. The fact that the latter receives so much more than the older ones in the distribution of the inheritance is explained by the fact that the older ones have worked for more years and therefore have had more time and opportunity to acquire property of their own.
[429] Favoring the youngest thus represents a certain equalization. If the father dies /212/ young and leaves only a small son, his mother administers his property for him until he is about 15 years
[768] old. He need not marry then, however. If there are several younger sons, they, of course, also go on living together in the house of the father.

Deviant inheritance plans of the deceased, for example, letting an older favorite son have more or leaving his house or implements, not to his youngest son, but to his brother, are not possible. Even if a father had ten daughters and only one son and none of the daughters would marry, he could not leave them anything. In such a case, the only son would have to provide for all his sisters, for women cannot live alone in a house and they would not be in a position to cultivate the land alone. If a man has no sons, but only daughters, his sons-in-law generally help him cultivate the fields. Yet he cannot bequeath them anything. His landed property and equipment go to that one of his brothers who takes care of the burial, that is to say, buys the grave clothes for the deceased and provides chicha and food for the mourning

/284 cont./

●241 The following ceremony before the first harvest of a newly
756 cleared field should also be understood in the same sense as
783 all the shamanistic séances of the Paez, namely, as a purification
[273] from pest or to ward it off. The owner, taking along coca, chicha,
[276] and brandy, goes to the field with the members of his family and
the teyu. The latter first sprinkles the field with water to which
[824] herbs have been added and then distributes small packets of
[782] medicinal herbs to all present. He now takes a sample from each type of produce and makes a bundle out of this, in order to offer it to Thunder. After this gift, the owner harvests a fiber bag full of each type of produce and carries it home. He sets down all the bags beside one another in front of the left side of the entrance, and then the shaman spits his herbs over them, in order to cleanse them of the pest, which, without this ceremony, would otherwise
[782] have been carried into the house. After the products have been cooked, they are given to the shaman, who distributes one product to each of those present and offers the rest as a gift to Thunder, who, in turn, gives everything back to the shaman.

754 A good shaman does not know any herbs or other means to
756 harm people or to kill them. Such acts are the mark of the nyic. According to what we heard, however, the boundary between good and bad shamans is not very sharply drawn; each could also carry out the activity of the other, even though Thunder -- people are convinced -- does not lend his help to a nyic, so that the latter is
578 dependent solely on his bad and wicked agents. /285/ There is a
754 constant struggle between the teyu and the nyic, not openly to be
756 sure, but in secret. The teyu constantly feel pursued by the evil machinations of the nyic, and one who relaxes his attention for only a moment will be killed by them. In this struggle the one who is the stronger magically has prospects of victory; but since the nyic do not openly announce their successes over the good shamans, one can learn only of the victories of the teyu over the evil shamans. Thus a shaman from Santa Rosa relates that in his youth he was very treacherous and underhanded and was already familiar with many agents. One day a nyic, who had already

/314 cont./

105 The clothing of the men and women covers the upper and lower body. The men's upper garment, called "ruana" in Colombia, "poncho" in Peru, is a sleeveless shirt open at the sides. It is ancient American, known both from the relief of the so-called "sun god" of Tiahuanaco and from a grave of the pre-Spanish [291] period in Arica (northern Chile) (Montell, pp. 173-183). Soon [171] after the Conquista, since the second half of the sixteenth century, this Andean article of clothing, which consists simply of a square piece of cloth with an elongated slit for the head, was distributed throughout the area of the Andean mountain cultures. Its name, "atc," among the Paez, however, has no parallel linguistically. [177] The men's trousers are clearly Spanish. The women's costume is most simple: as an upper garment to a skirt a rectangular piece of cloth is simply put crosswise over their upper bodies.

[241] From an economic point of view, field cultivation is primary. It is carried out by the men in the form of the burned-clearing system with a ten-year clearing cycle. The only field tool is the [433] digging stick. The minimal area of cultivated land for one family is about one hectare. The principal crops are maize and sugar [177] cane. The latter was not introduced until after the Conquista. The Paez word means "sweet." The Paez designation for maize, "kotc," has no parallel with the corresponding words of the Chibcha, Carib, or Aruac /Arawak/ language groups, but with Kechua /Quechua/, where maize is called "kuts" (Birket-Smith, pp. 22-30). The stimulants are coca and chicha made of sugar-cane juice. Both Paez words, es and mbéka, respectively, have no parallels in other language groups.

105 241 There are no outstanding festivals indicative of a planter's culture or rites associated with the products of field cultivation, nor does anything indicating an agricultural rhythm of life appear in the myths and religious customs of the Paez. The mythology and ceremonial customs are remnants of a hunter's attitude of mind. It appears as though the Paez did not adopt their primitive agriculture until the time of the Conquista or shortly before, and adopted only the mechanical application of the methods of simple digging-stick farming, without the ceremonial customs associated

/314 cont./

105 with sowing and harvesting otherwise characteristic of peoples
●241/ who plant. It is not improbable that they practiced this field
[412] cultivation as they describe it for the Pijao. In the story /315/
of the Paez with the ax (No. 16) it is said that the Pijao were not familiar with tools in former times and, accordingly, could not fell trees to lay out a proper burned-off field. In order to obtain fields for their sowing, they were obliged to split the bark of trees with stones. After these were dried, they sowed their maize between the dead trunks.

105 In connection with hunting, economically insignificant today,
[224] the hunter is surrounded by a number of prohibitions such as we find everywhere among hunting peoples throughout the world.
[226] Fishing is carried on with poisonous plants at weirs. It took place as a joint fishing expedition of the entire village in the February dry season when the water was at its lowest level of the year. This large annual fishing expedition was called enzte. The time
[233] period of one year was also designated with the same word. Raising
[556] large livestock is almost purely a sport or a matter of appearance
[231] and wealth. Horses are not used; cattle are slaughtered only for the three large annual Christian festivals (Semana Santa, San Juán, Immaculada).

Among weapons, only the shotgun for hunting is of significance
[773] today. The pellet blowgun and the stone-sling are used as toys. In
[441] the mythology the latter plays an important part as a decisive weapon in war.

In the handcraft techniques of plaiting and weaving, the use of agave fiber and sheep wool predominates, generally in the form of spun and twisted threads. The carrying bags of agave fiber and the wool coca bags are made by the loop technique; the hammocks, bird nets, berry sieves, and stone-slings by the knot technique. Only straw hats are plaited. The bands of the fiber bags are woven out of agave fibers; the women's belts and the articles of clothing of men and women, out of sheep wool. The weaving method is simple rod-weaving with the linen texture. The women's belts have an ornamental warp formed during the weaving process. The weaving frame is vertical, of the so-called

P /319 cont./
105 concluded that the classification of Paez as a Chibcha language
197 cannot be regarded as definite. The grammatical agreements may just as well be remnants of an older, or superimpositions of a younger, population layer. In addition there is the fact that in the sometimes centuries-long struggles since the Conquista considerable shifting and intermingling of populations have taken place. It is possible that the tribes existing or surviving today are only scattered remains or groupings that have been made up from other tribes only after the Conquista.

C P 105 P [197] P E [361] P C [241] [412] P C [323] P [325] P C [411] P C [771]

Culturally the Paez have nothing at all in common with Chibcha culture. The Chibcha language group established by H. Beuchat and Paul Rivet is a linguistic concept, which, in an uninterrupted extension from Nicaragua to Ecuador, embraces completely different cultures! For example, the Chibcha settlements on the plateau of Bogotá are compact villages, whereas the Paez live on individual farms. The agriculture of the Chibcha, with the use of a wooden spade, is relatively advanced in comparison with the digging stick and burned-clearing cultivation of the Paez. Technically the manufacture of Chibcha ceramics is far above that of the Paez, and it is certain that the Paez did not do any gold work. Among the Paez the sling was the principal weapon; among the Chibcha, club and spear with the spear thrower. In the Chibcha religion we have a creator-god or a tribal mother with a pantheon of other gods, with offerings of gold and emeralds; we find hero-temples, holy places, and sacred kings, while among the Paez, only shamans.

C 105 P C 197

Thus we have a gaping division between the Chibcha language group and the Chibcha culture. Scientific terms, however, should be unequivocal and not designate different concepts with the same words. This is done correctly in Europe, for example, with /320/ the Indo-Germanic family of languages, the Dinaric race, or the band-ceramics culture.

The cultural concept of the Chibcha is the older one. In order not to identify and confuse the culture group with the language group which is completely different from it, the language group should have a different name, especially since it is not certain whether

1: Nachtigall--262 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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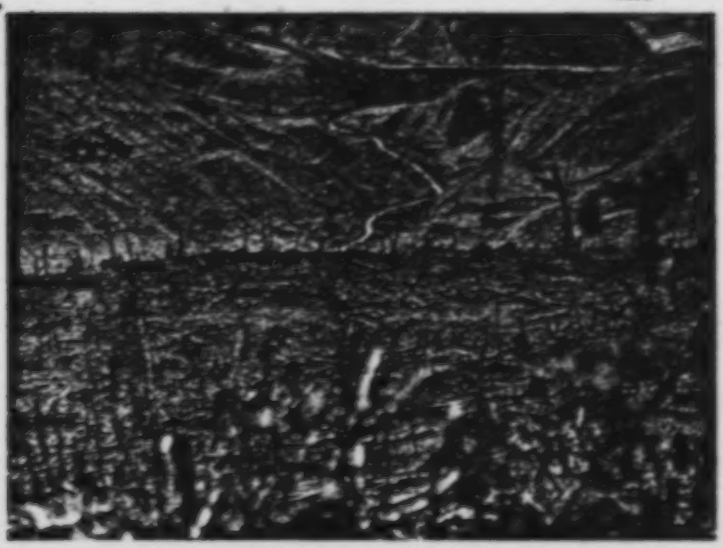

Ill. 6. The valley of the Rio Paez.

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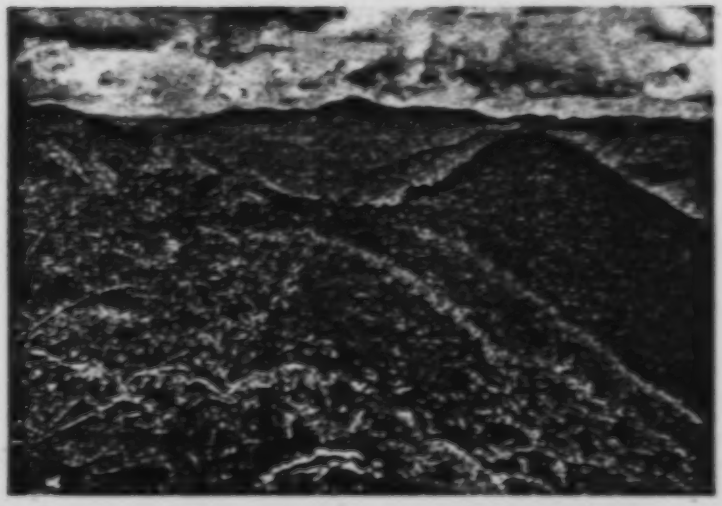

Ill. 7. The Filo de El Aguacate.

1: Nachtigall--274 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 168. Maize field with fence.

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Ill. 167. House garden of the Paez.

1: Nachtigall--275 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

241
133

Ill. 169. Section of a field readied for burning.

Ill. 170. Area used by the village, with fields cleared by burning.

1: Nachtigall--276 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Pacz SC15

Ill. 171. Burning the felled trees.

Ill. 172. Setting out the sugar-cane shoots with the digging stick.

1: Nachtigall--296 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

000 /CX cont./

a = Section of the weaving sword
b = Method of stretching the warp threads and inserting the first weft thread
c = Heddle loops
d = Weaving patterns

Plate XVI

36. a and b: game with the hole-ball
37. Drum (underside)

/CXI/ Illustrations

Plate XVII

[491] Ill. 1. View of La Plata, the southern trade center of Tierradentro. From here the roads lead to the cities of the Magdalena Valley and the Cauca Valley.

Ill. 2. The market of Inzá at the time of the weekly market.

Plate XVIII

Ill. 3 and 4. The churches of San Andrés and Santa Rosa built in the last century.

Plate XIX

Ill. 5. Southern Tierradentro, the settlement area of the colonists, as seen from the highest point of the Filo de El Aguacate. In the background, right, the deeply cut valley of the Rio Ullucus.

Plate XX

[491] [241] Ill. 6. The valley of the Rio Paez above Togoima with the La Plata-Belalcázar automobile road. In the foreground a field of the Paez Indians that has been cleared by burning.

[172] Ill. 7. The archeological site on the Filo de El Aguacate. The crest of the ridge is leveled off somewhat for the emplacement of the 41 grave chambers.

/CXX cont./

600 Ill. 153. The shaman Cerbeleón Niunda with his wife. Around his neck hangs the fiber bag with the medicinal herbs.

Plate LXXXI

Ill. 154. A man of Santa Rosa in front of his house. In the background a ladder cut out of a bamboo.

Ill. 155. Our interpreter, Victoriano Piñakué, in Colombian clothing.

Plate LXXXII

Ill. 156. The Paez customarily builds his house in the midst of his fields on his own property, sometimes only for the period of a harvest. The planted field is enclosed by a fence.

[241]

Plate LXXXIII

Ill. 157. A dwelling in the midst of a newly cleared field. The small annex at the left serves as a storage room for chicha.

Ill. 158. A rectangular field-hut built for the period of a harvest. The walls are made of maize stalks, the roof is covered with sugar-cane leaves.

/CXXI/

Plate LXXXIV

[356] Ill. 159. Hip-roofed house, the roof of which is repaired with sugar-cane leaves. In front of the house the sugar mill, over which the expressed canes are hung to dry. To the left, as an annex, the menstruation hut. Behind the house, vegetable bananas.

Ill. 160. Framework of a dwelling, made of bamboo.

/CXXI cont./

Plate LXXXV

100 Ill. 161. Framework of a house.

Ill. 162. Dwelling of the civilized Paez being built. The walls are filled with earth to the thickness of a post.

Ill. 163 and 164. Construction details of a Paez house.

Plate LXXXVI

Ill. 165. House annex with the chicha trough. In front of the man's stomach hangs the colorfully patterned coca pouch. Married women wear their hair plaited in a braid.

[585]
[302]

[352] Ill. 166. The interior of a Paez house. Tables, benches, and beds are lacking. At night they sleep on the floor around the hearth made of three field stones.

[513]
[354]

Plate LXXXVII

Ill. 167. House garden of the Paez with bananas, sugar cane, and yuca.

[417] Ill. 168. Maize field with fence. A notched tree-trunk serves as ladder.

Plate LXXXVIII

Ill. 169. Portion of a field readied for burning. The tree growth has been cut off at hip height.

Ill. 170. Land used by the village, with black surfaces of the fields burned off in preparation for sowing.

Plate LXXXIX

[241] Ill. 171. Paez burning felled trees. The ashes serve as fertilizer.
Ill. 172. Men setting out sugar-cane shoots with the digging stick.

The fields are prepared with
/283 cont./
241 machetes and fire. They are the so-called rozas, a barbarous, primitive, and criminal method of agriculture. Burning is a habit of natives and colonists alike and goes so far that even the vegetation of the cliffs, crags, and escarpments is burned, where obviously no practical use can be derived and in addition it leaves the denuded rock at the mercy of the agents of erosion.

136 Fauna.--The fauna consists of a few classes of ophidians and small mammals: tinajos, coatis, pacas, armadillos, porcupines, foxes, deer, tapirs, sloths, and rabbits. Bears, ocelots, and pumas are found in the virgin montañas. Birds, such as wild pigeons and chachalacas, abound.

132 Climate.--There are no data on the rainfall, temperatures, /284/ and winds of this zone. The climate on the whole is temperate, or, to put it better, it is a coffee-growing climate.

361 Owing to the unevenness of the terrain, the natives inhabit
133 a region that extends from 1,000 meters (Itaibe) up to 2,500
132 meters above sea level (Suin, Mosoco, Vitoncó, and Lame). According to Dr. Gregorio Hernández de Alba, at the time of the Conquest the Paez peoples of Tierradentro inhabited "altitudes and climates between 2,620 meters with 13 degrees centigrade and 1,650 meters with 17 degrees centigrade on the average" (1).

1. Hernández de Alba (Gregorio), p. 917 /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 309/.

132 The atmospheric humidity and the rainfall increase as the cordillera becomes higher and snow-capped Huila draws nearer, with two summers and two winters, influenced, of course, by the topography, the vegetation, and proximity to the summit. There is an intense summer during the months of January and February, and another in July, August, and September. The winters are intense during the months of March-June and, on a smaller scale, in October-December. Snow-capped Huila

/284 cont./

132 gives rise to cold local winds that blow through the valley of the Páez, affecting chiefly the areas of Vitoncó, Suin, Chinas, San José, Mosoco, and also the parcialidad /a territorial division/ of Calderas itself. The variation in temperature is noticeable in these zones sometimes having hot days and very cold nights. Nebulosity is almost constant, especially in the northern zones.

241 Economy.--The topographic and climatic characteristics permit the cultivation of various plants, such as maize, beans, bananas, sugar cane, yuca, arracacha, and gourds in the temperate zones, and in the cold ones potatoes, maize, ullucos, [433] beans, gourds, and cabbage. The produce barely leaves a [439] surplus for trade with the parcialidades and urban centers of [438] Belalcázar, Inzá, and Valencia. The potato crops of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José serve for an active trade with the Paez of the western slope of the cordillera, across the Páramo de Moras.

433 Coffee and the production of panela are important lines 245 in the economy of the colonists and also of numerous groups 249 of acculturated natives. The coffee of Tierradentro is con- 177 sidered one of the best in the country, owing to the quality and mildness of the bean.

23 /285/ The raising of livestock flourishes among the civilized 437 groups. For the natives it serves for maintaining a barter trade with their neighbors, the white and mestizo colonists.

311 On the whole, native production is relatively scant, 433 giving rise to times of "hambruna" /ravenous hunger/ when [731] the summers or winters are rather harsh. The workable land lies in the small plains and valleys of rivers and streams, on the alluvial terraces, and on the plateaus. Comparing the size of Tierradentro with that of its arable land, the latter appears scant, a problem that is aggravated by the increase in population and the habitual burning.

101 Population.--Tierradentro is the country of the Paez, 36 who at the time of the Conquest were settled to the north of

/182 cont./

487 authentically native achievement which is a true work of
499 engineering; it could not have been done in any other spot or in any other way. The bridge over the Kukiyú was built with two thick beams over which thin cross-pieces have been fastened together with lianas; like all Paez bridges, it has a thatched roof and side rails.

III

Black, Smoking Dots on the Horizon

241 36 From Yukaichí one can see almost the entire parcialidad
133 of Calderas, exept for the left bank of the Kukiyú. On the ridge of a hill, at the end of a canyon, on a slight plateau, discreetly hidden on a gentle slope or on a bold declivity, one sees trapezoidal figures that glow like graphite, surrounded by rows of golden stalks of maize. They are the Indians' huts, built far apart, submerged in the green landscape of the plantings of bananas and sugar cane, and through whose openings a thick bluish smoke is always emerging, a sign of life and activity.

311 While to the Guajira /Goajiro/ livestock is a symbol of sustenance and the tending of herds its concomitant activity, to the Paez the land is the sustainer of man; the black layer that covers the rocks feeds the woodland /monte/ after the harvest; time will tell when it will be mature and ready for fencing in anew the clearings that will yield the longed-for maize, the plenteous arracacha, the small beans, the blooming cabbage, the thick and abundant santo wheat /trigo del santo/; in the grasslands graze the cattle with bright and variegated hides, small, swift horses of great endurance, the many herds of pigs that fight over the tender roots of shrubs, and the mild sheep that yield wool for the men's ponchos, the women's skirts, and the kuetand yahas of both.

/241/

824 The plants marked with an asterisk were identified by the
[128] Herbario Nal. Colombiano, in particular by Dr. Jesús M.
[137] Idrobo.

[127] For the others, we were guided by the work, Plantas Utiles de Colombia /Useful Plants of Colombia/, by Dr. E. Pérez Arbeláez, published by the Imprenta Nacional de Bogotá in 1947.

75 The tẽ eu and the community. In every culture, medicine
182 performs an eminently humanitarian function. Its nature is
171 sociological. No matter what its methods may be, its purpose is to save human lives. It combats illness, but also prevents it.

75 Among the Paez, medicine cures and prevents. The
182 community and the family perform special ceremonies intended to achieve these two purposes of medicine.

755 When the pest (epidemic) has spread through the com-
*756 munity, threatening its subsistence, the authorities (cabildo)
182 invite the curer to conjure away the danger by performing the
[731] wé ká.

When the illness prevails in a single family, markedly decreasing its members, the eldest invites the curer to perform
[765] the ut ká. After every burial the people must remove the ptans
[783] from their bodies and from the house where the death occurred. The curer is the only one who can do this.

● 241 The first fruits of plantings made on new lands not culti-
*756 vated before cannot be consumed until the curer has performed
783 the cleansing ceremonies. Thus, it is the curer who defends
182 the family -- preservation of the species -- who purifies the
789 harvests -- preservation of the individual -- and who also defends the community, warding off by means of his conjurations
*756 the epidemics and the individuals who threaten it. In 1952,
789 before an imminent attack by subversive armed groups on the
182 Parcialidad of Santa Rosa, the curer warded it off with maní de montaña /literally, "montaña peanut"/, chewed and blown on the path by which they were to come.

/245 cont./

*765 756 783 [113] 8. See: "Mitología y Cuentos de la Parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro /Mythology and Tales from the Parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro/," Revista Colombiana de Antropologia, 1953.

[114] This type of cleansing has not been confirmed by any informant, curer or layman, young or old, male or female, from the Parcialidades of Santa Rosa, San Andrés, Calderas, Togoima, Avirama, or Mosoco.

342 796 *756 ●[241] Conjuration of the new rancho. To protect their fields from the voracity of wild animals, they build a small rancho. Before occupying it, they perform the following conjuration. The curer blows remedies in the center of the rancho where the hearth will be. He digs a hole and buries shu and shulape. He makes a fire and casts fiundayuskei and bitopiskue into it. He gathers up all the ashes and throws them outside the rancho. He revives the fire again and roasts a green ear of maize, which is given to a dog to eat. If the dog does not die, it is a sign that there is no pest there and the owners can occupy it. In the opposite case they must abandon it. In Santa Rosa the Té eu eats the ear of maize.

This same ceremony is performed upon beginning a house. They give the dog roasted maize since it is not the season for green ears. Then they drink chicha and aguardiente.

241 *756 E huse uña (clearing-eat). The harvesting of the crops from new clearings must be initiated by the curer. The owner of the field provides coca, tobacco, and aguardiente and invites the curer. The entire family goes to the field.

The té eu prepares a calabash of remedies based on Chayuts, shugues, tayuskei, echiutse, ul fiñ, tatse. He sprinkles the clearing with this. He distributes as many bundles of remedies as there are persons present, for them to chew, to swallow the juice, and to rub their bodies with the remainder.

/245 cont./

241 As soon as the curer has collected one fruit of every species to
756 be harvested, he makes up a bundle as on offering to the Ghost,
[782] since he is the owner of the earth.

[776] When this offering has been made, the owners harvest a pouch of each crop sown. They go home and /246/ put the pouches side by side in the left part of the entrance door for
[783] the curer to blow remedies again. Without this requisite, the pouches of food could not be brought into the house because they might carry the pest. The women begin to cook them. When the time for eating comes, the curer first passes around a cup of aguardiente with yuskei and bitopiskue. When there are potatoes, they are handed over to the curer after they are cooked. He distributes one specimen to everyone present; what remains is handed to the owner, who in turn gives generously to the curer.

If the first fruits are of maize or beans, the following is done:

With the green ears of maize, "loaves" /bollos/ or "wrappers" /envueltos/ are prepared; with the beans, a large bundle is made. Then the ears of maize, the bundle of beans, and the loaves are cooked. Aside from this, there is a pot of stew with chicken to provide for the curer.

The cooked ears of maize, beans, and loaves are assembled in a trough, and the cook distributes to all those present a sample of each type. Everyone eats, taking care to leave a little of each mouthful, which they pass to the curer. The latter makes a pile, ties it up, and hangs it from the ridge of the house so that the field seed which is being harvested will yield abundant fruit in the following year.

The husks of the ears of maize are piled outside the house, where the curer remains for one night with the object of capturing glowworms and killing them.

776 Assisting spirits. Thunder. All the informants state that Thunder is short in stature, about 1.40 meters, wears a large hat of twigs, underdrawers, a black poncho, tama, and pouch

361 /295 cont./
311 strong political groupings had their principal seats at Tálaga,
643 Suin, and Avirama (3). "The place of residence of a cacique
175
[622] 3. Hernández de Alba, Gr. "The Highland
[103] Tribes of Southern Colombia," pp. 915-960.

) constituted a sort of settlement or gathering place, most of which remain today as Indian pueblos and retain their names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima," Chitoquez, Cuetando, Yaquivá, Pisimbalá, and Itaibe, all of them located at the
361 temperate thermal level. It is precisely along the course of
311 the Páez River and along the middle and lower courses of its
161 tributaries that the Páez population is now concentrated.

13 2. Physiography. Merely a single glance at the wild geography of Tierradentro will give an idea of the pattern of life of the Páez people. The physiography of the entire course of the Páez River, from Irlanda to Itaibe, with nearly all of its tributaries, is compressed into profiled accidents. It might be said that it forms a "thermic chimney," Professor Guhl's expression. It belongs to the temperate thermal level. This is the land of the great slopes covered with natural pastures and of the short, narrow vegas with fertile soils. There are those who speak of the fertility of all the soil of Tierradentro, classifying it, consequently, as a privileged zone. The concept proves to be deceptive, because it does not take into account the physiographic factor. We find the usable vegetal layer /296/ only in the extremely narrow vegas of the rivers, ravines, and streams, and in places
13 where the topography becomes a little smoother. The left bank
● 241 of the Páez River, from Toez to La Plata, is usable for agricul-
[233] ture and stock-raising only with difficulty, given the brutality of the slopes. Every tributary that enters on this side is a deep ravine isolated by ridges running from northeast to southwest. On the other hand, the left bank has important vegas. It is there that plantains, manioc, sugar cane, coca, arracacha, maize, and lately coffee and guadua bamboo are grown. The soils are essentially acid, and the Gramineae grow in abundance

/296 cont./

13 and are of very good quality. The wheat and coffee from the
● 241 municipio of Inzá enjoy a deserved reputation in the republic for the quantity and quality of their crops.

133 The Páez River receives approximately 32 watercourses on
134 the left bank, and 17 on the right. It is easy to imagine the ruggedness of the terrain if we bear in mind the fact that each
[241] one of them forms an impassable ravine. It is also easy to imagine the magnitude of the erosion, assisted by factors of a cultural nature, such as the systematic battle against herbaceous vegetation by means of the system of annual fires. The violence of the wild waters denudes and even forms veritable rivers of stone, such as are seen at the place called Vicanenga in the municipio of Páez. The streams and torrents sometimes swell to extraordinary proportions. In 1949 the Topa torrent completely washed away its small tributary valley, on which stood the hamlet known by the name of Brisas, now Valencia, a flood which was repeated in April of this year.

241 Of course, the extent of the workable land does not keep
133 pace with the increase in population. The physiography of the
134 cold thermal level, on the other hand, spreads out and flattens
[161] a little, the horizon broadens, the patches of arboreal vegetation increase, and the plots multiply, like veritable chessboards in Mosoco, San José, and Vitoncó. Their soils nourish maize, wheat, potatoes, ullucos, nasturtium, and garlic. On the dividing lines between the plots there rise, like green walls, the plantings of cabuya.

161 3. Population density. The growth of the indigenous popu-
361 lation in general, and of the "white" one in particular, has
311 compelled the former to utilize lands increasingly more difficult, steep, /297/ and sterile, or to emigrate in search of uncultivated land. As early as the time of the Conquest we find notes on the spread of the Páez people to the western slopes of the Central Cordillera, forming such nuclei as Pitayó, Tacueyó, and San Francisco. Nowadays, we find Páez groups on the eastern slopes of the Western Cordillera in the department of Cauca, in the departments of Huila and Tolima, and in the Cauca Valley, as Páez

/297 cont./

/61/ outposts, the centers of Chinche and Potrerillos to the north of
311 the settlement of Palmira (4).
361

4. Duque Gómez, L. "Problemas Sociales de algunas parcialidades indígenas del Occidente de Colombia /Social problems of some native parcialidades of western Colombia/," p. 187.

Agriculture and horticulture

● 241 Agriculture and horticulture constitute the primary source
133 of subsistence for the Páez. It covers a wide hypsometric zone
[433] that goes from 1,000 meters (La Plata, Huila) to well beyond the contour line of 3,000 meters in altitude above sea level (Mosoco). Naturally, the species cultivated vary with the thermal level, and, consequently, the dietetic regimen. What do not vary are the methods of cultivation and, above all, the magical practices
241 associated with them. There are also variations in the extent
134 and the type of cultivable soils. Those used the most in Tierradentro are the ones included in the temperate thermal level. We have already discussed their fertility and extent. The soils of the cold thermal level are fertile and more extensive. Thick humus layers are found in Lame, Mosoco, San José, La Troja, Irlanda, Guanacas, Turminá, and Coscuro. These are, of course, truly privileged zones. Nevertheless, the soils are not rationally utilized or conserved. The land is exploited in an exhaustive manner. A clearing will not tolerate two consecutive plantings. Thus, each year new land, new clearing, new fencing, and new burning are required. After having been harvested once, the ground is abandoned, and in the course of the years it once more becomes covered with shrubs and thickets. After seven years, more or less, the land is again cleared of its underbrush, and the same cultivated species are planted once more. In Calderas, Santa Rosa, and Togoima, maize, arracacha, frijoles, cabbages, potatoes, and sometimes peas are planted. The process described earlier is typical of these parcialidades. In Mosoco and the cold parts generally, maize, potatoes, /298/ broad beans, and frijoles are planted in the same clearing, and

/298 cont./

241 in some cases, fruit trees, and after this, wheat. In San Andrés,
134 especially in the vegas, maize, plantains, frijoles, arracacha, manioc, sugar cane, and coffee are planted. Thus, there is not proper utilization of the soil or protection of it, aside from the several years of rest. They are not familiar with fertilizers, the rotation of crops, or irrigation systems.

241 It is interesting to note that the families of San Andrés,
423 Calderas, Lame, and Mosoco generally have lands in the low places along the rivers and streams and in the high places where arboreal vegetation abounds, which they call the "montaña." In this way, they can cultivate cold and temperate zone plants (Calderas, San Andrés, Lame) or take advantage of the annual seasonal cycle in the high parts of the Cordillera (Mosoco).

241 A principal dwelling is erected on one of the fincas, while
342 on the others ranchos where the families live during the months of harvest are built. It is at the principal dwelling where the garden is made with plantains, sugar cane, onions, coriander, coca, cabbage (San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Calderas, Togoima), or with cabbage, garlic, onions, yuca de pipchao /yams/, peaches, and apples (Lame, Mosoco, Vitoncó). Peppers are cultivated in the gardens. This principal dwelling forms what in our culture is called hogar /hearth, home/. It is here that the fire is always maintained, that the ears of maize, bundles of wheat, bags of frijoles, tools, troughs, cooking utensils, and sugar mills are kept, where the chickens, guinea pigs, pigs, and turkeys live.

249 Industrial crops practically do not exist. There are no
[248] tobacco or cotton plantations. Sugar-cane plantings are not
[273] extensive among the natives. They are used solely for pro-
[778] ducing guarapo, which has almost completely replaced the maize chicha. Only the whites and a few mestizos have extensive sugar-cane fields for producing panela.

248 Figue thrives in Tierradentro. But it is in Vitoncó and Lame that there are numerous plantings of cabuya of very good quality in terms of the size and quantity of the fiber, planted on the boundaries of the properties. This wealth is not utilized as much as it should be. The natives merely make pouches and lassos for internal consumption.

P /298 cont./

245 Guadua bamboo thrives in the temperate valleys. It is of excellent quality. In most cases it serves as shade for the coffee. Its increase would redound in obvious benefits.

P 249 /299/ In spite of the fact that plantings of coca are pro-
C [249] scribed by Colombian law, it is cultivated for consumption at
[656] almost every home; and in some parcialidades there are numerous
P [435] plantings for commercial purposes. The value of the leaf is high. A pound is quoted at three pesos.

Pc 313 Sawmills are found in Coscuro, Toez, the Símbola River, and the Salado stream. But this is almost exclusively an industry
Pc [785] of the "whites." Only in San Andrés and Mosoco was it possible to see native sawyers. There is no reforestation.

P ●241 172 137 In a large part of the parcialidades of San Andrés, Caldenas, Lame, Mosoco, and Vitoncó, and the entire valley of the Páez River, the clearings seem to have been done in quite remote times. There are no forests, but remnants are found along the crests and ridges that separate the valleys and in the windings where the human foot does not venture to tread. The cliffs are covered with uniform savanna vegetation.

P 172 241 In many parcialidades there are archeological remains belonging to an unknown civilization earlier than that of the Páez.
P [783] The lands where these elements are found are utilized without any qualms. But when the plantings are in a "new clearing," the natives take the precaution of performing the required purifications before beginning to consume the crops, in order to avoid the "Pijao" plague which might happen if the crops had been in contact with the archeological remains, "pijaos" in the expression of the natives.

P 245 The cultivation of fruit trees is not very widespread, in spite of the fact that up to not very long ago Inzá enjoyed the reputation of being the producer of peaches and apples of very good quality. Nowadays they are cultivated for commercial purposes in Vitoncó, La Troja, and El Cabuyo, where true orchards of these trees are maintained with care. The fruits are splendid and are harvested during the first three months of the

/299 cont./

245 year. Traders in Silvia sell the crops at up to 14 pesos an arroba.
[439] Lame produces perhaps the best peaches, but they are not suitable for export because they are easily damaged. There are also numerous plantings in Tumbichukue and Calderas, although they do not have much care.

247 Floriculture does not exist among the Páez, and they cannot understand the labor that the "whites" invest in their gardens. They are always of the opinion that food plants should be sown on such lands.

● 241 Among the cultivated plants, they regard as native maize ("the /300/ Pijao had maize"), the hartón /large-sized/ plantain ("the Pijao also had it"), frijoles, mejicano /squash, Cucurbita pepo/, cabbages, and the cane "criolla" /Creole, native/, while coca, they say, seems rather to have come from the "whites."

241 Species cultivated and zones of cultivation

137 Here is a list of the food plants cultivated by the Páez (5):

192

[128]

5. We thank the Herbario Nacional Colombiano, especially Dr. Jesús M. Idrobo, for the scientific identification of the plants.

/300 cont./

●241
137
192

Common Name	Latin Name	Páez Name
Maize	Zea mais L.	kuki
Plantain	Musa paradisiaca L.	tulé
Banana	Musa sapientum L.	kiseño (6)
Manioc	Manihot utilissima L.	ñu
Sweet potato	Ipomea batatas Poir. Andigenum	ut
Potato	Solanum tuberosum	kika
Arracacha	Arracacia xanthorrhiza Bancr.	ao (7)
Sugar cane	Saccharum officinarum L.	fuaka
Cabbage	Brassica oleracea var. acephala	kulles (8)
Onion	Allium cepa L.	apulla (9)
Frijol	Phaseolus vulgaris L.	ao
Ullucos	Ullucus tuberosum ex Lozano	ghuhli
Wheat	Triticum aestivum L.	ataichi
Barley	Hordeum vulgare L.	ashera (10)
Garlic	Allium sativum L.	ahso
Nasturtium	Tropaeolum tuberosum R. et P.	pual
Squash	Cucurbita maxima Duchesne	Ape
Squash	Cucurbita pepo L.	Pati
Broad bean	Vicia Faba L.	apuz (11)
Peas	Pisum sativum L.	alpés
Peppers	Capsicum sp.	dusas
Coriander	Coriandrum sativum L.	kiandós (12)
Avocado	Persea americana Mill.	ñíse
Orange	Citrus sinensis (L) Osbeck	limas
Apple	Pyrus malus L.	manzanas
Peach	Prunus persica L. /Prunus/	kuskuo

6. From the Spanish: guineo.

7. Underlined vowels indicate nasalization:

[104] sh = French ch (chaise); ch = Spanish ch (chicha); j = French (jardín); h = Spanish j (rojo).

8. From the Spanish: coles.

9. From the Spanish: cebolla.

10. From the Spanish: cebada.

11. From the Spanish: habas.

12. From the Spanish: cilantro.

/301/

Common Name	Latin Name	Páez Name
241 Pineapple	**Ananas comosus (L) Camargo**	***chahú***
137 Granadilla	**Passiflora Ligularis Juss.**	***shlal***
Coffee	**Coffea Arabiga L.**	***café***
192 Ground cherry	**Physalis sp.**	***chimbú***
Chachafruto	**Erythrina edulis Triana ex Micheli**	***úsual***
Pepino	**Solanum muricatum Ait.**	***pina***
Yam	**Dioscorea sp.**	***shué***
Other cultivated plants:		
Coca	**Erythroxylon coca Lam.**	***esh***
Bamboo	**Guadua angustifolia Kuth**	***mum***
Bottle gourd	**Lagenaria vulgaris Serg.**	***tuka***
Calabash tree	**Crescentia cujete L.**	***shiptuka***
Cabuya	**Foucrea cabuya Trel.**	***bats***
Dill	**Anethum graveolens L.**	***llinojo***
Mint	**Mentha viridis L.**	***tachá***
Rue	**Ruta graveolens.**	***luda***

222 In reality, as far as a certain type of frijole that the natives
241 call "kacha" is concerned, as well as the ground cherry, the chachafruto, fruits in general, and all the plants listed under "Other cultivated plants," with the exception of coca, the word "cultivated" is unsuitable, since they are practically in a semiwild state. The natives make use of their fruits, consumption thus being occasional and not always necessary.

133 Although it would appear that the territory of the Páez, at the
241 time of the Conquest, extended up to very close to the Magdalena
361 River, the principal nucleus of the population was located in the
[131] temperate zone and in the cold zone. The thermal levels determine
[161] the zones of cultivation. One of them goes from 1,000 to 2,000 meters and includes the entire valley of the Páez from Huila to La Plata, and the middle and lower courses of its tributaries Símbola, the river Negro de Narváez, Moras, Kukiyú, and Ullucos. Within it are located the capitals of the district, Inzá and Belalcázar, and the following native aldeas: Itaibe, Chitóquez (Ricaurte), Cuetando, Yaquivá, San Andrés de Pisimbalá, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Avirama, Chinas, Suin, Tálaga, Toez y Huila (Byla), as well as Valencia, Topa, Pedregal, and Turminá. They cultivate principally plantains, manioc, maize, sugar cane, frijoles, arracacha, coca, and coffee,

/301 cont./

133 which is in full development. The other zone goes from 2,000 to
241 3,000 meters and contains the pueblos of Calderas, Lame, Mosoco,
361 San José, La Troja, Vitoncó, and Irlanda. They cultivate potatoes, maize, ullucos, wheat, garlic, and nasturtium.

241 In the cultivation of cane, the Paez differentiate the following /302/ varieties: java /Java/, criolla, amarilla /yellow/ (mum ñusha), negra /black/ (ñusha kuchi). Of maize: capio (white, tender, and mulberry-colored) or kukiguafi, the calentano maize /maize of the hot regions/ or kukibah, the hard calentano, and the fine or kukimull. Of potatoes, the kaka chime (white), the kaka kuchi (with mulberry-colored skin), the kaka bé (red), and the tusa /corncob/ potato (has a mulberry-colored heart). Of manioc, they distinguish the noli, guaturunga, pitaleña, negra /black/, and colorada /red/. Of these, the first and last yield in a year and in three years, respectively, and the others in two years.

241
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Agricultural Cycles

Crop	Planted	Harvested	Successive Harvests
	March-May	In 8 months (temperate)	An annual harvest
Maize	May-Aug.	In 10 months (cold)	An annual harvest
	March-May	In 7 months (temperate)	An annual harvest
Frijole	May-Aug.	In 8 months (cold)	An annual harvest
Broad beans	May-Aug.	In 10 months	An annual harvest
Potato	Oct.-Dec. (paramo)	In 5 months	An annual harvest
	April-Aug.	In 5 months	An annual harvest
Ullucos	April-June	In 5 months	An annual harvest
Wheat	July-Sept.	In 8 months	An annual harvest
Manioc	Any month	In a year (noli)	Continuous
Plantain	Any month	In 2 years	Continuous

/302cont./

●241
433

Crop	Planted	Harvested	Successive Harvests
Arracacha	Any month	In 2 years	Continuous
Sweet potato	Any month	In 6 months	Continuous
Coca	March-April	In 1 year	Every 3 months
Onion	Any month	In 2 months	Continuous
Garlic	Feb.-April	In 4 months	Cut every 6-8 months
Cane	April-May	In 2 years	
Coffee	March-April	In 3 years	2 harvests per year

Manioc, arracacha, sweet potatoes, plantains, onions, and cabbages are harvested throughout the year and in any month.

/303/ Coffee is harvested during the months of October and November (principal harvest) and in May and June (mid-year harvest).

In Calderas (Tumbichukue, Lame, El Cuartel, La Troja, and Vitoncó), they harvest peaches chiefly during the months [439] of February and March. Although they consume this fruit, the major part is intended for sale.

In the parcialidades of temperate climate, they consume, though not systematically, the fruits: avocado, orange, guava, and star apple.

In the parcialidad of Mosoco and toward the first half of the year, they harvest potatoes, maize, frijoles, broad beans, barley, wheat, and ullucos. The harvest begins with frijoles and immediately continues with maize, broad beans, potatoes, wheat, and barley, ending with the harvest of ullucos, which is done in the month of August.

The harvests of potatoes, nasturtium tubers, and ullucos of the first half of the year are done with splendid results in the "paramo," a mountainous region that merges into the savannas of the Paramo de Moras. This area, conquered in

/303 cont./

241 relatively recent times, has fertile and humid soils. The harvests
433 are large and of excellent quality. It produces profitable yields.
244 The real production of Mosoco potatoes is there. They them-
[492] selves designate it as the principal harvest. During the months of April and May, when the potatoes are being harvested, numerous droves of pack animals carry the produce daily to the market
[435] in Silvia. The profits from this crop are dependable. The cultivators state that even selling at four pesos per arroba it gives a profit. Normally an arroba of potatoes is quoted at six or seven pesos. The planting of potatoes in the paramo begins in October, is intensified in November and December, and the last is done in January. They take advantage of the mildness of the climate
[132] at this time. During the months of June, July, and August the
[484] winter is harsh, with intense cold and hurricane winds. Crossing the paramos at this time is quite perilous.

241 In San José, La Troja, El Cabuyo, El Cuartel, Lame, and
433 Vitoncó, during the first four months of the year, wheat, barley, maize, frijoles, broad beans, and peaches are harvested.

Toward the months of October, November, and December, harvesting is done in Suin, Chinas, Calderas, San Andrés, Togoima, Santa Rosa, and Mosoco itself and consists principally of Maize, frijoles, ullucos, potatoes, and coffee. They constitute what we might /304/ call the second harvests of the year in Tierradentro. The planting begins after Ash Wednesday (March approximately) and is intensified in the months of April and May.
244 The last is done in July. The potato seed planted at about this
433 time in Mosoco comes from the harvest in the "paramo." This is a secondary planting of scant yield. It usually results in losses, but the Mosoco cultivators plant with the aim of preserving the seed. It is interesting to note that the sole agricultural activity of one trader based in Mosoco is the planting of potatoes in the
[434] paramo. He dispenses with the July sowing altogether. He prefers to buy the seed in Silvia, he pays the entire labor force, and in spite of these investments, which are high, he gets a good profit.

/304 cont./

241 433 Aside from maize, a basic product of consumption in all the parcialidades, some of them emphasize certain crops primarily intended for commercial purposes. Thus, Mosoco produces potatoes and garlic; San José, wheat; Vitonco, wheat and peaches; Lame, wheat and laurel wax; Togoima, coca; and the others, coffee.

241 433 The months of the most intense labor in the temperate zone correspond to the first five of the year, and especially to February and March, in order to take advantage of the sunny days during those months for the burning and the sowing, which in turn will benefit from the rains of April, May, and June. During this time, the reserves of the previous year's harvests are consumed, which, let it be said in passing, do not amount [132] to much. Thus, the months of scarcity are June, July, and August, and those of relative abundance, October, November, and December; the former relatively dry and the latter with copious rainfall.

In Mosoco this schedule varies considerably, owing to the [132] peculiar climate and the geographical position. The rains are constant in almost every month of the year; nevertheless, one can count on a few weeks of sunshine during the months of January and February. In the middle of the year, when the trade winds blow from the southeast, the winter is harsh. Thus, the months of intense labor are April, May, and June and coincide exactly with the harvesting of potatoes, wheat, and maize, and also those of November and December, for the planting of potatoes in the "paramo." March, April, and May, are months of plenty, and to some extent September and October as well. It would seem that there should not be any months of "hambruna" /extreme hunger/, but there are.

/305/ It is clear that the people of Mosoco work more and harder than the other natives; they actually harvest in almost every month of the year, but, like the others, they have months of "hambruna," which are September, October, and November, in spite of the fact that during these months they harvest potatoes and ullucos, but they call them such because they do not have maize. The cultivation of potatoes on a large scale began more

The cultivation of potatoes on a large scale
/305 cont./ began more
244 or less two decades ago. "From 1925 to 1930 the one who
433 planted the most potatoes was Ezequiel Mulcué, who caused amazement among the people; now the least planted is 20 arrobas," says one informant. Nowadays there are natives who sow up to 200 arrobas in a year, of which only 70 are planted in the "paramo," and they yield better results than the other arrobas planted. Then, we ask, why do the people of Mosoco have their months of hunger?

262 The basic product of the Paez diet is maize. It was in
154 the past and it continues to be so in the present. Psychologi-
[198] cally, they feel completely satisfied when they have maize for consumption. Its absence causes a sensation of dietary dissatis-
[243] faction. Before the era of the potato, the cultivation of maize and wheat predominated.

461 During the months of July, August, September, and Octo-
464 ber, the natives have little work. This is why those from
166 Vitoncó, San José, Lame, and Suin go and sign up as peons on the fincas of the "whites" on the other side of the Cordillera (Popayán, Corinto, and even in the Cauca Valley). They return toward the end of the year, when the maize and wheat harvests are drawing near. The natives of Calderas, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, and Togoima go to the fincas of Inzá or La Plata. They return in October when the maize harvests are approaching. It must be said that this labor force is excellent and cheap. And for this reason very much in demand.

The natives of Mosoco have sufficient work in their own country.

Clearings /rozas/

241 The term roza is used generically for the extent of land
433 cleared, burned, cleaned, and fenced, ready for planting. It is found on every private property. It has an area of approximately one hectare. Clearings of two or more hectares are rare. An increase in production does not reflect an enlargement of the clearings, but rather their multiplication and the utilization of ever more rugged and /306/ sterile lands. The natives, to

/306 cont./

241 indicate the size of their clearings, refer to the quantity of maize
433 planted, that is to say, four cuartillas (approximately two arrobas). Since each clearing does not produce more than one annual harvest, the Páez calculate the size of their property in terms of years. Thus, if asked how much land they own, they state that they have two, four, six, or ten years. Which is the same as saying that they have land where they can lay out two, four, six, or ten separate clearings. Thus, among the Páez, one year is not merely a measure of time, but also an agrarian measure.

241 The clearings are never made in the foothills covered with grass /pajonales/. They are laid out where thick brush or true forest is found. Seen from a distance, they look like open rectangles or squares in the midst of forest or brush. When they are laid out in virgin montaña, the work begins in October. But ordinarily it is during the months of December, January, and February that the natives are busy at this task. These are summer months, and furthermore there is food for consumption. The summer sun rapidly dries out the underbrush, and toward the end of February and through the month of March it is completely burned. When passing through Tierradentro at this time of year, one sees black patches everywhere. At the same time, all the grasses on the slopes are burned so that with the winter rains they will come back vigorously and serve as pasture for the animals.

Burning is the most widespread and most deep-rooted system of agriculture in Tierradentro. It is the most effective way to clear the lands full of vines, grass, brush, and trees, and, logically, the most economical. It combats all sorts of insects injurious to the plantings, and poisonous reptiles, which are not scarce. The ashes produced, when they are not carried away by the rushing waters, are a true corrective for the unquestionably acid soils. The burning of the grasses is essential, for aside from doing away with the dry straw, a veritable thicket that prevents the shoots from growing, it also does away with ticks. The tender shoots of the herbaceous plants make splendid fodder for the bovine, mule, and wool-bearing livestock. Unfortunately, these burnings are not done in a creative spirit, but
000 rather in a destructive one. Fire is also set to the vegetation on

Fire is also set to the vegetation on
/306 cont./
241 the ridges, crests, and windings, where no obvious advantage
185 can be gained and where, instead, it destroys a vegetation that virtually /307/ could be turned into a barrier that would prevent the danger of the animals.

The clearings are also laid out on the banks of brooks, streams, rivers, springs, and damp hollows, which, from a lucrative standpoint, is excellent, since it is precisely there that the harvest yields the most, but it is very harmful, since it destroys the vegetation that preserves the moisture and holds the soil, thus avoiding erosion.

241 The clearing is done by all the male members of the
476 family. But more generally the mingas /communal work-parties/ do it. In this case, the workers first cut with their machetes the grasses, branches, vines, etc., in the lower part of the forest; then, with axes and machetes, they fell the trees. It should be noted that these trees are not cut at the base, but more or less at eye level. The fallen trees are allowed to dry for approximately one month and then are burned. The thick logs remain intact, as does the brush. This is piled up, and sticks are cut to make fencing. This work is also done by mingas. First the stakes are driven in about a meter apart. Then sticks and branches are woven in. The fences are made so tight that they prevent dogs,
[417] pigs, and other animals from entering. People enter by means of a stick with notches that leans against the fence on either side. These sticks are called afa, and they are also placed at difficult spots on the paths, chiefly for crossing obstructions.

241 In Mosoco, where the lands are cleared and divided into lots, clearings do not exist. Only in the "paramo," the mountainous region, can they be observed. But the custom of leaving the land uncultivated for several years has not disap-
[824] peared. The fences are made of lechero /Euphorbia/ stakes, a tree that has the peculiarity of taking root and continuing to live. But the use of barbed wire is steadily increasing.

Planting and harvesting

[152] Planting is conditioned by the pluviometrical conditions in Tierradentro. The summer months are January, February, March, July, August, and September, and those of winter are

/307 cont./

241 April, May, June, October, November, and December. Natu-
132 rally, these periods of summer are relative and correspond in reality to the temperate zone. In Mosoco and the high parts of the Cordillera, /308/ a fine rain is falling almost constantly, if not an actual downpour. In July, August, and September, the winter is harsh, influenced entirely by the trade winds from the southeast.

Bearing these climatic factors in mind, planting is done during the months of March, April, and May. They take advantage of the rains of these months. This agricultural cycle is common for all of Tierradentro including Mosoco proper. The "páramuna" part of Mosoco is excepted, for the reasons listed earlier.

243 Of the cultivable species, maize occupies the dominant place in the agricultural activity of Tierradentro. The preparation of the soil differs somewhat in the temperate and cold thermal levels. Whereas cleaning out and burning the underbrush are sufficient in the temperate one, planting beds are made in the cold one. Maize seed is selected from the best and most filled-out ears, avoiding the small kernels at the points. They believe that they would not fruit, calling them, for this reason, "maize-man," and, on the other hand, calling the big kernels
[842] that yield produce "maize-woman." They make the association that it is the women who have children, even though they do not conceive of fertility without concourse with the man.

243 It is common to have mingas for sowing. In this way the
244 work is soon finished. On the appointed day, eight to ten
476 laborers assemble, with bags full of maize tied at their waists;
[462] they start sowing very early. This is a masculine activity, al-
[184] though in Lame and Mosoco women also participate. The holes are made with a strong, pointed stick at intervals of one meter and 50 centimeters and to a depth of 10 to 15 centimeters. Six or seven kernels are placed in each hole. They bury the frijole next to the logs that remain from the clearing. Peas are also commonly sown there. The seeds of bottle gourds and ahuyama/ squash, /Cucurbita maxima/, which are sown in the maize fields,

/311 cont./

243 Wheat is cultivated with special emphasis in the areas of Lame, El Cuartel, La Troja, and Vitoncó. It is destined primarily for sale. It is planted along with maize, although there are already clearings intended exclusively for its cultiva-
[412] tion. They reap it with knives, rarely with sickles. They do not bind it into sheaves, but make bundles and hang it from the eaves or beams of the house. When dry, they thresh it with wooden clubs /masas/ and separate out its husks by exposing it to the
[256] wind. They grind it at once in hydraulic mills built by them themselves and take it to market. They have no sifters to separate the bran.

128 Below /see pp. 25-33 / we present a statistical table on
● 241 the production of the various species cultivated by 25 families
433 of Mosoco, 8 of Lame, and 15 of San Andrés including that of
[563] some mestizos and whites, marked with an asterisk, in order to make some comparisons and to estimate the volume of production. We specify the percentage of the production intended for sale. For obvious reasons, we have omitted the names of the family heads, identifying them solely by number in order. The statistical data correspond to the production in the year 1953.
[124] In spite of the fact that this type of investigation presents some
[123] difficulties, owing to the reluctance of people to reveal the data on their production they are in general completely trustworthy, since they were collected after a firm interpersonal relationship had been established between the investigator and the person investigated. In addition, they appreciably agree with our observations noted in "General observations" on Páez agriculture.

/312/ Potato cultivation in Mosoco

244 We have deliberately omitted anything about the cultivation of potatoes in order to deal with it more thoroughly.

The methods of cultivation differ somewhat from those commonly practiced in the other parcialidades. The soil is prepared in beds that follow the direction of the slope. The

241 433 From the above table, and relying exclusively on the data given there, we can deduce the following observations:

1. The production of Mosoco is superior to that of Lame, both in quantity and in the variety of species cultivated.

2. The numerical data indicate that there is underproduction, and for that very reason it may be deduced that there is underconsumption, although these data are rough estimates, since the only approximately exact figures that the natives keep are for the production of potatoes.

[243] [244] 3. The production of wheat, garlic, and potatoes is intended almost exclusively for the market, like that of barley, the production of which is not included in the statistical table, because we only have three figures of Mosoco and three for Lame. On the other hand, the production of maize, frijoles, barley, broad beans, ullucos, and nasturtium tubers is intended almost wholly for internal consumption.

[243] 4. Maize is the basic article of consumption, but the production given does not reflect this fact. Nevertheless, it does not include the amount consumed as roasting ears.

5. Losses of the harvest are frequent in Lame, owing to the lack of fertilizers.

[276] [262] [464] 6. Underproduction is compensated for by a larger consumption of coca (Lame) or by the acquisition of other food items such as panela, lard, bread, and coffee (Mosoco). On the other hand, underproduction explains why the natives go and sign up as day laborers on the haciendas of the "whites."

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Fams.	Coca				Frijoles			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	4	4	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	5	4	1	20,0
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
6.	...	...	...	(8)	3	3	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
8.	...	...	...	(8)	8	8	...	.....
9.	...	...	...	(8)	20	10	10	50,0
10.*	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
12.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
13.	6	2	4	66,6	5	1	4	80,0
14.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

8. Owns plantings of coca.

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From the above table we can make the following deductions:

[245] 1. The coffee production is wholly intended for sale.
[434] It thus constitutes the principal source of monetary income
[434] for the natives and, of course, for the "whites."

2. Maize, frijoles, sugar cane, and coca are intended almost exclusively for internal consumption. The production of panela indicated in the table refers to the whites and mestizos.

[262] 3. The food base of San Andrés is provided by maize,
plantains, manioc, and arracacha. At the time of the coffee
[276] harvest, meat is consumed. Coca and guarapo indispensably
[273] complement this dietary regimen.

/316 cont./

105 Guambianos. They adorn themselves with showy necklaces and
178 pins. Not a few of them wear fine gold earrings.

[232] Livestock-raising has intensified and is in full swing. Norman cattle are replacing and being crossed with the native cattle. The same thing has happened with the wool-bearing livestock. The /317/ saddle and pack horses are indispensable for every family. The natives also possess fine breeds of hogs and domestic fowl.

[565] Social stratification is in full progress. Rich and poor families can already be named.

Mosoco women seldom marry natives from other, less acculturated parcialidades. People speak of mingas, and even of burials, of the rich and poor, a larger number of people going to those of the former.

They live on good terms with the whites and treat them as equals. There are many good native dealers.

These natives are thoroughly familiar with the methods of curing, the use of remedies, and sorcery. But the té eu and even more the nara jihi (sorcerer) are on the wane. Many consult the doctor of the "whites" in Silvia and use the drugs of the "whites." They are less superstitious.

They are believers by conviction. A few are Protestants with great reasoning powers.

The cabildo retains its power and is duly respected.

The properties are duly parceled out. Many of them are planted with pastos de selección /literally, choice pasture grasses/. Fences with barbed wire are frequently encountered.

Agricultural implements

412 Among the implements used in agriculture, only the
[241] digging stick for planting maize (uhach) is of native manufacture.
[177] The others are of European origin.

The universal implement among the Paez is the machete. With it the clearings are made, the ground is cleaned, and the fields, the montañas are felled, sugar mills are made, and bridges are laid over rivers and streams. They prefer it large and with a leather sheath that they fasten to the belt. They are

/328 cont./

388 began to use other types of raw materials. The death blow was
43 thus given to the only home industry of the above-mentioned regions. Wax is still gathered, but the price for an arroba in Silvia does not reach eight pesos. There is no longer any profit.
388 The Indians go on using it to make candles for household con-
[373] sumption and above all for illumination at religious fiestas. We
[796] have described the methods of gathering, extracting, and manufacturing laurel wax in the work entitled "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," published in the Revista Colombiana de Folklore, Number 2 of 1953.

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Mingas

476 The minga is the most widespread form of labor among the
461 Páez. The natives can work for themselves alone and are excellent laborers. But the task would demand more of their time
[464] and effort. Thus, the minga serves to prevent "boredom" during the work, to gain time, and to provide a labor force which would otherwise be hard to obtain.

476 The minga then is a co-operative system of labor whereby the interested party invites a specific number of acquaintances to perform a job, duly rewarding them with food, drink, and coca. "Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense," says Hernández de Alba /cited in English/.

476 Indispensable articles of reward are meat, chicha, and, in
554 nearly all the parcialidades, coca. The incidence of the mingas is thus almost in direct proportion to the possession of domestic
[231] animals. Those who lack such stock, that is to say, the poor according to the concepts of Páez culture, work alone or in the company of their sons, if they have any.

476 In the course of the cultivation cycle the following mingas
●241 are held: to fell the trees (clearings); to pile up the wood that remains after the burning and to cut stakes for the fence; to build fences; to do the planting and weeding.

In Calderas a minga for clearing is carried out in the following way:

/329 cont./

476 241 The master of the minga kills a head of cattle or, more commonly, a pig. He prepares a trough of chicha (fermented sugar-cane juice), several bottles of aguardiente, an arroba of mote (maize skinned with ashes), and procures a few pounds of coca. He invites the men of his choice. At dawn on the day agreed upon for the job, all those invited, with their tools on their shoulders, proceed with shouts to the house of the minguero. There they are given one egg (25) of coca, chicha, and a dish of

25. Measure of weight equivalent to a hen's egg.

476 461 241 mote with meat. At 8:00 A.M. they are all at work. Up to 30 laborers attend. They take along to the place of the work calabashes of chicha to drink during the rest periods, which correspond exactly to the "botada de la mambeada" /taking the chew of coca/. In the course of the day they have three mambeadas, and thus three rest periods. They more or less coincide with 10:00 A.M., 12:00 noon, and 2:00 P.M. During these rest periods they sit, talk, laugh, drink /330/ chicha, and soon go back to the work enthusiastically. They do it steadily and diligently.

476 241 No one talks then. At 4:00 P.M. they leave work and go to the house of the minguero, where their respective wives are already. Everyone receives chicha and aguardiente. Then the food, consisting of a large wooden platter full of mote, stew /revuelto/ with frijoles, arracacha, plantains, and three pieces of meat. Since they cannot eat all this, they put it in fique knapsacks to [782] take it to their respective homes. After eating, they pray, always invoking the deceased relatives of the minguero, whether [273] they be ancestors, collaterals, or descendants. Then, they re- [535] ceive new gourds of chicha until they are drunk. Very often [578] they dance. There is no lack of fighting on these occasions.

476 435 According to an informant from Calderas, one minga with 15 laborers costs the following:

6: Bernal Villa--68 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Average Distribution of Crops per Family

Parcialidad	Maize T	Maize P	Maize B	Maize %	Wheat T	Wheat P	Wheat B	Wheat %	Broad Beans T	Broad Beans P	Broad Beans B	Broad Beans %	Garlic T	Garlic P	Garlic	Garlic %
Mosoco	550	22	120	21,8	892	15	15	3,5	140	5	80	57,1	72	3	—	—
Lame	248	31	30	12,1	30	3	—	—	16	2	—	—	2	—	—	—

	Ullucos T	Ullucos P	Ullucos B	Ullucos %	Nasturtium T	Nasturtium P	Nasturtium B	Nasturtium %	Frijoles T	Frijoles P	Frijoles B	Frijoles %	Potatoes T	Potatoes P	Potatoes	Potatoes %
Mosoco	187	7	—	—	126	5	—	—	43	1	6	13,9	4.300	172	865	20,0
Lame	25	3	—	—	25	3	—	—	27	3	—	—	138	17	70	50,7

	Coffee T	Coffee P	Coffee B	Coffee %	Plantains (27) T	Plantains (27) P	Plantains (27) B	Plantains (27) %	Maize T	Maize P	Maize B	Maize %	Frijoles T	Frijoles P	Frijoles	Frijoles %
San Andrés	254	17	174	68,5	2050	136	680	33,1	327	22	90	27,5	49	3	—	—

	Manioc T	Manioc P	Manioc B	Manioc %	Arracacha T	Arracacha P	Arracacha B	Arracacha %
San Andrés	1.849	123	1.200	64,8	183	12	40	21,8

Note: T indicates the total arrobas produced by the family investigated.

P, the average number of arrobas for each one of these families.

B, the arrobas produced by the "whites," and %, the percentage that the latter produce in relation to the totals indicated.

/The commas in the figures are to be read as points, and the points as commas, in the translation to English./

27. The figures indicate the number of plantain trees producing.

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241 433 Thus, a native family of Mosoco and Lame, in their respective order, has for its subsistence throughout the year 18 and 36 arrobas of maize, 16 and 5 arrobas of wheat, 2.5 and 2.5 arrobas of broad beans, 3 and 0 arrobas of garlic, 8 and 4 arrobas of ullucos, 5 and 4 arrobas of nasturtium tubers, 1.5 and 4.5 arrobas of frijoles, and 149 and 11 arrobas of potatoes. A native family of San Andrés has 7 arrobas of coffee, 124 bunches of plantains, 21.5 arrobas of maize, 59 arrobas of manioc, 13 [249] arrobas of arracacha, and 4 arrobas of frijoles. Unfortunately it is impossible to obtain statistics on the production of coca and, above all, on the amount of sugar cane consumed in the form of guarapo, which makes it impossible for us to find out in what ways and in what amounts it complements the consumption of each family.

As for maize, we see that the amounts for the families of San Andrés and Lame are superior to those for the families of Mosoco. Those for Lame are exactly double. But while in the latter, aside from coffee, there is no species produced for sale, in Mosoco, on the other hand, there are wheat, garlic, and potatoes for such a purpose. From which we deduce that the smaller the number of crops intended for trade that there is in a parcialidad, the larger will be the production of species for internal consumption, above all those that can be preserved for long periods of time, such as maize, frijoles, and broad beans. Ullucos, potatoes, and, above all, nasturtium tubers demand almost immediate consumption. The same is true of plantains, manioc, and arracacha. This is the reason why the families of San Andrés and Lame have at their disposal larger quantities of maize and frijoles than those of Mosoco.

Division of activities according to sex

462 From the earliest age, differences are established in the technological, economic, and everyday activities.

Among the Páez, only the man can make palm hats for the woman and for himself, wield the machete with full skill and dexterity, fashion the trough, sugar mill and the plates for eating, and play the musical instruments. On the other hand, only the

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462 woman can weave the kuetand yaha (mambe pouch) for carrying coca and mambe /lime for the chew/, weave the fique bags for carrying things, weave the ponchos and the skirts, spin wool and cabuya. Naturally, these differences in activities are observed by children, and they practice them from the earliest age, especially if there is stimulation /344/ by the persons who live with them. The differences in daily, technological, and economic activities are strictly observed. In agriculture, however, men and women are beginning to share the work equally. This phenomenon is, of course, recent.

[241] [178]

The scheme that we present below shows the distribution of activities according to sex.

Activity	Men	Women
Construction of houses	yes	
Construction of roads, drainage ditches, bridges	yes	
Preparation of fique and making lassos	yes	
Making hats	yes	
Making plates and spoons of wood	yes	
Making troughs and sugar mills	yes	
Slaughtering animals and drying hides	yes	
Use of weapons	yes	
Spinning		yes
Weaving		yes
Cooking		yes
Making kuentand yaha (wool)		yes
Making yahas (fique)		yes
Making calabashes	yes	yes
Sewing men's underdrawers	yes	
Washing and mending	yes (28)	yes

28. Rarely.

Ceramics	yes or	yes

[San Andrés]

/345 cont./

427 San Andrés is the sole region of Tierradentro, as far as we
161 know, where tenant farmers are found. Although the number of persons sunk in this servitude is no higher than 100, the mere occurrence of this phenomenon already tells us of an excess of population, at least in the parcialidades of San Andrés and Santa
[131] Rosa, from which the tenant farmers came. On the other hand, the scattering of the Páez group through this very department of Cauca, the departments of Huila and Tolima, and even through
[311] the department of the Valle is well known. The colonization of the uncultivated lands in Tierradentro by the natives has been systematic and intensive during recent years. There is the utilization of ever more inaccessible lands for agriculture in the temperate thermal level. All of these are factors that clearly tell us of an excess in the Páez population.

427 Here is what a tenant farmer told us about the phenomenon
●241 of tenant farming: As a tenant farmer he has the right to own a
466 house, a garden, and a clearing. The house and garden are contiguous and complementary. His garden occupies one plaza /a Colombian measure with 80 meters to the side/ more or less, and in it he has planted plantains (about 200 trees), oranges (about five trees), onions, arracacha, manioc, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, and some 200 coca trees. He has surrounded the garden with barbed wire provided by the owner in order to avoid damage by the animals of the hacienda. He can lay out his clearing on any site of the hacienda. It changes every year. In his present clearing he has planted 1,500 manioc plants; 200 of arracacha (he could not find more seed); maize; small frijoles /fríjol chiquito/ (in one month he hills the "sprigs," in two months they flower, and in three months he harvests) and large frijoles /fríjol grande/, and, finally, about two loads of sugar-
[433] cane shoots (seed). The produce of the clearing and of the garden is primarily for consumption, but if there is a surplus he may sell it to anyone, even though the owner urges him not
[249] to sell to anyone but himself. The sugar cane is milled in the
[257] /346/ sugar mill of the owner, with the subsequent use of his implements to make panela, half of what is produced being given to him.

/346 cont./

466 given to him. From the harvests of maize, frijoles, and
427 arracacha the owner receives one bag (approximately half an
[241] arroba) of each product, and one or two bunches of the plantains.

231 He says that the hacienda owner has permitted him to raise
427 animals, but he has none, because he spends more time working
466 on the hacienda than in his own house. He says that he owned
[235] some 20 sheep, but is finished with them. Now he has only eight chickens.

427 The informant is the son of another tenant farmer and
466 grew up on this very hacienda. He has owned the house in which he now lives for 18 years. He has not signed any kind of document with the owner and has not been bothered by him about the possession of the house, but rather, on the contrary, has been urged by him to repair the house. In exchange for the use of the house and the land he is obliged to pay three days for rent
[465] per month, eating his own food and using his own tools. On the other days of the month he works for the same owner for daily wages, earning two pesos a day, excluding, of course, the days of religious or national holidays. Each week he re-
[452] ceives 12 pesos. From the owner he buys maize, manioc, and frijoles on credit, which is immediately deducted in labor. The owner only gives him salt and bananas. The panela comes from what he produces.

466 Since the informant specializes in milling and the making
427 of panela, he ordinarily does nothing else. His work begins at
257 six in the morning and ends at ten at night. He is assisted by his
[463] wife, who earns one peso a day, a deaf and dumb son who earns
[512] nothing, and another son who carries the cane to the sugar mill.
[465] This one is married, is also a tenant farmer, earns two pesos a day, and has a separate clearing. His wife does not help in the work because she stays at home caring for the house, looking after the children, and weeding the garden and the clearing.

427 At the mill he works even on Sundays at wrapping panela,
257 a task that cannot be neglected. Ordinarily he spends two weeks
461 at the mill and has the following one free (without pay) to rest,
466 to look after his own field, or to hire out his labor to anyone who

466 /346 cont./
427 needs it (nominal). On the following week he must return to
257 work at the hacienda.
[461] /347/ Each week he produces some 40 arrobas of panela.
[433] The informant boils it down, his wife mills with the deaf and dumb son, and the other son strips the cane. The milling
[422] equipment is expensive and thus belongs to the hacienda. His own tools are two shovels, one small bar, and three machetes, with which he works for the hacienda. The owner of the hacienda has tried to dismiss him three times. Once because he made panela for another owner; it displeases the owner to have him work elsewhere, especially at a mill. The informant did not want to leave his house.

427 The plantings that he has made have sometimes been
241 lost because of the wetness of the soil, leaving no solution but
466 to plant again. The owner does not help at all in such calamities. He has the right to plant as much as he wishes.
[423] Now he owns about 200 coffee trees, but the owner has forbidden him to plant more trees.

427 The informant has seven children, five of whom are females;
465 three of them earn a peso a day working on the hacienda, harvest-
466 ing and weeding coffee. One who is younger earns 50 centavos, and the son pays land rent and earns a daily wage of two pesos. The owner is not honest. To pay the daily wages he usually takes out bills of ten or twenty pesos and sends one of the peons to exchange them for smaller currency, which is always short when it is received. He pays in part and later maintains that the total was met.

Another informant from the same hacienda says that for two years of vaquería (tending cattle) the owner gave him in payment for his labor one mare that is not worth 30 pesos. While doing this work he suffered hunger and worked too hard. Now, aside from having remunerated him very badly, he demands the payment of rent for the two years that he was engaged in this work.

In general terms, the tenant farmers of San Andrés, in exchange for the use of half a hectare of land, one garden, and one house, are obliged: to pay three days of rent per month, providing their own food; to work as day laborers for the hacienda,

/357 cont./

261 that is provided by having what is to be consumed. An abundance
594 of guarapo and maize undoubtedly gives them great gratification. When these products are abundant the religious fiestas, mingas, and "entertainments" are good, the natives say, and they describe at great length the incidents as they unfold.

178 But, in spite of the fact that the work capacity of the in-
241 dividual is acknowledged, that the possession of domestic animals
433 lends a certain prestige within the group, and that the abundance
[554] of food and guarapo brings gratification, the agricultural cycle
[231] remains stationary within the lineaments of time, of the systems of labor, and of the quantity of seed. They produce essentially
178 for consumption. The stimulation of prestige does not exist. In
433 many parcialidades, the habits of a capitalistic economy are openly
[754] combated by the sorcerers (32). Nevertheless, we have already

32. Bernal Villa, S. op. cit., p. 256.

had the opportunity to state that the introduction of the cultivation of coffee (temperate zone), the development of livestock-raising and of the cultivation of potatoes in Mosoco, and the creation of settlement areas in the very heart of the native parcialidades are rapidly modifying all of the institutions of Páez culture. The family economy of self-provisioning and of small barter operations is changing perceptibly into a purely money economy. By the same process the routine monotony is disappearing from production and is being replaced by new techniques of work, a greater quantity of production, and a greater volume of trade.

434 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, and San Andrés, we
121 made an investigation of familial income and expenses /358/ for
124 the year 1953, on the basis of questionnaires prepared by the Comisión de Planeamiento de la Seguridad Social Campesina of the Ministerio del Trabajo, questionnaires that were filled out by us for the said commission with reference to Tierradentro.

6: Bernal Villa--95 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro I: A clearing on the slope in El Cuartel (Vitoncó).

6: Bernal Villa--96 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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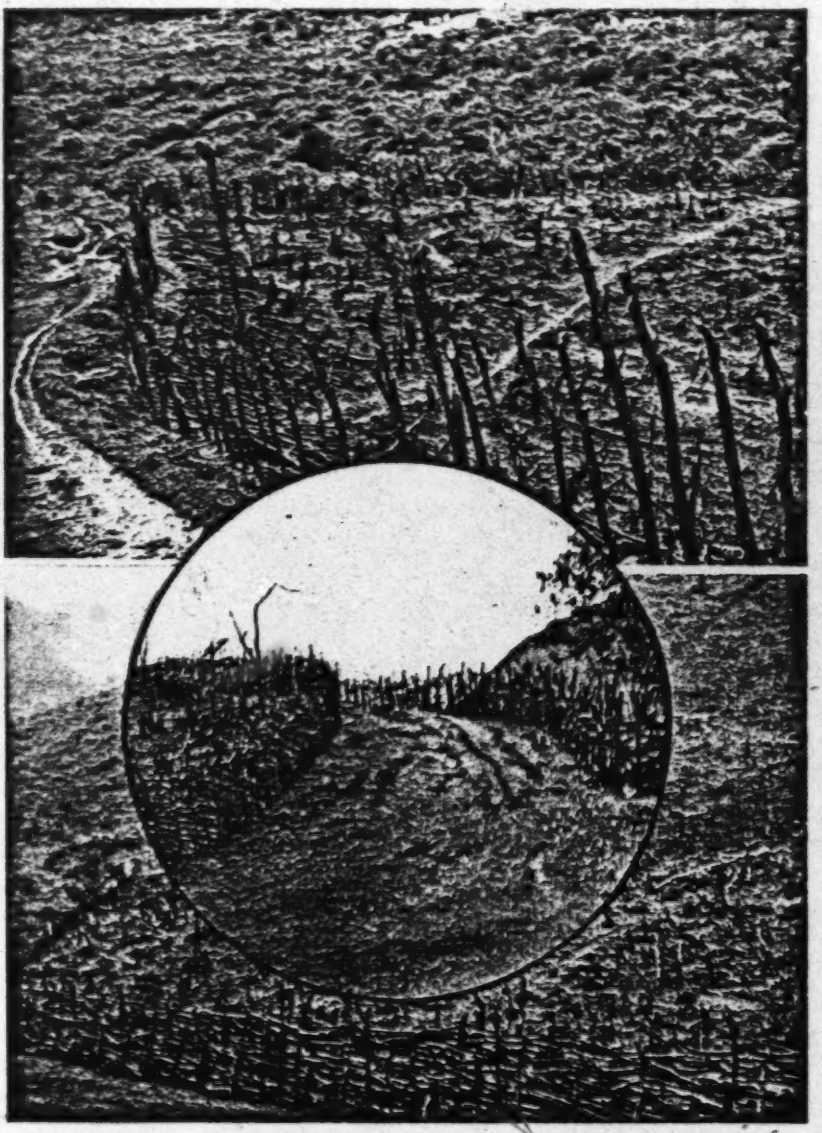

Tierradentro II: Clearings ready for sowing, showing the finished fences and the typical manner of making them (Tumbichukue and Lame).

6: Bernal Villa--97 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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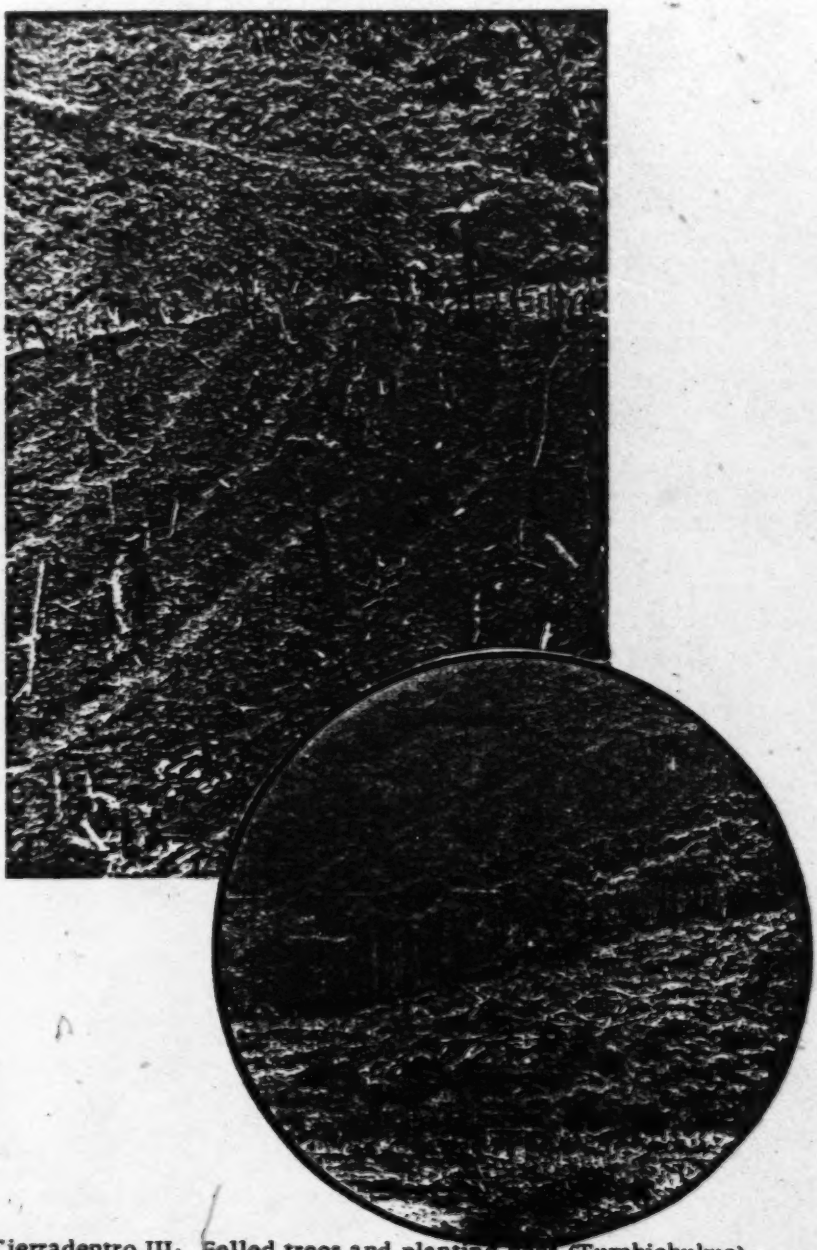

Tierradentro III: Felled trees and planting beds (Tumbichukue).

6: Bernal Villa--98 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro IV: Views of Mosoco. Above: left, panoramic view of Mosoco; right, partial view of the Mosoco plateau. Below: left, houses of Mosoco; right, dwellings, planting beds, and fences of "lechero."

?:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15

101 from the *Páez*, the *Páez* from the *Pijao*, the *Andaqui* from the *Tama*
131 of Bajo Huila.

This extremely varied habitat offers a great range of food resources
241 and of possibilities for agricultural crops. In the high, cold moun-
133 tains and altiplanos, between 2,500 and 3,000 m. (about 8,200 to 9,800
132 ft.) elevation, where the mean temperature is 11 to 15° C., the principal crops were potatoes (*Solanum andigenum*), ullucos (*Ullucus tuberosus*), and cubios (*Tropaeolum tuberosum*). In the medium zone, between 1,600 and 2,500 m. (about 5,200 to 8,200 feet), with a temperature of 15 to 20° C., the main crop was maize (*Zea mays*), but arracacha (*Arracacia esculenta*), quinoa (*Chenopodium quinoa*), and sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*), were also cultivated. In the low, warm zone between 500 to 1,600 m. (about 1,600 to 5,200 feet), with a temperature of 20 to 28° C., the main crops were maize, sweet manioc or yuca (*Manihot utilissima*) and beans (*Phaseolus vulgaris*).

136 The cold lands also produced in addition to these principal crops,
[241] maize, squash (*Cucurbita maxima*), wild fruits, birds including ducks (Anatidae), doves (Columbidae), guans (*Penelope*), mammals such as the spectacled bear (*Tremarctos ornatus majori*), and other small, wild beasts like the armadillo (*Dasypus novemcinctus*), guaratinajo (*Dinomys branickii*), guatin (*Dasyprocta fuliginosa candelensis*), and
[231] small fish from the rivers and lakes. The guinea pig (curí or cuy,
[262] *Cavia aperea*), which is prolific in all the climates, was the only domesticated animal and is an important source of food of the modern Indians.

241 The inhabitants of the medium, humid zone were more favored by nature in that crops grew faster and in greater variety. In addition to the plants named, they grew achira (*Canna edulis*), auyama (*Cucurbita verrucosa*), beans (frijoles), and peanuts (*Arachis hypogaea*).
262 Among the great variety of wild foods were fruits, granadilla (*Passi-*
137 *flora ligularis*), guayaba (*Psidium*), guama (*Inga* spp.), avocados
136 (*Persea Americana*), papaya (*Carica papaya*), guanabana (*Annona muricata*), and chirimoya (*Annona cherimolia*), and such animals as deer (*Mazama rufina*, *M. gualea*, and *Odocoileus virginianus consul*), rabbits (*Sylvilagus fulvescens*), guinea pigs, various rodents, and large birds, such as chachalacas (*Ortalis*) and guans (*Penelope*).

Additional foods of the low, warm regions were sweet potatoes, beans (frijoles), and yams (*Dioscorea alata*); such fruits as pineapples (*Ananas sativus*), papaya, custard apple (*Annona squamosa*), cactus fruit (*Opuntia* spp.), and plantains (*Musa paradisaica*); and large fish from the rivers.[1]

[127] [1] The scientific names of the plants were taken from Cortés, 1919. The mammals were tentatively identified by Dr. Remington Kellogg, of the Division of Mammals, U. S. National Museum, and the birds by Dr. Alexander Wetmore, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

7:Hernández de Alba E-54(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The main subsistence of these tribes was and still is based on the cultivation of potatoes, which grow in great quantities in the higher portions of the territory known as Tierradentro, and maize, which is acclimated to the temperate and cold zones. There are three varieties of maize: sweet, soft, and hard. Additional crops were and are yuca or manioc, sweet potatoes, auyamas, ullucos, purutos, frijoles, arracacha, and various other vegetables, and a variety of fruits, including bananas, guayavas, avocados, papayas, pineapples, and passion fruit. Today the *Páez* and *Moguex* are beginning to grow wheat, coffee, which is an important item in their economy, and sugarcane, from which is made a coarse sugar and molasses for their fermented drink, guarapo.

[178] [433] [273]

241 476 The men and women of each family generally cultivate the family plot, but for large-scale maize or coffee planting, and for cultivation of the lands of the Church or saint, they work communally, and have meetings called "mingas." Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense. The beneficiary must feed his helpers, generally sacrificing a pig and preparing great quantities of chicha for the libations and nocturnal dances after the work. All adults must participate in working the Church lands, but each brings his own food.

[782] [273]

241 412 407 492 Implements of cultivation are the digging stick, or macana, for making holes for planting, machetes and axes for destroying vegetation, and picks and shovels for removing earth, except where replaced by plows pulled by animal traction.

231 **Domesticated animals.**—Domesticated animals include chickens, turkeys, some pigs, dogs, and a few horses and cows. All but the turkeys are of European origin. These animals are rarely sold or killed for food, except for feast days, magical ceremonies, meetings, and visits of relatives, friends or distinguished White men. But sometimes the Indians buy meat in the weekly market and hang it over the hearth, where it is preserved by the smoke.

[177] [438] [251]

574 431 A custom which has persisted since the beginning of the Colonial Period is that of always giving a guest the "camarico" or "cariño" (affection), a present varying from an egg to a chicken, together with some potatoes, vegetables, and coffee beans.

262 136 231 Formerly, meat was obtained from wild rather than domesticated animals—boars (zaínos), guaras, guatines, birds, and guinea pigs, the last being true domesticated animals kept in some numbers in the native houses.

252 **Food preparation.**—Food was cooked in pottery ollas, but metal and enamel ware is now often used. The *Páez* make "mute," a soup of boiled maize, cabbage, squash, and potatoes, and "cocido," a soup

[415] [177]

/187 cont./

593 and de facto (with a machete) aggression of a married son (23 years old) against his parents, and the situation calmed down when the father succeeded in disarming the aggressor.

Brothers and sisters respect each other. They avoid aggression, and when they are little they play together. The younger brothers greet the older ones, and when the latter marry, they receive, kneeling, the blessing of the former.

[241] The fruits of the harvests are shared among the brothers, [476] just as they also mutually help one another in the arduous agricultural work. According to an informant, men care more for their brothers than for their sisters, because the latter, upon marrying, leave the home. Nevertheless they show affection in their conduct with both sexes. Relations between sisters and the mother are intimate, as they live together under the same [855] roof and intermingle in performing the same work. The older ones help to bring up the younger brothers and sisters. The latter call the eldest brother and eldest sister táta and máma, names that they abandon when they have reached adulthood. [627] In case of a fight involving one of the brothers, the others go to his assistance and take vengeance if anyone has been injured, [623] but this is not an obligation. Quarrels between brothers may [692] arise over the distribution of land. In the greater number of such cases the cabildo settles the differences.

602 Relations between the families united among themselves by blood ties are intimate. They visit one another frequently and are shown painstaking treatment.

593 Mingas are organized more readily among brothers, who [476] "cover up their poverty." In the religious festivals they mutually [651] back one another and during occasional meetings they endeavor [796] to drink and eat together.

[i.e., meetings for collective work--Analyst]

/126 cont./

433 only on the basis of knowledge about their rites, ceremonial acts, mythology, cultic preparations, or festivals of thanksgiving.

433 This is difficult in view of the great cultural poverty of the Paez,
241 but it is noteworthy that nothing connected with agriculture or
[233] with cattle-raising reveals any kind of cultic relationship.

Neither during sowing nor harvesting was I able to observe or
[224] learn of any kind of typical agricultural rites, whereas in connection with hunting, now economically unimportant, a number of precepts and prohibitions surround the hunter before and after his hunting.

a) Agriculture

● 243 The chief crop in the Calderun region, as among the Paez
171 generally, is maize, which was at the same time the most im-
114 portant cultivated plant and the basic food of the American peoples from Patagonia to Canada in pre-Colombian times. To this day the discussion about its culture-historical origin has not come to an end. Formerly Central America was regarded as the original land of its cultivation. On ethno- /127/ botanical grounds and plant-geographical investigations, K. Birket-Smith (p. 32) assumes that the original land of maize cultivation is not Central America, but northern South America, since, according to the more recent botanical discoveries, the original form of maize is believed to have been found in the form of the pod corn (Zea mays tunicata) of the Andean countries. Not to be left unmentioned are the voices which most recently have argued for an Asiatic origin of maize, as well as of cotton (Zerries, 1952, pp. 104/5).

If we compare these hypotheses about the origin of maize with the first authenticated reports about its occurrence in America, we find as the oldest date the year 1493, when Columbus had already brought maize to Europe from his first journey across the ocean. As early as 1525 maize was extensively cultivated in the fields of Andalusia (Schweinfurt, pp. 514 f).

1: Nachtigall --47 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15
Colombia SC1
Tierradentro

P /127 cont./

241 Maize cultivation, like every other kind of tillage
● [243] among the Paez, is done by the system of burning off clearings, a form of cultivation which is widespread among all tropical agriculturalists and is commonly known in America under the designation "milpa system." The term is Central American (probably Aztec) and means "maize field" or "bare surface in the forest," but the latter always in the sense of a burned-over piece of land planted with maize. The Colombian word corresponding to the designation "milpa" is "roza," to which in Peru the designation "chacra" generally corresponds, although there the word is also used for terraced fields that are cultivated regularly every year.

The basis of the milpa system of clearing by burning is an extensive type of agriculture, in which, before sowing, new land is cleared of its growth by burning and after the harvest is (again) abandoned for several years or forever. This type of agriculture is feasible in sparsely settled regions in which there is sufficient land to permit the intervals between the separate burnings of the clearings to be long enough. If the intervals are too brief and the land burned over too often, all kinds of taller growth are eradicated. The grass covering which then forms and grows all through the year makes the land worthless for agricultural use, whereupon a larger population can no longer feed itself from its land. This is demonstrated in large areas of Central America where the dense population living in large urban cultural centers has exhausted the soil with the milpa system to such an extent that today many of these old culture areas are
p treeless, uninhabited grassland.

114 O. F. Cook (p. 323) regards /128/ the simultaneous culti-
241 vation of one-fifth to one-tenth of the available land as a sound form of the milpa system. This corresponds to a clearing cycle of five to ten years. There is sufficient land for this in Calderas. A cleared field is cultivated there once, at most twice in succession, and then it is left to rest at least ten, but usually
c 15 to 20 years (Ill. 146 /see p. 264/). The areas used by the
311 Indio villages, then, present a picture completely different from

000 /129 cont./
357 p.274 /). The same fencing with the same ladder construction
417 generally also surrounds the house gardens of the Paez farms. In case the houseowner has larger domestic animals, such as cows, horses, and sheep, a gate (puélta) consisting either of a regular lath door or a barrier of horizontal beams is built into
[227] the fence surrounding his house. In the villages of the civilized Paez, in the /130/ environs of which tree growth is inadequate for the construction of a wooden fence, bamboo is used for the vertical poles, and bundles of dry maize stalks for the horizontal parts.

241 The entire agriculture of the Paez is digging-stick culti-
412 vation (Ill. 172 /see p. 276/). Hoe culture was originally unknown. The house gardens, only recently laid out after the model of the colonists and in which European plants such as cabbage, cucumbers, and onions are cultivated, are turned over with the spade (pála). The digging stick (āty) consists merely of a pointed tree-trunk or pole, though recently broad iron tips with
243 a socket are being put on the digging sticks more and more. Maize may be sowed throughout the year, but it is generally sowed in April when the rainy season begins. Several men always participate, making holes in the ground about one meter apart in every direction with the digging stick, and putting six to eight maize kernels into each hole. The holes are covered again with only very little earth with the foot, "so that the sprout can come out more easily." The ripening period of ten to 12 months is relatively long. After half a year the field is cleared of weeds once. The harvest period is spread out over approximately half a year, provided that sufficiently large amounts of maize were planted; and for this half
[262] year the people practically live "from the stalk." First the young maize (tsót; maize in general, kóty) is eaten half-ripe and only later are the ripe ears harvested and eaten. Every day the men or women go into the field with their bags made of agave fibers and break off only as much as is needed each time for the meal.

249 Whereas maize may be cultivated at all elevations in
[243] Calderas, sugar cane (nyúša) thrives only in the lower, protected localities of the Kokiyó Valley. Its ripening period of two to

/130 cont./

249 three years is very long. Shoots from old sugar-cane plants are used as slips, which are set out by the men in the same way as the maize kernels. A hole is made in the ground with the digging stick at one-meter intervals in every direction from the neighboring plant; the slip is stuck into it and pressed firmly with [462] the hands. The cane is harvested by men or women. Both know [482] how to handle the machete. The men carry the sugar cane home over their shoulders (Ill. 173 /see p.277 /), women stuff the sugar cane into the fiber bags and hang them over their backs, holding the carrying band with their foreheads.

244 Besides maize and sugar cane, the bean (ōs) is of great im- [262] portance for the Paez diet. There are the large, speckled so-called "sow beans" /broad beans/ (Spanish frijol) and the smaller, white beans. /131/ The former are for the most part eaten, whereas the white beans are usually sold. They are sowed either in the vicinity of the house at the foot of trees and shrubs, with three beans always stuck into the ground at a time, or together with maize. In this case, during the maize sowing, three to four beans are put in the same hole with the six to eight maize kernels. In growing simultaneously the beans climb up the maize stalks.

● 243 Wheat (skôtc) is not of importance in the diet of the Paez, [262] for no bread is baked. Nevertheless it is very often planted because it grows fast and thus represents a suitable item for the Paez to sell. 243 If anyone has to buy something, be it fabric for a pair of trousers, 434 a machete, a metal pot, etc., he sows wheat, usually in March/ April, and after half a year he can already pocket profit from the sale. It is characteristic of the Paez, however, that they make use of this only when they need something urgently, but not in 243 advance so as to have money on hand in any case. The preparation for wheat sowing is done in the customary manner of clearing by burning. The sower hangs around himself a fiber bag containing the seed grain and, in exactly the same fashion as our sower, starts to broadcast the wheat with his hand in a wide arc. Subsequently the ground is superficially turned over with the shovel, so that the birds cannot pick up the grains. In harvesting it a bundle of stalks is grasped a good hand's breadth under the ears and cut off with the

/131 cont./

243 other hand by means of the semicircularly curved sickle. In case
[251] the wheat is not sold immediately, the bundles of ears are tied together and stored under the house roof, above the fire area. Whereas the kernels are shelled off the maize ears by hand by the
[237] women as needed, the wheat is threshed. For this purpose a cowhide is put on the floor, a bundle of wheat ears is held securely on the hide with one hand, and with the other hand the ears are beaten with a club until the grains are removed.

244 The other produce used in the diet is planted in the house garden, which likewise is used every year as long as the house is occupied. The yield is generally good because the Paez have learned from the colonists the importance of regular fertilization. Each harvested plot is carefully dug up again with the spade and strewed with the refuse from the house and the collected manure of the cows and horses. Human excrement is not used; it is "too ugly," Everyday, in addition, the kitchen refuse (maize and bean husks, banana peels, arracacha and yuca scraps), as well as the excrement /132/ of the guinea pigs (fits) kept in the kitchen, is scattered in the garden and tossed on the vegetable plots.

The most important garden plant is white cabbage (kólis). The women buy the small plants from a woman in the village who raises them from seed. The planting time is March, when the rainy season begins. Potatoes (ká 'ka) are seldom planted. They are very small, have a yellow flesh, and are of poor quality. Sowing time is whenever one wishes. The men make a small hole with the digging stick and put one or two small potatoes in it and carefully cover up the hole again. After a month one can already hill them with the hands, and after four months, harvest them. To do this, the entire family digs them out with their
[821] hands. Arracacha (ā's) may likewise be planted throughout the year, but yields the best harvest if it is planted with the full moon. In harvesting it a digging stick is used. Yuca (ānya) is seldom eaten, for the climate is too cold to grow it in Calderas. In the lower villages the ripening period is two years.

245 A very important crop that plays a great role in the diet
[262] of the Paez is the banana, which was not native to America originally (Schweinfurt, pp. 504 f.). Two large groups are

/193 cont./

585 help. Since the young men almost never own their own cattle,
[422] they must earn the purchase price for this by the sale of agricul-
[432] tural products. Wheat is usually chosen for this, since it may be
[243] harvested half a year after sowing.

For the wedding celebration about 50 men and women are
585 invited, not only relatives, but also friends, among them the
608 sponsors (padrino, madrina) required for the church marriage
service. They sit with the bridal couple (nikálo). The parents
[291] and guests on both sides arrange themselves informally. The
[431] padrino and madrina must give or loan the bridegroom and bride
[426] new clothes for this wedding day, but they differ from the ordinary
[301] everyday clothing only in that they are newer and cleaner. No
585 special /194/ ornaments of any kind are put on by anyone. The
wedding is celebrated in such a way that the church service takes
place in the morning, after which the guests go to the wedding
house accompanied by music and have a small midday meal, with
which, however, only a little chicha is drunk. The festival ox is
not yet slaughtered on this day, and not until the "actual" (as the
Calderun say) wedding celebration, which takes place about a
month later in the house of the bridegroom. The ox is slaughtered
in the morning, and in the afternoon the guests arrive, sit down
together informally, and eat and drink chicha and brandy copiously.
[533] Music is played for this, but no one dances to it. Before the eating
[535] begins, when all are still sober, the padrino makes a speech ad-
dressed to the bride and groom, in which he says approximately
the following: You are now husband and wife, and you, as the
husband, should not beat your wife, and you, as wife, should
not use any bad words toward your husband. The husband should
also not speak ill of his wife, and the wife should obey if the
husband commands her to do something and should help him
in all things! Then he takes the hand of the bride and gives it
to the mother of the bridegroom, who speaks to the bride as fol-
lows: You have now been taken into our family and you are to
work for your husband and cook his meals for him and make his
clothes and arrange everything for him; in addition, you must
help me in the house and carry out my instructions, as well as

1: Nachtigall--274 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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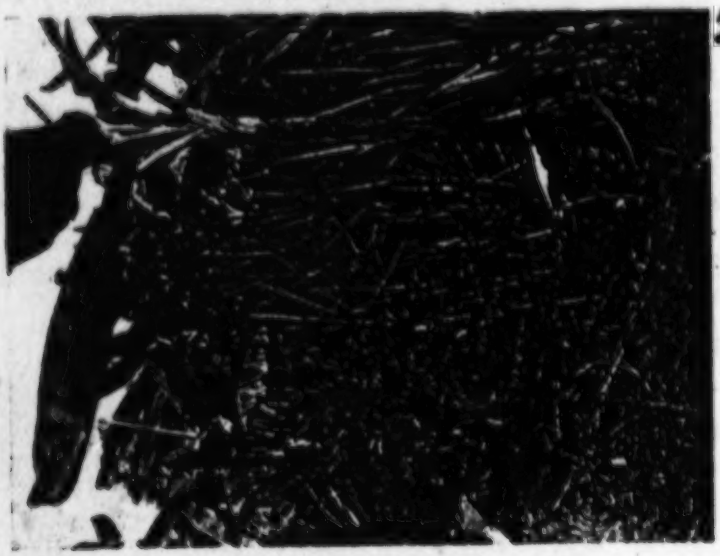
417

Ill. 168. Maize field with fence.



241

Ill. 167. House garden of the Paez.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

FOOD. CULTIVATED AND OTHER USEFUL PLANTS

The principal food of the Paez Indians is maize, or Indian corn, of which they grow several varieties, belonging to three distinct types, namely, a sweet corn (*tšulpi*), a soft corn (*kapio*), and the common flint corn. The words *tšulpi* and *kapio* belong to the Kitšua language, a fact that points to the southern origin of these varieties. Judging from tradition, as well as from the varietal names used elsewhere in the Cauca valley, the flint corn that is grown all over the country may possibly be of northern origin. The Paez language has only one word to designate all varieties of corn, and it is interesting to note that the one now in use (*kutš* or *kukš*) is quite distinct from that employed in Castillo's time (*kokavi*). It is not unlikely that the present name was introduced by some of the tribes subsequently incorporated with the Paez.

The *tšulpi*, or sweet corn, is usually eaten roasted or boiled on the cob. Of soft corn, or *kapio*, they make a kind of dough called *χšioutš*, which is the base of several culinary preparations, among them the tortilla (*kuáts*). *Kaš* is a gruel made of black corn; *mutši*, or *motši* (the Kitšua *motc*), is prepared by shelling the kernels without disintegrating them. Last, but not least, large quantities of the grain are used in the preparation of chicha (*beka*).

Beans are generally cultivated along with maize. I noticed two varieties — *us kutš*, black beans, and *us bi*, red beans. The *asgual*, cited by Castillo as special to the village of Suin, are the seeds of the *Erythrina edulis* Triana, which I collected under the name of *us ual*; they are large, and when boiled taste almost exactly like the common horse-bean (*Faba vulgaris*).

Of scarcely less value as a food-staple are the several varieties of squashes, so generally cultivated and eaten as to have caused Castillo to express the opinion that "most of the Indians would perish should these fail in the province." The larger variety, *ápe-tots* (*Cucurbita maxima?*), is less common, and may have been introduced, although it already existed in Tierra Adentro in Castillo's time; *ápe*, the zapallo or pumpkin (*Cucurbita pepo*), is perhaps indigenous to the region, since the last native name,

The cultivation of potatoes on a large scale
/305 cont./ began more
244 or less two decades ago. "From 1925 to 1930 the one who
433 planted the most potatoes was Ezequiel Mulcué, who caused amazement among the people; now the least planted is 20 arrobas," says one informant. Nowadays there are natives who sow up to 200 arrobas in a year, of which only 70 are planted in the "paramo," and they yield better results than the other arrobas planted. Then, we ask, why do the people of Mosoco have their months of hunger?

262 The basic product of the Paez diet is maize. It was in
154 the past and it continues to be so in the present. Psychologi-
[198] cally, they feel completely satisfied when they have maize for consumption. Its absence causes a sensation of dietary dissatis-
● [243] faction. Before the era of the potato, the cultivation of maize and wheat predominated.

461 During the months of July, August, September, and Octo-
464 ber, the natives have little work. This is why those from
166 Vitoncó, San José, Lame, and Suin go and sign up as peons on the fincas of the "whites" on the other side of the Cordillera (Popayán, Corinto, and even in the Cauca Valley). They return toward the end of the year, when the maize and wheat harvests are drawing near. The natives of Calderas, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, and Togoima go to the fincas of Inzá or La Plata. They return in October when the maize harvests are approaching. It must be said that this labor force is excellent and cheap. And for this reason very much in demand.

The natives of Mosoco have sufficient work in their own country.

Clearings /rozas/

241 The term roza is used generically for the extent of land
433 cleared, burned, cleaned, and fenced, ready for planting. It is found on every private property. It has an area of approximately one hectare. Clearings of two or more hectares are rare. An increase in production does not reflect an enlargement of the clearings, but rather their multiplication and the utilization of ever more rugged and /306/ sterile lands. The natives, to

/307 cont./

241/ April, May, June, October, November, and December. Natu-
132 rally, these periods of summer are relative and correspond in reality to the temperate zone. In Mosoco and the high parts of the Cordillera, /308/ a fine rain is falling almost constantly, if not an actual downpour. In July, August, and September, the winter is harsh, influenced entirely by the trade winds from the southeast.

Bearing these climatic factors in mind, planting is done during the months of March, April, and May. They take advantage of the rains of these months. This agricultural cycle is common for all of Tierradentro including Mosoco proper. The "páramuna" part of Mosoco is excepted, for the reasons listed earlier.

● 243 Of the cultivable species, maize occupies the dominant place in the agricultural activity of Tierradentro. The preparation of the soil differs somewhat in the temperate and cold thermal levels. Whereas cleaning out and burning the underbrush are sufficient in the temperate one, planting beds are made in the cold one. Maize seed is selected from the best and most filled-out ears, avoiding the small kernels at the points. They believe that they would not fruit, calling them, for this reason, "maize-man," and, on the other hand, calling the big kernels
[842] that yield produce "maize-woman." They make the association that it is the women who have children, even though they do not conceive of fertility without concourse with the man.

243 It is common to have mingas for sowing. In this way the
244 work is soon finished. On the appointed day, eight to ten
476 laborers assemble, with bags full of maize tied at their waists;
[462] they start sowing very early. This is a masculine activity, al-
[184] though in Lame and Mosoco women also participate. The holes are made with a strong, pointed stick at intervals of one meter and 50 centimeters and to a depth of 10 to 15 centimeters. Six or seven kernels are placed in each hole. They bury the frijole next to the logs that remain from the clearing. Peas are also commonly sown there. The seeds of bottle gourds and ahuyama/ squash, /Cucurbita maxima/, which are sown in the maize fields,

/308 cont./

243 are also selected; the larger, round one is regarded as the
244 woman and the less vigorous one as the man. In the cold climates
476 they usually sow, in addition, broad beans and wheat, and in the temperate ones arracacha, manioc, plantains, and other species.

243 In three months, when the maize is man-high, weeding
476 is done. The underbrush is uprooted and left on the same ground to dry out and rot. It serves as fertilizer for the plantings. But the natives have no conception of fertilizers, and any suggestion made in this connection is regarded by them /309/ as a waste of time. There are also mingas for weeding, and boys and even women participate. In about six months the dry and yellow leaves are stripped from the stalks, a task which they call descalzar /to discalceate/; they believe that this makes the tender leaves acquire a dark-green color and the ears grow
[824] strong. The stripped leaves are used to cover the roofs of the ranchos which are built for watching over the plantings and to house the family at harvest time.

243 The fields are attacked by flocks of parrots and chamones
825 /a kind of bird/; they are driven away with scarecrows (kanasá), which are put in strategic places. Squirrels and dogs are also enemies of maize, and to protect it they build traps or use their shotguns. In addition, the women and children constantly go around the fields. Next to the rancho a high platform is often built, from which the integrity of the plantings can be guarded.

243 The natives know that droughts parch the sown ground and
789 an exaggerated winter injures them. When the leaves are scorched
754 and the plant does not make ears, they think then that envious people (the sorcerers) have cast a spell on the maize. In such cases, they call the good curer (té eu) to lift the spell. Protection thus has a magical character (13).

13. Bernal Villa, S. "Magia of Medicina entre los Paeces /Magic and Medicine among the Paez/," p. 245.

/309 cont./

685 The natives do not steal maize. If they need some, they
●243 buy it from their neighbor. Such transactions are made at very
[432] low prices. If someone refuses to sell, that is to say, "is stingy
[623] with maize," the buyer threatens to rob him, although he never
[692] does it if he is a good person, but will if he is bad (sorcerer).
Such thefts are punished by the cabildo.

243 When the ear of maize is filled out and tender (choclo /a
[789] roasting ear/) consumption begins, after the performance of
magical practices if the produce is from a new clearing (14).

14. Ibid., p. 246.

Consumption begins at the outer part and all around the field, leaving the central part to turn into dry maize. If someone picks maize from just any part, people comment acidly that he "eats like a dog." The harvesting of the maize is done in one or two days. Relatives and friends are invited to help
[476] and are rewarded with approximately one arroba. The same
[465] amount is also given to those who helped disinterestedly with the clearing and sowing.

243 /310/ An informant from Mosoco says that it is customary
431 among the natives to present relatives and friends with a "carrera" /stretch, row/ of each harvest. Those of wheat and barley are excepted. The carrera consists in harvesting all the "matas" /bushes, sprigs/ that remain around the plantings, since, as we have seen, the harvesting is done from the periphery to the center. The beneficiaries in turn do the same, so that the amounts received are reciprocally returned. This favor to relatives and friends carries with it implicit factors of understanding and affection, for not all receive this manifestation of esteem.
243 The same informant says that the consumption of roasting ears
574 begins with what is called "cura de la labranza" /treatment of the field/, which consists of the following: The owner invites his relatives and friends to a kind of banquet with an abundance of tender-maize cakes /bollos/ or tamales /envueltos/, chicken, and other select dishes.

/310 cont./

243 As may be noted, the magical practices of the té eu are
756 absent, although there still exists that of the eating, which in
789 other parcialidades complements his practices.

249 The cultivation of sugar cane is quite widespread in the
273 temperate thermal level, although the plantings are not extensive and are not pursued for commercial purposes; they serve only for obtaining guarapo (fermented cane juice) for individual and collective labor and for social affairs. Guarapo is an essential part of the domestic economy, in the same manner
249 as coca. It is not produced for public pay. Each house has its
257 sugar mill, either outside or in its interior, but there are no ovens or other accessories for producing panela. The latter industry belongs exclusively to the white or mestizo people.

249 The cultivation of the cane requires three weedings before the first cutting. Three cuttings with good results are generally obtained from each planting.

245 The cultivation of coffee is also very widespread. Its expansion is of recent date, but it already has strong and universal acceptance, like cane and plantains. The method of cultivation suffers from certain deficiencies: the shade is insufficient and inadequate; there is no pruning; the care is not very satis-
[433] factory; many do not have pulping machines. The coffee
245 plantings produce several arrobas per year. The monetary in-
434 come of the natives in the temperate zone is provided basically by
[439] coffee. They sell it to steady and familiar customers for prices
[452] that are usually low. The coffee plantings secure credit for the natives; they often collect money or merchandise against a future
245 harvest. Coffee has permitted them /311/ to acquire dishes, to
434 modify their clothing, to enrich their agricultural equipment,
177 to buy every once in a while the drugs of the "whites." At harvest time they eat meat regularly, and they are also able to pay wages for the improvement of their fincas. But, above all,
[273] it opens the doors of the liquor stores to them. They consume considerable amounts of alcoholic beverages. They have not yet learned to make good use of their monetary income.

/311 cont./

243 Wheat is cultivated with special emphasis in the areas of Lame, El Cuartel, La Troja, and Vitoncó. It is destined primarily for sale. It is planted along with maize, although there are already clearings intended exclusively for its cultiva-
[412] tion. They reap it with knives, rarely with sickles. They do not bind it into sheaves, but make bundles and hang it from the eaves or beams of the house. When dry, they thresh it with wooden clubs /masas/ and separate out its husks by exposing it to the
[256] wind. They grind it at once in hydraulic mills built by them themselves and take it to market. They have no sifters to separate the bran.

128 Below /see pp. 25-33 / we present a statistical table on
241 the production of the various species cultivated by 25 families
433 of Mosoco, 8 of Lame, and 15 of San Andrés including that of
[563] some mestizos and whites, marked with an asterisk, in order to make some comparisons and to estimate the volume of production. We specify the percentage of the production intended for sale. For obvious reasons, we have omitted the names of the family heads, identifying them solely by number in order. The statistical data correspond to the production in the year 1953.
[124] In spite of the fact that this type of investigation presents some
[123] difficulties, owing to the reluctance of people to reveal the data on their production they are in general completely trustworthy, since they were collected after a firm interpersonal relationship had been established between the investigator and the person investigated. In addition, they appreciably agree with our observations noted in "General observations" on Páez agriculture.

/312/ Potato cultivation in Mosoco

244 We have deliberately omitted anything about the cultivation of potatoes in order to deal with it more thoroughly.

The methods of cultivation differ somewhat from those commonly practiced in the other parcialidades. The soil is prepared in beds that follow the direction of the slope. The

The
/312 cont./

244 pluviometrical system in this region is relatively high, and the
[134] soils are saturated with moisture. As a result, this method of making the beds pursues a protective aim for the seeds and fruits. Each bed is raised by a thickness of 60 centimeters, with a distance of one meter between one and the next. The formation of the beds has two stages: the molding /moldeada/ and the raising /alzada/. The former consists of lifting the grass covering and folding it over itself, following the capricious undulations of the ground. It is left like this for several weeks, while the grass completely rots away. This is the only fertilizer. Then comes the planting and after this the raising, an operation which consists of covering the molding with the crumbled earth taken from the part where the grass cover was lifted. In this fashion, the beds have abundant soil in which the roots can grow. The planting does not require any weeding.

In the region that the people of Mosoco call "paramo,"
[243] potatoes are planted without order or rows of any sort. In Moras-Mosoco, as in San José, Lame, Tumbichukue, and Vitoncó, two rows of maize are planted at the edge of the beds and within them the potatoes, very close together and without any sort of order. Frijoles, broad beans, peas, or cabbages are also planted
[243] there. Cultivation is multiple and thus exhaustive. After this harvest, wheat is sown, and then the land is left to lie fallow for three or four years, after which the process is repeated. Naturally, these collective sowings rapidly exhaust the soils. Hence, the May and June sowings yield poorly and usually are lost.

The work is done by the members of the family. Mingas
[476] are still in force as a system of collective labor. They are usually
[464] attended by consanguineous and political familiars. Contract labor is common with Guambiano natives. Mosoco day-laborers are not encountered.

The potato harvest is selected into three classes: large, seed, and birucha. The first serves exclusively for the market, while
000 the last is for family consumption. /In the original text, the following tables for Mosoco, Lame, and San Andres, with the observations deduced from them, appear on two sheets inserted between pages 312 and 313./

6: Bernal Villa--25 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

MOSOCO

Fams.	Maize				Wheat			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
243 1.*	120	120	...	.....	15	15	...	.....
433 2.	60	60	...	.....	15	...	15	100.0
3.	20	20	...	.....	10	6	4	60,0
439 4.	44	39	5	11,3	12	4	8	66,6
563 5.	18	18	...	.....	10	1,5	8,5	85,0
6.	12	12	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
7.	5	5	...	.....	53	8	45	84,9
8.	20	20	...	.....	10	...	10	100,0
9.	20	20	...	.....	45	...	45	100,0
10.	24	24	...	.....	15	15	...	.....
11.	3	3	...	.....	6	4	2	33,3
12.	8	8	...	.....	6	6	...	.....
13.	10	10	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
14.	23	23	...	.....	6	6	...	.....
15.	20	20	...	.....	20	5	15	75,0
16.	16	15	...	.....	20	10	10	50,0
17.	12	12	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
18.	24	24	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
19.	25	23	2	8,0	9	9	...	.....
20.	16	16	...	.....	25	5	20	80,0
21.	12	12	...	.....	40	16	24	60,0
22.	10	10	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
23.	12	12	...	.....	45	4	41	91,1
24.	16	16	...	.....	20	4	16	80,0
25.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

LAME

1.*	30	30	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	25	25	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	8	8	...	.....	3	3(2)	...	.....
4.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
5.	35	35	...	.....	20	...	20	100,0
6.	80	80	...	.....	5	.(2)	5	100,0
7.	20	20	...	.....	2	2(2)	...	.....
8.	50	50	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

Note: A, indicates the arrobas produced; C, arrobas consumed; V, arrobas sold; and %, the percentage sold. /The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

2. Loss of the harvest.

241 From the above table, and relying exclusively on the data
433 given there, we can deduce the following observations:

1. The production of Mosoco is superior to that of Lame, both in quantity and in the variety of species cultivated.

2. The numerical data indicate that there is underproduction, and for that very reason it may be deduced that there is underconsumption, although these data are rough estimates, since the only approximately exact figures that the natives keep are for the production of potatoes.

[243] 3. The production of wheat, garlic, and potatoes is in-
[244] tended almost exclusively for the market, like that of barley, the production of which is not included in the statistical table, because we only have three figures of Mosoco and three for Lame. On the other hand, the production of maize, frijoles, barley, broad beans, ullucos, and nasturtium tubers is intended almost wholly for internal consumption.

[243] 4. Maize is the basic article of consumption, but the production given does not reflect this fact. Nevertheless, it does not include the amount consumed as roasting ears.

5. Losses of the harvest are frequent in Lame, owing to the lack of fertilizers.

[276] 6. Underproduction is compensated for by a larger con-
[262] sumption of coca (Lame) or by the acquisition of other food
[464] items such as panela, lard, bread, and coffee (Mosoco). On the other hand, underproduction explains why the natives go and sign up as day laborers on the haciendas of the "whites."

SAN ANDRES

243
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433
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Fams.	Maize A	Maize C	Maize V	Maize %	Manioc A	Manioc C	Manioc V	Manioc %
1.*	50	50	...	.....	200	160	40	20,0
2.	29	24	5	17,2	64	53	11	17,1
3.	9	9	...	.....	25	25	...	.....
4.	80	80	...	.....	30	30	...	.....
5.	3	3	...	.....	85	85	...	.....
6.	30	30	...	.....	25(3)	...	...	.....
7.	2	2	...	.....	100	100	...	.....
8.	12	12	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
9.	50	40	10	20,0	60	35	25	41,6
10.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	.....	60(3)	35	25	41,6
12.	8(3)	8	...	.....	50	25	25	50,0
13.	14	4	10	71,4	150	75	75	50,0
14.*	...	...	...	.....	500(6)	...	...	.....
15.*	40	40	...	.....	500(6)	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English. /

3. Personal estimate of the author.

6. Informant's estimate of the future [illegible] harvest.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

342 [177] Some had wooden doors and windows, and were built with nails and wires, though most were still made with vegetable materials.

The modern *Moguex* house has two rooms. The main one, entered through a small door, serves as storeroom for goods to be sold, reception hall, dancing place, and a room in which to keep watch over the dead. The other is a pantry for provisions and drinks; here are kept [354] kitchen utensils. In the center is the fireplace and around it dried [352] cowhides or platform beds made of horizontal poles tied to stakes [476] driven in the ground. One's neighbors aid him to build his house, [461] transporting heavy timbers over light rollers and singing rhythmically as they heave together. If the owner of a new house is a man of [554] means, he pays for a feast of benediction or consecration carried out [778] with a Catholic priest, a godfather, and a godmother.

The *Páez* does all this and in addition puts some pieces of silver 352 money under his house to assure his good fortune. In the main house [415] he places the metate on stakes, and in a secondary house, the press [353] for extracting wax from laurel, one or more troughs or hollowed trunks, [354] and large jars for chicha and guarapo. From the roof frame hang bags, [524] or "mochilas," of netted hemp for belongings. There is also a bam- [283] boo candlestick, the wooden feast drum, sometimes a tiple or small 404 guitar, and, nailed to the wall, a spindle. Outside, the loom stands 286 against the wall Beyond it is the sugarcane mill, which is made of 249 a section of tree trunk with a hole above a projection on which the cane is pressed by hand with a rod which crosses the hole. Some mills consist of two or three wooden cylinders rotated by animal power.

243 In each maize field is a small, temporary house and a high platform 342 where a watchman frightens the parrots and parakeets with periodic cries and motions.

Each *Páez* group today has its communally built pueblo, with 177 "bahareque" buildings grouped around a rectangular plaza: a church, 361 with its arched portico and small tower in imitation of Colonial architecture, a house for the priest, a school, and two or three large houses for meetings and fiestas, where they dance, sing, and sleep during fiesta days. But ordinarily, the people remain at their distant houses and fields, and do not live at the pueblo, the only permanent inhabitants of which are a few Whites and Mestizos.

ENGINEERING WORKS

491 The Spaniards found bridges which they described as "weak and 499 flexible bridges of bamboo" and "bridges of vines." A territory so broken and crossed with so many rivers and canyons naturally stimulated the *Páez* in the construction of bridges and the laying out of roads. Today they make four kinds of bridges: (1) A simple vine or cable stretched across the river; (2) a kind of wooden stairs placed

/128 cont./

241 were only ten by ten meters /129/ square, whereas the largest continuous field occupied an area of about 500 by 250 meters. I was assured, however, that such a large area of land was not required for one family and that the owner would use this large [433] cleared field only little by little for planting. A family can live, so I was told, from a field that measures about 100 by 100 meters, [244] which corresponds to the area of one hectare. In addition, every house has a vegetable garden of about 1,000 square meters in area for the planting of vegetable bananas /cooking bananas/, cabbage, beans, cucumbers, and onions.

241 476 464 [462] The clearing of the fields, like the sowing, is done only by men, whereas the harvest may be gathered by women or men. Several men always participate in the clearing and sowing; one man never works alone. At the very least his brothers or sons help him. Otherwise he must ask friends who must be served food and chicha during the work, and whom he likewise helps in 241 a similar instance. On the field intended for planting, first the thinner trees at a height of about one to one and a half meters are cut down with the machete and left lying on the ground as they fall. With this the first part of the work is done, and one has two to four weeks' rest until the felled young trees and branches are dry, but not dried up. Then the men go out into the field again and light the wood, but only the thinner branches of less than an arm's thickness are consumed. This burning takes a few days, and it is not infrequent that a woman helps her husband on [515] the last day in order to burn up the remaining wood. The Paez, by the way, give this handling of the sooty trunks as the only time that they get dirty and must wash their hands afterwards (Ills. 169 to 171 /see pp.275 -276/).

241 417 The fence which each field must have for protection against the freely roaming domestic animals is built out of the unburned branches and tree trunks. For this purpose rather thick poles are rammed vertically into the ground, and the remaining branches and tree trunks piled up horizonatally to a height of a good meter. In order to climb over this fence one puts a notched tree trunk against it on both sides as a ladder (aff) (Ill. 168 /see

p. 274/).

/130 cont./

249 three years is very long. Shoots from old sugar-cane plants are used as slips, which are set out by the men in the same way as the maize kernels. A hole is made in the ground with the digging stick at one-meter intervals in every direction from the neighboring plant; the slip is stuck into it and pressed firmly with [462] the hands. The cane is harvested by men or women. Both know [482] how to handle the machete. The men carry the sugar cane home over their shoulders (Ill. 173 /see p.277 /), women stuff the sugar cane into the fiber bags and hang them over their backs, holding the carrying band with their foreheads.

● 244 Besides maize and sugar cane, the bean (ōs) is of great im- [262] portance for the Paez diet. There are the large, speckled so-called "sow beans" /broad beans/ (Spanish frijol) and the smaller, white beans. /131/ The former are for the most part eaten, whereas the white beans are usually sold. They are sowed either in the vicinity of the house at the foot of trees and shrubs, with three beans always stuck into the ground at a time, or together with maize. In this case, during the maize sowing, three to four beans are put in the same hole with the six to eight maize kernels. In growing simultaneously the beans climb up the maize stalks.

243 Wheat (skótc) is not of importance in the diet of the Paez, [262] for no bread is baked. Nevertheless it is very often planted because it grows fast and thus represents a suitable item for the Paez to sell. 243 If anyone has to buy something, be it fabric for a pair of trousers, 434 a machete, a metal pot, etc., he sows wheat, usually in March/ April, and after half a year he can already pocket profit from the sale. It is characteristic of the Paez, however, that they make use of this only when they need something urgently, but not in 243 advance so as to have money on hand in any case. The preparation for wheat sowing is done in the customary manner of clearing by burning. The sower hangs around himself a fiber bag containing the seed grain and, in exactly the same fashion as our sower, starts to broadcast the wheat with his hand in a wide arc. Subsequently the ground is superficially turned over with the shovel, so that the birds cannot pick up the grains. In harvesting it a bundle of stalks is grasped a good hand's breadth under the ears and cut off with the

/131 cont./

243 other hand by means of the semicircularly curved sickle. In case
[251] the wheat is not sold immediately, the bundles of ears are tied together and stored under the house roof, above the fire area. Whereas the kernels are shelled off the maize ears by hand by the
[237] women as needed, the wheat is threshed. For this purpose a cowhide is put on the floor, a bundle of wheat ears is held securely on the hide with one hand, and with the other hand the ears are beaten with a club until the grains are removed.

● 244 The other produce used in the diet is planted in the house garden, which likewise is used every year as long as the house is occupied. The yield is generally good because the Paez have learned from the colonists the importance of regular fertilization. Each harvested plot is carefully dug up again with the spade and strewed with the refuse from the house and the collected manure of the cows and horses. Human excrement is not used; it is "too ugly," Everyday, in addition, the kitchen refuse (maize and bean husks, banana peels, arracacha and yuca scraps), as well as the excrement /132/ of the guinea pigs (fits) kept in the kitchen, is scattered in the garden and tossed on the vegetable plots.

The most important garden plant is white cabbage (kólis). The women buy the small plants from a woman in the village who raises them from seed. The planting time is March, when the rainy season begins. Potatoes (ká'ka) are seldom planted. They are very small, have a yellow flesh, and are of poor quality. Sowing time is whenever one wishes. The men make a small hole with the digging stick and put one or two small potatoes in it and carefully cover up the hole again. After a month one can already hill them with the hands, and after four months, harvest them. To do this, the entire family digs them out with their
[821] hands. Arracacha (ā's) may likewise be planted throughout the year, but yields the best harvest if it is planted with the full moon. In harvesting it a digging stick is used. Yuca (ānya) is seldom eaten, for the climate is too cold to grow it in Calderas. In the lower villages the ripening period is two years.

245 A very important crop that plays a great role in the diet
[262] of the Paez is the banana, which was not native to America originally (Schweinfurt, pp. 504 f.). Two large groups are

/132 cont./

245 differentiated: that of the fruit or sugar bananas, and that of the vegetable or mealy bananas. Both kinds are known to the Paez, to be sure, but only the vegetable bananas (tolõ), whose starchy fruits must be cooked first before being eaten, like potatoes, because they are difficult to digest, are important for them, as for all tropical peoples. The fruit bananas (gnayoĩts), the only bananas eaten in Europe, are seldom eaten by the Paez and generally are not cultivated. They are planted by means of slips, which in Calderas bear from the third year on and yield harvests
● 244 for many years. Other crops grown in the house garden and eaten from time to time are cucumbers (kambĩč or pĩna, according to the species), squash (pete), and the wild granadilla (šlãl).

b) Food Preparation

264 The Paez eat only two meals a day, the first one (kosẽ oñ) about four or five o'clock in the morning before work, and the second (fi'nz oñ) at three or four o'clock in the afternoon, after returning from work in the fields. In between, that is, while working on the often quite distant fields, coca /133/ is taken and sugar-cane juice drunk every two to three hours. The morning and evening meals do not differ in content and vary
252 little from day to day. They are cooked without meat, without
262 fat, without salt, as well as without any other seasoning. Cook-
[263] ing with fat is customary only on festive days in the festival house.
[237] On this occasion a blood sausage is made from the blood of cattle, sheep, or pigs, for which the intestines are cleaned and then cooked with blood, salt, onions, and caraway, as well as with another herb (pléo). Meat is not put into the intestines, and likewise no fat.

262 There is no desire for greater variety in food and drink. I was scarcely able to discover any individual differences in taste among the Calderun, for everyone eats everything, and they all regard beans or cabbage or both together as the best food and bean leaves as the worst.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

FOOD. CULTIVATED AND OTHER USEFUL PLANTS

The principal food of the Paez Indians is maize, or Indian corn, of which they grow several varieties, belonging to three distinct types, namely, a sweet corn (*tšulpi*), a soft corn (*kapio*), and the common flint corn. The words *tšulpi* and *kapio* belong to the Kitšua language, a fact that points to the southern origin of these varieties. Judging from tradition, as well as from the varietal names used elsewhere in the Cauca valley, the flint corn that is grown all over the country may possibly be of northern origin. The Paez language has only one word to designate all varieties of corn, and it is interesting to note that the one now in use (*kutš* or *kukš*) is quite distinct from that employed in Castillo's time (*kokavi*). It is not unlikely that the present name was introduced by some of the tribes subsequently incorporated with the Paez.

262 243 [192] [174] [192]

The *tšulpi*, or sweet corn, is usually eaten roasted or boiled on the cob. Of soft corn, or *kapio*, they make a kind of dough called *χšiontš*, which is the base of several culinary preparations, among them the tortilla (*kuáts*). *Kaš* is a gruel made of black corn; *mutši*, or *motši* (the Kitšua *motc*), is prepared by shelling the kernels without disintegrating them. Last, but not least, large quantities of the grain are used in the preparation of chicha (*beka*).

262 252 [273]

Beans are generally cultivated along with maize. I noticed two varieties — *us kutš*, black beans, and *us bi*, red beans. The *osgual*, cited by Castillo as special to the village of Suin, are the seeds of the *Erythrina edulis* Triana, which I collected under the name of *us ual*; they are large, and when boiled taste almost exactly like the common horse-bean (*Faba vulgaris*).

244 262 [252]

Of scarcely less value as a food-staple are the several varieties of squashes, so generally cultivated and eaten as to have caused Castillo to express the opinion that "most of the Indians would perish should these fail in the province." The larger variety, *ápe-tots* (*Cucurbita maxima?*), is less common, and may have been introduced, although it already existed in Tierra Adentro in Castillo's time; *ápe*, the zapallo or pumpkin (*Cucurbita pepo*), is perhaps indigenous to the region, since the last native name,

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

244 now widely used all over Spanish America, is of Kitšua origin
262 (*zapayú*); *ápe-te*, the most extensively cultivated variety, is called *Mejicano* by the Spanish natives, although it seems to have been cultivated in the country from time immemorial.

Several interesting edible roots or tubers, mostly under cultivation, are relished by the Paez Indians. Thus *ãs*, or *ans* (*Arracacia esculenta*), a celery-like umbelliferous plant with large white roots; *unt*, a peculiar yam (*Dioscorea*); *uia* the cassava root; *káka*, the potato, of which there are certainly several species; *tsgri*, or *ʒuil* (*Ullucus tuberosus*), a very remarkable *Chenopodiacea*, of the high Andean region; *puil*, *Tropeolum tuberosum*, another species, the cultivation of which seems to be restricted to a limited district of western South America. All these plants are more or less under cultivation, but the Indians also eat many wild roots which I had no opportunity to identify. *Kambitʒ* (*Cyclanthera pedata*), the singularly-shaped fruit of a Cucurbit, is used as a green vegetable along with the tender sprouts of several other plants.

245 Among the favorite fruits the plantain naturally ranks first,
262 and is conspicuous around the houses even at an altitude of 1,800 meters. The generic names are *plan*, suggesting the Spanish *plántano* or *plátano*, and *tulú*, a word that forms the root of *Tuluá*, the name of a town in a territory formerly occupied by the Quimbayas. The banana or *guinco*, corrupted into *kuciô*, is probably an imported variety, as are several others rarely met with.

Other fruits are the *papaya*, *paiá*, not mentioned by Castillo, and the name of which indicates a modern acquisition; *Hal*, one of the granadillas (*Passiflora edulis*); *Bakú*, the pineapple, which grows only in the lower region; *ŋgtsc*, the aguacate (*Persea gratissima*); and also several species of *Inga*, the white pulp around the seeds of which is eaten.

There are two varieties of edible guavas, the one sweet (*Psidium guayaba*), the other sweet sour (*Ps. pomiferum*); and the berries of several *Melastomataceæ*, many of which escaped my observation, are enjoyed by both children and adults.

276 A plant very important in the Indian economy is the coca
[249]

/303 cont./

241 relatively recent times, has fertile and humid soils. The harvests
433 are large and of excellent quality. It produces profitable yields.
● 244 The real production of Mosoco potatoes is there. They them-
[492] selves designate it as the principal harvest. During the months of April and May, when the potatoes are being harvested, numerous droves of pack animals carry the produce daily to the market
[435] in Silvia. The profits from this crop are dependable. The cultivators state that even selling at four pesos per arroba it gives a profit. Normally an arroba of potatoes is quoted at six or seven pesos. The planting of potatoes in the paramo begins in October, is intensified in November and December, and the last is done in January. They take advantage of the mildness of the climate
[132] at this time. During the months of June, July, and August the
[484] winter is harsh, with intense cold and hurricane winds. Crossing the paramos at this time is quite perilous.

241 In San José, La Troja, El Cabuyo, El Cuartel, Lame, and
433 Vitoncó, during the first four months of the year, wheat, barley, maize, frijoles, broad beans, and peaches are harvested.

Toward the months of October, November, and December, harvesting is done in Suin, Chinas, Calderas, San Andrés, Togoima, Santa Rosa, and Mosoco itself and consists principally of Maize, frijoles, ullucos, potatoes, and coffee. They constitute what we might /304/ call the second harvests of the year in Tierradentro. The planting begins after Ash Wednesday (March approximately) and is intensified in the months of April and May.
244 The last is done in July. The potato seed planted at about this
433 time in Mosoco comes from the harvest in the "paramo." This is a secondary planting of scant yield. It usually results in losses, but the Mosoco cultivators plant with the aim of preserving the seed. It is interesting to note that the sole agricultural activity of one trader based in Mosoco is the planting of potatoes in the
[434] paramo. He dispenses with the July sowing altogether. He prefers to buy the seed in Silvia, he pays the entire labor force, and in spite of these investments, which are high, he gets a good profit.

The cultivation of potatoes on a large scale
/305 cont./ began more
244 or less two decades ago. "From 1925 to 1930 the one who
433 planted the most potatoes was Ezequiel Mulcué, who caused amazement among the people; now the least planted is 20 arrobas," says one informant. Nowadays there are natives who sow up to 200 arrobas in a year, of which only 70 are planted in the "paramo," and they yield better results than the other arrobas planted. Then, we ask, why do the people of Mosoco have their months of hunger?

262 The basic product of the Paez diet is maize. It was in
154 the past and it continues to be so in the present. Psychologi-
[198] cally, they feel completely satisfied when they have maize for consumption. Its absence causes a sensation of dietary dissatis-
[243] faction. Before the era of the potato, the cultivation of maize and wheat predominated.

461 During the months of July, August, September, and Octo-
464 ber, the natives have little work. This is why those from
166 Vitoncó, San José, Lame, and Suin go and sign up as peons on the fincas of the "whites" on the other side of the Cordillera (Popayán, Corinto, and even in the Cauca Valley). They return toward the end of the year, when the maize and wheat harvests are drawing near. The natives of Calderas, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, and Togoima go to the fincas of Inzá or La Plata. They return in October when the maize harvests are approaching. It must be said that this labor force is excellent and cheap. And for this reason very much in demand.

The natives of Mosoco have sufficient work in their own country.

Clearings /rozas/

241 The term roza is used generically for the extent of land
433 cleared, burned, cleaned, and fenced, ready for planting. It is found on every private property. It has an area of approximately one hectare. Clearings of two or more hectares are rare. An increase in production does not reflect an enlargement of the clearings, but rather their multiplication and the utilization of ever more rugged and /306/ sterile lands. The natives, to

/307 cont./

241 April, May, June, October, November, and December. Natu-
132 rally, these periods of summer are relative and correspond in reality to the temperate zone. In Mosoco and the high parts of the Cordillera, /308/ a fine rain is falling almost constantly, if not an actual downpour. In July, August, and September, the winter is harsh, influenced entirely by the trade winds from the southeast.

Bearing these climatic factors in mind, planting is done during the months of March, April, and May. They take advantage of the rains of these months. This agricultural cycle is common for all of Tierradentro including Mosoco proper. The "páramuna" part of Mosoco is excepted, for the reasons listed earlier.

243 Of the cultivable species, maize occupies the dominant place in the agricultural activity of Tierradentro. The preparation of the soil differs somewhat in the temperate and cold thermal levels. Whereas cleaning out and burning the underbrush are sufficient in the temperate one, planting beds are made in the cold one. Maize seed is selected from the best and most filled-out ears, avoiding the small kernels at the points. They believe that they would not fruit, calling them, for this reason, "maize-man," and, on the other hand, calling the big kernels
[842] that yield produce "maize-woman." They make the association that it is the women who have children, even though they do not conceive of fertility without concourse with the man.

243 It is common to have mingas for sowing. In this way the
●244 work is soon finished. On the appointed day, eight to ten
476 laborers assemble, with bags full of maize tied at their waists;
[462] they start sowing very early. This is a masculine activity, al-
[184] though in Lame and Mosoco women also participate. The holes are made with a strong, pointed stick at intervals of one meter and 50 centimeters and to a depth of 10 to 15 centimeters. Six or seven kernels are placed in each hole. They bury the frijole next to the logs that remain from the clearing. Peas are also commonly sown there. The seeds of bottle gourds and ahuyama/ squash, /Cucurbita maxima/, which are sown in the maize fields,

/308 cont./

243 are also selected; the larger, round one is regarded as the
244 woman and the less vigorous one as the man. In the cold climates
476 they usually sow, in addition, broad beans and wheat, and in the temperate ones arracacha, manioc, plantains, and other species.

243 In three months, when the maize is man-high, weeding
476 is done. The underbrush is uprooted and left on the same ground to dry out and rot. It serves as fertilizer for the plantings. But the natives have no conception of fertilizers, and any suggestion made in this connection is regarded by them /309/ as a waste of time. There are also mingas for weeding, and boys and even women participate. In about six months the dry and yellow leaves are stripped from the stalks, a task which they call descalzar /to discalceate/; they believe that this makes the tender leaves acquire a dark-green color and the ears grow
[824] strong. The stripped leaves are used to cover the roofs of the ranchos which are built for watching over the plantings and to house the family at harvest time.

243 The fields are attacked by flocks of parrots and chamones
825 /a kind of bird/; they are driven away with scarecrows (kanasá), which are put in strategic places. Squirrels and dogs are also enemies of maize, and to protect it they build traps or use their shotguns. In addition, the women and children constantly go around the fields. Next to the rancho a high platform is often built, from which the integrity of the plantings can be guarded.

243 The natives know that droughts parch the sown ground and
789 an exaggerated winter injures them. When the leaves are scorched
754 and the plant does not make ears, they think then that envious people (the sorcerers) have cast a spell on the maize. In such cases, they call the good curer (té eu) to lift the spell. Protection thus has a magical character (13).

13. Bernal Villa, S. "Magia of Medicina entre los Paeces /Magic and Medicine among the Paez/," p. 245.

/311 cont./

243 Wheat is cultivated with special emphasis in the areas of Lame, El Cuartel, La Troja, and Vitoncó. It is destined primarily for sale. It is planted along with maize, although there are already clearings intended exclusively for its cultiva-
[412] tion. They reap it with knives, rarely with sickles. They do not bind it into sheaves, but make bundles and hang it from the eaves or beams of the house. When dry, they thresh it with wooden clubs /masas/ and separate out its husks by exposing it to the
[256] wind. They grind it at once in hydraulic mills built by them themselves and take it to market. They have no sifters to separate the bran.

128 Below /see pp. 25-33 / we present a statistical table on
241 the production of the various species cultivated by 25 families
433 of Mosoco, 8 of Lame, and 15 of San Andrés including that of
[563] some mestizos and whites, marked with an asterisk, in order to make some comparisons and to estimate the volume of production. We specify the percentage of the production intended for sale. For obvious reasons, we have omitted the names of the family heads, identifying them solely by number in order. The statistical data correspond to the production in the year 1953.
[124] In spite of the fact that this type of investigation presents some
[123] difficulties, owing to the reluctance of people to reveal the data on their production they are in general completely trustworthy, since they were collected after a firm interpersonal relationship had been established between the investigator and the person investigated. In addition, they appreciably agree with our observations noted in "General observations" on Páez agriculture.

/312/ Potato cultivation in Mosoco

● 244 We have deliberately omitted anything about the cultivation of potatoes in order to deal with it more thoroughly.

The methods of cultivation differ somewhat from those commonly practiced in the other parcialidades. The soil is prepared in beds that follow the direction of the slope. The

The
/312 cont./

244 pluviometrical system in this region is relatively high, and the
[134] soils are saturated with moisture. As a result, this method of making the beds pursues a protective aim for the seeds and fruits. Each bed is raised by a thickness of 60 centimeters, with a distance of one meter between one and the next. The formation of the beds has two stages: the molding /moldeada/ and the raising /alzada/. The former consists of lifting the grass covering and folding it over itself, following the capricious undulations of the ground. It is left like this for several weeks, while the grass completely rots away. This is the only fertilizer. Then comes the planting and after this the raising, an operation which consists of covering the molding with the crumbled earth taken from the part where the grass cover was lifted. In this fashion, the beds have abundant soil in which the roots can grow. The planting does not require any weeding.

In the region that the people of Mosoco call "paramo,"
[243] potatoes are planted without order or rows of any sort. In Moras-Mosoco, as in San José, Lame, Tumbichukue, and Vitoncó, two rows of maize are planted at the edge of the beds and within them the potatoes, very close together and without any sort of order. Frijoles, broad beans, peas, or cabbages are also planted
[243] there. Cultivation is multiple and thus exhaustive. After this harvest, wheat is sown, and then the land is left to lie fallow for three or four years, after which the process is repeated. Naturally, these collective sowings rapidly exhaust the soils. Hence, the May and June sowings yield poorly and usually are lost.

The work is done by the members of the family. Mingas
[476] are still in force as a system of collective labor. They are usually
[464] attended by consanguineous and political familiars. Contract labor is common with Guambiano natives. Mosoco day-laborers are not encountered.

The potato harvest is selected into three classes: large, seed, and birucha. The first serves exclusively for the market, while
000 the last is for family consumption. /In the original text, the following tables for Mosoco, Lame, and San Andres, with the observations deduced from them, appear on two sheets inserted between pages 312 and 313./

6: Bernal Villa--26 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

MOSOCO

Fams.	Broad Beans A	C	V	%	Garlic A	C	V	%
1.*	80	80	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	5	5	...	.....	9	...	9	100,0
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.	8	7	1	12,5	...	...	...	.....
5.	2	2	...	.....	1,5	0,5	1	66,6
6.	8	8	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
7.	1	1	...	.....	3	1	2	66,6
8.	1	1	...	.....	6	2	4	66,6
9.	8	8	...	.....	12	...	12	100,0
10.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
11.	1	1	...	.....	5	2	3	60,0
12.	1	1	...	.....	6	1	5	83,3
13.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
14.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.	8	8	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
16.	2	2	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
17.	2	2	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
18.	5	5	...	.....	15	3	12	80,0
19.	...	...	...	.....	2,5	...	2,5	100,0
20.	5	5	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
21.	3	3	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
22.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
23.	...	...	...	.....	2	2	...	.....
24.	...	...	...	.....	10	2	8	80,0
25.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

LAME

1.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.**	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	(3)
5.	...	...	...	.....	2,5	...	2,5	100,0
6.	16	16	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
8.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

Note: A, indicates the arrobas produced; C, arrobas consumed; V, arrobas sold; and %, the percentage sold. /The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

3. This informant is white; his sole activity is trading.

6: Bernal Villa--27 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

MOSOCO

Fams.	Ullucos				Nasturtium			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.	30	30	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	20	20	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
3.	...	...	...	.....	5	5	...	.....
4.	3	3	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
6.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
8.	15	15	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
9.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
10.	8	8	...	.....	20	20	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
12.	10	10	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
13.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
14.	40	40	...	.....	40	40	...	.....
15.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
16.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
17.	...	...	...	.....	1	1	...	.....
18.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
19.	30	14	16	53,3	...	...	...	.....
20.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
21.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
22.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
23.	15	15	1	.....	20	20	...	.....
24.	16	12	4	25,0	...	...	...	.....
25.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

LAME

1.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
6.	25	15	10	40,0	25	17	8	32,0
7.	4	4	...	.....	5	...	5	100,0
8.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

Note: A, indicates the arrobas produced; C, arrobas consumed; V, arrobas sold; and %, the percentage sold. /The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

6: Bernal Villa--28 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

MOSOCO

Fams.	Frijoles A	C	V	%	Potatoes A	C	V	%
244 1.*	6	6	...	.....	(1)			
433 2.	15	15	1	.....				
439 3.	...	...	...	.....				
563 4.	6	...	6	100,0				
5.	...	...	...	.....				
6.	...	...	...	.....				
7.	...	...	...	.....				
8.	...	...	...	.....				
9.	...	...	...	.....				
10.	...	...	...	.....				
11.	...	...	...	.....				
12.	...	...	...	.....				
13.	...	...	...	.....				
14.	...	...	...	.....				
15.	...	...	...	.....				
16.	...	...	...	.....				
17.	...	...	...	.....				
18.	5	5	...	.....				
19.	1	1	...	.....				
20.	4	4	...	.....				
21.	...	...	...	.....				
22.	6	6	...	.....				
23.	...	...	...	.....				
24.	...	...	...	.....				
25.*	...	...	...	.....				

LAME

1.*	...	(2)	...	.....	70	...	70	100,0
2.	8	8	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	(2)	...	.....
4.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
6.	8	...	8	100,0	50	20	30	60,0
7.	1	1	...	.....	18	...	18	100,0
8.	10	10	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

Note: A, indicates the arrobas produced; C, arrobas consumed; V, arrobas sold; and %, the percentage sold. /The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

1. The potato production is itemized in a separate table.

2. Loss of the harvest.

241 433 From the above table, and relying exclusively on the data given there, we can deduce the following observations:

1. The production of Mosoco is superior to that of Lame, both in quantity and in the variety of species cultivated.

2. The numerical data indicate that there is underproduction, and for that very reason it may be deduced that there is underconsumption, although these data are rough estimates, since the only approximately exact figures that the natives keep are for the production of potatoes.

[243] [244] 3. The production of wheat, garlic, and potatoes is intended almost exclusively for the market, like that of barley, the production of which is not included in the statistical table, because we only have three figures of Mosoco and three for Lame. On the other hand, the production of maize, frijoles, barley, broad beans, ullucos, and nasturtium tubers is intended almost wholly for internal consumption.

[243] 4. Maize is the basic article of consumption, but the production given does not reflect this fact. Nevertheless, it does not include the amount consumed as roasting ears.

5. Losses of the harvest are frequent in Lame, owing to the lack of fertilizers.

[276] [262] [464] 6. Underproduction is compensated for by a larger consumption of coca (Lame) or by the acquisition of other food items such as panela, lard, bread, and coffee (Mosoco). On the other hand, underproduction explains why the natives go and sign up as day laborers on the haciendas of the "whites."

SAN ANDRES

244
245
433
439
563
427

Fams.	Coffee				Plantains			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	80	...	80	100,0	300(1)	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	3	...	3	100,0	300(2)	...	...	.....
4.	1	...	1	100,0	50(1)	...	...	.....
5.	15	...	15	100,0	120	118	2	1,6
6.	3	...	3	100,0	200	200	...	.....
7.	3(5)	...	3	100,0	100(1)	...	...	.....
8.	4	...	4	100,0	50(1)	...	...	.....
9.	5	...	5	100,0	150(4)	...	...	.....
10.*	80	...	80	100,0	30(1)	...	...	.....
11.	45	...	45	100,0	...	...	...	.....
12.	...(5)	...	...	.....	100	50	50	50,0
13.	...(5)	...	...	.....	300	100	200	66,6
14.*	6	...	6	100,0	250(1)	...	...	.....
15.*	8	...	8	100,0	100(1)	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

1. Number of plantain plantings that the informant has now.

2. Indicates the number of plantings at present. Last year he gathered about 30 bunches.

4. Indicates the number of plantings at present. Last year he gathered about 30 bunches.

5. Tenant farmer.

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Fams.	Maize A	Maize C	Maize V	Maize %	Manioc A	Manioc C	Manioc V	Manioc %
1.*	50	50	...	.....	200	160	40	20,0
2.	29	24	5	17,2	64	53	11	17,1
3.	9	9	...	.....	25	25	...	.....
4.	80	80	...	.....	30	30	...	.....
5.	3	3	...	.....	85	85	...	.....
6.	30	30	...	.....	25(3)	...	...	.....
7.	2	2	...	.....	100	100	...	.....
8.	12	12	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
9.	50	40	10	20,0	60	35	25	41,6
10.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	.....	60(3)	35	25	41,6
12.	8(3)	8	...	.....	50	25	25	50,0
13.	14	4	10	71,6	150	75	75	50,0
14.*	...	...	...	.....	500(6)	...	...	.....
15.*	40	40	...	.....	500(6)	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English. /

3. Personal estimate of the author.

6. Informant's estimate of the future harvest.

6: Bernal Villa--32 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Fams.	Sugar Cane				Arracacha			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	500	...	500	100,0	40	20	20	50,0
2.	...	...	...	.....	20	12	8	40,0
3.	...	...	...	.....	4	4	...	.....
4.	(7)	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
5.	20	...	20	100,0	4	4	...	.....
6.	(7)	...	...	.....	25(3)	...	...	.....
7.	(7)	...	...	.....	17	17	1	.....
8.	(7)	...	...	.....	15(3)	...	...	.....
9.	(7)	...	...	.....	20	10	10	50,0
10.*	(7)	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
11.	40	...	40	100,0	20	10	10	50,0
12.	(7)	...	...	.....	18	9	9	50,0
13.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
14.*	(7)	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.*	100	...	100	100,0	...	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English.

3. Personal estimate of the author.

7. Owns plantings of sugar cane.

Fams.	Coca				Frijoles			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	4	4	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	5	4	1	20,0
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
6.	...	...	...	(8)	3	3	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
8.	...	...	...	(8)	8	8	...	.....
9.	...	...	...	(8)	20	10	10	50,0
10.*	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
12.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
13.	6	2	4	66,6	5	1	4	80,0
14.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

8. Owns plantings of coca.

From the above table we can make the following deductions:

1. The coffee production is wholly intended for sale. It thus constitutes the principal source of monetary income for the natives and, of course, for the "whites."

2. Maize, frijoles, sugar cane, and coca are intended almost exclusively for internal consumption. The production of panela indicated in the table refers to the whites and mestizos.

3. The food base of San Andrés is provided by maize, plantains, manioc, and arracacha. At the time of the coffee harvest, meat is consumed. Coca and guarapo indispensably complement this dietary regimen.

[Mosoco]

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128 We present below a statistical table on the potato production of 25 families. Nearly all of them have two harvests per year. The first row represents the November planting and the second one that of May and June. For those who have only one harvest a year, the planting is in the month of November.

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We establish, in arrobas, the amount planted, the amount harvested, and that intended for sale and for consumption. We specify in Colombian pesos the value received from sales, an estimate of the amount alloted for consumption, the total value of the harvests, and the costs. An arroba of potatoes is sold for four pesos, on the average, at the place of harvest. In Silvia it is quoted at six. The quantity left for consumption is valued [465] at two pesos per arroba, a standard price for everyone. Costs include only the expenses for mingas, wage labor, and contract labor. Family labor is excluded. We also determine the percentage of the total harvest allotted for sale.

6: Bernal Villa--35 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Families	Planting A	Harvest A	A	Sales $	%	Consumption A	$	Total Value of Harvest	Costs $
1.*	100	250	180	675,00		70	140,00		97,00
	64 (15)	125	53	212,00		72	144,00		68,00
	164	375	233	887,00	62,1	144	284,00	1.161,00	165,00
2.	30	100	70	350,00	70,0	30	60,00	410,00	.....
3.	20	30	15	67,50		15	30,00		.....
	15 (16)	20	10	105,00		10	20,00		.....
	35	50	25	172,50	50,0	25	50,00	222,50	.....
4.	30	150	100	350,00	66,6	50	100,00	450,00	.....
5.	5	15	2	6,00		13	26,00		.....
	15 (15)	9	...	....		9	18,00		.....
	20	24	2	6,00	8,3	22	44,00	50,00	.....
6.	20	70	40	160,00		30	60,00		15,00
	30 (16)	12	...	....		12	24,00		.....
	50	82	40	160,00	48,7	42	84,00	244,00	15,00

/The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

15. Planting by agreement. One provides the seed and the other the land and labor.

16. Total or partial loss of the harvest.

6: Bernal Villa--36 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

/314/ [Mosoco]

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Families	Planting A	Harvest A	A	Sales $	%	Consumption A	Consumption $	Total Value of Harvest	Costs $
7.	20	40	---	----	---	40	80,00		50,00 (17)
	40 (16)	20	---	----	---	20	40,00		------
	70	70	----	----	---	70	140,00	140,00	50,00
8.	40	40	---	----	---	40	80,00		------
	20 (16)	10	---	----	---	20	40,00		------
	60	50	---	----	---	60	120,00	120,00	------
9.	15	35	16	72,00		17	34,00		------
	40 (16)	--	---	----		--	----		50,00
	55	35	16	72,00	45,7	17	34,00	106,00	50,00
10.	40	200	140	600,00		60	120,00		------
	30	50	---	----		50	100,00		------
	70	250	140	600,00	56,0	110	220,00	700,00	------
11.	15	25	15	60,00		10	20,00		------
	20 (16)	15	---	----		15	30,00		------
	35	40	15	60,00	37,5	25	50,00	110,00	------
12.	30	100	70	350,00		30	60,00		90,00 (18)
	30	80	70	350,00		20	40,00		30,00
	60	180	140	700,00	77,7	50	100,00	200,00	120,00
13.	40	90	50	250,00		30	60,00		------
	35 (16)	35	---	----		35	70,00		------
	75	115	50	250,00	42,6	65	130,00	380,00	------
14.	30	60	36	180,00		36	72,00		------
	30 (16)	40	8	32,00		32	64,00		------
	60	100	32	136,00	32,0	68	136,00	272,00	------
15.	20	160	100	400,00		60	120,00		75,00 (17)
	30	100	36	120,00		76	152,00		30,00
	50	260	136	520,00	47,6	136	272,00	992,00	105,00
16.	35	100	50	250,00		50	100,00		------
	25	60	36	120,00		36	72,00		------
	60	160	74	370,00	46,2	86	172,00	542,00	------

16. Total or partial loss of the harvest.

17. Minga expenses.

18. Expenses of minga and wages.

6: Bernal Villa--37 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

/315/ [Morocco]

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	Families	Planting A	Harvest A	A	Sales $	%	Consumption A	Consumption $	Total Value of Harvest	Costs $
17.		...	...	...	....	...	...	.....	.....	.....
18.		70	700	446	1.732,00		254	500,00		308,20 (19)
		127 (15)	274	81	259,00		193	386,00		.....
		197	974	527	1.991,00	54,1	447	886,00	2.877,00	389,20
19.		30	300	250	1.000,00		50	100,00		65,00
		25	35	8	32,00		27	54,00		27,70 (20)
		55	335	258	1.032,00	77,0	77	154,00	1.186,00	72,70
20.		50	80	40	160,00		40	80,00		(12) 00'12
		30	80	20	80,00		60	120,00		.....
		80	160	60	240,00	37,5	100	200,00	440,00	72,00
21.		20	60	32	192,00		28	56,00		.....
		20	40	16	80,00		24	48,00		.....
		40	100	48	272,00	48,0	52	104,00	376,00	.....
22.		5	15	8	32,00		7	14,00		.....
		5 (16)	5	...	....		5	10,00		.....
		10	20	8	32,00	40,0	12	24,00	56,00	.....
23.		30	60	30	120,00		30	60,00		.....
		30 (16)	30	...	....		30	60,00		133,00 (17)
		60	90	30	120,00	37,5	50	100,00	220,00	133,00
		30 (16)	30	...	....		30	60,00		.....
		30	60	8	32,00		32	64,00		135,00
		50	60	8	32,00	13,3	52	104,00	136,00	135,00
25.*		190 (22)	530	500	3.115,00	94,3	30	60,00	3.175,00	1.762,00

15. Planting by agreement. One provides the seed and the other the land and labor.

16. Total or partial loss of the harvest.

17. Minga expenses.

19. Expenses for wage and contract labor and minga.

20. Expenses for wage and contract labor.

21. Expenses for contract labor.

22. Seed purchased.

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105 Potatoes are the principal crop in the parcialidad of Mosoco
178 and the primary source of the natives' monetary income. It has
[244] made possible the establishment of intensive trade with the municipio of Silvia and has plainly had repercussions in the modification of rules of behavior and the restructuring of institutions. The transformation embraces nearly all aspects of Páez culture.

In the first place, work has intensified. The people of Mosoco have permanent work throughout the year. The women participate directly in the preparation of the soil, the planting, and the harvesting.

The children of both sexes go to school regularly, learn basic skills, and utilize them in everyday life. Mosoco is the only part of Tierradentro where there is a private school supervised by a native.

[191] Bilingualism is general. The "chontales," that is to say, persons who do not speak Spanish, are very few. There are not more than ten.

[276] The consumption of coca has disappeared among all the youthful elements.

[262] The alimentary diet and schedule have been altered con-
[264] siderably. They have breakfast very early in the morning, lunch at noon, and dinner at nightfall. Milk, panela, lard, meat, and bread are consumed regularly.

The utensils are completely modern, consisting of aluminum and iron pieces.

There are wooden beds for sleeping, and blankets as well.

The houses are better built and furnished. There are houses of adobe and tile. Two tile-works inclusively already exist in the parcialidad.

The people are hospitable and generous toward foreign visitors.

[291] The clothing of the men is almost completely transformed. They dress like any Colombian peasant. The palm hat worn in other parcialidades has disappeared from this region. The women are clean, orderly, and talkative. They retain the slit skirt and sash, but have adopted chemises and the blue rebozo of the

/333 cont./
417 bags full of frijoles, which are also suspended from the wall
353 posts. This is also where the grains (lumps) of salt are kept.
251 The amounts kept for the months of scarcity are not sufficient, but there are other comestibles that help them: domestic ani-
[244] mals, cabbages, onions, sugar cane, and coca. In Lame and Mosoco they cultivate a plant which they call ijuca de pijao. It
[464] is an edible discoria /Dioscorea/. We have also seen that want is avoided by going to work as laborers on the fincas of the "whites."

[263] Meat is also kept on the frame above the hearth. They utilize the smoke to preserve it. Salt is not used for this purpose.

251 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José, where large quantities of wheat are planted, one frequently finds under the eaves of thatched houses bundles of wheat that remain hanging for several months. In this way they preserve it from the attacks of small rodents, and the grain is of excellent quality because it dries out thoroughly.

261 During times of scarcity, the natives do not seek solace in
273 religion. Actually, their defense is in the sale of their own work-
276 ing capacity for a small daily wage, a few eggs of coca, and
[771] food. It should be noted that guarapo and coca are splendid
[464] sedatives against the pangs of hunger. It is curious that one of the
[465] most noted religious fiestas of Calderas is held precisely during a time of scarcity. Large quantities of guarapo are consumed for nearly a month.

Provision of water and firewood

312 In Tierradentro the rainfall is relatively high. As a result, water abounds in small and /334/ large watercourses. This geographical factor leads the natives to bring the water close to their homes by means of a system of drainage ditches that are true engineering works. The distances that have to be faced or the accidents of the terrain make no difference. When necessary,
[177] they use bamboo tubes as artificial channels. This system has been adopted by the "whites" and even by the towns. Since the high parts on both margins of the Paez River are bare of vegetation,

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252 262 244 [796] Cabbages are cultivated in the gardens and are almost never lacking throughout the year; they are eaten daily, chopped into the dish of the day. At religious fiestas it is customary to cook the cabbages "on the bough," that is to say, with their respective stalks, and serve them as a special dish. White cabbage is seldom cultivated and thus its consumption is almost null. The few heads grown in the cold part of San Andrés are intended for sale.

252 262 Plantains are eaten preferably in sancocho, and their consumption is intensive in the temperate climate. They are also eaten roasted, in which case they are preferred with meat or entrails. Potatoes, especially in Mosoco, are eaten with gravy, a favorite dish for entertaining "white" or civilized visitors. This dish is prepared with water, milk, eggs, onions, and meat. The potatoes are peeled and washed well. In Calderas they are also eaten in this fashion, but frijoles are added to them as well.

In general wheat is cultivated to be milled and sold. Sometimes it is eaten in griddlecakes, in which case the dough is prepared with water and panela. They also make soup with wheat flour, without removing the bran, with cabbages, frijoles, and salt.

Sweet potatoes are consumed in small quantities. They are washed, cooked, and eaten without salt and with peppers. They prepare peppers by cooking them in a pot (a bag, said the informant) and adding onions, coriander, and salt. This condiment thickens and keeps for about a month.

Chachafruto is cooked with frijoles or in the soup, but it is also eaten by itself and skinned. It is very tasty.

273 [249] /351/ Sugar cane serves solely for extracting the juice and fermenting it. With the guarapo, thirst is quenched, mingas are held, "courtesies" are shown, religious fiestas and social life in general are carried on. From cane juice, duly fermented, alcoholic beverages are also extracted. They make chicha from maize, but this is not prevalent.

?tHernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
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of manioc, arracacha, potatoes, beans, sweet maize, and pieces of meat. Meat is sometimes roasted. Maize, the staple, is made into tortillas or soup, or is roasted on the ear. Coffee, much of which is consumed, is roasted in a pottery vessel, ground, and made into an infusion sweetened with coarse sugar. 252 [272]

Kitchen utensils include pottery ollas and vessels, and a footless elliptical stone metate with a central concavity, which lies directly on the floor or is supported on sticks driven in the soil. Meat is kept smoked over the fireplace, and other food is stored on shelves of cane woven into the roof sticks or in hanging hemp bags or gourds. Each gourd has a broad half-gourd suspended above it, open side down, so that a rat descending from above slides off the gourd onto the floor. 415 251 [353] [825]

The first daily meal is taken at daybreak and consists of "mute." There is no noonday meal, but the evening repast resembles breakfast. Between meals, the Indians chew coca two or three times to sustain their strength and allay hunger. For refreshment and stimulation, they drink guarapo, carrying it to work in gourds. 264 [276] [273]

They cultivate pepper (ají) for a condiment, but purchase salt in the weekly market. The latter is so scarce that instead of mixing it with food they pass a lump around, each person licking it. Before the Conquest, three salt deposits were exploited in this territory, the most important being that near the modern municipality of Belalcázar or Páez. Here the local chief had the salt water boiled down to obtain blocks of salt, which he traded with other tribes for diverse products, or with which he bought help in his wars against the neighboring *Pijao*. Sometimes he permitted other *Páez* to exploit the deposit. Near the present-day Indian center of Ricaurte on the Ullucos River is another salt works that was much used in ancient times, but today is abandoned. Another source of salt was at Huila, where, during the Conquest, the Indians ambushed the Spaniards who sought it, and killed their horses. 317 263 [244] [439] [648]

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Each *Páez* and *Moguex* family has its own house, located on a point or flat place in the mountains some distance from its neighbors. The aboriginal house seems to have been rectangular, which still is the only form. It was so lightly constructed of cane and sticks with thatched roof that the Spanish soldiers during the foundation of San Vicente de Páez "carried some Indian houses to their barracks because they were small and suited to it" (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 9). Some distance from the dwelling, they always built a small woman's house. Under Spanish influence, some houses were divided into rooms, and built more solidly of "bahareque" construction, i. e., walls consisting of two faces of sticks with mud and rocks between (pl. 185). 342 [361] 177 342

/107 cont./

123 knew tales he could tell, and to whom we gave tobacco and salt and a few other small gifts, a knife, a hoe, or an aluminum cup. At the moment he had a headache, he said. I gave him a few tablets, and we agreed that I would come back the next morning and he would tell me a few tales. When we arrived the next day, after hours of tramping, his wife told us that her husband had gone into the mountains very early that morning in order to cut wood.

115 Our first visit in Calderas took place in the company of the interpreter, Marcos Antonio Penkue, a Paez about 40 years old from San Andrés, who regarded himself as very civilized and who had reached a certain position of wealth. He served as a [191] soldier on the Brazilian border and speaks Spanish well. On his [245] finca /see the glossary, p. 249 / he has about 2,000 coffee trees, [439] whose yield he sells in Inzá on the market. He also carries on [464] other business there by functioning as ar interpreter and middleman for the non-Spanish-speaking and generally unbusinesslike Paez. During our work in Calderas he combined business with his services. [233] The Paez are ardent cattle-raisers, albeit not in our economic sense, but purely for sport and the pleasure of numbers. A cow-calf is much more valuable to them than a full-grown bull, for [437] it will produce another calf and increase the herd. Thus, Marcos Antonio exchanged calves for bulls in Calderas and, indeed, bought [434] some cattle himself. These business transactions bring him about 200 to 250 pesos profit per head, since among themselves the Paez ask only low prices, about 50 pesos for a bull. His selling 115 price on the market in Inzá amounts to about 300 pesos. He re- 124 garded the work with us as highly troublesome, but he knew what he was worth to us. His fee rose from three pesos a day at the beginning to ten pesos. Translations that seemed to him too complicated or explanations that were too long for him he would give "in essence" in a few words, after which my counterquestions obviously annoyed him. One day when I had planned some important work, but he some important business, he hid our horses and calmly let us look for them all day long, while he, under the pretext of searching for the horses, carried on his business until he "found" them in the evening.

/131 cont./

243 other hand by means of the semicircularly curved sickle. In case
[251] the wheat is not sold immediately, the bundles of ears are tied together and stored under the house roof, above the fire area. Whereas the kernels are shelled off the maize ears by hand by the
[237] women as needed, the wheat is threshed. For this purpose a cowhide is put on the floor, a bundle of wheat ears is held securely on the hide with one hand, and with the other hand the ears are beaten with a club until the grains are removed.

244 The other produce used in the diet is planted in the house garden, which likewise is used every year as long as the house is occupied. The yield is generally good because the Paez have learned from the colonists the importance of regular fertilization. Each harvested plot is carefully dug up again with the spade and strewed with the refuse from the house and the collected manure of the cows and horses. Human excrement is not used; it is "too ugly," Everyday, in addition, the kitchen refuse (maize and bean husks, banana peels, arracacha and yuca scraps), as well as the excrement /132/ of the guinea pigs (fits) kept in the kitchen, is scattered in the garden and tossed on the vegetable plots.

The most important garden plant is white cabbage (kólis). The women buy the small plants from a woman in the village who raises them from seed. The planting time is March, when the rainy season begins. Potatoes (ká 'ka) are seldom planted. They are very small, have a yellow flesh, and are of poor quality. Sowing time is whenever one wishes. The men make a small hole with the digging stick and put one or two small potatoes in it and carefully cover up the hole again. After a month one can already hill them with the hands, and after four months, harvest them. To do this, the entire family digs them out with their
[821] hands. Arracacha (ā's) may likewise be planted throughout the year, but yields the best harvest if it is planted with the full moon. In harvesting it a digging stick is used. Yuca (ānya) is seldom eaten, for the climate is too cold to grow it in Calderas. In the lower villages the ripening period is two years.

245 A very important crop that plays a great role in the diet
[262] of the Paez is the banana, which was not native to America originally (Schweinfurt, pp. 504 f.). Two large groups are

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245 differentiated: that of the fruit or sugar bananas, and that of the vegetable or mealy bananas. Both kinds are known to the Paez, to be sure, but only the vegetable bananas (tolõ), whose starchy fruits must be cooked first before being eaten, like potatoes, because they are difficult to digest, are important for them, as for all tropical peoples. The fruit bananas (gnayoĩts), the only bananas eaten in Europe, are seldom eaten by the Paez and generally are not cultivated. They are planted by means of slips, which in Calderas bear from the third year on and yield harvests
244 for many years. Other crops grown in the house garden and eaten from time to time are cucumbers (kambĩč or pĩna, according to the species), squash (pete), and the wild granadilla (šlāl).

b) Food Preparation

264 The Paez eat only two meals a day, the first one (kosẽ oñ) about four or five o'clock in the morning before work, and the second (fi'nz oñ) at three or four o'clock in the afternoon, after returning from work in the fields. In between, that is, while working on the often quite distant fields, coca /133/ is taken and sugar-cane juice drunk every two to three hours. The morning and evening meals do not differ in content and vary
252 little from day to day. They are cooked without meat, without
262 fat, without salt, as well as without any other seasoning. Cook-
[263] ing with fat is customary only on festive days in the festival house.
[237] On this occasion a blood sausage is made from the blood of cattle, sheep, or pigs, for which the intestines are cleaned and then cooked with blood, salt, onions, and caraway, as well as with another herb (pléo). Meat is not put into the intestines, and likewise no fat.

262 There is no desire for greater variety in food and drink. I was scarcely able to discover any individual differences in taste among the Calderun, for everyone eats everything, and they all regard beans or cabbage or both together as the best food and bean leaves as the worst.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

244 now widely used all over Spanish America, is of Kitšua origin
262 (*zapayú*); *ápe-te*, the most extensively cultivated variety, is called *Mejicano* by the Spanish natives, although it seems to have been cultivated in the country from time immemorial.

Several interesting edible roots or tubers, mostly under cultivation, are relished by the Paez Indians. Thus *ãs*, or *aus* (*Arracacia esculenta*), a celery-like umbelliferous plant with large white roots; *unt*, a peculiar yam (*Dioscorea*); *nia* the cassava root; *kâka*, the potato, of which there are certainly several species; *tsętri*, or *ãnil* (*Ullucus tuberosus*), a very remarkable *Chenopodiacea*, of the high Andean region; *pnil*, *Tropæolum tuberosum*, another species, the cultivation of which seems to be restricted to a limited district of western South America. All these plants are more or less under cultivation, but the Indians also eat many wild roots which I had no opportunity to identify. *Kambitã* (*Cyclanthera pedata*), the singularly-shaped fruit of a Cucurbit, is used as a green vegetable along with the tender sprouts of several other plants.

245 Among the favorite fruits the plantain naturally ranks first,
262 and is conspicuous around the houses even at an altitude of 1,800 meters. The generic names are *plan*, suggesting the Spanish *plántano* or *plátano*, and *tulú*, a word that forms the root of *Tulua*, the name of a town in a territory formerly occupied by the Quimbayas. The banana or *guinco*, corrupted into *kuciõ*, is probably an imported variety, as are several others rarely met with.

Other fruits are the *papaya*, *paiá*, not mentioned by Castillo, and the name of which indicates a modern acquisition; *Hal*, one of the granadillas (*Passiflora edulis*); *tlahú*, the pineapple, which grows only in the lower region; *ągtse*, the aguacate (*Persea gratissima*); and also several species of *Inga*, the white pulp around the seeds of which is eaten.

There are two varieties of edible guavas, the one sweet (*Psidium guayaba*), the other sweet sour (*Ps. pomiferum*); and the berries of several *Melastomataceæ*, many of which escaped my observation, are enjoyed by both children and adults.

276 A plant very important in the Indian economy is the coca
[249]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

(*cf*). It is very little cultivated in Tierra Adentro, however, and 276
the dry leaves are imported from the lower Paez and Tolima [249]
basins. To this product the Paez is indebted for his disgusting [439]
chewing and spitting habit, the use of which is still doubtful to me. Coca leaves are said to be a powerful reconstituent, allow- [461]
ing the Indians to endure long marches and great privation. But the women do not use it, and however often they may participate in these hardships, it is with the same endurance. At all events the Paez men never cease chewing and spitting. Each of them carries a supply of coca leaves in his *iisa*, and the quicklime or *kuetau* in a small gourd, both hanging at his left side. Now and then he ejects a mouthful of green saliva, making sure that there be a clean whitewashed wall near by, in order thus to decorate it. He then takes a new handful of leaves, sprinkles them with a little *kuetau*, and fills his mouth again, ceasing this everlasting process only long enough to eat, drink, and sleep.

Tobacco is known in Tierra Adentro under the name of 249
nuci-hi, but it is never smoked or chewed. The sugar-cane, [248]
uinsa, is cultivated in small patches. The only textile plant observed by me is a short-leaved agave called *sasto* (Span. *maguey*). The larger part of the district inhabited by the 245
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Several useful plants have been mentioned in connection with 249
dyeing (page 318). Although in the Huila mountains there is at least one species of rubber-yielding *Sapium*, the Indians do not seem to have known of the elastic properties of its gum.

A most striking feature of the upper forest zone of the Palo 314
valley is the wax-palm, *lámc* (*Ceroxylum andicola*), which is also for the Indians an important economic plant on account of the wax which they obtain by scraping the lofty trunks (plate IX). This product they use mainly for illuminating purposes. Un-

/284 cont./

132 gives rise to cold local winds that blow through the valley of the Páez, affecting chiefly the areas of Vitoncó, Suin, Chinas, San José, Mosoco, and also the parcialidad /a territorial division/ of Calderas itself. The variation in temperature is noticeable in these zones sometimes having hot days and very cold nights. Nebulosity is almost constant, especially in the northern zones.

241 Economy.--The topographic and climatic characteristics permit the cultivation of various plants, such as maize, beans, bananas, sugar cane, yuca, arracacha, and gourds in the temperate zones, and in the cold ones potatoes, maize, ullucos, [433] beans, gourds, and cabbage. The produce barely leaves a [439] surplus for trade with the parcialidades and urban centers of [438] Belalcázar, Inzá, and Valencia. The potato crops of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José serve for an active trade with the Paez of the western slope of the cordillera, across the Páramo de Moras.

433 Coffee and the production of panela are important lines ●245 in the economy of the colonists and also of numerous groups 249 of acculturated natives. The coffee of Tierradentro is con- 177 sidered one of the best in the country, owing to the quality and mildness of the bean.

23 /285/ The raising of livestock flourishes among the civilized 437 groups. For the natives it serves for maintaining a barter trade with their neighbors, the white and mestizo colonists.

311 On the whole, native production is relatively scant, 433 giving rise to times of "hambruna" /ravenous hunger/ when [731] the summers or winters are rather harsh. The workable land lies in the small plains and valleys of rivers and streams, on the alluvial terraces, and on the plateaus. Comparing the size of Tierradentro with that of its arable land, the latter appears scant, a problem that is aggravated by the increase in population and the habitual burning.

101 Population.--Tierradentro is the country of the Paez, 36/ who at the time of the Conquest were settled to the north of

P /298 cont./

●245 Guadua bamboo thrives in the temperate valleys. It is of excellent quality. In most cases it serves as shade for the coffee. Its increase would redound in obvious benefits.

P 249 /299/ In spite of the fact that plantings of coca are pro-
C [249] scribed by Colombian law, it is cultivated for consumption at
[656] almost every home, and in some parcialidades there are numerous
P [435] plantings for commercial purposes. The value of the leaf is high. A pound is quoted at three pesos.

Pc 313 Sawmills are found in Coscuro, Toez, the Símbola River,
Pc [785] and the Salado stream. But this is almost exclusively an industry of the "whites." Only in San Andrés and Mosoco was it possible to see native sawyers. There is no reforestation.

P 241 172 137 In a large part of the parcialidades of San Andrés, Calderas, Lame, Mosoco, and Vitoncó, and the entire valley of the Páez River, the clearings seem to have been done in quite remote times. There are no forests, but remnants are found along the crests and ridges that separate the valleys and in the windings where the human foot does not venture to tread. The cliffs are covered with uniform savanna vegetation.

P 172 241 In many parcialidades there are archeological remains be-
P [783] longing to an unknown civilization earlier than that of the Páez. The lands where these elements are found are utilized without any qualms. But when the plantings are in a "new clearing," the natives take the precaution of performing the required purifications before beginning to consume the crops, in order to avoid the "Pijao" plague which might happen if the crops had been in contact with the archeological remains, "pijaos" in the expression of the natives.

P 245 The cultivation of fruit trees is not very widespread, in spite of the fact that up to not very long ago Inzá enjoyed the reputation of being the producer of peaches and apples of very good quality. Nowadays they are cultivated for commercial purposes in Vitoncó, La Troja, and El Cabuyo, where true orchards of these trees are maintained with care. The fruits are splendid and are harvested during the first three months of the

/299 cont./

245 [439] year. Traders in Silvia sell the crops at up to 14 pesos an arroba. Lame produces perhaps the best peaches, but they are not suitable for export because they are easily damaged. There are also numerous plantings in Tumbichukue and Calderas, although they do not have much care.

247 Floriculture does not exist among the Páez, and they cannot understand the labor that the "whites" invest in their gardens. They are always of the opinion that food plants should be sown on such lands.

241 Among the cultivated plants, they regard as native maize ("the /300/ Pijao had maize"), the hartón /large-sized/ plantain ("the Pijao also had it"), frijoles, mejicano /squash, Cucurbita pepo/, cabbages, and the cane "criolla" /Creole, native/, while coca, they say, seems rather to have come from the "whites."

241 Species cultivated and zones of cultivation

137 Here is a list of the food plants cultivated by the Páez (5):

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[128]

5. We thank the Herbario Nacional Colombiano, especially Dr. Jesús M. Idrobo, for the scientific identification of the plants.

/310 cont./

243 As may be noted, the magical practices of the té eu are
756 absent, although there still exists that of the eating, which in
789 other parcialidades complements his practices.

249 The cultivation of sugar cane is quite widespread in the
273 temperate thermal level, although the plantings are not extensive and are not pursued for commercial purposes; they serve only for obtaining guarapo (fermented cane juice) for individual and collective labor and for social affairs. Guarapo is an essential part of the domestic economy, in the same manner
249 as coca. It is not produced for public pay. Each house has its
257 sugar mill, either outside or in its interior, but there are no ovens or other accessories for producing panela. The latter industry belongs exclusively to the white or mestizo people.

249 The cultivation of the cane requires three weedings before the first cutting. Three cuttings with good results are generally obtained from each planting.

●245 The cultivation of coffee is also very widespread. Its expansion is of recent date, but it already has strong and universal acceptance, like cane and plantains. The method of cultivation suffers from certain deficiencies: the shade is insufficient and inadequate; there is no pruning; the care is not very satis-
[433] factory; many do not have pulping machines. The coffee
245 plantings produce several arrobas per year. The monetary in-
434 come of the natives in the temperate zone is provided basically by
[439] coffee. They sell it to steady and familiar customers for prices
[452] that are usually low. The coffee plantings secure credit for the natives; they often collect money or merchandise against a future
245 harvest. Coffee has permitted them /311/ to acquire dishes, to
434 modify their clothing, to enrich their agricultural equipment,
177 to buy every once in a while the drugs of the "whites." At harvest time they eat meat regularly, and they are also able to pay wages for the improvement of their fincas. But, above all,
[273] it opens the doors of the liquor stores to them. They consume considerable amounts of alcoholic beverages. They have not yet learned to make good use of their monetary income.

SAN ANDRES

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Fams.	Coffee				Plantains			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	80	...	80	100,0	300(1)	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	3	...	3	100,0	300(2)	...	...	.....
4.	1	...	1	100,0	50(1)	...	...	.....
5.	15	...	15	100,0	120	118	2	1,6
6.	3	...	3	100,0	200	200	...	.....
7.	3(5)	...	3	100,0	100(1)	...	...	.....
8.	4	...	4	100,0	50(1)	...	...	.....
9.	5	...	5	100,0	150(4)	...	...	.....
10.*	80	...	80	100,0	30(1)	...	...	.....
11.	45	...	45	100,0	...	...	...	.....
12.	...(5)	...	...	.....	100	50	50	50,0
13.	...(5)	...	...	.....	300	100	200	66,6
14.*	6	...	6	100,0	250(1)	...	...	.....
15.*	8	...	8	100,0	100(1)	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

1. Number of plantain plantings that the informant has now.

2. Indicates the number of plantings at present. Last year he gathered about 30 bunches.

4. Indicates the number of plantings at present. Last year he gathered about 30 bunches.

5. Tenant farmer.

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Fams.	Coca A	Coca C	Coca V	Coca %	Frijoles A	Frijoles C	Frijoles V	Frijoles %
1.*	4	4	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	5	4	1	20,0
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
6.	...	...	...	(8)	3	3	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
8.	...	...	...	(8)	8	8	...	.....
9.	...	...	...	(8)	20	10	10	50,0
10.*	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
12.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
13.	6	2	4	66,6	5	1	4	80,0
14.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

8. Owns plantings of coca.

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From the above table we can make the following deductions:

[245] 1. The coffee production is wholly intended for sale. It thus constitutes the principal source of monetary income for the natives and, of course, for the "whites."
[434]
[439]

2. Maize, frijoles, sugar cane, and coca are intended almost exclusively for internal consumption. The production of panela indicated in the table refers to the whites and mestizos.

[262] 3. The food base of San Andrés is provided by maize, plantains, manioc, and arracacha. At the time of the coffee harvest, meat is consumed. Coca and guarapo indispensably complement this dietary regimen.
[276]
[273]

6: Bernal Villa--101 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro VII: Narrow valley of the Paez River in Juntas, showing the alluvial terraces and the small vegas with plantings of coffee.

/323 cont./

231 There are no animal "pets," and none of the domestic animals serve as playthings or are regarded simply as "pretty." They all have a utilitarian purpose.

[556] The possession of domestic animals is a symbol of wealth. The owner of large tracts of land does not regard himself as rich, while the one who has domestic animals does.

231 There are commercial transactions with animals among the
435 natives. The prices are very low. "The Indian is poor," they
438 say, "he has no silver." For this reason, animals that among the whites would bring 200 pesos or more are sold among the natives for half the price or even less.

233 This state of affairs hardly exists among the natives of the
232 parcialidad of Mosoco. There are already ranches dedicated
[246] solely to livestock-raising. Some are planted with pasture grasses, especially poa. There is a marked tendency to improve the livestock, in quality as well as quantity. They know the excellence of the Norman and Holstein among the cattle and the Merino
231 among the sheep. They have special breeds of hogs and chickens.
[232] Many /324/ own mules and splendid riding horses. Commercial
[438] transactions involving animals bring a just price even among the
[782] natives themselves. Some of them are marvelous traders. They
[233] still retain the practice of making an offering to the Duende when slaughtering cattle or pigs. On the savannas of the Paramo de Moras the natives have magnificent herds. Livestock-raising in Mosoco is thus an industry at the height of development that deserves full attention on the part of the authorities.

23 In the statistical table that we present below one can observe the expansion of the livestock industry in Mosoco and com-
[128] pare it with those of Lame, San Andrés, and Calderas. The owners are natives, except for the whites and mestizos marked with an asterisk.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

They represent the primitive type of habitation, the agglomerations being the result of the efforts of the missionaries. 342 [177]

The villages are generally in the open grazing districts at the bottom of the valleys, on side plateaus, or on broad ridges. They are not compact in the common sense of the word, but consist of isolated groups of houses, the approximate common center of which is often indicated by the whitewashed thatch-roofed church (plate v). 361

The walls of the permanent houses are made of a kind of *bajareque*, i. e., a skeleton of canes filled in with clay. In the better homes the interior is divided into two or more rooms, usually very small, with a hearth in the middle; but oftener there are no interior partitions, the dwelling consisting of a single square apartment. In every case that came under my observation the interior was very untidy. 342 353 [354] [356]

The Indians openly objected to our entering their houses, hence I could gain only casual glimpses of their domiciles, the furnishing of which seems to be an imitation of that of the dwellings of the few Spanish people living among them or in the immediate neighborhood. 352 123 177

Outside the houses they generally have a cane-crusher of primitive type, with horizontal smooth cylinders moved by means of levers at each end. A loom and a grinding stone are also seen occasionally under an adjacent shelter (plates IV,[1] and VI).[2] 407 286 412

There may often be seen, either about or inside the housse, very large jars used as receptacles in the elaboration of the chicha. These utensils seem to be almost the only survival of the ancient earthenware industry. The smaller pottery vessels which were seen occasionally had been taken from old graves. 415 [192]

Each group of houses, in which several generations of a single family dwell, is surrounded by a small enclosed field, planted with sugar-cane, plantains, oranges and other fruits, and greens and roots of daily use. The garden enclosure is formed by a ditch, inside of which is a wooden fence or a stone wall, the latter often crowned by a hedge of maguey (*Furcræa*), lechero (*Euphorbia*), borrachero (*Solanum*), and other bushes. 351 [592] [247]

[1] [See plate facing p. 317 — Analyst]

[2] [See plate facing p. 320 — Analyst]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SG15

351 In this way an efficient protection is afforded against depreda-
[247] tions by cattle or sheep.

Construction of Bridges

491 The Paez Indians are very clever bridge builders and are often called considerable distances to employ their skill in this direction. I observed three different types of native bridges, two of which were entirely new to me. The more primitive one consists simply of a vine stretched across a river, and crossed by hanging and progressing with the hands and arms. The second type is a frail-looking bamboo structure, the base of which is an arch free in the air, or suspended somewhat like our suspension bridges (plates VII, 2). 1

The third type of bridge is a much more substantial structure,
491 built of heavy timbers apparently with an understanding of the
335 laws of gravity. On each side of the river a pair of strong beams are built into pillars of stonework, so that the weight upon the immured extremities counterbalances the free ends independently of the supports by which the latter are upheld. Thus solidly fixed, the two pairs are opposite each other with a more or less wide space between their extremities. To span this, the ends of both pairs are first connected by means of transverse ties, inserted between beams and props, the whole being solidly lashed together with vines. On these ties two more beams of sufficient length are laid, which serve to complete the span. The main structure of the bridge being thus formed, a heavy floor, generally of round stems, is laid over it, and the whole is protected by a roof of elaborate construction (plates VII, 1, and VIII). It is useless to say that not a single nail is used to unite the numerous parts of the structure, a vine called *ptakuia* being exclusively used for this purpose.

491 We saw two of these large structures, one on the Paez river near Huila, the other on the Moras river, on the trail from Vitoncó to Mosoco. But we were informed that most of the larger rivers in Tolima and elsewhere in the Magdalena valley are bridged in the same way, and that Paez Indians are in frequent requisition elsewhere as bridge-builders.

1 [See Plate facing P. 323 — Analyst]

/299 cont./

245 year. Traders in Silvia sell the crops at up to 14 pesos an arroba.
[439] Lame produces perhaps the best peaches, but they are not suitable for export because they are easily damaged. There are also numerous plantings in Tumbichukue and Calderas, although they do not have much care.

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2: Pittier de Fábrega E.-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

(*cf*). It is very little cultivated in Tierra Adentro, however, and 276
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/298 cont./

241 in some cases, fruit trees, and after this, wheat. In San Andrés,
134 especially in the vegas, maize, plantains, frijoles, arracacha, manioc, sugar cane, and coffee are planted. Thus, there is not proper utilization of the soil or protection of it, aside from the several years of rest. They are not familiar with fertilizers, the rotation of crops, or irrigation systems.

241 It is interesting to note that the families of San Andrés,
423 Calderas, Lame, and Mosoco generally have lands in the low places along the rivers and streams and in the high places where arboreal vegetation abounds, which they call the "montaña." In this way, they can cultivate cold and temperate zone plants (Calderas, San Andrés, Lame) or take advantage of the annual seasonal cycle in the high parts of the Cordillera (Mosoco).

244 A principal dwelling is erected on one of the fincas, while
342 on the others ranchos where the families live during the months of harvest are built. It is at the principal dwelling where the garden is made with plantains, sugar cane, onions, coriander, coca, cabbage (San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Calderas, Togoima), or with cabbage, garlic, onions, yuca de pipchao /yams/, peaches, and apples (Lame, Mosoco, Vitoncó). Peppers are cultivated in the gardens. This principal dwelling forms what in our culture is called hogar /hearth, home/. It is here that the fire is always maintained, that the ears of maize, bundles of wheat, bags of frijoles, tools, troughs, cooking utensils, and sugar mills are kept, where the chickens, guinea pigs, pigs, and turkeys live.

249 Industrial crops practically do not exist. There are no
[248] tobacco or cotton plantations. Sugar-cane plantings are not
[273] extensive among the natives. They are used solely for pro-
[778] ducing guarapo, which has almost completely replaced the maize chicha. Only the whites and a few mestizos have extensive sugar-cane fields for producing panela.

248 Figue thrives in Tierradentro. But it is in Vitoncó and Lame that there are numerous plantings of cabuya of very good quality in terms of the size and quantity of the fiber, planted on the boundaries of the properties. This wealth is not utilized as much as it should be. The natives merely make pouches and lassos for internal consumption.

6: Bernal Villa--100 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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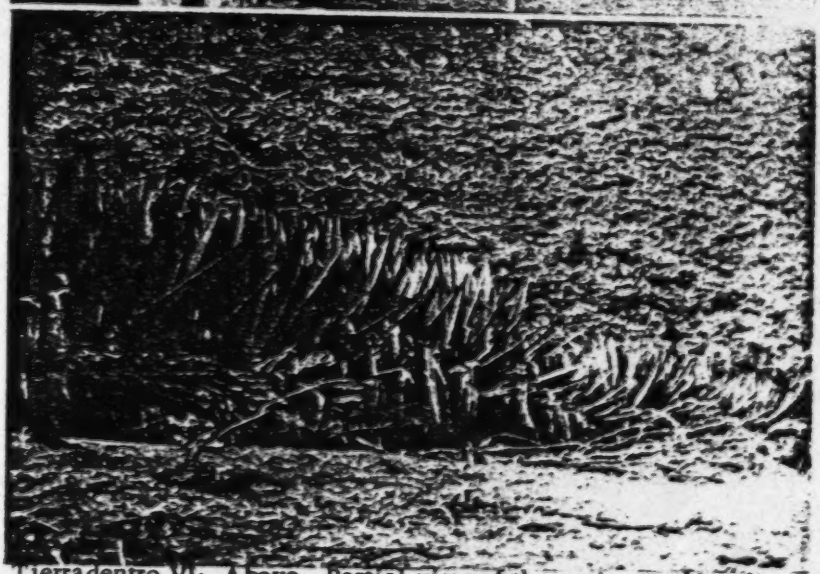

Tierradentro VI: Above: Partial view of the native pueblo of Lame.
Below: Plantings of cabuya (Lame).

● 249

Paez SC15

[For descriptive information on the Paez sugar-cane processing mill, see category 407.]

In one case, however, in the house of
/115 cont./
596 Ezequiel Calliumbo, there were three married sons, besides three unmarried ones, all of whom cultivate the fields together. Ezequiel, who is about 60 years old, had ten children, of whom six sons are still living. The oldest son has three children, two of whom have died, the second eldest has four children, two of whom have died, and both the children of the third eldest are dead.

342 The normal houses (yat) are rectangular houses with a hip roof and, depending on their size, are divided into "large houses" (hatwála) and "small houses" (yatléčkwe) (Ills. 158 and 159 /see pp. 270 and 271 /). In accordance with its use the dwelling house specifically is called ōpyat (ōp = to live). The dimensions of the small houses vary between five to ten meters in length and
[345] three to five meters in width. The largest houses are up to 15 meters long and seven meters wide. These are primarily the
342 festival houses. As dwellings they differ from the small ones,
409 which represent by far the greatest proportion of all houses, not
249 only by their /116/ size, but above all by the fact that they have
352 the sugar mill (lapíče) /"Trapiche" (Sp.) in the glossary, p. 250 /, which is a feature of every house, in their interior. As a rule it stands in front of the house or a little to one side of it, normally covered with quantities of expressed sugar-cane stalks hung over it
343 to dry. Besides the sugar mill, a small menstruation hut (dúyat)
342 is required for any house to be complete; it may be absent only if the family erects a small field-hut (ēyatwá) in the middle of the field for a harvest period. In this case the women of the family living there go into the dúyat of another house. In no case may they remain in the dwelling during this period. The field hut and
[341] the small menstruation-hut are rectangular gable-roof houses in construction and, with the exception of the gable roof, of the same construction as the normal hip-roofed houses.

342 Every house has an annex (škídnyeyát) or at least a com-
273 partment for storing the chicha trough (kánoe). This trough is the
251 most important accessory of a Paez house, next to the sugar mill (Ill. 165 /see p. 273 /).

/118 cont./

342 and begin to chew coca and tobacco and to drink brandy to-
761 gether. After a while the shaman ascertains through signs in
789 his arms or legs whether bones of the Pijao are in the ground.
756 If this is not the case, the building may be started; otherwise
787 the man must look for another building site. After the building
is finished, a further ceremony is performed (see under "Religion"
342 /see p. 205/), and then the same shaman fastens special herbs
756 to the roof to prevent the eč or gélyómp spirit, hostile to man,
789 from entering the house from there.

Houses are built only by men, by fathers of families.
342 One man alone, however, is not in a position to do this. At
476 least in the erection of the house posts he is helped by his brothers,
[462] as well as by other men and friends who have nothing else to
do anyway on these days and receive chicha and something to
342 eat for their assistance. The building material costs nothing,
273 to be sure, but the builder must furnish a substantial amount of
476 chicha, for which planning must be begun in plenty of time, two
or three years beforehand, by the planting of sufficient sugar
cane. This is the task of the married son who is still living in
[594] his father's house this long. To make the chicha he also still
[249] needs the sugar mill of his father, upon whose consent and help,
therefore, much depends. According to the amount of chicha
[461] that is available, the building of the house thus lasts two to six
months, depending on whether only five or 15 men participate.

The most important thing in the construction of the house
342 is the erection of the wooden frame (Ills. 161 to 164 /see p.272 /),
335 which always requires several men who bring in the trees, which
[476] are superficially smoothed with the machete, but not freed of
bark. The master of the house is able to make the walls by
[462] himself in an emergency. The covering of the roof, too, like the
entire house construction, is men's work, but the woman of the
house may hand up the sugar-cane leaves for the roofing. First
the vertical corner and side posts of the outer walls (yátšínda) are
erected, then the outer beams lying horizontally on the side
posts to support the roof (yátpopānt) are laid on, and, as the third
step in the work, the horizontal crossbeams (bīkas) are fastened at

/119 cont./

574 would ever enter a house whose occupants were not present. We
576 never succeeded in persuading Victoriano to enter an empty house, although he knew that we were always greatly interested in learning about the interior of houses and their furnishings.

342 The door of the house is only in rare cases a wide board which at the top and bottom on one side runs out into two pegs which turn in a socket, one in the threshold and one in the doorframe. The entrance is generally constructed in the same fashion as the wall (īnd), which /120/ consists of vertical maize stalks placed next to one another as closely as possible and lashed by means of bast or a liana to one another and to two horizontal maize stalks. The latter always reach from side post to side post. At the place for the door, the rigid wall is interrupted, and the vertically placed maize stalks, only loosely bound with bast, may be shoved a little to one side, whereby they drag along the ground (Ill. 158 /see p. 270/).

[231] Dogs, cats, and chickens are kept in the houses, but not pigs, which live out of doors all the time, exactly like the cows, horses, and sheep.

c) Household Implements

Generally the house has only one division into two rooms, the smaller of which is the kitchen, living room, and bedroom, the larger serving as storage and supply room. The wall between these two rooms is likewise only made out of maize stalks set
[249] next to one another vertically. In the "large" houses the larger
[404] part contains the sugar mill, by means of which undiluted sugarcane juice may be produced, even in rainy weather. In case
596 adult married sons live in their father's house, a separate com-
342 partment divided off in the same manner is built for these families and furnished as a kitchen, either next to the living room of the parents or -- as in most cases -- on the other side of the
354 house. The hearth area is the family center, and every married
596 woman, in case she is living as a daughter-in-law in the house of the father-in-law, has her own hearth area. The latter has the simplest possible form.

/121 cont./

372 In case the fire should go out, which happens very rarely, the men, if they have no matches, know how to make fire by striking the blade of the iron machete with a stone and catching the sparks in the dry tinder of expressed sugar-cane. To fan this or a dying fire the hat is used as a fire fan, instead of a special fan. A few times I also saw a reed tube (yotá) about 50 centimeters long, which is blown into with the mouth and which thus acts like a bellows.

352 Infants do not as a rule sleep on the floor, but in ham-
[854] mocks (máka), which, however, as the name indicates, were
[513] not originally Paez. Nevertheless all the men know how to
[286] make them out of agave fibers, which is done with the same knotting technique as in the manufacture of nets for bird hunting.
415 Moreover, a few bags (yáha) made of agave fibers, which con-
[286] tain beans, maize, or other supplies, hang on the wall posts.
[353] Arracacha lies on the floor. For drinking chicha, which is allowed
[273] to ferment in large, hollowed-out tree troughs, calabashes (tóka) are used, but they are plain and undecorated. Cracked cala-
[249] bashes are sewed with a waxed agave thread (Fig. 25 /see p.253/). The calabash gourd is grown in the house garden /122/
412 of every family; its meat is inedible. Furthermore, an oval or
352 rectangular grindstone on which maize is ground with a smaller hand-stone is found in every household. It usually lies on the floor in a corner of the house, but sometimes it is set about one meter high on two forked posts.

412 Meals are taken with wooden spoons (todšá'tc) off of
415 wooden plates (bič), which are carved by the Paez themselves
264 (Fig. 27 /see p. 253/). Aluminum or enamel bowls were rarely
[322] encountered in Calderas. Plates and mugs of aluminum were
[177] therefore always coveted gift articles, along with kitchen knives, needles, safety pins, matches, and salt.

356 Cleanliness within the house is surprisingly great, consider-
515 ing that the Paez wash their bodies but seldom and their hands only when they are "very dirty." This is the case when a person has been working in a burned field and has cleared away the
000 sooty, burned tree trunks and the burned underbrush. The house

000 /129 cont./
351 p.274 /). The same fencing with the same ladder construction
417 generally also surrounds the house gardens of the Paez farms. In case the houseowner has larger domestic animals, such as cows, horses, and sheep, a gate (puélta) consisting either of a regular lath door or a barrier of horizontal beams is built into
[224] the fence surrounding his house. In the villages of the civilized Paez, in the /130/ environs of which tree growth is inadequate for the construction of a wooden fence, bamboo is used for the vertical poles, and bundles of dry maize stalks for the horizontal parts.

241 The entire agriculture of the Paez is digging-stick culti-
412 vation (Ill. 172 /see p. 276/). Hoe culture was originally unknown. The house gardens, only recently laid out after the model of the colonists and in which European plants such as cabbage, cucumbers, and onions are cultivated, are turned over with the spade (pāla). The digging stick (āty) consists merely of a pointed tree-trunk or pole, though recently broad iron tips with
243 a socket are being put on the digging sticks more and more. Maize may be sowed throughout the year, but it is generally sowed in April when the rainy season begins. Several men always participate, making holes in the ground about one meter apart in every direction with the digging stick, and putting six to eight maize kernels into each hole. The holes are covered again with only very little earth with the foot, "so that the sprout can come out more easily." The ripening period of ten to 12 months is relatively long. After half a year the field is cleared of weeds once. The harvest period is spread out over approximately half a year, provided that sufficiently large amounts of maize were planted; and for this half
[262] year the people practically live "from the stalk." First the young maize (tsót; maize in general, kóty) is eaten half-ripe and only later are the ripe ears harvested and eaten. Every day the men or women go into the field with their bags made of agave fibers and break off only as much as is needed each time for the meal.

● 249 Whereas maize may be cultivated at all elevations in
[243] Calderas, sugar cane (nyūša) thrives only in the lower, protected localities of the Kokiyō Valley. Its ripening period of two to

/130 cont./

249 three years is very long. Shoots from old sugar-cane plants are used as slips, which are set out by the men in the same way as the maize kernels. A hole is made in the ground with the digging stick at one-meter intervals in every direction from the neighboring plant; the slip is stuck into it and pressed firmly with [462] the hands. The cane is harvested by men or women. Both know [482] how to handle the machete. The men carry the sugar cane home over their shoulders (Ill. 173 /see p.277 /), women stuff the sugar cane into the fiber bags and hang them over their backs, holding the carrying band with their foreheads.

244 Besides maize and sugar cane, the bean (ōs) is of great im- [262] portance for the Paez diet. There are the large, speckled so-called "sow beans" /broad beans/ (Spanish frijol) and the smaller, white beans. /131/ The former are for the most part eaten, whereas the white beans are usually sold. They are sowed either in the vicinity of the house at the foot of trees and shrubs, with three beans always stuck into the ground at a time, or together with maize. In this case, during the maize sowing, three to four beans are put in the same hole with the six to eight maize kernels. In growing simultaneously the beans climb up the maize stalks.

243 Wheat (skótc) is not of importance in the diet of the Paez, [262] for no bread is baked. Nevertheless it is very often planted because it grows fast and thus represents a suitable item for the Paez to sell. 243 If anyone has to buy something, be it fabric for a pair of trousers, 434 a machete, a metal pot, etc., he sows wheat, usually in March/ April, and after half a year he can already pocket profit from the sale. It is characteristic of the Paez, however, that they make use of this only when they need something urgently, but not in 243 advance so as to have money on hand in any case. The preparation for wheat sowing is done in the customary manner of clearing by burning. The sower hangs around himself a fiber bag containing the seed grain and, in exactly the same fashion as our sower, starts to broadcast the wheat with his hand in a wide arc. Subsequently the ground is superficially turned over with the shovel, so that the birds cannot pick up the grains. In harvesting it a bundle of stalks is grasped a good hand's breadth under the ears and cut off with the

P C /134 cont./

276 by the "Ministerio de Trabajo, Higiene y Prevesion Social."
C This prohibition was extended by Decree No. 578 of 1941 by the
656 same ministry, according to which an exact list of the existing coca plants of the country was demanded and their destruction ordered, /135/ with a simultaneous prohibition against new plantings (Duque, 1945, pp. 445 f.). Of course this prohibition against coca planting cannot be strictly supervised and enforced in all the remote parts of the country.

P The argument for the use of coca has remained the same
276 from the time of the Conquista to this day: it is supposed to
461 drive away hunger and to give strength. "Without coca one cannot work," I was told over and over again when I asked the Paez the reason for chewing coca. And, as a matter of fact, one sees the Paez chewing it on the long trips to market and during every physical task; but only at work, when one needs strength, and not during festivals and celebrations or on festive days. (The shamans are an exception, see below.)

P The bitter tasting coca is chewed by both sexes, and the
276 boys begin at 12-14 years of age, when they also begin helping
P their father with the work in the fields. The girls generally begin
[887] somewhat later, and in old age both sexes chew quite heavily and more frequently than is normal in younger years. The men take coca three times a day as a normal dose, and each dose lasts about two to three hours. Nothing is eaten all day after taking the first meal early in the morning before work; the second one
P is not eaten until after they return home from the fields in the
[272] late afternoon. During the pauses for coca, unfermented sugarcane juice (nyũsayumfl) is drunk, everyone carrying a calabash with one to two liters of it with him.

P The coca shrub, about 80 to 200 centimeters high, is
276 striking even at a distance because of its fresh, light green,
249 lancet-shaped leaves, which have two slightly curved longitudinal
[137] lines on the underside. Among the Paez of Calderas almost every family has its coca shrubs, the leaves of which, after plant-
P ing, are harvested from the first year for about 20 years. Anyone
[431] who does not own coca shrubs himself trades for the leaves in

1: Nachtigall --57 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15
Colombia SC1

P /135 cont./
276 exchange for brandy, wheat, or maize (for exchange and barter
249 rates, see "Trade" /see pp. 92-94 /). Within the family each
437 one harvests for himself as many leaves as he happens to need; otherwise the father of the family usually barters for the entire family. Harvest time is throughout the year (Ill. 174 /see
P p. 277 /).

276 Before use the leaves are roasted in a clay bowl and then
317 carried around in the colored wool pouch (kwatandyáha), together
[415] with a small calabash containing lime. The lime (kwatánd) is obtained from limestone (kwatandkwát) which crops out at various places throughout the region and which men and women look for as it is needed, or the husband sends his wife to fetch a few stones. These pieces of limestone are put in a vigorously fanned fire for two hours, /136/ then in a clay bowl, and cold water is
P poured over them. After that the cracked stone is pounded to
276 powder. To enjoy it, one takes a handful of leaves out of his pouch and puts them in the mouth and chews them for a while, until the lime can be added. Care must be taken that neither the tongue nor lips come in contact with the lime. Beginners press the coca mash flat against their tongues with their gums and sprinkle a pinch of lime from the pear-shaped, absolutely unadorned calabash (kwatandóka) upon it; practiced coca-chewers take a pinch of lime on the back of the hand between thumb and index finger and toss it into the open mouth with a flourish. The green saliva copiously produced is partly spat out, but most of
P it is swallowed. In the case of old people it often runs out of the
C mouth and drips on the clothing (Ill. 179 /see p. 280 /).

276 According to my experiences among the Paez and the
P coca-chewing Colombian workers, the harmful effect of coca
C seems to be exaggerated in most of the studies on the subject.
276 Of interest, however, are the data of C. Gutiérrez Noriega (1952),
146 who investigates the psychological and physiological effect of
273 taking coca, especially among the Peruvian Indios. There, in the region of the greatest coca consumption, two to four kilograms per person and year, the daily amount of food for a worker is only about 2,000 calories per day. With a simultaneous drinking of brandy and an inadequate diet, physical and mental consequences

P
C
/136 cont./
276 are naturally more in evidence than in the case of the use of
146 coca with good nutrition and as the only indulgence. Along
273 with improved nutrition and corresponding enlightenment, a
prohibition on brandy instead of its propagation would be more
C desirable for the health of the people than a prohibition on coca.
[651] The departments, however, draw their chief income from the
P brandy tax, whereas coca was always tax-free.

276 Tobacco (wáhi) is neither planted by the Paez nor con-
[249] sumed in large amounts, since there is generally no money
available for the purchase of tobacco or cigarettes. Both sexes,
P however, smoke gift cigarettes, and, to be sure, from child-
[756] hood, that is, from two to three years of age. The shamans
[755] in their séances and ceremonies are in the habit of chewing
cigarette tobacco along with coca, but it is always purchased.
These séances last many hours or throughout the night, during
which shamans and patients together chew this mixture uninter-
ruptedly.

P
273 Chicha (pronounced tschitscha) is one of the alcoholic
[171] beverages which, made out of various raw materials, are wide-
spread among the natives /137/ throughout South America, with
manioc chicha predominating in the forest region (Venezuela,
Brazil) and maize chicha in the Andean region (Cooper, pp.
539 f. and Map 11). Two methods of production are distin-
guished, according to whether it is a matter of raw materials
with a high sugar content (honey, sugar cane, palm sap, pine-
apple) or more starchy crops (manioc, maize). The former ferment
without the addition of saliva and need not be chewed in the
preparation; the latter need human saliva before or after cook-
P ing in order to ferment.

[137] Among the Paez chicha (mbéca) is made only from the
juice of sugar cane, a raw material that is not American, but
came from southern Asia and did not come to America until the
post-Columbian period (Maurizio, 1933, p. 75). Formerly
chicha was made out of maize, as it still is today among the
neighbors of the Paez living in higher regions (for example, the
Guambiano). The name for sugar-cane juice, nyúšayumfl

/137 cont./

273 (= sweet water), as for the unfermented chicha, does not in any case have anything in common with the name for fermented chicha. Moreover, there is no separate name for sugar cane; nyúsa also means "sweet" and "honey."

● 249 In the region of the Paez, sugar cane may be planted and harvested throughout the year. The juice of the cane is pressed [407] out in the sugar mill (lapíce). The latter stands in front of or inside every house; it belongs to every family in the same way [273] that each has its sugar-cane field and its chicha. The latter has [431] no commercial value whatever, but is merely given away, and 249 anyone who asks for it gets it. The sugar mill (Fig. 28 /see 407 p254 /) of the Paez of Calderas and southern Tierradentro consists of two tree trunks smoothed off on either side, which form the lateral posts (mágrena) of the mill. They are rammed into the ground and are provided, each one twice, with two recesses that receive the horizontal guidebeams (sépo) for the three crushing cylinders. These guidebeams are merely pinned. No metal parts or nails of any kind are used here or in the entire construction. Below the two lower guidebeams a strong plank is fastened to the lateral posts, upon which the three cylinders (ũnk) rest. Of these only the center one is turned by means of a crossbar, with human power or by a horse, whereas the two lateral ones are moved by means of pegs, which are most accurately fitted, but are not in addition pinned. A horizontal pole is lashed above each of the two lower cylinder-guidebeams, in order to guide the sugar cane shoved in for pressing. Below the cylinders lies a rectangular board (tablón) with /138/ two longitudinal grooves, [492] in which the extracted sugar-cane juice runs out at the side. If a horse is used to move the crushing cylinders, it is hitched up with two ropes leading out from a rope tied around the belly of the horse, so that the horse does not pull with its chest, as is customary among us.

H. Pittier de Fábrega illustrates (Pl. VI/2) another type of sugar mill from northern Tierradentro, which shows only two horizontal cylinders, one above the other. Both are clamped with pegs between two vertical posts and are turned on either side by hand. The extracted juice is caught in a pouch hanging underneath.

/138 cont./

249 In chicha production for festive days it is customary for
407 the mill to be turned only by human power, by men or women.
461 One could generally observe that the slightly intoxicated men
273 exerted themselves only a short time in each case and were then relieved by the more sober acting women, who -- with their children on their backs -- showed remarkable endurance at this physically quite hard work.

407 Almost every father of a family and houseowner makes his
335 sugar mill himself, or a neighbor helps. There are no profes-
[412] sional carpenters. With an ax (swéla) and a foxtail saw (serúčo) the cylinders are sawed from a tree trunk and crudely smoothed. The cylinders thus prepared are provided with a small hole in the center, from the base and upper side, and are clamped horizontally, by means of pegs, between two posts rammed into
[413] the ground and held together with a rope. Then with a gauge (regla), which consists of a board with thorns, the distances between the pegs are precisely incised on the revolving drum.

273 The sugar cane is put through the crushing cylinders
[249] several times by the workers, one squatting on either side, until
[516] the juice, which is caught in a wooden tub or in calabash vessels,
[415] is pressed out (Ill. 175 /see p. 278/). It is first vigorously heated and then put in a large horizontally positioned tree-trough (kánoa) up to five meters long, in which there must always be a little chicha to begin with (Ill. 165 /see p. 273/). It is stirred up with the old chicha in the trough, the kánoa is covered with banana leaves, and already the next morning the chicha is ready to be drunk. As time goes on the chicha becomes ever stronger in alcoholic content. By noon of the same day it is already strong enough to distill brandy from it. If one does not do this, /139/ some water must be added the next day to dilute it. If this is not done, the chicha is neither drunk nor is new sugar-cane juice added, whereupon it becomes sour and bitter after four or five days and strongly sears the throat. There are also "gourmets" among the Paez, however, who let the chicha go on fermenting, untouched, for up to three weeks and only then drink it so sharp and sour.

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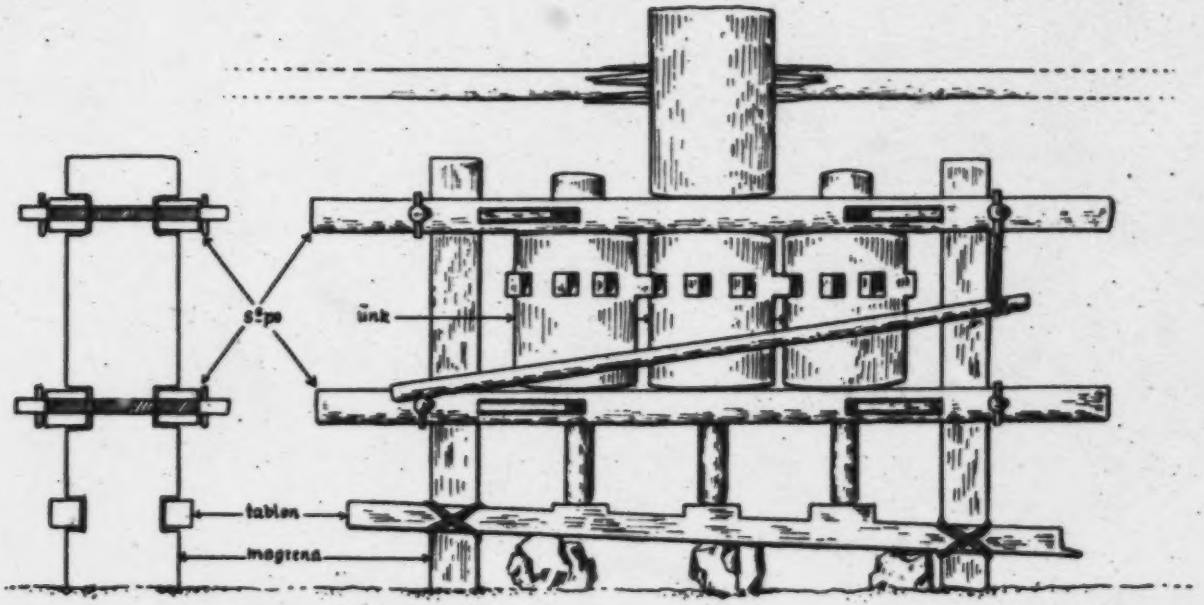

Fig. 28. Sugar mill.

1: Nachtigall--276 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

Ill. 171. Burning the felled trees.

Ill. 172. Setting out the sugar-cane shoots with the digging stick.

1: Nachtigall--277 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 174. Harvesting the coca leaves.

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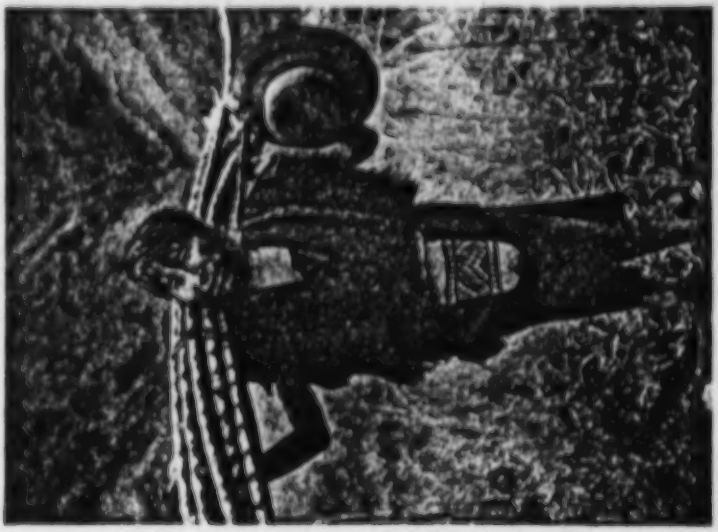
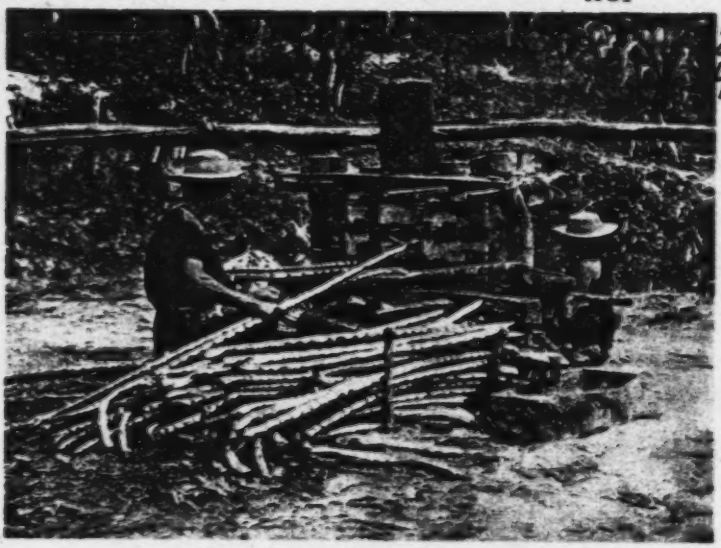


Ill. 173. Paez with sugar cane.

1: Nachtigall--278 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15



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Ill. 175. Sugar mill in operation.

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Ill. 176. Distillation apparatus.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

244 now widely used all over Spanish America, is of Kitšua origin
262 (*zapayú*); *ápe-te*, the most extensively cultivated variety, is called *Mejicano* by the Spanish natives, although it seems to have been cultivated in the country from time immemorial.

Several interesting edible roots or tubers, mostly under cultivation, are relished by the Paez Indians. Thus *ãs*, or *ans* (*Arracaccia esculenta*), a celery-like umbelliferous plant with large white roots; *unt*, a peculiar yam (*Dioscorea*); *uia* the cassava root; *káka*, the potato, of which there are certainly several species; *tsẹvi*, or *ãnil* (*Ullucus tuberosus*), a very remarkable *Chenopodiacea*, of the high Andean region; *pnil*, *Tropæolum tuberosum*, another species, the cultivation of which seems to be restricted to a limited district of western South America. All these plants are more or less under cultivation, but the Indians also eat many wild roots which I had no opportunity to identify. *Kambitš* (*Cyclanthera pedata*), the singularly-shaped fruit of a Cucurbit, is used as a green vegetable along with the tender sprouts of several other plants.

245 Among the favorite fruits the plantain naturally ranks first,
262 and is conspicuous around the houses even at an altitude of 1,800 meters. The generic names are *plan*, suggesting the Spanish *plántano* or *plátano*, and *tulú*, a word that forms the root of *Tuluá*, the name of a town in a territory formerly occupied by the Quimbayas. The banana or *guinco*, corrupted into *kuciõ*, is probably an imported variety, as are several others rarely met with.

Other fruits are the *papaya*, *paiá*, not mentioned by Castillo, and the name of which indicates a modern acquisition; *Ilal*, one of the granadillas (*Passiflora edulis*); *Ilakú*, the pineapple, which grows only in the lower region; *úẹtse*, the aguacate (*Persea gratissima*); and also several species of *Inga*, the white pulp around the seeds of which is eaten.

There are two varieties of edible guavas, the one sweet (*Psidium guayaba*), the other sweet sour (*Ps. pomiferum*); and the berries of several *Melastomataceæ*, many of which escaped my observation, are enjoyed by both children and adults.

276 A plant very important in the Indian economy is the coca
[249]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

(*cl*). It is very little cultivated in Tierra Adentro, however, and the dry leaves are imported from the lower Paez and Tolima basins. To this product the Paez is indebted for his disgusting chewing and spitting habit, the use of which is still doubtful to me. Coca leaves are said to be a powerful reconstituent, allowing the Indians to endure long marches and great privation. But the women do not use it, and however often they may participate in these hardships, it is with the same endurance. At all events the Paez men never cease chewing and spitting. Each of them carries a supply of coca leaves in his *iisa*, and the quicklime or *kuetan* in a small gourd, both hanging at his left side. Now and then he ejects a mouthful of green saliva, making sure that there be a clean whitewashed wall near by, in order thus to decorate it. He then takes a new handful of leaves, sprinkles them with a little *kuetan*, and fills his mouth again, ceasing this everlasting process only long enough to eat, drink, and sleep. 276 [249] [439] [461]

Tobacco is known in Tierra Adentro under the name of *nuci-hi*, but it is never smoked or chewed. The sugar-cane, *musa*, is cultivated in small patches. The only textile plant observed by me is a short-leaved agave called *sasto* (Span. *magucy*). The larger part of the district inhabited by the Paez is above the region in which grows the bamboo called *guadua*; but this beautiful grass is known to them under the name of *mom*, or *mum*. They transport canes of it from a distance for use in the construction of their lighter bridges; and at Huila, about 1,800 meters above sea-level, there was a small plantation of it, showing a primitive attempt at cultivation. 249 [248] 245

Several useful plants have been mentioned in connection with dyeing (page 318). Although in the Huila mountains there is at least one species of rubber-yielding *Sapium*, the Indians do not seem to have known of the elastic properties of its gum. 249

A most striking feature of the upper forest zone of the Palo valley is the wax-palm, *lame* (*Ceroxylum andicola*), which is also for the Indians an important economic plant on account of the wax which they obtain by scraping the lofty trunks (plate IX). This product they use mainly for illuminating purposes. Un- 314

/284 cont./

132 gives rise to cold local winds that blow through the valley of the Páez, affecting chiefly the areas of Vitoncó, Suin, Chinas, San José, Mosoco, and also the parcialidad /a territorial division/ of Calderas itself. The variation in temperature is noticeable in these zones sometimes having hot days and very cold nights. Nebulosity is almost constant, especially in the northern zones.

241 Economy.--The topographic and climatic characteristics permit the cultivation of various plants, such as maize, beans, bananas, sugar cane, yuca, arracacha, and gourds in the temperate zones, and in the cold ones potatoes, maize, ullucos, [433] beans, gourds, and cabbage. The produce barely leaves a [439] surplus for trade with the parcialidades and urban centers of [438] Belalcázar, Inzá, and Valencia. The potato crops of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José serve for an active trade with the Paez of the western slope of the cordillera, across the Páramo de Moras.

433 Coffee and the production of panela are important lines 245 in the economy of the colonists and also of numerous groups 249 of acculturated natives. The coffee of Tierradentro is con- 177 sidered one of the best in the country, owing to the quality and mildness of the bean.

231 /285/ The raising of livestock flourishes among the civilized 437 groups. For the natives it serves for maintaining a barter trade with their neighbors, the white and mestizo colonists.

311 On the whole, native production is relatively scant, 433 giving rise to times of "hambruna" /ravenous hunger/ when [731] the summers or winters are rather harsh. The workable land lies in the small plains and valleys of rivers and streams, on the alluvial terraces, and on the plateaus. Comparing the size of Tierradentro with that of its arable land, the latter appears scant, a problem that is aggravated by the increase in population and the habitual burning.

101 Population.--Tierradentro is the country of the Paez, 361 who at the time of the Conquest were settled to the north of

/186 cont./

346 There are four other small rooms, five meters /187/ long
796 by three meters wide. Two of them are independent of each other, with their respective doors opening into the sala; one serves as a kitchen and the other to roast the maize griddle-cakes. At the other end of the house are the two other rooms, connected with each other by one door and with the sala by another. The workers sleep in one, and in the other are the troughs of chicha, the bottles of aguardiente, and the laurel candles.

342 The third type of dwelling, very scarce in Calderas, has
●249 a square floor plan. It has the sala, two kitchens, and the du yate léchukue. Whatever type of dwelling a Paez family may own, they all have as an indispensable accessory the sugar mill,
[262] either inside the house or outside it. Actually, if it is kept in
[273] mind that the basic sustenance of the natives is provided by
[276] maize, cabbage, chicha, and coca, this instrument is indispensable.

342 In addition, each house is supplied with water, taken from
312 springs, streams, or falls, through the extremely skillful construction of ditches which skirt the valleys, hills, and slopes. Their lands have abundant water. They are not familiar with artesian wells.

342 In a way, the enormous salas in the houses of Calderas
177 represent the ramadas which are found among the whites,
249 mestizos, and acculturated Indians of San Andrés; they are built independently of the dwellings, with a sugar mill and an oven to boil down the cane juice and make panela. In this parcialidad, the panela industry is quite well developed. In Calderas it does not exist.

584 Among the Paez, land, marriage, family, and house form
583 a close and indissoluble unit. It lends warmth and meaning to
[183] a number of emotional, sentimental, and sociological complexes. This begins when the pubescent boy feels the need for a partner who will help him in his work and assuage to some extent the rigors of solitude. The love awakened by a dark, shapely maiden impels him to ask her parents for her. "Give my your daughter. I am alone and need help in my work."

VII

The Milling, the Chicha and the Chicha-makers

796
249 It remains to be said that the fiesta begins with the milling.
461 Although it is common to use a horse to operate the sugar mill,
[492] it is more usual at fiesta time to move it with human arms, masculine or feminine. It makes no difference. The two laborers for the milling squat on either side of the sugar mill, and one hands over the cane while the other receives the bagasse, which is piled up at one side to be handed back again; this is done up to 12 times in order to extract as much juice
[273] as possible. The millers do their work in silence when they are not drunk; while they do it with diligence, there is relaxation, laughter, shouts, and imprecations when they are under the influence of alcohol.

273 The juice is gathered in troughs, or less frequently in
249 calabashes and pots; it is heated to near the boiling point and
796 then emptied into the troughs, in which, inasmuch as they
[415] are well "cured," fermentation is rapid. The troughs are made of huge tree trunks that reach up to one meter and 50 centimeters in thickness and four or five meters in length. As they are depleted through consumption, they are refilled with fresh
[285] cane juice. The troughs are covered with small mats made
273 exclusively for the purpose. On the following day it is bubbly,
796 yellowish, with a pungent, sweetish flavor. It is the beka pes (strong chicha) of the natives, who drink it with relish and delight. Five gourdfuls of this liquor are sufficient to make them
273 drunk. Elsewhere called guarapo, while the Paez call it chicha,
182 it is of great importance in their social life and diet. With its
796 help the religious fiestas gain meaning, the mingas are carried
[262] out, baptisms and weddings are made more pleasant, and visitors are entertained.

273 Work without chicha is inconceivable, and while they work
461 they get no food whatever; they merely drink chicha and chew
262
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/195 cont./

262 coca. Chicha thus provides the calories for work, while coca
273 dulls the feeling of hunger. The consumption of chicha is
461 general among men and women, old people and children.
[276] There is no household without chicha for any length of time.
And during the short lapses when it runs low, they buy it or
[431] visit the households that have some. Among friends it is not
sold, but given as regalement: /196/ "talking, laughing, regaling," as the Indians accurately describe the situation.

● 249 Milling for the fiestas takes place daily and is in direct
273 proportion to the number of visitors. Milling for the mingas
461 lasts two days, one week for baptisms, and up to a month for
weddings.

273 The largest containers for chicha are the troughs, but use
415 is also made of pitchers and large earthenware pots buried in
the ground up to their rims.

273 The chicha-makers are the absolute masters of the troughs
463 while they are fulfilling their function. They distribute the
796 chicha, and even the fiestero himself must ask them for the
amount desired. No one takes chicha without their consent.
Furthermore, they accept the gifts which the visitors give to
the fiestero. The latter merely voices his thanks. Although
they keep taking chicha, they do not get drunk, so as to perform their task properly. They will have their day when they
can do so.

VIII

Sugar-cane Aguardiente

273 At fiesta time, aguardiente is distilled every two or three
[796] days. The distillation is quite easy. The still is prepared in
the following way:

[415] A good-sized earthenware pot, 50 to 60 centimeters high
and 25 to 30 centimeters in diameter, is filled with guarapo

/298 cont./

241 in some cases, fruit trees, and after this, wheat. In San Andrés,
134 especially in the vegas, maize, plantains, frijoles, arracacha, manioc, sugar cane, and coffee are planted. Thus, there is not proper utilization of the soil or protection of it, aside from the several years of rest. They are not familiar with fertilizers, the rotation of crops, or irrigation systems.

241 It is interesting to note that the families of San Andrés,
423 Calderas, Lame, and Mosoco generally have lands in the low places along the rivers and streams and in the high places where arboreal vegetation abounds, which they call the "montaña." In this way, they can cultivate cold and temperate zone plants (Calderas, San Andrés, Lame) or take advantage of the annual seasonal cycle in the high parts of the Cordillera (Mosoco).

244 A principal dwelling is erected on one of the fincas, while
342 on the others ranchos where the families live during the months of harvest are built. It is at the principal dwelling where the garden is made with plantains, sugar cane, onions, coriander, coca, cabbage (San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Calderas, Togoima), or with cabbage, garlic, onions, yuca de pipchao /yams/, peaches, and apples (Lame, Mosoco, Vitoncó). Peppers are cultivated in the gardens. This principal dwelling forms what in our culture is called hogar /hearth, home/. It is here that the fire is always maintained, that the ears of maize, bundles of wheat, bags of frijoles, tools, troughs, cooking utensils, and sugar mills are kept, where the chickens, guinea pigs, pigs, and turkeys live.

● 249 Industrial crops practically do not exist. There are no
[248] tobacco or cotton plantations. Sugar-cane plantings are not
[273] extensive among the natives. They are used solely for pro-
[778] ducing guarapo, which has almost completely replaced the maize chicha. Only the whites and a few mestizos have extensive sugar-cane fields for producing panela.

248 Figue thrives in Tierradentro. But it is in Vitoncó and Lame that there are numerous plantings of cabuya of very good quality in terms of the size and quantity of the fiber, planted on the boundaries of the properties. This wealth is not utilized as much as it should be. The natives merely make pouches and lassos for internal consumption.

P /298 cont./
245 Guadua bamboo thrives in the temperate valleys. It is of excellent quality. In most cases it serves as shade for the coffee. Its increase would redound in obvious benefits.

P ●249 /299/ In spite of the fact that plantings of coca are pro-
C [249] scribed by Colombian law, it is cultivated for consumption at
[656] almost every home, and in some parcialidades there are numerous
P [435] plantings for commercial purposes. The value of the leaf is high. A pound is quoted at three pesos.

Pc 313 Sawmills are found in Coscuro, Toez, the Símbola River,
Pc [785] and the Salado stream. But this is almost exclusively an industry of the "whites." Only in San Andrés and Mosoco was it possible to see native sawyers. There is no reforestation.

P 241 172 137 In a large part of the parcialidades of San Andrés, Calderas, Lame, Mosoco, and Vitoncó, and the entire valley of the Páez River, the clearings seem to have been done in quite remote times. There are no forests, but remnants are found along the crests and ridges that separate the valleys and in the windings where the human foot does not venture to tread. The cliffs are covered with uniform savanna vegetation.

P 172 241 In many parcialidades there are archeological remains be-
P [783] longing to an unknown civilization earlier than that of the Páez. The lands where these elements are found are utilized without any qualms. But when the plantings are in a "new clearing," the natives take the precaution of performing the required purifications before beginning to consume the crops, in order to avoid the "Pijao" plague which might happen if the crops had been in contact with the archeological remains, "pijaos" in the expression of the natives.

P 245 The cultivation of fruit trees is not very widespread, in spite of the fact that up to not very long ago Inzá enjoyed the reputation of being the producer of peaches and apples of very good quality. Nowadays they are cultivated for commercial purposes in Vitoncó, La Troja, and El Cabuyo, where true orchards of these trees are maintained with care. The fruits are splendid and are harvested during the first three months of the

/310 cont./

243 As may be noted, the magical practices of the té eu are
756 absent, although there still exists that of the eating, which in
789 other parcialidades complements his practices.

249 The cultivation of sugar cane is quite widespread in the
273 temperate thermal level, although the plantings are not extensive and are not pursued for commercial purposes; they serve only for obtaining guarapo (fermented cane juice) for individual and collective labor and for social affairs. Guarapo is an essential part of the domestic economy, in the same manner
249 as coca. It is not produced for public pay. Each house has its
257 sugar mill, either outside or in its interior, but there are no ovens or other accessories for producing panela. The latter industry belongs exclusively to the white or mestizo people.

249 The cultivation of the cane requires three weedings before the first cutting. Three cuttings with good results are generally obtained from each planting.

245 The cultivation of coffee is also very widespread. Its expansion is of recent date, but it already has strong and universal acceptance, like cane and plantains. The method of cultivation suffers from certain deficiencies: the shade is insufficient and inadequate; there is no pruning; the care is not very satis-
[433] factory; many do not have pulping machines. The coffee
245 plantings produce several arrobas per year. The monetary in-
434 come of the natives in the temperate zone is provided basically by
[439] coffee. They sell it to steady and familiar customers for prices
[452] that are usually low. The coffee plantings secure credit for the natives; they often collect money or merchandise against a future
245 harvest. Coffee has permitted them /311/ to acquire dishes, to
434 modify their clothing, to enrich their agricultural equipment,
177 *to buy every once in a while the drugs* of the "whites." At harvest time they eat meat regularly, and they are also able to pay wages for the improvement of their fincas. But, above all,
[273] it opens the doors of the liquor stores to them. They consume considerable amounts of alcoholic beverages. They have not yet learned to make good use of their monetary income.

6: Bernal Villa--32 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

SAN ANDRES

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Fams.	Sugar Cane				Arracacha			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	500	...	500	100,0	40	20	20	50,0
2.	...	...	...	.....	20	12	8	40,0
3.	...	...	...	.....	4	4	...	.....
4.	(7)	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
5.	20	...	20	100,0	4	4	...	.....
6.	(7)	...	...	.....	25(3)	...	...	.....
7.	(7)	...	...	.....	17	17	1	.....
8.	(7)	...	...	.....	15(3)	...	...	.....
9.	(7)	...	...	.....	20	10	10	50,0
10.*	(7)	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
11.	40	...	40	100,0	20	10	10	50,0
12.	(7)	...	...	.....	18	9	9	50,0
13.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
14.*	(7)	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.*	100	...	100	100,0	...	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English.

3. Personal estimate of the author.

7. Owns plantings of sugar cane.

6: Bernal Villa--33 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15
San Andres

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Fams.	Coca				Frijoles			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	4	4	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	5	4	1	20,0
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
6.	...	...	...	(8)	3	3	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
8.	...	...	...	(8)	8	8	...	.....
9.	...	...	...	(8)	20	10	10	50,0
10.*	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
12.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
13.	6	2	4	66,6	5	1	4	80,0
14.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

8. Owns plantings of coca.

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433

From the above table we can make the following deductions:

[245]
[434]
[439]

1. The coffee production is wholly intended for sale. It thus constitutes the principal source of monetary income for the natives and, of course, for the "whites."

2. Maize, frijoles, sugar cane, and coca are intended almost exclusively for internal consumption. The production of panela indicated in the table refers to the whites and mestizos.

[262]
[276]
[273]

3. The food base of San Andrés is provided by maize, plantains, manioc, and arracacha. At the time of the coffee harvest, meat is consumed. Coca and guarapo indispensably complement this dietary regimen.

/321 cont./

231 The slaughtering of the head of cattle for consumption
[796] at religious fiestas is accompanied by music (1).
[533]

1. Bernal Villa, S. "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," p. 208.

[232] Of the equine livestock, they also prefer the females for
492 reproduction. Horses are used for the milling of sugar cane, for
484 the transport of loads, for long journeys. Many own saddles,
[249] /322/ although generally deteriorated ones. Women never ride
[482] on horseback. On long journeys the woman walks with a heavy
[562] load on her back, while the man rides without carrying anything to hinder him.

231 The horses of the Páez are small, but very hardy and suitable for the rugged and difficult roads. They do not own mules or
[754] donkeys. In Calderas it is said that someone brought a donkey
[789] for the purpose of producing young mules, but the envious ones (sorcerers) cast a spell on it and killed it. Nor do they own goats, which they regard as very thievish and destructive.

In the houses they raise guinea pigs, chickens, and turkeys, and, on a smaller scale, ducks. Furthermore, dogs,
[422] cats, and hogs are also raised. The former belong indifferently to men or women, while hogs and dogs are the exclusive property of the men.

The scant care given to domestic animals is worthy of note. There are no corrals of any sort, nor special caretakers
[233] for the animals. Cattle are commonly left to fend for themselves in the pastures, and only every 15 days, or, more frequently, once a month, are they rounded up by their respective owners to
[232] check on their existence or multiplication. They know about the need to give salt to cattle, but this article is supplied in small quantities and at very long intervals. Most of the animals of Calderas go to a small spring of brackish water in Tumbichukue. Among the other domestic animals, only the chickens, turkeys, and guinea pigs are fed regularly with grass, maize, manioc, and

/343/

241 433 Thus, a native family of Mosoco and Lame, in their respective order, has for its subsistence throughout the year 18 and 36 arrobas of maize, 16 and 5 arrobas of wheat, 2.5 and 2.5 arrobas of broad beans, 3 and 0 arrobas of garlic, 8 and 4 arrobas of ullucos, 5 and 4 arrobas of nasturtium tubers, 1.5 and 4.5 arrobas of frijoles, and 149 and 11 arrobas of potatoes. A native family of San Andrés has 7 arrobas of coffee, 124 bunches of plantains, 21.5 arrobas of maize, 59 arrobas of manioc, 13 [249] arrobas of arracacha, and 4 arrobas of frijoles. Unfortunately it is impossible to obtain statistics on the production of coca and, above all, on the amount of sugar cane consumed in the form of guarapo, which makes it impossible for us to find out in what ways and in what amounts it complements the consumption of each family.

As for maize, we see that the amounts for the families of San Andrés and Lame are superior to those for the families of Mosoco. Those for Lame are exactly double. But while in the latter, aside from coffee, there is no species produced for sale, in Mosoco, on the other hand, there are wheat, garlic, and potatoes for such a purpose. From which we deduce that the smaller the number of crops intended for trade that there is in a parcialidad, the larger will be the production of species for internal consumption, above all those that can be preserved for long periods of time, such as maize, frijoles, and broad beans. Ullucos, potatoes, and, above all, nasturtium tubers demand almost immediate consumption. The same is true of plantains, manioc, and arracacha. This is the reason why the families of San Andrés and Lame have at their disposal larger quantities of maize and frijoles than those of Mosoco.

Division of activities according to sex

462 From the earliest age, differences are established in the technological, economic, and everyday activities.

Among the Páez, only the man can make palm hats for the woman and for himself, wield the machete with full skill and dexterity, fashion the trough, sugar mill and the plates for eating, and play the musical instruments. On the other hand, only the

/345 cont./

427 San Andrés is the sole region of Tierradentro, as far as we
161 know, where tenant farmers are found. Although the number of persons sunk in this servitude is no higher than 100, the mere occurrence of this phenomenon already tells us of an excess of population, at least in the parcialidades of San Andrés and Santa
[131] Rosa, from which the tenant farmers came. On the other hand, the scattering of the Páez group through this very department of Cauca, the departments of Huila and Tolima, and even through
[311] the department of the Valle is well known. The colonization of the uncultivated lands in Tierradentro by the natives has been systematic and intensive during recent years. There is the utilization of ever more inaccessible lands for agriculture in the temperate thermal level. All of these are factors that clearly tell us of an excess in the Páez population.

427 Here is what a tenant farmer told us about the phenomenon
241 of tenant farming: As a tenant farmer he has the right to own a
466 house, a garden, and a clearing. The house and garden are contiguous and complementary. His garden occupies one plaza /a Colombian measure with 80 meters to the side/ more or less, and in it he has planted plantains (about 200 trees), oranges (about five trees), onions, arracacha, manioc, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, and some 200 coca trees. He has surrounded the garden with barbed wire provided by the owner in order to avoid damage by the animals of the hacienda. He can lay out his clearing on any site of the hacienda. It changes every year. In his present clearing he has planted 1,500 manioc plants; 200 of arracacha (he could not find more seed); maize; small frijoles /frijol chiquito/ (in one month he hills the "sprigs," in two months they flower, and in three months he harvests) and large frijoles /frijol grande/, and, finally, about two loads of sugar-
[433] cane shoots (seed). The produce of the clearing and of the garden is primarily for consumption, but if there is a surplus he may sell it to anyone, even though the owner urges him not
[249] to sell to anyone but himself. The sugar cane is milled in the
[257] /346/ sugar mill of the owner, with the subsequent use of his implements to make panela, half of what is produced being given to him.

/350 cont./

252 Cabbages are cultivated in the gardens and are almost never
262 lacking throughout the year; they are eaten daily, chopped into
244 the dish of the day. At religious fiestas it is customary to cook
[796] the cabbages "on the bough," that is to say, with their respective stalks, and serve them as a special dish. White cabbage is seldom cultivated and thus its consumption is almost null. The few heads grown in the cold part of San Andrés are intended for sale.

252 Plantains are eaten preferably in sancocho, and their con-
262 sumption is intensive in the temperate climate. They are also eaten roasted, in which case they are preferred with meat or entrails. Potatoes, especially in Mosoco, are eaten with gravy, a favorite dish for entertaining "white" or civilized visitors. This dish is prepared with water, milk, eggs, onions, and meat. The potatoes are peeled and washed well. In Calderas they are also eaten in this fashion, but frijoles are added to them as well.

In general wheat is cultivated to be milled and sold. Sometimes it is eaten in griddlecakes, in which case the dough is prepared with water and panela. They also make soup with wheat flour, without removing the bran, with cabbages, frijoles, and salt.

Sweet potatoes are consumed in small quantities. They are washed, cooked, and eaten without salt and with peppers. They prepare peppers by cooking them in a pot (a bag, said the informant) and adding onions, coriander, and salt. This condiment thickens and keeps for about a month.

Chachafruto is cooked with frijoles or in the soup, but it is also eaten by itself and skinned. It is very tasty.

273 /351/ Sugar cane serves solely for extracting the juice and
[249] fermenting it. With the guarapo, thirst is quenched, mingas are held, "courtesies" are shown, religious fiestas and social life in general are carried on. From cane juice, duly fermented, alcoholic beverages are also extracted. They make chicha from maize, but this is not prevalent.

6: Bernal Villa--103 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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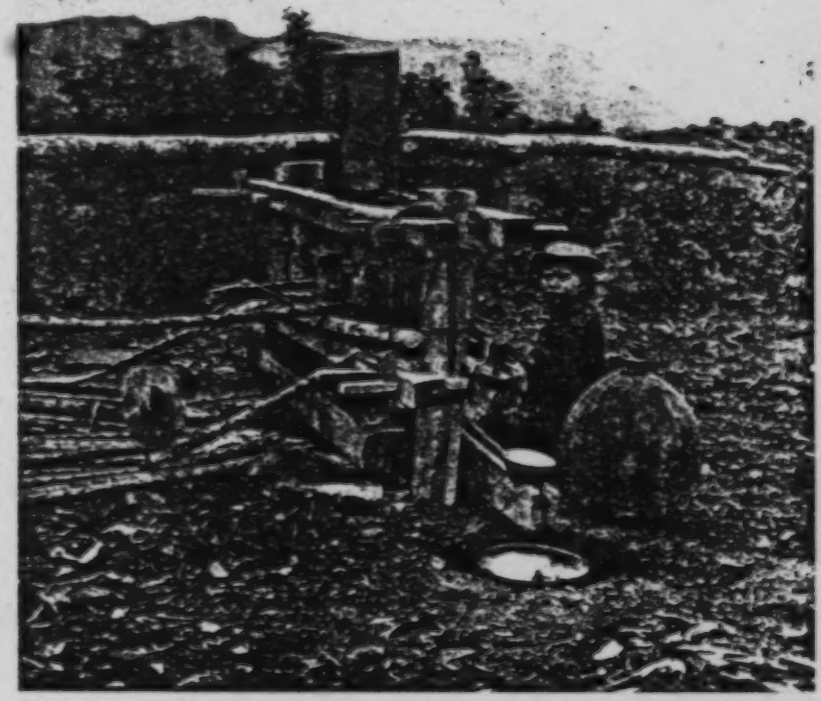

Tierradentro IX: Sugar mill of wood and the milling (Togoima).

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

342 [177] Some had wooden doors and windows, and were built with nails and wires, though most were still made with vegetable materials.

The modern *Moguex* house has two rooms. The main one, entered through a small door, serves as storeroom for goods to be sold, reception hall, dancing place, and a room in which to keep watch over the dead. The other is a pantry for provisions and drinks; here are kept [354] kitchen utensils. In the center is the fireplace and around it dried [352] cowhides or platform beds made of horizontal poles tied to stakes [476] driven in the ground. One's neighbors aid him to build his house, [461] transporting heavy timbers over light rollers and singing rhythmi- [554] cally as they heave together. If the owner of a new house is a man of [778] means, he pays for a feast of benediction or consecration carried out with a Catholic priest, a godfather, and a godmother.

The *Páez* does all this and in addition puts some pieces of silver 352 money under his house to assure his good fortune. In the main house [415] he places the metate on stakes, and in a secondary house, the press [353] for extracting wax from laurel, one or more troughs or hollowed trunks, [354] and large jars for chicha and guarapo. From the roof frame hang bags, [524] or "mochilas," of netted hemp for belongings. There is also a bam- [283] boo candlestick, the wooden feast drum, sometimes a tiple or small guitar, and, nailed to the wall, a spindle. Outside, the loom stands 404 against the wall Beyond it is the sugarcane mill, which is made of 286 a section of tree trunk with a hole above a projection on which the 249 cane is pressed by hand with a rod which crosses the hole. Some mills consist of two or three wooden cylinders rotated by animal power.

In each maize field is a small, temporary house and a high platform 243 where a watchman frightens the parrots and parakeets with periodic 342 cries and motions.

Each *Páez* group today has its communally built pueblo, with 177 "bahareque" buildings grouped around a rectangular plaza: a church, 361 with its arched portico and small tower in imitation of Colonial architecture, a house for the priest, a school, and two or three large houses for meetings and fiestas, where they dance, sing, and sleep during fiesta days. But ordinarily, the people remain at their distant houses and fields, and do not live at the pueblo, the only permanent inhabitants of which are a few Whites and Mestizos.

ENGINEERING WORKS

491 The Spaniards found bridges which they described as "weak and 499 flexible bridges of bamboo" and "bridges of vines." A territory so broken and crossed with so many rivers and canyons naturally stimulated the *Páez* in the construction of bridges and the laying out of roads. Today they make four kinds of bridges: (1) A simple vine or cable stretched across the river; (2) a kind of wooden stairs placed

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,1 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

with the right hand over the naked thigh. Two strands are similarly twisted together until the desired thickness is obtained. 233

Gourds.—Gourds are still widely used. They are picked when ripe, cleaned out, and dried. With small openings, they serve as containers for beverages and powdered lime. Some are made into bowls and others are cut up to make spoons. Today these objects are undecorated, but formerly in Timaná they were painted with a resin varnish very similar to that used in Pasto. (See p. 930.) Before the Spanish domination, gourds were also used as frames over which were stretched the prepared skin of the heads of their enemies killed in war. 415 324 [314] [721]

Metallurgy.—The metallurgy of these Indians was the same as that practiced throughout most of Colombia. The metals were gold, copper, and an alloy of the two (tumbaga). It is recorded that the Indians "worked gold," but the processes are not described. Specimens found recently in the territory, however, show molding, casting, and hammering. Metal objects included nose ornaments, parrot-shaped breastplates, necklaces with small animal figures, and some anthropomorphic idols. Gold occurs in this territory, particularly on the upper Páez or the Suin River. 325 [301] [532] [135]

Ceramics.—These tribes made and still make coiled pottery. Modern vessel forms include large jars for storing beverages and poorly shaped, crudely decorated containers for preparing and serving food. There is no individual specialization in this task, women making pots for their own family and not for trade. 323

Stone and wooden artifacts.—The native Indians made stone axes of a simple design, but stonework disappeared during the time of colonization, when the Indians could obtain manufactured iron weapons and utensils such as machetes, axes, hoes, shovels, etc. The manufacture of wooden objects—weaving, cooking, and farming implements and weapons—was furthered by the use of metal tools, and now is well developed, as exemplified by the trapiche (cane mill), a true machine made of wood. 324 182 179 322 249 179

Weaving.—Weaving, little practiced before the Conquest, developed with the post-Contact need for wearing more clothes and with the introduction of sheep, whose wool was used in addition to cotton. Weaving was and is exclusively the work of women (pl. 186). They prepare fine, uniform yarn with a common spindle, which they handle as they walk along the road (pl. 187, *top*). The loom is vertical, made of two horizontal rods fastened to two uprights. The warp runs vertically with a continuous thread. The horizontal weft is pressed down with a wooden sword. They also weave hemp bands on the loom. Woolen blankets are woven in natural colors, but some sashes have bright colors made of imported wool or of home-dyed wool. For red, they use one of the Rubiaceae (*Relbunium hypocarpium*), and for 286 [177] [462] [386]

In one case, however, in the house of
/115 cont./
596 Ezequiel Calliumbo, there were three married sons, besides three unmarried ones, all of whom cultivate the fields together. Ezequiel, who is about 60 years old, had ten children, of whom six sons are still living. The oldest son has three children, two of whom have died, the second eldest has four children, two of whom have died, and both the children of the third eldest are dead.

342 The normal houses (yat) are rectangular houses with a hip roof and, depending on their size, are divided into "large houses" (hatwála) and "small houses" (yatléčkwe) (Ills. 158 and 159 /see pp. 270 and 271 /). In accordance with its use the dwelling house specifically is called ōpyat (ōp = to live). The dimensions of the small houses vary between five to ten meters in length and
[345] three to five meters in width. The largest houses are up to 15 meters long and seven meters wide. These are primarily the
342 festival houses. As dwellings they differ from the small ones,
407 which represent by far the greatest proportion of all houses, not
249 only by their /116/ size, but above all by the fact that they have
352 the sugar mill (lapíče) /"Trapiche" (Sp.) in the glossary, p. 250 /, which is a feature of every house, in their interior. As a rule it stands in front of the house or a little to one side of it, normally covered with quantities of expressed sugar-cane stalks hung over it
343 to dry. Besides the sugar mill, a small menstruation hut (dúyat)
342 is required for any house to be complete; it may be absent only if the family erects a small field-hut (ēyatwá) in the middle of the field for a harvest period. In this case the women of the family living there go into the dúyat of another house. In no case may they remain in the dwelling during this period. The field hut and
[341] the small menstruation-hut are rectangular gable-roof houses in construction and, with the exception of the gable roof, of the same construction as the normal hip-roofed houses.

342 Every house has an annex (škídnyeyát) or at least a com-
273 partment for storing the chicha trough (kánoe). This trough is the
251 most important accessory of a Paez house, next to the sugar mill (Ill. 165 /see p. 273 /).

/116 cont./

343 In addition to these dwellings only a few houses have
[574] separate buildings, such as, for example, one or, if need be,
[513] two storehouses or a small house (yatléčkwe) in which friends
and neighbors sleep when they help the owner for days for the
● 251 joint work of expressing sugar cane or for the harvest. In the
343 storehouse (kotyāvyat: literally "maize storehouse") only maize
[262] and beans are stored, not wheat or garden produce. Fruit, yuca,
potatoes, and arracacha are not kept on hand or stored at all,
but always merely fetched as needed and eaten immediately.
Wheat is tied in bundles below the ears on stalks about 20 centimeters long and hung up under the roof above the fire. Maize
and beans may be kept up to two years in the storehouse. For
this purpose horizontal cross-sticks are fastened in it, over
which the ears are hung, and racks consisting of maize stalks
[425] laid close together are constructed for the beans. These racks,
too, are hung up, if possible, or at least are fastened quite
high above the floor so that the mice (úńsa) cannot get to them.
[231] In addition, a cat (mīš) is shut up in the storehouse, if one is
available. Stalls for the livestock are unknown.

34 In the middle of the village of Calderas, on community
land, stand the church (iglésia), the community house (kabīldeyát),
and the six festival houses of the six largest families (Ill. 147
/see p. 264 /). In their construction, they are likewise hip-
roofed houses, but their walls are built in the manner of the
colonists' houses, /117/ out of vertical posts, on the inside and
outside of which bamboo poles or straight branches are tied
horizontally. To strengthen the posts the interstices are filled
with earth, clay, and, in the lower part, also with stones. The
filling is spread smoothly and the wall whitewashed inside and
[373] out. Whereas light enters the other houses through the door and
the not very tightly sealed walls made of maize stalks placed side
by side, light can enter the above-mentioned houses consisting of
solid walls only through the relatively small door and the opening
of the roof ridge, which makes the interior rather dark.

000 /120 cont./

354 the simplest possible form. Three rocks provide the lateral sup-
415 port or stand for the pots, of which there are two at most, a
metal one, usually of aluminum, and an earthen one. Very
poor families have only one earthen pot, which is relatively
[417] cheap to buy. The earthen pot cannot be hung up; it is set
between the three fire-stones in such a way that it cannot tip
over, whereas the aluminum pot is hung by its handle on a soot-
covered, angled stick that hangs down from the ridge (Ill. 166
352 /see p. 273/). Above the fire area there hangs a frame made
[251] of maize canes and about one square meter in size, on which
[353] household utensils and, above all, the rock salt for salting food
are stored, airy and dry. Tables, chairs, or stools of any kind
[237] are unknown. One generally sits on the hairy side of an un-
tanned and hence board-stiff cowhide, on which one also /121/
[513] sleeps, or one sits on a beam, a block of wood, or a stone. Paez
[177] who have seen house furnishings in Inzá or in the dwellings of white
colonists have sometimes built for themselves as a bed a sort
of bench 30-50 centimeters high, consisting of sticks or reeds
[513] laid side by side. For sleeping the customary cowhide is spread
on it. These sleeping benches are not used for sitting.

342 The nights in Calderas are generally quite cool, and
the light construction of the walls with cracks between the in-
362 dividual maize stalks does not in any way prevent the cold wind
132 from coming in. In a few houses, near the sleeping area, I saw
the walls sealed by means of expressed sugar-cane piled up
462 horizontally. For sleeping, the members of the family lie down
[354] in a circle around the fire area, where the fire must be kept going
[513] all through the night. This, like all housework, is the task of
the woman, who must gather sufficient fuel beforehand and get up
every two hours during the night to stir up the fire. Furthermore,
[264] she must get up an hour earlier in the morning in order to have
the first meal, which is eaten around five o'clock, sometimes
[461] even at four o'clock, prepared on time. In spite of this, the
men think that they are the ones who do the hardest work and that
basically they are the only ones in the village who really work.

/131 cont./

243 other hand by means of the semicircularly curved sickle. In case
[251] the wheat is not sold immediately, the bundles of ears are tied together and stored under the house roof, above the fire area. Whereas the kernels are shelled off the maize ears by hand by the
[237] women as needed, the wheat is threshed. For this purpose a cowhide is put on the floor, a bundle of wheat ears is held securely on the hide with one hand, and with the other hand the ears are beaten with a club until the grains are removed.

244 The other produce used in the diet is planted in the house garden, which likewise is used every year as long as the house is occupied. The yield is generally good because the Paez have learned from the colonists the importance of regular fertilization. Each harvested plot is carefully dug up again with the spade and strewed with the refuse from the house and the collected manure of the cows and horses. Human excrement is not used; it is "too ugly," Everyday, in addition, the kitchen refuse (maize and bean husks, banana peels, arracacha and yuca scraps), as well as the excrement /132/ of the guinea pigs (fits) kept in the kitchen, is scattered in the garden and tossed on the vegetable plots.

The most important garden plant is white cabbage (kólis). The women buy the small plants from a woman in the village who raises them from seed. The planting time is March, when the rainy season begins. Potatoes (ká 'ka) are seldom planted. They are very small, have a yellow flesh, and are of poor quality. Sowing time is whenever one wishes. The men make a small hole with the digging stick and put one or two small potatoes in it and carefully cover up the hole again. After a month one can already hill them with the hands, and after four months, harvest them. To do this, the entire family digs them out with their
[821] hands. Arracacha (ā's) may likewise be planted throughout the year, but yields the best harvest if it is planted with the full moon. In harvesting it a digging stick is used. Yuca (ānya) is seldom eaten, for the climate is too cold to grow it in Calderas. In the lower villages the ripening period is two years.

245 A very important crop that plays a great role in the diet
[262] of the Paez is the banana, which was not native to America originally (Schweinfurt, pp. 504 f.). Two large groups are

/332 cont./

476 From the data on the mingas in the three parcialidades,
184 we see that on the whole they have similar rules. But in Mosoco there is already a modified procedure, both in the rewards and in the form of the work. In San Andrés, Calderas, and Lame, a minga is relatively cheaper than paying wages, since they actually buy only salt and coca, when they do not cultivate it on their own fincas.

Communal tasks

476 Among the Páez there is another type of co-operative labor
651 different from the system of the mingas. It might be called communal work, and it pertains basically to the execution of tasks for the common welfare, such as, for example, the construction and maintenance of the roads, bridges, public buildings (schools, church, rectory, house of the cabildo) and the cultivation of the clearing of the saint.

To this end, the cabildo calls upon all the able-bodied men in the parcialidad, who come supplied with their respective rations of coca and work tools.

The execution of the works of communal interest is a duty of every member of the parcialidad, and anyone who refuses to lend his aid is punished by the cabildo and often taken before the Colombian authorities. The greater or lesser effectiveness of this obligation naturally depends on the moral authority of the members of the cabildo and, above all, of the Capitán of the parcialidad. In many parcialidades, the members openly refuse to give their share of labor, and in such cases the roads and public buildings are in precarious condition.

/333/

Foresight and storage

487 In all of the native dwellings there are frames plaited with
353 rods and vines above the hearth and also at what we might call
● 251 the open ceiling. The ones of the fireplace are suspended, while the others rest on the braces or crosspieces that give strength to the walls of the house. This already clearly indicates to us that the natives have foresight. On these frames there are ears of maize tied by their own husks, bundles of wheat, and

/333 cont./

417 bags full of frijoles, which are also suspended from the wall
353 posts. This is also where the grains (lumps) of salt are kept.
251 The amounts kept for the months of scarcity are not sufficient, but there are other comestibles that help them: domestic ani-
[244] mals, cabbages, onions, sugar cane, and coca. In Lame and Mosoco they cultivate a plant which they call ijuca de pijao. It
[464] is an edible discoria /Dioscorea/. We have also seen that want is avoided by going to work as laborers on the fincas of the "whites."

[263] Meat is also kept on the frame above the hearth. They utilize the smoke to preserve it. Salt is not used for this purpose.

251 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José, where large quantities of wheat are planted, one frequently finds under the eaves of thatched houses bundles of wheat that remain hanging for several months. In this way they preserve it from the attacks of small rodents, and the grain is of excellent quality because it dries out thoroughly.

261 During times of scarcity, the natives do not seek solace in
273 religion. Actually, their defense is in the sale of their own work-
276 ing capacity for a small daily wage, a few eggs of coca, and
[771] food. It should be noted that guarapo and coca are splendid
[464] sedatives against the pangs of hunger. It is curious that one of the
[465] most noted religious fiestas of Calderas is held precisely during a time of scarcity. Large quantities of guarapo are consumed for nearly a month.

Provision of water and firewood

312 In Tierradentro the rainfall is relatively high. As a result, water abounds in small and /334/ large watercourses. This geographical factor leads the natives to bring the water close to their homes by means of a system of drainage ditches that are true engineering works. The distances that have to be faced or the accidents of the terrain make no difference. When necessary,
[177] they use bamboo tubes as artificial channels. This system has been adopted by the "whites" and even by the towns. Since the high parts on both margins of the Paez River are bare of vegetation,

6: Bernal Villa - -102 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

Tierradentro VIII: Dwelling in El Cuartel (Vitoncó). Note the pigs in front, the manner of storing wheat beneath the eaves of the house, and the supply of firewood.

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7:Hernández de Alba E-54(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The main subsistence of these tribes was and still is based on the cultivation of potatoes, which grow in great quantities in the higher portions of the territory known as Tierradentro, and maize, which is acclimated to the temperate and cold zones. There are three varieties of maize: sweet, soft, and hard. Additional crops were and are yuca or manioc, sweet potatoes, auyamas, ullucos, purutos, frijoles, arracacha, and various other vegetables, and a variety of fruits, including bananas, guayavas, avocados, papayas, [178] pineapples, and passion fruit. Today the *Páez* and *Moguex* are be- [433] ginning to grow wheat, coffee, which is an important item in their [273] economy, and sugarcane, from which is made a coarse sugar and molasses for their fermented drink, guarapo.

241 The men and women of each family generally cultivate the family 476 plot, but for large-scale maize or coffee planting, and for cultivation of the lands of the Church or saint, they work communally, and have meetings called "mingas." Communal work for any particular [782] individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense. The [273] beneficiary must feed his helpers, generally sacrificing a pig and preparing great quantities of chicha for the libations and nocturnal dances after the work. All adults must participate in working the Church lands, but each brings his own food.

241 Implements of cultivation are the digging stick, or macana, for 412 making holes for planting, machetes and axes for destroying vege- 407 tation, and picks and shovels for removing earth, except where re- 492 placed by plows pulled by animal traction.

Domesticated animals.—Domesticated animals include chickens, 231 turkeys, some pigs, dogs, and a few horses and cows. All but the [177] turkeys are of European origin. These animals are rarely sold or killed for food, except for feast days, magical ceremonies, meetings, [438] and visits of relatives, friends or distinguished White men. But [251] sometimes the Indians buy meat in the weekly market and hang it over the hearth, where it is preserved by the smoke.

574 A custom which has persisted since the beginning of the Colonial 431 Period is that of always giving a guest the "camarico" or "cariño" (affection), a present varying from an egg to a chicken, together with some potatoes, vegetables, and coffee beans.

262 Formerly, meat was obtained from wild rather than domesticated 136 animals—boars (zaínos), guaras, guatines, birds, and guinea pigs, the 231 last being true domesticated animals kept in some numbers in the native houses.

252 **Food preparation.**—Food was cooked in pottery ollas, but metal and [415] enamel ware is now often used. The *Páez* make "mute," a soup of [177] boiled maize, cabbage, squash, and potatoes, and "cocido," a soup

7tHernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

of manioc, arracacha, potatoes, beans, sweet maize, and pieces of meat. Meat is sometimes roasted. Maize, the staple, is made into tortillas or soup, or is roasted on the ear. Coffee, much of which is consumed, is roasted in a pottery vessel, ground, and made into an infusion sweetened with coarse sugar. 252 [272]

Kitchen utensils include pottery ollas and vessels, and a footless elliptical stone metate with a central concavity, which lies directly on the floor or is supported on sticks driven in the soil. Meat is kept smoked over the fireplace, and other food is stored on shelves of cane woven into the roof sticks or in hanging hemp bags or gourds. Each gourd has a broad half-gourd suspended above it, open side down, so that a rat descending from above slides off the gourd onto the floor. 415 251 [353] [825]

The first daily meal is taken at daybreak and consists of "mute." There is no noonday meal, but the evening repast resembles breakfast. Between meals, the Indians chew coca two or three times to sustain their strength and allay hunger. For refreshment and stimulation, they drink guarapo, carrying it to work in gourds. 264 [276] [273]

They cultivate pepper (ají) for a condiment, but purchase salt in the weekly market. The latter is so scarce that instead of mixing it with food they pass a lump around, each person licking it. Before the Conquest, three salt deposits were exploited in this territory, the most important being that near the modern municipality of Belalcázar or Páez. Here the local chief had the salt water boiled down to obtain blocks of salt, which he traded with other tribes for diverse products, or with which he bought help in his wars against the neighboring *Pijao*. Sometimes he permitted other *Páez* to exploit the deposit. Near the present-day Indian center of Ricaurte on the Ullucos River is another salt works that was much used in ancient times, but today is abandoned. Another source of salt was at Huila, where, during the Conquest, the Indians ambushed the Spaniards who sought it, and killed their horses. 317 263 [244] [439] [648]

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Each *Páez* and *Moguex* family has its own house, located on a point or flat place in the mountains some distance from its neighbors. The aboriginal house seems to have been rectangular, which still is the only form. It was so lightly constructed of cane and sticks with thatched roof that the Spanish soldiers during the foundation of San Vicente de Páez "carried some Indian houses to their barracks because they were small and suited to it" (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 9). Some distance from the dwelling, they always built a small woman's house. Under Spanish influence, some houses were divided into rooms, and built more solidly of "bahareque" construction, i. e., walls consisting of two faces of sticks with mud and rocks between (pl. 185). 342 [361] 177 342

/132 cont./

245 differentiated: that of the fruit or sugar bananas, and that of the vegetable or mealy bananas. Both kinds are known to the Paez, to be sure, but only the vegetable bananas (tolǒ), whose starchy fruits must be cooked first before being eaten, like potatoes, because they are difficult to digest, are important for them, as for all tropical peoples. The fruit bananas (gnayoſts), the only bananas eaten in Europe, are seldom eaten by the Paez and generally are not cultivated. They are planted by means of slips, which in Calderas bear from the third year on and yield harvests
244 for many years. Other crops grown in the house garden and eaten from time to time are cucumbers (kambĭč or pĭna, according to the species), squash (pete), and the wild granadilla (šlāl).

b) Food Preparation

264 The Paez eat only two meals a day, the first one (kosē oń) about four or five o'clock in the morning before work, and the second (fi'nz oń) at three or four o'clock in the afternoon, after returning from work in the fields. In between, that is, while working on the often quite distant fields, coca /133/ is taken and sugar-cane juice drunk every two to three hours. The morning and evening meals do not differ in content and vary
252 little from day to day. They are cooked without meat, without
262 fat, without salt, as well as without any other seasoning. Cook-
[263] ing with fat is customary only on festive days in the festival house.
[237] On this occasion a blood sausage is made from the blood of cattle, sheep, or pigs, for which the intestines are cleaned and then cooked with blood, salt, onions, and caraway, as well as with another herb (pléo). Meat is not put into the intestines, and likewise no fat.

262 There is no desire for greater variety in food and drink. I was scarcely able to discover any individual differences in taste among the Calderun, for everyone eats everything, and they all regard beans or cabbage or both together as the best food and bean leaves as the worst.

000 /133 cont./
264 food and bean leaves as the worst. They eat together. The
[415 412] family sits around the fire and the woman serves. They do not, however, eat out of the large cooking pot, which is usually of clay, though sometimes of aluminum, but rather the soup is dipped out with a wooden ladle into shallow bowls, from one of which the men, that is to say, the father and sons, eat, and the mother, daughters, and small children eat out of another one.
[263] Above the fire area a few small pieces of rock salt hang in a
[353] small pouch or lie on a rack and are used to salt the food after it is cooked. To do this each one takes the piece of salt and holds it or puts it in his plate until the soup is sufficiently salted.

● 252 262 In the following, a few dishes: 1) maize flour, ground on the oval or rectangular grindstone with a hand-stone, is cooked with beans and cabbage; 2) vegetable bananas with beans and arracacha; 3) green ears of maize with beans (wood ashes are added to every maize dish, in order to make the maize tender more quickly); 4) green ears of maize with white cabbage; 5) white cabbage, arracacha, and potatoes; 6) beans and vegetable bananas; 7) only beans and maize flour; 8) arracacha and beans. Eggs are either boiled hard in the shell in a pot, or the egg is beaten with a spoon in a dish, water and onions are added, and
[415] the whole is cooked. All foods are cooked in a large pot as soup; only ears of maize roasted in a bowl /Schale, "bowl, shell, husk"/ (wâts; Spanish arepa) are an exception. Meat is only boiled, never roasted; they eat the meat of cattle, sheep, and pigs, as well as poultry and guinea pigs, but not horse meat. If horses die, the carcasses are devoured by dogs.

/134/ c) Means of Enjoyment

273 276 The two most important pleasures for the Paez, as for the cultures of the entire Andean area, are coca and chicha. Tobacco plays a subordinate role.

/176 cont./

623 himself does not punish. For this purpose four representatives of
666 the lower offices have an official whip which consists of a rod ten
696 centimeters long, with a plaited strap about 80 centimeters long.

The election itself proceeds with the introduction of the candi-
623 dates by the capitan with the question: "This one as gobernador,
624 do you want him?" And they reply: "We wish it" or "we do not
666 wish it." It was interesting to observe how, after the death of the capitan, one of his relatives, Cerbelión Guagáz, tried to be named capitan. The priest, however, insisted on an election by the village. And although he tried very hard to have Cerbelión elected, the village kept refusing him because he was too autocratic and such people are not liked. Another whom everyone would like to have as capitan is himself unwilling. "As capitan I am only the beadle of the padre," he replied to my question as to why he did not accept the choice. And he had no desire for that. He had been comisario once and gobernador once, and now he wanted peace for the rest of his life.

2) Family Organization

594 The family of the Paez is basically the patrilineal nuclear family /Kleinfamilie/ consisting of the parents and unmarried
[513] children. The latter, while they are small, sleep with the parents in the kitchen; as soon as they are larger, in a compartment in
591 another part of the house. After marriage they erect their own house.
596 It is not uncommon, however, for the married sons to live with their wives for another year or two in the house of the father, until they have enough money for a house, which will be small at first. The daughters upon marriage leave /177/ the paternal home and then live with their husbands, that is to say, at first with the parents-in-law.

354 Normally, therefore, every house has only one cooking
596 place, in which the woman of the house cooks. If a son marries,
252 a new kitchen is partitioned off and a second place built for the
[462] fire at which the young wife cooks. As a matter of principle, each married couple -- and it alone -- has its own fire area, for the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook.

/191 cont./

584 father, and the latter distributes it /192/ to everyone and gives
43/ the bringer and all those present some of his own chicha to drink. This continues all night until everyone is drunk. In the morning the daughter-in-law, along with her father-in-law, goes back to the house of the latter, and from then on she lives with her husband until the wedding.

60d In case the father of the girl should not be satisfied with the
585 young man as a son-in-law, he would still not take any practical action against this union of his daughter, since he does not have to pay a dowry anyway. Besides, once children arrive, the
[591] parents are always satisfied. If, conversely, the father of the young man is not satisfied with the latter's choice of a bride, he may refuse him his house. In this case the young people customarily immediately build their own house, a small one at first.

58 The wedding generally does not take place very soon after courtship among the Paez, but only after a year or more. First of all there begins a trial period, which, however, has an altogether conjugal character. During this time of "trial marriage" the housekeeping abilities of the girl are to be tested, for the latter brings into marriage no dowry of any kind from her parents or any other possessions except her clothing. Since there are no social grounds for a choice of bride in the nonstratified Paez community, and no stimulus to marry on the grounds of a large dowry or on account of the possibility of a low bride price, there are no
581 child betrothals. As bride and wife a girl has only the merit of
462 her personality and her personal capabilities. The latter have the greater weight. It is required of a woman that she be able to cook and to weave the cloth for the whole family, that she not gossip, keep the house in order, and, above all, that she be able to keep the fire going at night and prepare the meal on time in
[264] the morning. The Paez are in the habit of having their first meal
● [252] very early, at five or four o'clock in the morning, and an hour before that the woman must already begin preparing the food.
[362] Moreover, as we have seen, the walls of the house are only made
[513] of maize stalks placed side by side, and give scarcely any protection against the coolness of the night. They therefore sleep lying

1: Nachtigall--289 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 201. Grinding maize with the hand-grindstone.

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Ill. 202. Calderon music group.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

FOOD. CULTIVATED AND OTHER USEFUL PLANTS

The principal food of the Paez Indians is maize, or Indian corn, of which they grow several varieties, belonging to three distinct types, namely, a sweet corn (*tšulpi*), a soft corn (*kapio*), and the common flint corn. The words *tšulpi* and *kapio* belong to the Kitšua language, a fact that points to the southern origin of these varieties. Judging from tradition, as well as from the varietal names used elsewhere in the Cauca valley, the flint corn that is grown all over the country may possibly be of northern origin. The Paez language has only one word to designate all varieties of corn, and it is interesting to note that the one now in use (*kutš* or *kukx*) is quite distinct from that employed in Castillo's time (*kokavi*). It is not unlikely that the present name was introduced by some of the tribes subsequently incorporated with the Paez.

The *tšulpi*, or sweet corn, is usually eaten roasted or boiled on the cob. Of soft corn, or *kapio*, they make a kind of dough called *χñiontš*, which is the base of several culinary preparations, among them the tortilla (*kuáts*). *Kas* is a gruel made of black corn; *mutši*, or *motši* (the Kitšua *mote*), is prepared by shelling the kernels without disintegrating them. Last, but not least, large quantities of the grain are used in the preparation of chicha (*beka*).

Beans are generally cultivated along with maize. I noticed two varieties — *us kutš*, black beans, and *us bi*, red beans. The *osgual*, cited by Castillo as special to the village of Suin, are the seeds of the *Erythrina edulis* Triana, which I collected under the name of *us ual*; they are large, and when boiled taste almost exactly like the common horse-bean (*Faba vulgaris*).

Of scarcely less value as a food-staple are the several varieties of squashes, so generally cultivated and eaten as to have caused Castillo to express the opinion that "most of the Indians would perish should these fail in the province." The larger variety, *ápe-tots* (*Cucurbita maxima?*), is less common, and may have been introduced, although it already existed in Tierra Adentro in Castillo's time; *ápe*, the zapallo or pumpkin (*Cucurbita pepo*), is perhaps indigenous to the region, since the last native name,

/208 cont./

231 After skinning it, they quarter it following a definite
796 sequence: the lower part of the hind legs (chinda), the lower
192 part of the front legs (kuse), the upper part of the hind legs (himbé), the upper part of the front legs (pala), the tail (mens), the flesh of the neck (chikichichi), the fat (sepo), upper intestine (chunchullo), lower intestine (meto), stomach (tuchi), /209/ trachea (pechita), lungs (mechto), heart (ús), liver
[827] (mechi), the gall (muahi), pancreas (shape)... They are familiar with most of the organs and their names, but not with their specific physiology.

262 Some of the pieces of meat go directly into the pan of
796 "mute," which is boiling and which the workers will eat for
252 lunch; others, to the barbecue where they will get the smoke from the kitchen.

Inside the house, in the ñuhne wala, the women grind shelled maize on two metates to make maize griddlecakes. With maize flour and water they make a dough which various women shape with their hands into circular form. In a separate kitchen, two women and two men are busy roasting them. First they let them harden on a piece of broken earthenware and then complete the cooking in the embers of the hearth. An elderly man gathers those that are cooked into a bag. Another one occupies himself with singing religious songs and praying. The maize griddlecakes are used to take care of the albacero on the following day.

796 This work is performed enthusiastically by the women.
[462] --The days of the fiesta are for talking, says one woman.
[829] --One can live through life only by getting drunk, says
[273] another.

/242 cont./

755 members of the family, that is to say, they do not carry the
* 756 surname of those who are performing Ut ká. None of them
783 may work, not even at making hats or pouches.
[461] The hog is skinned and washed over a hole; the hair and offal in general must fall there. When Ut ká is not being per-
[787] formed, the hog is skinned in a trough. Meanwhile, the curer
[782] divines as to how much meat is wanted by the souls. The latter specify the quantity, and the té eu translates it on a small stick, which is immediately passed to the slaughterers, who must cut out the pieces in accordance with this measure and put them into a pouch. The curer drinks aguardiente and also has assistants who help in perceiving the signs.

[252] /243/ The women prepare the maize for "mute" /stewed
[262] corn/, make small tortillas, as many as there are souls of the dead in the family. They also prepare every kind of fruit and food, plantains, arracacha, bread, yuca, bananas, granadillas, cucumbers, maize, eggs, meats, etc., to protect them against the ptans. They put a little piece of the foods into the pouch.

755 They also prepare some wooden dolls, in a number equal
* 756 to that of the dead. They dress them like Indians: hat, poncho,
783 trousers, shirt. About 40 meters from the house they dig a
532 grave just as they do to bury the dead: a rectangular cavity with a lateral chamber. The curer weighs out two eggs of coca, picks up two cigars and a bottle of aguardiente. At about eight at night all those from the family leave, except those who are not. The cleansing is about to be performed. Then black clouds, like balls, gather. The curer blows remedies toward them. After two hours, the clouds go toward the left, clearing the horizon and leaving the stars visible in the immensity of space. The curer proceeds with the burial. In the lateral chamber of the tomb he places the dolls (representations of the souls) and a candle of laurel wax, after blowing the remedies at them. He closes up the chamber with a stone and then puts in the glowworms and the pouch of food.

* [i.e. the family members--Analyst]

/322 cont./

231 arracacha. Dogs, cats, and pigs live, the first on kitchen refuse, the second by hunting mice, and the last on grasses and roots from the thickets. They are not familiar with breeds of cattle, hogs, and sheep. Only the guinea pig is regarded as American, while the other animals are said to be genuinely Spanish.

[236] Sheep seem to have emotional value because they provide the wool for people's clothing. They are kept with affection and rarely sold or eaten.

Dogs also seem to have emotional value because of being the guardian of the houses and fields. In addition, they have symbolic value: they are the iron curtain, the protective barrier against the dark memory of the Pijao. If the latter were to reappear again, the natives argue, they would not be able to approach /323/ the houses, because dogs live there, which would inspire fear in the Pijao, for they are so dangerous for them that mere contact with their footprints or their hair would kill them. In the legends and tales there is frequent reference to these de-
[552] fensive concepts. The dogs have special names: Guagfs (white),
[685] kuchi (black), salgento, pitín, policía. Dogs that eat sheep are invariably killed with a shotgun without previous consultation with the owner.

[262] Guinea pigs are the favorite food of children. They kill
[252] them by strangling them and eat them boiled. These animals are
[782] not used as offerings to the Duende. Nor do they serve as presents
[755] for friends or relatives. They are also used to combat mental illness by covering the patient's forehead with the entrails of the still living animal.

235 They "cuidan" /show special attention/ to favorite persons
[554] with chickens and eggs. They have mingas with turkeys. Eggs
[262] are consumed, but in general they are sold.
[432] They use the honey and the wax from the hives of wild bees.
222 The honey, they say, is good for persons who suffer from "cold."
237 With the wax they soften hide lassos, and they occasionally use it
[757] for illumination. Domestic hives do not exist.

231 Wild animals, such as parrots, chicaos /a kind of bird/, squirrels, and micos, are never domesticated.

/326 cont./

262 The chachafruto (fisual), a leguminous plant that bears rather
•[252] sweet fruits which are eaten merely boiled in water, readily grows in the stubble and thickets; this is a favorite food of children. It bears fruit during the months of August and September. They also gather mushrooms (kalaguai), orejas de palo /literally, ears of wood/ (kallumbo) that grow round and white on rotting trunks, frijol /327/ cacha (us tape) that abounds in thickets, moras (sutsion) and the ground cherries (chimbú) that grow in profusion in the maize fields and with which they make cakes or tamales and mush /mazamorra/ mixed with ground maize. Likewise, they gather wild granadillas (shial).

224 Hunting is of minor importance among the Páez. Shotguns
[441] and dogs are needed. Authentic lovers of hunting are few, and
[789] there are no magical rites or ceremonies connected with it.

Hunting is most frequently done to protect the plantings or the herds. We have seen that the enemies of maize are coatis, guaras, squirrels, and birds. The chickens are attacked by wolf-dogs. On the savannas of the Paramo de Moras bears are the most common enemies of the herds.

[237] In Calderas, the hunters customarily keep the skulls of the captured booty inside the house, on one of the wall posts. In one of them we counted five coati skulls, two from guaras, and one from a wolf. Hunting is done on Sundays and at any time of the year. They go to selected locations with dogs, shotguns, and provisions. The dog raises the game and the men wait in strategic spots, with their shotguns ready to shoot it. If the shot misses, they set out after the game on a fast run. When they hunt deer, they have a minga. For the hunting of guaras they use traps consisting of nets which they place at the exit of the haunts of these animals. Bats are hunted with bags. As soon as they fall, they
[262] are kicked to death, for these animals easily break out of bags.
[252] They are eaten roasted. Armadillo meat is rather favored.
223 Sparrow hawks are hunted with blowguns. "The Indians are poor"
[411] -- says an informant from Calderas -- "and for this reason they make blowguns and hunt birds. God made the birds so that the poor would eat them and not steal." Wild pigeons are hunted on the ridges by means of traps that are well concealed. Chamones,

/348 cont./

262 Maize is the species most intensively cultivated, the one of major consumption and the one that satisfies the most psychologically. We have already seen the case of the "hambruna" /extreme hunger/ in Mosoco, where, in spite of the harvest of other produce, it seems to be precisely because there is no [252] maize. With maize they make mote, griddlecakes /arepas/, tamales /envueltos/, and "sango" a maize soup/, in addition to eating it toasted or roasted when it is tender.

252 Mote is practically the raw material of the daily foods.
262 It is obtained by boiling the maize in water and ashes until the cuticle is completely loose and then washing it in an abundance of water. This mote is put on to boil, and when it has gone through three "boilings," that is to say, the water has been changed three times, one tosses into it first dry frijoles, then plantains, manioc, arracacha, /349/ cabbages, and meat if [263] there is any, and lastly onions, cumin, and saffron. Salt, which is always preferred in grains or lumps, is put in by each individual, who takes the grain and mixes it into his own dish until he thinks that he has enough. They do not eat food highly salted. This kind of food is a "pot-au-feu," the one most widespread among the people and the one which they eat daily. The informants consider it "delicious."

The griddlecakes /arepas/ are made with dry or tender maize. With the first, they skin the maize in ashes and then they grind it not too fine; the resulting flour is mixed with boiling water and ground once more, this time very fine. With this mass the women make large, round griddlecakes, harden them on a heated piece of earthenware, and finish roasting them in the embers of the hearth. These are the griddlecakes of the religious fiestas of Calderas. When they want the griddlecakes to have "a good taste," they put in salt, onions, or coriander (in Mosoco we have seen that they put in eggs); these are griddlecakes for family consumption. To make griddlecakes from roasting ears, they shell the ear, grind the mass well, and, without any kind of condiments, they make the griddlecakes and harden and roast them in the familiar form. The frequency of

/349 cont./

252 consumption of griddlecakes is low in most of the parcialidades,
262 but in Mosoco it is almost daily. These natives take their coffee
[272] and milk with griddlecakes, which are good substitutes for bread.

The "envueltos" or cakes are made when there are roasting ears. Shelled, ground, and unsifted, the small masses extend along the husks of the same ear, removed carefully by cutting
[263] off with a knife the thicker part of the ear. No condiment of any kind is put in because the roasting ear in itself has "good flavor." The envueltos, once cooked, are eaten with sancocho /a stew/. They say that it is a "very tasty" dish. Ordinarily, when they make envueltos they kill a pig or chickens and invite relatives to eat them. The eating of envueltos is implicitly associated with the start of the maize harvest, in which the local curer plays a part.

"Sango" is based on finely ground and unsifted maize flour, which is put in the pot when the frijoles are sufficiently cooked. They make sure that the soup does not thicken too much. They also add to this dish chopped cabbage, onions, or coriander for "flavor."

Frijoles are very necessary, very tasty, and the most common food; /350/ mote without frijoles is not tasty; frijoles have flavor and the 'cacha' are the tastiest, and especially green, the (tender) little things are eaten with the shell," says an informant from Calderas.

Frijoles are eaten in sancocho. When the frijoles are cooked sufficiently, one adds plantains peeled and in pieces, arracacha peeled, washed, and cut up, manioc prepared like the arracacha, chopped onions, and saffron. Meat or lard is added if they have any. This dish is said to be "tasty." Frijoles are also eaten mixed with mejicano /squash, Cucurbita pepo/. The beans are boiled first, and when they are thought to be sufficiently cooked the finely chopped mejicano is added and, much later, ground maize. When all this is cooked, they eat it without salt, saying that it is as tasty as the rice with milk of the "whites." They also eat mejicano with well-cooked mote and frijoles, and it is very tasty if cows' feet are added to it.

/350 cont./

252 262 244 [796] Cabbages are cultivated in the gardens and are almost never lacking throughout the year; they are eaten daily, chopped into the dish of the day. At religious fiestas it is customary to cook the cabbages "on the bough," that is to say, with their respective stalks, and serve them as a special dish. White cabbage is seldom cultivated and thus its consumption is almost null. The few heads grown in the cold part of San Andrés are intended for sale.

252 262 Plantains are eaten preferably in sancocho, and their consumption is intensive in the temperate climate. They are also eaten roasted, in which case they are preferred with meat or entrails. Potatoes, especially in Mosoco, are eaten with gravy, a favorite dish for entertaining "white" or civilized visitors. This dish is prepared with water, milk, eggs, onions, and meat. The potatoes are peeled and washed well. In Calderas they are also eaten in this fashion, but frijoles are added to them as well.

In general wheat is cultivated to be milled and sold. Sometimes it is eaten in griddlecakes, in which case the dough is prepared with water and panela. They also make soup with wheat flour, without removing the bran, with cabbages, frijoles, and salt.

Sweet potatoes are consumed in small quantities. They are washed, cooked, and eaten without salt and with peppers. They prepare peppers by cooking them in a pot (a bag, said the informant) and adding onions, coriander, and salt. This condiment thickens and keeps for about a month.

Chachafruto is cooked with frijoles or in the soup, but it is also eaten by itself and skinned. It is very tasty.

273 [249] /351/ Sugar cane serves solely for extracting the juice and fermenting it. With the guarapo, thirst is quenched, mingas are held, "courtesies" are shown, religious fiestas and social life in general are carried on. From cane juice, duly fermented, alcoholic beverages are also extracted. They make chicha from maize, but this is not prevalent.

/351 cont./

273 The maize is ground, and they cook the flour with plenty of water; this liquid is removed and put in a trough to ferment [272] for several days, adding panela to it. It is said that this chicha is tastier than guarapo, but that it does not inebriate and does not work satisfactorily; it serves only to quench thirst, like the "cola" (carbonated drink) of the "whites."

262 Peaches and apples are eaten in the regions where they are produced, and oranges as well, but in general the consumption of fruit is very low.

252 262 Guinea pigs are eaten when the family wants meat. They kill them by breaking their necks; then they wet them with cold water and put them in the embers of the fire in order to loosen the hide and skin them; they are washed, the entrails are removed, they are washed again, and then they are cooked in the pot of sancocho, mote, "sango," or maize-ball soup; some people eat the entrails, while others do not. The guinea pig is regarded as "tasty."

With chicken special attention is shown to favorite friends and to compadres, and mingas are held. At the fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, it is customary to eat chicken. After being plucked, the entrails are removed, it is washed, and it is cooked in the pot of sancocho or mote. The natives regard the leg as the best piece, and for this reason this is what they present to the elders (compadres, fathers, eldest sons); to the others they give a piece of breast or any other part. The head goes to the owner. The washed and cooked entrails are also distributed among all present. Turkeys and ducks are prepared and consumed in the same manner.

From the pig some organs are eaten roasted: pancreas, kidneys, intestines, and the meat of the backbone; the bacon 262 is kept to flavor food; the rest is eaten boiled. When a pig is killed out of the mere desire to use the meat, portions are distributed to the "elders" of the family (fathers-in-law, fathers, etc.), and the same thing is done when cattle is slaughtered. [237] From them they use the meat, the hide, and the horns for making [534] whistles which are blown when a house is being built in the [342] [234]

/353 cont./

262 The Indians like meat, but they state that they eat any type of food; they believe that the "whites" eat better, because the Indians cannot eat meat every day nor spend money on lard or meat. They only eat the produce that they cultivated.

264 The Indians have two meals a day: one at dawn and the other one in the afternoon when the sun is setting. The women and children have one meal at midday, from what was left over from the morning. The principal and large meal is cooked at [252] night. Before lying down the women hang from a wooden or iron hook, or from a wire, the pot with mote or frijoles and stir up the fire at least three times during the night; at four in the morning they add the easily cooked products and eat at the first light of day.

574 The natives are generous and hospitable among themselves;
262 no sooner does a visitor enter a home than they offer him whatever they have available: chicha or food.

177 /354/ In the parcialidad of Mosoco, which is undergoing
262 complete acculturation, the diet is changing visibly and the
264 eating hours have changed fundamentally. Coffee, panela, bacon, meat, and maize griddlecakes are consumed regularly.

Trading

43 Except for the parcialidad of Mosoco, the natives produce primarily for internal consumption; but the self-provisioning is insufficient, for they suffer a few months of scarcity. As a result, trading must necessarily be restricted and scanty. In Calderas, Suin, and Chinas, animals are ordinarily exchanged, large, fat cows being surrendered for smaller, thin, fertile heifers and a few pesos besides. We have already referred to this extensively in discussing the livestock. We have also seen how the only industry intended exclusively for trade, that of laurel wax, was a patrimony of San Andrés, Calderas, Tumbichukue, Lame, Suin, and Chinas, and that the drop in price was a fatal blow for the industry. Thus, aside from coffee, potatoes, wheat, and garlic, which are intended almost entirely for trade, nothing remains but small amounts of manioc, arracacha, plantains,

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SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The main subsistence of these tribes was and still is based on the cultivation of potatoes, which grow in great quantities in the higher portions of the territory known as Tierradentro, and maize, which is acclimated to the temperate and cold zones. There are three varieties of maize: sweet, soft, and hard. Additional crops were and are yuca or manioc, sweet potatoes, auyamas, ullucos, purutos, frijoles, arracacha, and various other vegetables, and a variety of fruits, including bananas, guayavas, avocados, papayas, pineapples, and passion fruit. Today the *Páez* and *Moguex* are beginning to grow wheat, coffee, which is an important item in their economy, and sugarcane, from which is made a coarse sugar and molasses for their fermented drink, guarapo.

[178] [433] [273]

241 476 The men and women of each family generally cultivate the family plot, but for large-scale maize or coffee planting, and for cultivation of the lands of the Church or saint, they work communally, and have meetings called "mingas." Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense. The beneficiary must feed his helpers, generally sacrificing a pig and preparing great quantities of chicha for the libations and nocturnal dances after the work. All adults must participate in working the Church lands, but each brings his own food.

[782] [273]

241 412 407 492 Implements of cultivation are the digging stick, or macana, for making holes for planting, machetes and axes for destroying vegetation, and picks and shovels for removing earth, except where replaced by plows pulled by animal traction.

Domesticated animals.—Domesticated animals include chickens, turkeys, some pigs, dogs, and a few horses and cows. All but the turkeys are of European origin. These animals are rarely sold or killed for food, except for feast days, magical ceremonies, meetings, and visits of relatives, friends or distinguished White men. But sometimes the Indians buy meat in the weekly market and hang it over the hearth, where it is preserved by the smoke.

231 [177] [43] [25]

A custom which has persisted since the beginning of the Colonial Period is that of always giving a guest the "camarico" or "cariño" (affection), a present varying from an egg to a chicken, together with some potatoes, vegetables, and coffee beans.

574 431

262 136 231 Formerly, meat was obtained from wild rather than domesticated animals—boars (zaínos), guaras, guatines, birds, and guinea pigs, the last being true domesticated animals kept in some numbers in the native houses.

252 **Food preparation.**—Food was cooked in pottery ollas, but metal and enamel ware is now often used. The *Páez* make "mute," a soup of boiled maize, cabbage, squash, and potatoes, and "cocido," a soup

[415] [177]

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of manioc, arracacha, potatoes, beans, sweet maize, and pieces of meat. Meat is sometimes roasted. Maize, the staple, is made into tortillas or soup, or is roasted on the ear. Coffee, much of which is consumed, is roasted in a pottery vessel, ground, and made into an infusion sweetened with coarse sugar. 252 [272]

Kitchen utensils include pottery ollas and vessels, and a footless elliptical stone metate with a central concavity, which lies directly on the floor or is supported on sticks driven in the soil. Meat is kept smoked over the fireplace, and other food is stored on shelves of cane woven into the roof sticks or in hanging hemp bags or gourds. Each gourd has a broad half-gourd suspended above it, open side down, so that a rat descending from above slides off the gourd onto the floor. 415 251 [353] [825]

The first daily meal is taken at daybreak and consists of "mute." There is no noonday meal, but the evening repast resembles breakfast. Between meals, the Indians chew coca two or three times to sustain their strength and allay hunger. For refreshment and stimulation, they drink guarapo, carrying it to work in gourds. 264 [276] [273]

They cultivate pepper (ají) for a condiment, but purchase salt in the weekly market. The latter is so scarce that instead of mixing it with food they pass a lump around, each person licking it. Before the Conquest, three salt deposits were exploited in this territory, the most important being that near the modern municipality of Belalcázar or Páez. Here the local chief had the salt water boiled down to obtain blocks of salt, which he traded with other tribes for diverse products, or with which he bought help in his wars against the neighboring *Pijao*. Sometimes he permitted other *Páez* to exploit the deposit. Near the present-day Indian center of Ricaurte on the Ullucos River is another salt works that was much used in ancient times, but today is abandoned. Another source of salt was at Huila, where, during the Conquest, the Indians ambushed the Spaniards who sought it, and killed their horses. 317 263 [244] [439] [648]

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Each *Páez* and *Moguex* family has its own house, located on a point or flat place in the mountains some distance from its neighbors. The aboriginal house seems to have been rectangular, which still is the only form. It was so lightly constructed of cane and sticks with thatched roof that the Spanish soldiers during the foundation of San Vicente de Páez "carried some Indian houses to their barracks because they were small and suited to it" (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 9). Some distance from the dwelling, they always built a small woman's house. Under Spanish influence, some houses were divided into rooms, and built more solidly of "bahareque" construction, i. e., walls consisting of two faces of sticks with mud and rocks between (pl. 185). 342 [361] 177 342

/311 cont./

243 Wheat is cultivated with special emphasis in the areas of Lame, El Cuartel, La Troja, and Vitoncó. It is destined primarily for sale. It is planted along with maize, although there are already clearings intended exclusively for its cultiva-
[412] tion. They reap it with knives, rarely with sickles. They do not bind it into sheaves, but make bundles and hang it from the eaves or beams of the house. When dry, they thresh it with wooden clubs /masas/ and separate out its husks by exposing it to the
[256] wind. They grind it at once in hydraulic mills built by them themselves and take it to market. They have no sifters to separate the bran.

128 Below /see pp. 25-33 / we present a statistical table on
241 the production of the various species cultivated by 25 families
433 of Mosoco, 8 of Lame, and 15 of San Andrés including that of
[563] some mestizos and whites, marked with an asterisk, in order to make some comparisons and to estimate the volume of production. We specify the percentage of the production intended for sale. For obvious reasons, we have omitted the names of the family heads, identifying them solely by number in order. The statistical data correspond to the production in the year 1953.
[124] In spite of the fact that this type of investigation presents some
[123] difficulties, owing to the reluctance of people to reveal the data on their production they are in general completely trustworthy, since they were collected after a firm interpersonal relationship had been established between the investigator and the person investigated. In addition, they appreciably agree with our observations noted in "General observations" on Páez agriculture.

/312/ Potato cultivation in Mosoco

244 We have deliberately omitted anything about the cultivation of potatoes in order to deal with it more thoroughly.

The methods of cultivation differ somewhat from those commonly practiced in the other parcialidades. The soil is prepared in beds that follow the direction of the slope. The

/334 cont./

312 water abounds during the rainy season. Then the stream beds, dry during the summer (ravines), swell disproportionately. During the summer months, the scarcity of water is still a serious problem.

313 In areas where water is scarce, there is also a scarcity of firewood, owing to the intensive deforestation. As the felling of the trees moves out from the populated centers of Tierradentro, the acquisition of this item becomes increasingly difficult. The fuel problem in Belalcázar, Cuetando, Chitoquez, Valencia, [314] and Guasdualejo is becoming increasingly serious. Furthermore, [439] charcoal is neither used nor produced for trade in Tierradentro.

[312] Providing firewood for feeding the hearth, as well as water, [462] is more an activity for women and children than for men. In most of the parcialidades, firewood abounds, and ordinarily each dwelling has sufficient reserves to maintain the fire on the hearth. In cold parcialidades, such as Calderas and Lame, reviving the fire through the night is essential for protection [513] against the cold. The natives sleep around the hearth, from which comes the warmth that they need for sleeping, since they use no covering other than the clothing on their own bodies and no mattress other than a hard cowhide.

376 The abundance of water also facilitates the construction of 258 hydraulic mills, in order to utilize this motive force. They are relatively numerous.

Property

423 The lands of the native communities are protected. That is to say, they belong to the parcialidad. They are inalienable. In addition, they are exempt from taxes. This peculiarity of our legislation has fortunately permitted the preservation of the [311] Paez group and their culture. The lands contained within the parcialidades are uncultivated, usable, /335/ or in use. The uncultivated lands of the communities of Tierradentro are rapidly being colonized.

In each parcialidad there is a specific amount of land that belongs to all the members of the community. It is communal

land.

/310 cont./

243 As may be noted, the magical practices of the té eu are
756 absent, although there still exists that of the eating, which in
789 other parcialidades complements his practices.

249 The cultivation of sugar cane is quite widespread in the
273 temperate thermal level, although the plantings are not extensive and are not pursued for commercial purposes; they serve only for obtaining guarapo (fermented cane juice) for individual and collective labor and for social affairs. Guarapo is an essential part of the domestic economy, in the same manner
249 as coca. It is not produced for public pay. Each house has its
257 sugar mill, either outside or in its interior, but there are no ovens or other accessories for producing panela. The latter industry belongs exclusively to the white or mestizo people.

249 The cultivation of the cane requires three weedings before the first cutting. Three cuttings with good results are generally obtained from each planting.

245 The cultivation of coffee is also very widespread. Its expansion is of recent date, but it already has strong and universal acceptance, like cane and plantains. The method of cultivation suffers from certain deficiencies: the shade is insufficient and inadequate; there is no pruning; the care is not very satis-
[433] factory; many do not have pulping machines. The coffee
245 plantings produce several arrobas per year. The monetary in-
434 come of the natives in the temperate zone is provided basically by
[439] coffee. They sell it to steady and familiar customers for prices
[452] that are usually low. The coffee plantings secure credit for the natives; they often collect money or merchandise against a future
245 harvest. Coffee has permitted them /311/ to acquire dishes, to
434 modify their clothing, to enrich their agricultural equipment,
177 to buy every once in a while the drugs of the "whites." At harvest time they eat meat regularly, and they are also able to pay wages for the improvement of their fincas. But, above all,
[273] it opens the doors of the liquor stores to them. They consume considerable amounts of alcoholic beverages. They have not yet learned to make good use of their monetary income.

/345 cont./

427 San Andrés is the sole region of Tierradentro, as far as we
161 know, where tenant farmers are found. Although the number of persons sunk in this servitude is no higher than 100, the mere occurrence of this phenomenon already tells us of an excess of population, at least in the parcialidades of San Andrés and Santa
[131] Rosa, from which the tenant farmers came. On the other hand, the scattering of the Páez group through this very department of Cauca, the departments of Huila and Tolima, and even through
[311] the department of the Valle is well known. The colonization of the uncultivated lands in Tierradentro by the natives has been systematic and intensive during recent years. There is the utilization of ever more inaccessible lands for agriculture in the temperate thermal level. All of these are factors that clearly tell us of an excess in the Páez population.

427 Here is what a tenant farmer told us about the phenomenon
241 of tenant farming: As a tenant farmer he has the right to own a
466 house, a garden, and a clearing. The house and garden are contiguous and complementary. His garden occupies one plaza /a Colombian measure with 80 meters to the side/ more or less, and in it he has planted plantains (about 200 trees), oranges (about five trees), onions, arracacha, manioc, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, and some 200 coca trees. He has surrounded the garden with barbed wire provided by the owner in order to avoid damage by the animals of the hacienda. He can lay out his clearing on any site of the hacienda. It changes every year. In his present clearing he has planted 1,500 manioc plants; 200 of arracacha (he could not find more seed); maize; small frijoles /fríjol chiquito/ (in one month he hills the "sprigs," in two months they flower, and in three months he harvests) and large frijoles /fríjol grande/, and, finally, about two loads of sugar-
[433] cane shoots (seed). The produce of the clearing and of the garden is primarily for consumption, but if there is a surplus he may sell it to anyone, even though the owner urges him not
[249] to sell to anyone but himself. The sugar cane is milled in the
● [257] /346/ sugar mill of the owner, with the subsequent use of his implements to make panela, half of what is produced being given to him.

/346 cont./

466 given to him. From the harvests of maize, frijoles, and
427 arracacha the owner receives one bag (approximately half an
[241] arroba) of each product, and one or two bunches of the plantains.

231 He says that the hacienda owner has permitted him to raise
427 animals, but he has none, because he spends more time working
466 on the hacienda than in his own house. He says that he owned
[235] some 20 sheep, but is finished with them. Now he has only eight chickens.

427 The informant is the son of another tenant farmer and
466 grew up on this very hacienda. He has owned the house in which he now lives for 18 years. He has not signed any kind of document with the owner and has not been bothered by him about the possession of the house, but rather, on the contrary, has been urged by him to repair the house. In exchange for the use of the house and the land he is obliged to pay three days for rent
[465] per month, eating his own food and using his own tools. On the other days of the month he works for the same owner for daily wages, earning two pesos a day, excluding, of course, the days of religious or national holidays. Each week he re-
[452] ceives 12 pesos. From the owner he buys maize, manioc, and frijoles on credit, which is immediately deducted in labor. The owner only gives him salt and bananas. The panela comes from what he produces.

466 Since the informant specializes in milling and the making
427 of panela, he ordinarily does nothing else. His work begins at
257 six in the morning and ends at ten at night. He is assisted by his
[463] wife, who earns one peso a day, a deaf and dumb son who earns
[512] nothing, and another son who carries the cane to the sugar mill.
[465] This one is married, is also a tenant farmer, earns two pesos a day, and has a separate clearing. His wife does not help in the work because she stays at home caring for the house, looking after the children, and weeding the garden and the clearing.

427 At the mill he works even on Sundays at wrapping panela,
257 a task that cannot be neglected. Ordinarily he spends two weeks
461 at the mill and has the following one free (without pay) to rest,
466 to look after his own field, or to hire out his labor to anyone who

466 /346 cont./
427 needs it (nominal). On the following week he must return to
257 work at the hacienda.
[461] /347/ Each week he produces some 40 arrobas of panela.
[433] The informant boils it down, his wife mills with the deaf and dumb son, and the other son strips the cane. The milling
[422] equipment is expensive and thus belongs to the hacienda. His own tools are two shovels, one small bar, and three machetes, with which he works for the hacienda. The owner of the hacienda has tried to dismiss him three times. Once because he made panela for another owner; it displeases the owner to have him work elsewhere, especially at a mill. The informant did not want to leave his house.

427 The plantings that he has made have sometimes been
241 lost because of the wetness of the soil, leaving no solution but
466 to plant again. The owner does not help at all in such calamities. He has the right to plant as much as he wishes.
[423] Now he owns about 200 coffee trees, but the owner has forbidden him to plant more trees.

427 The informant has seven children, five of whom are females,
465 three of them earn a peso a day working on the hacienda, harvest-
466 ing and weeding coffee. One who is younger earns 50 centavos, and the son pays land rent and earns a daily wage of two pesos. The owner is not honest. To pay the daily wages he usually takes out bills of ten or twenty pesos and sends one of the peons to exchange them for smaller currency, which is always short when it is received. He pays in part and later maintains that the total was met.

Another informant from the same hacienda says that for two years of vaquería (tending cattle) the owner gave him in payment for his labor one mare that is not worth 30 pesos. While doing this work he suffered hunger and worked too hard. Now, aside from having remunerated him very badly, he demands the payment of rent for the two years that he was engaged in this work.

In general terms, the tenant farmers of San Andrés, in exchange for the use of half a hectare of land, one garden, and one house, are obliged: to pay three days of rent per month, providing their own food; to work as day laborers for the hacienda,

/286 cont./

291 the waist, and over it a rebozo or shawl of foreign make; they wear hats of masculine manufacture. They carry a thin stick
283 one meter long more or less, called kasguat, held under the left armpit, and at its upper end there is a bundle of wool to be spun, a task which they do at any time, while walking or sitting in the house, regardless of whether a child is resting on their backs or, when they are walking along the road, a heavy
301 load. Only the women wear ornaments consisting of multi-colored necklaces, earrings, and sometimes rings.

293 Both men and women usually carry three woolen pouches,
415 aside from others of fique, a very small one for money, a larger one for mambe /coca and lime for chewing/, and the third, which is the largest of all and holds the other two, is used to carry palm leaves or the plaited work made with them for the men, and other things for the women.

276 Coca.--All the Paez are "mambe chewers," men, women,
[461] and children, regarding coca as an article that gives strength,
[261] frees one from laziness, and mitigates hunger. Without it, of
[273] course, they will not work. Coca and chicha, fermented sugar-
[262] cane juice, play the role of real foods, given their starchy and scant diet.

631 Parcialidades and cabildos.--Politically, the Indians are
621 organized into parcialidades, each headed by a cabildo made up of a gobernador and substitute, a major alcalde and another minor one, two alguaciles, three fiscales, a comisario, a capitán, and a síndico elected each year and put in office by the respective alcaldías of the municipio, except for the last two, who are named for life and put in office by the /287/ Church. Their functions are administrative and police work, but in reality they exercise functions of social, legal, and religious control.

631 The parcialidades are bounded by the craggy peaks and the deep, rugged beds of the streams and rivers in such a way that each one circumscribes specific kinds of geography, and even of

/333 cont./
417 bags full of frijoles, which are also suspended from the wall
353 posts. This is also where the grains (lumps) of salt are kept.
251 The amounts kept for the months of scarcity are not sufficient, but there are other comestibles that help them: domestic ani-
[244] mals, cabbages, onions, sugar cane, and coca. In Lame and Mosoco they cultivate a plant which they call ijuca de pijao. It
[464] is an edible discoria /Dioscorea/. We have also seen that want is avoided by going to work as laborers on the fincas of the "whites."

[263] Meat is also kept on the frame above the hearth. They utilize the smoke to preserve it. Salt is not used for this purpose.

251 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José, where large quantities of wheat are planted, one frequently finds under the eaves of thatched houses bundles of wheat that remain hanging for several months. In this way they preserve it from the attacks of small rodents, and the grain is of excellent quality because it dries out thoroughly.

261 During times of scarcity, the natives do not seek solace in
273 religion. Actually, their defense is in the sale of their own work-
276 ing capacity for a small daily wage, a few eggs of coca, and
[771] food. It should be noted that guarapo and coca are splendid
[464] sedatives against the pangs of hunger. It is curious that one of the
[465] most noted religious fiestas of Calderas is held precisely during a time of scarcity. Large quantities of guarapo are consumed for nearly a month.

Provision of water and firewood

312 In Tierradentro the rainfall is relatively high. As a result, water abounds in small and /334/ large watercourses. This geographical factor leads the natives to bring the water close to their homes by means of a system of drainage ditches that are true engineering works. The distances that have to be faced or the accidents of the terrain make no difference. When necessary,
[177] they use bamboo tubes as artificial channels. This system has been adopted by the "whites" and even by the towns. Since the high parts on both margins of the Paez River are bare of vegetation,

262 /351 cont./
[234] settlement and when they are dragging down /352/ the timber;
[237] the milk is not used, except in Mosoco, where we have seen
[534] that it is really consumed.
[342]

The Calderunos say that sheep are eaten frequently in the
[231] temperate regions such as Avirama and San Andrés, but few are consumed in Calderas; some say that sheep give wool for clothing, "Why eat them, when they provide ponchos," and others state that to eat mutton brings bad luck, because it would be like eating one's papa.

262 When there are visits by "elders" such as compadres, older
574 brothers, fathers-in-law, or own fathers, they are entertained ("cuida") with dishes different from the ordinary ones, based essentially around barnyard fowl and eggs. If there is meat, a large piece is cooked. The compadres, in turn, bring as a gift griddle-cakes (about 15), eggs (about 10), and frequently chickens.

262 There is no special diet for children; they eat exactly the
846 same as adults. There are differences of diet according to sex only when the woman has just given birth. Then, she is given ground maize, arracacha, manioc, ripe plantain, laying hens ("these
● [261] are nice and fat"), and mutton. The mejicano is proscribed for them, because it brings cold into the stomach and gives much pain; onions, because they cause a stomach ailment and rot the in-
[844] testines; pork and the frijol bueno for the same reason. Peppers are also taboo for parturient women.

262 For hard labor, it is regarded as good to eat mote, with
263 cabbage, frijol bueno, and well salted, because it gives strength for the daily activities; if one eats the same thing (" a good dish"), but without salt, they say that one is already hungry by the middle of the day.

262 Foods regarded as aphrodisiacs are "sango," prepared with
832 finely ground and sifted maize, and raw eggs.

261 Of the foods that they eat, they believe that chicha and water are transformed into blood, and the maize, potatoes, frijoles, and arracacha into flesh.

To gain weight, they believe that it is necessary to eat and not to work, rather than to follow a special diet.

/352 cont./

261 The natives lose weight -- says an informant -- because first they eat good and abundant food, and then they do not have [262] enough to eat and, naturally, grow thin. In times of scarcity ("hambruna"), they eat frijol cacha and its tender leaves, in the same way as they eat mejicano leaves; cabbages are gathered leaf by leaf, for at this time of year they are less abundant. When there is nothing more to eat they kill a cow and eat meat; they hunt /353/ wild pigeons or chachalacas, cook them, and [273] drink the broth with salt. They also make chicha, and the old [276] people get drunk every day; the consumption of coca increases: "the people chew and chew so as not to feel too hungry"; the little ones suffer hunger because they do not know how to chew, and they eat mejicano, which does not require the salt that they try to save. Finally, they end up going to the fincas of the "whites" to earn food, coca, and a few centavos.

264 When they do not work, they have one meal at 3:00 P.M. and another at 6:00 P.M. After the first meal they lie down and say, "We are making estancia," that is to say, digesting and [261] getting nourishment. Skinned maize with saffron, chicken, plantains, and peppers gives more "estancia."

261 They barely eat enough unskinned maize, which they cook as mote, but they eat to excess the sancocho of potatoes and frijol bueno because it is so good. No one eats an entire chicken. It is divided. In the former state they would believe that the chicken was stolen. Mejicano makes some people vomit, because they are used to eating meat, and they are the ones who might be thieves.

As a rule, everyone eats only one plate of food; if they eat [756] two, they cannot walk. The curers eat little in order to be able to [787] spend the night in vigil, devoted to their activities; they always [262] eat eggs and they avoid eating peppers in order to be able to [263] feel the "signs" (31).

31. Vernal Villa, S. "Magia y Medicina entre los Paeces /Magic and Medicine among the Paez/," p. 248.

The people of
/356 cont./
43 Mosoco have numerous droves of pack animals for handling the
628 import and export traffic, in which the Guambianos (with their
492 horses), called kasukos by the people of Mosoco, who regard them as good friends and not very different from themselves, also participate. The fact is that they live together, work together, and do their trading jointly.

563 The relations between "whites" and natives in Mosoco
621 seem to be cordial and based on mutual respect.

Family economy

594 The Paez family is basically an economic unit. It is made up of the parents and the children, and it represents a
[602] closed but effective circle. They do not go beyond their own
[476] limits in any way, so that the mingas and the distribution of the
[431] first fruits of the harvests are carried out primarily with consanguineal and political relations.

594 The manner in which this economic unit functions and in
462 which its members collaborate can be clearly understood from the division of the activities by sex. The supreme management of the family economy rests in the hands of the man; it is he who owns the land, the house, the tools, and the domestic animals. His arm has not been taught to wield anything but the machete, the axe, and the shovel. He is the owner of the crops and the one who determines where, how, and when work is to be done. His primary work is outside the house: on the land itself. The woman, on /357/ the other hand, remains inside the house, and her basic work is connected with the administration and working up of the products handed over to her by the man. Cooking and
[464] weaving are her specialities. It is true that the woman hires
[178] herself out as a day laborer on the fincas of the "whites" and that in some parcialidades, such as Mosoco, she participates directly in the preparation of the land and the weeding of the crops, but this is a relatively new phenomenon and is not yet universally accepted among the natives.

261 In general terms, the primary incentive for economic activity
594 dealing with food is the satisfaction of the basic needs of the individual and the survival of the family group. It is the security

/357 cont./

261 that is provided by having what is to be consumed. An abundance
594 of guarapo and maize undoubtedly gives them great gratification. When these products are abundant the religious fiestas, mingas, and "entertainments" are good, the natives say, and they describe at great length the incidents as they unfold.

178 But, in spite of the fact that the work capacity of the in-
241 dividual is acknowledged, that the possession of domestic animals
433 lends a certain prestige within the group, and that the abundance
[554] of food and guarapo brings gratification, the agricultural cycle
[231] remains stationary within the lineaments of time, of the systems of labor, and of the quantity of seed. They produce essentially
178 for consumption. The stimulation of prestige does not exist. In
433 many parcialidades, the habits of a capitalistic economy are openly
[754] combated by the sorcerers (32). Nevertheless, we have already

32. Bernal Villa, S. op. cit., p. 256.

had the opportunity to state that the introduction of the cultivation of coffee (temperate zone), the development of livestock-raising and of the cultivation of potatoes in Mosoco, and the creation of settlement areas in the very heart of the native parcialidades are rapidly modifying all of the institutions of Páez culture. The family economy of self-provisioning and of small barter operations is changing perceptibly into a purely money economy. By the same process the routine monotony is disappearing from production and is being replaced by new techniques of work, a greater quantity of production, and a greater volume of trade.

434 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, and San Andrés, we
121 made an investigation of familial income and expenses /358/ for
124 the year 1953, on the basis of questionnaires prepared by the Comisión de Planeamiento de la Seguridad Social Campesina of the Ministerio del Trabajo, questionnaires that were filled out by us for the said commission with reference to Tierradentro.

/112 cont./

142 age the hair seldom becomes white. We met only one woman with slightly graying hair and an old man with a gray, sparse
[302] beard, but dark hair. The beard among men is scant. The beard hair is regularly plucked (see Ills. 148 to 155 /see pp. 265-268/).

143 According to the blood-group analysis of the Paez, among the 303 individuals examined there were 88.78 per cent of blood group 0, 6.93 per cent of blood group A, and 4.29 per cent of blood group B. The blood group A+B is not represented (G. Arcila Velez, pp. 11-14).

829 The racial concept of Indian is foreign to the Paez themselves. To them "Indio" designates a cultural status. My colleague, Segundo Bernal Villa, an Indian from the region of Pasto, was designated as "blanco" because of his European clothing. And when our interpreter Victoriano bought himself "white clothing" (hat, pants, shirt, shoes) with the money he earned, he was called a "white" in his village and accordingly treated with hostility.

161 The population figures for the Paez do not seem either to increase or decrease, as far as the uncivilized Paez are con-
165 cerned, for example, in Calderas. Infant mortality comes to more
164 than 50 per cent. The most common cause of sickness is whooping cough. The health of children who survive their second year, as well as of adults, is -- considering the circumstances -- quite good. True, one scarcely sees old people over 60 (and
[132] those who look that old are probably younger). The most fre-
[362] quent illness of adults is tuberculosis, which claims numerous victims, since the nights are very cold and the cold and wind can
[262] penetrate through the light walls of the houses unhindered. More-
[273] over, no fat of any kind is commonly eaten. Another illness from which many Paez suffer, which, however, is not taken seriously, is stomach trouble caused by the drinking of brandy even during
[354] infancy and the unsuitable diet in childhood. Infants are given
[262] beans, cabbage, and yuca, but no milk, except mother's milk.

/116 cont./

343 In addition to these dwellings only a few houses have
[574] separate buildings, such as, for example, one or, if need be,
[513] two storehouses or a small house (yatléčkwe) in which friends
and neighbors sleep when they help the owner for days for the
251 joint work of expressing sugar-cane or for the harvest. In the
343 storehouse (kotyāvyat: literally "maize storehouse") only maize
[262] and beans are stored, not wheat or garden produce. Fruit, yuca,
potatoes, and arracacha are not kept on hand or stored at all,
but always merely fetched as needed and eaten immediately.
Wheat is tied in bundles below the ears on stalks about 20 centimeters long and hung up under the roof above the fire. Maize and beans may be kept up to two years in the storehouse. For this purpose horizontal cross-sticks are fastened in it, over which the ears are hung, and racks consisting of maize stalks
[425] laid close together are constructed for the beans. These racks,
too, are hung up, if possible, or at least are fastened quite
high above the floor so that the mice (úńsa) cannot get to them.
[231] In addition, a cat (mīš) is shut up in the storehouse, if one is
available. Stalls for the livestock are unknown.

34 In the middle of the village of Calderas, on community
land, stand the church (iglésia), the community house (kabīldeyát),
and the six festival houses of the six largest families (Ill. 147
/see p. 264 /). In their construction, they are likewise hip-
roofed houses, but their walls are built in the manner of the
colonists' houses, /117/ out of vertical posts, on the inside and
outside of which bamboo poles or straight branches are tied
horizontally. To strengthen the posts the interstices are filled
with earth, clay, and, in the lower part, also with stones. The
filling is spread smoothly and the wall whitewashed inside and
[373] out. Whereas light enters the other houses through the door and
the not very tightly sealed walls made of maize stalks placed side
by side, light can enter the above-mentioned houses consisting of
solid walls only through the relatively small door and the opening
of the roof ridge, which makes the interior rather dark.

000 /129 cont./
351 p.274 /). The same fencing with the same ladder construction
417 generally also surrounds the house gardens of the Paez farms. In case the houseowner has larger domestic animals, such as cows, horses, and sheep, a gate (puélta) consisting either of a regular lath door or a barrier of horizontal beams is built into
[227] the fence surrounding his house. In the villages of the civilized Paez, in the /130/ environs of which tree growth is inadequate for the construction of a wooden fence, bamboo is used for the vertical poles, and bundles of dry maize stalks for the horizontal parts.

241 The entire agriculture of the Paez is digging-stick culti-
412 vation (Ill. 172 /see p. 276/). Hoe culture was originally unknown. The house gardens, only recently laid out after the model of the colonists and in which European plants such as cabbage, cucumbers, and onions are cultivated, are turned over with the spade (pála). The digging stick (āty) consists merely of a pointed tree-trunk or pole, though recently broad iron tips with
243 a socket are being put on the digging sticks more and more. Maize may be sowed throughout the year, but it is generally sowed in April when the rainy season begins. Several men always participate, making holes in the ground about one meter apart in every direction with the digging stick, and putting six to eight maize kernels into each hole. The holes are covered again with only very little earth with the foot, "so that the sprout can come out more easily." The ripening period of ten to 12 months is relatively long. After half a year the field is cleared of weeds once. The harvest period is spread out over approximately half a year, provided that sufficiently large amounts of maize were planted; and for this half
[262] year the people practically live "from the stalk." First the young maize (tsőt; maize in general, kóty) is eaten half-ripe and only later are the ripe ears harvested and eaten. Every day the men or women go into the field with their bags made of agave fibers and break off only as much as is needed each time for the meal.

249 Whereas maize may be cultivated at all elevations in
[243] Calderas, sugar cane (nyűša) thrives only in the lower, protected localities of the Kokiyő Valley. Its ripening period of two to

/130 cont./

249 three years is very long. Shoots from old sugar-cane plants are used as slips, which are set out by the men in the same way as the maize kernels. A hole is made in the ground with the digging stick at one-meter intervals in every direction from the neighboring plant; the slip is stuck into it and pressed firmly with [462] the hands. The cane is harvested by men or women. Both know [482] how to handle the machete. The men carry the sugar cane home over their shoulders (Ill. 173 /see p.277 /), women stuff the sugar cane into the fiber bags and hang them over their backs, holding the carrying band with their foreheads.

244 Besides maize and sugar cane, the bean (ōs) is of great im- [262] portance for the Paez diet. There are the large, speckled so-called "sow beans" /broad beans/ (Spanish frijol) and the smaller, white beans. /131/ The former are for the most part eaten, whereas the white beans are usually sold. They are sowed either in the vicinity of the house at the foot of trees and shrubs, with three beans always stuck into the ground at a time, or together with maize. In this case, during the maize sowing, three to four beans are put in the same hole with the six to eight maize kernels. In growing simultaneously the beans climb up the maize stalks.

243 Wheat (skótc) is not of importance in the diet of the Paez, [262] for no bread is baked. Nevertheless it is very often planted because it grows fast and thus represents a suitable item for the Paez to sell. 243 If anyone has to buy something, be it fabric for a pair of trousers, 434 a machete, a metal pot, etc., he sows wheat, usually in March/ April, and after half a year he can already pocket profit from the sale. It is characteristic of the Paez, however, that they make use of this only when they need something urgently, but not in 243 advance so as to have money on hand in any case. The preparation for wheat sowing is done in the customary manner of clearing by burning. The sower hangs around himself a fiber bag containing the seed grain and, in exactly the same fashion as our sower, starts to broadcast the wheat with his hand in a wide arc. Subsequently the ground is superficially turned over with the shovel, so that the birds cannot pick up the grains. In harvesting it a bundle of stalks is grasped a good hand's breadth under the ears and cut off with the

/131 cont./

243 other hand by means of the semicircularly curved sickle. In case
[251] the wheat is not sold immediately, the bundles of ears are tied together and stored under the house roof, above the fire area. Whereas the kernels are shelled off the maize ears by hand by the
[237] women as needed, the wheat is threshed. For this purpose a cowhide is put on the floor, a bundle of wheat ears is held securely on the hide with one hand, and with the other hand the ears are beaten with a club until the grains are removed.

244 The other produce used in the diet is planted in the house garden, which likewise is used every year as long as the house is occupied. The yield is generally good because the Paez have learned from the colonists the importance of regular fertilization. Each harvested plot is carefully dug up again with the spade and strewed with the refuse from the house and the collected manure of the cows and horses. Human excrement is not used; it is "too ugly," Everyday, in addition, the kitchen refuse (maize and bean husks, banana peels, arracacha and yuca scraps), as well as the excrement /132/ of the guinea pigs (fits) kept in the kitchen, is scattered in the garden and tossed on the vegetable plots.

The most important garden plant is white cabbage (kólis). The women buy the small plants from a woman in the village who raises them from seed. The planting time is March, when the rainy season begins. Potatoes (ká'ka) are seldom planted. They are very small, have a yellow flesh, and are of poor quality. Sowing time is whenever one wishes. The men make a small hole with the digging stick and put one or two small potatoes in it and carefully cover up the hole again. After a month one can already hill them with the hands, and after four months, harvest them. To do this, the entire family digs them out with their
[821] hands. Arracacha (ā's) may likewise be planted throughout the year, but yields the best harvest if it is planted with the full moon. In harvesting it a digging stick is used. Yuca (ānya) is seldom eaten, for the climate is too cold to grow it in Calderas. In the lower villages the ripening period is two years.

245 A very important crop that plays a great role in the diet
[262] of the Paez is the banana, which was not native to America originally (Schweinfurt, pp. 504 f.). Two large groups are

/132 cont./

245 differentiated: that of the fruit or sugar bananas, and that of the vegetable or mealy bananas. Both kinds are known to the Paez, to be sure, but only the vegetable bananas (tolǒ), whose starchy fruits must be cooked first before being eaten, like potatoes, because they are difficult to digest, are important for them, as for all tropical peoples. The fruit bananas (gnayoĩts), the only bananas eaten in Europe, are seldom eaten by the Paez and generally are not cultivated. They are planted by means of slips, which in Calderas bear from the third year on and yield harvests
244 for many years. Other crops grown in the house garden and eaten from time to time are cucumbers (kambĩč or pĩna, according to the species), squash (pete), and the wild granadilla (šlāl).

b) Food Preparation

264 The Paez eat only two meals a day, the first one (kosē oñ) about four or five o'clock in the morning before work, and the second (fi'nz oñ) at three or four o'clock in the afternoon, after returning from work in the fields. In between, that is, while working on the often quite distant fields, coca /133/ is taken and sugar-cane juice drunk every two to three hours. The morning and evening meals do not differ in content and vary
252 little from day to day. They are cooked without meat, without
262 fat, without salt, as well as without any other seasoning. Cook-
[263] ing with fat is customary only on festive days in the festival house.
[237] On this occasion a blood sausage is made from the blood of cattle, sheep, or pigs, for which the intestines are cleaned and then cooked with blood, salt, onions, and caraway, as well as with another herb (pléo). Meat is not put into the intestines, and likewise no fat.

262 There is no desire for greater variety in food and drink. I was scarcely able to discover any individual differences in taste among the Calderun, for everyone eats everything, and they all regard beans or cabbage or both together as the best food and bean leaves as the worst.

000 /133 cont./

264 food and bean leaves as the worst. They eat together. The
[415 412] family sits around the fire and the woman serves. They do not, however, eat out of the large cooking pot, which is usually of clay, though sometimes of aluminum, but rather the soup is dipped out with a wooden ladle into shallow bowls, from one of which the men, that is to say, the father and sons, eat, and the mother, daughters, and small children eat out of another one.
[263 353] Above the fire area a few small pieces of rock salt hang in a small pouch or lie on a rack and are used to salt the food after it is cooked. To do this each one takes the piece of salt and holds it or puts it in his plate until the soup is sufficiently salted.

252 In the following, a few dishes: 1) maize flour, ground
262 on the oval or rectangular grindstone with a hand-stone, is cooked with beans and cabbage; 2) vegetable bananas with beans and arracacha; 3) green ears of maize with beans (wood ashes are added to every maize dish, in order to make the maize tender more quickly); 4) green ears of maize with white cabbage; 5) white cabbage, arracacha, and potatoes; 6) beans and vegetable bananas; 7) only beans and maize flour; 8) arracacha and beans. Eggs are either boiled hard in the shell in a pot, or the egg is beaten with a spoon in a dish, water and onions are added, and
[415] the whole is cooked. All foods are cooked in a large pot as soup; only ears of maize roasted in a bowl /Schale, "bowl, shell, husk"/ (wáts; Spanish arepa) are an exception. Meat is only boiled, never roasted; they eat the meat of cattle, sheep, and pigs, as well as poultry and guinea pigs, but not horse meat. If horses die, the carcasses are devoured by dogs.

/134/ c) Means of Enjoyment

273 The two most important pleasures for the Paez, as for the
276 cultures of the entire Andean area, are coca and chicha. Tobacco plays a subordinate role.

/140 cont./

231 439 Since the only purpose of keeping horses among the Paez is to have as large a number as possible, it is understandable that they place importance above all on the possession of mares. The birth of a filly is therefore a great joy and everyone would be happy to trade a grown stallion for a filly, "because it again gives foals." Unfortunately this exchange takes place only all too rarely, because the colonists are not interested in the degenerate horses of the Calderun. It is different with cows (kulá; steer = toló, heifer = novflya). Here the /141/ Calderun breed (black mottled "Holstein" and brown cattle) is healthier and usually also stronger than the cattle of the colonists. Moreover, on account of the somewhat cooler climate, their bodies are almost completely free of ticks and vermin, in contrast to the cows belonging to the inhabitants of lower altitudes, normally 231 crawling with larvae and maggots. Unlike horse meat, beef is [262] eaten, but milk is never drunk, "since the Calderun never have [272] the cows milked." The breeding goal here, too, is the greatest possible number. Thus it would never happen that a cow or calf would be slaughtered. I could not learn of any preference for a particular color, for example, black-white or brown-white, or uniformly all black or white or brown. All are liked equally well [431] by the Paez, since only the number is important. There is no special attachment between a person and his livestock, for no one gives away livestock, either as a birthday, christening, or [552] wedding present. Special names or designations for livestock or pet names are not used.

233 422 231 About half the total number of Calderun cattle and horses graze on the pastures of community land. This means about 40 horses and 60 cattle. The figure shows that only a small number of Calderun families own a cow or a horse. The proportion [554] becomes even less favorable when one learns that there are three rich families who own about ten to 20 head of cattle and horses each. The other half of the large stock, as well as sheep, pigs, and small stock, remain near the houses and seek their fodder there. [241] They may also forage in the uncultivated fields of neighbors; they are prevented by the fences from breaking into the cultivated fields.

/141 cont./

231 Every member of the family knows every head of its herd
233 of livestock, and the men every head of the large livestock of
422 the entire village. Nevertheless, marks of ownership are used, which, for the horses, consist of branding irons with the first initial of the owner, such as are used by the colonists and may be bought there. The cattle have as marks of ownership small cuts in their ears in the form of a triangle, square, or semicircle, or a corresponding piercing of the ears. Pigs and sheep have the same marks of ownership in their ears.

231 Sheep (pīsa) are kept chiefly for their wool, though they
236 are also eaten. The total stock of the village, however, is so
[262] small that only every third family on the average owns one or
[422] two sheep. The other families must obtain the wool they need
[437] from the sheep owners in exchange for other things (see under
231 "Trade and Transportation" /see p. 92 /). /142/ Pigs (čúče)
[422] are greatly coveted because of their meat, but there are not enough of them so that every family can own one, only about every second family. Like all the other domestic animals, they roam about freely in the vicinity of the farmyard and must forage for their food. They are prevented from getting into the fenced fields by having a frame made of three sticks hung around their necks.

[343] Stalls for the animals or regular and special feeding or
[232] care are unknown. The owner puts rock salt in the pasture areas for the cattle and horses every Sunday. Occasionally scraps of arracacha or maize are thrown in front of the house for the pigs, which must then forage for them. Chickens (átaly; rooster =
235 atalyepítste, chick = atalyelúčkwe are now and then fed with maize or peck at the arracacha lying about in the dwelling. To feed baby chicks the woman chews some maize and spits out the
[685] mash for them. Every family has a few chickens, but their number does not grow large because foxes and neighbors are always
[422] stealing those wandering free. Hence the average figure remains
231 at only two to three chickens and a rooster per family. In many
262 houses guinea pigs (fits) run about, living on refuse from the kitchen and, when roasted, prized as a delicacy.

/142 cont./

231 There are dogs (álko) in almost every house. They are supposed to protect the chickens from the fox and the house from strange persons. We never met any really vicious dogs, however. They are all very undernourished and cowardly and, in addition, are of a small, short-haired breed. There are no larger dogs, say, of the size of our shepherd dogs. They must hunt for their food, [262] which consists chiefly of the meat of dead horses, since the people do not eat horse meat. Only very rarely are the remains of human meals tossed to them. Cats (mīs) are rare. Only a few families have one. They serve human beings by keeping the house and storerooms free of mice. Ducks (páto) are likewise very [235] rare; we came across only two each in two houses. They are [262] greatly prized as roasts.

Bees (čí'nc) are kept by only a few families. They are smaller than our German honeybees and of a yellowish brown color. There are no special beehives; rather, an old, hollow, but still standing tree-trunk is used. In one case they nested in a house post next to the doorway. Their honey (čí'nc mil) is dark brown, [237] like syrup. Beeswax (čí'nc) is used to strengthen the agave-fiber string with which broken chicha bowls are repaired and fireworks are made.

/143/ e) Hunting and Fishing

224 Neither plays any great role in the economy of the Paez. [433] Moreover, there is no special class of hunters or fishermen. Hunting is practiced only by the men and, for lack of big game, generally extends to smaller mammals, rabbits, monkeys, and to birds. Only in the mountains is it possible to find and to hunt the čái and gwágwa. The former is a kind of deer, so I was told, and the gwágwa a small animal similar to a badger.

The greatest frequency of the hunting trips of a man is about one day a week. Mostly, however, the men go hunting [231] less often. This is done alone with dogs in the vicinity of the [776] houses, whereas a hunting trip in the mountains is generally made by several men, since a man alone is afraid of gělyómp, the mountain spirit.

/143 cont./

224 mountain spirit. We met only a single young man of about 18
who goes hunting alone in the mountains once a week. He told
us that, in order to become a good hunter, one must first try to
[789] kill a bear (éšwiy). One must then rub its fat into the right
[237] lower-arm, which would give him the same powers as the bear.
[262] One is not permitted to eat this fat, however, because it would
[828] make him insane. After rubbing in the fat, the young hunter
[263] continued, one may not eat salt at any meal for a week. There
are no further rules and ceremonies of any kind to be observed.
[237] We learned, however, that one can also use bear fat as a heal-
[752] ing remedy, and, to be sure, for bone fractures or sprains one
[757] must rub the affected part with bear fat, whereupon the injured
limb will heal immediately and will become considerably
224 stronger than ever before. For stalking he wears on his head a
292 cap made of the skin of a reddish-blond hairy monkey (móno),
[825] which in the first place protects him from the thorns of the
bushes, but which is also supposed to facilitate creeping up on
[439] game. He sold it to us for two pesos without hesitation, since,
[126] as he said, he was perfectly capable of shooting another monkey
224 for himself. He was not afraid of the gělyómp spirit, but the
776 other men were, for gělyómp screams and makes a noise when
human beings enter his area in the mountains, so that they be-
come quite confused and go astray. The mountain spirit cannot
do anything to several men together, however, since he could
make as much noise as he pleased, but they would not let them-
224 selves be diverted. Of course, the men, even if there are ever so
776 many of them, must not offend the mountain spirit or provoke
515 him unnecessarily, but rather must avoid everything that gělyómp
783 does not like. /144/ For instance, he hates everything impure
[296] and filthy. Hence the men always only go hunting well washed;
[824] they even wash the entire body, and the ruana, too. In addition,
they rub themselves with the cleansing herbs šu and šáyuts, which
they obtain from the shaman, in order to be really altogether
[761] clean in a physical and ritual sense. But if someone has taken
part in a burial or has merely seen a funeral procession close by,
he has picked up a good deal of "pest" from the dead and must
have himself specially purified by the
shaman before hunting.

/167 cont./

484 while the /168/ woman on foot lugs the goods behind. From
439 Calderas more men than women visit the market. For both it
482 is a very welcome occasion to become intoxicated. The
[273] owners of the taverns try to prevent the stealing of the much
[275] coveted beer and whiskey glasses, popularly practiced by the Paez, by chaining the glasses to the tavern tables.

On market days it is customary to leave very early and to transport the loads in the fiber bags in the customary way: the men take the carrying belt diagonally across their chests and the women hold it with their foreheads. In both cases the bag hangs on their backs. Then generally travel in groups of twos or threes, but not infrequently one also meets solitary
[432] individuals. Provisions are taken along, for, as a matter of
[273] principle, nothing is bought on the way except chicha or brandy.
[485] If it is necessary to stay overnight, nothing is paid for this. They sleep either at the entrance of a house of acquaintances or spend the night in the open field.

439 For traveling and for the visit to the market they try to wear
484 at least one article of European clothing, a felt hat, a shirt, or
[291] a blouse. The quality plays only a minor role, since the worst
[177] shirt is still more desirable than the finest ruana. A person who cannot buy anything in the way of clothing at least ties a black
[262] band around his hat, such as the felt hats have. Provisions are carried along in the fiber bag, roasted maize, cabbage, potatoes,
[415] arracacha. A person who can carries with him two or three of
484 the woolen coca pouches, in one of which there is coca and lime,
461 in another one money, and in the third the plaiting material
[285] for the straw hat. Almost all the men do this plaiting work, which actually is not work at all, but more like a "blind occupation," when they have nothing else to do, either when visiting, on the way to market, or also during the shaman ceremonies.
[283] The women, no matter where one meets them, are equally in-
[285] dustrious and always busy with spinning or plaiting the fiber bags or the wool coca-pouches. Like the men, they carry their work material with them in a second wool pouch.

/189 cont./

b) Maturity

881 Today no rites or ceremonies for the youths take place any
[178] more. In former times they were led to the sacred lagoon of Juan
[778] Tama or to the heights of Cuetando, and there they had to build a hut and lay out a small cornfield as proof of their capabilities as a man and father of a household (Hernandez, 1944, p. 203).

[582] A girl comes of age with puberty, that is to say, she may
[836] marry. Before that and before marriage, intercourse is not per-
[535] mitted. On the occasion of the first menstruation in former times a special dance was performed (itsa-kó), during which the young girl was bathed naked in chicha in a pit outside the festival house
881 (Castillo i Orosco, p. 85). Today this no longer takes place;
285 rather, a girl, when she goes to the dúyat for the first time at
787 about 15 years of age, takes along agave fibers and during the
[178] approximately five days that she stays there plaits a very pretty,
[262] small fiber bag (yáhalečkwe) about the size of a fist. There are no additional food prohibitions or similar things. After that she goes to a distant river to bathe. On the way there she lets the bag fall. A married man passing by lets it lie, for he knows that it belongs to a young girl. A young man, however, who happens to be coming that way sees the beautifully worked bag, picks it up, and uses it as a small money-bag. Without knowing who made the little bag, he will -- people are convinced -- marry this girl.

/190/ c) Marriage

595 The present form of marriage of the Paez is monogamy.
114 H. Pittier de Fábrega (p. 314), however, concludes from their traditions that the Paez were formerly polygamous and were converted to monogamy only through education on the part of the missionaries. I could find no clue in their mythology for actual
595 polygamy in former times. The social structure and way of life
591 of the Paez, however, prohibits living alone for unmarried girls.
[589] In case they have no relatives or do not find lodging in the house of relatives, another man takes them into his family. The girl

/195 cont./

d) Death

761 According to the belief of the Paez, death occurs chiefly
776 through the action of the evil shamans (nyic) or the evil spirits
165 ec̀, tũs, and gělyómp (see "Religion" /see pp. 191ff./). Included
164 here also is the not infrequent cause of death through consumption.
[262] Causes of death of children are chiefly whooping cough, as well as stomach and intestinal disorders, the latter brought about by a
[762] diet very unsuitable for children. Suicide is completely unknown.

764 The death of a member of the community is passed on from
[763] man to man by members of the family and neighbors. There is
[203] no public mourning or lamentation; upon the death of small
[765] children, people act as though they were glad, since the children
[192] are now "little angels." (Among the colonists, as well as among the Paez, the Spanish word "angelito" is used.) In former times it was customary to abandon the house when death occurred and to leave the deceased and some food in it (Castillo i Orosco, p. IX).

764 The manner of burial is the same for men, women, and
184 children; there are no social differences. A few customs in other Paez communities, however, differ from those of the Calderun. Therefore the burial of the dead in Calderas will be described first.

[177] For burial the deceased is dressed if possible in purchased,
[291] that is, "white" clothing, even if he was the poorest of the poor and had never worn such clothing. For this reason the relatives incur considerable expense, which often cannot be paid for a long time. Burial takes place the day after death. Only the feet of the deceased are washed. This work, as well as dressing the deceased, may be done by relatives or even by outsiders; they must, /196/ however, always be men, even in the case of female deceased persons. The body is taken by two men on a bier made of two tree trunks to the graveyard next to the church, where two other men, usually relatives, have already dug the grave. The latter is trapezoid-shaped, a good shoulder's breadth at head height and narrower at the foot end. Its length is determined by the size of the deceased. The direction of the grave is completely arbitrary.

/260 cont./

756 on the village plaza, along with her medicinal herbs. Then they
[754] sent her back to her house, without her staff and without her
[683] medicinal herbs. When someone again became sick, however, the people again came to her and asked her to help the sick one. Then her husband, who, however, was not a shaman, made her a new staff; she herself again looked for her medicinal herbs and was able to help the sick. Since then she has been recognized once again as a good shaman and helps all who come to her. Another shaman in Santa Rosa said that he had received his call when he was but six years old. One day when he was working in the field, his mother, dressed in black and with a hat on her head, came to him and scolded him on account of his poor work. When she left, he followed her, but she disappeared into the river. When he returned home, he realized that the woman whom he saw could not have been his mother, since the latter had been in the community field at that time, where she was cooking for the workers. Undoubtedly this woman was a spirit, he confessed, who wanted to tell him that he should become a shaman. This was also confirmed for him by two fiber bags which she carried and which corresponded exactly to those used by the shamans for their medicinal herbs. A shaman from Calderas said that there came to him one night a very beautiful blond child with the women's hair style, who, however, was Thunder, and called upon him to become a shaman.

756 If one does not have visions by himself, he can, in order to
787 become shaman, seek them purposely. For this he need only eat
[262] very little and must refrain entirely from ají (a very pungent condi-
[263] ment /see the glossary, p. 248/) and salt for one month. (The same thing also happens to a young man after he has involuntarily had a vision.) The one seeking a vision then goes all alone into the mountains, where he wanders over hill and dale for a long time, until he comes to a beautiful place where he meets an older man. The latter, like himself, is chewing coca. Through his appearance and his friendly manner he inspires confidence in the youth, and the latter tells /261/ him of his wish to become a shaman. He

/262 cont./

754 most opportunities to meet evil spirits. Generally they do not need a teacher, but may look for their herbs by themselves. There are also many people, however, who would like to learn sorcery from other nyic, just as there are also supposed to nyic who instruct others in their art.

756 Avoidance prescriptions and taboos for the shaman include
784 some sexual and dietary abstinence, without, however, being
[834] very extensive or strict. Intercourse with his wife is forbidden
[263] for him when he feels his "signs." Moreover, he may not eat any ají if possible, in order not to make Thunder too angry. Also, he may eat only very little salt, since Thunder likewise /263/ eats
[787] no salt. For the séances, which always take place at night, he fasts the whole day, since a full stomach makes it difficult to feel the
756 "signs." The other avoidance rules for the shaman are the same
784 as for all other human beings. For example, one may not kill a
825 snail, for if he should touch it, he would become lazy. In like manner, the black woodpecker (ánza) may not be killed, since otherwise, while working, one would split the machete in the same way as the tail of the woodpecker is shaped. Young men are forbidden to take a stolen hen away from a fox, for then another man would take his bride or wife away from him. Only
[262] old men may confidently eat such a hen, if they have first run around the house with a firebrand.

c) Shamanistic Aids

756 Among the shamanistic aids, the "signs" are the most im-
787 portant symptoms experienced, while the outward ceremonial gear is as meager as the whole Paez culture. The only ceremonial implement is the unadorned shaman's staff, the functional meaning of which, however, is far less important than the shamanistic "signs" (ítok). "They are like the pecking of a bird," the shaman Cerbeleón Niunda said of them, and Francisco Cuskue describes them as the irregular beating of his pulse. To be able to receive
[278] and to interpret them is the basis of being a shaman. Knowledge of the medicinal herbs, the handling of the shaman's staff, in

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

FOOD. CULTIVATED AND OTHER USEFUL PLANTS

The principal food of the Paez Indians is maize, or Indian corn, of which they grow several varieties, belonging to three distinct types, namely, a sweet corn (*tšulpi*), a soft corn (*kapio*), and the common flint corn. The words *tšulpi* and *kapio* belong to the Kitsu[illegible]uage, a fact that points to the southern origin of these varie[illegible] Judging from tradition, as well as from the varietal names [illegible]ed elsewhere in the Cauca valley, the flint corn that is grown all over the country may possibly be of northern origin. The Paez language has only one word to designate all varieties of corn, and it is interesting to note that the one now in use (*kutš* or *kukŕ*) is quite distinct from that employed in Castillo's time (*kokavi*). It is not unlikely that the present name was introduced by some of the tribes subsequently incorporated with the Paez.

The *tšulpi*, or sweet corn, is usually eaten roasted or boiled on the cob. Of soft corn, or *kapio*, they make a kind of dough called *χθionts*, which is the base of several culinary preparations, among them the tortilla (*kuáts*). *Kaš* is a gruel made of black corn; *mutši*, or *motši* (the Kitšua *motc*), is prepared by shelling the kernels without disintegrating them. Last, but not least, large quantities of the grain are used in the preparation of chicha (*beka*).

Beans are generally cultivated along with maize. I noticed two varieties — *us kutš*, black beans, and *us bi*, red beans. The *asgual*, cited by Castillo as special to the village of Suin, are the seeds of the *Erythrina edulis* Triana, which I collected under the name of *us ual*; they are large, and when boiled taste almost exactly like the common horse-bean (*Faba vulgaris*).

Of scarcely less value as a food-staple are the several varieties of squashes, so generally cultivated and eaten as to have caused Castillo to express the opinion that "most of the Indians would perish should these fail in the province." The larger variety, *ápe-tots* (*Cucurbita maxima?*), is less common, and may have been introduced, although it already existed in Tierra Adentro in Castillo's time; *ápe*, the zapallo or pumpkin (*Cucurbita pepo*), is perhaps indigenous to the region, since the last native name,

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

244 now widely used all over Spanish America, is of Kitšua origin
262 (*zapayú*); *ápe-te*, the most extensively cultivated variety, is called *Mejicano* by the Spanish natives, although it seems to have been cultivated in the country from time immemorial.

Several interesting edible roots or tubers, mostly under cultivation, are relished by the Paez Indians. Thus *ãs*, or *ans* (*Arracacia esculenta*), a celery-like umbelliferous plant with large white roots; *unt*, a peculiar yam (*Dioscorea*); *nia* the cassava root; *kâka*, the potato, of which there are certainly several species; *tsęvi*, or *ɜuil* (*Ullucus tuberosus*), a very remarkable *Chenopodiacea*, of the high Andean region; *pnil*, *Tropæolum tuberosum*, another species, the cultivation of which seems to be restricted to a limited district of western South America. All these plants are more or less under cultivation, but the Indians also eat many wild roots which I had no opportunity to identify. *Kambitš* (*Cyclanthera pedata*), the singularly-shaped fruit of a Cucurbit, is used as a green vegetable along with the tender sprouts of several other plants.

245 Among the favorite fruits the plantain naturally ranks first,
262 and is conspicuous around the houses even at an altitude of 1,800 meters. The generic names are *plan*, suggesting the Spanish *plántano* or *plátano*, and *tulú*, a word that forms the root of *Tulua*, the name of a town in a territory formerly occupied by the Quimbayas. The banana or *guinco*, corrupted into *kuciò*, is probably an imported variety, as are several others rarely met with.

Other fruits are the *papaya*, *paiá*, not mentioned by Castillo, and the name of which indicates a modern acquisition; *ɜlal*, one of the granadillas (*Passiflora edulis*); *ɜakú*, the pineapple, which grows only in the lower region; *ıxytse*, the aguacate (*Persea gratissima*); and also several species of *Inga*, the white pulp around the seeds of which is eaten.

There are two varieties of edible guavas, the one sweet (*Psidium guayaba*), the other sweet sour (*Ps. pomiferum*); and the berries of several *Melastomataceæ*, many of which escaped my observation, are enjoyed by both children and adults.

276 A plant very important in the Indian economy is the coca
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/286 cont./

291 the waist, and over it a rebozo or shawl of foreign make; they wear hats of masculine manufacture. They carry a thin stick
283 one meter long more or less, called kasguat, held under the left armpit, and at its upper end there is a bundle of wool to be spun, a task which they do at any time, while walking or sitting in the house, regardless of whether a child is resting on their backs or, when they are walking along the road, a heavy
301 load. Only the women wear ornaments consisting of multicolored necklaces, earrings, and sometimes rings.

293 Both men and women usually carry three woolen pouches,
415 aside from others of fique, a very small one for money, a larger one for mambe /coca and lime for chewing/, and the third, which is the largest of all and holds the other two, is used to carry palm leaves or the plaited work made with them for the men, and other things for the women.

276 Coca.--All the Paez are "mambe chewers," men, women,
[461] and children, regarding coca as an article that gives strength,
[261] frees one from laziness, and mitigates hunger. Without it, of
[273] course, they will not work. Coca and chicha, fermented sugar-
[262] cane juice, play the role of real foods, given their starchy and scant diet.

631 Parcialidades and cabildos.--Politically, the Indians are
621 organized into parcialidades, each headed by a cabildo made up of a gobernador and substitute, a major alcalde and another minor one, two alguaciles, three fiscales, a comisario, a capitán, and a síndico elected each year and put in office by the respective alcaldías of the municipio, except for the last two, who are named for life and put in office by the /287/ Church. Their functions are administrative and police work, but in reality they exercise functions of social, legal, and religious control.

631 The parcialidades are bounded by the craggy peaks and the deep, rugged beds of the streams and rivers in such a way that each one circumscribes specific kinds of geography, and even of

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25. The Sky

Informant: Agustín Muse.
Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

Once when I was near death my soul climbed to the sky, which is a flat plain where the view extends to the horizon. The entrance is wooded. The Virgin told me that this land was for her sons and that I would have a piece. To reach the sky, one first goes along a good path and soon becomes lost; the most hidden one leads to the Virgin's palace. It is said that it is bad for one to eat the porcupine, because he will come before María Santísima dressed in its skin. He will go to the devil, and although the latter cannot pick him up, he has hooks with which to grab him. This is why, at the hour of retiring or rising, I pray to my God and to María.

[262]
[825]

The palace of María is of blinding splendor. It is very beautiful. The Virgin always holds the Child; only rarely does she put him down somewhere.

I tell my fellow men what I saw but they make fun of my account.

/308/ It is holy, they should respect it.

Good people go to heaven, that is to say, those who do not abuse other persons, say evil things, or are loutish.

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26. Origin of the Plants

The old people said that every kind of seed had been given by María Santísima, who drew them from her womb and gave them to the Christians in order for them to maintain themselves. Plants are thus inherited from María Santísima. She gave away every kind of seed when her brother was around. Hence his rage, since he wanted to give seeds and animals and could not. Perhaps the snakes were made by Santo Tomás. /The bibliography on p. 309 is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

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346 There are four other small rooms, five meters /187/ long
796 by three meters wide. Two of them are independent of each other, with their respective doors opening into the sala; one serves as a kitchen and the other to roast the maize griddle-cakes. At the other end of the house are the two other rooms, connected with each other by one door and with the sala by another. The workers sleep in one, and in the other are the troughs of chicha, the bottles of aguardiente, and the laurel candles.

342 The third type of dwelling, very scarce in Calderas, has
249 a square floor plan. It has the sala, two kitchens, and the du yate léchukue. Whatever type of dwelling a Paez family may own, they all have as an indispensable accessory the sugar mill,
●[262] either inside the house or outside it. Actually, if it is kept in
[273] mind that the basic sustenance of the natives is provided by
[276] maize, cabbage, chicha, and coca, this instrument is indispensable.

342 In addition, each house is supplied with water, taken from
312 springs, streams, or falls, through the extremely skillful construction of ditches which skirt the valleys, hills, and slopes. Their lands have abundant water. They are not familiar with artesian wells.

342 In a way, the enormous salas in the houses of Calderas
177 represent the ramadas which are found among the whites,
249 mestizos, and acculturated Indians of San Andrés; they are built independently of the dwellings, with a sugar mill and an oven to boil down the cane juice and make panela. In this parcialidad, the panela industry is quite well developed. In Calderas it does not exist.

584 Among the Paez, land, marriage, family, and house form
583 a close and indissoluble unit. It lends warmth and meaning to
[183] a number of emotional, sentimental, and sociological complexes. This begins when the pubescent boy feels the need for a partner who will help him in his work and assuage to some extent the rigors of solitude. The love awakened by a dark, shapely maiden impels him to ask her parents for her. "Give my your daughter. I am alone and need help in my work,"

/190 cont./

them during the day. They use no blankets. The woman leaves sufficient wood on the fire for heat to protect them from the rigors of the cold of the night which filters through the stalks of the walls. In addition, over the fire there is a pot of "mute," beans, and cabbage, which, when cooked, will constitute the meal at daybreak. The fire is revived by the woman at 11 o'clock, an operation that is repeated about two o'clock in the morning. At four o'clock in the morning everyone is up. At dawn the woman distributes the food, and then the men come out of their houses with machetes in their belts, kuetand yaha filled with coca and mambe, to clear the woodland, weed the fields, or help with the hard work of their neighbors.

V

Anger, Rancor, and Politics

The Calderas Indians are arch conservatives. Tradition, pride, and a rebel spirit have much to do with their passion for politics. I do not speak of the conservative doctrine or of political concepts. They are conservatives by temperament and group solidarity. By the same token, their fanaticism is proverbial. The mere mention of the word "liberal" makes them break out in a rash. Anyone who comes to Calderas for the first time is approached by the Indians out of curiosity. "What is your name?" "What do you want?" "Why did you come?" "What are you, liberal or conservative?" These are the questions with which the natives and even the local cabildo besiege the visitor. It should be added that those who wish to save their skins or to avoid being run out of town must maintain that they are conservatives. It is said that in 1952 they did not want to accept the Missionary Sisters who came to run the school which is supported by the national government.

4:Bernal Villa--24 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

VII

The Milling, the Chicha and the Chicha-makers

796
249 It remains to be said that the fiesta begins with the milling.
461 Although it is common to use a horse to operate the sugar mill,
[492] it is more usual at fiesta time to move it with human arms, masculine or feminine. It makes no difference. The two laborers for the milling squat on either side of the sugar mill, and one hands over the cane while the other receives the bagasse, which is piled up at one side to be handed back again; this is done up to 12 times in order to extract as much juice
[273] as possible. The millers do their work in silence when they are not drunk; while they do it with diligence, there is relaxation, laughter, shouts, and imprecations when they are under the influence of alcohol.

273 The juice is gathered in troughs, or less frequently in
249 calabashes and pots; it is heated to near the boiling point and
796 then emptied into the troughs, in which, inasmuch as they
[415] are well "cured," fermentation is rapid. The troughs are made of huge tree trunks that reach up to one meter and 50 centimeters in thickness and four or five meters in length. As they are depleted through consumption, they are refilled with fresh
[285] cane juice. The troughs are covered with small mats made
273 exclusively for the purpose. On the following day it is bubbly,
796 yellowish, with a pungent, sweetish flavor. It is the beka pes (strong chicha) of the natives, who drink it with relish and delight. Five gourdfuls of this liquor are sufficient to make them
273 drunk. Elsewhere called guarapo, while the Paez call it chicha,
182 it is of great importance in their social life and diet. With its
796 help the religious fiestas gain meaning, the mingas are carried
[262] out, baptisms and weddings are made more pleasant, and visitors are entertained.

273 Work without chicha is inconceivable, and while they work
461 they get no food whatever; they merely drink chicha and chew
262
276

/195 cont./

262 coca. Chicha thus provides the calories for work, while coca
273 dulls the feeling of hunger. The consumption of chicha is
461 general among men and women, old people and children.
[276] There is no household without chicha for any length of time.
And during the short lapses when it runs low, they buy it or
[431] visit the households that have some. Among friends it is not
sold, but given as regalement: /196/ "talking, laughing, regaling," as the Indians accurately describe the situation.

249 Milling for the fiestas takes place daily and is in direct
273 proportion to the number of visitors. Milling for the mingas
461 lasts two days, one week for baptisms, and up to a month for
weddings.

273 The largest containers for chicha are the troughs, but use
415 is also made of pitchers and large earthenware pots buried in
the ground up to their rims.

273 The chicha-makers are the absolute masters of the troughs
463 while they are fulfilling their function. They distribute the
796 chicha, and even the fiestero himself must ask them for the
amount desired. No one takes chicha without their consent.
Furthermore, they accept the gifts which the visitors give to
the fiestero. The latter merely voices his thanks. Although
they keep taking chicha, they do not get drunk, so as to perform their task properly. They will have their day when they
can do so.

VIII

Sugar-cane Aguardiente

273 At fiesta time, aguardiente is distilled every two or three
[796] days. The distillation is quite easy. The still is prepared in
the following way:

[415] A good-sized earthenware pot, 50 to 60 centimeters high
and 25 to 30 centimeters in diameter, is filled with guarapo

/206 cont./

796 of cowhide and are busy cooking the food, hastily reviving the kitchen fire. Meanwhile, the men talk and laugh hilariously.

[264] The house of the fiestero is bustling with activity. At six

[262] o'clock in the morning men and women have breakfasted on "mute," cabbage, bananas, yuca, and meat. Then, the women put on to cook, in a copper pan with a diameter of one meter and 50 centimeters, the mute for the laborers' lunch and for feasting the albacero after vespers. Next to this vessel they place another one of clay, slightly smaller, full of shelled maize with ashes. About four arrobas of maize will be consumed during this day.

With the bundles of firewood piled in one corner of the kitchen, and the water stored in jars, the women sit around the fire to nurse their children, spin wool, weave their pouches, and converse about matters of daily life.

In the course of the day there will be the sacrifice of the beef; the presentation of the "camarico" to the priest; the greeting of the albacero; the celebration of vespers with the vacaloca game; concluding with the meal given by the fiestero at midnight. On the following day there will be the Mass, a procession, the handing over of the banners to the new fiesteros, and the care given to the albacero.

/207/ XV

Scene between the Second Fiestero and Albacero

[805] The position of the sun indicates that it is nine o'clock in the morning. In the house of the albacero the muffled sounds of the bass drum and the melody of the flutes are heard.

While they play, the fiestero and his wife visit the albacero with a pot of stew /sancocho/, a bottle of aguardiente, a skyrocket, and a candle. The fiestero hands over what he has

[539] brought to the albacero, and his wife to the latter's wife. They sit around the fire. The dialogue is interesting:

/208 cont./

231 After skinning it, they quarter it following a definite
796 sequence: the lower part of the hind legs (chinda), the lower
192 part of the front legs (kuse), the upper part of the hind legs (himbé), the upper part of the front legs (pala), the tail (mens), the flesh of the neck (chikichichi), the fat (sepo), upper intestine (chunchullo), lower intestine (meto), stomach (tuchi), /209/ trachea (pechita), lungs (mechto), heart (ús), liver
[827] (mechi), the gall (muahi), pancreas (shape)... They are familiar with most of the organs and their names, but not with their specific physiology.

●262 Some of the pieces of meat go directly into the pan of
796 "mute," which is boiling and which the workers will eat for
252 lunch; others, to the barbecue where they will get the smoke from the kitchen.

Inside the house, in the ñuhne wala, the women grind shelled maize on two metates to make maize griddlecakes. With maize flour and water they make a dough which various women shape with their hands into circular form. In a separate kitchen, two women and two men are busy roasting them. First they let them harden on a piece of broken earthenware and then complete the cooking in the embers of the hearth. An elderly man gathers those that are cooked into a bag. Another one occupies himself with singing religious songs and praying. The maize griddlecakes are used to take care of the albacero on the following day.

796 This work is performed enthusiastically by the women.
[462] --The days of the fiesta are for talking, says one woman.
[829] --One can live through life only by getting drunk, says
[273] another.

/214 cont./

796 and their respective wives do the honors of the table. With
574 the etiquette and courtesies already mentioned, the gift is
[576] presented to them and the corresponding distribution is made.
[431] /215/ The laborers and the fiesteros move from the sala
[576] to the kitchen and from there to the sala. "Guechi pikin ustau" (we are coming along), they say, upon entering the ñuhne wala. "Anjiha," reply those present.

The kitchen is full of prepared food, and the women are busy filling plates of various sizes; large ones, others medium-sized, and the smallest. The distributors are in charge of handing them out to the recipients. This time they will serve three different dishes:

[262] 1st, maize griddlecakes and meat; 2nd, stew made with bananas, potatoes, arracacha, and chopped meat; and 3rd, yuca, raw and cooked cabbage, and meat.

The albacero and wife and the síndico and spouse are congratulated with a bowlful of each of these three "courses." The mayordomos receive a smaller amount, and the rest of those present plates for everyday consumption.

Of these "courses," only the last one is distributed when there are many persons present. Everyone is equipped with a pouch. They sip the broth, squeeze out the solid food with their hands, and store it away in it. Drunkenness and fatigue permit little talk.

After eating, or rather, after having collected food, the
[535] music sounds. The fiestero and albacero dance with each other's wives. They carry lighted candles in their hands. The dance is slow, deliberate, halting. At the end, they all go to the house of the second fiestero to give him the church banners. He will repeat the same religious and social acts, with the same etiquette and the same courtesies.

* /221 cont./

756 vision she was at a 'minga' /communal work-party/ cooking
787 pork for the laborers.

"There was no doubt but that this was a spirit telling me that I should become a curer. The pouches that she carried indicated this to me. This is why I never fail to take my medicine pouches."

Another curer, from the Parcialidad of Calderas, relates his vision as follows: "One night I saw a beautiful child, fair, with the hair of a woman, reddish, and dressed in a wrapper. This child was the Ghost /Duende/, /222/ from whom the
[178] curer's power comes. He is the same Kallumb as is seen by true curers, because nowadyas there are some who learn to cure through the teaching of others."

In the Parcialidad of San Andrés they say that the Ghost visits the curer when someone goes to consult him, to tell him what brought him and the advice that he should give.

It may also happen, says a Calderuno /native of Calderas/
• [262] 19 years old, that someone wishes to become a curer. Then,
[263] he subjects himself to a diet. For one month he eats no salt or ají /Capsicum/. He goes at once to the mountain, alone, his head lowered, lost in thought, with the hope of finding a good friend whose counsel he can ask. At a magnificent spot, pleasant to the senses, he meets a man advanced in years, short of stature, good, generous, amiable in conversation, and amply educated, who chews coca like other Indians and, like them, also carries kuetand yahas (pouches). Filled with trust, he explains his wishes to become a curer, arguing that there are many people who are dying. He asks about the good remedies. The one questioned answers that there are good remedies for curing the sick and presents him with a pouch of them. This one is for such-and-such an illness, he says, this other one for that one, and so on successively, specifying the medicinal value of the remedies in the pouch. He instructs him in their use, technique and method. Up to the way of

/242 cont./

755 members of the family, that is to say, they do not carry the
* 756 surname of those who are performing Ut ká. None of them
783 may work, not even at making hats or pouches.

[461] The hog is skinned and washed over a hole; the hair and offal in general must fall there. When Ut ká is not being per-
[787] formed, the hog is skinned in a trough. Meanwhile, the curer
[782] divines as to how much meat is wanted by the souls. The latter specify the quantity, and the té eu translates it on a small stick, which is immediately passed to the slaughterers, who must cut out the pieces in accordance with this measure and put them into a pouch. The curer drinks aguardiente and also has assistants who help in perceiving the signs.

[252] /243/ The women prepare the maize for "mute" /stewed
● [262] corn/, make small tortillas, as many as there are souls of the dead in the family. They also prepare every kind of fruit and food, plantains, arracacha, bread, yuca, bananas, granadillas, cucumbers, maize, eggs, meats, etc., to protect them against the ptans. They put a little piece of the foods into the pouch.

755 They also prepare some wooden dolls, in a number equal
* 756 to that of the dead. They dress them like Indians: hat, poncho,
783 trousers, shirt. About 40 meters from the house they dig a
532 grave just as they do to bury the dead: a rectangular cavity with a lateral chamber. The curer weighs out two eggs of coca, picks up two cigars and a bottle of aguardiente. At about eight at night all those from the family leave, except those who are not. The cleansing is about to be performed. Then black clouds, like balls, gather. The curer blows remedies toward them. After two hours, the clouds go toward the left, clearing the horizon and leaving the stars visible in the immensity of space. The curer proceeds with the burial. In the lateral chamber of the tomb he places the dolls (representations of the souls) and a candle of laurel wax, after blowing the remedies at them. He closes up the chamber with a stone and then puts in the glowworms and the pouch of food.

1 [i.e. the family members--Analyst]

/248 cont./

776 child to help the Indians, to protect them, and to instill a belief in her.

The ghosts look like angels and have a body covered with [727] down. Women may see them making the motions of weaving, in such a case they will become good weavers. Men may see them with pouches, indicating that they will become curers.

It is said that there are large and small ghosts. The former, when they rise, leave the rainbow behind them, like a trail. The latter do not keep company with the former and are less fierce. Both shriek like professional mourners.

* 756 The female Té eu. Women can be curers, people state; 562 there is no reason why the signs would not circulate for them. Nevertheless, no woman is a curer. In Santa Rosa there is a woman who, according to her own confession, is a good curer, has seen Thunder and conversed with him, and has good remedies. Thunder even gave her a wooden doll called "Soft wind [754] of Thunder," with which she gives treatments. But the community regards her as a most dangerous sorceress, and the cabildo has burned her remedies and has put her in the stocks. Furthermore, all the deaths caused by sorcery are blamed on her.

On the other hand, the behavior shown by the community is the same as that observed for all sorcerers, that is to say, detachment and resentment against her. A curer from Calderas explains the phenomenon as follows: women are cleverer than men; they have brilliant ideas and in general dominate the men. [754] A woman can become a curer, but at any time she might turn into a sorceress, because she is cleverer than a man. Sometimes she gets to the point where nothing matters to her. Hence women do not learn medicine.

* 756 Taboos of the Té eu. They refer above all to sex and food. 834 They do not have the full force and tenacity which they have 262 in other cultures.

/249/

*756 While the curer is perceiving the signs, he cannot cohabit.
834 The sorcerer who is aware of this interdiction will, out of
754 malice and wickedness, take his wife to the kachí and cohabit with her, with the aim that the signs will not circulate for the
[826] curer and the glowworms will not rise. And to add to the wickedness, they leave in the kachí pubic hairs, which are poisonous.

*756 The curer cannot eat ají, especially the one called ají
●262 de montaña, because this would anger Thunder and the Ghost.
[263] They do not eat salt, or consume very little of it. Thunder did not eat salt, they say. They eat the meat of the "pro-
[725] visions" after performing the cleansing. In the ceremonies of ut ká, wé ká, and ut peu, they fast for one day. That is to say, they eat at daybreak and eat again on the following day. Furthermore, since the treatments are given at night, frugality makes them sleep less.

787 Dreams of the Té eu. The interpretation of Paez dreams, as in the generality of popular interpretations of dreams, observes a certain relation between the manifest content of the dream and the action to come. To put it better, future events are deduced from the manifest content of the dream.

They believe firmly in the omens of the dreams, but they
* do nothing to forestall them. It is as if it were a fatality of
[756] destiny. There are no dreams peculiar to the curers. Interpretation is a common patrimony of the people. The attitude toward these omens is the same: to wait indifferently. Here are a few examples out of many:

787 To dream that a snake bites him, sorcery. But if in the
754 dream another person kills the snake at the moment when it bites him, a good curer will turn the sorcery from the victim to the sorcerer himself.

To dream that a herd of swine attacks him, they are practicing sorcery.

To dream of killing a pig, the sorcerer is going to be killed.

The cultivation of potatoes on a large scale
/305 cont./ began more
244 or less two decades ago. "From 1925 to 1930 the one who
433 planted the most potatoes was Ezequiel Mulcué, who caused amazement among the people; now the least planted is 20 arrobas," says one informant. Nowadays there are natives who sow up to 200 arrobas in a year, of which only 70 are planted in the "paramo," and they yield better results than the other arrobas planted. Then, we ask, why do the people of Mosoco have their months of hunger?

262 The basic product of the Paez diet is maize. It was in
154 the past and it continues to be so in the present. Psychologi-
[198] cally, they feel completely satisfied when they have maize for consumption. Its absence causes a sensation of dietary dissatis-
[243] faction. Before the era of the potato, the cultivation of maize and wheat predominated.

461 During the months of July, August, September, and Octo-
464 ber, the natives have little work. This is why those from
166 Vitoncó, San José, Lame, and Suin go and sign up as peons on the fincas of the "whites" on the other side of the Cordillera (Popayán, Corinto, and even in the Cauca Valley). They return toward the end of the year, when the maize and wheat harvests are drawing near. The natives of Calderas, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, and Togoima go to the fincas of Inzá or La Plata. They return in October when the maize harvests are approaching. It must be said that this labor force is excellent and cheap. And for this reason very much in demand.

The natives of Mosoco have sufficient work in their own country.

Clearings /rozas/

241 The term roza is used generically for the extent of land
433 cleared, burned, cleaned, and fenced, ready for planting. It is found on every private property. It has an area of approximately one hectare. Clearings of two or more hectares are rare. An increase in production does not reflect an enlargement of the clearings, but rather their multiplication and the utilization of ever more rugged and /306/ sterile lands. The natives, to

241 From the above table, and relying exclusively on the data
433 given there, we can deduce the following observations:

1. The production of Mosoco is superior to that of Lame, both in quantity and in the variety of species cultivated.

2. The numerical data indicate that there is underproduction, and for that very reason it may be deduced that there is underconsumption, although these data are rough estimates, since the only approximately exact figures that the natives keep are for the production of potatoes.

[243] 3. The production of wheat, garlic, and potatoes is in-
[244] tended almost exclusively for the market, like that of barley, the production of which is not included in the statistical table, because we only have three figures of Mosoco and three for Lame. On the other hand, the production of maize, frijoles, barley, broad beans, ullucos, and nasturtium tubers is intended almost wholly for internal consumption.

[243] 4. Maize is the basic article of consumption, but the production given does not reflect this fact. Nevertheless, it does not include the amount consumed as roasting ears.

5. Losses of the harvest are frequent in Lame, owing to the lack of fertilizers.

[276] 6. Underproduction is compensated for by a larger con-
[262] sumption of coca (Lame) or by the acquisition of other food
[464] items such as panela, lard, bread, and coffee (Mosoco). On the other hand, underproduction explains why the natives go and sign up as day laborers on the haciendas of the "whites."

6: Bernal Villa--33 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15
San Andres

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Fams.	Coca A	Coca C	Coca V	Coca %	Frijoles A	Frijoles C	Frijoles V	Frijoles %
1.*	4	4	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	5	4	1	20,0
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
6.	...	...	...	(8)	3	3	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
8.	...	...	...	(8)	8	8	...	.....
9.	...	...	...	(8)	20	10	10	50,0
10.*	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
12.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
13.	6	2	4	66,6	5	1	4	80,0
14.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

8. Owns plantings of coca.

241
433

From the above table we can make the following deductions:

[245]
[434]
[439]

1. The coffee production is wholly intended for sale. It thus constitutes the principal source of monetary income for the natives and, of course, for the "whites."

2. Maize, frijoles, sugar cane, and coca are intended almost exclusively for internal consumption. The production of panela indicated in the table refers to the whites and mestizos.

[262]
[276]
[273]

3. The food base of San Andrés is provided by maize, plantains, manioc, and arracacha. At the time of the coffee harvest, meat is consumed. Coca and guarapo indispensably complement this dietary regimen.

/316/

105 Potatoes are the principal crop in the parcialidad of Mosoco
178 and the primary source of the natives' monetary income. It has
[244] made possible the establishment of intensive trade with the municipio of Silvia and has plainly had repercussions in the modification of rules of behavior and the restructuring of institutions. The transformation embraces nearly all aspects of Páez culture.

In the first place, work has intensified. The people of Mosoco have permanent work throughout the year. The women participate directly in the preparation of the soil, the planting, and the harvesting.

The children of both sexes go to school regularly, learn basic skills, and utilize them in everyday life. Mosoco is the only part of Tierradentro where there is a private school supervised by a native.

[191] Bilingualism is general. The "chontales," that is to say, persons who do not speak Spanish, are very few. There are not more than ten.

[276] The consumption of coca has disappeared among all the youthful elements.

[262] The alimentary diet and schedule have been altered con-
[264] siderably. They have breakfast very early in the morning, lunch at noon, and dinner at nightfall. Milk, panela, lard, meat, and bread are consumed regularly.

The utensils are completely modern, consisting of aluminum and iron pieces.

There are wooden beds for sleeping, and blankets as well.

The houses are better built and furnished. There are houses of adobe and tile. Two tile-works inclusively already exist in the parcialidad.

The people are hospitable and generous toward foreign visitors.

[291] The clothing of the men is almost completely transformed. They dress like any Colombian peasant. The palm hat worn in other parcialidades has disappeared from this region. The women are clean, orderly, and talkative. They retain the slit skirt and sash, but have adopted chemises and the blue rebozo of the

/320 cont./

231 propose "trades." Traders who are interested in a cow, once
439 they have located the true /321/ owner, assail him with propositions for a trade. They offer young, fertile heifers, smaller in size and usually thin. In exchange, they obtain a large and
231 fat cow. The profits are more than 200%. Before handing over
439 the animal, the native invariably requests a bottle of aguardiente
789 and pulls out a few hairs from the left eye or lower leg of the cow
[782] as an offering to the Duende /ghost/, the virtual owner of the lands and animals and potentially the protector of their multiplication. Likewise he blows chayuts (Scutellaria racemosa Per.) on the rope with which the cow will be led, so that it will not create difficulties along the way. There are frequent statements by whites and mestizos, cattle traders, to the effect that, when this requisite was not met, the cow stopped halfway on the journey and could not be budged by any human power. Then it sufficed to blow at the rope with chayuts to make her move again. How can this be explained? The persons relating the story repeatedly ask.

231
262 Occasions for the consumption of cattle are mingas, re-
[796] ligious fiestas, and, on a small scale, the post-matrimonial and
[527] baptismal "cuidos" (courtesies for the sponsors). The meat and
[281] the skin are both used. The latter is not tanned, but dried in
[234] the sun and used as a sort of mattress for sleeping. The milk is not used. When they sacrifice a head of cattle that comes from
262 "wild" places, such as bogs, lagoons, or montañas, they take the
782 precaution of calling the Té eu. He orders them to take a small
756 piece from each organ and to put a little blood on a reed. He
231 wraps all this in a leaf, puts a sprig of contento (chayuts) on top of it, then goes toward the east, and, in a spot determined by him, leaves the bundle, taking care always to put it to the left of things such as trunks or rocks. This placement does not have any special ceremony associated with it; it is not accompanied by prayers or the blowing of medicines, and it does not take place at a specific time. It is an offering to the Duende which is performed before consuming the meat, the primary purpose of which is to please him.

/322 cont./

231 arracacha. Dogs, cats, and pigs live, the first on kitchen refuse, the second by hunting mice, and the last on grasses and roots from the thickets. They are not familiar with breeds of cattle, hogs, and sheep. Only the guinea pig is regarded as American, while the other animals are said to be genuinely Spanish.

[236] Sheep seem to have emotional value because they provide the wool for people's clothing. They are kept with affection and rarely sold or eaten.

Dogs also seem to have emotional value because of being the guardian of the houses and fields. In addition, they have symbolic value: they are the iron curtain, the protective barrier against the dark memory of the Pijao. If the latter were to reappear again, the natives argue, they would not be able to approach /323/ the houses, because dogs live there, which would inspire fear in the Pijao, for they are so dangerous for them that mere contact with their footprints or their hair would kill them. In the legends and tales there is frequent reference to these de-
[552] fensive concepts. The dogs have special names: Guagás (white),
[685] kuchi (black), salgento, pitán, policía. Dogs that eat sheep are invariably killed with a shotgun without previous consultation with the owner.

[262] Guinea pigs are the favorite food of children. They kill
[252] them by strangling them and eat them boiled. These animals are
[782] not used as offerings to the Duende. Nor do they serve as presents
[755] for friends or relatives. They are also used to combat mental illness by covering the patient's forehead with the entrails of the still living animal.

235 They "cuidan" /show special attention/ to favorite persons
[554] with chickens and eggs. They have mingas with turkeys. Eggs
[262] are consumed, but in general they are sold.
[432] They use the honey and the wax from the hives of wild bees.
222 The honey, they say, is good for persons who suffer from "cold."
237 With the wax they soften hide lassos, and they occasionally use it
[757] for illumination. Domestic hives do not exist.

231 Wild animals, such as parrots, chicaos /a kind of bird/, squirrels, and micos, are never domesticated.

/326 cont./

262 [252] The chachafruto (ũsual), a leguminous plant that bears rather sweet fruits which are eaten merely boiled in water, readily grows in the stubble and thickets; this is a favorite food of children. It bears fruit during the months of August and September. They also gather mushrooms (kalaguai), orejas de palo /literally, ears of wood/ (kallumbo) that grow round and white on rotting trunks, fríjol /327/ cacha (us tape) that abounds in thickets, moras (sutsion) and the ground cherries (chimbũ) that grow in profusion in the maize fields and with which they make cakes or tamales and mush /mazamorra/ mixed with ground maize. Likewise, they gather wild granadillas (shlal).

224 [441] [789] Hunting is of minor importance among the Páez. Shotguns and dogs are needed. Authentic lovers of hunting are few, and there are no magical rites or ceremonies connected with it.

Hunting is most frequently done to protect the plantings or the herds. We have seen that the enemies of maize are coatis, guaras, squirrels, and birds. The chickens are attacked by wolf-dogs. On the savannas of the Paramo de Moras bears are the most common enemies of the herds.

[237] In Calderas, the hunters customarily keep the skulls of the captured booty inside the house, on one of the wall posts. In one of them we counted five coati skulls, two from guaras, and one from a wolf. Hunting is done on Sundays and at any time of the year. They go to selected locations with dogs, shotguns, and provisions. The dog raises the game and the men wait in strategic spots, with their shotguns ready to shoot it. If the shot misses, they set out after the game on a fast run. When they hunt deer, they have a minga. For the hunting of guaras they use traps consisting of nets which they place at the exit of the haunts of these animals. Bats are hunted with bags. As soon as they fall, they [262] are kicked to death, for these animals easily break out of bags. [252] They are eaten roasted. Armadillo meat is rather favored. Sparrow hawks are hunted with blowguns. "The Indians are poor" 223 -- says an informant from Calderas -- "and for this reason they [411] make blowguns and hunt birds. God made the birds so that the poor would eat them and not steal." Wild pigeons are hunted on the ridges by means of traps that are well concealed. Chamones,

Chamones

/327 cont./

223 black birds, are not eaten because they are probably animals of
825 the devil. It is said that in times past the Calderas Indians ate
262 beetles, the reason that they are nicknamed tandayaha (one who
[578] eats beetles), an epithet which they regard as offensive and which nearly always irritates them. The Calderunos say that they do not
[224] eat worms or the meat of rabbits and snakes. They regard as game
[223] animals the guara, deer, coati, armadillo, bat, and various species of birds.

224 Concerning bear hunting, the people of Mosoco relate
/328/ real feats performed by Indians in open fights with the ani-
[237] mals. Bear fat is highly esteemed among the natives and "whites."

226 Fishing is less important than hunting. The rivers and streams contain sardines and coruntas /small river-fish/. During Holy Week and at Christmas they engage in fishing, when the
[462] water is low, by means of barbasco, nets, and hooks. This is strictly a masculine activity. In the Paez River they fish during the months of January and February and generally in months of drought.

They also gather crabs.

Laurel wax industry

388 Laurel, introduced by a man from Popayan /el payanés/,
824 Agustín Valencia, has played an important role in the economy of some parcialidades of Tierradentro. It grows wild in Calderas, Tumbichukue, Lame, San Andrés, Chinas, and Suin. The production of wax was the only industry in these parcialidades that permitted them to maintain regular trade with the "whites."

388 A mestizo trader from Mosoco says that he was a great ex-
43 porter of laurel wax. "It was the native industry" -- he says -- by means of which salt, trousers, shirts, hats, and centavos came in." In this business, he states, he made one arroba of profit per load. The pound was quoted at a peso in Silvia. The informant says that in the years 1946 and 1947 he took out from 800 to 1,000 arrobas of wax. He almost had a monopoly on the business. What little wax escaped him was purchased by traders from Belalcázar, who in turn took it by way of Mosoco to Silvia. The chief consumers of this product were the soap factories of Cali. The laurel wax industry waned in 1950, when those factories

/347 cont./

427 earning a small daily wage (the maximum daily wage that they
466 earn is two pesos, but this is exceptional; ordinarily the men
465 earn one peso and the women 80 centavos); not to work on other fincas; to sell the surplus from their crops to the owners of the hacienda themselves, especially if it is coffee; to divide in half or distribute in equal parts with the owner the panela obtained /348/ from the ovens of the hacienda; the wife and children of the tenant farmers are also obliged to work on the hacienda. They have the right to plant any crop except coffee. They earn nothing on Sundays or on religious or national holidays, nor do they receive any remuneration for extra hours of work. They do not get any social services. When the owner is good, he gives them salt and, ordinarily, one "spot" of plantain (a ration of cooked plantains).

427 Many are sons of tenant farmers born on the hacienda itself.
466 Others have suffered in this servitude for more than ten years. Although a few have freed themselves from this situation, most of them resist giving up their rancho and their garden when the owners want to dispossess them. One tenant-farmer informant, when questioned as to whether his situation was good or bad, said: "I have to be satisfied, what else can I do if from childhood I have been here" (on the hacienda). Besides, he figures that if the owner wants to remove him, he will have to pay him
[423] for the improvements in his garden. Here and there a tenant farmer with more than 20 years of usufruct from his piece of land has already refused to pay his rent.

One tenant farmer who has worked for several owners recalls that some were good, but most of them were bad, ambitious, exploiters, who had their laborers work too hard, cheated in the wages, and one even gave them beatings.

Alimentary diet

262 We wish to note that most of the notes concerning the diet
[121] were gathered in the parcialidad of Calderas.

/348 cont./

●262 Maize is the species most intensively cultivated, the one of major consumption and the one that satisfies the most psychologically. We have already seen the case of the "hambruna" /extreme hunger/ in Mosoco, where, in spite of the harvest of other produce, it seems to be precisely because there is no [252] maize. With maize they make mote, griddlecakes /arepas/, tamales /envueltos/, and "sango" a maize soup/, in addition to eating it toasted or roasted when it is tender.

252 262 Mote is practically the raw material of the daily foods. It is obtained by boiling the maize in water and ashes until the cuticle is completely loose and then washing it in an abundance of water. This mote is put on to boil, and when it has gone through three "boilings," that is to say, the water has been changed three times, one tosses into it first dry frijoles, then plantains, manioc, arracacha, /349/ cabbages, and meat if [263] there is any, and lastly onions, cumin, and saffron. Salt, which is always preferred in grains or lumps, is put in by each individual, who takes the grain and mixes it into his own dish until he thinks that he has enough. They do not eat food highly salted. This kind of food is a "pot-au-feu," the one most widespread among the people and the one which they eat daily. The informants consider it "delicious."

The griddlecakes /arepas/ are made with dry or tender maize. With the first, they skin the maize in ashes and then they grind it not too fine; the resulting flour is mixed with boiling water and ground once more, this time very fine. With this mass the women make large, round griddlecakes, harden them on a heated piece of earthenware, and finish roasting them in the embers of the hearth. These are the griddlecakes of the religious fiestas of Calderas. When they want the griddlecakes to have "a good taste," they put in salt, onions, or coriander (in Mosoco we have seen that they put in eggs); these are griddlecakes for family consumption. To make griddlecakes from roasting ears, they shell the ear, grind the mass well, and, without any kind of condiments, they make the griddlecakes and harden and roast them in the familiar form. The frequency of

/349 cont./

252 consumption of griddlecakes is low in most of the parcialidades,
262 but in Mosoco it is almost daily. These natives take their coffee
[272] and milk with griddlecakes, which are good substitutes for bread.

The "envueltos" or cakes are made when there are roasting ears. Shelled, ground, and unsifted, the small masses extend along the husks of the same ear, removed carefully by cutting
[263] off with a knife the thicker part of the ear. No condiment of any kind is put in because the roasting ear in itself has "good flavor." The envueltos, once cooked, are eaten with sancocho /a stew/. They say that it is a "very tasty" dish. Ordinarily, when they make envueltos they kill a pig or chickens and invite relatives to eat them. The eating of envueltos is implicitly associated with the start of the maize harvest, in which the local curer plays a part.

"Sango" is based on finely ground and unsifted maize flour, which is put in the pot when the frijoles are sufficiently cooked. They make sure that the soup does not thicken too much. They also add to this dish chopped cabbage, onions, or coriander for "flavor."

Frijoles are very necessary, very tasty, and the most common food; /350/ mote without frijoles is not tasty; frijoles have flavor and the 'cacha' are the tastiest, and especially green, the (tender) little things are eaten with the shell," says an informant from Calderas.

Frijoles are eaten in sancocho. When the frijoles are cooked sufficiently, one adds plantains peeled and in pieces, arracacha peeled, washed, and cut up, manioc prepared like the arracacha, chopped onions, and saffron. Meat or lard is added if they have any. This dish is said to be "tasty." Frijoles are also eaten mixed with mejicano /squash, Cucurbita pepo/. The beans are boiled first, and when they are thought to be sufficiently cooked the finely chopped mejicano is added and, much later, ground maize. When all this is cooked, they eat it without salt, saying that it is as tasty as the rice with milk of the "whites." They also eat mejicano with well-cooked mote and frijoles, and it is very tasty if cows' feet are added to it.

/350 cont./

252 Cabbages are cultivated in the gardens and are almost never
● 262 lacking throughout the year; they are eaten daily, chopped into
244 the dish of the day. At religious fiestas it is customary to cook
[796] the cabbages "on the bough," that is to say, with their respective stalks, and serve them as a special dish. White cabbage is seldom cultivated and thus its consumption is almost null. The few heads grown in the cold part of San Andrés are intended for sale.

252 Plantains are eaten preferably in sancocho, and their con-
262 sumption is intensive in the temperate climate. They are also eaten roasted, in which case they are preferred with meat or entrails. Potatoes, especially in Mosoco, are eaten with gravy, a favorite dish for entertaining "white" or civilized visitors. This dish is prepared with water, milk, eggs, onions, and meat. The potatoes are peeled and washed well. In Calderas they are also eaten in this fashion, but frijoles are added to them as well.

In general wheat is cultivated to be milled and sold. Sometimes it is eaten in griddlecakes, in which case the dough is prepared with water and panela. They also make soup with wheat flour, without removing the bran, with cabbages, frijoles, and salt.

Sweet potatoes are consumed in small quantities. They are washed, cooked, and eaten without salt and with peppers. They prepare peppers by cooking them in a pot (a bag, said the informant) and adding onions, coriander, and salt. This condiment thickens and keeps for about a month.

Chachafruto is cooked with frijoles or in the soup, but it is also eaten by itself and skinned. It is very tasty.

273 /351/ Sugar cane serves solely for extracting the juice and
[249] fermenting it. With the guarapo, thirst is quenched, mingas are held, "courtesies" are shown, religious fiestas and social life in general are carried on. From cane juice, duly fermented, alcoholic beverages are also extracted. They make chicha from maize, but this is not prevalent.

/351 cont./

273 The maize is ground, and they cook the flour with plenty of water; this liquid is removed and put in a trough to ferment [272] for several days, adding panela to it. It is said that this chicha is tastier than guarapo, but that it does not inebriate and does not work satisfactorily; it serves only to quench thirst, like the "cola" (carbonated drink) of the "whites."

262 Peaches and apples are eaten in the regions where they are produced, and oranges as well, but in general the consumption of fruit is very low.

252 262 Guinea pigs are eaten when the family wants meat. They kill them by breaking their necks; then they wet them with cold water and put them in the embers of the fire in order to loosen the hide and skin them; they are washed, the entrails are removed, they are washed again, and then they are cooked in the pot of sancocho, mote, "sango," or maize-ball soup; some people eat the entrails, while others do not. The guinea pig is regarded as "tasty."

With chicken special attention is shown to favorite friends and to compadres, and mingas are held. At the fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, it is customary to eat chicken. After being plucked, the entrails are removed, it is washed, and it is cooked in the pot of sancocho or mote. The natives regard the leg as the best piece, and for this reason this is what they present to the elders (compadres, fathers, eldest sons); to the others they give a piece of breast or any other part. The head goes to the owner. The washed and cooked entrails are also distributed among all present. Turkeys and ducks are prepared and consumed in the same manner.

From the pig some organs are eaten roasted: pancreas, kidneys, intestines, and the meat of the backbone; the bacon 262 is kept to flavor food; the rest is eaten boiled. When a pig is killed out of the mere desire to use the meat, portions are distributed to the "elders" of the family (fathers-in-law, fathers, etc.), and the same thing is done when cattle is slaughtered. [237] From them they use the meat, the hide, and the horns for making [534] whistles which are blown when a house is being built in the [342] [334]

262 /351 cont./
[234] settlement and when they are dragging down /352/ the timber;
[237] the milk is not used, except in Mosoco, where we have seen
[534] that it is really consumed.
[342]

The Calderunos say that sheep are eaten frequently in the
[231] temperate regions such as Avirama and San Andrés, but few are consumed in Calderas; some say that sheep give wool for clothing, "Why eat them, when they provide ponchos," and others state that to eat mutton brings bad luck, because it would be like eating one's papa.

262 When there are visits by "elders" such as compadres, older
574 brothers, fathers-in-law, or own fathers, they are entertained ("cuida") with dishes different from the ordinary ones, based essentially around barnyard fowl and eggs. If there is meat, a large piece is cooked. The compadres, in turn, bring as a gift griddle-cakes (about 15), eggs (about 10), and frequently chickens.

262 There is no special diet for children; they eat exactly the
846 same as adults. There are differences of diet according to sex only when the woman has just given birth. Then, she is given ground maize, arracacha, manioc, ripe plantain, laying hens ("these
[261] are nice and fat"), and mutton. The mejicano is proscribed for them, because it brings cold into the stomach and gives much pain; onions, because they cause a stomach ailment and rot the in-
[844] testines; pork and the frijol bueno for the same reason. Peppers are also taboo for parturient women.

262 For hard labor, it is regarded as good to eat mote, with
263 cabbage, frijol bueno, and well salted, because it gives strength for the daily activities; if one eats the same thing (" a good dish"), but without salt, they say that one is already hungry by the middle of the day.

262 Foods regarded as aphrodisiacs are "sango," prepared with
832 finely ground and sifted maize, and raw eggs.

261 Of the foods that they eat, they believe that chicha and water are transformed into blood, and the maize, potatoes, frijoles, and arracacha into flesh.

To gain weight, they believe that it is necessary to eat and not to work, rather than to follow a special diet.

/352 cont./

261 The natives lose weight -- says an informant -- because first they eat good and abundant food, and then they do not have [262] enough to eat and, naturally, grow thin. In times of scarcity ("hambruna"), they eat frijol cacha and its tender leaves, in the same way as they eat mejicano leaves; cabbages are gathered leaf by leaf, for at this time of year they are less abundant. When there is nothing more to eat they kill a cow and eat meat; they hunt /353/ wild pigeons or chachalacas, cook them, and [273] drink the broth with salt. They also make chicha, and the old [276] people get drunk every day; the consumption of coca increases: "the people chew and chew so as not to feel too hungry"; the little ones suffer hunger because they do not know how to chew, and they eat mejicano, which does not require the salt that they try to save. Finally, they end up going to the fincas of the "whites" to earn food, coca, and a few centavos.

264 When they do not work, they have one meal at 3:00 P.M. and another at 6:00 P.M. After the first meal they lie down and say, "We are making estancia," that is to say, digesting and [261] getting nourishment. Skinned maize with saffron, chicken, plantains, and peppers gives more "estancia."

261 They barely eat enough unskinned maize, which they cook as mote, but they eat to excess the sancocho of potatoes and frijol bueno because it is so good. No one eats an entire chicken. It is divided. In the former state they would believe that the chicken was stolen. Mejicano makes some people vomit, because they are used to eating meat, and they are the ones who might be thieves.

As a rule, everyone eats only one plate of food; if they eat [758] two, they cannot walk. The curers eat little in order to be able to [787] spend the night in vigil, devoted to their activities; they always [262] eat eggs and they avoid eating peppers in order to be able to [263] feel the "signs" (31).

31. Vernal Villa, S. "Magia y Medicina entre los Paeces /Magic and Medicine among the Paez/," p. 248.

/353 cont./

•262 The Indians like meat, but they state that they eat any type of food; they believe that the "whites" eat better, because the Indians cannot eat meat every day nor spend money on lard or meat. They only eat the produce that they cultivated.

264 The Indians have two meals a day: one at dawn and the other one in the afternoon when the sun is setting. The women and children have one meal at midday, from what was left over from the morning. The principal and large meal is cooked at [252] night. Before lying down the women hang from a wooden or iron hook, or from a wire, the pot with mote or frijoles and stir up the fire at least three times during the night; at four in the morning they add the easily cooked products and eat at the first light of day.

574 The natives are generous and hospitable among themselves;
262 no sooner does a visitor enter a home than they offer him whatever they have available: chicha or food.

177 /354/ In the parcialidad of Mosoco, which is undergoing
262 complete acculturation, the diet is changing visibly and the
264 eating hours have changed fundamentally. Coffee, panela, bacon, meat, and maize griddlecakes are consumed regularly.

Trading

43 Except for the parcialidad of Mosoco, the natives produce primarily for internal consumption; but the self-provisioning is insufficient, for they suffer a few months of scarcity. As a result, trading must necessarily be restricted and scanty. In Calderas, Suin, and Chinas, animals are ordinarily exchanged, large, fat cows being surrendered for smaller, thin, fertile heifers and a few pesos besides. We have already referred to this extensively in discussing the livestock. We have also seen how the only industry intended exclusively for trade, that of laurel wax, was a patrimony of San Andrés, Calderas, Tumbichukue, Lame, Suin, and Chinas, and that the drop in price was a fatal blow for the industry. Thus, aside from coffee, potatoes, wheat, and garlic, which are intended almost entirely for trade, nothing remains but small amounts of manioc, arracacha, plantains,

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,1(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

101 from the *Páez*, the *Páez* from the *Pijao*, the *Andaqui* from the *Tama*
131 of Bajo Huila.

This extremely varied habitat offers a great range of food resources
241 and of possibilities for agricultural crops. In the high, cold moun-
133 tains and altiplanos, between 2,500 and 3,000 m. (about 8,200 to 9,800
132 ft.) elevation, where the mean temperature is 11 to 15° C., the principal crops were potatoes (*Solanum andigenum*), ullucos (*Ullucus tuberosus*), and cubios (*Tropaeolum tuberosum*). In the medium zone, between 1,600 and 2,500 m. (about 5,200 to 8,200 feet), with a temperature of 15 to 20° C., the main crop was maize (*Zea mays*), but arracacha (*Arracacia esculenta*), quinoa (*Chenopodium quinoa*), and sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*), were also cultivated. In the low, warm zone between 500 to 1,600 m. (about 1,600 to 5,200 feet), with a temperature of 20 to 28° C., the main crops were maize, sweet manioc or yuca (*Manihot utilissima*) and beans (*Phaseolus vulgaris*).

136 The cold lands also produced in addition to these principal crops,
[241] maize, squash (*Cucurbita maxima*), wild fruits, birds including ducks (Anatidae), doves (Columbidae), guans (*Penelope*), mammals such as the spectacled bear (*Tremarctos ornatus majori*), and other small, wild beasts like the armadillo (*Dasypus novemcinctus*), guaratinajo (*Dinomys branickii*), guatin (*Dasyprocta fuliginosa candelensis*), and
[231] small fish from the rivers and lakes. The guinea pig (curí or cuy,
[262] *Cavia aperea*), which is prolific in all the climates, was the only domesticated animal and is an important source of food of the modern Indians.

241 The inhabitants of the medium, humid zone were more favored by nature in that crops grew faster and in greater variety. In addition to the plants named, they grew achira (*Canna edulis*), auyama (*Cucurbita verrucosa*), beans (frijoles), and peanuts (*Arachis hypogaea*).
262 Among the great variety of wild foods were fruits, granadilla (*Passi-*
137 *flora ligularis*), guayaba (*Psidium*), guama (*Inga* spp.), avocados
136 (*Persea Americana*), papaya (*Carica papaya*), guanabana (*Annona muricata*), and chirimoya (*Annona cherimolia*), and such animals as deer (*Mazama rufina*, *M. gualea*, and *Odocoileus virginianus consul*), rabbits (*Sylvilagus fulvescens*), guinea pigs, various rodents, and large birds, such as chachalacas (*Ortalis*) and guans (*Penelope*).

Additional foods of the low, warm regions were sweet potatoes, beans (frijoles), and yams (*Dioscorea alata*); such fruits as pineapples (*Ananas sativus*), papaya, custard apple (*Annona squamosa*), cactus fruit (*Opuntia* spp.), and plantains (*Musa paradisaica*); and large fish from the rivers.[4]

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[127] [4] The scientific names of the plants were taken from Cortés, 1919. The mammals were tentatively identified by Dr. Remington Kellogg, of the Division of Mammals, U. S. National Museum, and the birds by Dr. Alexander Wetmore, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

7:Hernández de Alba E-54(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The main subsistence of these tribes was and still is based on the cultivation of potatoes, which grow in great quantities in the higher portions of the territory known as Tierradentro, and maize, which is acclimated to the temperate and cold zones. There are three varieties of maize: sweet, soft, and hard. Additional crops were and are yuca or manioc, sweet potatoes, auyamas, ullucos, purutos, frijoles, arracacha, and various other vegetables, and a variety of fruits, including bananas, guayavas, avocados, papayas, [178] pineapples, and passion fruit. Today the *Páez* and *Moguex* are be- [433] ginning to grow wheat, coffee, which is an important item in their [273] economy, and sugarcane, from which is made a coarse sugar and molasses for their fermented drink, guarapo.

241 The men and women of each family generally cultivate the family 476 plot, but for large-scale maize or coffee planting, and for cultivation of the lands of the Church or saint, they work communally, and have meetings called "mingas." Communal work for any particular [782] individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense. The [273] beneficiary must feed his helpers, generally sacrificing a pig and preparing great quantities of chicha for the libations and nocturnal dances after the work. All adults must participate in working the Church lands, but each brings his own food.

241 Implements of cultivation are the digging stick, or macana, for 412 making holes for planting, machetes and axes for destroying vege- 407 tation, and picks and shovels for removing earth, except where re- 492 placed by plows pulled by animal traction.

Domesticated animals.—Domesticated animals include chickens, 231 turkeys, some pigs, dogs, and a few horses and cows. All but the [177] turkeys are of European origin. These animals are rarely sold or killed for food, except for feast days, magical ceremonies, meetings, and visits of relatives, friends or distinguished White men. But [438] sometimes the Indians buy meat in the weekly market and hang it [251] over the hearth, where it is preserved by the smoke.

A custom which has persisted since the beginning of the Colonial 574 Period is that of always giving a guest the "camarico" or "cariño" 431 (affection), a present varying from an egg to a chicken, together with some potatoes, vegetables, and coffee beans.

●262 Formerly, meat was obtained from wild rather than domesticated 136 animals—boars (zaínos), guaras, guatines, birds, and guinea pigs, the 231 last being true domesticated animals kept in some numbers in the native houses.

252 **Food preparation.**—Food was cooked in pottery ollas, but metal and [415] enamel ware is now often used. The *Páez* make "mute," a soup of [177] boiled maize, cabbage, squash, and potatoes, and "cocido," a soup

/132 cont./

245 differentiated: that of the fruit or sugar bananas, and that of the vegetable or mealy bananas. Both kinds are known to the Paez, to be sure, but only the vegetable bananas (toló), whose starchy fruits must be cooked first before being eaten, like potatoes, because they are difficult to digest, are important for them, as for all tropical peoples. The fruit bananas (gnayoſts), the only bananas eaten in Europe, are seldom eaten by the Paez and generally are not cultivated. They are planted by means of slips, which in Calderas bear from the third year on and yield harvests
244 for many years. Other crops grown in the house garden and eaten from time to time are cucumbers (kambſč or pſna, according to the species), squash (pete), and the wild granadilla (šlāl).

b) Food Preparation

264 The Paez eat only two meals a day, the first one (kosē oñ) about four or five o'clock in the morning before work, and the second (fi'nz oñ) at three or four o'clock in the afternoon, after returning from work in the fields. In between, that is, while working on the often quite distant fields, coca /133/ is taken and sugar-cane juice drunk every two to three hours. The morning and evening meals do not differ in content and vary
252 little from day to day. They are cooked without meat, without
262 fat, without salt, as well as without any other seasoning. Cook-
[263] ing with fat is customary only on festive days in the festival house.
[237] On this occasion a blood sausage is made from the blood of cattle, sheep, or pigs, for which the intestines are cleaned and then cooked with blood, salt, onions, and caraway, as well as with another herb (pléo). Meat is not put into the intestines, and likewise no fat.

262 There is no desire for greater variety in food and drink. I was scarcely able to discover any individual differences in taste among the Calderun, for everyone eats everything, and they all regard beans or cabbage or both together as the best food and bean leaves as the worst.

000 /133 cont./

264 food and bean leaves as the worst. They eat together. The
[415 412] family sits around the fire and the woman serves. They do not, however, eat out of the large cooking pot, which is usually of clay, though sometimes of aluminum, but rather the soup is dipped out with a wooden ladle into shallow bowls, from one of which the men, that is to say, the father and sons, eat, and the mother, daughters, and small children eat out of another one.
[263] Above the fire area a few small pieces of rock salt hang in a
[353] small pouch or lie on a rack and are used to salt the food after it is cooked. To do this each one takes the piece of salt and holds it or puts it in his plate until the soup is sufficiently salted.

252 In the following, a few dishes: 1) maize flour, ground
262 on the oval or rectangular grindstone with a hand-stone, is cooked with beans and cabbage; 2) vegetable bananas with beans and arracacha; 3) green ears of maize with beans (wood ashes are added to every maize dish, in order to make the maize tender more quickly); 4) green ears of maize with white cabbage; 5) white cabbage, arracacha, and potatoes; 6) beans and vegetable bananas; 7) only beans and maize flour; 8) arracacha and beans. Eggs are either boiled hard in the shell in a pot, or the egg is beaten with a spoon in a dish, water and onions are added, and
[415] the whole is cooked. All foods are cooked in a large pot as soup; only ears of maize roasted in a bowl /Schale, "bowl, shell, husk"/ (wáts; Spanish arepa) are an exception. Meat is only boiled, never roasted; they eat the meat of cattle, sheep, and pigs, as well as poultry and guinea pigs, but not horse meat. If horses die, the carcasses are devoured by dogs.

/134/ c) Means of Enjoyment

273 The two most important pleasures for the Paez, as for the
276 cultures of the entire Andean area, are coca and chicha. Tobacco plays a subordinate role.

/143 cont./

224 mountain spirit. We met only a single young man of about 18
who goes hunting alone in the mountains once a week. He told
us that, in order to become a good hunter, one must first try to
[789] kill a bear (éšwiy). One must then rub its fat into the right
[237] lower-arm, which would give him the same powers as the bear.
[262] One is not permitted to eat this fat, however, because it would
[828] make him insane. After rubbing in the fat, the young hunter
[263] continued, one may not eat salt at any meal for a week. There
are no further rules and ceremonies of any kind to be observed.
[237] We learned, however, that one can also use bear fat as a heal-
[752] ing remedy, and, to be sure, for bone fractures or sprains one
[757] must rub the affected part with bear fat, whereupon the injured
limb will heal immediately and will become considerably
224 stronger than ever before. For stalking he wears on his head a
292 cap made of the skin of a reddish-blond hairy monkey (móno),
[825] which in the first place protects him from the thorns of the
bushes, but which is also supposed to facilitate creeping up on
[439] game. He sold it to us for two pesos without hesitation, since,
[126] as he said, he was perfectly capable of shooting another monkey
224 for himself. He was not afraid of the gělyómp spirit, but the
776 other men were, for gělyómp screams and makes a noise when
human beings enter his area in the mountains, so that they be-
come quite confused and go astray. The mountain spirit cannot
do anything to several men together, however, since he could
make as much noise as he pleased, but they would not let them-
224 selves be diverted. Of course, the men, even if there are ever so
776 many of them, must not offend the mountain spirit or provoke
515 him unnecessarily, but rather must avoid everything that gělyómp
783 does not like. /144/ For instance, he hates everything impure
[296] and filthy. Hence the men always only go hunting well washed;
[824] they even wash the entire body, and the ruana, too. In addition,
they rub themselves with the cleansing herbs šu and šáyuts, which
they obtain from the shaman, in order to be really altogether
[761] clean in a physical and ritual sense. But if someone has taken
part in a burial or has merely seen a funeral procession close by,
he has picked up a good deal of "pest" from the dead and must
have himself specially purified by the
shaman before hunting.

/260 cont./

756 on the village plaza, along with her medicinal herbs. Then they
[754] sent her back to her house, without her staff and without her
[683] medicinal herbs. When someone again became sick, however, the people again came to her and asked her to help the sick one. Then her husband, who, however, was not a shaman, made her a new staff; she herself again looked for her medicinal herbs and was able to help the sick. Since then she has been recognized once again as a good shaman and helps all who come to her. Another shaman in Santa Rosa said that he had received his call when he was but six years old. One day when he was working in the field, his mother, dressed in black and with a hat on her head, came to him and scolded him on account of his poor work. When she left, he followed her, but she disappeared into the river. When he returned home, he realized that the woman whom he saw could not have been his mother, since the latter had been in the community field at that time, where she was cooking for the workers. Undoubtedly this woman was a spirit, he confessed, who wanted to tell him that he should become a shaman. This was also confirmed for him by two fiber bags which she carried and which corresponded exactly to those used by the shamans for their medicinal herbs. A shaman from Calderas said that there came to him one night a very beautiful blond child with the women's hair style, who, however, was Thunder, and called upon him to become a shaman.

756 If one does not have visions by himself, he can, in order to
787 become shaman, seek them purposely. For this he need only eat
[262] very little and must refrain entirely from aji (a very pungent condi-
[263] ment /see the glossary, p. 248/) and salt for one month. (The same thing also happens to a young man after he has involuntarily had a vision.) The one seeking a vision then goes all alone into the mountains, where he wanders over hill and dale for a long time, until he comes to a beautiful place where he meets an older man. The latter, like himself, is chewing coca. Through his appearance and his friendly manner he inspires confidence in the youth, and the latter tells /261/ him of his wish to become a shaman. He

/262 cont./

754 most opportunities to meet evil spirits. Generally they do not need a teacher, but may look for their herbs by themselves. There are also many people, however, who would like to learn sorcery from other nyic, just as there are also supposed to nyic who instruct others in their art.

756 Avoidance prescriptions and taboos for the shaman include
784 some sexual and dietary abstinence, without, however, being
[834] very extensive or strict. Intercourse with his wife is forbidden
[263] for him when he feels his "signs." Moreover, he may not eat any ají if possible, in order not to make Thunder too angry. Also, he may eat only very little salt, since Thunder likewise /263/ eats
[787] no salt. For the séances, which always take place at night, he fasts the whole day, since a full stomach makes it difficult to feel the
756 "signs." The other avoidance rules for the shaman are the same
784 as for all other human beings. For example, one may not kill a
825 snail, for if he should touch it, he would become lazy. In like manner, the black woodpecker (ánza) may not be killed, since otherwise, while working, one would split the machete in the same way as the tail of the woodpecker is shaped. Young men are forbidden to take a stolen hen away from a fox, for then another man would take his bride or wife away from him. Only
[262] old men may confidently eat such a hen, if they have first run around the house with a firebrand.

c) Shamanistic Aids

756 Among the shamanistic aids, the "signs" are the most im-
787 portant symptoms experienced, while the outward ceremonial gear is as meager as the whole Paez culture. The only ceremonial implement is the unadorned shaman's staff, the functional meaning of which, however, is far less important than the shamanistic "signs" (ítok). "They are like the pecking of a bird," the shaman Cerbeleón Niunda said of them, and Francisco Cuskue describes them as the irregular beating of his pulse. To be able to receive
[278] and to interpret them is the basis of being a shaman. Knowledge of the medicinal herbs, the handling of the shaman's staff, in

* /221 cont./

756 vision she was at a 'minga' /communal work-party/ cooking
787 pork for the laborers.

"There was no doubt but that this was a spirit telling me that I should become a curer. The pouches that she carried indicated this to me. This is why I never fail to take my medicine pouches."

Another curer, from the Parcialidad of Calderas, relates his vision as follows: "One night I saw a beautiful child, fair, with the hair of a woman, reddish, and dressed in a wrapper. This child was the Ghost /Duende/, /222/ from whom the
[178] curer's power comes. He is the same Kallumb as is seen by true curers, because nowadyas there are some who learn to cure through the teaching of others."

In the Parcialidad of San Andrés they say that the Ghost visits the curer when someone goes to consult him, to tell him what brought him and the advice that he should give.

It may also happen, says a Calderuno /native of Calderas/
[262] 19 years old, that someone wishes to become a curer. Then,
[263] he subjects himself to a diet. For one month he eats no salt or ají /Capsicum/. He goes at once to the mountain, alone, his head lowered, lost in thought, with the hope of finding a good friend whose counsel he can ask. At a magnificent spot, pleasant to the senses, he meets a man advanced in years, short of stature, good, generous, amiable in conversation, and amply educated, who chews coca like other Indians and, like them, also carries kuetand yahas (pouches). Filled with trust, he explains his wishes to become a curer, arguing that there are many people who are dying. He asks about the good remedies. The one questioned answers that there are good remedies for curing the sick and presents him with a pouch of them. This one is for such-and-such an illness, he says, this other one for that one, and so on successively, specifying the medicinal value of the remedies in the pouch. He instructs him in their use, technique and method. Up to the way of

* /222 cont./
756 making the tama /a staff/. That man's vision is a personal
787 one. No one else can see it. And it is the same thing that gives the "signs," without which it is impossible to cure, even if one knows the medicinal value of the remedies. When the interview is over, the man returns home with joy manifest on his face. He finishes his apprenticeship with another curer, begins to cure his children and members of his family, and soon, once his reputation has spread, others will come and request his services.

One who is going to be a curer sees visions from boyhood: Thunder /Trueno/ or the Ghost. This is the illumination of his future destiny. He cannot evade it, for Thunder or the Ghost may drive him insane.

● [263] When a child tells of having had a vision, he is immediately prohibited from eating ají, his salt ration is reduced, and
[868] he is bathed with remedies. Then a good curer is sought to instruct him, and when he has the secrets of medicine, that teacher leads him to the lagoon to be consecrated by Thunder. "To see Thunder" -- says an /223/ informant -- "having him show the medicines, is a sign that one will become a very good curer."

* 754 When someone has a vision, care is taken that the sorcerer
756 does not find out about it, for out of wickedness he might show
787 him ají and hep (a plant) and drive him insane. This happened to the curer from Santa Rosa mentioned above. "He would finally have tossed me into the Páez river" -- he said -- "if a curer from Huila had not cured me. Even today, when I am drunk, I have crazy moments and sing."

* 756 Period of instruction. Instruction is given by a curer of
868 great repute in an empirical way, for the pupil accompanies his teacher for several years, during which he learns how to handle the tama, to recognize the value of the remedies, to interpret signs, to master the technique of the treatments. The first cures are usually accomplished with his children or

/226 cont./

756 When the signs occur at the vertex (crown), the sorcerer
787 is about to send the pest, and if they go from the vertex to
827 the left hand, the person is under a spell.
755 If the signs occur in the gluteal muscles, an animal belonging to the person has died and the vultures are eating it.
756 In this way, the curers can know the nature of the illness
755 /227/ and the type of remedies required. To determine the spell and the sorcerer responsible.

To divine whether a stolen object can be recovered or not, and who the thieves are. To learn whether a patient will improve or die. To detect the presence of the Ghost, Rainbow, and Echi. To know in advance about the visits of good or bad persons.

The act of perceiving the signs is called to divine or "to
[273] think." Every patient must always bring tobacco, aguardiente,
[276] and coca. The aguardiente is used to call Thunder, Ghost and Echi and to satisfy them. The chewed coca and tobacco serve to make the signs circulate.

Divination sites. The té eu has a special divination site called Kachí. In it he practices the signs and perceives them
[263] when he has a patient to cure. If the patient is not in serious condition and comes in person to the house of the curer, then he can divine on its ground, even though there is the obstacle of the presence there of ají and salt, articles that Thunder does not like. The treatment, that is to say, the perception of signs and the corresponding cleansing, is carried out at night, at two or three in the morning.

If the patient is in very serious condition, the té eu must go to a site where he will not be disturbed by the shouting of people, the barking of dogs, or the noises of animals. A site almost completely removed from human haunts, such as a bog or a lagoon. He takes with him two or three hairs taken from the crown of each member of the family present, with which he makes a ball that he places amidst the shu /Sphagnum/.

/249/

* 756 While the curer is perceiving the signs, he cannot cohabit.
134 The sorcerer who is aware of this interdiction will, out of
754 malice and wickedness, take his wife to the kachí and cohabit with her, with the aim that the signs will not circulate for the
[826] curer and the glowworms will not rise. And to add to the wickedness, they leave in the kachí pubic hairs, which are poisonous.

* 756 The curer cannot eat ají, especially the one called ají
262 de montaña, because this would anger Thunder and the Ghost.
● [263] They do not eat salt, or consume very little of it. Thunder did not eat salt, they say. They eat the meat of the "pro-
[785] visions" after performing the cleansing. In the ceremonies of ut ká, wé ká, and ut peu, they fast for one day. That is to say, they eat at daybreak and eat again on the following day. Furthermore, since the treatments are given at night, frugality makes them sleep less.

787 Dreams of the Té eu. The interpretation of Paez dreams, as in the generality of popular interpretations of dreams, observes a certain relation between the manifest content of the dream and the action to come. To put it better, future events are deduced from the manifest content of the dream.

They believe firmly in the omens of the dreams, but they
* do nothing to forestall them. It is as if it were a fatality of
[756] destiny. There are no dreams peculiar to the curers. Interpretation is a common patrimony of the people. The attitude toward these omens is the same: to wait indifferently. Here are a few examples out of many:

787 To dream that a snake bites him, sorcery. But if in the
754 dream another person kills the snake at the moment when it bites him, a good curer will turn the sorcery from the victim to the sorcerer himself.

To dream that a herd of swine attacks him, they are practicing sorcery.

To dream of killing a pig, the sorcerer is going to be killed.

/333 cont./

417 bags full of frijoles, which are also suspended from the wall
353 posts. This is also where the grains (lumps) of salt are kept.
251 The amounts kept for the months of scarcity are not sufficient, but there are other comestibles that help them: domestic ani-
[244] mals, cabbages, onions, sugar cane, and coca. In Lame and Mosoco they cultivate a plant which they call ijuca de pijao. It
[464] is an edible discoria /Dioscorea/. We have also seen that want is avoided by going to work as laborers on the fincas of the "whites."

● [263] Meat is also kept on the frame above the hearth. They utilize the smoke to preserve it. Salt is not used for this purpose.

251 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José, where large quantities of wheat are planted, one frequently finds under the eaves of thatched houses bundles of wheat that remain hanging for several months. In this way they preserve it from the attacks of small rodents, and the grain is of excellent quality because it dries out thoroughly.

261 During times of scarcity, the natives do not seek solace in
273 religion. Actually, their defense is in the sale of their own work-
276 ing capacity for a small daily wage, a few eggs of coca, and
[771] food. It should be noted that guarapo and coca are splendid
[464] sedatives against the pangs of hunger. It is curious that one of the
[465] most noted religious fiestas of Calderas is held precisely during a time of scarcity. Large quantities of guarapo are consumed for nearly a month.

Provision of water and firewood

312 In Tierradentro the rainfall is relatively high. As a result, water abounds in small and /334/ large watercourses. This geographical factor leads the natives to bring the water close to their homes by means of a system of drainage ditches that are true engineering works. The distances that have to be faced or the accidents of the terrain make no difference. When necessary,
[177] they use bamboo tubes as artificial channels. This system has been adopted by the "whites" and even by the towns. Since the high parts on both margins of the Paez River are bare of vegetation,

/348 cont./

262 Maize is the species most intensively cultivated, the one of major consumption and the one that satisfies the most psychologically. We have already seen the case of the "hambruna" /extreme hunger/ in Mosoco, where, in spite of the harvest of other produce, it seems to be precisely because there is no [252] maize. With maize they make mote, griddlecakes /arepas/, tamales /envueltos/, and "sango" a maize soup/, in addition to eating it toasted or roasted when it is tender.

252 262 Mote is practically the raw material of the daily foods. It is obtained by boiling the maize in water and ashes until the cuticle is completely loose and then washing it in an abundance of water. This mote is put on to boil, and when it has gone through three "boilings," that is to say, the water has been changed three times, one tosses into it first dry frijoles, then plantains, manioc, arracacha, /349/ cabbages, and meat if [263] there is any, and lastly onions, cumin, and saffron. Salt, which is always preferred in grains or lumps, is put in by each individual, who takes the grain and mixes it into his own dish until he thinks that he has enough. They do not eat food highly salted. This kind of food is a "pot-au-feu," the one most widespread among the people and the one which they eat daily. The informants consider it "delicious."

The griddlecakes /arepas/ are made with dry or tender maize. With the first, they skin the maize in ashes and then they grind it not too fine; the resulting flour is mixed with boiling water and ground once more, this time very fine. With this mass the women make large, round griddlecakes, harden them on a heated piece of earthenware, and finish roasting them in the embers of the hearth. These are the griddlecakes of the religious fiestas of Calderas. When they want the griddlecakes to have "a good taste," they put in salt, onions, or coriander (in Mosoco we have seen that they put in eggs); these are griddlecakes for family consumption. To make griddlecakes from roasting ears, they shell the ear, grind the mass well, and, without any kind of condiments, they make the griddlecakes and harden and roast them in the familiar form. The frequency of

/349 cont./

252 consumption of griddlecakes is low in most of the parcialidades,
262 but in Mosoco it is almost daily. These natives take their coffee
[272] and milk with griddlecakes, which are good substitutes for bread.

The "envueltos" or cakes are made when there are roasting ears. Shelled, ground, and unsifted, the small masses extend along the husks of the same ear, removed carefully by cutting
[263] off with a knife the thicker part of the ear. No condiment of any kind is put in because the roasting ear in itself has "good flavor." The envueltos, once cooked, are eaten with sancocho /a stew/. They say that it is a "very tasty" dish. Ordinarily, when they make envueltos they kill a pig or chickens and invite relatives to eat them. The eating of envueltos is implicitly associated with the start of the maize harvest, in which the local curer plays a part.

"Sango" is based on finely ground and unsifted maize flour, which is put in the pot when the frijoles are sufficiently cooked. They make sure that the soup does not thicken too much. They also add to this dish chopped cabbage, onions, or coriander for "flavor."

Frijoles are very necessary, very tasty, and the most common food; /350/ mote without frijoles is not tasty; frijoles have flavor and the 'cacha' are the tastiest, and especially green, the (tender) little things are eaten with the shell," says an informant from Calderas.

Frijoles are eaten in sancocho. When the frijoles are cooked sufficiently, one adds plantains peeled and in pieces, arracacha peeled, washed, and cut up, manioc prepared like the arracacha, chopped onions, and saffron. Meat or lard is added if they have any. This dish is said to be "tasty." Frijoles are also eaten mixed with mejicano /squash, Cucurbita pepo/. The beans are boiled first, and when they are thought to be sufficiently cooked the finely chopped mejicano is added and, much later, ground maize. When all this is cooked, they eat it without salt, saying that it is as tasty as the rice with milk of the "whites." They also eat mejicano with well-cooked mote and frijoles, and it is very tasty if cows' feet are added to it.

262 /351 cont./
[234] settlement and when they are dragging down /352/ the timber;
[237] the milk is not used, except in Mosoco, where we have seen
[534] that it is really consumed.
[342]

The Calderunos say that sheep are eaten frequently in the
[231] temperate regions such as Avirama and San Andrés, but few are consumed in Calderas; some say that sheep give wool for clothing, "Why eat them, when they provide ponchos," and others state that to eat mutton brings bad luck, because it would be like eating one's papa.

262 When there are visits by "elders" such as compadres, older
574 brothers, fathers-in-law, or own fathers, they are entertained ("cuida") with dishes different from the ordinary ones, based essentially around barnyard fowl and eggs. If there is meat, a large piece is cooked. The compadres, in turn, bring as a gift griddle-cakes (about 15), eggs (about 10), and frequently chickens.

262 There is no special diet for children; they eat exactly the
846 same as adults. There are differences of diet according to sex only when the woman has just given birth. Then, she is given ground maize, arracacha, manioc, ripe plantain, laying hens ("these
[261] are nice and fat"), and mutton. The mejicano is proscribed for them, because it brings cold into the stomach and gives much pain; onions, because they cause a stomach ailment and rot the in-
[844] testines; pork and the frijol bueno for the same reason. Peppers are also taboo for parturient women.

262 For hard labor, it is regarded as good to eat mote, with
● 263 cabbage, frijol bueno, and well salted, because it gives strength for the daily activities; if one eats the same thing (" a good dish"), but without salt, they say that one is already hungry by the middle of the day.

262 Foods regarded as aphrodisiacs are "sango," prepared with
832 finely ground and sifted maize, and raw eggs.

261 Of the foods that they eat, they believe that chicha and water are transformed into blood, and the maize, potatoes, frijoles, and arracacha into flesh.

To gain weight, they believe that it is necessary to eat and not to work, rather than to follow a special diet.

/352 cont./

261 The natives lose weight -- says an informant -- because first they eat good and abundant food, and then they do not have [262] enough to eat and, naturally, grow thin. In times of scarcity ("hambruna"), they eat frijol cacha and its tender leaves, in the same way as they eat mejicano leaves; cabbages are gathered leaf by leaf, for at this time of year they are less abundant. When there is nothing more to eat they kill a cow and eat meat; they hunt /353/ wild pigeons or chachalacas, cook them, and [273] drink the broth with salt. They also make chicha, and the old [276] people get drunk every day; the consumption of coca increases: "the people chew and chew so as not to feel too hungry"; the little ones suffer hunger because they do not know how to chew, and they eat mejicano, which does not require the salt that they try to save. Finally, they end up going to the fincas of the "whites" to earn food, coca, and a few centavos.

264 When they do not work, they have one meal at 3:00 P.M. and another at 6:00 P.M. After the first meal they lie down and say, "We are making estancia," that is to say, digesting and [261] getting nourishment. Skinned maize with saffron, chicken, plantains, and peppers gives more "estancia."

261 They barely eat enough unskinned maize, which they cook as mote, but they eat to excess the sancocho of potatoes and frijol bueno because it is so good. No one eats an entire chicken. It is divided. In the former state they would believe that the chicken was stolen. Mejicano makes some people vomit, because they are used to eating meat, and they are the ones who might be thieves.

As a rule, everyone eats only one plate of food; if they eat [758] two, they cannot walk. The curers eat little in order to be able to [787] spend the night in vigil, devoted to their activities; they always [262] eat eggs and they avoid eating peppers in order to be able to [263] feel the "signs" (31).

31. Vernal Villa, S. "Magia y Medicina entre los Paeces /Magic and Medicine among the Paez/," p. 248.

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of manioc, arracacha, potatoes, beans, sweet maize, and pieces of meat. Meat is sometimes roasted. Maize, the staple, is made into tortillas or soup, or is roasted on the ear. Coffee, much of which is consumed, is roasted in a pottery vessel, ground, and made into an infusion sweetened with coarse sugar. 252 [272]

Kitchen utensils include pottery ollas and vessels, and a footless elliptical stone metate with a central concavity, which lies directly on the floor or is supported on sticks driven in the soil. Meat is kept smoked over the fireplace, and other food is stored on shelves of cane woven into the roof sticks or in hanging hemp bags or gourds. Each gourd has a broad half-gourd suspended above it, open side down, so that a rat descending from above slides off the gourd onto the floor. 415 251 [353] [825]

The first daily meal is taken at daybreak and consists of "mute." There is no noonday meal, but the evening repast resembles breakfast. Between meals, the Indians chew coca two or three times to sustain their strength and allay hunger. For refreshment and stimulation, they drink guarapo, carrying it to work in gourds. 264 [276] [273]

They cultivate pepper (ají) for a condiment, but purchase salt in the weekly market. The latter is so scarce that instead of mixing it with food they pass a lump around, each person licking it. Before the Conquest, three salt deposits were exploited in this territory, the most important being that near the modern municipality of Belalcázar or Páez. Here the local chief had the salt water boiled down to obtain blocks of salt, which he traded with other tribes for diverse products, or with which he bought help in his wars against the neighboring *Pijao*. Sometimes he permitted other *Páez* to exploit the deposit. Near the present-day Indian center of Ricaurte on the Ullucos River is another salt works that was much used in ancient times, but today is abandoned. Another source of salt was at Huila, where, during the Conquest, the Indians ambushed the Spaniards who sought it, and killed their horses. 317 263 [244] [439] [648]

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Each *Páez* and *Moguex* family has its own house, located on a point or flat place in the mountains some distance from its neighbors. The aboriginal house seems to have been rectangular, which still is the only form. It was so lightly constructed of cane and sticks with thatched roof that the Spanish soldiers during the foundation of San Vicente de Páez "carried some Indian houses to their barracks because they were small and suited to it" (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 9). Some distance from the dwelling, they always built a small woman's house. Under Spanish influence, some houses were divided into rooms, and built more solidly of "bahareque" construction, i. e., walls consisting of two faces of sticks with mud and rocks between (pl. 185). 342 [361] 177 342

000 /120 cont./

354 the simplest possible form. Three rocks provide the lateral sup-
415 port or stand for the pots, of which there are two at most, a
metal one, usually of aluminum, and an earthen one. Very
poor families have only one earthen pot, which is relatively
[417] cheap to buy. The earthen pot cannot be hung up; it is set
between the three fire-stones in such a way that it cannot tip
over, whereas the aluminum pot is hung by its handle on a soot-
covered, angled stick that hangs down from the ridge (Ill. 166
352 /see p. 273/). Above the fire area there hangs a frame made
[251] of maize canes and about one square meter in size, on which
[353] household utensils and, above all, the rock salt for salting food
are stored, airy and dry. Tables, chairs, or stools of any kind
[237] are unknown. One generally sits on the hairy side of an un-
tanned and hence board-stiff cowhide, on which one also /121/
[513] sleeps, or one sits on a beam, a block of wood, or a stone. Paez
[171] who have seen house furnishings in Inzá or in the dwellings of white
colonists have sometimes built for themselves as a bed a sort
of bench 30-50 centimeters high, consisting of sticks or reeds
[513] laid side by side. For sleeping the customary cowhide is spread
on it. These sleeping benches are not used for sitting.

342 The nights in Calderas are generally quite cool, and
362 the light construction of the walls with cracks between the in-
132 dividual maize stalks does not in any way prevent the cold wind
from coming in. In a few houses, near the sleeping area, I saw
the walls sealed by means of expressed sugar-cane piled up
462 horizontally. For sleeping, the members of the family lie down
[354] in a circle around the fire area, where the fire must be kept going
[513] all through the night. This, like all housework, is the task of
the woman, who must gather sufficient fuel beforehand and get up
every two hours during the night to stir up the fire. Furthermore,
● [264] she must get up an hour earlier in the morning in order to have
the first meal, which is eaten around five o'clock, sometimes
[461] even at four o'clock, prepared on time. In spite of this, the
men think that they are the ones who do the hardest work and that
basically they are the only ones in the village who really work.

/121 cont./

372 In case the fire should go out, which happens very rarely, the men, if they have no matches, know how to make fire by striking the blade of the iron machete with a stone and catching the sparks in the dry tinder of expressed sugar-cane. To fan this or a dying fire the hat is used as a fire fan, instead of a special fan. A few times I also saw a reed tube (yotá) about 50 centimeters long, which is blown into with the mouth and which thus acts like a bellows.

352 Infants do not as a rule sleep on the floor, but in ham-
[854] mocks (máka), which, however, as the name indicates, were
[513] not originally Paez. Nevertheless all the men know how to
[286] make them out of agave fibers, which is done with the same knotting technique as in the manufacture of nets for bird hunting.
415 Moreover, a few bags (yáha) made of agave fibers, which con-
[286] tain beans, maize, or other supplies, hang on the wall posts.
[353] Arracacha lies on the floor. For drinking chicha, which is allowed
[273] to ferment in large, hollowed-out tree troughs, calabashes (tóka) are used, but they are plain and undecorated. Cracked calabashes are sewed with a waxed agave thread (Fig. 25 /see
[249] p.253 /). The calabash gourd is grown in the house garden /122/
412 of every family; its meat is inedible. Furthermore, an oval or
352 rectangular grindstone on which maize is ground with a smaller hand-stone is found in every household. It usually lies on the floor in a corner of the house, but sometimes it is set about one meter high on two forked posts.

412 Meals are taken with wooden spoons (todšá'tc) off of
415 wooden plates (hič), which are carved by the Paez themselves
264 (Fig. 27 /see p. 253 /). Aluminum or enamel bowls were rarely
[322] encountered in Calderas. Plates and mugs of aluminum were
[177] therefore always coveted gift articles, along with kitchen knives, needles, safety pins, matches, and salt.

356 Cleanliness within the house is surprisingly great, consider-
515 ing that the Paez wash their bodies but seldom and their hands only when they are "very dirty." This is the case when a person has been working in a burned field and has cleared away the
000 sooty, burned tree trunks and the burned underbrush. The house

The house

/122 cont./

356 is swept by the women every day with a broom (ctábando) con-
824 sisting of shrubs of the psáñga plant. This plant at the same
[825] time drives away fleas. The rubbish is swept out of the house in such a way that even the entrance is clean.

351 All around the house and surrounding it at some distance
417 either a fence is erected or a ditch dug about one meter deep,
[231] within which the poultry and usually the pigs and sheep are kept.
In Calderas, where, because of the low temperature, bamboo
[137] no longer grows, the fence is made of wood obtained from the
[313] natural growth when a piece of land is burned off. Stakes are driven vertically into the ground at intervals of about two meters and the interspaces filled with small tree trunks, branches, and twigs up to a good meter in length, lying horizontally. Climbing over this fence is done with notched tree trunks or bamboo stalks placed obliquely against the fence as a ladder. Similar notched tree trunks also serve as ladders in the houses (Ills. 168 and 154 /see pp.274 and 268 /).

514 There are no privies. On account of the isolation of the houses, however, it is never difficult for the Paez to find a place off in the brush or in the forest. We never found the paths
● 264 and the vicinity of the houses soiled with filth. The Paez showed
[412] the same tact in eating and at other gatherings. We never experienced smacking of lips or belching, even though their eating habits are somewhat crude, for, lacking spoons, they are in the habit of simply shoving their food from the plate into the mouth with the fingers.

/123/ 2. Clothing and Ornaments

291 The Paez today wear clothing covering their upper and lower bodies. In ancient times, according to the reports of chroniclers, some of them were said to have worn small cotton cloaks, although the majority of them "went about naked, even in the cold mountains" (cited by Hernandez, 1944, p. 191,
[302] from P. M. Rodriguez, 1684). They were also said to have painted their bodies with color and to have made imprints on them with

stamps,

/132 cont./

245 differentiated: that of the fruit or sugar bananas, and that of the vegetable or mealy bananas. Both kinds are known to the Paez, to be sure, but only the vegetable bananas (toló), whose starchy fruits must be cooked first before being eaten, like potatoes, because they are difficult to digest, are important for them, as for all tropical peoples. The fruit bananas (gnayofts), the only bananas eaten in Europe, are seldom eaten by the Paez and generally are not cultivated. They are planted by means of slips, which in Calderas bear from the third year on and yield harvests
244 for many years. Other crops grown in the house garden and eaten from time to time are cucumbers (kambíč or pína, according to the species), squash (pete), and the wild granadilla (šlāl).

b) Food Preparation

● 264 The Paez eat only two meals a day, the first one (kosē oń) about four or five o'clock in the morning before work, and the second (fi'nz oń) at three or four o'clock in the afternoon, after returning from work in the fields. In between, that is, while working on the often quite distant fields, coca /133/ is taken and sugar-cane juice drunk every two to three hours. The morning and evening meals do not differ in content and vary
252 little from day to day. They are cooked without meat, without
262 fat, without salt, as well as without any other seasoning. Cook-
[263] ing with fat is customary only on festive days in the festival house.
[237] On this occasion a blood sausage is made from the blood of cattle, sheep, or pigs, for which the intestines are cleaned and then cooked with blood, salt, onions, and caraway, as well as with another herb (pléo). Meat is not put into the intestines, and likewise no fat.

262 There is no desire for greater variety in food and drink. I was scarcely able to discover any individual differences in taste among the Calderun, for everyone eats everything, and they all regard beans or cabbage or both together as the best food and bean leaves as the worst.

000 /133 cont./

264 food and bean leaves as the worst. They eat together. The
[415] family sits around the fire and the woman serves. They do not,
[412] however, eat out of the large cooking pot, which is usually of clay, though sometimes of aluminum, but rather the soup is dipped out with a wooden ladle into shallow bowls, from one of which the men, that is to say, the father and sons, eat, and the mother, daughters, and small children eat out of another one.
[263] Above the fire area a few small pieces of rock salt hang in a
[353] small pouch or lie on a rack and are used to salt the food after it is cooked. To do this each one takes the piece of salt and holds it or puts it in his plate until the soup is sufficiently salted.

252 In the following, a few dishes: 1) maize flour, ground
262 on the oval or rectangular grindstone with a hand-stone, is cooked with beans and cabbage; 2) vegetable bananas with beans and arracacha; 3) green ears of maize with beans (wood ashes are added to every maize dish, in order to make the maize tender more quickly); 4) green ears of maize with white cabbage; 5) white cabbage, arracacha, and potatoes; 6) beans and vegetable bananas; 7) only beans and maize flour; 8) arracacha and beans. Eggs are either boiled hard in the shell in a pot, or the egg is beaten with a spoon in a dish, water and onions are added, and
[415] the whole is cooked. All foods are cooked in a large pot as soup; only ears of maize roasted in a bowl /Schale, "bowl, shell, husk"/ (wáts; Spanish arepa) are an exception. Meat is only boiled, never roasted; they eat the meat of cattle, sheep, and pigs, as well as poultry and guinea pigs, but not horse meat. If horses die, the carcasses are devoured by dogs.

/134/ c) Means of Enjoyment

273 The two most important pleasures for the Paez, as for the
276 cultures of the entire Andean area, are coca and chicha. Tobacco plays a subordinate role.

/191 cont./

584 father, and the latter distributes it /192/ to everyone and gives
431 the bringer and all those present some of his own chicha to drink. This continues all night until everyone is drunk. In the morning the daughter-in-law, along with her father-in-law, goes back to the house of the latter, and from then on she lives with her husband until the wedding.

606 In case the father of the girl should not be satisfied with the
585 young man as a son-in-law, he would still not take any practical action against this union of his daughter, since he does not have to pay a dowry anyway. Besides, once children arrive, the
[591] parents are always satisfied. If, conversely, the father of the young man is not satisfied with the latter's choice of a bride, he may refuse him his house. In this case the young people customarily immediately build their own house, a small one at first.

58 The wedding generally does not take place very soon after courtship among the Paez, but only after a year or more. First of all there begins a trial period, which, however, has an altogether conjugal character. During this time of "trial marriage" the housekeeping abilities of the girl are to be tested, for the latter brings into marriage no dowry of any kind from her parents or any other possessions except her clothing. Since there are no social grounds for a choice of bride in the nonstratified Paez community, and no stimulus to marry on the grounds of a large dowry or on account of the possibility of a low bride price, there are no
581 child betrothals. As bride and wife a girl has only the merit of
462 her personality and her personal capabilities. The latter have the greater weight. It is required of a woman that she be able to cook and to weave the cloth for the whole family, that she not gossip, keep the house in order, and, above all, that she be able to keep the fire going at night and prepare the meal on time in
[264] the morning. The Paez are in the habit of having their first meal
[252] very early, at five or four o'clock in the morning, and an hour before that the woman must already begin preparing the food.
[362] Moreover, as we have seen, the walls of the house are only made
[513] of maize stalks placed side by side, and give scarcely any protection against the coolness of the night. They therefore sleep lying

/271 cont./

753 caused by the spirits eč, tũs, or gělyómp, or general emanations
783 of impurity, of "pest" (uwẽ). Such reasons for catching pest, and
[754] thereby being afflicted with sickness, result largely from neglecting
[764] the prescribed shamanistic purifications. These must take place after a burial or when someone has merely seen a funeral proces-
753 sion or entered a house in which there is a corpse. The prohibitions
783 surrounding a woman giving birth or menstruating are just as strict.
841 If she does not retire to the menstruation hut at the proper time,
[849] if she cohabits during these days or neglects to take the subsequent bath after menstruation and birth, the consequences are equally
[264] grave. Pest befalls a man if he accepts food from a menstruating
753 woman. The same consequences befall the one who in housebuild-
783 ing or during the first harvest does not have the proper ceremonies
756 performed by the shaman.
342

Most people die as the result of the evil influence of the
754 nyic, the evil sorcerers. The latter -- it is firmly believed --
783
761 are able to kill individual persons as well as to send pest to entire villages. Their power of evil is regarded as almost unlimited. Besides being bewitched by a nyic, there are three other possibili-
753 ties for a person to become ill or to die. These causes are
761 gělyómp, tũs, and eč. All three are very complex conceptions
776 and may be translated roughly as "mountain spirit," "rainbow," and "firefly," respectively, although the Paez conception and the
[756] translation are not completely identical. The teyu knows the cause of the illness immediately from his signs, the rest of the people, however, usually only after the death of the sick person. And, to be sure, one recognizes the tũs as the cause of illness by the fact /272/ that the corpse lies there with a bent limb (arm or leg), whereas in the case of ec as the cause of death, blood flows from the mouth or nose. It is also possible that both together, tũs and eč, might bring death to the person, for example, if the person lies there bent and blood flows from the mouth or nose.

776 The gělyómp spirit lives chiefly in the mountains, but also in the valley, on the banks of brooks or rivers. He likes to lead wanderers astray in the mountains by making noise and screaming up there; at night one hears his screams -- like those of a human

P /190 cont./
513 them during the day. They use no blankets. The woman
512 leaves sufficient wood on the fire for heat to protect them from
P the rigors of the cold of the night which filters through the
[262] stalks of the walls. In addition, over the fire there is a pot
[264] of "mute," beans, and cabbage, which, when cooked, will
P constitute the meal at daybreak. The fire is revived by the
[462] woman at 11 o'clock, an operation that is repeated about two o'clock in the morning. At four o'clock in the morning everyone is up. At dawn the woman distributes the food, and then the men come out of their houses with machetes in their belts, kuetand yaha filled with coca and mambe, to clear the woodland, weed the fields, or help with the hard work of their neighbors.

V

Anger, Rancor, and Politics

P
829 The Calderas Indians are arch conservatives. Tradition, pride, and a rebel spirit have much to do with their passion for politics. I do not speak of the conservative doctrine or of political concepts. They are conservatives by temperament and group solidarity. By the same token, their fanaticism is
P proverbial. The mere mention of the word "liberal" makes
829 them break out in a rash. Anyone who comes to Calderas for
609 the first time is approached by the Indians out of curiosity. "What is your name?" "What do you want?" "Why did you come?" "What are you, liberal or conservative?" These are the questions with which the natives and even the local cabildo besiege the visitor. It should be added that those who wish to save their skins or to avoid being run out of town must main-
P tain that they are conservatives. It is said that in 1952 they
[797] did not want to accept the Missionary Sisters who came to run
[871] the school which is supported by the national government.
C
[658]

/206 cont./

796 of cowhide and are busy cooking the food, hastily reviving the kitchen fire. Meanwhile, the men talk and laugh hilariously.

[264] The house of the fiestero is bustling with activity. At six

[262] o'clock in the morning men and women have breakfasted on "mute," cabbage, bananas, yuca, and meat. Then, the women put on to cook, in a copper pan with a diameter of one meter and 50 centimeters, the mute for the laborers' lunch and for feasting the albacero after vespers. Next to this vessel they place another one of clay, slightly smaller, full of shelled maize with ashes. About four arrobas of maize will be consumed during this day.

With the bundles of firewood piled in one corner of the kitchen, and the water stored in jars, the women sit around the fire to nurse their children, spin wool, weave their pouches, and converse about matters of daily life.

In the course of the day there will be the sacrifice of the beef; the presentation of the "camarico" to the priest; the greeting of the albacero; the celebration of vespers with the vacaloca game; concluding with the meal given by the fiestero at midnight. On the following day there will be the Mass, a procession, the handing over of the banners to the new fiesteros, and the care given to the albacero.

/207/ XV

Scene between the Second Fiestero and Albacero

[805] The position of the sun indicates that it is nine o'clock in the morning. In the house of the albacero the muffled sounds of the bass drum and the melody of the flutes are heard.

While they play, the fiestero and his wife visit the albacero with a pot of stew /sancocho/, a bottle of aguardiente, a sky-rocket, and a candle. The fiestero hands over what he has

[539] brought to the albacero, and his wife to the latter's wife. They sit around the fire. The dialogue is interesting:

/213 cont./

796 sit in the center, his wife on his right and the síndico on his left. The same etiquette and the same courtesies will be ob-
●[264] served. When the liquor has been drunk, there will be a meal of cabbage and meat: large bowls for the albacero, his wife, and the síndico. For the others it will be served on platters. All of them will sip the broth, squeeze out the meat and cabbage with their hands, and put it in their pouches.

796 Overcome by the fatigue induced by several sleepless
513 nights, by the chicha, and the food, they will sleep on the ground. When dawn heralds the new day, the enormous sala, the fiuhne wala, will present the sight of groups of people sleeping in a promiscuity of sex and age.

XX

The Saint's Procession

796 Immediately after the Mass, with the presence of those
788 who attended it and those who did not, the procession begins, the essence of the fiesta, according to Padre González. The image of San Juan, adorned with many flowers, is carried on a litter by the faithful, who frequently relieve one another, go round the church with a great profusion of gunpowder, and
[533] finally set off the fireworks castle. The music plays incessant-
796 ly and includes the singing of religious canticles. When the
492 procession is over and the saint has been placed on the altar,
526 the men mount their horses, most of them bareback, and set out to race madly /214/ across the plains of the locality. They give free rein to their enthusiasm, allow their spirits to expand, and whet their appetite for play. Groups of horsemen in clamorous flight leave behind them their shouts of "Viva San Juan." In everyday life action has been slow. Now the movement and excitement seem to counteract the sluggishness and heaviness of everyday life. The sweating animals

4:Bernal Villa--50 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/215 cont./

XXII

A Bath for San Juan

796 At four o'clock in the morning on June 24, the men, women, and children are up in every household. In that of the fiestero the kitchen fire is burning, the food is being cooked, [541] and everyone is drinking and talking. Outside, in the darkness of the night, numerous lights are shooting upward, ending with a flash accompanied by an explosion: they are the skyrockets fired out of the huts. To each explosion are added the cries: San Juan! San Juan! San Juan!

796 On the previous day and in each of the houses, a jet of 515 water was arranged to serve as a shower. Now everyone bathes. This bath is accompanied by firecrackers and shouts. /216/ This is one of the few occasions when the native bathes. For, although it is true that in childhood baths are quite frequent, adults bathe only for the fiesta of San Juan, in the washing of the dead, or when they have fever.

796 The bath of San Juan has the purpose of preventing both 515 persons and the animals that belong to them from getting sores 751 (scabies). Nevertheless, one of those who awoke in the house of the fiestero and who did not bathe palliates his fear: "I did not bathe. I have no animals. It does not matter if I get scabies."

--"You do have some, even if only 'two animals.' Bathe," replies his neighbor in a taunting, jesting tone.

--"I will bathe, but not my entire body, just my ...only."

The dialogue continues, loud and merry.

796 After the bath they catch a chicken. They all answer its squawks in chorus: San Juan, San Juan, San Juan. They [264] kill it. At six o'clock in the morning they are eating chicken stew.

In the house of the fiestero the following dialogue between parents is overheard as they hear their son crying:

/316/

105 Potatoes are the principal crop in the parcialidad of Mosoco
178 and the primary source of the natives' monetary income. It has
[244] made possible the establishment of intensive trade with the municipio of Silvia and has plainly had repercussions in the modification of rules of behavior and the restructuring of institutions. The transformation embraces nearly all aspects of Páez culture.

In the first place, work has intensified. The people of Mosoco have permanent work throughout the year. The women participate directly in the preparation of the soil, the planting, and the harvesting.

The children of both sexes go to school regularly, learn basic skills, and utilize them in everyday life. Mosoco is the only part of Tierradentro where there is a private school supervised by a native.

[191] Bilingualism is general. The "chontales," that is to say, persons who do not speak Spanish, are very few. There are not more than ten.

[276] The consumption of coca has disappeared among all the youthful elements.

[262] The alimentary diet and schedule have been altered con-
[264] siderably. They have breakfast very early in the morning, lunch at noon, and dinner at nightfall. Milk, panela, lard, meat, and bread are consumed regularly.

The utensils are completely modern, consisting of aluminum and iron pieces.

There are wooden beds for sleeping, and blankets as well.

The houses are better built and furnished. There are houses of adobe and tile. Two tile-works inclusively already exist in the parcialidad.

The people are hospitable and generous toward foreign visitors.

[291] The clothing of the men is almost completely transformed. They dress like any Colombian peasant. The palm hat worn in other parcialidades has disappeared from this region. The women are clean, orderly, and talkative. They retain the slit skirt and sash, but have adopted chemises and the blue rebozo of the

/352 cont./

261 The natives lose weight -- says an informant -- because first they eat good and abundant food, and then they do not have [262] enough to eat and, naturally, grow thin. In times of scarcity ("hambruna"), they eat frijol cacha and its tender leaves, in the same way as they eat mejicano leaves; cabbages are gathered leaf by leaf, for at this time of year they are less abundant. When there is nothing more to eat they kill a cow and eat meat; they hunt /353/ wild pigeons or chachalacas, cook them, and [273] drink the broth with salt. They also make chicha, and the old [276] people get drunk every day; the consumption of coca increases: "the people chew and chew so as not to feel too hungry"; the little ones suffer hunger because they do not know how to chew, and they eat mejicano, which does not require the salt that they try to save. Finally, they end up going to the fincas of the "whites" to earn food, coca, and a few centavos.

264 When they do not work, they have one meal at 3:00 P.M. and another at 6:00 P.M. After the first meal they lie down and say, "We are making estancia," that is to say, digesting and [261] getting nourishment. Skinned maize with saffron, chicken, plantains, and peppers gives more "estancia."

261 They barely eat enough unskinned maize, which they cook as mote, but they eat to excess the sancocho of potatoes and frijol bueno because it is so good. No one eats an entire chicken. It is divided. In the former state they would believe that the chicken was stolen. Mejicano makes some people vomit, because they are used to eating meat, and they are the ones who might be thieves.

As a rule, everyone eats only one plate of food; if they eat [758] two, they cannot walk. The curers eat little in order to be able to [787] spend the night in vigil, devoted to their activities; they always [262] eat eggs and they avoid eating peppers in order to be able to [263] feel the "signs" (31).

31. Vernal Villa, S. "Magia y Medicina entre los Paeces /Magic and Medicine among the Paez/," p. 248.

/353 cont./

262 The Indians like meat, but they state that they eat any type of food; they believe that the "whites" eat better, because the Indians cannot eat meat every day nor spend money on lard or meat. They only eat the produce that they cultivated.

● 264 The Indians have two meals a day: one at dawn and the other one in the afternoon when the sun is setting. The women and children have one meal at midday, from what was left over from the morning. The principal and large meal is cooked at [252] night. Before lying down the women hang from a wooden or iron hook, or from a wire, the pot with mote or frijoles and stir up the fire at least three times during the night; at four in the morning they add the easily cooked products and eat at the first light of day.

574 The natives are generous and hospitable among themselves;
262 no sooner does a visitor enter a home than they offer him whatever they have available: chicha or food.

177 /354/ In the parcialidad of Mosoco, which is undergoing
262 complete acculturation, the diet is changing visibly and the
264 eating hours have changed fundamentally. Coffee, panela, bacon, meat, and maize griddlecakes are consumed regularly.

Trading

43 Except for the parcialidad of Mosoco, the natives produce primarily for internal consumption; but the self-provisioning is insufficient, for they suffer a few months of scarcity. As a result, trading must necessarily be restricted and scanty. In Calderas, Suin, and Chinas, animals are ordinarily exchanged, large, fat cows being surrendered for smaller, thin, fertile heifers and a few pesos besides. We have already referred to this extensively in discussing the livestock. We have also seen how the only industry intended exclusively for trade, that of laurel wax, was a patrimony of San Andrés, Calderas, Tumbichukue, Lame, Suin, and Chinas, and that the drop in price was a fatal blow for the industry. Thus, aside from coffee, potatoes, wheat, and garlic, which are intended almost entirely for trade, nothing remains but small amounts of manioc, arracacha, plantains,

7:Hemández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

of manioc, arracacha, potatoes, beans, sweet maize, and pieces of 252
meat. Meat is sometimes roasted. Maize, the staple, is made into
tortillas or soup, or is roasted on the ear. Coffee, much of which is [272]
consumed, is roasted in a pottery vessel, ground, and made into an
infusion sweetened with coarse sugar.

Kitchen utensils include pottery ollas and vessels, and a footless 415
elliptical stone metate with a central concavity, which lies directly on
the floor or is supported on sticks driven in the soil. Meat is kept 251
smoked over the fireplace, and other food is stored on shelves of cane [353]
woven into the roof sticks or in hanging hemp bags or gourds. Each [825]
gourd has a broad half-gourd suspended above it, open side down, so
that a rat descending from above slides off the gourd onto the floor.

The first daily meal is taken at daybreak and consists of "mute." 264
There is no noonday meal, but the evening repast resembles break-
fast. Between meals, the Indians chew coca two or three times to [276]
sustain their strength and allay hunger. For refreshment and stim- [273]
ulation, they drink guarapo, carrying it to work in gourds.

They cultivate pepper (ají) for a condiment, but purchase salt in 317
the weekly market. The latter is so scarce that instead of mixing it 263
with food they pass a lump around, each person licking it. Before the [244]
Conquest, three salt deposits were exploited in this territory, the most
important being that near the modern municipality of Belalcázar or
Páez. Here the local chief had the salt water boiled down to obtain [439]
blocks of salt, which he traded with other tribes for diverse products, [648]
or with which he bought help in his wars against the neighboring
Pijao. Sometimes he permitted other *Páez* to exploit the deposit.
Near the present-day Indian center of Ricaurte on the Ullucos River
is another salt works that was much used in ancient times, but today is
abandoned. Another source of salt was at Huila, where, during the
Conquest, the Indians ambushed the Spaniards who sought it, and
killed their horses.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Each *Páez* and *Moguex* family has its own house, located on a point 342
or flat place in the mountains some distance from its neighbors. The [361]
aboriginal house seems to have been rectangular, which still is the only
form. It was so lightly constructed of cane and sticks with thatched
roof that the Spanish soldiers during the foundation of San Vicente de
Páez "carried some Indian houses to their barracks because they
were small and suited to it" (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 9).
Some distance from the dwelling, they always built a small woman's
house. Under Spanish influence, some houses were divided into 177
rooms, and built more solidly of "bahareque" construction, i. e., walls 342
consisting of two faces of sticks with mud and rocks between (pl. 185).

If someone

/266 cont./

787 dreams of peté squash, he will be devoured by the Pijao, for this
[266] squash has black seeds, and the Pijao as man-eaters have /267/ black teeth. If one has been greatly amused in a dream at night and has laughed a great deal, he will have a great deal of vexation during the day. If it rained heavily in a dream at night, a chicken or something similar will be stolen the next day. If in a dream someone has ridden very fast all night long on a brown horse, the day will be beautiful, for the brown or red color is the color of the sun (the same word is used for brown and red); dreaming of riding a black horse, on the other hand, will cause a black cloud to come up the next day, and then it will rain. If, before sowing, someone dreams of a big lagoon that appears all green or has a great deal of green growth around it, this means that the subsequent sowing will produce a good harvest. Anyone who sees a black pig in his dream has in reality seen the heart of an evil shaman, that is to say, he, as a good human being, has met the wandering soul of an evil shaman; this is not a good sign, but neither is it so bad that one would have to fall ill on account of it. Dreaming about the slaughtering of a pig means that an evil sorcerer will die. If one dreams that a thorn entered his foot on
[763] the road, a snake will bite him. If one's tooth drops out in a dream, a close relative will die. If someone else kills a large rooster, his father will die, for the rooster is the heart of the father. But if a person himself slaughters a large rooster in a dream, he will murder his own father. If one dreams that he has worked a great deal in his field on one day, then wild animals will break
[754] into this field and destroy the entire crop. If a person dreams that
[763] he is falling into a deep hole and cannot get out again, this is a sign that he will die, for an evil sorcerer has thus stolen the soul of a human being, buried it in a deep hole, and stamped down the earth again.

756 If dreams and shamanistic signs of a relatively advanced spiritual attitude lead to the conclusion that there is a corresponding external ceremonial outfit for the shaman, we shall be disap-
[181] pointed. The shaman's staff (tama), to which a liana (nika) is added for certain ceremonies, is unadorned, poor, and inartistic, like the entire culture of the Paez.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

deserted savannas. It must be said, in extenuation, that they have been subjected to much abuse by their neighbors of the "superior race." Moreover, the Paeces are naturally hostile to strangers, descending, as we have seen, from a warlike people. The old Paeces always went about armed, carrying a lance or javelin in the hand and ready to protect their bodies from the darts of an enemy by means of a shield of basket-work (*opimb*), or of tapir hide (*yimbo-kdi*). The warlike tendencies of the tribe were stimulated by means of periodical contests in which the most valiant warriors fought each other in the presence of the multitude.

To-day, as we have seen, the descendants of these have abundant opportunity to satisfy their fighting propensity by taking sides in the frequent quarrels of the political parties that thus far have kept Colombia in an almost continual turmoil.

Sexual intercourse between Paez women and men of other races is said not to exist; barbarous chastisement would be the fate of the offending female. It is to be expected, however, that the closer contact brought about by the gradual penetration of the Tierra Andentro by whites and negroes will soon overcome the purity of the Paez blood and open the way to amalgamation with the neo-Colombian race.

Reclus, cited above (page 311), gives us to understand that the Paez were cannibals, and the tradition current in the villages along the western foot of the cordillera confirms his intimation with reference to the Pijaos; for the coming of "el Pijao" is still a menace to children. The early chroniclers tell us of several anthropophagous tribes which lived in this region, and it is not unlikely that the Paeces had a share in that custom.

GRAMMATICAL NOTES

Castillo's *Nociones gramaticales* is limited to a list of the personal pronouns and the conjugation of the verbs 'to be' and 'to write.' A few more grammatical indications are incorporated in the vocabularies, but on the whole these data are very meager, and much remains to be done in this direction.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,√(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15

[75 648 [266] [727] by Belalcázar between the Kingdom of Quito and Bogotá. Few Spaniards wished to adventure through these wild lands where the Indians were strong and ambushed them. The founders of Timaná were constantly attacked, and the frightening legend of cannibalism began to spread. It was said that Spaniards were the preferred victims, and that the Indians considered the flesh of enemies the finest morsels in their great victory feasts. The soldiers collected some gold in the so-called penetrations (entradas) of the country—attacks really made to kill the natives, to destroy their crops, and to burn their houses. All of this made the Indians resist more strongly, but it was necessary to clear the road to Santa Fé, and the war of extermination went on without respite. Belalcázar himself returned to *Páez* territory and was defeated at the rocky cliff of Talagá in 1541, only to return with more than 200 soldiers, of whom 100 had horses, and spread blood and fire among the Indian villages. But the Indians made reprisals. They assailed Timaná and killed its mayor, after putting out his eyes and leading him through the market places with a cord passed through his face. This act of vengeance was to satisfy Gaitana, a valiant warlike Indian woman who had formed various Indian alliances against the Spaniards because they burned her son. In 1543, the *Pijao* destroyed the town of Los Angeles, recently founded in the Neiva Valley. They continually attacked the area surrounding Ibagué, but many of them were defeated and killed in 1556 in the plains of Chaparral by Francisco de Trejo's troops. Both Spaniards and Indians were stubborn in their struggles, the Indians being unwilling to make peace as long as they were being killed and their crops destroyed.

The struggle was rekindled in 1562 when Captain Domingo Lozano, having requested the privilege of conquering the Indians, organized an army and entered *Páez* territory. He founded the town of San Vicente de Páez near Huila Mountain in order to ensure Spanish domination of the heart of the country. But the Indians ambushed his soldiers and gradually killed off the cavalry, the Spaniards' strongest troops. Eventually, they destroyed San Vicente and again controlled their own rugged lands. The *Pijao*, meanwhile, fought to the death. They destroyed Villa Vieja or Neiva in 1569 and, allied with the *Páez*, took San Sebastián de la Plata in 1577, killing all its inhabitants and burning the houses. They finally put an end to and avenged the Spaniards' exploitation of a silver mine which had been discovered in *Moscopan* and *Yalcón* territory in 1551.

Fleeing Spanish pressure which extended from Timaná toward the heart of the Andes, the *Andaquí*, exhausted by the wars, followed the high hills to the east, and began in 1564 to descend toward the Caquetá River.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5½(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

765 756 787 775 784 the fire and turns on the lights, and everyone returns to examine a layer of fine ashes placed beforehand at the door. If the ashes shows the footprints of an angel, they believe that the soul is saved, but if the footprints are those of a bird, they believe that the soul is condemned to hell. In some cases they ascertain the fate of the soul by the kind of bird prints.

WARFARE

726 The *Páez* and *Moguex* were particularly warlike. Their attacks were staged in the morning, accompanied by yells and the sound of trumpets, horns, sea shells, and drums. They were generally armed with great spears or pikes, spear throwers, and slings. When fighting, [411] they would first hurl javelins with their spear throwers, then use their slings, the missiles for which they carried in a pouch, and finally pick up their spears or pikes for man-to-man struggle. They also formed closed squadrons, men with clubs alternating with spearmen. The former would step forward to wield their clubs, and then draw back to their positions for protection. Their best defense was on high ridges, from which they rolled large stones on their enemies. They perfected these natural defenses by cutting or camouflaging paths on which they prepared ambushes. They built trenches or pitfalls, which caused the attacking Spaniards much trouble.

628 The principal enemies of these peoples were the *Pijao* and the Spanish soldiers. The *Páez* remember the *Pijao* well, and call the stone [648] statues in their territory "portraits of Pijaos," and the painted tombs, [632] "houses of Pijaos." They are afraid to see the statues or visit the [764] tombs.

To insult an enemy killed in war, they cut off his penis and placed it 727 on the road.

266 Some historians ascribe cannibalism to the *Páez* and the *Moguex*, which seems to have no basis in fact. They kept trophy heads and stuffed the skins of their enemies, but did not eat their foe. There are, however, numerous historical references which state that in the wars [175] against the Spaniards, the *Páez* left the bodies of dead enemies for the [648] *Pijao* to eat, and that they cremated their own dead or dried them [764] over a slow fire, which Friar Pedro Simón (1882–92, ch. 23) mistook for a means for preserving the flesh so that it could be eaten later. [114]

As war trophies, they kept enemy heads, which they preserved with 727 resins, and the skins of their entire bodies, which they filled with ashes (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 3). They even preserved the [314] heads of the Spaniards' horses. They carried these trophies to wars, meetings, and feasts.

P C /134 cont./

276 by the "Ministerio de Trabajo, Higiene y Prevesion Social."
C This prohibition was extended by Decree No. 578 of 1941 by the
656 same ministry, according to which an exact list of the existing coca plants of the country was demanded and their destruction ordered, /135/ with a simultaneous prohibition against new plantings (Duque, 1945, pp. 445 f.). Of course this prohibition against coca planting cannot be strictly supervised and enforced in all the remote parts of the country.

P The argument for the use of coca has remained the same
276 from the time of the Conquista to this day: it is supposed to
461 drive away hunger and to give strength. "Without coca one cannot work," I was told over and over again when I asked the Paez the reason for chewing coca. And, as a matter of fact, one sees the Paez chewing it on the long trips to market and during every physical task; but only at work, when one needs strength, and not during festivals and celebrations or on festive days. (The shamans are an exception, see below.)

P The bitter tasting coca is chewed by both sexes, and the
276 boys begin at 12-14 years of age, when they also begin helping
P their father with the work in the fields. The girls generally begin
[887] somewhat later, and in old age both sexes chew quite heavily and more frequently than is normal in younger years. The men take coca three times a day as a normal dose, and each dose lasts about two to three hours. Nothing is eaten all day after taking the first meal early in the morning before work; the second one
P is not eaten until after they return home from the fields in the
[272] late afternoon. During the pauses for coca, unfermented sugarcane juice (nyũsayumĩ) is drunk, everyone carrying a calabash with one to two liters of it with him.

P The coca shrub, about 80 to 200 centimeters high, is
276 striking even at a distance because of its fresh, light green,
249 lancet-shaped leaves, which have two slightly curved longitudinal
[137] lines on the underside. Among the Paez of Calderas almost every family has its coca shrubs, the leaves of which, after plant-
P ing, are harvested from the first year for about 20 years. Anyone
[431] who does not own coca shrubs himself trades for the leaves in

/140 cont./

231 439 Since the only purpose of keeping horses among the Paez is to have as large a number as possible, it is understandable that they place importance above all on the possession of mares. The birth of a filly is therefore a great joy and everyone would be happy to trade a grown stallion for a filly, "because it again gives foals." Unfortunately this exchange takes place only all too rarely, because the colonists are not interested in the degenerate horses of the Calderun. It is different with cows (kulá; steer = toló, heifer = novflya). Here the /141/ Calderun breed (black mottled "Holstein" and brown cattle) is healthier and usually also stronger than the cattle of the colonists. Moreover, on account of the somewhat cooler climate, their bodies are almost completely free of ticks and vermin, in contrast to the cows belonging to the inhabitants of lower altitudes, normally 231 crawling with larvae and maggots. Unlike horse meat, beef is [262] eaten, but milk is never drunk, "since the Calderun never have [272] the cows milked." The breeding goal here, too, is the greatest possible number. Thus it would never happen that a cow or calf would be slaughtered. I could not learn of any preference for a particular color, for example, black-white or brown-white, or uniformly all black or white or brown. All are liked equally well [431] by the Paez, since only the number is important. There is no special attachment between a person and his livestock, for no one gives away livestock, either as a birthday, christening, or [552] wedding present. Special names or designations for livestock or pet names are not used.

233 422 231 About half the total number of Calderun cattle and horses graze on the pastures of community land. This means about 40 horses and 60 cattle. The figure shows that only a small number of Calderun families own a cow or a horse. The proportion [554] becomes even less favorable when one learns that there are three rich families who own about ten to 20 head of cattle and horses each. The other half of the large stock, as well as sheep, pigs, and small stock, remain near the houses and seek their fodder there. [241] They may also forage in the uncultivated fields of neighbors; they are prevented by the fences from breaking into the cultivated fields.

/349 cont./

252 consumption of griddlecakes is low in most of the parcialidades,
262 but in Mosoco it is almost daily. These natives take their coffee
[272] and milk with griddlecakes, which are good substitutes for bread.

The "envueltos" or cakes are made when there are roasting ears. Shelled, ground, and unsifted, the small masses extend along the husks of the same ear, removed carefully by cutting
[263] off with a knife the thicker part of the ear. No condiment of any kind is put in because the roasting ear in itself has "good flavor." The envueltos, once cooked, are eaten with sancocho /a stew/. They say that it is a "very tasty" dish. Ordinarily, when they make envueltos they kill a pig or chickens and invite relatives to eat them. The eating of envueltos is implicitly associated with the start of the maize harvest, in which the local curer plays a part.

"Sango" is based on finely ground and unsifted maize flour, which is put in the pot when the frijoles are sufficiently cooked. They make sure that the soup does not thicken too much. They also add to this dish chopped cabbage, onions, or coriander for "flavor."

Frijoles are very necessary, very tasty, and the most common food; /350/ mote without frijoles is not tasty; frijoles have flavor and the 'cacha' are the tastiest, and especially green, the (tender) little things are eaten with the shell," says an informant from Calderas.

Frijoles are eaten in sancocho. When the frijoles are cooked sufficiently, one adds plantains peeled and in pieces, arracacha peeled, washed, and cut up, manioc prepared like the arracacha, chopped onions, and saffron. Meat or lard is added if they have any. This dish is said to be "tasty." Frijoles are also eaten mixed with mejicano /squash, Cucurbita pepo/. The beans are boiled first, and when they are thought to be sufficiently cooked the finely chopped mejicano is added and, much later, ground maize. When all this is cooked, they eat it without salt, saying that it is as tasty as the rice with milk of the "whites." They also eat mejicano with well-cooked mote and frijoles, and it is very tasty if cows' feet are added to it.

/351 cont./

273 The maize is ground, and they cook the flour with plenty of water; this liquid is removed and put in a trough to ferment [272] for several days, adding panela to it. It is said that this chicha is tastier than guarapo, but that it does not inebriate and does not work satisfactorily; it serves only to quench thirst, like the "cola" (carbonated drink) of the "whites."

262 Peaches and apples are eaten in the regions where they are produced, and oranges as well, but in general the consumption of fruit is very low.

252 262 Guinea pigs are eaten when the family wants meat. They kill them by breaking their necks; then they wet them with cold water and put them in the embers of the fire in order to loosen the hide and skin them; they are washed, the entrails are removed, they are washed again, and then they are cooked in the pot of sancocho, mote, "sango," or maize-ball soup; some people eat the entrails, while others do not. The guinea pig is regarded as "tasty."

With chicken special attention is shown to favorite friends and to compadres, and mingas are held. At the fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, it is customary to eat chicken. After being plucked, the entrails are removed, it is washed, and it is cooked in the pot of sancocho or mote. The natives regard the leg as the best piece, and for this reason this is what they present to the elders (compadres, fathers, eldest sons); to the others they give a piece of breast or any other part. The head goes to the owner. The washed and cooked entrails are also distributed among all present. Turkeys and ducks are prepared and consumed in the same manner.

From the pig some organs are eaten roasted: pancreas, kidneys, intestines, and the meat of the backbone; the bacon 262 is kept to flavor food; the rest is eaten boiled. When a pig is killed out of the mere desire to use the meat, portions are distributed to the "elders" of the family (fathers-in-law, fathers, etc.), and the same thing is done when cattle is slaughtered. [237] From them they use the meat, the hide, and the horns for making [534] whistles which are blown when a house is being built in the [342] [234]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

of manioc, arracacha, potatoes, beans, sweet maize, and pieces of meat. Meat is sometimes roasted. Maize, the staple, is made into tortillas or soup, or is roasted on the ear. Coffee, much of which is consumed, is roasted in a pottery vessel, ground, and made into an infusion sweetened with coarse sugar. 252 [272]

Kitchen utensils include pottery ollas and vessels, and a footless elliptical stone metate with a central concavity, which lies directly on the floor or is supported on sticks driven in the soil. Meat is kept smoked over the fireplace, and other food is stored on shelves of cane woven into the roof sticks or in hanging hemp bags or gourds. Each gourd has a broad half-gourd suspended above it, open side down, so that a rat descending from above slides off the gourd onto the floor. 415 251 [353] [825]

The first daily meal is taken at daybreak and consists of "mute." There is no noonday meal, but the evening repast resembles breakfast. Between meals, the Indians chew coca two or three times to sustain their strength and allay hunger. For refreshment and stimulation, they drink guarapo, carrying it to work in gourds. 264 [276] [273]

They cultivate pepper (ají) for a condiment, but purchase salt in the weekly market. The latter is so scarce that instead of mixing it with food they pass a lump around, each person licking it. Before the Conquest, three salt deposits were exploited in this territory, the most important being that near the modern municipality of Belalcázar or Páez. Here the local chief had the salt water boiled down to obtain blocks of salt, which he traded with other tribes for diverse products, or with which he bought help in his wars against the neighboring *Pijao*. Sometimes he permitted other *Páez* to exploit the deposit. Near the present-day Indian center of Ricaurte on the Ullucos River is another salt works that was much used in ancient times, but today is abandoned. Another source of salt was at Huila, where, during the Conquest, the Indians ambushed the Spaniards who sought it, and killed their horses. 317 263 [244] [439] [648]

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Each *Páez* and *Moguex* family has its own house, located on a point or flat place in the mountains some distance from its neighbors. The aboriginal house seems to have been rectangular, which still is the only form. It was so lightly constructed of cane and sticks with thatched roof that the Spanish soldiers during the foundation of San Vicente de Páez "carried some Indian houses to their barracks because they were small and suited to it" (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 9). Some distance from the dwelling, they always built a small woman's house. Under Spanish influence, some houses were divided into rooms, and built more solidly of "bahareque" construction, i. e., walls consisting of two faces of sticks with mud and rocks between (pl. 185). 342 [361] 177 342

1: Nachtigall SC15 Paez SC15

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/For information on the use of alcoholic beverages, coca, and medicinal herbs in the ritual purification rites following death, see category 783./

1: Nachtigall SC15 Paez SC15

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/Information on the use of alcoholic beverages, coca, and medicinal herbs in shamanistic curing ceremonies and seances will be filed in category 755./

/112 cont./

142 age the hair seldom becomes white. We met only one woman with slightly graying hair and an old man with a gray, sparse [302] beard, but dark hair. The beard among men is scant. The beard hair is regularly plucked (see Ills. 148 to 155 /see pp. 265-268/).

143 According to the blood-group analysis of the Paez, among the 303 individuals examined there were 88.78 per cent of blood group 0, 6.93 per cent of blood group A, and 4.29 per cent of blood group B. The blood group A+B is not represented (G. Arcila Velez, pp. 11-14).

829 The racial concept of Indian is foreign to the Paez themselves. To them "Indio" designates a cultural status. My colleague, Segundo Bernal Villa, an Indian from the region of Pasto, was designated as "blanco" because of his European clothing. And when our interpreter Victoriano bought himself "white clothing" (hat, pants, shirt, shoes) with the money he earned, he was called a "white" in his village and accordingly treated with hostility.

161 The population figures for the Paez do not seem either to increase or decrease, as far as the uncivilized Paez are con-
165 cerned, for example, in Calderas. Infant mortality comes to more
164 than 50 per cent. The most common cause of sickness is whooping cough. The health of children who survive their second year, as well as of adults, is -- considering the circumstances -- quite good. True, one scarcely sees old people over 60 (and [132] those who look that old are probably younger). The most fre-[362] quent illness of adults is tuberculosis, which claims numerous victims, since the nights are very cold and the cold and wind can [262] penetrate through the light walls of the houses unhindered. More-[273] over, no fat of any kind is commonly eaten. Another illness from which many Paez suffer, which, however, is not taken seriously, is stomach trouble caused by the drinking of brandy even during [154] infancy and the unsuitable diet in childhood. Infants are given [262] beans, cabbage, and yuca, but no milk, except mother's milk.

/113/

Physicians are not consulted in any case. All illnesses that do not show external influences are traced back to evil sorcery or to the "pest" (see under "Religion"/see p. 191 ff./). They must therefore be treated by the native shamans /see the glossary, p. 250 /. Open wounds and injuries are treated by the midwife. Now and then, however, people visit the mission station in order to have a tooth pulled, on which occasion the nurses without reservation praise their great steadfastness in enduring pain.

The impairment to health caused by the consumption of coca and chicha seems to me to be exaggerated by the authorities; it would be even less with sensible and nourishing food. The prohibition against coca consumption and the government's battle against coca and chicha give the impression of being more a struggle against a brandy tax deficit, for alcohol under the state monopoly may be sold to any Indio in any quantity. The fact that the Paez generally does not work hard and continuously probably has nothing to do with any degeneration caused by the stimulants mentioned, but rather it is quite simply his psychological attitude which does not let him see why a human being should strive for things which seem unnecessary to him, things beyond his animal necessities of life, eating and reproduction. I often asked whether, in their opinion, there might come a time when the Paez, too, would wear only Colombian clothing or even use electric lighting. They had never thought about it and in no instance had an answer.

II. Material Culture

1. The Dwelling

a) The Settlement

Politically and sociologically the Paez villages of Tierradentro embrace the inhabitants of a valley basin more or less closed off by the surrounding mountains. In their structure, however, they are not villages in our sense, by which we understand a locally concentrated aggregation of a number of houses,

In one case, however, in the house of
/115 cont./
596 Ezequiel Calliumbo, there were three married sons, besides three unmarried ones, all of whom cultivate the fields together. Ezequiel, who is about 60 years old, had ten children, of whom six sons are still living. The oldest son has three children, two of whom have died, the second eldest has four children, two of whom have died, and both the children of the third eldest are dead.

342 The normal houses (yat) are rectangular houses with a hip roof and, depending on their size, are divided into "large houses" (hatwála) and "small houses" (yatléčkwe) (Ills. 158 and 159 /see pp. 270 and 271 /). In accordance with its use the dwelling house specifically is called ōpyat (ōp = to live). The dimensions of the small houses vary between five to ten meters in length and
[345] three to five meters in width. The largest houses are up to 15 meters long and seven meters wide. These are primarily the
342 festival houses. As dwellings they differ from the small ones,
407 which represent by far the greatest proportion of all houses, not
249 only by their /116/ size, but above all by the fact that they have
352 the sugar mill (lapíče) /"Trapiche" (Sp.) in the glossary, p. 250 /, which is a feature of every house, in their interior. As a rule it stands in front of the house or a little to one side of it, normally covered with quantities of expressed sugar-cane stalks hung over it
343 to dry. Besides the sugar mill, a small menstruation hut (dúyat)
342 is required for any house to be complete; it may be absent only if the family erects a small field-hut (ēyatwá) in the middle of the field for a harvest period. In this case the women of the family living there go into the dúyat of another house. In no case may they remain in the dwelling during this period. The field hut and
[341] the small menstruation-hut are rectangular gable-roof houses in construction and, with the exception of the gable roof, of the same construction as the normal hip-roofed houses.

342 Every house has an annex (škídnyeyát) or at least a com-
273 partment for storing the chicha trough (kánoe). This trough is the
251 most important accessory of a Paez house, next to the sugar mill (Ill. 165 /see p. 273 /).

/118 cont./

342 and begin to chew coca and tobacco and to drink brandy to-
761 gether. After a while the shaman ascertains through signs in
789 his arms or legs whether bones of the Pijao are in the ground.
756 If this is not the case, the building may be started; otherwise
787 the man must look for another building site. After the building
is finished, a further ceremony is performed (see under "Religion"
342 /see p. 205/), and then the same shaman fastens special herbs
756 to the roof to prevent the eč or gelyómp spirit, hostile to man,
789 from entering the house from there.

Houses are built only by men, by fathers of families.
342 One man alone, however, is not in a position to do this. At
476 least in the erection of the house posts he is helped by his brothers,
[462] as well as by other men and friends who have nothing else to
do anyway on these days and receive chicha and something to
342 eat for their assistance. The building material costs nothing,
273 to be sure, but the builder must furnish a substantial amount of
476 chicha, for which planning must be begun in plenty of time, two
or three years beforehand, by the planting of sufficient sugar
cane. This is the task of the married son who is still living in
[594] his father's house this long. To make the chicha he also still
[249] needs the sugar mill of his father, upon whose consent and help,
therefore, much depends. According to the amount of chicha
[461] that is available, the building of the house thus lasts two to six
months, depending on whether only five or 15 men participate.

342 The most important thing in the construction of the house
335 is the erection of the wooden frame (Ills. 161 to 164 /see p.272 /),
[476] which always requires several men who bring in the trees, which
are superficially smoothed with the machete, but not freed of
bark. The master of the house is able to make the walls by
[462] himself in an emergency. The covering of the roof, too, like the
entire house construction, is men's work, but the woman of the
house may hand up the sugar-cane leaves for the roofing. First
the vertical corner and side posts of the outer walls (yátsʸínda) are
erected, then the outer beams lying horizontally on the side
posts to support the roof (yátpopānt) are laid on, and, as the third
step in the work, the horizontal crossbeams (bīkas) are fastened at

/118 cont./

342 ceiling height. It should be noted that all the beams are merely
335 lashed with lianas, /119/ but not mortised. The roof does not rest directly on the corner and side posts; rather, the crossbeams (bīkas) and the rafters (yátkát) are tied to the rectangular, horizontal frame of the roof, and only the latter rests on the vertical posts.

The fourth step in the work is the building in of the ridge beam (dahwāk), together with the rafters, the former being supported primarily by the center post (pwát), usually the only house post that extends vertically through to the ridge. It is not exactly in the middle of the longitudinal axis of the house, but somewhat to the side of it, in the place where the two rooms of the house are partitioned off. Here it serves at the same time as a wall post. The horizontal purlins (kwīnt), which are lashed to the rafters (yátkát) one above the other about 20 centimeters apart, are the only part of the house frame that is not of wood, but instead they consist of a type of reed (karís). The roof (yátominyē) is covered with sugar-cane leaves (nyúša éts) by proceeding from the bottom up and hanging the leaves over the purlins in such a way that the tips lie on top and the lower parts show on the outside. Finally one or two ridge purlins are laid over the still open ridge, and an even layer of sugar-cane leaves is spread crosswise over this. The elevation thus formed provides an exit for the smoke at the two gable ends of the house. The ridge covering is protected from blowing away by two poles placed over it (Ill. 162 /see p. 272/).

342 A newly built house (yátūse) lasts about 15 years. In be-
356 tween, however, the roof must be repaired several times.

On entering a Paez house one is assailed by a sweetish odor
574 of fermentation arising from the chicha, somewhat like that at
576 grape-gathering time in the houses of the German winegrowers'
● [273] villages. Before entering, one opens the door (vitc) of the house and calls out in a questioning tone, "payoēt" (I should like to enter); from the interior there comes back, "mkāč" (sit down). When no one is at home, the door is usually tied shut with a small piece of bast. Sometimes even this is omitted, for no one

/121 cont./

372 In case the fire should go out, which happens very rarely, the men, if they have no matches, know how to make fire by striking the blade of the iron machete with a stone and catching the sparks in the dry tinder of expressed sugar-cane. To fan this or a dying fire the hat is used as a fire fan, instead of a special fan. A few times I also saw a reed tube (yotá) about 50 centimeters long, which is blown into with the mouth and which thus acts like a bellows.

352 Infants do not as a rule sleep on the floor, but in ham-
[854] mocks (máka), which, however, as the name indicates, were
[513] not originally Paez. Nevertheless all the men know how to
[286] make them out of agave fibers, which is done with the same knotting technique as in the manufacture of nets for bird hunting.
415 Moreover, a few bags (yáha) made of agave fibers, which con-
[286] tain beans, maize, or other supplies, hang on the wall posts.
[353] Arracacha lies on the floor. For drinking chicha, which is allowed
● [273] to ferment in large, hollowed-out tree troughs, calabashes (tóka) are used, but they are plain and undecorated. Cracked cala-
[249] bashes are sewed with a waxed agave thread (Fig. 25 /see p.253/). The calabash gourd is grown in the house garden /122/
412 of every family; its meat is inedible. Furthermore, an oval or
352 rectangular grindstone on which maize is ground with a smaller hand-stone is found in every household. It usually lies on the floor in a corner of the house, but sometimes it is set about one meter high on two forked posts.

412 Meals are taken with wooden spoons (todšá tc) off of
415 wooden plates (bič), which are carved by the Paez themselves
264 (Fig. 27 /see p. 253 /). Aluminum or enamel bowls were rarely
[322] encountered in Calderas. Plates and mugs of aluminum were
[177] therefore always coveted gift articles, along with kitchen knives, needles, safety pins, matches, and salt.

356 Cleanliness within the house is surprisingly great, consider-
515 ing that the Paez wash their bodies but seldom and their hands only when they are "very dirty." This is the case when a person has been working in a burned field and has cleared away the
000 sooty, burned tree trunks and the burned underbrush. The house

000 /133 cont./

264 food and bean leaves as the worst. They eat together. The
[415 412] family sits around the fire and the woman serves. They do not, however, eat out of the large cooking pot, which is usually of clay, though sometimes of aluminum, but rather the soup is dipped out with a wooden ladle into shallow bowls, from one of which the men, that is to say, the father and sons, eat, and the mother, daughters, and small children eat out of another one.
[263] Above the fire area a few small pieces of rock salt hang in a
[353] small pouch or lie on a rack and are used to salt the food after it is cooked. To do this each one takes the piece of salt and holds it or puts it in his plate until the soup is sufficiently salted.

252 262 In the following, a few dishes: 1) maize flour, ground on the oval or rectangular grindstone with a hand-stone, is cooked with beans and cabbage; 2) vegetable bananas with beans and arracacha; 3) green ears of maize with beans (wood ashes are added to every maize dish, in order to make the maize tender more quickly); 4) green ears of maize with white cabbage; 5) white cabbage, arracacha, and potatoes; 6) beans and vegetable bananas; 7) only beans and maize flour; 8) arracacha and beans. Eggs are either boiled hard in the shell in a pot, or the egg is beaten with a spoon in a dish, water and onions are added, and
[415] the whole is cooked. All foods are cooked in a large pot as soup; only ears of maize roasted in a bowl /Schale, "bowl, shell, husk"/ (wáts; Spanish arepa) are an exception. Meat is only boiled, never roasted; they eat the meat of cattle, sheep, and pigs, as well as poultry and guinea pigs, but not horse meat. If horses die, the carcasses are devoured by dogs.

/134/ c) Means of Enjoyment

273 276 The two most important pleasures for the Paez, as for the cultures of the entire Andean area, are coca and chicha. Tobacco plays a subordinate role.

P /135 cont./
276 exchange for brandy, wheat, or maize (for exchange and barter
249 rates, see "Trade" /see pp. 92-94 /). Within the family each
437 one harvests for himself as many leaves as he happens to need;
otherwise the father of the family usually barters for the entire
family. Harvest time is throughout the year (Ill. 174 /see
P p. 277 /).

276 Before use the leaves are roasted in a clay bowl and then
317 carried around in the colored wool pouch (kwatandyáha), together
[415] with a small calabash containing lime. The lime (kwatánd) is
obtained from limestone (kwatandkwát) which crops out at various places throughout the region and which men and women look for as it is needed, or the husband sends his wife to fetch a few stones. These pieces of limestone are put in a vigorously fanned fire for two hours, /136/ then in a clay bowl, and cold water is
P poured over them. After that the cracked stone is pounded to
276 powder. To enjoy it, one takes a handful of leaves out of his pouch and puts them in the mouth and chews them for a while, until the lime can be added. Care must be taken that neither the tongue nor lips come in contact with the lime. Beginners press the coca mash flat against their tongues with their gums and sprinkle a pinch of lime from the pear-shaped, absolutely unadorned calabash (kwatandóka) upon it; practiced coca-chewers take a pinch of lime on the back of the hand between thumb and index finger and toss it into the open mouth with a flourish. The green saliva copiously produced is partly spat out, but most of
P it is swallowed. In the case of old people it often runs out of the
C mouth and drips on the clothing (Ill. 179 /see p. 280 /).

276 According to my experiences among the Paez and the
P coca-chewing Colombian workers, the harmful effect of coca
C seems to be exaggerated in most of the studies on the subject.
276 Of interest, however, are the data of C. Gutiérrez Noriega (1952),
146 who investigates the psychological and physiological effect of
● 273 taking coca, especially among the Peruvian Indios. There, in the region of the greatest coca consumption, two to four kilograms per person and year, the daily amount of food for a worker is only about 2,000 calories per day. With a simultaneous drinking of brandy and an inadequate diet, physical and mental consequences

P
C /136 cont./
276 are naturally more in evidence than in the case of the use of
146 coca with good nutrition and as the only indulgence. Along
● 273 with improved nutrition and corresponding enlightenment, a
prohibition on brandy instead of its propagation would be more
C desirable for the health of the people than a prohibition on coca.
[651] The departments, however, draw their chief income from the
P brandy tax, whereas coca was always tax-free.

276 Tobacco (wáhi) is neither planted by the Paez nor con-
[249] sumed in large amounts, since there is generally no money
available for the purchase of tobacco or cigarettes. Both sexes,
P however, smoke gift cigarettes, and, to be sure, from child-
hood, that is, from two to three years of age. The shamans
[756] in their séances and ceremonies are in the habit of chewing
[755] cigarette tobacco along with coca, but it is always purchased.
These séances last many hours or throughout the night, during
which shamans and patients together chew this mixture uninter-
ruptedly.

P Chicha (pronounced tschitscha) is one of the alcoholic
273 beverages which, made out of various raw materials, are wide-
[171] spread among the natives /137/ throughout South America, with
manioc chicha predominating in the forest region (Venezuela,
Brazil) and maize chicha in the Andean region (Cooper, pp.
539 f. and Map 11). Two methods of production are distin-
guished, according to whether it is a matter of raw materials
with a high sugar content (honey, sugar cane, palm sap, pine-
apple) or more starchy crops (manioc, maize). The former ferment
without the addition of saliva and need not be chewed in the
preparation; the latter need human saliva before or after cook-
P ing in order to ferment.

[137] Among the Paez chicha (mbéca) is made only from the
juice of sugar cane, a raw material that is not American, but
came from southern Asia and did not come to America until the
post-Columbian period (Maurizio, 1933, p. 75). Formerly
chicha was made out of maize, as it still is today among the
neighbors of the Paez living in higher regions (for example, the
Guambiano). The name for sugar-cane juice, nyũšayumĩl

/137 cont./

273 (= sweet water), as for the unfermented chicha, does not in any case have anything in common with the name for fermented chicha. Moreover, there is no separate name for sugar cane; nyúŝa also means "sweet" and "honey."

249 In the region of the Paez, sugar cane may be planted and harvested throughout the year. The juice of the cane is pressed [407] out in the sugar mill (lapíce). The latter stands in front of or inside every house; it belongs to every family in the same way [273] that each has its sugar-cane field and its chicha. The latter has [431] no commercial value whatever, but is merely given away, and 249 anyone who asks for it gets it. The sugar mill (Fig. 28 /see 407 p254 /) of the Paez of Calderas and southern Tierradentro consists of two tree trunks smoothed off on either side, which form the lateral posts (mágrena) of the mill. They are rammed into the ground and are provided, each one twice, with two recesses that receive the horizontal guidebeams (sépo) for the three crushing cylinders. These guidebeams are merely pinned. No metal parts or nails of any kind are used here or in the entire construction. Below the two lower guidebeams a strong plank is fastened to the lateral posts, upon which the three cylinders (ũnk) rest. Of these only the center one is turned by means of a crossbar, with human power or by a horse, whereas the two lateral ones are moved by means of pegs, which are most accurately fitted, but are not in addition pinned. A horizontal pole is lashed above each of the two lower cylinder-guidebeams, in order to guide the sugar cane shoved in for pressing. Below the cylinders lies a rectangular board (tablõn) with /138/ two longitudinal grooves, [492] in which the extracted sugar-cane juice runs out at the side. If a horse is used to move the crushing cylinders, it is hitched up with two ropes leading out from a rope tied around the belly of the horse, so that the horse does not pull with its chest, as is customary among us.

H. Pittier de Fábrega illustrates (Pl. VI/2) another type of sugar mill from northern Tierradentro, which shows only two horizontal cylinders, one above the other. Both are clamped with pegs between two vertical posts and are turned on either side by hand. The extracted juice is caught in a pouch hanging underneath.

/138 cont./

249 In chicha production for festive days it is customary for
407 the mill to be turned only by human power, by men or women.
461 One could generally observe that the slightly intoxicated men
● 273 exerted themselves only a short time in each case and were then relieved by the more sober acting women, who -- with their children on their backs -- showed remarkable endurance at this physically quite hard work.

407 Almost every father of a family and houseowner makes his
335 sugar mill himself, or a neighbor helps. There are no profes-
[412] sional carpenters. With an ax (swéla) and a foxtail saw (serûčo) the cylinders are sawed from a tree trunk and crudely smoothed. The cylinders thus prepared are provided with a small hole in the center, from the base and upper side, and are clamped horizontally, by means of pegs, between two posts rammed into
[413] the ground and held together with a rope. Then with a gauge (regla), which consists of a board with thorns, the distances between the pegs are precisely incised on the revolving drum.

273 The sugar cane is put through the crushing cylinders
[249] several times by the workers, one squatting on either side, until
[516] the juice, which is caught in a wooden tub or in calabash vessels,
[415] is pressed out (Ill. 175 /see p. 278/). It is first vigorously heated and then put in a large horizontally positioned tree-trough (kánoa) up to five meters long, in which there must always be a little chicha to begin with (Ill. 165 /see p. 273/). It is stirred up with the old chicha in the trough, the kánoa is covered with banana leaves, and already the next morning the chicha is ready to be drunk. As time goes on the chicha becomes ever stronger in alcoholic content. By noon of the same day it is already strong enough to distill brandy from it. *If one does not do this,* /139/ some water must be added the next day to dilute it. If this is not done, the chicha is neither drunk nor is new sugar-cane juice added, whereupon it becomes sour and bitter after four or five days and strongly sears the throat. There are also "gourmets" among the Paez, however, who let the chicha go on fermenting, untouched, for up to three weeks and only then drink it so sharp and sour.

/139 cont./

● 273 No new chicha can be made without some old chicha in the kánoa. The sugar-cane juice, even if it were left standing for many days, would still be merely sweet and not produce proper fermentation. After five or seven days, however, there is a certain kind of fermentation (probably as a result of the acid content of the wood of the empty kánoa), but of very bad taste.

[476] In case a person is planning a major piece of work for which he must ask people to come and then, of course, also entertain them properly for their labor, the sugar cane is milled the day before, and on the following day the chicha is ready and may be served. It is said that chicha drunk in any quantity does not produce discomfort of any kind or headache.

Besides the production of chicha, which is carried on by all families, each family also has in its house distilling apparatus [462] with which brandy is distilled from the day-old chicha. This distillation is commonly the work of the women while the men are in the field. It may also be undertaken, however, by men or youths. The distilling apparatus (walyíndeya) consists of three vessels, a large clay pot holding ten to 15 liters, which is two-thirds full of strong chicha, anise, a pound of dill, cloves, cinnamon, and other herbs. A second clay pot without a bottom is set on this and hermetically sealed to the upper edge of the lower chicha pot with a paste of water and wood ashes. Into the upper edge of this second pot are drilled three holes, by means of which a flat wooden plate is tied inside the pot, just below the mouth, and has cut into it on one side a groove leading to the outside through a hole in the wall of the pot and emptying into a tube. A shallow copper bowl sits, sealed airtight, on this second pot. In the distillation process the evaporated alcohol, passing through the second pot, strikes the bottom of the copper bowl. The latter is constantly filled with cold water. The alcohol vapor condensing on the underside of the copper bowl drips onto the wooden plate, flows out through the runoff tube, and is caught in bottles (Ill. 176 /see p. 278 /).

/166 cont./

435 scarce. Nevertheless, the barter rate of the wool of a sheep for
437 a bag of maize was not shaken.

The sheep themselves were generally not bartered, but only
[804] the wool, which amounts to about a pound. The equivalent is a tomín (Span. pile) of sugar cane piled up in a mound about a meter wide at the base and a meter high. In exceptional cases of bartering sheep, I was told that the equivalent is ten tomín of sugar cane or 12 pounds of coca leaves or two arrobas of maize (one Spanish arroba corresponds to approximately 12.5 kilograms). In this case, as in many barter transactions, the customary barter equivalents sometimes deviate considerably from the market prices customary among the Paez. (The official market prices in the trade with the colonists on the weekly market are about five times as high.) Thus, for example, one tomín of sugar cane is worth 20 centavos, but one pound of wool from a sheep, one peso. Arracacha is also bartered in the form of a tomín quantity, which comes to about ten to 12 pieces. The value in money is ten centavos. One pound of coca leaves is exchanged for one pound of salt (value 20 centavos) or one pound of rice or ten eggs. The latter cost 25 centavos apiece at the weekly market in Inzá. The Paez use stones as pound weights, which are gauged accord-
[405] ing to a pound of salt bought from a trader in Inzá. Two calabashes fastened to a scale beam serve as scales.

[804] Potatoes are bartered in cuartillas and measured out in large wooden bowls which are made by the Paez themselves and contain about ten pounds. The equivalent consists of half a bottle of brandy. This would come to 80 centavos at a trader's, as the barter /167/ amounts of a tomín of sugar cane or a fiber bag full of maize indicate. Vegetable and fruit bananas are bartered by the whole bushels (tlóits), which, however, in Tierradentro contain only about 30 to 50 bananas. Two bushels are worth a bag of maize. Beans, like maize, are bartered in fiber bags, and
[432] a bag full of cabbage has the same value. Chicha is not sold, but
[431] only given away.
[273]

/167 cont./

484 while the /168/ woman on foot lugs the goods behind. From
439 Calderas more men than women visit the market. For both it
482 is a very welcome occasion to become intoxicated. The
[273] owners of the taverns try to prevent the stealing of the much
[275] coveted beer and whiskey glasses, popularly practiced by the Paez, by chaining the glasses to the tavern tables.

On market days it is customary to leave very early and to transport the loads in the fiber bags in the customary way: the men take the carrying belt diagonally across their chests and the women hold it with their foreheads. In both cases the bag hangs on their backs. Then generally travel in groups of twos or threes, but not infrequently one also meets solitary
[432] individuals. Provisions are taken along, for, as a matter of
[273] principle, nothing is bought on the way except chicha or brandy.
[485] If it is necessary to stay overnight, nothing is paid for this. They sleep either at the entrance of a house of acquaintances or spend the night in the open field.

439 For traveling and for the visit to the market they try to wear
484 at least one article of European clothing, a felt hat, a shirt, or
[291] a blouse. The quality plays only a minor role, since the worst
[177] shirt is still more desirable than the finest ruana. A person who cannot buy anything in the way of clothing at least ties a black
[262] band around his hat, such as the felt hats have. Provisions are carried along in the fiber bag, roasted maize, cabbage, potatoes,
[415] arracacha. A person who can carries with him two or three of
484 the woolen coca pouches, in one of which there is coca and lime,
461 in another one money, and in the third the plaiting material
[285] for the straw hat. Almost all the men do this plaiting work, which actually is not work at all, but more like a "blind occupation," when they have nothing else to do, either when visiting, on the way to market, or also during the shaman ceremonies.
[283] The women, no matter where one meets them, are equally in-
[285] dustrious and always busy with spinning or plaiting the fiber bags or the wool coca-pouches. Like the men, they carry their work material with them in a second wool pouch.

/196 cont./

764 It is dug out about 1.50 meters and at the bottom provided with
184 a lateral longitudinal niche about 40 centimeters high. This niche is generally hollowed out on the left side, but sometimes on the right. The body is laid in this, without the bier and without accessories, horizontally on its back, so that it no longer extends into the shaft of the grave. The shaft and the niche are, in addition, separated by vertical stakes and rods placed side by side so that the deceased cannot be touched by the earth filling the grave. On the latter, a stone about one meter high is placed at the head or foot end for identification.

[793] The priest is not present at a burial, nor is the shaman who
acts for the district of the deceased. The latter also does not
[756] enter a house in which there is a dead person. The participants in the funeral procession, men, women, and children, go to the graveyard together and then back again to the house of the deceased, where lavish entertainment with food, chicha, and brandy now follows. The latter was also drunk copiously on the way to and from the burial place. The mood during the entire time is
756 jolly and animated; people laugh and make jokes. Before the
764 participants enter the house upon their return from the burial,
783 they must go to the river where the shaman awaits them, in order
184 to "cleanse" them of the "pest" of the deceased for the first time (see "Religion"). Then they go together to the house of the deceased, which they may not enter, however, until the shaman has also cleansed this with the same remedies with which he freed the human beings of the "pest." These are water, to which special herbs and cow excrement are added, sprinkled everywhere, as well as brandy, which, mixed with herbs, the shaman squirts everywhere.

764 In Togoima we were able to take part in the burial of two
184 small children (angelitos). The graves of the cemetery in this town all have an east-west direction. The niche is always at the left, the body lies on its back with the head toward the west. The size of the grave required is measured with a bamboo stick that is
[273] as long as the deceased. Before the burial, there is drinking,
[535] music, and dancing in the house. /197/ Music is also played at
[533] the burial and on the way to the graveyard.

S /197 cont./
764 The child had been laid in a coffin which was painted on the out-
C side with stars. The female relatives had made a so-called "canopy,"
123 /198/ a pole two meters high, on the tip of which was fastened a white hoop decorated with flowers, from which hung eleven colored paper streamers, one of which was carried by each of the participants. I, too, was asked to take one, and then we set out -- without the mother of the deceased child -- with music, for the graveyard where the small coffin was opened once more and then lowered
P into the earth without formality.

764 Among the Paez of Togoima, too, there is drinking, dancing,
184 and singing at the death of a child, and here, too, the mother does
[273] not take part in the burial at the graveyard. The body is carried
[533] by a woman -- usually the godmother -- in a small sedan chair of
[535] bamboo, accompanied by the music of drum, timpano, and flute,
[608] to the burial place where several men have already scooped out a grave with the lateral niche (Ills. 204 and 207 /see pp. 290 and 291/). The deceased child has a few flowers in its mouth. It is wrapped in a cloth and is laid in a recumbent position, along with a bouquet of flowers, in the niche, which is separated from the shaft by the rods of the sedan chair placed vertically side by side. The earth thrown into the pit is stamped down very firmly with posts.

P In Calderas, too, the mother of a "little angel" to be buried
[608] does not go along to the graveyard. The small corpse is carried by the godmother, not in a sedan chair, but simply wrapped in a cloth, on her arm.

The burial of the Christian Indios of San Andrés shows transi-
P tions in the shape of the grave from the Paez niche-grave to the
[674] simple, rectangular pit of the other Christians. We took part in the burial of the capitan who had been stabbed by his drunken son during a quarrel. The direction of the grave in the cemetery of San Andrés is always east-west; the head lies on the west side with the ground sloping upward. Instead of a lateral niche, a trapezoidal hollow about 50 centimeters deep is dug at the bottom of the shaft, which is covered horizontally by bamboo put so closely together that no earth can fall down, and the corpse is practically just as well

/208 cont./

796 assured -- always volunteer. Besides, no one can be forced. But this is not necessary, since there are always more applicants for this position than are needed. On account of the very high costs, however, no one can be fiestero more than three times in all. This number is not the absolute highest, but represents the normal maximum given the financial circumstances of the Paez. One may be albacero more often, however -- up to ten times, I was told -- since this person does not donate any cattle for feeding the village, but merely a pig for the meal on the eve of the festival, and bears the cost of the festival accessories other than the food supply (decorations for the church, candles, fireworks, and the "crazy cow"). The mayordomos only join in with contributions of money to pay the priest.

The fiestero and albacero themselves do not work, but merely serve the guests. For the preparation of the food they have [476] their helpers, men and women, who voluntarily help and at the end of the festival are specially entertained. Above all, carry- [273] ing the sugar cane from the fields for the large amounts of chicha to be prepared is hard work, for every fiestero wants to prepare the most chicha, since a festival is good only if one can be drunk for a long time.

On the principal festive day of the three annual festivals, which are essentially the same in arrangement, the women start to prepare the feast very early in the festival house. The men also arrive, chicha is drunk heartily, and the musicians start play- [541] ing early in the morning. No longer entirely sober, everybody assembles for the Mass, which is accompanied by the setting off of fireworks by those who have remained in front of the church door. [788] Then, led by the music, played incessantly, a procession follows, a parade around the church with the flower-decorated image of the Lord and those of the saints.

[431] In the afternoon, the fiesteros, along with the cabildo and [793] a large number of sightseers, set out for the church, in order to [794] give the priest a present of foodstuffs, meat, bananas, vegetables, and eggs in gratitude for the Mass that was held. After that the two fiesteros, along with their albaceros and the music, walk

/208 cont./

796 through the village and meet in front of the festival house for a
[794] ceremonial salutation. They exchange brandy, chicha, and candles, each giving the other exactly the same thing /209/ that
[537] he himself receives. After they have mutually complimented each
[431] other sufficiently, they turn to the bystanders, make a short speech to the effect that everyone should enjoy himself, and dis-
796 tribute everything to the people standing around. Soon afterward
532 all gather on the plaza in front of the church, where now the "vacaloca" is lighted. This "crazy cow" consists of a number of flexible twigs bent into semicircles and held together on the underside by cross-rods; they are fastened one behind the other, which gives the structure the shape of a half-cylinder. This is covered with a cowhide and forms the body of the crazy cow. On one end is fastened a cow's skull modeled out of bast and newspaper to look as real as possible, and on the other end, a stick wound with agave fiber as a tail. A strong young man takes the frame of the cow on his shoulders and it is then lit at the specially prepared places on horns and tail. While music is played, the young man goes across the square in a zigzag, during which the young people try to tease the cow, while it, in turn, tries to get the bold ones on its horns. The meaning of this game is not clear to the Paez. It looks as though it were a poorly understood imitation of a popular bullfight.

796 Everybody now returns to the festival houses, where the musicians have taken their places on a bench on the narrow end of the festival house. The women squat in one corner in a large
[273] group with their children. And then begins the feast, at which everyone, men, women, and children, may eat and drink as much as he is able, with the exception of the fiesteros, who have the sole right to pour the chicha and brandy and do not themselves become intoxicated, in order to be able to carry out their duty well. The festival guests do not go home for the duration of the festival, but eat, drink, and sleep in the festival houses, stretched out full length on the floor wherever they happen to be. The festival goes on with more or less intensity -- as far as eating and drinking are concerned -- throughout the entire week; at any rate, no one works, but at most goes from house to house "pasnyándo."

/284 cont./

241 The following ceremony before the first harvest of a newly
756 cleared field should also be understood in the same sense as
783 all the shamanistic séances of the Paez, namely, as a purification
[273] from pest or to ward it off. The owner, taking along coca, chicha,
[276] and brandy, goes to the field with the members of his family and
the teyu. The latter first sprinkles the field with water to which
[824] herbs have been added and then distributes small packets of
[782] medicinal herbs to all present. He now takes a sample from each type of produce and makes a bundle out of this, in order to offer it to Thunder. After this gift, the owner harvests a fiber bag full of each type of produce and carries it home. He sets down all the bags beside one another in front of the left side of the entrance, and then the shaman spits his herbs over them, in order to cleanse them of the pest, which, without this ceremony, would otherwise
[782] have been carried into the house. After the products have been cooked, they are given to the shaman, who distributes one product to each of those present and offers the rest as a gift to Thunder, who, in turn, gives everything back to the shaman.

754 A good shaman does not know any herbs or other means to
756 harm people or to kill them. Such acts are the mark of the nyic. According to what we heard, however, the boundary between good and bad shamans is not very sharply drawn; each could also carry out the activity of the other, even though Thunder -- people are convinced -- does not lend his help to a nyic, so that the latter is
578 dependent solely on his bad and wicked agents. /285/ There is a
754 constant struggle between the teyu and the nyic, not openly to be
756 sure, but in secret. The teyu constantly feel pursued by the evil machinations of the nyic, and one who relaxes his attention for only a moment will be killed by them. In this struggle the one who is the stronger magically has prospects of victory; but since the nyic do not openly announce their successes over the good shamans, one can learn only of the victories of the teyu over the evil shamans. Thus a shaman from Santa Rosa relates that in his youth he was very treacherous and underhanded and was already familiar with many agents. One day a nyic, who had already

/289 cont./

534 by cuts with a machete (Ill. 203 /see p. 290/). In spite of the
322 relatively correspondent holes, each flute has a slightly different tone caused by the varying diameter of the tube.

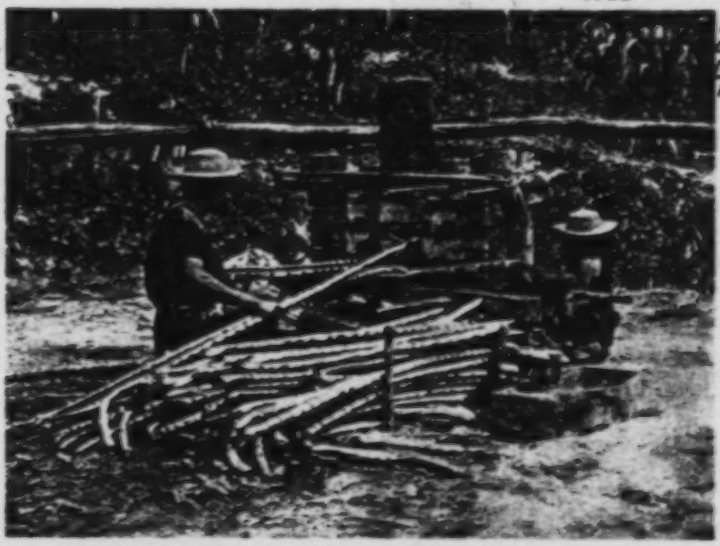
533 According to the investigation kindly undertaken by my
534 brother Wilfried on the sample flute of Vicente Puche that I acquired, it is tuned between C and C-sharp. Its six finger-holes produce a nonsemitonic seven-tone scale. All the tone steps, however, are somewhat inexact, that is, not exactly a whole tone-step apart. This is particularly noticeable from the third to the fourth tone where we perceptibly have less than a major second, but considerably more than a half step. This is noteworthy because in our diatonic major scale there is also a definite half-step between these two tones.

The blowing is on the right or left side. The extended fingers, work-worn by the heavy field work, cover the finger holes with the first or second joint.

534 The value of the flute is not very high. On festive days
[578] people are in the habit of becoming intoxicated in the festival
[796] houses and in the subsequent brawls the flutes are used as striking
[273] instruments and thus broken.

/290/ Every music group has at least one small cylindrical drum (káka) or a bass drum (kut), both of which are covered with skin on two sides and are wider than high in their dimensions.
[177] Drum and bass drum in this form are probably borrowed and were
[194] taken over throughout South America from former Negro slaves. Their manufacture among the Paez is specialist's work. At
[463] present Vicente Puche makes the flutes as well as the drums. In former times, however, there was a special expert who made only
[461] drums and bass drums. The work time for their manufacture amounts to 10 to 14 days, since one day is allowed for each operation (cutting wood, drying it, for the various processes in treating
[824] the skins, etc.). The cylindrical body of the drum is made from
[237] the wood of the utsé tree. The two drum-skins (katc) are made of calfskin. They are stretched with cords made of agave fiber, which run in a zigzag from one stretcher to the other over the body of the drum. They are tightened by a continuous loop that encircles two strands of the stretching cords at a time and at the same time

1: Nachtigall--278 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15



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Ill. 175. Sugar mill in operation.

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Ill. 176. Distillation apparatus.

1: Nachtigall--283 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

323

Ill. 185. Rolling out a "clay sausage."

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273
276

Ill. 186. Types of Paez ceramics.

1: Nachtigall--301 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/CXXII cont./

Ill. 184. Potter smoothing out the seams of the pot. In order to be able to turn it more easily, he has set it on a shallow clay bowl.

Plate XCVI

Ill. 185. Potter rolling out a "clay sausage." The pots are made with the spiral coil technique.

Ill. 186. Types of Paez ceramics. There are spherical pots and shallow bowls without a standing surface. The large pot is used for making chicha, the two smaller ones for cooking, the bowl for roasting coca leaves.

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Plate XCVII

Ill. 187. Weaver making the women's colored belt. The many cross-sticks serve for stretching the warp threads.

Ill. 188. Weaving the ornamental warp. Visible above the sword is a shed rod which holds up the red warp threads not needed at the moment for the pattern.

Ill. 189 and 190. Patterns of the women's colored belts.

Plate XCVIII

Ill. 191. Bamboo suspension bridge over the Rio Paez at Avirama.

Ill. 192. Bamboo suspension bridge at Belalcázar.

Ill. 193. Shore anchoring of the suspension bridge of Balalcázar.

Ill. 194. Timber bridge across the Rio Kokiyó at Calderas, at the time of construction.

Plate IC

Ill. 195. Timber bridge across the Rio Kokíyó at Calderas, with the protective roof characteristic of this type of bridge.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

FOOD. CULTIVATED AND OTHER USEFUL PLANTS

The principal food of the Paez Indians is maize, or Indian corn, of which they grow several varieties, belonging to three distinct types, namely, a sweet corn (*tšulpi*), a soft corn (*kapio*), and the common flint corn. The words *tšulpi* and *kapio* belong to the Kitšua language, a fact that points to the southern origin of these varieties. Judging from tradition, as well as from the varietal names used elsewhere in the Cauca valley, the flint corn that is grown all over the country may possibly be of northern origin. The Paez language has only one word to designate all varieties of corn, and it is interesting to note that the one now in use (*kutš* or *kukš*) is quite distinct from that employed in Castillo's time (*kokavi*). It is not unlikely that the present name was introduced by some of the tribes subsequently incorporated with the Paez.

The *tšulpi*, or sweet corn, is usually eaten roasted or boiled on the cob. Of soft corn, or *kapio*, they make a kind of dough called *χšionti*, which is the base of several culinary preparations, among them the tortilla (*kuáts*). *Kaš* is a gruel made of black corn; *mutši*, or *motši* (the Kitšua *mote*), is prepared by shelling the kernels without disintegrating them. Last, but not least, large quantities of the grain are used in the preparation of chicha (*kcka*).

Beans are generally cultivated along with maize. I noticed two varieties — *us kutš*, black beans, and *us bi*, red beans. The *asgual*, cited by Castillo as special to the village of Suin, are the seeds of the *Erythrina edulis* Triana, which I collected under the name of *us ual*; they are large, and when boiled taste almost exactly like the common horse-bean (*Faba vulgaris*).

Of scarcely less value as a food-staple are the several varieties of squashes, so generally cultivated and eaten as to have caused Castillo to express the opinion that "most of the Indians would perish should these fail in the province." The larger variety, *ápe-tots* (*Cucurbita maxima?*), is less common, and may have been introduced, although it already existed in Tierra Adentro in Castillo's time; *ápe*, the zapallo or pumpkin (*Cucurbita pepo*), is perhaps indigenous to the region, since the last native name,

/286 cont./

291 the waist, and over it a rebozo or shawl of foreign make; they wear hats of masculine manufacture. They carry a thin stick
283 one meter long more or less, called kasguat, held under the left armpit, and at its upper end there is a bundle of wool to be spun, a task which they do at any time, while walking or sitting in the house, regardless of whether a child is resting on their backs or, when they are walking along the road, a heavy
301 load. Only the women wear ornaments consisting of multicolored necklaces, earrings, and sometimes rings.

293 Both men and women usually carry three woolen pouches,
415 aside from others of fique, a very small one for money, a larger one for mambe /coca and lime for chewing/, and the third, which is the largest of all and holds the other two, is used to carry palm leaves or the plaited work made with them for the men, and other things for the women.

276 Coca.--All the Paez are "mambe chewers," men, women,
[461] and children, regarding coca as an article that gives strength,
[261] frees one from laziness, and mitigates hunger. Without it, of
[273] course, they will not work. Coca and chicha, fermented sugar-
[262] cane juice, play the role of real foods, given their starchy and scant diet.

631 Parcialidades and cabildos.--Politically, the Indians are
621 organized into parcialidades, each headed by a cabildo made up of a gobernador and substitute, a major alcalde and another minor one, two alguaciles, three fiscales, a comisario, a capitán, and a síndico elected each year and put in office by the respective alcaldías of the municipio, except for the last two, who are named for life and put in office by the /287/ Church. Their functions are administrative and police work, but in reality they exercise functions of social, legal, and religious control.

631 The parcialidades are bounded by the craggy peaks and the deep, rugged beds of the streams and rivers in such a way that each one circumscribes specific kinds of geography, and even of

/186 cont./

346 There are four other small rooms, five meters /187/ long
796 by three meters wide. Two of them are independent of each other, with their respective doors opening into the sala; one serves as a kitchen and the other to roast the maize griddle-cakes. At the other end of the house are the two other rooms, connected with each other by one door and with the sala by another. The workers sleep in one, and in the other are the troughs of chicha, the bottles of aguardiente, and the laurel candles.

342 The third type of dwelling, very scarce in Calderas, has
249 a square floor plan. It has the sala, two kitchens, and the du yate léchukue. Whatever type of dwelling a Paez family may own, they all have as an indispensable accessory the sugar mill,
[262] either inside the house or outside it. Actually, if it is kept in
[273] mind that the basic sustenance of the natives is provided by
[276] maize, cabbage, chicha, and coca, this instrument is indispensable.

342 In addition, each house is supplied with water, taken from
312 springs, streams, or falls, through the extremely skillful construction of ditches which skirt the valleys, hills, and slopes. Their lands have abundant water. They are not familiar with artesian wells.

342 In a way, the enormous salas in the houses of Calderas
177 represent the ramadas which are found among the whites,
249 mestizos, and acculturated Indians of San Andrés; they are built independently of the dwellings, with a sugar mill and an oven to boil down the cane juice and make panela. In this parcialidad, the panela industry is quite well developed. In Calderas it does not exist.

584 Among the Paez, land, marriage, family, and house form
583 a close and indissoluble unit. It lends warmth and meaning to
[183] a number of emotional, sentimental, and sociological complexes. This begins when the pubescent boy feels the need for a partner who will help him in his work and assuage to some extent the rigors of solitude. The love awakened by a dark, shapely maiden impels him to ask her parents for her. "Give my your daughter. I am alone and need help in my work."

/192 cont./

796 Then the new fiesteros look for assistants, called albaceros and mayordomos. At the close of the fiesta, accompanied by the cabildo and the old fiesteros, they go to the priest to be put on record and announced as the fiesteros for the following year. Each receives a church banner, and then in procession they walk round the church and proceed at once to one of the houses of the pueblo, previously requested from its owner, amidst the bursting of firecrackers and the strains of music. [273] There, chicha and aguardiente will be served to the albacero, mayordomos, and the others present, even before they have finished drinking the liquor of the old fiestero. They will also be given a meal, for which a bull has been slaughtered.

794 The months go by. The need for money to cover the costs 796 is pressing. Fiesteros and albaceros, with their wives and sometimes also with a few friends, leave their land and, keeping to themselves, set out for Inzá, La Plata, or Popayán to sign up as laborers on haciendas which they know personally or through [465] trustworthy references. Their daily pay will be one peso and food. Not even coca /193/ /illustration appears here/ is part of their ration. Husband and wife do the same work and earn the same pay.

After two months they return once more to their land, carrying in their pouches gunpowder, wicks, and salt. Some- [579] times, a machete fastened to the belt. The fiestero bears the brunt of the expense: camarico (1) /footnote 1 is missing; the camarico is the gift customarily given to a guest/ for the priest and the latter's fees; candles for the altar; gunpowder for the Mass and the social functions; the cleaning of the church; "care" for the albacero and hospitality to visitors for the period of three weeks. The albacero is in charge of the celebration of vespers: lights for the church, the vacaloca /"crazy cow," a feature of the fiesta/, fireworks, and gunpowder.

The mayordomos contribute money (one peso) for the priest's fees and candles to light the church.

[p.22 skipped in paginating - Analyst]

/194 cont./

796 The albacero and fiestero with their respective wives do not work; their task is to look after the people.

796 554 Every religious fiesta has a chief fiestero and a secondary one, with their respective retinues of albaceros, mayordomos, and laborers. There is no difference of rank between the two. Both spend the same amount of money and perform the same tasks. Only the chief one performs them first; he thus has [578] primacy. Nevertheless, a certain rivalry seems to exist between the two. According to the extravagance and hospitality, there are comments as to whether the fiesta of one was better than that of the other. Prestige is also involved here. Thus, of the two fiesteros who gave the fiesta of San Juan this current year, that of the second one was said to be better, since he did not get drunk, attended all the religious ceremonies, and [273] looked after people very well. Only the last of these remarks is valid, because the abundance of food, chicha, and aguardiente was fundamental; continuous drunkenness is the mark of a good fiesta. On the other hand, he knew how to look after the people because he had already been fiestero at another time.

796 Three weeks before the festive day activity begins in the households of the fiesteros: milling the sugar cane, the distillation of the aguardiente, entertainment of visitors, and the making of candles and firecrackers.

Two weeks before the Mass, the fiesteros, accompanied by the cabildo, music, and firecrackers, go to take over the pueblo house, with their wives, cooks, chicha-makers, and food distributors.

All the public entertaining will be done in the spacious sala. The church banner will wave in front of the house.

VII

The Milling, the Chicha and the Chicha-makers

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249 It remains to be said that the fiesta begins with the milling.
461 Although it is common to use a horse to operate the sugar mill,
[492] it is more usual at fiesta time to move it with human arms, masculine or feminine. It makes no difference. The two laborers for the milling squat on either side of the sugar mill, and one hands over the cane while the other receives the bagasse, which is piled up at one side to be handed back again; this is done up to 12 times in order to extract as much juice
[273] as possible. The millers do their work in silence when they are not drunk; while they do it with diligence, there is relaxation, laughter, shouts, and imprecations when they are under the influence of alcohol.

273 The juice is gathered in troughs, or less frequently in
249 calabashes and pots; it is heated to near the boiling point and
796 then emptied into the troughs, in which, inasmuch as they
[415] are well "cured," fermentation is rapid. The troughs are made of huge tree trunks that reach up to one meter and 50 centimeters in thickness and four or five meters in length. As they are depleted through consumption, they are refilled with fresh
[285] cane juice. The troughs are covered with small mats made
273 exclusively for the purpose. On the following day it is bubbly,
796 yellowish, with a pungent, sweetish flavor. It is the beka pes (strong chicha) of the natives, who drink it with relish and delight. Five gourdfuls of this liquor are sufficient to make them
273 drunk. Elsewhere called guarapo, while the Paez call it chicha,
182 it is of great importance in their social life and diet. With its
796 help the religious fiestas gain meaning, the mingas are carried
[262] out, baptisms and weddings are made more pleasant, and visitors are entertained.

273 Work without chicha is inconceivable, and while they work
461 they get no food whatever; they merely drink chicha and chew
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/195 cont./

262 coca. Chicha thus provides the calories for work, while coca
273 dulls the feeling of hunger. The consumption of chicha is
461 general among men and women, old people and children.
[276] There is no household without chicha for any length of time.
And during the short lapses when it runs low, they buy it or
[431] visit the households that have some. Among friends it is not
sold, but given as regalement: /196/ "talking, laughing, regaling," as the Indians accurately describe the situation.

249 Milling for the fiestas takes place daily and is in direct
273 proportion to the number of visitors. Milling for the mingas
461 lasts two days, one week for baptisms, and up to a month for
weddings.

273 The largest containers for chicha are the troughs, but use
415 is also made of pitchers and large earthenware pots buried in
the ground up to their rims.

273 The chicha-makers are the absolute masters of the troughs
463 while they are fulfilling their function. They distribute the
796 chicha, and even the fiestero himself must ask them for the
amount desired. No one takes chicha without their consent.
Furthermore, they accept the gifts which the visitors give to
the fiestero. The latter merely voices his thanks. Although
they keep taking chicha, they do not get drunk, so as to perform their task properly. They will have their day when they
can do so.

VIII

Sugar-cane Aguardiente

273 At fiesta time, aguardiente is distilled every two or three
[796] days. The distillation is quite easy. The still is prepared in
the following way:

[415] A good-sized earthenware pot, 50 to 60 centimeters high
and 25 to 30 centimeters in diameter, is filled with guarapo

/196 cont./

●273 415 fermented for two days, mixed with anise, dill, cloves, cinnamon, anisillo, and bitopiskue. Sometimes verbena is also added. It rests on three stones which make up the hearth. Over the edges of this pot, and with the interstices filled with a paste of ashes to avoid any loss of steam, is put another pot of regular size: 30 centimeters high and 20 centimeters in diameter. Inside this one is put an ovoid wooden bowl, grooved, with a handle likewise grooved, which is connected to a reed tube that runs through the pot at mid-height, and through which the aguardiente runs into the containers (liters /litros/ and bottles). The base of this pot is pierced to permit the guarapo steam to go through. Above this pot is placed a copper pan about 15 centimeters high and 30 centimeters in diameter; the junctures are covered with a paste of ashes. On this pan there falls a continuous jet of cold water brought from the outside through a bamboo channel; the surplus comes out through a /197/ /illustration appears here/ reed tube set in an opening near the rim. When this fall of water is not feasible, the women undertake to change constantly the warm water for cold.

Stills of this kind distill approximately 15 liters.

The amounts of the ingredients are as follows:

Guarapo, two-thirds of the container.

Anise, three eggs /a measure; see footnote 1, p. 9/ (from Silvia or Neiva).

Dill, approximately 1 pound.

Anisillo (an aromatic herb), one egg.

Bitopiskue (a pungent herb), approximately half a pound.

Cloves, ten centavos (one ounce).

/198/Cinnamon, ten centavos (one ounce).

273 784 The distillation has nothing mysterious about it, although it does have its precautions. Anyone can be present, but no one can say "venda" /bandage/, because the distillation would not produce anything. If someone goes out, he must do so in silence, but preferably he should not go out, because he will

/198 cont./

●273 take with him the "heart" of the aguardiente, thus reducing the
784 quantity and detracting from its quality, for it will be "cold

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273 and tasteless."
[784] The distillation is done on any day and at any hour; the tax collectors do not go this far; control of this kind has never been permitted, and anyone who dared to do it would risk his
[186] life. Children drink this liquor from the age of three. Abstainers are inconceivable; "only Protestants do not drink," they conclude.

4:Bernal Villa--31 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/200 cont./

XI

Gourd Vessels and Etiquette

415 554 273 There are three types of gourd vessels in which chicha is distributed and whose traditional order of use reflects hierarchy, majority, and high status; some gourd vessels are used for all those present, of both sexes and all ages; others, only for a specific class of people.

[192] The first type is small with an ovoid opening, made of half a gourd. In the Paez dialect it is called shup /201/ /illustration appears here/ shachi. All visitors, without distinction as to sex, age, or status, are presented with two matés of this type: the first one contains "strong water" to quench thirst, while the second contains chicha, the authentic strong chicha.

The second type of container is the shachi pitán (gourd-vessel capitan), of greater capacity than the first, ovoid in shape, and open at one end. The most respected persons of both sexes, adults and elders, are given chicha in these gourd vessels, /202/ after taking it from the shup shachi. They indicate a certain deference on the part of the host, and by the same token he wishes them to get drunk. Those who are favored with these gourds offer them to all present, who take them, taste the contents, and return them to the hands of the owner. The shachi pitán has gone from mouth to mouth, but the contents remain practically untouched; the owner is to drink it.

The laborers and mayordomos who are in his service, the albacero, the síndico /trustee/, and the highly respected elders, after having received chicha in the shup shachi and in the shachi pitán, receive a larger gourd vessel in which there is a tiny one (shachi léchukue), which is called suilté. The presentation of this has an etiquette of its own. The host comes out with the suilté in his hands, fills the shachi léchukue with

/202 cont./

415 chicha, and hands it to a person favored and respected by him;
554 the latter takes it, drinks from it, and returns the small gourd;
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415 then he is given the suilté. In turn, he fills the small gourd and
554 gives it to the man who presented it to him. Then he distributes
273 the chicha among all those present, beginning with the adults,

/202 cont./
415 men first and then women, and ending with the children of both
554 sexes. No one is left without a share.
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XII

The Cleaning of the Church

346 The so-called church of Calderas, a masonry structure, is a dilapidated old building, long and tall, with a two-slope thatched roof and a hemispherical bell tower supported by four beams set into the ridgepiece. Only the front of four columns with cornices and semicircular arches which form an antechamber lends the whole a certain charm.

346 What is called the cleaning of the church is the removal
794 of a few weeds that grow in the pavement in front of it and
796 clearing a line that encircles a small plaza. The task is minimal, but it is always performed. The act is symbolic more than anything else; what matters is the meeting of the fiesteros with their respective albaceros and laborers; an occasion for taking care of the albacero, an opportunity for merriment, talk, jokes, and even games.

Some 12 days before the fiesta and on a Thursday, accompanied by the cabildo, music, and firecrackers, the fiestero leaves his house and goes to occupy one in the pueblo. He takes /203/ along the bull that will be sacrificed on the following day. Two days later, that is to say, on Monday, the cleaning of the church is carried out. On rare occasions
[202] it is done on a Wednesday. The ringing of bells announces the invitation and later tells the people that the cleaning is over, whereupon they drink the two calabashes of chicha which each fiestero has brought; the firecrackers are set off; "the albacero has earned a meal," they say, and deserves the honors of the table. The fiestero will take care of him with

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231 After skinning it, they quarter it following a definite
796 sequence: the lower part of the hind legs (chinda), the lower
192 part of the front legs (kuse), the upper part of the hind legs (himbé), the upper part of the front legs (pala), the tail (mens), the flesh of the neck (chikichichi), the fat (sepo), upper intestine (chunchullo), lower intestine (meto), stomach (tuchi), /209/ trachea (pechita), lungs (mechto), heart (ús), liver
[827] (mechi), the gall (muahi), pancreas (shape)... They are familiar with most of the organs and their names, but not with their specific physiology.

262 Some of the pieces of meat go directly into the pan of
796 "mute," which is boiling and which the workers will eat for
252 lunch; others, to the barbecue where they will get the smoke from the kitchen.

Inside the house, in the ñuhne wala, the women grind shelled maize on two metates to make maize griddlecakes. With maize flour and water they make a dough which various women shape with their hands into circular form. In a separate kitchen, two women and two men are busy roasting them. First they let them harden on a piece of broken earthenware and then complete the cooking in the embers of the hearth. An elderly man gathers those that are cooked into a bag. Another one occupies himself with singing religious songs and praying. The maize griddlecakes are used to take care of the albacero on the following day.

796 This work is performed enthusiastically by the women.
[462] --The days of the fiesta are for talking, says one woman.
[829] --One can live through life only by getting drunk, says
[273] another.

/211 cont./

796 the vacaloca /"crazy cow"/ is fashioned. From the angles of
532a rectangle made of four rods tied with lianas, flexible rods are attached in a semicircle; over these is hung the hide of a cow; the skull of a cow, with its horns, is attached to the front part; the facial bones are covered with newspaper on which the cow's eyes, nose, and mouth are drawn with charcoal; the horns are wrapped in cloth soaked in laurel wax; at the hind part, a bunch of defibered cabuya forms the tail. In addition, with the same waxed cloth, three /212/ torches and one large match in the shape of a cross are made, exclusively for illumination.

On leaving the prayer session, a strong, husky youth puts the crude vacaloca on his shoulders, the waxed horns and the torches previously seized by other youths are set afire, the music sounds, the firecrackers are picked up, and the game begins. The young men attempt to set the tail on fire, while the vacaloca tries to pursue them and butt them with its burning horns. The clamor and mad frenzy begin. Everyone runs, everyone defies the charges of the symbolic animal. Soon the vacaloca takes a false step and falls with a crash, causing general hilarity. The fiestero and albacero, the musicians, the participants in the game, and the others present begin to move toward the house of the albacero. There they stop the game when the fuel of the torches is exhausted and the players are overcome by fatigue.

796 Inside the dwelling, in the fluhne wala, the musicians in one corner, the women seated on the ground, the men on the pangos, their faces made golden by the rays from the torches, wait for the distribution of the calabashes of chicha and the liters of aguardiente with which the albacero is paying attention
[273] to the fiestero. In the middle of the sala and next to one of the pangos there is a crude table, blackened by smoke, dirt, and time, with two lighted candles at the ends of it; three calabashes of chicha set on sugar-cane bagasse, two bottles of aguardiente next to the end gourds, and next to the center

/212 cont./

796 one a liter of aguardiente. The fiestero sits at the center of
273 the table, his wife sits on his right and the síndico on his left. The albacero approaches, takes the liter in his hands, measures out a cup, and offers it to the fiestero. The latter accepts it, drinks, and returns it. From the hands of the albacero he receives the cup and the liter. The proceeds in the same fashion with the calabash inside of which is the shachi léchukue. In the same manner he offers the other bottles and gourds to
[431] the wife of the fiestero and to the síndico. The distribution begins, for which the fiestero, fiestera, and the síndico call on three men to take charge of distributing the generous gift. The aguardiente is distributed by its owners themselves, who in each cup put small pieces of cake. The clamor increases in direct proportion to the consumption. Everyone drinks
796 alike: men, women, and children. This is the time for off-
522 color, rich, and abundant joking. The hour when fantasy
273 shines and takes wings. There is practically only one theme,
831 sex in all its forms and manifestations: desires, /213/ feats, wooing, pregnancy, childbirth, genitalia, and even sham coitus in public. Any allusion to sex causes hilarity; many aspects of life, attitudes, and work are associated with sex.

796 At midnight the bottles and calabashes are empty. The
[273] music has been continuous, the drunkenness has increased ... But it is not yet over. At the house of the fiestero they are awaited with another gift.

The fiestero and the albacero dance with each other's wives. When the dance is over, everyone goes out and vanishes in the darkness of the night on paths that cannot be seen, only divined. The sound of the bass drum indicates that the people, the nasa wala, are on their way to the house of the fiestero.

There they will find the pale yellowish light, the table next to a pango and toward the center of the fluhne wala, with its two lighted candles, its calabashes of chicha, and its bottles of aguardiente. This time it is the albacero who will

/226 cont./

* 756 When the signs occur at the vertex (crown), the sorcerer
787 is about to send the pest, and if they go from the vertex to
827 the left hand, the person is under a spell.
755 If the signs occur in the gluteal muscles, an animal be-
longing to the person has died and the vultures are eating it.
* 756 In this way, the curers can know the nature of the illness
755 /227/ and the type of remedies required. To determine the
spell and the sorcerer responsible.

To divine whether a stolen object can be recovered or not, and who the thieves are. To learn whether a patient will improve or die. To detect the presence of the Ghost, Rainbow, and Echi. To know in advance about the visits of good or bad persons,

The act of perceiving the signs is called to divine or "to
[273] think." Every patient must always bring tobacco, aguardiente,
[276] and coca. The aguardiente is used to call Thunder, Ghost and Echi and to satisfy them. The chewed coca and tobacco serve to make the signs circulate.

Divination sites. The té eu has a special divination site called Kachí. In it he practices the signs and perceives them
[263] when he has a patient to cure. If the patient is not in serious condition and comes in person to the house of the curer, then he can divine on its ground, even though there is the obstacle of the presence there of ají and salt, articles that Thunder does not like. The treatment, that is to say, the perception of signs and the corresponding cleansing, is carried out at night, at two or three in the morning.

If the patient is in very serious condition, the té eu must go to a site where he will not be disturbed by the shouting of people, the barking of dogs, or the noises of animals. A site almost completely removed from human haunts, such as a bog or a lagoon. He takes with him two or three hairs taken from the crown of each member of the family present, with which he makes a ball that he places amidst the shu /Sphagnum/.

/227 cont./

755 He remains at the site for about an hour. When the signs give
*756 hope, he leaves the hair and returns to the patient's house.

In treatments of this type, the curer requires as "provisions" a pig, a sheep, and chicha.

*755 Divining the illness. The curer demands from his clients
756 two eggs (3) of coca, two cigars, and half a liter of aguardiente.
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[804]

3. One egg of coca is equivalent to the weight of a hen's egg.

He gathers the coca into a medium-sized pouch with great scrupulousness, for he does not allow a single leaf to be lost. He transfers the aguardiente to a bottle of his own and puts it in the same pouch with the coca, likewise the cigars. The divination is performed under the eaves of his house at 8:00 P.M.

/228/ He places the patient on his right, seated on a pango pil (bench); the pouches of remedies are placed on his left, along with the pouch containing the coca and aguardiente received from the patient.

*755 He begins by making two bundles of remedies with yacuma
756 blanca, ul ñiñ, ñundayuskei, bitopiskue, and chandur de castilla (4). Each remedy is extracted patiently from his pouch,

4. Cf. below, "Remedies" /see pp. 22ff./.

which contains all the remedies needed for his treatments, but not in any specific order. He does not show anxiety or haste; he observes great moderation. When he takes out the remedy, before placing it on the maize husk that will serve as wrapping for the bundle, he quickly passes it around his body, beginning at the right foot, going up this side to the crown of the head, and ending on the left side, in order to stimulate the blood
[827] so that the signs will circulate. As soon as he has finished passing it, the signs may go from the right calf upward,

/298 cont./

241 in some cases, fruit trees, and after this, wheat. In San Andrés,
134 especially in the vegas, maize, plantains, frijoles, arracacha, manioc, sugar cane, and coffee are planted. Thus, there is not proper utilization of the soil or protection of it, aside from the several years of rest. They are not familiar with fertilizers, the rotation of crops, or irrigation systems.

241 It is interesting to note that the families of San Andrés,
423 Calderas, Lame, and Mosoco generally have lands in the low places along the rivers and streams and in the high places where arboreal vegetation abounds, which they call the "montaña." In this way, they can cultivate cold and temperate zone plants (Calderas, San Andrés, Lame) or take advantage of the annual seasonal cycle in the high parts of the Cordillera (Mosoco).

244 A principal dwelling is erected on one of the fincas, while
342 on the others ranchos where the families live during the months of harvest are built. It is at the principal dwelling where the garden is made with plantains, sugar cane, onions, coriander, coca, cabbage (San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Calderas, Togoima), or with cabbage, garlic, onions, yuca de pipchao /yams/, peaches, and apples (Lame, Mosoco, Vitoncó). Peppers are cultivated in the gardens. This principal dwelling forms what in our culture is called hogar /hearth, home/. It is here that the fire is always maintained, that the ears of maize, bundles of wheat, bags of frijoles, tools, troughs, cooking utensils, and sugar mills are kept, where the chickens, guinea pigs, pigs, and turkeys live.

249 Industrial crops practically do not exist. There are no
[248] tobacco or cotton plantations. Sugar-cane plantings are not
[273] extensive among the natives. They are used solely for pro-
[778] ducing guarapo, which has almost completely replaced the maize chicha. Only the whites and a few mestizos have extensive sugar-cane fields for producing panela.

248 Figue thrives in Tierradentro. But it is in Vitoncó and Lame that there are numerous plantings of cabuya of very good quality in terms of the size and quantity of the fiber, planted on the boundaries of the properties. This wealth is not utilized as much as it should be. The natives merely make pouches and lassos for internal consumption.

/310 cont./

243 As may be noted, the magical practices of the té eu are
756 absent, although there still exists that of the eating, which in
789 other parcialidades complements his practices.

249 The cultivation of sugar cane is quite widespread in the
273 temperate thermal level, although the plantings are not extensive and are not pursued for commercial purposes; they serve only for obtaining guarapo (fermented cane juice) for individual and collective labor and for social affairs. Guarapo is an essential part of the domestic economy, in the same manner
249 as coca. It is not produced for public pay. Each house has its
257 sugar mill, either outside or in its interior, but there are no ovens or other accessories for producing panela. The latter industry belongs exclusively to the white or mestizo people.

249 The cultivation of the cane requires three weedings before the first cutting. Three cuttings with good results are generally obtained from each planting.

245 The cultivation of coffee is also very widespread. Its expansion is of recent date, but it already has strong and universal acceptance, like cane and plantains. The method of cultivation suffers from certain deficiencies: the shade is insufficient and inadequate; there is no pruning; the care is not very satis-
[433] factory; many do not have pulping machines. The coffee
245 plantings produce several arrobas per year. The monetary in-
434 come of the natives in the temperate zone is provided basically by
[439] coffee. They sell it to steady and familiar customers for prices
[452] that are usually low. The coffee plantings secure credit for the natives; they often collect money or merchandise against a future
245 harvest. Coffee has permitted them /311/ to acquire dishes, to
434 modify their clothing, to enrich their agricultural equipment,
177 to buy every once in a while the drugs of the "whites." At harvest time they eat meat regularly, and they are also able to pay wages for the improvement of their fincas. But, above all,
[273] it opens the doors of the liquor stores to them. They consume considerable amounts of alcoholic beverages. They have not yet learned to make good use of their monetary income.

6: Bernal Villa--33 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15
San Andres

Fam.	Coca				Frijoles			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	4	4	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	5	4	1	[illegible]
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	(1)	1	1	...	.....
6.	...	...	...	(1)	3	3	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	(1)	1	1	...	.....
8.	...	...	...	(1)	8	8	...	.....
9.	...	...	...	(1)	20	10	10	[illegible]
10.*	...	...	...	(1)	...	...	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	(1)	...	...	...	.....
12.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
13.	6	2	4	66,6	5	1	4	[illegible]
14.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

8. Owns plantings of coca.

244 433 From the above table we can make the following deductions:

[245] 1. The coffee production is wholly intended for sale. [434] It thus constitutes the principal source of monetary income [439] for the natives and, of course, for the "whites."

2. Maize, frijoles, sugar cane, and coca are intended almost exclusively for internal consumption. The production of panela indicated in the table refers to the whites and mestizos.

[262] 3. The food base of San Andrés is provided by maize, plantains, manioc, and arracacha. At the time of the coffee [276] harvest, meat is consumed. Coca and guarapo indispensably [273] complement this dietary regimen.

/329 cont./

476 241 The master of the minga kills a head of cattle or, more commonly, a pig. He prepares a trough of chicha (fermented sugar-cane juice), several bottles of aguardiente, an arroba of mote (maize skinned with ashes), and procures a few pounds of coca. He invites the men of his choice. At dawn on the day agreed upon for the job, all those invited, with their tools on their shoulders, proceed with shouts to the house of the minguero. There they are given one egg (25) of coca, chicha, and a dish of

25. Measure of weight equivalent to a hen's egg.

476 461 241 mote with meat. At 8:00 A.M. they are all at work. Up to 30 laborers attend. They take along to the place of the work calabashes of chicha to drink during the rest periods, which correspond exactly to the "botada de la mambeada" /taking the chew of coca/. In the course of the day they have three mambeadas, and thus three rest periods. They more or less coincide with 10:00 A.M., 12:00 noon, and 2:00 P.M. During these rest periods they sit, talk, laugh, drink /330/ chicha, and soon go back to the work enthusiastically. They do it steadily and diligently.
476 241 No one talks then. At 4:00 P.M. they leave work and go to the house of the minguero, where their respective wives are already. Everyone receives chicha and aguardiente. Then the food, consisting of a large wooden platter full of mote, stew /revuelto/ with frijoles, arracacha, plantains, and three pieces of meat. Since they cannot eat all this, they put it in fique knapsacks to [782] take it to their respective homes. After eating, they pray, always invoking the deceased relatives of the minguero, whether [273] [535] they be ancestors, collaterals, or descendants. Then, they receive new gourds of chicha until they are drunk. Very often [578] they dance. There is no lack of fighting on these occasions.

476 435 According to an informant from Calderas, one minga with 15 laborers costs the following:

/331 cont./

461 insalivation, which disturbs the normal consumption of coca.
476 They worked steadily until 10:00 A.M., when they took a short rest. Then they went on working until 1:00 P.M., when they were served "refreshments," consisting of a cup of coffee and two large maize griddlecakes /arepas/ seasoned with salt and two eggs, which had been toasted on a piece of earthenware and finished by roasting in the hot ashes of the hearth. They went on working until 3:30 P.M. and then went to the house of the minguero. The reward usually consists of the following:

476 Two bowls of chicha; then a large platter with mote, stew
465 with potatoes or ullucos. They eat what they can and put the rest in an aluminum pan which they brought for this purpose, or they simply put it in a fique knapsack to take it to their respective homes. After this, they receive still another bowl of mote without meat. Then, once more, two bowls of chicha and, following this, a large pot overflowing with chicha to be distributed among those present. This is done for each of the persons in-
[273] vited. The consumption of chicha is thus abundant. After this they are given aguardiente. Already drunk, they organize a dance. All this, of course, among the natives of means. Among the poor, the mingas are usually made up of relatives, who "conceal the scarcity." No dancing is done.

476 In the mingas of Mosoco, they sacrifice bulls, calves, or pigs, and they always purchase one or two pounds of coffee and two or three arrobas of panela. From their own finca they consume wheat or maize flour, potatoes, ullucos, or broad beans.
[461] Coca has been replaced by "refreshments." During the work there
[276] are periods of rest that /332/ correspond roughly to taking a chew of coca in other parcialidades. The young people of Mosoco do not chew coca, but the old custom still influences the work. On the other hand, it is obvious that a minga in Mosoco is more expensive than paying wages, since various articles are purchased, and, in addition, they sacrifice cows or pigs worth more than 100
[464] pesos. But the mingas are indispensable in Mosoco as a means of obtaining labor which otherwise would be impossible to get. No one signs up for wages, because everyone has his own lands to work.

/333 cont./

417 bags full of frijoles, which are also suspended from the wall
353 posts. This is also where the grains (lumps) of salt are kept.
251 The amounts kept for the months of scarcity are not sufficient, but there are other comestibles that help them: domestic ani-
[244] mals, cabbages, onions, sugar cane, and coca. In Lame and Mosoco they cultivate a plant which they call ijuca de pijao. It
[464] is an edible discoria /Dioscorea/. We have also seen that want is avoided by going to work as laborers on the fincas of the "whites."

[263] Meat is also kept on the frame above the hearth. They utilize the smoke to preserve it. Salt is not used for this purpose.

251 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José, where large quantities of wheat are planted, one frequently finds under the eaves of thatched houses bundles of wheat that remain hanging for several months. In this way they preserve it from the attacks of small rodents, and the grain is of excellent quality because it dries out thoroughly.

261 During times of scarcity, the natives do not seek solace in
● 273 religion. Actually, their defense is in the sale of their own work-
276 ing capacity for a small daily wage, a few eggs of coca, and
[771] food. It should be noted that guarapo and coca are splendid
[464] sedatives against the pangs of hunger. It is curious that one of the
[465] most noted religious fiestas of Calderas is held precisely during a time of scarcity. Large quantities of guarapo are consumed for nearly a month.

Provision of water and firewood

312 In Tierradentro the rainfall is relatively high. As a result, water abounds in small and /334/ large watercourses. This geographical factor leads the natives to bring the water close to their homes by means of a system of drainage ditches that are true engineering works. The distances that have to be faced or the accidents of the terrain make no difference. When necessary,
[177] they use bamboo tubes as artificial channels. This system has been adopted by the "whites" and even by the towns. Since the high parts on both margins of the Paez River are bare of vegetation,

/350 cont./

252 262 244 [796] Cabbages are cultivated in the gardens and are almost never lacking throughout the year; they are eaten daily, chopped into the dish of the day. At religious fiestas it is customary to cook the cabbages "on the bough," that is to say, with their respective stalks, and serve them as a special dish. White cabbage is seldom cultivated and thus its consumption is almost null. The few heads grown in the cold part of San Andrés are intended for sale.

252 262 Plantains are eaten preferably in sancocho, and their consumption is intensive in the temperate climate. They are also eaten roasted, in which case they are preferred with meat or entrails. Potatoes, especially in Mosoco, are eaten with gravy, a favorite dish for entertaining "white" or civilized visitors. This dish is prepared with water, milk, eggs, onions, and meat. The potatoes are peeled and washed well. In Calderas they are also eaten in this fashion, but frijoles are added to them as well.

In general wheat is cultivated to be milled and sold. Sometimes it is eaten in griddlecakes, in which case the dough is prepared with water and panela. They also make soup with wheat flour, without removing the bran, with cabbages, frijoles, and salt.

Sweet potatoes are consumed in small quantities. They are washed, cooked, and eaten without salt and with peppers. They prepare peppers by cooking them in a pot (a bag, said the informant) and adding onions, coriander, and salt. This condiment thickens and keeps for about a month.

Chachafruto is cooked with frijoles or in the soup, but it is also eaten by itself and skinned. It is very tasty.

● 273 [249] /351/ Sugar cane serves solely for extracting the juice and fermenting it. With the guarapo, thirst is quenched, mingas are held, "courtesies" are shown, religious fiestas and social life in general are carried on. From cane juice, duly fermented, alcoholic beverages are also extracted. They make chicha from maize, but this is not prevalent.

/351 cont./

● 273 The maize is ground, and they cook the flour with plenty of water; this liquid is removed and put in a trough to ferment [272] for several days, adding panela to it. It is said that this chicha is tastier than guarapo, but that it does not inebriate and does not work satisfactorily; it serves only to quench thirst, like the "cola" (carbonated drink) of the "whites."

262 Peaches and apples are eaten in the regions where they are produced, and oranges as well, but in general the consumption of fruit is very low.

252 262 Guinea pigs are eaten when the family wants meat. They kill them by breaking their necks; then they wet them with cold water and put them in the embers of the fire in order to loosen the hide and skin them; they are washed, the entrails are removed, they are washed again, and then they are cooked in the pot of sancocho, mote, "sango," or maize-ball soup; some people eat the entrails, while others do not. The guinea pig is regarded as "tasty."

With chicken special attention is shown to favorite friends and to compadres, and mingas are held. At the fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, it is customary to eat chicken. After being plucked, the entrails are removed, it is washed, and it is cooked in the pot of sancocho or mote. The natives regard the leg as the best piece, and for this reason this is what they present to the elders (compadres, fathers, eldest sons); to the others they give a piece of breast or any other part. The head goes to the owner. The washed and cooked entrails are also distributed among all present. Turkeys and ducks are prepared and consumed in the same manner.

From the pig some organs are eaten roasted: pancreas, kidneys, intestines, and the meat of the backbone; the bacon 262 is kept to flavor food; the rest is eaten boiled. When a pig is killed out of the mere desire to use the meat, portions are distributed to the "elders" of the family (fathers-in-law, fathers, etc.), and the same thing is done when cattle is slaughtered. [237] From them they use the meat, the hide, and the horns for making [534] whistles which are blown when a house is being built in the [342] [234]

/352 cont./

261 The natives lose weight -- says an informant -- because first they eat good and abundant food, and then they do not have [262] enough to eat and, naturally, grow thin. In times of scarcity ("hambruna"), they eat frijol cacha and its tender leaves, in the same way as they eat mejicano leaves; cabbages are gathered leaf by leaf, for at this time of year they are less abundant. When there is nothing more to eat they kill a cow and eat meat; they hunt /353/ wild pigeons or chachalacas, cook them, and [273] drink the broth with salt. They also make chicha, and the old [278] people get drunk every day; the consumption of coca increases: "the people chew and chew so as not to feel too hungry"; the little ones suffer hunger because they do not know how to chew, and they eat mejicano, which does not require the salt that they try to save. Finally, they end up going to the fincas of the "whites" to earn food, coca, and a few centavos.

264 When they do not work, they have one meal at 3:00 P.M. and another at 6:00 P.M. After the first meal they lie down and say, "We are making estancia," that is to say, digesting and [261] getting nourishment. Skinned maize with saffron, chicken, plantains, and peppers gives more "estancia."

261 They barely eat enough unskinned maize, which they cook as mote, but they eat to excess the sancocho of potatoes and frijol bueno because it is so good. No one eats an entire chicken. It is divided. In the former state they would believe that the chicken was stolen. Mejicano makes some people vomit, because they are used to eating meat, and they are the ones who might be thieves.

As a rule, everyone eats only one plate of food; if they eat [758] two, they cannot walk. The curers eat little in order to be able to [787] spend the night in vigil, devoted to their activities; they always [262] eat eggs and they avoid eating peppers in order to be able to [263] feel the "signs" (31).

31. Vernal Villa, S. "Magia y Medicina entre los Paeces /Magic and Medicine among the Paez/," p. 248.

/354 cont./

43 onions, cabbages, barley, and eggs, with which it is not possible to maintain regular trading. The Indians, without exception, buy salt and also acquire hats, shirts, trousers, machetes, shovels, bars, axes, knives, aluminum pots, cups, iron plates, spoons, candles, soap, and aguardiente. Less frequently, large and brilliantly colored kerchiefs for the children, and tweezers /pinzas/ and necklaces for the women.

439 San Andrés is a small native settlement which has been
443 inhabited by the "whites" since the settlement area was estab-
438 lished. It contains three stores that sell some merchandise,
[162] some drugs, beer, aguardiente, and bread. Two of them have gramophones. There are also two other stores, which sell chicha and aguardiente exclusively. On Wednesdays a small market is held. In front of one of the houses, peddlers and traders from other areas display their wares; on the small plaza an awning is raised by an acculturated native woman in order to sell food, and a little farther there is a stand where meat is sold. The market starts moving at dawn. The natives bring small amounts of manioc, arracacha, white cabbage, eggs, coffee, and onions, /355/ which are bought immediately by the "whites." Then the butcher starts selling meat, usually in two-pound portions, which are what the natives buy. The peddlers sell a few trinkets and commodities. At 9:00 A.M. the liquor places
[273] begin to move. At ten in the morning the market is over, and
[578] at midday and in the afternoon only drunken natives are to be
[643] seen. At those times quarrels between them are frequent, and often the natives' aggressiveness is channeled against the "whites," as they assert that they are the true owners of the land and the settlement. The natives have the habit of selling their articles (coffee, eggs) only to persons known to them, even if others can pay them better prices.

On Wednesdays there are also markets in Guasdualejo (Togoima) and Turminá; on Thursdays in Valencia, and on
[491] Saturdays in Inzá and Belalcázar. Those of Belalcázar and Valencia, because they are connected by vehicular road with La Plata (Huila), are better attended and have a larger volume of trade. Large numbers of natives from different parcialidades

?:Hernández de Alba E-5,4(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

P 175 648 in which a Spaniard held a territory occupied by Indians. The natives, under a chief who was protected by the White authorities and P [652] who made contact between the master, or encomendero, and his sub- [651] jects, had to give a certain number of days' work and a specified P tribute in products of the lands, animals, gold, or manufactures. The [177] encomiendas made no effort to Hispanicize the Indians, but continued to loot and massacre them. The Indians, reduced to utter misery, gave up all their artistic and industrial activities, and devoted the greater part of their time to the service of the master or to seeking products to pay the obligatory tribute. To remedy this situation, the Spanish Crown decreed the native "parcialidad," giving surviving P groups reservations and prohibiting their employment in transporting [623] men and goods over the highways. This reform was never entirely carried out, however, and the Indians, in spite of having their own government, the cabildo or Indian council, continued in servitude P or debt slavery.

[621] The native Indian government consisted generally of a governor, [631] a first mayor (alcalde mayor), a second mayor (alcalde segundo), a trustee (sindico or fiscal), and constables (alguaciles), the last a kind of police who transmitted to the people the orders which the Whites gave through the governors or mayors, and who carried out penalties P of imprisonment, of placing in stocks, and whipping, which the 175 first Spaniards introduced into the punishment of the natives. At the 648 same time, the Christianization of the Indians began. It succeeded 797 in an imperfect way, however, for the Indian attended Masses, ar- 438 ranged and participated in processions, and did not miss the solemn 273 ceremonies a single Sunday largely because on the same day he brought his own products to the pueblo for sale, bought salt or meat which he P needed, and devoted himself to drinking chicha, the traditional drink 175 which he had always taken on religious or social occasions.

648 The Indians of Nariño, descendants of the *Pasto*, lost their language P and many of their customs during the Colonial Period, although they [463] continued to live as natives on their reservations, which daily became [333] smaller because of the encroachments by the neighboring Whites or Mestizos. They became farmers with small landholdings and, occasionally, masons in the cities. The *Moguex* and *Páez*, however, P 175 retained their language and the greater part of their customs. Some 648 of them, especially the men who had to deal with the Whites, learned a little Spanish, and they continued throughout the Colonial Period P to defend their lands and their traditions. To religious practices in- [191] troduced by the missionaries, they added such elements as the offer of food to the souls of the dead. They added to the Colonial council P (cabildo) the office of captain, an official who, unlike the rest of the [622] council, was not responsible to civilian authorities but had life tenure, sometimes a hereditary position, and more authority within the group.

7:Hemández de Alba E-54(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The main subsistence of these tribes was and still is based on the cultivation of potatoes, which grow in great quantities in the higher portions of the territory known as Tierradentro, and maize, which is acclimated to the temperate and cold zones. There are three varieties of maize: sweet, soft, and hard. Additional crops were and are yuca or manioc, sweet potatoes, auyamas, ullucos, purutos, frijoles, arracacha, and various other vegetables, and a variety of fruits, including bananas, guayavas, avocados, papayas, pineapples, and passion fruit. Today the *Páez* and *Moguex* are beginning to grow wheat, coffee, which is an important item in their economy, and sugarcane, from which is made a coarse sugar and molasses for their fermented drink, guarapo.

[178] [433] [273]

241 476 The men and women of each family generally cultivate the family plot, but for large-scale maize or coffee planting, and for cultivation of the lands of the Church or saint, they work communally, and have meetings called "mingas." Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense. The beneficiary must feed his helpers, generally sacrificing a pig and preparing great quantities of chicha for the libations and nocturnal dances after the work. All adults must participate in working the Church lands but each brings his own food.

[782] [273]

241 412 407 492 Implements of cultivation are the digging stick, or macana, for making holes for planting, machetes and axes for destroying vegetation, and picks and shovels for removing earth, except where replaced by plows pulled by animal traction.

Domesticated animals.—Domesticated animals include chickens, turkeys, some pigs, dogs, and a few horses and cows. All but the turkeys are of European origin. These animals are rarely sold or killed for food, except for feast days, magical ceremonies, meetings, and visits of relatives, friends or distinguished White men. But sometimes the Indians buy meat in the weekly market and hang it over the hearth, where it is preserved by the smoke.

231 [177] [438] [251]

574 431 A custom which has persisted since the beginning of the Colonial Period is that of always giving a guest the "camarico" or "cariño" (affection), a present varying from an egg to a chicken, together with some potatoes, vegetables, and coffee beans.

262 136 231 Formerly, meat was obtained from wild rather than domesticated animals—boars (zaínos), guaras, guatines, birds, and guinea pigs, the last being true domesticated animals kept in some numbers in the native houses.

252 **Food preparation.**—Food was cooked in pottery ollas, but metal and enamel ware is now often used. The *Páez* make "mute," a soup of boiled maize, cabbage, squash, and potatoes, and "cocido," a soup

[415] [177]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

of manioc, arracacha, potatoes, beans, sweet maize, and pieces of meat. Meat is sometimes roasted. Maize, the staple, is made into tortillas or soup, or is roasted on the ear. Coffee, much of which is consumed, is roasted in a pottery vessel, ground, and made into an infusion sweetened with coarse sugar. 252 [272]

Kitchen utensils include pottery ollas and vessels, and a footless elliptical stone metate with a central concavity, which lies directly on the floor or is supported on sticks driven in the soil. Meat is kept smoked over the fireplace, and other food is stored on shelves of cane woven into the roof sticks or in hanging hemp bags or gourds. Each gourd has a broad half-gourd suspended above it, open side down, so that a rat descending from above slides off the gourd onto the floor. 415 251 [353] [825]

The first daily meal is taken at daybreak and consists of "mute." There is no noonday meal, but the evening repast resembles breakfast. Between meals, the Indians chew coca two or three times to sustain their strength and allay hunger. For refreshment and stimulation, they drink guarapo, carrying it to work in gourds. 264 [276] [273]

They cultivate pepper (ají) for a condiment, but purchase salt in the weekly market. The latter is so scarce that instead of mixing it with food they pass a lump around, each person licking it. Before the Conquest, three salt deposits were exploited in this territory, the most important being that near the modern municipality of Belalcázar or Páez. Here the local chief had the salt water boiled down to obtain blocks of salt, which he traded with other tribes for diverse products, or with which he bought help in his wars against the neighboring *Pijao*. Sometimes he permitted other *Páez* to exploit the deposit. Near the present-day Indian center of Ricaurte on the Ullucos River is another salt works that was much used in ancient times, but today is abandoned. Another source of salt was at Huila, where, during the Conquest, the Indians ambushed the Spaniards who sought it, and killed their horses. 317 263 [244] [439] [648]

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Each *Páez* and *Moguex* family has its own house, located on a point or flat place in the mountains some distance from its neighbors. The aboriginal house seems to have been rectangular, which still is the only form. It was so lightly constructed of cane and sticks with thatched roof that the Spanish soldiers during the foundation of San Vicente de Páez "carried some Indian houses to their barracks because they were small and suited to it" (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 9). Some distance from the dwelling, they always built a small woman's house. Under Spanish influence, some houses were divided into rooms, and built more solidly of "bahareque" construction, i. e., walls consisting of two faces of sticks with mud and rocks between (pl. 185). 342 [361] 177 342

Hernández de Alba E-S (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

blue, the fruit of the jagua palm (kii), probably *Genipa* sp. A woven fabric is made black by burying it for several days with clay and branches of a *Phyllanthus* which they call "sal."

They make woolen bags by hand, using a kind of crochet technique without needles, and decorate them with rectangular and rhomboid figures. Some bags are made of hemp (fique), in which case the stitches are larger and the article has greater elasticity.

Weapons.—For weapons, the *Páez* used large, thick lances of black or chonta palm, 20 to 25 palms or more long, clubs or macanas, stones thrown with slings, large rocks rolled down from heights, spear throwers like those used by the *Chibcha*, and shields of jaguar, puma, or bear skin. The *Páez* quickly adopted iron arms from the Spaniards, and in the last wars of the Conquest they used steel swords and knives. In a recently discovered grave were copper bells, a golden breastplate, shield bars of tumbaga, a Spanish dagger, and a curved knife of the Arabian or north African type used by the conquistadors.

Today the *Páez* use the club or macana, ordinary guns, machetes, knives, and, for killing birds, the blowgun.

Fire making.—Fires are generally made today with flint and steel, but some Indians use modern matches. For both heating and cooking, the fire is made on the ground in the main house, surrounded by stones which help support the pots. It is covered at night, and almost never goes out.

Illumination is provided not only by the fire but by candles made of wax from the wax palm and from seeds of a wild laurel. The latter are cooked and pressed in a bag so that the wax drips into a half calabash or pot to form a semispherical lump. It is melted to make candles with cotton wicks. The *Páez* use these themselves and also sell them, for they are superior to candles made of animal tallow. A cruder means of lighting consists of transfixing a large number of "higuerilla" seeds on a long, thin bamboo splinter. When the splinter is laid horizontally and lighted, the first seed burns strongly, after which the flame passes from seed to seed, lasting some 15 minutes and throwing a fair light a few feet around.

COMMERCE

Each week a market is held in the municipio or in some of the small native villages (pls. 190, 191). The Indians sell vegetables, tortillas, eggs, chickens, and laurel wax, and buy salt, brown sugar, and especially lime (mambe) to be chewed with coca. Each product has a price in Colombian money, whether by quantity or weight. The unit of weight is called an "egg," and more or less equals the weight of a chicken egg. After his few customary transactions, paid for either in cash or in terms, in which the future coffee crop is mortgaged to the

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

civilized tradesman, the Indian turns to drinking guarapo or chicha and becomes drunk. Often a heated discussion, always spoken in Spanish and not in *Páez*, leads to insults and perhaps to blows and injuries. A man's wife usually maneuvers him from the village and, if he falls asleep on the road, she sits by him warding off dangers.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political structure.—The *Moguex*, *Páez*, *Guanaca*, *Timand*, and *Yalcón*, despite their great similarity in language and culture, formed separate groups at the time of the Conquest. Each was divided into several communities (parcialidades), of which those of the *Páez* were the most numerous. The *Guanaca* were split between two principal caciques, one of whom, Anabeima, joined the Spaniards against the *Páez* of Avirama. The other cacique was Esmisa, Anabeima's brother-in-law. Each *Páez* community had its own chief, but the communities were grouped into three great divisions. One consisted of the *Páez*, *Tálaga*, *Simurga*, and *Taravira*, on the shores of the Páez River. The chiefs of three of these groups were brothers; that of the fourth was their sister, whose name was Taravira. Another group was headed by Suin, and his son, Esmisa. In the third group, Avirama was joined by other neighboring chiefs of less importance.

Each community (cacicado) consisted of several polygynous families under a male chief (pl. 185, *top, left*). Each family had its own house, located some distance from its neighbor's. All the members of a community gathered for general work, and all or several of the communities united for war, either against the *Pijao*, their feared neighbors, or against the Spaniards.

The place of a cacique's residence was a sort of focal point and meeting place, and today most of such places are Indian villages with the same names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima (formerly Toboima), etc. The present *Páez* Indian reservation of Tierradentro is divided politically into two municipios—Páez or Belalcázar and Inzá—with 22 communities, each governed by its own councils (cabildos, of Colonial origin) and by the municipal authorities. The cabildo is elected annually. The Indians, however, are jealous defenders of their traditions, and insist on a captain and síndico, each with life tenure, to act as their own leaders and as true representatives of the cacique. Their duties are moral and fiscal and carry a certain divine authority, as they are inaugurated in the local church. The cabildo, on the other hand, has only administrative and police powers; it divides the land, orders work to be done, and executes the municipal orders. The members of a cabildo hold office for 1 year and receive no remuneration. They are elected on the first of December by all the male adults, or "macaneros," that is, the Indians who participate in the communal work according to a

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
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535 There is much dancing today. The sexes perform in couples or separately. Among the *Moguex*, some of the expert dancers are paid to dance with all couples in a sort of "bambuco." Dancing is always a part of *Páez* ceremonies for the death of children, baptismals, weddings, saint holidays, and meetings for collective work (mingas) held in the evening when people return from their plantations.

Dancing, as other social events, is subject to a special ceremony [585] or etiquette, strongly connected with religious beliefs. For example, in the wedding celebration, a prayer is first said in which the souls of [608] the dead are asked permission to dance, or "scrape the floor," as they call dancing. Only the godparents and the bride and groom may [527] dance at the beginning.

The *Páez* do not masquerade, but the *Moguex* always masquerade 526 during the period of carnival preceding Holy Week.

[524] **Games.**—Games do not hold an important place among these peoples. The children amuse themselves by imitating the activities [857] of their elders. The only game recorded is simulated warfare, performed as a part of a rite in honor of the dead after a communal [769] feast. Two teams under their captains or caciques attacked and shot arrows at each other. Even if some contestants were killed or wounded, no one bore a grudge.

276 **Narcotics.**—The *Páez* and the *Moguex* chewed coca leaves mixed in the mouth with lime powder. Coca chewing is widespread among men, but very little practiced by women. It is used especially by [756] the shaman when he is practicing. In Colonial times the use of coca [172] spread to the rural population of Mestizos and Whites in Nariño, Cauca, and Huila.

273 **Alcoholic beverages.**—These Indians formerly made chicha of maize, but today they ferment it with sugarcane molasses. They also have [178] fermented sugarcane juice (guarapo), and a sort of rum (aguardiente). The latter is distilled clandestinely in their huts from guarapo and certain herbs fermented together in earthenware crocks. The Indians drink guarapo every day, but restrict the use of chicha and the stronger guarapo and aguardiente to market days, religious feast days, burials, weddings, mingas or meetings for work, and witchcraft [462] ceremonies. Guarapo and chicha are made by women, who sometimes chew the maize to increase its fermentation. They are stored in large, hollowed tree trunks and in large earthen jars, which are kept in a special place in the hut. There is never a lack of these beverages for home use and for welcoming an unexpected visitor.

RELIGION

175 The early Spaniards had little understanding of the religion of these 771 people. They reported that the Indians had but few idols and no temples or places of worship. Castillo mentions that they wor-

/186 cont./

837 Should an unfaithful wife conceive a child by a man
851 racially white and the husband not be aware of it, the latter considers it his child even if it should inherit the characteristics of its progenitor. He will simply observe, "Why do my children come like this?" His wife answers him, "I don't know; it may
581 be echi or Pijao." In general marriages are well established and
593 stable, in spite of the fact that occasional tensions may arise between spouses. Divorce is unknown among the Páez. Extinction
586 of marriages by separation or the abandonment of one of the spouses is rare. In Calderas they can count on the fingers of one hand the cases where a man has abandoned his wife. "This is very ugly in a person, it should never happen," comments a woman. Cases in which a woman abandons the husband are much rarer still, being bitterly criticized when they occur.

594 The mother has the obligation to feed and care for her
854 children up to when they can leave home. Labor which she
[853] truly performs with love and care. The children suckle until they are two years old and even up to three, a period during which she never leaves them at any time. She cradles them on her breast or in the hammock and carries them on her shoulders,
594 attending to them lovingly whenever they cry. The father looks
867 after his boys from the time that they gain complete mastery of
[593] the biped state, without this making him less loving toward his daughters. Then he begins to take his sons everywhere.

During religious festivals they sit at his side, participate in the conversation of their elders, and are served food and
[273] drink in the same way as their elders. In Calderas and in /187/ San Andrés we had the opportunity to observe children five years old reeling under the effects of chicha and aguardiente. At this age, when they begin to take part in the economic life of the family group, the father teaches them to chew coca. The father conscientiously performs this labor of endoculturation.

597 We have not come across any cases of adopted children.
736 When both parents die, the children stay in the home of the nearest relative.

593 The conduct of the children toward their parents is that of deep respect. Nevertheless, in Calderas we witnessed the verbal

/167 cont./

484 while the /168/ woman on foot lugs the goods behind. From
439 Calderas more men than women visit the market. For both it
482 is a very welcome occasion to become intoxicated. The
[273] owners of the taverns try to prevent the stealing of the much
[275] coveted beer and whiskey glasses, popularly practiced by the Paez, by chaining the glasses to the tavern tables.

On market days it is customary to leave very early and to transport the loads in the fiber bags in the customary way: the men take the carrying belt diagonally across their chests and the women hold it with their foreheads. In both cases the bag hangs on their backs. Then generally travel in groups of twos or threes, but not infrequently one also meets solitary
[432] individuals. Provisions are taken along, for, as a matter of
[273] principle, nothing is bought on the way except chicha or brandy.
[485] If it is necessary to stay overnight, nothing is paid for this. They sleep either at the entrance of a house of acquaintances or spend the night in the open field.

439 For traveling and for the visit to the market they try to wear
484 at least one article of European clothing, a felt hat, a shirt, or
[291] a blouse. The quality plays only a minor role, since the worst
[177] shirt is still more desirable than the finest ruana. A person who cannot buy anything in the way of clothing at least ties a black
[262] band around his hat, such as the felt hats have. Provisions are carried along in the fiber bag, roasted maize, cabbage, potatoes,
[415] arracacha. A person who can carries with him two or three of
484 the woolen coca pouches, in one of which there is coca and lime,
461 in another one money, and in the third the plaiting material
[285] for the straw hat. Almost all the men do this plaiting work, which actually is not work at all, but more like a "blind occupation," when they have nothing else to do, either when visiting, on the way to market, or also during the shaman ceremonies.
[283] The women, no matter where one meets them, are equally in-
[285] dustrious and always busy with spinning or plaiting the fiber bags or the wool coca-pouches. Like the men, they carry their work material with them in a second wool pouch.

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The graves were "large and deep," and chiefs were buried with some of their wives and with food and chicha (Cieza, 1932, ch. 32). 764 766

In Colonial times, according to Del Castillo, the *Páez* removed a dying person from his hut but burned the house if anyone died in it. They had given up cremation, however, and buried in the earth, building a fence around the grave. Today, they cover the corpse with a white shroud and place it in the middle of the house with candles and flowers. Here it is watched over one night by relatives and friends, and then buried in a cemetery, where each relative tosses some earth into the grave saying, "Go with God." The mourners then bathe in the river without disrobing, and in the evening hold a banquet with chicha, sancocho (vegetable stew), meat, and tortillas. For 9 days a cross, a container of water, and a candle must be kept on the deceased's bed, the water being kept there so that the soul may drink. The relatives pray every night. A month after the death, a shaman purifies the house. The relatives and friends kill a pig, cut it lengthwise in two halves, one for the shaman, the other for the ceremonial banquet. The shaman sweeps the house floor with the pig's legs and some special branches, which are later buried. He chews coca, says some unintelligible words, and spits leaves on the house walls. The residents and guests then enter the house for the final proof of purification. The shaman, standing in the center of the house, gives a dog half a tortilla. If the dog does not die, he divides the other half among those present. He does the same with a piece of cooked meat, and if the dog still does not die, he blows chicha in all directions in the hut, and then divides what remains with those present. The hut and food are then declared clean The food is then eaten and much chicha drunk.

178 764 [763] 765 764 765 756 783

The modern burial customs of the *Moguex* differ somewhat from those of the *Páez*. The former dance for 9 days before and after burying a dead child. Because of the special ceremonies for adults, young Indians gather and prepare wood to be burned at their own funerals. When an adult dies, relatives and friends bring wood, food, and money to the house, and work for his family, who pray and weep for 3 days over the body. On the fourth day, they carry the body in a procession to the cemetery. Upon passing a house or inn where the deceased was accustomed to take chicha, they stop and drink. The burial procedure is like that of the *Páez*. Back at the house, they purify the objects used by the deceased over the fire, and leave his clothes and the hide he used as a bed at the river 9 days, after which they may be used. Meanwhile, the guests remain with the deceased's family, helping them. On the 9th day, they extinguish all lights and go to the nearest hill to mourn, while a shaman remains in the house to catch the soul of the deceased. He chews coca, spits it in all directions, and beats around with sticks to make the soul come out. Then he lights

764 184 [766] [535] [275] [783] 765 756 787 775 184

1: Nachtigall

SC15 Paez SC15

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824

/Information on the use of alcoholic beverages, coca, and medicinal herbs in shamanistic curing ceremonies and seances will be filed in category 755./

1: Nachtigall

SC15 Paez SC15

273
276
824

/For information on the use of alcoholic beverages, coca, and medicinal herbs in the ritual purification rites following death, see category 783./

/113/

Physicians are not consulted in any case. All illnesses that do not show external influences are traced back to evil sorcery or to the "pest" (see under "Religion"/see p. 191 ff./). They must therefore be treated by the native shamans /see the glossary, p. 250 /. Open wounds and injuries are treated by the midwife. Now and then, however, people visit the mission station in order to have a tooth pulled, on which occasion the nurses without reservation praise their great steadfastness in enduring pain.

The impairment to health caused by the consumption of coca and chicha seems to me to be exaggerated by the authorities; it would be even less with sensible and nourishing food. The prohibition against coca consumption and the government's battle against coca and chicha give the impression of being more a struggle against a brandy tax deficit, for alcohol under the state monopoly may be sold to any Indio in any quantity. The fact that the Paez generally does not work hard and continuously probably has nothing to do with any degeneration caused by the stimulants mentioned, but rather it is quite simply his psychological attitude which does not let him see why a human being should strive for things which seem unnecessary to him, things beyond his animal necessities of life, eating and reproduction. I often asked whether, in their opinion, there might come a time when the Paez, too, would wear only Colombian clothing or even use electric lighting. They had never thought about it and in no instance had an answer.

II. Material Culture

1. The Dwelling

a) The Settlement

Politically and sociologically the Paez villages of Tierradentro embrace the inhabitants of a valley basin more or less closed off by the surrounding mountains. In their structure, however, they are not villages in our sense, by which we understand a locally concentrated aggregation of a number of houses,

000 /133 cont./
264 food and bean leaves as the worst. They eat together. The
[415 family sits around the fire and the woman serves. They do not,
412] however, eat out of the large cooking pot, which is usually of clay, though sometimes of aluminum, but rather the soup is dipped out with a wooden ladle into shallow bowls, from one of which the men, that is to say, the father and sons, eat, and the mother, daughters, and small children eat out of another one.
[263] Above the fire area a few small pieces of rock salt hang in a
[353] small pouch or lie on a rack and are used to salt the food after it is cooked. To do this each one takes the piece of salt and holds it or puts it in his plate until the soup is sufficiently salted.

252 In the following, a few dishes: 1) maize flour, ground
262 on the oval or rectangular grindstone with a hand-stone, is cooked with beans and cabbage; 2) vegetable bananas with beans and arracacha; 3) green ears of maize with beans (wood ashes are added to every maize dish, in order to make the maize tender more quickly); 4) green ears of maize with white cabbage; 5) white cabbage, arracacha, and potatoes; 6) beans and vegetable bananas; 7) only beans and maize flour; 8) arracacha and beans. Eggs are either boiled hard in the shell in a pot, or the egg is beaten with a spoon in a dish, water and onions are added, and
[415] the whole is cooked. All foods are cooked in a large pot as soup; only ears of maize roasted in a bowl /Schale, "bowl, shell, husk"/ (wáts; Spanish arepa) are an exception. Meat is only boiled, never roasted; they eat the meat of cattle, sheep, and pigs, as well as poultry and guinea pigs, but not horse meat. If horses die, the carcasses are devoured by dogs.

/134/ c) Means of Enjoyment

273 The two most important pleasures for the Paez, as for the
276 cultures of the entire Andean area, are coca and chicha. Tobacco plays a subordinate role.

P /134 cont./

276 137 Coca (ēs) is a shrub whose alkaloid leaves, containing cocaine, tanning substances, and various volatile oils, were used as stimulants even before the time of the Conquista, chiefly among the natives of the Cordilleras region. Almost 200 species of it are known, most of which, namely 137, occur in America (Walger, p. 9). It flourishes almost without exception between the tropics, from Honduras to Bolivia, in a temperature that generally remains between 15 and 20 degrees. In too low a temperature the leaves are small and worthless; in too hot a climate they lose strength and content. The most favorable elevation is between 700 and 1,700 meters.

P 279 192 171 The word coca comes from the Kechŭa /Quechua/ language (coca or cuca), which, however, does not state anything definite about the origin and use of the plant, for the Kechŭa-speaking tribes of Ecuador are the very ones who do not use the plant (Cooper, p. 549). In the northern part of South America the designation hayo, hahiu is customary, in northeastern Peru ebee, hibia, hibio, and in the Amazon region generally, names like ypadu, ypatu, ipado, or batu (Bühler, p. 3344).

P 175 276 The first information about coca reached Europe as early as 1499 through the report of the Spanish priest, Thomas Ortíz, to his spiritual superiors, according to which the natives of the northern coast of South America used a plant called hayo as a means of enjoyment. The first detailed description of the cultivation and use of the plant is found in a work, printed in 1553, by Pedro de Ciéza de León, who for the first time calls attention to the fact that coca bestows strength and vigor and drives away hunger (Bühler, p. 3353).

P 276 171 P C 276 C 656 At the time of the Conquista, coca was known in Colombia among the Cauca Valley tribes between Popayán and Cali, near Ibagué in the Magdalena Valley, on the savanna of Bogotá, and among the tribes of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta. Today the use of coca is officially forbidden in Colombia on account of its harmful effects. According to Decree No. 95 of 1938, the sale of coca, except in apothecary shops and drugstores, was forbidden

P C /134 cont./

P 276 by the "Ministerio de Trabajo, Higiene y Prevesion Social."
C 656 This prohibition was extended by Decree No. 578 of 1941 by the same ministry, according to which an exact list of the existing coca plants of the country was demanded and their destruction ordered, /135/ with a simultaneous prohibition against new plantings (Duque, 1945, pp. 445 f.). Of course this prohibition against coca planting cannot be strictly supervised and enforced in all the remote parts of the country.

P 276 461 The argument for the use of coca has remained the same from the time of the Conquista to this day: it is supposed to drive away hunger and to give strength. "Without coca one cannot work," I was told over and over again when I asked the Paez the reason for chewing coca. And, as a matter of fact, one sees the Paez chewing it on the long trips to market and during every physical task; but only at work, when one needs strength, and not during festivals and celebrations or on festive days. (The shamans are an exception, see below.)

P 276 P [887] The bitter tasting coca is chewed by both sexes, and the boys begin at 12-14 years of age, when they also begin helping their father with the work in the fields. The girls generally begin somewhat later, and in old age both sexes chew quite heavily and more frequently than is normal in younger years. The men take coca three times a day as a normal dose, and each dose lasts about two to three hours. Nothing is eaten all day after taking the first meal early in the morning before work; the second one P [272] is not eaten until after they return home from the fields in the late afternoon. During the pauses for coca, unfermented sugar-cane juice (nyũšayumĩ) is drunk, everyone carrying a calabash with one to two liters of it with him.

P 276 249 [137] The coca shrub, about 80 to 200 centimeters high, is striking even at a distance because of its fresh, light green, lancet-shaped leaves, which have two slightly curved longitudinal lines on the underside. Among the Paez of Calderas almost every family has its coca shrubs, the leaves of which, after plant-P [457] ing, are harvested from the first year for about 20 years. Anyone who does not own coca shrubs himself trades for the leaves in

P /135 cont./
276 exchange for brandy, wheat, or maize (for exchange and barter
249 rates, see "Trade" /see pp. 92-94 /). Within the family each
437 one harvests for himself as many leaves as he happens to need; otherwise the father of the family usually barters for the entire family. Harvest time is throughout the year (Ill. 174 /see
P p. 277 /).

276 Before use the leaves are roasted in a clay bowl and then
317 carried around in the colored wool pouch (kwatandyáha), together
[415] with a small calabash containing lime. The lime (kwatánd) is obtained from limestone (kwatandkwát) which crops out at various places throughout the region and which men and women look for as it is needed, or the husband sends his wife to fetch a few stones. These pieces of limestone are put in a vigorously fanned fire for two hours, /136/ then in a clay bowl, and cold water is
P poured over them. After that the cracked stone is pounded to
276 powder. To enjoy it, one takes a handful of leaves out of his pouch and puts them in the mouth and chews them for a while, until the lime can be added. Care must be taken that neither the tongue nor lips come in contact with the lime. Beginners press the coca mash flat against their tongues with their gums and sprinkle a pinch of lime from the pear-shaped, absolutely unadorned calabash (kwatandóka) upon it; practiced coca-chewers take a pinch of lime on the back of the hand between thumb and index finger and toss it into the open mouth with a flourish. The green saliva copiously produced is partly spat out, but most of
P it is swallowed. In the case of old people it often runs out of the
C mouth and drips on the clothing (Ill. 179 /see p. 280 /).

276 According to my experiences among the Paez and the
P coca-chewing Colombian workers, the harmful effect of coca
C seems to be exaggerated in most of the studies on the subject.
276 Of interest, however, are the data of C. Gutiérrez Noriega (1952),
146 who investigates the psychological and physiological effect of
273 taking coca, especially among the Peruvian Indios. There, in the region of the greatest coca consumption, two to four kilograms per person and year, the daily amount of food for a worker is only about 2,000 calories per day. With a simultaneous drinking of brandy and an inadequate diet, physical and mental consequences

P
C /136 cont./
276 are naturally more in evidence than in the case of the use of
146 coca with good nutrition and as the only indulgence. Along
273 with improved nutrition and corresponding enlightenment, a
prohibition on brandy instead of its propagation would be more
C desirable for the health of the people than a prohibition on coca.
[651] The departments, however, draw their chief income from the
P brandy tax, whereas coca was always tax-free.

276 Tobacco (wáhi) is neither planted by the Paez nor con-
[249] sumed in large amounts, since there is generally no money
available for the purchase of tobacco or cigarettes. Both sexes,
P however, smoke gift cigarettes, and, to be sure, from child-
[756] hood, that is, from two to three years of age. The shamans
[755] in their séances and ceremonies are in the habit of chewing
cigarette tobacco along with coca, but it is always purchased.
These séances last many hours or throughout the night, during
which shamans and patients together chew this mixture uninter-
P ruptedly.

273 Chicha (pronounced tschitscha) is one of the alcoholic
[171] beverages which, made out of various raw materials, are wide-
spread among the natives /137/ throughout South America, with
manioc chicha predominating in the forest region (Venezuela,
Brazil) and maize chicha in the Andean region (Cooper, pp.
539 f. and Map 11). Two methods of production are distin-
guished, according to whether it is a matter of raw materials
with a high sugar content (honey, sugar cane, palm sap, pine-
apple) or more starchy crops (manioc, maize). The former ferment
without the addition of saliva and need not be chewed in the
preparation; the latter need human saliva before or after cook-
P ing in order to ferment.

[137] Among the Paez chicha (mbēca) is made only from the
juice of sugar cane, a raw material that is not American, but
came from southern Asia and did not come to America until the
post-Columbian period (Maurizio, 1933, p. 75). Formerly
chicha was made out of maize, as it still is today among the
neighbors of the Paez living in higher regions (for example, the
Guambiano). The name for sugar-cane juice, nyūšayumī

/274 cont./

774 (ũ = nasal) and taff, with which everyone is familiar, although
776 they are not sure about the distinction between the two. The
753 shamans Francisco and Cerbeleón said that the two were the same;
but both of them also said that ũns or taff, if they had left the
person in his dream and were abroad, could be caught by tũs, eč,
or nyiç without the person's becoming aware of this immediately,
but rather he still went on living. To my objection that in this
case ũns and taff were probably different, they did not know how
[775] to answer; Cerbeleón stated that if a person dies, his ũns goes to
heaven and the person himself becomes taff. He and other teyu
756 were able to catch the ũns of a human being. Thus, for example,
774 if someone had been robbed, he would come to Cerbeleón. The
754 latter takes coca, tobacco, and brandy, and then he can bring
forth the ũns of the thief, seize it, and kill it. The thief must
[783] then die. In order to get the ũns in his power, he must first cleanse
[824] his hands with the herbs šũ and vitubitskwe, as well as with brandy.
[276] The ũns has the form of a small animal, he explained; it can fly
and glows and is about three centimeters long. It is very similar
to a firefly in appearance, but different from eč.

554 Having reached this point in his explanation, Cerbeleón grew
754 silent, and our interpreter Victoriano said that we should now have
756 to depart, but quickly. With that he left the house in positive
[124] flight, and we were obliged to follow. Outside he explained to us
that Cerbeleón was a "mal brujo," a nyiç, which, to be sure, he
had always suspected before, but just now Cerbeleón had given
himself away inasmuch as he had said that he could catch and
[682] kill the ũns of human beings. The people of Calderas also say
that he possessed herbs that he could put in eggs, chicha, or other
food, whereupon people would eat them and then die. One of the
sons of Cerbeleón was a thief and had died in the following manner:
The one who was robbed had prayed to the Virgen Santisima /Holy
Virgin/, and God had punished the thief with death. The father
himself, that is, the shaman Cerbeleón, is also a thief and kills
people out of envy for their possessions.

The mission sisters confirmed this statement insofar as
Cerbeleón had several times attempted to kill them by sprinkling

/284 cont./

241 The following ceremony before the first harvest of a newly
756 cleared field should also be understood in the same sense as
783 all the shamanistic séances of the Paez, namely, as a purification
[273] from pest or to ward it off. The owner, taking along coca, chicha,
[276] and brandy, goes to the field with the members of his family and
the teyu. The latter first sprinkles the field with water to which
[824] herbs have been added and then distributes small packets of
[782] medicinal herbs to all present. He now takes a sample from each type of produce and makes a bundle out of this, in order to offer it to Thunder. After this gift, the owner harvests a fiber bag full of each type of produce and carries it home. He sets down all the bags beside one another in front of the left side of the entrance, and then the shaman spits his herbs over them, in order to cleanse them of the pest, which, without this ceremony, would otherwise
[782] have been carried into the house. After the products have been cooked, they are given to the shaman, who distributes one product to each of those present and offers the rest as a gift to Thunder, who, in turn, gives everything back to the shaman.

754 A good shaman does not know any herbs or other means to
756 harm people or to kill them. Such acts are the mark of the nyic. According to what we heard, however, the boundary between good and bad shamans is not very sharply drawn; each could also carry out the activity of the other, even though Thunder -- people are convinced -- does not lend his help to a nyic, so that the latter is
578 dependent solely on his bad and wicked agents. /285/ There is a
754 constant struggle between the teyu and the nyic, not openly to be
756 sure, but in secret. The teyu constantly feel pursued by the evil machinations of the nyic, and one who relaxes his attention for only a moment will be killed by them. In this struggle the one who is the stronger magically has prospects of victory; but since the nyic do not openly announce their successes over the good shamans, one can learn only of the victories of the teyu over the evil shamans. Thus a shaman from Santa Rosa relates that in his youth he was very treacherous and underhanded and was already familiar with many agents. One day a nyic, who had already

1: Nachtigall--277 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

XC

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Ill. 173. Paez with sugar cane.

Ill. 174. Harvesting the coca leaves.

1: Nachtigall--283 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 185. Rolling out a "clay sausage."

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Ill. 186. Types of Paez ceramics.

/CXXII cont./

Ill. 184. Potter smoothing out the seams of the pot. In order to be able to turn it more easily, he has set it on a shallow clay bowl.

Plate XCVI

Ill. 185. Potter rolling out a "clay sausage." The pots are made with the spiral coil technique.

Ill. 186. Types of Paez ceramics. There are spherical pots and shallow bowls without a standing surface. The large pot is used for making chicha, the two smaller ones for cooking, the bowl for roasting coca leaves.

[273]
[276]

Plate XCVII

Ill. 187. Weaver making the women's colored belt. The many cross-sticks serve for stretching the warp threads.

Ill. 188. Weaving the ornamental warp. Visible above the sword is a shed rod which holds up the red warp threads not needed at the moment for the pattern.

Ill. 189 and 190. Patterns of the women's colored belts.

Plate XCVIII

Ill. 191. Bamboo suspension bridge over the Rio Paez at Avirama.

Ill. 192. Bamboo suspension bridge at Belalcázar.

Ill. 193. Shore anchoring of the suspension bridge of Balalcázar.

Ill. 194. Timber bridge across the Rio Kokiyó at Calderas, at the time of construction.

Plate IC

Ill. 195. Timber bridge across the Rio Kokíyó at Calderas, with the protective roof characteristic of this type of bridge.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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cient testimony, they have their share of physical ailments. Besides itch (*lel*), tumors of several kinds (*lol-sek*, tonsilitis; *kuii*, tumor in the groin), they have original names for smallpox (*buzgni*), which I was told often rages among them, for diarrhœa (*n-tsitš*), dysentery (*mengni*), and intermittent or malarial fevers (*ya-ya-gni* in the ancient dialect, *kni-kni-ni* in that spoken at the present day).

Of the practices and superstitions made use of in the cure of these diseases I could gain no information, but it is very probable that the Paez still have their own medicine-men.

Clothing. Personal Adornment

At present the wool obtained from the numerous sheep kept by the Paez Indians plays the most important part in the clothing of both sexes. I cannot find any direct information on the fabrics used before the introduction of sheep by the Spaniards, but it is most likely that the Paez obtained cotton from the Indians of the Cauca and Magdalena plains, the cultivation and the manufacture of which into thread must have formed one of the principal industries in the latter. I have already referred to the great number of clay spindle-whorls found in the graves and on old dwelling sites throughout the Cauca valley. Judging by these we may feel sure that the former inhabitants were great spinners. On the other hand, the present Paez Indians still weave most of their own clothing, and there is no reason why they should not have done so formerly.

The dress of the men consists of a pair of short trousers (*hiii*), that are evidently a concession to modern civilization. These are made of raw cotton cloth, or of imported fabrics, and reach from the waist to about the knees. Over the shoulders is worn a broad rectangular piece of white woolen homespun cloth, split in the middle in the form of a poncho so as to allow the head to pass through, and hanging free front and back. This is called *tund-atš*, i. e., 'the cloth that binds, or covers.' It is generally worn next to the skin, but sometimes a light cotton shirt, called *atš-petš*, is first put on. Over the *tund-atš* they carry on their left side, hanging by straps that pass over the right shoulder, the coca

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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bag and the small receptacle that contains the quicklime used with the former. When out of doors a second piece of woolen cloth, longer and narrower than the first and called simply *atš*, is thrown over the shoulders, with the head likewise thrust through the middle. A narrow-brimmed hat (*tsua*) the like of which is found among the Kitšua, is the usual complement of this dress. It is made of the outer skin of a tall grass (*Gynerium saccharoides*), resembling sugar-cane and common along rivers.

The women all dress in the same way, with fabrics invariably woven by themselves. The underwear, which is often dispensed with, consists of a narrow piece of woolen tissue used as a loin cloth, passing between the legs and then rolled around the hips. Over this article is worn a broad piece of dark woolen cloth, wrapped along the body and limbs in the form of a skirt. This is the *anaco*, or *pamb-atš*, and it is attached to the waist by means of a sash called *vilia*, the elaborateness and ornamentation of which vary with the wealth of the owner. The upper part of the body is covered with a ruana called *atš-tul*, sewed along the right side and on the right shoulder, but open at the left side, being simply pinned on the left shoulder with a wooden peg or a fish-bone. When traveling the women provide themselves with another broad piece of cloth (*spatš*) which is used either as a cover or for wrapping the baby on the back. In the latter case the cloth is secured by means of a belt (plate IV, 1).

Women also wear necklaces, made now of common glass beads, silver coins, or small sea-shells, the number of strings depending on the wealth of the husband. The mention in Castillo's vocabulary of a word for bracelet (*kaschand-gnne-tsa*) indicates the former use of such ornament. Females have no headgear. Married women part their hair along the median line of the head and allow it to hang back in two braids. Little girls wear their hair loosely behind the shoulders. In former times women painted their faces blue with the juice of a fruit called *kii*. Speaking of this custom, which seems to be obsolete now, Castillo facetiously says: "fruta . . . con cuyo zumo se pintan el rostro las Indias (*i aun las que no lo son*)." Men formerly decorated their bodies and faces with *tok*, the red color

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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244 262 now widely used all over Spanish America, is of Kitšua origin (*zapayü*); *âpe-te*, the most extensively cultivated variety, is called *Mejicano* by the Spanish natives, although it seems to have been cultivated in the country from time immemorial.

Several interesting edible roots or tubers, mostly under cultivation, are relished by the Paez Indians. Thus *ãs*, or *ans* (*Arracacia esculenta*), a celery-like umbelliferous plant with large white roots; *unt*, a peculiar yam (*Dioscorea*); *nia* the cassava root; *kâka*, the potato, of which there are certainly several species; *tsęvi*, or *ɜnil* (*Ullucus tuberosus*), a very remarkable *Chenopodiacea*, of the high Andean region; *puil*, *Tropæolum tuberosum*, another species, the cultivation of which seems to be restricted to a limited district of western South America. All these plants are more or less under cultivation, but the Indians also eat many wild roots which I had no opportunity to identify. *Kambitš* (*Cyclanthera pedata*), the singularly-shaped fruit of a Cucurbit, is used as a green vegetable along with the tender sprouts of several other plants.

245 262 Among the favorite fruits the plantain naturally ranks first, and is conspicuous around the houses even at an altitude of 1,800 meters. The generic names are *plau*, suggesting the Spanish *plántano* or *plátano*, and *tulü*, a word that forms the root of *Tulua*, the name of a town in a territory formerly occupied by the Quimbayas. The banana or *guinco*, corrupted into *kuciö*, is probably an imported variety, as are several others rarely met with.

Other fruits are the *papaya*, *paiá*, not mentioned by Castillo, and the name of which indicates a modern acquisition; *ɜlal*, one of the granadillas (*Passiflora edulis*); *ɜakü*, the pineapple, which grows only in the lower region; *ięytse*, the aguacate (*Persea gratissima*); and also several species of *Inga*, the white pulp around the seeds of which is eaten.

There are two varieties of edible guavas, the one sweet (*Psidium guayaba*), the other sweet sour (*Ps. pomiferum*); and the berries of several *Melastomataceæ*, many of which escaped my observation, are enjoyed by both children and adults.

276 [249] A plant very important in the Indian economy is the coca

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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(*cl*). It is very little cultivated in Tierra Adentro, however, and 276
the dry leaves are imported from the lower Paez and Tolima [249]
basins. To this product the Paez is indebted for his disgusting [439]
chewing and spitting habit, the use of which is still doubtful to me. Coca leaves are said to be a powerful reconstituent, allow- [461]
ing the Indians to endure long marches and great privation. But the women do not use it, and however often they may participate in these hardships, it is with the same endurance. At all events the Paez men never cease chewing and spitting. Each of them carries a supply of coca leaves in his *iisa*, and the quicklime or *kuetau* in a small gourd, both hanging at his left side. Now and then he ejects a mouthful of green saliva, making sure that there be a clean whitewashed wall near by, in order thus to decorate it. He then takes a new handful of leaves, sprinkles them with a little *kuetau*, and fills his mouth again, ceasing this everlasting process only long enough to eat, drink, and sleep.

Tobacco is known in Tierra Adentro under the name of 249
uuci-hi, but it is never smoked or chewed. The sugar-cane, [248]
uiusa, is cultivated in small patches. The only textile plant observed by me is a short-leaved agave called *sasto* (Span. *maguey*). The larger part of the district inhabited by the 245
Paez is above the region in which grows the bamboo called *guadua*; but this beautiful grass is known to them under the name of *mom*, or *mum*. They transport canes of it from a distance for use in the construction of their lighter bridges; and at Huila, about 1,800 meters above sea-level, there was a small plantation of it, showing a primitive attempt at cultivation.

Several useful plants have been mentioned in connection with 249
dyeing (page 318). Although in the Huila mountains there is at least one species of rubber-yielding *Sapium*, the Indians do not seem to have known of the elastic properties of its gum.

A most striking feature of the upper forest zone of the Palo 314
valley is the wax-palm, *lame* (*Ceroxylum andicola*), which is also for the Indians an important economic plant on account of the wax which they obtain by scraping the lofty trunks (plate IX). This product they use mainly for illuminating purposes. Un-

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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hã (H)	blood
hin-se, hũs-utsa	the afternoon — Cast.: *finse*
hiú, ziú (H)	trousers
hún	to grind
hún-ku-kuít, hil-kuet (H)	grinding-stone — Cast.: *kune kuet*
hunza	mouse — Cast.: *ensa*
hũs (H)	heart — Cast.: *agnus*
húpe (H)	fence, hedge — Cast.: *ha-find*
hu-ùk (H)	death
id-a-uts (H)	net
id-cuχ (H), *a-cuχ* (T)	eye — Cast.: *ia-fi*
id-cuχ + hàts (H) / *id-χ + hatt* (T)	eyelash
itf-dzi-ke (H)	tears
idnl,	volcano
[276] *idl,*	*Datura arborea*, a small tree, with large white flowers, having narcotic properties
ick-tãin (T)	brother
[601] *ick-tãin neel-te* (T)	elder brother — Cast.: *ne-teè*; *teè* = old
ick-tãin nutl (T)	younger brother
ick-tè (H)	brother
ick-tè intè-ha (H)	elder brother
ick-tè-nutl-kua (H)	younger brother
i-kats (Cast.)	to dress (when a man dresses)
i-kats-atl,	inner piece of dress, a kind of shirt
i-kuèt (H)	knee, knee-cap
ins,	to dress (used by females only)
ins-atl,	inner part of female dress
io-lts, its-io	bunch
ip, ibi	light, candle — Cast.: *ip-i*
ip + e-uèla (T)	fire
ip + id, à	smoke
ip + ik-pàts	spark
ip + imbe-χetsa (H)	fire
ip + i-ãin	embers, red-hot coal

/286 cont./

291 the waist, and over it a rebozo or shawl of foreign make; they wear hats of masculine manufacture. They carry a thin stick
283 one meter long more or less, called kasguat, held under the left armpit, and at its upper end there is a bundle of wool to be spun, a task which they do at any time, while walking or sitting in the house, regardless of whether a child is resting on their backs or, when they are walking along the road, a heavy
301 load. Only the women wear ornaments consisting of multicolored necklaces, earrings, and sometimes rings.

293 Both men and women usually carry three woolen pouches,
415 aside from others of fique, a very small one for money, a larger one for mambe /coca and lime for chewing/, and the third, which is the largest of all and holds the other two, is used to carry palm leaves or the plaited work made with them for the men, and other things for the women.

276 Coca.--All the Paez are "mambe chewers," men, women,
[461] and children, regarding coca as an article that gives strength,
[261] frees one from laziness, and mitigates hunger. Without it, of
[273] course, they will not work. Coca and chicha, fermented sugar-
[262] cane juice, play the role of real foods, given their starchy and scant diet.

631 Parcialidades and cabildos.--Politically, the Indians are
624 organized into parcialidades, each headed by a cabildo made up of a gobernador and substitute, a major alcalde and another minor one, two alguaciles, three fiscales, a comisario, a capitán, and a síndico elected each year and put in office by the respective alcaldías of the municipio, except for the last two, who are named for life and put in office by the /287/ Church. Their functions are administrative and police work, but in reality they exercise functions of social, legal, and religious control.

631 The parcialidades are bounded by the craggy peaks and the deep, rugged beds of the streams and rivers in such a way that each one circumscribes specific kinds of geography, and even of

/186 cont./

346 There are four other small rooms, five meters /187/ long
796 by three meters wide. Two of them are independent of each other, with their respective doors opening into the sala; one serves as a kitchen and the other to roast the maize griddle-cakes. At the other end of the house are the two other rooms, connected with each other by one door and with the sala by another. The workers sleep in one, and in the other are the troughs of chicha, the bottles of aguardiente, and the laurel candles.

342 The third type of dwelling, very scarce in Calderas, has
249 a square floor plan. It has the sala, two kitchens, and the du yate léchukue. Whatever type of dwelling a Paez family may own, they all have as an indispensable accessory the sugar mill, [262] either inside the house or outside it. Actually, if it is kept in [273] mind that the basic sustenance of the natives is provided by [276] maize, cabbage, chicha, and coca, this instrument is indispensable.

342 In addition, each house is supplied with water, taken from
312 springs, streams, or falls, through the extremely skillful construction of ditches which skirt the valleys, hills, and slopes. Their lands have abundant water. They are not familiar with artesian wells.

342 In a way, the enormous salas in the houses of Calderas
177 represent the ramadas which are found among the whites,
249 mestizos, and acculturated Indians of San Andrés; they are built independently of the dwellings, with a sugar mill and an oven to boil down the cane juice and make panela. In this parcialidad, the panela industry is quite well developed. In Calderas it does not exist.

584 Among the Paez, land, marriage, family, and house form
583 a close and indissoluble unit. It lends warmth and meaning to
[183] a number of emotional, sentimental, and sociological complexes. This begins when the pubescent boy feels the need for a partner who will help him in his work and assuage to some extent the rigors of solitude. The love awakened by a dark, shapely maiden impels him to ask her parents for her. "Give my your daughter. I am alone and need help in my work,"

4:Bernal Villa--24 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

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VII

The Milling, the Chicha and the Chicha-makers

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249 It remains to be said that the fiesta begins with the milling.
461 Although it is common to use a horse to operate the sugar mill,
[492] it is more usual at fiesta time to move it with human arms, masculine or feminine. It makes no difference. The two laborers for the milling squat on either side of the sugar mill, and one h[illegible]over the cane while the other receives the bagasse, w[illegible] is piled up at one side to be handed back again; this is done up to 12 times in order to extract as much juice
[273] as possible. The millers do their work in silence when they are not drunk; while they do it with diligence, there is relaxation, laughter, shouts, and imprecations when they are under the influence of alcohol.

273 The juice is gathered in troughs, or less frequently in
249 calabashes and pots; it is heated to near the boiling point and
796 then emptied into the troughs, in which, inasmuch as they
[415] are well "cured," fermentation is rapid. The troughs are made of huge tree trunks that reach up to one meter and 50 centimeters in thickness and four or five meters in length. As they are depleted through consumption, they are refilled with fresh
[285] cane juice. The troughs are covered with small mats made
273 exclusively for the purpose. On the following day it is bubbly,
796 yellowish, with a pungent, sweetish flavor. It is the beka pes (strong chicha) of the natives, who drink it with relish and delight. Five gourdfuls of this liquor are sufficient to make them
273 drunk. Elsewhere called guarapo, while the Paez call it chicha,
182 it is of great importance in their social life and diet. With its
796 help the religious fiestas gain meaning, the mingas are carried
[262] out, baptisms and weddings are made more pleasant, and visitors are entertained.

273 Work without chicha is inconceivable, and while they work
461 they get no food whatever; they merely drink chicha and chew
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/195 cont./

262 coca. Chicha thus provides the calories for work, while coca
273 dulls the feeling of hunger. The consumption of chicha is
461 general among men and women, old people and children.
[276] There is no household without chicha for any length of time.
And during the short lapses when it runs low, they buy it or
[431] visit the households that have some. Among friends it is not
sold, but given as regalement: /196/ "talking, laughing, regaling," as the Indians accurately describe the situation.

249 Milling for the fiestas takes place daily and is in direct
273 proportion to the number of visitors. Milling for the mingas
461 lasts two days, one week for baptisms, and up to a month for
weddings.

273 The largest containers for chicha are the troughs, but use
415 is also made of pitchers and large earthenware pots buried in
the ground up to their rims.

273 The chicha-makers are the absolute masters of the troughs
463 while they are fulfilling their function. They distribute the
796 chicha, and even the fiestero himself must ask them for the
amount desired. No one takes chicha without their consent.
Furthermore, they accept the gifts which the visitors give to
the fiestero. The latter merely voices his thanks. Although
they keep taking chicha, they do not get drunk, so as to perform their task properly. They will have their day when they
can do so.

VIII

Sugar-cane Aguardiente

273 At fiesta time, aguardiente is distilled every two or three
[796] days. The distillation is quite easy. The still is prepared in
the following way:

[415] A good-sized earthenware pot, 50 to 60 centimeters high
and 25 to 30 centimeters in diameter, is filled with guarapo

/226 cont./

* 756 When the signs occur at the vertex (crown), the sorcerer
787 is about to send the pest, and if they go from the vertex to
827 the left hand, the person is under a spell.
755 If the signs occur in the gluteal muscles, an animal be-
longing to the person has died and the vultures are eating it.
* 756 In this way, the curers can know the nature of the illness
755 /227/ and the type of remedies required. To determine the
spell and the sorcerer responsible.

To divine whether a stolen object can be recovered or not, and who the thieves are. To learn whether a patient will improve or die. To detect the presence of the Ghost, Rainbow, and Echi. To know in advance about the visits of good or bad persons.

The act of perceiving the signs is called to divine or "to
[273] think." Every patient must always bring tobacco, aguardiente,
[276] and coca. The aguardiente is used to call Thunder, Ghost and Echi and to satisfy them. The chewed coca and tobacco serve to make the signs circulate.

Divination sites. The té eu has a special divination site called Kachí. In it he practices the signs and perceives them
[263] when he has a patient to cure. If the patient is not in serious condition and comes in person to the house of the curer, then he can divine on its ground, even though there is the obstacle of the presence there of ají and salt/ articles that Thunder does not like. The treatment, that is to say, the perception of signs and the corresponding cleansing, is carried out at night, at two or three in the morning.

If the patient is in very serious condition, the té eu must go to a site where he will not be disturbed by the shouting of people, the barking of dogs, or the noises of animals. A site almost completely removed from human haunts, such as a bog or a lagoon. He takes with him two or three hairs taken from the crown of each member of the family present, with which he makes a ball that he places amidst the shu /Sphagnum/.

/227 cont./

755 He remains at the site for about an hour. When the signs give
*756 hope, he leaves the hair and returns to the patient's house.

In treatments of this type, the curer requires as "provisions" a pig, a sheep, and chicha.

*755 Divining the illness. The curer demands from his clients
756 two eggs (3) of coca, two cigars, and half a liter of aguardiente.
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●276
[804]

3. One egg of coca is equivalent to the weight of a hen's egg.

He gathers the coca into a medium-sized pouch with great scrupulousness, for he does not allow a single leaf to be lost. He transfers the aguardiente to a bottle of his own and puts it in the same pouch with the coca, likewise the cigars. The divination is performed under the eaves of his house at 8:00 P.M.

/228/ He places the patient on his right, seated on a pango pil (bench); the pouches of remedies are placed on his left, along with the pouch containing the coca and aguardiente received from the patient.

*755 He begins by making two bundles of remedies with yacuma
756 blanca, ul ñiñ, ñundayuskei, bitopiskue, and chandur de castilla (4). Each remedy is extracted patiently from his pouch,

4. Cf. below, "Remedies" /see pp. 22ff./.

which contains all the remedies needed for his treatments, but not in any specific order. He does not show anxiety or haste; he observes great moderation. When he takes out the remedy, before placing it on the maize husk that will serve as wrapping for the bundle, he quickly passes it around his body, beginning at the right foot, going up this side to the crown of the head, and ending on the left side, in order to stimulate the blood
[827] so that the signs will circulate. As soon as he has finished passing it, the signs may go from the right calf upward,

/228 cont./

755 indicating hope, for if they moved from the knee to the foot,
756 there would be no need to receive the coca, tobacco, or
[127] aguardiente, for the patient would be incurable. Only when the signs are favorable does he take the pouch of remedies received from the patient and pass it around in the same way as he did the remedies, with the aim of invoking Thunder and Kallumb, his helpers.

75 He orders the patient to chew the bundle of remedies which he presented to him not long before. He picks up the tama (5) in his hands and blows on it with the remedies that he

5. Cf. below, "The tama" /see pp. 17-18/.

is chewing, which are the same as those chewed by the patient, for the purpose of preventing the ptans ("dirt") sent by the
[276] sorcerers from surprising the curer and killing him. In this case he may have the mambe /lime to be chewed with coca, or the coca and lime together/ in his hand and nevertheless remain motionless, with blood running from his mouth. Then, and to the front, he drives in the tama, the weapon of Thunder, to indicate to him that he is not working in a bad way, but in such a way and in accordance with his teachings. Before putting it in the ground, he passes it around his body so that it will protect him from the ptans.

[824] Next to the tama he puts the bottle of aguardiente, which
[763] he places a sprig of chayuts; if it remains upright and floats, it is a good sign, while if it tilts and sinks to the bottom, it is an omen of death. On top of the bottle he puts a small calabash to measure the aguardiente, in which is also put a sprig /229/ of chayuts; it serves as a preventive, for it prevents the ptans from catching the curer unprepared and killing him.

[276] Then he puts a handful of coca in his mouth and begins to chew; he remains seated, almost motionless, his eyes trained on the room and on the tama, attentive to the slightest motion;

/229 cont./

75 from time to time he puts in more coca and more mambe,
● [276] which he takes from a small calabash (kuetand tuka), pours on his right fist, and throws with force into his mouth. He watches. Sorcerers work systematically to send him the ptans, and they must not catch him unprepared. The signs warn him as to when he must blow the chew in order to contain the ptans.

He tells the patient that the signs are favorable; there will be an immediate improvement. The pains which assail him are due to the ptans which he has from the vertex to the nape.

After 20 minutes in a motionless and expectant state, the curer stands up with his face raised, as though illuminated, walks jauntily to the tama, blows the chew violently; he fills the small gourd with aguardiente and tosses it into the air. This is the invitation to Thunder.

He returns again to his place, takes a cigar and crushes more than half of it, puts more mambe in his mouth, and remains quiet, his hands folded and his arms resting on his knees. Only the deepness of the night with its characteristic sounds disturbs this decisive moment. No carelessness. It might have fatal consequences. He remains in this position for about 40 minutes.

Then he takes the chew from his mouth with his hand and tosses it in the direction of the tama, after having passed it around his body. The patient does likewise. He immediately tells the sick man that he must return with all the remedies. He interrupts his work. Thunder has shown himself to be
75 favorable. Since the patient has ptans, a good "cleansing"
783 must be done, for which he must bring three pounds of meat to be eaten after the cleansing, chicha, one pound of coca, one liter of aguardiente, and six cigars. The curer himself must
[177] go to the lagoon in search of the remedies. He advises the patient that for a period of three months at least he must not use the drugs of the whites, for if he did so, he would die.

The cleansing of the ptans. At 7:00 P.M. the patient comes to the house of the curer. He hands over the medicines

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433 From the above table, and relying exclusively on the data given there, we can deduce the following observations:

1. The production of Mosoco is superior to that of Lame, both in quantity and in the variety of species cultivated.

2. The numerical data indicate that there is underproduction, and for that very reason it may be deduced that there is underconsumption, although these data are rough estimates, since the only approximately exact figures that the natives keep are for the production of potatoes.

[243] [244] 3. The production of wheat, garlic, and potatoes is intended almost exclusively for the market, like that of barley, the production of which is not included in the statistical table, because we only have three figures of Mosoco and three for Lame. On the other hand, the production of maize, frijoles, barley, broad beans, ullucos, and nasturtium tubers is intended almost wholly for internal consumption.

[243] 4. Maize is the basic article of consumption, but the production given does not reflect this fact. Nevertheless, it does not include the amount consumed as roasting ears.

5. Losses of the harvest are frequent in Lame, owing to the lack of fertilizers.

[276] [262] [464] 6. Underproduction is compensated for by a larger consumption of coca (Lame) or by the acquisition of other food items such as panela, lard, bread, and coffee (Mosoco). On the other hand, underproduction explains why the natives go and sign up as day laborers on the haciendas of the "whites."

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433
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Fams.	Coca				Frijoles			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	4	4	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	5	4	1	20,0
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
6.	...	...	...	(8)	3	3	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
8.	...	...	...	(8)	8	8	...	.....
9.	...	...	...	(8)	20	10	10	50,0
10.*	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
12.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
13.	6	2	4	66,6	5	1	4	80,0
14.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

8. Owns plantings of coca.

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From the above table we can make the following deductions:

[245]
[434]
[439]

1. The coffee production is wholly intended for sale. It thus constitutes the principal source of monetary income for the natives and, of course, for the "whites."

2. Maize, frijoles, sugar cane, and coca are intended almost exclusively for internal consumption. The production of panela indicated in the table refers to the whites and mestizos.

[262]
[276]
[273]

3. The food base of San Andrés is provided by maize, plantains, manioc, and arracacha. At the time of the coffee harvest, meat is consumed. Coca and guarapo indispensably complement this dietary regimen.

/316/

105 Potatoes are the principal crop in the parcialidad of Mosoco
178 and the primary source of the natives' monetary income. It has
[244] made possible the establishment of intensive trade with the municipio of Silvia and has plainly had repercussions in the modification of rules of behavior and the restructuring of institutions. The transformation embraces nearly all aspects of Páez culture.

In the first place, work has intensified. The people of Mosoco have permanent work throughout the year. The women participate directly in the preparation of the soil, the planting, and the harvesting.

The children of both sexes go to school regularly, learn basic skills, and utilize them in everyday life. Mosoco is the only part of Tierradentro where there is a private school supervised by a native.

[191] Bilingualism is general. The "chontales," that is to say, persons who do not speak Spanish, are very few. There are not more than ten.

[276] The consumption of coca has disappeared among all the youthful elements.

[262] The alimentary diet and schedule have been altered con-
[264] siderably. They have breakfast very early in the morning, lunch at noon, and dinner at nightfall. Milk, panela, lard, meat, and bread are consumed regularly.

The utensils are completely modern, consisting of aluminum and iron pieces.

There are wooden beds for sleeping, and blankets as well.

The houses are better built and furnished. There are houses of adobe and tile. Two tile-works inclusively already exist in the parcialidad.

The people are hospitable and generous toward foreign visitors.

[291] The clothing of the men is almost completely transformed. They dress like any Colombian peasant. The palm hat worn in other parcialidades has disappeared from this region. The women are clean, orderly, and talkative. They retain the slit skirt and sash, but have adopted chemises and the blue rebozo of the

/331 cont./

461 insalivation, which disturbs the normal consumption of coca.
476 They worked steadily until 10:00 A.M., when they took a short rest. Then they went on working until 1:00 P.M., when they were served "refreshments," consisting of a cup of coffee and two large maize griddlecakes /arepas/ seasoned with salt and two eggs, which had been toasted on a piece of earthenware and finished by roasting in the hot ashes of the hearth. They went on working until 3:30 P.M. and then went to the house of the minguero. The reward usually consists of the following:

476 Two bowls of chicha; then a large platter with mote, stew
465 with potatoes or ullucos. They eat what they can and put the rest in an aluminum pan which they brought for this purpose, or they simply put it in a fique knapsack to take it to their respective homes. After this, they receive still another bowl of mote without meat. Then, once more, two bowls of chicha and, following this, a large pot overflowing with chicha to be distributed among those present. This is done for each of the persons in-
[273] vited. The consumption of chicha is thus abundant. After this they are given aguardiente. Already drunk, they organize a dance. All this, of course, among the natives of means. Among the poor, the mingas are usually made up of relatives, who "conceal the scarcity." No dancing is done.

476 In the mingas of Mosoco, they sacrifice bulls, calves, or pigs, and they always purchase one or two pounds of coffee and two or three arrobas of panela. From their own finca they consume wheat or maize flour, potatoes, ullucos, or broad beans.
[461] Coca has been replaced by "refreshments." During the work there
● [276] are periods of rest that /332/ correspond roughly to taking a chew of coca in other parcialidades. The young people of Mosoco do not chew coca, but the old custom still influences the work. On the other hand, it is obvious that a minga in Mosoco is more expensive than paying wages, since various articles are purchased, and, in addition, they sacrifice cows or pigs worth more than 100
[464] pesos. But the mingas are indispensable in Mosoco as a means of obtaining labor which otherwise would be impossible to get. No one signs up for wages, because everyone has his own lands to work.

/333 cont./

417 bags full of frijoles, which are also suspended from the wall
353 posts. This is also where the grains (lumps) of salt are kept.
251 The amounts kept for the months of scarcity are not sufficient, but there are other comestibles that help them: domestic ani-
[244] mals, cabbages, onions, sugar cane, and coca. In Lame and Mosoco they cultivate a plant which they call ijuca de pijao. It
[464] is an edible discoria /Dioscorea/. We have also seen that want is avoided by going to work as laborers on the fincas of the "whites."

[263] Meat is also kept on the frame above the hearth. They utilize the smoke to preserve it. Salt is not used for this purpose.

251 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José, where large quantities of wheat are planted, one frequently finds under the eaves of thatched houses bundles of wheat that remain hanging for several months. In this way they preserve it from the attacks of small rodents, and the grain is of excellent quality because it dries out thoroughly.

261 During times of scarcity, the natives do not seek solace in
273 religion. Actually, their defense is in the sale of their own work-
276 ing capacity for a small daily wage, a few eggs of coca, and
[771] food. It should be noted that guarapo and coca are splendid
[464] sedatives against the pangs of hunger. It is curious that one of the
[465] most noted religious fiestas of Calderas is held precisely during a time of scarcity. Large quantities of guarapo are consumed for nearly a month.

Provision of water and firewood

312 In Tierradentro the rainfall is relatively high. As a result, water abounds in small and /334/ large watercourses. This geographical factor leads the natives to bring the water close to their homes by means of a system of drainage ditches that are true engineering works. The distances that have to be faced or the accidents of the terrain make no difference. When necessary,
[177] they use bamboo tubes as artificial channels. This system has been adopted by the "whites" and even by the towns. Since the high parts on both margins of the Paez River are bare of vegetation,

/352 cont./

261 The natives lose weight -- says an informant -- because first they eat good and abundant food, and then they do not have [262] enough to eat and, naturally, grow thin. In times of scarcity ("hambruna"), they eat frijol cacha and its tender leaves, in the same way as they eat mejicano leaves; cabbages are gathered leaf by leaf, for at this time of year they are less abundant. When there is nothing more to eat they kill a cow and eat meat; they hunt /353/ wild pigeons or chachalacas, cook them, and [273] drink the broth with salt. They also make chicha, and the old [276] people get drunk every day; the consumption of coca increases: "the people chew and chew so as not to feel too hungry"; the little ones suffer hunger because they do not know how to chew, and they eat mejicano, which does not require the salt that they try to save. Finally, they end up going to the fincas of the "whites" to earn food, coca, and a few centavos.

264 When they do not work, they have one meal at 3:00 P.M. and another at 6:00 P.M. After the first meal they lie down and say, "We are making estancia," that is to say, digesting and [261] getting nourishment. Skinned maize with saffron, chicken, plantains, and peppers gives more "estancia."

261 They barely eat enough unskinned maize, which they cook as mote, but they eat to excess the sancocho of potatoes and frijol bueno because it is so good. No one eats an entire chicken. It is divided. In the former state they would believe that the chicken was stolen. Mejicano makes some people vomit, because they are used to eating meat, and they are the ones who might be thieves.

As a rule, everyone eats only one plate of food; if they eat [756] two, they cannot walk. The curers eat little in order to be able to [787] spend the night in vigil, devoted to their activities; they always [262] eat eggs and they avoid eating peppers in order to be able to [263] feel the "signs" (31).

31. Vernal Villa, S. "Magia y Medicina entre los Paeces /Magic and Medicine among the Paez/," p. 248.

/361 cont./

276 The consumption of coca has disappeared almost completely
511 in Mosoco; the few data on expenses that appear in the statisti-
[178] cal table pertain exclusively to elderly informants. /362/ In Lame and San Andrés, on the other hand, the consumption is general and considerable sums, in comparison with the total income, are spent to procure this article. In San Andres, the expenses for this fancy would be higher if there were not a cer-
511 tain number of coca trees in each garden. The monies invested in improvements on immovables and livestock-raising are frequent in Mosoco, while in the other two parcialidades they are practically absent. This already implies a veritable process of capitalization, an activity unknown to the majority of the native population of Tierradentro.

The largest and most constant expenses were paid out, in this order, for food, clothing, amusements, and the acquisition of candles and soap.

511 As far as food in Mosoco is concerned, purchases of panela,
43 coffee, lard (fat), and salt appear for all 25 families; the purchase of maize and rice appears for 12 families. They also buy chocolate, bread, and plantains with some frequency. They do not consume manioc. For the eight families of Lame purchases of panela, salt, and coffee appear, and in one case or another the acquisition of rice, lard, manioc, plantains, and meat. In San Andrés the articles most in demand for the home are meat, panela, and salt, which appear for more than half the families investigated, but the purchase of maize, lard, potatoes, manioc, and plantains also figures with some frequency. On analyzing the statistical table of expenses for the three parcialidades, we find rather interesting coincidences that exist between the higher percentages for food and the deficiencies in agricultural production, either because of the loss of harvests or the scarcity of seed. In the former case, which refers primarily to Mosoco, we have already seen that the budgetary imbalance is compensated for by the sale of domestic animals, especially cattle, and in the latter case, which refers to the other two parcialidades, the low production is compensated for by the sale of labor.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

of manioc, arracacha, potatoes, beans, sweet maize, and pieces of meat. Meat is sometimes roasted. Maize, the staple, is made into tortillas or soup, or is roasted on the ear. Coffee, much of which is consumed, is roasted in a pottery vessel, ground, and made into an infusion sweetened with coarse sugar. 252 [272]

Kitchen utensils include pottery ollas and vessels, and a footless elliptical stone metate with a central concavity, which lies directly on the floor or is supported on sticks driven in the soil. Meat is kept smoked over the fireplace, and other food is stored on shelves of cane woven into the roof sticks or in hanging hemp bags or gourds. Each gourd has a broad half-gourd suspended above it, open side down, so that a rat descending from above slides off the gourd onto the floor. 415 251 [353] [825]

The first daily meal is taken at daybreak and consists of "mute." There is no noonday meal, but the evening repast resembles breakfast. Between meals, the Indians chew coca two or three times to sustain their strength and allay hunger. For refreshment and stimulation, they drink guarapo, carrying it to work in gourds. 264 [276] [273]

They cultivate pepper (ají) for a condiment, but purchase salt in the weekly market. The latter is so scarce that instead of mixing it with food they pass a lump around, each person licking it. Before the Conquest, three salt deposits were exploited in this territory, the most important being that near the modern municipality of Belalcázar or Páez. Here the local chief had the salt water boiled down to obtain blocks of salt, which he traded with other tribes for diverse products, or with which he bought help in his wars against the neighboring *Pijao*. Sometimes he permitted other *Páez* to exploit the deposit. Near the present-day Indian center of Ricaurte on the Ullucos River is another salt works that was much used in ancient times, but today is abandoned. Another source of salt was at Huila, where, during the Conquest, the Indians ambushed the Spaniards who sought it, and killed their horses. 317 263 [244] [439] [648]

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Each *Páez* and *Moguex* family has its own house, located on a point or flat place in the mountains some distance from its neighbors. The aboriginal house seems to have been rectangular, which still is the only form. It was so lightly constructed of cane and sticks with thatched roof that the Spanish soldiers during the foundation of San Vicente de Páez "carried some Indian houses to their barracks because they were small and suited to it" (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 9). Some distance from the dwelling, they always built a small woman's house. Under Spanish influence, some houses were divided into rooms, and built more solidly of "bahareque" construction, i. e., walls consisting of two faces of sticks with mud and rocks between (pl. 185). 342 [361] 177 342

7:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

535 There is much dancing today. The sexes perform in couples or separately. Among the *Moguex*, some of the expert dancers are paid to dance with all couples in a sort of "bambuco." Dancing is always a part of *Páez* ceremonies for the death of children, baptismals, weddings, saint holidays, and meetings for collective work (mingas) held in the evening when people return from their plantations.

Dancing, as other social events, is subject to a special ceremony [585] or etiquette, strongly connected with religious beliefs. For example, in the wedding celebration, a prayer is first said in which the souls of [608] the dead are asked permission to dance, or "scrape the floor," as they call dancing. Only the godparents and the bride and groom may [527] dance at the beginning.

526 The *Páez* do not masquerade, but the *Moguex* always masquerade during the period of carnival preceding Holy Week.

[524] **Games.**—Games do not hold an important place among these peoples. The children amuse themselves by imitating the activities [857] of their elders. The only game recorded is simulated warfare, performed as a part of a rite in honor of the dead after a communal [769] feast. Two teams under their captains or caciques attacked and shot arrows at each other. Even if some contestants were killed or wounded, no one bore a grudge.

276 **Narcotics.**—The *Páez* and the *Moguex* chewed coca leaves mixed in the mouth with lime powder. Coca chewing is widespread among men, but very little practiced by women. It is used especially by [756] the shaman when he is practicing. In Colonial times the use of coca [177] spread to the rural population of Mestizos and Whites in Nariño, Cauca, and Huila.

273 **Alcoholic beverages.**—These Indians formerly made chicha of maize, but today they ferment it with sugarcane molasses. They also have [178] fermented sugarcane juice (guarapo), and a sort of rum (aguardiente). The latter is distilled clandestinely in their huts from guarapo and certain herbs fermented together in earthenware crocks. The Indians drink guarapo every day, but restrict the use of chicha and the stronger guarapo and aguardiente to market days, religious feast days, burials, weddings, mingas or meetings for work, and witchcraft [462] ceremonies. Guarapo and chicha are made by women, who sometimes chew the maize to increase its fermentation. They are stored in large, hollowed tree trunks and in large earthen jars, which are kept in a special place in the hut. There is never a lack of these beverages for home use and for welcoming an unexpected visitor.

RELIGION

175 The early Spaniards had little understanding of the religion of these 771 people. They reported that the Indians had but few idols and no temples or places of worship. Castillo mentions that they wor-

/262 cont./

754 most opportunities to meet evil spirits. Generally they do not need a teacher, but may look for their herbs by themselves. There are also many people, however, who would like to learn sorcery from other nyiç, just as there are also supposed to nyiç who instruct others in their art.

756 Avoidance prescriptions and taboos for the shaman include
784 some sexual and dietary abstinence, without, however, being
[834] very extensive or strict. Intercourse with his wife is forbidden
[263] for him when he feels his "signs." Moreover, he may not eat any ají if possible, in order not to make Thunder too angry. Also, he may eat only very little salt, since Thunder likewise /263/ eats
[787] no salt. For the séances, which always take place at night, he fasts the whole day, since a full stomach makes it difficult to feel the
756 "signs." The other avoidance rules for the shaman are the same
784 as for all other human beings. For example, one may not kill a
825 snail, for if he should touch it, he would become lazy. In like manner, the black woodpecker (ánza) may not be killed, since otherwise, while working, one would split the machete in the same way as the tail of the woodpecker is shaped. Young men are forbidden to take a stolen hen away from a fox, for then another man would take his bride or wife away from him. Only
[262] old men may confidently eat such a hen, if they have first run around the house with a firebrand.

c) Shamanistic Aids

756 Among the shamanistic aids, the "signs" are the most im-
787 portant symptoms experienced, while the outward ceremonial gear is as meager as the whole Paez culture. The only ceremonial implement is the unadorned shaman's staff, the functional meaning of which, however, is far less important than the shamanistic "signs" (ítok). "They are like the pecking of a bird," the shaman Cerbeleón Niunda said of them, and Francisco Cuskue describes them as the irregular beating of his pulse. To be able to receive
[278] and to interpret them is the basis of being a shaman. Knowledge of the medicinal herbs, the handling of the shaman's staff, in

/263 cont./

756 fact, even the visionary sight of Thunder are worthless by them-
787 selves, if the shaman does not receive any signs. By means of them
278 the teyu discovers the cause of sickness and the means to be employed for healing it, which always consist of the dispensing of herbs. For this reason every shaman always has his fiber bag with all his medicinal herbs with him, in order to have them at hand
[753] and to be able to apply them at any time. Since, however, an illness does not have a physical cause, according to the opinion of the Paez, the herbs used for healing are not applied in accordance with the medical experiences of the shaman, but solely in accordance with his signs.

756 The herbs used by the shamans are the following (*):
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[127]

* I am taking these, as well as some other data on the shamanism of the Paez, from the excellent summary by S. Bernal Villa (III) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 323/.

čandúr, eš (Erythroxylon coca), bičač (Hevea?), čulko (Oxalis, sp.), čáyuts (Scutellaria racemosa Per.), čuwét, fisa, ečyútse čime (Labiada?), /264/ gwepekas (Urera boccifera L.), kwése (Lonchocarpus?), limonsflyo (Cymbopogon citratus), nyika, nyundayuskey, šu (Spagnum sp.), šuwés (Peperomia sp.), šulápe, šupenyí (Peperomia sp.), tātse, táyuske (Peperomia sp.), ul níny (Hibiscus abelmoschus L.), umsim (Myricia acuminata DC. Vell, aff.), vitubítskwe, wáhi (Nicotiana tabacum L.), yakúma, yúskay (Scleria cattarinensis Boeck).

755 Most of these herbs are first chewed by the shaman and then
756 spat over the affected part. If a person is dying and his soul leaves
278 his body from the heart by way of the upper arms, the pulse of the
[774] lower arms, and the finger tips, the herb čáyuts, for example, is spat by the shaman from the finger tips in the direction of the armpits, in order to check the departure of the soul. Only rarely is a tea brewed from the leaves.

5: Bernal Villa SC15 Paez SC15

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[For information on the various herbs and other pharmaceuticals used by the shaman in curing and purification ceremonies, see categories 755 and 783.]

/201 cont./

461/ 28 Whereas the men for the most part plait straw hats when they have nothing else to do, the women are busy with spinning and making the coca bags or the fiber bags. But even at this they do not work steadily in the sense, say, that they complete first one bag, for example, or make all the preparations from the outset for weaving an article of clothing; rather, they always work a little at a time on each task. Thus, for example, first a little spinning is done, then wood is fetched, then a coca bag is worked on, and then perhaps a brief hour is spent at the loom in order to weave a few centimeters more on the carrying band of the fiber bags, if the fiber material is at hand. No preparations are made for this plaiting and weaving for a long period in advance, but rather one provides herself with wool, spins it, weaves a bit farther, and then drops the work again for a week or more. Nevertheless, the women do not have periods of out-and-out idleness, like the men.

461/ 574 156 [192] This doing-nothing is designated among the Paez with a word of Spanish origin pasnyándo (paseando). To be sure, one must not overdo the inactivity, that is, not "go for a walk" longer than about two weeks in succession, for otherwise one is called "alko" (dog), who runs from house to house, sniffs about everywhere, and gets his food from other people by begging. This is encouraged by the unwritten law of the Paez, to give food to a starving person, [773] wherever it may be, until he is satisfied. This is taken very seriously, not only when adults are the petitioners, but also in the case of small children, in memory of an event in prehistoric times when Chauté /202/ turned a number of persons into stones because they had not given a begging child anything to eat out of their surplus (see the myths /see p. 224/). Hence if anyone enters a house "pasnyándo," he is given something to eat. Younger, unmarried people in particular take advantage of this and sometimes do not work at all, but go to a different house every day. They inquire as to where sugar cane is being milled, help there, are given chicha to drink and food to eat, and the next day go somewhere else. Thus there are some men who have neither house nor field, but nevertheless live quite well. To be sure, the

/150 cont./

283 and, as the third step in the work, the extraordinarily strong rope
281 about one centimeter in diameter is produced. /151/The Lassos
283 (kádya) cut spirally from cowhide as leather strips are also twisted with the klaffca. The prerequisite is that the skin be worked in a fresh or wet state. If, after twisting, it is stretched out for a while to dry, it will keep its spiral twist. It will lose it, however, if it is pulled too hard or becomes too wet.

c) Net Techniques

286 In describing the net techniques of the Paez, I should like to distinguish between the loop technique /Schlingtechnik/ and the knot technique /Knotentechnik/. Among the articles made by the loop technique are the carrying bags of agave fiber (called "fiber bags" in the following) and the wool coca pouches; among those made by the knot technique are bird nets, hammocks, berry sieves, and slings. Agave fiber or sheep wool, both in the form of twisted threads, serves as the material.

The loop technique is used, for example, in knitting and crocheting in our European culture-circle, and, to be sure, with the technique of intertwining /Verschlingen/. The simplicity of this method of work stands in contrast to the disagreeable attendant phenomenon that the entire fabric can be destroyed by pulling one thread. The loop technique of the Paez in producing cloth is fundamentally different. It consists of the technique of simple insertion /Einhängen/. Purely as a matter of form it should be noted that neither needle nor crochet hook nor any other object is used to carry it out; rather, everything is done with the hands.

In order to connect the loops one must draw the thread in its entire length through each individual loop. Since with this technique the supply of thread in the form of a thick ball would not pass through the loops, or only with great difficulty, another way of arranging the thread supply had to be thought up. The Paez succeeded in doing this in a very clever way; they were even able to devise a serviceable substitute for a needle from the same material (Ill. 183 /see p.282 /). The thread to be worked in, wool

/203 cont./

346 meat and "mute," as well as more chicha and aguardiente.
794 After lunch the albacero goes home. There he waits for the
796 fiestero, who in the afternoon will bring him more chicha, more aguardiente, and more food.

796 A week after the cleaning of the church, the priest will
793 come to officiate at the religious ceremonies.

XIII

Instruments, Music and Dance

533 The musical groups of the Calderas people, true chirimías, /a kind of orchestra/, are deservedly famous both for the number of the musicians and for the beauty of their interpretations. Many are soft and delicate, most of them sad tunes,
534 but there are joyous ones as well. The musical instruments are few.

The flute (kuvi), made of a reed some 70 centimeters long; it has seven holes made by burning: the one in the upper part which serves for blowing, and 35 centimeters farther down are found the others, which correspond to the fingers of the hands, at intervals of three centimeters apart. They distinguish two types of flutes: those that produce melodic sounds, kuvinéhuish (major flute) and those that produce low tones, kuvinuch (minor flute).

[281] The bass drum (kut), made with the skin from sheep, calf, goat, or deer, the hair of which has been removed by fermentation underground.

The tambourine, around the edge of which is put several pairs of movable circular pieces of tin which produce a rhythmic sound.

The side drum or snare drum and the triangle to mark the rhythm.

/320 cont./

231 propose "trades." Traders who are interested in a cow, once
439 they have located the true /321/ owner, assail him with proposi-
tions for a trade. They offer young, fertile heifers, smaller
in size and usually thin. In exchange, they obtain a large and
231 fat cow. The profits are more than 200%. Before handing over
439 the animal, the native invariably requests a bottle of aguardiente
789 and pulls out a few hairs from the left eye or lower leg of the cow
[782] as an offering to the Duende /ghost/, the virtual owner of the
lands and animals and potentially the protector of their multi-
plication. Likewise he blows chayuts (Scutellaria racemosa Per.)
on the rope with which the cow will be led, so that it will not
create difficulties along the way. There are frequent statements
by whites and mestizos, cattle traders, to the effect that, when
this requisite was not met, the cow stopped halfway on the
journey and could not be budged by any human power. Then it
sufficed to blow at the rope with chayuts to make her move again.
How can this be explained? The persons relating the story re-
peatedly ask.

231 Occasions for the consumption of cattle are mingas, re-
262 ligious fiestas, and, on a small scale, the post-matrimonial and
[796] baptismal "cuidos" (courtesies for the sponsors). The meat and
[527] the skin are both used. The latter is not tanned, but dried in
[281] the sun and used as a sort of mattress for sleeping. The milk is
[234] not used. When they sacrifice a head of cattle that comes from
262 "wild" places, such as bogs, lagoons, or montañas, they take the
782 precaution of calling the Té eu. He orders them to take a small
756 piece from each organ and to put a little blood on a reed. He
231 wraps all this in a leaf, puts a sprig of contento (chayuts) on top
of it, then goes toward the east, and, in a spot determined by
him, leaves the bundle, taking care always to put it to the left
of things such as trunks or rocks. This placement does not have
any special ceremony associated with it; it is not accompanied
by prayers or the blowing of medicines, and it does not take
place at a specific time. It is an offering to the Duende which
is performed before consuming the meat, the primary purpose
of which is to please him.

/145 cont./

532 776 carving anywhere else or obtain an explanation anywhere (*).

* Possibly this is supposed to represent "Thunder," who, as the most important mythical figure and also as the shamans' assistant spirit, is described as a small man with the shaman staff and a triangle as a musical instrument, who displays his sexual parts.

223 Bird-hunting for the pigeon-sized tom birds is carried on by almost all Paez families with the net (ōka), as well as with the shotgun. The net is about five meters high and 20 meters wide. For this purpose a correspondingly wide breach is cut in the growth of trees or bushes on a hill or the ridge of a mountain chain, and the net fastened in the opening produced. The flushed birds, who think that there is a convenient passage at this place, fly into the net, get caught in it, and are then killed by the [237] capturers, who twist their heads. Another type of bird-catching consists of fastening a noose made of horsehair (nyákiwez; nyák = to set up, wez = string) to the twig of a tree or shrub in such a [857] way that the noose rests in a bird's nest. When the bird returns to its nest, the noose becomes entangled in its foot, and the boy -- for it is mostly boys who engage in this task of noose-setting -- 224 is able to seize the bird. Rabbits are caught in the same way with nooses, but made of agave fibers, by laying the nooses where they pass.

226 Fishing is done with hook and line at the river or with [283] poison in weirs. The fishing line (wendyánsyuts) consists of twined agave string to which are tied a metal hook and a stone as a sinker. A small worm is fastened to the hook as bait. [462] Angling is done only by men, and at twilight or at night.

226 824 171 Fishing with poisonous plants is a cultural characteristic of almost all South American Indians. For this purpose a total of more than 100 species of poisonous plants are used by them, which means that this part of the world leads all the continents in this respect (Heizer, p. 277). Among the Paez, fishing with

/146 cont./

726 In order to defend their mountain country the Paez also used
[725] large rocks which they hurled down on the attackers from the
[177] heights. They, too, however, soon succeeded in obtaining iron
[411] and iron weapons. In their battles at the time of the Conquista they were already using swords and machetes.

411 The stone-sling plaited of agave fibers, whose manufacture
726 is described below (see under "Plaiting" /see pp. 85-86 /), is
773 of great importance mythologically in the battles with the "Pijao."
628 For geographical reasons it is the typical weapon of the American
411 mountain peoples from Tierra del Fuego to Canada, whereas the
17 blowgun, for similar reasons, is the typical weapon chiefly of the Amazonas and Orinoco forest area. The simultaneous occurrence of blowgun and sling is found all the way from Mexico to Ecuador and in Bolivia (Friederici, 1911, pp. 71-73, Pl. 13).

411 /147/ The blowgun of the Paez consists of a single barrel and is very simple in its construction. It is made only by men, but
[462] for bird-hunting is used almost solely by boys. To make it, one
[857] uses the thin, straight trunk of the fíza tree, the pith of which is
[223] burned out with a long iron tube about eight millimeters in diameter and heated red-hot. The length of the tube is two to three meters. No special mouthpiece is attached. As a sight a little piece of beeswax is pasted above the mouth of the blowgun.
[824] The ball-shaped fruits of the smbák tree, which have exactly the right caliber when green, are used as shot. The range amounts
[211] to about 20 meters. The accuracy of the shot is not great. Nevertheless, there are boys who have carved more than 20 notches above the blowhole of the tube as a record of the birds killed.

4. Crafts and Techniques

a) Treatment of Fibers

283 The fiber material used by the Paez for plaiting, weaving, nets, or ropes is primarily agave, cotton, or sheep wool. Agave and cotton are ancient American fiber plants whose homeland is probably Central America, while working with sheep wool has its tradition in the Peruvian Highlands, in working with llama or

/147 cont./

283 alpaca wool and the wool of their wild relatives, the vicuña and guanaco.

283 824 The agave (mbāts) grows in all parts of Tierradentro, and the fibers of its fleshy, watery leaves are used for plaiting, weaving, and the making of nets and ropes. The fiber must be obtained immediately after the leaf, 1.50 meters long, is struck off the plant, since the moisture is lost very rapidly and it is then very difficult to remove the dry flesh from the fibers. For this purpose every house has a tree trunk leaning diagonally against the wall in the shadow of the roof, and a string with a small stick hangs down from the upper part of it. This is stuck crosswise into the leaf hanging tip-downward, and then the pulpy parts of the agave leaf are scraped downward rapidly with a very sharp-edged, halved bamboo tube split lengthwise, until only the long, continuous, clean fibers /148/ remain (Ills. 177 and 178 /see p.279 /). These are tied loosely around a beam to dry, until sooner or later they are spun and twisted for use.

283 [462] Men and women employ different techniques to obtain thread from the agave fibers. The men twist the thread with the hand on the upper thigh, whereas the women spin the agave fiber, like the sheep wool, into thread with the spindle. Two methods of spinning are distinguished among the South American natives, depending on the shape of the [114] spindle and the way it is held. O. Frödin and E. v. [171] Nordenskiöld call these the Bororo and the Bakaïri /Bacairi/ methods, according to their characteristic occurrence. The first method is the older culture-historically. In this case the spindle staff is symmetrical in cross-section and the whorl is generally near the lower end. In spinning, the spindle is held more or less horizontally and is placed with the lower end on a forked twig stuck into the ground or is held between the toes. The spun thread is first wound onto the shorter part below the whorl and only later wound up on the main [171] part above. The principal area of distribution of this type

/148 cont./

283 of spindle lies east of the Andes, in Mojos and in eastern Ecuador.
171 The Bakaïri spindle, also designated as the "Andean drop spindle," is characterized by a conical thickening at its lower end. The whorl is slipped onto the spindle staff from above and cannot slide off, since by the Bakaïri method spinning is done only in a vertical position. The upper end of the spindle is often provided with a notch or a hook. In principle the thread is formed at the upper, longer end of the spindle shaft, in other words, exactly the opposite of the Bororo spindle. The area of distribution of the Bakaïri type is a very large one; it occurs throughout the Andean area, as well as in the Venezuelan and Brazilian forest region.

283 The spindles of the Paez (wágat; as wool spindle: káswagat) and their spinning methods cannot be said to belong strictly to either the Bororo or the Bakaïri type, since they contain elements of both. The unadorned spindle shaft is uniformly about three millimeters thick, the whorl (nyít) may either be absent or is slipped on very artlessly in the form of a crudely carved, discus-
[324] shaped bone or wood disk. Not infrequently a piece of an ear of maize, a potato, or a bean pod will serve as a whorl substitute. The spindle is held in different ways. It may hang down free perpendicularly, with the tip in perpendicular position resting on a support (upper thigh), or it is held horizontally in the air or even with the lower part upward /149/ (Ills. 179 to 180 /see p. 280 /). The position of the spindle does not depend on whether agave fiber or wool is spun, but rather it seems to be
[171] arbitrary. Whereas these characteristics point to Bakaïri spinning, at least insofar as the spindle is held downward without support, the way the thread is made and its being wound temporarily on the lower, shorter part of the spindle are characteristic of Bororo spinning, although its typical fork-shaped support, with the spindle held horizontally, is absent here. Among the Paez, the spindle is worked with the right hand. The left plucks the fibers and forms the thread. The women can sit, stand, or walk during this. Insofar as it is a matter of working with sheep wool, the women are in the habit of spinning it chiefly on the way to the

/149 cont./

283 market or on other errands; when spinning agave fibers, they sit in front of the beam around which the fibers have been tied to dry.

[236] Sheep wool (kas) is roughly cleaned and for spinning is wound, unwashed, around a rod (Ill. 179 /see p.280 /). The latter is 60-150 centimeters long and is gripped under the arm by its lower part. On its upper part it has a notch in which is fastened a string to wind around the wool and hold it on the rod. To prevent it from drying out too much, which would make spinning difficult, it is protected by being wrapped in leaves or by a cloth.

After several meters of thread have been spun and wound on the lower part of the spindle, it is removed from there and wound on the upper part. In this wound form, that is, still on the spindle staff, the thread, after the removal of the whorl, may be used as [236] a shuttle in weaving garments. For weaving the colored belts of the women, however, and for making the wool coca bags, not the simple, but the twisted wool thread is used. The agave threads are even twisted on principle for every type of use. For this purpose two single threads are twisted into a double thread 283 in a rotating direction counter to the spinning direction. This 462 process is carried out differently by men and women. The former twist either with the hand on the upper thigh or use a special instrument, the klafíca, with which the strongest ropes are also made, whereas the women use the spindle even for twisting. The direction of rotation of the twisted thread is different for men and women. Depending on the material, the former use the Z-twist in their handwork, the women the S-twist in their work with the spindle. In the twisting or ropemaking with the klafíca done by the men, the S-rotation prevails. (For indicating the /150/ direction of rotation according to these two letters, the direction of the front, diagonal part of the vertically held thread, which runs parallel to the middle part of an S or Z, is the determining factor [Fig. 34 /see p. 256/].)

/150 cont./

• 283 To twist the thread, the women remove the spun thread from the spindle, after they have slipped off the freely movable spinning whorl at the bottom, then grasp it in the center, and, in a loop, again put it on the spindle. Then the thread, taken doubled in this way, is twisted with the right hand, while it is disentangled and guided with three fingers of the left hand (Ill. 180 /see p. 280 /). Here, too, a smaller piece is always first twisted onto the lower, smaller part of the spindle and only later wound on the longer, upper part.

b) Ropemaking

[462] The making of ropes is men's work. True, there is also a type of rope of agave fiber that is made by women (tāpe), but these ropes are plaited in the form of a threefold braid out of three strands and are therefore plaited work. Two-strand ropes of agave fiber (mémwez) of optional length are made with the same technique as the thin, twisted agave strings. For this the klaffca (from the Spanish clavicula?) is used, a lancet-shaped, flat piece of wood about 15 centimeters long, which has notching at one end and a round perforation below it (Fig. 26 /see p. 253 /). Through the latter a stick of equal length is inserted horizontally, one end of which shows a thickening which prevents the piece of wood from sliding off. Around the notching, the middle part of a hand-twisted thread is fastened, and then the piece of wood is made to rotate. The longer part, because of its noncentric perforation, acts as a flywheel mass. In turning, the thread fastened to it is twisted. For this work, of course, a helper is required to hold the other end of the thread or rope. Three-strand ropes (láso) may also be made by the klaffca. For this purpose the three tips of the three twined agave-strands are tied to the notching of the klaffca, and the instrument is then turned in the same manner. A helper takes care of the uniform twist and uniform strength of the rope. A lasso of horsehair (séltas), as a three-strand rope, is also made with the klaffca following to the method described. The individual strands are previously turned by hand, then twisted,

/150 cont./

283 and, as the third step in the work, the extraordinarily strong rope about one centimeter in diameter is produced. /151/The Lassos (kádya) cut spirally from cowhide as leather strips are also twisted with the klaffca. The prerequisite is that the skin be worked in a fresh or wet state. If, after twisting, it is stretched out for a while to dry, it will keep its spiral twist. It will lose it, however, if it is pulled too hard or becomes too wet.

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283

c) Net Techniques

286 In describing the net techniques of the Paez, I should like to distinguish between the loop technique /Schlingtechnik/ and the knot technique /Knotentechnik/. Among the articles made by the loop technique are the carrying bags of agave fiber (called "fiber bags" in the following) and the wool coca pouches; among those made by the knot technique are bird nets, hammocks, berry sieves, and slings. Agave fiber or sheep wool, both in the form of twisted threads, serves as the material.

The loop technique is used, for example, in knitting and crocheting in our European culture-circle, and, to be sure, with the technique of intertwining /Verschlingen/. The simplicity of this method of work stands in contrast to the disagreeable attendant phenomenon that the entire fabric can be destroyed by pulling one thread. The loop technique of the Paez in producing cloth is fundamentally different. It consists of the technique of simple insertion /Einhängen/. Purely as a matter of form it should be noted that neither needle nor crochet hook nor any other object is used to carry it out; rather, everything is done with the hands.

In order to connect the loops one must draw the thread in its entire length through each individual loop. Since with this technique the supply of thread in the form of a thick ball would not pass through the loops, or only with great difficulty, another way of arranging the thread supply had to be thought up. The Paez succeeded in doing this in a very clever way; they were even able to devise a serviceable substitute for a needle from the same material (Ill. 183 /see p.282 /). The thread to be worked in, wool

/153 cont./

286 [177] The hammock (máka), as the Spanish name already indicates, is a borrowed article and not generally distributed in the Andean cultures. Among the Paez it is used only for children. Its dimensions, with 100 meshes, are about 100 by 100 centimeters. It is hung up with agave or horsehair ropes, which are looped through the upper and lower rows of meshes and then tied to house posts.

[415] The berry sieves (tása) are present in almost every household. They are about 30-60 centimeters in diameter and are stretched inside a round wooden frame. The meshes are formed by means of the "fishnet knot" (Fig. 34d /see p. 256 /). This draws together very closely and is then scarcely recognizable in its structure.

• 283 The sling (ísut) is made with various techniques. For its manufacture the dried fibers of the agave leaf are used just as they are obtained when the leaf is stripped. A knot is made at the tip of the bundle of fibers, and it is then divided into two parts. Both are turned by hand in the same direction and then twined by rotation in the opposite direction. This produces /154/ -- conditioned by the naturally thickening material -- a two-strand rope of steadily increasing strength. Since it is twisted only by hand, it threatens to lose its tightness with greater thickness. Hence, after about 50 centimeters, the hank is divided into three parts and plaited for about the same length in the manner of a three-strand braid.

286 284 To make the net for holding the sling stone (Fig. 29 /see p.255 /), the three plaiting strands are divided into seven strands which, in each case, are separated from the plaited part by a simple finger knot. From each of these knots two double strands continue, which, put diagonally, are tied together by a double finger knot.

The length of the net part is about 20 centimeters. At its end it changes back to a three-strand braid by way of a simple finger knot. It should be noted in this connection that the middle strand at the beginning of the braid is caught in the threads of an adjacent knot. This prevents the plaiting from loosening up as it goes into the net and losing its tightness. The same

/154 cont./

284 reinforcement is found at the other end of the net in the transition
286 to the braid part. The further procedure up to the completion of the sling corresponds to the beginning. At one end a sliding loop is tied by means of a knot, which, when the sling is used, is drawn over the middle finger.

d) Plaiting

283 The technique of plaiting is practiced among the Paez only
285 in plaiting bands for making straw hats (šwá) and for making three-strand ropes. The latter are plaited by the women in various lengths and strengths from agave fibers in the normal form of the three-strand braid. There are no plaited baskets, sieves, fans, bands, etc. of any kind among the Paez.

294 The shape of the Paez hats seems to imitate those of the
285 whites. It is the same for men, women, and children. They are made only by the men. The dry leaves of the šyéts reed, which are first torn into strips about one centimeter wide, serve as material. To be worked up they are then divided once more by being torn lengthwise into five to ten narrow strips from one to two millimeters wide. The quality and value of the hat depends on the fineness of these strips, for the finer the plaiting strips are the more waterproof and durable the hat is. It /155/ is made from a single plaited band (čemótč) sewed together in spirals -- starting from the center of the hat.

The plaiting of the band is done without any aids, in the form of diagonal plaiting with 11 strips (Fig. 33 /see p.256 /). At the start of the work they are bent in the middle and thus used double in such a way that the upper side of the reed leaf is on the outside. The second strip is inserted into this initial bend at right angles and likewise bent. This is done alternately until all 11 strips have been worked into a band approximately six to ten millimeters wide. The further plaiting work is continued with the double strips. For this the first double strip is always bent from the outside downward toward the center, in order to be drawn over the second, under the third and fourth, and over the fifth and sixth.

/161 cont./
286 show the same design, but rather one that results from the cross-
531 ing of the twisted warp threads.

g) Dyeing

386 The Paez feel that black is the most beautiful color.
824 Hence almost all the home-woven garments of the men and
[822] women are dyed black, and only rarely does one see articles of clothing in the yellowish-white natural color of sheep wool.
[462] Dyeing is women's work and is done with certain plants, which, however, dye only the animal material used in weaving, but
[294] not that from plants. This peculiarity of the dyes is utilized by the Paez to make patterns in their clothing by weaving into the sheep-wool fabrics a few cotton warp threads, which, in the subsequent dyeing, retain their original color.

Every woman is in a position to dye her home-woven fabrics black. To do this the pieces of fabric are boiled in a pot for about two hours, along with the leaves of the šal tree or the zóte tree (according to Hernandez, 1946, p. 944, with the leaves of a Phyllanthus) and then buried for two days and two nights with these leaves in a pit in black, rich humus earth (ašáktič). Then they are taken out again, washed thoroughly, and allowed to dry. The black dye is now lightfast and waterproof. The cotton ornamental stripes in the women's clothing, which are not affected by this dyeing process, are either natural
[283] in color, red, or green. They are bought by the women in the desired color, since cotton is not spun by the Paez.

386 The threads of different colors used to make the coca bags
824 and the women's belts were originally all dyed by the Paez
177 women with vegetable dyes. Today this is done only in part,
[459] for anyone who has the money buys aniline dyes at the market in Inzá or Belalcázar; they are more popular because of their stronger coloring and greater luminosity. Similarly, the cotton purchased in thread already dyed is more popular for making women's belts, since it is brighter or more brilliant.

/163 cont./

389 The powder, however, must be bought. As for its production,
822 the general opinion is that it is made from human beings. The
829 whites, they believe, fatten human beings, then hang them,
[439] and, while they are still alive, tap their fat, from which they then make powder. That is why the Paez do not like to send their children far away and do not let them go to the whites, because they believe that the latter would catch them in order to make powder from them.

824 /164/ To make the fireworks a piece of sheep gut is used,
389 filled with powder and wound tightly with an agave string.
[237] The latter is waxed with beeswax for extra strength. One of
[283] these powder cases is used for the smaller firecrackers (koétes), while two, one over the other, are used for the larger firecrackers (kwatón), and under these is placed the fuse, which consists of a small bamboo tube, one to five centimeters long, filled with powder (Fig. 32 /see p. 256 /). These two or three parts are wrapped in a maize leaf and fastened to a bamboo splice 20-60 centimeters long. When it is lighted, the firecracker rises to a height of 50 meters with a considerable whistle and then explodes.

5. Trade and Transportation

438 One cannot speak of trade in the commercial sense among the Paez, for they trade almost solely among themselves and
[441] abhor everything that has to do with business. Moreover, since there is no merchant class among them, there is no carrying trade. Merchants are regarded as do-nothings who, though they
[437] are needed, are nevertheless despised. Fundamentally the self-contained household economy predominates, and whatever one family does not have it barters for within the same village if
439 possible. Only when this is not possible, thus when industrial products are involved, does one go to the weekly market held regularly at Inzá or Belalcázar, in order to buy the necessary articles. These include, above all, salt, as well as spades, machetes, aluminum pots, knives, scissors, spoons, needles,

/167 cont./

484 while the /168/ woman on foot lugs the goods behind. From
439 Calderas more men than women visit the market. For both it
482 is a very welcome occasion to become intoxicated. The
[273] owners of the taverns try to prevent the stealing of the much
[275] coveted beer and whiskey glasses, popularly practiced by the Paez, by chaining the glasses to the tavern tables.

On market days it is customary to leave very early and to transport the loads in the fiber bags in the customary way: the men take the carrying belt diagonally across their chests and the women hold it with their foreheads. In both cases the bag hangs on their backs. Then generally travel in groups of twos or threes, but not infrequently one also meets solitary
[432] individuals. Provisions are taken along, for, as a matter of
[273] principle, nothing is bought on the way except chicha or brandy.
[485] If it is necessary to stay overnight, nothing is paid for this. They sleep either at the entrance of a house of acquaintances or spend the night in the open field.

439 For traveling and for the visit to the market they try to wear
484 at least one article of European clothing, a felt hat, a shirt, or
[291] a blouse. The quality plays only a minor role, since the worst
[177] shirt is still more desirable than the finest ruana. A person who cannot buy anything in the way of clothing at least ties a black
[262] band around his hat, such as the felt hats have. Provisions are carried along in the fiber bag, roasted maize, cabbage, potatoes,
[415] arracacha. A person who can carries with him two or three of
484 the woolen coca pouches, in one of which there is coca and lime,
461 in another one money, and in the third the plaiting material
[285] for the straw hat. Almost all the men do this plaiting work, which actually is not work at all, but more like a "blind occupation," when they have nothing else to do, either when visiting, on the way to market, or also during the shaman ceremonies.
[283] The women, no matter where one meets them, are equally in-
[285] dustrious and always busy with spinning or plaiting the fiber bags or the wool coca-pouches. Like the men, they carry their work material with them in a second wool pouch.

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[284]

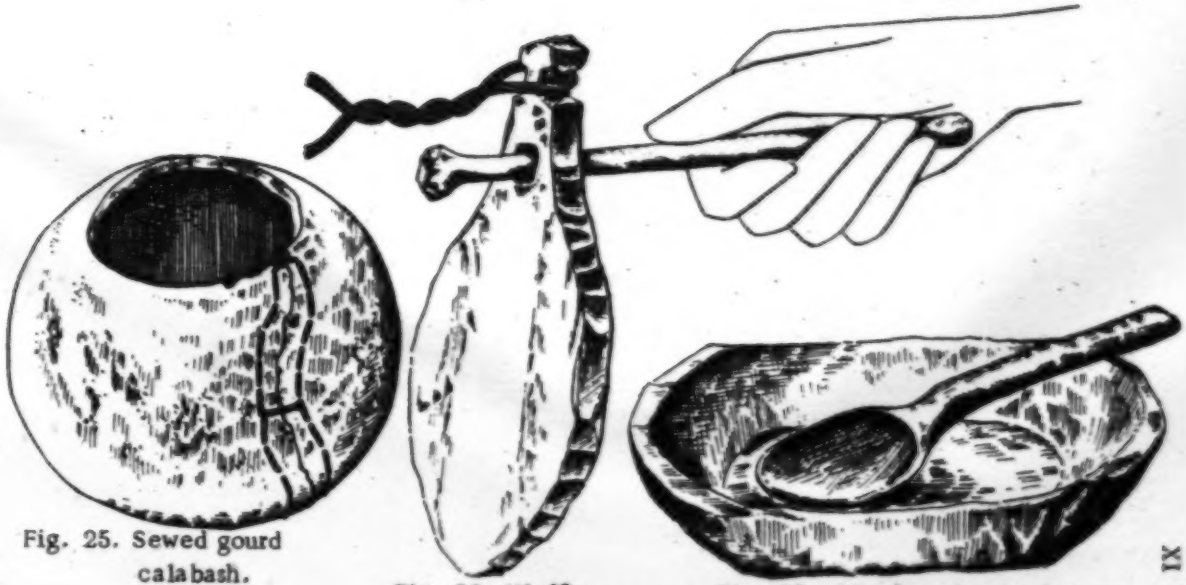

Fig. 25. Sewed gourd calabash.

Fig. 26. Klaffka.

Fig. 27. Wooden plate and spoon.

/Figs. 1-24 on Plates III-X are omitted in the translation./

1: Nachtigall--279 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ills. 177 and 178. Woman defleshing agave leaves.

1: Nachtigall--280 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

Ill. 179. Spinning with the drop spindle.

Ill. 180. Twisting the spun wool thread.

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1: Nachtigall--295 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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35. Weaving apparatus for making the carrying bands of the fiber bags

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

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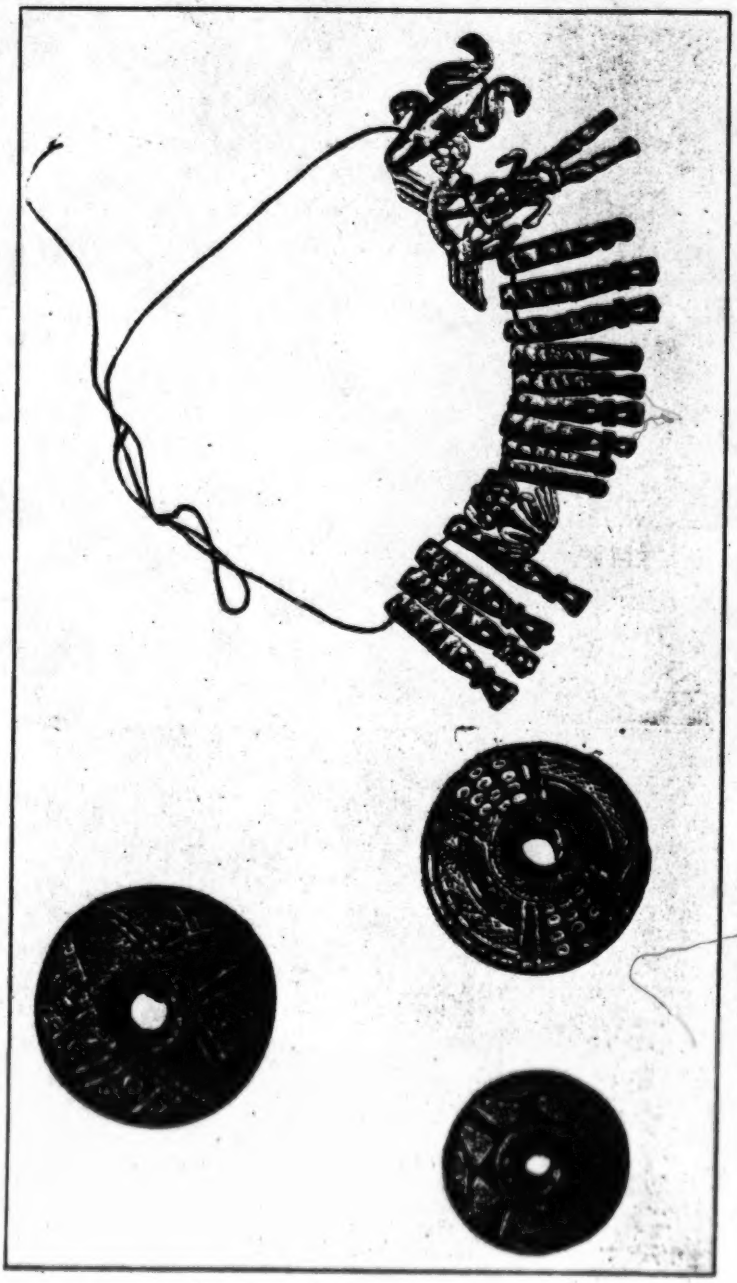

GOLD OBJECTS

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SPINDLE WHORLS

[facing P.307]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

the drum-dance, in which the women sang to the accompaniment of a drum; *vito-ko*, or *fits-ko*, the stick-dance, etc. 535

In addition to the shells and reeds, the Indians also accompanied their dances with a kind of drum (*kimb*), consisting of a long wooden trough hung by its extremities; and the *tsoots*, or rattle, a calabash containing small stones or hard canna seeds and provided with a handle. 535 534

According to Castillo the Paez had also other deities, corresponding somewhat to the lares of the ancient Latins, carved images of which were often found in the houses. The *diyi*, who were at one time priests, sorcerers, and medicine-men, lived in retirement and were considered as the keepers of the doctrines of a traditional civilizer of the nation, called *Guckian*. So strong was their influence in Castillo's time that he complains rather bitterly about it, and proceeds to explain how the true God, wishing to free the Paez from such a devilish guide, simply employed a subterfuge to drown him in the Paez river, together with two of his apostles! 776 778 [79]

The belief in a future existence is indicated, as Uricoechea relates, by the fact that the Indians never molested white dogs, in order that they might not be bitten by them at the doors of the house beyond the grave. 825 775

There were birds and other signs of good or of evil omen. A woman would never step over a leather rope stretched on the ground, but would lift it up and pass beneath. During the construction of bridges, two men constantly beat the waters to frighten away evil spirits. The death of a person was often attributed to witchcraft, and he whose face bore some likeness to that of the dead person was often regarded as the culprit, provided the patient in his ravings had not given the name of the supposed sorcerer. The soul of a cow whose fat had been used for illumination during religious ceremonies was believed to go directly to heaven: this last belief, however, must be of post-conquest origin. 787 761 754 825 774

Among themselves the Indians are jovial and contented. The approach of the men whom we often met on the trails around Huila was usually first detected by the sound of the 157 533 283

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

157 pipes they play while walking along, unless their hands are kept
533 busy plaiting braids of gynerium bark in the manufacture of
283 their hats. This is the exclusive occupation of the men.
[463] Women almost invariably walk along spinning wool, their distaff under the left arm and the spindle in the left hand, while the right hand is busy at the wool.

883 The Paez maidens are fond of flowers and are very playful.
157 On one occasion I observed several of them going up the hill
481 beyond the river, in front of the church at Huila, their arms entwined about one another's necks; then they began running up the steep hill as in a contest of endurance. As they became exhausted they threw themselves on the grass, while their movements showed that they were playing and joking all the time. These children of Nature are not unpleasant to look at,
[515 except for their usual lack of cleanliness; nor are they wanting
142] in coquetry, and they are often pretty. But in the presence of
[609] strangers they are extremely bashful, doing their utmost to keep in the background.

241 The old women are generally very ugly. Their clothing con-
515 sists only of dirty rags, and their skin is covered with the filth of years.

593 Relations between the sexes, especially between husbands
562 and wives, seem to be easy and without an air of superiority on the part of the former. On the few occasions that I had to entertain these people at their houses, the women took the same interest and the same part in the proceedings as the men, which was very different from what I observed among the Central American Indians.

609 Toward strangers, and especially toward Colombians of other
186 races, the attitude of the Indians is decidedly hostile. Unless induced by the prospect of profit they will neither sell anything nor lend any service, often refusing money and accepting only articles which they especially desire. They will not allow white
[563] or black people in their homes, and at Huila they are even unwilling that the only white family living there should share the practically inexhaustible supply of fuel scattered about in the near-by forest, or have horses or cattle pasturing on the almost

/286 cont./

291 the waist, and over it a rebozo or shawl of foreign make; they wear hats of masculine manufacture. They carry a thin stick
• 283 one meter long more or less, called kasguat, held under the left armpit, and at its upper end there is a bundle of wool to be spun, a task which they do at any time, while walking or sitting in the house, regardless of whether a child is resting on their backs or, when they are walking along the road, a heavy
301 load. Only the women wear ornaments consisting of multicolored necklaces, earrings, and sometimes rings.

293 Both men and women usually carry three woolen pouches,
415 aside from others of fique, a very small one for money, a larger one for mambe /coca and lime for chewing/, and the third, which is the largest of all and holds the other two, is used to carry palm leaves or the plaited work made with them for the men, and other things for the women.

276 Coca.--All the Paez are "mambe chewers," men, women,
[461] and children, regarding coca as an article that gives strength,
[261] frees one from laziness, and mitigates hunger. Without it, of
[273] course, they will not work. Coca and chicha, fermented sugar-
[262] cane juice, play the role of real foods, given their starchy and scant diet.

631 Parcialidades and cabildos.--Politically, the Indians are
624 organized into parcialidades, each headed by a cabildo made up of a gobernador and substitute, a major alcalde and another minor one, two alguaciles, three fiscales, a comisario, a capitán, and a síndico elected each year and put in office by the respective alcaldías of the municipio, except for the last two, who are named for life and put in office by the /287/ Church. Their functions are administrative and police work, but in reality they exercise functions of social, legal, and religious control.

631 The parcialidades are bounded by the craggy peaks and the deep, rugged beds of the streams and rivers in such a way that each one circumscribes specific kinds of geography, and even of

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

342 [177] Some had wooden doors and windows, and were built with nails and wires, though most were still made with vegetable materials.

The modern *Moguex* house has two rooms. The main one, entered through a small door, serves as storeroom for goods to be sold, reception hall, dancing place, and a room in which to keep watch over the dead. The other is a pantry for provisions and drinks; here are kept [354] kitchen utensils. In the center is the fireplace and around it dried [352] cowhides or platform beds made of horizontal poles tied to stakes [476] driven in the ground. One's neighbors aid him to build his house, [461] transporting heavy timbers over light rollers and singing rhythmically as they heave together. If the owner of a new house is a man of [554] means, he pays for a feast of benediction or consecration carried out [778] with a Catholic priest, a godfather, and a godmother.

The *Páez* does all this and in addition puts some pieces of silver 352 money under his house to assure his good fortune. In the main house [415] he places the metate on stakes, and in a secondary house, the press [353] for extracting wax from laurel, one or more troughs or hollowed trunks, [354] and large jars for chicha and guarapo. From the roof frame hang bags, [524] or "mochilas," of netted hemp for belongings. There is also a bam- [283] boo candlestick, the wooden feast drum, sometimes a tiple or small 404 guitar, and, nailed to the wall, a spindle. Outside, the loom stands 286 against the wall Beyond it is the sugarcane mill, which is made of 249 a section of tree trunk with a hole above a projection on which the cane is pressed by hand with a rod which crosses the hole. Some mills consist of two or three wooden cylinders rotated by animal power.

243 In each maize field is a small, temporary house and a high platform 342 where a watchman frightens the parrots and parakeets with periodic cries and motions.

177 Each *Páez* group today has its communally built pueblo, with 361 "bahareque" buildings grouped around a rectangular plaza: a church, with its arched portico and small tower in imitation of Colonial architecture, a house for the priest, a school, and two or three large houses for meetings and fiestas, where they dance, sing, and sleep during fiesta days. But ordinarily, the people remain at their distant houses and fields, and do not live at the pueblo, the only permanent inhabitants of which are a few Whites and Mestizos.

ENGINEERING WORKS

491 The Spaniards found bridges which they described as "weak and 499 flexible bridges of bamboo" and "bridges of vines." A territory so broken and crossed with so many rivers and canyons naturally stimulated the *Páez* in the construction of bridges and the laying out of roads. Today they make four kinds of bridges: (1) A simple vine or cable stretched across the river; (2) a kind of wooden stairs placed

?:Hernández de Alba E-5ϕ (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

291 They protect the upper part of the body with a black poncho tied at
177 the belt, or a shirt with a poncho over it. Women wear two skirts, the under skirt being black and the outer one white or gray. Both are held at the waist by a sash woven with figures. They cover their busts with two blankets which are fastened at the shoulders with
[293] wood, copper, or silver pins. Both sexes carry pouches woven of
[415] hemp which, like these Indians, are called "guambías." Their straw hats are dish-shaped, with small brims hardly distinguishable from the shallow crowns. The hats, always too large for their heads, are held on by two cords, one passing under the chin and the other behind the neck, around the hair. The women also wear woolen shawls, silver earrings, rings, and heavy necklaces of glass, shells, and silver. For festivals they prefer hats with the brim divided into two parts, front and back. These are lined with dark-blue cloth, with red and yellow on the brim.

When working, the *Páez* wear short linen pants or long woolen ones and a large woolen poncho tied at the waist. When going to market, they wear an additional poncho and a woolen pouch for coca. When
[292] traveling on the páramos, they wear a knit hemp cloak covered with large, thin leaves of *Gynerium saccharoides*, which protects them from the rain. The women wear a narrow woven cotton band, passed between the legs and tied at the waist, one, two, or more black or gray woolen skirts gathered at the waist and held by a woven sash,
[482] and two small mantas, like those of the *Moguex*. In traveling, a
[854] shawl is worn for covering and to carry the child. They adorn themselves also with strings or necklaces of glass or other beads, or white chaquiras, and sometimes are added silver pendants of Colonial origin.
[292] During festivals the women wear brightly colored blouses of imported fabrics and the men linen shirts.

MANUFACTURES

285 **Basketry.**—The *Páez* and *Moguex* make a few twilled baskets of cane strips and two kinds of hats. The hats are woven with the coiled or sewed technique. The spiraled warp in one kind consists of a thin bundle of rush or straw, and in the other of a braid made with seven
[462] strands. The latter is more common. Both are made by men who
[292] prepare materials while resting at home or traveling on the road. Weaving also includes waterproof capes made by tying sheaves of
[824] leaves or straw to a net of hemp cord.

Cordage.—Rope making is practiced extensively. Hemp (fique)
● 283 is the raw material, and is made into cords for fishing nets, bird trap nets, bags or pouches for carrying belongings and products, foundation nets for the leaf rain capes, and cordage for various other purposes. The sisal or hemp (fique) leaves are scraped over the sharp edge of a board to loosen the fibers, which are then washed, dried, and twisted

7:Hernández de Alba E-5# (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

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PLATE 187.—**Páez weaving and spinning.** *Top:* Woman spinning wool while walking, San Andrés, Tierradentro. *Bottom:* Men weaving straw hats. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 c]

7tHernández de Alba E-5,1 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

with the right hand over the naked thigh. Two strands are similarly twisted together until the desired thickness is obtained. 283

Gourds.—Gourds are still widely used. They are picked when ripe, cleaned out, and dried. With small openings, they serve as containers for beverages and powdered lime. Some are made into bowls and others are cut up to make spoons. Today these objects are undecorated, but formerly in Timaná they were painted with a resin varnish very similar to that used in Pasto. (See p. 930.) Before the Spanish domination, gourds were also used as frames over which were stretched the prepared skin of the heads of their enemies killed in war. 415 824 [314] [721]

Metallurgy.—The metallurgy of these Indians was the same as that practiced throughout most of Colombia. The metals were gold, copper, and an alloy of the two (tumbaga). It is recorded that the Indians "worked gold," but the processes are not described. Specimens found recently in the territory, however, show molding, casting, and hammering. Metal objects included nose ornaments, parrot-shaped breastplates, necklaces with small animal figures, and some anthropomorphic idols. Gold occurs in this territory, particularly on the upper Páez or the Suin River. 325 [301] [532] [135]

Ceramics.—These tribes made and still make coiled pottery. Modern vessel forms include large jars for storing beverages and poorly shaped, crudely decorated containers for preparing and serving food. There is no individual specialization in this task, women making pots for their own family and not for trade. 323

Stone and wooden artifacts.—The native Indians made stone axes of a simple design, but stonework disappeared during the time of colonization, when the Indians could obtain manufactured iron weapons and utensils such as machetes, axes, hoes, shovels, etc. The manufacture of wooden objects—weaving, cooking, and farming implements and weapons—was furthered by the use of metal tools, and now is well developed, as exemplified by the trapiche (cane mill), a true machine made of wood. 324 182 199 322 249 199

Weaving.—Weaving, little practiced before the Conquest, developed with the post-Contact need for wearing more clothes and with the introduction of sheep, whose wool was used in addition to cotton. Weaving was and is exclusively the work of women (pl. 186). They prepare fine, uniform yarn with a common spindle, which they handle as they walk along the road (pl. 187, *top*). The loom is vertical, made of two horizontal rods fastened to two uprights. The warp runs vertically with a continuous thread. The horizontal weft is pressed down with a wooden sword. They also weave hemp bands on the loom. Woolen blankets are woven in natural colors, but some sashes have bright colors made of imported wool or of home-dyed wool. For red, they use one of the Rubiaceae (*Relbunium hypocarpium*), and for 286 [177] [462] [386]

/153 cont./

286 The hammock (máka), as the Spanish name already indi-
[177] cates, is a borrowed article and not generally distributed in the Andean cultures. Among the Paez it is used only for children. Its dimensions, with 100 meshes, are about 100 by 100 centimeters. It is hung up with agave or horsehair ropes, which are looped through the upper and lower rows of meshes and then tied to house posts.

[415] The berry sieves (tása) are present in almost every household. They are about 30-60 centimeters in diameter and are stretched inside a round wooden frame. The meshes are formed by means of the "fishnet knot" (Fig. 34d /see p. 256 /). This draws together very closely and is then scarcely recognizable in its structure.

The sling (ísut) is made with various techniques. For its
283 manufacture the dried fibers of the agave leaf are used just as they are obtained when the leaf is stripped. A knot is made at the tip of the bundle of fibers, and it is then divided into two parts. Both are turned by hand in the same direction and then twined by rotation in the opposite direction. This produces /154/ -- conditioned by the naturally thickening material -- a two-strand rope of steadily increasing strength. Since it is twisted only by hand, it threatens to lose its tightness with greater thickness. Hence, after about 50 centimeters, the hank is divided into three parts and plaited for about the same length in the manner of a three-strand braid.

286 To make the net for holding the sling stone (Fig. 29 /see
● 284 p.255 /), the three plaiting strands are divided into seven strands which, in each case, are separated from the plaited part by a simple finger knot. From each of these knots two double strands continue, which, put diagonally, are tied together by a double finger knot.

The length of the net part is about 20 centimeters. At its end it changes back to a three-strand braid by way of a simple finger knot. It should be noted in this connection that the middle strand at the beginning of the braid is caught in the threads of an adjacent knot. This prevents the plaiting from loosening up as it goes into the net and losing its tightness. The same

/154 cont./

284 reinforcement is found at the other end of the net in the transition
286 to the braid part. The further procedure up to the completion of the sling corresponds to the beginning. At one end a sliding loop is tied by means of a knot, which, when the sling is used, is drawn over the middle finger.

d) Plaiting

283 The technique of plaiting is practiced among the Paez only
285 in plaiting bands for making straw hats (šwá) and for making three-strand ropes. The latter are plaited by the women in various lengths and strengths from agave fibers in the normal form of the three-strand braid. There are no plaited baskets, sieves, fans, bands, etc. of any kind among the Paez.

294 The shape of the Paez hats seems to imitate those of the
285 whites. It is the same for men, women, and children. They are made only by the men. The dry leaves of the šyéts reed, which are first torn into strips about one centimeter wide, serve as material. To be worked up they are then divided once more by being torn lengthwise into five to ten narrow strips from one to two millimeters wide. The quality and value of the hat depends on the fineness of these strips, for the finer the plaiting strips are the more waterproof and durable the hat is. It /155/ is made from a single plaited band (čemótč) sewed together in spirals -- starting from the center of the hat.

The plaiting of the band is done without any aids, in the form of diagonal plaiting with 11 strips (Fig. 33 /see p.256 /). At the start of the work they are bent in the middle and thus used double in such a way that the upper side of the reed leaf is on the outside. The second strip is inserted into this initial bend at right angles and likewise bent. This is done alternately until all 11 strips have been worked into a band approximately six to ten millimeters wide. The further plaiting work is continued with the double strips. For this the first double strip is always bent from the outside downward toward the center, in order to be drawn over the second, under the third and fourth, and over the fifth and sixth.

/169 cont./
491 rivers (*), for example, the Rio Kokiyó, which flows through

[114] * I did not see anywhere the simplest form of a bridge mentioned by H. Pittier (p. 320) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 326/ in the northern part of Tierradentro, a bridge which people cross hand over hand on a liana stretched across the river.

the Calderun region, there are strong bridges over which even
491 loaded horses may go without trouble. This type of bridge
499 consists of two tree trunks placed a good meter apart, upon which poles are tied crosswise as planking. Only about every fifth planking pole is lashed, while the ones in between are held fast by a longitudinal beam laid over each of the main supports. On either side of the bridge, poles are tied vertically and horizontally as a railing and at the same time serve to support the roofing. The latter is a characteristic of all such bridges (Ills. 194 and 195 /see pp. 285 and 286/). One finds it not only on the bridges in the colonists' region of Tierradentro, but /170/ also, for example, on the bridges of the upper Magdalena River, the region around San Agustín.

The third type of bridge is found in two artfully constructed arched bridges made of bamboo over the Rio Paez at Belalcázar and Avirama (Ills. 191 to 193 and 196 /see pp. 285 and 286/).
[284] They are both quite similar in construction and, like all the other bridges of the Paez, made without nails or other iron parts, but simply lashed with bast and lianas. For reinforcement, however, two wire cables have now been stretched underneath.
491 Although even the Spaniards at the time of the conquistadors
177 report on the "weak and flexible bamboo bridges" and on the
499 "liana bridges" of Tierradentro (Hernandez, 1944, p. 189), in
[175] the case of the two above-mentioned arched bridges, which are relatively difficult to construct, it seems not to be a matter of an original Paez technique. Indeed, these would be the only suspension bridges of this type in pre-Spanish South America.

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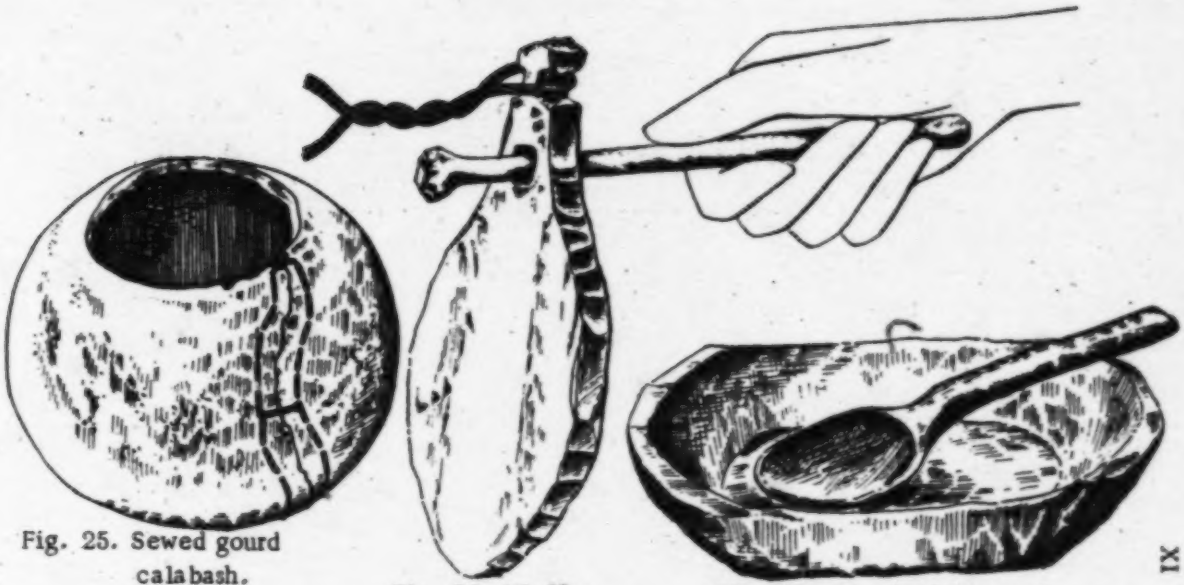

Fig. 25. Sewed gourd calabash.

Fig. 26. Klafika.

Fig. 27. Wooden plate and spoon.

/Figs. 1-24 on Plates III-X are omitted in the translation./

1: Nachtigall--255 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Fig. 29. Making the sling.

Fig. 30. Making the fiber bag.

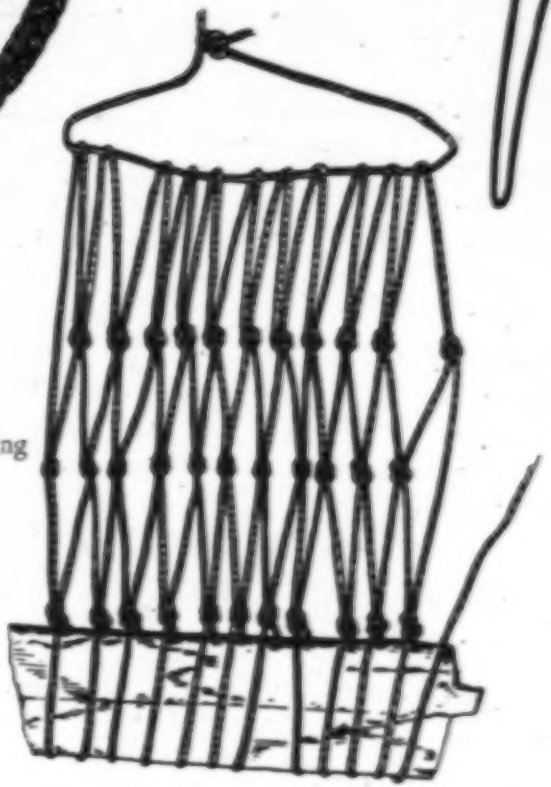

Fig. 31. Making the bird-net.

1: Nachtigall--256 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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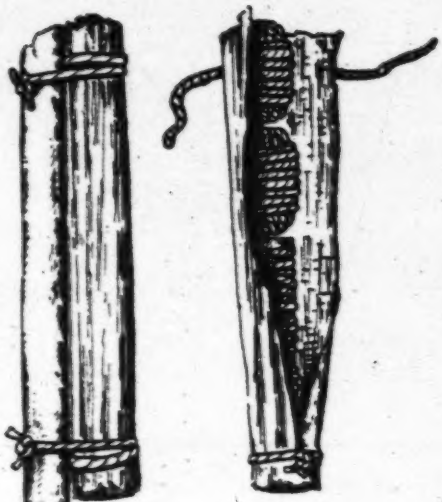

Fig. 32. Fireworks.

Fig. 33. Plaited strip for making the straw hat.

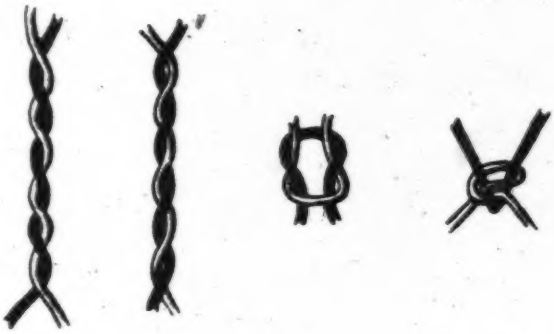

Fig. 34. a = S-twisting b = Z-twisting
c = symmetrical knots d = fish-net knots

1: Nachtigall--258 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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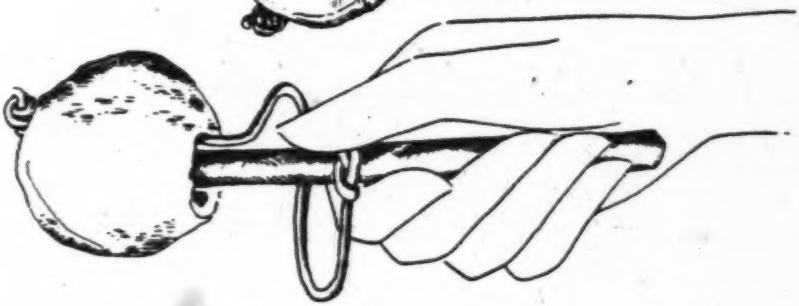
Fig. 36. Game with the hole-ball.

Fig. 37. Drum (underside).



1: Nachtigall--272 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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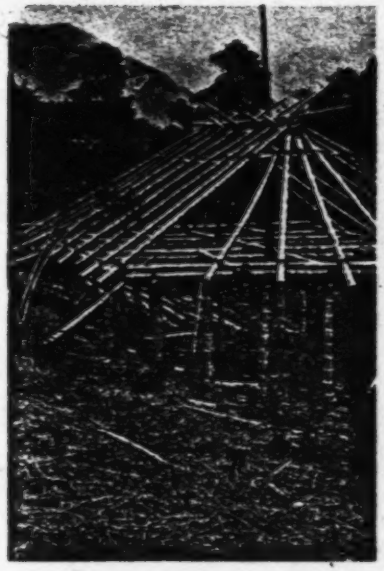

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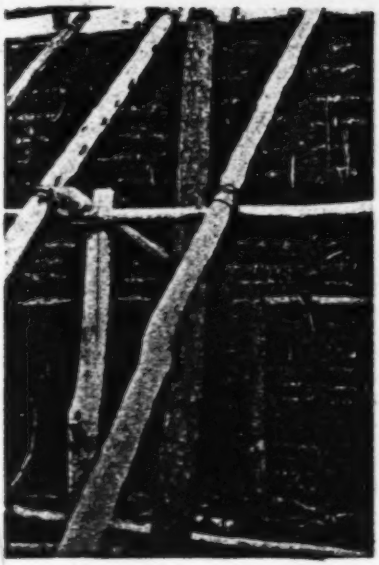

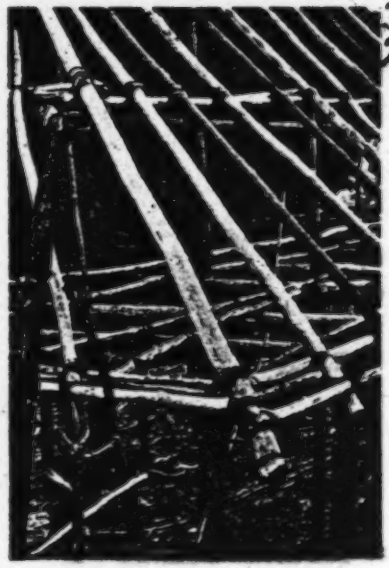

Ills. 161-164. House construction.

/124/

291 The men's trousers (calsón) have no pockets. On the aver-
294 age they reach to the calves. Generally they are very carefully sewed, either with purchased thread or with homemade, very fine yarn made of agave threads. In making them, as well as in the case of necessary repair work, all the edges are very carefully bound.

The men's ruana (atc) is generally square, with a side edge of 100 to 160 centimeters. It is sewed together out of two equally wide, rectangular panels, with a slit about 20 centimeters long left open in the center as a neck opening. Because of its square shape the ruana may be worn just as well with the neck-opening crosswise.

285 Whereas shoes or sandals are not used by the Paez, men,
462 women, and children wear the same type of straw hats (śwá).
293 These are plaited, however, only by the men and boys. The
415 dress of both sexes is completed by two or three of the colored
291 woolen coca bags, in which, on journeys, the necessary personal articles are also carried.

291 The garments of the women's clothing consist of wool and
are woven by the women themselves. In genera the quality and
294 fineness of the women's fabrics are significantly greater than that
286 of the men's woven fabrics. The boys' and young men's fabrics are generally the coarsest, woven with a rather thick spun thread. Decorative strips of a different color within the fabric are found chiefly in the women's clothing, but not infrequently also in that of the men, especially in the ruanas. The absolutely necessary basic clothing of the women consists of skirt and upper garment. Both are worn in such a way that the warp threads run crosswise. The skirt (atytól) is a very wide, tubular garment, whose diameter may amount to 150 centimeters and more, with a length (in the weaving state this corresponds to the width!) of about 80 centimeters. It is worn in such a way that the front part is tight, while the back side falls in numerous folds. It is fastened at the height of the hips with a woman's colored belt, and its upper edge is folded down somewhat over the belt.

/154 cont./

284 reinforcement is found at the other end of the net in the transition
286 to the braid part. The further procedure up to the completion of the sling corresponds to the beginning. At one end a sliding loop is tied by means of a knot, which, when the sling is used, is drawn over the middle finger.

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/155 cont./

294 From the other side there is a corresponding procedure with the
285 then outer plaiting-strip, so that the strips are plaited alternately from both sides always only to the center. This produces a very uniform and firm band.

A thread of the agave fiber is used to sew the plaited bands together. In order to give the hat brim sufficient stiffness, leaf ribs are sewed on the underside over the seams.

e) Weaving

285 The demarcation of plaiting from weaving is not uniform.
286 In the literature written in English the two are generally not dif-
114 ferentiated. According to H. Nevermann (pp. 4-6), the following conditions must be given for the simplest technique of weaving, namely, rod weaving /Stabweberei/, such as is also practiced among the Paez: 1) the stretching of the threads or fibers on a frame, 2) long weft threads, 3) rectangular crossing of warp and weft, 4) mechanical formation of the first and second shed. The last point is the decisive one, for in plaiting each weft thread must be drawn separately over or under each separate warp thread, whereas in weaving this is done over a certain number of longitudinal threads simultaneously by means of a heddle rod or something similar. More complicated types of weaving, for example, little-board weaving, comb weaving, or braid-grid weaving /Brettchenweberei, Kamm- or Litzengatterweberei, types of weaving found in Indonesia and described by Nevermann, pp. 16-18 (see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 325)/, do not occur among the Paez.

/156/ 1. Weaving Apparatus for Carrying Bands

286 The weaving apparatus for the carrying bands of the fiber bags (vitoñsāpc) consists of a forked branch, the sides of which must not be too far apart and should, if possible, run parallel. Its size is 60 to 80 centimeters in height and between 20 and 60

/167 cont./

484 while the /168/ woman on foot lugs the goods behind. From
439 Calderas more men than women visit the market. For both it
482 is a very welcome occasion to become intoxicated. The
[273] owners of the taverns try to prevent the stealing of the much
[275] coveted beer and whiskey glasses, popularly practiced by the Paez, by chaining the glasses to the tavern tables.

On market days it is customary to leave very early and to transport the loads in the fiber bags in the customary way: the men take the carrying belt diagonally across their chests and the women hold it with their foreheads. In both cases the bag hangs on their backs. Then generally travel in groups of twos or threes, but not infrequently one also meets solitary
[432] individuals. Provisions are taken along, for, as a matter of
[273] principle, nothing is bought on the way except chicha or brandy.
[485] If it is necessary to stay overnight, nothing is paid for this. They sleep either at the entrance of a house of acquaintances or spend the night in the open field.

439 For traveling and for the visit to the market they try to wear
484 at least one article of European clothing, a felt hat, a shirt, or
[291] a blouse. The quality plays only a minor role, since the worst
[177] shirt is still more desirable than the finest ruana. A person who cannot buy anything in the way of clothing at least ties a black
[262] band around his hat, such as the felt hats have. Provisions are carried along in the fiber bag, roasted maize, cabbage, potatoes,
[415] arracacha. A person who can carries with him two or three of
484 the woolen coca pouches, in one of which there is coca and lime,
461 in another one money, and in the third the plaiting material
[285] for the straw hat. Almost all the men do this plaiting work, which actually is not work at all, but more like a "blind occupation," when they have nothing else to do, either when visiting, on the way to market, or also during the shaman ceremonies.
[283] The women, no matter where one meets them, are equally in-
[285] dustrious and always busy with spinning or plaiting the fiber bags or the wool coca-pouches. Like the men, they carry their work material with them in a second wool pouch.

/189 cont./

b) Maturity

881 Today no rites or ceremonies for the youths take place any
[178] more. In former times they were led to the sacred lagoon of Juan
[778] Tama or to the heights of Cuetando, and there they had to build a hut and lay out a small cornfield as proof of their capabilities as a man and father of a household (Hernandez, 1944, p. 203).

[582] A girl comes of age with puberty, that is to say, she may
[836] marry. Before that and before marriage, intercourse is not per-
[535] mitted. On the occasion of the first menstruation in former times a special dance was performed (itsa-kó), during which the young girl was bathed naked in chicha in a pit outside the festival house
881 (Castillo i Orosco, p. 85). Today this no longer takes place;
● 285 rather, a girl, when she goes to the dúyat for the first time at
787 about 15 years of age, takes along agave fibers and during the
[178] approximately five days that she stays there plaits a very pretty,
[262] small fiber bag (yãhalečkwe) about the size of a fist. There are no additional food prohibitions or similar things. After that she goes to a distant river to bathe. On the way there she lets the bag fall. A married man passing by lets it lie, for he knows that it belongs to a young girl. A young man, however, who happens to be coming that way sees the beautifully worked bag, picks it up, and uses it as a small money-bag. Without knowing who made the little bag, he will -- people are convinced -- marry this girl.

/190/ c) Marriage

595 The present form of marriage of the Paez is monogamy.
114 H. Pittier de Fábrega (p. 314), however, concludes from their traditions that the Paez were formerly polygamous and were converted to monogamy only through education on the part of the missionaries. I could find no clue in their mythology for actual
595 polygamy in former times. The social structure and way of life
591 of the Paez, however, prohibits living alone for unmarried girls.
[589] In case they have no relatives or do not find lodging in the house of relatives, another man takes them into his family. The girl

1: Nachtigall--256 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Fig. 32. Fireworks.

Fig. 33. Plaited strip for making the straw hat.

a b c d

Fig. 34. a = S-twisting b = Z-twisting
c = symmetrical knots d = fish-net knots

4:Bernal Villa--24 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

VII

The Milling, the Chicha and the Chicha-makers

796 249 461 [492] It remains to be said that the fiesta begins with the milling. Although it is common to use a horse to operate the sugar mill, it is more usual at fiesta time to move it with human arms, masculine or feminine. It makes no difference. The two laborers for the milling squat on either side of the sugar mill, and one hands over the cane while the other receives the bagasse, which is piled up at one side to be handed back again; this is done up to 12 times in order to extract as much juice [273] as possible. The millers do their work in silence when they are not drunk; while they do it with diligence, there is relaxation, laughter, shouts, and imprecations when they are under the influence of alcohol.

273 249 796 [415] The juice is gathered in troughs, or less frequently in calabashes and pots; it is heated to near the boiling point and then emptied into the troughs, in which, inasmuch as they are well "cured," fermentation is rapid. The troughs are made of huge tree trunks that reach up to one meter and 50 centimeters in thickness and four or five meters in length. As they are depleted through consumption, they are refilled with fresh [285] cane juice. The troughs are covered with small mats made 273 exclusively for the purpose. On the following day it is bubbly, 796 yellowish, with a pungent, sweetish flavor. It is the beka pes (strong chicha) of the natives, who drink it with relish and delight. Five gourdfuls of this liquor are sufficient to make them 273 drunk. Elsewhere called guarapo, while the Paez call it chicha, 182 it is of great importance in their social life and diet. With its 796 help the religious fiestas gain meaning, the mingas are carried [262] out, baptisms and weddings are made more pleasant, and visitors are entertained.

273 461 262 276 Work without chicha is inconceivable, and while they work they get no food whatever; they merely drink chicha and chew

7:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

291 They protect the upper part of the body with a black poncho tied at
177 the belt, or a shirt with a poncho over it. Women wear two skirts, the under skirt being black and the outer one white or gray. Both are held at the waist by a sash woven with figures. They cover their busts with two blankets which are fastened at the shoulders with
[293] wood, copper, or silver pins. Both sexes carry pouches woven of
[415] hemp which, like these Indians, are called "guambías." Their straw hats are dish-shaped, with small brims hardly distinguishable from the shallow crowns. The hats, always too large for their heads, are held on by two cords, one passing under the chin and the other behind the neck, around the hair. The women also wear woolen shawls, silver earrings, rings, and heavy necklaces of glass, shells, and silver. For festivals they prefer hats with the brim divided into two parts, front and back. These are lined with dark-blue cloth, with red and yellow on the brim.

When working, the *Páez* wear short linen pants or long woolen ones and a large woolen poncho tied at the waist. When going to market, they wear an additional poncho and a woolen pouch for coca. When
[292] traveling on the páramos, they wear a knit hemp cloak covered with large, thin leaves of *Gynerium saccharoides*, which protects them from the rain. The women wear a narrow woven cotton band, passed between the legs and tied at the waist, one, two, or more black or gray woolen skirts gathered at the waist and held by a woven sash,
[482] and two small mantas, like those of the *Moguex*. In traveling, a
[854] shawl is worn for covering and to carry the child. They adorn themselves also with strings or necklaces of glass or other beads, or white chaquiras, and sometimes are added silver pendants of Colonial origin.
[292] During festivals the women wear brightly colored blouses of imported fabrics and the men linen shirts.

MANUFACTURES

285 **Basketry.**—The *Páez* and *Moguex* make a few twilled baskets of cane strips and two kinds of hats. The hats are woven with the coiled or sewed technique. The spiraled warp in one kind consists of a thin bundle of rush or straw, and in the other of a braid made with seven
[462] strands. The latter is more common. Both are made by men who
[292] prepare materials while resting at home or traveling on the road. Weaving also includes waterproof capes made by tying sheaves of
[824] leaves or straw to a net of hemp cord.

Cordage.—Rope making is practiced extensively. Hemp (fique)
283 is the raw material, and is made into cords for fishing nets, bird trap nets, bags or pouches for carrying belongings and products, foundation nets for the leaf rain capes, and cordage for various other purposes. The sisal or hemp (fique) leaves are scraped over the sharp edge of a board to loosen the fibers, which are then washed, dried, and twisted

7:Hernández de Alba E-5# (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

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PLATE 187.—**Páez weaving and spinning.** *Top:* Woman spinning wool while walking, San Andrés, Tierradentro. *Bottom:* Men weaving straw hats. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 c]

/108 cont./

115 Victoriano likes to parade his outward standing of higher
156 culture openly. He possesses soap, a toothbrush, a small brush
554 for grooming his eyebrows, and perfume. He uses all these
[598] toilet articles very frequently. He is not afraid of the jealousy of his Calderun fellow-villagers; he always carries his machete /see the glossary, p. 249/ with him in order to defend himself. He wants to marry a "white" woman outside of Calderas (cf. also "The Course of a Day" /see p. 133 /).

124 /109/ In the work an attempt was made as a matter of
● 286 principle to observe all the activities of the Paez ourselves;
386 when this was not feasible, two different informants were questioned if possible. Two examples will show, however, that errors can creep in, even with the most careful work: I had the dyeing process for the black-dyed fabrics explained to me by the interpreter Marcos, according to whom they are first boiled with certain leaves, and then all of this is placed in black humus earth for two days. When the same question was put to Victoriano, he stated that the black coloring occurs if the fabric is placed in black humus earth for two days. At my suggestion that the fabric first had to be boiled with leaves, he delightedly agreed with me. When called to account as to why he had not told me that, he replied: "Well, you did not ask me about that; you only wanted to know how the material becomes black!"

124 One cannot speak sufficiently often and again and again
423 in different ways about the same subject, for to the Paez the necessity or the meaning of explanations for things self-evident to them is usually incomprehensible. Thus in the case described there was as little ill-intent or even mere carelessness as in the following case: In roaming over boundary lines, I inquired as to which fields were private property and which were community property. We came to the general conclusion that the lowlands were community property and the mountain slopes the private property of the man or family who had first cleared the land. I asked Victoriano several times as to whether there were any pieces of land that at present had no owner. He stated emphatically that all the land had been disposed of and there was no longer any ownerless land.

/121 cont./

372 In case the fire should go out, which happens very rarely, the men, if they have no matches, know how to make fire by striking the blade of the iron machete with a stone and catching the sparks in the dry tinder of expressed sugar-cane. To fan this or a dying fire the hat is used as a fire fan, instead of a special fan. A few times I also saw a reed tube (yotá) about 50 centimeters long, which is blown into with the mouth and which thus acts like a bellows.

352 Infants do not as a rule sleep on the floor, but in ham-
[254] mocks (máka), which, however, as the name indicates, were
[513] not originally Paez. Nevertheless all the men know how to
[286] make them out of agave fibers, which is done with the same
415 knotting technique as in the manufacture of nets for bird hunting.
[286] Moreover, a few bags (yáha) made of agave fibers, which con-
[353] tain beans, maize, or other supplies, hang on the wall posts.
[273] Arracacha lies on the floor. For drinking chicha, which is allowed to ferment in large, hollowed-out tree troughs, calabashes (tóka) are used, but they are plain and undecorated. Cracked calabashes are sewed with a waxed agave thread (Fig. 25 /see
[249] p.253 /). The calabash gourd is grown in the house garden /122/
412 of every family; its meat is inedible. Furthermore, an oval or
352 rectangular grindstone on which maize is ground with a smaller hand-stone is found in every household. It usually lies on the floor in a corner of the house, but sometimes it is set about one meter high on two forked posts.

412 Meals are taken with wooden spoons (todsá'tc) off of
415 wooden plates (bič), which are carved by the Paez themselves
264 (Fig. 27 /see p. 253 /). Aluminum or enamel bowls were rarely
[322] encountered in Calderas. Plates and mugs of aluminum were
[177] therefore always coveted gift articles, along with kitchen knives, needles, safety pins, matches, and salt.

356 Cleanliness within the house is surprisingly great, consider-
515 ing that the Paez wash their bodies but seldom and their hands only when they are "very dirty." This is the case when a person has been working in a burned field and has cleared away the
000 sooty, burned tree trunks and the burned underbrush. The house

/123 cont./

291 stamps. Soon after the Conquista they adopted the upper garment
177 and the straw hat still worn today.

The clothing of the men consists of the upper garment, linen trousers, the cloak (called "poncho" in Peru, "ruana" in Colombia /see the glossary, p. 250 /) and the waterproof, plaited
291 straw hat. The upper garment and the ruana are woven by the
294 women out of sheep wool, whereas the linen trousers are made
286 by the men themselves out of purchased fabrics. This is note-
177 worthy culture-historically, for cutting clothing from woven
[462] fabrics was unknown to the South American Indians in pre-Colombian times, since fabrics were not woven "by the meter" to be sewed later into clothing as desired; rather, the shape of the subsequent article of clothing was already taken into con-
296 sideration at the start of the weaving. It follows from the method of manufacture that torn fabrics are never repaired by the women with a ready-made patch, but are always darned in imitation of
[462] the texture of the cloth. It is different for men's trousers, the materials of which are bought by the men and sewed by them themselves, never by the women. Once these -- as well as the purchased shirts -- are torn, they are never darned, but always repaired by the men by means of a patch sewed underneath.
296 Thus, we have here the fixed rule that woven clothing is never-
177 patched, but is darned, whereas the sewed clothing is never darned,
462 but is always patched. The former is women's work, the latter men's work.

291 The garment covering the upper body of the men (tondatc; for lack of an appropriate European designation it is called upper garment in the following) is not a sleeveless shirt, since the sides are not sewed together, but are open. It is quite simply a rectangular woven piece of wool about 60 centimeters wide and 160 centimeters long, whose warp threads run lengthwise. A slit about 30 centimeters long is left open in the center for the neck. It is pulled on over the head, and the lower ends are either stuffed into the trousers or left hanging over them. In the latter case they must be secured with a strap tied over them (Ills. 154 /see p. 268/, 165, 166 /see p. 273/, 171 /see p. 276 /, 202 /see p. 289 /, 203 /see p. 290/).

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291 The men's trousers (calsón) have no pockets. On the aver-
294 age they reach to the calves. Generally they are very carefully sewed, either with purchased thread or with homemade, very fine yarn made of agave threads. In making them, as well as in the case of necessary repair work, all the edges are very carefully bound.

The men's ruana (atc) is generally square, with a side edge of 100 to 160 centimeters. It is sewed together out of two equally wide, rectangular panels, with a slit about 20 centimeters long left open in the center as a neck opening. Because of its square shape the ruana may be worn just as well with the neck-opening crosswise.

285 Whereas shoes or sandals are not used by the Paez, men,
462 women, and children wear the same type of straw hats (śwá).
293 These are plaited, however, only by the men and boys. The
415 dress of both sexes is completed by two or three of the colored
291 woolen coca bags, in which, on journeys, the necessary personal articles are also carried.

291 The garments of the women's clothing consist of wool and
294 are woven by the women themselves. In general the quality and fineness of the women's fabrics are significantly greater than that
286 of the men's woven fabrics. The boys' and young men's fabrics are generally the coarsest, woven with a rather thick spun thread. Decorative strips of a different color within the fabric are found chiefly in the women's clothing, but not infrequently also in that of the men, especially in the ruanas. The absolutely necessary basic clothing of the women consists of skirt and upper garment. Both are worn in such a way that the warp threads run crosswise. The skirt (atytól) is a very wide, tubular garment, whose diameter may amount to 150 centimeters and more, with a length (in the weaving state this corresponds to the width!) of about 80 centimeters. It is worn in such a way that the front part is tight, while the back side falls in numerous folds. It is fastened at the height of the hips with a woman's colored belt, and its upper edge is folded down somewhat over the belt.

/149 cont./

283 market or on other errands; when spinning agave fibers, they sit in front of the beam around which the fibers have been tied to dry.

[236] Sheep wool (kas) is roughly cleaned and for spinning is wound, unwashed, around a rod (Ill. 179 /see p.280 /). The latter is 60-150 centimeters long and is gripped under the arm by its lower part. On its upper part it has a notch in which is fastened a string to wind around the wool and hold it on the rod. To prevent it from drying out too much, which would make spinning difficult, it is protected by being wrapped in leaves or by a cloth.

After several meters of thread have been spun and wound on the lower part of the spindle, it is removed from there and wound on the upper part. In this wound form, that is, still on the spindle staff, the thread, after the removal of the whorl, may be used as
• [286] a shuttle in weaving garments. For weaving the colored belts of the women, however, and for making the wool coca bags, not the simple, but the twisted wool thread is used. The agave threads are even twisted on principle for every type of use. For this purpose two single threads are twisted into a double thread
283 in a rotating direction counter to the spinning direction. This
462 process is carried out differently by men and women. The former twist either with the hand on the upper thigh or use a special instrument, the klafíca, with which the strongest ropes are also made, whereas the women use the spindle even for twisting. The direction of rotation of the twisted thread is different for men and women. Depending on the material, the former use the Z-twist in their handwork, the women the S-twist in their work with the spindle. In the twisting or ropemaking with the klafíca done by the men, the S-rotation prevails. (For indicating the /150/ direction of rotation according to these two letters, the direction of the front, diagonal part of the vertically held thread, which runs parallel to the middle part of an S or Z, is the determining factor [Fig. 34 /see p. 256/].)

/150 cont./

283 and, as the third step in the work, the extraordinarily strong rope about one centimeter in diameter is produced. /151/The Lassos
281 (kádya) cut spirally from cowhide as leather strips are also twisted
283 with the klaffca. The prerequisite is that the skin be worked in a fresh or wet state. If, after twisting, it is stretched out for a while to dry, it will keep its spiral twist. It will lose it, however, if it is pulled too hard or becomes too wet.

c) Net Techniques

286 In describing the net techniques of the Paez, I should like to distinguish between the loop technique /Schlingtechnik/ and the knot technique /Knotentechnik/. Among the articles made by the loop technique are the carrying bags of agave fiber (called "fiber bags" in the following) and the wool coca pouches; among those made by the knot technique are bird nets, hammocks, berry sieves, and slings. Agave fiber or sheep wool, both in the form of twisted threads, serves as the material.

The loop technique is used, for example, in knitting and crocheting in our European culture-circle, and, to be sure, with the technique of intertwining /Verschlingen/. The simplicity of this method of work stands in contrast to the disagreeable attendant phenomenon that the entire fabric can be destroyed by pulling one thread. The loop technique of the Paez in producing cloth is fundamentally different. It consists of the technique of simple insertion /Einhängen/. Purely as a matter of form it should be noted that neither needle nor crochet hook nor any other object is used to carry it out; rather, everything is done with the hands.

In order to connect the loops one must draw the thread in its entire length through each individual loop. Since with this technique the supply of thread in the form of a thick ball would not pass through the loops, or only with great difficulty, another way of arranging the thread supply had to be thought up. The Paez succeeded in doing this in a very clever way; they were even able to devise a serviceable substitute for a needle from the same material (Ill. 183 /see p.282 /). The thread to be worked in, wool

/151 cont./

286 or agave fiber, is folded over upon itself several times, slightly twisted, and then tied together in the center with a simple thread. The latter is knotted several times in such a way that it runs out into a point which at the same time serves as a plaiting needle. This folded thread supply, which is up to four meters long and six to eight millimeters thick, may easily be passed through each loop of the fiber bag. When a length of the thread is used up, /152/ a loop of the thread supply may promptly be pulled through the "eye" of the "needle," and this continues until the supply is used up.

[461] The method of making the fiber bag and the wool coca pouch is fundamentally the same. The work period lasts two to six weeks. In the case of the fiber bag (yaha), the largest of which may measure more than a meter in height and width, a small bottom is plaited first, from which the bag is worked, bell-shaped, in several sections up to the rim. At the start of this process, between the thumb and ring finger for the one part and between the index and middle finger for the other part, there is stretched a short piece of thread, around which the continuation of the thread is wound loosely and spirally in loops. This produces the first row of meshes (Fig. 30 /see p. 255/). The following length of thread is now again drawn back through these, so that it loosely catches the previously formed loops. Proceeding in this fashion, when the rectangular bottom has been made to a size of about two by five centimeters, one starts at a corner of it with the first section. Here, too, as in the entire plaiting, the thread continues in the same technique. In order to enlarge the bag, as many additional rows are interlaced in each loop of the bottom as are desired to widen the bag.

At the end of the work a broad row of holes is worked into the bag three loops below its upper rim, and this serves for fastening the carrying band. This band terminates in loops at both ends, conditioned by the method of weaving (see below). For fastening, the first loop of the band is drawn through a rim eyelet from the inside and put first around the top toward the back. Then the second loop is drawn down through the first loop and only then back again through the eyelet of the bag toward the top-back as before. The last loop of the band is knotted with

/152 cont./

286 the beginning or end warp thread of the carrying band in an eyelet of the bag.

The making of the woolen coca pouch (kwatandyáha), literally "lime pouch," the size of which varies between 12 and 35 centimeters, is done in the same technique as the manufacture of the fiber bags. The process, after the bottom is made, is done 286 531 in three sections, the middle one of which stands out externally because of its colored, chessboard-like pattern, which is bordered above and below by a row of triangles. Since this colored section is likewise plaited from the bottom to the upper rim, thread of a different color is required for each change of color. These threads of a different color are twisted into ropes in the same way as in the case of the fiber bags and held together with a wool thread which serves as a plaiting needle. The number of /153/ colored squares in the unit area is constant, and their arrangement, conditioned by the plaiting, is necessarily diagonal (Ills. 154 /see p. 268 / and 203 /see p. 290 /).

286 The fastening of the carrying band, made by plait-weaving (see below /see p. 85 /), to the coca bag is done in the same way as that of the carrying band of the fiber bag.

The fabrics made by the knot technique are generally wide-meshed and include primarily the various kinds of nets. The knots are formed by tightly pulling suitable loops or interlacings so that the more or less loose meshes cannot shift. To obtain uniform meshes, the bird nets (ōka) and hammocks of the Paez are worked with a mesh stick whose height of about five centimeters corresponds to the size of the mesh (Fig. 31 /see p. 255 /). The material is the twisted agave thread. To make the net -- and the hammock -- the loops of the rows of meshes are made by means of the "symmetrical knot" (Fig. 34c /see p. 256 /). For this the ascending thread travels from back to front over the open part of the mesh and, passing over the latter horizontally, runs downward again in the loop produced. The mesh stick is always pressed from below firmly against the row of knots above, whereby the new knots bind it in tightly on its underside. This produces perfectly uniform meshes. The dimensions of the bird net -- spread out -- may reach a size of five by 20 meters.

/153 cont./

286 [177] The hammock (máka), as the Spanish name already indicates, is a borrowed article and not generally distributed in the Andean cultures. Among the Paez it is used only for children. Its dimensions, with 100 meshes, are about 100 by 100 centimeters. It is hung up with agave or horsehair ropes, which are looped through the upper and lower rows of meshes and then tied to house posts.

[415] The berry sieves (tása) are present in almost every household. They are about 30-60 centimeters in diameter and are stretched inside a round wooden frame. The meshes are formed by means of the "fishnet knot" (Fig. 34d /see p. 256 /). This draws together very closely and is then scarcely recognizable in its structure.

283 The sling (ísut) is made with various techniques. For its manufacture the dried fibers of the agave leaf are used just as they are obtained when the leaf is stripped. A knot is made at the tip of the bundle of fibers, and it is then divided into two parts. Both are turned by hand in the same direction and then twined by rotation in the opposite direction. This produces /154/ -- conditioned by the naturally thickening material -- a two-strand rope of steadily increasing strength. Since it is twisted only by hand, it threatens to lose its tightness with greater thickness. Hence, after about 50 centimeters, the hank is divided into three parts and plaited for about the same length in the manner of a three-strand braid.

286 284 To make the net for holding the sling stone (Fig. 29 /see p.255 /), the three plaiting strands are divided into seven strands which, in each case, are separated from the plaited part by a simple finger knot. From each of these knots two double strands continue, which, put diagonally, are tied together by a double finger knot.

The length of the net part is about 20 centimeters. At its end it changes back to a three-strand braid by way of a simple finger knot. It should be noted in this connection that the middle strand at the beginning of the braid is caught in the threads of an adjacent knot. This prevents the plaiting from loosening up as it goes into the net and losing its tightness. The same

/154 cont./

284 reinforcement is found at the other end of the net in the transition
286 to the braid part. The further procedure up to the completion of the sling corresponds to the beginning. At one end a sliding loop is tied by means of a knot, which, when the sling is used, is drawn over the middle finger.

d) Plaiting

283 The technique of plaiting is practiced among the Paez only
285 in plaiting bands for making straw hats (šwá) and for making three-strand ropes. The latter are plaited by the women in various lengths and strengths from agave fibers in the normal form of the three-strand braid. There are no plaited baskets, sieves, fans, bands, etc. of any kind among the Paez.

294 The shape of the Paez hats seems to imitate those of the
285 whites. It is the same for men, women, and children. They are made only by the men. The dry leaves of the šyéts reed, which are first torn into strips about one centimeter wide, serve as material. To be worked up they are then divided once more by being torn lengthwise into five to ten narrow strips from one to two millimeters wide. The quality and value of the hat depends on the fineness of these strips, for the finer the plaiting strips are the more waterproof and durable the hat is. It /155/ is made from a single plaited band (čemótč) sewed together in spirals -- starting from the center of the hat.

The plaiting of the band is done without any aids, in the form of diagonal plaiting with 11 strips (Fig. 33 /see p.256 /). At the start of the work they are bent in the middle and thus used double in such a way that the upper side of the reed leaf is on the outside. The second strip is inserted into this initial bend at right angles and likewise bent. This is done alternately until all 11 strips have been worked into a band approximately six to ten millimeters wide. The further plaiting work is continued with the double strips. For this the first double strip is always bent from the outside downward toward the center, in order to be drawn over the second, under the third and fourth, and over the fifth and sixth.

/155 cont./

294 From the other side there is a corresponding procedure with the
285 then outer plaiting-strip, so that the strips are plaited alternately from both sides always only to the center. This produces a very uniform and firm band.

A thread of the agave fiber is used to sew the plaited bands together. In order to give the hat brim sufficient stiffness, leaf ribs are sewed on the underside over the seams.

e) Weaving

285 The demarcation of plaiting from weaving is not uniform.
286 In the literature written in English the two are generally not differentiated. According to H. Nevermann (pp. 4-6), the following conditions must be given for the simplest technique of weaving, namely, rod weaving /Stabweberei/, such as is also practiced among the Paez: 1) the stretching of the threads or fibers on a frame, 2) long weft threads, 3) rectangular crossing of warp and weft, 4) mechanical formation of the first and second shed. The last point is the decisive one, for in plaiting each weft thread must be drawn separately over or under each separate warp thread, whereas in weaving this is done over a certain number of longitudinal threads simultaneously by means of a heddle rod or something similar. More complicated types of weaving, for example, little-board weaving, comb weaving, or braid-grid weaving /Brettchenweberei, Kamm- or Litzengatterweberei, types of weaving found in Indonesia and described by Nevermann, pp. 16-18 (see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 325)/, do not occur among the Paez.

/156/ 1. Weaving Apparatus for Carrying Bands

286 The weaving apparatus for the carrying bands of the fiber bags (vitoñsāpc) consists of a forked branch, the sides of which must not be too far apart and should, if possible, run parallel. Its size is 60 to 80 centimeters in height and between 20 and 60

/156 cont./

281 centimeters in width. Two rods corresponding to the breast beam and warp beam (pšátegwe) for the vertically stretched warp threads (yáhawes) are tied horizontally to the forked frame with bark bast (Fig. 35 /see p. 257/).

For weaving by the method used by the Paez, a special warping device, which otherwise, in weaving with a spiral warp, is required in some form for the preparatory stretching of the warp threads, becomes superfluous. The Paez weaving is done neither according to the method of the continuous circular warp nor according to the method of the terminating flat warp, but constitutes a mixture of both in the form of the so-called "false spiral warp." The warp threads run circularly around the breast and warp beams and form two planes, one below and one above the beams. They are not, however, stretched spirally, but like a parallel warp. They are fastened by means of a small horizontal stick around which the first warp thread is wound with a loop. This then runs all the way around the frame to the horizontal stick again, passing over the latter from back to front, and going back again around the frame in the opposite direction. Alternating in this fashion, all the warp threads are stretched to the desired width. After the last warp thread has passed around the horizontal stick, it is knotted and immediately used as the first weft thread.

The weaving is done according to the method of the simple rod weaving. The texture is always the texture of linen. Instead of a regular shed rod and heddle rod, loops of bast or agave fiber constitute the aids for the mechanical shed formation. The shed loop (batsnés) grasps warp threads 1, 3, 5, 7, etc. together; the heddle loops (nyúgwe) grasp the warp threads of the even numbers singly in one long loop each, and they in turn are tied together at the top. The mechanical shed formation is done by alternately raising the shed loops and the heddle loops (Ill. 182 /see p. 281 /).

[824] The shuttle (bánka) consists merely of a wound ball of thread; the sword (kyíta) is carved from the hard wood of the chonta palm pointed at both ends, and semicircular in cross-section.

As a result of the way they are stretched, the warp threads in /157/ their entirety may be drawn around the horizontally lashed tension rods during the weaving, so that the piece being woven

/157 cont./

286 always lies conveniently in front of the woman for the weft. The beginning and end of the woven part start at a distance of about three centimeters from the horizontal stick. At the end the last weft thread is knotted at the edge of the warp. When the stick is pulled out, the band comes off the frame. Since the warp threads terminate in loops, the texture of the band cannot become slack.

2. Weaving Apparatus for Cloth

286 294 The weaving of cloth of larger dimensions for clothing is also done in the technique of the linen texture and according to the same method as the weaving of the carrying bands for the [581] fiber bags. Every woman can do both, for she herself must be able to make all the material needed by her family for clothing; otherwise a girl has no prospect of getting married.

The weaving apparatus stands upright and consists of two strong posts which are rammed into the ground about two meters apart in front of the house, but still in the shelter of the roof. Into each of these posts, a little above the ground, a notch is cut, into which the breast beam is placed horizontally and lashed. Its position with respect to height is unchangeable. The warp beam, likewise horizontal, may be lashed to the vertical post with ropes higher or lower, depending on the length of the cloth to be woven, whereby a uniform tension of the warp threads is achieved.

The non-twisted woolen warp threads are stretched in the same way as in the case of the carrying bands for the fiber bags. The width is determined by the piece of material to be woven. [461] The work period for a woman's skirt takes a total of about six months. In order to attain a certain decorative effect in the finished piece, between the uncolored sheep-wool warp-threads are stretched likewise uncolored or differently colored cotton threads which, in the subsequent dyeing process with plant dyes, do not take on this coloring.

/157 cont./

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The shed rod consists of a round, straight wooden rod. The heddle loops are held by a horizontally stretched string immovable in height, which is tied left and right to the two vertical posts of the weaving apparatus. The sword is semicircular in cross-section, pointed at both ends, and carved out of the dark, hard wood of the chonta palm. Its width is /158/ three to four centimeters, its length about 60 centimeters. The shuttle consists of a rod on which the thread is wound crosswise. Sometimes the spindle with the spun thread is used for this.

Making the shed for the insertion of the shuttle is laborious, for -- depending on the width of the piece to be woven -- not all the corresponding warp threads can be pulled forward simultaneously with the heddle loops. The woman doing the weaving is able to grasp only about half a dozen heddle loops at a time with one hand and pull them forward, in order to push along the sword slowly and form the shed. Even before the shed has reached the width of a sword length, the shuttle must already be pushed along, so that the weft can only be carried through in stages, as it were, with the shed formed by the heddle loops (Ill. 181 /see p. 281/). The shed formation with the wooden shed rod is essentially simpler, since the latter may easily be drawn forward to form the countershed and the heddle loops yield.

The beginning and end of the woven material are determined by the width of the only thin cross-rod, since at the end the shed rod is drawn out and the cross-rod takes on its function. In the loops left at the beginning and end, weft threads are drawn through by hand in the same form of the plain linen texture, until the loops are filled out. The last weft thread in each case is taken threefold so that a firm selvage is produced.

3. Weaving Apparatus for Women's Belts

Originally every woman was able to weave the women's belts [463] (táw), the most difficult type of weaving among the Paez. Today it is almost a specialist's work, for in Calderas there are only five women left who are able to weave the women's belts themselves.

/158 cont./

286 294 438 463 One of them, Talesia Pame, has even developed a small industry from this ability. She now weaves women's belts almost exclusively and barters them for food and other things. She is in her early thirties and has three children. Her oldest daughter, about 12 years old, is also learning from her mother how to weave belts.

286 294 The weaving apparatus (tawkyáviton) is fundamentally the same type as the one for the bands of the fiber bags. The fork-shaped mounting of the frame is somewhat wider and correspondingly longer. The weaving material is wool. The preparation for making the patterns in different colors consists of stretching the warp threads of corresponding color, which, as in the case of the fiber-bag bands, are laid around a small cross-stick. /159/ The weft thread is always plain white and, in the form of a ball, is used as the shuttle. The general arrangement of the warp threads is such that on both outer sides a number of white warp threads are stretched, then follow four of red, yellow, blue, or some other color, which, in the completed woven band, appear in each case as a colored stripe running through it. The ornamented center section consists of four white warp threads followed by two red ones. The latter serve to produce the pattern and are the only warp threads of the belt that are not woven in the linen-texture technique. They are therefore not included in the shed loop that takes every second warp thread. There are two heddle loops, one of which grasps the warp threads corresponding to the shed loop, while the other grasps the red warp threads of the ornamental chain of the center stripe (Ills. 187 to 190 /see p. 284/).

In weaving the linen texture, shed loops and heddle loops are used in the normal technique. The red warp threads of the second heddle loop are lifted up -- altogether or in part, depending on the design to be formed -- while beneath them the weaving continues in the normal linen texture. Thus, if all the red threads are lifted together, a red cross-stripe is produced as the simplest design, the height of which depends on the length of time the second heddle loop remains lifted. In making designs

/159 cont./

286 for which only certain red threads are used, the weaver counts
294 the required number and holds these up for the time being with a special shed rod consisting of a small piece of reed. The red warp threads not required fall down under and appear on the back side of the band, in part as a negative pattern and in part covered by the white warp threads.

[531] No patterns exist for the weaving designs. In general it is a matter of traditional forms -- human beings, rhombuses, triangles -- although imaginative women include Latin letters in their store of ornaments.

On account of the space required for the arrangement for the mechanical shed formation, the band terminates in loops about ten centimeters long, which are removed from the cross-rod and plaited circularly with four strips each.

f) Plait-weaving

286 Whereas the carrying bands of the fiber bags (yáha) are woven in the technique of rod weaving in linen texture, the wool carrying /160/ bands of the coca pouches (kwatandyáha) are made in the plait-weaving technique. This means textile techniques which are not weaving because of the lack of mechanical shed formation in the manufacturing, but which also do not represent plaiting because of the vertical and horizontal course of their threads. The bands are about 1.50 centimeters wide and 76 centimeters long. At a superficial glance they give the impression of being plaited freehand because of their thickness. Their thickness results, however, from the turning and simultaneous crossing of the warp threads in the plaiting (cf. Ill. 152 /see p. 267/).

To make the band a frame similar to the one for weaving the carrying band for the fiber bag is required. The warp threads are stretched in the same way; the beginning and end are fastened to a similar cross-stick. Warp and weft are perpendicular to each other, but there is no mechanical shed formation.

/160 cont./

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For the plaiting process, which proceeds from the top down, there are stretched beside one another -- in their sequence -- four red warp threads, four white, four blue, four white, and again four red threads. At the start, two to three centimeters are woven in the customary linen texture. Then begins the plaiting of the band with the rhombus design. To do this, the weft, made up of one red thread, is drawn through two like-colored warp threads twisted one over the other. The twisting of the warp threads first goes in an inward direction; thus the right warp threads are twisted to the left, the left ones to the right, but always in a complete turn of 360°. Their sequence after the twisting is exactly as before. To form the rhombus design, the twisted warp threads are at the same time crossed under one another.

To lead back the weft threads, the still crossed warp threads are beaten from below upward with a pointed shed rod, usually the weaving sword, and the weft thread is led back through the opening thus made. This releases the twist of the warp threads. Now the position of the warp and weft threads once again corresponds to the normal linen texture.

To complete the rhombus, that is, to form the lower part, the warp threads are now reversed, twisted from the inside to the outside, and then one proceeds appropriately in the same manner as described.

The weft threads are pulled quite taut so that they disappear within the texture, and only the warp threads are to be seen. Their distance from one another -- conditioned by the twisted warp threads -- is relatively great.

/161/The decisive characteristic of this plait-weaving and its distinction from the weaving of the patterned belts of the women (tǽw) consists in the fact that the same patterns appear on the front and back side of the plaited band, though always shifted by half of their dimensions.

As variants of the simple rhombus pattern described, there may be two rhombuses next to each other or five small rhombuses in a diagonal arrangement. In this case the back side does not

/161 cont./
286 show the same design, but rather one that results from the cross-
531 ing of the twisted warp threads.

g) Dyeing

386 The Paez feel that black is the most beautiful color.
824 Hence almost all the home-woven garments of the men and
[822] women are dyed black, and only rarely does one see articles of clothing in the yellowish-white natural color of sheep wool.
[462] Dyeing is women's work and is done with certain plants, which, however, dye only the animal material used in weaving, but
[294] not that from plants. This peculiarity of the dyes is utilized by the Paez to make patterns in their clothing by weaving into the sheep-wool fabrics a few cotton warp threads, which, in the subsequent dyeing, retain their original color.

Every woman is in a position to dye her home-woven fabrics black. To do this the pieces of fabric are boiled in a pot for about two hours, along with the leaves of the šal tree or the zóte tree (according to Hernandez, 1946, p. 944, with the leaves of a Phyllanthus) and then buried for two days and two nights with these leaves in a pit in black, rich humus earth (ašáktič). Then they are taken out again, washed thoroughly, and allowed to dry. The black dye is now lightfast and waterproof. The cotton ornamental stripes in the women's clothing, which are not affected by this dyeing process, are either natural
[283] in color, red, or green. They are bought by the women in the desired color, since cotton is not spun by the Paez.

586 The threads of different colors used to make the coca bags
824 and the women's belts were originally all dyed by the Paez
177 women with vegetable dyes. Today this is done only in part,
[439] for anyone who has the money buys aniline dyes at the market in Inzá or Belalcázar; they are more popular because of their stronger coloring and greater luminosity. Similarly, the cotton purchased in thread already dyed is more popular for making women's belts, since it is brighter or more brilliant.

/315 cont./

105 "Araucanian" type (O'Neale, p. 115). In place of the shed rod we have a simple loop; in place of the heddle rod, a bundle of loops.

105 The warp threads are stretched in the form of the "false spiral warp,"
286 a mixture of the method of the continuous, circular warp with the
171 method of the terminating flat warp. This genuinely American way of stretching the warp is found among the Northwest Coast Indians as well as among the tribes of the Gran Chaco (Olson, pp. 114-121). Culture-historically H. Nevermann regards the various forms of American weaving /316/ as having originated on the basis of a native or pre-Polynesian plait-weaving. Among the Paez we find this technical stage in the plait-weaving of the carrying bands of the coca bags.

105 For dyeing, vegetable dyes are used, which dye only sheep wool, but not cotton.

Pottery is very simple. There are only hemispherical pots and bowls made with the spiral coil technique, both without any ornamentation.

The present political organization of the Paez is based on the village community. It is led by a village council (cabildo), whose members are chosen for a year from among the men of the village. The designations for the members of the cabildo and their functions are in part Spanish. In former times the leaders of the Paez were
[621] often men with shamanistic abilities. The village is not organized
[565] by either classes or occupations. No one need serve another for
[463] pay; the word and the thing are unknown to the Paez. The father
[464] of the family with his sons or brothers works his fields, and if
[476] friends or neighbors lend their help, it is compensated for by assistance in their fields.

[594] The family organization is basically the patrilineal,
[178] monogomous nuclear family, consisting of the parents and the unmarried children. Here there has probably been the least
[851] change in Paez culture. The children are given the family of the
[533] father. For her marriage the woman receives no dowry of any kind from her parents, and she keeps her maiden name. Since there are no social or financial reasons for concluding a marriage, a woman has only the merit of her personality and abilities. These are tested during a "trial year" before the actual conclusion of the marriage.

1: Nachtigall--255 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Fig. 29. Making the sling.

Fig. 30. Making the fiber bag.

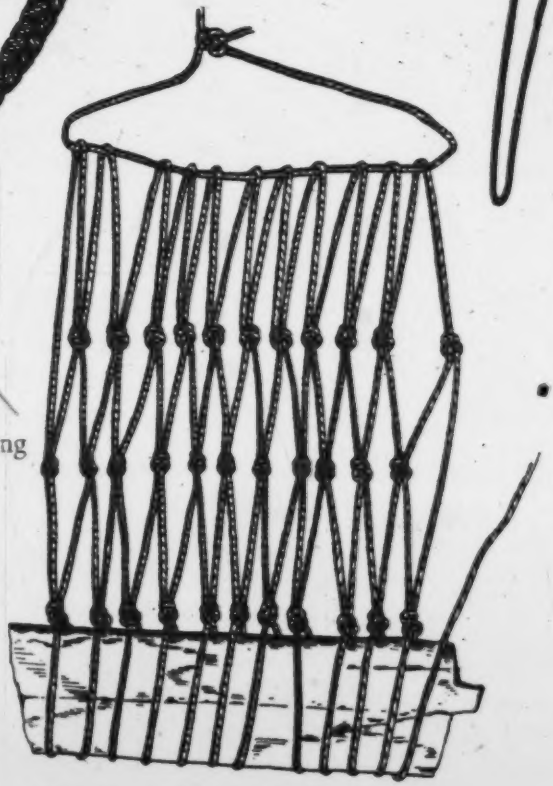

Fig. 31. Making the bird-net.

1: Nachtigall--256 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Fig. 32: Fireworks.

Fig. 33. Plaited strip for making the straw hat.

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[284]
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a b c d

Fig. 34. a = S-twisting b = Z-twisting
c = symmetrical knots d = fish-net knots

1: Nachtigall--257 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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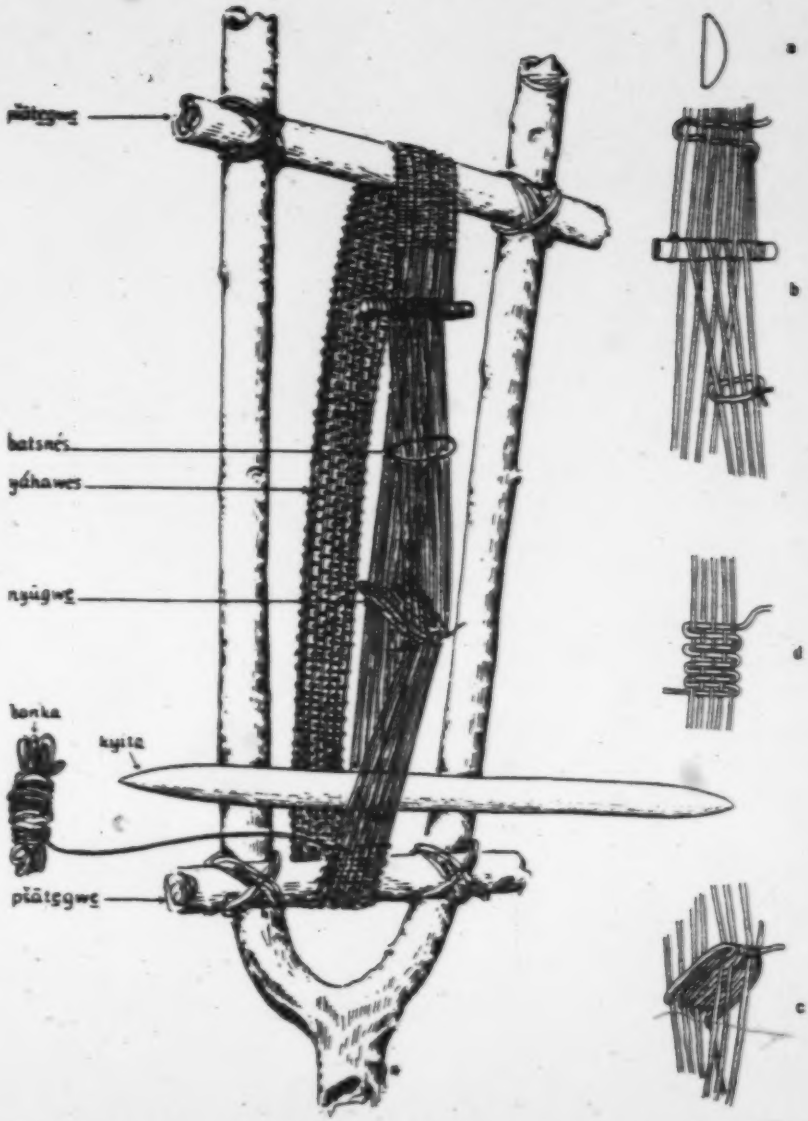

Fig. 35. Weaving apparatus for making the carrying bands of the fiber bags.

a = Section of the weaving sword

b = Method of stretching the warp threads

c = Heddle loops

d = Weaving pattern

1: Nachtigall--267 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15.Paez SC15

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Ill. 153. The shaman Cerbeleón Niunda.

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Ill. 152. Mother with child.

1: Nachtigall--281 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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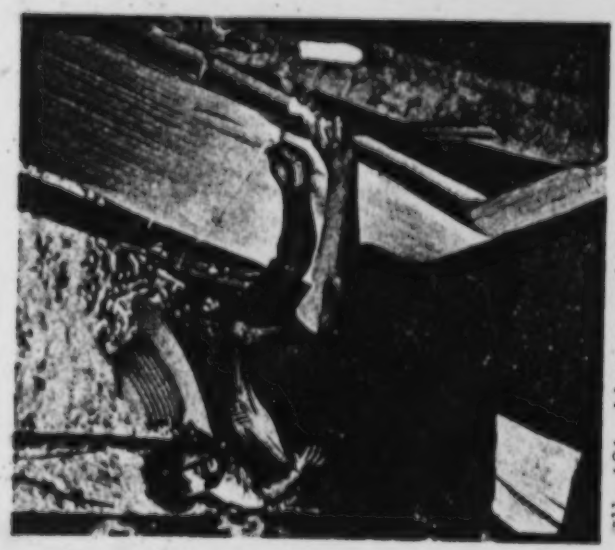
Ill. 182. Making the carrying bands for the fiber bags.

[854]



Ill. 181. Weaver making wool cloth.

1: Nachtigall--282 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

Ill. 184. Smoothing out the seams of a pot. 323 516 291

Ill. 183. Making a fiber bag 142 291 286 516

1: Nachtigall--284 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 187. Making a woman's colored belt.

Ill. 188. Weaving the ornamental warp.

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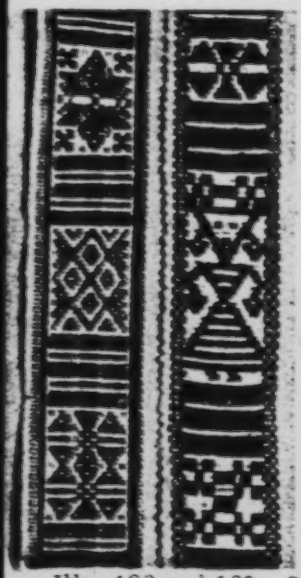

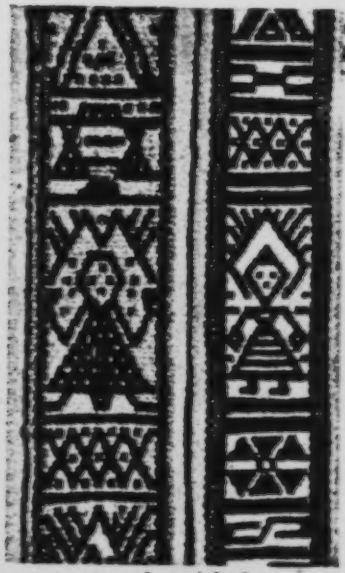

Ills. 189 and 190. Pattern of the women's colored belts.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

164 cient testimony, they have their share of physical ailments. Besides itch (*lel*), tumors of several kinds (*lol-sek*, tonsilitis; *koii*, tumor in the groin), they have original names for smallpox (*buzgui*), which I was told often rages among them, for diarrhœa (*u-tšitš*), dysentery (*mengui*), and intermittent or malarial fevers (*ya-ya-gui* in the ancient dialect, *kui-kui-ni* in that spoken at the present day).

757 114 Of the practices and superstitions made use of in the cure of these diseases I could gain no information, but it is very probable that the Paez still have their own medicine-men.

Clothing. Personal Adornment

291 286 [231] At present the wool obtained from the numerous sheep kept by the Paez Indians plays the most important part in the clothing of both sexes. I cannot find any direct information on the fabrics used before the introduction of sheep by the Spaniards, [174 439] but it is most likely that the Paez obtained cotton from the Indians of the Cauca and Magdalena plains, the cultivation and the manufacture of which into thread must have formed one of the principal industries in the latter. I have already referred [172 174] to the great number of clay spindle-whorls found in the graves and on old dwelling sites throughout the Cauca valley. Judging by these we may feel sure that the former inhabitants were great spinners. On the other hand, the present Paez Indians still weave most of their own clothing, and there is no reason why they should not have done so formerly.

291 [177] The dress of the men consists of a pair of short trousers (*hiii*), that are evidently a concession to modern civilization. These are made of raw cotton cloth, or of imported fabrics, and reach from the waist to about the knees. Over the shoulders is worn a broad rectangular piece of white woolen homespun cloth, split in the middle in the form of a poncho so as to allow the head to pass through, and hanging free front and back. This is called *tund-atš*, i. e., 'the cloth that binds, or covers.' It is generally worn next to the skin, but sometimes a light cotton shirt, called *atš-petš*, is first put on. Over the *tund-atš* they carry on their left [276] side, hanging by straps that pass over the right shoulder, the coca

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

They represent the primitive type of habitation, the agglomerations being the result of the efforts of the missionaries. 342 [177]

The villages are generally in the open grazing districts at the bottom of the valleys, on side plateaus, or on broad ridges. They are not compact in the common sense of the word, but consist of isolated groups of houses, the approximate common center of which is often indicated by the whitewashed thatch-roofed church (plate v). 361

The walls of the permanent houses are made of a kind of *bajareque*, i. e., a skeleton of canes filled in with clay. In the better homes the interior is divided into two or more rooms, usually very small, with a hearth in the middle; but oftener there are no interior partitions, the dwelling consisting of a single square apartment. In every case that came under my observation the interior was very untidy. 342 353 [354] [356]

The Indians openly objected to our entering their houses, hence I could gain only casual glimpses of their domiciles, the furnishing of which seems to be an imitation of that of the dwellings of the few Spanish people living among them or in the immediate neighborhood. 352 123 177

Outside the houses they generally have a cane-crusher of primitive type, with horizontal smooth cylinders moved by means of levers at each end. A loom and a grinding stone are also seen occasionally under an adjacent shelter (plates IV, 2, and VI).[1] 407 286 412

There may often be seen, either about or inside the housse, very large jars used as receptacles in the elaboration of the chicha. These utensils seem to be almost the only survival of the ancient earthenware industry. The smaller pottery vessels which were seen occasionally had been taken from old graves. 415 [192]

Each group of houses, in which several generations of a single family dwell, is surrounded by a small enclosed field, planted with sugar-cane, plantains, oranges and other fruits, and greens and roots of daily use. The garden enclosure is formed by a ditch, inside of which is a wooden fence or a stone wall, the latter often crowned by a hedge of maguey (*Furcræa*), lechero (*Euphorbia*), borrachero (*Solanum*), and other bushes. 351 [592] [247]

[1] [See plate facing P. 317 — Analyst]

[2] [See plate facing P. 320 — Analyst]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

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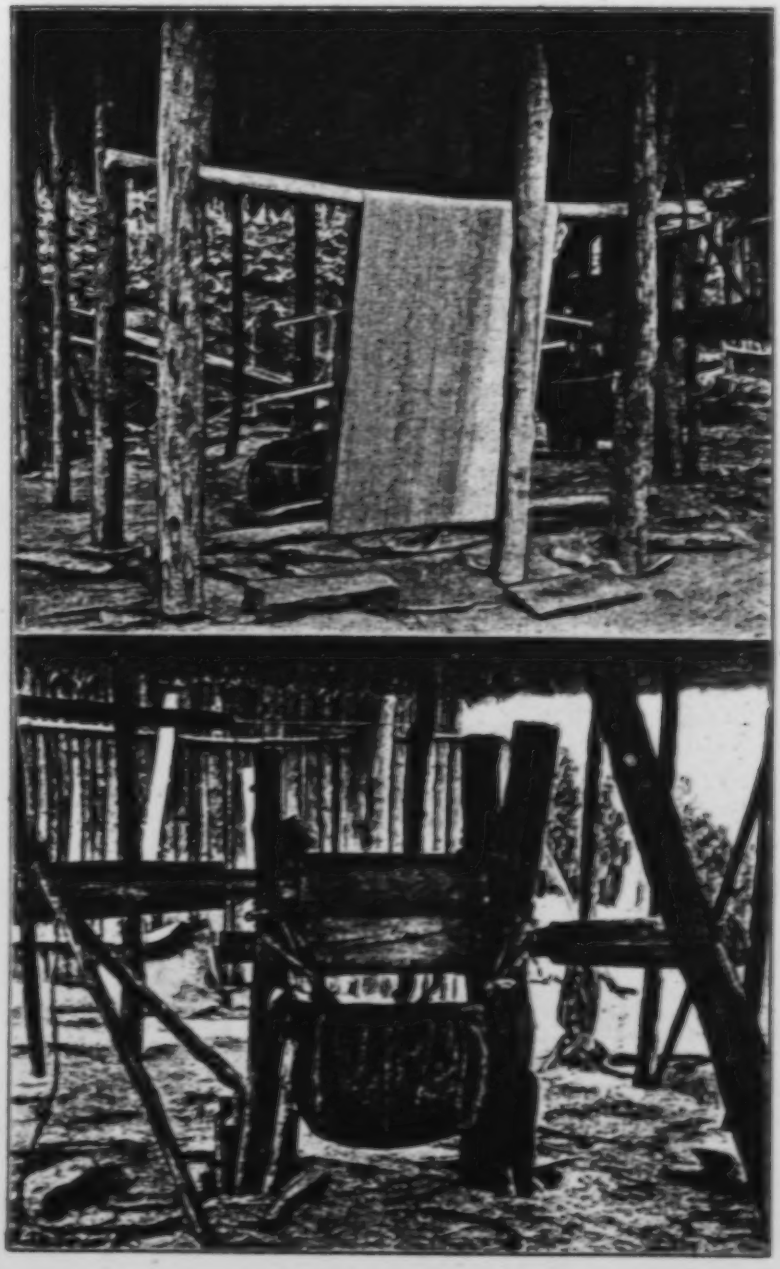

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PAEZ LOOM AND CANE CRUSHER

[facing P. 320]

6: Bernal Villa--104 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro X: Indian woman of Mosoco "mambe-ing" /chewing coca and lime/ and weaving a kuetand yaha (pouch) for mambe). She is a té eu of the parcialidad.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,V(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

342 [177] Some had wooden doors and windows, and were built with nails and wires, though most were still made with vegetable materials.

The modern *Moguex* house has two rooms. The main one, entered through a small door, serves as storeroom for goods to be sold, reception hall, dancing place, and a room in which to keep watch over the dead. The other is a pantry for provisions and drinks; here are kept [354] kitchen utensils. In the center is the fireplace and around it dried [352] cowhides or platform beds made of horizontal poles tied to stakes [476] driven in the ground. One's neighbors aid him to build his house, [461] transporting heavy timbers over light rollers and singing rhythmi- [554] cally as they heave together. If the owner of a new house is a man of [778] means, he pays for a feast of benediction or consecration carried out with a Catholic priest, a godfather, and a godmother.

The *Páez* does all this and in addition puts some pieces of silver 352 money under his house to assure his good fortune. In the main house [415] he places the metate on stakes, and in a secondary house, the press [353] for extracting wax from laurel, one or more troughs or hollowed trunks, [354] and large jars for chicha and guarapo. From the roof frame hang bags, [524] or "mochilas," of netted hemp for belongings. There is also a bam- [283] boo candlestick, the wooden feast drum, sometimes a tiple or small 404 guitar, and, nailed to the wall, a spindle. Outside, the loom stands against the wall Beyond it is the sugarcane mill, which is made of 286 a section of tree trunk with a hole above a projection on which the 249 cane is pressed by hand with a rod which crosses the hole. Some mills consist of two or three wooden cylinders rotated by animal power.

243 In each maize field is a small, temporary house and a high platform where a watchman frightens the parrots and parakeets with periodic 342 cries and motions.

Each *Páez* group today has its communally built pueblo, with 177 "bahareque" buildings grouped around a rectangular plaza: a church, 361 with its arched portico and small tower in imitation of Colonial architecture, a house for the priest, a school, and two or three large houses for meetings and fiestas, where they dance, sing, and sleep during fiesta days. But ordinarily, the people remain at their distant houses and fields, and do not live at the pueblo, the only permanent inhabitants of which are a few Whites and Mestizos.

ENGINEERING WORKS

491 The Spaniards found bridges which they described as "weak and 499 flexible bridges of bamboo" and "bridges of vines." A territory so broken and crossed with so many rivers and canyons naturally stimulated the *Páez* in the construction of bridges and the laying out of roads. Today they make four kinds of bridges: (1) A simple vine or cable stretched across the river; (2) a kind of wooden stairs placed

7:Hernández de Alba E-S/(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15

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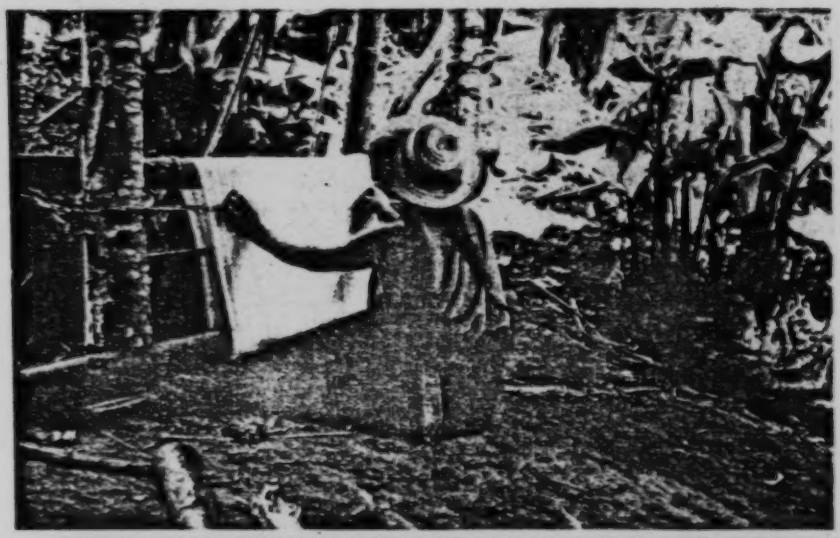

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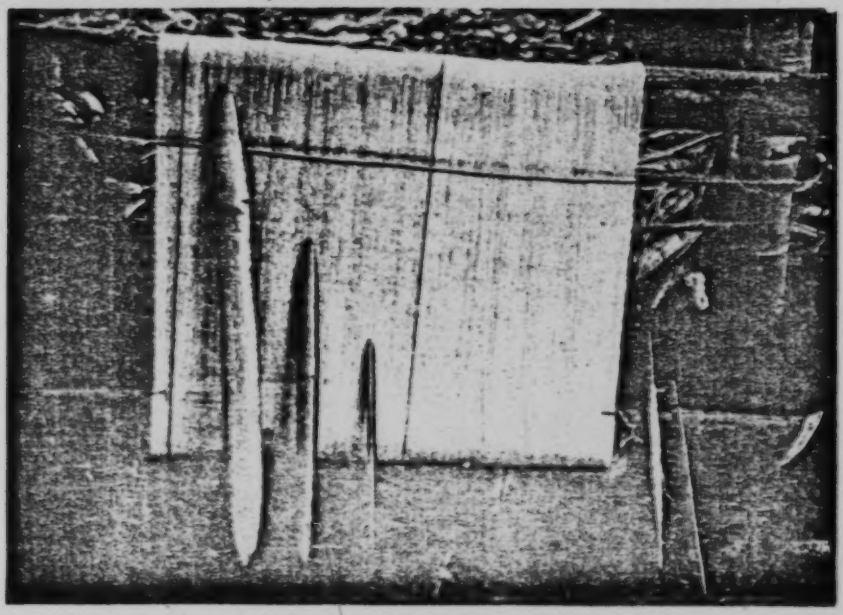

PLATE 186.—Páez weaving. *Top:* Woman weaving a woolen skirt. *Bottom:* Loom and weaving utensils. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942B]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,1 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

with the right hand over the naked thigh. Two strands are similarly twisted together until the desired thickness is obtained. 283

Gourds.—Gourds are still widely used. They are picked when ripe, cleaned out, and dried. With small openings, they serve as containers for beverages and powdered lime. Some are made into bowls and others are cut up to make spoons. Today these objects are undecorated, but formerly in Timaná they were painted with a resin varnish very similar to that used in Pasto. (See p. 930.) Before the Spanish domination, gourds were also used as frames over which were stretched the prepared skin of the heads of their enemies killed in war. 415 824 [314] [721]

Metallurgy.—The metallurgy of these Indians was the same as that practiced throughout most of Colombia. The metals were gold, copper, and an alloy of the two (tumbaga). It is recorded that the Indians "worked gold," but the processes are not described. Specimens found recently in the territory, however, show molding, casting, and hammering. Metal objects included nose ornaments, parrot-shaped breastplates, necklaces with small animal figures, and some anthropomorphic idols. Gold occurs in this territory, particularly on the upper Páez or the Suin River. 325 [301] [532] [135]

Ceramics.—These tribes made and still make coiled pottery. Modern vessel forms include large jars for storing beverages and poorly shaped, crudely decorated containers for preparing and serving food. There is no individual specialization in this task, women making pots for their own family and not for trade. 323

Stone and wooden artifacts.—The native Indians made stone axes of a simple design, but stonework disappeared during the time of colonization, when the Indians could obtain manufactured iron weapons and utensils such as machetes, axes, hoes, shovels, etc. The manufacture of wooden objects—weaving, cooking, and farming implements and weapons—was furthered by the use of metal tools, and now is well developed, as exemplified by the trapiche (cane mill), a true machine made of wood. 324 182 199 322 249 199

Weaving.—Weaving, little practiced before the Conquest, developed with the post-Contact need for wearing more clothes and with the introduction of sheep, whose wool was used in addition to cotton. Weaving was and is exclusively the work of women (pl. 186). They prepare fine, uniform yarn with a common spindle, which they handle as they walk along the road (pl. 187, *top*). The loom is vertical, made of two horizontal rods fastened to two uprights. The warp runs vertically with a continuous thread. The horizontal weft is pressed down with a wooden sword. They also weave hemp bands on the loom. Woolen blankets are woven in natural colors, but some sashes have bright colors made of imported wool or of home-dyed wool. For red, they use one of the Rubiaceae (*Relbunium hypocarpium*), and for 286 [177] [462] [386]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

blue, the fruit of the jagua palm (kii), probably *Genipa* sp. A woven fabric is made black by burying it for several days with clay and branches of a *Phyllanthus* which they call "sal."

They make woolen bags by hand, using a kind of crochet technique without needles, and decorate them with rectangular and rhomboid figures. Some bags are made of hemp (fique), in which case the stitches are larger and the article has greater elasticity.

Weapons.—For weapons, the *Páez* used large, thick lances of black or chonta palm, 20 to 25 palms or more long, clubs or macanas, stones thrown with slings, large rocks rolled down from heights, spear throwers like those used by the *Chibcha*, and shields of jaguar, puma, or bear skin. The *Páez* quickly adopted iron arms from the Spaniards, and in the last wars of the Conquest they used steel swords and knives. In a recently discovered grave were copper bells, a golden breastplate, shield bars of tumbaga, a Spanish dagger, and a curved knife of the Arabian or north African type used by the conquistadors.

Today the *Páez* use the club or macana, ordinary guns, machetes, knives, and, for killing birds, the blowgun.

Fire making.—Fires are generally made today with flint and steel, but some Indians use modern matches. For both heating and cooking, the fire is made on the ground in the main house, surrounded by stones which help support the pots. It is covered at night, and almost never goes out.

Illumination is provided not only by the fire but by candles made of wax from the wax palm and from seeds of a wild laurel. The latter are cooked and pressed in a bag so that the wax drips into a half calabash or pot to form a semispherical lump. It is melted to make candles with cotton wicks. The *Páez* use these themselves and also sell them, for they are superior to candles made of animal tallow. A cruder means of lighting consists of transfixing a large number of "higuerilla" seeds on a long, thin bamboo splinter. When the splinter is laid horizontally and lighted, the first seed burns strongly, after which the flame passes from seed to seed, lasting some 15 minutes and throwing a fair light a few feet around.

COMMERCE

Each week a market is held in the municipio or in some of the small native villages (pls. 190, 191). The Indians sell vegetables, tortillas, eggs, chickens, and laurel wax, and buy salt, brown sugar, and especially lime (mambe) to be chewed with coca. Each product has a price in Colombian money, whether by quantity or weight. The unit of weight is called an "egg," and more or less equals the weight of a chicken egg. After his few customary transactions, paid for either in cash or in terms, in which the future coffee crop is mortgaged to the

The house

/122 cont./

356 is swept by the women every day with a broom (ctábando) con-
824 sisting of shrubs of the psáňga plant. This plant at the same
[825] time drives away fleas. The rubbish is swept out of the house in such a way that even the entrance is clean.

351 All around the house and surrounding it at some distance
417 either a fence is erected or a ditch dug about one meter deep,
[231] within which the poultry and usually the pigs and sheep are kept.
In Calderas, where, because of the low temperature, bamboo
[137] no longer grows, the fence is made of wood obtained from the
[313] natural growth when a piece of land is burned off. Stakes are driven vertically into the ground at intervals of about two meters and the interspaces filled with small tree trunks, branches, and twigs up to a good meter in length, lying horizontally. Climbing over this fence is done with notched tree trunks or bamboo stalks placed obliquely against the fence as a ladder. Similar notched tree trunks also serve as ladders in the houses (Ills. 168 and 154 /see pp.274 and 268 /).

514 There are no privies. On account of the isolation of the houses, however, it is never difficult for the Paez to find a place off in the brush or in the forest. We never found the paths
264 and the vicinity of the houses soiled with filth. The Paez showed
[412] the same tact in eating and at other gatherings. We never experienced smacking of lips or belching, even though their eating habits are somewhat crude, for, lacking spoons, they are in the habit of simply shoving their food from the plate into the mouth with the fingers.

/123/ 2. Clothing and Ornaments

●291 The Paez today wear clothing covering their upper and lower bodies. In ancient times, according to the reports of chroniclers, some of them were said to have worn small cotton cloaks, although the majority of them "went about naked, even in the cold mountains" (cited by Hernandez, 1944, p. 191,
[302] from P. M. Rodriguez, 1684). They were also said to have painted their bodies with color and to have made imprints on them with

stamps,

/123 cont./

291 stamps. Soon after the Conquista they adopted the upper garment
177 and the straw hat still worn today.

The clothing of the men consists of the upper garment, linen trousers, the cloak (called "poncho" in Peru, "ruana" in Colombia /see the glossary, p. 250 /) and the waterproof, plaited
291 straw hat. The upper garment and the ruana are woven by the
294 women out of sheep wool, whereas the linen trousers are made
286 by the men themselves out of purchased fabrics. This is note-
177 worthy culture-historically, for cutting clothing from woven
[462] fabrics was unknown to the South American Indians in pre-Colombian times, since fabrics were not woven "by the meter" to be sewed later into clothing as desired; rather, the shape of the subsequent article of clothing was already taken into con-
296 sideration at the start of the weaving. It follows from the method of manufacture that torn fabrics are never repaired by the women with a ready-made patch, but are always darned in imitation of
[462] the texture of the cloth. It is different for men's trousers, the materials of which are bought by the men and sewed by them themselves, never by the women. Once these -- as well as the purchased shirts -- are torn, they are never darned, but always repaired by the men by means of a patch sewed underneath.
296 Thus, we have here the fixed rule that woven clothing is never-
177 patched, but is darned, whereas the sewed clothing is never darned,
462 but is always patched. The former is women's work, the latter men's work.

291 The garment covering the upper body of the men (tondato; for lack of an appropriate European designation it is called upper garment in the following) is not a sleeveless shirt, since the sides are not sewed together, but are open. It is quite simply a rectangular woven piece of wool about 60 centimeters wide and 160 centimeters long, whose warp threads run lengthwise. A slit about 30 centimeters long is left open in the center for the neck. It is pulled on over the head, and the lower ends are either stuffed into the trousers or left hanging over them. In the latter case they must be secured with a strap tied over them (Ills. 154 /see p. 268/, 165, 166 /see p. 273/, 171 /see p. 276 /, 202 /see p. 289 /, 203 /see p. 290/).

/124/

291 294 The men's trousers (calsón) have no pockets. On the average they reach to the calves. Generally they are very carefully sewed, either with purchased thread or with homemade, very fine yarn made of agave threads. In making them, as well as in the case of necessary repair work, all the edges are very carefully bound.

The men's ruana (atc) is generally square, with a side edge of 100 to 160 centimeters. It is sewed together out of two equally wide, rectangular panels, with a slit about 20 centimeters long left open in the center as a neck opening. Because of its square shape the ruana may be worn just as well with the neck-opening crosswise.

285 462 293 415 291 Whereas shoes or sandals are not used by the Paez, men, women, and children wear the same type of straw hats (śwá). These are plaited, however, only by the men and boys. The dress of both sexes is completed by two or three of the colored woolen coca bags, in which, on journeys, the necessary personal articles are also carried.

291 294 286 The garments of the women's clothing consist of wool and are woven by the women themselves. In general the quality and fineness of the women's fabrics are significantly greater than that of the men's woven fabrics. The boys' and young men's fabrics are generally the coarsest, woven with a rather thick spun thread. Decorative strips of a different color within the fabric are found chiefly in the women's clothing, but not infrequently also in that of the men, especially in the ruanas. The absolutely necessary basic clothing of the women consists of skirt and upper garment. Both are worn in such a way that the warp threads run crosswise. The skirt (atytól) is a very wide, tubular garment, whose diameter may amount to 150 centimeters and more, with a length (in the weaving state this corresponds to the width!) of about 80 centimeters. It is worn in such a way that the front part is tight, while the back side falls in numerous folds. It is fastened at the height of the hips with a woman's colored belt, and its upper edge is folded down somewhat over the belt.

/124 cont./

• 291 The upper garment (ipotsatc) is a simple, rectangular piece of cloth about 160 centimeters long and 80 centimeters wide, which, when being put on, is held crosswise so that the warp and ornamental threads run crosswise. When it is on, it covers only the bosom, back, and one side, whereas the other one remains more or less free (Ills. 166 /see p. 273/ and 178 /see p.279 /). In use it is put on from one side of the body over the bosom to the other side, and then led across the back to the original side again. The back /125/ part is now pulled up and fastened over both shoulders to the bosom part with a thorn (tõpo) or a safety pin. The part that hangs down is tucked into the skirt. In general the women try to buy colored, usually red blouses in the market for festival days, and these then replace the old, simple cloth. The skirts, however, are not exchanged for other clothing, because the purchased fabrics are not nearly as durable and also do not have the necessary width.

Outside the house the women usually wear a shawl over the ipotsatc; they either weave one (senyatc) for themselves or [854] purchase it (panyelõn). In any case it is necessary for carrying babies, for they are wrapped in it and secured with the colored belt (táw) (Ills. 152 /see p. 267 /, 166 /see p. 273 /, 178 /see p. 279/, 183 /see p. 282 /).

292 There is no special, original ceremonial dress or any special clothing for dignitaries. The latter carry, as their only [293] distinguishing mark, the chonta staff introduced to them by the [177] Spaniards. For festivals and ceremonies people try to wear either items of European clothing or a new outfit of the customary gar- [764] ments. For a Christian burial it is the duty of the members of [177] the family to bury the deceased in the clothing of white Colombians.

291 Small children usually run around naked or have a scrap of cloth hung over them in the style of the ruana. Larger boys wear either a large ruana reaching to the upper thighs, which is held together by a belt, or they already wear trousers. Smaller girls are usually dressed in a piece of cloth reaching from the upper body down over the knees, which is drawn over one shoulder. Older girls wear the clothing of the women. No distinction is

/125 cont./

291 made between the clothing of the married and the unmarried.

302 The men's hair is cut "semilong" with scissors, so that they have a cut midway between bobbed hair and a modern, shaped cut. Women wear their hair long and combed toward the back, to some extent in the form of a part. Older girls and [412] married women plait their hair in braids. Only the modern, purchased combs are used for combing. The men do not groom their beards, which are sparse to begin with, but from youth onward pull out the beard hair with the fingers.

301 No ornaments of any kind are worn by the men nowadays.
439 Two hundred years ago they wore nose rings (zomp) "like the oxen" (Castillo i Orosco, p. 89). The women today wear /126/ purchased pendant-ornaments only to a very slight extent, the white glass-bead chains (wáč̌a - bead) being relatively the most common (Ill. 148 /see p. 265/). The traders are Sibundoy or similar fellow-tribesmen from the southern part of the country, where chains of this kind are worn by the pound by men and women as pendant ornaments. Earrings consist either of a few purchased beads strung on a thread or of a purchased silver pendant. Anyone may wear purchased brass finger-rings; it is not a sign of being married. In earlier times it is possible that there were arm rings, as is shown by Castillo's term kasẽnandgnue-tsa for "arm ring."

3. Economy

433 The first impression that one has of the Paez from an economic standpoint is that of a democratic farming people firmly rooted in their soil, and during an initial consideration of their food and way of life it appears as though they have never been anything but agriculturalists. In the case of primitive peoples, however, we must distinguish between the principal means of production and the original means of production. The former is usually not hard to recognize, whereas the question of the original means of production of a people can be answered

/167 cont./

484 while the /168/ woman on foot lugs the goods behind. From
439 Calderas more men than women visit the market. For both it
482 is a very welcome occasion to become intoxicated. The
[273] owners of the taverns try to prevent the stealing of the much
[275] coveted beer and whiskey glasses, popularly practiced by the Paez, by chaining the glasses to the tavern tables.

On market days it is customary to leave very early and to transport the loads in the fiber bags in the customary way: the men take the carrying belt diagonally across their chests and the women hold it with their foreheads. In both cases the bag hangs on their backs. Then generally travel in groups of twos or threes, but not infrequently one also meets solitary
[432] individuals. Provisions are taken along, for, as a matter of
[273] principle, nothing is bought on the way except chicha or brandy.
[485] If it is necessary to stay overnight, nothing is paid for this. They sleep either at the entrance of a house of acquaintances or spend the night in the open field.

439 For traveling and for the visit to the market they try to wear
484 at least one article of European clothing, a felt hat, a shirt, or
[291] a blouse. The quality plays only a minor role, since the worst
[177] shirt is still more desirable than the finest ruana. A person who cannot buy anything in the way of clothing at least ties a black
[262] band around his hat, such as the felt hats have. Provisions are carried along in the fiber bag, roasted maize, cabbage, potatoes,
[415] arracacha. A person who can carries with him two or three of
484 the woolen coca pouches, in one of which there is coca and lime,
461 in another one money, and in the third the plaiting material
[285] for the straw hat. Almost all the men do this plaiting work, which actually is not work at all, but more like a "blind occupation," when they have nothing else to do, either when visiting, on the way to market, or also during the shaman ceremonies.
[283] The women, no matter where one meets them, are equally in-
[285] dustrious and always busy with spinning or plaiting the fiber bags or the wool coca-pouches. Like the men, they carry their work material with them in a second wool pouch.

/177 cont./

the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook. Old, solitary persons or unmarried girls or men live with relatives or friends, but never alone, since a single person is unable either to protect himself or to provide for himself adequately.

The father's authority is great. Wife and children owe him absolute obedience. Nevertheless, the man does not have the right to alienate personal articles of members of the family or possessions that they made themselves. Thus, for example, he is not in a position to sell a coca bag or a fiber bag belonging to his wife or his children's toys.

The children are given the family name of the father, but the women keep their maiden names even after marriage. There is no external indication in dress or hair style or otherwise for unmarried girls and married women. The wife is obligated to work for her husband and children in her family. Beyond that she may procure personal belongings for herself by weaving cloth beyond the needs of her family, for example, and trading it for ornaments.

If the young people are still living in the house with their parents, the daughter-in-law is not absolutely subordinate to her mother-in-law, although this appears to be so, to judge from the speech at the wedding ceremony. A relationship of dependence is out of the question because of the separate kitchens. Usually, however, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are on good terms, and then it is not uncommon for only one woman to cook for both families, for there is no in-law avoidance. Then the two women share the work of cleaning the house.

Conjugal fidelity is demanded of both marriage partners; in the case of the man, however, it is sometimes not taken so seriously. If a man surprises his wife, however, or she her husband, in marital infidelity, the deceived party may beat (but not kill) both and report them to the cabildo, which again has the guilty party very soundly thrashed.

Illegitimate children are not rare among the Paez. In case an unmarried girl has a child, she is beaten by her parents and

/193 cont./

585 help. Since the young men almost never own their own cattle,
[422] they must earn the purchase price for this by the sale of agricul-
[432] tural products. Wheat is usually chosen for this, since it may be
[243] harvested half a year after sowing.

For the wedding celebration about 50 men and women are
585 invited, not only relatives, but also friends, among them the
608 sponsors (padrino, madrina) required for the church marriage
service. They sit with the bridal couple (nikálo). The parents
[291] and guests on both sides arrange themselves informally. The
[431] padrino and madrina must give or loan the bridegroom and bride
[426] new clothes for this wedding day, but they differ from the ordinary
[301] everyday clothing only in that they are newer and cleaner. No
585 special /194/ ornaments of any kind are put on by anyone. The
wedding is celebrated in such a way that the church service takes
place in the morning, after which the guests go to the wedding
house accompanied by music and have a small midday meal, with
which, however, only a little chicha is drunk. The festival ox is
not yet slaughtered on this day, and not until the "actual" (as the
Calderun say) wedding celebration, which takes place about a
month later in the house of the bridegroom. The ox is slaughtered
in the morning, and in the afternoon the guests arrive, sit down
together informally, and eat and drink chicha and brandy copiously.
[533] Music is played for this, but no one dances to it. Before the eating
[535] begins, when all are still sober, the padrino makes a speech ad-
dressed to the bride and groom, in which he says approximately
the following: You are now husband and wife, and you, as the
husband, should not beat your wife, and you, as wife, should
not use any bad words toward your husband. The husband should
also not speak ill of his wife, and the wife should obey if the
husband commands her to do something and should help him
in all things! Then he takes the hand of the bride and gives it
to the mother of the bridegroom, who speaks to the bride as fol-
lows: You have now been taken into our family and you are to
work for your husband and cook his meals for him and make his
clothes and arrange everything for him; in addition, you must
help me in the house and carry out my instructions, as well as

/195 cont./

d) Death

761/ 776 165 164 [262] [762] According to the belief of the Paez, death occurs chiefly through the action of the evil shamans (nyic) or the evil spirits ec̆, tus̄, and gĕlyōmp (see "Religion" /see pp. 191 ff./). Included here also is the not infrequent cause of death through consumption. Causes of death of children are chiefly whooping cough, as well as stomach and intestinal disorders, the latter brought about by a diet very unsuitable for children. Suicide is completely unknown.

764 [763] [203] [765] [192] The death of a member of the community is passed on from man to man by members of the family and neighbors. There is no public mourning or lamentation; upon the death of small children, people act as though they were glad, since the children are now "little angels." (Among the colonists, as well as among the Paez, the Spanish word "angelito" is used.) In former times it was customary to abandon the house when death occurred and to leave the deceased and some food in it (Castillo i Orosco, p. IX).

764 184 The manner of burial is the same for men, women, and children; there are no social differences. A few customs in other Paez communities, however, differ from those of the Calderun. Therefore the burial of the dead in Calderas will be described first.

[177] [290] For burial the deceased is dressed if possible in purchased, that is, "white" clothing, even if he was the poorest of the poor and had never worn such clothing. For this reason the relatives incur considerable expense, which often cannot be paid for a long time. Burial takes place the day after death. Only the feet of the deceased are washed. This work, as well as dressing the deceased, may be done by relatives or even by outsiders; they must, /196/ however, always be men, even in the case of female deceased persons. The body is taken by two men on a bier made of two tree trunks to the graveyard next to the church, where two other men, usually relatives, have already dug the grave. The latter is trapezoid-shaped, a good shoulder's breadth at head height and narrower at the foot end. Its length is determined by the size of the deceased. The direction of the grave is completely arbitrary.

/204 cont./

556 special sociological role within their community, for they are elected neither more frequently nor more rarely to the village offices. They have simply "always" been considered wealthy, though it should be noted that in the language of the Paez there
[192] is no word at all for "rich" or "poor." The word used for "poor," "póre," comes from the Spanish (povre), and the word used for "rich," "čščanas," at the same time means "strong" in the physi-
556 cal sense. Despite this apparent unimportance of wealth, how-
626 ever, it is jealously seen to that no other industrious man of a poor family will become rich and possibly put his wealth -- by means of Colombian dress or something similar -- on display. The evil shamans would put a spell on him or poison him, /205/ and the neighbors would devastate his fields by driving their cattle there. He would be cut by everyone, and people in a state of intoxica-
115 tion would start a fight with him in order to kill him. At any
556 rate, this is what happened and is happening to our interpreter,
626 Victoriano. He does not come from a wealthy family, but he wants to acquire money and livestock through diligence and
• [271] ability. From the money he earned among the whites he has
[177] already bought himself the clothing of the whites, which he now proudly displays, and at festivals he sells wax candles and sweets. His fellow-villagers hate him on that account. The priest has had to protect him several times already from the machetes of drunken men who had started a fight with him; and in our presence, too, when we visited various houses with him, he was occasionally very rudely heckled by drunken men. Not least because, in the opinion
115 of the Calderun, he is not working. Again and again I tried to ex-
123 plain to the people that they, too, could "go walking" with me and
556 earn money if they were able to speak Spanish. Since this was
626 not the case, there was nothing else for me to do but always work with Victoriano. Nothing helped; Victoriano became more and more unpopular, and I, too, was regarded as a do-nothing. A
123 drunken man who, instead of the one cigarette he was given, vainly demanded an entire pack as a present abused me, too, as an "alko," a dog, who is always going from house to house and does not work.

/314 cont./

105 The clothing of the men and women covers the upper and lower body. The men's upper garment, called "ruana" in Colombia, "poncho" in Peru, is a sleeveless shirt open at the sides. It is ancient American, known both from the relief of the so-called "sun god" of Tiahuanaco and from a grave of the pre-Spanish [291] period in Arica (northern Chile) (Montell, pp. 173-183). Soon [171] after the Conquista, since the second half of the sixteenth century, this Andean article of clothing, which consists simply of a square piece of cloth with an elongated slit for the head, was distributed throughout the area of the Andean mountain cultures. Its name, "atc," among the Paez, however, has no parallel linguistically. [177] The men's trousers are clearly Spanish. The women's costume is most simple: as an upper garment to a skirt a rectangular piece of cloth is simply put crosswise over their upper bodies.

[241] From an economic point of view, field cultivation is primary. It is carried out by the men in the form of the burned-clearing system with a ten-year clearing cycle. The only field tool is the [433] digging stick. The minimal area of cultivated land for one family is about one hectare. The principal crops are maize and sugar [177] cane. The latter was not introduced until after the Conquista. The Paez word means "sweet." The Paez designation for maize, "kotc," has no parallel with the corresponding words of the Chibcha, Carib, or Aruac /Arawak/ language groups, but with Kechua / /Quechua/, where maize is called "kuts" (Birket-Smith, pp. 22-30). The stimulants are coca and chicha made of sugar-cane juice. Both Paez words, eš and mbéka, respectively, have no parallels in other language groups.

105 There are no outstanding festivals indicative of a planter's 241 culture or rites associated with the products of field cultivation, nor does anything indicating an agricultural rhythm of life appear in the myths and religious customs of the Paez. The mythology and ceremonial customs are remnants of a hunter's attitude of mind. It appears as though the Paez did not adopt their primitive agriculture until the time of the Conquista or shortly before, and adopted only the mechanical application of the methods of simple digging-stick farming, without the ceremonial customs associated

1: Nachtigall--265 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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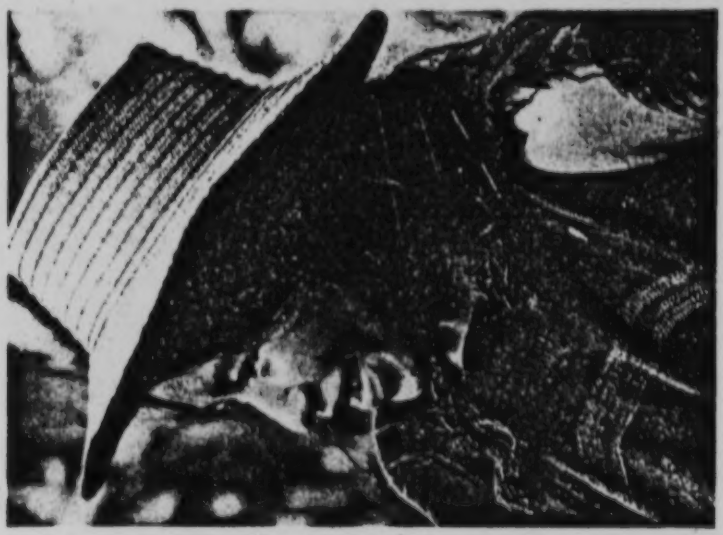

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Ills. 148 and 149. Young women.

1: Nachtigall--266 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ills. 150 and 151. Young men.

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1: Nachtigall--267 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 153. The shaman Cerbeleón Niunda.

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Ill. 152. Mother with child.

1: Nachtigall--268 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

Ill. 154. House with ladder.

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Ill. 155. Our interpreter, Victoriano Piñakué.

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1: Nachtigall--273 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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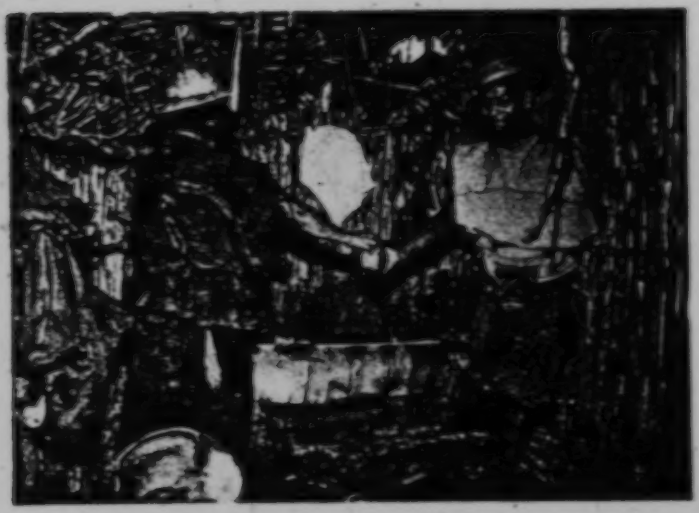

Ill. 165. House annex with the chicha trough.

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Ill. 166. Interior of a Paez house.

1: Nachtigall--277 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 174. Harvesting the coca leaves.

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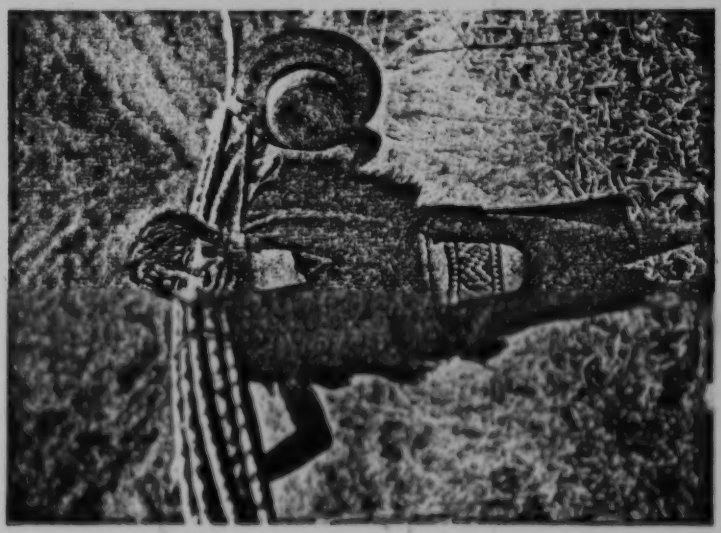
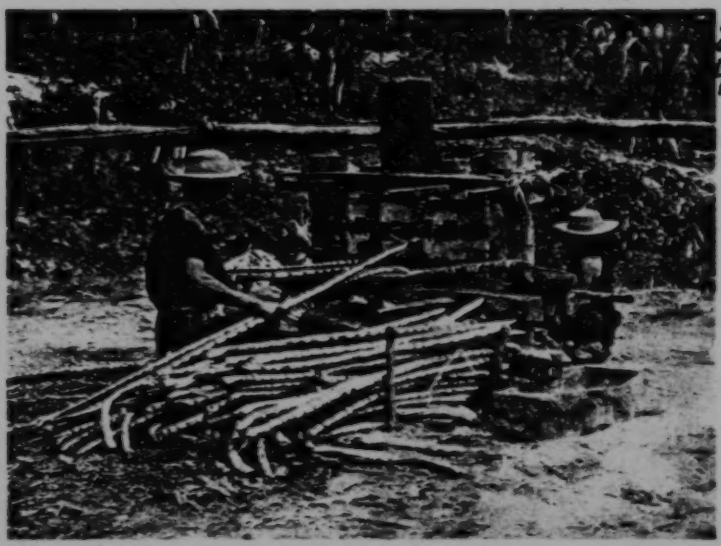


Ill. 175. Paez with sugar cane.

1: Nachtigall--278 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15



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Ill. 175. Sugar mill in operation.

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Ill. 176. Distillation apparatus.

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ON
NEXT FICHE

1: Nachtigall--279 E-5 (1952-1953) 1985 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ills. 177 and 178. Woman defleshing agave leaves.

1: Nachtigall--280 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

Ill. 179. Spinning with the drop spindle.

Ill. 180. Twisting the spun wool thread.

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1: Nachtigall--282 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

Ill. 183. Making a fiber bag

Ill. 184. Smoothing out the seams of a pot.

1: Nachtigall--288 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 200. Skull trophy and figure of a spirit.

Ill. 199. The shaman Felisia Ipia with her shaman's staff.

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1: Nachtigall--289 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 201. Grinding maize with the hand-grindstone.

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Ill. 202. Calderun music group.

1: Nachtigall--290 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

CIII

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Ill. 204. Burial of a child who died of whooping cough.

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Ill. 203. The flute maker Vicente Puche.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

164 cient testimony, they have their share of physical ailments. Besides itch (*lel*), tumors of several kinds (*lol-sek*, tonsilitis; *koü*, tumor in the groin), they have original names for smallpox (*buzgné*), which I was told often rages among them, for diarrhœa (*u-tšitš*), dysentery (*mengné*), and intermittent or malarial fevers (*ya-ya-gné* in the ancient dialect, *kné-kné-né* in that spoken at the present day).

757 Of the practices and superstitions made use of in the cure of
114 these diseases I could gain no information, but it is very probable that the Paez still have their own medicine-men.

Clothing. Personal Adornment

291 At present the wool obtained from the numerous sheep kept
286 by the Paez Indians plays the most important part in the cloth-
[231] ing of both sexes. I cannot find any direct information on the fabrics used before the introduction of sheep by the Spaniards,
[174 but it is most likely that the Paez obtained cotton from the In-
439] dians of the Cauca and Magdalena plains, the cultivation and the manufacture of which into thread must have formed one of the principal industries in the latter. I have already referred
[172 to the great number of clay spindle-whorls found in the graves
174] and on old dwelling sites throughout the Cauca valley. Judging by these we may feel sure that the former inhabitants were great spinners. On the other hand, the present Paez Indians still weave most of their own clothing, and there is no reason why they should not have done so formerly.

291 The dress of the men consists of a pair of short trousers (*hiü*),
[177] that are evidently a concession to modern civilization. These are made of raw cotton cloth, or of imported fabrics, and reach from the waist to about the knees. Over the shoulders is worn a broad rectangular piece of white woolen homespun cloth, split in the middle in the form of a poncho so as to allow the head to pass through, and hanging free front and back. This is called *tund-atš*, i. e., 'the cloth that binds, or covers.' It is generally worn next to the skin, but sometimes a light cotton shirt, called *atš-petš*, is first put on. Over the *tund-atš* they carry on their left
[276] side, hanging by straps that pass over the right shoulder, the coca

TRAVELING PAEZ WOMAN AND CHILDREN

PAEZ GRINDING STONE

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4,5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

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[facing p.317]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

bag and the small receptacle that contains the quicklime used 297.
with the former. When out of doors a second piece of woolen [276]
cloth, longer and narrower than the first and called simply *atš*, is thrown over the shoulders, with the head likewise thrust through the middle. A narrow-brimmed hat (*tsua*) the like of which is found among the Kitsua, is the usual complement of this dress. It is made of the outer skin of a tall grass (*Gyncrium* [824]
saccharoides), resembling sugar-cane and common along rivers.

The women all dress in the same way, with fabrics invariably woven by themselves. The underwear, which is often dispensed with, consists of a narrow piece of woolen tissue used as a loin cloth, passing between the legs and then rolled around the hips. Over this article is worn a broad piece of dark woolen cloth, wrapped along the body and limbs in the form of a skirt. This is the *anaco*, or *pamb-atš*, and it is attached to the waist by means of a sash called *vilia*, the elaborateness and ornamentation of which vary with the wealth of the owner. The upper part of the body is covered with a ruana called *atš-tul*, sewed along the right side and on the right shoulder, but open at the left side, being simply pinned on the left shoulder with a wooden peg or a fish-bone. When traveling the women provide them- [482]
selves with another broad piece of cloth (*spatš*) which is used either as a cover or for wrapping the baby on the back. In the latter case the cloth is secured by means of a belt (plate IV, 1).

Women also wear necklaces, made now of common glass [301]
beads, silver coins, or small sea-shells, the number of strings [554]
depending on the wealth of the husband. The mention in Castillo's vocabulary of a word for bracelet (*kaschand-gnne-tsa*) indicates the former use of such ornament. Females have no [291]
headgear. Married women part their hair along the median 302
line of the head and allow it to hang back in two braids. Little girls wear their hair loosely behind the shoulders. In former times women painted their faces blue with the juice of a fruit called *kii*. Speaking of this custom, which seems to be obsolete now, Castillo facetiously says: "fruta . . . con cuyo zumo se pintan el rostro las Indias (*i aun las que no lo son*)." Men formerly decorated their bodies and faces with *tok*, the red color [824]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

302 extracted from the seeds of *Bixa orellana*, which they applied
[294] by means of a cylinder of clay (*kaanda*) on which certain designs were carved. Specimens of such cylinders are often found in graves.

291 Children are very scantily clothed. The boys go about naked
515 until they reach their twelfth year, and the little girls wear only a short *atš-tul*. The clothing of the male and female adults seems to be worn as long as it lasts. As is the case with all Indians living at high altitudes, the Paez are not especially fond of bathing, and cleanliness is not a cardinal virtue with them.
[513] In retiring for the night, they simply wrap their garments tighter around them, the children using old rags in lieu of blankets.

386 The ornamentation of the *vilia*, or sash, with several brilliant
[182] colors and the desire of giving a uniform hue to the darker clothing of the women, gave origin to the art of dyeing, which very likely is to-day in its decline. The dyes were derived chiefly from plants. Black was obtained from *šal*, an arborescent *Phyllanthus* that has a semi-domesticated appearance and forms characteristic thickets around inhabited places, like Vitoncó; the same color is also contained in the young pods of the *huarango* (*Cæsalpinia tinctoria*), a spiny tree often seen near the houses and extensively used at the present time for dyeing wool. The roots of *tuk-nétse*, a Rubiacea (*Relbunium hypocarpium* Hemsl.) akin to the madder, produce a scarlet color. Different kinds of blue dyes were extracted from the fruit of the jagua (*kii*, probably *Genipa* sp.) and from an *Indigofera*.
[177] Many other tinctorial plants very likely escaped my observation and are gradually passing out of use on account of the introduction of foreign fabrics.

DWELLINGS

342 The Paeces have permanent houses in their thirty-four villages and temporary abodes on their corn plantations. These latter are merely small huts, the walls of which are more or less elaborate according to the altitude, being made tighter near the upper limit of culture. They represent the primitive type of

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

157 pipes they play while walking along, unless their hands are kept
533 busy plaiting braids of gynerium bark in the manufacture of
583 their hats. This is the exclusive occupation of the men.
[463] Women almost invariably walk along spinning wool, their distaff under the left arm and the spindle in the left hand, while the right hand is busy at the wool.

885 The Paez maidens are fond of flowers and are very playful.
157 On one occasion I observed several of them going up the hill
481 beyond the river, in front of the church at Huila, their arms entwined about one another's necks; then they began running up the steep hill as in a contest of endurance. As they became exhausted they threw themselves on the grass, while their movements showed that they were playing and joking all the time. These children of Nature are not unpleasant to look at,
[515 except for their usual lack of cleanliness; nor are they wanting
142] in coquetry, and they are often pretty. But in the presence of
[609] strangers they are extremely bashful, doing their utmost to keep in the background.

291 The old women are generally very ugly. Their clothing con-
515 sists only of dirty rags, and their skin is covered with the filth of years.

593 Relations between the sexes, especially between husbands
562 and wives, seem to be easy and without an air of superiority on the part of the former. On the few occasions that I had to entertain these people at their houses, the women took the same interest and the same part in the proceedings as the men, which was very different from what I observed among the Central American Indians.

609 Toward strangers, and especially toward Colombians of other
186 races, the attitude of the Indians is decidedly hostile. Unless induced by the prospect of profit they will neither sell anything nor lend any service, often refusing money and accepting only articles which they especially desire. They will not allow white
[563] or black people in their homes, and at Huila they are even unwilling that the only white family living there should share the practically inexhaustible supply of fuel scattered about in the near-by forest, or have horses or cattle pasturing on the almost

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101 the Ullucos river, since to the south of it were found the Topas,
361 Yaguiváes, and Guanaca. It seems that in the fifteenth century,
[166 173] under the rule of the cacique Calambás, the Paez went over the cordillera and settled in Pitayó, Toribío, and Tacueyó.

162 Dr. José Pérez de Barradas gave a number of 30,000 souls.
[161] The census of 1938 gives a total of 17,578 inhabitants distributed as follows: municipio of Páez (Belalcázar), 13,861; municipio of Inzá, 3,717. The censuses of 1951 give a total of 25,495 inhabitants, with 15,388 in the municipio of Páez and 10,103 in that of Inzá. It is obvious that the census of 1938 was defective, especially with regard to the population of this last municipio.

[177] Of this population, approximately 80 per cent is Indian, acculturated for the most part, except for those of Calderas, Suin, and Chinas, where traditions are strong and their contacts with the white scant, and in addition there is great resistance to living with him.

142 The Paez are of medium height, with light brown skin, dark brown eyes, straight black hair, broad foreheads, rather pronounced cheekbones, pentagonal rather than oval faces,
361 robust constitutions, and rather broad shoulders. Their pueblos
796 consist of a church, a school, the house of the priest and of
342 the cabildo, and a few other houses which are occupied only at the times of religious fiestas; they live in ranchos that are rectangular in plan, with thatched roofs and walls made of tight rows of maize stalks, /286/ located on privately owned land and a considerable distance apart.

291 Dress.--The Paez dress simply. The man wears linen trousers, a poncho tied to the waist with a leather strap and another that falls freely from the shoulders, and a hat which they manufacture themselves with palm or bamboo leaves. The woman wears a wide skirt tied around the waist with a multicolored band preceding the folds made at the back, a poncho similar to the one worn by the men and also tied around

/286 cont./

291 the waist, and over it a rebozo or shawl of foreign make; they wear hats of masculine manufacture. They carry a thin stick
283 one meter long more or less, called kasguat, held under the left armpit, and at its upper end there is a bundle of wool to be spun, a task which they do at any time, while walking or sitting in the house, regardless of whether a child is resting on their backs or, when they are walking along the road, a heavy
301 load. Only the women wear ornaments consisting of multicolored necklaces, earrings, and sometimes rings.

293 Both men and women usually carry three woolen pouches,
415 aside from others of fique, a very small one for money, a larger one for mambe /coca and lime for chewing/, and the third, which is the largest of all and holds the other two, is used to carry palm leaves or the plaited work made with them for the men, and other things for the women.

276 Coca.--All the Paez are "mambe chewers," men, women,
[461] and children, regarding coca as an article that gives strength,
[261] frees one from laziness, and mitigates hunger. Without it, of
[273] course, they will not work. Coca and chicha, fermented sugar-
[262] cane juice, play the role of real foods, given their starchy and scant diet.

631 Parcialidades and cabildos.--Politically, the Indians are
621 organized into parcialidades, each headed by a cabildo made up of a gobernador and substitute, a major alcalde and another minor one, two alguaciles, three fiscales, a comisario, a capitán, and a síndico elected each year and put in office by the respective alcaldías of the municipio, except for the last two, who are named for life and put in office by the /287/ Church. Their functions are administrative and police work, but in reality they exercise functions of social, legal, and religious control.

631 The parcialidades are bounded by the craggy peaks and the deep, rugged beds of the streams and rivers in such a way that each one circumscribes specific kinds of geography, and even of

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173 fortune: his efforts brought to light a large jar overflowing with
823 gold. In his great joy he went running to his companions to tell

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173 them of the coveted find; in their eagerness they all flew to the
823 lucky spot, and oh! supreme misfortune, the treasure had vanished. Minutes later, the powder flask exploded, killing several, mutilating others, and leaving only a few alive. The whites localize the Hipinjí legend in Tumbichukue.

487 /182/ The descent to the Kukiyú is effected along a
499 vertical ridge, following a path with innumerable zigzags, an

/190 cont./

372 cult of fire. In times past, fire was obtained with "steel and
773 tinder." Whatever the case may be, the mythical accounts

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372 disclose the usury of the owner of fire and anxiety when they were
773 on the verge of losing it. Nowadays, when through carelessness
[177] it goes out in a household, the matches of the whites are used to revive it.

513 The Indians go to bed early. At seven o'clock at night the
512 parents and the children lie down in a common bed on the dry hides of cattle, keeping on their bodies the clothes that covered

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273 take with him the "heart" of the aguardiente, thus reducing the
784 quantity and detracting from its quality, for it will be "cold

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273 and tasteless."
[784] The distillation is done on any day and at any hour; the tax collectors do not go this far; control of this kind has never been permitted, and anyone who dared to do it would risk his
[186] life. Children drink this liquor from the age of three. Abstainers are inconceivable; "only Protestants do not drink," they conclude.

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415 chicha, and hands it to a person favored and respected by him;
554 the latter takes it, drinks from it, and returns the small gourd;
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415 then he is given the suilté. In turn, he fills the small gourd and
554 gives it to the man who presented it to him. Then he distributes
273 the chicha among all those present, beginning with the adults,

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533 are played by a large number of people, those playing the melody (flutes) are few and usually restricted to a few families.

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533 The women do not play any musical instrument.

Secular singing is unknown; only religious songs are sung at the hours of prayer, the Mass, and the procession.

535 [171] The dancing of the Calderas people is stylized and very similar to the Colombian bambuco. It is danced by mixed couples, separately or joined together. As a rule the dancers take on a certain air of gravity and concentration, and the onlookers follow their movements attentively. The woman always

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231 796 At about ten o'clock in the morning the special guests of the fiestero get ready to kill the beef. They are four. The

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231 796 musicians intone the kula kui while other men begin to cut the long, [533] dry pieces of wood into small fragments. Woodcutters, slaughterers, and musicians all begin their activities at once. The wood will serve to roast the maize griddlecakes.

[205] One of the slaughterers gathers the blood in a pan, while another one holds the head and tries to cover the eyes; he believes that if he does not do so, some other cow will attack him when he goes to catch it.

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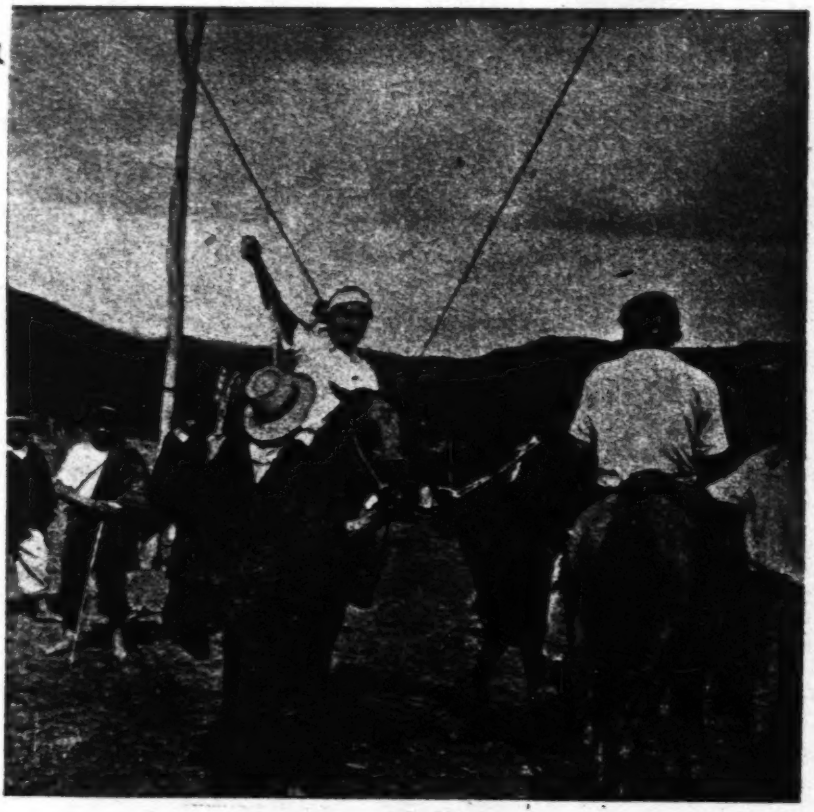

796 and in the same fashion. Abundant food and drink will be the
465 testimonial of his gratitude. They will also have the musicians
574 and dance. They will wake up in the morning, like those at the fiesta, lying on the ground.

4:Bernal Villa--53 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

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XXIV

The Race for the Rooster at Tumbichukue

103 The name of Tumbichukue is familiar to the colonists throughout Tierradentro. It is synonymous with fabulous treasures. In this place, it is said, the Paez buried all the gold and silver that they collected in the ill-fated settlement of Sebastián Quintero destroyed by them.

[131] Tumbichukue is a pass /vereda/ formed by the eastern slopes of the páramo of San Lucas and located between the Kukiyú and the Yusayú gorge (Guacharaca). It belongs to the parcialidad of Lame, and the road that goes from San Andrés [491] to Lame passes precisely there. This road is well traveled, its people more accessible to the whites.

796 On June 24 the men race their horses along the road.
541 It is a custom of Indians and whites "to race on the day of San Juan." The whites say that those who do not race their horses on the day of San Juan get scabies. The small, husky horses pant under the demands of their drunken riders. A wild race and shouts in an unsteady voice: Viva San Juan!

The people of the pass go to a small square along the road, near which lives the capitán of Lame. Indians from
184 San Andrés come to watch the race for the rooster. On the
796 other hand, in spite of the nearness, no Calderun /person from
291 Calderas/ is seen there. The women who are seen are clean,
177 with neatly braided hair; they wear black skirts, navy-blue
301 rebozos, pink blouses, numerous multi-colored necklaces,
541 bright earrings, and cloth hats. The monotonous dark or black necklaces characteristic of Paez apparel are nearly absent among these people. The classic pindo hat worn by the [191] Calderas people is absent. Spanish is spoken more frequently.

796 All the riders are concentrating on the cage and the
541 roosters.

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793 out the procession. The latter, reeling from chicha and lack
796 of sleep, arrived at the end of the Mass and learned of the
788 decision of the priest, who in addition advised them to save the gunpowder for the procession on the following day. They left. And although they did not march around the church and did not bear on their shoulders the image of the saint, they fired all the firecrackers, the skyrockets, and the fireworks castle to the strains of their native music. The procession was carried out symbolically.

796 The women and the men are dark in complexion and in
142 apparel. At these celebrations it is not unusual to see them
291 dressed in bright colors and brightly colored beads.
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/251 cont./

* 756 554 In any case, "the curers have something and are kind," said one informant. They are respected, and at entertainments they are attended to in the room where important people (síndico, capitán, gobernador, eminent old people) are received, and they are served on larger plates.

Prestige is an advantage of the curer. It is not unusual for the curer to command more devotion than the capitán of the Parcialidad.

All the curers claim to be happy in their profession, and many are grateful to their teacher for his instruction. The advantage of being a curer is to be waited on by people, to be singled out from among the others, and also to be pursued for his knowledge, says one Calderun curer. Everyone seeks him out as a good curer; many of them are regarded as priests, for people come daily to their homes to look for them. They have more power than other people.

The curer has a high social status by virtue of his functions. But for no reason other than these functions. He commands respect and recognition for services rendered. No one can treat him badly. If during a drinking bout he is offended in some way, on the following day they hasten to make amends.

* 756 157 156 /252/ Psychological characteristics of the Té eu. The curers vary in age from 30 to 70 years old. As a rule, they have eyes deeply set in the orbital sockets, a penetrating gaze, a readiness to converse and laugh, a gentle manner, not at all aggressive; they are temperate and show much self-control and sureness in their movements.

A characteristic motor habit: seated on a very low log, they give the impression of squatting; their arms rest on their knees and with their hands they stroke their temples or chin. This motor habit is prevalent among Paez men.

[177] [291] 757 Their clothing is typically Paez; they do not favor change, although they are friendly enough with whites. They always advise their patients not to use the remedies of the whites or they will die.

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105 Potatoes are the principal crop in the parcialidad of Mosoco
178 and the primary source of the natives' monetary income. It has
[244] made possible the establishment of intensive trade with the municipio of Silvia and has plainly had repercussions in the modification of rules of behavior and the restructuring of institutions. The transformation embraces nearly all aspects of Páez culture.

In the first place, work has intensified. The people of Mosoco have permanent work throughout the year. The women participate directly in the preparation of the soil, the planting, and the harvesting.

The children of both sexes go to school regularly, learn basic skills, and utilize them in everyday life. Mosoco is the only part of Tierradentro where there is a private school supervised by a native.

[191] Bilingualism is general. The "chontales," that is to say, persons who do not speak Spanish, are very few. There are not more than ten.

[276] The consumption of coca has disappeared among all the youthful elements.

[262] The alimentary diet and schedule have been altered con-
[264] siderably. They have breakfast very early in the morning, lunch at noon, and dinner at nightfall. Milk, panela, lard, meat, and bread are consumed regularly.

The utensils are completely modern, consisting of aluminum and iron pieces.

There are wooden beds for sleeping, and blankets as well.

The houses are better built and furnished. There are houses of adobe and tile. Two tile-works inclusively already exist in the parcialidad.

The people are hospitable and generous toward foreign visitors.

● [291] The clothing of the men is almost completely transformed. They dress like any Colombian peasant. The palm hat worn in other parcialidades has disappeared from this region. The women are clean, orderly, and talkative. They retain the slit skirt and sash, but have adopted chemises and the blue rebozo of the

6: Bernal Villa--104 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro X: Indian woman of Mosoco "mambe-ing" /chewing coca and lime/ and weaving a kuetand yaha (pouch) for mambe). She is a té eu of the parcialidad.

6: Bernal Villa--105 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro XI. Indian of Calderas, showing the typical manner of wearing the kuetand yaha and the yahas (fique pouches). In the background, the Parque Arqueológico of Tierradentro.

6: Bernal Villa--106 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro XII: Two married couples from Calderas in the Parque Arqueológico of Tierradentro. The one on the right is a very young married couple.

6: Bernal Villa- 107 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro XIII: Gobernador of the parcialidad of San Andrés, with his staff of command and a machete at his belt.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

obliquely across the rocks; (3) an arched bridge of bamboo floored with spaced sticks, equipped with a hand rail on each side, and supported with stones, bamboo braces, and vines (pl. 185, *bottom, right*); and (4) a covered bridge with thatched roof, built of heavy logs supported by sticks and stones and floored with boards—a marvel of calculated strength, which, like the third type, is made entirely of vegetable materials yet can support loaded animals. To build an arched bridge, two groups of Indians approach opposite sides of the river and each plants a long, strong pole sloping out over the stream. The chief of each group then climbs out his pole until his weight bends it down to meet that from the opposite side, whereupon, clinging with one hand, they lash the ends together with creepers. This constitutes the main element of the bridge which is then completed by the other Indians. 491 499 499

TRANSPORTATION

Some Indians now have horses and use them for traveling and for transporting large burdens, but, in general, transportation is by foot, objects being carried on the back or in netted sacks hung by a strap, especially when visiting markets. A woman carries not only a heavy load but her small child suspended on her back in a blue woolen blanket held with a broad woven band, or "chumbe." Peculiarly Andean is the custom that the man travels on horseback while the woman follows on foot with a large burden. 489 482 492

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The *Moguex* and *Páez* formerly wore only small cotton blankets (mantas), although most of them "went about naked even on the cold mountains" (Rodríguez, 1684, bk. 2, ch. 1). They painted their bodies with bixa, using, according to Del Castillo i Orozco, stamps to apply the color. The paint also protected them against the strong sunlight and insects. They went barefoot, as all the natives in Colombia. According to one chronicler, their hair was "shorn" (Robledo, in Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38). They wore breast and nose ornaments of pure gold or a gold and copper alloy, and necklaces of small figures, beads, small stones, and snails. 291 302 [757] [825] [291] 301

Soon after the beginning of the Conquest, the Indians commenced to use wide, long shirts of a very crude weave and hats which were so closely woven that they would hold water. The latter, which the Spaniards called "tacillas de Páez" (Páez bowls), are still in use. The Spanish encomenderos required that the Indians working on their haciendas near Popayán be dressed. This was the origin of the characteristic garment worn today, which combines the old small blanket (manta) with European dress. *Moguex* men wear short linen pants, and a blue flannel sash which covers them to their knees. 291 177

?:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

●291 177 They protect the upper part of the body with a black poncho tied at the belt, or a shirt with a poncho over it. Women wear two skirts, the under skirt being black and the outer one white or gray. Both are held at the waist by a sash woven with figures. They cover their busts with two blankets which are fastened at the shoulders with [293] wood, copper, or silver pins. Both sexes carry pouches woven of [415] hemp which, like these Indians, are called "guambías." Their straw hats are dish-shaped, with small brims hardly distinguishable from the shallow crowns. The hats, always too large for their heads, are held on by two cords, one passing under the chin and the other behind the neck, around the hair. The women also wear woolen shawls, silver earrings, rings, and heavy necklaces of glass, shells, and silver. For festivals they prefer hats with the brim divided into two parts, front and back. These are lined with dark-blue cloth, with red and yellow on the brim.

When working, the *Páez* wear short linen pants or long woolen ones and a large woolen poncho tied at the waist. When going to market, they wear an additional poncho and a woolen pouch for coca. When [292] traveling on the páramos, they wear a knit hemp cloak covered with large, thin leaves of *Gynerium saccharoides*, which protects them from the rain. The women wear a narrow woven cotton band, passed between the legs and tied at the waist, one, two, or more black or gray woolen skirts gathered at the waist and held by a woven sash, [482] and two small mantas, like those of the *Moguex*. In traveling, a shawl is worn for covering and to carry the child. They adorn them- [854] selves also with strings or necklaces of glass or other beads, or white chaquiras, and sometimes are added silver pendants of Colonial origin. [292] During festivals the women wear brightly colored blouses of imported fabrics and the men linen shirts.

MANUFACTURES

285 **Basketry.**—The *Páez* and *Moguex* make a few twilled baskets of cane strips and two kinds of hats. The hats are woven with the coiled or sewed technique. The spiraled warp in one kind consists of a thin bundle of rush or straw, and in the other of a braid made with seven [462] strands. The latter is more common. Both are made by men who prepare materials while resting at home or traveling on the road. [292] Weaving also includes waterproof capes made by tying sheaves of [824] leaves or straw to a net of hemp cord.

Cordage.—Rope making is practiced extensively. Hemp (fique) 283 is the raw material, and is made into cords for fishing nets, bird trap nets, bags or pouches for carrying belongings and products, foundation nets for the leaf rain capes, and cordage for various other purposes. The sisal or hemp (fique) leaves are scraped over the sharp edge of a board to loosen the fibers, which are then washed, dried, and twisted

7:Hernández de Alba E-6,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

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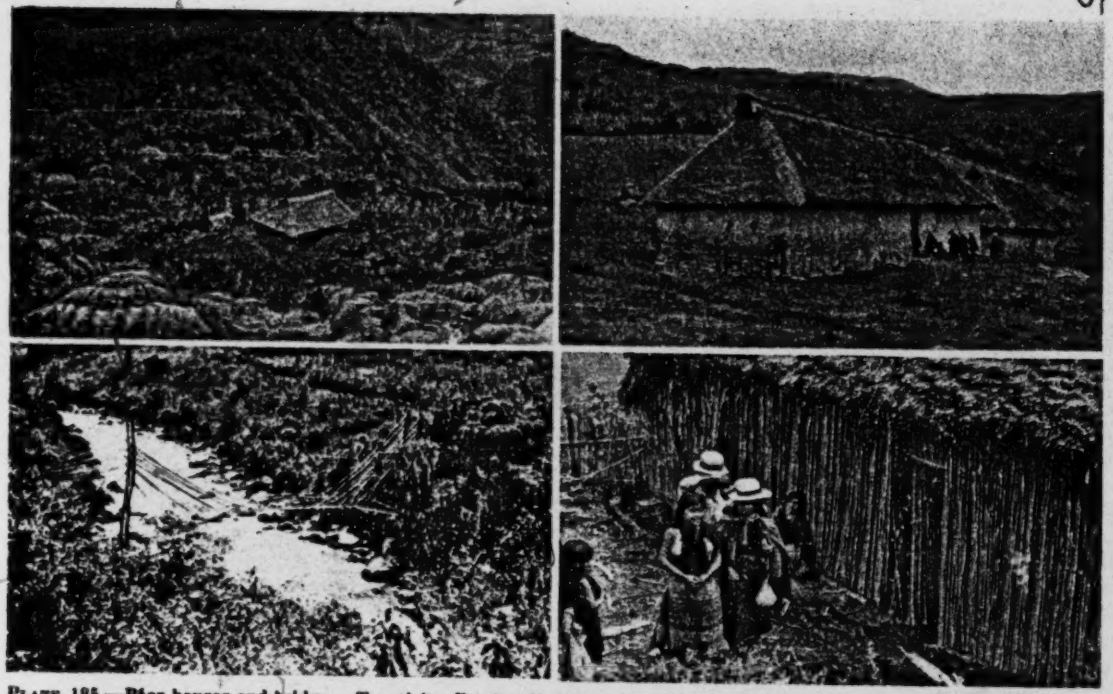

PLATE 185.—**Páez houses and bridge.** *Top (left):* Family dwelling with menstrual hut at left. San Andrés. *Bottom (right):* Páez Indians and house, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Top (right):* Large communal fiesta house, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Bottom (left):* Suspension bridge, Tierradentro. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942-A]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5y(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

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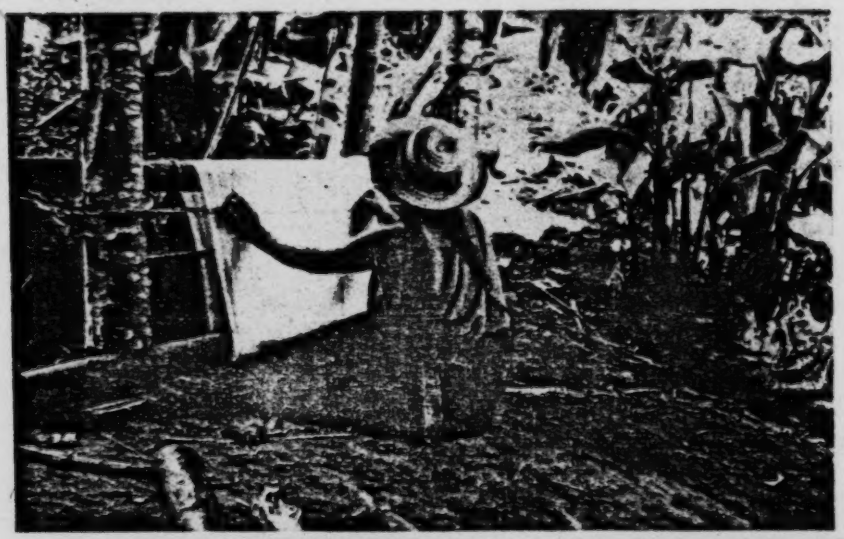

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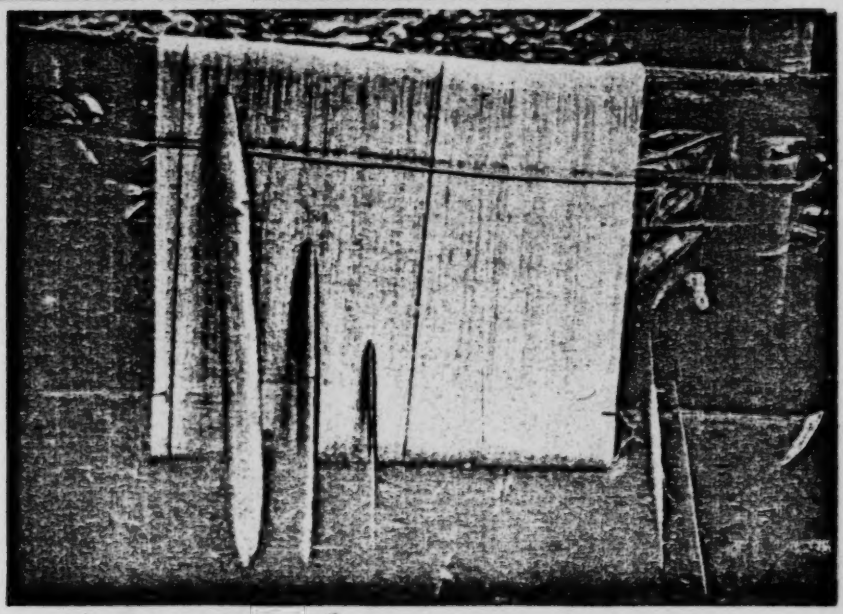

PLATE 186.—**Páez weaving.** *Top:* Woman weaving a woolen skirt. *Bottom:* Loom and weaving utensils. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942B]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

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PLATE 187.—**Páez weaving and spinning.** *Top:* Woman spinning wool while walking, San Andrés, Tierradentro. *Bottom:* Men weaving straw hats. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 c]

7oHernández de Alba E-5X(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez
Pasto SCM

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PLATE 188.—**Quillacinga musicians.** *Top:* Musicians and banner carrier at Siburdoy dressed for fiesta. *Bottom:* Musicians dressed in ordinary clothes. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 D]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,M(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

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PLATE 190.—**Páez and Moguex Indians at the markets of Inzá, Tierradentro.** *Top: Páez* Indians buying coca. *Bottom: Moguex* Indians. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 - F]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/ (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

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PLATE 191.—**Páez markets in Tierradentro.** *Top:* Market in Huila. *Bottom:* Selling chicha at San Andrés. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 G]

7:Hernández de Alba E-54(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

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PLATE 192.—**Páez types.** *Top (left): Páez* man, Tierradentro. *Top (right):* Woman with necklace and bags woven of wool and bast fibers, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Bottom (left):* Indians, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Bottom (center):* Indians, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Bottom (right):* Man at Inzá, Tierradentro. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 - H]

/124 cont./

291 The upper garment (ipotsatc) is a simple, rectangular piece of cloth about 160 centimeters long and 80 centimeters wide, which, when being put on, is held crosswise so that the warp and ornamental threads run crosswise. When it is on, it covers only the bosom, back, and one side, whereas the other one remains more or less free (Ills. 166 /see p. 273/ and 178 /see p.279 /). In use it is put on from one side of the body over the bosom to the other side, and then led across the back to the original side again. The back /125/ part is now pulled up and fastened over both shoulders to the bosom part with a thorn (tõpo) or a safety pin. The part that hangs down is tucked into the skirt. In general the women try to buy colored, usually red blouses in the market for festival days, and these then replace the old, simple cloth. The skirts, however, are not exchanged for other clothing, because the purchased fabrics are not nearly as durable and also do not have the necessary width.

Outside the house the women usually wear a shawl over the ipotsatc; they either weave one (senyatc) for themselves or [854] purchase it (panyelõn). In any case it is necessary for carrying babies, for they are wrapped in it and secured with the colored belt (tãw) (Ills. 152 /see p. 267 /, 166 /see p. 273 /, 178 /see p. 279/, 183 /see p. 282 /).

292 There is no special, original ceremonial dress or any special clothing for dignitaries. The latter carry, as their only [293] distinguishing mark, the chonta staff introduced to them by the [177] Spaniards. For festivals and ceremonies people try to wear either items of European clothing or a new outfit of the customary garments. For a Christian burial it is the duty of the members of [764] the family to bury the deceased in the clothing of white Colombians. [177]

Small children usually run around naked or have a scrap of 291 cloth hung over them in the style of the ruana. Larger boys wear either a large ruana reaching to the upper thighs, which is held together by a belt, or they already wear trousers. Smaller girls are usually dressed in a piece of cloth reaching from the upper body down over the knees, which is drawn over one shoulder. Older girls wear the clothing of the women. No distinction is

/143 cont./

224 mountain spirit. We met only a single young man of about 18
who goes hunting alone in the mountains once a week. He told
us that, in order to become a good hunter, one must first try to
[789] kill a bear (éšwiy). One must then rub its fat into the right
[237] lower-arm, which would give him the same powers as the bear.
[262] One is not permitted to eat this fat, however, because it would
[828] make him insane. After rubbing in the fat, the young hunter
[263] continued, one may not eat salt at any meal for a week. There
are no further rules and ceremonies of any kind to be observed.
[237] We learned, however, that one can also use bear fat as a heal-
[752, 757] ing remedy, and, to be sure, for bone fractures or sprains one
must rub the affected part with bear fat, whereupon the injured
limb will heal immediately and will become considerably
224 stronger than ever before. For stalking he wears on his head a
● 292 cap made of the skin of a reddish-blond hairy monkey (mõno),
[825] which in the first place protects him from the thorns of the
bushes, but which is also supposed to facilitate creeping up on
[439] game. He sold it to us for two pesos without hesitation, since,
[126] as he said, he was perfectly capable of shooting another monkey
224 for himself. He was not afraid of the gělyõmp spirit, but the
776 other men were, for gělyõmp screams and makes a noise when
human beings enter his area in the mountains, so that they be-
come quite confused and go astray. The mountain spirit cannot
do anything to several men together, however, since he could
make as much noise as he pleased, but they would not let them-
224 selves be diverted. Of course, the men, even if there are ever so
776 many of them, must not offend the mountain spirit or provoke
515 him unnecessarily, but rather must avoid everything that gělyõmp
783 does not like. /144/ For instance, he hates everything impure
[296] and filthy. Hence the men always only go hunting well washed;
[824] they even wash the entire body, and the ruana, too. In addition,
they rub themselves with the cleansing herbs šũ and šayuts, which
they obtain from the shaman, in order to be really altogether
[761] clean in a physical and ritual sense. But if someone has taken
part in a burial or has merely seen a funeral procession close by,
he has picked up a good deal of "pest" from the dead and must
have himself specially purified by the
shaman before hunting.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

291 They protect the upper part of the body with a black poncho tied at
177 the belt, or a shirt with a poncho over it. Women wear two skirts, the under skirt being black and the outer one white or gray. Both are held at the waist by a sash woven with figures. They cover their busts with two blankets which are fastened at the shoulders with
[293] wood, copper, or silver pins. Both sexes carry pouches woven of
[415] hemp which, like these Indians, are called "guambías." Their straw hats are dish-shaped, with small brims hardly distinguishable from the shallow crowns. The hats, always too large for their heads, are held on by two cords, one passing under the chin and the other behind the neck, around the hair. The women also wear woolen shawls, silver earrings, rings, and heavy necklaces of glass, shells, and silver. For festivals they prefer hats with the brim divided into two parts, front and back. These are lined with dark-blue cloth, with red and yellow on the brim.

When working, the *Páez* wear short linen pants or long woolen ones and a large woolen poncho tied at the waist. When going to market, they wear an additional poncho and a woolen pouch for coca. When
[292] traveling on the páramos, they wear a knit hemp cloak covered with large, thin leaves of *Gynerium saccharoides*, which protects them from the rain. The women wear a narrow woven cotton band, passed between the legs and tied at the waist, one, two, or more black or gray woolen skirts gathered at the waist and held by a woven sash,
[482] and two small mantas, like those of the *Moguex*. In traveling, a
[854] shawl is worn for covering and to carry the child. They adorn themselves also with strings or necklaces of glass or other beads, or white chaquiras, and sometimes are added silver pendants of Colonial origin.
[292] During festivals the women wear brightly colored blouses of imported fabrics and the men linen shirts.

MANUFACTURES

285 **Basketry.**—The *Páez* and *Moguex* make a few twilled baskets of cane strips and two kinds of hats. The hats are woven with the coiled or sewed technique. The spiraled warp in one kind consists of a thin bundle of rush or straw, and in the other of a braid made with seven
[462] strands. The latter is more common. Both are made by men who
[292] prepare materials while resting at home or traveling on the road. Weaving also includes waterproof capes made by tying sheaves of
[824] leaves or straw to a net of hemp cord.

Cordage.—Rope making is practiced extensively. Hemp (fique)
283 is the raw material, and is made into cords for fishing nets, bird trap nets, bags or pouches for carrying belongings and products, foundation nets for the leaf rain capes, and cordage for various other purposes. The sisal or hemp (fique) leaves are scraped over the sharp edge of a board to loosen the fibers, which are then washed, dried, and twisted

7:Hernández de Alba E-5X(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez
Pasto SC17

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PLATE 188.—**Quillacinga musicians.** *Top:* Musicians and banner carrier at Siburdoy dressed for fiesta. *Bottom:* Musicians dressed in ordinary clothes. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 -D]

/124/

291 The men's trousers (calsón) have no pockets. On the aver-
294 age they reach to the calves. Generally they are very carefully sewed, either with purchased thread or with homemade, very fine yarn made of agave threads. In making them, as well as in the case of necessary repair work, all the edges are very carefully bound.

The men's ruana (atç) is generally square, with a side edge of 100 to 160 centimeters. It is sewed together out of two equally wide, rectangular panels, with a slit about 20 centimeters long left open in the center as a neck opening. Because of its square shape the ruana may be worn just as well with the neck-opening crosswise.

285 Whereas shoes or sandals are not used by the Paez, men,
462 women, and children wear the same type of straw hats (śwá).
293 These are plaited, however, only by the men and boys. The
415 dress of both sexes is completed by two or three of the colored
291 woolen coca bags, in which, on journeys, the necessary personal articles are also carried.

291 The garments of the women's clothing consist of wool and
294 are woven by the women themselves. In general the quality and
286 fineness of the women's fabrics are significantly greater than that of the men's woven fabrics. The boys' and young men's fabrics are generally the coarsest, woven with a rather thick spun thread. Decorative strips of a different color within the fabric are found chiefly in the women's clothing, but not infrequently also in that of the men, especially in the ruanas. The absolutely necessary basic clothing of the women consists of skirt and upper garment. Both are worn in such a way that the warp threads run crosswise. The skirt (atytól) is a very wide, tubular garment, whose diameter may amount to 150 centimeters and more, with a length (in the weaving state this corresponds to the width!) of about 80 centimeters. It is worn in such a way that the front part is tight, while the back side falls in numerous folds. It is fastened at the height of the hips with a woman's colored belt, and its upper edge is folded down somewhat over the belt.

/124 cont./

291 The upper garment (ipotsatc) is a simple, rectangular piece of cloth about 160 centimeters long and 80 centimeters wide, which, when being put on, is held crosswise so that the warp and ornamental threads run crosswise. When it is on, it covers only the bosom, back, and one side, whereas the other one remains more or less free (Ills. 166 /see p. 273/ and 178 /see p.279 /). In use it is put on from one side of the body over the bosom to the other side, and then led across the back to the original side again. The back /125/ part is now pulled up and fastened over both shoulders to the bosom part with a thorn (tópo) or a safety pin. The part that hangs down is tucked into the skirt. In general the women try to buy colored, usually red blouses in the market for festival days, and these then replace the old, simple cloth. The skirts, however, are not exchanged for other clothing, because the purchased fabrics are not nearly as durable and also do not have the necessary width.

Outside the house the women usually wear a shawl over the ipotsatc; they either weave one (senyatc) for themselves or [854] purchase it (panyelõn). In any case it is necessary for carrying babies, for they are wrapped in it and secured with the colored belt (táw) (Ills. 152 /see p. 267 /, 166 /see p. 273 /, 178 /see p. 279/, 183 /see p. 282 /).

292 There is no special, original ceremonial dress or any spe-
● [293] cial clothing for dignitaries. The latter carry, as their only
[177] distinguishing mark, the chonta staff introduced to them by the Spaniards. For festivals and ceremonies people try to wear either items of European clothing or a new outfit of the customary gar-
[764] ments. For a Christian burial it is the duty of the members of
[177] the family to bury the deceased in the clothing of white Colombians.

291 Small children usually run around naked or have a scrap of cloth hung over them in the style of the ruana. Larger boys wear either a large ruana reaching to the upper thighs, which is held together by a belt, or they already wear trousers. Smaller girls are usually dressed in a piece of cloth reaching from the upper body down over the knees, which is drawn over one shoulder. Older girls wear the clothing of the women. No distinction is

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624 [177] In addition to the cabildo, there was introduced in Spanish colonial times, as the trusted agent of the missions, the post of capitan, who was not subordinate to the secular authorities and often was not democratically elected, but appointed by the church for life. Appointed to this office, if possible, are the members of an old, influential family, in which a son or nephew then succeeds the capitan in office, so that in practice this position was often hereditary within a family. The capitan in Calderas, who died February 18, 1953 and who had held this office for about 20 years, was named Manuel José Guagáz. His predecessor was his father, Bruno Guagáz. And though the gobernador told me that the family of the Guagáz were feeble-minded and no longer fit for any work, he admitted that it was probable that the successor of the old capitan would nevertheless be another Guagáz.

623 624 The deceased capitan was ill and weak during the last years of his life, and thus it came about that the gobernador played the leading role in the cabildo. The weekly council meetings were also held in his house. According to conditions in other villages, however, the capitan in practice not only presides in the cabildo, but his voice also has somewhat more weight. At least, he is able to prevent a bridge from being built, for example, through his veto. /175/ True, he cannot accomplish it or even order it by himself, against the will of the cabildo.

623 651 Another functionary, who is likewise appointed by the missions for life, is the síndico, who fixes the ecclesiastical tax assessments and administers the funds.

623 293 [666] The election of the cabildo takes place every year on the first of December. On the following January first, the elected cabildo must appear before the administrative authorities of the municipio /see the glossary, p. 249/, where each member is given his staff of office and is sworn in for his duties. The staffs of office (kampo) belong to the village and are handed on from year to year. They are round in diameter, about 80 to 100 centimeters long and three to five centimeters thick, and carved out of the black, hard wood of the chonta palm. The tips of the sticks are fitted with a brass or iron cap for their protection. The handle is somewhat thinner than the rest of the stick and enlarged at the end to form a knob which is covered with silver leaf. Below the

/175 cont./
623 handle an additional crescent-shaped piece of silver leaf is applied.
293 In former years, on the first day of the new year, a cere-
623 mony for the old as well as for the newly elected cabildo took
796 place on the not easily accessible lagoon of Juan Tama, the
778 Páramo de Moras, and lasted for several days. It started with
828 chicha drinking under the leadership of a shaman, after which the culture hero, Juan Tama, and the spirits of the ancestors (?) were asked by the shaman for advice and assistance in the coming year. A dance and a bath in the lagoon concluded the ceremony (Bürg, pp. 340 f.). According to my information, this gathering at the lagoon has not been carried out for several years. The reason given is that for several years in succession it has rained around
[787] New Year's time. After that the shamans announced that with this
[776] sign Juan Tama renounced any further performances of the ceremony on his lagoon.

623 The election of the cabildo is done by the men of the entire
666 village. The candidates must be citizens of the given village,
[641] that is to say, they must own land there. A stranger could never hold office in a Paez village. The candidates may not propose themselves, but must be nominated by the assembly or by the old cabildo. Anyone who is elected for an office by the village assembly for the first time may not refuse, but must accept it. Only reelection, which is possible up to five or ten years in succession, is voluntary. The wealth or possessions of the candidates do not play
[556] any role. The present gobernador, Marcelo Muse, is /176/ about 30 years old. Two children, a son about six years old and a four-year-old daughter, are living; four of his children died. In the way of material possessions he owns five horses and two pigs, but no cows and no sheep. Ten years ago he was fiscal for a year. In the general opinion of the Paez the gobernador should not be too young or too old. The best age is between 30 and 50 years. The remaining posts, which to a large extent consist of messenger services, are generally held by younger, unmarried people, although
[896] they may also be filled by married men up to 50 years of age. In general the gobernador chooses people who are loyal to him and who must also carry out the punishments for him, for a gobernador

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291 the waist, and over it a rebozo or shawl of foreign make; they wear hats of masculine manufacture. They carry a thin stick
283 one meter long more or less, called kasguat, held under the left armpit, and at its upper end there is a bundle of wool to be spun, a task which they do at any time, while walking or sitting in the house, regardless of whether a child is resting on their backs or, when they are walking along the road, a heavy
301 load. Only the women wear ornaments consisting of multicolored necklaces, earrings, and sometimes rings.

293 Both men and women usually carry three woolen pouches,
415 aside from others of fique, a very small one for money, a larger one for mambe /coca and lime for chewing/, and the third, which is the largest of all and holds the other two, is used to carry palm leaves or the plaited work made with them for the men, and other things for the women.

276 Coca.--All the Paez are "mambe chewers," men, women,
[461] and children, regarding coca as an article that gives strength,
[261] frees one from laziness, and mitigates hunger. Without it, of
[273] course, they will not work. Coca and chicha, fermented sugar-
[262] cane juice, play the role of real foods, given their starchy and scant diet.

631 Parcialidades and cabildos.--Politically, the Indians are
621 organized into parcialidades, each headed by a cabildo made up of a gobernador and substitute, a major alcalde and another minor one, two alguaciles, three fiscales, a comisario, a capitán, and a síndico elected each year and put in office by the respective alcaldías of the municipio, except for the last two, who are named for life and put in office by the /287/ Church. Their functions are administrative and police work, but in reality they exercise functions of social, legal, and religious control.

631 The parcialidades are bounded by the craggy peaks and the deep, rugged beds of the streams and rivers in such a way that each one circumscribes specific kinds of geography, and even of

6: Bernal Villa--104 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro X: Indian woman of Mosoco "mambe-ing" /chewing coca and lime/ and weaving a kuetand yaha (pouch) for mambe). She is a té eu of the parcialidad.

6: Bernal Villa--105 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro XI. Indian of Calderas, showing the typical manner of wearing the kuetand yaha and the yahas (fique pouches). In the background, the Parque Arqueológico of Tierradentro.

6: Bernal Villa- 107 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro XIII: Gobernador of the parcialidad of San Andrés, with his staff of command and a machete at his belt.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,7 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

291 They protect the upper part of the body with a black poncho tied at
177 the belt, or a shirt with a poncho over it. Women wear two skirts, the under skirt being black and the outer one white or gray. Both are held at the waist by a sash woven with figures. They cover their busts with two blankets which are fastened at the shoulders with
[293] wood, copper, or silver pins. Both sexes carry pouches woven of
[415] hemp which, like these Indians, are called "guambías." Their straw hats are dish-shaped, with small brims hardly distinguishable from the shallow crowns. The hats, always too large for their heads, are held on by two cords, one passing under the chin and the other behind the neck, around the hair. The women also wear woolen shawls, silver earrings, rings, and heavy necklaces of glass, shells, and silver. For festivals they prefer hats with the brim divided into two parts, front and back. These are lined with dark-blue cloth, with red and yellow on the brim.

When working, the *Páez* wear short linen pants or long woolen ones and a large woolen poncho tied at the waist. When going to market, they wear an additional poncho and a woolen pouch for coca. When
[292] traveling on the páramos, they wear a knit hemp cloak covered with large, thin leaves of *Gynerium saccharoides*, which protects them from the rain. The women wear a narrow woven cotton band, passed between the legs and tied at the waist, one, two, or more black or gray woolen skirts gathered at the waist and held by a woven sash,
[482] and two small mantas, like those of the *Moguex*. In traveling, a
[854] shawl is worn for covering and to carry the child. They adorn themselves also with strings or necklaces of glass or other beads, or white chaquiras, and sometimes are added silver pendants of Colonial origin.
[292] During festivals the women wear brightly colored blouses of imported fabrics and the men linen shirts.

MANUFACTURES

285 **Basketry.**—The *Páez* and *Moguex* make a few twilled baskets of cane strips and two kinds of hats. The hats are woven with the coiled or sewed technique. The spiraled warp in one kind consists of a thin bundle of rush or straw, and in the other of a braid made with seven
[462] strands. The latter is more common. Both are made by men who
[292] prepare materials while resting at home or traveling on the road. Weaving also includes waterproof capes made by tying sheaves of
[824] leaves or straw to a net of hemp cord.

Cordage.—Rope making is practiced extensively. Hemp (fique)
283 is the raw material, and is made into cords for fishing nets, bird trap nets, bags or pouches for carrying belongings and products, foundation nets for the leaf rain capes, and cordage for various other purposes. The sisal or hemp (fique) leaves are scraped over the sharp edge of a board to loosen the fibers, which are then washed, dried, and twisted

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291 stamps. Soon after the Conquista they adopted the upper garment
177 and the straw hat still worn today.

The clothing of the men consists of the upper garment, linen trousers, the cloak (called "poncho" in Peru, "ruana" in Colombia /see the glossary, p. 250 /) and the waterproof, plaited
291 straw hat. The upper garment and the ruana are woven by the
294 women out of sheep wool, whereas the linen trousers are made
286 by the men themselves out of purchased fabrics. This is note-
177 worthy culture-historically, for cutting clothing from woven
[462] fabrics was unknown to the South American Indians in pre-Colombian times, since fabrics were not woven "by the meter" to be sewed later into clothing as desired; rather, the shape of the subsequent article of clothing was already taken into con-
296 sideration at the start of the weaving. It follows from the method of manufacture that torn fabrics are never repaired by the women with a ready-made patch, but are always darned in imitation of
[462] the texture of the cloth. It is different for men's trousers, the materials of which are bought by the men and sewed by them themselves, never by the women. Once these -- as well as the purchased shirts -- are torn, they are never darned, but always repaired by the men by means of a patch sewed underneath.
296 Thus, we have here the fixed rule that woven clothing is never-
177 patched, but is darned, whereas the sewed clothing is never darned,
462 but is always patched. The former is women's work, the latter men's work.

291 The garment covering the upper body of the men (tondato; for lack of an appropriate European designation it is called upper garment in the following) is not a sleeveless shirt, since the sides are not sewed together, but are open. It is quite simply a rectangular woven piece of wool about 60 centimeters wide and 160 centimeters long, whose warp threads run lengthwise. A slit about 30 centimeters long is left open in the center for the neck. It is pulled on over the head, and the lower ends are either stuffed into the trousers or left hanging over them. In the latter case they must be secured with a strap tied over them (Ills. 154 /see p. 268/, 165, 166 /see p. 273/, 171 /see p. 276 /, 202 /see p. 289 /, 203 /see p. 290/).

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291 The men's trousers (calsón) have no pockets. On the aver-
294 age they reach to the calves. Generally they are very carefully sewed, either with purchased thread or with homemade, very fine yarn made of agave threads. In making them, as well as in the case of necessary repair work, all the edges are very carefully bound.

The men's ruana (atc) is generally square, with a side edge of 100 to 160 centimeters. It is sewed together out of two equally wide, rectangular panels, with a slit about 20 centimeters long left open in the center as a neck opening. Because of its square shape the ruana may be worn just as well with the neck-opening crosswise.

285 Whereas shoes or sandals are not used by the Paez, men,
462 women, and children wear the same type of straw hats (śwá).
293 These are plaited, however, only by the men and boys. The
415 dress of both sexes is completed by two or three of the colored
291 woolen coca bags, in which, on journeys, the necessary personal articles are also carried.

291 The garments of the women's clothing consist of wool and
294 are woven by the women themselves. In general the quality and fineness of the women's fabrics are significantly greater than that
286 of the men's woven fabrics. The boys' and young men's fabrics are generally the coarsest, woven with a rather thick spun thread. Decorative strips of a different color within the fabric are found chiefly in the women's clothing, but not infrequently also in that of the men, especially in the ruanas. The absolutely necessary basic clothing of the women consists of skirt and upper garment. Both are worn in such a way that the warp threads run crosswise. The skirt (atytól) is a very wide, tubular garment, whose diameter may amount to 150 centimeters and more, with a length (in the weaving state this corresponds to the width!) of about 80 centimeters. It is worn in such a way that the front part is tight, while the back side falls in numerous folds. It is fastened at the height of the hips with a woman's colored belt, and its upper edge is folded down somewhat over the belt.

/154 cont./

284 reinforcement is found at the other end of the net in the transition
286 to the braid part. The further procedure up to the completion of the sling corresponds to the beginning. At one end a sliding loop is tied by means of a knot, which, when the sling is used, is drawn over the middle finger.

d) Plaiting

283 The technique of plaiting is practiced among the Paez only
285 in plaiting bands for making straw hats (šwá) and for making three-strand ropes. The latter are plaited by the women in various lengths and strengths from agave fibers in the normal form of the three-strand braid. There are no plaited baskets, sieves, fans, bands, etc. of any kind among the Paez.

294 The shape of the Paez hats seems to imitate those of the
285 whites. It is the same for men, women, and children. They are made only by the men. The dry leaves of the šyēts reed, which are first torn into strips about one centimeter wide, serve as material. To be worked up they are then divided once more by being torn lengthwise into five to ten narrow strips from one to two millimeters wide. The quality and value of the hat depends on the fineness of these strips, for the finer the plaiting strips are the more waterproof and durable the hat is. It /155/ is made from a single plaited band (čemótč) sewed together in spirals -- starting from the center of the hat.

The plaiting of the band is done without any aids, in the form of diagonal plaiting with 11 strips (Fig. 33 /see p.256 /). At the start of the work they are bent in the middle and thus used double in such a way that the upper side of the reed leaf is on the outside. The second strip is inserted into this initial bend at right angles and likewise bent. This is done alternately until all 11 strips have been worked into a band approximately six to ten millimeters wide. The further plaiting work is continued with the double strips. For this the first double strip is always bent from the outside downward toward the center, in order to be drawn over the second, under the third and fourth, and over the fifth and sixth.

/155 cont./

294 285 From the other side there is a corresponding procedure with the then outer plaiting-strip, so that the strips are plaited alternately from both sides always only to the center. This produces a very uniform and firm band.

A thread of the agave fiber is used to sew the plaited bands together. In order to give the hat brim sufficient stiffness, leaf ribs are sewed on the underside over the seams.

e) Weaving

285 286 114 The demarcation of plaiting from weaving is not uniform. In the literature written in English the two are generally not differentiated. According to H. Nevermann (pp. 4-6), the following conditions must be given for the simplest technique of weaving, namely, rod weaving /Stabweberei/, such as is also practiced among the Paez: 1) the stretching of the threads or fibers on a frame, 2) long weft threads, 3) rectangular crossing of warp and weft, 4) mechanical formation of the first and second shed. The last point is the decisive one, for in plaiting each weft thread must be drawn separately over or under each separate warp thread, whereas in weaving this is done over a certain number of longitudinal threads simultaneously by means of a heddle rod or something similar. More complicated types of weaving, for example, little-board weaving, comb weaving, or braid-grid weaving /Brettchenweberei, Kamm- or Litzengatterweberei, types of weaving found in Indonesia and described by Nevermann, pp. 16-18 (see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 325)/, do not occur among the Paez.

/156/ 1. Weaving Apparatus for Carrying Bands

286 The weaving apparatus for the carrying bands of the fiber bags (vitoñsãpc) consists of a forked branch, the sides of which must not be too far apart and should, if possible, run parallel. Its size is 60 to 80 centimeters in height and between 20 and 60

/157 cont./

286 always lies conveniently in front of the woman for the weft. The beginning and end of the woven part start at a distance of about three centimeters from the horizontal stick. At the end the last weft thread is knotted at the edge of the warp. When the stick is pulled out, the band comes off the frame. Since the warp threads terminate in loops, the texture of the band cannot become slack.

2. Weaving Apparatus for Cloth

286 The weaving of cloth of larger dimensions for clothing is
● 294 also done in the technique of the linen texture and according to the same method as the weaving of the carrying bands for the
[581] fiber bags. Every woman can do both, for she herself must be able to make all the material needed by her family for clothing; otherwise a girl has no prospect of getting married.

The weaving apparatus stands upright and consists of two strong posts which are rammed into the ground about two meters apart in front of the house, but still in the shelter of the roof. Into each of these posts, a little above the ground, a notch is cut, into which the breast beam is placed horizontally and lashed. Its position with respect to height is unchangeable. The warp beam, likewise horizontal, may be lashed to the vertical post with ropes higher or lower, depending on the length of the cloth to be woven, whereby a uniform tension of the warp threads is achieved.

The non-twisted woolen warp threads are stretched in the same way as in the case of the carrying bands for the fiber bags. The width is determined by the piece of material to be woven.
[461] The work period for a woman's skirt takes a total of about six months. In order to attain a certain decorative effect in the finished piece, between the uncolored sheep-wool warp-threads are stretched likewise uncolored or differently colored cotton threads which, in the subsequent dyeing process with plant dyes, do not take on this coloring.

/157 cont./

286
294

The shed rod consists of a round, straight wooden rod. The heddle loops are held by a horizontally stretched string immovable in height, which is tied left and right to the two vertical posts of the weaving apparatus. The sword is semicircular in cross-section, pointed at both ends, and carved out of the dark, hard wood of the chonta palm. Its width is /158/ three to four centimeters, its length about 60 centimeters. The shuttle consists of a rod on which the thread is wound crosswise. Sometimes the spindle with the spun thread is used for this.

Making the shed for the insertion of the shuttle is laborious, for -- depending on the width of the piece to be woven -- not all the corresponding warp threads can be pulled forward simultaneously with the heddle loops. The woman doing the weaving is able to grasp only about half a dozen heddle loops at a time with one hand and pull them forward, in order to push along the sword slowly and form the shed. Even before the shed has reached the width of a sword length, the shuttle must already be pushed along, so that the weft can only be carried through in stages, as it were, with the shed formed by the heddle loops (Ill. 181 /see p. 281/). The shed formation with the wooden shed rod is essentially simpler, since the latter may easily be drawn forward to form the countershed and the heddle loops yield.

The beginning and end of the woven material are determined by the width of the only thin cross-rod, since at the end the shed rod is drawn out and the cross-rod takes on its function. In the loops left at the beginning and end, weft threads are drawn through by hand in the same form of the plain linen texture, until the loops are filled out. The last weft thread in each case is taken threefold so that a firm selvage is produced.

3. Weaving Apparatus for Women's Belts

Originally every woman was able to weave the women's belts [463] (táw), the most difficult type of weaving among the Paez. Today it is almost a specialist's work, for in Calderas there are only five women left who are able to weave the women's belts themselves.

/158 cont./

286 One of them, Talesia Pame, has even developed a small in-
294 dustry from this ability. She now weaves women's belts almost
438 exclusively and barters them for food and other things. She is
463 in her early thirties and has three children. Her oldest daughter, about 12 years old, is also learning from her mother how to weave belts.

286 The weaving apparatus (tawkyávitoñ) is fundamentally the
294 same type as the one for the bands of the fiber bags. The fork-shaped mounting of the frame is somewhat wider and correspondingly longer. The weaving material is wool. The preparation for making the patterns in different colors consists of stretching the warp threads of corresponding color, which, as in the case of the fiber-bag bands, are laid around a small cross-stick. /159/ The weft thread is always plain white and, in the form of a ball, is used as the shuttle. The general arrangement of the warp threads is such that on both outer sides a number of white warp threads are stretched, then follow four of red, yellow, blue, or some other color, which, in the completed woven band, appear in each case as a colored stripe running through it. The ornamented center section consists of four white warp threads followed by two red ones. The latter serve to produce the pattern and are the only warp threads of the belt that are not woven in the linen-texture technique. They are therefore not included in the shed loop that takes every second warp thread. There are two heddle loops, one of which grasps the warp threads corresponding to the shed loop, while the other grasps the red warp threads of the ornamental chain of the center stripe (Ills. 187 to 190 /see p. 284/).

In weaving the linen texture, shed loops and heddle loops are used in the normal technique. The red warp threads of the second heddle loop are lifted up -- altogether or in part, depending on the design to be formed -- while beneath them the weaving continues in the normal linen texture. Thus, if all the red threads are lifted together, a red cross-stripe is produced as the simplest design, the height of which depends on the length of time the second heddle loop remains lifted. In making designs

/159 cont./

286 for which only certain red threads are used, the weaver counts
294 the required number and holds these up for the time being with a special shed rod consisting of a small piece of reed. The red warp threads not required fall down under and appear on the back side of the band, in part as a negative pattern and in part covered by the white warp threads.

[531] No patterns exist for the weaving designs. In general it is a matter of traditional forms -- human beings, rhombuses, triangles -- although imaginative women include Latin letters in their store of ornaments.

On account of the space required for the arrangement for the mechanical shed formation, the band terminates in loops about ten centimeters long, which are removed from the cross-rod and plaited circularly with four strips each.

f) Plait-weaving

286 Whereas the carrying bands of the fiber bags (yáha) are woven in the technique of rod weaving in linen texture, the wool carrying /160/ bands of the coca pouches (kwatandyáha) are made in the plait-weaving technique. This means textile techniques which are not weaving because of the lack of mechanical shed formation in the manufacturing, but which also do not represent plaiting because of the vertical and horizontal course of their threads. The bands are about 1.50 centimeters wide and 76 centimeters long. At a superficial glance they give the impression of being plaited freehand because of their thickness. Their thickness results, however, from the turning and simultaneous crossing of the warp threads in the plaiting (cf. Ill. 152 /see p. 267/).

To make the band a frame similar to the one for weaving the carrying band for the fiber bag is required. The warp threads are stretched in the same way; the beginning and end are fastened to a similar cross-stick. Warp and weft are perpendicular to each other, but there is no mechanical shed formation.

/161 cont./
286 show the same design, but rather one that results from the cross-
531 ing of the twisted warp threads.

g) Dyeing

386 The Paez feel that black is the most beautiful color.
824 Hence almost all the home-woven garments of the men and
[822] women are dyed black, and only rarely does one see articles of clothing in the yellowish-white natural color of sheep wool.
[462] Dyeing is women's work and is done with certain plants, which, however, dye only the animal material used in weaving, but
[294] not that from plants. This peculiarity of the dyes is utilized by the Paez to make patterns in their clothing by weaving into the sheep-wool fabrics a few cotton warp threads, which, in the subsequent dyeing, retain their original color.

Every woman is in a position to dye her home-woven fabrics black. To do this the pieces of fabric are boiled in a pot for about two hours, along with the leaves of the šal tree or the zóte tree (according to Hernandez, 1946, p. 944, with the leaves of a Phyllanthus) and then buried for two days and two nights with these leaves in a pit in black, rich humus earth (ašáktič). Then they are taken out again, washed thoroughly, and allowed to dry. The black dye is now lightfast and waterproof. The cotton ornamental stripes in the women's clothing, which are not affected by this dyeing process, are either natural
[283] in color, red, or green. They are bought by the women in the desired color, since cotton is not spun by the Paez.

386 The threads of different colors used to make the coca bags
824 and the women's belts were originally all dyed by the Paez
177 women with vegetable dyes. Today this is done only in part,
[439] for anyone who has the money buys aniline dyes at the market in Inzá or Belalcázar; they are more popular because of their stronger coloring and greater luminosity. Similarly, the cotton purchased in thread already dyed is more popular for making women's belts, since it is brighter or more brilliant.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5y(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

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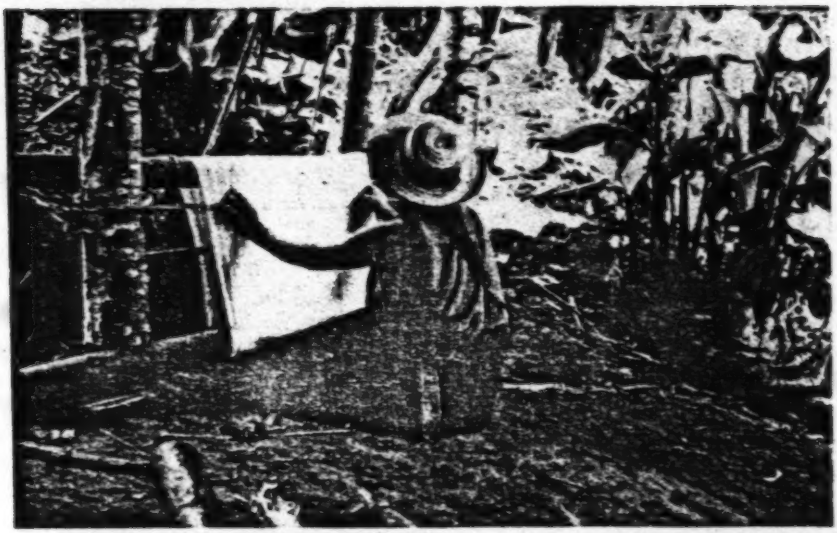

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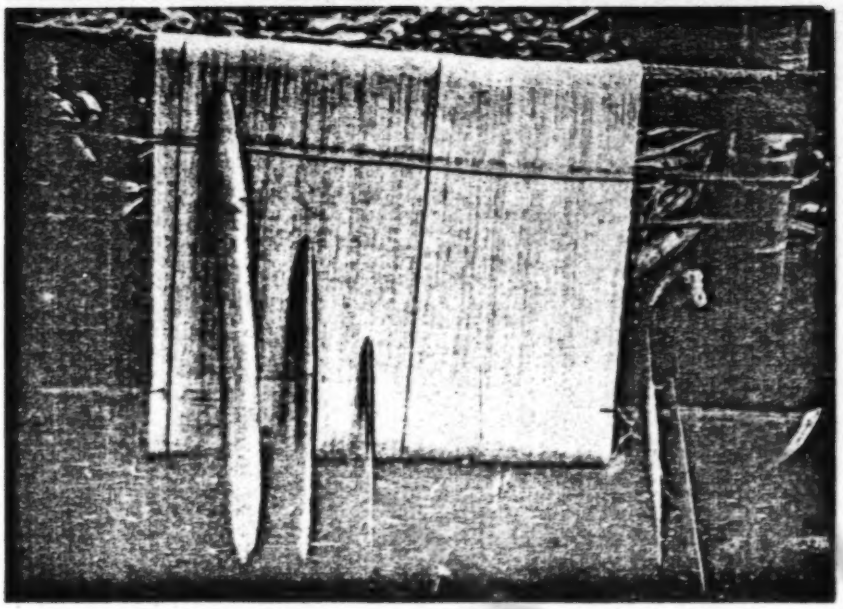

PLATE 186.—**Páez weaving.** *Top:* Woman weaving a woolen skirt. *Bottom:* Loom and weaving utensils. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942B]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5# (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15

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PLATE 187.—**Páez weaving and spinning.** *Top:* Woman spinning wool while walking, San Andrés, Tierradentro. *Bottom:* Men weaving straw hats. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 C]

/123 cont./

291 stamps. Soon after the Conquista they adopted the upper garment
177 and the straw hat still worn today.

The clothing of the men consists of the upper garment, linen trousers, the cloak (called "poncho" in Peru, "ruana" in Colombia /see the glossary, p. 250 /) and the waterproof, plaited
291 straw hat. The upper garment and the ruana are woven by the
294 women out of sheep wool, whereas the linen trousers are made
286 by the men themselves out of purchased fabrics. This is note-
177 worthy culture-historically, for cutting clothing from woven
[462] fabrics was unknown to the South American Indians in pre-Colombian times, since fabrics were not woven "by the meter" to be sewed later into clothing as desired; rather, the shape of the subsequent article of clothing was already taken into con-
● 296 sideration at the start of the weaving. It follows from the method of manufacture that torn fabrics are never repaired by the women with a ready-made patch, but are always darned in imitation of
[462] the texture of the cloth. It is different for men's trousers, the materials of which are bought by the men and sewed by them themselves, never by the women. Once these -- as well as the purchased shirts -- are torn, they are never darned, but always repaired by the men by means of a patch sewed underneath.
296 Thus, we have here the fixed rule that woven clothing is never-
177 patched, but is darned, whereas the sewed clothing is never darned,
462 but is always patched. The former is women's work, the latter men's work.

291 The garment covering the upper body of the men (tondato; for lack of an appropriate European designation it is called upper garment in the following) is not a sleeveless shirt, since the sides are not sewed together, but are open. It is quite simply a rectangular woven piece of wool about 60 centimeters wide and 160 centimeters long, whose warp threads run lengthwise. A slit about 30 centimeters long is left open in the center for the neck. It is pulled on over the head, and the lower ends are either stuffed into the trousers or left hanging over them. In the latter case they must be secured with a strap tied over them (Ills. 154 /see p. 268/, 165, 166 /see p. 273/, 171 /see p. 276 /, 202 /see p. 289 /, 203 /see p. 290/).

/143 cont./

224 mountain spirit. We met only a single young man of about 18 who goes hunting alone in the mountains once a week. He told us that, in order to become a good hunter, one must first try to [789] kill a bear (éšwiy). One must then rub its fat into the right [237] lower-arm, which would give him the same powers as the bear. [262] One is not permitted to eat this fat, however, because it would [828] make him insane. After rubbing in the fat, the young hunter [263] continued, one may not eat salt at any meal for a week. There are no further rules and ceremonies of any kind to be observed. [237] We learned, however, that one can also use bear fat as a heal- [752 757] ing remedy, and, to be sure, for bone fractures or sprains one must rub the affected part with bear fat, whereupon the injured limb will heal immediately and will become considerably 224 stronger than ever before. For stalking he wears on his head a 292 cap made of the skin of a reddish-blond hairy monkey (mõno), [825] which in the first place protects him from the thorns of the bushes, but which is also supposed to facilitate creeping up on [439] game. He sold it to us for two pesos without hesitation, since, [126] as he said, he was perfectly capable of shooting another monkey 224 for himself. He was not afraid of the gělyõmp spirit, but the 776 other men were, for gělyõmp screams and makes a noise when human beings enter his area in the mountains, so that they become quite confused and go astray. The mountain spirit cannot do anything to several men together, however, since he could make as much noise as he pleased, but they would not let them- 224 selves be diverted. Of course, the men, even if there are ever so 776 many of them, must not offend the mountain spirit or provoke 515 him unnecessarily, but rather must avoid everything that gělyõmp 783 does not like. /144/ For instance, he hates everything impure [296] and filthy. Hence the men always only go hunting well washed; [824] they even wash the entire body, and the ruana, too. In addition, they rub themselves with the cleansing herbs šũ and šáyuts, which they obtain from the shaman, in order to be really altogether [761] clean in a physical and ritual sense. But if someone has taken part in a burial or has merely seen a funeral procession close by, he has picked up a good deal of "pest" from the dead and must have himself specially purified by the shaman before hunting.

/200 cont./

46/ On one day, for example, a portion of the field is cleared of weeds, on the next the sugar-cane mill is repaired, on the day after that a neighbor is helped with housebuilding or milling sugar cane, then nothing is done for days because of drinking, and not until several days later is the weeding begun again. Once they have planned or begun a project for the day, however, they [123] will not let themselves be interrupted. Several times it happened that I would visit a family in the evening, in order to plan something which would be not at all unpleasant for them for the next day. But if they had already planned something else, I was obliged to come back on the day after that. In the fields, too, the men are not to be diverted, or only with difficulty. During the sowing, weeding, clearing, or other work on the field, they let themselves be drawn into conversation only during the coca pauses; at other times one could scarcely disturb them at these and similar tasks which are accomplished in a very even tempo -- provided that enough coca is available. It is different with the women. They let themselves be easily diverted from their daily, little varied household tasks. They are the ones who really do the most work within the family, for, as soon as they are married, they are never able to sleep through the night, /201/ but must stir the fire anew every two hours. Furthermore, they get up earlier in the morning, and they cannot go to bed until later at night. To rest a bit during the day is completely unknown. Nonetheless, they are satisfied with their lot and work happily, since all the women work in the same fashion and they have known nothing else for generations. There are, of course, tasks which are done willingly and others which are done less willingly. The goal of the necessary occupation seems to be decisive, for all the tasks necessary for nourishment are done willingly. Thus, the men, for example, like to work in the field, "since it is for food," like to plant sugar cane or build a sugar mill, "since it produces something to drink"; and the women, too, like to drag in firewood, [296] "since it is for meals." Washing clothes is one of the decidedly [499] unpleasant tasks of the women, as bridge-building is among the [462] men. In the examples sketched here, the tastes of all the Paez seem to be alike.

/277 cont./

756 765 783 [787] [823] [237] The shaman learns the date of the second ceremony and principal purification through his signs from eč. He announces this date to those who participated at the burial. Those to be purified -- primarily the nearest relatives -- gather at the river and at a place set apart for this, marked by a number of flat stones. These are absolutely necessary; without stones, no purification site. First the people sit in front of the stones, and the helpers of the shaman fetch calabashes filled with water that is mixed with the šũ herb and to which some cow excrement, standing ready in a pot at the same place, is added. The shaman has wound a liana around his staff. Even before the ceremony, he chewed coca and tobacco uninterruptedly and drank brandy copiously. First he goes to the left with the staff and liana and beats the air with both, as though he were struggling with invisible spirits. Then, always struggling, he goes in the other directions of the site, and, finally, once more to the left. There his helpers have dug a hole about 30 centimeters deep and 15 centimeters in diameter.

Now the linen of the deceased and the linen of the mourners [296] which they used on the day of burial are brought forth. They are placed on the stones and then washed and rinsed long and vigorously by the widow and the daughter of the deceased.

The rest of the mourners, like the shaman, have been chewing coca the whole time and get brandy to drink from the teyu.

After the washing, the shaman next struggles as before, as though he wanted to drive invisible spirits away from the site of the purification ceremony. With wide sweeping blows he moves his tama /278/ and liana slowly through the air. In particular he [823] turns to the left again, for to the left lives the evil eč, and to be [776] sure, in the ground (*).

* The direction left has nothing to do with any geographical direction or with the direction of the river. They sit with their backs to the river.

/125 cont./

291 made between the clothing of the married and the unmarried.

302 The men's hair is cut "semilong" with scissors, so that they have a cut midway between bobbed hair and a modern, shaped cut. Women wear their hair long and combed toward the back, to some extent in the form of a part. Older girls and [412] married women plait their hair in braids. Only the modern, purchased combs are used for combing. The men do not groom their beards, which are sparse to begin with, but from youth onward pull out the beard hair with the fingers.

● 301 439 No ornaments of any kind are worn by the men nowadays. Two hundred years ago they wore nose rings (zomp) "like the oxen" (Castillo i Orosco, p. 89). The women today wear /126/ purchased pendant-ornaments only to a very slight extent, the white glass-bead chains (wǎča = bead) being relatively the most common (Ill. 148 /see p. 265/). The traders are Sibundoy or similar fellow-tribesmen from the southern part of the country, where chains of this kind are worn by the pound by men and women as pendant ornaments. Earrings consist either of a few purchased beads strung on a thread or of a purchased silver pendant. Anyone may wear purchased brass finger-rings; it is not a sign of being married. In earlier times it is possible that there were arm rings, as is shown by Castillo's term kasenand-gnue-tsa for "arm ring."

3. Economy

433 The first impression that one has of the Paez from an economic standpoint is that of a democratic farming people firmly rooted in their soil, and during an initial consideration of their food and way of life it appears as though they have never been anything but agriculturalists. In the case of primitive peoples, however, we must distinguish between the principal means of production and the original means of production. The former is usually not hard to recognize, whereas the question of the original means of production of a people can be answered

/193 cont./

585 help. Since the young men almost never own their own cattle,
[422] they must earn the purchase price for this by the sale of agricul-
[432] tural products. Wheat is usually chosen for this, since it may be
[243] harvested half a year after sowing.

For the wedding celebration about 50 men and women are
585 invited, not only relatives, but also friends, among them the
608 sponsors (padrino, madrina) required for the church marriage
service. They sit with the bridal couple (nikálo). The parents
[291] and guests on both sides arrange themselves informally. The
[431] padrino and madrina must give or loan the bridegroom and bride
[426] new clothes for this wedding day, but they differ from the ordinary
[301] everyday clothing only in that they are newer and cleaner. No
585 special /194/ ornaments of any kind are put on by anyone. The
wedding is celebrated in such a way that the church service takes
place in the morning, after which the guests go to the wedding
house accompanied by music and have a small midday meal, with
which, however, only a little chicha is drunk. The festival ox is
not yet slaughtered on this day, and not until the "actual" (as the
Calderun say) wedding celebration, which takes place about a
month later in the house of the bridegroom. The ox is slaughtered
in the morning, and in the afternoon the guests arrive, sit down
together informally, and eat and drink chicha and brandy copiously.
[533] Music is played for this, but no one dances to it. Before the eating
[535] begins, when all are still sober, the padrino makes a speech ad-
dressed to the bride and groom, in which he says approximately
the following: You are now husband and wife, and you, as the
husband, should not beat your wife, and you, as wife, should
not use any bad words toward your husband. The husband should
also not speak ill of his wife, and the wife should obey if the
husband commands her to do something and should help him
in all things! Then he takes the hand of the bride and gives it
to the mother of the bridegroom, who speaks to the bride as fol-
lows: You have now been taken into our family and you are to
work for your husband and cook his meals for him and make his
clothes and arrange everything for him; in addition, you must
help me in the house and carry out my instructions, as well as

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

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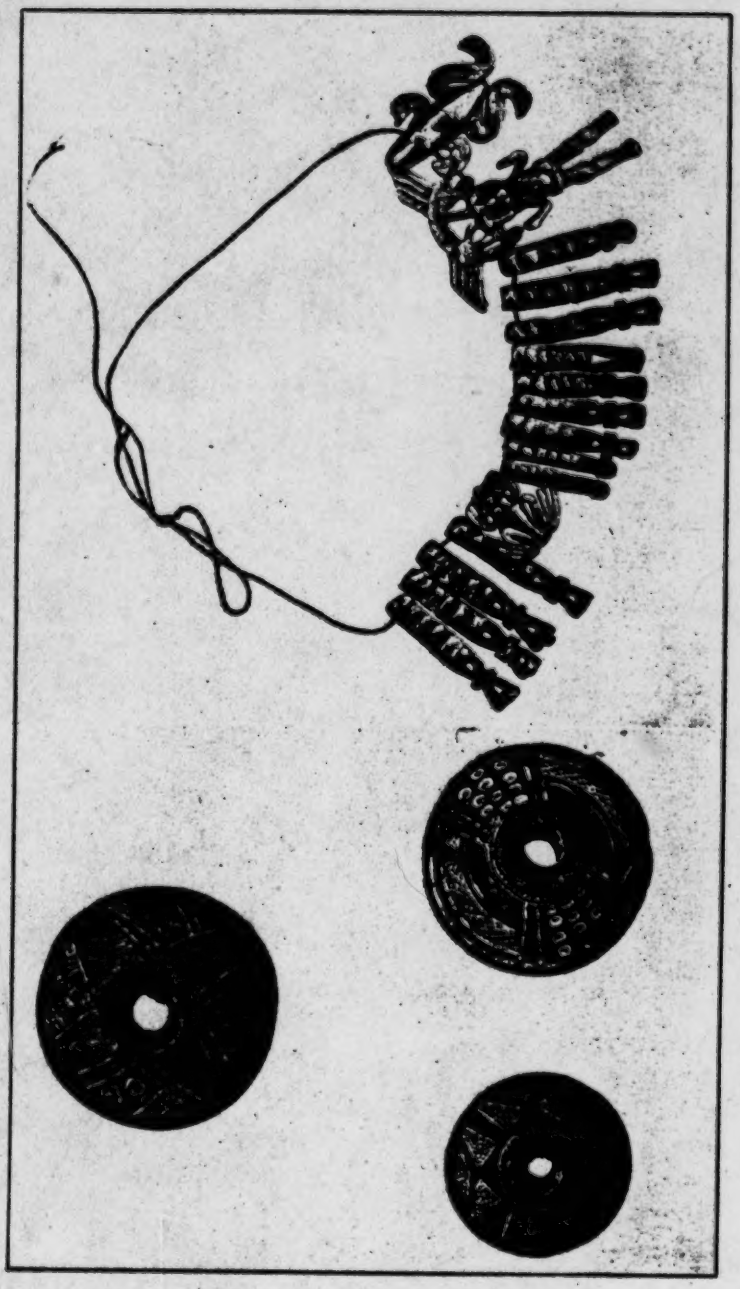

GOLD OBJECTS

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SPINDLE WHORLS

MEMOIRS, 5, PL. 8
AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

[facing P.307]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

bag and the small receptacle that contains the quicklime used 297.
with the former. When out of doors a second piece of woolen [276]
cloth, longer and narrower than the first and called simply *atß*,
is thrown over the shoulders, with the head likewise thrust
through the middle. A narrow-brimmed hat (*tsna*) the like of
which is found among the Kitsua, is the usual complement of
this dress. It is made of the outer skin of a tall grass (*Gynerium* [824]
saccharoides), resembling sugar-cane and common along rivers.

The women all dress in the same way, with fabrics invariably woven by themselves. The underwear, which is often dispensed with, consists of a narrow piece of woolen tissue used as a loin cloth, passing between the legs and then rolled around the hips. Over this article is worn a broad piece of dark woolen cloth, wrapped along the body and limbs in the form of a skirt. This is the *anaco*, or *pamb-atß*, and it is attached to the waist by means of a sash called *vilia*, the elaborateness and ornamentation of which vary with the wealth of the owner. The upper part of the body is covered with a ruana called *atß-tul*, sewed along the right side and on the right shoulder, but open at the left side, being simply pinned on the left shoulder with a wooden peg or a fish-bone. When traveling the women provide them- [482]
selves with another broad piece of cloth (*spatß*) which is used either as a cover or for wrapping the baby on the back. In the latter case the cloth is secured by means of a belt (plate IV, 1).

Women also wear necklaces, made now of common glass [301]
beads, silver coins, or small sea-shells, the number of strings [554]
depending on the wealth of the husband. The mention in Castillo's vocabulary of a word for bracelet (*kaschand-gunc-tsa*) indicates the former use of such ornament. Females have no [291]
headgear. Married women part their hair along the median 302
line of the head and allow it to hang back in two braids. Little girls wear their hair loosely behind the shoulders. In former times women painted their faces blue with the juice of a fruit called *kii*. Speaking of this custom, which seems to be obsolete now, Castillo facetiously says: "fruta . . . con cuyo zumo se pintan el rostro las Indias (*i aun las que no lo son*)." Men
formerly decorated their bodies and faces with *tok*, the red color [824]

/286 cont./

291 the waist, and over it a rebozo or shawl of foreign make; they wear hats of masculine manufacture. They carry a thin stick
283 one meter long more or less, called kasguat, held under the left armpit, and at its upper end there is a bundle of wool to be spun, a task which they do at any time, while walking or sitting in the house, regardless of whether a child is resting on their backs or, when they are walking along the road, a heavy
301 load. Only the women wear ornaments consisting of multicolored necklaces, earrings, and sometimes rings.

293 Both men and women usually carry three woolen pouches,
415 aside from others of fique, a very small one for money, a larger one for mambe /coca and lime for chewing/, and the third, which is the largest of all and holds the other two, is used to carry palm leaves or the plaited work made with them for the men, and other things for the women.

276 Coca.--All the Paez are "mambe chewers," men, women,
[461] and children, regarding coca as an article that gives strength,
[261] frees one from laziness, and mitigates hunger. Without it, of
[273] course, they will not work. Coca and chicha, fermented sugar-
[262] cane juice, play the role of real foods, given their starchy and scant diet.

631 Parcialidades and cabildos.--Politically, the Indians are
624 organized into parcialidades, each headed by a cabildo made up of a gobernador and substitute, a major alcalde and another minor one, two alguaciles, three fiscales, a comisario, a capitán, and a síndico elected each year and put in office by the respective alcaldías of the municipio, except for the last two, who are named for life and put in office by the /287/ Church. Their functions are administrative and police work, but in reality they exercise functions of social, legal, and religious control.

631 The parcialidades are bounded by the craggy peaks and the deep, rugged beds of the streams and rivers in such a way that each one circumscribes specific kinds of geography, and even of

/218/

XXIV

The Race for the Rooster at Tumbichukue

103 The name of Tumbichukue is familiar to the colonists throughout Tierradentro. It is synonymous with fabulous treasures. In this place, it is said, the Paez buried all the gold and silver that they collected in the ill-fated settlement of Sebastián Quintero destroyed by them.

[131] Tumbichukue is a pass /vereda/ formed by the eastern slopes of the paramo of San Lucas and located between the Kukiyú and the Yusayú gorge (Guacharaca). It belongs to the parcialidad of Lame, and the road that goes from San Andrés [491] to Lame passes precisely there. This road is well traveled, its people more accessible to the whites.

796 On June 24 the men race their horses along the road.
541 It is a custom of Indians and whites "to race on the day of San Juan." The whites say that those who do not race their horses on the day of San Juan get scabies. The small, husky horses pant under the demands of their drunken riders. A wild race and shouts in an unsteady voice: Viva San Juan!

The people of the pass go to a small square along the road, near which lives the capitán of Lame. Indians from
184 San Andrés come to watch the race for the rooster. On the
796 other hand, in spite of the nearness, no Calderun /person from
291 Calderas/ is seen there. The women who are seen are clean,
177 with neatly braided hair; they wear black skirts, navy-blue
● 301 rebozos, pink blouses, numerous multi-colored necklaces,
541 bright earrings, and cloth hats. The monotonous dark or black necklaces characteristic of Paez apparel are nearly absent among these people. The classic pindo hat worn by the [191] Calderas people is absent. Spanish is spoken more frequently.

796 All the riders are concentrating on the cage and the
541 roosters.

/221 cont./

793 out the procession. The latter, reeling from chicha and lack
796 of sleep, arrived at the end of the Mass and learned of the
788 decision of the priest, who in addition advised them to save the gunpowder for the procession on the following day. They left. And although they did not march around the church and did not bear on their shoulders the image of the saint, they fired all the firecrackers, the skyrockets, and the fireworks castle to the strains of their native music. The procession was carried out symbolically.

796 The women and the men are dark in complexion and in
142 apparel. At these celebrations it is not unusual to see them
291 dressed in bright colors and brightly colored beads.
301

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/362 cont./

511 The articles of clothing most in demand are trousers, shirts,
438 hats, underwear, rebozos, and sashes (Mosoco), large shawls
439 /pañolones/ (Lame and San Andrés), and smocks for the children.
[301] Ponchos are also purchased with some frequency. In Mosoco,
[223] gold earrings are ornaments appreciated by the women, in contrast to other parcialidades where gold is /363/ regarded as taboo. The natives wear no sandals or shoes. It should also be noted that the women's skirts are not purchased, but made at home; while in Mosoco the purchase of the reboso de Castilla /Spanish shawl/ is quite frequent and a sign of elegance, in the other parcialidades
511 they buy pañolones. If we compare the figures for food and clothing, the percentage of the income devoted to the former in Mosoco, with two exceptions, is higher than that devoted to clothing. In Lame, and especially in San Andrés, the percentages for food and clothing tend to be the same, and often the latter is higher than the former. The phenomenon is not strange if we bear in mind that in these two parcialidades cultivation is more for internal consumption than for sale. As for "Amusements," although various expenses have been included among them, they refer basically to expenses for the fancy for alcoholic and fermented beverages. Naturally, the expenses are necessarily higher, as we shall see later. As for lighting, in spite of the fact that in San Andrés and Lame it is made out of wild laurel wax, stearic candles are also purchased, and in Mosoco they are always
511 purchased. Soap is purchased by all the natives. In the column
454 showing the part for savings we note that only six of the 48 families
[434] investigated have no figures for it.[1] And in order to make a few deductions, we have made an analysis of the incomes of the 48 families studied:

[1] [See p. 93 for this table -- Analyst]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguez

obliquely across the rocks; (3) an arched bridge of bamboo floored with spaced sticks, equipped with a hand rail on each side, and supported with stones, bamboo braces, and vines (pl. 185, *bottom, right*); and (4) a covered bridge with thatched roof, built of heavy logs supported by sticks and stones and floored with boards—a marvel of calculated strength, which, like the third type, is made entirely of vegetable materials yet can support loaded animals. To build an arched bridge, two groups of Indians approach opposite sides of the river and each plants a long, strong pole sloping out over the stream. The chief of each group then climbs out his pole until his weight bends it down to meet that from the opposite side, whereupon, clinging with one hand, they lash the ends together with creepers. This constitutes the main element of the bridge which is then completed by the other Indians. 491 499 499

TRANSPORTATION

Some Indians now have horses and use them for traveling and for transporting large burdens, but, in general, transportation is by foot, objects being carried on the back or in netted sacks hung by a strap, especially when visiting markets. A woman carries not only a heavy load but her small child suspended on her back in a blue woolen blanket held with a broad woven band, or "chumbe." Peculiarly Andean is the custom that the man travels on horseback while the woman follows on foot with a large burden. 489 482 492

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The *Moguez* and *Páez* formerly wore only small cotton blankets (mantas), although most of them "went about naked even on the cold mountains" (Rodríguez, 1684, bk. 2, ch. 1). They painted their bodies with bixa, using, according to Del Castillo i Orozco, stamps to apply the color. The paint also protected them against the strong sunlight and insects. They went barefoot, as all the natives in Colombia. According to one chronicler, their hair was "shorn" (Robledo, in Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38). They wore breast and nose ornaments of pure gold or a gold and copper alloy, and necklaces of small figures, beads, small stones, and snails. 291 302 [757] [825] [291] 301

Soon after the beginning of the Conquest, the Indians commenced to use wide, long shirts of a very crude weave and hats which were so closely woven that they would hold water. The latter, which the Spaniards called "tacillas de Páez" (Páez bowls), are still in use. The Spanish encomenderos required that the Indians working on their haciendas near Popayán be dressed. This was the origin of the characteristic garment worn today, which combines the old small blanket (manta) with European dress. *Moguez* men wear short linen pants, and a blue flannel sash which covers them to their knees. 291 177

7:Hernández de Alba E-54(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

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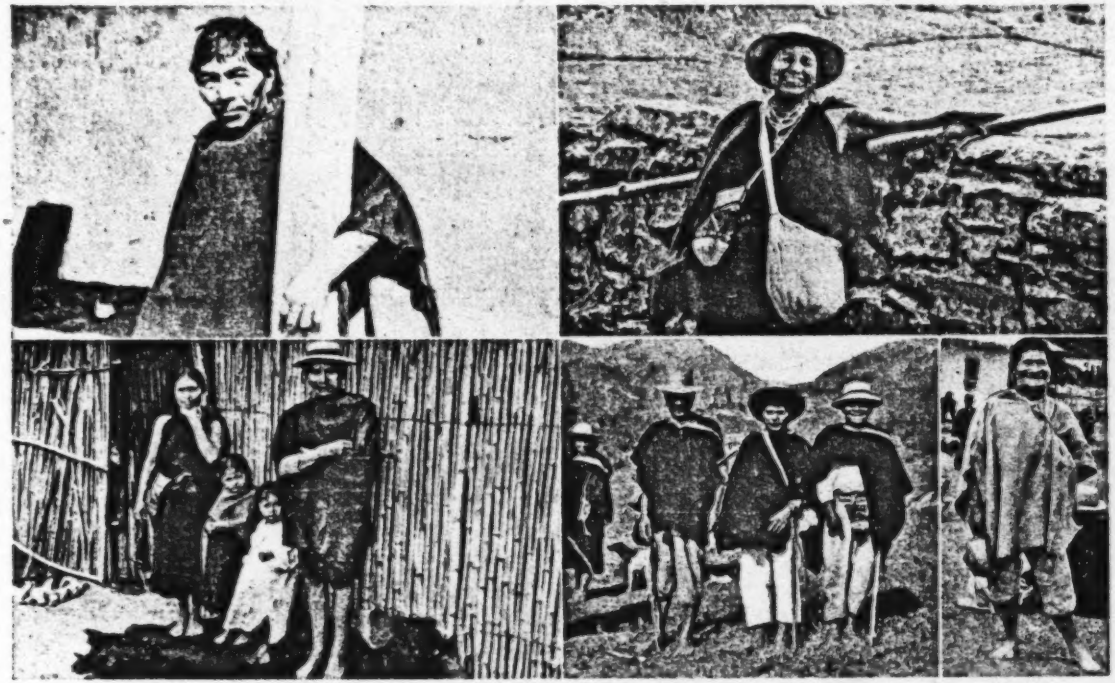

PLATE 192.—**Páez types.** *Top (left): Páez* man, Tierradentro. *Top (right):* Woman with necklace and bags woven of wool and bast fibers, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Bottom (left):* Indians, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Bottom (center):* Indians, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Bottom (right):* Man at Inzá, Tierradentro. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 - H)

7tHernández de Alba E-5,1 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

with the right hand over the naked thigh. Two strands are similarly twisted together until the desired thickness is obtained. 283

Gourds.—Gourds are still widely used. They are picked when ripe, cleaned out, and dried. With small openings, they serve as containers for beverages and powdered lime. Some are made into bowls and others are cut up to make spoons. Today these objects are undecorated, but formerly in Timaná they were painted with a resin varnish very similar to that used in Pasto. (See p. 930.) Before the Spanish domination, gourds were also used as frames over which were stretched the prepared skin of the heads of their enemies killed in war. 415 824 [314] [721]

Metallurgy.—The metallurgy of these Indians was the same as that practiced throughout most of Colombia. The metals were gold, copper, and an alloy of the two (tumbaga). It is recorded that the Indians "worked gold," but the processes are not described. Specimens found recently in the territory, however, show molding, casting, and hammering. Metal objects included nose ornaments, parrot-shaped breastplates, necklaces with small animal figures, and some anthropomorphic idols. Gold occurs in this territory, particularly on the upper Páez or the Suin River. 325 [301] [532] [135]

Ceramics.—These tribes made and still make coiled pottery. Modern vessel forms include large jars for storing beverages and poorly shaped, crudely decorated containers for preparing and serving food. There is no individual specialization in this task, women making pots for their own family and not for trade. 323

Stone and wooden artifacts.—The native Indians made stone axes of a simple design, but stonework disappeared during the time of colonization, when the Indians could obtain manufactured iron weapons and utensils such as machetes, axes, hoes, shovels, etc. The manufacture of wooden objects—weaving, cooking, and farming implements and weapons—was furthered by the use of metal tools, and now is well developed, as exemplified by the trapiche (cane mill), a true machine made of wood. 324 182 177 322 249 177

Weaving.—Weaving, little practiced before the Conquest, developed with the post-Contact need for wearing more clothes and with the introduction of sheep, whose wool was used in addition to cotton. Weaving was and is exclusively the work of women (pl. 186). They prepare fine, uniform yarn with a common spindle, which they handle as they walk along the road (pl. 187, *top*). The loom is vertical, made of two horizontal rods fastened to two uprights. The warp runs vertically with a continuous thread. The horizontal weft is pressed down with a wooden sword. They also weave hemp bands on the loom. Woolen blankets are woven in natural colors, but some sashes have bright colors made of imported wool or of home-dyed wool. For red, they use one of the Rubiaceae (*Relbunium hypocarpium*), and for 286 [177] [462] [386]

/112 cont./

142 age the hair seldom becomes white. We met only one woman with slightly graying hair and an old man with a gray, sparse beard, but dark hair. The beard among men is scant. The [302] beard hair is regularly plucked (see Ills. 148 to 155 /see pp. 265-268/).

143 According to the blood-group analysis of the Paez, among the 303 individuals examined there were 88.78 per cent of blood group 0, 6.93 per cent of blood group A, and 4.29 per cent of blood group B. The blood group A+B is not represented (G. Arcila Velez, pp. 11-14).

829 The racial concept of Indian is foreign to the Paez themselves. To them "Indio" designates a cultural status. My colleague, Segundo Bernal Villa, an Indian from the region of Pasto, was designated as "blanco" because of his European clothing. And when our interpreter Victoriano bought himself "white clothing" (hat, pants, shirt, shoes) with the money he earned, he was called a "white" in his village and accordingly treated with hostility.

161 The population figures for the Paez do not seem either to increase or decrease, as far as the uncivilized Paez are con-
165 cerned, for example, in Calderas. Infant mortality comes to more
164 than 50 per cent. The most common cause of sickness is whooping cough. The health of children who survive their second year, as well as of adults, is -- considering the circumstances -- quite good. True, one scarcely sees old people over 60 (and [132] those who look that old are probably younger). The most fre-[362] quent illness of adults is tuberculosis, which claims numerous [262] victims, since the nights are very cold and the cold and wind can [273] penetrate through the light walls of the houses unhindered. More-over, no fat of any kind is commonly eaten. Another illness from which many Paez suffer, which, however, is not taken seriously, is stomach trouble caused by the drinking of brandy even during [154] infancy and the unsuitable diet in childhood. Infants are given [262] beans, cabbage, and yuca, but no milk, except mother's milk.

The house

/122 cont./

356 is swept by the women every day with a broom (ctábando) con-
824 sisting of shrubs of the pšáñga plant. This plant at the same
[825] time drives away fleas. The rubbish is swept out of the house in such a way that even the entrance is clean.

351 All around the house and surrounding it at some distance
417 either a fence is erected or a ditch dug about one meter deep,
[231] within which the poultry and usually the pigs and sheep are kept.
In Calderas, where, because of the low temperature, bamboo
[137] no longer grows, the fence is made of wood obtained from the
[313] natural growth when a piece of land is burned off. Stakes are driven vertically into the ground at intervals of about two meters and the interspaces filled with small tree trunks, branches, and twigs up to a good meter in length, lying horizontally. Climbing over this fence is done with notched tree trunks or bamboo stalks placed obliquely against the fence as a ladder. Similar notched tree trunks also serve as ladders in the houses (Ills. 168 and 154 /see pp.274 and 268 /).

514 There are no privies. On account of the isolation of the houses, however, it is never difficult for the Paez to find a place off in the brush or in the forest. We never found the paths
264 and the vicinity of the houses soiled with filth. The Paez showed
[412] the same tact in eating and at other gatherings. We never experienced smacking of lips or belching, even though their eating habits are somewhat crude, for, lacking spoons, they are in the habit of simply shoving their food from the plate into the mouth with the fingers.

/123/ 2. Clothing and Ornaments

291 The Paez today wear clothing covering their upper and lower bodies. In ancient times, according to the reports of chroniclers, some of them were said to have worn small cotton cloaks, although the majority of them "went about naked, even in the cold mountains" (cited by Hernandez, 1944, p. 191,
[302] from P. M. Rodriguez, 1684). They were also said to have painted their bodies with color and to have made imprints on them with

stamps,

/125 cont./

291 made between the clothing of the married and the unmarried.

302 The men's hair is cut "semilong" with scissors, so that they have a cut midway between bobbed hair and a modern, shaped cut. Women wear their hair long and combed toward the back, to some extent in the form of a part. Older girls and [412] married women plait their hair in braids. Only the modern, purchased combs are used for combing. The men do not groom their beards, which are sparse to begin with, but from youth onward pull out the beard hair with the fingers.

301 439 No ornaments of any kind are worn by the men nowadays. Two hundred years ago they wore nose rings (zomp) "like the oxen" (Castillo i Orosco, p. 89). The women today wear /126/ purchased pendant-ornaments only to a very slight extent, the white glass-bead chains (wǎča - bead) being relatively the most common (Ill. 148 /see p. 265/). The traders are Sibundoy or similar fellow-tribesmen from the southern part of the country, where chains of this kind are worn by the pound by men and women as pendant ornaments. Earrings consist either of a few purchased beads strung on a thread or of a purchased silver pendant. Anyone may wear purchased brass finger-rings; it is not a sign of being married. In earlier times it is possible that there were arm rings, as is shown by Castillo's term kasẽnand-gnue-tsa for "arm ring."

3. Economy

433 The first impression that one has of the Paez from an economic standpoint is that of a democratic farming people firmly rooted in their soil, and during an initial consideration of their food and way of life it appears as though they have never been anything but agriculturalists. In the case of primitive peoples, however, we must distinguish between the principal means of production and the original means of production. The former is usually not hard to recognize, whereas the question of the original means of production of a people can be answered

/177 cont./

the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook. Old, solitary persons or unmarried girls or men live with relatives or friends, but never alone, since a single person is unable either to protect himself or to provide for himself adequately.

The father's authority is great. Wife and children owe him absolute obedience. Nevertheless, the man does not have the right to alienate personal articles of members of the family or possessions that they made themselves. Thus, for example, he is not in a position to sell a coca bag or a fiber bag belonging to his wife or his children's toys.

The children are given the family name of the father, but the women keep their maiden names even after marriage. There is no external indication in dress or hair style or otherwise for unmarried girls and married women. The wife is obligated to work for her husband and children in her family. Beyond that she may procure personal belongings for herself by weaving cloth beyond the needs of her family, for example, and trading it for ornaments.

If the young people are still living in the house with their parents, the daughter-in-law is not absolutely subordinate to her mother-in-law, although this appears to be so, to judge from the speech at the wedding ceremony. A relationship of dependence is out of the question because of the separate kitchens. Usually, however, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are on good terms, and then it is not uncommon for only one woman to cook for both families, for there is no in-law avoidance. Then the two women share the work of cleaning the house.

Conjugal fidelity is demanded of both marriage partners; in the case of the man, however, it is sometimes not taken so seriously. If a man surprises his wife, however, or she her husband, in marital infidelity, the deceived party may beat (but not kill) both and report them to the cabildo, which again has the guilty party very soundly thrashed.

Illegitimate children are not rare among the Paez. In case an unmarried girl has a child, she is beaten by her parents and

1: Nachtigall--265 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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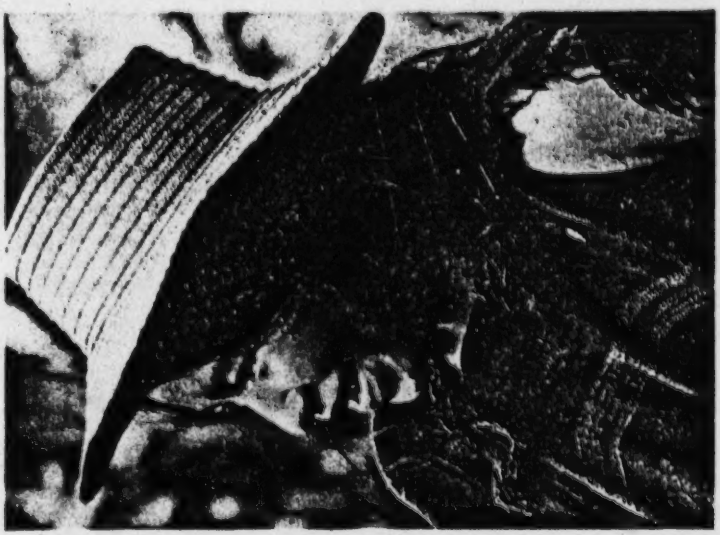

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Ills. 148 and 149. Young women.

1: Nachtigall--266 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ills. 150 and 151. Young men.

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1: Nachtigall--277 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 173. Paez with sugar cane.

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Ill. 174. Harvesting the coca leaves.

1: Nachtigall--279 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ills. 177 and 178. Woman defleshing agave leaves.

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Plate LXXXV

Ill. 161. Framework of a house.

Ill. 162. Dwelling of the civilized Paez being built. The walls are filled with earth to the thickness of a post.

Ill. 163 and 164. Construction details of a Paez house.

Plate LXXXVI

Ill. 165. House annex with the chicha trough. In front of the man's stomach hangs the colorfully patterned coca pouch. Married women wear their hair plaited in a braid.

[585]
[302]

[352] Ill. 166. The interior of a Paez house. Tables, benches, and beds are lacking. At night they sleep on the floor around the hearth made of three field stones.
[513]
[354]

Plate LXXXVII

Ill. 167. House garden of the Paez with bananas, sugar cane, and yuca.

[417] Ill. 168. Maize field with fence. A notched tree-trunk serves as ladder.

Plate LXXXVIII

Ill. 169. Portion of a field readied for burning. The tree growth has been cut off at hip height.

Ill. 170. Land used by the village, with black surfaces of the fields burned off in preparation for sowing.

Plate LXXXIX

[241] Ill. 171. Paez burning felled trees. The ashes serve as fertilizer.
Ill. 172. Men setting out sugar-cane shoots with the digging stick.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez .SC15

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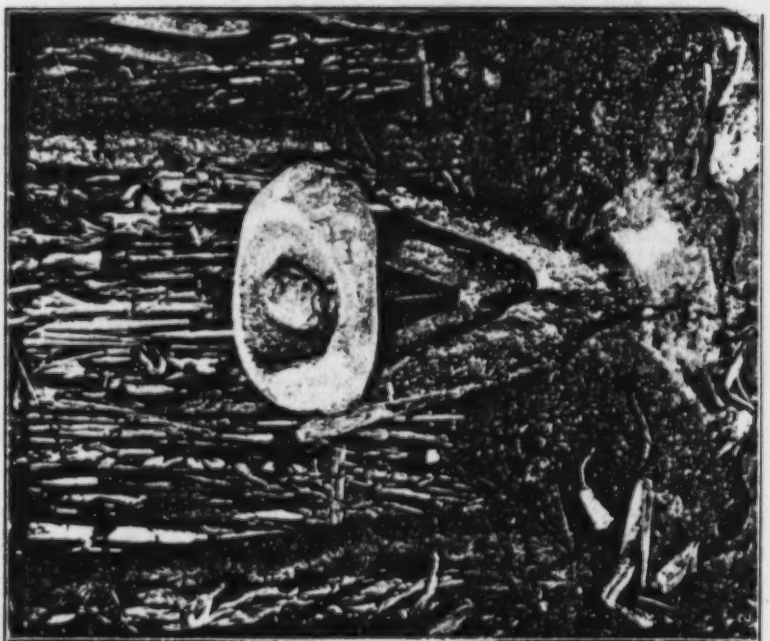

PAEZ GRINDING STONE

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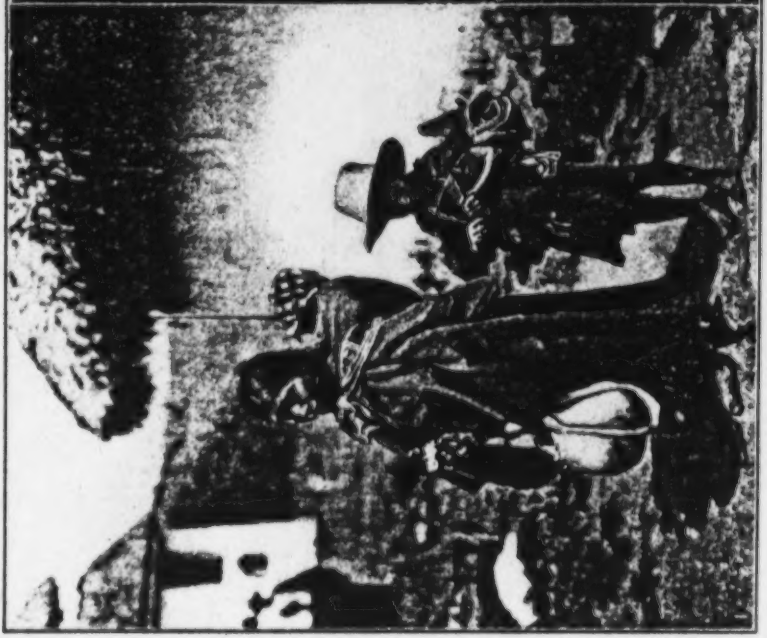

TRAVELING PAEZ WOMAN AND CHILDREN

MEMOIRS, I, PL. IV
AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

[facing P.317]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

bag and the small receptacle that contains the quicklime used with the former. When out of doors a second piece of woolen cloth, longer and narrower than the first and called simply *atl*, is thrown over the shoulders, with the head likewise thrust through the middle. A narrow-brimmed hat (*tsua*) the like of which is found among the Kitšua, is the usual complement of this dress. It is made of the outer skin of a tall grass (*Gynerium saccharoides*), resembling sugar-cane and common along rivers.

The women all dress in the same way, with fabrics invariably woven by themselves. The underwear, which is often dispensed with, consists of a narrow piece of woolen tissue used as a loin cloth, passing between the legs and then rolled around the hips. Over this article is worn a broad piece of dark woolen cloth, wrapped along the body and limbs in the form of a skirt. This is the *anaco*, or *pamb-atl*, and it is attached to the waist by means of a sash called *tilia*, the elaborateness and ornamentation of which vary with the wealth of the owner. The upper part of the body is covered with a ruana called *atl-tul*, sewed along the right side and on the right shoulder, but open at the left side, being simply pinned on the left shoulder with a wooden peg or a fish-bone. When traveling the women provide themselves with another broad piece of cloth (*spatl*) which is used either as a cover or for wrapping the baby on the back. In the latter case the cloth is secured by means of a belt (plate IV, 1).

Women also wear necklaces, made now of common glass beads, silver coins, or small sea-shells, the number of strings depending on the wealth of the husband. The mention in Castillo's vocabulary of a word for bracelet (*kasthand-gunc-tsa*) indicates the former use of such ornament. Females have no headgear. Married women part their hair along the median line of the head and allow it to hang back in two braids. Little girls wear their hair loosely behind the shoulders. In former times women painted their faces blue with the juice of a fruit called *kii*. Speaking of this custom, which seems to be obsolete now, Castillo facetiously says: "fruta . . . con cuyo zumo se pintan el rostro las Indias (*i aun las que no lo son*)." Men formerly decorated their bodies and faces with *tok*, the red color

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

302 extracted from the seeds of *Bixa orellana*, which they applied
[294] by means of a cylinder of clay (*koanda*) on which certain designs were carved. Specimens of such cylinders are often found in graves.

291 Children are very scantily clothed. The boys go about naked
515 until they reach their twelfth year, and the little girls wear only a short *atš-tul*. The clothing of the male and female adults seems to be worn as long as it lasts. As is the case with all Indians living at high altitudes, the Paez are not especially fond of bathing, and cleanliness is not a cardinal virtue with them.
[513] In retiring for the night, they simply wrap their garments tighter around them, the children using old rags in lieu of blankets.

386 The ornamentation of the *vilia*, or sash, with several brilliant
[182] colors and the desire of giving a uniform hue to the darker clothing of the women, gave origin to the art of dyeing, which very likely is to-day in its decline. The dyes were derived chiefly from plants. Black was obtained from *Ial*, an arborescent *Phyllanthus* that has a semi-domesticated appearance and forms characteristic thickets around inhabited places, like Vitoncó; the same color is also contained in the young pods of the *huarango* (*Cæsalpinia tinctoria*), a spiny tree often seen near the houses and extensively used at the present time for dyeing wool. The roots of *tuk-witse*, a Rubiacea (*Relbunium hypocarpium* Hemsl.) akin to the madder, produce a scarlet color. Different kinds of blue dyes were extracted from the fruit of the jagua (*kii*, probably *Genipa* sp.) and from an *Indigofera*.
[177] Many other tinctorial plants very likely escaped my observation and are gradually passing out of use on account of the introduction of foreign fabrics.

Dwellings

342 The Paeces have permanent houses in their thirty-four villages and temporary abodes on their corn plantations. These latter are merely small huts, the walls of which are more or less elaborate according to the altitude, being made tighter near the upper limit of culture. They represent the primitive type of

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173 fortune: his efforts brought to light a large jar overflowing with
823 gold. In his great joy he went running to his companions to tell

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173 them of the coveted find; in their eagerness they all flew to the
823 lucky spot, and oh! supreme misfortune, the treasure had vanished. Minutes later, the powder flask exploded, killing several, mutilating others, and leaving only a few alive. The whites localize the Hipinjí legend in Tumbichukue.

487 /182/ The descent to the Kukiyú is effected along a
499 vertical ridge, following a path with innumerable zigzags, an

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

obliquely across the rocks; (3) an arched bridge of bamboo floored 491
with spaced sticks, equipped with a hand rail on each side, and sup- 499
ported with stones, bamboo braces, and vines (pl. 185, *bottom, right*);
and (4) a covered bridge with thatched roof, built of heavy logs sup-
ported by sticks and stones and floored with boards—a marvel of
calculated strength, which, like the third type, is made entirely of
vegetable materials yet can support loaded animals. To build an 499
arched bridge, two groups of Indians approach opposite sides of the
river and each plants a long, strong pole sloping out over the stream.
The chief of each group then climbs out his pole until his weight bends
it down to meet that from the opposite side, whereupon, clinging with
one hand, they lash the ends together with creepers. This consti-
tutes the main element of the bridge which is then completed by the
other Indians.

TRANSPORTATION

Some Indians now have horses and use them for traveling and for 489
transporting large burdens, but, in general, transportation is by foot, 482
objects being carried on the back or in netted sacks hung by a strap, 492
especially when visiting markets. A woman carries not only a heavy
load but her small child suspended on her back in a blue woolen
blanket held with a broad woven band, or "chumbe." Peculiarly
Andean is the custom that the man travels on horseback while the
woman follows on foot with a large burden.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The *Moguez* and *Páez* formerly wore only small cotton blankets 291
(mantas), although most of them "went about naked even on the cold
mountains" (Rodríguez, 1684, bk. 2, ch. 1). They painted their 302
bodies with bixa, using, according to Del Castillo i Orozco, stamps
to apply the color. The paint also protected them against the strong [751]
sunlight and insects. They went barefoot, as all the natives in [825]
Colombia. According to one chronicler, their hair was "shorn" [291]
(Robledo, *in* Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38). They wore breast and
nose ornaments of pure gold or a gold and copper alloy, and necklaces 301
of small figures, beads, small stones, and snails.

Soon after the beginning of the Conquest, the Indians commenced 291
to use wide, long shirts of a very crude weave and hats which were so 177
closely woven that they would hold water. The latter, which the
Spaniards called "tacillas de Páez" (Páez bowls), are still in use.
The Spanish encomenderos required that the Indians working on
their haciendas near Popayán be dressed. This was the origin of the
characteristic garment worn today, which combines the old small
blanket (manta) with European dress. *Moguez* men wear short linen
pants, and a blue flannel sash which covers them to their knees.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez
Pasto SC17

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PLATE 188.—**Quillacinga musicians.** *Top:* Musicians and banner carrier at Siburdoy dressed for fiesta. *Bottom:* Musicians dressed in ordinary clothes. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 -D]

7:Hernández de Alba E-8,4(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

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PLATE 192.—**Páez types.** *Top (left): Páez* man, Tierradentro. *Top (right):* Woman with necklace and bags woven of wool and bast fibers, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Bottom (left):* Indians, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Bottom (center):* Indians, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Bottom (right):* Man at Inzá, Tierradentro. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 - H)

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

The *Páez* family is completely under the authority of the father, whose wife and children obey him implicitly and may be punished by him. Nonetheless, the father must obtain his wife's permission to sell or exchange goods she produced, such as bags for coca, sashes, etc. Precise etiquette is maintained between fathers and godfathers (compadres). Whenever a man meets his father or his godfather, he must kneel to receive his blessing. The fathers and godfathers must embrace whenever they meet. In one case a young man was the godfather of his father's new son by another wife, so that in meeting his father the young man had to kneel bareheaded, and then stand with his hat on and embrace his father as a godparent. The father did not call him "son" but "compadre."

594 [425] 608 576

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—A very old custom among these peoples is that at childbirth the mother should retire to a special house or go to the mountains. If she was delivered in the home, she and the baby were bathed, and then the family left the hut and built a new one elsewhere.

844

Today both the *Moguex* and *Páez* have a special hut for childbirth. The day after the child is born, the mother is placed in a hole up to her head and bathed with an infusion of leaves of "moquita," after which she washes the clothes and objects worn during delivery. She then returns to work and lives again at home. In the special hut, a *Páez* woman is assisted in childbirth by another woman, or, as a last resort, by her husband, who must bathe immediately afterward. Two days later, the mother circumcises her son or destroys the virginity of her daughter. Four or five days after the birth and after the first bath, the father takes the child to the sacristan of the community for baptism with water, and then returns it to the mother. The afterbirth must be buried or burned at the place of the birth. About 15 days later, the mother takes a bath and washes her child and her clothes and objects, and returns home. Later, the child is baptized with oil in the church by the priest with the godparents present. This is an occasion for general dancing and drunkenness.

846 [757] [343] [844] [304] [851] [844] [851] [608]

Puberty.—At puberty a girl was formerly taken by her parents to a hill, placed in a hole, and bathed. Each Indian then took her a gift. Pittier de Fábrega (1907) notes that at a later period a girl's puberty was celebrated with the "Itsa-kó" dance, the girl, bathed with chicha, remaining in the hole. Today, a woman must retire during her menstrual periods to a special hut, where other women bring her food and build a fire to warm her. Afterward, she bathes, washes her clothes and objects, and then returns home.

881 [431] [535] 841 343

Men, until recently, underwent a sort of initiation, in which they were taken to the shores of the sacred lagoon of Juan Tama or to the

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Colombia, SC1
Tierradentro

Here the mountain slopes which
/14 cont./
C 311 134 only 70 years ago were still covered with dense tree growth are now cleared to gain pasture areas for stock-raising, thus causing extensive erosion of the normally already very thin humus cover-
P 361 132 ing and a certain sterility of the soil. The situation is different in the villages still exclusively inhabited by Indios in northern Tierradentro. They lie in part considerably higher (Mosoco,
P [244] Vitoncó, Suin, and Lame about 2,500 meters). Here the nights are already perceptibly cold. Coffee no longer thrives, in its
P [233] stead maize and potatoes. It is also the best climate for cattle-
P [311] raising. The mountain slopes, due to relatively sparse settle-
[134] ment on the part of the Paez, have not all been put to economic use as yet; the /15/ tree growth guarantees natural water conservation throughout the year.

C 132 The two rainy periods of the year are from May to June and October to December. During these times, especially in the rainy period of the first half of the year, it rains in considerable amounts every day, whereas the dry periods are regularly free of precipitation.

C 317 175 Tierradentro's wealth underground has not yet been ex-
[135] plored with modern means. In pre-Spanish times, and even after the Conquista /the Spanish conquest; see the glossary,
C 175 317 p. 249 /, numerous salt beds were exploited. The Spaniards brought Negro slaves into Tierradentro as mine workers, whose
563 464 descendants make up a considerable part of the population of Belalcázar. Today some of them work as gold-washers on the
316 banks of the Rio Paez. In Indian times gold was still obtained
C 316 at Tálaga, San Vicente, and Jambaló. In the southern part of
C [103] Tierradentro the silver mines were a significant economic factor near the city of La Plata -- so-named because of its important finds.

C 487 From colonial times up to five years ago only the routes passable for human beings and horses (caminos de herradura /bridle paths/) were available for traffic routes. The two chief connections were from Inzá over Paramo de las Guanacas to Silvia and Popayán and into the Cauca Valley, as well as from Inzá via
La Plata into the Magdalena Valley.

C /128 cont./
311 those of the colonists in Tierradentro. In the territory of the
[137] latter there is almost no forest anywhere; all the slopes have been
[233] deforested and artificially, but not through excessive agricultural
C cultivation, made into pasture areas for the livestock of the
311 colonists or large landowners. This has upset the natural water
312 economy of the region. The water flowing off unchecked dur-
134 ing the rainy season washes away the humus earth and forms
C deep gullies on the slopes. The soil thus eroded is infertile.
[361] The mountain slopes dry out completely during the dry seasons,
P so that dwellings can only rarely be built in the higher locations
311 because of the lack of water. In the areas used solely by the
134 natives, in which a natural alternation of cultivated and fallow
312 land is observed, there are countless channels and small brooks
361 that make it possible to put a house near running water at almost
P every spot on the landscape.

241 Every task of the Paez that is connected with the fields,
461 be it clearing, sowing, or harvesting, is done extraordinarily
476 willingly by all participants, "because it is for food." There is
P simply no such thing as anyone unwilling to work in the fields.
134 The soil is not very fertile, since the major part of the moun-
241 tains in the region of Calderas consists of slate which often stands
[135] out bare and on the slopes is covered with a layer of humus or
P loam only 20 to 50 centimeters deep on the average. In the
241 valley the humus layer is often more than a meter deep. The
P abundant land available, however, does not make the utmost
[312] utilization imperative. And although the numerous mountain
brooks are diverted in such a way that every house has its running
water, nevertheless there is no acute inducement for irrigation or
terraced cultivation, nor does the use of them seem to be known.

Maize occupies the major part of the cultivated area, closely followed by sugar cane, the raw product for the manufacture of chicha. Both constitute the basic production of agriculture, and there is no Paez family that does not cultivate sugar cane and maize on its land. The size of the cultivated areas cleared by burning varies. The smallest fields that we saw

1: Nachtigall--264 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 146. The valley of the Kokiyó with Calderas.

[346]

Ill. 147. Calderas with church and festival houses.

1: Nachtigall--297 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/CXI cont./

Plate XXI

/According to the plate itself, the caption given here for Ill. 8 belongs with Ill. 9, and vice versa./

172 Ill. 8. The artificially leveled-off hill of Segovia with the archeological site. The entrance gate is at the left. On the right is the elevated portion with the protective roofs of the Seven-Niche-Grave-chambers Nos. 35-38. In the background, the Filo de El Aguacate. From its highest point the grave chambers extend to the small elevation on the right edge of the picture.

Ill. 9. The San Andrés Valley. In the foreground, the grave chambers arranged on two levels at the archeological site of Alto de San Andrés. Grave chambers 1 and 6 are provided with rectangular protective roofs. The five large statues of El Tablon are faintly visible on the almost circular area behind the village church.

/Ills. 10-145 on Plates XXII-LXXVI, and listed on pp. CXI-CXX, are omitted in the translation./

/CXX/ Plate LXXVII

[311] [423] Ill. 146. The valley of the Kokiyó with the town of Calderas. The bare surface is the community land, the overgrown slopes are private property.

Ill. 147. Calderas with the church and the festival houses.

Plate LXXVIII

Ills. 148 and 149. Young women.

Plate LXXIX

Ills. 150 and 151. Young men.

Plate LXXX

Ill. 152. Mother with child. The clothes are held together with thorns. The carrying band of the coca pouch hangs over the shoulder.

/284 cont./

132 gives rise to cold local winds that blow through the valley of the Páez, affecting chiefly the areas of Vitoncó, Suin, Chinas, San José, Mosoco, and also the parcialidad /a territorial division/ of Calderas itself. The variation in temperature is noticeable in these zones sometimes having hot days and very cold nights. Nebulosity is almost constant, especially in the northern zones.

241 Economy.--The topographic and climatic characteristics permit the cultivation of various plants, such as maize, beans, bananas, sugar cane, yuca, arracacha, and gourds in the temperate zones, and in the cold ones potatoes, maize, ullucos, [433] beans, gourds, and cabbage. The produce barely leaves a [439] surplus for trade with the parcialidades and urban centers of [438] Belalcázar, Inzá, and Valencia. The potato crops of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José serve for an active trade with the Paez of the western slope of the cordillera, across the Páramo de Moras.

433 Coffee and the production of panela are important lines 245 in the economy of the colonists and also of numerous groups 249 of acculturated natives. The coffee of Tierradentro is con- 177 sidered one of the best in the country, owing to the quality and mildness of the bean.

231 /285/ The raising of livestock flourishes among the civilized 437 groups. For the natives it serves for maintaining a barter trade with their neighbors, the white and mestizo colonists.

311 On the whole, native production is relatively scant, 433 giving rise to times of "hambruna" /ravenous hunger/ when [731] the summers or winters are rather harsh. The workable land lies in the small plains and valleys of rivers and streams, on the alluvial terraces, and on the plateaus. Comparing the size of Tierradentro with that of its arable land, the latter appears scant, a problem that is aggravated by the increase in population and the habitual burning.

101 Population.--Tierradentro is the country of the Paez, 361 who at the time of the Conquest were settled to the north of

/288 cont./
583 in the church, live together for a period of indeterminate duration, explaining that /289/ the man does not have enough money at hand to marry as soon as he asks the woman, and it is necessary to work in order to obtain it.

771 Religion.--The religion of the Paez is formally Catholicism,
177 but many of their traditions are hidden in it. The principal
[796] fiestas of the natives are religious ones, which acquire true strokes of splendor. The Catholic priest is called upon for the ceremonies of baptism, marriage, and cases of death.

Chapter II

631 Calderas.--Incrusted in the very heart of Tierradentro is the
131 Parcialidad of Calderas, bounded on the north by a high ridge
133 that separates it from Chinas and Avirama; on the east, La Muralla, the very model of a fault, separates it from Avirama, just as a ridge separates it from Togoima; to the south, deep gorges and high peaks separate it from San Andrés and Togoima; to the west, the Quebrada Guacharaca divides it from the Parcialidad of Lame.

133 It is crossed from west to east by the Quebrada Kukiyú,
631 actually a river in terms of the volume and violence of its waters, whose bed is deep, enclosed, and inaccessible. Its
[423] left bank is somewhat softened by a beautiful plateau of about 20 hectares, with fertile lands, abundant waters, and on which the pueblo rises; it belongs to the community, whereas the other lands are private property guaranteed by the fact that the owner either personally cleared the montaña or inherited it from his ancestors who cleared the forest. The right bank is steep, harsh,
[161] rugged. Numerous clearings are to be seen on these sloping
[311] lands, indicating the increase in population that compels them to cultivate lands of low fertility and great danger for the laborer.

/182 cont./

487 authentically native achievement which is a true work of
499 engineering; it could not have been done in any other spot or in any other way. The bridge over the Kukiyú was built with two thick beams over which thin cross-pieces have been fastened together with lianas; like all Paez bridges, it has a thatched roof and side rails.

III

Black, Smoking Dots on the Horizon

241 From Yukaichí one can see almost the entire parcialidad
36 of Calderas, exept for the left bank of the Kukiyú. On the
[133] ridge of a hill, at the end of a canyon, on a slight plateau, discreetly hidden on a gentle slope or on a bold declivity, one sees trapezoidal figures that glow like graphite, surrounded by rows of golden stalks of maize. They are the Indians' huts, built far apart, submerged in the green landscape of the plantings of bananas and sugar cane, and through whose openings a thick bluish smoke is always emerging, a sign of life and activity.

311 While to the Guajira /Goajiro/ livestock is a symbol of sustenance and the tending of herds its concomitant activity, to the Paez the land is the sustainer of man; the black layer that covers the rocks feeds the woodland /monte/ after the harvest; time will tell when it will be mature and ready for fencing in anew the clearings that will yield the longed-for maize, the plenteous arracacha, the small beans, the blooming cabbage, the thick and abundant santo wheat /trigo del santo/; in the grasslands graze the cattle with bright and variegated hides, small, swift horses of great endurance, the many herds of pigs that fight over the tender roots of shrubs, and the mild sheep that yield wool for the men's ponchos, the women's skirts, and the kuetand yahas of both.

/293 cont./

221 on the fincas of the "whites" (1). The social life and the re-
[166]
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[177]
[128]

1. Generic term with which the natives designate all those who observe the norms of western culture, without any distinction as to race. For convenience we have adopted this usage, putting the term in quotation marks.

ligious fiestas are frequent during this period. The work is done /294/ with devotion and perseverance. It is not done in haste, but there is no resting either.

423 Every Páez family has its lands. This is its ambition. The
[183] primary source of its security. Every crag has an owner whose title has been won by the sweat of his brow. Every crag harbors a rancho that shelters a family. Every inch of land is passionately
[571] defended by the native. The disputes stirred up by this fact are not few. In like manner the cabildos are never so zealous as in the defense of the lands of the parcialidad /a territorial division/.
[648] The areas of settlement /areas of colonization by whites/ are spearheads in the very heart of the community. They were established against the full opposition of the natives. On the other hand, the defense of the land and the prevention of contamination by foreign peoples are postulates of the doctrine. The distribution of the houses suggests in advance the profusion of paths and private property.

When they win the scarce land, the distances and difficul-
[464] ties that loom are not important. They are good colonizers, and it is rare that persons who lack land hire themselves out as perma-
nent peons or become tenant farmers on the great haciendas.
[181] They prefer independence above all.

● 311 To study the economy of the Páez, certain factors of a
133 geographico-physical and cultural nature cannot be overlooked. They are:

1. Thermic levels. The lands now occupied by the Páez of Tierradentro correspond to the thermic levels of cold and temperate. The contour line corresponding to 2,000 meters

/294 cont./

311 passes through Topa, Turminá, Guanacas, El Cabuyo, Malvasá,
133 Pisimbalá, Lame, La Troja, and Irlanda, from where it twists eastward. The contour line of 3,000 meters, approximately parallel to the previous one, is very close to the ridge of the
[361] Central Cordillera. These two contour lines form a narrow zone that corresponds to the cold thermal level and within which are found the parcialidades of Toez, Huila, Vitoncó, San José, Mosoco, Lame, and Yaquivá, aside from a considerable area from the extinct parcialidades of Guanacas and Turminá.
311 This entire zone represents a "culturally influenced zone" in
[487] the literal sense that Professor Guhl gives it (2). A fine bridle-

2. Guhl, E. "Ambiente Geográfico-Humano de la Costa del Atlántico /Geographical-human Environment of the Atlantic Coast/," Revista Geográfica, p. 159.

[489] path joins Mosoco and Silvia, crossing the Paramo de Moras. The traffic of people is intense and constant during almost every /295/
311 month of the year. In the last decades, this has been an active zone
648 of native and "white" colonization. It still remains so. Coscuro
361 and Malvasá, in the Parcialidad of San Andrés, are purely "white" regions of colonization. But Tumbichukue, the high parts of Lame, Mosoco, San José, Huila, and Toez are zones of exclu-
361 sively native colonization. The importance of Mosoco is out-
311 standing. It was a great center of Páez settlement and still is, in the same manner as Pitayó and Tacueyó are on the other side of the Cordillera, but we cannot state on this account that "the major part of the settlements and the most important ones for the Paeces" are located in the cold region, as was stated
[177] categorically by Professor José Pérez de Barradas. Mosoco,
[433] fully in the process of acculturation, is a good producer of potatoes, wheat, and maize. It is the true Tierradentro in
[648] physiography, production, and progress. But in the times of
[175] the Conquest it was the people of Tálaga, Avirama, Calderas, and Togoima who defeated Ampudia and Belalcázar, and the

361 /295 cont./
311 strong political groupings had their principal seats at Tálaga,
643 Suin, and Avirama (3). "The place of residence of a cacique
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[622]
[103]

3. Hernández de Alba, Gr. "The Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia," pp. 915-960.

constituted a sort of settlement or gathering place, most of which remain today as Indian pueblos and retain their names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima," Chitoquez, Cuetando, Yaquivá, Pisimbalá, and Itaibe, all of them located at the
361 temperate thermal level. It is precisely along the course of
311 the Páez River and along the middle and lower courses of its
161 tributaries that the Páez population is now concentrated.

13 2. Physiography. Merely a single glance at the wild geography of Tierradentro will give an idea of the pattern of life of the Páez people. The physiography of the entire course of the Páez River, from Irlanda to Itaibe, with nearly all of its tributaries, is compressed into profiled accidents. It might be said that it forms a "thermic chimney," Professor Guhl's expression. It belongs to the temperate thermal level. This is the land of the great slopes covered with natural pastures and of the short, narrow vegas with fertile soils. There are those who speak of the fertility of all the soil of Tierradentro, classifying it, consequently, as a privileged zone. The concept proves to be deceptive, because it does not take into account the physiographic factor. We find the usable vegetal layer /296/ only in the extremely narrow vegas of the rivers, ravines, and streams, and in places
13 where the topography becomes a little smoother. The left bank
241 of the Páez River, from Toez to La Plata, is usable for agricul-
[233] ture and stock-raising only with difficulty, given the brutality of the slopes. Every tributary that enters on this side is a deep ravine isolated by ridges running from northeast to southwest. On the other hand, the left bank has important vegas. It is there that plantains, manioc, sugar cane, coca, arracacha, maize, and lately coffee and guadua bamboo are grown. The soils are essentially acid, and the Gramineae grow in abundance

/296 cont./

13 and are of very good quality. The wheat and coffee from the
241 municipio of Inzá enjoy a deserved reputation in the republic for the quantity and quality of their crops.

133 The Páez River receives approximately 32 watercourses on
134 the left bank, and 17 on the right. It is easy to imagine the ruggedness of the terrain if we bear in mind the fact that each
[241] one of them forms an impassable ravine. It is also easy to imagine the magnitude of the erosion, assisted by factors of a cultural nature, such as the systematic battle against herbaceous vegetation by means of the system of annual fires. The violence of the wild waters denudes and even forms veritable rivers of stone, such as are seen at the place called Vicanenga in the municipio of Páez. The streams and torrents sometimes swell to extraordinary proportions. In 1949 the Topa torrent completely washed away its small tributary valley, on which stood the hamlet known by the name of Brisas, now Valencia, a flood which was repeated in April of this year.

241 Of course, the extent of the workable land does not keep
133 pace with the increase in population. The physiography of the
134 cold thermal level, on the other hand, spreads out and flattens
[161] a little, the horizon broadens, the patches of arboreal vegetation increase, and the plots multiply, like veritable chessboards in Mosoco, San José, and Vitoncó. Their soils nourish maize, wheat, potatoes, ullucos, nasturtium, and garlic. On the dividing lines between the plots there rise, like green walls, the plantings of cabuya.

161 3. Population density. The growth of the indigenous popu-
361 lation in general, and of the "white" one in particular, has
● 311 compelled the former to utilize lands increasingly more difficult, steep, /297/ and sterile, or to emigrate in search of uncultivated land. As early as the time of the Conquest we find notes on the spread of the Páez people to the western slopes of the Central Cordillera, forming such nuclei as Pitayó, Tacueyó, and San Francisco. Nowadays, we find Páez groups on the eastern slopes of the Western Cordillera in the department of Cauca, in the departments of Huila and Tolima, and in the Cauca Valley, as Páez

/297 cont./

/6/ outposts, the centers of Chinche and Potrerillos to the north of
31/ the settlement of Palmira (4).
36/

4. Duque Gómez, L. "Problemas Sociales de algunas parcialidades indígenas del Occidente de Colombia /Social problems of some native parcialidades of western Colombia/," p. 187.

Agriculture and horticulture

241 Agriculture and horticulture constitute the primary source
133 of subsistence for the Páez. It covers a wide hypsometric zone
[433] that goes from 1,000 meters (La Plata, Huila) to well beyond the contour line of 3,000 meters in altitude above sea level (Mosoco). Naturally, the species cultivated vary with the thermal level, and, consequently, the dietetic regimen. What do not vary are the methods of cultivation and, above all, the magical practices
241 associated with them. There are also variations in the extent
134 and the type of cultivable soils. Those used the most in Tierradentro are the ones included in the temperate thermal level. We have already discussed their fertility and extent. The soils of the cold thermal level are fertile and more extensive. Thick humus layers are found in Lame, Mosoco, San José, La Troja, Irlanda, Guanacas, Turminá, and Coscuro. These are, of course, truly privileged zones. Nevertheless, the soils are not rationally utilized or conserved. The land is exploited in an exhaustive manner. A clearing will not tolerate two consecutive plantings. Thus, each year new land, new clearing, new fencing, and new burning are required. After having been harvested once, the ground is abandoned, and in the course of the years it once more becomes covered with shrubs and thickets. After seven years, more or less, the land is again cleared of its underbrush, and the same cultivated species are planted once more. In Calderas, Santa Rosa, and Togoima, maize, arracacha, frijoles, cabbages, potatoes, and sometimes peas are planted. The process described earlier is typical of these parcialidades. In Mosoco and the cold parts generally, maize, potatoes, /298/ broad beans, and frijoles are planted in the same clearing, and

/320 cont./

231 chickens were not lacking. But it was impossible to obtain trust-
124 worthy information about this wealth. A mestizo trader very familiar with the region estimates that in Calderas there must be no fewer than about 350 head of cattle, a figure that is well
[162] deserving of credit. This parcialidad has approximately 150 families. In the statistical table that we present below 55 families are represented, for many of which the data are incomplete and others have an approximate value, deduced from information by third parties and from direct observation. The statistical tables for the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, and San Andrés correspond to reality.

233 Lands intended exclusively for pasture do not exist, with
[311] the exception of that which, on account of its rugged topography and deforestation, covered with grasses that become green again in winter, cannot be used for anything except for pasture, with the risk, of course, that the animals might wander away. In general the animals graze in the stubble, in the communal pastures, in the shade of the brush and thickets. In Calderas, for example, most of the livestock is hidden from strangers' eyes. They eat the branches and grasses that grow on lands that were once fields. In this way they grow wild and shy, but fat and exempt from disease. To catch these animals is equivalent to going on a real hunting expedition in that trained dogs participate, and 10 or 15 men outfitted with their respective lassos and suitably distributed in especially good places for lassoing, detaining, deflecting, or directing the progress of the animal being chased by the dogs. This work is done preferably on Sundays, at the special invitation of the cattleowners, either to brand the calves or to catch a cow intended for trade, sale, or slaughter. When the work is done, a good amount of chicha is consumed. Only the livestock that grazes on the communal llano is visible to strangers and relatively tame.

232 Everyone prefers females for reproduction. The males
439 are consumed, sold, or traded for young females and, rarely, for
231 other articles. Often there is a lack of breeding bulls. In such cases the cows do not calve and are regarded as sterile, a fact that is duly exploited by the white and mestizo traders in order to

propose "trades".

/334 cont./

312 water abounds during the rainy season. Then the stream beds, dry during the summer (ravines), swell disproportionately. During the summer months, the scarcity of water is still a serious problem.

313 In areas where water is scarce, there is also a scarcity of firewood, owing to the intensive deforestation. As the felling of the trees moves out from the populated centers of Tierradentro, the acquisition of this item becomes increasingly difficult. The fuel problem in Belalcázar, Cuetando, Chitoquez, Valencia, [314] and Guasdualejo is becoming increasingly serious. Furthermore, [439] charcoal is neither used nor produced for trade in Tierradentro.

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land.

/338 cont./

412 Bearing in mind that of the 48 families investigated, 52%
422 are from Mosoco, 16.6% from Lame, and 31.2% from San
[162] Andrés, we can make the following deductions: The average
/339/ number of machetes owned by each family in the three parcialidades is two. This indicates the universality of this implement.

Implements for working the land are more numerous in Mosoco and Lame than in San Andrés, especially in the former, where shovels almost reach 4 and the small bars 2 per family. This is explained by the fact that in those parcialidades they do not need to clear the lands, but only raise the beds in the pastures.

The number of axes for each family in Mosoco is almost double.
[423] The reason for this is that almost all the families own land in the
[311] mountainous part called "paramo." The clearing of wooded areas is intensive in Mosoco because they still exist. In San Andrés and Lame, virgin montañas have almost disappeared.

[San Andrés]

/345 cont./

427 San Andrés is the sole region of Tierradentro, as far as we
161 know, where tenant farmers are found. Although the number of persons sunk in this servitude is no higher than 100, the mere occurrence of this phenomenon already tells us of an excess of population, at least in the parcialidades of San Andrés and Santa
[131] Rosa, from which the tenant farmers came. On the other hand, the scattering of the Páez group through this very department of Cauca, the departments of Huila and Tolima, and even through
● [311] the department of the Valle is well known. The colonization of the uncultivated lands in Tierradentro by the natives has been systematic and intensive during recent years. There is the utilization of ever more inaccessible lands for agriculture in the temperate thermal level. All of these are factors that clearly tell us of an excess in the Páez population.

427 Here is what a tenant farmer told us about the phenomenon
241 of tenant farming: As a tenant farmer he has the right to own a
466 house, a garden, and a clearing. The house and garden are contiguous and complementary. His garden occupies one plaza /a Colombian measure with 80 meters to the side/ more or less, and in it he has planted plantains (about 200 trees), oranges (about five trees), onions, arracacha, manioc, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, and some 200 coca trees. He has surrounded the garden with barbed wire provided by the owner in order to avoid damage by the animals of the hacienda. He can lay out his clearing on any site of the hacienda. It changes every year. In his present clearing he has planted 1,500 manioc plants; 200 of arracacha (he could not find more seed); maize; small frijoles /fríjol chiquito/ (in one month he hills the "sprigs," in two months they flower, and in three months he harvests) and large frijoles /fríjol grande/, and, finally, about two loads of sugar-
[433] cane shoots (seed). The produce of the clearing and of the garden is primarily for consumption, but if there is a surplus he may sell it to anyone, even though the owner urges him not
[249] to sell to anyone but himself. The sugar cane is milled in the
[257] /346/ sugar mill of the owner, with the subsequent use of his implements to make panela, half of what is produced being given to him.

6: Bernal Villa--98 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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311

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361
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Tierradentro IV: Views of Mosoco. Above: left, panoramic view of Mosoco; right, partial view of the Mosoco plateau. Below: left, houses of Mosoco; right, dwellings, planting beds, and fences of "lechero."

/114 cont./

361 with graveyard, the community house, festival houses, and, more recently, mission station and school are the central pole, whereas the family houses are always built in other places, but on one's own land (Ills. 146-147 /see p. 264/). Sometimes
342 one erects a house merely for one harvest, that is, for half a
361 year, in the middle of his field that is to be harvested. During the work and harvest it may then happen that a Paez family will not see its neighbors for several weeks.

361 The size of the villages varies; Calderas is one of the
[162] largest Paez /115/ communities and contains about 200 houses with approximately 1,000 inhabitants. Other villages, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Lame, and others, are substantially smaller.
484 In each case it takes considerable time to cross a village, be-
361 cause this means, of course, crossing the entire valley basin in question. In the case of Calderas this is more than three hours
[487] for a European on horseback. The Paez, it is true, travel over the steep short-cuts much more quickly on foot.

b) The House

342 For laying out a house one looks for a building spot as
●.312 close as possible to a small brook, large numbers of which flow down from the slopes of the mountains and unite at the foot of the valley floor to form the Kokiyó River (literally "maize water"). When it is impossible to lay out a house directly on a brook, the water is led from above through a small ditch past the house. This, as well as any other running water, may always be drunk.
[514] It is known that the residents living above this house now and then urinate in the water, but "that does not matter at all," I was assured.

591 In principle, only one family, consisting of father, mother,
[594] and children, lives in a dwelling. The married sons must build their own houses. It is customary, however, for newlyweds to go
[342] on living in the house of the father for a time, until they have
[476] saved enough chicha and food to feed the friends who will help
008 them build their house. In one case, however, in the house of

C /128 cont. /
311 those of the colonists in Tierradentro. In the territory of the
[137] latter there is almost no forest anywhere; all the slopes have been
[233] deforested and artificially, but not through excessive agricultural
C cultivation, made into pasture areas for the livestock of the
311 colonists or large landowners. This has upset the natural water
312 economy of the region. The water flowing off unchecked dur-
134 ing the rainy season washes away the humus earth and forms
C deep gullies on the slopes. The soil thus eroded is infertile.
[361] The mountain slopes dry out completely during the dry seasons,
P so that dwellings can only rarely be built in the higher locations
311 because of the lack of water. In the areas used solely by the
134 natives, in which a natural alternation of cultivated and fallow
312 land is observed, there are countless channels and small brooks
361 that make it possible to put a house near running water at almost
P every spot on the landscape.

241 Every task of the Paez that is connected with the fields,
461 be it clearing, sowing, or harvesting, is done extraordinarily
476 willingly by all participants, "because it is for food." There is
P simply no such thing as anyone unwilling to work in the fields.
134 The soil is not very fertile, since the major part of the moun-
241 tains in the region of Calderas consists of slate which often stands
[135] out bare and on the slopes is covered with a layer of humus or
P loam only 20 to 50 centimeters deep on the average. In the
241 valley the humus layer is often more than a meter deep. The
P abundant land available, however, does not make the utmost
[312] utilization imperative. And although the numerous mountain
brooks are diverted in such a way that every house has its running
water, nevertheless there is no acute inducement for irrigation or
terraced cultivation, nor does the use of them seem to be known.

Maize occupies the major part of the cultivated area, closely followed by sugar cane, the raw product for the manufacture of chicha. Both constitute the basic production of agriculture, and there is no Paez family that does not cultivate sugar cane and maize on its land. The size of the cultivated areas cleared by burning varies. The smallest fields that we saw

In his opinion, one cannot
/261 cont./
756 learn how to become a shaman; rather, this is a hereditary gift.
[827] He himself has no son and no pupils.

The tepits Francisco Cuskue is about 40 years old, married, and has four daughters and one son. Two children died. He has neither /262/ cows nor pigs, horses or sheep, and is very poor. He learned from childhood on, for his father and grandfather were also shamans. He wants his son to become a shaman, too. The latter, about ten years old, has not yet begun the apprenticeship,
[123] however. In reply to my question as to whether I, too, as a stranger, might become a shaman, he asserted that this would be possible, but said that the training is very long and difficult. One has to learn from childhood on, until one is about 25 or 30 years old. I, in my case, am already too old to begin.

The tepits Cerbeleón Niunda (Ill. 153 /see p. 267/), who lives near the shaman Francisco, is the son of a shaman, was taught by his father, and had the "signs" when he was only ten years old. He is now, as an estimate, 55 years old (no Paez knows how old he is) and had ten children, six of whom died. In the way
756 of possessions he has neither horse nor cow nor sheep. Whereas
●312 all Paez divert the mountain brooks so that a small ditch flows past their houses and they always use only flowing water, the shamans Francisco and Cerbeleón have a small joint reservoir below a spring, from which they drink and into which, before drinking, they place one of their medicinal herbs, šũ. When questioned, both stated that they did not do this for any special reason and could not find out about anything in the reservoir, neither sickness nor the future.

754 Just as the good shaman was chosen by a vision, this also ap-
787 plies for the evil sorcerer. It is regarded as an omen that he is to become a nyic if, for example, in a dream he sees a bird that in its beak holds a donkey, into whose open mouth flies are
754 crawling, or simply if he dreams about pigs. The prospective nyic may have his vision during the day or at night; it is said that people who are abroad a great deal during the night are the most susceptible to evil sorcery, since at this time they have the

/186 cont./

600 with the guinea pigs. These ranchos give the impression of
342 extreme poverty in their dwellings. None of them is of
bahareque.

342 The second type of dwelling, which is more widespread
/777 and shows a larger number of foreign architectural elements,
is the large rectangular house with a four-slope roof, 15 to 20
meters long by four or five meters wide, with one or two doors
and two or three rooms, one of which takes up two-thirds of the
space made, and the last third is subdivided into the room in-
tended for the kitchen and the other for the chicha troughs and
[841] pantry. Not a few of the dwellings of this type have a compart-
[343] ment for menstruating women (du yate léchukue), although as
a rule small huts are built outside the house for this purpose.

[513] In this type of dwelling one commonly finds bahareque,
[352] sleeping platforms, plank doors, and sometimes whitewashed
walls.

361 The settlement of Calderas is made up of this kind of
342 dwelling. It consists of 14 houses scattered at random on a
[312] beautiful plateau of some 20 hectares, covered with pastures
[796] and crossed by drainage ditches that bring water to five of the
[346] houses, which are permanently occupied; the others, although
they have owners, serve only for religious fiestas when the
fiestero /fiesta leader/ moves there with his retinue of
mayordomos, laborers, cooks, and the utensils for serving
346 aguardiente, chicha, and food. These houses are spacious, 25
796 meters long by six meters wide; thick mud walls, with a plank
door at the entrance; the enormous sala, fiuhne wala, is 13
meters long; here stand the sugar mill, the metate (úkukuat),
the notched ladder for climbing to the garret, the pango pil,
crudely hewn rectangular beams on which the men sit, one of
which is 10 meters long; firewood is piled in one of the corners;
the floor is of earth unevenly smoothed. The concentrations of
people who visit the fiestero in a daily stream gather in these
spacious salas; here music echoes, the albacero /fiestero's
assistant/ is taken care of, the dances take place, the drunks
sleep, and the sugar cane is milled.

/186 cont./

346 There are four other small rooms, five meters /187/ long
796 by three meters wide. Two of them are independent of each other, with their respective doors opening into the sala; one serves as a kitchen and the other to roast the maize griddle-cakes. At the other end of the house are the two other rooms, connected with each other by one door and with the sala by another. The workers sleep in one, and in the other are the troughs of chicha, the bottles of aguardiente, and the laurel candles.

342 The third type of dwelling, very scarce in Calderas, has
249 a square floor plan. It has the sala, two kitchens, and the du yate léchukue. Whatever type of dwelling a Paez family may own, they all have as an indispensable accessory the sugar mill,
[262] either inside the house or outside it. Actually, if it is kept in
[273] mind that the basic sustenance of the natives is provided by
[276] maize, cabbage, chicha, and coca, this instrument is indispensable.

342 In addition, each house is supplied with water, taken from
312 springs, streams, or falls, through the extremely skillful construction of ditches which skirt the valleys, hills, and slopes. Their lands have abundant water. They are not familiar with artesian wells.

342 In a way, the enormous salas in the houses of Calderas
177 represent the ramadas which are found among the whites,
249 mestizos, and acculturated Indians of San Andrés; they are built independently of the dwellings, with a sugar mill and an oven to boil down the cane juice and make panela. In this parcialidad, the panela industry is quite well developed. In Calderas it does not exist.

584 Among the Paez, land, marriage, family, and house form
583 a close and indissoluble unit. It lends warmth and meaning to
[183] a number of emotional, sentimental, and sociological complexes. This begins when the pubescent boy feels the need for a partner who will help him in his work and assuage to some extent the rigors of solitude. The love awakened by a dark, shapely maiden impels him to ask her parents for her. "Give my your daughter. I am alone and need help in my work."

/333 cont./
417 bags full of frijoles, which are also suspended from the wall
353 posts. This is also where the grains (lumps) of salt are kept.
251 The amounts kept for the months of scarcity are not sufficient, but there are other comestibles that help them: domestic ani-
[244] mals, cabbages, onions, sugar cane, and coca. In Lame and Mosoco they cultivate a plant which they call ijuca de pijao. It
[464] is an edible discoria /Dioscorea/. We have also seen that want is avoided by going to work as laborers on the fincas of the "whites."

[263] Meat is also kept on the frame above the hearth. They utilize the smoke to preserve it. Salt is not used for this purpose.

251 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José, where large quantities of wheat are planted, one frequently finds under the eaves of thatched houses bundles of wheat that remain hanging for several months. In this way they preserve it from the attacks of small rodents, and the grain is of excellent quality because it dries out thoroughly.

261 During times of scarcity, the natives do not seek solace in
273 religion. Actually, their defense is in the sale of their own work-
276 ing capacity for a small daily wage, a few eggs of coca, and
[771] food. It should be noted that guarapo and coca are splendid
[464] sedatives against the pangs of hunger. It is curious that one of the
[465] most noted religious fiestas of Calderas is held precisely during a time of scarcity. Large quantities of guarapo are consumed for nearly a month.

Provision of water and firewood

312 In Tierradentro the rainfall is relatively high. As a result, water abounds in small and /334/ large watercourses. This geographical factor leads the natives to bring the water close to their homes by means of a system of drainage ditches that are true engineering works. The distances that have to be faced or the accidents of the terrain make no difference. When necessary,
[177] they use bamboo tubes as artificial channels. This system has been adopted by the "whites" and even by the towns. Since the high parts on both margins of the Paez River are bare of vegetation,

/334 cont./

312 water abounds during the rainy season. Then the stream beds, dry during the summer (ravines), swell disproportionately. During the summer months, the scarcity of water is still a serious problem.

313 In areas where water is scarce, there is also a scarcity of firewood, owing to the intensive deforestation. As the felling of the trees moves out from the populated centers of Tierradentro, the acquisition of this item becomes increasingly difficult. The fuel problem in Belalcázar, Cuetando, Chitoquez, Valencia, [314] and Guasdualejo is becoming increasingly serious. Furthermore, [439] charcoal is neither used nor produced for trade in Tierradentro.

[312] Providing firewood for feeding the hearth, as well as water, [462] is more an activity for women and children than for men. In most of the parcialidades, firewood abounds, and ordinarily each dwelling has sufficient reserves to maintain the fire on the hearth. In cold parcialidades, such as Calderas and Lame, reviving the fire through the night is essential for protection [513] against the cold. The natives sleep around the hearth, from which comes the warmth that they need for sleeping, since they use no covering other than the clothing on their own bodies and no mattress other than a hard cowhide.

376 The abundance of water also facilitates the construction of 256 hydraulic mills, in order to utilize this motive force. They are relatively numerous.

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The house

/122 cont. /

356 is swept by the women every day with a broom (ctábando) con-
824 sisting of shrubs of the psáňga plant. This plant at the same
[825] time drives away fleas. The rubbish is swept out of the house in such a way that even the entrance is clean.

351 All around the house and surrounding it at some distance
417 either a fence is erected or a ditch dug about one meter deep,
[231] within which the poultry and usually the pigs and sheep are kept.
[137] In Calderas, where, because of the low temperature, bamboo no longer grows, the fence is made of wood obtained from the
● [313] natural growth when a piece of land is burned off. Stakes are driven vertically into the ground at intervals of about two meters and the interspaces filled with small tree trunks, branches, and twigs up to a good meter in length, lying horizontally. Climbing over this fence is done with notched tree trunks or bamboo stalks placed obliquely against the fence as a ladder. Similar notched tree trunks also serve as ladders in the houses (Ills. 168 and 154 /see pp.274 and 268 /).

514 There are no privies. On account of the isolation of the houses, however, it is never difficult for the Paez to find a place off in the brush or in the forest. We never found the paths
264 and the vicinity of the houses soiled with filth. The Paez showed
[412] the same tact in eating and at other gatherings. We never experienced smacking of lips or belching, even though their eating habits are somewhat crude, for, lacking spoons, they are in the habit of simply shoving their food from the plate into the mouth with the fingers.

/123/ 2. Clothing and Ornaments

291 The Paez today wear clothing covering their upper and lower bodies. In ancient times, according to the reports of chroniclers, some of them were said to have worn small cotton cloaks, although the majority of them "went about naked, even in the cold mountains" (cited by Hernandez, 1944, p. 191,
[302] from P. M. Rodriguez, 1684). They were also said to have painted their bodies with color and to have made imprints on them with

stamps,

P /298 cont./
245 Guadua bamboo thrives in the temperate valleys. It is of excellent quality. In most cases it serves as shade for the coffee. Its increase would redound in obvious benefits.

P 249 /299/ In spite of the fact that plantings of coca are pro-
C [249] scribed by Colombian law, it is cultivated for consumption at
[656] almost every home; and in some parcialidades there are numerous
P [435] plantings for commercial purposes. The value of the leaf is high. A pound is quoted at three pesos.

Pc Sawmills are found in Coscuro, Toez, the Símbola River,
313 and the Salado stream. But this is almost exclusively an industry
Pc [785] of the "whites." Only in San Andrés and Mosoco was it possible to see native sawyers. There is no reforestation.

P 241 In a large part of the parcialidades of San Andrés, Calderas,
172 Lame, Mosoco, and Vitoncó, and the entire valley of the Páez
137 River, the clearings seem to have been done in quite remote times. There are no forests, but remnants are found along the crests and ridges that separate the valleys and in the windings where the human foot does not venture to tread. The cliffs are covered with uniform savanna vegetation.

P 172 In many parcialidades there are archeological remains be-
241 longing to an unknown civilization earlier than that of the Páez.
P [783] The lands where these elements are found are utilized without any qualms. But when the plantings are in a "new clearing," the natives take the precaution of performing the required purifications before beginning to consume the crops, in order to avoid the "Pijao" plague which might happen if the crops had been in contact with the archeological remains, "pijaos" in the expression of the natives.

P 245 The cultivation of fruit trees is not very widespread, in spite of the fact that up to not very long ago Inzá enjoyed the reputation of being the producer of peaches and apples of very good quality. Nowadays they are cultivated for commercial purposes in Vitoncó, La Troja, and El Cabuyo, where true orchards of these trees are maintained with care. The fruits are splendid and are harvested during the first three months of the

/334 cont./

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2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

(*cl*). It is very little cultivated in Tierra Adentro, however, and 276
the dry leaves are imported from the lower Paez and Tolima [249]
basins. To this product the Paez is indebted for his disgusting [439]
chewing and spitting habit, the use of which is still doubtful to me. Coca leaves are said to be a powerful reconstituent, allow- [461]
ing the Indians to endure long marches and great privation. But the women do not use it, and however often they may participate in these hardships, it is with the same endurance. At all events the Paez men never cease chewing and spitting. Each of them carries a supply of coca leaves in his *iiisa*, and the quicklime or *kuetau* in a small gourd, both hanging at his left side. Now and then he ejects a mouthful of green saliva, making sure that there be a clean whitewashed wall near by, in order thus to decorate it. He then takes a new handful of leaves, sprinkles them with a little *kuetau*, and fills his mouth again, ceasing this everlasting process only long enough to eat, drink, and sleep.

Tobacco is known in Tierra Adentro under the name of 249
nuii-hi, but it is never smoked or chewed. The sugar-cane, [248]
uusa, is cultivated in small patches. The only textile plant observed by me is a short-leaved agave called *sasto* (Span. *magucy*). The larger part of the district inhabited by the 245
Paez is above the region in which grows the bamboo called *guadua*; but this beautiful grass is known to them under the name of *mom*, or *mum*. They transport canes of it from a distance for use in the construction of their lighter bridges; and at Huila, about 1,800 meters above sea-level, there was a small plantation of it, showing a primitive attempt at cultivation.

Several useful plants have been mentioned in connection with 249
dyeing (page 318). Although in the Huila mountains there is at least one species of rubber-yielding *Sapium*, the Indians do not seem to have known of the elastic properties of its gum.

A most striking feature of the upper forest zone of the Palo 314
valley is the wax-palm, *lume* (*Ceroxylum andicola*), which is also for the Indians an important economic plant on account of the wax which they obtain by scraping the lofty trunks (plate IX). This product they use mainly for illuminating purposes. Un-

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

314 fortunately the tree is being rapidly destroyed, either in the gathering of the wax or through clearing for cultivation.

Religion, Customs, Superstitions

114 According to Rodriguez the Paez did not know of any reli-
771 gion. But this is diametrically opposed to Castillo's repeated mention of pagan rites still practised among his flock. Moreover, it is not reasonable to suppose that these Indians would have lived in close contact with the Kitiua, who were veritable sun-worshippers, without being influenced by their beliefs.

771 *Itaki*, the sun, was worshipped at special shrines built on the
786 cut-off summits (*itaki finõ*) of high mountains. At certain dates,
821 fixed by their priests (*dizi*) in accordance with their omens, they
[787] congregated at these places and for many consecutive days gave themselves up to chicha drinking and all the lubric manifestations provoked by drunkenness. On these occasions no blood relation was respected; nor was there any limit to adultery. Later, after the missionaries had undertaken their civilizing work, the Indians secretly continued these hideous practices; indeed, it is even asserted that they have not yet given them up completely, although they may not commit the excesses that were formerly attributed to them, as such would be contrary to their present ideal standards.

535 Dances played an important part in all the diversions of the Paez. They were of several kinds, varying with the occasion. Castillo mentions the *gucii-hõ*, money-begging dance (baile de pedir dinero), or *iita-ho* (sea-shell dance, baile de caracol), in
[534] which two sea-shells (bocinas), the one giving a low tone (bajon destemplado) and the other the treble, were played alternately for whole nights, remembering, "(a los cristianos) la noche de la prision de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, i á los indios, la chicha, baile i maldades que ejecutan." Other dances of which we generally have no description were *ouza-hõ*, the mouse dance; *uwi-hõ*, the buzzard dance; *itso-ho*, the puberty dance of females, to which allusion has already been made (page 314); *cũ-kubi-ho*, the dance of the phantom reed; *tol-kubi-ho*, the dance of the long reed, or war-dance; *la-ho* the new-house dance; *hinõ-ho*,

/282 cont./

487 Páez waters upstream, continues along the river Negro, climbs over the cordillera, and reaches Tacueyó.

133 Hydrography.--From north to south in a deep and steep bed runs the great Páez, whose frothy waves rush rapidly through the vertigo of the torrents, run swiftly while tracing spirals in the frenzied force of the whirlpools, or leap, being broken into a thousand fragments by the violent shock in the numerous falls and rapids. Born of the thaws on Huila, it receives along its eighty-kilometer course the turbulent /283/ rivers Muesga (San Vicente), Moras, Kukiyú, Ullucos, and La Plata on its right bank, and the Símbola and Negro de Narváez on its left. The Páez river drains all of Tierradentro.

137 Vegetation.--In the major part of the region there no longer exist the "dense and impenetrable forests" mentioned by Carlos Cuervo Márquez. The timber and medicinal species have practically disappeared. The Cinchona genus was heavily exploited during the second half of the past century, when the quinine industry flourished and constituted one of the most vigorous lines in the national economy. The large and dense forests have been cut down systematically by the Indians and colonists to such an extent that the latter are found as far as the steep crags of the Central Cordillera and the hydrographic [314] valleys of the Símbola and Negro de Narváez rivers. On the ridges where virgin forest has miraculously remained intact, it has been noted that it has been entirely cut down within a week in order to make a pasture for the llamas; it is not used, not even for firewood, much less for charcoal, the techniques for which seem to be unknown. In the plains and small valleys of the streams and rivers there is a thriving vegetation which for the most part is of cultural origin, since it was planted to shade the numerous coffee plantations. Gramineae abound. On the hills and plateaus, thickets and shrubs are common, while on the steep slopes pastures present their opulent greenness in winter /the rainy season/ and their yellow-brown tones in summer /the dry season/. The fields are prepared with

/334 cont./

312 water abounds during the rainy season. Then the stream beds, dry during the summer (ravines), swell disproportionately. During the summer months, the scarcity of water is still a serious problem.

313 In areas where water is scarce, there is also a scarcity of firewood, owing to the intensive deforestation. As the felling of the trees moves out from the populated centers of Tierradentro, the acquisition of this item becomes increasingly difficult. The fuel problem in Belalcázar, Cuetando, Chitoques, Valencia, [314] and Guadualejo is becoming increasingly serious. Furthermore, [439] charcoal is neither used nor produced for trade in Tierradentro.

[312] Providing firewood for feeding the hearth, as well as water, [42] is more an activity for women and children than for men. In most of the parcialidades, firewood abounds, and ordinarily each dwelling has sufficient reserves to maintain the fire on the hearth. In cold parcialidades, such as Calderas and Lame, reviving the fire through the night is essential for protection [513] against the cold. The natives sleep around the hearth, from which comes the warmth that they need for sleeping, since they use no covering other than the clothing on their own bodies and no mattress other than a hard cowhide.

376 The abundance of water also facilitates the construction of 256 hydraulic mills, in order to utilize this motive force. They are relatively numerous.

Property

423 The lands of the native communities are protected. That is to say, they belong to the parcialidad. They are inalienable. In addition, they are exempt from taxes. This peculiarity of our legislation has fortunately permitted the preservation of the [311] Paez group and their culture. The lands contained within the parcialidades are uncultivated, usable, /335/ or in use. The uncultivated lands of the communities of Tierradentro are rapidly being colonized.

In each parcialidad there is a specific amount of land that belongs to all the members of the community. It is communal

land.

7tHernández de Alba E-5,1 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

with the right hand over the naked thigh. Two strands are similarly twisted together until the desired thickness is obtained. 283

Gourds.—Gourds are still widely used. They are picked when ripe, cleaned out, and dried. With small openings, they serve as containers for beverages and powdered lime. Some are made into bowls and others are cut up to make spoons. Today these objects are undecorated, but formerly in Timaná they were painted with a resin varnish very similar to that used in Pasto. (See p. 930.) Before the Spanish domination, gourds were also used as frames over which were stretched the prepared skin of the heads of their enemies killed in war. 415 824 [314] [721]

Metallurgy.—The metallurgy of these Indians was the same as that practiced throughout most of Colombia. The metals were gold, copper, and an alloy of the two (tumbaga). It is recorded that the Indians "worked gold," but the processes are not described. Specimens found recently in the territory, however, show molding, casting, and hammering. Metal objects included nose ornaments, parrot-shaped breastplates, necklaces with small animal figures, and some anthropomorphic idols. Gold occurs in this territory, particularly on the upper Páez or the Suin River. 325 [301] [532] [135]

Ceramics.—These tribes made and still make coiled pottery. Modern vessel forms include large jars for storing beverages and poorly shaped, crudely decorated containers for preparing and serving food. There is no individual specialization in this task, women making pots for their own family and not for trade. 323

Stone and wooden artifacts.—The native Indians made stone axes of a simple design, but stonework disappeared during the time of colonization, when the Indians could obtain manufactured iron weapons and utensils such as machetes, axes, hoes, shovels, etc. The manufacture of wooden objects—weaving, cooking, and farming implements and weapons—was furthered by the use of metal tools, and now is well developed, as exemplified by the trapiche (cane mill), a true machine made of wood. 324 182 199 322 249 199

Weaving.—Weaving, little practiced before the Conquest, developed with the post-Contact need for wearing more clothes and with the introduction of sheep, whose wool was used in addition to cotton. Weaving was and is exclusively the work of women (pl. 186). They prepare fine, uniform yarn with a common spindle, which they handle as they walk along the road (pl. 187, *top*). The loom is vertical, made of two horizontal rods fastened to two uprights. The warp runs vertically with a continuous thread. The horizontal weft is pressed down with a wooden sword. They also weave hemp bands on the loom. Woolen blankets are woven in natural colors, but some sashes have bright colors made of imported wool or of home-dyed wool. For red, they use one of the Rubiaceae (*Relbunium hypocarpium*), and for 286 [177] [462] [386]

7:Hernández de Alba E-54(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

765 756 787 775 784 the fire and turns on the lights, and everyone returns to examine a layer of fine ashes placed beforehand at the door. If the ashes shows the footprints of an angel, they believe that the soul is saved, but if the footprints are those of a bird, they believe that the soul is condemned to hell. In some cases they ascertain the fate of the soul by the kind of bird prints.

WARFARE

726 The *Páez* and *Moguex* were particularly warlike. Their attacks were staged in the morning, accompanied by yells and the sound of trumpets, horns, sea shells, and drums. They were generally armed with great spears or pikes, spear throwers, and slings. When fighting, [411] they would first hurl javelins with their spear throwers, then use their slings, the missiles for which they carried in a pouch, and finally pick up their spears or pikes for man-to-man struggle. They also formed closed squadrons, men with clubs alternating with spearmen. The former would step forward to wield their clubs, and then draw back to their positions for protection. Their best defense was on high ridges, from which they rolled large stones on their enemies. They perfected these natural defenses by cutting or camouflaging paths on which they prepared ambushes. They built trenches or pitfalls, which caused the attacking Spaniards much trouble.

628 The principal enemies of these peoples were the *Pijao* and the Spanish soldiers. The *Páez* remember the *Pijao* well, and call the stone [648] statues in their territory "portraits of Pijaos," and the painted tombs, [632] "houses of Pijaos." They are afraid to see the statues or visit the [764] tombs.

To insult an enemy killed in war, they cut off his penis and placed it 727 on the road.

266 Some historians ascribe cannibalism to the *Páez* and the *Moguex*, which seems to have no basis in fact. They kept trophy heads and stuffed the skins of their enemies, but did not eat their foe. There are, however, numerous historical references which state that in the wars [175] against the Spaniards, the *Páez* left the bodies of dead enemies for the [648] *Pijao* to eat, and that they cremated their own dead or dried them [764] over a slow fire, which Friar Pedro Simón (1882–92, ch. 23) mistook for a means for preserving the flesh so that it could be eaten later. [114]

As war trophies, they kept enemy heads, which they preserved with resins, and the skins of their entire bodies, which they filled with ashes 727 (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 3). They even preserved the [314] heads of the Spaniards' horses. They carried these trophies to wars, meetings, and feasts.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Arts included sculpture, small, cast gold idols and figures, and painting. Their best known art objects are those decorated with lacquer or resin, found in the Timaná region, and the stylized representations of beings which women still weave on cotton sashes. 532 [3/4]

Music.—These tribes formerly played on trumpets, drums, large sea shells called "fotutos," cornets, and cane flutes. These instruments were played not only to accompany dances but also when going into battle. The sea shell trumpet was used during the Colonial Period but has been abandoned. The drums are made of hollowed trunks, and the drumheads of animal skins The flutes are made of cane, and vary in length and thickness. They are capable of such variation in tonality that the musical combination is pleasant to the ear. 534

A kind of orchestra, known as a "chirimía," today consists of a large drum to beat time, a small drum to play a rhythmic roll, and flutes to carry the tune. Each community has its orchestra, but every Indian is a flute player and loves to play his instrument when traveling over the hills. The music is nearly always sad and has absorbed some of the regional Colombian popular airs. It has few variations, and changes to a solemn tone on funerals. The *Páez* love their own music so much that, instead of using the Gregorian music of the Catholic rites, they have imposed their own music on the religious ceremonies. Thus, at Mass, they play the special music used when an animal is to be killed and eaten. Other music accompanies the bursting of skyrockets and firecrackers. There is music for the Elevation, for the Creed, and for the Requiem Mass. Certain musical pieces are called simply "bambuco" (local airs), though they have some variations. 533 [177]

Native songs narrated the triumphs and feats in war, but none have been collected, and all are now forgotten. Today the Indians sing only some modern Colombian airs or religious songs. [177]

Dances.—Dances were very important to these Indians, being held for war, for religious ceremonies, for weddings, and for sexual initiation. During Colonial times, Del Castillo i Orozco reported the following dances, most of which, as their names show, apparently had not suffered any change under Spanish influence: 535

Gueyo coo, a dance to ask for money.
Vito coo, a dance of the rod or stick.
Xsita coo, a dance of sea shells or of the armadillo. It was accompanied by two sea shells of different tones.
Onso coo, a dance of rats.
Imegnuei coo, a dance of the sparrow hawk.
Ech covi coo, a dance of the phantom's flutes.
Bel covi coo, a dance for great festivities.
Quimb coo, a dance of the drum.
Itsa kó, added by Pittier de Fábrega, a dance of girls' puberty.

P /135 cont./
276 exchange for brandy, wheat, or maize (for exchange and barter
249 rates, see "Trade" /see pp. 92-94 /). Within the family each
437 one harvests for himself as many leaves as he happens to need;
otherwise the father of the family usually barters for the entire
family. Harvest time is throughout the year (Ill. 174 /see
P p. 277 /).

Before use the leaves are roasted in a clay bowl and then
276 carried around in the colored wool pouch (kwatandyâha), together
317 with a small calabash containing lime. The lime (kwatând) is
[415] obtained from limestone (kwatandkwât) which crops out at various places throughout the region and which men and women look for as it is needed, or the husband sends his wife to fetch a few stones. These pieces of limestone are put in a vigorously fanned fire for two hours, /136/ then in a clay bowl, and cold water is
P poured over them. After that the cracked stone is pounded to
276 powder. To enjoy it, one takes a handful of leaves out of his pouch and puts them in the mouth and chews them for a while, until the lime can be added. Care must be taken that neither the tongue nor lips come in contact with the lime. Beginners press the coca mash flat against their tongues with their gums and sprinkle a pinch of lime from the pear-shaped, absolutely unadorned calabash (kwatandôka) upon it; practiced coca-chewers take a pinch of lime on the back of the hand between thumb and index finger and toss it into the open mouth with a flourish. The green saliva copiously produced is partly spat out, but most of
P it is swallowed. In the case of old people it often runs out of the
C mouth and drips on the clothing (Ill. 179 /see p. 280 /).

276 According to my experiences among the Paez and the
P coca-chewing Colombian workers, the harmful effect of coca
C seems to be exaggerated in most of the studies on the subject.
276 Of interest, however, are the data of C. Gutiérrez Noriega (1952),
146 who investigates the psychological and physiological effect of
273 taking coca, especially among the Peruvian Indios. There, in the region of the greatest coca consumption, two to four kilograms per person and year, the daily amount of food for a worker is only about 2,000 calories per day. With a simultaneous drinking of brandy and an inadequate diet, physical and mental consequences

/178 cont./

361 who have established coffee and sugar-cane plantations and
[563] cattle ranches. The natives occupy the steep and barren sec-
[177] tions.

[342] The pueblo of San Andrés consists of 23 bahareque houses /houses with walls made with two faces of sticks with mud and stone between them/ with thatched roofs. Only one is of brick and tiles. In its general lines the plan is reminiscent of that of Spanish centers: a central plaza with houses around it.

346 The church, which is large, thatched, and white, has a hand-
361 some façade, with a bell tower, arches and columns, a style reminiscent of colonial architecture; it stands in the center of the plaza and was built in the first decade of the nineteenth century by Padre Joaquín Núñez y Tobar. On its south side there stands a large, very old and dilapidated building where the school and the rectory functions; on the other sides it is surrounded by the colonists' houses.

366 There are two stores with a regular supply of merchandise, and on Wednesdays there is a small market where one beef, a few agricultural products, and chicha are sold.

133 Toward the end of the Pisimbalá valley are found the not
175 very extensive plateaus of Argentina and El Rodeo. El Rodeo has marked historical significance; for a long time it was called Segovia. In the spirit of conquest and colonization, the town of Nueva Segovia was founded there by Captain Hernando Arias Saavedra in accordance with the mandate of Governor Sancho Espinar, who in 1578 gave up these lands after his vainglorious campaign against the Paez. It was short-lived. On this same plateau Mosquera's rebellion against the government of Don Mariano Ospina Rodríguez was won by his spectacular victory over the government forces headed by
[317] General Joaquín París (1). In spite of this, the markets for

1. González, David. Los paeces /The Paez/, manuscript.

/178 cont./

133 several leagues around were supplied for a long time with the
175 salt extracted from the three salt deposits that still exist in
3/7 Segovia. Across from these and on the other side of the Ullucos, in Vivorá, another salt deposit was also exploited.

114 At the confluence of the small stream called El Escaño
172 and the Pisimbalá, on the right bank of the latter and at the
[133] foot of the ridge of Aguacate, the Archeological Park of /179/ Tierradentro, a branch of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, is located on an alluvial terrace covering an area of two hectares. Founded some 15 years ago, it is in charge of the care and conservation of the archeological monuments, which have been known to the scientific world since 1936, but to which reference was made as early as around the penultimate decade of the last century, when Dr. Carlos Cuervo Márquez carried out his explorations through the "lands of the Paez and much of the Nevado del Huila." Subterranean necropolises with columns, colonnades and niches, black and red geometric painting on a white background, statuary very similar to the Augustinian, ceramics and metalwork are the principal exponents of this culture hardly known in descriptive form.

The Archeological Park of Tierradentro has served as the center of operations for the scientific expeditions which the national government has sponsored, fostered, and supported during the last 15 years.

II

Over the Zigzags of the Road

491 In order to travel on winding roads one needs horses re-
123 sistant to fatigue; a dashing spirit must yield to a solemn
484 step, firm tread, and steady pace.
492

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

of manioc, arracacha, potatoes, beans, sweet maize, and pieces of meat. Meat is sometimes roasted. Maize, the staple, is made into tortillas or soup, or is roasted on the ear. Coffee, much of which is consumed, is roasted in a pottery vessel, ground, and made into an infusion sweetened with coarse sugar. 252 [272]

Kitchen utensils include pottery ollas and vessels, and a footless elliptical stone metate with a central concavity, which lies directly on the floor or is supported on sticks driven in the soil. Meat is kept smoked over the fireplace, and other food is stored on shelves of cane woven into the roof sticks or in hanging hemp bags or gourds. Each gourd has a broad half-gourd suspended above it, open side down, so that a rat descending from above slides off the gourd onto the floor. 415 251 [353] [825]

The first daily meal is taken at daybreak and consists of "mute." There is no noonday meal, but the evening repast resembles breakfast. Between meals, the Indians chew coca two or three times to sustain their strength and allay hunger. For refreshment and stimulation, they drink guarapo, carrying it to work in gourds. 264 [276] [273]

They cultivate pepper (ají) for a condiment, but purchase salt in the weekly market. The latter is so scarce that instead of mixing it with food they pass a lump around, each person licking it. Before the Conquest, three salt deposits were exploited in this territory, the most important being that near the modern municipality of Belalcázar or Páez. Here the local chief had the salt water boiled down to obtain blocks of salt, which he traded with other tribes for diverse products, or with which he bought help in his wars against the neighboring *Pijao*. Sometimes he permitted other *Páez* to exploit the deposit. Near the present-day Indian center of Ricaurte on the Ullucos River is another salt works that was much used in ancient times, but today is abandoned. Another source of salt was at Huila, where, during the Conquest, the Indians ambushed the Spaniards who sought it, and killed their horses. 317 263 [244] [439] [648]

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Each *Páez* and *Moguex* family has its own house, located on a point or flat place in the mountains some distance from its neighbors. The aboriginal house seems to have been rectangular, which still is the only form. It was so lightly constructed of cane and sticks with thatched roof that the Spanish soldiers during the foundation of San Vicente de Páez "carried some Indian houses to their barracks because they were small and suited to it" (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 9). Some distance from the dwelling, they always built a small woman's house. Under Spanish influence, some houses were divided into rooms, and built more solidly of "bahareque" construction, i. e., walls consisting of two faces of sticks with mud and rocks between (pl. 185). 342 [361] 177 342

/121 cont./

372 In case the fire should go out, which happens very rarely, the men, if they have no matches, know how to make fire by striking the blade of the iron machete with a stone and catching the sparks in the dry tinder of expressed sugar-cane. To fan this or a dying fire the hat is used as a fire fan, instead of a special fan. A few times I also saw a reed tube (yotá) about 50 centimeters long, which is blown into with the mouth and which thus acts like a bellows.

352 Infants do not as a rule sleep on the floor, but in ham-
[854] mocks (máka), which, however, as the name indicates, were
[513] not originally Paez. Nevertheless all the men know how to
[286] make them out of agave fibers, which is done with the same knotting technique as in the manufacture of nets for bird hunting.
415 Moreover, a few bags (yáha) made of agave fibers, which con-
[286] tain beans, maize, or other supplies, hang on the wall posts.
[353] Arracacha lies on the floor. For drinking chicha, which is allowed
[273] to ferment in large, hollowed-out tree troughs, calabashes (tóka) are used, but they are plain and undecorated. Cracked calabashes are sewed with a waxed agave thread (Fig. 25 /see
[249] p.253/). The calabash gourd is grown in the house garden /122/
412 of every family; its meat is inedible. Furthermore, an oval or
352 rectangular grindstone on which maize is ground with a smaller hand-stone is found in every household. It usually lies on the floor in a corner of the house, but sometimes it is set about one meter high on two forked posts.

412 Meals are taken with wooden spoons (todsá'tc) off of
415 wooden plates (bič), which are carved by the Paez themselves
264 (Fig. 27 /see p. 253/). Aluminum or enamel bowls were rarely
[322] encountered in Calderas. Plates and mugs of aluminum were
[177] therefore always coveted gift articles, along with kitchen knives, needles, safety pins, matches, and salt.

356 Cleanliness within the house is surprisingly great, consider-
515 ing that the Paez wash their bodies but seldom and their hands only when they are "very dirty." This is the case when a person has been working in a burned field and has cleared away the sooty, burned tree trunks and the burned underbrush. The house

/187 cont./

857 great. Handling it for catching cows or horses is regarded as sport,
868 as, indeed, is animal-raising in general. The animals are not easy
231 to catch, but must really be outwitted. To catch a cow, for example, the lasso-wielder, in the midst of a group of several men or youths, first runs behind a few other cows that are near the cow to be captured. The latter feels quite secure, since the shouting apparently does not apply to her. The men now drive the cows in such a way that they come close to the one being captured; then the lasso-thrower doubles back and throws the rope at a distance of only about three meters. In spite of the short distance, only about every third throw is successful.

524 Two boys' playthings, used with enthusiasm as a pastime of school children, are the top (čúnga) and the hole-ball (hénde). The latter (Fig. 36 /see p. 258 /) is a hollowed-out fruit capsule about five centimeters in diameter, with a hole one centimeter in size on the underside. /188/ Exactly opposite this larger hole, a small one is bored. A twisted agave string about 20 centimeters long is drawn through the large and the small hole from below and knotted above the small hole so that it cannot slide out again. The other end of the string is knotted in the center of a small rod about 15 centimeters long, which is slightly smaller in diameter than the hole on the underside of the fruit capsule. In play the string of the capsule hangs down from the rod, half of which is grasped with one hand. With a gentle swing one now tosses upward the capsule attached to the string and tries to catch it with the rod. Beginners seldom or never hit the hole, whereas more practiced persons succeed many times in a row.

[322] The top consists of a small double-conical chunk of wood four to six centimeters high, which boys carve out for themselves and which ends in a small knob on the upper side. A small thorn is stuck into the tip on the underside. The top is set in motion with a string that ends in two loops. One of these is drawn over the middle finger of the hand, the other over the knob on the upper side of the top. From there it is led to the underside around the thorn and then wrapped spirally upward around the lower, conical part of the top. To set it in motion, the top is thrown on the plank floor of the school. The loop fastened to the middle finger

/288 cont./

534 The genuine Paez music is performed by a group of musicians whose instruments consist of a larger or smaller number of transverse flutes, a bass drum /Pauke/, a drum /Trommel/, a tambourine, and a triangle (Ill. 202 /see p. 289/). The number of flutes varies between five and 15. Tambourine and triangle [439] (číngalo) may be lacking. The latter is always purchased, as in general is the tambourine (panderéta), covered with skin on one side and provided with tin jingles.

Judging by its name, the transverse flute (koi) is a Paez instrument. There has not yet been an investigation of the distribution or culture-historical age of this type of flute in America; in the Old World it is certainly younger than the long flute and the Pan flute (Sachs, p. 147). Among the /289/ Paez it is 65 534 centimeters long and about 2.5 centimeters in diameter. It is 463 made from a type of reed which is also known as koi and which [824] only grows in the mountains. Its manufacture is specialist's work. In Calderas Vicente Puche is at present the only producer. A flute can be made only from the pattern of another one, which, however, is not a model flute expressly for the construction of others; rather, it is any one that Vicente happens to have at his disposal. For example, he promptly sold to me his only instrument at the time. To make a new one, he said, he would borrow a flute from a neighbor.

534 The tube of the flute is cylindrical and without knots. The 322 seal on the side of the blowhole is made by means of a piece of expressed sugar cane, which is pushed a few centimeters into the flute. The six finger-holes are not placed at equal intervals from one another. The first is 25 centimeters from the blowhole, the second finger-hole is 4.2 centimeters from the first, the third 4.5 centimeters from the second, the fourth 4.2 centimeters from the third, the fifth 3.8 centimeters from the fourth, and the sixth 4 centimeters from the fifth.

The seven very sharp-edged holes of the flute have the same diameter. They are burned in with an iron tube (barflya) of the same dimension and heated red-hot. Their position and their intervals are taken from a flute held alongside and are marked

/289 cont./

534 by cuts with a machete (Ill. 203 /see p. 290/). In spite of the
322 relatively correspondent holes, each flute has a slightly different tone caused by the varying diameter of the tube.

533 According to the investigation kindly undertaken by my
534 brother Wilfried on the sample flute of Vicente Puche that I acquired, it is tuned between C and C-sharp. Its six finger-holes produce a nonsemitonic seven-tone scale. All the tone steps, however, are somewhat inexact, that is, not exactly a whole tone-step apart. This is particularly noticeable from the third to the fourth tone where we perceptibly have less than a major second, but considerably more than a half step. This is noteworthy because in our diatonic major scale there is also a definite half-step between these two tones.

The blowing is on the right or left side. The extended fingers, work-worn by the heavy field work, cover the finger holes with the first or second joint.

534 The value of the flute is not very high. On festive days
[578] people are in the habit of becoming intoxicated in the festival
[796] houses and in the subsequent brawls the flutes are used as striking
[273] instruments and thus broken.

/290/ Every music group has at least one small cylindrical drum (káka) or a bass drum (kut), both of which are covered with skin on two sides and are wider than high in their dimensions.
[177] Drum and bass drum in this form are probably borrowed and were
[194] taken over throughout South America from former Negro slaves. Their manufacture among the Paez is specialist's work. At
[463] present Vicente Puche makes the flutes as well as the drums. In former times, however, there was a special expert who made only
[461] drums and bass drums. The work time for their manufacture amounts to 10 to 14 days, since one day is allowed for each operation (cutting wood, drying it, for the various processes in treating
[824] the skins, etc.). The cylindrical body of the drum is made from
[237] the wood of the utsé tree. The two drum-skins (katc) are made of calfskin. They are stretched with cords made of agave fiber, which run in a zigzag from one stretcher to the other over the body of the drum. They are tightened by a continuous loop that encircles two strands of the stretching cords at a time and at the same time

1: Nachtigall--290 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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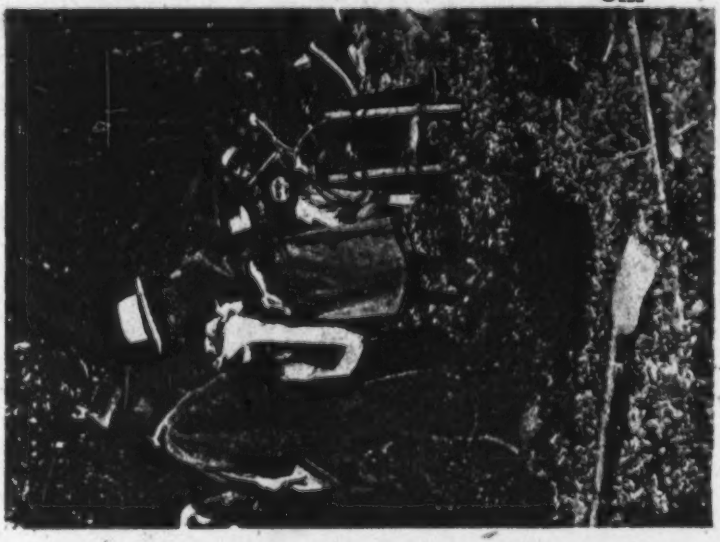

Ill. 204. Burial of a child who died of whooping cough.

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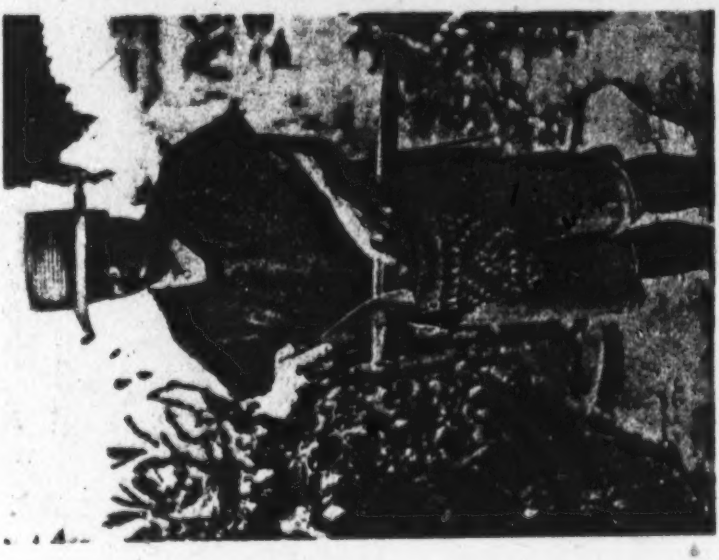

Ill. 203. The flute maker Vicente Puche.

1: Nachtigall--303 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/CXXIII cont./

Plate CIII

Ill. 203. The flute maker, Vicente Puche, is marking with the machete the position of the finger holes on a new flute being made. The holes are burned in with the iron rod, made red-hot, under his arm.

[322]

[493] Ill. 204. Burial of a child who died of whooping cough in Togoima. It was brought to the burial place in a small sedan chair. Music is played during the burial.

Plate CIV

Ill. 205. The capitan of San Andrés, stabbed by his son, lying on the bier.

Ill. 206. The grave of the capitan. In place of the formerly customary lateral-niche grave, here a special depression was dug at the bottom of the pit and this tightly covered with bamboo. For the head an additional niche was hollowed out at the narrow end of the pit.

Ill. 207. A niche grave that was dug for a child.

Plate CV

Ills. 208 and 209. Ritual purification after a burial. The relatives of the deceased first wash their clothes and are then washed themselves.

Plate CVI

Ills. 210 and 211. The shaman Martin Chucue draws the "pest" in the body upwards with his herbs and sucks it off at the fontanel.

Plate CVII

Ill. 212. The shaman spits the "pest" into a hole, pours brandy over it, and stabs at it with his staff.

Ill. 213. The shaman struggles against the spirits with staff and liana.

?tHernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

with the right hand over the naked thigh. Two strands are similarly twisted together until the desired thickness is obtained. 233

Gourds.—Gourds are still widely used. They are picked when ripe, cleaned out, and dried. With small openings, they serve as containers for beverages and powdered lime. Some are made into bowls and others are cut up to make spoons. Today these objects are undecorated, but formerly in Timaná they were painted with a resin varnish very similar to that used in Pasto. (See p. 930.) Before the Spanish domination, gourds were also used as frames over which were stretched the prepared skin of the heads of their enemies killed in war. 415 824 [314] [721]

Metallurgy.—The metallurgy of these Indians was the same as that practiced throughout most of Colombia. The metals were gold, copper, and an alloy of the two (tumbaga). It is recorded that the Indians "worked gold," but the processes are not described. Specimens found recently in the territory, however, show molding, casting, and hammering. Metal objects included nose ornaments, parrot-shaped breastplates, necklaces with small animal figures, and some anthropomorphic idols. Gold occurs in this territory, particularly on the upper Páez or the Suin River. 325 [301] [532] [135]

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Weaving.—Weaving, little practiced before the Conquest, developed with the post-Contact need for wearing more clothes and with the introduction of sheep, whose wool was used in addition to cotton. Weaving was and is exclusively the work of women (pl. 186). They prepare fine, uniform yarn with a common spindle, which they handle as they walk along the road (pl. 187, *top*). The loom is vertical, made of two horizontal rods fastened to two uprights. The warp runs vertically with a continuous thread. The horizontal weft is pressed down with a wooden sword. They also weave hemp bands on the loom. Woolen blankets are woven in natural colors, but some sashes have bright colors made of imported wool or of home-dyed wool. For red, they use one of the Rubiaceae (*Relbunium hypocarpium*), and for 286 [177] [462] [386]

/162/

386 The following colors are produced with vegetable dyes: red
824 (mbe; also the color designation for pink, ocher, brown) with the roots of a plant called béwoetse. (According to Hernandez, this is the Rubiaceae Relbunium hypocarpium.) The wool threads are boiled with these roots for about an hour and they are then put in the sun. For blue coloring (séin; light blue - séin-séin) the threads are boiled with the leaves of the indigo tree for an hour; for green coloring (oálye séin; oálye = species of bird with green feathers, thus literally "oálye blue"), with the leaves of the tamp tree; and for yellow coloring (škítc), with the leaves of the mūzec tree. The results of the dyeing are not always uniform. There are always deviations in the color. With a little experience, however, one can differentiate them from the purchased chemical dyes.

h) Pottery

● 323 The art of pottery is very little developed among the Paez and is essentially limited to larger or smaller, crudely fashioned, spherical-shaped pots (mítc) with a lip slightly curved outward. In use they are not hung up, but placed between the three hearthstones for cooking. Smaller, shallower bowls serve for roasting
[531] the coca leaves. There are no vessels with handles. There is no ornamentation of any kind, neither painting, nor incising, nor
[415 531 824] finger imprints. For drinking chicha or for fetching water only gourd calabashes (tóka) are used, which are exactly as unadorned and purely functional as the ceramic vessels.

323 The making of pots is a specialist's work. In Calderas there
463 are three potters, two of whom are women. Only one of them, however, Santos Kiskue, works to keep a supply, whereas the other two make pots only on order. Santos Kiskue is about 40 years old and has a wife and four living children; four others
[437] are dead. He has a horse, but no cow and no sheep. The latter he can do without, since he barters his pots chiefly for wool.

The technique of pottery among the Paez is a spiral coil technique. Since the shapes are very simple, a special

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/162 cont./
463 apprenticeship with a master is not absolutely necessary; Santos
323 Kiskue, at any rate, began making pots by himself after an
[467] accident that left him with a stiff left wrist. He uses the unmixed clay that stands near his house. Out of this, constantly moistening it, he shapes on a /163/ board lying on the ground an even, round "clay sausage," which he then presses flat with the palm of his hand. He builds up his pots out of this in spirals. They are put with their lower part on a shallow clay bowl, so that he can turn them easily in closing up the junctures (Ills. 184 to 186 /see pp. 282-283/). He lets the freshly made pots dry for about a week under a roof, then he takes them to a place where there is sufficient dry wood. Here he places the pots very close together, stacks wood and twigs over them, and lets them burn for about two hours. They are then ready for use.

i) Candlemaking

388 At the three annual church festivals a large number of
[796] candles (mbéla; Spanish: vela) are used to decorate the church.
[462] They are in part purchased, but largely homemade. Everyone is
[824] familiar with the process of manufacture, but for the festivals it is men's work. The wax is obtained from the wood laurel (Myrica pubescens Willd), whose small fruits, measuring about five to eight millimeters in diameter, are harvested in great masses in April and May. For this purpose the twigs are struck off and stripped of the fruits over the round berry net that is put in the opening of a large fiber bag. After they are dried, they are poured into a bag, boiled, and squeezed. The wax, caught in a vessel and dried, was formerly an important commercial product in the trade with the whites. In making the candles, wax is poured over the wicks until the proper thickness is obtained.

k) Fireworks

389 No celebration and no church festival is possible without
[796] setting off the greatest possible number of fireworks. The fire-
[541] crackers required for this are made by the men themselves.
[462]

P /319 cont./
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197 cannot be regarded as definite. The grammatical agreements may just as well be remnants of an older, or superimpositions of a younger, population layer. In addition there is the fact that in the sometimes centuries-long struggles since the Conquista considerable shifting and intermingling of populations have taken place. It is possible that the tribes existing or surviving today are only scattered remains or groupings that have been made up
C from other tribes only after the Conquista.

P 105 Culturally the Paez have nothing at all in common with
P Chibcha culture. The Chibcha language group established by
[197] H. Beuchat and Paul Rivet is a linguistic concept, which, in an
P uninterrupted extension from Nicaragua to Ecuador, embraces
[361] completely different cultures! For example, the Chibcha settle-
P ments on the plateau of Bogotá are compact villages, whereas
[241] the Paez live on individual farms. The agriculture of the Chibcha,
[412] with the use of a wooden spade, is relatively advanced in com-
P parison with the digging stick and burned-clearing cultivation of
[323] the Paez. Technically the manufacture of Chibcha ceramics is far
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P among the Chibcha, club and spear with the spear thrower. In the
[411] Chibcha religion we have a creator-god or a tribal mother with a
P pantheon of other gods, with offerings of gold and emeralds; we
[771] find hero-temples, holy places, and sacred kings, while among the Paez, only shamans.

C Thus we have a gaping division between the Chibcha lan-
105 guage group and the Chibcha culture. Scientific terms, however,
P should be unequivocal and not designate different concepts with the
197 same words. This is done correctly in Europe, for example, with /320/ the Indo-Germanic family of languages, the Dinaric race, or the band-ceramics culture.

The cultural concept of the Chibcha is the older one. In order not to identify and confuse the culture group with the language group which is completely different from it, the language group should have a different name, especially since it is not certain whether

1: Nachtigall--282 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

Ill. 183. Making a fiber bag

Ill. 184. Smoothing out the seams of a pot.

1: Nachtigall--283 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

323

Ill. 185. Rolling out a "clay sausage."

415
273
276

Ill. 186. Types of Paez ceramics.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,1 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

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Gourds.—Gourds are still widely used. They are picked when ripe, cleaned out, and dried. With small openings, they serve as containers for beverages and powdered lime. Some are made into bowls and others are cut up to make spoons. Today these objects are undecorated, but formerly in Timaná they were painted with a resin varnish very similar to that used in Pasto. (See p. 930.) Before the Spanish domination, gourds were also used as frames over which were stretched the prepared skin of the heads of their enemies killed in war. 415 824 [314] [721]

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upon them by the missionaries. The power to do evil is not limited to the witches, but is possessed by anyone who entertains a momentary feeling of envy, and to women, who may not walk over a stick or a cord stretched on the ground. Contact with women during their menstruation or during the days following childbirth causes the "mokokoy" to persecute the men and make them ill.

Animals possess the power to prognosticate evil. A document written in 1730 [14] tells that an Indian killed a rooster because he had crowed before daybreak, and said, "Rooster, you are forecasting my death, but I shall kill you first." They believe the same thing when certain birds sing. For example, the call of an owl at midnight brings death to someone. And certain small birds called "ulchik" and others called "bich" warn whomever hears their singing that he will meet with disaster. The box turtle follows people warning them that they are going to die.

Del Castillo says that the Indians will not strike white dogs, so that they will not be bitten by them when they enter the future life.

The belief in spirits (kl'iumb) is quite general. Among these spirits is the "pitsuala" which persecutes people, makes them ill, and even kills them. The rainbow, or "Etskituns," causes a rash to break out all over the body of anyone who ventures out while the rainbow shines, and the drizzle that generally accompanies the rainbow will harm a person who gets wet in it if he does not bathe immediately. When the rainbow appears, they stay indoors, and blow or spit tobacco in its direction.

They believe that the lagoon on the snowcapped peak, Huila, is charmed, and that if they try to go near it wind and hail storms rise. Supernatural evil forces are supposed to be present during many social activities, such as dancing, meetings, funerals, house building, and bridge construction. When a bridge is built, two Indians beat the water constantly to drive away evil spirits. When traveling on the mountains they place small stones or coins on top of some large natural rock to assure a successful trip and to avoid angering the spirit of the mountain.

Sometimes these spiritual forces assume a bodily form, as in the case of the fireflies, which bring diseases or which may be wrapped in Santa María leaves and placed in the path of an intended victim. Most feared are the ghosts of the dead, which consequently are the most propitiated. The *Moguex* and the *Páez* ask their permission to dance, and honor them in a special rite, which blends old beliefs with new religious concepts. Thus, offerings are made to the souls during the first days of November, or whenever the curate is able to visit the Indian village. Each person offers some products from his farm, in-

[14] Statement made by Javier de Orozco y Cueller in a lawsuit by the Indians of Tolima for the possession of land. From the ecclesiastical files of Belalcázar, or Páez.

/118 cont./

342 and begin to chew coca and tobacco and to drink brandy to-
761 gether. After a while the shaman ascertains through signs in
789 his arms or legs whether bones of the Pijao are in the ground.
756 If this is not the case, the building may be started; otherwise
787 the man must look for another building site. After the building
is finished, a further ceremony is performed (see under "Religion"
342 /see p. 205/), and then the same shaman fastens special herbs
756 to the roof to prevent the eč or gelyómp spirit, hostile to man,
789 from entering the house from there.

Houses are built only by men, by fathers of families.
342 One man alone, however, is not in a position to do this. At
476 least in the erection of the house posts he is helped by his brothers,
[462] as well as by other men and friends who have nothing else to
do anyway on these days and receive chicha and something to
342 eat for their assistance. The building material costs nothing,
273 to be sure, but the builder must furnish a substantial amount of
476 chicha, for which planning must be begun in plenty of time, two
or three years beforehand, by the planting of sufficient sugar
cane. This is the task of the married son who is still living in
[594] his father's house this long. To make the chicha he also still
[249] needs the sugar mill of his father, upon whose consent and help,
[461] therefore, much depends. According to the amount of chicha
that is available, the building of the house thus lasts two to six
months, depending on whether only five or 15 men participate.

The most important thing in the construction of the house
342 is the erection of the wooden frame (Ills. 161 to 164 /see p.272 /),
335 which always requires several men who bring in the trees, which
[476] are superficially smoothed with the machete, but not freed of
bark. The master of the house is able to make the walls by
[462] himself in an emergency. The covering of the roof, too, like the
entire house construction, is men's work, but the woman of the
house may hand up the sugar-cane leaves for the roofing. First
the vertical corner and side posts of the outer walls (yátšínda) are
erected, then the outer beams lying horizontally on the side
posts to support the roof (yátpopãnt) are laid on, and, as the third
step in the work, the horizontal crossbeams (bĩkas) are fastened at

/118 cont./

342 ceiling height. It should be noted that all the beams are merely
335 lashed with lianas, /119/ but not mortised. The roof does not rest directly on the corner and side posts; rather, the crossbeams (bīkas) and the rafters (yátkát) are tied to the rectangular, horizontal frame of the roof, and only the latter rests on the vertical posts.

The fourth step in the work is the building in of the ridge beam (dahwāk), together with the rafters, the former being supported primarily by the center post (pwát), usually the only house post that extends vertically through to the ridge. It is not exactly in the middle of the longitudinal axis of the house, but somewhat to the side of it, in the place where the two rooms of the house are partitioned off. Here it serves at the same time as a wall post. The horizontal purlins (kwīnt), which are lashed to the rafters (yátkát) one above the other about 20 centimeters apart, are the only part of the house frame that is not of wood, but instead they consist of a type of reed (karís). The roof (yátominyē) is covered with sugar-cane leaves (nyúša éts) by proceeding from the bottom up and hanging the leaves over the purlins in such a way that the tips lie on top and the lower parts show on the outside. Finally one or two ridge purlins are laid over the still open ridge, and an even layer of sugar-cane leaves is spread crosswise over this. The elevation thus formed provides an exit for the smoke at the two gable ends of the house. The ridge covering is protected from blowing away by two poles placed over it (Ill. 162 /see p. 272/).

342 A newly built house (yátūse) lasts about 15 years. In be-
356 tween, however, the roof must be repaired several times.

On entering a Paez house one is assailed by a sweetish odor
574 of fermentation arising from the chicha, somewhat like that at
576 grape-gathering time in the houses of the German winegrowers'
[273] villages. Before entering, one opens the door (vitc) of the house and calls out in a questioning tone, "payoét" (I should like to enter); from the interior there comes back, "mkāč" (sit down). When no one is at home, the door is usually tied shut with a small piece of bast. Sometimes even this is omitted, for no one

/138 cont./

249 In chicha production for festive days it is customary for
407 the mill to be turned only by human power, by men or women.
461 One could generally observe that the slightly intoxicated men
273 exerted themselves only a short time in each case and were then relieved by the more sober acting women, who -- with their children on their backs -- showed remarkable endurance at this physically quite hard work.

407 Almost every father of a family and houseowner makes his
335 sugar mill himself, or a neighbor helps. There are no profes-
[412] sional carpenters. With an ax (swéla) and a foxtail saw (serúčo) the cylinders are sawed from a tree trunk and crudely smoothed. The cylinders thus prepared are provided with a small hole in the center, from the base and upper side, and are clamped horizontally, by means of pegs, between two posts rammed into
[413] the ground and held together with a rope. Then with a gauge (regla), which consists of a board with thorns, the distances between the pegs are precisely incised on the revolving drum.

273 The sugar cane is put through the crushing cylinders
[249] several times by the workers, one squatting on either side, until
[516] the juice, which is caught in a wooden tub or in calabash vessels,
[415] is pressed out (Ill. 175 /see p. 278/). It is first vigorously heated and then put in a large horizontally positioned tree-trough (kánoa) up to five meters long, in which there must always be a little chicha to begin with (Ill. 165 /see p. 273/). It is stirred up with the old chicha in the trough, the kánoa is covered with banana leaves, and already the next morning the chicha is ready to be drunk. As time goes on the chicha becomes ever stronger in alcoholic content. By noon of the same day it is already strong enough to distill brandy from it. If one does not do this, /139/ some water must be added the next day to dilute it. If this is not done, the chicha is neither drunk nor is new sugar-cane juice added, whereupon it becomes sour and bitter after four or five days and strongly sears the throat. There are also "gourmets" among the Paez, however, who let the chicha go on fermenting, untouched, for up to three weeks and only then drink it so sharp and sour.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SG15

351 In this way an efficient protection is afforded against depreda-
[347] tions by cattle or sheep.

Construction of Bridges

491 The Paez Indians are very clever bridge builders and are often called considerable distances to employ their skill in this direction. I observed three different types of native bridges, two of which were entirely new to me. The more primitive one consists simply of a vine stretched across a river, and crossed by hanging and progressing with the hands and arms. The second type is a frail-looking bamboo structure, the base of which is an arch free in the air, or suspended somewhat like our suspension bridges (plates VII, 2). 1

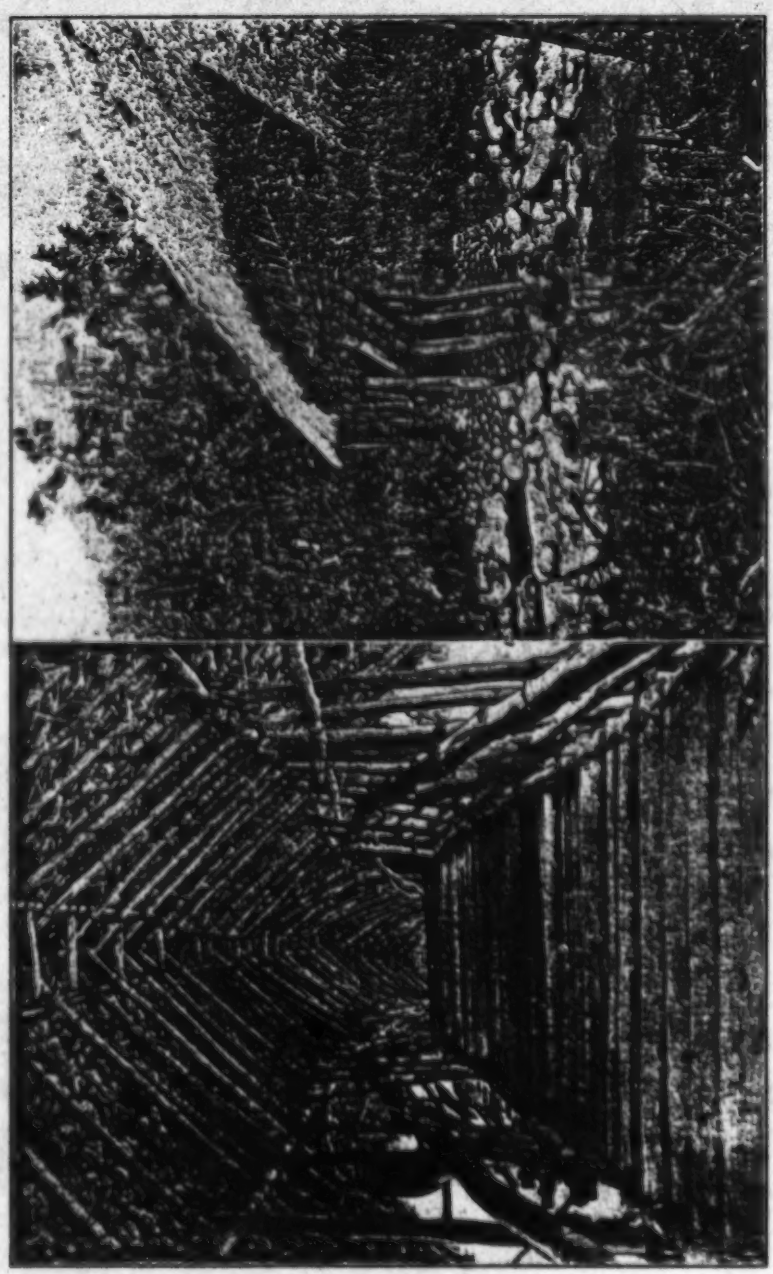
The third type of bridge is a much more substantial structure,
491 built of heavy timbers apparently with an understanding of the
335 laws of gravity. On each side of the river a pair of strong beams are built into pillars of stonework, so that the weight upon the immured extremities counterbalances the free ends independently of the supports by which the latter are upheld. Thus solidly fixed, the two pairs are opposite each otner with a more or less wide space between their extremities. To span this, the ends of both pairs are first connected by means of transverse ties, inserted between beams and props, the whole being solidly lashed together with vines. On these ties two more beams of sufficient length are laid, which serve to complete the span. The main structure of the bridge being thus formed, a heavy floor, generally of round stems, is laid over it, and the whole is protected by a roof of elaborate construction (plates VII, 1, and VIII). It is useless to say that not a single nail is used to unite the numerous parts of the structure, a vine called *ptakuia* being exclusively used for this purpose.

491 We saw two of these large structures, one on the Paez river near Huila, the other on the Moras river, on the trail from Vitoncó to Mosoco. But we were informed that most of the larger rivers in Tolima and elsewhere in the Magdalena valley are bridged in the same way, and that Paez Indians are in frequent requisition elsewhere as bridge-builders.

1 [See Plate facing P. 323 — Analyst]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

491



INTERIOR AND EXTERIOR OF BRIDGE OVER PAEZ RIVER NEAR PUELA

491
335

[facing P. 325]

/183 cont./

342 and blows them into the air; with a small staff called "tama"
756 he cleaves the air in such a way that sometimes he appears to
787 be frightening away the spirits, sometimes threatening them,
[823] and sometimes clubbing them. If the signs (reflex movements)
are felt on the right side, the site is favorable; the opposite
denotes that the site is uninhabitable. The spirits are angry,
[761] or there are Pijao bones and gold at the site. If the site has
not been selected by the medicine man, even if the house is a
handsome one it cannot be occupied, for its occupants would
die, beginning with the children, continuing with the mother,
342 and ending with the father. The medicine man himself pro-
756 hibits people from living in a house built without the fulfill-
ment of this requisite. The medicine man's dictum is rewarded
with a bottle of aguardiente, an egg (1) of coca, tobacco, a

[804] 1. A measure of weight equivalent to the weight of a hen's egg.

calabash of chicha, and usually a meal with chicken. /184/
[789] This is called "care" /cuido/. When the house is finished,
the medicine man will place special remedies at the ridgepole
to prevent the ghosts or echi from descending by way of it or
from being angered.

342 Then come the mingas /communal work-parties/. A house
476 is built with the help of others. The people are invited, in-
cluding the medicine man himself, who goes to work as a
laborer. The work is organized. First, they go to the wood-
land for wood; under the influence of the guarapo, voices re-
sound, loud laughter is heard, and the deep sound of the
"cacho" /horn/ rumbles in the montañas, multiplied by its
342 echoes. Soon they report to the man in charge. They level
●335 out the ground that will serve as the house floor; they dig holes
476 in which to sink the posts approximately two meters apart,
driven in solidly, and tied at the top to cross-pieces with lianas
(guák); the posts outline the shape of the house, and they will

/184 cont./

342 bear its entire weight. Over this frame are placed transversally
● 335 the pikas, beams that go from one wall to another, to strengthen
476 the entire structure. Then the four-slope roof will be raised and covered with bundles of sugar-cane leaves (flushets) or straw (sits) which are fastened around the frame, starting at the bottom; it is completed by the ridgepiece, more massive and notched in a straight line on both sides to a depth of some 50 centimeters; at the apex, some mounds of straw are piled up at regular intervals and a cross is set in each one of them. The man in charge directs the last touches from the ground: "There is not enough straw over there; there is too much here," he notes in a commanding voice.

The walls are made with tall stalks of maize placed in a row between the posts and tied with crosswise bindings, likewise of stalks. The partitions of the interior rooms and the doors, generally one, which leads to the exterior, are made in the same way.

342 In the construction all do the same tasks, except for the
476 man in charge, who supervises. Neither the man in charge nor
465 the workers are paid anything, "it is not customary to pay among the Indians"; they are merely treated to chicha, aguardiente, a meal with meat, and coca. A calabash of chicha and a bottle of aguardiente are presented to the man in charge and shared with the helpers. When the work is done, they get drunk and dance.

342 The women do not participate directly in the /185/
462 /illustration appears here/ construction work; they cook, distribute
476 food, keep the house supplied with firewood and water, talk, and delouse and comb one another.

342 Three types of dwellings may be differentiated among the
177 Paez, in accordance with the greater or lesser introduction and acceptance of foreign architectural features, since nowadays elements of foreign origin are spreading and taking root: bahareque construction, interior division into rooms, the square

/116 cont./

343 In addition to these dwellings only a few houses have
[574] separate buildings, such as, for example, one or, if need be,
[513] two storehouses or a small house (yatléčkwe) in which friends and neighbors sleep when they help the owner for days for the
251 joint work of expressing sugar cane or for the harvest. In the
343 storehouse (kotyāvyat: literally "maize storehouse") only maize
[262] and beans are stored, not wheat or garden produce. Fruit, yuca, potatoes, and arracacha are not kept on hand or stored at all, but always merely fetched as needed and eaten immediately. Wheat is tied in bundles below the ears on stalks about 20 centimeters long and hung up under the roof above the fire. Maize and beans may be kept up to two years in the storehouse. For this purpose horizontal cross-sticks are fastened in it, over which the ears are hung, and racks consisting of maize stalks
[425] laid close together are constructed for the beans. These racks, too, are hung up, if possible, or at least are fastened quite high above the floor so that the mice (úńsa) cannot get to them.
[231] In addition, a cat (miš) is shut up in the storehouse, if one is available. Stalls for the livestock are unknown.

● 34 In the middle of the village of Calderas, on community land, stand the church (iglésia), the community house (kabíldeyát), and the six festival houses of the six largest families (Ill. 147 /see p. 264 /). In their construction, they are likewise hip-roofed houses, but their walls are built in the manner of the colonists' houses, /117/ out of vertical posts, on the inside and outside of which bamboo poles or straight branches are tied horizontally. To strengthen the posts the interstices are filled with earth, clay, and, in the lower part, also with stones. The filling is spread smoothly and the wall whitewashed inside and
[373] out. Whereas light enters the other houses through the door and the not very tightly sealed walls made of maize stalks placed side by side, light can enter the above-mentioned houses consisting of solid walls only through the relatively small door and the opening of the roof ridge, which makes the interior rather dark.

In one case, however, in the house of
/115 cont./
596 Ezequiel Calliumbo, there were three married sons, besides three unmarried ones, all of whom cultivate the fields together. Ezequiel, who is about 60 years old, had ten children, of whom six sons are still living. The oldest son has three children, two of whom have died, the second eldest has four children, two of whom have died, and both the children of the third eldest are dead.

342 The normal houses (yat) are rectangular houses with a hip roof and, depending on their size, are divided into "large houses" (hatwála) and "small houses" (yatléčkwe) (Ills. 158 and 159 /see pp. 270 and 271 /). In accordance with its use the dwelling house specifically is called ōpyat (ōp = to live). The dimensions of the small houses vary between five to ten meters in length and
[345] three to five meters in width. The largest houses are up to 15 meters long and seven meters wide. These are primarily the
342 festival houses. As dwellings they differ from the small ones,
409 which represent by far the greatest proportion of all houses, not
249 only by their /116/ size, but above all by the fact that they have
352 the sugar mill (lapíče) /"Trapiche" (Sp.) in the glossary, p. 250 /, which is a feature of every house, in their interior. As a rule it stands in front of the house or a little to one side of it, normally covered with quantities of expressed sugar-cane stalks hung over it
343 to dry. Besides the sugar mill, a small menstruation hut (dúyat)
342 is required for any house to be complete; it may be absent only if the family erects a small field-hut (ēyatwá) in the middle of the field for a harvest period. In this case the women of the family living there go into the dúyat of another house. In no case may they remain in the dwelling during this period. The field hut and
[341] the small menstruation-hut are rectangular gable-roof houses in construction and, with the exception of the gable roof, of the same construction as the normal hip-roofed houses.

342 Every house has an annex (škídnyeyát) or at least a com-
273 partment for storing the chicha trough (kánoe). This trough is the
251 most important accessory of a Paez house, next to the sugar mill (Ill. 165 /see p. 273 /).

/113 cont./

361 but rather we are /114/ concerned, almost without exception, with individual farms scattered on the slopes of the mountains, where the families live in the midst of their cultivated fields [157] (cf. Ills. 156 and 157 /see p. 269 and 270/). The Paez is by no means an unsociable person and likes to take part in the festivals, but he does not like to live closely confined in a village and to have his neighbors always around him; rather, he prefers to live quite far away from the next house, surrounded by his animals, in order to be able to go about his daily work in the fields undisturbed with his family.

423 609 Every Paez has a strong tie to "his soil," and the fear that he could be robbed of his soil and land dictates his unfriendly and forbidding attitude toward the stranger. Besides, for centuries their experiences with the whites have been too unfortunate for the Paez to be able to understand that a stranger might come for entirely unselfish reasons, merely in order to become acquainted with them and their country.

423 [342] [428] The Paez builds his house, as the family's focus and social center, only upon his own land, which he inherited from his fathers and which, through all subsequent generations, belongs to the family that first cultivated it. There is land in sufficient quantity in every family; in case of need anyone can also find ownerless, uncleared land on the highest sites of the mountain ranges.

Whereas the slopes of the mountains are private property after the initial clearing, the valley floor with the community 487 [481] house and the festival plaza is community land. The houses are connected with one another, as well as with the village plaza, by means of footpaths which are always very narrow because the Paez, even in larger numbers, never walk side by side, but always one behind the other. Originally even the connecting trails between the individual villages, the trails that had to be taken to the weekly markets in Belalcázar or Inzá, were no wider. In more recent times, however, visits on the part of secular and religious authorities made it necessary to widen the trails for riders.

31 Since there are no compact settlements among the Paez, there is also no geographical variations of the village. The church

/114 cont./

361 with graveyard, the community house, festival houses, and, more recently, mission station and school are the central pole, whereas the family houses are always built in other places, but on one's own land (Ills. 146-147 /see p. 264/). Sometimes
342 one erects a house merely for one harvest, that is, for half a
361 year, in the middle of his field that is to be harvested. During the work and harvest it may then happen that a Paez family will not see its neighbors for several weeks.

361 The size of the villages varies; Calderas is one of the
[162] largest Paez /115/ communities and contains about 200 houses with approximately 1,000 inhabitants. Other villages, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Lame, and others, are substantially smaller.
484 In each case it takes considerable time to cross a village, be-
361 cause this means, of course, crossing the entire valley basin in question. In the case of Calderas this is more than three hours
[487] for a European on horseback. The Paez, it is true, travel over the steep short-cuts much more quickly on foot.

b) The House

342 For laying out a house one looks for a building spot as
312 close as possible to a small brook, large numbers of which flow down from the slopes of the mountains and unite at the foot of the valley floor to form the Kokiyó River (literally "maize water"). When it is impossible to lay out a house directly on a brook, the water is led from above through a small ditch past the house. This, as well as any other running water, may always be drunk.
[514] It is known that the residents living above this house now and then urinate in the water, but "that does not matter at all," I was assured.

591 In principle, only one family, consisting of father, mother,
[594] and children, lives in a dwelling. The married sons must build their own houses. It is customary, however, for newlyweds to go
[342] on living in the house of the father for a time, until they have
[476] saved enough chicha and food to feed the friends who will help them build their house. In one case, however, in the house of

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/115 cont./
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342 festival houses. As dwellings they differ from the small ones,
407 which represent by far the greatest proportion of all houses, not
249 only by their /116/ size, but above all by the fact that they have
352 the sugar mill (lapíče) /"Trapiche" (Sp.) in the glossary, p. 250 /, which is a feature of every house, in their interior. As a rule it stands in front of the house or a little to one side of it, normally covered with quantities of expressed sugar-cane stalks hung over it
343 to dry. Besides the sugar mill, a small menstruation hut (dūyat)
342 is required for any house to be complete; it may be absent only if the family erects a small field-hut (ēyatwá) in the middle of the field for a harvest period. In this case the women of the family living there go into the dūyat of another house. In no case may they remain in the dwelling during this period. The field hut and
[341] the small menstruation-hut are rectangular gable-roof houses in construction and, with the exception of the gable roof, of the same construction as the normal hip-roofed houses.

342 Every house has an annex (škídnyeyát) or at least a com-
273 partment for storing the chicha trough (kánoe). This trough is the
251 most important accessory of a Paez house, next to the sugar mill (Ill. 165 /see p. 273 /).

/117 cont./

342 761 783 [756] [773] [628] 761 783 123

Anyone may build himself a house of whatever size he wishes on his own land in the mountains, as well as on the above-mentioned community land in the valley, but he must first ask the shaman acting for him whether any bones of the Pijao are in the ground on the piece of land in mind. As comes out in the myths, the Pijao in ancient times were the frightful and militarily cleverer enemies of the Paez. Their bones (eč ndyít Pijao) contain "pest." This pest is a very complex and significant concept among the Paez (cf. under "Religion" /see p. 191/), and the pest of the Pijao bones is capable of killing the people living above them. How very much our interpreter Victoriano, one of the most enlightened Paez, was affected by this fear came out when he worked with us in the archeological park in San Andrés. For lack of space he had to sleep in the tool room, where, however, he felt very comfortable and, with a camp bed and mattress, had built himself probably the best bed of his life. One day we opened a large prehistoric grave-chamber, which contained more than 80 bone-urns with the remains of cremations. Since we could not accommodate such a large number of urns in our living room, which at the same time served as our museum, we had to put a number of them in the tool room. I left the skeletal remains in several of them in order to save them for a later examination. Weeping, Victoriano begged me please not to put in his tool room any urns containing bones, because the bones might have come from the Pijao, who would surely kill him. Even the washed and cleaned urns, he assured us, contained very much "pest," so that at the next opportunity he wanted to go to Calderas and have himself "purified" by his home shaman. He failed to do this, and when after a few days he had a toothache, he traced this back to the action of the pest from the burial urns previously filled with bones.

342 761 783 756 787

/118/ The shaman's testing of the ground proposed as the building site is not done by digging or sampling the ground; rather, the one who wishes to build goes to the house of the shaman in the evening with coca, tobacco, and brandy, tells him of his wish, and then both sit down on the ground next to each other

/118 cont./

342 and begin to chew coca and tobacco and to drink brandy to-
761 gether. After a while the shaman ascertains through signs in
789 his arms or legs whether bones of the Pijao are in the ground.
756 If this is not the case, the building may be started; otherwise
787 the man must look for another building site. After the building
is finished, a further ceremony is performed (see under "Religion"
342 /see p. 205/), and then the same shaman fastens special herbs
756 to the roof to prevent the eč or gelyómp spirit, hostile to man,
789 from entering the house from there.

Houses are built only by men, by fathers of families.
342 One man alone, however, is not in a position to do this. At
476 least in the erection of the house posts he is helped by his brothers,
[462] as well as by other men and friends who have nothing else to
do anyway on these days and receive chicha and something to
342 eat for their assistance. The building material costs nothing,
273 to be sure, but the builder must furnish a substantial amount of
476 chicha, for which planning must be begun in plenty of time, two
or three years beforehand, by the planting of sufficient sugar
cane. This is the task of the married son who is still living in
[594] his father's house this long. To make the chicha he also still
[249] needs the sugar mill of his father, upon whose consent and help,
therefore, much depends. According to the amount of chicha
[461] that is available, the building of the house thus lasts two to six
months, depending on whether only five or 15 men participate.

342 The most important thing in the construction of the house
335 is the erection of the wooden frame (Ills. 161 to 164 /see p.272 /),
[476] which always requires several men who bring in the trees, which
are superficially smoothed with the machete, but not freed of
bark. The master of the house is able to make the walls by
[462] himself in an emergency. The covering of the roof, too, like the
entire house construction, is men's work, but the woman of the
house may hand up the sugar-cane leaves for the roofing. First
the vertical corner and side posts of the outer walls (yátsʸínda) are
erected, then the outer beams lying horizontally on the side
posts to support the roof (yátpopānt) are laid on, and, as the third
step in the work, the horizontal crossbeams (bīkas) are fastened at

/118 cont./

342 335 ceiling height. It should be noted that all the beams are merely lashed with lianas, /119/ but not mortised. The roof does not rest directly on the corner and side posts; rather, the crossbeams (bīkas) and the rafters (yátkát) are tied to the rectangular, horizontal frame of the roof, and only the latter rests on the vertical posts.

The fourth step in the work is the building in of the ridge beam (dahwāk), together with the rafters, the former being supported primarily by the center post (pwát), usually the only house post that extends vertically through to the ridge. It is not exactly in the middle of the longitudinal axis of the house, but somewhat to the side of it, in the place where the two rooms of the house are partitioned off. Here it serves at the same time as a wall post. The horizontal purlins (kwīnt), which are lashed to the rafters (yátkát) one above the other about 20 centimeters apart, are the only part of the house frame that is not of wood, but instead they consist of a type of reed (karís). The roof (yátominyē) is covered with sugar-cane leaves (nyŭša éts) by proceeding from the bottom up and hanging the leaves over the purlins in such a way that the tips lie on top and the lower parts show on the outside. Finally one or two ridge purlins are laid over the still open ridge, and an even layer of sugar-cane leaves is spread crosswise over this. The elevation thus formed provides an exit for the smoke at the two gable ends of the house. The ridge covering is protected from blowing away by two poles placed over it (Ill. 162 /see p. 272/).

342 356 A newly built house (yátūse) lasts about 15 years. In between, however, the roof must be repaired several times.

On entering a Paez house one is assailed by a sweetish odor 574 of fermentation arising from the chicha, somewhat like that at 576 grape-gathering time in the houses of the German winegrowers' [273] villages. Before entering, one opens the door (vitc) of the house and calls out in a questioning tone, "payoēt" (I should like to enter); from the interior there comes back, "mkāč" (sit down). When no one is at home, the door is usually tied shut with a small piece of bast. Sometimes even this is omitted, for no one

/119 cont./

574 would ever enter a house whose occupants were not present. We
576 never succeeded in persuading Victoriano to enter an empty house, although he knew that we were always greatly interested in learning about the interior of houses and their furnishings.

342 The door of the house is only in rare cases a wide board which at the top and bottom on one side runs out into two pegs which turn in a socket, one in the threshold and one in the doorframe. The entrance is generally constructed in the same fashion as the wall (īnd), which /120/ consists of vertical maize stalks placed next to one another as closely as possible and lashed by means of bast or a liana to one another and to two horizontal maize stalks. The latter always reach from side post to side post. At the place for the door, the rigid wall is interrupted, and the vertically placed maize stalks, only loosely bound with bast, may be shoved a little to one side, whereby they drag along the ground (Ill. 158 /see p. 270/).

[231] Dogs, cats, and chickens are kept in the houses, but not pigs, which live out of doors all the time, exactly like the cows, horses, and sheep.

c) Household Implements

Generally the house has only one division into two rooms, the smaller of which is the kitchen, living room, and bedroom, the larger serving as storage and supply room. The wall between these two rooms is likewise only made out of maize stalks set
[244] next to one another vertically. In the "large" houses the larger
[404] part contains the sugar mill, by means of which undiluted sugar-
596 cane juice may be produced, even in rainy weather. In case
342 adult married sons live in their father's house, a separate compartment divided off in the same manner is built for these families and furnished as a kitchen, either next to the living room of the parents or -- as in most cases -- on the other side of the
354 house. The hearth area is the family center, and every married
596 woman, in case she is living as a daughter-in-law in the house of the father-in-law, has her own hearth area. The latter has

the simplest possible form

000 /120 cont./
354 the simplest possible form. Three rocks provide the lateral sup-
415 port or stand for the pots, of which there are two at most, a
metal one, usually of aluminum, and an earthen one. Very
poor families have only one earthen pot, which is relatively
[417] cheap to buy. The earthen pot cannot be hung up; it is set
between the three fire-stones in such a way that it cannot tip
over, whereas the aluminum pot is hung by its handle on a soot-
covered, angled stick that hangs down from the ridge (Ill. 166
352 /see p. 273/). Above the fire area there hangs a frame made
[251] of maize canes and about one square meter in size, on which
[353] household utensils and, above all, the rock salt for salting food
are stored, airy and dry. Tables, chairs, or stools of any kind
[237] are unknown. One generally sits on the hairy side of an un-
[513] tanned and hence board-stiff cowhide, on which one also /121/
sleeps, or one sits on a beam, a block of wood, or a stone. Paez
[177] who have seen house furnishings in Inzá or in the dwellings of white
colonists have sometimes built for themselves as a bed a sort
of bench 30-50 centimeters high, consisting of sticks or reeds
[513] laid side by side. For sleeping the customary cowhide is spread
on it. These sleeping benches are not used for sitting.

342 The nights in Calderas are generally quite cool, and
362 the light construction of the walls with cracks between the in-
132 dividual maize stalks does not in any way prevent the cold wind
from coming in. In a few houses, near the sleeping area, I saw
the walls sealed by means of expressed sugar-cane piled up
462 horizontally. For sleeping, the members of the family lie down
[354] in a circle around the fire area, where the fire must be kept going
[513] all through the night. This, like all housework, is the task of
the woman, who must gather sufficient fuel beforehand and get up
every two hours during the night to stir up the fire. Furthermore,
[264] she must get up an hour earlier in the morning in order to have
the first meal, which is eaten around five o'clock, sometimes
[461] even at four o'clock, prepared on time. In spite of this, the
men think that they are the ones who do the hardest work and that
basically they are the only ones in the village who really work.

/271 cont./

753 caused by the spirits eč, tũs, or gělyómp, or general emanations
783 of impurity, of "pest" (uwẽ). Such reasons for catching pest, and
[754] thereby being afflicted with sickness, result largely from neglecting
[764] the prescribed shamanistic purifications. These must take place after a burial or when someone has merely seen a funeral proces-
753 sion or entered a house in which there is a corpse. The prohibitions
783 surrounding a woman giving birth or menstruating are just as strict.
841 If she does not retire to the menstruation hut at the proper time,
[844] if she cohabits during these days or neglects to take the subsequent bath after menstruation and birth, the consequences are equally
[264] grave. Pest befalls a man if he accepts food from a menstruating
753 woman. The same consequences befall the one who in housebuild-
783 ing or during the first harvest does not have the proper ceremonies
756 performed by the shaman.

● 342 Most people die as the result of the evil influence of the
754 nyic, the evil sorcerers. The latter -- it is firmly believed --
783
761 are able to kill individual persons as well as to send pest to entire villages. Their power of evil is regarded as almost unlimited. Besides being bewitched by a nyic, there are three other possibili-
753 ties for a person to become ill or to die. These causes are
761 gělyómp, tũs, and eč. All three are very complex conceptions
776 and may be translated roughly as "mountain spirit," "rainbow," and "firefly," respectively, although the Paez conception and the
[756] translation are not completely identical. The teyu knows the cause of the illness immediately from his signs, the rest of the people, however, usually only after the death of the sick person. And, to be sure, one recognizes the tũs as the cause of illness by the fact /272/ that the corpse lies there with a bent limb (arm or leg), whereas in the case of ec as the cause of death, blood flows from the mouth or nose. It is also possible that both together, tũs and eč, might bring death to the person, for example, if the person lies there bent and blood flows from the mouth or nose.

776 The gělyómp spirit lives chiefly in the mountains, but also in the valley, on the banks of brooks or rivers. He likes to lead wanderers astray in the mountains by making noise and screaming up there; at night one hears his screams -- like those of a human

/283 cont./

756 It is killed by members of another family, since the ones concerned
783 may not perform any work or activity. The pig is scalded over a
769 hole into which the hair and refuse are thrown. The parts of the pig which the ancestor spirits, through the signs of the shaman, wish as a sacrifice are put into a fiber bag with a wooden stick. During this time the women bake small, flat maize cakes, and, to be sure, as many as there are dead in the family. These are
756 likewise put into the bag, and, in addition, a large quantity of
783 other food. Moreover, small wooden dolls, dressed like living
532 Paez, are carved in the same number as the dead. About 40
769 meters from the house a grave with a lateral niche is dug, exactly like the one made for deceased persons. In the evening the shaman goes there with the members of the family and performs the ceremonial purification on them. After that the sky becomes covered with thick, black clouds, in the direction of which the teyu spits his medicinal herbs. After two hours the clouds move off toward the left and bring into view the starry sky. Now the shaman lays the dolls (as representations of the spirits of the dead) into the lateral niche of the grave, sets a wax candle beside them, and blows his medicinal herbs over them. With a /284/ stone he closes off the lateral niche and then places the
756 bag with the food into the pit. After the latter has again been
783 filled with earth, he proceeds to a renewed purification of the
769 members of the family, which is undertaken a third time in the house and at the same time on the helpers in the pig-slaughtering and the baking. In conclusion one half of the pig is now eaten jointly, whereas the other half belongs to the shaman as remuneration.

756 A further important shamanistic ceremony is undertaken when
342 a new house is built. On this occasion the teyu, in dedication,
783 spits his herbs on the future fire area of the house and digs a small
[824] hole into which he places the herbs šũ and šulápe. On a small pile of wood he burns other herbs, the ashes of which he carries out of the house. Now he lights a new fire, in which he roasts a young maize ear and gives it to a dog to eat. If the latter does not die, this is regarded as a sign that no pest exists here any longer and the occupants may confidently live here. If this were not the case, they would be obliged to leave the house.

1: Nachtigall--26 9 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

• 342

Ill. 156. Field hut.

1: Nachtigall--270 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

342

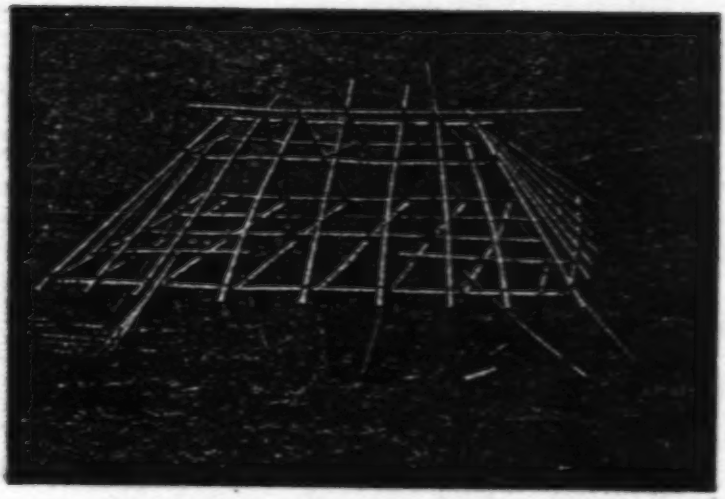
Ill. 157. Dwelling in the midst of a newly cleared field.

Ill. 158. Field hut made out of maize stalks.

1: Nachtigall--271 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

● 342

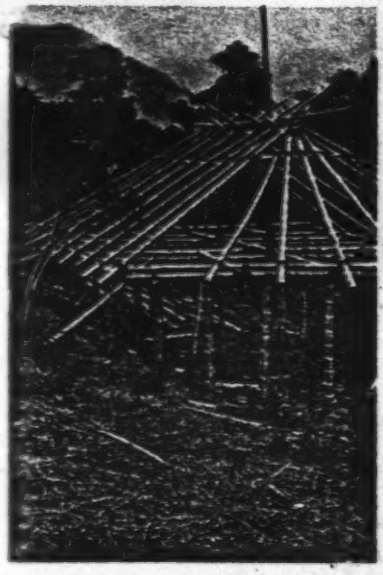
Ill. 159. Hip-roofed house.



Ill. 160. Frame of a dwelling, made of bamboo.

1: Nachtigall--272 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

342



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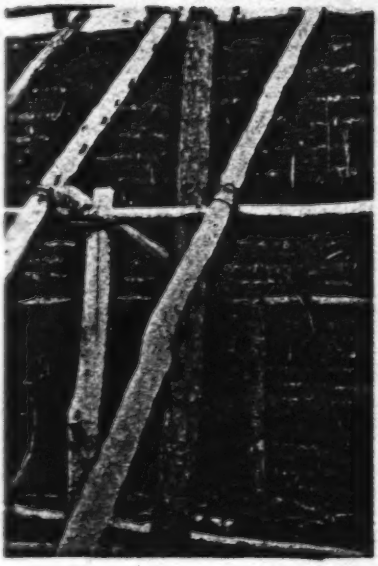
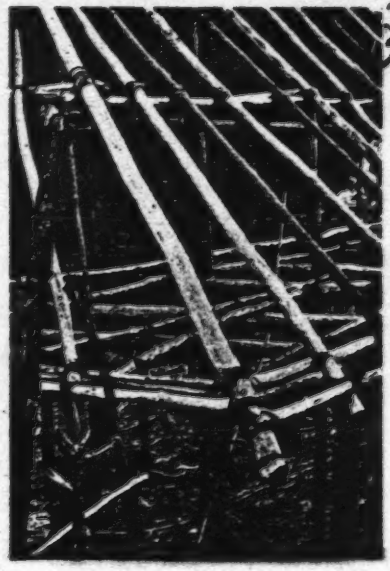
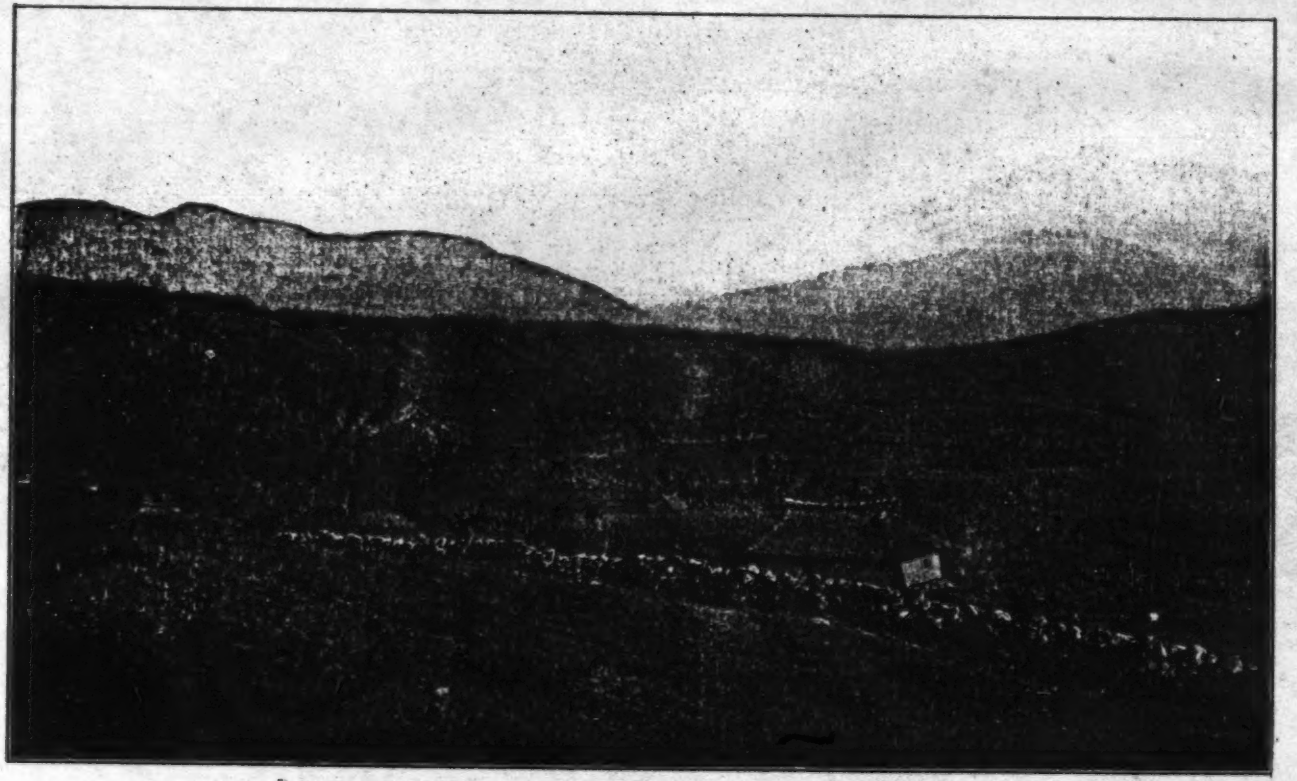




Ills. 161-164. House construction.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15



THE VILLAGE OF HUILA

The Houses are in the Patches of High Vegetation Scattered in the Savanna. In the Distance is the Huila Volcano, but the Extreme Summit is not Visible

361
133
342

[facing P.318]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

302 extracted from the seeds of *Bixa orellana*, which they applied
[524] by means of a cylinder of clay (*kaanda*) on which certain designs were carved. Specimens of such cylinders are often found in graves.

291 Children are very scantily clothed. The boys go about naked
515 until they reach their twelfth year, and the little girls wear only a short *atš-tul*. The clothing of the male and female adults seems to be worn as long as it lasts. As is the case with all Indians living at high altitudes, the Paez are not especially fond of bathing, and cleanliness is not a cardinal virtue with them.
[513] In retiring for the night, they simply wrap their garments tighter around them, the children using old rags in lieu of blankets.

386 The ornamentation of the *tilia*, or sash, with several brilliant
[182] colors and the desire of giving a uniform hue to the darker clothing of the women, gave origin to the art of dyeing, which very likely is to-day in its decline. The dyes were derived chiefly from plants. Black was obtained from *šal*, an arborescent *Phyllanthus* that has a semi-domesticated appearance and forms characteristic thickets around inhabited places, like Vitoncó; the same color is also contained in the young pods of the *huarango* (*Cæsalpinia tinctoria*), a spiny tree often seen near the houses and extensively used at the present time for dyeing wool. The roots of *tuk-nitsc*, a Rubiacea (*Relbunium hypocarpium* Hemsl.) akin to the madder, produce a scarlet color. Different kinds of blue dyes were extracted from the fruit of the jagua (*kii*, probably *Genipa* sp.) and from an *Indigofera*.
[177] Many other tinctorial plants very likely escaped my observation and are gradually passing out of use on account of the introduction of foreign fabrics.

DWELLINGS

● 342 The Paeces have permanent houses in their thirty-four villages and temporary abodes on their corn plantations. These latter are merely small huts, the walls of which are more or less elaborate according to the altitude, being made tighter near the upper limit of culture. They represent the primitive type of

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

They represent the primitive type of
habitation, the agglomerations being the result of the efforts of the missionaries. 342 [177]

The villages are generally in the open grazing districts at the bottom of the valleys, on side plateaus, or on broad ridges. They are not compact in the common sense of the word, but consist of isolated groups of houses, the approximate common center of which is often indicated by the whitewashed thatch-roofed church (plate v). 361

The walls of the permanent houses are made of a kind of *bajareque*, i. e., a skeleton of canes filled in with clay. In the better homes the interior is divided into two or more rooms, usually very small, with a hearth in the middle; but oftener there are no interior partitions, the dwelling consisting of a single square apartment. In every case that came under my observation the interior was very untidy. 342 353 [354] [356]

The Indians openly objected to our entering their houses, hence I could gain only casual glimpses of their domiciles, the furnishing of which seems to be an imitation of that of the dwellings of the few Spanish people living among them or in the immediate neighborhood. 352 123 177

Outside the houses they generally have a cane-crusher of primitive type, with horizontal smooth cylinders moved by means of levers at each end. A loom and a grinding stone are also seen occasionally under an adjacent shelter (plates iv,[1] 2, and vi).[2] 407 286 412

There may often be seen, either about or inside the housse, very large jars used as receptacles in the elaboration of the chicha. These utensils seem to be almost the only survival of the ancient earthenware industry. The smaller pottery vessels which were seen occasionally had been taken from old graves. 415 [192]

Each group of houses, in which several generations of a single family dwell, is surrounded by a small enclosed field, planted with sugar-cane, plantains, oranges and other fruits, and greens and roots of daily use. The garden enclosure is formed by a ditch, inside of which is a wooden fence or a stone wall, the latter often crowned by a hedge of maguey (*Furcraea*), lechero (*Euphorbia*), borrachero (*Solanum*), and other bushes. 351 [592] [247]

[1] [See plate facing P. 317 — Analyst]

[2] [See plate facing P. 320 — Analyst]

/285 cont./

101 the Ullucos river, since to the south of it were found the Topas,
361 Yaguiváes, and Guanaca. It seems that in the fifteenth century,
[166] [173] under the rule of the cacique Calambás, the Paez went over the cordillera and settled in Pitayó, Toribío, and Tacueyó.

162 Dr. José Pérez de Barradas gave a number of 30,000 souls.
[161] The census of 1938 gives a total of 17,578 inhabitants distributed as follows: municipio of Páez (Belalcázar), 13,861; municipio of Inzá, 3,717. The censuses of 1951 give a total of 25,495 inhabitants, with 15,388 in the municipio of Páez and 10,103 in that of Inzá. It is obvious that the census of 1938 was defective, especially with regard to the population of this last municipio.

[177] Of this population, approximately 80 per cent is Indian, acculturated for the most part, except for those of Calderas, Suin, and Chinas, where traditions are strong and their contacts with the white scant, and in addition there is great resistance to living with him.

142 The Paez are of medium height, with light brown skin, dark brown eyes, straight black hair, broad foreheads, rather pronounced cheekbones, pentagonal rather than oval faces,
361 robust constitutions, and rather broad shoulders. Their pueblos
796 consist of a church, a school, the house of the priest and of
342 the cabildo, and a few other houses which are occupied only at the times of religious fiestas; they live in ranchos that are rectangular in plan, with thatched roofs and walls made of tight rows of maize stalks, /286/ located on privately owned land and a considerable distance apart.

291 Dress.--The Paez dress simply. The man wears linen trousers, a poncho tied to the waist with a leather strap and another that falls freely from the shoulders, and a hat which they manufacture themselves with palm or bamboo leaves. The woman wears a wide skirt tied around the waist with a multicolored band preceding the folds made at the back, a poncho similar to the one worn by the men and also tied around

/178 cont./

361 who have established coffee and sugar-cane plantations and
[563] cattle ranches. The natives occupy the steep and barren sec-
[177] tions.

[342] The pueblo of San Andrés consists of 23 bahareque houses /houses with walls made with two faces of sticks with mud and stone between them/ with thatched roofs. Only one is of brick and tiles. In its general lines the plan is reminiscent of that of Spanish centers: a central plaza with houses around it.

346 The church, which is large, thatched, and white, has a hand-
361 some façade, with a bell tower, arches and columns, a style reminiscent of colonial architecture; it stands in the center of the plaza and was built in the first decade of the nineteenth century by Padre Joaquín Núñez y Tobar. On its south side there stands a large, very old and dilapidated building where the school and the rectory functions; on the other sides it is surrounded by the colonists' houses.

366 There are two stores with a regular supply of merchandise, and on Wednesdays there is a small market where one beef, a few agricultural products, and chicha are sold.

133 Toward the end of the Pisimbalá valley are found the not
175 very extensive plateaus of Argentina and El Rodeo. El Rodeo has marked historical significance; for a long time it was called Segovia. In the spirit of conquest and colonization, the town of Nueva Segovia was founded there by Captain Hernando Arias Saavedra in accordance with the mandate of Governor Sancho Espinar, who in 1578 gave up these lands after his vainglorious campaign against the Paez. It was short-lived. On this same plateau Mosquera's rebellion against the government of Don Mariano Ospina Rodríguez was won by his spectacular victory over the government forces headed by
[317] General Joaquín París (1). In spite of this, the markets for

1. González, David. Los paeces /The Paez/, manuscript.

/179 cont./

123 At 11 o'clock in the morning we left the Park, bound for
484 Calderas. The road climbs through the Pisimbalá valley, at
491 first on its right bank and soon on the left, after crossing a wooden bridge with a plank roof; from this bridge to the pueblo of San Andrés, three streams have to be crossed: Chapequís, La Virgen, and the cemetery stream. Along this short distance and at the edge of the road we counted ten houses, all of them thatched except one of masonry, tiles, oil paint, modern manufacture; the others have white washed walls, painted doors, and are generally clean and orderly. They are the houses of mestizos and colonists settled on their respective fincas.

At 11:30 we left the settlement and took the path that leads to Calderas; the road goes ever upward, in slow and slippery
123 zigzags. As we go along, we see houses with graphite-colored
342 roofs and walls which are black when made of mud or (and these are in the majority) yellow when they are of maize stalks; they lie as if submerged /180/ in the plantings of bananas, sugar cane, and yuca; bluish smoke rises vertically in thick columns from the openings.

123 At 12 o'clock we came out on the Mesón, Supok in the
133 Paez dialect, a small plateau oriented from north to south
[361] and bounded on the east and west by great depressions. Many native huts stand there.

[137] The beautiful valley of the Pisimbalá torrent comes into view in its entirety; contracted at times, then widening more, extensive in length and generally narrow, it descends in a gentle slope in pursuit of the noisy Ullucos; covered with thriving vegetation, it looks like a carpet of living green blending in its tones the stateliness of the cachimbos /búcare, Erytrina umbrosa/, cedars, guamás, gadua bamboo, and yarumos /Cecropia peltata/, and the splendor of the plantings of sugar cane and bananas and the pastures of the herders.

[131] An hour later we reached the Yukaichí ridge, the boundary of the parcialidades /territorial divisions/ of San Andrés and

/182 cont./

423 The work on the land is a daily exercise in co-operation.
461 Owership by an Indian is an unquestionable right, and its de-
[173] fense a categorical imperative. Lliban and Juan Chiracol
[628] fought the Pijao for the ownership of the land and to defend an
[648] inalienable right. Likewise, because the whites covet their land, they do not like to have them around /183/ and avoid receiving them under some pretext or other. Their security and
[735] their happiness lie in the ownership of land. Poverty as they understand it, a shortage of food and livestock, is due solely to the laziness of those who suffer it.

857 Children grow up in continuous communion with the
868 activities of their parents. While the girl helps her mother in household tasks and goes out with her to bring firewood from their respective clearings, the boys with their machete on their shoulder and their pouches of coca and mambe /lime/, exactly like their fathers, clean the clearings, build fences, weed their plantings, and when the maize ripens and the wheat grows tall, they spend the day defending them against the attacks of parrots, guaras, borugos, squirrels, and coatis. At an early age they are already doing the same tasks, but with the hope of building a house, marrying, raising children, and owning livestock, large quantities of coca, and sugar cane for their
• 342 chicha. In a way, the house is a necessary supplement to their pieces of land; furthermore, many are for the period of the clearings. The selection of a site for the house does not take into account either the beauty of the landscape or the levelness of the terrain, but rather the inaccessibility of both. Only when the house is to last for more than one generation will they attend to certain requisites: solidity, construction or privately owned land, and the selection of an adequate site by the medicine man (té éu). One fine day the owner selects a site: "This is a good place to build a house and to live," he
[759] says. Then he takes there the medicine man, who during the
[787] night "thinks about" whether the site is suitable or unsuitable; he chews coca and remedies, takes mouthfuls of aguardiente

/183 cont./

342 and blows them into the air; with a small staff called "tama"
756 he cleaves the air in such a way that sometimes he appears to
787 be frightening away the spirits, sometimes threatening them,
[823] and sometimes clubbing them. If the signs (reflex movements)
are felt on the right side, the site is favorable; the opposite
denotes that the site is uninhabitable. The spirits are angry,
[761] or there are Pijao bones and gold at the site. If the site has
not been selected by the medicine man, even if the house is a
handsome one it cannot be occupied, for its occupants would
die, beginning with the children, continuing with the mother,
342 and ending with the father. The medicine man himself pro-
756 hibits people from living in a house built without the fulfill-
ment of this requisite. The medicine man's dictum is rewarded
with a bottle of aguardiente, an egg (1) of coca, tobacco, a

[804] 1. A measure of weight equivalent to the weight of a hen's egg.

calabash of chicha, and usually a meal with chicken. /184/
[789] This is called "care" /cuido/. When the house is finished,
the medicine man will place special remedies at the ridgepole
to prevent the ghosts or echi from descending by way of it or
from being angered.

342 Then come the mingas /communal work-parties/. A house
476 is built with the help of others. The people are invited, in-
cluding the medicine man himself, who goes to work as a
laborer. The work is organized. First, they go to the wood-
land for wood; under the influence of the guarapo, voices re-
sound, loud laughter is heard, and the deep sound of the
"cacho" /horn/ rumbles in the montañas, multiplied by its
342 echoes. Soon they report to the man in charge. They level
335 out the ground that will serve as the house floor; they dig holes
476 in which to sink the posts approximately two meters apart,
driven in solidly, and tied at the top to cross-pieces with lianas
(guák); the posts outline the shape of the house, and they will

/184 cont./

342 bear its entire weight. Over this frame are placed transversally
335 the pikas, beams that go from one wall to another, to strengthen
476 the entire structure. Then the four-slope roof will be raised and covered with bundles of sugar-cane leaves (flushets) or straw (sits) which are fastened around the frame, starting at the bottom; it is completed by the ridgepiece, more massive and notched in a straight line on both sides to a depth of some 50 centimeters; at the apex, some mounds of straw are piled up at regular intervals and a cross is set in each one of them. The man in charge directs the last touches from the ground: "There is not enough straw over there; there is too much here," he notes in a commanding voice.

The walls are made with tall stalks of maize placed in a row between the posts and tied with crosswise bindings, likewise of stalks. The partitions of the interior rooms and the doors, generally one, which leads to the exterior, are made in the same way.

342 In the construction all do the same tasks, except for the
476 man in charge, who supervises. Neither the man in charge nor
465 the workers are paid anything, "it is not customary to pay among the Indians"; they are merely treated to chicha, aguardiente, a meal with meat, and coca. A calabash of chicha and a bottle of aguardiente are presented to the man in charge and shared with the helpers. When the work is done, they get drunk and dance.

342 The women do not participate directly in the /185/
462 /illustration appears here/ construction work; they cook, distribute
476 food, keep the house supplied with firewood and water, talk, and delouse and comb one another.

342 Three types of dwellings may be differentiated among the
177 Paez, in accordance with the greater or lesser introduction and acceptance of foreign architectural features, since nowadays elements of foreign origin are spreading and taking root: bahareque construction, interior division into rooms, the square

/185 cont./

342 177 house-plan, the use of nails, plank doors, and even locks and keys to safeguard the dwelling; likewise, whitewashing is not unknown.

342 576

342 352 353 23/ The rectangular hut is the most primitive type of dwelling: tiny and light, crude and totally artless; a two-slope roof, walls of stalks laced together with an /186/ entrance door; an earthen floor; a kitchen in the center, with hides all around it; pouches suspended from the posts; on a three-legged beam, the grinding stone; a smoke-blackened interior; and living intimately with the guinea pigs.

/186 cont./

860 with the guinea pigs. These ranchos give the impression of
● 342 extreme poverty in their dwellings. None of them is of bahareque.

342 The second type of dwelling, which is more widespread
177 and shows a larger number of foreign architectural elements, is the large rectangular house with a four-slope roof, 15 to 20 meters long by four or five meters wide, with one or two doors and two or three rooms, one of which takes up two-thirds of the space made, and the last third is subdivided into the room intended for the kitchen and the other for the chicha troughs and
[841] pantry. Not a few of the dwellings of this type have a compart-
[343] ment for menstruating women (du yate léchukue), although as a rule small huts are built outside the house for this purpose.

[513] In this type of dwelling one commonly finds bahareque,
[352] sleeping platforms, plank doors, and sometimes whitewashed walls.

361 The settlement of Calderas is made up of this kind of
342 dwelling. It consists of 14 houses scattered at random on a
[342] beautiful plateau of some 20 hectares, covered with pastures
[796] and crossed by drainage ditches that bring water to five of the
[346] houses, which are permanently occupied; the others, although they have owners, serve only for religious fiestas when the fiestero /fiesta leader/ moves there with his retinue of mayordomos, laborers, cooks, and the utensils for serving
346 aguardiente, chicha, and food. These houses are spacious, 25
796 meters long by six meters wide; thick mud walls, with a plank door at the entrance; the enormous sala, fluhne wala, is 13 meters long; here stand the sugar mill, the metate (ũkukuat), the notched ladder for climbing to the garret, the pango pil, crudely hewn rectangular beams on which the men sit, one of which is 10 meters long; firewood is piled in one of the corners; the floor is of earth unevenly smoothed. The concentrations of people who visit the fiestero in a daily stream gather in these spacious salas; here music echoes, the albacero /fiestero's assistant/ is taken care of, the dances take place, the drunks sleep, and the sugar cane is milled.

/186 cont./

346 There are four other small rooms, five meters /187/ long
796 by three meters wide. Two of them are independent of each other, with their respective doors opening into the sala; one serves as a kitchen and the other to roast the maize griddle-cakes. At the other end of the house are the two other rooms, connected with each other by one door and with the sala by another. The workers sleep in one, and in the other are the troughs of chicha, the bottles of aguardiente, and the laurel candles.

342 The third type of dwelling, very scarce in Calderas, has
249 a square floor plan. It has the sala, two kitchens, and the du yate léchukue. Whatever type of dwelling a Paez family may own, they all have as an indispensable accessory the sugar mill,
[262] either inside the house or outside it. Actually, if it is kept in
[273] mind that the basic sustenance of the natives is provided by
[276] maize, cabbage, chicha, and coca, this instrument is indispensable.

342 In addition, each house is supplied with water, taken from
312 springs, streams, or falls, through the extremely skillful construction of ditches which skirt the valleys, hills, and slopes. Their lands have abundant water. They are not familiar with artesian wells.

342 In a way, the enormous salas in the houses of Calderas
177 represent the ramadas which are found among the whites,
249 mestizos, and acculturated Indians of San Andrés; they are built independently of the dwellings, with a sugar mill and an oven to boil down the cane juice and make panela. In this parcialidad, the panela industry is quite well developed. In Calderas it does not exist.

584 Among the Paez, land, marriage, family, and house form
583 a close and indissoluble unit. It lends warmth and meaning to
[183] a number of emotional, sentimental, and sociological complexes. This begins when the pubescent boy feels the need for a partner who will help him in his work and assuage to some extent the rigors of solitude. The love awakened by a dark, shapely maiden impels him to ask her parents for her. "Give my your daughter. I am alone and need help in my work,"

/187 cont./

583 says the youth after he has conferred upon the parents-in-law
[584] bottles of aguardiente and calabashes of chicha according to his means. The parents always accede to the request.

At midnight he goes off with her to the house of his parents, if he does not have one of his own. They will live together for several months, one year, two...; during this time he will find out whether the woman can cook, grind maize, carry water and firewood, weave ponchos and /188/ pouches, and he will become familiar with her fidelity, temperament, and
583 character. Only then will he look for a sponsor /padrino/,
585 seek out the priest, take communion and receive the nuptial
[608] blessing, and return to his house, where the bubbling troughs of chicha, the savory "mute" /maize stew/ boiling in the pot, the crude guitars and the pleasing chirimías /a kind of orchestra/ will complete the sealing of the union. They will go through the night, and sometimes days as well, drinking, eating, and dancing.

462 The building of the house on the land of his property will
594 soon follow. Gradually, the man will furnish it with pangopil
[373] for sitting, crude plates and spoons for eating, pots for cooking, hides and sometimes raised platforms for sleeping, a sugar mill to mill the juicy cane; he will bring water from distant sources, provide troughs in order to ferment chicha, purchase machetes, axes, and picks to work the land, plant bananas, sugar cane, onions, and cabbages in his garden; he will put together the barzos where he will keep the bundles of wheat, the ears /caspas/ of maize, the mulberry-colored beans; he will acquire a dog and also -- why not? it has been his ambition and his hope -- he will buy cattle for the fiestas and a horse to race for San Juan and to operate the sugar mill. The woman, on her part, will tend the guinea pigs, breed her chickens and turkeys, look after the pigs so they will not be lost, shear the sheep, weave her yaha gwala (fique bags) for carrying the compact ears of maize, the rustling beans, and the green cabbages

/245 cont./

*765 756 783 [113] 8. See: "Mitología y Cuentos de la Parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro /Mythology and Tales from the Parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro/," Revista Colombiana de Antropología, 1953.

[114] This type of cleansing has not been confirmed by any informant, curer or layman, young or old, male or female, from the Parcialidades of Santa Rosa, San Andrés, Calderas, Togoima, Avirama, or Mosoco.

●342 796 *756 [241] Conjuration of the new rancho. To protect their fields from the voracity of wild animals, they build a small rancho. Before occupying it, they perform the following conjuration. The curer blows remedies in the center of the rancho where the hearth will be. He digs a hole and buries shu and shulape. He makes a fire and casts fiundayuskei and bitopiskue into it. He gathers up all the ashes and throws them outside the rancho. He revives the fire again and roasts a green ear of maize, which is given to a dog to eat. If the dog does not die, it is a sign that there is no pest there and the owners can occupy it. In the opposite case they must abandon it. In Santa Rosa the Té eu eats the ear of maize.

This same ceremony is performed upon beginning a house. They give the dog roasted maize since it is not the season for green ears. Then they drink chicha and aguardiente.

241 *756 E huse uña (clearing-eat). The harvesting of the crops from new clearings must be initiated by the curer. The owner of the field provides coca, tobacco, and aguardiente and invites the curer. The entire family goes to the field.

The té eu prepares a calabash of remedies based on Chayuts, shugues, tayuskei, echiutse, ul fiñi, tatse. He sprinkles the clearing with this. He distributes as many bundles of remedies as there are persons present, for them to chew, to swallow the juice, and to rub their bodies with the remainder.

/298 cont./

241 in some cases, fruit trees, and after this, wheat. In San Andrés,
134 especially in the vegas, maize, plantains, frijoles, arracacha, manioc, sugar cane, and coffee are planted. Thus, there is not proper utilization of the soil or protection of it, aside from the several years of rest. They are not familiar with fertilizers, the rotation of crops, or irrigation systems.

241 It is interesting to note that the families of San Andrés,
423 Calderas, Lame, and Mosoco generally have lands in the low places along the rivers and streams and in the high places where arboreal vegetation abounds, which they call the "montaña." In this way, they can cultivate cold and temperate zone plants (Calderas, San Andrés, Lame) or take advantage of the annual seasonal cycle in the high parts of the Cordillera (Mosoco).

244 A principal dwelling is erected on one of the fincas, while
● 342 on the others ranchos where the families live during the months of harvest are built. It is at the principal dwelling where the garden is made with plantains, sugar cane, onions, coriander, coca, cabbage (San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Calderas, Togoima), or with cabbage, garlic, onions, yuca de pipchao /yams/, peaches, and apples (Lame, Mosoco, Vitoncó). Peppers are cultivated in the gardens. This principal dwelling forms what in our culture is called hogar /hearth, home/. It is here that the fire is always maintained, that the ears of maize, bundles of wheat, bags of frijoles, tools, troughs, cooking utensils, and sugar mills are kept, where the chickens, guinea pigs, pigs, and turkeys live.

249 Industrial crops practically do not exist. There are no
[248] tobacco or cotton plantations. Sugar-cane plantings are not
[273] extensive among the natives. They are used solely for pro-
[778] ducing guarapo, which has almost completely replaced the maize chicha. Only the whites and a few mestizos have extensive sugar-cane fields for producing panela.

248 Figue thrives in Tierradentro. But it is in Vitoncó and Lame that there are numerous plantings of cabuya of very good quality in terms of the size and quantity of the fiber, planted on the boundaries of the properties. This wealth is not utilized as much as it should be. The natives merely make pouches and lassos for internal consumption.

/336 cont./

428 together. The land does not belong to the cabildo. Women do not inherit. Only the men. The women go with their husbands. Among the men it is divided into equal shares. The /337/ sons are the legitimate heirs. If a man dies without leaving sons, [593] his brother inherits. A brother can be asked for a piece of land to [423] work. And he gives it. If we are niggardly about it, what will [425] my brother eat, how will he support his children. The eldest son is important, because if the father dies, it is he who takes charge of the family."

The words are nearly all textual. One may deduce from them that inheritance is carried out through the male line. It is the men who inherit the land, houses, and animals, in equal shares. The women virtually do not inherit, since, when they marry, they go with the husband. The sons are the legitimate heirs. If a man dies without leaving progeny, his brothers inherit.

423 The women, nevertheless, can also be heirs and in equal 428 shares with the men, if the husband has no land to work. Cases [591] are not frequent, but neither are they rare, when the man goes to live in his wife's home, where he remains and works the land [563] which belongs to him through his wife's right. Likewise some "whites" who managed to marry natives have the right of usufruct over the lands of their wives, and the latter demand land to work from the cabildo if they do not possess any.

423 Another Calderun informant, one of the major owners of 428 land in extensity wishes to leave it to his sons without dividing it. Since there is enough land, there is no reason for them to quarrel. Since two of his sons went to Cali when they were small, he says that if they should return there is land for them to work. 423 The lands are solely for the men; the women marry and go with the husband. Referring to the llano of Calderas, he says that it belongs to all of the members of the community. They may build their houses there, while those from other parcialidades [342] have no right to do so. If a member builds a house on the com- [476] munal llano, all the others are obliged to help him with timber and labor. Even the women. The land is communal because the cabildo has decided upon it. Some have plots on this

/351 cont./

273 The maize is ground, and they cook the flour with plenty of water; this liquid is removed and put in a trough to ferment [272] for several days, adding panela to it. It is said that this chicha is tastier than guarapo, but that it does not inebriate and does not work satisfactorily; it serves only to quench thirst, like the "cola" (carbonated drink) of the "whites."

262 Peaches and apples are eaten in the regions where they are produced, and oranges as well, but in general the consumption of fruit is very low.

252 262 Guinea pigs are eaten when the family wants meat. They kill them by breaking their necks; then they wet them with cold water and put them in the embers of the fire in order to loosen the hide and skin them; they are washed, the entrails are removed, they are washed again, and then they are cooked in the pot of sancocho, mote, "sango," or maize-ball soup; some people eat the entrails, while others do not. The guinea pig is regarded as "tasty."

With chicken special attention is shown to favorite friends and to compadres, and mingas are held. At the fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, it is customary to eat chicken. After being plucked, the entrails are removed, it is washed, and it is cooked in the pot of sancocho or mote. The natives regard the leg as the best piece, and for this reason this is what they present to the elders (compadres, fathers, eldest sons); to the others they give a piece of breast or any other part. The head goes to the owner. The washed and cooked entrails are also distributed among all present. Turkeys and ducks are prepared and consumed in the same manner.

From the pig some organs are eaten roasted: pancreas, kidneys, intestines, and the meat of the backbone; the bacon 262 is kept to flavor food; the rest is eaten boiled. When a pig is killed out of the mere desire to use the meat, portions are distributed to the "elders" of the family (fathers-in-law, fathers, etc.), and the same thing is done when cattle is slaughtered. [237] From them they use the meat, the hide, and the horns for making [534] whistles which are blown when a house is being built in the [342] [234]

262 /351 cont./
[234] settlement and when they are dragging down /352/ the timber;
[237] the milk is not used, except in Mosoco, where we have seen
[534] that it is really consumed.
[342]

The Calderunos say that sheep are eaten frequently in the
[231] temperate regions such as Avirama and San Andrés, but few are consumed in Calderas; some say that sheep give wool for clothing, "Why eat them, when they provide ponchos," and others state that to eat mutton brings bad luck, because it would be like eating one's papa.

262 When there are visits by "elders" such as compadres, older
574 brothers, fathers-in-law, or own fathers, they are entertained ("cuida") with dishes different from the ordinary ones, based essentially around barnyard fowl and eggs. If there is meat, a large piece is cooked. The compadres, in turn, bring as a gift griddle-cakes (about 15), eggs (about 10), and frequently chickens.

262 There is no special diet for children; they eat exactly the
846 same as adults. There are differences of diet according to sex only when the woman has just given birth. Then, she is given ground maize, arracacha, manioc, ripe plantain, laying hens ("these
[261] are nice and fat"), and mutton. The mejicano is proscribed for them, because it brings cold into the stomach and gives much pain; onions, because they cause a stomach ailment and rot the in-
[844] testines; pork and the frijol bueno for the same reason. Peppers are also taboo for parturient women.

262 For hard labor, it is regarded as good to eat mote, with
263 cabbage, frijol bueno, and well salted, because it gives strength for the daily activities; if one eats the same thing (" a good dish"), but without salt, they say that one is already hungry by the middle of the day.

262 Foods regarded as aphrodisiacs are "sango," prepared with
832 finely ground and sifted maize, and raw eggs.

261 Of the foods that they eat, they believe that chicha and water are transformed into blood, and the maize, potatoes, frijoles, and arracacha into flesh.

To gain weight, they believe that it is necessary to eat and not to work, rather than to follow a special diet.

6: Bernal Villa--98 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro IV: Views of Mosoco. Above: left, panoramic view of Mosoco; right, partial view of the Mosoco plateau. Below: left, houses of Mosoco; right, dwellings, planting beds, and fences of "lechero."

6: Bernal Villa--100 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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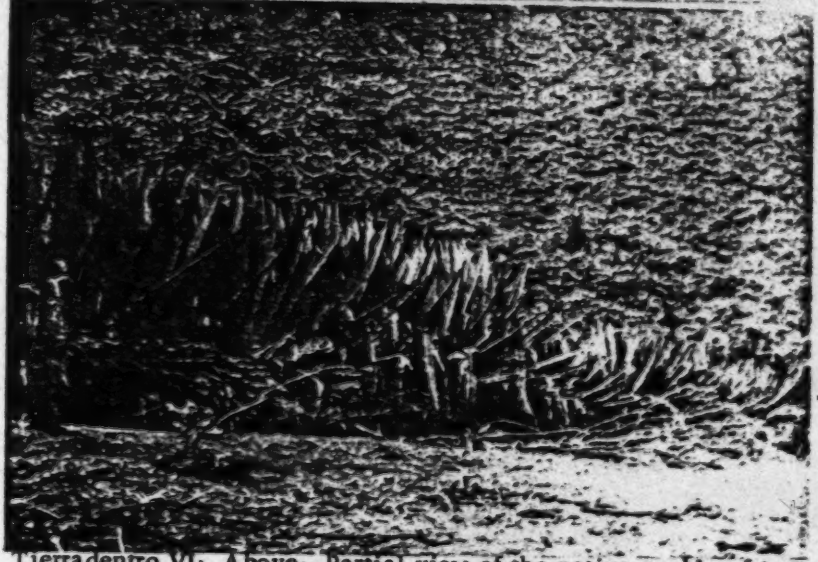

Tierradentro VI: Above: Partial view of the native pueblo of Lame.
Below: Plantings of cabuya (Lame).

6: Bernal Villa - -102 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

Tierradentro VIII: Dwelling in El Cuartel (Vitoncó). Note the pigs in front, the manner of storing wheat beneath the eaves of the house, and the supply of firewood.

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7tHernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

of manioc, arracacha, potatoes, beans, sweet maize, and pieces of meat. Meat is sometimes roasted. Maize, the staple, is made into tortillas or soup, or is roasted on the ear. Coffee, much of which is consumed, is roasted in a pottery vessel, ground, and made into an infusion sweetened with coarse sugar. 252 [272]

Kitchen utensils include pottery ollas and vessels, and a footless elliptical stone metate with a central concavity, which lies directly on the floor or is supported on sticks driven in the soil. Meat is kept smoked over the fireplace, and other food is stored on shelves of cane woven into the roof sticks or in hanging hemp bags or gourds. Each gourd has a broad half-gourd suspended above it, open side down, so that a rat descending from above slides off the gourd onto the floor. 415 251 [353] [825]

The first daily meal is taken at daybreak and consists of "mute." There is no noonday meal, but the evening repast resembles breakfast. Between meals, the Indians chew coca two or three times to sustain their strength and allay hunger. For refreshment and stimulation, they drink guarapo, carrying it to work in gourds. 264 [276] [273]

They cultivate pepper (ají) for a condiment, but purchase salt in the weekly market. The latter is so scarce that instead of mixing it with food they pass a lump around, each person licking it. Before the Conquest, three salt deposits were exploited in this territory, the most important being that near the modern municipality of Belalcázar or Páez. Here the local chief had the salt water boiled down to obtain blocks of salt, which he traded with other tribes for diverse products, or with which he bought help in his wars against the neighboring *Pijao*. Sometimes he permitted other *Páez* to exploit the deposit. Near the present-day Indian center of Ricaurte on the Ullucos River is another salt works that was much used in ancient times, but today is abandoned. Another source of salt was at Huila, where, during the Conquest, the Indians ambushed the Spaniards who sought it, and killed their horses. 317 263 [244] [439] [648]

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Each *Páez* and *Moguex* family has its own house, located on a point or flat place in the mountains some distance from its neighbors. The aboriginal house seems to have been rectangular, which still is the only form. It was so lightly constructed of cane and sticks with thatched roof that the Spanish soldiers during the foundation of San Vicente de Páez "carried some Indian houses to their barracks because they were small and suited to it" (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 9). Some distance from the dwelling, they always built a small woman's house. Under Spanish influence, some houses were divided into rooms, and built more solidly of "bahareque" construction, i. e., walls consisting of two faces of sticks with mud and rocks between (pl. 185). 342 [361] 177 342

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,V(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

342 [177] Some had wooden doors and windows, and were built with nails and wires, though most were still made with vegetable materials.

The modern *Moguex* house has two rooms. The main one, entered through a small door, serves as storeroom for goods to be sold, reception hall, dancing place, and a room in which to keep watch over the dead. The other is a pantry for provisions and drinks; here are kept kitchen utensils. In the center is the fireplace and around it dried cowhides or platform beds made of horizontal poles tied to stakes driven in the ground. One's neighbors aid him to build his house, transporting heavy timbers over light rollers and singing rhythmically as they heave together. If the owner of a new house is a man of means, he pays for a feast of benediction or consecration carried out with a Catholic priest, a godfather, and a godmother.

The *Páez* does all this and in addition puts some pieces of silver money under his house to assure his good fortune. In the main house he places the metate on stakes, and in a secondary house, the press for extracting wax from laurel, one or more troughs or hollowed trunks, and large jars for chicha and guarapo. From the roof frame hang bags, or "mochilas," of netted hemp for belongings. There is also a bamboo candlestick, the wooden feast drum, sometimes a tiple or small guitar, and, nailed to the wall, a spindle. Outside, the loom stands against the wall Beyond it is the sugarcane mill, which is made of a section of tree trunk with a hole above a projection on which the cane is pressed by hand with a rod which crosses the hole. Some mills consist of two or three wooden cylinders rotated by animal power.

In each maize field is a small, temporary house and a high platform where a watchman frightens the parrots and parakeets with periodic cries and motions.

Each *Páez* group today has its communally built pueblo, with "bahareque" buildings grouped around a rectangular plaza: a church, with its arched portico and small tower in imitation of Colonial architecture, a house for the priest, a school, and two or three large houses for meetings and fiestas, where they dance, sing, and sleep during fiesta days. But ordinarily, the people remain at their distant houses and fields, and do not live at the pueblo, the only permanent inhabitants of which are a few Whites and Mestizos.

ENGINEERING WORKS

The Spaniards found bridges which they described as "weak and flexible bridges of bamboo" and "bridges of vines." A territory so broken and crossed with so many rivers and canyons naturally stimulated the *Páez* in the construction of bridges and the laying out of roads. Today they make four kinds of bridges: (1) A simple vine or cable stretched across the river; (2) a kind of wooden stairs placed

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PLATE 185.—**Páez houses and bridge.** *Top (left):* Family dwelling with menstrual hut at left. San Andrés. *Bottom (right):* Páez Indians and house, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Top (right):* Large communal fiesta house, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Bottom (left):* Suspension bridge, Tierradentro. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942-A]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5# (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

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PLATE 187.—**Páez weaving and spinning.** *Top:* Woman spinning wool while walking, San Andrés, Tierradentro. *Bottom:* Men weaving straw hats. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 c]

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343 OUTBUILDINGS--description of domestic nonresidential buildings (e.g., cookhouses, latrines, menstrual lodges, bathhouses, granaries, barns, stables); special characteristics of each; construction; etc. See also:

Stables and stalls 231
Cookhouses 252
Boathouses 504
Latrines 514
Bathhouses 515
Menstrual lodges 841

In one case, however, in the house of
/115 cont./
596 Ezequiel Calliumbo, there were three married sons, besides three unmarried ones, all of whom cultivate the fields together. Ezequiel, who is about 60 years old, had ten children, of whom six sons are still living. The oldest son has three children, two of whom have died, the second eldest has four children, two of whom have died, and both the children of the third eldest are dead.

342 The normal houses (yat) are rectangular houses with a hip roof and, depending on their size, are divided into "large houses" (hatwála) and "small houses" (yatléčkwe) (Ills. 158 and 159 /see pp. 270 and 271 /). In accordance with its use the dwelling house specifically is called ōpyat (ōp = to live). The dimensions of the small houses vary between five to ten meters in length and
[345] three to five meters in width. The largest houses are up to 15 meters long and seven meters wide. These are primarily the
342 festival houses. As dwellings they differ from the small ones,
407 which represent by far the greatest proportion of all houses, not
249 only by their /116/ size, but above all by the fact that they have
352 the sugar mill (lapíče) /"Trapiche" (Sp.) in the glossary, p. 250 /, which is a feature of every house, in their interior. As a rule it stands in front of the house or a little to one side of it, normally covered with quantities of expressed sugar-cane stalks hung over it
● 343 to dry. Besides the sugar mill, a small menstruation hut (dúyat)
342 is required for any house to be complete; it may be absent only if the family erects a small field-hut (ēyatwá) in the middle of the field for a harvest period. In this case the women of the family living there go into the dúyat of another house. In no case may they remain in the dwelling during this period. The field hut and
[341] the small menstruation-hut are rectangular gable-roof houses in construction and, with the exception of the gable roof, of the same construction as the normal hip-roofed houses.

342 Every house has an annex (škídnyeyát) or at least a com-
273 partment for storing the chicha trough (kánoe). This trough is the
251 most important accessory of a Paez house, next to the sugar mill (Ill. 165 /see p. 273 /).

/116 cont./

343 In addition to these dwellings only a few houses have
[574] separate buildings, such as, for example, one or, if need be,
[513] two storehouses or a small house (yatléčkwe) in which friends
and neighbors sleep when they help the owner for days for the
251 joint work of expressing sugar cane or for the harvest. In the
343 storehouse (kotyāvyat: literally "maize storehouse") only maize
[262] and beans are stored, not wheat or garden produce. Fruit, yuca,
potatoes, and arracacha are not kept on hand or stored at all,
but always merely fetched as needed and eaten immediately.
Wheat is tied in bundles below the ears on stalks about 20 centimeters long and hung up under the roof above the fire. Maize and beans may be kept up to two years in the storehouse. For this purpose horizontal cross-sticks are fastened in it, over which the ears are hung, and racks consisting of maize stalks
[425] laid close together are constructed for the beans. These racks,
too, are hung up, if possible, or at least are fastened quite
high above the floor so that the mice (úńsa) cannot get to them.
[231] In addition, a cat (miš) is shut up in the storehouse, if one is
available. Stalls for the livestock are unknown.

34 In the middle of the village of Calderas, on community land, stand the church (iglésia), the community house (kabíldeyát), and the six festival houses of the six largest families (Ill. 147 /see p. 264 /). In their construction, they are likewise hip-roofed houses, but their walls are built in the manner of the colonists' houses, /117/ out of vertical posts, on the inside and outside of which bamboo poles or straight branches are tied horizontally. To strengthen the posts the interstices are filled with earth, clay, and, in the lower part, also with stones. The filling is spread smoothly and the wall whitewashed inside and
[373] out. Whereas light enters the other houses through the door and
the not very tightly sealed walls made of maize stalks placed side
by side, light can enter the above-mentioned houses consisting of
solid walls only through the relatively small door and the opening
of the roof ridge, which makes the interior rather dark.

/141 cont./

231 Every member of the family knows every head of its herd
233 of livestock, and the men every head of the large livestock of
422 the entire village. Nevertheless, marks of ownership are used, which, for the horses, consist of branding irons with the first initial of the owner, such as are used by the colonists and may be bought there. The cattle have as marks of ownership small cuts in their ears in the form of a triangle, square, or semicircle, or a corresponding piercing of the ears. Pigs and sheep have the same marks of ownership in their ears.

231 Sheep (pĩsa) are kept chiefly for their wool, though they
236 are also eaten. The total stock of the village, however, is so
[262] small that only every third family on the average owns one or
[422] two sheep. The other families must obtain the wool they need
[437] from the sheep owners in exchange for other things (see under "Trade and Transportation" /see p. 92 /). /142/ Pigs (čúče)
231 are greatly coveted because of their meat, but there are not
[422] enough of them so that every family can own one, only about every second family. Like all the other domestic animals, they roam about freely in the vicinity of the farmyard and must forage for their food. They are prevented from getting into the fenced fields by having a frame made of three sticks hung around their necks.

[343] Stalls for the animals or regular and special feeding or
[232] care are unknown. The owner puts rock salt in the pasture areas for the cattle and horses every Sunday. Occasionally scraps of arracacha or maize are thrown in front of the house for the pigs, which must then forage for them. Chickens (ãtaly; rooster =
235 atalyepĩtste, chick = atalyelũčkwe are now and then fed with maize or peck at the arracacha lying about in the dwelling. To feed baby chicks the woman chews some maize and spits out the
[685] mash for them. Every family has a few chickens, but their number does not grow large because foxes and neighbors are always
[422] stealing those wandering free. Hence the average figure remains
231 at only two to three chickens and a rooster per family. In many
262 houses guinea pigs (fits) run about, living on refuse from the kitchen and, when roasted, prized as a delicacy.

848 /178/ the cabildo until she names the father of her child. If he
623 is an unmarried young man, he must marry the girl. A married man, however, is beaten by the cabildo. He does not need to make support payments. It is different if a married man has no
842 children. In this case the wife is regarded in principle as the one
848 at fault. He may then have a child by an unmarried girl without
837 being punished. He simply explains to the cabildo that he has a
[623] great deal of property and that he therefore needs children whom he cannot have by his wife. To the mother of his natural child he gives a cow, clothing, and a pretty belt, and she then surrenders her child to the lawful wife of the father of her child. He may
[554] do this several times until he has enough children. This is not permitted, however, for a poor man without possessions, it was explained to me, for "why does he need children?"

844 At the time of menstruation and also at the birth of a child
841 the woman stays in a special small hut (dúyat). She receives her
[343] food either from her mother, sister, or a neighbor woman from a house in which several women live. This woman at the same time cooks for the members of the family of the menstruating woman. The members of the family of the woman who is temporarily cooking receive their meals from another female member of her family. The woman who takes care of the food also fetches the wood for the fire necessary for warmth in the dúyat. Female inhabitants of farms or of field huts used for only a few months, which have no
[758] dúyat, go to a neighboring or related family for this period. In case the housewife becomes ill, she moves into the house of one
[602] of her sisters or female relatives, where she is nursed. The male relatives of the sick woman must then likewise go to the house of this relative to eat.

614 Besides the patrilineal nuclear families, no recognized patrilineal kin-groups /Sippen/ are known among the Paez, but all who bear the same family name feel related and may not marry, even though they are not knowingly -- this knowledge goes back only two generations -- related. Our interpreter, Victoriano Piñakuẽ, for example, may not only not marry any girls with the patronymic Piñakuẽ, but also no girls whose mothers are named Piñakuẽ. Conditions are particularly difficult among the

In general
842 /184 cont./every girl desires a great
[581] many children, for this is the chief requirement for being married. Moreover, the percentage of barren women -- in childless marriages,
[162] they say, the fault is always the woman's -- is not small. According to inquiries, it comes to about 10 per cent. Men generally want boys; the women, girls, in order to have help in the house-
845 hold. Twin births are rare, but they are not regarded as anything special; rather, people are happy about them as they are about other children. Deformities at birth are said not to occur; however, I saw several persons with cleft palates. They seem to be ashamed of this, for in conversations with us they always held
847 their hands over their mouths. Infanticide does not occur. To
123 inquiries about this, there was always the completely horrified counterquestion as to whether that was the case in my country.
165 Overpopulation is not to be feared, even with a larger number
[163] of children -- the average is three to four living children per family -- since infant mortality comes to more than 50 per cent.
[164] Whooping cough is the most frequent cause of death among small children.

a) Birth and Childhood

843 The parents' concern for the child begins even before birth. The husband of a pregnant woman expecting her first child must sleep with her very frequently, for otherwise the child would be very weak. In the case of subsequent children this is no longer
[783] required so often after the beginning of pregnancy. The pregnant woman may not leave the house or eat pork for two months before the birth, since this causes "pest" and she would have stomach
[822] pains; this would be very detrimental to the child. For the same reason she may not eat beans and onions, and no fish because it comes from the cold element, water, and because a pregnant woman must not become cold.

843 According to one informant, the pregnant woman retires
● 343 to the menstruation hut (dúyat) two to three weeks before the
124 birth. During this time her mother or another female relative cooks for the family. According to another informant, the
000 /185/ woman does not retire to the dúyat until the birth. In any

/185 cont./ In any
844 case, the birth, which is always regarded as very dangerous, takes
[343] place there. As a matter of principle, a midwife (ndõsoknãs) is
[759] fetched. The latter, as the name implies, is not a shaman. She has nothing to do with shamanistic functions, but is qualified only for births or external injuries, such as broken bones or flesh wounds.

The midwife may not be an old woman. She is fetched before the birth by the husband of the pregnant woman and always comes. Several times I asked whether in an emergency a man or the mother could help, but it was always said that the midwife
[465] always comes, no matter how busy she is. For her assistance she receives only her meals, unless complications arise. In this case she receives wool or natural produce as remuneration for her help.

In principle, only the midwife and the woman in labor are in the dúyat. The latter is in a squatting position. With her hands she holds onto a belt that is slung around the roof beam of the dúyat. If there is no belt, the husband may also be present, and he then embraces his wife from behind and holds her in such a way that she is likewise in a squatting position. The midwife
845 receives the child. If its position is not normal, for example, in
844 case of a breech position of the child, she turns the child so that the head lies downward. If the child is still not born, the mother must die -- as was explained to us -- for then nothing further can be done. This only rarely happens, however.

844 The midwife brings along her medicinal herbs, with which she rubs the body of the woman in labor. The newborn child is first washed with cold water and then wrapped in a piece of ruana
[412] and given to the mother. The severing of the umbilical cord is not done with the knife or the scissors, but rather, after the umbili-
[824] cal cord (kolwát) is tied beforehand with a homespun wool thread, with the sharp-edged cane of a type of reed. The father may see his child immediately after birth; the mother, however, stays with the child approximately two weeks longer in the dúyat. The afterbirth (duyáha), together with the umbilical cord, is buried near the menstruation house. The father digs the hole for this
[856] purpose, and the mother throws both into it. The hole must not be too shallow, for otherwise the dogs would dig them out, but not too deep either, for then the child would not get its teeth until very late and only with great difficulty.

/186 cont./

with the guinea pigs. These ranchos give the impression of extreme poverty in their dwellings. None of them is of bahareque.

The second type of dwelling, which is more widespread and shows a larger number of foreign architectural elements, is the large rectangular house with a four-slope roof, 15 to 20 meters long by four or five meters wide, with one or two doors and two or three rooms, one of which takes up two-thirds of the space made, and the last third is subdivided into the room intended for the kitchen and the other for the chicha troughs and pantry. Not a few of the dwellings of this type have a compartment for menstruating women (du yate léchukue), although as a rule small huts are built outside the house for this purpose.

In this type of dwelling one commonly finds bahareque, sleeping platforms, plank doors, and sometimes whitewashed walls.

The settlement of Calderas is made up of this kind of dwelling. It consists of 14 houses scattered at random on a beautiful plateau of some 20 hectares, covered with pastures and crossed by drainage ditches that bring water to five of the houses, which are permanently occupied; the others, although they have owners, serve only for religious fiestas when the fiestero /fiesta leader/ moves there with his retinue of mayordomos, laborers, cooks, and the utensils for serving aguardiente, chicha, and food. These houses are spacious, 25 meters long by six meters wide; thick mud walls, with a plank door at the entrance; the enormous sala, fluhne wala, is 13 meters long; here stand the sugar mill, the metate (ûkukuat), the notched ladder for climbing to the garret, the pango pil, crudely hewn rectangular beams on which the men sit, one of which is 10 meters long; firewood is piled in one of the corners; the floor is of earth unevenly smoothed. The concentrations of people who visit the fiestero in a daily stream gather in these spacious salas; here music echoes, the albacero /fiestero's assistant/ is taken care of, the dances take place, the drunks sleep, and the sugar cane is milled.

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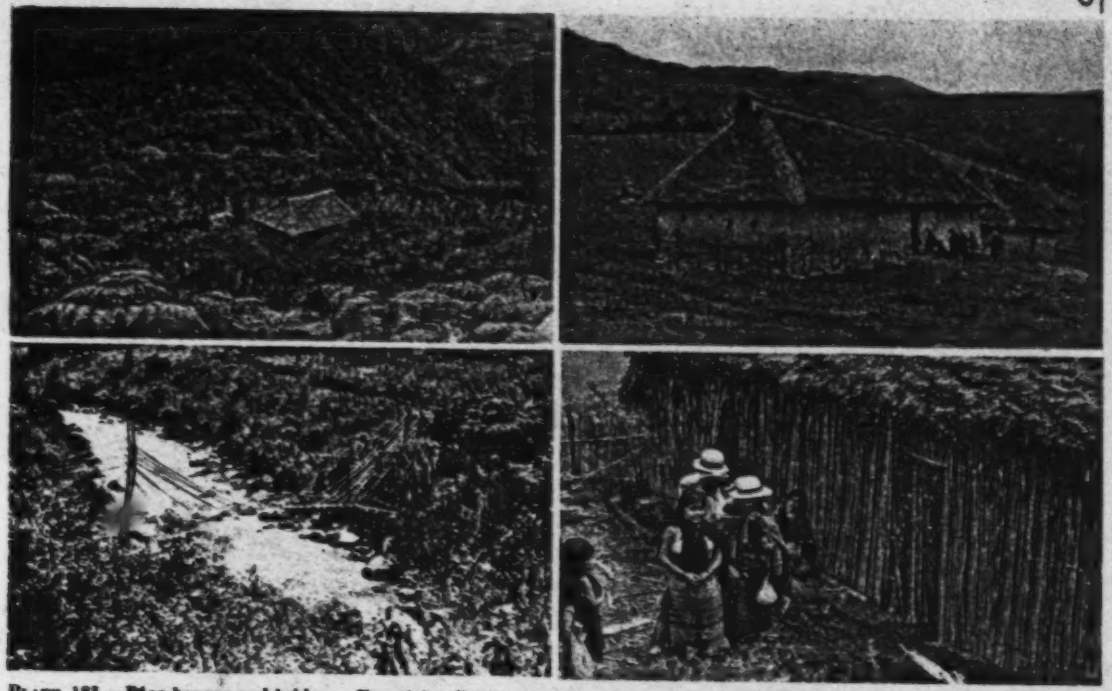

[p. 942-A]

PLATE 185.—**Páez houses and bridge.** *Top (left):* Family dwelling with menstrual hut at left. San Andrés. *Bottom (right):* *Páez* Indians and house, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Top (right):* Large communal fiesta house, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Bottom (left):* Suspension bridge, Tierradentro. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

The *Páez* family is completely under the authority of the father, whose wife and children obey him implicitly and may be punished by him. Nonetheless, the father must obtain his wife's permission to sell or exchange goods she produced, such as bags for coca, sashes, etc. Precise etiquette is maintained between fathers and godfathers (compadres). Whenever a man meets his father or his godfather, he must kneel to receive his blessing. The fathers and godfathers must embrace whenever they meet. In one case a young man was the godfather of his father's new son by another wife, so that in meeting his father the young man had to kneel bareheaded, and then stand with his hat on and embrace his father as a godparent. The father did not call him "son" but "compadre." 594 [425] 608 576

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—A very old custom among these peoples is that at childbirth the mother should retire to a special house or go to the mountains. If she was delivered in the home, she and the baby were bathed, and then the family left the hut and built a new one elsewhere. 844

Today both the *Moguex* and *Páez* have a special hut for childbirth. The day after the child is born, the mother is placed in a hole up to her head and bathed with an infusion of leaves of "moquita," after which she washes the clothes and objects worn during delivery. She then returns to work and lives again at home. In the special hut, a *Páez* woman is assisted in childbirth by another woman, or, as a last resort, by her husband, who must bathe immediately afterward. Two days later, the mother circumcises her son or destroys the virginity of her daughter. Four or five days after the birth and after the first bath, the father takes the child to the sacristan of the community for baptism with water, and then returns it to the mother. The afterbirth must be buried or burned at the place of the birth. About 15 days later, the mother takes a bath and washes her child and her clothes and objects, and returns home. Later, the child is baptized with oil in the church by the priest with the godparents present. This is an occasion for general dancing and drunkenness. 846 [757] [343] [844] [304] [851] [844] [851] [608]

Puberty.—At puberty a girl was formerly taken by her parents to a hill, placed in a hole, and bathed. Each Indian then took her a gift. Pittier de Fábrega (1907) notes that at a later period a girl's puberty was celebrated with the "Itsa-kó" dance, the girl, bathed with chicha, remaining in the hole. Today, a woman must retire during her menstrual periods to a special hut, where other women bring her food and build a fire to warm her. Afterward, she bathes, washes her clothes and objects, and then returns home. 881 [431] [535] 841 343

Men, until recently, underwent a sort of initiation, in which they were taken to the shores of the sacred lagoon of Juan Tama or to the 881

?:Hernández de Alba E-S,✓ (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

civilized tradesman, the Indian turns to drinking guarapo or chicha and becomes drunk. Often a heated discussion, always spoken in Spanish and not in *Páez*, leads to insults and perhaps to blows and injuries. A man's wife usually maneuvers him from the village and, if he falls asleep on the road, she sits by him warding off dangers.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political structure.—The *Moguex*, *Páez*, *Guanaca*, *Timaná*, and *Yalcón*, despite their great similarity in language and culture, formed separate groups at the time of the Conquest. Each was divided into several communities (parcialidades), of which those of the *Páez* were the most numerous. The *Guanaca* were split between two principal caciques, one of whom, Anabeima, joined the Spaniards against the *Páez* of Avirama. The other cacique was Esmisa, Anabeima's brother-in-law. Each *Páez* community had its own chief, but the communities were grouped into three great divisions. One consisted of the *Páez*, *Tálaga*, *Simurga*, and *Taravira*, on the shores of the Páez River. The chiefs of three of these groups were brothers; that of the fourth was their sister, whose name was Taravira. Another group was headed by Suin, and his son, Esmisa. In the third group, Avirama was joined by other neighboring chiefs of less importance.

Each community (cacicado) consisted of several polygynous families under a male chief (pl. 185, *top, left*). Each family had its own house, located some distance from its neighbor's. All the members of a community gathered for general work, and all or several of the communities united for war, either against the *Pijao*, their feared neighbors, or against the Spaniards.

The place of a cacique's residence was a sort of focal point and meeting place, and today most of such places are Indian villages with the same names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima (formerly Toboima), etc. The present *Páez* Indian reservation of Tierradentro is divided politically into two municipios—Páez or Belalcázar and Inzá—with 22 communities, each governed by its own councils (cabildos, of Colonial origin) and by the municipal authorities. The cabildo is elected annually. The Indians, however, are jealous defenders of their traditions, and insist on a captain and síndico, each with life tenure, to act as their own leaders and as true representatives of the cacique. Their duties are moral and fiscal and carry a certain divine authority, as they are inaugurated in the local church. The cabildo, on the other hand, has only administrative and police powers; it divides the land, orders work to be done, and executes the municipal orders. The members of a cabildo hold office for 1 year and receive no remuneration. They are elected on the first of December by all the male adults, or "macaneros," that is, the Indians who participate in the communal work according to a

In one case, however, in the house of
/115 cont./
596 Ezequiel Calliumbo, there were three married sons, besides three unmarried ones, all of whom cultivate the fields together. Ezequiel, who is about 60 years old, had ten children, of whom six sons are still living. The oldest son has three children, two of whom have died, the second eldest has four children, two of whom have died, and both the children of the third eldest are dead.

342 The normal houses (yat) are rectangular houses with a hip roof and, depending on their size, are divided into "large houses" (hatwála) and "small houses" (yatléčkwe) (Ills. 158 and 159 /see pp. 270 and 271 /). In accordance with its use the dwelling house specifically is called ōpyat (ōp = to live). The dimensions of the small houses vary between five to ten meters in length and
[345] three to five meters in width. The largest houses are up to 15 meters long and seven meters wide. These are primarily the
342 festival houses. As dwellings they differ from the small ones,
407 which represent by far the greatest proportion of all houses, not
249 only by their /116/ size, but above all by the fact that they have
352 the sugar mill (lapíče) /"Trapiche" (Sp.) in the glossary, p. 250 /, which is a feature of every house, in their interior. As a rule it stands in front of the house or a little to one side of it, normally covered with quantities of expressed sugar-cane stalks hung over it
343 to dry. Besides the sugar mill, a small menstruation hut (dűyat)
342 is required for any house to be complete; it may be absent only if the family erects a small field-hut (ēyatwá) in the middle of the field for a harvest period. In this case the women of the family living there go into the dűyat of another house. In no case may they remain in the dwelling during this period. The field hut and
[341] the small menstruation-hut are rectangular gable-roof houses in construction and, with the exception of the gable roof, of the same construction as the normal hip-roofed houses.

342 Every house has an annex (škídnyeyát) or at least a com-
273 partment for storing the chicha trough (kánoe). This trough is the
251 most important accessory of a Paez house, next to the sugar mill (Ill. 165 /see p. 273 /).

Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

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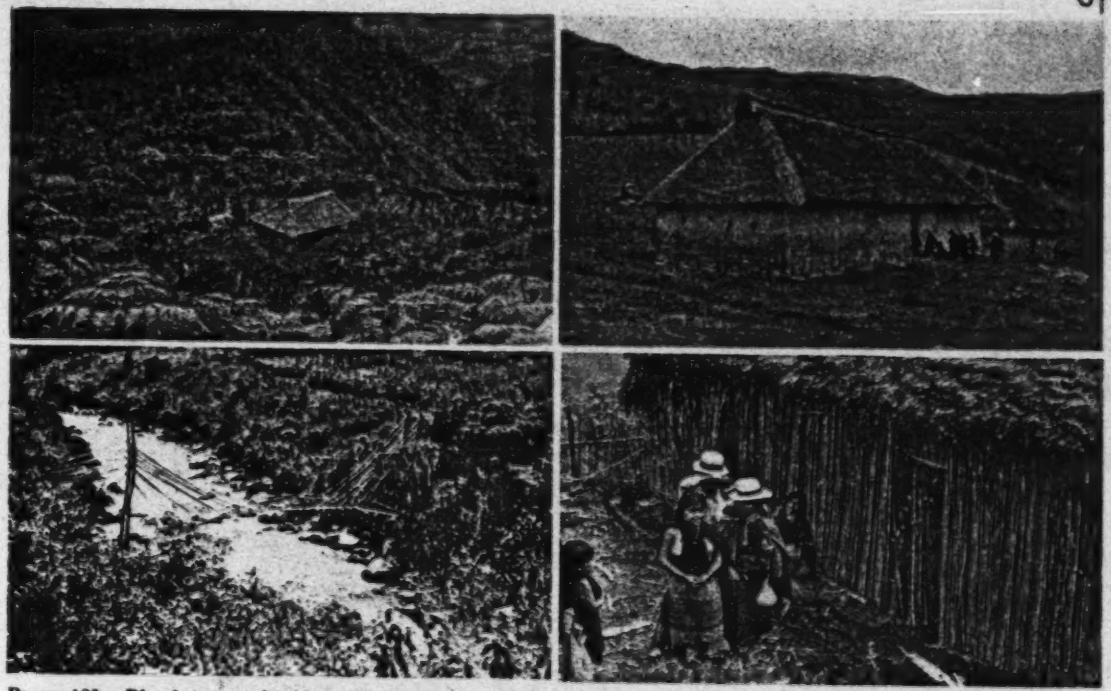

[p. 942-A]

PLATE 185.—**Páez houses and bridge.** *Top (left):* Family dwelling with menstrual hut at left. San Andrés. *Bottom (right):* *Páez* Indians and house, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Top (right):* Large communal fiesta house, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Bottom (left):* Suspension bridge, Tierradentro. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

/178 cont./

614 bearers of the name Guagáz, the old family whose members furnish the capitan and who numerically make up about a quarter of the village. The young men of this name do not always find their wives in Calderas. They /179/ must therefore often look for them in other villages, although in general this is preferably not done. Thus we have among the Paez exogamous kin-groups, that is, groups of persons of male descent, who, to be sure, live dispersed, but have a common festival house, and who cannot marry each other because of their same name. They lack the consciousness of being descended from the same ancestor, however. Similarly, there is neither a common kin-group chief, nor [162] special costumes, or any other common insignia. The bearers of [346] six family names, who together make up more than 60 per cent of the population, have festival houses on the village plaza, in each of which the bearers of the same name meet for the big annual festivals, Immaculada (December 8), Semana Santa (Easter), and San Juan (June 24), and eat and drink together. The other families, who have no festival house of their own, take part in the festival houses of friends' families.

[551] The six large families of Calderas are: Guagáz, Piñakuẽ, Petíns, Oléz, Oriága, Pechéne.

614 Within the kin groups, relatives play no role, but the god-
602 parents (padrino, madrina) do, and strict etiquette is observed with
608 respect to them. Boy or girl, man or woman who meet their god-
576 parents anywhere must kneel down to receive their blessing.

601 The kinship nomenclature is in part more differentiated than ours. The common form of address for father and child and mother and child and the differentiated address for older and younger siblings are striking. The designations for father and mother are differentiated according to whether one speaks of one's own or of foreign fathers and mothers. One's own father is táta, the foreign one néi; one's own mother is máma, the foreign one nihí. It does not matter whether a man or a woman is speaking in the following examples:

1: Nachtigall--260 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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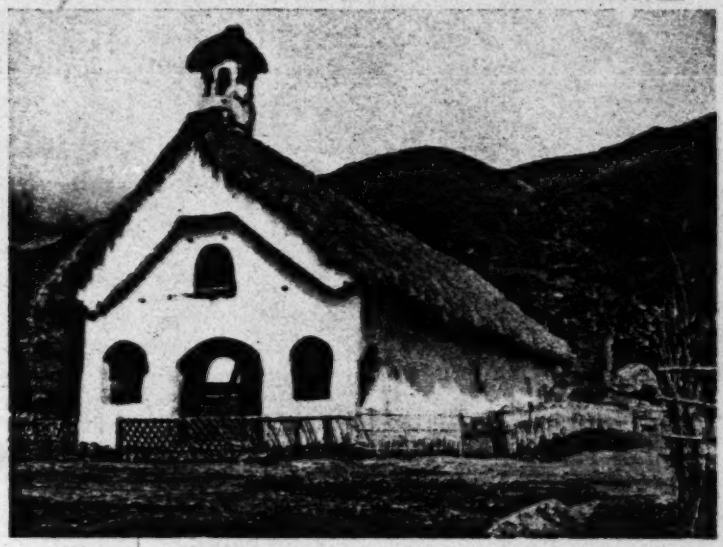

Ill. 3. Church of San Andrés

Ill. 4. Church of Santa Rosa.

1: Nachtigall--264 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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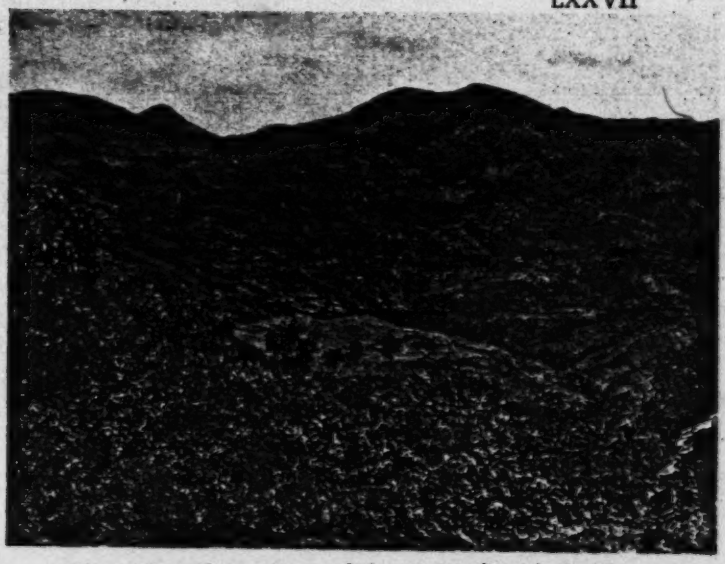

Ill. 146. The valley of the Kokiyó with Calderas.

[346]

Ill. 147. Calderas with church and festival houses.

/178 cont./

361 who have established coffee and sugar-cane plantations and
[563] cattle ranches. The natives occupy the steep and barren sec-
[177] tions.

[342] The pueblo of San Andrés consists of 23 bahareque houses /houses with walls made with two faces of sticks with mud and stone between them/ with thatched roofs. Only one is of brick and tiles. In its general lines the plan is reminiscent of that of Spanish centers: a central plaza with houses around it.

346 The church, which is large, thatched, and white, has a hand-
361 some façade, with a bell tower, arches and columns, a style reminiscent of colonial architecture; it stands in the center of the plaza and was built in the first decade of the nineteenth century by Padre Joaquín Núñez y Tobar. On its south side there stands a large, very old and dilapidated building where the school and the rectory functions; on the other sides it is surrounded by the colonists' houses.

366 There are two stores with a regular supply of merchandise, and on Wednesdays there is a small market where one beef, a few agricultural products, and chicha are sold.

133 Toward the end of the Pisimbalá valley are found the not
175 very extensive plateaus of Argentina and El Rodeo. El Rodeo has marked historical significance; for a long time it was called Segovia. In the spirit of conquest and colonization, the town of Nueva Segovia was founded there by Captain Hernando Arias Saavedra in accordance with the mandate of Governor Sancho Espinar, who in 1578 gave up these lands after his vainglorious campaign against the Paez. It was short-lived. On this same plateau Mosquera's rebellion against the government of Don Mariano Ospina Rodríguez was won by his spectacular victory over the government forces headed by
[317] General Joaquín París (1). In spite of this, the markets for

1. González, David. Los paeces /The Paez/, manuscript.

/186 cont./

with the guinea pigs. These ranchos give the impression of extreme poverty in their dwellings. None of them is of bahareque.

The second type of dwelling, which is more widespread and shows a larger number of foreign architectural elements, is the large rectangular house with a four-slope roof, 15 to 20 meters long by four or five meters wide, with one or two doors and two or three rooms, one of which takes up two-thirds of the space made, and the last third is subdivided into the room intended for the kitchen and the other for the chicha troughs and pantry. Not a few of the dwellings of this type have a compartment for menstruating women (du yate léchukue), although as a rule small huts are built outside the house for this purpose.

In this type of dwelling one commonly finds bahareque, sleeping platforms, plank doors, and sometimes whitewashed walls.

The settlement of Calderas is made up of this kind of dwelling. It consists of 14 houses scattered at random on a beautiful plateau of some 20 hectares, covered with pastures and crossed by drainage ditches that bring water to five of the houses, which are permanently occupied; the others, although they have owners, serve only for religious fiestas when the fiestero /fiesta leader/ moves there with his retinue of mayordomos, laborers, cooks, and the utensils for serving aguardiente, chicha, and food. These houses are spacious, 25 meters long by six meters wide; thick mud walls, with a plank door at the entrance; the enormous sala, fiuhne wala, is 13 meters long; here stand the sugar mill, the metate (ükukuat), the notched ladder for climbing to the garret, the pango pil, crudely hewn rectangular beams on which the men sit, one of which is 10 meters long; firewood is piled in one of the corners; the floor is of earth unevenly smoothed. The concentrations of people who visit the fiestero in a daily stream gather in these spacious salas; here music echoes, the albacero /fiestero's assistant/ is taken care of, the dances take place, the drunks sleep, and the sugar cane is milled.

/186 cont./

346 There are four other small rooms, five meters /187/ long
796 by three meters wide. Two of them are independent of each other, with their respective doors opening into the sala; one serves as a kitchen and the other to roast the maize griddle-cakes. At the other end of the house are the two other rooms, connected with each other by one door and with the sala by another. The workers sleep in one, and in the other are the troughs of chicha, the bottles of aguardiente, and the laurel candles.

342 The third type of dwelling, very scarce in Calderas, has
249 a square floor plan. It has the sala, two kitchens, and the du yate léchukue. Whatever type of dwelling a Paez family may own, they all have as an indispensable accessory the sugar mill,
[262] either inside the house or outside it. Actually, if it is kept in
[273] mind that the basic sustenance of the natives is provided by
[276] maize, cabbage, chicha, and coca, this instrument is indispensable.

342 In addition, each house is supplied with water, taken from
312 springs, streams, or falls, through the extremely skillful construction of ditches which skirt the valleys, hills, and slopes. Their lands have abundant water. They are not familiar with artesian wells.

342 In a way, the enormous salas in the houses of Calderas
177 represent the ramadas which are found among the whites,
249 mestizos, and acculturated Indians of San Andrés; they are built independently of the dwellings, with a sugar mill and an oven to boil down the cane juice and make panela. In this parcialidad, the panela industry is quite well developed. In Calderas it does not exist.

584 Among the Paez, land, marriage, family, and house form
583 a close and indissoluble unit. It lends warmth and meaning to
[183] a number of emotional, sentimental, and sociological complexes. This begins when the pubescent boy feels the need for a partner who will help him in his work and assuage to some extent the rigors of solitude. The love awakened by a dark, shapely maiden impels him to ask her parents for her. "Give my your daughter. I am alone and need help in my work,"

/190 cont./

372 cult of fire. In times past, fire was obtained with "steel and
773 tinder." Whatever the case may be, the mythical accounts

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372 disclose the usury of the owner of fire and anxiety when they were
773 on the verge of losing it. Nowadays, when through carelessness
[177] it goes out in a household, the matches of the whites are used to revive it.

513 The Indians go to bed early. At seven o'clock at night the
512 parents and the children lie down in a common bed on the dry hides of cattle, keeping on their bodies the clothes that covered

4:Bernal Villa--33 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

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415 men first and then women, and ending with the children of both
554 sexes. No one is left without a share.
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XII

The Cleaning of the Church

346 The so-called church of Calderas, a masonry structure, is a dilapidated old building, long and tall, with a two-slope thatched roof and a hemispherical bell tower supported by four beams set into the ridgepiece. Only the front of four columns with cornices and semicircular arches which form an antechamber lends the whole a certain charm.

346 What is called the cleaning of the church is the removal
794 of a few weeds that grow in the pavement in front of it and
796 clearing a line that encircles a small plaza. The task is minimal, but it is always performed. The act is symbolic more than anything else; what matters is the meeting of the fiesteros with their respective albaceros and laborers; an occasion for taking care of the albacero, an opportunity for merriment, talk, jokes, and even games.

Some 12 days before the fiesta and on a Thursday, accompanied by the cabildo, music, and firecrackers, the fiestero leaves his house and goes to occupy one in the pueblo. He takes /203/ along the bull that will be sacrificed on the following day. Two days later, that is to say, on Monday, the cleaning of the church is carried out. On rare occasions
[202] it is done on a Wednesday. The ringing of bells announces the invitation and later tells the people that the cleaning is over, whereupon they drink the two calabashes of chicha which each fiestero has brought; the firecrackers are set off; "the albacero has earned a meal," they say, and deserves the honors of the table. The fiestero will take care of him with

/203 cont./
346 meat and "mute," as well as more chicha and aguardiente.
794 After lunch the albacero goes home. There he waits for the
796 fiestero, who in the afternoon will bring him more chicha, more aguardiente, and more food.

796 A week after the cleaning of the church, the priest will
793 come to officiate at the religious ceremonies.

XIII

Instruments, Music and Dance

533 The musical groups of the Calderas people, true chirimías /a kind of orchestra/, are deservedly famous both for the number of the musicians and for the beauty of their interpretations. Many are soft and delicate, most of them sad tunes,
534 but there are joyous ones as well. The musical instruments are few.

The flute (kuvi), made of a reed some 70 centimeters long; it has seven holes made by burning: the one in the upper part which serves for blowing, and 35 centimeters farther down are found the others, which correspond to the fingers of the hands, at intervals of three centimeters apart. They distinguish two types of flutes: those that produce melodic sounds, kuvinéhuish (major flute) and those that produce low tones, kuvinuch (minor flute).

[281] The bass drum (kut), made with the skin from sheep, calf, goat, or deer, the hair of which has been removed by fermentation underground.

The tambourine, around the edge of which is put several pairs of movable circular pieces of tin which produce a rhythmic sound.

The side drum or snare drum and the triangle to mark the rhythm.

/210 cont./

796 Throughout all these actions, the music has not failed to
[533] sound, /211/ the ensemble of the albacero alternating with that of the fiestero. The tunes are joyous, the enthusiasm grows, and the bursts of firecrackers are frequent.

When everything has been consumed, the plates, kerchiefs, and pots are returned with mutual expressions of deep appreciation. The albacero invites the fiestero:

--"My brother: now let us go to my house. I have nothing to offer you, but what can we do."

--"Do not worry. I, too, am in the same situation as you."

They all remain in the house of the albacero until the ringing of the bells announces the hour of prayer. Very few attend, but the fiestero and albacero have an obligation to do so. The musicians go behind. The albacero sets in place the lamp which he exhibited at the greeting two hours earlier.

796 The lighting of the church is adequate. There are some
●346 72 candles, of which those on the altar are from the fiestero
373 and the remainder from the albacero. There are four hanging lamps of the type already described. On cross-pieces supported by vertical beams and placed so that one is close to the altar and another at the exit door, numerous candles are held in fresh clay, in the same manner as in the cornices of the walls.

796 The religious performances are accompanied by native
533 music; monorhythmic and sad tunes alternate with joyous airs.

XIX

Torches and Vacaloca

796 While at the house of the fiestero the men kill the beef
532 and make up the bundles of firewood and the women roast the maize cakes, in the house of the albacero the chirimía plays, chicha is drunk from gourd containers, the lamp is made, and

Hernández de Alba E-8/ (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15

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PLATE 191.—Páez markets in Tierradentro. *Top:* Market in Huila. *Bottom:* Selling chicha at San Andrés. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 G]

The house

/122 cont. /

356 is swept by the women every day with a broom (ctábando) con-
824 sisting of shrubs of the pšáňga plant. This plant at the same
[825] time drives away fleas. The rubbish is swept out of the house in such a way that even the entrance is clean.

351 All around the house and surrounding it at some distance
417 either a fence is erected or a ditch dug about one meter deep,
[231] within which the poultry and usually the pigs and sheep are kept.
[137] In Calderas, where, because of the low temperature, bamboo no longer grows, the fence is made of wood obtained from the
[313] natural growth when a piece of land is burned off. Stakes are driven vertically into the ground at intervals of about two meters and the interspaces filled with small tree trunks, branches, and twigs up to a good meter in length, lying horizontally. Climbing over this fence is done with notched tree trunks or bamboo stalks placed obliquely against the fence as a ladder. Similar notched tree trunks also serve as ladders in the houses (Ills. 168 and 154 /see pp.274 and 268 /).

514 There are no privies. On account of the isolation of the houses, however, it is never difficult for the Paez to find a place off in the brush or in the forest. We never found the paths
264 and the vicinity of the houses soiled with filth. The Paez showed
[412] the same tact in eating and at other gatherings. We never experienced smacking of lips or belching, even though their eating habits are somewhat crude, for, lacking spoons, they are in the habit of simply shoving their food from the plate into the mouth with the fingers.

/123/ 2. Clothing and Ornaments

291 The Paez today wear clothing covering their upper and lower bodies. In ancient times, according to the reports of chroniclers, some of them were said to have worn small cotton cloaks, although the majority of them "went about naked, even in the cold mountains" (cited by Hernandez, 1944, p. 191,
[302] from P. M. Rodriguez, 1684). They were also said to have painted their bodies with color and to have made imprints on them with

stamps,

000 /129 cont./
357 p.274 /). The same fencing with the same ladder construction
417 generally also surrounds the house gardens of the Paez farms. In case the houseowner has larger domestic animals, such as cows, horses, and sheep, a gate (puélta) consisting either of a regular lath door or a barrier of horizontal beams is built into
[824] the fence surrounding his house. In the villages of the civilized Paez, in the /130/ environs of which tree growth is inadequate for the construction of a wooden fence, bamboo is used for the vertical poles, and bundles of dry maize stalks for the horizontal parts.

241 The entire agriculture of the Paez is digging-stick culti-
412 vation (Ill. 172 /see p. 276/). Hoe culture was originally unknown. The house gardens, only recently laid out after the model of the colonists and in which European plants such as cabbage, cucumbers, and onions are cultivated, are turned over with the spade (pála). The digging stick (ãty) consists merely of a pointed tree-trunk or pole, though recently broad iron tips with
243 a socket are being put on the digging sticks more and more. Maize may be sowed throughout the year, but it is generally sowed in April when the rainy season begins. Several men always participate, making holes in the ground about one meter apart in every direction with the digging stick, and putting six to eight maize kernels into each hole. The holes are covered again with only very little earth with the foot, "so that the sprout can come out more easily." The ripening period of ten to 12 months is relatively long. After half a year the field is cleared of weeds once. The harvest period is spread out over approximately half a year, provided that sufficiently large amounts of maize were planted; and for this half
[262] year the people practically live "from the stalk." First the young maize (tsót; maize in general, kóty) is eaten half-ripe and only later are the ripe ears harvested and eaten. Every day the men or women go into the field with their bags made of agave fibers and break off only as much as is needed each time for the meal.

249 Whereas maize may be cultivated at all elevations in
[243] Calderas, sugar cane (nyũĩa) thrives only in the lower, protected localities of the Kokiyó Valley. Its ripening period of two to

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

They represent the primitive type of habitation, the agglomerations being the result of the efforts of the missionaries. 342 [177]

The villages are generally in the open grazing districts at the bottom of the valleys, on side plateaus, or on broad ridges. They are not compact in the common sense of the word, but consist of isolated groups of houses, the approximate common center of which is often indicated by the whitewashed thatch-roofed church (plate v). 361

The walls of the permanent houses are made of a kind of *bajareque*, i. e., a skeleton of canes filled in with clay. In the better homes the interior is divided into two or more rooms, usually very small, with a hearth in the middle; but oftener there are no interior partitions, the dwelling consisting of a single square apartment. In every case that came under my observation the interior was very untidy. 342 353 [354] [356]

The Indians openly objected to our entering their houses, hence I could gain only casual glimpses of their domiciles, the furnishing of which seems to be an imitation of that of the dwellings of the few Spanish people living among them or in the immediate neighborhood. 352 123 177

Outside the houses they generally have a cane-crusher of primitive type, with horizontal smooth cylinders moved by means of levers at each end. A loom and a grinding stone are also seen occasionally under an adjacent shelter (plates iv[1], and vi).[2] 407 286 412

There may often be seen, either about or inside the house, very large jars used as receptacles in the elaboration of the chicha. These utensils seem to be almost the only survival of the ancient earthenware industry. The smaller pottery vessels which were seen occasionally had been taken from old graves. 415 [192]

Each group of houses, in which several generations of a single family dwell, is surrounded by a small enclosed field, planted with sugar-cane, plantains, oranges and other fruits, and greens and roots of daily use. The garden enclosure is formed by a ditch, inside of which is a wooden fence or a stone wall, the latter often crowned by a hedge of maguey (*Furcræa*), lechero (*Euphorbia*), borrachero (*Solanum*), and other bushes. 351 [592] [247]

[1] [See plate facing P. 317 — Ana/st]

[2] [See plate facing P. 320 — Ana/st]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SG15

351 In this way an efficient protection is afforded against depreda-
[347] tions by cattle or sheep.

Construction of Bridges

491 The Paez Indians are very clever bridge builders and are often called considerable distances to employ their skill in this direction. I observed three different types of native bridges, two of which were entirely new to me. The more primitive one consists simply of a vine stretched across a river, and crossed by hanging and progressing with the hands and arms. The second type is a frail-looking bamboo structure, the base of which is an arch free in the air, or suspended somewhat like our suspension bridges (plates VII, 2). 1

The third type of bridge is a much more substantial structure,
491 built of heavy timbers apparently with an understanding of the
335 laws of gravity. On each side of the river a pair of strong beams are built into pillars of stonework, so that the weight upon the immured extremities counterbalances the free ends independently of the supports by which the latter are upheld. Thus solidly fixed, the two pairs are opposite each other with a more or less wide space between their extremities. To span this, the ends of both pairs are first connected by means of transverse ties, inserted between beams and props, the whole being solidly lashed together with vines. On these ties two more beams of sufficient length are laid, which serve to complete the span. The main structure of the bridge being thus formed, a heavy floor, generally of round stems, is laid over it, and the whole is protected by a roof of elaborate construction (plates VII, 1, and VIII). It is useless to say that not a single nail is used to unite the numerous parts of the structure, a vine called *Makuia* being exclusively used for this purpose.

491 We saw two of these large structures, one on the Paez river near Huila, the other on the Moras river, on the trail from Vitoncó to Mosoco. But we were informed that most of the larger rivers in Tolima and elsewhere in the Magdalena valley are bridged in the same way, and that Paez Indians are in frequent requisition elsewhere as bridge-builders.

1 [See Plate facing P. 323 — Analyst]

In one case, however, in the house of
/115 cont./
596 Ezequiel Calliumbo, there were three married sons, besides three unmarried ones, all of whom cultivate the fields together. Ezequiel, who is about 60 years old, had ten children, of whom six sons are still living. The oldest son has three children, two of whom have died, the second eldest has four children, two of whom have died, and both the children of the third eldest are dead.

342 The normal houses (yat) are rectangular houses with a hip roof and, depending on their size, are divided into "large houses" (hatwála) and "small houses" (yatléčkwe) (Ills. 158 and 159 /see pp. 270 and 271 /). In accordance with its use the dwelling house specifically is called ōpyat (ōp = to live). The dimensions of the small houses vary between five to ten meters in length and
[345] three to five meters in width. The largest houses are up to 15 meters long and seven meters wide. These are primarily the
342 festival houses. As dwellings they differ from the small ones,
407 which represent by far the greatest proportion of all houses, not
249 only by their /116/ size, but above all by the fact that they have
352 the sugar mill (lapíče) /"Trapiche" (Sp.) in the glossary, p. 250 /, which is a feature of every house, in their interior. As a rule it stands in front of the house or a little to one side of it, normally covered with quantities of expressed sugar-cane stalks hung over it
343 to dry. Besides the sugar mill, a small menstruation hut (dúyat)
342 is required for any house to be complete; it may be absent only if the family erects a small field-hut (ēyatwá) in the middle of the field for a harvest period. In this case the women of the family living there go into the dúyat of another house. In no case may they remain in the dwelling during this period. The field hut and
[341] the small menstruation-hut are rectangular gable-roof houses in construction and, with the exception of the gable roof, of the same construction as the normal hip-roofed houses.

342 Every house has an annex (škídnyeyát) or at least a com-
273 partment for storing the chicha trough (kánoe). This trough is the
251 most important accessory of a Paez house, next to the sugar mill (Ill. 165 /see p. 273 /).

000 /120 cont./

354 the simplest possible form. Three rocks provide the lateral sup-
415 port or stand for the pots, of which there are two at most, a
metal one, usually of aluminum, and an earthen one. Very
poor families have only one earthen pot, which is relatively
[417] cheap to buy. The earthen pot cannot be hung up; it is set
between the three fire-stones in such a way that it cannot tip
over, whereas the aluminum pot is hung by its handle on a soot-
covered, angled stick that hangs down from the ridge (Ill. 166
● 352 /see p. 273/). Above the fire area there hangs a frame made
[251] of maize canes and about one square meter in size, on which
[353] household utensils and, above all, the rock salt for salting food
are stored, airy and dry. Tables, chairs, or stools of any kind
[237] are unknown. One generally sits on the hairy side of an un-
[513] tanned and hence board-stiff cowhide, on which one also /121/
sleeps, or one sits on a beam, a block of wood, or a stone. Paez
[177] who have seen house furnishings in Inzá or in the dwellings of white
colonists have sometimes built for themselves as a bed a sort
of bench 30-50 centimeters high, consisting of sticks or reeds
[513] laid side by side. For sleeping the customary cowhide is spread
on it. These sleeping benches are not used for sitting.

342 The nights in Calderas are generally quite cool, and
362 the light construction of the walls with cracks between the in-
132 dividual maize stalks does not in any way prevent the cold wind
from coming in. In a few houses, near the sleeping area, I saw
the walls sealed by means of expressed sugar-cane piled up
462 horizontally. For sleeping, the members of the family lie down
[354] in a circle around the fire area, where the fire must be kept going
[513] all through the night. This, like all housework, is the task of
the woman, who must gather sufficient fuel beforehand and get up
every two hours during the night to stir up the fire. Furthermore,
[264] she must get up an hour earlier in the morning in order to have
the first meal, which is eaten around five o'clock, sometimes
[461] even at four o'clock, prepared on time. In spite of this, the
men think that they are the ones who do the hardest work and that
basically they are the only ones in the village who really work.

/121 cont./

372 In case the fire should go out, which happens very rarely, the men, if they have no matches, know how to make fire by striking the blade of the iron machete with a stone and catching the sparks in the dry tinder of expressed sugar-cane. To fan this or a dying fire the hat is used as a fire fan, instead of a special fan. A few times I also saw a reed tube (yotá) about 50 centimeters long, which is blown into with the mouth and which thus acts like a bellows.

352 Infants do not as a rule sleep on the floor, but in ham-
[854] mocks (máka), which, however, as the name indicates, were
[513] not originally Paez. Nevertheless all the men know how to
[286] make them out of agave fibers, which is done with the same knotting technique as in the manufacture of nets for bird hunting.
415 Moreover, a few bags (yáha) made of agave fibers, which con-
[286] tain beans, maize, or other supplies, hang on the wall posts.
[353] Arracacha lies on the floor. For drinking chicha, which is allowed
[273] to ferment in large, hollowed-out tree troughs, calabashes (tóka) are used, but they are plain and undecorated. Cracked calabashes are sewed with a waxed agave thread (Fig. 25 /see
[249] p.253/). The calabash gourd is grown in the house garden /122/
412 of every family; its meat is inedible. Furthermore, an oval or
352 rectangular grindstone on which maize is ground with a smaller hand-stone is found in every household. It usually lies on the floor in a corner of the house, but sometimes it is set about one meter high on two forked posts.

412 Meals are taken with wooden spoons (todsá'tc) off of
415 wooden plates (bič), which are carved by the Paez themselves
264 (Fig. 27 /see p. 253 /). Aluminum or enamel bowls were rarely
[322] encountered in Calderas. Plates and mugs of aluminum were
[177] therefore always coveted gift articles, along with kitchen knives, needles, safety pins, matches, and salt.

356 Cleanliness within the house is surprisingly great, consider-
515 ing that the Paez wash their bodies but seldom and their hands only when they are "very dirty." This is the case when a person has been working in a burned field and has cleared away the
000 sooty, burned tree trunks and the burned underbrush. The house

/CXXI cont./

Plate LXXXV

100 Ill. 161. Framework of a house.

Ill. 162. Dwelling of the civilized Paez being built. The walls are filled with earth to the thickness of a post.

Ill. 163 and 164. Construction details of a Paez house.

Plate LXXXVI

Ill. 165. House annex with the chicha trough. In front of the man's stomach hangs the colorfully patterned coca pouch. Married women wear their hair plaited in a braid.

[585]
[302]

[352] Ill. 166. The interior of a Paez house. Tables, benches, and beds are lacking. At night they sleep on the floor around the hearth made of three field stones.

[513]
[354]

Plate LXXXVII

Ill. 167. House garden of the Paez with bananas, sugar cane, and yuca.

[417] Ill. 168. Maize field with fence. A notched tree-trunk serves as ladder.

Plate LXXXVIII

Ill. 169. Portion of a field readied for burning. The tree growth has been cut off at hip height.

Ill. 170. Land used by the village, with black surfaces of the fields burned off in preparation for sowing.

Plate LXXXIX

[241] Ill. 171. Paez burning felled trees. The ashes serve as fertilizer.

Ill. 172. Men setting out sugar-cane shoots with the digging stick.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

They represent the primitive type of
habitation, the agglomerations being the result of the efforts of 342
the missionaries. [177]

The villages are generally in the open grazing districts at the 361
bottom of the valleys, on side plateaus, or on broad ridges. They are not compact in the common sense of the word, but consist of isolated groups of houses, the approximate common center of which is often indicated by the whitewashed thatch-roofed church (plate v).

The walls of the permanent houses are made of a kind of 342
bajareque, i. e., a skeleton of canes filled in with clay. In the 353
better homes the interior is divided into two or more rooms, usually very small, with a hearth in the middle; but oftener [354]
there are no interior partitions, the dwelling consisting of a single square apartment. In every case that came under my [356]
observation the interior was very untidy.

The Indians openly objected to our entering their houses, 352
hence I could gain only casual glimpses of their domiciles, the 123
furnishing of which seems to be an imitation of that of the 177
dwellings of the few Spanish people living among them or in the immediate neighborhood.

Outside the houses they generally have a cane-crusher of 407
primitive type, with horizontal smooth cylinders moved by means of levers at each end. A loom and a grinding stone are 286
also seen occasionally under an adjacent shelter (plates IV,[1] 412
and VI).[2]

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very large jars used as receptacles in the elaboration of the chicha. These utensils seem to be almost the only survival of the ancient earthenware industry. The smaller pottery vessels
which were seen occasionally had been taken from old graves. [192]

Each group of houses, in which several generations of a 351
single family dwell, is surrounded by a small enclosed field, [592]
planted with sugar-cane, plantains, oranges and other fruits, and greens and roots of daily use. The garden enclosure is formed by a ditch, inside of which is a wooden fence or a stone wall, the latter often crowned by a hedge of maguey (*Furcræa*), [247]
lechero (*Euphorbia*), borrachero (*Solanum*), and other bushes.

[1] [See plate facing P. 317 — Analyst]
[2] [See plate facing P. 320 — Analyst]

/185 cont./

342 house-plan, the use of nails, plank doors, and even locks and
177 keys to safeguard the dwelling; likewise, whitewashing is not unknown.

342
516

342 The rectangular hut is the most primitive type of dwelling:
352 tiny and light, crude and totally artless; a two-slope roof, walls
353 of stalks laced together with an /186/ entrance door; an earthen
23/ floor; a kitchen in the center, with hides all around it; pouches suspended from the posts; on a three-legged beam, the grinding stone; a smoke-blackened interior; and living intimately with the guinea pigs.

/186 cont./

with the guinea pigs. These ranchos give the impression of extreme poverty in their dwellings. None of them is of bahareque.

The second type of dwelling, which is more widespread and shows a larger number of foreign architectural elements, is the large rectangular house with a four-slope roof, 15 to 20 meters long by four or five meters wide, with one or two doors and two or three rooms, one of which takes up two-thirds of the space made, and the last third is subdivided into the room intended for the kitchen and the other for the chicha troughs and pantry. Not a few of the dwellings of this type have a compartment for menstruating women (du yate léchukue), although as a rule small huts are built outside the house for this purpose.

In this type of dwelling one commonly finds bahareque, sleeping platforms, plank doors, and sometimes whitewashed walls.

The settlement of Calderas is made up of this kind of dwelling. It consists of 14 houses scattered at random on a beautiful plateau of some 20 hectares, covered with pastures and crossed by drainage ditches that bring water to five of the houses, which are permanently occupied; the others, although they have owners, serve only for religious fiestas when the fiestero /fiesta leader/ moves there with his retinue of mayordomos, laborers, cooks, and the utensils for serving aguardiente, chicha, and food. These houses are spacious, 25 meters long by six meters wide; thick mud walls, with a plank door at the entrance; the enormous sala, fluhne wala, is 13 meters long; here stand the sugar mill, the metate (ûkukuat), the notched ladder for climbing to the garret, the pango pil, crudely hewn rectangular beams on which the men sit, one of which is 10 meters long; firewood is piled in one of the corners; the floor is of earth unevenly smoothed. The concentrations of people who visit the fiestero in a daily stream gather in these spacious salas; here music echoes, the albacero /fiestero's assistant/ is taken care of, the dances take place, the drunks sleep, and the sugar cane is milled.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,V(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

342 [177] Some had wooden doors and windows, and were built with nails and wires, though most were still made with vegetable materials.

The modern *Moguex* house has two rooms. The main one, entered through a small door, serves as storeroom for goods to be sold, reception hall, dancing place, and a room in which to keep watch over the dead. The other is a pantry for provisions and drinks; here are kept [354] kitchen utensils. In the center is the fireplace and around it dried [352] cowhides or platform beds made of horizontal poles tied to stakes [476] driven in the ground. One's neighbors aid him to build his house, [461] transporting heavy timbers over light rollers and singing rhythmically as they heave together. If the owner of a new house is a man of [554] means, he pays for a feast of benediction or consecration carried out [778] with a Catholic priest, a godfather, and a godmother.

The *Páez* does all this and in addition puts some pieces of silver 352 money under his house to assure his good fortune. In the main house [415] he places the metate on stakes, and in a secondary house, the press [353] for extracting wax from laurel, one or more troughs or hollowed trunks, [354] and large jars for chicha and guarapo. From the roof frame hang bags, [524] or "mochilas," of netted hemp for belongings. There is also a bamboo candlestick, the wooden feast drum, sometimes a tiple or small [283] guitar, and, nailed to the wall, a spindle. Outside, the loom stands 404 against the wall Beyond it is the sugarcane mill, which is made of 286 a section of tree trunk with a hole above a projection on which the 249 cane is pressed by hand with a rod which crosses the hole. Some mills consist of two or three wooden cylinders rotated by animal power.

243 In each maize field is a small, temporary house and a high platform 342 where a watchman frightens the parrots and parakeets with periodic cries and motions.

Each *Páez* group today has its communally built pueblo, with 177 "bahareque" buildings grouped around a rectangular plaza: a church, 361 with its arched portico and small tower in imitation of Colonial architecture, a house for the priest, a school, and two or three large houses for meetings and fiestas, where they dance, sing, and sleep during fiesta days. But ordinarily, the people remain at their distant houses and fields, and do not live at the pueblo, the only permanent inhabitants of which are a few Whites and Mestizos.

ENGINEERING WORKS

491 The Spaniards found bridges which they described as "weak and 499 flexible bridges of bamboo" and "bridges of vines." A territory so broken and crossed with so many rivers and canyons naturally stimulated the *Páez* in the construction of bridges and the laying out of roads. Today they make four kinds of bridges: (1) A simple vine or cable stretched across the river; (2) a kind of wooden stairs placed

000 /120 cont./

354 the simplest possible form. Three rocks provide the lateral sup-
415 port or stand for the pots, of which there are two at most, a
metal one, usually of aluminum, and an earthen one. Very
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[417] cheap to buy. The earthen pot cannot be hung up; it is set
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352 /see p. 273/). Above the fire area there hangs a frame made
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/121 cont./

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[273] to ferment in large, hollowed-out tree troughs, calabashes (tóka) are used, but they are plain and undecorated. Cracked cala-
[249] bashes are sewed with a waxed agave thread (Fig. 25 /see p.253 /). The calabash gourd is grown in the house garden /122/
412 of every family; its meat is inedible. Furthermore, an oval or
352 rectangular grindstone on which maize is ground with a smaller hand-stone is found in every household. It usually lies on the floor in a corner of the house, but sometimes it is set about one meter high on two forked posts.

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000 sooty, burned tree trunks and the burned underbrush. The house

000 /133 cont./

264 food and bean leaves as the worst. They eat together. The
[415] family sits around the fire and the woman serves. They do not,
[412] however, eat out of the large cooking pot, which is usually of clay, though sometimes of aluminum, but rather the soup is dipped out with a wooden ladle into shallow bowls, from one of which the men, that is to say, the father and sons, eat, and the mother, daughters, and small children eat out of another one.
[263] Above the fire area a few small pieces of rock salt hang in a
[353] small pouch or lie on a rack and are used to salt the food after it is cooked. To do this each one takes the piece of salt and holds it or puts it in his plate until the soup is sufficiently salted.

252 In the following, a few dishes: 1) maize flour, ground
262 on the oval or rectangular grindstone with a hand-stone, is cooked with beans and cabbage; 2) vegetable bananas with beans and arracacha; 3) green ears of maize with beans (wood ashes are added to every maize dish, in order to make the maize tender more quickly); 4) green ears of maize with white cabbage; 5) white cabbage, arracacha, and potatoes; 6) beans and vegetable bananas; 7) only beans and maize flour; 8) arracacha and beans. Eggs are either boiled hard in the shell in a pot, or the egg is beaten with a spoon in a dish, water and onions are added, and
[415] the whole is cooked. All foods are cooked in a large pot as soup; only ears of maize roasted in a bowl /Schale, "bowl, shell, husk"/ (wâts; Spanish arepa) are an exception. Meat is only boiled, never roasted; they eat the meat of cattle, sheep, and pigs, as well as poultry and guinea pigs, but not horse meat. If horses die, the carcasses are devoured by dogs.

/134/ c) Means of Enjoyment

273 The two most important pleasures for the Paez, as for the
276 cultures of the entire Andean area, are coca and chicha. Tobacco plays a subordinate role.

1: Nachtigall--273 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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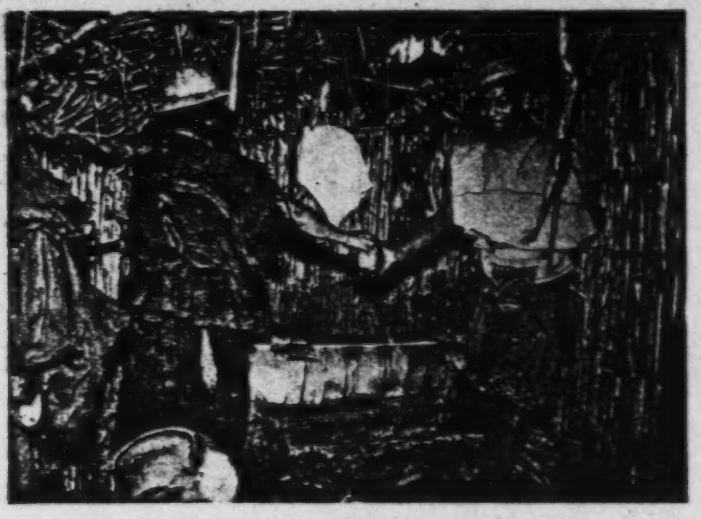

Ill. 165. House annex with the chicha trough.

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Ill. 166. Interior of a Paez house.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

They represent the primitive type of
habitation, the agglomerations being the result of the efforts of the missionaries. 342 [177]

The villages are generally in the open grazing districts at the bottom of the valleys, on side plateaus, or on broad ridges. They are not compact in the common sense of the word, but consist of isolated groups of houses, the approximate common center of which is often indicated by the whitewashed thatch-roofed church (plate v). 361

The walls of the permanent houses are made of a kind of *bajareque*, i. e., a skeleton of canes filled in with clay. In the better homes the interior is divided into two or more rooms, usually very small, with a hearth in the middle; but oftener there are no interior partitions, the dwelling consisting of a single square apartment. In every case that came under my observation the interior was very untidy. 342 353 [354] [356]

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Outside the houses they generally have a cane-crusher of primitive type, with horizontal smooth cylinders moved by means of levers at each end. A loom and a grinding stone are also seen occasionally under an adjacent shelter (plates iv,[1] and vi).[2] 407 286 412

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1 [See plate facing P. 317 — Analyst]
2 [See plate facing P. 320 — Analyst]

/185 cont./

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/332 cont./

476 From the data on the mingas in the three parcialidades,
184 we see that on the whole they have similar rules. But in Mosoco there is already a modified procedure, both in the rewards and in the form of the work. In San Andrés, Calderas, and Lame, a minga is relatively cheaper than paying wages, since they actually buy only salt and coca, when they do not cultivate it on their own fincas.

Communal tasks

476 Among the Páez there is another type of co-operative labor
651 different from the system of the mingas. It might be called communal work, and it pertains basically to the execution of tasks for the common welfare, such as, for example, the construction and maintenance of the roads, bridges, public buildings (schools, church, rectory, house of the cabildo) and the cultivation of the clearing of the saint.

To this end, the cabildo calls upon all the able-bodied men in the parcialidad, who come supplied with their respective rations of coca and work tools.

The execution of the works of communal interest is a duty of every member of the parcialidad, and anyone who refuses to lend his aid is punished by the cabildo and often taken before the Colombian authorities. The greater or lesser effectiveness of this obligation naturally depends on the moral authority of the members of the cabildo and, above all, of the Capitán of the parcialidad. In many parcialidades, the members openly refuse to give their share of labor, and in such cases the roads and public buildings are in precarious condition.

/333/

Foresight and storage

487 In all of the native dwellings there are frames plaited with
● 353 rods and vines above the hearth and also at what we might call
251 the open ceiling. The ones of the fireplace are suspended, while the others rest on the braces or crosspieces that give strength to the walls of the house. This already clearly indicates to us that the natives have foresight. On these frames there are ears of maize tied by their own husks, bundles of wheat, and

/333 cont./

417 bags full of frijoles, which are also suspended from the wall
353 posts. This is also where the grains (lumps) of salt are kept.
251 The amounts kept for the months of scarcity are not sufficient, but there are other comestibles that help them: domestic ani-
[244] mals, cabbages, onions, sugar cane, and coca. In Lame and Mosoco they cultivate a plant which they call ijuca de pijao. It
[464] is an edible discoria /Dioscorea/. We have also seen that want is avoided by going to work as laborers on the fincas of the "whites."

[263] Meat is also kept on the frame above the hearth. They utilize the smoke to preserve it. Salt is not used for this purpose.

251 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José, where large quantities of wheat are planted, one frequently finds under the eaves of thatched houses bundles of wheat that remain hanging for several months. In this way they preserve it from the attacks of small rodents, and the grain is of excellent quality because it dries out thoroughly.

261 During times of scarcity, the natives do not seek solace in
273 religion. Actually, their defense is in the sale of their own work-
276 ing capacity for a small daily wage, a few eggs of coca, and
[771] food. It should be noted that guarapo and coca are splendid
[464] sedatives against the pangs of hunger. It is curious that one of the
[465] most noted religious fiestas of Calderas is held precisely during a time of scarcity. Large quantities of guarapo are consumed for nearly a month.

Provision of water and firewood

312 In Tierradentro the rainfall is relatively high. As a result, water abounds in small and /334/ large watercourses. This geographical factor leads the natives to bring the water close to their homes by means of a system of drainage ditches that are true engineering works. The distances that have to be faced or the accidents of the terrain make no difference. When necessary,
[177] they use bamboo tubes as artificial channels. This system has been adopted by the "whites" and even by the towns. Since the high parts on both margins of the Paez River are bare of vegetation,

7tHernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

of manioc, arracacha, potatoes, beans, sweet maize, and pieces of meat. Meat is sometimes roasted. Maize, the staple, is made into tortillas or soup, or is roasted on the ear. Coffee, much of which is consumed, is roasted in a pottery vessel, ground, and made into an infusion sweetened with coarse sugar. 252 [272]

Kitchen utensils include pottery ollas and vessels, and a footless elliptical stone metate with a central concavity, which lies directly on the floor or is supported on sticks driven in the soil. Meat is kept smoked over the fireplace, and other food is stored on shelves of cane woven into the roof sticks or in hanging hemp bags or gourds. Each gourd has a broad half-gourd suspended above it, open side down, so that a rat descending from above slides off the gourd onto the floor. 415 251 [353] [825]

The first daily meal is taken at daybreak and consists of "mute." There is no noonday meal, but the evening repast resembles breakfast. Between meals, the Indians chew coca two or three times to sustain their strength and allay hunger. For refreshment and stimulation, they drink guarapo, carrying it to work in gourds. 264 [276] [273]

They cultivate pepper (ají) for a condiment, but purchase salt in the weekly market. The latter is so scarce that instead of mixing it with food they pass a lump around, each person licking it. Before the Conquest, three salt deposits were exploited in this territory, the most important being that near the modern municipality of Belalcázar or Páez. Here the local chief had the salt water boiled down to obtain blocks of salt, which he traded with other tribes for diverse products, or with which he bought help in his wars against the neighboring *Pijao*. Sometimes he permitted other *Páez* to exploit the deposit. Near the present-day Indian center of Ricaurte on the Ullucos River is another salt works that was much used in ancient times, but today is abandoned. Another source of salt was at Huila, where, during the Conquest, the Indians ambushed the Spaniards who sought it, and killed their horses. 317 263 [244] [439] [648]

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Each *Páez* and *Moguex* family has its own house, located on a point or flat place in the mountains some distance from its neighbors. The aboriginal house seems to have been rectangular, which still is the only form. It was so lightly constructed of cane and sticks with thatched roof that the Spanish soldiers during the foundation of San Vicente de Páez "carried some Indian houses to their barracks because they were small and suited to it" (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 9). Some distance from the dwelling, they always built a small woman's house. Under Spanish influence, some houses were divided into rooms, and built more solidly of "bahareque" construction, i. e., walls consisting of two faces of sticks with mud and rocks between (pl. 185). 342 [361] 177 342

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,V(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

342 [177] Some had wooden doors and windows, and were built with nails and wires, though most were still made with vegetable materials.

The modern *Moguex* house has two rooms. The main one, entered through a small door, serves as storeroom for goods to be sold, reception hall, dancing place, and a room in which to keep watch over the dead. The other is a pantry for provisions and drinks; here are kept [354] kitchen utensils. In the center is the fireplace and around it dried [352] cowhides or platform beds made of horizontal poles tied to stakes [476] driven in the ground. One's neighbors aid him to build his house, [461] transporting heavy timbers over light rollers and singing rhythmically as they heave together. If the owner of a new house is a man of [554] means, he pays for a feast of benediction or consecration carried out [778] with a Catholic priest, a godfather, and a godmother.

The *Páez* does all this and in addition puts some pieces of silver 352 money under his house to assure his good fortune. In the main house [415] he places the metate on stakes, and in a secondary house, the press [353] for extracting wax from laurel, one or more troughs or hollowed trunks, [354] and large jars for chicha and guarapo. From the roof frame hang bags, [524] or "mochilas," of netted hemp for belongings. There is also a bamboo candlestick, the wooden feast drum, sometimes a tiple or small [283] guitar, and, nailed to the wall, a spindle. Outside, the loom stands 404 against the wall Beyond it is the sugarcane mill, which is made of 286 a section of tree trunk with a hole above a projection on which the 249 cane is pressed by hand with a rod which crosses the hole. Some mills consist of two or three wooden cylinders rotated by animal power.

In each maize field is a small, temporary house and a high platform 243 where a watchman frightens the parrots and parakeets with periodic 342 cries and motions.

Each *Páez* group today has its communally built pueblo, with 177 "bahareque" buildings grouped around a rectangular plaza: a church, 361 with its arched portico and small tower in imitation of Colonial architecture, a house for the priest, a school, and two or three large houses for meetings and fiestas, where they dance, sing, and sleep during fiesta days. But ordinarily, the people remain at their distant houses and fields, and do not live at the pueblo, the only permanent inhabitants of which are a few Whites and Mestizos.

ENGINEERING WORKS

491 The Spaniards found bridges which they described as "weak and 499 flexible bridges of bamboo" and "bridges of vines." A territory so broken and crossed with so many rivers and canyons naturally stimulated the *Páez* in the construction of bridges and the laying out of roads. Today they make four kinds of bridges: (1) A simple vine or cable stretched across the river; (2) a kind of wooden stairs placed

/119 cont./

574 would ever enter a house whose occupants were not present. We
576 never succeeded in persuading Victoriano to enter an empty house, although he knew that we were always greatly interested in learning about the interior of houses and their furnishings.

342 The door of the house is only in rare cases a wide board which at the top and bottom on one side runs out into two pegs which turn in a socket, one in the threshold and one in the door-frame. The entrance is generally constructed in the same fashion as the wall (īnd), which /120/ consists of vertical maize stalks placed next to one another as closely as possible and lashed by means of bast or a liana to one another and to two horizontal maize stalks. The latter always reach from side post to side post. At the place for the door, the rigid wall is interrupted, and the vertically placed maize stalks, only loosely bound with bast, may be shoved a little to one side, whereby they drag along the ground (Ill. 158 /see p. 270/).

[231] Dogs, cats, and chickens are kept in the houses, but not pigs, which live out of doors all the time, exactly like the cows, horses, and sheep.

c) Household Implements

Generally the house has only one division into two rooms, the smaller of which is the kitchen, living room, and bedroom, the larger serving as storage and supply room. The wall between these two rooms is likewise only made out of maize stalks set
[249] next to one another vertically. In the "large" houses the larger
[404] part contains the sugar mill, by means of which undiluted sugar-cane juice may be produced, even in rainy weather. In case
596 adult married sons live in their father's house, a separate com-
342 partment divided off in the same manner is built for these families and furnished as a kitchen, either next to the living room of the parents or -- as in most cases -- on the other side of the
● 354 house. The hearth area is the family center, and every married
596 woman, in case she is living as a daughter-in-law in the house of the father-in-law, has her own hearth area. The latter has

the simplest possible form

000 /120 cont./

354 415 the simplest possible form. Three rocks provide the lateral support or stand for the pots, of which there are two at most, a metal one, usually of aluminum, and an earthen one. Very poor families have only one earthen pot, which is relatively [417] cheap to buy. The earthen pot cannot be hung up; it is set between the three fire-stones in such a way that it cannot tip over, whereas the aluminum pot is hung by its handle on a soot-covered, angled stick that hangs down from the ridge (Ill. 166 352 /see p. 273/). Above the fire area there hangs a frame made [251] of maize canes and about one square meter in size, on which [353] household utensils and, above all, the rock salt for salting food are stored, airy and dry. Tables, chairs, or stools of any kind [237] are unknown. One generally sits on the hairy side of an untanned and hence board-stiff cowhide, on which one also /121/ [513] sleeps, or one sits on a beam, a block of wood, or a stone. Paez [177] who have seen house furnishings in Inzá or in the dwellings of white colonists have sometimes built for themselves as a bed a sort of bench 30-50 centimeters high, consisting of sticks or reeds [513] laid side by side. For sleeping the customary cowhide is spread on it. These sleeping benches are not used for sitting.

342 The nights in Calderas are generally quite cool, and 362 the light construction of the walls with cracks between the individual maize stalks does not in any way prevent the cold wind 132 from coming in. In a few houses, near the sleeping area, I saw the walls sealed by means of expressed sugar-cane piled up 462 horizontally. For sleeping, the members of the family lie down [354] in a circle around the fire area, where the fire must be kept going [513] all through the night. This, like all housework, is the task of the woman, who must gather sufficient fuel beforehand and get up every two hours during the night to stir up the fire. Furthermore, [264] she must get up an hour earlier in the morning in order to have the first meal, which is eaten around five o'clock, sometimes [461] even at four o'clock, prepared on time. In spite of this, the men think that they are the ones who do the hardest work and that basically they are the only ones in the village who really work.

/176 cont./

623 himself does not punish. For this purpose four representatives of
666 the lower offices have an official whip which consists of a rod ten
696 centimeters long, with a plaited strap about 80 centimeters long.

The election itself proceeds with the introduction of the candi-
623 dates by the capitan with the question: "This one as gobernador,
624 do you want him?" And they reply: "We wish it" or "we do not
666 wish it." It was interesting to observe how, after the death of the capitan, one of his relatives, Cerbelión Guagáz, tried to be named capitan. The priest, however, insisted on an election by the village. And although he tried very hard to have Cerbelión elected, the village kept refusing him because he was too autocratic and such people are not liked. Another whom everyone would like to have as capitan is himself unwilling. "As capitan I am only the beadle of the padre," he replied to my question as to why he did not accept the choice. And he had no desire for that. He had been comisario once and gobernador once, and now he wanted peace for the rest of his life.

2) Family Organization

594 The family of the Paez is basically the patrilineal nuclear family /Kleinfamilie/ consisting of the parents and unmarried
[513] children. The latter, while they are small, sleep with the parents in the kitchen; as soon as they are larger, in a compartment in
591 another part of the house. After marriage they erect their own house.
596 It is not uncommon, however, for the married sons to live with their wives for another year or two in the house of the father, until they have enough money for a house, which will be small at first. The daughters upon marriage leave /177/ the paternal home and then live with their husbands, that is to say, at first with the parents-in-law.

354 Normally, therefore, every house has only one cooking
596 place, in which the woman of the house cooks. If a son marries,
252 a new kitchen is partitioned off and a second place built for the
[462] fire at which the young wife cooks. As a matter of principle, each married couple -- and it alone -- has its own fire area, for the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook.

1: Nachtigall--299 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/CXXI cont./

Plate LXXXV

100

Ill. 161. Framework of a house.

Ill. 162. Dwelling of the civilized Paez being built. The walls are filled with earth to the thickness of a post.

Ill. 163 and 164. Construction details of a Paez house.

Plate LXXXVI

Ill. 165. House annex with the chicha trough. In front of the man's stomach hangs the colorfully patterned coca pouch. Married women wear their hair plaited in a braid.

[585]
[302]

[352] Ill. 166. The interior of a Paez house. Tables, benches, and beds are lacking. At night they sleep on the floor around the hearth made of three field stones.

[513]
[354]

Plate LXXXVII

Ill. 167. House garden of the Paez with bananas, sugar cane, and yuca.

[417] Ill. 168. Maize field with fence. A notched tree-trunk serves as ladder.

Plate LXXXVIII

Ill. 169. Portion of a field readied for burning. The tree growth has been cut off at hip height.

Ill. 170. Land used by the village, with black surfaces of the fields burned off in preparation for sowing.

Plate LXXXIX

[244] Ill. 171. Paez burning felled trees. The ashes serve as fertilizer.
Ill. 172. Men setting out sugar-cane shoots with the digging stick.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

They represent the missionaries type of
habitation, the agglomerations being the result of the efforts of 342
the missionaries. [177]

The villages are generally in the open grazing districts at the 361
bottom of the valleys, on side plateaus, or on broad ridges. They are not compact in the common sense of the word, but consist of isolated groups of houses, the approximate common center of which is often indicated by the whitewashed thatch-roofed church (plate v).

The walls of the permanent houses are made of a kind of 342
bajareque, i. e., a skeleton of canes filled in with clay. In the 353
better homes the interior is divided into two or more rooms, usually very small, with a hearth in the middle; but oftener [354]
there are no interior partitions, the dwelling consisting of a single square apartment. In every case that came under my [356]
observation the interior was very untidy.

The Indians openly objected to our entering their houses, 352
hence I could gain only casual glimpses of their domiciles, the 123
furnishing of which seems to be an imitation of that of the 177
dwellings of the few Spanish people living among them or in the immediate neighborhood.

Outside the houses they generally have a cane-crusher of 407
primitive type, with horizontal smooth cylinders moved by means of levers at each end. A loom and a grinding stone are 286
also seen occasionally under an adjacent shelter (plates iv,[1] 2, 412
and vi).[2]

There may often be seen, either about or inside the housse, 415
very large jars used as receptacles in the elaboration of the chicha. These utensils seem to be almost the only survival of the ancient earthenware industry. The smaller pottery vessels which were seen occasionally had been taken from old graves. [192]

Each group of houses, in which several generations of a 351
single family dwell, is surrounded by a small enclosed field, [592]
planted with sugar-cane, plantains, oranges and other fruits, and greens and roots of daily use. The garden enclosure is formed by a ditch, inside of which is a wooden fence or a stone wall, the latter often crowned by a hedge of maguey (*Furcræa*), [247]
lechero (*Euphorbia*), borrachero (*Solanum*), and other bushes.

[1] [See plate facing P. 317 — Analyst]
[2] [See plate facing P. 320 — Analyst]

/210 cont./

796 two small ones, a skyrocket, and a firecracker; in addition, an
431 assistant carries a pot of chicha. The procession moves slowly forward. The albacero and his wife, on the other hand, have also left their home, with their retinue of attendants, the shooting of firecrackers, and the strains of music, carrying with them the same gifts as those brought by the fiesteros: chicha, aguardiente, cake, firecrackers, skyrockets, and
[354] candles. An assistant carries a showy lamp, made of flexible rods in hemispherical shape, adorned with a white pellicle similar to paper, obtained from the cabuya (1), and flowers

1. Fourcroya andina.

of various colors; it has four reeds to hold the candles.

The albacero waits for the fiestero very close to his home.

At the moment of the meeting, the fiestero and his wife each take one of the church banners and they take candles, which in turn are also lighted by the albacero and his wife. They exchange them: the fiestero with the albacero, and
796 their wives with each other. Then they kneel, with the men
576 face to face and the women likewise. The fiestero presents
431 the ceremonial greeting:

--"My friend: we are meeting at this spot. I have come to see you. Accept this small cake, even though it is quite tasteless."

--"Here we are together at this spot," replies the albacero.

796 While they are saying these words, they touch each other's
431 left shoulder with the right hand and press it; the wives greet
[576] each other in the same manner; following this, the fiestera greets the albacero, and the fiestero greets the latter's wife. The same protocol is observed. Immediately afterwards they exchange the gifts, the husbands on the one hand, and the wives on the other. Everything is distributed among their respective attendants. Only the candles are retained.

7:Hernández de Alba E-S,V(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

342 [177] Some had wooden doors and windows, and were built with nails and wires, though most were still made with vegetable materials.

The modern *Moguex* house has two rooms. The main one, entered through a small door, serves as storeroom for goods to be sold, reception hall, dancing place, and a room in which to keep watch over the dead. The other is a pantry for provisions and drinks; here are kept kitchen utensils. In the center is the fireplace and around it dried cowhides or platform beds made of horizontal poles tied to stakes driven in the ground. One's neighbors aid him to build his house, transporting heavy timbers over light rollers and singing rhythmically as they heave together. If the owner of a new house is a man of means, he pays for a feast of benediction or consecration carried out with a Catholic priest, a godfather, and a godmother.

354 352 476 461 554 778

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352 415 353 354 524 283 404 286 249

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243 342

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177 361

ENGINEERING WORKS

The Spaniards found bridges which they described as "weak and flexible bridges of bamboo" and "bridges of vines." A territory so broken and crossed with so many rivers and canyons naturally stimulated the *Páez* in the construction of bridges and the laying out of roads. Today they make four kinds of bridges: (1) A simple vine or cable stretched across the river; (2) a kind of wooden stairs placed

491 499

7tHernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

blue, the fruit of the jagua palm (kii), probably *Genipa* sp. A woven fabric is made black by burying it for several days with clay and branches of a *Phyllanthus* which they call "sal."

They make woolen bags by hand, using a kind of crochet technique without needles, and decorate them with rectangular and rhomboid figures. Some bags are made of hemp (fique), in which case the stitches are larger and the article has greater elasticity.

Weapons.—For weapons, the *Páez* used large, thick lances of black or chonta palm, 20 to 25 palms or more long, clubs or macanas, stones thrown with slings, large rocks rolled down from heights, spear throwers like those used by the *Chibcha*, and shields of jaguar, puma, or bear skin. The *Páez* quickly adopted iron arms from the Spaniards, and in the last wars of the Conquest they used steel swords and knives. In a recently discovered grave were copper bells, a golden breastplate, shield bars of tumbaga, a Spanish dagger, and a curved knife of the Arabian or north African type used by the conquistadors.

Today the *Páez* use the club or macana, ordinary guns, machetes, knives, and, for killing birds, the blowgun.

Fire making.—Fires are generally made today with flint and steel, but some Indians use modern matches. For both heating and cooking, the fire is made on the ground in the main house, surrounded by stones which help support the pots. It is covered at night, and almost never goes out.

Illumination is provided not only by the fire but by candles made of wax from the wax palm and from seeds of a wild laurel. The latter are cooked and pressed in a bag so that the wax drips into a half calabash or pot to form a semispherical lump. It is melted to make candles with cotton wicks. The *Páez* use these themselves and also sell them, for they are superior to candles made of animal tallow. A cruder means of lighting consists of transfixing a large number of "higuerilla" seeds on a long, thin bamboo splinter. When the splinter is laid horizontally and lighted, the first seed burns strongly, after which the flame passes from seed to seed, lasting some 15 minutes and throwing a fair light a few feet around.

COMMERCE

Each week a market is held in the municipio or in some of the small native villages (pls. 190, 191). The Indians sell vegetables, tortillas, eggs, chickens, and laurel wax, and buy salt, brown sugar, and especially lime (mambe) to be chewed with coca. Each product has a price in Colombian money, whether by quantity or weight. The unit of weight is called an "egg," and more or less equals the weight of a chicken egg. After his few customary transactions, paid for either in cash or in terms, in which the future coffee crop is mortgaged to the

/118 cont./

342 ceiling height. It should be noted that all the beams are merely
335 lashed with lianas, /119/ but not mortised. The roof does not rest directly on the corner and side posts; rather, the crossbeams (bīkas) and the rafters (yátkát) are tied to the rectangular, horizontal frame of the roof, and only the latter rests on the vertical posts.

The fourth step in the work is the building in of the ridge beam (dahwāk), together with the rafters, the former being supported primarily by the center post (pwát), usually the only house post that extends vertically through to the ridge. It is not exactly in the middle of the longitudinal axis of the house, but somewhat to the side of it, in the place where the two rooms of the house are partitioned off. Here it serves at the same time as a wall post. The horizontal purlins (kwīnt), which are lashed to the rafters (yátkát) one above the other about 20 centimeters apart, are the only part of the house frame that is not of wood, but instead they consist of a type of reed (karís). The roof (yátominyē) is covered with sugar-cane leaves (nyčia éts) by proceeding from the bottom up and hanging the leaves over the purlins in such a way that the tips lie on top and the lower parts show on the outside. Finally one or two ridge purlins are laid over the still open ridge, and an even layer of sugar-cane leaves is spread crosswise over this. The elevation thus formed provides an exit for the smoke at the two gable ends of the house. The ridge covering is protected from blowing away by two poles placed over it (Ill. 162 /see p. 272/).

342 A newly built house (yátūse) lasts about 15 years. In be-
● 356 tween, however, the roof must be repaired several times.

On entering a Paez house one is assailed by a sweetish odor
574 of fermentation arising from the chicha, somewhat like that at
576 grape-gathering time in the houses of the German winegrowers'
[273] villages. Before entering, one opens the door (vitc) of the house and calls out in a questioning tone, "payoēt" (I should like to enter); from the interior there comes back, "mkāč" (sit down). When no one is at home, the door is usually tied shut with a small piece of bast. Sometimes even this is omitted, for no one

/121 cont./

372 In case the fire should go out, which happens very rarely, the men, if they have no matches, know how to make fire by striking the blade of the iron machete with a stone and catching the sparks in the dry tinder of expressed sugar-cane. To fan this or a dying fire the hat is used as a fire fan, instead of a special fan. A few times I also saw a reed tube (yotá) about 50 centimeters long, which is blown into with the mouth and which thus acts like a bellows.

352 Infants do not as a rule sleep on the floor, but in ham-
[854] mocks (máka), which, however, as the name indicates, were
[513] not originally Paez. Nevertheless all the men know how to
[286] make them out of agave fibers, which is done with the same knotting technique as in the manufacture of nets for bird hunting.
415 Moreover, a few bags (yáha) made of agave fibers, which con-
[286] tain beans, maize, or other supplies, hang on the wall posts.
[353] Arracacha lies on the floor. For drinking chicha, which is allowed
[273] to ferment in large, hollowed-out tree troughs, calabashes (tóka) are used, but they are plain and undecorated. Cracked calabashes are sewed with a waxed agave thread (Fig. 25 /see
[249] p.253 /). The calabash gourd is grown in the house garden /122/
42 of every family; its meat is inedible. Furthermore, an oval or
352 rectangular grindstone on which maize is ground with a smaller hand-stone is found in every household. It usually lies on the floor in a corner of the house, but sometimes it is set about one meter high on two forked posts.

412 Meals are taken with wooden spoons (todšá'tc) off of
415 wooden plates (bič), which are carved by the Paez themselves
264 (Fig. 27 /see p. 253 /). Aluminum or enamel bowls were rarely
[322] encountered in Calderas. Plates and mugs of aluminum were
[177] therefore always coveted gift articles, along with kitchen knives, needles, safety pins, matches, and salt.

356 Cleanliness within the house is surprisingly great, consider-
515 ing that the Paez wash their bodies but seldom and their hands only when they are "very dirty." This is the case when a person has been working in a burned field and has cleared away the
000 sooty, burned tree trunks and the burned underbrush. The house

The house

/122 cont. /

●356 is swept by the women every day with a broom (ctábando) con-
824 sisting of shrubs of the psánga plant. This plant at the same
[825] time drives away fleas. The rubbish is swept out of the house in such a way that even the entrance is clean.

351 All around the house and surrounding it at some distance
417 either a fence is erected or a ditch dug about one meter deep,
[231] within which the poultry and usually the pigs and sheep are kept.
[137] In Calderas, where, because of the low temperature, bamboo no longer grows, the fence is made of wood obtained from the
[313] natural growth when a piece of land is burned off. Stakes are driven vertically into the ground at intervals of about two meters and the interspaces filled with small tree trunks, branches, and twigs up to a good meter in length, lying horizontally. Climbing over this fence is done with notched tree trunks or bamboo stalks placed obliquely against the fence as a ladder. Similar notched tree trunks also serve as ladders in the houses (Ills. 168 and 154 /see pp.274 and 268 /).

514 There are no privies. On account of the isolation of the houses, however, it is never difficult for the Paez to find a place off in the brush or in the forest. We never found the paths
264 and the vicinity of the houses soiled with filth. The Paez showed
[412] the same tact in eating and at other gatherings. We never experienced smacking of lips or belching, even though their eating habits are somewhat crude, for, lacking spoons, they are in the habit of simply shoving their food from the plate into the mouth with the fingers.

/123/ 2. Clothing and Ornaments

291 The Paez today wear clothing covering their upper and lower bodies. In ancient times, according to the reports of chroniclers, some of them were said to have worn small cotton cloaks, although the majority of them "went about naked, even in the cold mountains" (cited by Hernandez, 1944, p. 191,
[302] from P. M. Rodriguez, 1684). They were also said to have painted their bodies with color and to have made imprints on them with

stamps,

/CXX cont./

800 Ill. 153. The shaman Cerbeleón Niunda with his wife. Around his neck hangs the fiber bag with the medicinal herbs.

Plate LXXXI

Ill. 154. A man of Santa Rosa in front of his house. In the background a ladder cut out of a bamboo.

Ill. 155. Our interpreter, Victoriano Piñakué, in Colombian clothing.

Plate LXXXII

Ill. 156. The Paez customarily builds his house in the midst of his fields on his own property, sometimes only for the period of a harvest. The planted field is enclosed by a fence.

[241]

Plate LXXXIII

Ill. 157. A dwelling in the midst of a newly cleared field. The small annex at the left serves as a storage room for chicha.

Ill. 158. A rectangular field-hut built for the period of a harvest. The walls are made of maize stalks, the roof is covered with sugar-cane leaves.

/CXXI/

Plate LXXXIV

[356] Ill. 159. Hip-roofed house, the roof of which is repaired with sugar-cane leaves. In front of the house the sugar mill, over which the expressed canes are hung to dry. To the left, as an annex, the menstruation hut. Behind the house, vegetable bananas.

Ill. 160. Framework of a dwelling, made of bamboo.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

They represent the primitive type of
habitation, the agglomerations being the result of the efforts of 342
the missionaries. [177]

The villages are generally in the open grazing districts at the 361
bottom of the valleys, on side plateaus, or on broad ridges. They are not compact in the common sense of the word, but consist of isolated groups of houses, the approximate common center of which is often indicated by the whitewashed thatch-roofed church (plate v).

The walls of the permanent houses are made of a kind of 342
bajareque, i. e., a skeleton of canes filled in with clay. In the 353
better homes the interior is divided into two or more rooms, usually very small, with a hearth in the middle; but oftener [354]
there are no interior partitions, the dwelling consisting of a single square apartment. In every case that came under my [356]
observation the interior was very untidy.

The Indians openly objected to our entering their houses, 352
hence I could gain only casual glimpses of their domiciles, the 123
furnishing of which seems to be an imitation of that of the 177
dwellings of the few Spanish people living among them or in the immediate neighborhood.

Outside the houses they generally have a cane-crusher of 407
primitive type, with horizontal smooth cylinders moved by means of levers at each end. A loom and a grinding stone are 286
also seen occasionally under an adjacent shelter (plates IV,[1] 412
and VI).[2]

There may often be seen, either about or inside the housse, 415
very large jars used as receptacles in the elaboration of the chicha. These utensils seem to be almost the only survival of the ancient earthenware industry. The smaller pottery vessels which were seen occasionally had been taken from old graves. [192]

Each group of houses, in which several generations of a 351
single family dwell, is surrounded by a small enclosed field, [592]
planted with sugar-cane, plantains, oranges and other fruits, and greens and roots of daily use. The garden enclosure is formed by a ditch, inside of which is a wooden fence or a stone wall, the latter often crowned by a hedge of maguey (*Furcræa*), [247]
lechero (*Euphorbia*), borrachero (*Solanum*), and other bushes.

[1] [See plate facing p. 317 — Analyst]
[2] [See plate facing p. 320 — Analyst]

Colombia SC1
Tierradentro

C /13 cont./
133 Negro de Narvaez, the principal rivers of Tierradentro. They
C drain into the Magdalena River, like all the rivers on the eastern
487 slope of the Central Cordillera. The principal traffic routes of
133 Tierradentro also lead to the Magdalena Valley, the most im-
C portant one leading down to the Río Paez by way of /14/ La Plata
[632] to Neiva or Garzón. Thus, La Plata forms the center of trade and communication for this area, which economically, however, is not yet very accessible.

Even the earliest chroniclers described Tierradentro as a land of "eternal up and down." As a matter of fact, despite its excellent climate for colonization, the large number of small rivers cutting deep into the mountains represents a great obstacle
P to accessibility for communication, without which more extensive
[161] agricultural production is not profitable. The impassability is
[101] one of the reasons that the Paez Indians here, with a total number of about 25,000 persons, have maintained themselves racially pure and, in a few mountain valleys, in a relatively original state culturally.

C The climatic differences of this region lying less than
132- three degrees of latitude north of the equator are considerable, de-
133 pending on the elevation. Neiva, lying 472 meters high on the
a
[633] Magdalena River and the capital of the department of Huila, is one of the warmest cities of Colombia with an average temperature of 30°. Nevado del Huila, lying only 75 kilometers to the west in a straight line, is covered with eternal snow. In between there is an average temperature of 21° at 1,200 meters elevation
C
[361] and one of 11° at 3,000 meters. The predominant elevation of the settlements in the southern part of Tierradentro lies between 1,400 and 1,700 meters, which corresponds to a mean temperature of
C
[245] 18-20°. This is the best climate for the Colombian coffee. At
[249] the same time it is an excellent climate and elevation for the
[233] planting of sugar cane and maize and for cattle-raising, economic
P activities that only the colonists profit by in a commercial sense.
C
[648] The Paez villages lying in this climate are therefore extensively
P overrun by colonists, and broad stretches of land have been taken
[361] by them for agricultural use. Here the mountain slopes which
C
[311]

Here the mountain slopes, which
/14 cont./
C 311 134 only 70 years ago were still covered with dense tree growth are now cleared to gain pasture areas for stock-raising, thus causing extensive erosion of the normally already very thin humus cover-
P 361 132 ing and a certain sterility of the soil. The situation is different in the villages still exclusively inhabited by Indios in northern Tierradentro. They lie in part considerably higher (Mosoco, Vitoncó, Suin, and Lame about 2,500 meters). Here the nights
P [241] are already perceptibly cold. Coffee no longer thrives, in its stead maize and potatoes. It is also the best climate for cattle-
P [233] raising. The mountain slopes, due to relatively sparse settle-
P [311] ment on the part of the Paez, have not all been put to economic
[134] use as yet; the /15/ tree growth guarantees natural water conservation throughout the year.

C 132 The two rainy periods of the year are from May to June and October to December. During these times, especially in the rainy period of the first half of the year, it rains in considerable amounts every day, whereas the dry periods are regularly free of precipitation.

C 317 175 Tierradentro's wealth underground has not yet been ex-
[135] plored with modern means. In pre-Spanish times, and even after the Conquista /the Spanish conquest; see the glossary,
C 175 p. 249 /, numerous salt beds were exploited. The Spaniards
317 brought Negro slaves into Tierradentro as mine workers, whose
563 descendants make up a considerable part of the population of
464 Belalcázar. Today some of them work as gold-washers on the
316 banks of the Rio Paez. In Indian times gold was still obtained
C 316 at Tálaga, San Vicente, and Jambaló. In the southern part of
C [103] Tierradentro the silver mines were a significant economic factor near the city of La Plata -- so-named because of its important finds.

C 487 From colonial times up to five years ago only the routes passable for human beings and horses (caminos de herradura /bridle paths/) were available for traffic routes. The two chief connections were from Inzá over Paramo de las Guanacas to Silvia and Popayán and into the Cauca Valley, as well as from Inzá via
La Plata into the Magdalena Valley.

/15 cont./

600 C 491 C 489 [494] [509] [497] C [494] C [509] P C 172 489 361 P C [492] P 361 162 C [241]

La Plata into the Magdalena Valley. Since the construction of an auto road from La Plata to Belalcázar, there is a good road connection both to the Cauca Valley and to the Magdalena Valley. From La Plata a bus goes to Garzón in four hours and to Neiva in seven hours. At the present time both cities have twice-weekly air service to Bogotá and Neiva, besides a daily train connection with the capital of the country. It takes about ten hours by bus to go from La Plata over the Central Cordillera to Popayán. From Popayán there is daily air service to all parts of the country.

Most of the archeological sites and the most important ones lie near the small village of San Andrés, on the hilltops and ranges of the valley of the same name. The place lies about six kilometers straight north of Inzá, separated from it by the Rio Ullucus and El Aguacate range. In order to get from La Plata to San Andrés, one first takes the road toward Belalcázar up the Rio Paez to Juntas, the point of confluence of the Rio Ullucus with the Rio Paez. From Juntas one must ride horseback west into the mountains for about three hours in order to reach San Andrés. This place is a village with the same characteristics as all Paez villages, that is to say, it consists of only /16/ a church, a school, the house of the town council, and a few other houses used by merchants and by the inhabitants for religious festivals. The latter, Paez Indians and colonists, live on individual farms on the slopes of the mountains along the valleys of the small streams, in a very unfavorable distribution, to be sure, as far as the Paez are concerned: the white and mixed-colored colonists live in the fertile valleys, mainly along the river courses, where they grow coffee, maize, and sugar cane, whereas the Indios must be content with the relatively unfruitful slopes.

/101 cont./

175 648 Nineteen years later, in 1562, Domingo Lozano made a new attempt to exploit the rich silver mines of Timaná and La Plata. He was obliged to withdraw, however, only to return the next year with reinforced troops. He founded the city of San Vicente de Paez, but only two months later, in an attack by the Paez on the city founded by him, he lost his life. An auxiliary body of troops advancing in forced marches from Popayán was also completely destroyed. After this new expulsion of the conquerors, the Paez allied themselves with the Pijao, who had destroyed Neiva in 1569. Together they attacked and plundered the silver mines of the city of La Plata in 1577, killed all the inhabitants, and set fire to the houses.

As a result of these unfavorable reports, the Spanish king energetically ordered the "pacification of the province," which from 1605-1608 was carried out so successfully that finally the troops could not find any Indios to fight or houses to plunder. In 1605, after the lost battle of Itaibe, the Paez retreated to the region of their inaccessible mountains still occupied by them today. Their western neighbors, the Guanaca, allied themselves with the Spaniards, and the latter put through their territory the [797] connecting road from /102/ Popayán to Bogotá. In 1613 the Jesuits set up the first mission station and a rest station for travelers [164] in the town of Guanacas. In 1790 most of the Guanaca fell [734] victim to an introduced smallpox epidemic. The survivors withdrew to the present Inzá, where they were absorbed among the colonists. Nothing has remained of their language.

175 648 797 The Paez continued to defend their country against the Spaniards and against missionization and, by their sudden attacks, made the road to Bogotá never quite safe. And then in the subsequent period the Spaniards had little interest in missionizing and civilizing the Paez. After the Guanacas station, only one 648 mission was founded in Tálaga. Because of the location of the 177 individual communities, enclosed by high mountain ranges, a 175 few villages were able to remain uninfluenced by Spanish civiliza- [36] tion for quite a long time. Later the authorities supported the establishment of native self-government, the cabildo /see the

/105 cont./

C 162 The inhabitants of Tierradentro may be divided into three groups, according to the degree of civilization: a) the colonists living south of the Rio Ullucus, who speak Spanish and have nothing in common with the Paez. In habits and customs they correspond to the general, more or less strongly mestizo, Colombian rural population. Furthermore, the population of Balalcázar, consisting predominantly of Negroes, has nothing in common with the Paez. They were brought there by the Spaniards in colonial times as slaves, in order to exploit the salt mines that were used by the Paez even in ancient times. Today salt C [316] extraction is no longer profitable. The Negroes live partly on gold-washing in the Rio Paez, which is undertaken in primitive fashion with wooden pans, the workers standing up to their knees T [563] in water. The Paez do not generally intermarry with the Negroes, [186] but, on the contrary, despise them, since they know that they at one time came there as slaves.

P 162 b) The Paez who north of the Rio Ullucus have settled both banks of the Rio Paez as far north as Nevado del Huila. 361 563 They have in part intermarried with the white and mestizo colonist P population. The /106/ places inhabited by them are: Araujo, [103] Avirama, Belalcázar, Cuetando, Mosoco, Ricaurte, San Andrés, San José, Tálaga, Toez, Togóima.

T c) The pure Paez villages of Calderas, Chinas, Huila, 162 Lame, Santa Rosa, Suin and Vitoncó. Among these the Paez 103 of Calderas have preserved their cultural individuality most P purely. We worked primarily among them, and the present ma- 114 terial, insofar as nothing is said to the contrary, refers to the 121 culture of the Paez of Calderas. The Calderun, as the inhabitants P of Calderas are known in the country, are by far the most unap- 181 proachable of all the Paez. They have best kept to this day the 648 three laws of Juan Tama, the mythical hero of the Paez, which 101 were originally strictly observed by all. These three laws say: 1. Tierradentro is solely and exclusively the land of the Paez, 2. the Paez may never intermarry with other races, 3. the Paez are invincible as long as they keep these laws. The third law in particular has well-founded justification, since for centuries

/106 cont./

648 it was impossible for the Spaniards to conquer Tierradentro and [101] subjugate the Paez. [181]

Even today the Paez love their independence above all. And even though they cannot accomplish anything by force against the "whites," by which they mean the colonists and the Colombians in general, they nevertheless hate them with impotent fury. "Muiska peñu" (*), "white robber," is what they call the

* Concerning the transcription and phonetics of Paez words, cf. pp. 154-156.

colonists who took their land from them. The latter, however, more industrious than the Paez, need land for their numerous children. They cannot see why the best and virgin soil should remain unused in the hands of the Paez.

361 The rivers arising in the heights as a result of the water flowing down in the mountainous country form enclosed valley basins, each of which contains a village politically. These are, however, not villages in our sense, since the houses do not lie together, but separately, scattered on the slopes of the entire 123 valley basin as individual farms. This decentralized position of 361 a village rendered the ethnological work considerably more difficult, since one cannot keep an eye on "his" village and survey all the inhabitants together. Hence it is very difficult to become acquainted with all the people of the village, since in each case one must go great distances from one house to another and at the same time usually very laboriously climb a slope. How often it happened that the inhabitants were not at home at the moment or did not want to be seen or spoken to. For, at first, the Calderun did not by any means care to see us, and even after months of life and visits among them, the old people looked back with nostalgia on the times when /107/ all intruding whites were killed. 123 Today, moreover, not only whites, but even foreigners come to [177] Calderas. "If we speak to them and treat them well," they said, "then more and more whites will come here." How often it happened that we visited one of the old men, who, I was told,

/113/

Physicians are not consulted in any case. All illnesses that do not show external influences are traced back to evil sorcery or to the "pest" (see under "Religion"/see p. 191 ff./). They must therefore be treated by the native shamans /see the glossary, p. 250 /. Open wounds and injuries are treated by the midwife. Now and then, however, people visit the mission station in order to have a tooth pulled, on which occasion the nurses without reservation praise their great steadfastness in enduring pain.

The impairment to health caused by the consumption of coca and chicha seems to me to be exaggerated by the authorities; it would be even less with sensible and nourishing food. The prohibition against coca consumption and the government's battle against coca and chicha give the impression of being more a struggle against a brandy tax deficit, for alcohol under the state monopoly may be sold to any Indio in any quantity. The fact that the Paez generally does not work hard and continuously probably has nothing to do with any degeneration caused by the stimulants mentioned, but rather it is quite simply his psychological attitude which does not let him see why a human being should strive for things which seem unnecessary to him, things beyond his animal necessities of life, eating and reproduction. I often asked whether, in their opinion, there might come a time when the Paez, too, would wear only Colombian clothing or even use electric lighting. They had never thought about it and in no instance had an answer.

II. Material Culture

1. The Dwelling

a) The Settlement

Politically and sociologically the Paez villages of Tierradentro embrace the inhabitants of a valley basin more or less closed off by the surrounding mountains. In their structure, however, they are not villages in our sense, by which we understand a locally concentrated aggregation of a number of houses,

/113 cont./

361 but rather we are /114/ concerned, almost without exception, with individual farms scattered on the slopes of the mountains, where the families live in the midst of their cultivated fields [157] (cf. Ills. 156 and 157 /see p. 269 and 270/). The Paez is by no means an unsociable person and likes to take part in the festivals, but he does not like to live closely confined in a village and to have his neighbors always around him; rather, he prefers to live quite far away from the next house, surrounded by his animals, in order to be able to go about his daily work in the fields undisturbed with his family.

423 609 Every Paez has a strong tie to "his soil," and the fear that he could be robbed of his soil and land dictates his unfriendly and forbidding attitude toward the stranger. Besides, for centuries their experiences with the whites have been too unfortunate for the Paez to be able to understand that a stranger might come for entirely unselfish reasons, merely in order to become acquainted with them and their country.

423 [342] [428] The Paez builds his house, as the family's focus and social center, only upon his own land, which he inherited from his fathers and which, through all subsequent generations, belongs to the family that first cultivated it. There is land in sufficient quantity in every family; in case of need anyone can also find ownerless, uncleared land on the highest sites of the mountain ranges.

Whereas the slopes of the mountains are private property after the initial clearing, the valley floor with the community 487 house and the festival plaza is community land. The houses are [488] connected with one another, as well as with the village plaza, by means of footpaths which are always very narrow because the Paez, even in larger numbers, never walk side by side, but always one behind the other. Originally even the connecting trails between the individual villages, the trails that had to be taken to the weekly markets in Belalcázar or Inzá, were no wider. In more recent times, however, visits on the part of secular and religious authorities made it necessary to widen the trails for riders.

31 Since there are no compact settlements among the Paez, there is also no geographical variations of the village. The church

/114 cont./

361 with graveyard, the community house, festival houses, and, more recently, mission station and school are the central pole, whereas the family houses are always built in other places, but on one's own land (Ills. 146-147 /see p. 264/). Sometimes
342 one erects a house merely for one harvest, that is, for half a
361 year, in the middle of his field that is to be harvested. During the work and harvest it may then happen that a Paez family will not see its neighbors for several weeks.

361 The size of the villages varies; Calderas is one of the
[162] largest Paez /115/ communities and contains about 200 houses with approximately 1,000 inhabitants. Other villages, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Lame, and others, are substantially smaller.
484 In each case it takes considerable time to cross a village, be-
361 cause this means, of course, crossing the entire valley basin in question. In the case of Calderas this is more than three hours
[487] for a European on horseback. The Paez, it is true, travel over the steep short-cuts much more quickly on foot.

b) The House

342 For laying out a house one looks for a building spot as
312 close as possible to a small brook, large numbers of which flow down from the slopes of the mountains and unite at the foot of the valley floor to form the Kokiyó River (literally "maize water"). When it is impossible to lay out a house directly on a brook, the water is led from above through a small ditch past the house. This, as well as any other running water, may always be drunk.
[514] It is known that the residents living above this house now and then urinate in the water, but "that does not matter at all," I was assured.

591 In principle, only one family, consisting of father, mother,
[594] and children, lives in a dwelling. The married sons must build their own houses. It is customary, however, for newlyweds to go
[342] on living in the house of the father for a time, until they have
[476] saved enough chicha and food to feed the friends who will help
000 them build their house. In one case, however, in the house of

C /128 cont./
311 those of the colonists in Tierradentro. In the territory of the
[137] latter there is almost no forest anywhere; all the slopes have been
[233] deforested and artificially, but not through excessive agricultural
C cultivation, made into pasture areas for the livestock of the
311 colonists or large landowners. This has upset the natural water
312 economy of the region. The water flowing off unchecked dur-
134 ing the rainy season washes away the humus earth and forms
C deep gullies on the slopes. The soil thus eroded is infertile.
[361] The mountain slopes dry out completely during the dry seasons,
P so that dwellings can only rarely be built in the higher locations
311 because of the lack of water. In the areas used solely by the
134 natives, in which a natural alternation of cultivated and fallow
312 land is observed, there are countless channels and small brooks
361 that make it possible to put a house near running water at almost
P every spot on the landscape.

241 Every task of the Paez that is connected with the fields,
461 be it clearing, sowing, or harvesting, is done extraordinarily
476 willingly by all participants, "because it is for food." There is
P simply no such thing as anyone unwilling to work in the fields.
134 The soil is not very fertile, since the major part of the moun-
241 tains in the region of Calderas consists of slate which often stands
[135] out bare and on the slopes is covered with a layer of humus or
P loam only 20 to 50 centimeters deep on the average. In the
241 valley the humus layer is often more than a meter deep. The
P abundant land available, however, does not make the utmost
[312] utilization imperative. And although the numerous mountain
brooks are diverted in such a way that every house has its running
water, nevertheless there is no acute inducement for irrigation or
terraced cultivation, nor does the use of them seem to be known.

Maize occupies the major part of the cultivated area, closely followed by sugar cane, the raw product for the manufacture of chicha. Both constitute the basic production of agriculture, and there is no Paez family that does not cultivate sugar cane and maize on its land. The size of the cultivated areas cleared by burning varies. The smallest fields that we saw

/171 cont./

621 tribal organization. Even at the time of the Conquista the Paez
[622] did not form a common, cohesive community and were similarly independent from village to village and without a chief,
[628] just as today. Only in times of war did a few villages join together
[648] in a sort of loose federation, in order to be able to offer stronger
177 resistance to the Spanish intruders. Afterwards, however, the
361 "alliance for convenience" dissolved. The political influence
131 of the Spaniards during the colonial period had the effect of fixing the boundaries of the villages that had existed up to that time, each of which occupies the area of a valley basin, in order to create clear relationships with respect to the white landowners. The former arrangement of the villages was essentially the same, as one may see from the large number of old native names.

621 The control of the community at that time -- in keeping with
622 the character of the Paez -- was probably in a democratic village management, in a fashion similar to that of today. In times of war leadership was in the hands of men who were called caciques /see "Kazike" in the glossary, p. 249/ by the Spaniards -- as was the case generally in their colonies. The Paez have also taken over this name as a rank designation for the heroes of their traditions. Actually, their own word "sît" for the political leaders in their mythology corresponds more to a war leader with shamanistic abilities than to a regular hereditary chieftainship of a society organized by classes, such as we find among the tribes of the Cauca Valley or the sacred principalities of the Chibcha at the time of the Conquista.

621 The present-day composition of the village council (cabildo)
623 as the administrative head of each village varies in strength according to the size of the village. It seems to be the most nearly complete in Calderas. Its composition and its tasks show
[565] that it is the head of a democratic community. The village is
[626] not organized by classes or by occupations. The consciousness of the equality of all is so strong /172/ that outsiders who distinguish themselves from others through personal achievement or personal acquisition are brought down to the common level by
623 force or killed. The leader of the cabildo has the grand Spanish

/173 cont./

123 promise it. When I arrived in Calderas on Monday I found that
623 the men of the village had not wanted to meet a second time and
554 that they had indeed begun the work.

623 The alcaldes and the alguacil are the messengers of the
[203] cabildo; they notify the people when communal projects are
[696] necessary. Moreover, the alguacil administers corporal punish-
[203] ment. The three comisarios are likewise messengers and help
the gobernador carry out and supervise public projects. It is the
[794] duty of the fiscales -- together with the gobernador -- to deco-
rate the church. They provide candles and help the priest. Ac-
cording to C. Cuervo Marquez (Vol. II, p. 183), the fiscales
formerly also had the duty of defending the interests of the /174/
891 village against the encroachments of the colonists. The comisario
623 escolar, finally, is responsible for the school attendance of the
[797] children. The mission sisters, as the teachers, turn to him and
[875] he is supposed to get the children to school, by force, if necessary.

It should not remain unmentioned that Calderas -- and ap-
621 parently this village only -- is divided into four parts, each of
623 which occupies roughly a cardinal point and has about 50 houses.
[361] An alcalde, alguacil, fiscal, and comisario are each an equal
representative of a quarter in the cabildo. At present the alcalde
is the representative of the western region of Yocashí, the alguacil
the representative of the northern region of Puélche, the fiscal
that of the eastern region of Aépel, and the comisario that of the
southern Bishók. I was told that the connection between an office
and the representation of a village quarter is arbitrary, depending
on where the occupant of the post happens to live. The official
position within the cabildo is first assigned, and today it is the
more important. Four of them take over the representation of a
village quarter each. Thus, the comisario, if he lives there, may
be the representative from Yocashí, and the alcalde the repre-
sentative of Aépel. The present gobernador, for example, was
fiscal ten years ago. Since he lives in the village section of Puélche,
he was at the same time the representative of this quarter.

/254 cont./

804 The period of a day is subdivided into the day (ēn) and the
192 night (kos). Early morning is called kosē; afternoon at the time when work is at an end, which is reckoned by the position of the sun, is called ff'nze. Other subdivisions of the day are made according to the interval of an ěšnetc, meaning the time it takes to chew a dose of coca. In translation this designation is used for "hour." The largest period of time is the month, ãte, which is designated by the same word as for "moon." For the period of a year the Spanish word año is used. In former times the word
[221] enzte was used. It is the designation for the large annual com-
[226] munal fishing at the weir during the dry season in February. The
[132] two rainy seasons, called nospá'nye, and the two dry seasons of the year, called sek, are not regarded as time intervals, but as seasons. The latter is at the same time the word for "sun."

823 No large geographical orientations or regional, individual
[491] divisions of any kind could be discovered. Moreover, all of Tierradentro is enclosed by civilized areas -- there is even an auto road leading to Belalcázar -- so that many Paez men have seen the surrounding countryside and even cities with their own eyes.
[101] Only the western bordering mountains of the Central Cordillera,
[186] in the direction of Popayán, are conjectured to be the habitation
123 area of the dreadful man-eaters, the Pijao. Geographical means
484 of orientation are unknown. Traveling is done only during the day, in groups, and in company with a person who knows the way.
821 Of the stars it is only known that there stars that move and fixed ones, without their being distinguished in greater detail or according to constellations.

202 It is amazing that, in spite of their settlement pattern of
[361] individual farms, the Paez do not have any optical or acoustical
[203] means of communication over larger distances. /255/ In case of urgent news or questions, children are sent.

802 There are numbers only from one to six and ten. For the designations seven to nine the corresponding Spanish numbers are used. The Paez word for "ten" (kóse pémba) literally means "no more hands" and indicates that the fingers were used for counting. The toes are not used for counting; anything beyond ten is

/313 cont./

105 settlement. At the same time, however, we must certainly confirm a cultural impoverishment, considerable in some respects, among these people who outwardly seem quite prosaic and matter-of-fact.

105 Anthropologically they belong to the American Centraloid
143 /zentraliden/ race (v. Eichstedt /see the bibliography in the
144 foreign text, pp. 323-327, for this and the following references/) with a striking predominance of blood group 0. Although the latter fact is only one component of the somatic picture, it is extremely interesting to find a predominance of this blood group among a large number of American natives. Among the Paez there are 88.78%, among the neighboring Guambiano 84.25% (Lehmann, Duque y Fornaguera, p. 200), among the natives of Caldas 92.25% (Duque, 1944, p. 626), among the Sibundoy 84.42%, among the Santiagos 94.23% (Paez-Perez y Freudenthal, p. 413), and among the Pijao the blood group 0 is almost 100% (Reichel, 1944, p. 517). These investigations of Colombian tribes agree with a more comprehensive picture. According to the analysis of G. Arcila Velez (p. 11), 80.6% of the people among the Eskimo are of blood group 0, 91.3% among the pure North American Indians, 72.7% among the Navajo, 97.7% among the Yucatecans, 79% among the Mataco, and 100% among the Guarani of the Rio Grande do Sul.

105 The form of settlement of the Paez in the deeply fissured
[361] mountainous region of Tierradentro is the loose arrangement of individual family-farms on the mountain slopes, as far from neighbors as possible. The village settlement-area is geographically invariable and embraces the natural area of the dwellings and the land used within a valley basin. The house, as the family focus and social center for one family in each case, is built on the family's own land. It is used -- depending on the type of construction -- for a harvest period or for ten to 15 years. The land belongs to the family that first cleared it. Besides this there is community land for the free use of all members of the village. The interior of the normally /314/ hip-roofed rectangular houses is divided into two rooms, one of which serves as the kitchen and living room, the other as a storage room.

P /319 cont./
105 concluded that the classification of Paez as a Chibcha language
197 cannot be regarded as definite. The grammatical agreements may just as well be remnants of an older, or superimpositions of a younger, population layer. In addition there is the fact that in the sometimes centuries-long struggles since the Conquista considerable shifting and intermingling of populations have taken place. It is possible that the tribes existing or surviving today are only scattered remains or groupings that have been made up from other tribes only after the Conquista.

C P 105 P [197] P E [361] P C [241] [412] P C [323] P [325] P C [411] P C [771]

Culturally the Paez have nothing at all in common with Chibcha culture. The Chibcha language group established by H. Beuchat and Paul Rivet is a linguistic concept, which, in an uninterrupted extension from Nicaragua to Ecuador, embraces completely different cultures! For example, the Chibcha settlements on the plateau of Bogotá are compact villages, whereas the Paez live on individual farms. The agriculture of the Chibcha, with the use of a wooden spade, is relatively advanced in comparison with the digging stick and burned-clearing cultivation of the Paez. Technically the manufacture of Chibcha ceramics is far above that of the Paez, and it is certain that the Paez did not do any gold work. Among the Paez the sling was the principal weapon; among the Chibcha, club and spear with the spear thrower. In the Chibcha religion we have a creator-god or a tribal mother with a pantheon of other gods, with offerings of gold and emeralds; we find hero-temples, holy places, and sacred kings, while among the Paez, only shamans.

C 105 P C 197

Thus we have a gaping division between the Chibcha language group and the Chibcha culture. Scientific terms, however, should be unequivocal and not designate different concepts with the same words. This is done correctly in Europe, for example, with /320/ the Indo-Germanic family of languages, the Dinaric race, or the band-ceramics culture.

The cultural concept of the Chibcha is the older one. In order not to identify and confuse the culture group with the language group which is completely different from it, the language group should have a different name, especially since it is not certain whether

1: Nachtigall--259 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15
Colombia SC1

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Ill. 1. La Plata, the southern trade center of Tierradentro.

PC
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Ill. 2. The market of Inzá.

1: Nachtigall--264 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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[311]

Ill. 146. The valley of the Kokiyó with Calderas.

[346]

Ill. 147. Calderas with church and festival houses.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

ETHNOGRAPHIC AND LINGUISTIC NOTES ON THE PAEZ INDIANS OF TIERRA ADENTRO, CAUCA, COLOMBIA

By H. PITTIER DE FÁBREGA

Introduction

Very little is known of the ethnology of the aboriginal inhabitants of the western and central cordilleras of Colombia and the intervening broad valley of Cauca. The early historians and chroniclers have left only long lists of more or less confused tribal names, along with the recital of the protracted war of extermination conducted with conscienceless and selfish cruelty by the conquistadores. With few exceptions modern writers have found little or no opportunity to deal with what is left of these interesting people. 121

With special reference to the Paez Indians, who are the subject of these notes, our notions have hitherto been derived almost exclusively from the materials collected by Castillo y Orozco about 1735, and published in 1877 with brief analytical notes by the late Colombian scholar, Señor Don Ezequiel Uricoechea.[1] 127

Early in 1906 the writer visited the section of the central cordillera inhabited by the Paez, staying a few days at two of their principal villages, namely, at Tacueyó, at the headwaters of the Palo river on the western side of the mountains, and at Huila, at the junction of the Paez and San Vicente rivers, on the Indian reservation known as Tierra Adentro. The personnel of the expedition, in addition to the author, with a few friends and two servants, consisted of native Indians, so that good opportunities were afforded for becoming familiar with the Paez language and to gain an insight into native manners and customs. 114 [361]

[1] Eujenio del Castillo i Orozco, *Vocabulario Páez-Castellano, Catecismo, Nociones gramaticales i des Pláticas*, (publicado) *con Adiciones, Correcciones i un Vocabulario Castellano-Páez*, por Ezequiel Uricoechea. Paris: 1877.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

emeralds, and other objects, were ruthlessly destroyed or scattered about, without consideration for their archeological or even for their intrinsic value. Among the pieces of pottery more commonly found are the small elegantly designed disks, or spindle-whorls, of which I procured several specimens for the United States National Museum (plate II, 1). I obtained also a minutely wrought spider, and one of the gold fish-hooks that are often met with on sand beaches along the streams. 172

The principal Jamundí relic of Agua Sucia, and which is not likely to be displaced for some time, is the so-called "Piedra de los Sacrificios," an immense block of old eruptive stone, covered with pictographs (plate III, 1). The miners and peasants living in the district believe that a definite meaning is attached to these rude drawings, and possibly some speculative archeologist will see in them more or less mystic symbolism that my lesser imagination fails to discover; for I think we must be contented with regarding them simply as the product of representative art in its infancy. A few of the glyphs are reproduced here, some giving an idea of the geometric notions of the draftsmen, while the others are rudiments of the art of designing (plate II, 1, and figures 1, 2). 172 212 [531]

On the way to Tacueyó I became acquainted for the first time with a so-called "plano de Indio," such as are found at short intervals on the mountain ridges of the entire Cauca region. While pursuing our way on the top of a very narrow spur, we suddenly found that the crest was cut across by a very deep ditch that showed every evidence of having been the work of man. Beyond this ditch the top of the hill had very probably been artificially leveled off so as to form a plane surface of about 15 meters in width and 20 meters in length. At the end of this esplanade the hill is cut by another ditch, identical with the first. The distance between the two ditches is very much greater than the length of the esplanade, amounting to more than 100 meters. 172

According to all indications, the level space was the site of an Indian house, and that part of the hill between the ditches is generally found to be full of graves, those on the house site 172 361

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

172 containing, as a rule, gold objects and pieces of superior pottery.
361 We observed many of these "planos de Indios" on the road between Corinto and Tacueyó, their situation corresponding ex-

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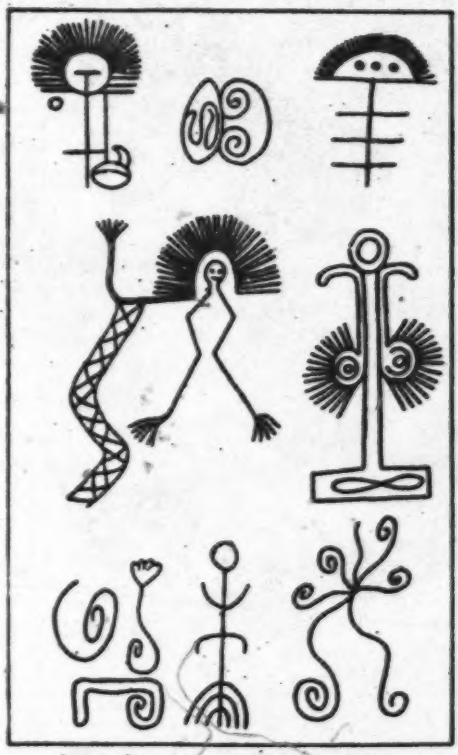


FIG. 1.—Pictographs on the "Piedra de los Sacrificios."

172 actly with what we know of the present habits of isolation of
361 the Paez Indians. The number of graves at each site does not however seem to agree with the former custom of these Indians
[844 of abandoning a house as soon as a birth or a death had taken
768] place in it.

As a very good example of the altitude at which the former

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

inhabitants of these valleys established their residences, I may mention that the highest "plano" on the cordillera was found at about 3,300 meters at El Alto de las Cruces, one of the spurs of the Páramo de Buena Vista, the limit of the forest being here

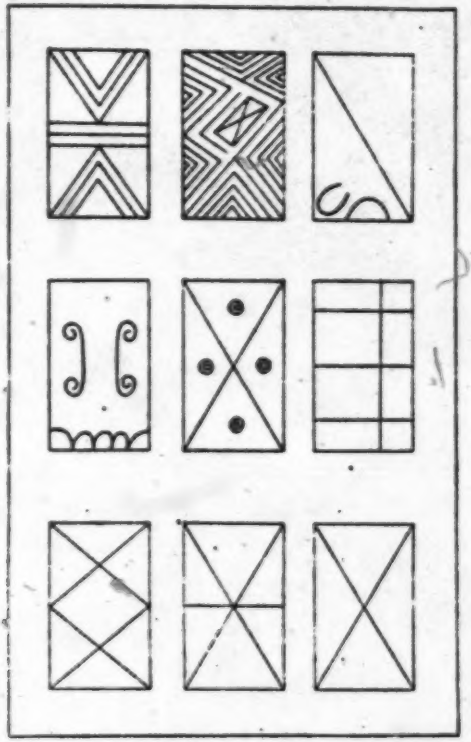
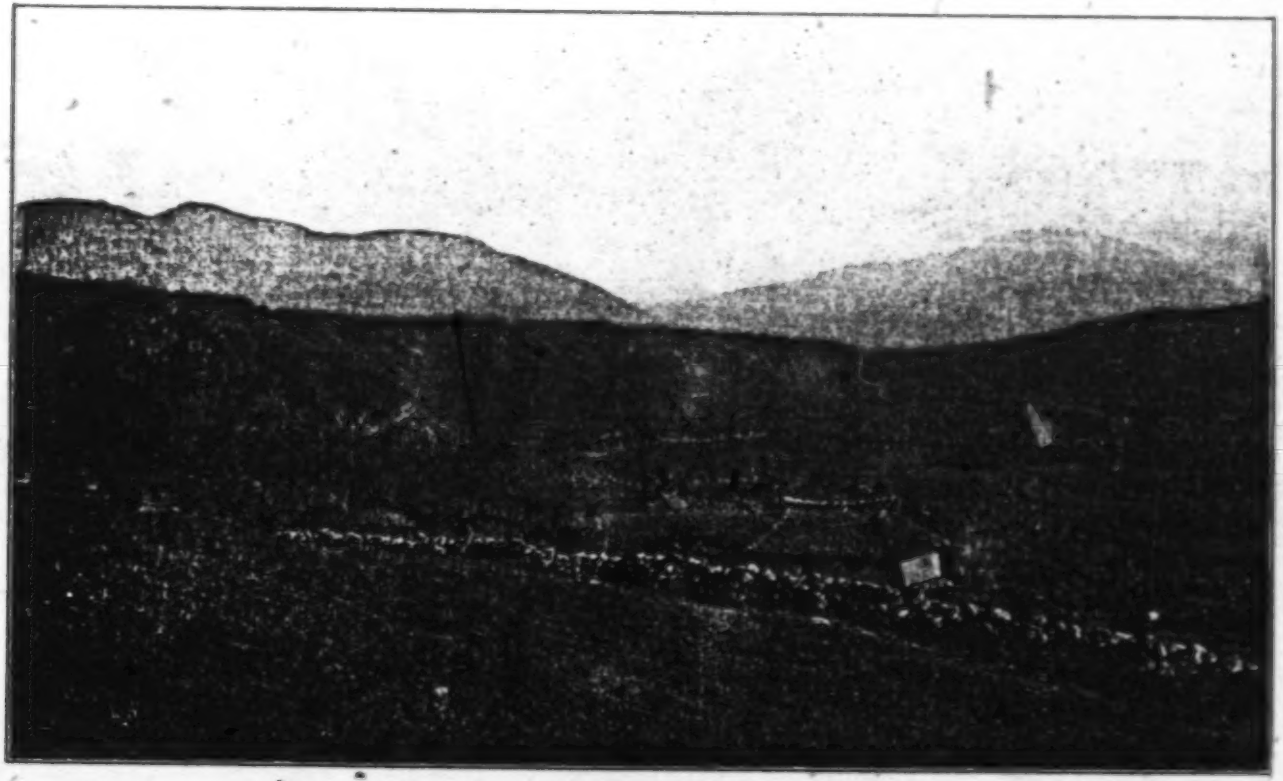


FIG. 2.—Geometrical figures on the "Piedra de los Sacrificios."

at about 3,600 meters. The greatest altitude of the abodes of the present Indians scarcely exceeds 2,600 meters.

While on this subject I shall mention an explanation of the "planos" as it was given by one of our Indians. "In old days,"



THE VILLAGE OF HUILA

The Houses are in the Patches of High Vegetation Scattered in the Savanna. In the Distance is the Huila Volcano, but the Extreme Summit is not Visible

[facing P.318]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Pacz SC15

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2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

They represent the primitive type of habitation, the agglomerations being the result of the efforts of the missionaries. 342 [177]

The villages are generally in the open grazing districts at the bottom of the valleys, on side plateaus, or on broad ridges. They are not compact in the common sense of the word, but consist of isolated groups of houses, the approximate common center of which is often indicated by the whitewashed thatch-roofed church (plate v). 361

The walls of the permanent houses are made of a kind of *bajareque*, i. e., a skeleton of canes filled in with clay. In the better homes the interior is divided into two or more rooms, usually very small, with a hearth in the middle; but oftener there are no interior partitions, the dwelling consisting of a single square apartment. In every case that came under my observation the interior was very untidy. 342 353 [354] [356]

The Indians openly objected to our entering their houses, hence I could gain only casual glimpses of their domiciles, the furnishing of which seems to be an imitation of that of the dwellings of the few Spanish people living among them or in the immediate neighborhood. 352 123 177

Outside the houses they generally have a cane-crusher of primitive type, with horizontal smooth cylinders moved by means of levers at each end. A loom and a grinding stone are also seen occasionally under an adjacent shelter (plates iv[1], v[2], and vi). 407 286 412

There may often be seen, either about or inside the housse, very large jars used as receptacles in the elaboration of the chicha. These utensils seem to be almost the only survival of the ancient earthenware industry. The smaller pottery vessels which were seen occasionally had been taken from old graves. 415 [192]

Each group of houses, in which several generations of a single family dwell, is surrounded by a small enclosed field, planted with sugar-cane, plantains, oranges and other fruits, and greens and roots of daily use. The garden enclosure is formed by a ditch, inside of which is a wooden fence or a stone wall, the latter often crowned by a hedge of maguey (*Furcræa*), lechero (*Euphorbia*), borrachero (*Solanum*), and other bushes. 351 [592] [247]

[1] [See plate facing P. 317 — Analyt]

[2] [See plate facing P. 320 — Analyt]

The fields are prepared with
/283 cont./

241 machetes and fire. They are the so-called rozas, a barbarous, primitive, and criminal method of agriculture. Burning is a habit of natives and colonists alike and goes so far that even the vegetation of the cliffs, crags, and escarpments is burned, where obviously no practical use can be derived and in addition it leaves the denuded rock at the mercy of the agents of erosion.

136 Fauna.--The fauna consists of a few classes of ophidians and small mammals: tinajos, coatis, pacas, armadillos, porcupines, foxes, deer, tapirs, sloths, and rabbits. Bears, ocelots, and pumas are found in the virgin montañas. Birds, such as wild pigeons and chachalacas, abound.

132 Climate.--There are no data on the rainfall, temperatures, /284/ and winds of this zone. The climate on the whole is temperate, or, to put it better, it is a coffee-growing climate.

361 Owing to the unevenness of the terrain, the natives inhabit
133 a region that extends from 1,000 meters (Itaibe) up to 2,500
132 meters above sea level (Suin, Mosoco, Vitoncó, and Lame). According to Dr. Gregorio Hernández de Alba, at the time of the Conquest the Paez peoples of Tierradentro inhabited "altitudes and climates between 2,620 meters with 13 degrees centigrade and 1,650 meters with 17 degrees centigrade on the average" (1).

1. Hernández de Alba (Gregorio), p. 917 /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 309/.

132 The atmospheric humidity and the rainfall increase as the cordillera becomes higher and snow-capped Huila draws nearer, with two summers and two winters, influenced, of course, by the topography, the vegetation, and proximity to the summit. There is an intense summer during the months of January and February, and another in July, August, and September. The winters are intense during the months of March-June and, on a smaller scale, in October-December. Snow-capped Huila

/284 cont./

132 gives rise to cold local winds that blow through the valley of the Páez, affecting chiefly the areas of Vitoncó, Suin, Chinas, San José, Mosoco, and also the parcialidad /a territorial division/ of Calderas itself. The variation in temperature is noticeable in these zones sometimes having hot days and very cold nights. Nebulosity is almost constant, especially in the northern zones.

241 Economy.--The topographic and climatic characteristics permit the cultivation of various plants, such as maize, beans, bananas, sugar cane, yuca, arracacha, and gourds in the temperate zones, and in the cold ones potatoes, maize, ullucos, [433] beans, gourds, and cabbage. The produce barely leaves a [439] surplus for trade with the parcialidades and urban centers of [438] Belalcázar, Inzá, and Valencia. The potato crops of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José serve for an active trade with the Paez of the western slope of the cordillera, across the Páramo de Moras.

433 Coffee and the production of panela are important lines 245 in the economy of the colonists and also of numerous groups 249 of acculturated natives. The coffee of Tierradentro is con- 177 sidered one of the best in the country, owing to the quality and mildness of the bean.

23 /285/ The raising of livestock flourishes among the civilized 437 groups. For the natives it serves for maintaining a barter trade with their neighbors, the white and mestizo colonists.

311 On the whole, native production is relatively scant, 433 giving rise to times of "hambruna" /ravenous hunger/ when [731] the summers or winters are rather harsh. The workable land lies in the small plains and valleys of rivers and streams, on the alluvial terraces, and on the plateaus. Comparing the size of Tierradentro with that of its arable land, the latter appears scant, a problem that is aggravated by the increase in population and the habitual burning.

101 Population.--Tierradentro is the country of the Paez, 36/ who at the time of the Conquest were settled to the north of

/285 cont./

/D/ the Ullucos river, since to the south of it were found the Topas,
361 Yaguiváes, and Guanaca. It seems that in the fifteenth century,
[166] [173] under the rule of the cacique Calambás, the Paez went over the cordillera and settled in Pitayó, Toribío, and Tacueyó.

162 Dr. José Pérez de Barradas gave a number of 30,000 souls.
[161] The census of 1938 gives a total of 17,578 inhabitants distributed as follows: municipio of Páez (Belalcázar); 13,861; municipio of Inzá, 3,717. The censuses of 1951 give a total of 25,495 inhabitants, with 15,388 in the municipio of Páez and 10,103 in that of Inzá. It is obvious that the census of 1938 was defective, especially with regard to the population of this last municipio.

[177] Of this population, approximately 80 per cent is Indian, acculturated for the most part, except for those of Calderas, Suin, and Chinas, where traditions are strong and their contacts with the white scant, and in addition there is great resistance to living with him.

142 The Paez are of medium height, with light brown skin, dark brown eyes, straight black hair, broad foreheads, rather pronounced cheekbones, pentagonal rather than oval faces,
361 robust constitutions, and rather broad shoulders. Their pueblos
796 consist of a church, a school, the house of the priest and of
342 the cabildo, and a few other houses which are occupied only at the times of religious fiestas; they live in ranchos that are rectangular in plan, with thatched roofs and walls made of tight rows of maize stalks, /286/ located on privately owned land and a considerable distance apart.

291 Dress.--The Paez dress simply. The man wears linen trousers, a poncho tied to the waist with a leather strap and another that falls freely from the shoulders, and a hat which they manufacture themselves with palm or bamboo leaves. The woman wears a wide skirt tied around the waist with a multicolored band preceding the folds made at the back, a poncho similar to the one worn by the men and also tied around

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

/289 cont./

142 The Calderuno /native of Calderas/ is rather tall, with a light copper skin, straight black hair, a straight nose somewhat flattened and broad at the base, slightly prominent cheekbones, dark brown eyes reminiscent of the Mongolian eye, a broad forehead, long and robust extremities, a slightly pentagonal face; many have mustaches, and, on the whole, the 157 features are rather /290/ handsome. On the other hand, he is talkative, communicative, deeply traditionalistic, proud [36] of himself, and has a deep love of the land. Isolated as they [177] are from the other parcialidades by natural accidents and far removed from the urban centers of Inzá and Belalcázar, they are shy, sullen, and withdrawn with the white, stubbornly opposed to contact with him, and, as a result their institutions, have suffered less from the impact of cultural mestization. 797 Not even the very church that has worked so persistently for the 177 catechization of these tribes, especially in this century through the Lazarist missionaries active since 1905, has been able to penetrate fully into the soul of these people.

114 I have carried out my research in this parcialidad since 773 the month of August of last year, with several interruptions. [124] The myths and tales which I now present were gathered with patient labor after much waiting, for the natives, when questioned about these themes, nearly always reply with the word himeto ("I don't know"). There is no need to stress the importance of mythology as an institution in the so-called "primitive" cultures. Nor is it my intention to theorize on the subject. It is enough to say, in the words of Herskovits, that "mitología es como la carta constitucional de las creencias y presta sentido a la conducta ritual que se deriva de sus consagraciones /mythology is the constitutional charter of beliefs and gives meaning to the ritualistic behavior that is derived from its consecrations/" (1). The chroniclers tell

1. Herskovits, p. 409 /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 309/.

4:Bernal Villa--1 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/177/

I

Point of Departure

631 To the north of the municipio of Inzá and to the west of
[361] the confluence of the Ullucos and Páez rivers, two hours on horseback from the points just mentioned, the corregimiento /district governed by a corregidor/ of San Andrés is found on the left bank of the Pisimbalá torrent, an affluent of the
[175] Ullucos. Its name has been registered in the parochial books
[63] since 1736, when the priest José Fernández Belalcázar, as the
[797] representative of the Bishop of Popayán, initiated in San Andrés de Pisimbalá pastoral visits to the Paez pueblos.

361 San Andrés de Pisimbalá is a pueblo with the same characteristics that we have noted in other Paez centers; that is to say, it consists of a church, a school, the rectory, the house of the cabildo, and some others used solely for the celebration of religious fiestas. It is located on a small plateau, a ledge hanging on the declivity.

563 At the present time it is inhabited by whites and mestizos
177 whose ways of life, norms of behavior, and labor practices
361 have been imposed on the natives. Resistance to contact has
[648] been overcome, but active resentment against the white still
[566] crops out among the old people. Almost completely acculturated, many of them have sunk to the state of tenant farmers. The phenomenon of the colonization of Indians and land is the same everywhere. The Indian loses his land and sinks into servitude.

In 1926 the Municipal Council of Inzá created a settlement area with clearly delineated boundaries in a common agreement /178/ between the municipal authorities and the cabildo. The colonists established themselves in that area. The valley of the Pisimbalá torrent is narrow, but extremely fertile. It belongs in its entirety to a few families of colonists,

/178 cont./

361 who have established coffee and sugar-cane plantations and
[563] cattle ranches. The natives occupy the steep and barren sec-
177 tions.

The pueblo of San Andrés consists of 23 bahareque houses
[342] /houses with walls made with two faces of sticks with mud and stone between them/ with thatched roofs. Only one is of brick and tiles. In its general lines the plan is reminiscent of that of Spanish centers: a central plaza with houses around it.
346 The church, which is large, thatched, and white, has a hand-
361 some façade, with a bell tower, arches and columns, a style reminiscent of colonial architecture; it stands in the center of the plaza and was built in the first decade of the nineteenth century by Padre Joaquín Núñez y Tobar. On its south side there stands a large, very old and dilapidated building where the school and the rectory functions; on the other sides it is surrounded by the colonists' houses.

366 There are two stores with a regular supply of merchandise, and on Wednesdays there is a small market where one beef, a few agricultural products, and chicha are sold.

133 Toward the end of the Pisimbalá valley are found the not
175 very extensive plateaus of Argentina and El Rodeo. El Rodeo has marked historical significance; for a long time it was called Segovia. In the spirit of conquest and colonization, the town of Nueva Segovia was founded there by Captain Hernando Arias Saavedra in accordance with the mandate of Governor Sancho Espinar, who in 1578 gave up these lands after his vainglorious campaign against the Paez. It was short-lived. On this same plateau Mosquera's rebellion against the government of Don Mariano Ospina Rodríguez was won by his spectacular victory over the government forces headed by
[317] General Joaquín París (1). In spite of this, the markets for

1. González, David. Los paeces /The Paez/, manuscript.

/179 cont./

123 At 11 o'clock in the morning we left the Park, bound for
484 Calderas. The road climbs through the Pisimbalá valley, at
491 first on its right bank and soon on the left, after crossing a wooden bridge with a plank roof; from this bridge to the pueblo of San Andrés, three streams have to be crossed: Chapequís, La Virgen, and the cemetery stream. Along this short distance and at the edge of the road we counted ten houses, all of them thatched except one of masonry, tiles, oil paint, modern manufacture; the others have white washed walls, painted doors, and are generally clean and orderly. They are the houses of mestizos and colonists settled on their respective fincas.

At 11:30 we left the settlement and took the path that leads to Calderas; the road goes ever upward, in slow and slippery
123 zigzags. As we go along, we see houses with graphite-colored
342 roofs and walls which are black when made of mud or (and these are in the majority) yellow when they are of maize stalks; they lie as if submerged /180/ in the plantings of bananas, sugar cane, and yuca; bluish smoke rises vertically in thick columns from the openings.

123 At 12 o'clock we came out on the Mesón, Supok in the
133 Paez dialect, a small plateau oriented from north to south
[361] and bounded on the east and west by great depressions. Many native huts stand there.

[132] The beautiful valley of the Pisimbalá torrent comes into view in its entirety; contracted at times, then widening more, extensive in length and generally narrow, it descends in a gentle slope in pursuit of the noisy Ullucos; covered with thriving vegetation, it looks like a carpet of living green blending in its tones the stateliness of the cachimbos /búcare, Erytrina umbrosa/, cedars, guamás, gadua bamboo, and yarumos /Cecropia peltata/, and the splendor of the plantings of sugar cane and bananas and the pastures of the herders.

[131] An hour later we reached the Yukaichí ridge, the boundary of the parcialidades /territorial divisions/ of San Andrés and

/182 cont./

487 authentically native achievement which is a true work of
499 engineering; it could not have been done in any other spot or in any other way. The bridge over the Kukiyú was built with two thick beams over which thin cross-pieces have been fastened together with lianas; like all Paez bridges, it has a thatched roof and side rails.

III

Black, Smoking Dots on the Horizon

241 From Yukaichí one can see almost the entire parcialidad
36 of Calderas, exept for the left bank of the Kukiyú. On the
133 ridge of a hill, at the end of a canyon, on a slight plateau, discreetly hidden on a gentle slope or on a bold declivity, one sees trapezoidal figures that glow like graphite, surrounded by rows of golden stalks of maize. They are the Indians' huts, built far apart, submerged in the green landscape of the plantings of bananas and sugar cane, and through whose openings a thick bluish smoke is always emerging, a sign of life and activity.

311 While to the Guajira /Goajiro/ livestock is a symbol of sustenance and the tending of herds its concomitant activity, to the Paez the land is the sustainer of man; the black layer that covers the rocks feeds the woodland /monte/ after the harvest; time will tell when it will be mature and ready for fencing in anew the clearings that will yield the longed-for maize, the plenteous arracacha, the small beans, the blooming cabbage, the thick and abundant santo wheat /trigo del santo/; in the grasslands graze the cattle with bright and variegated hides, small, swift horses of great endurance, the many herds of pigs that fight over the tender roots of shrubs, and the mild sheep that yield wool for the men's ponchos, the women's skirts, and the kuetand yahas of both.

/186 cont./

800 with the guinea pigs. These ranchos give the impression of
342 extreme poverty in their dwellings. None of them is of bahareque.

342 The second type of dwelling, which is more widespread
177 and shows a larger number of foreign architectural elements, is the large rectangular house with a four-slope roof, 15 to 20 meters long by four or five meters wide, with one or two doors and two or three rooms, one of which takes up two-thirds of the space made, and the last third is subdivided into the room intended for the kitchen and the other for the chicha troughs and
[841] pantry. Not a few of the dwellings of this type have a compart-
[343] ment for menstruating women (du yate léchukue), although as a rule small huts are built outside the house for this purpose.

[513] In this type of dwelling one commonly finds bahareque,
[352] sleeping platforms, plank doors, and sometimes whitewashed walls.

361 The settlement of Calderas is made up of this kind of
342 dwelling. It consists of 14 houses scattered at random on a
[312] beautiful plateau of some 20 hectares, covered with pastures
[796] and crossed by drainage ditches that bring water to five of the
[346] houses, which are permanently occupied; the others, although they have owners, serve only for religious fiestas when the fiestero /fiesta leader/ moves there with his retinue of mayordomos, laborers, cooks, and the utensils for serving
346 aguardiente, chicha, and food. These houses are spacious, 25
796 meters long by six meters wide; thick mud walls, with a plank door at the entrance; the enormous sala, ñuhne wala, is 13 meters long; here stand the sugar mill, the metate (ũkukuat), the notched ladder for climbing to the garret, the pango pil, crudely hewn rectangular beams on which the men sit, one of which is 10 meters long; firewood is piled in one of the corners; the floor is of earth unevenly smoothed. The concentrations of people who visit the fiestero in a daily stream gather in these spacious salas; here music echoes, the albacero /fiestero's assistant/ is taken care of, the dances take place, the drunks sleep, and the sugar cane is milled.

/294 cont./

311 passes through Topa, Turminá, Guanacas, El Cabuyo, Malvasá,
133 Pisimbalá, Lame, La Troja, and Irlanda, from where it twists eastward. The contour line of 3,000 meters, approximately parallel to the previous one, is very close to the ridge of the
[361] Central Cordillera. These two contour lines form a narrow zone that corresponds to the cold thermal level and within which are found the parcialidades of Toez, Huila, Vitoncó, San José, Mosoco, Lame, and Yaquivá, aside from a considerable area from the extinct parcialidades of Guanacas and Turminá.
311 This entire zone represents a "culturally influenced zone" in
[487] the literal sense that Professor Guhl gives it (2). A fine bridle-

2. Guhl, E. "Ambiente Geográfico-Humano de la Costa del Atlántico /Geographical-human Environment of the Atlantic Coast/," Revista Geográfica, p. 159.

[489] path joins Mosoco and Silvia, crossing the Paramo de Moras. The traffic of people is intense and constant during almost every /295/
311 month of the year. In the last decades, this has been an active zone
648 of native and "white" colonization. It still remains so. Coscuro
361 and Malvasá, in the Parcialidad of San Andrés, are purely "white" regions of colonization. But Tumbichukue, the high parts of Lame, Mosoco, San José, Huila, and Toez are zones of exclu-
361 sively native colonization. The importance of Mosoco is out-
311 standing. It was a great center of Páez settlement and still is, in the same manner as Pitayó and Tacueyó are on the other side of the Cordillera, but we cannot state on this account that "the major part of the settlements and the most important ones for the Paeces" are located in the cold region, as was stated
[177] categorically by Professor José Pérez de Barradas. Mosoco,
[433] fully in the process of acculturation, is a good producer of potatoes, wheat, and maize. It is the true Tierradentro in
[648] physiography, production, and progress. But in the times of
[175] the Conquest it was the people of Tálaga, Avirama, Calderas, and Togoima who defeated Ampudia and Belalcázar, and the

361 /295 cont./
311 strong political groupings had their principal seats at Tálaga,
643 Suin, and Avirama (3). "The place of residence of a cacique
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[622]
[103]

3. Hernández de Alba, Gr. "The Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia," pp. 915-960.

constituted a sort of settlement or gathering place, most of which remain today as Indian pueblos and retain their names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima," Chitoquez, Cuetando, Yaquivá, Pisimbalá, and Itaibe, all of them located at the
361 temperate thermal level. It is precisely along the course of
311 the Páez River and along the middle and lower courses of its
161 tributaries that the Páez population is now concentrated.

13 2. Physiography. Merely a single glance at the wild geography of Tierradentro will give an idea of the pattern of life of the Páez people. The physiography of the entire course of the Páez River, from Irlanda to Itaibe, with nearly all of its tributaries, is compressed into profiled accidents. It might be said that it forms a "thermic chimney," Professor Guhl's expression. It belongs to the temperate thermal level. This is the land of the great slopes covered with natural pastures and of the short, narrow vegas with fertile soils. There are those who speak of the fertility of all the soil of Tierradentro, classifying it, consequently, as a privileged zone. The concept proves to be deceptive, because it does not take into account the physiographic factor. We find the usable vegetal layer /296/ only in the extremely narrow vegas of the rivers, ravines, and streams, and in places
13 where the topography becomes a little smoother. The left bank
241 of the Páez River, from Toez to La Plata, is usable for agricul-
[233] ture and stock-raising only with difficulty, given the brutality of the slopes. Every tributary that enters on this side is a deep ravine isolated by ridges running from northeast to southwest. On the other hand, the left bank has important vegas. It is there that plantains, manioc, sugar cane, coca, arracacha, maize, and lately coffee and guadua bamboo are grown. The soils are essentially acid, and the Gramineae grow in abundance

/296 cont./

13 and are of very good quality. The wheat and coffee from the
241 municipio of Inzá enjoy a deserved reputation in the republic for the quantity and quality of their crops.

133 The Páez River receives approximately 32 watercourses on
134 the left bank, and 17 on the right. It is easy to imagine the ruggedness of the terrain if we bear in mind the fact that each
[241] one of them forms an impassable ravine. It is also easy to imagine the magnitude of the erosion, assisted by factors of a cultural nature, such as the systematic battle against herbaceous vegetation by means of the system of annual fires. The violence of the wild waters denudes and even forms veritable rivers of stone, such as are seen at the place called Vicanenga in the municipio of Páez. The streams and torrents sometimes swell to extraordinary proportions. In 1949 the Topa torrent completely washed away its small tributary valley, on which stood the hamlet known by the name of Brisas, now Valencia, a flood which was repeated in April of this year.

241 Of course, the extent of the workable land does not keep
133 pace with the increase in population. The physiography of the
134 cold thermal level, on the other hand, spreads out and flattens
[161] a little, the horizon broadens, the patches of arboreal vegetation increase, and the plots multiply, like veritable chessboards in Mosoco, San José, and Vitoncó. Their soils nourish maize, wheat, potatoes, ullucos, nasturtium, and garlic. On the dividing lines between the plots there rise, like green walls, the plantings of cabuya.

161 3. Population density. The growth of the indigenous popu-
● 361 lation in general, and of the "white" one in particular, has
311 compelled the former to utilize lands increasingly more difficult, steep, /297/ and sterile, or to emigrate in search of uncultivated land. As early as the time of the Conquest we find notes on the spread of the Páez people to the western slopes of the Central Cordillera, forming such nuclei as Pitayó, Tacueyó, and San Francisco. Nowadays, we find Páez groups on the eastern slopes of the Western Cordillera in the department of Cauca, in the departments of Huila and Tolima, and in the Cauca Valley, as Páez

/297 cont./

/6/ outposts, the centers of Chinche and Potrerillos to the north of
311 the settlement of Palmira (4).
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4. Duque Gómez, L. "Problemas Sociales de algunas parcialidades indígenas del Occidente de Colombia /Social problems of some native parcialidades of western Colombia/," p. 187.

Agriculture and horticulture

241 Agriculture and horticulture constitute the primary source
133 of subsistence for the Páez. It covers a wide hypsometric zone
[433] that goes from 1,000 meters (La Plata, Huila) to well beyond the contour line of 3,000 meters in altitude above sea level (Mosoco). Naturally, the species cultivated vary with the thermal level, and, consequently, the dietetic regimen. What do not vary are the methods of cultivation and, above all, the magical practices
241 associated with them. There are also variations in the extent
134 and the type of cultivable soils. Those used the most in Tierradentro are the ones included in the temperate thermal level. We have already discussed their fertility and extent. The soils of the cold thermal level are fertile and more extensive. Thick humus layers are found in Lame, Mosoco, San José, La Troja, Irlanda, Guanacas, Turminá, and Coscuro. These are, of course, truly privileged zones. Nevertheless, the soils are not rationally utilized or conserved. The land is exploited in an exhaustive manner. A clearing will not tolerate two consecutive plantings. Thus, each year new land, new clearing, new fencing, and new burning are required. After having been harvested once, the ground is abandoned, and in the course of the years it once more becomes covered with shrubs and thickets. After seven years, more or less, the land is again cleared of its underbrush, and the same cultivated species are planted once more. In Calderas, Santa Rosa, and Togoima, maize, arracacha, frijoles, cabbages, potatoes, and sometimes peas are planted. The process described earlier is typical of these parcialidades. In Mosoco and the cold parts generally, maize, potatoes, /298/ broad beans, and frijoles are planted in the same clearing, and

/301/

Common Name	Latin Name	Páez Name
241 Pineapple	Ananas comosus (L) Camargo	chahú
137 Granadilla	Passiflora Ligularis Juss.	shlel
Coffee	Coffea Arabiga L.	café
192 Ground cherry	Physalis sp.	chimbá
Chachafruto	Erythrina edulis Triana ex Micheli	úsual
Pepino	Solanum muricatum Ait.	pina
Yam	Dioscorea sp.	shuá
Other cultivated plants:		
Coca	Erythroxylon coca Lam.	esh
Bamboo	Guadua angustifolia Kuth	mum
Bottle gourd	Lagenaria vulgaris Serg.	tuka
Calabash tree	Crescentia cujete L.	shíptuka
Cabuya	Fourcrea cabuya Trel.	bats
Dill	Anethum graveolens L.	llinojo
Mint	Mentha viridis L.	tachá
Rue	Ruta graveolens.	luda

222 In reality, as far as a certain type of frijole that the natives
241 call "kacha" is concerned, as well as the ground cherry, the chachafruto, fruits in general, and all the plants listed under "Other cultivated plants," with the exception of coca, the word "cultivated" is unsuitable, since they are practically in a semiwild state. The natives make use of their fruits, consumption thus being occasional and not always necessary.

133 Although it would appear that the territory of the Páez, at the
241 time of the Conquest, extended up to very close to the Magdalena
361 River, the principal nucleus of the population was located in the
[131] temperate zone and in the cold zone. The thermal levels determine
[161] the zones of cultivation. One of them goes from 1,000 to 2,000 meters and includes the entire valley of the Páez from Huila to La Plata, and the middle and lower courses of its tributaries Símbola, the river Negro de Narváez, Moras, Kukiyú, and Ullucos. Within it are located the capitals of the district, Inzá and Belalcázar, and the following native aldeas: Itabe, Chitóquez (Ricaurte), Cuetando, Yaquivá, San Andrés de Pisimbalá, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Avirama, Chinas, Suin, Tálaga, Toez y Huila (Byla), as well as Valencia, Topa, Pedregal, and Turminá. They cultivate principally plantains, manioc, maize, sugar cane, frijoles, arracacha, coca, and coffee,

/301 cont./

153 which is in full development. The other zone goes from 2,000 to
241 3,000 meters and contains the pueblos of Calderas, Lame, Mosoco,
361 San José, La Troja, Vitoncó, and Irlanda. They cultivate potatoes, maize, ullucos, wheat, garlic, and nasturtium.

241 In the cultivation of cane, the Paez differentiate the following /302/ varieties: java /Java/, criolla, amarilla /yellow/ (mum ñusha), negra /black/ (ñusha kuchi). Of maize: capio (white, tender, and mulberry-colored) or kukiguafi, the calentano maize /maize of the hot regions/ or kukibah, the hard calentano, and the fine or kikimull. Of potatoes, the kaka chime (white), the kaka kuchi (with mulberry-colored skin), the kaka bé (red), and the tusa /corncob/ potato (has a mulberry-colored heart). Of manioc, they distinguish the noli, guaturunga, pitaleña, negra /black/, and colorada /red/. Of these, the first and last yield in a year and in three years, respectively, and the others in two years.

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*Agricultural Cycles

Crop	Planted	Harvested	Successive Harvests
	March-May	In 8 months (temperate)	An annual harvest
Maize	May-Aug.	In 10 months (cold)	An annual harvest
	March-May	In 7 months (temperate)	An annual harvest
Frijole	May-Aug.	In 8 months (cold)	An annual harvest
Broad beans	May-Aug.	In 10 months	An annual harvest
Potato	Oct.-Dec. (paramo)	In 5 months	An annual harvest
	April-Aug.	In 5 months	An annual harvest
Ullucos	April-June	In 5 months	An annual harvest
Wheat	July-Sept.	In 8 months	An annual harvest
Manioc	Any month	In a year (noli)	Continuous
Plantain	Any month	In 2 years	Continuous

6: Bernal Villa--98 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro IV: Views of Mosoco. Above: left, panoramic view of Mosoco; right, partial view of the Mosoco plateau. Below: left, houses of Mosoco; right, dwellings, planting beds, and fences of "lechero."

6: Bernal Villa--100 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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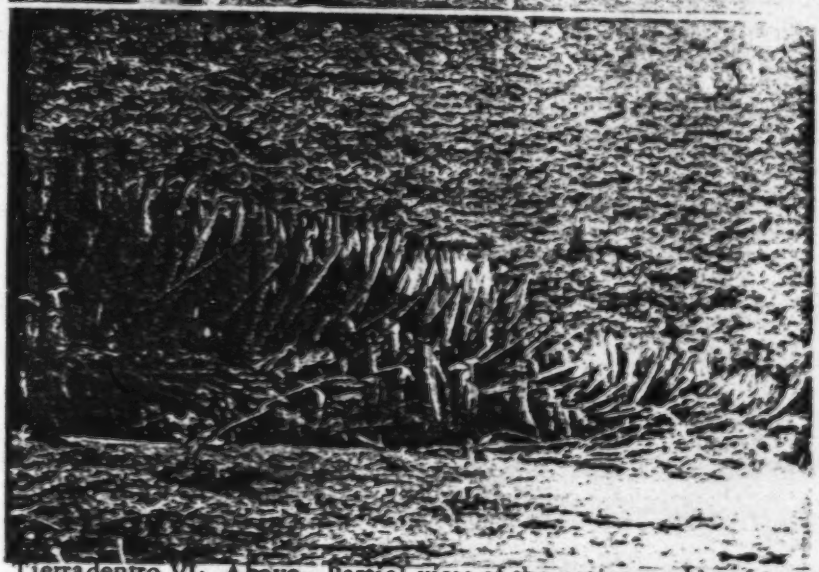

Tierradentro VI: Above: Partial view of the native pueblo of Lame.
Below: Plantings of cabuya (Lame).

/365 cont./

177 For our outline of acculturation, we understand by diffusion
[121] achieved cultural transmission, and by acculturation cultural trans-
[127] mission in process, terms expounded by Professor Melville J. Herskovits in his book, El Hombre y sus obras /Man and his Works/.

Within Páez culture there is widely diffused, to the point of constituting an integral part of the cultural body, the following economic elements of alien origin and, more concretely, of European origin:

[231] All of the domestic animals with the exception of the
[137] guinea pig, bananas, sugar cane (the variety known as "criolla"), wheat, barley, garlic, coffee, peaches, apples, and oranges, the agricultural implements, the hydraulic mills, sugar mills, the guadua bamboo, and some varieties of pasture grass, such as orejuela /Alchemilla pectinata/, kikuyu, and poa.

177 Throughout the pages of this work, we have emphasized in
● 361 particular the cultural developments in process, that is to say, the
563 phenomenon of acculturation. It is obvious that this phenomenon has appeared, with greater or lesser intensity, in those parcialidades where there have been created areas of settlement, within which a specific number of "white" families have settled. But the intensity of the acculturative phenomenon does not rest merely on this fact or on the number of families who live by the norms of Western culture. San Andrés, for example, had its settlement area established for all practical purposes in 1928 and now reckons with more than 20 "white" families, with its nearness to the settlement of Inzá, and, for nearly 15 years, with the Parque Arqueológico of Tierradentro, to some extent a tourist attraction, and yet the process of acculturation is minimal and cannot be compared with the intensity of the same phenomenon in Mosoco, where the settlement area /366/ was created in 1923 and where
177 nowadays there are not more than 12 families of "whites." In
[487] Mosoco there is another factor: the riding path that joins the
[491] municipio of Belalcázar with that of Silvia, a road that has existed since pre-conquest times. Mosoco has been and still
[628] continues to be the mandatory stopping place. In addition, this parcialidad has had intensive contacts with the Guambiano group and the Páez group from the other side of the Cordillera, who are more accutturated.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

Pasto SC17

The area of this study is delimited on the west by the valley of the Patía River and by the Cuembi, Nambi, and Cuaiquer Rivers, and on the east by the divide between the rivers running to the Pacific Ocean and those flowing eastward into the Caquetá and Putumayo Rivers. P 133 121

All this region is cool to temperate throughout the year, the extremes being at Túquerres, which lies at 3,104 m. (9,433 feet) elevation and has a mean temperature of 11° C., and Ancuyá at 1,358 m. (4,380 feet) with a mean temperature of 21° C. The greater part of the population lives between 2,890 m. (about 9,470 feet) with 12° C., as at Ipiales, and 2,020 m. (about 6,630 feet) with 18° C., as at Buesaco. P 132 P 133

Farther north, the Cordillera Central forms a great mountain mass at the sources of the Cauca and Magdalena Rivers, the latter delimiting the Cordillera Oriental, which extends toward the northeast, entering Venezuela and stopping at the Atlantic Coast. In the Department of Cauca, the native peoples occupied the altiplanos and the mountain slopes of the central portion of the Andes and of the Cordillera Central and Cordillera Oriental. Some of the mountains are snow-capped, like Coconucos (4,800 m.; 15,746 feet) and such volcanoes as Puracé (4,908 m.; 16,102 feet) and Sotará (4,580 m.; 15,026 feet). There are high páramos, swept by icy winds, where only the frailejón (*Espeletia hartwegiana*) and certain grasses grow. Below these heights, the topography is hilly and grandiose, with a succession of hills, terraces, altiplanos, ravines, cañons, and valleys. P 101

Some tribes, like the *Coconuco* and *Moguez*, live in the cold mountain spurs toward the Cauca River; others, like the *Páez* and *Guanaca*, in the high páramos with a climate like that at Moras (3,670 m.; 12,040 feet), Guanacas (3,518 to 3,750 m.; 11,541 to 12,303 feet), Las Delicias, and other places to the east. The *Popayanense* occupy the temperate Valley of Pubén. The *Pijao* lived in the last mountains of the Cordillera Central toward the Magdalena River, which, like the valley of this river, is low and warm, and extended to the Cauca Valley in the neighborhood of Buga. 361 PO [101] [361] P

The country inhabited by the *Popayanense* at the Conquest has an altitude of 1,760 m. (5,775 ft.) and a mean temperature of 18° C.; the *Páez* in Tierradentro, 1,650 to 2,620 m. (5,774 to 8,595 ft.) and 13 to 17° C.; the *Moguez*, 2,521 m. (8,270 ft.) and 14° C. at Silvia; the *Andaquí* in the region of San Agustín, 1,695 m. (5,561 ft.) and 18° C.; the *Yalcón* and *Timaná*, 1,100 m. (3,608 ft.) and 24° C.; and the *Pijao*, 873 m. (2,864 ft.) and 25° C. at Carnicerías, and 1,700 m. (5,577 ft.) and 18° C. at Pijao (Caldas). 133 132 PO [133] [132]

Such differences in climate with the consequent differences in flora and fauna contributed to the variations in economy and culture. The high peaks of the cordilleras and the deep rivers were frontiers between the tribes, clearly separating them from one another—the *Moguez* P 101 131

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

of manioc, arracacha, potatoes, beans, sweet maize, and pieces of meat. Meat is sometimes roasted. Maize, the staple, is made into tortillas or soup, or is roasted on the ear. Coffee, much of which is consumed, is roasted in a pottery vessel, ground, and made into an infusion sweetened with coarse sugar. 252 [272]

Kitchen utensils include pottery ollas and vessels, and a footless elliptical stone metate with a central concavity, which lies directly on the floor or is supported on sticks driven in the soil. Meat is kept smoked over the fireplace, and other food is stored on shelves of cane woven into the roof sticks or in hanging hemp bags or gourds. Each gourd has a broad half-gourd suspended above it, open side down, so that a rat descending from above slides off the gourd onto the floor. 415 251 [353] [825]

The first daily meal is taken at daybreak and consists of "mute." There is no noonday meal, but the evening repast resembles breakfast. Between meals, the Indians chew coca two or three times to sustain their strength and allay hunger. For refreshment and stimulation, they drink guarapo, carrying it to work in gourds. 264 [276] [273]

They cultivate pepper (ají) for a condiment, but purchase salt in the weekly market. The latter is so scarce that instead of mixing it with food they pass a lump around, each person licking it. Before the Conquest, three salt deposits were exploited in this territory, the most important being that near the modern municipality of Belalcázar or Páez. Here the local chief had the salt water boiled down to obtain blocks of salt, which he traded with other tribes for diverse products, or with which he bought help in his wars against the neighboring *Pijao*. Sometimes he permitted other *Páez* to exploit the deposit. Near the present-day Indian center of Ricaurte on the Ullucos River is another salt works that was much used in ancient times, but today is abandoned. Another source of salt was at Huila, where, during the Conquest, the Indians ambushed the Spaniards who sought it, and killed their horses. 317 263 [244] [439] [648]

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Each *Páez* and *Moguex* family has its own house, located on a point or flat place in the mountains some distance from its neighbors. The aboriginal house seems to have been rectangular, which still is the only form. It was so lightly constructed of cane and sticks with thatched roof that the Spanish soldiers during the foundation of San Vicente de Páez "carried some Indian houses to their barracks because they were small and suited to it" (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 9). Some distance from the dwelling, they always built a small woman's house. Under Spanish influence, some houses were divided into rooms, and built more solidly of "bahareque" construction, i. e., walls consisting of two faces of sticks with mud and rocks between (pl. 185). 342 [361] 177 342

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

342 [177] Some had wooden doors and windows, and were built with nails and wires, though most were still made with vegetable materials.

The modern *Moguex* house has two rooms. The main one, entered through a small door, serves as storeroom for goods to be sold, reception hall, dancing place, and a room in which to keep watch over the dead. The other is a pantry for provisions and drinks; here are kept [354] kitchen utensils. In the center is the fireplace and around it dried [352] cowhides or platform beds made of horizontal poles tied to stakes [476] driven in the ground. One's neighbors aid him to build his house, [461] transporting heavy timbers over light rollers and singing rhythmically as they heave together. If the owner of a new house is a man of [554] means, he pays for a feast of benediction or consecration carried out [778] with a Catholic priest, a godfather, and a godmother.

The *Páez* does all this and in addition puts some pieces of silver 352 money under his house to assure his good fortune. In the main house [415] he places the metate on stakes, and in a secondary house, the press [353] for extracting wax from laurel, one or more troughs or hollowed trunks, [354] and large jars for chicha and guarapo. From the roof frame hang bags, [524] or "mochilas," of netted hemp for belongings. There is also a bam- [283] boo candlestick, the wooden feast drum, sometimes a tiple or small guitar, and, nailed to the wall, a spindle. Outside, the loom stands 404 against the wall. Beyond it is the sugarcane mill, which is made of 286 a section of tree trunk with a hole above a projection on which the 249 cane is pressed by hand with a rod which crosses the hole. Some mills consist of two or three wooden cylinders rotated by animal power.

243 In each maize field is a small, temporary house and a high platform 342 where a watchman frightens the parrots and parakeets with periodic cries and motions.

Each *Páez* group today has its communally built pueblo, with 177 "bahareque" buildings grouped around a rectangular plaza: a church, 361 with its arched portico and small tower in imitation of Colonial architecture, a house for the priest, a school, and two or three large houses for meetings and fiestas, where they dance, sing, and sleep during fiesta days. But ordinarily, the people remain at their distant houses and fields, and do not live at the pueblo, the only permanent inhabitants of which are a few Whites and Mestizos.

ENGINEERING WORKS

491 The Spaniards found bridges which they described as "weak and 499 flexible bridges of bamboo" and "bridges of vines." A territory so broken and crossed with so many rivers and canyons naturally stimulated the *Páez* in the construction of bridges and the laying out of roads. Today they make four kinds of bridges: (1) A simple vine or cable stretched across the river; (2) a kind of wooden stairs placed

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/X(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

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PLATE 190.—**Páez and Moguex Indians at the markets of Inzá, Tierradentro.** *Top: Páez* Indians buying coca. *Bottom: Moguex* Indians. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 - F]

/178 cont./

The Family

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361 The social group par excellence in Páez culture is the nuclear family. Its importance stands out if we consider that
175 the Páez live dispersed within their geographic area. Both the
594 chroniclers and the parish priests who concerned themselves
361 with them emphasize this characteristic. In 1751 the priest of Tálaga, Licenciado Eugenio del Castillo y Orozco, wrote in his report to Don Juan Francisco de Eguizaval, Governor and Captain General of the city of Popayán and its provinces, "that by command of his Illustrious Lordship Don Francisco José de Figueredo y Victoria on the Council of His Majesty, currently Bishop of this Diocese, I reported to the Governor previous to your Lordship, stating that since the year 1719, when I was in these Provinces assisting as interpreter for the Very Excellent Don Pedro Felipe García, then inspector for them, and afterwards in 1731 the same for Dr. D. Francisco Gómez Constantino, I learned that the Indians of this province had been inclined to live dispersed at various distances and only sat together at drinking parties in the homes of their Caciques or Capataces when they came from some Riria (which they call Necue) or to celebrate the first menstruation of a woman (which they call Izacó) or for another cause for vain observance, and, after finishing, they again separate" (3). Multiple efforts were made by the

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3. Archivo Nacional de Bogotá. "Cartas de contrabando /Contraband Letters/," Vol. 14, Fol. 228.

parish priests and by the governors of the colonial period to " "reducirlos a vida sociable" /reduce them to a social life/, but the "bárbara naturaleza" /barbarous nature/ of these natives made their efforts fruitless. And this cultural trait is still

/178 cont./

177 effectively maintained (4). In each house, scattered over the

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4. Bernal Villa, S. "La fiesta de San Juan en Calderas Tierradentro /The fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," 1953, p. 182.

In each house, scattered over the

594 ruggedness of the prominences, live a pair of adults of the op-

[361] posite sex and their children. It is this nuclear family that cares for and maintains its old parents and attends to their burial when they die, that completes the religious festivals with traditional pomp and rigor (5), that defends its /179/ interests from the

5. Ibid., pp. 192 ff.

attacks of strangers, that in former times celebrated the "Riria" (which they call Necue) (6) or the first menstruation of a woman

6. In the Vocabulario Páez-Castellano /Spanish-Páez Vocabulary/ of del Castillo y Orozco there is the word Nécue, which has the following textual definition: desafío; pelea que es un desafío solemne tan antiguo como el jentilismo entre los páeces, de dos campeones cada uno con el común de su bando /competition, a fight that is a solemn competition as old as paganism among the Paez, of two champions, each one with the community of his faction/.

(which they call Izacó), and, finally, that manufactures its troughs for chicha ("another cause for vain observance," of which del Castillo y Orozco speaks) in order to carry out the "bebezones"

594 /drinking parties/ with all who seek to participate. It is this

574 nuclear family that "cuida" /takes care of/ relatives who arrive,

609 that offers hospitality to the native traveler and that shows cold silence toward the visitor from Western culture.

/182 cont./

462 13. (cont.)
594 Revista Colombiana de Antropología, Vol. III, 1954.

361 In this manner, among the Paez, marriage,
182 family, land, and house form an intimate unit, indissoluble and
594 in part explaining the above-mentioned phenomenon of the re-
581 luctance to live grouped in towns or cities.

473 Basically the residence of the nuclear family is patrilocal-
591 neolocal. When the man, accompanied by his escort, goes to
[584] ask for his future consort, and, after certain definite formalities are fulfilled, the future parents-in-law hand her over, she is taken to live in the house of his parents (when he has not built
591 his own). In it he arranges a separate room with a kitchen for
596 cooking, a cowhide to sleep on, and space in which to keep their provisions, their kitchen utensils, and work tools. The new
[583] spouses are independent of their respective parents. The man assists in the work of his parents-in-law and the woman in the work of hers, but in neither case does it constitute an obligation
[594] for them. When a bachelor, the man works to take care of his own needs and to assist in the support of the paternal economy; once married he works to support his family.

582 The man chooses his wife within the parcialidad, although
177 he may marry women from other parcialidades. But neither men nor women may marry persons from Western culture ("whites"). In Calderas there was a case of a possible marriage between a native woman and a "white." The cabildo removed this possibility, obliging the native woman to marry a member of the parcialidad. If it is a man who wishes to try to marry a "white" woman, he must leave the village. They consider that when the "whites" enter the community, they invariably appropriate their land.

582 The selection of spouses within the parcialidades is /183/ determined by the laws of incest. Unions between parents and children and real brothers and sisters are incestuous and severely prohibited. Also relations between cousins of the first degree of both lines and those of uncles and nieces are condemned, although not

prescribed.

/112 cont./

142 age the hair seldom becomes white. We met only one woman with slightly graying hair and an old man with a gray, sparse
[302] beard, but dark hair. The beard among men is scant. The beard hair is regularly plucked (see Ills. 148 to 155 /see pp. 265-268/).

143 According to the blood-group analysis of the Paez, among the 303 individuals examined there were 88.78 per cent of blood group 0, 6.93 per cent of blood group A, and 4.29 per cent of blood group B. The blood group A+B is not represented (G. Arcila Velez, pp. 11-14).

829 The racial concept of Indian is foreign to the Paez themselves. To them "Indio" designates a cultural status. My colleague, Segundo Bernal Villa, an Indian from the region of Pasto, was designated as "blanco" because of his European clothing. And when our interpreter Victoriano bought himself "white clothing" (hat, pants, shirt, shoes) with the money he earned, he was called a "white" in his village and accordingly treated with hostility.

161 The population figures for the Paez do not seem either to increase or decrease, as far as the uncivilized Paez are con-
165 cerned, for example, in Calderas. Infant mortality comes to more
164 than 50 per cent. The most common cause of sickness is whooping cough. The health of children who survive their second year, as well as of adults, is -- considering the circumstances -- quite good. True, one scarcely sees old people over 60 (and
[132] those who look that old are probably younger). The most fre-
[362] quent illness of adults is tuberculosis, which claims numerous victims, since the nights are very cold and the cold and wind can
[262] penetrate through the light walls of the houses unhindered. More-
[273] over, no fat of any kind is commonly eaten. Another illness from which many Paez suffer, which, however, is not taken seriously, is stomach trouble caused by the drinking of brandy even during
[154] infancy and the unsuitable diet in childhood. Infants are given
[262] beans, cabbage, and yuca, but no milk, except mother's milk.

000 /120 cont./
354 the simplest possible form. Three rocks provide the lateral sup-
415 port or stand for the pots, of which there are two at most, a
metal one, usually of aluminum, and an earthen one. Very
poor families have only one earthen pot, which is relatively
[417] cheap to buy. The earthen pot cannot be hung up; it is set
between the three fire-stones in such a way that it cannot tip
over, whereas the aluminum pot is hung by its handle on a soot-
covered, angled stick that hangs down from the ridge (Ill. 166
352 /see p. 273/). Above the fire area there hangs a frame made
[251] of maize canes and about one square meter in size, on which
[353] household utensils and, above all, the rock salt for salting food
are stored, airy and dry. Tables, chairs, or stools of any kind
[237] are unknown. One generally sits on the hairy side of an un-
tanned and hence board-stiff cowhide, on which one also /121/
[513] sleeps, or one sits on a beam, a block of wood, or a stone. Paez
[177] who have seen house furnishings in Inzá or in the dwellings of white
colonists have sometimes built for themselves as a bed a sort
of bench 30-50 centimeters high, consisting of sticks or reeds
[513] laid side by side. For sleeping the customary cowhide is spread
on it. These sleeping benches are not used for sitting.

342 The nights in Calderas are generally quite cool, and
362 the light construction of the walls with cracks between the in-
132 dividual maize stalks does not in any way prevent the cold wind
from coming in. In a few houses, near the sleeping area, I saw
the walls sealed by means of expressed sugar-cane piled up
462 horizontally. For sleeping, the members of the family lie down
[354] in a circle around the fire area, where the fire must be kept going
[513] all through the night. This, like all housework, is the task of
the woman, who must gather sufficient fuel beforehand and get up
every two hours during the night to stir up the fire. Furthermore,
[264] she must get up an hour earlier in the morning in order to have
the first meal, which is eaten around five o'clock, sometimes
[461] even at four o'clock, prepared on time. In spite of this, the
men think that they are the ones who do the hardest work and that
basically they are the only ones in the village who really work.

/191 cont./

584 father, and the latter distributes it /192/ to everyone and gives
431 the bringer and all those present some of his own chicha to drink. This continues all night until everyone is drunk. In the morning the daughter-in-law, along with her father-in-law, goes back to the house of the latter, and from then on she lives with her husband until the wedding.

606 In case the father of the girl should not be satisfied with the
585 young man as a son-in-law, he would still not take any practical action against this union of his daughter, since he does not have to pay a dowry anyway. Besides, once children arrive, the
[591] parents are always satisfied. If, conversely, the father of the young man is not satisfied with the latter's choice of a bride, he may refuse him his house. In this case the young people customarily immediately build their own house, a small one at first.

58 The wedding generally does not take place very soon after courtship among the Paez, but only after a year or more. First of all there begins a trial period, which, however, has an altogether conjugal character. During this time of "trial marriage" the housekeeping abilities of the girl are to be tested, for the latter brings into marriage no dowry of any kind from her parents or any other possessions except her clothing. Since there are no social grounds for a choice of bride in the nonstratified Paez community, and no stimulus to marry on the grounds of a large dowry or on account of the possibility of a low bride price, there are no
581 child betrothals. As bride and wife a girl has only the merit of
462 her personality and her personal capabilities. The latter have the greater weight. It is required of a woman that she be able to cook and to weave the cloth for the whole family, that she not gossip, keep the house in order, and, above all, that she be able to keep the fire going at night and prepare the meal on time in
[264] the morning. The Paez are in the habit of having their first meal
[252] very early, at five or four o'clock in the morning, and an hour before that the woman must already begin preparing the food.
[362] Moreover, as we have seen, the walls of the house are only made
[513] of maize stalks placed side by side, and give scarcely any protection against the coolness of the night. They therefore sleep lying

/178 cont./

361 who have established coffee and sugar-cane plantations and
[563] cattle ranches. The natives occupy the steep and barren sec-
[177] tions.

The pueblo of San Andrés consists of 23 bahareque houses
[342] /houses with walls made with two faces of sticks with mud and stone between them/ with thatched roofs. Only one is of brick and tiles. In its general lines the plan is reminiscent of that of Spanish centers: a central plaza with houses around it.
346 The church, which is large, thatched, and white, has a hand-
361 some façade, with a bell tower, arches and columns, a style reminiscent of colonial architecture; it stands in the center of the plaza and was built in the first decade of the nineteenth century by Padre Joaquín Núñez y Tobar. On its south side there stands a large, very old and dilapidated building where the school and the rectory functions; on the other sides it is surrounded by the colonists' houses.

•366 There are two stores with a regular supply of merchandise, and on Wednesdays there is a small market where one beef, a few agricultural products, and chicha are sold.

133 Toward the end of the Pisimbalá valley are found the not
175 very extensive plateaus of Argentina and El Rodeo. El Rodeo has marked historical significance; for a long time it was called Segovia. In the spirit of conquest and colonization, the town of Nueva Segovia was founded there by Captain Hernando Arias Saavedra in accordance with the mandate of Governor Sancho Espinar, who in 1578 gave up these lands after his vainglorious campaign against the Paez. It was short-lived. On this same plateau Mosquera's rebellion against the government of Don Mariano Ospina Rodríguez was won by his spectacular victory over the government forces headed by
[317] General Joaquín París (1). In spite of this, the markets for

1. González, David. Los paeces /The Paez/, manuscript.

/121 cont./

372 In case the fire should go out, which happens very rarely, the men, if they have no matches, know how to make fire by striking the blade of the iron machete with a stone and catching the sparks in the dry tinder of expressed sugar-cane. To fan this or a dying fire the hat is used as a fire fan, instead of a special fan. A few times I also saw a reed tube (yotá) about 50 centimeters long, which is blown into with the mouth and which thus acts like a bellows.

352 Infants do not as a rule sleep on the floor, but in ham-
[854] mocks (máka), which, however, as the name indicates, were
[513] not originally Paez. Nevertheless all the men know how to
[286] make them out of agave fibers, which is done with the same knotting technique as in the manufacture of nets for bird hunting.
415 Moreover, a few bags (yáha) made of agave fibers, which con-
[286] tain beans, maize, or other supplies, hang on the wall posts.
[353] Arracacha lies on the floor. For drinking chicha, which is allowed
[273] to ferment in large, hollowed-out tree troughs, calabashes (tóka) are used, but they are plain and undecorated. Cracked cala-
[249] bashes are sewed with a waxed agave thread (Fig. 25 /see p.253/). The calabash gourd is grown in the house garden /122/
412 of every family; its meat is inedible. Furthermore, an oval or
352 rectangular grindstone on which maize is ground with a smaller hand-stone is found in every household. It usually lies on the floor in a corner of the house, but sometimes it is set about one meter high on two forked posts.

412 Meals are taken with wooden spoons (todsá'tc) off of
415 wooden plates (bič), which are carved by the Paez themselves
264 (Fig. 27 /see p.253/). Aluminum or enamel bowls were rarely
[322] encountered in Calderas. Plates and mugs of aluminum were
[177] therefore always coveted gift articles, along with kitchen knives, needles, safety pins, matches, and salt.

356 Cleanliness within the house is surprisingly great, consider-
515 ing that the Paez wash their bodies but seldom and their hands only when they are "very dirty." This is the case when a person has been working in a burned field and has cleared away the
000 sooty, burned tree trunks and the burned underbrush. The house

1: Nachtigall--235 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

* /309 cont./

539 and dogs. They had provided themselves with the latter from somewhere else. They came to where the battle had taken place. But, instead of a dead jaguar, they found a living one that was about to pounce on them. The people then became terribly frightened. They nevertheless gradually went closer, and since the jaguar continued to stand there with closed /310/ eyes, without moving, the people went still closer and discovered that it no longer had any feet at all. Then they saw that it was already dead and carried it to the valley, to their houses.

*539
●372

19. How Human Beings Obtained Fire

An old woman possessed fire. One day a little girl came to her to ask for a firebrand. But the woman gave her only a few small chips which went out on the way, before the child reached home. She went back to ask the old woman for a fresh firebrand, but this, too, did not last until she reached home. Again the girl came back. This time, however, the old woman was not at home. Inside the house, however, a large heap of wood was burning. The girl took a large, burning branch and ran away. At this moment the old woman returned, saw the child, and ran after the girl in order to take the firebrand away from her. The latter, terrified, threw it into a pile of dry straw. The people, who until then had not known fire, fetched their fire from here. Since then the place has been called ipikwe = "fire mountain."

This story is told in different versions. According to one, the old woman always distributed fire to the people, and when one day she did not want to do it any more, she let her fire go out and disappeared with a glowing firebrand. The people noticed it, however, and pursued her. When the old woman realized that she was being overtaken, she hid the firebrand beside the road and disappeared in the river. Through the smoke, however, the people found the fire and shared it among themselves and possessed it from then on.

* /310 cont./

539 In another version, the old woman always drew fire out of her
•372 armpit when the people asked her for it. When the missionaries came, they declared fire to be magic and demanded that it be blessed, or else she would have to surrender it. The old woman, however, neither wanted to have it blessed nor did she want to give it up, and she therefore fled. As she ran, she was caught by the flames, and when they enveloped her, she leaped into the river.

*539 20. The Girl Who Turned Herself into a Snake

One day a small child who was the daughter of Thunder came forth out of a spring. The people took her in, and a married couple offered to bring her up. One day when the priest came into the village to read the Mass, all the people went to church, as did the foster /311/ parents of the little foundling. The little child wanted to go along. Since she had no clothes, however, the parents did not take her with them. When they had gone, the child followed, dressed only in a poor piece of cloth, to take part in the Mass, too. The parents were already in the church when the child came to a brook and turned herself into a snake. The latter grew and grew and was soon as large as the rainbow. It slithered its way to the church, which was full of people, encircled the entire structure with its body, and stuck its head in the door. It devoured all the people, with the exception of its foster parents, whom it allowed to escape. Then it stretched itself up to heaven in order to devour the Virgin Mary besides. When its head was quite high, two eagles came flying up and bit it in two. It fell to the ground, dead. A man then came along with a mula, cut up the snake, and loaded the parts on his mula and took them far away. There it probably rotted.

But after that there were snakes in all regions. One above all stank abominably when the sun stood warm in the sky. It kidnapped the people in the surrounding fields and devoured them. They therefore asked an Englishman to kill the snake. He came and hung in a tree a large fiber bag, into which he put a human being

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

/302 cont./

*539

16. The Mother of Salt

The old people could see the mother of salt. They saw a little old woman with tufts of hair that were balls of salt. The old people said that she was the mother of salt.

Informant: Justo Muse.

Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

*539
● 372

17. Fire

A little old woman possessed fire. A little girl went to ask her for a few small firebrands. The old woman merely gave her a few smoldering twigs, /303/ which went out before she got home. She came back again to ask for another firebrand, but the old woman was not there. The fire burned inside in thick firebrands. The girl took a big one. The old woman found out and went in pursuit of her, being niggardly about the brand. The girl ran, but when the old woman overtook her, she threw the fire into straw "ready" /jecha/ and good. The people who needed fire took it from this spot, which for this reason was called Ipikué (Plan of fire).

In those days they were making the pueblo. They were thinking about a name. If fire comes out, they said, it shall be called Calderas /caldrous/; if not, Buktá. The former came out, and the pueblo was called Calderas.

Informant: Victoriano Piñakué.

Version I

The old people relate that there was an old woman who possessed fire and who distributed it to the other people. Once she refused to give them any more fire, and she extinguished it in order to leave them without it. She saved only one burning stick and she ran off with it. The Indians ran after her, and as they were overtaking her, she dropped the brand

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

/303 cont./

539 at one side of the path and hid in a river. By the smoke they
● 392 found the fire, and all the people were able to supply themselves from it. This one was not extinguished again. It is believed that the old woman was a Pijao.

Informant: Vicenta Tumbo, 40 years old, does not know Spanish.

Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

Version II

When religion had recently been introduced, there was an old woman who drew fire from her armpit and gave it to anyone who asked for it. The missionaries came and said that this fire was witchcraft and thus had to be blessed. The old woman fled so that the fire would not be taken from her and the blessing would not be given. As she went running off, the old woman set herself on fire, and the flames covered her completely. When she reached the river, which was in flood, she threw herself into it. The old woman is said to have been a monster (Pijao); she had a very large face, hair like a mane and rather gray.

Informant: Juan Petins.

Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

/304/ Version III

The old people related that once there was a little girl who had nothing. María Santísima appeared to her and asked her what she was doing, to which she replied that she was there. "You will have to blow on the fire," she said, "because even I am cold." Ordering her to fetch some kindling, María Santísima drew fire from her armpit. She warned her to preserve it, for without it they could not live. From it fire was
[103] obtained for everyone. This is why they gave the place the name of Calderas

/188 cont./

462 from the plantings; she will laboriously make the multicolored
594 kuetand yahas which she will give as tokens of love to her hus-
[257] band. The children, who "are a blessing of God," will come and help the man work the land or lighten the woman's kitchen chores.

594 The household lends individuality, a sociological frame-
183 work, status, and function to the family. Land, a house, and a family are specific ambitions of the Paez people. Possibly they represent their most cherished ideals in life.

IV

Live Ritual Fire

•372 In the mind of every individual, and in the spirit of the family, fire is a symbol, a symbol of the house and of the home. A house without fire is a dead, abandoned house.

372 In ancient times, when the Pijao went about spreading
773 terror and death, when the caciques came down on the /189/ /illustration appears here/ roaring waters of the great rivers beneath the imposing dark night sprinkled with stars, and even much earlier, the Indians began their daily round by requesting fire from an old, white-haired woman. This fire died out when night spread its dark cloak over the world. Only the old woman's fire was immortal. The monotony of this daily request for fire was transmuted into anguish when the wicked old woman decided to leave and take the fire with her in a piece of wood. They all ran after her, seized the firebrand, and obtained fire from it for all the Indian households. This fire could be preserved.

Thus run the mythical accounts of the origin of fire. They reflect its importance. The manner in which it is preserved, the care which is exercised so that a fire is always /190/ burning in the house, seem to be superstitious attitudes from an ancient

/190 cont./

372 cult of fire. In times past, fire was obtained with "steel and
773 tinder." Whatever the case may be, the mythical accounts

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291

372 disclose the usury of the owner of fire and anxiety when they were
773 on the verge of losing it. Nowadays, when through carelessness
[177] it goes out in a household, the matches of the whites are used to revive it.

513 The Indians go to bed early. At seven o'clock at night the
512 parents and the children lie down in a common bed on the dry hides of cattle, keeping on their bodies the clothes that covered

6: Bernal Villa--102 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

Tierradentro VIII: Dwelling in El Cuartel (Vitoncó). Note the pigs in front, the manner of storing wheat beneath the eaves of the house, and the supply of firewood.

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●372

7:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

blue, the fruit of the jagua palm (kii), probably *Genipa* sp. A woven fabric is made black by burying it for several days with clay and branches of a *Phyllanthus* which they call "sal."

They make woolen bags by hand, using a kind of crochet technique without needles, and decorate them with rectangular and rhomboid figures. Some bags are made of hemp (fique), in which case the stitches are larger and the article has greater elasticity.

Weapons.—For weapons, the *Páez* used large, thick lances of black or chonta palm, 20 to 25 palms or more long, clubs or macanas, stones thrown with slings, large rocks rolled down from heights, spear throwers like those used by the *Chibcha*, and shields of jaguar, puma, or bear skin. The *Páez* quickly adopted iron arms from the Spaniards, and in the last wars of the Conquest they used steel swords and knives. In a recently discovered grave were copper bells, a golden breastplate, shield bars of tumbaga, a Spanish dagger, and a curved knife of the Arabian or north African type used by the conquistadors.

Today the *Páez* use the club or macana, ordinary guns, machetes, knives, and, for killing birds, the blowgun.

Fire making.—Fires are generally made today with flint and steel, but some Indians use modern matches. For both heating and cooking, the fire is made on the ground in the main house, surrounded by stones which help support the pots. It is covered at night, and almost never goes out.

Illumination is provided not only by the fire but by candles made of wax from the wax palm and from seeds of a wild laurel. The latter are cooked and pressed in a bag so that the wax drips into a half calabash or pot to form a semispherical lump. It is melted to make candles with cotton wicks. The *Páez* use these themselves and also sell them, for they are superior to candles made of animal tallow. A cruder means of lighting consists of transfixing a large number of "higuerilla" seeds on a long, thin bamboo splinter. When the splinter is laid horizontally and lighted, the first seed burns strongly, after which the flame passes from seed to seed, lasting some 15 minutes and throwing a fair light a few feet around.

COMMERCE

Each week a market is held in the municipio or in some of the small native villages (pls. 190, 191). The Indians sell vegetables, tortillas, eggs, chickens, and laurel wax, and buy salt, brown sugar, and especially lime (mambe) to be chewed with coca. Each product has a price in Colombian money, whether by quantity or weight. The unit of weight is called an "egg," and more or less equals the weight of a chicken egg. After his few customary transactions, paid for either in cash or in terms, in which the future coffee crop is mortgaged to the

/116 cont./

343 In addition to these dwellings only a few houses have
[574] separate buildings, such as, for example, one or, if need be,
[513] two storehouses or a small house (yatléčkwe) in which friends
and neighbors sleep when they help the owner for days for the
251 joint work of expressing sugar cane or for the harvest. In the
343 storehouse (kotyāvyat: literally "maize storehouse") only maize
[262] and beans are stored, not wheat or garden produce. Fruit, yuca,
potatoes, and arracacha are not kept on hand or stored at all,
but always merely fetched as needed and eaten immediately.
Wheat is tied in bundles below the ears on stalks about 20 centimeters long and hung up under the roof above the fire. Maize
and beans may be kept up to two years in the storehouse. For
this purpose horizontal cross-sticks are fastened in it, over
which the ears are hung, and racks consisting of maize stalks
[425] laid close together are constructed for the beans. These racks,
too, are hung up, if possible, or at least are fastened quite
high above the floor so that the mice (ūńsa) cannot get to them.
[231] In addition, a cat (mīš) is shut up in the storehouse, if one is
available. Stalls for the livestock are unknown.

34 In the middle of the village of Calderas, on community
land, stand the church (iglésia), the community house (kabīldeyát),
and the six festival houses of the six largest families (Ill. 147
/see p. 264 /). In their construction, they are likewise hip-
roofed houses, but their walls are built in the manner of the
colonists' houses, /117/ out of vertical posts, on the inside and
outside of which bamboo poles or straight branches are tied
horizontally. To strengthen the posts the interstices are filled
with earth, clay, and, in the lower part, also with stones. The
filling is spread smoothly and the wall whitewashed inside and
[373] out. Whereas light enters the other houses through the door and
the not very tightly sealed walls made of maize stalks placed side
by side, light can enter the above-mentioned houses consisting of
solid walls only through the relatively small door and the opening
of the roof ridge, which makes the interior rather dark.

/210 cont./

796 Throughout all these actions, the music has not failed to
[533] sound, /211/ the ensemble of the albacero alternating with that of the fiestero. The tunes are joyous, the enthusiasm grows, and the bursts of firecrackers are frequent.

When everything has been consumed, the plates, kerchiefs, and pots are returned with mutual expressions of deep appreciation. The albacero invites the fiestero:

--"My brother: now let us go to my house. I have nothing to offer you, but what can we do."

--"Do not worry. I, too, am in the same situation as you."

They all remain in the house of the albacero until the ringing of the bells announces the hour of prayer. Very few attend, but the fiestero and albacero have an obligation to do so. The musicians go behind. The albacero sets in place the lamp which he exhibited at the greeting two hours earlier.

796 The lighting of the church is adequate. There are some
346 72 candles, of which those on the altar are from the fiestero
373 and the remainder from the albacero. There are four hanging lamps of the type already described. On cross-pieces supported by vertical beams and placed so that one is close to the altar and another at the exit door, numerous candles are held in fresh clay, in the same manner as in the cornices of the walls.

796 The religious performances are accompanied by native
533 music; monorhythmic and sad tunes alternate with joyous airs.

XIX

Torches and Vacaloca

796 While at the house of the fiestero the men kill the beef
532 and make up the bundles of firewood and the women roast the maize cakes, in the house of the albacero the chirimía plays, chicha is drunk from gourd containers, the lamp is made, and

/328 cont./

388 began to use other types of raw materials. The death blow was
43 thus given to the only home industry of the above-mentioned regions. Wax is still gathered, but the price for an arroba in Silvia does not reach eight pesos. There is no longer any profit.
388 The Indians go on using it to make candles for household con-
[373] sumption and above all for illumination at religious fiestas. We
[796] have described the methods of gathering, extracting, and manufacturing laurel wax in the work entitled "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," published in the Revista Colombiana de Folklore, Number 2 of 1953.

/329/

Mingas

476 The minga is the most widespread form of labor among the
461 Páez. The natives can work for themselves alone and are excellent laborers. But the task would demand more of their time
[464] and effort. Thus, the minga serves to prevent "boredom" during the work, to gain time, and to provide a labor force which would otherwise be hard to obtain.

476 The minga then is a co-operative system of labor whereby the interested party invites a specific number of acquaintances to perform a job, duly rewarding them with food, drink, and coca. "Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense," says Hernández de Alba /cited in English/.

476 Indispensable articles of reward are meat, chicha, and, in
554 nearly all the parcialidades, coca. The incidence of the mingas is thus almost in direct proportion to the possession of domestic
[231] animals. Those who lack such stock, that is to say, the poor according to the concepts of Páez culture, work alone or in the company of their sons, if they have any.

476 In the course of the cultivation cycle the following mingas
241 are held: to fell the trees (clearings); to pile up the wood that remains after the burning and to cut stakes for the fence; to build fences; to do the planting and weeding.

In Calderas a minga for clearing is carried out in the following way:

/334 cont./

312 water abounds during the rainy season. Then the stream beds, dry during the summer (ravines), swell disproportionately. During the summer months, the scarcity of water is still a serious problem.

313 In areas where water is scarce, there is also a scarcity of firewood, owing to the intensive deforestation. As the felling of the trees moves out from the populated centers of Tierradentro, the acquisition of this item becomes increasingly difficult. The fuel problem in Belalcázar, Cuetando, Chitoquez, Valencia, [314] and Guasdualejo is becoming increasingly serious. Furthermore, [439] charcoal is neither used nor produced for trade in Tierradentro.

[312] Providing firewood for feeding the hearth, as well as water, [462] is more an activity for women and children than for men. In most of the parcialidades, firewood abounds, and ordinarily each dwelling has sufficient reserves to maintain the fire on the hearth. In cold parcialidades, such as Calderas and Lame, reviving the fire through the night is essential for protection [513] against the cold. The natives sleep around the hearth, from which comes the warmth that they need for sleeping, since they use no covering other than the clothing on their own bodies and no mattress other than a hard cowhide.

376 The abundance of water also facilitates the construction of 256 hydraulic mills, in order to utilize this motive force. They are relatively numerous.

Property

423 The lands of the native communities are protected. That is to say, they belong to the parcialidad. They are inalienable. In addition, they are exempt from taxes. This peculiarity of our legislation has fortunately permitted the preservation of the [311] Paez group and their culture. The lands contained within the parcialidades are uncultivated, usable, /335/ or in use. The uncultivated lands of the communities of Tierradentro are rapidly being colonized.

In each parcialidad there is a specific amount of land that belongs to all the members of the community. It is communal

land.

/108 cont./

115 Victoriano likes to parade his outward standing of higher
156 culture openly. He possesses soap, a toothbrush, a small brush
554 for grooming his eyebrows, and perfume. He uses all these
[598] toilet articles very frequently. He is not afraid of the jealousy of his Calderun fellow-villagers; he always carries his machete /see the glossary, p. 249/ with him in order to defend himself. He wants to marry a "white" woman outside of Calderas (cf. also "The Course of a Day" /see p. 133 /).

124 /109/ In the work an attempt was made as a matter of
286 principle to observe all the activities of the Paez ourselves;
●386 when this was not feasible, two different informants were questioned if possible. Two examples will show, however, that errors can creep in, even with the most careful work: I had the dyeing process for the black-dyed fabrics explained to me by the interpreter Marcos, according to whom they are first boiled with certain leaves, and then all of this is placed in black humus earth for two days. When the same question was put to Victoriano, he stated that the black coloring occurs if the fabric is placed in black humus earth for two days. At my suggestion that the fabric first had to be boiled with leaves, he delightedly agreed with me. When called to account as to why he had not told me that, he replied: "Well, you did not ask me about that; you only wanted to know how the material becomes black!"

124 One cannot speak sufficiently often and again and again
423 in different ways about the same subject, for to the Paez the necessity or the meaning of explanations for things self-evident to them is usually incomprehensible. Thus in the case described there was as little ill-intent or even mere carelessness as in the following case: In roaming over boundary lines, I inquired as to which fields were private property and which were community property. We came to the general conclusion that the lowlands were community property and the mountain slopes the private property of the man or family who had first cleared the land. I asked Victoriano several times as to whether there were any pieces of land that at present had no owner. He stated emphatically that all the land had been disposed of and there was no longer any ownerless land.

/161 cont./

286 show the same design, but rather one that results from the cross-
531 ing of the twisted warp threads.

g) Dyeing

● 386 The Paez feel that black is the most beautiful color.
824 Hence almost all the home-woven garments of the men and
[822] women are dyed black, and only rarely does one see articles of clothing in the yellowish-white natural color of sheep wool.
[462] Dyeing is women's work and is done with certain plants, which, however, dye only the animal material used in weaving, but
[294] not that from plants. This peculiarity of the dyes is utilized by the Paez to make patterns in their clothing by weaving into the sheep-wool fabrics a few cotton warp threads, which, in the subsequent dyeing, retain their original color.

Every woman is in a position to dye her home-woven fabrics black. To do this the pieces of fabric are boiled in a pot for about two hours, along with the leaves of the šal tree or the zóte tree (according to Hernandez, 1946, p. 944, with the leaves of a Phyllanthus) and then buried for two days and two nights with these leaves in a pit in black, rich humus earth (ašáktič). Then they are taken out again, washed thoroughly, and allowed to dry. The black dye is now lightfast and waterproof. The cotton ornamental stripes in the women's clothing, which are not affected by this dyeing process, are either natural
[283] in color, red, or green. They are bought by the women in the desired color, since cotton is not spun by the Paez.

586 The threads of different colors used to make the coca bags
824 and the women's belts were originally all dyed by the Paez
177 women with vegetable dyes. Today this is done only in part,
[439] for anyone who has the money buys aniline dyes at the market in Inzá or Belalcázar; they are more popular because of their stronger coloring and greater luminosity. Similarly, the cotton purchased in thread already dyed is more popular for making women's belts, since it is brighter or more brilliant.

/162/

386 824 The following colors are produced with vegetable dyes: red (mbe; also the color designation for pink, ocher, brown) with the roots of a plant called béwoetse. (According to Hernandez, this is the Rubiaceae Relbunium hypocarpium.) The wool threads are boiled with these roots for about an hour and they are then put in the sun. For blue coloring (séin; light blue - séin-séin) the threads are boiled with the leaves of the indigo tree for an hour; for green coloring (oálye séin; oálye = species of bird with green feathers, thus literally "oálye blue"), with the leaves of the tamp tree; and for yellow coloring (skítc), with the leaves of the mũzec tree. The results of the dyeing are not always uniform. There are always deviations in the color. With a little experience, however, one can differentiate them from the purchased chemical dyes.

h) Pottery

323 The art of pottery is very little developed among the Paez and is essentially limited to larger or smaller, crudely fashioned, spherical-shaped pots (mũtc) with a lip slightly curved outward. In use they are not hung up, but placed between the three hearthstones for cooking. Smaller, shallower bowls serve for roasting [531] the coca leaves. There are no vessels with handles. There is no ornamentation of any kind, neither painting, nor incising, nor [415 531 824] finger imprints. For drinking chicha or for fetching water only gourd calabashes (tóka) are used, which are exactly as unadorned and purely functional as the ceramic vessels.

323 463 The making of pots is a specialist's work. In Calderas there are three potters, two of whom are women. Only one of them, however, Santos Kiskue, works to keep a supply, whereas the other two make pots only on order. Santos Kiskue is about 40 years old and has a wife and four living children; four others [437] are dead. He has a horse, but no cow and no sheep. The latter he can do without, since he barters his pots chiefly for wool.

The technique of pottery among the Paez is a spiral coil technique. Since the shapes are very simple, a special

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

302 extracted from the seeds of *Bixa orellana*, which they applied
[824] by means of a cylinder of clay (*kaanda*) on which certain designs were carved. Specimens of such cylinders are often found in graves.

291 Children are very scantily clothed. The boys go about naked
515 until they reach their twelfth year, and the little girls wear only a short *atß-tul*. The clothing of the male and female adults seems to be worn as long as it lasts. As is the case with all Indians living at high altitudes, the Paez are not especially fond of bathing, and cleanliness is not a cardinal virtue with them.
[513] In retiring for the night, they simply wrap their garments tighter around them, the children using old rags in lieu of blankets.

●386 The ornamentation of the *vilia*, or sash, with several brilliant
[182] colors and the desire of giving a uniform hue to the darker clothing of the women, gave origin to the art of dyeing, which very likely is to-day in its decline. The dyes were derived chiefly from plants. Black was obtained from *ßal*, an arborescent *Phyllanthus* that has a semi-domesticated appearance and forms characteristic thickets around inhabited places, like Vitoncó; the same color is also contained in the young pods of the *huarango* (*Cæsalpinia tinctoria*), a spiny tree often seen near the houses and extensively used at the present time for dyeing wool. The roots of *tuk-uétse*, a Rubiacea (*Relbunium hypocarpium* Hemsl.) akin to the madder, produce a scarlet color. Different kinds of blue dyes were extracted from the fruit of the jagua (*kii*, probably *Genipa* sp.) and from an *Indigofera*.
[177] Many other tinctorial plants very likely escaped my observation and are gradually passing out of use on account of the introduction of foreign fabrics.

Dwellings

342 The Paeces have permanent houses in their thirty-four villages and temporary abodes on their corn plantations. These latter are merely small huts, the walls of which are more or less elaborate according to the altitude, being made tighter near the upper limit of culture. They represent the primitive type of

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

pát	strong (in flavor) 192
lal	*Phyllanthus* sp., a small euphorbiaceous tree, the leaves of which give a black dye [386] [824]
satsám	iron
sek	sun — Cat.: *itaki, taki: sek* also signifies dry season, and heat of the sun
limb (T), *dsa* (H)	young, half-grown maize, just before tasseling
limbe	puma — Cast.: *li*
listen	heap
listen + *ôpta* (Cast.)	to be heaped — *op* = all
llal	a passion flower the fruits of which are edible
sonâ	*Stylanthes guianensis*, a plant
sû (T) / *sú-uâ*	sister-in-law — Cast.: *ne-sôu*
sus-tô	belly — Cast.: *to-ti*
lâm-pu (H)	navel — Cast.: *lamb*
ltô-pando (H)	broom
ltu-kôfi (H), *tkâfχ* (H)	hole
lull (H), *tsevi* (T)	*Ullucus tuberosus*, a plant with edible tubers
tâ, tä	mountain — Cast.: *atlâ*
ta-âla	mountain group, mountain range (*serrania*)
tâmbuĩ (H), *tlblm* (T)	occiput
thuχ	strap
tet	calabash used as a plate or cup
titi, ttiti-iat (H)	wall
topât	blow-gun—Cast.: *rito-pât*; Span.: *bodoquera* [411]
tôpi-tâpia	clean, free of obstruction
tsalfχ (H)	upper-arm

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

tłuâtł	louse, a very large variety called *cardingano* by the Spanish natives — Cast.: *etł-guatł* 192
tsui (T), *ûkua-pits* (H)	husband — Cast.: *nemi* [601]
tsutł	woman's breast—Cast.: *kiki*
tukuê-tsę	*Relbunium hypocarpium*, a plant the roots of which give a red dye [386 824]
tulû (H)	plantain — Cast.: *tulö*; see also *plân*
tulû + kak	baked plantain
tulû + kâts	plantain peel
tulû + kuiya	boiled plantain
tulû + its	ripe plantain
tûng-ua (H), *tû-ue* (T)	ear — Cast.: *tögnue*
tûng-ua + kafs-iaka (H)	ear-ache
tûng-ua + vits (H)	ear-lobe
tûng-uê-ieki	earring
tûe-kafx (T)	vent hole
tûpa	spider
tûta (H)	first
uâka	crab
uâla	large, high, tall — Cast.: *gula*
uân-dziûns (H)	fishhook
uâsa-kua (H), *guâsa-ko* (T)	daughter, girl [601]
uats-to / *uatł-ta*	tired
uâ-tsa	necklace
uêll	parroquet
uense	agouti (*Dasyprocta* sp.) Span. *cutacusa*
uentł	fish — Cast.: *gneundi*
uentł + patsi	a large, iguana-like lizard
uês (H), *guâs* (T)	earthworm — Cast: *gues*
uês + kuê	thread
uê-ue-niê (H)	voice, word
uêxa	wind — Cast.: *pneuma!*

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,1 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

with the right hand over the naked thigh. Two strands are similarly twisted together until the desired thickness is obtained. 283

Gourds.—Gourds are still widely used. They are picked when ripe, cleaned out, and dried. With small openings, they serve as containers for beverages and powdered lime. Some are made into bowls and others are cut up to make spoons. Today these objects are undecorated, but formerly in Timaná they were painted with a resin varnish very similar to that used in Pasto. (See p. 930.) Before the Spanish domination, gourds were also used as frames over which were stretched the prepared skin of the heads of their enemies killed in war. 415 324 [314] [721]

Metallurgy.—The metallurgy of these Indians was the same as that practiced throughout most of Colombia. The metals were gold, copper, and an alloy of the two (tumbaga). It is recorded that the Indians "worked gold," but the processes are not described. Specimens found recently in the territory, however, show molding, casting, and hammering. Metal objects included nose ornaments, parrot-shaped breastplates, necklaces with small animal figures, and some anthropomorphic idols. Gold occurs in this territory, particularly on the upper Páez or the Suin River. 325 [301] [532] [135]

Ceramics.—These tribes made and still make coiled pottery. Modern vessel forms include large jars for storing beverages and poorly shaped, crudely decorated containers for preparing and serving food. There is no individual specialization in this task, women making pots for their own family and not for trade. 323

Stone and wooden artifacts.—The native Indians made stone axes of a simple design, but stonework disappeared during the time of colonization, when the Indians could obtain manufactured iron weapons and utensils such as machetes, axes, hoes, shovels, etc. The manufacture of wooden objects—weaving, cooking, and farming implements and weapons—was furthered by the use of metal tools, and now is well developed, as exemplified by the trapiche (cane mill), a true machine made of wood. 324 182 177 322 249 177

Weaving.—Weaving, little practiced before the Conquest, developed with the post-Contact need for wearing more clothes and with the introduction of sheep, whose wool was used in addition to cotton. Weaving was and is exclusively the work of women (pl. 186). They prepare fine, uniform yarn with a common spindle, which they handle as they walk along the road (pl. 187, *top*). The loom is vertical, made of two horizontal rods fastened to two uprights. The warp runs vertically with a continuous thread. The horizontal weft is pressed down with a wooden sword. They also weave hemp bands on the loom. Woolen blankets are woven in natural colors, but some sashes have bright colors made of imported wool or of home-dyed wool. For red, they use one of the Rubiaceae (*Relbunium hypocarpium*), and for 286 [177] [482] [386]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguez

blue, the fruit of the jagua palm (kii), probably *Genipa* sp. A woven fabric is made black by burying it for several days with clay and branches of a *Phyllanthus* which they call "sal."

They make woolen bags by hand, using a kind of crochet technique without needles, and decorate them with rectangular and rhomboid figures. Some bags are made of hemp (fique), in which case the stitches are larger and the article has greater elasticity.

Weapons.—For weapons, the *Páez* used large, thick lances of black or chonta palm, 20 to 25 palms or more long, clubs or macanas, stones thrown with slings, large rocks rolled down from heights, spear throwers like those used by the *Chibcha*, and shields of jaguar, puma, or bear skin. The *Páez* quickly adopted iron arms from the Spaniards, and in the last wars of the Conquest they used steel swords and knives. In a recently discovered grave were copper bells, a golden breastplate, shield bars of tumbaga, a Spanish dagger, and a curved knife of the Arabian or north African type used by the conquistadors.

Today the *Páez* use the club or macana, ordinary guns, machetes, knives, and, for killing birds, the blowgun.

Fire making.—Fires are generally made today with flint and steel, but some Indians use modern matches. For both heating and cooking, the fire is made on the ground in the main house, surrounded by stones which help support the pots. It is covered at night, and almost never goes out.

Illumination is provided not only by the fire but by candles made of wax from the wax palm and from seeds of a wild laurel. The latter are cooked and pressed in a bag so that the wax drips into a half calabash or pot to form a semispherical lump. It is melted to make candles with cotton wicks. The *Páez* use these themselves and also sell them, for they are superior to candles made of animal tallow. A cruder means of lighting consists of transfixing a large number of "higuerilla" seeds on a long, thin bamboo splinter. When the splinter is laid horizontally and lighted, the first seed burns strongly, after which the flame passes from seed to seed, lasting some 15 minutes and throwing a fair light a few feet around.

COMMERCE

Each week a market is held in the municipio or in some of the small native villages (pls. 190, 191). The Indians sell vegetables, tortillas, eggs, chickens, and laurel wax, and buy salt, brown sugar, and especially lime (mambe) to be chewed with coca. Each product has a price in Colombian money, whether by quantity or weight. The unit of weight is called an "egg," and more or less equals the weight of a chicken egg. After his few customary transactions, paid for either in cash or in terms, in which the future coffee crop is mortgaged to the

Since the shapes are very simple, a special
/162 cont./
463 apprenticeship with a master is not absolutely necessary; Santos
323 Kiskue, at any rate, began making pots by himself after an
[467] accident that left him with a stiff left wrist. He uses the unmixed clay that stands near his house. Out of this, constantly moistening it, he shapes on a /163/ board lying on the ground an even, round "clay sausage," which he then presses flat with the palm of his hand. He builds up his pots out of this in spirals. They are put with their lower part on a shallow clay bowl, so that he can turn them easily in closing up the junctures (Ills. 184 to 186 /see pp. 282-283/). He lets the freshly made pots dry for about a week under a roof, then he takes them to a place where there is sufficient dry wood. Here he places the pots very close together, stacks wood and twigs over them, and lets them burn for about two hours. They are then ready for use.

i) Candlemaking

● 388 At the three annual church festivals a large number of
[796] candles (mbéla; Spanish: vela) are used to decorate the church.
They are in part purchased, but largely homemade. Everyone is
[462] familiar with the process of manufacture, but for the festivals
[824] it is men's work. The wax is obtained from the wood laurel (Myrica pubescens Willd), whose small fruits, measuring about five to eight millimeters in diameter, are harvested in great masses in April and May. For this purpose the twigs are struck off and stripped of the fruits over the round berry net that is put in the opening of a large fiber bag. After they are dried, they are poured into a bag, boiled, and squeezed. The wax, caught in a vessel and dried, was formerly an important commercial product in the trade with the whites. In making the candles, wax is poured over the wicks until the proper thickness is obtained.

k) Fireworks

389 No celebration and no church festival is possible without
[796] setting off the greatest possible number of fireworks. The fire-
[541] crackers required for this are made by the men themselves.
[462]

/198 cont./

IX

The Wax Comes from the Woodlands

796 Before the fiestero goes to stay in the pueblo, the laborers make the candles and distill the aguardiente while the fireworks-maker produces the firecrackers and rockets.

● 388 824 The candles are made with the wax of the wild laurel (1)

1. Myrica pubescens Willd.

recently extracted from seeds gathered months earlier from the bushes in the woodlands. Laurel, of course, is a shrub with lanceolate leaves, which grows wild in the clearings after the harvest. During the months of April and May the branches are heavy with lead-colored and tiny seeds very similar in form to the fruit of the coffee tree. They are a favorite food of the wild pigeons, and for this reason, while they are ripening, the owner, or preferably his children, constantly frightens them [756] away. This is a reinforcement of the magic protection supplied [789] by the medicine man at the suggestion of the owner of the woodland. He has performed the exorcism to frighten away the unwanted birds: he has loaded his shotgun with chayuts (2) and

2. Escrofulareacea.

shot at the pigeons. They will not return.

[415] The seeds are gathered in fique bags. Ten workers gather approximately one arroba in one day. /199/ For the period of one month the seeds will be left to dry, scattered in a corner of the house, so that the wax will come out white and not green as would happen if this were not done.

388 To extract the wax, the seeds are packed into small sacks or bags, boiled, and pressed at once. The wax falls with the hot water into a round container; on the following day, the water that remains at the bottom of the container is removed, and the wax is left to solidify further.

/199 cont./

•388 Up to a few years ago, the extraction of laurel wax was the
43 only industry among the Calderas people that brought them monetary returns. And it was the sole article of active trading with the whites. At first the price was good; one peso a pound; nowadays it is barely worth 40 centavos. Thus, there is no
388 market for this article. The fiesteros and the albaceros have chunks of wax in their chambers. The laborers melt it in a copper pan and pour it at once into bamboo tubes, mixed with hot water so that it will not solidify at once. Into it they dip the notched wicks of different lengths so as to saturate them with wax, then bring them out into the air so that they will harden, saturate them once more with wax, and continue in this way until the candle has acquired the desired thickness. Several dozen are made; some large ones for the table, others of medium size for the church, and smaller ones for the mayordomos.

X

Gunpowder

389 The Paez are totally unfamiliar with the method of making
829 gunpowder. And to explain how it is obtained, they tell the
648 painful legend that it is made from human beings. It comes from a fat man, they say, fattened expressly for this purpose. He is hung up, a red-hot iron rod is inserted in his rectum; lard drips down; and this lard is the gunpowder. For this reason, they do not want to send their children to distant lands where the white man lives. They believe that they would be used to obtain gunpowder. "The white men greatly desire Indians in order to obtain gunpowder."

389 The Indians buy gunpowder in the urban centers. They
439 work it up. The technique is almost universally known.

Chamones

/327 cont./

223 black birds, are not eaten because they are probably animals of
825 the devil. It is said that in times past the Calderas Indians ate
262 beetles, the reason that they are nicknamed tandayaha (one who
[578] eats beetles), an epithet which they regard as offensive and which nearly always irritates them. The Calderunos say that they do not
[224] eat worms or the meat of rabbits and snakes. They regard as game
[223] animals the guara, deer, coati, armadillo, bat, and various species of birds.

224 Concerning bear hunting, the people of Mosoco relate /328/ real feats performed by Indians in open fights with the ani-
[237] mals. Bear fat is highly esteemed among the natives and "whites."

226. Fishing is less important than hunting. The rivers and streams contain sardines and coruntas /small river-fish/. During Holy Week and at Christmas they engage in fishing, when the
[462] water is low, by means of barbasco, nets, and hooks. This is strictly a masculine activity. In the Paez River they fish during the months of January and February and generally in months of drought.

They also gather crabs.

Laurel wax industry

● 398 Laurel, introduced by a man from Popayan /el payanés/,
824 Agustín Valencia, has played an important role in the economy of some parcialidades of Tierradentro. It grows wild in Calderas, Tumbichukue, Lame, San Andrés, Chinas, and Suin. The production of wax was the only industry in these parcialidades that permitted them to maintain regular trade with the "whites."

398 A mestizo trader from Mosoco says that he was a great ex-
43 porter of laurel wax. "It was the native industry" -- he says -- by means of which salt, trousers, shirts, hats, and centavos came." In this business, he states, he made one arroba of profit per load. The pound was quoted at a peso in Silvia. The informant says that in the years 1946 and 1947 he took out from 800 to 1,000 arrobas of wax. He almost had a monopoly on the business. What little wax escaped him was purchased by traders from Belalcázar, who in turn took it by way of Mosoco to Silvia. The chief consumers of this product were the soap factories of Cali. The laurel wax industry waned in 1950, when those factories

/328 cont./

388 began to use other types of raw materials. The death blow was
43 thus given to the only home industry of the above-mentioned regions. Wax is still gathered, but the price for an arroba in Silvia does not reach eight pesos. There is no longer any profit.
388 The Indians go on using it to make candles for household con-
[373] sumption and above all for illumination at religious fiestas. We
[796] have described the methods of gathering, extracting, and manufacturing laurel wax in the work entitled "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," published in the Revista Colombiana de Folklore, Number 2 of 1953.

/329/

Mingas

476 The minga is the most widespread form of labor among the
461 Páez. The natives can work for themselves alone and are excellent laborers. But the task would demand more of their time
[464] and effort. Thus, the minga serves to prevent "boredom" during the work, to gain time, and to provide a labor force which would otherwise be hard to obtain.

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Today the *Páez* use the club or macana, ordinary guns, machetes, knives, and, for killing birds, the blowgun.

Fire making.—Fires are generally made today with flint and steel, but some Indians use modern matches. For both heating and cooking, the fire is made on the ground in the main house, surrounded by stones which help support the pots. It is covered at night, and almost never goes out.

Illumination is provided not only by the fire but by candles made of wax from the wax palm and from seeds of a wild laurel. The latter are cooked and pressed in a bag so that the wax drips into a half calabash or pot to form a semispherical lump. It is melted to make candles with cotton wicks. The *Páez* use these themselves and also sell them, for they are superior to candles made of animal tallow. A cruder means of lighting consists of transfixing a large number of "higuerilla" seeds on a long, thin bamboo splinter. When the splinter is laid horizontally and lighted, the first seed burns strongly, after which the flame passes from seed to seed, lasting some 15 minutes and throwing a fair light a few feet around.

COMMERCE

Each week a market is held in the municipio or in some of the small native villages (pls. 190, 191). The Indians sell vegetables, tortillas, eggs, chickens, and laurel wax, and buy salt, brown sugar, and especially lime (mambe) to be chewed with coca. Each product has a price in Colombian money, whether by quantity or weight. The unit of weight is called an "egg," and more or less equals the weight of a chicken egg. After his few customary transactions, paid for either in cash or in terms, in which the future coffee crop is mortgaged to the

Since the shapes are very simple, a special
/162 cont./
463 apprenticeship with a master is not absolutely necessary; Santos
323 Kiskue, at any rate, began making pots by himself after an
[467] accident that left him with a stiff left wrist. He uses the unmixed clay that stands near his house. Out of this, constantly moistening it, he shapes on a /163/ board lying on the ground an even, round "clay sausage," which he then presses flat with the palm of his hand. He builds up his pots out of this in spirals. They are put with their lower part on a shallow clay bowl, so that he can turn them easily in closing up the junctures (Ills. 184 to 186 /see pp. 282-283/). He lets the freshly made pots dry for about a week under a roof, then he takes them to a place where there is sufficient dry wood. Here he places the pots very close together, stacks wood and twigs over them, and lets them burn for about two hours. They are then ready for use.

i) Candlemaking

388 At the three annual church festivals a large number of
[796] candles (mbéla; Spanish: vela) are used to decorate the church.
They are in part purchased, but largely homemade. Everyone is
[462] familiar with the process of manufacture, but for the festivals
[824] it is men's work. The wax is obtained from the wood laurel (Myrica pubescens Willd), whose small fruits, measuring about five to eight millimeters in diameter, are harvested in great masses in April and May. For this purpose the twigs are struck off and stripped of the fruits over the round berry net that is put in the opening of a large fiber bag. After they are dried, they are poured into a bag, boiled, and squeezed. The wax, caught in a vessel and dried, was formerly an important commercial product in the trade with the whites. In making the candles, wax is poured over the wicks until the proper thickness is obtained.

k) Fireworks

• 389 No celebration and no church festival is possible without
[796] setting off the greatest possible number of fireworks. The fire-
[541] crackers required for this are made by the men themselves.
[462]

/163 cont./

389 The powder, however, must be bought. As for its production,
822 the general opinion is that it is made from human beings. The
829 whites, they believe, fatten human beings, then hang them,
[439] and, while they are still alive, tap their fat, from which they then make powder. That is why the Paez do not like to send their children far away and do not let them go to the whites, because they believe that the latter would catch them in order to make powder from them.

824 /164/ To make the fireworks a piece of sheep gut is used,
389 filled with powder and wound tightly with an agave string.
[237] The latter is waxed with beeswax for extra strength. One of
[283] these powder cases is used for the smaller firecrackers (koétes), while two, one over the other, are used for the larger firecrackers (kwatón), and under these is placed the fuse, which consists of a small bamboo tube, one to five centimeters long, filled with powder (Fig. 32 /see p. 256 /). These two or three parts are wrapped in a maize leaf and fastened to a bamboo splice 20-60 centimeters long. When it is lighted, the firecracker rises to a height of 50 meters with a considerable whistle and then explodes.

5. Trade and Transportation

438 One cannot speak of trade in the commercial sense among the Paez, for they trade almost solely among themselves and
[441] abhor everything that has to do with business. Moreover, since there is no merchant class among them, there is no carrying trade. Merchants are regarded as do-nothings who, though they
[437] are needed, are nevertheless despised. Fundamentally the self-contained household economy predominates, and whatever one family does not have it barters for within the same village if
439 possible. Only when this is not possible, thus when industrial products are involved, does one go to the weekly market held regularly at Inzá or Belalcázar, in order to buy the necessary articles. These include, above all, salt, as well as spades, machetes, aluminum pots, knives, scissors, spoons, needles,

1: Nachtigall--256 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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[284]

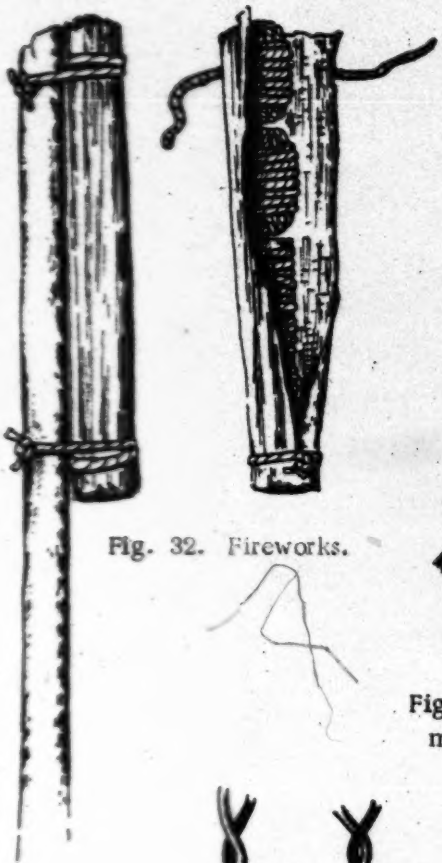

Fig. 32. Fireworks.

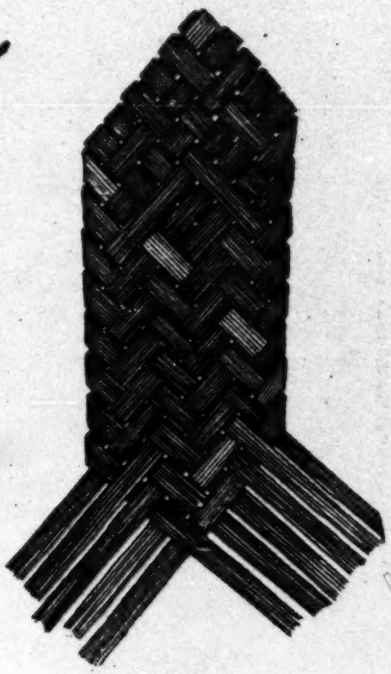

Fig. 33. Plaited strip for making the straw hat.

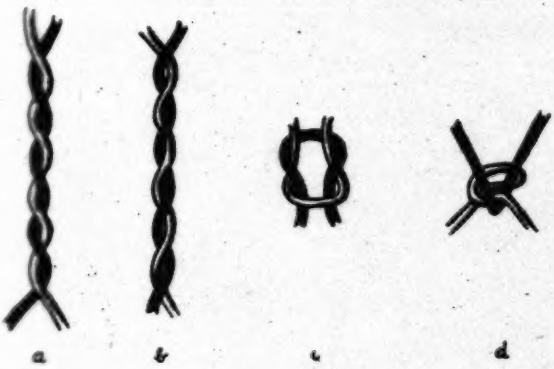

Fig. 34. a = S-twisting b = Z-twisting
c = symmetrical knots d = fish-net knots

/199 cont./

388 Up to a few years ago, the extraction of laurel wax was the
43 only industry among the Calderas people that brought them monetary returns. And it was the sole article of active trading with the whites. At first the price was good; one peso a pound; nowadays it is barely worth 40 centavos. Thus, there is no
388 market for this article. The fiesteros and the albaceros have chunks of wax in their chambers. The laborers melt it in a copper pan and pour it at once into bamboo tubes, mixed with hot water so that it will not solidify at once. Into it they dip the notched wicks of different lengths so as to saturate them with wax, then bring them out into the air so that they will harden, saturate them once more with wax, and continue in this way until the candle has acquired the desired thickness. Several dozen are made; some large ones for the table, others of medium size for the church, and smaller ones for the mayordomos.

X

Gunpowder

●389 The Paez are totally unfamiliar with the method of making
829 gunpowder. And to explain how it is obtained, they tell the
648 painful legend that it is made from human beings. It comes from a fat man, they say, fattened expressly for this purpose. He is hung up, a red-hot iron rod is inserted in his rectum; lard drips down; and this lard is the gunpowder. For this reason, they do not want to send their children to distant lands where the white man lives. They believe that they would be used to obtain gunpowder. "The white men greatly desire Indians in order to obtain gunpowder."

389 The Indians buy gunpowder in the urban centers. They
439 work it up. The technique is almost universally known.

/199 cont./

•389 Explosive charges are made in the following way. The powder is packed into small sheepskin cartridges; these cartridges /200/ are tied tightly with maguey thread. Then they are pierced in such a way that the powder can come in contact with the correspondent fuse. They make with these explosive charges:

Firecrackers: a charge attached to a short stick.

Skyrockets: reed tubes full of powder, with one explosive charge, attached to a long pole. They rise to considerable heights and end with an explosion.

Slingers: firecrackers made of three charges attached to a stick.

Castle: a structure resembling half an ellipse, made of flexible rods to which the explosive charges are attached.

[796] The fireworks-maker is selected especially by the fiestero or the albacero, and at the time of the fiesta he distributes the firecrackers personally among the elders with a great show [465] of deference. The albacero must kill a pig or a sheep to reward him for his work.

[461] The making of these objects is slow: a month or even more, not because it is complicated, but because steady work on it is tiresome.

389 During the making of these firecrackers, with the relative 787 tranquility that this implies, a man may come to know of a 75 destiny which he possibly had not suspected: becoming a medicine man. While sitting at his work he may feel the "signs" that herald his future activity. This was the case with a medicine man of Calderas. As a young man he knew nothing about remedies or "signs." But as he was making firecrackers, he felt the signs. He had five children at the time. After that he learned what the good and the bad remedies were from another famous medicine man. He put his knowledge into practice, cured a sick man, and devoted himself to being a medicine man. The signs, they say, are sent by God.

/119 cont./

574 would ever enter a house whose occupants were not present. We
576 never succeeded in persuading Victoriano to enter an empty house, although he knew that we were always greatly interested in learning about the interior of houses and their furnishings.

342 The door of the house is only in rare cases a wide board which at the top and bottom on one side runs out into two pegs which turn in a socket, one in the threshold and one in the doorframe. The entrance is generally constructed in the same fashion as the wall (īnd), which /120/ consists of vertical maize stalks placed next to one another as closely as possible and lashed by means of bast or a liana to one another and to two horizontal maize stalks. The latter always reach from side post to side post. At the place for the door, the rigid wall is interrupted, and the vertically placed maize stalks, only loosely bound with bast, may be shoved a little to one side, whereby they drag along the ground (Ill. 158 /see p. 270/).

[231] Dogs, cats, and chickens are kept in the houses, but not pigs, which live out of doors all the time, exactly like the cows, horses, and sheep.

c) Household Implements

Generally the house has only one division into two rooms, the smaller of which is the kitchen, living room, and bedroom, the larger serving as storage and supply room. The wall between these two rooms is likewise only made out of maize stalks set next to one another vertically. In the "large" houses the larger [247] part contains the sugar mill, by means of which undiluted sugar-
● [404] cane juice may be produced, even in rainy weather. In case
596 adult married sons live in their father's house, a separate com-
342 partment divided off in the same manner is built for these families and furnished as a kitchen, either next to the living room of the parents or -- as in most cases -- on the other side of the
354 house. The hearth area is the family center, and every married
596 woman, in case she is living as a daughter-in-law in the house of the father-in-law, has her own hearth area. The latter has

the simplest possible form.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,V(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

342 [177] Some had wooden doors and windows, and were built with nails and wires, though most were still made with vegetable materials.

The modern *Moguex* house has two rooms. The main one, entered through a small door, serves as storeroom for goods to be sold, reception hall, dancing place, and a room in which to keep watch over the dead. The other is a pantry for provisions and drinks; here are kept [354] kitchen utensils. In the center is the fireplace and around it dried [352] cowhides or platform beds made of horizontal poles tied to stakes [476] driven in the ground. One's neighbors aid him to build his house, [461] transporting heavy timbers over light rollers and singing rhythmically as they heave together. If the owner of a new house is a man of [554] means, he pays for a feast of benediction or consecration carried out [778] with a Catholic priest, a godfather, and a godmother.

The *Páez* does all this and in addition puts some pieces of silver 352 money under his house to assure his good fortune. In the main house [415] he places the metate on stakes, and in a secondary house, the press [353] for extracting wax from laurel, one or more troughs or hollowed trunks, [354] and large jars for chicha and guarapo. From the roof frame hang bags, [524] or "mochilas," of netted hemp for belongings. There is also a bam- [283] boo candlestick, the wooden feast drum, sometimes a tiple or small guitar, and, nailed to the wall, a spindle. Outside, the loom stands ●404 against the wall Beyond it is the sugarcane mill, which is made of 286 a section of tree trunk with a hole above a projection on which the 249 cane is pressed by hand with a rod which crosses the hole. Some mills consist of two or three wooden cylinders rotated by animal power.

243 In each maize field is a small, temporary house and a high platform 342 where a watchman frightens the parrots and parakeets with periodic cries and motions.

Each *Páez* group today has its communally built pueblo, with 177 "bahareque" buildings grouped around a rectangular plaza: a church, 361 with its arched portico and small tower in imitation of Colonial architecture, a house for the priest, a school, and two or three large houses for meetings and fiestas, where they dance, sing, and sleep during fiesta days. But ordinarily, the people remain at their distant houses and fields, and do not live at the pueblo, the only permanent inhabitants of which are a few Whites and Mestizos.

ENGINEERING WORKS

491 The Spaniards found bridges which they described as "weak and 499 flexible bridges of bamboo" and "bridges of vines." A territory so broken and crossed with so many rivers and canyons naturally stimulated the *Páez* in the construction of bridges and the laying out of roads. Today they make four kinds of bridges: (1) A simple vine or cable stretched across the river; (2) a kind of wooden stairs placed

/166 cont./

435 scarce. Nevertheless, the barter rate of the wool of a sheep for
437 a bag of maize was not shaken.

The sheep themselves were generally not bartered, but only
[804] the wool, which amounts to about a pound. The equivalent is a tomín (Span. pile) of sugar cane piled up in a mound about a meter wide at the base and a meter high. In exceptional cases of bartering sheep, I was told that the equivalent is ten tomín of sugar cane or 12 pounds of coca leaves or two arrobas of maize (one Spanish arroba corresponds to approximately 12.5 kilograms). In this case, as in many barter transactions, the customary barter equivalents sometimes deviate considerably from the market prices customary among the Paez. (The official market prices in the trade with the colonists on the weekly market are about five times as high.) Thus, for example, one tomín of sugar cane is worth 20 centavos, but one pound of wool from a sheep, one peso. Arracacha is also bartered in the form of a tomín quantity, which comes to about ten to 12 pieces. The value in money is ten centavos. One pound of coca leaves is exchanged for one pound of salt (value 20 centavos) or one pound of rice or ten eggs. The latter cost 25 centavos apiece at the weekly market in Inzá. The Paez use stones as pound weights, which are gauged accord-
[405] ing to a pound of salt bought from a trader in Inzá. Two calabashes fastened to a scale beam serve as scales.

[804] Potatoes are bartered in cuartillas and measured out in large wooden bowls which are made by the Paez themselves and contain about ten pounds. The equivalent consists of half a bottle of brandy. This would come to 80 centavos at a trader's, as the barter /167/ amounts of a tomín of sugar cane or a fiber bag full of maize indicate. Vegetable and fruit bananas are bartered by the whole bushels (tlóits), which, however, in Tierradentro contain only about 30 to 50 bananas. Two bushels are worth a bag of maize. Beans, like maize, are bartered in fiber bags, and
[432] a bag full of cabbage has the same value. Chicha is not sold, but
[431] only given away.
[273]

In one case, however, in the house of
/115 cont./
596 Ezequiel Calliumbo, there were three married sons, besides three unmarried ones, all of whom cultivate the fields together. Ezequiel, who is about 60 years old, had ten children, of whom six sons are still living. The oldest son has three children, two of whom have died, the second eldest has four children, two of whom have died, and both the children of the third eldest are dead.

342 The normal houses (yat) are rectangular houses with a hip roof and, depending on their size, are divided into "large houses" (hatwála) and "small houses" (yatléčkwe) (Ills. 158 and 159 /see pp. 270 and 271 /). In accordance with its use the dwelling house specifically is called ōpyat (ōp = to live). The dimensions of the small houses vary between five to ten meters in length and
[345] three to five meters in width. The largest houses are up to 15 meters long and seven meters wide. These are primarily the
342 festival houses. As dwellings they differ from the small ones,
● 409 which represent by far the greatest proportion of all houses, not
249 only by their /116/ size, but above all by the fact that they have
352 the sugar mill (lapíče) /"Trapiche" (Sp.) in the glossary, p. 250 /, which is a feature of every house, in their interior. As a rule it stands in front of the house or a little to one side of it, normally covered with quantities of expressed sugar-cane stalks hung over it
343 to dry. Besides the sugar mill, a small menstruation hut (dúyat)
342 is required for any house to be complete; it may be absent only if the family erects a small field-hut (ẽyatwá) in the middle of the field for a harvest period. In this case the women of the family living there go into the dúyat of another house. In no case may they remain in the dwelling during this period. The field hut and
[341] the small menstruation-hut are rectangular gable-roof houses in construction and, with the exception of the gable roof, of the same construction as the normal hip-roofed houses.

342 Every house has an annex (škídnyeyát) or at least a com-
273 partment for storing the chicha trough (kánoe). This trough is the
251 most important accessory of a Paez house, next to the sugar mill (Ill. 165 /see p. 273 /).

/137 cont./

273 (= sweet water), as for the unfermented chicha, does not in any case have anything in common with the name for fermented chicha. Moreover, there is no separate name for sugar cane; nyũ̃ã also means "sweet" and "honey."

249 In the region of the Paez, sugar cane may be planted and harvested throughout the year. The juice of the cane is pressed
[407] out in the sugar mill (lapíce). The latter stands in front of or inside every house; it belongs to every family in the same way
[273] that each has its sugar-cane field and its chicha. The latter has
[431] no commercial value whatever, but is merely given away, and
249 anyone who asks for it gets it. The sugar mill (Fig. 28 /see
407 p254 /) of the Paez of Calderas and southern Tierradentro consists of two tree trunks smoothed off on either side, which form the lateral posts (mágrena) of the mill. They are rammed into the ground and are provided, each one twice, with two recesses that receive the horizontal guidebeams (sépo) for the three crushing cylinders. These guidebeams are merely pinned. No metal parts or nails of any kind are used here or in the entire construction. Below the two lower guidebeams a strong plank is fastened to the lateral posts, upon which the three cylinders (ũnk) rest. Of these only the center one is turned by means of a crossbar, with human power or by a horse, whereas the two lateral ones are moved by means of pegs, which are most accurately fitted, but are not in addition pinned. A horizontal pole is lashed above each of the two lower cylinder-guidebeams, in order to guide the sugar cane shoved in for pressing. Below the cylinders lies a rectangular board (tablón) with /138/ two longitudinal grooves,
[492] in which the extracted sugar-cane juice runs out at the side. If a horse is used to move the crushing cylinders, it is hitched up with two ropes leading out from a rope tied around the belly of the horse, so that the horse does not pull with its chest, as is customary among us.

H. Pittier de Fábrega illustrates (Pl. VI/2) another type of sugar mill from northern Tierradentro, which shows only two horizontal cylinders, one above the other. Both are clamped with pegs between two vertical posts and are turned on either side by hand. The extracted juice is caught in a pouch hanging underneath.

/138 cont./

249 In chicha production for festive days it is customary for
407 the mill to be turned only by human power, by men or women.
461 One could generally observe that the slightly intoxicated men
273 exerted themselves only a short time in each case and were then relieved by the more sober acting women, who -- with their children on their backs -- showed remarkable endurance at this physically quite hard work.

407 Almost every father of a family and houseowner makes his
335 sugar mill himself, or a neighbor helps. There are no profes-
[412] sional carpenters. With an ax (swéla) and a foxtail saw (serúčo) the cylinders are sawed from a tree trunk and crudely smoothed. The cylinders thus prepared are provided with a small hole in the center, from the base and upper side, and are clamped horizontally, by means of pegs, between two posts rammed into
[413] the ground and held together with a rope. Then with a gauge (regla), which consists of a board with thorns, the distances between the pegs are precisely incised on the revolving drum.

273 The sugar cane is put through the crushing cylinders
[249] several times by the workers, one squatting on either side, until
[516] the juice, which is caught in a wooden tub or in calabash vessels,
[415] is pressed out (Ill. 175 /see p. 278/). It is first vigorously heated and then put in a large horizontally positioned tree-trough (kánoa) up to five meters long, in which there must always be a little chicha to begin with (Ill. 165 /see p. 273/). It is stirred up with the old chicha in the trough, the kánoa is covered with banana leaves, and already the next morning the chicha is ready to be drunk. As time goes on the chicha becomes ever stronger in alcoholic content. By noon of the same day it is already strong enough to distill brandy from it. If one does not do this, /139/ some water must be added the next day to dilute it. If this is not done, the chicha is neither drunk nor is new sugar-cane juice added, whereupon it becomes sour and bitter after four or five days and strongly sears the throat. There are also "gourmets" among the Paez, however, who let the chicha go on fermenting, untouched, for up to three weeks and only then drink it so sharp and sour.

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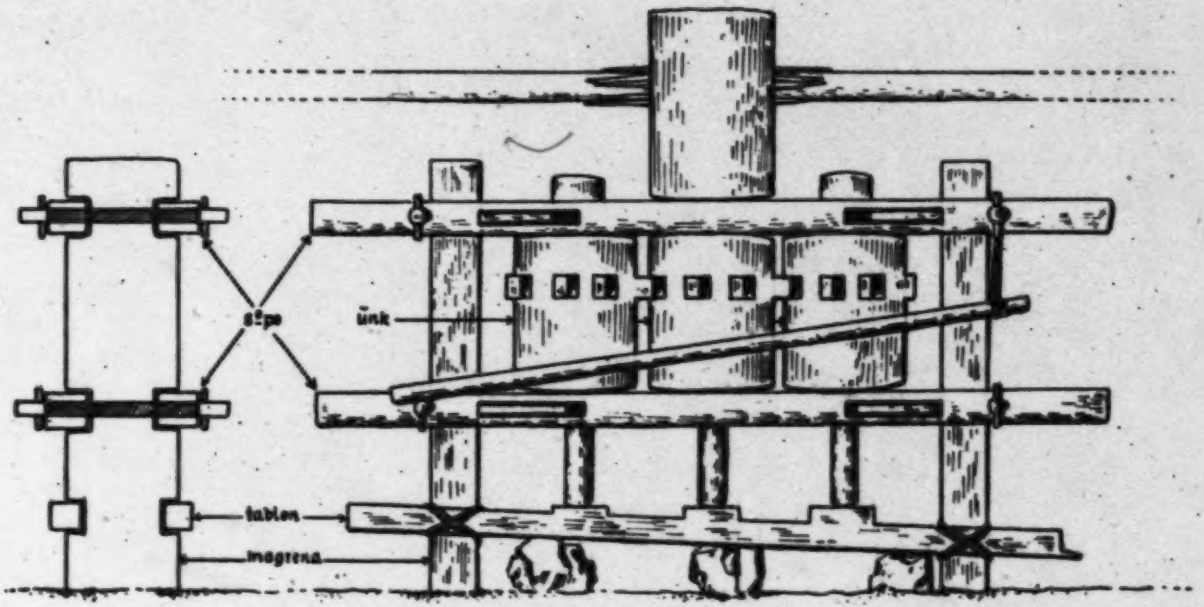
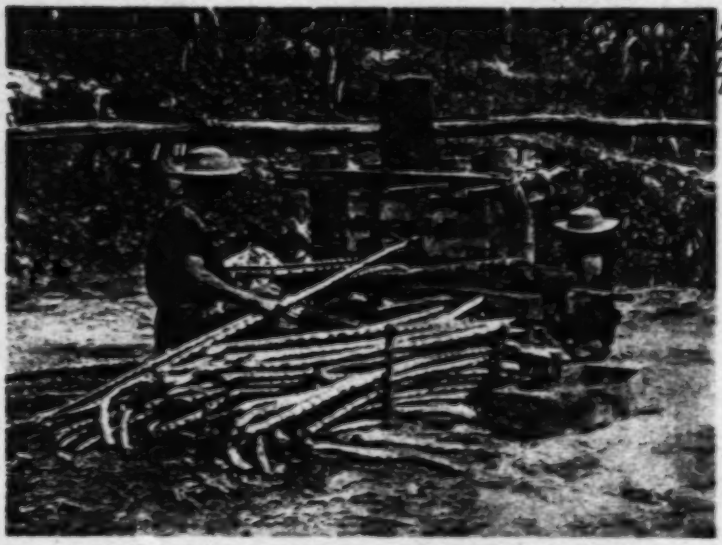


Fig. 28. Sugar mill.

1: Nachtigall--278 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15



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Ill. 175. Sugar mill in operation.

273
415
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291

Ill. 176. Distillation apparatus.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

They represent the primitive type of habitation, the agglomerations being the result of the efforts of the missionaries. 342 [177]

The villages are generally in the open grazing districts at the bottom of the valleys, on side plateaus, or on broad ridges. They are not compact in the common sense of the word, but consist of isolated groups of houses, the approximate common center of which is often indicated by the whitewashed thatch-roofed church (plate v). 361

The walls of the permanent houses are made of a kind of *bajareque*, i. e., a skeleton of canes filled in with clay. In the better homes the interior is divided into two or more rooms, usually very small, with a hearth in the middle; but oftener there are no interior partitions, the dwelling consisting of a single square apartment. In every case that came under my observation the interior was very untidy. 342 353 [354] [356]

The Indians openly objected to our entering their houses, hence I could gain only casual glimpses of their domiciles, the furnishing of which seems to be an imitation of that of the dwellings of the few Spanish people living among them or in the immediate neighborhood. 352 123 177

Outside the houses they generally have a cane-crusher of primitive type, with horizontal smooth cylinders moved by means of levers at each end. A loom and a grinding stone are also seen occasionally under an adjacent shelter (plates IV, 1/2, and VI). 2/2 407 286 412

There may often be seen, either about or inside the house, very large jars used as receptacles in the elaboration of the chicha. These utensils seem to be almost the only survival of the ancient earthenware industry. The smaller pottery vessels which were seen occasionally had been taken from old graves. 415 [192]

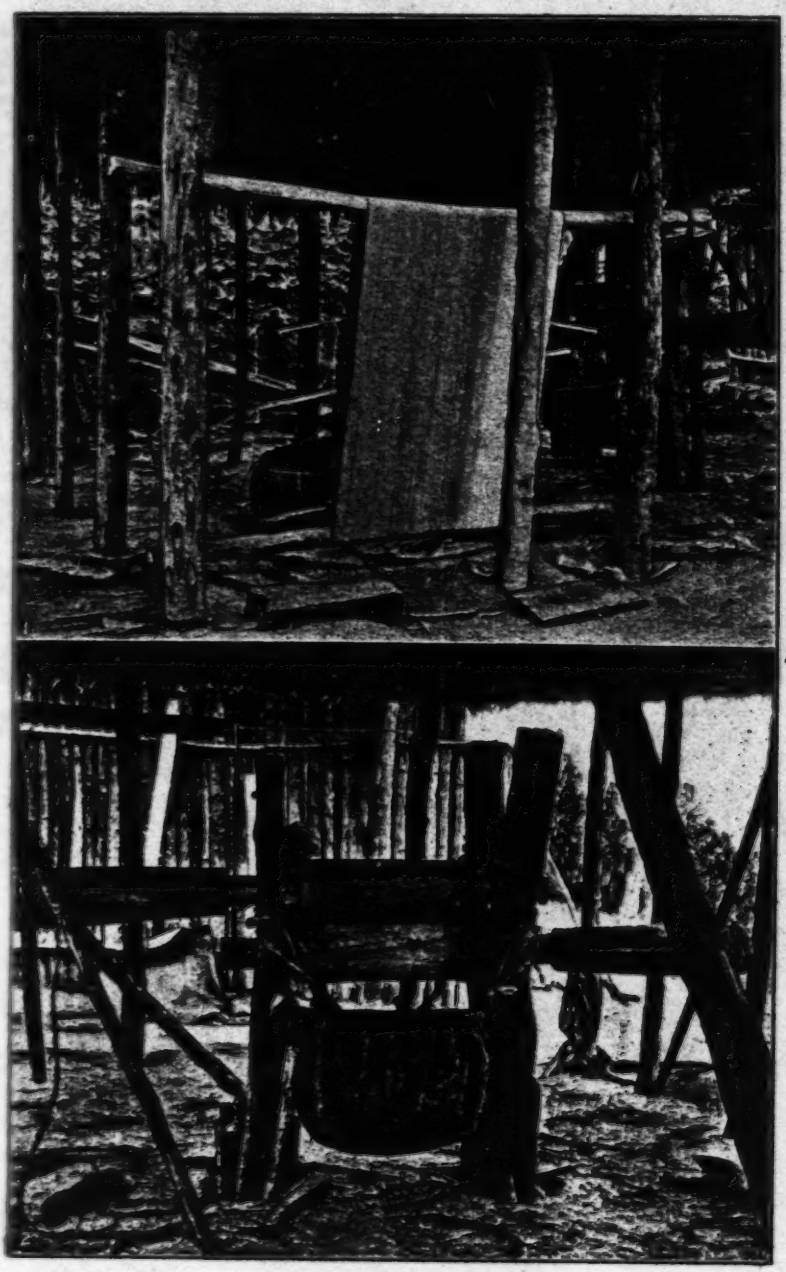
Each group of houses, in which several generations of a single family dwell, is surrounded by a small enclosed field, planted with sugar-cane, plantains, oranges and other fruits, and greens and roots of daily use. The garden enclosure is formed by a ditch, inside of which is a wooden fence or a stone wall, the latter often crowned by a hedge of maguey (*Furcraea*), lechero (*Euphorbia*), borrachero (*Solanum*), and other bushes. 351 [592] [247]

1/2 [See plate facing P. 317 — Analyt]

2/2 [See plate facing P. 320 — Analyt]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

286



407

PAEZ LOOM AND CANE CRUSHER

[facing P. 320]

6: Bernal Villa--103 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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.415

Tierradentro IX: Sugar mill of wood and the milling (Togoima).

7:Hernández de Alba E-54(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The main subsistence of these tribes was and still is based on the cultivation of potatoes, which grow in great quantities in the higher portions of the territory known as Tierradentro, and maize, which is acclimated to the temperate and cold zones. There are three varieties of maize: sweet, soft, and hard. Additional crops were and are yuca or manioc, sweet potatoes, auyamas, ullucos, purutos, frijoles, arracacha, and various other vegetables, and a variety of fruits, including bananas, guayavas, avocados, papayas, [478] pineapples, and passion fruit. Today the *Páez* and *Moguex* are be- [433] ginning to grow wheat, coffee, which is an important item in their [273] economy, and sugarcane, from which is made a coarse sugar and molasses for their fermented drink, guarapo.

241 The men and women of each family generally cultivate the family 476 plot, but for large-scale maize or coffee planting, and for cultivation of the lands of the Church or saint, they work communally, and have meetings called "mingas." Communal work for any particular [782] individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense. The [273] beneficiary must feed his helpers, generally sacrificing a pig and preparing great quantities of chicha for the libations and nocturnal dances after the work. All adults must participate in working the Church lands, but each brings his own food.

241 Implements of cultivation are the digging stick, or macana, for 412 making holes for planting, machetes and axes for destroying vege- 407 tation, and picks and shovels for removing earth, except where re- 492 placed by plows pulled by animal traction.

Domesticated animals.—Domesticated animals include chickens, 231 turkeys, some pigs, dogs, and a few horses and cows. All but the [177] turkeys are of European origin. These animals are rarely sold or killed for food, except for feast days, magical ceremonies, meetings, [438] and visits of relatives, friends or distinguished White men. But [251] sometimes the Indians buy meat in the weekly market and hang it over the hearth, where it is preserved by the smoke.

A custom which has persisted since the beginning of the Colonial 574 Period is that of always giving a guest the "camarico" or "cariño" 431 (affection), a present varying from an egg to a chicken, together with some potatoes, vegetables, and coffee beans.

262 Formerly, meat was obtained from wild rather than domesticated 136 animals—boars (zaínos), guaras, guatines, birds, and guinea pigs, the 231 last being true domesticated animals kept in some numbers in the native houses.

252 **Food preparation.**—Food was cooked in pottery ollas, but metal and [415] enamel ware is now often used. The *Páez* make "mute," a soup of [177] boiled maize, cabbage, squash, and potatoes, and "cocido," a soup

/144 cont./

have himself specially purified by the shaman before hunting. In case the wife of a hunter happens to be menstruating at the very time of the hunt, however, purification is of no avail; the hunter is too "dirty" and must stay at home, so as not to provoke the wrath of the gĕlyómp and thus bring misfortune on the entire hunting party.

The latter generally consists of six men with 12 dogs, without there being any regular battues, however. The hunters are equipped with shotguns, whose smooth barrels, with a caliber of about 15 millimeters, consist of strong sheet-iron. Fine sand is used as shot; powder is purchased and ignited with a spark from the flintlock.

There are no closed seasons for animals; nor is gĕlyómp angry, say, because too much game might be hunted, for "this does not happen, since there is not that much." After hunting, however, the hunter fastens the tail feathers of the birds killed to the inner side of the roof of his house and the cleanly gnawed skulls of the four-footed animals killed to its center post or center gable-post, both so as to be successful again the next time in hunting the same game. I found tail feathers of birds under the roof covering of almost every house, and frequently also three, five, or ten monkey or rabbit skulls fastened directly to the house post or strung one above the other on a string. Only once did I find, on the gable post of a small field-hut, at a man's height, below a monkey skull, a very crudely incised human figure with an oval face and six hairs standing straight up on the head (Ill. 200 /see p. 288 /). The eyes are represented by circles, the nose by a long rectangle, and the mouth by a triangle. The body is rectangular. Two semicircular lines are incised on the sides of the body. The arms start at these semicircles as two bent lines and stick out somewhat; the legs are represented in a similar way; a triangle between them is probably supposed to indicate the genitals. A Christian cross is carved on the side of the post. I was told that the human figure represents the "devil," /145/ but had nothing to do with hunting. This explanation is, of course, unsatisfactory, but I was unable to find any similar

Among the Paez, fishing with

/145 cont./

226 poisonous plants is done once a year, in the dry season, as com-
824 munity fishing with weirs. For this purpose -- it was explained to me -- a dam of stones and earth is first made by the men. The herbs, which only grow high in the mountains and contain a poisonous substance, and which have been pulverized with stones, are tossed into the pool thus partitioned off. These herbs are called yũkse or kẽse. The fish are said to die from them immediately. /146/ They are caught only by the men. But since the poisonous herbs are so far away and are to be found only with difficulty, the men are said to catch the fish sometimes unpoisoned at the weirs with their bare hands.

f) Weapons

411 The weapons of the Paez are limited to hunting weapons
[726] and children's toys, since wars are no longer fought. The only important hunting weapon today is the shotgun. As children's
[524] playthings there are the stone-sling (ísot), blowgun (pãt), and in in recent times the elastic sling (káučéro).

[824] In former times, in the battles with the Spaniards, the
[714] Paez were said to have used lances 25 handspans long made from the wood of the chonta palm, as well as plaited shields or shields
[237] of tapir skin (Pittier, p. 327). I could find no confirmation for the
[124] present-day or even earlier use of lance and shield; my informants
[175] were familiar with neither the word nor the object. From the chroniclers, however, it is reported that the Paez, as well as other mountain peoples of this region, had learned from their battles with Spanish horsemen to defend themselves with long lances. There is, however, absolutely no foundation for a pre-Spanish use
714 of this type of lance. It is not unlikely that the Paez originally had plaited shields (opimb). The word for skin shield (himba-kat) is interesting; its present literal meaning is "horse skin." Whether himba meant "tapir" in pre-Spanish times cannot be ascertained.

/146 cont./

726 In order to defend their mountain country the Paez also used
[725] large rocks which they hurled down on the attackers from the
[177] heights. They, too, however, soon succeeded in obtaining iron
[411] and iron weapons. In their battles at the time of the Conquista
they were already using swords and machetes.

411 The stone-sling plaited of agave fibers, whose manufacture
726 is described below (see under "Plaiting" /see pp. 85-86 /), is
773 of great importance mythologically in the battles with the "Pijao."
628 For geographical reasons it is the typical weapon of the American
411 mountain peoples from Tierra del Fuego to Canada, whereas the
191 blowgun, for similar reasons, is the typical weapon chiefly of the
Amazonas and Orinoco forest area. The simultaneous occurrence
of blowgun and sling is found all the way from Mexico to Ecuador
and in Bolivia (Friederici, 1911, pp. 71-73, Pl. 13).

411 /147/ The blowgun of the Paez consists of a single barrel and
is very simple in its construction. It is made only by men, but
[462] for bird-hunting is used almost solely by boys. To make it, one
[857] uses the thin, straight trunk of the fíza tree, the pith of which is
[223] burned out with a long iron tube about eight millimeters in di-
ameter and heated red-hot. The length of the tube is two to
three meters. No special mouthpiece is attached. As a sight a
little piece of beeswax is pasted above the mouth of the blowgun.
[824] The ball-shaped fruits of the smbák tree, which have exactly the
right caliber when green, are used as shot. The range amounts
[211] to about 20 meters. The accuracy of the shot is not great. Never-
theless, there are boys who have carved more than 20 notches
above the blowhole of the tube as a record of the birds killed.

4. Crafts and Techniques

a) Treatment of Fibers

283 The fiber material used by the Paez for plaiting, weaving,
nets, or ropes is primarily agave, cotton, or sheep wool. Agave
and cotton are ancient American fiber plants whose homeland is
probably Central America, while working with sheep wool has its
tradition in the Peruvian Highlands, in working with llama or

/172 cont./
123 of Calderas came from the weekly market in Inzá and visited
623 me in San Andrés. When in the course of the conversation I
554 mentioned that I would be coming to Calderas on the following
Monday, he suggested that I arrive there early. He said that
he already knew that I was interested in everything concerning
[476] his village and on Monday /173/ I could be present at a com-
munity project for all the men of the village in clearing a field.
Since my interpreter was not free until Monday, I could not set
out on Sunday in order to be present in time for the field work
on Monday. I begged him to postpone the communal project
for a day or two. That would be impossible, he replied, since
this work had been decided upon for Monday by the cabildo and
123 he was not in a position to change the date independently. I
623 offered him as a gift a very handsome travel-machete with a
554 sheath, in case he might be in a position to postpone the work.
● 411 Generally the Paez own only the heavy, broad work-machete for
felling trees, which they can drag along with them on the way to
[435] market only with difficulty. As a weapon for traveling, therefore,
the lighter, chrome-plated machetes are greatly coveted, but
on account of their high price of 12 pesos no Calderun has here-
123 tofore been able to afford one. I had put this gift aside for the
623 gobernador some time before, but had never found the proper
554 reason for presenting it. This time the occasion seemed very
favorable and really worthwhile. The gobernador, although he was
extremely anxious to be the first Calderun to possess the imple-
ment, explained that my request could not be fulfilled, since
all the men had already been notified for Monday. I pointed out
that he surely had enough messengers to inform his people that
the work would not take place until a few days later. He could
not make the decision to do this; he kept explaining that in
addition the men would be angry. I proposed to him that I would
treat them, at my expense, to ten pesos' worth of chicha to
placate them, an amount that they had hardly ever had before.
He could not make a decision; he finally said that he would try
and would speak to his people on Sunday, and he hoped, in view
of so much chicha, that he would succeed, but he could not

/314 cont./

105 with sowing and harvesting otherwise characteristic of peoples
241 who plant. It is not improbable that they practiced this field
[412] cultivation as they describe it for the Pijao. In the story /315/ of the Paez with the ax (No. 16) it is said that the Pijao were not familiar with tools in former times and, accordingly, could not fell trees to lay out a proper burned-off field. In order to obtain fields for their sowing, they were obliged to split the bark of trees with stones. After these were dried, they sowed their maize between the dead trunks.

105 In connection with hunting, economically insignificant today,
[224] the hunter is surrounded by a number of prohibitions such as we find everywhere among hunting peoples throughout the world.
[226] Fishing is carried on with poisonous plants at weirs. It took place as a joint fishing expedition of the entire village in the February dry season when the water was at its lowest level of the year. This large annual fishing expedition was called enzte. The time
[233] period of one year was also designated with the same word. Raising
[556] large livestock is almost purely a sport or a matter of appearance
[231] and wealth. Horses are not used; cattle are slaughtered only for the three large annual Christian festivals (Semana Santa, San Juán, Immaculada).

Among weapons, only the shotgun for hunting is of significance
[773] today. The pellet blowgun and the stone-sling are used as toys. In
[441] the mythology the latter plays an important part as a decisive weapon in war.

In the handcraft techniques of plaiting and weaving, the use of agave fiber and sheep wool predominates, generally in the form of spun and twisted threads. The carrying bags of agave fiber and the wool coca bags are made by the loop technique; the hammocks, bird nets, berry sieves, and stone-slings by the knot technique. Only straw hats are plaited. The bands of the fiber bags are woven out of agave fibers; the women's belts and the articles of clothing of men and women, out of sheep wool. The weaving method is simple rod-weaving with the linen texture. The women's belts have an ornamental warp formed during the weaving process. The weaving frame is vertical, of the so-called

P /319 cont./
105 concluded that the classification of Paez as a Chibcha language
197 cannot be regarded as definite. The grammatical agreements may just as well be remnants of an older, or superimpositions of a younger, population layer. In addition there is the fact that in the sometimes centuries-long struggles since the Conquista considerable shifting and intermingling of populations have taken place. It is possible that the tribes existing or surviving today are only scattered remains or groupings that have been made up from other tribes only after the Conquista.

C P 105 P [197] P [361] P C [241] [412] P C [323] P [325] P C [411] P C [771]

Culturally the Paez have nothing at all in common with Chibcha culture. The Chibcha language group established by H. Beuchat and Paul Rivet is a linguistic concept, which, in an uninterrupted extension from Nicaragua to Ecuador, embraces completely different cultures! For example, the Chibcha settlements on the plateau of Bogotá are compact villages, whereas the Paez live on individual farms. The agriculture of the Chibcha, with the use of a wooden spade, is relatively advanced in comparison with the digging stick and burned-clearing cultivation of the Paez. Technically the manufacture of Chibcha ceramics is far above that of the Paez, and it is certain that the Paez did not do any gold work. Among the Paez the sling was the principal weapon; among the Chibcha, club and spear with the spear thrower. In the Chibcha religion we have a creator-god or a tribal mother with a pantheon of other gods, with offerings of gold and emeralds; we find hero-temples, holy places, and sacred kings, while among the Paez, only shamans.

C 105 P C 197

Thus we have a gaping division between the Chibcha language group and the Chibcha culture. Scientific terms, however, should be unequivocal and not designate different concepts with the same words. This is done correctly in Europe, for example, with /320/ the Indo-Germanic family of languages, the Dinaric race, or the band-ceramics culture.

The cultural concept of the Chibcha is the older one. In order not to identify and confuse the culture group with the language group which is completely different from it, the language group should have a different name, especially since it is not certain whether

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

deserted savannas. It must be said, in extenuation, that they have been subjected to much abuse by their neighbors of the "superior race." Moreover, the Paeces are naturally hostile to strangers, descending, as we have seen, from a warlike people. The old Paeces always went about armed, carrying a lance or javelin in the hand and ready to protect their bodies from the darts of an enemy by means of a shield of basket-work (*opimb*), or of tapir hide (*yimba-kât*). The warlike tendencies of the tribe were stimulated by means of periodical contests in which the most valiant warriors fought each other in the presence of the multitude.

To-day, as we have seen, the descendants of these have abundant opportunity to satisfy their fighting propensity by taking sides in the frequent quarrels of the political parties that thus far have kept Colombia in an almost continual turmoil.

Sexual intercourse between Paez women and men of other races is said not to exist; barbarous chastisement would be the fate of the offending female. It is to be expected, however, that the closer contact brought about by the gradual penetration of the Tierra Andentro by whites and negroes will soon overcome the purity of the Paez blood and open the way to amalgamation with the neo-Colombian race.

Reclus, cited above (page 311), gives us to understand that the Paez were cannibals, and the tradition current in the villages along the western foot of the cordillera confirms his intimation with reference to the Pijaos; for the coming of "el Pijao" is still a menace to children. The early chroniclers tell us of several anthropophagous tribes which lived in this region, and it is not unlikely that the Paeces had a share in that custom.

GRAMMATICAL NOTES

Castillo's *Nociones gramaticales* is limited to a list of the personal pronouns and the conjugation of the verbs 'to be' and 'to write.' A few more grammatical indications are incorporated in the vocabularies, but on the whole these data are very meager, and much remains to be done in this direction.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

pûs	strong (in flavor)
ɨal	*Phyllanthus* sp., a small euphorbiaceous tree, the leaves of which give a black dye
ɨatsdm	iron
sek	sun — Cat.: *itaki, taki*: *sek* also signifies dry season, and heat of the sun
ɨimb (T), *dsa* (H)	young, half-grown maize, just before tasseling
ɨimbe	puma — Cast.: *ɨi*
ɨisten	heap
ɨisten + *ôpta* (Cast.)	to be heaped — *op* = all
ɨlal	a passion flower the fruits of which are edible
sond	*Stylanthes guianensis*, a plant
sû (T) / *sû-ud*	sister-in-law — Cast.: *ne-sôn*
sus-tô	belly — Cast.: *to-ti*
ɨâm-pu (H)	navel — Cast.: *ɨamb*
ɨtâ-pando (H)	broom
ɨtu-bâfi (H), *tkâfχ* (H)	hole
ɨuil (H), *tsevi* (T)	*Ullucus tuberosus*, a plant with edible tubers
tâ, tâ	mountain — Cast.: *atâ*
ta-âla	mountain group, mountain range (*serrania*)
tâmbuĩ (H), *tâbim* (T)	occiput
tâuχ	strap
tet	calabash used as a plate or cup
tîtî, tîtî-iat (H)	wall
topât	blow-gun—Cast.: *rito-pât*; Span.: *bodoquera*
tôpi-tôpia	clean, free of obstruction
tsafχ (H)	upper-arm

/326 cont./

262 [252] The chachafruto (ũsual), a leguminous plant that bears rather sweet fruits which are eaten merely boiled in water, readily grows in the stubble and thickets; this is a favorite food of children. It bears fruit during the months of August and September. They also gather mushrooms (kalaguai), orejas de palo /literally, ears of wood/ (kallumbo) that grow round and white on rotting trunks, fríjol /327/ cacha (us tape) that abounds in thickets, moras (sutsion) and the ground cherries (chimbũ) that grow in profusion in the maize fields and with which they make cakes or tamales and mush /mazamorra/ mixed with ground maize. Likewise, they gather wild granadillas (shlal).

224 [411] [789] Hunting is of minor importance among the Páez. Shotguns and dogs are needed. Authentic lovers of hunting are few, and there are no magical rites or ceremonies connected with it.

Hunting is most frequently done to protect the plantings or the herds. We have seen that the enemies of maize are coatis, guaras, squirrels, and birds. The chickens are attacked by wolf-dogs. On the savannas of the Paramo de Moras bears are the most common enemies of the herds.

[237] In Calderas, the hunters customarily keep the skulls of the captured booty inside the house, on one of the wall posts. In one of them we counted five coati skulls, two from guaras, and one from a wolf. Hunting is done on Sundays and at any time of the year. They go to selected locations with dogs, shotguns, and provisions. The dog raises the game and the men wait in strategic spots, with their shotguns ready to shoot it. If the shot misses, they set out after the game on a fast run. When they hunt deer, they have a minga. For the hunting of guaras they use traps consisting of nets which they place at the exit of the haunts of these animals. Bats are hunted with bags. As soon as they fall, they are kicked to death, for these animals easily break out of bags. [262] [252] They are eaten roasted. Armadillo meat is rather favored. Sparrow hawks are hunted with blowguns. "The Indians are poor" -- says an informant from Calderas -- "and for this reason they 223 [411] make blowguns and hunt birds. God made the birds so that the poor would eat them and not steal." Wild pigeons are hunted on the ridges by means of traps that are well concealed. Chamones,

7:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

286 [386] blue, the fruit of the jagua palm (kii), probably *Genipa* sp. A woven fabric is made black by burying it for several days with clay and branches of a *Phyllanthus* which they call "sal."

[531] They make woolen bags by hand, using a kind of crochet technique without needles, and decorate them with rectangular and rhomboid figures. Some bags are made of hemp (fique), in which case the stitches are larger and the article has greater elasticity.

411 **Weapons.**—For weapons, the *Páez* used large, thick lances of black [824] or chonta palm, 20 to 25 palms or more long, clubs or macanas, stones [171] thrown with slings, large rocks rolled down from heights, spear throwers like those used by the *Chibcha*, and shields of jaguar, puma, or [177] bear skin. The *Páez* quickly adopted iron arms from the Spaniards, and in the last wars of the Conquest they used steel swords and knives. [172] In a recently discovered grave were copper bells, a golden breastplate, shield bars of tumbaga, a Spanish dagger, and a curved knife of the Arabian or north African type used by the conquistadors.

[223] Today the *Páez* use the club or macana, ordinary guns, machetes, knives, and, for killing birds, the blowgun.

354 **Fire making.**—Fires are generally made today with flint and steel, but some Indians use modern matches. For both heating and cook- [372] ing, the fire is made on the ground in the main house, surrounded [177] by stones which help support the pots. It is covered at night, and almost never goes out.

354 Illumination is provided not only by the fire but by candles made of wax from the wax palm and from seeds of a wild laurel. The latter 824 are cooked and pressed in a bag so that the wax drips into a half [388] calabash or pot to form a semispherical lump. It is melted to make candles with cotton wicks. The *Páez* use these themselves and also sell them, for they are superior to candles made of animal tallow. A cruder means of lighting consists of transfixing a large number of "higuerilla" seeds on a long, thin bamboo splinter. When the splinter is laid horizontally and lighted, the first seed burns strongly, after which the flame passes from seed to seed, lasting some 15 minutes and throwing a fair light a few feet around.

COMMERCE

438 Each week a market is held in the municipio or in some of the small native villages (pls. 190, 191). The Indians sell vegetables, tortillas, 439 eggs, chickens, and laurel wax, and buy salt, brown sugar, and espe- [435] cially lime (mambe) to be chewed with coca. Each product has a price in Colombian money, whether by quantity or weight. The unit [804] of weight is called an "egg," and more or less equals the weight of a chicken egg. After his few customary transactions, paid for either in [273] cash or in terms, in which the future coffee crop is mortgaged to the

7:Hernández de Alba E-S/(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

765 756 787 775 784 the fire and turns on the lights, and everyone returns to examine a layer of fine ashes placed beforehand at the door. If the ashes shows the footprints of an angel, they believe that the soul is saved, but if the footprints are those of a bird, they believe that the soul is condemned to hell. In some cases they ascertain the fate of the soul by the kind of bird prints.

WARFARE

726 The *Páez* and *Moguex* were particularly warlike. Their attacks were staged in the morning, accompanied by yells and the sound of trumpets, horns, sea shells, and drums. They were generally armed with great spears or pikes, spear throwers, and slings. When fighting, [411] they would first hurl javelins with their spear throwers, then use their slings, the missiles for which they carried in a pouch, and finally pick up their spears or pikes for man-to-man struggle. They also formed closed squadrons, men with clubs alternating with spearmen. The former would step forward to wield their clubs, and then draw back to their positions for protection. Their best defense was on high ridges, from which they rolled large stones on their enemies. They perfected these natural defenses by cutting or camouflaging paths on which they prepared ambushes. They built trenches or pitfalls, which caused the attacking Spaniards much trouble.

628 The principal enemies of these peoples were the *Pijao* and the Span- [648] ish soldiers. The *Páez* remember the *Pijao* well, and call the stone [532] statues in their territory "portraits of Pijaos," and the painted tombs, [764] "houses of Pijaos." They are afraid to see the statues or visit the tombs.

To insult an enemy killed in war, they cut off his penis and placed it 727 on the road.

266 Some historians ascribe cannibalism to the *Páez* and the *Moguex*, which seems to have no basis in fact. They kept trophy heads and stuffed the skins of their enemies, but did not eat their foe. There are, however, numerous historical references which state that in the wars [175] against the Spaniards, the *Páez* left the bodies of dead enemies for the [648] *Pijao* to eat, and that they cremated their own dead or dried them [764] over a slow fire, which Friar Pedro Simón (1882–92, ch. 23) mistook for a means for preserving the flesh so that it could be eaten later.

[114] As war trophies, they kept enemy heads, which they preserved with resins, and the skins of their entire bodies, which they filled with ashes 72 (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 3). They even preserved the [314] heads of the Spaniards' horses. They carried these trophies to wars, meetings, and feasts.

/121 cont./

372 In case the fire should go out, which happens very rarely, the men, if they have no matches, know how to make fire by striking the blade of the iron machete with a stone and catching the sparks in the dry tinder of expressed sugar-cane. To fan this or a dying fire the hat is used as a fire fan, instead of a special fan. A few times I also saw a reed tube (yotá) about 50 centimeters long, which is blown into with the mouth and which thus acts like a bellows.

352 Infants do not as a rule sleep on the floor, but in ham-
[854] mocks (máka), which, however, as the name indicates, were
[513] not originally Paez. Nevertheless all the men know how to
[286] make them out of agave fibers, which is done with the same knotting technique as in the manufacture of nets for bird hunting.
415 Moreover, a few bags (yáha) made of agave fibers, which con-
[286] tain beans, maize, or other supplies, hang on the wall posts.
[353] Arracacha lies on the floor. For drinking chicha, which is allowed
[273] to ferment in large, hollowed-out tree troughs, calabashes (tóka) are used, but they are plain and undecorated. Cracked cala-
[249] bashes are sewed with a waxed agave thread (Fig. 25 /see p.253/). The calabash gourd is grown in the house garden /122/
● 412 of every family; its meat is inedible. Furthermore, an oval or
352 rectangular grindstone on which maize is ground with a smaller hand-stone is found in every household. It usually lies on the floor in a corner of the house, but sometimes it is set about one meter high on two forked posts.

412 Meals are taken with wooden spoons (todšá'tc) off of
415 wooden plates (bič), which are carved by the Paez themselves
264 (Fig. 27 /see p. 253/). Aluminum or enamel bowls were rarely
[322] encountered in Calderas. Plates and mugs of aluminum were
[177] therefore always coveted gift articles, along with kitchen knives, needles, safety pins, matches, and salt.

356 Cleanliness within the house is surprisingly great, consider-
515 ing that the Paez wash their bodies but seldom and their hands only when they are "very dirty." This is the case when a person has been working in a burned field and has cleared away the
000 sooty, burned tree trunks and the burned underbrush. The house

The house

/122 cont. /

356 is swept by the women every day with a broom (ctábando) con-
824 sisting of shrubs of the psáňga plant. This plant at the same
[825] time drives away fleas. The rubbish is swept out of the house in such a way that even the entrance is clean.

351 All around the house and surrounding it at some distance
417 either a fence is erected or a ditch dug about one meter deep,
[231] within which the poultry and usually the pigs and sheep are kept.
[137] In Calderas, where, because of the low temperature, bamboo no longer grows, the fence is made of wood obtained from the
[313] natural growth when a piece of land is burned off. Stakes are driven vertically into the ground at intervals of about two meters and the interspaces filled with small tree trunks, branches, and twigs up to a good meter in length, lying horizontally. Climbing over this fence is done with notched tree trunks or bamboo stalks placed obliquely against the fence as a ladder. Similar notched tree trunks also serve as ladders in the houses (Ills. 168 and 154 /see pp. 274 and 268 /).

514 There are no privies. On account of the isolation of the houses, however, it is never difficult for the Paez to find a place off in the brush or in the forest. We never found the paths
264 and the vicinity of the houses soiled with filth. The Paez showed
[412] the same tact in eating and at other gatherings. We never experienced smacking of lips or belching, even though their eating habits are somewhat crude, for, lacking spoons, they are in the habit of simply shoving their food from the plate into the mouth with the fingers.

/123/ 2. Clothing and Ornaments

291 The Paez today wear clothing covering their upper and lower bodies. In ancient times, according to the reports of chroniclers, some of them were said to have worn small cotton cloaks, although the majority of them "went about naked, even in the cold mountains" (cited by Hernandez, 1944, p. 191,
[302] from P. M. Rodriguez, 1684). They were also said to have painted their bodies with color and to have made imprints on them with

stamps,

/125 cont./

291 made between the clothing of the married and the unmarried.

302 The men's hair is cut "semilong" with scissors, so that they have a cut midway between bobbed hair and a modern, shaped cut. Women wear their hair long and combed toward the back, to some extent in the form of a part. Older girls and [412] married women plait their hair in braids. Only the modern, purchased combs are used for combing. The men do not groom their beards, which are sparse to begin with, but from youth onward pull out the beard hair with the fingers.

301 No ornaments of any kind are worn by the men nowadays.
439 Two hundred years ago they wore nose rings (zomp) "like the oxen" (Castillo i Orosco, p. 89). The women today wear /126/ purchased pendant-ornaments only to a very slight extent, the white glass-bead chains (wǎ̆ca - bead) being relatively the most common (Ill. 148 /see p. 265/). The traders are Sibundoy or similar fellow-tribesmen from the southern part of the country, where chains of this kind are worn by the pound by men and women as pendant ornaments. Earrings consist either of a few purchased beads strung on a thread or of a purchased silver pendant. Anyone may wear purchased brass finger-rings; it is not a sign of being married. In earlier times it is possible that there were arm rings, as is shown by Castillo's term kasẽand-gnue-tsa for "arm ring."

3. Economy

433 The first impression that one has of the Paez from an economic standpoint is that of a democratic farming people firmly rooted in their soil, and during an initial consideration of their food and way of life it appears as though they have never been anything but agriculturalists. In the case of primitive peoples, however, we must distinguish between the principal means of production and the original means of production. The former is usually not hard to recognize, whereas the question of the original means of production of a people can be answered

000 /129 cont./
357 p.274 /). The same fencing with the same ladder construction
417 generally also surrounds the house gardens of the Paez farms. In case the houseowner has larger domestic animals, such as cows, horses, and sheep, a gate (puélta) consisting either of a regular lath door or a barrier of horizontal beams is built into
[227] the fence surrounding his house. In the villages of the civilized Paez, in the /130/ environs of which tree growth is inadequate for the construction of a wooden fence, bamboo is used for the vertical poles, and bundles of dry maize stalks for the horizontal parts.

241 The entire agriculture of the Paez is digging-stick culti-
● 412 vation (Ill. 172 /see p. 276/). Hoe culture was originally unknown. The house gardens, only recently laid out after the model of the colonists and in which European plants such as cabbage, cucumbers, and onions are cultivated, are turned over with the spade (pála). The digging stick (ãty) consists merely of a pointed tree-trunk or pole, though recently broad iron tips with
243 a socket are being put on the digging sticks more and more. Maize may be sowed throughout the year, but it is generally sowed in April when the rainy season begins. Several men always participate, making holes in the ground about one meter apart in every direction with the digging stick, and putting six to eight maize kernels into each hole. The holes are covered again with only very little earth with the foot, "so that the sprout can come out more easily." The ripening period of ten to 12 months is relatively long. After half a year the field is cleared of weeds once. The harvest period is spread out over approximately half a year, provided that sufficiently large amounts of maize were planted; and for this half
[262] year the people practically live "from the stalk." First the young maize (tsót; maize in general, kóty) is eaten half-ripe and only later are the ripe ears harvested and eaten. Every day the men or women go into the field with their bags made of agave fibers and break off only as much as is needed each time for the meal.

249 Whereas maize may be cultivated at all elevations in
[243] Calderas, sugar cane (nyũã) thrives only in the lower, protected localities of the Kokiyó Valley. Its ripening period of two to

000 /133 cont./

264 food and bean leaves as the worst. They eat together. The
[415 family sits around the fire and the woman serves. They do not,
412] however, eat out of the large cooking pot, which is usually of
clay, though sometimes of aluminum, but rather the soup is
dipped out with a wooden ladle into shallow bowls, from one
of which the men, that is to say, the father and sons, eat, and
the mother, daughters, and small children eat out of another one.
[263] Above the fire area a few small pieces of rock salt hang in a
[353] small pouch or lie on a rack and are used to salt the food after
it is cooked. To do this each one takes the piece of salt and
holds it or puts it in his plate until the soup is sufficiently salted.

252 In the following, a few dishes: 1) maize flour, ground
262 on the oval or rectangular grindstone with a hand-stone, is
cooked with beans and cabbage; 2) vegetable bananas with beans
and arracacha; 3) green ears of maize with beans (wood ashes are
added to every maize dish, in order to make the maize tender
more quickly); 4) green ears of maize with white cabbage; 5)
white cabbage, arracacha, and potatoes; 6) beans and vegetable
bananas; 7) only beans and maize flour; 8) arracacha and beans.
Eggs are either boiled hard in the shell in a pot, or the egg is
beaten with a spoon in a dish, water and onions are added, and
[415] the whole is cooked. All foods are cooked in a large pot as soup;
only ears of maize roasted in a bowl /Schale, "bowl, shell, husk"/
(wâts; Spanish arepa) are an exception. Meat is only boiled,
never roasted; they eat the meat of cattle, sheep, and pigs, as
well as poultry and guinea pigs, but not horse meat. If horses
die, the carcasses are devoured by dogs.

/134/ c) Means of Enjoyment

273 The two most important pleasures for the Paez, as for the
276 cultures of the entire Andean area, are coca and chicha. Tobacco
plays a subordinate role.

/138 cont./

249 In chicha production for festive days it is customary for
407 the mill to be turned only by human power, by men or women.
461 One could generally observe that the slightly intoxicated men
273 exerted themselves only a short time in each case and were then relieved by the more sober acting women, who -- with their children on their backs -- showed remarkable endurance at this physically quite hard work.

407 Almost every father of a family and houseowner makes his
335 sugar mill himself, or a neighbor helps. There are no profes-
[412] sional carpenters. With an ax (swéla) and a foxtail saw (serúčo) the cylinders are sawed from a tree trunk and crudely smoothed. The cylinders thus prepared are provided with a small hole in the center, from the base and upper side, and are clamped horizontally, by means of pegs, between two posts rammed into
[413] the ground and held together with a rope. Then with a gauge (regla), which consists of a board with thorns, the distances between the pegs are precisely incised on the revolving drum.

273 The sugar cane is put through the crushing cylinders
[249] several times by the workers, one squatting on either side, until
[516] the juice, which is caught in a wooden tub or in calabash vessels,
[415] is pressed out (Ill. 175 /see p. 278/). It is first vigorously heated and then put in a large horizontally positioned tree-trough (kánoa) up to five meters long, in which there must always be a little chicha to begin with (Ill. 165 /see p. 273/). It is stirred up with the old chicha in the trough, the kánoa is covered with banana leaves, and already the next morning the chicha is ready to be drunk. As time goes on the chicha becomes ever stronger in alcoholic content. By noon of the same day it is already strong enough to distill brandy from it. If one does not do this, /139/ some water must be added the next day to dilute it. If this is not done, the chicha is neither drunk nor is new sugar-cane juice added, whereupon it becomes sour and bitter after four or five days and strongly sears the throat. There are also "gourmets" among the Paez, however, who let the chicha go on fermenting, untouched, for up to three weeks and only then drink it so sharp and sour.

/185 cont./ In any
844 case, the birth, which is always regarded as very dangerous, takes
[343] place there. As a matter of principle, a midwife (ndõsoknãs) is
fetched. The latter, as the name implies, is not a shaman. She
[759] has nothing to do with shamanistic functions, but is qualified only
for births or external injuries, such as broken bones or flesh wounds.

The midwife may not be an old woman. She is fetched before the birth by the husband of the pregnant woman and always comes. Several times I asked whether in an emergency a man or the mother could help, but it was always said that the midwife
[465] always comes, no matter how busy she is. For her assistance she receives only her meals, unless complications arise. In this case she receives wool or natural produce as remuneration for her help.

In principle, only the midwife and the woman in labor are in the dũyat. The latter is in a squatting position. With her hands she holds onto a belt that is slung around the roof beam of the dũyat. If there is no belt, the husband may also be present, and he then embraces his wife from behind and holds her in such a way that she is likewise in a squatting position. The midwife
845 receives the child. If its position is not normal, for example, in
844 case of a breech position of the child, she turns the child so that the head lies downward. If the child is still not born, the mother must die -- as was explained to us -- for then nothing further can be done. This only rarely happens, however.

844 The midwife brings along her medicinal herbs, with which she rubs the body of the woman in labor. The newborn child is first washed with cold water and then wrapped in a piece of ruana
[412] and given to the mother. The severing of the umbilical cord is
not done with the knife or the scissors, but rather, after the umbili-
[824] cal cord (kolwát) is tied beforehand with a homespun wool thread, with the sharp-edged cane of a type of reed. The father may see his child immediately after birth; the mother, however, stays with the child approximately two weeks longer in the dũyat. The afterbirth (duyáha), together with the umbilical cord, is buried near the menstruation house. The father digs the hole for this
[856] purpose, and the mother throws both into it. The hole must not be too shallow, for otherwise the dogs would dig them out, but not too deep either, for then the child would not get its teeth until very late and only with great difficulty.

/314 cont./

105 with sowing and harvesting otherwise characteristic of peoples
241 who plant. It is not improbable that they practiced this field
[412] cultivation as they describe it for the Pijao. In the story /315/ of the Paez with the ax (No. 16) it is said that the Pijao were not familiar with tools in former times and, accordingly, could not fell trees to lay out a proper burned-off field. In order to obtain fields for their sowing, they were obliged to split the bark of trees with stones. After these were dried, they sowed their maize between the dead trunks.

105 In connection with hunting, economically insignificant today,
[224] the hunter is surrounded by a number of prohibitions such as we find everywhere among hunting peoples throughout the world.
[226] Fishing is carried on with poisonous plants at weirs. It took place as a joint fishing expedition of the entire village in the February dry season when the water was at its lowest level of the year. This large annual fishing expedition was called enzte. The time
[233] period of one year was also designated with the same word. Raising
[556] large livestock is almost purely a sport or a matter of appearance
[231] and wealth. Horses are not used; cattle are slaughtered only for the three large annual Christian festivals (Semana Santa, San Juán, Immaculada).

Among weapons, only the shotgun for hunting is of significance
[773] today. The pellet blowgun and the stone-sling are used as toys. In
[441] the mythology the latter plays an important part as a decisive weapon in war.

In the handcraft techniques of plaiting and weaving, the use of agave fiber and sheep wool predominates, generally in the form of spun and twisted threads. The carrying bags of agave fiber and the wool coca bags are made by the loop technique; the hammocks, bird nets, berry sieves, and stone-slings by the knot technique. Only straw hats are plaited. The bands of the fiber bags are woven out of agave fibers; the women's belts and the articles of clothing of men and women, out of sheep wool. The weaving method is simple rod-weaving with the linen texture. The women's belts have an ornamental warp formed during the weaving process. The weaving frame is vertical, of the so-called

P /319 cont./
105 concluded that the classification of Paez as a Chibcha language
197 cannot be regarded as definite. The grammatical agreements may just as well be remnants of an older, or superimpositions of a younger, population layer. In addition there is the fact that in the sometimes centuries-long struggles since the Conquista considerable shifting and intermingling of populations have taken place. It is possible that the tribes existing or surviving today are only scattered remains or groupings that have been made up from other tribes only after the Conquista.

C P 105 P [197] P E [361] P C [241] ● [412] P C [323] P [325] P C [411] P C [771]

Culturally the Paez have nothing at all in common with Chibcha culture. The Chibcha language group established by H. Beuchat and Paul Rivet is a linguistic concept, which, in an uninterrupted extension from Nicaragua to Ecuador, embraces completely different cultures! For example, the Chibcha settlements on the plateau of Bogotá are compact villages, whereas the Paez live on individual farms. The agriculture of the Chibcha, with the use of a wooden spade, is relatively advanced in comparison with the digging stick and burned-clearing cultivation of the Paez. Technically the manufacture of Chibcha ceramics is far above that of the Paez, and it is certain that the Paez did not do any gold work. Among the Paez the sling was the principal weapon; among the Chibcha, club and spear with the spear thrower. In the Chibcha religion we have a creator-god or a tribal mother with a pantheon of other gods, with offerings of gold and emeralds; we find hero-temples, holy places, and sacred kings, while among the Paez, only shamans.

C 105 P C 197

Thus we have a gaping division between the Chibcha language group and the Chibcha culture. Scientific terms, however, should be unequivocal and not designate different concepts with the same words. This is done correctly in Europe, for example, with /320/ the Indo-Germanic family of languages, the Dinaric race, or the band-ceramics culture.

The cultural concept of the Chibcha is the older one. In order not to identify and confuse the culture group with the language group which is completely different from it, the language group should have a different name, especially since it is not certain whether

● 412
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[413]
[2P3]

[284]

Fig. 25. Sewed gourd calabash.

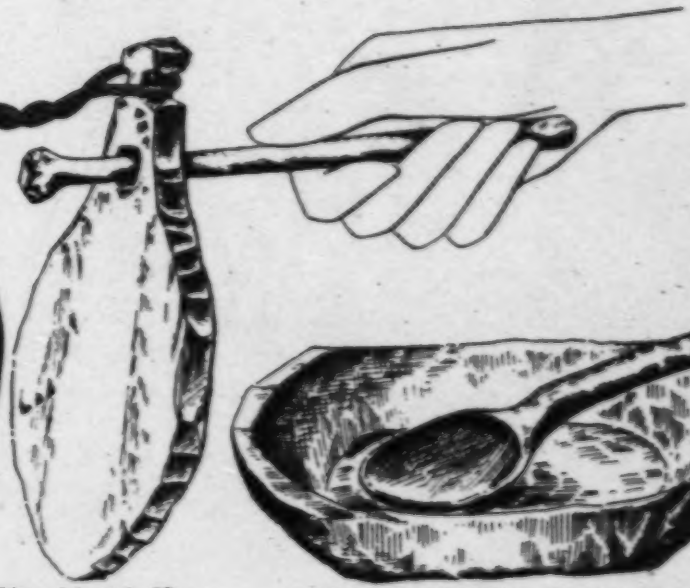

Fig. 26. Klaffka.

Fig. 27. Wooden plate and spoon.

/Figs. 1-24 on Plates III-X are omitted in the translation./

1: Nachtigall--279 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

283
291
302
• 412

Ills. 177 and 178. Woman defleshing agave leaves.

1: Nachtigall--289 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

142
252
412
415
516
291

Ill. 201. Grinding maize with the hand-grindstone.

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534
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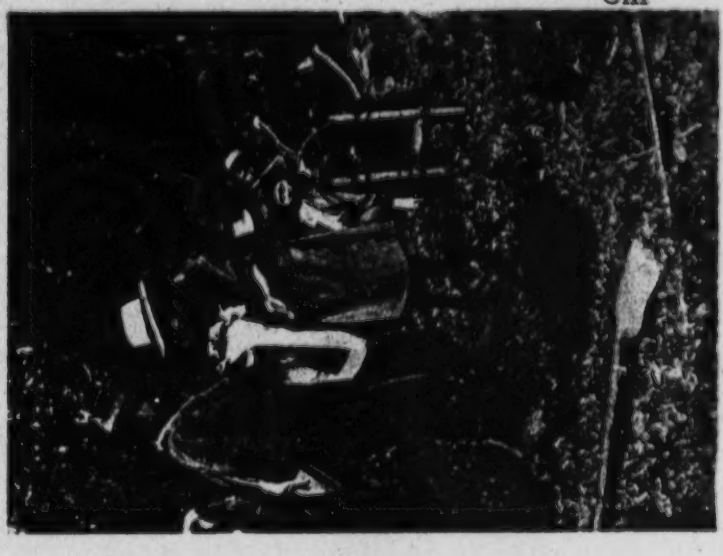
Ill. 202. Calderun music group.

1: Nachtigall--290 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

764



Ill. 204. Burial of a child who died of whooping cough.

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463
412
322
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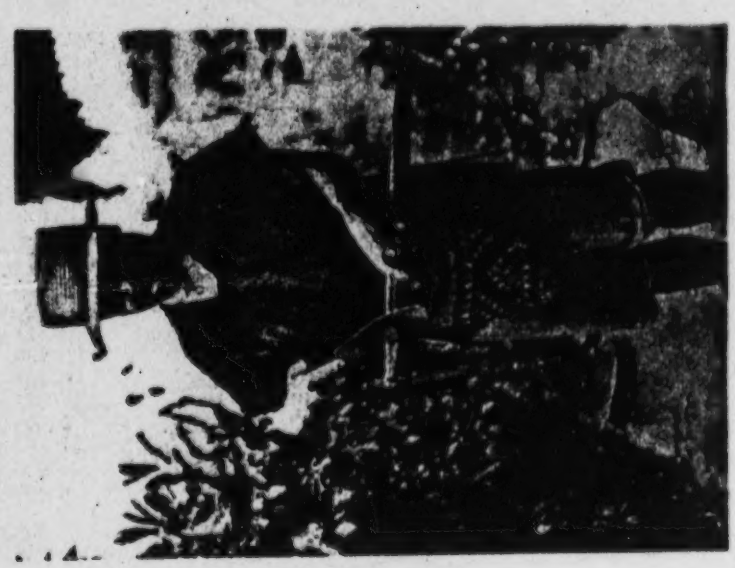

Ill. 203. The flute maker Vicente Puche.

/CXXI cont./

Plate XC

000

Ill. 173. Paez with a load of sugar cane. In front of his stomach hangs the coca pouch. The musculature of the men is generally slight.

[142]

Ill. 174. Harvesting coca leaves.

Plate XCI

Ill. 175. Sugar mill in operation. It is driven by human beings or by a horse. The sugar cane is put through the crushing cylinders several times until all the juice is expressed.

Ill. 176. Distillation apparatus with which brandy is distilled from chicha.

Plate XCII

[412] Ill. 177 and 178. Woman defleshing agave leaves with a sharp-edged halved bamboo tube.

/CXXII/

Plate XCIII

Ill. 179. Old woman spinning with the drop spindle. Coca juice runs out of her mouth and is sometimes wiped off with the back of her hand, sometimes it drips on her clothing.

Ill. 180. Woman twisting the spun wool thread.

Plate XCIV

Ill. 181. Weaver making wool cloth.

Ill. 182. Weaving process in making the carrying bands for the fiber bags.

Plate XCV

Ill. 183. Woman making fiber bags. The thread supply must be drawn through each separate loop of the bag.

TRAVELING PAEZ WOMAN AND CHILDREN

PAEZ GRINDING STONE

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

412

142
302
291
482
855

[facing P.317]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

They represent the primitive type of
habitation, the agglomerations being the result of the efforts of 342 [177]
the missionaries.

The villages are generally in the open grazing districts at the 361
bottom of the valleys, on side plateaus, or on broad ridges. They are not compact in the common sense of the word, but consist of isolated groups of houses, the approximate common center of which is often indicated by the whitewashed thatch-roofed church (plate v).

The walls of the permanent houses are made of a kind of 342
bajareque, i. e., a skeleton of canes filled in with clay. In the 353
better homes the interior is divided into two or more rooms, usually very small, with a hearth in the middle; but oftener [354]
there are no interior partitions, the dwelling consisting of a single square apartment. In every case that came under my [356]
observation the interior was very untidy.

The Indians openly objected to our entering their houses, 352
hence I could gain only casual glimpses of their domiciles, the 123
furnishing of which seems to be an imitation of that of the 177
dwellings of the few Spanish people living among them or in the immediate neighborhood.

Outside the houses they generally have a cane-crusher of 407
primitive type, with horizontal smooth cylinders moved by means of levers at each end. A loom and a grinding stone are 286
also seen occasionally under an adjacent shelter (plates IV,[1], 412
and VI).[2]

There may often be seen, either about or inside the housse, 415
very large jars used as receptacles in the elaboration of the chicha. These utensils seem to be almost the only survival of the ancient earthenware industry. The smaller pottery vessels which were seen occasionally had been taken from old graves. [192]

Each group of houses, in which several generations of a 351
single family dwell, is surrounded by a small enclosed field, [592]
planted with sugar-cane, plantains, oranges and other fruits, and greens and roots of daily use. The garden enclosure is formed by a ditch, inside of which is a wooden fence or a stone wall, the latter often crowned by a hedge of maguey (*Furcraea*), [247]
lechero (*Euphorbia*), borrachero (*Solanum*), and other bushes.

[1] [See plate facing P. 317 — Analyt]
[2] [See plate facing P. 320 — Analyt]

/311 cont./

243 Wheat is cultivated with special emphasis in the areas of Lame, El Cuartel, La Troja, and Vitoncó. It is destined primarily for sale. It is planted along with maize, although there are already clearings intended exclusively for its cultiva-
[412] tion. They reap it with knives, rarely with sickles. They do not bind it into sheaves, but make bundles and hang it from the eaves or beams of the house. When dry, they thresh it with wooden clubs /masas/ and separate out its husks by exposing it to the
[256] wind. They grind it at once in hydraulic mills built by them themselves and take it to market. They have no sifters to separate the bran.

128 Below /see pp. 25-33 / we present a statistical table on
241 the production of the various species cultivated by 25 families
433 of Mosoco, 8 of Lame, and 15 of San Andrés including that of
[563] some mestizos and whites, marked with an asterisk, in order to make some comparisons and to estimate the volume of production. We specify the percentage of the production intended for sale. For obvious reasons, we have omitted the names of the family heads, identifying them solely by number in order. The statistical data correspond to the production in the year 1953.
[124] In spite of the fact that this type of investigation presents some
[123] difficulties, owing to the reluctance of people to reveal the data on their production they are in general completely trustworthy, since they were collected after a firm interpersonal relationship had been established between the investigator and the person investigated. In addition, they appreciably agree with our observations noted in "General observations" on Páez agriculture.

/312/ Potato cultivation in Mosoco

244 We have deliberately omitted anything about the cultivation of potatoes in order to deal with it more thoroughly.

The methods of cultivation differ somewhat from those commonly practiced in the other parcialidades. The soil is prepared in beds that follow the direction of the slope. The

/316 cont./

105 Guambianos. They adorn themselves with showy necklaces and
178 pins. Not a few of them wear fine gold earrings.

[232] Livestock-raising has intensified and is in full swing. Norman cattle are replacing and being crossed with the native cattle. The same thing has happened with the wool-bearing livestock. The /317/ saddle and pack horses are indispensable for every family. The natives also possess fine breeds of hogs and domestic fowl.

[565] Social stratification is in full progress. Rich and poor families can already be named.

Mosoco women seldom marry natives from other, less acculturated parcialidades. People speak of mingas, and even of burials, of the rich and poor, a larger number of people going to those of the former.

They live on good terms with the whites and treat them as equals. There are many good native dealers.

These natives are thoroughly familiar with the methods of curing, the use of remedies, and sorcery. But the té eu and even more the nara jihi (sorcerer) are on the wane. Many consult the doctor of the "whites" in Silvia and use the drugs of the "whites." They are less superstitious.

They are believers by conviction. A few are Protestants with great reasoning powers.

The cabildo retains its power and is duly respected.

The properties are duly parceled out. Many of them are planted with pastos de selección /literally, choice pasture grasses/. Fences with barbed wire are frequently encountered.

Agricultural implements

412 Among the implements used in agriculture, only the
[241] digging stick for planting maize (uhach) is of native manufacture.
[177] The others are of European origin.

The universal implement among the Paez is the machete. With it the clearings are made, the ground is cleaned, and the fields, the montañas are felled, sugar mills are made, and bridges are laid over rivers and streams. They prefer it large and with a leather sheath that they fasten to the belt. They are

/317 cont./

●412 never without it. Inseparable from a man's body, they put it on for journeys, fiestas, and work. On the other hand, it is also the weapon of attack and defense par excellence. They have few rivals in wielding the machete. In the cleaning out of underbrush they are peerless. As a rule, the number of machetes corresponds to the number of adults in the family. The persons who own more than four machetes are rare.

The shovels /palas/ and small bars /barretones/ needed for making the beds and holes and for weeding are also common. The shovels, which /318/ are owned in larger numbers than machetes, are not used to dig, but to scrape the ground; they are handled horizontally, away from the body. Shovels that form an angle with the handle are unknown.

Iron bars, spades /palendras, spade, hoe/, and picks are rare, especially the last two.

A few Mosoco families possess sickles and knives for reaping wheat.

The tools are sharpened on sandstone, although files are also used frequently.

A few natives possess saws, handsaws, troceras, chisels, and gouges for making a few objects out of wood.

In the statistical table presented one can see the frequency of the agricultural implements that they possess. It also indicates the nominal value of these implements.

6: Bernal Villa--41 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

/318 cont./
MOSOCO:

412
435
563

Fams.	Machetes		Shovels		Small Bars		Axes		Spades		Bars	
1.*	4	$ 22,00	4	$ 8,00	3	$ 7,50	2	$ 20,00	1	$ 3,00	1	$ 20,00
2.	2	10,00	1	3,00	..	....	1	5,00	..	....	..	....
3.	3	30,00	5	15,00	1	4,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
4.	3	15,00	3	9,00	2	10,00	2	10,00	1	4,00	1	6,00
5.	1	8,00	1	3,00	1	3,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
6.	2	24,00	2	8,00	2	6,00	..	....	..	....	1	12,00
7.	2	9,00	2	5,00	1	3,00	2	9,00	..	....	1	5,00
8.	2	12,00	2	6,00	2	10,00	1	6,00	..	....	1	10,00
9.	3	24,00	5	20,00	2	7,00	2	12,00	..	....	2	20,00
10.	4	28,00	5	12,50	2	10,00	2	14,00	..	....	..	....
11.	1	6,00	2	5,00	1	3,00	1	6,00	..	....	..	....
12.	4	16,00	6	15,00	4	16,00	2	8,00	..	....	1	5,00
13.	4	40,00	4	12,00	2	10,00	3	15,00	..	....	1	10,00
14.	8	48,00	10	30,00	6	30,00	5	25,00	..	....	..	....
15.	1	12,00	2	6,00	5	25,00	5	25,00	..	....	..	....
16.	1	12,00	2	8,00	1	6,00	1	6,00	..	....	1	8,00
17.	1	8,00	1	3,00	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....
18.	2	23,00	2	6,00	2	8,00	1	3,00	1	3,00	1	20,00
19.	3	21,00	3	9,00	1	4,00	2	10,00	..	....	..	....
20.	8	80,00	8	20,00	4	20,00	2	20,00	..	....	..	....
21.	7	42,00	6	18,00	2	12,00	2	10,00	..	....	..	....
22.	2	6,00	5	15,00	4	10,00	2	10,00	..	....	1	5,00
23.	1	10,00	2	6,00	1	5,00	1	5,00	..	....	1	6,00
24.	2	14,00	2	4,00	1	3,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
25.*	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....

/The commas in the figures are to be read as points in the translation to English./

/319/

LAME:

412
435
563

Fams.	Machetes		Shovels		Small Bars		Axes		Spades		Bars	
1.°	..	....	4	14,00	2	10,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
2.	1	12,00	4	20,00	1	6,00	1	7,00	..	....	..	....
3.	2	9,00	2	8,00	1	3,00	1	6,00	..	....	..	....
4.°	2	16,00	2	14,00	1	7,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
5.	3	30,00	4	12,00	1	5,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
6.	2	14,00	2	8,00	1	6,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
7.	3	30,00	4	16,00	4	20,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
8.	3	12,00	2	10,00	1	6,00	..	....	..	....	..	....

SAN ANDRES:

1.°	6	24,00	8	20,00	3	12,00	..	....	..	....	3	15,00
2.	2	16,00	2	6,00	1	7,00	1	4,00	..	....	..	....
3.	1	7,00	..	....	..	....	1	8,00	..	....	..	....
4.	3	15,00	2	10,00	1	5,00	1	6,00	..	....	..	....
5.	2	14,00	4	12,00	1	6,00	1	3,00	..	....	..	....
6.	1	10,00	1	3,50	1	7,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
7.	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....
8.	1	11,00	1	9,00	1	5,00	1	4,50	..	....	..	....
9.	1	3,00	3	9,00	1	10,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
10.°	2	10,00	1	3,00	1	3,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
11.	3	24,00	4	14,00	3	10,50	2	12,00	..	....	..	....
12.	3	30,00	2	8,00	1	2,00	1	8,00	..	....	..	....
13.	3	15,00	1	3,00	..	....	1	3,00	..	....	..	....
14.°	3	19,50	6	13,50	3	15,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
15.°	4	20,00	5	12,50	1	5,00	..	....	..	....	..	....

/The commas in the figures are to be read as points in the translation to English./

Domestic animals

231 The Páez have bovine, equine, porcine, and wool-bearing livestock, turkeys, chickens, dogs, and cats. The guinea pig is the only American domestic animal that is raised in many homes.

231 An accurate investigation of the livestock would present serious
124 difficulties, in view of the suspicion of the natives. In the parcialidad of Calderas, information on the subject is almost invariably distorted, whether direct or indirect methods of investigation are employed. Acquiring data of this nature would be problematical even for the mestizo traders with a relatively high standing among the natives and very familiar with them. In our investigating zeal we visited almost all the households in this parcialidad, covering the entire territory on foot. In the shade of thickets, in the fields and pastures, a goodly number of bovines, equines, and wool-bearers are seen grazing. Once in a while one comes upon herds of swine feeding on grasses and roots. In the communal llano of Calderas /320/ about 36 head of cattle ordinarily graze. In all of these households

/338 cont./

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422

Average Distribution of Agricultural Implements per Family

Parcialidad (26)	Machetes T	Machetes P	Shovels T	Shovels P	Small bars T	Small bars P	Axes T	Axes P	Spades T	Spades P	Bars T	Bars P
Mosoco	71	2	85	3	50	2	39	1	3	-	13	-
Lame	16	2	26	3	12	1	2	-	-	-	-	-
San Andrés . . .	37	2	42	2	18	1	9	-	-	-	3	-

26. Note: T indicates the total implements of the families investigated. P indicates the average number of implements for each family.

/338 cont./

412 Bearing in mind that of the 48 families investigated, 52%
422 are from Mosoco, 16.6% from Lame, and 31.2% from San
[162] Andrés, we can make the following deductions: The average
/339/ number of machetes owned by each family in the three parcialidades is two. This indicates the universality of this implement.

Implements for working the land are more numerous in Mosoco and Lame than in San Andrés, especially in the former, where shovels almost reach 4 and the small bars 2 per family. This is explained by the fact that in those parcialidades they do not need to clear the lands, but only raise the beds in the pastures.

The number of axes for each family in Mosoco is almost double.
[423] The reason for this is that almost all the families own land in the
[311] mountainous part called "paramo." The clearing of wooded areas is intensive in Mosoco because they still exist. In San Andrés and Lame, virgin montañas have almost disappeared.

7:Hernández de Alba E-54(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The main subsistence of these tribes was and still is based on the cultivation of potatoes, which grow in great quantities in the higher portions of the territory known as Tierradentro, and maize, which is acclimated to the temperate and cold zones. There are three varieties of maize: sweet, soft, and hard. Additional crops were and are yuca or manioc, sweet potatoes, auyamas, ullucos, purutos, frijoles, arracacha, and various other vegetables, and a variety of fruits, including bananas, guayavas, avocados, papayas, pineapples, and passion fruit. Today the *Páez* and *Moguex* are beginning to grow wheat, coffee, which is an important item in their economy, and sugarcane, from which is made a coarse sugar and molasses for their fermented drink, guarapo.

[178] [433] [273]

241 476 The men and women of each family generally cultivate the family plot, but for large-scale maize or coffee planting, and for cultivation of the lands of the Church or saint, they work communally, and have meetings called "mingas." Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense. The beneficiary must feed his helpers, generally sacrificing a pig and preparing great quantities of chicha for the libations and nocturnal dances after the work. All adults must participate in working the Church lands but each brings his own food.

[782] [273]

241 412 407 492 Implements of cultivation are the digging stick, or macana, for making holes for planting, machetes and axes for destroying vegetation, and picks and shovels for removing earth, except where replaced by plows pulled by animal traction.

231 **Domesticated animals.**—Domesticated animals include chickens, turkeys, some pigs, dogs, and a few horses and cows. All but the turkeys are of European origin. These animals are rarely sold or killed for food, except for feast days, magical ceremonies, meetings, and visits of relatives, friends or distinguished White men. But sometimes the Indians buy meat in the weekly market and hang it over the hearth, where it is preserved by the smoke.

[177] [438] [251]

574 431 A custom which has persisted since the beginning of the Colonial Period is that of always giving a guest the "camarico" or "cariño" (affection), a present varying from an egg to a chicken, together with some potatoes, vegetables, and coffee beans.

262 136 231 Formerly, meat was obtained from wild rather than domesticated animals—boars (zaínos), guaras, guatines, birds, and guinea pigs, the last being true domesticated animals kept in some numbers in the native houses.

252 **Food preparation.**—Food was cooked in pottery ollas, but metal and enamel ware is now often used. The *Páez* make "mute," a soup of boiled maize, cabbage, squash, and potatoes, and "cocido," a soup

[415] [177]

/138 cont./

249 In chicha production for festive days it is customary for
407 the mill to be turned only by human power, by men or women.
461 One could generally observe that the slightly intoxicated men
273 exerted themselves only a short time in each case and were then relieved by the more sober acting women, who -- with their children on their backs -- showed remarkable endurance at this physically quite hard work.

407 Almost every father of a family and houseowner makes his
335 sugar mill himself, or a neighbor helps. There are no profes-
[412] sional carpenters. With an ax (swéla) and a foxtail saw (serúčo) the cylinders are sawed from a tree trunk and crudely smoothed. The cylinders thus prepared are provided with a small hole in the center, from the base and upper side, and are clamped horizontally, by means of pegs, between two posts rammed into
[413] the ground and held together with a rope. Then with a gauge (regla), which consists of a board with thorns, the distances between the pegs are precisely incised on the revolving drum.

273 The sugar cane is put through the crushing cylinders
[249] several times by the workers, one squatting on either side, until
[516] the juice, which is caught in a wooden tub or in calabash vessels,
[415] is pressed out (Ill. 175 /see p. 278/). It is first vigorously heated and then put in a large horizontally positioned tree-trough (kánoa) up to five meters long, in which there must always be a little chicha to begin with (Ill. 165 /see p. 273/). It is stirred up with the old chicha in the trough, the kánoa is covered with banana leaves, and already the next morning the chicha is ready to be drunk. As time goes on the chicha becomes ever stronger in alcoholic content. By noon of the same day it is already strong enough to distill brandy from it. If one does not do this, /139/ some water must be added the next day to dilute it. If this is not done, the chicha is neither drunk nor is new sugar-cane juice added, whereupon it becomes sour and bitter after four or five days and strongly sears the throat. There are also "gourmets" among the Paez, however, who let the chicha go on fermenting, untouched, for up to three weeks and only then drink it so sharp and sour.

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415

[413]
[283]

[284]

Fig. 25. Sewed gourd calabash.

Fig. 26. Klaffka.

Fig. 27. Wooden plate and spoon.

/Figs. 1-24 on Plates III-X are omitted in the translation./

1: Nachtigall--295 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

List of Illustrations

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1. Colombia

Plate II

2. Tierradentro

/CX/

Figures

/Figs. 1-24 on Plates III-X are omitted in the translation./

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[2 2 3] 25. Sewed gourd calabash
[4 1 3] 26. Klafika; instrument for twisting thread and ropemaking
27. Wooden plate and spoon

Plate XII

28. Sugar mill

Plate XIII

29. Knotting and plaiting method for making the sling
30. Course of the thread and method of procedure in making a fiber bag
31. Method of procedure in making a bird net

Plate XIV

32. Fireworks
33. Plaited strip for making straw hats
34. a and b: direction of rotation of the fibers of a twisted thread, a = S-twist, b = Z-twist
c = symmetrical knot; d = fish-net knot

Plate XV

35. Weaving apparatus for making the carrying bands of the fiber bags

600 /120 cont./
354 the simplest possible form. Three rocks provide the lateral sup-
415 port or stand for the pots, of which there are two at most, a
metal one, usually of aluminum, and an earthen one. Very
poor families have only one earthen pot, which is relatively
[417] cheap to buy. The earthen pot cannot be hung up; it is set
between the three fire-stones in such a way that it cannot tip
over, whereas the aluminum pot is hung by its handle on a soot-
covered, angled stick that hangs down from the ridge (Ill. 166
352 /see p. 273/). Above the fire area there hangs a frame made
[251] of maize canes and about one square meter in size, on which
[353] household utensils and, above all, the rock salt for salting food
are stored, airy and dry. Tables, chairs, or stools of any kind
[237] are unknown. One generally sits on the hairy side of an un-
[513] tanned and hence board-stiff cowhide, on which one also /121/
sleeps, or one sits on a beam, a block of wood, or a stone. Paez
[777] who have seen house furnishings in Inzá or in the dwellings of white
colonists have sometimes built for themselves as a bed a sort
of bench 30-50 centimeters high, consisting of sticks or reeds
[513] laid side by side. For sleeping the customary cowhide is spread
on it. These sleeping benches are not used for sitting.

342 The nights in Calderas are generally quite cool, and
362 the light construction of the walls with cracks between the in-
132 dividual maize stalks does not in any way prevent the cold wind
from coming in. In a few houses, near the sleeping area, I saw
the walls sealed by means of expressed sugar-cane piled up
462 horizontally. For sleeping, the members of the family lie down
[354] in a circle around the fire area, where the fire must be kept going
[513] all through the night. This, like all housework, is the task of
the woman, who must gather sufficient fuel beforehand and get up
every two hours during the night to stir up the fire. Furthermore,
[264] she must get up an hour earlier in the morning in order to have
the first meal, which is eaten around five o'clock, sometimes
[461] even at four o'clock, prepared on time. In spite of this, the
men think that they are the ones who do the hardest work and that
basically they are the only ones in the village who really work.

/121 cont./

372 In case the fire should go out, which happens very rarely, the men, if they have no matches, know how to make fire by striking the blade of the iron machete with a stone and catching the sparks in the dry tinder of expressed sugar-cane. To fan this or a dying fire the hat is used as a fire fan, instead of a special fan. A few times I also saw a reed tube (yotá) about 50 centimeters long, which is blown into with the mouth and which thus acts like a bellows.

352 Infants do not as a rule sleep on the floor, but in ham-
[854] mocks (máka), which, however, as the name indicates, were
[513] not originally Paez. Nevertheless all the men know how to
[286] make them out of agave fibers, which is done with the same knotting technique as in the manufacture of nets for bird hunting.
415 Moreover, a few bags (yáha) made of agave fibers, which con-
[286] tain beans, maize, or other supplies, hang on the wall posts.
[353] Arracacha lies on the floor. For drinking chicha, which is allowed
[273] to ferment in large, hollowed-out tree troughs, calabashes (tóka) are used, but they are plain and undecorated. Cracked calabashes are sewed with a waxed agave thread (Fig. 25 /see
[249] p.253/). The calabash gourd is grown in the house garden /122/
412 of every family; its meat is inedible. Furthermore, an oval or
352 rectangular grindstone on which maize is ground with a smaller hand-stone is found in every household. It usually lies on the floor in a corner of the house, but sometimes it is set about one meter high on two forked posts.

412 Meals are taken with wooden spoons (todšá'tc) off of
415 wooden plates (bič), which are carved by the Paez themselves
264 (Fig. 27 /see p. 253/). Aluminum or enamel bowls were rarely
[322] encountered in Calderas. Plates and mugs of aluminum were
[177] therefore always coveted gift articles, along with kitchen knives, needles, safety pins, matches, and salt.

356 Cleanliness within the house is surprisingly great, consider-
515 ing that the Paez wash their bodies but seldom and their hands only when they are "very dirty." This is the case when a person has been working in a burned field and has cleared away the
000 sooty, burned tree trunks and the burned underbrush. The house

/124/

291 The men's trousers (calsón) have no pockets. On the aver-
294 age they reach to the calves. Generally they are very carefully sewed, either with purchased thread or with homemade, very fine yarn made of agave threads. In making them, as well as in the case of necessary repair work, all the edges are very carefully bound.

The men's ruana (atç) is generally square, with a side edge of 100 to 160 centimeters. It is sewed together out of two equally wide, rectangular panels, with a slit about 20 centimeters long left open in the center as a neck opening. Because of its square shape the ruana may be worn just as well with the neck-opening crosswise.

285 Whereas shoes or sandals are not used by the Paez, men,
462 women, and children wear the same type of straw hats (śwá).
293 These are plaited, however, only by the men and boys. The
415 dress of both sexes is completed by two or three of the colored
291 woolen coca bags, in which, on journeys, the necessary personal articles are also carried.

291 The garments of the women's clothing consist of wool and
294 are woven by the women themselves. In general the quality and fineness of the women's fabrics are significantly greater than that
286 of the men's woven fabrics. The boys' and young men's fabrics are generally the coarsest, woven with a rather thick spun thread. Decorative strips of a different color within the fabric are found chiefly in the women's clothing, but not infrequently also in that of the men, especially in the ruanas. The absolutely necessary basic clothing of the women consists of skirt and upper garment. Both are worn in such a way that the warp threads run crosswise. The skirt (atytól) is a very wide, tubular garment, whose diameter may amount to 150 centimeters and more, with a length (in the weaving state this corresponds to the width!) of about 80 centimeters. It is worn in such a way that the front part is tight, while the back side falls in numerous folds. It is fastened at the height of the hips with a woman's colored belt, and its upper edge is folded down somewhat over the belt.

000 /133 cont./

264 food and bean leaves as the worst. They eat together. The
[415] family sits around the fire and the woman serves. They do not,
[412] however, eat out of the large cooking pot, which is usually of clay, though sometimes of aluminum, but rather the soup is dipped out with a wooden ladle into shallow bowls, from one of which the men, that is to say, the father and sons, eat, and the mother, daughters, and small children eat out of another one.
[263] Above the fire area a few small pieces of rock salt hang in a
[353] small pouch or lie on a rack and are used to salt the food after it is cooked. To do this each one takes the piece of salt and holds it or puts it in his plate until the soup is sufficiently salted.

252 In the following, a few dishes: 1) maize flour, ground
262 on the oval or rectangular grindstone with a hand-stone, is cooked with beans and cabbage; 2) vegetable bananas with beans and arracacha; 3) green ears of maize with beans (wood ashes are added to every maize dish, in order to make the maize tender more quickly); 4) green ears of maize with white cabbage; 5) white cabbage, arracacha, and potatoes; 6) beans and vegetable bananas; 7) only beans and maize flour; 8) arracacha and beans. Eggs are either boiled hard in the shell in a pot, or the egg is beaten with a spoon in a dish, water and onions are added, and
[415] the whole is cooked. All foods are cooked in a large pot as soup; only ears of maize roasted in a bowl /Schale, "bowl, shell, husk"/ (wáts; Spanish arepa) are an exception. Meat is only boiled, never roasted; they eat the meat of cattle, sheep, and pigs, as well as poultry and guinea pigs, but not horse meat. If horses die, the carcasses are devoured by dogs.

/134/ c) Means of Enjoyment

273 The two most important pleasures for the Paez, as for the
276 cultures of the entire Andean area, are coca and chicha. Tobacco plays a subordinate role.

P /135 cont./
276 exchange for brandy, wheat, or maize (for exchange and barter
249 rates, see "Trade" /see pp. 92-94 /). Within the family each
437 one harvests for himself as many leaves as he happens to need;
otherwise the father of the family usually barters for the entire
family. Harvest time is throughout the year (Ill. 174 /see
P p. 277 /).

276 Before use the leaves are roasted in a clay bowl and then
317 carried around in the colored wool pouch (kwatandyáha), together
● [415] with a small calabash containing lime. The lime (kwatánd) is
obtained from limestone (kwatandkwát) which crops out at vari-
ous places throughout the region and which men and women look
for as it is needed, or the husband sends his wife to fetch a few
stones. These pieces of limestone are put in a vigorously fanned
fire for two hours, /136/ then in a clay bowl, and cold water is
P poured over them. After that the cracked stone is pounded to
276 powder. To enjoy it, one takes a handful of leaves out of his
pouch and puts them in the mouth and chews them for a while,
until the lime can be added. Care must be taken that neither the
tongue nor lips come in contact with the lime. Beginners press
the coca mash flat against their tongues with their gums and
sprinkle a pinch of lime from the pear-shaped, absolutely un-
adorned calabash (kwatandóka) upon it; practiced coca-chewers
take a pinch of lime on the back of the hand between thumb and
index finger and toss it into the open mouth with a flourish. The
green saliva copiously produced is partly spat out, but most of
P it is swallowed. In the case of old people it often runs out of the
C mouth and drips on the clothing (Ill. 179 /see p. 280 /).

276 According to my experiences among the Paez and the
P coca-chewing Colombian workers, the harmful effect of coca
C seems to be exaggerated in most of the studies on the subject.
276 Of interest, however, are the data of C. Gutiérrez Noriega (1952),
146 who investigates the psychological and physiological effect of
273 taking coca, especially among the Peruvian Indios. There, in
the region of the greatest coca consumption, two to four kilo-
grams per person and year, the daily amount of food for a worker
is only about 2,000 calories per day. With a simultaneous drinking
of brandy and an inadequate diet, physical and mental consequences

/138 cont./

249 In chicha production for festive days it is customary for
407 the mill to be turned only by human power, by men or women.
461 One could generally observe that the slightly intoxicated men
273 exerted themselves only a short time in each case and were then relieved by the more sober acting women, who -- with their children on their backs -- showed remarkable endurance at this physically quite hard work.

407 Almost every father of a family and houseowner makes his
335 sugar mill himself, or a neighbor helps. There are no profes-
[412] sional carpenters. With an ax (swéla) and a foxtail saw (serúčo) the cylinders are sawed from a tree trunk and crudely smoothed. The cylinders thus prepared are provided with a small hole in the center, from the base and upper side, and are clamped horizontally, by means of pegs, between two posts rammed into
[413] the ground and held together with a rope. Then with a gauge (regla), which consists of a board with thorns, the distances between the pegs are precisely incised on the revolving drum.

273 The sugar cane is put through the crushing cylinders
[249] several times by the workers, one squatting on either side, until
[516] the juice, which is caught in a wooden tub or in calabash vessels,
[415] is pressed out (Ill. 175 /see p. 278/). It is first vigorously heated and then put in a large horizontally positioned tree-trough (kánoa) up to five meters long, in which there must always be a little chicha to begin with (Ill. 165 /see p. 273/). It is stirred up with the old chicha in the trough, the kánoa is covered with banana leaves, and already the next morning the chicha is ready to be drunk. As time goes on the chicha becomes ever stronger in alcoholic content. By noon of the same day it is already strong enough to distill brandy from it. If one does not do this, /139/ some water must be added the next day to dilute it. If this is not done, the chicha is neither drunk nor is new sugar-cane juice added, whereupon it becomes sour and bitter after four or five days and strongly sears the throat. There are also "gourmets" among the Paez, however, who let the chicha go on fermenting, untouched, for up to three weeks and only then drink it so sharp and sour.

/153 cont./

286 [177] The hammock (máka), as the Spanish name already indicates, is a borrowed article and not generally distributed in the Andean cultures. Among the Paez it is used only for children. Its dimensions, with 100 meshes, are about 100 by 100 centimeters. It is hung up with agave or horsehair ropes, which are looped through the upper and lower rows of meshes and then tied to house posts.

• [415] The berry sieves (tása) are present in almost every household. They are about 30-60 centimeters in diameter and are stretched inside a round wooden frame. The meshes are formed by means of the "fishnet knot" (Fig. 34d /see p. 256 /). This draws together very closely and is then scarcely recognizable in its structure.

283 The sling (ísut) is made with various techniques. For its manufacture the dried fibers of the agave leaf are used just as they are obtained when the leaf is stripped. A knot is made at the tip of the bundle of fibers, and it is then divided into two parts. Both are turned by hand in the same direction and then twined by rotation in the opposite direction. This produces /154/ -- conditioned by the naturally thickening material -- a two-strand rope of steadily increasing strength. Since it is twisted only by hand, it threatens to lose its tightness with greater thickness. Hence, after about 50 centimeters, the hank is divided into three parts and plaited for about the same length in the manner of a three-strand braid.

286 284 To make the net for holding the sling stone (Fig. 29 /see p.255 /), the three plaiting strands are divided into seven strands which, in each case, are separated from the plaited part by a simple finger knot. From each of these knots two double strands continue, which, put diagonally, are tied together by a double finger knot.

The length of the net part is about 20 centimeters. At its end it changes back to a three-strand braid by way of a simple finger knot. It should be noted in this connection that the middle strand at the beginning of the braid is caught in the threads of an adjacent knot. This prevents the plaiting from loosening up as it goes into the net and losing its tightness. The same

/162/

386 The following colors are produced with vegetable dyes: red
824 (mbe; also the color designation for pink, ocher, brown) with the roots of a plant called béwoetse. (According to Hernandez, this is the Rubiaceae Relbunium hypocarpium.) The wool threads are boiled with these roots for about an hour and they are then put in the sun. For blue coloring (séin; light blue - séin-séin) the threads are boiled with the leaves of the indigo tree for an hour; for green coloring (oálye séin; oálye = species of bird with green feathers, thus literally "oálye blue"), with the leaves of the tamp tree; and for yellow coloring (škítc), with the leaves of the mūzec tree. The results of the dyeing are not always uniform. There are always deviations in the color. With a little experience, however, one can differentiate them from the purchased chemical dyes.

h) Pottery

323 The art of pottery is very little developed among the Paez and is essentially limited to larger or smaller, crudely fashioned, spherical-shaped pots (mítc) with a lip slightly curved outward. In use they are not hung up, but placed between the three hearthstones for cooking. Smaller, shallower bowls serve for roasting
[531] the coca leaves. There are no vessels with handles. There is no ornamentation of any kind, neither painting, nor incising, nor
[415 531 824] finger imprints. For drinking chicha or for fetching water only gourd calabashes (tóka) are used, which are exactly as unadorned and purely functional as the ceramic vessels.

323 The making of pots is a specialist's work. In Calderas there
463 are three potters, two of whom are women. Only one of them, however, Santos Kiskue, works to keep a supply, whereas the other two make pots only on order. Santos Kiskue is about 40 years old and has a wife and four living children; four others
[437] are dead. He has a horse, but no cow and no sheep. The latter he can do without, since he barters his pots chiefly for wool.

The technique of pottery among the Paez is a spiral coil technique. Since the shapes are very simple, a special

/167 cont./

484 while the /168/ woman on foot lugs the goods behind. From
439 Calderas more men than women visit the market. For both it
482 is a very welcome occasion to become intoxicated. The
[273] owners of the taverns try to prevent the stealing of the much
[275] coveted beer and whiskey glasses, popularly practiced by the Paez, by chaining the glasses to the tavern tables.

On market days it is customary to leave very early and to transport the loads in the fiber bags in the customary way: the men take the carrying belt diagonally across their chests and the women hold it with their foreheads. In both cases the bag hangs on their backs. Then generally travel in groups of twos or threes, but not infrequently one also meets solitary
[432] individuals. Provisions are taken along, for, as a matter of
[275] principle, nothing is bought on the way except chicha or brandy.
[485] If it is necessary to stay overnight, nothing is paid for this. They sleep either at the entrance of a house of acquaintances or spend the night in the open field.

439 For traveling and for the visit to the market they try to wear
484 at least one article of European clothing, a felt hat, a shirt, or
[291] a blouse. The quality plays only a minor role, since the worst
[177] shirt is still more desirable than the finest ruana. A person who cannot buy anything in the way of clothing at least ties a black
[262] band around his hat, such as the felt hats have. Provisions are carried along in the fiber bag, roasted maize, cabbage, potatoes,
[415] arracacha. A person who can carries with him two or three of
484 the woolen coca pouches, in one of which there is coca and lime,
461 in another one money, and in the third the plaiting material
[285] for the straw hat. Almost all the men do this plaiting work, which actually is not work at all, but more like a "blind occupation," when they have nothing else to do, either when visiting, on the way to market, or also during the shaman ceremonies.
[283] The women, no matter where one meets them, are equally in-
[285] dustrious and always busy with spinning or plaiting the fiber bags or the wool coca-pouches. Like the men, they carry their work material with them in a second wool pouch.

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[413]
[RP3]

[284]

Fig. 25. Sewed gourd calabash.

Fig. 26. Klaffka.

Fig. 27. Wooden plate and spoon.

/Figs. 1-24 on Plates III-X are omitted in the translation./

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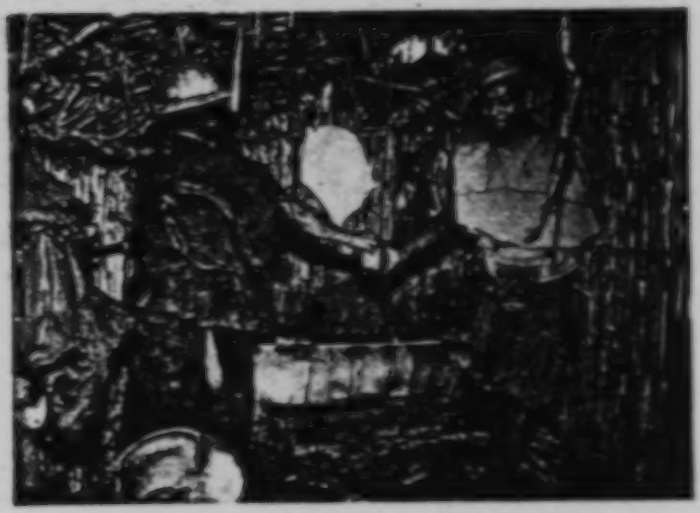

Ill. 165. House annex with the chicha trough.

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Ill. 166. Interior of a Paez house.

1: Nachtigall--277 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 173. Paez with sugar cane.

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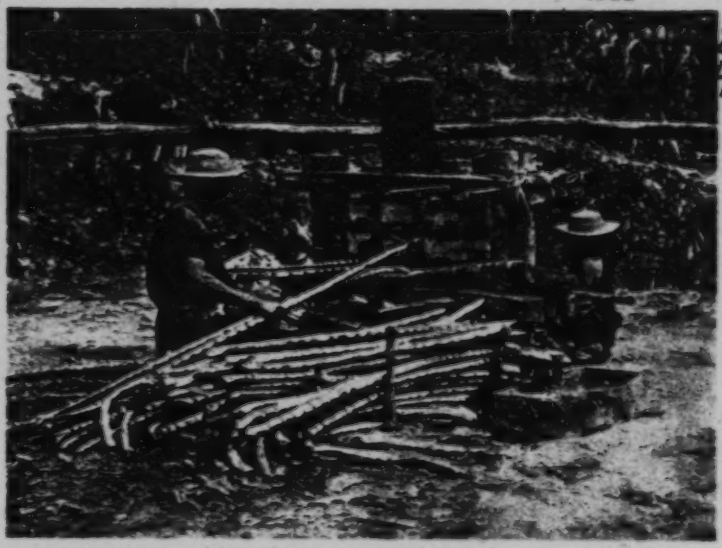
Ill. 174. Harvesting the coca leaves.

1: Nachtigall--278 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15



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407

Ill. 175. Sugar mill in operation.

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Ill. 176. Distillation apparatus.

1: Nachtigall--283 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 185. Rolling out a "clay sausage."

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Ill. 186. Types of Paez ceramics.

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Ill. 201. Grinding maize with the hand-grindstone.

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Ill. 202. Calderun music group.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

They represent the primitive type of
habitation, the agglomerations being the result of the efforts of 342
the missionaries. [177]

The villages are generally in the open grazing districts at the 361
bottom of the valleys, on side plateaus, or on broad ridges. They are not compact in the common sense of the word, but consist of isolated groups of houses, the approximate common center of which is often indicated by the whitewashed thatch-roofed church (plate v).

The walls of the permanent houses are made of a kind of 342
bajareque, i. e., a skeleton of canes filled in with clay. In the 353
better homes the interior is divided into two or more rooms, usually very small, with a hearth in the middle; but oftener [354]
there are no interior partitions, the dwelling consisting of a single square apartment. In every case that came under my [356]
observation the interior was very untidy.

The Indians openly objected to our entering their houses, 352
hence I could gain only casual glimpses of their domiciles, the 123
furnishing of which seems to be an imitation of that of the 177
dwellings of the few Spanish people living among them or in the immediate neighborhood.

Outside the houses they generally have a cane-crusher of 407
primitive type, with horizontal smooth cylinders moved by means of levers at each end. A loom and a grinding stone are 286
also seen occasionally under an adjacent shelter (plates iv,[1] 2, 412
and vi).[2]

There may often be seen, either about or inside the housse, 415
very large jars used as receptacles in the elaboration of the chicha. These utensils seem to be almost the only survival of the ancient earthenware industry. The smaller pottery vessels which were seen occasionally had been taken from old graves. [192]

Each group of houses, in which several generations of a 351
single family dwell, is surrounded by a small enclosed field, [592]
planted with sugar-cane, plantains, oranges and other fruits, and greens and roots of daily use. The garden enclosure is formed by a ditch, inside of which is a wooden fence or a stone wall, the latter often crowned by a hedge of maguey (*Furcræa*), [247]
lechero (*Euphorbia*), borrachero (*Solanum*), and other bushes.

[1] [See plate facing P. 317 — Analyst]
[2] [See plate facing P. 320 — Analyst]

/286 cont./

291 the waist, and over it a rebozo or shawl of foreign make; they wear hats of masculine manufacture. They carry a thin stick
283 one meter long more or less, called kasguat, held under the left armpit, and at its upper end there is a bundle of wool to be spun, a task which they do at any time, while walking or sitting in the house, regardless of whether a child is resting on their backs or, when they are walking along the road, a heavy
301 load. Only the women wear ornaments consisting of multicolored necklaces, earrings, and sometimes rings.

293 Both men and women usually carry three woolen pouches,
415 aside from others of fique, a very small one for money, a larger one for mambe /coca and lime for chewing/, and the third, which is the largest of all and holds the other two, is used to carry palm leaves or the plaited work made with them for the men, and other things for the women.

276 Coca.--All the Paez are "mambe chewers," men, women,
[461] and children, regarding coca as an article that gives strength,
[261] frees one from laziness, and mitigates hunger. Without it, of
[273] course, they will not work. Coca and chicha, fermented sugar-
[262] cane juice, play the role of real foods, given their starchy and scant diet.

631 Parcialidades and cabildos.--Politically, the Indians are
621 organized into parcialidades, each headed by a cabildo made up of a gobernador and substitute, a major alcalde and another minor one, two alguaciles, three fiscales, a comisario, a capitán, and a síndico elected each year and put in office by the respective alcaldías of the municipio, except for the last two, who are named for life and put in office by the /287/ Church. Their functions are administrative and police work, but in reality they exercise functions of social, legal, and religious control.

631 The parcialidades are bounded by the craggy peaks and the deep, rugged beds of the streams and rivers in such a way that each one circumscribes specific kinds of geography, and even of

4:Bernal Villa--24 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

VII

The Milling, the Chicha and the Chicha-makers

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249 It remains to be said that the fiesta begins with the milling.
461 Although it is common to use a horse to operate the sugar mill,
[492] it is more usual at fiesta time to move it with human arms, masculine or feminine. It makes no difference. The two laborers for the milling squat on either side of the sugar mill, and one hands over the cane while the other receives the bagasse, which is piled up at one side to be handed back again; this is done up to 12 times in order to extract as much juice
[273] as possible. The millers do their work in silence when they are not drunk; while they do it with diligence, there is relaxation, laughter, shouts, and imprecations when they are under the influence of alcohol.

273 The juice is gathered in troughs, or less frequently in
249 calabashes and pots; it is heated to near the boiling point and
796 then emptied into the troughs, in which, inasmuch as they
[415] are well "cured," fermentation is rapid. The troughs are made of huge tree trunks that reach up to one meter and 50 centimeters in thickness and four or five meters in length. As they are depleted through consumption, they are refilled with fresh
[285] cane juice. The troughs are covered with small mats made
273 exclusively for the purpose. On the following day it is bubbly,
796 yellowish, with a pungent, sweetish flavor. It is the beka pes (strong chicha) of the natives, who drink it with relish and delight. Five gourdfuls of this liquor are sufficient to make them
273 drunk. Elsewhere called guarapo, while the Paez call it chicha,
182 it is of great importance in their social life and diet. With its
796 help the religious fiestas gain meaning, the mingas are carried
[262] out, baptisms and weddings are made more pleasant, and visitors are entertained.

273 Work without chicha is inconceivable, and while they work
461 they get no food whatever; they merely drink chicha and chew
262
276

/195 cont./

262 coca. Chicha thus provides the calories for work, while coca
273 dulls the feeling of hunger. The consumption of chicha is
461 general among men and women, old people and children.
[276] There is no household without chicha for any length of time.
And during the short lapses when it runs low, they buy it or
[431] visit the households that have some. Among friends it is not
sold, but given as regalement: /196/ "talking, laughing, regaling," as the Indians accurately describe the situation.

249 Milling for the fiestas takes place daily and is in direct
273 proportion to the number of visitors. Milling for the mingas
461 lasts two days, one week for baptisms, and up to a month for
weddings.

273 The largest containers for chicha are the troughs, but use
415 is also made of pitchers and large earthenware pots buried in
the ground up to their rims.

273 The chicha-makers are the absolute masters of the troughs
463 while they are fulfilling their function. They distribute the
796 chicha, and even the fiestero himself must ask them for the
amount desired. No one takes chicha without their consent.
Furthermore, they accept the gifts which the visitors give to
the fiestero. The latter merely voices his thanks. Although
they keep taking chicha, they do not get drunk, so as to perform their task properly. They will have their day when they
can do so.

VIII

Sugar-cane Aguardiente

273 At fiesta time, aguardiente is distilled every two or three
[796] days. The distillation is quite easy. The still is prepared in
the following way:

[415] A good-sized earthenware pot, 50 to 60 centimeters high
and 25 to 30 centimeters in diameter, is filled with guarapo

/196 cont./

273 fermented for two days, mixed with anise, dill, cloves, cinna-
415 mon, anisillo, and bitopiskue. Sometimes verbena is also added. It rests on three stones which make up the hearth. Over the edges of this pot, and with the interstices filled with a paste of ashes to avoid any loss of steam, is put another pot of regular size: 30 centimeters high and 20 centimeters in diameter. Inside this one is put an ovoid wooden bowl, grooved, with a handle likewise grooved, which is connected to a reed tube that runs through the pot at mid-height, and through which the aguardiente runs into the containers (liters /litros/ and bottles). The base of this pot is pierced to permit the guarapo steam to go through. Above this pot is placed a copper pan about 15 centimeters high and 30 centimeters in diameter; the junctures are covered with a paste of ashes. On this pan there falls a continuous jet of cold water brought from the outside through a bamboo channel; the surplus comes out through a /197/ /illustration appears here/ reed tube set in an opening near the rim. When this fall of water is not feasible, the women undertake to change constantly the warm water for cold.

Stills of this kind distill approximately 15 liters.

The amounts of the ingredients are as follows:

Guarapo, two-thirds of the container.

Anise, three eggs /a measure; see footnote 1, p. 9/ (from Silvia or Neiva).

Dill, approximately 1 pound.

Anisillo (an aromatic herb), one egg.

Bitopiskue (a pungent herb), approximately half a pound.

Cloves, ten centavos (one ounce).

/198/Cinnamon, ten centavos (one ounce).

273 The distillation has nothing mysterious about it, although
784 it does have its precautions. Anyone can be present, but no one can say "venda" /bandage/, because the distillation would not produce anything. If someone goes out, he must do so in silence, but preferably he should not go out, because he will

/198 cont./

IX

The Wax Comes from the Woodlands

796 Before the fiestero goes to stay in the pueblo, the laborers make the candles and distill the aguardiente while the fireworks-maker produces the firecrackers and rockets.

388 124 The candles are made with the wax of the wild laurel (1)

1. Myrica pubescens Willd.

recently extracted from seeds gathered months earlier from the bushes in the woodlands. Laurel, of course, is a shrub with lanceolate leaves, which grows wild in the clearings after the harvest. During the months of April and May the branches are heavy with lead-colored and tiny seeds very similar in form to the fruit of the coffee tree. They are a favorite food of the wild pigeons, and for this reason, while they are ripening, the owner, or preferably his children, constantly frightens them [756] away. This is a reinforcement of the magic protection supplied [789] by the medicine man at the suggestion of the owner of the woodland. He has performed the exorcism to frighten away the unwanted birds: he has loaded his shotgun with chayuts (2) and

2. Escrofulareacea.

shot at the pigeons. They will not return.

[415] The seeds are gathered in fique bags. Ten workers gather approximately one arroba in one day. /199/ For the period of one month the seeds will be left to dry, scattered in a corner of the house, so that the wax will come out white and not green as would happen if this were not done.

388 To extract the wax, the seeds are packed into small sacks or bags, boiled, and pressed at once. The wax falls with the hot water into a round container; on the following day, the water that remains at the bottom of the container is removed, and the wax is left to solidify further.

4:Bernal Villa--31 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/200 cont./

XI

Gourd Vessels and Etiquette

415 554 273 There are three types of gourd vessels in which chicha is distributed and whose traditional order of use reflects hierarchy, majority, and high status; some gourd vessels are used for all those present, of both sexes and all ages; others, only for a specific class of people.

[192] The first type is small with an ovoid opening, made of half a gourd. In the Paez dialect it is called shup /201/ /illustration appears here/ shachi. All visitors, without distinction as to sex, age, or status, are presented with two matés of this type: the first one contains "strong water" to quench thirst, while the second contains chicha, the authentic strong chicha.

The second type of container is the shachi pitán (gourd-vessel capitan), of greater capacity than the first, ovoid in shape, and open at one end. The most respected persons of both sexes, adults and elders, are given chicha in these gourd vessels, /202/ after taking it from the shup shachi. They indicate a certain deference on the part of the host, and by the same token he wishes them to get drunk. Those who are favored with these gourds offer them to all present, who take them, taste the contents, and return them to the hands of the owner. The shachi pitán has gone from mouth to mouth, but the contents remain practically untouched; the owner is to drink it.

The laborers and mayordomos who are in his service, the albacero, the síndico /trustee/, and the highly respected elders, after having received chicha in the shup shachi and in the shachi pitán, receive a larger gourd vessel in which there is a tiny one (shachi léchukue), which is called suilté. The presentation of this has an etiquette of its own. The host comes out with the suilté in his hands, fills the shachi léchukue with

/202 cont./

415 chicha, and hands it to a person favored and respected by him;
554 the latter takes it, drinks from it, and returns the small gourd;
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415 then he is given the quilté. In turn, he fills the small gourd and
554 gives it to the man who presented it to him. Then he distributes
273 the chicha among all those present, beginning with the adults,

/202 cont./
415 men first and then women, and ending with the children of both
554 sexes. No one is left without a share.
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XII

The Cleaning of the Church

346 The so-called church of Calderas, a masonry structure, is a dilapidated old building, long and tall, with a two-slope thatched roof and a hemispherical bell tower supported by four beams set into the ridgepiece. Only the front of four columns with cornices and semicircular arches which form an antechamber lends the whole a certain charm.

346 What is called the cleaning of the church is the removal
794 of a few weeds that grow in the pavement in front of it and
796 clearing a line that encircles a small plaza. The task is minimal, but it is always performed. The act is symbolic more than anything else; what matters is the meeting of the fiesteros with their respective albaceros and laborers; an occasion for taking care of the albacero, an opportunity for merriment, talk, jokes, and even games.

Some 12 days before the fiesta and on a Thursday, accompanied by the cabildo, music, and firecrackers, the fiestero leaves his house and goes to occupy one in the pueblo. He takes /203/ along the bull that will be sacrificed on the following day. Two days later, that is to say, on Monday, the cleaning of the church is carried out. On rare occasions
[202] it is done on a Wednesday. The ringing of bells announces the invitation and later tells the people that the cleaning is over, whereupon they drink the two calabashes of chicha which each fiestero has brought; the firecrackers are set off; "the albacero has earned a meal," they say, and deserves the honors of the table. The fiestero will take care of him with

6: Bernal Villa--103 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro IX: Sugar mill of wood and the milling (Togoima).

6: Bernal Villa--104 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro X: Indian woman of Mosoco "mambe-ing" /chewing coca and lime/ and weaving a kuetand yaha (pouch) for mambe). She is a té eu of the parcialidad.

6: Bernal Villa--105 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro XI. Indian of Calderas, showing the typical manner of wearing the kuetand yaha and the yahas (fique pouches). In the background, the Parque Arqueológico of Tierradentro.

7:Hernández de Alba E-54(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The main subsistence of these tribes was and still is based on the cultivation of potatoes, which grow in great quantities in the higher portions of the territory known as Tierradentro, and maize, which is acclimated to the temperate and cold zones. There are three varieties of maize: sweet, soft, and hard. Additional crops were and are yuca or manioc, sweet potatoes, auyamas, ullucos, purutos, frijoles, arracacha, and various other vegetables, and a variety of fruits, including bananas, guayavas, avocados, papayas, pineapples, and passion fruit. Today the *Páez* and *Moguex* are beginning to grow wheat, coffee, which is an important item in their economy, and sugarcane, from which is made a coarse sugar and molasses for their fermented drink, guarapo.

[178] [433] [273]

241 The men and women of each family generally cultivate the family plot, but for large-scale maize or coffee planting, and for cultivation of the lands of the Church or saint, they work communally, and have meetings called "mingas." Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense. The beneficiary must feed his helpers, generally sacrificing a pig and preparing great quantities of chicha for the libations and nocturnal dances after the work. All adults must participate in working the Church lands, but each brings his own food.

476 [782] [273]

241 Implements of cultivation are the digging stick, or macana, for making holes for planting, machetes and axes for destroying vegetation, and picks and shovels for removing earth, except where replaced by plows pulled by animal traction.

412 407 492

Domesticated animals.—Domesticated animals include chickens, turkeys, some pigs, dogs, and a few horses and cows. All but the turkeys are of European origin. These animals are rarely sold or killed for food, except for feast days, magical ceremonies, meetings, and visits of relatives, friends or distinguished White men. But sometimes the Indians buy meat in the weekly market and hang it over the hearth, where it is preserved by the smoke.

231 [177] [438] [251]

574 A custom which has persisted since the beginning of the Colonial Period is that of always giving a guest the "camarico" or "cariño" (affection), a present varying from an egg to a chicken, together with some potatoes, vegetables, and coffee beans.

431

262 Formerly, meat was obtained from wild rather than domesticated animals—boars (zaínos), guaras, guatines, birds, and guinea pigs, the last being true domesticated animals kept in some numbers in the native houses.

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252 **Food preparation.**—Food was cooked in pottery ollas, but metal and enamel ware is now often used. The *Páez* make "mute," a soup of boiled maize, cabbage, squash, and potatoes, and "cocido," a soup

[415] [177]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5 4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

of manioc, arracacha, potatoes, beans, sweet maize, and pieces of meat. Meat is sometimes roasted. Maize, the staple, is made into tortillas or soup, or is roasted on the ear. Coffee, much of which is consumed, is roasted in a pottery vessel, ground, and made into an infusion sweetened with coarse sugar. 252 [272]

Kitchen utensils include pottery ollas and vessels, and a footless elliptical stone metate with a central concavity, which lies directly on the floor or is supported on sticks driven in the soil. Meat is kept smoked over the fireplace, and other food is stored on shelves of cane woven into the roof sticks or in hanging hemp bags or gourds. Each gourd has a broad half-gourd suspended above it, open side down, so that a rat descending from above slides off the gourd onto the floor. 415 251 [353] [825]

The first daily meal is taken at daybreak and consists of "mute." There is no noonday meal, but the evening repast resembles breakfast. Between meals, the Indians chew coca two or three times to sustain their strength and allay hunger. For refreshment and stimulation, they drink guarapo, carrying it to work in gourds. 264 [276] [273]

They cultivate pepper (ají) for a condiment, but purchase salt in the weekly market. The latter is so scarce that instead of mixing it with food they pass a lump around, each person licking it. Before the Conquest, three salt deposits were exploited in this territory, the most important being that near the modern municipality of Belalcázar or Páez. Here the local chief had the salt water boiled down to obtain blocks of salt, which he traded with other tribes for diverse products, or with which he bought help in his wars against the neighboring *Pijao*. Sometimes he permitted other *Páez* to exploit the deposit. Near the present-day Indian center of Ricaurte on the Ullucos River is another salt works that was much used in ancient times, but today is abandoned. Another source of salt was at Huila, where, during the Conquest, the Indians ambushed the Spaniards who sought it, and killed their horses. 317 263 [244] [439] [648]

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Each *Páez* and *Moguex* family has its own house, located on a point or flat place in the mountains some distance from its neighbors. The aboriginal house seems to have been rectangular, which still is the only form. It was so lightly constructed of cane and sticks with thatched roof that the Spanish soldiers during the foundation of San Vicente de Páez "carried some Indian houses to their barracks because they were small and suited to it" (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 9). Some distance from the dwelling, they always built a small woman's house. Under Spanish influence, some houses were divided into rooms, and built more solidly of "bahareque" construction, i. e., walls consisting of two faces of sticks with mud and rocks between (pl. 185). 342 [361] 177 342

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

342 [177] Some had wooden doors and windows, and were built with nails and wires, though most were still made with vegetable materials.

The modern *Moguex* house has two rooms. The main one, entered through a small door, serves as storeroom for goods to be sold, reception hall, dancing place, and a room in which to keep watch over the dead. The other is a pantry for provisions and drinks; here are kept [354] kitchen utensils. In the center is the fireplace and around it dried [352] cowhides or platform beds made of horizontal poles tied to stakes [476] driven in the ground. One's neighbors aid him to build his house, [461] transporting heavy timbers over light rollers and singing rhythmically as they heave together. If the owner of a new house is a man of [554] means, he pays for a feast of benediction or consecration carried out [778] with a Catholic priest, a godfather, and a godmother.

The *Páez* does all this and in addition puts some pieces of silver 352 money under his house to assure his good fortune. In the main house [415] he places the metate on stakes, and in a secondary house, the press [353] for extracting wax from laurel, one or more troughs or hollowed trunks, [354] and large jars for chicha and guarapo. From the roof frame hang bags, [524] or "mochilas," of netted hemp for belongings. There is also a bam- [283] boo candlestick, the wooden feast drum, sometimes a tiple or small guitar, and. nailed to the wall, a spindle. Outside the loom stands 404 against the wall Beyond it is the sugarcane mill, which is made of 286 a section of tree trunk with a hole above a projection on which the 249 cane is pressed by hand with a rod which crosses the hole. Some mills consist of two or three wooden cylinders rotated by animal power.

243 In each maize field is a small, temporary house and a high platform where a watchman frightens the parrots and parakeets with periodic 342 cries and motions.

Each *Páez* group today has its communally built pueblo, with 177 "bahareque" buildings grouped around a rectangular plaza: a church, 361 with its arched portico and small tower in imitation of Colonial architecture, a house for the priest, a school, and two or three large houses for meetings and fiestas, where they dance, sing, and sleep during fiesta days. But ordinarily, the people remain at their distant houses and fields, and do not live at the pueblo, the only permanent inhabitants of which are a few Whites and Mestizos.

ENGINEERING WORKS

491 The Spaniards found bridges which they described as "weak and 499 flexible bridges of bamboo" and "bridges of vines." A territory so broken and crossed with so many rivers and canyons naturally stimulated the *Páez* in the construction of bridges and the laying out of roads. Today they make four kinds of bridges: (1) A simple vine or cable stretched across the river; (2) a kind of wooden stairs placed

7:Hernández de Alba (Z-5) (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

291 They protect the upper part of the body with a black poncho tied at
177 the belt, or a shirt with a poncho over it. Women wear two skirts, the under skirt being black and the outer one white or gray. Both are held at the waist by a sash woven with figures. They cover their busts with two blankets which are fastened at the shoulders with
[293] wood, copper, or silver pins. Both sexes carry pouches woven of
[415] hemp which, like these Indians, are called "guambías." Their straw hats are dish-shaped, with small brims hardly distinguishable from the shallow crowns. The hats, always too large for their heads, are held on by two cords, one passing under the chin and the other behind the neck, around the hair. The women also wear woolen shawls, silver earrings, rings, and heavy necklaces of glass, shells, and silver. For festivals they prefer hats with the brim divided into two parts, front and back. These are lined with dark-blue cloth, with red and yellow on the brim.

When working, the *Páez* wear short linen pants or long woolen ones and a large woolen poncho tied at the waist. When going to market, they wear an additional poncho and a woolen pouch for coca. When
[292] traveling on the páramos, they wear a knit hemp cloak covered with large, thin leaves of *Gynerium saccharoides*, which protects them from the rain. The women wear a narrow woven cotton band, passed between the legs and tied at the waist, one, two, or more black or gray woolen skirts gathered at the waist and held by a woven sash,
[482] and two small mantas, like those of the *Moguex*. In traveling, a
[854] shawl is worn for covering and to carry the child. They adorn themselves also with strings or necklaces of glass or other beads, or white chaquiras, and sometimes are added silver pendants of Colonial origin.
[292] During festivals the women wear brightly colored blouses of imported fabrics and the men linen shirts.

MANUFACTURES

285 **Basketry.**—The *Páez* and *Moguex* make a few twilled baskets of cane strips and two kinds of hats. The hats are woven with the coiled or sewed technique. The spiraled warp in one kind consists of a thin bundle of rush or straw, and in the other of a braid made with seven
[462] strands. The latter is more common. Both are made by men who
[292] prepare materials while resting at home or traveling on the road. Weaving also includes waterproof capes made by tying sheaves of
[824] leaves or straw to a net of hemp cord.

Cordage.—Rope making is practiced extensively. Hemp (fique)
283 is the raw material, and is made into cords for fishing nets, bird trap nets, bags or pouches for carrying belongings and products, foundation nets for the leaf rain capes, and cordage for various other purposes. The sisal or hemp (fique) leaves are scraped over the sharp edge of a board to loosen the fibers, which are then washed, dried, and twisted

?:Hernández de Alba E-5,4(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

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PLATE 102.—**Páez types.** *Top (left):* *Páez* man, Tierradentro. *Top (right):* Woman with necklace and bags woven of wool and bast fibers, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Bottom (left):* Indians, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Bottom (center):* Indians, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Bottom (right):* Man at Inzá, Tierradentro. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 - H)

7:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

with the right hand over the naked thigh. Two strands are similarly twisted together until the desired thickness is obtained. 283

Gourds.—Gourds are still widely used. They are picked when ripe, cleaned out, and dried. With small openings, they serve as containers for beverages and powdered lime. Some are made into bowls and others are cut up to make spoons. Today these objects are undecorated, but formerly in Timaná they were painted with a resin varnish very similar to that used in Pasto. (See p. 930.) Before the Spanish domination, gourds were also used as frames over which were stretched the prepared skin of the heads of their enemies killed in war. 415 824 [314] [721]

Metallurgy.—The metallurgy of these Indians was the same as that practiced throughout most of Colombia. The metals were gold, copper, and an alloy of the two (tumbaga). It is recorded that the Indians "worked gold," but the processes are not described. Specimens found recently in the territory, however, show molding, casting, and hammering. Metal objects included nose ornaments, parrot-shaped breastplates, necklaces with small animal figures, and some anthropomorphic idols. Gold occurs in this territory, particularly on the upper Páez or the Suin River. 325 [301] [532] [135]

Ceramics.—These tribes made and still make coiled pottery. Modern vessel forms include large jars for storing beverages and poorly shaped, crudely decorated containers for preparing and serving food. There is no individual specialization in this task, women making pots for their own family and not for trade. 323

Stone and wooden artifacts.—The native Indians made stone axes of a simple design, but stonework disappeared during the time of colonization, when the Indians could obtain manufactured iron weapons and utensils such as machetes, axes, hoes, shovels, etc. The manufacture of wooden objects—weaving, cooking, and farming implements and weapons—was furthered by the use of metal tools, and now is well developed, as exemplified by the trapiche (cane mill), a true machine made of wood. 324 182 199 322 249 199

Weaving.—Weaving, little practiced before the Conquest, developed with the post-Contact need for wearing more clothes and with the introduction of sheep, whose wool was used in addition to cotton. Weaving was and is exclusively the work of women (pl. 186). They prepare fine, uniform yarn with a common spindle, which they handle as they walk along the road (pl. 187, *top*). The loom is vertical, made of two horizontal rods fastened to two uprights. The warp runs vertically with a continuous thread. The horizontal weft is pressed down with a wooden sword. They also weave hemp bands on the loom. Woolen blankets are woven in natural colors, but some sashes have bright colors made of imported wool or of home-dyed wool. For red, they use one of the Rubiaceae (*Relbunium hypocarpium*), and for 286 [177] [462] [386]

000 /120 cont./

354 the simplest possible form. Three rocks provide the lateral sup-
415 port or stand for the pots, of which there are two at most, a
metal one, usually of aluminum, and an earthen one. Very
poor families have only one earthen pot, which is relatively
[417] cheap to buy. The earthen pot cannot be hung up; it is set
between the three fire-stones in such a way that it cannot tip
over, whereas the aluminum pot is hung by its handle on a soot-
covered, angled stick that hangs down from the ridge (Ill. 166
352 /see p. 273/). Above the fire area there hangs a frame made
[251] of maize canes and about one square meter in size, on which
[353] household utensils and, above all, the rock salt for salting food
are stored, airy and dry. Tables, chairs, or stools of any kind
[237] are unknown. One generally sits on the hairy side of an un-
[513] tanned and hence board-stiff cowhide, on which one also /121/
sleeps, or one sits on a beam, a block of wood, or a stone. Paez
[177] who have seen house furnishings in Inzá or in the dwellings of white
colonists have sometimes built for themselves as a bed a sort
of bench 30-50 centimeters high, consisting of sticks or reeds
[513] laid side by side. For sleeping the customary cowhide is spread
on it. These sleeping benches are not used for sitting.

342 The nights in Calderas are generally quite cool, and
362 the light construction of the walls with cracks between the in-
132 dividual maize stalks does not in any way prevent the cold wind
from coming in. In a few houses, near the sleeping area, I saw
the walls sealed by means of expressed sugar-cane piled up
462 horizontally. For sleeping, the members of the family lie down
[354] in a circle around the fire area, where the fire must be kept going
[513] all through the night. This, like all housework, is the task of
the woman, who must gather sufficient fuel beforehand and get up
every two hours during the night to stir up the fire. Furthermore,
[264] she must get up an hour earlier in the morning in order to have
the first meal, which is eaten around five o'clock, sometimes
[461] even at four o'clock, prepared on time. In spite of this, the
men think that they are the ones who do the hardest work and that
basically they are the only ones in the village who really work.

The house

/122 cont./

356 is swept by the women every day with a broom (ctábando) con-
824 sisting of shrubs of the psáhga plant. This plant at the same
[825] time drives away fleas. The rubbish is swept out of the house in such a way that even the entrance is clean.

351 All around the house and surrounding it at some distance
● 417 either a fence is erected or a ditch dug about one meter deep,
[231] within which the poultry and usually the pigs and sheep are kept.
In Calderas, where, because of the low temperature, bamboo
[137] no longer grows, the fence is made of wood obtained from the
[313] natural growth when a piece of land is burned off. Stakes are driven vertically into the ground at intervals of about two meters and the interspaces filled with small tree trunks, branches, and twigs up to a good meter in length, lying horizontally. Climbing over this fence is done with notched tree trunks or bamboo stalks placed obliquely against the fence as a ladder. Similar notched tree trunks also serve as ladders in the houses (Ills. 168 and 154 /see pp. 274 and 268 /).

514 There are no privies. On account of the isolation of the houses, however, it is never difficult for the Paez to find a place off in the brush or in the forest. We never found the paths
264 and the vicinity of the houses soiled with filth. The Paez showed
[412] the same tact in eating and at other gatherings. We never experienced smacking of lips or belching, even though their eating habits are somewhat crude, for, lacking spoons, they are in the habit of simply shoving their food from the plate into the mouth with the fingers.

/123/ 2. Clothing and Ornaments

291 The Paez today wear clothing covering their upper and lower bodies. In ancient times, according to the reports of chroniclers, some of them were said to have worn small cotton cloaks, although the majority of them "went about naked, even in the cold mountains" (cited by Hernandez, 1944, p. 191,
[302] from P. M. Rodriguez, 1684). They were also said to have painted their bodies with color and to have made imprints on them with

stamps,

/128 cont./

241 were only ten by ten meters /129/ square, whereas the largest continuous field occupied an area of about 500 by 250 meters. I was assured, however, that such a large area of land was not required for one family and that the owner would use this large [433] cleared field only little by little for planting. A family can live, so I was told, from a field that measures about 100 by 100 meters, [244] which corresponds to the area of one hectare. In addition, every house has a vegetable garden of about 1,000 square meters in area for the planting of vegetable bananas /cooking bananas/, cabbage, beans, cucumbers, and onions.

241 The clearing of the fields, like the sowing, is done only 476 by men, whereas the harvest may be gathered by women or men. 464 Several men always participate in the clearing and sowing; one [462] man never works alone. At the very least his brothers or sons help him. Otherwise he must ask friends who must be served food and chicha during the work, and whom he likewise helps in 241 a similar instance. On the field intended for planting, first the thinner trees at a height of about one to one and a half meters are cut down with the machete and left lying on the ground as they fall. With this the first part of the work is done, and one has two to four weeks' rest until the felled young trees and branches are dry, but not dried up. Then the men go out into the field again and light the wood, but only the thinner branches of less than an arm's thickness are consumed. This burning takes a few days, and it is not infrequent that a woman helps her husband on [515] the last day in order to burn up the remaining wood. The Paez, by the way, give this handling of the sooty trunks as the only time that they get dirty and must wash their hands afterwards (Ills. 169 to 171 /see pp.275 -276/).

241 The fence which each field must have for protection 417 against the freely roaming domestic animals is built out of the unburned branches and tree trunks. For this purpose rather thick poles are rammed vertically into the ground, and the remaining branches and tree trunks piled up horizonatally to a height of a good meter. In order to climb over this fence one puts a notched tree trunk against it on both sides as a ladder (afá) (Ill. 168 /see p.274/).

000 /129 cont./
35/ p. 274 /). The same fencing with the same ladder construction
417 generally also surrounds the house gardens of the Paez farms. In case the houseowner has larger domestic animals, such as cows, horses, and sheep, a gate (puélta) consisting either of a regular lath door or a barrier of horizontal beams is built into
[824] the fence surrounding his house. In the villages of the civilized Paez, in the /130/ environs of which tree growth is inadequate for the construction of a wooden fence, bamboo is used for the vertical poles, and bundles of dry maize stalks for the horizontal parts.

241 The entire agriculture of the Paez is digging-stick culti-
412 vation (Ill. 172 /see p. 276/). Hoe culture was originally unknown. The house gardens, only recently laid out after the model of the colonists and in which European plants such as cabbage, cucumbers, and onions are cultivated, are turned over with the spade (pála). The digging stick (ãty) consists merely of a pointed tree-trunk or pole, though recently broad iron tips with
243 a socket are being put on the digging sticks more and more. Maize may be sowed throughout the year, but it is generally sowed in April when the rainy season begins. Several men always participate, making holes in the ground about one meter apart in every direction with the digging stick, and putting six to eight maize kernels into each hole. The holes are covered again with only very little earth with the foot, "so that the sprout can come out more easily." The ripening period of ten to 12 months is relatively long. After half a year the field is cleared of weeds once. The harvest period is spread out over approximately half a year, provided that sufficiently large amounts of maize were planted; and for this half
[262] year the people practically live "from the stalk." First the young maize (tsót; maize in general, kóty) is eaten half-ripe and only later are the ripe ears harvested and eaten. Every day the men or women go into the field with their bags made of agave fibers and break off only as much as is needed each time for the meal.

249 Whereas maize may be cultivated at all elevations in
[243] Calderas, sugar cane (nyúša) thrives only in the lower, protected localities of the Kokiyó Valley. Its ripening period of two to

/214 cont./

426 however, so that in the case of a deceased poor debtor, the creditor has usually lost his money. Prescription does not occur.
685 A debt forgotten by the debtor may be collected by the creditor
695 years later, if there are witnesses. The situation is similar for
426 the theft of field crops: If there is no witness, no one can be found guilty. If, however, the witness is known as honorable and not deceitful, the accused is judged guilty, even without a con-
692 fession. There is no statement of confirmation corresponding to
695 the oath; similarly, no one condemned for wrongdoing has the
623 right to go to Inzá to the judge. For all misdeeds punished by the
208 [782] cabildo, the capitan and gobernador are the first and last authority; they do not act arbitrarily, however, but rely largely on custom
[686] and the opinion of the village. This is especially true if someone refuses several times in succession to take part in public works, but it also comes out -- unfavorably -- if a poor man tries to
623 become wealthy on his own. For example, disputes not infrequently
692 break out among the Paez on account of damage to cultivated
685 fields when the domestic animals of one person have broken into
578 the fields of a neighbor. Now the fences around each field must always be in good condition and put up in accordance with the term of use of the field. A fence for a maize field, which requires barely a year to mature, may be more lightly built than a fence around a sugar-cane field, which requires three years to mature. Then when strange animals break into fields with good fencing, the owner may kill them or at least wound them, for example, by
[231] cutting off a cow's tail. The owners of pigs fasten a triangular-shaped frame around the necks of their pigs to prevent them from breaking into fenced fields. If the fence is in poor condition, however, and has not been newly erected especially for the planted field, the owner of the animals breaking into the field is not to blame and the owner of the field may not kill them. Of course, the soundness of a fence is to a great extent a matter of opinion, and it happens not infrequently that the disputants go after each
696 other with machetes and wound each other considerably. The
685 417 /215/ guilty party is then, after an inspection of the fence, punished
681

/215 cont./

696 according to the decision of the cabildo. First of all, the animal
685 or the crop destroyed must be replaced, and then the offender is
417 put in the "tree trunk." This is a form of punishment that was
681 formerly used very frequently in other Paez communities, too.
[824] Actually it consists of two tree trunks, into each of which two notches are chopped on opposing sides. The condemned person is put in, with his feet up to the ankles in these rather narrow notches, and then the tree trunks are tightly bound together with
[623] lianas. All the members of the cabildo take part in this work. Then the bound tree trunks are fastened to the ceiling of the council house, so that the condemned man hangs head downward and the trunks cut into his flesh very considerably. There were no other types of punishment. The degree was determined by the number of hours of hanging, which extended from one to, allegedly, 24 hours.

556 Injustices on the part of envious fellow-citizens toward a
626 man striving for wealth manifest themselves by their driving their animals into the man's well-fenced fields. This is done until the person in question no longer feels any inclination to excel over others
[623] through diligence and property. Little is accomplished by com-
[692] plaining to the cabildo, since the gobernador cannot make a de-
[208] cision that runs counter to the opinion of the entire village, and a weak spot in the fence can always be demonstrated somewhere.

692 Other and not infrequent occasions on which the cabildo must
623 act as judge are complaints concerning adultery and support (see
68 above). There are no complaints about verbal insults, just as there is no punishment for this. They are countered by matching expressions. Similarly, unintentional bodily injury, for example, by a machete during joint work or a case of death during tree-cutting, is not punishable. Only if a person shoots his neighbor's eye out with an elastic sling during bird hunting would he be punished, "but not very severely."

1: Nachtigall--268 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 154. House with ladder.

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Ill. 155. Our interpreter, Victoriano Piñakué.

1: Nachtigall--274 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

Ill. 168. Maize field with fence.

Ill. 167. House garden of the Paez.

/CXXI cont./

Plate LXXXV

Ill. 161. Framework of a house.

Ill. 162. Dwelling of the civilized Paez being built. The walls are filled with earth to the thickness of a post.

Ill. 163 and 164. Construction details of a Paez house.

Plate LXXXVI

Ill. 165. House annex with the chicha trough. In front of the man's stomach hangs the colorfully patterned coca pouch. Married women wear their hair plaited in a braid.

[585]
[302]

[352] Ill. 166. The interior of a Paez house. Tables, benches, and beds are lacking. At night they sleep on the floor around the hearth made of three field stones.

[513]
[354]

Plate LXXXVII

Ill. 167. House garden of the Paez with bananas, sugar cane, and yuca.

[417] Ill. 168. Maize field with fence. A notched tree-trunk serves as ladder.

Plate LXXXVIII

Ill. 169. Portion of a field readied for burning. The tree growth has been cut off at hip height.

Ill. 170. Land used by the village, with black surfaces of the fields burned off in preparation for sowing.

Plate LXXXIX

[241] Ill. 171. Paez burning felled trees. The ashes serve as fertilizer.

Ill. 172. Men setting out sugar-cane shoots with the digging stick.

Fire is also set to the vegetation on
/306 cont./
241 the ridges, crests, and windings, where no obvious advantage
185 can be gained and where, instead, it destroys a vegetation that virtually /307/ could be turned into a barrier that would prevent the danger of the animals.

The clearings are also laid out on the banks of brooks, streams, rivers, springs, and damp hollows, which, from a lucrative standpoint, is excellent, since it is precisely there that the harvest yields the most, but it is very harmful, since it destroys the vegetation that preserves the moisture and holds the soil, thus avoiding erosion.

241 The clearing is done by all the male members of the
476 family. But more generally the mingas /communal work-parties/ do it. In this case, the workers first cut with their machetes the grasses, branches, vines, etc., in the lower part of the forest; then, with axes and machetes, they fell the trees. It should be noted that these trees are not cut at the base, but more or less at eye level. The fallen trees are allowed to dry for approximately one month and then are burned. The thick logs remain intact, as does the brush. This is piled up, and sticks are cut to make fencing. This work is also done by mingas. First the stakes are driven in about a meter apart. Then sticks and branches are woven in. The fences are made so tight that they prevent dogs,
[417] pigs, and other animals from entering. People enter by means of a stick with notches that leans against the fence on either side. These sticks are called afa, and they are also placed at difficult spots on the paths, chiefly for crossing obstructions.

241 In Mosoco, where the lands are cleared and divided into lots, clearings do not exist. Only in the "paramo," the mountainous region, can they be observed. But the custom of leaving the land uncultivated for several years has not disap-
[824] peared. The fences are made of lechero /Euphorbia/ stakes, a tree that has the peculiarity of taking root and continuing to live. But the use of barbed wire is steadily increasing.

Planting and harvesting

[152] Planting is conditioned by the pluviometrical conditions in Tierradentro. The summer months are January, February, March, July, August, and September, and those of winter are

/332 cont./

476 From the data on the mingas in the three parcialidades,
184 we see that on the whole they have similar rules. But in Mosoco there is already a modified procedure, both in the rewards and in the form of the work. In San Andrés, Calderas, and Lame, a minga is relatively cheaper than paying wages, since they actually buy only salt and coca, when they do not cultivate it on their own fincas.

Communal tasks

476 Among the Páez there is another type of co-operative labor
651 different from the system of the mingas. It might be called communal work, and it pertains basically to the execution of tasks for the common welfare, such as, for example, the construction and maintenance of the roads, bridges, public buildings (schools, church, rectory, house of the cabildo) and the cultivation of the clearing of the saint.

To this end, the cabildo calls upon all the able-bodied men in the parcialidad, who come supplied with their respective rations of coca and work tools.

The execution of the works of communal interest is a duty of every member of the parcialidad, and anyone who refuses to lend his aid is punished by the cabildo and often taken before the Colombian authorities. The greater or lesser effectiveness of this obligation naturally depends on the moral authority of the members of the cabildo and, above all, of the Capitán of the parcialidad. In many parcialidades, the members openly refuse to give their share of labor, and in such cases the roads and public buildings are in precarious condition.

/333/

Foresight and storage

487 In all of the native dwellings there are frames plaited with
353 rods and vines above the hearth and also at what we might call
251 the open ceiling. The ones of the fireplace are suspended, while the others rest on the braces or crosspieces that give strength to the walls of the house. This already clearly indicates to us that the natives have foresight. On these frames there are ears of maize tied by their own husks, bundles of wheat, and

/333 cont./

417 bags full of frijoles, which are also suspended from the wall
353 posts. This is also where the grains (lumps) of salt are kept.
251 The amounts kept for the months of scarcity are not sufficient, but there are other comestibles that help them: domestic ani-
[244] mals, cabbages, onions, sugar cane, and coca. In Lame and Mosoco they cultivate a plant which they call ijuca de pijao. It
[464] is an edible discoria /Dioscorea/. We have also seen that want is avoided by going to work as laborers on the fincas of the "whites."

[263] Meat is also kept on the frame above the hearth. They utilize the smoke to preserve it. Salt is not used for this purpose.

251 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José, where large quantities of wheat are planted, one frequently finds under the eaves of thatched houses bundles of wheat that remain hanging for several months. In this way they preserve it from the attacks of small rodents, and the grain is of excellent quality because it dries out thoroughly.

261 During times of scarcity, the natives do not seek solace in
273 religion. Actually, their defense is in the sale of their own work-
276 ing capacity for a small daily wage, a few eggs of coca, and
[771] food. It should be noted that guarapo and coca are splendid
[464] sedatives against the pangs of hunger. It is curious that one of the
[465] most noted religious fiestas of Calderas is held precisely during a time of scarcity. Large quantities of guarapo are consumed for nearly a month.

Provision of water and firewood

312 In Tierradentro the rainfall is relatively high. As a result, water abounds in small and /334/ large watercourses. This geographical factor leads the natives to bring the water close to their homes by means of a system of drainage ditches that are true engineering works. The distances that have to be faced or the accidents of the terrain make no difference. When necessary,
[777] they use bamboo tubes as artificial channels. This system has been adopted by the "whites" and even by the towns. Since the high parts on both margins of the Paez River are bare of vegetation,

6: Bernal Villa--96 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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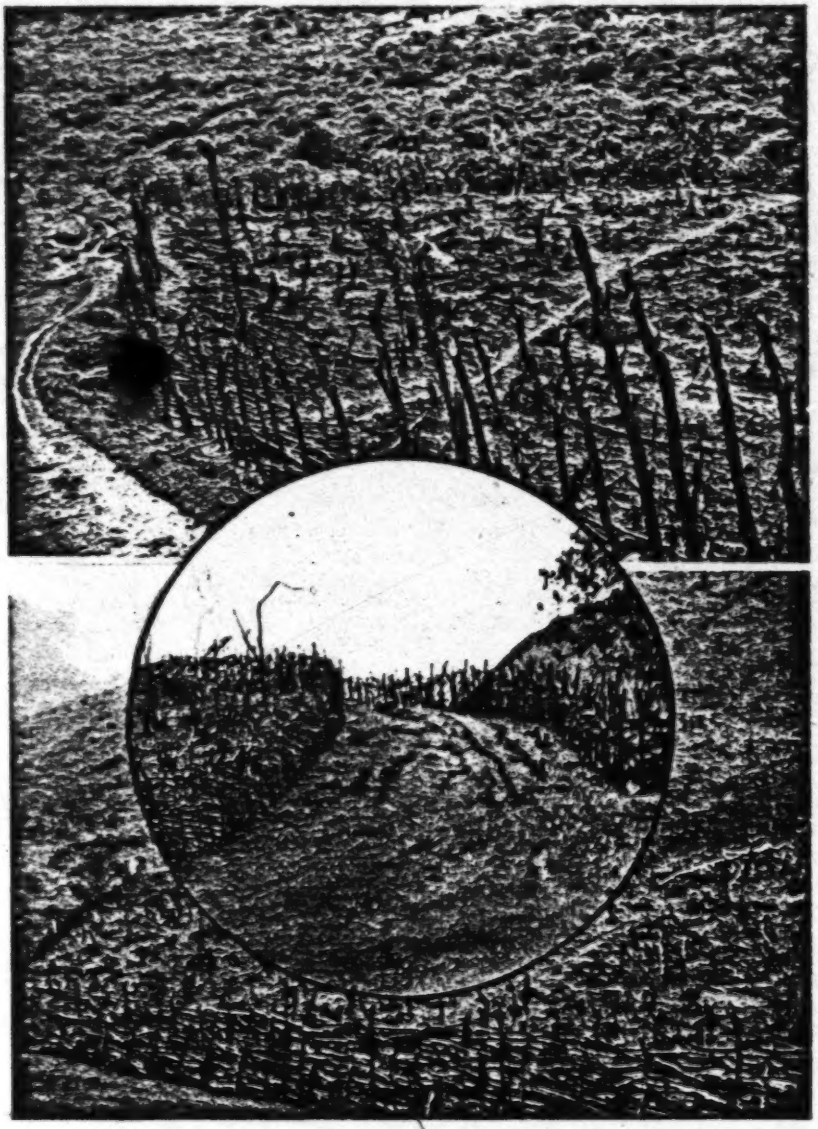

Tierradentro II: Clearings ready for sowing, showing the finished fences and the typical manner of making them (Tumbichukue and Lame).

/336 cont./

423 no rights over land won by the sweat of the brow. It is inherited
623 directly by the sons. In such cases the cabildo confirms owner-
428 ship by issuing the respective adjudication.

423 When the colonization has been done by several persons,
578 usually brothers, and the division of the land does not satisfy one of the parties, famous litigations take place that eat up the small savings of the families. The feeling for ownership of land is highly developed among the natives, and the usurpation of the slightest piece of ground gives rise to quarrels, enmities, and
42 litigations. The sale of land to "whites" is prohibited by
[648] Colombian law and by the consuetudinary law of the natives. But among the natives themselves transactions can be made with immovables. They do not sell the land, but the ownership. The owner of land is the man. A widow, too, can be an owner by inheritance from the husband. Single women do not own land.

422 The bovine, equine, porcine, and wool-bearing livestock belong to the man, although a few women own pigs and sheep. Turkeys, chickens, cats, and guinea pigs belong to the women, and so do dishes, spoons, pots, grinding stones,
[428] calabashes, and bags. These are inherited through the female line. Children are owners merely of their own clothes.

423 Concerning communal property, we have already seen that in each parcialidad there are several hectares of land that
[794] belong to all the members of the parcialidad. Also regarded as communal property are public works, such as roads, bridges, the main ditches, the house of the cabildo, and the church, and they collectively maintain them; likewise regarded as the property of the parcialidad are the sums of money collected for the church, the produce of the clearing of the saint, and any livestock or mills that it might own.

428 Concerning inheritance, let us look first at the concepts
[842] expressed by an informant from Calderas. Asked about the ideal number of children for native families, he replied that everyone wished to have many children. "When one dies and one has land, who can handle it? The ancestors worked the montaña, and this is why we have land. We are five brothers and we work

/140 cont./

231/ 439 Since the only purpose of keeping horses among the Paez is to have as large a number as possible, it is understandable that they place importance above all on the possession of mares. The birth of a filly is therefore a great joy and everyone would be happy to trade a grown stallion for a filly, "because it again gives foals." Unfortunately this exchange takes place only all too rarely, because the colonists are not interested in the degenerate horses of the Calderun. It is different with cows (kulá; steer = toló, heifer = novílya). Here the /141/ Calderun breed (black mottled "Holstein" and brown cattle) is healthier and usually also stronger than the cattle of the colonists. Moreover, on account of the somewhat cooler climate, their bodies are almost completely free of ticks and vermin, in contrast to the cows belonging to the inhabitants of lower altitudes, normally 231/ crawling with larvae and maggots. Unlike horse meat, beef is [262] eaten, but milk is never drunk, "since the Calderun never have [272] the cows milked." The breeding goal here, too, is the greatest possible number. Thus it would never happen that a cow or calf would be slaughtered. I could not learn of any preference for a particular color, for example, black-white or brown-white, or uniformly all black or white or brown. All are liked equally well [431] by the Paez, since only the number is important. There is no special attachment between a person and his livestock, for no one gives away livestock, either as a birthday, christening, or [552] wedding present. Special names or designations for livestock or pet names are not used.

233 422 231 About half the total number of Calderun cattle and horses graze on the pastures of community land. This means about 40 horses and 60 cattle. The figure shows that only a small number of Calderun families own a cow or a horse. The proportion [554] becomes even less favorable when one learns that there are three rich families who own about ten to 20 head of cattle and horses each. The other half of the large stock, as well as sheep, pigs, and small stock, remain near the houses and seek their fodder there. [241] They may also forage in the uncultivated fields of neighbors; they are prevented by the fences from breaking into the cultivated fields.

/141 cont./

231 Every member of the family knows every head of its herd
233 of livestock, and the men every head of the large livestock of
● 422 the entire village. Nevertheless, marks of ownership are used, which, for the horses, consist of branding irons with the first initial of the owner, such as are used by the colonists and may be bought there. The cattle have as marks of ownership small cuts in their ears in the form of a triangle, square, or semicircle, or a corresponding piercing of the ears. Pigs and sheep have the same marks of ownership in their ears.

231 Sheep (pǐsa) are kept chiefly for their wool, though they
236 are also eaten. The total stock of the village, however, is so
[262] small that only every third family on the average owns one or
[422] two sheep. The other families must obtain the wool they need
[437] from the sheep owners in exchange for other things (see under "Trade and Transportation" /see p. 92 /). /142/ Pigs (čúče)
231 are greatly coveted because of their meat, but there are not
[422] enough of them so that every family can own one, only about every second family. Like all the other domestic animals, they roam about freely in the vicinity of the farmyard and must forage for their food. They are prevented from getting into the fenced fields by having a frame made of three sticks hung around their necks.

[343] Stalls for the animals or regular and special feeding or
[232] care are unknown. The owner puts rock salt in the pasture areas for the cattle and horses every Sunday. Occasionally scraps of arracacha or maize are thrown in front of the house for the pigs, which must then forage for them. Chickens (ǎtaly; rooster =
235 atalyepítste, chick = atalyelúčkwe are now and then fed with maize or peck at the arracacha lying about in the dwelling. To feed baby chicks the woman chews some maize and spits out the
[685] mash for them. Every family has a few chickens, but their number does not grow large because foxes and neighbors are always
[422] stealing those wandering free. Hence the average figure remains
231 at only two to three chickens and a rooster per family. In many
262 houses guinea pigs (fits) run about, living on refuse from the kitchen and, when roasted, prized as a delicacy.

/193 cont./

585 help. Since the young men almost never own their own cattle,
[422] they must earn the purchase price for this by the sale of agricul-
[432] tural products. Wheat is usually chosen for this, since it may be
[243] harvested half a year after sowing.

For the wedding celebration about 50 men and women are
585 invited, not only relatives, but also friends, among them the
608 sponsors (padrino, madrina) required for the church marriage service. They sit with the bridal couple (nikálo). The parents
[291] and guests on both sides arrange themselves informally. The
[431] padrino and madrina must give or loan the bridegroom and bride
[426] new clothes for this wedding day, but they differ from the ordinary
[301] everyday clothing only in that they are newer and cleaner. No
585 special /194/ ornaments of any kind are put on by anyone. The wedding is celebrated in such a way that the church service takes place in the morning, after which the guests go to the wedding house accompanied by music and have a small midday meal, with which, however, only a little chicha is drunk. The festival ox is not yet slaughtered on this day, and not until the "actual" (as the Calderun say) wedding celebration, which takes place about a month later in the house of the bridegroom. The ox is slaughtered in the morning, and in the afternoon the guests arrive, sit down together informally, and eat and drink chicha and brandy copiously.
[533] Music is played for this, but no one dances to it. Before the eating
[535] begins, when all are still sober, the padrino makes a speech addressed to the bride and groom, in which he says approximately the following: You are now husband and wife, and you, as the husband, should not beat your wife, and you, as wife, should not use any bad words toward your husband. The husband should also not speak ill of his wife, and the wife should obey if the husband commands her to do something and should help him in all things! Then he takes the hand of the bride and gives it to the mother of the bridegroom, who speaks to the bride as follows: You have now been taken into our family and you are to work for your husband and cook his meals for him and make his clothes and arrange everything for him; in addition, you must help me in the house and carry out my instructions, as well as

/211 cont./

423 to the father, and the next year the son must ask his father anew
427 for permission to use another piece of land.

593 Besides the land, the father of the family also owns the
241 dwelling, the menstruation house, all the animals -- including
422 chickens and guinea pigs -- all agricultural implements, and the
423 sugar mill. Property marks on the houses, fields, and implements are not required, for everyone knows to whom they belong.

428 Upon the death of the father of the family, the youngest son inherits his house and the greater part of the livestock. If, for example, there is only one cow, he gets it. Similarly, he gets all the land under cultivation at the time. The uncultivated land is divided equally among all the sons. The widow,
[768] like the daughters, inherits nothing. The former then continues to live in her old house in the family of the youngest son. The fact that the latter receives so much more than the older ones in the distribution of the inheritance is explained by the fact that the older ones have worked for more years and therefore have had more time and opportunity to acquire property of their own.
[429] Favoring the youngest thus represents a certain equalization. If the father dies /212/ young and leaves only a small son, his mother administers his property for him until he is about 15 years
[768] old. He need not marry then, however. If there are several younger sons, they, of course, also go on living together in the house of the father.

Deviant inheritance plans of the deceased, for example, letting an older favorite son have more or leaving his house or implements, not to his youngest son, but to his brother, are not possible. Even if a father had ten daughters and only one son and none of the daughters would marry, he could not leave them anything. In such a case, the only son would have to provide for all his sisters, for women cannot live alone in a house and they would not be in a position to cultivate the land alone. If a man has no sons, but only daughters, his sons-in-law generally help him cultivate the fields. Yet he cannot bequeath them anything. His landed property and equipment go to that one of his brothers who takes care of the burial, that is to say, buys the grave clothes for the deceased and provides chicha and food for the mourning

/321 cont./

231 The slaughtering of the head of cattle for consumption
[796] at religious fiestas is accompanied by music (1).
[533]

1. Bernal Villa, S. "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," p. 208.

[232] Of the equine livestock, they also prefer the females for
492 reproduction. Horses are used for the milling of sugar cane, for
484 the transport of loads, for long journeys. Many own saddles,
[249] /322/ although generally deteriorated ones. Women never ride
[482] on horseback. On long journeys the woman walks with a heavy
[562] load on her back, while the man rides without carrying anything to hinder him.

231 The horses of the Páez are small, but very hardy and suitable for the rugged and difficult roads. They do not own mules or
[754] donkeys. In Calderas it is said that someone brought a donkey
[789] for the purpose of producing young mules, but the envious ones (sorcerers) cast a spell on it and killed it. Nor do they own goats, which they regard as very thievish and destructive.

In the houses they raise guinea pigs, chickens, and turkeys, and, on a smaller scale, ducks. Furthermore, dogs,
[422] cats, and hogs are also raised. The former belong indifferently to men or women, while hogs and dogs are the exclusive property of the men.

The scant care given to domestic animals is worthy of note. There are no corrals of any sort, nor special caretakers
[233] for the animals. Cattle are commonly left to fend for themselves in the pastures, and only every 15 days, or, more frequently, once a month, are they rounded up by their respective owners to
[232] check on their existence or multiplication. They know about the need to give salt to cattle, but this article is supplied in small quantities and at very long intervals. Most of the animals of Calderas go to a small spring of brackish water in Tumbichukue. Among the other domestic animals, only the chickens, turkeys, and guinea pigs are fed regularly with grass, maize, manioc, and

/324 cont./

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MOSOCO:

Fams.	Bovines		Equines		Pigs		Wool-bearers		Fowl Raised	
1.*	2	$ 500,00	11	$ 1.800,00	2	$ 200,00	15	$ 360,00	9	$ 45,00
2.	..	.....	3	550,00	1	100,00	..	.....	10	30,00
3.	..	.....	3	600,00	2	160,00	10	200,00	15	75,00
4.	8	2.850,00	5	800,00	1	40,00	..	.....	7	20,00
5.	..	.....	1	170,00	1	15,00	2	25,00	6	18,00
6.	4	1.400,00	4	1.300,00	1	30,00	..	.....	2	10,00
7.	8	1.360,00	12	1.730,00	5	200,00	4	60,00	12	72,00
8.	6	2.400,00	3	600,00	..	.....	2	30,00	5	30,00
9.	6	1.200,00	2	700,00	9	120,00	20	300,00	20	80,00
10.	..	.....	3	500,00	3	30,00	..	.....	17	102,00
11.	26	4.300,00 (23)	10	2.700,00	1	10,00	15	150,00	14	42,00
12.	6	750,00	3	470,00	1	15,00	9	360,00	8	24,00
13.	14	2.070,00	11	2.050,00	1	30,00	..	.....	6	30,00
14.	1	300,00	2	600,00	1	15,00	14	210,00	8	48,00
15.	15	2.500,00	6	2.000,00	2	45,00	..	.....	8	48,00
16.	8	1.600,00	4	600,00	..	.....	3	30,00	12	60,00
17.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....
18.	11	2.300,00	4	1.350,00	2	100,00	12	600,00	25	75,00
19.	3	600,00	3	1.300,00	1	60,00	4	200,00	10	60,00
20.	7	800,00	4	2.000,00	..	.....	..	.....	4	20,00
21.	18	4.300,00	5	1.200,00	2	300,00	..	.....	13	45,00
22.	..	.....	6	900,00	..	.....	..	.....	2	10,00
23.	6	900,00	4	650,00	2	50,00	..	.....	8	60,00
24.	3	450,00	2	200,00	2	250,00	10	200,00	4	40,00
25.*	20	5.000,00	2	2.000,00	2	100,00	10	500,00	16	80,00

/The commas in the figures in these tables should be read as points in the translation to English./

23. Belong to four brothers.

/325/

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LANE:

Fams.	Bovines		Equines		Pigs		Wool-bearers		Fowl Raised	
1.*	..	.....	7	1.500,00	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....
2.	..	.....	2	200,00	7	205,00	5	80,00	15	60,00
3.	2	755,00	6	950,00	..	.....	6	180,00	8	32,00
4.*	10	1.500,00	12	2.100,00	..	.....	..	.....	10	40,00
5.	5	300,00	6	600,00	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....
6.	2	250,00	2	200,00	5	65,00	2	40,00	5	25,00
7.	5	500,00	6	800,00	3	90,00	5	50,00	10	50,00
8.	2	200,00	3	350,00	4	56,00	3	45,00	2	8,00

SAN ANDRES:

1.*	25	7.000,00	8	1.700,00	5	200,00	..	.....	25	115,00
2.	..	.....	1	120,00	..	.....	..	.....	6	30,00
3.	..	.....	1	80,00	..	.....	..	.....	6	36,00
4.	1	300,00	..	.....	3	40,00	2	30,00	5	25,00
5.	..	.....	2	200,00	2	40,00	2	60,00	6	24,00
6.	..	.....	..	.....	3	200,00	..	.....	6	30,00
7.	..	..... (34)	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	7	28,00
8.	5	1.250,00	3	300,00	5	80,00	3	30,00	10	30,00
9.	4	800,00	..	.....	3	140,00	..	.....	40	120,00
10.*	..	.....	2	320,00	..	.....	..	.....	14	70,00
11.	..	.....	3	400,00	2	80,00	..	.....	25	75,000
12.	..	..... (34)	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....
13.	..	..... (34)	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	5	25,00
14.*	5	2.000,00	1	400,00	6	320,00	5	150,00	36	180,00
15.*	10	4.000,00	6	1.200,00	3	300,00	..	.....	60	300,00

[427]
[427]

CALDERAS:

1.	1	120,00	1	150,00	2	70,00	..	.....	1	6,00
2.	3	300,00	2	200,00	4	80,00	..	.....	8 !	40,00
3.	..	.....	..	.....	3	60,00	..	.....	10 !	50,00
4.	..	.....	4	400,00	5	100,00	3 !	30,00	6 !	30,00
5.	..	.....	..	.....	3	30,00	..	.....	1	5,00
6.	4	400,00	3	300,00	8	200,00	5	100,00	10	50,00
7.	..	.....	..	.....	2	40,00	..	.....	6	30,00
8.	4	320,00	5	300,00	5 !	120,00	10	100,00	8 !	40,00
9.	4 !	400,00	2	200,00	4	80,00	2	30,00	5	25,00
10.	10	1.500,00	10	1.000,00	10	200,00	3 !	30,00	..	.....
11.	..	.....	5	400,00	3	60,00	2	20,00	4	24,00
12.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	6 !	30,00
13.	..	.....	2	300,00	..	.....	2	30,00	2	30,00
14.	..	.....	5	400,00	4 !	80,00	6	90,00	6 !	30,00
15.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	4	80,00	4	24,00
16.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	6 !	30,00
17.	4	400,00	..	.....	..	.....	3	30,00	8 !	40,00
18.	..	.....	4	320,00	4	80,00	..	.....	3	16,00
19.	..	.....	2	150,00	..	.....	..	.....	7	28,00

24. Tenant farmer.

! Estimates by the author.

/326/ [Calderas]

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Fams.	Bovines	Equines	Pigs	Wool-bearers	Fowl Raised
20.	--	--	--	5 300,00	2 30,00
21.	--	--	3 60,00	--	3 36,00
22.	--	3 330,00	4 ! 80,00	--	8 ! 40,00
23.	3 300,00	2 160,00	4 ! 80,00	4 ! 80,00	-- .....
24.	5 500,00	1 100,00	--	2 40,00	15 90,00
25.	3 300,00	1 100,00	3 90,00	--	-- .....
26.	3 300,00	1 100,00	--	--	-- .....
27.	--	1 100,00	--	--	13 65,00
28.	--	1 90,00	--	--	1 5,00
29.	--	4 320,00	--	--	8 ! 40,00
30.	1 100,00	1 90,00	--	--	8 ! 35,00
31.	5 500,00	1 80,00	--	--	6 ! 24,00
32.	--	--	--	--	1 4,00
33.	--	1 80,00	--	--	-- .....
34.	8 800,00	5 500,00	10 ! 200,00	4 80,00	10 ! 50,00
35.	--	4 320,00	--	--	10 50,00
36.	15 1.500,00	5 ! 500,00	--	20 400,00	-- .....
37.	4 400,00	4 400,00	--	10 200,00	10 ! 50,00
38.	--	1 100,00	--	--	5 ! 25,00
39.	--	1 100,00	--	--	6 ! 30,00
40.	2 200,00	--	2 40,00	--	-- .....
41.	--	2 220,00	--	--	5 25,00
42.	--	1 80,00	--	--	-- .....
43.	--	--	--	--	6 ! 25,00
44.	--	1 80,00	--	3 30,00	-- .....
45.	--	--	--	2 20,00	6 ! 25,00
46.	4 400,00	--	--	--	4 20,00
47.	--	3 240,00	2 40,00	--	-- .....
48.	--	5 400,00	1 20,00	--	9 35,00
49.	8 800,00	2 160,00	10 ! 200,00	--	10 ! 40,00
50.	4 400,00	3 240,00	6 120,00	--	10 ! 25,00
51.	--	1 80,00	--	1 10,00	6 ! 18,00
52.	--	3 200,00	--	--	6 ! 18,00
53.	1 160,00	2 160,00	--	3 30,00	4 20,00
54.	2 200,00	2 200,00	2 ! 40,00	3 ! 30,00	-- .....
55.	--	4 320,00	--	2 20,00	8 ! 24,00

! Estimates by the author.

/336 cont./

423 no rights over land won by the sweat of the brow. It is inherited
623 directly by the sons. In such cases the cabildo confirms owner-
428 ship by issuing the respective adjudication.

423 When the colonization has been done by several persons,
578 usually brothers, and the division of the land does not satisfy one of the parties, famous litigations take place that eat up the small savings of the families. The feeling for ownership of land is highly developed among the natives, and the usurpation of the slightest piece of ground gives rise to quarrels, enmities, and
42 litigations. The sale of land to "whites" is prohibited by
[648] Colombian law and by the consuetudinary law of the natives. But among the natives themselves transactions can be made with immovables. They do not sell the land, but the ownership. The owner of land is the man. A widow, too, can be an owner by inheritance from the husband. Single women do not own land.

● 422 The bovine, equine, porcine, and wool-bearing livestock belong to the man, although a few women own pigs and sheep. Turkeys, chickens, cats, and guinea pigs belong to the women, and so do dishes, spoons, pots, grinding stones,
[428] calabashes, and bags. These are inherited through the female line. Children are owners merely of their own clothes.

423 Concerning communal property, we have already seen that in each parcialidad there are several hectares of land that
[794] belong to all the members of the parcialidad. Also regarded as communal property are public works, such as roads, bridges, the main ditches, the house of the cabildo, and the church, and they collectively maintain them; likewise regarded as the property of the parcialidad are the sums of money collected for the church, the produce of the clearing of the saint, and any livestock or mills that it might own.

428 Concerning inheritance, let us look first at the concepts
[842] expressed by an informant from Calderas. Asked about the ideal number of children for native families, he replied that everyone wished to have many children. "When one dies and one has land, who can handle it? The ancestors worked the montaña, and this is why we have land. We are five brothers and we work

/338 cont./

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Average Distribution of Agricultural Implements per Family

Parcialidad (26)	Machetes T	Machetes P	Shovels T	Shovels P	Small bars T	Small bars P	Axes T	Axes P	Spades T	Spades P	Bars T	Bars P
Mosoco	71	2	85	3	50	2	39	1	3	-	13	-
Lame	16	2	26	3	12	1	2	-	-	-	-	-
San Andrés . . .	37	2	42	2	18	1	9	-	-	-	3	-

26. Note: T indicates the total implements of the families investigated. P indicates the average number of implements for each family.

/338 cont./

412 Bearing in mind that of the 48 families investigated, 52%
● 422 are from Mosoco, 16.6% from Lame, and 31.2% from San
[162] Andrés, we can make the following deductions: The average
/339/ number of machetes owned by each family in the three parcialidades is two. This indicates the universality of this implement.

Implements for working the land are more numerous in Mosoco and Lame than in San Andrés, especially in the former, where shovels almost reach 4 and the small bars 2 per family. This is explained by the fact that in those parcialidades they do not need to clear the lands, but only raise the beds in the pastures.

The number of axes for each family in Mosoco is almost double.
[423] The reason for this is that almost all the families own land in the
[311] mountainous part called "paramo." The clearing of wooded areas is intensive in Mosoco because they still exist. In San Andrés and Lame, virgin montañas have almost disappeared.

6: Bernal Villa--66 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

/340/

422
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Average Distribution of Domestic Animals per Family

Parcialidad	Bovines				Equines				Swine				Wool-bearers				Fowl Raised			
	T	P	B	%	T	P	B	%	T	P	B	%	T	P	B	%	T	P	B	%
Mosoco	171	6	22	12,8	113	4	13	11,5	42	1	4	9,5	130	5	25	19,2	243	8	25	10,3
Lamo	33	4	10	31,3	44	5	19	43,1	19	2	—	—	21	2	—	—	50	6	10	20,0
San Andrés	60	4	50	83,3	27	1	19	70,3	28	1	14	50,0	13	—	5	41,6	251	16	135	53,7
Calderas	98	1	—	—	114	2	—	—	107	2	—	—	97	1	—	—	271	4	—	—

Note: T indicates the total animals of the families investigated.

P indicates the average number of animals for each family investigated.

B indicates the number of animals for the "white" families.

% indicates the percentage of the total animals that is owned by the "whites."

/The commas in the figures are to be read as points for the translation to English./

6: Bernal Villa--67 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

/341/

422 For each native family in the three parcialidades and in
23 their respective order, there is on the average the following animals: Bovines, six, three, and one; equines, four, six, zero; swine, one, three, one; wool-bearers, four, three, zero; fowl raised, ten, six, fifteen. In Calderas this is what is given in the table.

23 It is obvious that livestock-raising in Mosoco is an authentic native industry, with the implication of a relative technical improvement in it. Whereas, in the other three parcialidades, it is of no special importance, especially in Calderas. The live-
[563] stock industry in San Andrés is the exclusive patrimony of whites and mestizos.

466 /346 cont./
427 needs it (nominal). On the following week he must return to
257 work at the hacienda.
[461] /347/ Each week he produces some 40 arrobas of panela.
[433] The informant boils it down, his wife mills with the deaf and dumb son, and the other son strips the cane. The milling
● [422] equipment is expensive and thus belongs to the hacienda. His own tools are two shovels, one small bar, and three machetes, with which he works for the hacienda. The owner of the hacienda has tried to dismiss him three times. Once because he made panela for another owner; it displeases the owner to have him work elsewhere, especially at a mill. The informant did not want to leave his house.

427 The plantings that he has made have sometimes been
241 lost because of the wetness of the soil, leaving no solution but
466 to plant again. The owner does not help at all in such calamities. He has the right to plant as much as he wishes.
[423] Now he owns about 200 coffee trees, but the owner has forbidden him to plant more trees.

427 The informant has seven children, five of whom are females;
465 three of them earn a peso a day working on the hacienda, harvest-
466 ing and weeding coffee. One who is younger earns 50 centavos, and the son pays land rent and earns a daily wage of two pesos. The owner is not honest. To pay the daily wages he usually takes out bills of ten or twenty pesos and sends one of the peons to exchange them for smaller currency, which is always short when it is received. He pays in part and later maintains that the total was met.

Another informant from the same hacienda says that for two years of vaquería (tending cattle) the owner gave him in payment for his labor one mare that is not worth 30 pesos. While doing this work he suffered hunger and worked too hard. Now, aside from having remunerated him very badly, he demands the payment of rent for the two years that he was engaged in this work.

In general terms, the tenant farmers of San Andrés, in exchange for the use of half a hectare of land, one garden, and one house, are obliged: to pay three days of rent per month, providing their own food; to work as day laborers for the hacienda,

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

631 list presented by a council composed of former governors, the cap-
666 tain, and the síndico. The meeting may object to the list, but gen-
[651] erally accepts it. On the following January 1, the cabildo-elect must appear at the office of the municipal mayor to receive the staffs, their insignia of office, and to assume their duties and responsibilities. The offices are: Governor and alternate, commissioner, two mayors (alcaldes), two constables (alguaciles), and three prosecutors (fiscales), one of whom is a young man assigned to learn the ways of government. The mayors, constables, and prosecutors are something like bosses or policemen, and execute orders issued by the Governor or by the captain or the municipal authorities to a community through the Governor.

423 **Property.**—The Indians today do not own any real property in the usual sense. The land assigned to an entire community is allotted
[651] to each adult for his use when he becomes a macanero, that is, capable
[554] of giving one day's work each year for the collective planting for the benefit of the saint and as many days as may be required by the cabildo for the repair of roads, bridges, etc., or for work in the village. The right to the use of the land may pass to the heirs, wife and children, in the absence of which it reverts to the community or the cabildo.

● 422 The house was formerly typical personal or movable property, which could be easily abandoned, dismantled, or destroyed. The same holds today for fragile cane dwellings. There are few houses so solidly built that they constitute real or immovable property.
[764] Other personal property, such as utensils, clothes, weapons, adorn-
[428] ments, and jewels, was formerly buried with the owner. These things and livestock, planted fields, and crops are now inherited by the
[177] members of the deceased's family. In general, Colombian law is being implanted by the judges and municipal mayors, although the
[692] cabildo judges some minor offenses and punishes the offenders by
[623] whipping, imprisonment, or stocks (cepo), a form of torment retained
[681] from Colonial times.

Although the Indians' communities have in most cases titles of
691 limits of their lands dating from Colonial times, there are still liti-
648 gations on boundaries. An interesting case is the struggle of the
[423] Indians to dislodge a settlement of Negroes from the old salt works in Ambostá, where they were abandoned many years ago by a rich Popayán family who took them there to work the mines. The female Indian chief (cacica) of this territory allowed the Negroes to live on a hill, called "the hill of the fifteen Negroes." The Negroes are not organized under a cabildo, but have a chief who represents them. They all contribute to a special religious feast in the municipio, and provide means to continue the suit for the possession of the hill against the Indians.

C /104 cont./
632 includes 15 villages with Belalcázar as the administrative seat.
[103] Belalcázar, which takes its name from the conquistador Sebastian de Belalcazar, but not altogether correctly, since the latter was unable to conquer the Tierradentro area, is at the same time the
P 162 seat of the Apostolic Prefect for Tierradentro. According to the
C 162 census of 1938, the population of Tierradentro, consisting of mixed-
632 colored colonists and racially pure Indios, contains 17,578 inhabitants, distributed over Belalcázar with 13,861 and Inzá with 3,717 inhabitants. The more recent count of 1951, with a total of 25,495 inhabitants, showed a considerably larger figure, of which 15,388 fall to the municipio of Balalcazar and 10,103 to
C [114] the municipio of Inzá. A comparison of the two counts of 1938 and 1951 shows /105/ a notable error in the count in the municipio of Inzá for the year 1938 (figures cited in Bernal Villa [I], p. 285).

P 641 Of this number about 80 per cent are natives who today
[162] are largely civilized, that is, they are baptized and speak some
[851] Spanish. Politically they, too, are basically full citizens of the
[191] country; they may vote and be drafted into military service, but
P 641 do not pay any taxes. In one respect, however, fortunately for
● 423 them, they are regarded as "minors" before the law; in their totality they own all the landed property of Tierradentro, but
P 641 the individual man is not in a position to sell his land. This is
423 supposed to keep the Paez from losing their settlement area to
691 the whites. In practice this law is not always strictly observed,
648 for otherwise neither the colonists nor the large landowners, who are slowly but surely pushing their pasture and agricultural lands into the territory of the natives, could be in Tierradentro. The latter cannot in fact defend themselves against this, for, due to lack of money, no one among them is in a position to complain in court. If a complaint is nevertheless made, the Indios always lose, as, for example, in Itaibe, in the southeastern part of Tierradentro, where the Spaniards began to colonize as early as 1636 and where for many years lawsuits were carried on by the Indios in vain. Moreover, no judge is able to undertake anything against a rich landowner or against the missions likewise owning land.

/108 cont./

115 Victoriano likes to parade his outward standing of higher
156 culture openly. He possesses soap, a toothbrush, a small brush
554 for grooming his eyebrows, and perfume. He uses all these
[598] toilet articles very frequently. He is not afraid of the jealousy of his Calderun fellow-villagers; he always carries his machete /see the glossary, p. 249/ with him in order to defend himself. He wants to marry a "white" woman outside of Calderas (cf. also "The Course of a Day" /see p. 133 /).

124 /109/ In the work an attempt was made as a matter of
286 principle to observe all the activities of the Paez ourselves;
386 when this was not feasible, two different informants were questioned if possible. Two examples will show, however, that errors can creep in, even with the most careful work: I had the dyeing process for the black-dyed fabrics explained to me by the interpreter Marcos, according to whom they are first boiled with certain leaves, and then all of this is placed in black humus earth for two days. When the same question was put to Victoriano, he stated that the black coloring occurs if the fabric is placed in black humus earth for two days. At my suggestion that the fabric first had to be boiled with leaves, he delightedly agreed with me. When called to account as to why he had not told me that, he replied: "Well, you did not ask me about that; you only wanted to know how the material becomes black!"

724 One cannot speak sufficiently often and again and again
● 423 in different ways about the same subject, for to the Paez the necessity or the meaning of explanations for things self-evident to them is usually incomprehensible. Thus in the case described there was as little ill-intent or even mere carelessness as in the following case: In roaming over boundary lines, I inquired as to which fields were private property and which were community property. We came to the general conclusion that the lowlands were community property and the mountain slopes the private property of the man or family who had first cleared the land. I asked Victoriano several times as to whether there were any pieces of land that at present had no owner. He stated emphatically that all the land had been disposed of and there was no longer any ownerless land.

/109 cont./

124 One day, at the sight of a freshly cleared field on the
• 423 highest mountain slopes, I asked a Paez working there to whom this land belonged and whether the person concerned had always owned it. He answered that he himself was the owner and that previously the parcel had been ownerless. He said that he had cleared it for himself and only recently built his house here in order to live here. In answer to my question as to whether there was any more ownerless land, he explained to me that the highest and inaccessible mountain peaks which are still covered with big trees and have never been cleared do not belong to anyone and that any Paez could clear a piece on them, which would then become his property. Later I called Victoriano to task, saying that actually there still was ownerless land. "Yes," he then answered me, "of course there is still ownerless land, but it is so poor that it has no value."

157 Far from their village, on the way to market, and generally in /110/ places away from home, the Paez, if they
[123] are alone or in the minority, are timid and reserved. If they are together in large numbers, however, or, even better, in
[522] their own house, they are usually quite bold and impudent and loudly made their jokes at our expense. Indeed, jocularity is a
157 prominent characteristic of the Paez. No talk, no conversation,
521 be it ever so unimportant, is begun without joking -- often of
522 an erotic nature. The importance of conducting such a light,
[834] idle conversation is shown by the fact that serious-minded girls are scarcely ever married.

123 They made fun of my wife in particular, for they found
522 it altogether ugly that she wore long pants. Numerous jokes
157 were made about this, which we, of course, did not understand, and for this reason we, in turn, had to take the initiative by making a joke which was then acknowledged gratefully and usually
609 with quick-wittedness. On the whole, respect toward strangers
522 inside their dwelling is unknown to them. In larger groups they
159 make their asides even in a strange environment, accompanied by much laughter. Since one does not understand them, one
[797] easily gets the impression that they are silly. In their own houses they also mimic the visiting mission priest by repeating

/113 cont./

361 but rather we are /114/ concerned, almost without exception, with individual farms scattered on the slopes of the mountains, where the families live in the midst of their cultivated fields [159] (cf. Ills. 156 and 157 /see p. 269 and 270/). The Paez is by no means an unsociable person and likes to take part in the festivals, but he does not like to live closely confined in a village and to have his neighbors always around him; rather, he prefers to live quite far away from the next house, surrounded by his animals, in order to be able to go about his daily work in the fields undisturbed with his family.

423 609 Every Paez has a strong tie to "his soil," and the fear that he could be robbed of his soil and land dictates his unfriendly and forbidding attitude toward the stranger. Besides, for centuries their experiences with the whites have been too unfortunate for the Paez to be able to understand that a stranger might come for entirely unselfish reasons, merely in order to become acquainted with them and their country.

423 [342] [428] The Paez builds his house, as the family's focus and social center, only upon his own land, which he inherited from his fathers and which, through all subsequent generations, belongs to the family that first cultivated it. There is land in sufficient quantity in every family; in case of need anyone can also find ownerless, uncleared land on the highest sites of the mountain ranges.

Whereas the slopes of the mountains are private property after the initial clearing, the valley floor with the community 481 house and the festival plaza is community land. The houses are [481] connected with one another, as well as with the village plaza, by means of footpaths which are always very narrow because the Paez, even in larger numbers, never walk side by side, but always one behind the other. Originally even the connecting trails between the individual villages, the trails that had to be taken to the weekly markets in Belalcázar or Inzá, were no wider. In more recent times, however, visits on the part of secular and religious authorities made it necessary to widen the trails for riders.

31 Since there are no compact settlements among the Paez, there is also no geographical variations of the village. The church

/209 cont./

4. Law

671 Although the legal life of the Paez cannot be compared to a well-developed jurisprudence, on account of its being interwoven with all manifestations of life, they nevertheless have fixed regulations adapted to their vital needs, /210/ the preservation of which is guaranteed by the entire community. To these legal regulations belong the political and family organization already described, as well as the customs in the course of life and of daily living. In the following the regulations governing property and inheritance and the views of the Paez concerning punishable acts and punishments are to be described.

● 423 In Calderas there is community land and private land. The former consists of the river lowlands with the territory of the church, school, community house, and festival houses, whereas the mountain slopes are the private property of those families who cleared them for the first time. Basically, everyone may have an interest in the community land, which consists essentially of pasture land. Here the families can pasture their animals, build themselves festival houses, and stake off a piece of land for [178] themselves anywhere they like and build dwellings. The latter was not customary formerly when a person built his own house only on his own land. Today there are already three families, those of Cerbeleón Guagáz, of Clemente Lis, and of Agustín Muse, who live on community land near the church and the school. They built their houses there and staked off a piece of land on which they cultivate vegetables and some sugar cane. There is no need to ask anyone for permission to do this. The situation is different in the 423 case of private property on the mountain slopes. True, no one 427 builds his house on a piece of land that does not belong to him; yet it may happen that one's own land is very far away, and then a person will ask the owner of a parcel of land nearby for permission ("licencia"; Spanish "authorized permission") to plant a field for a harvest. This is not often the case, for generally there is enough land in each family. A few families, however, have

/210 cont./

423 considerably larger parcels of land than others, for example, the
427 Guagáz family, who, according to my information, own almost half of all private land. Permission for the use of land is granted only for crops with a short ripening period, namely, wheat, maize, beans, and cabbage, but not sugar cane, coca, or bananas, which need several years to mature, in other words, can be used for years. As rent the owner receives a small portion of the harvest, which is left on the stalk and which he must harvest himself.

423 As a matter of principle, land cannot be bought, we were
[428] told repeatedly, for every man must leave his land to his sons. Even if a man has no sons, he may not sell his land, but must hand it over to his brothers. This was the information always
423 given in answer to my direct questions on the subject. /211/ In
437 practice, however, it is quite possible to sell land, and this is not infrequently done, but no one realizes that a land sale actually takes place when a man clears a piece of land for himself, plants it, and exchanges the entire harvest, including the land, for a
[115] head of cattle, a horse, etc. This is what Victoriano did, for example, in order to acquire a horse. He cleared and planted a piece of his father's land, about 2,500 square meters, to sugar cane, and when this was mature, he exchanged the harvest, including the land, for a mare. Nobody wanted to admit that this violated the principle of not selling land.

423 The land belongs to the father of the family, who, as a rule,
241 tills it with his grown sons. If the sons have their own houses,
59 they generally go on working with their father, since no one likes to work alone. At the harvest, the respective wives fetch the food
423 required for their families from the common field. If father and
427 son do not live in amity, the son must plant and harvest his own
593 field, for which he is then obliged to accept the help of friends.
241 It is considerably more expensive to entertain them than family
[476] help, for in the latter case there need not be any chicha for entertainment. Even in this instance, however, the son must ask his father and owner of the family land for permission to cultivate the land. This is not denied, however, After the harvest, this piece of land, since it will lie fallow now for about ten years, goes back

/211 cont./

423 to the father, and the next year the son must ask his father anew
427 for permission to use another piece of land.

593 241 Besides the land, the father of the family also owns the
422 dwelling, the menstruation house, all the animals -- including
423 chickens and guinea pigs -- all agricultural implements, and the sugar mill. Property marks on the houses, fields, and implements are not required, for everyone knows to whom they belong.

428 Upon the death of the father of the family, the youngest son inherits his house and the greater part of the livestock. If, for example, there is only one cow, he gets it. Similarly, he gets all the land under cultivation at the time. The uncultivated land is divided equally among all the sons. The widow, [768] like the daughters, inherits nothing. The former then continues to live in her old house in the family of the youngest son. The fact that the latter receives so much more than the older ones in the distribution of the inheritance is explained by the fact that the older ones have worked for more years and therefore have had more time and opportunity to acquire property of their own. [429] Favoring the youngest thus represents a certain equalization. If the father dies /212/ young and leaves only a small son, his mother administers his property for him until he is about 15 years [768] old. He need not marry then, however. If there are several younger sons, they, of course, also go on living together in the house of the father.

Deviant inheritance plans of the deceased, for example, letting an older favorite son have more or leaving his house or implements, not to his youngest son, but to his brother, are not possible. Even if a father had ten daughters and only one son and none of the daughters would marry, he could not leave them anything. In such a case, the only son would have to provide for all his sisters, for women cannot live alone in a house and they would not be in a position to cultivate the land alone. If a man has no sons, but only daughters, his sons-in-law generally help him cultivate the fields. Yet he cannot bequeath them anything. His landed property and equipment go to that one of his brothers who takes care of the burial, that is to say, buys the grave clothes for the deceased and provides chicha and food for the mourning

1: Nachtigall--297 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/CXI cont./

Plate XXI

000 /According to the plate itself, the caption given here for Ill. 8 belongs with Ill. 9, and vice versa./

172 Ill. 8. The artificially leveled-off hill of Segovia with the archeological site. The entrance gate is at the left. On the right is the elevated portion with the protective roofs of the Seven-Niche-Grave-chambers Nos. 35-38. In the background, the Filo de El Aguacate. From its highest point the grave chambers extend to the small elevation on the right edge of the picture.

Ill. 9. The San Andrés Valley. In the foreground, the grave chambers arranged on two levels at the archeological site of Alto de San Andrés. Grave chambers 1 and 6 are provided with rectangular protective roofs. The five large statues of El Tablon are faintly visible on the almost circular area behind the village church.

000 /Ills. 10-145 on Plates XXII-LXXVI, and listed on pp. CXI-CXX, are omitted in the translation./

/CXX/ Plate LXXVII

[311] [423] Ill. 146. The valley of the Kokiyó with the town of Calderas. The bare surface is the community land, the overgrown slopes are private property.

Ill. 147. Calderas with the church and the festival houses.

Plate LXXVIII

Ills. 148 and 149. Young women.

Plate LXXIX

Ills. 150 and 151. Young men.

Plate LXXX

Ill. 152. Mother with child. The clothes are held together with thorns. The carrying band of the coca pouch hangs over the shoulder.

/288 cont./
583 in the church, live together for a period of indeterminate duration, explaining that /289/ the man does not have enough money at hand to marry as soon as he asks the woman, and it is necessary to work in order to obtain it.

771 Religion.--The religion of the Paez is formally Catholicism,
177 but many of their traditions are hidden in it. The principal
[796] fiestas of the natives are religious ones, which acquire true strokes of splendor. The Catholic priest is called upon for the ceremonies of baptism, marriage, and cases of death.

Chapter II

631 Calderas.--Incrusted in the very heart of Tierradentro is the
131 Parcialidad of Calderas, bounded on the north by a high ridge
133 that separates it from Chinas and Avirama; on the east, La Muralla, the very model of a fault, separates it from Avirama, just as a ridge separates it from Togoima; to the south, deep gorges and high peaks separate it from San Andrés and Togoima; to the west, the Quebrada Guacharaca divides it from the Parcialidad of Lame.

133 It is crossed from west to east by the Quebrada Kukiyú,
631 actually a river in terms of the volume and violence of its waters, whose bed is deep, enclosed, and inaccessible. Its
● [423] left bank is somewhat softened by a beautiful plateau of about 20 hectares, with fertile lands, abundant waters, and on which the pueblo rises; it belongs to the community, whereas the other lands are private property guaranteed by the fact that the owner either personally cleared the montaña or inherited it from his ancestors who cleared the forest. The right bank is steep, harsh,
[161] rugged. Numerous clearings are to be seen on these sloping
[311] lands, indicating the increase in population that compels them to cultivate lands of low fertility and great danger for the laborer.

/182 cont./

423 The work on the land is a daily exercise in co-operation.
461 Owership by an Indian is an unquestionable right, and its de-
[173] fense a categorical imperative. Lliban and Juan Chiracol
[628] fought the Pijao for the ownership of the land and to defend an
[648] inalienable right. Likewise, because the whites covet their land, they do not like to have them around /183/ and avoid receiving them under some pretext or other. Their security and
[735] their happiness lie in the ownership of land. Poverty as they understand it, a shortage of food and livestock, is due solely to the laziness of those who suffer it.

857 Children grow up in continuous communion with the
868 activities of their parents. While the girl helps her mother in household tasks and goes out with her to bring firewood from their respective clearings, the boys with their machete on their shoulder and their pouches of coca and mambe /lime/, exactly like their fathers, clean the clearings, build fences, weed their plantings, and when the maize ripens and the wheat grows tall, they spend the day defending them against the attacks of parrots, guaras, borugos, squirrels, and coatis. At an early age they are already doing the same tasks, but with the hope of building a house, marrying, raising children, and owning livestock, large quantities of coca, and sugar cane for their
342 chicha. In a way, the house is a necessary supplement to their pieces of land; furthermore, many are for the period of the clearings. The selection of a site for the house does not take into account either the beauty of the landscape or the levelness of the terrain, but rather the inaccessibility of both. Only when the house is to last for more than one generation will they attend to certain requisites: solidity, construction or privately owned land, and the selection of an adequate site by the medicine man (té éu). One fine day the owner selects a site: "This is a good place to build a house and to live," he
[759] says. Then he takes there the medicine man, who during the
[787] night "thinks about" whether the site is suitable or unsuitable; he chews coca and remedies, takes mouthfuls of aguardiente

/263 cont./

182 The people perceive only the effects. Only the expectant
754 attitude announces to us its presence. The latent fears tell us of its vigor. The members of the cabildo, the capitán, the té eu, the working men, the parturient women have a strong fear of sorcery.

When the pest spreads through the community, when the elders die and their experience and advice are lost, thoughts
[761] turn inevitably to the power of the sorcerers. Most deaths are brought about by sorcerers, the informants say.

754 Sorcery is a powerful barrier against the introduction
182 of the customs of a capitalist economy and also against the
177 intrusion of the whites in their parcialidades. It is strange that sorcery should exist in the less acculturated parcialidades, while in San Andrés it has practically disappeared. It is said to have been vigorous until 1926, the year when the Municipal Council of Inzá established in the parcialidad a settlement area in which the whites settled. With this measure living together was inescapable and they chose to accept them. Nevertheless, during the drinking bouts of the old people, the tremendous resentment that has become natural to them still crops out.

182 Furthermore, it makes its influences felt in the distribution
754 of land. Each family has lands from which it lives. With the
● 423 increase in population the problem of their unequal distribution
[554] has become prominent. Those who have the most land are
[152] the targets of envy and sorcery; they are more prone to magical attacks aimed at taking away their land. Intrasocial tensions
754 appear to be brought into equilibrium by means of this insti-
182 tution. The fear of reprisals checks aggression. Revenge is too prejudicial, since it can be manifested not only against
[184] individuals, but also against animals and plantings. It is
[177] perfectly true to say that while in Calderas acts of bloodshed
[675] are rare and suicide is unknown, in San Andres, a parcialidad which is largely acculturated, the homicides, murders, and
[762] cases of arson are hair-raising.

/293 cont./

221 on the fincas of the "whites" (1). The social life and the re-
[166]
[464]
[192]
[177]
[128]

1. Generic term with which the natives designate all those who observe the norms of western culture, without any distinction as to race. For convenience we have adopted this usage, putting the term in quotation marks.

ligious fiestas are frequent during this period. The work is done /294/ with devotion and perseverance. It is not done in haste, but there is no resting either.

423 Every Páez family has its lands. This is its ambition. The
[183] primary source of its security. Every crag has an owner whose title has been won by the sweat of his brow. Every crag harbors a rancho that shelters a family. Every inch of land is passionately
[578] defended by the native. The disputes stirred up by this fact are not few. In like manner the cabildos are never so zealous as in the defense of the lands of the parcialidad /a territorial division/.
[648] The areas of settlement /areas of colonization by whites/ are spearheads in the very heart of the community. They were established against the full opposition of the natives. On the other hand, the defense of the land and the prevention of contamination by foreign peoples are postulates of the doctrine. The distribution of the houses suggests in advance the profusion of paths and private property.

When they win the scarce land, the distances and difficul-
[464] ties that loom are not important. They are good colonizers, and it is rare that persons who lack land hire themselves out as permanent peons or become tenant farmers on the great haciendas.
[181] They prefer independence above all.

311 To study the economy of the Páez, certain factors of a
133 geographico-physical and cultural nature cannot be overlooked. They are:

1. Thermic levels. The lands now occupied by the Páez of Tierradentro correspond to the thermic levels of cold and temperate. The contour line corresponding to 2,000 meters

/298 cont./

241 in some cases, fruit trees, and after this, wheat. In San Andrés,
134 especially in the vegas, maize, plantains, frijoles, arracacha, manioc, sugar cane, and coffee are planted. Thus, there is not proper utilization of the soil or protection of it, aside from the several years of rest. They are not familiar with fertilizers, the rotation of crops, or irrigation systems.

241 It is interesting to note that the families of San Andrés,
423 Calderas, Lame, and Mosoco generally have lands in the low places along the rivers and streams and in the high places where arboreal vegetation abounds, which they call the "montaña." In this way, they can cultivate cold and temperate zone plants (Calderas, San Andrés, Lame) or take advantage of the annual seasonal cycle in the high parts of the Cordillera (Mosoco).

241 A principal dwelling is erected on one of the fincas, while
342 on the others ranchos where the families live during the months of harvest are built. It is at the principal dwelling where the garden is made with plantains, sugar cane, onions, coriander, coca, cabbage (San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Calderas, Togoima), or with cabbage, garlic, onions, yuca de pipchao /yams/, peaches, and apples (Lame, Mosoco, Vitoncó). Peppers are cultivated in the gardens. This principal dwelling forms what in our culture is called hogar /hearth, home/. It is here that the fire is always maintained, that the ears of maize, bundles of wheat, bags of frijoles, tools, troughs, cooking utensils, and sugar mills are kept, where the chickens, guinea pigs, pigs, and turkeys live.

249 Industrial crops practically do not exist. There are no
[248] tobacco or cotton plantations. Sugar-cane plantings are not
[273] extensive among the natives. They are used solely for pro-
[778] ducing guarapo, which has almost completely replaced the maize chicha. Only the whites and a few mestizos have extensive sugar-cane fields for producing panela.

248 Figue thrives in Tierradentro. But it is in Vitoncó and Lame that there are numerous plantings of cabuya of very good quality in terms of the size and quantity of the fiber, planted on the boundaries of the properties. This wealth is not utilized as much as it should be. The natives merely make pouches and lassos for internal consumption.

/334 cont./

312 water abounds during the rainy season. Then the stream beds, dry during the summer (ravines), swell disproportionately. During the summer months, the scarcity of water is still a serious problem.

313 In areas where water is scarce, there is also a scarcity of firewood, owing to the intensive deforestation. As the felling of the trees moves out from the populated centers of Tierradentro, the acquisition of this item becomes increasingly difficult. The fuel problem in Belalcázar, Cuetando, Chitoquez, Valencia, [314] and Guasdualejo is becoming increasingly serious. Furthermore, [439] charcoal is neither used nor produced for trade in Tierradentro.

[312] Providing firewood for feeding the hearth, as well as water, [462] is more an activity for women and children than for men. In most of the parcialidades, firewood abounds, and ordinarily each dwelling has sufficient reserves to maintain the fire on the hearth. In cold parcialidades, such as Calderas and Lame, reviving the fire through the night is essential for protection [513] against the cold. The natives sleep around the hearth, from which comes the warmth that they need for sleeping, since they use no covering other than the clothing on their own bodies and no mattress other than a hard cowhide.

376 The abundance of water also facilitates the construction of 258 hydraulic mills, in order to utilize this motive force. They are relatively numerous.

Property

● 423 The lands of the native communities are protected. That is to say, they belong to the parcialidad. They are inalienable. In addition, they are exempt from taxes. This peculiarity of our legislation has fortunately permitted the preservation of the [311] Paez group and their culture. The lands contained within the parcialidades are uncultivated, usable, /335/ or in use. The uncultivated lands of the communities of Tierradentro are rapidly being colonized.

In each parcialidad there is a specific amount of land that belongs to all the members of the community. It is communal

land.

000 /335 cont./

423 land. On it usually stand the native pueblos, and from it the
623 municipal councils have set aside the so-called settlement areas,
648 into which, since they belong to the municipio, "white" penetration has been possible.

423 Private ownership of land is acquired essentially through
425 adjudication, through work, and through inheritance. It may also be acquired through gift or sale, but this is quite rare.

423 Since the true owner of the protected lands is the cabildo,
425 it is this institution that distributes the lands to each member
623 of the community. The titles that it grants are called adjudications. The condition for enjoying possession of a specific parcel is residence in the community and, above all, work. In the case where an individual has idle lands because he cannot manage to work them, the cabildo reserves the right to take this part away from him in order to give it to someone who needs it. Those who through special circumstances live elsewhere, outside of the parcialidad, lose their right to possession of the land.

423 Although it is true that in the distribution of land made by
425 the cabildo it venerates, respects, and is guided by the laws of
623 justice, it is also true that they are not exempt from committing
662 unjust acts. If a member of the community can advantageously entertain and show courtesies to the members of the cabildo and is interested in acquiring more land, he can obtain it in this way. It is relatively easy to suborn the cabildo. Then the cabildo can wrong some in order to benefit others. But this defect may be corrected with the selection of men who can fulfill their functions as members of the cabildo competently and with the exercise of sound directive policies on the part of the municipal executive.

423 Now then. It is also true that some natives have more
623 land than others. But this is due to the fact that their respective
421 ancestors cleared more forest than others. They colonized more land. Their right of ownership is granted through labor. "The ancestors" -- says a Calderun informant -- "worked the montaña and this is why we have land. This land does not belong to the cabildo." This procedure is still followed in the parcialidades where there is still uncultivated land. /336/ The cabildo has

/336 cont./

423 no rights over land won by the sweat of the brow. It is inherited
623 directly by the sons. In such cases the cabildo confirms owner-
428 ship by issuing the respective adjudication.

423 When the colonization has been done by several persons,
578 usually brothers, and the division of the land does not satisfy one of the parties, famous litigations take place that eat up the small savings of the families. The feeling for ownership of land is highly developed among the natives, and the usurpation of the slightest piece of ground gives rise to quarrels, enmities, and
42 litigations. The sale of land to "whites" is prohibited by
[648] Colombian law and by the consuetudinary law of the natives. But among the natives themselves transactions can be made with immovables. They do not sell the land, but the ownership. The owner of land is the man. A widow, too, can be an owner by inheritance from the husband. Single women do not own land.

422 The bovine, equine, porcine, and wool-bearing livestock belong to the man, although a few women own pigs and sheep. Turkeys, chickens, cats, and guinea pigs belong to the women, and so do dishes, spoons, pots, grinding stones,
[428] calabashes, and bags. These are inherited through the female line. Children are owners merely of their own clothes.

423 Concerning communal property, we have already seen that in each parcialidad there are several hectares of land that
[794] belong to all the members of the parcialidad. Also regarded as communal property are public works, such as roads, bridges, the main ditches, the house of the cabildo, and the church, and they collectively maintain them; likewise regarded as the property of the parcialidad are the sums of money collected for the church, the produce of the clearing of the saint, and any livestock or mills that it might own.

428 Concerning inheritance, let us look first at the concepts
[842] expressed by an informant from Calderas. Asked about the ideal number of children for native families, he replied that everyone wished to have many children. "When one dies and one has land, who can handle it? The ancestors worked the montaña, and this is why we have land. We are five brothers and we work

/336 cont./

428 together. The land does not belong to the cabildo. Women do not inherit. Only the men. The women go with their husbands. Among the men it is divided into equal shares. The /337/ sons are the legitimate heirs. If a man dies without leaving sons, [593] his brother inherits. A brother can be asked for a piece of land to [423] work. And he gives it. If we are niggardly about it, what will [425] my brother eat, how will he support his children. The eldest son is important, because if the father dies, it is he who takes charge of the family."

The words are nearly all textual. One may deduce from them that inheritance is carried out through the male line. It is the men who inherit the land, houses, and animals, in equal shares. The women virtually do not inherit, since, when they marry, they go with the husband. The sons are the legitimate heirs. If a man dies without leaving progeny, his brothers inherit.

423 The women, nevertheless, can also be heirs and in equal 428 shares with the men, if the husband has no land to work. Cases [591] are not frequent, but neither are they rare, when the man goes to live in his wife's home, where he remains and works the land [563] which belongs to him through his wife's right. Likewise some "whites" who managed to marry natives have the right of usufruct over the lands of their wives, and the latter demand land to work from the cabildo if they do not possess any.

423 Another Calderun informant, one of the major owners of 428 land in extensity wishes to leave it to his sons without dividing it. Since there is enough land, there is no reason for them to quarrel. Since two of his sons went to Cali when they were small, he says that if they should return there is land for them to work. 423 The lands are solely for the men; the women marry and go with the husband. Referring to the llano of Calderas, he says that it belongs to all of the members of the community. They may build their houses there, while those from other parcialidades [342] have no right to do so. If a member builds a house on the com- [476] munal llano, all the others are obliged to help him with timber and labor. Even the women. The land is communal because the cabildo has decided upon it. Some have plots on this

/337 cont./

423 communal land, since they have a right to it and anyone can do so. Those who come from elsewhere have a right to the communal land provided that they have grown up there. In Calderas there are people from Lame who own their land because they have cleared the montaña. Nowadays there are no more montañas [591] to clear, and thus persons from elsewhere cannot come in. If a [582] Calderuno marries a woman from another parcialidad, his father-in-law or brothers-in-law must give land /338/ to his wife and the spouse thus enters the community. Thus spoke the informant.

Distribution of implements, stock, and crops

121 We are basing the distribution of implements, stock, and crops on the research carried out in the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, San Andrés, and Calderas.

162 The parcialidad of Mosoco has, approximately, some 250 families with an average of 4 children; Lame, some 130 with an average of 3 children; San Andrés, some 200 with an average of 4 children; and Calderas, some 150 families with 3 children on the average also. In Mosoco we studied 25 families, or 10% of the total; in Lame, 8 or 5.3%; in San Andrés, 15 or 7.5%, and in Calderas 55 or 36.6%. In the first parcialidad listed there is one family of a mestizo and another of a white, which are equivalent to 8% of the total families investigated; in the second, two families of whites are represented, equivalent to 25% of the total families investigated; in the third, 26.6% of the total families investigated are represented by two families of whites and two families of mestizos. No family of "whites" lives in Calderas.

/338 cont./

412 Bearing in mind that of the 48 families investigated, 52%
422 are from Mosoco, 16.6% from Lame, and 31.2% from San
[162] Andrés, we can make the following deductions: The average
/339/ number of machetes owned by each family in the three parcialidades is two. This indicates the universality of this implement.

Implements for working the land are more numerous in Mosoco and Lame than in San Andrés, especially in the former, where shovels almost reach 4 and the small bars 2 per family. This is explained by the fact that in those parcialidades they do not need to clear the lands, but only raise the beds in the pastures.

The number of axes for each family in Mosoco is almost double.
● [423] The reason for this is that almost all the families own land in the
[311] mountainous part called "paramo." The clearing of wooded areas is intensive in Mosoco because they still exist. In San Andrés and Lame, virgin montañas have almost disappeared.

466 /346 cont./
427 needs it (nominal). On the following week he must return to
257 work at the hacienda.
[461] /347/ Each week he produces some 40 arrobas of panela.
[433] The informant boils it down, his wife mills with the deaf and dumb son, and the other son strips the cane. The milling
[422] equipment is expensive and thus belongs to the hacienda. His own tools are two shovels, one small bar, and three machetes, with which he works for the hacienda. The owner of the hacienda has tried to dismiss him three times. Once because he made panela for another owner; it displeases the owner to have him work elsewhere, especially at a mill. The informant did not want to leave his house.

427 The plantings that he has made have sometimes been
241 lost because of the wetness of the soil, leaving no solution but
466 to plant again. The owner does not help at all in such calamities. He has the right to plant as much as he wishes.
[423] Now he owns about 200 coffee trees, but the owner has forbidden him to plant more trees.

427 The informant has seven children, five of whom are females;
465 three of them earn a peso a day working on the hacienda, harvest-
466 ing and weeding coffee. One who is younger earns 50 centavos, and the son pays land rent and earns a daily wage of two pesos. The owner is not honest. To pay the daily wages he usually takes out bills of ten or twenty pesos and sends one of the peons to exchange them for smaller currency, which is always short when it is received. He pays in part and later maintains that the total was met.

Another informant from the same hacienda says that for two years of vaquería (tending cattle) the owner gave him in payment for his labor one mare that is not worth 30 pesos. While doing this work he suffered hunger and worked too hard. Now, aside from having remunerated him very badly, he demands the payment of rent for the two years that he was engaged in this work.

In general terms, the tenant farmers of San Andrés, in exchange for the use of half a hectare of land, one garden, and one house, are obliged: to pay three days of rent per month, providing their own food; to work as day laborers for the hacienda,

/347 cont./

427 earning a small daily wage (the maximum daily wage that they
466 earn is two pesos, but this is exceptional; ordinarily the men
465 earn one peso and the women 80 centavos); not to work on other fincas; to sell the surplus from their crops to the owners of the hacienda themselves, especially if it is coffee; to divide in half or distribute in equal parts with the owner the panela obtained /348/ from the ovens of the hacienda; the wife and children of the tenant farmers are also obliged to work on the hacienda. They have the right to plant any crop except coffee. They earn nothing on Sundays or on religious or national holidays, nor do they receive any remuneration for extra hours of work. They do not get any social services. When the owner is good, he gives them salt and, ordinarily, one "spot" of plantain (a ration of cooked plantains).

427 Many are sons of tenant farmers born on the hacienda itself.
466 Others have suffered in this servitude for more than ten years. Although a few have freed themselves from this situation, most of them resist giving up their rancho and their garden when the owners want to dispossess them. One tenant-farmer informant, when questioned as to whether his situation was good or bad, said: "I have to be satisfied, what else can I do if from childhood I have been here" (on the hacienda). Besides, he figures that if the owner wants to remove him, he will have to pay him
● [423] for the improvements in his garden. Here and there a tenant farmer with more than 20 years of usufruct from his piece of land has already refused to pay his rent.

One tenant farmer who has worked for several owners recalls that some were good, but most of them were bad, ambitious, exploiters, who had their laborers work too hard, cheated in the wages, and one even gave them beatings.

Alimentary diet

262 We wish to note that most of the notes concerning the diet
[121] were gathered in the parcialidad of Calderas.

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631 list presented by a council composed of former governors, the cap-
666 tain, and the síndico. The meeting may object to the list, but gen-
[651] erally accepts it. On the following January 1, the cabildo-elect must appear at the office of the municipal mayor to receive the staffs, their insignia of office, and to assume their duties and responsibilities. The offices are: Governor and alternate, commissioner, two mayors (alcaldes), two constables (alguaciles), and three prosecutors (fiscales), one of whom is a young man assigned to learn the ways of government. The mayors, constables, and prosecutors are something like bosses or policemen, and execute orders issued by the Governor or by the captain or the municipal authorities to a community through the Governor.

423 Property.—The Indians today do not own any real property in the usual sense. The land assigned to an entire community is allotted
[651] to each adult for his use when he becomes a macanero, that is, capable
[534] of giving one day's work each year for the collective planting for the benefit of the saint and as many days as may be required by the cabildo for the repair of roads, bridges, etc., or for work in the village. The right to the use of the land may pass to the heirs, wife and children, in the absence of which it reverts to the community or the cabildo.

422 The house was formerly typical personal or movable property, which could be easily abandoned, dismantled, or destroyed. The same holds today for fragile cane dwellings. There are few houses so solidly built that they constitute real or immovable property.
[764] Other personal property, such as utensils, clothes, weapons, adorn-
[428] ments, and jewels, was formerly buried with the owner. These things and livestock, planted fields, and crops are now inherited by the
[177] members of the deceased's family. In general, Colombian law is being implanted by the judges and municipal mayors, although the
[692] cabildo judges some minor offenses and punishes the offenders by
[623] whipping, imprisonment, or stocks (cepo), a form of torment retained
[681] from Colonial times.

Although the Indians' communities have in most cases titles of limits of their lands dating from Colonial times, there are still liti-
691 gations on boundaries. An interesting case is the struggle of the
648 Indians to dislodge a settlement of Negroes from the old salt works
(423) in Ambostá, where they were abandoned many years ago by a rich Popayán family who took them there to work the mines. The female Indian chief (cacica) of this territory allowed the Negroes to live on a hill, called "the hill of the fifteen Negroes." The Negroes are not organized under a cabildo, but have a chief who represents them. They all contribute to a special religious feast in the municipio, and provide means to continue the suit for the possession of the hill against the Indians.

/182 cont./

462 13. (cont.)
594 Revista Colombiana de Antropología, Vol. III, 1954.

361 In this manner, among the Paez, marriage,
182 family, land, and house form an intimate unit, indissoluble and
594 in part explaining the above-mentioned phenomenon of the re-
581 luctance to live grouped in towns or cities.

●423 Basically the residence of the nuclear family is patrilocal-
591 neolocal. When the man, accompanied by his escort, goes to
[584] ask for his future consort, and, after certain definite formalities are fulfilled, the future parents-in-law hand her over, she is taken to live in the house of his parents (when he has not built
591 his own). In it he arranges a separate room with a kitchen for
596 cooking, a cowhide to sleep on, and space in which to keep their provisions, their kitchen utensils, and work tools. The new
[583] spouses are independent of their respective parents. The man assists in the work of his parents-in-law and the woman in the work of hers, but in neither case does it constitute an obligation
[594] for them. When a bachelor, the man works to take care of his own needs and to assist in the support of the paternal economy; once married he works to support his family.

582 The man chooses his wife within the parcialidad, although
177 he may marry women from other parcialidades. But neither men nor women may marry persons from Western culture ("whites"). In Calderas there was a case of a possible marriage between a native woman and a "white." The cabildo removed this possibility, obliging the native woman to marry a member of the parcialidad. If it is a man who wishes to try to marry a "white" woman, he must leave the village. They consider that when the "whites" enter the community, they invariably appropriate their land.

582 The selection of spouses within the parcialidades is /183/ determined by the laws of incest. Unions between parents and children and real brothers and sisters are incestuous and severely prohibited. Also relations between cousins of the first degree of both lines and those of uncles and nieces are condemned, although not

prescribed.

/177 cont./

the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook. Old, solitary persons or unmarried girls or men live with relatives or friends, but never alone, since a single person is unable either to protect himself or to provide for himself adequately.

The father's authority is great. Wife and children owe him absolute obedience. Nevertheless, the man does not have the right to alienate personal articles of members of the family or possessions that they made themselves. Thus, for example, he is not in a position to sell a coca bag or a fiber bag belonging to his wife or his children's toys.

The children are given the family name of the father, but the women keep their maiden names even after marriage. There is no external indication in dress or hair style or otherwise for unmarried girls and married women. The wife is obligated to work for her husband and children in her family. Beyond that she may procure personal belongings for herself by weaving cloth beyond the needs of her family, for example, and trading it for ornaments.

If the young people are still living in the house with their parents, the daughter-in-law is not absolutely subordinate to her mother-in-law, although this appears to be so, to judge from the speech at the wedding ceremony. A relationship of dependence is out of the question because of the separate kitchens. Usually, however, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are on good terms, and then it is not uncommon for only one woman to cook for both families, for there is no in-law avoidance. Then the two women share the work of cleaning the house.

Conjugal fidelity is demanded of both marriage partners; in the case of the man, however, it is sometimes not taken so seriously. If a man surprises his wife, however, or she her husband, in marital infidelity, the deceived party may beat (but not kill) both and report them to the cabildo, which again has the guilty party very soundly thrashed.

Illegitimate children are not rare among the Paez. In case an unmarried girl has a child, she is beaten by her parents and

000 /335 cont./

423 land. On it usually stand the native pueblos, and from it the
623 municipal councils have set aside the so-called settlement areas,
648 into which, since they belong to the municipio, "white" penetration has been possible.

423 Private ownership of land is acquired essentially through
425 adjudication, through work, and through inheritance. It may also be acquired through gift or sale, but this is quite rare.

423 Since the true owner of the protected lands is the cabildo,
425 it is this institution that distributes the lands to each member
623 of the community. The titles that it grants are called adjudications. The condition for enjoying possession of a specific parcel is residence in the community and, above all, work. In the case where an individual has idle lands because he cannot manage to work them, the cabildo reserves the right to take this part away from him in order to give it to someone who needs it. Those who through special circumstances live elsewhere, outside of the parcialidad, lose their right to possession of the land.

423 Although it is true that in the distribution of land made by
425 the cabildo it venerates, respects, and is guided by the laws of
623 justice, it is also true that they are not exempt from committing
662 unjust acts. If a member of the community can advantageously entertain and show courtesies to the members of the cabildo and is interested in acquiring more land, he can obtain it in this way. It is relatively easy to suborn the cabildo. Then the cabildo can wrong some in order to benefit others. But this defect may be corrected with the selection of men who can fulfill their functions as members of the cabildo competently and with the exercise of sound directive policies on the part of the municipal executive.

423 Now then. It is also true that some natives have more
623 land than others. But this is due to the fact that their respective
428 ancestors cleared more forest than others. They colonized more land. Their right of ownership is granted through labor. "The ancestors" -- says a Calderun informant -- "worked the montaña and this is why we have land. This land does not belong to the cabildo." This procedure is still followed in the parcialidades where there is still uncultivated land. /336/ The cabildo has

/336 cont./

428 together. The land does not belong to the cabildo. Women do not inherit. Only the men. The women go with their husbands. Among the men it is divided into equal shares. The /337/ sons are the legitimate heirs. If a man dies without leaving sons, [593] his brother inherits. A brother can be asked for a piece of land to [423] work. And he gives it. If we are niggardly about it, what will [425] my brother eat, how will he support his children. The eldest son is important, because if the father dies, it is he who takes charge of the family."

The words are nearly all textual. One may deduce from them that inheritance is carried out through the male line. It is the men who inherit the land, houses, and animals, in equal shares. The women virtually do not inherit, since, when they marry, they go with the husband. The sons are the legitimate heirs. If a man dies without leaving progeny, his brothers inherit.

423 The women, nevertheless, can also be heirs and in equal 428 shares with the men, if the husband has no land to work. Cases [591] are not frequent, but neither are they rare, when the man goes to live in his wife's home, where he remains and works the land [563] which belongs to him through his wife's right. Likewise some "whites" who managed to marry natives have the right of usufruct over the lands of their wives, and the latter demand land to work from the cabildo if they do not possess any.

423 Another Calderun informant, one of the major owners of 428 land in extensity wishes to leave it to his sons without dividing it. Since there is enough land, there is no reason for them to quarrel. Since two of his sons went to Cali when they were small, he says that if they should return there is land for them to work. 423 The lands are solely for the men; the women marry and go with the husband. Referring to the llano of Calderas, he says that it belongs to all of the members of the community. They may build their houses there, while those from other parcialidades [342] have no right to do so. If a member builds a house on the com- [476] munal llano, all the others are obliged to help him with timber and labor. Even the women. The land is communal because the cabildo has decided upon it. Some have plots on this

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The *Páez* family is completely under the authority of the father, whose wife and children obey him implicitly and may be punished by him. Nonetheless, the father must obtain his wife's permission to sell or exchange goods she produced, such as bags for coca, sashes, etc. Precise etiquette is maintained between fathers and godfathers (compadres). Whenever a man meets his father or his godfather, he must kneel to receive his blessing. The fathers and godfathers must embrace whenever they meet. In one case a young man was the godfather of his father's new son by another wife, so that in meeting his father the young man had to kneel bareheaded, and then stand with his hat on and embrace his father as a godparent. The father did not call him "son" but "compadre."

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—A very old custom among these peoples is that at childbirth the mother should retire to a special house or go to the mountains. If she was delivered in the home, she and the baby were bathed, and then the family left the hut and built a new one elsewhere.

Today both the *Moguex* and *Páez* have a special hut for childbirth. The day after the child is born, the mother is placed in a hole up to her head and bathed with an infusion of leaves of "moquita," after which she washes the clothes and objects worn during delivery. She then returns to work and lives again at home. In the special hut, a *Páez* woman is assisted in childbirth by another woman, or, as a last resort, by her husband, who must bathe immediately afterward. Two days later, the mother circumcises her son or destroys the virginity of her daughter. Four or five days after the birth and after the first bath, the father takes the child to the sacristan of the community for baptism with water, and then returns it to the mother. The afterbirth must be buried or burned at the place of the birth. About 15 days later, the mother takes a bath and washes her child and her clothes and objects, and returns home. Later, the child is baptized with oil in the church by the priest with the godparents present. This is an occasion for general dancing and drunkenness.

Puberty.—At puberty a girl was formerly taken by her parents to a hill, placed in a hole, and bathed. Each Indian then took her a gift. Pittier de Fábrega (1907) notes that at a later period a girl's puberty was celebrated with the "Itsa-kó" dance, the girl, bathed with chicha, remaining in the hole. Today, a woman must retire during her menstrual periods to a special hut, where other women bring her food and build a fire to warm her. Afterward, she bathes, washes her clothes and objects, and then returns home.

Men, until recently, underwent a sort of initiation, in which they were taken to the shores of the sacred lagoon of Juan Tama or to the

/185 cont./

844 until very late and only with great difficulty. The proper depth is supposed to be about 30 centimeters.

846 Four to six days after birth and after the first bath, the
851 father or one of the godparents brings the child to the sacristan of
608 the village or /186/ to the women missionaries, in order to have
[797] it christened with water and given the name of the Christian saint of the christening day. Every child has only one given name and
[551] the Paez surname of its father. The baptism by the priest with oil takes place later on a suitable occasion, in the presence of the god-
[783] parents, and is followed by an eating and drinking bout. The
[756] mother also takes part in this, after she has left the dûyat and has washed herself, her child, and her clothes and has been purified by the shaman.

861 The rearing of the children is in the hands of the parents, who teach them the necessary accomplishments of life quite as a matter of course and almost in play. Disobedient children are also beaten, however, and, to be sure, usually if the son has no real desire to help his father with the field work. In punishing, the fathers are generally stricter than the mothers and on occasion beat them with leather straps all over their bodies. The boxing
[461] of ears is also to be seen. If a young man proves to be lazy in later life, the father is blamed because he did not properly ad-
848 monish his son to work. Illegitimate sons, who lack the strict hand of a father, are said to turn out badly in many cases, though as such they are very popular. Since they do not know their father, they are not obliged to work in his field. They are all the more
[426] in demand as helpers in the fields of other families. When they
[431] are older, they may borrow land and establish a family. Usually they even receive the land as a present. Thus, they need not
848 starve by any means. Illegitimate daughters are in a more unfavor-
562 able position, for their help is not needed for the most part, and their mother does not have a household of her own. Nevertheless
[583] their marriage prospects are not unfavorable, since a girl does not
[581] have a dowry, but is married only on the basis of her personal qualities.

/193 cont./

585 help. Since the young men almost never own their own cattle,
[422] they must earn the purchase price for this by the sale of agricul-
[432] tural products. Wheat is usually chosen for this, since it may be
[243] harvested half a year after sowing.

For the wedding celebration about 50 men and women are
585 invited, not only relatives, but also friends, among them the
608 sponsors (padrino, madrina) required for the church marriage
service. They sit with the bridal couple (nikálo). The parents
[291] and guests on both sides arrange themselves informally. The
[431] padrino and madrina must give or loan the bridegroom and bride
[426] new clothes for this wedding day, but they differ from the ordinary
[301] everyday clothing only in that they are newer and cleaner. No
585 special /194/ ornaments of any kind are put on by anyone. The
wedding is celebrated in such a way that the church service takes
place in the morning, after which the guests go to the wedding
house accompanied by music and have a small midday meal, with
which, however, only a little chicha is drunk. The festival ox is
not yet slaughtered on this day, and not until the "actual" (as the
Calderun say) wedding celebration, which takes place about a
month later in the house of the bridegroom. The ox is slaughtered
in the morning, and in the afternoon the guests arrive, sit down
together informally, and eat and drink chicha and brandy copiously.
[533] Music is played for this, but no one dances to it. Before the eating
[535] begins, when all are still sober, the padrino makes a speech ad-
dressed to the bride and groom, in which he says approximately
the following: You are now husband and wife, and you, as the
husband, should not beat your wife, and you, as wife, should
not use any bad words toward your husband. The husband should
also not speak ill of his wife, and the wife should obey if the
husband commands her to do something and should help him
in all things! Then he takes the hand of the bride and gives it
to the mother of the bridegroom, who speaks to the bride as fol-
lows: You have now been taken into our family and you are to
work for your husband and cook his meals for him and make his
clothes and arrange everything for him; in addition, you must
help me in the house and carry out my instructions, as well as

/207 cont./

g) Festivals and Celebrations

796 The public community festivals of the Paez which are celebrated and observed in the course of the year nowadays take place only on religious occasions, on the three church holidays Semana Santa (Easter week), San Juán (June 24), and Immaculada (December 8). For the Paez these are primarily occasions for joyful gatherings, for setting off fireworks, and for eating and drinking richly and abundantly. It is not certain whether in former times there were any indigenous festivals in connection with sowing and harvesting and the natural cycle of the year, 796 and to me this does not even seem probable. There is nothing 221 in the myths and surviving indigenous customs of the Paez that 241 points to an agricultural rhythm of life; rather, religion, mythology, and ceremonial practice are remnants of a hunting and shamanistic attitude of mind. The absence of a ceremonial life connected with sowing and harvesting becomes understandable in view of the fact that it is possible to do this at any time of the year; there is no correlation between a seasonal and growth rhythm and a corresponding natural festival cycle.

796 The gobernador at the time is in charge of organizing the community festivals. The actual running of the festival, which includes the entertainment of the entire village and the serving of the necessary food and drink, is the duty of the two "fiesteros" and their helpers, the "albaceros" and "mayordomos." It is an [554] honor to be fiestero, but also an expensive matter, for this office costs each one two head of cattle, the food for the village on the festival day, and, in addition, the liberal distribution of chicha and brandy. And, to be sure, not only the chicha that is drunk by the village on the day of the festival, but also that which the helpers [426] drink when they make the chicha before the festival. Even if a fiestero hires himself out to the whites months before the festival /208/ in order to earn money, he often remains in debt for years afterward as a result of the obligations arising from the festival. In spite of the costliness of this office, the fiesteros -- so I was

/213 cont./

682 to Inzá by two members of the cabildo of San Andrés, friends and
623 relatives, as well as members of his own family, slipped him a
182 few coins so that he would be able to buy himself food in prison. His guards did not prevent anyone from doing this, and in general the feeling for the murderer was commiserating, but not unfavorable.

623 The punishments inflicted in Calderas by the cabildo are al-
692 ways floggings. In earlier times they were very rigorously carried
[681] out. There is no imprisonment. Today the cabildo judges only
[697] social misdeeds, debtors, and the theft of field crops, a chicken, or a sheep. Horse and cattle theft goes to the court in Inzá for punishment. The injured one himself may not punish the malefactor -- not even if caught red-handed - but must report everything
[693] to the cabildo. There the capitan and gobernador are the judges.
[624] The other members of the cabildo must likewise be present, but they have no vote. The sentence is very quickly passed. The malefactor is locked into one of the two rooms of the community
623 house, and the trial takes place on the next day at the latest. The
685 punishments are fixed. They consist of lashes with the whip, which
692 are increased for repetition. Thus, the thief receives ten lashes the first time, 20 the second time, and 30 lashes the third time; in case of further lapses he is shackled in the tree trunk. The theft of a sheep is punished with ten lashes and the replacement or giving up of the stolen object. If the accused protests, a house search is carried out with a member of the cabildo. If nothing is found, he must be set free again.

● 426 Loans up to ten pesos are given without security; beyond that the creditor is given a cow, a horse, a pig, wheat, or sugar cane as security. Loans are given only up to a year, so that the matter is not forgotten. Interest is not charged. If the debtor is unable to pay, a definite term is /214/ set for him; if he does not pay then, the lapse is reported to the cabildo, which punishes the offender with the whip. Denial is useless, for every loan transaction is concluded only before witnesses. If the debtor dies, the claims of the creditor are taken from his estate, for example, a machete, coca bag, or clothing. One may also ask relatives, for example brothers, to settle the debt. They are not obliged to repay it,

/214 cont./

426 however, so that in the case of a deceased poor debtor, the creditor has usually lost his money. Prescription does not occur.
685 A debt forgotten by the debtor may be collected by the creditor
685 years later, if there are witnesses. The situation is similar for
426 the theft of field crops. If there is no witness, no one can be found guilty. If, however, the witness is known as honorable and not deceitful, the accused is judged guilty, even without a con-
692 fession. There is no statement of confirmation corresponding to
695 the oath; similarly, no one condemned for wrongdoing has the
623 right to go to Inzá to the judge. For all misdeeds punished by the
208 [782] cabildo, the capitan and gobernador are the first and last authority; they do not act arbitrarily, however, but rely largely on custom
[686] and the opinion of the village. This is especially true if someone refuses several times in succession to take part in public works, but it also comes out -- unfavorably -- if a poor man tries to
623 become wealthy on his own. For example, disputes not infrequently
692 break out among the Paez on account of damage to cultivated
685 fields when the domestic animals of one person have broken into
578 the fields of a neighbor. Now the fences around each field must always be in good condition and put up in accordance with the term of use of the field. A fence for a maize field, which requires barely a year to mature, may be more lightly built than a fence around a sugar-cane field, which requires three years to mature. Then when strange animals break into fields with good fencing, the owner may kill them or at least wound them, for example, by
[231] cutting off a cow's tail. The owners of pigs fasten a triangular-shaped frame around the necks of their pigs to prevent them from breaking into fenced fields. If the fence is in poor condition, however, and has not been newly erected especially for the planted field, the owner of the animals breaking into the field is not to blame and the owner of the field may not kill them. Of course, the soundness of a fence is to a great extent a matter of opinion, and it happens not infrequently that the disputants go after each
696 other with machetes and wound each other considerably. The
685 /215/ guilty party is then, after an inspection of the fence, punished
417
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/219 cont./

796 Nevertheless, here is the value of the expenses that a
435 fiestero provided, thanks to the suggestion made at the time by the priest who officiated at the religious ceremonies.

As a rule, they kill three beeves: one for being accepted for the fiesta, another for the cleaning of the church, and the third for the attentions shown to the albacero.

Articles purchased	Cost
1 bull	$40.00
1 heifer	35.00
1 female calf	12.00
20 arrobas of maize, at 60 centavos each	12.00
Sugar cane	2.50
2 pounds of gunpowder	7.00
/220/	
1 pound of candle wick	2.50
Bananas	2.50
Arracacha	7.50
1 arroba and a half of salt	7.50
2 pounds of anise	20.00
Fees for the priest	20.00
Total....	$168.50

To this must be added the purchase of coca for the laborers.

The fiesta is thus extremely costly for the Indians, who have no money, who do not produce to sell, and whose live-
[426] stock is exchanged, not for cash, but for goods. It is true that the mayordomos contribute one peso to pay the priest's fees and that the majority of the guests bring victuals to the fiestero; nevertheless, the fiestero is left with nothing but debts, which he will not pay off in less than three years.

/355 cont./

443 of the municipio and even from Calderas flock to the market
438 in Belalcázar. Itinerant peddlers are numerous in Tierradentro,
439 and several of them walk through the parcialidades offering their wares. The articles that they sell are few. Traders also travel through the parcialidades, chiefly to acquire cattle that bring them handsome profits. But there are also those who go from
439 house to house to buy agricultural produce. A trader from
● 426 Mosoco, mestizo, bilingual, boasts of his friendship with the natives and of the trips that he took, up to about four years ago, through Suin, Chinas, Calderas, Avirama, and Lame, distributing ("showering") advance money for maize, frijoles, laurel wax, saffron, and cattle. "A debt with Indians is never lost," he states categorically, to emphasize the Indians' honesty. At harvest time he returned to collect the products bought and he took them directly to Silvia. He also says that from San Andrés he took from 100 to 200 arrobas of panela each month to sell in Mosoco. Lately, owing to the impassable condition of the Inzá roads, he has given up this business.

443 The parcialidad of Mosoco, and in general the entire
438 hydrographic valley of the Moras River, which contains the
439 parcialidades of San José, Mosoco, Vitoncó, Lame, Suin, and Chinas, trades with the municipio /356/ of Silvia, located on the western slopes of the Central Cordillera. All of the agricultural production goes there: potatoes, maize, wheat, barley, peaches, garlic, broad beans, and ullucos. Only when the prices of agricultural produce are low in Silvia, do they go to Belalcázar and Valencia. But this rarely happens. From Silvia they bring, in exchange, all their tools, their clothing, drugs, and housewares. The Mosoco women are the chief buyers of woolen rebozos (rebosos de Castilla), showy necklaces, gold earrings, and hairpins; the men, of fine cloth hats, fabric for their trousers, and shirts.

437 The riding paths in that area are surprisingly well main-
[476] tained. Each year, in the summertime, all of the neighbors take charge of needed repairs, and they are an obvious contrast to the riding paths of the municipio of Inzá. The people of

/363 cont./

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Parcialidad	Less than $100.00	From $100.00 to $500.00	From $500.00 to $1,000.00	From $1,000.00 to $2,000.00	From $2,000.00 to $5,000.00	More than $5,000.00
Mosoco	-	2	12	9	1	1
Lame	-	4	2	-	2	-
San Andrés	2	6	2	-	4	1
Totals	2	12	16	9	7	2

We thus observe that 28 of the 48 families studied, or 78.3%, have incomes of less than 1,000 pesos, with which savings [426] practically cannot exist. Even with regard to the Mosoco family [691] identified by the number 18, which in the Savings column has the amount of $1,034.24 ₰ we were able to verify that this amount /364/ was strictly nominal and that the head of the family had resorted to the Caja Agraria to ask for a loan of $500.00 to make improvements on his finca, a loan which he indeed obtained; through indirect information we were able to ascertain that the amount given as savings was possibly spent on the expenses of a [563] lawsuit for land which a brother-in-law was prosecuting. The savings of the "white" families are true and also those of some few native families, but in general terms what we would calculate as savings can be assigned to the "Amusements" column; the natives live from day to day. The impulse to save does not exist or is minimal. We had the opportunity to verify that there is no prudence with regard to expenses when considerable sums are received, such as, for example, those that come from the sale of coffee. The modest savings of the natives go up in smoke

₰ [column actually reads $1033.24, see p. 93 - Au.]

/209 cont./

4. Law

671 Although the legal life of the Paez cannot be compared to a well-developed jurisprudence, on account of its being interwoven with all manifestations of life, they nevertheless have fixed regulations adapted to their vital needs, /210/ the preservation of which is guaranteed by the entire community. To these legal regulations belong the political and family organization already described, as well as the customs in the course of life and of daily living. In the following the regulations governing property and inheritance and the views of the Paez concerning punishable acts and punishments are to be described.

423 In Calderas there is community land and private land. The former consists of the river lowlands with the territory of the church, school, community house, and festival houses, whereas the mountain slopes are the private property of those families who cleared them for the first time. Basically, everyone may have an interest in the community land, which consists essentially of pasture land. Here the families can pasture their animals, build themselves festival houses, and stake off a piece of land for [178] themselves anywhere they like and build dwellings. The latter was not customary formerly when a person built his own house only on his own land. Today there are already three families, those of Cerbeleón Guagáz, of Clemente Lis, and of Agustín Muse, who live on community land near the church and the school. They built their houses there and staked off a piece of land on which they cultivate vegetables and some sugar cane. There is no need to ask anyone for permission to do this. The situation is different in the 423 case of private property on the mountain slopes. True, no one 427 builds his house on a piece of land that does not belong to him; yet it may happen that one's own land is very far away, and then a person will ask the owner of a parcel of land nearby for permission ("licencia": Spanish "authorized permission") to plant a field for a harvest. This is not often the case, for generally there is enough land in each family. A few families, however, have

/210 cont./

423 considerably larger parcels of land than others, for example, the
427 Guagáz family, who, according to my information, own almost half of all private land. Permission for the use of land is granted only for crops with a short ripening period, namely, wheat, maize, beans, and cabbage, but not sugar cane, coca, or bananas, which need several years to mature, in other words, can be used for years. As rent the owner receives a small portion of the harvest, which is left on the stalk and which he must harvest himself.

423 As a matter of principle, land cannot be bought, we were
[428] told repeatedly, for every man must leave his land to his sons. Even if a man has no sons, he may not sell his land, but must hand it over to his brothers. This was the information always
423 given in answer to my direct questions on the subject. /211/ In
437 practice, however, it is quite possible to sell land, and this is not infrequently done, but no one realizes that a land sale actually takes place when a man clears a piece of land for himself, plants it, and exchanges the entire harvest, including the land, for a
[115] head of cattle, a horse, etc. This is what Victoriano did, for example, in order to acquire a horse. He cleared and planted a piece of his father's land, about 2,500 square meters, to sugar cane, and when this was mature, he exchanged the harvest, including the land, for a mare. Nobody wanted to admit that this violated the principle of not selling land.

423 The land belongs to the father of the family, who, as a rule,
241 tills it with his grown sons. If the sons have their own houses,
59 they generally go on working with their father, since no one likes to work alone. At the harvest, the respective wives fetch the food
423 required for their families from the common field. If father and
427 son do not live in amity, the son must plant and harvest his own
59 3 field, for which he is then obliged to accept the help of friends.
241 It is considerably more expensive to entertain them than family
[476] help, for in the latter case there need not be any chicha for entertainment. Even in this instance, however, the son must ask his father and owner of the family land for permission to cultivate the land. This is not denied, however. After the harvest, this piece of land, since it will lie fallow now for about ten years, goes back

/211 cont./

423 to the father, and the next year the son must ask his father anew
427 for permission to use another piece of land.

593 Besides the land, the father of the family also owns the
241 dwelling, the menstruation house, all the animals -- including
422 chickens and guinea pigs -- all agricultural implements, and the
423 sugar mill. Property marks on the houses, fields, and implements are not required, for everyone knows to whom they belong.

428 Upon the death of the father of the family, the youngest son inherits his house and the greater part of the livestock. If, for example, there is only one cow, he gets it. Similarly, he gets all the land under cultivation at the time. The uncultivated land is divided equally among all the sons. The widow,
[768] like the daughters, inherits nothing. The former then continues to live in her old house in the family of the youngest son. The fact that the latter receives so much more than the older ones in the distribution of the inheritance is explained by the fact that the older ones have worked for more years and therefore have had more time and opportunity to acquire property of their own.
[429] Favoring the youngest thus represents a certain equalization. If the father dies /212/ young and leaves only a small son, his mother administers his property for him until he is about 15 years
[768] old. He need not marry then, however. If there are several younger sons, they, of course, also go on living together in the house of the father.

Deviant inheritance plans of the deceased, for example, letting an older favorite son have more or leaving his house or implements, not to his youngest son, but to his brother, are not possible. Even if a father had ten daughters and only one son and none of the daughters would marry, he could not leave them anything. In such a case, the only son would have to provide for all his sisters, for women cannot live alone in a house and they would not be in a position to cultivate the land alone. If a man has no sons, but only daughters, his sons-in-law generally help him cultivate the fields. Yet he cannot bequeath them anything. His landed property and equipment go to that one of his brothers who takes care of the burial, that is to say, buys the grave clothes for the deceased and provides chicha and food for the mourning

SAN ANDRES

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Fams.	Coffee				Plantains			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	80	...	80	100,0	300(1)	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	3	...	3	100,0	300(2)	...	...	.....
4.	1	...	1	100,0	50(1)	...	...	.....
5.	15	...	15	100,0	120	118	2	1,6
6.	3	...	3	100,0	200	200	...	.....
7.	3(5)	...	3	100,0	100(1)	...	...	.....
8.	4	...	4	100,0	50(1)	...	...	.....
9.	5	...	5	100,0	150(4)	...	...	.....
10.*	80	...	80	100,0	30(1)	...	...	.....
11.	45	...	45	100,0	...	...	...	.....
12.	...(5)	...	...	.....	100	50	50	50,0
13.	...(5)	...	...	.....	300	100	200	66,6
14.*	6	...	6	100,0	250(1)	...	...	.....
15.*	8	...	8	100,0	100(1)	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

1. Number of plantain plantings that the informant has now.

2. Indicates the number of plantings at present. Last year he gathered about 30 bunches.

4. Indicates the number of plantings at present. Last year he gathered about 30 bunches.

5. Tenant farmer.

/325/

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LAME:

Fams.	Bovines		Equines		Pigs		Wool-bearers		Fowl Raised	
1.°	..	.....	7	2.500,00	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....
2.	..	.....	2	300,00	7	385,00	5	80,00	15	60,00
3.	8	725,00	6	950,00	..	.....	6	100,00	8	32,00
4.°	10	1.500,00	12	3.100,00	..	.....	..	.....	10	40,00
5.	5	300,00	6	600,00	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....
6.	2	250,00	2	300,00	5	65,00	2	40,00	5	25,00
7.	5	500,00	6	800,00	3	30,00	5	50,00	10	50,00
8.	2	200,00	3	350,00	4	56,00	3	45,00	2	8,00

SAN ANDRES:

1.°	35	7.000,00	8	1.700,00	5	300,00	..	.....	25	115,00
2.	..	.....	1	120,00	..	.....	..	.....	6	30,00
3.	..	.....	1	80,00	..	.....	..	.....	6	36,00
4.	1	300,00	..	.....	3	45,00	2	30,00	5	25,00
5.	..	.....	2	300,00	2	40,00	2	60,00	6	24,00
6.	..	.....	..	.....	3	200,00	..	.....	6	30,00
7.	..	..... (24)	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	7	32,00
8.	5	1.250,00	3	500,00	5	80,00	3	30,00	10	30,00
9.	4	800,00	..	.....	3	140,00	..	.....	40	120,00
10.°	..	.....	2	320,00	..	.....	..	.....	14	70,00
11.	..	.....	3	400,00	2	30,00	..	.....	25	75,000
12.	..	..... (24)	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....
13.	..	..... (24)	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	5	25,00
14.°	5	2.000,00	1	400,00	6	350,00	5	150,00	16	180,00
15.°	10	4.000,00	4	1.200,00	2	300,00	..	.....	60	300,00

[427]

[427]

CALDERAS:

1.	3	120,00	1	150,00	2	70,00	..	.....	1	6,00
2.	3	300,00	3	300,00	3	80,00	..	.....	3 !	60,00
3.	..	.....	..	.....	1	40,00	..	.....	10 !	50,00
4.	..	.....	4	400,00	5	300,00	3 !	30,00	6 !	30,00
5.	..	.....	..	.....	1	20,00	..	.....	1	5,00
6.	4	400,00	3	300,00	3	200,00	5	100,00	10	30,00
7.	..	.....	..	.....	2	40,00	..	.....	6	30,00
8.	4	320,00	5	300,00	5 !	150,00	10	100,00	8 !	42,00
9.	4 !	400,00	2	200,00	4	80,00	2	30,00	5	25,00
10.	10	1.500,00	10	1.000,00	10	200,00	3 !	30,00	..	.....
11.	..	.....	5	400,00	3	40,00	2	20,00	4	24,00
12.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	6 !	30,00
13.	..	.....	3	300,00	..	.....	2	20,00	3	30,00
14.	..	.....	5	400,00	4 !	80,00	4	90,00	4 !	30,00
15.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	4	80,00	4	24,00
16.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	6 !	30,00
17.	4	400,00	..	.....	..	.....	2	20,00	3 !	40,00
18.	..	.....	4	320,00	4	80,00	..	.....	3	16,00
19.	..	.....	2	150,00	..	.....	..	.....	7	32,00

24. Tenant farmer.

! Estimates by the author.

/344 cont./

462

Activity	Men	Women
Making the fire		yes
Clearings	yes	
Planting, weeding, and harvesting	yes	yes
Gathering		yes (29)

[857]

29. Task of women and of children under six.

Trade	yes	yes
Hunting and fishing	yes	
Communal work	yes	
Mingas	yes	
Supplying firewood and water		yes
Ownership	yes	yes (30)

30. Rarely.

Carpentry	yes	
Making fireworks	yes	
Tending livestock	yes	
Barbering	yes	
Milling	yes	yes
Musical instruments	yes	
Consumption of coca	yes	yes
Consumption of alcohol	yes	yes
Consumption of tobacco	yes	yes

/345/

●427 Tenant farmers of San Andrés

In the haciendas that lie above the valley of the Pisimbalí torrent and the left bank of the Ullucos River, some 35 native families live as tenant farmers. There are five haciendas that make use of this type of servitude. Many of these families have developed and become established within the hacienda itself. Others have been driven to this condition out of a lack of land from which to derive sustenance.

/345 cont./

●427 San Andrés is the sole region of Tierradentro, as far as we
161 know, where tenant farmers are found. Although the number of persons sunk in this servitude is no higher than 100, the mere occurrence of this phenomenon already tells us of an excess of population, at least in the parcialidades of San Andrés and Santa
[131] Rosa, from which the tenant farmers came. On the other hand, the scattering of the Páez group through this very department of Cauca, the departments of Huila and Tolima, and even through
[311] the department of the Valle is well known. The colonization of the uncultivated lands in Tierradentro by the natives has been systematic and intensive during recent years. There is the utilization of ever more inaccessible lands for agriculture in the temperate thermal level. All of these are factors that clearly tell us of an excess in the Páez population.

427 Here is what a tenant farmer told us about the phenomenon
241 of tenant farming: As a tenant farmer he has the right to own a
466. house, a garden, and a clearing. The house and garden are contiguous and complementary. His garden occupies one plaza /a Colombian measure with 80 meters to the side/ more or less, and in it he has planted plantains (about 200 trees), oranges (about five trees), onions, arracacha, manioc, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, and some 200 coca trees. He has surrounded the garden with barbed wire provided by the owner in order to avoid damage by the animals of the hacienda. He can lay out his clearing on any site of the hacienda. It changes every year. In his present clearing he has planted 1,500 manioc plants; 200 of arracacha (he could not find more seed); maize; small frijoles /frijol chiquito/ (in one month he hills the "sprigs," in two months they flower, and in three months he harvests) and large frijoles /frijol grande/, and, finally, about two loads of sugar-
[433] cane shoots (seed). The produce of the clearing and of the garden is primarily for consumption, but if there is a surplus he may sell it to anyone, even though the owner urges him not
[249] to sell to anyone but himself. The sugar cane is milled in the
[257] /346/ sugar mill of the owner, with the subsequent use of his implements to make panela, half of what is produced being given to him.

/346 cont./

466 given to him. From the harvests of maize, frijoles, and
427 arracacha the owner receives one bag (approximately half an
[241] arroba) of each product, and one or two bunches of the plantains.

231 He says that the hacienda owner has permitted him to raise
427 animals, but he has none, because he spends more time working
466 on the hacienda than in his own house. He says that he owned
[235] some 20 sheep, but is finished with them. Now he has only eight chickens.

427 The informant is the son of another tenant farmer and
466 grew up on this very hacienda. He has owned the house in which he now lives for 18 years. He has not signed any kind of document with the owner and has not been bothered by him about the possession of the house, but rather, on the contrary, has been urged by him to repair the house. In exchange for the use of the house and the land he is obliged to pay three days for rent
[465] per month, eating his own food and using his own tools. On the other days of the month he works for the same owner for daily wages, earning two pesos a day, excluding, of course, the days of religious or national holidays. Each week he re-
[452] ceives 12 pesos. From the owner he buys maize, manioc, and frijoles on credit, which is immediately deducted in labor. The owner only gives him salt and bananas. The panela comes from what he produces.

466 Since the informant specializes in milling and the making
427 of panela, he ordinarily does nothing else. His work begins at
257 six in the morning and ends at ten at night. He is assisted by his
[463] wife, who earns one peso a day, a deaf and dumb son who earns
[512] nothing, and another son who carries the cane to the sugar mill.
[465] This one is married, is also a tenant farmer, earns two pesos a day, and has a separate clearing. His wife does not help in the work because she stays at home caring for the house, looking after the children, and weeding the garden and the clearing.

427 At the mill he works even on Sundays at wrapping panela,
257 a task that cannot be neglected. Ordinarily he spends two weeks
461 at the mill and has the following one free (without pay) to rest,
466 to look after his own field, or to hire out his labor to anyone who

466 /346 cont./
427 needs it (nominal). On the following week he must return to
257 work at the hacienda.
[461] /347/ Each week he produces some 40 arrobas of panela.
[433] The informant boils it down, his wife mills with the deaf and dumb son, and the other son strips the cane. The milling
[422] equipment is expensive and thus belongs to the hacienda. His own tools are two shovels, one small bar, and three machetes, with which he works for the hacienda. The owner of the hacienda has tried to dismiss him three times. Once because he made panela for another owner; it displeases the owner to have him work elsewhere, especially at a mill. The informant did not want to leave his house.

427 The plantings that he has made have sometimes been
241 lost because of the wetness of the soil, leaving no solution but
466 to plant again. The owner does not help at all in such calamities. He has the right to plant as much as he wishes.
[423] Now he owns about 200 coffee trees, but the owner has forbidden him to plant more trees.

427 The informant has seven children, five of whom are females;
465 three of them earn a peso a day working on the hacienda, harvest-
466 ing and weeding coffee. One who is younger earns 50 centavos, and the son pays land rent and earns a daily wage of two pesos. The owner is not honest. To pay the daily wages he usually takes out bills of ten or twenty pesos and sends one of the peons to exchange them for smaller currency, which is always short when it is received. He pays in part and later maintains that the total was met.

Another informant from the same hacienda says that for two years of vaquería (tending cattle) the owner gave him in payment for his labor one mare that is not worth 30 pesos. While doing this work he suffered hunger and worked too hard. Now, aside from having remunerated him very badly, he demands the payment of rent for the two years that he was engaged in this work.

In general terms, the tenant farmers of San Andrés, in exchange for the use of half a hectare of land, one garden, and one house, are obliged: to pay three days of rent per month, providing their own food; to work as day laborers for the hacienda,

/347 cont./

427 earning a small daily wage (the maximum daily wage that they
466 earn is two pesos, but this is exceptional; ordinarily the men
465 earn one peso and the women 80 centavos); not to work on other fincas; to sell the surplus from their crops to the owners of the hacienda themselves, especially if it is coffee; to divide in half or distribute in equal parts with the owner the panela obtained /348/ from the ovens of the hacienda; the wife and children of the tenant farmers are also obliged to work on the hacienda. They have the right to plant any crop except coffee. They earn nothing on Sundays or on religious or national holidays, nor do they receive any remuneration for extra hours of work. They do not get any social services. When the owner is good, he gives them salt and, ordinarily, one "spot" of plantain (a ration of cooked plantains).

427 Many are sons of tenant farmers born on the hacienda itself.
466 Others have suffered in this servitude for more than ten years. Although a few have freed themselves from this situation, most of them resist giving up their rancho and their garden when the owners want to dispossess them. One tenant-farmer informant, when questioned as to whether his situation was good or bad, said: "I have to be satisfied, what else can I do if from childhood I have been here" (on the hacienda). Besides, he figures that if the owner wants to remove him, he will have to pay him
[423] for the improvements in his garden. Here and there a tenant farmer with more than 20 years of usufruct from his piece of land has already refused to pay his rent.

One tenant farmer who has worked for several owners recalls that some were good, but most of them were bad, ambitious, exploiters, who had their laborers work too hard, cheated in the wages, and one even gave them beatings.

Alimentary diet

262 We wish to note that most of the notes concerning the diet
[121] were gathered in the parcialidad of Calderas.

/358 cont./

434 There were 48 families investigated, of which 25 were
[121] from Mosoco, 8 from Lame, and 15 from San Andrés. They are identified by numbers in order.

The sources of monetary income are provided by agriculture, especially by potatoes, wheat, garlic, and coffee; by livestock-raising, that is to say, the sale of animals, including derivatives such as milk and cheeses, as well as barnyard fowl; by business transactions, including the resale of agricultural and livestock products produced by the natives; by daily wages, including some contract work; by crafts, which include manufactures (blankets, rugs, sashes, pouches, sewing, ceramics, and tile-making) and hydraulic mills; by freightage, that is to say, the profit from renting beasts of burden; by the previous year's savings; and by loans.

At first sight agriculture stands out as the principal source of family income, corresponding specifically to potatoes, wheat, and garlic for Mosoco, laurel wax and potatoes for Lame, and coffee for San Andrés. But in the parcialidad of Mosoco livestock is not merely complementary, but as important as agriculture itself. Even more so. In nine of the 25 families investigated, livestock-raising balances the family budget, which the deficit
● [427] was due to the loss of harvests. We also observed that the renting of beasts of burden is an important factor in the family income; an incipient development of family industry that represents sources of monetary income; and, finally, the income from daily wages in the parcialidad is rather limited. In the parcialidades of Lame and San Andrés, on the other hand, livestock-raising occupies a secondary position, and the family income is complemented, when agriculture produces an imbalance, chiefly by day labor.

434 Trade is primarily an activity of the "whites," and so are
563 industries of elaboration such as panela and cheese. In regard to
[439] trade we found one case of a "white" family established in a parcialidad, whose only source of income through life has been nothing but the profits from trade.

/113 cont./

361 but rather we are /114/ concerned, almost without exception, with individual farms scattered on the slopes of the mountains, where the families live in the midst of their cultivated fields [157] (cf. Ills. 156 and 157 /see p. 269 and 270/). The Paez is by no means an unsociable person and likes to take part in the festivals, but he does not like to live closely confined in a village and to have his neighbors always around him; rather, he prefers to live quite far away from the next house, surrounded by his animals, in order to be able to go about his daily work in the fields undisturbed with his family.

423 609 Every Paez has a strong tie to "his soil," and the fear that he could be robbed of his soil and land dictates his unfriendly and forbidding attitude toward the stranger. Besides, for centuries their experiences with the whites have been too unfortunate for the Paez to be able to understand that a stranger might come for entirely unselfish reasons, merely in order to become acquainted with them and their country.

423 [342] [428] The Paez builds his house, as the family's focus and social center, only upon his own land, which he inherited from his fathers and which, through all subsequent generations, belongs to the family that first cultivated it. There is land in sufficient quantity in every family; in case of need anyone can also find ownerless, uncleared land on the highest sites of the mountain ranges.

Whereas the slopes of the mountains are private property after the initial clearing, the valley floor with the community house and the festival plaza is community land. The houses are 487 [487] connected with one another, as well as with the village plaza, by means of footpaths which are always very narrow because the Paez, even in larger numbers, never walk side by side, but always one behind the other. Originally even the connecting trails between the individual villages, the trails that had to be taken to the weekly markets in Belalcázar or Inzá, were no wider. In more recent times, however, visits on the part of secular and religious authorities made it necessary to widen the trails for riders.

31 Since there are no compact settlements among the Paez, there is also no geographical variations of the village. The church

/210 cont./

423 considerably larger parcels of land than others, for example, the
427 Guagáz family, who, according to my information, own almost half of all private land. Permission for the use of land is granted only for crops with a short ripening period, namely, wheat, maize, beans, and cabbage, but not sugar cane, coca, or bananas, which need several years to mature, in other words, can be used for years. As rent the owner receives a small portion of the harvest, which is left on the stalk and which he must harvest himself.

423 As a matter of principle, land cannot be bought, we were
[428] told repeatedly, for every man must leave his land to his sons. Even if a man has no sons, he may not sell his land, but must hand it over to his brothers. This was the information always
423 given in answer to my direct questions on the subject. /211/ In
437 practice, however, it is quite possible to sell land, and this is not infrequently done, but no one realizes that a land sale actually takes place when a man clears a piece of land for himself, plants it, and exchanges the entire harvest, including the land, for a
[115] head of cattle, a horse, etc. This is what Victoriano did, for example, in order to acquire a horse. He cleared and planted a piece of his father's land, about 2,500 square meters, to sugar cane, and when this was mature, he exchanged the harvest, including the land, for a mare. Nobody wanted to admit that this violated the principle of not selling land.

423 The land belongs to the father of the family, who, as a rule,
241 tills it with his grown sons. If the sons have their own houses,
59 they generally go on working with their father, since no one likes to work alone. At the harvest, the respective wives fetch the food
423 required for their families from the common field. If father and
427 son do not live in amity, the son must plant and harvest his own
59 3 field, for which he is then obliged to accept the help of friends.
241 It is considerably more expensive to entertain them than family
[476] help, for in the latter case there need not be any chicha for entertainment. Even in this instance, however, the son must ask his father and owner of the family land for permission to cultivate the land. This is not denied, however, After the harvest, this piece of land, since it will lie fallow now for about ten years, goes back

/211 cont./

423 to the father, and the next year the son must ask his father anew
427 for permission to use another piece of land.

593 Besides the land, the father of the family also owns the
241 dwelling, the menstruation house, all the animals -- including
422 chickens and guinea pigs -- all agricultural implements, and the
423 sugar mill. Property marks on the houses, fields, and implements are not required, for everyone knows to whom they belong.

●429 Upon the death of the father of the family, the youngest son inherits his house and the greater part of the livestock. If, for example, there is only one cow, he gets it. Similarly, he gets all the land under cultivation at the time. The uncultivated land is divided equally among all the sons. The widow, [768] like the daughters, inherits nothing. The former then continues to live in her old house in the family of the youngest son. The fact that the latter receives so much more than the older ones in the distribution of the inheritance is explained by the fact that the older ones have worked for more years and therefore have had more time and opportunity to acquire property of their own. [429] Favoring the youngest thus represents a certain equalization. If the father dies /212/ young and leaves only a small son, his mother administers his property for him until he is about 15 years [768] old. He need not marry then, however. If there are several younger sons, they, of course, also go on living together in the house of the father.

Deviant inheritance plans of the deceased, for example, letting an older favorite son have more or leaving his house or implements, not to his youngest son, but to his brother, are not possible. Even if a father had ten daughters and only one son and none of the daughters would marry, he could not leave them anything. In such a case, the only son would have to provide for all his sisters, for women cannot live alone in a house and they would not be in a position to cultivate the land alone. If a man has no sons, but only daughters, his sons-in-law generally help him cultivate the fields. Yet he cannot bequeath them anything. His landed property and equipment go to that one of his brothers who takes care of the burial, that is to say, buys the grave clothes for the deceased and provides chicha and food for the mourning

P /212 cont./
428 guests. In case the deceased has neither sons nor brothers --
P which scarcely ever happens, it is said -- the villager who takes
[768] care of the burial inherits his entire property. The widow moves in with one of her brothers or sisters or some other relative.

T Disputes and misdemeanors, such as theft or adultery, are
692 judged within the communities by the cabildo; murder or serious
625 bodily injury, by the Colombian state judiciary. It was said that
C [692] murder and manslaughter did not occur in former times, the old
T 682 people told us; they are a consequence of "white" influences
623 and the weakening of the cabildo. One can well understand this,
182 for in Calderas where the village council still enjoys a certain
[177] amount of power and considerable prestige, it would be unthinkable
P for a son to stab his father to death. This happened in San Andrés
[177] where the cabildo exists only in the form of three functionaries who are basically powerless and without standing and where the young people, through the influences of the living conditions of the white colonists, no longer have any feeling for the old discipline and customs. It was in San Andrés in March, 1953, that the son of the capitan stabbed his father to death. The
P latter, after the death of his first wife, had married a second
[593] time, for which his children reproached him vehemently. In a drunken state, this led to a brawl, in the course of which the father struck off half of his son's right ear and the son killed his father with several knife stabs in the abdomen. After the deed, he fled; but since it was known that he could find shelter only with relatives, the /213/ gobernador of the town of Lame seized him
P a few days later in the house of his sister, where he had hidden.
[624] He was brought to San Andrés in chains and delivered over to the sindico, who was simultaneously occupying the position of gobernador. The latter, an older man of the age of the deceased capitan, tried for some time to reason with the murderer, who gave the impression of being uncommunicative and almost sullen; he pointed out to him the baseness of his deed, of patricide, and then he was led to the church in which the dead capitan was lying in state. The son resisted violently, but was forcibly led up to the corpse and broke down weeping before it. Before he was transferred

* /233 cont./
756 called Juan Tama, who enjoys the fame of having been the
[755] founder of pueblos, a victorious warrior, a good leader,
[532] legislator, and famed curer.
[552] The tama is a defensive and offensive weapon of a sacred
[773] character /234/ and used exclusively by the curers; it protects
[751] from the attacks of the ptans and wards them off. It is a gift
[787] from Thunder and his badge. In visions, it is the first thing
[428] that he shows. When the curer dies, it may be inherited by
a young curer, but generally it is left near the cemetery.

* 756 A curer from Calderas, possibly the one most imbued with
539 his mission to defend the health of the people, states that the
tama was left from a deed performed by the Virgin in defense
of her children. On a certain occasion the sea was rising
implacably over the surface of the earth, putting the lives of
men in grave danger. The Virgin took pity on them, brought
out the tama, and made the motions now made by the curer.
The waters retreated. She left this staff for the man who became a curer. This was the origin of the tama.

Another curer from the Parcialidad of San Andrés gave us the following account concerning the origin of the tama:

"The elders say that the tama was left by Thunder himself. A man had a potato field and a rancho in the montaña. He went to harvest it with his son. One afternoon the boy refused to accompany his father, preferring to remain in the rancho. On the following day he disappeared without leaving a trace anywhere. All the steps taken by the father to locate his whereabouts were unsuccessful. On the eighth day, the boy reappeared in the rancho. The father naturally inquired as to his whereabouts and his activities. He replied that he had gone to the señor papa, who had given him the stick he carried in his hands, called tama, and aguardiente and remedies. The aguardiente was cold water from a lagoon, and the remedies were in a pouch. No sooner had he finished his tale than he fell into a deathlike trance. On the fifteenth day, at death's door, he asked his father to hand him the tama, for the señor

000 /335 cont./

423 land. On it usually stand the native pueblos, and from it the
623 municipal councils have set aside the so-called settlement areas,
648 into which, since they belong to the municipio, "white" penetration has been possible.

423 Private ownership of land is acquired essentially through
425 adjudication, through work, and through inheritance. It may also be acquired through gift or sale, but this is quite rare.

423 Since the true owner of the protected lands is the cabildo,
425 it is this institution that distributes the lands to each member
623 of the community. The titles that it grants are called adjudications. The condition for enjoying possession of a specific parcel is residence in the community and, above all, work. In the case where an individual has idle lands because he cannot manage to work them, the cabildo reserves the right to take this part away from him in order to give it to someone who needs it. Those who through special circumstances live elsewhere, outside of the parcialidad, lose their right to possession of the land.

423 Although it is true that in the distribution of land made by
425 the cabildo it venerates, respects, and is guided by the laws of
623 justice, it is also true that they are not exempt from committing
662 unjust acts. If a member of the community can advantageously entertain and show courtesies to the members of the cabildo and is interested in acquiring more land, he can obtain it in this way. It is relatively easy to suborn the cabildo. Then the cabildo can wrong some in order to benefit others. But this defect may be corrected with the selection of men who can fulfill their functions as members of the cabildo competently and with the exercise of sound directive policies on the part of the municipal executive.

423 Now then. It is also true that some natives have more
623 land than others. But this is due to the fact that their respective
● 421 ancestors cleared more forest than others. They colonized more land. Their right of ownership is granted through labor. "The ancestors" -- says a Calderun informant -- "worked the montaña and this is why we have land. This land does not belong to the cabildo." This procedure is still followed in the parcialidades where there is still uncultivated land. /336/ The cabildo has

/336 cont./

423 no rights over land won by the sweat of the brow. It is inherited
623 directly by the sons. In such cases the cabildo confirms owner-
428 ship by issuing the respective adjudication.

423 When the colonization has been done by several persons,
578 usually brothers, and the division of the land does not satisfy one of the parties, famous litigations take place that eat up the small savings of the families. The feeling for ownership of land is highly developed among the natives, and the usurpation of the slightest piece of ground gives rise to quarrels, enmities, and
42 litigations. The sale of land to "whites" is prohibited by
[648] Colombian law and by the consuetudinary law of the natives. But among the natives themselves transactions can be made with immovables. They do not sell the land, but the ownership. The owner of land is the man. A widow, too, can be an owner by inheritance from the husband. Single women do not own land.

422 The bovine, equine, porcine, and wool-bearing livestock belong to the man, although a few women own pigs and sheep. Turkeys, chickens, cats, and guinea pigs belong to the women, and so do dishes, spoons, pots, grinding stones,
[428] calabashes, and bags. These are inherited through the female line. Children are owners merely of their own clothes.

423 Concerning communal property, we have already seen that in each parcialidad there are several hectares of land that
[794] belong to all the members of the parcialidad. Also regarded as communal property are public works, such as roads, bridges, the main ditches, the house of the cabildo, and the church, and they collectively maintain them; likewise regarded as the property of the parcialidad are the sums of money collected for the church, the produce of the clearing of the saint, and any livestock or mills that it might own.

428 Concerning inheritance, let us look first at the concepts
[842] expressed by an informant from Calderas. Asked about the ideal number of children for native families, he replied that everyone wished to have many children. "When one dies and one has land, who can handle it? The ancestors worked the montaña, and this is why we have land. We are five brothers and we work

/336 cont./

428 together. The land does not belong to the cabildo. Women do not inherit. Only the men. The women go with their husbands. Among the men it is divided into equal shares. The /337/ sons are the legitimate heirs. If a man dies without leaving sons, [593] his brother inherits. A brother can be asked for a piece of land to [423] work. And he gives it. If we are niggardly about it, what will [425] my brother eat, how will he support his children. The eldest son is important, because if the father dies, it is he who takes charge of the family."

The words are nearly all textual. One may deduce from them that inheritance is carried out through the male line. It is the men who inherit the land, houses, and animals, in equal shares. The women virtually do not inherit, since, when they marry, they go with the husband. The sons are the legitimate heirs. If a man dies without leaving progeny, his brothers inherit.

423 The women, nevertheless, can also be heirs and in equal 428 shares with the men, if the husband has no land to work. Cases [591] are not frequent, but neither are they rare, when the man goes to live in his wife's home, where he remains and works the land [563] which belongs to him through his wife's right. Likewise some "whites" who managed to marry natives have the right of usufruct over the lands of their wives, and the latter demand land to work from the cabildo if they do not possess any.

423 Another Calderun informant, one of the major owners of 428 land in extensity wishes to leave it to his sons without dividing it. Since there is enough land, there is no reason for them to quarrel. Since two of his sons went to Cali when they were small, he says that if they should return there is land for them to work. 423 The lands are solely for the men; the women marry and go with the husband. Referring to the llano of Calderas, he says that it belongs to all of the members of the community. They may build their houses there, while those from other parcialidades [342] have no right to do so. If a member builds a house on the com- [476] munal llano, all the others are obliged to help him with timber and labor. Even the women. The land is communal because the cabildo has decided upon it. Some have plots on this

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631 list presented by a council composed of former governors, the cap-
666 tain, and the síndico. The meeting may object to the list, but gen-
[651] erally accepts it. On the following January 1, the cabildo-elect must appear at the office of the municipal mayor to receive the staffs, their insignia of office, and to assume their duties and responsibilities. The offices are: Governor and alternate, commissioner, two mayors (alcaldes), two constables (alguaciles), and three prosecutors (fiscales), one of whom is a young man assigned to learn the ways of government. The mayors, constables, and prosecutors are something like bosses or policemen, and execute orders issued by the Governor or by the captain or the municipal authorities to a community through the Governor.

423 Property.—The Indians today do not own any real property in the usual sense. The land assigned to an entire community is allotted
[651] to each adult for his use when he becomes a macanero, that is, capable
[554] of giving one day's work each year for the collective planting for the benefit of the saint and as many days as may be required by the cabildo for the repair of roads, bridges, etc., or for work in the village. The right to the use of the land may pass to the heirs, wife and children, in the absence of which it reverts to the community or the cabildo.

422 The house was formerly typical personal or movable property, which could be easily abandoned, dismantled, or destroyed. The same holds today for fragile cane dwellings. There are few houses so solidly built that they constitute real or immovable property.
[764] Other personal property, such as utensils, clothes, weapons, adorn-
[428] ments, and jewels, was formerly buried with the owner. These things and livestock, planted fields, and crops are now inherited by the
[177] members of the deceased's family. In general, Colombian law is
[692] being implanted by the judges and municipal mayors, although the cabildo judges some minor offenses and punishes the offenders by
[623] whipping, imprisonment, or stocks (cepo), a form of torment retained
[681] from Colonial times.

Although the Indians' communities have in most cases titles of
691 limits of their lands dating from Colonial times, there are still liti-
648 gations on boundaries. An interesting case is the struggle of the Indians to dislodge a settlement of Negroes from the old salt works
[423] in Ambostá, where they were abandoned many years ago by a rich Popayán family who took them there to work the mines. The female Indian chief (cacica) of this territory allowed the Negroes to live on a hill, called "the hill of the fifteen Negroes." The Negroes are not organized under a cabildo, but have a chief who represents them. They all contribute to a special religious feast in the municipio, and provide means to continue the suit for the possession of the hill against the Indians.

/211 cont./

423 to the father, and the next year the son must ask his father anew
427 for permission to use another piece of land.

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241 dwelling, the menstruation house, all the animals -- including
422 chickens and guinea pigs -- all agricultural implements, and the
423 sugar mill. Property marks on the houses, fields, and implements are not required, for everyone knows to whom they belong.

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Deviant inheritance plans of the deceased, for example, letting an older favorite son have more or leaving his house or implements, not to his youngest son, but to his brother, are not possible. Even if a father had ten daughters and only one son and none of the daughters would marry, he could not leave them anything. In such a case, the only son would have to provide for all his sisters, for women cannot live alone in a house and they would not be in a position to cultivate the land alone. If a man has no sons, but only daughters, his sons-in-law generally help him cultivate the fields. Yet he cannot bequeath them anything. His landed property and equipment go to that one of his brothers who takes care of the burial, that is to say, buys the grave clothes for the deceased and provides chicha and food for the mourning

/165 cont./

126 worked state is considerably more brilliant than the somewhat
439 yellowish sheep wool. Moreover, their aniline dyes gleam much
184 more brightly than the vegetable dyestuffs of the Paez dyes.
126 Unfortunately, they are shorter than the Paez belts. Neverthe-
439 less, the trade was most happily made. The coca pouches of
437 our collection, too, we acquired entirely by way of barter, for example, for a pair of scissors at the Bogotá price of 50 centavos. At the market in Inzá such a pair costs about a peso. The Paez know this. Nevertheless, the same persons who had previously refused a sale for five pesos exchanged a pouch for a pair of scissors. It was the same with eggs. They would not sell them for 20 centavos, but traded them for a wax candle which was available everywhere for five centavos.

● 43 In the case of their own products, there is no trade from village to village. Nor is there any exchange of certain specialties outside the village, since the initiative for special achievements or the unusual always comes from the colonists or foreign traders. In general the Paez do not buy and sell among themselves, but only barter, since money is used very unwillingly among them. Their idea that an article sold, /166/ for example, an egg, may bring misfortune to the part retained, in this case the chicken, may play a role in this. Moreover, even today paper money is scarcely ever accepted, first because they usually do not have a special pocketbook, but put the bills in their coca pouch, where they may be easily torn, and, secondly, because many are in the habit of burying their money or hiding it somewhere. In this way the bills soon become moldy, whereas hard money lasts a long time. The latter is therefore extremely rare in the entire Tierradentro area.

435 In the barter of foodstuffs there are certain rates that every-
437 body knows. Since, furthermore, they always make an effort to furnish only satisfactory goods, there are no exaggerated claims or any reason for bargaining or haggling. It is simply either-or, especially since market phenomena have no effects, and the barter rates are in no way increased in times of shortage or want. Thus, at the time of my visit, sheep and therefore wool were very

/199 cont./

388 Up to a few years ago, the extraction of laurel wax was the
43 only industry among the Calderas people that brought them monetary returns. And it was the sole article of active trading with the whites. At first the price was good; one peso a pound; nowadays it is barely worth 40 centavos. Thus, there is no
388 market for this article. The fiesteros and the albaceros have chunks of wax in their chambers. The laborers melt it in a copper pan and pour it at once into bamboo tubes, mixed with hot water so that it will not solidify at once. Into it they dip the notched wicks of different lengths so as to saturate them with wax, then bring them out into the air so that they will harden, saturate them once more with wax, and continue in this way until the candle has acquired the desired thickness. Several dozen are made; some large ones for the table, others of medium size for the church, and smaller ones for the mayordomos.

X

Gunpowder

389 The Paez are totally unfamiliar with the method of making
829 gunpowder. And to explain how it is obtained, they tell the
648 painful legend that it is made from human beings. It comes from a fat man, they say, fattened expressly for this purpose. He is hung up, a red-hot iron rod is inserted in his rectum; lard drips down; and this lard is the gunpowder. For this reason, they do not want to send their children to distant lands where the white man lives. They believe that they would be used to obtain gunpowder. "The white men greatly desire Indians in order to obtain gunpowder."

389 The Indians buy gunpowder in the urban centers. They
439 work it up. The technique is almost universally known.

/313/

128 We present below a statistical table on the potato produc-
244 tion of 25 families. Nearly all of them have two harvests per
43 year. The first row represents the November planting and the second one that of May and June. For those who have only one harvest a year, the planting is in the month of November.

We establish, in arrobas, the amount planted, the amount harvested, and that intended for sale and for consumption. We specify in Colombian pesos the value received from sales, an estimate of the amount alloted for consumption, the total value of the harvests, and the costs. An arroba of potatoes is sold for four pesos, on the average, at the place of harvest. In Silvia it is quoted at six. The quantity left for consumption is valued
[465] at two pesos per arroba, a standard price for everyone. Costs include only the expenses for mingas, wage labor, and contract labor. Family labor is excluded. We also determine the percentage of the total harvest allotted for sale.

/313 cont./ [Mosoco]

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Families	Planting A	Harvest A	A	Sales $	%	Consumption A	Consumption $	Total Value of Harvest	Costs $
1.°	100	250	180	675,00		70	140,00		97,00
	64 (15)	125	53	212,00		72	144,00		68,00
	164	375	233	887,00	62,1	144	284,00	1.161,00	165,00
2.	30	100	70	350,00	70,0	30	60,00	410,00	.....
3.	20	30	15	67,50		15	30,00		.....
	15 (16)	20	10	105,00		10	20,00		.....
	35	50	25	172,50	50,0	25	50,00	222,50	.....
4.	30	150	100	350,00	66,6	50	100,00	450,00	.....
5.	5	15	2	6,00		13	26,00		.....
	15 (15)	9	...	....		9	18,00		.....
	20	24	2	6,00	8,3	22	44,00	50,00	.....
6.	20	70	40	140,00		30	60,00		15,00
	30 (16)	12	...	....		12	24,00		.....
	50	82	40	140,00	48,7	42	84,00	244,00	15,00

/The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

15. Planting by agreement. One provides the seed and the other the land and labor.

16. Total or partial loss of the harvest.

6: Bernal Villa--36 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Families	Planting A	Harvest A	Sales A	Sales $	Sales %	Consumption A	Consumption $	Total Value of Harvest	Costs $
7.	30	40	...	....	...	40	80,00		58,60 (17)
	40 (16)	30	...	....	...	30	60,00		.....
	70	70	...	....	...	70	140,00	140,00	58,60
8.	40	40	...	....	...	40	80,00		.....
	20 (16)	10	...	....	...	20	40,00		.....
	60	50	...	....	...	60	120,00	120,00	.....
9.	35	35	16	72,00		17	34,00		.....
	40 (16)	--	...	....		--	....		58,60
	55	35	16	72,00	45,7	17	34,00	106,00	58,60
10.	40	200	140	480,00		60	120,00		.....
	30	50	...	....		50	100,00		.....
	70	250	140	480,00	56,0	110	220,00	700,00	.....
11.	15	25	15	60,00		10	20,00		.....
	20 (16)	15	...	....		15	30,00		.....
	35	40	15	60,00	37,5	25	50,00	110,00	.....
12.	30	100	70	350,00		30	60,00		99,00 (18)
	30	80	70	350,00		20	40,00		20,00
	60	180	140	700,00	77,7	50	100,00	800,00	119,00
13.	40	80	50	250,00		30	60,00		.....
	35 (16)	35	...	....		35	70,00		.....
	75	115	50	250,00	43,4	65	130,00	380,00	.....
14.	30	60	24	108,00		36	72,00		.....
	30 (16)	40	8	28,00		32	64,00		.....
	60	100	32	136,00	32,0	68	136,00	272,00	.....
15.	20	160	100	600,00		60	120,00		75,00 (17)
	30	100	24	120,00		76	152,00		30,00
	50	260	124	720,00	47,6	136	272,00	992,00	105,00
16.	25	100	50	250,00		50	100,00		.....
	25	60	34	120,00		36	72,00		.....
	50	160	84	370,00	46,2	86	172,00	542,00	.....

16. Total or partial loss of the harvest.

17. Minga expenses.

18. Expenses of minga and wages.

6: Bernal Villa--37 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

/315/ [Mosoco]

244
43
465

	Families	Planting A	Harvest A	A	Sales $	%	Consumption A	Consumption $	Total Value of Harvest	Costs $
17.		...	...	...	....	...	...	.....	.....	.....
18.		70	700	446	1.732,00		254	500,00		389,20 (19)
		127 (15)	274	81	259,00		193	386,00		.....
		197	974	527	1.991,00	54,1	447	886,00	2.877,00	389,20
19.		30	300	250	1.000,00		50	100,00		45,00
		25	35	8	32,00		27	54,00		27,70 (20)
		55	335	258	1.032,00	77,0	77	154,00	1.186,00	72,70
20.		50	80	40	160,00		40	80,00		(II) 00'EZ
		30	80	20	80,00		60	120,00		.....
		80	160	60	240,00	37,5	100	200,00	440,00	73,00
21.		20	60	32	192,00		28	56,00		.....
		20	40	16	80,00		24	48,00		.....
		40	100	48	272,00	48,0	52	104,00	376,00	.....
22.		5	15	8	32,00		7	14,00		.....
		5 (16)	5	...	....		5	10,00		.....
		10	20	8	32,00	40,0	12	24,00	56,00	.....
23.		20	60	30	120,00		30	60,00		.....
		20 (16)	20	...	....		20	40,00		133,00 (17)
		40	80	30	120,00	37,5	50	100,00	220,00	133,00
		20 (16)	20	...	....		20	40,00		.....
		30	40	8	32,00		32	64,00		125,00
		50	60	8	32,00	13,3	52	104,00	136,00	125,00
25.*		120 (22)	530	500	3.115,00	94,3	30	60,00	3.175,00	1.762,00

15. Planting by agreement. One provides the seed and the other the land and labor.

16. Total or partial loss of the harvest.

17. Minga expenses.

19. Expenses for wage and contract labor and minga.

20. Expenses for wage and contract labor.

21. Expenses for contract labor.

22. Seed purchased.

Chamones

/327 cont./

223 black birds, are not eaten because they are probably animals of
825 the devil. It is said that in times past the Calderas Indians ate
262 beetles, the reason that they are nicknamed tandayaha (one who
[578] eats beetles), an epithet which they regard as offensive and which nearly always irritates them. The Calderunos say that they do not
[224] eat worms or the meat of rabbits and snakes. They regard as game
[223] animals the guara, deer, coati, armadillo, bat, and various species of birds.

224 Concerning bear hunting, the people of Mosoco relate /328/ real feats performed by Indians in open fights with the ani-
[237] mals. Bear fat is highly esteemed among the natives and "whites."

226 Fishing is less important than hunting. The rivers and streams contain sardines and coruntas /small river-fish/. During Holy Week and at Christmas they engage in fishing, when the
[462] water is low, by means of barbasco, nets, and hooks. This is strictly a masculine activity. In the Paez River they fish during the months of January and February and generally in months of drought.

They also gather crabs.

Laurel wax industry

388 Laurel, introduced by a man from Popayan /el payanés/,
824 Agustín Valencia, has played an important role in the economy of some parcialidades of Tierradentro. It grows wild in Calderas, Tumbichukue, Lame, San Andrés, Chinas, and Suin. The production of wax was the only industry in these parcialidades that permitted them to maintain regular trade with the "whites."

388 A mestizo trader from Mosoco says that he was a great ex-
● 43 porter of laurel wax. "It was the native industry" -- he says -- by means of which salt, trousers, shirts, hats, and centavos came in." In this business, he states, he made one arroba of profit per load. The pound was quoted at a peso in Silvia. The informant says that in the years 1946 and 1947 he took out from 800 to 1,000 arrobas of wax. He almost had a monopoly on the business. What little wax escaped him was purchased by traders from Belalcázar, who in turn took it by way of Mosoco to Silvia. The chief consumers of this product were the soap factories of Cali. The laurel wax industry waned in 1950, when those factories

/328 cont./

388 began to use other types of raw materials. The death blow was
43 thus given to the only home industry of the above-mentioned regions. Wax is still gathered, but the price for an arroba in Silvia does not reach eight pesos. There is no longer any profit.
388 The Indians go on using it to make candles for household con-
[373] sumption and above all for illumination at religious fiestas. We
[796] have described the methods of gathering, extracting, and manufacturing laurel wax in the work entitled "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," published in the Revista Colombiana de Folklore, Number 2 of 1953.

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Mingas

476 The minga is the most widespread form of labor among the
461 Páez. The natives can work for themselves alone and are excellent laborers. But the task would demand more of their time
[464] and effort. Thus, the minga serves to prevent "boredom" during the work, to gain time, and to provide a labor force which would otherwise be hard to obtain.

476 The minga then is a co-operative system of labor whereby the interested party invites a specific number of acquaintances to perform a job, duly rewarding them with food, drink, and coca. "Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense," says Hernández de Alba /cited in English/.

476 Indispensable articles of reward are meat, chicha, and, in
554 nearly all the parcialidades, coca. The incidence of the mingas is thus almost in direct proportion to the possession of domestic
[231] animals. Those who lack such stock, that is to say, the poor according to the concepts of Páez culture, work alone or in the company of their sons, if they have any.

476 In the course of the cultivation cycle the following mingas
241 are held: to fell the trees (clearings); to pile up the wood that remains after the burning and to cut stakes for the fence; to build fences; to do the planting and weeding.

In Calderas a minga for clearing is carried out in the following way:

/353 cont./

262 The Indians like meat, but they state that they eat any type of food; they believe that the "whites" eat better, because the Indians cannot eat meat every day nor spend money on lard or meat. They only eat the produce that they cultivated.

264 The Indians have two meals a day: one at dawn and the other one in the afternoon when the sun is setting. The women and children have one meal at midday, from what was left over from the morning. The principal and large meal is cooked at [252] night. Before lying down the women hang from a wooden or iron hook, or from a wire, the pot with mote or frijoles and stir up the fire at least three times during the night; at four in the morning they add the easily cooked products and eat at the first light of day.

574 The natives are generous and hospitable among themselves;
262 no sooner does a visitor enter a home than they offer him whatever they have available: chicha or food.

177 /354/ In the parcialidad of Mosoco, which is undergoing
262 complete acculturation, the diet is changing visibly and the
264 eating hours have changed fundamentally. Coffee, panela, bacon, meat, and maize griddlecakes are consumed regularly.

Trading

43 Except for the parcialidad of Mosoco, the natives produce primarily for internal consumption; but the self-provisioning is insufficient, for they suffer a few months of scarcity. As a result, trading must necessarily be restricted and scanty. In Calderas, Suin, and Chinas, animals are ordinarily exchanged, large, fat cows being surrendered for smaller, thin, fertile heifers and a few pesos besides. We have already referred to this extensively in discussing the livestock. We have also seen how the only industry intended exclusively for trade, that of laurel wax, was a patrimony of San Andrés, Calderas, Tumbichukue, Lame, Suin, and Chinas, and that the drop in price was a fatal blow for the industry. Thus, aside from coffee, potatoes, wheat, and garlic, which are intended almost entirely for trade, nothing remains but small amounts of manioc, arracacha, plantains,

/354 cont./

43 onions, cabbages, barley, and eggs, with which it is not possible to maintain regular trading. The Indians, without exception, buy salt and also acquire hats, shirts, trousers, machetes, shovels, bars, axes, knives, aluminum pots, cups, iron plates, spoons, candles, soap, and aguardiente. Less frequently, large and brilliantly colored kerchiefs for the children, and tweezers /pinzas/ and necklaces for the women.

439 San Andrés is a small native settlement which has been
443 inhabited by the "whites" since the settlement area was estab-
438 lished. It contains three stores that sell some merchandise,
[162] some drugs, beer, aguardiente, and bread. Two of them have gramophones. There are also two other stores, which sell chicha and aguardiente exclusively. On Wednesdays a small market is held. In front of one of the houses, peddlers and traders from other areas display their wares; on the small plaza an awning is raised by an acculturated native woman in order to sell food, and a little farther there is a stand where meat is sold. The market starts moving at dawn. The natives bring small amounts of manioc, arracacha, white cabbage, eggs, coffee, and onions, /355/ which are bought immediately by the "whites." Then the butcher starts selling meat, usually in two-pound portions, which are what the natives buy. The peddlers sell a few trinkets and commodities. At 9:00 A.M. the liquor places
[273] begin to move. At ten in the morning the market is over, and
[578] at midday and in the afternoon only drunken natives are to be
[643] seen. At those times quarrels between them are frequent, and often the natives' aggressiveness is channeled against the "whites," as they assert that they are the true owners of the land and the settlement. The natives have the habit of selling their articles (coffee, eggs) only to persons known to them, even if others can pay them better prices.

On Wednesdays there are also markets in Guasdualejo (Togoima) and Turminá; on Thursdays in Valencia, and on
[491] Saturdays in Inzá and Belalcázar. Those of Belalcázar and Valencia, because they are connected by vehicular road with La Plata (Huila), are better attended and have a larger volume of trade. Large numbers of natives from different parcialidades

The people of
/356 cont./
43 Mosoco have numerous droves of pack animals for handling the
628 import and export traffic, in which the Guambianos (with their
492 horses), called kasukos by the people of Mosoco, who regard them as good friends and not very different from themselves, also participate. The fact is that they live together, work together, and do their trading jointly.

563 The relations between "whites" and natives in Mosoco
621 seem to be cordial and based on mutual respect.

Family economy

594 The Paez family is basically an economic unit. It is made up of the parents and the children, and it represents a
[602] closed but effective circle. They do not go beyond their own
[476] limits in any way, so that the mingas and the distribution of the
[431] first fruits of the harvests are carried out primarily with consanguineal and political relations.

594 The manner in which this economic unit functions and in
462 which its members collaborate can be clearly understood from the division of the activities by sex. The supreme management of the family economy rests in the hands of the man; it is he who owns the land, the house, the tools, and the domestic animals. His arm has not been taught to wield anything but the machete, the axe, and the shovel. He is the owner of the crops and the one who determines where, how, and when work is to be done. His primary work is outside the house: on the land itself. The woman, on /357/ the other hand, remains inside the house, and her basic work is connected with the administration and working up of the products handed over to her by the man. Cooking and
[464] weaving are her specialities. It is true that the woman hires
[178] herself out as a day laborer on the fincas of the "whites" and that in some parcialidades, such as Mosoco, she participates directly in the preparation of the land and the weeding of the crops, but this is a relatively new phenomenon and is not yet universally accepted among the natives.

261 In general terms, the primary incentive for economic activity
594 dealing with food is the satisfaction of the basic needs of the individual and the survival of the family group. It is the security

/361 cont./

276 The consumption of coca has disappeared almost completely
511 in Mosoco; the few data on expenses that appear in the statisti-
[178] cal table pertain exclusively to elderly informants. /362/ In Lame and San Andrés, on the other hand, the consumption is general and considerable sums, in comparison with the total income, are spent to procure this article. In San Andres, the expenses for this fancy would be higher if there were not a cer-
511 tain number of coca trees in each garden. The monies invested in improvements on immovables and livestock-raising are frequent in Mosoco, while in the other two parcialidades they are practically absent. This already implies a veritable process of capitalization, an activity unknown to the majority of the native population of Tierradentro.

The largest and most constant expenses were paid out, in this order, for food, clothing, amusements, and the acquisition of candles and soap.

511 As far as food in Mosoco is concerned, purchases of panela,
43 coffee, lard (fat), and salt appear for all 25 families; the purchase of maize and rice appears for 12 families. They also buy chocolate, bread, and plantains with some frequency. They do not consume manioc. For the eight families of Lame purchases of panela, salt, and coffee appear, and in one case or another the acquisition of rice, lard, manioc, plantains, and meat. In San Andrés the articles most in demand for the home are meat, panela, and salt, which appear for more than half the families investigated, but the purchase of maize, lard, potatoes, manioc, and plantains also figures with some frequency. On analyzing the statistical table of expenses for the three parcialidades, we find rather interesting coincidences that exist between the higher percentages for food and the deficiencies in agricultural production, either because of the loss of harvests or the scarcity of seed. In the former case, which refers primarily to Mosoco, we have already seen that the budgetary imbalance is compensated for by the sale of domestic animals, especially cattle, and in the latter case, which refers to the other two parcialidades, the low production is compensated for by the sale of labor.

/137 cont./

273 (= sweet water), as for the unfermented chicha, does not in any case have anything in common with the name for fermented chicha. Moreover, there is no separate name for sugar cane; nyúła also means "sweet" and "honey."

249 In the region of the Paez, sugar cane may be planted and harvested throughout the year. The juice of the cane is pressed [407] out in the sugar mill (lapíce). The latter stands in front of or inside every house; it belongs to every family in the same way [273] that each has its sugar-cane field and its chicha. The latter has [431] no commercial value whatever, but is merely given away, and 249 anyone who asks for it gets it. The sugar mill (Fig. 28 /see 407 p254 /) of the Paez of Calderas and southern Tierradentro consists of two tree trunks smoothed off on either side, which form the lateral posts (mágrena) of the mill. They are rammed into the ground and are provided, each one twice, with two recesses that receive the horizontal guidebeams (sépo) for the three crushing cylinders. These guidebeams are merely pinned. No metal parts or nails of any kind are used here or in the entire construction. Below the two lower guidebeams a strong plank is fastened to the lateral posts, upon which the three cylinders (ũnk) rest. Of these only the center one is turned by means of a crossbar, with human power or by a horse, whereas the two lateral ones are moved by means of pegs, which are most accurately fitted, but are not in addition pinned. A horizontal pole is lashed above each of the two lower cylinder-guidebeams, in order to guide the sugar cane shoved in for pressing. Below the cylinders lies a rectangular board (tablón) with /138/ two longitudinal grooves, [492] in which the extracted sugar-cane juice runs out at the side. If a horse is used to move the crushing cylinders, it is hitched up with two ropes leading out from a rope tied around the belly of the horse, so that the horse does not pull with its chest, as is customary among us.

H. Pittier de Fábrega illustrates (Pl. VI/2) another type of sugar mill from northern Tierradentro, which shows only two horizontal cylinders, one above the other. Both are clamped with pegs between two vertical posts and are turned on either side by hand. The extracted juice is caught in a pouch hanging underneath.

/140 cont./

231 439 Since the only purpose of keeping horses among the Paez is to have as large a number as possible, it is understandable that they place importance above all on the possession of mares. The birth of a filly is therefore a great joy and everyone would be happy to trade a grown stallion for a filly, "because it again gives foals." Unfortunately this exchange takes place only all too rarely, because the colonists are not interested in the degenerate horses of the Calderun. It is different with cows (kulá; steer = tolô, heifer = novîlya). Here the /141/ Calderun breed (black mottled "Holstein" and brown cattle) is healthier and usually also stronger than the cattle of the colonists. Moreover, on account of the somewhat cooler climate, their bodies are almost completely free of ticks and vermin, in contrast to the cows belonging to the inhabitants of lower altitudes, normally 231 crawling with larvae and maggots. Unlike horse meat, beef is [262] eaten, but milk is never drunk, "since the Calderun never have [272] the cows milked." The breeding goal here, too, is the greatest possible number. Thus it would never happen that a cow or calf would be slaughtered. I could not learn of any preference for a particular color, for example, black-white or brown-white, or uniformly all black or white or brown. All are liked equally well [431] by the Paez, since only the number is important. There is no special attachment between a person and his livestock, for no one gives away livestock, either as a birthday, christening, or [552] wedding present. Special names or designations for livestock or pet names are not used.

233 422 231 About half the total number of Calderun cattle and horses graze on the pastures of community land. This means about 40 horses and 60 cattle. The figure shows that only a small number of Calderun families own a cow or a horse. The proportion [554] becomes even less favorable when one learns that there are three rich families who own about ten to 20 head of cattle and horses each. The other half of the large stock, as well as sheep, pigs, and small stock, remain near the houses and seek their fodder there. [241] They may also forage in the uncultivated fields of neighbors; they are prevented by the fences from breaking into the cultivated fields.

/166 cont./

435 scarce. Nevertheless, the barter rate of the wool of a sheep for
437 a bag of maize was not shaken.

The sheep themselves were generally not bartered, but only
[804] the wool, which amounts to about a pound. The equivalent is a tomín (Span. pile) of sugar cane piled up in a mound about a meter wide at the base and a meter high. In exceptional cases of bartering sheep, I was told that the equivalent is ten tomín of sugar cane or 12 pounds of coca leaves or two arrobas of maize (one Spanish arroba corresponds to approximately 12.5 kilograms). In this case, as in many barter transactions, the customary barter equivalents sometimes deviate considerably from the market prices customary among the Paez. (The official market prices in the trade with the colonists on the weekly market are about five times as high.) Thus, for example, one tomín of sugar cane is worth 20 centavos, but one pound of wool from a sheep, one peso. Arracacha is also bartered in the form of a tomín quantity, which comes to about ten to 12 pieces. The value in money is ten centavos. One pound of coca leaves is exchanged for one pound of salt (value 20 centavos) or one pound of rice or ten eggs. The latter cost 25 centavos apiece at the weekly market in Inzá. The Paez use stones as pound weights, which are gauged accord-
[405] ing to a pound of salt bought from a trader in Inzá. Two calabashes fastened to a scale beam serve as scales.

[804] Potatoes are bartered in cuartillas and measured out in large wooden bowls which are made by the Paez themselves and contain about ten pounds. The equivalent consists of half a bottle of brandy. This would come to 80 centavos at a trader's, as the barter /167/ amounts of a tomín of sugar cane or a fiber bag full of maize indicate. Vegetable and fruit bananas are bartered by the whole bushels (tlóits), which, however, in Tierradentro contain only about 30 to 50 bananas. Two bushels are worth a bag of maize. Beans, like maize, are bartered in fiber bags, and
[432] a bag full of cabbage has the same value. Chicha is not sold, but
[431] only given away.
[273]

/185 cont./

844 until very late and only with great difficulty. The proper depth is supposed to be about 30 centimeters.

846 Four to six days after birth and after the first bath, the
851 father or one of the godparents brings the child to the sacristan of
608 the village or /186/ to the women missionaries, in order to have
[797] it christened with water and given the name of the Christian saint
[551] of the christening day. Every child has only one given name and the Paez surname of its father. The baptism by the priest with oil takes place later on a suitable occasion, in the presence of the god-
[783] parents, and is followed by an eating and drinking bout. The
[756] mother also takes part in this, after she has left the dúyat and has washed herself, her child, and her clothes and has been purified by the shaman.

861 The rearing of the children is in the hands of the parents, who teach them the necessary accomplishments of life quite as a matter of course and almost in play. Disobedient children are also beaten, however, and, to be sure, usually if the son has no real desire to help his father with the field work. In punishing, the fathers are generally stricter than the mothers and on occasion beat them with leather straps all over their bodies. The boxing
[461] of ears is also to be seen. If a young man proves to be lazy in later life, the father is blamed because he did not properly ad-
848 monish his son to work. Illegitimate sons, who lack the strict hand of a father, are said to turn out badly in many cases, though as such they are very popular. Since they do not know their father, they are not obliged to work in his field. They are all the more
[426] in demand as helpers in the fields of other families. When they
[431] are older, they may borrow land and establish a family. Usually they even receive the land as a present. Thus, they need not
848 starve by any means. Illegitimate daughters are in a more unfavor-
562 able position, for their help is not needed for the most part, and their mother does not have a household of her own. Nevertheless
[583] their marriage prospects are not unfavorable, since a girl does not
[581] have a dowry, but is married only on the basis of her personal qualities.

/191 cont./

584 the city, even before reaching it, be devoured by a Pijao. There-
754 fore, this has never been attempted by any girl. An example of
539 the opposite is instructive in this connection. Our Colombian
114 colleague, Segundo Bernal Villa, who lived in the park of San
584 Andrés with us and at the same time carried on his ethnological and sociological research in Calderas, had often mentioned, jokingly and in order to make himself popular, that he intended to look for a bride in Calderas. He was often seen with a pretty Calderun girl by the people in the village, as he conversed and went walking with her. One day when he presented her with a bottle of brandy, not knowing or not heeding the courtship custom connected with this, his joking was taken seriously and very much
[423] amiss. The girl was sentenced by the cabildo to severe corporal
[692] punishment and, after this was carried out, was married the next day to a young man of the village.

584 For the official offer of marriage, the father of the young
● 431 man goes to the house of the girl's parents. He takes along a gourd calabash with about ten liters of chicha and five bottles of brandy. First he converses only casually with the entire family of the girl for half an hour, many jokes are made, and they talk about this and that. Then he asks the girl's father whether his daughter would not like to marry his son. The parents reply that they have only one daughter and that unfortunately they cannot give her away, since they themselves need her so much. Thereupon they converse further, talk about this and that, and then the father of the young man asks a second time whether the daughter of the house would not like to marry his son. But this time, too, the father of the girl replies that he has but one daughter and can unfortunately not give her away. Then they talk some more, until the guest asks a third time: "Can you not give me your daughter for my son?" The father of the girl then replies: "Very well, I shall give my daughter to your son, but I expect him always to treat her well and not to speak ill of her!" Then the guest hands over the bottles of brandy which he brought along, the first to the father of the bride, the second to the mother of the bride, then the third to the bride, and then a bottle each to her brothers and sisters. He gives all the chicha that he brought to the bride's

/191 cont./

584 father, and the latter distributes it /192/ to everyone and gives
431 the bringer and all those present some of his own chicha to drink. This continues all night until everyone is drunk. In the morning the daughter-in-law, along with her father-in-law, goes back to the house of the latter, and from then on she lives with her husband until the wedding.

606 In case the father of the girl should not be satisfied with the
585 young man as a son-in-law, he would still not take any practical action against this union of his daughter, since he does not have to pay a dowry anyway. Besides, once children arrive, the
[591] parents are always satisfied. If, conversely, the father of the young man is not satisfied with the latter's choice of a bride, he may refuse him his house. In this case the young people customarily immediately build their own house, a small one at first.

58 The wedding generally does not take place very soon after courtship among the Paez, but only after a year or more. First of all there begins a trial period, which, however, has an altogether conjugal character. During this time of "trial marriage" the housekeeping abilities of the girl are to be tested, for the latter brings into marriage no dowry of any kind from her parents or any other possessions except her clothing. Since there are no social grounds for a choice of bride in the nonstratified Paez community, and no stimulus to marry on the grounds of a large dowry or on account of the possibility of a low bride price, there are no
581 child betrothals. As bride and wife a girl has only the merit of
462 her personality and her personal capabilities. The latter have the greater weight. It is required of a woman that she be able to cook and to weave the cloth for the whole family, that she not gossip, keep the house in order, and, above all, that she be able to keep the fire going at night and prepare the meal on time in
[264] the morning. The Paez are in the habit of having their first meal
[252] very early, at five or four o'clock in the morning, and an hour before that the woman must already begin preparing the food.
[362] Moreover, as we have seen, the walls of the house are only made
[513] of maize stalks placed side by side, and give scarcely any protection against the coolness of the night. They therefore sleep lying

/193 cont./

585 help. Since the young men almost never own their own cattle,
[422] they must earn the purchase price for this by the sale of agricul-
[432] tural products. Wheat is usually chosen for this, since it may be
[243] harvested half a year after sowing.

For the wedding celebration about 50 men and women are
585 invited, not only relatives, but also friends, among them the
608 sponsors (padrino, madrina) required for the church marriage
service. They sit with the bridal couple (nikálo). The parents
[291] and guests on both sides arrange themselves informally. The
[431] padrino and madrina must give or loan the bridegroom and bride
[426] new clothes for this wedding day, but they differ from the ordinary
[301] everyday clothing only in that they are newer and cleaner. No
585 special /194/ ornaments of any kind are put on by anyone. The
wedding is celebrated in such a way that the church service takes
place in the morning, after which the guests go to the wedding
house accompanied by music and have a small midday meal, with
which, however, only a little chicha is drunk. The festival ox is
not yet slaughtered on this day, and not until the "actual" (as the
Calderun say) wedding celebration, which takes place about a
month later in the house of the bridegroom. The ox is slaughtered
in the morning, and in the afternoon the guests arrive, sit down
together informally, and eat and drink chicha and brandy copiously.
[533] Music is played for this, but no one dances to it. Before the eating
[535] begins, when all are still sober, the padrino makes a speech ad-
dressed to the bride and groom, in which he says approximately
the following: You are now husband and wife, and you, as the
husband, should not beat your wife, and you, as wife, should
not use any bad words toward your husband. The husband should
also not speak ill of his wife, and the wife should obey if the
husband commands her to do something and should help him
in all things! Then he takes the hand of the bride and gives it
to the mother of the bridegroom, who speaks to the bride as fol-
lows: You have now been taken into our family and you are to
work for your husband and cook his meals for him and make his
clothes and arrange everything for him; in addition, you must
help me in the house and carry out my instructions, as well as

/208 cont./

796 assured -- always volunteer. Besides, no one can be forced. But this is not necessary, since there are always more applicants for this position than are needed. On account of the very high costs, however, no one can be fiestero more than three times in all. This number is not the absolute highest, but represents the normal maximum given the financial circumstances of the Paez. One may be albacero more often, however -- up to ten times, I was told -- since this person does not donate any cattle for feeding the village, but merely a pig for the meal on the eve of the festival, and bears the cost of the festival accessories other than the food supply (decorations for the church, candles, fireworks, and the "crazy cow"). The mayordomos only join in with contributions of money to pay the priest.

The fiestero and albacero themselves do not work, but merely serve the guests. For the preparation of the food they have [476] their helpers, men and women, who voluntarily help and at the end of the festival are specially entertained. Above all, carry- [273] ing the sugar cane from the fields for the large amounts of chicha to be prepared is hard work, for every fiestero wants to prepare the most chicha, since a festival is good only if one can be drunk for a long time.

On the principal festive day of the three annual festivals, which are essentially the same in arrangement, the women start to prepare the feast very early in the festival house. The men also arrive, chicha is drunk heartily, and the musicians start play- [541] ing early in the morning. No longer entirely sober, everybody assembles for the Mass, which is accompanied by the setting off of fireworks by those who have remained in front of the church door. [788] Then, led by the music, played incessantly, a procession follows, a parade around the church with the flower-decorated image of the Lord and those of the saints.

[431] In the afternoon, the fiesteros, along with the cabildo and [193] a large number of sightseers, set out for the church, in order to [194] give the priest a present of foodstuffs, meat, bananas, vegetables, and eggs in gratitude for the Mass that was held. After that the two fiesteros, along with their albaceros and the music, walk

/208 cont./

796 through the village and meet in front of the festival house for a
[794] ceremonial salutation. They exchange brandy, chicha, and candles, each giving the other exactly the same thing /209/ that
[537] he himself receives. After they have mutually complimented each
[431] other sufficiently, they turn to the bystanders, make a short speech to the effect that everyone should enjoy himself, and dis-
796 tribute everything to the people standing around. Soon afterward
532 all gather on the plaza in front of the church, where now the "vacaloca" is lighted. This "crazy cow" consists of a number of flexible twigs bent into semicircles and held together on the underside by cross-rods; they are fastened one behind the other, which gives the structure the shape of a half-cylinder. This is covered with a cowhide and forms the body of the crazy cow. On one end is fastened a cow's skull modeled out of bast and newspaper to look as real as possible, and on the other end, a stick wound with agave fiber as a tail. A strong young man takes the frame of the cow on his shoulders and it is then lit at the specially prepared places on horns and tail. While music is played, the young man goes across the square in a zigzag, during which the young people try to tease the cow, while it, in turn, tries to get the bold ones on its horns. The meaning of this game is not clear to the Paez. It looks as though it were a poorly understood imitation of a popular bullfight.

796 Everybody now returns to the festival houses, where the musicians have taken their places on a bench on the narrow end of the festival house. The women squat in one corner in a large
[273] group with their children. And then begins the feast, at which everyone, men, women, and children, may eat and drink as much as he is able, with the exception of the fiesteros, who have the sole right to pour the chicha and brandy and do not themselves become intoxicated, in order to be able to carry out their duty well. The festival guests do not go home for the duration of the festival, but eat, drink, and sleep in the festival houses, stretched out full length on the floor wherever they happen to be. The festival goes on with more or less intensity -- as far as eating and drinking are concerned -- throughout the entire week; at any rate, no one works, but at most goes from house to house "pasnyándo."

/195 cont./

262 coca. Chicha thus provides the calories for work, while coca
273 dulls the feeling of hunger. The consumption of chicha is
461 general among men and women, old people and children.
[276] There is no household without chicha for any length of time.
And during the short lapses when it runs low, they buy it or
[431] visit the households that have some. Among friends it is not
sold, but given as regalement: /196/ "talking, laughing, regaling," as the Indians accurately describe the situation.

249 Milling for the fiestas takes place daily and is in direct
273 proportion to the number of visitors. Milling for the mingas
461 lasts two days, one week for baptisms, and up to a month for
weddings.

273 The largest containers for chicha are the troughs, but use
415 is also made of pitchers and large earthenware pots buried in
the ground up to their rims.

273 The chicha-makers are the absolute masters of the troughs
463 while they are fulfilling their function. They distribute the
796 chicha, and even the fiestero himself must ask them for the
amount desired. No one takes chicha without their consent.
Furthermore, they accept the gifts which the visitors give to
the fiestero. The latter merely voices his thanks. Although
they keep taking chicha, they do not get drunk, so as to perform their task properly. They will have their day when they
can do so.

VIII

Sugar-cane Aguardiente

273 At fiesta time, aguardiente is distilled every two or three
[796] days. The distillation is quite easy. The still is prepared in
the following way:

[415] A good-sized earthenware pot, 50 to 60 centimeters high
and 25 to 30 centimeters in diameter, is filled with guarapo

4:Bernal Villa--42 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/209 cont./

XVII

"Camarico" for the Priest

796 At four o'clock in the afternoon the fiestero and fiestera,
793 accompanied by their mayordomos, the cabildo, the musicians,
431 and other people, with the church standards in front and with a profusion of gunpowder, parade past the rectory. Each one bears a gift for the priest, called camarico, which consists of victuals and meat: green bananas, potatoes, eggs, meat, and salt. First the man presents his, and then his wife. This represents a testimonial to the priest for having come to celebrate the Mass for them. The mayordomos also present him with eggs.

In the house of the albacero flutes and drums resound and shouts go up, indicating that he is ready to receive the greeting of the fiestero.

XVIII

Extravagance and Protocol

796 It is five o'clock in the afternoon. In the house of the
43/ fiestero firecrackers resound, while in that of the albacero there is much excitement. /210/ Both have their own chirimías. The time for the greeting and the exchange of gifts has come.

The fiestero and his wife, preceded by the church banners and followed by many attendants, the indispensable melodies of the chirimías, and the bursting of firecrackers and skyrockets, have left their home, each with a plate covered with a brightly colored kerchief, on which they bear the gift for the albacero and his wife, respectively, consisting of a cake /bizcochuelo/, a bottle of aguardiente, one large candle of laurel wax and

/210 cont./

796 two small ones, a skyrocket, and a firecracker; in addition, an
431 assistant carries a pot of chicha. The procession moves slowly forward. The albacero and his wife, on the other hand, have also left their home, with their retinue of attendants, the shooting of firecrackers, and the strains of music, carrying with them the same gifts as those brought by the fiesteros: chicha, aguardiente, cake, firecrackers, skyrockets, and
[354] candles. An assistant carries a showy lamp, made of flexible rods in hemispherical shape, adorned with a white pellicle similar to paper, obtained from the cabuya (1), and flowers

1. Fourcroya andina.

of various colors; it has four reeds to hold the candles.

The albacero waits for the fiestero very close to his home.

At the moment of the meeting, the fiestero and his wife each take one of the church banners and they take candles, which in turn are also lighted by the albacero and his wife. They exchange them: the fiestero with the albacero, and
796 their wives with each other. Then they kneel, with the men
576 face to face and the women likewise. The fiestero presents
431 the ceremonial greeting:

--"My friend: we are meeting at this spot. I have come to see you. Accept this small cake, even though it is quite tasteless."

--"Here we are together at this spot," replies the albacero.
796 While they are saying these words, they touch each other's
431 left shoulder with the right hand and press it; the wives greet
[576] each other in the same manner; following this, the fiestera greets the albacero, and the fiestero greets the latter's wife. The same protocol is observed. Immediately afterwards they exchange the gifts, the husbands on the one hand, and the wives on the other. Everything is distributed among their respective attendants. Only the candles are retained

/212 cont./

796 one a liter of aguardiente. The fiestero sits at the center of
273 the table, his wife sits on his right and the síndico on his left. The albacero approaches, takes the liter in his hands, measures out a cup, and offers it to the fiestero. The latter accepts it, drinks, and returns it. From the hands of the albacero he receives the cup and the liter. The proceeds in the same fashion with the calabash inside of which is the shachi léchukue. In the same manner he offers the other bottles and gourds to
●[431] the wife of the fiestero and to the síndico. The distribution begins, for which the fiestero, fiestera, and the síndico call on three men to take charge of distributing the generous gift. The aguardiente is distributed by its owners themselves, who in each cup put small pieces of cake. The clamor increases in direct proportion to the consumption. Everyone drinks
796 alike: men, women, and children. This is the time for off-
522 color, rich, and abundant joking. The hour when fantasy
273 shines and takes wings. There is practically only one theme,
831 sex in all its forms and manifestations: desires, /213/ feats, wooing, pregnancy, childbirth, genitalia, and even sham coitus in public. Any allusion to sex causes hilarity; many aspects of life, attitudes, and work are associated with sex.

796 At midnight the bottles and calabashes are empty. The
[273] music has been continuous, the drunkenness has increased ... But it is not yet over. At the house of the fiestero they are awaited with another gift.

The fiestero and the albacero dance with each other's wives. When the dance is over, everyone goes out and vanishes in the darkness of the night on paths that cannot be seen, only divined. The sound of the bass drum indicates that the people, the nasa wala, are on their way to the house of the fiestero.

There they will find the pale yellowish light, the table next to a pangó and toward the center of the ñuhne wala, with its two lighted candles, its calabashes of chicha, and its bottles of aguardiente. This time it is the albacero who will

/214 cont./

796 and their respective wives do the honors of the table. With
574 the etiquette and courtesies already mentioned, the gift is
[576] presented to them and the corresponding distribution is made.
[431] /215/ The laborers and the fiesteros move from the sala
[576] to the kitchen and from there to the sala. "Guechi pikin ustau" (we are coming along), they say, upon entering the ñuhne wala. "Anjiha," reply those present.

The kitchen is full of prepared food, and the women are busy filling plates of various sizes; large ones, others medium-sized, and the smallest. The distributors are in charge of handing them out to the recipients. This time they will serve three different dishes:

[262] 1st, maize griddlecakes and meat; 2nd, stew made with bananas, potatoes, arracacha, and chopped meat; and 3rd, yuca, raw and cooked cabbage, and meat.

The albacero and wife and the síndico and spouse are congratulated with a bowlful of each of these three "courses." The mayordomos receive a smaller amount, and the rest of those present plates for everyday consumption.

Of these "courses," only the last one is distributed when there are many persons present. Everyone is equipped with a pouch. They sip the broth, squeeze out the solid food with their hands, and store it away in it. Drunkenness and fatigue permit little talk.

After eating, or rather, after having collected food, the
[535] music sounds. The fiestero and albacero dance with each other's wives. They carry lighted candles in their hands. The dance is slow, deliberate, halting. At the end, they all go to the house of the second fiestero to give him the church banners. He will repeat the same religious and social acts, with the same etiquette and the same courtesies.

/216 cont./

796 Father: "I want to beat this child because he cries too much."

Mother: "Why should you beat your child? It is not his fault. It is the fault of your penis."

[431] At five o'clock in the morning the fiestero and his wife go to the house of the albacero with their "camarico": chicha, aguardiente, firecracker, skyrocket, candles, chicken, bananas, arracacha, yuca, meat, cumin seeds, and salt. At six o'clock they return.

The musicians play their instruments and the people make [522] jokes. One of them makes a taunting, jesting one referring to the activity of the previous night: "I am not going to mass, because I have no trousers. I have some, but they are stained." As the bells ring, the musicians and a few people go to mass.

XXIII

The Laborers' Day

796 When everything is over, the priest has left for Belalcázar,
465 the musicians with their swollen lips and aphonic throats have
574 gone home, and the people are gorged with chicha and aguardiente, the fiestero still has to pay attention to--to care for--his obliging laborers. /217/ /Illustration appears here./ They did not have the opportunity to parade to the house of the albacero or to vespers or in the procession. Not even to get drunk to the same degree as the guests. The fiestero is also grateful for their services. Now, in payment for it, he must take care of them. For this he has left part of the beef under the smoke of the hearth. They will have their trough of chicha, their bottles of aguardiente, their firecrackers. They will be served at the table where the albacero was attended to

/309 cont./

685 The natives do not steal maize. If they need some, they
243 buy it from their neighbor. Such transactions are made at very
[432] low prices. If someone refuses to sell, that is to say, "is stingy
[623] with maize," the buyer threatens to rob him, although he never
[692] does it if he is a good person, but will if he is bad (sorcerer). Such thefts are punished by the cabildo.

243 When the ear of maize is filled out and tender (choclo /a
[789] roasting ear/) consumption begins, after the performance of magical practices if the produce is from a new clearing (14).

14. Ibid., p. 246.

Consumption begins at the outer part and all around the field, leaving the central part to turn into dry maize. If someone picks maize from just any part, people comment acidly that he "eats like a dog." The harvesting of the maize is done in one or two days. Relatives and friends are invited to help
[476] and are rewarded with approximately one arroba. The same
[465] amount is also given to those who helped disinterestedly with the clearing and sowing.

243 /310/ An informant from Mosoco says that it is customary
431 among the natives to present relatives and friends with a "carrera" /stretch, row/ of each harvest. Those of wheat and barley are excepted. The carrera consists in harvesting all the "matas" /bushes, sprigs/ that remain around the plantings, since, as we have seen, the harvesting is done from the periphery to the center. The beneficiaries in turn do the same, so that the amounts received are reciprocally returned. This favor to relatives and friends carries with it implicit factors of understanding and affection, for not all receive this manifestation of esteem.
243 The same informant says that the consumption of roasting ears
574 begins with what is called "cura de la labranza" /treatment of the field/, which consists of the following: The owner invites his relatives and friends to a kind of banquet with an abundance of tender-maize cakes /bollos/ or tamales /envueltos/, chicken, and other select dishes.

The people of
/356 cont./

43 Mosoco have numerous droves of pack animals for handling the
628 import and export traffic, in which the Guambianos (with their
492 horses), called kasukos by the people of Mosoco, who regard them as good friends and not very different from themselves, also participate. The fact is that they live together, work together, and do their trading jointly.

563 The relations between "whites" and natives in Mosoco
621 seem to be cordial and based on mutual respect.

Family economy

594 The Paez family is basically an economic unit. It is made up of the parents and the children, and it represents a
[602] closed but effective circle. They do not go beyond their own
[476] limits in any way, so that the mingas and the distribution of the
[431] first fruits of the harvests are carried out primarily with consanguineal and political relations.

594 The manner in which this economic unit functions and in
462 which its members collaborate can be clearly understood from the division of the activities by sex. The supreme management of the family economy rests in the hands of the man; it is he who owns the land, the house, the tools, and the domestic animals. His arm has not been taught to wield anything but the machete, the axe, and the shovel. He is the owner of the crops and the one who determines where, how, and when work is to be done. His primary work is outside the house: on the land itself. The woman, on /357/ the other hand, remains inside the house, and her basic work is connected with the administration and working up of the products handed over to her by the man. Cooking and
[464] weaving are her specialities. It is true that the woman hires
[178] herself out as a day laborer on the fincas of the "whites" and that in some parcialidades, such as Mosoco, she participates directly in the preparation of the land and the weeding of the crops, but this is a relatively new phenomenon and is not yet universally accepted among the natives.

261 In general terms, the primary incentive for economic activity
594 dealing with food is the satisfaction of the basic needs of the individual and the survival of the family group. It is the security

7:Hernández de Alba E-54(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The main subsistence of these tribes was and still is based on the cultivation of potatoes, which grow in great quantities in the higher portions of the territory known as Tierradentro, and maize, which is acclimated to the temperate and cold zones. There are three varieties of maize: sweet, soft, and hard. Additional crops were and are yuca or manioc, sweet potatoes, auyamas, ullucos, purutos, frijoles, arracacha, and various other vegetables, and a variety of fruits, including bananas, guayavas, avocados, papayas, pineapples, and passion fruit. Today the *Páez* and *Moguex* are beginning to grow wheat, coffee, which is an important item in their economy, and sugarcane, from which is made a coarse sugar and molasses for their fermented drink, guarapo.

[478] [433] [273]

241 476 The men and women of each family generally cultivate the family plot, but for large-scale maize or coffee planting, and for cultivation of the lands of the Church or saint, they work communally, and have meetings called "mingas." Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense. The beneficiary must feed his helpers, generally sacrificing a pig and preparing great quantities of chicha for the libations and nocturnal dances after the work. All adults must participate in working the Church lands, but each brings his own food.

[782] [273]

241 412 407 492 Implements of cultivation are the digging stick, or macana, for making holes for planting, machetes and axes for destroying vegetation, and picks and shovels for removing earth, except where replaced by plows pulled by animal traction.

231 **Domesticated animals.**—Domesticated animals include chickens, turkeys, some pigs, dogs, and a few horses and cows. All but the turkeys are of European origin. These animals are rarely sold or killed for food, except for feast days, magical ceremonies, meetings, and visits of relatives, friends or distinguished White men. But sometimes the Indians buy meat in the weekly market and hang it over the hearth, where it is preserved by the smoke.

[177] [43] [25]

574 431 A custom which has persisted since the beginning of the Colonial Period is that of always giving a guest the "camarico" or "cariño" (affection), a present varying from an egg to a chicken, together with some potatoes, vegetables, and coffee beans.

262 136 231 Formerly, meat was obtained from wild rather than domesticated animals—boars (zaínos), guaras, guatines, birds, and guinea pigs, the last being true domesticated animals kept in some numbers in the native houses.

252 **Food preparation.**—Food was cooked in pottery ollas, but metal and enamel ware is now often used. The *Páez* make "mute," a soup of boiled maize, cabbage, squash, and potatoes, and "cocido," a soup

[415] [177]

7:Hemández de Alba E-5 ✓ (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

The *Páez* family is completely under the authority of the father, whose wife and children obey him implicitly and may be punished by him. Nonetheless, the father must obtain his wife's permission to sell or exchange goods she produced, such as bags for coca, sashes, etc. Precise etiquette is maintained between fathers and godfathers (compadres). Whenever a man meets his father or his godfather, he must kneel to receive his blessing. The fathers and godfathers must embrace whenever they meet. In one case a young man was the godfather of his father's new son by another wife, so that in meeting his father the young man had to kneel bareheaded, and then stand with his hat on and embrace his father as a godparent. The father did not call him "son" but "compadre."

594 [425] 608 576

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—A very old custom among these peoples is that at childbirth the mother should retire to a special house or go to the mountains. If she was delivered in the home, she and the baby were bathed, and then the family left the hut and built a new one elsewhere.

844

Today both the *Moguex* and *Páez* have a special hut for childbirth. The day after the child is born, the mother is placed in a hole up to her head and bathed with an infusion of leaves of "moquita," after which she washes the clothes and objects worn during delivery. She then returns to work and lives again at home. In the special hut, a *Páez* woman is assisted in childbirth by another woman, or, as a last resort, by her husband, who must bathe immediately afterward. Two days later, the mother circumcises her son or destroys the virginity of her daughter. Four or five days after the birth and after the first bath, the father takes the child to the sacristan of the community for baptism with water, and then returns it to the mother. The afterbirth must be buried or burned at the place of the birth. About 15 days later, the mother takes a bath and washes her child and her clothes and objects, and returns home. Later, the child is baptized with oil in the church by the priest with the godparents present. This is an occasion for general dancing and drunkenness.

846 [757] [343] [844] [304] [851] [844] [851] [608]

Puberty.—At puberty a girl was formerly taken by her parents to a hill, placed in a hole, and bathed. Each Indian then took her a gift. Pittier de Fábrega (1907) notes that at a later period a girl's puberty was celebrated with the "Itsa-kó" dance, the girl, bathed with chicha, remaining in the hole. Today, a woman must retire during her menstrual periods to a special hut, where other women bring her food and build a fire to warm her. Afterward, she bathes, washes her clothes and objects, and then returns home.

881 [431] [535] 841 343

Men, until recently, underwent a sort of initiation, in which they were taken to the shores of the sacred lagoon of Juan Tama or to the

881

/166 cont./

435 scarce. Nevertheless, the barter rate of the wool of a sheep for
437 a bag of maize was not shaken.

The sheep themselves were generally not bartered, but only
[804] the wool, which amounts to about a pound. The equivalent is a tomín (Span. pile) of sugar cane piled up in a mound about a meter wide at the base and a meter high. In exceptional cases of bartering sheep, I was told that the equivalent is ten tomín of sugar cane or 12 pounds of coca leaves or two arrobas of maize (one Spanish arroba corresponds to approximately 12.5 kilograms). In this case, as in many barter transactions, the customary barter equivalents sometimes deviate considerably from the market prices customary among the Paez. (The official market prices in the trade with the colonists on the weekly market are about five times as high.) Thus, for example, one tomín of sugar cane is worth 20 centavos, but one pound of wool from a sheep, one peso. Arracacha is also bartered in the form of a tomín quantity, which comes to about ten to 12 pieces. The value in money is ten centavos. One pound of coca leaves is exchanged for one pound of salt (value 20 centavos) or one pound of rice or ten eggs. The latter cost 25 centavos apiece at the weekly market in Inzá. The Paez use stones as pound weights, which are gauged accord-
[405] ing to a pound of salt bought from a trader in Inzá. Two calabashes fastened to a scale beam serve as scales.

[804] Potatoes are bartered in cuartillas and measured out in large wooden bowls which are made by the Paez themselves and contain about ten pounds. The equivalent consists of half a bottle of brandy. This would come to 80 centavos at a trader's, as the barter /167/ amounts of a tomín of sugar cane or a fiber bag full of maize indicate. Vegetable and fruit bananas are bartered by the whole bushels (tlóits), which, however, in Tierradentro contain only about 30 to 50 bananas. Two bushels are worth a bag of maize. Beans, like maize, are bartered in fiber bags, and
[432] a bag full of cabbage has the same value. Chicha is not sold, but
[431] only given away.
[273]

/167 cont./

484 while the /168/ woman on foot lugs the goods behind. From
439 Calderas more men than women visit the market. For both it
482 is a very welcome occasion to become intoxicated. The
[273] owners of the taverns try to prevent the stealing of the much
[275] coveted beer and whiskey glasses, popularly practiced by the Paez, by chaining the glasses to the tavern tables.

On market days it is customary to leave very early and to transport the loads in the fiber bags in the customary way: the men take the carrying belt diagonally across their chests and the women hold it with their foreheads. In both cases the bag hangs on their backs. Then generally travel in groups of twos or threes, but not infrequently one also meets solitary
[432] individuals. Provisions are taken along, for, as a matter of
[273] principle, nothing is bought on the way except chicha or brandy.
[485] If it is necessary to stay overnight, nothing is paid for this. They sleep either at the entrance of a house of acquaintances or spend the night in the open field.

439 For traveling and for the visit to the market they try to wear
484 at least one article of European clothing, a felt hat, a shirt, or
[291] a blouse. The quality plays only a minor role, since the worst
[177] shirt is still more desirable than the finest ruana. A person who cannot buy anything in the way of clothing at least ties a black
[262] band around his hat, such as the felt hats have. Provisions are carried along in the fiber bag, roasted maize, cabbage, potatoes,
[415] arracacha. A person who can carries with him two or three of
484 the woolen coca pouches, in one of which there is coca and lime,
461 in another one money, and in the third the plaiting material
[285] for the straw hat. Almost all the men do this plaiting work, which actually is not work at all, but more like a "blind occupation," when they have nothing else to do, either when visiting, on the way to market, or also during the shaman ceremonies.
[283] The women, no matter where one meets them, are equally in-
[285] dustrious and always busy with spinning or plaiting the fiber bags or the wool coca-pouches. Like the men, they carry their work material with them in a second wool pouch.

/193 cont./

585 help. Since the young men almost never own their own cattle,
[422] they must earn the purchase price for this by the sale of agricul-
[432] tural products. Wheat is usually chosen for this, since it may be
[243] harvested half a year after sowing.

For the wedding celebration about 50 men and women are
585 invited, not only relatives, but also friends, among them the
608 sponsors (padrino, madrina) required for the church marriage
service. They sit with the bridal couple (nikálo). The parents
[291] and guests on both sides arrange themselves informally. The
[431] padrino and madrina must give or loan the bridegroom and bride
[426] new clothes for this wedding day, but they differ from the ordinary
[301] everyday clothing only in that they are newer and cleaner. No
585 special /194/ ornaments of any kind are put on by anyone. The
wedding is celebrated in such a way that the church service takes
place in the morning, after which the guests go to the wedding
house accompanied by music and have a small midday meal, with
which, however, only a little chicha is drunk. The festival ox is
not yet slaughtered on this day, and not until the "actual" (as the
Calderun say) wedding celebration, which takes place about a
month later in the house of the bridegroom. The ox is slaughtered
in the morning, and in the afternoon the guests arrive, sit down
together informally, and eat and drink chicha and brandy copiously.
[533] Music is played for this, but no one dances to it. Before the eating
[535] begins, when all are still sober, the padrino makes a speech ad-
dressed to the bride and groom, in which he says approximately
the following: You are now husband and wife, and you, as the
husband, should not beat your wife, and you, as wife, should
not use any bad words toward your husband. The husband should
also not speak ill of his wife, and the wife should obey if the
husband commands her to do something and should help him
in all things! Then he takes the hand of the bride and gives it
to the mother of the bridegroom, who speaks to the bride as fol-
lows: You have now been taken into our family and you are to
work for your husband and cook his meals for him and make his
clothes and arrange everything for him; in addition, you must
help me in the house and carry out my instructions, as well as

/309 cont./

685 The natives do not steal maize. If they need some, they
243 buy it from their neighbor. Such transactions are made at very
[432] low prices. If someone refuses to sell, that is to say, "is stingy
[623] with maize," the buyer threatens to rob him, although he never
[692] does it if he is a good person, but will if he is bad (sorcerer). Such thefts are punished by the cabildo.

243 When the ear of maize is filled out and tender (choclo /a
[789] roasting ear/) consumption begins, after the performance of magical practices if the produce is from a new clearing (14).

14. Ibid., p. 246.

Consumption begins at the outer part and all around the field, leaving the central part to turn into dry maize. If someone picks maize from just any part, people comment acidly that he "eats like a dog." The harvesting of the maize is done in one or two days. Relatives and friends are invited to help
[476] and are rewarded with approximately one arroba. The same
[465] amount is also given to those who helped disinterestedly with the clearing and sowing.

243 /310/ An informant from Mosoco says that it is customary
431 among the natives to present relatives and friends with a "carrera" /stretch, row/ of each harvest. Those of wheat and barley are excepted. The carrera consists in harvesting all the "matas" /bushes, sprigs/ that remain around the plantings, since, as we have seen, the harvesting is done from the periphery to the center. The beneficiaries in turn do the same, so that the amounts received are reciprocally returned. This favor to relatives and friends carries with it implicit factors of understanding and affection, for not all receive this manifestation of esteem.
243 The same informant says that the consumption of roasting ears
574 begins with what is called "cura de la labranza" /treatment of the field/, which consists of the following: The owner invites his relatives and friends to a kind of banquet with an abundance of tender-maize cakes /bollos/ or tamales /envueltos/, chicken, and other select dishes.

/322 cont./

231 arracacha. Dogs, cats, and pigs live, the first on kitchen refuse, the second by hunting mice, and the last on grasses and roots from the thickets. They are not familiar with breeds of cattle, hogs, and sheep. Only the guinea pig is regarded as American, while the other animals are said to be genuinely Spanish.

[236] Sheep seem to have emotional value because they provide the wool for people's clothing. They are kept with affection and rarely sold or eaten.

Dogs also seem to have emotional value because of being the guardian of the houses and fields. In addition, they have symbolic value: they are the iron curtain, the protective barrier against the dark memory of the Pijao. If the latter were to reappear again, the natives argue, they would not be able to approach /323/ the houses, because dogs live there, which would inspire fear in the Pijao, for they are so dangerous for them that mere contact with their footprints or their hair would kill them. In the legends and tales there is frequent reference to these de-
[552] fensive concepts. The dogs have special names: Guagás (white),
[625] kuchi (black), salgento, pitán, policía. Dogs that eat sheep are invariably killed with a shotgun without previous consultation with the owner.

[262] Guinea pigs are the favorite food of children. They kill
[252] them by strangling them and eat them boiled. These animals are
[782] not used as offerings to the Duende. Nor do they serve as presents
[755] for friends or relatives. They are also used to combat mental illness by covering the patient's forehead with the entrails of the still living animal.

235 They "cuidan" /show special attention/ to favorite persons
[554] with chickens and eggs. They have mingas with turkeys. Eggs
[262] are consumed, but in general they are sold.

[432] They use the honey and the wax from the hives of wild bees.
222 The honey, they say, is good for persons who suffer from "cold."
237 With the wax they soften hide lassos, and they occasionally use it
[757] for illumination. Domestic hives do not exist.

231 Wild animals, such as parrots, chicaos /a kind of bird/, squirrels, and micos, are never domesticated.

/125 cont./

291 made between the clothing of the married and the unmarried.

502 The men's hair is cut "semilong" with scissors, so that they have a cut midway between bobbed hair and a modern, shaped cut. Women wear their hair long and combed toward the back, to some extent in the form of a part. Older girls and [412] married women plait their hair in braids. Only the modern, purchased combs are used for combing. The men do not groom their beards, which are sparse to begin with, but from youth onward pull out the beard hair with the fingers.

301 No ornaments of any kind are worn by the men nowadays.
439 Two hundred years ago they wore nose rings (zomp) "like the oxen" (Castillo i Crosco, p. 89). The women today wear /126/ purchased pendant-ornaments only to a very slight extent, the white glass-bead chains (wǎča - bead) being relatively the most common (Ill. 148 /see p. 265/). The traders are Sibundoy or similar fellow-tribesmen from the southern part of the country, where chains of this kind are worn by the pound by men and women as pendant ornaments. Earrings consist either of a few purchased beads strung on a thread or of a purchased silver pendant. Anyone may wear purchased brass finger-rings; it is not a sign of being married. In earlier times it is possible that there were arm rings, as is shown by Castillo's term kasẽnand-gnue-tsa for "arm ring."

3. Economy

•433 The first impression that one has of the Paez from an economic standpoint is that of a democratic farming people firmly rooted in their soil, and during an initial consideration of their food and way of life it appears as though they have never been anything but agriculturalists. In the case of primitive peoples, however, we must distinguish between the principal means of production and the original means of production. The former is usually not hard to recognize, whereas the question of the original means of production of a people can be answered

/126 cont./

●433 only on the basis of knowledge about their rites, ceremonial acts, mythology, cultic preparations, or festivals of thanksgiving.
433 This is difficult in view of the great cultural poverty of the Paez,
241 but it is noteworthy that nothing connected with agriculture or
[233] with cattle-raising reveals any kind of cultic relationship.
Neither during sowing nor harvesting was I able to observe or
[224] learn of any kind of typical agricultural rites, whereas in connection with hunting, now economically unimportant, a number of precepts and prohibitions surround the hunter before and after his hunting.

a) Agriculture

243 The chief crop in the Calderun region, as among the Paez
191 generally, is maize, which was at the same time the most im-
114 portant cultivated plant and the basic food of the American peoples from Patagonia to Canada in pre-Colombian times. To this day the discussion about its culture-historical origin has not come to an end. Formerly Central America was regarded as the original land of its cultivation. On ethno- /127/ botanical grounds and plant-geographical investigations, K. Birket-Smith (p. 32) assumes that the original land of maize cultivation is not Central America, but northern South America, since, according to the more recent botanical discoveries, the original form of maize is believed to have been found in the form of the pod corn (Zea mays tunicata) of the Andean countries. Not to be left unmentioned are the voices which most recently have argued for an Asiatic origin of maize, as well as of cotton (Zerries, 1952, pp. 104/5).

If we compare these hypotheses about the origin of maize with the first authenticated reports about its occurrence in America, we find as the oldest date the year 1493, when Columbus had already brought maize to Europe from his first journey across the ocean. As early as 1525 maize was extensively cultivated in the fields of Andalusia (Schweinfurt, pp. 514 f).

/128 cont./

241 were only ten by ten meters /129/ square, whereas the largest continuous field occupied an area of about 500 by 250 meters. I was assured, however, that such a large area of land was not required for one family and that the owner would use this large [433] cleared field only little by little for planting. A family can live, so I was told, from a field that measures about 100 by 100 meters, [244] which corresponds to the area of one hectare. In addition, every house has a vegetable garden of about 1,000 square meters in area for the planting of vegetable bananas /cooking bananas/, cabbage, beans, cucumbers, and onions.

241 The clearing of the fields, like the sowing, is done only 476 by men, whereas the harvest may be gathered by women or men. 464 Several men always participate in the clearing and sowing; one [462] man never works alone. At the very least his brothers or sons help him. Otherwise he must ask friends who must be served food and chicha during the work, and whom he likewise helps in 241 a similar instance. On the field intended for planting, first the thinner trees at a height of about one to one and a half meters are cut down with the machete and left lying on the ground as they fall. With this the first part of the work is done, and one has two to four weeks' rest until the felled young trees and branches are dry, but not dried up. Then the men go out into the field again and light the wood, but only the thinner branches of less than an arm's thickness are consumed. This burning takes a few days, and it is not infrequent that a woman helps her husband on the last day in order to burn up the remaining wood. The Paez, [515] by the way, give this handling of the sooty trunks as the only time that they get dirty and must wash their hands afterwards (Ills. 169 to 171 /see pp.275 -276/).

241 The fence which each field must have for protection 417 against the freely roaming domestic animals is built out of the unburned branches and tree trunks. For this purpose rather thick poles are rammed vertically into the ground, and the remaining branches and tree trunks piled up horizonatally to a height of a good meter. In order to climb over this fence one puts a notched tree trunk against it on both sides as a ladder (aff) (Ill. 168 /see

p. 274/).

/142 cont./

231 There are dogs (álko) in almost every house. They are supposed to protect the chickens from the fox and the house from strange persons. We never met any really vicious dogs, however. They are all very undernourished and cowardly and, in addition, are of a small, short-haired breed. There are no larger dogs, say, [262] of the size of our shepherd dogs. They must hunt for their food, which consists chiefly of the meat of dead horses, since the people do not eat horse meat. Only very rarely are the remains of human meals tossed to them. Cats (mīš) are rare. Only a few families have one. They serve human beings by keeping the [235] house and storerooms free of mice. Ducks (páto) are likewise very rare; we came across only two each in two houses. They are [262] greatly prized as roasts.

Bees (čí·nc) are kept by only a few families. They are smaller than our German honeybees and of a yellowish brown color. There are no special beehives; rather, an old, hollow, but still standing tree-trunk is used. In one case they nested in a house post next to the doorway. Their honey (čí·nc mil) is dark brown, [237] like syrup. Beeswax (čí·nc) is used to strengthen the agave-fiber string with which broken chicha bowls are repaired and fireworks are made.

/143/ e) Hunting and Fishing

224 Neither plays any great role in the economy of the Paez. [433] Moreover, there is no special class of hunters or fishermen. Hunting is practiced only by the men and, for lack of big game, generally extends to smaller mammals, rabbits, monkeys, and to birds. Only in the mountains is it possible to find and to hunt the čái and gwágwa. The former is a kind of deer, so I was told, and the gwágwa a small animal similar to a badger.

The greatest frequency of the hunting trips of a man is about one day a week. Mostly, however, the men go hunting [231] less often. This is done alone with dogs in the vicinity of the [776] houses, whereas a hunting trip in the mountains is generally made by several men, since a man alone is afraid of gělyómp, the mountain spirit.

/314 cont./

105 The clothing of the men and women covers the upper and lower body. The men's upper garment, called "ruana" in Colombia, "poncho" in Peru, is a sleeveless shirt open at the sides. It is ancient American, known both from the relief of the so-called "sun god" of Tiahuanaco and from a grave of the pre-Spanish [291] period in Arica (northern Chile) (Montell, pp. 173-183). Soon [171] after the Conquista, since the second half of the sixteenth century, this Andean article of clothing, which consists simply of a square piece of cloth with an elongated slit for the head, was distributed throughout the area of the Andean mountain cultures. Its name, "atc," among the Paez, however, has no parallel linguistically. [177] The men's trousers are clearly Spanish. The women's costume is most simple: as an upper garment to a skirt a rectangular piece of cloth is simply put crosswise over their upper bodies.

[241] From an economic point of view, field cultivation is primary. It is carried out by the men in the form of the burned-clearing system with a ten-year clearing cycle. The only field tool is the [433] digging stick. The minimal area of cultivated land for one family is about one hectare. The principal crops are maize and sugar [177] cane. The latter was not introduced until after the Conquista. The Paez word means "sweet." The Paez designation for maize, "kotc," has no parallel with the corresponding words of the Chibcha, Carib, or Aruac /Arawak/ language groups, but with Kechua /Quechua/, where maize is called "kuts" (Birket-Smith, pp. 22-30). The stimulants are coca and chicha made of sugar-cane juice. Both Paez words, es and mbéka, respectively, have no parallels in other language groups.

105 241 There are no outstanding festivals indicative of a planter's culture or rites associated with the products of field cultivation, nor does anything indicating an agricultural rhythm of life appear in the myths and religious customs of the Paez. The mythology and ceremonial customs are remnants of a hunter's attitude of mind. It appears as though the Paez did not adopt their primitive agriculture until the time of the Conquista or shortly before, and adopted only the mechanical application of the methods of simple digging-stick farming, without the ceremonial customs associated

/284 cont./

132 gives rise to cold local winds that blow through the valley of the Páez, affecting chiefly the areas of Vitoncó, Suin, Chinas, San José, Mosoco, and also the parcialidad /a territorial division/ of Calderas itself. The variation in temperature is noticeable in these zones sometimes having hot days and very cold nights. Nebulosity is almost constant, especially in the northern zones.

241 Economy.--The topographic and climatic characteristics permit the cultivation of various plants, such as maize, beans, bananas, sugar cane, yuca, arracacha, and gourds in the temperate zones, and in the cold ones potatoes, maize, ullucos, [433] beans, gourds, and cabbage. The produce barely leaves a [439] surplus for trade with the parcialidades and urban centers of [438] Belalcázar, Inzá, and Valencia. The potato crops of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José serve for an active trade with the Paez of the western slope of the cordillera, across the Páramo de Moras.

433 Coffee and the production of panela are important lines 245 in the economy of the colonists and also of numerous groups 249 of acculturated natives. The coffee of Tierradentro is con- 177 sidered one of the best in the country, owing to the quality and mildness of the bean.

231 /285/ The raising of livestock flourishes among the civilized 437 groups. For the natives it serves for maintaining a barter trade with their neighbors, the white and mestizo colonists.

311 On the whole, native production is relatively scant, 433 giving rise to times of "hambruna" /ravenous hunger/ when [731] the summers or winters are rather harsh. The workable land lies in the small plains and valleys of rivers and streams, on the alluvial terraces, and on the plateaus. Comparing the size of Tierradentro with that of its arable land, the latter appears scant, a problem that is aggravated by the increase in population and the habitual burning.

101 Population.--Tierradentro is the country of the Paez, 361 who at the time of the Conquest were settled to the north of

/258 cont./

754 Thus, the victims are "the most skillful, the most charitable
554 toward travelers, the friends of the whites, those who display the most friendliness among the natives, those who have much livestock, large tracts of land, good plantings." In this phrase are listed almost the full gamut of the victims of sorcery. From previous examples, we see that those who have land, animals, mental ability and manual dexterity, and good fields, the energetic numbers of the cabildo, those who take the path
[112] of transculturation, are victims of sorcery. In addition, revenge and resentment are evened up by means of sorcery.

754 It is not surprising that undesirable whites are victims of
648 sorcery. The undesirable ones are those who covet their lands. The curers, on their own initiative or supported by the cabildo, call the soul of the white at a strategic spot, capture it, whip it with pringamoza (Urticaceae) and put bad remedies on it so that it will never return to the region. They say that the white begins to feel too lazy to travel in the area and finally decides to return to his country.

[177] In parcialidades such as Calderas, where much resistance is shown against living with and contact with the white, there are some people who are such sorcerers and such enemies of the white that even in the church they leave enchanted eggs so that not even the priest will come.

754 Among the victims of sorcery are parturient women and newborn babies, when the sorcerer or other envious persons do not want a certain family to prosper.

The power of sorcerers extends not only to human beings
[433] and animals, but also to the plantings. The loss of a planting
[167] means suffering from hunger, a shortage of coca, and emi-
[464] gration of the parents to distant places in order to hire out as laborers.

In the clearing they may put enchanted eggs, salt, pubic hair, or capio maize in order that the planting be lost.

6: Bernal Villa--1 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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The Economy of the Paez

by

Segundo Bernal Villa

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/293/ General observations

433 Products of the soil make up the substantive part of the Páez economy. The Indians are barely familiar with a few manual arts practiced on very rare occasions. Hunting and gathering are quite secondary, and fishing even more so. Livestock-raising, while being an activity worthy of notice for its development, and for being, in addition, the essence of the native conception of wealth, serves more for carrying out disadvantageous barter transactions with the mestizo and white populations than for deriving a profit either in cash or in kind. The Páez economy is thus a direct one, devoid of intermediaries in the functions of production and consumption. The family consumes what it produces. The articles of consumption that are acquired are few. Essentially [439] they are salt, tools, cooking utensils, and clothing. On the other hand, the products that are sold are few: coffee, laurel wax, potatoes, garlic, and coca. It should be noted that the increase in some of these products is of recent date. Páez production merely provisions and seldom leaves a surplus to maintain regular trade. Foresight for times of scarcity exists, but it is neither sufficient nor organized.

221 Working the land conditions the daily activities of the Páez family. It might be said that the vital cycles are subordinated to the agricultural cycles. Basically, the year is divided into the months of the preparation of the soil and the months of the harvest, [166] including the protection of the crops in season. They devote the [464] months that fall between the extremes of this economic cycle to minor manual activities or they emigrate to hire out as day laborers

/294 cont./

311 passes through Topa, Turminá, Guanacas, El Cabuyo, Malvasá,
133 Pisimbalá, Lame, La Troja, and Irlanda, from where it twists eastward. The contour line of 3,000 meters, approximately parallel to the previous one, is very close to the ridge of the
[361] Central Cordillera. These two contour lines form a narrow zone that corresponds to the cold thermal level and within which are found the parcialidades of Toez, Huila, Vitoncó, San José, Mosoco, Lame, and Yaquivá, aside from a considerable area from the extinct parcialidades of Guanacas and Turminá.
311 This entire zone represents a "culturally influenced zone" in
[487] the literal sense that Professor Guhl gives it (2). A fine bridle-

2. Guhl, E. "Ambiente Geográfico-Humano de la Costa del Atlántico /Geographical-human Environment of the Atlantic Coast/," Revista Geográfica, p. 159.

[489] path joins Mosoco and Silvia, crossing the Paramo de Moras. The traffic of people is intense and constant during almost every /295/
311 month of the year. In the last decades, this has been an active zone
648 of native and "white" colonization. It still remains so. Coscuro
361 and Malvasá, in the Parcialidad of San Andrés, are purely "white" regions of colonization. But Tumbichukue, the high parts of Lame, Mosoco, San José, Huila, and Toez are zones of exclu-
361 sively native colonization. The importance of Mosoco is out-
311 standing. It was a great center of Páez settlement and still is, in the same manner as Pitayó and Tacueyó are on the other side of the Cordillera, but we cannot state on this account that "the major part of the settlements and the most important ones for the Paeces" are located in the cold region, as was stated
[177] categorically by Professor José Pérez de Barradas. Mosoco,
[433] fully in the process of acculturation, is a good producer of potatoes, wheat, and maize. It is the true Tierradentro in
[648] physiography, production, and progress. But in the times of
[175] the Conquest it was the people of Tálaga, Avirama, Calderas, and Togoima who defeated Ampudia and Belalcázar, and the

/297 cont./

/61/ outposts, the centers of Chinche and Potrerillos to the north of
311/ the settlement of Palmira (4).
361/

4. Duque Gómez, L. "Problemas Sociales de algunas parcialidades indígenas del Occidente de Colombia /Social problems of some native parcialidades of western Colombia/," p. 187.

Agriculture and horticulture

241/ Agriculture and horticulture constitute the primary source
133 of subsistence for the Páez. It covers a wide hypsometric zone
[433] that goes from 1,000 meters (La Plata, Huila) to well beyond the contour line of 3,000 meters in altitude above sea level (Mosoco). Naturally, the species cultivated vary with the thermal level, and, consequently, the dietetic regimen. What do not vary are the methods of cultivation and, above all, the magical practices
241 associated with them. There are also variations in the extent
134 and the type of cultivable soils. Those used the most in Tierradentro are the ones included in the temperate thermal level. We have already discussed their fertility and extent. The soils of the cold thermal level are fertile and more extensive. Thick humus layers are found in Lame, Mosoco, San José, La Troja, Irlanda, Guanacas, Turminá, and Coscuro. These are, of course, truly privileged zones. Nevertheless, the soils are not rationally utilized or conserved. The land is exploited in an exhaustive manner. A clearing will not tolerate two consecutive plantings. Thus, each year new land, new clearing, new fencing, and new burning are required. After having been harvested once, the ground is abandoned, and in the course of the years it once more becomes covered with shrubs and thickets. After seven years, more or less, the land is again cleared of its underbrush, and the same cultivated species are planted once more. In Calderas, Santa Rosa, and Togoima, maize, arracacha, frijoles, cabbages, potatoes, and sometimes peas are planted. The process described earlier is typical of these parcialidades. In Mosoco and the cold parts generally, maize, potatoes, /298/ broad beans, and frijoles are planted in the same clearing, and

/301 cont./

133 which is in full development. The other zone goes from 2,000 to
241 3,000 meters and contains the pueblos of Calderas, Lame, Mosoco,
361 San José, La Troja, Vitoncó, and Irlanda. They cultivate potatoes, maize, ullucos, wheat, garlic, and nasturtium.

241 In the cultivation of cane, the Paez differentiate the following /302/ varieties: java /Java/, criolla, amarilla /yellow/ (mum ñusha), negra /black/ (ñusha kuchi). Of maize: capio (white, tender, and mulberry-colored) or kukiguafi, the calentano maize /maize of the hot regions/ or kukibah, the hard calentano, and the fine or kukimull. Of potatoes, the kaka chime (white), the kaka kuchi (with mulberry-colored skin), the kaka bé (red), and the tusa /corncob/ potato (has a mulberry-colored heart). Of manioc, they distinguish the noli, guaturunga, pitaleña, negra /black/, and colorada /red/. Of these, the first and last yield in a year and in three years, respectively, and the others in two years.

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Agricultural Cycles

Crop	Planted	Harvested	Successive Harvests
	March-May	In 8 months (temperate)	An annual harvest
Maize	May-Aug.	In 10 months (cold)	An annual harvest
	March-May	In 7 months (temperate)	An annual harvest
Frijole	May-Aug.	In 8 months (cold)	An annual harvest
Broad beans	May-Aug.	In 10 months	An annual harvest
Potato	Oct.-Dec. (paramo)	In 5 months	An annual harvest
	April-Aug.	In 5 months	An annual harvest
Ullucos	April-June	In 5 months	An annual harvest
Wheat	July-Sept.	In 8 months	An annual harvest
Manioc	Any month	In a year (noli)	Continuous
Plantain	Any month	In 2 years	Continuous

/302 cont./

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•433

Crop	Planted	Harvested	Successive Harvests
Arracacha	Any month	In 2 years	Continuous
Sweet potato	Any month	In 6 months	Continuous
Coca	March-April	In 1 year	Every 3 months
Onion	Any month	In 2 months	Continuous
Garlic	Feb.-April	In 4 months	Cut every 6-8 months
Cane	April-May	In 2 years	
Coffee	March-April	In 3 years	2 harvests per year

Manioc, arracacha, sweet potatoes, plantains, onions, and cabbages are harvested throughout the year and in any month.

/303/ Coffee is harvested during the months of October and November (principal harvest) and in May and June (mid-year harvest).

In Calderas (Tumbichukue, Lame, El Cuartel, La Troja, and Vitoncó), they harvest peaches chiefly during the months [439] of February and March. Although they consume this fruit, the major part is intended for sale.

In the parcialidades of temperate climate, they consume, though not systematically, the fruits: avocado, orange, guava, and star apple.

In the parcialidad of Mosoco and toward the first half of the year, they harvest potatoes, maize, frijoles, broad beans, barley, wheat, and ullucos. The harvest begins with frijoles and immediately continues with maize, broad beans, potatoes, wheat, and barley, ending with the harvest of ullucos, which is done in the month of August.

The harvests of potatoes, nasturtium tubers, and ullucos of the first half of the year are done with splendid results in the "paramo," a mountainous region that merges into the savannas of the Paramo de Moras. This area, conquered in

/303 cont./

241 relatively recent times, has fertile and humid soils. The harvests
433 are large and of excellent quality. It produces profitable yields.
244 The real production of Mosoco potatoes is there. They them-
[492] selves designate it as the principal harvest. During the months of April and May, when the potatoes are being harvested, numerous droves of pack animals carry the produce daily to the market
[435] in Silvia. The profits from this crop are dependable. The cultivators state that even selling at four pesos per arroba it gives a profit. Normally an arroba of potatoes is quoted at six or seven pesos. The planting of potatoes in the paramo begins in October, is intensified in November and December, and the last is done in January. They take advantage of the mildness of the climate
[132] at this time. During the months of June, July, and August the
[484] winter is harsh, with intense cold and hurricane winds. Crossing the paramos at this time is quite perilous.

241 In San José, La Troja, El Cabuyo, El Cuartel, Lame, and
433 Vitoncó, during the first four months of the year, wheat, barley, maize, frijoles, broad beans, and peaches are harvested.

Toward the months of October, November, and December, harvesting is done in Suin, Chinas, Calderas, San Andrés, Togoima, Santa Rosa, and Mosoco itself and consists principally of Maize, frijoles, ullucos, potatoes, and coffee. They constitute what we might /304/ call the second harvests of the year in Tierradentro. The planting begins after Ash Wednesday (March approximately) and is intensified in the months of April and May.
244 The last is done in July. The potato seed planted at about this
433 time in Mosoco comes from the harvest in the "paramo." This is a secondary planting of scant yield. It usually results in losses, but the Mosoco cultivators plant with the aim of preserving the seed. It is interesting to note that the sole agricultural activity of one trader based in Mosoco is the planting of potatoes in the
[434] paramo. He dispenses with the July sowing altogether. He prefers to buy the seed in Silvia, he pays the entire labor force, and in spite of these investments, which are high, he gets a good profit.

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241 Aside from maize, a basic product of consumption in all
● 433 the parcialidades, some of them emphasize certain crops primarily intended for commercial purposes. Thus, Mosoco produces potatoes and garlic; San José, wheat; Vitoncó, wheat and peaches; Lame, wheat and laurel wax; Togoima, coca; and the others, coffee.

241 The months of the most intense labor in the temperate
433 zone correspond to the first five of the year, and especially to February and March, in order to take advantage of the sunny days during those months for the burning and the sowing, which in turn will benefit from the rains of April, May, and June. During this time, the reserves of the previous year's harvests are consumed, which, let it be said in passing, do not amount
[132] to much. Thus, the months of scarcity are June, July, and August, and those of relative abundance, October, November, and December; the former relatively dry and the latter with copious rainfall.

In Mosoco this schedule varies considerably, owing to the
[132] peculiar climate and the geographical position. The rains are constant in almost every month of the year; nevertheless, one can count on a few weeks of sunshine during the months of January and February. In the middle of the year, when the trade winds blow from the southeast, the winter is harsh. Thus, the months of intense labor are April, May, and June and coincide exactly with the harvesting of potatoes, wheat, and maize, and also those of November and December, for the planting of potatoes in the "paramo." March, April, and May, are months of plenty, and to some extent September and October as well. It would seem that there should not be any months of "hambruna" /extreme hunger/, but there are.

/305/ It is clear that the people of Mosoco work more and harder than the other natives; they actually harvest in almost every month of the year, but, like the others, they have months of "hambruna," which are September, October, and November, in spite of the fact that during these months they harvest potatoes and ullucos, but they call them such because they do not have
400 maize. The cultivation of potatoes on a large scale began more

The cultivation of potatoes on a large scale
/305 cont./ began more
244 or less two decades ago. "From 1925 to 1930 the one who
433 planted the most potatoes was Ezequiel Mulcué, who caused amazement among the people; now the least planted is 20 arrobas," says one informant. Nowadays there are natives who sow up to 200 arrobas in a year, of which only 70 are planted in the "paramo," and they yield better results than the other arrobas planted. Then, we ask, why do the people of Mosoco have their months of hunger?

262 The basic product of the Paez diet is maize. It was in
154 the past and it continues to be so in the present. Psychologi-
[198] cally, they feel completely satisfied when they have maize for consumption. Its absence causes a sensation of dietary dissatis-
[243] faction. Before the era of the potato, the cultivation of maize and wheat predominated.

461 During the months of July, August, September, and Octo-
464 ber, the natives have little work. This is why those from
166 Vitoncó, San José, Lame, and Suin go and sign up as peons on the fincas of the "whites" on the other side of the Cordillera (Popayán, Corinto, and even in the Cauca Valley). They return toward the end of the year, when the maize and wheat harvests are drawing near. The natives of Calderas, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, and Togoima go to the fincas of Inzá or La Plata. They return in October when the maize harvests are approaching. It must be said that this labor force is excellent and cheap. And for this reason very much in demand.

The natives of Mosoco have sufficient work in their own country.

Clearings /rozas/

241 The term roza is used generically for the extent of land
433 cleared, burned, cleaned, and fenced, ready for planting. It is found on every private property. It has an area of approximately one hectare. Clearings of two or more hectares are rare. An increase in production does not reflect an enlargement of the clearings, but rather their multiplication and the utilization of ever more rugged and /306/ sterile lands. The natives, to

/306 cont./

241 indicate the size of their clearings, refer to the quantity of maize
433 planted, that is to say, four cuartillas (approximately two arrobas). Since each clearing does not produce more than one annual harvest, the Páez calculate the size of their property in terms of years. Thus, if asked how much land they own, they state that they have two, four, six, or ten years. Which is the same as saying that they have land where they can lay out two, four, six, or ten separate clearings. Thus, among the Páez, one year is not merely a measure of time, but also an agrarian measure.

241 The clearings are never made in the foothills covered with grass /pajonales/. They are laid out where thick brush or true forest is found. Seen from a distance, they look like open rectangles or squares in the midst of forest or brush. When they are laid out in virgin montaña, the work begins in October. But ordinarily it is during the months of December, January, and February that the natives are busy at this task. These are summer months, and furthermore there is food for consumption. The summer sun rapidly dries out the underbrush, and toward the end of February and through the month of March it is completely burned. When passing through Tierradentro at this time of year, one sees black patches everywhere. At the same time, all the grasses on the slopes are burned so that with the winter rains they will come back vigorously and serve as pasture for the animals.

Burning is the most widespread and most deep-rooted system of agriculture in Tierradentro. It is the most effective way to clear the lands full of vines, grass, brush, and trees, and, logically, the most economical. It combats all sorts of insects injurious to the plantings, and poisonous reptiles, which are not scarce. The ashes produced, when they are not carried away by the rushing waters, are a true corrective for the unquestionably acid soils. The burning of the grasses is essential, for aside from doing away with the dry straw, a veritable thicket that prevents the shoots from growing, it also does away with ticks. The tender shoots of the herbaceous plants make splendid fodder for the bovine, mule, and wool-bearing livestock. Unfortunately, these burnings are not done in a creative spirit, but
000 rather in a destructive one. Fire is also set to the vegetation on

/310 cont./

243 As may be noted, the magical practices of the té eu are
756 absent, although there still exists that of the eating, which in
789 other parcialidades complements his practices.

249 The cultivation of sugar cane is quite widespread in the
273 temperate thermal level, although the plantings are not extensive and are not pursued for commercial purposes; they serve only for obtaining guarapo (fermented cane juice) for individual and collective labor and for social affairs. Guarapo is an essential part of the domestic economy, in the same manner
249 as coca. It is not produced for public pay. Each house has its
257 sugar mill, either outside or in its interior, but there are no ovens or other accessories for producing panela. The latter industry belongs exclusively to the white or mestizo people.

249 The cultivation of the cane requires three weedings before the first cutting. Three cuttings with good results are generally obtained from each planting.

245 The cultivation of coffee is also very widespread. Its expansion is of recent date, but it already has strong and universal acceptance, like cane and plantains. The method of cultivation suffers from certain deficiencies: the shade is insufficient and inadequate; there is no pruning; the care is not very satis-
[433] factory; many do not have pulping machines. The coffee
245 plantings produce several arrobas per year. The monetary in-
434 come of the natives in the temperate zone is provided basically by
[439] coffee. They sell it to steady and familiar customers for prices
[452] that are usually low. The coffee plantings secure credit for the natives; they often collect money or merchandise against a future
245 harvest. Coffee has permitted them /311/ to acquire dishes, to
434 modify their clothing, to enrich their agricultural equipment,
177 to buy every once in a while the drugs of the "whites." At harvest time they eat meat regularly, and they are also able to pay wages for the improvement of their fincas. But, above all,
[273] it opens the doors of the liquor stores to them. They consume considerable amounts of alcoholic beverages. They have not yet learned to make good use of their monetary income.

/311 cont./

243 Wheat is cultivated with special emphasis in the areas of Lame, El Cuartel, La Troja, and Vitoncó. It is destined primarily for sale. It is planted along with maize, although there are already clearings intended exclusively for its cultiva-
[412] tion. They reap it with knives, rarely with sickles. They do not bind it into sheaves, but make bundles and hang it from the eaves or beams of the house. When dry, they thresh it with wooden clubs /masas/ and separate out its husks by exposing it to the
[256] wind. They grind it at once in hydraulic mills built by them themselves and take it to market. They have no sifters to separate the bran.

128 Below /see pp. 25-33 / we present a statistical table on
241 the production of the various species cultivated by 25 families
433 of Mosoco, 8 of Lame, and 15 of San Andrés including that of
[563] some mestizos and whites, marked with an asterisk, in order to make some comparisons and to estimate the volume of production. We specify the percentage of the production intended for sale. For obvious reasons, we have omitted the names of the family heads, identifying them solely by number in order. The statistical data correspond to the production in the year 1953.
[124] In spite of the fact that this type of investigation presents some
[123] difficulties, owing to the reluctance of people to reveal the data on their production they are in general completely trustworthy, since they were collected after a firm interpersonal relationship had been established between the investigator and the person investigated. In addition, they appreciably agree with our observations noted in "General observations" on Páez agriculture.

/312/ Potato cultivation in Mosoco

244 We have deliberately omitted anything about the cultivation of potatoes in order to deal with it more thoroughly.

The methods of cultivation differ somewhat from those commonly practiced in the other parcialidades. The soil is prepared in beds that follow the direction of the slope. The

6: Bernal Villa--25 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

MOSOCO

	Fams.	Maize				Wheat			
		A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
243	1.*	120	120	...	.....	15	15	...	.....
433	2.	60	60	...	.....	15	...	15	100.0
	3.	20	20	...	.....	10	6	4	60,0
439	4.	44	39	5	11,3	12	4	8	66,6
563	5.	18	18	...	.....	10	1,5	8,5	85,0
	6.	12	12	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
	7.	5	5	...	.....	53	8	45	84,9
	8.	20	20	...	.....	10	...	10	100,0
	9.	20	20	...	.....	45	...	45	100,0
	10.	24	24	...	.....	15	15	...	.....
	11.	3	3	...	.....	6	4	2	33,3
	12.	8	8	...	.....	6	6	...	.....
	13.	10	10	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
	14.	23	23	...	.....	6	6	...	.....
	15.	20	20	...	.....	20	5	15	75,0
	16.	16	15	...	.....	20	10	10	50,0
	17.	12	12	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
	18.	24	24	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
	19.	25	23	2	8,0	9	9	...	.....
	20.	16	16	...	.....	25	5	20	80,0
	21.	12	12	...	.....	40	16	24	60,0
	22.	10	10	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
	23.	12	12	...	.....	45	4	41	91,1
	24.	16	16	...	.....	20	4	16	80,0
	25.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

LAME

1.*	30	30	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	25	25	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	8	8	...	.....	3	3(2)	...	.....
4.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
5.	35	35	...	.....	20	...	20	100,0
6.	80	80	...	.....	5	.(2)	5	100,0
7.	20	20	...	.....	2	2(2)	...	.....
8.	50	50	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

Note: A, indicates the arrobas produced; C, arrobas consumed; V, arrobas sold; and %, the percentage sold. /The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

2. Loss of the harvest.

6: Bernal Villa--26 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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433
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MOSOCO

Fams.	Broad Beans A	C	V	%	Garlic A	C	V	%
1.*	80	80	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	5	5	...	.....	9	...	9	100,0
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.	8	7	1	12,5	...	...	...	.....
5.	2	2	...	.....	1,5	0,5	1	66,6
6.	8	8	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
7.	1	1	...	.....	3	1	2	66,6
8.	1	1	...	.....	6	2	4	66,6
9.	8	8	...	.....	12	...	12	100,0
10.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
11.	1	1	...	.....	5	2	3	60,0
12.	1	1	...	.....	6	1	5	83,3
13.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
14.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.	8	8	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
16.	2	2	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
17.	2	2	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
18.	5	5	...	.....	15	3	12	80,0
19.	...	...	...	.....	2,5	...	2,5	100,0
20.	5	5	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
21.	3	3	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
22.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
23.	...	...	...	.....	2	2	...	.....
24.	...	...	...	.....	10	2	8	80,0
25.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

LAME

1.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	(3)
5.	...	...	...	.....	2,5	...	2,5	100,0
6.	16	16	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
8.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

Note: A, indicates the arrobas produced; C, arrobas consumed; V, arrobas sold; and %, the percentage sold. /The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

3. This informant is white; his sole activity is trading.

6: Bernal Villa--27 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

MOSOCO

Fams.	Ullucos				Nasturtium			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
244 1.	30	30	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
● 433 2.	20	20	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
439 3.	...	...	...	.....	5	5	...	.....
563 4.	3	3	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
6.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
8.	15	15	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
9.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
10.	8	8	...	.....	20	20	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
12.	10	10	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
13.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
14.	40	40	...	.....	40	40	...	.....
15.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
16.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
17.	...	...	...	.....	1	1	...	.....
18.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
19.	30	14	16	53,3	...	...	...	.....
20.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
21.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
22.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
23.	15	15	1	.....	20	20	...	.....
24.	16	12	4	25,0	...	...	...	.....
25.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

LAME

1.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
6.	25	15	10	40,0	25	17	8	32,0
7.	4	4	...	.....	5	...	5	100,0
8.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

Note: A, indicates the arrobas produced; C, arrobas consumed; V, arrobas sold; and %, the percentage sold. /The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

6: Bernal Villa--28 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

MOSOCO

Fams.	Frijoles A	Frijoles C	Frijoles V	Frijoles %	Potatoes A	Potatoes C	Potatoes V	Potatoes %
244 1.*	6	6	...	.....	(1)			
433 2.	15	15	1	.....				
439 3.	...	...	...	.....				
563 4.	6	...	6	100,0				
5.	...	...	...	.....				
6.	...	...	...	.....				
7.	...	...	...	.....				
8.	...	...	...	.....				
9.	...	...	...	.....				
10.	...	...	...	.....				
11.	...	...	...	.....				
12.	...	...	...	.....				
13.	...	...	...	.....				
14.	...	...	...	.....				
15.	...	...	...	.....				
16.	...	...	...	.....				
17.	...	...	...	.....				
18.	5	5	...	.....				
19.	1	1	...	.....				
20.	4	4	...	.....				
21.	...	...	...	.....				
22.	6	6	...	.....				
23.	...	...	...	.....				
24.	...	...	...	.....				
25.*	...	...	...	.....				

LAME

1.*	...	(2)	...	.....	70	...	70	100,0
2.	8	8	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	(2)	...	.....
4.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
6.	8	...	8	100,0	50	20	30	60,0
7.	1	1	...	.....	18	...	18	100,0
8.	10	10	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

Note: A, indicates the arrobas produced; C, arrobas consumed; V, arrobas sold; and %, the percentage sold. /The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

1. The potato production is itemized in a separate table.

2. Loss of the harvest.

241
433 From the above table, and relying exclusively on the data given there, we can deduce the following observations:

1. The production of Mosoco is superior to that of Lame, both in quantity and in the variety of species cultivated.

2. The numerical data indicate that there is underproduction, and for that very reason it may be deduced that there is underconsumption, although these data are rough estimates, since the only approximately exact figures that the natives keep are for the production of potatoes.

[243] [244] 3. The production of wheat, garlic, and potatoes is intended almost exclusively for the market, like that of barley, the production of which is not included in the statistical table, because we only have three figures of Mosoco and three for Lame. On the other hand, the production of maize, frijoles, barley, broad beans, ullucos, and nasturtium tubers is intended almost wholly for internal consumption.

[243] 4. Maize is the basic article of consumption, but the production given does not reflect this fact. Nevertheless, it does not include the amount consumed as roasting ears.

5. Losses of the harvest are frequent in Lame, owing to the lack of fertilizers.

[276] [262] [464] 6. Underproduction is compensated for by a larger consumption of coca (Lame) or by the acquisition of other food items such as panela, lard, bread, and coffee (Mosoco). On the other hand, underproduction explains why the natives go and sign up as day laborers on the haciendas of the "whites."

SAN ANDRES

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Fams.	Coffee				Plantains			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	80	...	80	100,0	300(1)	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	3	...	3	100,0	300(2)	...	...	.....
4.	1	...	1	100,0	50(1)	...	...	.....
5.	15	...	15	100,0	120	118	2	1,6
6.	3	...	3	100,0	200	200	...	.....
7.	3(5)	...	3	100,0	100(1)	...	...	.....
8.	4	...	4	100,0	50(1)	...	...	.....
9.	5	...	5	100,0	150(4)	...	...	.....
10.*	80	...	80	100,0	30(1)	...	...	.....
11.	45	...	45	100,0	...	...	...	.....
12.	...(5)	...	...	.....	100	50	50	50,0
13.	...(5)	...	...	.....	300	100	200	66,6
14.*	6	...	6	100,0	250(1)	...	...	.....
15.*	8	...	8	100,0	100(1)	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

1. Number of plantain plantings that the informant has now.

2. Indicates the number of plantings at present. Last year he gathered about 30 bunches.

4. Indicates the number of plantings at present. Last year he gathered about 30 bunches.

5. Tenant farmer.

6: Bernal Villa--31 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Fams.	Maize				Maniec			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	50	50	...	.....	200	160	40	20,0
2.	29	24	5	17,2	64	53	11	17,1
3.	9	9	...	.....	25	25	...	.....
4.	80	80	...	.....	30	30	...	.....
5.	3	3	...	.....	85	85	...	.....
6.	30	30	...	.....	25(3)	...	...	.....
7.	2	2	...	.....	100	100	...	.....
8.	12	12	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
9.	50	40	10	20,0	60	35	25	41,6
10.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	.....	60(3)	35	25	41,6
12.	8(3)	8	...	.....	50	25	25	50,0
13.	14	4	10	71,6	150	75	75	50,0
14.*	...	...	...	.....	500(6)	...	...	.....
15.*	40	40	...	.....	500(6)	...	...	.....

A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English.

3. Personal estimate of the author.

6. Informant's estimate of the future harvest.

6: Bernal Villa--32 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Fams.	Sugar Cane				Arracacha			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	500	...	500	100,0	40	20	20	50,0
2.	...	...	...	.....	20	12	8	40,0
3.	...	...	...	.....	4	4	...	.....
4.	(7)	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
5.	20	...	20	100,0	4	4	...	.....
6.	(7)	...	...	.....	25(3)	...	...	.....
7.	(7)	...	...	.....	17	17	1	.....
8.	(7)	...	...	.....	15(3)	...	...	.....
9.	(7)	...	...	.....	20	10	10	50,0
10.*	(7)	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
11.	40	...	40	100,0	20	10	10	50,0
12.	(7)	...	...	.....	18	9	9	50,0
13.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
14.*	(7)	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.*	100	...	100	100,0	...	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English.

3. Personal estimate of the author.

7. Owns plantings of sugar cane.

6: Bernal Villa--33 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15
San Andres

Fams.	Coca A	Coca C	Coca V	Coca %	Frijoles A	Frijoles C	Frijoles V	Frijoles %
1.*	4	4	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	5	4	1	20,0
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
6.	...	...	...	(8)	3	3	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
8.	...	...	...	(8)	8	8	...	.....
9.	...	...	...	(8)	20	10	10	50,0
10.*	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
12.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
13.	6	2	4	66,6	5	1	4	80,0
14.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

8. Owns plantings of coca.

From the above table we can make the following deductions:

1. The coffee production is wholly intended for sale. It thus constitutes the principal source of monetary income for the natives and, of course, for the "whites."

2. Maize, frijoles, sugar cane, and coca are intended almost exclusively for internal consumption. The production of panela indicated in the table refers to the whites and mestizos.

3. The food base of San Andrés is provided by maize, plantains, manioc, and arracacha. At the time of the coffee harvest, meat is consumed. Coca and guarapo indispensably complement this dietary regimen.

6: Bernal Villa--68 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Average Distribution of Crops per Family

Parcialidad	Maize T	Maize P	Maize B	Maize %	Wheat T	Wheat P	Wheat B	Wheat %	Broad Beans T	Broad Beans P	Broad Beans B	Broad Beans %	Garlic T	Garlic P	Garlic	Garlic %
Mosoco	550	22	120	21,8	392	15	15	3,5	140	5	80	57,1	72	3	—	—
Lamo	248	31	30	12,1	30	3	—	—	16	2	—	—	3	—	—	—

	Ullucos T	Ullucos P	Ullucos B	Ullucos %	Nasturtium T	Nasturtium P	Nasturtium B	Nasturtium %	Frijoles T	Frijoles P	Frijoles B	Frijoles %	Potatoes T	Potatoes P	Potatoes B	Potatoes %
Mosoco	187	7	—	—	136	5	—	—	43	1	6	13,9	4.300	172	865	20,0
Lamo	25	3	—	—	25	3	—	—	27	3	—	—	138	17	70	50,7

	Coffee T	Coffee P	Coffee B	Coffee %	Plantains (27) T	Plantains (27) P	Plantains (27) B	Plantains (27) %	Maize T	Maize P	Maize B	Maize %	Frijoles T	Frijoles P	Frijoles B	Frijoles %
San Andrés	254	17	174	68,5	2050	136	680	33,1	327	22	90	27,5	40	3	—	—

	Manioc T	Manioc P	Manioc B	Manioc %	Arracacha T	Arracacha P	Arracacha B	Arracacha %
San Andrés	1.849	123	1.200	64,8	183	12	40	21,8

Note: T indicates the total arrobas produced by the family investigated.

P, the average number of arrobas for each one of these families.

B, the arrobas produced by the "whites," and %, the percentage that the latter produce in relation to the totals indicated.

/The commas in the figures are to be read as points, and the points as commas, in the translation to English./

27. The figures indicate the number of plantain trees producing.

6: Bernal Villa--69 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

/343/

241 Thus, a native family of Mosoco and Lame, in their re-
433 spective order, has for its subsistence throughout the year 18 and 36 arrobas of maize, 16 and 5 arrobas of wheat, 2.5 and 2.5 arrobas of broad beans, 3 and 0 arrobas of garlic, 8 and 4 arrobas of ullucos, 5 and 4 arrobas of nasturtium tubers, 1.5 and 4.5 arrobas of frijoles, and 149 and 11 arrobas of potatoes. A native family of San Andrés has 7 arrobas of coffee, 124 bunches of plantains, 21.5 arrobas of maize, 59 arrobas of manioc, 13
[249] arrobas of arracacha, and 4 arrobas of frijoles. Unfortunately it is impossible to obtain statistics on the production of coca and, above all, on the amount of sugar cane consumed in the form of guarapo, which makes it impossible for us to find out in what ways and in what amounts it complements the consumption of each family.

As for maize, we see that the amounts for the families of San Andrés and Lame are superior to those for the families of Mosoco. Those for Lame are exactly double. But while in the latter, aside from coffee, there is no species produced for sale, in Mosoco, on the other hand, there are wheat, garlic, and potatoes for such a purpose. From which we deduce that the smaller the number of crops intended for trade that there is in a parcialidad, the larger will be the production of species for internal consumption, above all those that can be preserved for long periods of time, such as maize, frijoles, and broad beans. Ullucos, potatoes, and, above all, nasturtium tubers demand almost immediate consumption. The same is true of plantains, manioc, and arracacha. This is the reason why the families of San Andrés and Lame have at their disposal larger quantities of maize and frijoles than those of Mosoco.

Division of activities according to sex

462 From the earliest age, differences are established in the technological, economic, and everyday activities.

Among the Páez, only the man can make palm hats for the woman and for himself, wield the machete with full skill and dexterity, fashion the trough, sugar mill and the plates for eating, and play the musical instruments. On the other hand, only the

[San Andrés]

/345 cont./

427 San Andrés is the sole region of Tierradentro, as far as we
161 know, where tenant farmers are found. Although the number of persons sunk in this servitude is no higher than 100, the mere occurrence of this phenomenon already tells us of an excess of population, at least in the parcialidades of San Andrés and Santa
[131] Rosa, from which the tenant farmers came. On the other hand, the scattering of the Páez group through this very department of Cauca, the departments of Huila and Tolima, and even through
[311] the department of the Valle is well known. The colonization of the uncultivated lands in Tierradentro by the natives has been systematic and intensive during recent years. There is the utilization of ever more inaccessible lands for agriculture in the temperate thermal level. All of these are factors that clearly tell us of an excess in the Páez population.

427 Here is what a tenant farmer told us about the phenomenon
241 of tenant farming: As a tenant farmer he has the right to own a
466 house, a garden, and a clearing. The house and garden are contiguous and complementary. His garden occupies one plaza /a Colombian measure with 80 meters to the side/ more or less, and in it he has planted plantains (about 200 trees), oranges (about five trees), onions, arracacha, manioc, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, and some 200 coca trees. He has surrounded the garden with barbed wire provided by the owner in order to avoid damage by the animals of the hacienda. He can lay out his clearing on any site of the hacienda. It changes every year. In his present clearing he has planted 1,500 manioc plants; 200 of arracacha (he could not find more seed); maize; small frijoles /frĭjol chiquito/ (in one month he hills the "sprigs," in two months they flower, and in three months he harvests) and large frijoles /frĭjol grande/, and, finally, about two loads of sugar-
[433] cane shoots (seed). The produce of the clearing and of the garden is primarily for consumption, but if there is a surplus he may sell it to anyone, even though the owner urges him not
[249] to sell to anyone but himself. The sugar cane is milled in the
[257] /346/ sugar mill of the owner, with the subsequent use of his implements to make panela, half of what is produced being given to him.

466 /346 cont./
427 needs it (nominal). On the following week he must return to
257 work at the hacienda.
[461] /347/ Each week he produces some 40 arrobas of panela.
[433] The informant boils it down, his wife mills with the deaf and dumb son, and the other son strips the cane. The milling
[422] equipment is expensive and thus belongs to the hacienda. His own tools are two shovels, one small bar, and three machetes, with which he works for the hacienda. The owner of the hacienda has tried to dismiss him three times. Once because he made panela for another owner; it displeases the owner to have him work elsewhere, especially at a mill. The informant did not want to leave his house.

427 The plantings that he has made have sometimes been
241 lost because of the wetness of the soil, leaving no solution but
466 to plant again. The owner does not help at all in such calamities. He has the right to plant as much as he wishes.
[423] Now he owns about 200 coffee trees, but the owner has forbidden him to plant more trees.

427 The informant has seven children, five of whom are females;
465 three of them earn a peso a day working on the hacienda, harvest-
466 ing and weeding coffee. One who is younger earns 50 centavos, and the son pays land rent and earns a daily wage of two pesos. The owner is not honest. To pay the daily wages he usually takes out bills of ten or twenty pesos and sends one of the peons to exchange them for smaller currency, which is always short when it is received. He pays in part and later maintains that the total was met.

Another informant from the same hacienda says that for two years of vaquería (tending cattle) the owner gave him in payment for his labor one mare that is not worth 30 pesos. While doing this work he suffered hunger and worked too hard. Now, aside from having remunerated him very badly, he demands the payment of rent for the two years that he was engaged in this work.

In general terms, the tenant farmers of San Andrés, in exchange for the use of half a hectare of land, one garden, and one house, are obliged: to pay three days of rent per month, providing their own food; to work as day laborers for the hacienda,

/357 cont./

261 that is provided by having what is to be consumed. An abundance
594 of guarapo and maize undoubtedly gives them great gratification. When these products are abundant the religious fiestas, mingas, and "entertainments" are good, the natives say, and they describe at great length the incidents as they unfold.

178 But, in spite of the fact that the work capacity of the in-
241 dividual is acknowledged, that the possession of domestic animals
433 lends a certain prestige within the group, and that the abundance
[554] of food and guarapo brings gratification, the agricultural cycle
[231] remains stationary within the lineaments of time, of the systems of labor, and of the quantity of seed. They produce essentially
178 for consumption. The stimulation of prestige does not exist. In
433 many parcialidades, the habits of a capitalistic economy are openly
[754] combated by the sorcerers (32). Nevertheless, we have already

32. Bernal Villa, S. op. cit., p. 256.

had the opportunity to state that the introduction of the cultivation of coffee (temperate zone), the development of livestock-raising and of the cultivation of potatoes in Mosoco, and the creation of settlement areas in the very heart of the native parcialidades are rapidly modifying all of the institutions of Páez culture. The family economy of self-provisioning and of small barter operations is changing perceptibly into a purely money economy. By the same process the routine monotony is disappearing from production and is being replaced by new techniques of work, a greater quantity of production, and a greater volume of trade.

434 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, and San Andrés, we
121 made an investigation of familial income and expenses /358/ for
124 the year 1953, on the basis of questionnaires prepared by the Comisión de Planeamiento de la Seguridad Social Campesina of the Ministerio del Trabajo, questionnaires that were filled out by us for the said commission with reference to Tierradentro.

7:Hernández de Alba E-54(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The main subsistence of these tribes was and still is based on the cultivation of potatoes, which grow in great quantities in the higher portions of the territory known as Tierradentro, and maize, which is acclimated to the temperate and cold zones. There are three varieties of maize: sweet, soft, and hard. Additional crops were and are yuca or manioc, sweet potatoes, auyamas, ullucos, purutos, frijoles, arracacha, and various other vegetables, and a variety of fruits, including bananas, guayavas, avocados, papayas, pineapples, and passion fruit. Today the *Pdez* and *Moguex* are beginning to grow wheat, coffee, which is an important item in their economy, and sugarcane, from which is made a coarse sugar and molasses for their fermented drink, guarapo.

[178] [433] [273]

241 476 The men and women of each family generally cultivate the family plot, but for large-scale maize or coffee planting, and for cultivation of the lands of the Church or saint, they work communally, and have meetings called "mingas." Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense. The beneficiary must feed his helpers, generally sacrificing a pig and preparing great quantities of chicha for the libations and nocturnal dances after the work. All adults must participate in working the Church lands but each brings his own food.

[782] [273]

241 412 407 492 Implements of cultivation are the digging stick, or macana, for making holes for planting, machetes and axes for destroying vegetation, and picks and shovels for removing earth, except where replaced by plows pulled by animal traction.

231 **Domesticated animals.**—Domesticated animals include chickens, turkeys, some pigs, dogs, and a few horses and cows. All but the turkeys are of European origin. These animals are rarely sold or killed for food, except for feast days, magical ceremonies, meetings, and visits of relatives, friends or distinguished White men. But sometimes the Indians buy meat in the weekly market and hang it over the hearth, where it is preserved by the smoke.

[177] [438] [251]

574 431 A custom which has persisted since the beginning of the Colonial Period is that of always giving a guest the "camarico" or "cariño" (affection), a present varying from an egg to a chicken, together with some potatoes, vegetables, and coffee beans.

262 136 231 Formerly, meat was obtained from wild rather than domesticated animals—boars (zaíno), guaras, guatines, birds, and guinea pigs, the last being true domesticated animals kept in some numbers in the native houses.

252 **Food preparation.**—Food was cooked in pottery ollas, but metal and enamel ware is now often used. The *Pdez* make "mute," a soup of boiled maize, cabbage, squash, and potatoes, and "cocido," a soup

[415] [177]

/107 cont./

123 knew tales he could tell, and to whom we gave tobacco and salt and a few other small gifts, a knife, a hoe, or an aluminum cup. At the moment he had a headache, he said. I gave him a few tablets, and we agreed that I would come back the next morning and he would tell me a few tales. When we arrived the next day, after hours of tramping, his wife told us that her husband had gone into the mountains very early that morning in order to cut wood.

115 Our first visit in Calderas took place in the company of the interpreter, Marcos Antonio Penkue, a Paez about 40 years old from San Andrés, who regarded himself as very civilized and who had reached a certain position of wealth. He served as a [191] soldier on the Brazilian border and speaks Spanish well. On his [245] finca /see the glossary, p. 249 / he has about 2,000 coffee trees, [439] whose yield he sells in Inzá on the market. He also carries on [464] other business there by functioning as an interpreter and middleman for the non-Spanish-speaking and generally unbusinesslike Paez. During our work in Calderas he combined business with his services. [233] The Paez are ardent cattle-raisers, albeit not in our economic sense, but purely for sport and the pleasure of numbers. A cow-calf is much more valuable to them than a full-grown bull, for [437] it will produce another calf and increase the herd. Thus, Marcos Antonio exchanged calves for bulls in Calderas and, indeed, bought [434] some cattle himself. These business transactions bring him about 200 to 250 pesos profit per head, since among themselves the Paez ask only low prices, about 50 pesos for a bull. His selling 115 price on the market in Inzá amounts to about 300 pesos. He re- 124 garded the work with us as highly troublesome, but he knew what he was worth to us. His fee rose from three pesos a day at the beginning to ten pesos. Translations that seemed to him too complicated or explanations that were too long for him he would give "in essence" in a few words, after which my counterquestions obviously annoyed him. One day when I had planned some important work, but he some important business, he hid our horses and calmly let us look for them all day long, while he, under the pretext of searching for the horses, carried on his business until he "found" them in the evening.

/130 cont./

249 three years is very long. Shoots from old sugar-cane plants are used as slips, which are set out by the men in the same way as the maize kernels. A hole is made in the ground with the digging stick at one-meter intervals in every direction from the neighboring plant; the slip is stuck into it and pressed firmly with [462] the hands. The cane is harvested by men or women. Both know [482] how to handle the machete. The men carry the sugar cane home over their shoulders (Ill. 173 /see p.277 /), women stuff the sugar cane into the fiber bags and hang them over their backs, holding the carrying band with their foreheads.

244 Besides maize and sugar cane, the bean (ōs) is of great im- [262] portance for the Paez diet. There are the large, speckled so-called "sow beans" /broad beans/ (Spanish frijol) and the smaller, white beans. /131/ The former are for the most part eaten, whereas the white beans are usually sold. They are sowed either in the vicinity of the house at the foot of trees and shrubs, with three beans always stuck into the ground at a time, or together with maize. In this case, during the maize sowing, three to four beans are put in the same hole with the six to eight maize kernels. In growing simultaneously the beans climb up the maize stalks.

243 Wheat (skótc) is not of importance in the diet of the Paez, [262] for no bread is baked. Nevertheless it is very often planted because it grows fast and thus represents a suitable item for the Paez to sell. 243 If anyone has to buy something, be it fabric for a pair of trousers, ● 434 a machete, a metal pot, etc., he sows wheat, usually in March/ April, and after half a year he can already pocket profit from the sale. It is characteristic of the Paez, however, that they make use of this only when they need something urgently, but not in 243 advance so as to have money on hand in any case. The preparation for wheat sowing is done in the customary manner of clearing by burning. The sower hangs around himself a fiber bag containing the seed grain and, in exactly the same fashion as our sower, starts to broadcast the wheat with his hand in a wide arc. Subsequently the ground is superficially turned over with the shovel, so that the birds cannot pick up the grains. In harvesting it a bundle of stalks is grasped a good hand's breadth under the ears and cut off with the

/303 cont./

241 relatively recent times, has fertile and humid soils. The harvests
433 are large and of excellent quality. It produces profitable yields.
244 The real production of Mosoco potatoes is there. They them-
[492] selves designate it as the principal harvest. During the months of April and May, when the potatoes are being harvested, numerous droves of pack animals carry the produce daily to the market
[435] in Silvia. The profits from this crop are dependable. The cultivators state that even selling at four pesos per arroba it gives a profit. Normally an arroba of potatoes is quoted at six or seven pesos. The planting of potatoes in the paramo begins in October, is intensified in November and December, and the last is done in January. They take advantage of the mildness of the climate
[132] at this time. During the months of June, July, and August the
[484] winter is harsh, with intense cold and hurricane winds. Crossing the paramos at this time is quite perilous.

241 In San José, La Troja, El Cabuyo, El Cuartel, Lame, and
433 Vitoncó, during the first four months of the year, wheat, barley, maize, frijoles, broad beans, and peaches are harvested.

Toward the months of October, November, and December, harvesting is done in Suin, Chinas, Calderas, San Andrés, Togoima, Santa Rosa, and Mosoco itself and consists principally of Maize, frijoles, ullucos, potatoes, and coffee. They constitute what we might /304/ call the second harvests of the year in Tierradentro. The planting begins after Ash Wednesday (March approximately) and is intensified in the months of April and May.
244 The last is done in July. The potato seed planted at about this
433 time in Mosoco comes from the harvest in the "paramo." This is a secondary planting of scant yield. It usually results in losses, but the Mosoco cultivators plant with the aim of preserving the seed. It is interesting to note that the sole agricultural activity of one trader based in Mosoco is the planting of potatoes in the
[434] paramo. He dispenses with the July sowing altogether. He prefers to buy the seed in Silvia, he pays the entire labor force, and in spite of these investments, which are high, he gets a good profit.

/310 cont./

243 As may be noted, the magical practices of the té eu are
756 absent, although there still exists that of the eating, which in
789 other parcialidades complements his practices.

249 The cultivation of sugar cane is quite widespread in the
273 temperate thermal level, although the plantings are not extensive and are not pursued for commercial purposes; they serve only for obtaining guarapo (fermented cane juice) for individual and collective labor and for social affairs. Guarapo is an essential part of the domestic economy, in the same manner
249 as coca. It is not produced for public pay. Each house has its
257 sugar mill, either outside or in its interior, but there are no ovens or other accessories for producing panela. The latter industry belongs exclusively to the white or mestizo people.

249 The cultivation of the cane requires three weedings before the first cutting. Three cuttings with good results are generally obtained from each planting.

245 The cultivation of coffee is also very widespread. Its expansion is of recent date, but it already has strong and universal acceptance, like cane and plantains. The method of cultivation suffers from certain deficiencies: the shade is insufficient and inadequate; there is no pruning; the care is not very satis-
[433] factory; many do not have pulping machines. The coffee
245 plantings produce several arrobas per year. The monetary in-
434 come of the natives in the temperate zone is provided basically by
[439] coffee. They sell it to steady and familiar customers for prices
[452] that are usually low. The coffee plantings secure credit for the natives; they often collect money or merchandise against a future
245 harvest. Coffee has permitted them /311/ to acquire dishes, to
434 modify their clothing, to enrich their agricultural equipment,
177 to buy every once in a while the drugs of the "whites." At harvest time they eat meat regularly, and they are also able to pay wages for the improvement of their fincas. But, above all,
[273] it opens the doors of the liquor stores to them. They consume considerable amounts of alcoholic beverages. They have not yet learned to make good use of their monetary income.

6: Bernal Villa--33 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15
San Andres

Fams.	Coca				Frijoles			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	4	4	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	5	4	1	20,0
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
6.	...	...	...	(8)	3	3	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
8.	...	...	...	(8)	8	8	...	.....
9.	...	...	...	(8)	20	10	10	50,0
10.*	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
12.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
13.	6	2	4	66,6	5	1	4	80,0
14.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

8. Owns plantings of coca.

From the above table we can make the following deductions:

1. The coffee production is wholly intended for sale. It thus constitutes the principal source of monetary income for the natives and, of course, for the "whites."

2. Maize, frijoles, sugar cane, and coca are intended almost exclusively for internal consumption. The production of panela indicated in the table refers to the whites and mestizos.

3. The food base of San Andrés is provided by maize, plantains, manioc, and arracacha. At the time of the coffee harvest, meat is consumed. Coca and guarapo indispensably complement this dietary regimen.

/357 cont./

261 that is provided by having what is to be consumed. An abundance
594 of guarapo and maize undoubtedly gives them great gratification. When these products are abundant the religious fiestas, mingas, and "entertainments" are good, the natives say, and they describe at great length the incidents as they unfold.

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/358 cont./

434 [121] There were 48 families investigated, of which 25 were from Mosoco, 8 from Lame, and 15 from San Andrés. They are identified by numbers in order.

The sources of monetary income are provided by agriculture, especially by potatoes, wheat, garlic, and coffee; by livestock-raising, that is to say, the sale of animals, including derivatives such as milk and cheeses, as well as barnyard fowl; by business transactions, including the resale of agricultural and livestock products produced by the natives; by daily wages, including some contra[illegible]rk; by crafts, which include manufactures (blankets, rugs, s[illegible]es, pouches, sewing, ceramics, and tile-making) and hydraulic mills; by freightage, that is to say, the profit from renting beasts of burden; by the previous year's savings; and by loans.

At first sight agriculture stands out as the principal source of family income, corresponding specifically to potatoes, wheat, and garlic for Mosoco, laurel wax and potatoes for Lame, and coffee for San Andrés. But in the parcialidad of Mosoco livestock is not merely complementary, but as important as agriculture itself. Even more so. In nine of the 25 families investigated, livestock-raising balances the family budget, which the deficit [427] was due to the loss of harvests. We also observed that the renting of beasts of burden is an important factor in the family income; an incipient development of family industry that represents sources of monetary income; and, finally, the income from daily wages in the parcialidad is rather limited. In the parcialidades of Lame and San Andrés, on the other hand, livestock-raising occupies a secondary position, and the family income is complemented, when agriculture produces an imbalance, chiefly by day labor.

434 563 [439] Trade is primarily an activity of the "whites," and so are industries of elaboration such as panela and cheese. In regard to trade we found one case of a "white" family established in a parcialidad, whose only source of income through life has been nothing but the profits from trade.

/359/

●434 The statistical tables on income which we present below demonstrate to us with numbers the arguments of our guesses, since they permit us to compare the incomes of the families in the three native parcialidades and give us a clear idea of the process of acculturation which is taking place in the parcialidad of Mosoco.

6: Bernal Villa--89 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

/359 cont./

Family Income

434
454
563

Fams.	Agriculture $	Agriculture %	Livestock $	Livestock %	Trade $	Trade %	Daily Wages $	Daily Wages %	Crafts $	Crafts %	Freightage $	Freightage %	
1.*	871,00	17,9	760,00	15,6	2.430,00	49,6	.....	.....	210,00	4,3	.....	....	(33)
2.	563,00	79,5	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	85,00	12,0	(34)
3.	122,00	21,0	105,00	17,8	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	(35)
4.	285,00	36,3	500,00	63,6	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
5.	42,50	9,5	35,00	6,9	83,00	16,2	151,00	29,6	.....	....	192,00	37,7	
6.	145,00	13,9	750,00	71,9	.....	....	.....	.....	148,00	14,1	.....	....	
7.	250,00	22,1	700,00	61,9	180,00	15,9	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
8.	90,00	12,6	620,00	87,3	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
9.	399,00	31,3	73,00	5,7	.....	....	.....	.....	500,00	39,3	300,00	23,5	
10.	480,00	59,0	51,00	6,3	.....	....	270,00	33,2	12,00	1,6	.....	....	
11.	94,00	16,3	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	480,00	83,6	
12.	726,00	100,0	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
13.	250,00	23,5	600,00	56,6	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	210,00	19,7	
14.	136,00	11,3	935,00	78,1	.....	....	.....	.....	126,00	10,5	.....	....	
15.	724,00	55,6	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	216,00	16,6	360,00	27,6	
16.	487,00	73,6	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	144,00	26,3	
17.	.....	....	....	....	.....	....	300,00	100,0	.....	....	.....	....	
18.	1.910,00	98,7	....	....	25,00	1,2	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
19.	1.006,00	68,4	500,00	31,5	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
20.	267,00	67,0	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	300,00	32,9	
21.	438,00	72,5	130,00	22,0	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	32,00	5,4	
22.	298,00	22,6	800,00	60,3	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	226,00	16,6	
23.	366,00	60,3	180,00	29,5	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	60,00	9,8	
24.	166,00	37,2	200,00	44,8	.....	....	.....	.....	30,00	6,7	50,00	11,2	
25.*	1.672,00	16,2	2.690,00	26,7	2.702,00	26,8	.....	.....	300,00	29,8	.....	....	
LAME													
1.*	280,00	30,3	....	....	1.352,00	49,8	.....	.....	.....	....	1.080,00	39,8	
2.	75,00	26,7	30,00	10,7	.....	....	120,00	42,8	13,50	4,8	42,00	14,9	
3.	.....	....	....	....	206,00	45,1	.....	.....	.....	....	....	....	(36)
4.*	.....	....	....	....	2.722,00	100,0	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
5.	132,00	22,2	40,00	6,7	.....	....	270,00	45,7	.....	....	.....	....	(37)
6.	470,00	92,1	....	....	40,00	7,8	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
7.	307,00	38,3	71,50	25,6	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	100,00	36,1	
8.	252,00	95,5	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	12,00	4,5	.....	....	

Note: The peso sign ($) indicates the total monetary income, and % indicates the percentage of income from one activity in relation to the total income. /The commas in the figures should be read as points, and the points as commas, in the translation to English./

33. The deficit was compensated for by a loan of $600.00, which is equivalent to 12.3% of the total income.

34. Deficit compensated for by $60.00 saved in 1952, or 8.4% of the income.

35. Deficit compensated for by $300.00 saved in 1952, or 51.1% of the income.

36. Deficit compensated for by $250.00 saved in 1952, or 54.8% of the income.

37. Deficit compensated for by $150.00 saved in 1952, or 25.3% of the total income.

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SAN ANDRES

Fams.	Agriculture $	Agriculture %	Agriculture $	Agriculture %	Livestock $	Livestock %	Trade $	Trade %	Day Wages $	Day Wages %	Crafts $	Crafts %
1.*	3.120,00	58,7	1.460,00	27,5	500,00	9,4	.....	.....	.....	....	225,00	4,4
2.	48,00	54,2	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	40,50	45,7	.....	....
3.	132,00	70,5	....	....	.....	....	55,00	29,4	.....	....	.....	....
4.	22,20	28,5	....	....	.....	....	56,00	71,6	.....	....	.....	....
5.	309,00	62,2	....	....	.....	....	45,00	7,1	191,00	30,5	.....	....
6.	152,50	61,6	....	....	.....	....	95,00	38,3	.....	....	.....	....
7.	87,00	26,6	....	....	.....	....	240,00	73,3	.....	....	.....	....
8.	195,00	42,3	200,00	43,4	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	.... (38)
9.	320,00	72,6	120,00	27,2	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
10.*	2.000,00	89,2	....	....	200,00	10,7	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
11.	1.455,00	53,1	600,00	24,8	600,00	24,8	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
12.	170,00	100,0	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
13.	650,00	100,0	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
14.*	190,00	4,8	1.810,00	46,5	880,00	22,8	120,00	3,1	880,00	22,8	.....	....
15.*	379,00	14,4	....	....	100,00	3,8	.....	.....	2.143,10	81,7	.....	....

/The headings are obviously in error on this table./

38. Deficit compensated for by $65.00 saved in 1952, or 14.1% of the income.

511 In the statistical table of expenses, the first thing that we observe in the three parcialidades is the small amount of money spent under the headings "Drugs," "Medical Service," "Taxes," and "Education."

75 The protection of the health of adults and children is fundamental among the Páez. Child mortality has a high percentage, and parasitosis, diarrhea, and tuberculosis are almost endemic. But in Páez culture the care of the té eu (good curer) and the nasa jihi (sorcerer), the former protects people from illness and from the curses of the latter; the sorcerer with his magic powers can take people's lives. On the other hand, the té eu openly condemn the use of the drugs and the medical service of the "whites." These two institutions still enjoy great power and basically govern almost all of the institutional life of the Páez. In Mosoco seven heads of families spent small sums of money for the purchase of drugs. /The following table and illustrations appear between p. 360 and p. 361 in the original text./

[text continues on p. 108]

/362 cont./

511 The articles of clothing most in demand are trousers, shirts,
438 hats, underwear, rebozos, and sashes (Mosoco), large shawls
439 /pañolones/ (Lame and San Andrés), and smocks for the children.
[301] Ponchos are also purchased with some frequency. In Mosoco,
[223] gold earrings are ornaments appreciated by the women, in contrast to other parcialidades where gold is /363/ regarded as taboo. The natives wear no sandals or shoes. It should also be noted that the women's skirts are not purchased, but made at home; while in Mosoco the purchase of the reboso de Castilla /Spanish shawl/ is quite frequent and a sign of elegance, in the other parcialidades
511 they buy pañolones. If we compare the figures for food and clothing, the percentage of the income devoted to the former in Mosoco, with two exceptions, is higher than that devoted to clothing. In Lame, and especially in San Andrés, the percentages for food and clothing tend to be the same, and often the latter is higher than the former. The phenomenon is not strange if we bear in mind that in these two parcialidades cultivation is more for internal consumption than for sale. As for "Amusements," although various expenses have been included among them, they refer basically to expenses for the fancy for alcoholic and fermented beverages. Naturally, the expenses are necessarily higher, as we shall see later. As for lighting, in spite of the fact that in San Andrés and Lame it is made out of wild laurel wax, stearic candles are also purchased, and in Mosoco they are always
511 purchased. Soap is purchased by all the natives. In the column
454 showing the part for savings we note that only six of the 48 families
[434] investigated have no figures for it.[7] And in order to make a few deductions, we have made an analysis of the incomes of the 48 families studied:

7 [See p. 93 for this table -- Analyst]

/363 cont./

511
454
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Parcialidad	Less than $100.00	From $100.00 to $500.00	From $500.00 to $1,000.00	From $1,000.00 to $2,000.00	From $2,000.00 to $5,000.00	More than $5,000.00
Mosoco	-	2	12	9	1	1
Lame	-	4	2	-	2	-
San Andrés	2	6	2	-	4	1
Totals	2	12	16	9	7	2

We thus observe that 28 of the 48 families studied, or 78.3%, have incomes of less than 1,000 pesos, with which savings [426] practically cannot exist. Even with regard to the Mosoco family [691] identified by the number 18, which in the Savings column has the amount of $1,034.24 7/1 we were able to verify that this amount /364/ was strictly nominal and that the head of the family had resorted to the Caja Agraria to ask for a loan of $500.00 to make improvements on his finca, a loan which he indeed obtained; through indirect information we were able to ascertain that the amount given as savings was possibly spent on the expenses of a [563] lawsuit for land which a brother-in-law was prosecuting. The savings of the "white" families are true and also those of some few native families, but in general terms what we would calculate as savings can be assigned to the "Amusements" column; the natives live from day to day. The impulse to save does not exist or is minimal. We had the opportunity to verify that there is no prudence with regard to expenses when considerable sums are received, such as, for example, those that come from the sale of coffee. The modest savings of the natives go up in smoke

7/1 [column actually reads $1033.24, see p. 93 - Au.]

/364 cont./

in the cantinas, in lawsuits over land, or for religious fiestas. These arguments are confirmed, on the other hand, by the statistical table on income in that only five native families in the three parcialidades made up the deficits in their budgets of last year with sums saved in 1952.

Economy and acculturation

Before closing the present work we wish to describe in broad outline the process of acculturation which is now going on in some Páez parcialidades.

The material on Páez culture which we have published and that which we are now elaborating on were collected in the parcialidades located on the right bank of the Paez River, leaving aside those located on the left bank of this river, owing above all to factors of public order which have been disturbing their peace for several years.

The native communities of San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Calderas, Avirama, Suin, Chinas, Lame, Vitoncó, Huila, Toez, and Tálaga are more traditionalistic, live in accordance with the institutions of the culture, and for this reason we regard them as more "primitive." On the other hand, the community of Mosoco, suspended on the slopes of the Central Cordillera itself and extending into the very heart of the Paramo de Moras, is fully in the process of transformation.

/365/ Our research was begun in the parcialidad of Calderas, isolated, by reasons of a geographical nature, from the principal centers of the "white" population and whose inhabitants have defended their independence at all costs and have been hostile to living with the "whites" (39). From here comes the greater part

39. Bernal Villa, S. "Mitología y cuentos de la parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro /Mythology and tales from the parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro/," pp. 289 ff.

of our materials. But we also carried out systematic investigations in San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Lame, Vitoncó, Tálaga, and, lastly, in Mosoco.

/165 cont./

126 worked state is considerably more brilliant than the somewhat
439 yellowish sheep wool. Moreover, their aniline dyes gleam much
184 more brightly than the vegetable dyestuffs of the Paez dyes.
126 Unfortunately, they are shorter than the Paez belts. Neverthe-
439 less, the trade was most happily made. The coca pouches of
437 our collection, too, we acquired entirely by way of barter, for example, for a pair of scissors at the Bogotá price of 50 centavos. At the market in Inzá such a pair costs about a peso. The Paez know this. Nevertheless, the same persons who had previously refused a sale for five pesos exchanged a pouch for a pair of scissors. It was the same with eggs. They would not sell them for 20 centavos, but traded them for a wax candle which was available everywhere for five centavos.

43 In the case of their own products, there is no trade from village to village. Nor is there any exchange of certain specialties outside the village, since the initiative for special achievements or the unusual always comes from the colonists or foreign traders. In general the Paez do not buy and sell among themselves, but only barter, since money is used very unwillingly among them. Their idea that an article sold, /166/ for example, an egg, may bring misfortune to the part retained, in this case the chicken, may play a role in this. Moreover, even today paper money is scarcely ever accepted, first because they usually do not have a special pocketbook, but put the bills in their coca pouch, where they may be easily torn, and, secondly, because many are in the habit of burying their money or hiding it somewhere. In this way the bills soon become moldy, whereas hard money lasts a long time. The latter is therefore extremely rare in the entire Tierradentro area.

435 In the barter of foodstuffs there are certain rates that every-
437 body knows. Since, furthermore, they always make an effort to furnish only satisfactory goods, there are no exaggerated claims or any reason for bargaining or haggling. It is simply: either-or, especially since market phenomena have no effects, and the barter rates are in no way increased in times of shortage or want. Thus, at the time of my visit, sheep and therefore wool were very

/166 cont./

435 scarce. Nevertheless, the barter rate of the wool of a sheep for
437 a bag of maize was not shaken.

The sheep themselves were generally not bartered, but only
[804] the wool, which amounts to about a pound. The equivalent is a tomín (Span. pile) of sugar cane piled up in a mound about a meter wide at the base and a meter high. In exceptional cases of bartering sheep, I was told that the equivalent is ten tomín of sugar cane or 12 pounds of coca leaves or two arrobas of maize (one Spanish arroba corresponds to approximately 12.5 kilograms). In this case, as in many barter transactions, the customary barter equivalents sometimes deviate considerably from the market prices customary among the Paez. (The official market prices in the trade with the colonists on the weekly market are about five times as high.) Thus, for example, one tomín of sugar cane is worth 20 centavos, but one pound of wool from a sheep, one peso. Arracacha is also bartered in the form of a tomín quantity, which comes to about ten to 12 pieces. The value in money is ten centavos. One pound of coca leaves is exchanged for one pound of salt (value 20 centavos) or one pound of rice or ten eggs. The latter cost 25 centavos apiece at the weekly market in Inzá. The Paez use stones as pound weights, which are gauged accord-
[405] ing to a pound of salt bought from a trader in Inzá. Two calabashes fastened to a scale beam serve as scales.

[804] Potatoes are bartered in cuartillas and measured out in large wooden bowls which are made by the Paez themselves and contain about ten pounds. The equivalent consists of half a bottle of brandy. This would come to 80 centavos at a trader's, as the barter /167/ amounts of a tomín of sugar cane or a fiber bag full of maize indicate. Vegetable and fruit bananas are bartered by the whole bushels (tlóits), which, however, in Tierradentro contain only about 30 to 50 bananas. Two bushels are worth a bag of maize. Beans, like maize, are bartered in fiber bags, and
[432] a bag full of cabbage has the same value. Chicha is not sold, but
[431] only given away.
[273]

/167 cont./

435 Livestock can be exchanged for other livestock or for food-
437 stuffs. For example, a stallion has the value of 20 pounds of coca leaves or a man's ruana; a mare, however, is much dearer and is exchanged for the maize harvest of a field about 100 square meters in area, to be harvested by the buyer himself. Similarly, one can exchange the harvest of a maize field for a steer or a heifer. (The latter has a monetary value of 30 to 40 pesos.) The exchange or sale of a cow, on the other hand, is not possible under any circumstances. Pigs have the relatively low value of only three to five pesos; they are exchanged for five pounds of coca, ten bags of maize, or ten tomín of sugar cane. One may also exchange a small sow or a full-grown hog for a steer. The latter has the value of about 15 pesos, a mare about 20 to 30 pesos. Stallions are gladly exchanged for a foal. They are valued ~~at~~ 15 pesos. Whereas the exchange of a stallion for a cow is impossible because of the latter's higher value, stallions are often exchanged for bulls, especially by hosts who need beef to feed their guests.

It is significant that a head of cattle or a horse cannot be exchanged for quickly consumed foodstuffs, such as maize; arracacha, beans, potatoes, bananas, etc., since the latter do not last long enough and the buyer of the foodstuffs feels that he will not get sufficient use out of his exchange. On the other hand, coca leaves still on the tree, maize on the stalk, or a sugar cane field are quite possible as media of exchange. Victoriano, for example, exchanged for a foal a sugar cane field about 50 by 50 meters in area, which the new owner may harvest as needed. Such an exchange, however, is possible only for
[185] persons who are as industrious as Victoriano. In general the Paez is much too disinclined to work for a future supply, especially if he is not even to have the use of it later on; besides, he is much too fond of drinking his own chicha to give away a two-year old sugar cane field.

439 The goods are transported to the market by men and women,
482 albeit more by the former than by women. This seems quite
484 surprising, for the civilized Indios, as well as many colonists, are in the habit of riding to market unencumbered by any load,

/172 cont./

123 of Calderas came from the weekly market in Inzá and visited
623 me in San Andrés. When in the course of the conversation I
554 mentioned that I would be coming to Calderas on the following
Monday, he suggested that I arrive there early. He said that
he already knew that I was interested in everything concerning
[476] his village and on Monday /173/ I could be present at a com-
munity project for all the men of the village in clearing a field.
Since my interpreter was not free until Monday, I could not set
out on Sunday in order to be present in time for the field work
on Monday. I begged him to postpone the communal project
for a day or two. That would be impossible, he replied, since
this work had been decided upon for Monday by the cabildo and
123 he was not in a position to change the date independently. I
623 offered him as a gift a very handsome travel-machete with a
554 sheath, in case he might be in a position to postpone the work.
411 Generally the Paez own only the heavy, broad work-machete for
felling trees, which they can drag along with them on the way to
[435] market only with difficulty. As a weapon for traveling, therefore,
the lighter, chrome-plated machetes are greatly coveted, but
on account of their high price of 12 pesos no Calderun has here-
123 tofore been able to afford one. I had put this gift aside for the
623 gobernador some time before, but had never found the proper
554 reason for presenting it. This time the occasion seemed very
favorable and really worthwhile. The gobernador, although he was
extremely anxious to be the first Calderun to possess the imple-
ment, explained that my request could not be fulfilled, since
all the men had already been notified for Monday. I pointed out
that he surely had enough messengers to inform his people that
the work would not take place until a few days later. He could
not make the decision to do this; he kept explaining that in
addition the men would be angry. I proposed to him that I would
treat them, at my expense, to ten pesos' worth of chicha to
placate them, an amount that they had hardly ever had before.
He could not make a decision; he finally said that he would try
and would speak to his people on Sunday, and he hoped, in view
of so much chicha, that he would succeed, but he could not.

/192 cont./

581 around the hearth fire, and this must be stirred and provided with
462 wood every two hours. This is the task of the wife, who, there-
513 fore, sleeps next to the fire. Throughout practically her whole life, she is never able to sleep all through the night.

583 If during the trial year the bride does not meet the demands of the man, if she either cannot cook or is lazy or /193/ does not like to get up in the morning, he sends her back to her father. Since no wedding celebration has taken place, sending back the girl leads to no resentment of any kind. It does, however, if children have resulted from the trial marriage and the young man
[684 nevertheless changes his mind. In this case, to be sure, nothing
[623] can be changed with regard to his decision -- after all, he has not yet been officially married -- but, since such an action is condemned, he is beaten by the cabildo. He may then begin a
583 new trial marriage with another girl. The children of the previ-
848 ous trial marriage (they are designated by the Paez with the
[557] Spanish term hijo natural) are given the name of the mother. There are not a few such "natural children." The mothers, however, are not scorned or judged harshly on that account and do not by any means have poorer prospects for a subsequent marriage. The children are not adopted in case of a subsequent marriage by the
[761] mother and keep their mother's name. It is believed, however,
[851] that such "natural children" will soon die. They are not baptized, since the priest baptizes only legitimate children, or else demands such a large sum for the baptism of an illegitimate child that the unmarried mother cannot raise it.

585 The actual wedding celebration takes place after the period
[178] of the trial marriage. Today the prior marriage service by the Catholic priest in the church is usually combined with this wedding celebration. The money for this, as for the expenses of the wedding celebration, must be raised by the young man himself.
[435] This takes him many months. First of all, besides the cost of ten pesos for the marriage service, he must have collected the money for an ox, then prepare chicha in sufficient quantities, for which sugar cane is milled for about a month, and also provide for the rest of the food. In general his father or brothers do not

/218 cont./

796 The cage is very similar to the lamp of the Calderun
541 albacero, with the added detail that the rods are adorned with panela candy (taffy) and carry four small flags. One of the riders reaches the cage, and on the following year he must return it exactly as it was when he took it. /219/ The candy is shared among those present, and the little flags are taken by the friends of the man who seized the cage; they must contribute to the expense.

Then comes the race for the rooster. It is spectacular. All those present closely watch the course of the game. The riders race quickly from one end to the other. As they pass beneath the rooster, they raise their hand in order to grab it, but merely graze it. The frenzy of the riders, the clamor of the people, and the bursting of firecrackers grow. Soon there is a terrible squawk, followed by a sudden silence. Two riders seized the rooster at the same time and in their hands hold fragments still quivering with life. The following year they will have to contribute a live rooster.

An informant explains that the man who gets the cage corresponds to the fiestero, the rooster to the albacero, and the flags to the mayordomos.

What follows is in the sphere of bacchic gaiety.

A chirimía delights the audience.

XXV

The Fiesta and the Numbers

796 The fiesteros are very reticent about supplying information
435 concerning the amount of their expenses. They merely say that they spend a great deal of money and among the things that they buy are arracacha, bananas, yuca, sugar cane, gunpowder, wax, salt, coca, and beeves.

/219 cont./

796 Nevertheless, here is the value of the expenses that a
435 fiestero provided, thanks to the suggestion made at the time by the priest who officiated at the religious ceremonies.

As a rule, they kill three beeves: one for being accepted for the fiesta, another for the cleaning of the church, and the third for the attentions shown to the albacero.

Articles purchased	Cost
1 bull	$40.00
1 heifer	35.00
1 female calf	12.00
20 arrobas of maize, at 60 centavos each	12.00
Sugar cane	2.50
2 pounds of gunpowder	7.00
/220/	
1 pound of candle wick	2.50
Bananas	2.50
Arracacha	7.50
1 arroba and a half of salt	7.50
2 pounds of anise	20.00
Fees for the priest	20.00
Total....	$168.50

To this must be added the purchase of coca for the laborers.

The fiesta is thus extremely costly for the Indians, who have no money, who do not produce to sell, and whose live-
[426] stock is exchanged, not for cash, but for goods. It is true that the mayordomos contribute one peso to pay the priest's fees and that the majority of the guests bring victuals to the fiestero; nevertheless, the fiestero is left with nothing but debts, which he will not pay off in less than three years.

P /298 cont./

245 Guadua bamboo thrives in the temperate valleys. It is of excellent quality. In most cases it serves as shade for the coffee. Its increase would redound in obvious benefits.

P 249 /299/ In spite of the fact that plantings of coca are proscribed by Colombian law, it is cultivated for consumption at C [249] almost every home, and in some parcialidades there are numerous [656] plantings for commercial purposes. The value of the leaf is P [435] high. A pound is quoted at three pesos.

Pc 313 Sawmills are found in Coscuro, Toez, the Símbola River, and the Salado stream. But this is almost exclusively an industry Pc [785] of the "whites." Only in San Andrés and Mosoco was it possible to see native sawyers. There is no reforestation.

P 241 172 137 In a large part of the parcialidades of San Andrés, Calderas, Lame, Mosoco, and Vitoncó, and the entire valley of the Páez River, the clearings seem to have been done in quite remote times. There are no forests, but remnants are found along the crests and ridges that separate the valleys and in the windings where the human foot does not venture to tread. The cliffs are covered with uniform savanna vegetation.

P 172 241 In many parcialidades there are archeological remains belonging to an unknown civilization earlier than that of the Páez. P [783] The lands where these elements are found are utilized without any qualms. But when the plantings are in a "new clearing," the natives take the precaution of performing the required purifications before beginning to consume the crops, in order to avoid the "Pijao" plague which might happen if the crops had been in contact with the archeological remains, "pijaos" in the expression of the natives.

P 245 The cultivation of fruit trees is not very widespread, in spite of the fact that up to not very long ago Inzá enjoyed the reputation of being the producer of peaches and apples of very good quality. Nowadays they are cultivated for commercial purposes in Vitoncó, La Troja, and El Cabuyo, where true orchards of these trees are maintained with care. The fruits are splendid and are harvested during the first three months of the

/303 cont./

241 relatively recent times, has fertile and humid soils. The harvests
433 are large and of excellent quality. It produces profitable yields.
244 The real production of Mosoco potatoes is there. They them-
[492] selves designate it as the principal harvest. During the months of April and May, when the potatoes are being harvested, numerous droves of pack animals carry the produce daily to the market
[435] in Silvia. The profits from this crop are dependable. The cultivators state that even selling at four pesos per arroba it gives a profit. Normally an arroba of potatoes is quoted at six or seven pesos. The planting of potatoes in the paramo begins in October, is intensified in November and December, and the last is done in January. They take advantage of the mildness of the climate
[132] at this time. During the months of June, July, and August the
[484] winter is harsh, with intense cold and hurricane winds. Crossing the paramos at this time is quite perilous.

241 In San José, La Troja, El Cabuyo, El Cuartel, Lame, and
433 Vitoncó, during the first four months of the year, wheat, barley, maize, frijoles, broad beans, and peaches are harvested.

Toward the months of October, November, and December, harvesting is done in Suin, Chinas, Calderas, San Andrés, Togoima, Santa Rosa, and Mosoco itself and consists principally of Maize, frijoles, ullucos, potatoes, and coffee. They constitute what we might /304/ call the second harvests of the year in Tierradentro. The planting begins after Ash Wednesday (March approximately) and is intensified in the months of April and May.
244 The last is done in July. The potato seed planted at about this
433 time in Mosoco comes from the harvest in the "paramo." This is a secondary planting of scant yield. It usually results in losses, but the Mosoco cultivators plant with the aim of preserving the seed. It is interesting to note that the sole agricultural activity of one trader based in Mosoco is the planting of potatoes in the
[434] paramo. He dispenses with the July sowing altogether. He prefers to buy the seed in Silvia, he pays the entire labor force, and in spite of these investments, which are high, he gets a good profit.

6: Bernal Villa--41 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

/318 cont./

MOSOCO:

412
435
563

Fams.	Machetes		Shovels		Small Bars		Axes		Spades		Bars	
1.*	4	$ 32,00	4	$ 8,00	3	$ 7,50	2	$ 20,00	1	$ 5,00	1	$ 20,00
2.	2	10,00	1	3,00	..	....	1	5,00	..	....	..	....
3.	3	30,00	5	15,00	1	4,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
4.	3	15,00	3	9,00	2	10,00	2	10,00	1	4,00	1	6,00
5.	1	8,00	1	3,00	1	3,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
6.	2	24,00	2	8,00	2	6,00	..	....	..	....	1	12,00
7.	2	9,00	2	5,00	1	3,00	2	9,00	..	....	1	5,00
8.	2	12,00	2	6,00	2	10,00	1	6,00	..	....	1	10,00
9.	3	24,00	5	20,00	2	7,00	2	12,00	..	....	2	20,00
10.	4	28,00	5	12,50	2	10,00	2	14,00	..	....	..	....
11.	1	6,00	2	5,00	1	3,00	1	6,00	..	....	..	....
12.	4	16,00	6	15,00	4	16,00	2	8,00	..	....	1	5,00
13.	4	40,00	4	12,00	2	10,00	3	15,00	..	....	1	10,00
14.	8	48,00	10	30,00	6	30,00	5	25,00	..	....	..	....
15.	1	12,00	2	6,00	5	25,00	5	25,00	..	....	..	....
16.	1	12,00	2	8,00	1	6,00	1	6,00	..	....	1	8,00
17.	1	8,00	1	3,00	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....
18.	2	23,00	2	6,00	2	8,00	1	3,00	1	5,00	1	20,00
19.	3	21,00	3	9,00	1	4,00	2	10,00	..	....	..	....
20.	8	80,00	8	20,00	4	20,00	2	20,00	..	....	..	....
21.	7	42,00	6	18,00	2	12,00	2	10,00	..	....	..	....
22.	2	6,00	5	15,00	4	10,00	2	10,00	..	....	1	5,00
23.	1	10,00	2	6,00	1	5,00	1	5,00	..	....	1	6,00
24.	2	14,00	2	4,00	1	3,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
25.*	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....

/The commas in the figures are to be read as points in the translation to English./

/319/

412 435 563

Fams.	Machetes		Shovels		Small Bars		Axes		Spades		Bars	
LAME:												
1.*	..	....	4	14,00	2	10,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
2.	1	12,00	4	20,00	1	6,00	1	7,00	..	....	..	....
3.	2	9,00	2	8,00	1	3,00	1	6,00	..	....	..	....
4.*	2	16,00	2	14,00	1	7,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
5.	3	20,00	4	12,00	1	5,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
6.	2	14,00	2	8,00	1	6,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
7.	3	20,00	4	16,00	4	20,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
8.	3	22,00	2	10,00	1	6,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
SAN ANDRES:												
1.*	6	24,00	8	20,00	3	12,00	..	....	..	....	3	15,00
2.	2	16,00	2	6,00	1	7,00	1	4,00	..	....	..	....
3.	1	7,00	..	....	..	....	1	8,00	..	....	..	....
4.	3	15,00	2	10,00	1	5,00	1	6,00	..	....	..	....
5.	2	14,00	4	12,00	1	6,00	1	3,00	..	....	..	....
6.	1	10,00	1	3,50	1	7,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
7.	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....
8.	3	11,00	3	9,00	1	5,00	1	4,50	..	....	..	....
9.	1	3,00	3	9,00	1	10,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
10.*	2	10,00	1	3,00	1	3,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
11.	3	24,00	4	14,00	3	10,50	2	12,00	..	....	..	....
12.	3	30,00	2	8,00	1	2,00	1	8,00	..	....	..	....
13.	3	15,00	1	3,00	..	....	1	3,00	..	....	..	....
14.*	3	19,50	6	12,30	3	15,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
15.*	4	20,00	5	12,50	1	5,00	..	....	..	....	..	....

/The commas in the figures are to be read as points in the translation to English./

Domestic animals

231 The Páez have bovine, equine, porcine, and wool-bearing livestock, turkeys, chickens, dogs, and cats. The guinea pig is the only American domestic animal that is raised in many homes.

231 124 An accurate investigation of the livestock would present serious difficulties, in view of the suspicion of the natives. In the parcialidad of Calderas, information on the subject is almost invariably distorted, whether direct or indirect methods of investigation are employed. Acquiring data of this nature would be problematical even for the mestizo traders with a relatively high standing among the natives and very familiar with them. In our investigating zeal we visited almost all the households in this parcialidad, covering the entire territory on foot. In the shade of thickets, in the fields and pastures, a goodly number of bovines, equines, and wool-bearers are seen grazing. Once in a while one comes upon herds of swine feeding on grasses and roots. In the communal llano of Calderas /320/ about 36 head of cattle ordinarily graze. In all of these households

/323 cont./

231 There are no animal "pets," and none of the domestic animals serve as playthings or are regarded simply as "pretty." They all have a utilitarian purpose.

[556] The possession of domestic animals is a symbol of wealth. The owner of large tracts of land does not regard himself as rich, while the one who has domestic animals does.

231 There are commercial transactions with animals among the
●435 natives. The prices are very low. "The Indian is poor," they
438 say, "he has no silver." For this reason, animals that among the whites would bring 200 pesos or more are sold among the natives for half the price or even less.

233 This state of affairs hardly exists among the natives of the
232 parcialidad of Mosoco. There are already ranches dedicated
[246] solely to livestock-raising. Some are planted with pasture grasses, especially poa. There is a marked tendency to improve the livestock, in quality as well as quantity. They know the excellence of the Norman and Holstein among the cattle and the Merino
231 among the sheep. They have special breeds of hogs and chickens.
[232] Many /324/ own mules and splendid riding horses. Commercial
[438] transactions involving animals bring a just price even among the
[782] natives themselves. Some of them are marvelous traders. They still retain the practice of making an offering to the Duende when
[233] slaughtering cattle or pigs. On the savannas of the Paramo de Moras the natives have magnificent herds. Livestock-raising in Mosoco is thus an industry at the height of development that deserves full attention on the part of the authorities.

23 In the statistical table that we present below one can observe the expansion of the livestock industry in Mosoco and com-
[128] pare it with those of Lame, San Andrés, and Calderas. The owners are natives, except for the whites and mestizos marked with an asterisk.

/324 cont./

23
563
435
422

MOSOCO:

Fams.		Bovines		Equines		Pigs		Wool-bearers		Fowl Raised	
1.°	2	$ 500,00	11	$ 1.800,00	2	$ 200,00	15	$ 360,00	9	$ 45,00
2.	..	.....	3	550,00	1	100,00	..	.....	10	20,00
3.	..	.....	3	480,00	2	160,00	10	200,00	15	75,00
4.	8	2.850,00	5	800,00	1	40,00	..	.....	7	28,00
5.	..	.....	1	170,00	1	15,00	2	25,00	6	18,00
6.	4	1.400,00	4	1.300,00	1	30,00	..	.....	2	10,00
7.	8	1.560,00	12	1.710,00	5	260,00	4	60,00	18	72,00
8.	6	2.400,00	3	600,00	..	.....	2	30,00	5	20,00
9.	6	1.200,00	2	700,00	9	180,00	20	300,00	20	80,00
10.	..	.....	3	500,00	3	30,00	..	.....	17	102,00
11.	26	6.100,00 (23)	10	2.700,00	1	10,00	15	150,00	10	42,00
12.	6	750,00	3	470,00	1	15,00	9	360,00	8	24,00
13.	14	2.070,00	11	2.810,00	1	30,00	..	.....	6	30,00
14.	1	300,00	2	600,00	1	15,00	14	210,00	8	40,00
15.	15	2.500,00	6	2.800,00	2	45,00	..	.....	8	40,00
16.	8	1.600,00	4	600,00	..	.....	3	30,00	12	60,00
17.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....
18.	11	2.200,00	4	1.250,00	2	180,00	12	600,00	25	75,00
19.	2	400,00	3	1.300,00	1	60,00	4	200,00	10	40,00
20.	7	800,00	4	2.000,00	..	.....	..	.....	4	20,00
21.	18	4.300,00	5	1.200,00	2	100,00	..	.....	13	45,00
22.	..	.....	6	900,00	..	.....	..	.....	2	10,00
23.	6	900,00	4	650,00	2	50,00	..	.....	8	40,00
24.	3	450,00	2	200,00	2	250,00	10	200,00	4	40,00
25.°	20	5.000,00	2	2.000,00	2	180,00	10	500,00	16	80,00

/The commas in the figures in these tables should be read as points in the translation to English./

23. Belong to four brothers.

6: Bernal Villa--49 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

/325/

23
563
435
422

LAME:

Fams.	Bovines		Equines		Pigs		Wool-bearers		Fowl Raised	
1.*	..	.....	7	1.500,00	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....
2.	..	.....	2	200,00	7	285,00	5	80,00	15	60,00
3.	8	755,00	6	950,00	..	.....	6	100,00	8	32,00
4.*	10	1.500,00	12	3.200,00	..	.....	..	.....	10	40,00
5.	5	300,00	6	600,00	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....
6.	2	250,00	2	240,00	5	65,00	2	40,00	5	25,00
7.	5	500,00	6	800,00	3	30,00	5	50,00	10	50,00
8.	2	200,00	3	150,00	4	56,00	3	45,00	2	8,00

SAN ANDRES:

1.*	35	7.000,00	8	1.700,00	5	200,00	..	.....	25	115,00
2.	..	.....	1	150,00	..	.....	..	.....	6	30,00
3.	..	.....	1	80,00	..	.....	..	.....	6	36,00
4.	1	300,00	..	.....	1	40,00	2	30,00	5	25,00
5.	..	.....	2	200,00	2	40,00	2	60,00	6	24,00
6.	..	.....	..	.....	1	200,00	..	.....	6	30,00
7.	..	..... (24)	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	7	28,00
8.	5	1.250,00	2	500,00	5	80,00	3	30,00	30	30,00
9.	4	800,00	..	.....	3	140,00	..	.....	40	120,00
10.*	..	.....	2	550,00	..	.....	..	.....	24	70,00
11.	..	.....	3	450,00	2	50,00	..	.....	25	75,000
12.	..	..... (24)	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....
13.	..	..... (24)	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	5	25,00
14.*	5	2.000,00	1	400,00	6	550,00	5	150,00	35	180,00
15.*	10	4.000,00	6	1.800,00	3	300,00	..	.....	60	300,00

[427]

[427]

CALDERAS:

1.	1	250,00	1	250,00	2	70,00	..	.....	1	6,00
2.	3	300,00	3	300,00	2	80,00	..	.....	8 !	40,00
3.	..	.....	..	.....	1	40,00	..	.....	10 !	50,00
4.	..	.....	4	400,00	5	100,00	3 !	30,00	6 !	30,00
5.	..	.....	..	.....	1	20,00	..	.....	1	5,00
6.	4	400,00	3	300,00	8	200,00	5	100,00	10	50,00
7.	..	.....	..	.....	2	40,00	..	.....	6	30,00
8.	4	320,00	5	300,00	5 !	150,00	10	100,00	8 !	42,00
9.	4 !	400,00	2	200,00	4	80,00	2	20,00	5	25,00
10.	10	1.500,00	10	1.000,00	10	200,00	3 !	30,00	..	.....
11.	..	.....	5	400,00	3	60,00	2	20,00	4	26,00
12.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	6 !	30,00
13.	..	.....	2	300,00	..	.....	2	20,00	2	10,00
14.	..	.....	5	400,00	4 !	80,00	4	90,00	6 !	30,00
15.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	4	80,00	4	26,00
16.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	6 !	30,00
17.	4	400,00	..	.....	..	.....	2	20,00	8 !	40,00
18.	..	.....	4	300,00	4	80,00	..	.....	3	16,00
19.	..	.....	2	150,00	..	.....	..	.....	7	30,00

24. Tenant farmer.

! Estimates by the author.

/326/ [Calderas]

23
435
563
422

Fams.	Bovines	Equines	Pigs	Wool-bearers	Fowl Raised
20. --	--	--	5 300,00	3	30,00
21. --	--	3 60,00	--	3	16,00
22. --	3 [illegible]	4 ! 80,00	--	8 !	40,00
23. 3 300,00	2 [illegible]	4 ! 80,00	4 ! 80,00	--	.....
24. 5 500,00	1 [illegible]	--	2 40,00	15	90,00
25. 3 300,00	1 [illegible]	3 90,00	--	--	.....
26. 3 300,00	1 [illegible]	--	--	--	.....
27. --	1 [illegible]	--	--	13	65,00
28. --	1 [illegible]	--	--	1	5,00
29. --	4 [illegible]	--	--	8 !	40,00
30. 1 100,00	1 [illegible]	--	--	8 !	35,00
31. 5 500,00	1 [illegible]	--	--	6 !	34,00
32. --	--	--	--	1	6,00
33. --	1 [illegible]	--	--	--	.....
34. 8 800,00	5 [illegible]	10 ! 200,00	4 80,00	10 !	50,00
35. --	4 [illegible]	--	--	10	50,00
36. 15 1.500,00	5 ! [illegible]	--	20 400,00	--	.....
37. 4 400,00	4 [illegible]	--	10 200,00	10 !	50,00
38. --	1 [illegible]	--	--	5 !	25,00
39. --	1 [illegible]	--	--	6 !	30,00
40. 2 100,00	--	2 40,00	--	--	.....
41. --	2 [illegible]	--	--	5	25,00
42. --	1 [illegible]	--	--	--	.....
43. --	--	--	--	6 !	25,00
44. --	1 [illegible]	--	3 30,00	--	.....
45. --	--	--	2 20,00	6 !	25,00
46. 4 400,00	--	--	--	4	20,00
47. --	3 [illegible]	2 40,00	--	--	.....
48. --	5 [illegible]	1 20,00	--	9	35,00
49. 8 800,00	2 [illegible]	10 ! 200,00	--	10 !	40,00
50. 4 400,00	3 [illegible]	6 120,00	--	10 !	35,00
51. --	1 [illegible]	--	1 10,00	6 !	22,00
52. --	3 [illegible]	--	--	6 !	18,00
53. 1 100,00	2 [illegible]	--	2 20,00	4	20,00
54. 2 200,00	2 [illegible]	2 ! 40,00	3 ! 30,00	--	.....
55. --	4 [illegible]	--	2 20,00	8 !	24,00

! Estimates by the author.

/329 cont./

476 241 The master of the minga kills a head of cattle or, more commonly, a pig. He prepares a trough of chicha (fermented sugar-cane juice), several bottles of aguardiente, an arroba of mote (maize skinned with ashes), and procures a few pounds of coca. He invites the men of his choice. At dawn on the day agreed upon for the job, all those invited, with their tools on their shoulders, proceed with shouts to the house of the minguero. There they are given one egg (25) of coca, chicha, and a dish of

25. Measure of weight equivalent to a hen's egg.

476 461 241 mote with meat. At 8:00 A.M. they are all at work. Up to 30 laborers attend. They take along to the place of the work calabashes of chicha to drink during the rest periods, which correspond exactly to the "botada de la mambeada" /taking the chew of coca/. In the course of the day they have three mambeadas, and thus three rest periods. They more or less coincide with 10:00 A.M., 12:00 noon, and 2:00 P.M. During these rest periods they sit, talk, laugh, drink /330/ chicha, and soon go back to the work enthusiastically. They do it steadily and diligently.

476 241 No one talks then. At 4:00 P.M. they leave work and go to the house of the minguero, where their respective wives are already. Everyone receives chicha and aguardiente. Then the food, consisting of a large wooden platter full of mote, stew /revuelto/ with frijoles, arracacha, plantains, and three pieces of meat. Since they cannot eat all this, they put it in fique knapsacks to [782] take it to their respective homes. After eating, they pray, always invoking the deceased relatives of the minguero, whether [273] they be ancestors, collaterals, or descendants. Then, they re- [535] ceive new gourds of chicha until they are drunk. Very often [578] they dance. There is no lack of fighting on these occasions.

476 435 According to an informant from Calderas, one minga with 15 laborers costs the following:

/330 cont./

476
435

	1 bull	$40.00
	1 1/2 arrobas of maize	1.50
	2 pounds of coca	3.00
	3 loads of chicha	6.00
	Total	$50.00

The prices cited above prevail only among the natives. Among the "whites" an arroba of maize costs $6.00, a pound of coca $3.00, the cattle $25.00 per arroba, and chicha has a higher value. In the expenses of the minga there is no mention of the cost of aguardiente, frijoles, arracacha, and plantains, which are usually mixed with the mote. It should be noted that the articles listed are produced on the same finca, with the exception of the coca, which has to be purchased. In San Andrés the mingas consist of six to ten laborers more or less, usually relatives. Mote, stew with plantains, manioc, arracacha, pork, chicha, and coca are served. No cattle are killed, and there is no dancing after the work. The costs of the minga are as follows:

	1 pig	$35.00
	1 trough of chicha	2.00
	1 arroba of maize	1.50
	1 pound of coca	1.00
	3 pounds of salt	0.60
/331/	3 pounds of frijoles	0.60
	2 arrobas of manioc	1.00
	2 bunches of plantains	2.00
	Total	$43.70

476 In Lame the chicha is purchased in Suin and Chinas, as is the coca. They commonly kill a pig.

In Mosoco we had the opportunity to observe a minga for the raising of the seed beds. There were three women, one boy, and five men. They were relatives. They had eaten at seven
461 in the morning. They worked in a group without distinction as
476 to sex or age, talking and laughing. Only the older ones, who usually chew coca, worked in silence, for talk produces

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Moguex

blue, the fruit of the jagua palm (kii), probably *Genipa* sp. A woven fabric is made black by burying it for several days with clay and branches of a *Phyllanthus* which they call "sal."

They make woolen bags by hand, using a kind of crochet technique without needles, and decorate them with rectangular and rhomboid figures. Some bags are made of hemp (fique), in which case the stitches are larger and the article has greater elasticity.

Weapons.—For weapons, the *Páez* used large, thick lances of black or chonta palm, 20 to 25 palms or more long, clubs or macanas, stones thrown with slings, large rocks rolled down from heights, spear throwers like those used by the *Chibcha*, and shields of jaguar, puma, or bear skin. The *Páez* quickly adopted iron arms from the Spaniards, and in the last wars of the Conquest they used steel swords and knives. In a recently discovered grave were copper bells, a golden breastplate, shield bars of tumbaga, a Spanish dagger, and a curved knife of the Arabian or north African type used by the conquistadors.

Today the *Páez* use the club or macana, ordinary guns, machetes, knives, and, for killing birds, the blowgun.

Fire making.—Fires are generally made today with flint and steel, but some Indians use modern matches. For both heating and cooking, the fire is made on the ground in the main house, surrounded by stones which help support the pots. It is covered at night, and almost never goes out.

Illumination is provided not only by the fire but by candles made of wax from the wax palm and from seeds of a wild laurel. The latter are cooked and pressed in a bag so that the wax drips into a half calabash or pot to form a semispherical lump. It is melted to make candles with cotton wicks. The *Páez* use these themselves and also sell them, for they are superior to candles made of animal tallow. A cruder means of lighting consists of transfixing a large number of "higuerilla" seeds on a long, thin bamboo splinter. When the splinter is laid horizontally and lighted, the first seed burns strongly, after which the flame passes from seed to seed, lasting some 15 minutes and throwing a fair light a few feet around.

COMMERCE

Each week a market is held in the municipio or in some of the small native villages (pls. 190, 191). The Indians sell vegetables, tortillas, eggs, chickens, and laurel wax, and buy salt, brown sugar, and especially lime (mambe) to be chewed with coca. Each product has a price in Colombian money, whether by quantity or weight. The unit of weight is called an "egg," and more or less equals the weight of a chicken egg. After his few customary transactions, paid for either in cash or in terms, in which the future coffee crop is mortgaged to the

/107 cont./

123 knew tales he could tell, and to whom we gave tobacco and salt and a few other small gifts, a knife, a hoe, or an aluminum cup. At the moment he had a headache, he said. I gave him a few tablets, and we agreed that I would come back the next morning and he would tell me a few tales. When we arrived the next day, after hours of tramping, his wife told us that her husband had gone into the mountains very early that morning in order to cut wood.

115 Our first visit in Calderas took place in the company of the interpreter, Marcos Antonio Penkue, a Paez about 40 years old from San Andrés, who regarded himself as very civilized and who had reached a certain position of wealth. He served as a [191] soldier on the Brazilian border and speaks Spanish well. On his [245] finca /see the glossary, p. 249/ he has about 2,000 coffee trees, [439] whose yield he sells in Inzá on the market. He also carries on [464] other business there by functioning as an interpreter and middleman for the non-Spanish-speaking and generally unbusinesslike Paez. During our work in Calderas he combined business with his services. [233] The Paez are ardent cattle-raisers, albeit not in our economic sense, but purely for sport and the pleasure of numbers. A cow-calf is much more valuable to them than a full-grown bull, for [437] it will produce another calf and increase the herd. Thus, Marcos Antonio exchanged calves for bulls in Calderas and, indeed, bought [434] some cattle himself. These business transactions bring him about 200 to 250 pesos profit per head, since among themselves the Paez ask only low prices, about 50 pesos for a bull. His selling 115 price on the market in Inzá amounts to about 300 pesos. He re- 124 garded the work with us as highly troublesome, but he knew what he was worth to us. His fee rose from three pesos a day at the beginning to ten pesos. Translations that seemed to him too complicated or explanations that were too long for him he would give "in essence" in a few words, after which my counterquestions obviously annoyed him. One day when I had planned some important work, but he some important business, he hid our horses and calmly let us look for them all day long, while he, under the pretext of searching for the horses, carried on his business until he "found" them in the evening.

P C /134 cont./

276 by the "Ministerio de Trabajo, Higiene y Prevesion Social."
C This prohibition was extended by Decree No. 578 of 1941 by the
656 same ministry, according to which an exact list of the existing coca plants of the country was demanded and their destruction ordered, /135/ with a simultaneous prohibition against new plantings (Duque, 1945, pp. 445 f.). Of course this prohibition against coca planting cannot be strictly supervised and enforced in all the remote parts of the country.

P The argument for the use of coca has remained the same
276 from the time of the Conquista to this day: it is supposed to
461 drive away hunger and to give strength. "Without coca one cannot work," I was told over and over again when I asked the Paez the reason for chewing coca. And, as a matter of fact, one sees the Paez chewing it on the long trips to market and during every physical task; but only at work, when one needs strength, and not during festivals and celebrations or on festive days. (The shamans are an exception, see below.)

P The bitter tasting coca is chewed by both sexes, and the
276 boys begin at 12-14 years of age, when they also begin helping
P their father with the work in the fields. The girls generally begin
[887] somewhat later, and in old age both sexes chew quite heavily and more frequently than is normal in younger years. The men take coca three times a day as a normal dose, and each dose lasts about two to three hours. Nothing is eaten all day after taking the first meal early in the morning before work; the second one
P is not eaten until after they return home from the fields in the
[272] late afternoon. During the pauses for coca, unfermented sugarcane juice (nyŭsayumfl) is drunk, everyone carrying a calabash with one to two liters of it with him.

P The coca shrub, about 80 to 200 centimeters high, is
276 striking even at a distance because of its fresh, light green,
249 lancet-shaped leaves, which have two slightly curved longitudinal
[137] lines on the underside. Among the Paez of Calderas almost every family has its coca shrubs, the leaves of which, after plant-
P ing, are harvested from the first year for about 20 years. Anyone
[437] who does not own coca shrubs himself trades for the leaves in

P /135 cont./
276 exchange for brandy, wheat, or maize (for exchange and barter
249 rates, see "Trade" /see pp. 92-94 /). Within the family each
● 437 one harvests for himself as many leaves as he happens to need;
otherwise the father of the family usually barters for the entire
family. Harvest time is throughout the year (Ill. 174 /see
P p. 277 /).

276 Before use the leaves are roasted in a clay bowl and then
317 carried around in the colored wool pouch (kwatandyáha), together
[415] with a small calabash containing lime. The lime (kwatánd) is
obtained from limestone (kwatandkwát) which crops out at various places throughout the region and which men and women look for as it is needed, or the husband sends his wife to fetch a few stones. These pieces of limestone are put in a vigorously fanned fire for two hours, /136/ then in a clay bowl, and cold water is
P poured over them. After that the cracked stone is pounded to
276 powder. To enjoy it, one takes a handful of leaves out of his pouch and puts them in the mouth and chews them for a while, until the lime can be added. Care must be taken that neither the tongue nor lips come in contact with the lime. Beginners press the coca mash flat against their tongues with their gums and sprinkle a pinch of lime from the pear-shaped, absolutely unadorned calabash (kwatandóka) upon it; practiced coca-chewers take a pinch of lime on the back of the hand between thumb and index finger and toss it into the open mouth with a flourish. The green saliva copiously produced is partly spat out, but most of
P it is swallowed. In the case of old people it often runs out of the
C mouth and drips on the clothing (Ill. 179 /see p. 280 /).

276 According to my experiences among the Paez and the
P coca-chewing Colombian workers, the harmful effect of coca
C seems to be exaggerated in most of the studies on the subject.
276 Of interest, however, are the data of C. Gutiérrez Noriega (1952),
146 who investigates the psychological and physiological effect of
273 taking coca, especially among the Peruvian Indios. There, in the region of the greatest coca consumption, two to four kilograms per person and year, the daily amount of food for a worker is only about 2,000 calories per day. With a simultaneous drinking of brandy and an inadequate diet, physical and mental consequences

/141 cont./

231 Every member of the family knows every head of its herd
233 of livestock, and the men every head of the large livestock of
422 the entire village. Nevertheless, marks of ownership are used, which, for the horses, consist of branding irons with the first initial of the owner, such as are used by the colonists and may be bought there. The cattle have as marks of ownership small cuts in their ears in the form of a triangle, square, or semicircle, or a corresponding piercing of the ears. Pigs and sheep have the same marks of ownership in their ears.

231 Sheep (piš̌a) are kept chiefly for their wool, though they
236 are also eaten. The total stock of the village, however, is so
[262] small that only every third family on the average owns one or
[422] two sheep. The other families must obtain the wool they need
[437] from the sheep owners in exchange for other things (see under "Trade and Transportation" /see p. 92 /). /142/ Pigs (čúče)
231 are greatly coveted because of their meat, but there are not
[422] enough of them so that every family can own one, only about every second family. Like all the other domestic animals, they roam about freely in the vicinity of the farmyard and must forage for their food. They are prevented from getting into the fenced fields by having a frame made of three sticks hung around their necks.

[343] Stalls for the animals or regular and special feeding or
[232] care are unknown. The owner puts rock salt in the pasture areas for the cattle and horses every Sunday. Occasionally scraps of arracacha or maize are thrown in front of the house for the pigs, which must then forage for them. Chickens (ǎtaly; rooster =
235 atalyepítste, chick = atalyelúčkwe are now and then fed with maize or peck at the arracacha lying about in the dwelling. To feed baby chicks the woman chews some maize and spits out the
[685] mash for them. Every family has a few chickens, but their number does not grow large because foxes and neighbors are always
[422] stealing those wandering free. Hence the average figure remains
231 at only two to three chickens and a rooster per family. In many
262 houses guinea pigs (fits) run about, living on refuse from the kitchen and, when roasted, prized as a delicacy.

/162/

386 The following colors are produced with vegetable dyes: red
824 (mbe; also the color designation for pink, ocher, brown) with the roots of a plant called béwoetse. (According to Hernandez, this is the Rubiaceae Relbunium hypocarpium.) The wool threads are boiled with these roots for about an hour and they are then put in the sun. For blue coloring (séin; light blue - séin-séin) the threads are boiled with the leaves of the indigo tree for an hour; for green coloring (oálye séin; oálye = species of bird with green feathers, thus literally "oálye blue"), with the leaves of the tamp tree; and for yellow coloring (skítc), with the leaves of the mūzec tree. The results of the dyeing are not always uniform. There are always deviations in the color. With a little experience, however, one can differentiate them from the purchased chemical dyes.

h) Pottery

323 The art of pottery is very little developed among the Paez and is essentially limited to larger or smaller, crudely fashioned, spherical-shaped pots (mítc) with a lip slightly curved outward. In use they are not hung up, but placed between the three hearthstones for cooking. Smaller, shallower bowls serve for roasting
[531] the coca leaves. There are no vessels with handles. There is no ornamentation of any kind, neither painting, nor incising, nor
[415 531 824] finger imprints. For drinking chicha or for fetching water only gourd calabashes (tóka) are used, which are exactly as unadorned and purely functional as the ceramic vessels.

323 463 The making of pots is a specialist's work. In Calderas there are three potters, two of whom are women. Only one of them, however, Santos Kiskue, works to keep a supply, whereas the other two make pots only on order. Santos Kiskue is about 40 years old and has a wife and four living children; four others
[437] are dead. He has a horse, but no cow and no sheep. The latter he can do without, since he barters his pots chiefly for wool.

The technique of pottery among the Paez is a spiral coil technique. Since the shapes are very simple, a special

/163 cont./

389 The powder, however, must be bought. As for its production,
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829 whites, they believe, fatten human beings, then hang them,
[439] and, while they are still alive, tap their fat, from which they then make powder. That is why the Paez do not like to send their children far away and do not let them go to the whites, because they believe that the latter would catch them in order to make powder from them.

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[283] these powder cases is used for the smaller firecrackers (koẽtes), while two, one over the other, are used for the larger firecrackers (kwatõn), and under these is placed the fuse, which consists of a small bamboo tube, one to five centimeters long, filled with powder (Fig. 32 /see p. 256 /). These two or three parts are wrapped in a maize leaf and fastened to a bamboo splice 20-60 centimeters long. When it is lighted, the firecracker rises to a height of 50 meters with a considerable whistle and then explodes.

5. Trade and Transportation

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439 possible. Only when this is not possible, thus when industrial products are involved, does one go to the weekly market held regularly at Inzá or Belalcázar, in order to buy the necessary articles. These include, above all, salt, as well as spades, machetes, aluminum pots, knives, scissors, spoons, needles,

/164 cont./

439 cloth for trousers, and all European clothing. Furthermore, every type of ornament must be bought, such as necklaces, earrings, and finger rings, then cotton, since it is finer and shinier than sheep wool, and aniline dyes for dyeing women's belts and coca bags, since they are more brilliant and clearer than the native vegetable dyes. The trip to market and the necessary trade, however, are not undertaken because of an inclination for business, pleasure in bargaining or in underbidding or outbidding, but out of the necessity to procure an [438] article that they cannot make themselves. If it is at all [797] possible, one tries to buy the required things in the village, for example, from the missionaries, and the purchase with money or the trip to market is, so to speak, the ultima ratio. 437 They do not bargain. The man -- /165/ and it is almost al- 439 ways he who shops -- asks the price, and if it seems too high -- [462] as in most cases -- he says "too expensive." If the tradesman lowers the price, he usually buys; if not, he goes on to the next stand.

The traders are never Paez, but always white and mestizo colonists. They know, of course, about the disinclination of the Paez to bargain, and they charge too high a price to begin with, so as to ask a still inflated normal price after the obligatory "too expensive." Thus the Paez are naturally cheated. They let themselves be too easily dazzled by an attractive display or packaging, for example, by the polish or the silver paper; also a more expensive green or red comb is preferred over a black one. Fortunately, one might say, they never have much money and can therefore never spend too much.

126 The way in which I was obliged to acquire the women's 439 colored belts for our collection is characteristic. Since every woman possesses only two at the most, one to fasten her skirt and the other to carry her baby, any attempt to buy them was [101] always useless. I had therefore bought at the market in Inzá a few women's belts which are made by the Guambiano, the tribe neighboring the Paez on the west, and are sold in Inzá. [184] They are made of cotton, the white color of which in the freshly

/165 cont./

126 worked state is considerably more brilliant than the somewhat
439 yellowish sheep wool. Moreover, their aniline dyes gleam much
184 more brightly than the vegetable dyestuffs of the Paez dyes.
126 Unfortunately, they are shorter than the Paez belts. Neverthe-
439 less, the trade was most happily made. The coca pouches of
● 437 our collection, too, we acquired entirely by way of barter, for example, for a pair of scissors at the Bogotá price of 50 centavos. At the market in Inzá such a pair costs about a peso. The Paez know this. Nevertheless, the same persons who had previously refused a sale for five pesos exchanged a pouch for a pair of scissors. It was the same with eggs. They would not sell them for 20 centavos, but traded them for a wax candle which was available everywhere for five centavos.

43 In the case of their own products, there is no trade from village to village. Nor is there any exchange of certain specialties outside the village, since the initiative for special achievements or the unusual always comes from the colonists or foreign traders. In general the Paez do not buy and sell among themselves, but only barter, since money is used very unwillingly among them. Their idea that an article sold, /166/ for example, an egg, may bring misfortune to the part retained, in this case the chicken, may play a role in this. Moreover, even today paper money is scarcely ever accepted, first because they usually do not have a special pocketbook, but put the bills in their coca pouch, where they may be easily torn, and, secondly, because many are in the habit of burying their money or hiding it somewhere. In this way the bills soon become moldy, whereas hard money lasts a long time. The latter is therefore extremely rare in the entire Tierradentro area.

435 In the barter of foodstuffs there are certain rates that every-
437 body knows. Since, furthermore, they always make an effort to furnish only satisfactory goods, there are no exaggerated claims or any reason for bargaining or haggling. It is simply: either-or, especially since market phenomena have no effects, and the barter rates are in no way increased in times of shortage or want. Thus, at the time of my visit, sheep and therefore wool were very

/166 cont./

435 scarce. Nevertheless, the barter rate of the wool of a sheep for
437 a bag of maize was not shaken.

The sheep themselves were generally not bartered, but only
[804] the wool, which amounts to about a pound. The equivalent is a tomín (Span. pile) of sugar cane piled up in a mound about a meter wide at the base and a meter high. In exceptional cases of bartering sheep, I was told that the equivalent is ten tomín of sugar cane or 12 pounds of coca leaves or two arrobas of maize (one Spanish arroba corresponds to approximately 12.5 kilograms). In this case, as in many barter transactions, the customary barter equivalents sometimes deviate considerably from the market prices customary among the Paez. (The official market prices in the trade with the colonists on the weekly market are about five times as high.) Thus, for example, one tomín of sugar cane is worth 20 centavos, but one pound of wool from a sheep, one peso. Arracacha is also bartered in the form of a tomín quantity, which comes to about ten to 12 pieces. The value in money is ten centavos. One pound of coca leaves is exchanged for one pound of salt (value 20 centavos) or one pound of rice or ten eggs. The latter cost 25 centavos apiece at the weekly market in Inzá. The Paez use stones as pound weights, which are gauged accord-
[405] ing to a pound of salt bought from a trader in Inzá. Two calabashes fastened to a scale beam serve as scales.

[804] Potatoes are bartered in cuartillas and measured out in large wooden bowls which are made by the Paez themselves and contain about ten pounds. The equivalent consists of half a bottle of brandy. This would come to 80 centavos at a trader's, as the barter /167/ amounts of a tomín of sugar cane or a fiber bag full of maize indicate. Vegetable and fruit bananas are bartered by the whole bushels (tlóits), which, however, in Tierradentro contain only about 30 to 50 bananas. Two bushels are worth a bag of maize. Beans, like maize, are bartered in fiber bags, and
[432] a bag full of cabbage has the same value. Chicha is not sold, but
[431] only given away.
[273]

/167 cont./

435 Livestock can be exchanged for other livestock or for food-
437 stuffs. For example, a stallion has the value of 20 pounds of coca leaves or a man's ruana; a mare, however, is much dearer and is exchanged for the maize harvest of a field about 100 square meters in area, to be harvested by the buyer himself. Similarly, one can exchange the harvest of a maize field for a steer or a heifer. (The latter has a monetary value of 30 to 40 pesos.) The exchange or sale of a cow, on the other hand, is not possible under any circumstances. Pigs have the relatively low value of only three to five pesos; they are exchanged for five pounds of coca, ten bags of maize, or ten tomín of sugar cane. One may also exchange a small sow or a full-grown hog for a steer. The latter has the value of about 15 pesos, a mare about 20 to 30 pesos. Stallions are gladly exchanged for a foal. They are valued at 15 pesos. Whereas the exchange of a stallion for a cow is impossible because of the latter's higher value, stallions are often exchanged for bulls, especially by hosts who need beef to feed their guests.

It is significant that a head of cattle or a horse cannot be exchanged for quickly consumed foodstuffs, such as maize, arracacha, beans, potatoes, bananas, etc., since the latter do not last long enough and the buyer of the foodstuffs feels that he will not get sufficient use out of his exchange. On the other hand, coca leaves still on the tree, maize on the stalk, or a sugar cane field are quite possible as media of exchange. Victoriano, for example, exchanged for a foal a sugar cane field about 50 by 50 meters in area, which the new owner may harvest as needed. Such an exchange, however, is possible only for
[185] persons who are as industrious as Victoriano. In general the Paez is much too disinclined to work for a future supply, especially if he is not even to have the use of it later on; besides, he is much too fond of drinking his own chicha to give away a two-year old sugar cane field.

439 The goods are transported to the market by men and women,
482 albeit more by the former than by women. This seems quite
484 surprising, for the civilized Indios, as well as many colonists, are in the habit of riding to market unencumbered by any load,

/210 cont./

423 considerably larger parcels of land than others, for example, the
427 Guagáz family, who, according to my information, own almost half of all private land. Permission for the use of land is granted only for crops with a short ripening period, namely, wheat, maize, beans, and cabbage, but not sugar cane, coca, or bananas, which need several years to mature, in other words, can be used for years. As rent the owner receives a small portion of the harvest, which is left on the stalk and which he must harvest himself.

423 As a matter of principle, land cannot be bought, we were
[428] told repeatedly, for every man must leave his land to his sons. Even if a man has no sons, he may not sell his land, but must hand it over to his brothers. This was the information always
423 given in answer to my direct questions on the subject. /211/ In
● 437 practice, however, it is quite possible to sell land, and this is not infrequently done, but no one realizes that a land sale actually takes place when a man clears a piece of land for himself, plants it, and exchanges the entire harvest, including the land, for a
[115] head of cattle, a horse, etc. This is what Victoriano did, for example, in order to acquire a horse. He cleared and planted a piece of his father's land, about 2,500 square meters, to sugar cane, and when this was mature, he exchanged the harvest, including the land, for a mare. Nobody wanted to admit that this violated the principle of not selling land.

423 The land belongs to the father of the family, who, as a rule,
241 tills it with his grown sons. If the sons have their own houses,
59 they generally go on working with their father, since no one likes to work alone. At the harvest, the respective wives fetch the food
423 required for their families from the common field. If father and
427 son do not live in amity, the son must plant and harvest his own
593 field, for which he is then obliged to accept the help of friends.
241 It is considerably more expensive to entertain them than family
[476] help, for in the latter case there need not be any chicha for entertainment. Even in this instance, however, the son must ask his father and owner of the family land for permission to cultivate the land. This is not denied, however, After the harvest, this piece of land, since it will lie fallow now for about ten years, goes back

/284 cont./

132 gives rise to cold local winds that blow through the valley of the Páez, affecting chiefly the areas of Vitoncó, Suin, Chinas, San José, Mosoco, and also the parcialidad /a territorial division/ of Calderas itself. The variation in temperature is noticeable in these zones sometimes having hot days and very cold nights. Nebulosity is almost constant, especially in the northern zones.

241 Economy.--The topographic and climatic characteristics permit the cultivation of various plants, such as maize, beans, bananas, sugar cane, yuca, arracacha, and gourds in the temperate zones, and in the cold ones potatoes, maize, ullucos, [433] beans, gourds, and cabbage. The produce barely leaves a [439] surplus for trade with the parcialidades and urban centers of [438] Belalcázar, Inzá, and Valencia. The potato crops of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José serve for an active trade with the Paez of the western slope of the cordillera, across the Páramo de Moras.

433 Coffee and the production of panela are important lines 245 in the economy of the colonists and also of numerous groups 249 of acculturated natives. The coffee of Tierradentro is con- 177 sidered one of the best in the country, owing to the quality and mildness of the bean.

231 /285/ The raising of livestock flourishes among the civilized 437 groups. For the natives it serves for maintaining a barter trade with their neighbors, the white and mestizo colonists.

311 On the whole, native production is relatively scant, 433 giving rise to times of "hambruna" /ravenous hunger/ when [731] the summers or winters are rather harsh. The workable land lies in the small plains and valleys of rivers and streams, on the alluvial terraces, and on the plateaus. Comparing the size of Tierradentro with that of its arable land, the latter appears scant, a problem that is aggravated by the increase in population and the habitual burning.

101 Population.--Tierradentro is the country of the Paez, 36/ who at the time of the Conquest were settled to the north of

438

438 DOMESTIC TRADE--local and regional specialization in production within the society; (e.g., home and cottage industry, location of particular industries); division of labor between town and country; volume of trade within and between communities and regions; articles entering into domestic commerce; motivation (e.g., profit, prestige); patterns of internal commerce; etc. See also:

Agricultural specialization 24
Marketing 44
Business and industrial organization 67
Land use 311
Trade centers and areas 366
Urban and rural contrasts 369
Trade routes 487

/158 cont./

286 One of them, Talesia Pame, has even developed a small in-
294 dustry from this ability. She now weaves women's belts almost
438 exclusively and barters them for food and other things. She is
463 in her early thirties and has three children. Her oldest daughter, about 12 years old, is also learning from her mother how to weave belts.

286 The weaving apparatus (tawkyávitoh) is fundamentally the
294 same type as the one for the bands of the fiber bags. The fork-shaped mounting of the frame is somewhat wider and correspondingly longer. The weaving material is wool. The preparation for making the patterns in different colors consists of stretching the warp threads of corresponding color, which, as in the case of the fiber-bag bands, are laid around a small cross-stick. /159/ The weft thread is always plain white and, in the form of a ball, is used as the shuttle. The general arrangement of the warp threads is such that on both outer sides a number of white warp threads are stretched, then follow four of red, yellow, blue, or some other color, which, in the completed woven band, appear in each case as a colored stripe running through it. The ornamented center section consists of four white warp threads followed by two red ones. The latter serve to produce the pattern and are the only warp threads of the belt that are not woven in the linen-texture technique. They are therefore not included in the shed loop that takes every second warp thread. There are two heddle loops, one of which grasps the warp threads corresponding to the shed loop, while the other grasps the red warp threads of the ornamental chain of the center stripe (Ills. 187 to 190 /see p. 284/).

In weaving the linen texture, shed loops and heddle loops are used in the normal technique. The red warp threads of the second heddle loop are lifted up -- altogether or in part, depending on the design to be formed -- while beneath them the weaving continues in the normal linen texture. Thus, if all the red threads are lifted together, a red cross-stripe is produced as the simplest design, the height of which depends on the length of time the second heddle loop remains lifted. In making designs

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101 Population.--Tierradentro is the country of the Paez, 361 who at the time of the Conquest were settled to the north of

/323 cont./

231 There are no animal "pets," and none of the domestic animals serve as playthings or are regarded simply as "pretty." They all have a utilitarian purpose.

[556] The possession of domestic animals is a symbol of wealth. The owner of large tracts of land does not regard himself as rich, while the one who has domestic animals does.

231 There are commercial transactions with animals among the
435 natives. The prices are very low. "The Indian is poor," they
438 say, "he has no silver." For this reason, animals that among the whites would bring 200 pesos or more are sold among the natives for half the price or even less.

233 This state of affairs hardly exists among the natives of the
232 parcialidad of Mosoco. There are already ranches dedicated
[246] solely to livestock-raising. Some are planted with pasture grasses, especially poa. There is a marked tendency to improve the livestock, in quality as well as quantity. They know the excellence of the Norman and Holstein among the cattle and the Merino
231 among the sheep. They have special breeds of hogs and chickens.
[232] Many /324/ own mules and splendid riding horses. Commercial
[438] transactions involving animals bring a just price even among the
[782] natives themselves. Some of them are marvelous traders. They still retain the practice of making an offering to the Duende when
[233] slaughtering cattle or pigs. On the savannas of the Paramo de Moras the natives have magnificent herds. Livestock-raising in Mosoco is thus an industry at the height of development that deserves full attention on the part of the authorities.

23 In the statistical table that we present below one can observe the expansion of the livestock industry in Mosoco and com-
[128] pare it with those of Lame, San Andrés, and Calderas. The owners are natives, except for the whites and mestizos marked with an asterisk.

/354 cont./

43 onions, cabbages, barley, and eggs, with which it is not possible to maintain regular trading. The Indians, without exception, buy salt and also acquire hats, shirts, trousers, machetes, shovels, bars, axes, knives, aluminum pots, cups, iron plates, spoons, candles, soap, and aguardiente. Less frequently, large and brilliantly colored kerchiefs for the children, and tweezers /pinzas/ and necklaces for the women.

439 San Andrés is a small native settlement which has been
443 inhabited by the "whites" since the settlement area was estab-
438 lished. It contains three stores that sell some merchandise,
[162] some drugs, beer, aguardiente, and bread. Two of them have gramophones. There are also two other stores, which sell chicha and aguardiente exclusively. On Wednesdays a small market is held. In front of one of the houses, peddlers and traders from other areas display their wares; on the small plaza an awning is raised by an acculturated native woman in order to sell food, and a little farther there is a stand where meat is sold. The market starts moving at dawn. The natives bring small amounts of manioc, arracacha, white cabbage, eggs, coffee, and onions, /355/ which are bought immediately by the "whites." Then the butcher starts selling meat, usually in two-pound portions, which are what the natives buy. The peddlers sell a few trinkets and commodities. At 9:00 A.M. the liquor places
[273] begin to move. At ten in the morning the market is over, and
[578] at midday and in the afternoon only drunken natives are to be
[642] seen. At those times quarrels between them are frequent, and often the natives' aggressiveness is channeled against the "whites," as they assert that they are the true owners of the land and the settlement. The natives have the habit of selling their articles (coffee, eggs) only to persons known to them, even if others can pay them better prices.

On Wednesdays there are also markets in Guasdualejo (Togoima) and Turminá; on Thursdays in Valencia, and on
[491] Saturdays in Inzá and Belalcázar. Those of Belalcázar and Valencia, because they are connected by vehicular road with La Plata (Huila), are better attended and have a larger volume of trade. Large numbers of natives from different parcialidades

/355 cont./

443 of the municipio and even from Calderas flock to the market
438 in Belalcázar. Itinerant peddlers are numerous in Tierradentro,
439 and several of them walk through the parcialidades offering their wares. The articles that they sell are few. Traders also travel through the parcialidades, chiefly to acquire cattle that bring them handsome profits. But there are also those who go from
439 house to house to buy agricultural produce. A trader from
426 Mosoco, mestizo, bilingual, boasts of his friendship with the natives and of the trips that he took, up to about four years ago, through Suin, Chinas, Calderas, Avirama, and Lame, distributing ("showering") advance money for maize, frijoles, laurel wax, saffron, and cattle. "A debt with Indians is never lost," he states categorically, to emphasize the Indians' honesty. At harvest time he returned to collect the products bought and he took them directly to Silvia. He also says that from San Andrés he took from 100 to 200 arrobas of panela each month to sell in Mosoco. Lately, owing to the impassable condition of the Inzá roads, he has given up this business.

443 The parcialidad of Mosoco, and in general the entire
438 hydrographic valley of the Moras River, which contains the
439 parcialidades of San José, Mosoco, Vitoncó, Lame, Suin, and Chinas, trades with the municipio /356/ of Silvia, located on the western slopes of the Central Cordillera. All of the agricultural production goes there: potatoes, maize, wheat, barley, peaches, garlic, broad beans, and ullucos. Only when the prices of agricultural produce are low in Silvia, do they go to Belalcázar and Valencia. But this rarely happens. From Silvia they bring, in exchange, all their tools, their clothing, drugs, and housewares. The Mosoco women are the chief buyers of woolen rebozos (rebosos de Castilla), showy necklaces, gold earrings, and hairpins; the men, of fine cloth hats, fabric for their trousers, and shirts.

437 The riding paths in that area are surprisingly well main-
[476] tained. Each year, in the summertime, all of the neighbors take charge of needed repairs, and they are an obvious contrast to the riding paths of the municipio of Inzá. The people of

/362 cont./

511 The articles of clothing most in demand are trousers, shirts,
●438 hats, underwear, rebozos, and sashes (Mosoco), large shawls
439 /pañolones/ (Lame and San Andrés), and smocks for the children.
[301] Ponchos are also purchased with some frequency. In Mosoco,
[323] gold earrings are ornaments appreciated by the women, in contrast to other parcialidades where gold is /363/ regarded as taboo. The natives wear no sandals or shoes. It should also be noted that the women's skirts are not purchased, but made at home; while in Mosoco the purchase of the reboso de Castilla /Spanish shawl/ is quite frequent and a sign of elegance, in the other parcialidades
511 they buy pañolones. If we compare the figures for food and clothing, the percentage of the income devoted to the former in Mosoco, with two exceptions, is higher than that devoted to clothing. In Lame, and especially in San Andrés, the percentages for food and clothing tend to be the same, and often the latter is higher than the former. The phenomenon is not strange if we bear in mind that in these two parcialidades cultivation is more for internal consumption than for sale. As for "Amusements," although various expenses have been included among them, they refer basically to expenses for the fancy for alcoholic and fermented beverages. Naturally, the expenses are necessarily higher, as we shall see later. As for lighting, in spite of the fact that in San Andrés and Lame it is made out of wild laurel wax, stearic candles are also purchased, and in Mosoco they are always
511 purchased. Soap is purchased by all the natives. In the column
454 showing the part for savings we note that only six of the 48 families
[434] investigated have no figures for it.* And in order to make a few deductions, we have made an analysis of the incomes of the 48 families studied:

*[see p. 93 for this table -- Analyst]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

in which a Spaniard held a territory occupied by Indians. The natives, under a chief who was protected by the White authorities and who made contact between the master, or encomendero, and his subjects, had to give a certain number of days' work and a specified tribute in products of the lands, animals, gold, or manufactures. The encomiendas made no effort to Hispanicize the Indians, but continued to loot and massacre them. The Indians, reduced to utter misery, gave up all their artistic and industrial activities, and devoted the greater part of their time to the service of the master or to seeking products to pay the obligatory tribute. To remedy this situation, the Spanish Crown decreed the native "parcialidad," giving surviving groups reservations and prohibiting their employment in transporting men and goods over the highways. This reform was never entirely carried out, however, and the Indians, in spite of having their own government, the cabildo or Indian council, continued in servitude or debt slavery.

The native Indian government consisted generally of a governor, a first mayor (alcalde mayor), a second mayor (alcalde segundo), a trustee (sindico or fiscal), and constables (alguaciles), the last a kind of police who transmitted to the people the orders which the Whites gave through the governors or mayors, and who carried out penalties of imprisonment, of placing in stocks, and whipping, which the first Spaniards introduced into the punishment of the natives. At the same time, the Christianization of the Indians began. It succeeded in an imperfect way, however, for the Indian attended Masses, arranged and participated in processions, and did not miss the solemn ceremonies a single Sunday largely because on the same day he brought his own products to the pueblo for sale, bought salt or meat which he needed, and devoted himself to drinking chicha, the traditional drink which he had always taken on religious or social occasions.

The Indians of Nariño, descendants of the *Pasto*, lost their language and many of their customs during the Colonial Period, although they continued to live as natives on their reservations, which daily became smaller because of the encroachments by the neighboring Whites or Mestizos. They became farmers with small landholdings and, occasionally, masons in the cities. The *Moguex* and *Páez*, however, retained their language and the greater part of their customs. Some of them, especially the men who had to deal with the Whites, learned a little Spanish, and they continued throughout the Colonial Period to defend their lands and their traditions. To religious practices introduced by the missionaries, they added such elements as the offer of food to the souls of the dead. They added to the Colonial council (cabildo) the office of captain, an official who, unlike the rest of the council, was not responsible to civilian authorities but had life tenure, sometimes a hereditary position, and more authority within the group.

7:Hernández de Alba E-54(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The main subsistence of these tribes was and still is based on the cultivation of potatoes, which grow in great quantities in the higher portions of the territory known as Tierradentro, and maize, which is acclimated to the temperate and cold zones. There are three varieties of maize: sweet, soft, and hard. Additional crops were and are yuca or manioc, sweet potatoes, auyamas, ullucos, purutos, frijoles, arracacha, and various other vegetables, and a variety of fruits, including bananas, guayavas, avocados, papayas, [178] pineapples, and passion fruit. Today the *Páez* and *Moguex* are be- [433] ginning to grow wheat, coffee, which is an important item in their [273] economy, and sugarcane, from which is made a coarse sugar and molasses for their fermented drink, guarapo.

241 The men and women of each family generally cultivate the family 476 plot, but for large-scale maize or coffee planting, and for cultivation of the lands of the Church or saint, they work communally, and have meetings called "mingas." Communal work for any particular [782] individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense. The [273] beneficiary must feed his helpers, generally sacrificing a pig and preparing great quantities of chicha for the libations and nocturnal dances after the work. All adults must participate in working the Church lands, but each brings his own food.

241 Implements of cultivation are the digging stick, or macana, for 412 making holes for planting, machetes and axes for destroying vege- 407 tation, and picks and shovels for removing earth, except where re- 492 placed by plows pulled by animal traction.

Domesticated animals.—Domesticated animals include chickens, 231 turkeys, some pigs, dogs, and a few horses and cows. All but the [177] turkeys are of European origin. These animals are rarely sold or killed for food, except for feast days, magical ceremonies, meetings, [438] and visits of relatives, friends or distinguished White men. But [251] sometimes the Indians buy meat in the weekly market and hang it over the hearth, where it is preserved by the smoke.

A custom which has persisted since the beginning of the Colonial 574 Period is that of always giving a guest the "camarico" or "cariño" 431 (affection), a present varying from an egg to a chicken, together with some potatoes, vegetables, and coffee beans.

262 Formerly, meat was obtained from wild rather than domesticated 136 animals—boars (zaínos), guaras, guatines, birds, and guinea pigs, the 231 last being true domesticated animals kept in some numbers in the native houses.

252 **Food preparation.**—Food was cooked in pottery ollas, but metal and [415] enamel ware is now often used. The *Páez* make "mute," a soup of [177] boiled maize, cabbage, squash, and potatoes, and "cocido," a soup

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/1(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

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PLATE 190.—**Páez and Moguex Indians at the markets of Inzá, Tierradentro.** *Top: Páez* Indians buying coca. *Bottom: Moguex* Indians. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 - F]

?:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15

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PLATE 191.—Páez markets in Tierradentro. *Top:* Market in Huila. *Bottom:* Selling chicha at San Andrés. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 G]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

286 [386] blue, the fruit of the jagua palm (kii), probably *Genipa* sp. A woven fabric is made black by burying it for several days with clay and branches of a *Phyllanthus* which they call "sal."

[531] They make woolen bags by hand, using a kind of crochet technique without needles, and decorate them with rectangular and rhomboid figures. Some bags are made of hemp (fique), in which case the stitches are larger and the article has greater elasticity.

411 **Weapons.**—For weapons, the *Páez* used large, thick lances of black [824] or chonta palm, 20 to 25 palms or more long, clubs or macanas, stones [171] thrown with slings, large rocks rolled down from heights, spear throwers like those used by the *Chibcha*, and shields of jaguar, puma, or [177] bear skin. The *Páez* quickly adopted iron arms from the Spaniards, and in the last wars of the Conquest they used steel swords and knives. [172] In a recently discovered grave were copper bells, a golden breastplate, shield bars of tumbaga, a Spanish dagger, and a curved knife of the Arabian or north African type used by the conquistadors.

[223] Today the *Páez* use the club or macana, ordinary guns, machetes, knives, and, for killing birds, the blowgun.

354 **Fire making.**—Fires are generally made today with flint and steel, [372] but some Indians use modern matches. For both heating and cook- [177] ing, the fire is made on the ground in the main house, surrounded by stones which help support the pots. It is covered at night, and almost never goes out.

354 Illumination is provided not only by the fire but by candles made of 824 wax from the wax palm and from seeds of a wild laurel. The latter are cooked and pressed in a bag so that the wax drips into a half [388] calabash or pot to form a semispherical lump. It is melted to make candles with cotton wicks. The *Páez* use these themselves and also sell them, for they are superior to candles made of animal tallow. A cruder means of lighting consists of transfixing a large number of "higuerilla" seeds on a long, thin bamboo splinter. When the splinter is laid horizontally and lighted, the first seed burns strongly, after which the flame passes from seed to seed, lasting some 15 minutes and throwing a fair light a few feet around.

COMMERCE

438 Each week a market is held in the municipio or in some of the small 439 native villages (pls. 190, 191). The Indians sell vegetables, tortillas, eggs, chickens, and laurel wax, and buy salt, brown sugar, and espe- [435] cially lime (mambe) to be chewed with coca. Each product has a price in Colombian money, whether by quantity or weight. The unit [804] of weight is called an "egg," and more or less equals the weight of a chicken egg. After his few customary transactions, paid for either in [273] cash or in terms, in which the future coffee crop is mortgaged to the

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

civilized tradesman, the Indian turns to drinking guarapo or chicha and becomes drunk. Often a heated discussion, always spoken in Spanish and not in *Páez*, leads to insults and perhaps to blows and injuries. A man's wife usually maneuvers him from the village and, if he falls asleep on the road, she sits by him warding off dangers.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political structure.—The *Moguex*, *Páez*, *Guanaca*, *Timaná*, and *Yalcón*, despite their great similarity in language and culture, formed separate groups at the time of the Conquest. Each was divided into several communities (parcialidades), of which those of the *Páez* were the most numerous. The *Guanaca* were split between two principal caciques, one of whom, Anabeima, joined the Spaniards against the *Páez* of Avirama. The other cacique was Esmisa, Anabeima's brother-in-law. Each *Páez* community had its own chief, but the communities were grouped into three great divisions. One consisted of the *Páez*, *Tálaga*, *Simurga*, and *Taravira*, on the shores of the Páez River. The chiefs of three of these groups were brothers; that of the fourth was their sister, whose name was Taravira. Another group was headed by Suin, and his son, Esmisa. In the third group, Avirama was joined by other neighboring chiefs of less importance.

Each community (cacicado) consisted of several polygynous families under a male chief (pl. 185, *top, left*). Each family had its own house, located some distance from its neighbor's. All the members of a community gathered for general work, and all or several of the communities united for war, either against the *Pijao*, their feared neighbors, or against the Spaniards.

The place of a cacique's residence was a sort of focal point and meeting place, and today most of such places are Indian villages with the same names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima (formerly Toboima), etc. The present *Páez* Indian reservation of Tierradentro is divided politically into two municipios—Páez or Belalcázar and Inzá—with 22 communities, each governed by its own councils (cabildos, of Colonial origin) and by the municipal authorities. The cabildo is elected annually. The Indians, however, are jealous defenders of their traditions, and insist on a captain and síndico, each with life tenure, to act as their own leaders and as true representatives of the cacique. Their duties are moral and fiscal and carry a certain divine authority, as they are inaugurated in the local church. The cabildo, on the other hand, has only administrative and police powers; it divides the land, orders work to be done, and executes the municipal orders. The members of a cabildo hold office for 1 year and receive no remuneration. They are elected on the first of December by all the male adults, or "macaneros," that is, the Indians who participate in the communal work according to a

/107 cont./

123 knew tales he could tell, and to whom we gave tobacco and salt and a few other small gifts, a knife, a hoe, or an aluminum cup. At the moment he had a headache, he said. I gave him a few tablets, and we agreed that I would come back the next morning and he would tell me a few tales. When we arrived the next day, after hours of tramping, his wife told us that her husband had gone into the mountains very early that morning in order to cut wood.

115 Our first visit in Calderas took place in the company of the interpreter, Marcos Antonio Penkue, a Paez about 40 years old from San Andrés, who regarded himself as very civilized and who had reached a certain position of wealth. He served as a [191] soldier on the Brazilian border and speaks Spanish well. On his [245] finca /see the glossary, p. 249 / he has about 2,000 coffee trees, [439] whose yield he sells in Inzá on the market. He also carries on [464] other business there by functioning as an interpreter and middleman for the non-Spanish-speaking and generally unbusinesslike Paez. During our work in Calderas he combined business with his services. [233] The Paez are ardent cattle-raisers, albeit not in our economic sense, but purely for sport and the pleasure of numbers. A cow-calf is much more valuable to them than a full-grown bull, for [437] it will produce another calf and increase the herd. Thus, Marcos Antonio exchanged calves for bulls in Calderas and, indeed, bought [434] some cattle himself. These business transactions bring him about 200 to 250 pesos profit per head, since among themselves the Paez ask only low prices, about 50 pesos for a bull. His selling 115 price on the market in Inzá amounts to about 300 pesos. He re- 124 garded the work with us as highly troublesome, but he knew what he was worth to us. His fee rose from three pesos a day at the beginning to ten pesos. Translations that seemed to him too complicated or explanations that were too long for him he would give "in essence" in a few words, after which my counterquestions obviously annoyed him. One day when I had planned some important work, but he some important business, he hid our horses and calmly let us look for them all day long, while he, under the pretext of searching for the horses, carried on his business until he "found" them in the evening.

/125 cont./

291 made between the clothing of the married and the unmarried.

302 The men's hair is cut "semilong" with scissors, so that they have a cut midway between bobbed hair and a modern, shaped cut. Women wear their hair long and combed toward the back, to some extent in the form of a part. Older girls and [412] married women plait their hair in braids. Only the modern, purchased combs are used for combing. The men do not groom their beards, which are sparse to begin with, but from youth onward pull out the beard hair with the fingers.

301 No ornaments of any kind are worn by the men nowadays.
439 Two hundred years ago they wore nose rings (zomp) "like the oxen" (Castillo i Orosco, p. 89). The women today wear /126/ purchased pendant-ornaments only to a very slight extent, the white glass-bead chains (wǎča - bead) being relatively the most common (Ill. 148 /see p. 265/). The traders are Sibundoy or similar fellow-tribesmen from the southern part of the country, where chains of this kind are worn by the pound by men and women as pendant ornaments. Earrings consist either of a few purchased beads strung on a thread or of a purchased silver pendant. Anyone may wear purchased brass finger-rings; it is not a sign of being married. In earlier times it is possible that there were arm rings, as is shown by Castillo's term kasẽnandgnue-tsa for "arm ring."

3. Economy

433 The first impression that one has of the Paez from an economic standpoint is that of a democratic farming people firmly rooted in their soil, and during an initial consideration of their food and way of life it appears as though they have never been anything but agriculturalists. In the case of primitive peoples, however, we must distinguish between the principal means of production and the original means of production. The former is usually not hard to recognize, whereas the question of the original means of production of a people can be answered

/140 cont./

231 439 Since the only purpose of keeping horses among the Paez is to have as large a number as possible, it is understandable that they place importance above all on the possession of mares. The birth of a filly is therefore a great joy and everyone would be happy to trade a grown stallion for a filly, "because it again gives foals." Unfortunately this exchange takes place only all too rarely, because the colonists are not interested in the degenerate horses of the Calderun. It is different with cows (kulá; steer = tolo, heifer = novílya). Here the /141/ Calderun breed (black mottled "Holstein" and brown cattle) is healthier and usually also stronger than the cattle of the colonists. Moreover, on account of the somewhat cooler climate, their bodies are almost completely free of ticks and vermin, in contrast to the cows belonging to the inhabitants of lower altitudes, normally 231 crawling with larvae and maggots. Unlike horse meat, beef is [262] eaten, but milk is never drunk, "since the Calderun never have [272] the cows milked." The breeding goal here, too, is the greatest possible number. Thus it would never happen that a cow or calf would be slaughtered. I could not learn of any preference for a particular color, for example, black-white or brown-white, or uniformly all black or white or brown. All are liked equally well [431] by the Paez, since only the number is important. There is no special attachment between a person and his livestock, for no one gives away livestock, either as a birthday, christening, or [552] wedding present. Special names or designations for livestock or pet names are not used.

233 422 231 About half the total number of Calderun cattle and horses graze on the pastures of community land. This means about 40 horses and 60 cattle. The figure shows that only a small number of Calderun families own a cow or a horse. The proportion [554] becomes even less favorable when one learns that there are three rich families who own about ten to 20 head of cattle and horses each. The other half of the large stock, as well as sheep, pigs, and small stock, remain near the houses and seek their fodder there. [241] They may also forage in the uncultivated fields of neighbors; they are prevented by the fences from breaking into the cultivated fields.

/143 cont./

224 mountain spirit. We met only a single young man of about 18
who goes hunting alone in the mountains once a week. He told
us that, in order to become a good hunter, one must first try to
[789] kill a bear (éšwiy). One must then rub its fat into the right
[237] lower-arm, which would give him the same powers as the bear.
[262] One is not permitted to eat this fat, however, because it would
[828] make him insane. After rubbing in the fat, the young hunter
[263] continued, one may not eat salt at any meal for a week. There
are no further rules and ceremonies of any kind to be observed.
[237] We learned, however, that one can also use bear fat as a heal-
[752 757] ing remedy, and, to be sure, for bone fractures or sprains one
must rub the affected part with bear fat, whereupon the injured
limb will heal immediately and will become considerably
224 stronger than ever before. For stalking he wears on his head a
292 cap made of the skin of a reddish-blond hairy monkey (mónо),
[825] which in the first place protects him from the thorns of the
bushes, but which is also supposed to facilitate creeping up on
[439] game. He sold it to us for two pesos without hesitation, since,
[126] as he said, he was perfectly capable of shooting another monkey
224 for himself. He was not afraid of the gělyómp spirit, but the
776 other men were, for gělyómp screams and makes a noise when
human beings enter his area in the mountains, so that they be-
come quite confused and go astray. The mountain spirit cannot
do anything to several men together, however, since he could
make as much noise as he pleased, but they would not let them-
224 selves be diverted. Of course, the men, even if there are ever so
776 many of them, must not offend the mountain spirit or provoke
515 him unnecessarily, but rather must avoid everything that gělyómp
783 does not like. /144/ For instance, he hates everything impure
[296] and filthy. Hence the men always only go hunting well washed;
[824] they even wash the entire body, and the ruana, too. In addition,
they rub themselves with the cleansing herbs šu and šáyuts, which
they obtain from the shaman, in order to be really altogether
[761] clean in a physical and ritual sense. But if someone has taken
part in a burial or has merely seen a funeral procession close by,
he has picked up a good deal of "pest" from the dead and must
have himself specially purified by the
shaman before hunting.

/161 cont./

286 show the same design, but rather one that results from the cross-
531 ing of the twisted warp threads.

g) Dyeing

386 The Paez feel that black is the most beautiful color.
824 Hence almost all the home-woven garments of the men and
[822] women are dyed black, and only rarely does one see articles of clothing in the yellowish-white natural color of sheep wool.
[462] Dyeing is women's work and is done with certain plants, which, however, dye only the animal material used in weaving, but
[294] not that from plants. This peculiarity of the dyes is utilized by the Paez to make patterns in their clothing by weaving into the sheep-wool fabrics a few cotton warp threads, which, in the subsequent dyeing, retain their original color.

Every woman is in a position to dye her home-woven fabrics black. To do this the pieces of fabric are boiled in a pot for about two hours, along with the leaves of the ǰal tree or the zóte tree (according to Hernandez, 1946, p. 944, with the leaves of a Phyllanthus) and then buried for two days and two nights with these leaves in a pit in black, rich humus earth (aǰáktič). Then they are taken out again, washed thoroughly, and allowed to dry. The black dye is now lightfast and waterproof. The cotton ornamental stripes in the women's clothing, which are not affected by this dyeing process, are either natural
[283] in color, red, or green. They are bought by the women in the desired color, since cotton is not spun by the Paez.

386 The threads of different colors used to make the coca bags
824 and the women's belts were originally all dyed by the Paez
177 women with vegetable dyes. Today this is done only in part,
[439] for anyone who has the money buys aniline dyes at the market in Inzá or Belalcázar; they are more popular because of their stronger coloring and greater luminosity. Similarly, the cotton purchased in thread already dyed is more popular for making women's belts, since it is brighter or more brilliant.

/163 cont./

389 The powder, however, must be bought. As for its production,
822 the general opinion is that it is made from human beings. The
829 whites, they believe, fatten human beings, then hang them,
[439] and, while they are still alive, tap their fat, from which they then make powder. That is why the Paez do not like to send their children far away and do not let them go to the whites, because they believe that the latter would catch them in order to make powder from them.

824 /164/ To make the fireworks a piece of sheep gut is used,
389 filled with powder and wound tightly with an agave string.
[237] The latter is waxed with beeswax for extra strength. One of
[283] these powder cases is used for the smaller firecrackers (koétes), while two, one over the other, are used for the larger firecrackers (kwatón), and under these is placed the fuse, which consists of a small bamboo tube, one to five centimeters long, filled with powder (Fig. 32 /see p. 256 /). These two or three parts are wrapped in a maize leaf and fastened to a bamboo splice 20-60 centimeters long. When it is lighted, the firecracker rises to a height of 50 meters with a considerable whistle and then explodes.

5. Trade and Transportation

438 One cannot speak of trade in the commercial sense among the Paez, for they trade almost solely among themselves and
[441] abhor everything that has to do with business. Moreover, since there is no merchant class among them, there is no carrying trade. Merchants are regarded as do-nothings who, though they
[437] are needed, are nevertheless despised. Fundamentally the self-contained household economy predominates, and whatever one family does not have it barters for within the same village if
439 possible. Only when this is not possible, thus when industrial products are involved, does one go to the weekly market held regularly at Inzá or Belalcázar, in order to buy the necessary articles. These include, above all, salt, as well as spades, machetes, aluminum pots, knives, scissors, spoons, needles,

/164 cont./

439 cloth for trousers, and all European clothing. Furthermore, every type of ornament must be bought, such as necklaces, earrings, and finger rings, then cotton, since it is finer and shinier than sheep wool, and aniline dyes for dyeing women's belts and coca bags, since they are more brilliant and clearer than the native vegetable dyes. The trip to market and the necessary trade, however, are not undertaken because of an inclination for business, pleasure in bargaining or in underbidding or outbidding, but out of the necessity to procure an [438] article that they cannot make themselves. If it is at all [797] possible, one tries to buy the required things in the village, for example, from the missionaries, and the purchase with money or the trip to market is, so to speak, the ultima ratio. 437 They do not bargain. The man -- /165/ and it is almost al- 439 ways he who shops -- asks the price, and if it seems too high -- [462] as in most cases -- he says "too expensive." If the tradesman lowers the price, he usually buys; if not, he goes on to the next stand.

The traders are never Paez, but always white and mestizo colonists. They know, of course, about the disinclination of the Paez to bargain, and they charge too high a price to begin with, so as to ask a still inflated normal price after the obligatory "too expensive." Thus the Paez are naturally cheated. They let themselves be too easily dazzled by an attractive display or packaging, for example, by the polish or the silver paper; also a more expensive green or red comb is preferred over a black one. Fortunately, one might say, they never have much money and can therefore never spend too much.

126 The way in which I was obliged to acquire the women's 439 colored belts for our collection is characteristic. Since every woman possesses only two at the most, one to fasten her skirt and the other to carry her baby, any attempt to buy them was [101] always useless. I had therefore bought at the market in Inzá a few women's belts which are made by the Guambiano, the tribe neighboring the Paez on the west, and are sold in Inzá. [184] They are made of cotton, the white color of which in the freshly

/165 cont./

126 worked state is considerably more brilliant than the somewhat
439 yellowish sheep wool. Moreover, their aniline dyes gleam much
184 more brightly than the vegetable dyestuffs of the Paez dyes.
126 Unfortunately, they are shorter than the Paez belts. Neverthe-
439 less, the trade was most happily made. The coca pouches of
437 our collection, too, we acquired entirely by way of barter, for example, for a pair of scissors at the Bogotá price of 50 centavos. At the market in Inzá such a pair costs about a peso. The Paez know this. Nevertheless, the same persons who had previously refused a sale for five pesos exchanged a pouch for a pair of scissors. It was the same with eggs. They would not sell them for 20 centavos, but traded them for a wax candle which was available everywhere for five centavos.

43 In the case of their own products, there is no trade from village to village. Nor is there any exchange of certain specialties outside the village, since the initiative for special achievements or the unusual always comes from the colonists or foreign traders. In general the Paez do not buy and sell among themselves, but only barter, since money is used very unwillingly among them. Their idea that an article sold, /166/ for example, an egg, may bring misfortune to the part retained, in this case the chicken, may play a role in this. Moreover, even today paper money is scarcely ever accepted, first because they usually do not have a special pocketbook, but put the bills in their coca pouch, where they may be easily torn, and, secondly, because many are in the habit of burying their money or hiding it somewhere. In this way the bills soon become moldy, whereas hard money lasts a long time. The latter is therefore extremely rare in the entire Tierradentro area.

435 In the barter of foodstuffs there are certain rates that every-
437 body knows. Since, furthermore, they always make an effort to furnish only satisfactory goods, there are no exaggerated claims or any reason for bargaining or haggling. It is simply: either-or, especially since market phenomena have no effects, and the barter rates are in no way increased in times of shortage or want. Thus, at the time of my visit, sheep and therefore wool were very

/167 cont./

435 Livestock can be exchanged for other livestock or for food-
437 stuffs. For example, a stallion has the value of 20 pounds of coca leaves or a man's ruana; a mare, however, is much dearer and is exchanged for the maize harvest of a field about 100 square meters in area, to be harvested by the buyer himself. Similarly, one can exchange the harvest of a maize field for a steer or a heifer. (The latter has a monetary value of 30 to 40 pesos.) The exchange or sale of a cow, on the other hand, is not possible under any circumstances. Pigs have the relatively low value of only three to five pesos; they are exchanged for five pounds of coca, ten bags of maize, or ten tomín of sugar cane. One may also exchange a small sow or a full-grown hog for a steer. The latter has the value of about 15 pesos, a mare about 20 to 30 pesos. Stallions are gladly exchanged for a foal. They are valued at 15 pesos. Whereas the exchange of a stallion for a cow is impossible because of the latter's higher value, stallions are often exchanged for bulls, especially by hosts who need beef to feed their guests.

It is significant that a head of cattle or a horse cannot be exchanged for quickly consumed foodstuffs, such as maize, arracacha, beans, potatoes, bananas, etc., since the latter do not last long enough and the buyer of the foodstuffs feels that he will not get sufficient use out of his exchange. On the other hand, coca leaves still on the tree, maize on the stalk, or a sugar cane field are quite possible as media of exchange. Victoriano, for example, exchanged for a foal a sugar cane field about 50 by 50 meters in area, which the new owner may harvest as needed. Such an exchange, however, is possible only for
[185] persons who are as industrious as Victoriano. In general the Paez is much too disinclined to work for a future supply, especially if he is not even to have the use of it later on; besides, he is much too fond of drinking his own chicha to give away a two-year old sugar cane field.

439 The goods are transported to the market by men and women,
482 albeit more by the former than by women. This seems quite
484 surprising, for the civilized Indios, as well as many colonists, are in the habit of riding to market unencumbered by any load,

/167 cont./

484 while the /168/ woman on foot lugs the goods behind. From
● 439 Calderas more men than women visit the market. For both it
482 is a very welcome occasion to become intoxicated. The
[273] owners of the taverns try to prevent the stealing of the much
[275] coveted beer and whiskey glasses, popularly practiced by the Paez, by chaining the glasses to the tavern tables.

On market days it is customary to leave very early and to transport the loads in the fiber bags in the customary way: the men take the carrying belt diagonally across their chests and the women hold it with their foreheads. In both cases the bag hangs on their backs. Then generally travel in groups of twos or threes, but not infrequently one also meets solitary
[432] individuals. Provisions are taken along, for, as a matter of
[273] principle, nothing is bought on the way except chicha or brandy.
[485] If it is necessary to stay overnight, nothing is paid for this. They sleep either at the entrance of a house of acquaintances or spend the night in the open field.

439 For traveling and for the visit to the market they try to wear
484 at least one article of European clothing, a felt hat, a shirt, or
[291] a blouse. The quality plays only a minor role, since the worst
[177] shirt is still more desirable than the finest ruana. A person who cannot buy anything in the way of clothing at least ties a black
[262] band around his hat, such as the felt hats have. Provisions are carried along in the fiber bag, roasted maize, cabbage, potatoes,
[415] arracacha. A person who can carries with him two or three of
484 the woolen coca pouches, in one of which there is coca and lime,
461 in another one money, and in the third the plaiting material
[285] for the straw hat. Almost all the men do this plaiting work, which actually is not work at all, but more like a "blind occupation," when they have nothing else to do, either when visiting, on the way to market, or also during the shaman ceremonies.
[283] The women, no matter where one meets them, are equally in-
[285] dustrious and always busy with spinning or plaiting the fiber bags or the wool coca-pouches. Like the men, they carry their work material with them in a second wool pouch.

/177 cont./

the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook. Old, solitary persons or unmarried girls or men live with relatives or friends, but never alone, since a single person is unable either to protect himself or to provide for himself adequately.

The father's authority is great. Wife and children owe him absolute obedience. Nevertheless, the man does not have the right to alienate personal articles of members of the family or possessions that they made themselves. Thus, for example, he is not in a position to sell a coca bag or a fiber bag belonging to his wife or his children's toys.

The children are given the family name of the father, but the women keep their maiden names even after marriage. There is no external indication in dress or hair style or otherwise for unmarried girls and married women. The wife is obligated to work for her husband and children in her family. Beyond that she may procure personal belongings for herself by weaving cloth beyond the needs of her family, for example, and trading it for ornaments.

If the young people are still living in the house with their parents, the daughter-in-law is not absolutely subordinate to her mother-in-law, although this appears to be so, to judge from the speech at the wedding ceremony. A relationship of dependence is out of the question because of the separate kitchens. Usually, however, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are on good terms, and then it is not uncommon for only one woman to cook for both families, for there is no in-law avoidance. Then the two women share the work of cleaning the house.

Conjugal fidelity is demanded of both marriage partners; in the case of the man, however, it is sometimes not taken so seriously. If a man surprises his wife, however, or she her husband, in marital infidelity, the deceived party may beat (but not kill) both and report them to the cabildo, which again has the guilty party very soundly thrashed.

Illegitimate children are not rare among the Paez. In case an unmarried girl has a child, she is beaten by her parents and

/206 cont./

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	Men	Women	Children
Harvesting yuca, cabbage, beans, gourds		x	
Harvesting sugar cane	x	(x)	
Hunting	x		
Fishing at the weir	x	x	
Gathering wild honey	x	x	x
Preparing food		x	
Making chicha and brandy	x	x	
Housebuilding	x		
Making fire with flint and steel	x		
Fetching firewood		x	
Fetching water		x	x
Carrying loads on marches	x	x	
Making weapons	x		
Making plaited hats	x		
Making hammocks	x		
Making rope	x		
Making musical instruments	x		
Making fireworks	x		
Making bird nets	x		
Making children's toys			x
Making clay vessels	x	x	
Making fiber bags		x	
Making coca bags		x	
Making wax candles	x	x	x

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[439]

Ornaments	(bought)	(bought)	
Weaving, plait-weaving		x	
Dyeing		x	
Washing women's clothes and the men's woven clothes		x	
Washing the home-sewn men's trousers	x		
Mending woven clothing		x	
Mending men's trousers	x		

/288 cont./

534 The genuine Paez music is performed by a group of musicians whose instruments consist of a larger or smaller number of transverse flutes, a bass drum /Pauke/, a drum /Trommel/, a tambourine, and a triangle (Ill. 202 /see p. 289/). The number of flutes varies between five and 15. Tambourine and triangle [439] (číngalo) may be lacking. The latter is always purchased, as in general is the tambourine (panderéta), covered with skin on one side and provided with tin jingles.

Judging by its name, the transverse flute (koi) is a Paez instrument. There has not yet been an investigation of the distribution or culture-historical age of this type of flute in America; in the Old World it is certainly younger than the long flute and the Pan flute (Sachs, p. 147). Among the /289/ Paez it is 65 centimeters long and about 2.5 centimeters in diameter. It is 534 463 made from a type of reed which is also known as koi and which [824] only grows in the mountains. Its manufacture is specialist's work. In Calderas Vicente Puche is at present the only producer. A flute can be made only from the pattern of another one, which, however, is not a model flute expressly for the construction of others; rather, it is any one that Vicente happens to have at his disposal. For example, he promptly sold to me his only instrument at the time. To make a new one, he said, he would borrow a flute from a neighbor.

534 The tube of the flute is cylindrical and without knots. The 322 seal on the side of the blowhole is made by means of a piece of expressed sugar cane, which is pushed a few centimeters into the flute. The six finger-holes are not placed at equal intervals from one another. The first is 25 centimeters from the blowhole, the second finger-hole is 4.2 centimeters from the first, the third 4.5 centimeters from the second, the fourth 4.2 centimeters from the third, the fifth 3.8 centimeters from the fourth, and the sixth 4 centimeters from the fifth.

The seven very sharp-edged holes of the flute have the same diameter. They are burned in with an iron tube (barflya) of the same dimension and heated red-hot. Their position and their intervals are taken from a flute held alongside and are marked

1: Nachtigall--259 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15
Colombia SC1

PC
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439

Ill. 1. La Plata, the southern trade center of Tierradentro.

PC
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Ill. 2. The market of Inzá.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

164 cient testimony, they have their share of physical ailments. Besides itch (*lel*), tumors of several kinds (*lol-sek*, tonsilitis; *koii*, tumor in the groin), they have original names for smallpox (*buzgui*), which I was told often rages among them, for diarrhœa (*u-tšitš*), dysentery (*mengui*), and intermittent or malarial fevers (*ya-ya-gui* in the ancient dialect, *kui-kui-ni* in that spoken at the present day).

757 Of the practices and superstitions made use of in the cure of
114 these diseases I could gain no information, but it is very probable that the Paez still have their own medicine-men.

Clothing. Personal Adornment

291 At present the wool obtained from the numerous sheep kept
282 by the Paez Indians plays the most important part in the cloth-
[231] ing of both sexes. I cannot find any direct information on the fabrics used before the introduction of sheep by the Spaniards,
[174 but it is most likely that the Paez obtained cotton from the In-
439] dians of the Cauca and Magdalena plains, the cultivation and the manufacture of which into thread must have formed one of the principal industries in the latter. I have already referred
[192 to the great number of clay spindle-whorls found in the graves
174] and on old dwelling sites throughout the Cauca valley. Judging by these we may feel sure that the former inhabitants were great spinners. On the other hand, the present Paez Indians still weave most of their own clothing, and there is no reason why they should not have done so formerly.

291 The dress of the men consists of a pair of short trousers (*hiii*),
[177] that are evidently a concession to modern civilization. These are made of raw cotton cloth, or of imported fabrics, and reach from the waist to about the knees. Over the shoulders is worn a broad rectangular piece of white woolen homespun cloth, split in the middle in the form of a poncho so as to allow the head to pass through, and hanging free front and back. This is called *tund-atš*, i. e., 'the cloth that binds, or covers.' It is generally worn next to the skin, but sometimes a light cotton shirt, called *atš-petš*, is first put on. Over the *tund-atš* they carry on their left
[276 side, hanging by straps that pass over the right shoulder, the coca

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

(*cs*). It is very little cultivated in Tierra Adentro, however, and 276
the dry leaves are imported from the lower Paez and Tolima [249]
basins. To this product the Paez is indebted for his disgusting [439]
chewing and spitting habit, the use of which is still doubtful to me. Coca leaves are said to be a powerful reconstituent, allow- [461]
ing the Indians to endure long marches and great privation. But the women do not use it, and however often they may participate in these hardships, it is with the same endurance. At all events the Paez men never cease chewing and spitting. Each of them carries a supply of coca leaves in his *iisa*, and the quicklime or *kuetan* in a small gourd, both hanging at his left side. Now and then he ejects a mouthful of green saliva, making sure that there be a clean whitewashed wall near by, in order thus to decorate it. He then takes a new handful of leaves, sprinkles them with a little *kuetan*, and fills his mouth again, ceasing this everlasting process only long enough to eat, drink, and sleep.

Tobacco is known in Tierra Adentro under the name of 249
uuci-hi, but it is never smoked or chewed. The sugar-cane, [248]
uiusa, is cultivated in small patches. The only textile plant observed by me is a short-leaved agave called *sasto* (Span. *magucy*). The larger part of the district inhabited by the 245
Paez is above the region in which grows the bamboo called *guadua*; but this beautiful grass is known to them under the name of *mom*, or *mum*. They transport canes of it from a distance for use in the construction of their lighter bridges; and at Huila, about 1,800 meters above sea-level, there was a small plantation of it, showing a primitive attempt at cultivation.

Several useful plants have been mentioned in connection with 249
dyeing (page 318). Although in the Huila mountains there is at least one species of rubber-yielding *Sapium*, the Indians do not seem to have known of the elastic properties of its gum.

A most striking feature of the upper forest zone of the Palo 314
valley is the wax-palm, *láme* (*Ceroxylum andicola*), which is also for the Indians an important economic plant on account of the wax which they obtain by scraping the lofty trunks (plate IX). This product they use mainly for illuminating purposes. Un-

/284 cont./

132 gives rise to cold local winds that blow through the valley of the Páez, affecting chiefly the areas of Vitoncó, Suin, Chinas, San José, Mosoco, and also the parcialidad /a territorial division/ of Calderas itself. The variation in temperature is noticeable in these zones sometimes having hot days and very cold nights. Nebulosity is almost constant, especially in the northern zones.

241 Economy.--The topographic and climatic characteristics permit the cultivation of various plants, such as maize, beans, bananas, sugar cane, yuca, arracacha, and gourds in the temperate zones, and in the cold ones potatoes, maize, ullucos, [433] beans, gourds, and cabbage. The produce barely leaves a [439] surplus for trade with the parcialidades and urban centers of [438] Belalcázar, Inzá, and Valencia. The potato crops of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José serve for an active trade with the Paez of the western slope of the cordillera, across the Páramo de Moras.

433 Coffee and the production of panela are important lines 245 in the economy of the colonists and also of numerous groups 249 of acculturated natives. The coffee of Tierradentro is con- 177 sidered one of the best in the country, owing to the quality and mildness of the bean.

231 /285/ The raising of livestock flourishes among the civilized 437 groups. For the natives it serves for maintaining a barter trade with their neighbors, the white and mestizo colonists.

311 On the whole, native production is relatively scant, 433 giving rise to times of "hambruna" /ravenous hunger/ when [731] the summers or winters are rather harsh. The workable land lies in the small plains and valleys of rivers and streams, on the alluvial terraces, and on the plateaus. Comparing the size of Tierradentro with that of its arable land, the latter appears scant, a problem that is aggravated by the increase in population and the habitual burning.

101 Population.--Tierradentro is the country of the Paez, 361 who at the time of the Conquest were settled to the north of

4:Bernal Villa--29 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

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388 Up to a few years ago, the extraction of laurel wax was the
43 only industry among the Calderas people that brought them monetary returns. And it was the sole article of active trading with the whites. At first the price was good; one peso a pound; nowadays it is barely worth 40 centavos. Thus, there is no
388 market for this article. The fiesteros and the albaceros have chunks of wax in their chambers. The laborers melt it in a copper pan and pour it at once into bamboo tubes, mixed with hot water so that it will not solidify at once. Into it they dip the notched wicks of different lengths so as to saturate them with wax, then bring them out into the air so that they will harden, saturate them once more with wax, and continue in this way until the candle has acquired the desired thickness. Several dozen are made; some large ones for the table, others of medium size for the church, and smaller ones for the mayordomos.

X

Gunpowder

389 The Paez are totally unfamiliar with the method of making
829 gunpowder. And to explain how it is obtained, they tell the
648 painful legend that it is made from human beings. It comes from a fat man, they say, fattened expressly for this purpose. He is hung up, a red-hot iron rod is inserted in his rectum; lard drips down; and this lard is the gunpowder. For this reason, they do not want to send their children to distant lands where the white man lives. They believe that they would be used to obtain gunpowder. "The white men greatly desire Indians in order to obtain gunpowder."

389 The Indians buy gunpowder in the urban centers. They
● 439 work it up. The technique is almost universally known.

/203 cont./

534 Some natives own and play guitars acquired in Popayán,
237 but there are some that they make themselves out of armadillo
●439 shells.

The following are the compositions of ceremonial type
533 which are not accompanied by dancing.

/204/ /Illustration appears here./

Kulá ik kui (bull-slaughter-piece). Musical composition which is played at the moment of killing the beef to which the albacero and the laborers of the fiestero will be taken care of. Informants claim that this musical piece has no significance other than to entertain the people.

Plaza pá kui, a musical composition played when the musicians reach the church.

Misa kase kui, played when the Mass is over.

Chichi pékue kui, played when the meat is cut in pieces to treat the albacero. The workers place the chunks of meat on a trunk and cut them into small pieces with a machete /peinilla/.

There are other compositions peculiar to wedding ceremonies.

/205/ Novio mesa úku, played at the start of the wedding meal.

Úpiate kui, played halfway through the nuptial banquet.

Tunzi kamba kui, played at the close of the nuptial banquet.

All of these compositions are melodious and in 3/4 or 4/4 time.

The religious fiestas, mingas, weddings, and baptisms are occasions for music. There is no music at burials or at wakes for children.

[868] Musical compositions are learned from the "elders" out of personal interest. From childhood they learn how to play the bass drum, the side drum, and the triangle with great skill. They try the flute later. While rhythm instruments

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The Economy of the Paez

by

Segundo Bernal Villa

/Page 292 is blank./

/293/ General observations

433 Products of the soil make up the substantive part of the Páez economy. The Indians are barely familiar with a few manual arts practiced on very rare occasions. Hunting and gathering are quite secondary, and fishing even more so. Livestock-raising, while being an activity worthy of notice for its development, and for being, in addition, the essence of the native conception of wealth, serves more for carrying out disadvantageous barter transactions with the mestizo and white populations than for deriving a profit either in cash or in kind. The Páez economy is thus a direct one, devoid of intermediaries in the functions of production and consumption. The family consumes what it produces. The articles of consumption that are acquired are few. Essentially [439] they are salt, tools, cooking utensils, and clothing. On the other hand, the products that are sold are few: coffee, laurel wax, potatoes, garlic, and coca. It should be noted that the increase in some of these products is of recent date. Páez production merely provisions and seldom leaves a surplus to maintain regular trade. Foresight for times of scarcity exists, but it is neither sufficient nor organized.

221 Working the land conditions the daily activities of the Páez family. It might be said that the vital cycles are subordinated to the agricultural cycles. Basically, the year is divided into the months of the preparation of the soil and the months of the harvest, [166] including the protection of the crops in season. They devote the [464] months that fall between the extremes of this economic cycle to minor manual activities or they emigrate to hire out as day laborers

/299 cont./

245 year. Traders in Silvia sell the crops at up to 14 pesos an arroba.
[439] Lame produces perhaps the best peaches, but they are not suitable for export because they are easily damaged. There are also numerous plantings in Tumbichukue and Calderas, although they do not have much care.

247 Floriculture does not exist among the Páez, and they cannot understand the labor that the "whites" invest in their gardens. They are always of the opinion that food plants should be sown on such lands.

241 Among the cultivated plants, they regard as native maize ("the /300/ Pijao had maize"), the hartón /large-sized/ plantain ("the Pijao also had it"), frijoles, mejicano /squash, Cucurbita pepo/, cabbages, and the cane "criolla" /Creole, native/, while coca, they say, seems rather to have come from the "whites."

241 Species cultivated and zones of cultivation
137 Here is a list of the food plants cultivated by the Páez (5):
192
[128]

5. We thank the Herbario Nacional Colombiano, especially Dr. Jesús M. Idrobo, for the scientific identification of the plants.

/302 cont./

241
433

Crop	Planted	Harvested	Successive Harvests
Arracacha	Any month	In 2 years	Continuous
Sweet potato	Any month	In 6 months	Continuous
Coca	March-April	In 1 year	Every 3 months
Onion	Any month	In 2 months	Continuous
Garlic	Feb.-April	In 4 months	Cut every 6-8 months
Cane	April-May	In 2 years	
Coffee	March-April	In 3 years	2 harvests per year

Manioc, arracacha, sweet potatoes, plantains, onions, and cabbages are harvested throughout the year and in any month.

/303/ Coffee is harvested during the months of October and November (principal harvest) and in May and June (mid-year harvest).

In Calderas (Tumbichukue, Lame, El Cuartel, La Troja, and Vitonco), they harvest peaches chiefly during the months
•[439] of February and March. Although they consume this fruit, the major part is intended for sale.

In the parcialidades of temperate climate, they consume, though not systematically, the fruits: avocado, orange, guava, and star apple.

In the parcialidad of Mosoco and toward the first half of the year, they harvest potatoes, maize, frijoles, broad beans, barley, wheat, and ullucos. The harvest begins with frijoles and immediately continues with maize, broad beans, potatoes, wheat, and barley, ending with the harvest of ullucos, which is done in the month of August.

The harvests of potatoes, nasturtium tubers, and ullucos of the first half of the year are done with splendid results in the "paramo," a mountainous region that merges into the savannas of the Paramo de Moras. This area, conquered in

/310 cont./

243 As may be noted, the magical practices of the té eu are
756 absent, although there still exists that of the eating, which in
789 other parcialidades complements his practices.

249 The cultivation of sugar cane is quite widespread in the
273 temperate thermal level, although the plantings are not extensive and are not pursued for commercial purposes; they serve only for obtaining guarapo (fermented cane juice) for individual and collective labor and for social affairs. Guarapo is an essential part of the domestic economy, in the same manner
249 as coca. It is not produced for public pay. Each house has its
257 sugar mill, either outside or in its interior, but there are no ovens or other accessories for producing panela. The latter industry belongs exclusively to the white or mestizo people.

249 The cultivation of the cane requires three weedings before the first cutting. Three cuttings with good results are generally obtained from each planting.

245 The cultivation of coffee is also very widespread. Its expansion is of recent date, but it already has strong and universal acceptance, like cane and plantains. The method of cultivation suffers from certain deficiencies: the shade is insufficient and inadequate; there is no pruning; the care is not very satis-
[433] factory; many do not have pulping machines. The coffee
245 plantings produce several arrobas per year. The monetary in-
434 come of the natives in the temperate zone is provided basically by
[439] coffee. They sell it to steady and familiar customers for prices
[452] that are usually low. The coffee plantings secure credit for the natives; they often collect money or merchandise against a future
245 harvest. Coffee has permitted them /311/ to acquire dishes, to
434 modify their clothing, to enrich their agricultural equipment,
177 to buy every once in a while the drugs of the "whites." At harvest time they eat meat regularly, and they are also able to pay wages for the improvement of their fincas. But, above all,
[273] it opens the doors of the liquor stores to them. They consume considerable amounts of alcoholic beverages. They have not yet learned to make good use of their monetary income.

6: Bernal Villa--25 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

MOSOCO

	Fams.	Maize				Wheat			
		A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
243	1.*	120	120	...	.....	15	15	...	.....
433	2.	60	60	...	.....	15	...	15	100.0
	3.	20	20	...	.....	10	6	4	60,0
● 439	4.	44	39	5	11,3	12	4	8	66,6
563	5.	18	18	...	.....	10	1,5	8,5	85,0
	6.	12	12	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
	7.	5	5	...	.....	53	8	45	84,9
	8.	20	20	...	.....	10	...	10	100,0
	9.	20	20	...	.....	45	...	45	100,0
	10.	24	24	...	.....	15	15	...	.....
	11.	3	3	...	.....	6	4	2	33,3
	12.	8	8	...	.....	6	6	...	.....
	13.	10	10	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
	14.	23	23	...	.....	6	6	...	.....
	15.	20	20	...	.....	20	5	15	75,0
	16.	16	15	...	.....	20	10	10	50,0
	17.	12	12	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
	18.	24	24	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
	19.	25	23	2	8,0	9	9	...	.....
	20.	16	16	...	.....	25	5	20	80,0
	21.	12	12	...	.....	40	16	24	60,0
	22.	10	10	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
	23.	12	12	...	.....	45	4	41	91,1
	24.	16	16	...	.....	20	4	16	80,0
	25.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

LAME

1.*	30	30	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	25	25	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	8	8	...	.....	3	3(2)	...	.....
4.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
5.	35	35	...	.....	20	...	20	100,0
6.	80	80	...	.....	5	.(2)	5	100,0
7.	20	20	...	.....	2	2(2)	...	.....
8.	50	50	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

Note: A, indicates the arrobas produced; C, arrobas consumed; V, arrobas sold; and %, the percentage sold. /The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

2. Loss of the harvest.

244
433
439
563

MOSOCO

Fams.	Broad Beans A	C	V	%	Garlic A	C	V	%
1.*	80	80	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	5	5	...	.....	9	...	9	100,0
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.	8	7	1	12,5	...	...	...	.....
5.	2	2	...	.....	1,5	0,5	1	66,6
6.	8	8	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
7.	1	1	...	.....	3	1	2	66,6
8.	1	1	...	.....	6	2	4	66,6
9.	8	8	...	.....	12	...	12	100,0
10.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
11.	1	1	...	.....	5	2	3	60,0
12.	1	1	...	.....	6	1	5	83,3
13.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
14.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.	8	8	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
16.	2	2	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
17.	2	2	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
18.	5	5	...	.....	15	3	12	80,0
19.	...	...	...	.....	2,5	...	2,5	100,0
20.	5	5	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
21.	3	3	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
22.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
23.	...	...	...	.....	2	2	...	.....
24.	...	...	...	.....	10	2	8	80,0
25.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

LAME

1.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.**	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	(3)
5.	...	...	...	.....	2,5	...	2,5	100,0
6.	16	16	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
8.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

Note: A, indicates the arrobas produced; C, arrobas consumed; V, arrobas sold; and %, the percentage sold. /The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

3. This informant is white; his sole activity is trading.

6: Bernal Villa--27 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

MOSOCO

Fams.	Ullucos				Nasturtium			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
244 1.	30	30	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
433 2.	20	20	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
●439 3.	...	...	...	.....	5	5	...	.....
563 4.	3	3	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
6.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
8.	15	15	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
9.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
10.	8	8	...	.....	20	20	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
12.	10	10	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
13.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
14.	40	40	...	.....	40	40	...	.....
15.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
16.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
17.	...	...	...	.....	1	1	...	.....
18.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
19.	30	14	16	53,3	...	...	...	.....
20.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
21.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
22.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
23.	15	15	1	.....	20	20	...	.....
24.	16	12	4	25,0	...	...	...	.....
25.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

LAME

1.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
6.	25	15	10	40,0	25	17	8	32,0
7.	4	4	...	.....	5	...	5	100,0
8.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

Note: A, indicates the arrobas produced; C, arrobas consumed; V, arrobas sold; and %, the percentage sold. /The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

6: Bernal Villa--28 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

MOSOCO

Fams.	Frijoles A	Frijoles C	Frijoles V	Frijoles %	Potatoes A	Potatoes C	Potatoes V	Potatoes %
244 1.*	6	6	...	.....	(1)			
433 2.	15	15	1	.....				
●439 3.	...	...	...	.....				
563 4.	6	...	6	100,0				
5.	...	...	...	.....				
6.	...	...	...	.....				
7.	...	...	...	.....				
8.	...	...	...	.....				
9.	...	...	...	.....				
10.	...	...	...	.....				
11.	...	...	...	.....				
12.	...	...	...	.....				
13.	...	...	...	.....				
14.	...	...	...	.....				
15.	...	...	...	.....				
16.	...	...	...	.....				
17.	...	...	...	.....				
18.	5	5	...	.....				
19.	1	1	...	.....				
20.	4	4	...	.....				
21.	...	...	...	.....				
22.	6	6	...	.....				
23.	...	...	...	.....				
24.	...	...	...	.....				
25.*	...	...	...	.....				

LAME

1.*	...	(2)	...	.....	70	...	70	100,0
2.	8	8	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	(2)	...	.....
4.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
6.	8	...	8	100,0	50	20	30	60,0
7.	1	1	...	.....	18	...	18	100,0
8.	10	10	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

Note: A, indicates the arrobas produced; C, arrobas consumed; V, arrobas sold; and %, the percentage sold. /The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

1. The potato production is itemized in a separate table.

2. Loss of the harvest.

SAN ANDRES

244
245
433
439
563
427

Fams.	Coffee				Plantains			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	80	...	80	100,0	300(1)	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	3	...	3	100,0	300(2)	...	...	.....
4.	1	...	1	100,0	50(1)	...	...	.....
5.	15	...	15	100,0	120	118	2	1,6
6.	3	...	3	100,0	200	200	...	.....
7.	3(5)	...	3	100,0	100(1)	...	...	.....
8.	4	...	4	100,0	50(1)	...	...	.....
9.	5	...	5	100,0	150(4)	...	...	.....
10.*	80	...	80	100,0	30(1)	...	...	.....
11.	45	...	45	100,0	...	...	...	.....
12.	...(5)	...	...	.....	100	50	50	50,0
13.	...(5)	...	...	.....	300	100	200	66,6
14.*	6	...	6	100,0	250(1)	...	...	.....
15.*	8	...	8	100,0	100(1)	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English. /

1. Number of plantain plantings that the informant has now.

2. Indicates the number of plantings at present. Last year he gathered about 30 bunches.

4. Indicates the number of plantings at present. Last year he gathered about 30 bunches.

5. Tenant farmer.

6: Bernal Villa--31 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

SAN ANDRES

243
244
433
439
563

Fams.	Maize				Manioc			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	50	50	...	.....	200	160	40	20,0
2.	29	24	5	17,2	64	53	11	17,1
3.	9	9	...	.....	25	25	...	.....
4.	80	80	...	.....	30	30	...	.....
5.	3	3	...	.....	85	85	...	.....
6.	30	30	...	.....	25(3)	...	...	.....
7.	2	2	...	.....	100	100	...	.....
8.	12	12	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
9.	50	40	10	20,0	60	35	25	41,6
10.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	.....	60(3)	35	25	41,6
12.	8(3)	8	...	.....	50	25	25	50,0
13.	14	4	10	71,4	150	75	75	50,0
14.*	...	...	...	.....	500(6)	...	...	.....
15.*	40	40	...	.....	500(6)	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English. /

3. Personal estimate of the author.

6. Informant's estimate of the future harvest.

6: Bernal Villa--32 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

SAN ANDRES

Fams.	Sugar Cane				Arracacha			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	500	...	500	100,0	40	20	20	50,0
2.	...	...	...	.....	20	12	8	40,0
3.	...	...	...	.....	4	4	...	.....
4.	(7)	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
5.	20	...	20	100,0	4	4	...	.....
6.	(7)	...	...	.....	25(3)	...	...	.....
7.	(7)	...	...	.....	17	17	1	.....
8.	(7)	...	...	.....	15(3)	...	...	.....
9.	(7)	...	...	.....	20	10	10	50,0
10.*	(7)	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
11.	40	...	40	100,0	20	10	10	50,0
12.	(7)	...	...	.....	18	9	9	50,0
13.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
14.*	(7)	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.*	100	...	100	100,0	...	...	...	.....

244
249
433
439
563

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English.

3. Personal estimate of the author.

7. Owns plantings of sugar cane.

	Fams.	Coca				Frijoles			
		A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
244	1.*	4	4	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
249	2.	...	...	...	.....	5	4	1	20,0
433	3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
● 439	4.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
563	5.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
	6.	...	...	...	(8)	3	3	...	.....
	7.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
	8.	...	...	...	(8)	8	8	...	.....
	9.	...	...	...	(8)	20	10	10	50,0
	10.*	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
	11.	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
	12.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
	13.	6	2	4	66,6	5	1	4	80,0
	14.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
	15.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

8. Owns plantings of coca.

241 433 From the above table we can make the following deductions:

[245] 1. The coffee production is wholly intended for sale. [434] It thus constitutes the principal source of monetary income [439] for the natives and, of course, for the "whites."

2. Maize, frijoles, sugar cane, and coca are intended almost exclusively for internal consumption. The production of panela indicated in the table refers to the whites and mestizos.

[262] 3. The food base of San Andrés is provided by maize, plantains, manioc, and arracacha. At the time of the coffee [276] harvest, meat is consumed. Coca and guarapo indispensably [273] complement this dietary regimen.

/320 cont./

231 chickens were not lacking. But it was impossible to obtain trust-
124 worthy information about this wealth. A mestizo trader very familiar with the region estimates that in Calderas there must be no fewer than about 350 head of cattle, a figure that is well
[162] deserving of credit. This parcialidad has approximately 150 families. In the statistical table that we present below 55 families are represented, for many of which the data are incomplete and others have an approximate value, deduced from information by third parties and from direct observation. The statistical tables for the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, and San Andrés correspond to reality.

233 Lands intended exclusively for pasture do not exist, with
[311] the exception of that which, on account of its rugged topography and deforestation, covered with grasses that become green again in winter, cannot be used for anything except for pasture, with the risk, of course, that the animals might wander away. In general the animals graze in the stubble, in the communal pastures, in the shade of the brush and thickets. In Calderas, for example, most of the livestock is hidden from strangers' eyes. They eat the branches and grasses that grow on lands that were once fields. In this way they grow wild and shy, but fat and exempt from disease. To catch these animals is equivalent to going on a real hunting expedition in that trained dogs participate, and 10 or 15 men outfitted with their respective lassos and suitably distributed in especially good places for lassoing, detaining, deflecting, or directing the progress of the animal being chased by the dogs. This work is done preferably on Sundays, at the special invitation of the cattleowners, either to brand the calves or to catch a cow intended for trade, sale, or slaughter. When the work is done, a good amount of chicha is consumed. Only the livestock that grazes on the communal llano is visible to strangers and relatively tame.

232 Everyone prefers females for reproduction. The males
439 are consumed, sold, or traded for young females and, rarely, for
231 other articles. Often there is a lack of breeding bulls. In such cases the cows do not calve and are regarded as sterile, a fact that is duly exploited by the white and mestizo traders in order to

propose "trades".

/320 cont./

231 propose "trades." Traders who are interested in a cow, once
● 439 they have located the true /321/ owner, assail him with proposi-
tions for a trade. They offer young, fertile heifers, smaller
in size and usually thin. In exchange, they obtain a large and
231 fat cow. The profits are more than 200%. Before handing over
439 the animal, the native invariably requests a bottle of aguardiente
789 and pulls out a few hairs from the left eye or lower leg of the cow
[782] as an offering to the Duende /ghost/, the virtual owner of the
lands and animals and potentially the protector of their multi-
plication. Likewise he blows chayuts (Scutellaria racemosa Per.)
on the rope with which the cow will be led, so that it will not
create difficulties along the way. There are frequent statements
by whites and mestizos, cattle traders, to the effect that, when
this requisite was not met, the cow stopped halfway on the
journey and could not be budged by any human power. Then it
sufficed to blow at the rope with chayuts to make her move again.
How can this be explained? The persons relating the story re-
231 peatedly ask.

262 Occasions for the consumption of cattle are mingas, re-
[796] ligious fiestas, and, on a small scale, the post-matrimonial and
[527] baptismal "cuidos" (courtesies for the sponsors). The meat and
[281] the skin are both used. The latter is not tanned, but dried in
[234] the sun and used as a sort of mattress for sleeping. The milk is
not used. When they sacrifice a head of cattle that comes from
262 "wild" places, such as bogs, lagoons, or montañas, they take the
782 precaution of calling the Té eu. He orders them to take a small
756 piece from each organ and to put a little blood on a reed. He
231 wraps all this in a leaf, puts a sprig of contento (chayuts) on top
of it, then goes toward the east, and, in a spot determined by
him, leaves the bundle, taking care always to put it to the left
of things such as trunks or rocks. This placement does not have
any special ceremony associated with it; it is not accompanied
by prayers or the blowing of medicines, and it does not take
place at a specific time. It is an offering to the Duende which
is performed before consuming the meat, the primary purpose
of which is to please him.

/334 cont./

312 water abounds during the rainy season. Then the stream beds, dry during the summer (ravines), swell disproportionately. During the summer months, the scarcity of water is still a serious problem.

313 In areas where water is scarce, there is also a scarcity of firewood, owing to the intensive deforestation. As the felling of the trees moves out from the populated centers of Tierradentro, the acquisition of this item becomes increasingly difficult. The fuel problem in Belalcázar, Cuetando, Chitoquez, Valencia, [314] and Guasdualejo is becoming increasingly serious. Furthermore, [439] charcoal is neither used nor produced for trade in Tierradentro.

[312] Providing firewood for feeding the hearth, as well as water, [462] is more an activity for women and children than for men. In most of the parcialidades, firewood abounds, and ordinarily each dwelling has sufficient reserves to maintain the fire on the hearth. In cold parcialidades, such as Calderas and Lame, reviving the fire through the night is essential for protection [513] against the cold. The natives sleep around the hearth, from which comes the warmth that they need for sleeping, since they use no covering other than the clothing on their own bodies and no mattress other than a hard cowhide.

376 The abundance of water also facilitates the construction of 258 hydraulic mills, in order to utilize this motive force. They are relatively numerous.

Property

423 The lands of the native communities are protected. That is to say, they belong to the parcialidad. They are inalienable. In addition, they are exempt from taxes. This peculiarity of our legislation has fortunately permitted the preservation of the [311] Paez group and their culture. The lands contained within the parcialidades are uncultivated, usable, /335/ or in use. The uncultivated lands of the communities of Tierradentro are rapidly being colonized.

In each parcialidad there is a specific amount of land that belongs to all the members of the community. It is communal

land.

/354 cont./

43 onions, cabbages, barley, and eggs, with which it is not possible to maintain regular trading. The Indians, without exception, buy salt and also acquire hats, shirts, trousers, machetes, shovels, bars, axes, knives, aluminum pots, cups, iron plates, spoons, candles, soap, and aguardiente. Less frequently, large and brilliantly colored kerchiefs for the children, and tweezers /pinzas/ and necklaces for the women.

● 439 San Andrés is a small native settlement which has been
443 inhabited by the "whites" since the settlement area was estab-
438 lished. It contains three stores that sell some merchandise,
[162] some drugs, beer, aguardiente, and bread. Two of them have gramophones. There are also two other stores, which sell chicha and aguardiente exclusively. On Wednesdays a small market is held. In front of one of the houses, peddlers and traders from other areas display their wares; on the small plaza an awning is raised by an acculturated native woman in order to sell food, and a little farther there is a stand where meat is sold. The market starts moving at dawn. The natives bring small amounts of manioc, arracacha, white cabbage, eggs, coffee, and onions, /355/ which are bought immediately by the "whites." Then the butcher starts selling meat, usually in two-pound portions, which are what the natives buy. The peddlers sell a few trinkets and commodities. At 9:00 A.M. the liquor places
[273] begin to move. At ten in the morning the market is over, and
[578] at midday and in the afternoon only drunken natives are to be
[648] seen. At those times quarrels between them are frequent, and often the natives' aggressiveness is channeled against the "whites," as they assert that they are the true owners of the land and the settlement. The natives have the habit of selling their articles (coffee, eggs) only to persons known to them, even if others can pay them better prices.

On Wednesdays there are also markets in Guasdualejo (Togoima) and Turminá; on Thursdays in Valencia, and on
[491] Saturdays in Inzá and Belalcázar. Those of Belalcázar and Valencia, because they are connected by vehicular road with La Plata (Huila), are better attended and have a larger volume of trade. Large numbers of natives from different parcialidades

/355 cont./

443 of the municipio and even from Calderas flock to the market
438 in Belalcázar. Itinerant peddlers are numerous in Tierradentro,
439 and several of them walk through the parcialidades offering their wares. The articles that they sell are few. Traders also travel through the parcialidades, chiefly to acquire cattle that bring them handsome profits. But there are also those who go from
439 house to house to buy agricultural produce. A trader from
426 Mosoco, mestizo, bilingual, boasts of his friendship with the natives and of the trips that he took, up to about four years ago, through Suin, Chinas, Calderas, Avirama, and Lame, distributing ("showering") advance money for maize, frijoles, laurel wax, saffron, and cattle. "A debt with Indians is never lost," he states categorically, to emphasize the Indians' honesty. At harvest time he returned to collect the products bought and he took them directly to Silvia. He also says that from San Andrés he took from 100 to 200 arrobas of panela each month to sell in Mosoco. Lately, owing to the impassable condition of the Inzá roads, he has given up this business.

443 The parcialidad of Mosoco, and in general the entire
438 hydrographic valley of the Moras River, which contains the
439 parcialidades of San José, Mosoco, Vitoncó, Lame, Suin, and Chinas, trades with the municipio /356/ of Silvia, located on the western slopes of the Central Cordillera. All of the agricultural production goes there: potatoes, maize, wheat, barley, peaches, garlic, broad beans, and ullucos. Only when the prices of agricultural produce are low in Silvia, do they go to Belalcázar and Valencia. But this rarely happens. From Silvia they bring, in exchange, all their tools, their clothing, drugs, and housewares. The Mosoco women are the chief buyers of woolen rebozos (rebosos de Castilla), showy necklaces, gold earrings, and hairpins; the men, of fine cloth hats, fabric for their trousers, and shirts.

487 The riding paths in that area are surprisingly well main-
(476) tained. Each year, in the summertime, all of the neighbors take charge of needed repairs, and they are an obvious contrast to the riding paths of the municipio of Inzá. The people of

/358 cont./

434 There were 48 families investigated, of which 25 were
[121] from Mosoco, 8 from Lame, and 15 from San Andrés. They are identified by numbers in order.

The sources of monetary income are provided by agriculture, especially by potatoes, wheat, garlic, and coffee; by livestock-raising, that is to say, the sale of animals, including derivatives such as milk and cheeses, as well as barnyard fowl; by business transactions, including the resale of agricultural and livestock products produced by the natives; by daily wages, including some contract work; by crafts, which include manufactures (blankets, rugs, sashes, pouches, sewing, ceramics, and tile-making) and hydraulic mills; by freightage, that is to say, the profit from renting beasts of burden; by the previous year's savings; and by loans.

At first sight agriculture stands out as the principal source of family income, corresponding specifically to potatoes, wheat, and garlic for Mosoco, laurel wax and potatoes for Lame, and coffee for San Andrés. But in the parcialidad of Mosoco livestock is not merely complementary, but as important as agriculture itself. Even more so. In nine of the 25 families investigated, livestock-raising balances the family budget, which the deficit
[427] was due to the loss of harvests. We also observed that the renting of beasts of burden is an important factor in the family income; an incipient development of family industry that represents sources of monetary income; and, finally, the income from daily wages in the parcialidad is rather limited. In the parcialidades of Lame and San Andrés, on the other hand, livestock-raising occupies a secondary position, and the family income is complemented, when agriculture produces an imbalance, chiefly by day labor.

434 Trade is primarily an activity of the "whites," and so are
563 industries of elaboration such as panela and cheese. In regard to
● [439] trade we found one case of a "white" family established in a parcialidad, whose only source of income through life has been nothing but the profits from trade.

/362 cont./

511 The articles of clothing most in demand are trousers, shirts,
438 hats, underwear, rebozos, and sashes (Mosoco), large shawls
439 /pañolones/ (Lame and San Andrés), and smocks for the children.
[301] Ponchos are also purchased with some frequency. In Mosoco,
[223] gold earrings are ornaments appreciated by the women, in contrast to other parcialidades where gold is /363/ regarded as taboo. The natives wear no sandals or shoes. It should also be noted that the women's skirts are not purchased, but made at home; while in Mosoco the purchase of the reboso de Castilla /Spanish shawl/ is quite frequent and a sign of elegance, in the other parcialidades
511 they buy pañolones. If we compare the figures for food and clothing, the percentage of the income devoted to the former in Mosoco, with two exceptions, is higher than that devoted to clothing. In Lame, and especially in San Andrés, the percentages for food and clothing tend to be the same, and often the latter is higher than the former. The phenomenon is not strange if we bear in mind that in these two parcialidades cultivation is more for internal consumption than for sale. As for "Amusements," although various expenses have been included among them, they refer basically to expenses for the fancy for alcoholic and fermented beverages. Naturally, the expenses are necessarily higher, as we shall see later. As for lighting, in spite of the fact that in San Andrés and Lame it is made out of wild laurel wax, stearic candles are also purchased, and in Mosoco they are always
511 purchased. Soap is purchased by all the natives. In the column
454 showing the part for savings we note that only six of the 48 families
[434] investigated have no figures for it.[1] And in order to make a few deductions, we have made an analysis of the incomes of the 48 families studied:

[1] [see p. 93 for this table -- Analyst]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

of manioc, arracacha, potatoes, beans, sweet maize, and pieces of meat. Meat is sometimes roasted. Maize, the staple, is made into tortillas or soup, or is roasted on the ear. Coffee, much of which is consumed, is roasted in a pottery vessel, ground, and made into an infusion sweetened with coarse sugar. 252 [272]

Kitchen utensils include pottery ollas and vessels, and a footless elliptical stone metate with a central concavity, which lies directly on the floor or is supported on sticks driven in the soil. Meat is kept smoked over the fireplace, and other food is stored on shelves of cane woven into the roof sticks or in hanging hemp bags or gourds. Each gourd has a broad half-gourd suspended above it, open side down, so that a rat descending from above slides off the gourd onto the floor. 415 251 [353] [825]

The first daily meal is taken at daybreak and consists of "mute." There is no noonday meal, but the evening repast resembles breakfast. Between meals, the Indians chew coca two or three times to sustain their strength and allay hunger. For refreshment and stimulation, they drink guarapo, carrying it to work in gourds. 264 [276] [273]

They cultivate pepper (ají) for a condiment, but purchase salt in the weekly market. The latter is so scarce that instead of mixing it with food they pass a lump around, each person licking it. Before the Conquest, three salt deposits were exploited in this territory, the most important being that near the modern municipality of Belalcázar or Páez. Here the local chief had the salt water boiled down to obtain blocks of salt, which he traded with other tribes for diverse products, or with which he bought help in his wars against the neighboring *Pijao*. Sometimes he permitted other *Páez* to exploit the deposit. Near the present-day Indian center of Ricaurte on the Ullucos River is another salt works that was much used in ancient times, but today is abandoned. Another source of salt was at Huila, where, during the Conquest, the Indians ambushed the Spaniards who sought it, and killed their horses. 317 263 [244] [439] [648]

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Each *Páez* and *Moguex* family has its own house, located on a point or flat place in the mountains some distance from its neighbors. The aboriginal house seems to have been rectangular, which still is the only form. It was so lightly constructed of cane and sticks with thatched roof that the Spanish soldiers during the foundation of San Vicente de Páez "carried some Indian houses to their barracks because they were small and suited to it" (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 9). Some distance from the dwelling, they always built a small woman's house. Under Spanish influence, some houses were divided into rooms, and built more solidly of "bahareque" construction, i. e., walls consisting of two faces of sticks with mud and rocks between (pl. 185). 342 [361] 177 342

7:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

blue, the fruit of the jagua palm (kii), probably *Genipa* sp. A woven fabric is made black by burying it for several days with clay and branches of a *Phyllanthus* which they call "sal."

They make woolen bags by hand, using a kind of crochet technique without needles, and decorate them with rectangular and rhomboid figures. Some bags are made of hemp (fique), in which case the stitches are larger and the article has greater elasticity.

Weapons.—For weapons, the *Páez* used large, thick lances of black or chonta palm, 20 to 25 palms or more long, clubs or macanas, stones thrown with slings, large rocks rolled down from heights, spear throwers like those used by the *Chibcha*, and shields of jaguar, puma, or bear skin. The *Páez* quickly adopted iron arms from the Spaniards, and in the last wars of the Conquest they used steel swords and knives. In a recently discovered grave were copper bells, a golden breastplate, shield bars of tumbaga, a Spanish dagger, and a curved knife of the Arabian or north African type used by the conquistadors.

Today the *Páez* use the club or macana, ordinary guns, machetes, knives, and, for killing birds, the blowgun.

Fire making.—Fires are generally made today with flint and steel, but some Indians use modern matches. For both heating and cooking, the fire is made on the ground in the main house, surrounded by stones which help support the pots. It is covered at night, and almost never goes out.

Illumination is provided not only by the fire but by candles made of wax from the wax palm and from seeds of a wild laurel. The latter are cooked and pressed in a bag so that the wax drips into a half calabash or pot to form a semispherical lump. It is melted to make candles with cotton wicks. The *Páez* use these themselves and also sell them, for they are superior to candles made of animal tallow. A cruder means of lighting consists of transfixing a large number of "higuerilla" seeds on a long, thin bamboo splinter. When the splinter is laid horizontally and lighted, the first seed burns strongly, after which the flame passes from seed to seed, lasting some 15 minutes and throwing a fair light a few feet around.

COMMERCE

Each week a market is held in the municipio or in some of the small native villages (pls. 190, 191). The Indians sell vegetables, tortillas, eggs, chickens, and laurel wax, and buy salt, brown sugar, and especially lime (mambe) to be chewed with coca. Each product has a price in Colombian money, whether by quantity or weight. The unit of weight is called an "egg," and more or less equals the weight of a chicken egg. After his few customary transactions, paid for either in cash or in terms, in which the future coffee crop is mortgaged to the

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

civilized tradesman, the Indian turns to drinking guarapo or chicha and becomes drunk. Often a heated discussion, always spoken in Spanish and not in *Páez*, leads to insults and perhaps to blows and injuries. A man's wife usually maneuvers him from the village and, if he falls asleep on the road, she sits by him warding off dangers.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political structure.—The *Moguex*, *Páez*, *Guanaca*, *Timaná*, and *Yalcón*, despite their great similarity in language and culture, formed separate groups at the time of the Conquest. Each was divided into several communities (parcialidades), of which those of the *Páez* were the most numerous. The *Guanaca* were split between two principal caciques, one of whom, Anabeima, joined the Spaniards against the *Páez* of Avirama. The other cacique was Esmisa, Anabeima's brother-in-law. Each *Páez* community had its own chief, but the communities were grouped into three great divisions. One consisted of the *Páez*, *Tálaga*, *Simurga*, and *Taravira*, on the shores of the Páez River. The chiefs of three of these groups were brothers; that of the fourth was their sister, whose name was Taravira. Another group was headed by Suin, and his son, Esmisa. In the third group, Avirama was joined by other neighboring chiefs of less importance.

Each community (cacicado) consisted of several polygynous families under a male chief (pl. 185, *top*, *left*). Each family had its own house, located some distance from its neighbor's. All the members of a community gathered for general work, and all or several of the communities united for war, either against the *Pijao*, their feared neighbors, or against the Spaniards.

The place of a cacique's residence was a sort of focal point and meeting place, and today most of such places are Indian villages with the same names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima (formerly Toboima), etc. The present *Páez* Indian reservation of Tierradentro is divided politically into two municipios—Páez or Belalcázar and Inzá—with 22 communities, each governed by its own councils (cabildos, of Colonial origin) and by the municipal authorities. The cabildo is elected annually. The Indians, however, are jealous defenders of their traditions, and insist on a captain and síndico, each with life tenure, to act as their own leaders and as true representatives of the cacique. Their duties are moral and fiscal and carry a certain divine authority, as they are inaugurated in the local church. The cabildo, on the other hand, has only administrative and police powers; it divides the land, orders work to be done, and executes the municipal orders. The members of a cabildo hold office for 1 year and receive no remuneration. They are elected on the first of December by all the male adults, or "macaneros," that is, the Indians who participate in the communal work according to a

441

441 MERCANTILE BUSINESS--extent of specialization in commerce; types and distribution of mercantile businesses; social status and special characteristics of merchants; business men's organizations (e.g., merchant guilds, trade associations, chambers of commerce); general characteristics of merchandising; special mercantile privileges and restrictions; etc. See also:

Urban commercial facilities. 368
Occupational specialization 463
Craft guilds 467
Competition 477
Business schools 874

/163 cont./

389 The powder, however, must be bought. As for its production,
822 the general opinion is that it is made from human beings. The
829 whites, they believe, fatten human beings, then hang them,
[439] and, while they are still alive, tap their fat, from which they then make powder. That is why the Paez do not like to send their children far away and do not let them go to the whites, because they believe that the latter would catch them in order to make powder from them.

824 /164/ To make the fireworks a piece of sheep gut is used,
389 filled with powder and wound tightly with an agave string.
[237] The latter is waxed with beeswax for extra strength. One of
[283] these powder cases is used for the smaller firecrackers (koétes), while two, one over the other, are used for the larger firecrackers (kwatón), and under these is placed the fuse, which consists of a small bamboo tube, one to five centimeters long, filled with powder (Fig. 32 /see p. 256 /). These two or three parts are wrapped in a maize leaf and fastened to a bamboo splice 20-60 centimeters long. When it is lighted, the firecracker rises to a height of 50 meters with a considerable whistle and then explodes.

5. Trade and Transportation

438 One cannot speak of trade in the commercial sense among the Paez, for they trade almost solely among themselves and
[441] abhor everything that has to do with business. Moreover, since there is no merchant class among them, there is no carrying trade. Merchants are regarded as do-nothings who, though they
[437] are needed, are nevertheless despised. Fundamentally the self-contained household economy predominates, and whatever one family does not have it barters for within the same village if
439 possible. Only when this is not possible, thus when industrial products are involved, does one go to the weekly market held regularly at Inzá or Belalcázar, in order to buy the necessary articles. These include, above all, salt, as well as spades, machetes, aluminum pots, knives, scissors, spoons, needles,

443

443 RETAIL MARKETING--extent and variety of retail specialization; types of retail outlets (e.g., itinerant merchants, markets, bazaars, general stores, trading posts, specialty shops, chain stores, department stores, mail-order houses); pricing (e.g., fixed, variable); services to customers (e.g., deliveries); specialized personnel (e.g., sales clerks); etc. See also:

Business organization 47
Description of business structures 347
Upkeep of store buildings 350
Trading centers 366
Accounting methods 481
Extension of credit 483
Employer-employee relations 466

1: Nachtigall--259 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15
Colombia SC1

PC
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Ill. 1. La Plata, the southern trade center of Tierradentro.

PC
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443
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Ill. 2. The market of Inzá.

/354 cont./

43 onions, cabbages, barley, and eggs, with which it is not possible to maintain regular trading. The Indians, without exception, buy salt and also acquire hats, shirts, trousers, machetes, shovels, bars, axes, knives, aluminum pots, cups, iron plates, spoons, candles, soap, and aguardiente. Less frequently, large and brilliantly colored kerchiefs for the children, and tweezers /pinzas/ and necklaces for the women.

439 San Andrés is a small native settlement which has been
● 443 inhabited by the "whites" since the settlement area was estab-
438 lished. It contains three stores that sell some merchandise,
[162] some drugs, beer, aguardiente, and bread. Two of them have gramophones. There are also two other stores, which sell chicha and aguardiente exclusively. On Wednesdays a small market is held. In front of one of the houses, peddlers and traders from other areas display their wares; on the small plaza an awning is raised by an acculturated native woman in order to sell food, and a little farther there is a stand where meat is sold. The market starts moving at dawn. The natives bring small amounts of manioc, arracacha, white cabbage, eggs, coffee, and onions, /355/ which are bought immediately by the "whites." Then the butcher starts selling meat, usually in two-pound portions, which are what the natives buy. The peddlers sell a few trinkets and commodities. At 9:00 A.M. the liquor places
[273] begin to move. At ten in the morning the market is over, and
[578] at midday and in the afternoon only drunken natives are to be
[643] seen. At those times quarrels between them are frequent, and often the natives' aggressiveness is channeled against the "whites," as they assert that they are the true owners of the land and the settlement. The natives have the habit of selling their articles (coffee, eggs) only to persons known to them, even if others can pay them better prices.

On Wednesdays there are also markets in Guasdualejo (Togoima) and Turminá; on Thursdays in Valencia, and on
[491] Saturdays in Inzá and Belalcázar. Those of Belalcázar and Valencia, because they are connected by vehicular road with La Plata (Huila), are better attended and have a larger volume of trade. Large numbers of natives from different parcialidades

/355 cont./

443 of the municipio and even from Calderas flock to the market
438 in Belalcázar. Itinerant peddlers are numerous in Tierradentro,
439 and several of them walk through the parcialidades offering their wares. The articles that they sell are few. Traders also travel through the parcialidades, chiefly to acquire cattle that bring them handsome profits. But there are also those who go from
439 house to house to buy agricultural produce. A trader from
426 Mosoco, mestizo, bilingual, boasts of his friendship with the natives and of the trips that he took, up to about four years ago, through Suin, Chinas, Calderas, Avirama, and Lame, distributing ("showering") advance money for maize, frijoles, laurel wax, saffron, and cattle. "A debt with Indians is never lost," he states categorically, to emphasize the Indians' honesty. At harvest time he returned to collect the products bought and he took them directly to Silvia. He also says that from San Andrés he took from 100 to 200 arrobas of panela each month to sell in Mosoco. Lately, owing to the impassable condition of the Inzá roads, he has given up this business.

443 The parcialidad of Mosoco, and in general the entire
438 hydrographic valley of the Moras River, which contains the
439 parcialidades of San José, Mosoco, Vitoncó, Lame, Suin, and Chinas, trades with the municipio /356/ of Silvia, located on the western slopes of the Central Cordillera. All of the agricultural production goes there: potatoes, maize, wheat, barley, peaches, garlic, broad beans, and ullucos. Only when the prices of agricultural produce are low in Silvia, do they go to Belalcázar and Valencia. But this rarely happens. From Silvia they bring, in exchange, all their tools, their clothing, drugs, and housewares. The Mosoco women are the chief buyers of woolen rebozos (rebosos de Castilla), showy necklaces, gold earrings, and hairpins; the men, of fine cloth hats, fabric for their trousers, and shirts.

437 The riding paths in that area are surprisingly well main-
(476) tained. Each year, in the summertime, all of the neighbors take charge of needed repairs, and they are an obvious contrast to the riding paths of the municipio of Inzá. The people of

/310 cont./

243 As may be noted, the magical practices of the té eu are
756 absent, although there still exists that of the eating, which in
789 other parcialidades complements his practices.

249 The cultivation of sugar cane is quite widespread in the
273 temperate thermal level, although the plantings are not extensive and are not pursued for commercial purposes; they serve only for obtaining guarapo (fermented cane juice) for individual and collective labor and for social affairs. Guarapo is an essential part of the domestic economy, in the same manner
249 as coca. It is not produced for public pay. Each house has its
257 sugar mill, either outside or in its interior, but there are no ovens or other accessories for producing panela. The latter industry belongs exclusively to the white or mestizo people.

249 The cultivation of the cane requires three weedings before the first cutting. Three cuttings with good results are generally obtained from each planting.

245 The cultivation of coffee is also very widespread. Its expansion is of recent date, but it already has strong and universal acceptance, like cane and plantains. The method of cultivation suffers from certain deficiencies: the shade is insufficient and inadequate; there is no pruning; the care is not very satis-
[433] factory; many do not have pulping machines. The coffee
245 plantings produce several arrobas per year. The monetary in-
434 come of the natives in the temperate zone is provided basically by
[439] coffee. They sell it to steady and familiar customers for prices
[452] that are usually low. The coffee plantings secure credit for the natives; they often collect money or merchandise against a future
245 harvest. Coffee has permitted them /311/ to acquire dishes, to
434 modify their clothing, to enrich their agricultural equipment,
177 to buy every once in a while the drugs of the "whites." At harvest time they eat meat regularly, and they are also able to pay wages for the improvement of their fincas. But, above all,
[273] it opens the doors of the liquor stores to them. They consume considerable amounts of alcoholic beverages. They have not yet learned to make good use of their monetary income.

/346 cont./

466 given to him. From the harvests of maize, frijoles, and
427 arracacha the owner receives one bag (approximately half an
[241] arroba) of each product, and one or two bunches of the plantains.

231 He says that the hacienda owner has permitted him to raise
427 animals, but he has none, because he spends more time working
466 on the hacienda than in his own house. He says that he owned
[235] some 20 sheep, but is finished with them. Now he has only eight chickens.

427 The informant is the son of another tenant farmer and
466 grew up on this very hacienda. He has owned the house in which he now lives for 18 years. He has not signed any kind of document with the owner and has not been bothered by him about the possession of the house, but rather, on the contrary, has been urged by him to repair the house. In exchange for the use of the house and the land he is obliged to pay three days for rent
[465] per month, eating his own food and using his own tools. On the other days of the month he works for the same owner for daily wages, earning two pesos a day, excluding, of course, the days of religious or national holidays. Each week he re-
● [452] ceives 12 pesos. From the owner he buys maize, manioc, and frijoles on credit, which is immediately deducted in labor. The owner only gives him salt and bananas. The panela comes from what he produces.

466 Since the informant specializes in milling and the making
427 of panela, he ordinarily does nothing else. His work begins at
257 six in the morning and ends at ten at night. He is assisted by his
[463] wife, who earns one peso a day, a deaf and dumb son who earns
[512] nothing, and another son who carries the cane to the sugar mill.
[465] This one is married, is also a tenant farmer, earns two pesos a day, and has a separate clearing. His wife does not help in the work because she stays at home caring for the house, looking after the children, and weeding the garden and the clearing.

427 At the mill he works even on Sundays at wrapping panela,
257 a task that cannot be neglected. Ordinarily he spends two weeks
461 at the mill and has the following one free (without pay) to rest,
466 to look after his own field, or to hire out his labor to anyone who

/359 cont./

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Family Income

Fams.	Agriculture $	Agriculture %	Livestock $	Livestock %	Trade $	Trade %	Daily Wages $	Daily Wages %	Crafts $	Crafts %	Freightage $	Freightage %	
1.*	871,00	17,9	760,00	15,6	2.430,00	49,6	.....	.....	210,00	4,3	.....	....	(33)
2.	563,00	79,5	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	85,00	12,0	(34)
3.	182,00	31,0	105,00	17,8	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	(35)
4.	285,00	36,3	500,00	63,6	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
5.	42,50	9,5	35,50	6,9	82,00	16,2	151,00	29,6	.....	....	192,00	37,7	
6.	145,00	13,9	750,00	71,9	.....	....	.....	.....	148,00	14,1	.....	....	
7.	250,00	22,1	700,00	61,9	180,00	15,9	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
8.	90,00	12,6	620,00	87,3	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
9.	399,00	31,3	73,00	5,7	.....	....	.....	.....	500,00	39,3	300,00	23,5	
10.	480,00	59,0	51,00	6,2	.....	....	270,00	33,2	12,00	1,4	.....	....	
11.	94,00	16,3	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	480,00	83,6	
12.	726,00	100,0	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
13.	250,00	23,5	600,00	56,6	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	210,00	19,7	
14.	136,00	11,3	935,00	78,1	.....	....	.....	.....	126,00	10,5	.....	....	
15.	724,00	55,6	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	216,00	16,6	360,00	27,6	
16.	403,00	73,6	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	144,00	26,3	
17.	.....	....	....	....	.....	....	300,00	100,0	.....	....	.....	....	
18.	1.910,00	98,7	....	....	25,00	1,2	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
19.	1.006,00	68,4	500,00	31,5	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
20.	267,00	47,0	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	300,00	52,9	
21.	428,00	72,5	130,00	22,0	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	32,00	5,4	
22.	298,00	22,6	800,00	60,8	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	216,00	16,4	
23.	366,00	60,3	180,00	29,5	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	60,00	9,8	
24.	166,00	37,2	290,00	64,8	.....	....	.....	.....	30,00	6,7	50,00	11,2	
25.*	1.672,00	16,2	2.690,00	26,7	2.702,00	26,8	.....	.....	300,00	29,8	.....	....	
LAME													
1.*	280,00	10,3	....	....	1.352,00	49,8	.....	.....	.....	....	1.080,00	39,8	
2.	75,00	26,7	30,00	10,7	.....	....	120,00	42,8	13,50	4,8	42,00	14,9	
3.	.....	....	....	....	206,00	45,1	.....	.....	.....	....	....	....	(36)
4.*	.....	....	....	....	2.732,00	100,0	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
5.	132,00	22,2	40,00	6,7	.....	....	270,00	45,7	.....	....	.....	....	(37)
6.	470,00	92,1	....	....	40,00	7,8	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
7.	107,00	38,3	71,50	25,6	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	100,00	36,1	
8.	252,00	95,5	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	12,00	4,5	.....	....	

Note: The peso sign ($) indicates the total monetary income, and % indicates the percentage of income from one activity in relation to the total income. /The commas in the figures should be read as points, and the points as commas, in the translation to English./

33. The deficit was compensated for by a loan of $600.00, which is equivalent to 12.3% of the total income.

34. Deficit compensated for by $60.00 saved in 1952, or 8.4% of the income.

35. Deficit compensated for by $300.00 saved in 1952, or 51.1% of the income.

36. Deficit compensated for by $250.00 saved in 1952, or 54.8% of the income.

37. Deficit compensated for by $150.00 saved in 1952, or 25.3% of the total income.

/360/

SAN ANDRES

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Fams.	Agriculture $	Agriculture %	Agriculture $	Agriculture %	Livestock $	Livestock %	Trade $	Trade %	Day Wages $	Day Wages %	Crafts $	Crafts %
1.*	3.120,00	58,7	1.460,00	27,5	500,00	9,4	.....	.....	.....	....	225,00	4,4
2.	48,00	54,2	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	40,50	45,7	.....	....
3.	132,00	70,5	....	....	.....	....	55,00	29,4	.....	....	.....	....
4.	22,50	28,3	....	....	.....	....	56,00	71,6	.....	....	.....	....
5.	189,00	62,2	....	....	.....	....	45,00	7,1	191,00	30,5	.....	....
6.	152,50	61,6	....	....	.....	....	95,00	38,3	.....	....	.....	....
7.	87,00	26,6	....	....	.....	....	240,00	73,3	.....	....	.....	....
8.	195,00	42,3	200,00	43,4	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	.... (38)
9.	320,00	72,6	120,00	27,2	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
10.*	2.000,00	89,2	....	....	240,00	10,7	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
11.	1.455,00	53,1	600,00	24,8	600,00	24,8	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
12.	170,00	100,0	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
13.	650,00	100,0	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
14.*	190,00	4,2	1.810,00	66,5	600,00	22,0	120,00	3,1	880,00	22,8	.....	....
15.*	379,00	14,4	....	....	300,00	3,8	.....	.....	2.143,10	81,7	.....	....

[454]

/The headings are obviously in error on this table./

38. Deficit compensated for by $65.00 saved in 1952, or 14.1% of the income.

511 In the statistical table of expenses, the first thing that we observe in the three parcialidades is the small amount of money spent under the headings "Drugs," "Medical Service," "Taxes," and "Education."

75 The protection of the health of adults and children is fundamental among the Páez. Child mortality has a high percentage, and parasitosis, diarrhea, and tuberculosis are almost endemic. But in Páez culture the care of the té eu (good curer) and the nasa jihi (sorcerer), the former protects people from illness and from the curses of the latter; the sorcerer with his magic powers can take people's lives. On the other hand, the té eu openly condemn the use of the drugs and the medical service of the "whites." These two institutions still enjoy great power and basically govern almost all of the institutional life of the Páez. In Mosoco seven heads of families spent small sums of money for the purchase of drugs. /The following table and illustrations appear between p. 360 and p. 361 in the original text./

511 [165] [164] [182]

[text continues on p. 108]

6: Bernal Villa--93 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954

SC15 Paez SC15

Mosoco Family Expenses -- 1953

511
563
454

Fams.	Amusements $	Amusements %	Finca Improvements $	Finca Improvements %	Savings $	Savings %	
1.*	128,00	2,4	.....	...	.....	...	
2.	60,00	8,4	.....	...	12,00	1,6	
3.	126,60	22,5	.....	...	.....	...	(1)
4.	2,00	0,3	110,00	14,0	176,00	22,5	
5.	34,00	6,6	.....	...	.....	...	(2)
6.	25,00	2,4	48,00	3,8	44,60	4,2	
7.	150,00	13,2	110,00	9,7	339,60	30,0	
8.	60,00	8,4	.....	...	195,00	26,6	
9.	100,00	7,7	.....	...	324,00	25,0	
10.	16,00	1,2	.....	...	.....	...	
11.	.....	...	.....	...	287,70	50,1	
12.	50,00	6,8	75,00	10,3	45,30	6,2	
13.	36,00	3,4	.....	...	73,00	6,9	
14.	60,00	5,0	250,00	20,8	115,60	9,6	
15.	192,00	14,7	200,00	15,3	201,90	15,5	
16.	50,00	9,1	.....	...	161,84	29,5	
17.	.....	...	.....	...	30,60	10,1	
18.	30,00	1,2	160,00	8,2	1.033,94	53,3	
19.	10,00	0,6	125,00	8,0	844,97	53,2	
20.	10,00	1,7	192,00	32,8	8,70	1,5	
21.	30,00	5,0	.....	...	97,10	16,6	
22.	100,00	7,6	95,20	7,2	630,90	48,3	
23.	60,00	9,9	.....	...	130,60	21,5	
24.	30,00	17,9	.....	...	.....	...	(3)
25.*	225,00	2,2	361,00	3,5	1.356,00	13,4	(4)

Lame

1.*	.....	...	375,00	11,8	1.135,90	41,8	
2.	18,00	6,6	.....	...	18,20	6,6	
3.	30,00	6,5	.....	...	163,10	35,7	
4.*	.....	...	710,00	25,9	540,00	19,7	
5.	.....	...	.....	...	222,00	47,6	
6.	.....	...	144,00	22,3	147,90	29,0	
7.	.....	...	.....	...	50,50	18,1	
8.	26,00	9,8	.....	...	13,10	4,9	

San Andres

1.*	240,00	4,5	1.060,50	19,9	767,50	14,0	
2.	0,75	0,2	.....	...	7,50	2,6	
3.	.....	...	.....	...	29,00	15,6	
4.	.....	...	.....	...	2,55	3,2	
5.	85,20	13,6	.....	...	94,00	15,0	
6.	20,00	8,0	.....	...	2,50	1,0	
7.	24,00	7,3	.....	...	28,10	8,5	
8.	130,00	28,2	.....	...	.....	...	(5)
9.	100,00	22,7	.....	...	58,60	13,3	
10.*	200,00	8,9	366,00	16,3	242,00	10,8	
11.	.....	...	500,00	18,2	227,45	8,3	
12.	.....	...	.....	...	69,40	48,8	
13.	.....	...	.....	...	652,00	69,5	
14.*	100,00	2,5	292,00	7,5	593,20	15,2	(6)
15.*	10,00	0,3	360,00	11,7	983,60	37,5	

/362 cont./

511 The articles of clothing most in demand are trousers, shirts,
438 hats, underwear, rebozos, and sashes (Mosoco), large shawls
439 /pañolones/ (Lame and San Andrés), and smocks for the children.
[301] Ponchos are also purchased with some frequency. In Mosoco,
[223] gold earrings are ornaments appreciated by the women, in contrast to other parcialidades where gold is /363/ regarded as taboo. The natives wear no sandals or shoes. It should also be noted that the women's skirts are not purchased, but made at home; while in Mosoco the purchase of the reboso de Castilla /Spanish shawl/ is quite frequent and a sign of elegance, in the other parcialidades
511 they buy pañolones. If we compare the figures for food and clothing, the percentage of the income devoted to the former in Mosoco, with two exceptions, is higher than that devoted to clothing. In Lame, and especially in San Andrés, the percentages for food and clothing tend to be the same, and often the latter is higher than the former. The phenomenon is not strange if we bear in mind that in these two parcialidades cultivation is more for internal consumption than for sale. As for "Amusements," although various expenses have been included among them, they refer basically to expenses for the fancy for alcoholic and fermented beverages. Naturally, the expenses are necessarily higher, as we shall see later. As for lighting, in spite of the fact that in San Andrés and Lame it is made out of wild laurel wax, stearic candles are also purchased, and in Mosoco they are always
511 purchased. Soap is purchased by all the natives. In the column
● 454 showing the part for savings we note that only six of the 48 families
[434] investigated have no figures for it.* And in order to make a few deductions, we have made an analysis of the incomes of the 48 families studied:

*[see p. 93 for this table -- Analyst]

/363 cont./

511
454
434

Parcialidad	Less than $100.00	From $100.00 to $500.00	From $500.00 to $1,000.00	From $1,000.00 to $2,000.00	From $2,000.00 to $5,000.00	More than $5,000.00
Mosoco	-	2	12	9	1	1
Lame	-	4	2	-	2	-
San Andrés	2	6	2	-	4	1
Totals	2	12	16	9	7	2

We thus observe that 28 of the 48 families studied, or 78.3%, have incomes of less than 1,000 pesos, with which savings [426] practically cannot exist. Even with regard to the Mosoco family [691] identified by the number 18, which in the Savings column has the amount of $1,034.24 7/1 we were able to verify that this amount /364/ was strictly nominal and that the head of the family had resorted to the Caja Agraria to ask for a loan of $500.00 to make improvements on his finca, a loan which he indeed obtained; through indirect information we were able to ascertain that the amount given as savings was possibly spent on the expenses of a [563] lawsuit for land which a brother-in-law was prosecuting. The savings of the "white" families are true and also those of some few native families, but in general terms what we would calculate as savings can be assigned to the "Amusements" column; the natives live from day to day. The impulse to save does not exist or is minimal. We had the opportunity to verify that there is no prudence with regard to expenses when considerable sums are received, such as, for example, those that come from the sale of coffee. The modest savings of the natives go up in smoke

7/1 [column actually reads $1033.24, see p. 93-Au.]

/364 cont./

511 in the cantinas, in lawsuits over land, or for religious fiestas.
434 These arguments are confirmed, on the other hand, by the
454 statistical table on income in that only five native families in the three parcialidades made up the deficits in their budgets of last year with sums saved in 1952.

Economy and acculturation

121 Before closing the present work we wish to describe in
177 broad outline the process of acculturation which is now going on in some Páez parcialidades.

[101] The material on Páez culture which we have published and that which we are now elaborating on were collected in the parcialidades located on the right bank of the Paez River, leaving aside those located on the left bank of this river, owing above all to factors of public order which have been disturbing their peace for several years.

[178] The native communities of San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Calderas, Avirama, Suin, Chinas, Lame, Vitoncó, Huila, Toez, and Tálaga are more traditionalistic, live in accordance with the institutions of the culture, and for this reason we regard them as more "primitive." On the other hand, the community of Mosoco, suspended on the slopes of the Central Cordillera itself and extending into the very heart of the Paramo de Moras, is fully in the process of transformation.

[648] /365/ Our research was begun in the parcialidad of Calderas,
[101] isolated, by reasons of a geographical nature, from the principal centers of the "white" population and whose inhabitants have defended their independence at all costs and have been hostile to living with the "whites" (39). From here comes the greater part

39. Bernal Villa, S. "Mitología y cuentos de la parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro /Mythology and tales from the parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro/," pp. 289 ff.

[101] of our materials. But we also carried out systematic investigations in San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Lame, Vitoncó, Tálaga, and, lastly, in Mosoco.

/113/

175 Physicians are not consulted in any case. All illnesses that do not show external influences are traced back to evil sorcery or to the "pest" (see under "Religion"/see p. 191 ff./). They must therefore be treated by the native shamans /see the glossary, p. 250 /. Open wounds and injuries are treated by the midwife. Now and then, however, people visit the mission station in order to have a tooth pulled, on which occasion the nurses without reservation praise their great steadfastness in enduring pain.

273 276 648 The impairment to health caused by the consumption of coca and chicha seems to me to be exaggerated by the authorities; it would be even less with sensible and nourishing food. The prohibition against coca consumption and the government's battle against coca and chicha give the impression of being more a struggle against a brandy tax deficit, for alcohol under the state monopoly may be sold to any Indio in any quantity. The fact 461 829 that the Paez generally does not work hard and continuously probably has nothing to do with any degeneration caused by the stimulants mentioned, but rather it is quite simply his psychological attitude which does not let him see why a human being should strive for things which seem unnecessary to him, things beyond his animal necessities of life, eating and reproduction. I often asked whether, in their opinion, there might come a time when the Paez, too, would wear only Colombian clothing or even use electric lighting. They had never thought about it and in no instance had an answer.

II. Material Culture

1. The Dwelling

a) The Settlement

361 Politically and sociologically the Paez villages of Tierradentro embrace the inhabitants of a valley basin more or less closed off by the surrounding mountains. In their structure, however, they are not villages in our sense, by which we understand a locally concentrated aggregation of a number of houses,

/118 cont./

342 and begin to chew coca and tobacco and to drink brandy to-
761 gether. After a while the shaman ascertains through signs in
789 his arms or legs whether bones of the Pijao are in the ground.
756 If this is not the case, the building may be started; otherwise
787 the man must look for another building site. After the building
is finished, a further ceremony is performed (see under "Religion"
342 /see p. 205/), and then the same shaman fastens special herbs
758 to the roof to prevent the eč or gelyómp spirit, hostile to man,
789 from entering the house from there.

Houses are built only by men, by fathers of families.
342 One man alone, however, is not in a position to do this. At
476 least in the erection of the house posts he is helped by his brothers,
[462] as well as by other men and friends who have nothing else to
do anyway on these days and receive chicha and something to
342 eat for their assistance. The building material costs nothing,
273 to be sure, but the builder must furnish a substantial amount of
476 chicha, for which planning must be begun in plenty of time, two
or three years beforehand, by the planting of sufficient sugar
cane. This is the task of the married son who is still living in
[594] his father's house this long. To make the chicha he also still
[249] needs the sugar mill of his father, upon whose consent and help,
therefore, much depends. According to the amount of chicha
[461] that is available, the building of the house thus lasts two to six
months, depending on whether only five or 15 men participate.

The most important thing in the construction of the house
342 is the erection of the wooden frame (Ills. 161 to 164 /see p.272 /),
335 which always requires several men who bring in the trees, which
[476] are superficially smoothed with the machete, but not freed of
bark. The master of the house is able to make the walls by
[462] himself in an emergency. The covering of the roof, too, like the
entire house construction, is men's work, but the woman of the
house may hand up the sugar-cane leaves for the roofing. First
the vertical corner and side posts of the outer walls (yátšīnda) are
erected, then the outer beams lying horizontally on the side
posts to support the roof (yátpopānt) are laid on, and, as the third
step in the work, the horizontal crossbeams (bīkas) are fastened at

600 /120 cont./
354 the simplest possible form. Three rocks provide the lateral sup-
415 port or stand for the pots, of which there are two at most, a
metal one, usually of aluminum, and an earthen one. Very
poor families have only one earthen pot, which is relatively
[417] cheap to buy. The earthen pot cannot be hung up; it is set
between the three fire-stones in such a way that it cannot tip
over, whereas the aluminum pot is hung by its handle on a soot-
covered, angled stick that hangs down from the ridge (Ill. 166
352 /see p. 273/). Above the fire area there hangs a frame made
[251] of maize canes and about one square meter in size, on which
[353] household utensils and, above all, the rock salt for salting food
are stored, airy and dry. Tables, chairs, or stools of any kind
[237] are unknown. One generally sits on the hairy side of an un-
tanned and hence board-stiff cowhide, on which one also /121/
[513] sleeps, or one sits on a beam, a block of wood, or a stone. Paez
[177] who have seen house furnishings in Inzá or in the dwellings of white
colonists have sometimes built for themselves as a bed a sort
of bench 30-50 centimeters high, consisting of sticks or reeds
[513] laid side by side. For sleeping the customary cowhide is spread
on it. These sleeping benches are not used for sitting.

342 The nights in Calderas are generally quite cool, and
362 the light construction of the walls with cracks between the in-
132 dividual maize stalks does not in any way prevent the cold wind
from coming in. In a few houses, near the sleeping area, I saw
the walls sealed by means of expressed sugar-cane piled up
462 horizontally. For sleeping, the members of the family lie down
[354] in a circle around the fire area, where the fire must be kept going
[513] all through the night. This, like all housework, is the task of
the woman, who must gather sufficient fuel beforehand and get up
every two hours during the night to stir up the fire. Furthermore,
[264] she must get up an hour earlier in the morning in order to have
the first meal, which is eaten around five o'clock, sometimes
● [461] even at four o'clock, prepared on time. In spite of this, the
men think that they are the ones who do the hardest work and that
basically they are the only ones in the village who really work.

C /128 cont./
311 those of the colonists in Tierradentro. In the territory of the
[137] latter there is almost no forest anywhere; all the slopes have been
[233] deforested and artificially, but not through excessive agricultural
C cultivation, made into pasture areas for the livestock of the
311 colonists or large landowners. This has upset the natural water
312 economy of the region. The water flowing off unchecked dur-
134 ing the rainy season washes away the humus earth and forms
C deep gullies on the slopes. The soil thus eroded is infertile.
[361] The mountain slopes dry out completely during the dry seasons,
P so that dwellings can only rarely be built in the higher locations
311 because of the lack of water. In the areas used solely by the
134 natives, in which a natural alternation of cultivated and fallow
312 land is observed, there are countless channels and small brooks
361 that make it possible to put a house near running water at almost
P every spot on the landscape.

241 Every task of the Paez that is connected with the fields,
● 461 be it clearing, sowing, or harvesting, is done extraordinarily
476 willingly by all participants, "because it is for food." There is
P simply no such thing as anyone unwilling to work in the fields.
134 The soil is not very fertile, since the major part of the moun-
241 tains in the region of Calderas consists of slate which often stands
[135] out bare and on the slopes is covered with a layer of humus or
P loam only 20 to 50 centimeters deep on the average. In the
241 valley the humus layer is often more than a meter deep. The
P abundant land available, however, does not make the utmost
[312] utilization imperative. And although the numerous mountain
brooks are diverted in such a way that every house has its running
water, nevertheless there is no acute inducement for irrigation or
terraced cultivation, nor does the use of them seem to be known.

Maize occupies the major part of the cultivated area, closely followed by sugar cane, the raw product for the manufacture of chicha. Both constitute the basic production of agriculture, and there is no Paez family that does not cultivate sugar cane and maize on its land. The size of the cultivated areas cleared by burning varies. The smallest fields that we saw

P C /134 cont./
276 by the "Ministerio de Trabajo, Higiene y Prevesion Social."
C This prohibition was extended by Decree No. 578 of 1941 by the
656 same ministry, according to which an exact list of the existing coca plants of the country was demanded and their destruction ordered, /135/ with a simultaneous prohibition against new plantings (Duque, 1945, pp. 445 f.). Of course this prohibition against coca planting cannot be strictly supervised and enforced in all the remote parts of the country.

P The argument for the use of coca has remained the same
276 from the time of the Conquista to this day: it is supposed to
● 461 drive away hunger and to give strength. "Without coca one cannot work," I was told over and over again when I asked the Paez the reason for chewing coca. And, as a matter of fact, one sees the Paez chewing it on the long trips to market and during every physical task; but only at work, when one needs strength, and not during festivals and celebrations or on festive days. (The shamans are an exception, see below.)

P The bitter tasting coca is chewed by both sexes, and the
276 boys begin at 12-14 years of age, when they also begin helping
P their father with the work in the fields. The girls generally begin
[887] somewhat later, and in old age both sexes chew quite heavily and more frequently than is normal in younger years. The men take coca three times a day as a normal dose, and each dose lasts about two to three hours. Nothing is eaten all day after taking the first meal early in the morning before work; the second one
P is not eaten until after they return home from the fields in the
[272] late afternoon. During the pauses for coca, unfermented sugarcane juice (nyŭšayumĭl) is drunk, everyone carrying a calabash with one to two liters of it with him.

P The coca shrub, about 80 to 200 centimeters high, is
276 striking even at a distance because of its fresh, light green,
249 lancet-shaped leaves, which have two slightly curved longitudinal
[137] lines on the underside. Among the Paez of Calderas almost every family has its coca shrubs, the leaves of which, after plant-
P ing, are harvested from the first year for about 20 years. Anyone
[451] who does not own coca shrubs himself trades for the leaves in

/138 cont./

249 In chicha production for festive days it is customary for
407 the mill to be turned only by human power, by men or women.
● 461 One could generally observe that the slightly intoxicated men
273 exerted themselves only a short time in each case and were then relieved by the more sober acting women, who -- with their children on their backs -- showed remarkable endurance at this physically quite hard work.

407 Almost every father of a family and houseowner makes his
335 sugar mill himself, or a neighbor helps. There are no profes-
[412] sional carpenters. With an ax (swéla) and a foxtail saw (serúčo) the cylinders are sawed from a tree trunk and crudely smoothed. The cylinders thus prepared are provided with a small hole in the center, from the base and upper side, and are clamped horizontally, by means of pegs, between two posts rammed into
[413] the ground and held together with a rope. Then with a gauge (regla), which consists of a board with thorns, the distances between the pegs are precisely incised on the revolving drum.

273 The sugar cane is put through the crushing cylinders
[249] several times by the workers, one squatting on either side, until
[516] the juice, which is caught in a wooden tub or in calabash vessels,
[415] is pressed out (Ill. 175 /see p. 278/). It is first vigorously heated and then put in a large horizontally positioned tree-trough (kánoa) up to five meters long, in which there must always be a little chicha to begin with (Ill. 165 /see p. 273/). It is stirred up with the old chicha in the trough, the kánoa is covered with banana leaves, and already the next morning the chicha is ready to be drunk. As time goes on the chicha becomes ever stronger in alcoholic content. By noon of the same day it is already strong enough to distill brandy from it. If one does not do this, /139/ some water must be added the next day to dilute it. If this is not done, the chicha is neither drunk nor is new sugar-cane juice added, whereupon it becomes sour and bitter after four or five days and strongly sears the throat. There are also "gourmets" among the Paez, however, who let the chicha go on fermenting, untouched, for up to three weeks and only then drink it so sharp and sour.

/151 cont./

286 or agave fiber, is folded over upon itself several times, slightly twisted, and then tied together in the center with a simple thread. The latter is knotted several times in such a way that it runs out into a point which at the same time serves as a plaiting needle. This folded thread supply, which is up to four meters long and six to eight millimeters thick, may easily be passed through each loop of the fiber bag. When a length of the thread is used up, /152/ a loop of the thread supply may promptly be pulled through the "eye" of the "needle," and this continues until the supply is used up.

The method of making the fiber bag and the wool coca
• [461] pouch is fundamentally the same. The work period lasts two to six weeks. In the case of the fiber bag (yáha), the largest of which may measure more than a meter in height and width, a small bottom is plaited first, from which the bag is worked, bell-shaped, in several sections up to the rim. At the start of this process, between the thumb and ring finger for the one part and between the index and middle finger for the other part, there is stretched a short piece of thread, around which the continuation of the thread is wound loosely and spirally in loops. This produces the first row of meshes (Fig. 30 /see p. 255/). The following length of thread is now again drawn back through these, so that it loosely catches the previously formed loops. Proceeding in this fashion, when the rectangular bottom has been made to a size of about two by five centimeters, one starts at a corner of it with the first section. Here, too, as in the entire plaiting, the thread continues in the same technique. In order to enlarge the bag, as many additional rows are interlaced in each loop of the bottom as are desired to widen the bag.

At the end of the work a broad row of holes is worked into the bag three loops below its upper rim, and this serves for fastening the carrying band. This band terminates in loops at both ends, conditioned by the method of weaving (see below). For fastening, the first loop of the band is drawn through a rim eyelet from the inside and put first around the top toward the back. Then the second loop is drawn down through the first loop and only then back again through the eyelet of the bag toward the top-back as before. The last loop of the band is knotted with

/157 cont./

286 always lies conveniently in front of the woman for the weft. The beginning and end of the woven part start at a distance of about three centimeters from the horizontal stick. At the end the last weft thread is knotted at the edge of the warp. When the stick is pulled out, the band comes off the frame. Since the warp threads terminate in loops, the texture of the band cannot become slack.

2. Weaving Apparatus for Cloth

286 The weaving of cloth of larger dimensions for clothing is
294 also done in the technique of the linen texture and according to the same method as the weaving of the carrying bands for the
[581] fiber bags. Every woman can do both, for she herself must be able to make all the material needed by her family for clothing; otherwise a girl has no prospect of getting married.

The weaving apparatus stands upright and consists of two strong posts which are rammed into the ground about two meters apart in front of the house, but still in the shelter of the roof. Into each of these posts, a little above the ground, a notch is cut, into which the breast beam is placed horizontally and lashed. Its position with respect to height is unchangeable. The warp beam, likewise horizontal, may be lashed to the vertical post with ropes higher or lower, depending on the length of the cloth to be woven, whereby a uniform tension of the warp threads is achieved.

The non-twisted woolen warp threads are stretched in the same way as in the case of the carrying bands for the fiber bags. The width is determined by the piece of material to be woven.
[461] The work period for a woman's skirt takes a total of about six months. In order to attain a certain decorative effect in the finished piece, between the uncolored sheep-wool warp-threads are stretched likewise uncolored or differently colored cotton threads which, in the subsequent dyeing process with plant dyes, do not take on this coloring.

/167 cont./

484 while the /168/ woman on foot lugs the goods behind. From
439 Calderas more men than women visit the market. For both it
482 is a very welcome occasion to become intoxicated. The
[273] owners of the taverns try to prevent the stealing of the much
[275] coveted beer and whiskey glasses, popularly practiced by the Paez, by chaining the glasses to the tavern tables.

On market days it is customary to leave very early and to transport the loads in the fiber bags in the customary way: the men take the carrying belt diagonally across their chests and the women hold it with their foreheads. In both cases the bag hangs on their backs. Then generally travel in groups of twos or threes, but not infrequently one also meets solitary
[432] individuals. Provisions are taken along, for, as a matter of
[273] principle, nothing is bought on the way except chicha or brandy.
[485] If it is necessary to stay overnight, nothing is paid for this. They sleep either at the entrance of a house of acquaintances or spend the night in the open field.

439 For traveling and for the visit to the market they try to wear
484 at least one article of European clothing, a felt hat, a shirt, or
[291] a blouse. The quality plays only a minor role, since the worst
[177] shirt is still more desirable than the finest ruana. A person who cannot buy anything in the way of clothing at least ties a black
[262] band around his hat, such as the felt hats have. Provisions are carried along in the fiber bag, roasted maize, cabbage, potatoes,
[415] arracacha. A person who can carries with him two or three of
484 the woolen coca pouches, in one of which there is coca and lime,
● 461 in another one money, and in the third the plaiting material
[285] for the straw hat. Almost all the men do this plaiting work, which actually is not work at all, but more like a "blind occupation," when they have nothing else to do, either when visiting, on the way to market, or also during the shaman ceremonies.
[283] The women, no matter where one meets them, are equally in-
[285] dustrious and always busy with spinning or plaiting the fiber bags or the wool coca-pouches. Like the men, they carry their work material with them in a second wool pouch.

/185 cont./

844 until very late and only with great difficulty. The proper depth is supposed to be about 30 centimeters.

846 Four to six days after birth and after the first bath, the
851 father or one of the godparents brings the child to the sacristan of
608 the village or /186/ to the women missionaries, in order to have
[797] it christened with water and given the name of the Christian saint
[551] of the christening day. Every child has only one given name and the Paez surname of its father. The baptism by the priest with oil takes place later on a suitable occasion, in the presence of the god-
[783] parents, and is followed by an eating and drinking bout. The
[756] mother also takes part in this, after she has left the dûyat and has washed herself, her child, and her clothes and has been purified by the shaman.

861 The rearing of the children is in the hands of the parents, who teach them the necessary accomplishments of life quite as a matter of course and almost in play. Disobedient children are also beaten, however, and, to be sure, usually if the son has no real desire to help his father with the field work. In punishing, the fathers are generally stricter than the mothers and on occasion beat them with leather straps all over their bodies. The boxing
[461] of ears is also to be seen. If a young man proves to be lazy in later life, the father is blamed because he did not properly ad-
848 monish his son to work. Illegitimate sons, who lack the strict hand of a father, are said to turn out badly in many cases, though as such they are very popular. Since they do not know their father, they are not obliged to work in his field. They are all the more
[426] in demand as helpers in the fields of other families. When they
[431] are older, they may borrow land and establish a family. Usually they even receive the land as a present. Thus, they need not
848 starve by any means. Illegitimate daughters are in a more unfavor-
562 able position, for their help is not needed for the most part, and their mother does not have a household of her own. Nevertheless
[583] their marriage prospects are not unfavorable, since a girl does not
[581] have a dowry, but is married only on the basis of her personal qualities.

/199 cont./

764 result of the very hard stamping of the earth, the burial place
184 does not stand out from the surrounding terrain either because of a regular grave mound or because of any kind of slight elevation. A stone 30-60 centimeters in size serves as a marker, which is set either at the head or the foot end of the grave.

769 Whereas the deceased is given no accessories at all in the
[764] grave to take with him and no offerings are given this is done in
[796] the following year on December 8, the festival of the Immaculada. On this day, and each year recurrently, the relatives offer the spirits (âhimos) of their deceased, whom they think of as wind or shadows living in their former houses, their favorite foods: meat, yuca, potatoes, maize, chicha, brandy, coca, etc. These gifts are laid on a banana leaf on the floor of the church, and a candle is lighted and placed beside them. Small children do not get food, but flowers as gifts.

/200/

e) The Course of a Day

461 Men and women perform the tasks appropriate to them.
462 Those of the women are the least varied, since meals must be prepared daily and wood and water must be fetched regularly for cooking or for maintaining the nightly fire. Moreover, the work of the woman is more bound up with the house, whereas the men have shorter or longer pauses in their work and during these they visit neighbors, help them mill sugar cane, and drink chicha.
461 Steadiness is not the strong point of the Paez to begin with. It is but seldom that tasks are completed in an uninterrupted process; rather, we almost always found that on the following day the men were busy with something different from the previous day. To be sure, field work always requires long pauses between the clearing, the drying of the felled trees, burning, erecting the fences out of the remaining wood, and sowing. But even within each of these stages of work they generally take their time. True, there are said to be persons who can work for several weeks, up to a month, uninterruptedly in the clearing of a field, but I found again and again that after two to four days of work, a day of rest is inserted.

/200 cont./

●46/ On one day, for example, a portion of the field is cleared of weeds, on the next the sugar-cane mill is repaired, on the day after that a neighbor is helped with housebuilding or milling sugar cane, then nothing is done for days because of drinking, and not until several days later is the weeding begun again. Once they have planned or begun a project for the day, however, they [123] will not let themselves be interrupted. Several times it happened that I would visit a family in the evening, in order to plan something which would be not at all unpleasant for them for the next day. But if they had already planned something else, I was obliged to come back on the day after that. In the fields, too, the men are not to be diverted, or only with difficulty. During the sowing, weeding, clearing, or other work on the field, they let themselves be drawn into conversation only during the coca pauses; at other times one could scarcely disturb them at these and similar tasks which are accomplished in a very even tempo -- provided that enough coca is available. It is different with the women. They let themselves be easily diverted from their daily, little varied household tasks. They are the ones who really do the most work within the family, for, as soon as they are married, they are never able to sleep through the night, /201/ but must stir the fire anew every two hours. Furthermore, they get up earlier in the morning, and they cannot go to bed until later at night. To rest a bit during the day is completely unknown. Nonetheless, they are satisfied with their lot and work happily, since all the women work in the same fashion and they have known nothing else for generations. There are, of course, tasks which are done willingly and others which are done less willingly. The goal of the necessary occupation seems to be decisive, for all the tasks necessary for nourishment are done willingly. Thus, the men, for example, like to work in the field, "since it is for food," like to plant sugar cane or build a sugar mill, "since it produces something to drink"; and the women, too, like to drag in firewood, [296] "since it is for meals." Washing clothes is one of the decidedly [499] unpleasant tasks of the women, as bridge-building is among the [462] men. In the examples sketched here, the tastes of all the Paez seem to be alike.

/201 cont./

461 28 Whereas the men for the most part plait straw hats when they have nothing else to do, the women are busy with spinning and making the coca bags or the fiber bags. But even at this they do not work steadily in the sense, say, that they complete first one bag, for example, or make all the preparations from the outset for weaving an article of clothing; rather, they always work a little at a time on each task. Thus, for example, first a little spinning is done, then wood is fetched, then a coca bag is worked on, and then perhaps a brief hour is spent at the loom in order to weave a few centimeters more on the carrying band of the fiber bags, if the fiber material is at hand. No preparations are made for this plaiting and weaving for a long period in advance, but rather one provides herself with wool, spins it, weaves a bit farther, and then drops the work again for a week or more. Nevertheless, the women do not have periods of out-and-out idleness, like the men.

461 574 156 [192] This doing-nothing is designated among the Paez with a word of Spanish origin pasnyándo (paseando). To be sure, one must not overdo the inactivity, that is, not "go for a walk" longer than about two weeks in succession, for otherwise one is called "alko" (dog), who runs from house to house, sniffs about everywhere, and gets his food from other people by begging. This is encouraged by the unwritten law of the Paez, to give food to a starving person, [773] wherever it may be, until he is satisfied. This is taken very seriously, not only when adults are the petitioners, but also in the case of small children, in memory of an event in prehistoric times when Chauté /202/ turned a number of persons into stones because they had not given a begging child anything to eat out of their surplus (see the myths /see p. 224/). Hence if anyone enters a house "pasnyándo," he is given something to eat. Younger, unmarried people in particular take advantage of this and sometimes do not work at all, but go to a different house every day. They inquire as to where sugar cane is being milled, help there, are given chicha to drink and food to eat, and the next day go somewhere else. Thus there are some men who have neither house nor field, but nevertheless live quite well. To be sure, the

/202 cont./

461 villagers know these "strollers," and even say that they are
574 sluggards who do not work; but if they then come at mealtime, they
156 get their food and are usually kept there gladly, because they know how to tell stories well and amusingly, go around everywhere, and always have news to impart. If a man is married and has a wife and children, he must, of course, cultivate his own field, in order to be able to feed his family. In Calderas, however, there is even a married "stroller" who has neither a house of his own nor his own field. He lives in the house of a good-natured man whom he helps in the field and in the house. But this is regarded as an exception.

829 Thanks for favors or benefits bestowed, which, according
571 to the view of the Paez, are taken for granted, were not custom-
[576] ary originally. Today, however, thanks are often expressed with
[178] a word of Spanish origin "slopage" (Dios se lo pague), without, however, any feeling of a debt of gratitude, such as toward a
[621] wealthy person or a person in a superior position. Within the Paez communities there is, to be sure, no sociologically established authority; similarly, there is no chief or employer of a number of people who would be dependent upon him and owe him obedience. Hence no one is forced to obey anyone whom he does not like or to do anything that he may not care to do. Accordingly, there is no respect for strangers to the place or even for the priest, for when the Calderun are in their village, "on their soil," everyone regards everyone else as equal. Not the least important in this connection is the general understanding of one another by the inhabitants, their strengths and weaknesses, which makes pretense, any spurious authority simply assumed by an official, impossible. This is one reason -- perhaps the principal reason -- why the Calderun purposely do not want to have anything to do with the "blancos" and their officials. An attempt to trace this back to an awareness of their own inferiority indicates a complete misunder-
[565] standing of the character of the Paez. Their lack of social classes, and therefore the impossibility of looking down on /203/ another person, explains their general respect for one another, which is bestowed on everyone equally. Everyone grants everyone else

Everyone grants everyone else

/203 cont./

571 whatever he expects and claims for himself, quite as a matter of
829 course. This results in an entirely natural self-esteem, injury to
155 which on the part of the "blancos" is felt as very painful by the Paez.

576 Within the Paez communities the obligation of a greeting (gwéčaya) by a younger person to an older one is strictly observed. Even a "family feud" does not absolve the younger people from the respectful greeting "pétenga" (translated by "good day") toward the older people of other families, who acknowledge it with " "pé'taw." Removing one's hat at the same time is not customary.

[608] A greeting by shaking hands takes place only among members of the family or with one's godfather or godmother with the salutation "ndyósta utsménga" (Godparent, how are you?), during which the hat is also removed. Contemporaries greet each other with

[521] "éwča" (how are you) and reply with "éwčataw" (I am well). Generally people chat awhile when they meet, introduce the conversation with a joke, a bit of news in the village, or perhaps merely a remark about the weather.

156 Though the Paez may be regarded basically as an individualist, this does not hold true universally. On account of the abundantly available land, it is possible for him to isolate himself and withdraw for weeks at a time to his separate farm, but

● 461 nonetheless the Paez does not like to drink his chicha alone. And
476 usually friends and neighbors help, not only with housebuilding or
156 clearing, but also with sowing and lesser tasks. The labor of the individual, in instances of mutual help, is merely loaned, however, since the same persons meet again for joint aid on the corresponding tasks of a neighbor. The owner in question must also make chicha and food liberally available for each task, which makes every joint task a small feast. The actual useful effects of the communal work are slight, and, as a visitor from the outside, one has the impression that the joint eating and drinking is the primary thing, interrupted at times by only brief periods of work. On sober consideration -- which no Paez, of course, undertakes -- the joint consumption in connection with a communal task is more expensive for the individual than if each person himself over a correspondingly

/203 cont./

461 longer period of time, consumed the products he himself raised.
476 Thus the practice of communal work and the joint consumption
156 of food and drink connected with it do not unconditionally emphasize the necessity for remote individual farms as against the compact village layout.

556 /204/ From what has been said about joint work and the
461 joint consumption associated with it, it follows that, with this
[476] method of production and consumption, practically no one can acquire great wealth, for the more a person has, the more he needs to entertain his helpers. Theoretically, however, it would be easy to become rich, if, for example, a young man would clear an additional piece of land each year for the planting of wheat or sugar cane and sell its yield for money or barter it for horses or cows. He would have to do this for several years, and then his herd of cows and mares would increase quite automatically, and with it his wealth. The actual work necessary for this
556 would be slight. Nevertheless, this is not possible in practice,
626 because, on the one hand, most of the Paez do not calculate and think so far ahead, and, on the other hand, the sufficiently intelligent and industrious ones would be subject to the dangerous envy of the other members of the community. The democratization of the Paez communities not only favors what is common, but also prevents the individualization of what is common to all -- among other things, even the common poverty.

For this reason no show is made of any possessions that one
556 might have. Significantly, only in connection with taking an inventory of livestock at the end of our work did we discover that even in Calderas there are comparatively rich people. This was not to be seen by an outsider, since these families do not stand out from the others either by dress or by way of life. Moreover, they did not tell me anything about their property -- a matter of more than ten head of cattle in the case of three families. I learned about it more or less accidentally from other
[651] people. In the case of these families, I could not see any reason for the concealment of their wealth, since they do not have any obligations or taxes or fees to pay. They likewise do not play a

/253 cont./

539 When he came back, he saw the snake in its place. Then he changed back into a human being. The fiber bag was there, too. The bananas were there, too. The snake filled with water (that is, underdone, still watery) was there.

It was afternoon when he went into his house. The bag he brought to his wife. He came to his wife with this bag. When he had knocked, he entered.

2. Orientation and General Knowledge

772 776 177 Nothing definite can be said about the ancient Paez conception of the world, since Christian influence has had a strongly modifying effect. In any case, there is in the Paez vocabulary the word "tátyinas," which is sometimes translated as "god," and sometimes -- and corresponding better with the meaning of the word -- as "creator." The word "Dios" is used to designate the Christian God. Tátyinas, I was told, lives in heaven, on the earth, and in the earth. He made all human beings. He does not receive sacrifices. He is not mentioned in shamanistic ceremonies.

772 775 The vocabulary shows that, besides the earth and the conception of a heaven or of the firmament, there were also two places of the dead that were familiar. The happy land of death, mbéka kígwe, is like heaven. Literally it means "land of chicha," and if one knows the Paez, one realizes that in any case it must be /254/ a happy land. The land of the dead corresponding to [776] "hell" is called eč kígwe. The eč are the most evil of all spirits. They live in the earth; hence this designation must refer to a subterranean land.

804 461 As for natural periods of time, only days and months are known, as well as work days and non-work days (ki'sen). The latter designation is now used for Sunday. Originally this was not a fixed day; rather, people worked and celebrated as they could arrange the time within a larger or smaller community. Even today, during the times of clearing, the people sometimes work for weeks in the field, without inserting a work-free day.

/289 cont./

534 by cuts with a machete (Ill. 203 /see p. 290/). In spite of the
322 relatively correspondent holes, each flute has a slightly different tone caused by the varying diameter of the tube.

533 According to the investigation kindly undertaken by my
534 brother Wilfried on the sample flute of Vicente Puche that I acquired, it is tuned between C and C-sharp. Its six finger-holes produce a nonsemitonic seven-tone scale. All the tone steps, however, are somewhat inexact, that is, not exactly a whole tone-step apart. This is particularly noticeable from the third to the fourth tone where we perceptibly have less than a major second, but considerably more than a half step. This is noteworthy because in our diatonic major scale there is also a definite half-step between these two tones.

The blowing is on the right or left side. The extended fingers, work-worn by the heavy field work, cover the finger holes with the first or second joint.

534 The value of the flute is not very high. On festive days
[578] people are in the habit of becoming intoxicated in the festival
[796] houses and in the subsequent brawls the flutes are used as striking
[273] instruments and thus broken.

/290/ Every music group has at least one small cylindrical drum (káka) or a bass drum (kut), both of which are covered with skin on two sides and are wider than high in their dimensions.
[77] Drum and bass drum in this form are probably borrowed and were
[194] taken over throughout South America from former Negro slaves. Their manufacture among the Paez is specialist's work. At
[463] present Vicente Puche makes the flutes as well as the drums. In former times, however, there was a special expert who made only
[461] drums and bass drums. The work time for their manufacture amounts to 10 to 14 days, since one day is allowed for each operation (cutting wood, drying it, for the various processes in treating
[824] the skins, etc.). The cylindrical body of the drum is made from
[237] the wood of the utsé tree. The two drum-skins (katc) are made of calfskin. They are stretched with cords made of agave fiber, which run in a zigzag from one stretcher to the other over the body of the drum. They are tightened by a continuous loop that encircles two strands of the stretching cords at a time and at the same time

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

(*cl*). It is very little cultivated in Tierra Adentro, however, and the dry leaves are imported from the lower Paez and Tolima basins. To this product the Paez is indebted for his disgusting chewing and spitting habit, the use of which is still doubtful to me. Coca leaves are said to be a powerful reconstituent, allowing the Indians to endure long marches and great privation. But the women do not use it, and however often they may participate in these hardships, it is with the same endurance. At all events the Paez men never cease chewing and spitting. Each of them carries a supply of coca leaves in his *iisa*, and the quicklime or *kuetan* in a small gourd, both hanging at his left side. Now and then he ejects a mouthful of green saliva, making sure that there be a clean whitewashed wall near by, in order thus to decorate it. He then takes a new handful of leaves, sprinkles them with a little *kuetan*, and fills his mouth again, ceasing this everlasting process only long enough to eat, drink, and sleep. 276 [249] [439] [461]

Tobacco is known in Tierra Adentro under the name of *nuéi-hi*, but it is never smoked or chewed. The sugar-cane, *nisa*, is cultivated in small patches. The only textile plant observed by me is a short-leaved agave called *sasto* (Span. *magucy*). The larger part of the district inhabited by the Paez is above the region in which grows the bamboo called *guaidua*; but this beautiful grass is known to them under the name of *mom*, or *mum*. They transport canes of it from a distance for use in the construction of their lighter bridges; and at Huila, about 1,800 meters above sea-level, there was a small plantation of it, showing a primitive attempt at cultivation. 249 [248] 245

Several useful plants have been mentioned in connection with dyeing (page 318). Although in the Huila mountains there is at least one species of rubber-yielding *Sapium*, the Indians do not seem to have known of the elastic properties of its gum. 249

A most striking feature of the upper forest zone of the Palo valley is the wax-palm, *lámc* (*Ceroxylum andicola*), which is also for the Indians an important economic plant on account of the wax which they obtain by scraping the lofty trunks (plate IX). This product they use mainly for illuminating purposes. Un- 314

/286 cont./

291 the waist, and over it a rebozo or shawl of foreign make; they wear hats of masculine manufacture. They carry a thin stick
283 one meter long more or less, called kasguat, held under the left armpit, and at its upper end there is a bundle of wool to be spun, a task which they do at any time, while walking or sitting in the house, regardless of whether a child is resting on their backs or, when they are walking along the road, a heavy
301 load. Only the women wear ornaments consisting of multi-colored necklaces, earrings, and sometimes rings.

293 Both men and women usually carry three woolen pouches,
415 aside from others of fique, a very small one for money, a larger one for mambe /coca and lime for chewing/, and the third, which is the largest of all and holds the other two, is used to carry palm leaves or the plaited work made with them for the men, and other things for the women.

276 Coca.--All the Paez are "mambe chewers," men, women,
[461] and children, regarding coca as an article that gives strength,
[261] frees one from laziness, and mitigates hunger. Without it, of
[273] course, they will not work. Coca and chicha, fermented sugar-
[262] cane juice, play the role of real foods, given their starchy and scant diet.

631 Parcialidades and cabildos.--Politically, the Indians are
621 organized into parcialidades, each headed by a cabildo made up of a gobernador and substitute, a major alcalde and another minor one, two alguaciles, three fiscales, a comisario, a capitán, and a síndico elected each year and put in office by the respective alcaldías of the municipio, except for the last two, who are named for life and put in office by the /287/ Church. Their functions are administrative and police work, but in reality they exercise functions of social, legal, and religious control.

631 The parcialidades are bounded by the craggy peaks and the deep, rugged beds of the streams and rivers in such a way that each one circumscribes specific kinds of geography, and even of

/182 cont./

423 The work on the land is a daily exercise in co-operation.
461 Owership by an Indian is an unquestionable right, and its de-
[173] fense a categorical imperative. Lliban and Juan Chiracol
[628] fought the Pijao for the ownership of the land and to defend an
[648] inalienable right. Likewise, because the whites covet their land, they do not like to have them around /183/ and avoid receiving them under some pretext or other. Their security and
[735] their happiness lie in the ownership of land. Poverty as they understand it, a shortage of food and livestock, is due solely to the laziness of those who suffer it.

857 Children grow up in continuous communion with the
868 activities of their parents. While the girl helps her mother in household tasks and goes out with her to bring firewood from their respective clearings, the boys with their machete on their shoulder and their pouches of coca and mambe /lime/, exactly like their fathers, clean the clearings, build fences, weed their plantings, and when the maize ripens and the wheat grows tall, they spend the day defending them against the attacks of parrots, guaras, borugos, squirrels, and coatis. At an early age they are already doing the same tasks, but with the hope of building a house, marrying, raising children, and owning livestock, large quantities of coca, and sugar cane for their
342 chicha. In a way, the house is a necessary supplement to their pieces of land; furthermore, many are for the period of the clearings. The selection of a site for the house does not take into account either the beauty of the landscape or the levelness of the terrain, but rather the inaccessibility of both. Only when the house is to last for more than one generation will they attend to certain requisites: solidity, construction or privately owned land, and the selection of an adequate site by the medicine man (té éu). One fine day the owner selects a site: "This is a good place to build a house and to live," he
[759] says. Then he takes there the medicine man, who during the
[787] night "thinks about" whether the site is suitable or unsuitable; he chews coca and remedies, takes mouthfuls of aguardiente

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VII

The Milling, the Chicha and the Chicha-makers

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It remains to be said that the fiesta begins with the milling. Although it is common to use a horse to operate the sugar mill, it is more usual at fiesta time to move it with human arms, masculine or feminine. It makes no difference. The two laborers for the milling squat on either side of the sugar mill, and one hands over the cane while the other receives the bagasse, which is piled up at one side to be handed back again; this is done up to 12 times in order to extract as much juice as possible. The millers do their work in silence when they are not drunk; while they do it with diligence, there is relaxation, laughter, shouts, and imprecations when they are under the influence of alcohol.

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The juice is gathered in troughs, or less frequently in calabashes and pots; it is heated to near the boiling point and then emptied into the troughs, in which, inasmuch as they are well "cured," fermentation is rapid. The troughs are made of huge tree trunks that reach up to one meter and 50 centimeters in thickness and four or five meters in length. As they are depleted through consumption, they are refilled with fresh cane juice. The troughs are covered with small mats made exclusively for the purpose. On the following day it is bubbly, yellowish, with a pungent, sweetish flavor. It is the beka pes (strong chicha) of the natives, who drink it with relish and delight. Five gourdfuls of this liquor are sufficient to make them drunk. Elsewhere called guarapo, while the Paez call it chicha, it is of great importance in their social life and diet. With its help the religious fiestas gain meaning, the mingas are carried out, baptisms and weddings are made more pleasant, and visitors are entertained.

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Work without chicha is inconceivable, and while they work they get no food whatever; they merely drink chicha and chew

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262 coca. Chicha thus provides the calories for work, while coca
273 dulls the feeling of hunger. The consumption of chicha is
461 general among men and women, old people and children.
[276] There is no household without chicha for any length of time.
And during the short lapses when it runs low, they buy it or
[431] visit the households that have some. Among friends it is not
sold, but given as regalement: /196/ "talking, laughing, regaling," as the Indians accurately describe the situation.

249 Milling for the fiestas takes place daily and is in direct
273 proportion to the number of visitors. Milling for the mingas
461 lasts two days, one week for baptisms, and up to a month for
weddings.

273 The largest containers for chicha are the troughs, but use
415 is also made of pitchers and large earthenware pots buried in
the ground up to their rims.

273 The chicha-makers are the absolute masters of the troughs
463 while they are fulfilling their function. They distribute the
796 chicha, and even the fiestero himself must ask them for the
amount desired. No one takes chicha without their consent.
Furthermore, they accept the gifts which the visitors give to
the fiestero. The latter merely voices his thanks. Although
they keep taking chicha, they do not get drunk, so as to perform their task properly. They will have their day when they
can do so.

VIII

Sugar-cane Aguardiente

273 At fiesta time, aguardiente is distilled every two or three
[796] days. The distillation is quite easy. The still is prepared in
the following way:

[415] A good-sized earthenware pot, 50 to 60 centimeters high
and 25 to 30 centimeters in diameter, is filled with guarapo

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389 Explosive charges are made in the following way. The powder is packed into small sheepskin cartridges; these cartridges /200/ are tied tightly with maguey thread. Then they are pierced in such a way that the powder can come in contact with the correspondent fuse. They make with these explosive charges:

Firecrackers: a charge attached to a short stick.

Skyrockets: reed tubes full of powder, with one explosive charge, attached to a long pole. They rise to considerable heights and end with an explosion.

Slingers: firecrackers made of three charges attached to a stick.

Castle: a structure resembling half an ellipse, made of flexible rods to which the explosive charges are attached.

[798] The fireworks-maker is selected especially by the fiestero or the albacero, and at the time of the fiesta he distributes the firecrackers personally among the elders with a great show [465] of deference. The albacero must kill a pig or a sheep to reward him for his work.

•[461] The making of these objects is slow: a month or even more, not because it is complicated, but because steady work on it is tiresome.

389 During the making of these firecrackers, with the relative 787 tranquility that this implies, a man may come to know of a 75 destiny which he possibly had not suspected: becoming a medicine man. While sitting at his work he may feel the "signs" that herald his future activity. This was the case with a medicine man of Calderas. As a young man he knew nothing about remedies or "signs." But as he was making firecrackers, he felt the signs. He had five children at the time. After that he learned what the good and the bad remedies were from another famous medicine man. He put his knowledge into practice, cured a sick man, and devoted himself to being a medicine man. The signs, they say, are sent by God.

/242 cont./

755 members of the family, that is to say, they do not carry the
* 756 surname of those who are performing Ut ká. None of them
783 may work, not even at making hats or pouches.

● [461] The hog is skinned and washed over a hole; the hair and offal in general must fall there. When Ut ká is not being per-
[787] formed, the hog is skinned in a trough. Meanwhile, the curer
[782] divines as to how much meat is wanted by the souls. The latter specify the quantity, and the té eu translates it on a small stick, which is immediately passed to the slaughterers, who must cut out the pieces in accordance with this measure and put them into a pouch. The curer drinks aguardiente and also has assistants who help in perceiving the signs.

[252] /243/ The women prepare the maize for "mute" /stewed
[262] corn/, make small tortillas, as many as there are souls of the dead in the family. They also prepare every kind of fruit and food, plantains, arracacha, bread, yuca, bananas, granadillas, cucumbers, maize, eggs, meats, etc., to protect them against the ptans. They put a little piece of the foods into the pouch.

755 They also prepare some wooden dolls, in a number equal
* 756 to that of the dead. They dress them like Indians: hat, poncho,
783 trousers, shirt. About 40 meters from the house they dig a
532 grave just as they do to bury the dead: a rectangular cavity with a lateral chamber. The curer weighs out two eggs of coca, picks up two cigars and a bottle of aguardiente. At about eight at night all those from the family leave, except those who are not. The cleansing is about to be performed. Then black clouds, like balls, gather. The curer blows remedies toward them. After two hours, the clouds go toward the left, clearing the horizon and leaving the stars visible in the immensity of space. The curer proceeds with the burial. In the lateral chamber of the tomb he places the dolls (representations of the souls) and a candle of laurel wax, after blowing the remedies at them. He closes up the chamber with a stone and then puts in the glowworms and the pouch of food.

* [i.e. the family members--Analyst]

The cultivation of potatoes on a large scale
/305 cont./ began more
244 or less two decades ago. "From 1925 to 1930 the one who
433 planted the most potatoes was Ezequiel Mulcué, who caused amazement among the people; now the least planted is 20 arrobas," says one informant. Nowadays there are natives who sow up to 200 arrobas in a year, of which only 70 are planted in the "paramo," and they yield better results than the other arrobas planted. Then, we ask, why do the people of Mosoco have their months of hunger?

262 The basic product of the Paez diet is maize. It was in
154 the past and it continues to be so in the present. Psychologi-
[198] cally, they feel completely satisfied when they have maize for consumption. Its absence causes a sensation of dietary dissatis-
[243] faction. Before the era of the potato, the cultivation of maize and wheat predominated.

461 During the months of July, August, September, and Octo-
464 ber, the natives have little work. This is why those from
166 Vitoncó, San José, Lame, and Suin go and sign up as peons on the fincas of the "whites" on the other side of the Cordillera (Popayán, Corinto, and even in the Cauca Valley). They return toward the end of the year, when the maize and wheat harvests are drawing near. The natives of Calderas, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, and Togoima go to the fincas of Inzá or La Plata. They return in October when the maize harvests are approaching. It must be said that this labor force is excellent and cheap. And for this reason very much in demand.

The natives of Mosoco have sufficient work in their own country.

Clearings /rozas/

241 The term roza is used generically for the extent of land
433 cleared, burned, cleaned, and fenced, ready for planting. It is found on every private property. It has an area of approximately one hectare. Clearings of two or more hectares are rare. An increase in production does not reflect an enlargement of the clearings, but rather their multiplication and the utilization of ever more rugged and /306/ sterile lands. The natives, to

/328 cont./

388 began to use other types of raw materials. The death blow was
43 thus given to the only home industry of the above-mentioned regions. Wax is still gathered, but the price for an arroba in Silvia does not reach eight pesos. There is no longer any profit.
388 The Indians go on using it to make candles for household con-
[373] sumption and above all for illumination at religious fiestas. We
[796] have described the methods of gathering, extracting, and manufacturing laurel wax in the work entitled "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," published in the Revista Colombiana de Folklore, Number 2 of 1953.

/329/

Mingas

476 The minga is the most widespread form of labor among the
461 Páez. The natives can work for themselves alone and are excellent laborers. But the task would demand more of their time
[464] and effort. Thus, the minga serves to prevent "boredom" during the work, to gain time, and to provide a labor force which would otherwise be hard to obtain.

476 The minga then is a co-operative system of labor whereby the interested party invites a specific number of acquaintances to perform a job, duly rewarding them with food, drink, and coca. "Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense," says Hernández de Alba /cited in English/.

476 Indispensable articles of reward are meat, chicha, and, in
554 nearly all the parcialidades, coca. The incidence of the mingas is thus almost in direct proportion to the possession of domestic
[231] animals. Those who lack such stock, that is to say, the poor according to the concepts of Páez culture, work alone or in the company of their sons, if they have any.

476 In the course of the cultivation cycle the following mingas
241 are held: to fell the trees (clearings); to pile up the wood that remains after the burning and to cut stakes for the fence; to build fences; to do the planting and weeding.

In Calderas a minga for clearing is carried out in the following way:

/329 cont./

476 241 The master of the minga kills a head of cattle or, more commonly, a pig. He prepares a trough of chicha (fermented sugar-cane juice), several bottles of aguardiente, an arroba of mote (maize skinned with ashes), and procures a few pounds of coca. He invites the men of his choice. At dawn on the day agreed upon for the job, all those invited, with their tools on their shoulders, proceed with shouts to the house of the minguero. There they are given one egg (25) of coca, chicha, and a dish of

25. Measure of weight equivalent to a hen's egg.

476 461 241 mote with meat. At 8:00 A.M. they are all at work. Up to 30 laborers attend. They take along to the place of the work calabashes of chicha to drink during the rest periods, which correspond exactly to the "botada de la mambeada" /taking the chew of coca/. In the course of the day they have three mambeadas, and thus three rest periods. They more or less coincide with 10:00 A.M., 12:00 noon, and 2:00 P.M. During these rest periods they sit, talk, laugh, drink /330/ chicha, and soon go back to the work enthusiastically. They do it steadily and diligently.

476 241 No one talks then. At 4:00 P.M. they leave work and go to the house of the minguero, where their respective wives are already. Everyone receives chicha and aguardiente. Then the food, consisting of a large wooden platter full of mote, stew /revuelto/ with frijoles, arracacha, plantains, and three pieces of meat. Since they cannot eat all this, they put it in fique knapsacks to [782] take it to their respective homes. After eating, they pray, always invoking the deceased relatives of the minguero, whether [273] [535] they be ancestors, collaterals, or descendants. Then, they receive new gourds of chicha until they are drunk. Very often [578] they dance. There is no lack of fighting on these occasions.

476 435 According to an informant from Calderas, one minga with 15 laborers costs the following:

/330 cont./

476
435

1 bull	$40.00
1 1/2 arrobas of maize	1.50
2 pounds of coca	3.00
3 loads of chicha	6.00
Total	$50.00

The prices cited above prevail only among the natives. Among the "whites" an arroba of maize costs $6.00, a pound of coca $3.00, the cattle $25.00 per arroba, and chicha has a higher value. In the expenses of the minga there is no mention of the cost of aguardiente, frijoles, arracacha, and plantains, which are usually mixed with the mote. It should be noted that the articles listed are produced on the same finca, with the exception of the coca, which has to be purchased. In San Andrés the mingas consist of six to ten laborers more or less, usually relatives. Mote, stew with plantains, manioc, arracacha, pork, chicha, and coca are served. No cattle are killed, and there is no dancing after the work. The costs of the minga are as follows:

1 pig	$35.00
1 trough of chicha	2.00
1 arroba of maize	1.50
1 pound of coca	1.00
3 pounds of salt	0.60
/331/ 3 pounds of frijoles	0.60
2 arrobas of manioc	1.00
2 bunches of plantains	2.00
Total	$43.70

476 In Lame the chicha is purchased in Suin and Chinas, as is the coca. They commonly kill a pig.

In Mosoco we had the opportunity to observe a minga for the raising of the seed beds. There were three women, one boy, and five men. They were relatives. They had eaten at seven
● 461 in the morning. They worked in a group without distinction as
476 to sex or age, talking and laughing. Only the older ones, who usually chew coca, worked in silence, for talk produces

/331 cont./

461 insalivation, which disturbs the normal consumption of coca.
476 They worked steadily until 10:00 A.M., when they took a short rest. Then they went on working until 1:00 P.M., when they were served "refreshments," consisting of a cup of coffee and two large maize griddlecakes /arepas/ seasoned with salt and two eggs, which had been toasted on a piece of earthenware and finished by roasting in the hot ashes of the hearth. They went on working until 3:30 P.M. and then went to the house of the minguero. The reward usually consists of the following:

476 Two bowls of chicha; then a large platter with mote, stew
465 with potatoes or ullucos. They eat what they can and put the rest in an aluminum pan which they brought for this purpose, or they simply put it in a fique knapsack to take it to their respective homes. After this, they receive still another bowl of mote without meat. Then, once more, two bowls of chicha and, following this, a large pot overflowing with chicha to be distributed among those present. This is done for each of the persons in-
[273] vited. The consumption of chicha is thus abundant. After this they are given aguardiente. Already drunk, they organize a dance. All this, of course, among the natives of means. Among the poor, the mingas are usually made up of relatives, who "conceal the scarcity." No dancing is done.

476 In the mingas of Mosoco, they sacrifice bulls, calves, or pigs, and they always purchase one or two pounds of coffee and two or three arrobas of panela. From their own finca they consume wheat or maize flour, potatoes, ullucos, or broad beans.
[461] Coca has been replaced by "refreshments." During the work there
[276] are periods of rest that /332/ correspond roughly to taking a chew of coca in other parcialidades. The young people of Mosoco do not chew coca, but the old custom still influences the work. On the other hand, it is obvious that a minga in Mosoco is more expensive than paying wages, since various articles are purchased, and, in addition, they sacrifice cows or pigs worth more than 100
[464] pesos. But the mingas are indispensable in Mosoco as a means of obtaining labor which otherwise would be impossible to get. No one signs up for wages, because everyone has his own lands to work.

/346 cont./

466 given to him. From the harvests of maize, frijoles, and
427 arracacha the owner receives one bag (approximately half an
[241] arroba) of each product, and one or two bunches of the plantains.

231 He says that the hacienda owner has permitted him to raise
427 animals, but he has none, because he spends more time working
466 on the hacienda than in his own house. He says that he owned
[235] some 20 sheep, but is finished with them. Now he has only eight chickens.

427 The informant is the son of another tenant farmer and
466 grew up on this very hacienda. He has owned the house in which he now lives for 18 years. He has not signed any kind of document with the owner and has not been bothered by him about the possession of the house, but rather, on the contrary, has been urged by him to repair the house. In exchange for the use of the house and the land he is obliged to pay three days for rent
[465] per month, eating his own food and using his own tools. On the other days of the month he works for the same owner for daily wages, earning two pesos a day, excluding, of course, the days of religious or national holidays. Each week he re-
[452] ceives 12 pesos. From the owner he buys maize, manioc, and frijoles on credit, which is immediately deducted in labor. The owner only gives him salt and bananas. The panela comes from what he produces.

466 Since the informant specializes in milling and the making
427 of panela, he ordinarily does nothing else. His work begins at
257 six in the morning and ends at ten at night. He is assisted by his
[463] wife, who earns one peso a day, a deaf and dumb son who earns
[512] nothing, and another son who carries the cane to the sugar mill.
[465] This one is married, is also a tenant farmer, earns two pesos a day, and has a separate clearing. His wife does not help in the work because she stays at home caring for the house, looking after the children, and weeding the garden and the clearing.

427 At the mill he works even on Sundays at wrapping panela,
257 a task that cannot be neglected. Ordinarily he spends two weeks
● 461 at the mill and has the following one free (without pay) to rest,
466 to look after his own field, or to hire out his labor to anyone who

466 /346 cont./
427 needs it (nominal). On the following week he must return to
257 work at the hacienda.
[461] /347/ Each week he produces some 40 arrobas of panela.
[433] The informant boils it down, his wife mills with the deaf and dumb son, and the other son strips the cane. The milling
[422] equipment is expensive and thus belongs to the hacienda. His own tools are two shovels, one small bar, and three machetes, with which he works for the hacienda. The owner of the hacienda has tried to dismiss him three times. Once because he made panela for another owner; it displeases the owner to have him work elsewhere, especially at a mill. The informant did not want to leave his house.

427 The plantings that he has made have sometimes been
241 lost because of the wetness of the soil, leaving no solution but
466 to plant again. The owner does not help at all in such calamities. He has the right to plant as much as he wishes.
[423] Now he owns about 200 coffee trees, but the owner has forbidden him to plant more trees.

427 The informant has seven children, five of whom are females;
465 three of them earn a peso a day working on the hacienda, harvest-
466 ing and weeding coffee. One who is younger earns 50 centavos, and the son pays land rent and earns a daily wage of two pesos. The owner is not honest. To pay the daily wages he usually takes out bills of ten or twenty pesos and sends one of the peons to exchange them for smaller currency, which is always short when it is received. He pays in part and later maintains that the total was met.

Another informant from the same hacienda says that for two years of vaquería (tending cattle) the owner gave him in payment for his labor one mare that is not worth 30 pesos. While doing this work he suffered hunger and worked too hard. Now, aside from having remunerated him very badly, he demands the payment of rent for the two years that he was engaged in this work.

In general terms, the tenant farmers of San Andrés, in exchange for the use of half a hectare of land, one garden, and one house, are obliged: to pay three days of rent per month, providing their own food; to work as day laborers for the hacienda,

7:Hernández de Alba E-5(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

342 [177] Some had wooden doors and windows, and were built with nails and wires, though most were still made with vegetable materials.

The modern *Moguex* house has two rooms. The main one, entered through a small door, serves as storeroom for goods to be sold, reception hall, dancing place, and a room in which to keep watch over the dead. The other is a pantry for provisions and drinks; here are kept [354] kitchen utensils. In the center is the fireplace and around it dried [352] cowhides or platform beds made of horizontal poles tied to stakes [476] driven in the ground. One's neighbors aid him to build his house, [461] transporting heavy timbers over light rollers and singing rhythmically as they heave together. If the owner of a new house is a man of [554] means, he pays for a feast of benediction or consecration carried out [778] with a Catholic priest, a godfather, and a godmother.

The *Páez* does all this and in addition puts some pieces of silver 352 money under his house to assure his good fortune. In the main house [415] he places the metate on stakes, and in a secondary house, the press [353] for extracting wax from laurel, one or more troughs or hollowed trunks, [354] and large jars for chicha and guarapo. From the roof frame hang bags, [524A] or "mochilas," of netted hemp for belongings. There is also a bamboo candlestick, the wooden feast drum, sometimes a tiple or small [283] guitar, and. nailed to the wall, a spindle. Outside, the loom stands 404 against the wall Beyond it is the sugarcane mill, which is made of 286 a section of tree trunk with a hole above a projection on which the 249 cane is pressed by hand with a rod which crosses the hole. Some mills consist of two or three wooden cylinders rotated by animal power.

243 In each maize field is a small, temporary house and a high platform 342 where a watchman frightens the parrots and parakeets with periodic cries and motions.

Each *Páez* group today has its communally built pueblo, with 177 "bahareque" buildings grouped around a rectangular plaza: a church, 361 with its arched portico and small tower in imitation of Colonial architecture, a house for the priest, a school, and two or three large houses for meetings and fiestas, where they dance, sing, and sleep during fiesta days. But ordinarily, the people remain at their distant houses and fields, and do not live at the pueblo, the only permanent inhabitants of which are a few Whites and Mestizos.

ENGINEERING WORKS

491 The Spaniards found bridges which they described as "weak and 499 flexible bridges of bamboo" and "bridges of vines." A territory so broken and crossed with so many rivers and canyons naturally stimulated the *Páez* in the construction of bridges and the laying out of roads. Today they make four kinds of bridges: (1) A simple vine or cable stretched across the river; (2) a kind of wooden stairs placed

/118 cont./

342 and begin to chew coca and tobacco and to drink brandy to-
761 gether. After a while the shaman ascertains through signs in
789 his arms or legs whether bones of the Pijao are in the ground.
756 If this is not the case, the building may be started; otherwise
787 the man must look for another building site. After the building
is finished, a further ceremony is performed (see under "Religion"
342 /see p. 205/), and then the same shaman fastens special herbs
756 to the roof to prevent the eč or gelyómp spirit, hostile to man,
789 from entering the house from there.

Houses are built only by men, by fathers of families.
342 One man alone, however, is not in a position to do this. At
476 least in the erection of the house posts he is helped by his brothers,
[462] as well as by other men and friends who have nothing else to
do anyway on these days and receive chicha and something to
342 eat for their assistance. The building material costs nothing,
273 to be sure, but the builder must furnish a substantial amount of
476 chicha, for which planning must be begun in plenty of time, two
or three years beforehand, by the planting of sufficient sugar
cane. This is the task of the married son who is still living in
[594] his father's house this long. To make the chicha he also still
[249] needs the sugar mill of his father, upon whose consent and help,
therefore, much depends. According to the amount of chicha
[461] that is available, the building of the house thus lasts two to six
months, depending on whether only five or 15 men participate.

The most important thing in the construction of the house
342 is the erection of the wooden frame (Ills. 161 to 164 /see p.272 /),
335 which always requires several men who bring in the trees, which
[476] are superficially smoothed with the machete, but not freed of
bark. The master of the house is able to make the walls by
[462] himself in an emergency. The covering of the roof, too, like the
entire house construction, is men's work, but the woman of the
house may hand up the sugar-cane leaves for the roofing. First
the vertical corner and side posts of the outer walls (yátšínda) are
erected, then the outer beams lying horizontally on the side
posts to support the roof (yátpopānt) are laid on, and, as the third
step in the work, the horizontal crossbeams (bīkas) are fastened at

000 /120 cont./

354 the simplest possible form. Three rocks provide the lateral sup-
415 port or stand for the pots, of which there are two at most, a metal one, usually of aluminum, and an earthen one. Very poor families have only one earthen pot, which is relatively
[417] cheap to buy. The earthen pot cannot be hung up; it is set between the three fire-stones in such a way that it cannot tip over, whereas the aluminum pot is hung by its handle on a soot-covered, angled stick that hangs down from the ridge (Ill. 166
352 /see p. 273/). Above the fire area there hangs a frame made
[251] of maize canes and about one square meter in size, on which
[353] household utensils and, above all, the rock salt for salting food are stored, airy and dry. Tables, chairs, or stools of any kind
[237] are unknown. One generally sits on the hairy side of an un-
[513] tanned and hence board-stiff cowhide, on which one also /121/ sleeps, or one sits on a beam, a block of wood, or a stone. Paez
[177] who have seen house furnishings in Inzá or in the dwellings of white colonists have sometimes built for themselves as a bed a sort of bench 30-50 centimeters high, consisting of sticks or reeds
[513] laid side by side. For sleeping the customary cowhide is spread on it. These sleeping benches are not used for sitting.

342 The nights in Calderas are generally quite cool, and
362 the light construction of the walls with cracks between the in-
132 dividual maize stalks does not in any way prevent the cold wind from coming in. In a few houses, near the sleeping area, I saw the walls sealed by means of expressed sugar-cane piled up
462 horizontally. For sleeping, the members of the family lie down
[354] in a circle around the fire area, where the fire must be kept going
[513] all through the night. This, like all housework, is the task of the woman, who must gather sufficient fuel beforehand and get up every two hours during the night to stir up the fire. Furthermore,
[264] she must get up an hour earlier in the morning in order to have the first meal, which is eaten around five o'clock, sometimes
[461] even at four o'clock, prepared on time. In spite of this, the men think that they are the ones who do the hardest work and that basically they are the only ones in the village who really work.

/123 cont./

291 stamps. Soon after the Conquista they adopted the upper garment
177 and the straw hat still worn today.

The clothing of the men consists of the upper garment, linen trousers, the cloak (called "poncho" in Peru, "ruana" in Colombia /see the glossary, p. 250 /) and the waterproof, plaited
291 straw hat. The upper garment and the ruana are woven by the
294 women out of sheep wool, whereas the linen trousers are made
286 by the men themselves out of purchased fabrics. This is note-
177 worthy culture-historically, for cutting clothing from woven
[462] fabrics was unknown to the South American Indians in pre-Colombian times, since fabrics were not woven "by the meter" to be sewed later into clothing as desired; rather, the shape of the subsequent article of clothing was already taken into con-
296 sideration at the start of the weaving. It follows from the method of manufacture that torn fabrics are never repaired by the women with a ready-made patch, but are always darned in imitation of
[462] the texture of the cloth. It is different for men's trousers, the materials of which are bought by the men and sewed by them themselves, never by the women. Once these -- as well as the purchased shirts -- are torn, they are never darned, but always repaired by the men by means of a patch sewed underneath.
296 Thus, we have here the fixed rule that woven clothing is never-
177 patched, but is darned, whereas the sewed clothing is never darned,
462 but is always patched. The former is women's work, the latter men's work.

291 The garment covering the upper body of the men (tondatc; for lack of an appropriate European designation it is called upper garment in the following) is not a sleeveless shirt, since the sides are not sewed together, but are open. It is quite simply a rectangular woven piece of wool about 60 centimeters wide and 160 centimeters long, whose warp threads run lengthwise. A slit about 30 centimeters long is left open in the center for the neck. It is pulled on over the head, and the lower ends are either stuffed into the trousers or left hanging over them. In the latter case they must be secured with a strap tied over them (Ills. 154 /see p. 268/, 165, 166 /see p. 273/, 171 /see p. 276 /, 202 /see p. 289 /, 203 /see p. 290/).

/124/

291 The men's trousers (calsón) have no pockets. On the aver-
294 age they reach to the calves. Generally they are very carefully sewed, either with purchased thread or with homemade, very fine yarn made of agave threads. In making them, as well as in the case of necessary repair work, all the edges are very carefully bound.

The men's ruana (atc) is generally square, with a side edge of 100 to 160 centimeters. It is sewed together out of two equally wide, rectangular panels, with a slit about 20 centimeters long left open in the center as a neck opening. Because of its square shape the ruana may be worn just as well with the neck-opening crosswise.

285 Whereas shoes or sandals are not used by the Paez, men,
462 women, and children wear the same type of straw hats (śwá).
293 These are plaited, however, only by the men and boys. The
415 dress of both sexes is completed by two or three of the colored
291 woolen coca bags, in which, on journeys, the necessary personal articles are also carried.

291 The garments of the women's clothing consist of wool and
294 are woven by the women themselves. In general the quality and fineness of the women's fabrics are significantly greater than that
286 of the men's woven fabrics. The boys' and young men's fabrics are generally the coarsest, woven with a rather thick spun thread. Decorative strips of a different color within the fabric are found chiefly in the women's clothing, but not infrequently also in that of the men, especially in the ruanas. The absolutely necessary basic clothing of the women consists of skirt and upper garment. Both are worn in such a way that the warp threads run crosswise. The skirt (atytól) is a very wide, tubular garment, whose diameter may amount to 150 centimeters and more, with a length (in the weaving state this corresponds to the width!) of about 80 centimeters. It is worn in such a way that the front part is tight, while the back side falls in numerous folds. It is fastened at the height of the hips with a woman's colored belt, and its upper edge is folded down somewhat over the belt.

/128 cont./

241 were only ten by ten meters /129/ square, whereas the largest continuous field occupied an area of about 500 by 250 meters. I was assured, however, that such a large area of land was not required for one family and that the owner would use this large [433] cleared field only little by little for planting. A family can live, so I was told, from a field that measures about 100 by 100 meters, [244] which corresponds to the area of one hectare. In addition, every house has a vegetable garden of about 1,000 square meters in area for the planting of vegetable bananas /cooking bananas/, cabbage, beans, cucumbers, and onions.

241 The clearing of the fields, like the sowing, is done only 476 by men, whereas the harvest may be gathered by women or men. 464 Several men always participate in the clearing and sowing; one [462] man never works alone. At the very least his brothers or sons help him. Otherwise he must ask friends who must be served food and chicha during the work, and whom he likewise helps in 241 a similar instance. On the field intended for planting, first the thinner trees at a height of about one to one and a half meters are cut down with the machete and left lying on the ground as they fall. With this the first part of the work is done, and one has two to four weeks' rest until the felled young trees and branches are dry, but not dried up. Then the men go out into the field again and light the wood, but only the thinner branches of less than an arm's thickness are consumed. This burning takes a few days, and it is not infrequent that a woman helps her husband on [515] the last day in order to burn up the remaining wood. The Paez, by the way, give this handling of the sooty trunks as the only time that they get dirty and must wash their hands afterwards (Ills. 169 to 171 /see pp.275 -276/).

241 The fence which each field must have for protection 417 against the freely roaming domestic animals is built out of the unburned branches and tree trunks. For this purpose rather thick poles are rammed vertically into the ground, and the remaining branches and tree trunks piled up horizonatally to a height of a good meter. In order to climb over this fence one puts a notched tree trunk against it on both sides as a ladder (aff) (Ill. 168 /see

p. 274/).

/130 cont./

249 three years is very long. Shoots from old sugar-cane plants are used as slips, which are set out by the men in the same way as the maize kernels. A hole is made in the ground with the digging stick at one-meter intervals in every direction from the neighboring plant; the slip is stuck into it and pressed firmly with [462] the hands. The cane is harvested by men or women. Both know [482] how to handle the machete. The men carry the sugar cane home over their shoulders (Ill. 173 /see p.277 /), women stuff the sugar cane into the fiber bags and hang them over their backs, holding the carrying band with their foreheads.

244 Besides maize and sugar cane, the bean (ōs) is of great im- [262] portance for the Paez diet. There are the large, speckled so-called "sow beans" /broad beans/ (Spanish frijol) and the smaller, white beans. /131/ The former are for the most part eaten, whereas the white beans are usually sold. They are sowed either in the vicinity of the house at the foot of trees and shrubs, with three beans always stuck into the ground at a time, or together with maize. In this case, during the maize sowing, three to four beans are put in the same hole with the six to eight maize kernels. In growing simultaneously the beans climb up the maize stalks.

243 Wheat (skótc) is not of importance in the diet of the Paez, [262] for no bread is baked. Nevertheless it is very often planted because it grows fast and thus represents a suitable item for the Paez to sell. 243 If anyone has to buy something, be it fabric for a pair of trousers, 434 a machete, a metal pot, etc., he sows wheat, usually in March/ April, and after half a year he can already pocket profit from the sale. It is characteristic of the Paez, however, that they make use of this only when they need something urgently, but not in 243 advance so as to have money on hand in any case. The preparation for wheat sowing is done in the customary manner of clearing by burning. The sower hangs around himself a fiber bag containing the seed grain and, in exactly the same fashion as our sower, starts to broadcast the wheat with his hand in a wide arc. Subsequently the ground is superficially turned over with the shovel, so that the birds cannot pick up the grains. In harvesting it a bundle of stalks is grasped a good hand's breadth under the ears and cut off with the

/139 cont./

273 No new chicha can be made without some old chicha in the kánoa. The sugar-cane juice, even if it were left standing for many days, would still be merely sweet and not produce proper fermentation. After five or seven days, however, there is a certain kind of fermentation (probably as a result of the acid content of the wood of the empty kánoa), but of very bad taste.

[476] In case a person is planning a major piece of work for which he must ask people to come and then, of course, also entertain them properly for their labor, the sugar cane is milled the day before, and on the following day the chicha is ready and may be served. It is said that chicha drunk in any quantity does not produce discomfort of any kind or headache.

Besides the production of chicha, which is carried on by all families, each family also has in its house distilling apparatus [462] with which brandy is distilled from the day-old chicha. This distillation is commonly the work of the women while the men are in the field. It may also be undertaken, however, by men or youths. The distilling apparatus (walyíndeya) consists of three vessels, a large clay pot holding ten to 15 liters, which is two-thirds full of strong chicha, anise, a pound of dill, cloves, cinnamon, and other herbs. A second clay pot without a bottom is set on this and hermetically sealed to the upper edge of the lower chicha pot with a paste of water and wood ashes. Into the upper edge of this second pot are drilled three holes, by means of which a flat wooden plate is tied inside the pot, just below the mouth, and has cut into it on one side a groove leading to the outside through a hole in the wall of the pot and emptying into a tube. A shallow copper bowl sits, sealed airtight, on this second pot. In the distillation process the evaporated alcohol, passing through the second pot, strikes the bottom of the copper bowl. The latter is constantly filled with cold water. The alcohol vapor condensing on the underside of the copper bowl drips onto the wooden plate, flows out through the runoff tube, and is caught in bottles (Ill. 176 /see p. 278 /).

/145 cont./

532 776 carving anywhere else or obtain an explanation anywhere (*).

* Possibly this is supposed to represent "Thunder," who, as the most important mythical figure and also as the shamans' assistant spirit, is described as a small man with the shaman staff and a triangle as a musical instrument, who displays his sexual parts.

223 Bird-hunting for the pigeon-sized tom birds is carried on by almost all Paez families with the net (ōka), as well as with the shotgun. The net is about five meters high and 20 meters wide. For this purpose a correspondingly wide breach is cut in the growth of trees or bushes on a hill or the ridge of a mountain chain, and the net fastened in the opening produced. The flushed birds, who think that there is a convenient passage at this place, fly into the net, get caught in it, and are then killed by the [237] capturers, who twist their heads. Another type of bird-catching consists of fastening a noose made of horsehair (nyákiwez; nyák = to set up, wez = string) to the twig of a tree or shrub in such a [857] way that the noose rests in a bird's nest. When the bird returns to its nest, the noose becomes entangled in its foot, and the boy -- for it is mostly boys who engage in this task of noose-setting -- 224 is able to seize the bird. Rabbits are caught in the same way with nooses, but made of agave fibers, by laying the nooses where they pass.

226 Fishing is done with hook and line at the river or with [283] poison in weirs. The fishing line (wendyánsyuts) consists of twined agave string to which are tied a metal hook and a stone as a sinker. A small worm is fastened to the hook as bait. [462] Angling is done only by men, and at twilight or at night.

226 824 171 Fishing with poisonous plants is a cultural characteristic of almost all South American Indians. For this purpose a total of more than 100 species of poisonous plants are used by them, which means that this part of the world leads all the continents in this respect (Heizer, p. 277). Among the Paez, fishing with

/146 cont./

726 In order to defend their mountain country the Paez also used
[725] large rocks which they hurled down on the attackers from the
[177] heights. They, too, however, soon succeeded in obtaining iron
[411] and iron weapons. In their battles at the time of the Conquista
they were already using swords and machetes.

411 The stone-sling plaited of agave fibers, whose manufacture
726 is described below (see under "Plaiting" /see pp. 85-86 /), is
773 of great importance mythologically in the battles with the "Pijao.".
628 For geographical reasons it is the typical weapon of the American
411 mountain peoples from Tierra del Fuego to Canada, whereas the
171 blowgun, for similar reasons, is the typical weapon chiefly of the
Amazonas and Orinoco forest area. The simultaneous occurrence
of blowgun and sling is found all the way from Mexico to Ecuador
and in Bolivia (Friederici, 1911, pp. 71-73, Pl. 13).

411 /147/ The blowgun of the Paez consists of a single barrel and
is very simple in its construction. It is made only by men, but
[462] for bird-hunting is used almost solely by boys. To make it, one
[857] uses the thin, straight trunk of the fíza tree, the pith of which is
[223] burned out with a long iron tube about eight millimeters in di-
ameter and heated red-hot. The length of the tube is two to
three meters. No special mouthpiece is attached. As a sight a
little piece of beeswax is pasted above the mouth of the blowgun.
[824] The ball-shaped fruits of the smbák tree, which have exactly the
right caliber when green, are used as shot. The range amounts
[211] to about 20 meters. The accuracy of the shot is not great. Never-
theless, there are boys who have carved more than 20 notches
above the blowhole of the tube as a record of the birds killed.

4. Crafts and Techniques

a) Treatment of Fibers

283 The fiber material used by the Paez for plaiting, weaving,
nets, or ropes is primarily agave, cotton, or sheep wool. Agave
and cotton are ancient American fiber plants whose homeland is
probably Central America, while working with sheep wool has its
tradition in the Peruvian Highlands, in working with llama or

/147 cont./

283 alpaca wool and the wool of their wild relatives, the vicuña and guanaco.

283 824 The agave (mbāts) grows in all parts of Tierradentro, and the fibers of its fleshy, watery leaves are used for plaiting, weaving, and the making of nets and ropes. The fiber must be obtained immediately after the leaf, 1.50 meters long, is struck off the plant, since the moisture is lost very rapidly and it is then very difficult to remove the dry flesh from the fibers. For this purpose every house has a tree trunk leaning diagonally against the wall in the shadow of the roof, and a string with a small stick hangs down from the upper part of it. This is stuck crosswise into the leaf hanging tip-downward, and then the pulpy parts of the agave leaf are scraped downward rapidly with a very sharp-edged, halved bamboo tube split lengthwise, until only the long, continuous, clean fibers /148/ remain (Ills. 177 and 178 /see p.279 /). These are tied loosely around a beam to dry, until sooner or later they are spun and twisted for use.

283 Men and women employ different techniques to obtain
[462] thread from the agave fibers. The men twist the thread with the hand on the upper thigh, whereas the women spin the agave fiber, like the sheep wool, into thread with the spindle. Two methods of spinning are distinguished among the South American natives, depending on the shape of the
[114] spindle and the way it is held. O. Frödin and E. v.
[171] Nordenskiöld call these the Bororo and the Bakaïri /Bacairi/ methods, according to their characteristic occurrence. The first method is the older culture-historically. In this case the spindle staff is symmetrical in cross-section and the whorl is generally near the lower end. In spinning, the spindle is held more or less horizontally and is placed with the lower end on a forked twig stuck into the ground or is held between the toes. The spun thread is first wound onto the shorter part below the whorl and only later wound up on the main
[171] part above. The principal area of distribution of this type

/149 cont./

283 market or on other errands; when spinning agave fibers, they sit in front of the beam around which the fibers have been tied to dry.

[236] Sheep wool (kas) is roughly cleaned and for spinning is wound, unwashed, around a rod (Ill. 179 /see p.280 /). The latter is 60-150 centimeters long and is gripped under the arm by its lower part. On its upper part it has a notch in which is fastened a string to wind around the wool and hold it on the rod. To prevent it from drying out too much, which would make spinning difficult, it is protected by being wrapped in leaves or by a cloth.

After several meters of thread have been spun and wound on the lower part of the spindle, it is removed from there and wound on the upper part. In this wound form, that is, still on the spindle staff, the thread, after the removal of the whorl, may be used as [236] a shuttle in weaving garments. For weaving the colored belts of the women, however, and for making the wool coca bags, not the simple, but the twisted wool thread is used. The agave threads are even twisted on principle for every type of use. For this purpose two single threads are twisted into a double thread 283 in a rotating direction counter to the spinning direction. This ● 462 process is carried out differently by men and women. The former twist either with the hand on the upper thigh or use a special instrument, the klafica, with which the strongest ropes are also made, whereas the women use the spindle even for twisting. The direction of rotation of the twisted thread is different for men and women. Depending on the material, the former use the Z-twist in their handwork, the women the S-twist in their work with the spindle. In the twisting or ropemaking with the klafica done by the men, the S-rotation prevails. (For indicating the /150/ direction of rotation according to these two letters, the direction of the front, diagonal part of the vertically held thread, which runs parallel to the middle part of an S or Z, is the determining factor [Fig. 34 /see p. 256/].)

/150 cont./

283 To twist the thread, the women remove the spun thread from the spindle, after they have slipped off the freely movable spinning whorl at the bottom, then grasp it in the center, and, in a loop, again put it on the spindle. Then the thread, taken doubled in this way, is twisted with the right hand, while it is disentangled and guided with three fingers of the left hand (Ill. 180 /see p. 280 /). Here, too, a smaller piece is always first twisted onto the lower, smaller part of the spindle and only later wound on the longer, upper part.

b) Ropemaking

[462] The making of ropes is men's work. True, there is also a type of rope of agave fiber that is made by women (tāpe), but these ropes are plaited in the form of a threefold braid out of three strands and are therefore plaited work. Two-strand ropes of agave fiber (mémwez) of optional length are made with the same technique as the thin, twisted agave strings. For this the klaffca (from the Spanish clavicula?) is used, a lancet-shaped, flat piece of wood about 15 centimeters long, which has notching at one end and a round perforation below it (Fig. 26 /see p. 253 /). Through the latter a stick of equal length is inserted horizontally, one end of which shows a thickening which prevents the piece of wood from sliding off. Around the notching, the middle part of a hand-twisted thread is fastened, and then the piece of wood is made to rotate. The longer part, because of its noncentric perforation, acts as a flywheel mass. In turning, the thread fastened to it is twisted. For this work, of course, a helper is required to hold the other end of the thread or rope. Three-strand ropes (láso) may also be made by the klaffca. For this purpose the three tips of the three twined agave-strands are tied to the notching of the klaffca, and the instrument is then turned in the same manner. A helper takes care of the uniform twist and uniform strength of the rope. A lasso of horsehair (séltas), as a three-strand rope, is also made with the klaffca following to the method described. The individual strands are previously turned by hand, then twisted,

/161 cont./
286 show the same design, but rather one that results from the cross-
531 ing of the twisted warp threads.

g) Dyeing

386 The Paez feel that black is the most beautiful color.
824 Hence almost all the home-woven garments of the men and
[822] women are dyed black, and only rarely does one see articles of clothing in the yellowish-white natural color of sheep wool.
[462] Dyeing is women's work and is done with certain plants, which, however, dye only the animal material used in weaving, but
[294] not that from plants. This peculiarity of the dyes is utilized by the Paez to make patterns in their clothing by weaving into the sheep-wool fabrics a few cotton warp threads, which, in the subsequent dyeing, retain their original color.

Every woman is in a position to dye her home-woven fabrics black. To do this the pieces of fabric are boiled in a pot for about two hours, along with the leaves of the šal tree or the zóte tree (according to Hernandez, 1946, p. 944, with the leaves of a Phyllanthus) and then buried for two days and two nights with these leaves in a pit in black, rich humus earth (ašáktič). Then they are taken out again, washed thoroughly, and allowed to dry. The black dye is now lightfast and waterproof. The cotton ornamental stripes in the women's clothing, which are not affected by this dyeing process, are either natural
[283] in color, red, or green. They are bought by the women in the desired color, since cotton is not spun by the Paez.

386 The threads of different colors used to make the coca bags
824 and the women's belts were originally all dyed by the Paez
177 women with vegetable dyes. Today this is done only in part,
[439] for anyone who has the money buys aniline dyes at the market in Inzá or Belalcázar; they are more popular because of their stronger coloring and greater luminosity. Similarly, the cotton purchased in thread already dyed is more popular for making women's belts, since it is brighter or more brilliant.

Since the shapes are very simple, a special
/162 cont./
463 apprenticeship with a master is not absolutely necessary; Santos
323 Kiskue, at any rate, began making pots by himself after an
[467] accident that left him with a stiff left wrist. He uses the unmixed clay that stands near his house. Out of this, constantly moistening it, he shapes on a /163/ board lying on the ground an even, round "clay sausage," which he then presses flat with the palm of his hand. He builds up his pots out of this in spirals. They are put with their lower part on a shallow clay bowl, so that he can turn them easily in closing up the junctures (Ills. 184 to 186 /see pp. 282-283/). He lets the freshly made pots dry for about a week under a roof, then he takes them to a place where there is sufficient dry wood. Here he places the pots very close together, stacks wood and twigs over them, and lets them burn for about two hours. They are then ready for use.

i) Candlemaking

388 At the three annual church festivals a large number of
[796] candles (mbéla; Spanish: vela) are used to decorate the church.
They are in part purchased, but largely homemade. Everyone is
[462] familiar with the process of manufacture, but for the festivals
[824] it is men's work. The wax is obtained from the wood laurel (Myrica pubescens Willd), whose small fruits, measuring about five to eight millimeters in diameter, are harvested in great masses in April and May. For this purpose the twigs are struck off and stripped of the fruits over the round berry net that is put in the opening of a large fiber bag. After they are dried, they are poured into a bag, boiled, and squeezed. The wax, caught in a vessel and dried, was formerly an important commercial product in the trade with the whites. In making the candles, wax is poured over the wicks until the proper thickness is obtained.

k) Fireworks

389 No celebration and no church festival is possible without
[796] setting off the greatest possible number of fireworks. The fire-
[541] crackers required for this are made by the men themselves.
[462]

/164 cont./

439 cloth for trousers, and all European clothing. Furthermore, every type of ornament must be bought, such as necklaces, earrings, and finger rings, then cotton, since it is finer and shinier than sheep wool, and aniline dyes for dyeing women's belts and coca bags, since they are more brilliant and clearer than the native vegetable dyes. The trip to market and the necessary trade, however, are not undertaken because of an inclination for business, pleasure in bargaining or in underbidding or outbidding, but out of the necessity to procure an [438] article that they cannot make themselves. If it is at all [797] possible, one tries to buy the required things in the village, for example, from the missionaries, and the purchase with money or the trip to market is, so to speak, the ultima ratio.

437 They do not bargain. The man -- /165/ and it is almost al-
439 ways he who shops -- asks the price, and if it seems too high --
[462] as in most cases -- he says "too expensive." If the tradesman lowers the price, he usually buys; if not, he goes on to the next stand.

The traders are never Paez, but always white and mestizo colonists. They know, of course, about the disinclination of the Paez to bargain, and they charge too high a price to begin with, so as to ask a still inflated normal price after the obligatory "too expensive." Thus the Paez are naturally cheated. They let themselves be too easily dazzled by an attractive display or packaging, for example, by the polish or the silver paper; also a more expensive green or red comb is preferred over a black one. Fortunately, one might say, they never have much money and can therefore never spend too much.

126 The way in which I was obliged to acquire the women's
439 colored belts for our collection is characteristic. Since every woman possesses only two at the most, one to fasten her skirt and the other to carry her baby, any attempt to buy them was [101] always useless. I had therefore bought at the market in Inzá a few women's belts which are made by the Guambiano, the tribe neighboring the Paez on the west, and are sold in Inzá. [184] They are made of cotton, the white color of which in the freshly

/176 cont./

623 himself does not punish. For this purpose four representatives of
666 the lower offices have an official whip which consists of a rod ten
696 centimeters long, with a plaited strap about 80 centimeters long.

The election itself proceeds with the introduction of the candi-
623 dates by the capitan with the question: "This one as gobernador,
624 do you want him?" And they reply: "We wish it" or "we do not
666 wish it." It was interesting to observe how, after the death of the capitan, one of his relatives, Cerbelión Guagáz, tried to be named capitan. The priest, however, insisted on an election by the village. And although he tried very hard to have Cerbelión elected, the village kept refusing him because he was too autocratic and such people are not liked. Another whom everyone would like to have as capitan is himself unwilling. "As capitan I am only the beadle of the padre," he replied to my question as to why he did not accept the choice. And he had no desire for that. He had been comisario once and gobernador once, and now he wanted peace for the rest of his life.

2) Family Organization

594 The family of the Paez is basically the patrilineal nuclear family /Kleinfamilie/ consisting of the parents and unmarried
[513] children. The latter, while they are small, sleep with the parents in the kitchen; as soon as they are larger, in a compartment in
591 another part of the house. After marriage they erect their own house.
596 It is not uncommon, however, for the married sons to live with their wives for another year or two in the house of the father, until they have enough money for a house, which will be small at first. The daughters upon marriage leave /177/ the paternal home and then live with their husbands, that is to say, at first with the parents-in-law.

354 Normally, therefore, every house has only one cooking
596 place, in which the woman of the house cooks. If a son marries,
252 a new kitchen is partitioned off and a second place built for the
[462] fire at which the young wife cooks. As a matter of principle, each married couple -- and it alone -- has its own fire area, for the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook.

/191 cont./

584 father, and the latter distributes it /192/ to everyone and gives
431 the bringer and all those present some of his own chicha to drink. This continues all night until everyone is drunk. In the morning the daughter-in-law, along with her father-in-law, goes back to the house of the latter, and from then on she lives with her husband until the wedding.

606 In case the father of the girl should not be satisfied with the
585 young man as a son-in-law, he would still not take any practical action against this union of his daughter, since he does not have to pay a dowry anyway. Besides, once children arrive, the
[591] parents are always satisfied. If, conversely, the father of the young man is not satisfied with the latter's choice of a bride, he may refuse him his house. In this case the young people customarily immediately build their own house, a small one at first.

58 The wedding generally does not take place very soon after courtship among the Paez, but only after a year or more. First of all there begins a trial period, which, however, has an altogether conjugal character. During this time of "trial marriage" the housekeeping abilities of the girl are to be tested, for the latter brings into marriage no dowry of any kind from her parents or any other possessions except her clothing. Since there are no social grounds for a choice of bride in the nonstratified Paez community, and no stimulus to marry on the grounds of a large dowry or on account of the possibility of a low bride price, there are no
581 child betrothals. As bride and wife a girl has only the merit of
● 462 her personality and her personal capabilities. The latter have the greater weight. It is required of a woman that she be able to cook and to weave the cloth for the whole family, that she not gossip, keep the house in order, and, above all, that she be able to keep the fire going at night and prepare the meal on time in
[264] the morning. The Paez are in the habit of having their first meal
[252] very early, at five or four o'clock in the morning, and an hour before that the woman must already begin preparing the food.
[362] Moreover, as we have seen, the walls of the house are only made
[513] of maize stalks placed side by side, and give scarcely any protection against the coolness of the night. They therefore sleep lying

/192 cont./

581 around the hearth fire, and this must be stirred and provided with
462 wood every two hours. This is the task of the wife, who, there-
513 fore, sleeps next to the fire. Throughout practically her whole life, she is never able to sleep all through the night.

583 If during the trial year the bride does not meet the demands of the man, if she either cannot cook or is lazy or /193/ does not like to get up in the morning, he sends her back to her father. Since no wedding celebration has taken place, sending back the girl leads to resentment of any kind. It does, however, if children have resulted from the trial marriage and the young man
[684 nevertheless changes his mind. In this case, to be sure, nothing
[623] can be changed with regard to his decision -- after all, he has not yet been officially married -- but, since such an action is condemned, he is beaten by the cabildo. He may then begin a
583 new trial marriage with another girl. The children of the previ-
848 ous trial marriage (they are designated by the Paez with the
[557] Spanish term hijo natural) are given the name of the mother. There are not a few such "natural children." The mothers, however, are not scorned or judged harshly on that account and do not by any means have poorer prospects for a subsequent marriage. The children are not adopted in case of a subsequent marriage by the
[761] mother and keep their mother's name. It is believed, however,
[851] that such "natural children" will soon die. They are not baptized, since the priest baptizes only legitimate children, or else demands such a large sum for the baptism of an illegitimate child that the unmarried mother cannot raise it.

585 The actual wedding celebration takes place after the period
[178] of the trial marriage. Today the prior marriage service by the Catholic priest in the church is usually combined with this wedding celebration. The money for this, as for the expenses of the wedding celebration, must be raised by the young man himself.
[435] This takes him many months. First of all, besides the cost of ten pesos for the marriage service, he must have collected the money for an ox, then prepare chicha in sufficient quantities, for which sugar cane is milled for about a month, and also provide for the rest of the food. In general his father or brothers do not

/199 cont./

764 result of the very hard stamping of the earth, the burial place
184 does not stand out from the surrounding terrain either because of a regular grave mound or because of any kind of slight elevation. A stone 30-60 centimeters in size serves as a marker, which is set either at the head or the foot end of the grave.

769 Whereas the deceased is given no accessories at all in the
[764] grave to take with him and no offerings are given this is done in
[796] the following year on December 8, the festival of the Immaculada. On this day, and each year recurrently, the relatives offer the spirits (áhimos) of their deceased, whom they think of as wind or shadows living in their former houses, their favorite foods: meat, yuca, potatoes, maize, chicha, brandy, coca, etc. These gifts are laid on a banana leaf on the floor of the church, and a candle is lighted and placed beside them. Small children do not get food, but flowers as gifts.

/200/

e) The Course of a Day

461 Men and women perform the tasks appropriate to them.
462 Those of the women are the least varied, since meals must be prepared daily and wood and water must be fetched regularly for cooking or for maintaining the nightly fire. Moreover, the work of the woman is more bound up with the house, whereas the men have shorter or longer pauses in their work and during these they visit neighbors, help them mill sugar cane, and drink chicha.
461 Steadiness is not the strong point of the Paez to begin with. It is but seldom that tasks are completed in an uninterrupted process; rather, we almost always found that on the following day the men were busy with something different from the previous day. To be sure, field work always requires long pauses between the clearing, the drying of the felled trees, burning, erecting the fences out of the remaining wood, and sowing. But even within each of these stages of work they generally take their time. True, there are said to be persons who can work for several weeks, up to a month, uninterruptedly in the clearing of a field, but I found again and again that after two to four days of work, a day of rest is inserted.

/200 cont./

461/ On one day, for example, a portion of the field is cleared of weeds, on the next the sugar-cane mill is repaired, on the day after that a neighbor is helped with housebuilding or milling sugar cane, then nothing is done for days because of drinking, and not until several days later is the weeding begun again. Once they have planned or begun a project for the day, however, they [123] will not let themselves be interrupted. Several times it happened that I would visit a family in the evening, in order to plan something which would be not at all unpleasant for them for the next day. But if they had already planned something else, I was obliged to come back on the day after that. In the fields, too, the men are not to be diverted, or only with difficulty. During the sowing, weeding, clearing, or other work on the field, they let themselves be drawn into conversation only during the coca pauses; at other times one could scarcely disturb them at these and similar tasks which are accomplished in a very even tempo -- provided that enough coca is available. It is different with the women. They let themselves be easily diverted from their daily, little varied household tasks. They are the ones who really do the most work within the family, for, as soon as they are married, they are never able to sleep through the night, /201/ but must stir the fire anew every two hours. Furthermore, they get up earlier in the morning, and they cannot go to bed until later at night. To rest a bit during the day is completely unknown. Nonetheless, they are satisfied with their lot and work happily, since all the women work in the same fashion and they have known nothing else for generations. There are, of course, tasks which are done willingly and others which are done less willingly. The goal of the necessary occupation seems to be decisive, for all the tasks necessary for nourishment are done willingly. Thus, the men, for example, like to work in the field, "since it is for food," like to plant sugar cane or build a sugar mill, "since it produces something to drink"; and the women, too, like to drag in firewood, [296] "since it is for meals." Washing clothes is one of the decidedly [499] unpleasant tasks of the women, as bridge-building is among the [462] men. In the examples sketched here, the tastes of all the Paez seem to be alike.

/205 cont./

578 [123] I acted as though I did not understand the words, but observed the same thing as on other occasions of disputes among Indios, namely, that two who are quarreling are not separated by a third stepping in. Rather, a dispute is regarded as an affair of the participants and as an interesting diversion in the monotonous daily existence, and the outcome is observed with obvious interest. Apart from the native word "alko," the Paez, interestingly enough, have no abusive word in their own language. The only term of abuse, but used very frequently, is the Spanish "carajo!"

f) Division of Labor between Men and Women

● 462 As we have seen from what was said above, the individual left to his own resources cannot exist in the Paez communities. The men's work is supplemented by the women's work, and vice versa. Both men and women are dependent upon each other to make a living /206/ and rely on each other for their most primitive vital needs. A man needs a woman who weaves clothes for him, and a woman cannot clear a field -- to cite but one example. The traditional tasks in relation to the sexes may be [177] summarized once again here. Transitions toward newer ways of life are noticeable, as these have been taken over from the surrounding colonists.

462

	Men	Women	Children
857 Clearing a piece of land	x		
Sowing maize, potatoes, yuca, sugar cane, coca, wheat	x		
Sowing cabbage and beans	x	x	
Sowing gourds and cucumbers	x	x	
Weeding	x		
Harvesting maize, potatoes, coca, wheat	x	x	

/206 cont./

•462

857

	Men	Women	Children
Harvesting yuca, cabbage, beans, gourds		x	
Harvesting sugar cane	x	(x)	
Hunting	x		
Fishing at the weir	x	x	
Gathering wild honey	x	x	x
Preparing food		x	
Making chicha and brandy	x	x	
~~Housebuilding~~	x		
Making fire with flint and steel	x		
Fetching firewood		x	
Fetching water		x	x
Carrying loads on marches	x	x	
Making weapons	x		
Making plaited hats	x		
Making hammocks	x		
Making rope	x		
Making musical instruments	x		
Making fireworks	x		
Making bird nets	x		
Making children's toys			x
Making clay vessels	x	x	
Making fiber bags		x	
Making coca bags		x	
Making wax candles	x	x	x

/207/

[439]

Ornaments	(bought)	(bought)	
Weaving, plait-weaving		x	
Dyeing		x	
Washing women's clothes and the men's woven clothes		x	
Washing the home-sewn men's trousers	x		
Mending woven clothing		x	
Mending men's trousers	x		

P /291 cont./
533 properly with their instruments and simply uniformly beat sixteenths.
[177] Thus it seems that the melody is more original and hence more
534 firmly anchored in the tradition of the Paez, and that with the borrowing of the drum, the corresponding modern rhythm was also
C 533 adopted. This has been corroborated for me by an observation per-
534 taining to the music of the Negroes of Tumaco in the Colombian
[177] port city on the Pacific coast. There, among the descendants of onetime slaves, West African musical instruments with corresponding Negro designations are still in use today, among others the xylophone-like marimba and two drums, the conical konuno with skin stretched over one side and the cylindrical bass drum covered with skin on both sides, the bombo. The latter shows the same type of stretching as the Paez bass drum and is also played with two drumsticks, one of which, provided with a raw-rubber knob, is struck on the skin and the other, a simple stick, on the frame of the body of the drum.

P 533 The musicians are always men. They play the music as
[462] amateurs who learn one or another instrument because they have taken a fancy to it. The drum is the more popular instrument, whereas flutists are less numerous and primarily limited to certain families.

P 535 The dances danced today, which, by the way, not everyone
[171] masters, correspond to the Colombian bambuco, though they do not show the dexterity and lightness of movement required for that, such as is found among the Colombian rural population in other parts of the country.

P 535 By way of a note, there should be cited the dances which H.
114 Pittier de Fabrega (based on E. Castillo i Orosco) mentions for the Paez and which in some of the designations, point to an independent culture: onza-kó, /292/ "mouse dance," nwi-kó "buzzard dance," itsa-kó, puberty dance of the girls, eč-koi-kó, dance of the spirit-flute, tel-koi-kó, dance of the long flute or war dance, la-kó, dance to dedicate a house, etc.

000 /288 cont./
756 medicine men. To cure the patient, he divines which of the
755 supernatural beings caused the illness, proceeds to placate him,
[787] and then prescribes medicines to the patient. If the placation is not successful, the patient literally sinks into despair. The indispensable articles for all curing are coca, tobacco, and
[462] aguardiente. The medicine men are persons well along in years
[754] and belonging to the masculine sex. They cannot cure the effects of sorcery, although they can protect themselves against it.

754 c) Fifty per cent of all illnesses, the informants state,
[753] are caused by sorcery, and by the same token 50 per cent of
[761] the deaths, since sorcery is incurable. The sorcerers conceal their activities, and it seems that all adults are potential sor-
754 cerers. The institution of sorcery is a true escape valve for the
754 strong aggressive impulses of the natives and to some extent plays the role of a social regulator. Through it are channeled the jealousy, resentment, and vengefulness of the natives. The victims of sorcery are the most skillful and hard-working individuals, those who have a good house, good crops, and a growing number of domestic animals. Harvests and plantings
[683] generally are the object of sorcery. Sorcerers who are publicly unmasked are exposed to the anger of the community and even to exile, a measure taken not so much on account of their be-
[685] ing sorcerers as of their being thieves. All sorcerers are thieves. Sorcery appears with considerable frequency in the symbolism of dreams.

583 Marriage.--Marriage is monogamous and patrilocal. Both
[595] the chroniclers and Dr. Gregorio Hernández de Alba speak of
[591] the custom of the year of probation to acquaint the man with
[177] the skill, energy, and fecundity of his future wife. A thriving
[797] institution in times past, it is now in sharp decline owing to the action of mission work. Obviously, the purpose of this institution is to find out whether the woman is hard-working, faithful, not a thief, and to understand her ways in order to establish a lasting union. Nowadays the Paez, before being married

/184 cont./

342 bear its entire weight. Over this frame are placed transversally
335 the pikas, beams that go from one wall to another, to strengthen
476 the entire structure. Then the four-slope roof will be raised and covered with bundles of sugar-cane leaves (flushets) or straw (sits) which are fastened around the frame, starting at the bottom; it is completed by the ridgepiece, more massive and notched in a straight line on both sides to a depth of some 50 centimeters; at the apex, some mounds of straw are piled up at regular intervals and a cross is set in each one of them. The man in charge directs the last touches from the ground: "There is not enough straw over there; there is too much here," he notes in a commanding voice.

The walls are made with tall stalks of maize placed in a row between the posts and tied with crosswise bindings, likewise of stalks. The partitions of the interior rooms and the doors, generally one, which leads to the exterior, are made in the same way.

342 In the construction all do the same tasks, except for the
476 man in charge, who supervises. Neither the man in charge nor
465 the workers are paid anything, "it is not customary to pay among the Indians"; they are merely treated to chicha, aguardiente, a meal with meat, and coca. A calabash of chicha and a bottle of aguardiente are presented to the man in charge and shared with the helpers. When the work is done, they get drunk and dance.

342 The women do not participate directly in the /185/
●462 /illustration appears here/ construction work; they cook, distribute
476 food, keep the house supplied with firewood and water, talk, and delouse and comb one another.

342 Three types of dwellings may be differentiated among the
177 Paez, in accordance with the greater or lesser introduction and acceptance of foreign architectural features, since nowadays elements of foreign origin are spreading and taking root: bahareque construction, interior division into rooms, the square

/187 cont./

583 says the youth after he has conferred upon the parents-in-law
[584] bottles of aguardiente and calabashes of chicha according to his means. The parents always accede to the request.

At midnight he goes off with her to the house of his parents, if he does not have one of his own. They will live together for several months, one year, two...; during this time he will find out whether the woman can cook, grind maize, carry water and firewood, weave ponchos and /188/ pouches, and he will become familiar with her fidelity, temperament, and
583 character. Only then will he look for a sponsor /padrino/,
585 seek out the priest, take communion and receive the nuptial
[608] blessing, and return to his house, where the bubbling troughs of chicha, the savory "mute" /maize stew/ boiling in the pot, the crude guitars and the pleasing chirimías /a kind of orchestra/ will complete the sealing of the union. They will go through the night, and sometimes days as well, drinking, eating, and dancing.

● 462 The building of the house on the land of his property will
594 soon follow. Gradually, the man will furnish it with pangopil
[372] for sitting, crude plates and spoons for eating, pots for cooking, hides and sometimes raised platforms for sleeping, a sugar mill to mill the juicy cane; he will bring water from distant sources, provide troughs in order to ferment chicha, purchase machetes, axes, and picks to work the land, plant bananas, sugar cane, onions, and cabbages in his garden; he will put together the barzos where he will keep the bundles of wheat, the ears /caspas/ of maize, the mulberry-colored beans; he will acquire a dog and also -- why not? it has been his ambition and his hope -- he will buy cattle for the fiestas and a horse to race for San Juan and to operate the sugar mill. The woman, on her part, will tend the guinea pigs, breed her chickens and turkeys, look after the pigs so they will not be lost, shear the sheep, weave her yaha gwala (fique bags) for carrying the compact ears of maize, the rustling beans, and the green cabbages

/188 cont./

462 from the plantings; she will laboriously make the multicolored
594 kuetand yahas which she will give as tokens of love to her hus-
[257] band. The children, who "are a blessing of God," will come and help the man work the land or lighten the woman's kitchen chores.

594 The household lends individuality, a sociological frame-
183 work, status, and function to the family. Land, a house, and a family are specific ambitions of the Paez people. Possibly they represent their most cherished ideals in life.

IV

Live Ritual Fire

372 In the mind of every individual, and in the spirit of the family, fire is a symbol, a symbol of the house and of the home. A house without fire is a dead, abandoned house.

372 In ancient times, when the Pijao went about spreading
773 terror and death, when the caciques came down on the /189/ /illustration appears here/ roaring waters of the great rivers beneath the imposing dark night sprinkled with stars, and even much earlier, the Indians began their daily round by requesting fire from an old, white-haired woman. This fire died out when night spread its dark cloak over the world. Only the old woman's fire was immortal. The monotony of this daily request for fire was transmuted into anguish when the wicked old woman decided to leave and take the fire with her in a piece of wood. They all ran after her, seized the firebrand, and obtained fire from it for all the Indian households. This fire could be preserved.

Thus run the mythical accounts of the origin of fire. They reflect its importance. The manner in which it is preserved, the care which is exercised so that a fire is always /190/ burning in the house, seem to be superstitious attitudes from an ancient

/190 cont./

them during the day. They use no blankets. The woman leaves sufficient wood on the fire for heat to protect them from the rigors of the cold of the night which filters through the stalks of the walls. In addition, over the fire there is a pot of "mute," beans, and cabbage, which, when cooked, will constitute the meal at daybreak. The fire is revived by the woman at 11 o'clock, an operation that is repeated about two o'clock in the morning. At four o'clock in the morning everyone is up. At dawn the woman distributes the food, and then the men come out of their houses with machetes in their belts, kuetand yaha filled with coca and mambe, to clear the woodland, weed the fields, or help with the hard work of their neighbors.

V

Anger, Rancor, and Politics

The Calderas Indians are arch conservatives. Tradition, pride, and a rebel spirit have much to do with their passion for politics. I do not speak of the conservative doctrine or of political concepts. They are conservatives by temperament and group solidarity. By the same token, their fanaticism is proverbial. The mere mention of the word "liberal" makes them break out in a rash. Anyone who comes to Calderas for the first time is approached by the Indians out of curiosity. "What is your name?" "What do you want?" "Why did you come?" "What are you, liberal or conservative?" These are the questions with which the natives and even the local cabildo besiege the visitor. It should be added that those who wish to save their skins or to avoid being run out of town must maintain that they are conservatives. It is said that in 1952 they did not want to accept the Missionary Sisters who came to run the school which is supported by the national government.

/208 cont./

231 After skinning it, they quarter it following a definite
796 sequence: the lower part of the hind legs (chinda), the lower
192 part of the front legs (kuse), the upper part of the hind legs (himbé), the upper part of the front legs (pala), the tail (mens), the flesh of the neck (chikichichi), the fat (sepo), upper intestine (chunchullo), lower intestine (meto), stomach (tuchi), /209/ trachea (pechita), lungs (mechto), heart (ũs), liver
[827] (mechi), the gall (muahi), pancreas (shape)... They are familiar with most of the organs and their names, but not with their specific physiology.

262 Some of the pieces of meat go directly into the pan of
796 "mute," which is boiling and which the workers will eat for
252 lunch; others, to the barbecue where they will get the smoke from the kitchen.

Inside the house, in the ñuhne wala, the women grind shelled maize on two metates to make maize griddlecakes. With maize flour and water they make a dough which various women shape with their hands into circular form. In a separate kitchen, two women and two men are busy roasting them. First they let them harden on a piece of broken earthenware and then complete the cooking in the embers of the hearth. An elderly man gathers those that are cooked into a bag. Another one occupies himself with singing religious songs and praying. The maize griddlecakes are used to take care of the albacero on the following day.

796 This work is performed enthusiastically by the women.
[462] --The days of the fiesta are for talking, says one woman.
[829] --One can live through life only by getting drunk, says
[273] another.

/307 cont./

241 April, May, June, October, November, and December. Natu-
132 rally, these periods of summer are relative and correspond in reality to the temperate zone. In Mosoco and the high parts of the Cordillera, /308/ a fine rain is falling almost constantly, if not an actual downpour. In July, August, and September, the winter is harsh, influenced entirely by the trade winds from the southeast.

Bearing these climatic factors in mind, planting is done during the months of March, April, and May. They take advantage of the rains of these months. This agricultural cycle is common for all of Tierradentro including Mosoco proper. The "páramuna" part of Mosoco is excepted, for the reasons listed earlier.

243 Of the cultivable species, maize occupies the dominant place in the agricultural activity of Tierradentro. The preparation of the soil differs somewhat in the temperate and cold thermal levels. Whereas cleaning out and burning the underbrush are sufficient in the temperate one, planting beds are made in the cold one. Maize seed is selected from the best and most filled-out ears, avoiding the small kernels at the points. They believe that they would not fruit, calling them, for this reason, "maize-man," and, on the other hand, calling the big kernels
[842] that yield produce "maize-woman." They make the association that it is the women who have children, even though they do not conceive of fertility without concourse with the man.

243 It is common to have mingas for sowing. In this way the
244 work is soon finished. On the appointed day, eight to ten
476 laborers assemble, with bags full of maize tied at their waists;
[462] they start sowing very early. This is a masculine activity, al-
[184] though in Lame and Mosoco women also participate. The holes are made with a strong, pointed stick at intervals of one meter and 50 centimeters and to a depth of 10 to 15 centimeters. Six or seven kernels are placed in each hole. They bury the frijole next to the logs that remain from the clearing. Peas are also commonly sown there. The seeds of bottle gourds and ahuyama/ squash, /Cucurbita maxima/, which are sown in the maize fields,

Chamones

/327 cont./

223 black birds, are not eaten because they are probably animals of
825 the devil. It is said that in times past the Calderas Indians ate
262 beetles, the reason that they are nicknamed tandayaha (one who
[578] eats beetles), an epithet which they regard as offensive and which nearly always irritates them. The Calderunos say that they do not
[224] eat worms or the meat of rabbits and snakes. They regard as game
[223] animals the guara, deer, coati, armadillo, bat, and various species of birds.

224 Concerning bear hunting, the people of Mosoco relate /328/ real feats performed by Indians in open fights with the ani-
[237] mals. Bear fat is highly esteemed among the natives and "whites."

226. Fishing is less important than hunting. The rivers and streams contain sardines and coruntas /small river-fish/. During Holy Week and at Christmas they engage in fishing, when the
[462] water is low, by means of barbasco, nets, and hooks. This is strictly a masculine activity. In the Paez River they fish during the months of January and February and generally in months of drought.

They also gather crabs.

Laurel wax industry

388 Laurel, introduced by a man from Popayan /el payanés/,
824 Agustín Valencia, has played an important role in the economy of some parcialidades of Tierradentro. It grows wild in Calderas, Tumbichukue, Lame, San Andrés, Chinas, and Suin. The production of wax was the only industry in these parcialidades that permitted them to maintain regular trade with the "whites."

388 A mestizo trader from Mosoco says that he was a great ex-
43 porter of laurel wax. "It was the native industry" -- he says -- by means of which salt, trousers, shirts, hats, and centavos came in." In this business, he states, he made one arroba of profit per load. The pound was quoted at a peso in Silvia. The informant says that in the years 1946 and 1947 he took out from 800 to 1,000 arrobas of wax. He almost had a monopoly on the business. What little wax escaped him was purchased by traders from Belalcázar, who in turn took it by way of Mosoco to Silvia. The chief consumers of this product were the soap factories of Cali. The laurel wax industry waned in 1950, when those factories

/334 cont./

312 water abounds during the rainy season. Then the stream beds, dry during the summer (ravines), swell disproportionately. During the summer months, the scarcity of water is still a serious problem.

313 In areas where water is scarce, there is also a scarcity of firewood, owing to the intensive deforestation. As the felling of the trees moves out from the populated centers of Tierradentro, the acquisition of this item becomes increasingly difficult. The fuel problem in Belalcázar, Cuetando, Chitoquez, Valencia, [314] and Guasdualejo is becoming increasingly serious. Furthermore, [439] charcoal is neither used nor produced for trade in Tierradentro.

[312] Providing firewood for feeding the hearth, as well as water, [462] is more an activity for women and children than for men. In most of the parcialidades, firewood abounds, and ordinarily each dwelling has sufficient reserves to maintain the fire on the hearth. In cold parcialidades, such as Calderas and Lame, reviving the fire through the night is essential for protection [513] against the cold. The natives sleep around the hearth, from which comes the warmth that they need for sleeping, since they use no covering other than the clothing on their own bodies and no mattress other than a hard cowhide.

376 The abundance of water also facilitates the construction of 258 hydraulic mills, in order to utilize this motive force. They are relatively numerous.

Property

423 The lands of the native communities are protected. That is to say, they belong to the parcialidad. They are inalienable. In addition, they are exempt from taxes. This peculiarity of our legislation has fortunately permitted the preservation of the [311] Paez group and their culture. The lands contained within the parcialidades are uncultivated, usable, /335/ or in use. The uncultivated lands of the communities of Tierradentro are rapidly being colonized.

In each parcialidad there is a specific amount of land that belongs to all the members of the community. It is communal

land.

/343/

241 433 Thus, a native family of Mosoco and Lame, in their respective order, has for its subsistence throughout the year 18 and 36 arrobas of maize, 16 and 5 arrobas of wheat, 2.5 and 2.5 arrobas of broad beans, 3 and 0 arrobas of garlic, 8 and 4 arrobas of ullucos, 5 and 4 arrobas of nasturtium tubers, 1.5 and 4.5 arrobas of frijoles, and 149 and 11 arrobas of potatoes. A native family of San Andrés has 7 arrobas of coffee, 124 bunches of plantains, 21.5 arrobas of maize, 59 arrobas of manioc, 13 [249] arrobas of arracacha, and 4 arrobas of frijoles. Unfortunately it is impossible to obtain statistics on the production of coca and, above all, on the amount of sugar cane consumed in the form of guarapo, which makes it impossible for us to find out in what ways and in what amounts it complements the consumption of each family.

As for maize, we see that the amounts for the families of San Andrés and Lame are superior to those for the families of Mosoco. Those for Lame are exactly double. But while in the latter, aside from coffee, there is no species produced for sale, in Mosoco, on the other hand, there are wheat, garlic, and potatoes for such a purpose. From which we deduce that the smaller the number of crops intended for trade that there is in a parcialidad, the larger will be the production of species for internal consumption, above all those that can be preserved for long periods of time, such as maize, frijoles, and broad beans. Ullucos, potatoes, and, above all, nasturtium tubers demand almost immediate consumption. The same is true of plantains, manioc, and arracacha. This is the reason why the families of San Andrés and Lame have at their disposal larger quantities of maize and frijoles than those of Mosoco.

Division of activities according to sex

● 462 From the earliest age, differences are established in the technological, economic, and everyday activities.

Among the Páez, only the man can make palm hats for the woman and for himself, wield the machete with full skill and dexterity, fashion the trough, sugar mill and the plates for eating, and play the musical instruments. On the other hand, only the

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462 woman can weave the kuetand yaha (mambe pouch) for carrying coca and mambe /lime for the chew/, weave the fique bags for carrying things, weave the ponchos and the skirts, spin wool and cabuya. Naturally, these differences in activities are observed by children, and they practice them from the earliest age, especially if there is stimulation /344/ by the persons who live with them. The differences in daily, technological, and economic [241] activities are strictly observed. In agriculture, however, men [178] and women are beginning to share the work equally. This phenomenon is, of course, recent.

The scheme that we present below shows the distribution of activities according to sex.

Activity	Men	Women
Construction of houses	yes	
Construction of roads, drainage ditches, bridges	yes	
Preparation of fique and making lassos	yes	
Making hats	yes	
Making plates and spoons of wood	yes	
Making troughs and sugar mills	yes	
Slaughtering animals and drying hides	yes	
Use of weapons	yes	
Spinning		yes
Weaving		yes
Cooking		yes
Making kuentand yaha (wool)		yes
Making yahas (fique)		yes
Making calabashes	yes	yes
Sewing men's underdrawers	yes	
Washing and mending	yes (28)	yes

28. Rarely.

Ceramics	yes or	yes

/344 cont./

●462

Activity	Men	Women
Making the fire		yes
Clearings	yes	
Planting, weeding, and harvesting	yes	yes
Gathering		yes (29)

[857]

29. Task of women and of children under six.

Trade	yes	yes
Hunting and fishing	yes	
Communal work	yes	
Mingas	yes	
Supplying firewood and water		yes
Ownership	yes	yes (30)

30. Rarely.

Carpentry	yes	
Making fireworks	yes	
Tending livestock	yes	
Barbering	yes	
Milling	yes	yes
Musical instruments	yes	
Consumption of coca	yes	yes
Consumption of alcohol	yes	yes
Consumption of tobacco	yes	yes

/345/

427

Tenant farmers of San Andrés

In the haciendas that lie above the valley of the Pisimbalá torrent and the left bank of the Ullucos River, some 35 native families live as tenant farmers. There are five haciendas that make use of this type of servitude. Many of these families have developed and become established within the hacienda itself. Others have been driven to this condition out of a lack of land from which to derive sustenance.

The people of
/356 cont./

43 Mosoco have numerous droves of pack animals for handling the
628 import and export traffic, in which the Guambianos (with their
492 horses), called kasukos by the people of Mosoco, who regard them as good friends and not very different from themselves, also participate. The fact is that they live together, work together, and do their trading jointly.

563 The relations between "whites" and natives in Mosoco
621 seem to be cordial and based on mutual respect.

Family economy

594 The Paez family is basically an economic unit. It is made up of the parents and the children, and it represents a
[602] closed but effective circle. They do not go beyond their own
[476] limits in any way, so that the mingas and the distribution of the
[431] first fruits of the harvests are carried out primarily with consanguineal and political relations.

594 The manner in which this economic unit functions and in
● 462 which its members collaborate can be clearly understood from the division of the activities by sex. The supreme management of the family economy rests in the hands of the man; it is he who owns the land, the house, the tools, and the domestic animals. His arm has not been taught to wield anything but the machete, the axe, and the shovel. He is the owner of the crops and the one who determines where, how, and when work is to be done. His primary work is outside the house: on the land itself. The woman, on /357/ the other hand, remains inside the house, and her basic work is connected with the administration and working up of the products handed over to her by the man. Cooking and
[464] weaving are her specialities. It is true that the woman hires
[178] herself out as a day laborer on the fincas of the "whites" and that in some parcialidades, such as Mosoco, she participates directly in the preparation of the land and the weeding of the crops, but this is a relatively new phenomenon and is not yet universally accepted among the natives.

261 In general terms, the primary incentive for economic activity
594 dealing with food is the satisfaction of the basic needs of the individual and the survival of the family group. It is the security

7:Hernández de Alba F-5ý (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

291 They protect the upper part of the body with a black poncho tied at
177 the belt, or a shirt with a poncho over it. Women wear two skirts, the under skirt being black and the outer one white or gray. Both are held at the waist by a sash woven with figures. They cover their busts with two blankets which are fastened at the shoulders with
[293] wood, copper, or silver pins. Both sexes carry pouches woven of
[415] hemp which, like these Indians, are called "guambías." Their straw hats are dish-shaped, with small brims hardly distinguishable from the shallow crowns. The hats, always too large for their heads, are held on by two cords, one passing under the chin and the other behind the neck, around the hair. The women also wear woolen shawls, silver earrings, rings, and heavy necklaces of glass, shells, and silver. For festivals they prefer hats with the brim divided into two parts, front and back. These are lined with dark-blue cloth, with red and yellow on the brim.

When working, the *Páez* wear short linen pants or long woolen ones and a large woolen poncho tied at the waist. When going to market, they wear an additional poncho and a woolen pouch for coca. When
[292] traveling on the páramos, they wear a knit hemp cloak covered with large, thin leaves of *Gynerium saccharoides*, which protects them from the rain. The women wear a narrow woven cotton band, passed between the legs and tied at the waist, one, two, or more black or gray woolen skirts gathered at the waist and held by a woven sash,
[482] and two small mantas, like those of the *Moguex*. In traveling, a
[854] shawl is worn for covering and to carry the child. They adorn themselves also with strings or necklaces of glass or other beads, or white chaquiras, and sometimes are added silver pendants of Colonial origin.
[292] During festivals the women wear brightly colored blouses of imported fabrics and the men linen shirts.

MANUFACTURES

285 **Basketry.**—The *Páez* and *Moguex* make a few twilled baskets of cane strips and two kinds of hats. The hats are woven with the coiled or sewed technique. The spiraled warp in one kind consists of a thin bundle of rush or straw, and in the other of a braid made with seven
[462] strands. The latter is more common. Both are made by men who
[292] prepare materials while resting at home or traveling on the road. Weaving also includes waterproof capes made by tying sheaves of
[824] leaves or straw to a net of hemp cord.

Cordage.—Rope making is practiced extensively. Hemp (fique)
283 is the raw material, and is made into cords for fishing nets, bird trap nets, bags or pouches for carrying belongings and products, foundation nets for the leaf rain capes, and cordage for various other purposes. The sisal or hemp (fique) leaves are scraped over the sharp edge of a board to loosen the fibers, which are then washed, dried, and twisted

Hernández de Alba E-5,1 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

with the right hand over the naked thigh. Two strands are similarly twisted together until the desired thickness is obtained. 283

Gourds.—Gourds are still widely used. They are picked when ripe, cleaned out, and dried. With small openings, they serve as containers for beverages and powdered lime. Some are made into bowls and others are cut up to make spoons. Today these objects are undecorated, but formerly in Timaná they were painted with a resin varnish very similar to that used in Pasto. (See p. 930.) Before the Spanish domination, gourds were also used as frames over which were stretched the prepared skin of the heads of their enemies killed in war. 415 824 [314] [721]

Metallurgy.—The metallurgy of these Indians was the same as that practiced throughout most of Colombia. The metals were gold, copper, and an alloy of the two (tumbaga). It is recorded that the Indians "worked gold," but the processes are not described. Specimens found recently in the territory, however, show molding, casting, and hammering. Metal objects included nose ornaments, parrot-shaped breastplates, necklaces with small animal figures, and some anthropomorphic idols. Gold occurs in this territory, particularly on the upper Páez or the Suin River. 325 [301] [532] [135]

Ceramics.—These tribes made and still make coiled pottery. Modern vessel forms include large jars for storing beverages and poorly shaped, crudely decorated containers for preparing and serving food. There is no individual specialization in this task, women making pots for their own family and not for trade. 323

Stone and wooden artifacts.—The native Indians made stone axes of a simple design, but stonework disappeared during the time of colonization, when the Indians could obtain manufactured iron weapons and utensils such as machetes, axes, hoes, shovels, etc. The manufacture of wooden objects—weaving, cooking, and farming implements and weapons—was furthered by the use of metal tools, and now is well developed, as exemplified by the trapiche (cane mill), a true machine made of wood. 324 182 177 322 249 177

Weaving.—Weaving, little practiced before the Conquest, developed with the post-Contact need for wearing more clothes and with the introduction of sheep, whose wool was used in addition to cotton. Weaving was and is exclusively the work of women (pl. 186). They prepare fine, uniform yarn with a common spindle, which they handle as they walk along the road (pl. 187, *top*). The loom is vertical, made of two horizontal rods fastened to two uprights. The warp runs vertically with a continuous thread. The horizontal weft is pressed down with a wooden sword. They also weave hemp bands on the loom. Woolen blankets are woven in natural colors, but some sashes have bright colors made of imported wool or of home-dyed wool. For red, they use one of the Rubiaceae (*Relbunium hypocarpium*), and for 286 [177] [462] [386]

7:Hemández de Alba E-5,4(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

535 There is much dancing today. The sexes perform in couples or separately. Among the *Moguex*, some of the expert dancers are paid to dance with all couples in a sort of "bambuco." Dancing is always a part of *Páez* ceremonies for the death of children, baptismals, weddings, saint holidays, and meetings for collective work (mingas) held in the evening when people return from their plantations.

Dancing, as other social events, is subject to a special ceremony [585] or etiquette, strongly connected with religious beliefs. For example, in the wedding celebration, a prayer is first said in which the souls of [608] the dead are asked permission to dance, or "scrape the floor," as they call dancing. Only the godparents and the bride and groom may [527] dance at the beginning.

The *Páez* do not masquerade, but the *Moguex* always masquerade 526 during the period of carnival preceding Holy Week.

[524] **Games.**—Games do not hold an important place among these peoples. The children amuse themselves by imitating the activities [857] of their elders. The only game recorded is simulated warfare, performed as a part of a rite in honor of the dead after a communal [769] feast. Two teams under their captains or caciques attacked and shot arrows at each other. Even if some contestants were killed or wounded, no one bore a grudge.

276 **Narcotics.**—The *Páez* and the *Moguex* chewed coca leaves mixed in the mouth with lime powder. Coca chewing is widespread among men, but very little practiced by women. It is used especially by [756] the shaman when he is practicing. In Colonial times the use of coca [177] spread to the rural population of Mestizos and Whites in Nariño, Cauca, and Huila.

273 **Alcoholic beverages.**—These Indians formerly made chicha of maize, but today they ferment it with sugarcane molasses. They also have [178] fermented sugarcane juice (guarapo), and a sort of rum (aguardiente). The latter is distilled clandestinely in their huts from guarapo and certain herbs fermented together in earthenware crocks. The Indians drink guarapo every day, but restrict the use of chicha and the stronger guarapo and aguardiente to market days, religious feast days, burials, weddings, mingas or meetings for work, and witchcraft [462] ceremonies. Guarapo and chicha are made by women, who sometimes chew the maize to increase its fermentation. They are stored in large, hollowed tree trunks and in large earthen jars, which are kept in a special place in the hut. There is never a lack of these beverages for home use and for welcoming an unexpected visitor.

RELIGION

175 The early Spaniards had little understanding of the religion of these 771 people. They reported that the Indians had but few idols and no temples or places of worship. Castillo mentions that they wor-

/181 cont./

162 Lame: 8 families (6.2% of the approximate total of Lame
583 families). 87.5% were married first by the Church; 12.5% prac-
595 ticed the amaño.

184 Mosoco: 26 families (10.4% of the approximate total of families in Mosoco). 88.1% followed the Catholic law; 11.6% practiced the amaño.

Although the percentages for the parcialidades of San Andrés and Lame may not reflect fully the real situation concerning the custom owing to the paucity of data, one can clearly see the vigor that it still has in Calderas, a parcialidad less acculturated,
581 of course, than the others. Once the man is convinced of the
594 fertility of his mate, the marriage is legalized at the altar of the
[585] Catholic Church. Then the economic co-operation of the spouses, initiated at the beginning of their married life, is stabilized and gains strength, and the marriage becomes, as one of our informants remarked, an association for the "mutual benefit of the contracting parties, to serve each other, without in any way
594 being a burden to either of them." The man enlarges his clear-
462 ings in order to take care of "the sustenance of the family," plants sugar cane and coca in order to obtain chicha and narcotic for holding mingas /work parties/, in order to celebrate religious festivals, in order to "cuidar" his relatives and to relax with his friends; he hires himself out as a peon /182/ in order to acquire money and to buy shawls for his wife, wool and cloth that the woman makes into camisas for herself, her husband, and her sons, and trousers for these last, begins to build his house, if he does not have one, on the lot that his father has assigned to him, to make a home for his family. The woman, on her part, administers the products that her husband brings to her, weaves the ruana /poncho/ and kuetand-yaha (mambe pouch /a bag for the ingredients of chews/) for the husband and children, prepares the food, raises hens and pigs, and cares for her children less than three years old (13). In this manner, among the Páez, marriage,

13. For the division of activities according to sex, see our work "Economía de los Páez /Economy of the Paez/," /published in the

/182 cont./

462 594 13. (cont.)
Revista Colombiana de Antropología, Vol. III, 1954.

361 In this manner, among the Paez, marriage,
182 family, land, and house form an intimate unit, indissoluble and
594 in part explaining the above-mentioned phenomenon of the re-
581 luctance to live grouped in towns or cities.

473 Basically the residence of the nuclear family is patrilocal-
591 neolocal. When the man, accompanied by his escort, goes to
[584] ask for his future consort, and, after certain definite formalities are fulfilled, the future parents-in-law hand her over, she is taken to live in the house of his parents (when he has not built
591 his own). In it he arranges a separate room with a kitchen for
596 cooking, a cowhide to sleep on, and space in which to keep their provisions, their kitchen utensils, and work tools. The new
[583] spouses are independent of their respective parents. The man assists in the work of his parents-in-law and the woman in the work of hers, but in neither case does it constitute an obligation
[594] for them. When a bachelor, the man works to take care of his own needs and to assist in the support of the paternal economy; once married he works to support his family.

582 The man chooses his wife within the parcialidad, although
177 he may marry women from other parcialidades. But neither men nor women may marry persons from Western culture ("whites"). In Calderas there was a case of a possible marriage between a native woman and a "white." The cabildo removed this possibility, obliging the native woman to marry a member of the parcialidad. If it is a man who wishes to try to marry a "white" woman, he must leave the village. They consider that when the "whites" enter the community, they invariably appropriate their land.

582 The selection of spouses within the parcialidades is /183/ determined by the laws of incest. Unions between parents and children and real brothers and sisters are incestuous and severely prohibited. Also relations between cousins of the first degree of both lines and those of uncles and nieces are condemned, although not

prescribed.

/157 cont./

286 The shed rod consists of a round, straight wooden rod.
294 The heddle loops are held by a horizontally stretched string immovable in height, which is tied left and right to the two vertical posts of the weaving apparatus. The sword is semicircular in cross-section, pointed at both ends, and carved out of the dark, hard wood of the chonta palm. Its width is /158/ three to four centimeters, its length about 60 centimeters. The shuttle consists of a rod on which the thread is wound crosswise. Sometimes the spindle with the spun thread is used for this.

Making the shed for the insertion of the shuttle is laborious, for -- depending on the width of the piece to be woven -- not all the corresponding warp threads can be pulled forward simultaneously with the heddle loops. The woman doing the weaving is able to grasp only about half a dozen heddle loops at a time with one hand and pull them forward, in order to push along the sword slowly and form the shed. Even before the shed has reached the width of a sword length, the shuttle must already be pushed along, so that the weft can only be carried through in stages, as it were, with the shed formed by the heddle loops (Ill. 181 /see p. 281/). The shed formation with the wooden shed rod is essentially simpler, since the latter may easily be drawn forward to form the countershed and the heddle loops yield.

The beginning and end of the woven material are determined by the width of the only thin cross-rod, since at the end the shed rod is drawn out and the cross-rod takes on its function. In the loops left at the beginning and end, weft threads are drawn through by hand in the same form of the plain linen texture, until the loops are filled out. The last weft thread in each case is taken threefold so that a firm selvage is produced.

3. Weaving Apparatus for Women's Belts

Originally every woman was able to weave the women's belts
• [463] (táw), the most difficult type of weaving among the Paez. Today it is almost a specialist's work, for in Calderas there are only five women left who are able to weave the women's belts themselves.

/158 cont./

286 One of them, Talesia Pame, has even developed a small in-
294 dustry from this ability. She now weaves women's belts almost
438 exclusively and barters them for food and other things. She is
463 in her early thirties and has three children. Her oldest daughter, about 12 years old, is also learning from her mother how to weave belts.

286 The weaving apparatus (tawkyáviton) is fundamentally the
294 same type as the one for the bands of the fiber bags. The fork-shaped mounting of the frame is somewhat wider and correspondingly longer. The weaving material is wool. The preparation for making the patterns in different colors consists of stretching the warp threads of corresponding color, which, as in the case of the fiber-bag bands, are laid around a small cross-stick. /159/ The weft thread is always plain white and, in the form of a ball, is used as the shuttle. The general arrangement of the warp threads is such that on both outer sides a number of white warp threads are stretched, then follow four of red, yellow, blue, or some other color, which, in the completed woven band, appear in each case as a colored stripe running through it. The ornamented center section consists of four white warp threads followed by two red ones. The latter serve to produce the pattern and are the only warp threads of the belt that are not woven in the linen-texture technique. They are therefore not included in the shed loop that takes every second warp thread. There are two heddle loops, one of which grasps the warp threads corresponding to the shed loop, while the other grasps the red warp threads of the ornamental chain of the center stripe (Ills. 187 to 190 /see p. 284/).

In weaving the linen texture, shed loops and heddle loops are used in the normal technique. The red warp threads of the second heddle loop are lifted up -- altogether or in part, depending on the design to be formed -- while beneath them the weaving continues in the normal linen texture. Thus, if all the red threads are lifted together, a red cross-stripe is produced as the simplest design, the height of which depends on the length of time the second heddle loop remains lifted. In making designs

/162/

386 The following colors are produced with vegetable dyes: red
824 (mbe; also the color designation for pink, ocher, brown) with the roots of a plant called béwoetse. (According to Hernandez, this is the Rubiaceae Relbunium hypocarpium.) The wool threads are boiled with these roots for about an hour and they are then put in the sun. For blue coloring (séin; light blue = séin-séin) the threads are boiled with the leaves of the indigo tree for an hour; for green coloring (oálye séin; oálye = species of bird with green feathers, thus literally "oálye blue"), with the leaves of the tamp tree; and for yellow coloring (škítc), with the leaves of the mūzec tree. The results of the dyeing are not always uniform. There are always deviations in the color. With a little experience, however, one can differentiate them from the purchased chemical dyes.

h) Pottery

323 The art of pottery is very little developed among the Paez and is essentially limited to larger or smaller, crudely fashioned, spherical-shaped pots (mítc) with a lip slightly curved outward. In use they are not hung up, but placed between the three hearthstones for cooking. Smaller, shallower bowls serve for roasting
[531] the coca leaves. There are no vessels with handles. There is no ornamentation of any kind, neither painting, nor incising, nor
[415 531 824] finger imprints. For drinking chícha or for fetching water only gourd calabashes (tóka) are used, which are exactly as unadorned and purely functional as the ceramic vessels.

323 The making of pots is a specialist's work. In Calderas there
463 are three potters, two of whom are women. Only one of them, however, Santos Kiskue, works to keep a supply, whereas the other two make pots only on order. Santos Kiskue is about 40 years old and has a wife and four living children; four others
[437] are dead. He has a horse, but no cow and no sheep. The latter he can do without, since he barters his pots chiefly for wool.

The technique of pottery among the Paez is a spiral coil technique. Since the shapes are very simple, a special

Since the shapes are very simple, a special
/162 cont./
463 apprenticeship with a master is not absolutely necessary; Santos
323 Kiskue, at any rate, began making pots by himself after an
[467] accident that left him with a stiff left wrist. He uses the unmixed clay that stands near his house. Out of this, constantly moistening it, he shapes on a /163/ board lying on the ground an even, round "clay sausage," which he then presses flat with the palm of his hand. He builds up his pots out of this in spirals. They are put with their lower part on a shallow clay bowl, so that he can turn them easily in closing up the junctures (Ills. 184 to 186 /see pp. 282-283/). He lets the freshly made pots dry for about a week under a roof, then he takes them to a place where there is sufficient dry wood. Here he places the pots very close together, stacks wood and twigs over them, and lets them burn for about two hours. They are then ready for use.

i) Candlemaking

388 At the three annual church festivals a large number of
[796] candles (mbéla; Spanish: vela) are used to decorate the church.
They are in part purchased, but largely homemade. Everyone is
[462] familiar with the process of manufacture, but for the festivals
[824] it is men's work. The wax is obtained from the wood laurel (Myrica pubescens Willd), whose small fruits, measuring about five to eight millimeters in diameter, are harvested in great masses in April and May. For this purpose the twigs are struck off and stripped of the fruits over the round berry net that is put in the opening of a large fiber bag. After they are dried, they are poured into a bag, boiled, and squeezed. The wax, caught in a vessel and dried, was formerly an important commercial product in the trade with the whites. In making the candles, wax is poured over the wicks until the proper thickness is obtained.

k) Fireworks

389 No celebration and no church festival is possible without
[796] setting off the greatest possible number of fireworks. The fire-
[541] crackers required for this are made by the men themselves.
[462]

/288 cont./

534 The genuine Paez music is performed by a group of musicians whose instruments consist of a larger or smaller number of transverse flutes, a bass drum /Pauke/, a drum /Trommel/, a tambourine, and a triangle (Ill. 202 /see p. 289/). The number of flutes varies between five and 15. Tambourine and triangle [439] (čingalo) may be lacking. The latter is always purchased, as in general is the tambourine (panderēta), covered with skin on one side and provided with tin jingles.

Judging by its name, the transverse flute (koi) is a Paez instrument. There has not yet been an investigation of the distribution or culture-historical age of this type of flute in America; in the Old World it is certainly younger than the long flute and the Pan flute (Sachs, p. 147). Among the /289/ Paez it is 65 534 centimeters long and about 2.5 centimeters in diameter. It is 463 made from a type of reed which is also known as koi and which [824] only grows in the mountains. Its manufacture is specialist's work. In Calderas Vicente Puche is at present the only producer. A flute can be made only from the pattern of another one, which, however, is not a model flute expressly for the construction of others; rather, it is any one that Vicente happens to have at his disposal. For example, he promptly sold to me his only instrument at the time. To make a new one, he said, he would borrow a flute from a neighbor.

534 The tube of the flute is cylindrical and without knots. The 322 seal on the side of the blowhole is made by means of a piece of expressed sugar cane, which is pushed a few centimeters into the flute. The six finger-holes are not placed at equal intervals from one another. The first is 25 centimeters from the blowhole, the second finger-hole is 4.2 centimeters from the first, the third 4.5 centimeters from the second, the fourth 4.2 centimeters from the third, the fifth 3.8 centimeters from the fourth, and the sixth 4 centimeters from the fifth.

The seven very sharp-edged holes of the flute have the same diameter. They are burned in with an iron tube (barflya) of the same dimension and heated red-hot. Their position and their intervals are taken from a flute held alongside and are marked

/289 cont./

534 by cuts with a machete (Ill. 203 /see p. 290/). In spite of the
322 relatively correspondent holes, each flute has a slightly different tone caused by the varying diameter of the tube.

533 According to the investigation kindly undertaken by my
534 brother Wilfried on the sample flute of Vicente Puche that I acquired, it is tuned between C and C-sharp. Its six finger-holes produce a nonsemitonic seven-tone scale. All the tone steps, however, are somewhat inexact, that is, not exactly a whole tone-step apart. This is particularly noticeable from the third to the fourth tone where we perceptibly have less than a major second, but considerably more than a half step. This is noteworthy because in our diatonic major scale there is also a definite half-step between these two tones.

The blowing is on the right or left side. The extended fingers, work-worn by the heavy field work, cover the finger holes with the first or second joint.

534 The value of the flute is not very high. On festive days
[578] people are in the habit of becoming intoxicated in the festival
[796] houses and in the subsequent brawls the flutes are used as striking
[273] instruments and thus broken.

/290/ Every music group has at least one small cylindrical drum (kâka) or a bass drum (kut), both of which are covered with skin on two sides and are wider than high in their dimensions.
[177] Drum and bass drum in this form are probably borrowed and were
[194] taken over throughout South America from former Negro slaves. Their manufacture among the Paez is specialist's work. At
[463] present Vicente Puche makes the flutes as well as the drums. In former times, however, there was a special expert who made only
[461] drums and bass drums. The work time for their manufacture amounts to 10 to 14 days, since one day is allowed for each operation (cutting wood, drying it, for the various processes in treating
[824] the skins, etc.). The cylindrical body of the drum is made from
[237] the wood of the utsé tree. The two drum-skins (katc) are made of calfskin. They are stretched with cords made of agave fiber, which run in a zigzag from one stretcher to the other over the body of the drum. They are tightened by a continuous loop that encircles two strands of the stretching cords at a time and at the same time

/315 cont./

105 "Araucanian" type (O'Neale, p. 115). In place of the shed rod we have a simple loop; in place of the heddle rod, a bundle of loops.

105 The warp threads are stretched in the form of the "false spiral warp,"
286 a mixture of the method of the continuous, circular warp with the
171 method of the terminating flat warp. This genuinely American way of stretching the warp is found among the Northwest Coast Indians as well as among the tribes of the Gran Chaco (Olson, pp. 114-121). Culture-historically H. Nevermann regards the various forms of American weaving /316/ as having originated on the basis of a native or pre-Polynesian plait-weaving. Among the Paez we find this technical stage in the plait-weaving of the carrying bands of the coca bags.

105 For dyeing, vegetable dyes are used, which dye only sheep wool, but not cotton.

Pottery is very simple. There are only hemispherical pots and bowls made with the spiral coil technique, both without any ornamentation.

The present political organization of the Paez is based on the village community. It is led by a village council (cabildo), whose members are chosen for a year from among the men of the village. The designations for the members of the cabildo and their functions are in part Spanish. In former times the leaders of the Paez were
[621] often men with shamanistic abilities. The village is not organized
[565] by either classes or occupations. No one need serve another for
[463] pay; the word and the thing are unknown to the Paez. The father
[464] of the family with his sons or brothers works his fields, and if
[476] friends or neighbors lend their help, it is compensated for by assistance in their fields.

[594] The family organization is basically the patrilineal,
[178] monogomous nuclear family, consisting of the parents and the
[851] unmarried children. Here there has probably been the least
[533] change in Paez culture. The children are given the family of the father. For her marriage the woman receives no dowry of any kind from her parents, and she keeps her maiden name. Since there are no social or financial reasons for concluding a marriage, a woman has only the merit of her personality and abilities. These are tested during a "trial year" before the actual conclusion of the marriage.

1: Nachtigall--290 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 203. The flute maker Vicente Puche.

Ill. 204. Burial of a child who died of whooping cough.

CIII

Z: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

157 pipes they play while walking along, unless their hands are kept
583 busy plaiting braids of gynerium bark in the manufacture of
[463] their hats. This is the exclusive occupation of the men. Women almost invariably walk along spinning wool, their distaff under the left arm and the spindle in the left hand, while the right hand is busy at the wool.

883 The Paez maidens are fond of flowers and are very playful.
157 On one occasion I observed several of them going up the hill
481 beyond the river, in front of the church at Huila, their arms entwined about one another's necks; then they began running up the steep hill as in a contest of endurance. As they became exhausted they threw themselves on the grass, while their movements showed that they were playing and joking all the time. These children of Nature are not unpleasant to look at,
[515 except for their usual lack of cleanliness; nor are they wanting
142] in coquetry, and they are often pretty. But in the presence of
[609] strangers they are extremely bashful, doing their utmost to keep in the background.

291 The old women are generally very ugly. Their clothing con-
515 sists only of dirty rags, and their skin is covered with the filth of years.

593 Relations between the sexes, especially between husbands
562 and wives, seem to be easy and without an air of superiority on the part of the former. On the few occasions that I had to entertain these people at their houses, the women took the same interest and the same part in the proceedings as the men, which was very different from what I observed among the Central American Indians.

609 Toward strangers, and especially toward Colombians of other
186 races, the attitude of the Indians is decidedly hostile. Unless induced by the prospect of profit they will neither sell anything nor lend any service, often refusing money and accepting only articles which they especially desire. They will not allow white
[563] or black people in their homes, and at Huila they are even unwilling that the only white family living there should share the practically inexhaustible supply of fuel scattered about in the near-by forest, or have horses or cattle pasturing on the almost

/195 cont./

262 coca. Chicha thus provides the calories for work, while coca
273 dulls the feeling of hunger. The consumption of chicha is
461 general among men and women, old people and children.
[276] There is no household without chicha for any length of time.
And during the short lapses when it runs low, they buy it or
[431] visit the households that have some. Among friends it is not
sold, but given as regalement: /196/ "talking, laughing, regaling," as the Indians accurately describe the situation.

249 Milling for the fiestas takes place daily and is in direct
273 proportion to the number of visitors. Milling for the mingas
461 lasts two days, one week for baptisms, and up to a month for
weddings.

273 The largest containers for chicha are the troughs, but use
415 is also made of pitchers and large earthenware pots buried in
the ground up to their rims.

273 The chicha-makers are the absolute masters of the troughs
463 while they are fulfilling their function. They distribute the
796 chicha, and even the fiestero himself must ask them for the
amount desired. No one takes chicha without their consent.
Furthermore, they accept the gifts which the visitors give to
the fiestero. The latter merely voices his thanks. Although
they keep taking chicha, they do not get drunk, so as to perform their task properly. They will have their day when they
can do so.

VIII

Sugar-cane Aguardiente

273 At fiesta time, aguardiente is distilled every two or three
[796] days. The distillation is quite easy. The still is prepared in
the following way:

[415] A good-sized earthenware pot, 50 to 60 centimeters high
and 25 to 30 centimeters in diameter, is filled with guarapo

* /224 cont./
756 the assisting spirit. It is not enough to know whether certain
755 medicines correspond to certain signs. The té eu must /225/
divine which remedies will be useful for the particular case.
This is why the curer always carries a pouch with all the known
remedies. He takes one out and consults. If the signs do not
circulate, the remedy is useless; he takes out another and waits.
When they are felt insistently, then the remedy is appropriate.
Since the signs are given by the assisting spirit, it is he who
cures.

* 756 The signs may contribute to the discovery of a vocation.
● 463 If a man engaged in a manual task that does not imply motion
787 (the making of firecrackers, plates for cooking, pottery)
suddenly feels the movement of the signs, he must seek out a
teacher so that he will instruct him in the art of curing. He
* cannot disobey them or he would go mad.

756 Even the curers themselves must practice the signs. If,
787 for example, no sick clients have come for two days, the
755 té eu must visit his Kachí (2) and practice the signs; otherwise,

2. See below, "Divination sites" /see p. 9/.

they may drive him insane. For this reason, the curer must
[188] practice his profession until old age begins. Old men lose the
signs because they cannot travel to go to the Kachí and practice
* the signs.

756 All the informants affirm that signs on the left side signify
787 something bad, while those on the right indicate something
827 good. As a rule, the signs that are given in a certain part of
755 the body have a specific meaning. Minor differences may be
noted in the information provided by the curers, but they are
[124] matters of form rather than substance. There follows a table
of the symbolism of the signs, gathered from many profane
informants and curers from the Parcialidades of Santa Rosa,
Calderas, Togoima, Avisame, and San Andrés.

/346 cont./

466 given to him. From the harvests of maize, frijoles, and
427 arracacha the owner receives one bag (approximately half an
[241] arroba) of each product, and one or two bunches of the plantains.

231 He says that the hacienda owner has permitted him to raise
427 animals, but he has none, because he spends more time working
466 on the hacienda than in his own house. He says that he owned
[235] some 20 sheep, but is finished with them. Now he has only eight chickens.

427 The informant is the son of another tenant farmer and
466 grew up on this very hacienda. He has owned the house in which he now lives for 18 years. He has not signed any kind of document with the owner and has not been bothered by him about the possession of the house, but rather, on the contrary, has been urged by him to repair the house. In exchange for the use of the house and the land he is obliged to pay three days for rent
[465] per month, eating his own food and using his own tools. On the other days of the month he works for the same owner for daily wages, earning two pesos a day, excluding, of course, the days of religious or national holidays. Each week he re-
[452] ceives 12 pesos. From the owner he buys maize, manioc, and frijoles on credit, which is immediately deducted in labor. The owner only gives him salt and bananas. The panela comes from what he produces.

466 Since the informant specializes in milling and the making
427 of panela, he ordinarily does nothing else. His work begins at
257 six in the morning and ends at ten at night. He is assisted by his
[463] wife, who earns one peso a day, a deaf and dumb son who earns
[512] nothing, and another son who carries the cane to the sugar mill.
[465] This one is married, is also a tenant farmer, earns two pesos a day, and has a separate clearing. His wife does not help in the work because she stays at home caring for the house, looking after the children, and weeding the garden and the clearing.

427 At the mill he works even on Sundays at wrapping panela,
257 a task that cannot be neglected. Ordinarily he spends two weeks
461 at the mill and has the following one free (without pay) to rest,
466 to look after his own field, or to hire out his labor to anyone who

/107 cont./

123 knew tales he could tell, and to whom we gave tobacco and salt and a few other small gifts, a knife, a hoe, or an aluminum cup. At the moment he had a headache, he said. I gave him a few tablets, and we agreed that I would come back the next morning and he would tell me a few tales. When we arrived the next day, after hours of tramping, his wife told us that her husband had gone into the mountains very early that morning in order to cut wood.

115 Our first visit in Calderas took place in the company of the interpreter, Marcos Antonio Penkue, a Paez about 40 years old from San Andrés, who regarded himself as very civilized and who had reached a certain position of wealth. He served as a [191] soldier on the Brazilian border and speaks Spanish well. On his [245] finca /see the glossary, p. 249/ he has about 2,000 coffee trees, [439] whose yield he sells in Inzá on the market. He also carries on [464] other business there by functioning as an interpreter and middleman for the non-Spanish-speaking and generally unbusinesslike Paez. During our work in Calderas he combined business with his services. [233] The Paez are ardent cattle-raisers, albeit not in our economic sense, but purely for sport and the pleasure of numbers. A cow-calf is much more valuable to them than a full-grown bull, for [437] it will produce another calf and increase the herd. Thus, Marcos Antonio exchanged calves for bulls in Calderas and, indeed, bought [434] some cattle himself. These business transactions bring him about 200 to 250 pesos profit per head, since among themselves the Paez ask only low prices, about 50 pesos for a bull. His selling 115 price on the market in Inzá amounts to about 300 pesos. He re- 124 garded the work with us as highly troublesome, but he knew what he was worth to us. His fee rose from three pesos a day at the beginning to ten pesos. Translations that seemed to him too complicated or explanations that were too long for him he would give "in essence" in a few words, after which my counterquestions obviously annoyed him. One day when I had planned some important work, but he some important business, he hid our horses and calmly let us look for them all day long, while he, under the pretext of searching for the horses, carried on his business until he "found" them in the evening.

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115 We then looked for another interpreter, the Calderun Victoriano Piñakué, about 17 years old and very open-minded with regard to "white" civilization. His father even once visited Popayán, the capital of the department of Cauca. Through this he had a somewhat broader outlook and became involved in a quarrel with a bad shaman, in which the latter took one of his eyes by magic. Since then old Piñakué has been blind in one eye. A younger brother of Victoriano is going to school in Inzá and is the helper of the sacristan there. Victoriano is very much interested in one day becoming acquainted with Popayán or even Bogotá. He speaks Spanish quite well and has already earned money on occasion in the service of the white colonists and in La Plata as a construction worker, in order to buy clothing of the whites for himself. By "white" the Paez mean the Spanish culture of the Colombians, namely, clothing, education, and corresponding customs, not, however, skin color or other characteristics of the white race.

[191] [464] [829]

Victoriano set great store by dressing, not like a Paez, but like a white. He was an enthusiastic fellow-worker, not, however, out of greed for money, but out of sincere interest, and at every opportunity he would ask how things were among us in Germany. With a great craving for knowledge, he would again and again have our photos of Europe explained to him, and he even made an effort to learn German.

115 156 554 In his native village of Calderas the work with Victoriano was very difficult, since he was very unpopular because he dresses like a white. Several times, when his fellow villagers were drunk, they even wanted to murder him. Once when we visited a house together, he was heckled by some tipsy men: he was called a sluggard who does nothing the whole day but talk with the "doctores" and go for walks. Besides, they said, he thinks that he is better than the rest of the Paez because he wears "white" clothing. When Victoriano replied that in his work among the whites it would be impossible for him to wear the Calderun costume, but that in his dress he was obliged to adjust to his environment, they retorted that he went to the whites merely in order to be able to eat more meat.

/128 cont./

241 were only ten by ten meters /129/ square, whereas the largest continuous field occupied an area of about 500 by 250 meters. I was assured, however, that such a large area of land was not required for one family and that the owner would use this large [433] cleared field only little by little for planting. A family can live, so I was told, from a field that measures about 100 by 100 meters, [244] which corresponds to the area of one hectare. In addition, every house has a vegetable garden of about 1,000 square meters in area for the planting of vegetable bananas /cooking bananas/, cabbage, beans, cucumbers, and onions.

241 The clearing of the fields, like the sowing, is done only 476 by men, whereas the harvest may be gathered by women or men. ● 464 Several men always participate in the clearing and sowing; one [462] man never works alone. At the very least his brothers or sons help him. Otherwise he must ask friends who must be served food and chicha during the work, and whom he likewise helps in 241 a similar instance. On the field intended for planting, first the thinner trees at a height of about one to one and a half meters are cut down with the machete and left lying on the ground as they fall. With this the first part of the work is done, and one has two to four weeks' rest until the felled young trees and branches are dry, but not dried up. Then the men go out into the field again and light the wood, but only the thinner branches of less than an arm's thickness are consumed. This burning takes a few days, and it is not infrequent that a woman helps her husband on [515] the last day in order to burn up the remaining wood. The Paez, by the way, give this handling of the sooty trunks as the only time that they get dirty and must wash their hands afterwards (Ills. 169 to 171 /see pp.275 -276/).

241 The fence which each field must have for protection 417 against the freely roaming domestic animals is built out of the unburned branches and tree trunks. For this purpose rather thick poles are rammed vertically into the ground, and the remaining branches and tree trunks piled up horizonatally to a height of a good meter. In order to climb over this fence one puts a notched tree trunk against it on both sides as a ladder (afi) (Ill. 168 /see

p. 274/).

/257 cont./

754 The special target of the evil sorcerers are the white
648 Colombians. People are afraid to undertake anything against them
797 openly, but the magic manipulations of the nyic against them are widely known. The ones primarily affected are the whites, who robbed the Paez of land, and among them the missionaries, too. The nyic then try to obtain mastery over the souls of the whites, to treat them with herbs, and thus make them so sluggish that they will not return to Tierradentro any more. It is also said that the nyic had placed their remedies /258/ in the church so that the mission priest from Belalcázar would never come there any more and would never enter it any more.

754 The victims of evil sorcery, however, are not only human
789 beings and animals, but also the cultivated fields, which can be
[464] bewitched by means of eggs, salt, or pubic hair. The families affected are then no longer able to feed themselves, and in many cases the fathers of the families must leave the village in order to hire themselves out to the whites. The removal of the unpopular one is thus achieved. His return is prevented in magical ways, the nyic placing special herbs, which the person cannot step over, on the connecting roads.

754 The aids for evil magic are not, say, objects belonging to the persons to be bewitched and used in a pars-pro-toto act, but are exclusively parts or agents from among the belongings of the sorcerer, which, for their effect, must be brought into close contact with the victim himself or his soul. If the nyic wishes his victim to have an accident, he places a smoothly polished stone from the river somewhere in his house. The person in question will then soon slip and fall and break his bones or suffer a sprain. Another possibility for bewitchment is for the nyic to spread his agent on the food of his victim. Thus, a shaman from Santa Rosa reports how the former young and capable Gobernador Leonidas was killed by the nyic Dolores Dinó. She visited him one day while he was working alone in his garden and threw several of her own pubic hairs in the food in his cooking pot and, in addition, a fragment from a prehistoric clay pot of the Pijao. Leonidas ate this meal.

/265 cont./

756 right ring finger up the arm to the heart, the person concerned
826 will bury a relative on the next day. Signs in the palm of the
787 right hand mean that the sick person will get well; signs in the
[763] palm of the left hand, that the mountain spirit is not accepting the gifts and the patient must die. By means of signs on the back of the left hand the mountain spirit makes it known that the offerings are insufficient. If the signs go from the palm of the right hand to the neck, this means "pest" from the Pijao. Signs in the right thumb and in the hand announce the appearance of a lost or strayed animal; signs in the corner of the left eye, that the lost animal has been stolen and has already been eaten by the thief; signs in the left arm announce the arrival of the eč spirit; signs in the right upper arm announce to the shaman that good people are asking him to be the sponsor at a christening. Signs on the head of the shaman announce that the nyiç will send the pest, and if the signs go from the head into the left hand, the
756 person is already bewitched. In these and similar ways of
787 interpreting their signs, the shamans discover the nature of all illnesses and the means required to cure them. Thus their signs are their only treasure of experience, and if they do not feel them, or no longer feel them, they have lost the essential characteristic of being shamsns.

787 Besides the shamanistic signs described, for the teyu as well
828 as for ordinary human beings of every age and sex dreams are an essential means of experience for looking into the future, as well as for confirmation of a foreign -- usually evil -- influence on one's own person. Just as the effects of evil magic on the individual are brought about through auto-suggestion, so, too, what is seen in a dream. The latter perhaps even more intensively because of a person's own, direct dream experience; only in this way can one understand the positively fatalistic attitude of the persons
115 concerned. Our interpreter Victoriano, for example, is one of the
787 most industrious and capable Calderun. He is determined not to
828 remain socially on the Indio level of his village. He therefore
554 [770] takes /266/ work from time to time among the white colonists,
[764] in order to earn money for Colombian clothing. He is therefore

/315 cont./

105 "Araucanian" type (O'Neale, p. 115). In place of the shed rod we have a simple loop; in place of the heddle rod, a bundle of loops.

105 The warp threads are stretched in the form of the "false spiral warp,"
286 a mixture of the method of the continuous, circular warp with the
171 method of the terminating flat warp. This genuinely American way of stretching the warp is found among the Northwest Coast Indians as well as among the tribes of the Gran Chaco (Olson, pp. 114-121). Culture-historically H. Nevermann regards the various forms of American weaving /316/ as having originated on the basis of a native or pre-Polynesian plait-weaving. Among the Paez we find this technical stage in the plait-weaving of the carrying bands of the coca bags.

105 For dyeing, vegetable dyes are used, which dye only sheep wool, but not cotton.

Pottery is very simple. There are only hemispherical pots and bowls made with the spiral coil technique, both without any ornamentation.

The present political organization of the Paez is based on the village community. It is led by a village council (cabildo), whose members are chosen for a year from among the men of the village. The designations for the members of the cabildo and their functions are in part Spanish. In former times the leaders of the Paez were
[621] often men with shamanistic abilities. The village is not organized
[565] by either classes or occupations. No one need serve another for
[463] pay; the word and the thing are unknown to the Paez. The father
[464] of the family with his sons or brothers works his fields, and if
[476] friends or neighbors lend their help, it is compensated for by assistance in their fields.

[594] The family organization is basically the patrilineal,
[178] monogomous nuclear family, consisting of the parents and the
[851] unmarried children. Here there has probably been the least
[533] change in Paez culture. The children are given the family of the father. For her marriage the woman receives no dowry of any kind from her parents, and she keeps her maiden name. Since there are no social or financial reasons for concluding a marriage, a woman has only the merit of her personality and abilities. These are tested during a "trial year" before the actual conclusion of the marriage.

/190 cont./

609 It was necessary for someone to tell them that they were sent by
797 /191/ Laureano Gómez before they all said: "Well, then, let
871
829 them remain."

666 In spite of their stubborn conservatism, the leaders of the
829 municipio cannot manage to make them vote for their chosen candidates unless they first get their ration of meat, chicha, and aguardiente. The ration and the vote form an indivisible unit.

829 "I am godo /Goth, pejorative for Spaniard/ to the marrow, a true conservative," exclaimed one of the important men of
[773] Calderas while he was drunk. "Juan Chiracol also was a conservative," said another.

829 The Indians of Tierradentro have been liberals since 1860,
175 thanks to the victor's aura gained by Mosquera on the plains
648 of Segovia. "The battle of Segovia" --says the padre David González--"in which the Indians took part and in which Mosquera encouraged the native ferocity, and the march on Bogotá, which fell to the rebel general, made him a demigod
● [464] in the eyes of the Paez. Since the first days of the colony they have venerated the name Mosquera; the Marquis don Cristóbal Mosquera y Figueroa had been their master, their encomendero, he had taken them to Popayán in gangs to work on his haciendas, he had given to them the huge lands of his
[665] encomienda... Naturally the Indians of Tierradentro have been strongly bound since 1860 to the political faction which represented Mosquera, liberalism. In the armed struggles which later scourged the nation, the Paez staunchly bore the liberal standard."

829 In view of this, the political affiliation of the Calderas
665 Indians is an odd one; up to less than a decade ago, they formed a conservative island in the midst of a liberal majority. Possibly this attitude conceals a great desire to defend their lands. The Calderas people have no marked sympathy for the neighboring parcialidades. "They are Reds," say the natives,

/258 cont./

754 Thus, the victims are "the most skillful, the most charitable
554 toward travelers, the friends of the whites, those who display the most friendliness among the natives, those who have much livestock, large tracts of land, good plantings." In this phrase are listed almost the full gamut of the victims of sorcery. From previous examples, we see that those who have land, animals, mental ability and manual dexterity, and good fields, the energetic numbers of the cabildo, those who take the path
[182] of transculturation, are victims of sorcery. In addition, revenge and resentment are evened up by means of sorcery.

754 It is not surprising that undesirable whites are victims of
648 sorcery. The undesirable ones are those who covet their lands. The curers, on their own initiative or supported by the cabildo, call the soul of the white at a strategic spot, capture it, whip it with pringamoza (Urticaceae) and put bad remedies on it so that it will never return to the region. They say that the white begins to feel too lazy to travel in the area and finally decides to return to his country.

[177] In parcialidades such as Calderas, where much resistance is shown against living with and contact with the white, there are some people who are such sorcerers and such enemies of the white that even in the church they leave enchanted eggs so that not even the priest will come.

754 Among the victims of sorcery are parturient women and newborn babies, when the sorcerer or other envious persons do not want a certain family to prosper.

The power of sorcerers extends not only to human beings
[433] and animals, but also to the plantings. The loss of a planting
[167] means suffering from hunger, a shortage of coca, and emi-
[464] gration of the parents to distant places in order to hire out as laborers.

In the clearing they may put enchanted eggs, salt, pubic hair, or capio maize in order that the planting be lost.

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The Economy of the Paez

by

Segundo Bernal Villa

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/293/ General observations

433 Products of the soil make up the substantive part of the Páez economy. The Indians are barely familiar with a few manual arts practiced on very rare occasions. Hunting and gathering are quite secondary, and fishing even more so. Livestock-raising, while being an activity worthy of notice for its development, and for being, in addition, the essence of the native conception of wealth, serves more for carrying out disadvantageous barter transactions with the mestizo and white populations than for deriving a profit either in cash or in kind. The Páez economy is thus a direct one, devoid of intermediaries in the functions of production and consumption. The family consumes what it produces. The articles of consumption that are acquired are few. Essentially [439] they are salt, tools, cooking utensils, and clothing. On the other hand, the products that are sold are few: coffee, laurel wax, potatoes, garlic, and coca. It should be noted that the increase in some of these products is of recent date. Páez production merely provisions and seldom leaves a surplus to maintain regular trade. Foresight for times of scarcity exists, but it is neither sufficient nor organized.

221 Working the land conditions the daily activities of the Páez family. It might be said that the vital cycles are subordinated to the agricultural cycles. Basically, the year is divided into the months of the preparation of the soil and the months of the harvest, [166] including the protection of the crops in season. They devote the [464] months that fall between the extremes of this economic cycle to minor manual activities or they emigrate to hire out as day laborers

/293 cont./

221 on the fincas of the "whites" (1). The social life and the re-
[166]
[464]
[192]
[197]
[128]

1. Generic term with which the natives designate all those who observe the norms of western culture, without any distinction as to race. For convenience we have adopted this usage, putting the term in quotation marks.

ligious fiestas are frequent during this period. The work is done /294/ with devotion and perseverance. It is not done in haste, but there is no resting either.

423 Every Páez family has its lands. This is its ambition. The
[183] primary source of its security. Every crag has an owner whose title has been won by the sweat of his brow. Every crag harbors a rancho that shelters a family. Every inch of land is passionately
[578] defended by the native. The disputes stirred up by this fact are not few. In like manner the cabildos are never so zealous as in the defense of the lands of the parcialidad /a territorial division/.
[648] The areas of settlement /areas of colonization by whites/ are spearheads in the very heart of the community. They were established against the full opposition of the natives. On the other hand, the defense of the land and the prevention of contamination by foreign peoples are postulates of the doctrine. The distribution of the houses suggests in advance the profusion of paths and private property.

When they win the scarce land, the distances and difficul-
[464] ties that loom are not important. They are good colonizers, and it is rare that persons who lack land hire themselves out as permanent peons or become tenant farmers on the great haciendas.
[181] They prefer independence above all.

311 To study the economy of the Páez, certain factors of a
133 geographico-physical and cultural nature cannot be overlooked. They are:

1. Thermic levels. The lands now occupied by the Páez of Tierradentro correspond to the thermic levels of cold and temperate. The contour line corresponding to 2,000 meters

The cultivation of potatoes on a large scale
/305 cont./ began more
244 or less two decades ago. "From 1925 to 1930 the one who
433 planted the most potatoes was Ezequiel Mulcué, who caused amazement among the people; now the least planted is 20 arrobas," says one informant. Nowadays there are natives who sow up to 200 arrobas in a year, of which only 70 are planted in the "paramo," and they yield better results than the other arrobas planted. Then, we ask, why do the people of Mosoco have their months of hunger?

262 The basic product of the Paez diet is maize. It was in
154 the past and it continues to be so in the present. Psychologi-
[198] cally, they feel completely satisfied when they have maize for consumption. Its absence causes a sensation of dietary dissatis-
[243] faction. Before the era of the potato, the cultivation of maize and wheat predominated.

461 During the months of July, August, September, and Octo-
464 ber, the natives have little work. This is why those from
166 Vitoncó, San José, Lame, and Suin go and sign up as peons on the fincas of the "whites" on the other side of the Cordillera (Popayán, Corinto, and even in the Cauca Valley). They return toward the end of the year, when the maize and wheat harvests are drawing near. The natives of Calderas, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, and Togoima go to the fincas of Inzá or La Plata. They return in October when the maize harvests are approaching. It must be said that this labor force is excellent and cheap. And for this reason very much in demand.

The natives of Mosoco have sufficient work in their own country.

Clearings /rozas/

241 The term roza is used generically for the extent of land
433 cleared, burned, cleaned, and fenced, ready for planting. It is found on every private property. It has an area of approximately one hectare. Clearings of two or more hectares are rare. An increase in production does not reflect an enlargement of the clearings, but rather their multiplication and the utilization of ever more rugged and /306/ sterile lands. The natives, to

The
/312 cont./
244 pluviometrical system in this region is relatively high, and the
[134] soils are saturated with moisture. As a result, this method of making the beds pursues a protective aim for the seeds and fruits. Each bed is raised by a thickness of 60 centimeters, with a distance of one meter between one and the next. The formation of the beds has two stages: the molding /moldeada/ and the raising /alzada/. The former consists of lifting the grass covering and folding it over itself, following the capricious undulations of the ground. It is left like this for several weeks, while the grass completely rots away. This is the only fertilizer. Then comes the planting and after this the raising, an operation which consists of covering the molding with the crumbled earth taken from the part where the grass cover was lifted. In this fashion, the beds have abundant soil in which the roots can grow. The planting does not require any weeding.

In the region that the people of Mosoco call "paramo,"
[243] potatoes are planted without order or rows of any sort. In Moras-Mosoco, as in San José, Lame, Tumbichukue, and Vitoncó, two rows of maize are planted at the edge of the beds and within them the potatoes, very close together and without any sort of order. Frijoles, broad beans, peas, or cabbages are also planted
[243] there. Cultivation is multiple and thus exhaustive. After this harvest, wheat is sown, and then the land is left to lie fallow for three or four years, after which the process is repeated. Naturally, these collective sowings rapidly exhaust the soils. Hence, the May and June sowings yield poorly and usually are lost.

The work is done by the members of the family. Mingas
[476] are still in force as a system of collective labor. They are usually
● [464] attended by consanguineous and political familiars. Contract labor is common with Guambiano natives. Mosoco day-laborers are not encountered.

The potato harvest is selected into three classes: large, seed, and birucha. The first serves exclusively for the market, while
000 the last is for family consumption. /In the original text, the following tables for Mosoco, Lame, and San Andres, with the observations deduced from them, appear on two sheets inserted between pages 312 and 313./

241 433 From the above table, and relying exclusively on the data given there, we can deduce the following observations:

1. The production of Mosoco is superior to that of Lame, both in quantity and in the variety of species cultivated.

2. The numerical data indicate that there is underproduction, and for that very reason it may be deduced that there is underconsumption, although these data are rough estimates, since the only approximately exact figures that the natives keep are for the production of potatoes.

[243] [244] 3. The production of wheat, garlic, and potatoes is intended almost exclusively for the market, like that of barley, the production of which is not included in the statistical table, because we only have three figures of Mosoco and three for Lame. On the other hand, the production of maize, frijoles, barley, broad beans, ullucos, and nasturtium tubers is intended almost wholly for internal consumption.

[243] 4. Maize is the basic article of consumption, but the production given does not reflect this fact. Nevertheless, it does not include the amount consumed as roasting ears.

5. Losses of the harvest are frequent in Lame, owing to the lack of fertilizers.

[276] [262] [464] 6. Underproduction is compensated for by a larger consumption of coca (Lame) or by the acquisition of other food items such as panela, lard, bread, and coffee (Mosoco). On the other hand, underproduction explains why the natives go and sign up as day laborers on the haciendas of the "whites."

/328 cont./

388 began to use other types of raw materials. The death blow was
43 thus given to the only home industry of the above-mentioned regions. Wax is still gathered, but the price for an arroba in Silvia does not reach eight pesos. There is no longer any profit.
388 The Indians go on using it to make candles for household con-
[373] sumption and above all for illumination at religious fiestas. We
[796] have described the methods of gathering, extracting, and manufacturing laurel wax in the work entitled "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," published in the Revista Colombiana de Folklore, Number 2 of 1953.

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Mingas

476 The minga is the most widespread form of labor among the
461 Páez. The natives can work for themselves alone and are excellent laborers. But the task would demand more of their time
[464] and effort. Thus, the minga serves to prevent "boredom" during the work, to gain time, and to provide a labor force which would otherwise be hard to obtain.

476 The minga then is a co-operative system of labor whereby the interested party invites a specific number of acquaintances to perform a job, duly rewarding them with food, drink, and coca. "Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense," says Hernández de Alba /cited in English/.

476 Indispensable articles of reward are meat, chicha, and, in
554 nearly all the parcialidades, coca. The incidence of the mingas is thus almost in direct proportion to the possession of domestic
[231] animals. Those who lack such stock, that is to say, the poor according to the concepts of Páez culture, work alone or in the company of their sons, if they have any.

476 In the course of the cultivation cycle the following mingas
241 are held: to fell the trees (clearings); to pile up the wood that remains after the burning and to cut stakes for the fence; to build fences; to do the planting and weeding.

In Calderas a minga for clearing is carried out in the following way:

/331 cont./

461 insalivation, which disturbs the normal consumption of coca.
476 They worked steadily until 10:00 A.M., when they took a short rest. Then they went on working until 1:00 P.M., when they were served "refreshments," consisting of a cup of coffee and two large maize griddlecakes /arepas/ seasoned with salt and two eggs, which had been toasted on a piece of earthenware and finished by roasting in the hot ashes of the hearth. They went on working until 3:30 P.M. and then went to the house of the minguero. The reward usually consists of the following:

476 Two bowls of chicha; then a large platter with mote, stew
465 with potatoes or ullucos. They eat what they can and put the rest in an aluminum pan which they brought for this purpose, or they simply put it in a fique knapsack to take it to their respective homes. After this, they receive still another bowl of mote without meat. Then, once more, two bowls of chicha and, following this, a large pot overflowing with chicha to be distributed among those present. This is done for each of the persons in-
[273] vited. The consumption of chicha is thus abundant. After this they are given aguardiente. Already drunk, they organize a dance. All this, of course, among the natives of means. Among the poor, the mingas are usually made up of relatives, who "conceal the scarcity." No dancing is done.

476 In the mingas of Mosoco, they sacrifice bulls, calves, or pigs, and they always purchase one or two pounds of coffee and two or three arrobas of panela. From their own finca they consume wheat or maize flour, potatoes, ullucos, or broad beans.
[461] Coca has been replaced by "refreshments." During the work there
[276] are periods of rest that /332/ correspond roughly to taking a chew of coca in other parcialidades. The young people of Mosoco do not chew coca, but the old custom still influences the work. On the other hand, it is obvious that a minga in Mosoco is more expensive than paying wages, since various articles are purchased, and, in addition, they sacrifice cows or pigs worth more than 100
[464] pesos. But the mingas are indispensable in Mosoco as a means of obtaining labor which otherwise would be impossible to get. No one signs up for wages, because everyone has his own lands to work.

/333 cont./

417 bags full of frijoles, which are also suspended from the wall
353 posts. This is also where the grains (lumps) of salt are kept.
251 The amounts kept for the months of scarcity are not sufficient, but there are other comestibles that help them: domestic ani-
[244] mals, cabbages, onions, sugar cane, and coca. In Lame and Mosoco they cultivate a plant which they call ijuca de pijao. It
[464] is an edible discoria /Dioscorea/. We have also seen that want is avoided by going to work as laborers on the fincas of the "whites."

[263] Meat is also kept on the frame above the hearth. They utilize the smoke to preserve it. Salt is not used for this purpose.

251 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José, where large quantities of wheat are planted, one frequently finds under the eaves of thatched houses bundles of wheat that remain hanging for several months. In this way they preserve it from the attacks of small rodents, and the grain is of excellent quality because it dries out thoroughly.

261 During times of scarcity, the natives do not seek solace in
273 religion. Actually, their defense is in the sale of their own work-
276 ing capacity for a small daily wage, a few eggs of coca, and
[771] food. It should be noted that guarapo and coca are splendid
[464] sedatives against the pangs of hunger. It is curious that one of the
[465] most noted religious fiestas of Calderas is held precisely during a time of scarcity. Large quantities of guarapo are consumed for nearly a month.

Provision of water and firewood

312 In Tierradentro the rainfall is relatively high. As a result, water abounds in small and /334/ large watercourses. This geographical factor leads the natives to bring the water close to their homes by means of a system of drainage ditches that are true engineering works. The distances that have to be faced or the accidents of the terrain make no difference. When necessary,
[177] they use bamboo tubes as artificial channels. This system has been adopted by the "whites" and even by the towns. Since the high parts on both margins of the Paez River are bare of vegetation,

The people of
/356 cont./
43 Mosoco have numerous droves of pack animals for handling the
628 import and export traffic, in which the Guambianos (with their
492 horses), called kasukos by the people of Mosoco, who regard them as good friends and not very different from themselves, also participate. The fact is that they live together, work together, and do their trading jointly.

563 The relations between "whites" and natives in Mosoco
621 seem to be cordial and based on mutual respect.

Family economy

594 The Paez family is basically an economic unit. It is made up of the parents and the children, and it represents a
[602] closed but effective circle. They do not go beyond their own
[476] limits in any way, so that the mingas and the distribution of the
[431] first fruits of the harvests are carried out primarily with consanguineal and political relations.

594 The manner in which this economic unit functions and in
462 which its members collaborate can be clearly understood from the division of the activities by sex. The supreme management of the family economy rests in the hands of the man; it is he who owns the land, the house, the tools, and the domestic animals. His arm has not been taught to wield anything but the machete, the axe, and the shovel. He is the owner of the crops and the one who determines where, how, and when work is to be done. His primary work is outside the house: on the land itself. The woman, on /357/ the other hand, remains inside the house, and her basic work is connected with the administration and working up of the products handed over to her by the man. Cooking and
[464] weaving are her specialities. It is true that the woman hires
[178] herself out as a day laborer on the fincas of the "whites" and that in some parcialidades, such as Mosoco, she participates directly in the preparation of the land and the weeding of the crops, but this is a relatively new phenomenon and is not yet universally accepted among the natives.

261 In general terms, the primary incentive for economic activity
594 dealing with food is the satisfaction of the basic needs of the individual and the survival of the family group. It is the security

/185 cont./ In any
844 case, the birth, which is always regarded as very dangerous, takes
[343] place there. As a matter of principle, a midwife (ndõsoknãs) is
fetched. The latter, as the name implies, is not a shaman. She
[759] has nothing to do with shamanistic functions, but is qualified only
for births or external injuries, such as broken bones or flesh wounds.

The midwife may not be an old woman. She is fetched before the birth by the husband of the pregnant woman and always comes. Several times I asked whether in an emergency a man or the mother could help, but it was always said that the midwife
[465] always comes, no matter how busy she is. For her assistance she receives only her meals, unless complications arise. In this case she receives wool or natural produce as remuneration for her help.

In principle, only the midwife and the woman in labor are in the dúyat. The latter is in a squatting position. With her hands she holds onto a belt that is slung around the roof beam of the dúyat. If there is no belt, the husband may also be present, and he then embraces his wife from behind and holds her in such a way that she is likewise in a squatting position. The midwife
845 receives the child. If its position is not normal, for example, in
844 case of a breech position of the child, she turns the child so that the head lies downward. If the child is still not born, the mother must die -- as was explained to us -- for then nothing further can be done. This only rarely happens, however.

844 The midwife brings along her medicinal herbs, with which she rubs the body of the woman in labor. The newborn child is first washed with cold water and then wrapped in a piece of ruana
[412] and given to the mother. The severing of the umbilical cord is not done with the knife or the scissors, but rather, after the umbili-
[824] cal cord (kolwát) is tied beforehand with a homespun wool thread, with the sharp-edged cane of a type of reed. The father may see his child immediately after birth; the mother, however, stays with the child approximately two weeks longer in the dúyat. The afterbirth (duyáha), together with the umbilical cord, is buried near the menstruation house. The father digs the hole for this
[856] purpose, and the mother throws both into it. The hole must not be too shallow, for otherwise the dogs would dig them out, but not too deep either, for then the child would not get its teeth until very late and only with great difficulty.

/184 cont./

342 bear its entire weight. Over this frame are placed transversally
335 the pikas, beams that go from one wall to another, to strengthen
476 the entire structure. Then the four-slope roof will be raised and covered with bundles of sugar-cane leaves (flushets) or straw (sits) which are fastened around the frame, starting at the bottom; it is completed by the ridgepiece, more massive and notched in a straight line on both sides to a depth of some 50 centimeters; at the apex, some mounds of straw are piled up at regular intervals and a cross is set in each one of them. The man in charge directs the last touches from the ground: "There is not enough straw over there; there is too much here," he notes in a commanding voice.

The walls are made with tall stalks of maize placed in a row between the posts and tied with crosswise bindings, likewise of stalks. The partitions of the interior rooms and the doors, generally one, which leads to the exterior, are made in the same way.

342 In the construction all do the same tasks, except for the
476 man in charge, who supervises. Neither the man in charge nor
465 the workers are paid anything, "it is not customary to pay among the Indians"; they are merely treated to chicha, aguardiente, a meal with meat, and coca. A calabash of chicha and a bottle of aguardiente are presented to the man in charge and shared with the helpers. When the work is done, they get drunk and dance.

342 The women do not participate directly in the /185/
462 /illustration appears here/ construction work; they cook, distribute
476 food, keep the house supplied with firewood and water, talk, and delouse and comb one another.

342 Three types of dwellings may be differentiated among the
177 Paez, in accordance with the greater or lesser introduction and acceptance of foreign architectural features, since nowadays elements of foreign origin are spreading and taking root: bahareque construction, interior division into rooms, the square

/192 cont./

796 Then the new fiesteros look for assistants, called albaceros and mayordomos. At the close of the fiesta, accompanied by the cabildo and the old fiesteros, they go to the priest to be put on record and announced as the fiesteros for the following year. Each receives a church banner, and then in procession they walk round the church and proceed at once to one of the houses of the pueblo, previously requested from its owner, amidst the bursting of firecrackers and the strains of music. [273] There, chicha and aguardiente will be served to the albacero, mayordomos, and the others present, even before they have finished drinking the liquor of the old fiestero. They will also be given a meal, for which a bull has been slaughtered.

794 The months go by. The need for money to cover the costs 796 is pressing. Fiesteros and albaceros, with their wives and sometimes also with a few friends, leave their land and, keeping to themselves, set out for Inzá, La Plata, or Popayán to sign up as laborers on haciendas which they know personally or through [465] trustworthy references. Their daily pay will be one peso and food. Not even coca /193/ /illustration appears here/ is part of their ration. Husband and wife do the same work and earn the same pay.

After two months they return once more to their land, carrying in their pouches gunpowder, wicks, and salt. Some- [574] times, a machete fastened to the belt. The fiestero bears the brunt of the expense: camarico (1) /footnote 1 is missing; the camarico is the gift customarily given to a guest/ for the priest and the latter's fees; candles for the altar; gunpowder for the Mass and the social functions; the cleaning of the church; "care" for the albacero and hospitality to visitors for the period of three weeks. The albacero is in charge of the celebration of vespers: lights for the church, the vacaloca /"crazy cow," a feature of the fiesta/, fireworks, and gunpowder.

The mayordomos contribute money (one peso) for the priest's fees and candles to light the church.

/194/

796 Both the fiestero and the albacero have laborers whom they select themselves. The fiestero has the following: three for the

[133]
[788]

distribution of food; three chicha-makers, two men and one woman; two millers of sugar cane; one fireworks-maker and two women as
796 cooks. The transporting of the sugar cane is done by volunteers
● 465 who help out daily in exchange for drink. The albacero has the same laborers, and although he does not kill a beef to reward them, he does sacrifice a pig to this end, especially for the fireworks-maker, with all the honors of the table and the demands of etiquette.

[p. 22 skipped in paginating - Analyst]

/199 cont./

389 Explosive charges are made in the following way. The powder is packed into small sheepskin cartridges; these cartridges /200/ are tied tightly with maguey thread. Then they are pierced in such a way that the powder can come in contact with the correspondent fuse. They make with these explosive charges:

Firecrackers: a charge attached to a short stick.

Skyrockets: reed tubes full of powder, with one explosive charge, attached to a long pole. They rise to considerable heights and end with an explosion.

Stingers: firecrackers made of three charges attached to a stick.

Castle: a structure resembling half an ellipse, made of flexible rods to which the explosive charges are attached.

[796] The fireworks-maker is selected especially by the fiestero or the albacero, and at the time of the fiesta he distributes the firecrackers personally among the elders with a great show [465] of deference. The albacero must kill a pig or a sheep to reward him for his work.

[461] The making of these objects is slow: a month or even more, not because it is complicated, but because steady work on it is tiresome.

399 During the making of these firecrackers, with the relative 787 tranquility that this implies, a man may come to know of a 758 destiny which he possibly had not suspected: becoming a medicine man. While sitting at his work he may feel the "signs" that herald his future activity. This was the case with a medicine man of Calderas. As a young man he knew nothing about remedies or "signs." But as he was making firecrackers, he felt the signs. He had five children at the time. After that he learned what the good and the bad remedies were from another famous medicine man. He put his knowledge into practice, cured a sick man, and devoted himself to being a medicine man. The signs, they say, are sent by God.

/216 cont./

796 Father: "I want to beat this child because he cries too much."

Mother: "Why should you beat your child? It is not his fault. It is the fault of your penis."

431] At five o'clock in the morning the fiestero and his wife go to the house of the albacero with their "camarico": chicha, aguardiente, firecracker, skyrocket, candles, chicken, bananas, arracacha, yuca, meat, cumin seeds, and salt. At six o'clock they return.

The musicians play their instruments and the people make 522] jokes. One of them makes a taunting, jesting one referring to the activity of the previous night: "I am not going to mass, because I have no trousers. I have some, but they are stained." As the bells ring, the musicians and a few people go to mass.

XXIII

The Laborers' Day

796 When everything is over, the priest has left for Belalcázar, ●465 the musicians with their swollen lips and aphonic throats have 574 gone home, and the people are gorged with chicha and aguardiente, the fiestero still has to pay attention to--to care for--his obliging laborers. /217/ /Illustration appears here./ They did not have the opportunity to parade to the house of the albacero or to vespers or in the procession. Not even to get drunk to the same degree as the guests. The fiestero is also grateful for their services. Now, in payment for it, he must take care of them. For this he has left part of the beef under the smoke of the hearth. They will have their trough of chicha, their bottles of aguardiente, their firecrackers. They will be served at the table where the albacero was attended to

/217 cont./

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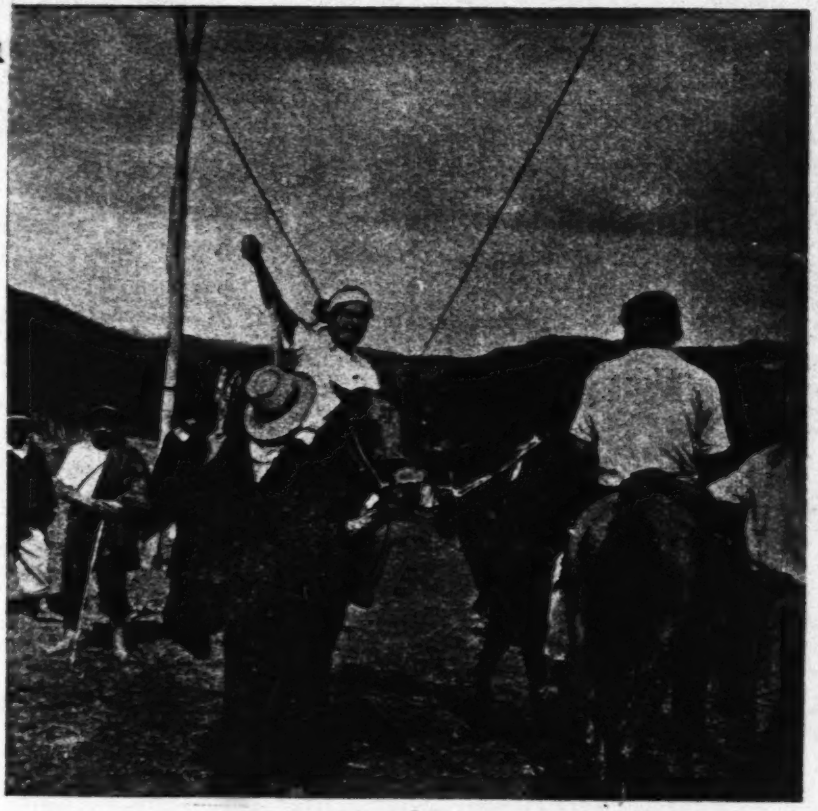

796 and in the same fashion. Abundant food and drink will be the
465 testimonial of his gratitude. They will also have the musicians
574 and dance. They will wake up in the morning, like those at the fiesta, lying on the ground.

/309 cont./

685 The natives do not steal maize. If they need some, they
243 buy it from their neighbor. Such transactions are made at very
[432] low prices. If someone refuses to sell, that is to say, "is stingy
[623] with maize," the buyer threatens to rob him, although he never
[692] does it if he is a good person, but will if he is bad (sorcerer).
Such thefts are punished by the cabildo.

243 When the ear of maize is filled out and tender (choclo /a
[789] roasting ear/) consumption begins, after the performance of
magical practices if the produce is from a new clearing (14).

14. Ibid., p. 246.

Consumption begins at the outer part and all around the field, leaving the central part to turn into dry maize. If someone picks maize from just any part, people comment acidly that he "eats like a dog." The harvesting of the maize is done in one or two days. Relatives and friends are invited to help
[476] and are rewarded with approximately one arroba. The same
[465] amount is also given to those who helped disinterestedly with the clearing and sowing.

243 /310/ An informant from Mosoco says that it is customary
431 among the natives to present relatives and friends with a "carrera" /stretch, row/ of each harvest. Those of wheat and barley are excepted. The carrera consists in harvesting all the "matas" /bushes, sprigs// that remain around the plantings, since, as we have seen, the harvesting is done from the periphery to the center. The beneficiaries in turn do the same, so that the amounts received are reciprocally returned. This favor to relatives and friends carries with it implicit factors of understanding and affection, for not all receive this manifestation of esteem.
243 The same informant says that the consumption of roasting ears
574 begins with what is called "cura de la labranza" /treatment of the field/, which consists of the following: The owner invites his relatives and friends to a kind of banquet with an abundance of tender-maize cakes /bollos/ or tamales /envueltos/, chicken, and other select dishes.

[Mosoco]

/313/

128 We present below a statistical table on the potato produc-
244 tion of 25 families. Nearly all of them have two harvests per
43 year. The first row represents the November planting and the second one that of May and June. For those who have only one harvest a year, the planting is in the month of November.

We establish, in arrobas, the amount planted, the amount harvested, and that intended for sale and for consumption. We specify in Colombian pesos the value received from sales, an estimate of the amount alloted for consumption, the total value of the harvests, and the costs. An arroba of potatoes is sold for four pesos, on the average, at the place of harvest. In Silvia it is quoted at six. The quantity left for consumption is valued
• [465] at two pesos per arroba, a standard price for everyone. Costs include only the expenses for mingas, wage labor, and contract labor. Family labor is excluded. We also determine the percentage of the total harvest allotted for sale.

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Families	Planting A	Harvest A	A	Sales $	%	Consumption A	$	Total Value of Harvest	Costs $
1.°	100	250	180	675,00		70	140,00		97,00
	64 (15)	125	53	212,00		72	144,00		68,00
	164	375	233	887,00	62,1	144	284,00	1.161,00	165,00
2.	30	100	70	350,00	70,0	30	60,00	410,00	.....
3.	20	30	15	67,50		15	30,00		.....
	15 (16)	20	10	105,00		10	20,00		.....
	35	50	25	172,50	50,0	25	50,00	222,50	.....
4.	30	150	100	350,00	66,6	50	100,00	450,00	.....
5.	5	15	2	6,00		13	26,00		.....
	15 (15)	9	...	....		9	18,00		.....
	20	24	2	6,00	8,3	22	44,00	50,00	.....
6.	20	70	40	140,00		30	60,00		15,00
	30 (16)	12	...	....		12	24,00		.....
	50	82	40	140,00	48,7	42	84,00	224,00	15,00

/The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

15. Planting by agreement. One provides the seed and the other the land and labor.

16. Total or partial loss of the harvest.

6: Bernal Villa--36 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

/314/ [Mosoco]

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Families	Planting A	Harvest A	A	Sales $	%	Consumption A	Consumption $	Total Value of Harvest	Costs $
7.	30	40	---	----	---	40	80,00		58,60 (17)
	40 (16)	30	---	----	---	30	60,00		------
	70	70	---	----	---	70	140,00	140,00	58,60
8.	40	40	---	----	---	40	80,00		------
	20 (16)	10	---	----	---	20	40,00		------
	60	50	---	----	---	60	120,00	120,00	------
9.	15	35	16	72,00		17	34,00		------
	40 (16)	--	---	----		--	----		58,60
	55	35	16	72,00	45,7	17	34,00	106,00	58,60
10.	40	200	140	420,00		60	120,00		------
	30	50	---	----		50	100,00		------
	70	250	140	420,00	56,0	110	220,00	700,00	------
11.	15	25	15	60,00		10	20,00		------
	30 (16)	15	---	----		15	30,00		------
	35	40	15	60,00	37,5	25	50,00	110,00	------
12.	30	100	70	350,00		30	60,00		99,00 (18)
	30	80	70	350,00		20	40,00		20,00
	60	180	140	700,00	77,7	50	100,00	800,00	119,00
13.	40	30	30	250,00		30	60,00		------
	35 (16)	35	---	----		35	70,00		------
	75	115	50	250,00	43,6	65	130,00	380,00	------
14.	30	60	24	108,00		36	72,00		------
	30 (16)	40	8	28,00		32	64,00		------
	60	100	32	136,00	32,0	68	136,00	272,00	------
15.	20	160	100	600,00		60	120,00		75,00 (17)
	30	100	36	120,00		76	152,00		30,00
	50	260	136	720,00	47,6	136	272,00	992,00	105,00
16.	35	100	50	250,00		50	100,00		------
	25	60	36	120,00		36	72,00		------
	60	160	86	370,00	46,2	86	172,00	542,00	------

16. Total or partial loss of the harvest.

17. Minga expenses.

18. Expenses of minga and wages.

6: Bernal Villa--37 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

/315/ [Mosoco]

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Families	Planting A	Harvest A	A	Sales $	%	Consumption A	Consumption $	Total Value of Harvest	Costs $
17.	...	...	...	....	...	...	.....	.....	.....
18.	70	700	466	1.732,00		254	500,00		389,30 (19)
	127 (15)	274	81	259,00		193	386,00		.....
	197	974	527	1.991,00	54,1	447	886,00	2.877,00	389,30
19.	30	300	250	1.000,00		50	100,00		45,00
	25	35	8	32,00		27	54,00		27,70 (20)
	55	335	258	1.032,00	77,0	77	154,00	1.186,00	72,70
20.	50	80	40	160,00		40	80,00		(11) 00'EL
	30	80	20	80,00		60	120,00		.....
	80	160	60	240,00	37,5	100	200,00	440,00	73,00
21.	28	60	22	192,00		28	56,00		.....
	20	40	16	80,00		24	48,00		.....
	48	100	48	272,00	48,0	52	104,00	376,00	.....
22.	5	15	8	32,00		7	14,00		.....
	5 (16)	5	...	....		5	10,00		.....
	10	20	8	32,00	40,0	12	24,00	56,00	.....
23.	20	60	30	120,00		30	60,00		.....
	20 (16)	20	...	....		20	40,00		133,00 (17)
	40	80	30	120,00	37,5	50	100,00	220,00	133,00
	20 (16)	20	...	....		20	40,00		.....
	30	40	8	32,00		32	64,00		125,00
	50	60	8	32,00	13,3	52	104,00	136,00	125,00
23.*	120 (22)	530	500	2.115,00	94,3	30	60,00	2.175,00	1.762,00

15. Planting by agreement. One provides the seed and the other the land and labor.

16. Total or partial loss of the harvest.

17. Minga expenses.

19. Expenses for wage and contract labor and minga.

20. Expenses for wage and contract labor.

21. Expenses for contract labor.

22. Seed purchased.

/331 cont./

461 insalivation, which disturbs the normal consumption of coca.
476 They worked steadily until 10:00 A.M., when they took a short rest. Then they went on working until 1:00 P.M., when they were served "refreshments," consisting of a cup of coffee and two large maize griddlecakes /arepas/ seasoned with salt and two eggs, which had been toasted on a piece of earthenware and finished by roasting in the hot ashes of the hearth. They went on working until 3:30 P.M. and then went to the house of the minguero. The reward usually consists of the following:

476 Two bowls of chicha; then a large platter with mote, stew
465 with potatoes or ullucos. They eat what they can and put the rest in an aluminum pan which they brought for this purpose, or they simply put it in a fique knapsack to take it to their respective homes. After this, they receive still another bowl of mote without meat. Then, once more, two bowls of chicha and, following this, a large pot overflowing with chicha to be distributed among those present. This is done for each of the persons in-
[273] vited. The consumption of chicha is thus abundant. After this they are given aguardiente. Already drunk, they organize a dance. All this, of course, among the natives of means. Among the poor, the mingas are usually made up of relatives, who "conceal the scarcity." No dancing is done.

476 In the mingas of Mosoco, they sacrifice bulls, calves, or pigs, and they always purchase one or two pounds of coffee and two or three arrobas of panela. From their own finca they consume wheat or maize flour, potatoes, ullucos, or broad beans.
[461] Coca has been replaced by "refreshments." During the work there
[276] are periods of rest that /332/ correspond roughly to taking a chew of coca in other parcialidades. The young people of Mosoco do not chew coca, but the old custom still influences the work. On the other hand, it is obvious that a minga in Mosoco is more expensive than paying wages, since various articles are purchased, and, in addition, they sacrifice cows or pigs worth more than 100
[464] pesos. But the mingas are indispensable in Mosoco as a means of obtaining labor which otherwise would be impossible to get. No one signs up for wages, because everyone has his own lands to work.

/333 cont./

417 bags full of frijoles, which are also suspended from the wall
353 posts. This is also where the grains (lumps) of salt are kept.
251 The amounts kept for the months of scarcity are not sufficient, but there are other comestibles that help them: domestic ani-
[244] mals, cabbages, onions, sugar cane, and coca. In Lame and Mosoco they cultivate a plant which they call ijuca de pijao. It
[464] is an edible discoria /Dioscorea/. We have also seen that want is avoided by going to work as laborers on the fincas of the "whites."

[263] Meat is also kept on the frame above the hearth. They utilize the smoke to preserve it. Salt is not used for this purpose.

251 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José, where large quantities of wheat are planted, one frequently finds under the eaves of thatched houses bundles of wheat that remain hanging for several months. In this way they preserve it from the attacks of small rodents, and the grain is of excellent quality because it dries out thoroughly.

261 During times of scarcity, the natives do not seek solace in
273 religion. Actually, their defense is in the sale of their own work-
276 ing capacity for a small daily wage, a few eggs of coca, and
[771] food. It should be noted that guarapo and coca are splendid
[464] sedatives against the pangs of hunger. It is curious that one of the
[465] most noted religious fiestas of Calderas is held precisely during a time of scarcity. Large quantities of guarapo are consumed for nearly a month.

Provision of water and firewood

312 In Tierradentro the rainfall is relatively high. As a result, water abounds in small and /334/ large watercourses. This geographical factor leads the natives to bring the water close to their homes by means of a system of drainage ditches that are true engineering works. The distances that have to be faced or the accidents of the terrain make no difference. When necessary,
[177] they use bamboo tubes as artificial channels. This system has been adopted by the "whites" and even by the towns. Since the high parts on both margins of the Paez River are bare of vegetation,

/346 cont./

466 given to him. From the harvests of maize, frijoles, and
427 arracacha the owner receives one bag (approximately half an
[241] arroba) of each product, and one or two bunches of the plantains.

231 He says that the hacienda owner has permitted him to raise
427 animals, but he has none, because he spends more time working
466 on the hacienda than in his own house. He says that he owned
[235] some 20 sheep, but is finished with them. Now he has only eight chickens.

427 The informant is the son of another tenant farmer and
466 grew up on this very hacienda. He has owned the house in which he now lives for 18 years. He has not signed any kind of document with the owner and has not been bothered by him about the possession of the house, but rather, on the contrary, has been urged by him to repair the house. In exchange for the use of the house and the land he is obliged to pay three days for rent
[465] per month, eating his own food and using his own tools. On the other days of the month he works for the same owner for daily wages, earning two pesos a day, excluding, of course, the days of religious or national holidays. Each week he re-
[452] ceives 12 pesos. From the owner he buys maize, manioc, and frijoles on credit, which is immediately deducted in labor. The owner only gives him salt and bananas. The panela comes from what he produces.

466 Since the informant specializes in milling and the making
427 of panela, he ordinarily does nothing else. His work begins at
257 six in the morning and ends at ten at night. He is assisted by his
[463] wife, who earns one peso a day, a deaf and dumb son who earns
[512] nothing, and another son who carries the cane to the sugar mill.
[465] This one is married, is also a tenant farmer, earns two pesos a day, and has a separate clearing. His wife does not help in the work because she stays at home caring for the house, looking after the children, and weeding the garden and the clearing.

427 At the mill he works even on Sundays at wrapping panela,
257 a task that cannot be neglected. Ordinarily he spends two weeks
461 at the mill and has the following one free (without pay) to rest,
466 to look after his own field, or to hire out his labor to anyone who

466 /346 cont./
427 needs it (nominal). On the following week he must return to
257 work at the hacienda.
[461] /347/ Each week he produces some 40 arrobas of panela.
[433] The informant boils it down, his wife mills with the deaf and dumb son, and the other son strips the cane. The milling
[422] equipment is expensive and thus belongs to the hacienda. His own tools are two shovels, one small bar, and three machetes, with which he works for the hacienda. The owner of the hacienda has tried to dismiss him three times. Once because he made panela for another owner; it displeased the owner to have him work elsewhere, especially at a mill. The informant did not want to leave his house.

427 The plantings that he has made have sometimes been
241 lost because of the wetness of the soil, leaving no solution but
466 to plant again. The owner does not help at all in such calamities. He has the right to plant as much as he wishes.
[423] Now he owns about 200 coffee trees, but the owner has forbidden him to plant more trees.

427 The informant has seven children, five of whom are females;
465 three of them earn a peso a day working on the hacienda, harvest-
466 ing and weeding coffee. One who is younger earns 50 centavos, and the son pays land rent and earns a daily wage of two pesos. The owner is not honest. To pay the daily wages he usually takes out bills of ten or twenty pesos and sends one of the peons to exchange them for smaller currency, which is always short when it is received. He pays in part and later maintains that the total was met.

Another informant from the same hacienda says that for two years of vaquería (tending cattle) the owner gave him in payment for his labor one mare that is not worth 30 pesos. While doing this work he suffered hunger and worked too hard. Now, aside from having remunerated him very badly, he demands the payment of rent for the two years that he was engaged in this work.

In general terms, the tenant farmers of San Andrés, in exchange for the use of half a hectare of land, one garden, and one house, are obliged: to pay three days of rent per month, providing their own food; to work as day laborers for the hacienda,

/347 cont./

427 earning a small daily wage (the maximum daily wage that they
466 earn is two pesos, but this is exceptional; ordinarily the men
465 earn one peso and the women 80 centavos); not to work on other fincas; to sell the surplus from their crops to the owners of the hacienda themselves, especially if it is coffee; to divide in half or distribute in equal parts with the owner the panela obtained /348/ from the ovens of the hacienda; the wife and children of the tenant farmers are also obliged to work on the hacienda. They have the right to plant any crop except coffee. They earn nothing on Sundays or on religious or national holidays, nor do they receive any remuneration for extra hours of work. They do not get any social services. When the owner is good, he gives them salt and, ordinarily, one "spot" of plantain (a ration of cooked plantains).

427 Many are sons of tenant farmers born on the hacienda itself.
466 Others have suffered in this servitude for more than ten years. Although a few have freed themselves from this situation, most of them resist giving up their rancho and their garden when the owners want to dispossess them. One tenant-farmer informant, when questioned as to whether his situation was good or bad, said: "I have to be satisfied, what else can I do if from childhood I have been here" (on the hacienda). Besides, he figures that if the owner wants to remove him, he will have to pay him
[423] for the improvements in his garden. Here and there a tenant farmer with more than 20 years of usufruct from his piece of land has already refused to pay his rent.

One tenant farmer who has worked for several owners recalls that some were good, but most of them were bad, ambitious, exploiters, who had their laborers work too hard, cheated in the wages, and one even gave them beatings.

Alimentary diet

262 We wish to note that most of the notes concerning the diet
[121] were gathered in the parcialidad of Calderas.

[San Andrés]

/345 cont./

427 San Andrés is the sole region of Tierradentro, as far as we
161 know, where tenant farmers are found. Although the number of persons sunk in this servitude is no higher than 100, the mere occurrence of this phenomenon already tells us of an excess of population, at least in the parcialidades of San Andrés and Santa
[131] Rosa, from which the tenant farmers came. On the other hand, the scattering of the Páez group through this very department of Cauca, the departments of Huila and Tolima, and even through
[311] the department of the Valle is well known. The colonization of the uncultivated lands in Tierradentro by the natives has been systematic and intensive during recent years. There is the utilization of ever more inaccessible lands for agriculture in the temperate thermal level. All of these are factors that clearly tell us of an excess in the Páez population.

427 Here is what a tenant farmer told us about the phenomenon
241 of tenant farming: As a tenant farmer he has the right to own a
●466 house, a garden, and a clearing. The house and garden are contiguous and complementary. His garden occupies one plaza /a Colombian measure with 80 meters to the side/ more or less, and in it he has planted plantains (about 200 trees), oranges (about five trees), onions, arracacha, manioc, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, and some 200 coca trees. He has surrounded the garden with barbed wire provided by the owner in order to avoid damage by the animals of the hacienda. He can lay out his clearing on any site of the hacienda. It changes every year. In his present clearing he has planted 1,500 manioc plants; 200 of arracacha (he could not find more seed); maize; small frijoles /fríjol chiquito/ (in one month he hills the "sprigs," in two months they flower, and in three months he harvests) and large frijoles /fríjol grande/, and, finally, about two loads of sugar-
[433] cane shoots (seed). The produce of the clearing and of the garden is primarily for consumption, but if there is a surplus he may sell it to anyone, even though the owner urges him not
[249] to sell to anyone but himself. The sugar cane is milled in the
[257] /346/ sugar mill of the owner, with the subsequent use of his implements to make panela, half of what is produced being given to him.

/346 cont./

466 given to him. From the harvests of maize, frijoles, and
427 arracacha the owner receives one bag (approximately half an
[241] arroba) of each product, and one or two bunches of the plantains.

231 He says that the hacienda owner has permitted him to raise
427 animals, but he has none, because he spends more time working
466 on the hacienda than in his own house. He says that he owned
[235] some 20 sheep, but is finished with them. Now he has only eight chickens.

427 The informant is the son of another tenant farmer and
466 grew up on this very hacienda. He has owned the house in which he now lives for 18 years. He has not signed any kind of document with the owner and has not been bothered by him about the possession of the house, but rather, on the contrary, has been urged by him to repair the house. In exchange for the use of the house and the land he is obliged to pay three days for rent
[465] per month, eating his own food and using his own tools. On the other days of the month he works for the same owner for daily wages, earning two pesos a day, excluding, of course, the days of religious or national holidays. Each week he re-
[452] ceives 12 pesos. From the owner he buys maize, manioc, and frijoles on credit, which is immediately deducted in labor. The owner only gives him salt and bananas. The panela comes from what he produces.

466 Since the informant specializes in milling and the making
427 of panela, he ordinarily does nothing else. His work begins at
257 six in the morning and ends at ten at night. He is assisted by his
[463] wife, who earns one peso a day, a deaf and dumb son who earns
[512] nothing, and another son who carries the cane to the sugar mill.
[465] This one is married, is also a tenant farmer, earns two pesos a day, and has a separate clearing. His wife does not help in the work because she stays at home caring for the house, looking after the children, and weeding the garden and the clearing.

427 At the mill he works even on Sundays at wrapping panela,
257 a task that cannot be neglected. Ordinarily he spends two weeks
461 at the mill and has the following one free (without pay) to rest,
466 to look after his own field, or to hire out his labor to anyone who

466 /346 cont./
427 needs it (nominal). On the following week he must return to
257 work at the hacienda.
[461] /347/ Each week he produces some 40 arrobas of panela.
[433] The informant boils it down, his wife mills with the deaf and dumb son, and the other son strips the cane. The milling
[422] equipment is expensive and thus belongs to the hacienda. His own tools are two shovels, one small bar, and three machetes, with which he works for the hacienda. The owner of the hacienda has tried to dismiss him three times. Once because he made panela for another owner; it displeases the owner to have him work elsewhere, especially at a mill. The informant did not want to leave his house.

427 The plantings that he has made have sometimes been
241 lost because of the wetness of the soil, leaving no solution but
466 to plant again. The owner does not help at all in such calamities. He has the right to plant as much as he wishes.
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Alimentary diet

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[121] were gathered in the parcialidad of Calderas.

Since the shapes are very simple, a special
/162 cont./
463 apprenticeship with a master is not absolutely necessary; Santos
323 Kiskue, at any rate, began making pots by himself after an
[467] accident that left him with a stiff left wrist. He uses the unmixed clay that stands near his house. Out of this, constantly moistening it, he shapes on a /163/ board lying on the ground an even, round "clay sausage," which he then presses flat with the palm of his hand. He builds up his pots out of this in spirals. They are put with their lower part on a shallow clay bowl, so that he can turn them easily in closing up the junctures (Ills. 184 to 186 /see pp. 282-283/). He lets the freshly made pots dry for about a week under a roof, then he takes them to a place where there is sufficient dry wood. Here he places the pots very close together, stacks wood and twigs over them, and lets them burn for about two hours. They are then ready for use.

i) Candlemaking

388 At the three annual church festivals a large number of
[796] candles (mbéla; Spanish: vela) are used to decorate the church.
[462] They are in part purchased, but largely homemade. Everyone is
[824] familiar with the process of manufacture, but for the festivals it is men's work. The wax is obtained from the wood laurel (Myrica pubescens Willd), whose small fruits, measuring about five to eight millimeters in diameter, are harvested in great masses in April and May. For this purpose the twigs are struck off and stripped of the fruits over the round berry net that is put in the opening of a large fiber bag. After they are dried, they are poured into a bag, boiled, and squeezed. The wax, caught in a vessel and dried, was formerly an important commercial product in the trade with the whites. In making the candles, wax is poured over the wicks until the proper thickness is obtained.

k) Fireworks

389 No celebration and no church festival is possible without
[796] setting off the greatest possible number of fireworks. The fire-
[541] crackers required for this are made by the men themselves.
[462]

5: Bernal Villa SC15 Paez SC15

467
874

[For information on the training of apprentice shamans, see category 756.]

/114 cont./

361 with graveyard, the community house, festival houses, and, more recently, mission station and school are the central pole, whereas the family houses are always built in other places, but on one's own land (Ills. 146-147 /see p. 264/). Sometimes
342 one erects a house merely for one harvest, that is, for half a
361 year, in the middle of his field that is to be harvested. During the work and harvest it may then happen that a Paez family will not see its neighbors for several weeks.

361 The size of the villages varies; Calderas is one of the
[162] largest Paez /115/ communities and contains about 200 houses with approximately 1,000 inhabitants. Other villages, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Lame, and others, are substantially smaller.
484 In each case it takes considerable time to cross a village, be-
361 cause this means, of course, crossing the entire valley basin in question. In the case of Calderas this is more than three hours
[487] for a European on horseback. The Paez, it is true, travel over the steep short-cuts much more quickly on foot.

b) The House

342 For laying out a house one looks for a building spot as
312 close as possible to a small brook, large numbers of which flow down from the slopes of the mountains and unite at the foot of the valley floor to form the Kokiyó River (literally "maize water"). When it is impossible to lay out a house directly on a brook, the water is led from above through a small ditch past the house. This, as well as any other running water, may always be drunk.
[514] It is known that the residents living above this house now and then urinate in the water, but "that does not matter at all," I was assured.

591 In principle, only one family, consisting of father, mother,
[594] and children, lives in a dwelling. The married sons must build their own houses. It is customary, however, for newlyweds to go
[342] on living in the house of the father for a time, until they have
[476] saved enough chicha and food to feed the friends who will help them build their house. In one case, however, in the house of

/118 cont./

342 and begin to chew coca and tobacco and to drink brandy to-
761 gether. After a while the shaman ascertains through signs in
789 his arms or legs whether bones of the Pijao are in the ground.
756 If this is not the case, the building may be started; otherwise
787 the man must look for another building site. After the building
is finished, a further ceremony is performed (see under "Religion"
342 /see p. 205/), and then the same shaman fastens special herbs
756 to the roof to prevent the ečˇ or gélyómp spirit, hostile to man,
789 from entering the house from there.

Houses are built only by men, by fathers of families.
342 One man alone, however, is not in a position to do this. At
● 476 least in the erection of the house posts he is helped by his brothers,
[462] as well as by other men and friends who have nothing else to
do anyway on these days and receive chicha and something to
342 eat for their assistance. The building material costs nothing,
273 to be sure, but the builder must furnish a substantial amount of
476 chicha, for which planning must be begun in plenty of time, two
or three years beforehand, by the planting of sufficient sugar
cane. This is the task of the married son who is still living in
[594] his father's house this long. To make the chicha he also still
[249] needs the sugar mill of his father, upon whose consent and help,
therefore, much depends. According to the amount of chicha
[461] that is available, the building of the house thus lasts two to six
months, depending on whether only five or 15 men participate.

342 The most important thing in the construction of the house
335 is the erection of the wooden frame (Ills. 161 to 164 /see p.272 /),
[476] which always requires several men who bring in the trees, which
are superficially smoothed with the machete, but not freed of
bark. The master of the house is able to make the walls by
[462] himself in an emergency. The covering of the roof, too, like the
entire house construction, is men's work, but the woman of the
house may hand up the sugar-cane leaves for the roofing. First
the vertical corner and side posts of the outer walls (yátšínda) are
erected, then the outer beams lying horizontally on the side
posts to support the roof (yátpopānt) are laid on, and, as the third
step in the work, the horizontal crossbeams (bīkas) are fastened at

C /128 cont./
311 those of the colonists in Tierradentro. In the territory of the
[137] latter there is almost no forest anywhere; all the slopes have been
[233] deforested and artificially, but not through excessive agricultural
C cultivation, made into pasture areas for the livestock of the
311 colonists or large landowners. This has upset the natural water
312 economy of the region. The water flowing off unchecked dur-
134 ing the rainy season washes away the humus earth and forms
C deep gullies on the slopes. The soil thus eroded is infertile.
[361] The mountain slopes dry out completely during the dry seasons,
P so that dwellings can only rarely be built in the higher locations
311 because of the lack of water. In the areas used solely by the
134 natives, in which a natural alternation of cultivated and fallow
312 land is observed, there are countless channels and small brooks
361 that make it possible to put a house near running water at almost
P every spot on the landscape.

241 Every task of the Paez that is connected with the fields,
461 be it clearing, sowing, or harvesting, is done extraordinarily
● 476 willingly by all participants, "because it is for food." There is
P simply no such thing as anyone unwilling to work in the fields.
134 The soil is not very fertile, since the major part of the moun-
241 tains in the region of Calderas consists of slate which often stands
[135] out bare and on the slopes is covered with a layer of humus or
P loam only 20 to 50 centimeters deep on the average. In the
241 valley the humus layer is often more than a meter deep. The
P abundant land available, however, does not make the utmost
[312] utilization imperative. And although the numerous mountain
brooks are diverted in such a way that every house has its running
water, nevertheless there is no acute inducement for irrigation or
terraced cultivation, nor does the use of them seem to be known.

Maize occupies the major part of the cultivated area, closely followed by sugar cane, the raw product for the manufacture of chicha. Both constitute the basic production of agriculture, and there is no Paez family that does not cultivate sugar cane and maize on its land. The size of the cultivated areas cleared by burning varies. The smallest fields that we saw

/128 cont./

241 were only ten by ten meters /129/ square, whereas the largest continuous field occupied an area of about 500 by 250 meters. I was assured, however, that such a large area of land was not required for one family and that the owner would use this large [433] cleared field only little by little for planting. A family can live, so I was told, from a field that measures about 100 by 100 meters, [244] which corresponds to the area of one hectare. In addition, every house has a vegetable garden of about 1,000 square meters in area for the planting of vegetable bananas /cooking bananas/, cabbage, beans, cucumbers, and onions.

241 The clearing of the fields, like the sowing, is done only 476 by men, whereas the harvest may be gathered by women or men. 464 Several men always participate in the clearing and sowing; one [462] man never works alone. At the very least his brothers or sons help him. Otherwise he must ask friends who must be served food and chicha during the work, and whom he likewise helps in 241 a similar instance. On the field intended for planting, first the thinner trees at a height of about one to one and a half meters are cut down with the machete and left lying on the ground as they fall. With this the first part of the work is done, and one has two to four weeks' rest until the felled young trees and branches are dry, but not dried up. Then the men go out into the field again and light the wood, but only the thinner branches of less than an arm's thickness are consumed. This burning takes a few days, and it is not infrequent that a woman helps her husband on the last day in order to burn up the remaining wood. The Paez, [515] by the way, give this handling of the sooty trunks as the only time that they get dirty and must wash their hands afterwards (Ills. 169 to 171 /see pp.275 -276/).

241 The fence which each field must have for protection 417 against the freely roaming domestic animals is built out of the unburned branches and tree trunks. For this purpose rather thick poles are rammed vertically into the ground, and the remaining branches and tree trunks piled up horizonatally to a height of a good meter. In order to climb over this fence one puts a notched tree trunk against it on both sides as a ladder (aff) (Ill. 168 /see

p. 274/).

/139 cont./

273 No new chicha can be made without some old chicha in the kánoa. The sugar-cane juice, even if it were left standing for many days, would still be merely sweet and not produce proper fermentation. After five or seven days, however, there is a certain kind of fermentation (probably as a result of the acid content of the wood of the empty kánoa), but of very bad taste.

[476] In case a person is planning a major piece of work for which he must ask people to come and then, of course, also entertain them properly for their labor, the sugar cane is milled the day before, and on the following day the chicha is ready and may be served. It is said that chicha drunk in any quantity does not produce discomfort of any kind or headache.

Besides the production of chicha, which is carried on by all families, each family also has in its house distilling apparatus [462] with which brandy is distilled from the day-old chicha. This distillation is commonly the work of the women while the men are in the field. It may also be undertaken, however, by men or youths. The distilling apparatus (walyíndeya) consists of three vessels, a large clay pot holding ten to 15 liters, which is two-thirds full of strong chicha, anise, a pound of dill, cloves, cinnamon, and other herbs. A second clay pot without a bottom is set on this and hermetically sealed to the upper edge of the lower chicha pot with a paste of water and wood ashes. Into the upper edge of this second pot are drilled three holes, by means of which a flat wooden plate is tied inside the pot, just below the mouth, and has cut into it on one side a groove leading to the outside through a hole in the wall of the pot and emptying into a tube. A shallow copper bowl sits, sealed airtight, on this second pot. In the distillation process the evaporated alcohol, passing through the second pot, strikes the bottom of the copper bowl. The latter is constantly filled with cold water. The alcohol vapor condensing on the underside of the copper bowl drips onto the wooden plate, flows out through the runoff tube, and is caught in bottles (Ill. 176 /see p. 278 /).

/170 cont./

491 Rather, these constructions seem to be a borrowing from the
177 Negro slaves who were brought into the region around Belalcázar
499 in very early times in order to work the gold and salt mines there. Both bridges would then be an African culture element in the Tierradentro region. They are suitable only for people. Larger animals are pulled through the river with ropes and must swim part of the way.

499 The two groups of posts on each bank -- a very modern method of bridge anchorage -- upon which the arch of the bridge hangs, are supported by a number of stakes driven into the ground farther up the bank. Bamboo poles serve as joining and holding material. The footway held from above is made with split bamboo, pounded flat. Additional bamboo tubes, secured by
[476] lianas, form the railing. For the construction of such an arched bridge the inhabitants from the adjacent villages along both shores come together. They bury the ends of two long and strong bamboo tubes in the ground, so that their tips lean
[623] slightly toward the river. Then the gobernadores /see the glossary, p. 249/, as the heads of the town councils at the time, start climbing up the poles, which, as a result of the weight, lean toward the center of the river, until the poles touch and the two gobernadores can shake hands from either side. With one hand they then quickly tie the joined tips of the bamboo poles together by means of lianas, which is the first step in the bridge construction. It is completed by the rest of the people (from Hernandez, 1944, p. 190).

/171/

III. Society

1. Political Organization

619 The tribe of the Paez consists of the inhabitants of a number of villages of the Tierradentro region who regard themselves as belonging together because of language, clothing, habits, and
621 traditions. Their present-day political organization is based on the village community. It corresponds roughly to the original

/172 cont./

123 of Calderas came from the weekly market in Inzá and visited
623 me in San Andrés. When in the course of the conversation I
554 mentioned that I would be coming to Calderas on the following Monday, he suggested that I arrive there early. He said that he already knew that I was interested in everything concerning
[476] his village and on Monday /173/ I could be present at a community project for all the men of the village in clearing a field. Since my interpreter was not free until Monday, I could not set out on Sunday in order to be present in time for the field work on Monday. I begged him to postpone the communal project for a day or two. That would be impossible, he replied, since this work had been decided upon for Monday by the cabildo and
123 he was not in a position to change the date independently. I
623 offered him as a gift a very handsome travel-machete with a
554 sheath, in case he might be in a position to postpone the work.
411 Generally the Paez own only the heavy, broad work-machete for felling trees, which they can drag along with them on the way to
[435] market only with difficulty. As a weapon for traveling, therefore, the lighter, chrome-plated machetes are greatly coveted, but on account of their high price of 12 pesos no Calderun has here-
123 tofore been able to afford one. I had put this gift aside for the
623 gobernador some time before, but had never found the proper
554 reason for presenting it. This time the occasion seemed very favorable and really worthwhile. The gobernador, although he was extremely anxious to be the first Calderun to possess the implement, explained that my request could not be fulfilled, since all the men had already been notified for Monday. I pointed out that he surely had enough messengers to inform his people that the work would not take place until a few days later. He could not make the decision to do this; he kept explaining that in addition the men would be angry. I proposed to him that I would treat them, at my expense, to ten pesos' worth of chicha to placate them, an amount that they had hardly ever had before. He could not make a decision; he finally said that he would try and would speak to his people on Sunday, and he hoped, in view of so much chicha, that he would succeed, but he could not.

Everyone grants everyone else

/203 cont./

571 whatever he expects and claims for himself, quite as a matter of
829 course. This results in an entirely natural self-esteem, injury to
155 which on the part of the "blancos" is felt as very painful by the Paez.

576 Within the Paez communities the obligation of a greeting (gwéčaya) by a younger person to an older one is strictly observed. Even a "family feud" does not absolve the younger people from the respectful greeting "pétenga" (translated by "good day") toward the older people of other families, who acknowledge it with " "pé'taw." Removing one's hat at the same time is not customary.

[608] A greeting by shaking hands takes place only among members of the family or with one's godfather or godmother with the salutation "ndyósta utsménga" (Godparent, how are you?), during which the hat is also removed. Contemporaries greet each other with

[521] "éwča" (how are you) and reply with "éwčataw" (I am well). Generally people chat awhile when they meet, introduce the conversation with a joke, a bit of news in the village, or perhaps merely a remark about the weather.

156 Though the Paez may be regarded basically as an individualist, this does not hold true universally. On account of the abundantly available land, it is possible for him to isolate himself and withdraw for weeks at a time to his separate farm, but
461 nonetheless the Paez does not like to drink his chicha alone. And
476 usually friends and neighbors help, not only with housebuilding or
156 clearing, but also with sowing and lesser tasks. The labor of the individual, in instances of mutual help, is merely loaned, however, since the same persons meet again for joint aid on the corresponding tasks of a neighbor. The owner in question must also make chicha and food liberally available for each task, which makes every joint task a small feast. The actual useful effects of the communal work are slight, and, as a visitor from the outside, one has the impression that the joint eating and drinking is the primary thing, interrupted at times by only brief periods of work. On sober consideration -- which no Paez, of course, undertakes -- the joint consumption in connection with a communal task is more expensive for the individual than if each person himself over a correspondingly

/203 cont./

461/ longer period of time, consumed the products he himself raised.
476 Thus the practice of communal work and the joint consumption
156 of food and drink connected with it do not unconditionally emphasize the necessity for remote individual farms as against the compact village layout.

556 /204/ From what has been said about joint work and the
461 joint consumption associated with it, it follows that, with this
[476] method of production and consumption, practically no one can acquire great wealth, for the more a person has, the more he needs to entertain his helpers. Theoretically, however, it would be easy to become rich, if, for example, a young man would clear an additional piece of land each year for the planting of wheat or sugar cane and sell its yield for money or barter it for horses or cows. He would have to do this for several years, and then his herd of cows and mares would increase quite automatically, and with it his wealth. The actual work necessary for this
556 would be slight. Nevertheless, this is not possible in practice,
626 because, on the one hand, most of the Paez do not calculate and think so far ahead, and, on the other hand, the sufficiently intelligent and industrious ones would be subject to the dangerous envy of the other members of the community. The democratization of the Paez communities not only favors what is common, but also prevents the individualization of what is common to all -- among other things, even the common poverty.

For this reason no show is made of any possessions that one
556 might have. Significantly, only in connection with taking an inventory of livestock at the end of our work did we discover that even in Calderas there are comparatively rich people. This was not to be seen by an outsider, since these families do not stand out from the others either by dress or by way of life. Moreover, they did not tell me anything about their property -- a matter of more than ten head of cattle in the case of three families. I learned about it more or less accidentally from other
[651] people. In the case of these families, I could not see any reason for the concealment of their wealth, since they do not have any obligations or taxes or fees to pay. They likewise do not play a

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796 assured -- always volunteer. Besides, no one can be forced. But this is not necessary, since there are always more applicants for this position than are needed. On account of the very high costs, however, no one can be fiestero more than three times in all. This number is not the absolute highest, but represents the normal maximum given the financial circumstances of the Paez. One may be albacero more often, however -- up to ten times, I was told -- since this person does not donate any cattle for feeding the village, but merely a pig for the meal on the eve of the festival, and bears the cost of the festival accessories other than the food supply (decorations for the church, candles, fireworks, and the "crazy cow"). The mayordomos only join in with contributions of money to pay the priest.

The fiestero and albacero themselves do not work, but merely serve the guests. For the preparation of the food they have [476] their helpers, men and women, who voluntarily help and at the end of the festival are specially entertained. Above all, carry- [273] ing the sugar cane from the fields for the large amounts of chicha to be prepared is hard work, for every fiestero wants to prepare the most chicha, since a festival is good only if one can be drunk for a long time.

On the principal festive day of the three annual festivals, which are essentially the same in arrangement, the women start to prepare the feast very early in the festival house. The men also arrive, chicha is drunk heartily, and the musicians start play- [541] ing early in the morning. No longer entirely sober, everybody assembles for the Mass, which is accompanied by the setting off of fireworks by those who have remained in front of the church door. [788] Then, led by the music, played incessantly, a procession follows, a parade around the church with the flower-decorated image of the Lord and those of the saints.

[431] In the afternoon, the fiesteros, along with the cabildo and [793] a large number of sightseers, set out for the church, in order to [794] give the priest a present of foodstuffs, meat, bananas, vegetables, and eggs in gratitude for the Mass that was held. After that the two fiesteros, along with their albaceros and the music, walk

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423 considerably larger parcels of land than others, for example, the
427 Guagáz family, who, according to my information, own almost half of all private land. Permission for the use of land is granted only for crops with a short ripening period, namely, wheat, maize, beans, and cabbage, but not sugar cane, coca, or bananas, which need several years to mature, in other words, can be used for years. As rent the owner receives a small portion of the harvest, which is left on the stalk and which he must harvest himself.

423 As a matter of principle, land cannot be bought, we were
[428] told repeatedly, for every man must leave his land to his sons. Even if a man has no sons, he may not sell his land, but must hand it over to his brothers. This was the information always
423 given in answer to my direct questions on the subject. /211/ In
437 practice, however, it is quite possible to sell land, and this is not infrequently done, but no one realizes that a land sale actually takes place when a man clears a piece of land for himself, plants it, and exchanges the entire harvest, including the land, for a
[115] head of cattle, a horse, etc. This is what Victoriano did, for example, in order to acquire a horse. He cleared and planted a piece of his father's land, about 2,500 square meters, to sugar cane, and when this was mature, he exchanged the harvest, including the land, for a mare. Nobody wanted to admit that this violated the principle of not selling land.

423 The land belongs to the father of the family, who, as a rule,
241 tills it with his grown sons. If the sons have their own houses,
59 they generally go on working with their father, since no one likes to work alone. At the harvest, the respective wives fetch the food
423 required for their families from the common field. If father and
427 son do not live in amity, the son must plant and harvest his own
59 3 field, for which he is then obliged to accept the help of friends.
241 It is considerably more expensive to entertain them than family
[476] help, for in the latter case there need not be any chicha for entertainment. Even in this instance, however, the son must ask his father and owner of the family land for permission to cultivate the land. This is not denied, however, After the harvest, this piece of land, since it will lie fallow now for about ten years, goes back

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105 "Araucanian" type (O'Neale, p. 115). In place of the shed rod we have a simple loop; in place of the heddle rod, a bundle of loops.
105 The warp threads are stretched in the form of the "false spiral warp,"
286 a mixture of the method of the continuous, circular warp with the
171 method of the terminating flat warp. This genuinely American way of stretching the warp is found among the Northwest Coast Indians as well as among the tribes of the Gran Chaco (Olson, pp. 114-121). Culture-historically H. Nevermann regards the various forms of American weaving /316/ as having originated on the basis of a native or pre-Polynesian plait-weaving. Among the Paez we find this technical stage in the plait-weaving of the carrying bands of the coca bags.

105 For dyeing, vegetable dyes are used, which dye only sheep wool, but not cotton.

Pottery is very simple. There are only hemispherical pots and bowls made with the spiral coil technique, both without any ornamentation.

The present political organization of the Paez is based on the village community. It is led by a village council (cabildo), whose members are chosen for a year from among the men of the village. The designations for the members of the cabildo and their functions are in part Spanish. In former times the leaders of the Paez were
[621] often men with shamanistic abilities. The village is not organized
[565] by either classes or occupations. No one need serve another for
[463] pay; the word and the thing are unknown to the Paez. The father
[464] of the family with his sons or brothers works his fields, and if
[476] friends or neighbors lend their help, it is compensated for by assistance in their fields.

[594] The family organization is basically the patrilineal,
[178] monogomous nuclear family, consisting of the parents and the unmarried children. Here there has probably been the least
[851] change in Paez culture. The children are given the family of the
[533] father. For her marriage the woman receives no dowry of any kind from her parents, and she keeps her maiden name. Since there are no social or financial reasons for concluding a marriage, a woman has only the merit of her personality and abilities. These are tested during a "trial year" before the actual conclusion of the marriage.

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342 and blows them into the air; with a small staff called "tama"
756 he cleaves the air in such a way that sometimes he appears to
787 be frightening away the spirits, sometimes threatening them,
[823] and sometimes clubbing them. If the signs (reflex movements)
are felt on the right side, the site is favorable; the opposite
denotes that the site is uninhabitable. The spirits are angry,
[761] or there are Pijao bones and gold at the site. If the site has
not been selected by the medicine man, even if the house is a
handsome one it cannot be occupied, for its occupants would
die, beginning with the children, continuing with the mother,
342 and ending with the father. The medicine man himself pro-
756 hibits people from living in a house built without the fulfill-
ment of this requisite. The medicine man's dictum is rewarded
with a bottle of aguardiente, an egg (1) of coca, tobacco, a

[804] 1. A measure of weight equivalent to the weight of a hen's egg.

calabash of chicha, and usually a meal with chicken. /184/
[789] This is called "care" /cuido/. When the house is finished,
the medicine man will place special remedies at the ridgepole
to prevent the ghosts or echi from descending by way of it or
from being angered.

342 Then come the mingas /communal work-parties/. A house
476 is built with the help of others. The people are invited, in-
cluding the medicine man himself, who goes to work as a
laborer. The work is organized. First, they go to the wood-
land for wood; under the influence of the guarapo, voices re-
sound, loud laughter is heard, and the deep sound of the
"cacho" /horn/ rumbles in the montañas, multiplied by its
342 echoes. Soon they report to the man in charge. They level
335 out the ground that will serve as the house floor; they dig holes
476 in which to sink the posts approximately two meters apart,
driven in solidly, and tied at the top to cross-pieces with lianas
(guák); the posts outline the shape of the house, and they will

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342 bear its entire weight. Over this frame are placed transversally
335 the pikas, beams that go from one wall to another, to strengthen
476 the entire structure. Then the four-slope roof will be raised and covered with bundles of sugar-cane leaves (flushets) or straw (sits) which are fastened around the frame, starting at the bottom; it is completed by the ridgepiece, more massive and notched in a straight line on both sides to a depth of some 50 centimeters; at the apex, some mounds of straw are piled up at regular intervals and a cross is set in each one of them. The man in charge directs the last touches from the ground: "There is not enough straw over there; there is too much here," he notes in a commanding voice.

The walls are made with tall stalks of maize placed in a row between the posts and tied with crosswise bindings, likewise of stalks. The partitions of the interior rooms and the doors, generally one, which leads to the exterior, are made in the same way.

342 In the construction all do the same tasks, except for the
476 man in charge, who supervises. Neither the man in charge nor
465 the workers are paid anything, "it is not customary to pay among the Indians"; they are merely treated to chicha, aguardiente, a meal with meat, and coca. A calabash of chicha and a bottle of aguardiente are presented to the man in charge and shared with the helpers. When the work is done, they get drunk and dance.

342 The women do not participate directly in the /185/
462 /illustration appears here/ construction work; they cook, distribute
476 food, keep the house supplied with firewood and water, talk, and delouse and comb one another.

342 Three types of dwellings may be differentiated among the
177 Paez, in accordance with the greater or lesser introduction and acceptance of foreign architectural features, since nowadays elements of foreign origin are spreading and taking root: bahareque construction, interior division into rooms, the square

Fire is also set to the vegetation on
/306 cont./
241 the ridges, crests, and windings, where no obvious advantage
185 can be gained and where, instead, it destroys a vegetation that virtually /307/ could be turned into a barrier that would prevent the danger of the animals.

The clearings are also laid out on the banks of brooks, streams, rivers, springs, and damp hollows, which, from a lucrative standpoint, is excellent, since it is precisely there that the harvest yields the most, but it is very harmful, since it destroys the vegetation that preserves the moisture and holds the soil, thus avoiding erosion.

241 The clearing is done by all the male members of the
●476 family. But more generally the mingas /communal work-parties/ do it. In this case, the workers first cut with their machetes the grasses, branches, vines, etc., in the lower part of the forest; then, with axes and machetes, they fell the trees. It should be noted that these trees are not cut at the base, but more or less at eye level. The fallen trees are allowed to dry for approximately one month and then are burned. The thick logs remain intact, as does the brush. This is piled up, and sticks are cut to make fencing. This work is also done by mingas. First the stakes are driven in about a meter apart. Then sticks and branches are woven in. The fences are made so tight that they prevent dogs,
[417] pigs, and other animals from entering. People enter by means of a stick with notches that leans against the fence on either side. These sticks are called afa, and they are also placed at difficult spots on the paths, chiefly for crossing obstructions.

241 In Mosoco, where the lands are cleared and divided into lots, clearings do not exist. Only in the "paramo," the mountainous region, can they be observed. But the custom of leaving the land uncultivated for several years has not disap-
[824] peared. The fences are made of lechero /Euphorbia/ stakes, a tree that has the peculiarity of taking root and continuing to live. But the use of barbed wire is steadily increasing.

Planting and harvesting

[152] Planting is conditioned by the pluviometrical conditions in Tierradentro. The summer months are January, February, March, July, August, and September, and those of winter are

/307 cont./

241 April, May, June, October, November, and December. Natu-
132 rally, these periods of summer are relative and correspond in reality to the temperate zone. In Mosoco and the high parts of the Cordillera, /308/ a fine rain is falling almost constantly, if not an actual downpour. In July, August, and September, the winter is harsh, influenced entirely by the trade winds from the southeast.

Bearing these climatic factors in mind, planting is done during the months of March, April, and May. They take advantage of the rains of these months. This agricultural cycle is common for all of Tierradentro including Mosoco proper. The "páramuna" part of Mosoco is excepted, for the reasons listed earlier.

243 Of the cultivable species, maize occupies the dominant place in the agricultural activity of Tierradentro. The preparation of the soil differs somewhat in the temperate and cold thermal levels. Whereas cleaning out and burning the underbrush are sufficient in the temperate one, planting beds are made in the cold one. Maize seed is selected from the best and most filled-out ears, avoiding the small kernels at the points. They believe that they would not fruit, calling them, for this reason, "maize-man," and, on the other hand, calling the big kernels
[842] that yield produce "maize-woman." They make the association that it is the women who have children, even though they do not conceive of fertility without concourse with the man.

243 It is common to have mingas for sowing. In this way the
244 work is soon finished. On the appointed day, eight to ten
● 476 laborers assemble, with bags full of maize tied at their waists;
[462] they start sowing very early. This is a masculine activity, al-
[184] though in Lame and Mosoco women also participate. The holes are made with a strong, pointed stick at intervals of one meter and 50 centimeters and to a depth of 10 to 15 centimeters. Six or seven kernels are placed in each hole. They bury the frijole next to the logs that remain from the clearing. Peas are also commonly sown there. The seeds of bottle gourds and ahuyama/ squash, /Cucurbita maxima/, which are sown in the maize fields,

/308 cont./

243 are also selected; the larger, round one is regarded as the
244 woman and the less vigorous one as the man. In the cold climates
476 they usually sow, in addition, broad beans and wheat, and in the temperate ones arracacha, manioc, plantains, and other species.

243 In three months, when the maize is man-high, weeding
476 is done. The underbrush is uprooted and left on the same ground to dry out and rot. It serves as fertilizer for the plantings. But the natives have no conception of fertilizers, and any suggestion made in this connection is regarded by them /309/ as a waste of time. There are also mingas for weeding, and boys and even women participate. In about six months the dry and yellow leaves are stripped from the stalks, a task which they call descalzar /to discalceate/; they believe that this makes the tender leaves acquire a dark-green color and the ears grow
[824] strong. The stripped leaves are used to cover the roofs of the ranchos which are built for watching over the plantings and to house the family at harvest time.

243 The fields are attacked by flocks of parrots and chamones
825 /a kind of bird/; they are driven away with scarecrows (kanasá), which are put in strategic places. Squirrels and dogs are also enemies of maize, and to protect it they build traps or use their shotguns. In addition, the women and children constantly go around the fields. Next to the rancho a high platform is often built, from which the integrity of the plantings can be guarded.

243 The natives know that droughts parch the sown ground and
789 an exaggerated winter injures them. When the leaves are scorched
754 and the plant does not make ears, they think then that envious people (the sorcerers) have cast a spell on the maize. In such cases, they call the good curer (té eu) to lift the spell. Protection thus has a magical character (13).

13. Bernal Villa, S. "Magia of Medicina entre los Paeces /Magic and Medicine among the Paez/," p. 245.

/309 cont./

685 The natives do not steal maize. If they need some, they
243 buy it from their neighbor. Such transactions are made at very
[432] low prices. If someone refuses to sell, that is to say, "is stingy
[623] with maize," the buyer threatens to rob him, although he never
[692] does it if he is a good person, but will if he is bad (sorcerer). Such thefts are punished by the cabildo.

243 When the ear of maize is filled out and tender (choclo /a
[789] roasting ear/) consumption begins, after the performance of magical practices if the produce is from a new clearing (14).

14. Ibid., p. 246.

Consumption begins at the outer part and all around the field, leaving the central part to turn into dry maize. If someone picks maize from just any part, people comment acidly that he "eats like a dog." The harvesting of the maize is done in one or two days. Relatives and friends are invited to help
[476] and are rewarded with approximately one arroba. The same
[465] amount is also given to those who helped disinterestedly with the clearing and sowing.

243 /310/ An informant from Mosoco says that it is customary
431 among the natives to present relatives and friends with a "carrera" /stretch, row/ of each harvest. Those of wheat and barley are excepted. The carrera consists in harvesting all the "matas" /bushes, sprigs/ that remain around the plantings, since, as we have seen, the harvesting is done from the periphery to the center. The beneficiaries in turn do the same, so that the amounts received are reciprocally returned. This favor to relatives and friends carries with it implicit factors of understanding and affection, for not all receive this manifestation of esteem.
243 The same informant says that the consumption of roasting ears
574 begins with what is called "cura de la labranza" /treatment of the field/, which consists of the following: The owner invites his relatives and friends to a kind of banquet with an abundance of tender-maize cakes /bollos/ or tamales /envueltos/, chicken, and other select dishes.

The
/312 cont./

244 pluviometrical system in this region is relatively high, and the
[134] soils are saturated with moisture. As a result, this method of making the beds pursues a protective aim for the seeds and fruits. Each bed is raised by a thickness of 60 centimeters, with a distance of one meter between one and the next. The formation of the beds has two stages: the molding /moldeada/ and the raising /alzada/. The former consists of lifting the grass covering and folding it over itself, following the capricious undulations of the ground. It is left like this for several weeks, while the grass completely rots away. This is the only fertilizer. Then comes the planting and after this the raising, an operation which consists of covering the molding with the crumbled earth taken from the part where the grass cover was lifted. In this fashion, the beds have abundant soil in which the roots can grow. The planting does not require any weeding.

In the region that the people of Mosoco call "paramo,"
[243] potatoes are planted without order or rows of any sort. In Moras-Mosoco, as in San José, Lame, Tumbichukue, and Vitoncó, two rows of maize are planted at the edge of the beds and within them the potatoes, very close together and without any sort of order. Frijoles, broad beans, peas, or cabbages are also planted
[243] there. Cultivation is multiple and thus exhaustive. After this harvest, wheat is sown, and then the land is left to lie fallow for three or four years, after which the process is repeated. Naturally, these collective sowings rapidly exhaust the soils. Hence, the May and June sowings yield poorly and usually are lost.

The work is done by the members of the family. Mingas
• [476] are still in force as a system of collective labor. They are usually
[464] attended by consanguineous and political familiars. Contract labor is common with Guambiano natives. Mosoco day-laborers are not encountered.

The potato harvest is selected into three classes: large, seed, and birucha. The first serves exclusively for the market, while
the last is for family consumption. /In the original text, the following tables for Mosoco, Lame, and San Andres, with the observations deduced from them, appear on two sheets inserted between pages 312 and 313./

/328 cont./

388 began to use other types of raw materials. The death blow was
43 thus given to the only home industry of the above-mentioned regions. Wax is still gathered, but the price for an arroba in Silvia does not reach eight pesos. There is no longer any profit.
388 The Indians go on using it to make candles for household con-
[373] sumption and above all for illumination at religious fiestas. We
[796] have described the methods of gathering, extracting, and manufacturing laurel wax in the work entitled "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," published in the Revista Colombiana de Folklore, Number 2 of 1953.

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Mingas

476 The minga is the most widespread form of labor among the
461 Páez. The natives can work for themselves alone and are excellent laborers. But the task would demand more of their time
[464] and effort. Thus, the minga serves to prevent "boredom" during the work, to gain time, and to provide a labor force which would otherwise be hard to obtain.

476 The minga then is a co-operative system of labor whereby the interested party invites a specific number of acquaintances to perform a job, duly rewarding them with food, drink, and coca. "Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense," says Hernández de Alba /cited in English/.

476 Indispensable articles of reward are meat, chicha, and, in
554 nearly all the parcialidades, coca. The incidence of the mingas is thus almost in direct proportion to the possession of domestic
[231] animals. Those who lack such stock, that is to say, the poor according to the concepts of Páez culture, work alone or in the company of their sons, if they have any.

476 In the course of the cultivation cycle the following mingas
241 are held: to fell the trees (clearings); to pile up the wood that remains after the burning and to cut stakes for the fence; to build fences; to do the planting and weeding.

In Calderas a minga for clearing is carried out in the following way:

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476 241 The master of the minga kills a head of cattle or, more commonly, a pig. He prepares a trough of chicha (fermented sugar-cane juice), several bottles of aguardiente, an arroba of mote (maize skinned with ashes), and procures a few pounds of coca. He invites the men of his choice. At dawn on the day agreed upon for the job, all those invited, with their tools on their shoulders, proceed with shouts to the house of the minguero. There they are given one egg (25) of coca, chicha, and a dish of

25. Measure of weight equivalent to a hen's egg.

476 461 241 mote with meat. At 8:00 A.M. they are all at work. Up to 30 laborers attend. They take along to the place of the work calabashes of chicha to drink during the rest periods, which correspond exactly to the "botada de la mambeada" /taking the chew of coca/. In the course of the day they have three mambeadas, and thus three rest periods. They more or less coincide with 10:00 A.M., 12:00 noon, and 2:00 P.M. During these rest periods they sit, talk, laugh, drink /330/ chicha, and soon go back to the work enthusiastically. They do it steadily and diligently.

476 241 No one talks then. At 4:00 P.M. they leave work and go to the house of the minguero, where their respective wives are already. Everyone receives chicha and aguardiente. Then the food, consisting of a large wooden platter full of mote, stew /revuelto/ with frijoles, arracacha, plantains, and three pieces of meat. Since they cannot eat all this, they put it in fique knapsacks to [782] take it to their respective homes. After eating, they pray, always invoking the deceased relatives of the minguero, whether [273] they be ancestors, collaterals, or descendants. Then, they re- [535] ceive new gourds of chicha until they are drunk. Very often [578] they dance. There is no lack of fighting on these occasions.

476 435 According to an informant from Calderas, one minga with 15 laborers costs the following:

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1 bull	$40.00
1 1/2 arrobas of maize	1.50
2 pounds of coca	3.00
3 loads of chicha	6.00
Total	$50.00

The prices cited above prevail only among the natives. Among the "whites" an arroba of maize costs $6.00, a pound of coca $3.00, the cattle $25.00 per arroba, and chicha has a higher value. In the expenses of the minga there is no mention of the cost of aguardiente, frijoles, arracacha, and plantains, which are usually mixed with the mote. It should be noted that the articles listed are produced on the same finca, with the exception of the coca, which has to be purchased. In San Andrés the mingas consist of six to ten laborers more or less, usually relatives. Mote, stew with plantains, manioc, arracacha, pork, chicha, and coca are served. No cattle are killed, and there is no dancing after the work. The costs of the minga are as follows:

1 pig	$35.00
1 trough of chicha	2.00
1 arroba of maize	1.50
1 pound of coca	1.00
3 pounds of salt	0.60
/331/ 3 pounds of frijoles	0.60
2 arrobas of manioc	1.00
2 bunches of plantains	2.00
Total	$43.70

476 In Lame the chicha is purchased in Suin and Chinas, as is the coca. They commonly kill a pig.

In Mosoco we had the opportunity to observe a minga for the raising of the seed beds. There were three women, one boy, and five men. They were relatives. They had eaten at seven
461 in the morning. They worked in a group without distinction as
476 to sex or age, talking and laughing. Only the older ones, who usually chew coca, worked in silence, for talk produces

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461 insalivation, which disturbs the normal consumption of coca.
476 They worked steadily until 10:00 A.M., when they took a short rest. Then they went on working until 1:00 P.M., when they were served "refreshments," consisting of a cup of coffee and two large maize griddlecakes /arepas/ seasoned with salt and two eggs, which had been toasted on a piece of earthenware and finished by roasting in the hot ashes of the hearth. They went on working until 3:30 P.M. and then went to the house of the minguero. The reward usually consists of the following:

476 Two bowls of chicha; then a large platter with mote, stew
465 with potatoes or ullucos. They eat what they can and put the rest in an aluminum pan which they brought for this purpose, or they simply put it in a fique knapsack to take it to their respective homes. After this, they receive still another bowl of mote without meat. Then, once more, two bowls of chicha and, following this, a large pot overflowing with chicha to be distributed among those present. This is done for each of the persons in-
[273] vited. The consumption of chicha is thus abundant. After this they are given aguardiente. Already drunk, they organize a dance. All this, of course, among the natives of means. Among the poor, the mingas are usually made up of relatives, who "conceal the scarcity." No dancing is done.

476 In the mingas of Mosoco, they sacrifice bulls, calves, or pigs, and they always purchase one or two pounds of coffee and two or three arrobas of panela. From their own finca they consume wheat or maize flour, potatoes, ullucos, or broad beans.
[461] Coca has been replaced by "refreshments." During the work there
[276] are periods of rest that /332/ correspond roughly to taking a chew of coca in other parcialidades. The young people of Mosoco do not chew coca, but the old custom still influences the work. On the other hand, it is obvious that a minga in Mosoco is more expensive than paying wages, since various articles are purchased, and, in addition, they sacrifice cows or pigs worth more than 100
[464] pesos. But the mingas are indispensable in Mosoco as a means of obtaining labor which otherwise would be impossible to get. No one signs up for wages, because everyone has his own lands to work.

/332 cont./

476 184 From the data on the mingas in the three parcialidades, we see that on the whole they have similar rules. But in Mosoco there is already a modified procedure, both in the rewards and in the form of the work. In San Andrés, Calderas, and Lame, a minga is relatively cheaper than paying wages, since they actually buy only salt and coca, when they do not cultivate it on their own fincas.

Communal tasks

476 651 Among the Páez there is another type of co-operative labor different from the system of the mingas. It might be called communal work, and it pertains basically to the execution of tasks for the common welfare, such as, for example, the construction and maintenance of the roads, bridges, public buildings (schools, church, rectory, house of the cabildo) and the cultivation of the clearing of the saint.

To this end, the cabildo calls upon all the able-bodied men in the parcialidad, who come supplied with their respective rations of coca and work tools.

The execution of the works of communal interest is a duty of every member of the parcialidad, and anyone who refuses to lend his aid is punished by the cabildo and often taken before the Colombian authorities. The greater or lesser effectiveness of this obligation naturally depends on the moral authority of the members of the cabildo and, above all, of the Capitán of the parcialidad. In many parcialidades, the members openly refuse to give their share of labor, and in such cases the roads and public buildings are in precarious condition.

/333/

Foresight and storage

447 353 251 In all of the native dwellings there are frames plaited with rods and vines above the hearth and also at what we might call the open ceiling. The ones of the fireplace are suspended, while the others rest on the braces or crosspieces that give strength to the walls of the house. This already clearly indicates to us that the natives have foresight. On these frames there are ears of maize tied by their own husks, bundles of wheat, and

/336 cont./

428 together. The land does not belong to the cabildo. Women do not inherit. Only the men. The women go with their husbands. Among the men it is divided into equal shares. The /337/ sons are the legitimate heirs. If a man dies without leaving sons, [593] his brother inherits. A brother can be asked for a piece of land to [423] work. And he gives it. If we are niggardly about it, what will [425] my brother eat, how will he support his children. The eldest son is important, because if the father dies, it is he who takes charge of the family."

The words are nearly all textual. One may deduce from them that inheritance is carried out through the male line. It is the men who inherit the land, houses, and animals, in equal shares. The women virtually do not inherit, since, when they marry, they go with the husband. The sons are the legitimate heirs. If a man dies without leaving progeny, his brothers inherit.

423 The women, nevertheless, can also be heirs and in equal 428 shares with the men, if the husband has no land to work. Cases [591] are not frequent, but neither are they rare, when the man goes to live in his wife's home, where he remains and works the land [563] which belongs to him through his wife's right. Likewise some "whites" who managed to marry natives have the right of usufruct over the lands of their wives, and the latter demand land to work from the cabildo if they do not possess any.

423 Another Calderun informant, one of the major owners of 428 land in extensity wishes to leave it to his sons without dividing it. Since there is enough land, there is no reason for them to quarrel. Since two of his sons went to Cali when they were small, he says that if they should return there is land for them to work. 423 The lands are solely for the men; the women marry and go with the husband. Referring to the llano of Calderas, he says that it belongs to all of the members of the community. They may build their houses there, while those from other parcialidades [342] have no right to do so. If a member builds a house on the com- [476] munal llano, all the others are obliged to help him with timber and labor. Even the women. The land is communal because the cabildo has decided upon it. Some have plots on this

/355 cont./

443 of the municipio and even from Calderas flock to the market
438 in Belalcázar. Itinerant peddlers are numerous in Tierradentro,
439 and several of them walk through the parcialidades offering their wares. The articles that they sell are few. Traders also travel through the parcialidades, chiefly to acquire cattle that bring them handsome profits. But there are also those who go from
439 house to house to buy agricultural produce. A trader from
426 Mosoco, mestizo, bilingual, boasts of his friendship with the natives and of the trips that he took, up to about four years ago, through Suin, Chinas, Calderas, Avirama, and Lame, distributing ("showering") advance money for maize, frijoles, laurel wax, saffron, and cattle. "A debt with Indians is never lost," he states categorically, to emphasize the Indians' honesty. At harvest time he returned to collect the products bought and he took them directly to Silvia. He also says that from San Andrés he took from 100 to 200 arrobas of panela each month to sell in Mosoco. Lately, owing to the impassable condition of the Inzá roads, he has given up this business.

443 The parcialidad of Mosoco, and in general the entire
438 hydrographic valley of the Moras River, which contains the
439 parcialidades of San José, Mosoco, Vitoncó, Lame, Suin, and Chinas, trades with the municipio /356/ of Silvia, located on the western slopes of the Central Cordillera. All of the agricultural production goes there: potatoes, maize, wheat, barley, peaches, garlic, broad beans, and ullucos. Only when the prices of agricultural produce are low in Silvia, do they go to Belalcázar and Valencia. But this rarely happens. From Silvia they bring, in exchange, all their tools, their clothing, drugs, and housewares. The Mosoco women are the chief buyers of woolen rebozos (rebosos de Castilla), showy necklaces, gold earrings, and hairpins; the men, of fine cloth hats, fabric for their trousers, and shirts.

427 The riding paths in that area are surprisingly well main-
(476) tained. Each year, in the summertime, all of the neighbors take charge of needed repairs, and they are an obvious contrast to the riding paths of the municipio of Inzá. The people of

The people of
/356 cont./

43 Mosoco have numerous droves of pack animals for handling the
628 import and export traffic, in which the Guambianos (with their
492 horses), called kasukos by the people of Mosoco, who regard them as good friends and not very different from themselves, also participate. The fact is that they live together, work together, and do their trading jointly.

563 The relations between "whites" and natives in Mosoco
621 seem to be cordial and based on mutual respect.

Family economy

594 The Paez family is basically an economic unit. It is made up of the parents and the children, and it represents a
[602] closed but effective circle. They do not go beyond their own
[476] limits in any way, so that the mingas and the distribution of the
[431] first fruits of the harvests are carried out primarily with consanguineal and political relations.

594 The manner in which this economic unit functions and in
462 which its members collaborate can be clearly understood from the division of the activities by sex. The supreme management of the family economy rests in the hands of the man; it is he who owns the land, the house, the tools, and the domestic animals. His arm has not been taught to wield anything but the machete, the axe, and the shovel. He is the owner of the crops and the one who determines where, how, and when work is to be done. His primary work is outside the house: on the land itself. The woman, on /357/ the other hand, remains inside the house, and her basic work is connected with the administration and working up of the products handed over to her by the man. Cooking and
[464] weaving are her specialities. It is true that the woman hires
[178] herself out as a day laborer on the fincas of the "whites" and that in some parcialidades, such as Mosoco, she participates directly in the preparation of the land and the weeding of the crops, but this is a relatively new phenomenon and is not yet universally accepted among the natives.

261 In general terms, the primary incentive for economic activity
594 dealing with food is the satisfaction of the basic needs of the individual and the survival of the family group. It is the security

7: Hernández de Alba SC15 Paez SC15

● 476

[Information on communal labor forces as forms of required work levies will be found in category 651.]

7:Hemández de Alba E-54(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The main subsistence of these tribes was and still is based on the cultivation of potatoes, which grow in great quantities in the higher portions of the territory known as Tierradentro, and maize, which is acclimated to the temperate and cold zones. There are three varieties of maize: sweet, soft, and hard. Additional crops were and are yuca or manioc, sweet potatoes, auyamas, ullucos, purutos, frijoles, arracacha, and various other vegetables, and a variety of fruits, including bananas, guayavas, avocados, papayas, pineapples, and passion fruit. Today the *Páez* and *Moguex* are beginning to grow wheat, coffee, which is an important item in their economy, and sugarcane, from which is made a coarse sugar and molasses for their fermented drink, guarapo.

[478] [433] [273]

241 The men and women of each family generally cultivate the family plot, but for large-scale maize or coffee planting, and for cultivation of the lands of the Church or saint, they work communally, and have meetings called "mingas." Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense. The beneficiary must feed his helpers, generally sacrificing a pig and preparing great quantities of chicha for the libations and nocturnal dances after the work. All adults must participate in working the Church lands but each brings his own food.

476 [782] [273]

241 Implements of cultivation are the digging stick, or macana, for making holes for planting, machetes and axes for destroying vegetation, and picks and shovels for removing earth, except where replaced by plows pulled by animal traction.

412 407 492

231 **Domesticated animals.**—Domesticated animals include chickens, turkeys, some pigs, dogs, and a few horses and cows. All but the turkeys are of European origin. These animals are rarely sold or killed for food, except for feast days, magical ceremonies, meetings, and visits of relatives, friends or distinguished White men. But sometimes the Indians buy meat in the weekly market and hang it over the hearth, where it is preserved by the smoke.

[177] [438] [251]

574 A custom which has persisted since the beginning of the Colonial Period is that of always giving a guest the "camarico" or "cariño" (affection), a present varying from an egg to a chicken, together with some potatoes, vegetables, and coffee beans.

431

262 Formerly, meat was obtained from wild rather than domesticated animals—boars (zaínos), guaras, guatines, birds, and guinea pigs, the last being true domesticated animals kept in some numbers in the native houses.

136 231

252 **Food preparation.**—Food was cooked in pottery ollas, but metal and enamel ware is now often used. The *Páez* make "mute," a soup of boiled maize, cabbage, squash, and potatoes, and "cocido," a soup

[415] [177]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

342 [177] Some had wooden doors and windows, and were built with nails and wires, though most were still made with vegetable materials.

The modern *Moguex* house has two rooms. The main one, entered through a small door, serves as storeroom for goods to be sold, reception hall, dancing place, and a room in which to keep watch over the dead. The other is a pantry for provisions and drinks; here are kept [354] kitchen utensils. In the center is the fireplace and around it dried [352] cowhides or platform beds made of horizontal poles tied to stakes [476] driven in the ground. One's neighbors aid him to build his house, [461] transporting heavy timbers over light rollers and singing rhythmically as they heave together. If the owner of a new house is a man of [554] means, he pays for a feast of benediction or consecration carried out [778] with a Catholic priest, a godfather, and a godmother.

The *Páez* does all this and in addition puts some pieces of silver 352 money under his house to assure his good fortune. In the main house [415] he places the metate on stakes, and in a secondary house, the press [353] for extracting wax from laurel, one or more troughs or hollowed trunks, [354] and large jars for chicha and guarapo. From the roof frame hang bags, [524] or "mochilas," of netted hemp for belongings. There is also a bam- [283] boo candlestick, the wooden feast drum, sometimes a tiple or small guitar, and, nailed to the wall, a spindle. Outside, the loom stands 404 against the wall Beyond it is the sugarcane mill, which is made of 286 a section of tree trunk with a hole above a projection on which the 249 cane is pressed by hand with a rod which crosses the hole. Some mills consist of two or three wooden cylinders rotated by animal power.

243 In each maize field is a small, temporary house and a high platform 342 where a watchman frightens the parrots and parakeets with periodic cries and motions.

Each *Páez* group today has its communally built pueblo, with 177 "bahareque" buildings grouped around a rectangular plaza: a church, 361 with its arched portico and small tower in imitation of Colonial architecture, a house for the priest, a school, and two or three large houses for meetings and fiestas, where they dance, sing, and sleep during fiesta days. But ordinarily, the people remain at their distant houses and fields, and do not live at the pueblo, the only permanent inhabitants of which are a few Whites and Mestizos.

ENGINEERING WORKS

491 The Spaniards found bridges which they described as "weak and 499 flexible bridges of bamboo" and "bridges of vines." A territory so broken and crossed with so many rivers and canyons naturally stimulated the *Páez* in the construction of bridges and the laying out of roads. Today they make four kinds of bridges: (1) A simple vine or cable stretched across the river; (2) a kind of wooden stairs placed

/187 cont./

593 and de facto (with a machete) aggression of a married son (23 years old) against his parents, and the situation calmed down when the father succeeded in disarming the aggressor.

Brothers and sisters respect each other. They avoid aggression, and when they are little they play together. The younger brothers greet the older ones, and when the latter marry, they receive, kneeling, the blessing of the former.

[241] The fruits of the harvests are shared among the brothers, just as they also mutually help one another in the arduous [476] agricultural work. According to an informant, men care more for their brothers than for their sisters, because the latter, upon marrying, leave the home. Nevertheless they show affection in their conduct with both sexes. Relations between sisters and the mother are intimate, as they live together under the same [855] roof and intermingle in performing the same work. The older ones help to bring up the younger brothers and sisters. The latter call the eldest brother and eldest sister táta and máma, names that they abandon when they have reached adulthood. [627] In case of a fight involving one of the brothers, the others go to his assistance and take vengeance if anyone has been injured, [623] but this is not an obligation. Quarrels between brothers may [692] arise over the distribution of land. In the greater number of such cases the cabildo settles the differences.

602 Relations between the families united among themselves by blood ties are intimate. They visit one another frequently and are shown painstaking treatment.

593 Mingas[1] are organized more readily among brothers, who [476] "cover up their poverty." In the religious festivals they mutually [651] back one another and during occasional meetings they endeavor [796] to drink and eat together.

1/1 [i.e., meetings for collective work--Analyst]

/111 cont./

3. Anthropological Remarks

114 Since I did not take any anthropological measurements
141 among the Paez personally, I cannot give any numerical data. These investigations were undertaken during my stay by the Colombian anthropologist, Nestor Usacategui, but have not yet been published.

14 From the somatic point of view, as far as the men are concerned, they are generally medium-sized, slim, with narrow shoulders, seldom thickset. As practiced climbers and mountaineers, they are never obese. They do not give the impression of being undernourished, but their padding of fat is very thin. Their arm and body musculature is also poorly developed (cf. Ill. 173 /see p. 277/). They are unable to lift large loads.
[482] A maximum of 25 kilograms is transported by means of the fiber bags hanging down on their backs and carried with a chest-band. Their calves are muscular, but not fat. Fallen arches prevail
• [481] generally. Their gait is slightly bowlegged; the great toes point inward during walking. The same somatic peculiarities are also found among the women. In youth they are well-proportioned, in old age never fat.

141 In general brachycephaly predominates, but it is not extreme. The faces are oval, the cheekbones only slightly prominent. The nose is primarily straight, sometimes slightly concave, and of medium width. Among women one sometimes finds slightly distended alae. The forehead /112/ is high, straight,
142 and steep. The eyebrows are not very pronounced. The eyes are sometimes slightly slanting and show -- especially among women -- a slight Mongolian fold. The mouth is large, the lips somewhat puffy. The eye color is dark brown and shining, the skin color medium-brown. In Avirama there was proudly introduced to us a family whose members, along with normal skin-color and dark eyes, have reddish-blond hair. One of the grandfathers was said to have been lighter colored and to have had even lighter hair. The normal color of the hair is dark; the hair is straight, but not stiff, and sometimes wavy. Even in old

/113 cont./

361 but rather we are /114/ concerned, almost without exception, with individual farms scattered on the slopes of the mountains, where the families live in the midst of their cultivated fields [157] (cf. Ills. 156 and 157 /see p. 269 and 270/). The Paez is by no means an unsociable person and likes to take part in the festivals, but he does not like to live closely confined in a village and to have his neighbors always around him; rather, he prefers to live quite far away from the next house, surrounded by his animals, in order to be able to go about his daily work in the fields undisturbed with his family.

423 609 Every Paez has a strong tie to "his soil," and the fear that he could be robbed of his soil and land dictates his unfriendly and forbidding attitude toward the stranger. Besides, for centuries their experiences with the whites have been too unfortunate for the Paez to be able to understand that a stranger might come for entirely unselfish reasons, merely in order to become acquainted with them and their country.

423 [342] [421] The Paez builds his house, as the family's focus and social center, only upon his own land, which he inherited from his fathers and which, through all subsequent generations, belongs to the family that first cultivated it. There is land in sufficient quantity in every family; in case of need anyone can also find ownerless, uncleared land on the highest sites of the mountain ranges.

Whereas the slopes of the mountains are private property after the initial clearing, the valley floor with the community 487 house and the festival plaza is community land. The houses are [481] connected with one another, as well as with the village plaza, by means of footpaths which are always very narrow because the Paez, even in larger numbers, never walk side by side, but always one behind the other. Originally even the connecting trails between the individual villages, the trails that had to be taken to the weekly markets in Belalcázar or Inzá, were no wider. In more recent times, however, visits on the part of secular and religious authorities made it necessary to widen the trails for riders.

31 Since there are no compact settlements among the Paez, there is also no geographical variations of the village. The church

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

147 the odor peculiar to the Indians, which becomes quite noticeable when they are sweating and which so closely resembles that of the secretion of the so-called *sahino*, or wild hog (*Dicotyles tajacu* L.), that I have more than once been deceived into believing that our trail crossed the path of a drove of these animals.

516 When at rest the Paez men almost invariably sit on their heels, the toes sustaining the whole weight of the body, while the women sit with their legs stretched together on the ground, [514] even when near the fire in their houses. In micturition young ● 481 girls remain standing. The gait of both men and women is short-paced and easy, the body being always slightly inclined forward, probably on account of the habit of carrying heavy loads.

824 Like all children of Nature, the Paez Indians are very keen 825 observers of their surroundings, as is shown by the minuteness of their differentiation in plants and in certain groups of insects. Castillo, for instance, gives the names of no fewer than six different varieties of ants —

[552]

kan-kik	*ri-kik-ne*	*oia-i*
kik-fints	*gnne-fandi*	*to-fiti*

and I collected very few plants for which they did not have a ready name.

Reproduction and Death

881 When a girl reached puberty the event was celebrated among the old Paez Indians by a special dance called *itsa-ko*, during which the young naked female was placed in a hole dug outside the hall-house and thoroughly washed with *chicha*. We have no 836 notice of pre-marital liberty being conceded to women, nor of the relation of children to parents in the family organization. As 595 tradition has it, the pre-conquest Paez were polygamous, and notwithstanding the efforts of the missionaries, it is almost certain that this practice has not completely disappeared. We know nothing about the existence of marriage ceremonies before 581 the introduction of the Catholic ritual. It is likely, however, [586] that marriages were endogamous and free, and, as such, a very frail institution, as Castillo informs us that even in his time

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

157 pipes they play while walking along, unless their hands are kept
593 busy plaiting braids of gynerium bark in the manufacture of
[663] their hats. This is the exclusive occupation of the men. Women almost invariably walk along spinning wool, their distaff under the left arm and the spindle in the left hand, while the right hand is busy at the wool.

883 The Paez maidens are fond of flowers and are very playful.
157 On one occasion I observed several of them going up the hill
481 beyond the river, in front of the church at Huila, their arms entwined about one another's necks; then they began running up the steep hill as in a contest of endurance. As they became exhausted they threw themselves on the grass, while their movements showed that they were playing and joking all the time. These children of Nature are not unpleasant to look at,
[515 except for their usual lack of cleanliness; nor are they wanting
142] in coquetry, and they are often pretty. But in the presence of
[609] strangers they are extremely bashful, doing their utmost to keep in the background.

291 The old women are generally very ugly. Their clothing con-
515 sists only of dirty rags, and their skin is covered with the filth of years.

593 Relations between the sexes, especially between husbands
562 and wives, seem to be easy and without an air of superiority on the part of the former. On the few occasions that I had to entertain these people at their houses, the women took the same interest and the same part in the proceedings as the men, which was very different from what I observed among the Central American Indians.

609 Toward strangers, and especially toward Colombians of other
186 races, the attitude of the Indians is decidedly hostile. Unless induced by the prospect of profit they will neither sell anything nor lend any service, often refusing money and accepting only articles which they especially desire. They will not allow white
[565] or black people in their homes, and at Huila they are even unwilling that the only white family living there should share the practically inexhaustible supply of fuel scattered about in the near-by forest, or have horses or cattle pasturing on the almost

/111 cont./

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/130 cont./

249 three years is very long. Shoots from old sugar-cane plants are used as slips, which are set out by the men in the same way as the maize kernels. A hole is made in the ground with the digging stick at one-meter intervals in every direction from the neighboring plant; the slip is stuck into it and pressed firmly with [462] the hands. The cane is harvested by men or women. Both know [482] how to handle the machete. The men carry the sugar cane home over their shoulders (Ill. 173 /see p.277 /), women stuff the sugar cane into the fiber bags and hang them over their backs, holding the carrying band with their foreheads.

244 Besides maize and sugar cane, the bean (ōs) is of great im- [262] portance for the Paez diet. There are the large, speckled so-called "sow beans" /broad beans/ (Spanish frijol) and the smaller, white beans. /131/ The former are for the most part eaten, whereas the white beans are usually sold. They are sowed either in the vicinity of the house at the foot of trees and shrubs, with three beans always stuck into the ground at a time, or together with maize. In this case, during the maize sowing, three to four beans are put in the same hole with the six to eight maize kernels. In growing simultaneously the beans climb up the maize stalks.

243 Wheat (skótc) is not of importance in the diet of the Paez, [262] for no bread is baked. Nevertheless it is very often planted because it grows fast and thus represents a suitable item for the Paez to sell. 243 If anyone has to buy something, be it fabric for a pair of trousers, 434 a machete, a metal pot, etc., he sows wheat, usually in March/ April, and after half a year he can already pocket profit from the sale. It is characteristic of the Paez, however, that they make use of this only when they need something urgently, but not in 243 advance so as to have money on hand in any case. The preparation for wheat sowing is done in the customary manner of clearing by burning. The sower hangs around himself a fiber bag containing the seed grain and, in exactly the same fashion as our sower, starts to broadcast the wheat with his hand in a wide arc. Subsequently the ground is superficially turned over with the shovel, so that the birds cannot pick up the grains. In harvesting it a bundle of stalks is grasped a good hand's breadth under the ears and cut off with the

/167 cont./

435 Livestock can be exchanged for other livestock or for food-
437 stuffs. For example, a stallion has the value of 20 pounds of coca leaves or a man's ruana; a mare, however, is much dearer and is exchanged for the maize harvest of a field about 100 square meters in area, to be harvested by the buyer himself. Similarly, one can exchange the harvest of a maize field for a steer or a heifer. (The latter has a monetary value of 30 to 40 pesos.) The exchange or sale of a cow, on the other hand, is not possible under any circumstances. Pigs have the relatively low value of only three to five pesos; they are exchanged for five pounds of coca, ten bags of maize, or ten tomín of sugar cane. One may also exchange a small sow or a full-grown hog for a steer. The latter has the value of about 15 pesos, a mare about 20 to 30 pesos. Stallions are gladly exchanged for a foal. They are valued at 15 pesos. Whereas the exchange of a stallion for a cow is impossible because of the latter's higher value, stallions are often exchanged for bulls, especially by hosts who need beef to feed their guests.

It is significant that a head of cattle or a horse cannot be exchanged for quickly consumed foodstuffs, such as maize, arracacha, beans, potatoes, bananas, etc., since the latter do not last long enough and the buyer of the foodstuffs feels that he will not get sufficient use out of his exchange. On the other hand, coca leaves still on the tree, maize on the stalk, or a sugar cane field are quite possible as media of exchange. Victoriano, for example, exchanged for a foal a sugar cane field about 50 by 50 meters in area, which the new owner may harvest as needed. Such an exchange, however, is possible only for
[185] persons who are as industrious as Victoriano. In general the Paez is much too disinclined to work for a future supply, especially if he is not even to have the use of it later on; besides, he is much too fond of drinking his own chicha to give away a two-year old sugar cane field.

439 The goods are transported to the market by men and women,
●482 albeit more by the former than by women. This seems quite
484 surprising, for the civilized Indios, as well as many colonists, are in the habit of riding to market unencumbered by any load,

/167 cont./

484 while the /168/ woman on foot lugs the goods behind. From
439 Calderas more men than women visit the market. For both it
482 is a very welcome occasion to become intoxicated. The
[273] owners of the taverns try to prevent the stealing of the much
[275] coveted beer and whiskey glasses, popularly practiced by the Paez, by chaining the glasses to the tavern tables.

On market days it is customary to leave very early and to transport the loads in the fiber bags in the customary way: the men take the carrying belt diagonally across their chests and the women hold it with their foreheads. In both cases the bag hangs on their backs. Then generally travel in groups of twos or threes, but not infrequently one also meets solitary
[432] individuals. Provisions are taken along, for, as a matter of
[273] principle, nothing is bought on the way except chicha or brandy.
[485] If it is necessary to stay overnight, nothing is paid for this. They sleep either at the entrance of a house of acquaintances or spend the night in the open field.

439 For traveling and for the visit to the market they try to wear
484 at least one article of European clothing, a felt hat, a shirt, or
[291] a blouse. The quality plays only a minor role, since the worst
[177] shirt is still more desirable than the finest ruana. A person who cannot buy anything in the way of clothing at least ties a black
[262] band around his hat, such as the felt hats have. Provisions are carried along in the fiber bag, roasted maize, cabbage, potatoes,
[415] arracacha. A person who can carries with him two or three of
484 the woolen coca pouches, in one of which there is coca and lime,
461 in another one money, and in the third the plaiting material
[285] for the straw hat. Almost all the men do this plaiting work, which actually is not work at all, but more like a "blind occupation," when they have nothing else to do, either when visiting, on the way to market, or also during the shaman ceremonies.
[283] The women, no matter where one meets them, are equally in-
[285] dustrious and always busy with spinning or plaiting the fiber bags or the wool coca-pouches. Like the men, they carry their work material with them in a second wool pouch.

/168 cont./

484 Special orientation devices for traveling are unknown and are unnecessary, since no one leaves the wider area of his home district. Anyone taking a route for the first time joins someone who knows the way. One does not travel by night, and for this [482] reason the stars do not serve for orientation. The average load to be sold on market days is about 20 to 25 pounds for men; if a married couple goes together, the man usually carries the load, and the woman, the provisions. The daily distances covered are considerable. From Calderas by way of San /169/ Andrés to the market at Inzá is almost 20 kilometers. It takes about [492] six hours on foot. On horseback it is not much less, since one cannot ride fast on the steep paths of the countryside. Many Paez manage this route back and forth in one day, albeit only "without becoming intoxicated on the way," which is not altogether simple.

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/186 cont./

[77 797 871 Today all children are obliged to attend school in the mission schools, where they are taught the catechism and the Spanish language and must bathe once a day under supervision.

515 853 The mother nurses her child exclusively during the first six to eight months; only then is the giving of more solid food begun, which, however, does not differ in any way from that of adults, that is to say, the child is given yuca, beans, chicha, brandy, etc., like the adults. The mother suckles the child until the next one arrives, namely, three to four years, and sometimes beyond that, along with the one born next. Every woman who has a child generally also has milk, we were told. Only if the mother should be far away, /187/ for example, on an errand at the market or out fetching wood, may another woman help the child with her milk. In the rare cases in which a woman does not have enough milk to feed her child, she may give it to some 853 other woman, who, however, does not receive anything for it. It 855 may also happen that a family with ten children has become so [593] large that the food is no longer adequate. In this case the woman may leave one or several children in the care of her mother. If she no longer has a mother, however, she must keep them herself. In case the mother of small children dies and leaves a baby of less than two or three months who still cannot eat any food other than milk, the father looks for a woman who likewise has a nursing baby and who brings up the strange child with her milk for two or three years, until it can talk. Then the father takes it back, and the wet nurse is given a cow as "milk money."

854 482 Ordinarily the children are carried by the mother. The colored woven belt (táw) and the large shawl (panyelón or séntyatc), in which the child is wrapped and carried by the mother on her back, are needed for this.

857 868 The games of the children are generally instructive for their later life. The boys go bird hunting with the blowgun (pāt), the plaited stone-sling (ísot), or the elastic sling (kaučéro), or they practice catching each other with the lasso, during which the child [231] to be caught represents a cow or a horse. The ability of the children, and of the adults, too, by the way, in the use of the lasso is not

1: Nachtigall--277 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 174. Harvesting the coca leaves.

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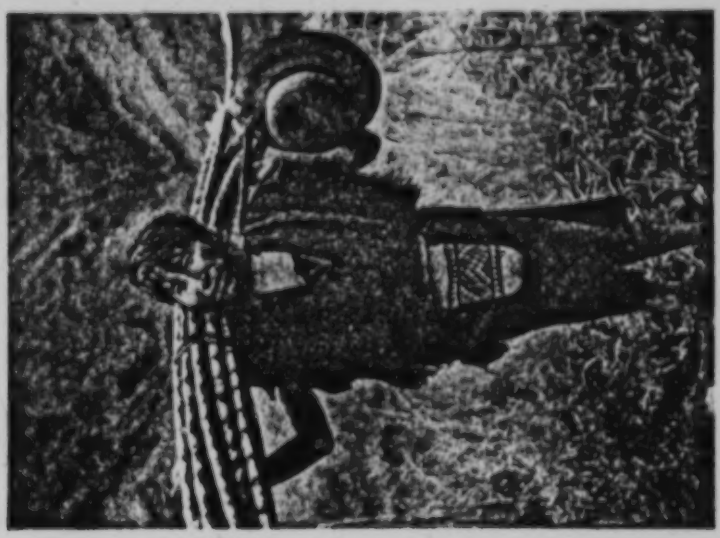

Ill. 173. Paez with sugar cane.

1: Nachtigall--287 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 198. Women carry heavy loads with the forehead-band.

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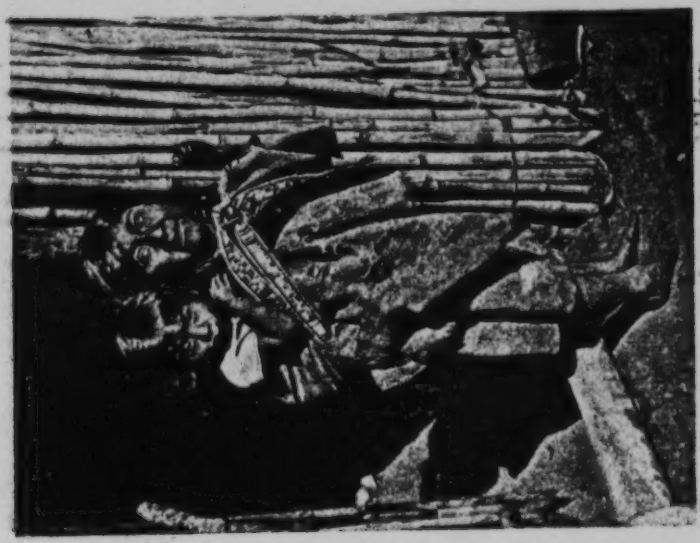

Ill. 197. Manner of carrying children.

TRAVELING PAEZ WOMAN AND CHILDREN

PAEZ GRINDING STONE

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

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[facing P.317]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

bag and the small receptacle that contains the quicklime used with the former. When out of doors a second piece of woolen cloth, longer and narrower than the first and called simply *atß*, is thrown over the shoulders, with the head likewise thrust through the middle. A narrow-brimmed hat (*tsua*) the like of which is found among the Kitsua, is the usual complement of this dress. It is made of the outer skin of a tall grass (*Gynerium saccharoides*), resembling sugar-cane and common along rivers.

The women all dress in the same way, with fabrics invariably woven by themselves. The underwear, which is often dispensed with, consists of a narrow piece of woolen tissue used as a loin cloth, passing between the legs and then rolled around the hips. Over this article is worn a broad piece of dark woolen cloth, wrapped along the body and limbs in the form of a skirt. This is the *anaco*, or *pamb-atß*, and it is attached to the waist by means of a sash called *vilia*, the elaborateness and ornamentation of which vary with the wealth of the owner. The upper part of the body is covered with a ruana called *atß-tul*, sewed along the right side and on the right shoulder, but open at the left side, being simply pinned on the left shoulder with a wooden peg or a fish-bone. When traveling the women provide themselves with another broad piece of cloth (*spatß*) which is used either as a cover or for wrapping the baby on the back. In the latter case the cloth is secured by means of a belt (plate IV, 1).

Women also wear necklaces, made now of common glass beads, silver coins, or small sea-shells, the number of strings depending on the wealth of the husband. The mention in Castillo's vocabulary of a word for bracelet (*kaseßand-gunc-tsa*) indicates the former use of such ornament. Females have no headgear. Married women part their hair along the median line of the head and allow it to hang back in two braids. Little girls wear their hair loosely behind the shoulders. In former times women painted their faces blue with the juice of a fruit called *kii*. Speaking of this custom, which seems to be obsolete now, Castillo facetiously says: "fruta . . . con cuyo zumo se pintan el rostro las Indias (*i aun las que no lo son*)." Men formerly decorated their bodies and faces with *tok*, the red color

/321 cont./

231 The slaughtering of the head of cattle for consumption
[796] at religious fiestas is accompanied by music (1).
[533]

1. Bernal Villa, S. "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," p. 208.

[232] Of the equine livestock, they also prefer the females for
492 reproduction. Horses are used for the milling of sugar cane, for
484 the transport of loads, for long journeys. Many own saddles,
[249] /322/ although generally deteriorated ones. Women never ride
[482] on horseback. On long journeys the woman walks with a heavy
[562] load on her back, while the man rides without carrying anything to hinder him.

231 The horses of the Páez are small, but very hardy and suitable for the rugged and difficult roads. They do not own mules or
[754] donkeys. In Calderas it is said that someone brought a donkey
[789] for the purpose of producing young mules, but the envious ones (sorcerers) cast a spell on it and killed it. Nor do they own goats, which they regard as very thievish and destructive.

In the houses they raise guinea pigs, chickens, and turkeys, and, on a smaller scale, ducks. Furthermore, dogs,
[422] cats, and hogs are also raised. The former belong indifferently to men or women, while hogs and dogs are the exclusive property of the men.

The scant care given to domestic animals is worthy of note. There are no corrals of any sort, nor special caretakers
[233] for the animals. Cattle are commonly left to fend for themselves in the pastures, and only every 15 days, or, more frequently, once a month, are they rounded up by their respective owners to
[232] check on their existence or multiplication. They know about the need to give salt to cattle, but this article is supplied in small quantities and at very long intervals. Most of the animals of Calderas go to a small spring of brackish water in Tumbichukue. Among the other domestic animals, only the chickens, turkeys, and guinea pigs are fed regularly with grass, maize, manioc, and

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

obliquely across the rocks; (3) an arched bridge of bamboo floored with spaced sticks, equipped with a hand rail on each side, and supported with stones, bamboo braces, and vines (pl. 185, *bottom, right*); and (4) a covered bridge with thatched roof, built of heavy logs supported by sticks and stones and floored with boards—a marvel of calculated strength, which, like the third type, is made entirely of vegetable materials yet can support loaded animals. To build an arched bridge, two groups of Indians approach opposite sides of the river and each plants a long, strong pole sloping out over the stream. The chief of each group then climbs out his pole until his weight bends it down to meet that from the opposite side, whereupon, clinging with one hand, they lash the ends together with creepers. This constitutes the main element of the bridge which is then completed by the other Indians.

TRANSPORTATION

Some Indians now have horses and use them for traveling and for transporting large burdens, but, in general, transportation is by foot, objects being carried on the back or in netted sacks hung by a strap, especially when visiting markets. A woman carries not only a heavy load but her small child suspended on her back in a blue woolen blanket held with a broad woven band, or "chumbe." Peculiarly Andean is the custom that the man travels on horseback while the woman follows on foot with a large burden.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The *Moguex* and *Páez* formerly wore only small cotton blankets (mantas), although most of them "went about naked even on the cold mountains" (Rodríguez, 1684, bk. 2, ch. 1). They painted their bodies with bixa, using, according to Del Castillo i Orozco, stamps to apply the color. The paint also protected them against the strong sunlight and insects. They went barefoot, as all the natives in Colombia. According to one chronicler, their hair was "shorn" (Robledo, in Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38). They wore breast and nose ornaments of pure gold or a gold and copper alloy, and necklaces of small figures, beads, small stones, and snails.

Soon after the beginning of the Conquest, the Indians commenced to use wide, long shirts of a very crude weave and hats which were so closely woven that they would hold water. The latter, which the Spaniards called "tacillas de Páez" (Páez bowls), are still in use. The Spanish encomenderos required that the Indians working on their haciendas near Popayán be dressed. This was the origin of the characteristic garment worn today, which combines the old small blanket (manta) with European dress. *Moguex* men wear short linen pants, and a blue flannel sash which covers them to their knees.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

291 They protect the upper part of the body with a black poncho tied at
177 the belt, or a shirt with a poncho over it. Women wear two skirts, the under skirt being black and the outer one white or gray. Both are held at the waist by a sash woven with figures. They cover their busts with two blankets which are fastened at the shoulders with
[293] wood, copper, or silver pins. Both sexes carry pouches woven of
[415] hemp which, like these Indians, are called "guambías." Their straw hats are dish-shaped, with small brims hardly distinguishable from the shallow crowns. The hats, always too large for their heads, are held on by two cords, one passing under the chin and the other behind the neck, around the hair. The women also wear woolen shawls, silver earrings, rings, and heavy necklaces of glass, shells, and silver. For festivals they prefer hats with the brim divided into two parts, front and back. These are lined with dark-blue cloth, with red and yellow on the brim.

When working, the *Páez* wear short linen pants or long woolen ones and a large woolen poncho tied at the waist. When going to market, they wear an additional poncho and a woolen pouch for coca. When
[292] traveling on the páramos, they wear a knit hemp cloak covered with large, thin leaves of *Gynerium saccharoides*, which protects them from the rain. The women wear a narrow woven cotton band, passed between the legs and tied at the waist, one, two, or more black or gray woolen skirts gathered at the waist and held by a woven sash,
[482] and two small mantas, like those of the *Moguex*. In traveling, a
[854] shawl is worn for covering and to carry the child. They adorn themselves also with strings or necklaces of glass or other beads, or white chaquiras, and sometimes are added silver pendants of Colonial origin.
[292] During festivals the women wear brightly colored blouses of imported fabrics and the men linen shirts.

MANUFACTURES

285 **Basketry.**—The *Páez* and *Moguex* make a few twilled baskets of cane strips and two kinds of hats. The hats are woven with the coiled or sewed technique. The spiraled warp in one kind consists of a thin bundle of rush or straw, and in the other of a braid made with seven
[462] strands. The latter is more common. Both are made by men who
[292] prepare materials while resting at home or traveling on the road. Weaving also includes waterproof capes made by tying sheaves of
[824] leaves or straw to a net of hemp cord.

Cordage.—Rope making is practiced extensively. Hemp (fique)
283 is the raw material, and is made into cords for fishing nets, bird trap nets, bags or pouches for carrying belongings and products, foundation nets for the leaf rain capes, and cordage for various other purposes. The sisal or hemp (fique) leaves are scraped over the sharp edge of a board to loosen the fibers, which are then washed, dried, and twisted

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PLATE 187.—**Páez weaving and spinning.** *Top:* Woman spinning wool while walking, San Andrés, Tierradentro. *Bottom:* Men weaving straw hats. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 C]

/114 cont./

361 with graveyard, the community house, festival houses, and, more recently, mission station and school are the central pole, whereas the family houses are always built in other places, but on one's own land (Ills. 146-147 /see p. 264/). Sometimes
342 one erects a house merely for one harvest, that is, for half a
361 year, in the middle of his field that is to be harvested. During the work and harvest it may then happen that a Paez family will not see its neighbors for several weeks.

361 The size of the villages varies; Calderas is one of the
[162] largest Paez /115/ communities and contains about 200 houses with approximately 1,000 inhabitants. Other villages, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Lame, and others, are substantially smaller.
484 In each case it takes considerable time to cross a village, be-
361 cause this means, of course, crossing the entire valley basin in question. In the case of Calderas this is more than three hours
[487] for a European on horseback. The Paez, it is true, travel over the steep short-cuts much more quickly on foot.

b) The House

342 For laying out a house one looks for a building spot as
312 close as possible to a small brook, large numbers of which flow down from the slopes of the mountains and unite at the foot of the valley floor to form the Kokiyó River (literally "maize water"). When it is impossible to lay out a house directly on a brook, the water is led from above through a small ditch past the house. This, as well as any other running water, may always be drunk.
[514] It is known that the residents living above this house now and then urinate in the water, but "that does not matter at all," I was assured.

591 In principle, only one family, consisting of father, mother,
[594] and children, lives in a dwelling. The married sons must build their own houses. It is customary, however, for newlyweds to go
[342] on living in the house of the father for a time, until they have
[476] saved enough chicha and food to feed the friends who will help them build their house. In one case, however, in the house of

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d) Animal Husbandry

231 Although the Paez keep large livestock, cattle and
233 horses, along with small livestock, they are not livestock-
[232] raisers in the true sense. They neither have anything to do
[492] with the breeding of their animals nor do they utilize their labor
[237] power to any great extent. The utilization of animal products,
too -- especially those of the large livestock -- bears no rela-
231 tion to the existing possibilities. Horses (hímba; stallion =
492 himbapítste, mare = himbaóite) are used least of all, though they
[556] do find use now and then in milling sugar cane. Actually, people have them only to have them and to be considered rich. They are used neither as draft horses in front of wagons nor as beasts of burden, and only now and then as riding animals, with-
231 out a saddle, by young people. Adult men do not ride, even
484 though the mountainous country, difficult to traverse on foot,
492 fairly challenges one to ride, and the Paez, on their visits to the markets, see almost all the colonists on horseback. But "we are accustomed from the time of our forefathers to walk in the mountains," they reply, "and we are much faster on foot than you are on horseback." They are not wrong about this, and one would not like to trust one of the Paez horses, degenerated through inbreeding, to carry its rider on market days 30 kilometers over
232 hill and dale from Calderas to Inzá and back again. Since the
[556] Paez does not demand service of his horses, it is understandable that only the number of head counts for him and his reputation. How the horses look generally matters not at all; in no case is there any breeding selection, nor does a man know anything about the mating and birth of his animals, but generally finds out about a new litter only after it has arrived. Gestation times are unknown. From various parties I was assured that horses, cows, sheep, and pigs were pregnant "about a year." Castration of stallions, bulls, and rams is not known; it happens now and then in the case of boars, with the owner -- no specialist -- cutting out the testicles of the young pigs with a knife.

/167 cont./

435 Livestock can be exchanged for other livestock or for food-
437 stuffs. For example, a stallion has the value of 20 pounds of coca leaves or a man's ruana; a mare, however, is much dearer and is exchanged for the maize harvest of a field about 100 square meters in area, to be harvested by the buyer himself. Similarly, one can exchange the harvest of a maize field for a steer or a heifer. (The latter has a monetary value of 30 to 40 pesos.) The exchange or sale of a cow, on the other hand, is not possible under any circumstances. Pigs have the relatively low value of only three to five pesos; they are exchanged for five pounds of coca, ten bags of maize, or ten tomín of sugar cane. One may also exchange a small sow or a full-grown hog for a steer. The latter has the value of about 15 pesos, a mare about 20 to 30 pesos. Stallions are gladly exchanged for a foal. They are valued at 15 pesos. Whereas the exchange of a stallion for a cow is impossible because of the latter's higher value, stallions are often exchanged for bulls, especially by hosts who need beef to feed their guests.

It is significant that a head of cattle or a horse cannot be exchanged for quickly consumed foodstuffs, such as maize, arracacha, beans, potatoes, bananas, etc., since the latter do not last long enough and the buyer of the foodstuffs feels that he will not get sufficient use out of his exchange. On the other hand, coca leaves still on the tree, maize on the stalk, or a sugar cane field are quite possible as media of exchange. Victoriano, for example, exchanged for a foal a sugar cane field about 50 by 50 meters in area, which the new owner may harvest as needed. Such an exchange, however, is possible only for
[185] persons who are as industrious as Victoriano. In general the Paez is much too disinclined to work for a future supply, especially if he is not even to have the use of it later on; besides, he is much too fond of drinking his own chicha to give away a two-year old sugar cane field.

439 The goods are transported to the market by men and women,
482 albeit more by the former than by women. This seems quite
484 surprising, for the civilized Indios, as well as many colonists, are in the habit of riding to market unencumbered by any load,

/167 cont./

484 while the /168/ woman on foot lugs the goods behind. From
439 Calderas more men than women visit the market. For both it
482 is a very welcome occasion to become intoxicated. The
[273] owners of the taverns try to prevent the stealing of the much
[275] coveted beer and whiskey glasses, popularly practiced by the Paez, by chaining the glasses to the tavern tables.

On market days it is customary to leave very early and to transport the loads in the fiber bags in the customary way: the men take the carrying belt diagonally across their chests and the women hold it with their foreheads. In both cases the bag hangs on their backs. Then generally travel in groups of twos or threes, but not infrequently one also meets solitary
[432] individuals. Provisions are taken along, for, as a matter of
[275] principle, nothing is bought on the way except chicha or brandy.
[485] If it is necessary to stay overnight, nothing is paid for this. They sleep either at the entrance of a house of acquaintances or spend the night in the open field.

439 For traveling and for the visit to the market they try to wear
484 at least one article of European clothing, a felt hat, a shirt, or
[291] a blouse. The quality plays only a minor role, since the worst
[177] shirt is still more desirable than the finest ruana. A person who cannot buy anything in the way of clothing at least ties a black
[262] band around his hat, such as the felt hats have. Provisions are carried along in the fiber bag, roasted maize, cabbage, potatoes,
[415] arracacha. A person who can carries with him two or three of
484 the woolen coca pouches, in one of which there is coca and lime,
461 in another one money, and in the third the plaiting material
[285] for the straw hat. Almost all the men do this plaiting work, which actually is not work at all, but more like a "blind occupation," when they have nothing else to do, either when visiting, on the way to market, or also during the shaman ceremonies.
[283] The women, no matter where one meets them, are equally in-
[285] dustrious and always busy with spinning or plaiting the fiber bags or the wool coca-pouches. Like the men, they carry their work material with them in a second wool pouch.

/168 cont./

484 Special orientation devices for traveling are unknown and are unnecessary, since no one leaves the wider area of his home district. Anyone taking a route for the first time joins someone who knows the way. One does not travel by night, and for this [482] reason the stars do not serve for orientation. The average load to be sold on market days is about 20 to 25 pounds for men; if a married couple goes together, the man usually carries the load, and the woman, the provisions. The daily distances covered are considerable. From Calderas by way of San /169/ Andrés to the market at Inzá is almost 20 kilometers. It takes about [492] six hours on foot. On horseback it is not much less, since one cannot ride fast on the steep paths of the countryside. Many Paez manage this route back and forth in one day, albeit only "without becoming intoxicated on the way," which is not altogether simple.

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804 The period of a day is subdivided into the day (ēn) and the
192 night (kos). Early morning is called kosē; afternoon at the time when work is at an end, which is reckoned by the position of the sun, is called ff'nze. Other subdivisions of the day are made according to the interval of an ěšnetc, meaning the time it takes to chew a dose of coca. In translation this designation is used for "hour." The largest period of time is the month, ãte, which is designated by the same word as for "moon." For the period of a year the Spanish word año is used. In former times the word
[221] enzte was used. It is the designation for the large annual com-
[226] munal fishing at the weir during the dry season in February. The
[132] two rainy seasons, called nospá'nye, and the two dry seasons of the year, called sek, are not regarded as time intervals, but as seasons. The latter is at the same time the word for "sun."

823 No large geographical orientations or regional, individual
[491] divisions of any kind could be discovered. Moreover, all of Tierradentro is enclosed by civilized areas -- there is even an auto road leading to Belalcázar -- so that many Paez men have seen the surrounding countryside and even cities with their own eyes.
601 Only the western bordering mountains of the Central Cordillera,
[186] in the direction of Popayán, are conjectured to be the habitation
123 area of the dreadful man-eaters, the Pijao. Geographical means
484 of orientation are unknown. Traveling is done only during the day, in groups, and in company with a person who knows the way.
821 Of the stars it is only known that there stars that move and fixed ones, without their being distinguished in greater detail or according to constellations.

202 It is amazing that, in spite of their settlement pattern of
[361] individual farms, the Paez do not have any optical or acoustical
[203] means of communication over larger distances. /255/ In case of urgent news or questions, children are sent.

802 There are numbers only from one to six and ten. For the designations seven to nine the corresponding Spanish numbers are used. The Paez word for "ten" (kóse pémba) literally means "no more hands" and indicates that the fingers were used for counting. The toes are not used for counting; anything beyond ten is

* /303 cont./
539 went past the tree. The head walked on and on, and since it could not find the man anywhere, it turned back and found the scent of the man at the foot of the tree. It looked up and saw the man sitting in the highest tip of the tree. The head was unable to climb the tree, however, and in order to reach the man, it went back a little and leaped into the air. But it still could not quite reach the man and fell down to the ground again. Then it tried again and again, more than /304/ a hundred times, but it could never reach the man because he was sitting too high. Then the head became frightfully tired from its many vain attempts, and since it had to walk far to reach home, it had to leave the man whom it wanted to kill and return so as not to meet human beings by day. Then the Palma man climbed down from his tree and was able to reach home safely.

14. The White Dog

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774 The father of Victoriano went to Belalcázar one Saturday, where he became drunk. At two o'clock at night he set out on the way back. On the way he saw a white dog that was very thin. The father thought that it was a regular dog, but it was not a dog at all, but rather the taff soul of a human being. Suddenly this dog turned into a human being, very thin and lean in shape, whose heart hung out of the body so that it dangled in front of the chest. Then the father gave the lean dog a blow with his traveler's staff, but it did not hit the dog. The father became frightened at this and took to his heels. But the lean man kept running after him, so that the father, out of fear, became short of breath and almost died. Then the father pretended to be very stupid and simply sat down beside the road, laid his hands on his knees, and went to sleep. The lean man then left him. When the father awoke in the morning, he looked for the place where he had first met the lean dog, but he found only a bush with white blossoms. The father was convinced, however, that he had met a taff.

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774 (No Paez customarily goes long distances at night, because the taff souls are abroad at night. And if a taff meets a human being,
761 it immediately calls together a great many other taff ("about 50") and they bring about the death of the person, because the one concerned kills himself out of fright.)

Bernal Villa--I F-5 (1952) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

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Aspects of Paez Culture
Mythology and Tales from the
Parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro
by Segundo Bernal Villa

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/281/ Chapter I

131 Geographic location.--In the northeastern part of the de-
133 partment of Cauca, like a spearhead embedded in the department of Huila, is found the region of Tierradentro, formed by the numerous eastern spurs of the Central Cordillera. It has the shape of a triangle formed by the water divides of the hydrographic basins of the rivers Páez and Yaguará to the east and La Plata and Páez to the south. Toward the west, the Central Cordillera rises like a backbone, along which the paramos of Guanacas (3,518 meters), Las Delicias (3,750 meters), and Moras (3,670 meters) stand out. Toward the north, like a gigantic colossus and dominating the vertex of this geometric figure, stands Nevado del Huila (5,750 meters), the highest in Colombia, except for the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta.

133 Topography.--Actually, Tierradentro is a complex of mountains running in every direction, although along general lines they are oriented from west to east on the right bank of the Páez and from north to south on its left bank, rugged, steep, with lofty peaks and great gorges, canyons and hills, ravines and valleys, terraces and escarpments, ridges and plateaus, numerous gullies, rivers, and streams with violent
[484] currents and thundering noise. To travel through this region "is to go up or down," as was said by Fr. Pedro de Aguado (1).

1. Cited by Hernández de Alba (Gregorio), p. 925. /See the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 309./

/281 cont./

487 Routes of communication.--Until the fourth decade of the present century, the routes of penetration were horse paths which passed through the paramos of Guanacas, Las Delicias, and Moras, or through Inzá, Pedregal, Topa, and La Plata. The three first ones communicated with the Cauca valley, and the second with the /282/ Magdalena valley. These were the routes of the colonial era and, to a large extent, of the times [648] of the republic. The Guanacas route was the first to serve for communication between the kingdom of Quito and Santafé de Bogotá, owing, of course, to the more favorable attitude of the Guanaca Indians toward the conquistadores, who, taking advantage of their relationship with the Paez, made them their 797 allies and assistants. The first religious mission was established 175 in Guanacas in 1613. By way of the Paramo de Moras Captain 175 Juan de Ampudia entered Paez territory to take exemplary re- 648 venge for the tragic death of his colleague-at-arms, Captain Pedro de Añasco. To his disgrace and that of Spain, he met a terrible death on the cliffs of Togoima. By way of the same Paramo de Moras came the Adelantado Don Sebastián de Belalcázar, who had the same aims as his unfortunate predecessor, but this time his death, too, was added. The Paez gave him the most crushing defeat on the Peñón de Tálaga, and the Adelantado had to flee, leaving on the field of battle 491 the body of the heroic Captain García Tovar. The intense [484] traffic through these dangerous peaks and cold paramos decreased considerably with the opening of the Quindío road, and even much more with the inauguration of the La Plata-Belalacázar road. Tierradentro is connected by road with Popayán and 487 Neiva. Nowadays only the Indians from Mosoco, San José, and Vitoncó, and the Paez from Toribío, Tacueyó, and [788] Jambaló travel by way of the Paramo de Moras. That of Las Delicias is traveled by the Moguex, especially on their annual pilgrimages to the religious festivities of Our Lady of Nátaga. The Guanacas route is practically abandoned. There is also another route, traveled relatively frequently, which follows the

/178 cont./

133 several leagues around were supplied for a long time with the
175 salt extracted from the three salt deposits that still exist in
3/7 Segovia. Across from these and on the other side of the Ullucos, in Vivorá, another salt deposit was also exploited.

114 At the confluence of the small stream called El Escaño
172 and the Pisimbalá, on the right bank of the latter and at the
[133] foot of the ridge of Aguacate, the Archeological Park of /179/ Tierradentro, a branch of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, is located on an alluvial terrace covering an area of two hectares. Founded some 15 years ago, it is in charge of the care and conservation of the archeological monuments, which have been known to the scientific world since 1936, but to which reference was made as early as around the penultimate decade of the last century, when Dr. Carlos Cuervo Márquez carried out his explorations through the "lands of the Paez and much of the Nevado del Huila." Subterranean necropolises with columns, colonnades and niches, black and red geometric painting on a white background, statuary very similar to the Augustinian, ceramics and metalwork are the principal exponents of this culture hardly known in descriptive form.

The Archeological Park of Tierradentro has served as the center of operations for the scientific expeditions which the national government has sponsored, fostered, and supported during the last 15 years.

II

Over the Zigzags of the Road

491 In order to travel on winding roads one needs horses re-
123 sistant to fatigue; a dashing spirit must yield to a solemn
484 step, firm tread, and steady pace.
492

/179 cont./

123 At 11 o'clock in the morning we left the Park, bound for
●484 Calderas. The road climbs through the Pisimbalá valley, at
491 first on its right bank and soon on the left, after crossing a wooden bridge with a plank roof; from this bridge to the pueblo of San Andrés, three streams have to be crossed: Chapequís, La Virgen, and the cemetery stream. Along this short distance and at the edge of the road we counted ten houses, all of them thatched except one of masonry, tiles, oil paint, modern manufacture; the others have white washed walls, painted doors, and are generally clean and orderly. They are the houses of mestizos and colonists settled on their respective fincas.

At 11:30 we left the settlement and took the path that leads to Calderas; the road goes ever upward, in slow and slippery
123 zigzags. As we go along, we see houses with graphite-colored
342 roofs and walls which are black when made of mud or (and these are in the majority) yellow when they are of maize stalks; they lie as if submerged /180/ in the plantings of bananas, sugar cane, and yuca; bluish smoke rises vertically in thick columns from the openings.

123 At 12 o'clock we came out on the Mesón, Supok in the
133 Paez dialect, a small plateau oriented from north to south
[361] and bounded on the east and west by great depressions. Many native huts stand there.

[137] The beautiful valley of the Pisimbalá torrent comes into view in its entirety; contracted at times, then widening more, extensive in length and generally narrow, it descends in a gentle slope in pursuit of the noisy Ullucos; covered with thriving vegetation, it looks like a carpet of living green blending in its tones the stateliness of the cachimbos /búcare, Erytrina umbrosa/, cedars, guamás, gadua bamboo, and yarumos /Cecropia peltata/, and the splendor of the plantings of sugar cane and bananas and the pastures of the herders.

[131] An hour later we reached the Yukaichí ridge, the boundary of the parcialidades /territorial divisions/ of San Andrés and

/303 cont./

241 relatively recent times, has fertile and humid soils. The harvests
433 are large and of excellent quality. It produces profitable yields.
244 The real production of Mosoco potatoes is there. They them-
[492] selves designate it as the principal harvest. During the months of April and May, when the potatoes are being harvested, numerous droves of pack animals carry the produce daily to the market
[435] in Silvia. The profits from this crop are dependable. The cultivators state that even selling at four pesos per arroba it gives a profit. Normally an arroba of potatoes is quoted at six or seven pesos. The planting of potatoes in the paramo begins in October, is intensified in November and December, and the last is done in January. They take advantage of the mildness of the climate
[132] at this time. During the months of June, July, and August the
[484] winter is harsh, with intense cold and hurricane winds. Crossing the paramos at this time is quite perilous.

241 In San José, La Troja, El Cabuyo, El Cuartel, Lame, and
433 Vitoncó, during the first four months of the year, wheat, barley, maize, frijoles, broad beans, and peaches are harvested.

Toward the months of October, November, and December, harvesting is done in Suin, Chinas, Calderas, San Andrés, Togoima, Santa Rosa, and Mosoco itself and consists principally of Maize, frijoles, ullucos, potatoes, and coffee. They constitute what we might /304/ call the second harvests of the year in Tierradentro. The planting begins after Ash Wednesday (March approximately) and is intensified in the months of April and May.
244 The last is done in July. The potato seed planted at about this
433 time in Mosoco comes from the harvest in the "paramo." This is a secondary planting of scant yield. It usually results in losses, but the Mosoco cultivators plant with the aim of preserving the seed. It is interesting to note that the sole agricultural activity of one trader based in Mosoco is the planting of potatoes in the
[434] paramo. He dispenses with the July sowing altogether. He prefers to buy the seed in Silvia, he pays the entire labor force, and in spite of these investments, which are high, he gets a good profit.

/321 cont./

231 The slaughtering of the head of cattle for consumption
[796] at religious fiestas is accompanied by music (1).
[533]

1. Bernal Villa, S. "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," p. 208.

[232] Of the equine livestock, they also prefer the females for
492 reproduction. Horses are used for the milling of sugar cane, for
484 the transport of loads, for long journeys. Many own saddles,
[249] /322/ although generally deteriorated ones. Women never ride
[482] on horseback. On long journeys the woman walks with a heavy
[562] load on her back, while the man rides without carrying anything to hinder him.

231 The horses of the Páez are small, but very hardy and suitable for the rugged and difficult roads. They do not own mules or
[754] donkeys. In Calderas it is said that someone brought a donkey
[789] for the purpose of producing young mules, but the envious ones (sorcerers) cast a spell on it and killed it. Nor do they own goats, which they regard as very thievish and destructive.

In the houses they raise guinea pigs, chickens, and turkeys, and, on a smaller scale, ducks. Furthermore, dogs,
[422] cats, and hogs are also raised. The former belong indifferently to men or women, while hogs and dogs are the exclusive property of the men.

The scant care given to domestic animals is worthy of note. There are no corrals of any sort, nor special caretakers
[233] for the animals. Cattle are commonly left to fend for themselves in the pastures, and only every 15 days, or, more frequently, once a month, are they rounded up by their respective owners to
[232] check on their existence or multiplication. They know about the need to give salt to cattle, but this article is supplied in small quantities and at very long intervals. Most of the animals of Calderas go to a small spring of brackish water in Tumbichukue. Among the other domestic animals, only the chickens, turkeys, and guinea pigs are fed regularly with grass, maize, manioc, and

7:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

upon them by the missionaries. The power to do evil is not limited to the witches, but is possessed by anyone who entertains a momentary feeling of envy, and to women, who may not walk over a stick or a cord stretched on the ground. Contact with women during their menstruation or during the days following childbirth causes the "mokokoy" to persecute the men and make them ill.

Animals possess the power to prognosticate evil. A document written in 1730 [14] tells that an Indian killed a rooster because he had crowed before daybreak, and said, "Rooster, you are forecasting my death, but I shall kill you first." They believe the same thing when certain birds sing. For example, the call of an owl at midnight brings death to someone. And certain small birds called "ulchik" and others called "bich" warn whomever hears their singing that he will meet with disaster. The box turtle follows people warning them that they are going to die.

Del Castillo says that the Indians will not strike white dogs, so that they will not be bitten by them when they enter the future life.

The belief in spirits (kl'iumb) is quite general. Among these spirits is the "pitsuala" which persecutes people, makes them ill, and even kills them. The rainbow, or "Etskituns," causes a rash to break out all over the body of anyone who ventures out while the rainbow shines, and the drizzle that generally accompanies the rainbow will harm a person who gets wet in it if he does not bathe immediately. When the rainbow appears, they stay indoors, and blow or spit tobacco in its direction.

They believe that the lagoon on the snowcapped peak, Huila, is charmed, and that if they try to go near it wind and hail storms rise. Supernatural evil forces are supposed to be present during many social activities, such as dancing, meetings, funerals, house building, and bridge construction. When a bridge is built, two Indians beat the water constantly to drive away evil spirits. When traveling on the mountains they place small stones or coins on top of some large natural rock to assure a successful trip and to avoid angering the spirit of the mountain.

Sometimes these spiritual forces assume a bodily form, as in the case of the fireflies, which bring diseases or which may be wrapped in Santa María leaves and placed in the path of an intended victim. Most feared are the ghosts of the dead, which consequently are the most propitiated. The *Moguex* and the *Páez* ask their permission to dance, and honor them in a special rite, which blends old beliefs with new religious concepts. Thus, offerings are made to the souls during the first days of November, or whenever the curate is able to visit the Indian village. Each person offers some products from his farm, in-

[14] Statement made by Javier de Orozco y Cuellar in a lawsuit by the Indians of Tobaima for the possession of land. From the ecclesiastical files of Belalcázar, or Páez.

/167 cont./

484 while the /168/ woman on foot lugs the goods behind. From
439 Calderas more men than women visit the market. For both it
482 is a very welcome occasion to become intoxicated. The
[273] owners of the taverns try to prevent the stealing of the much
[275] coveted beer and whiskey glasses, popularly practiced by the Paez, by chaining the glasses to the tavern tables.

On market days it is customary to leave very early and to transport the loads in the fiber bags in the customary way: the men take the carrying belt diagonally across their chests and the women hold it with their foreheads. In both cases the bag hangs on their backs. Then generally travel in groups of twos or threes, but not infrequently one also meets solitary
[432] individuals. Provisions are taken along, for, as a matter of
[273] principle, nothing is bought on the way except chicha or brandy.
● [485] If it is necessary to stay overnight, nothing is paid for this. They sleep either at the entrance of a house of acquaintances or spend the night in the open field.

439 For traveling and for the visit to the market they try to wear
484 at least one article of European clothing, a felt hat, a shirt, or
[291] a blouse. The quality plays only a minor role, since the worst
[177] shirt is still more desirable than the finest ruana. A person who cannot buy anything in the way of clothing at least ties a black
[262] band around his hat, such as the felt hats have. Provisions are carried along in the fiber bag, roasted maize, cabbage, potatoes,
[415] arracacha. A person who can carries with him two or three of
484 the woolen coca pouches, in one of which there is coca and lime,
461 in another one money, and in the third the plaiting material
[285] for the straw hat. Almost all the men do this plaiting work, which actually is not work at all, but more like a "blind occupation," when they have nothing else to do, either when visiting, on the way to market, or also during the shaman ceremonies.
[283] The women, no matter where one meets them, are equally in-
[285] dustrious and always busy with spinning or plaiting the fiber bags or the wool coca-pouches. Like the men, they carry their work material with them in a second wool pouch.

/113 cont./

361 but rather we are /114/ concerned, almost without exception, with individual farms scattered on the slopes of the mountains, where the families live in the midst of their cultivated fields [157] (cf. Ills. 156 and 157 /see p. 269 and 270/). The Paez is by no means an unsociable person and likes to take part in the festivals, but he does not like to live closely confined in a village and to have his neighbors always around him; rather, he prefers to live quite far away from the next house, surrounded by his animals, in order to be able to go about his daily work in the fields undisturbed with his family.

423 609 Every Paez has a strong tie to "his soil," and the fear that he could be robbed of his soil and land dictates his unfriendly and forbidding attitude toward the stranger. Besides, for centuries their experiences with the whites have been too unfortunate for the Paez to be able to understand that a stranger might come for entirely unselfish reasons, merely in order to become acquainted with them and their country.

423 [342 428] The Paez builds his house, as the family's focus and social center, only upon his own land, which he inherited from his fathers and which, through all subsequent generations, belongs to the family that first cultivated it. There is land in sufficient quantity in every family; in case of need anyone can also find ownerless, uncleared land on the highest sites of the mountain ranges.

Whereas the slopes of the mountains are private property after the initial clearing, the valley floor with the community house and the festival plaza is community land. The houses are 487 [481] connected with one another, as well as with the village plaza, by means of footpaths which are always very narrow because the Paez, even in larger numbers, never walk side by side, but always one behind the other. Originally even the connecting trails between the individual villages, the trails that had to be taken to the weekly markets in Belalcázar or Inzá, were no wider. In more recent times, however, visits on the part of secular and religious authorities made it necessary to widen the trails for riders.

31 Since there are no compact settlements among the Paez, there is also no geographical variations of the village. The church

/114 cont./

361 with graveyard, the community house, festival houses, and, more recently, mission station and school are the central pole, whereas the family houses are always built in other places, but on one's own land (Ills. 146-147 /see p. 264/). Sometimes
342 one erects a house merely for one harvest, that is, for half a
361 year, in the middle of his field that is to be harvested. During the work and harvest it may then happen that a Paez family will not see its neighbors for several weeks.

361 The size of the villages varies; Calderas is one of the
[162] largest Paez /115/ communities and contains about 200 houses with approximately 1,000 inhabitants. Other villages, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Lame, and others, are substantially smaller.
484 In each case it takes considerable time to cross a village, be-
361 cause this means, of course, crossing the entire valley basin in question. In the case of Calderas this is more than three hours
[487] for a European on horseback. The Paez, it is true, travel over the steep short-cuts much more quickly on foot.

b) The House

342 For laying out a house one looks for a building spot as
312 close as possible to a small brook, large numbers of which flow down from the slopes of the mountains and unite at the foot of the valley floor to form the Kokiyó River (literally "maize water"). When it is impossible to lay out a house directly on a brook, the water is led from above through a small ditch past the house. This, as well as any other running water, may always be drunk.
[514] It is known that the residents living above this house now and then urinate in the water, but "that does not matter at all," I was assured.

591 In principle, only one family, consisting of father, mother,
[594] and children, lives in a dwelling. The married sons must build their own houses. It is customary, however, for newlyweds to go
[342] on living in the house of the father for a time, until they have
[476] saved enough chicha and food to feed the friends who will help them build their house. In one case, however, in the house of

/168 cont./

484 Special orientation devices for traveling are unknown and are unnecessary, since no one leaves the wider area of his home district. Anyone taking a route for the first time joins someone who knows the way. One does not travel by night, and for this [482] reason the stars do not serve for orientation. The average load to be sold on market days is about 20 to 25 pounds for men; if a married couple goes together, the man usually carries the load, and the woman, the provisions. The daily distances covered are considerable. From Calderas by way of San /169/ Andrés to the market at Inzá is almost 20 kilometers. It takes about [492] six hours on foot. On horseback it is not much less, since one cannot ride fast on the steep paths of the countryside. Many Paez manage this route back and forth in one day, albeit only "without becoming intoxicated on the way," which is not altogether simple.

● 487 The traffic routes consist of narrow footpaths which can be traveled by walking or riding only in single file. As for roads 491 for wagons or autos, there is only one at present: the gravel auto road from La Plata to Belalcázar, traveling up the Rio Paez. Since the end of 1952, however, a connecting road to Inzá is being built with modern American road-building equipment, which will then open up to traffic the southern, less mountainous area of Tierradentro, settled exclusively by colonists, and its products, coffee and panela /see the glossary, p.249 /. These roads are cut directly out of the sometimes very steep slopes and cross rivers and brooks with modern iron bridges.

491 The Paez, too, are accustomed to crossing the waterways 484 on bridges. It is not customary to wade across, unless it is a matter of very shallow brooks. Even then large stones are usually set in them, by means of which one can reach the opposite 491 shore with dry feet. The bridges of Paez may be divided into three groups, according to their construction. The simplest type is that of two thick poles or tree trunks placed side by side, without a railing, which span the ditches around the farmyards [825] and gardens that substitute for fences. Such ditches are supposed to prevent horses, cattle, and pigs from entering. Over the

/281 cont./

•487 Routes of communication.--Until the fourth decade of the present century, the routes of penetration were horse paths which passed through the paramos of Guanacas, Las Delicias, and Moras, or through Inzá, Pedregal, Topa, and La Plata. The three first ones communicated with the Cauca valley, and the second with the /282/ Magdalena valley. These were the routes of the colonial era and, to a large extent, of the times [648] of the republic. The Guanacas route was the first to serve for communication between the kingdom of Quito and Santafé de Bogotá, owing, of course, to the more favorable attitude of the Guanaca Indians toward the conquistadores, who, taking advantage of their relationship with the Paez, made them their 797 allies and assistants. The first religious mission was established 175 in Guanacas in 1613. By way of the Paramo de Moras Captain 175 Juan de Ampudia entered Paez territory to take exemplary re- 648 venge for the tragic death of his colleague-at-arms, Captain Pedro de Añasco. To his disgrace and that of Spain, he met a terrible death on the cliffs of Togoima. By way of the same Paramo de Moras came the Adelantado Don Sebastián de Belalcázar, who had the same aims as his unfortunate predecessor, but this time his death, too, was added. The Paez gave him the most crushing defeat on the Peñón de Tálaga, and the Adelantado had to flee, leaving on the field of battle 491 the body of the heroic Captain García Tovar. The intense [484] traffic through these dangerous peaks and cold paramos decreased considerably with the opening of the Quindío road, and even much more with the inauguration of the La Plata-Belalacázar road. Tierradentro is connected by road with Popayán and 487 Neiva. Nowadays only the Indians from Mosoco, San José, and Vitoncó, and the Paez from Toribío, Tacueyó, and [788] Jambaló travel by way of the Paramo de Moras. That of Las Delicias is traveled by the Moguex, especially on their annual pilgrimages to the religious festivities of Our Lady of Nátaga. The Guanacas route is practically abandoned. There is also another route, traveled relatively frequently, which follows the

/282 cont./

487 Páez waters upstream, continues along the river Negro, climbs over the cordillera, and reaches Tacueyó.

133 Hydrography.--From north to south in a deep and steep bed runs the great Páez, whose frothy waves rush rapidly through the vertigo of the torrents, run swiftly while tracing spirals in the frenzied force of the whirlpools, or leap, being broken into a thousand fragments by the violent shock in the numerous falls and rapids. Born of the thaws on Huila, it receives along its eighty-kilometer course the turbulent /283/ rivers Muesga (San Vicente), Moras, Kukiyú, Ullucos, and La Plata on its right bank, and the Símbola and Negro de Narváez on its left. The Páez river drains all of Tierradentro.

137 Vegetation.--In the major part of the region there no longer exist the "dense and impenetrable forests" mentioned by Carlos Cuervo Márquez. The timber and medicinal species have practically disappeared. The Cinchona genus was heavily exploited during the second half of the past century, when the quinine industry flourished and constituted one of the most vigorous lines in the national economy. The large and dense forests have been cut down systematically by the Indians and colonists to such an extent that the latter are found as far as the steep crags of the Central Cordillera and the hydrographic [314] valleys of the Símbola and Negro de Narváez rivers. On the ridges where virgin forest has miraculously remained intact, it has been noted that it has been entirely cut down within a week in order to make a pasture for the llamas; it is not used, not even for firewood, much less for charcoal, the techniques for which seem to be unknown. In the plains and small valleys of the streams and rivers there is a thriving vegetation which for the most part is of cultural origin, since it was planted to shade the numerous coffee plantations. Gramineae abound. On the hills and plateaus, thickets and shrubs are common, while on the steep slopes pastures present their opulent greenness in winter /the rainy season/ and their yellow-brown tones 600 in summer /the dry season/. The fields are prepared with

/181 cont./

173 fortune: his efforts brought to light a large jar overflowing with
823 gold. In his great joy he went running to his companions to tell

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291
302

173 them of the coveted find; in their eagerness they all flew to the
823 lucky spot, and oh! supreme misfortune, the treasure had vanished. Minutes later, the powder flask exploded, killing several, mutilating others, and leaving only a few alive. The whites localize the Hipinjí legend in Tumbichukue.

• 487 /182/ The descent to the Kukiyú is effected along a
499 vertical ridge, following a path with innumerable zigzags, an

/182 cont./

487 authentically native achievement which is a true work of
499 engineering; it could not have been done in any other spot or in any other way. The bridge over the Kukiyú was built with two thick beams over which thin cross-pieces have been fastened together with lianas; like all Paez bridges, it has a thatched roof and side rails.

III

Black, Smoking Dots on the Horizon

241 From Yukaichí one can see almost the entire parcialidad
36 of Calderas, exept for the left bank of the Kukiyú. On the
[133] ridge of a hill, at the end of a canyon, on a slight plateau, discreetly hidden on a gentle slope or on a bold declivity, one sees trapezoidal figures that glow like graphite, surrounded by rows of golden stalks of maize. They are the Indians' huts, built far apart, submerged in the green landscape of the plantings of bananas and sugar cane, and through whose openings a thick bluish smoke is always emerging, a sign of life and activity.

311 While to the Guajira /Goajiro/ livestock is a symbol of sustenance and the tending of herds its concomitant activity, to the Paez the land is the sustainer of man; the black layer that covers the rocks feeds the woodland /monte/ after the harvest; time will tell when it will be mature and ready for fencing in anew the clearings that will yield the longed-for maize, the plenteous arracacha, the small beans, the blooming cabbage, the thick and abundant santo wheat /trigo del santo/; in the grasslands graze the cattle with bright and variegated hides, small, swift horses of great endurance, the many herds of pigs that fight over the tender roots of shrubs, and the mild sheep that yield wool for the men's ponchos, the women's skirts, and the kuetand yahas of both.

/294 cont./

311 passes through Topa, Turminá, Guanacas, El Cabuyo, Malvasá,
133 Pisimbalá, Lame, La Troja, and Irlanda, from where it twists eastward. The contour line of 3,000 meters, approximately parallel to the previous one, is very close to the ridge of the
[361] Central Cordillera. These two contour lines form a narrow zone that corresponds to the cold thermal level and within which are found the parcialidades of Toez, Huila, Vitoncó, San José, Mosoco, Lame, and Yaquivá, aside from a considerable area from the extinct parcialidades of Guanacas and Turminá.
311 This entire zone represents a "culturally influenced zone" in
[487] the literal sense that Professor Guhl gives it (2). A fine bridle-

2. Guhl, E. "Ambiente Geográfico-Humano de la Costa del Atlántico /Geographical-human Environment of the Atlantic Coast/," Revista Geográfica, p. 159.

[489] path joins Mosoco and Silvia, crossing the Paramo de Moras. The traffic of people is intense and constant during almost every /295/
311 month of the year. In the last decades, this has been an active zone
648 of native and "white" colonization. It still remains so. Coscuro
361 and Malvasá, in the Parcialidad of San Andrés, are purely "white" regions of colonization. But Tumbichukue, the high parts of Lame, Mosoco, San José, Huila, and Toez are zones of exclu-
361 sively native colonization. The importance of Mosoco is out-
311 standing. It was a great center of Páez settlement and still is, in the same manner as Pitayó and Tacueyó are on the other side of the Cordillera, but we cannot state on this account that "the major part of the settlements and the most important ones for the Paeces" are located in the cold region, as was stated
[177] categorically by Professor José Pérez de Barradas. Mosoco,
[433] fully in the process of acculturation, is a good producer of potatoes, wheat, and maize. It is the true Tierradentro in
[648] physiography, production, and progress. But in the times of
[175] the Conquest it was the people of Tálaga, Avirama, Calderas, and Togoima who defeated Ampudia and Belalcázar, and the

/355 cont./

443 of the municipio and even from Calderas flock to the market
438 in Belalcázar. Itinerant peddlers are numerous in Tierradentro,
439 and several of them walk through the parcialidades offering their wares. The articles that they sell are few. Traders also travel through the parcialidades, chiefly to acquire cattle that bring them handsome profits. But there are also those who go from
439 house to house to buy agricultural produce. A trader from
426 Mosoco, mestizo, bilingual, boasts of his friendship with the natives and of the trips that he took, up to about four years ago, through Suin, Chinas, Calderas, Avirama, and Lame, distributing ("showering") advance money for maize, frijoles, laurel wax, saffron, and cattle. "A debt with Indians is never lost," he states categorically, to emphasize the Indians' honesty. At harvest time he returned to collect the products bought and he took them directly to Silvia. He also says that from San Andrés he took from 100 to 200 arrobas of panela each month to sell in Mosoco. Lately, owing to the impassable condition of the Inzá roads, he has given up this business.

443 The parcialidad of Mosoco, and in general the entire
438 hydrographic valley of the Moras River, which contains the
439 parcialidades of San José, Mosoco, Vitoncó, Lame, Suin, and Chinas, trades with the municipio /356/ of Silvia, located on the western slopes of the Central Cordillera. All of the agricultural production goes there: potatoes, maize, wheat, barley, peaches, garlic, broad beans, and ullucos. Only when the prices of agricultural produce are low in Silvia, do they go to Belalcázar and Valencia. But this rarely happens. From Silvia they bring, in exchange, all their tools, their clothing, drugs, and housewares. The Mosoco women are the chief buyers of woolen rebozos (rebosos de Castilla), showy necklaces, gold earrings, and hairpins; the men, of fine cloth hats, fabric for their trousers, and shirts.

427 The riding paths in that area are surprisingly well main-
[476] tained. Each year, in the summertime, all of the neighbors take charge of needed repairs, and they are an obvious contrast to the riding paths of the municipio of Inzá. The people of

/365 cont./

177 For our outline of acculturation, we understand by diffusion
[121] achieved cultural transmission, and by acculturation cultural trans-
[127] mission in process, terms expounded by Professor Melville J. Herskovits in his book, El Hombre y sus obras /Man and his Works/.

Within Páez culture there is widely diffused, to the point of constituting an integral part of the cultural body, the following economic elements of alien origin and, more concretely, of European origin:

[231] All of the domestic animals with the exception of the
[137] guinea [illegible] bananas, sugar cane (the variety known as "criolla"), wheat, [illegible]y, garlic, coffee, peaches, apples, and oranges, the agricultural implements, the hydraulic mills, sugar mills, the guadua bamboo, and some varieties of pasture grass, such as orejuela /Alchemilla pectinata/, kikuyu, and poa.

177 Throughout the pages of this work, we have emphasized in
361 particular the cultural developments in process, that is to say, the
563 phenomenon of acculturation. It is obvious that this phenomenon has appeared, with greater or lesser intensity, in those parcialidades where there have been created areas of settlement, within which a specific number of "white" families have settled. But the intensity of the acculturative phenomenon does not rest merely on this fact or on the number of families who live by the norms of Western culture. San Andrés, for example, had its settlement area established for all practical purposes in 1928 and now reckons with more than 20 "white" families, with its nearness to the settlement of Inzá, and, for nearly 15 years, with the Parque Arqueológico of Tierradentro, to some extent a tourist attraction, and yet the process of acculturation is minimal and cannot be compared with the intensity of the same phenomenon in Mosoco, where the settlement area /366/ was created in 1923 and where
177 nowadays there are not more than 12 families of "whites." In
[487] Mosoco there is another factor: the riding path that joins the
[491] municipio of Belalcázar with that of Silvia, a road that has existed since pre-conquest times. Mosoco has been and still
[628] continues to be the mandatory stopping place. In addition, this parcialidad has had intensive contacts with the Guambiano group and the Páez group from the other side of the Cordillera, who are more acculturated.

/15 cont./

La Plata into the Magdalena Valley. Since the construction of an auto road from La Plata to Belalcázar, there is a good road connection both to the Cauca Valley and to the Magdalena Valley. From La Plata a bus goes to Garzón in four hours and to Neiva in seven hours. At the present time both cities have twice-weekly air service to Bogotá and Neiva, besides a daily train connection with the capital of the country. It takes about ten hours by bus to go from La Plata over the Central Cordillera to Popayán. From Popayán there is daily air service to all parts of the country.

Most of the archeological sites and the most important ones lie near the small village of San Andrés, on the hilltops and ranges of the valley of the same name. The place lies about six kilometers straight north of Inzá, separated from it by the Rio Ullucus and El Aguacate range. In order to get from La Plata to San Andrés, one first takes the road toward Belalcázar up the Rio Paez to Juntas, the point of confluence of the Rio Ullucus with the Rio Paez. From Juntas one must ride horseback west into the mountains for about three hours in order to reach San Andrés. This place is a village with the same characteristics as all Paez villages, that is to say, it consists of only /16/ a church, a school, the house of the town council, and a few other houses used by merchants and by the inhabitants for religious festivals. The latter, Paez Indians and colonists, live on individual farms on the slopes of the mountains along the valleys of the small streams, in a very unfavorable distribution, to be sure, as far as the Paez are concerned: the white and mixed-colored colonists live in the fertile valleys, mainly along the river courses, where they grow coffee, maize, and sugar cane, whereas the Indios must be content with the relatively unfruitful slopes.

/294 cont./

311 passes through Topa, Turminá, Guanacas, El Cabuyo, Malvasá,
133 Pisimbalá, Lame, La Troja, and Irlanda, from where it twists eastward. The contour line of 3,000 meters, approximately parallel to the previous one, is very close to the ridge of the
[361] Central Cordillera. These two contour lines form a narrow zone that corresponds to the cold thermal level and within which are found the parcialidades of Toez, Huila, Vitoncó, San José, Mosoco, Lame, and Yaquivá, aside from a considerable area from the extinct parcialidades of Guanacas and Turminá.
311 This entire zone represents a "culturally influenced zone" in
[487] the literal sense that Professor Guhl gives it (2). A fine bridle-

2. Guhl, E. "Ambiente Geográfico-Humano de la Costa del Atlántico /Geographical-human Environment of the Atlantic Coast/," Revista Geográfica, p. 159.

[489] path joins Mosoco and Silvia, crossing the Paramo de Moras. The traffic of people is intense and constant during almost every /295/
311 month of the year. In the last decades, this has been an active zone
648 of native and "white" colonization. It still remains so. Coscuro
361 and Malvasá, in the Parcialidad of San Andrés, are purely "white" regions of colonization. But Tumbichukue, the high parts of Lame, Mosoco, San José, Huila, and Toez are zones of exclu-
361 sively native colonization. The importance of Mosoco is out-
311 standing. It was a great center of Páez settlement and still is, in the same manner as Pitayó and Tacueyó are on the other side of the Cordillera, but we cannot state on this account that "the major part of the settlements and the most important ones for the Paeces" are located in the cold region, as was stated
[177] categorically by Professor José Pérez de Barradas. Mosoco,
[433] fully in the process of acculturation, is a good producer of potatoes, wheat, and maize. It is the true Tierradentro in
[648] physiography, production, and progress. But in the times of
[175] the Conquest it was the people of Tálaga, Avirama, Calderas, and Togoima who defeated Ampudia and Belalcázar, and the

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

obliquely across the rocks; (3) an arched bridge of bamboo floored with spaced sticks, equipped with a hand rail on each side, and supported with stones, bamboo braces, and vines (pl. 185, *bottom, right*); and (4) a covered bridge with thatched roof, built of heavy logs supported by sticks and stones and floored with boards—a marvel of calculated strength, which, like the third type, is made entirely of vegetable materials yet can support loaded animals. To build an arched bridge, two groups of Indians approach opposite sides of the river and each plants a long, strong pole sloping out over the stream. The chief of each group then climbs out his pole until his weight bends it down to meet that from the opposite side, whereupon, clinging with one hand, they lash the ends together with creepers. This constitutes the main element of the bridge which is then completed by the other Indians. 491 499 499

TRANSPORTATION

Some Indians now have horses and use them for traveling and for transporting large burdens, but, in general, transportation is by foot, objects being carried on the back or in netted sacks hung by a strap, especially when visiting markets. A woman carries not only a heavy load but her small child suspended on her back in a blue woolen blanket held with a broad woven band, or "chumbe." Peculiarly Andean is the custom that the man travels on horseback while the woman follows on foot with a large burden. 489 482 492

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The *Moguex* and *Páez* formerly wore only small cotton blankets (mantas), although most of them "went about naked even on the cold mountains" (Rodríguez, 1684, bk. 2, ch. 1). They painted their bodies with bixa, using, according to Del Castillo i Orozco, stamps to apply the color. The paint also protected them against the strong sunlight and insects. They went barefoot, as all the natives in Colombia. According to one chronicler, their hair was "shorn" (Robledo, in Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38). They wore breast and nose ornaments of pure gold or a gold and copper alloy, and necklaces of small figures, beads, small stones, and snails. 291 302 [751] [825] [291] 301

Soon after the beginning of the Conquest, the Indians commenced to use wide, long shirts of a very crude weave and hats which were so closely woven that they would hold water. The latter, which the Spaniards called "tacillas de Páez" (Páez bowls), are still in use. The Spanish encomenderos required that the Indians working on their haciendas near Popayán be dressed. This was the origin of the characteristic garment worn today, which combines the old small blanket (manta) with European dress. *Moguex* men wear short linen pants, and a blue flannel sash which covers them to their knees. 291 177

/168 cont./

484 Special orientation devices for traveling are unknown and are unnecessary, since no one leaves the wider area of his home district. Anyone taking a route for the first time joins someone who knows the way. One does not travel by night, and for this [482] reason the stars do not serve for orientation. The average load to be sold on market days is about 20 to 25 pounds for men; if a married couple goes together, the man usually carries the load, and the woman, the provisions. The daily distances covered are considerable. From Calderas by way of San /169/ Andrés to the market at Inzá is almost 20 kilometers. It takes about [492] six hours on foot. On horseback it is not much less, since one cannot ride fast on the steep paths of the countryside. Many Paez manage this route back and forth in one day, albeit only "without becoming intoxicated on the way," which is not altogether simple.

487 The traffic routes consist of narrow footpaths which can be traveled by walking or riding only in single file. As for roads ● 491 for wagons or autos, there is only one at present: the gravel auto road from La Plata to Belalcázar, traveling up the Rio Paez. Since the end of 1952, however, a connecting road to Inzá is being built with modern American road-building equipment, which will then open up to traffic the southern, less mountainous area of Tierradentro, settled exclusively by colonists, and its products, coffee and panela /see the glossary, p.249 /. These roads are cut directly out of the sometimes very steep slopes and cross rivers and brooks with modern iron bridges.

491 The Paez, too, are accustomed to crossing the waterways 484 on bridges. It is not customary to wade across, unless it is a matter of very shallow brooks. Even then large stones are usually set in them, by means of which one can reach the opposite 491 shore with dry feet. The bridges of Paez may be divided into three groups, according to their construction. The simplest type is that of two thick poles or tree trunks placed side by side, without a railing, which span the ditches around the farmyards [825] and gardens that substitute for fences. Such ditches are supposed to prevent horses, cattle, and pigs from entering. Over the

/169 cont./
491 rivers (*), for example, the Rio Kokiyó, which flows through

[114]

* I did not see anywhere the simplest form of a bridge mentioned by H. Pittier (p. 320) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 326/ in the northern part of Tierradentro, a bridge which people cross hand over hand on a liana stretched across the river.

the Calderun region, there are strong bridges over which even
491 loaded horses may go without trouble. This type of bridge
499 consists of two tree trunks placed a good meter apart, upon which poles are tied crosswise as planking. Only about every fifth planking pole is lashed, while the ones in between are held fast by a longitudinal beam laid over each of the main supports. On either side of the bridge, poles are tied vertically and horizontally as a railing and at the same time serve to support the roofing. The latter is a characteristic of all such bridges (Ills. 194 and 195 /see pp. 285 and 286/). One finds it not only on the bridges in the colonists' region of Tierradentro, but /170/ also, for example, on the bridges of the upper Magdalena River, the region around San Agustín.

The third type of bridge is found in two artfully constructed arched bridges made of bamboo over the Rio Paez at Belalcázar and Avirama (Ills. 191 to 193 and 196 /see pp. 285 and 286/).
[284] They are both quite similar in construction and, like all the other bridges of the Paez, made without nails or other iron parts, but simply lashed with bast and lianas. For reinforcement, however, two wire cables have now been stretched underneath.
491 Although even the Spaniards at the time of the conquistadors
177 report on the "weak and flexible bamboo bridges" and on the
499 "liana bridges" of Tierradentro (Hernandez, 1944, p. 189), in
[175] the case of the two above-mentioned arched bridges, which are relatively difficult to construct, it seems not to be a matter of an original Paez technique. Indeed, these would be the only suspension bridges of this type in pre-Spanish South America.

/170 cont./

491 Rather, these constructions seem to be a borrowing from the
177 Negro slaves who were brought into the region around Belalcázar
499 in very early times in order to work the gold and salt mines there. Both bridges would then be an African culture element in the Tierradentro region. They are suitable only for people. Larger animals are pulled through the river with ropes and must swim part of the way.

499 The two groups of posts on each bank -- a very modern method of bridge anchorage -- upon which the arch of the bridge hangs, are supported by a number of stakes driven into the ground farther up the bank. Bamboo poles serve as joining and holding material. The footway held from above is made with split bamboo, pounded flat. Additional bamboo tubes, secured by
[476] lianas, form the railing. For the construction of such an arched bridge the inhabitants from the adjacent villages along both shores come together. They bury the ends of two long and strong bamboo tubes in the ground, so that their tips lean
[623] slightly toward the river. Then the gobernadores /see the glossary, p. 249/, as the heads of the town councils at the time, start climbing up the poles, which, as a result of the weight, lean toward the center of the river, until the poles touch and the two gobernadores can shake hands from either side. With one hand they then quickly tie the joined tips of the bamboo poles together by means of lianas, which is the first step in the bridge construction. It is completed by the rest of the people (from Hernandez, 1944, p. 190).

/171/

III. Society

1. Political Organization

619 The tribe of the Paez consists of the inhabitants of a number of villages of the Tierradentro region who regard themselves as belonging together because of language, clothing, habits, and
621 traditions. Their present-day political organization is based on the village community. It corresponds roughly to the original

/254 cont./

804 The period of a day is subdivided into the day (ẽn) and the
192 night (kos). Early morning is called kosẽ; afternoon at the time when work is at an end, which is reckoned by the position of the sun, is called ff'nze. Other subdivisions of the day are made according to the interval of an éẽnetc, meaning the time it takes to chew a dose of coca. In translation this designation is used for "hour." The largest period of time is the month, ãte, which is designated by the same word as for "moon." For the period of a year the Spanish word año is used. In former times the word
[221] enzte was used. It is the designation for the large annual com-
[226] munal fishing at the weir during the dry season in February. The
[132] two rainy seasons, called nospá'nye, and the two dry seasons of the year, called sek, are not regarded as time intervals, but as seasons. The latter is at the same time the word for "sun."

823 No large geographical orientations or regional, individual
● [491] divisions of any kind could be discovered. Moreover, all of Tierradentro is enclosed by civilized areas -- there is even an auto road leading to Belalcázar -- so that many Paez men have seen the surrounding countryside and even cities with their own eyes.
601 Only the western bordering mountains of the Central Cordillera,
[186] in the direction of Popayán, are conjectured to be the habitation
123 area of the dreadful man-eaters, the Pijao. Geographical means
484 of orientation are unknown. Traveling is done only during the day, in groups, and in company with a person who knows the way.
821 Of the stars it is only known that there stars that move and fixed ones, without their being distinguished in greater detail or according to constellations.

202 It is amazing that, in spite of their settlement pattern of
[361] individual farms, the Paez do not have any optical or acoustical
[203] means of communication over larger distances. /255/ In case of urgent news or questions, children are sent.

802 There are numbers only from one to six and ten. For the designations seven to nine the corresponding Spanish numbers are used. The Paez word for "ten" (kóse pémba) literally means "no more hands" and indicates that the fingers were used for counting. The toes are not used for counting; anything beyond ten is

1: Nachtigall--252 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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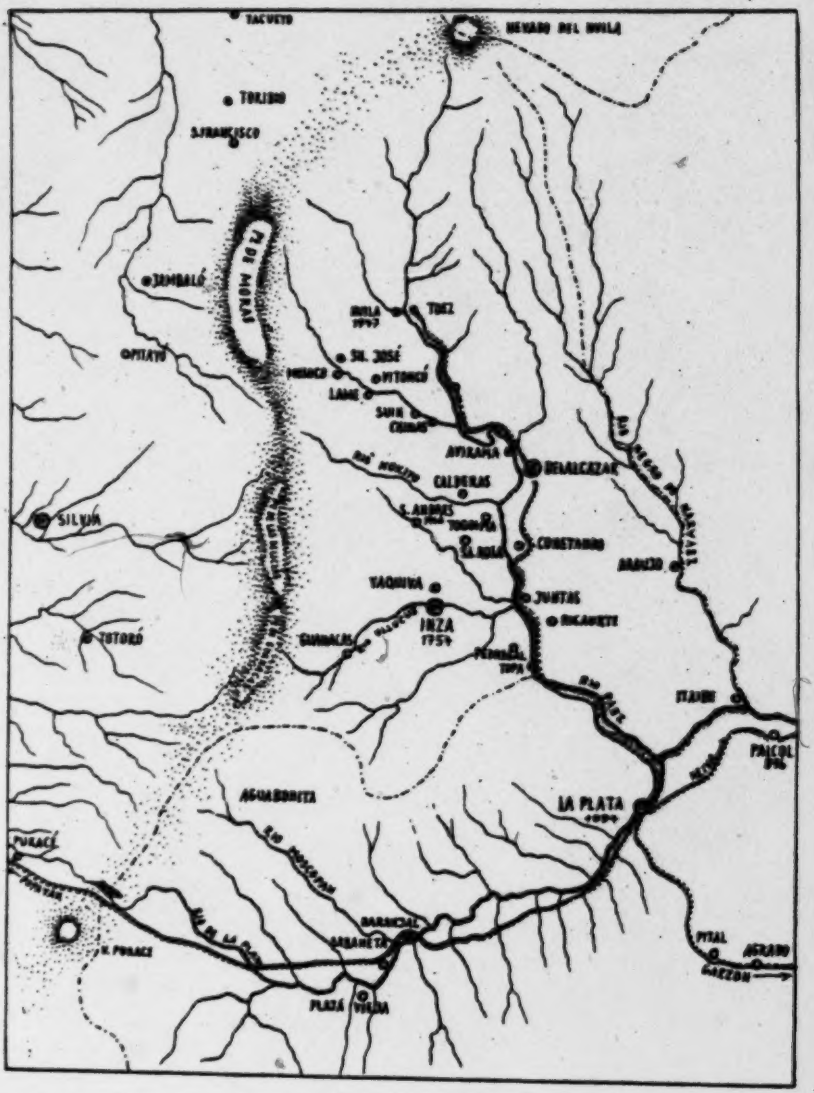

2. Tierradentro

1: Nachtigall--262 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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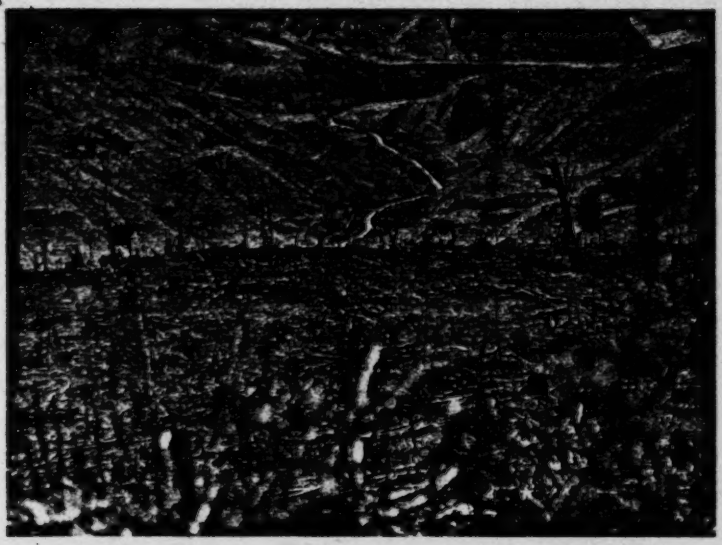

Ill. 6. The valley of the Rio Paez.

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Ill. 7. The Filo de El Aguacate.

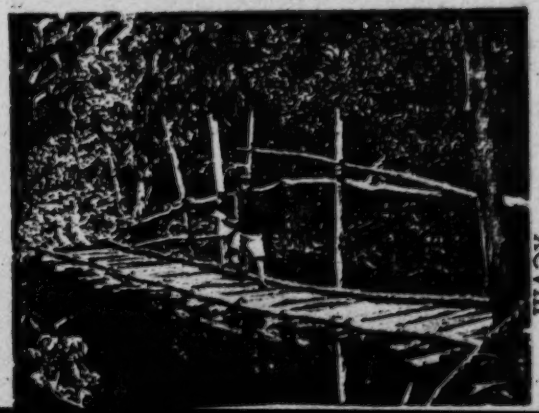
1: Nachtigall--285 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

Ill. 191. Bamboo suspension bridge near Avirama.

Ill. 192. Bamboo suspension bridge near Belalcázar.

Ill. 193. Shore anchoring of the suspension bridge.

Ill. 194. Timber bridge over the Río Kokiyó.



1: Nachtigall--286 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15
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Ill. 195. Timber bridge with protective roof.

Ill. 196. Walkway of the bamboo suspension bridge.

000 /CX cont./

a = Section of the weaving sword
b = Method of stretching the warp threads and inserting the first weft thread
c = Heddle loops
d = Weaving patterns

Plate XVI

36. a and b: game with the hole-ball
37. Drum (underside)

/CXI/

Illustrations

Plate XVII

[491] Ill. 1. View of La Plata, the southern trade center of Tierradentro. From here the roads lead to the cities of the Magdalena Valley and the Cauca Valley.

Ill. 2. The market of Inzá at the time of the weekly market.

Plate XVIII

Ill. 3 and 4. The churches of San Andrés and Santa Rosa built in the last century.

Plate XIX

Ill. 5. Southern Tierradentro, the settlement area of the colonists, as seen from the highest point of the Filo de El Aguacate. In the background, right, the deeply cut valley of the Rio Ullucus.

Plate XX

[491] [241] Ill. 6. The valley of the Rio Paez above Togoima with the La Plata-Belalcázar automobile road. In the foreground a field of the Paez Indians that has been cleared by burning.

[172] Ill. 7. The archeological site on the Filo de El Aguacate. The crest of the ridge is leveled off somewhat for the emplacement of the 41 grave chambers.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SG15

351 In this way an efficient protection is afforded against depreda-
[247] tions by cattle or sheep.

Construction of Bridges

● 491 The Paez Indians are very clever bridge builders and are often called considerable distances to employ their skill in this direction. I observed three different types of native bridges, two of which were entirely new to me. The more primitive one consists simply of a vine stretched across a river, and crossed by hanging and progressing with the hands and arms. The second type is a frail-looking bamboo structure, the base of which is an arch free in the air, or suspended somewhat like our suspension bridges (plates VII, 2). 1

The third type of bridge is a much more substantial structure,
491 built of heavy timbers apparently with an understanding of the
335 laws of gravity. On each side of the river a pair of strong beams are built into pillars of stonework, so that the weight upon the immured extremities counterbalances the free ends independently of the supports by which the latter are upheld. Thus solidly fixed, the two pairs are opposite each other with a more or less wide space between their extremities. To span this, the ends of both pairs are first connected by means of transverse ties, inserted between beams and props, the whole being solidly lashed together with vines. On these ties two more beams of sufficient length are laid, which serve to complete the span. The main structure of the bridge being thus formed, a heavy floor, generally of round stems, is laid over it, and the whole is protected by a roof of elaborate construction (plates VII, 1, and VIII). It is useless to say that not a single nail is used to unite the numerous parts of the structure, a vine called *ptakuia* being exclusively used for this purpose.

491 We saw two of these large structures, one on the Paez river near Huila, the other on the Moras river, on the trail from Vitoncó to Mosoco. But we were informed that most of the larger rivers in Tolima and elsewhere in the Magdalena valley are bridged in the same way, and that Paez Indians are in frequent requisition elsewhere as bridge-builders.

1 [See Plate facing P. 323 —Analyst]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

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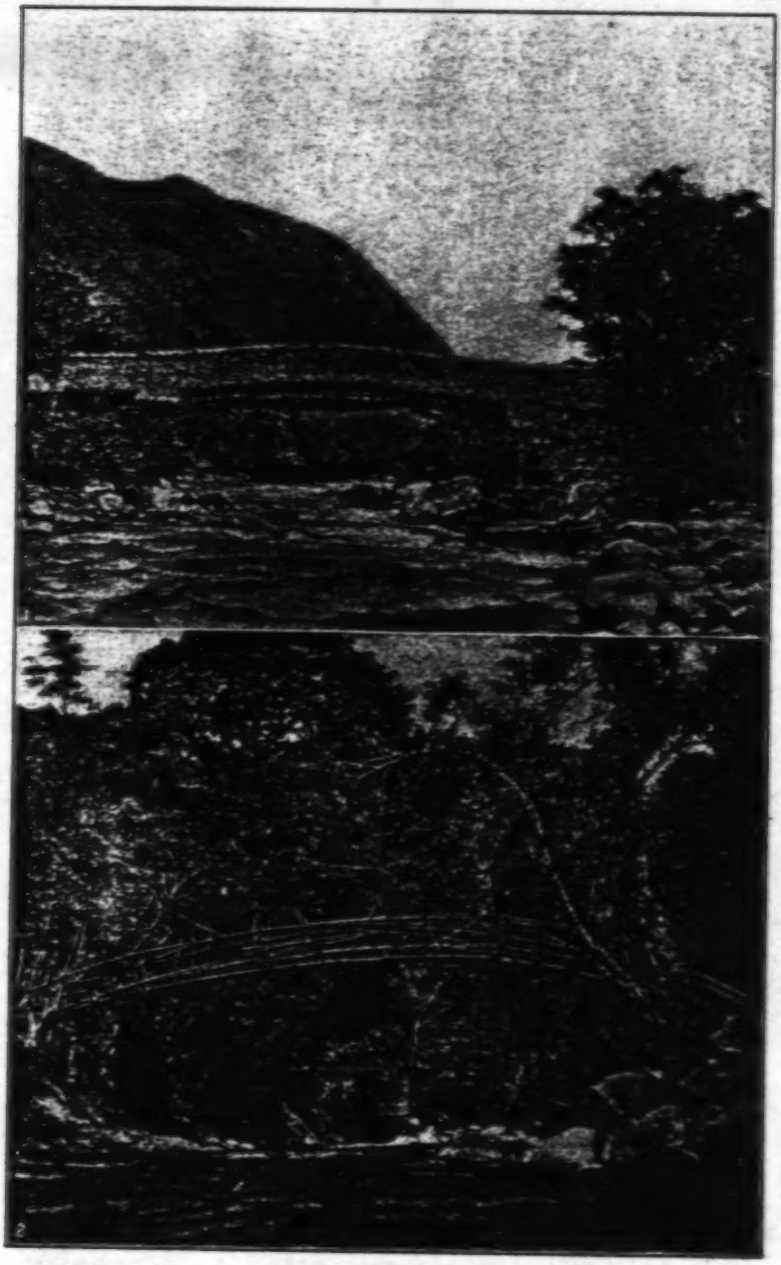
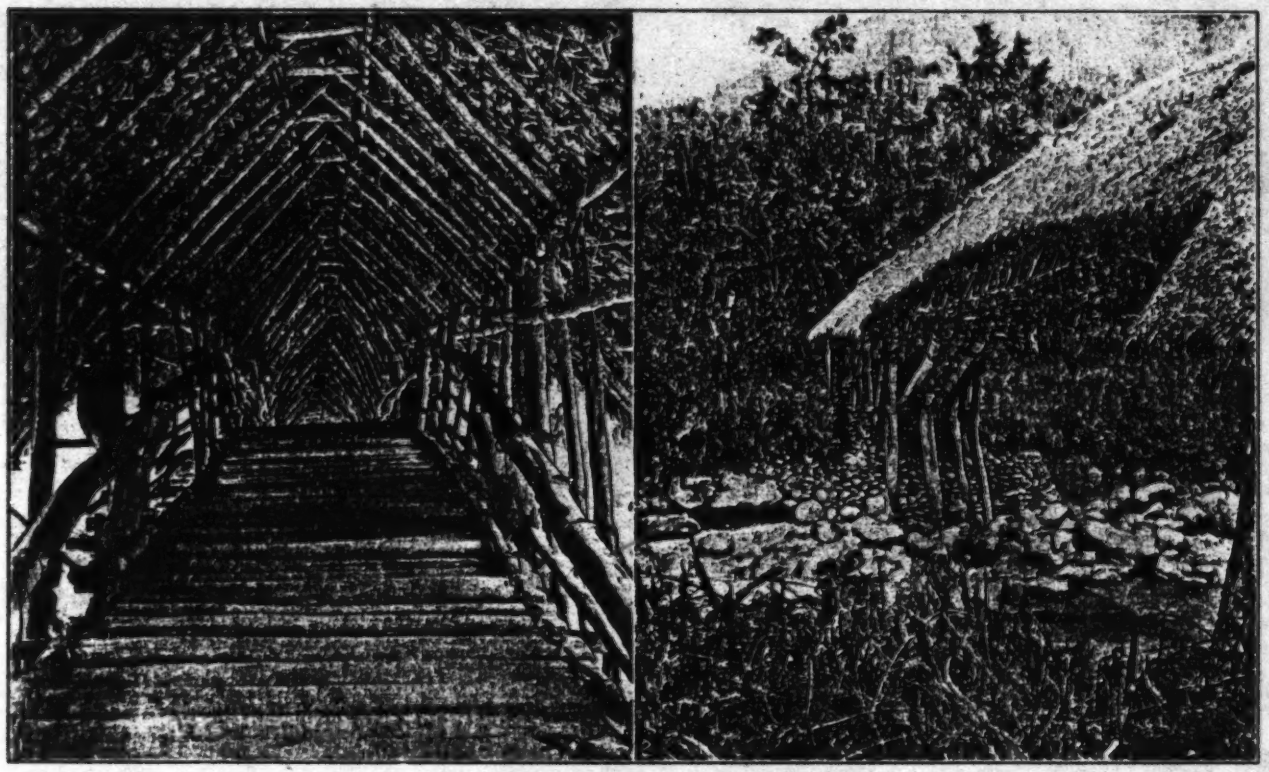


1. BRIDGE OVER PAEZ RIVER NEAR HUILA
2. BAMBOO BRIDGE AT TACUEYÓ

[facing P. 323]



INTERIOR AND EXTERIOR OF BRIDGE OVER PAEZ RIVER NEAR HUILA

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

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[facing P. 325]

/281 cont./

487 Routes of communication.--Until the fourth decade of the present century, the routes of penetration were horse paths which passed through the paramos of Guanacas, Las Delicias, and Moras, or through Inzá, Pedregal, Topa, and La Plata. The three first ones communicated with the Cauca valley, and the second with the /282/ Magdalena valley. These were the routes of the colonial era and, to a large extent, of the times [648] of the republic. The Guanacas route was the first to serve for communication between the kingdom of Quito and Santafé de Bogotá, owing, of course, to the more favorable attitude of the Guanaca Indians toward the conquistadores, who, taking advantage of their relationship with the Paez, made them their 797 allies and assistants. The first religious mission was established 175 in Guanacas in 1613. By way of the Paramo de Moras Captain Juan de Ampudia entered Paez territory to take exemplary re- 175 648 venge for the tragic death of his colleague-at-arms, Captain Pedro de Añasco. To his disgrace and that of Spain, he met a terrible death on the cliffs of Togoima. By way of the same Paramo de Moras came the Adelantado Don Sebastián de Belalcázar, who had the same aims as his unfortunate predecessor, but this time his death, too, was added. The Paez gave him the most crushing defeat on the Peñón de Tálaga, and the Adelantado had to flee, leaving on the field of battle 491 the body of the heroic Captain García Tovar. The intense [484] traffic through these dangerous peaks and cold paramos decreased considerably with the opening of the Quindío road, and even much more with the inauguration of the La Plata-Belalacázar road. Tierradentro is connected by road with Popayán and 487 Neiva. Nowadays only the Indians from Mosoco, San José, and Vitoncó, and the Paez from Toribío, Tacueyó, and [788] Jambaló travel by way of the Paramo de Moras. That of Las Delicias is traveled by the Moguex, especially on their annual pilgrimages to the religious festivities of Our Lady of Nátaga. The Guanacas route is practically abandoned. There is also another route, traveled relatively frequently, which follows the

/178 cont./

several leagues around were supplied for a long time with the salt extracted from the three salt deposits that still exist in Segovia. Across from these and on the other side of the Ullucos, in Vivorá, another salt deposit was also exploited.

At the confluence of the small stream called El Escaño and the Pisimbalá, on the right bank of the latter and at the foot of the ridge of Aguacate, the Archeological Park of /179/ Tierradentro, a branch of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, is located on an alluvial terrace covering an area of two hectares. Founded some 15 years ago, it is in charge of the care and conservation of the archeological monuments, which have been known to the scientific world since 1936, but to which reference was made as early as around the penultimate decade of the last century, when Dr. Carlos Cuervo Márquez carried out his explorations through the "lands of the Paez and much of the Nevado del Huila." Subterranean necropolises with columns, colonnades and niches, black and red geometric painting on a white background, statuary very similar to the Augustinian, ceramics and metalwork are the principal exponents of this culture hardly known in descriptive form.

The Archeological Park of Tierradentro has served as the center of operations for the scientific expeditions which the national government has sponsored, fostered, and supported during the last 15 years.

II

Over the Zigzags of the Road

In order to travel on winding roads one needs horses resistant to fatigue; a dashing spirit must yield to a solemn step, firm tread, and steady pace.

/179 cont./

123 At 11 o'clock in the morning we left the Park, bound for
484 Calderas. The road climbs through the Pisimbalá valley, at
●491 first on its right bank and soon on the left, after crossing a wooden bridge with a plank roof; from this bridge to the pueblo of San Andrés, three streams have to be crossed: Chapequís, La Virgen, and the cemetery stream. Along this short distance and at the edge of the road we counted ten houses, all of them thatched except one of masonry, tiles, oil paint, modern manufacture; the others have white washed walls, painted doors, and are generally clean and orderly. They are the houses of mestizos and colonists settled on their respective fincas.

At 11:30 we left the settlement and took the path that leads to Calderas; the road goes ever upward, in slow and slippery
123 zigzags. As we go along, we see houses with graphite-colored
342 roofs and walls which are black when made of mud or (and these are in the majority) yellow when they are of maize stalks; they lie as if submerged /180/ in the plantings of bananas, sugar cane, and yuca; bluish smoke rises vertically in thick columns from the openings.

123 At 12 o'clock we came out on the Mesón, Supok in the
133 Paez dialect, a small plateau oriented from north to south
[361] and bounded on the east and west by great depressions. Many native huts stand there.

[137] The beautiful valley of the Pisimbalá torrent comes into view in its entirety; contracted at times, then widening more, extensive in length and generally narrow, it descends in a gentle slope in pursuit of the noisy Ullucos; covered with thriving vegetation, it looks like a carpet of living green blending in its tones the stateliness of the cachimbos /búcare, Erytrina umbrosa/, cedars, guamás, gadua bamboo, and yarumos /Cecropia peltata/, and the splendor of the plantings of sugar cane and bananas and the pastures of the herders.

[131] An hour later we reached the Yukaichí ridge, the boundary of the parcialidades /territorial divisions/ of San Andrés and

4:Bernal Villa--53 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

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XXIV

The Race for the Rooster at Tumbichukue

103 The name of Tumbichukue is familiar to the colonists throughout Tierradentro. It is synonymous with fabulous treasures. In this place, it is said, the Paez buried all the gold and silver that they collected in the ill-fated settlement of Sebastián Quintero destroyed by them.

[134] Tumbichukue is a pass /vereda/ formed by the eastern slopes of the paramo of San Lucas and located between the Kukiyú and the Yusayú gorge (Guacharaca). It belongs to the parcialidad of Lame, and the road that goes from San Andrés [491] to Lame passes precisely there. This road is well traveled, its people more accessible to the whites.

796 On June 24 the men race their horses along the road.
541 It is a custom of Indians and whites "to race on the day of San Juan." The whites say that those who do not race their horses on the day of San Juan get scabies. The small, husky horses pant under the demands of their drunken riders. A wild race and shouts in an unsteady voice: Viva San Juan!

The people of the pass go to a small square along the road, near which lives the capitán of Lame. Indians from
184 San Andrés come to watch the race for the rooster. On the
796 other hand, in spite of the nearness, no Calderun /person from
291 Calderas/ is seen there. The women who are seen are clean,
177 with neatly braided hair; they wear black skirts, navy-blue
301 rebozos, pink blouses, numerous multi-colored necklaces,
541 bright earrings, and cloth hats. The monotonous dark or black necklaces characteristic of Paez apparel are nearly absent among these people. The classic pindo hat worn by the [491] Calderas people is absent. Spanish is spoken more frequently.

796 All the riders are concentrating on the cage and the
541 roosters.

/354 cont./

43 onions, cabbages, barley, and eggs, with which it is not possible to maintain regular trading. The Indians, without exception, buy salt and also acquire hats, shirts, trousers, machetes, shovels, bars, axes, knives, aluminum pots, cups, iron plates, spoons, candles, soap, and aguardiente. Less frequently, large and brilliantly colored kerchiefs for the children, and tweezers /pinzas/ and necklaces for the women.

439 San Andrés is a small native settlement which has been
443 inhabited by the "whites" since the settlement area was estab-
438 lished. It contains three stores that sell some merchandise,
[162] some drugs, beer, aguardiente, and bread. Two of them have gramophones. There are also two other stores, which sell chicha and aguardiente exclusively. On Wednesdays a small market is held. In front of one of the houses, peddlers and traders from other areas display their wares; on the small plaza an awning is raised by an acculturated native woman in order to sell food, and a little farther there is a stand where meat is sold. The market starts moving at dawn. The natives bring small amounts of manioc, arracacha, white cabbage, eggs, coffee, and onions, /355/ which are bought immediately by the "whites." Then the butcher starts selling meat, usually in two-pound portions, which are what the natives buy. The peddlers sell a few trinkets and commodities. At 9:00 A.M. the liquor places
[273] begin to move. At ten in the morning the market is over, and
[578] at midday and in the afternoon only drunken natives are to be
[648] seen. At those times quarrels between them are frequent, and often the natives' aggressiveness is channeled against the "whites," as they assert that they are the true owners of the land and the settlement. The natives have the habit of selling their articles (coffee, eggs) only to persons known to them, even if others can pay them better prices.

On Wednesdays there are also markets in Guasdualejo (Togoima) and Turminá; on Thursdays in Valencia, and on
[491] Saturdays in Inzá and Belalcázar. Those of Belalcázar and Valencia, because they are connected by vehicular road with La Plata (Huila), are better attended and have a larger volume of trade. Large numbers of natives from different parcialidades

6: Bernal Villa--99 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro V: View of the route from Moras (Mosoco), showing the road that leads to Silvia.

/365 cont./

177 For our outline of acculturation, we understand by diffusion
[121] achieved cultural transmission, and by acculturation cultural trans-
[127] mission in process, terms expounded by Professor Melville J. Herskovits in his book, El Hombre y sus obras /Man and his Works/.

Within Páez culture there is widely diffused, to the point of constituting an integral part of the cultural body, the following economic elements of alien origin and, more concretely, of European origin:

[231] All of the domestic animals with the exception of the
[137] guinea pig, bananas, sugar cane (the variety known as "criolla"), wheat, barley, garlic, coffee, peaches, apples, and oranges, the agricultural implements, the hydraulic mills, sugar mills, the guadua bamboo, and some varieties of pasture grass, such as orejuela /Alchemilla pectinata/, kikuyu, and poa.

177 Throughout the pages of this work, we have emphasized in
361 particular the cultural developments in process, that is to say, the
563 phenomenon of acculturation. It is obvious that this phenomenon has appeared, with greater or lesser intensity, in those parcialidades where there have been created areas of settlement, within which a specific number of "white" families have settled. But the intensity of the acculturative phenomenon does not rest merely on this fact or on the number of families who live by the norms of Western culture. San Andrés, for example, had its settlement area established for all practical purposes in 1928 and now reckons with more than 20 "white" families, with its nearness to the settlement of Inzá, and, for nearly 15 years, with the Parque Arqueológico of Tierradentro, to some extent a tourist attraction, and yet the process of acculturation is minimal and cannot be compared with the intensity of the same phenomenon in Mosoco, where the settlement area /366/ was created in 1923 and where
177 nowadays there are not more than 12 families of "whites." In
[487] Mosoco there is another factor: the riding path that joins the
[491] municipio of Belalcázar with that of Silvia, a road that has existed since pre-conquest times. Mosoco has been and still
[628] continues to be the mandatory stopping place. In addition, this parcialidad has had intensive contacts with the Guambiano group and the Páez group from the other side of the Cordillera, who are more accutturated.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

342 [177] Some had wooden doors and windows, and were built with nails and wires, though most were still made with vegetable materials.

The modern *Moguex* house has two rooms. The main one, entered through a small door, serves as storeroom for goods to be sold, reception hall, dancing place, and a room in which to keep watch over the dead. The other is a pantry for provisions and drinks; here are kept [354] kitchen utensils. In the center is the fireplace and around it dried [352] cowhides or platform beds made of horizontal poles tied to stakes [476] driven in the ground. One's neighbors aid him to build his house, [461] transporting heavy timbers over light rollers and singing rhythmi- [554] cally as they heave together. If the owner of a new house is a man of [778] means, he pays for a feast of benediction or consecration carried out with a Catholic priest, a godfather, and a godmother.

The *Páez* does all this and in addition puts some pieces of silver 352 money under his house to assure his good fortune. In the main house [415] he places the metate on stakes, and in a secondary house, the press [353] for extracting wax from laurel, one or more troughs or hollowed trunks, [354] and large jars for chicha and guarapo. From the roof frame hang bags, [524] or "mochilas," of netted hemp for belongings. There is also a bam- [283] boo candlestick, the wooden feast drum, sometimes a tiple or small guitar, and, nailed to the wall, a spindle. Outside, the loom stands 404 against the wall Beyond it is the sugarcane mill, which is made of 286 a section of tree trunk with a hole above a projection on which the 249 cane is pressed by hand with a rod which crosses the hole. Some mills consist of two or three wooden cylinders rotated by animal power.

243 In each maize field is a small, temporary house and a high platform 342 where a watchman frightens the parrots and parakeets with periodic cries and motions.

177 Each *Páez* group today has its communally built pueblo, with 361 "bahareque" buildings grouped around a rectangular plaza: a church, with its arched portico and small tower in imitation of Colonial architecture, a house for the priest, a school, and two or three large houses for meetings and fiestas, where they dance, sing, and sleep during fiesta days. But ordinarily, the people remain at their distant houses and fields, and do not live at the pueblo, the only permanent inhabitants of which are a few Whites and Mestizos.

ENGINEERING WORKS

491 The Spaniards found bridges which they described as "weak and 499 flexible bridges of bamboo" and "bridges of vines." A territory so broken and crossed with so many rivers and canyons naturally stimulated the *Páez* in the construction of bridges and the laying out of roads. Today they make four kinds of bridges: (1) A simple vine or cable stretched across the river; (2) a kind of wooden stairs placed

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

obliquely across the rocks; (3) an arched bridge of bamboo floored with spaced sticks, equipped with a hand rail on each side, and supported with stones, bamboo braces, and vines (pl. 185, *bottom, right*); and (4) a covered bridge with thatched roof, built of heavy logs supported by sticks and stones and floored with boards—a marvel of calculated strength, which, like the third type, is made entirely of vegetable materials yet can support loaded animals. To build an arched bridge, two groups of Indians approach opposite sides of the river and each plants a long, strong pole sloping out over the stream. The chief of each group then climbs out his pole until his weight bends it down to meet that from the opposite side, whereupon, clinging with one hand, they lash the ends together with creepers. This constitutes the main element of the bridge which is then completed by the other Indians. 491 499 499

TRANSPORTATION

Some Indians now have horses and use them for traveling and for transporting large burdens, but, in general, transportation is by foot, objects being carried on the back or in netted sacks hung by a strap, especially when visiting markets. A woman carries not only a heavy load but her small child suspended on her back in a blue woolen blanket held with a broad woven band, or "chumbe." Peculiarly Andean is the custom that the man travels on horseback while the woman follows on foot with a large burden. 489 492 492

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The *Moguex* and *Páez* formerly wore only small cotton blankets (mantas), although most of them "went about naked even on the cold mountains" (Rodríguez, 1684, bk. 2, ch. 1). They painted their bodies with bixa, using, according to Del Castillo i Orozco, stamps to apply the color. The paint also protected them against the strong sunlight and insects. They went barefoot, as all the natives in Colombia. According to one chronicler, their hair was "shorn" (Robledo, in Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38). They wore breast and nose ornaments of pure gold or a gold and copper alloy, and necklaces of small figures, beads, small stones, and snails. 291 302 [757] [825] [291] 301

Soon after the beginning of the Conquest, the Indians commenced to use wide, long shirts of a very crude weave and hats which were so closely woven that they would hold water. The latter, which the Spaniards called "tacillas de Páez" (Páez bowls), are still in use. The Spanish encomenderos required that the Indians working on their haciendas near Popayán be dressed. This was the origin of the characteristic garment worn today, which combines the old small blanket (manta) with European dress. *Moguex* men wear short linen pants, and a blue flannel sash which covers them to their knees. 291 177

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● 491 →

PLATE 185.—**Páez houses and bridge.** *Top (left):* Family dwelling with menstrual hut at left. San Andrés. *Bottom (right):* *Páez* Indians and house, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Top (right):* Large communal fiesta house, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Bottom (left):* Suspension bridge, Tierradentro. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942-A]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

754 upon them by the missionaries. The power to do evil is not limited to the witches, but is possessed by anyone who entertains a momentary feeling of envy, and to women, who may not walk over a stick or a cord [841] stretched on the ground. Contact with women during their men- [846] struation or during the days following childbirth causes the "mokokoy" [753] to persecute the men and make them ill.

825 Animals possess the power to prognosticate evil. A document written in 1730 [14] tells that an Indian killed a rooster because he had 787 crowed before daybreak, and said, "Rooster, you are forecasting my 763 death, but I shall kill you first." They believe the same thing when certain birds sing. For example, the call of an owl at midnight brings death to someone. And certain small birds called "ulchik" and others called "bich" warn whomever hears their singing that he will meet with disaster. The box turtle follows people warning them that they are going to die.

825 Del Castillo says that the Indians will not strike white dogs, so that 775 they will not be bitten by them when they enter the future life.

The belief in spirits (kl'iumb) is quite general. Among these 776 spirits is the "pitsuals" which persecutes people, makes them ill, and 753 even kills them. The rainbow, or "Etskituns," causes a rash to break [821] out all over the body of anyone who ventures out while the rainbow shines, and the drizzle that generally accompanies the rainbow will harm a person who gets wet in it if he does not bathe immediately. When the rainbow appears, they stay indoors, and blow or spit tobacco in its direction.

776 They believe that the lagoon on the snowcapped peak, Huila, is [823] charmed, and that if they try to go near it wind and hail storms rise. [821] Supernatural evil forces are supposed to be present during many social activities, such as dancing, meetings, funerals, house building, [491] and bridge construction. When a bridge is built, two Indians beat [331] the water constantly to drive away evil spirits. When traveling on the mountains they place small stones or coins on top of some large [484] natural rock to assure a successful trip and to avoid angering the [782] spirit of the mountain.

[825] Sometimes these spiritual forces assume a bodily form, as in the [753] case of the fireflies, which bring diseases or which may be wrapped in [754] Santa María leaves and placed in the path of an intended victim. Most feared are the ghosts of the dead, which consequently are the 782 most propitiated. The *Moguex* and the *Páez* ask their permission to 769 dance, and honor them in a special rite, which blends old beliefs with [775] new religious concepts. Thus, offerings are made to the souls during the first days of November, or whenever the curate is able to visit the Indian village. Each person offers some products from his farm, in-

[14] Statement made by Javier de Orosco y Cuellar in a lawsuit by the Indians of Tobotima for the possession of land. From the ecclesiastical files of Belalcázar, or Páez.

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/15 cont./

600 C 491/ C 489 [494] [509] [497] C [494] C [509] La Plata into the Magdalena Valley. Since the construction of an auto road from La Plata to Belalcázar, there is a good road connection both to the Cauca Valley and to the Magdalena Valley. From La Plata a bus goes to Garzón in four hours and to Neiva in seven hours. At the present time both cities have twice-weekly air service to Bogotá and Neiva, besides a daily train connection with the capital of the country. It takes about ten hours by bus to go from La Plata over the Central Cordillera to Popayán. From Popayán there is daily air service to all parts of the country.

P C 172 489 361/ Most of the archeological sites and the most important ones lie near the small village of San Andrés, on the hilltops and ranges of the valley of the same name. The place lies about six kilometers straight north of Inzá, separated from it by the Rio Ullucus and El Aguacate range. In order to get from La Plata to San Andrés, one first takes the road toward Belalcázar up the Rio Paez to Juntas, the point of confluence of the Rio P C [492] Ullucus with the Rio Paez. From Juntas one must ride horseback west into the mountains for about three hours in order to reach P C 361 162 San Andrés. This place is a village with the same characteristics as all Paez villages, that is to say, it consists of only /16/ a church, a school, the house of the town council, and a few other houses C [241] used by merchants and by the inhabitants for religious festivals. The latter, Paez Indians and colonists, live on individual farms on the slopes of the mountains along the valleys of the small streams, in a very unfavorable distribution, to be sure, as far as the Paez are concerned: the white and mixed-colored colonists live in the fertile valleys, mainly along the river courses, where they grow coffee, maize, and sugar cane, whereas the Indios must be content with the relatively unfruitful slopes.

/137 cont./

273 (= sweet water), as for the unfermented chicha, does not in any case have anything in common with the name for fermented chicha. Moreover, there is no separate name for sugar cane; nyúša also means "sweet" and "honey."

249 In the region of the Paez, sugar cane may be planted and harvested throughout the year. The juice of the cane is pressed [407] out in the sugar mill (lapíce). The latter stands in front of or inside every house; it belongs to every family in the same way [273] that each has its sugar-cane field and its chicha. The latter has [431] no commercial value whatever, but is merely given away, and 249 anyone who asks for it gets it. The sugar mill (Fig. 28 /see 407 p254 /) of the Paez of Calderas and southern Tierradentro consists of two tree trunks smoothed off on either side, which form the lateral posts (mágrena) of the mill. They are rammed into the ground and are provided, each one twice, with two recesses that receive the horizontal guidebeams (sépo) for the three crushing cylinders. These guidebeams are merely pinned. No metal parts or nails of any kind are used here or in the entire construction. Below the two lower guidebeams a strong plank is fastened to the lateral posts, upon which the three cylinders (ũnk) rest. Of these only the center one is turned by means of a crossbar, with human power or by a horse, whereas the two lateral ones are moved by means of pegs, which are most accurately fitted, but are not in addition pinned. A horizontal pole is lashed above each of the two lower cylinder-guidebeams, in order to guide the sugar cane shoved in for pressing. Below the cylinders lies a rectangular board (tablõn) with /138/ two longitudinal grooves, • [492] in which the extracted sugar-cane juice runs out at the side. If a horse is used to move the crushing cylinders, it is hitched up with two ropes leading out from a rope tied around the belly of the horse, so that the horse does not pull with its chest, as is customary among us.

H. Pittier de Fábrega illustrates (Pl. VI/2) another type of sugar mill from northern Tierradentro, which shows only two horizontal cylinders, one above the other. Both are clamped with pegs between two vertical posts and are turned on either side by hand. The extracted juice is caught in a pouch hanging underneath.

/140/

d) Animal Husbandry

231 Although the Paez keep large livestock, cattle and
233 horses, along with small livestock, they are not livestock-
[232] raisers in the true sense. They neither have anything to do
[492] with the breeding of their animals nor do they utilize their labor
[237] power to any great extent. The utilization of animal products,
too -- especially those of the large livestock -- bears no rela-
231 tion to the existing possibilities. Horses (hímba; stallion =
492 himbapítste, mare = himbaóite) are used least of all, though they
[556] do find use now and then in milling sugar cane. Actually, people have them only to have them and to be considered rich. They are used neither as draft horses in front of wagons nor as beasts of burden, and only now and then as riding animals, with-
231 out a saddle, by young people. Adult men do not ride, even
484 though the mountainous country, difficult to traverse on foot,
492 fairly challenges one to ride, and the Paez, on their visits to the markets, see almost all the colonists on horseback. But "we are accustomed from the time of our forefathers to walk in the mountains," they reply, "and we are much faster on foot than you are on horseback." They are not wrong about this, and one would not like to trust one of the Paez horses, degenerated through inbreeding, to carry its rider on market days 30 kilometers over
232 hill and dale from Calderas to Inzá and back again. Since the
[556] Paez does not demand service of his horses, it is understandable that only the number of head counts for him and his reputation. How the horses look generally matters not at all; in no case is there any breeding selection, nor does a man know anything about the mating and birth of his animals, but generally finds out about a new litter only after it has arrived. Gestation times are unknown. From various parties I was assured that horses, cows, sheep, and pigs were pregnant "about a year." Castration of stallions, bulls, and rams is not known; it happens now and then in the case of boars, with the owner -- no specialist -- cutting out the testicles of the young pigs with a knife.

/168 cont./

484 Special orientation devices for traveling are unknown and are unnecessary, since no one leaves the wider area of his home district. Anyone taking a route for the first time joins someone who knows the way. One does not travel by night, and for this [482] reason the stars do not serve for orientation. The average load to be sold on market days is about 20 to 25 pounds for men; if a married couple goes together, the man usually carries the load, and the woman, the provisions. The daily distances covered are considerable. From Calderas by way of San /169/ Andrés to the market at Inzá is almost 20 kilometers. It takes about [492] six hours on foot. On horseback it is not much less, since one cannot ride fast on the steep paths of the countryside. Many Paez manage this route back and forth in one day, albeit only "without becoming intoxicated on the way," which is not altogether simple.

487 The traffic routes consist of narrow footpaths which can be traveled by walking or riding only in single file. As for roads 491 for wagons or autos, there is only one at present: the gravel auto road from La Plata to Belalcázar, traveling up the Río Paez. Since the end of 1952, however, a connecting road to Inzá is being built with modern American road-building equipment, which will then open up to traffic the southern, less mountainous area of Tierradentro, settled exclusively by colonists, and its products, coffee and panela /see the glossary, p.249 /. These roads are cut directly out of the sometimes very steep slopes and cross rivers and brooks with modern iron bridges.

491 The Paez, too, are accustomed to crossing the waterways 484 on bridges. It is not customary to wade across, unless it is a matter of very shallow brooks. Even then large stones are usually set in them, by means of which one can reach the opposite 491 shore with dry feet. The bridges of Paez may be divided into three groups, according to their construction. The simplest type is that of two thick poles or tree trunks placed side by side, without a railing, which span the ditches around the farmyards [825] and gardens that substitute for fences. Such ditches are supposed to prevent horses, cattle, and pigs from entering. Over the

/178 cont./

several leagues around were supplied for a long time with the salt extracted from the three salt deposits that still exist in Segovia. Across from these and on the other side of the Ullucos, in Vivorá, another salt deposit was also exploited.

At the confluence of the small stream called El Escaño and the Pisimbalá, on the right bank of the latter and at the foot of the ridge of Aguacate, the Archeological Park of /179/ Tierradentro, a branch of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, is located on an alluvial terrace covering an area of two hectares. Founded some 15 years ago, it is in charge of the care and conservation of the archeological monuments, which have been known to the scientific world since 1936, but to which reference was made as early as around the penultimate decade of the last century, when Dr. Carlos Cuervo Márquez carried out his explorations through the "lands of the Paez and much of the Nevado del Huila." Subterranean necropolises with columns, colonnades and niches, black and red geometric painting on a white background, statuary very similar to the Augustinian, ceramics and metalwork are the principal exponents of this culture hardly known in descriptive form.

The Archeological Park of Tierradentro has served as the center of operations for the scientific expeditions which the national government has sponsored, fostered, and supported during the last 15 years.

II

Over the Zigzags of the Road

In order to travel on winding roads one needs horses resistant to fatigue; a dashing spirit must yield to a solemn step, firm tread, and steady pace.

4:Bernal Villa--24 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

VII

The Milling, the Chicha and the Chicha-makers

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249 It remains to be said that the fiesta begins with the milling.
461 Although it is common to use a horse to operate the sugar mill,
[492] it is more usual at fiesta time to move it with human arms, masculine or feminine. It makes no difference. The two laborers for the milling squat on either side of the sugar mill, and one hands over the cane while the other receives the bagasse, which is piled up at one side to be handed back again; this is done up to 12 times in order to extract as much juice
[273] as possible. The millers do their work in silence when they are not drunk; while they do it with diligence, there is relaxation, laughter, shouts, and imprecations when they are under the influence of alcohol.

273 The juice is gathered in troughs, or less frequently in
249 calabashes and pots; it is heated to near the boiling point and
796 then emptied into the troughs, in which, inasmuch as they
[415] are well "cured," fermentation is rapid. The troughs are made of huge tree trunks that reach up to one meter and 50 centimeters in thickness and four or five meters in length. As they are depleted through consumption, they are refilled with fresh
[285] cane juice. The troughs are covered with small mats made
273 exclusively for the purpose. On the following day it is bubbly,
796 yellowish, with a pungent, sweetish flavor. It is the beka pes (strong chicha) of the natives, who drink it with relish and delight. Five gourdfuls of this liquor are sufficient to make them
273 drunk. Elsewhere called guarapo, while the Paez call it chicha,
182 it is of great importance in their social life and diet. With its
796 help the religious fiestas gain meaning, the mingas are carried
[262] out, baptisms and weddings are made more pleasant, and visitors are entertained.

273 Work without chicha is inconceivable, and while they work
461 they get no food whatever; they merely drink chicha and chew
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/213 cont./

796 sit in the center, his wife on his right and the síndico on his left. The same etiquette and the same courtesies will be ob-
[264] served. When the liquor has been drunk, there will be a meal of cabbage and meat: large bowls for the albacero, his wife, and the síndico. For the others it will be served on platters. All of them will sip the broth, squeeze out the meat and cabbage with their hands, and put it in their pouches.

796 Overcome by the fatigue induced by several sleepless
513 nights, by the chicha, and the food, they will sleep on the ground. When dawn heralds the new day, the enormous sala, the fiuhne wala, will present the sight of groups of people sleeping in a promiscuity of sex and age.

XX

The Saint's Procession

796 Immediately after the Mass, with the presence of those
788 who attended it and those who did not, the procession begins, the essence of the fiesta, according to Padre González. The image of San Juan, adorned with many flowers, is carried on a litter by the faithful, who frequently relieve one another, go round the church with a great profusion of gunpowder, and
[533] finally set off the fireworks castle. The music plays incessant-
796 ly and includes the singing of religious canticles. When the
●492 procession is over and the saint has been placed on the altar,
526 the men mount their horses, most of them bareback, and set out to race madly /214/ across the plains of the locality. They give free rein to their enthusiasm, allow their spirits to expand, and whet their appetite for play. Groups of horsemen in clamorous flight leave behind them their shouts of "Viva San Juan." In everyday life action has been slow. Now the movement and excitement seem to counteract the sluggishness and heaviness of everyday life. The sweating animals

526 796 ●492 /214 cont./
reach the houses, where they have a short rest while their owners greedily drink the guarapo offered them by the occupants.

796 793 The fiesteros and albaceros, accompanied by a great number of people, go once more to the priest. They bring him the names of the fiesteros for the following year. The priest reads aloud the names of the fiesteros, the albaceros, and the mayordomos. The pronunciation of each name is accompanied by the ringing of a bell which is entrusted to a fiscal; when the announcement is over, there is a general pealing of bells. Each fiestero is advised by 15 to 20 mayordomos.

796 Then, kneeling in front of the church door, the old fiesteros hand over the banners to the new ones. They form a procession, and upon ending it, in the same spot where the banners were exchanged, they hand them over to the síndico, who waves them in the air one by one and ends by seeming to [787] drive them into the ground. If by chance the banner wraps it- [763] self around its own staff, some misfortune will befall the new fiestero. As a rule it is an omen of death, which fills with great sadness the fiestero whose banner had this happen to it.

Now each fiestero goes home, bearing in his hands the banner of the saint.

XXI

Banquet for the Albacero

796 574 After the procession the fiestero goes to the house of the albacero, where he receives attention with the above-mentioned calabashes of chicha and bottles of aguardiente. When this feast is over, the company moves to the house of the fiestero. In the center of the sala there stands next to the pango the table with two burning candles at the ends, the calabashes of chicha, and the liters of aguardiente. The albacero, síndico,

/217 cont./

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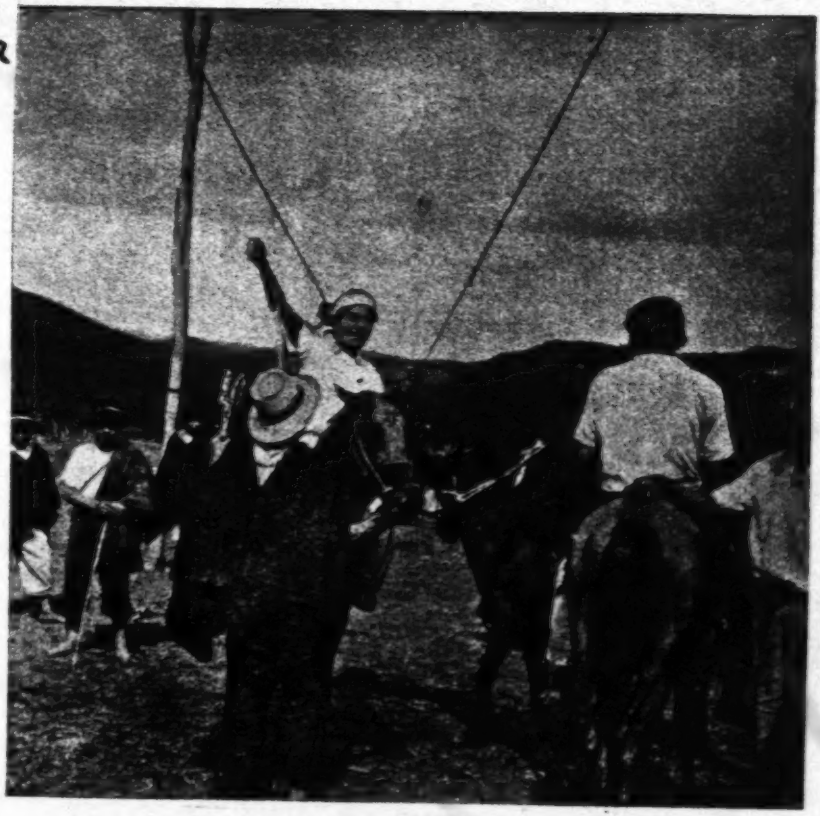
492



796 and in the same fashion. Abundant food and drink will be the
465 testimonial of his gratitude. They will also have the musicians
574 and dance. They will wake up in the morning, like those at the fiesta, lying on the ground.

/303 cont./

241 relatively recent times, has fertile and humid soils. The harvests
433 are large and of excellent quality. It produces profitable yields.
244 The real production of Mosoco potatoes is there. They them-
[492] selves designate it as the principal harvest. During the months of April and May, when the potatoes are being harvested, numerous droves of pack animals carry the produce daily to the market
[435] in Silvia. The profits from this crop are dependable. The cultivators state that even selling at four pesos per arroba it gives a profit. Normally an arroba of potatoes is quoted at six or seven pesos. The planting of potatoes in the paramo begins in October, is intensified in November and December, and the last is done in January. They take advantage of the mildness of the climate
[132] at this time. During the months of June, July, and August the
[484] winter is harsh, with intense cold and hurricane winds. Crossing the paramos at this time is quite perilous.

241 In San José, La Troja, El Cabuyo, El Cuartel, Lame, and
433 Vitoncó, during the first four months of the year, wheat, barley, maize, frijoles, broad beans, and peaches are harvested.

Toward the months of October, November, and December, harvesting is done in Suin, Chinas, Calderas, San Andrés, Togoima, Santa Rosa, and Mosoco itself and consists principally of Maize, frijoles, ullucos, potatoes, and coffee. They constitute what we might /304/ call the second harvests of the year in Tierradentro. The planting begins after Ash Wednesday (March approximately) and is intensified in the months of April and May.
244 The last is done in July. The potato seed planted at about this
433 time in Mosoco comes from the harvest in the "paramo." This is a secondary planting of scant yield. It usually results in losses, but the Mosoco cultivators plant with the aim of preserving the seed. It is interesting to note that the sole agricultural activity of one trader based in Mosoco is the planting of potatoes in the
[434] paramo. He dispenses with the July sowing altogether. He prefers to buy the seed in Silvia, he pays the entire labor force, and in spite of these investments, which are high, he gets a good profit.

/321 cont./

231 [796] [533] The slaughtering of the head of cattle for consumption at religious fiestas is accompanied by music (1).

1. Bernal Villa, S. "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," p. 208.

[232] Of the equine livestock, they also prefer the females for reproduction. Horses are used for the milling of sugar cane, for the transport of loads, for long journeys. Many own saddles, [249] /322/ although generally deteriorated ones. Women never ride on horseback. On long journeys the woman walks with a heavy load on her back, while the man rides without carrying anything to hinder him.

231 The horses of the Páez are small, but very hardy and suitable for the rugged and difficult roads. They do not own mules or [754] donkeys. In Calderas it is said that someone brought a donkey [789] for the purpose of producing young mules, but the envious ones (sorcerers) cast a spell on it and killed it. Nor do they own goats, which they regard as very thievish and destructive.

In the houses they raise guinea pigs, chickens, and turkeys, and, on a smaller scale, ducks. Furthermore, dogs, [422] cats, and hogs are also raised. The former belong indifferently to men or women, while hogs and dogs are the exclusive property of the men.

The scant care given to domestic animals is worthy of note. There are no corrals of any sort, nor special caretakers [233] for the animals. Cattle are commonly left to fend for themselves in the pastures, and only every 15 days, or, more frequently, once a month, are they rounded up by their respective owners to [232] check on their existence or multiplication. They know about the need to give salt to cattle, but this article is supplied in small quantities and at very long intervals. Most of the animals of Calderas go to a small spring of brackish water in Tumbichukue. Among the other domestic animals, only the chickens, turkeys, and guinea pigs are fed regularly with grass, maize, manioc, and

The people of
/356 cont./

43 Mosoco have numerous droves of pack animals for handling the
628 import and export traffic, in which the Guambianos (with their
● 492 horses), called kasukos by the people of Mosoco, who regard them as good friends and not very different from themselves, also participate. The fact is that they live together, work together, and do their trading jointly.

563 The relations between "whites" and natives in Mosoco
621 seem to be cordial and based on mutual respect.

Family economy

594 The Paez family is basically an economic unit. It is made up of the parents and the children, and it represents a
[602] closed but effective circle. They do not go beyond their own
[476] limits in any way, so that the mingas and the distribution of the
[431] first fruits of the harvests are carried out primarily with consanguineal and political relations.

594 The manner in which this economic unit functions and in
462 which its members collaborate can be clearly understood from the division of the activities by sex. The supreme management of the family economy rests in the hands of the man; it is he who owns the land, the house, the tools, and the domestic animals. His arm has not been taught to wield anything but the machete, the axe, and the shovel. He is the owner of the crops and the one who determines where, how, and when work is to be done. His primary work is outside the house: on the land itself. The woman, on /357/ the other hand, remains inside the house, and her basic work is connected with the administration and working up of the products handed over to her by the man. Cooking and
[464] weaving are her specialities. It is true that the woman hires
[178] herself out as a day laborer on the fincas of the "whites" and that in some parcialidades, such as Mosoco, she participates directly in the preparation of the land and the weeding of the crops, but this is a relatively new phenomenon and is not yet universally accepted among the natives.

261 In general terms, the primary incentive for economic activity
594 dealing with food is the satisfaction of the basic needs of the individual and the survival of the family group. It is the security

7:Hernández de Alba E-54(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The main subsistence of these tribes was and still is based on the cultivation of potatoes, which grow in great quantities in the higher portions of the territory known as Tierradentro, and maize, which is acclimated to the temperate and cold zones. There are three varieties of maize: sweet, soft, and hard. Additional crops were and are yuca or manioc, sweet potatoes, auyamas, ullucos, purutos, frijoles, arracacha, and various other vegetables, and a variety of fruits, including bananas, guayavas, avocados, papayas, [178] pineapples, and passion fruit. Today the *Páez* and *Moguex* are be- [433] gin ing to grow wheat, coffee, which is an important item in their [273] economy, and sugarcane, from which is made a coarse sugar and molasses for their fermented drink, guarapo.

241 The men and women of each family generally cultivate the family 476 plot, but for large-scale maize or coffee planting, and for cultivation of the lands of the Church or saint, they work communally, and have meetings called "mingas." Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense. The [782] beneficiary must feed his helpers, generally sacrificing a pig and pre- [273] paring great quantities of chicha for the libations and nocturnal dances after the work. All adults must participate in working the Church lands, but each brings his own food.

241 Implements of cultivation are the digging stick, or macana, for 412 making holes for planting, machetes and axes for destroying vege- 407 tation, and picks and shovels for removing earth, except where re- 492 placed by plows pulled by animal traction.

Domesticated animals.—Domesticated animals include chickens, 231 turkeys, some pigs, dogs, and a few horses and cows. All but the [177] turkeys are of European origin. These animals are rarely sold or killed for food, except for feast days, magical ceremonies, meetings, [438] and visits of relatives, friends or distinguished White men. But [251] sometimes the Indians buy meat in the weekly market and hang it over the hearth, where it is preserved by the smoke.

A custom which has persisted since the beginning of the Colonial 574 Period is that of always giving a guest the "camarico" or "cariño" 431 (affection), a present varying from an egg to a chicken, together with some potatoes, vegetables, and coffee beans.

262 Formerly, meat was obtained from wild rather than domesticated 136 animals—boars (zaínos), guaras, guatines, birds, and guinea pigs, the 231 last being true domesticated animals kept in some numbers in the native houses.

252 **Food preparation.**—Food was cooked in pottery ollas, but metal and [415] enamel ware is now often used. The *Páez* make "mute," a soup of [177] boiled maize, cabbage, squash, and potatoes, and "cocido," a soup

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

obliquely across the rocks; (3) an arched bridge of bamboo floored with spaced sticks, equipped with a hand rail on each side, and supported with stones, bamboo braces, and vines (pl. 185, *bottom, right*); and (4) a covered bridge with thatched roof, built of heavy logs supported by sticks and stones and floored with boards—a marvel of calculated strength, which, like the third type, is made entirely of vegetable materials yet can support loaded animals. To build an arched bridge, two groups of Indians approach opposite sides of the river and each plants a long, strong pole sloping out over the stream. The chief of each group then climbs out his pole until his weight bends it down to meet that from the opposite side, whereupon, clinging with one hand, they lash the ends together with creepers. This constitutes the main element of the bridge which is then completed by the other Indians. 491 499 499

TRANSPORTATION

Some Indians now have horses and use them for traveling and for transporting large burdens, but, in general, transportation is by foot, objects being carried on the back or in netted sacks hung by a strap, especially when visiting markets. A woman carries not only a heavy load but her small child suspended on her back in a blue woolen blanket held with a broad woven band, or "chumbe." Peculiarly Andean is the custom that the man travels on horseback while the woman follows on foot with a large burden. 489 482 492

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The *Moguex* and *Páez* formerly wore only small cotton blankets (mantas), although most of them "went about naked even on the cold mountains" (Rodríguez, 1684, bk. 2, ch. 1). They painted their bodies with bixa, using, according to Del Castillo i Orozco, stamps to apply the color. The paint also protected them against the strong sunlight and insects. They went barefoot, as all the natives in Colombia. According to one chronicler, their hair was "shorn" (Robledo, in Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38). They wore breast and nose ornaments of pure gold or a gold and copper alloy, and necklaces of small figures, beads, small stones, and snails. 291 302 [757] [825] [291] 301

Soon after the beginning of the Conquest, the Indians commenced to use wide, long shirts of a very crude weave and hats which were so closely woven that they would hold water. The latter, which the Spaniards called "tacillas de Páez" (Páez bowls), are still in use. The Spanish encomenderos required that the Indians working on their haciendas near Popayán be dressed. This was the origin of the characteristic garment worn today, which combines the old small blanket (manta) with European dress. *Moguex* men wear short linen pants, and a blue flannel sash which covers them to their knees. 291 177

/CXXIII cont./

Plate CIII

100

Ill. 203. The flute maker, Vicente Puche, is marking with the machete the position of the finger holes on a new flute being made. The holes are burned in with the iron rod, made red-hot, under his arm.

[322]

[493] Ill. 204. Burial of a child who died of whooping cough in Togoima. It was brought to the burial place in a small sedan chair. Music is played during the burial.

Plate CIV

Ill. 205. The capitan of San Andrés, stabbed by his son, lying on the bier.

Ill. 206. The grave of the capitan. In place of the formerly customary lateral-niche grave, here a special depression was dug at the bottom of the pit and this tightly covered with bamboo. For the head an additional niche was hollowed out at the narrow end of the pit.

Ill. 207. A niche grave that was dug for a child.

Plate CV

Ills. 208 and 209. Ritual purification after a burial. The relatives of the deceased first wash their clothes and are then washed themselves.

Plate CVI

Ills. 210 and 211. The shaman Martin Chucue draws the "pest" in the body upwards with his herbs and sucks it off at the fontanel.

Plate CVII

Ill. 212. The shaman spits the "pest" into a hole, pours brandy over it, and stabs at it with his staff.

Ill. 213. The shaman struggles against the spirits with staff and liana.

[For information on the details of bridge construction, see also category 491.]

/169 cont./
491 rivers (*), for example, the Rio Kokiyó, which flows through

[114] * I did not see anywhere the simplest form of a bridge mentioned by H. Pittier (p. 320) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 326/ in the northern part of Tierradentro, a bridge which people cross hand over hand on a liana stretched across the river.

the Calderun region, there are strong bridges over which even
491 loaded horses may go without trouble. This type of bridge
● 499 consists of two tree trunks placed a good meter apart, upon which poles are tied crosswise as planking. Only about every fifth planking pole is lashed, while the ones in between are held fast by a longitudinal beam laid over each of the main supports. On either side of the bridge, poles are tied vertically and horizontally as a railing and at the same time serve to support the roofing. The latter is a characteristic of all such bridges (Ills. 194 and 195 /see pp. 285 and 286/). One finds it not only on the bridges in the colonists' region of Tierradentro, but /170/ also, for example, on the bridges of the upper Magdalena River, the region around San Agustín.

The third type of bridge is found in two artfully constructed arched bridges made of bamboo over the Río Paez at Belalcázar and Avirama (Ills. 191 to 193 and 196 /see pp. 285 and 286/).
[284] They are both quite similar in construction and, like all the other bridges of the Paez, made without nails or other iron parts, but simply lashed with bast and lianas. For reinforcement, however, two wire cables have now been stretched underneath.
491 Although even the Spaniards at the time of the conquistadors
177 report on the "weak and flexible bamboo bridges" and on the
499 "liana bridges" of Tierradentro (Hernandez, 1944, p. 189), in
[175] the case of the two above-mentioned arched bridges, which are relatively difficult to construct, it seems not to be a matter of an original Paez technique. Indeed, these would be the only suspension bridges of this type in pre-Spanish South America.

/170 cont./

491 Rather, these constructions seem to be a borrowing from the
177 Negro slaves who were brought into the region around Belalcázar
499 in very early times in order to work the gold and salt mines there. Both bridges would then be an African culture element in the Tierradentro region. They are suitable only for people. Larger animals are pulled through the river with ropes and must swim part of the way.

499 The two groups of posts on each bank -- a very modern method of bridge anchorage -- upon which the arch of the bridge hangs, are supported by a number of stakes driven into the ground farther up the bank. Bamboo poles serve as joining and holding material. The footway held from above is made with split bamboo, pounded flat. Additional bamboo tubes, secured by
[476] lianas, form the railing. For the construction of such an arched bridge the inhabitants from the adjacent villages along both shores come together. They bury the ends of two long and strong bamboo tubes in the ground, so that their tips lean
[623] slightly toward the river. Then the gobernadores /see the glossary, p. 249/, as the heads of the town councils at the time, start climbing up the poles, which, as a result of the weight, lean toward the center of the river, until the poles touch and the two gobernadores can shake hands from either side. With one hand they then quickly tie the joined tips of the bamboo poles together by means of lianas, which is the first step in the bridge construction. It is completed by the rest of the people (from Hernandez, 1944, p. 190).

/171/

III. Society

1. Political Organization

619 The tribe of the Paez consists of the inhabitants of a number of villages of the Tierradentro region who regard themselves as belonging together because of language, clothing, habits, and
621 traditions. Their present-day political organization is based on the village community. It corresponds roughly to the original

/200 cont./

461 On one day, for example, a portion of the field is cleared of weeds, on the next the sugar-cane mill is repaired, on the day after that a neighbor is helped with housebuilding or milling sugar cane, then nothing is done for days because of drinking, and not until several days later is the weeding begun again. Once they have planned or begun a project for the day, however, they [123] will not let themselves be interrupted. Several times it happened that I would visit a family in the evening, in order to plan something which would be not at all unpleasant for them for the next day. But if they had already planned something else, I was obliged to come back on the day after that. In the fields, too, the men are not to be diverted, or only with difficulty. During the sowing, weeding, clearing, or other work on the field, they let themselves be drawn into conversation only during the coca pauses; at other times one could scarcely disturb them at these and similar tasks which are accomplished in a very even tempo -- provided that enough coca is available. It is different with the women. They let themselves be easily diverted from their daily, little varied household tasks. They are the ones who really do the most work within the family, for, as soon as they are married, they are never able to sleep through the night, /201/ but must stir the fire anew every two hours. Furthermore, they get up earlier in the morning, and they cannot go to bed until later at night. To rest a bit during the day is completely unknown. Nonetheless, they are satisfied with their lot and work happily, since all the women work in the same fashion and they have known nothing else for generations. There are, of course, tasks which are done willingly and others which are done less willingly. The goal of the necessary occupation seems to be decisive, for all the tasks necessary for nourishment are done willingly. Thus, the men, for example, like to work in the field, "since it is for food," like to plant sugar cane or build a sugar mill, "since it produces something to drink"; and the women, too, like to drag in firewood, [296] "since it is for meals." Washing clothes is one of the decidedly [499] unpleasant tasks of the women, as bridge-building is among the [462] men. In the examples sketched here, the tastes of all the Paez seem to be alike.

/181 cont./

173 fortune: his efforts brought to light a large jar overflowing with
823 gold. In his great joy he went running to his companions to tell

142
291
302

173 them of the coveted find; in their eagerness they all flew to the
823 lucky spot, and oh! supreme misfortune, the treasure had vanished. Minutes later, the powder flask exploded, killing several, mutilating others, and leaving only a few alive. The whites localize the Hipinjí legend in Tumbichukue.

487 /182/ The descent to the Kukiyú is effected along a
499 vertical ridge, following a path with innumerable zigzags, an

/182 cont./

487 authentically native achievement which is a true work of
• 499 engineering; it could not have been done in any other spot or in any other way. The bridge over the Kukiyú was built with two thick beams over which thin cross-pieces have been fastened together with lianas; like all Paez bridges, it has a thatched roof and side rails.

III

Black, Smoking Dots on the Horizon

241 36 From Yukaichí one can see almost the entire parcialidad
[133] of Calderas, exept for the left bank of the Kukiyú. On the ridge of a hill, at the end of a canyon, on a slight plateau, discreetly hidden on a gentle slope or on a bold declivity, one sees trapezoidal figures that glow like graphite, surrounded by rows of golden stalks of maize. They are the Indians' huts, built far apart, submerged in the green landscape of the plantings of bananas and sugar cane, and through whose openings a thick bluish smoke is always emerging, a sign of life and activity.

311 While to the Guajira /Goajiro/ livestock is a symbol of sustenance and the tending of herds its concomitant activity, to the Paez the land is the sustainer of man; the black layer that covers the rocks feeds the woodland /monte/ after the harvest; time will tell when it will be mature and ready for fencing in anew the clearings that will yield the longed-for maize, the plenteous arracacha, the small beans, the blooming cabbage, the thick and abundant santo wheat /trigo del santo/; in the grasslands graze the cattle with bright and variegated hides, small, swift horses of great endurance, the many herds of pigs that fight over the tender roots of shrubs, and the mild sheep that yield wool for the men's ponchos, the women's skirts, and the kuetand yahas of both.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,V(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

342 [177] Some had wooden doors and windows, and were built with nails and wires, though most were still made with vegetable materials.

The modern *Moguex* house has two rooms. The main one, entered through a small door, serves as storeroom for goods to be sold, reception hall, dancing place, and a room in which to keep watch over the dead. The other is a pantry for provisions and drinks; here are kept [354] kitchen utensils. In the center is the fireplace and around it dried [352] cowhides or platform beds made of horizontal poles tied to stakes [476] driven in the ground. One's neighbors aid him to build his house, [461] transporting heavy timbers over light rollers and singing rhythmically as they heave together. If the owner of a new house is a man of [557] means, he pays for a feast of benediction or consecration carried out [378] with a Catholic priest, a godfather, and a godmother.

The *Páez* does all this and in addition puts some pieces of silver 352 money under his house to assure his good fortune. In the main house [415] he places the metate on stakes, and in a secondary house, the press [353] for extracting wax from laurel, one or more troughs or hollowed trunks, [354] and large jars for chicha and guarapo. From the roof frame hang bags, [524] or "mochilas," of netted hemp for belongings. There is also a bamboo candlestick, the wooden feast drum, sometimes a tiple or small [283] guitar, and, nailed to the wall, a spindle. Outside, the loom stands 404 against the wall Beyond it is the sugarcane mill, which is made of 286 a section of tree trunk with a hole above a projection on which the 249 cane is pressed by hand with a rod which crosses the hole. Some mills consist of two or three wooden cylinders rotated by animal power.

243 In each maize field is a small, temporary house and a high platform 342 where a watchman frightens the parrots and parakeets with periodic cries and motions.

Each *Páez* group today has its communally built pueblo, with 177 "bahareque" buildings grouped around a rectangular plaza: a church, 361 with its arched portico and small tower in imitation of Colonial architecture, a house for the priest, a school, and two or three large houses for meetings and fiestas, where they dance, sing, and sleep during fiesta days. But ordinarily, the people remain at their distant houses and fields, and do not live at the pueblo, the only permanent inhabitants of which are a few Whites and Mestizos.

ENGINEERING WORKS

491 The Spaniards found bridges which they described as "weak and 499 flexible bridges of bamboo" and "bridges of vines." A territory so broken and crossed with so many rivers and canyons naturally stimulated the *Páez* in the construction of bridges and the laying out of roads. Today they make four kinds of bridges: (1) A simple vine or cable stretched across the river; (2) a kind of wooden stairs placed

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

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/360/

SAN ANDRES

Fams.	Agriculture		Agriculture		Livestock		Trade		Day Wages		Crafts	
	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%
1.*	3.120,00	58,7	1.460,00	27,5	500,00	9,4	.....	.....	.....	....	225,00	4,6
2.	48,00	54,3	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	40,50	45,7	.....	....
3.	132,00	70,5	....	....	.....	....	55,00	29,4	.....	....	.....	....
4.	22,20	28,3	....	....	.....	....	56,00	71,6	.....	....	.....	....
5.	389,00	62,2	....	....	.....	....	45,00	7,1	191,00	30,5	.....	....
6.	152,50	61,6	....	....	.....	....	95,00	38,3	.....	....	.....	....
7.	87,00	26,6	....	....	.....	....	240,00	73,3	.....	....	.....	....
8.	195,00	42,3	200,00	43,4	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	.... (38)
9.	320,00	72,6	120,00	27,2	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
10.*	2.000,00	89,2	....	....	240,00	10,7	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
11.	1.455,00	53,1	600,00	24,8	680,00	24,8	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
12.	170,00	100,0	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
13.	650,00	100,0	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
14.*	190,00	4,2	1.810,00	46,5	880,00	22,8	120,00	3,1	832,00	22,8	.....	....
15.*	379,00	14,4	....	....	100,00	3,8	.....	.....	2.143,10	81,7	.....	....

/The headings are obviously in error on this table./

38. Deficit compensated for by $65.00 saved in 1952, or 14.1% of the income.

In the statistical table of expenses, the first thing that we observe in the three parcialidades is the small amount of money spent under the headings "Drugs," "Medical Service," "Taxes," and "Education."

The protection of the health of adults and children is fundamental among the Páez. Child mortality has a high percentage, and parasitosis, diarrhea, and tuberculosis are almost endemic. But in Páez culture the care of the té eu (good curer) and the nasa jihi (sorcerer); the former protects people from illness and from the curses of the latter; the sorcerer with his magic powers can take people's lives. On the other hand, the té eu openly condemn the use of the drugs and the medical service of the "whites." These two institutions still enjoy great power and basically govern almost all of the institutional life of the Páez. In Mosoco seven heads of families spent small sums of money for the purchase of drugs. /The following table and illustrations appear between p. 360 and p. 361 in the original text./

[text continues on p. 108]

6: Bernal Villa--91 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

Family Expenses -- 1953

MOSOCO /See p. 94 for the note and footnotes for this table./

571
563

Fams.	Drugs		Medical		Food		Clothing	
	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%
1.*	500,00	10,3	300,00	6,1	2.798,00	57,6	980,00	20,2
2.	... ..	...	... ..	..	410,10	57,9	195,50	27,6
3.	... ..	...	... ..	..	288,00	56,3	151,00	28,1
4.	6,00	0,8	... ..	..	316,40	48,3	103,00	13,1
5.	... ..	...	... ..	..	345,60	67,5	108,50	20,7
6.	... ..	...	... ..	..	690,60	66,2	176,00	16,8
7.	... ..	...	... ..	..	402,40	35,6	81,90	7,2
8.	... ..	...	... ..	..	276,80	38,9	137,00	19,2
9.	10,00	0,6	... ..	..	558,00	43,7	223,00	17,4
10.	... ..	...	... ..	..	456,50	56,1	214,00	26,3
11.	10,00	1,7	... ..	..	151,80	26,4	88,50	15,4
12.	... ..	...	... ..	..	327,60	45,1	159,70	21,9
13.	10,00	0,6	... ..	..	734,40	69,2	133,00	12,5
14.	... ..	...	... ..	..	461,60	38,5	278,00	23,2
15.	... ..	...	... ..	..	383,20	29,4	158,50	12,1
16.	... ..	...	... ..	..	195,76	35,7	113,00	20,5
17.	... ..	...	... ..	..	189,60	63,2	62,00	20,6
18.	43,00	2,2	... ..	..	426,66	22,0	168,80	8,7
19.	65,00	4,8	... ..	..	213,33	13,4	294,70	18,5
20.	... ..	...	... ..	..	238,30	42,0	82,00	14,4
21.	... ..	...	... ..	..	188,00	31,8	104,50	17,7
22.	... ..	...	... ..	..	221,20	16,8	191,00	14,5
23.	... ..	...	... ..	..	192,00	31,6	166,00	27,3
24.	6,00	1,3	... ..	..	155,00	34,7	173,50	38,6
25.*	120,00	1,1	12,00	0,1	3.566,40	35,4	2.497,70	24,8
LAME								
1.*	5,00	0,1	18,00	0,6	698,40	25,7	420,00	15,4
2.	0,70	0,2	... ..	..	55,20	19,6	114,00	40,6
3.	5,10	1,1	... ..	..	158,40	34,7	91,40	20,0
4.*	40,00	1,6	... ..	..	1.173,12	42,9	268,00	9,8
5.	... ..	...	... ..	..	66,00	11,1	64,00	10,8
6.	... ..	...	... ..	..	93,00	18,2	61,00	11,9
7.	3,00	1,0	... ..	..	115,50	41,4	37,50	13,4
8.	... ..	...	... ..	..	170,40	64,5	54,50	20,6
SAN ANDRES								
1.*	8,00	0,1	... ..	..	2.265,60	42,5	801,00	15,0
2.	... ..	...	... ..	..	23,25	25,1	27,00	30,5
3.	... ..	...	... ..	..	75,00	40,1	64,00	34,1
4.	... ..	...	... ..	..	29,60	37,8	46,05	58,8
5.	28,00	4,4	... ..	..	172,80	27,6	98,30	15,7
6.	... ..	...	... ..	..	68,00	27,8	81,00	32,7
7.	... ..	...	... ..	..	168,40	48,0	68,50	20,9
8.	... ..	...	... ..	..	165,60	36,0	154,00	33,4
9.	... ..	...	... ..	..	106,50	24,2	115,00	26,1
10.*	... ..	...	... ..	..	933,60	41,6	357,00	15,9
11.	15,00	0,5	... ..	..	1.444,80	52,9	372,00	13,6
12.	... ..	...	... ..	..	19,20	11,2	59,80	35,1
13.	10,00	1,5	... ..	..	115,20	17,7	44,00	6,7
14.*	103,50	2,6	5,00	0,1	1.684,80	43,3	554,60	14,2
15.*	... ..	...	... ..	..	960,00	36,6	280,50	10,6

6: Bernal Villa--92 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

Mosoco Family Expenses -- 1953

Fams.	Taxes		Education		Candles-soap		Coca	
	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%
511 1.	*1,70	..	30,00	0,6	120,00	2,4	.....	...
563 2.	.....	..	8,80	1,2	21,60	3,0	.....	...
651 3.	.....	..	.....	...	21,60	3,0	.....	...
871 4.	.....	..	6,00	0,8	64,80	8,2	.....	...
5.	.....	..	5,00	0,9	45,60	8,9	.....	...
6.	.....	..	10,00	0,9	57,60	5,5	.....	...
7.	.....	..	.....	...	45,60	4,0	.....	...
8.	.....	..	.....	...	50,40	7,0	.....	...
9.	.....	..	.....	...	57,00	4,4	.....	...
10.	.....	..	.....	...	60,00	7,3	72,00	8,8
11.	.....	..	.....	...	36,00	6,2	.....	...
12.	.....	..	.....	...	68,40	9,4	.....	...
13.	.....	..	.....	...	72,00	6,7	.....	...
14.	.....	..	4,00	0,3	28,00	2,3	.....	...
15.	.....	..	.....	...	68,40	5,2	96,00	7,3
16.	.....	..	.....	...	26,40	4,8	.....	...
17.	.....	..	.....	...	18,00	6,0	.....	...
18.	.....	..	.....	...	84,00	4,3	.....	...
19.	.....	..	30,00	1,8	.....	...	.....	...
20.	.....	..	.....	...	36,00	6,3	.....	...
21.	.....	..	.....	...	50,40	8,5	120,00	20,3
22.	11,60	0,8	.....	...	100,00	7,2	.....	...
23.	.....	..	.....	...	57,60	9,5	.....	...
24.	.....	..	5,00	1,1	62,00	3,9	.....	...
25.	*4,50	..	1.745,00	17,3	150,00	1,4	.....	...

Lame

1.	.....	..	30,00	1,2	28,80	1,0	.....	...
2.	.....	..	.....	...	14,40	5,1	60,00	21,3
3.	.....	..	.....	...	8,00	1,7	.....	...
4.	.....	..	.....	...	?	?	.....	...
5.	.....	..	.....	...	?	?	180,00	30,4
6.	.....	..	.....	...	9,60	1,8	54,00	10,5
7.	.....	..	.....	...	?	?	72,00	25,8
8.	.....	..	.....	...	?	?	.....	...

San Andres

1.	*2,40	..	180,00	3,3	?	?	.....	...
2.	.....	..	.....	..	?	?	30,00	33,8
3.	.....	..	.....	...	?	?	.....	...
4.	.....	..	.....	...	?	?	.....	...
5.	5,00	0,8	8,00	1,2	37,20	5,9	96,00	15,3
6.	.....	..	.....	...	36,00	14,5	40,00	16,0
7.	.....	..	.....	...	?	?	48,00	14,6
8.	.....	..	.....	...	?	?	17,50	3,8
9.	.....	..	5,00	1,1	30,00	6,7	24,00	5,4
10.	*14,20	3,3	.....	...	67,20	3,0	.....	...
11.	7,75	0,2	60,00	2,1	108,00	3,9	.....	...
12.	.....	..	.....	...	21,60	12,7	.....	...
13.	.....	..	.....	...	28,80	4,4	.....	...
14.	.....	..	515,00	13,2	?	?	.....	...
15.	*13,00	0,4	15,00	0,5	?	?	.....	...

6: Bernal Villa--93 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954

SC15 Paez SC15

Mosoco Family Expenses -- 1953

● 511
563
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Fams.	Amusements $	Amusements %	Finca $	Finca %	Improvements $	Improvements %	Savings
1.*	120,00	2,4	.....	...	.....	...	
2.	60,00	8,4	.....	...	12,00	1,6	
3.	126,40	23,5	.....	...	.....	...	(1)
4.	2,00	0,3	110,00	14,0	176,20	22,5	
5.	34,00	6,6	.....	...	.....	...	(2)
6.	25,00	2,4	40,00	3,8	44,40	4,2	
7.	150,00	13,2	110,00	9,7	339,60	30,0	
8.	60,00	8,4	.....	...	195,20	26,4	
9.	100,00	7,7	.....	...	324,00	26,0	
10.	10,00	1,2	.....	...	.....	...	
11.	.....	...	.....	...	287,70	50,1	
12.	50,00	6,2	75,00	10,3	45,30	6,2	
13.	36,20	3,4	.....	...	73,20	6,9	
14.	60,00	5,0	250,00	20,8	115,40	9,6	
15.	192,00	14,7	200,00	15,3	201,90	15,5	
16.	50,00	9,1	.....	...	161,84	29,5	
17.	.....	...	.....	...	30,40	10,1	
18.	30,00	1,2	160,00	8,2	1.033,24	53,3	
19.	10,00	0,6	125,00	8,0	844,97	53,2	
20.	10,00	1,7	192,00	33,8	8,70	1,5	
21.	30,00	5,0	.....	...	97,10	16,4	
22.	100,00	7,6	95,30	7,2	630,90	48,3	
23.	60,00	9,9	.....	...	130,40	21,5	
24.	80,00	17,9	.....	...	.....	...	(3)
25.*	226,00	2,2	361,00	3,5	1.356,00	13,4	(4)

Lame

1.*	.....	...	375,00	13,8	1.135,90	41,8	
2.	18,00	6,4	.....	...	18,20	6,4	
3.	30,00	6,5	.....	...	163,10	35,7	
4.*	.....	...	710,00	25,9	540,88	19,7	
5.	.....	...	.....	...	282,00	47,6	
6.	.....	...	144,00	28,3	147,90	29,0	
7.	.....	...	.....	...	50,50	18,1	
8.	26,00	9,8	.....	...	13,10	4,9	

San Andres

1.*	240,00	4,5	1.060,50	19,9	747,50	14,0	
2.	0,75	0,2	.....	...	7,50	8,4	
3.	.....	...	.....	...	29,00	15,4	
4.	.....	...	.....	...	2,55	1,2	
5.	85,20	13,6	.....	...	94,80	15,0	
6.	20,00	8,0	.....	...	2,50	1,0	
7.	24,00	7,3	.....	...	28,10	8,5	
8.	130,00	28,2	.....	...	.....	...	(5)
9.	100,00	22,7	.....	...	58,60	13,3	
10.*	200,00	8,9	366,00	16,3	242,00	10,8	
11.	.....	...	500,00	18,2	227,45	8,3	
12.	.....	...	.....	...	69,40	40,8	
13.	.....	...	.....	...	452,00	69,5	
14.*	100,00	2,5	292,00	7,5	593,20	15,2	(6)
15.*	10,00	0,2	360,00	13,7	983,60	37,5	

511 563 /The following note and footnotes appear under the preceding table in the original text./

NOTE: The peso sign ($) indicates the total expenses and % indicates the percentage of expenses under one heading with relation to the total expenses. /The commas in the figures should be read as points, and the points as commas, in the translation to English./

1. Deficit of 50 pesos or 8.6%.

2. Deficit of 39 pesos or 4.6%.

3. Deficit of 29.50 pesos or 7.5%.

4. Transportation expenses 35 pesos or 0.3%.

5. Deficit of 7.10 pesos or 1.4%.

6. Transportation expenses 39.90 pesos or 1.6%.

/361/

75 Their importance is emphasized if we make a comparison
●511 with the parcialidad of San Andrés, where there is a Centro de
743 Salud duly staffed by a registered nurse, and furthermore, not far away, there is the Centro de Higiene of Inzá, staffed by a doctor and a group of nurses whose services are free and who also distribute free drugs. In spite of this, the natives do not always go to these centers, preferring their own doctors and most commonly the tẽ eu of Calderas.

651 Concerning taxes, we have already said that the immovables
511 of the native communities are exempt from this type of encumbrance; hence, the column reserved for this type of expense remains empty. The few figures that are found in it are payments on immovables within the settlement area and, in one case or another, the payment of taxes for the exercise of trade in various plazas of the municipio of Inzá.

511 The amounts devoted to the education of children are the
871 smallest, if we except those of the "white" informants, some of
[563] whom have their children in high schools, in rural normal schools,
[115] and even at the university. In the parcialidades of San Andrés and Lame, they are practically null. The children of San Andrés go to school, as a rule, unprovided with school supplies, carrying in their bags provisions for lunch, consisting of manioc and cooked plantains, mote, and roasted maize, since the dwellings are located at a distance of several kilometers from the school, with very bad and rugged paths. School cafeterias and the donating of school supplies are more than indispensable in these regions. These children go to school irregularly and do not remain there for more than two years; they are taught in Spanish, and on the
[562] whole the benefit is minimal. Girls attend in smaller numbers
[212] than boys; the adults believe that women do not need to learn to read and write. This situation is different in Mosoco. The children of both sexes attend school and try to attend regularly, and many walk several kilometers a day; the fathers of families are interested in having their children learn to read, write, and count, and for this reason they try to outfit them with some equipment for their tasks of apprenticeship.

/361 cont./

276 The consumption of coca has disappeared almost completely
511 in Mosoco; the few data on expenses that appear in the statisti-
[178] cal table pertain exclusively to elderly informants. /362/ In Lame and San Andrés, on the other hand, the consumption is general and considerable sums, in comparison with the total income, are spent to procure this article. In San Andres, the expenses for this fancy would be higher if there were not a cer-
511 tain number of coca trees in each garden. The monies invested in improvements on immovables and livestock-raising are frequent in Mosoco, while in the other two parcialidades they are practically absent. This already implies a veritable process of capitalization, an activity unknown to the majority of the native population of Tierradentro.

The largest and most constant expenses were paid out, in this order, for food, clothing, amusements, and the acquisition of candles and soap.

511 As far as food in Mosoco is concerned, purchases of panela,
43 coffee, lard (fat), and salt appear for all 25 families; the purchase of maize and rice appears for 12 families. They also buy chocolate, bread, and plantains with some frequency. They do not consume manioc. For the eight families of Lame purchases of panela, salt, and coffee appear, and in one case or another the acquisition of rice, lard, manioc, plantains, and meat. In San Andrés the articles most in demand for the home are meat, panela, and salt, which appear for more than half the families investigated, but the purchase of maize, lard, potatoes, manioc, and plantains also figures with some frequency. On analyzing the statistical table of expenses for the three parcialidades, we find rather interesting coincidences that exist between the higher percentages for food and the deficiencies in agricultural production, either because of the loss of harvests or the scarcity of seed. In the former case, which refers primarily to Mosoco, we have already seen that the budgetary imbalance is compensated for by the sale of domestic animals, especially cattle, and in the latter case, which refers to the other two parcialidades, the low production is compensated for by the sale of labor.

/362 cont./

511 The articles of clothing most in demand are trousers, shirts,
438 hats, underwear, rebozos, and sashes (Mosoco), large shawls
439 /pañolones/ (Lame and San Andrés), and smocks for the children.
[301] Ponchos are also purchased with some frequency. In Mosoco,
[223] gold earrings are ornaments appreciated by the women, in contrast to other parcialidades where gold is /363/ regarded as taboo. The natives wear no sandals or shoes. It should also be noted that the women's skirts are not purchased, but made at home; while in Mosoco the purchase of the reboso de Castilla /Spanish shawl/ is quite frequent and a sign of elegance, in the other parcialidades
511 they buy pañolones. If we compare the figures for food and clothing, the percentage of the income devoted to the former in Mosoco, with two exceptions, is higher than that devoted to clothing. In Lame, and especially in San Andrés, the percentages for food and clothing tend to be the same, and often the latter is higher than the former. The phenomenon is not strange if we bear in mind that in these two parcialidades cultivation is more for internal consumption than for sale. As for "Amusements," although various expenses have been included among them, they refer basically to expenses for the fancy for alcoholic and fermented beverages. Naturally, the expenses are necessarily higher, as we shall see later. As for lighting, in spite of the fact that in San Andrés and Lame it is made out of wild laurel wax, stearic candles are also purchased, and in Mosoco they are always
511 purchased. Soap is purchased by all the natives. In the column
454 showing the part for savings we note that only six of the 48 families
[434] investigated have no figures for it.* And in order to make a few deductions, we have made an analysis of the incomes of the 48 families studied:

*[see p. 93 for this table -- Analyst]

/363 cont./

511
454
434

Parcialidad	Less than $100.00	From $100.00 to $500.00	From $500.00 to $1,000.00	From $1,000.00 to $2,000.00	From $2,000.00 to $5,000.00	More than $5,000.00
Mosoco	-	2	12	9	1	1
Lame	-	4	2	-	2	-
San Andrés	2	6	2	-	4	1
Totals	2	12	16	9	7	2

We thus observe that 28 of the 48 families studied, or 78.3%, have incomes of less than 1,000 pesos, with which savings [426] practically cannot exist. Even with regard to the Mosoco family [691] identified by the number 18, which in the Savings column has the amount of $1,034.24 7/1 we were able to verify that this amount /364/ was strictly nominal and that the head of the family had resorted to the Caja Agraria to ask for a loan of $500.00 to make improvements on his finca, a loan which he indeed obtained; through indirect information we were able to ascertain that the amount given as savings was possibly spent on the expenses of a [563] lawsuit for land which a brother-in-law was prosecuting. The savings of the "white" families are true and also those of some few native families, but in general terms what we would calculate as savings can be assigned to the "Amusements" column; the natives live from day to day. The impulse to save does not exist or is minimal. We had the opportunity to verify that there is no prudence with regard to expenses when considerable sums are received, such as, for example, those that come from the sale of coffee. The modest savings of the natives go up in smoke

7/1 [column actually reads $1033.24, see p. 93-Au.]

/364 cont./

511 in the cantinas, in lawsuits over land, or for religious fiestas.
434 These arguments are confirmed, on the other hand, by the
454 statistical table on income in that only five native families in the three parcialidades made up the deficits in their budgets of last year with sums saved in 1952.

Economy and acculturation

121 Before closing the present work we wish to describe in
177 broad outline the process of acculturation which is now going on in some Páez parcialidades.

[101] The material on Páez culture which we have published and that which we are now elaborating on were collected in the parcialidades located on the right bank of the Paez River, leaving aside those located on the left bank of this river, owing above all to factors of public order which have been disturbing their peace for several years.

[178] The native communities of San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Calderas, Avirama, Suin, Chinas, Lame, Vitoncó, Huila, Toez, and Tálaga are more traditionalistic, live in accordance with the institutions of the culture, and for this reason we regard them as more "primitive." On the other hand, the community of Mosoco, suspended on the slopes of the Central Cordillera itself and extending into the very heart of the Paramo de Moras, is fully in the process of transformation.

[648] /365/ Our research was begun in the parcialidad of Calderas,
[101] isolated, by reasons of a geographical nature, from the principal centers of the "white" population and whose inhabitants have defended their independence at all costs and have been hostile to living with the "whites" (39). From here comes the greater part

39. Bernal Villa, S. "Mitología y cuentos de la parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro /Mythology and tales from the parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro/," pp. 289 ff.

[101] of our materials. But we also carried out systematic investigations in San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Lame, Vitoncó, Tálaga, and, lastly, in Mosoco.

/190 cont./

372 cult of fire. In times past, fire was obtained with "steel and
773 tinder." Whatever the case may be, the mythical accounts

346
291

372 disclose the usury of the owner of fire and anxiety when they were
773 on the verge of losing it. Nowadays, when through carelessness
[177] it goes out in a household, the matches of the whites are used to revive it.

513 The Indians go to bed early. At seven o'clock at night the
●512 parents and the children lie down in a common bed on the dry hides of cattle, keeping on their bodies the clothes that covered

P /190 cont./
513 them during the day. They use no blankets. The woman
●512 leaves sufficient wood on the fire for heat to protect them from
P the rigors of the cold of the night which filters through the
[262] stalks of the walls. In addition, over the fire there is a pot
[264] of "mute," beans, and cabbage, which, when cooked, will
P constitute the meal at daybreak. The fire is revived by the
[462] woman at 11 o'clock, an operation that is repeated about two o'clock in the morning. At four o'clock in the morning everyone is up. At dawn the woman distributes the food, and then the men come out of their houses with machetes in their belts, kuetand yaha filled with coca and mambe, to clear the woodland, weed the fields, or help with the hard work of their neighbors.

V

Anger, Rancor, and Politics

P
829 The Calderas Indians are arch conservatives. Tradition, pride, and a rebel spirit have much to do with their passion for politics. I do not speak of the conservative doctrine or of political concepts. They are conservatives by temperament
P and group solidarity. By the same token, their fanaticism is
829 proverbial. The mere mention of the word "liberal" makes
609 them break out in a rash. Anyone who comes to Calderas for the first time is approached by the Indians out of curiosity. "What is your name?" "What do you want?" "Why did you come?" "What are you, liberal or conservative?" These are the questions with which the natives and even the local cabildo besiege the visitor. It should be added that those who wish
P to save their skins or to avoid being run out of town must main-
[797] tain that they are conservatives. It is said that in 1952 they
[871] did not want to accept the Missionary Sisters who came to run
C the school which is supported by the national government.
[658]

/346 cont./

466 given to him. From the harvests of maize, frijoles, and
427 arracacha the owner receives one bag (approximately half an
[241] arroba) of each product, and one or two bunches of the plantains.

231 He says that the hacienda owner has permitted him to raise
427 animals, but he has none, because he spends more time working
466 on the hacienda than in his own house. He says that he owned
[235] some 20 sheep, but is finished with them. Now he has only eight chickens.

427 The informant is the son of another tenant farmer and
466 grew up on this very hacienda. He has owned the house in which he now lives for 18 years. He has not signed any kind of document with the owner and has not been bothered by him about the possession of the house, but rather, on the contrary, has been urged by him to repair the house. In exchange for the use of the house and the land he is obliged to pay three days for rent
[465] per month, eating his own food and using his own tools. On the other days of the month he works for the same owner for daily wages, earning two pesos a day, excluding, of course, the days of religious or national holidays. Each week he re-
[452] ceives 12 pesos. From the owner he buys maize, manioc, and frijoles on credit, which is immediately deducted in labor. The owner only gives him salt and bananas. The panela comes from what he produces.

466 Since the informant specializes in milling and the making
427 of panela, he ordinarily does nothing else. His work begins at
257 six in the morning and ends at ten at night. He is assisted by his
[463] wife, who earns one peso a day, a deaf and dumb son who earns
● [512] nothing, and another son who carries the cane to the sugar mill.
[465] This one is married, is also a tenant farmer, earns two pesos a day, and has a separate clearing. His wife does not help in the work because she stays at home caring for the house, looking after the children, and weeding the garden and the clearing.

427 At the mill he works even on Sundays at wrapping panela,
257 a task that cannot be neglected. Ordinarily he spends two weeks
461 at the mill and has the following one free (without pay) to rest,
466 to look after his own field, or to hire out his labor to anyone who

/116 cont./

343 In addition to these dwellings only a few houses have
[574] separate buildings, such as, for example, one or, if need be,
● [513] two storehouses or a small house (yatléčkwe) in which friends
and neighbors sleep when they help the owner for days for the
251 joint work of expressing sugar cane or for the harvest. In the
343 storehouse (kotyāvyat: literally "maize storehouse") only maize
[262] and beans are stored, not wheat or garden produce. Fruit, yuca,
potatoes, and arracacha are not kept on hand or stored at all,
but always merely fetched as needed and eaten immediately.
Wheat is tied in bundles below the ears on stalks about 20 centimeters long and hung up under the roof above the fire. Maize
and beans may be kept up to two years in the storehouse. For
this purpose horizontal cross-sticks are fastened in it, over
which the ears are hung, and racks consisting of maize stalks
[425] laid close together are constructed for the beans. These racks,
too, are hung up, if possible, or at least are fastened quite
high above the floor so that the mice (úńsa) cannot get to them.
[231] In addition, a cat (mīš) is shut up in the storehouse, if one is
available. Stalls for the livestock are unknown.

34 In the middle of the village of Calderas, on community
land, stand the church (iglésia), the community house (kabīldeyát),
and the six festival houses of the six largest families (Ill. 147
/see p. 264 /). In their construction, they are likewise hip-
roofed houses, but their walls are built in the manner of the
colonists' houses, /117/ out of vertical posts, on the inside and
outside of which bamboo poles or straight branches are tied
horizontally. To strengthen the posts the interstices are filled
with earth, clay, and, in the lower part, also with stones. The
filling is spread smoothly and the wall whitewashed inside and
[373] out. Whereas light enters the other houses through the door and
the not very tightly sealed walls made of maize stalks placed side
by side, light can enter the above-mentioned houses consisting of
solid walls only through the relatively small door and the opening
of the roof ridge, which makes the interior rather dark.

000 /120 cont./
354 the simplest possible form. Three rocks provide the lateral sup-
415 port or stand for the pots, of which there are two at most, a
metal one, usually of aluminum, and an earthen one. Very
poor families have only one earthen pot, which is relatively
[417] cheap to buy. The earthen pot cannot be hung up; it is set
between the three fire-stones in such a way that it cannot tip
over, whereas the aluminum pot is hung by its handle on a soot-
covered, angled stick that hangs down from the ridge (Ill. 166
352 /see p. 273/). Above the fire area there hangs a frame made
[251] of maize canes and about one square meter in size, on which
[353] household utensils and, above all, the rock salt for salting food
are stored, airy and dry. Tables, chairs, or stools of any kind
[237] are unknown. One generally sits on the hairy side of an un-
tanned and hence board-stiff cowhide, on which one also /121/
● [513] sleeps, or one sits on a beam, a block of wood, or a stone. Paez
[177] who have seen house furnishings in Inzá or in the dwellings of white
colonists have sometimes built for themselves as a bed a sort
of bench 30-50 centimeters high, consisting of sticks or reeds
[513] laid side by side. For sleeping the customary cowhide is spread
on it. These sleeping benches are not used for sitting.

342 The nights in Calderas are generally quite cool, and
362 the light construction of the walls with cracks between the in-
132 dividual maize stalks does not in any way prevent the cold wind
from coming in. In a few houses, near the sleeping area, I saw
the walls sealed by means of expressed sugar-cane piled up
462 horizontally. For sleeping, the members of the family lie down
[354] in a circle around the fire area, where the fire must be kept going
[513] all through the night. This, like all housework, is the task of
the woman, who must gather sufficient fuel beforehand and get up
every two hours during the night to stir up the fire. Furthermore,
[264] she must get up an hour earlier in the morning in order to have
the first meal, which is eaten around five o'clock, sometimes
[461] even at four o'clock, prepared on time. In spite of this, the
men think that they are the ones who do the hardest work and that
basically they are the only ones in the village who really work.

/121 cont./

372 In case the fire should go out, which happens very rarely, the men, if they have no matches, know how to make fire by striking the blade of the iron machete with a stone and catching the sparks in the dry tinder of expressed sugar-cane. To fan this or a dying fire the hat is used as a fire fan, instead of a special fan. A few times I also saw a reed tube (yotá) about 50 centimeters long, which is blown into with the mouth and which thus acts like a bellows.

352 Infants do not as a rule sleep on the floor, but in ham-
[854] mocks (máka), which, however, as the name indicates, were
[513] not originally Paez. Nevertheless all the men know how to
[286] make them out of agave fibers, which is done with the same knotting technique as in the manufacture of nets for bird hunting.
415 Moreover, a few bags (yáha) made of agave fibers, which con-
[286] tain beans, maize, or other supplies, hang on the wall posts.
[353] Arracacha lies on the floor. For drinking chicha, which is allowed
[273] to ferment in large, hollowed-out tree troughs, calabashes (tóka) are used, but they are plain and undecorated. Cracked calabashes are sewed with a waxed agave thread (Fig. 25 /see
[249] p.253 /). The calabash gourd is grown in the house garden /122/
412 of every family; its meat is inedible. Furthermore, an oval or
352 rectangular grindstone on which maize is ground with a smaller hand-stone is found in every household. It usually lies on the floor in a corner of the house, but sometimes it is set about one meter high on two forked posts.

412 Meals are taken with wooden spoons (todšá 'tc) off of
415 wooden plates (bič), which are carved by the Paez themselves
264 (Fig. 27 /see p. 253 /). Aluminum or enamel bowls were rarely
[322] encountered in Calderas. Plates and mugs of aluminum were
[177] therefore always coveted gift articles, along with kitchen knives, needles, safety pins, matches, and salt.

356 Cleanliness within the house is surprisingly great, consider-
515 ing that the Paez wash their bodies but seldom and their hands only when they are "very dirty." This is the case when a person has been working in a burned field and has cleared away the
000 sooty, burned tree trunks and the burned underbrush. The house

/176 cont./

623 himself does not punish. For this purpose four representatives of
666 the lower offices have an official whip which consists of a rod ten
696 centimeters long, with a plaited strap about 80 centimeters long.

The election itself proceeds with the introduction of the candi-
623 dates by the capitan with the question: "This one as gobernador,
624 do you want him?" And they reply: "We wish it" or "we do not
666 wish it." It was interesting to observe how, after the death of the capitan, one of his relatives, Cerbelión Guagáz, tried to be named capitan. The priest, however, insisted on an election by the village. And although he tried very hard to have Cerbelión elected, the village kept refusing him because he was too autocratic and such people are not liked. Another whom everyone would like to have as capitan is himself unwilling. "As capitan I am only the beadle of the padre," he replied to my question as to why he did not accept the choice. And he had no desire for that. He had been comisario once and gobernador once, and now he wanted peace for the rest of his life.

2) Family Organization

594 The family of the Paez is basically the patrilineal nuclear family /Kleinfamilie/ consisting of the parents and unmarried
[513] children. The latter, while they are small, sleep with the parents in the kitchen; as soon as they are larger, in a compartment in
591 another part of the house. After marriage they erect their own house.
596 It is not uncommon, however, for the married sons to live with their wives for another year or two in the house of the father, until they have enough money for a house, which will be small at first. The daughters upon marriage leave /177/ the paternal home and then live with their husbands, that is to say, at first with the parents-in-law.

354 Normally, therefore, every house has only one cooking
596 place, in which the woman of the house cooks. If a son marries,
252 a new kitchen is partitioned off and a second place built for the
[462] fire at which the young wife cooks. As a matter of principle, each married couple -- and it alone -- has its own fire area, for the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook.

/191 cont./

584 father, and the latter distributes it /192/ to everyone and gives
431 the bringer and all those present some of his own chicha to drink. This continues all night until everyone is drunk. In the morning the daughter-in-law, along with her father-in-law, goes back to the house of the latter, and from then on she lives with her husband until the wedding.

606 In case the father of the girl should not be satisfied with the
585 young man as a son-in-law, he would still not take any practical action against this union of his daughter, since he does not have to pay a dowry anyway. Besides, once children arrive, the
[591] parents are always satisfied. If, conversely, the father of the young man is not satisfied with the latter's choice of a bride, he may refuse him his house. In this case the young people customarily immediately build their own house, a small one at first.

58 The wedding generally does not take place very soon after courtship among the Paez, but only after a year or more. First of all there begins a trial period, which, however, has an altogether conjugal character. During this time of "trial marriage" the housekeeping abilities of the girl are to be tested, for the latter brings into marriage no dowry of any kind from her parents or any other possessions except her clothing. Since there are no social grounds for a choice of bride in the nonstratified Paez community, and no stimulus to marry on the grounds of a large dowry or on account of the possibility of a low bride price, there are no
581 child betrothals. As bride and wife a girl has only the merit of
462 her personality and her personal capabilities. The latter have the greater weight. It is required of a woman that she be able to cook and to weave the cloth for the whole family, that she not gossip, keep the house in order, and, above all, that she be able to keep the fire going at night and prepare the meal on time in
[264] the morning. The Paez are in the habit of having their first meal
[252] very early, at five or four o'clock in the morning, and an hour before that the woman must already begin preparing the food.
[362] Moreover, as we have seen, the walls of the house are only made
[513] of maize stalks placed side by side, and give scarcely any protection against the coolness of the night. They therefore sleep lying

/192 cont./

581 around the hearth fire, and this must be stirred and provided with
462 wood every two hours. This is the task of the wife, who, there-
513 fore, sleeps next to the fire. Throughout practically her whole life, she is never able to sleep all through the night.

583 If during the trial year the bride does not meet the demands of the man, if she either cannot cook or is lazy or /193/ does not like to get up in the morning, he sends her back to her father. Since no wedding celebration has taken place, sending back the girl leads to no resentment of any kind. It does, however, if children have resulted from the trial marriage and the young man
[684 nevertheless changes his mind. In this case, to be sure, nothing
[623] can be changed with regard to his decision -- after all, he has not yet been officially married -- but, since such an action is condemned, he is beaten by the cabildo. He may then begin a
583 new trial marriage with another girl. The children of the previ-
848 ous trial marriage (they are designated by the Paez with the
[557] Spanish term hijo natural) are given the name of the mother. There are not a few such "natural children." The mothers, however, are not scorned or judged harshly on that account and do not by any means have poorer prospects for a subsequent marriage. The children are not adopted in case of a subsequent marriage by the
[761] mother and keep their mother's name. It is believed, however,
[851] that such "natural children" will soon die. They are not baptized, since the priest baptizes only legitimate children, or else demands such a large sum for the baptism of an illegitimate child that the unmarried mother cannot raise it.

585 The actual wedding celebration takes place after the period
[178] of the trial marriage. Today the prior marriage service by the Catholic priest in the church is usually combined with this wedding celebration. The money for this, as for the expenses of the wedding celebration, must be raised by the young man himself.
[435] This takes him many months. First of all, besides the cost of ten pesos for the marriage service, he must have collected the money for an ox, then prepare chicha in sufficient quantities, for which sugar cane is milled for about a month, and also provide for the rest of the food. In general his father or brothers do not

1: Nachtigall--299 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/CXXI cont./

Plate LXXXV

Ill. 161. Framework of a house.

Ill. 162. Dwelling of the civilized Paez being built. The walls are filled with earth to the thickness of a post.

Ill. 163 and 164. Construction details of a Paez house.

Plate LXXXVI

Ill. 165. House annex with the chicha trough. In front of the man's stomach hangs the colorfully patterned coca pouch. Married women wear their hair plaited in a braid.

[585]
[302]

[352] Ill. 166. The interior of a Paez house. Tables, benches, and beds are lacking. At night they sleep on the floor around the hearth made of three field stones.

[513]
[354]

Plate LXXXVII

Ill. 167. House garden of the Paez with bananas, sugar cane, and yuca.

[417] Ill. 168. Maize field with fence. A notched tree-trunk serves as ladder.

Plate LXXXVIII

Ill. 169. Portion of a field readied for burning. The tree growth has been cut off at hip height.

Ill. 170. Land used by the village, with black surfaces of the fields burned off in preparation for sowing.

Plate LXXXIX

[241] Ill. 171. Paez burning felled trees. The ashes serve as fertilizer.

Ill. 172. Men setting out sugar-cane shoots with the digging stick.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

302 extracted from the seeds of *Bixa orellana*, which they applied
[294] by means of a cylinder of clay (*kaanda*) on which certain designs were carved. Specimens of such cylinders are often found in graves.

291 Children are very scantily clothed. The boys go about naked
515 until they reach their twelfth year, and the little girls wear only a short *atš-tul*. The clothing of the male and female adults seems to be worn as long as it lasts. As is the case with all Indians living at high altitudes, the Paez are not especially fond of bathing, and cleanliness is not a cardinal virtue with them.
● [513] In retiring for the night, they simply wrap their garments tighter around them, the children using old rags in lieu of blankets.

386 The ornamentation of the *vilia*, or sash, with several brilliant
[182] colors and the desire of giving a uniform hue to the darker clothing of the women, gave origin to the art of dyeing, which very likely is to-day in its decline. The dyes were derived chiefly from plants. Black was obtained from *šal*, an arborescent *Phyllanthus* that has a semi-domesticated appearance and forms characteristic thickets around inhabited places, like Vitoncó; the same color is also contained in the young pods of the *huarango* (*Cæsalpinia tinctoria*), a spiny tree often seen near the houses and extensively used at the present time for dyeing wool. The roots of *tuk-uétse*, a Rubiacea (*Relbunium hypocarpium* Hemsl.) akin to the madder, produce a scarlet color. Different kinds of blue dyes were extracted from the fruit of the jagua (*kii*, probably *Genipa* sp.) and from an *Indigofera*.
[177] Many other tinctorial plants very likely escaped my observation and are gradually passing out of use on account of the introduction of foreign fabrics.

DWELLINGS

342 The Paeces have permanent houses in their thirty-four villages and temporary abodes on their corn plantations. These latter are merely small huts, the walls of which are more or less elaborate according to the altitude, being made tighter near the upper limit of culture. They represent the primitive type of

/186 cont./

with the guinea pigs. These ranchos give the impression of extreme poverty in their dwellings. None of them is of bahareque.

The second type of dwelling, which is more widespread and shows a larger number of foreign architectural elements, is the large rectangular house with a four-slope roof, 15 to 20 meters long by four or five meters wide, with one or two doors and two or three rooms, one of which takes up two-thirds of the space made, and the last third is subdivided into the room intended for the kitchen and the other for the chicha troughs and pantry. Not a few of the dwellings of this type have a compartment for menstruating women (du yate léchukue), although as a rule small huts are built outside the house for this purpose.

In this type of dwelling one commonly finds bahareque, sleeping platforms, plank doors, and sometimes whitewashed walls.

The settlement of Calderas is made up of this kind of dwelling. It consists of 14 houses scattered at random on a beautiful plateau of some 20 hectares, covered with pastures and crossed by drainage ditches that bring water to five of the houses, which are permanently occupied; the others, although they have owners, serve only for religious fiestas when the fiestero /fiesta leader/ moves there with his retinue of mayordomos, laborers, cooks, and the utensils for serving aguardiente, chicha, and food. These houses are spacious, 25 meters long by six meters wide; thick mud walls, with a plank door at the entrance; the enormous sala, ñuhne wala, is 13 meters long; here stand the sugar mill, the metate (úkukuat), the notched ladder for climbing to the garret, the pango pil, crudely hewn rectangular beams on which the men sit, one of which is 10 meters long; firewood is piled in one of the corners; the floor is of earth evenly smoothed. The concentrations of people who visit the fiestero in a daily stream gather in these spacious salas; here music echoes, the albacero /fiestero's assistant/ is taken care of, the dances take place, the drunks sleep, and the sugar cane is milled.

/190 cont./

372 cult of fire. In times past, fire was obtained with "steel and
773 tinder." Whatever the case may be, the mythical accounts

346
291

372 disclose the usury of the owner of fire and anxiety when they were
773 on the verge of losing it. Nowadays, when through carelessness
[777] it goes out in a household, the matches of the whites are used to revive it.

513 The Indians go to bed early. At seven o'clock at night the
512 parents and the children lie down in a common bed on the dry hides of cattle, keeping on their bodies the clothes that covered

/190 cont./

them during the day. They use no blankets. The woman leaves sufficient wood on the fire for heat to protect them from the rigors of the cold of the night which filters through the stalks of the walls. In addition, over the fire there is a pot of "mute," beans, and cabbage, which, when cooked, will constitute the meal at daybreak. The fire is revived by the woman at 11 o'clock, an operation that is repeated about two o'clock in the morning. At four o'clock in the morning everyone is up. At dawn the woman distributes the food, and then the men come out of their houses with machetes in their belts, kuetand yaha filled with coca and mambe, to clear the woodland, weed the fields, or help with the hard work of their neighbors.

V

Anger, Rancor, and Politics

The Calderas Indians are arch conservatives. Tradition, pride, and a rebel spirit have much to do with their passion for politics. I do not speak of the conservative doctrine or of political concepts. They are conservatives by temperament and group solidarity. By the same token, their fanaticism is proverbial. The mere mention of the word "liberal" makes them break out in a rash. Anyone who comes to Calderas for the first time is approached by the Indians out of curiosity. "What is your name?" "What do you want?" "Why did you come?" "What are you, liberal or conservative?" These are the questions with which the natives and even the local cabildo besiege the visitor. It should be added that those who wish to save their skins or to avoid being run out of town must maintain that they are conservatives. It is said that in 1952 they did not want to accept the Missionary Sisters who came to run the school which is supported by the national government.

/213 cont./

796 sit in the center, his wife on his right and the síndico on his left. The same etiquette and the same courtesies will be ob-
[264] served. When the liquor has been drunk, there will be a meal of cabbage and meat: large bowls for the albacero, his wife, and the síndico. For the others it will be served on platters. All of them will sip the broth, squeeze out the meat and cabbage with their hands, and put it in their pouches.

796 Overcome by the fatigue induced by several sleepless
●513 nights, by the chicha, and the food, they will sleep on the ground. When dawn heralds the new day, the enormous sala, the fluhne wala, will present the sight of groups of people sleeping in a promiscuity of sex and age.

XX

The Saint's Procession

796 Immediately after the Mass, with the presence of those
788 who attended it and those who did not, the procession begins, the essence of the fiesta, according to Padre González. The image of San Juan, adorned with many flowers, is carried on a litter by the faithful, who frequently relieve one another, go round the church with a great profusion of gunpowder, and
[533] finally set off the fireworks castle. The music plays incessant-
796 ly and includes the singing of religious canticles. When the
492 procession is over and the saint has been placed on the altar,
526 the men mount their horses, most of them bareback, and set out to race madly /214/ across the plains of the locality. They give free rein to their enthusiasm, allow their spirits to expand, and whet their appetite for play. Groups of horsemen in clamorous flight leave behind them their shouts of "Viva San Juan." In everyday life action has been slow. Now the movement and excitement seem to counteract the sluggishness and heaviness of everyday life. The sweating animals

/255 cont./

754 It is said that one who is to become a sorcerer does not need a teacher; he will discover the remedies and the evil spirits. Nevertheless, in the Parcialidad of Santa Rosa it is said that the most dangerous sorceress in the place teaches people how to do witchcraft.

754 The té eu can easily become sorcerers, if they show in-
*756 terest in becoming familiar with their remedies. A sorcerer can be a good curer and cure people, but nevertheless he will demand better provisions.

754 As a rule, it is unusual for a té eu to be universally
*[756] acknowledged as such, for many people, and the sorcerers among them, commonly designate them as nasa jihi (evil person).

[787] They may have the visions from a very early age, but the practice of sorcery begins in adulthood and is perfected with maturity. The sorcerers who are publicly acknowledged are about 35 years old, most of them being elders.

/256/ Sorcerers never show their remedies; much less is it possible to attend one of their sessions. This is a concealed activity. One knows who the sorcerers are by public identifi-
[124] cation. All the information obtained about them is provided by the people and sometimes by the curer himself. Neverthe-
[156] less, none of them confesses practicing this activity; rather, on the contrary, they protest their innocence and claim to be the best persons in the community.

[623] The remedies that the sorcerers possess are said to be well
[692] hidden, for if the cabildo were to find them, they would punish them irremediably.

● [513] The sorcerers cast their spells at night. The natives say that they do not sleep. No sooner has night fallen than they are chewing coca and tobacco. They sleep during the day. They prefer the dark of night for performing their activities, although they do not have special days or specific hours.

The sorcerers do not introduce objects into the body (toads, hair, etc.), nor can they turn into animals.

/334 cont./

312 water abounds during the rainy season. Then the stream beds, dry during the summer (ravines), swell disproportionately. During the summer months, the scarcity of water is still a serious problem.

313 In areas where water is scarce, there is also a scarcity of firewood, owing to the intensive deforestation. As the felling of the trees moves out from the populated centers of Tierradentro, the acquisition of this item becomes increasingly difficult. The fuel problem in Belalcázar, Cuetando, Chitoquez, Valencia, [314] and Guasdualejo is becoming increasingly serious. Furthermore, [439] charcoal is neither used nor produced for trade in Tierradentro.

[312] Providing firewood for feeding the hearth, as well as water, [462] is more an activity for women and children than for men. In most of the parcialidades, firewood abounds, and ordinarily each dwelling has sufficient reserves to maintain the fire on the hearth. In cold parcialidades, such as Calderas and Lame, reviving the fire through the night is essential for protection [513] against the cold. The natives sleep around the hearth, from which comes the warmth that they need for sleeping, since they use no covering other than the clothing on their own bodies and no mattress other than a hard cowhide.

376 The abundance of water also facilitates the construction of 256 hydraulic mills, in order to utilize this motive force. They are relatively numerous.

Property

423 The lands of the native communities are protected. That is to say, they belong to the parcialidad. They are inalienable. In addition, they are exempt from taxes. This peculiarity of our legislation has fortunately permitted the preservation of the [311] Paez group and their culture. The lands contained within the parcialidades are uncultivated, usable, /335/ or in use. The uncultivated lands of the communities of Tierradentro are rapidly being colonized.

In each parcialidad there is a specific amount of land that belongs to all the members of the community. It is communal

land.

/114 cont./

361 with graveyard, the community house, festival houses, and, more recently, mission station and school are the central pole, whereas the family houses are always built in other places, but on one's own land (Ills. 146-147 /see p. 264/). Sometimes 342 one erects a house merely for one harvest, that is, for half a 361 year, in the middle of his field that is to be harvested. During the work and harvest it may then happen that a Paez family will not see its neighbors for several weeks.

361 The size of the villages varies; Calderas is one of the [162] largest Paez /115/ communities and contains about 200 houses with approximately 1,000 inhabitants. Other villages, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Lame, and others, are substantially smaller. 484 In each case it takes considerable time to cross a village, be- 361 cause this means, of course, crossing the entire valley basin in question. In the case of Calderas this is more than three hours [487] for a European on horseback. The Paez, it is true, travel over the steep short-cuts much more quickly on foot.

b) The House

342 For laying out a house one looks for a building spot as 312 close as possible to a small brook, large numbers of which flow down from the slopes of the mountains and unite at the foot of the valley floor to form the Kokiyó River (literally "maize water"). When it is impossible to lay out a house directly on a brook, the water is led from above through a small ditch past the house. This, as well as any other running water, may always be drunk. [514] It is known that the residents living above this house now and then urinate in the water, but "that does not matter at all," I was assured.

591 In principle, only one family, consisting of father, mother, [594] and children, lives in a dwelling. The married sons must build their own houses. It is customary, however, for newlyweds to go [342] on living in the house of the father for a time, until they have [476] saved enough chicha and food to feed the friends who will help them build their house. In one case, however, in the house of

The house

/122 cont./

356 is swept by the women every day with a broom (ctábando) con-
824 sisting of shrubs of the psánga plant. This plant at the same
[825] time drives away fleas. The rubbish is swept out of the house in such a way that even the entrance is clean.

351 All around the house and surrounding it at some distance
417 either a fence is erected or a ditch dug about one meter deep,
[231] within which the poultry and usually the pigs and sheep are kept.
In Calderas, where, because of the low temperature, bamboo
[137] no longer grows, the fence is made of wood obtained from the
[313] natural growth when a piece of land is burned off. Stakes are driven vertically into the ground at intervals of about two meters and the interspaces filled with small tree trunks, branches, and twigs up to a good meter in length, lying horizontally. Climbing over this fence is done with notched tree trunks or bamboo stalks placed obliquely against the fence as a ladder. Similar notched tree trunks also serve as ladders in the houses (Ills. 168 and 154 /see pp.274 and 268 /).

● 514 There are no privies. On account of the isolation of the houses, however, it is never difficult for the Paez to find a place off in the brush or in the forest. We never found the paths
264 and the vicinity of the houses soiled with filth. The Paez showed
[412] the same tact in eating and at other gatherings. We never experienced smacking of lips or belching, even though their eating habits are somewhat crude, for, lacking spoons, they are in the habit of simply shoving their food from the plate into the mouth with the fingers.

/123/ 2. Clothing and Ornaments

291 The Paez today wear clothing covering their upper and lower bodies. In ancient times, according to the reports of chroniclers, some of them were said to have worn small cotton cloaks, although the majority of them "went about naked, even in the cold mountains" (cited by Hernandez, 1944, p. 191,
[302] from P. M. Rodriguez, 1684). They were also said to have painted their bodies with color and to have made imprints on them with

stamps,

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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147 the odor peculiar to the Indians, which becomes quite noticeable when they are sweating and which so closely resembles that of the secretion of the so-called *sahino*, or wild hog (*Dicotyles tajacu* L.), that I have more than once been deceived into believing that our trail crossed the path of a drove of these animals.

516 When at rest the Paez men almost invariably sit on their heels, the toes sustaining the whole weight of the body, while the women sit with their legs stretched together on the ground, [514] even when near the fire in their houses. In micturition young 481 girls remain standing. The gait of both men and women is short-paced and easy, the body being always slightly inclined forward, probably on account of the habit of carrying heavy loads.

824 Like all children of Nature, the Paez Indians are very keen 825 observers of their surroundings, as is shown by the minuteness of their differentiation in plants and in certain groups of insects. Castillo, for instance, gives the names of no fewer than six different varieties of ants —

[552]

kan-kik	*ĩĩ-kik-ne*	*ŏŭa-i*
kik-fints	*gnuc-kandi*	*to-fiti*

and I collected very few plants for which they did not have a ready name.

Reproduction and Death

881 When a girl reached puberty the event was celebrated among the old Paez Indians by a special dance called *itsa-ko*, during which the young naked female was placed in a hole dug outside the ball-house and thoroughly washed with *chicha*. We have no 836 notice of pre-marital liberty being conceded to women, nor of the relation of children to parents in the family organization. As 595 tradition has it, the pre-conquest Paez were polygamous, and notwithstanding the efforts of the missionaries, it is almost certain that this practice has not completely disappeared. We know nothing about the existence of marriage ceremonies before 581 the introduction of the Catholic ritual. It is likely, however, [586] that marriages were endogamous and free, and, as such, a very frail institution, as Castillo informs us that even in his time

/121 cont./

372 In case the fire should go out, which happens very rarely, the men, if they have no matches, know how to make fire by striking the blade of the iron machete with a stone and catching the sparks in the dry tinder of expressed sugar-cane. To fan this or a dying fire the hat is used as a fire fan, instead of a special fan. A few times I also saw a reed tube (yotá) about 50 centimeters long, which is blown into with the mouth and which thus acts like a bellows.

352 Infants do not as a rule sleep on the floor, but in ham-
[854] mocks (máka), which, however, as the name indicates, were
[513] not originally Paez. Nevertheless all the men know how to
[286] make them out of agave fibers, which is done with the same knotting technique as in the manufacture of nets for bird hunting.
415 Moreover, a few bags (yáha) made of agave fibers, which con-
[286] tain beans, maize, or other supplies, hang on the wall posts.
[353] Arracacha lies on the floor. For drinking chicha, which is allowed
[273] to ferment in large, hollowed-out tree troughs, calabashes (tóka) are used, but they are plain and undecorated. Cracked calabashes are sewed with a waxed agave thread (Fig. 25 /see
[249] p.253/). The calabash gourd is grown in the house garden /122/
412 of every family; its meat is inedible. Furthermore, an oval or
352 rectangular grindstone on which maize is ground with a smaller hand-stone is found in every household. It usually lies on the floor in a corner of the house, but sometimes it is set about one meter high on two forked posts.

412 Meals are taken with wooden spoons (todšá'tc) off of
415 wooden plates (bič), which are carved by the Paez themselves
264 (Fig. 27 /see p. 253/). Aluminum or enamel bowls were rarely
[322] encountered in Calderas. Plates and mugs of aluminum were
[177] therefore always coveted gift articles, along with kitchen knives, needles, safety pins, matches, and salt.

356 Cleanliness within the house is surprisingly great, consider-
● 515 ing that the Paez wash their bodies but seldom and their hands only when they are "very dirty." This is the case when a person has been working in a burned field and has cleared away the
000 sooty, burned tree trunks and the burned underbrush. The house

/128 cont./

241 were only ten by ten meters /129/ square, whereas the largest continuous field occupied an area of about 500 by 250 meters. I was assured, however, that such a large area of land was not required for one family and that the owner would use this large [433] cleared field only little by little for planting. A family can live, so I was told, from a field that measures about 100 by 100 meters, [244] which corresponds to the area of one hectare. In addition, every house has a vegetable garden of about 1,000 square meters in area for the planting of vegetable bananas /cooking bananas/, cabbage, beans, cucumbers, and onions.

241 The clearing of the fields, like the sowing, is done only 476 by men, whereas the harvest may be gathered by women or men. 464 Several men always participate in the clearing and sowing; one [462] man never works alone. At the very least his brothers or sons help him. Otherwise he must ask friends who must be served food and chicha during the work, and whom he likewise helps in 241 a similar instance. On the field intended for planting, first the thinner trees at a height of about one to one and a half meters are cut down with the machete and left lying on the ground as they fall. With this the first part of the work is done, and one has two to four weeks' rest until the felled young trees and branches are dry, but not dried up. Then the men go out into the field again and light the wood, but only the thinner branches of less than an arm's thickness are consumed. This burning takes a few days, and it is not infrequent that a woman helps her husband on • [515] the last day in order to burn up the remaining wood. The Paez, by the way, give this handling of the sooty trunks as the only time that they get dirty and must wash their hands afterwards (Ills. 169 to 171 /see pp.275 -276/).

241 The fence which each field must have for protection 417 against the freely roaming domestic animals is built out of the unburned branches and tree trunks. For this purpose rather thick poles are rammed vertically into the ground, and the remaining branches and tree trunks piled up horizonatally to a height of a good meter. In order to climb over this fence one puts a notched tree trunk against it on both sides as a ladder (aff) (Ill. 168 /see

p.274/).

/143 cont./

224 mountain spirit. We met only a single young man of about 18
who goes hunting alone in the mountains once a week. He told
us that, in order to become a good hunter, one must first try to
[789] kill a bear (ěšwiy). One must then rub its fat into the right
[237] lower-arm, which would give him the same powers as the bear.
[262] One is not permitted to eat this fat, however, because it would
[828] make him insane. After rubbing in the fat, the young hunter
[263] continued, one may not eat salt at any meal for a week. There
are no further rules and ceremonies of any kind to be observed.
[237] We learned, however, that one can also use bear fat as a heal-
[752] ing remedy, and, to be sure, for bone fractures or sprains one
[757] must rub the affected part with bear fat, whereupon the injured
limb will heal immediately and will become considerably
224 stronger than ever before. For stalking he wears on his head a
292 cap made of the skin of a reddish-blond hairy monkey (mónc),
[825] which in the first place protects him from the thorns of the
bushes, but which is also supposed to facilitate creeping up on
[439] game. He sold it to us for two pesos without hesitation, since,
[126] as he said, he was perfectly capable of shooting another monkey
224 for himself. He was not afraid of the gělyómp spirit, but the
776 other men were, for gělyómp screams and makes a noise when
human beings enter his area in the mountains, so that they be-
come quite confused and go astray. The mountain spirit cannot
do anything to several men together, however, since he could
make as much noise as he pleased, but they would not let them-
224 selves be diverted. Of course, the men, even if there are ever so
776 many of them, must not offend the mountain spirit or provoke
515 him unnecessarily, but rather must avoid everything that gělyómp
783 does not like. /144/ For instance, he hates everything impure
[296] and filthy. Hence the men always only go hunting well washed;
[824] they even wash the entire body, and the ruana, too. In addition,
they rub themselves with the cleansing herbs šu and šayuts, which
they obtain from the shaman, in order to be really altogether
[761] clean in a physical and ritual sense. But if someone has taken
part in a burial or has merely seen a funeral procession close by,
he has picked up a good deal of "pest" from the dead and must
have himself specially purified by the
shaman before hunting.

/186 cont./

[77 797 871 Today all children are obliged to attend school in the mission schools, where they are taught the catechism and the Spanish language and must bathe once a day under supervision.

515 The mother nurses her child exclusively during the first six to eight months; only then is the giving of more solid food begun, 853 which, however, does not differ in any way from that of adults, that is to say, the child is given yuca, beans, chicha, brandy, etc., like the adults. The mother suckles the child until the next one arrives, namely, three to four years, and sometimes beyond that, along with the one born next. Every woman who has a child generally also has milk, we were told. Only if the mother should be far away, /187/ for example, on an errand at the market or out fetching wood, may another woman help the child with her milk. In the rare cases in which a woman does not have enough milk to feed her child, she may give it to some 853 other woman, who, however, does not receive anything for it. It 855 may also happen that a family with ten children has become so [593] large that the food is no longer adequate. In this case the woman may leave one or several children in the care of her mother. If she no longer has a mother, however, she must keep them herself. In case the mother of small children dies and leaves a baby of less than two or three months who still cannot eat any food other than milk, the father looks for a woman who likewise has a nursing baby and who brings up the strange child with her milk for two or three years, until it can talk. Then the father takes it back, and the wet nurse is given a cow as "milk money."

854 Ordinarily the children are carried by the mother. The 482 colored woven belt (táw) and the large shawl (panyelón or séntyatc), in which the child is wrapped and carried by the mother on her back, are needed for this.

857 The games of the children are generally instructive for their 868 later life. The boys go bird hunting with the blowgun (pãt), the plaited stone-sling (ísot), or the elastic sling (kaučéro), or they practice catching each other with the lasso, during which the child [231] to be caught represents a cow or a horse. The ability of the children, and of the adults, too, by the way, in the use of the lasso is not

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

302 extracted from the seeds of *Bixa orellana*, which they applied
[524] by means of a cylinder of clay (*kaanda*) on which certain designs were carved. Specimens of such cylinders are often found in graves.

291 Children are very scantily clothed. The boys go about naked
515 until they reach their twelfth year, and the little girls wear only a short *atš-tul*. The clothing of the male and female adults seems to be worn as long as it lasts. As is the case with all Indians living at high altitudes, the Paez are not especially fond of bathing, and cleanliness is not a cardinal virtue with them.
[513] In retiring for the night, they simply wrap their garments tighter around them, the children using old rags in lieu of blankets.

386 The ornamentation of the *vilia*, or sash, with several brilliant
[182] colors and the desire of giving a uniform hue to the darker clothing of the women, gave origin to the art of dyeing, which very likely is to-day in its decline. The dyes were derived chiefly from plants. Black was obtained from *šal*, an arborescent *Phyllanthus* that has a semi-domesticated appearance and forms characteristic thickets around inhabited places, like Vitoncó; the same color is also contained in the young pods of the *huarango* (*Cæsalpinia tinctoria*), a spiny tree often seen near the houses and extensively used at the present time for dyeing wool. The roots of *tuk-nitse*, a Rubiacea (*Relbunium hypocarpium* Hemsl.) akin to the madder, produce a scarlet color. Different kinds of blue dyes were extracted from the fruit of the jagua (*kii*, probably *Genipa* sp.) and from an *Indigofera*.
[177] Many other tinctorial plants very likely escaped my observation and are gradually passing out of use on account of the introduction of foreign fabrics.

Dwellings

342 The Paeces have permanent houses in their thirty-four villages and temporary abodes on their corn plantations. These latter are merely small huts, the walls of which are more or less elaborate according to the altitude, being made tighter near the upper limit of culture. They represent the primitive type of

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

157 pipes they play while walking along, unless their hands are kept
583 busy plaiting braids of gynerium bark in the manufacture of
583 their hats. This is the exclusive occupation of the men.
[563] Women almost invariably walk along spinning wool, their distaff under the left arm and the spindle in the left hand, while the right hand is busy at the wool.

885 The Paez maidens are fond of flowers and are very playful.
157 On one occasion I observed several of them going up the hill
481 beyond the river, in front of the church at Huila, their arms entwined about one another's necks; then they began running up the steep hill as in a contest of endurance. As they became exhausted they threw themselves on the grass, while their movements showed that they were playing and joking all the time. These children of Nature are not unpleasant to look at,
[515 except for their usual lack of cleanliness; nor are they wanting
142] in coquetry, and they are often pretty. But in the presence of
[609] strangers they are extremely bashful, doing their utmost to keep in the background.

291 The old women are generally very ugly. Their clothing con-
515 sists only of dirty rags, and their skin is covered with the filth of years.

593 Relations between the sexes, especially between husbands
562 and wives, seem to be easy and without an air of superiority on the part of the former. On the few occasions that I had to entertain these people at their houses, the women took the same interest and the same part in the proceedings as the men, which was very different from what I observed among the Central American Indians.

609 Toward strangers, and especially toward Colombians of other
186 races, the attitude of the Indians is decidedly hostile. Unless induced by the prospect of profit they will neither sell anything nor lend any service, often refusing money and accepting only articles which they especially desire. They will not allow white
[563] or black people in their homes, and at Huila they are even unwilling that the only white family living there should share the practically inexhaustible supply of fuel scattered about in the near-by forest, or have horses or cattle pasturing on the almost

/215 cont./

XXII

A Bath for San Juan

796 At four o'clock in the morning on June 24, the men, women, and children are up in every household. In that of the fiestero the kitchen fire is burning, the food is being cooked, [541] and everyone is drinking and talking. Outside, in the darkness of the night, numerous lights are shooting upward, ending with a flash accompanied by an explosion: they are the skyrockets fired out of the huts. To each explosion are added the cries: San Juan! San Juan! San Juan!

796 On the previous day and in each of the houses, a jet of 515 water was arranged to serve as a shower. Now everyone bathes. This bath is accompanied by firecrackers and shouts. /216/ This is one of the few occasions when the native bathes. For, although it is true that in childhood baths are quite frequent, adults bathe only for the fiesta of San Juan, in the washing of the dead, or when they have fever.

796 The bath of San Juan has the purpose of preventing both 515 persons and the animals that belong to them from getting sores 751 (scabies). Nevertheless, one of those who awoke in the house of the fiestero and who did not bathe palliates his fear: "I did not bathe. I have no animals. It does not matter if I get scabies."

--"You do have some, even if only 'two animals.' Bathe," replies his neighbor in a taunting, jesting tone.

--"I will bathe, but not my entire body, just my ...only."

The dialogue continues, loud and merry.

796 After the bath they catch a chicken. They all answer its squawks in chorus: San Juan, San Juan, San Juan. They [264] kill it. At six o'clock in the morning they are eating chicken stew.

In the house of the fiestero the following dialogue between parents is overheard as they hear their son crying:

/138 cont./

249 In chicha production for festive days it is customary for
407 the mill to be turned only by human power, by men or women.
461 One could generally observe that the slightly intoxicated men
273 exerted themselves only a short time in each case and were then relieved by the more sober acting women, who -- with their children on their backs -- showed remarkable endurance at this physically quite hard work.

407 Almost every father of a family and houseowner makes his
335 sugar mill himself, or a neighbor helps. There are no profes-
[412] sional carpenters. With an ax (swéla) and a foxtail saw (serúčo) the cylinders are sawed from a tree trunk and crudely smoothed. The cylinders thus prepared are provided with a small hole in the center, from the base and upper side, and are clamped horizontally, by means of pegs, between two posts rammed into
[413] the ground and held together with a rope. Then with a gauge (regla), which consists of a board with thorns, the distances between the pegs are precisely incised on the revolving drum.

273 The sugar cane is put through the crushing cylinders
[249] several times by the workers, one squatting on either side, until
[516] the juice, which is caught in a wooden tub or in calabash vessels,
[415] is pressed out (Ill. 175 /see p. 278/). It is first vigorously heated and then put in a large horizontally positioned tree-trough (kánoa) up to five meters long, in which there must always be a little chicha to begin with (Ill. 165 /see p. 273/). It is stirred up with the old chicha in the trough, the kánoa is covered with banana leaves, and already the next morning the chicha is ready to be drunk. As time goes on the chicha becomes ever stronger in alcoholic content. By noon of the same day it is already strong enough to distill brandy from it. If one does not do this, /139/ some water must be added the next day to dilute it. If this is not done, the chicha is neither drunk nor is new sugar-cane juice added, whereupon it becomes sour and bitter after four or five days and strongly sears the throat. There are also "gourmets" among the Paez, however, who let the chicha go on fermenting, untouched, for up to three weeks and only then drink it so sharp and sour.

/198 cont./

764 protected from the earth above it as if it were lying in a lateral
184 niche (Ill. 206 /see p. 291/). It was expressly confirmed to me
[178] that this form of grave has been used for only about 20 years, and that previously regular niche-graves had been made. The transitional character of this covered pit from the shaft grave with the lateral niche becomes even more apparent from the fact that an additional niche was dug about 30 centimeters deep at the head end of the pit, into which the capitan was laid part way, "so that at least the head is lying in a niche."

/199/ The corpse, wrapped in Colombian clothing, was carried on a bier on the shoulders of two men. The bier consists of two poles held by cross-sticks lashed crosswise one above the other at intervals of 30 centimeters. The cross-sticks are lashed with lianas in pairs, each one above the one longitudinal pole and below the other one (Ill. 205 /see p. 291/). After the burial, the bier was chopped up and then left lying in the graveyard.
[201] Shortly before the lowering of the corpse, the members of the
[516] family take leave of it by kneeling down and moving one or both hands before them from above downward and saying: "You are now going to heaven, and we shall not see each other again; we hope it may go well with you!"

After the corpse was lowered and its head pushed into the small niche, the bamboo covering was very carefully and tightly laid over it. Then the pieces of sod as the bottom layer were packed next to each other as closely as they had been when lying on the surface of the ground. The members of the family and the friends, with their left hands, then tossed as many handfuls of earth into the grave as the person concerned has family relatives. Together they fill the grave with all the rest of the earth with their hands. This is an honor for the friends of the deceased; if a person has no friends, the members of his family must do this work themselves. After a few handfuls of earth, the filling of the pit is always stamped down long and thoroughly with tree trunks. This is a very long and exhaustive occupation, and the more beloved the deceased was, the longer the stamping. In the case of the burial of the capitan, this lasted almost two hours. As a

/281 cont./

755 On the evening agreed upon for the purification from the pest,
756 the patient brings the shaman the required remedies, and the
783 latter divides everything into two parts, one to carry out the séance
[782] and the other as an offering for Thunder. He first takes the latter portion and goes to a particular place in order to offer it to Thunder. He spits part of the brandy into the air and drinks another part himself, as soon as Thunder has expressed his approval of the purification from the disease and his satisfaction over the gift.

[516] For the purification ceremony the teyu and the patient squat down on the ground next to each other, in the manner customary among the Paez. The teyu thrusts his staff into the ground and sets the brandy bottle beside it. Amid coca-chewing and brandy-drinking the hours flow by, broken only by an occasional spitting out of the chew on the part of the shaman. /282/ Through his signs he gradually learns the cause of the illness and also the necessary remedies, which he now hands over to the patient. He also places on his head a packet containing the same herbs, as protection against the evil eč spirit. The teyu now goes to one side and beats the air with his tama, in order to remove the pest that is present. Then he passes it up the entire body of the patient, beginning at the feet and ending at the head, in order to squeeze out, so to speak, the pest from the body of his patient from below upward. At various parts of the body, the hollow of the collarbone, the neck, and the head, he "sucks" out the pest. Into a hole dug a few meters in front of the place of the ceremony he now spits the contents of his mouth: coca and medicinal herbs, mixed with the pest sucked out of the patient. He then squirts a mouthful of brandy into the air, so that the pest will depart altogether, and drinks a further one himself, so that the pest will not enter his body. Now the patient is called. He must first spit into the same hole the mixture of coca and medicinal herbs which he has chewed the entire time, and then he, too, must take two swallows of brandy; he must squirt one into the air, and he swallows the other one. Further purifications of the patient follow, various herbs being passed over him and the pest being sucked out several times and spat into the hole. In conclusion there follows a bodily cleansing

1: Nachtigall--267 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 153. The shaman Cerbeleño Niunda.

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Ill. 152. Mother with child.

1: Nachtigall--273 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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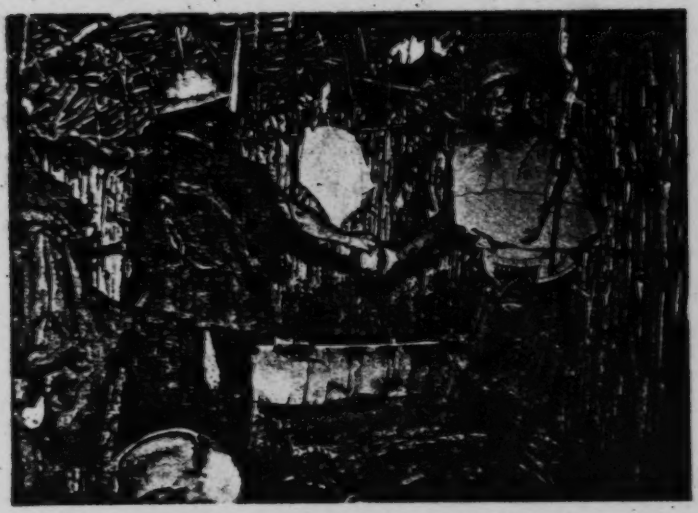

Ill. 165. House annex with the chicha trough.

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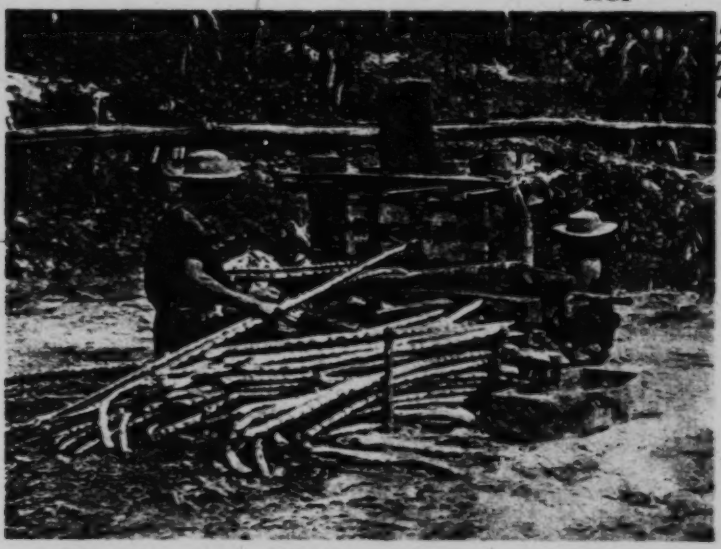
Ill. 166. Interior of a Paez house.

1: Nachtigall--278 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15



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Ill. 175. Sugar mill in operation.

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Ill. 176. Distillation apparatus.

1: Nachtigall--281 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 182. Making the carrying bands for the fiber bags.

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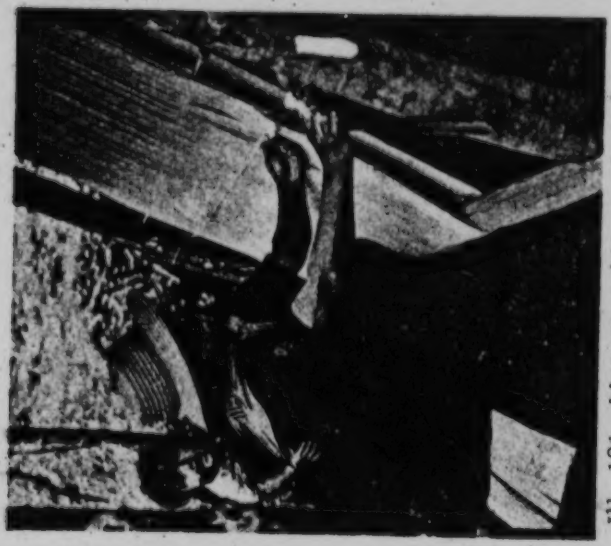

Ill. 181. Weaver making wool cloth.

1: Nachtigall--282 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

Ill. 183. Making a fiber bag

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Ill. 184. Smoothing out the seams of a pot.

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2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

147 the odor peculiar to the Indians, which becomes quite noticeable when they are sweating and which so closely resembles that of the secretion of the so-called *sahino*, or wild hog (*Dicotyles tajacu* L.), that I have more than once been deceived into believing that our trail crossed the path of a drove of these animals.

516 When at rest the Paez men almost invariably sit on their heels, the toes sustaining the whole weight of the body, while the women sit with their legs stretched together on the ground, [514] even when near the fire in their houses. In micturition young 481 girls remain standing. The gait of both men and women is short-paced and easy, the body being always slightly inclined forward, probably on account of the habit of carrying heavy loads.

824 Like all children of Nature, the Paez Indians are very keen 826 observers of their surroundings, as is shown by the minuteness of their differentiation in plants and in certain groups of insects. Castillo, for instance, gives the names of no fewer than six different varieties of ants —

[552]

kan-kik	*ĩĩ-kik-ne*	*ĩsa-i*
kik-fints	*gnne-handi*	*to-fiti*

and I collected very few plants for which they did not have a ready name.

Reproduction and Death

881 When a girl reached puberty the event was celebrated among the old Paez Indians by a special dance called *itsa-ko*, during which the young naked female was placed in a hole dug outside the ball-house and thoroughly washed with *chicha*. We have no 836 notice of pre-marital liberty being conceded to women, nor of the relation of children to parents in the family organization. As 595 tradition has it, the pre-conquest Paez were polygamous, and notwithstanding the efforts of the missionaries, it is almost certain that this practice has not completely disappeared. We know nothing about the existence of marriage ceremonies before 581 the introduction of the Catholic ritual. It is likely, however, [586] that marriages were endogamous and free, and, as such, a very frail institution, as Castillo informs us that even in his time

1: Nachtigall--289 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 201. Grinding maize with the hand-grindstone.

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Ill. 202. Calderun music group.

/185 cont./

342 house-plan, the use of nails, plank doors, and even locks and
177 keys to safeguard the dwelling; likewise, whitewashing is not unknown.

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342 The rectangular hut is the most primitive type of dwelling:
352 tiny and light, crude and totally artless; a two-slope roof, walls
353 of stalks laced together with an /186/ entrance door; an earthen
231 floor; a kitchen in the center, with hides all around it; pouches suspended from the posts; on a three-legged beam, the grinding stone; a smoke-blackened interior; and living intimately with the guinea pigs.

6: Bernal Villa--104 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro X: Indian woman of Mosoco "mambe-ing" /chewing coca and lime/ and weaving a kuetand yaha (pouch) for mambe). She is a té eu of the parcialidad.

?:Hernández de Alba E-5y(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

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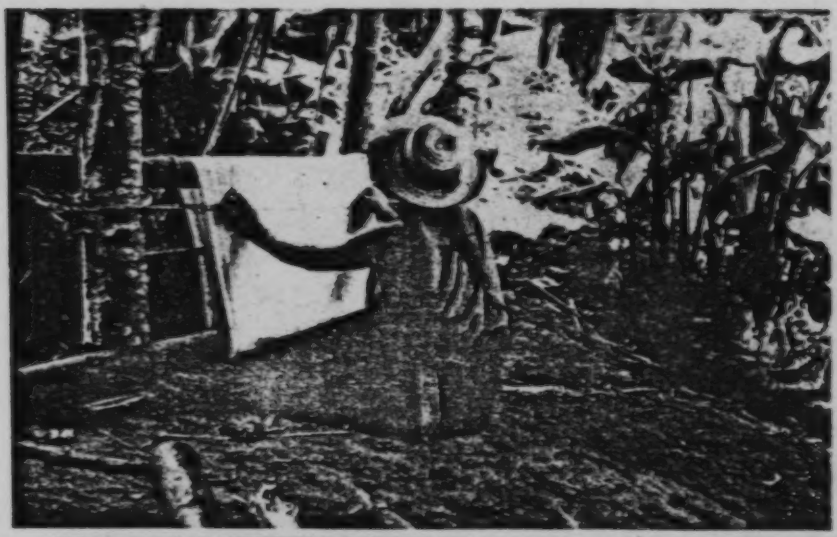

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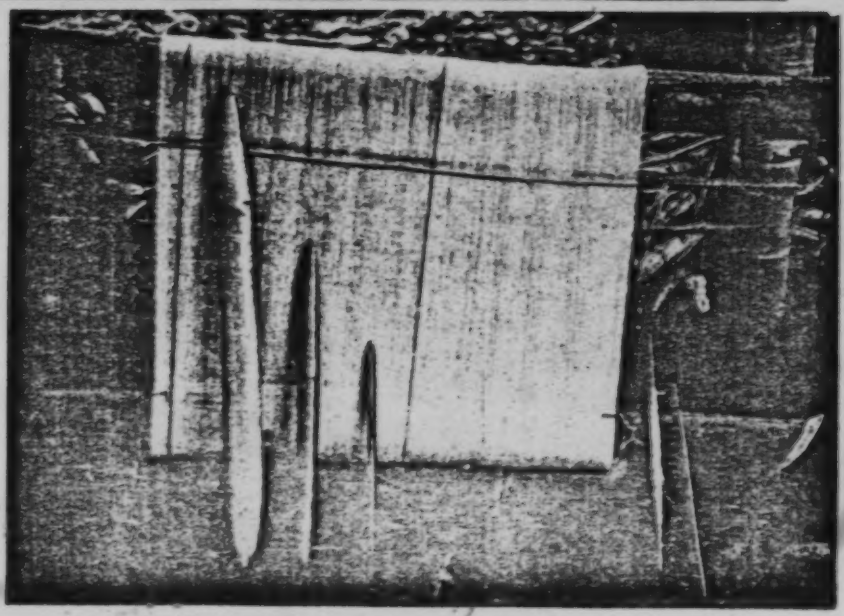

PLATE 186.—Páez weaving. *Top:* Woman weaving a woolen skirt. *Bottom:* Loom and weaving utensils. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942B]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5# (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

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PLATE 187.—**Páez weaving and spinning.** *Top:* Woman spinning wool while walking, San Andrés, Tierradentro. *Bottom:* Men weaving straw hats. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 c]

7:Hernández de Alba E-S(no date) 1946 SCIS Paez SCIS
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PLATE 102.—**Páez types.** *Top (left):* *Páez* man, Tierradentro. *Top (right):* Woman with necklace and bags woven of wool and bast fibers, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Bottom (left):* Indians, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Bottom (center):* Indians, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Bottom (right):* Man at Inzá, Tierradentro. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 - H)

/109 cont./

124 One day, at the sight of a freshly cleared field on the
423 highest mountain slopes, I asked a Paez working there to whom this land belonged and whether the person concerned had always owned it. He answered that he himself was the owner and that previously the parcel had been ownerless. He said that he had cleared it for himself and only recently built his house here in order to live here. In answer to my question as to whether there was any more ownerless land, he explained to me that the highest and inaccessible mountain peaks which are still covered with big trees and have never been cleared do not belong to anyone and that any Paez could clear a piece on them, which would then become his property. Later I called Victoriano to task, saying that actually there still was ownerless land. "Yes," he then answered me, "of course there is still ownerless land, but it is so poor that it has no value."

157 Far from their village, on the way to market, and generally in /110/ places away from home, the Paez, if they
[123] are alone or in the minority, are timid and reserved. If they are together in large numbers, however, or, even better, in
[522] their own house, they are usually quite bold and impudent and loudly made their jokes at our expense. Indeed, jocularity is a
157 prominent characteristic of the Paez. No talk, no conversation,
521 be it ever so unimportant, is begun without joking -- often of
522 an erotic nature. The importance of conducting such a light,
[831] idle conversation is shown by the fact that serious-minded girls are scarcely ever married.

123 They made fun of my wife in particular, for they found
522 it altogether ugly that she wore long pants. Numerous jokes
157 were made about this, which we, of course, did not understand, and for this reason we, in turn, had to take the initiative by making a joke which was then acknowledged gratefully and usually
609 with quick-wittedness. On the whole, respect toward strangers
522 inside their dwelling is unknown to them. In larger groups they
157 make their asides even in a strange environment, accompanied by much laughter. Since one does not understand them, one
[797] easily gets the impression that they are silly. In their own houses they also mimic the visiting mission priest by repeating

Everyone grants everyone else

/203 cont./

571 whatever he expects and claims for himself, quite as a matter of
829 course. This results in an entirely natural self-esteem, injury to
155 which on the part of the "blancos" is felt as very painful by the Paez.

576 Within the Paez communities the obligation of a greeting (gwéčaya) by a younger person to an older one is strictly observed. Even a "family feud" does not absolve the younger people from the respectful greeting "pétenga" (translated by "good day") toward the older people of other families, who acknowledge it with " "pé'taw." Removing one's hat at the same time is not customary.

[608] A greeting by shaking hands takes place only among members of the family or with one's godfather or godmother with the salutation "ndyósta utsméňga" (Godparent, how are you?), during which the hat is also removed. Contemporaries greet each other with

• [521] "éwča" (how are you) and reply with "éwčataw" (I am well). Generally people chat awhile when they meet, introduce the conversation with a joke, a bit of news in the village, or perhaps merely a remark about the weather.

156 Though the Paez may be regarded basically as an individualist, this does not hold true universally. On account of the abundantly available land, it is possible for him to isolate himself and withdraw for weeks at a time to his separate farm, but
461 nonetheless the Paez does not like to drink his chicha alone. And
476 usually friends and neighbors help, not only with housebuilding or
156 clearing, but also with sowing and lesser tasks. The labor of the individual, in instances of mutual help, is merely loaned, however, since the same persons meet again for joint aid on the corresponding tasks of a neighbor. The owner in question must also make chicha and food liberally available for each task, which makes every joint task a small feast. The actual useful effects of the communal work are slight, and, as a visitor from the outside, one has the impression that the joint eating and drinking is the primary thing, interrupted at times by only brief periods of work. On sober consideration -- which no Paez, of course, undertakes -- the joint consumption in connection with a communal task is more expensive for the individual than if each person himself over a correspondingly

/287 cont./

4. Music

533 In no area of Paez culture is poverty evident to such an ex-
535 tent as in song and dance, the predominant expressions of the character and spirit of all peoples. No peculiar dance is per-
[173] formed among the /288/ Paez, and I heard no song sung. This undoubtedly represents an impoverishment, for it may be seen
533 from the folklore that in former times there was dancing. A similar conclusion must also be drawn about the playing of very
[173] agreeable music. Their knowledge of music, however, makes it
[181] highly probable that song also existed, especially among a people
[581 521 522 192] that is basically jolly and constantly disposed to jest. In fact, it is very difficult for a girl who is slow in jocular conversation to get a husband. And to my question about the Paez word for "sing house" listed in Uricoechea, the amiable Victoriano, to his own great surprise, was immediately able to give me a special word in his language, "mémyat."

534 It is not possible to say with certainty which of the musical
[171] instruments used by the Paez today is an original one. The absence of any kind of rattle, the outstanding instrument of the American natives, is surprising (*).

> * Pittier de Fábrega (p. 325) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 326/, however, mentions among the musical instruments of the Paez a rattle (tsoóts) in the form of a calabash with a handle, which was filled with small stones. Whether this may not perhaps be an instrument of the Negroes of Belalcázar is still undecided.

534 The cow horn (kǎčn) found in every house is not in the true
202 sense a musical instrument, but one for signaling. It is completely undecorated and, consisting of a horn sawed off at the tip, gives only one tone, which is produced in the same manner as the tone of a bugle or fanfare. This horn is used by the men when they come down from the mountains after a joint felling of the trees needed for housebuilding, in order to notify the village of their return.

/109 cont./

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/110 cont./

609 parts of the Mass, as they have understood it, in an exaggeratedly
522 dramatic fashion. The priest has a difficult office in any case.
797 They do not understand his sermons and teachings in the church,
157 conducted in the Spanish language. If he speaks their own language, his inevitable mistakes are commented upon amid loud laughter.

123 On our first visit to Calderas, a man about 30 years old met us at the boundary of the village and asked us in a gruff tone whether we did not know that this land was only for the Paez. No white man had any business here. We should turn back, for no one wanted our visit. Marcos Antonio intervened and explained that we had only come to bring gifts to the Calderun and that we had no intention of settling down in Calderas. We would surely leave again the next day. The man let this pass and warned us upon departure not to dare try to steal any land.
[223] Even later we never obtained permission from the cabildo, the village council, to remain in the village more than a week at a time. Our reputation among the younger people of the village improved from week to week, on the one hand because we offered a cigarette to each man and each woman with whom we had an opportunity to talk, but even more because -- as we were told later -- we were friendly to everyone and always /111/ laughed.
[648] As a matter of fact, it would never occur to any of the white or mixed-colored colonists to favor a Calderun even with a glance. On the contrary, in the houses lying along the road, the dogs are trained to attack the Indios. True, these dogs are all undernourished and generally very cowardly. The Paez man need only raise his machete or a club in order to ward off the dog. We were the first whites who did something completely out of the ordinary in that we were always friendly, without any mental reservations, and always greeted them first, in their language. And this not only in Calderas, but also in Inzá and on the roads to the market. This friendliness was taken in good part on all sides. Then later, after we were able to show and to give them the first photographs of themselves, they were definitely pleased to be photographed and now and then offered us an egg or a bowl of chicha /see the glossary, p. 248/ when we photographed them.

/287 cont./

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/212 cont./

796 one a liter of aguardiente. The fiestero sits at the center of
273 the table, his wife sits on his right and the síndico on his left. The albacero approaches, takes the liter in his hands, measures out a cup, and offers it to the fiestero. The latter accepts it, drinks, and returns it. From the hands of the albacero he receives the cup and the liter. The proceeds in the same fashion with the calabash inside of which is the shachi léchukue. In the same manner he offers the other bottles and gourds to
[431] the wife of the fiestero and to the síndico. The distribution begins, for which the fiestero, fiestera, and the síndico call on three men to take charge of distributing the generous gift. The aguardiente is distributed by its owners themselves, who in each cup put small pieces of cake. The clamor increases in direct proportion to the consumption. Everyone drinks
796 alike: men, women, and children. This is the time for off-
522 color, rich, and abundant joking. The hour when fantasy
273 shines and takes wings. There is practically only one theme,
831 sex in all its forms and manifestations: desires, /213/ feats, wooing, pregnancy, childbirth, genitalia, and even sham coitus in public. Any allusion to sex causes hilarity; many aspects of life, attitudes, and work are associated with sex.

796 At midnight the bottles and calabashes are empty. The
[273] music has been continuous, the drunkenness has increased ... But it is not yet over. At the house of the fiestero they are awaited with another gift.

The fiestero and the albacero dance with each other's wives. When the dance is over, everyone goes out and vanishes in the darkness of the night on paths that cannot be seen, only divined. The sound of the bass drum indicates that the people, the nasa wala, are on their way to the house of the fiestero.

There they will find the pale yellowish light, the table next to a pango and toward the center of the fluhne wala, with its two lighted candles, its calabashes of chicha, and its bottles of aguardiente. This time it is the albacero who will

/216 cont./

796 Father: "I want to beat this child because he cries too much."

Mother: "Why should you beat your child? It is not his fault. It is the fault of your penis."

[431] At five o'clock in the morning the fiestero and his wife go to the house of the albacero with their "camarico": chicha, aguardiente, firecracker, skyrocket, candles, chicken, bananas, arracacha, yuca, meat, cumin seeds, and salt. At six o'clock they return.

The musicians play their instruments and the people make [522] jokes. One of them makes a taunting, jesting one referring to the activity of the previous night: "I am not going to mass, because I have no trousers. I have some, but they are stained." As the bells ring, the musicians and a few people go to mass.

XXIII

The Laborers' Day

796 When everything is over, the priest has left for Belalcázar,
465 the musicians with their swollen lips and aphonic throats have
574 gone home, and the people are gorged with chicha and aguardiente, the fiestero still has to pay attention to--to care for--his obliging laborers. /217/ /Illustration appears here./ They did not have the opportunity to parade to the house of the albacero or to vespers or in the procession. Not even to get drunk to the same degree as the guests. The fiestero is also grateful for their services. Now, in payment for it, he must take care of them. For this he has left part of the beef under the smoke of the hearth. They will have their trough of chicha, their bottles of aguardiente, their firecrackers. They will be served at the table where the albacero was attended to

Among the Paez, fishing with

/145 cont./

226 poisonous plants is done once a year, in the dry season, as com-
824 munity fishing with weirs. For this purpose -- it was explained to me -- a dam of stones and earth is first made by the men. The herbs, which only grow high in the mountains and contain a poisonous substance, and which have been pulverized with stones, are tossed into the pool thus partitioned off. These herbs are called yūkse or kēse. The fish are said to die from them immediately. /146/ They are caught only by the men. But since the poisonous herbs are so far away and are to be found only with difficulty, the men are said to catch the fish sometimes unpoisoned at the weirs with their bare hands.

f) Weapons

411 The weapons of the Paez are limited to hunting weapons
[726] and children's toys, since wars are no longer fought. The only important hunting weapon today is the shotgun. As children's
[524] playthings there are the stone-sling (ísot), blowgun (pāt), and in in recent times the elastic sling (kāučéro).

[824] In former times, in the battles with the Spaniards, the
[714] Paez were said to have used lances 25 handspans long made from the wood of the chonta palm, as well as plaited shields or shields
[237] of tapir skin (Pittier, p. 327). I could find no confirmation for the
[124] present-day or even earlier use of lance and shield; my informants
[175] were familiar with neither the word nor the object. From the chroniclers, however, it is reported that the Paez, as well as other mountain peoples of this region, had learned from their battles with Spanish horsemen to defend themselves with long lances. There is, however, absolutely no foundation for a pre-Spanish use
714 of this type of lance. It is not unlikely that the Paez originally had plaited shields (opimb). The word for skin shield (himba-kat) is interesting; its present literal meaning is "horse skin." Whether himba meant "tapir" in pre-Spanish times cannot be ascertained.

/187 cont./

857 great. Handling it for catching cows or horses is regarded as sport,
868 as, indeed, is animal-raising in general. The animals are not easy
231 to catch, but must really be outwitted. To catch a cow, for example, the lasso-wielder, in the midst of a group of several men or youths, first runs behind a few other cows that are near the cow to be captured. The latter feels quite secure, since the shouting apparently does not apply to her. The men now drive the cows in such a way that they come close to the one being captured; then the lasso-thrower doubles back and throws the rope at a distance of only about three meters. In spite of the short distance, only about every third throw is successful.

524 Two boys' playthings, used with enthusiasm as a pastime of school children, are the top (čúnga) and the hole-ball (hénde). The latter (Fig. 36 /see p. 258 /) is a hollowed-out fruit capsule about five centimeters in diameter, with a hole one centimeter in size on the underside. /188/ Exactly opposite this larger hole, a small one is bored. A twisted agave string about 20 centimeters long is drawn through the large and the small hole from below and knotted above the small hole so that it cannot slide out again. The other end of the string is knotted in the center of a small rod about 15 centimeters long, which is slightly smaller in diameter than the hole on the underside of the fruit capsule. In play the string of the capsule hangs down from the rod, half of which is grasped with one hand. With a gentle swing one now tosses upward the capsule attached to the string and tries to catch it with the rod. Beginners seldom or never hit the hole, whereas more practiced persons succeed many times in a row.

[322] The top consists of a small double-conical chunk of wood four to six centimeters high, which boys carve out for themselves and which ends in a small knob on the upper side. A small thorn is stuck into the tip on the underside. The top is set in motion with a string that ends in two loops. One of these is drawn over the middle finger of the hand, the other over the knob on the upper side of the top. From there it is led to the underside around the thorn and then wrapped spirally upward around the lower, conical part of the top. To set it in motion, the top is thrown on the plank floor of the school. The loop fastened to the middle finger

/188 cont./

524 causes the unwinding of the string and its revolving motion. The rule of the competition is to knock over the turning top with another turning one.

A simpler kind of top, which, like the hole game, is also called hénde, consists of a round seed capsule into which a vertical rod is inserted and protrudes about five centimeters. To set it in motion, a twisted string and a small board are required. One end of the string is wound spirally around the stem of the top and the other is knotted to the board and then pulled off.

526 [178] Besides these games, wrestling is greatly enjoyed by the boys. Youths and young men no longer wrestle. On the occasion of the festivals, however, when they have drunk a little, the young men hit each other on their bodies, with arm outstretched, with the hand or fist. Several of them form an irregular circle, but without taking sides, and each tries to hit the other from behind.

524 The girls play with dolls (ločinyi) about 20 centimeters high, which they make themselves out of wood and remnants of cloth. It is remarkable that these dolls do not represent children, but adults fully dressed. /189/ A doll man, for example, consists of a forked stick, the longer part of which represents the body, and the forks, the legs. A cross-stick tied on indicates the shoulders. The clothing consists of a man's shirt, which is tied and "fitted" at the height of the hips with an agave string. A rectangular piece of cloth with a horizontal hole in the center is drawn over it as a ruana. A face is not indicated on either the male or the female doll. The doll woman consists of only a straight rod, around the lower part of which a piece of cloth is wrapped as a skirt and tied with a red thread as a belt. On her back the woman carries a child, represented by a small piece of wood wrapped in a piece of cloth. The cloth is fastened around the child with a red thread in the way children are wrapped. The doll woman carries her child wrapped in the large shawl, which is held fast by a red thread which serves as the belt.

1: Nachtigall--258 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

[534]
[284]
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Fig. 36. Game with the hole-ball.

Fig. 37. Drum (underside).

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

342 [177] Some had wooden doors and windows, and were built with nails and wires, though most were still made with vegetable materials.

The modern *Moguex* house has two rooms. The main one, entered through a small door, serves as storeroom for goods to be sold, reception hall, dancing place, and a room in which to keep watch over the dead. The other is a pantry for provisions and drinks; here are kept [354] kitchen utensils. In the center is the fireplace and around it dried [352] cowhides or platform beds made of horizontal poles tied to stakes [476] driven in the ground. One's neighbors aid him to build his house, [461] transporting heavy timbers over light rollers and singing rhythmically as they heave together. If the owner of a new house is a man of [554] means, he pays for a feast of benediction or consecration carried out [778] with a Catholic priest, a godfather, and a godmother.

The *Páez* does all this and in addition puts some pieces of silver 352 money under his house to assure his good fortune. In the main house [415] he places the metate on stakes, and in a secondary house, the press [353] for extracting wax from laurel, one or more troughs or hollowed trunks, [354] and large jars for chicha and guarapo. From the roof frame hang bags, [524] or "mochilas," of netted hemp for belongings. There is also a bam- [283] boo candlestick, the wooden feast drum, sometimes a tiple or small guitar, and. nailed to the wall, a spindle. Outside, the loom stands 404 against the wall Beyond it is the sugarcane mill, which is made of 286 a section of tree trunk with a hole above a projection on which the 249 cane is pressed by hand with a rod which crosses the hole. Some mills consist of two or three wooden cylinders rotated by animal power.

243 In each maize field is a small, temporary house and a high platform 342 where a watchman frightens the parrots and parakeets with periodic cries and motions.

Each *Páez* group today has its communally built pueblo, with 177 "bahareque" buildings grouped around a rectangular plaza: a church, 361 with its arched portico and small tower in imitation of Colonial architecture, a house for the priest, a school, and two or three large houses for meetings and fiestas, where they dance, sing, and sleep during fiesta days. But ordinarily, the people remain at their distant houses and fields, and do not live at the pueblo, the only permanent inhabitants of which are a few Whites and Mestizos.

ENGINEERING WORKS

491 The Spaniards found bridges which they described as "weak and 499 flexible bridges of bamboo" and "bridges of vines." A territory so broken and crossed with so many rivers and canyons naturally stimulated the *Páez* in the construction of bridges and the laying out of roads. Today they make four kinds of bridges: (1) A simple vine or cable stretched across the river; (2) a kind of wooden stairs placed

7:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

535 There is much dancing today. The sexes perform in couples or separately. Among the *Moguex*, some of the expert dancers are paid to dance with all couples in a sort of "bambuco." Dancing is always a part of *Páez* ceremonies for the death of children, baptismals, weddings, saint holidays, and meetings for collective work (mingas) held in the evening when people return from their plantations.

Dancing, as other social events, is subject to a special ceremony [585] or etiquette, strongly connected with religious beliefs. For example, in the wedding celebration, a prayer is first said in which the souls of [608] the dead are asked permission to dance, or "scrape the floor," as they call dancing. Only the godparents and the bride and groom may [527] dance at the beginning.

526 The *Páez* do not masquerade, but the *Moguex* always masquerade during the period of carnival preceding Holy Week.

[524] **Games.**—Games do not hold an important place among these peoples. The children amuse themselves by imitating the activities [857] of their elders. The only game recorded is simulated warfare, performed as a part of a rite in honor of the dead after a communal [769] feast. Two teams under their captains or caciques attacked and shot arrows at each other. Even if some contestants were killed or wounded, no one bore a grudge.

276 **Narcotics.**—The *Páez* and the *Moguex* chewed coca leaves mixed in the mouth with lime powder. Coca chewing is widespread among men, but very little practiced by women. It is used especially by [756] the shaman when he is practicing. In Colonial times the use of coca [177] spread to the rural population of Mestizos and Whites in Nariño, Cauca, and Huila.

273 **Alcoholic beverages.**—These Indians formerly made chicha of maize, but today they ferment it with sugarcane molasses. They also have [178] fermented sugarcane juice (guarapo), and a sort of rum (aguardiente). The latter is distilled clandestinely in their huts from guarapo and certain herbs fermented together in earthenware crocks. The Indians drink guarapo every day, but restrict the use of chicha and the stronger guarapo and aguardiente to market days, religious feast days, burials, weddings, mingas or meetings for work, and witchcraft [462] ceremonies. Guarapo and chicha are made by women, who sometimes chew the maize to increase its fermentation. They are stored in large, hollowed tree trunks and in large earthen jars, which are kept in a special place in the hut. There is never a lack of these beverages for home use and for welcoming an unexpected visitor.

RELIGION

175 The early Spaniards had little understanding of the religion of these 771 people. They reported that the Indians had but few idols and no temples or places of worship. Castillo mentions that they wor-

/188 cont./

524 causes the unwinding of the string and its revolving motion. The rule of the competition is to knock over the turning top with another turning one.

A simpler kind of top, which, like the hole game, is also called hénde, consists of a round seed capsule into which a vertical rod is inserted and protrudes about five centimeters. To set it in motion, a twisted string and a small board are required. One end of the string is wound spirally around the stem of the top and the other is knotted to the board and then pulled off.

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/213 cont./

796 sit in the center, his wife on his right and the síndico on his left. The same etiquette and the same courtesies will be ob-
[264] served. When the liquor has been drunk, there will be a meal of cabbage and meat: large bowls for the albacero, his wife, and the síndico. For the others it will be served on platters. All of them will sip the broth, squeeze out the meat and cabbage with their hands, and put it in their pouches.

796 Overcome by the fatigue induced by several sleepless
513 nights, by the chicha, and the food, they will sleep on the ground. When dawn heralds the new day, the enormous sala, the ñuhne wala, will present the sight of groups of people sleeping in a promiscuity of sex and age.

XX

The Saint's Procession

796 Immediately after the Mass, with the presence of those
788 who attended it and those who did not, the procession begins, the essence of the fiesta, according to Padre González. The image of San Juan, adorned with many flowers, is carried on a litter by the faithful, who frequently relieve one another, go round the church with a great profusion of gunpowder, and
[533] finally set off the fireworks castle. The music plays incessant-
796 ly and includes the singing of religious canticles. When the
492 procession is over and the saint has been placed on the altar,
526 the men mount their horses, most of them bareback, and set out to race madly /214/ across the plains of the locality. They give free rein to their enthusiasm, allow their spirits to expand, and whet their appetite for play. Groups of horsemen in clamorous flight leave behind them their shouts of "Viva San Juan." In everyday life action has been slow. Now the movement and excitement seem to counteract the sluggishness and heaviness of everyday life. The sweating animals

●526 /214 cont./
796
492 reach the houses, where they have a short rest while their owners greedily drink the guarapo offered them by the occupants.

796 The fiesteros and albaceros, accompanied by a great number of people, go once more to the priest. They bring
793 him the names of the fiesteros for the following year. The priest reads aloud the names of the fiesteros, the albaceros, and the mayordomos. The pronunciation of each name is accompanied by the ringing of a bell which is entrusted to a fiscal; when the announcement is over, there is a general pealing of bells. Each fiestero is advised by 15 to 20 mayordomos.

796 Then, kneeling in front of the church door, the old fiesteros hand over the banners to the new ones. They form a procession, and upon ending it, in the same spot where the banners were exchanged, they hand them over to the síndico, who waves them in the air one by one and ends by seeming to
[787] drive them into the ground. If by chance the banner wraps it-
[763] self around its own staff, some misfortune will befall the new fiestero. As a rule it is an omen of death, which fills with great sadness the fiestero whose banner had this happen to it.

Now each fiestero goes home, bearing in his hands the banner of the saint.

XXI

Banquet for the Albacero

796
574 After the procession the fiestero goes to the house of the albacero, where he receives attention with the above-mentioned calabashes of chicha and bottles of aguardiente. When this feast is over, the company moves to the house of the fiestero. In the center of the sala there stands next to the pango the table with two burning candles at the ends, the calabashes of chicha, and the liters of aguardiente. The albacero, síndico,

7:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

535 There is much dancing today. The sexes perform in couples or separately. Among the *Moguex*, some of the expert dancers are paid to dance with all couples in a sort of "bambuco." Dancing is always a part of *Páez* ceremonies for the death of children, baptismals, weddings, saint holidays, and meetings for collective work (mingas) held in the evening when people return from their plantations.

Dancing, as other social events, is subject to a special ceremony [585] or etiquette, strongly connected with religious beliefs. For example, in the wedding celebration, a prayer is first said in which the souls of [608] the dead are asked permission to dance, or "scrape the floor," as they call dancing. Only the godparents and the bride and groom may [527] dance at the beginning.

526 The *Páez* do not masquerade, but the *Moguex* always masquerade during the period of carnival preceding Holy Week.

[524] **Games.**—Games do not hold an important place among these peoples. The children amuse themselves by imitating the activities [857] of their elders. The only game recorded is simulated warfare, performed as a part of a rite in honor of the dead after a communal [769] feast. Two teams under their captains or caciques attacked and shot arrows at each other. Even if some contestants were killed or wounded, no one bore a grudge.

276 **Narcotics.**—The *Páez* and the *Moguex* chewed coca leaves mixed in the mouth with lime powder. Coca chewing is widespread among [575] men, but very little practiced by women. It is used especially by the shaman when he is practicing. In Colonial times the use of coca [177] spread to the rural population of Mestizos and Whites in Nariño, Cauca, and Huila.

273 **Alcoholic beverages.**—These Indians formerly made chicha of maize, [178] but today they ferment it with sugarcane molasses. They also have fermented sugarcane juice (guarapo), and a sort of rum (aguardiente). The latter is distilled clandestinely in their huts from guarapo and certain herbs fermented together in earthenware crocks. The Indians drink guarapo every day, but restrict the use of chicha and the stronger guarapo and aguardiente to market days, religious feast days, burials, weddings, mingas or meetings for work, and witchcraft [462] ceremonies. Guarapo and chicha are made by women, who sometimes chew the maize to increase its fermentation. They are stored in large, hollowed tree trunks and in large earthen jars, which are kept in a special place in the hut. There is never a lack of these beverages for home use and for welcoming an unexpected visitor.

RELIGION

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/320 cont./

231 propose "trades." Traders who are interested in a cow, once
439 they have located the true /321/ owner, assail him with propositions for a trade. They offer young, fertile heifers, smaller in size and usually thin. In exchange, they obtain a large and
231 fat cow. The profits are more than 200%. Before handing over
439 the animal, the native invariably requests a bottle of aguardiente
789 and pulls out a few hairs from the left eye or lower leg of the cow
[792] as an offering to the Duende /ghost/, the virtual owner of the lands and animals and potentially the protector of their multiplication. Likewise he blows chayuts (Scutellaria racemosa Per.) on the rope with which the cow will be led, so that it will not create difficulties along the way. There are frequent statements by whites and mestizos, cattle traders, to the effect that, when this requisite was not met, the cow stopped halfway on the journey and could not be budged by any human power. Then it sufficed to blow at the rope with chayuts to make her move again. How can this be explained? The persons relating the story repeatedly ask.

231 Occasions for the consumption of cattle are mingas, re-
262 ligious fiestas, and, on a small scale, the post-matrimonial and
[796] baptismal "cuidos" (courtesies for the sponsors). The meat and
[527] the skin are both used. The latter is not tanned, but dried in
[281] the sun and used as a sort of mattress for sleeping. The milk is
[234] not used. When they sacrifice a head of cattle that comes from
262 "wild" places, such as bogs, lagoons, or montañas, they take the
782 precaution of calling the Té eu. He orders them to take a small
756 piece from each organ and to put a little blood on a reed. He
231 wraps all this in a leaf, puts a sprig of contento (chayuts) on top of it, then goes toward the east, and, in a spot determined by him, leaves the bundle, taking care always to put it to the left of things such as trunks or rocks. This placement does not have any special ceremony associated with it; it is not accompanied by prayers or the blowing of medicines, and it does not take place at a specific time. It is an offering to the Duende which is performed before consuming the meat, the primary purpose of which is to please him.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

881 heights of Cuetando, where they built a hut and planted a miniature field as proof of their masculine aptitude.

797 **Education.**—Today the Indians are educated principally by their 871 parents in the customs and tasks pertaining to each sex. Some boys [868] and a few girls are sent to the few missionary schools, where they are given religious instruction and are taught Spanish, arithmetic, geography, the history of Colombia, and modern embroidery or light [562] basketwork. The *Páez* are reluctant to send their daughters to the schools because they feel that women should keep the traditions of [177] their people. The missionary schools strive to change the native language and the cultural traditions which have given the Indian community social cohesion.

595 **Marriage.**[11]—Formerly polygyny was prevalent, but now Catholi- [77] cism has imposed monogamy. The Indians continue, however, to 583 practice trial marriage (amaño). A marriage is arranged as follows:

584 The bride is selected by the young man's parents or by himself. His parents and two witnesses or godparents then visit her house to request her for the groom. They also serve as advisors to the young woman, in case she disapproves the marriage. The visitors carry half-filled bottles of rum (aguardiente) and some special garments for the girl. The young man's father offers the girl's father a half-bottle, acceptance of which means, as usual among the *Páez*, that the second party is well disposed toward the proposal and the negotiations may proceed. If the girl's mother agrees, the boy's mother presents her a half-bottle of liquor. The godfather or witness gives another half-bottle to the girl's father and the 583 godmother gives one to the mother. The visitors now leave, taking the girl, who then begins a year of trial marriage, during which the young man seeks proof that the girl is able to bear children, is active, cooks well, can weave, and 585 can cultivate the land. After the trial period, the man may return the girl to her parents or they marry in the Catholic Church, holding a feast which, like all ●527 such celebrations, is called a "cuido." The couple and their parents and godparents are accompanied by an orchestra (chirimía) to the house where the feast is to be held. Here the bride puts on a modern dress, a ribbon on her hair, necklaces, and earrings, while the groom is with his godfather. As the guests arrive, chicha is distributed frequently, music is played, and then there is a feast of thick soup, generally with chicken, cooked yuca, arracacha, and roast or baked meat. In the afternoon, after more music and chicha drinking, the "refresco," really a banquet or social communion, is served. Six bottles of wine made from cane molasses, cinnamon, and cloves, and cake are given to the bride, groom, godmother, [782] and godfather, who give some to everyone present. A prayer, led by the head of [775] the house, then asks the souls of the dead to bless the marriage and give permission to dance. First, the godfather dances with the bride, then the godmother with the groom, after which everyone dances. The feast lasts 5 days, depending on the wealth of the family. Chicha is served and accepted with the phrase, "May God pay you, compadrito, for accompanying us. Accompany us more."

764 **Death.**—At a death, the family formerly buried the deceased inside the house with his possessions, and abandoned it. Some communities, however, preferred to cremate the body or dry it over the fire. The

[11] I thank my wife and companion, Helena Ospina de Hernández, for her research in 1936 on matrimonial matters.

[1147] [727]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

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/316 cont./

105 601 The kinship nomenclature shows remnants of a "classificatory" system, into which the individual is fitted as part of a living structure and does not stand out in profile, detached within the family. Persons are differentiated in address according to certain circumstances of age and life, and, among others, siblings are differentiated in address, according to whether they are younger or older than the speaker.

105 53 In art and mythology a considerable impoverishment has taken place. There is neither song nor any peculiar dance. The music of transverse flutes and drums, performed with great enthu- [177] siasm, is to be stressed. The cylindrical drum with skin stretched on two sides, which is used at the present time by the Paez, is in all parts of America a loan from the Negroes. In earlier times hanging, hollowed-out tree-trunks were used for the dance and for conveying information, such as /317/ are used today as troughs for making chicha. The rattles formerly present are no longer used today. The transverse flutes with six blowholes used by the Paez are post-Columbian; at any rate they are not found in this form either archeologically or recently among uninfluenced Indians. The only transverse flute form known from pre-Spanish and modern times are flutes that are stopped at both ends and provided with two blowholes (Izikowitz, pp. 298 ff.).

105 773 776 In the fund of tales no comprehensive picture of the world emerges. The chief figure in the myths is Thunder, who appears as the first shaman and as a war leader. He is not, however, an exalted, numinous figure, but rather to some extent has charac- teristics attributed to forest spirits in other parts of South America. [784] There is also a special forest spirit (gĕlyómp) among the Paez. He [224] has the figure of an old man with large, exposed sexual parts, and his stings inflicted as punishment for ritual uncleanness in connec- tion with hunting cause the human being sickness and pain. He does not, however, appear mythologically. Fragments of larger myth-complexes are the story of the woman from whose body useful plants arise, the story about the ghostly human head that comes rolling along, stories about transformed animals and human beings, and stories about werejaguars.

/152 cont./

286 the beginning or end warp thread of the carrying band in an eyelet of the bag.

The making of the woolen coca pouch (kwatandyáha), literally "lime pouch," the size of which varies between 12 and 35 centimeters, is done in the same technique as the manufacture of the fiber bags. The process, after the bottom is made, is done 286 in three sections, the middle one of which stands out externally ● 531 because of its colored, chessboard-like pattern, which is bordered above and below by a row of triangles. Since this colored section is likewise plaited from the bottom to the upper rim, thread of a different color is required for each change of color. These threads of a different color are twisted into ropes in the same way as in the case of the fiber bags and held together with a wool thread which serves as a plaiting needle. The number of /153/ colored squares in the unit area is constant, and their arrangement, conditioned by the plaiting, is necessarily diagonal (Ills. 154 /see p. 268 / and 203 /see p.290 /).

286 The fastening of the carrying band, made by plait-weaving (see below /see p. 85 /), to the coca bag is done in the same way as that of the carrying band of the fiber bag.

The fabrics made by the knot technique are generally wide-meshed and include primarily the various kinds of nets. The knots are formed by tightly pulling suitable loops or interlacings so that the more or less loose meshes cannot shift. To obtain uniform meshes, the bird nets (ōka) and hammocks of the Paez are worked with a mesh stick whose height of about five centimeters corresponds to the size of the mesh (Fig. 31 /see p. 255 /). The material is the twisted agave thread. To make the net -- and the hammock -- the loops of the rows of meshes are made by means of the "symmetrical knot" (Fig. 34c /see p. 256 /). For this the ascending thread travels from back to front over the open part of the mesh and, passing over the latter horizontally, runs downward again in the loop produced. The mesh stick is always pressed from below firmly against the row of knots above, whereby the new knots bind it in tightly on its underside. This produces perfectly uniform meshes. The dimensions of the bird net -- spread out -- may reach a size of five by 20 meters.

1: Nachtigall--85 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/159 cont./

286 for which only certain red threads are used, the weaver counts
294 the required number and holds these up for the time being with a special shed rod consisting of a small piece of reed. The red warp threads not required fall down under and appear on the back side of the band, in part as a negative pattern and in part covered by the white warp threads.

[531] No patterns exist for the weaving designs. In general it is a matter of traditional forms -- human beings, rhombuses, triangles -- although imaginative women include Latin letters in their store of ornaments.

On account of the space required for the arrangement for the mechanical shed formation, the band terminates in loops about ten centimeters long, which are removed from the cross-rod and plaited circularly with four strips each.

f) Plait-weaving

286 Whereas the carrying bands of the fiber bags (yáha) are woven in the technique of rod weaving in linen texture, the wool carrying /160/ bands of the coca pouches (kwatandyáha) are made in the plait-weaving technique. This means textile techniques which are not weaving because of the lack of mechanical shed formation in the manufacturing, but which also do not represent plaiting because of the vertical and horizontal course of their threads. The bands are about 1.50 centimeters wide and 76 centimeters long. At a superficial glance they give the impression of being plaited freehand because of their thickness. Their thickness results, however, from the turning and simultaneous crossing of the warp threads in the plaiting (cf. Ill. 152 /see p. 267/).

To make the band a frame similar to the one for weaving the carrying band for the fiber bag is required. The warp threads are stretched in the same way; the beginning and end are fastened to a similar cross-stick. Warp and weft are perpendicular to each other, but there is no mechanical shed formation.

/160 cont./

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• 531

For the plaiting process, which proceeds from the top down, there are stretched beside one another -- in their sequence -- four red warp threads, four white, four blue, four white, and again four red threads. At the start, two to three centimeters are woven in the customary linen texture. Then begins the plaiting of the band with the rhombus design. To do this, the weft, made up of one red thread, is drawn through two like-colored warp threads twisted one over the other. The twisting of the warp threads first goes in an inward direction; thus the right warp threads are twisted to the left, the left ones to the right, but always in a complete turn of 360°. Their sequence after the twisting is exactly as before. To form the rhombus design, the twisted warp threads are at the same time crossed under one another.

To lead back the weft threads, the still crossed warp threads are beaten from below upward with a pointed shed rod, usually the weaving sword, and the weft thread is led back through the opening thus made. This releases the twist of the warp threads. Now the position of the warp and weft threads once again corresponds to the normal linen texture.

To complete the rhombus, that is, to form the lower part, the warp threads are now reversed, twisted from the inside to the outside, and then one proceeds appropriately in the same manner as described.

The weft threads are pulled quite taut so that they disappear within the texture, and only the warp threads are to be seen. Their distance from one another -- conditioned by the twisted warp threads -- is relatively great.

/161/The decisive characteristic of this plait-weaving and its distinction from the weaving of the patterned belts of the women (táw) consists in the fact that the same patterns appear on the front and back side of the plaited band, though always shifted by half of their dimensions.

As variants of the simple rhombus pattern described, there may be two rhombuses next to each other or five small rhombuses in a diagonal arrangement. In this case the back side does not

/161 cont./
286 show the same design, but rather one that results from the cross-
● 531 ing of the twisted warp threads.

g) Dyeing

386 The Paez feel that black is the most beautiful color.
824 Hence almost all the home-woven garments of the men and
[822] women are dyed black, and only rarely does one see articles of clothing in the yellowish-white natural color of sheep wool.
[462] Dyeing is women's work and is done with certain plants, which, however, dye only the animal material used in weaving, but
[294] not that from plants. This peculiarity of the dyes is utilized by the Paez to make patterns in their clothing by weaving into the sheep-wool fabrics a few cotton warp threads, which, in the subsequent dyeing, retain their original color.

Every woman is in a position to dye her home-woven fabrics black. To do this the pieces of fabric are boiled in a pot for about two hours, along with the leaves of the šal tree or the zóte tree (according to Hernandez, 1946, p. 944, with the leaves of a Phyllanthus) and then buried for two days and two nights with these leaves in a pit in black, rich humus earth (ašáktič). Then they are taken out again, washed thoroughly, and allowed to dry. The black dye is now lightfast and waterproof. The cotton ornamental stripes in the women's clothing, which are not affected by this dyeing process, are either natural
[283] in color, red, or green. They are bought by the women in the desired color, since cotton is not spun by the Paez.

386 The threads of different colors used to make the coca bags
824 and the women's belts were originally all dyed by the Paez
177 women with vegetable dyes. Today this is done only in part,
[439] for anyone who has the money buys aniline dyes at the market in Inzá or Belalcázar; they are more popular because of their stronger coloring and greater luminosity. Similarly, the cotton purchased in thread already dyed is more popular for making women's belts, since it is brighter or more brilliant.

/162/

386 The following colors are produced with vegetable dyes: red
824 (mbe; also the color designation for pink, ocher, brown) with the roots of a plant called béwoetse. (According to Hernandez, this is the Rubiaceae Relbunium hypocarpium.) The wool threads are boiled with these roots for about an hour and they are then put in the sun. For blue coloring (séin; light blue - séin-séin) the threads are boiled with the leaves of the indigo tree for an hour; for green coloring (oálye séin; oálye = species of bird with green feathers, thus literally "oálye blue"), with the leaves of the tamp tree; and for yellow coloring (skítc), with the leaves of the mũzec tree. The results of the dyeing are not always uniform. There are always deviations in the color. With a little experience, however, one can differentiate them from the purchased chemical dyes.

h) Pottery

323 The art of pottery is very little developed among the Paez and is essentially limited to larger or smaller, crudely fashioned, spherical-shaped pots (mítc) with a lip slightly curved outward. In use they are not hung up, but placed between the three hearthstones for cooking. Smaller, shallower bowls serve for roasting
[531] the coca leaves. There are no vessels with handles. There is no ornamentation of any kind, neither painting, nor incising, nor
[415 531 824] finger imprints. For drinking chicha or for fetching water only gourd calabashes (tóka) are used, which are exactly as unadorned and purely functional as the ceramic vessels.

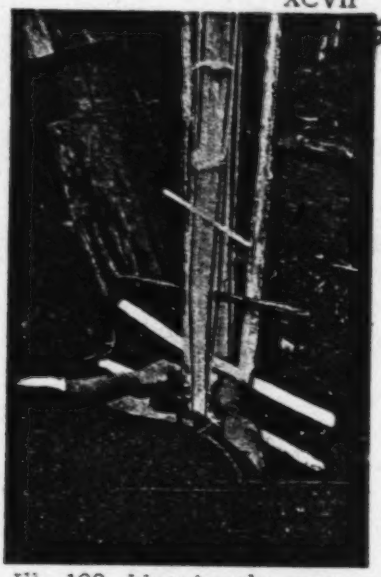
323 The making of pots is a specialist's work. In Calderas there
463 are three potters, two of whom are women. Only one of them, however, Santos Kiskue, works to keep a supply, whereas the other two make pots only on order. Santos Kiskue is about 40 years old and has a wife and four living children; four others
[437] are dead. He has a horse, but no cow and no sheep. The latter he can do without, since he barters his pots chiefly for wool.

The technique of pottery among the Paez is a spiral coil technique. Since the shapes are very simple, a special

1: Nachtigall--284 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

286

Ill. 187. Making a woman's colored belt.



Ill. 188. Weaving the ornamental warp.

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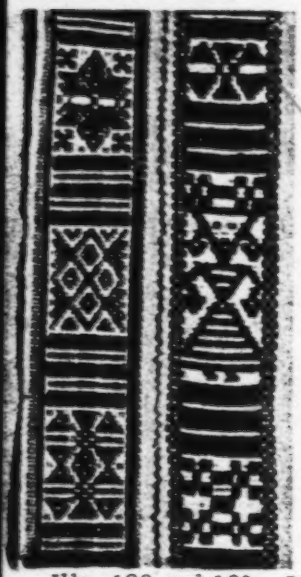

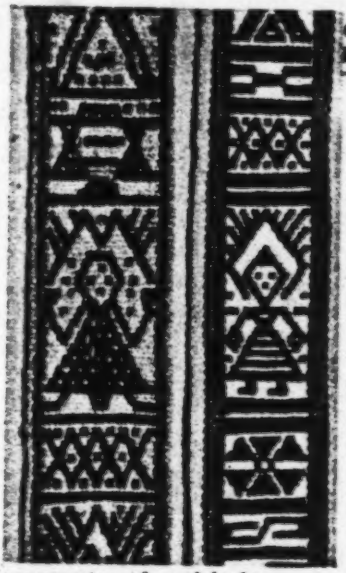

Ills. 189 and 190. Pattern of the women's colored belts.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

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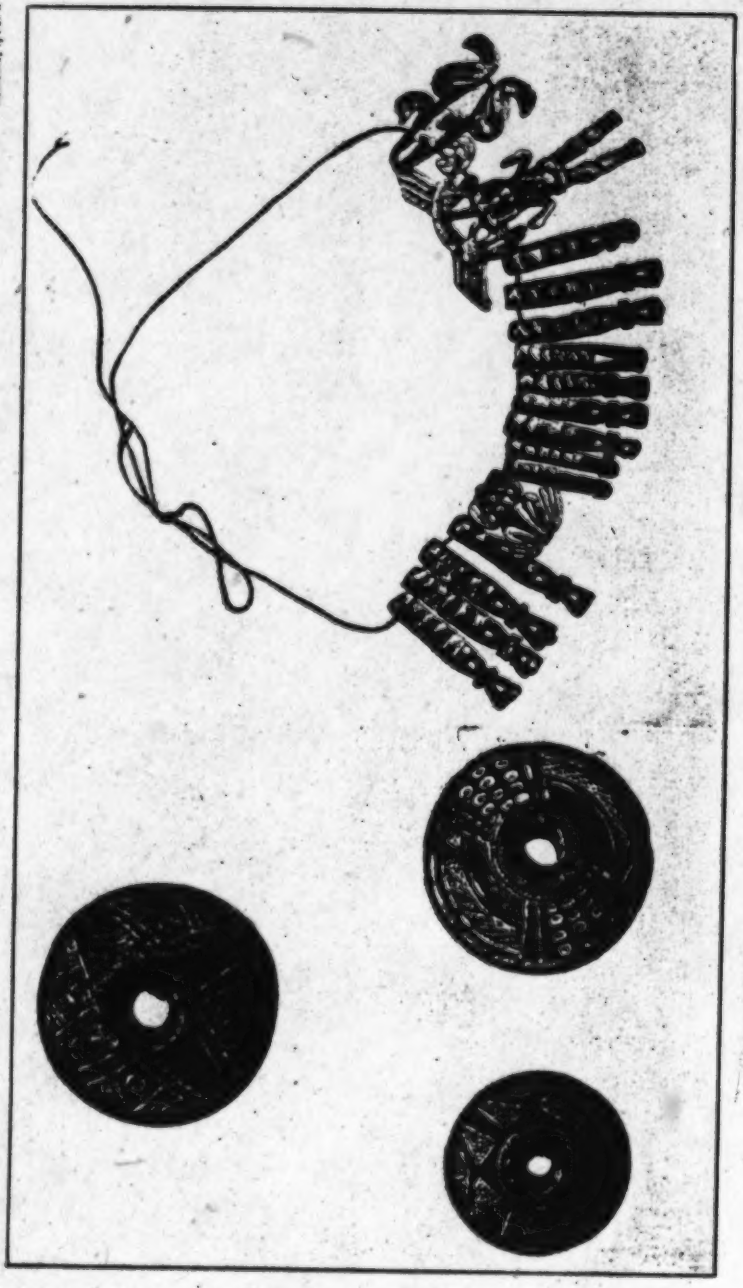

GOLD OBJECTS

172
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283

SPINDLE WHORLS

[facing P.307]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

emeralds, and other objects, were ruthlessly destroyed or scattered about, without consideration for their archeological or even for their intrinsic value. Among the pieces of pottery more commonly found are the small elegantly designed disks, or spindle-whorls, of which I procured several specimens for the United States National Museum (plate II, 1). I obtained also a minutely wrought spider, and one of the gold fish-hooks that are often met with on sand beaches along the streams. 172

The principal Jamundi relic of Agua Sucia, and which is not likely to be displaced for some time, is the so-called "Piedra de los Sacrificios," an immense block of old eruptive stone, covered with pictographs (plate III, 1). The miners and peasants living in the district believe that a definite meaning is attached to these rude drawings, and possibly some speculative archeologist will see in them more or less mystic symbolism that my lesser imagination fails to discover; for I think we must be contented with regarding them simply as the product of representative art in its infancy. A few of the glyphs are reproduced here, some giving an idea of the geometric notions of the draftsmen, while the others are rudiments of the art of designing (plate II, 1, and figures 1, 2). 172 212 [531]

On the way to Tacueyó I became acquainted for the first time with a so-called "plano de Indio," such as are found at short intervals on the mountain ridges of the entire Cauca region. While pursuing our way on the top of a very narrow spur, we suddenly found that the crest was cut across by a very deep ditch that showed every evidence of having been the work of man. Beyond this ditch the top of the hill had very probably been artificially leveled off so as to form a plane surface of about 15 meters in width and 20 meters in length. At the end of this esplanade the hill is cut by another ditch, identical with the first. The distance between the two ditches is very much greater than the length of the esplanade, amounting to more than 100 meters. 172

According to all indications, the level space was the site of an Indian house, and that part of the hill between the ditches is generally found to be full of graves, those on the house site 172 361

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

inhabitants of these valleys established their residences, I may mention that the highest "plano" on the cordillera was found at about 3,300 meters at El Alto de las Cruces, one of the spurs of the Páramo de Buena Vista, the limit of the forest being here

172 361

172 212 531

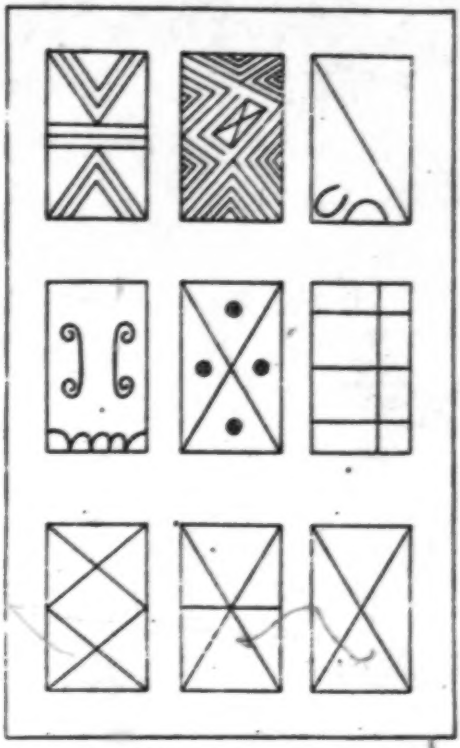

FIG. 2.—Geometrical figures on the "Piedra de los Sacrificios."

at about 3,600 meters. The greatest altitude of the abodes of the present Indians scarcely exceeds 2,600 meters.

172 361

While on this subject I shall mention an explanation of the "planos" as it was given by one of our Indians. "In old days,"

173 202 205

6: Bernal Villa--105 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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415

Tierradentro XI. Indian of Calderas, showing the typical manner of wearing the kuetand yaha and the yahas (fique pouches). In the background, the Parque Arqueológico of Tierradentro.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

286 [386] blue, the fruit of the jagua palm (kii), probably *Genipa* sp. A woven fabric is made black by burying it for several days with clay and branches of a *Phyllanthus* which they call "sal."

[531] They make woolen bags by hand, using a kind of crochet technique without needles, and decorate them with rectangular and rhomboid figures. Some bags are made of hemp (fique), in which case the stitches are larger and the article has greater elasticity.

411 **Weapons.**—For weapons, the *Páez* used large, thick lances of black [824] or chonta palm, 20 to 25 palms or more long, clubs or macanas, stones [171] thrown with slings, large rocks rolled down from heights, spear throw- [illegible]ke those used by the *Chibcha*, and shields of jaguar, puma, or [177] [illegible] skin. The *Páez* quickly adopted iron arms from the Spaniards, a[illegible] in the last wars of the Conquest they used steel swords and knives. [172] In a recently discovered grave were copper bells, a golden breastplate, shield bars of tumbaga, a Spanish dagger, and a curved knife of the Arabian or north African type used by the conquistadors.

[223] Today the *Páez* use the club or macana, ordinary guns, machetes, knives, and, for killing birds, the blowgun.

354 **Fire making.**—Fires are generally made today with flint and steel, [372] but some Indians use modern matches. For both heating and cook- [177] ing, the fire is made on the ground in the main house, surrounded by stones which help support the pots. It is covered at night, and almost never goes out.

354 Illumination is provided not only by the fire but by candles made of wax from the wax palm and from seeds of a wild laurel. The latter 824 are cooked and pressed in a bag so that the wax drips into a half [388] calabash or pot to form a semispherical lump. It is melted to make candles with cotton wicks. The *Páez* use these themselves and also sell them, for they are superior to candles made of animal tallow. A cruder means of lighting consists of transfixing a large number of "higuerilla" seeds on a long, thin bamboo splinter. When the splinter is laid horizontally and lighted, the first seed burns strongly, after which the flame passes from seed to seed, lasting some 15 minutes and throwing a fair light a few feet around.

COMMERCE

438 Each week a market is held in the municipio or in some of the small 439 native villages (pls. 190, 191). The Indians sell vegetables, tortillas, eggs, chickens, and laurel wax, and buy salt, brown sugar, and espe- [435] cially lime (mambe) to be chewed with coca. Each product has a price in Colombian money, whether by quantity or weight. The unit [804] of weight is called an "egg," and more or less equals the weight of a chicken egg. After his few customary transactions, paid for either in [273] cash or in terms, in which the future coffee crop is mortgaged to the

/144 cont./

have himself specially purified by the shaman before hunting. In case the wife of a hunter happens to be menstruating at the very time of the hunt, however, purification is of no avail; the hunter is too "dirty" and must stay at home, so as not to provoke the wrath of the gĕlyómp and thus bring misfortune on the entire hunting party.

The latter generally consists of six men with 12 dogs, without there being any regular battues, however. The hunters are equipped with shotguns, whose smooth barrels, with a caliber of about 15 millimeters, consist of strong sheet-iron. Fine sand is used as shot; powder is purchased and ignited with a spark from the flintlock.

There are no closed seasons for animals; nor is gĕlyómp angry, say, because too much game might be hunted, for "this does not happen, since there is not that much." After hunting, however, the hunter fastens the tail feathers of the birds killed to the inner side of the roof of his house and the cleanly gnawed skulls of the four-footed animals killed to its center post or center gable-post, both so as to be successful again the next time in hunting the same game. I found tail feathers of birds under the roof covering of almost every house, and frequently also three, five, or ten monkey or rabbit skulls fastened directly to the house post or strung one above the other on a string. Only once did I find, on the gable post of a small field-hut, at a man's height, below a monkey skull, a very crudely incised human figure with an oval face and six hairs standing straight up on the head (Ill. 200 /see p. 288 /). The eyes are represented by circles, the nose by a long rectangle, and the mouth by a triangle. The body is rectangular. Two semicircular lines are incised on the sides of the body. The arms start at these semicircles as two bent lines and stick out somewhat; the legs are represented in a similar way; a triangle between them is probably supposed to indicate the genitals. A Christian cross is carved on the side of the post. I was told that the human figure represents the "devil," /145/ but had nothing to do with hunting. This explanation is, of course, unsatisfactory, but I was unable to find any similar

/145 cont./

532 776 carving anywhere else or obtain an explanation anywhere (*).

* Possibly this is supposed to represent "Thunder," who, as the most important mythical figure and also as the shamans' assistant spirit, is described as a small man with the shaman staff and a triangle as a musical instrument, who displays his sexual parts.

223 Bird-hunting for the pigeon-sized tom birds is carried on by almost all Paez families with the net (ōka), as well as with the shotgun. The net is about five meters high and 20 meters wide. For this purpose a correspondingly wide breach is cut in the growth of trees or bushes on a hill or the ridge of a mountain chain, and the net fastened in the opening produced. The flushed birds, who think that there is a convenient passage at this place, fly into the net, get caught in it, and are then killed by the [237] capturers, who twist their heads. Another type of bird-catching consists of fastening a noose made of horsehair (nyákiwez; nyák = to set up, wez = string) to the twig of a tree or shrub in such a [857] way that the noose rests in a bird's nest. When the bird returns to its nest, the noose becomes entangled in its foot, and the boy -- for it is mostly boys who engage in this task of noose-setting -- 224 is able to seize the bird. Rabbits are caught in the same way with nooses, but made of agave fibers, by laying the nooses where they pass.

226 Fishing is done with hook and line at the river or with [283] poison in weirs. The fishing line (wendyánsyuts) consists of twined agave string to which are tied a metal hook and a stone as a sinker. A small worm is fastened to the hook as bait. [462] Angling is done only by men, and at twilight or at night.

226 824 171 Fishing with poisonous plants is a cultural characteristic of almost all South American Indians. For this purpose a total of more than 100 species of poisonous plants are used by them, which means that this part of the world leads all the continents in this respect (Heizer, p. 277). Among the Paez, fishing with

/208 cont./

796 through the village and meet in front of the festival house for a
[194] ceremonial salutation. They exchange brandy, chicha, and candles, each giving the other exactly the same thing /209/ that
[537] he himself receives. After they have mutually complimented each
[431] other sufficiently, they turn to the bystanders, make a short speech to the effect that everyone should enjoy himself, and dis-
796 tribute everything to the people standing around. Soon afterward
532 all gather on the plaza in front of the church, where now the "vacaloca" is lighted. This "crazy cow" consists of a number of flexible twigs bent into semicircles and held together on the underside by cross-rods; they are fastened one behind the other, which gives the structure the shape of a half-cylinder. This is covered with a cowhide and forms the body of the crazy cow. On one end is fastened a cow's skull modeled out of bast and newspaper to look as real as possible, and on the other end, a stick wound with agave fiber as a tail. A strong young man takes the frame of the cow on his shoulders and it is then lit at the specially prepared places on horns and tail. While music is played, the young man goes across the square in a zigzag, during which the young people try to tease the cow, while it, in turn, tries to get the bold ones on its horns. The meaning of this game is not clear to the Paez. It looks as though it were a poorly understood imitation of a popular bullfight.

796 Everybody now returns to the festival houses, where the musicians have taken their places on a bench on the narrow end of the festival house. The women squat in one corner in a large
[273] group with their children. And then begins the feast, at which everyone, men, women, and children, may eat and drink as much as he is able, with the exception of the fiesteros, who have the sole right to pour the chicha and brandy and do not themselves become intoxicated, in order to be able to carry out their duty well. The festival guests do not go home for the duration of the festival, but eat, drink, and sleep in the festival houses, stretched out full length on the floor wherever they happen to be. The festival goes on with more or less intensity -- as far as eating and drinking are concerned -- throughout the entire week; at any rate, no one works, but at most goes from house to house "pasnyándo."

/269 cont./

778 and had their staff of office consecrated there. Today this no
756 longer takes place because of the lack of good shamans. The
623 shamans of today no longer have the intense visions that the
[787] earlier ones had, and that is why they are no longer so powerful magically. They are no longer able to speak with Thunder as simply as their predecessors did, and since they are weaker, it is believed that Thunder will kill them.

776 Thunder is generally described as small of stature and dressed like a Paez man with hat and black ruana. It is reported that he does not wear trousers, but exposes his sexual parts. He has with
[534] him, like a shaman, his tama, a fiber bag with medicines, and a
[532] musical instrument called "tingalo" (triangle). It is not impossible that it is his picture, together with a Christian cross, that is incised in the gable post of a hut in the vicinity of the park of San Andrés, which represents a man with large, triangular-shaped sexual parts (Ill. 200 /see p. 288 /).

[756] /270/ Thunder is regarded by all the Paez as the greatest
[773] shaman and by the teyu as their master. In the folklore (see below /see pp. 215 ff./), he probably often has different names, such as Juan Tama, Llivan, Chauté, Juan Chiracol, but his characteristics stand out in them, no matter whether as sat (cacique) he is fighting the Pijao and defending his people, or that he will one day -- people are convinced -- again drive the hated whites
776 out of Tierradentro. He warns the Paez of an evil white person
821 who is coming to Tierradentro for a visit by a clap of thunder from
[783] a clear sky. When he thunders above a particular house, he is
[754] announcing that there is "pest" in it, and if he thunders first above the house of a nyic and then above one belonging to a teyu he is thereby announcing to a good shaman that he has just been bewitched.

776 A few stories also tell about the struggles of the shamans
787 against Thunder, for he once robbed the Paez of livestock and
756 people. But that was long ago, for today no one would dare undertake anything against Thunder. The Calderun shamans tell how the earlier teyu were in a position to speak with Thunder at any time and to get advice from him. Those of today are no

/283 cont./

756 It is killed by members of another family, since the ones concerned
783 may not perform any work or activity. The pig is scalded over a
769 hole into which the hair and refuse are thrown. The parts of the pig which the ancestor spirits, through the signs of the shaman, wish as a sacrifice are put into a fiber bag with a wooden stick. During this time the women bake small, flat maize cakes, and, to be sure, as many as there are dead in the family. These are
756 likewise put into the bag, and, in addition, a large quantity of
783 other food. Moreover, small wooden dolls, dressed like living
532 Paez, are carved in the same number as the dead. About 40
769 meters from the house a grave with a lateral niche is dug, exactly like the one made for deceased persons. In the evening the shaman goes there with the members of the family and performs the ceremonial purification on them. After that the sky becomes covered with thick, black clouds, in the direction of which the teyu spits his medicinal herbs. After two hours the clouds move off toward the left and bring into view the starry sky. Now the shaman lays the dolls (as representations of the spirits of the dead) into the lateral niche of the grave, sets a wax candle beside them, and blows his medicinal herbs over them. With a /284/ stone he closes off the lateral niche and then places the
756 bag with the food into the pit. After the latter has again been
783 filled with earth, he proceeds to a renewed purification of the
769 members of the family, which is undertaken a third time in the house and at the same time on the helpers in the pig-slaughtering and the baking. In conclusion one half of the pig is now eaten jointly, whereas the other half belongs to the shaman as remuneration.

756 A further important shamanistic ceremony is undertaken when
342 a new house is built. On this occasion the teyu, in dedication,
783 spits his herbs on the future fire area of the house and digs a small
[824] hole into which he places the herbs šũ and šulápe. On a small pile of wood he burns other herbs, the ashes of which he carries out of the house. Now he lights a new fire, in which he roasts a young maize ear and gives it to a dog to eat. If the latter does not die, this is regarded as a sign that no pest exists here any longer and the occupants may confidently live here. If this were not the case, they would be obliged to leave the house.

1: Nachtigall--288 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 200. Skull trophy and figure of a spirit.

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Ill. 199. The shaman Felisia Ipia with her shaman's staff.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

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GOLD OBJECTS

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SPINDLE WHORLS

MEMOIRS, I, PL. III

AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

[facing P.307]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

173 he said, "the caciques or chieftains, had their messages trans-
202 mitted from valley to valley by means of runners who were
205 stationed at short intervals along the main roads. Each runner kept himself in readiness to start on the arrival of a message, thus insuring rapid transmission." As the "planos" and also the old trails are found on almost every ridge, it is difficult enough to judge of the value of this explanation; but, if I am not mistaken, such a system of communication existed without doubt at a short distance southward among the Incas of Ecuador and Peru, and perhaps extended into the Cauca valley.

172 On our return from Huila, while traveling between Toribió and Tacueyó, I noticed on the left an isolated hill with a part of its ridge separated from the rest by a deep cross-cut, evidently artificial. The top of the separated part looked in the distance as if also isolated by a ditch. My friend, Mr Emile Bizot, a mining engineer of wide experience in these parts, informs me that this is a common feature of the hilly district formerly inhabited by the natives, and that the enclosed surface always contains numerous graves (plate III, 2).

172 The high peaks of the most rugged districts of Tierra
532 Adentro are often crowned by isolated *huacas*, which are especially sought by treasure-hunters. At Tacueyó we had the opportunity of admiring a set of gold objects found in such graves and of which we made the photograph reproduced in plate II, 2. The frogs are of a type quite distinct from those with which I became familiar in Costa Rica. The representative of a human being recalls certain Chibchan idols, or, according to Mr W. E. Safford, Kitšua amulets. As to the thirteen remaining pieces of gold, quite thin and almost uniform in shape, they are perfectly new to me.

Former and Present Distribution

131 According to Father Rodriguez[1] the Paez, or Paós, Indians
114 lived on the summit and slopes of the *Cordillera de Guanacas*,
133 "sierra muy fria que llaman el Páramo de las Papas," a defini-

[1] P. Manuel Rodriguez, *El Marañon y Amazonas. Historia de los descubrimientos, entradas y reducciones de Naciones*, Madrid, 1684.

/210 cont./

796 Throughout all these actions, the music has not failed to
[533] sound, /211/ the ensemble of the albacero alternating with that of the fiestero. The tunes are joyous, the enthusiasm grows, and the bursts of firecrackers are frequent.

When everything has been consumed, the plates, kerchiefs, and pots are returned with mutual expressions of deep appreciation. The albacero invites the fiestero:

--"My brother: now let us go to my house. I have nothing to offer you, but what can we do."

--"Do not worry. I, too, am in the same situation as you."

They all remain in the house of the albacero until the ringing of the bells announces the hour of prayer. Very few attend, but the fiestero and albacero have an obligation to do so. The musicians go behind. The albacero sets in place the lamp which he exhibited at the greeting two hours earlier.

796 The lighting of the church is adequate. There are some
346 72 candles, of which those on the altar are from the fiestero
373 and the remainder from the albacero. There are four hanging lamps of the type already described. On cross-pieces supported by vertical beams and placed so that one is close to the altar and another at the exit door, numerous candles are held in fresh clay, in the same manner as in the cornices of the walls.

796 The religious performances are accompanied by native
533 music; monorhythmic and sad tunes alternate with joyous airs.

XIX

Torches and Vacaloca

796 While at the house of the fiestero the men kill the beef
532 and make up the bundles of firewood and the women roast the maize cakes, in the house of the albacero the chirimía plays, chicha is drunk from gourd containers, the lamp is made, and

/211 cont./

796 the vacaloca /"crazy cow"/ is fashioned. From the angles of
532 a rectangle made of four rods tied with lianas, flexible rods are attached in a semicircle; over these is hung the hide of a cow; the skull of a cow, with its horns, is attached to the front part; the facial bones are covered with newspaper on which the cow's eyes, nose, and mouth are drawn with charcoal; the horns are wrapped in cloth soaked in laurel wax; at the hind part, a bunch of defibered cabuya forms the tail. In addition, with the same waxed cloth, three /212/ torches and one large match in the shape of a cross are made, exclusively for illumination.

On leaving the prayer session, a strong, husky youth puts the crude vacaloca on his shoulders, the waxed horns and the torches previously seized by other youths are set afire, the music sounds, the firecrackers are picked up, and the game begins. The young men attempt to set the tail on fire, while the vacaloca tries to pursue them and butt them with its burning horns. The clamor and mad frenzy begin. Everyone runs, everyone defies the charges of the symbolic animal. Soon the vacaloca takes a false step and falls with a crash, causing general hilarity. The fiestero and albacero, the musicians, the participants in the game, and the others present begin to move toward the house of the albacero. There they stop the game when the fuel of the torches is exhausted and the players are overcome by fatigue.

796 Inside the dwelling, in the ñuhne wala, the musicians in one corner, the women seated on the ground, the men on the pangos, their faces made golden by the rays from the torches, wait for the distribution of the calabashes of chicha and the liters of aguardiente with which the albacero is paying attention
[273] to the fiestero. In the middle of the sala and next to one of the pangos there is a crude table, blackened by smoke, dirt, and time, with two lighted candles at the ends of it; three calabashes of chicha set on sugar-cane bagasse, two bottles of aguardiente next to the end gourds, and next to the center

/233 cont./

75 7. The curer toasts Thunder with the chicha, sprinkling
783 it in the air.

8. The curer washes the patient with a calabash of remedies. He fills up completely the hole that contains the "dirt," sprinkles the remaining aguardiente, and ends the cleansing with some final advice. It is 3:00 or 4:00 in the morning.

All treatment of illness is carried out with this cleansing procedure. That is to say, when the impurity (ptans) has been removed from the body, the health of the patient is restored. The curer combats the ptans. In a sense, the cleansing is a hard fight in which the curer is engaged.

756 The tama. The tama is a chonta staff about 40 centi-
755 meters long and indispensable for every cure.

While in other cultures the medicine man uses the maraca as an indispensable accessory in the art of curing, viewing it as having a mythical origin and thus a sacred character and magical properties, and while, according to Roth, certain piai of the Guianas use wooden dolls in their conjurations (6), among the Paez this little staff called tama

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6. Métraux, Alfred. Le Shamanisme Chez les Indiens de l'Amerique du Sud Tropicale /Shamanism among the Indians of Tropical South America/." -- Acta Americana, Vol. II, No. 3, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1944, pp. 217-218.

755 is used. In Santa Rosa, a curer-sorceress uses in her treat-
756 ments a wooden dolly dressed like the people, received, ac-
532 cording to the informant, from Thunder himself, and called
552 "Soft wind of Thunder."

[773] According to all the evidence, this name is derived from that mythical personage, more precisely that culture hero,

* /233 cont./

756 called Juan Tama, who enjoys the fame of having been the
[755] founder of pueblos, a victorious warrior, a good leader,
[532] legislator, and famed curer.
[552] The tama is a defensive and offensive weapon of a sacred
[773] character /234/ and used exclusively by the curers; it protects
[751] from the attacks of the ptans and wards them off. It is a gift
[787] from Thunder and his badge. In visions, it is the first thing
[428] that he shows. When the curer dies, it may be inherited by a young curer, but generally it is left near the cemetery.

*756 A curer from Calderas, possibly the one most imbued with
539 his mission to defend the health of the people, states that the tama was left from a deed performed by the Virgin in defense of her children. On a certain occasion the sea was rising implacably over the surface of the earth, putting the lives of men in grave danger. The Virgin took pity on them, brought out the tama, and made the motions now made by the curer. The waters retreated. She left this staff for the man who became a curer. This was the origin of the tama.

Another curer from the Parcialidad of San Andrés gave us the following account concerning the origin of the tama:

"The elders say that the tama was left by Thunder himself. A man had a potato field and a rancho in the montaña. He went to harvest it with his son. One afternoon the boy refused to accompany his father, preferring to remain in the rancho. On the following day he disappeared without leaving a trace anywhere. All the steps taken by the father to locate his whereabouts were unsuccessful. On the eighth day, the boy reappeared in the rancho. The father naturally inquired as to his whereabouts and his activities. He replied that he had gone to the señor papa, who had given him the stick he carried in his hands, called tama, and aguardiente and remedies. The aguardiente was cold water from a lagoon, and the remedies were in a pouch. No sooner had he finished his tale than he fell into a deathlike trance. On the fifteenth day, at death's door, he asked his father to hand him the tama, for the señor

/242 cont./

755 members of the family, that is to say, they do not carry the
*756 surname of those who are performing Ut ká. None of them 1
783 may work, not even at making hats or pouches.
[461] The hog is skinned and washed over a hole; the hair and offal in general must fall there. When Ut ká is not being per-
[787] formed, the hog is skinned in a trough. Meanwhile, the curer
[782] divines as to how much meat is wanted by the souls. The latter specify the quantity, and the té eu translates it on a small stick, which is immediately passed to the slaughterers, who must cut out the pieces in accordance with this measure and put them into a pouch. The curer drinks aguardiente and also has assistants who help in perceiving the signs.

[252] /243/ The women prepare the maize for "mute" /stewed
[262] corn/, make small tortillas, as many as there are souls of the dead in the family. They also prepare every kind of fruit and food, plantains, arracacha, bread, yuca, bananas, granadillas, cucumbers, maize, eggs, meats, etc., to protect them against the ptans. They put a little piece of the foods into the pouch.

755 They also prepare some wooden dolls, in a number equal
*756 to that of the dead. They dress them like Indians: hat, poncho,
783 trousers, shirt. About 40 meters from the house they dig a
● 532 grave just as they do to bury the dead: a rectangular cavity with a lateral chamber. The curer weighs out two eggs of coca, picks up two cigars and a bottle of aguardiente. At about eight at night all those from the family leave, except those who are not. The cleansing is about to be performed. Then black clouds, like balls, gather. The curer blows remedies toward them. After two hours, the clouds go toward the left, clearing the horizon and leaving the stars visible in the immensity of space. The curer proceeds with the burial. In the lateral chamber of the tomb he places the dolls (representations of the souls) and a candle of laurel wax, after blowing the remedies at them. He closes up the chamber with a stone and then puts in the glowworms and the pouch of food.

1 [i.e. the family members--Analyst]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,1 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

with the right hand over the naked thigh. Two strands are similarly twisted together until the desired thickness is obtained. 283

Gourds.—Gourds are still widely used. They are picked when ripe, cleaned out, and dried. With small openings, they serve as containers for beverages and powdered lime. Some are made into bowls and others are cut up to make spoons. Today these objects are undecorated, but formerly in Timaná they were painted with a resin varnish very similar to that used in Pasto. (See p. 930.) Before the Spanish domination, gourds were also used as frames over which were stretched the prepared skin of the heads of their enemies killed in war. 415 824 [314] [727]

Metallurgy.—The metallurgy of these Indians was the same as that practiced throughout most of Colombia. The metals were gold, copper, and an alloy of the two (tumbaga). It is recorded that the Indians "worked gold," but the processes are not described. Specimens found recently in the territory, however, show molding, casting, and hammering. Metal objects included nose ornaments, parrot-shaped breastplates, necklaces with small animal figures, and some anthropomorphic idols. Gold occurs in this territory, particularly on the upper Páez or the Suin River. 325 [301] [532] [135]

Ceramics.—These tribes made and still make coiled pottery. Modern vessel forms include large jars for storing beverages and poorly shaped, crudely decorated containers for preparing and serving food. There is no individual specialization in this task, women making pots for their own family and not for trade. 323

Stone and wooden artifacts.—The native Indians made stone axes of a simple design, but stonework disappeared during the time of colonization, when the Indians could obtain manufactured iron weapons and utensils such as machetes, axes, hoes, shovels, etc. The manufacture of wooden objects—weaving, cooking, and farming implements and weapons—was furthered by the use of metal tools, and now is well developed, as exemplified by the trapiche (cane mill), a true machine made of wood. 324 182 179 322 249 179

Weaving.—Weaving, little practiced before the Conquest, developed with the post-Contact need for wearing more clothes and with the introduction of sheep, whose wool was used in addition to cotton. Weaving was and is exclusively the work of women (pl. 186). They prepare fine, uniform yarn with a common spindle, which they handle as they walk along the road (pl. 187, *top*). The loom is vertical, made of two horizontal rods fastened to two uprights. The warp runs vertically with a continuous thread. The horizontal weft is pressed down with a wooden sword. They also weave hemp bands on the loom. Woolen blankets are woven in natural colors, but some sashes have bright colors made of imported wool or of home-dyed wool. For red, they use one of the Rubiaceae (*Relbunium hypocarpium*), and for 286 [177] [462] [386]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5Y(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

765 756 787 775 784 the fire and turns on the lights, and everyone returns to examine a layer of fine ashes placed beforehand at the door. If the ashes shows the footprints of an angel, they believe that the soul is saved, but if the footprints are those of a bird, they believe that the soul is condemned to hell. In some cases they ascertain the fate of the soul by the kind of bird prints.

WARFARE

726 The *Páez* and *Moguex* were particularly warlike. Their attacks were staged in the morning, accompanied by yells and the sound of trumpets, horns, sea shells, and drums. They were generally armed [411] with great spears or pikes, spear throwers, and slings. When fighting, they would first hurl javelins with their spear throwers, then use their slings, the missiles for which they carried in a pouch, and finally pick up their spears or pikes for man-to-man struggle. They also formed closed squadrons, men with clubs alternating with spearmen. The former would step forward to wield their clubs, and then draw back to their positions for protection. Their best defense was on high ridges, from which they rolled large stones on their enemies. They perfected these natural defenses by cutting or camouflaging paths on which they prepared ambushes. They built trenches or pitfalls, which caused the attacking Spaniards much trouble.

628 The principal enemies of these peoples were the *Pijao* and the Span- [648] ish soldiers. The *Páez* remember the *Pijao* well, and call the stone [632] statues in their territory "portraits of Pijaos," and the painted tombs, [764] "houses of Pijaos." They are afraid to see the statues or visit the tombs.

To insult an enemy killed in war, they cut off his penis and placed it 727 on the road.

266 Some historians ascribe cannibalism to the *Páez* and the *Moguex*, which seems to have no basis in fact. They kept trophy heads and stuffed the skins of their enemies, but did not eat their foe. There are, [175] however, numerous historical references which state that in the wars [648] against the Spaniards, the *Páez* left the bodies of dead enemies for the [764] *Pijao* to eat, and that they cremated their own dead or dried them over a slow fire, which Friar Pedro Simón (1882–92, ch. 23) mistook for a means for preserving the flesh so that it could be eaten later.

[114] As war trophies, they kept enemy heads, which they preserved with resins, and the skins of their entire bodies, which they filled with ashes 727 (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 3). They even preserved the [314] heads of the Spaniards' horses. They carried these trophies to wars, meetings, and feasts.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Mogues

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Arts included sculpture, small, cast gold idols and figures, and painting. Their best known art objects are those decorated with lacquer or resin, found in the Timaná region, and the stylized representations of beings which women still weave on cotton sashes. 532 [3/4]

Music.—These tribes formerly played on trumpets, drums, large sea shells called "fotutos," cornets, and cane flutes. These instruments were played not only to accompany dances but also when going into battle. The sea shell trumpet was used during the Colonial Period but has been abandoned. The drums are made of hollowed trunks, and the drumheads of animal skins The flutes are made of cane, and vary in length and thickness. They are capable of such variation in tonality that the musical combination is pleasant to the ear. 534

A kind of orchestra, known as a "chirimía," today consists of a large drum to beat time, a small drum to play a rhythmic roll, and flutes to carry the tune. Each community has its orchestra, but every Indian is a flute player and loves to play his instrument when traveling over the hills. The music is nearly always sad and has absorbed some of the regional Colombian popular airs. It has few variations, and changes to a solemn tone on funerals. The *Páez* love their own music so much that, instead of using the Gregorian music of the Catholic rites, they have imposed their own music on the religious ceremonies. Thus, at Mass, they play the special music used when an animal is to be killed and eaten. Other music accompanies the bursting of skyrockets and firecrackers. There is music for the Elevation, for the Creed, and for the Requiem Mass. Certain musical pieces are called simply "bambuco" (local airs), though they have some variations. 533 [177]

Native songs narrated the triumphs and feats in war, but none have been collected, and all are now forgotten. Today the Indians sing only some modern Colombian airs or religious songs. [177]

Dances.—Dances were very important to these Indians, being held for war, for religious ceremonies, for weddings, and for sexual initiation. During Colonial times, Del Castillo i Orozco reported the following dances; most of which, as their names show, apparently had not suffered any change under Spanish influence: 535

Guego coo, a dance to ask for money.
Vito coo, a dance of the rod or stick.
Xsita coo, a dance of sea shells or of the armadillo. It was accompanied by two sea shells of different tones.
Onzo coo, a dance of rats.
Imeguusi coo, a dance of the sparrow hawk.
Ech covi coo, a dance of the phantom's flutes.
Bel covi coo, a dance for great festivities.
Quimb coo, a dance of the drum.
Itso bó, added by Pittier de Fábrega, a dance of girls' puberty.

/193 cont./

585 help. Since the young men almost never own their own cattle,
[422] they must earn the purchase price for this by the sale of agricul-
[432] tural products. Wheat is usually chosen for this, since it may be
[243] harvested half a year after sowing.

For the wedding celebration about 50 men and women are
585 invited, not only relatives, but also friends, among them the
608 sponsors (padrino, madrina) required for the church marriage service. They sit with the bridal couple (nikálo). The parents
[291] and guests on both sides arrange themselves informally. The
[431] padrino and madrina must give or loan the bridegroom and bride
[426] new clothes for this wedding day, but they differ from the ordinary
[301] everyday clothing only in that they are newer and cleaner. No
585 special /194/ ornaments of any kind are put on by anyone. The wedding is celebrated in such a way that the church service takes place in the morning, after which the guests go to the wedding house accompanied by music and have a small midday meal, with which, however, only a little chicha is drunk. The festival ox is not yet slaughtered on this day, and not until the "actual" (as the Calderun say) wedding celebration, which takes place about a month later in the house of the bridegroom. The ox is slaughtered in the morning, and in the afternoon the guests arrive, sit down together informally, and eat and drink chicha and brandy copiously.
[533] Music is played for this, but no one dances to it. Before the eating
[535] begins, when all are still sober, the padrino makes a speech addressed to the bride and groom, in which he says approximately the following: You are now husband and wife, and you, as the husband, should not beat your wife, and you, as wife, should not use any bad words toward your husband. The husband should also not speak ill of his wife, and the wife should obey if the husband commands her to do something and should help him in all things! Then he takes the hand of the bride and gives it to the mother of the bridegroom, who speaks to the bride as follows: You have now been taken into our family and you are to work for your husband and cook his meals for him and make his clothes and arrange everything for him; in addition, you must help me in the house and carry out my instructions, as well as

/196 cont./

764 It is dug out about 1.50 meters and at the bottom provided with
184 a lateral longitudinal niche about 40 centimeters high. This niche is generally hollowed out on the left side, but sometimes on the right. The body is laid in this, without the bier and without accessories, horizontally on its back, so that it no longer extends into the shaft of the grave. The shaft and the niche are, in addition, separated by vertical stakes and rods placed side by side so that the deceased cannot be touched by the earth filling the grave. On the latter, a stone about one meter high is placed at the head or foot end for identification.

[793] The priest is not present at a burial, nor is the shaman who
[756] acts for the district of the deceased. The latter also does not enter a house in which there is a dead person. The participants in the funeral procession, men, women, and children, go to the graveyard together and then back again to the house of the deceased, where lavish entertainment with food, chicha, and brandy now follows. The latter was also drunk copiously on the way to and from the burial place. The mood during the entire time is
756 jolly and animated; people laugh and make jokes. Before the
764 participants enter the house upon their return from the burial,
783 they must go to the river where the shaman awaits them, in order
184 to "cleanse" them of the "pest" of the deceased for the first time (see "Religion"). Then they go together to the house of the deceased, which they may not enter, however, until the shaman has also cleansed this with the same remedies with which he freed the human beings of the "pest." These are water, to which special herbs and cow excrement are added, sprinkled everywhere, as well as brandy, which, mixed with herbs, the shaman squirts everywhere.

764 In Togoima we were able to take part in the burial of two
184 small children (angelitos). The graves of the cemetery in this town all have an east-west direction. The niche is always at the left, the body lies on its back with the head toward the west. The size of the grave required is measured with a bamboo stick that is
[273] as long as the deceased. Before the burial, there is drinking,
[535] music, and dancing in the house. /197/ Music is also played at
[533] the burial and on the way to the graveyard.

P /197 cont./

184 764 533 535 C 764 533 535 C 123

In this respect Calderas differs from all the other Indio or colonist towns known to me, for there neither music nor dancing is done on the occasion of a death. Both are done at the death of an "angelito," not only among the Paez living in the vicinity of colonists, but, above all, among the white and mixed-colored colonists. Thus, on January 1, 1953, soon after our arrival in the archeological park of San Andrés, two small girls of the neighborhood came to us and asked if I would photograph the "little angel." At first I was annoyed, for a short time before a group of children had come, carrying a doll on a flower-bedecked tray from house to house, and they presented it to us, too, as the child Jesus who was collecting contributions for the mass that was to take place on January 6. The girls told me, however, that this little angel was the deceased, two-months-old child of the colonists in the neighboring house, whose mother had already washed and adorned it beautifully. The house was 20 meters away from our own, and even from our door one could already hear jolly music from the neighboring house, such as we had already heard at Christmas and at the New Year's Eve celebration. In the house a large number of neighbors and relatives were gathered in the same room in
C [534] which the child was laid out. People were laughing, drinking, singing, and dancing. The orchestra -- as always -- consisted of a guitar, a mandola, and rumba balls, and the usual musicians played in it. One of them was the father of the dead child, a second one, its uncle. Astonished at the bustle, I asked the mother whether she was not a little sad over the loss of her child. She admitted that she was, but at the same time said that her child was now a little angel and this was grounds for joy and dancing. I asked up to what age deceased children are called "little angels." I was told that if they are not yet two or three years old they "are" little angels and not merely called that. The small child, whom they always referred to only as the little angel, was laid out in the room on a table, flowers lay all around it, and at its
C head stood an image of the Virgin Mary with four candles in front
[273] of it. The people were not yet quite sober from New Year's Eve and already the inevitable liquor bottle was making the rounds again. On the next day the burial by the relatives took place.

S /197 cont./
764 The child had been laid in a coffin which was painted on the out-
C side with stars. The female relatives had made a so-called "canopy,"
123 /198/ a pole two meters high, on the tip of which was fastened a white hoop decorated with flowers, from which hung eleven colored paper streamers, one of which was carried by each of the participants. I, too, was asked to take one, and then we set out -- without the mother of the deceased child -- with music, for the graveyard where the small coffin was opened once more and then lowered
P into the earth without formality.

764 Among the Paez of Togoima, too, there is drinking, dancing,
184 and singing at the death of a child, and here, too, the mother does
[273] not take part in the burial at the graveyard. The body is carried
[533] by a woman -- usually the godmother -- in a small sedan chair of
[535] bamboo, accompanied by the music of drum, timpano, and flute,
[608] to the burial place where several men have already scooped out a grave with the lateral niche (Ills. 204 and 207 /see pp. 290 and 291/). The deceased child has a few flowers in its mouth. It is wrapped in a cloth and is laid in a recumbent position, along with a bouquet of flowers, in the niche, which is separated from the shaft by the rods of the sedan chair placed vertically side by side. The earth thrown into the pit is stamped down very firmly with posts.

P In Calderas, too, the mother of a "little angel" to be buried
[608] does not go along to the graveyard. The small corpse is carried by the godmother, not in a sedan chair, but simply wrapped in a cloth, on her arm.

The burial of the Christian Indios of San Andrés shows transi-
P tions in the shape of the grave from the Paez niche-grave to the
[674] simple, rectangular pit of the other Christians. We took part in the burial of the capitan who had been stabbed by his drunken son during a quarrel. The direction of the grave in the cemetery of San Andrés is always east-west; the head lies on the west side with the ground sloping upward. Instead of a lateral niche, a trapezoidal hollow about 50 centimeters deep is dug at the bottom of the shaft, which is covered horizontally by bamboo put so closely together that no earth can fall down, and the corpse is practically just as well

1: Nachtigall--210 E-5 (1952—1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/287 cont./

4. Music

533 In no area of Paez culture is poverty evident to such an ex-
535 tent as in song and dance, the predominant expressions of the character and spirit of all peoples. No peculiar dance is per-
[173] formed among the /288/ Paez, and I heard no song sung. This undoubtedly represents an impoverishment, for it may be seen
533 from the folklore that in former times there was dancing. A similar conclusion must also be drawn about the playing of very
[173] agreeable music. Their knowledge of music, however, makes it
[181] highly probable that song also existed, especially among a people
[581 that is basically jolly and constantly disposed to jest. In fact,
524 it is very difficult for a girl who is slow in jocular conversation to
522 get a husband. And to my question about the Paez word for "sing
192] house" listed in Uricoechea, the amiable Victoriano, to his own great surprise, was immediately able to give me a special word in his language, "mémyat."

534 It is not possible to say with certainty which of the musical
[171] instruments used by the Paez today is an original one. The absence of any kind of rattle, the outstanding instrument of the American natives, is surprising (*).

> * Pittier de Fábrega (p. 325) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 326/, however, mentions among the musical instruments of the Paez a rattle (tsoóts) in the form of a calabash with a handle, which was filled with small stones. Whether this may not perhaps be an instrument of the Negroes of Belalcázar is still undecided.

534 The cow horn (kǎčn) found in every house is not in the true
202 sense a musical instrument, but one for signaling. It is completely undecorated and, consisting of a horn sawed off at the tip, gives only one tone, which is produced in the same manner as the tone of a bugle or fanfare. This horn is used by the men when they come down from the mountains after a joint felling of the trees needed for housebuilding, in order to notify the village of their return.

/289 cont./

534 by cuts with a machete (Ill. 203 /see p. 290/). In spite of the
322 relatively correspondent holes, each flute has a slightly different tone caused by the varying diameter of the tube.

533 According to the investigation kindly undertaken by my
534 brother Wilfried on the sample flute of Vicente Puche that I acquired, it is tuned between C and C-sharp. Its six finger-holes produce a nonsemitonic seven-tone scale. All the tone steps, however, are somewhat inexact, that is, not exactly a whole tone-step apart. This is particularly noticeable from the third to the fourth tone where we perceptibly have less than a major second, but considerably more than a half step. This is noteworthy because in our diatonic major scale there is also a definite half-step between these two tones.

The blowing is on the right or left side. The extended fingers, work-worn by the heavy field work, cover the finger holes with the first or second joint.

534 The value of the flute is not very high. On festive days
[578] people are in the habit of becoming intoxicated in the festival
[796] houses and in the subsequent brawls the flutes are used as striking
[273] instruments and thus broken.

/290/ Every music group has at least one small cylindrical drum (káka) or a bass drum (kut), both of which are covered with skin on two sides and are wider than high in their dimensions.
[177] Drum and bass drum in this form are probably borrowed and were
[194] taken over throughout South America from former Negro slaves. Their manufacture among the Paez is specialist's work. At
[463] present Vicente Puche makes the flutes as well as the drums. In former times, however, there was a special expert who made only
[461] drums and bass drums. The work time for their manufacture amounts to 10 to 14 days, since one day is allowed for each operation (cutting wood, drying it, for the various processes in treating
[824] the skins, etc.). The cylindrical body of the drum is made from
[237] the wood of the utsé tree. The two drum-skins (katc) are made of calfskin. They are stretched with cords made of agave fiber, which run in a zigzag from one stretcher to the other over the body of the drum. They are tightened by a continuous loop that encircles two strands of the stretching cords at a time and at the same time

/290 cont./

534 is wound around the entire body of the drum. A string with a small piece of wood as a rattle device is stretched across the lower skin. The method of construction of the drum and the bass drum [184] is the same in Calderas. A drum in Santa Rosa differs in that each of the stretchers, upper and lower, consists of a switch used double, with the edges of the drum skin clamped in between (Fig. 37 /see p. 258 /). The measurements of the small drum are 16 centimeters in height and 22 centimeters in diameter, those of the bass drum 40 centimeters in height and about 60 centimeters in diameter.

● 533 In playing the music, for which no text is (any longer) known, the drum and the bass drum beat the same rhythm, but in a different manner. The drum is beaten on the skin with two drumsticks, which are simply two ordinary, inarticulated pieces of wood. The bass drum is beaten with one hand with a regular drumstick consisting of a stick with a wrapping of cloth, while the other hand beats against the frame with a little stick. In three-quarter time, the principal kind of time, the bass drum is beaten with the drumstick in one hand, the first and third quarter regularly and the second quarter in eighths. The other hand beats afterwards with the other stick on the frame.

533 173 Whether this Paez rhythm is original or was taken over with the drum cannot be determined with certainty. According to the tradition of the Paez, as told in the story "The Paez with the Ax," the Pijao women in former times, when as yet /291/ there were no drums, beat out the rhythm on their breasts with their hands during the dances. We may assume that this was also in part the case 533 among the earlier Paez. According to E. Castillo i Orosco, the [175] Paez formerly used hanging chichacanoas /chicha troughs/ as drums [534] (kwimb). They consisted of hollowed-out tree trunks and during the kwimbkó dance were beaten by all the men together, while the women sang. The rhythm beaten on the drums at the present time, however, seems to be less firmly anchored than the melody. They [797] are so fond of the latter that they do not sing hymns at the Mass in [177] the mission church, but play the customary melodies on the same instruments, albeit disproportionately slower. The drum and the bass lose the beat in doing this; they do not know how to begin

P /291 cont./
533 properly with their instruments and simply uniformly beat sixteenths.
[177] Thus it seems that the melody is more original and hence more
534 firmly anchored in the tradition of the Paez, and that with the borrowing of the drum, the corresponding modern rhythm was also
C 533 adopted. This has been corroborated for me by an observation per-
534 taining to the music of the Negroes of Tumaco in the Colombian
[177] port city on the Pacific coast. There, among the descendants of onetime slaves, West African musical instruments with corresponding Negro designations are still in use today, among others the xylophone-like marimba and two drums, the conical konuno with skin stretched over one side and the cylindrical bass drum covered with skin on both sides, the bombo. The latter shows the same type of stretching as the Paez bass drum and is also played with two drumsticks, one of which, provided with a raw-rubber knob, is struck on the skin and the other, a simple stick, on the frame of the body of the drum.

P 533 The musicians are always men. They play the music as
[462] amateurs who learn one or another instrument because they have taken a fancy to it. The drum is the more popular instrument, whereas flutists are less numerous and primarily limited to certain families.

P 535 The dances danced today, which, by the way, not everyone
[171] masters, correspond to the Colombian bambuco, though they do not show the dexterity and lightness of movement required for that, such as is found among the Colombian rural population in other parts of the country.

P 535 By way of a note, there should be cited the dances which H.
114 Pittier de Fabrega (based on E. Castillo i Orosco) mentions for the Paez and which in some of the designations, point to an independent culture: onza-kó, /292/ "mouse dance," nwi-kó "buzzard dance," itsa-kó, puberty dance of the girls, eč-koi-kó, dance of the spirit-flute, tel-koi-kó, dance of the long flute or war dance, la-kó, dance to dedicate a house, etc.

/315 cont./

105 "Araucanian" type (O'Neale, p. 115). In place of the shed rod we have a simple loop; in place of the heddle rod, a bundle of loops.
105 The warp threads are stretched in the form of the "false spiral warp,"
286 a mixture of the method of the continuous, circular warp with the
171 method of the terminating flat warp. This genuinely American way of stretching the warp is found among the Northwest Coast Indians as well as among the tribes of the Gran Chaco (Olson, pp. 114-121). Culture-historically H. Nevermann regards the various forms of American weaving /316/ as having originated on the basis of a native or pre-Polynesian plait-weaving. Among the Paez we find this technical stage in the plait-weaving of the carrying bands of the coca bags.

105 For dyeing, vegetable dyes are used, which dye only sheep wool, but not cotton.

Pottery is very simple. There are only hemispherical pots and bowls made with the spiral coil technique, both without any ornamentation.

The present political organization of the Paez is based on the village community. It is led by a village council (cabildo), whose members are chosen for a year from among the men of the village. The designations for the members of the cabildo and their functions are in part Spanish. In former times the leaders of the Paez were
[621] often men with shamanistic abilities. The village is not organized
[565] by either classes or occupations. No one need serve another for
[463] pay; the word and the thing are unknown to the Paez. The father
[464] of the family with his sons or brothers works his fields, and if
[476] friends or neighbors lend their help, it is compensated for by assistance in their fields.

[594] The family organization is basically the patrilineal,
[178] monogomous nuclear family, consisting of the parents and the
[851] unmarried children. Here there has probably been the least
[533] change in Paez culture. The children are given the family of the father. For her marriage the woman receives no dowry of any kind from her parents, and she keeps her maiden name. Since there are no social or financial reasons for concluding a marriage, a woman has only the merit of her personality and abilities. These are tested during a "trial year" before the actual conclusion of the marriage.

1: Nachtigall--289 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 201. Grinding maize with the hand-grindstone.

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Ill. 202. Calderun music group.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

the drum-dance, in which the women sang to the accompaniment of a drum; *vito-ko*, or *fits-ko*, the stick-dance, etc. 535

In addition to the shells and reeds, the Indians also accompanied their dances with a kind of drum (*kimb*), consisting of a long wooden trough hung by its extremities; and the *tsoots*, or rattle, a calabash containing small stones or hard canna seeds and provided with a handle. 535 534

According to Castillo the Paez had also other deities, corresponding somewhat to the lares of the ancient Latins, carved images of which were often found in the houses. The *dizi*, who were at one time priests, sorcerers, and medicine-men, lived in retirement and were considered as the keepers of the doctrines of a traditional civilizer of the nation, called *Guckian*. So strong was their influence in Castillo's time that he complains rather bitterly about it, and proceeds to explain how the true God, wishing to free the Paez from such a devilish guide, simply employed a subterfuge to drown him in the Paez river, together with two of his apostles! 776 778 [79]

The belief in a future existence is indicated, as Uricoechea relates, by the fact that the Indians never molested white dogs, in order that they might not be bitten by them at the doors of the house beyond the grave. 825 795

There were birds and other signs of good or of evil omen. A woman would never step over a leather rope stretched on the ground, but would lift it up and pass beneath. During the construction of bridges, two men constantly beat the waters to frighten away evil spirits. The death of a person was often attributed to witchcraft, and he whose face bore some likeness to that of the dead person was often regarded as the culprit, provided the patient in his gravings had not given the name of the supposed sorcerer. The soul of a cow whose fat had been used for illumination during religious ceremonies was believed to go directly to heaven: this last belief, however, must be of post-conquest origin. 787 761 754 825 774

Among themselves the Indians are jovial and contented. The approach of the men whom we often met on the trails around Huila was usually first detected by the sound of the 157 533 283

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

157 pipes they play while walking along, unless their hands are kept
533 busy plaiting braids of gynerium bark in the manufacture of
383 their hats. This is the exclusive occupation of the men.
[463] Women almost invariably walk along spinning wool, their distaff under the left arm and the spindle in the left hand, while the right hand is busy at the wool.

885 The Paez maidens are fond of flowers and are very playful.
157 On one occasion I observed several of them going up the hill
481 beyond the river, in front of the church at Huila, their arms entwined about one another's necks; then they began running up the steep hill as in a contest of endurance. As they became exhausted they threw themselves on the grass, while their movements showed that they were playing and joking all the time. These children of Nature are not unpleasant to look at,
[515 except for their usual lack of cleanliness; nor are they wanting
142] in coquetry, and they are often pretty. But in the presence of
[609] strangers they are extremely bashful, doing their utmost to keep in the background.

291 The old women are generally very ugly. Their clothing con-
515 sists only of dirty rags, and their skin is covered with the filth of years.

593 Relations between the sexes, especially between husbands
562 and wives, seem to be easy and without an air of superiority on the part of the former. On the few occasions that I had to entertain these people at their houses, the women took the same interest and the same part in the proceedings as the men, which was very different from what I observed among the Central American Indians.

609 Toward strangers, and especially toward Colombians of other
186 races, the attitude of the Indians is decidedly hostile. Unless induced by the prospect of profit they will neither sell anything nor lend any service, often refusing money and accepting only articles which they especially desire. They will not allow white
[563] or black people in their homes, and at Huila they are even unwilling that the only white family living there should share the practically inexhaustible supply of fuel scattered about in the near-by forest, or have horses or cattle pasturing on the almost

/203 cont./

346 meat and "mute," as well as more chicha and aguardiente.
794 After lunch the albacero goes home. There he waits for the
796 fiestero, who in the afternoon will bring him more chicha, more aguardiente, and more food.

796 A week after the cleaning of the church, the priest will
793 come to officiate at the religious ceremonies.

XIII

Instruments, Music and Dance

533 The musical groups of the Calderas people, true chirimías /a kind of orchestra/, are deservedly famous both for the number of the musicians and for the beauty of their interpretations. Many are soft and delicate, most of them sad tunes,
534 but there are joyous ones as well. The musical instruments are few.

The flute (kuvi), made of a reed some 70 centimeters long; it has seven holes made by burning: the one in the upper part which serves for blowing, and 35 centimeters farther down are found the others, which correspond to the fingers of the hands, at intervals of three centimeters apart. They distinguish two types of flutes: those that produce melodic sounds, kuvinéhuish (major flute) and those that produce low tones, kuvinuch (minor flute).

[281] The bass drum (kut), made with the skin from sheep, calf, goat, or deer, the hair of which has been removed by fermentation underground.

The tambourine, around the edge of which is put several pairs of movable circular pieces of tin which produce a rhythmic sound.

The side drum or snare drum and the triangle to mark the rhythm.

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534 Some natives own and play guitars acquired in Popayán,
237 but there are some that they make themselves out of armadillo
439 shells.

The following are the compositions of ceremonial type
533 which are not accompanied by dancing.

/204/ /Illustration appears here./

Kulá ik kui (bull-slaughter-piece). Musical composition which is played at the moment of killing the beef to which the albacero and the laborers of the fiestero will be taken care of. Informants claim that this musical piece has no significance other than to entertain the people.

Plaza pá kui, a musical composition played when the musicians reach the church.

Misa kase kui, played when the Mass is over.

Chichi pékue kui, played when the meat is cut in pieces to treat the albacero. The workers place the chunks of meat on a trunk and cut them into small pieces with a machete /peinilla/.

There are other compositions peculiar to wedding ceremonies.

/205/ Novio mesa úku, played at the start of the wedding meal.

Úpiate kui, played halfway through the nuptial banquet.

Tunzi kamba kui, played at the close of the nuptial banquet.

All of these compositions are melodious and in 3/4 or 4/4 time.

The religious fiestas, mingas, weddings, and baptisms are occasions for music. There is no music at burials or at wakes for children.

[868] Musical compositions are learned from the "elders" out of personal interest. From childhood they learn how to play the bass drum, the side drum, and the triangle with great skill. They try the flute later. While rhythm instruments

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533 are played by a large number of people, those playing the melody (flutes) are few and usually restricted to a few families.

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533 The women do not play any musical instrument.

Secular singing is unknown; only religious songs are sung at the hours of prayer, the Mass, and the procession.

535 [171] The dancing of the Calderas people is stylized and very similar to the Colombian bambuco. It is danced by mixed couples, separately or joined together. As a rule the dancers take on a certain air of gravity and concentration, and the onlookers follow their movements attentively. The woman always

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796 At about ten o'clock in the morning the special guests of the fiestero get ready to kill the beef. They are four. The

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[533] musicians intone the kula kui while other men begin to cut the long, dry pieces of wood into small fragments. Woodcutters, slaughterers, and musicians all begin their activities at once. The wood will serve to roast the maize griddlecakes.

[825] One of the slaughterers gathers the blood in a pan, while another one holds the head and tries to cover the eyes; he believes that if he does not do so, some other cow will attack him when he goes to catch it.

/210 cont./

796 Throughout all these actions, the music has not failed to
[533] sound, /211/ the ensemble of the albacero alternating with that of the fiestero. The tunes are joyous, the enthusiasm grows, and the bursts of firecrackers are frequent.

When everything has been consumed, the plates, kerchiefs, and pots are returned with mutual expressions of deep appreciation. The albacero invites the fiestero:

--"My brother: now let us go to my house. I have nothing to offer you, but what can we do."

--"Do not worry. I, too, am in the same situation as you."

They all remain in the house of the albacero until the ringing of the bells announces the hour of prayer. Very few attend, but the fiestero and albacero have an obligation to do so. The musicians go behind. The albacero sets in place the lamp which he exhibited at the greeting two hours earlier.

796 The lighting of the church is adequate. There are some
346 72 candles, of which those on the altar are from the fiestero
373 and the remainder from the albacero. There are four hanging lamps of the type already described. On cross-pieces supported by vertical beams and placed so that one is close to the altar and another at the exit door, numerous candles are held in fresh clay, in the same manner as in the cornices of the walls.

796 The religious performances are accompanied by native
533 music; monorhythmic and sad tunes alternate with joyous airs.

XIX

Torches and Vacaloca

796 While at the house of the fiestero the men kill the beef
532 and make up the bundles of firewood and the women roast the maize cakes, in the house of the albacero the chirimía plays, chicha is drunk from gourd containers, the lamp is made, and

/213 cont./

796 sit in the center, his wife on his right and the síndico on his left. The same etiquette and the same courtesies will be ob-
[264] served. When the liquor has been drunk, there will be a meal of cabbage and meat: large bowls for the albacero, his wife, and the síndico. For the others it will be served on platters. All of them will sip the broth, squeeze out the meat and cabbage with their hands, and put it in their pouches.

796 Overcome by the fatigue induced by several sleepless
513 nights, by the chicha, and the food, they will sleep on the ground. When dawn heralds the new day, the enormous sala, the fiuhne wala, will present the sight of groups of people sleeping in a promiscuity of sex and age.

XX

The Saint's Procession

796 Immediately after the Mass, with the presence of those
788 who attended it and those who did not, the procession begins, the essence of the fiesta, according to Padre González. The image of San Juan, adorned with many flowers, is carried on a litter by the faithful, who frequently relieve one another, go round the church with a great profusion of gunpowder, and
[533] finally set off the fireworks castle. The music plays incessant-
796 ly and includes the singing of religious canticles. When the
492 procession is over and the saint has been placed on the altar,
526 the men mount their horses, most of them bareback, and set out to race madly /214/ across the plains of the locality. They give free rein to their enthusiasm, allow their spirits to expand, and whet their appetite for play. Groups of horsemen in clamorous flight leave behind them their shouts of "Viva San Juan." In everyday life action has been slow. Now the movement and excitement seem to counteract the sluggishness and heaviness of everyday life. The sweating animals

/321 cont./

231 The slaughtering of the head of cattle for consumption
[796] at religious fiestas is accompanied by music (1).
[533]

1. Bernal Villa, S. "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," p. 208.

[232] Of the equine livestock, they also prefer the females for
492 reproduction. Horses are used for the milling of sugar cane, for
484 the transport of loads, for long journeys. Many own saddles,
[249] /322/ although generally deteriorated ones. Women never ride
[482] on horseback. On long journeys the woman walks with a heavy
[562] load on her back, while the man rides without carrying anything to hinder him.

231 The horses of the Páez are small, but very hardy and suitable for the rugged and difficult roads. They do not own mules or
[754] donkeys. In Calderas it is said that someone brought a donkey
[789] for the purpose of producing young mules, but the envious ones (sorcerers) cast a spell on it and killed it. Nor do they own goats, which they regard as very thievish and destructive.

In the houses they raise guinea pigs, chickens, and turkeys, and, on a smaller scale, ducks. Furthermore, dogs,
[422] cats, and hogs are also raised. The former belong indifferently to men or women, while hogs and dogs are the exclusive property of the men.

The scant care given to domestic animals is worthy of note. There are no corrals of any sort, nor special caretakers
[233] for the animals. Cattle are commonly left to fend for themselves in the pastures, and only every 15 days, or, more frequently, once a month, are they rounded up by their respective owners to
[232] check on their existence or multiplication. They know about the need to give salt to cattle, but this article is supplied in small quantities and at very long intervals. Most of the animals of Calderas go to a small spring of brackish water in Tumbichukue. Among the other domestic animals, only the chickens, turkeys, and guinea pigs are fed regularly with grass, maize, manioc, and

7:Hernández de Alba E-5)(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez
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PLATE 188.—**Quillacinga musicians.** *Top:* Musicians and banner carrier at Siburdoy dressed for fiesta. *Bottom:* Musicians dressed in ordinary clothes. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 -D]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,Y (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Arts included sculpture, small, cast gold idols and figures, and painting. Their best known art objects are those decorated with lacquer or resin, found in the Timaná region, and the stylized representations of beings which women still weave on cotton sashes. 532 [3/4]

Music.—These tribes formerly played on trumpets, drums, large sea shells called "fotutos," cornets, and cane flutes. These instruments were played not only to accompany dances but also when going into battle. The sea shell trumpet was used during the Colonial Period but has been abandoned. The drums are made of hollowed trunks, and the drumheads of animal skins The flutes are made of cane, and vary in length and thickness. They are capable of such variation in tonality that the musical combination is pleasant to the ear. 534

A kind of orchestra, known as a "chirimía," today consists of a large drum to beat time, a small drum to play a rhythmic roll, and flutes to carry the tune. Each community has its orchestra, but every Indian is a flute player and loves to play his instrument when traveling over the hills. The music is nearly always sad and has absorbed some of the regional Colombian popular airs. It has few variations, and changes to a solemn tone on funerals. The *Páez* love their own music so much that, instead of using the Gregorian music of the Catholic rites, they have imposed their own music on the religious ceremonies. Thus, at Mass, they play the special music used when an animal is to be killed and eaten. Other music accompanies the bursting of skyrockets and firecrackers. There is music for the Elevation, for the Creed, and for the Requiem Mass. Certain musical pieces are called simply "bambuco" (local airs), though they have some variations. 533 [177]

Native songs narrated the triumphs and feats in war, but none have been collected, and all are now forgotten. Today the Indians sing only some modern Colombian airs or religious songs. [177]

Dances.—Dances were very important to these Indians, being held for war, for religious ceremonies, for weddings, and for sexual initiation. During Colonial times, Del Castillo i Orozco reported the following dances; most of which, as their names show, apparently had not suffered any change under Spanish influence: 535

Guaya coo, a dance to ask for money.
Vito coo, a dance of the rod or stick.
Xeita coo, a dance of sea shells or of the armadillo. It was accompanied by two sea shells of different tones.
Ouse coo, a dance of rats.
Imaguei coo, a dance of the sparrow hawk.
Ech cowi coo, a dance of the phantom's flutes.
Bel cowi coo, a dance for great festivities.
Quimb coo, a dance of the drum.
Itsa bó, added by Pittier de Fábrega, a dance of girls' puberty.

/269 cont./

778 and had their staff of office consecrated there. Today this no
756 longer takes place because of the lack of good shamans. The
623 shamans of today no longer have the intense visions that the
[787] earlier ones had, and that is why they are no longer so powerful magically. They are no longer able to speak with Thunder as simply as their predecessors did, and since they are weaker, it is believed that Thunder will kill them.

776 Thunder is generally described as small of stature and dressed like a Paez man with hat and black ruana. It is reported that he does not wear trousers, but exposes his sexual parts. He has with
[534] him, like a shaman, his tama, a fiber bag with medicines, and a
[532] musical instrument called "tíngalo" (triangle). It is not impossible that it is his picture, together with a Christian cross, that is incised in the gable post of a hut in the vicinity of the park of San Andrés, which represents a man with large, triangular-shaped sexual parts (Ill. 200 /see p. 288 /).

[756] /270/ Thunder is regarded by all the Paez as the greatest
[773] shaman and by the teyu as their master. In the folklore (see below /see pp. 215 ff./), he probably often has different names, such as Juan Tama, Llivan, Chauté, Juan Chiracol, but his characteristics stand out in them, no matter whether as sāt (cacique) he is fighting the Pijao and defending his people, or that he will one day -- people are convinced -- again drive the hated whites
776 out of Tierradentro. He warns the Paez of an evil white person
821 who is coming to Tierradentro for a visit by a clap of thunder from
[783] a clear sky. When he thunders above a particular house, he is
[754] announcing that there is "pest" in it, and if he thunders first above the house of a nyiç and then above one belonging to a teyu he is thereby announcing to a good shaman that he has just been bewitched.

776 A few stories also tell about the struggles of the shamans
787 against Thunder, for he once robbed the Paez of livestock and
756 people. But that was long ago, for today no one would dare undertake anything against Thunder. The Calderun shamans tell how the earlier teyu were in a position to speak with Thunder at any time and to get advice from him. Those of today are no

/287 cont./

4. Music

533 In no area of Paez culture is poverty evident to such an ex-
535 tent as in song and dance, the predominant expressions of the character and spirit of all peoples. No peculiar dance is per-
[173] formed among the /288/ Paez, and I heard no song sung. This undoubtedly represents an impoverishment, for it may be seen
533 from the folklore that in former times there was dancing. A similar conclusion must also be drawn about the playing of very
[173] agreeable music. Their knowledge of music, however, makes it
[181] highly probable that song also existed, especially among a people that is basically jolly and constantly disposed to jest. In fact,
[581 521 522 192] it is very difficult for a girl who is slow in jocular conversation to get a husband. And to my question about the Paez word for "sing house" listed in Uricoechea, the amiable Victoriano, to his own great surprise, was immediately able to give me a special word in his language, "mémyat."

534 It is not possible to say with certainty which of the musical instruments used by the Paez today is an original one. The ab-
[171] sence of any kind of rattle, the outstanding instrument of the American natives, is surprising (*).

> * Pittier de Pábrega (p. 325) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 326/, however, mentions among the musical instruments of the Paez a rattle (tsoóts) in the form of a calabash with a handle, which was filled with small stones. Whether this may not perhaps be an instrument of the Negroes of Belalcázar is still undecided.

534 The cow horn (kǎčn) found in every house is not in the true
202 sense a musical instrument, but one for signaling. It is completely undecorated and, consisting of a horn sawed off at the tip, gives only one tone, which is produced in the same manner as the tone of a bugle or fanfare. This horn is used by the men when they come down from the mountains after a joint felling of the trees needed for housebuilding, in order to notify the village of their return.

/288 cont./

534 The genuine Paez music is performed by a group of musicians whose instruments consist of a larger or smaller number of transverse flutes, a bass drum /Pauke/, a drum /Trommel/, a tambourine, and a triangle (Ill. 202 /see p. 289/). The number of flutes varies between five and 15. Tambourine and triangle [439] (číngalo) may be lacking. The latter is always purchased, as in general is the tambourine (panderéta), covered with skin on one side and provided with tin jingles.

Judging by its name, the transverse flute (koi) is a Paez instrument. There has not yet been an investigation of the distribution or culture-historical age of this type of flute in America; in the Old World it is certainly younger than the long flute and the Pan flute (Sachs, p. 147). Among the /289/ Paez it is 65 534 centimeters long and about 2.5 centimeters in diameter. It is 463 made from a type of reed which is also known as koi and which [824] only grows in the mountains. Its manufacture is specialist's work. In Calderas Vicente Puche is at present the only producer. A flute can be made only from the pattern of another one, which, however, is not a model flute expressly for the construction of others; rather, it is any one that Vicente happens to have at his disposal. For example, he promptly sold to me his only instrument at the time. To make a new one, he said, he would borrow a flute from a neighbor.

534 The tube of the flute is cylindrical and without knots. The 322 seal on the side of the blowhole is made by means of a piece of expressed sugar cane, which is pushed a few centimeters into the flute. The six finger-holes are not placed at equal intervals from one another. The first is 25 centimeters from the blowhole, the second finger-hole is 4.2 centimeters from the first, the third 4.5 centimeters from the second, the fourth 4.2 centimeters from the third, the fifth 3.8 centimeters from the fourth, and the sixth 4 centimeters from the fifth.

The seven very sharp-edged holes of the flute have the same diameter. They are burned in with an iron tube (barflya) of the same dimension and heated red-hot. Their position and their intervals are taken from a flute held alongside and are marked

/289 cont./

534 by cuts with a machete (Ill. 203 /see p. 290/). In spite of the
322 relatively correspondent holes, each flute has a slightly different tone caused by the varying diameter of the tube.

533 According to the investigation kindly undertaken by my
534 brother Wilfried on the sample flute of Vicente Puche that I acquired, it is tuned between C and C-sharp. Its six finger-holes produce a nonsemitonic seven-tone scale. All the tone steps, however, are somewhat inexact, that is, not exactly a whole tone-step apart. This is particularly noticeable from the third to the fourth tone where we perceptibly have less than a major second, but considerably more than a half step. This is noteworthy because in our diatonic major scale there is also a definite half-step between these two tones.

The blowing is on the right or left side. The extended fingers, work-worn by the heavy field work, cover the finger holes with the first or second joint.

534 The value of the flute is not very high. On festive days
[578] people are in the habit of becoming intoxicated in the festival
[796] houses and in the subsequent brawls the flutes are used as striking
[273] instruments and thus broken.

/290/ Every music group has at least one small cylindrical drum (káka) or a bass drum (kut), both of which are covered with skin on two sides and are wider than high in their dimensions.
[177] Drum and bass drum in this form are probably borrowed and were
[194] taken over throughout South America from former Negro slaves. Their manufacture among the Paez is specialist's work. At
[463] present Vicente Puche makes the flutes as well as the drums. In former times, however, there was a special expert who made only
[461] drums and bass drums. The work time for their manufacture amounts to 10 to 14 days, since one day is allowed for each operation (cutting wood, drying it, for the various processes in treating
[824] the skins, etc.). The cylindrical body of the drum is made from
[237] the wood of the utsé tree. The two drum-skins (katc) are made of calfskin. They are stretched with cords made of agave fiber, which run in a zigzag from one stretcher to the other over the body of the drum. They are tightened by a continuous loop that encircles two strands of the stretching cords at a time and at the same time

/290 cont./

534 is wound around the entire body of the drum. A string with a small piece of wood as a rattle device is stretched across the lower skin. The method of construction of the drum and the bass drum [184] is the same in Calderas. A drum in Santa Rosa differs in that each of the stretchers, upper and lower, consists of a switch used double, with the edges of the drum skin clamped in between (Fig. 37 /see p. 258 /). The measurements of the small drum are 16 centimeters in height and 22 centimeters in diameter, those of the bass drum 40 centimeters in height and about 60 centimeters in diameter.

533 In playing the music, for which no text is (any longer) known, the drum and the bass drum beat the same rhythm, but in a different manner. The drum is beaten on the skin with two drumsticks, which are simply two ordinary, inarticulated pieces of wood. The bass drum is beaten with one hand with a regular drumstick consisting of a stick with a wrapping of cloth, while the other hand beats against the frame with a little stick. In three-quarter time, the principal kind of time, the bass drum is beaten with the drumstick in one hand, the first and third quarter regularly and the second quarter in eighths. The other hand beats afterwards with the other stick on the frame.

533 173 Whether this Paez rhythm is original or was taken over with the drum cannot be determined with certainty. According to the tradition of the Paez, as told in the story "The Paez with the Ax," the Pijao women in former times, when as yet /291/ there were no drums, beat out the rhythm on their breasts with their hands during the dances. We may assume that this was also in part the case 533 among the earlier Paez. According to E. Castillo i Orosco, the [175] Paez formerly used hanging chichacanoas /chicha troughs/ as drums [534] (kwimb). They consisted of hollowed-out tree trunks and during the kwimbkó dance were beaten by all the men together, while the women sang. The rhythm beaten on the drums at the present time, however, seems to be less firmly anchored than the melody. They [797] are so fond of the latter that they do not sing hymns at the Mass in [177] the mission church, but play the customary melodies on the same instruments, albeit disproportionately slower. The drum and the bass lose the beat in doing this; they do not know how to begin

P /291 cont./
533 properly with their instruments and simply uniformly beat sixteenths.
[177] Thus it seems that the melody is more original and hence more
534 firmly anchored in the tradition of the Paez, and that with the
C borrowing of the drum, the corresponding modern rhythm was also
533 adopted. This has been corroborated for me by an observation per-
534 taining to the music of the Negroes of Tumaco in the Colombian
[177] port city on the Pacific coast. There, among the descendants of onetime slaves, West African musical instruments with corresponding Negro designations are still in use today, among others the xylophone-like marimba and two drums, the conical konuno with skin stretched over one side and the cylindrical bass drum covered with skin on both sides, the bombo. The latter shows the same type of stretching as the Paez bass drum and is also played with two drumsticks, one of which, provided with a raw-rubber knob, is struck on the skin and the other, a simple stick, on the frame of the body of the drum.

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533 The musicians are always men. They play the music as
[462] amateurs who learn one or another instrument because they have taken a fancy to it. The drum is the more popular instrument, whereas flutists are less numerous and primarily limited to certain families.

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535 The dances danced today, which, by the way, not everyone
[171] masters, correspond to the Colombian bambuco, though they do not show the dexterity and lightness of movement required for that, such as is found among the Colombian rural population in other parts of the country.

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535 By way of a note, there should be cited the dances which H.
114 Pittier de Fabrega (based on E. Castillo i Orosco) mentions for the Paez and which in some of the designations, point to an independent culture: onza-kó, /292/ "mouse dance," nwi-kó "buzzard dance," itsa-kó, puberty dance of the girls, eč-koi-kó, dance of the spirit-flute, tel-koi-kó, dance of the long flute or war dance, la-kó, dance to dedicate a house, etc.

1: Nachtigall--258 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Fig. 36. Game with the hole-ball.

Fig. 37. Drum (underside).

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Ill. 201. Grinding maize with the hand-grindstone.

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Ill. 202. Calderun music group.

1: Nachtigall--290 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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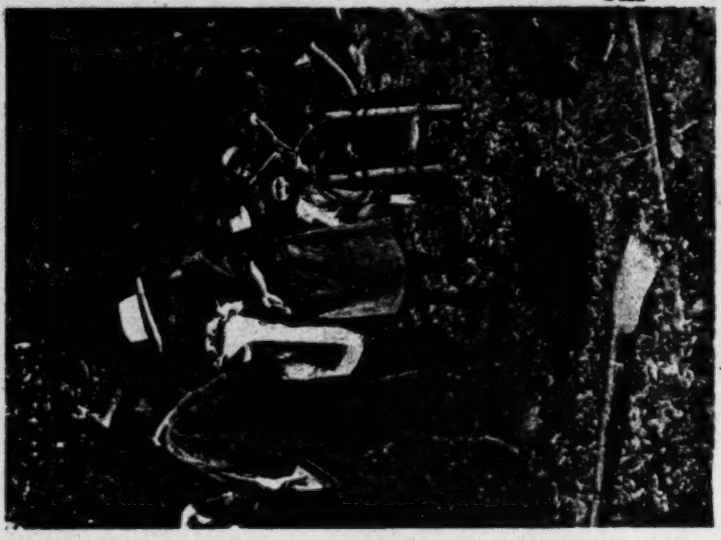

Ill. 204. Burial of a child who died of whooping cough.

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Ill. 203. The flute maker Vicente Puche.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

314 fortunately the tree is being rapidly destroyed, either in the gathering of the wax or through clearing for cultivation.

Religion, Customs, Superstitions

114 According to Rodriguez the Paez did not know of any reli-
771 gion. But this is diametrically opposed to Castillo's repeated mention of pagan rites still practised among his flock. Moreover, it is not reasonable to suppose that these Indians would have lived in close contact with the Kitšua, who were veritable sun-worshippers, without being influenced by their beliefs.

771 *Itaki*, the sun, was worshipped at special shrines built on the
786 cut-off summits (*itaki finó*) of high mountains. At certain dates,
821 fixed by their priests (*dixi*) in accordance with their omens, they
[787] congregated at these places and for many consecutive days gave themselves up to chicha drinking and all the lubric manifestations provoked by drunkenness. On these occasions no blood relation was respected; nor was there any limit to adultery. Later, after the missionaries had undertaken their civilizing work, the Indians secretly continued these hideous practices; indeed, it is even asserted that they have not yet given them up completely, although they may not commit the excesses that were formerly attributed to them, as such would be contrary to their present ideal standards.

535 Dances played an important part in all the diversions of the Paez. They were of several kinds, varying with the occasion. Castillo mentions the *gucio-kó*, money-begging dance (baile de
[534] pedir dinero), or *šita-ko* (sea-shell dance, baile de caracol), in which two sea-shells (bocinas), the one giving a low tone (bajon destemplado) and the other the treble, were played alternately for whole nights, remembering, "(a los cristianos) la noche de la prision de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, i á los indios, la chicha, baile i maldades que ejecutan." Other dances of which we generally have no description were *onza-kó*, the mouse dance; *neui-kó*, the buzzard dance; *itsa-ko*, the puberty dance of females, to which allusion has already been made (page 314); *etš-kobi-ko*, the dance of the phantom reed; *tel-kobi-ko*, the dance of the long reed, or war-dance; *la-ko* the new-house dance; *himb-ko*,

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

the drum-dance, in which the women sang to the accompaniment of a drum; *vito-ko*, or *fits-ko*, the stick-dance, etc. 535

In addition to the shells and reeds, the Indians also accompanied their dances with a kind of drum (*kimb*), consisting of a long wooden trough hung by its extremities; and the *tsoots*, or rattle, a calabash containing small stones or hard canna seeds and provided with a handle. 535 534

According to Castillo the Paez had also other deities, corresponding somewhat to the lares of the ancient Latins, carved images of which were often found in the houses. The *dizi*, who were at one time priests, sorcerers, and medicine-men, lived in retirement and were considered as the keepers of the doctrines of a traditional civilizer of the nation, called *Guckinii*. So strong was their influence in Castillo's time that he complains rather bitterly about it, and proceeds to explain how the true God, wishing to free the Paez from such a devilish guide, simply employed a subterfuge to drown him in the Paez river, together with two of his apostles! 776 778 [79]

The belief in a future existence is indicated, as Uricoechea relates, by the fact that the Indians never molested white dogs, in order that they might not be bitten by them at the doors of the house beyond the grave. 825 795

There were birds and other signs of good or of evil omen. A woman would never step over a leather rope stretched on the ground, but would lift it up and pass beneath. During the construction of bridges, two men constantly beat the waters to frighten away evil spirits. The death of a person was often attributed to witchcraft, and he whose face bore some likeness to that of the dead person was often regarded as the culprit, provided the patient in his cavings had not given the name of the supposed sorcerer. The soul of a cow whose fat had been used for illumination during religious ceremonies was believed to go directly to heaven: this last belief, however, must be of post-conquest origin. 787 761 754 825 774

Among themselves the Indians are jovial and contented. The approach of the men whom we often met on the trails around Huila was usually first detected by the sound of the 157 533 283

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273 take with him the "heart" of the aguardiente, thus reducing the
784 quantity and detracting from its quality, for it will be "cold

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273 and tasteless."

[784] The distillation is done on any day and at any hour; the tax collectors do not go this far; control of this kind has never been permitted, and anyone who dared to do it would risk his [186] life. Children drink this liquor from the age of three. Abstainers are inconceivable; "only Protestants do not drink," they conclude.

4:Bernal Villa--34 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

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346 meat and "mute," as well as more chicha and aguardiente.
794 After lunch the albacero goes home. There he waits for the
796 fiestero, who in the afternoon will bring him more chicha, more aguardiente, and more food.

796 A week after the cleaning of the church, the priest will
793 come to officiate at the religious ceremonies.

XIII

Instruments, Music and Dance

533 The musical groups of the Calderas people, true chirimías /a kind of orchestra/, are deservedly famous both for the number of the musicians and for the beauty of their interpretations. Many are soft and delicate, most of them sad tunes,
● 534 but there are joyous ones as well. The musical instruments are few.

The flute (kuvi), made of a reed some 70 centimeters long; it has seven holes made by burning: the one in the upper part which serves for blowing, and 35 centimeters farther down are found the others, which correspond to the fingers of the hands, at intervals of three centimeters apart. They distinguish two types of flutes: those that produce melodic sounds, kuvinéhuish (major flute) and those that produce low tones, kuvinuch (minor flute).

[281] The bass drum (kut), made with the skin from sheep, calf, goat, or deer, the hair of which has been removed by fermentation underground.

The tambourine, around the edge of which is put several pairs of movable circular pieces of tin which produce a rhythmic sound.

The side drum or snare drum and the triangle to mark the rhythm.

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●534 Some natives own and play guitars acquired in Popayán,
237 but there are some that they make themselves out of armadillo
439 shells.

The following are the compositions of ceremonial type
533 which are not accompanied by dancing.

/204/ /Illustration appears here./

Kulá ik kui (bull-slaughter-piece). Musical composition which is played at the moment of killing the beef to which the albacero and the laborers of the fiestero will be taken care of. Informants claim that this musical piece has no significance other than to entertain the people.

Plaza pá kui, a musical composition played when the musicians reach the church.

Misa kase kui, played when the Mass is over.

Chichi pékue kui, played when the meat is cut in pieces to treat the albacero. The workers place the chunks of meat on a trunk and cut them into small pieces with a machete /peinilla/.

There are other compositions peculiar to wedding ceremonies.

/205/ Novio mesa úku, played at the start of the wedding meal.

Úpiate kui, played halfway through the nuptial banquet.

Tunzi kamba kui, played at the close of the nuptial banquet.

All of these compositions are melodious and in 3/4 or 4/4 time.

The religious fiestas, mingas, weddings, and baptisms are occasions for music. There is no music at burials or at wakes for children.

[868] Musical compositions are learned from the "elders" out of personal interest. From childhood they learn how to play the bass drum, the side drum, and the triangle with great skill. They try the flute later. While rhythm instruments

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533 are played by a large number of people, those playing the melody (flutes) are few and usually restricted to a few families.

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533 The women do not play any musical instrument.

Secular singing is unknown; only religious songs are sung at the hours of prayer, the Mass, and the procession.

535 [171] The dancing of the Calderas people is stylized and very similar to the Colombian bambuco. It is danced by mixed couples, separately or joined together. As a rule the dancers take on a certain air of gravity and concentration, and the onlookers follow their movements attentively. The woman always

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231 796 At about ten o'clock in the morning the special guests of the fiestero get ready to kill the beef. They are four. The

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231 796 musicians intone the kula kui while other men begin to cut the long, [533] dry pieces of wood into small fragments. Woodcutters, slaughterers, and musicians all begin their activities at once. The wood will serve to roast the maize griddlecakes.

[825] One of the slaughterers gathers the blood in a pan, while another one holds the head and tries to cover the eyes; he believes that if he does not do so, some other cow will attack him when he goes to catch it.

/351 cont./

273 The maize is ground, and they cook the flour with plenty of water; this liquid is removed and put in a trough to ferment [272] for several days, adding panela to it. It is said that this chicha is tastier than guarapo, but that it does not inebriate and does not work satisfactorily; it serves only to quench thirst, like the "cola" (carbonated drink) of the "whites."

262 Peaches and apples are eaten in the regions where they are produced, and oranges as well, but in general the consumption of fruit is very low.

252 262 Guinea pigs are eaten when the family wants meat. They kill them by breaking their necks; then they wet them with cold water and put them in the embers of the fire in order to loosen the hide and skin them; they are washed, the entrails are removed, they are washed again, and then they are cooked in the pot of sancocho, mote, "sango," or maize-ball soup; some people eat the entrails, while others do not. The guinea pig is regarded as "tasty."

With chicken special attention is shown to favorite friends and to compadres, and mingas are held. At the fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, it is customary to eat chicken. After being plucked, the entrails are removed, it is washed, and it is cooked in the pot of sancocho or mote. The natives regard the leg as the best piece, and for this reason this is what they present to the elders (compadres, fathers, eldest sons); to the others they give a piece of breast or any other part. The head goes to the owner. The washed and cooked entrails are also distributed among all present. Turkeys and ducks are prepared and consumed in the same manner.

From the pig some organs are eaten roasted: pancreas, kidneys, intestines, and the meat of the backbone; the bacon 262 is kept to flavor food; the rest is eaten boiled. When a pig is killed out of the mere desire to use the meat, portions are distributed to the "elders" of the family (fathers-in-law, fathers, etc.), and the same thing is done when cattle is slaughtered. [237] From them they use the meat, the hide, and the horns for making [534] whistles which are blown when a house is being built in the [342] [234]

262 /351 cont./
[234] settlement and when they are dragging down /352/ the timber;
[237] the milk is not used, except in Mosoco, where we have seen
[534] that it is really consumed.
[342]

The Calderunos say that sheep are eaten frequently in the
[231] temperate regions such as Avirama and San Andrés, but few are consumed in Calderas; some say that sheep give wool for clothing. "Why eat them, when they provide ponchos," and others state that to eat mutton brings bad luck, because it would be like eating one's papa.

262 When there are visits by "elders" such as compadres, older
574 brothers, fathers-in-law, or own fathers, they are entertained ("cuida") with dishes different from the ordinary ones, based essentially around barnyard fowl and eggs. If there is meat, a large piece is cooked. The compadres, in turn, bring as a gift griddle-cakes (about 15), eggs (about 10), and frequently chickens.

262 There is no special diet for children; they eat exactly the
846 same as adults. There are differences of diet according to sex only when the woman has just given birth. Then, she is given ground maize, arracacha, manioc, ripe plantain, laying hens ("these
[261] are nice and fat"), and mutton. The mejicano is proscribed for them, because it brings cold into the stomach and gives much pain; onions, because they cause a stomach ailment and rot the in-
[844] testines; pork and the frijol bueno for the same reason. Peppers are also taboo for parturient women.

262 For hard labor, it is regarded as good to eat mote, with
263 cabbage, frijol bueno, and well salted, because it gives strength for the daily activities; if one eats the same thing (" a good dish"), but without salt, they say that one is already hungry by the middle of the day.

262 Foods regarded as aphrodisiacs are "sango," prepared with
832 finely ground and sifted maize, and raw eggs.

261 Of the foods that they eat, they believe that chicha and water are transformed into blood, and the maize, potatoes, frijoles, and arracacha into flesh.

To gain weight, they believe that it is necessary to eat and not to work, rather than to follow a special diet.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez
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PLATE 188.—**Quillacinga musicians.** *Top:* Musicians and banner carrier at Siburdoy dressed for fiesta. *Bottom:* Musicians dressed in ordinary clothes. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 -D]

?:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
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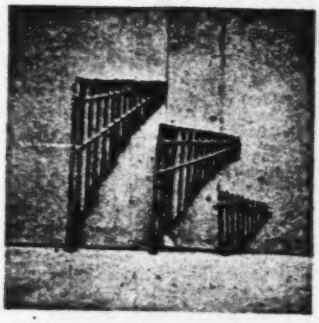

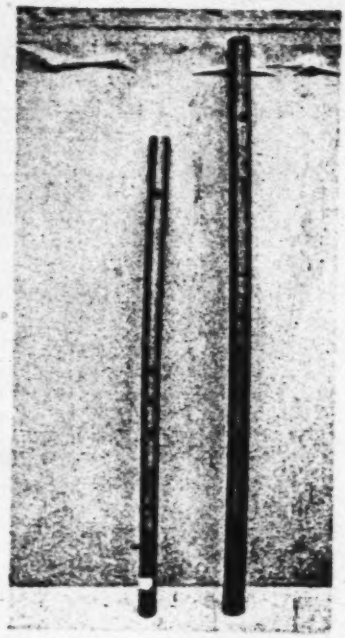

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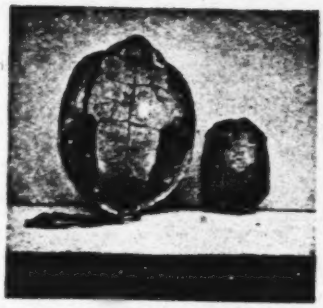

PLATE 189.—**Páez and Quillacinga musical instruments.** *Top: Páez* drums. *Center (left: Quillacinga* panpipes. *Bottom (left); Quillacinga* vibration instruments of turtle shell. *Bottom (right): Quillacinga* flutes. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942-E]

?tHernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
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ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Arts included sculpture, small, cast gold idols and figures, and painting. Their best known art objects are those decorated with lacquer or resin, found in the Timaná region, and the stylized representations of beings which women still weave on cotton sashes. 532 [3/4]

Music.—These tribes formerly played on trumpets, drums, large sea shells called "fotutos," cornets, and cane flutes. These instruments were played not only to accompany dances but also when going into battle. The sea shell trumpet was used during the Colonial Period but has been abandoned. The drums are made of hollowed trunks, and the drumheads of animal skins The flutes are made of cane, and vary in length and thickness. They are capable of such variation in tonality that the musical combination is pleasant to the ear. 534

A kind of orchestra, known as a "chirimía," today consists of a large drum to beat time, a small drum to play a rhythmic roll, and flutes to carry the tune. Each community has its orchestra, but every Indian is a flute player and loves to play his instrument when traveling over the hills. The music is nearly always sad and has absorbed some of the regional Colombian popular airs. It has few variations, and changes to a solemn tone on funerals. The *Pdez* love their own music so much that, instead of using the Gregorian music of the Catholic rites, they have imposed their own music on the religious ceremonies. Thus, at Mass, they play the special music used when an animal is to be killed and eaten. Other music accompanies the bursting of skyrockets and firecrackers. There is music for the Elevation, for the Creed, and for the Requiem Mass. Certain musical pieces are called simply "bambuco" (local airs), though they have some variations. 533 [177]

Native songs narrated the triumphs and feats in war, but none have been collected, and all are now forgotten. Today the Indians sing only some modern Colombian airs or religious songs. [177]

Dances.—Dances were very important to these Indians, being held for war, for religious ceremonies, for weddings, and for sexual initiation. During Colonial times, Del Castillo i Orozco reported the following dances, most of which, as their names show, apparently had not suffered any change under Spanish influence: 535

Gueyo coo, a dance to ask for money.
Vito coo, a dance of the rod or stick.
Xeita coo, a dance of sea shells or of the armadillo. It was accompanied by two sea shells of different tones.
Onso coo, a dance of rats.
Imegnuei coo, a dance of the sparrow hawk.
Ech covi coo, a dance of the phantom's flutes.
Bel covi coo, a dance for great festivities.
Quimb coo, a dance of the drum.
Itsa kó, added by Pittier de Fábrega, a dance of girls' puberty.

/189 cont./

b) Maturity

881 Today no rites or ceremonies for the youths take place any
[178] more. In former times they were led to the sacred lagoon of Juan
[778] Tama or to the heights of Cuetando, and there they had to build
a hut and lay out a small cornfield as proof of their capabilities
as a man and father of a household (Hernandez, 1944, p. 203).

[582] A girl comes of age with puberty, that is to say, she may
[836] marry. Before that and before marriage, intercourse is not per-
[535] mitted. On the occasion of the first menstruation in former times
a special dance was performed (itsa-kó), during which the young
girl was bathed naked in chicha in a pit outside the festival house
881 (Castillo i Orosco, p. 85). Today this no longer takes place;
285 rather, a girl, when she goes to the dúyat for the first time at
787 about 15 years of age, takes along agave fibers and during the
[178] approximately five days that she stays there plaits a very pretty,
[262] small fiber bag (yāhalečkwe) about the size of a fist. There
are no additional food prohibitions or similar things. After that
she goes to a distant river to bathe. On the way there she lets
the bag fall. A married man passing by lets it lie, for he knows
that it belongs to a young girl. A young man, however, who
happens to be coming that way sees the beautifully worked bag,
picks it up, and uses it as a small money-bag. Without knowing
who made the little bag, he will -- people are convinced -- marry
this girl.

/190/ c) Marriage

595 The present form of marriage of the Paez is monogamy.
114 H. Pittier de Fábrega (p. 314), however, concludes from their
traditions that the Paez were formerly polygamous and were con-
verted to monogamy only through education on the part of the
missionaries. I could find no clue in their mythology for actual
595 polygamy in former times. The social structure and way of life
591 of the Paez, however, prohibits living alone for unmarried girls.
[589] In case they have no relatives or do not find lodging in the house
of relatives, another man takes them into his family. The girl

/193 cont./

585 help. Since the young men almost never own their own cattle,
[422] they must earn the purchase price for this by the sale of agricul-
[432] tural products. Wheat is usually chosen for this, since it may be
[243] harvested half a year after sowing.

For the wedding celebration about 50 men and women are
585 invited, not only relatives, but also friends, among them the
608 sponsors (padrino, madrina) required for the church marriage service. They sit with the bridal couple (nikálo). The parents
[291] and guests on both sides arrange themselves informally. The
[431] padrino and madrina must give or loan the bridegroom and bride
[426] new clothes for this wedding day, but they differ from the ordinary
[301] everyday clo ing only in that they are newer and cleaner. No
585 special /194/ ornaments of any kind are put on by anyone. The wedding is celebrated in such a way that the church service takes place in the morning, after which the guests go to the wedding house accompanied by music and have a small midday meal, with which, however, only a little chicha is drunk. The festival ox is not yet slaughtered on this day, and not until the "actual" (as the Calderun say) wedding celebration, which takes place about a month later in the house of the bridegroom. The ox is slaughtered in the morning, and in the afternoon the guests arrive, sit down together informally, and eat and drink chicha and brandy copiously.
[533] Music is played for this, but no one dances to it. Before the eating
[535] begins, when all are still sober, the padrino makes a speech addressed to the bride and groom, in which he says approximately the following: You are now husband and wife, and you, as the husband, should not beat your wife, and you, as wife, should not use any bad words toward your husband. The husband should also not speak ill of his wife, and the wife should obey if the husband commands her to do something and should help him in all things! Then he takes the hand of the bride and gives it to the mother of the bridegroom, who speaks to the bride as follows: You have now been taken into our family and you are to work for your husband and cook his meals for him and make his clothes and arrange everything for him; in addition, you must help me in the house and carry out my instructions, as well as

/194 cont./

585 those of my husband, and you are not to say bad words either to your husband or to us!

The wedding celebration is as brilliant as possible, which means entertaining the guests lavishly as long as possible. In some families the celebration goes on for more than a week. [535] There is no dancing in Calderas, but in other Paez villages [177] Colombian folk dances, usually the open bambuco, are danced.

586 A dissolution of the marriage through divorce is said not to occur even among the non-Christian Paez. Also there is no separation of married people, since man and wife are dependent on each [837] other for economic reasons. Yet it not infrequently happens -- [848] as reported above -- that married men have children outside their marriage with other unmarried girls.

587 In case of the death of one partner, the surviving spouse may remarry. But whereas for the first marriage he merely could not marry a partner of the same name, in the second marriage he also may not marry a partner bearing the name of the deceased. Thus, for example, Juán Piñakué, who in his first marriage was wed to Ascensiona Kiskué, may not marry a Kiskué a second time.

589 /195/ Widowers continue to live in their houses and, if the 591 children are not yet grown, usually marry a second time; otherwise they live in the house of one of their grown sons. Widows, if [587] they are older, usually do not marry again. With their children they go back to where they came from, namely, the house of their parents. If the latter are no longer living, they have the right, for the time being, to live in the house of whichever brother happens to be living at the time in the house of the deceased father. If the house is no longer standing, the widow lives with one of her brothers or with other relatives. In any case, she cannot, as a woman, live alone in a house, but always only in one belonging to a man.

/196 cont./

764 It is dug out about 1.50 meters and at the bottom provided with
184 a lateral longitudinal niche about 40 centimeters high. This niche is generally hollowed out on the left side, but sometimes on the right. The body is laid in this, without the bier and without accessories, horizontally on its back, so that it no longer extends into the shaft of the grave. The shaft and the niche are, in addition, separated by vertical stakes and rods placed side by side so that the deceased cannot be touched by the earth filling the grave. On the latter, a stone about one meter high is placed at the head or foot end for identification.

[793] The priest is not present at a burial, nor is the shaman who
acts for the district of the deceased. The latter also does not
[756] enter a house in which there is a dead person. The participants in the funeral procession, men, women, and children, go to the graveyard together and then back again to the house of the deceased, where lavish entertainment with food, chicha, and brandy now follows. The latter was also drunk copiously on the way to and from the burial place. The mood during the entire time is
756 jolly and animated; people laugh and make jokes. Before the
764 participants enter the house upon their return from the burial,
783 they must go to the river where the shaman awaits them, in order
184 to "cleanse" them of the "pest" of the deceased for the first time (see "Religion"). Then they go together to the house of the deceased, which they may not enter, however, until the shaman has also cleansed this with the same remedies with which he freed the human beings of the "pest." These are water, to which special herbs and cow excrement are added, sprinkled everywhere, as well as brandy, which, mixed with herbs, the shaman squirts everywhere.

764 In Togoima we were able to take part in the burial of two
184 small children (angelitos). The graves of the cemetery in this town all have an east-west direction. The niche is always at the left, the body lies on its back with the head toward the west. The size of the grave required is measured with a bamboo stick that is
[273] as long as the deceased. Before the burial, there is drinking,
[535] music, and dancing in the house. /197/ Music is also played at
[533] the burial and on the way to the graveyard.

P /197 cont./

184 764 533 535 S 764 533 535 C 123

In this respect Calderas differs from all the other Indio or colonist towns known to me, for there neither music nor dancing is done on the occasion of a death. Both are done at the death of an "angelito," not only among the Paez living in the vicinity of colonists, but, above all, among the white and mixed-colored colonists. Thus, on January 1, 1953, soon after our arrival in the archeological park of San Andrés, two small girls of the neighborhood came to us and asked if I would photograph the "little angel." At first I was annoyed, for a short time before a group of children had come, carrying a doll on a flower-bedecked tray from house to house, and they presented it to us, too, as the child Jesus who was collecting contributions for the mass that was to take place on January 6. The girls told me, however, that this little angel was the deceased, two-months-old child of the colonists in the neighboring house, whose mother had already washed and adorned it beautifully. The house was 20 meters away from our own, and even from our door one could already hear jolly music from the neighboring house, such as we had already heard at Christmas and at the New Year's Eve celebration. In the house a large number of neighbors and relatives were gathered in the same room in
C [534] which the child was laid out. People were laughing, drinking, singing, and dancing. The orchestra -- as always -- consisted of a guitar, a mandola, and rumba balls, and the usual musicians played in it. One of them was the father of the dead child, a second one, its uncle. Astonished at the bustle, I asked the mother whether she was not a little sad over the loss of her child. She admitted that she was, but at the same time said that her child was now a little angel and this was grounds for joy and dancing. I asked up to what age deceased children are called "little angels." I was told that if they are not yet two or three years old they "are" little angels and not merely called that. The small child, whom they always referred to only as the little angel, was laid out in the room on a table, flowers lay all around it, and at its
C head stood an image of the Virgin Mary with four candles in front
[273] of it. The people were not yet quite sober from New Year's Eve and already the inevitable liquor bottle was making the rounds again. On the next day the burial by the relatives took place.

S /197 cont./
764 The child had been laid in a coffin which was painted on the out-
C side with stars. The female relatives had made a so-called "canopy,"
123 /198/ a pole two meters high, on the tip of which was fastened a white hoop decorated with flowers, from which hung eleven colored paper streamers, one of which was carried by each of the participants. I, too, was asked to take one, and then we set out -- without the mother of the deceased child -- with music, for the graveyard where the small coffin was opened once more and then lowered
P into the earth without formality.

764 Among the Paez of Togoima, too, there is drinking, dancing,
184 and singing at the death of a child, and here, too, the mother does
[273] not take part in the burial at the graveyard. The body is carried
[533] by a woman -- usually the godmother -- in a small sedan chair of
[535] bamboo, accompanied by the music of drum, timpano, and flute,
[608] to the burial place where several men have already scooped out a grave with the lateral niche (Ills. 204 and 207 /see pp. 290 and 291/). The deceased child has a few flowers in its mouth. It is wrapped in a cloth and is laid in a recumbent position, along with a bouquet of flowers, in the niche, which is separated from the shaft by the rods of the sedan chair placed vertically side by side. The earth thrown into the pit is stamped down very firmly with posts.

P In Calderas, too, the mother of a "little angel" to be buried
[608] does not go along to the graveyard. The small corpse is carried by the godmother, not in a sedan chair, but simply wrapped in a cloth, on her arm.

The burial of the Christian Indios of San Andrés shows transi-
P tions in the shape of the grave from the Paez niche-grave to the
[674] simple, rectangular pit of the other Christians. We took part in the burial of the capitan who had been stabbed by his drunken son during a quarrel. The direction of the grave in the cemetery of San Andrés is always east-west; the head lies on the west side with the ground sloping upward. Instead of a lateral niche, a trapezoidal hollow about 50 centimeters deep is dug at the bottom of the shaft, which is covered horizontally by bamboo put so closely together that no earth can fall down, and the corpse is practically just as well

/287 cont./

4. Music

533 In no area of Paez culture is poverty evident to such an ex-
535 tent as in song and dance, the predominant expressions of the character and spirit of all peoples. No peculiar dance is per-
[173] formed among the /288/ Paez, and I heard no song sung. This undoubtedly represents an impoverishment, for it may be seen
533 from the folklore that in former times there was dancing. A similar conclusion must also be drawn about the playing of very
[173] agreeable music. Their knowledge of music, however, makes it
[181] highly probable that song also existed, especially among a people
[581 521 522 192] that is basically jolly and constantly disposed to jest. In fact, it is very difficult for a girl who is slow in jocular conversation to get a husband. And to my question about the Paez word for "sing house" listed in Uricoechea, the amiable Victoriano, to his own great surprise, was immediately able to give me a special word in his language, "mémyat."

534 It is not possible to say with certainty which of the musical instruments used by the Paez today is an original one. The ab-
[171] sence of any kind of rattle, the outstanding instrument of the American natives, is surprising (*).

> * Pittier de Fábrega (p. 325) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 326/, however, mentions among the musical instruments of the Paez a rattle (tsoóts) in the form of a calabash with a handle, which was filled with small stones. Whether this may not perhaps be an instrument of the Negroes of Belalcázar is still undecided.

534 The cow horn (kǎčn) found in every house is not in the true
202 sense a musical instrument, but one for signaling. It is completely undecorated and, consisting of a horn sawed off at the tip, gives only one tone, which is produced in the same manner as the tone of a bugle or fanfare. This horn is used by the men when they come down from the mountains after a joint felling of the trees needed for housebuilding, in order to notify the village of their return.

P /291 cont./
533 properly with their instruments and simply uniformly beat sixteenths.
[177] Thus it seems that the melody is more original and hence more
534 firmly anchored in the tradition of the Paez, and that with the borrowing of the drum, the corresponding modern rhythm was also
C 533 adopted. This has been corroborated for me by an observation per-
534 taining to the music of the Negroes of Tumaco in the Colombian
[177] port city on the Pacific coast. There, among the descendants of onetime slaves, West African musical instruments with corresponding Negro designations are still in use today, among others the xylophone-like marimba and two drums, the conical konuno with skin stretched over one side and the cylindrical bass drum covered with skin on both sides, the bombo. The latter shows the same type of stretching as the Paez bass drum and is also played with two drumsticks, one of which, provided with a raw-rubber knob, is struck on the skin and the other, a simple stick, on the frame of the body of the drum.

P 533 The musicians are always men. They play the music as
[462] amateurs who learn one or another instrument because they have taken a fancy to it. The drum is the more popular instrument, whereas flutists are less numerous and primarily limited to certain families.

P The dances danced today, which, by the way, not everyone
● 535 masters, correspond to the Colombian bambuco, though they do
[171] not show the dexterity and lightness of movement required for that, such as is found among the Colombian rural population in other parts of the country.

P By way of a note, there should be cited the dances which H.
535 Pittier de Fabrega (based on E. Castillo i Orosco) mentions for the
114 Paez and which in some of the designations, point to an independent culture: onza-kó, /292/ "mouse dance," nwi-kó "buzzard dance," itsa-kó, puberty dance of the girls, eč-koi-kó, dance of the spirit-flute, tel-koi-kó, dance of the long flute or war dance, la-kó, dance to dedicate a house, etc.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

314 fortunately the tree is being rapidly destroyed, either in the gathering of the wax or through clearing for cultivation.

Religion, Customs, Superstitions

114 According to Rodriguez the Paez did not know of any reli-
771 gion. But this is diametrically opposed to Castillo's repeated mention of pagan rites still practised among his flock. Moreover, it is not reasonable to suppose that these Indians would have lived in close contact with the Kitšua, who were veritable sun-worshippers, without being influenced by their beliefs.

771 *Itaki*, the sun, was worshipped at special shrines built on the
786 cut-off summits (*itaki finó*) of high mountains. At certain dates,
821 fixed by their priests (*diχi*) in accordance with their omens, they
[787] congregated at these places and for many consecutive days gave themselves up to chicha drinking and all the lubric manifestations provoked by drunkenness. On these occasions no blood relation was respected; nor was there any limit to adultery. Later, after the missionaries had undertaken their civilizing work, the Indians secretly continued these hideous practices; indeed, it is even asserted that they have not yet given them up completely, although they may not commit the excesses that were formerly attributed to them, as such would be contrary to their present ideal standards.

535 Dances played an important part in all the diversions of the Paez. They were of several kinds, varying with the occasion. Castillo mentions the *gucio-kó*, money-begging dance (baile de pedir dinero), or *šita-ko* (sea-shell dance, baile de caracol), in
[534] which two sea-shells (bocinas), the one giving a low tone (bajon destemplado) and the other the treble, were played alternately for whole nights, remembering, "(a los cristianos) la noche de la prision de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, i á los indios, la chicha, baile i maldades que ejecutan." Other dances of which we generally have no description were *onza-kó*, the mouse dance; *neui-kó*, the buzzard dance; *itsa-ko*, the puberty dance of females, to which allusion has already been made (page 314); *ctš-kobi-ko*, the dance of the phantom reed; *tel-kobi-ko*, the dance of the long reed, or war-dance; *la-ko* the new-house dance; *himb-ko*,

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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the drum-dance, in which the women sang to the accompaniment of a drum; *vito-ko*, or *fits-ko*, the stick-dance, etc. 535

In addition to the shells and reeds, the Indians also accompanied their dances with a kind of drum (*kimb*), consisting of a long wooden trough hung by its extremities; and the *tsoits*, or rattle, a calabash containing small stones or hard canna seeds and provided with a handle. 535 534

According to Castillo the Paez had also other deities, corresponding somewhat to the lares of the ancient Latins, carved images of which were often found in the houses. The *dixi*, who were at one time priests, sorcerers, and medicine-men, lived in retirement and were considered as the keepers of the doctrines of a traditional civilizer of the nation, called *Gnckian*. So strong was their influence in Castillo's time that he complains rather bitterly about it, and proceeds to explain how the true God, wishing to free the Paez from such a devilish guide, simply employed a subterfuge to drown him in the Paez river, together with two of his apostles! 776 778 [79]

The belief in a future existence is indicated, as Uricoechea relates, by the fact that the Indians never molested white dogs, in order that they might not be bitten by them at the doors of the house beyond the grave. 825 795

There were birds and other signs of good or of evil omen. A woman would never step over a leather rope stretched on the ground, but would lift it up and pass beneath. During the construction of bridges, two men constantly beat the waters to frighten away evil spirits. The death of a person was often attributed to witchcraft, and he whose face bore some likeness to that of the dead person was often regarded as the culprit, provided the patient in his gravings had not given the name of the supposed sorcerer. The soul of a cow whose fat had been used for illumination during religious ceremonies was believed to go directly to heaven: this last belief, however, must be of post-conquest origin. 787 761 754 825 774

Among themselves the Indians are jovial and contented. The approach of the men whom we often met on the trails around Huila was usually first detected by the sound of the 157 533 283

/205 cont./

533 are played by a large number of people, those playing the melody (flutes) are few and usually restricted to a few families.

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533 The women do not play any musical instrument.

Secular singing is unknown; only religious songs are sung at the hours of prayer, the Mass, and the procession.

•535 [171] The dancing of the Calderas people is stylized and very similar to the Colombian bambuco. It is danced by mixed couples, separately or joined together. As a rule the dancers take on a certain air of gravity and concentration, and the onlookers follow their movements attentively. The woman always

/205 cont./

535 keeps her head low, with her eyes on the ground, attentive to the musical notes which she seems to interpret with her movements. One foot forward, then one back, in swift alternation; she suddenly stands in her partner's way, then does an about-face. She keeps her arms motionless against her abdomen.

The man, on his part, dances with his forehead held high, his arms motionless against his thighs, his face joyous. From time to time he shouts: "Viva the Conservative Party!" or "Viva el Cauca!"

It is customary for the fiestero and the albacero to dance with each other's wives, after their respective "care."

535 It is the rule for the newlyweds and the sponsors to open
608 the dancing at weddings. In the midst of the dancing and at
585 different times the bride and groom kneel before their sponsors /padrinos/ to receive /recitarles/ the blessing, the bride before the padrino and the groom before the madrina. The latter
[576] bless them and give them their hands to help them rise. After the dance of the newlyweds and the sponsors, the others present may dance, and in the midst of the dancing they, too, greet one another /206/ by placing the right hand over the other person's left shoulder and pressing it.

535 Although one colonial writer speaks of specific dances, nowadays they are only a memory; it is said that there is performed in Avirama the dance of the little bird (vicha ku), danced by young girls at dawn. Calderas informants say that it is very ugly and for this reason they do not dance it. It may possibly correspond to the Itza-ko noted by Pittier de Fábrega

XIV

The Great Day

796 Before dawn raises its pale face above the black rims of the eastern peaks, the women have already left their hard beds

/214 cont./

796 and their respective wives do the honors of the table. With
574 the etiquette and courtesies already mentioned, the gift is
[576] presented to them and the corresponding distribution is made.
[431] /215/ The laborers and the fiesteros move from the sala
[576] to the kitchen and from there to the sala. "Guechi pikin ustau" (we are coming along), they say, upon entering the ñuhne wala. "Anjiha," reply those present.

The kitchen is full of prepared food, and the women are busy filling plates of various sizes; large ones, others medium-sized, and the smallest. The distributors are in charge of handing them out to the recipients. This time they will serve three different dishes:

[262] 1st, maize griddlecakes and meat; 2nd, stew made with bananas, potatoes, arracacha, and chopped meat; and 3rd, yuca, raw and cooked cabbage, and meat.

The albacero and wife and the síndico and spouse are congratulated with a bowlful of each of these three "courses." The mayordomos receive a smaller amount, and the rest of those present plates for everyday consumption.

Of these "courses," only the last one is distributed when there are many persons present. Everyone is equipped with a pouch. They sip the broth, squeeze out the solid food with their hands, and store it away in it. Drunkenness and fatigue permit little talk.

After eating, or rather, after having collected food, the
[535] music sounds. The fiestero and albacero dance with each other's wives. They carry lighted candles in their hands. The dance is slow, deliberate, halting. At the end, they all go to the house of the second fiestero to give him the church banners. He will repeat the same religious and social acts, with the same etiquette and the same courtesies.

/329 cont./

476 The master of the minga kills a head of cattle or, more
241 commonly, a pig. He prepares a trough of chicha (fermented sugar-cane juice), several bottles of aguardiente, an arroba of mote (maize skinned with ashes), and procures a few pounds of coca. He invites the men of his choice. At dawn on the day agreed upon for the job, all those invited, with their tools on their shoulders, proceed with shouts to the house of the minguero. There they are given one egg (25) of coca, chicha, and a dish of

25. Measure of weight equivalent to a hen's egg.

476 mote with meat. At 8:00 A.M. they are all at work. Up to
461 30 laborers attend. They take along to the place of the work
241 calabashes of chicha to drink during the rest periods, which correspond exactly to the "botada de la mambeada" /taking the chew of coca/. In the course of the day they have three mambeadas, and thus three rest periods. They more or less coincide with 10:00 A.M., 12:00 noon, and 2:00 P.M. During these rest periods they sit, talk, laugh, drink /330/ chicha, and soon go back to the work enthusiastically. They do it steadily and diligently.
476 No one talks then. At 4:00 P.M. they leave work and go to the
241 house of the minguero, where their respective wives are already. Everyone receives chicha and aguardiente. Then the food, consisting of a large wooden platter full of mote, stew /revuelto/ with frijoles, arracacha, plantains, and three pieces of meat. Since they cannot eat all this, they put it in fique knapsacks to
[782] take it to their respective homes. After eating, they pray, always invoking the deceased relatives of the minguero, whether
[273] they be ancestors, collaterals, or descendants. Then, they re-
[535] ceive new gourds of chicha until they are drunk. Very often
[578] they dance. There is no lack of fighting on these occasions.
476 According to an informant from Calderas, one minga with
435 15 laborers costs the following:

7tHernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

The *Páez* family is completely under the authority of the father, whose wife and children obey him implicitly and may be punished by him. Nonetheless, the father must obtain his wife's permission to sell or exchange goods she produced, such as bags for coca, sashes, etc. Precise etiquette is maintained between fathers and godfathers (compadres). Whenever a man meets his father or his godfather, he must kneel to receive his blessing. The fathers and godfathers must embrace whenever they meet. In one case a young man was the godfather of his father's new son by another wife, so that in meeting his father the young man had to kneel bareheaded, and then stand with his hat on and embrace his father as a godparent. The father did not call him "son" but "compadre." 594 [425] 608 576

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—A very old custom among these peoples is that at childbirth the mother should retire to a special house or go to the mountains. If she was delivered in the home, she and the baby were bathed, and then the family left the hut and built a new one elsewhere. 844

Today both the *Moguex* and *Páez* have a special hut for childbirth. The day after the child is born, the mother is placed in a hole up to her head and bathed with an infusion of leaves of "moquita," after which she washes the clothes and objects worn during delivery. She then returns to work and lives again at home. In the special hut, a *Páez* woman is assisted in childbirth by another woman, or, as a last resort, by her husband, who must bathe immediately afterward. Two days later, the mother circumcises her son or destroys the virginity of her daughter. Four or five days after the birth and after the first bath, the father takes the child to the sacristan of the community for baptism with water, and then returns it to the mother. The afterbirth must be buried or burned at the place of the birth. About 15 days later, the mother takes a bath and washes her child and her clothes and objects, and returns home. Later, the child is baptized with oil in the church by the priest with the godparents present. This is an occasion for general dancing and drunkenness. 846 [757] [343] [844] [304] [851] [844] [851] [608]

Puberty.—At puberty a girl was formerly taken by her parents to a hill, placed in a hole, and bathed. Each Indian then took her a gift. Pittier de Fábrega (1907) notes that at a later period a girl's puberty was celebrated with the "Itsa-kó" dance, the girl, bathed with chicha, remaining in the hole. Today, a woman must retire during her menstrual periods to a special hut, where other women bring her food and build a fire to warm her. Afterward, she bathes, washes her clothes and objects, and then returns home. 881 [431] [535] 841 343

Men, until recently, underwent a sort of initiation, in which they were taken to the shores of the sacred lagoon of Juan Tama or to the 881

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

The graves were "large and deep," and chiefs were buried with some of their wives and with food and chicha (Cieza, 1932, ch. 32). 764 766

In Colonial times, according to Del Castillo, the *Páez* removed a dying person from his hut but burned the house if anyone died in it. They had given up cremation, however, and buried in the earth, building a fence around the grave. Today, they cover the corpse with a white shroud and place it in the middle of the house with candles and flowers. Here it is watched over one night by relatives and friends, and then buried in a cemetery, where each relative tosses some earth into the grave saying, "Go with God." The mourners then bathe in the river without disrobing, and in the evening hold a banquet with chicha, sancocho (vegetable stew), meat, and tortillas. For 9 days a cross, a container of water, and a candle must be kept on the deceased's bed, the water being kept there so that the soul may drink. The relatives pray every night. A month after the death, a shaman purifies the house. The relatives and friends kill a pig, cut it lengthwise in two halves, one for the shaman, the other for the ceremonial banquet. The shaman sweeps the house floor with the pig's legs and some special branches, which are later buried. He chews coca, says some unintelligible words, and spits leaves on the house walls. The residents and guests then enter the house for the final proof of purification. The shaman, standing in the center of the house, gives a dog half a tortilla. If the dog does not die, he divides the other half among those present. He does the same with a piece of cooked meat, and if the dog still does not die, he blows chicha in all directions in the hut, and then divides what remains with those present. The hut and food are then declared clean The food is then eaten and much chicha drunk. 178 764 [763] 765 764 765 756 783

The modern burial customs of the *Moguex* differ somewhat from those of the *Páez*. The former dance for 9 days before and after burying a dead child. Because of the special ceremonies for adults, young Indians gather and prepare wood to be burned at their own funerals. When an adult dies, relatives and friends bring wood, food, and money to the house, and work for his family, who pray and weep for 3 days over the body. On the fourth day, they carry the body in a procession to the cemetery. Upon passing a house or inn where the deceased was accustomed to take chicha, they stop and drink. The burial procedure is like that of the *Páez*. Back at the house, they purify the objects used by the deceased over the fire, and leave his clothes and the hide he used as a bed at the river 9 days, after which they may be used. Meanwhile, the guests remain with the deceased's family, helping them. On the 9th day, they extinguish all lights and go to the nearest hill to mourn, while a shaman remains in the house to catch the soul of the deceased. He chews coca, spits it in all directions, and beats around with sticks to make the soul come out. Then he lights 764 184 [766] [535] [295] [783] 765 756 787 775 184

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Mogner

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Arts included sculpture, small, cast gold idols and figures, and painting. Their best known art objects are those decorated with lacquer or resin, found in the Timaná region, and the stylized representations of beings which women still weave on cotton sashes. 532 [314]

Music.—These tribes formerly played on trumpets, drums, large sea shells called "fotutos," cornets, and cane flutes. These instruments were played not only to accompany dances but also when going into battle. The sea shell trumpet was used during the Colonial Period but has been abandoned. The drums are made of hollowed trunks, and the drumheads of animal skins The flutes are made of cane, and vary in length and thickness. They are capable of such variation in tonality that the musical combination is pleasant to the ear. 534

A kind of orchestra, known as a "chirimía," today consists of a large drum to beat time, a small drum to play a rhythmic roll, and flutes to carry the tune. Each community has its orchestra, but every Indian is a flute player and loves to play his instrument when traveling over the hills. The music is nearly always sad and has absorbed some of the regional Colombian popular airs. It has few variations, and changes to a solemn tone on funerals. The *Páez* love their own music so much that, instead of using the Gregorian music of the Catholic rites, they have imposed their own music on the religious ceremonies. Thus, at Mass, they play the special music used when an animal is to be killed and eaten. Other music accompanies the bursting of skyrockets and firecrackers. There is music for the Elevation, for the Creed, and for the Requiem Mass. Certain musical pieces are called simply "bambuco" (local airs), though they have some variations. 533 [177]

Native songs narrated the triumphs and feats in war, but none have been collected, and all are now forgotten. Today the Indians sing only some modern Colombian airs or religious songs. [177]

Dances.—Dances were very important to these Indians, being held for war, for religious ceremonies, for weddings, and for sexual initiation. During Colonial times, Del Castillo i Orozco reported the following dances; most of which, as their names show, apparently had not suffered any change under Spanish influence: 535

Guaya coo, a dance to ask for money.
Vito coo, a dance of the rod or stick.
Xeila coo, a dance of sea shells or of the armadillo. It was accompanied by two sea shells of different tones.
Ouse coo, a dance of rats.
Imaguaci coo, a dance of the sparrow hawk.
Ech cuei coo, a dance of the phantom's flutes.
Bel cuei coo, a dance for great festivities.
Quimb coo, a dance of the drum.
Itsa hó, added by Pittier de Fábrega, a dance of girls' puberty.

7:Hemández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

535 There is much dancing today. The sexes perform in couples or separately. Among the *Moguex*, some of the expert dancers are paid to dance with all couples in a sort of "bambuco." Dancing is always a part of *Páez* ceremonies for the death of children, baptismals, weddings, saint holidays, and meetings for collective work (mingas) held in the evening when people return from their plantations.

Dancing, as other social events, is subject to a special ceremony [585] or etiquette, strongly connected with religious beliefs. For example, in the wedding celebration, a prayer is first said in which the souls of [608] the dead are asked permission to dance, or "scrape the floor," as they call dancing. Only the godparents and the bride and groom may [527] dance at the beginning.

526 The *Páez* do not masquerade, but the *Moguex* always masquerade during the period of carnival preceding Holy Week.

[524] **Games.**—Games do not hold an important place among these peoples. The children amuse themselves by imitating the activities [857] of their elders. The only game recorded is simulated warfare, performed as a part of a rite in honor of the dead after a communal [769] feast. Two teams under their captains or caciques attacked and shot arrows at each other. Even if some contestants were killed or wounded, no one bore a grudge.

276 **Narcotics.**—The *Páez* and the *Moguex* chewed coca leaves mixed in the mouth with lime powder. Coca chewing is widespread among men, but very little practiced by women. It is used especially by [756] the shaman when he is practicing. In Colonial times the use of coca [177] spread to the rural population of Mestizos and Whites in Nariño, Cauca, and Huila.

273 **Alcoholic beverages.**—These Indians formerly made chicha of maize, but today they ferment it with sugarcane molasses. They also have [178] fermented sugarcane juice (guarapo), and a sort of rum (aguardiente). The latter is distilled clandestinely in their huts from guarapo and certain herbs fermented together in earthenware crocks. The Indians drink guarapo every day, but restrict the use of chicha and the stronger guarapo and aguardiente to market days, religious feast days, burials, weddings, mingas or meetings for work, and witchcraft [462] ceremonies. Guarapo and chicha are made by women, who sometimes chew the maize to increase its fermentation. They are stored in large, hollowed tree trunks and in large earthen jars, which are kept in a special place in the hut. There is never a lack of these beverages for home use and for welcoming an unexpected visitor.

RELIGION

175 The early Spaniards had little understanding of the religion of these 771 people. They reported that the Indians had but few idols and no temples or places of worship. Castillo mentions that they wor-

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[For information on the use of the vacaloca in the Paez fiesta of San Juan, see category 796.]

/208 cont./

796 through the village and meet in front of the festival house for a
[994] ceremonial salutation. They exchange brandy, chicha, and candles, each giving the other exactly the same thing /209/ that
[537] he himself receives. After they have mutually complimented each
[431] other sufficiently, they turn to the bystanders, make a short speech to the effect that everyone should enjoy himself, and dis-
796 tribute everything to the people standing around. Soon afterward
532 all gather on the plaza in front of the church, where now the "vacaloca" is lighted. This "crazy cow" consists of a number of flexible twigs bent into semicircles and held together on the underside by cross-rods; they are fastened one behind the other, which gives the structure the shape of a half-cylinder. This is covered with a cowhide and forms the body of the crazy cow. On one end is fastened a cow's skull modeled out of bast and newspaper to look as real as possible, and on the other end, a stick wound with agave fiber as a tail. A strong young man takes the frame of the cow on his shoulders and it is then lit at the specially prepared places on horns and tail. While music is played, the young man goes across the square in a zigzag, during which the young people try to tease the cow, while it, in turn, tries to get the bold ones on its horns. The meaning of this game is not clear to the Paez. It looks as though it were a poorly understood imitation of a popular bullfight.

796 Everybody now returns to the festival houses, where the musicians have taken their places on a bench on the narrow end of the festival house. The women squat in one corner in a large
[273] group with their children. And then begins the feast, at which everyone, men, women, and children, may eat and drink as much as he is able, with the exception of the fiesteros, who have the sole right to pour the chicha and brandy and do not themselves become intoxicated, in order to be able to carry out their duty well. The festival guests do not go home for the duration of the festival, but eat, drink, and sleep in the festival houses, stretched out full length on the floor wherever they happen to be. The festival goes on with more or less intensity -- as far as eating and drinking are concerned -- throughout the entire week; at any rate, no one works, but at most goes from house to house "pasnyándo."

/290/

114 us nothing about the religion and mythology of the Paez. Nor
773 do systematic modern studies exist. Nor do those who have had the opportunity to be in contact with them and to describe their customs and ways of life tell us about their religion and mythology. Furthermore, there are those who state that the Paez have no mythology. José Pérez de Barradas collected the myth of Juan Tama. Gregorio Hernández de Alba refers to it, and the Lazarist missionary Fr. David González also collected it and has it in his unpublished work, Los Paeces /The Paez/, in quite elaborate and synthetical form, as does G. Burg. It is obvious that a large part of the myths and tales which I am presenting, not to say all of them, have suffered modifications in the avatar of time, as the institutions also changed. Since mythology is the rationalization of conflicts created by the culture itself, it is subject to the directives /291/ of that society and culture. Its roots are inevitably of a sociological and cultural nature.

773 Many of the myths collected have a marked similarity to
776 that of Juan Tama. The predominant central motifs refer to
538 sex and aggression. The personages in the myths are Thunder, Llíban, Juan Chiracol, Chaute, and Santo Tomás. Llíban is regarded as Thunder's son, but everyone maintains that he is Thunder himself; he was a cacique, and the natives state that many of their caciques took refuge in the turbulent waters of the river. The last two personages merge and in reality form a single being. It is to be noted that in some accounts the tricky personage presented is not Tomás, who is a saint, but Pedro Dimales, his brother.

186 There is no need to emphasize the role played by the Pijao
773 in these accounts. The recollection of this people inured to
628 war is still fresh in the memory of the Calderunos, the characteristics of the struggle sustained against them still manifest, the fear that the name Pijao awakened still alive. To the Calderun mentality they seem like monsters, like animals of uncommon size and power, who drew fire from their armpits.

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

/291 cont./

773 They are in fact legendary personages who go beyond the
[186] boundaries of legend to enter the territory of myth, not only
[628] by their symbolism, but in their dramatic force, their sociological framework, and their cultural function.

The mythology gravitates around the behavior of the natives, their attitudes toward the whites, the organization of the cabildo, illnesses, and death. Of Juan Chiracol, a 23-year-old informant says: "He warns when the mob is coming, he no longer warns, so." And of Thunder, it is said that he almost killed a padre because he went to the montaña to get wood to board up the school. "Thunder was defending the
538 wood," they say. The tales were always told around the fire,
773 with men, women, and children present, who sometimes laughed, at other times kept silent, but always corroborated, corrected, elaborated, or confirmed. The storytellers sometimes put on a serious face, accompanied their tale with mimicry, and once in a while they would burst into mocking laughter, as if to signify that what they were saying was worthless and they did not believe it. I was soon able to ascertain
115 their sociological and cultural value. The myths and tales
773 were collected with the help of an interpreter, a mestizo from San Andrés, about 35 /292/ years old, tall, muscular, quiet in manner, intelligent, calculating, with great charm and a knowledge of Paez and the Spanish language; he was familiar with the customs of the Calderunos, esteemed by them, and
773 skilled in his questioning. We present below the myths and
128 tales collected, leaving the other aspects of the culture for presentation in a complete monograph.

1. Thunder

*539 The old people related that at one time the area was full of Pijao. Thunder lived in Sukafi. In view of the growing number of Pijao, he decided to kill them. He stood on a tall stone that is to be found there, threw his lariat /boleadora/

1: Nachtigall SC15 Paez SC15

539

/For information on Paez folklore, including examples of their tales, see category 116, pp. 215-238./

/190 cont./ The girl
595 then helps with household tasks and the father of the house may
591 have children by her, without his marrying the girl -- today at
178 any rate -- as his second wife in a regular marriage ceremony.
584 If a young man wants to marry, he speaks -- in the normal case -- to his father, and the latter with the father of his chosen one. Courtship through a third person outside the family is not customary, and the relatives on the two sides do not enter into communication with one another and exchange presents until after the official wedding ceremony. As a rule, the two young people have reached an agreement earlier, before the fathers speak to each other. The consent of the girl, however, is not required, for the agreement of the young man with the two fathers is fully adequate, and in this case the girl is given in marriage
584 even against her will. But this is said to be the case very rarely
754 or never, for it is dangerous for a girl to refuse a young man's
539 proposal of marriage. In this case he would spit and utter the following curse: "Toblel (untranslatable), I wanted to marry you, but you did not want it; now you must die!" I told the men of Calderas that I doubted whether this curse could have any effect, but then I was told the story of the girl who did not want to marry
[832] a Paez. This girl was very beautiful. (By the way, only unmarried girls are called beautiful; a married woman is never described as beautiful.) She was slightly fat -- being thin is regarded as ugly -- was always washed clean and well combed, and wore beautiful necklaces and earrings, handsomely woven clothing, and an exquisite belt that she herself wove. Many young men of Calderas wanted to marry her, but she did not want to marry a Calderun, only a white. She therefore left her village to go to Popayán (the only larger, well-known city). She walked very fast. On the way, however, in the páramo (bordering mountains) there was a Pijao. He /191/ seized her and took her into his house alive. There he kindled a fire, killed her, and devoured her. By way of explanation the storyteller added: A girl who does not want to marry a Calderun but a white, because the Calderun men are not handsome enough, would, on the way to

/191 cont./

584 the city, even before reaching it, be devoured by a Pijao. There-
754 fore, this has never been attempted by any girl. An example of
539 the opposite is instructive in this connection. Our Colombian
114 colleague, Segundo Bernal Villa, who lived in the park of San
584 Andrés with us and at the same time carried on his ethnological and sociological research in Calderas, had often mentioned, jokingly and in order to make himself popular, that he intended to look for a bride in Calderas. He was often seen with a pretty Calderun girl by the people in the village, as he conversed and went walking with her. One day when he presented her with a bottle of brandy, not knowing or not heeding the courtship custom connected with this, his joking was taken seriously and very much
[623] amiss. The girl was sentenced by the cabildo to severe corporal
[692] punishment and, after this was carried out, was married the next day to a young man of the village.

584 For the official offer of marriage, the father of the young
431 man goes to the house of the girl's parents. He takes along a gourd calabash with about ten liters of chicha and five bottles of brandy. First he converses only casually with the entire family of the girl for half an hour, many jokes are made, and they talk about this and that. Then he asks the girl's father whether his daughter would not like to marry his son. The parents reply that they have only one daughter and that unfortunately they cannot give her away, since they themselves need her so much. Thereupon they converse further, talk about this and that, and then the father of the young man asks a second time whether the daughter of the house would not like to marry his son. But this time, too, the father of the girl replies that he has but one daughter and can unfortunately not give her away. Then they talk some more, until the guest asks a third time: "Can you not give me your daughter for my son?" The father of the girl then replies: "Very well, I shall give my daughter to your son, but I expect him always to treat her well and not to speak ill of her!" Then the guest hands over the bottles of brandy which he brought along, the first to the father of the bride, the second to the mother of the bride, then the third to the bride, and then a bottle each to her brothers and sisters. He gives all the chicha that he brought to the bride's

/251/ d) Sample of the Language

nása šinyo

● 539 teč pítstega nása šinyo. kyáka yókso óço vítyin. tyíčaka pęlnílya yáçčaka óhon. kasěn kágač yóktę pěnyátę ópon.

çtę ópkok teč pipšáw koęs káko mbáston óro. čičaha óro mbastónasa kígwętę kyíkčaha. çtę ípyuka. ęčna kompténdšaha kělovíčaha. çtę pónzękaçtę īpç kodyíčaha. çtę ípyutka. šíčaha tandyín kaóho kyányo pipšáw kwés gayo. kwés noč gáyo kyásonka tandyínoho. šíčaha toló kaítońsyo. teč ol kaítońsyo. kya toló dyísa ipyúčaha çtę kak. çtę olnápa cak. kyáčkęna ōla ṅpág. tsē.

kyápkača nása šíha kya mbastonása kósehęn sóṅča. čičaha çte šínyošaha pelnílyasa kósętę āčaka
/252/ ší'nyo. šínaba ápka kya pipšábasa kya mbástonasa cósęhęn. sóṅčaka pipšábasa ap. tyígota kya pipšába toló yópas ṅmę. mbastónasa ṅmę wowóka.

kámbo nayát, wówoya púntçka. kyápkača nása šíha pipšáo ęstę ka wowonóso. pipšábasa ikěnyíhika. kyápa pipšába kámbos tyítmęka gwówo. gwętę yúčpa. kámbosa kyíkmęka.

tyányohá tek ęšnetç óta kawęwó. tek ęšnetç ótasko pénya wítstę zęta. kyápkača šíha çtę pęnyatwístę násayúča káčka. kyápkača pipšába pęnyakę ísaṅkéča ókwę gwálatę. kyíčaha yat teč óka.

kyápcača teč látotę pipšáosa kyíwęšinç káse kya šína ógweya. kyápkača kya šíha kítyen ši' nyóča šwénden wowóka. teč ešnétç ótatsko. kya ōl kākinyē kígwętey šwénden pāka.

šwénden pāčaha kya ōltyísa tęngen óṅsoka. násayúča. yáhapa ōnsóka. tólapa ōnsóka. óla sont otányišaka ōnso.

tyínapa fí'ndetsko yátęn óka. yáhasa tóṅgšaha nyó. táštępačaha kya yáhasa nyónaka tása ndók.

/252 cont./

Translation 1/1

The Human Jaguar

539 A man was a human jaguar. He went into the mountains to hunt. In walking he carried a knife in his hand. In order to rest, he sat down in the middle of the mountain that was there.

There came a Pijao, who was a member of the cabildo, with his golden staff of office. He set the gold staff on the ground. Then he lighted a fire. He stacked up wood to make a pile. Then he drew fire out of his armpits. Then he lighted it.

The human jaguar noticed that the one who was walking there was a Pijao, a member of the cabildo. He was a member of low rank, he noticed. Then (the Pijao) brought bananas, and he brought a snake. He roasted these bananas in the kindled fire. He also roasted the snake. Shortly thereafter the snake hissed. tsẽ.

The human jaguar pondered over how he might get hold of this staff. With a knife in his hand the human jaguar suddenly leaped up. He leaped on the Pijao in order to take the latter's staff in his hand. He pondered in this fashion as he pounced upon the Piajo. The Pijao, however, interrupted his meal of bananas. He seized his staff and ran away without eating.

/253/ He held the staff in his hand, thus he started to run. Then the human jaguar ran after the Pijao. He almost killed the Pijao. The latter did not let go of his staff while he ran. He fell down, he did not let go of his staff.

Three hours were full, that is as long as he ran. When three hours were up, they came to a rock. Then the jaguar transformed himself into a human being on the rock and sat down. The Pijao climbed down from the rock and went to a large plain. He went into his house.

After a moment the Pijaos go out and come running, in order to seize this jaguar. Thereupon the human jaguar transformed himself once again into a jaguar and returns and runs away. Three full hours (he ran back). When he came back, the roasted snake lay on the ground.

1/1 [this is a translation of the Paez text appearing on p. 168 -- An.]

/253 cont./

539 When he came back, he saw the snake in its place. Then he changed back into a human being. The fiber bag was there, too. The bananas were there, too. The snake filled with water (that is, underdone, still watery) was there.

It was afternoon when he went into his house. The bag he brought to his wife. He came to his wife with this bag. When he had knocked, he entered.

2. Orientation and General Knowledge

772 776 177 Nothing definite can be said about the ancient Paez conception of the world, since Christian influence has had a strongly modifying effect. In any case, there is in the Paez vocabulary the word "tátyinas," which is sometimes translated as "god," and sometimes -- and corresponding better with the meaning of the word -- as "creator." The word "Dios" is used to designate the Christian God. Tátyinas, I was told, lives in heaven, on the earth, and in the earth. He made all human beings. He does not receive sacrifices. He is not mentioned in shamanistic ceremonies.

772 775 The vocabulary shows that, besides the earth and the conception of a heaven or of the firmament, there were also two places of the dead that were familiar. The happy land of death, mbéka kígwe, is like heaven. Literally it means "land of chicha," and if one knows the Paez, one realizes that in any case it must be /254/ a happy land. The land of the dead corresponding to [776] "hell" is called eč kígwe. The eč are the most evil of all spirits. They live in the earth; hence this designation must refer to a subterranean land.

804 461 As for natural periods of time, only days and months are known, as well as work days and non-work days (ki'sen). The latter designation is now used for Sunday. Originally this was not a fixed day; rather, people worked and celebrated as they could arrange the time within a larger or smaller community. Even today, during the times of clearing, the people sometimes work for weeks in the field, without inserting a work-free day.

3: Bernal Villa SC15 Paez SC15

539

[For the text of various Paez myths and tales, see category 116, pp. 13-32.]

/206 cont./

796 of cowhide and are busy cooking the food, hastily reviving the kitchen fire. Meanwhile, the men talk and laugh hilariously.

[264] The house of the fiestero is bustling with activity. At six

[262] o'clock in the morning men and women have breakfasted on "mute," cabbage, bananas, yuca, and meat. Then, the women put on to cook, in a copper pan with a diameter of one meter and 50 centimeters, the mute for the laborers' lunch and for feasting the albacero after vespers. Next to this vessel they place another one of clay, slightly smaller, full of shelled maize with ashes. About four arrobas of maize will be consumed during this day.

With the bundles of firewood piled in one corner of the kitchen, and the water stored in jars, the women sit around the fire to nurse their children, spin wool, weave their pouches, and converse about matters of daily life.

In the course of the day there will be the sacrifice of the beef; the presentation of the "camarico" to the priest; the greeting of the albacero; the celebration of vespers with the vacaloca game; concluding with the meal given by the fiestero at midnight. On the following day there will be the Mass, a procession, the handing over of the banners to the new fiesteros, and the care given to the albacero.

/207/ XV

Scene between the Second Fiestero and Albacero

[805] The position of the sun indicates that it is nine o'clock in the morning. In the house of the albacero the muffled sounds of the bass drum and the melody of the flutes are heard.

While they play, the fiestero and his wife visit the albacero with a pot of stew /sancocho/, a bottle of aguardiente, a skyrocket, and a candle. The fiestero hands over what he has

● [539] brought to the albacero, and his wife to the latter's wife. They sit around the fire. The dialogue is interesting:

/207 cont./

796 Albacero: The albacero is always behind the fiestero.
539 We shall make him dance.

Fiestero: We shall take chicha and have a good time.

The offers of chicha and aguardiente are repeated.

--Let us go to the slaughter of the little bull.

--And all of a sudden the bull would kill me, replies the albacero, cutting short the invitation of the fiestero. And he adds:

--You do a great deal in taking care of people; you seem to have more. I do not have anything.

--We are not just any family. We are Muse, replies the fiestero.

--What do you want from me that you do so much for me? Asks the albacero.

Meanwhile other men express their thoughts in sentimental and philosophical tones:

--This is our pueblo... We must talk... When we die, we shall not return.

--Because now that we are alive, and on our land, we must see each other often.

The old master of the house interrupts the conversation:

--It is well if you go with us. (Eviuha guechi pikin ustau.)

It is time to slaughter the beef. The fiesteros leave the house of the albacero. The musicians follow them.

XVI

Sacrifice of the Beef

231 Since the previous day the beef has remained in front of
796 the house tied to a post. Next to it are several piles of long, dry pieces of wood.

/208/ /Illustration appears here./

/233 cont./

called Juan Tama, who enjoys the fame of having been the founder of pueblos, a victorious warrior, a good leader, legislator, and famed curer.

The tama is a defensive and offensive weapon of a sacred character /234/ and used exclusively by the curers; it protects from the attacks of the ptans and wards them off. It is a gift from Thunder and his badge. In visions, it is the first thing that he shows. When the curer dies, it may be inherited by a young curer; but generally it is left near the cemetery.

A curer from Calderas, possibly the one most imbued with his mission to defend the health of the people, states that the tama was left from a deed performed by the Virgin in defense of her children. On a certain occasion the sea was rising implacably over the surface of the earth, putting the lives of men in grave danger. The Virgin took pity on them, brought out the tama, and made the motions now made by the curer. The waters retreated. She left this staff for the man who became a curer. This was the origin of the tama.

Another curer from the Parcialidad of San Andrés gave us the following account concerning the origin of the tama:

"The elders say that the tama was left by Thunder himself. A man had a potato field and a rancho in the montaña. He went to harvest it with his son. One afternoon the boy refused to accompany his father, preferring to remain in the rancho. On the following day he disappeared without leaving a trace anywhere. All the steps taken by the father to locate his whereabouts were unsuccessful. On the eighth day, the boy reappeared in the rancho. The father naturally inquired as to his whereabouts and his activities. He replied that he had gone to the señor papa, who had given him the stick he carried in his hands, called tama, and aguardiente and remedies. The aguardiente was cold water from a lagoon, and the remedies were in a pouch. No sooner had he finished his tale than he fell into a deathlike trance. On the fifteenth day, at death's door, he asked his father to hand him the tama, for the señor

* /234 cont./

756 papa had told him to defend himself with it and in case of ill-
539 ness to take the remedies that he had given him. He extracted their juice and took it. He rapidly improved. He applied them to others and noted that they soon regained their health. With the tama and the remedies he became the best curer in the entire region. He died when he was an old man"

* 755 To combat ptans, the tama is used in conjunction with a
756 plant called "nica."
824

Theory of illness. Sicknesses are caused by the state of
753 bodily impurity called "dirt" /sucio/, cold /hielo/, or /235/
783 ptans. The causes are essentially magical and are interpreted more as a premeditated and inimical attack than as punishment by supernatural beings. There are those who state that sicknesses are sent by God, but if one repents, they are soon taken away. Be it said at once that this concept is neither general nor rooted in tradition. Sicknesses, then, do not have natural causes; nor do accidents, since they are provoked by sorcerers.

Impurities are caused by the following:

a) When a person who has been at a wake has not had himself "cleansed."

b) When people dress in the clothes of a deceased person without washing them with the appropriate remedies.

c) When the house where the corpse was watched over has not been cleansed.

d) When a woman does not spend her period of menstruation in the Du yate léchukue.

e) When a woman does not bathe after menstruation.

f) When the placenta has not been suitably buried in the appropriate place and with the required remedies.

g) When a man sleeps with a menstruating woman.

h) When the man who serves food to a menstruating woman has not bathed his body or washed his clothes.

i) When the woman, after observing the diet of childbirth, does not bathe.

/247 cont./

776 Manuel José Tipo was in Calderas (9). The people tossed

●539

[113]

9. Frazer, Sir James George. La Rama Dorada /The Golden Bough/, Fdo. de Cultura Económica, Mexico, 1951, pp. 33-34.

poison into the lagoon and he had to leave the place in the company of his wife. He went through the air to Santa Rosa, where, upon arriving, he let his wife fall. It killed her. In this parcialidad he was in love with a cacica /female cacique/. He always came to her well-dressed, with a rich bag of chachalacas. The father of the cacica, curious as to how he had killed so many chachalacas, followed him to the montaña and noted that when he undressed he had snakeskin on his back. He was a snake and for this reason caught birds with ease. He told this to his daughter. She, accompanied by a servant girl, set out on the following day for her field of very fertile soil. She had handsome fields of potatoes, cabbages, and onions. Thunder came to visit her. The place began to become a lagoon, and the servant girl warned her mistress of the danger that they were in. She paid no heed. Lucía Kalguesh, the cacica, remained there, living with Thunder. The lagoon was very rough, and Thunder deceived his wives a great deal. Then the puswesh (the stars) came down, cleared the forest around the lagoon, and dug out a drainage ditch for the purpose of /248/ drying it up. Just as they were about to achieve their end, Thunder came out and begged them not to dry up his dwelling. The angry puswesh sewed his mouth and cut off his tongue, for they were too big.

Thunder continued to behave badly, and the curers chased him to another lagoon, without his wife and children.

776 Kallumb. He lives in the springs and in the caves. He is a good spirit. The people say that the Virgin left a roving

/253 cont./

755 done; she would have to confess, or else he would have her
*756 arrested. She was wholly to blame. The servant girl took
578 fright and replied that perhaps she might be responsible, since at one time she had picked up an echi and put it in an ají bush. And it was this angry echi that was now killing her employer. At once the curer went to the ají bush, removed the echi, and blew fresh remedies at it. He set about divining anew and found out that the rainbow had also put hairs on him. On the following day he removed them. The patient recovered; it was proved that he was a good curer, and demonstrated that the other one did not know anything.

754 The Té eu and the sorcerer. It is said that a sorcerer can
*756 at the same time be a good curer, but we know perfectly well that the Ghost and Thunder do not give their knowledge to the sorcerers. On the other hand, when a té eu is asked for information about the remedies of sorcerers, they invariably answer that they know nothing about them, for if they were to learn about these remedies they would lose their wisdom.

The curers believe that they are constantly pursued by
75 the sorcerers. Yet, they are able to kill them. A curer from
● 539 Santa Rosa related his success to us as follows:

774 "When I was a young boy, I was clever and mischievous; I already knew remedies. On one occasion a sorcerer declared his enmity toward me because I was becoming a good curer. I fell ill, and the signs indicated to me my approaching death. In Huila there lived a good curer, and I went there with plenty of coca and aguardiente. He told me that I would die if he did not go to work at once. It was sorcery, and he had to kill the sorcerer. I would have to stay with him for at least a month. 'Let us go to work and dig a hole in order to kill that fellow,' he said to me. He made the first hole, which we used for several nights, for the sorcerer whom we were seeking was very clever. He would call the soul and it would come, but it did not allow itself to be caught; it was very suspicious. The sorcerer was very dangerous, he had killed my mother and my brothers. We went on working. The

/253 cont./

75 month went by, and we were unable to catch it. We did not
● 539 sleep. The curer would make another hole, and another. We
774 were tired. 'We shall catch that scoundrel /254/ yet,' he would say to me. When we went on to the seventh hole, at the crowing of the first cock, the soul came. The curer had his tama ready, and at once, zoom! he gave it a blow and it fell into the hole; he tossed earth on top of it and tamped it down well. After a few moments the soul made a whistling sound. 'We killed it,' the curer exclaimed triumphantly. I saw the sorcerer's soul. Then the curer told me to go back, for I was cured. He advised me to take remedies with me, since there are many robbers along the way. Thus it came to pass. I was careful at the dangerous spots. The signs indicated to me the presence of robbers and at once I blew remedies at them (kit sust). They went to sleep.

* 756 Farther on I met some people who were pursuing a criminal.
539 They gave me coca and aguardiente so that I might prepare
789 the remedies at my house and help to capture the criminal. Thus it came to pass. I put chayuts around my feet and the criminal was unable to walk. They caught him."

75 Others say that the one bewitched, with his relatives,
774 goes to the curer, bearing coca, tobacco, and aguardiente. They kill a pig and put a piece from each organ into a small pouch. This is the grease for catching the sorcerer's soul. At the crowing of the first cock, when everyone is chewing coca, the soul comes to get the small pouch, immediately falls into the hole, and the curer tosses upon it fierce echi, remedies, and the chews of all, and covers it and tamps down
[783] the earth. This is how he kills the sorcerer. He immediately cleanses the sick person and his relatives. The danger has
* been averted.

756 When the curer feels the signs at the crown of his head,
787 ptans is being sent to him. He goes without delay to the kachí
783 with pringamoza, paramo cabuya, tama, and flica to wait

Since the shapes are very simple, a special
/162 cont./
463 apprenticeship with a master is not absolutely necessary; Santos
323 Kiskue, at any rate, began making pots by himself after an
[467] accident that left him with a stiff left wrist. He uses the unmixed clay that stands near his house. Out of this, constantly moistening it, he shapes on a /163/ board lying on the ground an even, round "clay sausage," which he then presses flat with the palm of his hand. He builds up his pots out of this in spirals. They are put with their lower part on a shallow clay bowl, so that he can turn them easily in closing up the junctures (Ills. 184 to 186 /see pp. 282-283/). He lets the freshly made pots dry for about a week under a roof, then he takes them to a place where there is sufficient dry wood. Here he places the pots very close together, stacks wood and twigs over them, and lets them burn for about two hours. They are then ready for use.

i) Candlemaking

388 At the three annual church festivals a large number of
[796] candles (mbēla; Spanish: vela) are used to decorate the church.
They are in part purchased, but largely homemade. Everyone is
[462] familiar with the process of manufacture, but for the festivals
[824] it is men's work. The wax is obtained from the wood laurel (Myrica pubescens Willd), whose small fruits, measuring about five to eight millimeters in diameter, are harvested in great masses in April and May. For this purpose the twigs are struck off and stripped of the fruits over the round berry net that is put in the opening of a large fiber bag. After they are dried, they are poured into a bag, boiled, and squeezed. The wax, caught in a vessel and dried, was formerly an important commercial product in the trade with the whites. In making the candles, wax is poured over the wicks until the proper thickness is obtained.

k) Fireworks

389 No celebration and no church festival is possible without
[796] setting off the greatest possible number of fireworks. The fire-
● [541] crackers required for this are made by the men themselves.
[462]

/208 cont./

796 assured -- always volunteer. Besides, no one can be forced. But this is not necessary, since there are always more applicants for this position than are needed. On account of the very high costs, however, no one can be fiestero more than three times in all. This number is not the absolute highest, but represents the normal maximum given the financial circumstances of the Paez. One may be albacero more often, however -- up to ten times, I was told -- since this person does not donate any cattle for feeding the village, but merely a pig for the meal on the eve of the festival, and bears the cost of the festival accessories other than the food supply (decorations for the church, candles, fireworks, and the "crazy cow"). The mayordomos only join in with contributions of money to pay the priest.

The fiestero and albacero themselves do not work, but merely serve the guests. For the preparation of the food they have [476] their helpers, men and women, who voluntarily help and at the end of the festival are specially entertained. Above all, carry- [273] ing the sugar cane from the fields for the large amounts of chicha to be prepared is hard work, for every fiestero wants to prepare the most chicha, since a festival is good only if one can be drunk for a long time.

On the principal festive day of the three annual festivals, which are essentially the same in arrangement, the women start to prepare the feast very early in the festival house. The men also arrive, chicha is drunk heartily, and the musicians start play- [541] ing early in the morning. No longer entirely sober, everybody assembles for the Mass, which is accompanied by the setting off of fireworks by those who have remained in front of the church door. [788] Then, led by the music, played incessantly, a procession follows, a parade around the church with the flower-decorated image of the Lord and those of the saints.

[431] In the afternoon, the fiesteros, along with the cabildo and [793] a large number of sightseers, set out for the church, in order to [794] give the priest a present of foodstuffs, meat, bananas, vegetables, and eggs in gratitude for the Mass that was held. After that the two fiesteros, along with their albaceros and the music, walk

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

deserted savannas. It must be said, in extenuation, that they have been subjected to much abuse by their neighbors of the "superior race." Moreover, the Paeces are naturally hostile to strangers, descending, as we have seen, from a warlike people. The old Paeces always went about armed, carrying a lance or javelin in the hand and ready to protect their bodies from the darts of an enemy by means of a shield of basket-work (*opimb*), or of tapir hide (*yimba-kát*). The warlike tendencies of the tribe were stimulated by means of periodical contests in which the most valiant warriors fought each other in the presence of the multitude.

To-day, as we have seen, the descendants of these have abundant opportunity to satisfy their fighting propensity by taking sides in the frequent quarrels of the political parties that thus far have kept Colombia in an almost continual turmoil.

Sexual intercourse between Paez women and men of other races is said not to exist; barbarous chastisement would be the fate of the offending female. It is to be expected, however, that the closer contact brought about by the gradual penetration of the Tierra Andentro by whites and negroes will soon overcome the purity of the Paez blood and open the way to amalgamation with the neo-Colombian race.

Reclus, cited above (page 311), gives us to understand that the Paez were cannibals, and the tradition current in the villages along the western foot of the cordillera confirms his intimation with reference to the Pijaos; for the coming of "el Pijao" is still a menace to children. The early chroniclers tell us of several anthropophagous tribes which lived in this region, and it is not unlikely that the Paeces had a share in that custom.

GRAMMATICAL NOTES

Castillo's *Nociones gramaticales* is limited to a list of the personal pronouns and the conjugation of the verbs 'to be' and 'to write.' A few more grammatical indications are incorporated in the vocabularies, but on the whole these data are very meager, and much remains to be done in this direction.

536
541

[For information on the use of the vacaloca in the Paez fiesta of San Juan, see category 796.]

/215 cont./

XXII

A Bath for San Juan

796 At four o'clock in the morning on June 24, the men, women, and children are up in every household. In that of the fiestero the kitchen fire is burning, the food is being cooked, [541] and everyone is drinking and talking. Outside, in the darkness of the night, numerous lights are shooting upward, ending with a flash accompanied by an explosion: they are the skyrockets fired out of the huts. To each explosion are added the cries: San Juan! San Juan! San Juan!

796 515 On the previous day and in each of the houses, a jet of water was arranged to serve as a shower. Now everyone bathes. This bath is accompanied by firecrackers and shouts. /216/ This is one of the few occasions when the native bathes. For, although it is true that in childhood baths are quite frequent, adults bathe only for the fiesta of San Juan, in the washing of the dead, or when they have fever.

796 515 751 The bath of San Juan has the purpose of preventing both persons and the animals that belong to them from getting sores (scabies). Nevertheless, one of those who awoke in the house of the fiestero and who did not bathe palliates his fear: "I did not bathe. I have no animals. It does not matter if I get scabies."

--"You do have some, even if only 'two animals.' Bathe," replies his neighbor in a taunting, jesting tone.

--"I will bathe, but not my entire body, just my ...only."

The dialogue continues, loud and merry.

796 After the bath they catch a chicken. They all answer its squawks in chorus: San Juan, San Juan, San Juan. They [264] kill it. At six o'clock in the morning they are eating chicken stew.

In the house of the fiestero the following dialogue between parents is overheard as they hear their son crying:

4:Bernal Villa--53 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

XXIV

The Race for the Rooster at Tumbichukue

103 The name of Tumbichukue is familiar to the colonists throughout Tierradentro. It is synonymous with fabulous treasures. In this place, it is said, the Paez buried all the gold and silver that they collected in the ill-fated settlement of Sebastián Quintero destroyed by them.

[131] Tumbichukue is a pass /vereda/ formed by the eastern slopes of the paramo of San Lucas and located between the Kukiyú and the Yusayú gorge (Guacharaca). It belongs to the parcialidad of Lame, and the road that goes from San Andrés [491] to Lame passes precisely there. This road is well traveled, its people more accessible to the whites.

796 On June 24 the men race their horses along the road.
541 It is a custom of Indians and whites "to race on the day of San Juan." The whites say that those who do not race their horses on the day of San Juan get scabies. The small, husky horses pant under the demands of their drunken riders. A wild race and shouts in an unsteady voice: Viva San Juan!

The people of the pass go to a small square along the road, near which lives the capitán of Lame. Indians from
184 San Andrés come to watch the race for the rooster. On the
796 other hand, in spite of the nearness, no Calderun /person from
291 Calderas/ is seen there. The women who are seen are clean,
177 with neatly braided hair; they wear black skirts, navy-blue
301 rebozos, pink blouses, numerous multi-colored necklaces,
541 bright earrings, and cloth hats. The monotonous dark or black necklaces characteristic of Paez apparel are nearly absent among these people. The classic pindo hat worn by the [491] Calderas people is absent. Spanish is spoken more frequently.

796 All the riders are concentrating on the cage and the
541 roosters.

/218 cont./

796 The cage is very similar to the lamp of the Calderun
541 albacero, with the added detail that the rods are adorned with panela candy (taffy) and carry four small flags. One of the riders reaches the cage, and on the following year he must return it exactly as it was when he took it. /219/ The candy is shared among those present, and the little flags are taken by the friends of the man who seized the cage; they must contribute to the expense.

Then comes the race for the rooster. It is spectacular. All those present closely watch the course of the game. The riders race quickly from one end to the other. As they pass beneath the rooster, they raise their hand in order to grab it, but merely graze it. The frenzy of the riders, the clamor of the people, and the bursting of firecrackers grow. Soon there is a terrible squawk, followed by a sudden silence. Two riders seized the rooster at the same time and in their hands hold fragments still quivering with life. The following year they will have to contribute a live rooster.

An informant explains that the man who gets the cage corresponds to the fiestero, the rooster to the albacero, and the flags to the mayordomos.

What follows is in the sphere of bacchic gaiety.

A chirimía delights the audience.

XXV

The Fiesta and the Numbers

796 The fiesteros are very reticent about supplying information
435 concerning the amount of their expenses. They merely say that they spend a great deal of money and among the things that they buy are arracacha, bananas, yuca, sugar cane, gunpowder, wax, salt, coca, and beeves.

/177 cont./

the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook. Old, solitary persons or unmarried girls or men live with relatives or friends, but never alone, since a single person is unable either to protect himself or to provide for himself adequately.

The father's authority is great. Wife and children owe him absolute obedience. Nevertheless, the man does not have the right to alienate personal articles of members of the family or possessions that they made themselves. Thus, for example, he is not in a position to sell a coca bag or a fiber bag belonging to his wife or his children's toys.

The children are given the family name of the father, but the women keep their maiden names even after marriage. There is no external indication in dress or hair style or otherwise for unmarried girls and married women. The wife is obligated to work for her husband and children in her family. Beyond that she may procure personal belongings for herself by weaving cloth beyond the needs of her family, for example, and trading it for ornaments.

If the young people are still living in the house with their parents, the daughter-in-law is not absolutely subordinate to her mother-in-law, although this appears to be so, to judge from the speech at the wedding ceremony. A relationship of dependence is out of the question because of the separate kitchens. Usually, however, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are on good terms, and then it is not uncommon for only one woman to cook for both families, for there is no in-law avoidance. Then the two women share the work of cleaning the house.

Conjugal fidelity is demanded of both marriage partners; in the case of the man, however, it is sometimes not taken so seriously. If a man surprises his wife, however, or she her husband, in marital infidelity, the deceived party may beat (but not kill) both and report them to the cabildo, which again has the guilty party very soundly thrashed.

Illegitimate children are not rare among the Paez. In case an unmarried girl has a child, she is beaten by her parents and

/178 cont./

614 bearers of the name Guagáz, the old family whose members furnish the capitan and who numerically make up about a quarter of the village. The young men of this name do not always find their wives in Calderas. They /179/ must therefore often look for them in other villages, although in general this is preferably not done. Thus we have among the Paez exogamous kin-groups, that is, groups of persons of male descent, who, to be sure, live dispersed, but have a common festival house, and who cannot marry each other because of their same name. They lack the consciousness of being descended from the same ancestor, however. Similarly, there is neither a common kin-group chief, nor [162] special costumes, or any other common insignia. The bearers of [346] six family names, who together make up more than 60 per cent of the population, have festival houses on the village plaza, in each of which the bearers of the same name meet for the big annual festivals, Immaculada (December 8), Semana Santa (Easter), and San Juan (June 24), and eat and drink together. The other families, who have no festival house of their own, take part in the festival houses of friends' families.

[551] The six large families of Calderas are: Guagáz, Piñakuē, Petíns, Oléz, Oriága, Pechéne.

614 Within the kin groups, relatives play no role, but the god-
602 parents (padrino, madrina) do, and strict etiquette is observed with
608 respect to them. Boy or girl, man or woman who meet their god-
576 parents anywhere must kneel down to receive their blessing.

601 The kinship nomenclature is in part more differentiated than ours. The common form of address for father and child and mother and child and the differentiated address for older and younger siblings are striking. The designations for father and mother are differentiated according to whether one speaks of one's own or of foreign fathers and mothers. One's own father is táta, the foreign one néi; one's own mother is máma, the foreign one nihí. It does not matter whether a man or a woman is speaking in the following examples:

/185 cont./

844 until very late and only with great difficulty. The proper depth is supposed to be about 30 centimeters.

846 Four to six days after birth and after the first bath, the
851 father or one of the godparents brings the child to the sacristan of
608 the village or /186/ to the women missionaries, in order to have
[747] it christened with water and given the name of the Christian saint
[551] of the christening day. Every child has only one given name and the Paez surname of its father. The baptism by the priest with oil takes place later on a suitable occasion, in the presence of the god-
[783] parents, and is followed by an eating and drinking bout. The
[756] mother also takes part in this, after she has left the dúyat and has washed herself, her child, and her clothes and has been purified by the shaman.

861 The rearing of the children is in the hands of the parents, who teach them the necessary accomplishments of life quite as a matter of course and almost in play. Disobedient children are also beaten, however, and, to be sure, usually if the son has no real desire to help his father with the field work. In punishing, the fathers are generally stricter than the mothers and on occasion beat them with leather straps all over their bodies. The boxing
[461] of ears is also to be seen. If a young man proves to be lazy in later life, the father is blamed because he did not properly ad-
848 monish his son to work. Illegitimate sons, who lack the strict hand of a father, are said to turn out badly in many cases, though as such they are very popular. Since they do not know their father, they are not obliged to work in his field. They are all the more
[426] in demand as helpers in the fields of other families. When they
[431] are older, they may borrow land and establish a family. Usually they even receive the land as a present. Thus, they need not
848 starve by any means. Illegitimate daughters are in a more unfavor-
562 able position, for their help is not needed for the most part, and their mother does not have a household of her own. Nevertheless
[583] their marriage prospects are not unfavorable, since a girl does not
[581] have a dowry, but is married only on the basis of her personal qualities.

/192 cont./

581 around the hearth fire, and this must be stirred and provided with
462 wood every two hours. This is the task of the wife, who, there-
513 fore, sleeps next to the fire. Throughout practically her whole life, she is never able to sleep all through the night.

583 If during the trial year the bride does not meet the demands of the man, if she either cannot cook or is lazy or /193/ does not like to get up in the morning, he sends her back to her father. Since no wedding celebration has taken place, sending back the girl leads to no resentment of any kind. It does, however, if children have resulted from the trial marriage and the young man
[684] nevertheless changes his mind. In this case, to be sure, nothing
[623] can be changed with regard to his decision -- after all, he has not yet been officially married -- but, since such an action is condemned, he is beaten by the cabildo. He may then begin a
583 new trial marriage with another girl. The children of the previ-
848 ous trial marriage (they are designated by the Paez with the
[557] Spanish term hijo natural) are given the name of the mother. There are not a few such "natural children." The mothers, however, are not scorned or judged harshly on that account and do not by any means have poorer prospects for a subsequent marriage. The children are not adopted in case of a subsequent marriage by the
[761] mother and keep their mother's name. It is believed, however,
[851] that such "natural children" will soon die. They are not baptized, since the priest baptizes only legitimate children, or else demands such a large sum for the baptism of an illegitimate child that the unmarried mother cannot raise it.

585 The actual wedding celebration takes place after the period
[178] of the trial marriage. Today the prior marriage service by the Catholic priest in the church is usually combined with this wedding celebration. The money for this, as for the expenses of the wedding celebration, must be raised by the young man himself.
[435] This takes him many months. First of all, besides the cost of ten pesos for the marriage service, he must have collected the money for an ox, then prepare chicha in sufficient quantities, for which sugar cane is milled for about a month, and also provide for the rest of the food. In general his father or brothers do not

/175 cont./

193 In like manner, the children, in referring to their
601 parents, place in front the possessive anji or uk, according to whether the speakers are male or female, respectively.

Anjí téwesh (my parents, male speaker).
Uk tewesh (my parents, female speaker).
Anji ishiwesh (my grandparents).
Uk ishiwesh (my grandparents).

/176/

557 Non-relatives designate the grandparents: nesh wála.
576 When a speaker is younger than the person referred to, and
609 that person is a father, the correct way to speak of him is "the father of so-and-so," for example: if our informant Victoriano Piñakué (18 years old) wants to refer to Cerveleón Guagás (55 years old), he does not simply mention him by name, because this is a "grosería" /rudeness/, but he says "the father of Alfonso" (who is his eldest son), Pons nei, or Marcelo nei if he refers to the father of Marcelo. If the first-born is dead, he would say unás nei, father of the deceased. If the speaker is older than the person referred to, he may simply call him by name, but only when there is familiarity between the two; otherwise he must use the form previously mentioned. Thus, for example, Vicente Puche, who is older then Julián Piñakué (father of our informant), and since he is familiar with him, simply calls him Kilián; if he were not, he would say Vit nei (father of Victoriano). The identical form is followed for a woman older than the speaker, for example: Pons nihi (mother of Alfonso); Vit nihi (mother of Victoriano); Unás nihi (mother of the deceased).

If our informant Piñakué wishes to express this thought, "Cerveleón, I want something," he must say, "Father of Alfonso, I want something" (Pons nei tech yugüe guau wet). He may call him simply Cerveleón, but far away from him and when he is among people who are not relatives, but, he adds, this is not respectful. If Cerveleón heard this said, he would be annoyed,

/176 cont./

551 609 In referring to a grandfather, for example, Alfonso's, one would say, Pons nei, if the speaker is well known to Alfonso; otherwise he would say Liõn nei (father of Cerveleõn), especially if he were in the presence of the grandfather.

In referring to the paternal uncle of Alfonso, one would say: Pons niñuk.

In referring to the maternal uncle of Alfonso, one would say: Pons nekãhka.

In referring to the paternal aunt of Alfonso, one would say: Pons nauts.

In referring to the maternal aunt of Alfonso, one would say: Pons nihiñuk.

Relations between Relatives

603 [188] As we have seen, general respect is owed to older persons by younger persons. Patterns of conduct between grandparents and grandchildren are governed by emotional factors, these being more or less affectionate, according to their mutual comportment. If the grandparents /177/ are kind to their grandchildren, they are given their love and consideration; if the contrary is the case, the attitude is one of cold respect. If the grandchildren say "what an old pig he is," the grandfather will not love them.

604 551 It is affirmed that with the paternal and maternal uncles an identical pattern of conduct is observed. They cannot be designated solely by name. Thus, if Victoriano Piñakuẽ addresses his uncle by his name, the latter will reply that he has no manners, for he should show respect. "You must say uncle," he advises. His mother will scold him: "you are rude to speak like 604 that, say uncle." Greater respect is owed to Ego's older uncles than to uncles younger than he is. To the former he gives a blessing as he does to his parents. One should not mention "cosas feas" /ugly things/ in their presence or joke with them. If the uncle wishes to joke with the nephew, the latter should

/183 cont./

605 proscribed. With respect to relations between cousins, they
835 state that whoever has them cannot pass the Páramo /crests of the cordilleras/ (Guanacas, Delicias, Moras), because the tiger will eat them. They add, however, that nothing will happen to them if such unions take place without any prelude, laughter, or merriment.

582 In deciding upon the spouses there exists a very singular
551 cultural trait. A man never chooses his future wife from among women bearing his own surname. Thus, a Muse does not choose a Muse for his wife, although she may live in another parcialidad. They believe that there may be kinship relations
551 between them. Cases in which a husband and wife do have the
582 same surname are very rare, and when that happens the husband
851 endeavors to introduce his wife by her mother's name. A case that we were able to observe unexpectedly was during the baptism of a baby girl solemnized in the church at Inzá. For elementary reasons we are concealing the names of the actual parents, and we shall suppose that the father is called Manuel Kiguasú and the mother María Kiguasú. In order to register the baptism of the child, the priest asked for the name of the parents. "Manuel Kiguasú," answered the father of the child, but upon being asked the name of his wife, he did not say that she was called María Kiguasú, as in reality she was, being the legitimate daughter of a Kiguasú, but María Vitechi, a name inherited from her mother. The case acquires more importance if one takes into account the fact that the so-called Manuel Kiguasú is a mestizo
551 who lives among the "whites" and deals with them. We found
582 the same situation in the genealogical record of the family of Nicanor Guagás of the parcialidad of Calderas. Rosario Ido, widow of Nicanor Guagás, bears the name of her mother, a native of the parcialidad of Cuetando, and not that of her father, Agustín Guagás, she being a legitimate daughter. Although in the same records Nicolasa Guagás does not conceal her surname in mentioning that of her deceased husband, Manuel José Guagás, a marriage authorized by the Church, for Nicolasa states that she is her husband's niece. The name of the nuclear family, that is to

/183 cont./

557 say, the surname, is transmitted through the paternal line. The
582 wife retains it throughout her life, but does not transmit it to her children. A son of hers will bear only the father's surname.
604 According to an /184/ informant from Calderas a man respects his paternal uncles and aunts in the same manner as the maternal uncles, but not the maternal aunt, because "she is not a real relative;...she is a woman and not a man ... the men (older) have to be respected the same as the old women" and, generalizing, adds: "of the uncles and aunts one respects the men more than the women and the paternal uncles more than
601 the maternal ones." Although the terms for designating the
604 uncles and aunts of EGO differentiate sex and specify the line to which they belong, EGO considers the relationship of the paternal uncles and aunts to be closer than that of the maternal ones, and although the uncles call the sons of their brothers "sons," there does not exist among the present-day Páez a clear concept of parallel uncles and cross uncles and, consequently, of parallel and cross cousins. Masculine EGO calls paternal and maternal male cousins Iakté, paternal and maternal female cousins pesh, making them equal with his own sisters and brothers, and feminine EGO calls paternal and maternal female cousins Iakté, paternal and maternal male cousins Jish, making
601 them equal also with her own brothers and sisters. But logically
604 such a distinction must have existed, to judge from the conduct
582 observed in the selection of mates and in the respect that EGO pays to his uncles and aunts, this being more pronounced for the paternal than for the maternal ones and greater still for the men.
114 Eugenio del Castillo y Orozco corroborates our argument. In
60 his Vocabulario he states that the mother-in-law is called by the
582 same term as the one designating the father's sister (pezoz), and the father-in-law by the same term as the one for designating the mother's brother (cacca). This means that in the eighteenth century in-law kinship specified the origin of the spouses, clearly showing marriage between cross cousins.

60 All these traits make us think that possibly there were
614 patrilineal exogamous clans, now manifested by some types of
174 stereotyped conduct,

/184 cont./

stereotyped conduct. It should nevertheless be stated that the present-day Páez surnames were still given names in the eighteenth century, chosen capriciously by the mother and not transmissible to the descendants (14). The adoption of surnames and

14. Castillo y Orozco, E. de., op. cit., p. 75.

their heritability through the paternal line is the result of the doctrinal work of the Catholic missionaries, and their assimilation and integration into Páez culture must have been carried out in accordance with certain aspects of a sociological nature existing previously. The same /an unpaginated genealogical chart appears here/ /185/ present-day monogamy of the Páez appears to be the result of a strong Catholic Christian influence, since in pre-Colombian times they were polygamous (15).

15. Hernández de Alba, Gr. "The Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia," 1946, p. 948.

The supreme authority in the nuclear family rests with the father; when he is missing, with the mother; and, when both are missing, with the most intelligent of the group. The husband orders, the woman only asks. The woman is always under the control of the man: the father, the brother, the husband. She has no liberty of movement. The cabildo has authority over orphaned women, including that of having them marry. One of our informants in Calderas was a fatherless orphan and had been brought up in Avirama in the company of her stepfather. Being of age, an Avirameño asked for her in marriage, but the cabildo of Calderas stopped the marriage, brought her back to the parcialidad, made her spend the night in the quarters of the cabildo, and on the following day made her marry a lad of 14 whom she did not know. Since she resisted, they beat her, admonishing her at the same time that if she did not do it, she would be married to a black dog in the future life. "There being

[text continues on p. 33]

8: Bernal Villa

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p. 29
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Chart of Positions of the Nicanor Guagás family's Genealogy.
/Following p. 27/

8: Bernal Villa--28 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15
[Parcialidad of Calderas]

Genealogy of the family of Nicanor Guagás, parcialidad of Calderas. It includes several nuclear families which live in different places in the parcialidad /see p. 32 for the explanations of the symbols/.

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- 1. Nicanor Guagás m.
- + 2. Rosario Ika 80 *
  - 3. Damiana Guagás 65
  - + 4. Bonifacio Muse m.
    - 22. Justo Muse 33
      - 67. Isabel Muse 7
      - 68. Juan Muse 3.
      - 69. Fosario M. 3ms. m. A.
      - 70. Concha M. 2ms.
    - 23. Julia Pame 30
    - 24. Marcelo Muse 35
      - 71. Vicente M. 3. m. C.
      - 72. Manuel T. M. 6
      - 73. Maria S. M. 4
      - 74. Rafael M. 1ms.
    - +25. Rosalía Ramos 30
    - 26. María S. Muse 30
      - 75. Nicolás G. 5 m.
      - 76. Alberto G. 12
      - 77. Francisca G. 6
      - 78. Justiniano G. 3
      - 79. Natividad G. 3 m.
      - 80. Ismael G. 1ms. C.
    - +27. Juan Guagás m.
    - 28. Gabriel Muse m.
    - 29. Paulina Muse m.
    - 30. Magdalena Muse 22
      - 81. Paulino P. 3
      - 82. Juana P. 1
    - +31. Pedro Pame
    - 32. Jacinto Muse 20
    - +33. Leocadia Shukué 20
    - 34. María Muse 40
      - 83. Ramón Villané 12

8: Bernal Villa--29 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

- 34. María Muse 40
  - 83. Ramón Villanó 12 — 16
  - 84. Juana Villanó 8 — 173
  - 85. María S. V. 7 — 594
  - 86. Marcelino V. 3 — 753
  - 87. Alfonso V. 3 m. H — 754
- +35. José Villanó 40
- 36. Delfina Muse 23 E
  - 88. Jacinto Guagás 6 — 847
  - 89. Isabel G. 8ms. — ● 551
- +37. Venancio Guagás 25

- 5. Nicolasa Guagás 38
  - 38. Marcelina Guagás 22
    - 90. Magdalena Tova 2
  - +39. Alfonso Tova 30
  - 40. Gregoria Guagás
  - 41. Agustina Guagás
  - 42. Virginia Guagás
  - 43. Manuel J. Guagás 10
- + 6. Manuel Guagás m.

- 7. Raimundo Guagás 35
  - 44 — 2
- + 8. María J. Pame 27

- 9. Pascual Guagás m.

- 10. José D. Guagás m.

- 11. Juan Guagás m.

- 12. Juana Guagás
  - 45. Benito Io 36
    - 91. Miguel Io 3ms. m. J
    - 92. Patrocinio Io 2
  - +46. Antonia Ikinás 22
- +14. Primitivo Io

8: Bernal Villa--30 E-5 (1963-1964) 1966 SC15 Paez SC15

[parcialidad of Calderas]

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- 10. José D. Guagás m.
- 11. Juan Guagás m.
- 12. Juana Guagás
  - +14. Primitivo Io
  - 45. Benito Io 36
    - +46. Antonia Ikinás 22
    - 91. Miguel Io 3ma. m. J
    - 92. Patrocinio Io 2
  - 47. Esteban Io 38
    - +48. Rosalía Puche 30 E
    - 93. Santiago I. m. F.
    - 94. Tránsito I. 10
    - 95. Santos I. 6
    - 96. Raimundo I. 1
    - 97. Cruz Io m. C
  - 49. Margarita Io 25
    - +50. Julio Ikinás 35
    - ~~98. Eusebio Ikinás 4~~
    - 99. Lorenzo Ikinás 2ma.
    - 101. Santos I. 1ma. m. D
- 14. Catalina Guagás 50
  - +15. Demesio Ule m.
  - 51. Dionisia Ule 22
    - +52. Celio Muse 27
    - 102
      - 2
- 16. Trinidad Guagás
  - +17. Manuel Ule
  - 53. Bautista Ule
  - 54. Felisa Ule
  - 55. Cristina Ule
  - 56. Pedro Ule
- 18. José D. Guagás
  - 57. Juana Guagás 30
    - 103. Josefina T. 1ms.

8: Bernal Villa--31 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955
SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Caldera]

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- 55. Cristina Ulé
- 56. Pedro Ule

- 18. José D. Guagás
  - +19. Jacinta Muse
  - 57. Juana Guagás 30
    - +58. Narciso Tumbo 40
    - 103. Josefina T. 1ms.
    - 104. Alejandro T. 5 m. B
    - 105. Rufina T. 1ms. m. C
    - 106. Floro T. 4 m. D
    - 107. Cruz T. 1ms. m. A
  - 59. Aurelio Guagás 35
    - +60. Vicenta Kuskue 30.
    - 108. Pedro Guagás 2
  - 61. Marcelino Guagás 50.
    - +62. Trinidad Puche 50
    - 109. Feliciano G. 1ms. m.
    - 110. Bruno G. 25
    - 111. Magdalena G. 20
    - 112. Ramón G. 10
    - 113. Agustín G. 1ms. m.
    - 114. Felisa G. 1ms. m.
  - 63. Quiterio Guagás
    - +64. Petrona Pame
  - 65. Martina Guagás 27
    - +66. Rufino Ibinás 30
    - 115. Julio Ikinás 10
    - 116. Gregoria I. 8
    - 117. Pascual I. 4 m.
- 20. A woman m.
- 21. A woman m.

/140 cont./

231 439 Since the only purpose of keeping horses among the Paez is to have as large a number as possible, it is understandable that they place importance above all on the possession of mares. The birth of a filly is therefore a great joy and everyone would be happy to trade a grown stallion for a filly, "because it again gives foals." Unfortunately this exchange takes place only all too rarely, because the colonists are not interested in the degenerate horses of the Calderun. It is different with cows (kulá; steer = tolõ, heifer = novílya). Here the /141/ Calderun breed (black mottled "Holstein" and brown cattle) is healthier and usually also stronger than the cattle of the colonists. Moreover, on account of the somewhat cooler climate, their bodies are almost completely free of ticks and vermin, in contrast to the cows belonging to the inhabitants of lower altitudes, normally 231 crawling with larvae and maggots. Unlike horse meat, beef is [262] eaten, but milk is never drunk, "since the Calderun never have [272] the cows milked." The breeding goal here, too, is the greatest possible number. Thus it would never happen that a cow or calf would be slaughtered. I could not learn of any preference for a particular color, for example, black-white or brown-white, or uniformly all black or white or brown. All are liked equally well [431] by the Paez, since only the number is important. There is no special attachment between a person and his livestock, for no one gives away livestock, either as a birthday, christening, or [552] wedding present. Special names or designations for livestock or pet names are not used.

233 422 About half the total number of Calderun cattle and horses graze on the pastures of community land. This means about 40 231 horses and 60 cattle. The figure shows that only a small number of Calderun families own a cow or a horse. The proportion [554] becomes even less favorable when one learns that there are three rich families who own about ten to 20 head of cattle and horses each. The other half of the large stock, as well as sheep, pigs, and small stock, remain near the houses and seek their fodder there. [241] They may also forage in the uncultivated fields of neighbors; they are prevented by the fences from breaking into the cultivated fields.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

147 the odor peculiar to the Indians, which becomes quite noticeable when they are sweating and which so closely resembles that of the secretion of the so-called *sahino*, or wild hog (*Dicotyles tajacu* L.), that I have more than once been deceived into believing that our trail crossed the path of a drove of these animals.

516 When at rest the Paez men almost invariably sit on their heels, the toes sustaining the whole weight of the body, while the women sit with their legs stretched together on the ground, [514] even when near the fire in their houses. In micturition young 481 girls remain standing. The gait of both men and women is short-paced and easy, the body being always slightly inclined forward, probably on account of the habit of carrying heavy loads.

824 Like all children of Nature, the Paez Indians are very keen 826 observers of their surroundings, as is shown by the minuteness of their differentiation in plants and in certain groups of insects. Castillo, for instance, gives the names of no fewer than six different varieties of ants —

[552]

kan-kik	*cii-kik-ne*	*oia-i*
kik-fints	*gunc-ñandi*	*to-fiti*

and I collected very few plants for which they did not have a ready name.

Reproduction and Death

881 When a girl reached puberty the event was celebrated among the old Paez Indians by a special dance called *itsa-ko*, during which the young naked female was placed in a hole dug outside the ball-house and thoroughly washed with *chicha*. We have no 836 notice of pre-marital liberty being conceded to women, nor of the relation of children to parents in the family organization. As 595 tradition has it, the pre-conquest Paez were polygamous, and notwithstanding the efforts of the missionaries, it is almost certain that this practice has not completely disappeared. We know nothing about the existence of marriage ceremonies before 581 the introduction of the Catholic ritual. It is likely, however, [586] that marriages were endogamous and free, and, as such, a very frail institution, as Castillo informs us that even in his time

/233 cont./

75 7. The curer toasts Thunder with the chicha, sprinkling
723 it in the air.

8. The curer washes the patient with a calabash of remedies. He fills up completely the hole that contains the "dirt," sprinkles the remaining aguardiente, and ends the cleansing with some final advice. It is 3:00 or 4:00 in the morning.

All treatment of illness is carried out with this cleansing procedure. That is to say, when the impurity (ptans) has been removed from the body, the health of the patient is restored. The curer combats the ptans. In a sense, the cleansing is a hard fight in which the curer is engaged.

756 The tama. The tama is a chonta staff about 40 centi-
755 meters long and indispensable for every cure.

While in other cultures the medicine man uses the maraca as an indispensable accessory in the art of curing, viewing it as having a mythical origin and thus a sacred character and magical properties, and while, according to Roth, certain piai of the Guianas use wooden dolls in their conjurations (6), among the Paez this little staff called tama

[113]

6. Métraux, Alfred. Le Shamanisme Chez les Indiens de l'Amerique du Sud Tropicale /Shamanism among the Indians of Tropical South America/." -- Acta Americana, Vol. II, No. 3, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1944, pp. 217-218.

755 is used. In Santa Rosa, a curer-sorceress uses in her treat-
756 ments a wooden dolly dressed like the people, received, ac-
532 cording to the informant, from Thunder himself, and called
552 "Soft wind of Thunder."

[773] According to all the evidence, this name is derived from that mythical personage, more precisely that culture hero,

* /233 cont./

756 called Juan Tama, who enjoys the fame of having been the
[755] founder of pueblos, a victorious warrior, a good leader,
[532] legislator, and famed curer.

[552] The tama is a defensive and offensive weapon of a sacred
[773] character /234/ and used exclusively by the curers; it protects
[751] from the attacks of the ptans and wards them off. It is a gift
[787] from Thunder and his badge. In visions, it is the first thing
[428] that he shows. When the curer dies, it may be inherited by a young curer, but generally it is left near the cemetery.

* 756 A curer from Calderas, possibly the one most imbued with
539 his mission to defend the health of the people, states that the tama was left from a deed performed by the Virgin in defense of her children. On a certain occasion the sea was rising implacably over the surface of the earth, putting the lives of men in grave danger. The Virgin took pity on them, brought out the tama, and made the motions now made by the curer. The waters retreated. She left this staff for the man who became a curer. This was the origin of the tama.

Another curer from the Parcialidad of San Andrés gave us the following account concerning the origin of the tama:

"The elders say that the tama was left by Thunder himself. A man had a potato field and a rancho in the montaña. He went to harvest it with his son. One afternoon the boy refused to accompany his father, preferring to remain in the rancho. On the following day he disappeared without leaving a trace anywhere. All the steps taken by the father to locate his whereabouts were unsuccessful. On the eighth day, the boy reappeared in the rancho. The father naturally inquired as to his whereabouts and his activities. He replied that he had gone to the señor papa, who had given him the stick he carried in his hands, called tama, and aguardiente and remedies. The aguardiente was cold water from a lagoon, and the remedies were in a pouch. No sooner had he finished his tale than he fell into a deathlike trance. On the fifteenth day, at death's door, he asked his father to hand him the tama, for the señor

/322 cont./

231 arracacha. Dogs, cats, and pigs live, the first on kitchen refuse, the second by hunting mice, and the last on grasses and roots from the thickets. They are not familiar with breeds of cattle, hogs, and sheep. Only the guinea pig is regarded as American, while the other animals are said to be genuinely Spanish.

[236] Sheep seem to have emotional value because they provide the wool for people's clothing. They are kept with affection and rarely sold or eaten.

Dogs also seem to have emotional value because of being the guardian of the houses and fields. In addition, they have symbolic value: they are the iron curtain, the protective barrier against the dark memory of the Pijao. If the latter were to reappear again, the natives argue, they would not be able to approach /323/ the houses, because dogs live there, which would inspire fear in the Pijao, for they are so dangerous for them that mere contact with their footprints or their hair would kill them. In the legends and tales there is frequent reference to these de-
[552] fensive concepts. The dogs have special names: Guagás (white),
[625] kuchi (black), salgento, pitán, policía. Dogs that eat sheep are invariably killed with a shotgun without previous consultation with the owner.

[262] Guinea pigs are the favorite food of children. They kill
[252] them by strangling them and eat them boiled. These animals are
[782] not used as offerings to the Duende. Nor do they serve as presents
[755] for friends or relatives. They are also used to combat mental illness by covering the patient's forehead with the entrails of the still living animal.

235 They "cuidan" /show special attention/ to favorite persons
[554] with chickens and eggs. They have mingas with turkeys. Eggs
[262] are consumed, but in general they are sold.

[432] They use the honey and the wax from the hives of wild bees.
222 The honey, they say, is good for persons who suffer from "cold."
237 With the wax they soften hide lassos, and they occasionally use it
[757] for illumination. Domestic hives do not exist.

231 Wild animals, such as parrots, chicaos /a kind of bird/, squirrels, and micos, are never domesticated.

/177 cont./

the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook. Old, solitary persons or unmarried girls or men live with relatives or friends, but never alone, since a single person is unable either to protect himself or to provide for himself adequately.

The father's authority is great. Wife and children owe him absolute obedience. Nevertheless, the man does not have the right to alienate personal articles of members of the family or possessions that they made themselves. Thus, for example, he is not in a position to sell a coca bag or a fiber bag belonging to his wife or his children's toys.

The children are given the family name of the father, but the women keep their maiden names even after marriage. There is no external indication in dress or hair style or otherwise for unmarried girls and married women. The wife is obligated to work for her husband and children in her family. Beyond that she may procure personal belongings for herself by weaving cloth beyond the needs of her family, for example, and trading it for ornaments.

If the young people are still living in the house with their parents, the daughter-in-law is not absolutely subordinate to her mother-in-law, although this appears to be so, to judge from the speech at the wedding ceremony. A relationship of dependence is out of the question because of the separate kitchens. Usually, however, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are on good terms, and then it is not uncommon for only one woman to cook for both families, for there is no in-law avoidance. Then the two women share the work of cleaning the house.

Conjugal fidelity is demanded of both marriage partners; in the case of the man, however, it is sometimes not taken so seriously. If a man surprises his wife, however, or she her husband, in marital infidelity, the deceived party may beat (but not kill) both and report them to the cabildo, which again has the guilty party very soundly thrashed.

Illegitimate children are not rare among the Paez. In case an unmarried girl has a child, she is beaten by her parents and

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115 We then looked for another interpreter, the Calderun Victoriano Piñakué, about 17 years old and very open-minded with regard to "white" civilization. His father even once visited Popayán, the capital of the department of Cauca. Through this he had a somewhat broader outlook and became involved in a quarrel with a bad shaman, in which the latter took one of his eyes by magic. Since then old Piñakué has been blind in one eye. A younger brother of Victoriano is going to school in Inzá and is the helper of the sacristan there. Victoriano is very much interested in one day becoming acquainted with Popayán or even Bogotá. He speaks Spanish quite well and has already earned money on occasion in the service of the white colonists and in La Plata as a construction worker, in order to buy clothing of the whites for himself. By "white" the Paez mean the Spanish culture of the Colombians, namely, clothing, education, and corresponding customs, not, however, skin color or other characteristics of the white race.

[191] [464] [829]

Victoriano set great store by dressing, not like a Paez, but like a white. He was an enthusiastic fellow-worker, not, however, out of greed for money, but out of sincere interest, and at every opportunity he would ask how things were among us in Germany. With a great craving for knowledge, he would again and again have our photos of Europe explained to him, and he even made an effort to learn German.

115 156 554

In his native village of Calderas the work with Victoriano was very difficult, since he was very unpopular because he dresses like a white. Several times, when his fellow villagers were drunk, they even wanted to murder him. Once when we visited a house together, he was heckled by some tipsy men: he was called a sluggard who does nothing the whole day but talk with the "doctores" and go for walks. Besides, they said, he thinks that he is better than the rest of the Paez because he wears "white" clothing. When Victoriano replied that in his work among the whites it would be impossible for him to wear the Calderun costume, but that in his dress he was obliged to adjust to his environment, they retorted that he went to the whites merely in order to be able to eat more meat.

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115 Victoriano likes to parade his outward standing of higher
156 culture openly. He possesses soap, a toothbrush, a small brush
554 for grooming his eyebrows, and perfume. He uses all these
[598] toilet articles very frequently. He is not afraid of the jealousy of his Calderun fellow-villagers; he always carries his machete /see the glossary, p. 249/ with him in order to defend himself. He wants to marry a "white" woman outside of Calderas (cf. also "The Course of a Day" /see p. 133 /).

124 /109/ In the work an attempt was made as a matter of
286 principle to observe all the activities of the Paez ourselves;
386 when this was not feasible, two different informants were questioned if possible. Two examples will show, however, that errors can creep in, even with the most careful work: I had the dyeing process for the black-dyed fabrics explained to me by the interpreter Marcos, according to whom they are first boiled with certain leaves, and then all of this is placed in black humus earth for two days. When the same question was put to Victoriano, he stated that the black coloring occurs if the fabric is placed in black humus earth for two days. At my suggestion that the fabric first had to be boiled with leaves, he delightedly agreed with me. When called to account as to why he had not told me that, he replied: "Well, you did not ask me about that; you only wanted to know how the material becomes black!"

124 One cannot speak sufficiently often and again and again
423 in different ways about the same subject, for to the Paez the necessity or the meaning of explanations for things self-evident to them is usually incomprehensible. Thus in the case described there was as little ill-intent or even mere carelessness as in the following case: In roaming over boundary lines, I inquired as to which fields were private property and which were community property. We came to the general conclusion that the lowlands were community property and the mountain slopes the private property of the man or family who had first cleared the land. I asked Victoriano several times as to whether there were any pieces of land that at present had no owner. He stated emphatically that all the land had been disposed of and there was no longer any ownerless land.

/140 cont./

231 439 Since the only purpose of keeping horses among the Paez is to have as large a number as possible, it is understandable that they place importance above all on the possession of mares. The birth of a filly is therefore a great joy and everyone would be happy to trade a grown stallion for a filly, "because it again gives foals." Unfortunately this exchange takes place only all too rarely, because the colonists are not interested in the degenerate horses of the Calderun. It is different with cows (kulá; steer = toló, heifer = novílya). Here the /141/ Calderun breed (black mottled "Holstein" and brown cattle) is healthier and usually also stronger than the cattle of the colonists. Moreover, on account of the somewhat cooler climate, their bodies are almost completely free of ticks and vermin, in contrast to the cows belonging to the inhabitants of lower altitudes, normally 231 crawling with larvae and maggots. Unlike horse meat, beef is [262] eaten, but milk is never drunk, "since the Calderun never have [272] the cows milked." The breeding goal here, too, is the greatest possible number. Thus it would never happen that a cow or calf would be slaughtered. I could not learn of any preference for a particular color, for example, black-white or brown-white, or uniformly all black or white or brown. All are liked equally well [431] by the Paez, since only the number is important. There is no special attachment between a person and his livestock, for no one gives away livestock, either as a birthday, christening, or [552] wedding present. Special names or designations for livestock or pet names are not used.

233 422 231 About half the total number of Calderun cattle and horses graze on the pastures of community land. This means about 40 horses and 60 cattle. The figure shows that only a small number of Calderun families own a cow or a horse. The proportion [554] becomes even less favorable when one learns that there are three rich families who own about ten to 20 head of cattle and horses each. The other half of the large stock, as well as sheep, pigs, and small stock, remain near the houses and seek their fodder there. [241] They may also forage in the uncultivated fields of neighbors; they are prevented by the fences from breaking into the cultivated fields.

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623 title of gobernador. In Paez this corresponds to the designation tŏtens. At his side, in Calderas, stands the gobernador suplente as his representative; other functionaries are the alcalde /see the glossary, p. 248 / (in Paez ka'nas), of whom there are two in Calderas, the alcalde mayor and the alcalde menor, furthermore two fiscales, three comisarios, and one comisario escolar, as well as an alguacil. The composition of the cabildo in Santa Rosa is the following: a gobernador, an alcalde, a fiscal, a comisario escolar, and an alguacil. In Lame there are a gobernador, a gobernador suplente, two fiscales, one comisario, and one alguacil. The cabildo in Togoima consists of the gobernador, the gobernador suplente, two alcaldes, two fiscales, three comisarios, one comisario escolar, and one alguacil. Aside from the double and triple occupancies, the composition of the cabildo is the same in the four villages. It should be noted that there are Paez words only for the gobernador and the alcalde; Spanish designations are used for the rest of the functionaries.

623 554 The authority of the gobernador as the leader of the village rests more on his personal prestige than on official means of power. He must therefore be very cautious with his regulations and instructions. He has the collectively conceived decisions of the village council carried out with respect to road or bridge building or the repair of the church, the school, or the com-
[626] munity house. While his regulations remain within the scope of what the great majority of the village also regards as good, the collectivity exerts strong pressure on those who stand apart. In flagrant instances of apartness, however, he has quite drastic measures at his disposal, which, though they are today no longer as strictly wielded as formerly, can nevertheless be very effective in the hands of an energetic gobernador. It is taken for granted, however, that the gobernador acts neither unjustly nor arbitrarily, sets a good example in all undertakings, and is active first and
123 last in the communal work. How little the gobernador is in a
623 position to issue arbitrary orders within his village may be illus-
554 trated by the following example: One Saturday the gobernador

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123 of Calderas came from the weekly market in Inzá and visited
623 me in San Andrés. When in the course of the conversation I
554 mentioned that I would be coming to Calderas on the following Monday, he suggested that I arrive there early. He said that he already knew that I was interested in everything concerning
[476] his village and on Monday /173/ I could be present at a community project for all the men of the village in clearing a field. Since my interpreter was not free until Monday, I could not set out on Sunday in order to be present in time for the field work on Monday. I begged him to postpone the communal project for a day or two. That would be impossible, he replied, since this work had been decided upon for Monday by the cabildo and
123 he was not in a position to change the date independently. I
623 offered him as a gift a very handsome travel-machete with a
554 sheath, in case he might be in a position to postpone the work.
411 Generally the Paez own only the heavy, broad work-machete for felling trees, which they can drag along with them on the way to
[435] market only with difficulty. As a weapon for traveling, therefore, the lighter, chrome-plated machetes are greatly coveted, but on account of their high price of 12 pesos no Calderun has here-
123 tofore been able to afford one. I had put this gift aside for the
623 gobernador some time before, but had never found the proper
554 reason for presenting it. This time the occasion seemed very favorable and really worthwhile. The gobernador, although he was extremely anxious to be the first Calderun to possess the implement, explained that my request could not be fulfilled, since all the men had already been notified for Monday. I pointed out that he surely had enough messengers to inform his people that the work would not take place until a few days later. He could not make the decision to do this; he kept explaining that in addition the men would be angry. I proposed to him that I would treat them, at my expense, to ten pesos' worth of chicha to placate them, an amount that they had hardly ever had before. He could not make a decision; he finally said that he would try and would speak to his people on Sunday, and he hoped, in view of so much chicha, that he would succeed, but he could not.

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123 promise it. When I arrived in Calderas on Monday I found that
623 the men of the village had not wanted to meet a second time and
554 that they had indeed begun the work.

623 The alcaldes and the alguacil are the messengers of the
[203] cabildo; they notify the people when communal projects are
[696] necessary. Moreover, the alguacil administers corporal punish-
[203] ment. The three comisarios are likewise messengers and help
[794] the gobernador carry out and supervise public projects. It is the duty of the fiscales -- together with the gobernador -- to decorate the church. They provide candles and help the priest. According to C. Cuervo Marquez (Vol. II, p. 183), the fiscales formerly also had the duty of defending the interests of the /174/
871 village against the encroachments of the colonists. The comisario
623 escolar, finally, is responsible for the school attendance of the
[797] children. The mission sisters, as the teachers, turn to him and
[875] he is supposed to get the children to school, by force, if necessary.

It should not remain unmentioned that Calderas -- and ap-
621 parently this village only -- is divided into four parts, each of
623 which occupies roughly a cardinal point and has about 50 houses.
[361] An alcalde, alguacil, fiscal, and comisario are each an equal representative of a quarter in the cabildo. At present the alcalde is the representative of the western region of Yocashí, the alguacil the representative of the northern region of Puélche, the fiscal that of the eastern region of Aépel, and the comisario that of the southern Bishók. I was told that the connection between an office and the representation of a village quarter is arbitrary, depending on where the occupant of the post happens to live. The official position within the cabildo is first assigned, and today it is the more important. Four of them take over the representation of a village quarter each. Thus, the comisario, if he lives there, may be the representative from Yocashí, and the alcalde the representative of Aépel. The present gobernador, for example, was fiscal ten years ago. Since he lives in the village section of Puélche, he was at the same time the representative of this quarter.

848 /178/ the cabildo until she names the father of her child. If he
623 is an unmarried young man, he must marry the girl. A married man, however, is beaten by the cabildo. He does not need to make support payments. It is different if a married man has no
842 children. In this case the wife is regarded in principle as the one
848 at fault. He may then have a child by an unmarried girl without
837 being punished. He simply explains to the cabildo that he has a
[623] great deal of property and that he therefore needs children whom he cannot have by his wife. To the mother of his natural child he gives a cow, clothing, and a pretty belt, and she then surrenders her child to the lawful wife of the father of her child. He may
[554] do this several times until he has enough children. This is not permitted, however, for a poor man without possessions, it was explained to me, for "why does he need children?"

844 At the time of menstruation and also at the birth of a child
841 the woman stays in a special small hut (dúyat). She receives her
[343] food either from her mother, sister, or a neighbor woman from a house in which several women live. This woman at the same time cooks for the members of the family of the menstruating woman. The members of the family of the woman who is temporarily cooking receive their meals from another female member of her family. The woman who takes care of the food also fetches the wood for the fire necessary for warmth in the dúyat. Female inhabitants of farms or of field huts used for only a few months, which have no
[758] dúyat, go to a neighboring or related family for this period. In case the housewife becomes ill, she moves into the house of one
[602] of her sisters or female relatives, where she is nursed. The male relatives of the sick woman must then likewise go to the house of this relative to eat.

614 Besides the patrilineal nuclear families, no recognized patrilineal kin-groups /Sippen/ are known among the Paez, but all who bear the same family name feel related and may not marry, even though they are not knowingly -- this knowledge goes back only two generations -- related. Our interpreter, Victoriano Piñakuẽ, for example, may not only not marry any girls with the patronymic Piñakuẽ, but also no girls whose mothers are named Piñakuẽ. Conditions are particularly difficult among the

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g) Festivals and Celebrations

796 The public community festivals of the Paez which are celebrated and observed in the course of the year nowadays take place only on religious occasions, on the three church holidays Semana Santa (Easter week), San Juán (June 24), and Immaculada (December 8). For the Paez these are primarily occasions for joyful gatherings, for setting off fireworks, and for eating and drinking richly and abundantly. It is not certain whether in former times there were any indigenous festivals in connection with sowing and harvesting and the natural cycle of the year, 796 and to me this does not even seem probable. There is nothing 221 in the myths and surviving indigenous customs of the Paez that 241 points to an agricultural rhythm of life; rather, religion, mythology, and ceremonial practice are remnants of a hunting and shamanistic attitude of mind. The absence of a ceremonial life connected with sowing and harvesting becomes understandable in view of the fact that it is possible to do this at any time of the year; there is no correlation between a seasonal and growth rhythm and a corresponding natural festival cycle.

796 The gobernador at the time is in charge of organizing the community festivals. The actual running of the festival, which includes the entertainment of the entire village and the serving of the necessary food and drink, is the duty of the two "fiesteros" and their helpers, the "albaceros" and "mayordomos." It is an [554] honor to be fiestero, but also an expensive matter, for this office costs each one two head of cattle, the food for the village on the festival day, and, in addition, the liberal distribution of chicha and brandy. And, to be sure, not only the chicha that is drunk by the village on the day of the festival, but also that which the helpers [426] drink when they make the chicha before the festival. Even if a fiestero hires himself out to the whites months before the festival /208/ in order to earn money, he often remains in debt for years afterward as a result of the obligations arising from the festival. In spite of the costliness of this office, the fiesteros -- so I was

/256 cont./

771 It is not certain whether in former times the Paez had a cult
[793] priesthood besides shamans such as are practicing today. In any
[756] case, to designate the priests and missionaries they use the word
[797] tikwe, /257/ which is not used for anything else. The present-
771 day characteristic thinking of the Paez, their entire mental atti-
754 tude, revolves around magic and countermagic, despite mission-
[797] izing and Christianity. No injury, no illness, no deformity, no
[177] poor livestock is traced back to natural causes, but rather every-
thing is the work of evil magic. Since the people themselves
are fully convinced of this belief and ensnared by this idea, the
actual achievement of the evil sorcerers corresponds to what is
desired; that is to say, a person who knows he is bewitched,
being mindful of the inevitability of his fate, actually becomes
554 ill and dies. The victims are almost always the most thrifty
and industrious members of the community, those who tower
above the others because of their success.

754 There are no persons who are privileged because of age,
177 sex, or social position -- with the exception of the good shamans,
who are incessantly the target of the evil ones. Anyone who, in
dress and way of living, adopts the customs of the whites, is in
the habit of associating with them, no longer chews coca, works
with modern tools, and wants to carry on his farming according
to the principles of the colonists is opposed by the nyic.

754 It is not only the outward superiority of the individual over
554 the masses that evokes the envy of the nyic, but also the general
popularity of an individual, and with it a certain personal influ-
ence within the village. Thus, for example, the father of our
Victoriano was the victim of an evil charm. He is regarded as very
intelligent, is a good worker, knows best how to build houses and
bridges, and has even undertaken a journey to the city of Popayán.
On account of his popularity and the good advice he always gives --
so it is reported -- a nyic tried to kill him out of envy. One
[765] night when he was asleep the nyic robbed him of his soul. His
brother noticed it, however, and spat coca on it. The next day
the eye of the bewitched one became white and was close to
running out, if a teyu had not helped. He is blind in that eye,
however, to this day.

/261 cont./

756 mentions that in his village there are so many sick people who
787 need his help and that he has gone into the mountains to look for medicinal herbs such as the shamans have. The one addressed replies that indeed there are in the mountains many good medicinal herbs for making people well. With that he hands him a fiber bag full of herbs and explains to him for which illness this and for which that will help. Explaining in such a manner, he acquaints the youth with all the herbs and tells him how they are used. Then he shows him how to make the shaman's staff and finally lets him feel the "signs," without a knowledge of which the medicinal herbs would be useless, since the latter can indeed be used only in connection with the corresponding "signs." (Cf. in this connection, under "Folklore," the similar myths about Llivan! /see
756 pp. 217ff./). Back home again, the youth begins first of all to learn under an experienced shaman, and then starts with curing a sickness in his own family. If he is successful, other people also come to demand his services.

One may also become a shaman without having had a vision. One becomes an apprentice of a good shaman and for several years learns there the practical manipulations. This includes the handling of the shaman's staff, the knowledge of medicinal herbs, and the interpretation of the "signs," in order to make the treatment of the sick successful. Here, too, the first treatment is done among members of the family under the supervision of the shaman
● [554] teacher. His reputation and the further demand for his services in the community depend on the outcome of this treatment.

Several of the Calderun "hereditary shamans" attained their position by this latter method. For example, the tepits Martin Chukue. He is about 50 years old. His wife died six years ago. He had four children by her, three of whom are also dead. He has one child by a second wife. He lives in a small house, but has no field, no cows, sheep, or pigs. His uncle was tepits. He lived with him for many years, until he was about 30 years old. Then for the first time he received the "signs" in his arms, made his staff, and became independent. In his opinion, one cannot

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756 right ring finger up the arm to the heart, the person concerned
826 will bury a relative on the next day. Signs in the palm of the
787 right hand mean that the sick person will get well; signs in the
[763] palm of the left hand, that the mountain spirit is not accepting the gifts and the patient must die. By means of signs on the back of the left hand the mountain spirit makes it known that the offerings are insufficient. If the signs go from the palm of the right hand to the neck, this means "pest" from the Pijao. Signs in the right thumb and in the hand announce the appearance of a lost or strayed animal; signs in the corner of the left eye, that the lost animal has been stolen and has already been eaten by the thief; signs in the left arm announce the arrival of the ec spirit; signs in the right upper arm announce to the shaman that good people are asking him to be the sponsor at a christening. Signs on the head of the shaman announce that the nyic will send the pest, and if the signs go from the head into the left hand, the
756 person is already bewitched. In these and similar ways of
787 interpreting their signs, the shamans discover the nature of all illnesses and the means required to cure them. Thus their signs are their only treasure of experience, and if they do not feel them, or no longer feel them, they have lost the essential characteristic of being shamsns.

787 Besides the shamanistic signs described, for the teyu as well
828 as for ordinary human beings of every age and sex dreams are an essential means of experience for looking into the future, as well as for confirmation of a foreign -- usually evil -- influence on one's own person. Just as the effects of evil magic on the individual are brought about through auto-suggestion, so, too, what is seen in a dream. The latter perhaps even more intensively because of a person's own, direct dream experience; only in this way can one understand the positively fatalistic attitude of the persons
115 concerned. Our interpreter Victoriano, for example, is one of the
787 most industrious and capable Calderun. He is determined not to
828 remain socially on the Indio level of his village. He therefore
554 [770] takes /266/ work from time to time among the white colonists,
[764] in order to earn money for Colombian clothing. He is therefore

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1/5 greatly hated in the village. In an intoxicated state the men have
787 often threatened to murder him. One day he came to us and said
that we would have to hurry with our work, for he would soon die.
534 He was by no means agitated when he said this, but smiled with an expression of absolute conviction. In answer to our question as to why, he stated that during the night he had dreamed of seeing himself in the grave. This is a sure sign that he must die. He would not let us ease his mind, for he knew, so he said, that he was unpopular in the village and he had been threatened with death anyway because he had seen more than the others, wore better clothes, and ate meat, instead of working in the village. For this reason the nyic would most certainly bring him to his death. It took several days and all our art of persuasion to get him away from this idea. Again and again we had to point out that, after all, he was a Christian, and as a precaution we had to give him many of our medications, before he would believe that perhaps he need not die
[787] after all. In any case his medallion of the Virgin Mary, which he always carries with him, does not unconditionally help against
787 evil magic. In the following there are a few further examples of dreams that are significant in some way or other: if one dreams that he is bitten by a snake, it is a sign of bewitchment; if, however, in the dream another person kills this snake at the moment of biting, a teyu will put an end to the bewitchment. To dream of jaguars and cats indicates that there are graves of the Pijao under
[783] the house. Someone will die of the "pest" of the Pijao if a person dreams that a jaguar is devouring his chickens. Dreaming about a
[963] funeral pile means that there is gold there. If one dreams about a cow, his wife will die. If one kills a bull or a horse in a dream, a good person (a shaman) will die. If one is stung by wasps in a dream, it means future punishment. Carrying beams or a chicha trough in a dream means that one will soon assist at a funeral. To choke in a dream means war, captivity, or being put into prison. Moreover, it is always a bad sign to dream of arracacha; in case of a journey, one would, for example, be devoured by a jaguar in the páramo. Also, if one dreams that he is able to walk under a rock, it likewise means that a jaguar will devour him. If someone

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774 (ũ = nasal) and taff, with which everyone is familiar, although
776 they are not sure about the distinction between the two. The
753 shamans Francisco and Cerbeleón said that the two were the same;
but both of them also said that ũns or taff, if they had left the
person in his dream and were abroad, could be caught by tũs, eč,
or nyiç without the person's becoming aware of this immediately,
but rather he still went on living. To my objection that in this
case ũns and taff were probably different, they did not know how
[775] to answer; Cerbeleón stated that if a person dies, his ũns goes to
heaven and the person himself becomes taff. He and other teyu
756 were able to catch the ũns of a human being. Thus, for example,
774 if someone had been robbed, he would come to Cerbeleón. The
754 latter takes coca, tobacco, and brandy, and then he can bring
forth the ũns of the thief, seize it, and kill it. The thief must
[783] then die. In order to get the ũns in his power, he must first cleanse
[824] his hands with the herbs šũ and vitubitskwe, as well as with brandy.
[276] The ũns has the form of a small animal, he explained; it can fly
and glows and is about three centimeters long. It is very similar
to a firefly in appearance, but different from eč.

554 Having reached this point in his explanation, Cerbeleón grew
754 silent, and our interpreter Victoriano said that we should now have
756 to depart, but quickly. With that he left the house in positive
[124] flight, and we were obliged to follow. Outside he explained to us
that Cerbeleón was a "mal brujo," a nyiç, which, to be sure, he
had always suspected before, but just now Cerbeleón had given
himself away inasmuch as he had said that he could catch and
[682] kill the ũns of human beings. The people of Calderas also say
that he possessed herbs that he could put in eggs, chicha, or other
food, whereupon people would eat them and then die. One of the
sons of Cerbeleón was a thief and had died in the following manner:
The one who was robbed had prayed to the Virgen Santisima /Holy
Virgin/, and God had punished the thief with death. The father
himself, that is, the shaman Cerbeleón, is also a thief and kills
people out of envy for their possessions.

The mission sisters confirmed this statement insofar as
Cerbeleón had several times attempted to kill them by sprinkling

/274 cont./

554 herbs into their drinking-water canal. Now he had given it up,
754 however. To us he seemed to be merely an idle talker; he did
756 not give the impression of actually having received signs or of being serious about the matter, but rather it seemed as though he had merely learned a little by watching his father /275/ and was doing it mechanically without any inner concern. Francisco, too, had a father and grandfather as shaman predecessors. He was likewise rather ignorant, but apparently meant well. He did his best to help people.

756 Martin Chukue was completely absorbed by his calling and
753 duty, and he was well informed, serious, and dignified in his
761 shamanistic work. When the capitan of Calderas died, he was the shaman authorized to act for his residence, and he also conducted the purification ceremony after his burial. Martin explained the cause of death of the capitan as follows: The capitan had to die because the tũs had stolen the tafĩ soul of the capitan. The capitan died with his left leg drawn up. He was very thin when he died, because he had not eaten anything for a long time, for
[753] his tafĩ soul had been stolen five years ago. At that time the sick man began feeling pain, and during the entire time he, Martin, had fought with the tũs, offered him medicines, and tried to appease him.

775 When the ũns soul (ũns also means "heart"!) leaves the body,
[774] then the person is ultimately dead. And, to be sure, ũns leaves
[827] the body by way of the upper arms, lower arms, finger tips. Shortly before it leaves the person, one may still perceive it very faintly as a pulse beat, and when the pulse beat ceases altogether, the ũns has left the body and immediately goes to heaven. No one could tell me exactly in what form it goes to heaven. In heaven, however, it again has the normal human appearance.
[755] When children are ill, wool threads are put around their wrists
[774] and ankles and drawn tightly in order to prevent the escape of the ũns, or at least to make it more difficult.

/286 cont./

182 no new harvest may be undertaken until the teyu has first cleansed
756 of the pest the building site or the crops, respectively.

/287/ He is, however, not only the protector of the individual or the individual family, but is also responsible for the beneficial
[773] co-existence of the members of the whole village. Thus, it is not surprising that it was the shamans -- besides Thunder under his various names -- who were the war leaders in the mythical tradi-
[926] tions. Thanks to their magical gifts and strength, they successfully led their people against the Pijao and the Spaniards. Several times the elders of the various villages told us that one day Thunder will again drive the white intruders out of the Tierradentro of the
[648] Paez and kill them. And it is only logical that, as late as 1952,
[789] on the occasion of an impending attack by an armed group of white revolutionaries, the shaman of Santa Rosa, as the successor of the mythical Thunder, should spit his magic herbs on the road leading to the village, in order to destroy them. Old Felisa Ipia is behaving in a similar manner when she keeps the souls of all the village inhabitants gathered together in the threads of her shaman's staff, in order to be able to protect them better against evil, magical influences.

756 On account of these certain supernatural abilities of theirs, the
554 effects of which no one in the community can evade, the teyu
[885] have a certain unofficial authority. In addition, they are all at least 30 to 40 years old and thus, by their very age, fulfill one of the natural prerequisites for recognition by the community. Not a few of them feel honored by this, set apart from the great mass of people, but many assured me that they were shamans only unwillingly, that though they were called by their ability to receive signs, they were nevertheless oppressed by the weight of the burden of their responsibility.

756 During times of epidemics of disease or inexplicable, "super-
124 natural" deaths, they are the focal point of the community, to
[182] which no one appeals in vain. And in conversations with them we generally had the distinct impression of facing unselfish, helpful human beings. They make no secret of their activity, and they tried, as best they could, to tell us about their experiences and knowledge which they use for the good of the community.

/292 cont./

5. Folklore

*539 The present fund of tales of the Paez is neither rich nor varied. Here, too, a certain impoverishment has undoubtedly taken place, as may be seen from fragments of larger complexes of myths. Among these there are the "Story of the Woman from Whose Body Useful Plants Come Forth," stories about transformed animals and human beings, as well as stories about werejaguars. [171] The story of the ghostly human head that comes rolling by is also extraordinarily widespread in North and South American legends [176] and has a manifold lunar-mythological meaning. In contrast to this, the complete absence of typical stories about the forest spirit (gĕlyŏmp) is noteworthy, although the latter plays an important role in the religious conceptions of the Paez. Animal and transformation tales are only very dull and colorless.

114 609 *539 [887] Unfortunately, the reluctance of the Paez to communicate is particularly frustrating in the recording of the myths. It is primarily the old people who can tell stories. But they are the very ones who are particularly standoffish toward the stranger. The chroniclers and early reporters tell us nothing about the folklore of the Paez, and even the most recent travelers of the 'thirties report only the story of Juan Tama or deny that the Paez have any mythology at all.

12 609 *539 [554] The stories collected by S. Bernal Villa and by myself could surely be augmented with better acquaintance among the old people. The unpopularity of our interpreter, especially among the old people, was sometimes so great an obstacle that Victoriano had to ask suitable informants for some of the stories told about his father or uncle.

*539 The themes of the stories chiefly consist of tales about Thunder (Nos. 1-12), mostly under his names of Juan Tama, Llivan, Chauté, or Juan Chiracol. In the myths he is the first shaman and teacher of the present-day shamans (see under "Religion" /see pp. 176 ff. /) and considerably more powerful than human beings. He is not an exalted, numinous figure, however. On the contrary, people in olden days /293/ sometimes treated him quite badly, threw poisonous herbs in his lagoon,

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

bag and the small receptacle that contains the quicklime used with the former. When out of doors a second piece of woolen cloth, longer and narrower than the first and called simply *atš*, is thrown over the shoulders, with the head likewise thrust through the middle. A narrow-brimmed hat (*tsna*) the like of which is found among the Kitšua, is the usual complement of this dress. It is made of the outer skin of a tall grass (*Gynerium saccharoides*), resembling sugar-cane and common along rivers. 291. [276] [824]

The women all dress in the same way, with fabrics invariably woven by themselves. The underwear, which is often dispensed with, consists of a narrow piece of woolen tissue used as a loin cloth, passing between the legs and then rolled around the hips. Over this article is worn a broad piece of dark woolen cloth, wrapped along the body and limbs in the form of a skirt. This is the *anaco*, or *pamb-atš*, and it is attached to the waist by means of a sash called *vilia*, the elaborateness and ornamentation of which vary with the wealth of the owner. The upper part of the body is covered with a ruana called *atš-tul*, sewed along the right side and on the right shoulder, but open at the left side, being simply pinned on the left shoulder with a wooden peg or a fish-bone. When traveling the women provide themselves with another broad piece of cloth (*spatš*) which is used either as a cover or for wrapping the baby on the back. In the latter case the cloth is secured by means of a belt (plate IV, 1). [482]

Women also wear necklaces, made now of common glass beads, silver coins, or small sea-shells, the number of strings depending on the wealth of the husband. The mention in Castillo's vocabulary of a word for bracelet (*kaschand-gnne-tsa*) indicates the former use of such ornament. Females have no headgear. Married women part their hair along the median line of the head and allow it to hang back in two braids. Little girls wear their hair loosely behind the shoulders. In former times women painted their faces blue with the juice of a fruit called *kii*. Speaking of this custom, which seems to be obsolete now, Castillo facetiously says: "fruta . . . con cuyo zumo se pintan el rostro las Indias (*i aun las que no lo son*)." Men formerly decorated their bodies and faces with *tok*, the red color [301] [554] [291] 302 [824]

[p.22 skipped in paginating-Analyst]

/194 cont./

796 The albacero and fiestero with their respective wives do not work; their task is to look after the people.

796 554 Every religious fiesta has a chief fiestero and a secondary one, with their respective retinues of albaceros, mayordomos, and laborers. There is no difference of rank between the two. Both spend the same amount of money and perform the same tasks. Only the chief one performs them first; he thus has [578] primacy. Nevertheless, a certain rivalry seems to exist between the two. According to the extravagance and hospitality, there are comments as to whether the fiesta of one was better than that of the other. Prestige is also involved here. Thus, of the two fiesteros who gave the fiesta of San Juan this current year, that of the second one was said to be better, since he did not get drunk, attended all the religious ceremonies, and [273] looked after people very well. Only the last of these remarks is valid, because the abundance of food, chicha, and aguardiente was fundamental; continuous drunkenness is the mark of a good fiesta. On the other hand, he knew how to look after the people because he had already been fiestero at another time.

796 Three weeks before the festive day activity begins in the households of the fiesteros: milling the sugar cane, the distillation of the aguardiente, entertainment of visitors, and the making of candles and firecrackers.

Two weeks before the Mass, the fiesteros, accompanied by the cabildo, music, and firecrackers, go to take over the pueblo house, with their wives, cooks, chicha-makers, and food distributors.

All the public entertaining will be done in the spacious sala. The church banner will wave in front of the house.

4:Bernal Villa--31 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/200 cont./

XI

Gourd Vessels and Etiquette

415 There are three types of gourd vessels in which chicha is
●554 distributed and whose traditional order of use reflects hierarchy,
273 majority, and high status; some gourd vessels are used for all those present, both sexes and all ages; others, only for a specific class of people.

The first type is small with an ovoid opening, made of
[192] half a gourd. In the Paez dialect it is called shup /201/ /illustration appears here/ shachi. All visitors, without distinction as to sex, age, or status, are presented with two matés of this type: the first one contains "strong water" to quench thirst, while the second contains chicha, the authentic strong chicha.

The second type of container is the shachi pitán (gourd-vessel capitan), of greater capacity than the first, ovoid in shape, and open at one end. The most respected persons of both sexes, adults and elders, are given chicha in these gourd vessels, /202/ after taking it from the shup shachi. They indicate a certain deference on the part of the host, and by the same token he wishes them to get drunk. Those who are favored with these gourds offer them to all present, who take them, taste the contents, and return them to the hands of the owner. The shachi pitán has gone from mouth to mouth, but the contents remain practically untouched; the owner is to drink it.

The laborers and mayordomos who are in his service, the albacero, the síndico /trustee/, and the highly respected elders, after having received chicha in the shup shachi and in the shachi pitán, receive a larger gourd vessel in which there is a tiny one (shachi léchukue), which is called suilté. The presentation of this has an etiquette of its own. The host comes out with the suilté in his hands, fills the shachi léchukue with

/202 cont./

415 chicha, and hands it to a person favored and respected by him;
554 the latter takes it, drinks from it, and returns the small gourd;
273

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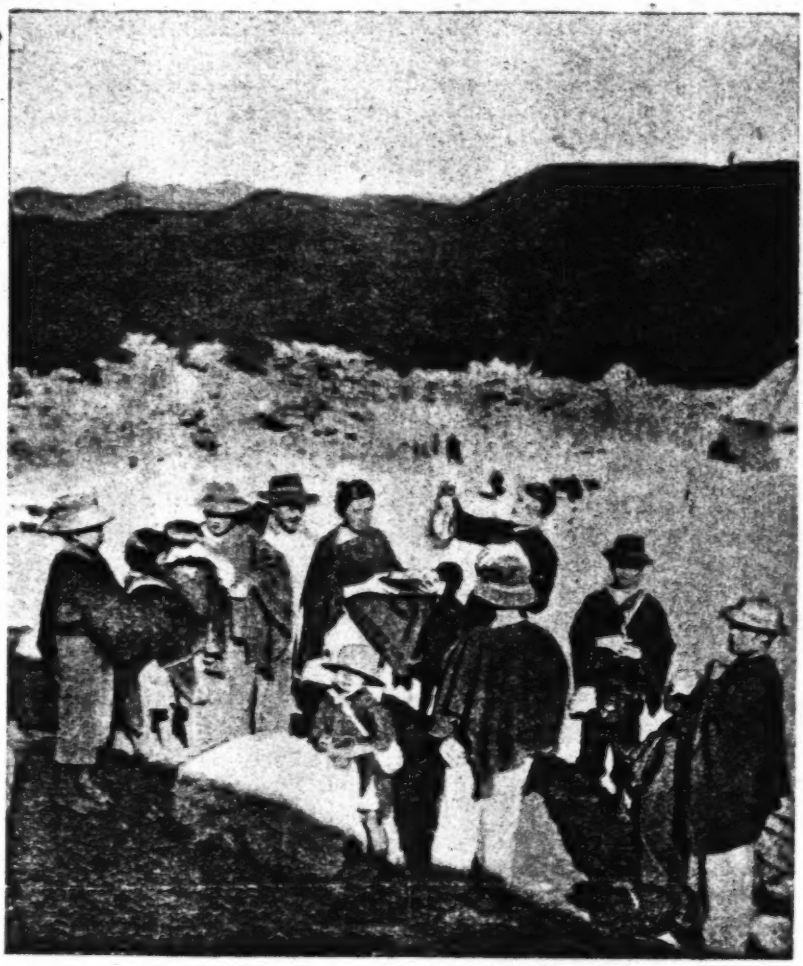

415 then he is given the suilté. In turn, he fills the small gourd and
554 gives it to the man who presented it to him. Then he distributes
273 the chicha among all those present, beginning with the adults,

/202 cont./

415 men first and then women, and ending with the children of both
●554 sexes. No one is left without a share.
273

XII

The Cleaning of the Church

346 The so-called church of Calderas, a masonry structure, is a dilapidated old building, long and tall, with a two-slope thatched roof and a hemispherical bell tower supported by four beams set into the ridgepiece. Only the front of four columns with cornices and semicircular arches which form an antechamber lends the whole a certain charm.

346 What is called the cleaning of the church is the removal
794 of a few weeds that grow in the pavement in front of it and
796 clearing a line that encircles a small plaza. The task is minimal, but it is always performed. The act is symbolic more than anything else; what matters is the meeting of the fiesteros with their respective albaceros and laborers; an occasion for taking care of the albacero, an opportunity for merriment, talk, jokes, and even games.

Some 12 days before the fiesta and on a Thursday, accompanied by the cabildo, music, and firecrackers, the fiestero leaves his house and goes to occupy one in the pueblo. He takes /203/ along the bull that will be sacrificed on the following day. Two days later, that is to say, on Monday, the cleaning of the church is carried out. On rare occasions
[202] it is done on a Wednesday. The ringing of bells announces the invitation and later tells the people that the cleaning is over, whereupon they drink the two calabashes of chicha which each fiestero has brought; the firecrackers are set off; "the albacero has earned a meal," they say, and deserves the honors of the table. The fiestero will take care of him with

/223 cont./

+ 756 868 members of his family and under the direction of his teacher. The demand for his services on the part of others depends on the outcome of these treatments. Many of the young curers of * 756 ● 554 866 Togoima, Calderas, and Santa Rosa learned in this manner. All of them state that their teachers had visions, and explicitly or implicitly admit their inferiority to them. "The ancestors had visions, and for this reason they must have been superior to us," says a curer from Calderas. Owing to this fact, people believe that the curers of today cannot talk to [829] Thunder. They would be killed. One of the reasons given to [623] explain why the cabildos /local councils/ of today do not go to the lagoon to wash the staffs of command is precisely the lack of curers like those of old.

* 756 868 [782] [778] Those who have had visions also place themselves under the direction of an experienced curer in order to learn the secrets of the profession. The definitive consecration as a curer is obtained when they offer the "Camarico" /a gift customarily given to guests/ to Thunder at the edge of the lagoon.

[554] Although an apprenticeship in medicine can be undertaken at a very early age, the practice requires one to be an adult of about 30 years of age and married or living with a woman. A "very young" curer would lie, informants say.

* 756 778 782 Consecration of the te eu. The true té eu, that is to say, those who have had visions, make the offering of the "Camarico /224/ to Thunder," a ceremony carried out at the edge of a lagoon, in order to be consecrated definitively as curers, since medicine is a heritage from Thunder.

The teacher asks the pupil for a white sheep and two new pouches. The animal is sacrificed, and from each organ on the left side a small piece is cut and placed in the pouch. This is the "Camarico for Thunder." With this gift, teacher and pupil set out for the lagoon, while at home the women cook the meat with the express order that no one may eat it until they return.

/250 cont./

756 and raw food. From the Ut ká and Wé ká they receive half of the animal sacrificed, chicha, and aguardiente. In case of a serious illness, they demand a pig, a sheep, and turkeys. But they get only a little.

756 Although there is no lack of information about curers who
554 collect money for practicing their learning, such as a curer from Togoima who was in demand even in La Plata and Garzón, it may be stated that the curers do not grow rich in the profession. Rather, the practice of curing prejudices their economic activities. Some are quite poor, while others own large areas of land, good fields of maize, wheat, plantains, and arracacha, a few head of cattle, and several horses, pigs, sheep, and turkeys. They might be classified as rich. Of the five curers from the Parcialidad of Calderas, three may be regarded as rich, while of those regarded as sorcerers, only one is poor. Naturally, this has been acquired by inheritance /251/ rather than as the fruit of their own efforts. Their labors are performed in accordance with the norms that prevail in the community, that is to say, through the system of mingas. During the harvest they make a distribution of foods just as the others do. They participate actively in the work of the others, as well as at the fiestas and drinking bouts.

It remains to be noted that the richest of the community are not curers. On occasion they are frequently criticized when during the treatments they request pork and the patient is not improving. "You should be ashamed" -- they shout -- "you are eating mutton and the patient is dying."

"Good curers, in referring to those regarded as sorcerers,
[754] say that they collect without fail. Whatever they see they ask for. The sorcerers say the same thing about the curers.

Social status of the Té eu. All the well-known curers are over 30 years of age. They are "elders" /mayores/ and for this reason respected by the community. It is said that the curers are no better than other men, but it is certain that they enjoy an aura of prestige and recognition different from that given by the concept of "majority" /mayoridad/.

* /251 cont./

756 In any case, "the curers have something and are kind,"
554 said one informant. They are respected, and at entertainments they are attended to in the room where important people (síndico, capitán, gobernador, eminent old people) are received, and they are served on larger plates.

Prestige is an advantage of the curer. It is not unusual for the curer to command more devotion than the capitán of the Parcialidad.

All the curers claim to be happy in their profession, and many are grateful to their teacher for his instruction. The advantage of being a curer is to be waited on by people, to be singled out from among the others, and also to be pursued for his knowledge, says one Calderun curer. Everyone seeks him out as a good curer; many of them are regarded as priests, for people come daily to their homes to look for them. They have more power than other people.

The curer has a high social status by virtue of his functions. But for no reason other than these functions. He commands respect and recognition for services rendered. No one can treat him badly. If during a drinking bout he is offended in some way, on the following day they hasten to make amends.

* 756 /252/ Psychological characteristics of the Té eu. The
157 curers vary in age from 30 to 70 years old. As a rule, they
156 have eyes deeply set in the orbital sockets, a penetrating gaze, a readiness to converse and laugh, a gentle manner, not at all aggressive; they are temperate and show much self-control and sureness in their movements.

A characteristic motor habit: seated on a very low log, they give the impression of squatting; their arms rest on their knees and with their hands they stroke their temples or chin. This motor habit is prevalent among Paez men.

[177] Their clothing is typically Paez; they do not favor change,
[291] although they are friendly enough with whites. They always
[757] advise their patients not to use the remedies of the whites or they will die.

/256 cont./

754 Sorceresses are numerous, and it seems that they are the most feared.

[787] Sorcerers receive signs from the devil and the evil spirits who help them appear in the form of snakes, donkeys, or pigs.

[825] They are different from the ghost and Rainbow. It is said that the pig teaches the person to be very fierce or inclined to drunkenness (drunks roll about on the floor like pigs in the mud); the donkey, to be a glutton.

In general it seems that every adult is a potential sorcerer, and all the more so those who deviate from the institutionalized norms of behavior.

754 554 578 Victims of sorcery. The victims of sorcery are found everywhere among the people, without any distinction as to sex or age, status or function. The sorcerer himself commonly takes the initiative, but he is also at the disposal of those who want to employ him.

The victims of sorcery frequently are those people who are efficient, hard-working, and frugal, virtues which in our society lead to the development of a capitalist economy.

754 554 152 578 In Santa Rosa they speak of the lamented death of one of their ex-gobernadores. He was young -- they say -- intelligent, a good conversationalist, /257/ and very hard-working. He owned much land and good fields of coffee, yuca, maize, and sugar cane. Jealousy, the source of discord and injustice, motivated the sorcerers Lorenzo Io and Dolores Oinó, his wife, who joined forces at once with the greatest of the sorceresses, Felisa Ipia, in order to put an end to this man's life. This is the judgment of the curers and the opinion of the community. But the accusation was made by the victim himself, who, in the course of his death agony, which was prolonged, dreamed of the above-mentioned sorcerers. The dying man repeatedly requested that the sorcerers should be sent for, so that he might settle accounts with them. When they left his house to attend to the wish of the dying man, he expired. He died convinced that they had cast a spell upon him.

/257 cont./

754 A curer from Santa Rosa, while taking a spell off a sick
554 person, explained that this man owned much land and that they
152 had cast a spell upon him in order to appropriate it.
578

In Calderas a man who can read, write, and make memorials for the Alcaldía of Inzá, a maker of fireworks, builder of houses, and good farmer, was naturally the cause of envy. A sorcerer wanted to kill him. He called his soul while he was asleep. But the one called was aided by the soul of his brother, who blew mambe toward him. On the following day his left eye became white and was on the point of dropping out. A curer was able to cure him, but he remained one-eyed. The two brothers remained enemies of the sorcerer.

754 On another occasion and in the same parcialidad, two
613 brothers gave a sorcerer a beating. In revenge he cast a spell
623 on both within a year. Fearful of punishment, the sorcerer went to other parcialidades, but on his return the cabildo put him in the stocks.

In the old days -- says a curer from Santa Rosa -- the cabildos punished the sorcerers. Those of today are afraid of them. The elders /mayores/ have died bewitched. Actually, the Indians refuse to serve on the cabildo or to accept the post of capitán for fear of the sorcerers.

754 The sorcerers are all thieves. They often steal under the
685 very eyes of the owner, who, fearful that they will cast a spell upon him, does not make the slightest protest. But the sorcerers, in turn, fearful that he might complain to the white authorities, cast a spell upon him.

754 In Calderas, those who purchase livestock to expand their small hacienda have been attacked by sorcery.

The Indian who has lived with the whites, who has adopted
754 their clothing, their dietary habits, and their agricultural and
177 cattle-raising techniques, /258/ and who has given up the
554 habit of consuming coca and chicha is not only the victim of magical attacks, but is the direct recipient of offensive words and deeds.

/258 cont./

754 Thus, the victims are "the most skillful, the most charitable
554 toward travelers, the friends of the whites, those who display the most friendliness among the natives, those who have much livestock, large tracts of land, good plantings." In this phrase are listed almost the full gamut of the victims of sorcery. From previous examples, we see that those who have land, animals, mental ability and manual dexterity, and good fields, the energetic numbers of the cabildo, those who take the path
[182] of transculturation, are victims of sorcery. In addition, revenge and resentment are evened up by means of sorcery.

754 It is not surprising that undesirable whites are victims of
648 sorcery. The undesirable ones are those who covet their lands. The curers, on their own initiative or supported by the cabildo, call the soul of the white at a strategic spot, capture it, whip it with pringamoza (Urticaceae) and put bad remedies on it so that it will never return to the region. They say that the white begins to feel too lazy to travel in the area and finally decides to return to his country.

[177] In parcialidades such as Calderas, where much resistance is shown against living with and contact with the white, there are some people who are such sorcerers and such enemies of the white that even in the church they leave enchanted eggs so that not even the priest will come.

754 Among the victims of sorcery are parturient women and newborn babies, when the sorcerer or other envious persons do not want a certain family to prosper.

The power of sorcerers extends not only to human beings
[433] and animals, but also to the plantings. The loss of a planting
[167] means suffering from hunger, a shortage of coca, and emi-
[464] gration of the parents to distant places in order to hire out as laborers.

In the clearing they may put enchanted eggs, salt, pubic hair, or capio maize in order that the planting be lost.

/261 cont./

683 The aversion that the people of Santa Rosa have for the
554 sorceress Ipia is expressed clearly in the words of one té eu:
754 "This old woman should be brought to the pueblo, her remedies burned, she should be bathed in ají water, manacled, and kept like this overnight to prevent her from running away, bathing with her remedies, and turning back into a sorceress."

683 In this same parcialidad the sorcerers accused of having
[623] killed the former gobernador with their tricks were given the following punishment by the Cabildo.

The sorcerers, taken from their houses with all their pouches of remedies, were led to the pueblo. In the plaza and in the presence of the people, the capitán took from the pouches remedy after remedy, showing it to the public and asking about its uses. The remedies were unknown in most cases and the sorcerers gave no information about them. They made a large pile. The gobernador of the cabildo says that they even had earth from the cemetery. He sprinkled the remedies with gasoline, put the sorcerers in the middle, and lighted the fire. The frightened sorcerers begged for forgiveness, claiming that they were innocent.

It is said that in the pouches they found flowers of sulphur, with which they /262/ prepared a drink that they forced them to take in order to rid them of evil spirits. The sorcerers, on their part, say that the drink in question was a mixture of the excrements of domestic animals and human feces.

The sorcerers had to remain at the wake overnight and dig part of the grave. After the burial they were invited to the meal which is offered on such occasions, an invitation which they refused, but they were forced to attend. With the food it is said that they were given pubic hair, according to the sorcerers. Then the people tossed them into a pond.

683 In Calderas the punishments are more violent. In 1951,
184 they took a sorcerer, put him in the stocks for two days, forced him to take the drink of excrements, whipped him,

/263 cont./

182 754 The people perceive only the effects. Only the expectant attitude announces to us its presence. The latent fears tell us of its vigor. The members of the cabildo, the capitán, the té eu, the working men, the parturient women have a strong fear of sorcery.

When the pest spreads through the community, when the elders die and their experience and advice are lost, thoughts [761] turn inevitably to the power of the sorcerers. Most deaths are brought about by sorcerers, the informants say.

754 182 177 Sorcery is a powerful barrier against the introduction of the customs of a capitalist economy and also against the intrusion of the whites in their parcialidades. It is strange that sorcery should exist in the less acculturated parcialidades, while in San Andrés it has practically disappeared. It is said to have been vigorous until 1926, the year when the Municipal Council of Inzá established in the parcialidad a settlement area in which the whites settled. With this measure living together was inescapable and they chose to accept them. Nevertheless, during the drinking bouts of the old people, the tremendous resentment that has become natural to them still crops out.

182 754 423 [554] [152] 754 182 Furthermore, it makes its influences felt in the distribution of land. Each family has lands from which it lives. With the increase in population the problem of their unequal distribution has become prominent. Those who have the most land are the targets of envy and sorcery; they are more prone to magical attacks aimed at taking away their land. Intrasocial tensions appear to be brought into equilibrium by means of this institution. The fear of reprisals checks aggression. Revenge is too prejudicial, since it can be manifested not only against [184] individuals, but also against animals and plantings. It is [177] perfectly true to say that while in Calderas acts of bloodshed [675] are rare and suicide is unknown, in San Andres, a parcialidad which is largely acculturated, the homicides, murders, and [762] cases of arson are hair-raising.

/322 cont./

231 arracacha. Dogs, cats, and pigs live, the first on kitchen refuse, the second by hunting mice, and the last on grasses and roots from the thickets. They are not familiar with breeds of cattle, hogs, and sheep. Only the guinea pig is regarded as American, while the other animals are said to be genuinely Spanish.

[236] Sheep seem to have emotional value because they provide the wool for people's clothing. They are kept with affection and rarely sold or eaten.

Dogs also seem to have emotional value because of being the guardian of the houses and fields. In addition, they have symbolic value: they are the iron curtain, the protective barrier against the dark memory of the Pijao. If the latter were to reappear again, the natives argue, they would not be able to approach /323/ the houses, because dogs live there, which would inspire fear in the Pijao, for they are so dangerous for them that mere contact with their footprints or their hair would kill them. In the legends and tales there is frequent reference to these de-
[552] fensive concepts. The dogs have special names: Guagás (white),
[685] kuchi (black), salgento, pitán, policía. Dogs that eat sheep are invariably killed with a shotgun without previous consultation with the owner.

[262] Guinea pigs are the favorite food of children. They kill
[252] them by strangling them and eat them boiled. These animals are
[782] not used as offerings to the Duende. Nor do they serve as presents
[755] for friends or relatives. They are also used to combat mental illness by covering the patient's forehead with the entrails of the still living animal.

235 They "cuidan" /show special attention/ to favorite persons
[554] with chickens and eggs. They have mingas with turkeys. Eggs
[262] are consumed, but in general they are sold.

[432] They use the honey and the wax from the hives of wild bees.
222 The honey, they say, is good for persons who suffer from "cold."
237 With the wax they soften hide lassos, and they occasionally use it
[757] for illumination. Domestic hives do not exist.

231 Wild animals, such as parrots, chicaos /a kind of bird/, squirrels, and micos, are never domesticated.

/328 cont./

388 began to use other types of raw materials. The death blow was
43 thus given to the only home industry of the above-mentioned regions. Wax is still gathered, but the price for an arroba in Silvia does not reach eight pesos. There is no longer any profit.
388 The Indians go on using it to make candles for household con-
[373] sumption and above all for illumination at religious fiestas. We
[796] have described the methods of gathering, extracting, and manufacturing laurel wax in the work entitled "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," published in the Revista Colombiana de Folklore, Number 2 of 1953.

/329/

Mingas

476 The minga is the most widespread form of labor among the
461 Páez. The natives can work for themselves alone and are excellent laborers. But the task would demand more of their time
[464] and effort. Thus, the minga serves to prevent "boredom" during the work, to gain time, and to provide a labor force which would otherwise be hard to obtain.

476 The minga then is a co-operative system of labor whereby the interested party invites a specific number of acquaintances to perform a job, duly rewarding them with food, drink, and coca. "Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense," says Hernández de Alba /cited in English/.

476 Indispensable articles of reward are meat, chicha, and, in
● 554 nearly all the parcialidades, coca. The incidence of the mingas is thus almost in direct proportion to the possession of domestic
[231] animals. Those who lack such stock, that is to say, the poor according to the concepts of Páez culture, work alone or in the company of their sons, if they have any.

476 In the course of the cultivation cycle the following mingas
241 are held: to fell the trees (clearings); to pile up the wood that remains after the burning and to cut stakes for the fence; to build fences; to do the planting and weeding.

In Calderas a minga for clearing is carried out in the following way:

/357 cont./

261 that is provided by having what is to be consumed. An abundance
594 of guarapo and maize undoubtedly gives them great gratification. When these products are abundant the religious fiestas, mingas, and "entertainments" are good, the natives say, and they describe at great length the incidents as they unfold.

178 But, in spite of the fact that the work capacity of the in-
241 dividual is acknowledged, that the possession of domestic animals
433 lends a certain prestige within the group, and that the abundance
[554] of food and guarapo brings gratification, the agricultural cycle
[231] remains stationary within the lineaments of time, of the systems of labor, and of the quantity of seed. They produce essentially
178 for consumption. The stimulation of prestige does not exist. In
433 many parcialidades, the habits of a capitalistic economy are openly
[754] combated by the sorcerers (32). Nevertheless, we have already

32. Bernal Villa, S. op. cit., p. 256.

had the opportunity to state that the introduction of the cultivation of coffee (temperate zone), the development of livestock-raising and of the cultivation of potatoes in Mosoco, and the creation of settlement areas in the very heart of the native parcialidades are rapidly modifying all of the institutions of Páez culture. The family economy of self-provisioning and of small barter operations is changing perceptibly into a purely money economy. By the same process the routine monotony is disappearing from production and is being replaced by new techniques of work, a greater quantity of production, and a greater volume of trade.

434 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, and San Andrés, we
121 made an investigation of familial income and expenses /358/ for
124 the year 1953, on the basis of questionnaires prepared by the Comisión de Planeamiento de la Seguridad Social Campesina of the Ministerio del Trabajo, questionnaires that were filled out by us for the said commission with reference to Tierradentro.

/366 cont./

[77] are more acculturated. All of these circumstances have permitted the extensification of the cultivation of garlic, wheat, and especially potatoes, as well as the extensification and intensification of livestock-raising, which, in turn, has given rise to a series of phenomena now in the full process of development, such as the modification of work schedules and agricultural cycles, the regularization of trade and transport, the appearance of the habit of capitalization and of the use of credit, the use of barbed wire for fencing, reforestation on a eucalyptus base, the development of household industries, modification of the diet and eating times, adoption of specific objects of adornment by the women (gold earrings), disappearance of coca consumption ("deculturation," to use Fernando Ortiz's neologism), social stratification, the undermining of the institutions of the té eu and the nasa jihi, the calming of the real and magical aggressiveness against the "whites," intensification of primary education, and greater conviction in religious beliefs.

In the temperate zone in general and in San Andrés in particular, the cultivation of coffee is in full swing, and the consequences of this economic fact are beginning to be visible. The palm hat, very common in the parcialidad of Calderas, is not seen very much among the Andresunos, who are adopting the cloth hat of the "whites"; some of them already wear sandals or shoes, and likewise the use of the poncho and of the bag of a manufacture foreign to the culture is spreading; the agricultural implements are being enriched in the same manner as modern housewares; although the most widespread labor system in the parcialidad is that of the mingas, some already pay daily wages for work on their fields; the consumption of meat and panela is [756] quite frequent when there are coffee harvests. It is also interest- [554] ing that in the entire parcialidad there are only two té eu, who are not greatly respected, though they utilize the services of the té eu of Calderas.

[137] /367/ The "criolla" is the most widespread variety of sugar cane and the one which has been fully accepted by the natives, to the point of being regarded as their own, but other new

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

342 [177] Some had wooden doors and windows, and were built with nails and wires, though most were still made with vegetable materials.

The modern *Moguex* house has two rooms. The main one, entered through a small door, serves as storeroom for goods to be sold, reception hall, dancing place, and a room in which to keep watch over the dead. The other is a pantry for provisions and drinks; here are kept [354] kitchen utensils. In the center is the fireplace and around it dried [352] cowhides or platform beds made of horizontal poles tied to stakes [476] driven in the ground. One's neighbors aid him to build his house, [461] transporting heavy timbers over light rollers and singing rhythmically as they heave together. If the owner of a new house is a man of [554] means, he pays for a feast of benediction or consecration carried out [778] with a Catholic priest, a godfather, and a godmother.

The *Páez* does all this and in addition puts some pieces of silver 352 money under his house to assure his good fortune. In the main house [415] he places the metate on stakes, and in a secondary house, the press [353] for extracting wax from laurel, one or more troughs or hollowed trunks, [354] and large jars for chicha and guarapo. From the roof frame hang bags, [524] or "mochilas," of netted hemp for belongings. There is also a bamboo candlestick, the wooden feast drum, sometimes a tiple or small [283] guitar, and, nailed to the wall, a spindle. Outside, the loom stands 404 against the wall Beyond it is the sugarcane mill, which is made of 286 a section of tree trunk with a hole above a projection on which the 249 cane is pressed by hand with a rod which crosses the hole. Some mills consist of two or three wooden cylinders rotated by animal power.

243 In each maize field is a small, temporary house and a high platform 342 where a watchman frightens the parrots and parakeets with periodic cries and motions.

177 Each *Páez* group today has its communally built pueblo, with 361 "bahareque" buildings grouped around a rectangular plaza: a church, with its arched portico and small tower in imitation of Colonial architecture, a house for the priest, a school, and two or three large houses for meetings and fiestas, where they dance, sing, and sleep during fiesta days. But ordinarily, the people remain at their distant houses and fields, and do not live at the pueblo, the only permanent inhabitants of which are a few Whites and Mestizos.

ENGINEERING WORKS

491 The Spaniards found bridges which they described as "weak and 499 flexible bridges of bamboo" and "bridges of vines." A territory so broken and crossed with so many rivers and canyons naturally stimulated the *Páez* in the construction of bridges and the laying out of roads. Today they make four kinds of bridges: (1) A simple vine or cable stretched across the river; (2) a kind of wooden stairs placed

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

621 631 666 [651] list presented by a council composed of former governors, the captain, and the síndico. The meeting may object to the list, but generally accepts it. On the following January 1, the cabildo-elect must appear at the office of the municipal mayor to receive the staffs, their insignia of office, and to assume their duties and responsibilities. The offices are: Governor and alternate, commissioner, two mayors (alcaldes), two constables (alguaciles), and three prosecutors (fiscales), one of whom is a young man assigned to learn the ways of government. The mayors, constables, and prosecutors are something like bosses or policemen, and execute orders issued by the Governor or by the captain or the municipal authorities to a community through the Governor.

423 **Property.**—The Indians today do not own any real property in the usual sense. The land assigned to an entire community is allotted [651] to each adult for his use when he becomes a macanero, that is, capable [554] of giving one day's work each year for the collective planting for the benefit of the saint and as many days as may be required by the cabildo for the repair of roads, bridges, etc., or for work in the village. The right to the use of the land may pass to the heirs, wife and children, in the absence of which it reverts to the community or the cabildo.

422 The house was formerly typical personal or movable property, which could be easily abandoned, dismantled, or destroyed. The same holds today for fragile cane dwellings. There are few houses so solidly built that they constitute real or immovable property. [764] Other personal property, such as utensils, clothes, weapons, adorn- [428] ments, and jewels, was formerly buried with the owner. These things [177] and livestock, planted fields, and crops are now inherited by the members of the deceased's family. In general, Colombian law is [692] being implanted by the judges and municipal mayors, although the [623] cabildo judges some minor offenses and punishes the offenders by [681] whipping, imprisonment, or stocks (cepo), a form of torment retained from Colonial times.

691 648 [423] Although the Indians' communities have in most cases titles of limits of their lands dating from Colonial times, there are still litigations on boundaries. An interesting case is the struggle of the Indians to dislodge a settlement of Negroes from the old salt works in Ambostá, where they were abandoned many years ago by a rich Popayán family who took them there to work the mines. The female Indian chief (cacica) of this territory allowed the Negroes to live on a hill, called "the hill of the fifteen Negroes." The Negroes are not organized under a cabildo, but have a chief who represents them. They all contribute to a special religious feast in the municipio, and provide means to continue the suit for the possession of the hill against the Indians.

/140/

d) Animal Husbandry

231 Although the Paez keep large livestock, cattle and
233 horses, along with small livestock, they are not livestock-
[232] raisers in the true sense. They neither have anything to do
[492] with the breeding of their animals nor do they utilize their labor
[237] power to any great extent. The utilization of animal products,
too -- especially those of the large livestock -- bears no rela-
231 tion to the existing possibilities. Horses (hímba; stallion =
492 himbapítste, mare = himbaóite) are used least of all, though they
[556] do find use now and then in milling sugar cane. Actually, people have them only to have them and to be considered rich. They are used neither as draft horses in front of wagons nor as beasts of burden, and only now and then as riding animals, with-
231 out a saddle, by young people. Adult men do not ride, even
484 though the mountainous country, difficult to traverse on foot,
492 fairly challenges one to ride, and the Paez, on their visits to the markets, see almost all the colonists on horseback. But "we are accustomed from the time of our forefathers to walk in the mountains," they reply, "and we are much faster on foot than you are on horseback." They are not wrong about this, and one would not like to trust one of the Paez horses, degenerated through inbreeding, to carry its rider on market days 30 kilometers over
232 hill and dale from Calderas to Inzá and back again. Since the
[556] Paez does not demand service of his horses, it is understandable that only the number of head counts for him and his reputation. How the horses look generally matters not at all; in no case is there any breeding selection, nor does a man know anything about the mating and birth of his animals, but generally finds out about a new litter only after it has arrived. Gestation times are unknown. From various parties I was assured that horses, cows, sheep, and pigs were pregnant "about a year." Castration of stallions, bulls, and rams is not known; it happens now and then in the case of boars, with the owner -- no specialist -- cutting out the testicles of the young pigs with a knife.

/175 cont./
623 handle an additional crescent-shaped piece of silver leaf is applied.
293 In former years, on the first day of the new year, a cere-
623 mony for the old as well as for the newly elected cabildo took
796 place on the not easily accessible lagoon of Juan Tama, the
778 Páramo de Moras, and lasted for several days. It started with
823 chicha drinking under the leadership of a shaman, after which the culture hero, Juan Tama, and the spirits of the ancestors (?) were asked by the shaman for advice and assistance in the coming year. A dance and a bath in the lagoon concluded the ceremony (Bürg, pp. 340 f.). According to my information, this gathering at the lagoon has not been carried out for several years. The reason given is that for several years in succession it has rained around
[787] New Year's time. After that the shamans announced that with this
[776] sign Juan Tama renounced any further performances of the ceremony on his lagoon.

623 The election of the cabildo is done by the men of the entire
666 village. The candidates must be citizens of the given village,
[641] that is to say, they must own land there. A stranger could never hold office in a Paez village. The candidates may not propose themselves, but must be nominated by the assembly or by the old cabildo. Anyone who is elected for an office by the village assembly for the first time may not refuse, but must accept it. Only re-election, which is possible up to five or ten years in succession, is voluntary. The wealth or possessions of the candidates do not play
[556] any role. The present gobernador, Marcelo Muse, is /176/ about 30 years old. Two children, a son about six years old and a four-year-old daughter, are living; four of his children died. In the way of material possessions he owns five horses and two pigs, but no cows and no sheep. Ten years ago he was fiscal for a year. In the general opinion of the Paez the gobernador should not be too young or too old. The best age is between 30 and 50 years. The remaining posts, which to a large extent consist of messenger services, are generally held by younger, unmarried people, although
[896] they may also be filled by married men up to 50 years of age. In general the gobernador chooses people who are loyal to him and who must also carry out the punishments for him, for a gobernador

/203 cont./

461/ longer period of time, consumed the products he himself raised.
476 Thus the practice of communal work and the joint consumption
156 of food and drink connected with it do not unconditionally emphasize the necessity for remote individual farms as against the compact village layout.

556 /204/ From what has been said about joint work and the
461 joint consumption associated with it, it follows that, with this
[476] method of production and consumption, practically no one can acquire great wealth, for the more a person has, the more he needs to entertain his helpers. Theoretically, however, it would be easy to become rich, if, for example, a young man would clear an additional piece of land each year for the planting of wheat or sugar cane and sell its yield for money or barter it for horses or cows. He would have to do this for several years, and then his herd of cows and mares would increase quite automatically, and with it his wealth. The actual work necessary for this
556 would be slight. Nevertheless, this is not possible in practice,
626 because, on the one hand, most of the Paez do not calculate and think so far ahead, and, on the other hand, the sufficiently intelligent and industrious ones would be subject to the dangerous envy of the other members of the community. The democratization of the Paez communities not only favors what is common, but also prevents the individualization of what is common to all -- among other things, even the common poverty.

For this reason no show is made of any possessions that one
556 might have. Significantly, only in connection with taking an inventory of livestock at the end of our work did we discover that even in Calderas there are comparatively rich people. This was not to be seen by an outsider, since these families do not stand out from the others either by dress or by way of life. Moreover, they did not tell me anything about their property -- a matter of more than ten head of cattle in the case of three families. I learned about it more or less accidentally from other
[651] people. In the case of these families, I could not see any reason for the concealment of their wealth, since they do not have any obligations or taxes or fees to pay. They likewise do not play a

/204 cont./

556 special sociological role within their community, for they are elected neither more frequently nor more rarely to the village offices. They have simply "always" been considered wealthy, though it should be noted that in the language of the Paez there [192] is no word at all for "rich" or "poor." The word used for "poor," "póre," comes from the Spanish (povre), and the word used for "rich," "čačanas," at the same time means "strong" in the physi-
556 cal sense. Despite this apparent unimportance of wealth, how-
626 ever, it is jealously seen to that no other industrious man of a poor family will become rich and possibly put his wealth -- by means of Colombian dress or something similar -- on display. The evil shamans would put a spell on him or poison him, /205/ and the neighbors would devastate his fields by driving their cattle there. He would be cut by everyone, and people in a state of intoxica-
115 tion would start a fight with him in order to kill him. At any
556 rate, this is what happened and is happening to our interpreter,
626 Victoriano. He does not come from a wealthy family, but he wants to acquire money and livestock through diligence and [291] ability. From the money he earned among the whites he has [177] already bought himself the clothing of the whites, which he now proudly displays, and at festivals he sells wax candles and sweets. His fellow-villagers hate him on that account. The priest has had to protect him several times already from the machetes of drunken men who had started a fight with him; and in our presence, too, when we visited various houses with him, he was occasionally very rudely heckled by drunken men. Not least because, in the opinion
115 of the Calderun, he is not working. Again and again I tried to ex-
123 plain to the people that they, too, could "go walking" with me and
556 earn money if they were able to speak Spanish. Since this was
626 not the case, there was nothing else for me to do but always work with Victoriano. Nothing helped; Victoriano became more and more unpopular, and I, too, was regarded as a do-nothing. A
123 drunken man who, instead of the one cigarette he was given, vainly demanded an entire pack as a present abused me, too, as an "alko," a dog, who is always going from house to house and does not work.

/215 cont./

696 according to the decision of the cabildo. First of all, the animal
685 or the crop destroyed must be replaced, and then the offender is
417 put in the "tree trunk." This is a form of punishment that was
681 formerly used very frequently in other Paez communities, too.
[824] Actually it consists of two tree trunks, into each of which two notches are chopped on opposing sides. The condemned person is put in, with his feet up to the ankles in these rather narrow notches, and then the tree trunks are tightly bound together with
[623] lianas. All the members of the cabildo take part in this work. Then the bound tree trunks are fastened to the ceiling of the council house, so that the condemned man hangs head downward and the trunks cut into his flesh very considerably. There were no other types of punishment. The degree was determined by the number of hours of hanging, which extended from one to, allegedly, 24 hours.

556 Injustices on the part of envious fellow-citizens toward a
626 man striving for wealth manifest themselves by their driving their animals into the man's well-fenced fields. This is done until the person in question no longer feels any inclination to excel over others
[623] through diligence and property. Little is accomplished by com-
[692] plaining to the cabildo, since the gobernador cannot make a de-
[208] cision that runs counter to the opinion of the entire village, and a weak spot in the fence can always be demonstrated somewhere.

692 Other and not infrequent occasions on which the cabildo must
623 act as judge are complaints concerning adultery and support (see
68 above). There are no complaints about verbal insults, just as there is no punishment for this. They are countered by matching expressions. Similarly, unintentional bodily injury, for example, by a machete during joint work or a case of death during tree-cutting, is not punishable. Only if a person shoots his neighbor's eye out with an elastic sling during bird hunting would he be punished, "but not very severely."

/314 cont./

105 with sowing and harvesting otherwise characteristic of peoples
241 who plant. It is not improbable that they practiced this field
[412] cultivation as they describe it for the Pijao. In the story /315/ of the Paez with the ax (No. 16) it is said that the Pijao were not familiar with tools in former times and, accordingly, could not fell trees to lay out a proper burned-off field. In order to obtain fields for their sowing, they were obliged to split the bark of trees with stones. After these were dried, they sowed their maize between the dead trunks.

105 In connection with hunting, economically insignificant today,
[224] the hunter is surrounded by a number of prohibitions such as we find everywhere among hunting peoples throughout the world.
[226] Fishing is carried on with poisonous plants at weirs. It took place as a joint fishing expedition of the entire village in the February dry season when the water was at its lowest level of the year. This large annual fishing expedition was called enzte. The time
[233] period of one year was also designated with the same word. Raising
[556] large livestock is almost purely a sport or a matter of appearance
[231] and wealth. Horses are not used; cattle are slaughtered only for the three large annual Christian festivals (Semana Santa, San Juán, Immaculada).

Among weapons, only the shotgun for hunting is of significance
[773] today. The pellet blowgun and the stone-sling are used as toys. In
[441] the mythology the latter plays an important part as a decisive weapon in war.

In the handcraft techniques of plaiting and weaving, the use of agave fiber and sheep wool predominates, generally in the form of spun and twisted threads. The carrying bags of agave fiber and the wool coca bags are made by the loop technique; the hammocks, bird nets, berry sieves, and stone-slings by the knot technique. Only straw hats are plaited. The bands of the fiber bags are woven out of agave fibers; the women's belts and the articles of clothing of men and women, out of sheep wool. The weaving method is simple rod-weaving with the linen texture. The women's belts have an ornamental warp formed during the weaving process. The weaving frame is vertical, of the so-called

/323 cont./

231 There are no animal "pets," and none of the domestic animals serve as playthings or are regarded simply as "pretty." They all have a utilitarian purpose.

[556] The possession of domestic animals is a symbol of wealth. The owner of large tracts of land does not regard himself as rich, while the one who has domestic animals does.

231 There are commercial transactions with animals among the
435 natives. The prices are very low. "The Indian is poor," they
438 say, "he has no silver." For this reason, animals that among the whites would bring 200 pesos or more are sold among the natives for half the price or even less.

233 This state of affairs hardly exists among the natives of the
232 parcialidad of Mosoco. There are already ranches dedicated
[246] solely to livestock-raising. Some are planted with pasture grasses, especially poa. There is a marked tendency to improve the livestock, in quality as well as quantity. They know the excellence of the Norman and Holstein among the cattle and the Merino
231 among the sheep. They have special breeds of hogs and chickens.
[232] Many /324/ own mules and splendid riding horses. Commercial
[438] transactions involving animals bring a just price even among the
[782] natives themselves. Some of them are marvelous traders. They still retain the practice of making an offering to the Duende when
[233] slaughtering cattle or pigs. On the savannas of the Paramo de Moras the natives have magnificent herds. Livestock-raising in Mosoco is thus an industry at the height of development that deserves full attention on the part of the authorities.

23 In the statistical table that we present below one can observe the expansion of the livestock industry in Mosoco and com-
[128] pare it with those of Lame, San Andrés, and Calderas. The owners are natives, except for the whites and mestizos marked with an asterisk.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

verb 'to be,' following what may be a noun or another adjective, and may be regarded as a predicate adjective or denominative verb: 193

ampa-kuł, lean, sad.
dilì-kuł, pretty (Cast.).
dzilì-kuł, pretty (Pitt.).
dzuns-kuł, frail, slender.
its-kuł, lean.
lala-kuł, small.
nu-kuł, small, low, of a river. [192]
o-kuł, plane, even.
pats-kuł, ugly.
pets-kuł, thin, like paper.
udts-kuł, lazy.

It should not be inferred from the scarcity of this class of words in the examples given that the Paez language is lacking in them. On the contrary, a few examples show that, like many other primitive idioms, the Paez distinguishes gradations and categories in the qualities he attributes to an object or to different objects or persons. Thus, Castillo gives four different words for 'thick,' all of which, and one more, are still in use to-day. Now it is found that every one of them has a distinct signification or is applied in distinct cases:

fitse, thick, viscous, semi-liquid (of soup, mud, etc.). [192]
ɣot, thick (of a tree).
ñiʒ, thick, stout (of a person).
iot, thick, bulky.
tat-a, thick or dense (of a forest, a jungle).

In the same way we have four expressions for 'large' three for 'soft,' etc., but without data to exemplify their use.

Reduplication is frequent in adjectives and seems to correspond to a superlative gradation.

The adjectives for 'young' and 'old' differ according to the sex of the person to whom they apply. The first is translated by *taki* when it applies to males, as in *pits-taki*, 'young man,' and by *kuc-nas* when applied to females. 'Old' is *iuš*, or *teł* when referring to males, and *pcuš* (or *e-pcuš*) when used for females. [562] [561]

Formation of Verbs. — Owing to the brevity of my stay among the Paez Indians, I felt from the first a certain reluctance to enter into the intricate study of the verbs, fearing that, should 193 114

/185 cont./

844 until very late and only with great difficulty. The proper depth is supposed to be about 30 centimeters.

846 Four to six days after birth and after the first bath, the
851 father or one of the godparents brings the child to the sacristan of
608 the village or /186/ to the women missionaries, in order to have
[747] it christened with water and given the name of the Christian saint
[551] of the christening day. Every child has only one given name and the Paez surname of its father. The baptism by the priest with oil takes place later on a suitable occasion, in the presence of the god-
[783] parents, and is followed by an eating and drinking bout. The
[756] mother also takes part in this, after she has left the dúyat and has washed herself, her child, and her clothes and has been purified by the shaman.

861 The rearing of the children is in the hands of the parents, who teach them the necessary accomplishments of life quite as a matter of course and almost in play. Disobedient children are also beaten, however, and, to be sure, usually if the son has no real desire to help his father with the field work. In punishing, the fathers are generally stricter than the mothers and on occasion beat them with leather straps all over their bodies. The boxing
[461] of ears is also to be seen. If a young man proves to be lazy in later life, the father is blamed because he did not properly ad-
848 monish his son to work. Illegitimate sons, who lack the strict hand of a father, are said to turn out badly in many cases, though as such they are very popular. Since they do not know their father, they are not obliged to work in his field. They are all the more
[426] in demand as helpers in the fields of other families. When they
[431] are older, they may borrow land and establish a family. Usually they even receive the land as a present. Thus, they need not
848 starve by any means. Illegitimate daughters are in a more unfavor-
562 able position, for their help is not needed for the most part, and their mother does not have a household of her own. Nevertheless
[583] their marriage prospects are not unfavorable, since a girl does not
[581] have a dowry, but is married only on the basis of her personal qualities.

/258 cont./

754 Afterward his throat began to dry out and he could breathe only with difficulty, until he finally died.

754 The evil shamans are not generally known publicly. Men
756 as well as women, however, may be teyu and nyic. In fact, the
[562] most famous and clever teyu whom we met was an old woman,
[753] Felisa Ipia in Santa Rosa, who at the same time, however, is re-
[623] garded as the most evil sorceress who ever existed. All the sick-
[683] ness and misfortune in Santa Rosa are ascribed to her acts. For this reason the cabildo once burned all her medicinal herbs and broke her shaman's staff. But people no longer dare to undertake anything serious against her, since they fear her, as they do all evil sorcerers. In former times the convicted nyic were always very severely punished, but since many members of the cabildo have died as a result of sorcery, no one any longer dares to accuse the well-known nyic today.

754 /259/ With regard to the problem of male and female shamans,
756 a teyu from Calderas explained that women as such had an excellent
562 sense of feeling and therefore the best talent as shamans. Since they are more crafty and cunning than men, however, the female shamans can transform themselves into an evil sorceress at any time. And that is precisely what makes them so dangerous and hence unfit for the calling of a good shaman.

754 The border between teyu and nyic, therefore, is flexible.
756 Both aspects of shamanism may be united in one person, or a teyu may become a nyic and vice versa. In the following, therefore, the teyu form of manifestation of shamanism will be described. In spirit the nyic are based on the same foundation. They never show their herbs and remedies and allow no one to take part in
[124] their ceremonies. The teyu, on the other hand, on closer acquaintance were quite willing to give information about their knowledge and to let us take part in their séances.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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157 pipes they play while walking along, unless their hands are kept
533 busy plaiting braids of gynerium bark in the manufacture of
533 their hats. This is the exclusive occupation of the men.
[463] Women almost invariably walk along spinning wool, their distaff under the left arm and the spindle in the left hand, while the right hand is busy at the wool.

883 The Paez maidens are fond of flowers and are very playful.
157 On one occasion I observed several of them going up the hill
481 beyond the river, in front of the church at Huila, their arms entwined about one another's necks; then they began running up the steep hill as in a contest of endurance. As they became exhausted they threw themselves on the grass, while their movements showed that they were playing and joking all the time. These children of Nature are not unpleasant to look at,
[515 except for their usual lack of cleanliness; nor are they wanting
142] in coquetry, and they are often pretty. But in the presence of
[609] strangers they are extremely bashful, doing their utmost to keep in the background.

291 The old women are generally very ugly. Their clothing con-
515 sists only of dirty rags, and their skin is covered with the filth of years.

593 Relations between the sexes, especially between husbands
562 and wives, seem to be easy and without an air of superiority on the part of the former. On the few occasions that I had to entertain these people at their houses, the women took the same interest and the same part in the proceedings as the men, which was very different from what I observed among the Central American Indians.

609 Toward strangers, and especially toward Colombians of other
186 races, the attitude of the Indians is decidedly hostile. Unless induced by the prospect of profit they will neither sell anything nor lend any service, often refusing money and accepting only articles which they especially desire. They will not allow white
[563] or black people in their homes, and at Huila they are even unwilling that the only white family living there should share the practically inexhaustible supply of fuel scattered about in the near-by forest, or have horses or cattle pasturing on the almost

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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verb 'to be,' following what may be a noun or another adjective, and may be regarded as a predicate adjective or denominative verb: 193

ampa-kuł, lean, sad.
ditł-kuł, pretty (Cast.).
dtiłł-kuł, pretty (Pitt.).
dzuns-kuł, frail, slender.
its-kuł, lean.
łàla-kuł, small.
nu-kuł, small, low, of a river. [192]
o-kuł, plane, even.
pats-kuł, ugly.
pets-kuł, thin, like paper.
uàts-kuł, lazy.

It should not be inferred from the scarcity of this class of words in the examples given that the Paez language is lacking in them. On the contrary, a few examples show that, like many other primitive idioms, the Paez distinguishes gradations and categories in the qualities he attributes to an object or to different objects or persons. Thus, Castillo gives four different words for 'thick,' all of which, and one more, are still in use to-day. Now it is found that every one of them has a distinct signification or is applied in distinct cases:

fitse, thick, viscous, semi-liquid (of soup, mud, etc.). [192]
χot, thick (of a tree).
łłł, thick, stout (of a person).
iot, thick, bulky.
tat-a, thick or dense (of a forest, a jungle).

In the same way we have four expressions for 'large' three for 'soft,' etc., but without data to exemplify their use.

Reduplication is frequent in adjectives and seems to correspond to a superlative gradation.

The adjectives for 'young' and 'old' differ according to the sex of the person to whom they apply. The first is translated by *taki* when it applies to males, as in *pits-taki*, 'young man,' and by *kue-nas* when applied to females. 'Old' is *inž*, or *teé* when referring to males, and *pcnž* (or *e-pcnž*) when used for females. [562] [561]

Formation of Verbs. — Owing to the brevity of my stay among the Paez Indians, I felt from the first a certain reluctance to enter into the intricate study of the verbs, fearing that, should 193 114

/248 cont./

776 child to help the Indians, to protect them, and to instill a belief in her.

The ghosts look like angels and have a body covered with [787] down. Women may see them making the motions of weaving, in such a case they will become good weavers. Men may see them with pouches, indicating that they will become curers.

It is said that there are large and small ghosts. The former, when they rise, leave the rainbow behind them, like a trail. The latter do not keep company with the former and are less * fierce. Both shriek like professional mourners.

756 The female Té eu. Women can be curers, people state; ● 562 there is no reason why the signs would not circulate for them. Nevertheless, no woman is a curer. In Santa Rosa there is a woman who, according to her own confession, is a good curer, has seen Thunder and conversed with him, and has good remedies. Thunder even gave her a wooden doll called "Soft wind [754] of Thunder," with which she gives treatments. But the community regards her as a most dangerous sorceress, and the cabildo has burned her remedies and has put her in the stocks. Furthermore, all the deaths caused by sorcery are blamed on her.

On the other hand, the behavior shown by the community is the same as that observed for all sorcerers, that is to say, detachment and resentment against her. A curer from Calderas explains the phenomenon as follows: women are cleverer than men; they have brilliant ideas and in general dominate the men. [754] A woman can become a curer, but at any time she might turn into a sorceress, because she is cleverer than a man. Sometimes she gets to the point where nothing matters to her. Hence * women do not learn medicine.

756 Taboos of the Té eu. They refer above all to sex and food. 834 They do not have the full force and tenacity which they have 262 in other cultures.

/321 cont./

231 The slaughtering of the head of cattle for consumption
[796] at religious fiestas is accompanied by music (1).
[533]

1. Bernal Villa, S. "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," p. 208.

[232] Of the equine livestock, they also prefer the females for
492 reproduction. Horses are used for the milling of sugar cane, for
484 the transport of loads, for long journeys. Many own saddles,
[249] /322/ although generally deteriorated ones. Women never ride
[482] on horseback. On long journeys the woman walks with a heavy
[562] load on her back, while the man rides without carrying anything to hinder him.

231 The horses of the Páez are small, but very hardy and suitable for the rugged and difficult roads. They do not own mules or
[754] donkeys. In Calderas it is said that someone brought a donkey
[789] for the purpose of producing young mules, but the envious ones (sorcerers) cast a spell on it and killed it. Nor do they own goats, which they regard as very thievish and destructive.

In the houses they raise guinea pigs, chickens, and turkeys, and, on a smaller scale, ducks. Furthermore, dogs,
[422] cats, and hogs are also raised. The former belong indifferently to men or women, while hogs and dogs are the exclusive property of the men.

The scant care given to domestic animals is worthy of note. There are no corrals of any sort, nor special caretakers
[233] for the animals. Cattle are commonly left to fend for themselves in the pastures, and only every 15 days, or, more frequently, once a month, are they rounded up by their respective owners to
[232] check on their existence or multiplication. They know about the need to give salt to cattle, but this article is supplied in small quantities and at very long intervals. Most of the animals of Calderas go to a small spring of brackish water in Tumbichukue. Among the other domestic animals, only the chickens, turkeys, and guinea pigs are fed regularly with grass, maize, manioc, and

/361/

75 Their importance is emphasized if we make a comparison
511 with the parcialidad of San Andrés, where there is a Centro de
743 Salud duly staffed by a registered nurse, and furthermore, not far away, there is the Centro de Higiene of Inzá, staffed by a doctor and a group of nurses whose services are free and who also distribute free drugs. In spite of this, the natives do not always go to these centers, preferring their own doctors and most commonly the té eu of Calderas.

651 Concerning taxes, we have already said that the immovables
511 of the native communities are exempt from this type of encumbrance; hence, the column reserved for this type of expense remains empty. The few figures that are found in it are payments on immovables within the settlement area and, in one case or another, the payment of taxes for the exercise of trade in various plazas of the municipio of Inzá.

511 The amounts devoted to the education of children are the
871 smallest, if we except those of the "white" informants, some of
[563] whom have their children in high schools, in rural normal schools,
[115] and even at the university. In the parcialidades of San Andrés and Lame, they are practically null. The children of San Andrés go to school, as a rule, unprovided with school supplies, carrying in their bags provisions for lunch, consisting of manioc and cooked plantains, mote, and roasted maize, since the dwellings are located at a distance of several kilometers from the school, with very bad and rugged paths. School cafeterias and the donating of school supplies are more than indispensable in these regions. These children go to school irregularly and do not remain there for more than two years; they are taught in Spanish, and on the
● [562] whole the benefit is minimal. Girls attend in smaller numbers
[212] than boys; the adults believe that women do not need to learn to read and write. This situation is different in Mosoco. The children of both sexes attend school and try to attend regularly, and many walk several kilometers a day; the fathers of families are interested in having their children learn to read, write, and count, and for this reason they try to outfit them with some equipment for their tasks of apprenticeship.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

881 heights of Cuetando, where they built a hut and planted a miniature field as proof of their masculine aptitude.

797 **Education.**—Today the Indians are educated principally by their
871 parents in the customs and tasks pertaining to each sex. Some boys
[868] and a few girls are sent to the few missionary schools, where they are given religious instruction and are taught Spanish, arithmetic, geography, the history of Colombia, and modern embroidery or light
[562] basketwork. The *Páez* are reluctant to send their daughters to the schools because they feel that women should keep the traditions of
[177] their people. The missionary schools strive to change the native language and the cultural traditions which have given the Indian community social cohesion.

595 **Marriage.**[11]—Formerly polygyny was prevalent, but now Catholi-
[77] cism has imposed monogamy. The Indians continue, however, to
583 practice trial marriage (amaño). A marriage is arranged as follows:

584 The bride is selected by the young man's parents or by himself. His parents and two witnesses or godparents then visit her house to request her for the groom. They also serve as advisors to the young woman, in case she disapproves the marriage. The visitors carry half-filled bottles of rum (aguardiente) and some special garments for the girl. The young man's father offers the girl's father a half-bottle, acceptance of which means, as usual among the *Páez*, that the second party is well disposed toward the proposal and the negotiations may proceed. If the girl's mother agrees, the boy's mother presents her a half-bottle of liquor. The godfather or witness gives another half-bottle to the girl's father and the
583 godmother gives one to the mother. The visitors now leave, taking the girl, who then begins a year of trial marriage, during which the young man seeks proof that the girl is able to bear children, is active, cooks well, can weave, and
585 can cultivate the land. After the trial period, the man may return the girl to her parents or they marry in the Catholic Church, holding a feast which, like all
527 such celebrations, is called a "cuido." The couple and their parents and godparents are accompanied by an orchestra (chirimía) to the house where the feast is to be held. Here the bride puts on a modern dress, a ribbon on her hair, necklaces, and earrings, while the groom is with his godfather. As the guests arrive, chicha is distributed frequently, music is played, and then there is a feast of thick soup, generally with chicken, cooked yuca, arracacha, and roast or baked meat. In the afternoon, after more music and chicha drinking, the "refresco," really a banquet or social communion, is served. Six bottles of wine made from cane molasses, cinnamon, and cloves, and cake are given to the bride, groom, godmother,
[782] and godfather, who give some to everyone present. A prayer, led by the head of
[775] the house, then asks the souls of the dead to bless the marriage and give permission to dance. First, the godfather dances with the bride, then the godmother with the groom, after which everyone dances. The feast lasts 5 days, depending on the wealth of the family. Chicha is served and accepted with the phrase, "May God pay you, compadrito, for accompanying us. Accompany us more."

764 **Death.**—At a death, the family formerly buried the deceased inside the house with his possessions, and abandoned it. Some communities, however, preferred to cremate the body or dry it over the fire. The

[114] [127]

[11] I thank my wife and companion, Helena Copias de Hernández, for her research in 1938 on matrimonial matters.

/184 cont./

stereotyped conduct. It should nevertheless be stated that the present-day Páez surnames were still given names in the eighteenth century, chosen capriciously by the mother and not transmissible to the descendants (14). The adoption of surnames and

14. Castillo y Orozco, E. de., op. cit., p. 75.

their heritability through the paternal line is the result of the doctrinal work of the Catholic missionaries, and their assimilation and integration into Páez culture must have been carried out in accordance with certain aspects of a sociological nature existing previously. The same /an unpaginated genealogical chart appears here/ /185/ present-day monogamy of the Páez appears to be the result of a strong Catholic Christian influence, since in pre-Colombian times they were polygamous (15).

15. Hernández de Alba, Gr. "The Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia," 1946, p. 948.

The supreme authority in the nuclear family rests with the father; when he is missing, with the mother; and, when both are missing, with the most intelligent of the group. The husband orders, the woman only asks. The woman is always under the control of the man: the father, the brother, the husband. She has no liberty of movement. The cabildo has authority over orphaned women, including that of having them marry. One of our informants in Calderas was a fatherless orphan and had been brought up in Avirama in the company of her stepfather. Being of age, an Avirameño asked for her in marriage, but the cabildo of Calderas stopped the marriage, brought her back to the parcialidad, made her spend the night in the quarters of the cabildo, and on the following day made her marry a lad of 14 whom she did not know. Since she resisted, they beat her, admonishing her at the same time that if she did not do it, she would be married to a black dog in the future life. "There being

[text continues on p. 33]

/185 cont./

623 no other solution, I had to marry, "reflected the informant," for
736 such was the law. The cabildo finds husbands for female orphans
●562 (guaiches). Any youth could ask the cabildo for an orphan for a
583 wife and it would give her."

The husband may punish his wife. We were able to ob-
593 serve the case of a native Calderuno who with tears in his eyes
[586] asked for the help of the priest to get back his wife who had abandoned him because he had given her some blows with the flat of a machete, injuring her. The complaining husband explained that the maltreatment given to his wife had not been of any importance, and, anyway, she had cost him twelve pesos, meaning by this the amount paid to the priest to celebrate the
593 nuptials. They punish the wife when on returning from work
684 they find her drunk and without food prepared for eating. Likewise they whip her or cuff her in cases of infidelity. Absolute
[837] fidelity is demanded from both spouses, and transgressions from this standard seem to be infrequent.

Such cases as present themselves are settled by the cabildo,
593 as we were able to observe in Mosoco, where a husband, through
623 the suggestion of his own mother, accused his wife of infidelity.
684 The cabildo /186/ in session went to the house of the plaintiff
692 to establish responsibility in the presence of the interested parties. According to an informant from Calderas, when a married man has a child by an unmarried girl, his wife complains before the cabildo. If it finds the girl guilty, it punishes her with lashes and authorizes the complainant to cut the hair of her rival.
[848] The child born in this way, said the informant, dies of the plague.
[753] Cases of infidelity on the part of the husband a number of times arouse violent reactions on the part of the wife, up to the point of liquidating her rival in a barbarous and merciless manner, as occurred in San Andrés where out of jealousy a woman practically quartered the body of the other woman, and whose penal judgment was given in the city of Popayán not many months ago.

/105 cont./

C 162 The inhabitants of Tierradentro may be divided into three groups, according to the degree of civilization: a) the colonists living south of the Rio Ullucus, who speak Spanish and have nothing in common with the Paez. In habits and customs they correspond to the general, more or less strongly mestizo, Colombian rural population. Furthermore, the population of Balalcázar, consisting predominantly of Negroes, has nothing in common with the Paez. They were brought there by the Spaniards in colonial times as slaves, in order to exploit the salt mines that were used by the Paez even in ancient times. Today salt C [316] extraction is no longer profitable. The Negroes live partly on gold-washing in the Rio Paez, which is undertaken in primitive fashion with wooden pans, the workers standing up to their knees T [563] in water. The Paez do not generally intermarry with the Negroes, [186] but, on the contrary, despise them, since they know that they at one time came there as slaves.

P 162 b) The Paez who north of the Rio Ullucus have settled 361 both banks of the Rio Paez as far north as Nevado del Huila. 563 They have in part intermarried with the white and mestizo colonist P population. The /106/ places inhabited by them are: Araujo, [103] Avirama, Belalcázar, Cuetando, Mosoco, Ricaurte, San Andrés, San José, Tálaga, Toez, Togóima.

T c) The pure Paez villages of Calderas, Chinas, Huila, 162 Lame, Santa Rosa, Suin and Vitoncó. Among these the Paez 103 of Calderas have preserved their cultural individuality most P purely. We worked primarily among them, and the present ma- 114 terial, insofar as nothing is said to the contrary, refers to the 121 culture of the Paez of Calderas. The Calderun, as the inhabitants P of Calderas are known in the country, are by far the most unap- 181 proachable of all the Paez. They have best kept to this day the 648 three laws of Juan Tama, the mythical hero of the Paez, which 101 were originally strictly observed by all. These three laws say: 1. Tierradentro is solely and exclusively the land of the Paez, 2. the Paez may never intermarry with other races, 3. the Paez are invincible as long as they keep these laws. The third law in particular has well-founded justification, since for centuries

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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157 pipes they play while walking along, unless their hands are kept
313 busy plaiting braids of gynerium bark in the manufacture of
283 their hats. This is the exclusive occupation of the men.
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deserted savannas. It must be said, in extenuation, that they have been subjected to much abuse by their neighbors of the "superior race." Moreover, the Paeces are naturally hostile to strangers, descending, as we have seen, from a warlike people. The old Paeces always went about armed, carrying a lance or javelin in the hand and ready to protect their bodies from the darts of an enemy by means of a shield of basket-work (*opimb*), or of tapir hide (*χimba-kât*). The warlike tendencies of the tribe were stimulated by means of periodical contests in which the most valiant warriors fought each other in the presence of the multitude.

To-day, as we have seen, the descendants of these have abundant opportunity to satisfy their fighting propensity by taking sides in the frequent quarrels of the political parties that thus far have kept Colombia in an almost continual turmoil.

Sexual intercourse between Paez women and men of other races is said not to exist; barbarous chastisement would be the fate of the offending female. It is to be expected, however, that the closer contact brought about by the gradual penetration of the Tierra Andentro by whites and negroes will soon overcome the purity of the Paez blood and open the way to amalgamation with the neo-Colombian race.

Reclus, cited above (page 311), gives us to understand that the Paez were cannibals, and the tradition current in the villages along the western foot of the cordillera confirms his intimation with reference to the Pijaos; for the coming of "el Pijao" is still a menace to children. The early chroniclers tell us of several anthropophagous tribes which lived in this region, and it is not unlikely that the Paeces had a share in that custom.

GRAMMATICAL NOTES

Castillo's *Nociones gramaticales* is limited to a list of the personal pronouns and the conjugation of the verbs 'to be' and 'to write.' A few more grammatical indications are incorporated in the vocabularies, but on the whole these data are very meager, and much remains to be done in this direction.

4:Bernal Villa--1 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/177/

I

Point of Departure

631 To the north of the municipio of Inzá and to the west of
[361] the confluence of the Ullucos and Páez rivers, two hours on horseback from the points just mentioned, the corregimiento /district governed by a corregidor/ of San Andrés is found on the left bank of the Pisimbalá torrent, an affluent of the
[175] Ullucos. Its name has been registered in the parochial books
[103] since 1736, when the priest José Fernández Belalcázar, as the
[797] representative of the Bishop of Popayán, initiated in San Andrés de Pisimbalá pastoral visits to the Paez pueblos.

361 San Andrés de Pisimbalá is a pueblo with the same characteristics that we have noted in other Paez centers; that is to say, it consists of a church, a school, the rectory, the house of the cabildo, and some others used solely for the celebration of religious fiestas. It is located on a small plateau, a ledge hanging on the declivity.

● 563 At the present time it is inhabited by whites and mestizos
177 whose ways of life, norms of behavior, and labor practices
361 have been imposed on the natives. Resistance to contact has
[648] been overcome, but active resentment against the white still
[566] crops out among the old people. Almost completely acculturated, many of them have sunk to the state of tenant farmers. The phenomenon of the colonization of Indians and land is the same everywhere. The Indian loses his land and sinks into servitude.

In 1926 the Municipal Council of Inzá created a settlement area with clearly delineated boundaries in a common agreement /178/ between the municipal authorities and the cabildo. The colonists established themselves in that area. The valley of the Pisimbalá torrent is narrow, but extremely fertile. It belongs in its entirety to a few families of colonists,

/178 cont./

361 who have established coffee and sugar-cane plantations and
[563] cattle ranches. The natives occupy the steep and barren sec-
[177] tions.

[342] The pueblo of San Andrés consists of 23 bahareque houses /houses with walls made with two faces of sticks with mud and stone between them/ with thatched roofs. Only one is of brick and tiles. In its general lines the plan is reminiscent of that of Spanish centers: a central plaza with houses around it.

346 The church, which is large, thatched, and white, has a hand-
361 some façade, with a bell tower, arches and columns, a style reminiscent of colonial architecture; it stands in the center of the plaza and was built in the first decade of the nineteenth century by Padre Joaquín Núñez y Tobar. On its south side there stands a large, very old and dilapidated building where the school and the rectory functions; on the other sides it is surrounded by the colonists' houses.

366 There are two stores with a regular supply of merchandise, and on Wednesdays there is a small market where one beef, a few agricultural products, and chicha are sold.

133 Toward the end of the Pisimbalá valley are found the not
175 very extensive plateaus of Argentina and El Rodeo. El Rodeo has marked historical significance; for a long time it was called Segovia. In the spirit of conquest and colonization, the town of Nueva Segovia was founded there by Captain Hernando Arias Saavedra in accordance with the mandate of Governor Sancho Espinar, who in 1578 gave up these lands after his vainglorious campaign against the Paez. It was short-lived. On this same plateau Mosquera's rebellion against the government of Don Mariano Ospina Rodríguez was won by his spectacular victory over the government forces headed by
[317] General Joaquín París (1). In spite of this, the markets for

1. González, David. Los paeces /The Paez/, manuscript.

/311 cont./

243 Wheat is cultivated with special emphasis in the areas of Lame, El Cuartel, La Troja, and Vitoncó. It is destined primarily for sale. It is planted along with maize, although there are already clearings intended exclusively for its cultiva-
[412] tion. They reap it with knives, rarely with sickles. They do not bind it into sheaves, but make bundles and hang it from the eaves or beams of the house. When dry, they thresh it with wooden clubs /masas/ and separate out its husks by exposing it to the
[256] wind. They grind it at once in hydraulic mills built by them themselves and take it to market. They have no sifters to separate the bran.

128 Below /see pp. 25-33 / we present a statistical table on
241 the production of the various species cultivated by 25 families
433 of Mosoco, 8 of Lame, and 15 of San Andrés including that of
[563] some mestizos and whites, marked with an asterisk, in order to make some comparisons and to estimate the volume of production. We specify the percentage of the production intended for sale. For obvious reasons, we have omitted the names of the family heads, identifying them solely by number in order. The statistical data correspond to the production in the year 1953.
[124] In spite of the fact that this type of investigation presents some
[123] difficulties, owing to the reluctance of people to reveal the data on their production they are in general completely trustworthy, since they were collected after a firm interpersonal relationship had been established between the investigator and the person investigated. In addition, they appreciably agree with our observations noted in "General observations" on Páez agriculture.

/312/ Potato cultivation in Mosoco

244 We have deliberately omitted anything about the cultivation of potatoes in order to deal with it more thoroughly.

The methods of cultivation differ somewhat from those commonly practiced in the other parcialidades. The soil is prepared in beds that follow the direction of the slope. The

6: Bernal Villa--25 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

MOSOCO

	Fams.	Maize				Wheat			
		A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
243	1.*	120	120	...	.....	15	15	...	.....
433	2.	60	60	...	.....	15	...	15	100.0
	3.	20	20	...	.....	10	6	4	60,0
439	4.	44	39	5	11,3	12	4	8	66,6
● 563	5.	18	18	...	.....	10	1,5	8,5	85,0
	6.	12	12	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
	7.	5	5	...	.....	53	8	45	84,9
	8.	20	20	...	.....	10	...	10	100,0
	9.	20	20	...	.....	45	...	45	100,0
	10.	24	24	...	.....	15	15	...	.....
	11.	3	3	...	.....	6	4	2	33,3
	12.	8	8	...	.....	6	6	...	.....
	13.	10	10	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
	14.	23	23	...	.....	6	6	...	.....
	15.	20	20	...	.....	20	5	15	75,0
	16.	16	15	...	.....	20	10	10	50,0
	17.	12	12	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
	18.	24	24	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
	19.	25	23	2	8,0	9	9	...	.....
	20.	16	16	...	.....	25	5	20	80,0
	21.	12	12	...	.....	40	16	24	60,0
	22.	10	10	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
	23.	12	12	...	.....	45	4	41	91,1
	24.	16	16	...	.....	20	4	16	80,0
	25.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

LAME

1.*	30	30	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	25	25	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	8	8	...	.....	3	3(2)	...	.....
4.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
5.	35	35	...	.....	20	...	20	100,0
6.	80	80	...	.....	5	.(2)	5	100,0
7.	20	20	...	.....	2	2(2)	...	.....
8.	50	50	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

Note: A, indicates the arrobas produced; C, arrobas consumed; V, arrobas sold; and %, the percentage sold. /The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

2. Loss of the harvest.

6: Bernal Villa--26 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

MOSOCO

Fams.	Broad Beans A	C	V	%	Garlic A	C	V	%
1.*	20	20	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	5	5	...	.....	9	...	9	100,0
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.	8	7	1	12,5	...	...	...	.....
5.	2	2	...	.....	1,5	0,5	1	66,6
6.	8	8	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
7.	1	1	...	.....	3	1	2	66,6
8.	1	1	...	.....	6	2	4	66,6
9.	8	8	...	.....	12	...	12	100,0
10.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
11.	1	1	...	.....	5	2	3	60,0
12.	1	1	...	.....	6	1	5	83,3
13.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
14.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.	8	8	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
16.	2	2	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
17.	2	2	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
18.	5	5	...	.....	15	3	12	80,0
19.	...	...	...	.....	2,5	...	2,5	100,0
20.	5	5	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
21.	3	3	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
22.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
23.	...	...	...	.....	2	2	...	.....
24.	...	...	...	.....	10	2	8	80,0
25.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

LAME

1.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.**	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	(3)
5.	...	...	...	.....	2,5	...	2,5	100,0
6.	16	16	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
8.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

Note: A, indicates the arrobas produced; C, arrobas consumed; V, arrobas sold; and %, the percentage sold. /The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

3. This informant is white; his sole activity is trading.

6: Bernal Villa--27 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

MOSOCO

Fams.	Ullucos				Nasturtium			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
244 1.	30	30	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
433 2.	20	20	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
439 3.	...	...	...	.....	5	5	...	.....
●563 4.	3	3	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
6.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
8.	15	15	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
9.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
10.	8	8	...	.....	20	20	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
12.	10	10	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
13.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
14.	40	40	...	.....	40	40	...	.....
15.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
16.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
17.	...	...	...	.....	1	1	...	.....
18.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
19.	30	14	16	53,3	...	...	...	.....
20.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
21.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
22.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
23.	15	15	1	.....	20	20	...	.....
24.	16	12	4	25,0	...	...	...	.....
25.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

LAME

1.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
6.	25	15	10	40,0	25	17	8	32,0
7.	4	4	...	.....	5	...	5	100,0
8.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

Note: A, indicates the arrobas produced; C, arrobas consumed; V, arrobas sold; and %, the percentage sold. /The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

6: Bernal Villa--28 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

MOSOCO

Fams.	Frijoles A	Frijoles C	Frijoles V	Frijoles %	Potatoes A	Potatoes C	Potatoes V	Potatoes %
244 1.*	6	6	...	.....	(1)			
433 2.	15	15	1	.....				
439 3.	...	...	...	.....				
● 563 4.	6	...	6	100,0				
5.	...	...	...	.....				
6.	...	...	...	.....				
7.	...	...	...	.....				
8.	...	...	...	.....				
9.	...	...	...	.....				
10.	...	...	...	.....				
11.	...	...	...	.....				
12.	...	...	...	.....				
13.	...	...	...	.....				
14.	...	...	...	.....				
15.	...	...	...	.....				
16.	...	...	...	.....				
17.	...	...	...	.....				
18.	5	5	...	.....				
19.	1	1	...	.....				
20.	4	4	...	.....				
21.	...	...	...	.....				
22.	6	6	...	.....				
23.	...	...	...	.....				
24.	...	...	...	.....				
25.*	...	...	...	.....				

LAME

1.*	...	(2)	...	.....	70	...	70	100,0
2.	8	8	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	(2)	...	.....
4.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
6.	8	...	8	100,0	50	20	30	60,0
7.	1	1	...	.....	18	...	18	100,0
8.	10	10	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

Note: A, indicates the arrobas produced; C, arrobas consumed; V, arrobas sold; and %, the percentage sold. /The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

1. The potato production is itemized in a separate table.

2. Loss of the harvest.

SAN ANDRES

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245
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439
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Fams.	Coffee				Plantains			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	80	...	80	100,0	300(1)	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	3	...	3	100,0	300(2)	...	...	.....
4.	1	...	1	100,0	50(1)	...	...	.....
5.	15	...	15	100,0	120	118	2	1,6
6.	3	...	3	100,0	200	200	...	.....
7.	3(5)	...	3	100,0	100(1)	...	...	.....
8.	4	...	4	100,0	50(1)	...	...	.....
9.	5	...	5	100,0	150(4)	...	...	.....
10.*	80	...	80	100,0	30(1)	...	...	.....
11.	45	...	45	100,0	...	...	...	.....
12.	...(5)	...	...	.....	100	50	50	50,0
13.	...(5)	...	...	.....	300	100	200	66,6
14.*	6	...	6	100,0	250(1)	...	...	.....
15.*	8	...	8	100,0	100(1)	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

1. Number of plantain plantings that the informant has now.

2. Indicates the number of plantings at present. Last year he gathered about 30 bunches.

4. Indicates the number of plantings at present. Last year he gathered about 30 bunches.

5. Tenant farmer.

SAN ANDRES

243
244
433
439
563

Fams.	Maize				Manioc			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	50	50	...	.....	200	160	40	20,0
2.	29	24	5	17,2	64	53	11	17,1
3.	9	9	...	.....	25	25	...	.....
4.	80	80	...	.....	30	30	...	.....
5.	3	3	...	.....	85	85	...	.....
6.	30	30	...	.....	25(3)	...	...	.....
7.	2	2	...	.....	100	100	...	.....
8.	12	12	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
9.	50	40	10	20,0	60	35	25	41,6
10.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	.....	60(3)	35	25	41,6
12.	8(3)	8	...	.....	50	25	25	50,0
13.	14	4	10	71,4	150	75	75	50,0
14.*	...	...	...	.....	500(6)	...	...	.....
15.*	40	40	...	.....	500(6)	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English. /

3. Personal estimate of the author.

6. Informant's estimate of the future harvest.

6: Bernal Villa--32 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

SAN ANDRES

Fams.	Sugar Cane				Arracacha			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	500	...	500	100,0	40	20	20	50,0
2.	...	...	...	.....	20	12	8	40,0
3.	...	...	...	.....	4	4	...	.....
4.	(7)	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
5.	20	...	20	100,0	4	4	...	.....
6.	(7)	...	...	.....	25(3)	...	...	.....
7.	(7)	...	...	.....	17	17	1	.....
8.	(7)	...	...	.....	15(3)	...	...	.....
9.	(7)	...	...	.....	20	10	10	50,0
10.*	(7)	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
11.	40	...	40	100,0	20	10	10	50,0
12.	(7)	...	...	.....	18	9	9	50,0
13.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
14.*	(7)	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.*	100	...	100	100,0	...	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English.

3. Personal estimate of the author.

7. Owns plantings of sugar cane.

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439
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244
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Fams.	Coca				Frijoles			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	4	4	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	5	4	1	20,0
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
6.	...	...	...	(8)	3	3	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
8.	...	...	...	(8)	8	8	...	.....
9.	...	...	...	(8)	20	10	10	50,0
10.*	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
12.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
13.	6	2	4	66,6	5	1	4	80,0
14.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

8. Owns plantings of coca.

241
433

From the above table we can make the following deductions:

[245]
[434]
[439]

1. The coffee production is wholly intended for sale. It thus constitutes the principal source of monetary income for the natives and, of course, for the "whites."

2. Maize, frijoles, sugar cane, and coca are intended almost exclusively for internal consumption. The production of panela indicated in the table refers to the whites and mestizos.

[262]
[276]
[273]

3. The food base of San Andrés is provided by maize, plantains, manioc, and arracacha. At the time of the coffee harvest, meat is consumed. Coca and guarapo indispensably complement this dietary regimen.

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MOSOCO:

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Fams.	Machetes		Shovels		Small Bars		Axes		Spades		Bars	
1.*	4	$ 32,00	4	$ 8,00	3	$ 7,50	2	$ 20,00	1	$ 5,00	1	$ 20,00
2.	2	10,00	1	3,00	..	....	1	5,00	..	....	..	....
3.	3	30,00	5	15,00	1	4,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
4.	3	15,00	3	9,00	2	10,00	2	10,00	1	4,00	1	6,00
5.	1	8,00	1	3,00	1	3,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
6.	2	24,00	2	8,00	2	6,00	..	....	..	....	1	12,00
7.	2	9,00	2	5,00	1	3,00	2	9,00	..	....	1	5,00
8.	2	12,00	2	6,00	2	10,00	1	6,00	..	....	1	10,00
9.	3	34,00	5	20,00	2	7,00	2	12,00	..	....	2	20,00
10.	4	28,00	5	12,50	2	10,00	2	14,00	..	....	..	....
11.	1	6,00	2	5,00	1	3,00	1	6,00	..	....	..	....
12.	4	16,00	6	15,00	4	16,00	2	8,00	..	....	1	5,00
13.	4	40,00	4	12,00	2	10,00	3	15,00	..	....	1	10,00
14.	8	48,00	10	30,00	6	30,00	5	25,00	..	....	..	....
15.	1	12,00	2	6,00	5	25,00	5	25,00	..	....	..	....
16.	1	12,00	2	8,00	1	6,00	1	6,00	..	....	1	8,00
17.	1	8,00	1	3,00	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....
18.	2	23,00	2	6,00	2	8,00	1	3,00	1	3,00	1	20,00
19.	3	21,00	3	9,00	1	4,00	2	10,00	..	....	..	....
20.	8	80,00	8	20,00	4	20,00	2	20,00	..	....	..	....
21.	7	42,00	6	18,00	2	12,00	2	10,00	..	....	..	....
22.	2	6,00	5	15,00	4	10,00	2	10,00	..	....	1	5,00
23.	1	10,00	2	6,00	1	5,00	1	5,00	..	....	1	6,00
24.	2	14,00	2	4,00	1	3,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
25.*	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....

/The commas in the figures are to be read as points in the translation to English./

/319/

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LAME:

Fams.	Machetes		Shovels		Small Bars		Axes		Spades		Bars	
1.*	..	....	4	14,00	2	10,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
2.	1	12,00	4	20,00	1	6,00	1	7,00	..	....	..	....
3.	2	9,00	2	8,00	1	3,00	1	6,00	..	....	..	....
4.*	2	16,00	2	14,00	1	7,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
5.	3	30,00	4	12,00	1	5,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
6.	2	14,00	2	8,00	1	6,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
7.	3	30,00	4	16,00	4	20,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
8.	3	22,00	2	10,00	1	6,00	..	....	..	....	..	....

SAN ANDRES:

1.*	6	24,00	8	20,00	3	12,00	..	....	..	....	3	15,00
2.	2	16,00	2	6,00	1	7,00	1	4,00	..	....	..	....
3.	1	7,00	..	....	..	....	1	8,00	..	....	..	....
4.	3	15,00	2	10,00	1	5,00	1	6,00	..	....	..	....
5.	2	14,00	4	12,00	1	6,00	1	3,00	..	....	..	....
6.	1	10,00	1	3,50	1	7,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
7.	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....
8.	3	11,00	3	9,00	1	5,00	1	4,50	..	....	..	....
9.	1	3,00	3	9,00	1	10,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
10.*	2	10,00	1	3,00	1	3,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
11.	3	24,00	4	14,00	3	10,50	2	12,00	..	....	..	....
12.	3	30,00	2	8,00	1	2,00	1	8,00	..	....	..	....
13.	3	15,00	1	3,00	..	....	1	3,00	..	....	..	....
14.*	3	19,50	6	13,20	3	15,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
15.*	4	20,00	5	12,50	1	5,00	..	....	..	....	..	....

/The commas in the figures are to be read as points in the translation to English./

Domestic animals

231 The Páez have bovine, equine, porcine, and wool-bearing livestock, turkeys, chickens, dogs, and cats. The guinea pig is the only American domestic animal that is raised in many homes.

231 124 An accurate investigation of the livestock would present serious difficulties, in view of the suspicion of the natives. In the parcialidad of Calderas, information on the subject is almost invariably distorted, whether direct or indirect methods of investigation are employed. Acquiring data of this nature would be problematical even for the mestizo traders with a relatively high standing among the natives and very familiar with them. In our investigating zeal we visited almost all the households in this parcialidad, covering the entire territory on foot. In the shade of thickets, in the fields and pastures, a goodly number of bovines, equines, and wool-bearers are seen grazing. Once in a while one comes upon herds of swine feeding on grasses and roots. In the communal llano of Calderas /320/ about 36 head of cattle ordinarily graze. In all of these households

/324 cont./

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●563
435
422

MOSOCO:

Fams.	Bovines		Equines		Pigs		Wool-bearers		Fowl Raised	
1.*	2	$ 500,00	11	$ 1.200,00	2	$ 200,00	15	$ 360,00	9	$ 45,00
2.	..	.....	3	500,00	1	100,00	..	.....	10	20,00
3.	..	.....	3	400,00	2	160,00	10	200,00	15	75,00
4.	8	2.050,00	5	800,00	1	40,00	..	.....	7	22,00
5.	..	.....	1	170,00	1	15,00	2	25,00	4	12,00
6.	4	1.400,00	4	1.300,00	1	30,00	..	.....	2	10,00
7.	8	1.360,00	12	1.730,00	5	240,00	4	60,00	12	72,00
8.	6	2.400,00	3	600,00	..	.....	2	30,00	5	20,00
9.	6	1.200,00	2	700,00	9	180,00	20	300,00	20	80,00
10.	..	.....	3	500,00	3	30,00	..	.....	17	102,00
11.	26	6.100,00 (22)	10	2.700,00	1	10,00	15	150,00	10	42,00
12.	6	750,00	3	470,00	1	15,00	9	300,00	8	24,00
13.	14	2.070,00	11	2.830,00	1	30,00	..	.....	6	30,00
14.	1	100,00	2	600,00	1	15,00	14	210,00	8	40,00
15.	15	2.500,00	6	2.200,00	2	45,00	..	.....	8	40,00
16.	8	1.600,00	4	600,00	..	.....	3	30,00	12	60,00
17.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....
18.	11	2.150,00	4	1.350,00	2	180,00	12	600,00	25	75,00
19.	2	600,00	3	1.300,00	1	60,00	4	200,00	16	40,00
20.	7	800,00	4	2.000,00	..	.....	..	.....	4	20,00
21.	18	4.100,00	5	1.500,00	2	100,00	..	.....	13	45,00
22.	..	.....	6	900,00	..	.....	..	.....	2	10,00
23.	6	900,00	4	650,00	2	50,00	..	.....	8	40,00
24.	3	450,00	2	200,00	2	250,00	10	200,00	4	40,00
25.*	20	5.000,00	2	2.000,00	2	120,00	10	500,00	16	80,00

/The commas in the figures in these tables should be read as points in the translation to English./

23. Belong to four brothers.

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LANE:

Fams.	Bovines		Equines		Pigs		Wool-bearers		Fowl Raised	
1.°	..	.....	7	1.500,00	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....
2.	..	.....	2	200,00	7	225,00	3	30,00	15	60,00
3.	8	755,00	6	950,00	..	.....	6	100,00	8	32,00
4.°	10	1.500,00	12	1.100,00	..	.....	..	.....	10	40,00
5.	5	300,00	6	600,00	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....
6.	2	250,00	2	300,00	5	65,00	2	40,00	5	25,00
7.	5	500,00	6	800,00	3	90,00	5	50,00	10	50,00
8.	2	200,00	3	350,00	4	56,00	3	45,00	2	8,00

SAN ANDRES:

1.°	35	7.000,00	8	1.700,00	5	300,00	..	.....	25	115,00
2.	..	.....	1	120,00	..	.....	..	.....	6	30,00
3.	..	.....	1	80,00	..	.....	..	.....	6	30,00
4.	1	300,00	..	.....	3	40,00	2	30,00	5	25,00
5.	..	.....	2	200,00	2	40,00	2	40,00	6	30,00
6.	..	.....	..	.....	3	300,00	..	.....	6	30,00
7.	..	..... (24)	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	7	35,00
8.	5	1.250,00	2	500,00	5	80,00	3	30,00	10	30,00
9.	4	800,00	..	.....	3	140,00	..	.....	40	120,00
10.°	..	.....	2	350,00	..	.....	..	.....	14	70,00
11.	..	.....	3	450,00	2	50,00	..	.....	15	75,000
12.	..	..... (24)	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....
13.	..	..... (24)	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	5	25,00
14.°	5	2.000,00	1	600,00	6	550,00	5	150,00	16	100,00
15.°	10	4.000,00	6	1.200,00	3	300,00	..	.....	60	300,00

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CALDERAS:

1.	1	120,00	1	200,00	2	70,00	..	.....	1	6,00
2.	3	300,00	3	300,00	3	80,00	..	.....	3 !	40,00
3.	..	.....	..	.....	1	40,00	..	.....	10 !	30,00
4.	..	.....	4	400,00	5	300,00	3 !	30,00	6 !	30,00
5.	..	.....	..	.....	1	30,00	..	.....	1	5,00
6.	4	600,00	3	300,00	3	240,00	5	100,00	10	30,00
7.	..	.....	..	.....	2	40,00	..	.....	6	30,00
8.	4	320,00	5	300,00	5 !	250,00	10	300,00	8 !	45,00
9.	4 !	400,00	2	200,00	4	80,00	2	35,00	5	25,00
10.	10	1.500,00	10	1.000,00	10	200,00	3 !	30,00	..	.....
11.	..	.....	5	600,00	3	60,00	2	30,00	4	24,00
12.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	6 !	30,00
13.	..	.....	2	300,00	..	.....	2	30,00	2	30,00
14.	..	.....	5	400,00	4 !	80,00	4	50,00	4 !	30,00
15.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	4	30,00	4	24,00
16.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	6 !	30,00
17.	4	400,00	..	.....	..	.....	3	30,00	8 !	40,00
18.	..	.....	4	320,00	4	80,00	..	.....	3	24,00
19.	..	.....	2	250,00	..	.....	..	.....	7	35,00

24. Tenant farmer.

! Estimates by the author.

6: Bernal Villa--50 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Farms.		Bovines		Equines		Pigs		Wool-bearers		Fowl Raised	
20.	--	.....	--	.....	--	.....	5	300,00	2	10,00
21.	--	.....	--	.....	3	60,00	--	.....	3	14,00
22.	--	.....	3	330,00	4 !	80,00	--	.....	8 !	40,00
23.	3	300,00	2	160,00	4 !	80,00	4 !	80,00	--	.....
24.	5	500,00	1	100,00	--	.....	2	40,00	15	90,00
25.	3	300,00	1	100,00	3	90,00	--	.....	--	.....
26.	3	300,00	1	100,00	--	.....	--	.....	--	.....
27.	--	.....	1	100,00	--	.....	--	.....	13	65,00
28.	--	.....	1	90,00	--	.....	--	.....	1	5,00
29.	--	.....	4	220,00	--	.....	--	.....	8 !	40,00
30.	1	100,00	1	80,00	--	.....	--	.....	8 !	35,00
31.	5	500,00	1	80,00	--	.....	--	.....	6 !	24,00
32.	--	.....	--	.....	--	.....	--	.....	1	6,00
33.	--	.....	1	80,00	--	.....	--	.....	--	.....
34.	8	800,00	5	500,00	10 !	200,00	4	80,00	10 !	50,00
35.	--	.....	4	320,00	--	.....	--	.....	10	50,00
36.	15	1.500,00	5 !	500,00	--	.....	20	400,00	--	.....
37.	4	400,00	4	400,00	--	.....	10	200,00	10 !	50,00
38.	--	.....	1	100,00	--	.....	--	.....	5 !	25,00
39.	--	.....	1	100,00	--	.....	--	.....	6 !	30,00
40.	2	200,00	--	.....	2	40,00	--	.....	--	.....
41.	--	.....	2	220,00	--	.....	--	.....	5	25,00
42.	--	.....	1	80,00	--	.....	--	.....	--	.....
43.	--	.....	--	.....	--	.....	--	.....	6 !	25,00
44.	--	.....	1	80,00	--	.....	3	30,00	--	.....
45.	--	.....	--	.....	--	.....	2	20,00	6 !	25,00
46.	4	400,00	--	.....	--	.....	--	.....	4	20,00
47.	--	.....	3	240,00	2	40,00	--	.....	--	.....
48.	--	.....	5	400,00	1	20,00	--	.....	9	35,00
49.	8	800,00	2	160,00	10 !	200,00	--	.....	10 !	40,00
50.	4	400,00	3	240,00	6	120,00	--	.....	10 !	35,00
51.	--	.....	1	80,00	--	.....	1	10,00	4 !	12,00
52.	--	.....	3	240,00	--	.....	--	.....	6 !	12,00
53.	1	100,00	2	160,00	--	.....	2	20,00	4	20,00
54.	2	200,00	2	200,00	2 !	40,00	3 !	30,00	--	.....
55.	--	.....	4	320,00	--	.....	2	20,00	8 !	24,00

! Estimates by the author.

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428 together. The land does not belong to the cabildo. Women do not inherit. Only the men. The women go with their husbands. Among the men it is divided into equal shares. The /337/ sons are the legitimate heirs. If a man dies without leaving sons, [593] his brother inherits. A brother can be asked for a piece of land to [423] work. And he gives it. If we are niggardly about it, what will [425] my brother eat, how will he support his children. The eldest son is important, because if the father dies, it is he who takes charge of the family."

The words are nearly all textual. One may deduce from them that inheritance is carried out through the male line. It is the men who inherit the land, houses, and animals, in equal shares. The women virtually do not inherit, since, when they marry, they go with the husband. The sons are the legitimate heirs. If a man dies without leaving progeny, his brothers inherit.

423 The women, nevertheless, can also be heirs and in equal 428 shares with the men, if the husband has no land to work. Cases [591] are not frequent, but neither are they rare, when the man goes to live in his wife's home, where he remains and works the land ● [563] which belongs to him through his wife's right. Likewise some "whites" who managed to marry natives have the right of usufruct over the lands of their wives, and the latter demand land to work from the cabildo if they do not possess any.

423 Another Calderun informant, one of the major owners of 428 land in extensity wishes to leave it to his sons without dividing it. Since there is enough land, there is no reason for them to quarrel. Since two of his sons went to Cali when they were small, he says that if they should return there is land for them to work. 423 The lands are solely for the men; the women marry and go with the husband. Referring to the llano of Calderas, he says that it belongs to all of the members of the community. They may build their houses there, while those from other parcialidades [342] have no right to do so. If a member builds a house on the com- [476] munal llano, all the others are obliged to help him with timber and labor. Even the women. The land is communal because the cabildo has decided upon it. Some have plots on this

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Average Distribution of Domestic Animals per Family

Parcialidad	Bovines				Equines				Swine				Wool-bearers				Fowl Raised			
	T	P	B	%	T	P	B	%	T	P	B	%	T	P	B	%	T	P	B	%
Mosoco	171	6	22	12,9	113	4	13	11,5	42	1	4	9,5	130	5	25	19,2	243	8	25	10,3
Lamo	82	4	10	11,2	44	5	19	43,1	19	2	—	—	81	2	—	—	50	6	10	20,0
San Andrés	60	4	50	83,3	27	1	19	70,3	28	1	14	50,0	13	—	5	41,6	251	16	135	53,7
Calderas	98	1	—	—	114	2	—	—	107	2	—	—	97	1	—	—	271	4	—	—

Note: T indicates the total animals of the families investigated.

P indicates the average number of animals for each family investigated.

B indicates the number of animals for the "white" families.

% indicates the percentage of the total animals that is owned by the "whites."

/The commas in the figures are to be read as points for the translation to English./

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422 For each native family in the three parcialidades and in
23 their respective order, there is on the average the following animals: Bovines, six, three, and one; equines, four, six, zero; swine, one, three, one; wool-bearers, four, three, zero; fowl raised, ten, six, fifteen. In Calderas this is what is given in the table.

23 It is obvious that livestock-raising in Mosoco is an authentic native industry, with the implication of a relative technical improvement in it. Whereas, in the other three parcialidades, it is of no special importance, especially in Calderas. The live-
● [563] stock industry in San Andrés is the exclusive patrimony of whites and mestizos.

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Average Distribution of Crops per Family

Parcialidad	Maize T	Maize P	Maize B	Maize %	Wheat T	Wheat P	Wheat B	Wheat %	Broad Beans T	Broad Beans P	Broad Beans B	Broad Beans %	Garlic T	Garlic P	Garlic	Garlic %
Mosoco	550	22	120	21,8	392	15	15	3,5	140	5	80	57,1	72	3	—	—
Lame	248	31	30	12,1	30	3	—	—	16	2	—	—	2	—	—	—

	Ullucos T	Ullucos P	Ullucos B	Ullucos %	Nasturtium T	Nasturtium P	Nasturtium B	Nasturtium %	Frijoles T	Frijoles P	Frijoles B	Frijoles %	Potatoes T	Potatoes P	Potatoes	Potatoes %
Mosoco	187	7	—	—	136	5	—	—	43	1	6	13,9	4.300	172	865	20,0
Lame	25	3	—	—	25	3	—	—	27	3	—	—	138	17	70	50,7

	Coffee T	Coffee P	Coffee B	Coffee %	Plantains (27) T	Plantains (27) P	Plantains (27) B	Plantains (27) %	Maize T	Maize P	Maize B	Maize %	Frijoles T	Frijoles P	Frijoles	Frijoles %
San Andrés	254	17	174	68,5	2050	136	680	33,1	327	22	90	27,5	40	3	—	—

	Manioc T	Manioc P	Manioc B	Manioc %	Arracacha T	Arracacha P	Arracacha B	Arracacha %
San Andrés	1.849	123	1.200	64,8	183	12	40	21,8

Note: T indicates the total arrobas produced by the family investigated.

P, the average number of arrobas for each one of these families.

B, the arrobas produced by the "whites," and %, the percentage that the latter produce in relation to the totals indicated.

/The commas in the figures are to be read as points, and the points as commas, in the translation to English./

27. The figures indicate the number of plantain trees producing.

The people of
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43 Mosoco have numerous droves of pack animals for handling the
628 import and export traffic, in which the Guambianos (with their
492 horses), called kasukos by the people of Mosoco, who regard them as good friends and not very different from themselves, also participate. The fact is that they live together, work together, and do their trading jointly.

563 The relations between "whites" and natives in Mosoco
621 seem to be cordial and based on mutual respect.

Family economy

594 The Paez family is basically an economic unit. It is made up of the parents and the children, and it represents a
[602] closed but effective circle. They do not go beyond their own
[476] limits in any way, so that the mingas and the distribution of the
[431] first fruits of the harvests are carried out primarily with consanguineal and political relations.

594 The manner in which this economic unit functions and in
462 which its members collaborate can be clearly understood from the division of the activities by sex. The supreme management of the family economy rests in the hands of the man; it is he who owns the land, the house, the tools, and the domestic animals. His arm has not been taught to wield anything but the machete, the axe, and the shovel. He is the owner of the crops and the one who determines where, how, and when work is to be done. His primary work is outside the house: on the land itself. The woman, on /357/ the other hand, remains inside the house, and her basic work is connected with the administration and working up of the products handed over to her by the man. Cooking and
[464] weaving are her specialities. It is true that the woman hires
[178] herself out as a day laborer on the fincas of the "whites" and that in some parcialidades, such as Mosoco, she participates directly in the preparation of the land and the weeding of the crops, but this is a relatively new phenomenon and is not yet universally accepted among the natives.

261 In general terms, the primary incentive for economic activity
594 dealing with food is the satisfaction of the basic needs of the individual and the survival of the family group. It is the security

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434 There were 48 families investigated, of which 25 were
[121] from Mosoco, 8 from Lame, and 15 from San Andrés. They are identified by numbers in order.

The sources of monetary income are provided by agriculture, especially by potatoes, wheat, garlic, and coffee; by livestock-raising, that is to say, the sale of animals, including derivatives such as milk and cheeses, as well as barnyard fowl; by business transactions, including the resale of agricultural and livestock products produced by the natives; by daily wages, including some contract work; by crafts, which include manufactures (blankets, rugs, sashes, pouches, sewing, ceramics, and tile-making) and hydraulic mills; by freightage, that is to say, the profit from renting beasts of burden; by the previous year's savings; and by loans.

At first sight agriculture stands out as the principal source of family income, corresponding specifically to potatoes, wheat, and garlic for Mosoco, laurel wax and potatoes for Lame, and coffee for San Andrés. But in the parcialidad of Mosoco livestock is not merely complementary, but as important as agriculture itself. Even more so. In nine of the 25 families investigated, livestock-raising balances the family budget, which the deficit
[427] was due to the loss of harvests. We also observed that the renting of beasts of burden is an important factor in the family income; an incipient development of family industry that represents sources of monetary income; and, finally, the income from daily wages in the parcialidad is rather limited. In the parcialidades of Lame and San Andrés, on the other hand, livestock-raising occupies a secondary position, and the family income is complemented, when agriculture produces an imbalance, chiefly by day labor.

434 Trade is primarily an activity of the "whites," and so are
● 563 industries of elaboration such as panela and cheese. In regard to
[439] trade we found one case of a "white" family established in a parcialidad, whose only source of income through life has been nothing but the profits from trade.

6: Bernal Villa--89 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Family Income

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Fams.	Agriculture $	%	Livestock $	%	Trade $	%	Daily Wages $	%	Crafts $	%	Freightage $	%	
1.*	871,00	17,9	760,00	15,6	2.410,00	49,6	.....	.....	210,00	4,3	.....	....	(33)
2.	563,00	79,5	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	85,00	12,0	(34)
3.	182,00	31,0	105,00	17,8	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	(35)
4.	285,00	36,3	500,00	63,6	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
5.	48,50	9,5	35,20	6,9	83,00	16,2	152,00	29,6	.....	....	192,00	37,7	
6.	145,00	13,9	750,00	71,9	.....	....	.....	.....	142,00	14,1	.....	....	
7.	250,00	22,1	700,00	61,9	180,00	15,9	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
8.	90,00	12,6	620,00	87,3	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
9.	399,00	31,3	73,00	5,7	.....	....	.....	.....	500,00	39,3	300,00	23,5	
10.	480,00	59,0	51,00	6,2	.....	....	270,00	33,2	12,00	1,6	.....	....	
11.	94,00	16,3	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	480,00	83,6	
12.	726,50	100,0	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
13.	250,00	23,5	600,00	56,6	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	210,00	19,7	
14.	136,00	11,3	935,00	78,1	.....	....	.....	.....	126,00	10,5	.....	....	
15.	724,00	55,6	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	236,00	16,6	360,00	27,6	
16.	482,00	73,6	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	144,00	26,3	
17.	.....	....	....	....	.....	....	300,00	100,0	.....	....	.....	....	
18.	1.910,00	98,7	....	....	25,00	1,3	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
19.	1.606,00	68,6	500,00	21,5	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
20.	267,50	67,0	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	300,00	32,9	
21.	428,00	72,5	130,00	22,0	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	32,00	5,6	
22.	290,00	22,6	800,00	62,3	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	216,00	16,6	
23.	344,00	60,3	120,00	21,5	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	60,00	9,3	
24.	146,00	37,2	200,00	44,3	.....	....	.....	.....	30,00	6,7	50,00	11,2	
25.*	1.672,00	16,2	2.690,00	26,7	2.702,00	26,8	.....	.....	300,00	29,8	.....	....	
LAME													
1.*	280,00	30,3	....	....	1.352,00	49,8	.....	.....	.....	....	1.080,00	39,8	
2.	75,00	26,7	30,00	10,7	.....	....	120,00	42,8	13,50	4,8	42,00	14,9	
3.	.....	....	....	....	206,00	45,1	.....	.....	.....	....	....	....	(36)
4.*	.....	....	....	....	2.722,00	100,0	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
5.	132,00	22,2	40,00	6,7	.....	....	270,00	45,7	.....	....	.....	....	(37)
6.	470,00	92,1	....	....	40,00	7,8	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....	
7.	107,00	38,3	71,50	25,6	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	100,00	35,1	
8.	252,00	95,5	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	12,00	4,5	.....	....	

Note: The peso sign ($) indicates the total monetary income, and % indicates the percentage of income from one activity in relation to the total income. /The commas in the figures should be read as points, and the points as commas, in the translation to English./

33. The deficit was compensated for by a loan of $600.00, which is equivalent to 12.3% of the total income.

34. Deficit compensated for by $60.00 saved in 1952, or 8.4% of the income.

35. Deficit compensated for by $300.00 saved in 1952, or 51.1% of the income.

36. Deficit compensated for by $250.00 saved in 1952, or 54.8% of the income.

37. Deficit compensated for by $150.00 saved in 1952, or 25.3% of the total income.

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SAN ANDRES

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● 563

Fams.	Agriculture $	Agriculture %	Agriculture $	Agriculture %	Livestock $	Livestock %	Trade $	Trade %	Day Wages $	Day Wages %	Crafts $	Crafts %
1.°	3.120,00	58,7	1.460,00	27,5	500,00	9,4	.....	.....	.....	....	225,00	4,4
2.	48,00	54,3	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	40,50	45,7	.....	....
3.	132,00	70,5	....	....	.....	....	55,00	29,4	.....	....	.....	....
4.	22,20	28,3	....	....	.....	....	56,00	71,6	.....	....	.....	....
5.	309,00	62,2	....	....	.....	....	45,00	7,1	191,00	30,5	.....	....
6.	152,50	61,6	....	....	.....	....	95,00	38,3	.....	....	.....	....
7.	87,00	26,6	....	....	.....	....	240,00	73,3	.....	....	.....	....
8.	195,00	42,3	200,00	43,4	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	.... (38)
9.	220,00	72,6	120,00	27,2	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
10.°	2.000,00	89,2	....	....	240,00	10,7	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
11.	1.455,00	53,1	600,00	24,8	680,00	24,8	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
12.	170,00	100,0	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
13.	650,00	100,0	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
14.°	190,00	4,2	1.210,00	46,5	580,00	22,8	120,00	3,1	888,00	22,8	.....	....
15.°	379,00	14,6	....	....	160,00	3,8	.....	.....	2.143,10	81,7	.....	....

[454]

/The headings are obviously in error on this table./

38. Deficit compensated for by $65.00 saved in 1952, or 14.1% of the income.

511 In the statistical table of expenses, the first thing that we observe in the three parcialidades is the small amount of money spent under the headings "Drugs," "Medical Service," "Taxes," and "Education."

75 The protection of the health of adults and children is fundamental among the Páez. Child mortality has a high percentage, and parasitosis, diarrhea, and tuberculosis are almost endemic. But in Páez culture the care of the té eu (good curer) and the nasa jihi (sorcerer); the former protects people from illness and from the curses of the latter; the sorcerer with his magic powers can take people's lives. On the other hand, the té eu openly condemn the use of the drugs and the medical service of the "whites." These two institutions still enjoy great power and basically govern almost all of the institutional life of the Páez. In Mosoco seven heads of families spent small sums of money for the purchase of drugs. /The following table and illustrations appear between p. 360 and p. 361 in the original text./

511 [165] [164] [182]

[text continues on p. 108]

6: Bernal Villa--91 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

Family Expenses -- 1953

/See p. 94 for the note and footnotes for this table./

571
563

Fams.	Drugs		Medical		Food		Clothing	
	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%
MOSOCO								
1.*	500,00	10,3	300,00	6,1	2.798,00	57,6	980,00	20,2
2.	... ..	...	... ..	..	410,10	57,9	195,50	27,6
3.	... ..	...	... ..	..	288,00	56,3	151,00	28,1
4.	6,00	0,8	... ..	..	316,40	40,3	103,00	13,1
5.	... ..	...	... ..	..	345,60	67,5	108,50	20,7
6.	... ..	...	... ..	..	690,60	66,2	176,00	16,8
7.	... ..	...	... ..	..	402,40	35,6	81,90	7,2
8.	... ..	...	... ..	..	276,20	38,9	137,00	19,2
9.	10,00	0,6	... ..	..	558,00	43,7	223,00	17,4
10.	... ..	...	... ..	..	456,50	56,1	214,00	26,3
11.	10,00	1,7	... ..	..	151,20	26,4	88,50	15,4
12.	... ..	...	... ..	..	327,60	45,1	159,70	21,9
13.	10,00	0,6	... ..	..	734,40	69,2	133,00	12,5
14.	... ..	...	... ..	..	461,60	38,5	278,00	23,2
15.	... ..	...	... ..	..	383,20	29,4	158,50	12,1
16.	... ..	...	... ..	..	195,76	35,7	113,00	20,5
17.	... ..	...	... ..	..	189,60	63,2	62,00	20,6
18.	43,00	2,2	... ..	..	426,66	22,0	168,80	8,7
19.	65,00	4,0	... ..	..	213,33	13,4	294,70	18,5
20.	... ..	...	... ..	..	238,30	42,0	82,00	14,4
21.	... ..	...	... ..	..	188,00	31,8	104,50	17,7
22.	... ..	...	... ..	..	221,20	16,8	191,00	14,5
23.	... ..	...	... ..	..	192,00	31,6	166,00	27,3
24.	6,00	1,3	... ..	..	155,00	34,7	173,50	38,6
25.*	120,00	1,1	12,00	0,1	3.566,40	35,4	2.497,70	24,8
LAME								
1.*	5,00	0,1	18,00	0,6	698,40	25,7	420,00	15,4
2.	0,70	0,2	... ..	..	55,20	19,6	114,00	40,6
3.	5,10	1,1	... ..	..	158,40	34,7	91,40	20,0
4.*	40,00	1,4	... ..	..	1.173,12	42,9	268,00	9,8
5.	... ..	...	... ..	..	66,00	11,1	64,00	10,8
6.	... ..	...	... ..	..	93,00	18,2	61,00	11,9
7.	3,00	1,0	... ..	..	115,50	41,4	37,50	13,4
8.	... ..	...	... ..	..	170,40	64,5	54,50	20,6
SAN ANDRES								
1.*	8,00	0,1	... ..	..	2,265,60	42,5	801,00	15,0
2.	... ..	...	... ..	..	23,25	25,1	27,00	30,5
3.	... ..	...	... ..	..	75,00	40,1	64,00	34,1
4.	... ..	...	... ..	..	29,60	37,8	46,05	58,8
5.	28,00	4,4	... ..	..	172,20	27,6	98,30	15,7
6.	... ..	...	... ..	..	68,00	27,8	81,00	32,7
7.	... ..	...	... ..	..	168,40	48,0	68,50	20,9
8.	... ..	...	... ..	..	165,60	36,0	154,00	33,4
9.	... ..	...	... ..	..	106,50	24,2	115,00	26,1
10.*	... ..	...	... ..	..	933,60	41,6	357,00	15,9
11.	15,00	0,5	... ..	..	1.444,80	52,9	372,00	13,6
12.	... ..	...	... ..	..	19,20	11,2	59,80	35,1
13.	10,00	1,5	... ..	..	115,20	17,7	44,00	6,7
14.*	103,50	2,6	5,00	0,1	1.684,80	43,3	554,60	14,2
15.*	... ..	...	... ..	..	960,00	36,6	280,50	10,6

6: Bernal Villa--92 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

Mosoco Family Expenses -- 1953

Fams.	Taxes		Education		Candles-soap		Coca	
	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%
511 1.	*1,70	..	30,00	0,6	120,00	2,4	... ..	...
●563 2.	... ..	..	8,80	1,2	21,60	3,0	... ..	...
651 3.	... ..	..	... ..	...	21,60	3,0	... ..	...
871 4.	... ..	..	6,00	0,8	64,80	8,2	... ..	...
5.	... ..	..	5,00	0,9	45,60	8,9	... ..	...
6.	... ..	..	10,00	0,9	57,60	5,5	... ..	...
7.	... ..	..	... ..	...	45,60	4,0	... ..	...
8.	... ..	..	... ..	...	50,40	7,0	... ..	...
9.	... ..	..	... ..	...	57,00	4,4	... ..	...
10.	... ..	..	... ..	...	60,00	7,3	72,00	8,8
11.	... ..	..	... ..	...	36,00	6,2	... ..	...
12.	... ..	..	... ..	...	68,40	9,4	... ..	...
13.	... ..	..	... ..	...	72,00	6,7	... ..	...
14.	... ..	..	4,00	0,3	28,00	2,3	... ..	...
15.	... ..	..	... ..	...	68,40	5,2	96,00	7,3
16.	... ..	..	... ..	...	26,40	4,8	... ..	...
17.	... ..	..	... ..	...	18,00	6,0	... ..	...
18.	... ..	..	... ..	...	84,00	4,3	... ..	...
19.	... ..	..	30,00	1,8	... ..	...	... ..	...
20.	... ..	..	... ..	...	36,00	6,3	... ..	...
21.	... ..	..	... ..	...	50,40	8,5	120,00	20,3
22.	11,60	0,8	... ..	...	100,00	7,2	... ..	...
23.	... ..	..	... ..	...	57,60	9,5	... ..	...
24.	... ..	..	5,00	1,1	62,00	3,9	... ..	...
25.	*4,50	..	1.745,00	17,3	150,00	1,4	... ..	...

Lame

1.*	...	..	30,00	1,2	28,80	1,0	... ..	...
2.	... ..	..	... ..	...	14,40	5,1	60,00	21,3
3.	... ..	..	... ..	...	8,00	1,7	... ..	...
4.*	...	..	... ..	...	?	?	... ..	...
5.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	180,00	30,4
6.	... ..	..	... ..	...	9,60	1,8	54,00	10,5
7.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	72,00	25,8
8.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	... ..	...

San Andres

1.*	2,40	..	180,00	3,3	?	?	... ..	...
2.	... ..	..	... ..	..	?	?	30,00	33,8
3.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	... ..	...
4.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	... ..	...
5.	5,00	0,8	8,00	1,2	37,20	5,9	96,00	15,3
6.	... ..	..	... ..	...	36,00	14,5	40,00	16,0
7.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	48,00	14,6
8.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	17,50	3,8
9.	... ..	..	5,00	1,1	30,00	6,7	24,00	5,4
10.	*24,20	3,3	... ..	...	67,20	3,0	... ..	...
11.	7,75	0,2	60,00	2,1	108,00	3,9	... ..	...
12.	... ..	..	... ..	...	21,60	12,7	... ..	...
13.	... ..	..	... ..	...	28,80	4,4	... ..	...
14.*	... ..	..	515,00	13,2	?	?	... ..	...
15.	*13,00	0,4	15,00	0,5	?	?	... ..	...

6: Bernal Villa--93 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954

SC15 Paez SC15

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Mosoco Family Expenses -- 1953

Fams.	Amusements $	Amusements %	Finca Improvements $	Finca Improvements %	Savings $	Savings %
1.*	120,00	2,4	.....	...	.....	...
2.	60,00	8,4	.....	...	12,00	1,6
3.	126,40	23,5	.....	...	.....	... (1)
4.	2,00	0,3	110,00	14,0	176,80	22,5
5.	34,00	6,6	.....	...	.....	... (2)
6.	25,00	2,4	40,00	3,8	44,40	4,2
7.	150,00	13,2	110,00	9,7	339,60	30,0
8.	60,00	8,4	.....	...	195,80	26,4
9.	100,00	7,7	.....	...	324,00	26,0
10.	10,00	1,2	.....	...	.....	...
11.	.....	...	.....	...	287,70	50,1
12.	50,00	4,8	75,00	10,3	45,30	6,2
13.	36,80	3,4	.....	...	73,20	6,9
14.	60,00	5,0	250,00	20,8	115,40	9,6
15.	192,00	14,7	200,00	15,3	201,90	15,5
16.	50,00	9,1	.....	...	161,84	29,5
17.	.....	...	.....	...	30,40	10,1
18.	30,00	1,2	160,00	8,2	1.033,24	53,3
19.	10,00	0,6	128,00	8,0	844,97	53,2
20.	10,00	1,7	192,00	33,8	8,70	1,5
21.	30,00	5,0	.....	...	97,10	16,4
22.	100,00	7,6	95,30	7,2	630,90	48,3
23.	60,00	9,9	.....	...	130,60	21,5
24.	80,00	17,9	.....	...	.....	... (3)
25.*	226,00	2,2	361,00	3,5	1.356,00	13,4 (4)

Lame

1.*	.....	...	375,00	13,8	1.135,90	41,8
2.	18,00	6,4	.....	...	18,20	6,4
3.	30,00	6,5	.....	...	163,10	35,7
4.*	.....	...	710,00	25,9	540,88	19,7
5.	.....	...	.....	...	282,00	47,6
6.	.....	...	144,00	28,3	147,90	29,0
7.	.....	...	.....	...	50,50	18,1
8.	26,00	9,8	.....	...	13,10	4,9

San Andres

1.*	240,00	4,5	1.060,50	19,9	747,50	14,0
2.	0,75	0,8	.....	...	7,50	8,4
3.	.....	...	.....	...	29,00	15,6
4.	.....	...	.....	...	2,55	3,2
5.	85,20	13,6	.....	...	94,80	15,0
6.	20,00	8,0	.....	...	2,50	1,0
7.	24,00	7,3	.....	...	28,10	8,5
8.	130,00	28,2	.....	...	.....	... (5)
9.	100,00	22,7	.....	...	58,60	13,3
10.*	200,00	8,9	366,00	16,3	242,00	10,8
11.	.....	...	500,00	18,2	227,45	8,3
12.	.....	...	.....	...	69,60	40,8
13.	.....	...	.....	...	452,00	69,5
14.*	100,00	2,5	292,00	7,5	593,20	15,2 (6)
15.*	10,00	0,3	360,00	13,7	983,60	37,5

511 /The following note and footnotes appear under the preceding
● 563 table in the original text./

NOTE: The peso sign ($) indicates the total expenses and % indicates the percentage of expenses under one heading with relation to the total expenses. /The commas in the figures should be read as points, and the points as commas, in the translation to English./

1. Deficit of 50 pesos or 8.6%.

2. Deficit of 39 pesos or 4.6%.

3. Deficit of 29.50 pesos or 7.5%.

4. Transportation expenses 35 pesos or 0.3%.

5. Deficit of 7.10 pesos or 1.4%.

6. Transportation expenses 39.90 pesos or 1.6%.

/361/

75 Their importance is emphasized if we make a comparison
511 with the parcialidad of San Andrés, where there is a Centro de
743 Salud duly staffed by a registered nurse, and furthermore, not far away, there is the Centro de Higiene of Inzá, staffed by a doctor and a group of nurses whose services are free and who also distribute free drugs. In spite of this, the natives do not always go to these centers, preferring their own doctors and most commonly the té eu of Calderas.

651 Concerning taxes, we have already said that the immovables
511 of the native communities are exempt from this type of encumbrance; hence, the column reserved for this type of expense remains empty. The few figures that are found in it are payments on immovables within the settlement area and, in one case or another, the payment of taxes for the exercise of trade in various plazas of the municipio of Inzá.

511 The amounts devoted to the education of children are the
871 smallest, if we except those of the "white" informants, some of
[563] whom have their children in high schools, in rural normal schools,
[115] and even at the university. In the parcialidades of San Andrés and Lame, they are practically null. The children of San Andrés go to school, as a rule, unprovided with school supplies, carrying in their bags provisions for lunch, consisting of manioc and cooked plantains, mote, and roasted maize, since the dwellings are located at a distance of several kilometers from the school, with very bad and rugged paths. School cafeterias and the donating of school supplies are more than indispensable in these regions. These children go to school irregularly and do not remain there for more than two years; they are taught in Spanish, and on the
[562] whole the benefit is minimal. Girls attend in smaller numbers
[212] than boys; the adults believe that women do not need to learn to read and write. This situation is different in Mosoco. The children of both sexes attend school and try to attend regularly, and many walk several kilometers a day; the fathers of families are interested in having their children learn to read, write, and count, and for this reason they try to outfit them with some equipment for their tasks of apprenticeship.

/363 cont./

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Parcialidad	Less than $100.00	From $100.00 to $500.00	From $500.00 to $1,000.00	From $1,000.00 to $ 2,000.00	From $2,000.00 to $5,000.00	More than $5,000.00
Mosoco	-	2	12	9	1	1
Lame	-	4	2	-	2	-
San Andrés	2	6	2	-	4	1
Totals	2	12	16	9	7	2

We thus observe that 28 of the 48 families studied, or 78.3%, have incomes of less than 1,000 pesos, with which savings [426] practically cannot exist. Even with regard to the Mosoco family [691] identified by the number 18, which in the Savings column has the amount of $1,034.24 ¾ we were able to verify that this amount /364/ was strictly nominal and that the head of the family had resorted to the Caja Agraria to ask for a loan of $500.00 to make improvements on his finca, a loan which he indeed obtained; through indirect information we were able to ascertain that the amount given as savings was possibly spent on the expenses of a [563] lawsuit for land which a brother-in-law was prosecuting. The savings of the "white" families are true and also those of some few native families, but in general terms what we would calculate as savings can be assigned to the "Amusements" column; the natives live from day to day. The impulse to save does not exist or is minimal. We had the opportunity to verify that there is no prudence with regard to expenses when considerable sums are received, such as, for example, those that come from the sale of coffee. The modest savings of the natives go up in smoke

¾ [column actually reads $1033.24; see p. 93 - Au.]

/365 cont./

177 For our outline of acculturation, we understand by diffusion
[121] achieved cultural transmission, and by acculturation cultural trans-
[127] mission in process, terms expounded by Professor Melville J. Herskovits in his book, El Hombre y sus obras /Man and his Works/.

Within Páez culture there is widely diffused, to the point of constituting an integral part of the cultural body, the following economic elements of alien origin and, more concretely, of European origin:

[231] All of the domestic animals with the exception of the
[137] guinea pig, bananas, sugar cane (the variety known as "criolla"), wheat, barley, garlic, coffee, peaches, apples, and oranges, the agricultural implements, the hydraulic mills, sugar mills, the guadua bamboo, and some varieties of pasture grass, such as orejuela /Alchemilla pectinata/, kikuyu, and poa.

177 Throughout the pages of this work, we have emphasized in
361 particular the cultural developments in process, that is to say, the
● 563 phenomenon of acculturation. It is obvious that this phenomenon has appeared, with greater or lesser intensity, in those parcialidades where there have been created areas of settlement, within which a specific number of "white" families have settled. But the intensity of the acculturative phenomenon does not rest merely on this fact or on the number of families who live by the norms of Western culture. San Andrés, for example, had its settlement area established for all practical purposes in 1928 and now reckons with more than 20 "white" families, with its nearness to the settlement of Inzá, and, for nearly 15 years, with the Parque Arqueológico of Tierradentro, to some extent a tourist attraction, and yet the process of acculturation is minimal and cannot be compared with the intensity of the same phenomenon in Mosoco, where the settlement area /366/ was created in 1923 and where
177 nowadays there are not more than 12 families of "whites." In
[487] Mosoco there is another factor: the riding path that joins the
[491] municipio of Belalcázar with that of Silvia, a road that has existed since pre-conquest times. Mosoco has been and still
[628] continues to be the mandatory stopping place. In addition, this parcialidad has had intensive contacts with the Guambiano group and the Páez group from the other side of the Cordillera, who are more acculturated,

/171 cont./

621 tribal organization. Even at the time of the Conquista the Paez
[622] did not form a common, cohesive community and were similarly independent from village to village and without a chief,
[623] just as today. Only in times of war did a few villages join together
[648] in a sort of loose federation, in order to be able to offer stronger resistance to the Spanish intruders. Afterwards, however, the
177 "alliance for convenience" dissolved. The political influence
361 of the Spaniards during the colonial period had the effect of
131 fixing the boundaries of the villages that had existed up to that time, each of which occupies the area of a valley basin, in order to create clear relationships with respect to the white landowners. The former arrangement of the villages was essentially the same, as one may see from the large number of old native names.

621 The control of the community at that time -- in keeping with
622 the character of the Paez -- was probably in a democratic village management, in a fashion similar to that of today. In times of war leadership was in the hands of men who were called caciques /see "Kazike" in the glossary, p. 249/ by the Spaniards -- as was the case generally in their colonies. The Paez have also taken over this name as a rank designation for the heroes of their traditions. Actually, their own word "sāt" for the political leaders in their mythology corresponds more to a war leader with shamanistic abilities than to a regular hereditary chieftainship of a society organized by classes, such as we find among the tribes of the Cauca Valley or the sacred principalities of the Chibcha at the time of the Conquista.

621 The present-day composition of the village council (cabildo)
623 as the administrative head of each village varies in strength according to the size of the village. It seems to be the most nearly complete in Calderas. Its composition and its tasks show
[565] that it is the head of a democratic community. The village is
[626] not organized by classes or by occupations. The consciousness of the equality of all is so strong /172/ that outsiders who distinguish themselves from others through personal achievement or personal acquisition are brought down to the common level by
623 force or killed. The leader of the cabildo has the grand Spanish

/202 cont./

461 villagers know these "strollers," and even say that they are
574 sluggards who do not work; but if they then come at mealtime, they
156 get their food and are usually kept there gladly, because they know how to tell stories well and amusingly, go around everywhere, and always have news to impart. If a man is married and has a wife and children, he must, of course, cultivate his own field, in order to be able to feed his family. In Calderas, however, there is even a married "stroller" who has neither a house of his own nor his own field. He lives in the house of a good-natured man whom he helps in the field and in the house. But this is regarded as an exception.

829 Thanks for favors or benefits bestowed, which, according
571 to the view of the Paez, are taken for granted, were not custom-
[576] ary originally. Today, however, thanks are often expressed with
[178] a word of Spanish origin "slopage" (Dios se lo pague), without, however, any feeling of a debt of gratitude, such as toward a
[621] wealthy person or a person in a superior position. Within the Paez communities there is, to be sure, no sociologically established authority; similarly, there is no chief or employer of a number of people who would be dependent upon him and owe him obedience. Hence no one is forced to obey anyone whom he does not like or to do anything that he may not care to do. Accordingly, there is no respect for strangers to the place or even for the priest, for when the Calderun are in their village, "on their soil," everyone regards everyone else as equal. Not the least important in this connection is the general understanding of one another by the inhabitants, their strengths and weaknesses, which makes pretense, any spurious authority simply assumed by an official, impossible. This is one reason -- perhaps the principal reason -- why the Calderun purposely do not want to have anything to do with the "blancos" and their officials. An attempt to trace this back to an awareness of their own inferiority indicates a complete misunder-
[565] standing of the character of the Paez. Their lack of social classes, and therefore the impossibility of looking down on /203/ another person, explains their general respect for one another, which is bestowed on everyone equally. Everyone grants everyone else

/315 cont./

105 "Araucanian" type (O'Neale, p. 115). In place of the shed rod we have a simple loop; in place of the heddle rod, a bundle of loops.
105 The warp threads are stretched in the form of the "false spiral warp,"
286 a mixture of the method of the continuous, circular warp with the
171 method of the terminating flat warp. This genuinely American way of stretching the warp is found among the Northwest Coast Indians as well as among the tribes of the Gran Chaco (Olson, pp. 114-121). Culture-historically H. Nevermann regards the various forms of American weaving /316/ as having originated on the basis of a native or pre-Polynesian plait-weaving. Among the Paez we find this technical stage in the plait-weaving of the carrying bands of the coca bags.

105 For dyeing, vegetable dyes are used, which dye only sheep wool, but not cotton.

Pottery is very simple. There are only hemispherical pots and bowls made with the spiral coil technique, both without any ornamentation.

The present political organization of the Paez is based on the village community. It is led by a village council (cabildo), whose members are chosen for a year from among the men of the village. The designations for the members of the cabildo and their functions are in part Spanish. In former times the leaders of the Paez were
[621] often men with shamanistic abilities. The village is not organized
[565] by either classes or occupations. No one need serve another for
[463] pay; the word and the thing are unknown to the Paez. The father
[464] of the family with his sons or brothers works his fields, and if
[476] friends or neighbors lend their help, it is compensated for by assistance in their fields.

[594] The family organization is basically the patrilineal,
[178] monogomous nuclear family, consisting of the parents and the unmarried children. Here there has probably been the least
[851] change in Paez culture. The children are given the family of the
[533] father. For her marriage the woman receives no dowry of any kind from her parents, and she keeps her maiden name. Since there are no social or financial reasons for concluding a marriage, a woman has only the merit of her personality and abilities. These are tested during a "trial year" before the actual conclusion of the marriage.

/316 cont./

105 Guambianos. They adorn themselves with showy necklaces and
178 pins. Not a few of them wear fine gold earrings.

[232] Livestock-raising has intensified and is in full swing. Norman cattle are replacing and being crossed with the native cattle. The same thing has happened with the wool-bearing livestock. The /317/ saddle and pack horses are indispensable for every family. The natives also possess fine breeds of hogs and domestic fowl.

● [565] Social stratification is in full progress. Rich and poor families can already be named.

Mosoco women seldom marry natives from other, less acculturated parcialidades. People speak of mingas, and even of burials, of the rich and poor, a larger number of people going to those of the former.

They live on good terms with the whites and treat them as equals. There are many good native dealers.

These natives are thoroughly familiar with the methods of curing, the use of remedies, and sorcery. But the té eu and even more the nara jihi (sorcerer) are on the wane. Many consult the doctor of the "whites" in Silvia and use the drugs of the "whites." They are less superstitious.

They are believers by conviction. A few are Protestants with great reasoning powers.

The cabildo retains its power and is duly respected.

The properties are duly parceled out. Many of them are planted with pastos de selección /literally, choice pasture grasses/. Fences with barbed wire are frequently encountered.

Agricultural implements

412 Among the implements used in agriculture, only the
[241] digging stick for planting maize (uhach) is of native manufacture.
[177] The others are of European origin.

The universal implement among the Paez is the machete. With it the clearings are made, the ground is cleaned, and the fields, the montañas are felled, sugar mills are made, and bridges are laid over rivers and streams. They prefer it large and with a leather sheath that they fasten to the belt. They are

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I

Point of Departure

631 To the north of the municipio of Inzá and to the west of
[361] the confluence of the Ullucos and Páez rivers, two hours on horseback from the points just mentioned, the corregimiento /district governed by a corregidor/ of San Andrés is found on the left bank of the Pisimbalá torrent, an affluent of the
[175] Ullucos. Its name has been registered in the parochial books
[103] since 1736, when the priest José Fernández Belalcázar, as the
[797] representative of the Bishop of Popayán, initiated in San Andrés de Pisimbalá pastoral visits to the Paez pueblos.

361 San Andrés de Pisimbalá is a pueblo with the same characteristics that we have noted in other Paez centers; that is to say, it consists of a church, a school, the rectory, the house of the cabildo, and some others used solely for the celebration of religious fiestas. It is located on a small plateau, a ledge hanging on the declivity.

563 At the present time it is inhabited by whites and mestizos
177 whose ways of life, norms of behavior, and labor practices
361 have been imposed on the natives. Resistance to contact has
[648] been overcome, but active resentment against the white still
[566] crops out among the old people. Almost completely acculturated, many of them have sunk to the state of tenant farmers. The phenomenon of the colonization of Indians and land is the same everywhere. The Indian loses his land and sinks into servitude.

In 1926 the Municipal Council of Inzá created a settlement area with clearly delineated boundaries in a common agreement /178/ between the municipal authorities and the cabildo. The colonists established themselves in that area. The valley of the Pisimbalá torrent is narrow, but extremely fertile. It belongs in its entirety to a few families of colonists.

/202 cont./

461/ villagers know these "strollers," and even say that they are
574 sluggards who do not work; but if they then come at mealtime, they
156 get their food and are usually kept there gladly, because they know how to tell stories well and amusingly, go around everywhere, and always have news to impart. If a man is married and has a wife and children, he must, of course, cultivate his own field, in order to be able to feed his family. In Calderas, however, there is even a married "stroller" who has neither a house of his own nor his own field. He lives in the house of a good-natured man whom he helps in the field and in the house. But this is regarded as an exception.

829 Thanks for favors or benefits bestowed, which, according
571 to the view of the Paez, are taken for granted, were not custom-
[576] ary originally. Today, however, thanks are often expressed with
[178] a word of Spanish origin "slopage" (Dios se lo pague), without, however, any feeling of a debt of gratitude, such as toward a
[621] wealthy person or a person in a superior position. Within the Paez communities there is, to be sure, no sociologically established authority; similarly, there is no chief or employer of a number of people who would be dependent upon him and owe him obedience. Hence no one is forced to obey anyone whom he does not like or to do anything that he may not care to do. Accordingly, there is no respect for strangers to the place or even for the priest, for when the Calderun are in their village, "on their soil," everyone regards everyone else as equal. Not the least important in this connection is the general understanding of one another by the inhabitants, their strengths and weaknesses, which makes pretense, any spurious authority simply assumed by an official, impossible. This is one reason -- perhaps the principal reason -- why the Calderun purposely do not want to have anything to do with the "blancos" and their officials. An attempt to trace this back to an awareness of their own inferiority indicates a complete misunder-
[565] standing of the character of the Paez. Their lack of social classes, and therefore the impossibility of looking down on /203/ another person, explains their general respect for one another, which is bestowed on everyone equally. Everyone grants everyone else

Everyone grants everyone else

/203 cont./

571 whatever he expects and claims for himself, quite as a matter of
829 course. This results in an entirely natural self-esteem, injury to
155 which on the part of the "blancos" is felt as very painful by the Paez.

576 Within the Paez communities the obligation of a greeting (gwéčaya) by a younger person to an older one is strictly observed. Even a "family feud" does not absolve the younger people from the respectful greeting "pétenga" (translated by "good day") toward the older people of other families, who acknowledge it with " "pé'taw." Removing one's hat at the same time is not customary.

[608] A greeting by shaking hands takes place only among members of the family or with one's godfather or godmother with the salutation "ndyósta utsméńga" (Godparent, how are you?), during which the hat is also removed. Contemporaries greet each other with

[521] "éwča" (how are you) and reply with "éwčataw" (I am well). Generally people chat awhile when they meet, introduce the conversation with a joke, a bit of news in the village, or perhaps merely a remark about the weather.

156 Though the Paez may be regarded basically as an individualist, this does not hold true universally. On account of the abundantly available land, it is possible for him to isolate himself and withdraw for weeks at a time to his separate farm, but

461 nonetheless the Paez does not like to drink his chicha alone. And
476 usually friends and neighbors help, not only with housebuilding or
156 clearing, but also with sowing and lesser tasks. The labor of the individual, in instances of mutual help, is merely loaned, however, since the same persons meet again for joint aid on the corresponding tasks of a neighbor. The owner in question must also make chicha and food liberally available for each task, which makes every joint task a small feast. The actual useful effects of the communal work are slight, and, as a visitor from the outside, one has the impression that the joint eating and drinking is the primary thing, interrupted at times by only brief periods of work. On sober consideration -- which no Paez, of course, undertakes -- the joint consumption in connection with a communal task is more expensive for the individual than if each person himself over a correspondingly

/116 cont./

343 In addition to these dwellings only a few houses have
[574] separate buildings, such as, for example, one or, if need be,
[513] two storehouses or a small house (yatléčkwe) in which friends and neighbors sleep when they help the owner for days for the
251 joint work of expressing sugar cane or for the harvest. In the
343 storehouse (kotyāvyat: literally "maize storehouse") only maize
[262] and beans are stored, not wheat or garden produce. Fruit, yuca, potatoes, and arracacha are not kept on hand or stored at all, but always merely fetched as needed and eaten immediately. Wheat is tied in bundles below the ears on stalks about 20 centimeters long and hung up under the roof above the fire. Maize and beans may be kept up to two years in the storehouse. For this purpose horizontal cross-sticks are fastened in it, over which the ears are hung, and racks consisting of maize stalks
[225] laid close together are constructed for the beans. These racks, too, are hung up, if possible, or at least are fastened quite high above the floor so that the mice (úńsa) cannot get to them.
[231] In addition, a cat (mīš) is shut up in the storehouse, if one is available. Stalls for the livestock are unknown.

34 In the middle of the village of Calderas, on community land, stand the church (iglésia), the community house (kabīldeyát), and the six festival houses of the six largest families (Ill. 147 /see p. 264 /). In their construction, they are likewise hip-roofed houses, but their walls are built in the manner of the colonists' houses, /117/ out of vertical posts, on the inside and outside of which bamboo poles or straight branches are tied horizontally. To strengthen the posts the interstices are filled with earth, clay, and, in the lower part, also with stones. The filling is spread smoothly and the wall whitewashed inside and
[373] out. Whereas light enters the other houses through the door and the not very tightly sealed walls made of maize stalks placed side by side, light can enter the above-mentioned houses consisting of solid walls only through the relatively small door and the opening of the roof ridge, which makes the interior rather dark.

/118 cont./

342 ceiling height. It should be noted that all the beams are merely
335 lashed with lianas, /119/ but not mortised. The roof does not rest directly on the corner and side posts; rather, the crossbeams (bīkas) and the rafters (yátkát) are tied to the rectangular, horizontal frame of the roof, and only the latter rests on the vertical posts.

The fourth step in the work is the building in of the ridge beam (dahwāk), together with the rafters, the former being supported primarily by the center post (pwát), usually the only house post that extends vertically through to the ridge. It is not exactly in the middle of the longitudinal axis of the house, but somewhat to the side of it, in the place where the two rooms of the house are partitioned off. Here it serves at the same time as a wall post. The horizontal purlins (kwīnt), which are lashed to the rafters (yátkát) one above the other about 20 centimeters apart, are the only part of the house frame that is not of wood, but instead they consist of a type of reed (karís). The roof (yátominyē) is covered with sugar-cane leaves (nyúša éts) by proceeding from the bottom up and hanging the leaves over the purlins in such a way that the tips lie on top and the lower parts show on the outside. Finally one or two ridge purlins are laid over the still open ridge, and an even layer of sugar-cane leaves is spread crosswise over this. The elevation thus formed provides an exit for the smoke at the two gable ends of the house. The ridge covering is protected from blowing away by two poles placed over it (Ill. 162 /see p. 272/).

342 A newly built house (yátūse) lasts about 15 years. In be-
356 tween, however, the roof must be repaired several times.

On entering a Paez house one is assailed by a sweetish odor
●574 of fermentation arising from the chicha, somewhat like that at
576 grape-gathering time in the houses of the German winegrowers'
[273] villages. Before entering, one opens the door (vitc) of the house and calls out in a questioning tone, "payoét" (I should like to enter); from the interior there comes back, "mkāč" (sit down). When no one is at home, the door is usually tied shut with a small piece of bast. Sometimes even this is omitted, for no one

/119 cont./

574 would ever enter a house whose occupants were not present. We
576 never succeeded in persuading Victoriano to enter an empty house, although he knew that we were always greatly interested in learning about the interior of houses and their furnishings.

342 The door of the house is only in rare cases a wide board which at the top and bottom on one side runs out into two pegs which turn in a socket, one in the threshold and one in the doorframe. The entrance is generally constructed in the same fashion as the wall (ind), which /120/ consists of vertical maize stalks placed next to one another as closely as possible and lashed by means of bast or a liana to one another and to two horizontal maize stalks. The latter always reach from side post to side post. At the place for the door, the rigid wall is interrupted, and the vertically placed maize stalks, only loosely bound with bast, may be shoved a little to one side, whereby they drag along the ground (Ill. 158 /see p. 270/).

[231] Dogs, cats, and chickens are kept in the houses, but not pigs, which live out of doors all the time, exactly like the cows, horses, and sheep.

c) Household Implements

Generally the house has only one division into two rooms, the smaller of which is the kitchen, living room, and bedroom, the larger serving as storage and supply room. The wall between these two rooms is likewise only made out of maize stalks set
[249] next to one another vertically. In the "large" houses the larger
[404] part contains the sugar mill, by means of which undiluted sugar-
596 cane juice may be produced, even in rainy weather. In case adult married sons live in their father's house, a separate com-
342 partment divided off in the same manner is built for these families and furnished as a kitchen, either next to the living room of the parents or -- as in most cases -- on the other side of the
354 house. The hearth area is the family center, and every married
596 woman, in case she is living as a daughter-in-law in the house of the father-in-law, has her own hearth area. The latter has

the simplest possible form

/201 cont./

461 Whereas the men for the most part plait straw hats when they
28 have nothing else to do, the women are busy with spinning and making the coca bags or the fiber bags. But even at this they do not work steadily in the sense, say, that they complete first one bag, for example, or make all the preparations from the outset for weaving an article of clothing; rather, they always work a little at a time on each task. Thus, for example, first a little spinning is done, then wood is fetched, then a coca bag is worked on, and then perhaps a brief hour is spent at the loom in order to weave a few centimeters more on the carrying band of the fiber bags, if the fiber material is at hand. No preparations are made for this plaiting and weaving for a long period in advance, but rather one provides herself with wool, spins it, weaves a bit farther, and then drops the work again for a week or more. Nevertheless, the women do not have periods of out-and-out idleness, like the men.

461 This doing-nothing is designated among the Paez with a word of
● 574 Spanish origin pasnyándo (paseando). To be sure, one must not
156 overdo the inactivity, that is, not "go for a walk" longer than
[192] about two weeks in succession, for otherwise one is called "alko" (dog), who runs from house to house, sniffs about everywhere, and gets his food from other people by begging. This is encouraged by the unwritten law of the Paez, to give food to a starving person,
[773] wherever it may be, until he is satisfied. This is taken very seriously, not only when adults are the petitioners, but also in the case of small children, in memory of an event in prehistoric times when Chauté /202/ turned a number of persons into stones because they had not given a begging child anything to eat out of their surplus (see the myths /see p. 224/). Hence if anyone enters a house "pasnyándo," he is given something to eat. Younger, unmarried people in particular take advantage of this and sometimes do not work at all, but go to a different house every day. They inquire as to where sugar cane is being milled, help there, are given chicha to drink and food to eat, and the next day go somewhere else. Thus there are some men who have neither house nor field, but nevertheless live quite well. To be sure, the

/202 cont./

461/ villagers know these "strollers," and even say that they are
574 sluggards who do not work; but if they then come at mealtime, they
156 get their food and are usually kept there gladly, because they know how to tell stories well and amusingly, go around everywhere, and always have news to impart. If a man is married and has a wife and children, he must, of course, cultivate his own field, in order to be able to feed his family. In Calderas, however, there is even a married "stroller" who has neither a house of his own nor his own field. He lives in the house of a good-natured man whom he helps in the field and in the house. But this is regarded as an exception.

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[621] wealthy person or a person in a superior position. Within the Paez communities there is, to be sure, no sociologically established authority; similarly, there is no chief or employer of a number of people who would be dependent upon him and owe him obedience. Hence no one is forced to obey anyone whom he does not like or to do anything that he may not care to do. Accordingly, there is no respect for strangers to the place or even for the priest, for when the Calderun are in their village, "on their soil," everyone regards everyone else as equal. Not the least important in this connection is the general understanding of one another by the inhabitants, their strengths and weaknesses, which makes pretense, any spurious authority simply assumed by an official, impossible. This is one reason -- perhaps the principal reason -- why the Calderun purposely do not want to have anything to do with the "blancos" and their officials. An attempt to trace this back to an awareness of their own inferiority indicates a complete misunder-
[565] standing of the character of the Paez. Their lack of social classes, and therefore the impossibility of looking down on /203/ another person, explains their general respect for one another, which is bestowed on everyone equally. Everyone grants everyone else

/192 cont./

796 Then the new fiesteros look for assistants, called albaceros and mayordomos. At the close of the fiesta, accompanied by the cabildo and the old fiesteros, they go to the priest to be put on record and announced as the fiesteros for the following year. Each receives a church banner, and then in procession they walk round the church and proceed at once to one of the houses of the pueblo, previously requested from its owner, amidst the bursting of firecrackers and the strains of music. [273] There, chicha and aguardiente will be served to the albacero, mayordomos, and the others present, even before they have finished drinking the liquor of the old fiestero. They will also be given a meal, for which a bull has been slaughtered.

794 The months go by. The need for money to cover the costs 796 is pressing. Fiesteros and albaceros, with their wives and sometimes also with a few friends, leave their land and, keeping to themselves, set out for Inzá, La Plata, or Popayán to sign up as laborers on haciendas which they know personally or through [465] trustworthy references. Their daily pay will be one peso and food. Not even coca /193/ /illustration appears here/ is part of their ration. Husband and wife do the same work and earn the same pay.

After two months they return once more to their land, carrying in their pouches gunpowder, wicks and salt. Some- [574] times, a machete fastened to the belt. The fiestero bears the brunt of the expense: camarico (1) /footnote 1 is missing; the camarico is the gift customarily given to a guest/ for the priest and the latter's fees; candles for the altar; gunpowder for the Mass and the social functions; the cleaning of the church; "care" for the albacero and hospitality to visitors for the period of three weeks. The albacero is in charge of the celebration of vespers: lights for the church, the vacaloca /"crazy cow," a feature of the fiesta/, fireworks, and gunpowder.

The mayordomos contribute money (one peso) for the priest's fees and candles to light the church.

526 /214 cont./
796
492 reach the houses, where they have a short rest while their owners greedily drink the guarapo offered them by the occupants.

796 The fiesteros and albaceros, accompanied by a great
793 number of people, go once more to the priest. They bring him the names of the fiesteros for the following year. The priest reads aloud the names of the fiesteros, the albaceros, and the mayordomos. The pronunciation of each name is accompanied by the ringing of a bell which is entrusted to a fiscal; when the announcement is over, there is a general pealing of bells. Each fiestero is advised by 15 to 20 mayordomos.

796 Then, kneeling in front of the church door, the old fiesteros hand over the banners to the new ones. They form a procession, and upon ending it, in the same spot where the banners were exchanged, they hand them over to the síndico, who waves them in the air one by one and ends by seeming to
[787] drive them into the ground. If by chance the banner wraps it-
[763] self around its own staff, some misfortune will befall the new fiestero. As a rule it is an omen of death, which fills with great sadness the fiestero whose banner had this happen to it.

Now each fiestero goes home, bearing in his hands the banner of the saint.

XXI

Banquet for the Albacero

796
574 After the procession the fiestero goes to the house of the albacero, where he receives attention with the above-mentioned calabashes of chicha and bottles of aguardiente. When this feast is over, the company moves to the house of the fiestero. In the center of the sala there stands next to the pango the table with two burning candles at the ends, the calabashes of chicha, and the liters of aguardiente. The albacero, síndico,

/214 cont./

796 and their respective wives do the honors of the table. With
574 the etiquette and courtesies already mentioned, the gift is
[576] presented to them and the corresponding distribution is made.
[431] /215/ The laborers and the fiesteros move from the sala
[576] to the kitchen and from there to the sala. "Guechi pikin ustau" (we are coming along), they say, upon entering the fluhne wala. "Anjiha," reply those present.

The kitchen is full of prepared food, and the women are busy filling plates of various sizes; large ones, others medium-sized, and the smallest. The distributors are in charge of handing them out to the recipients. This time they will serve three different dishes:

[262] 1st, maize griddlecakes and meat; 2nd, stew made with bananas, potatoes, arracacha, and chopped meat; and 3rd, yuca, raw and cooked cabbage, and meat.

The albacero and wife and the síndico and spouse are congratulated with a bowlful of each of these three "courses." The mayordomos receive a smaller amount, and the rest of those present plates for everyday consumption.

Of these "courses," only the last one is distributed when there are many persons present. Everyone is equipped with a pouch. They sip the broth, squeeze out the solid food with their hands, and store it away in it. Drunkenness and fatigue permit little talk.

After eating, or rather, after having collected food, the
[535] music sounds. The fiestero and albacero dance with each other's wives. They carry lighted candles in their hands. The dance is slow, deliberate, halting. At the end, they all go to the house of the second fiestero to give him the church banners. He will repeat the same religious and social acts, with the same etiquette and the same courtesies.

/216 cont./

796 Father: "I want to beat this child because he cries too much."

Mother: "Why should you beat your child? It is not his fault. It is the fault of your penis."

[431] At five o'clock in the morning the fiestero and his wife go to the house of the albacero with their "camarico": chicha, aguardiente, firecracker, skyrocket, candles, chicken, bananas, arracacha, yuca, meat, cumin seeds, and salt. At six o'clock they return.

The musicians play their instruments and the people make [522] jokes. One of them makes a taunting, jesting one referring to the activity of the previous night: "I am not going to mass, because I have no trousers. I have some, but they are stained." As the bells ring, the musicians and a few people go to mass.

XXIII

The Laborers' Day

796 When everything is over, the priest has left for Belalcázar,
465 the musicians with their swollen lips and aphonic throats have
●574 gone home, and the people are gorged with chicha and aguardiente, the fiestero still has to pay attention to--to care for--his obliging laborers. /217/ /Illustration appears here./ They did not have the opportunity to parade to the house of the albacero or to vespers or in the procession. Not even to get drunk to the same degree as the guests. The fiestero is also grateful for their services. Now, in payment for it, he must take care of them. For this he has left part of the beef under the smoke of the hearth. They will have their trough of chicha, their bottles of aguardiente, their firecrackers. They will be served at the table where the albacero was attended to

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/217 cont./

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796 and in the same fashion. Abundant food and drink will be the
465 testimonial of his gratitude. They will also have the musicians
574 and dance. They will wake up in the morning, like those at
the fiesta, lying on the ground.

/309 cont./

685 The natives do not steal maize. If they need some, they
243 buy it from their neighbor. Such transactions are made at very
[432] low prices. If someone refuses to sell, that is to say, "is stingy
[623] with maize," the buyer threatens to rob him, although he never
[692] does it if he is a good person, but will if he is bad (sorcerer).
Such thefts are punished by the cabildo.

243 When the ear of maize is filled out and tender (choclo /a
[789] roasting ear/) consumption begins, after the performance of
magical practices if the produce is from a new clearing (14).

14. Ibid., p. 246.

Consumption begins at the outer part and all around the field, leaving the central part to turn into dry maize. If someone picks maize from just any part, people comment acidly that he "eats like a dog." The harvesting of the maize is done in one or two days. Relatives and friends are invited to help
[476] and are rewarded with approximately one arroba. The same
[465] amount is also given to those who helped disinterestedly with the clearing and sowing.

243 /310/ An informant from Mosoco says that it is customary
431 among the natives to present relatives and friends with a "carrera" /stretch, row/ of each harvest. Those of wheat and barley are excepted. The carrera consists in harvesting all the "matas" /bushes, sprigs/ that remain around the plantings, since, as we have seen, the harvesting is done from the periphery to the center. The beneficiaries in turn do the same, so that the amounts received are reciprocally returned. This favor to relatives and friends carries with it implicit factors of understanding and affection, for not all receive this manifestation of esteem.
243 The same informant says that the consumption of roasting ears
574 begins with what is called "cura de la labranza" /treatment of the field/, which consists of the following: The owner invites his relatives and friends to a kind of banquet with an abundance of tender-maize cakes /bollos/ or tamales /envueltos/, chicken, and other select dishes.

262 /351 cont./
[234] settlement and when they are dragging down /352/ the timber;
[237] the milk is not used, except in Mosoco, where we have seen
[534] that it is really consumed.
[342]

The Calderunos say that sheep are eaten frequently in the
[231] temperate regions such as Avirama and San Andrés, but few are consumed in Calderas; some say that sheep give wool for clothing. "Why eat them, when they provide ponchos," and others state that to eat mutton brings bad luck, because it would be like eating one's papa.

262 When there are visits by "elders" such as compadres, older
● 574 brothers, fathers-in-law, or own fathers, they are entertained ("cuida") with dishes different from the ordinary ones, based essentially around barnyard fowl and eggs. If there is meat, a large piece is cooked. The compadres, in turn, bring as a gift griddle-cakes (about 15), eggs (about 10), and frequently chickens.

262 There is no special diet for children; they eat exactly the
846 same as adults. There are differences of diet according to sex only when the woman has just given birth. Then, she is given ground maize, arracacha, manioc, ripe plantain, laying hens ("these
[261] are nice and fat"), and mutton. The mejicano is proscribed for them, because it brings cold into the stomach and gives much pain; onions, because they cause a stomach ailment and rot the in-
[844] testines; pork and the fríjol bueno for the same reason. Peppers are also taboo for parturient women.

262 For hard labor, it is regarded as good to eat mote, with
263 cabbage, fríjol bueno, and well salted, because it gives strength for the daily activities; if one eats the same thing (" a good dish"), but without salt, they say that one is already hungry by the middle of the day.

262 Foods regarded as aphrodisiacs are "sango," prepared with
832 finely ground and sifted maize, and raw eggs.

261 Of the foods that they eat, they believe that chicha and water are transformed into blood, and the maize, potatoes, frijoles, and arracacha into flesh.

To gain weight, they believe that it is necessary to eat and not to work, rather than to follow a special diet.

/353 cont./

262 The Indians like meat, but they state that they eat any type of food; they believe that the "whites" eat better, because the Indians cannot eat meat every day nor spend money on lard or meat. They only eat the produce that they cultivated.

264 The Indians have two meals a day: one at dawn and the other one in the afternoon when the sun is setting. The women and children have one meal at midday, from what was left over from the morning. The principal and large meal is cooked at [252] night. Before lying down the women hang from a wooden or iron hook, or from a wire, the pot with mote or frijoles and stir up the fire at least three times during the night; at four in the morning they add the easily cooked products and eat at the first light of day.

● 574 The natives are generous and hospitable among themselves; 262 no sooner does a visitor enter a home than they offer him whatever they have available: chicha or food.

177 /354/ In the parcialidad of Mosoco, which is undergoing 262 complete acculturation, the diet is changing visibly and the 264 eating hours have changed fundamentally. Coffee, panela, bacon, meat, and maize griddlecakes are consumed regularly.

Trading

43 Except for the parcialidad of Mosoco, the natives produce primarily for internal consumption; but the self-provisioning is insufficient, for they suffer a few months of scarcity. As a result, trading must necessarily be restricted and scanty. In Calderas, Suin, and Chinas, animals are ordinarily exchanged, large, fat cows being surrendered for smaller, thin, fertile heifers and a few pesos besides. We have already referred to this extensively in discussing the livestock. We have also seen how the only industry intended exclusively for trade, that of laurel wax, was a patrimony of San Andrés, Calderas, Tumbichukue, Lame, Suin, and Chinas, and that the drop in price was a fatal blow for the industry. Thus, aside from coffee, potatoes, wheat, and garlic, which are intended almost entirely for trade, nothing remains but small amounts of manioc, arracacha, plantains,

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The main subsistence of these tribes was and still is based on the cultivation of potatoes, which grow in great quantities in the higher portions of the territory known as Tierradentro, and maize, which is acclimated to the temperate and cold zones. There are three varieties of maize: sweet, soft, and hard. Additional crops were and are yuca or manioc, sweet potatoes, auyamas, ullucos, purutos, frijoles, arracacha, and various other vegetables, and a variety of fruits, including bananas, guayavas, avocados, papayas, pineapples, and passion fruit. Today the *Páez* and *Moguex* are beginning to grow wheat, coffee, which is an important item in their economy, and sugarcane, from which is made a coarse sugar and molasses for their fermented drink, guarapo.

[178] [433] [273]

241 476 The men and women of each family generally cultivate the family plot, but for large-scale maize or coffee planting, and for cultivation of the lands of the Church or saint, they work communally, and have meetings called "mingas." Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense. The beneficiary must feed his helpers, generally sacrificing a pig and preparing great quantities of chicha for the libations and nocturnal dances after the work. All adults must participate in working the Church lands, but each brings his own food.

[782] [273]

241 412 407 492 Implements of cultivation are the digging stick, or macana, for making holes for planting, machetes and axes for destroying vegetation, and picks and shovels for removing earth, except where replaced by plows pulled by animal traction.

231 **Domesticated animals.**—Domesticated animals include chickens, turkeys, some pigs, dogs, and a few horses and cows. All but the turkeys are of European origin. These animals are rarely sold or killed for food, except for feast days, magical ceremonies, meetings, and visits of relatives, friends or distinguished White men. But sometimes the Indians buy meat in the weekly market and hang it over the hearth, where it is preserved by the smoke.

[177] [438] [251]

574 431 A custom which has persisted since the beginning of the Colonial Period is that of always giving a guest the "camarico" or "cariño" (affection), a present varying from an egg to a chicken, together with some potatoes, vegetables, and coffee beans.

262 136 231 Formerly, meat was obtained from wild rather than domesticated animals—boars (zaínos), guaras, guatines, birds, and guinea pigs, the last being true domesticated animals kept in some numbers in the native houses.

252 **Food preparation.**—Food was cooked in pottery ollas, but metal and enamel ware is now often used. The *Páez* make "mute," a soup of boiled maize, cabbage, squash, and potatoes, and "cocido," a soup

[415] [177]

/178 cont./

177 effectively maintained (4). In each house, scattered over the
797
361

4. Bernal Villa, S. "La fiesta de San Juan en Calderas Tierradentro /The fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," 1953, p. 182.

In each house, scattered over the
594 ruggedness of the prominences, live a pair of adults of the op-
[361] posite sex and their children. It is this nuclear family that cares for and maintains its old parents and attends to their burial when they die, that completes the religious festivals with traditional pomp and rigor (5), that defends its /179/ interests from the

5. Ibid., pp. 192 ff.

attacks of strangers, that in former times celebrated the "Riria" (which they call Necue) (6) or the first menstruation of a woman

6. In the Vocabulario Páez-Castellano /Spanish-Páez Vocabulary/ of del Castillo y Orozco there is the word Nécue, which has the following textual definition: desafío; pelea que es un desafío solemne tan antiguo como el jentilismo entre los páeces, de dos campeones cada uno con el común de su bando /competition, a fight that is a solemn competition as old as paganism among the Paez, of two champions, each one with the community of his faction/.

(which they call Izacó), and, finally, that manufactures its troughs for chicha ("another cause for vain observance," of which del Castillo y Orozco speaks) in order to carry out the "bebezones"
594 /drinking parties/ with all who seek to participate. It is this
● 574 nuclear family that "cuida" /takes care of/ relatives who arrive,
609 that offers hospitality to the native traveler and that shows cold silence toward the visitor from Western culture.

/118 cont./

342 ceiling height. It should be noted that all the beams are merely
335 lashed with lianas, /119/ but not mortised. The roof does not rest directly on the corner and side posts; rather, the crossbeams (bīkas) and the rafters (yátkát) are tied to the rectangular, horizontal frame of the roof, and only the latter rests on the vertical posts.

The fourth step in the work is the building in of the ridge beam (dahwāk), together with the rafters, the former being supported primarily by the center post (pwát), usually the only house post that extends vertically through to the ridge. It is not exactly in the middle of the longitudinal axis of the house, but somewhat to the side of it, in the place where the two rooms of the house are partitioned off. Here it serves at the same time as a wall post. The horizontal purlins (kwīnt), which are lashed to the rafters (yátkát) one above the other about 20 centimeters apart, are the only part of the house frame that is not of wood, but instead they consist of a type of reed (karís). The roof (yátominyē) is covered with sugar-cane leaves (nyúša éts) by proceeding from the bottom up and hanging the leaves over the purlins in such a way that the tips lie on top and the lower parts show on the outside. Finally one or two ridge purlins are laid over the still open ridge, and an even layer of sugar-cane leaves is spread crosswise over this. The elevation thus formed provides an exit for the smoke at the two gable ends of the house. The ridge covering is protected from blowing away by two poles placed over it (Ill. 162 /see p. 272/).

342 A newly built house (yátūse) lasts about 15 years. In be-
356 tween, however, the roof must be repaired several times.

On entering a Paez house one is assailed by a sweetish odor
574 of fermentation arising from the chicha, somewhat like that at
● 576 grape-gathering time in the houses of the German winegrowers'
[273] villages. Before entering, one opens the door (vitc) of the house and calls out in a questioning tone, "payoēt" (I should like to enter); from the interior there comes back, "mkač" (sit down). When no one is at home, the door is usually tied shut with a small piece of bast. Sometimes even this is omitted, for no one

/119 cont./

574 would ever enter a house whose occupants were not present. We
576 never succeeded in persuading Victoriano to enter an empty house, although he knew that we were always greatly interested in learning about the interior of houses and their furnishings.

342 The door of the house is only in rare cases a wide board which at the top and bottom on one side runs out into two pegs which turn in a socket, one in the threshold and one in the doorframe. The entrance is generally constructed in the same fashion as the wall (ĩnd), which /120/ consists of vertical maize stalks placed next to one another as closely as possible and lashed by means of bast or a liana to one another and to two horizontal maize stalks. The latter always reach from side post to side post. At the place for the door, the rigid wall is interrupted, and the vertically placed maize stalks, only loosely bound with bast, may be shoved a little to one side, whereby they drag along the ground (Ill. 158 /see p. 270/).

[231] Dogs, cats, and chickens are kept in the houses, but not pigs, which live out of doors all the time, exactly like the cows, horses, and sheep.

c) Household Implements

Generally the house has only one division into two rooms, the smaller of which is the kitchen, living room, and bedroom, the larger serving as storage and supply room. The wall between these two rooms is likewise only made out of maize stalks set next to one another vertically. In the "large" houses the larger [349] part contains the sugar mill, by means of which undiluted sugar- [404] cane juice may be produced, even in rainy weather. In case 596 adult married sons live in their father's house, a separate com- 342 partment divided off in the same manner is built for these families and furnished as a kitchen, either next to the living room of the parents or -- as in most cases -- on the other side of the 354 house. The hearth area is the family center, and every married 596 woman, in case she is living as a daughter-in-law in the house of the father-in-law, has her own hearth area. The latter has the simplest possible form.

/178 cont./

614 bearers of the name Guagáz, the old family whose members furnish the capitan and who numerically make up about a quarter of the village. The young men of this name do not always find their wives in Calderas. They /179/ must therefore often look for them in other villages, although in general this is preferably not done. Thus we have among the Paez exogamous kin-groups, that is, groups of persons of male descent, who, to be sure, live dispersed, but have a common festival house, and who cannot marry each other because of their same name. They lack the consciousness of being descended from the same ancestor, however. Similarly, there is neither a common kin-group chief, nor [162] special costumes, or any other common insignia. The bearers of [346] six family names, who together make up more than 60 per cent of the population, have festival houses on the village plaza, in each of which the bearers of the same name meet for the big annual festivals, Immaculada (December 8), Semana Santa (Easter), and San Juan (June 24), and eat and drink together. The other families, who have no festival house of their own, take part in the festival houses of friends' families.

[55] The six large families of Calderas are: Guagáz, Piñakuē, Petīns, Oléz, Oriága, Pechéne.

614 Within the kin groups, relatives play no role, but the god-
602 parents (padrino, madrina) do, and strict etiquette is observed with
608 respect to them. Boy or girl, man or woman who meet their god-
576 parents anywhere must kneel down to receive their blessing.

601 The kinship nomenclature is in part more differentiated than ours. The common form of address for father and child and mother and child and the differentiated address for older and younger siblings are striking. The designations for father and mother are differentiated according to whether one speaks of one's own or of foreign fathers and mothers. One's own father is táta, the foreign one néi; one's own mother is máma, the foreign one nihí. It does not matter whether a man or a woman is speaking in the following examples:

/202 cont./

461 villagers know these "strollers," and even say that they are
574 sluggards who do not work; but if they then come at mealtime, they
156 get their food and are usually kept there gladly, because they know how to tell stories well and amusingly, go around everywhere, and always have news to impart. If a man is married and has a wife and children, he must, of course, cultivate his own field, in order to be able to feed his family. In Calderas, however, there is even a married "stroller" who has neither a house of his own nor his own field. He lives in the house of a good-natured man whom he helps in the field and in the house. But this is regarded as an exception.

829 Thanks for favors or benefits bestowed, which, according
571 to the view of the Paez, are taken for granted, were not custom-
[576] ary originally. Today, however, thanks are often expressed with
[178] a word of Spanish origin "slopage" (Dios se lo pague), without, however, any feeling of a debt of gratitude, such as toward a
[621] wealthy person or a person in a superior position. Within the Paez communities there is, to be sure, no sociologically established authority; similarly, there is no chief or employer of a number of people who would be dependent upon him and owe him obedience. Hence no one is forced to obey anyone whom he does not like or to do anything that he may not care to do. Accordingly, there is no respect for strangers to the place or even for the priest, for when the Calderun are in their village, "on their soil," everyone regards everyone else as equal. Not the least important in this connection is the general understanding of one another by the inhabitants, their strengths and weaknesses, which makes pretense, any spurious authority simply assumed by an official, impossible. This is one reason -- perhaps the principal reason -- why the Calderun purposely do not want to have anything to do with the "blancos" and their officials. An attempt to trace this back to an awareness of their own inferiority indicates a complete misunder-
[565] standing of the character of the Paez. Their lack of social classes, and therefore the impossibility of looking down on /203/ another person, explains their general respect for one another, which is bestowed on everyone equally. Everyone grants everyone else

Everyone grants everyone else

/203 cont./

571 whatever he expects and claims for himself, quite as a matter of
829 course. This results in an entirely natural self-esteem, injury to
155 which on the part of the "blancos" is felt as very painful by the Paez.

576 Within the Paez communities the obligation of a greeting (gwéčaya) by a younger person to an older one is strictly observed. Even a "family feud" does not absolve the younger people from the respectful greeting "pétenga" (translated by "good day") toward the older people of other families, who acknowledge it with " "pé'taw." Removing one's hat at the same time is not customary.

[608] A greeting by shaking hands takes place only among members of the family or with one's godfather or godmother with the salutation "ndyósta utsménga" (Godparent, how are you?), during which the hat is also removed. Contemporaries greet each other with

[521] "éwča" (how are you) and reply with "éwčataw" (I am well). Generally people chat awhile when they meet, introduce the conversation with a joke, a bit of news in the village, or perhaps merely a remark about the weather.

156 Though the Paez may be regarded basically as an individualist, this does not hold true universally. On account of the abundantly available land, it is possible for him to isolate himself and withdraw for weeks at a time to his separate farm, but

461 nonetheless the Paez does not like to drink his chicha alone. And
476 usually friends and neighbors help, not only with housebuilding or
156 clearing, but also with sowing and lesser tasks. The labor of the individual, in instances of mutual help, is merely loaned, however, since the same persons meet again for joint aid on the corresponding tasks of a neighbor. The owner in question must also make chicha and food liberally available for each task, which makes every joint task a small feast. The actual useful effects of the communal work are slight, and, as a visitor from the outside, one has the impression that the joint eating and drinking is the primary thing, interrupted at times by only brief periods of work. On sober consideration -- which no Paez, of course, undertakes -- the joint consumption in connection with a communal task is more expensive for the individual than if each person himself over a correspondingly

/222 cont./

802 Numerals: The cardinal numbers and the ordinal numbers are the same. The decimal counting system is built up on counting with the fingers. The numbers six to nine are compounds with "sáki" (six), whereby seven is formed as "six and two," eight as "six and three." There is no counting beyond ten. For "very many" one says "teč kwat" in Paez, literally "one stone." Today it has the meaning of "hundred."

1	teč	7	é'nzsáki
2	é'nz	8	téksaki
3	tek	9	pánssaki
4	pans	10	kosémba (literally kóse pémba "end of hands")
5	tats		
6	sáki or téčsaki		

193 Pronouns: The personal pronouns are absolutely necessary for conjugation. They are put at the beginning. In the first person singular a distinction is made without exception between masculine and feminine; in the second person singular, only in special cases. These cases are the address of spouses to each other, of siblings among themselves, and address to persons of respect. Otherwise there is no distinction according to sex either in the second person singular or in other forms of the singular and plural.

I (masc.): atc; in connection with the verb, ãtya; in the conjugations the suffix -pa, "too /auch, "too, also, likewise"/," is often added to the personal pronouns, ãtypa, "I, too."

I (fem): ŏk.

/223/

193 576 you (masc. and fem.): inc. Young people address older ones neither with "inc" nor with their names. In the case of men, they must first inquire about the name of the man's son (or if he has none, his daughter) and then

/223 cont./

193 576 address him as "father of ..." If the person concerned has no children, one addresses him, like contemporaries, by his first name, "since a man who has no children is no man."

Older women are respectfully addressed "ikf."

193 601 you (father or mother to son): kwe

you (father or mother to daughter): íča

you (wife to husband): íngya

you (husband to wife): íkwe

you (brother to brother or sister to sister): yakté

you (brother to sister): pe's

you (sister to brother): ndyiš

193 [576] you (fem.): ikf, respectful address for older women

he, she, it: kya

we (masc. and fem.): kweš

they (masc. and fem.): kyáṅweš

you /plural/: not known; in the corresponding translation the word cúkai (all) was sometimes used. In the grammar of Castillo i Orosco, the Paez word "icuexs" (ikweš) is given for "vosotros." The interpreter translated this for me as "Ustedes." It is not used to conjugate verbs. [114]

The possessive pronouns correspond -- except in the third person singular -- to the personal pronouns. They are placed first.

/205 cont./

535 keeps her head low, with her eyes on the ground, attentive to the musical notes which she seems to interpret with her movements. One foot forward, then one back, in swift alternation; she suddenly stands in her partner's way, then does an about-face. She keeps her arms motionless against her abdomen.

The man, on his part, dances with his forehead held high, his arms motionless against his thighs, his face joyous. From time to time he shouts: "Viva the Conservative Party!" or "Viva el Cauca!"

It is customary for the fiestero and the albacero to dance with each other's wives, after their respective "care."

535 It is the rule for the newlyweds and the sponsors to open
608 the dancing at weddings. In the midst of the dancing and at
585 different times the bride and groom kneel before their sponsors /padrinos/ to receive /recitarles/ the blessing, the bride before the padrino and the groom before the madrina. The latter
[576] bless them and give them their hands to help them rise. After the dance of the newlyweds and the sponsors, the others present may dance, and in the midst of the dancing they, too, greet one another /206/ by placing the right hand over the other person's left shoulder and pressing it.

535 Although one colonial writer speaks of specific dances, nowadays they are only a memory; it is said that there is performed in Avirama the dance of the little bird (vicha ku), danced by young girls at dawn. Calderas informants say that it is very ugly and for this reason they do not dance it. It may possibly correspond to the Itza-ko noted by Pittier de Fábrega.

XIV

The Great Day

796 Before dawn raises its pale face above the black rims of the eastern peaks, the women have already left their hard beds

/210 cont./

796 two small ones, a skyrocket, and a firecracker; in addition, an
431 assistant carries a pot of chicha. The procession moves slowly forward. The albacero and his wife, on the other hand, have also left their home, with their retinue of attendants, the shooting of firecrackers, and the strains of music, carrying with them the same gifts as those brought by the fiesteros: chicha, aguardiente, cake, firecrackers, skyrockets, and
[354] candles. An assistant carries a showy lamp, made of flexible rods in hemispherical shape, adorned with a white pellicle similar to paper, obtained from the cabuya (1), and flowers

1. Fourcroya andina.

of various colors; it has four reeds to hold the candles.

The albacero waits for the fiestero very close to his home.

At the moment of the meeting, the fiestero and his wife each take one of the church banners and they take candles, which in turn are also lighted by the albacero and his wife. They exchange them: the fiestero with the albacero, and
796 their wives with each other. Then they kneel, with the men
576 face to face and the women likewise. The fiestero presents
431 the ceremonial greeting:

--"My friend: we are meeting at this spot. I have come to see you. Accept this small cake, even though it is quite tasteless."

--"Here we are together at this spot," replies the albacero.

796 While they are saying these words, they touch each other's
431 left shoulder with the right hand and press it; the wives greet
[576] each other in the same manner; following this, the fiestera greets the albacero, and the fiestero greets the latter's wife. The same protocol is observed. Immediately afterwards they exchange the gifts, the husbands on the one hand, and the wives on the other. Everything is distributed among their respective attendants. Only the candles are retained.

/214 cont./

796 and their respective wives do the honors of the table. With
574 the etiquette and courtesies already mentioned, the gift is
[576] presented to them and the corresponding distribution is made.
[431] /215/ The laborers and the fiesteros move from the sala
[576] to the kitchen and from there to the sala. "Guechi pikin ustau" (we are coming along), they say, upon entering the ñuhne wala. "Anjiha," reply those present.

The kitchen is full of prepared food, and the women are busy filling plates of various sizes; large ones, others medium-sized, and the smallest. The distributors are in charge of handing them out to the recipients. This time they will serve three different dishes:

[262] 1st, maize griddlecakes and meat; 2nd, stew made with bananas, potatoes, arracacha, and chopped meat; and 3rd, yuca, raw and cooked cabbage, and meat.

The albacero and wife and the síndico and spouse are congratulated with a bowlful of each of these three "courses." The mayordomos receive a smaller amount, and the rest of those present plates for everyday consumption.

Of these "courses," only the last one is distributed when there are many persons present. Everyone is equipped with a pouch. They sip the broth, squeeze out the solid food with their hands, and store it away in it. Drunkenness and fatigue permit little talk.

After eating, or rather, after having collected food, the
[535] music sounds. The fiestero and albacero dance with each other's wives. They carry lighted candles in their hands. The dance is slow, deliberate, halting. At the end, they all go to the house of the second fiestero to give him the church banners. He will repeat the same religious and social acts, with the same etiquette and the same courtesies.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5, 4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

The *Páez* family is completely under the authority of the father, whose wife and children obey him implicitly and may be punished by him. Nonetheless, the father must obtain his wife's permission to sell or exchange goods she produced, such as bags for coca, sashes, etc. Precise etiquette is maintained between fathers and godfathers (compadres). Whenever a man meets his father or his godfather, he must kneel to receive his blessing. The fathers and godfathers must embrace whenever they meet. In one case a young man was the godfather of his father's new son by another wife, so that in meeting his father the young man had to kneel bareheaded, and then stand with his hat on and embrace his father as a godparent. The father did not call him "son" but "compadre."

594 [425] 608 576

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—A very old custom among these peoples is that at childbirth the mother should retire to a special house or go to the mountains. If she was delivered in the home, she and the baby were bathed, and then the family left the hut and built a new one elsewhere.

844

Today both the *Moguex* and *Páez* have a special hut for childbirth. The day after the child is born, the mother is placed in a hole up to her head and bathed with an infusion of leaves of "moquita," after which she washes the clothes and objects worn during delivery. She then returns to work and lives again at home. In the special hut, a *Páez* woman is assisted in childbirth by another woman, or, as a last resort, by her husband, who must bathe immediately afterward. Two days later, the mother circumcises her son or destroys the virginity of her daughter. Four or five days after the birth and after the first bath, the father takes the child to the sacristan of the community for baptism with water, and then returns it to the mother. The afterbirth must be buried or burned at the place of the birth. About 15 days later, the mother takes a bath and washes her child and her clothes and objects, and returns home. Later, the child is baptized with oil in the church by the priest with the godparents present. This is an occasion for general dancing and drunkenness.

846 [757] [343] [844] [304] [851] [844] [851] [608]

Puberty.—At puberty a girl was formerly taken by her parents to a hill, placed in a hole, and bathed. Each Indian then took her a gift. Pittier de Fábrega (1907) notes that at a later period a girl's puberty was celebrated with the "Itsa-kó" dance, the girl, bathed with chicha, remaining in the hole. Today, a woman must retire during her menstrual periods to a special hut, where other women bring her food and build a fire to warm her. Afterward, she bathes, washes her clothes and objects, and then returns home.

881 [431] [535] 841 343

Men, until recently, underwent a sort of initiation, in which they were taken to the shores of the sacred lagoon of Juan Tama or to the

881

/175 cont./

193 In like manner, the children, in referring to their
601 parents, place in front the possessive anji or uk, according to whether the speakers are male or female, respectively.

Anjí téwesh (my parents, male speaker).
Uk tewesh (my parents, female speaker).
Anji ishiwesh (my grandparents).
Uk ishiwesh (my grandparents).

/176/

557 Non-relatives designate the grandparents: nesh wála.
● 576 When a speaker is younger than the person referred to, and
609 that person is a father, the correct way to speak of him is "the father of so-and-so," for example: if our informant Victoriano Piñakué (18 years old) wants to refer to Cerveleón Guagás (55 years old), he does not simply mention him by name, because this is a "grosería" /rudeness/, but he says "the father of Alfonso" (who is his eldest son), Pons nei, or Marcelo nei if he refers to the father of Marcelo. If the first-born is dead, he would say unás nei, father of the deceased. If the speaker is older than the person referred to, he may simply call him by name, but only when there is familiarity between the two; otherwise he must use the form previously mentioned. Thus, for example, Vicente Puche, who is older then Julián Piñakué (father of our informant), and since he is familiar with him, simply calls him Kilián; if he were not, he would say Vit nei (father of Victoriano). The identical form is followed for a woman older than the speaker, for example: Pons nihi (mother of Alfonso); Vit nihi (mother of Victoriano); Unás nihi (mother of the deceased).

If our informant Piñakué wishes to express this thought, "Cerveleón, I want something," he must say, "Father of Alfonso, I want something" (Pons nei tech yugüe guau wet). He may call him simply Cerveleón, but far away from him and when he is among people who are not relatives, but, he adds, this is not respectful. If Cerveleón heard this said, he would be annoyed.

/108 cont./

115 Victoriano likes to parade his outward standing of higher
156 culture openly. He possesses soap, a toothbrush, a small brush
554 for grooming his eyebrows, and perfume. He uses all these
[598] toilet articles very frequently. He is not afraid of the jealousy of his Calderun fellow-villagers; he always carries his machete /see the glossary, p. 249/ with him in order to defend himself. He wants to marry a "white" woman outside of Calderas (cf. also "The Course of a Day" /see p. 133 /).

124 /109/ In the work an attempt was made as a matter of
286 principle to observe all the activities of the Paez ourselves;
386 when this was not feasible, two different informants were questioned if possible. Two examples will show, however, that errors can creep in, even with the most careful work: I had the dyeing process for the black-dyed fabrics explained to me by the interpreter Marcos, according to whom they are first boiled with certain leaves, and then all of this is placed in black humus earth for two days. When the same question was put to Victoriano, he stated that the black coloring occurs if the fabric is placed in black humus earth for two days. At my suggestion that the fabric first had to be boiled with leaves, he delightedly agreed with me. When called to account as to why he had not told me that, he replied: "Well, you did not ask me about that; you only wanted to know how the material becomes black!"

124 One cannot speak sufficiently often and again and again
423 in different ways about the same subject, for to the Paez the necessity or the meaning of explanations for things self-evident to them is usually incomprehensible. Thus in the case described there was as little ill-intent or even mere carelessness as in the following case: In roaming over boundary lines, I inquired as to which fields were private property and which were community property. We came to the general conclusion that the lowlands were community property and the mountain slopes the private property of the man or family who had first cleared the land. I asked Victoriano several times as to whether there were any pieces of land that at present had no owner. He stated emphatically that all the land had been disposed of and there was no longer any ownerless land.

/205 cont./

578 [123] I acted as though I did not understand the words, but observed the same thing as on other occasions of disputes among Indios, namely, that two who are quarreling are not separated by a third stepping in. Rather, a dispute is regarded as an affair of the participants and as an interesting diversion in the monotonous daily existence, and the outcome is observed with obvious interest. Apart from the native word "alko," the Paez, interestingly enough, have no abusive word in their own language. The only term of abuse, but used very frequently, is the Spanish "carajo!"

f) Division of Labor between Men and Women

462 As we have seen from what was said above, the individual left to his own resources cannot exist in the Paez communities. The men's work is supplemented by the women's work, and vice versa. Both men and women are dependent upon each other to make a living /206/ and rely on each other for their most primitive vital needs. A man needs a woman who weaves clothes for him, and a woman cannot clear a field -- to cite but one example. The traditional tasks in relation to the sexes may be [177] summarized once again here. Transitions toward newer ways of life are noticeable, as these have been taken over from the surrounding colonists.

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857

	Men	Women	Children
Clearing a piece of land	x		
Sowing maize, potatoes, yuca, sugar cane, coca, wheat	x		
Sowing cabbage and beans	x	x	
Sowing gourds and cucumbers	x	x	
Weeding	x		
Harvesting maize, potatoes, coca, wheat	x	x	

/214 cont./

426 however, so that in the case of a deceased poor debtor, the creditor has usually lost his money. Prescription does not occur.
685 A debt forgotten by the debtor may be collected by the creditor
695 years later, if there are witnesses. The situation is similar for
426 the theft of field crops: If there is no witness, no one can be found guilty. If, however, the witness is known as honorable and not deceitful, the accused is judged guilty, even without a con-
692 fession. There is no statement of confirmation corresponding to
695 the oath; similarly, no one condemned for wrongdoing has the
623 right to go to Inzá to the judge. For all misdeeds punished by the
208 [782] cabildo, the capitan and gobernador are the first and last authority; they do not act arbitrarily, however, but rely largely on custom
[686] and the opinion of the village. This is especially true if someone refuses several times in succession to take part in public works, but it also comes out -- unfavorably -- if a poor man tries to
623 become wealthy on his own. For example, disputes not infrequently
692 break out among the Paez on account of damage to cultivated
685 fields when the domestic animals of one person have broken into
578 the fields of a neighbor. Now the fences around each field must always be in good condition and put up in accordance with the term of use of the field. A fence for a maize field, which requires barely a year to mature, may be more lightly built than a fence around a sugar-cane field, which requires three years to mature. Then when strange animals break into fields with good fencing, the owner may kill them or at least wound them, for example, by
[231] cutting off a cow's tail. The owners of pigs fasten a triangular-shaped frame around the necks of their pigs to prevent them from breaking into fenced fields. If the fence is in poor condition, however, and has not been newly erected especially for the planted field, the owner of the animals breaking into the field is not to blame and the owner of the field may not kill them. Of course, the soundness of a fence is to a great extent a matter of opinion, and it happens not infrequently that the disputants go after each
696 other with machetes and wound each other considerably. The
685 /215/ guilty party is then, after an inspection of the fence, punished
417
681

/284 cont./

241 The following ceremony before the first harvest of a newly
756 cleared field should also be understood in the same sense as
783 all the shamanistic séances of the Paez, namely, as a purification
[273] from pest or to ward it off. The owner, taking along coca, chicha,
[276] and brandy, goes to the field with the members of his family and
[824] the teyu. The latter first sprinkles the field with water to which
herbs have been added and then distributes small packets of
[782] medicinal herbs to all present. He now takes a sample from each
type of produce and makes a bundle out of this, in order to offer
it to Thunder. After this gift, the owner harvests a fiber bag full
of each type of produce and carries it home. He sets down all
the bags beside one another in front of the left side of the entrance,
and then the shaman spits his herbs over them, in order to cleanse
them of the pest, which, without this ceremony, would otherwise
[782] have been carried into the house. After the products have been
cooked, they are given to the shaman, who distributes one product
to each of those present and offers the rest as a gift to Thunder, who,
in turn, gives everything back to the shaman.

754 A good shaman does not know any herbs or other means to
756 harm people or to kill them. Such acts are the mark of the nyic.
According to what we heard, however, the boundary between good
and bad shamans is not very sharply drawn; each could also carry
out the activity of the other, even though Thunder -- people are
convinced -- does not lend his help to a nyic, so that the latter is
578 dependent solely on his bad and wicked agents. /285/ There is a
754 constant struggle between the teyu and the nyic, not openly to be
756 sure, but in secret. The teyu constantly feel pursued by the evil
machinations of the nyic, and one who relaxes his attention for
only a moment will be killed by them. In this struggle the one
who is the stronger magically has prospects of victory; but since
the nyic do not openly announce their successes over the good
shamans, one can learn only of the victories of the teyu over the
evil shamans. Thus a shaman from Santa Rosa relates that in his
youth he was very treacherous and underhanded and was already
familiar with many agents. One day a nyic, who had already

/285 cont./

578 killed his mother and his brothers, declared his hostility toward
754 him because he was well on the way to becoming a good shaman.
756 He became ill and his signs announced to him that he would soon
578 die. Now there was a famous shaman in Huila, and he sought
75 him out with much brandy and coca. Immediately this shaman
774 realized that it was a case of bewitchment by a nyiç. The only possibility of getting off alive was to kill the soul of the evil sorcerer immediately. Together they dug a hole for this purpose and in it they waited many nights for the soul of the nyiç. It came, but since it was very suspicious, it would not let itself be caught. More than a month passed in this way. Night after night the two were lying in wait, without sleeping, and then one night, near daybreak, the soul of the evil sorcerer came. The shaman was ready, however; he raised his staff and with a powerful blow it fell into the hole. Immediately earth was piled up over it and the hole completely covered. Hissing, the soul died.

756 Since the young shaman from Santa Rosa was well once more,
789 the old shaman sent him home. He advised him, however, to
824 carry herbs with him, since there were robbers on the way. Cautiously he proceeded to the dangerous spot, and already his signs announced to him that the robbers were in the vicinity. He immediately blew his herbs, and the robbers fell into a deep sleep. Farther along on the way home he met several people who were pursuing a criminal. They gave him brandy and coca and asked him to help them, from his home, to capture the criminal. He then strewed čayuts on his own feet, and the criminal could no longer walk, so the people were able to capture him.

75 Other shamans report that in case of a bewitchment by a
774 nyiç, the bewitched person and the members of his family slaughter a pig and put a piece of each organ in a fiber bag. /286/ They bring these to the shaman, together with brandy, coca and cigars. The meat serves as bait for the soul of the sorcerer, for at the first cockcrow, when all present are chewing coca, it comes to get the bag. It falls into the hole dug under it, however. The shaman immediately throws herbs into it, those present their chewed packets of coca, and then the pit is covered up as quickly as

/289 cont./

534 by cuts with a machete (Ill. 203 /see p. 290/). In spite of the
322 relatively correspondent holes, each flute has a slightly different tone caused by the varying diameter of the tube.

533 According to the investigation kindly undertaken by my
534 brother Wilfried on the sample flute of Vicente Puche that I acquired, it is tuned between C and C-sharp. Its six finger-holes produce a nonsemitonic seven-tone scale. All the tone steps, however, are somewhat inexact, that is, not exactly a whole tone-step apart. This is particularly noticeable from the third to the fourth tone where we perceptibly have less than a major second, but considerably more than a half step. This is noteworthy because in our diatonic major scale there is also a definite half-step between these two tones.

The blowing is on the right or left side. The extended fingers, work-worn by the heavy field work, cover the finger holes with the first or second joint.

534 The value of the flute is not very high. On festive days
[578] people are in the habit of becoming intoxicated in the festival
[796] houses and in the subsequent brawls the flutes are used as striking
[273] instruments and thus broken.

/290/ Every music group has at least one small cylindrical drum (kắka) or a bass drum (kut), both of which are covered with skin on two sides and are wider than high in their dimensions.
[177] Drum and bass drum in this form are probably borrowed and were
[194] taken over throughout South America from former Negro slaves. Their manufacture among the Paez is specialist's work. At
[463] present Vicente Puche makes the flutes as well as the drums. In former times, however, there was a special expert who made only
[461] drums and bass drums. The work time for their manufacture amounts to 10 to 14 days, since one day is allowed for each operation (cutting wood, drying it, for the various processes in treating
[824] the skins, etc.). The cylindrical body of the drum is made from
[237] the wood of the utsẽ tree. The two drum-skins (katc) are made of calfskin. They are stretched with cords made of agave fiber, which run in a zigzag from one stretcher to the other over the body of the drum. They are tightened by a continuous loop that encircles two strands of the stretching cords at a time and at the same time

[p. 22 skipped in paginating - analyst]

/194 cont./

796 The albacero and fiestero with their respective wives do not work; their task is to look after the people.

796 554 Every religious fiesta has a chief fiestero and a secondary one, with their respective retinues of albaceros, mayordomos, and laborers. There is no difference of rank between the two. Both spend the same amount of money and perform the same tasks. Only the chief one performs them first; he thus has [578] primacy. Nevertheless, a certain rivalry seems to exist between the two. According to the extravagance and hospitality, there are comments as to whether the fiesta of one was better than that of the other. Prestige is also involved here. Thus, of the two fiesteros who gave the fiesta of San Juan this current year, that of the second one was said to be better, since he did not get drunk, attended all the religious ceremonies, and [273] looked after people very well. Only the last of these remarks is valid, because the abundance of food, chicha, and aguardiente was fundamental; continuous drunkenness is the mark of a good fiesta. On the other hand, he knew how to look after the people because he had already been fiestero at another time.

796 Three weeks before the festive day activity begins in the households of the fiesteros: milling the sugar cane, the distillation of the aguardiente, entertainment of visitors, and the making of candles and firecrackers.

Two weeks before the Mass, the fiesteros, accompanied by the cabildo, music, and firecrackers, go to take over the pueblo house, with their wives, cooks, chicha-makers, and food distributors.

All the public entertaining will be done in the spacious sala. The church banner will wave in front of the house.

* /252 cont./

756 They are very tractable, friendly, and in our cultural
156 terms we would say that they have a marvelous gift for dealing
157 with people.

[886] When they grow old, they cease to perceive the signs.
[787] They believe that when a curer dies, his death is heralded
by thunder. They live in permanent tension to counter the
[821] attacks of sorcerers. At the slightest symptom, they go to their
[763] kachí to divine and to take the appropriate precautions. They
eat little so as not to sleep at night; they do not suffer from
insomnia. They refrain from sexual relations and from ají
during their treatments.

[731] They attract the entire concern of the community when
epidemics occur. The true curers, those conscious of their
profession, are temperate, engrossed in the fight against sick-
ness, and of a kindly disposition. They inspire trust and do
not show egoism; they readily explain the secrets of their pro-
fession.

* 756 Competition among the Té eu. Some rivalry seems to
exist among the curers, and the natives even list the zones of
● 578 action of the curers. It is certain that a curer will boast of
having overpowered another in the latter's own area of practice.
A curer from Santa Rosa tells how he overpowered a colleague.

755 The informant went to give treatments to a white patient
* 756 at Alto de Atarraya. There he found another curer who was
578 giving remedies that were useless. The patient provided for
them very well, with abundant chicha and aguardiente. The
new arrival drank with care. His colleague had already eaten
the pork, but the patient was following /253/ him. The two
curers prepared to fight. The new curer took his tama and
his coca and at nine at night prepared to divine. His assisting
spirit told him that the other one had given false remedies.
Thus he had to learn the effective remedies. He discovered
that the harm had been done by a native servant girl, along with
some neighbors who did not like him. At once he called in
the cook in order to question her and make sure of what she had

/253 cont./

755 done; she would have to confess, or else he would have her
*756 arrested. She was wholly to blame. The servant girl took
● 578 fright and replied that perhaps she might be responsible, since at one time she had picked up an echi and put it in an ají bush. And it was this angry echi that was now killing her employer. At once the curer went to the ají bush, removed the echi, and blew fresh remedies at it. He set about divining anew and found out that the rainbow had also put hairs on him. On the following day he removed them. The patient recovered; it was proved that he was a good curer, and demonstrated that the other one did not know anything.

754 The Té eu and the sorcerer. It is said that a sorcerer can
*756 at the same time be a good curer, but we know perfectly well that the Ghost and Thunder do not give their knowledge to the sorcerers. On the other hand, when a té eu is asked for information about the remedies of sorcerers, they invariably answer that they know nothing about them, for if they were to learn about these remedies they would lose their wisdom.

The curers believe that they are constantly pursued by
75 the sorcerers. Yet, they are able to kill them. A curer from
539 Santa Rosa related his success to us as follows:
774 "When I was a young boy, I was clever and mischievous; I already knew remedies. On one occasion a sorcerer declared his enmity toward me because I was becoming a good curer. I fell ill, and the signs indicated to me my approaching death. In Huila there lived a good curer, and I went there with plenty of coca and aguardiente. He told me that I would die if he did not go to work at once. It was sorcery, and he had to kill the sorcerer. I would have to stay with him for at least a month. 'Let us go to work and dig a hole in order to kill that fellow,' he said to me. He made the first hole, which we used for several nights, for the sorcerer whom we were seeking was very clever. He would call the soul and it would come, but it did not allow itself to be caught; it was very suspicious. The sorcerer was very dangerous, he had killed my mother and my brothers. We went on working. The

/254 cont./

for it. If a black cloud draws near, he cuts it with the tama. It is the ptans.

The relations between these two men, on whose activities a great part of the security of the group rests, are not cordial; they are relations of latent and permanent aggression. The sorcerers wait for carelessness on the part of the curer. If they catch him asleep, they kill him at once. The sorcerers use pieces of glass to put an end to the wisdom of the Te eu, that is to say, to the signs. They can call sicknesses, combine all the pests, and send them to another parcialidad or to the curer himself so that they will kill.

When a té eu meets a sorcerer, they barely greet each other; at night he takes every precaution.

The curers can accuse a sorcerer before the cabildo, but they are afraid to do so.

/255/

Chapter II

Nasa Jihi

The vision that decides a destiny. Just as a té eu needs to see visions in order to decide on his vocation, the sorcerer also decides by means of visions. For example, if in the beak of a bird there is seen a donkey with open mouth into which mosquitoes fly, or simply pigs, the person is fated to become a sorcerer. These visions are personal and usually occur in isolated spots, such as ravines or bogs, where animals cannot come, on any day or at any hour, for this can take place in the daytime or at night.

When a person claims to have seen a donkey, people say that he is going to eat people. It is commonly stated that those who like to walk about at night are more likely to become sorcerers, for they have the opportunity to meet with evil spirits.

/256 cont./

754 Sorceresses are numerous, and it seems that they are the most feared.

[787] Sorcerers receive signs from the devil and the evil spirits who help them appear in the form of snakes, donkeys, or pigs.

[825] They are different from the ghost and Rainbow. It is said that the pig teaches the person to be very fierce or inclined to drunkenness (drunks roll about on the floor like pigs in the mud); the donkey, to be a glutton.

In general it seems that every adult is a potential sorcerer, and all the more so those who deviate from the institutionalized norms of behavior.

754 554 578 Victims of sorcery. The victims of sorcery are found everywhere among the people, without any distinction as to sex or age, status or function. The sorcerer himself commonly takes the initiative, but he is also at the disposal of those who want to employ him.

The victims of sorcery frequently are those people who are efficient, hard-working, and frugal, virtues which in our society lead to the development of a capitalist economy.

754 554 152 598 In Santa Rosa they speak of the lamented death of one of their ex-gobernadores. He was young -- they say -- intelligent, a good conversationalist, /257/ and very hard-working. He owned much land and good fields of coffee, yuca, maize, and sugar cane. Jealousy, the source of discord and injustice, motivated the sorcerers Lorenzo Io and Dolores Oinó, his wife, who joined forces at once with the greatest of the sorceresses, Felisa Ipia, in order to put an end to this man's life. This is the judgment of the curers and the opinion of the community. But the accusation was made by the victim himself, who, in the course of his death agony, which was prolonged, dreamed of the above-mentioned sorcerers. The dying man repeatedly requested that the sorcerers should be sent for, so that he might settle accounts with them. When they left his house to attend to the wish of the dying man, he expired. He died convinced that they had cast a spell upon him.

/257 cont./

754 A curer from Santa Rosa, while taking a spell off a sick
554 person, explained that this man owned much land and that they
152 had cast a spell upon him in order to appropriate it.
● 578 In Calderas a man who can read, write, and make memorials for the Alcaldía of Inzá, a maker of fireworks, builder of houses, and good farmer, was naturally the cause of envy. A sorcerer wanted to kill him. He called his soul while he was asleep. But the one called was aided by the soul of his brother, who blew mambe toward him. On the following day his left eye became white and was on the point of dropping out. A curer was able to cure him, but he remained one-eyed. The two brothers remained enemies of the sorcerer.

754 On another occasion and in the same parcialidad, two
613 brothers gave a sorcerer a beating. In revenge he cast a spell
623 on both within a year. Fearful of punishment, the sorcerer went to other parcialidades, but on his return the cabildo put him in the stocks.

In the old days -- says a curer from Santa Rosa -- the cabildos punished the sorcerers. Those of today are afraid of them. The elders /mayores/ have died bewitched. Actually, the Indians refuse to serve on the cabildo or to accept the post of capitán for fear of the sorcerers.

754 The sorcerers are all thieves. They often steal under the
685 very eyes of the owner, who, fearful that they will cast a spell upon him, does not make the slightest protest. But the sorcerers, in turn, fearful that he might complain to the white authorities, cast a spell upon him.

754 In Calderas, those who purchase livestock to expand their small hacienda have been attacked by sorcery.

The Indian who has lived with the whites, who has adopted
754 their clothing, their dietary habits, and their agricultural and
177 cattle-raising techniques, /258/ and who has given up the
554 habit of consuming coca and chicha is not only the victim of magical attacks, but is the direct recipient of offensive words and deeds.

/293 cont./

221 on the fincas of the "whites" (1). The social life and the re-
[166]
[464]
[192]
[197]
[128]

1. Generic term with which the natives designate all those who observe the norms of western culture, without any distinction as to race. For convenience we have adopted this usage, putting the term in quotation marks.

ligious fiestas are frequent during this period. The work is done /294/ with devotion and perseverance. It is not done in haste, but there is no resting either.

423 Every Páez family has its lands. This is its ambition. The
[183] primary source of its security. Every crag has an owner whose title has been won by the sweat of his brow. Every crag harbors a rancho that shelters a family. Every inch of land is passionately
[578] defended by the native. The disputes stirred up by this fact are not few. In like manner the cabildos are never so zealous as in the defense of the lands of the parcialidad /a territorial division/.
[648] The areas of settlement /areas of colonization by whites/ are spearheads in the very heart of the community. They were established against the full opposition of the natives. On the other hand, the defense of the land and the prevention of contamination by foreign peoples are postulates of the doctrine. The distribution of the houses suggests in advance the profusion of paths and private property.

When they win the scarce land, the distances and difficul-
[464] ties that loom are not important. They are good colonizers, and it is rare that persons who lack land hire themselves out as permanent peons or become tenant farmers on the great haciendas.
[181] They prefer independence above all.

311 To study the economy of the Páez, certain factors of a
133 geographico-physical and cultural nature cannot be overlooked. They are:

1. Thermic levels. The lands now occupied by the Páez of Tierradentro correspond to the thermic levels of cold and temperate. The contour line corresponding to 2,000 meters

Chamones

/327 cont./

223 black birds, are not eaten because they are probably animals of
825 the devil. It is said that in times past the Calderas Indians ate
262 beetles, the reason that they are nicknamed tandayaha (one who
[578] eats beetles), an epithet which they regard as offensive and which nearly always irritates them. The Calderunos say that they do not
[224] eat worms or the meat of rabbits and snakes. They regard as game
[223] animals the guara, deer, coati, armadillo, bat, and various species of birds.

224 Concerning bear hunting, the people of Mosoco relate /328/ real feats performed by Indians in open fights with the ani-
[237] mals. Bear fat is highly esteemed among the natives and "whites."

226. Fishing is less important than hunting. The rivers and streams contain sardines and coruntas /small river-fish/. During Holy Week and at Christmas they engage in fishing, when the
[462] water is low, by means of barbasco, nets, and hooks. This is strictly a masculine activity. In the Paez River they fish during the months of January and February and generally in months of drought.

They also gather crabs.

Laurel wax industry

388 Laurel, introduced by a man from Popayan /el payanés/,
824 Agustín Valencia, has played an important role in the economy of some parcialidades of Tierradentro. It grows wild in Calderas, Tumbichukue, Lame, San Andrés, Chinas, and Suin. The production of wax was the only industry in these parcialidades that permitted them to maintain regular trade with the "whites."

388 A mestizo trader from Mosoco says that he was a great ex-
43 porter of laurel wax. "It was the native industry" -- he says -- by means of which salt, trousers, shirts, hats, and centavos came in." In this business, he states, he made one arroba of profit per load. The pound was quoted at a peso in Silvia. The informant says that in the years 1946 and 1947 he took out from 800 to 1,000 arrobas of wax. He almost had a monopoly on the business. What little wax escaped him was purchased by traders from Belalcázar, who in turn took it by way of Mosoco to Silvia. The chief consumers of this product were the soap factories of Cali. The laurel wax industry waned in 1950, when those factories

/329 cont./

476 241 The master of the minga kills a head of cattle or, more commonly, a pig. He prepares a trough of chicha (fermented sugar-cane juice), several bottles of aguardiente, an arroba of mote (maize skinned with ashes), and procures a few pounds of coca. He invites the men of his choice. At dawn on the day agreed upon for the job, all those invited, with their tools on their shoulders, proceed with shouts to the house of the minguero. There they are given one egg (25) of coca, chicha, and a dish of

25. Measure of weight equivalent to a hen's egg.

476 461 241 mote with meat. At 8:00 A.M. they are all at work. Up to 30 laborers attend. They take along to the place of the work calabashes of chicha to drink during the rest periods, which correspond exactly to the "botada de la mambeada" /taking the chew of coca/. In the course of the day they have three mambeadas, and thus three rest periods. They more or less coincide with 10:00 A.M., 12:00 noon, and 2:00 P.M. During these rest periods they sit, talk, laugh, drink /330/ chicha, and soon go back to the work enthusiastically. They do it steadily and diligently.

476 241 No one talks then. At 4:00 P.M. they leave work and go to the house of the minguero, where their respective wives are already. Everyone receives chicha and aguardiente. Then the food, consisting of a large wooden platter full of mote, stew /revuelto/ with frijoles, arracacha, plantains, and three pieces of meat. Since they cannot eat all this, they put it in fique knapsacks to [782] take it to their respective homes. After eating, they pray, always invoking the deceased relatives of the minguero, whether [273] they be ancestors, collaterals, or descendants. Then, they re- [535] ceive new gourds of chicha until they are drunk. Very often [578] they dance. There is no lack of fighting on these occasions.

476 435 According to an informant from Calderas, one minga with 15 laborers costs the following:

/336 cont./

423 no rights over land won by the sweat of the brow. It is inherited
623 directly by the sons. In such cases the cabildo confirms owner-
428 ship by issuing the respective adjudication.

423 When the colonization has been done by several persons,
●578 usually brothers, and the division of the land does not satisfy one of the parties, famous litigations take place that eat up the small savings of the families. The feeling for ownership of land is highly developed among the natives, and the usurpation of the slightest piece of ground gives rise to quarrels, enmities, and
42 litigations. The sale of land to "whites" is prohibited by
[648] Colombian law and by the consuetudinary law of the natives. But among the natives themselves transactions can be made with immovables. They do not sell the land, but the ownership. The owner of land is the man. A widow, too, can be an owner by inheritance from the husband. Single women do not own land.

422 The bovine, equine, porcine, and wool-bearing livestock belong to the man, although a few women own pigs and sheep. Turkeys, chickens, cats, and guinea pigs belong to the women, and so do dishes, spoons, pots, grinding stones,
[423] calabashes, and bags. These are inherited through the female line. Children are owners merely of their own clothes.

423 Concerning communal property, we have already seen that in each parcialidad there are several hectares of land that
[794] belong to all the members of the parcialidad. Also regarded as communal property are public works, such as roads, bridges, the main ditches, the house of the cabildo, and the church, and they collectively maintain them; likewise regarded as the property of the parcialidad are the sums of money collected for the church, the produce of the clearing of the saint, and any livestock or mills that it might own.

428 Concerning inheritance, let us look first at the concepts
[842] expressed by an informant from Calderas. Asked about the ideal number of children for native families, he replied that everyone wished to have many children. "When one dies and one has land, who can handle it? The ancestors worked the montaña, and this is why we have land. We are five brothers and we work

/354 cont./

43 onions, cabbages, barley, and eggs, with which it is not possible to maintain regular trading. The Indians, without exception, buy salt and also acquire hats, shirts, trousers, machetes, shovels, bars, axes, knives, aluminum pots, cups, iron plates, spoons, candles, soap, and aguardiente. Less frequently, large and brilliantly colored kerchiefs for the children, and tweezers /pinzas/ and necklaces for the women.

439 San Andrés is a small native settlement which has been
443 inhabited by the "whites" since the settlement area was estab-
438 lished. It contains three stores that sell some merchandise,
[162] some drugs, beer, aguardiente, and bread. Two of them have gramophones. There are also two other stores, which sell chicha and aguardiente exclusively. On Wednesdays a small market is held. In front of one of the houses, peddlers and traders from other areas display their wares; on the small plaza an awning is raised by an acculturated native woman in order to sell food, and a little farther there is a stand where meat is sold. The market starts moving at dawn. The natives bring small amounts of manioc, arracacha, white cabbage, eggs, coffee, and onions, /355/ which are bought immediately by the "whites." Then the butcher starts selling meat, usually in two-pound portions, which are what the natives buy. The peddlers sell a few trinkets and commodities. At 9:00 A.M. the liquor places
[273] begin to move. At ten in the morning the market is over, and
● [578] at midday and in the afternoon only drunken natives are to be
[648] seen. At those times quarrels between them are frequent, and often the natives' aggressiveness is channeled against the "whites," as they assert that they are the true owners of the land and the settlement. The natives have the habit of selling their articles (coffee, eggs) only to persons known to them, even if others can pay them better prices.

On Wednesdays there are also markets in Guasdualejo (Togoima) and Turminá; on Thursdays in Valencia, and on
[491] Saturdays in Inzá and Belalcázar. Those of Belalcázar and Valencia, because they are connected by vehicular road with La Plata (Huila), are better attended and have a larger volume of trade. Large numbers of natives from different parcialidades

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

civilized tradesman, the Indian turns to drinking guarapo or chicha and becomes drunk. Often a heated discussion, always spoken in Spanish and not in *Páez*, leads to insults and perhaps to blows and injuries. A man's wife usually maneuvers him from the village and, if he falls asleep on the road, she sits by him warding off dangers.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political structure.—The *Moguex*, *Páez*, *Guanaca*, *Timaná*, and *Yalcón*, despite their great similarity in language and culture, formed separate groups at the time of the Conquest. Each was divided into several communities (parcialidades), of which those of the *Páez* were the most numerous. The *Guanaca* were split between two principal caciques, one of whom, Anabeima, joined the Spaniards against the *Páez* of Avirama. The other cacique was Esmisa, Anabeima's brother-in-law. Each *Páez* community had its own chief, but the communities were grouped into three great divisions. One consisted of the *Páez*, *Tálaga*, *Simurga*, and *Taravira*, on the shores of the Páez River. The chiefs of three of these groups were brothers; that of the fourth was their sister, whose name was Taravira. Another group was headed by Suin, and his son, Esmisa. In the third group, Avirama was joined by other neighboring chiefs of less importance.

Each community (cacicado) consisted of several polygynous families under a male chief (pl. 185, *top, left*). Each family had its own house, located some distance from its neighbor's. All the members of a community gathered for general work, and all or several of the communities united for war, either against the *Pijao*, their feared neighbors, or against the Spaniards.

The place of a cacique's residence was a sort of focal point and meeting place, and today most of such places are Indian villages with the same names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima (formerly Toboima), etc. The present *Páez* Indian reservation of Tierradentro is divided politically into two municipios—Páez or Belalcázar and Inzá—with 22 communities, each governed by its own councils (cabildos, of Colonial origin) and by the municipal authorities. The cabildo is elected annually. The Indians, however, are jealous defenders of their traditions, and insist on a captain and síndico, each with life tenure, to act as their own leaders and as true representatives of the cacique. Their duties are moral and fiscal and carry a certain divine authority, as they are inaugurated in the local church. The cabildo, on the other hand, has only administrative and police powers; it divides the land, orders work to be done, and executes the municipal orders. The members of a cabildo hold office for 1 year and receive no remuneration. They are elected on the first of December by all the male adults, or "macaneros," that is, the Indians who participate in the communal work according to a

/191 cont./

829 while the others contend for their land and reduce the extent
665 of the parcialidad. This is what the people of Avirama, Togoima, and Lame have done. Nowadays, their relations appear to be cordial, for their political differences, at least, seem to have been obliterated.

157 The Paez are extremely pugnacious, aggressive by nature; they are easily aroused and only with difficulty erase rancor from their minds. Their psychological characteristic seems [648] to be the explosion. History gives many authentic proofs. [669] Adverse to the Spanish yoke, destroyers of the colonial settlements, /192/ in the times of the republic they have served as instruments for blind ambitions and political revenge, and nearly all the civil uprisings have been nourished with their blood. They adjust easily to the military, guerilla, barbarian [579] spirit. The riots that have taken place in the present century are memorable: La Quintinada, La Collada, and the 28th of January, the first of which took place in 1916, the second in 1932, and the third in 1950, out of motives of racism, religion, and political rancor, respectively.

Persistence in vengeance, hair-raising and fearsome crimes, and the spilling of blood characterize many aspects of the social and political life of these Indians.

VI

Fiesteros, Albaceros, and Mayordomos

796 About three months before the celebration of the fiesta,
623 the cabildo begins to select the names of the fiesteros /fiesta leaders/ for the following year. When the candidates have been chosen, the entire cabildo goes to their home, where after much dilatory chatting they announce the authorized choice. The offer is rejected at first, but eventually the great honor is accepted.

/191 cont./

584 father, and the latter distributes it /192/ to everyone and gives
431 the bringer and all those present some of his own chicha to drink. This continues all night until everyone is drunk. In the morning the daughter-in-law, along with her father-in-law, goes back to the house of the latter, and from then on she lives with her husband until the wedding.

606 In case the father of the girl should not be satisfied with the
585 young man as a son-in-law, he would still not take any practical action against this union of his daughter, since he does not have to pay a dowry anyway. Besides, once children arrive, the
[591] parents are always satisfied. If, conversely, the father of the young man is not satisfied with the latter's choice of a bride, he may refuse him his house. In this case the young people customarily immediately build their own house, a small one at first.

● 58 The wedding generally does not take place very soon after courtship among the Paez, but only after a year or more. First of all there begins a trial period, which, however, has an altogether conjugal character. During this time of "trial marriage" the housekeeping abilities of the girl are to be tested, for the latter brings into marriage no dowry of any kind from her parents or any other possessions except her clothing. Since there are no social grounds for a choice of bride in the nonstratified Paez community, and no stimulus to marry on the grounds of a large dowry or on account of the possibility of a low bride price, there are no
581 child betrothals. As bride and wife a girl has only the merit of
462 her personality and her personal capabilities. The latter have the greater weight. It is required of a woman that she be able to cook and to weave the cloth for the whole family, that she not gossip, keep the house in order, and, above all, that she be able to keep the fire going at night and prepare the meal on time in
[264] the morning. The Paez are in the habit of having their first meal
[252] very early, at five or four o'clock in the morning, and an hour before that the woman must already begin preparing the food.
[362] Moreover, as we have seen, the walls of the house are only made
[513] of maize stalks placed side by side, and give scarcely any protection against the coolness of the night. They therefore sleep lying

/157 cont./

286 always lies conveniently in front of the woman for the weft. The beginning and end of the woven part start at a distance of about three centimeters from the horizontal stick. At the end the last weft thread is knotted at the edge of the warp. When the stick is pulled out, the band comes off the frame. Since the warp threads terminate in loops, the texture of the band cannot become slack.

2. Weaving Apparatus for Cloth

286 The weaving of cloth of larger dimensions for clothing is
294 also done in the technique of the linen texture and according to the same method as the weaving of the carrying bands for the
[584] fiber bags. Every woman can do both, for she herself must be able to make all the material needed by her family for clothing; otherwise a girl has no prospect of getting married.

The weaving apparatus stands upright and consists of two strong posts which are rammed into the ground about two meters apart in front of the house, but still in the shelter of the roof. Into each of these posts, a little above the ground, a notch is cut, into which the breast beam is placed horizontally and lashed. Its position with respect to height is unchangeable. The warp beam, likewise horizontal, may be lashed to the vertical post with ropes higher or lower, depending on the length of the cloth to be woven, whereby a uniform tension of the warp threads is achieved.

The non-twisted woolen warp threads are stretched in the same way as in the case of the carrying bands for the fiber bags. The width is determined by the piece of material to be woven.
[461] The work period for a woman's skirt takes a total of about six months. In order to attain a certain decorative effect in the finished piece, between the uncolored sheep-wool warp-threads are stretched likewise uncolored or differently colored cotton threads which, in the subsequent dyeing process with plant dyes, do not take on this coloring.

/177 cont./

the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook. Old, solitary persons or unmarried girls or men live with relatives or friends, but never alone, since a single person is unable either to protect himself or to provide for himself adequately.

The father's authority is great. Wife and children owe him absolute obedience. Nevertheless, the man does not have the right to alienate personal articles of members of the family or possessions that they made themselves. Thus, for example, he is not in a position to sell a coca bag or a fiber bag belonging to his wife or his children's toys.

The children are given the family name of the father, but the women keep their maiden names even after marriage. There is no external indication in dress or hair style or otherwise for unmarried girls and married women. The wife is obligated to work for her husband and children in her family. Beyond that she may procure personal belongings for herself by weaving cloth beyond the needs of her family, for example, and trading it for ornaments.

If the young people are still living in the house with their parents, the daughter-in-law is not absolutely subordinate to her mother-in-law, although this appears to be so, to judge from the speech at the wedding ceremony. A relationship of dependence is out of the question because of the separate kitchens. Usually, however, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are on good terms, and then it is not uncommon for only one woman to cook for both families, for there is no in-law avoidance. Then the two women share the work of cleaning the house.

Conjugal fidelity is demanded of both marriage partners; in the case of the man, however, it is sometimes not taken so seriously. If a man surprises his wife, however, or she her husband, in marital infidelity, the deceived party may beat (but not kill) both and report them to the cabildo, which again has the guilty party very soundly thrashed.

Illegitimate children are not rare among the Paez. In case an unmarried girl has a child, she is beaten by her parents and

In general
842 /184 cont./every girl desires a great
[581] many children, for this is the chief requirement for being married. Moreover, the percentage of barren women -- in childless marriages,
[162] they say, the fault is always the woman's -- is not small. According to inquiries, it comes to about 10 per cent. Men generally want boys; the women, girls, in order to have help in the house-
845 hold. Twin births are rare, but they are not regarded as anything special; rather, people are happy about them as they are about other children. Deformities at birth are said not to occur; however, I saw several persons with cleft palates. They seem to be ashamed of this, for in conversations with us they always held
847 their hands over their mouths. Infanticide does not occur. To
123 inquiries about this, there was always the completely horrified counterquestion as to whether that was the case in my country.
165 Overpopulation is not to be feared, even with a larger number
[163] of children -- the average is three to four living children per family -- since infant mortality comes to more than 50 per cent.
[164] Whooping cough is the most frequent cause of death among small children.

a) Birth and Childhood

843 The parents' concern for the child begins even before birth. The husband of a pregnant woman expecting her first child must sleep with her very frequently, for otherwise the child would be very weak. In the case of subsequent children this is no longer
[783] required so often after the beginning of pregnancy. The pregnant woman may not leave the house or eat pork for two months before the birth, since this causes "pest" and she would have stomach
[822] pains; this would be very detrimental to the child. For the same reason she may not eat beans and onions, and no fish because it comes from the cold element, water, and because a pregnant woman must not become cold.

843 According to one informant, the pregnant woman retires
343 to the menstruation hut (dúyat) two to three weeks before the
124 birth. During this time her mother or another female relative cooks for the family. According to another informant, the
000 /185/ woman does not retire to the dúyat until the birth. In any

/185 cont./

844 until very late and only with great difficulty. The proper depth is supposed to be about 30 centimeters.

846 Four to six days after birth and after the first bath, the
851 father or one of the godparents brings the child to the sacristan of
608 the village or /186/ to the women missionaries, in order to have
[797] it christened with water and given the name of the Christian saint
[551] of the christening day. Every child has only one given name and the Paez surname of its father. The baptism by the priest with oil takes place later on a suitable occasion, in the presence of the god-
[783] parents, and is followed by an eating and drinking bout. The
[756] mother also takes part in this, after she has left the dúyat and has washed herself, her child, and her clothes and has been purified by the shaman.

861 The rearing of the children is in the hands of the parents, who teach them the necessary accomplishments of life quite as a matter of course and almost in play. Disobedient children are also beaten, however, and, to be sure, usually if the son has no real desire to help his father with the field work. In punishing, the fathers are generally stricter than the mothers and on occasion beat them with leather straps all over their bodies. The boxing
[461] of ears is also to be seen. If a young man proves to be lazy in later life, the father is blamed because he did not properly ad-
848 monish his son to work. Illegitimate sons, who lack the strict hand of a father, are said to turn out badly in many cases, though as such they are very popular. Since they do not know their father, they are not obliged to work in his field. They are all the more
[426] in demand as helpers in the fields of other families. When they
[431] are older, they may borrow land and establish a family. Usually they even receive the land as a present. Thus, they need not
848 starve by any means. Illegitimate daughters are in a more unfavor-
562 able position, for their help is not needed for the most part, and their mother does not have a household of her own. Nevertheless
[583] their marriage prospects are not unfavorable, since a girl does not
[581] have a dowry, but is married only on the basis of her personal qualities.

/191 cont./

584 father, and the latter distributes it /192/ to everyone and gives
431 the bringer and all those present some of his own chicha to drink. This continues all night until everyone is drunk. In the morning the daughter-in-law, along with her father-in-law, goes back to the house of the latter, and from then on she lives with her husband until the wedding.

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585 young man as a son-in-law, he would still not take any practical action against this union of his daughter, since he does not have to pay a dowry anyway. Besides, once children arrive, the
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462 her personality and her personal capabilities. The latter have the greater weight. It is required of a woman that she be able to cook and to weave the cloth for the whole family, that she not gossip, keep the house in order, and, above all, that she be able to keep the fire going at night and prepare the meal on time in
[264] the morning. The Paez are in the habit of having their first meal
[252] very early, at five or four o'clock in the morning, and an hour before that the woman must already begin preparing the food.
[362] Moreover, as we have seen, the walls of the house are only made
[513] of maize stalks placed side by side, and give scarcely any protection against the coolness of the night. They therefore sleep lying

/192 cont./

581 around the hearth fire, and this must be stirred and provided with
462 wood every two hours. This is the task of the wife, who, there-
513 fore, sleeps next to the fire. Throughout practically her whole life, she is never able to sleep all through the night.

583 If during the trial year the bride does not meet the demands of the man, if she either cannot cook or is lazy or /193/ does not like to get up in the morning, he sends her back to her father. Since no wedding celebration has taken place, sending back the girl leads to no resentment of any kind. It does, however, if children have resulted from the trial marriage and the young man
[684] nevertheless changes his mind. In this case, to be sure, nothing
[623] can be changed with regard to his decision -- after all, he has not yet been officially married -- but, since such an action is condemned, he is beaten by the cabildo. He may then begin a
583 new trial marriage with another girl. The children of the previ-
848 ous trial marriage (they are designated by the Paez with the
[557] Spanish term hijo natural) are given the name of the mother. There are not a few such "natural children." The mothers, however, are not scorned or judged harshly on that account and do not by any means have poorer prospects for a subsequent marriage. The children are not adopted in case of a subsequent marriage by the
[761] mother and keep their mother's name. It is believed, however,
[851] that such "natural children" will soon die. They are not baptized, since the priest baptizes only legitimate children, or else demands such a large sum for the baptism of an illegitimate child that the unmarried mother cannot raise it.

585 The actual wedding celebration takes place after the period
[178] of the trial marriage. Today the prior marriage service by the Catholic priest in the church is usually combined with this wedding celebration. The money for this, as for the expenses of the wedding celebration, must be raised by the young man himself.
[435] This takes him many months. First of all, besides the cost of ten pesos for the marriage service, he must have collected the money for an ox, then prepare chicha in sufficient quantities, for which sugar cane is milled for about a month, and also provide for the rest of the food. In general his father or brothers do not

/287 cont./

4. Music

533 In no area of Paez culture is poverty evident to such an ex-
535 tent as in song and dance, the predominant expressions of the character and spirit of all peoples. No peculiar dance is per-
[173] formed among the /288/ Paez, and I heard no song sung. This undoubtedly represents an impoverishment, for it may be seen
533 from the folklore that in former times there was dancing. A similar conclusion must also be drawn about the playing of very
[173] agreeable music. Their knowledge of music, however, makes it
[181] highly probable that song also existed, especially among a people
[581] that is basically jolly and constantly disposed to jest. In fact,
[521] it is very difficult for a girl who is slow in jocular conversation to
[522] get a husband. And to my question about the Paez word for "sing
[192] house" listed in Uricoechea, the amiable Victoriano, to his own great surprise, was immediately able to give me a special word in his language, "mémyat."

534 It is not possible to say with certainty which of the musical
[171] instruments used by the Paez today is an original one. The absence of any kind of rattle, the outstanding instrument of the American natives, is surprising (*).

* Pittier de Fábrega (p. 325) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 326/, however, mentions among the musical instruments of the Paez a rattle (tsoóts) in the form of a calabash with a handle, which was filled with small stones. Whether this may not perhaps be an instrument of the Negroes of Belalcázar is still undecided.

534 The cow horn (kǎčn) found in every house is not in the true
202 sense a musical instrument, but one for signaling. It is completely undecorated and, consisting of a horn sawed off at the tip, gives only one tone, which is produced in the same manner as the tone of a bugle or fanfare. This horn is used by the men when they come down from the mountains after a joint felling of the trees needed for housebuilding, in order to notify the village of their return.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

147 the odor peculiar to the Indians, which becomes quite noticeable when they are sweating and which so closely resembles that of the secretion of the so-called *sahino*, or wild hog (*Dicotyles tajacu* L.), that I have more than once been deceived into believing that our trail crossed the path of a drove of these animals.

516 When at rest the Paez men almost invariably sit on their heels, the toes sustaining the whole weight of the body, while the women sit with their legs stretched together on the ground, [514] even when near the fire in their houses. In micturition young 481 girls remain standing. The gait of both men and women is short-paced and easy, the body being always slightly inclined forward, probably on account of the habit of carrying heavy loads.

824 Like all children of Nature, the Paez Indians are very keen 825 observers of their surroundings, as is shown by the minuteness of their differentiation in plants and in certain groups of insects. Castillo, for instance, gives the names of no fewer than six different varieties of ants —

[552]

kun-kik	*ri-kik-ne*	*oia-i*
kik-fints	*gnue-kandi*	*to-fiti*

and I collected very few plants for which they did not have a ready name.

Reproduction and Death

881 When a girl reached puberty the event was celebrated among the old Paez Indians by a special dance called *itsa-ko*, during which the young naked female was placed in a hole dug outside the hall-house and thoroughly washed with *chicha*. We have no 836 notice of pre-marital liberty being conceded to women, nor of the relation of children to parents in the family organization. As 595 tradition has it, the pre-conquest Paez were polygamous, and notwithstanding the efforts of the missionaries, it is almost certain that this practice has not completely disappeared. We know nothing about the existence of marriage ceremonies before 581 the introduction of the Catholic ritual. It is likely, however, [586] that marriages were endogamous and free, and, as such, a very frail institution, as Castillo informs us that even in his time

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

marriage bonds were not definitely made until experiment indicated the fecundity of the woman, and that the union was dissolved at the will of the husband if the wife proved to be barren. The same authority informs us that the wife had to give her husband the necessary clothing, while the husband provided food for the family. 581 [586] [585]

A custom mentioned by Castillo was that during menses the women spent the time sitting in small huts expressly built for that purpose, for fear of contaminating the common dwelling and of bringing disease and death to its occupants. 841

Rodriguez relates another custom in connection with childbirth and death: ". . . y siempre que pare la mujer, ó que muere alguno de su familia, desamparan la casa, dexando en ella al difunto con cantidad de bastimento y de la chicha, brebage, que beben: y á las casas donde parió la mujer, las dejan con las inmundicias de el parto, y acabadas de nacer las criatures, las laban, y se vañan sus madres, poniendose en viaje á buscar nuevo paraje para su habitacion, que siempre procuran sea en parte muy fragosa, por no ser visitados." 844

These details are confirmed by Castillo and were probably still observed in his time. As to what is done at present, and regarding the family organization in general, it is very difficult to obtain reliable information. The Indians are very jealous of their women, do not tolerate in them any intercourse with strangers, and become instantly distrustful when questioned about family matters. 152 593 609

With reference to death, Castillo differs from Rodriguez in that he states that a dying person was taken from the house, so that he did not actually die in it, and that the dwelling was destroyed by fire. He does not mention the custom of leaving food near the corpse, but states that the body was buried and a fence built around the grave. 768 763 764

Diseases

No diseases came under my observation during my stay at Huila and Tacueyó, and the Indians rather impressed me as being a healthy people. But if their vocabulary affords suffi- 164 [114]

/179 cont./

594 Associated with the nuclear family primordially are the functions of reproduction, the rearing of children, and the education of the latter. On procreation depends also the importance of economic functions.

581 The orientation of the sexual instinct is a secondary end.
589 Indeed, Páez culture demands that every individual form a
[183] family, once he has acquired the capacity for procreation. In
[842] the parcialidad of Calderas they look upon children as a blessing
[775] from God, regarding celibates "como violadores de la cruz" /as violators of the cross/(marriage); celibacy is condemned, in the rationalization that the person who dies celibate goes to the
[754] Nevado del Huila, considered by them as hell. The celibacy of a woman is exceptional, and when it occurs they believe that she becomes a witch. They think something similar about some
581 widows. One woman of some fifty years of age says that
589 "marriage is fundamental and obligatory, for the grandfathers
775 used to say that to a woman who is not married the devil gives a black dog for a husband in hell" (7). Another woman declared

[825] 7. They regarded white dogs as companions and guides in the future life and fear that "if molested they will come out and bite them at the entrance to the future abode."

that at times she feels sorrow for the death of an unmarried daughter, "because the devil would give her a husband."

581 The culture considers it an obligation of parents to marry
183 off their daughters even if they are very young. Furthermore
[582] the young men aspire to "build their house, marry, produce children, have animals, coca in abundance, and sugar cane
[842] for their chicha" (8). The incentive to marry is to have children,

8. Bernal Villa, S. 1953, op. cit., p. 183.

for which purpose it is necessary to have assurance /180/ that the woman is fecund,

542 /180 cont./
583 the woman is fecund. For this the culture offers the institutional
581 device of "amaño," by which the man lives with the woman for a
183 time before legalizing the marriage. And we are given clear
175 and precise information about this by Licenciado Eugenio del
595 Castillo y Orozco and his brother, Licentiado Isidro del Castillo
583 y Hrozco /sic/, in their respective reports which they gave to the Governor and Captain General mentioned above: "that they followed the evil custom of living in intimate relations for a long time with the woman whom they were to marry, and if after the marriage they had no offspring they would leave her and seek another woman who might be fecund and whom they thought they might marry if they were not married to their own wives (as Manuel Bolza, an Indian of this village (9), wished

9. Tálaga.

to do), and as was done by Antonio Cofongo (an Indian of San Antonio de las Chinas), from whom he learned not to break up the legitimate religious marriage, which could be prohibited, and who suggested that they get out of the difficulty by any false means, even to arranging for others, from the lowest Indian to the highest, to testify to a lying statement, and if anyone dissented from it and would not follow the wish of the Cacique or Moján, fear caused the dissenters to escape to other parts; some fled with their concubines when they were not acceptable to her parents or relatives, others to avoid work, and others from necessity" (10) ..."and that they flee from all their vices and

10. Archivo Nacional de Bogotá, op. cit., Folio 228.

sins, which are: witchcraft, drunkenness, and concubinage" (11).

11. Archivo Nacional de Bogotá, op. cit., Folio 230.

/181 cont./

162 Lame: 8 families (6.2% of the approximate total of Lame
583 families). 87.5% were married first by the Church; 12.5% prac-
595 ticed the amaño.
184 Mosoco: 26 families (10.4% of the approximate total of families in Mosoco). 88.1% followed the Catholic law; 11.6% practiced the amaño.

Although the percentages for the parcialidades of San Andrés and Lame may not reflect fully the real situation concerning the custom owing to the paucity of data, one can clearly see the vigor that it still has in Calderas, a parcialidad less acculturated,
● 581 of course, than the others. Once the man is convinced of the
594 fertility of his mate, the marriage is legalized at the altar of the
[585] Catholic Church. Then the economic co-operation of the spouses, initiated at the beginning of their married life, is stabilized and gains strength, and the marriage becomes, as one of our informants remarked, an association for the "mutual benefit of the contracting parties, to serve each other, without in any way
594 being a burden to either of them." The man enlarges his clear-
462 ings in order to take care of "the sustenance of the family," plants sugar cane and coca in order to obtain chicha and narcotic for holding mingas /work parties/, in order to celebrate religious festivals, in order to "cuidar" his relatives and to relax with his friends; he hires himself out as a peon /182/ in order to acquire money and to buy shawls for his wife, wool and cloth that the woman makes into camisas for herself, her husband, and her sons, and trousers for these last, begins to build his house, if he does not have one, on the lot that his father has assigned to him, to make a home for his family. The woman, on her part, administers the products that her husband brings to her, weaves the ruana /poncho/ and kuetand-yaha (mambe pouch /a bag for the ingredients of chews/) for the husband and children, prepares the food, raises hens and pigs, and cares for her children less than three years old (13). In this manner, among the Páez, marriage,

13. For the division of activities according to sex, see our work "Economía de los Páez /Economy of the Paez/," /published in the

/182 cont./

462 594 13. (cont.)
Revista Colombiana de Antropología, Vol. III, 1954.

361 In this manner, among the Paez, marriage,
182 family, land, and house form an intimate unit, indissoluble and
594 in part explaining the above-mentioned phenomenon of the re-
581 luctance to live grouped in towns or cities.

473 Basically the residence of the nuclear family is patrilocal-
591 neolocal. When the man, accompanied by his escort, goes to
[584] ask for his future consort, and, after certain definite formalities are fulfilled, the future parents-in-law hand her over, she is taken to live in the house of his parents (when he has not built
591 his own). In it he arranges a separate room with a kitchen for
596 cooking, a cowhide to sleep on, and space in which to keep their provisions, their kitchen utensils, and work tools. The new
[583] spouses are independent of their respective parents. The man assists in the work of his parents-in-law and the woman in the work of hers, but in neither case does it constitute an obligation
[594] for them. When a bachelor, the man works to take care of his own needs and to assist in the support of the paternal economy; once married he works to support his family.

582 The man chooses his wife within the parcialidad, although
177 he may marry women from other parcialidades. But neither men nor women may marry persons from Western culture ("whites"). In Calderas there was a case of a possible marriage between a native woman and a "white." The cabildo removed this possibility, obliging the native woman to marry a member of the parcialidad. If it is a man who wishes to try to marry a "white" woman, he must leave the village. They consider that when the "whites" enter the community, they invariably appropriate their land.

582 The selection of spouses within the parcialidades is /183/ determined by the laws of incest. Unions between parents and children and real brothers and sisters are incestuous and severely prohibited. Also relations between cousins of the first degree of both lines and those of uncles and nieces are condemned, although not

prescribed.

/186 cont./

837 Should an unfaithful wife conceive a child by a man
851 racially white and the husband not be aware of it, the latter considers it his child even if it should inherit the characteristics of its progenitor. He will simply observe, "Why do my children come like this?" His wife answers him, "I don't know; it may
581 be echi or Pijao." In general, marriages are well established and
593 stable, in spite of the fact that occasional tensions may arise between spouses. Divorce is unknown among the Páez. Extinction
586 of marriages by separation or the abandonment of one of the spouses is rare. In Calderas they can count on the fingers of one hand the cases where a man has abandoned his wife. "This is very ugly in a person, it should never happen," comments a woman. Cases in which a woman abandons the husband are much rarer still, being bitterly criticized when they occur.

594 The mother has the obligation to feed and care for her
854 children up to when they can leave home. Labor which she
[853] truly performs with love and care. The children suckle until they are two years old and even up to three, a period during which she never leaves them at any time. She cradles them on her breast or in the hammock and carries them on her shoulders,
594 attending to them lovingly whenever they cry. The father looks
867 after his boys from the time that they gain complete mastery of
[593] the biped state, without this making him less loving toward his daughters. Then he begins to take his sons everywhere.

During religious festivals they sit at his side, participate in the conversation of their elders, and are served food and
[273] drink in the same way as their elders. In Calderas and in /187/ San Andrés we had the opportunity to observe children five years old reeling under the effects of chicha and aguardiente. At this age, when they begin to take part in the economic life of the family group, the father teaches them to chew coca. The father conscientiously performs this labor of endoculturation.

597 We have not come across any cases of adopted children.
736 When both parents die, the children stay in the home of the nearest relative.

593 The conduct of the children toward their parents is that of deep respect. Nevertheless, in Calderas we witnessed the verbal

/189 cont./

b) Maturity

881 Today no rites or ceremonies for the youths take place any
[178] more. In former times they were led to the sacred lagoon of Juan
[778] Tama or to the heights of Cuetando, and there they had to build
a hut and lay out a small cornfield as proof of their capabilities
as a man and father of a household (Hernandez, 1944, p. 203).

[582] A girl comes of age with puberty, that is to say, she may
[836] marry. Before that and before marriage, intercourse is not per-
[535] mitted. On the occasion of the first menstruation in former times
a special dance was performed (itsa-kó), during which the young
girl was bathed naked in chicha in a pit outside the festival house
881 (Castillo i Orosco, p. 85). Today this no longer takes place;
285 rather, a girl, when she goes to the dúyat for the first time at
787 about 15 years of age, takes along agave fibers and during the
[178] approximately five days that she stays there plaits a very pretty,
[262] small fiber bag (yāhalečkwe) about the size of a fist. There
are no additional food prohibitions or similar things. After that
she goes to a distant river to bathe. On the way there she lets
the bag fall. A married man passing by lets it lie, for he knows
that it belongs to a young girl. A young man, however, who
happens to be coming that way sees the beautifully worked bag,
picks it up, and uses it as a small money-bag. Without knowing
who made the little bag, he will -- people are convinced -- marry
this girl.

/190/ c) Marriage

595 The present form of marriage of the Paez is monogamy.
114 H. Pittier de Fábrega (p. 314), however, concludes from their
traditions that the Paez were formerly polygamous and were con-
verted to monogamy only through education on the part of the
missionaries. I could find no clue in their mythology for actual
595 polygamy in former times. The social structure and way of life
591 of the Paez, however, prohibits living alone for unmarried girls.
[589] In case they have no relatives or do not find lodging in the house
of relatives, another man takes them into his family. The girl

/337 cont./

423 communal land, since they have a right to it and anyone can do so. Those who come from elsewhere have a right to the communal land provided that they have grown up there. In Calderas there are people from Lame who own their land because they have cleared the montaña. Nowadays there are no more montañas [591] to clear, and thus persons from elsewhere cannot come in. If a [582] Calderuno marries a woman from another parcialidad, his father-in-law or brothers-in-law must give land /338/ to his wife and the spouse thus enters the community. Thus spoke the informant.

Distribution of implements, stock, and crops

121 We are basing the distribution of implements, stock, and crops on the research carried out in the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, San Andrés, and Calderas.

162 The parcialidad of Mosoco has, approximately, some 250 families with an average of 4 children; Lame, some 130 with an average of 3 children; San Andrés, some 200 with an average of 4 children; and Calderas, some 150 families with 3 children on the average also. In Mosoco we studied 25 families, or 10% of the total; in Lame, 8 or 5.3%; in San Andrés, 15 or 7.5%, and in Calderas 55 or 36.6%. In the first parcialidad listed there is one family of a mestizo and another of a white, which are equivalent to 8% of the total families investigated; in the second, two families of whites are represented, equivalent to 25% of the total families investigated; in the third, 26.6% of the total families investigated are represented by two families of whites and two families of mestizos. No family of "whites" lives in Calderas.

/179 cont./

594 Associated with the nuclear family primordially are the functions of reproduction, the rearing of children, and the education of the latter. On procreation depends also the importance of economic functions.

581 The orientation of the sexual instinct is a secondary end.
589 Indeed, Páez culture demands that every individual form a
[183] family, once he has acquired the capacity for procreation. In
[842] the parcialidad of Calderas they look upon children as a blessing
[775] from God, regarding celibates "como violadores de la cruz" /as violators of the cross/(marriage); celibacy is condemned, in the rationalization that the person who dies celibate goes to the
[754] Nevado del Huila, considered by them as hell. The celibacy of a woman is exceptional, and when it occurs they believe that she becomes a witch. They think something similar about some
581 widows. One woman of some fifty years of age says that
589 "marriage is fundamental and obligatory, for the grandfathers
775 used to say that to a woman who is not married the devil gives a black dog for a husband in hell" (7). Another woman declared

[825] 7. They regarded white dogs as companions and guides in the future life and fear that "if molested they will come out and bite them at the entrance to the future abode."

that at times she feels sorrow for the death of an unmarried daughter, "because the devil would give her a husband."

581 The culture considers it an obligation of parents to marry
183 off their daughters even if they are very young. Furthermore
[582] the young men aspire to "build their house, marry, produce children, have animals, coca in abundance, and sugar cane
[842] for their chicha" (8). The incentive to marry is to have children,

8. Bernal Villa, S. 1953, op. cit., p. 183.

for which purpose it is necessary to have assurance /180/ that the woman is fecund,

/182 cont./

462 13. (cont.)
594 Revista Colombiana de Antropología, Vol. III, 1954.

361 In this manner, among the Paez, marriage,
182 family, land, and house form an intimate unit, indissoluble and
594 in part explaining the above-mentioned phenomenon of the re-
581 luctance to live grouped in towns or cities.

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591 neolocal. When the man, accompanied by his escort, goes to
[584] ask for his future consort, and, after certain definite formalities are fulfilled, the future parents-in-law hand her over, she is taken to live in the house of his parents (when he has not built
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596 cooking, a cowhide to sleep on, and space in which to keep their provisions, their kitchen utensils, and work tools. The new
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/183 cont./

605 proscribed. With respect to relations between cousins, they
835 state that whoever has them cannot pass the Páramo /crests of the cordilleras/ (Guanacas, Delicias, Moras), because the tiger will eat them. They add, however, that nothing will happen to them if such unions take place without any prelude, laughter, or merriment.

582 In deciding upon the spouses there exists a very singular
551 cultural trait. A man never chooses his future wife from among women bearing his own surname. Thus, a Muse does not choose a Muse for his wife, although she may live in another parcialidad. They believe that there may be kinship relations
551 between them. Cases in which a husband and wife do have the
582 same surname are very rare, and when that happens the husband
851 endeavors to introduce his wife by her mother's name. A case that we were able to observe unexpectedly was during the baptism of a baby girl solemnized in the church at Inzá. For elementary reasons we are concealing the names of the actual parents, and we shall suppose that the father is called Manuel Kiguasú and the mother María Kiguasú. In order to register the baptism of the child, the priest asked for the name of the parents. "Manuel Kiguasú," answered the father of the child, but upon being asked the name of his wife, he did not say that she was called María Kiguasú, as in reality she was, being the legitimate daughter of a Kiguasú, but María Vitechi, a name inherited from her mother. The case acquires more importance if one takes into account the fact that the so-called Manuel Kiguasú is a mestizo
551 who lives among the "whites" and deals with them. We found
582 the same situation in the genealogical record of the family of Nicanor Guagás of the parcialidad of Calderas. Rosario Ido, widow of Nicanor Guagás, bears the name of her mother, a native of the parcialidad of Cuetando, and not that of her father, Agustín Guagás, she being a legitimate daughter. Although in the same records Nicolasa Guagás does not conceal her surname in mentioning that of her deceased husband, Manuel José Guagás, a marriage authorized by the Church, for Nicolasa states that she is her husband's niece. The name of the nuclear family, that is to

/183 cont./

557 say, the surname, is transmitted through the paternal line. The
582 wife retains it throughout her life, but does not transmit it to her children. A son of hers will bear only the father's surname.
604 According to an /184/ informant from Calderas a man respects his paternal uncles and aunts in the same manner as the maternal uncles, but not the maternal aunt, because "she is not a real relative;...she is a woman and not a man ... the men (older) have to be respected the same as the old women" and, generalizing, adds: "of the uncles and aunts one respects the men more than the women and the paternal uncles more than
601 the maternal ones." Although the terms for designating the
604 uncles and aunts of EGO differentiate sex and specify the line to which they belong, EGO considers the relationship of the paternal uncles and aunts to be closer than that of the maternal ones, and although the uncles call the sons of their brothers "sons," there does not exist among the present-day Páez a clear concept of parallel uncles and cross uncles and, consequently, of parallel and cross cousins. Masculine EGO calls paternal and maternal male cousins Iakté, paternal and maternal female cousins pesh, making them equal with his own sisters and brothers, and feminine EGO calls paternal and maternal female cousins Iakté, paternal and maternal male cousins Jish, making
601 them equal also with her own brothers and sisters. But logically
604 such a distinction must have existed, to judge from the conduct
582 observed in the selection of mates and in the respect that EGO pays to his uncles and aunts, this being more pronounced for the paternal than for the maternal ones and greater still for the men.
114 Eugenio del Castillo y Orozco corroborates our argument. In
60 his Vocabulario he states that the mother-in-law is called by the
582 same term as the one designating the father's sister (pezoz), and the father-in-law by the same term as the one for designating the mother's brother (cacca). This means that in the eighteenth century in-law kinship specified the origin of the spouses, clearly showing marriage between cross cousins.

60 All these traits make us think that possibly there were
614 patrilineal exogamous clans, now manifested by some types of
174 stereotyped conduct,

/185 cont./

844 until very late and only with great difficulty. The proper depth is supposed to be about 30 centimeters.

846 Four to six days after birth and after the first bath, the
851 father or one of the godparents brings the child to the sacristan of
608 the village or /186/ to the women missionaries, in order to have
[797] it christened with water and given the name of the Christian saint
[551] of the christening day. Every child has only one given name and the Paez surname of its father. The baptism by the priest with oil takes place later on a suitable occasion, in the presence of the god-
[783] parents, and is followed by an eating and drinking bout. The
[756] mother also takes part in this, after she has left the dúyat and has washed herself, her child, and her clothes and has been purified by the shaman.

861 The rearing of the children is in the hands of the parents, who teach them the necessary accomplishments of life quite as a matter of course and almost in play. Disobedient children are also beaten, however, and, to be sure, usually if the son has no real desire to help his father with the field work. In punishing, the fathers are generally stricter than the mothers and on occasion beat them with leather straps all over their bodies. The boxing
[461] of ears is also to be seen. If a young man proves to be lazy in later life, the father is blamed because he did not properly ad-
848 monish his son to work. Illegitimate sons, who lack the strict hand of a father, are said to turn out badly in many cases, though as such they are very popular. Since they do not know their father, they are not obliged to work in his field. They are all the more
[426] in demand as helpers in the fields of other families. When they
[431] are older, they may borrow land and establish a family. Usually they even receive the land as a present. Thus, they need not
848 starve by any means. Illegitimate daughters are in a more unfavor-
562 able position, for their help is not needed for the most part, and their mother does not have a household of her own. Nevertheless
[583] their marriage prospects are not unfavorable, since a girl does not
[581] have a dowry, but is married only on the basis of her personal qualities.

/192 cont./

581 around the hearth fire, and this must be stirred and provided with
462 wood every two hours. This is the task of the wife, who, there-
513 fore, sleeps next to the fire. Throughout practically her whole life, she is never able to sleep all through the night.

●583 If during the trial year the bride does not meet the demands of the man, if she either cannot cook or is lazy or /193/ does not like to get up in the morning, he sends her back to her father. Since no wedding celebration has taken place, sending back the girl leads to no resentment of any kind. It does, however, if children have resulted from the trial marriage and the young man
[684] nevertheless changes his mind. In this case, to be sure, nothing
[623] can be changed with regard to his decision -- after all, he has not yet been officially married -- but, since such an action is condemned, he is beaten by the cabildo. He may then begin a
583 new trial marriage with another girl. The children of the previ-
848 ous trial marriage (they are designated by the Paez with the
[557] Spanish term hijo natural) are given the name of the mother. There are not a few such "natural children." The mothers, however, are not scorned or judged harshly on that account and do not by any means have poorer prospects for a subsequent marriage. The children are not adopted in case of a subsequent marriage by the
[761] mother and keep their mother's name. It is believed, however,
[851] that such "natural children" will soon die. They are not baptized, since the priest baptizes only legitimate children, or else demands such a large sum for the baptism of an illegitimate child that the unmarried mother cannot raise it.

585 The actual wedding celebration takes place after the period
[178] of the trial marriage. Today the prior marriage service by the Catholic priest in the church is usually combined with this wedding celebration. The money for this, as for the expenses of the wedding celebration, must be raised by the young man himself.
[435] This takes him many months. First of all, besides the cost of ten pesos for the marriage service, he must have collected the money for an ox, then prepare chicha in sufficient quantities, for which sugar cane is milled for about a month, and also provide for the rest of the food. In general his father or brothers do not

000 /288 cont./
756 medicine men. To cure the patient, he divines which of the
755 supernatural beings caused the illness, proceeds to placate him,
[787] and then prescribes medicines to the patient. If the placation is not successful, the patient literally sinks into despair. The indispensable articles for all curing are coca, tobacco, and
[462] aguardiente. The medicine men are persons well along in years
[754] and belonging to the masculine sex. They cannot cure the effects of sorcery, although they can protect themselves against it.

754 c) Fifty per cent of all illnesses, the informants state,
[753] are caused by sorcery, and by the same token 50 per cent of
[761] the deaths, since sorcery is incurable. The sorcerers conceal their activities, and it seems that all adults are potential sor-
754 cerers. The institution of sorcery is a true escape valve for the
154 strong aggressive impulses of the natives and to some extent plays the role of a social regulator. Through it are channeled the jealousy, resentment, and vengefulness of the natives. The victims of sorcery are the most skillful and hard-working individuals, those who have a good house, good crops, and a growing number of domestic animals. Harvests and plantings
[683] generally are the object of sorcery. Sorcerers who are publicly unmasked are exposed to the anger of the community and even to exile, a measure taken not so much on account of their be-
[685] ing sorcerers as of their being thieves. All sorcerers are thieves. Sorcery appears with considerable frequency in the symbolism of dreams.

583 Marriage.--Marriage is monogamous and patrilocal. Both
[595] the chroniclers and Dr. Gregorio Hernández de Alba speak of
[591] the custom of the year of probation to acquaint the man with
[177] the skill, energy, and fecundity of his future wife. A thriving
[797] institution in times past, it is now in sharp decline owing to the action of mission work. Obviously, the purpose of this institution is to find out whether the woman is hard-working, faithful, not a thief, and to understand her ways in order to establish a lasting union. Nowadays the Paez, before being married

/288 cont./
583 in the church, live together for a period of indeterminate duration, explaining that /289/ the man does not have enough money at hand to marry as soon as he asks the woman, and it is necessary to work in order to obtain it.

771 Religion.--The religion of the Paez is formally Catholicism,
177 but many of their traditions are hidden in it. The principal
[796] fiestas of the natives are religious ones, which acquire true strokes of splendor. The Catholic priest is called upon for the ceremonies of baptism, marriage, and cases of death.

Chapter II

631 Calderas.--Incrusted in the very heart of Tierradentro is the
131 Parcialidad of Calderas, bounded on the north by a high ridge
133 that separates it from Chinas and Avirama; on the east, La Muralla, the very model of a fault, separates it from Avirama, just as a ridge separates it from Togoima; to the south, deep gorges and high peaks separate it from San Andrés and Togoima; to the west, the Quebrada Guacharaca divides it from the Parcialidad of Lame.

133 It is crossed from west to east by the Quebrada Kukiyú,
631 actually a river in terms of the volume and violence of its waters, whose bed is deep, enclosed, and inaccessible. Its
[423] left bank is somewhat softened by a beautiful plateau of about 20 hectares, with fertile lands, abundant waters, and on which the pueblo rises; it belongs to the community, whereas the other lands are private property guaranteed by the fact that the owner either personally cleared the montaña or inherited it from his ancestors who cleared the forest. The right bank is steep, harsh,
[161] rugged. Numerous clearings are to be seen on these sloping
[311] lands, indicating the increase in population that compels them to cultivate lands of low fertility and great danger for the laborer.

/186 cont./

346 There are four other small rooms, five meters /187/ long
796 by three meters wide. Two of them are independent of each other, with their respective doors opening into the sala; one serves as a kitchen and the other to roast the maize griddle-cakes. At the other end of the house are the two other rooms, connected with each other by one door and with the sala by another. The workers sleep in one, and in the other are the troughs of chicha, the bottles of aguardiente, and the laurel candles.

342 The third type of dwelling, very scarce in Calderas, has
249 a square floor plan. It has the sala, two kitchens, and the du yate léchukue. Whatever type of dwelling a Paez family may own, they all have as an indispensable accessory the sugar mill,
[262] either inside the house or outside it. Actually, if it is kept in
[273] mind that the basic sustenance of the natives is provided by
[276] maize, cabbage, chicha, and coca, this instrument is indispensable.

342 In addition, each house is supplied with water, taken from
312 springs, streams, or falls, through the extremely skillful construction of ditches which skirt the valleys, hills, and slopes. Their lands have abundant water. They are not familiar with artesian wells.

342 In a way, the enormous salas in the houses of Calderas
177 represent the ramadas which are found among the whites,
249 mestizos, and acculturated Indians of San Andrés; they are built independently of the dwellings, with a sugar mill and an oven to boil down the cane juice and make panela. In this parcialidad, the panela industry is quite well developed. In Calderas it does not exist.

584 Among the Paez, land, marriage, family, and house form
583 a close and indissoluble unit. It lends warmth and meaning to
[183] a number of emotional, sentimental, and sociological complexes. This begins when the pubescent boy feels the need for a partner who will help him in his work and assuage to some extent the rigors of solitude. The love awakened by a dark, shapely maiden impels him to ask her parents for her. "Give my your daughter. I am alone and need help in my work,"

/187 cont./

583 [584] says the youth after he has conferred upon the parents-in-law bottles of aguardiente and calabashes of chicha according to his means. The parents always accede to the request.

At midnight he goes off with her to the house of his parents, if he does not have one of his own. They will live together for several months, one year, two...; during this time he will find out whether the woman can cook, grind maize, carry water and firewood, weave ponchos and /188/ pouches, and he will become familiar with her fidelity, temperament, and 583 character. Only then will he look for a sponsor /padrino/, 585 [608] seek out the priest, take communion and receive the nuptial blessing, and return to his house, where the bubbling troughs of chicha, the savory "mute" /maize stew/ boiling in the pot, the crude guitars and the pleasing chirimías /a kind of orchestra/ will complete the sealing of the union. They will go through the night, and sometimes days as well, drinking, eating, and dancing.

462 594 [372] The building of the house on the land of his property will soon follow. Gradually, the man will furnish it with pangopil for sitting, crude plates and spoons for eating, pots for cooking, hides and sometimes raised platforms for sleeping, a sugar mill to mill the juicy cane; he will bring water from distant sources, provide troughs in order to ferment chicha, purchase machetes, axes, and picks to work the land, plant bananas, sugar cane, onions, and cabbages in his garden; he will put together the barzos where he will keep the bundles of wheat, the ears /caspas/ of maize, the mulberry-colored beans; he will acquire a dog and also -- why not? it has been his ambition and his hope -- he will buy cattle for the fiestas and a horse to race for San Juan and to operate the sugar mill. The woman, on her part, will tend the guinea pigs, breed her chickens and turkeys, look after the pigs so they will not be lost, shear the sheep, weave her yaha gwala (fique bags) for carrying the compact ears of maize, the rustling beans, and the green cabbages

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heights of Cuetando, where they built a hut and planted a miniature field as proof of their masculine aptitude.

Education.—Today the Indians are educated principally by their parents in the customs and tasks pertaining to each sex. Some boys and a few girls are sent to the few missionary schools, where they are given religious instruction and are taught Spanish, arithmetic, geography, the history of Colombia, and modern embroidery or light basketwork. The *Páez* are reluctant to send their daughters to the schools because they feel that women should keep the traditions of their people. The missionary schools strive to change the native language and the cultural traditions which have given the Indian community social cohesion.

Marriage.[11]—Formerly polygyny was prevalent, but now Catholicism has imposed monogamy. The Indians continue, however, to practice trial marriage (amaño). A marriage is arranged as follows:

The bride is selected by the young man's parents or by himself. His parents and two witnesses or godparents then visit her house to request her for the groom. They also serve as advisors to the young woman, in case she disapproves the marriage. The visitors carry half-filled bottles of rum (aguardiente) and some special garments for the girl. The young man's father offers the girl's father a half-bottle, acceptance of which means, as usual among the *Páez*, that the second party is well disposed toward the proposal and the negotiations may proceed. If the girl's mother agrees, the boy's mother presents her a half-bottle of liquor. The godfather or witness gives another half-bottle to the girl's father and the godmother gives one to the mother. The visitors now leave, taking the girl, who then begins a year of trial marriage, during which the young man seeks proof that the girl is able to bear children, is active, cooks well, can weave, and can cultivate the land. After the trial period, the man may return the girl to her parents or they marry in the Catholic Church, holding a feast which, like all such celebrations, is called a "cuido." The couple and their parents and godparents are accompanied by an orchestra (chirimía) to the house where the feast is to be held. Here the bride puts on a modern dress, a ribbon on her hair, necklaces, and earrings, while the groom is with his godfather. As the guests arrive, chicha is distributed frequently, music is played, and then there is a feast of thick soup, generally with chicken, cooked yuca, arracacha, and roast or baked meat. In the afternoon, after more music and chicha drinking, the "refresco," really a banquet or social communion, is served. Six bottles of wine made from cane molasses, cinnamon, and cloves, and cake are given to the bride, groom, godmother, and godfather, who give some to everyone present. A prayer, led by the head of the house, then asks the souls of the dead to bless the marriage and give permission to dance. First, the godfather dances with the bride, then the godmother with the groom, after which everyone dances. The feast lasts 5 days, depending on the wealth of the family. Chicha is served and accepted with the phrase, "May God pay you, compadrito, for accompanying us. Accompany us more."

Death.—At a death, the family formerly buried the deceased inside the house with his possessions, and abandoned it. Some communities, however, preferred to cremate the body or dry it over the fire. The

[11] I thank my wife and companion, Helena Ospina de Hernández, for her research in 1936 on matrimonial matters.

/180 cont./

the woman is fecund. For this the culture offers the institutional device of "amaño," by which the man lives with the woman for a time before legalizing the marriage. And we are given clear and precise information about this by Licenciado Eugenio del Castillo y Orozco and his brother, Licentiado Isidro del Castillo y Hrozco /sic/, in their respective reports which they gave to the Governor and Captain General mentioned above: "that they followed the evil custom of living in intimate relations for a long time with the woman whom they were to marry, and if after the marriage they had no offspring they would leave her and seek another woman who might be fecund and whom they thought they might marry if they were not married to their own wives (as Manuel Bolza, an Indian of this village (9), wished

9. Tálaga.

to do), and as was done by Antonio Cofongo (an Indian of San Antonio de las Chinas), from whom he learned not to break up the legitimate religious marriage, which could be prohibited, and who suggested that they get out of the difficulty by any false means, even to arranging for others, from the lowest Indian to the highest, to testify to a lying statement, and if anyone dissented from it and would not follow the wish of the Cacique or Moján, fear caused the dissenters to escape to other parts; some fled with their concubines when they were not acceptable to her parents or relatives, others to avoid work, and others from necessity" (10) ..."and that they flee from all their vices and

10. Archivo Nacional de Bogotá, op. cit., Folio 228.

sins, which are: witchcraft, drunkenness, and concubinage" (11).

11. Archivo Nacional de Bogotá, op. cit., Folio 230.

/180 cont./

583 In Paris on the first of March, 1877, Esequiel Uricoechea
[175] wrote in his introduction to the Vocabulario: "Marriage in the sense in which we accept it today did not exist among the Páeces: two people lived a married life for some time and the marriage was not legalized without the previous certainty that
[192] the woman was fecund. It is natural then, that we find among the Páeces, as among the Peruvians, two verbs (imi and iyó) which indicate respectively the woman accepts the man and the man takes the woman. The woman was obliged to give clothing to the husband, and he "to provide sustenance for the family" (12).

12. Castillo y Orozdo, E. del. Vocabulario Páez-Castellano /Paez-Spanish Vocabulary/, 1877, p. XIV.

Our informants from Calderas confirm the effectiveness of this custom, some justifying it by the need of the future husband /181/ to obtain the money to pay the expenses of the wedding, others in order to "catear" /sample, find out/ if the woman is honest, a worker, and faithful, and there was no lack of those who clearly stated that this trial marriage "is customary because if the woman should turn out to be machorra /barren/ there is no marriage." When such occurs the man returns the woman to her parents without any problem standing in the way, which would not be the case if they were married by the Church, in which case the return is not possible.

162 Our investigations concerning the frequency of the "amaño"
583 in the established families of some parcialidades of Tierradentro
595 showed the following results:
184 Calderas: 42 families (28% of the approximate total of Calderun families). 57.1% of these families practiced the amaño; 42.9% were married first by the Church.

San Andrés: 13 families (6.5% of the approximate total of San Andrés families). 92.3% were married first by the Church; 7.7% practiced the amaño.

/181 cont./

162 Lame: 8 families (6.2% of the approximate total of Lame
583 families). 87.5% were married first by the Church; 12.5% prac-
595 ticed the amaño.

184 Mosoco: 26 families (10.4% of the approximate total of families in Mosoco). 88.1% followed the Catholic law; 11.6% practiced the amaño.

Although the percentages for the parcialidades of San Andrés and Lame may not reflect fully the real situation concerning the custom owing to the paucity of data, one can clearly see the vigor that it still has in Calderas, a parcialidad less acculturated,
581 of course, than the others. Once the man is convinced of the
594 fertility of his mate, the marriage is legalized at the altar of the
[585] Catholic Church. Then the economic co-operation of the spouses, initiated at the beginning of their married life, is stabilized and gains strength, and the marriage becomes, as one of our informants remarked, an association for the "mutual benefit of the contracting parties, to serve each other, without in any way
594 being a burden to either of them." The man enlarges his clear-
462 ings in order to take care of "the sustenance of the family," plants sugar cane and coca in order to obtain chicha and narcotic for holding mingas /work parties/, in order to celebrate religious festivals, in order to "cuidar" his relatives and to relax with his friends; he hires himself out as a peon /182/ in order to acquire money and to buy shawls for his wife, wool and cloth that the woman makes into camisas for herself, her husband, and her sons, and trousers for these last, begins to build his house, if he does not have one, on the lot that his father has assigned to him, to make a home for his family. The woman, on her part, administers the products that her husband brings to her, weaves the ruana /poncho/ and kuetand-yaha (mambe pouch /a bag for the ingredients of chews/) for the husband and children, prepares the food, raises hens and pigs, and cares for her children less than three years old (13). In this manner, among the Páez, marriage,

13. For the division of activities according to sex, see our work "Economía de los Páez /Economy of the Paez/," /published in the

/182 cont./

462 594 13. (cont.)

Revista Colombiana de Antropología, Vol. III, 1954.

361 In this manner, among the Paez, marriage,
182 family, land, and house form an intimate unit, indissoluble and
594 in part explaining the above-mentioned phenomenon of the re-
581 luctance to live grouped in towns or cities.

473 Basically the residence of the nuclear family is patrilocal-
591 neolocal. When the man, accompanied by his escort, goes to
[584] ask for his future consort, and, after certain definite formalities are fulfilled, the future parents-in-law hand her over, she is taken to live in the house of his parents (when he has not built
591 his own). In it he arranges a separate room with a kitchen for
596 cooking, a cowhide to sleep on, and space in which to keep their provisions, their kitchen utensils, and work tools. The new
[583] spouses are independent of their respective parents. The man assists in the work of his parents-in-law and the woman in the work of hers, but in neither case does it constitute an obligation
[594] for them. When a bachelor, the man works to take care of his own needs and to assist in the support of the paternal economy; once married he works to support his family.

582 The man chooses his wife within the parcialidad, although
177 he may marry women from other parcialidades. But neither men nor women may marry persons from Western culture ("whites"). In Calderas there was a case of a possible marriage between a native woman and a "white." The cabildo removed this possibility, obliging the native woman to marry a member of the parcialidad. If it is a man who wishes to try to marry a "white" woman, he must leave the village. They consider that when the "whites" enter the community, they invariably appropriate their land.

582 The selection of spouses within the parcialidades is /183/ determined by the laws of incest. Unions between parents and children and real brothers and sisters are incestuous and severely prohibited. Also relations between cousins of the first degree of both lines and those of uncles and nieces are condemned, although not

prescribed.

/184 cont./

stereotyped conduct. It should nevertheless be stated that the present-day Páez surnames were still given names in the eighteenth century, chosen capriciously by the mother and not transmissible to the descendants (14). The adoption of surnames and

14. Castillo y Orozco, E. de., op. cit., p. 75.

their heritability through the paternal line is the result of the doctrinal work of the Catholic missionaries, and their assimilation and integration into Páez culture must have been carried out in accordance with certain aspects of a sociological nature existing previously. The same /an unpaginated genealogical chart appears here/ /185/ present-day monogamy of the Páez appears to be the result of a strong Catholic Christian influence, since in pre-Colombian times they were polygamous (15).

15. Hernández de Alba, Gr. "The Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia," 1946, p. 948.

The supreme authority in the nuclear family rests with the father; when he is missing, with the mother; and, when both are missing, with the most intelligent of the group. The husband orders, the woman only asks. The woman is always under the control of the man: the father, the brother, the husband. She has no liberty of movement. The cabildo has authority over orphaned women, including that of having them marry. One of our informants in Calderas was a fatherless orphan and had been brought up in Avirama in the company of her stepfather. Being of age, an Avirameño asked for her in marriage, but the cabildo of Calderas stopped the marriage, brought her back to the parcialidad, made her spend the night in the quarters of the cabildo, and on the following day made her marry a lad of 14 whom she did not know. Since she resisted, they beat her, admonishing her at the same time that if she did not do it, she would be married to a black dog in the future life. "There being

[text continues on p. 33]

/185 cont./

623 no other solution, I had to marry, "reflected the informant," for
736 such was the law. The cabildo finds husbands for female orphans
562 (guaiches). Any youth could ask the cabildo for an orphan for a
● 583 wife and it would give her."

The husband may punish his wife. We were able to ob-
593 serve the case of a native Calderuno who with tears in his eyes
[586] asked for the help of the priest to get back his wife who had abandoned him because he had given her some blows with the flat of a machete, injuring her. The complaining husband explained that the maltreatment given to his wife had not been of any importance, and, anyway, she had cost him twelve pesos, meaning by this the amount paid to the priest to celebrate the
593 nuptials. They punish the wife when on returning from work
684 they find her drunk and without food prepared for eating. Likewise they whip her or cuff her in cases of infidelity. Absolute
[837] fidelity is demanded from both spouses, and transgressions from this standard seem to be infrequent.

Such cases as present themselves are settled by the cabildo,
593 as we were able to observe in Mosoco, where a husband, through
623 the suggestion of his own mother, accused his wife of infidelity.
684 The cabildo /186/ in session went to the house of the plaintiff
692 to establish responsibility in the presence of the interested parties. According to an informant from Calderas, when a married man has a child by an unmarried girl, his wife complains before the cabildo. If it finds the girl guilty, it punishes her with lashes and authorizes the complainant to cut the hair of her rival.
[848] The child born in this way, said the informant, dies of the plague.
[753] Cases of infidelity on the part of the husband a number of times arouse violent reactions on the part of the wife, up to the point of liquidating her rival in a barbarous and merciless manner, as occurred in San Andrés where out of jealousy a woman practically quartered the body of the other woman, and whose penal judgment was given in the city of Popayán not many months ago.

/190 cont./ The girl
595 then helps with household tasks and the father of the house may
591 have children by her, without his marrying the girl -- today at
178 any rate -- as his second wife in a regular marriage ceremony.

●584 If a young man wants to marry, he speaks -- in the normal case -- to his father, and the latter with the father of his chosen one. Courtship through a third person outside the family is not customary, and the relatives on the two sides do not enter into communication with one another and exchange presents until after the official wedding ceremony. As a rule, the two young people have reached an agreement earlier, before the fathers speak to each other. The consent of the girl, however, is not required, for the agreement of the young man with the two fathers is fully adequate, and in this case the girl is given in marriage
584 even against her will. But this is said to be the case very rarely
754 or never, for it is dangerous for a girl to refuse a young man's
539 proposal of marriage. In this case he would spit and utter the following curse: "Toblel (untranslatable), I wanted to marry you, but you did not want it; now you must die!" I told the men of Calderas that I doubted whether this curse could have any effect, but then I was told the story of the girl who did not want to marry
[832] a Paez. This girl was very beautiful. (By the way, only unmarried girls are called beautiful; a married woman is never described as beautiful.) She was slightly fat -- being thin is regarded as ugly -- was always washed clean and well combed, and wore beautiful necklaces and earrings, handsomely woven clothing, and an exquisite belt that she herself wove. Many young men of Calderas wanted to marry her, but she did not want to marry a Calderun, only a white. She therefore left her village to go to Popayán (the only larger, well-known city). She walked very fast. On the way, however, in the páramo (bordering mountains) there was a Pijao. He /191/ seized her and took her into his house alive. There he kindled a fire, killed her, and devoured her. By way of explanation the storyteller added: A girl who does not want to marry a Calderun but a white, because the Calderun men are not handsome enough, would, on the way to

/191 cont./

584 754 539 114 584 the city, even before reaching it, be devoured by a Pijao. Therefore, this has never been attempted by any girl. An example of the opposite is instructive in this connection. Our Colombian colleague, Segundo Bernal Villa, who lived in the park of San Andrés with us and at the same time carried on his ethnological and sociological research in Calderas, had often mentioned, jokingly and in order to make himself popular, that he intended to look for a bride in Calderas. He was often seen with a pretty Calderun girl by the people in the village, as he conversed and went walking with her. One day when he presented her with a bottle of brandy, not knowing or not heeding the courtship custom connected with this, his joking was taken seriously and very much amiss. The girl was sentenced by the cabildo to severe corporal punishment and, after this was carried out, was married the next day to a young man of the village.

[623] [692]

584 431 For the official offer of marriage, the father of the young man goes to the house of the girl's parents. He takes along a gourd calabash with about ten liters of chicha and five bottles of brandy. First he converses only casually with the entire family of the girl for half an hour, many jokes are made, and they talk about this and that. Then he asks the girl's father whether his daughter would not like to marry his son. The parents reply that they have only one daughter and that unfortunately they cannot give her away, since they themselves need her so much. Thereupon they converse further, talk about this and that, and then the father of the young man asks a second time whether the daughter of the house would not like to marry his son. But this time, too, the father of the girl replies that he has but one daughter and can unfortunately not give her away. Then they talk some more, until the guest asks a third time: "Can you not give me your daughter for my son?" The father of the girl then replies: "Very well, I shall give my daughter to your son, but I expect him always to treat her well and not to speak ill of her!" Then the guest hands over the bottles of brandy which he brought along, the first to the father of the bride, the second to the mother of the bride, then the third to the bride, and then a bottle each to her brothers and sisters. He gives all the chicha that he brought to the bride's

/191 cont./

584 father, and the latter distributes it /192/ to everyone and gives
431 the bringer and all those present some of his own chicha to drink. This continues all night until everyone is drunk. In the morning the daughter-in-law, along with her father-in-law, goes back to the house of the latter, and from then on she lives with her husband until the wedding.

606 In case the father of the girl should not be satisfied with the
585 young man as a son-in-law, he would still not take any practical action against this union of his daughter, since he does not have to pay a dowry anyway. Besides, once children arrive, the
[591] parents are always satisfied. If, conversely, the father of the young man is not satisfied with the latter's choice of a bride, he may refuse him his house. In this case the young people customarily immediately build their own house, a small one at first.

58 The wedding generally does not take place very soon after courtship among the Paez, but only after a year or more. First of all there begins a trial period, which, however, has an altogether conjugal character. During this time of "trial marriage" the housekeeping abilities of the girl are to be tested, for the latter brings into marriage no dowry of any kind from her parents or any other possessions except her clothing. Since there are no social grounds for a choice of bride in the nonstratified Paez community, and no stimulus to marry on the grounds of a large dowry or on account of the possibility of a low bride price, there are no
581 child betrothals. As bride and wife a girl has only the merit of
462 her personality and her personal capabilities. The latter have the greater weight. It is required of a woman that she be able to cook and to weave the cloth for the whole family, that she not gossip, keep the house in order, and, above all, that she be able to keep the fire going at night and prepare the meal on time in
[264] the morning. The Paez are in the habit of having their first meal
[252] very early, at five or four o'clock in the morning, and an hour before that the woman must already begin preparing the food.
[362] Moreover, as we have seen, the walls of the house are only made
[513] of maize stalks placed side by side, and give scarcely any protection against the coolness of the night. They therefore sleep lying

/186 cont./

346 There are four other small rooms, five meters /187/ long
796 by three meters wide. Two of them are independent of each other, with their respective doors opening into the sala; one serves as a kitchen and the other to roast the maize griddle-cakes. At the other end of the house are the two other rooms, connected with each other by one door and with the sala by another. The workers sleep in one, and in the other are the troughs of chicha, the bottles of aguardiente, and the laurel candles.

342 The third type of dwelling, very scarce in Calderas, has
249 a square floor plan. It has the sala, two kitchens, and the du yate léchukue. Whatever type of dwelling a Paez family may own, they all have as an indispensable accessory the sugar mill,
[262] either inside the house or outside it. Actually, if it is kept in
[273] mind that the basic sustenance of the natives is provided by
[276] maize, cabbage, chicha, and coca, this instrument is indispensable.

342 In addition, each house is supplied with water, taken from
312 springs, streams, or falls, through the extremely skillful construction of ditches which skirt the valleys, hills, and slopes. Their lands have abundant water. They are not familiar with artesian wells.

342 In a way, the enormous salas in the houses of Calderas
177 represent the ramadas which are found among the whites,
249 mestizos, and acculturated Indians of San Andrés; they are built independently of the dwellings, with a sugar mill and an oven to boil down the cane juice and make panela. In this parcialidad, the panela industry is quite well developed. In Calderas it does not exist.

584 Among the Paez, land, marriage, family, and house form
583 a close and indissoluble unit. It lends warmth and meaning to
[183] a number of emotional, sentimental, and sociological complexes. This begins when the pubescent boy feels the need for a partner who will help him in his work and assuage to some extent the rigors of solitude. The love awakened by a dark, shapely maiden impels him to ask her parents for her. "Give my your daughter. I am alone and need help in my work."

/187 cont./

583 says the youth after he has conferred upon the parents-in-law
[584] bottles of aguardiente and calabashes of chicha according to his means. The parents always accede to the request.

At midnight he goes off with her to the house of his parents, if he does not have one of his own. They will live together for several months, one year, two...; during this time he will find out whether the woman can cook, grind maize, carry water and firewood, weave ponchos and /188/ pouches, and he will become familiar with her fidelity, temperament, and
583 character. Only then will he look for a sponsor /padrino/,
585 seek out the priest, take communion and receive the nuptial
[608] blessing, and return to his house, where the bubbling troughs of chicha, the savory "mute" /maize stew/ boiling in the pot, the crude guitars and the pleasing chirimías /a kind of orchestra/ will complete the sealing of the union. They will go through the night, and sometimes days as well, drinking, eating, and dancing.

462 The building of the house on the land of his property will
594 soon follow. Gradually, the man will furnish it with pangopil
[372] for sitting, crude plates and spoons for eating, pots for cooking, hides and sometimes raised platforms for sleeping, a sugar mill to mill the juicy cane; he will bring water from distant sources, provide troughs in order to ferment chicha, purchase machetes, axes, and picks to work the land, plant bananas, sugar cane, onions, and cabbages in his garden; he will put together the barzos where he will keep the bundles of wheat, the ears /caspas/ of maize, the mulberry-colored beans; he will acquire a dog and also -- why not? it has been his ambition and his hope -- he will buy cattle for the fiestas and a horse to race for San Juan and to operate the sugar mill. The woman, on her part, will tend the guinea pigs, breed her chickens and turkeys, look after the pigs so they will not be lost, shear the sheep, weave her yaha gwala (fique bags) for carrying the compact ears of maize, the rustling beans, and the green cabbages

7:Hernández de Alba E-5)/(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

881 heights of Cuetando, where they built a hut and planted a miniature field as proof of their masculine aptitude.

797 **Education.**—Today the Indians are educated principally by their 871 parents in the customs and tasks pertaining to each sex. Some boys [868] and a few girls are sent to the few missionary schools, where they are given religious instruction and are taught Spanish, arithmetic, geography, the history of Colombia, and modern embroidery or light [562] basketwork. The *Páez* are reluctant to send their daughters to the schools because they feel that women should keep the traditions of [177] their people. The missionary schools strive to change the native language and the cultural traditions which have given the Indian community social cohesion.

595 **Marriage.**[11]—Formerly polygyny was prevalent, but now Catholi- [77] cism has imposed monogamy. The Indians continue, however, to 583 practice trial marriage (amaño). A marriage is arranged as follows:

584 The bride is selected by the young man's parents or by himself. His parents and two witnesses or godparents then visit her house to request her for the groom. They also serve as advisors to the young woman, in case she disapproves the marriage. The visitors carry half-filled bottles of rum (aguardiente) and some special garments for the girl. The young man's father offers the girl's father a half-bottle, acceptance of which means, as usual among the *Páez*, that the second party is well disposed toward the proposal and the negotiations may proceed. If the girl's mother agrees, the boy's mother presents her a half-bottle of liquor. The godfather or witness gives another half-bottle to the girl's father and the 583 godmother gives one to the mother. The visitors now leave, taking the girl, who then begins a year of trial marriage, during which the young man seeks proof that the girl is able to bear children, is active, cooks well, can weave, and can cultivate the land. After the trial period, the man may return the girl to her 585 parents or they marry in the Catholic Church, holding a feast which, like all 527 such celebrations, is called a "cuido." The couple and their parents and godparents are accompanied by an orchestra (chirimía) to the house where the feast is to be held. Here the bride puts on a modern dress, a ribbon on her hair, necklaces, and earrings, while the groom is with his godfather. As the guests arrive, chicha is distributed frequently, music is played, and then there is a feast of thick soup, generally with chicken, cooked yuca, arracacha, and roast or baked meat. In the afternoon, after more music and chicha drinking, the "refresco," really a banquet or social communion, is served. Six bottles of wine made from cane molasses, cinnamon, and cloves, and cake are given to the bride, groom, godmother, [782] and godfather, who give some to everyone present. A prayer, led by the head of [775] the house, then asks the souls of the dead to bless the marriage and give permission to dance. First, the godfather dances with the bride, then the godmother with the groom, after which everyone dances. The feast lasts 5 days, depending on the wealth of the family. Chicha is served and accepted with the phrase, "May God pay you, compadrito, for accompanying us. Accompany us more."

764 **Death.**—At a death, the family formerly buried the deceased inside the house with his possessions, and abandoned it. Some communities, however, preferred to cremate the body or dry it over the fire. The

[114] [127]

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462 13. (cont.)
594 Revista Colombiana de Antropología, Vol. III, 1954.

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/177 cont./

the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook. Old, solitary persons or unmarried girls or men live with relatives or friends, but never alone, since a single person is unable either to protect himself or to provide for himself adequately.

The father's authority is great. Wife and children owe him absolute obedience. Nevertheless, the man does not have the right to alienate personal articles of members of the family or possessions that they made themselves. Thus, for example, he is not in a position to sell a coca bag or a fiber bag belonging to his wife or his children's toys.

The children are given the family name of the father, but the women keep their maiden names even after marriage. There is no external indication in dress or hair style or otherwise for unmarried girls and married women. The wife is obligated to work for her husband and children in her family. Beyond that she may procure personal belongings for herself by weaving cloth beyond the needs of her family, for example, and trading it for ornaments.

If the young people are still living in the house with their parents, the daughter-in-law is not absolutely subordinate to her mother-in-law, although this appears to be so, to judge from the speech at the wedding ceremony. A relationship of dependence is out of the question because of the separate kitchens. Usually, however, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are on good terms, and then it is not uncommon for only one woman to cook for both families, for there is no in-law avoidance. Then the two women share the work of cleaning the house.

Conjugal fidelity is demanded of both marriage partners; in the case of the man, however, it is sometimes not taken so seriously. If a man surprises his wife, however, or she her husband, in marital infidelity, the deceived party may beat (but not kill) both and report them to the cabildo, which again has the guilty party very soundly thrashed.

Illegitimate children are not rare among the Paez. In case an unmarried girl has a child, she is beaten by her parents and

/191 cont./

584 father, and the latter distributes it /192/ to everyone and gives
431 the bringer and all those present some of his own chicha to drink. This continues all night until everyone is drunk. In the morning the daughter-in-law, along with her father-in-law, goes back to the house of the latter, and from then on she lives with her husband until the wedding.

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462 her personality and her personal capabilities. The latter have the greater weight. It is required of a woman that she be able to cook and to weave the cloth for the whole family, that she not gossip, keep the house in order, and, above all, that she be able to keep the fire going at night and prepare the meal on time in
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[252] very early, at five or four o'clock in the morning, and an hour before that the woman must already begin preparing the food.
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[513] of maize stalks placed side by side, and give scarcely any protection against the coolness of the night. They therefore sleep lying

/192 cont./

581 around the hearth fire, and this must be stirred and provided with
462 wood every two hours. This is the task of the wife, who, there-
513 fore, sleeps next to the fire. Throughout practically her whole life, she is never able to sleep all through the night.

583 If during the trial year the bride does not meet the demands of the man, if she either cannot cook or is lazy or /193/ does not like to get up in the morning, he sends her back to her father. Since no wedding celebration has taken place, sending back the girl leads to no resentment of any kind. It does, however, if children have resulted from the trial marriage and the young man
[684] nevertheless changes his mind. In this case, to be sure, nothing
[623] can be changed with regard to his decision -- after all, he has not yet been officially married -- but, since such an action is condemned, he is beaten by the cabildo. He may then begin a
583 new trial marriage with another girl. The children of the previ-
848 ous trial marriage (they are designated by the Paez with the
[557] Spanish term hijo natural) are given the name of the mother. There are not a few such "natural children." The mothers, however, are not scorned or judged harshly on that account and do not by any means have poorer prospects for a subsequent marriage. The children are not adopted in case of a subsequent marriage by the
[761] mother and keep their mother's name. It is believed, however,
[851] that such "natural children" will soon die. They are not baptized, since the priest baptizes only legitimate children, or else demands such a large sum for the baptism of an illegitimate child that the unmarried mother cannot raise it.

585 The actual wedding celebration takes place after the period
[178] of the trial marriage. Today the prior marriage service by the Catholic priest in the church is usually combined with this wedding celebration. The money for this, as for the expenses of the wedding celebration, must be raised by the young man himself.
[435] This takes him many months. First of all, besides the cost of ten pesos for the marriage service, he must have collected the money for an ox, then prepare chicha in sufficient quantities, for which sugar cane is milled for about a month, and also provide for the rest of the food. In general his father or brothers do not

/193 cont./

585 [422] [432] [243] help. Since the young men almost never own their own cattle, they must earn the purchase price for this by the sale of agricultural products. Wheat is usually chosen for this, since it may be harvested half a year after sowing.

585 608 For the wedding celebration about 50 men and women are invited, not only relatives, but also friends, among them the sponsors (padrino, madrina) required for the church marriage service. They sit with the bridal couple (nikálo). The parents [291] and guests on both sides arrange themselves informally. The [431] padrino and madrina must give or loan the bridegroom and bride [426] new clothes for this wedding day, but they differ from the ordinary [301] everyday clothing only in that they are newer and cleaner. No 585 special /194/ ornaments of any kind are put on by anyone. The wedding is celebrated in such a way that the church service takes place in the morning, after which the guests go to the wedding house accompanied by music and have a small midday meal, with which, however, only a little chicha is drunk. The festival ox is not yet slaughtered on this day, and not until the "actual" (as the Calderun say) wedding celebration, which takes place about a month later in the house of the bridegroom. The ox is slaughtered in the morning, and in the afternoon the guests arrive, sit down together informally, and eat and drink chicha and brandy copiously. [533] Music is played for this, but no one dances to it. Before the eating [535] begins, when all are still sober, the padrino makes a speech addressed to the bride and groom, in which he says approximately the following: You are now husband and wife, and you, as the husband, should not beat your wife, and you, as wife, should not use any bad words toward your husband. The husband should also not speak ill of his wife, and the wife should obey if the husband commands her to do something and should help him in all things! Then he takes the hand of the bride and gives it to the mother of the bridegroom, who speaks to the bride as follows: You have now been taken into our family and you are to work for your husband and cook his meals for him and make his clothes and arrange everything for him; in addition, you must help me in the house and carry out my instructions, as well as

/194 cont./

585 those of my husband, and you are not to say bad words either to your husband or to us!

The wedding celebration is as brilliant as possible, which means entertaining the guests lavishly as long as possible. In some families the celebration goes on for more than a week. [535] There is no dancing in Calderas, but in other Paez villages [177] Colombian folk dances, usually the open bambuco, are danced.

586 A dissolution of the marriage through divorce is said not to occur even among the non-Christian Paez. Also there is no separation of married people, since man and wife are dependent on each [837] other for economic reasons. Yet it not infrequently happens -- [848] as reported above -- that married men have children outside their marriage with other unmarried girls.

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589 /195/ Widowers continue to live in their houses and, if the 591 children are not yet grown, usually marry a second time; otherwise they live in the house of one of their grown sons. Widows, if [587] they are older, usually do not marry again. With their children they go back to where they came from, namely, the house of their parents. If the latter are no longer living, they have the right, for the time being, to live in the house of whichever brother happens to be living at the time in the house of the deceased father. If the house is no longer standing, the widow lives with one of her brothers or with other relatives. In any case, she cannot, as a woman, live alone in a house, but always only in one belonging to a man.

1: Nachtigall--299 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/CXXI cont./

Plate LXXXV

Ill. 161. Framework of a house.

Ill. 162. Dwelling of the civilized Paez being built. The walls are filled with earth to the thickness of a post.

Ill. 163 and 164. Construction details of a Paez house.

Plate LXXXVI

Ill. 165. House annex with the chicha trough. In front of the man's stomach hangs the colorfully patterned coca pouch. Married women wear their hair plaited in a braid.

[585]
[302]

[352] Ill. 166. The interior of a Paez house. Tables, benches, and beds are lacking. At night they sleep on the floor around the hearth made of three field stones.

[513]
[354]

Plate LXXXVII

Ill. 167. House garden of the Paez with bananas, sugar cane, and yuca.

[417] Ill. 168. Maize field with fence. A notched tree-trunk serves as ladder.

Plate LXXXVIII

Ill. 169. Portion of a field readied for burning. The tree growth has been cut off at hip height.

Ill. 170. Land used by the village, with black surfaces of the fields burned off in preparation for sowing.

Plate LXXXIX

[244] Ill. 171. Paez burning felled trees. The ashes serve as fertilizer.
Ill. 172. Men setting out sugar-cane shoots with the digging stick.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

marriage bonds were not definitely made until experiment indicated the fecundity of the woman, and that the union was dissolved at the will of the husband if the wife proved to be barren. The same authority informs us that the wife had to give her husband the necessary clothing, while the husband provided food for the family. 581 [586] [585]

A custom mentioned by Castillo was that during menses the women spent the time sitting in small huts expressly built for that purpose, for fear of contaminating the common dwelling and of bringing disease and death to its occupants. 841

Rodriguez relates another custom in connection with childbirth and death: ". . . y siempre que pare la mujer, ó que muere alguno de su familia, desamparan la casa, dexando en ella al difunto con cantidad de bastimento y de la chicha, brebage, que beben: y á las casas donde parió la mujer, las dejan con las inmundicias de el parto, y acabadas de nacer las criatures, las laban, y se vañan sus madres, poniendose en viaje á buscar nuevo paraje para su habitacion, que siempre procuran sea en parte muy fragosa, por no ser visitados." 844

These details are confirmed by Castillo and were probably still observed in his time. As to what is done at present, and regarding the family organization in general, it is very difficult to obtain reliable information. The Indians are very jealous of their women, do not tolerate in them any intercourse with strangers, and become instantly distrustful when questioned about family matters. 152 593 609

With reference to death, Castillo differs from Rodriguez in that he states that a dying person was taken from the house, so that he did not actually die in it, and that the dwelling was destroyed by fire. He does not mention the custom of leaving food near the corpse, but states that the body was buried and a fence built around the grave. 768 963 764

Diseases

No diseases came under my observation during my stay at Huila and Tacueyó, and the Indians rather impressed me as being a healthy people. But if their vocabulary affords suffi- 164 [114]

/187 cont./

583 says the youth after he has conferred upon the parents-in-law
[584] bottles of aguardiente and calabashes of chicha according to his means. The parents always accede to the request.

At midnight he goes off with her to the house of his parents, if he does not have one of his own. They will live together for several months, one year, two...; during this time he will find out whether the woman can cook, grind maize, carry water and firewood, weave ponchos and /188/ pouches, and he will become familiar with her fidelity, temperament, and
583 character. Only then will he look for a sponsor /padrino/,
585 seek out the priest, take communion and receive the nuptial
[608] blessing, and return to his house, where the bubbling troughs of chicha, the savory "mute" /maize stew/ boiling in the pot, the crude guitars and the pleasing chirimías /a kind of orchestra/ will complete the sealing of the union. They will go through the night, and sometimes days as well, drinking, eating, and dancing.

462 The building of the house on the land of his property will
594 soon follow. Gradually, the man will furnish it with pangopil
[372] for sitting, crude plates and spoons for eating, pots for cooking, hides and sometimes raised platforms for sleeping, a sugar mill to mill the juicy cane; he will bring water from distant sources, provide troughs in order to ferment chicha, purchase machetes, axes, and picks to work the land, plant bananas, sugar cane, onions, and cabbages in his garden; he will put together the barzos where he will keep the bundles of wheat, the ears /caspas/ of maize, the mulberry-colored beans; he will acquire a dog and also -- why not? it has been his ambition and his hope -- he will buy cattle for the fiestas and a horse to race for San Juan and to operate the sugar mill. The woman, on her part, will tend the guinea pigs, breed her chickens and turkeys, look after the pigs so they will not be lost, shear the sheep, weave her yaha gwala (fique bags) for carrying the compact ears of maize, the rustling beans, and the green cabbages

/205 cont./

535 keeps her head low, with her eyes on the ground, attentive to the musical notes which she seems to interpret with her movements. One foot forward, then one back, in swift alternation; she suddenly stands in her partner's way, then does an about-face. She keeps her arms motionless against her abdomen.

The man, on his part, dances with his forehead held high, his arms motionless against his thighs, his face joyous. From time to time he shouts: "Viva the Conservative Party!" or "Viva el Cauca!"

It is customary for the fiestero and the albacero to dance with each other's wives, after their respective "care."

535 It is the rule for the newlyweds and the sponsors to open
608 the dancing at weddings. In the midst of the dancing and at
585 different times the bride and groom kneel before their sponsors /padrinos/ to receive /recitarles/ the blessing, the bride before the padrino and the groom before the madrina. The latter
[576] bless them and give them their hands to help them rise. After the dance of the newlyweds and the sponsors, the others present may dance, and in the midst of the dancing they, too, greet one another /206/ by placing the right hand over the other person's left shoulder and pressing it.

535 Although one colonial writer speaks of specific dances, nowadays they are only a memory; it is said that there is performed in Avirama the dance of the little bird (vicha ku), danced by young girls at dawn. Calderas informants say that it is very ugly and for this reason they do not dance it. It may possibly correspond to the Itza-ko noted by Pittier de Fábrega.

XIV

The Great Day

796 Before dawn raises its pale face above the black rims of the eastern peaks, the women have already left their hard beds

?:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

881 heights of Cuetando, where they built a hut and planted a miniature field as proof of their masculine aptitude.

797 **Education.**—Today the Indians are educated principally by their 871 parents in the customs and tasks pertaining to each sex. Some boys [868] and a few girls are sent to the few missionary schools, where they are given religious instruction and are taught Spanish, arithmetic, geography, the history of Colombia, and modern embroidery or light [562] basketwork. The *Páez* are reluctant to send their daughters to the schools because they feel that women should keep the traditions of [177] their people. The missionary schools strive to change the native language and the cultural traditions which have given the Indian community social cohesion.

595 **Marriage.**[11]—Formerly polygyny was prevalent, but now Catholi- [?] cism has imposed monogamy. The Indians continue, however, to 583 practice trial marriage (amaño). A marriage is arranged as follows:

584 The bride is selected by the young man's parents or by himself. His parents and two witnesses or godparents then visit her house to request her for the groom. They also serve as advisors to the young woman, in case she disapproves the marriage. The visitors carry half-filled bottles of rum (aguardiente) and some special garments for the girl. The young man's father offers the girl's father a half-bottle, acceptance of which means, as usual among the *Páez*, that the second party is well disposed toward the proposal and the negotiations may proceed. If the girl's mother agrees, the boy's mother presents her a half-bottle of liquor. The godfather or witness gives another half-bottle to the girl's father and the 583 godmother gives one to the mother. The visitors now leave, taking the girl, who then begins a year of trial marriage, during which the young man seeks proof that the girl is able to bear children, is active, cooks well, can weave, and ● 585 can cultivate the land. After the trial period, the man may return the girl to her parents or they marry in the Catholic Church, holding a feast which, like all 527 such celebrations, is called a "cuido." The couple and their parents and godparents are accompanied by an orchestra (chirimía) to the house where the feast is to be held. Here the bride puts on a modern dress, a ribbon on her hair, necklaces, and earrings, while the groom is with his godfather. As the guests arrive, chicha is distributed frequently, music is played, and then there is a feast of thick soup, generally with chicken, cooked yuca, arracacha, and roast or baked meat. In the afternoon, after more music and chicha drinking, the "refresco," really a banquet or social communion, is served. Six bottles of wine made from cane molasses, cinnamon, and cloves, and cake are given to the bride, groom, godmother, [782] and godfather, who give some to everyone present. A prayer, led by the head of [775] the house, then asks the souls of the dead to bless the marriage and give permission to dance. First, the godfather dances with the bride, then the godmother with the groom, after which everyone dances. The feast lasts 5 days, depending on the wealth of the family. Chicha is served and accepted with the phrase, "May God pay you, compadrito, for accompanying us. Accompany us more."

764 **Death.**—At a death, the family formerly buried the deceased inside the house with his possessions, and abandoned it. Some communities, however, preferred to cremate the body or dry it over the fire. The

[1147] [727]

[11] I thank my wife and companion, Helena Ospina de Hernández, for her research in 1936 on matrimonial matters.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

535 There is much dancing today. The sexes perform in couples or separately. Among the *Moguex*, some of the expert dancers are paid to dance with all couples in a sort of "bambuco." Dancing is always a part of *Páez* ceremonies for the death of children, baptismals, weddings, saint holidays, and meetings for collective work (mingas) held in the evening when people return from their plantations.

Dancing, as other social events, is subject to a special ceremony [585] or etiquette, strongly connected with religious beliefs. For example, in the wedding celebration, a prayer is first said in which the souls of [608] the dead are asked permission to dance, or "scrape the floor," as they call dancing. Only the godparents and the bride and groom may [527] dance at the beginning.

526 The *Páez* do not masquerade, but the *Moguex* always masquerade during the period of carnival preceding Holy Week.

[524] **Games.**—Games do not hold an important place among these peoples. The children amuse themselves by imitating the activities [857] of their elders. The only game recorded is simulated warfare, performed as a part of a rite in honor of the dead after a communal [769] feast. Two teams under their captains or caciques attacked and shot arrows at each other. Even if some contestants were killed or wounded, no one bore a grudge.

276 **Narcotics.**—The *Páez* and the *Moguex* chewed coca leaves mixed in the mouth with lime powder. Coca chewing is widespread among men, but very little practiced by women. It is used especially by [756] the shaman when he is practicing. In Colonial times the use of coca [177] spread to the rural population of Mestizos and Whites in Nariño, Cauca, and Huila.

273 **Alcoholic beverages.**—These Indians formerly made chicha of maize, but today they ferment it with sugarcane molasses. They also have [178] fermented sugarcane juice (guarapo), and a sort of rum (aguardiente). The latter is distilled clandestinely in their huts from guarapo and certain herbs fermented together in earthenware crocks. The Indians drink guarapo every day, but restrict the use of chicha and the stronger guarapo and aguardiente to market days, religious feast days, burials, weddings, mingas or meetings for work, and witchcraft [462] ceremonies. Guarapo and chicha are made by women, who sometimes chew the maize to increase its fermentation. They are stored in large, hollowed tree trunks and in large earthen jars, which are kept in a special place in the hut. There is never a lack of these beverages for home use and for welcoming an unexpected visitor.

RELIGION

175 The early Spaniards had little understanding of the religion of these 771 people. They reported that the Indians had but few idols and no temples or places of worship. Castillo mentions that they wor-

/181 cont./

162 Lame: 8 families (6.2% of the approximate total of Lame
583 families). 87.5% were married first by the Church; 12.5% prac-
595 ticed the amaño.

184 Mosoco: 26 families (10.4% of the approximate total of families in Mosoco). 88.1% followed the Catholic law; 11.6% practiced the amaño.

Although the percentages for the parcialidades of San Andrés and Lame may not reflect fully the real situation concerning the custom owing to the paucity of data, one can clearly see the vigor that it still has in Calderas, a parcialidad less acculturated,
581 of course, than the others. Once the man is convinced of the
594 fertility of his mate, the marriage is legalized at the altar of the
[585] Catholic Church. Then the economic co-operation of the spouses, initiated at the beginning of their married life, is stabilized and gains strength, and the marriage becomes, as one of our informants remarked, an association for the "mutual benefit of the contracting parties, to serve each other, without in any way
594 being a burden to either of them." The man enlarges his clear-
462 ings in order to take care of "the sustenance of the family," plants sugar cane and coca in order to obtain chicha and narcotic for holding mingas /work parties/, in order to celebrate religious festivals, in order to "cuidar" his relatives and to relax with his friends; he hires himself out as a peon /182/ in order to acquire money and to buy shawls for his wife, wool and cloth that the woman makes into camisas for herself, her husband, and her sons, and trousers for these last, begins to build his house, if he does not have one, on the lot that his father has assigned to him, to make a home for his family. The woman, on her part, administers the products that her husband brings to her, weaves the ruana /poncho/ and kuetand-yaha (mambe pouch /a bag for the ingredients of chews/) for the husband and children, prepares the food, raises hens and pigs, and cares for her children less than three years old (13). In this manner, among the Páez, marriage,

13. For the division of activities according to sex, see our work "Economía de los Páez /Economy of the Paez/," /published in the

/194 cont./

585 those of my husband, and you are not to say bad words either to your husband or to us!

The wedding celebration is as brilliant as possible, which means entertaining the guests lavishly as long as possible. In some families the celebration goes on for more than a week. [535] There is no dancing in Calderas, but in other Paez villages [177] Colombian folk dances, usually the open bambuco, are danced.

586 A dissolution of the marriage through divorce is said not to occur even among the non-Christian Paez. Also there is no separation of married people, since man and wife are dependent on each [837] other for economic reasons. Yet it not infrequently happens -- [848] as reported above -- that married men have children outside their marriage with other unmarried girls.

587 In case of the death of one partner, the surviving spouse may remarry. But whereas for the first marriage he merely could not marry a partner of the same name, in the second marriage he also may not marry a partner bearing the name of the deceased. Thus, for example, Juán Piñakué, who in his first marriage was wed to Ascensiona Kiskué, may not marry a Kiskué a second time.

589 /195/ Widowers continue to live in their houses and, if the 591 children are not yet grown, usually marry a second time; otherwise they live in the house of one of their grown sons. Widows, if [587] they are older, usually do not marry again. With their children they go back to where they came from, namely, the house of their parents. If the latter are no longer living, they have the right, for the time being, to live in the house of whichever brother happens to be living at the time in the house of the deceased father. If the house is no longer standing, the widow lives with one of her brothers or with other relatives. In any case, she cannot, as a woman, live alone in a house, but always only in one belonging to a man.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

147 the odor peculiar to the Indians, which becomes quite noticeable when they are sweating and which so closely resembles that of the secretion of the so-called *sahino*, or wild hog (*Dicotyles tajacu* L.), that I have more than once been deceived into believing that our trail crossed the path of a drove of these animals.

516 When at rest the Paez men almost invariably sit on their heels, the toes sustaining the whole weight of the body, while the women sit with their legs stretched together on the ground, [514] even when near the fire in their houses. In micturition young 481 girls remain standing. The gait of both men and women is short-paced and easy, the body being always slightly inclined forward, probably on account of the habit of carrying heavy loads.

824 Like all children of Nature, the Paez Indians are very keen 826 observers of their surroundings, as is shown by the minuteness of their differentiation in plants and in certain groups of insects. Castillo, for instance, gives the names of no fewer than six different varieties of ants —

[552]

han-khk	*ri-khk-ne*	*eia-i*
hik-fints	*gnne-handi*	*to-fiti*

and I collected very few plants for which they did not have a ready name.

Reproduction and Death

881 When a girl reached puberty the event was celebrated among the old Paez Indians by a special dance called *itsa-ko*, during which the young naked female was placed in a hole dug outside the hall-house and thoroughly washed with *chicha*. We have no 836 notice of pre-marital liberty being conceded to women, nor of the relation of children to parents in the family organization. As 595 tradition has it, the pre-conquest Paez were polygamous, and notwithstanding the efforts of the missionaries, it is almost certain that this practice has not completely disappeared. We know nothing about the existence of marriage ceremonies before 581 the introduction of the Catholic ritual. It is likely, however, [588] that marriages were endogamous and free, and, as such, a very frail institution, as Castillo informs us that even in his time

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

marriage bonds were not definitely made until experiment indicated the fecundity of the woman, and that the union was dissolved at the will of the husband if the wife proved to be barren. The same authority informs us that the wife had to give her husband the necessary clothing, while the husband provided food for the family. 581 [586] [585]

A custom mentioned by Castillo was that during menses the women spent the time sitting in small huts expressly built for that purpose, for fear of contaminating the common dwelling and of bringing disease and death to its occupants. 841

Rodriguez relates another custom in connection with childbirth and death: ". . . y siempre que pare la mujer, ó que muere alguno de su familia, desamparan la casa, dexando en ella al difunto con cantidad de bastimento y de la chicha, brebage, que beben: y á las casas donde parió la mujer, las dejan con las inmundicias de el parto, y acabadas de nacer las criatures, las laban, y se vañan sus madres, poniendose en viaje á buscar nuevo paraje para su habitacion, que siempre procuran sea en parte muy fragosa, por no ser visitados." 844

These details are confirmed by Castillo and were probably still observed in his time. As to what is done at present, and regarding the family organization in general, it is very difficult to obtain reliable information. The Indians are very jealous of their women, do not tolerate in them any intercourse with strangers, and become instantly distrustful when questioned about family matters. 152 593 609

With reference to death, Castillo differs from Rodriguez in that he states that a dying person was taken from the house, so that he did not actually die in it, and that the dwelling was destroyed by fire. He does not mention the custom of leaving food near the corpse, but states that the body was buried and a fence built around the grave. 768 763 764

Diseases

No diseases came under my observation during my stay at Huila and Tacueyó, and the Indians rather impressed me as being a healthy people. But if their vocabulary affords suffi- 164 [114]

/185 cont./

623 no other solution, I had to marry, "reflected the informant," for
736 such was the law. The cabildo finds husbands for female orphans
562 (guaiches). Any youth could ask the cabildo for an orphan for a
583 wife and it would give her."

The husband may punish his wife. We were able to ob-
593 serve the case of a native Calderuno who with tears in his eyes
[586] asked for the help of the priest to get back his wife who had abandoned him because he had given her some blows with the flat of a machete, injuring her. The complaining husband explained that the maltreatment given to his wife had not been of any importance, and, anyway, she had cost him twelve pesos, meaning by this the amount paid to the priest to celebrate the
593 nuptials. They punish the wife when on returning from work
684 they find her drunk and without food prepared for eating. Likewise they whip her or cuff her in cases of infidelity. Absolute
[837] fidelity is demanded from both spouses, and transgressions from this standard seem to be infrequent.

Such cases as present themselves are settled by the cabildo,
593 as we were able to observe in Mosoco, where a husband, through
623 the suggestion of his own mother, accused his wife of infidelity.
684 The cabildo /186/ in session went to the house of the plaintiff
692 to establish responsibility in the presence of the interested parties. According to an informant from Calderas, when a married man has a child by an unmarried girl, his wife complains before the cabildo. If it finds the girl guilty, it punishes her with lashes and authorizes the complainant to cut the hair of her rival.
[848] The child born in this way, said the informant, dies of the plague.
[753] Cases of infidelity on the part of the husband a number of times arouse violent reactions on the part of the wife, up to the point of liquidating her rival in a barbarous and merciless manner, as occurred in San Andrés where out of jealousy a woman practically quartered the body of the other woman, and whose penal judgment was given in the city of Popayán not many months ago.

/186 cont./

837 Should an unfaithful wife conceive a child by a man
851 racially white and the husband not be aware of it, the latter considers it his child even if it should inherit the characteristics of its progenitor. He will simply observe, "Why do my children come like this?" His wife answers him, "I don't know; it may
581 be echi or Pijao." In general marriages are well established and
593 stable, in spite of the fact that occasional tensions may arise between spouses. Divorce is unknown among the Páez. Extinction
586 of marriages by separation or the abandonment of one of the spouses is rare. In Calderas they can count on the fingers of one hand the cases where a man has abandoned his wife. "This is very ugly in a person, it should never happen," comments a woman. Cases in which a woman abandons the husband are much rarer still, being bitterly criticized when they occur.

594 The mother has the obligation to feed and care for her
854 children up to when they can leave home. Labor which she
[853] truly performs with love and care. The children suckle until they are two years old and even up to three, a period during which she never leaves them at any time. She cradles them on her breast or in the hammock and carries them on her shoulders,
594 attending to them lovingly whenever they cry. The father looks
867 after his boys from the time that they gain complete mastery of
[593] the biped state, without this making him less loving toward his daughters. Then he begins to take his sons everywhere.

During religious festivals they sit at his side, participate in the conversation of their elders, and are served food and
[273] drink in the same way as their elders. In Calderas and in /187/ San Andrés we had the opportunity to observe children five years old reeling under the effects of chicha and aguardiente. At this age, when they begin to take part in the economic life of the family group, the father teaches them to chew coca. The father conscientiously performs this labor of endoculturation.

597 We have not come across any cases of adopted children.
736 When both parents die, the children stay in the home of the nearest relative.

593 The conduct of the children toward their parents is that of deep respect. Nevertheless, in Calderas we witnessed the verbal

/194 cont./

585 those of my husband, and you are not to say bad words either to your husband or to us!

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/177 cont./

604 laugh, but nothing more. The uncle's wife is to be called aunt and she receives the nephew's blessing because she is older. He may not joke with her. Should she become a widow (echui), the nephew may not marry her because he must respect her. We have not been able to find any information that might make one suspect avuncular or amitate relations.

605 Cousins of the first degree, paternal and maternal, respect each other and avoid aggressive attitudes among themselves. Between male cousins presents of harvest produce may be made, which is not done with the female cousins, for they live with their respective husbands.

602 The parents of married couples call each other compadre (compale). There is no difference of comportment between them; the greeting is given by the first one to see his compadre.

606 Sexual relations between father-in-law and daughter-in-law are
[835] prohibited, just as between son-in-law and mother-in-law. There are cases in which the parents-in-law do not care for their son-in-law, and also in which the parents-in-law do not care for their daughter-in-law.

607 Following the general standards of conduct, EGO shows more respect toward his older brothers-in-law than toward the younger ones. A man may not cohabit with the wife of his brother, which is characterized as "mucha grosería" /great rudeness/. The husband may cohabit with the sister of his wife,
[587] but it is characterized as "muy feo" /very ugly/. The marriage of a man to the widow of his brother or that of a woman to the widower of her sister is also regarded as wrong. Relations between brothers-in-law are cordial; "they respect each other as though they belonged to the same family."

The brothers and sisters of the husband treat the brothers and sisters of the wife as compadres. They may marry each other.

[602] /178/ The sons of the brothers and sisters of the father are nothing to the sons of the brothers and sisters of the mother. They do not speak to each other.

/177 cont./

the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook. Old, solitary persons or unmarried girls or men live with relatives or friends, but never alone, since a single person is unable either to protect himself or to provide for himself adequately.

The father's authority is great. Wife and children owe him absolute obedience. Nevertheless, the man does not have the right to alienate personal articles of members of the family or possessions that they made themselves. Thus, for example, he is not in a position to sell a coca bag or a fiber bag belonging to his wife or his children's toys.

The children are given the family name of the father, but the women keep their maiden names even after marriage. There is no external indication in dress or hair style or otherwise for unmarried girls and married women. The wife is obligated to work for her husband and children in her family. Beyond that she may procure personal belongings for herself by weaving cloth beyond the needs of her family, for example, and trading it for ornaments.

If the young people are still living in the house with their parents, the daughter-in-law is not absolutely subordinate to her mother-in-law, although this appears to be so, to judge from the speech at the wedding ceremony. A relationship of dependence is out of the question because of the separate kitchens. Usually, however, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are on good terms, and then it is not uncommon for only one woman to cook for both families, for there is no in-law avoidance. Then the two women share the work of cleaning the house.

Conjugal fidelity is demanded of both marriage partners; in the case of the man, however, it is sometimes not taken so seriously. If a man surprises his wife, however, or she her husband, in marital infidelity, the deceived party may beat (but not kill) both and report them to the cabildo, which again has the guilty party very soundly thrashed.

Illegitimate children are not rare among the Paez. In case an unmarried girl has a child, she is beaten by her parents and

/189 cont./

b) Maturity

881 Today no rites or ceremonies for the youths take place any
[178] more. In former times they were led to the sacred lagoon of Juan
[778] Tama or to the heights of Cuetando, and there they had to build
a hut and lay out a small cornfield as proof of their capabilities
as a man and father of a household (Hernandez, 1944, p. 203).

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[262] small fiber bag (yāhalečkwe) about the size of a fist. There
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the bag fall. A married man passing by lets it lie, for he knows
that it belongs to a young girl. A young man, however, who
happens to be coming that way sees the beautifully worked bag,
picks it up, and uses it as a small money-bag. Without knowing
who made the little bag, he will -- people are convinced -- marry
this girl.

/190/ c) Marriage

595 The present form of marriage of the Paez is monogamy.
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missionaries. I could find no clue in their mythology for actual
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/179 cont./

594 Associated with the nuclear family primordially are the functions of reproduction, the rearing of children, and the education of the latter. On procreation depends also the importance of economic functions.

581 The orientation of the sexual instinct is a secondary end.
● 589 Indeed, Páez culture demands that every individual form a
[183] family, once he has acquired the capacity for procreation. In
[842] the parcialidad of Calderas they look upon children as a blessing
[775] from God, regarding celibates "como violadores de la cruz" /as violators of the cross/(marriage); celibacy is condemned, in the rationalization that the person who dies celibate goes to the
[754] Nevado del Huila, considered by them as hell. The celibacy of a woman is exceptional, and when it occurs they believe that she becomes a witch. They think something similar about some
581 widows. One woman of some fifty years of age says that
589 "marriage is fundamental and obligatory, for the grandfathers
775 used to say that to a woman who is not married the devil gives a black dog for a husband in hell" (7). Another woman declared

[825] 7. They regarded white dogs as companions and guides in the future life and fear that "if molested they will come out and bite them at the entrance to the future abode."

that at times she feels sorrow for the death of an unmarried daughter, "because the devil would give her a husband."

581 The culture considers it an obligation of parents to marry
183 off their daughters even if they are very young. Furthermore
[582] the young men aspire to "build their house, marry, produce children, have animals, coca in abundance, and sugar cane
[842] for their chicha" (8). The incentive to marry is to have children,

8. Bernal Villa, S. 1953, op. cit., p. 183.

for which purpose it is necessary to have assurance /180/ that the woman is fecund,

/210 cont./

423 considerably larger parcels of land than others, for example, the
427 Guagáz family, who, according to my information, own almost half of all private land. Permission for the use of land is granted only for crops with a short ripening period, namely, wheat, maize, beans, and cabbage, but not sugar cane, coca, or bananas, which need several years to mature, in other words, can be used for years. As rent the owner receives a small portion of the harvest, which is left on the stalk and which he must harvest himself.

423 As a matter of principle, land cannot be bought, we were
[428] told repeatedly, for every man must leave his land to his sons. Even if a man has no sons, he may not sell his land, but must hand it over to his brothers. This was the information always
423 given in answer to my direct questions on the subject. /211/ In
437 practice, however, it is quite possible to sell land, and this is not infrequently done, but no one realizes that a land sale actually takes place when a man clears a piece of land for himself, plants it, and exchanges the entire harvest, including the land, for a
[115] head of cattle, a horse, etc. This is what Victoriano did, for example, in order to acquire a horse. He cleared and planted a piece of his father's land, about 2,500 square meters, to sugar cane, and when this was mature, he exchanged the harvest, including the land, for a mare. Nobody wanted to admit that this violated the principle of not selling land.

423 The land belongs to the father of the family, who, as a rule,
241 tills it with his grown sons. If the sons have their own houses,
● 59 they generally go on working with their father, since no one likes to work alone. At the harvest, the respective wives fetch the food
423 required for their families from the common field. If father and
427 son do not live in amity, the son must plant and harvest his own
593 field, for which he is then obliged to accept the help of friends.
241 It is considerably more expensive to entertain them than family
[476] help, for in the latter case there need not be any chicha for entertainment. Even in this instance, however, the son must ask his father and owner of the family land for permission to cultivate the land. This is not denied, however, After the harvest, this piece of land, since it will lie fallow now for about ten years, goes back

/114 cont./

with graveyard, the community house, festival houses, and, more recently, mission station and school are the central pole, whereas the family houses are always built in other places, but on one's own land (Ills. 146-147 /see p. 264/). Sometimes one erects a house merely for one harvest, that is, for half a year, in the middle of his field that is to be harvested. During the work and harvest it may then happen that a Paez family will not see its neighbors for several weeks.

The size of the villages varies; Calderas is one of the largest Paez /115/ communities and contains about 200 houses with approximately 1,000 inhabitants. Other villages, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Lame, and others, are substantially smaller. In each case it takes considerable time to cross a village, because this means, of course, crossing the entire valley basin in question. In the case of Calderas this is more than three hours for a European on horseback. The Paez, it is true, travel over the steep short-cuts much more quickly on foot.

b) The House

For laying out a house one looks for a building spot as close as possible to a small brook, large numbers of which flow down from the slopes of the mountains and unite at the foot of the valley floor to form the Kokiyó River (literally "maize water"). When it is impossible to lay out a house directly on a brook, the water is led from above through a small ditch past the house. This, as well as any other running water, may always be drunk. It is known that the residents living above this house now and then urinate in the water, but "that does not matter at all," I was assured.

In principle, only one family, consisting of father, mother, and children, lives in a dwelling. The married sons must build their own houses. It is customary, however, for newlyweds to go on living in the house of the father for a time, until they have saved enough chicha and food to feed the friends who will help them build their house. In one case, however, in the house of

/176 cont./

623 himself does not punish. For this purpose four representatives of
666 the lower offices have an official whip which consists of a rod ten
696 centimeters long, with a plaited strap about 80 centimeters long.

The election itself proceeds with the introduction of the candi-
623 dates by the capitan with the question: "This one as gobernador,
624 do you want him?" And they reply: "We wish it" or "we do not
666 wish it." It was interesting to observe how, after the death of the capitan, one of his relatives, Cerbelión Guagáz, tried to be named capitan. The priest, however, insisted on an election by the village. And although he tried very hard to have Cerbelión elected, the village kept refusing him because he was too autocratic and such people are not liked. Another whom everyone would like to have as capitan is himself unwilling. "As capitan I am only the beadle of the padre," he replied to my question as to why he did not accept the choice. And he had no desire for that. He had been comisario once and gobernador once, and now he wanted peace for the rest of his life.

2) Family Organization

594 The family of the Paez is basically the patrilineal nuclear family /Kleinfamilie/ consisting of the parents and unmarried
[513] children. The latter, while they are small, sleep with the parents in the kitchen; as soon as they are larger, in a compartment in
● 591 another part of the house. After marriage they erect their own house.
596 It is not uncommon, however, for the married sons to live with their wives for another year or two in the house of the father, until they have enough money for a house, which will be small at first. The daughters upon marriage leave /177/ the paternal home and then live with their husbands, that is to say, at first with the parents-in-law.

354 Normally, therefore, every house has only one cooking
596 place, in which the woman of the house cooks. If a son marries,
252 a new kitchen is partitioned off and a second place built for the
[462] fire at which the young wife cooks. As a matter of principle, each married couple -- and it alone -- has its own fire area, for the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook.

/177 cont./

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/190 cont./ The girl

595 then helps with household tasks and the father of the house may
591 have children by her, without his marrying the girl -- today at
178 any rate -- as his second wife in a regular marriage ceremony.

584 If a young man wants to marry, he speaks -- in the normal case -- to his father, and the latter with the father of his chosen one. Courtship through a third person outside the family is not customary, and the relatives on the two sides do not enter into communication with one another and exchange presents until after the official wedding ceremony. As a rule, the two young people have reached an agreement earlier, before the fathers speak to each other. The consent of the girl, however, is not required, for the agreement of the young man with the two fathers is fully adequate, and in this case the girl is given in marriage
584 even against her will. But this is said to be the case very rarely
754 or never, for it is dangerous for a girl to refuse a young man's
539 proposal of marriage. In this case he would spit and utter the following curse: "Toblel (untranslatable), I wanted to marry you, but you did not want it; now you must die!" I told the men of Calderas that I doubted whether this curse could have any effect, but then I was told the story of the girl who did not want to marry
[832] a Paez. This girl was very beautiful. (By the way, only unmarried girls are called beautiful; a married woman is never described as beautiful.) She was slightly fat -- being thin is regarded as ugly -- was always washed clean and well combed, and wore beautiful necklaces and earrings, handsomely woven clothing, and an exquisite belt that she herself wove. Many young men of Calderas wanted to marry her, but she did not want to marry a Calderun, only a white. She therefore left her village to go to Popayán (the only larger, well-known city). She walked very fast. On the way, however, in the páramo (bordering mountains) there was a Pijao. He /191/ seized her and took her into his house alive. There he kindled a fire, killed her, and devoured her. By way of explanation the storyteller added: A girl who does not want to marry a Calderun but a white, because the Calderun men are not handsome enough, would, on the way to

/191 cont./

584 father, and the latter distributes it /192/ to everyone and gives
431 the bringer and all those present some of his own chicha to drink. This continues all night until everyone is drunk. In the morning the daughter-in-law, along with her father-in-law, goes back to the house of the latter, and from then on she lives with her husband until the wedding.

606 In case the father of the girl should not be satisfied with the
585 young man as a son-in-law, he would still not take any practical action against this union of his daughter, since he does not have to pay a dowry anyway. Besides, once children arrive, the
[591] parents are always satisfied. If, conversely, the father of the young man is not satisfied with the latter's choice of a bride, he may refuse him his house. In this case the young people customarily immediately build their own house, a small one at first.

58 The wedding generally does not take place very soon after courtship among the Paez, but only after a year or more. First of all there begins a trial period, which, however, has an altogether conjugal character. During this time of "trial marriage" the housekeeping abilities of the girl are to be tested, for the latter brings into marriage no dowry of any kind from her parents or any other possessions except her clothing. Since there are no social grounds for a choice of bride in the nonstratified Paez community, and no stimulus to marry on the grounds of a large dowry or on account of the possibility of a low bride price, there are no
581 child betrothals. As bride and wife a girl has only the merit of
462 her personality and her personal capabilities. The latter have the greater weight. It is required of a woman that she be able to cook and to weave the cloth for the whole family, that she not gossip, keep the house in order, and, above all, that she be able to keep the fire going at night and prepare the meal on time in
[264] the morning. The Paez are in the habit of having their first meal
[252] very early, at five or four o'clock in the morning, and an hour before that the woman must already begin preparing the food.
[362] Moreover, as we have seen, the walls of the house are only made
[513] of maize stalks placed side by side, and give scarcely any protection against the coolness of the night. They therefore sleep lying

/194 cont./

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000 /288 cont./

756 medicine men. To cure the patient, he divines which of the
755 supernatural beings caused the illness, proceeds to placate him,
[787] and then prescribes medicines to the patient. If the placation is not successful, the patient literally sinks into despair. The indispensable articles for all curing are coca, tobacco, and
[462] aguardiente. The medicine men are persons well along in years
[754] and belonging to the masculine sex. They cannot cure the effects of sorcery, although they can protect themselves against it.

754 c) Fifty per cent of all illnesses, the informants state,
[753] are caused by sorcery, and by the same token 50 per cent of
[761] the deaths, since sorcery is incurable. The sorcerers conceal their activities, and it seems that all adults are potential sor-
754 cerers. The institution of sorcery is a true escape valve for the
154 strong aggressive impulses of the natives and to some extent plays the role of a social regulator. Through it are channeled the jealousy, resentment, and vengefulness of the natives. The victims of sorcery are the most skillful and hard-working individuals, those who have a good house, good crops, and a growing number of domestic animals. Harvests and plantings
[683] generally are the object of sorcery. Sorcerers who are publicly unmasked are exposed to the anger of the community and even to exile, a measure taken not so much on account of their be-
[685] ing sorcerers as of their being thieves. All sorcerers are thieves. Sorcery appears with considerable frequency in the symbolism of dreams.

583 Marriage.--Marriage is monogamous and patrilocal. Both
[595] the chroniclers and Dr. Gregorio Hernández de Alba speak of
[591] the custom of the year of probation to acquaint the man with
[177] the skill, energy, and fecundity of his future wife. A thriving
[797] institution in times past, it is now in sharp decline owing to the action of mission work. Obviously, the purpose of this institution is to find out whether the woman is hard-working, faithful, not a thief, and to understand her ways in order to establish a lasting union. Nowadays the Paez, before being married

/336 cont./

428 together. The land does not belong to the cabildo. Women do not inherit. Only the men. The women go with their husbands. Among the men it is divided into equal shares. The /337/ sons are the legitimate heirs. If a man dies without leaving sons, [593] his brother inherits. A brother can be asked for a piece of land to [423] work. And he gives it. If we are niggardly about it, what will [425] my brother eat, how will he support his children. The eldest son is important, because if the father dies, it is he who takes charge of the family."

The words are nearly all textual. One may deduce from them that inheritance is carried out through the male line. It is the men who inherit the land, houses, and animals, in equal shares. The women virtually do not inherit, since, when they marry, they go with the husband. The sons are the legitimate heirs. If a man dies without leaving progeny, his brothers inherit.

423 The women, nevertheless, can also be heirs and in equal
428 shares with the men, if the husband has no land to work. Cases
[591] are not frequent, but neither are they rare, when the man goes to live in his wife's home, where he remains and works the land [563] which belongs to him through his wife's right. Likewise some "whites" who managed to marry natives have the right of usufruct over the lands of their wives, and the latter demand land to work from the cabildo if they do not possess any.

423 Another Calderun informant, one of the major owners of
428 land in extensity wishes to leave it to his sons without dividing it. Since there is enough land, there is no reason for them to quarrel. Since two of his sons went to Cali when they were small, he says that if they should return there is land for them to work.
423 The lands are solely for the men; the women marry and go with the husband. Referring to the llano of Calderas, he says that it belongs to all of the members of the community. They may build their houses there, while those from other parcialidades [342] have no right to do so. If a member builds a house on the com- [476] munal llano, all the others are obliged to help him with timber and labor. Even the women. The land is communal because the cabildo has decided upon it. Some have plots on this

/337 cont./

423 communal land, since they have a right to it and anyone can do so. Those who come from elsewhere have a right to the communal land provided that they have grown up there. In Calderas there are people from Lame who own their land because they have cleared the montaña. Nowadays there are no more montañas [591] to clear, and thus persons from elsewhere cannot come in. If a [582] Calderuno marries a woman from another parcialidad, his father-in-law or brothers-in-law must give land /338/ to his wife and the spouse thus enters the community. Thus spoke the informant.

Distribution of implements, stock, and crops

121 We are basing the distribution of implements, stock, and crops on the research carried out in the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, San Andrés, and Calderas.

162 The parcialidad of Mosoco has, approximately, some 250 families with an average of 4 children; Lame, some 130 with an average of 3 children; San Andrés, some 200 with an average of 4 children; and Calderas, some 150 families with 3 children on the average also. In Mosoco we studied 25 families, or 10% of the total; in Lame, 8 or 5.3%; in San Andrés, 15 or 7.5%, and in Calderas 55 or 36.6%. In the first parcialidad listed there is one family of a mestizo and another of a white, which are equivalent to 8% of the total families investigated; in the second, two families of whites are represented, equivalent to 25% of the total families investigated; in the third, 26.6% of the total families investigated are represented by two families of whites and two families of mestizos. No family of "whites" lives in Calderas.

/182 cont./

462 13. (cont.)
594 Revista Colombiana de Antropología, Vol. III, 1954.

361 In this manner, among the Paez, marriage,
182 family, land, and house form an intimate unit, indissoluble and
594 in part explaining the above-mentioned phenomenon of the re-
581 luctance to live grouped in towns or cities.

473 Basically the residence of the nuclear family is patrilocal-
591 neolocal. When the man, accompanied by his escort, goes to
[584] ask for his future consort, and, after certain definite formalities are fulfilled, the future parents-in-law hand her over, she is taken to live in the house of his parents (when he has not built
591 his own). In it he arranges a separate room with a kitchen for
596 cooking, a cowhide to sleep on, and space in which to keep their provisions, their kitchen utensils, and work tools. The new
[583] spouses are independent of their respective parents. The man assists in the work of his parents-in-law and the woman in the work of hers, but in neither case does it constitute an obligation
[594] for them. When a bachelor, the man works to take care of his own needs and to assist in the support of the paternal economy; once married he works to support his family.

582 The man chooses his wife within the parcialidad, although
177 he may marry women from other parcialidades. But neither men nor women may marry persons from Western culture ("whites"). In Calderas there was a case of a possible marriage between a native woman and a "white." The cabildo removed this possibility, obliging the native woman to marry a member of the parcialidad. If it is a man who wishes to try to marry a "white" woman, he must leave the village. They consider that when the "whites" enter the community, they invariably appropriate their land.

582 The selection of spouses within the parcialidades is /183/ determined by the laws of incest. Unions between parents and children and real brothers and sisters are incestuous and severely prohibited. Also relations between cousins of the first degree of both lines and those of uncles and nieces are condemned, although not

proscribed.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

They represent the primitive type of
habitation, the agglomerations being the result of the efforts of 342
the missionaries. [177]

The villages are generally in the open grazing districts at the 361
bottom of the valleys, on side plateaus, or on broad ridges. They are not compact in the common sense of the word, but consist of isolated groups of houses, the approximate common center of which is often indicated by the whitewashed thatch-roofed church (plate v).

The walls of the permanent houses are made of a kind of 342
bajareque, i. e., a skeleton of canes filled in with clay. In the 353
better homes the interior is divided into two or more rooms, usually very small, with a hearth in the middle; but oftener [354]
there are no interior partitions, the dwelling consisting of a single square apartment. In every case that came under my [356]
observation the interior was very untidy.

The Indians openly objected to our entering their houses, 352
hence I could gain only casual glimpses of their domiciles, the 123
furnishing of which seems to be an imitation of that of the 177
dwellings of the few Spanish people living among them or in the immediate neighborhood.

Outside the houses they generally have a cane-crusher of 407
primitive type, with horizontal smooth cylinders moved by means of levers at each end. A loom and a grinding stone are 286
also seen occasionally under an adjacent shelter (plates IV,[1], 412
and VI).[2]

There may often be seen, either about or inside the housse, 415
very large jars used as receptacles in the elaboration of the chicha. These utensils seem to be almost the only survival of the ancient earthenware industry. The smaller pottery vessels which were seen occasionally had been taken from old graves. [192]

Each group of houses, in which several generations of a 351
single family dwell, is surrounded by a small enclosed field, [592]
planted with sugar-cane, plantains, oranges and other fruits, and greens and roots of daily use. The garden enclosure is formed by a ditch, inside of which is a wooden fence or a stone wall, the latter often crowned by a hedge of maguey (*Furcræa*), [247]
lechero (*Euphorbia*), borrachero (*Solanum*), and other bushes.

[1] [See plate facing p. 317 — Ana/st]
[2] [See plate facing p. 320 — Ana/st]

/183 cont./

601 Forms of address:

father and mother together (whether by their own children or other persons)	ověnyi or pětãm
father and son together (by other persons)	pěndyĩk
father and daughter together (by other persons)	pěndyĩs
mother and son together (by other persons)	pěndyĩk
mother and daughter together (by other persons)	pěndyĩs

3. Customs during the Course of Life and of a Day

182 The Paez generally give the impression of being contented
593 human beings, and it seems that marriage and family life are
[159] better than average. Of course, the observations on this are very
[114] scanty, for, on account of the remote location of the individual dwellings, the research worker always has only a brief glimpse of family conditions at any one time. This very solitude, however, and the consciousness of greater dependence on one another within the family, favors its cohesion, even as it reduces the conflict and irritation which arise through women's gossip when people live too closely on top of one another.

842 Basically every family wants a great many children -- at
[123] any rate so said all the men questioned. Two Calderun women, however, /184/ confided to my wife that there was a remedy -- which they and other women, too, naturally did not use! -- that
[825] would with certainty prevent conception: One must eat some of
[237] the spittle of a mula (the female, infertile cross between horse and donkey), and then one would no longer have children. They said that a woman does this only when she has already given birth to a great many children. In general every girl desires a great

/186 cont./

[77 Today all children are obliged to attend school in the
797 mission schools, where they are taught the catechism and the
871 Spanish language and must bathe once a day under supervision.
515 The mother nurses her child exclusively during the first six
853 to eight months; only then is the giving of more solid food begun, which, however, does not differ in any way from that of adults, that is to say, the child is given yuca, beans, chicha, brandy, etc., like the adults. The mother suckles the child until the next one arrives, namely, three to four years, and sometimes beyond that, along with the one born next. Every woman who has a child generally also has milk, we were told. Only if the mother should be far away, /187/ for example, on an errand at the market or out fetching wood, may another woman help the child with her milk. In the rare cases in which a woman does not have enough milk to feed her child, she may give it to some
853 other woman, who, however, does not receive anything for it. It
855 may also happen that a family with ten children has become so
[573] large that the food is no longer adequate. In this case the woman may leave one or several children in the care of her mother. If she no longer has a mother, however, she must keep them herself. In case the mother of small children dies and leaves a baby of less than two or three months who still cannot eat any food other than milk, the father looks for a woman who likewise has a nursing baby and who brings up the strange child with her milk for two or three years, until it can talk. Then the father takes it back, and the wet nurse is given a cow as "milk money."

854 Ordinarily the children are carried by the mother. The
482 colored woven belt (táw) and the large shawl (panyelón or séntyatc), in which the child is wrapped and carried by the mother on her back, are needed for this.

857 The games of the children are generally instructive for their
868 later life. The boys go bird hunting with the blowgun (pāt), the plaited stone-sling (ísot), or the elastic sling (kaučéro), or they practice catching each other with the lasso, during which the child
[23] to be caught represents a cow or a horse. The ability of the children, and of the adults, too, by the way, in the use of the lasso is not

/210 cont./

423 considerably larger parcels of land than others, for example, the
427 Guagáz family, who, according to my information, own almost half of all private land. Permission for the use of land is granted only for crops with a short ripening period, namely, wheat, maize, beans, and cabbage, but not sugar cane, coca, or bananas, which need several years to mature, in other words, can be used for years. As rent the owner receives a small portion of the harvest, which is left on the stalk and which he must harvest himself.

423 As a matter of principle, land cannot be bought, we were
[428] told repeatedly, for every man must leave his land to his sons. Even if a man has no sons, he may not sell his land, but must hand it over to his brothers. This was the information always
423 given in answer to my direct questions on the subject. /211/ In
437 practice, however, it is quite possible to sell land, and this is not infrequently done, but no one realizes that a land sale actually takes place when a man clears a piece of land for himself, plants it, and exchanges the entire harvest, including the land, for a
[115] head of cattle, a horse, etc. This is what Victoriano did, for example, in order to acquire a horse. He cleared and planted a piece of his father's land, about 2,500 square meters, to sugar cane, and when this was mature, he exchanged the harvest, including the land, for a mare. Nobody wanted to admit that this violated the principle of not selling land.

423 The land belongs to the father of the family, who, as a rule,
241 tills it with his grown sons. If the sons have their own houses,
59 they generally go on working with their father, since no one likes to work alone. At the harvest, the respective wives fetch the food
423 required for their families from the common field. If father and
427 son do not live in amity, the son must plant and harvest his own
● 593 field, for which he is then obliged to accept the help of friends.
241 It is considerably more expensive to entertain them than family
[476] help, for in the latter case there need not be any chicha for entertainment. Even in this instance, however, the son must ask his father and owner of the family land for permission to cultivate the land. This is not denied, however, After the harvest, this piece of land, since it will lie fallow now for about ten years, goes back

/211 cont./

423 to the father, and the next year the son must ask his father anew
427 for permission to use another piece of land.

593 Besides the land, the father of the family also owns the
241 dwelling, the menstruation house, all the animals -- including
422 chickens and guinea pigs -- all agricultural implements, and the
423 sugar mill. Property marks on the houses, fields, and implements are not required, for everyone knows to whom they belong.

428 Upon the death of the father of the family, the youngest son inherits his house and the greater part of the livestock. If, for example, there is only one cow, he gets it. Similarly, he gets all the land under cultivation at the time. The uncultivated land is divided equally among all the sons. The widow, [768] like the daughters, inherits nothing. The former then continues to live in her old house in the family of the youngest son. The fact that the latter receives so much more than the older ones in the distribution of the inheritance is explained by the fact that the older ones have worked for more years and therefore have had more time and opportunity to acquire property of their own. [429] Favoring the youngest thus represents a certain equalization. If the father dies /212/ young and leaves only a small son, his mother administers his property for him until he is about 15 years [768] old. He need not marry then, however. If there are several younger sons, they, of course, also go on living together in the house of the father.

Deviant inheritance plans of the deceased, for example, letting an older favorite son have more or leaving his house or implements, not to his youngest son, but to his brother, are not possible. Even if a father had ten daughters and only one son and none of the daughters would marry, he could not leave them anything. In such a case, the only son would have to provide for all his sisters, for women cannot live alone in a house and they would not be in a position to cultivate the land alone. If a man has no sons, but only daughters, his sons-in-law generally help him cultivate the fields. Yet he cannot bequeath them anything. His landed property and equipment go to that one of his brothers who takes care of the burial, that is to say, buys the grave clothes for the deceased and provides chicha and food for the mourning

P /212 cont./
428 guests. In case the deceased has neither sons nor brothers --
P which scarcely ever happens, it is said -- the villager who takes
[768] care of the burial inherits his entire property. The widow moves
in with one of her brothers or sisters or some other relative.

T Disputes and misdemeanors, such as theft or adultery, are
692 judged within the communities by the cabildo; murder or serious
625 bodily injury, by the Colombian state judiciary. It was said that
C [692] murder and manslaughter did not occur in former times, the old
T 682 people told us; they are a consequence of "white" influences
623 and the weakening of the cabildo. One can well understand this,
182 for in Calderas where the village council still enjoys a certain
[177] amount of power and considerable prestige, it would be unthinkable
P [177] for a son to stab his father to death. This happened in San Andrés
where the cabildo exists only in the form of three functionaries
who are basically powerless and without standing and where the
young people, through the influences of the living conditions of
the white colonists, no longer have any feeling for the old
discipline and customs. It was in San Andrés in March, 1953,
that the son of the capitan stabbed his father to death. The
P latter, after the death of his first wife, had married a second
● [593] time, for which his children reproached him vehemently. In a
drunken state, this led to a brawl, in the course of which the
father struck off half of his son's right ear and the son killed his
father with several knife stabs in the abdomen. After the deed, he
fled; but since it was known that he could find shelter only with
relatives, the /213/ gobernador of the town of Lame seized him
P a few days later in the house of his sister, where he had hidden.
[624] He was brought to San Andrés in chains and delivered over to the
sindico, who was simultaneously occupying the position of
gobernador. The latter, an older man of the age of the deceased
capitan, tried for some time to reason with the murderer, who
gave the impression of being uncommunicative and almost sullen;
he pointed out to him the baseness of his deed, of patricide, and
then he was led to the church in which the dead capitan was lying
in state. The son resisted violently, but was forcibly led up to the
corpse and broke down weeping before it. Before he was transferred

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

marriage bonds were not definitely made until experiment indicated the fecundity of the woman, and that the union was dissolved at the will of the husband if the wife proved to be barren. The same authority informs us that the wife had to give her husband the necessary clothing, while the husband provided food for the family. 581 [586] [585]

A custom mentioned by Castillo was that during menses the women spent the time sitting in small huts expressly built for that purpose, for fear of contaminating the common dwelling and of bringing disease and death to its occupants. 841

Rodriguez relates another custom in connection with childbirth and death: ". . . y siempre que pare la mujer, ó que muere alguno de su familia, desamparan la casa, dexando en ella al difunto con cantidad de bastimento y de la chicha, brebage, que beben: y á las casas donde parió la mujer, las dejan con las inmundicias de el parto, y acabadas de nacer las criatures, las laban, y se vañan sus madres, poniendose en viaje á buscar nuevo paraje para su habitacion, que siempre procuran sea en parte muy fragosa, por no ser visitados." 844

These details are confirmed by Castillo and were probably still observed in his time. As to what is done at present, and regarding the family organization in general, it is very difficult to obtain reliable information. The Indians are very jealous of their women, do not tolerate in them any intercourse with strangers, and become instantly distrustful when questioned about family matters. 152 593 609

With reference to death, Castillo differs from Rodriguez in that he states that a dying person was taken from the house, so that he did not actually die in it, and that the dwelling was destroyed by fire. He does not mention the custom of leaving food near the corpse, but states that the body was buried and a fence built around the grave. 768 763 764

Diseases

No diseases came under my observation during my stay at Huila and Tacueyó, and the Indians rather impressed me as being a healthy people. But if their vocabulary affords suffi- 164 [114]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

157 pipes they play while walking along, unless their hands are kept
583 busy plaiting braids of gynerium bark in the manufacture of
[463] their hats. This is the exclusive occupation of the men. Women almost invariably walk along spinning wool, their distaff under the left arm and the spindle in the left hand, while the right hand is busy at the wool.

883 The Paez maidens are fond of flowers and are very playful.
157 On one occasion I observed several of them going up the hill
481 beyond the river, in front of the church at Huila, their arms entwined about one another's necks; then they began running up the steep hill as in a contest of endurance. As they became exhausted they threw themselves on the grass, while their movements showed that they were playing and joking all the time. These children of Nature are not unpleasant to look at,
[515 except for their usual lack of cleanliness; nor are they wanting
142] in coquetry, and they are often pretty. But in the presence of
[609] strangers they are extremely bashful, doing their utmost to keep in the background.

291 The old women are generally very ugly. Their clothing con-
515 sists only of dirty rags, and their skin is covered with the filth of years.

593 Relations between the sexes, especially between husbands
562 and wives, seem to be easy and without an air of superiority on the part of the former. On the few occasions that I had to entertain these people at their houses, the women took the same interest and the same part in the proceedings as the men, which was very different from what I observed among the Central American Indians.

609 Toward strangers, and especially toward Colombians of other
186 races, the attitude of the Indians is decidedly hostile. Unless induced by the prospect of profit they will neither sell anything nor lend any service, often refusing money and accepting only articles which they especially desire. They will not allow white
[563] or black people in their homes, and at Huila they are even unwilling that the only white family living there should share the practically inexhaustible supply of fuel scattered about in the near-by forest, or have horses or cattle pasturing on the almost

/336 cont./

428 together. The land does not belong to the cabildo. Women do not inherit. Only the men. The women go with their husbands. Among the men it is divided into equal shares. The /337/ sons are the legitimate heirs. If a man dies without leaving sons, [593] his brother inherits. A brother can be asked for a piece of land to [423] work. And he gives it. If we are niggardly about it, what will [425] my brother eat, how will he support his children. The eldest son is important, because if the father dies, it is he who takes charge of the family."

The words are nearly all textual. One may deduce from them that inheritance is carried out through the male line. It is the men who inherit the land, houses, and animals, in equal shares. The women virtually do not inherit, since, when they marry, they go with the husband. The sons are the legitimate heirs. If a man dies without leaving progeny, his brothers inherit.

423 The women, nevertheless, can also be heirs and in equal 428 shares with the men, if the husband has no land to work. Cases [591] are not frequent, but neither are they rare, when the man goes to live in his wife's home, where he remains and works the land [563] which belongs to him through his wife's right. Likewise some "whites" who managed to marry natives have the right of usufruct over the lands of their wives, and the latter demand land to work from the cabildo if they do not possess any.

423 Another Calderun informant, one of the major owners of 428 land in extensity wishes to leave it to his sons without dividing it. Since there is enough land, there is no reason for them to quarrel. Since two of his sons went to Cali when they were small, he says that if they should return there is land for them to work. 423 The lands are solely for the men; the women marry and go with the husband. Referring to the llano of Calderas, he says that it belongs to all of the members of the community. They may build their houses there, while those from other parcialidades [342] have no right to do so. If a member builds a house on the com- [476] munal llano, all the others are obliged to help him with timber and labor. Even the women. The land is communal because the cabildo has decided upon it. Some have plots on this

/185 cont./

623 no other solution, I had to marry, "reflected the informant," for
736 such was the law. The cabildo finds husbands for female orphans
562 (guaiches). Any youth could ask the cabildo for an orphan for a
583 wife and it would give her."

The husband may punish his wife. We were able to ob-
● 593 serve the case of a native Calderuno who with tears in his eyes
[586] asked for the help of the priest to get back his wife who had abandoned him because he had given her some blows with the flat of a machete, injuring her. The complaining husband explained that the maltreatment given to his wife had not been of any importance, and, anyway, she had cost him twelve pesos, meaning by this the amount paid to the priest to celebrate the
593 nuptials. They punish the wife when on returning from work
684 they find her drunk and without food prepared for eating. Likewise they whip her or cuff her in cases of infidelity. Absolute
[837] fidelity is demanded from both spouses, and transgressions from this standard seem to be infrequent.

Such cases as present themselves are settled by the cabildo,
593 as we were able to observe in Mosoco, where a husband, through
623 the suggestion of his own mother, accused his wife of infidelity.
684 The cabildo /186/ in session went to the house of the plaintiff
692 to establish responsibility in the presence of the interested parties. According to an informant from Calderas, when a married man has a child by an unmarried girl, his wife complains before the cabildo. If it finds the girl guilty, it punishes her with lashes and authorizes the complainant to cut the hair of her rival.
[848] The child born in this way, said the informant, dies of the plague.
[753] Cases of infidelity on the part of the husband a number of times arouse violent reactions on the part of the wife, up to the point of liquidating her rival in a barbarous and merciless manner, as occurred in San Andrés where out of jealousy a woman practically quartered the body of the other woman, and whose penal judgment was given in the city of Popayán not many months ago.

/186 cont./

237 Should an unfaithful wife conceive a child by a man
851 racially white and the husband not be aware of it, the latter considers it his child even if it should inherit the characteristics of its progenitor. He will simply observe, "Why do my children come like this?" His wife answers him, "I don't know; it may
581 be echi or Pijao." In general marriages are well established and
● 593 stable, in spite of the fact that occasional tensions may arise between spouses. Divorce is unknown among the Páez. Extinction
586 of marriages by separation or the abandonment of one of the spouses is rare. In Calderas they can count on the fingers of one hand the cases where a man has abandoned his wife. "This is very ugly in a person, it should never happen," comments a woman. Cases in which a woman abandons the husband are much rarer still, being bitterly criticized when they occur.

594 The mother has the obligation to feed and care for her
854 children up to when they can leave home. Labor which she
[853] truly performs with love and care. The children suckle until they are two years old and even up to three, a period during which she never leaves them at any time. She cradles them on her breast or in the hammock and carries them on her shoulders,
594 attending to them lovingly whenever they cry. The father looks
867 after his boys from the time that they gain complete mastery of
[593] the biped state, without this making him less loving toward his daughters. Then he begins to take his sons everywhere.

During religious festivals they sit at his side, participate in the conversation of their elders, and are served food and
[273] drink in the same way as their elders. In Calderas and in /187/ San Andrés we had the opportunity to observe children five years old reeling under the effects of chicha and aguardiente. At this age, when they begin to take part in the economic life of the family group, the father teaches them to chew coca. The father conscientiously performs this labor of endoculturation.

597 We have not come across any cases of adopted children.
736 When both parents die, the children stay in the home of the nearest relative.

593 The conduct of the children toward their parents is that of deep respect. Nevertheless, in Calderas we witnessed the verbal

/187 cont./

593 and de facto (with a machete) aggression of a married son (23 years old) against his parents, and the situation calmed down when the father succeeded in disarming the aggressor.

Brothers and sisters respect each other. They avoid aggression, and when they are little they play together. The younger brothers greet the older ones, and when the latter marry, they receive, kneeling, the blessing of the former.

[241] The fruits of the harvests are shared among the brothers,
[476] just as they also mutually help one another in the arduous agricultural work. According to an informant, men care more for their brothers than for their sisters, because the latter, upon marrying, leave the home. Nevertheless they show affection in their conduct with both sexes. Relations between sisters and the mother are intimate, as they live together under the same
[855] roof and intermingle in performing the same work. The older ones help to bring up the younger brothers and sisters. The latter call the eldest brother and eldest sister táta and máma, names that they abandon when they have reached adulthood.
[627] In case of a fight involving one of the brothers, the others go to his assistance and take vengeance if anyone has been injured,
[623] but this is not an obligation. Quarrels between brothers may
[692] arise over the distribution of land. In the greater number of such cases the cabildo settles the differences.

602 Relations between the families united among themselves by blood ties are intimate. They visit one another frequently and are shown painstaking treatment.

593 Mingas[1] are organized more readily among brothers, who
[476] "cover up their poverty." In the religious festivals they mutually
[651] back one another and during occasional meetings they endeavor
[796] to drink and eat together.

1/1 [i.e., meetings for collective work—Analyst]

/114 cont./

361 with graveyard, the community house, festival houses, and, more recently, mission station and school are the central pole, whereas the family houses are always built in other places, but on one's own land (Ills. 146-147 /see p. 264/). Sometimes 342 one erects a house merely for one harvest, that is, for half a 361 year, in the middle of his field that is to be harvested. During the work and harvest it may then happen that a Paez family will not see its neighbors for several weeks.

361 The size of the villages varies; Calderas is one of the [162] largest Paez /115/ communities and contains about 200 houses with approximately 1,000 inhabitants. Other villages, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Lame, and others, are substantially smaller. 484 In each case it takes considerable time to cross a village, be- 361 cause this means, of course, crossing the entire valley basin in question. In the case of Calderas this is more than three hours [487] for a European on horseback. The Paez, it is true, travel over the steep short-cuts much more quickly on foot.

b) The House

342 For laying out a house one looks for a building spot as 312 close as possible to a small brook, large numbers of which flow down from the slopes of the mountains and unite at the foot of the valley floor to form the Kokiyó River (literally "maize water"). When it is impossible to lay out a house directly on a brook, the water is led from above through a small ditch past the house. This, as well as any other running water, may always be drunk. [514] It is known that the residents living above this house now and then urinate in the water, but "that does not matter at all," I was assured.

591 In principle, only one family, consisting of father, mother, [594] and children, lives in a dwelling. The married sons must build their own houses. It is customary, however, for newlyweds to go [342] on living in the house of the father for a time, until they have [476] saved enough chicha and food to feed the friends who will help them build their house. In one case, however, in the house of

/118 cont./

342 and begin to chew coca and tobacco and to drink brandy to-
761 gether. After a while the shaman ascertains through signs in
789 his arms or legs whether bones of the Pijao are in the ground.
756 If this is not the case, the building may be started; otherwise
787 the man must look for another building site. After the building
is finished, a further ceremony is performed (see under "Religion"
342 /see p. 205/), and then the same shaman fastens special herbs
756 to the roof to prevent the eč or gélyómp spirit, hostile to man,
789 from entering the house from there.

Houses are built only by men, by fathers of families.
342 One man alone, however, is not in a position to do this. At
476 least in the erection of the house posts he is helped by his brothers,
[462] as well as by other men and friends who have nothing else to
do anyway on these days and receive chicha and something to
342 eat for their assistance. The building material costs nothing,
273 to be sure, but the builder must furnish a substantial amount of
476 chicha, for which planning must be begun in plenty of time, two
or three years beforehand, by the planting of sufficient sugar
cane. This is the task of the married son who is still living in
[594] his father's house this long. To make the chicha he also still
[249] needs the sugar mill of his father, upon whose consent and help,
therefore, much depends. According to the amount of chicha
[461] that is available, the building of the house thus lasts two to six
months, depending on whether only five or 15 men participate.

The most important thing in the construction of the house
342 is the erection of the wooden frame (Ills. 161 to 164 /see p.272 /),
335 which always requires several men who bring in the trees, which
[476] are superficially smoothed with the machete, but not freed of
bark. The master of the house is able to make the walls by
[462] himself in an emergency. The covering of the roof, too, like the
entire house construction, is men's work, but the woman of the
house may hand up the sugar-cane leaves for the roofing. First
the vertical corner and side posts of the outer walls (yátšinda) are
erected, then the outer beams lying horizontally on the side
posts to support the roof (yátpopānt) are laid on, and, as the third
step in the work, the horizontal crossbeams (bīkas) are fastened at

/176 cont./

623 himself does not punish. For this purpose four representatives of
666 the lower offices have an official whip which consists of a rod ten
696 centimeters long, with a plaited strap about 80 centimeters long.

The election itself proceeds with the introduction of the candi-
623 dates by the capitan with the question: "This one as gobernador,
624 do you want him?" And they reply: "We wish it" or "we do not
666 wish it." It was interesting to observe how, after the death of the capitan, one of his relatives, Cerbelión Guagáz, tried to be named capitan. The priest, however, insisted on an election by the village. And although he tried very hard to have Cerbelión elected, the village kept refusing him because he was too autocratic and such people are not liked. Another whom everyone would like to have as capitan is himself unwilling. "As capitan I am only the beadle of the padre," he replied to my question as to why he did not accept the choice. And he had no desire for that. He had been comisario once and gobernador once, and now he wanted peace for the rest of his life.

2) Family Organization

594 The family of the Paez is basically the patrilineal nuclear family /Kleinfamilie/ consisting of the parents and unmarried
[513] children. The latter, while they are small, sleep with the parents in the kitchen; as soon as they are larger, in a compartment in
591 another part of the house. After marriage they erect their own house.
596 It is not uncommon, however, for the married sons to live with their wives for another year or two in the house of the father, until they have enough money for a house, which will be small at first. The daughters upon marriage leave /177/ the paternal home and then live with their husbands, that is to say, at first with the parents-in-law.

354 Normally, therefore, every house has only one cooking
596 place, in which the woman of the house cooks. If a son marries,
252 a new kitchen is partitioned off and a second place built for the
[462] fire at which the young wife cooks. As a matter of principle, each married couple -- and it alone -- has its own fire area, for the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook.

/177 cont./

the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook. Old, solitary persons or unmarried girls or men live with relatives or friends, but never alone, since a single person is unable either to protect himself or to provide for himself adequately.

The father's authority is great. Wife and children owe him absolute obedience. Nevertheless, the man does not have the right to alienate personal articles of members of the family or possessions that they made themselves. Thus, for example, he is not in a position to sell a coca bag or a fiber bag belonging to his wife or his children's toys.

The children are given the family name of the father, but the women keep their maiden names even after marriage. There is no external indication in dress or hair style or otherwise for unmarried girls and married women. The wife is obligated to work for her husband and children in her family. Beyond that she may procure personal belongings for herself by weaving cloth beyond the needs of her family, for example, and trading it for ornaments.

If the young people are still living in the house with their parents, the daughter-in-law is not absolutely subordinate to her mother-in-law, although this appears to be so, to judge from the speech at the wedding ceremony. A relationship of dependence is out of the question because of the separate kitchens. Usually, however, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are on good terms, and then it is not uncommon for only one woman to cook for both families, for there is no in-law avoidance. Then the two women share the work of cleaning the house.

Conjugal fidelity is demanded of both marriage partners; in the case of the man, however, it is sometimes not taken so seriously. If a man surprises his wife, however, or she her husband, in marital infidelity, the deceived party may beat (but not kill) both and report them to the cabildo, which again has the guilty party very soundly thrashed.

Illegitimate children are not rare among the Paez. In case an unmarried girl has a child, she is beaten by her parents and

/315 cont./

105 "Araucanian" type (O'Neale, p. 115). In place of the shed rod we have a simple loop; in place of the heddle rod, a bundle of loops.

105 The warp threads are stretched in the form of the "false spiral warp,"
286 a mixture of the method of the continuous, circular warp with the
171 method of the terminating flat warp. This genuinely American way of stretching the warp is found among the Northwest Coast Indians as well as among the tribes of the Gran Chaco (Olson, pp. 114-121). Culture-historically H. Nevermann regards the various forms of American weaving /316/ as having originated on the basis of a native or pre-Polynesian plait-weaving. Among the Paez we find this technical stage in the plait-weaving of the carrying bands of the coca bags.

105 For dyeing, vegetable dyes are used, which dye only sheep wool, but not cotton.

Pottery is very simple. There are only hemispherical pots and bowls made with the spiral coil technique, both without any ornamentation.

The present political organization of the Paez is based on the village community. It is led by a village council (cabildo), whose members are chosen for a year from among the men of the village. The designations for the members of the cabildo and their functions are in part Spanish. In former times the leaders of the Paez were
[621] often men with shamanistic abilities. The village is not organized
[565] by either classes or occupations. No one need serve another for
[463] pay; the word and the thing are unknown to the Paez. The father
[464] of the family with his sons or brothers works his fields, and if
[476] friends or neighbors lend their help, it is compensated for by assistance in their fields.

[594] The family organization is basically the patrilineal,
[178] monogomous nuclear family, consisting of the parents and the
[851] unmarried children. Here there has probably been the least change in Paez culture. The children are given the family of the
[533] father. For her marriage the woman receives no dowry of any kind from her parents, and she keeps her maiden name. Since there are no social or financial reasons for concluding a marriage, a woman has only the merit of her personality and abilities. These are tested during a "trial year" before the actual conclusion of the marriage.

/187 cont./

583 says the youth after he has conferred upon the parents-in-law
[584] bottles of aguardiente and calabashes of chicha according to his means. The parents always accede to the request.

At midnight he goes off with her to the house of his parents, if he does not have one of his own. They will live together for several months, one year, two...; during this time he will find out whether the woman can cook, grind maize, carry water and firewood, weave ponchos and /188/ pouches, and he will become familiar with her fidelity, temperament, and
583 character. Only then will he look for a sponsor /padrino/,
585 seek out the priest, take communion and receive the nuptial
[608] blessing, and return to his house, where the bubbling troughs of chicha, the savory "mute" /maize stew/ boiling in the pot, the crude guitars and the pleasing chirimías /a kind of orchestra/ will complete the sealing of the union. They will go through the night, and sometimes days as well, drinking, eating, and dancing.

462 The building of the house on the land of his property will
●594 soon follow. Gradually, the man will furnish it with pangopil
[372] for sitting, crude plates and spoons for eating, pots for cooking, hides and sometimes raised platforms for sleeping, a sugar mill to mill the juicy cane; he will bring water from distant sources, provide troughs in order to ferment chicha, purchase machetes, axes, and picks to work the land, plant bananas, sugar cane, onions, and cabbages in his garden; he will put together the barzos where he will keep the bundles of wheat, the ears /caspas/ of maize, the mulberry-colored beans; he will acquire a dog and also -- why not? it has been his ambition and his hope -- he will buy cattle for the fiestas and a horse to race for San Juan and to operate the sugar mill. The woman, on her part, will tend the guinea pigs, breed her chickens and turkeys, look after the pigs so they will not be lost, shear the sheep, weave her yaha gwala (fique bags) for carrying the compact ears of maize, the rustling beans, and the green cabbages

/188 cont./

462 from the plantings; she will laboriously make the multicolored
594 kuetand yahas which she will give as tokens of love to her hus-
[257] band. The children, who "are a blessing of God," will come and help the man work the land or lighten the woman's kitchen chores.

594 The household lends individuality, a sociological frame-
183 work, status, and function to the family. Land, a house, and a family are specific ambitions of the Paez people. Possibly they represent their most cherished ideals in life.

IV

Live Ritual Fire

372 In the mind of every individual, and in the spirit of the family, fire is a symbol, a symbol of the house and of the home. A house without fire is a dead, abandoned house.

372 In ancient times, when the Pijao went about spreading
773 terror and death, when the caciques came down on the /189/ /illustration appears here/ roaring waters of the great rivers beneath the imposing dark night sprinkled with stars, and even much earlier, the Indians began their daily round by requesting fire from an old, white-haired woman. This fire died out when night spread its dark cloak over the world. Only the old woman's fire was immortal. The monotony of this daily request for fire was transmuted into anguish when the wicked old woman decided to leave and take the fire with her in a piece of wood. They all ran after her, seized the firebrand, and obtained fire from it for all the Indian households. This fire could be preserved.

Thus run the mythical accounts of the origin of fire. They reflect its importance. The manner in which it is preserved, the care which is exercised so that a fire is always /190/ burning in the house, seem to be superstitious attitudes from an ancient

The people of
/356 cont./
43 Mosoco have numerous droves of pack animals for handling the
628 import and export traffic, in which the Guambianos (with their
492 horses), called kasukos by the people of Mosoco, who regard them as good friends and not very different from themselves, also participate. The fact is that they live together, work together, and do their trading jointly.

563 The relations between "whites" and natives in Mosoco
621 seem to be cordial and based on mutual respect.

Family economy

● 594 The Paez family is basically an economic unit. It is made up of the parents and the children, and it represents a
[602] closed but effective circle. They do not go beyond their own
[476] limits in any way, so that the mingas and the distribution of the
[431] first fruits of the harvests are carried out primarily with consanguineal and political relations.

594 The manner in which this economic unit functions and in
462 which its members collaborate can be clearly understood from the division of the activities by sex. The supreme management of the family economy rests in the hands of the man; it is he who owns the land, the house, the tools, and the domestic animals. His arm has not been taught to wield anything but the machete, the axe, and the shovel. He is the owner of the crops and the one who determines where, how, and when work is to be done. His primary work is outside the house: on the land itself. The woman, on /357/ the other hand, remains inside the house, and her basic work is connected with the administration and working up of the products handed over to her by the man. Cooking and
[464] weaving are her specialities. It is true that the woman hires
[178] herself out as a day laborer on the fincas of the "whites" and that in some parcialidades, such as Mosoco, she participates directly in the preparation of the land and the weeding of the crops, but this is a relatively new phenomenon and is not yet universally accepted among the natives.

261 In general terms, the primary incentive for economic activity
594 dealing with food is the satisfaction of the basic needs of the individual and the survival of the family group. It is the security

/357 cont./

261 that is provided by having what is to be consumed. An abundance
594 of guarapo and maize undoubtedly gives them great gratification. When these products are abundant the religious fiestas, mingas, and "entertainments" are good, the natives say, and they describe at great length the incidents as they unfold.

178 But, in spite of the fact that the work capacity of the in-
241 dividual is acknowledged, that the possession of domestic animals
433 lends a certain prestige within the group, and that the abundance
[554] of food and guarapo brings gratification, the agricultural cycle
[231] remains stationary within the lineaments of time, of the systems of labor, and of the quantity of seed. They produce essentially
178 for consumption. The stimulation of prestige does not exist. In
433 many parcialidades, the habits of a capitalistic economy are openly
[754] combated by the sorcerers (32). Nevertheless, we have already

32. Bernal Villa, S. op. cit., p. 256.

had the opportunity to state that the introduction of the cultivation of coffee (temperate zone), the development of livestock-raising and of the cultivation of potatoes in Mosoco, and the creation of settlement areas in the very heart of the native parcialidades are rapidly modifying all of the institutions of Páez culture. The family economy of self-provisioning and of small barter operations is changing perceptibly into a purely money economy. By the same process the routine monotony is disappearing from production and is being replaced by new techniques of work, a greater quantity of production, and a greater volume of trade.

434 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, and San Andrés, we
121 made an investigation of familial income and expenses /358/ for
124 the year 1953, on the basis of questionnaires prepared by the Comisión de Planeamiento de la Seguridad Social Campesina of the Ministerio del Trabajo, questionnaires that were filled out by us for the said commission with reference to Tierradentro.

?tHernández de Alba E-5 ✓ (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

The *Páez* family is completely under the authority of the father, whose wife and children obey him implicitly and may be punished by him. Nonetheless, the father must obtain his wife's permission to sell or exchange goods she produced, such as bags for coca, sashes, etc. Precise etiquette is maintained between fathers and godfathers (compadres). Whenever a man meets his father or his godfather, he must kneel to receive his blessing. The fathers and godfathers must embrace whenever they meet. In one case a young man was the godfather of his father's new son by another wife, so that in meeting his father the young man had to kneel bareheaded, and then stand with his hat on and embrace his father as a godparent. The father did not call him "son" but "compadre." 594 [425] 608 576

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—A very old custom among these peoples is that at childbirth the mother should retire to a special house or go to the mountains. If she was delivered in the home, she and the baby were bathed, and then the family left the hut and built a new one elsewhere. 844

Today both the *Moguex* and *Páez* have a special hut for childbirth. The day after the child is born, the mother is placed in a hole up to her head and bathed with an infusion of leaves of "moquita," after which she washes the clothes and objects worn during delivery. She then returns to work and lives again at home. In the special hut, a *Páez* woman is assisted in childbirth by another woman, or, as a last resort, by her husband, who must bathe immediately afterward. Two days later, the mother circumcises her son or destroys the virginity of her daughter. Four or five days after the birth and after the first bath, the father takes the child to the sacristan of the community for baptism with water, and then returns it to the mother. The afterbirth must be buried or burned at the place of the birth. About 15 days later, the mother takes a bath and washes her child and her clothes and objects, and returns home. Later, the child is baptized with oil in the church by the priest with the godparents present. This is an occasion for general dancing and drunkenness. 846 [757] [343] [844] [304] [851] [844] [851] [608]

Puberty.—At puberty a girl was formerly taken by her parents to a hill, placed in a hole, and bathed. Each Indian then took her a gift. Pittier de Fábrega (1907) notes that at a later period a girl's puberty was celebrated with the "Itsa-kó" dance, the girl, bathed with chicha, remaining in the hole. Today, a woman must retire during her menstrual periods to a special hut, where other women bring her food and build a fire to warm her. Afterward, she bathes, washes her clothes and objects, and then returns home. 881 [431] [535] 841 343

Men, until recently, underwent a sort of initiation, in which they were taken to the shores of the sacred lagoon of Juan Tama or to the 881

/178 cont./

The Family

594 361 The social group par excellence in Páez culture is the nuclear family. Its importance stands out if we consider that 175 the Páez live dispersed within their geographic area. Both the 594 chroniclers and the parish priests who concerned themselves 361 with them emphasize this characteristic. In 1751 the priest of Tálaga, Licenciado Eugenio del Castillo y Orozco, wrote in his report to Don Juan Francisco de Eguizaval, Governor and Captain General of the city of Popayán and its provinces, "that by command of his Illustrious Lordship Don Francisco José de Figueredo y Victoria on the Council of His Majesty, currently Bishop of this Diocese, I reported to the Governor previous to your Lordship, stating that since the year 1719, when I was in these Provinces assisting as interpreter for the Very Excellent Don Pedro Felipe García, then inspector for them, and afterwards in 1731 the same for Dr. D. Francisco Gómez Constantino, I learned that the Indians of this province had been inclined to live dispersed at various distances and only sat together at drinking parties in the homes of their Caciques or Capataces when they came from some Riria (which they call Necue) or to celebrate the first menstruation of a woman (which they call Izacó) or for another cause for vain observance, and, after finishing, they again separate" (3). Multiple efforts were made by the

177 797 361

3. Archivo Nacional de Bogotá. "Cartas de contrabando /Contraband Letters/," Vol. 14, Fol. 228.

parish priests and by the governors of the colonial period to " "reducirlos a vida sociable" /reduce them to a social life/, but the "bárbara naturaleza" /barbarous nature/ of these natives made their efforts fruitless. And this cultural trait is still

/178 cont./

177 effectively maintained (4). In each house, scattered over the
797
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4. Bernal Villa, S. "La fiesta de San Juan en Calderas Tierradentro /The fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," 1953, p. 182.

In each house, scattered over the
594 ruggedness of the prominences, live a pair of adults of the op-
[361] posite sex and their children. It is this nuclear family that cares for and maintains its old parents and attends to their burial when they die, that completes the religious festivals with traditional pomp and rigor (5), that defends its /179/ interests from the

5. Ibid., pp. 192 ff.

attacks of strangers, that in former times celebrated the "Riria" (which they call Necue) (6) or the first menstruation of a woman

6. In the Vocabulario Páez-Castellano /Spanish-Páez Vocabulary/ of del Castillo y Orozco there is the word Nécue, which has the following textual definition: desafío; pelea que es un desafío solemne tan antiguo como el jentilismo entre los páeces, de dos campeones cada uno con el común de su bando /competition, a fight that is a solemn competition as old as paganism among the Paez, of two champions, each one with the community of his faction/.

(which they call Izacó), and, finally, that manufactures its troughs for chicha ("another cause for vain observance," of which del Castillo y Orozco speaks) in order to carry out the "bebezones"
594 /drinking parties/ with all who seek to participate. It is this
574 nuclear family that "cuida" /takes care of/ relatives who arrive,
609 that offers hospitality to the native traveler and that shows cold silence toward the visitor from Western culture.

/179 cont./

●594 Associated with the nuclear family primordially are the functions of reproduction, the rearing of children, and the education of the latter. On procreation depends also the importance of economic functions.

581 The orientation of the sexual instinct is a secondary end.
589 Indeed, Páez culture demands that every individual form a
[183] family, once he has acquired the capacity for procreation. In
[842] the parcialidad of Calderas they look upon children as a blessing
[775] from God, regarding celibates "como violadores de la cruz" /as violators of the cross/(marriage); celibacy is condemned, in the rationalization that the person who dies celibate goes to the
[754] Nevado del Huila, considered by them as hell. The celibacy of a woman is exceptional, and when it occurs they believe that she becomes a witch. They think something similar about some
581 widows. One woman of some fifty years of age says that
589 "marriage is fundamental and obligatory, for the grandfathers
775 used to say that to a woman who is not married the devil gives a black dog for a husband in hell" (7). Another woman declared

[825] 7. They regarded white dogs as companions and guides in the future life and fear that "if molested they will come out and bite them at the entrance to the future abode."

that at times she feels sorrow for the death of an unmarried daughter, "because the devil would give her a husband."

581 The culture considers it an obligation of parents to marry
183 off their daughters even if they are very young. Furthermore
[582] the young men aspire to "build their house, marry, produce children, have animals, coca in abundance, and sugar cane
[842] for their chicha" (8). The incentive to marry is to have children,

8. Bernal Villa, S. 1953, op. cit., p. 183.

for which purpose it is necessary to have assurance /180/ that the woman is fecund,

/181 cont./

162 Lame: 8 families (6.2% of the approximate total of Lame
583 families). 87.5% were married first by the Church; 12.5% prac-
595 ticed the amaño.

184 Mosoco: 26 families (10.4% of the approximate total of families in Mosoco). 88.1% followed the Catholic law; 11.6% practiced the amaño.

Although the percentages for the parcialidades of San Andrés and Lame may not reflect fully the real situation concerning the custom owing to the paucity of data, one can clearly see the vigor that it still has in Calderas, a parcialidad less acculturated,
581 of course, than the others. Once the man is convinced of the
● 594 fertility of his mate, the marriage is legalized at the altar of the
[585] Catholic Church. Then the economic co-operation of the spouses, initiated at the beginning of their married life, is stabilized and gains strength, and the marriage becomes, as one of our informants remarked, an association for the "mutual benefit of the contracting parties, to serve each other, without in any way
594 being a burden to either of them." The man enlarges his clear-
462 ings in order to take care of "the sustenance of the family," plants sugar cane and coca in order to obtain chicha and narcotic for holding mingas /work parties/, in order to celebrate religious festivals, in order to "cuidar" his relatives and to relax with his friends; he hires himself out as a peon /182/ in order to acquire money and to buy shawls for his wife, wool and cloth that the woman makes into camisas for herself, her husband, and her sons, and trousers for these last, begins to build his house, if he does not have one, on the lot that his father has assigned to him, to make a home for his family. The woman, on her part, administers the products that her husband brings to her, weaves the ruana /poncho/ and kuetand-yaha (mambe pouch /a bag for the ingredients of chews/) for the husband and children, prepares the food, raises hens and pigs, and cares for her children less than three years old (13). In this manner, among the Páez, marriage,

13. For the division of activities according to sex, see our work "Economía de los Páez /Economy of the Paez/," /published in the

/182 cont./

462 13. (cont.)

594 Revista Colombiana de Antropología, Vol. III, 1954.

361 In this manner, among the Paez, marriage,
182 family, land, and house form an intimate unit, indissoluble and
594 in part explaining the above-mentioned phenomenon of the re-
581 luctance to live grouped in towns or cities.

473 Basically the residence of the nuclear family is patrilocal-
591 neolocal. When the man, accompanied by his escort, goes to
[584] ask for his future consort, and, after certain definite formalities are fulfilled, the future parents-in-law hand her over, she is taken to live in the house of his parents (when he has not built
591 his own). In it he arranges a separate room with a kitchen for
596 cooking, a cowhide to sleep on, and space in which to keep their provisions, their kitchen utensils, and work tools. The new
[583] spouses are independent of their respective parents. The man assists in the work of his parents-in-law and the woman in the work of hers, but in neither case does it constitute an obligation
[594] for them. When a bachelor, the man works to take care of his own needs and to assist in the support of the paternal economy; once married he works to support his family.

582 The man chooses his wife within the parcialidad, although
177 he may marry women from other parcialidades. But neither men nor women may marry persons from Western culture ("whites"). In Calderas there was a case of a possible marriage between a native woman and a "white." The cabildo removed this possibility, obliging the native woman to marry a member of the parcialidad. If it is a man who wishes to try to marry a "white" woman, he must leave the village. They consider that when the "whites" enter the community, they invariably appropriate their land.

582 The selection of spouses within the parcialidades is /183/ determined by the laws of incest. Unions between parents and children and real brothers and sisters are incestuous and severely prohibited. Also relations between cousins of the first degree of both lines and those of uncles and nieces are condemned, although not

prescribed.

/184 cont./

stereotyped conduct. It should nevertheless be stated that the present-day Páez surnames were still given names in the eighteenth century, chosen capriciously by the mother and not transmissible to the descendants (14). The adoption of surnames and

14. Castillo y Orozco, E. de., op. cit., p. 75.

their heritability through the paternal line is the result of the doctrinal work of the Catholic missionaries, and their assimilation and integration into Páez culture must have been carried out in accordance with certain aspects of a sociological nature existing previously. The same /an unpaginated genealogical chart appears here/ /185/ present-day monogamy of the Páez appears to be the result of a strong Catholic Christian influence, since in pre-Colombian times they were polygamous (15).

15. Hernández de Alba, Gr. "The Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia," 1946, p. 948.

The supreme authority in the nuclear family rests with the father; when he is missing, with the mother; and, when both are missing, with the most intelligent of the group. The husband orders, the woman only asks. The woman is always under the control of the man: the father, the brother, the husband. She has no liberty of movement. The cabildo has authority over orphaned women, including that of having them marry. One of our informants in Calderas was a fatherless orphan and had been brought up in Avirama in the company of her stepfather. Being of age, an Aviramеño asked for her in marriage, but the cabildo of Calderas stopped the marriage, brought her back to the parcialidad, made her spend the night in the quarters of the cabildo, and on the following day made her marry a lad of 14 whom she did not know. Since she resisted, they beat her, admonishing her at the same time that if she did not do it, she would be married to a black dog in the future life. "There being

[text continues on p. 33]

8: Bernal Villa

SC15 Paez SC15

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p. 28
p. 29
p. 30
p. 31

Chart of Positions of the Nicanor Guagás family's Genealogy.
/Following p. 27/

8: Bernal Villa--28 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

Genealogy of the family of Nicanor Guagás, parcialidad of Calderas. It includes several nuclear families which live in different places in the parcialidad /see p. 32 for the explanations of the symbols/.

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- 1. Nicanor Guagás m.
+ 2. Rosario Iko 80 °
  - 3. Damiana Guagás 65
    + 4. Bonifacio Muse m.
    - 22. Justo Muse 38
      - 67. Isabel Muse 7
      - 68. Juan Muse 3.
      - 69. Fosario M. 3ma. m. A.
      - 70. Concha M. 2mq.
    - 23. Julia Pame 30
    - 24. Marcelo Muse 35
      - 71. Vicente M. 3. m. C.
      - 72. Manuel T. M. 6
      - 73. María S. M. 4
      - 74. Rafael M. 1mq.
    + 25. Rosalía Ramos 30
    - 26. María S. Muse 30
      - 75. Nicolás G. 5 m.
      - 76. Alberto G. 12
      - 77. Francisca G. 6
      - 78. Justiniano G. 3
      - 79. Natividad G. 3 m.
      - 80. Ismael G. 1ma. C.
    + 27. Juan Guagás m.
    - 28. Gabriel Muse m.
    - 29. Paulina Muse m.
    - 30. Magdalena Muse 22
      - 81. Paulino P. 3
      - 82. Juana P. 1
    + 31. Pedro Pame
    - 32. Jacinto Muse 20
    + 33. Leocadia Shukué 20
    - 34. María Muse 40
      - 83. Ramón Villanó 12

8: Bernal Villa--29 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

- 5. Nicolasa Guagás 38
- + 6. Manuel Guagás m.
  - 34. María Muse 40
    - 83. Ramón Villanó 12
    - 84. Juana Villanó 8
    - 85. María S. V. 7
    - 86. Marcelino V. 3
    - 87. Alfonso V. 3 m. H
  - +35. José Villanó 40
  - 36. Delfina Muse 23 E
    - 88. Jacinto Guagás 6
    - 89. Isabel G. 8ms.
  - +37. Venancio Guagás 25
  - 38. Marcelina Guagás 22
    - 90. Magdalena Tova 2
  - +39. Alfonso Tova 30
  - 40. Gregoria Guagás
  - 41. Agustina Guagás
  - 42. Virginia Guagás
  - 43. Manuel J. Guagás 10
- 7. Raimundo Guagás 35
- + 8. María J. Pame 27
  - 44 — 2
- 9. Pascual Guagás m.
- 10. José D. Guagis m.
- 11. Juan Guagás m.
- 12. Juana Guagás
- +14. Primitivo Io
  - 45. Benito Io 36
    - 91. Miguel Io 3ms. m. J
    - 92. Patrocinio Io 2
  - +46. Antonia Ikinás 22

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8: Bernal Villa--30 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

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- 10. José D. Guagás m.
- 11. Juan Guagás m.
- 12. Juana Guagás
  - +14. Primitivo Io
  - 45. Benito Io 36
    - +46. Antonia Ikinás 22
    - 91. Miguel Io 3ms. m. J
    - 92. Petrocinio Io 2
  - 47. Esteban Io 38
    - +48. Rosalía Puche 30 E
    - 93. Santiago I. m. F.
    - 94. Tránsito I. 10
    - 95. Santos I. 6
    - 96. Raimundo I. 1
    - 97. Cruz Io m. C
  - ~~49. Margarita Io 35~~
    - +50. Julio Ikinás 35
    - ~~98. Eusebio Ikinás 1~~
    - 99. Lorenzo Ikinás 2ms.
    - 101. Santos I. 1ms. m. D
- 14. Catalina Guagás 50
  - +15. Demesio Ule m.
  - 51. Dionisia Ule 22
    - +52. Celio Muse 27
    - 102
      - 2
- 16. Trinidad Guagás
  - +17. Manuel Ule
  - 53. Bautista Ule
  - 54. Felisa Ule
  - 55. Cristina Ulé
  - 56. Pedro Ule
- 18. José D. Guagás
  - 57. Juana Guagás 30
    - 103. Josefina T. 1ms.

8: Bernal Villa--31 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955
SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Calderón]

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- 55. Cristina Ule
- 56. Pedro Ule

- 18. José D. Guagás
- +19. Jacinta Muse
  - 57. Juana Guagás 30
    - 103. Josefina T. 1ms.
    - 104. Alejandro T. 5 m. B
    - 105. Rufina T. 1ms. m. C
    - 106. Floro T. 4 m. D
    - 107. Cruz T. 1ms. m. A
  - +58. Narciso Tumbo 40
  - 59. Aurelio Guagás 35
    - 108. Pedro Guagás 2
  - +60. Vicenta Kuskue 30.
  - 61. Marcelino Guagás 50.
    - 109. Feliciano G. 1ms. m.
    - 110. Bruno G. 25
    - 111. Magdalena G. 20
    - 112. Ramón G. 10
    - 113. Agustín G. 1ms. m.
    - 114. Felisa G. 1ms. m.
  - +62. Trinidad Puche 50
  - 63. Quiterio Guagás
  - +64. Petrona Pame
  - 65. Martina Guagás 27
    - 115. Julio Ikinás 10
    - 116. Gregoria I. 8
    - 117. Pascual I. 4 m.
  - +66. Rufino Ikinás 30
- 20. A woman m.
- 21. A woman m.

8: Bernal Villa--32 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

Explanations for the symbols of the chart on pp. 28-31./

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*The parents of Rosario Iko were called Agustín Guagás and Concepción Iko, the latter a native of Cuetando. Rosario bears the surname of the mother because of being married to a Guagás.

A. Stung by Echí

B. Poisoned

C. Bewitched.

D. Whooping cough.

E. An abortion.

F. Smallpox.

G. Hernia.

H. Duende.

J. Plague.

m. dead.

ms. months.

/186 cont./

837 Should an unfaithful wife conceive a child by a man
851 racially white and the husband not be aware of it, the latter considers it his child even if it should inherit the characteristics of its progenitor. He will simply observe, "Why do my children come like this?" His wife answers him, "I don't know; it may
581 be echi or Pijao." In general marriages are well established and
593 stable, in spite of the fact that occasional tensions may arise between spouses. Divorce is unknown among the Páez. Extinction
586 of marriages by separation or the abandonment of one of the spouses is rare. In Calderas they can count on the fingers of one hand the cases where a man has abandoned his wife. "This is very ugly in a person, it should never happen," comments a woman. Cases in which a woman abandons the husband are much rarer still, being bitterly criticized when they occur.

594 The mother has the obligation to feed and care for her
854 children up to when they can leave home. Labor which she
[853] truly performs with love and care. The children suckle until they are two years old and even up to three, a period during which she never leaves them at any time. She cradles them on her breast or in the hammock and carries them on her shoulders,
594 attending to them lovingly whenever they cry. The father looks
867 after his boys from the time that they gain complete mastery of
[593] the biped state, without this making him less loving toward his daughters. Then he begins to take his sons everywhere.

During religious festivals they sit at his side, participate in the conversation of their elders, and are served food and
[273] drink in the same way as their elders. In Calderas and in /187/ San Andrés we had the opportunity to observe children five years old reeling under the effects of chicha and aguardiente. At this age, when they begin to take part in the economic life of the family group, the father teaches them to chew coca. The father conscientiously performs this labor of endoculturation.

597 We have not come across any cases of adopted children.
736 When both parents die, the children stay in the home of the nearest relative.

593 The conduct of the children toward their parents is that of deep respect. Nevertheless, in Calderas we witnessed the verbal

/189 cont./

b) Maturity

881 Today no rites or ceremonies for the youths take place any
[178] more. In former times they were led to the sacred lagoon of Juan
[778] Tama or to the heights of Cuetando, and there they had to build
a hut and lay out a small cornfield as proof of their capabilities
as a man and father of a household (Hernandez, 1944, p. 203).

[582] A girl comes of age with puberty, that is to say, she may
[836] marry. Before that and before marriage, intercourse is not per-
[535] mitted. On the occasion of the first menstruation in former times
a special dance was performed (itsa•kó), during which the young
girl was bathed naked in chicha in a pit outside the festival house
881 (Castillo i Orosco, p. 85). Today this no longer takes place;
285 rather, a girl, when she goes to the dúyat for the first time at
787 about 15 years of age, takes along agave fibers and during the
[178] approximately five days that she stays there plaits a very pretty,
[262] small fiber bag (yáhalečkwe) about the size of a fist. There
are no additional food prohibitions or similar things. After that
she goes to a distant river to bathe. On the way there she lets
the bag fall. A married man passing by lets it lie, for he knows
that it belongs to a young girl. A young man, however, who
happens to be coming that way sees the beautifully worked bag,
picks it up, and uses it as a small money-bag. Without knowing
who made the little bag, he will -- people are convinced -- marry
this girl.

/190/ c) Marriage

● 595 The present form of marriage of the Paez is monogamy.
114 H. Pittier de Fábrega (p. 314), however, concludes from their
traditions that the Paez were formerly polygamous and were con-
verted to monogamy only through education on the part of the
missionaries. I could find no clue in their mythology for actual
595 polygamy in former times. The social structure and way of life
591 of the Paez, however, prohibits living alone for unmarried girls.
[589] In case they have no relatives or do not find lodging in the house
of relatives, another man takes them into his family. The girl

/190 cont./ The girl

595 then helps with household tasks and the father of the house may
591 have children by her, without his marrying the girl -- today at
178 any rate -- as his second wife in a regular marriage ceremony.

524 If a young man wants to marry, he speaks -- in the normal case -- to his father, and the latter with the father of his chosen one. Courtship through a third person outside the family is not customary, and the relatives on the two sides do not enter into communication with one another and exchange presents until after the official wedding ceremony. As a rule, the two young people have reached an agreement earlier, before the fathers speak to each other. The consent of the girl, however, is not required, for the agreement of the young man with the two fathers is fully adequate, and in this case the girl is given in marriage
584 even against her will. But this is said to be the case very rarely
754 or never, for it is dangerous for a girl to refuse a young man's
539 proposal of marriage. In this case he would spit and utter the following curse: "Toblel (untranslatable), I wanted to marry you, but you did not want it; now you must die!" I told the men of Calderas that I doubted whether this curse could have any effect, but then I was told the story of the girl who did not want to marry
[832] a Paez. This girl was very beautiful. (By the way, only unmarried girls are called beautiful; a married woman is never described as beautiful.) She was slightly fat -- being thin is regarded as ugly -- was always washed clean and well combed, and wore beautiful necklaces and earrings, handsomely woven clothing, and an exquisite belt that she herself wove. Many young men of Calderas wanted to marry her, but she did not want to marry a Calderun, only a white. She therefore left her village to go to Popayán (the only larger, well-known city). She walked very fast. On the way, however, in the páramo (bordering mountains) there was a Pijao. He /191/ seized her and took her into his house alive. There he kindled a fire, killed her, and devoured her. By way of explanation the storyteller added: A girl who does not want to marry a Calderun but a white, because the Calderun men are not handsome enough, would, on the way to

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

147 the odor peculiar to the Indians, which becomes quite noticeable when they are sweating and which so closely resembles that of the secretion of the so-called *sahino*, or wild hog (*Dicotyles tajacu* L.), that I have more than once been deceived into believing that our trail crossed the path of a drove of these animals.

516 When at rest the Paez men almost invariably sit on their heels, the toes sustaining the whole weight of the body, while the women sit with their legs stretched together on the ground, [514] even when near the fire in their houses. In micturition young 481 girls remain standing. The gait of both men and women is short-paced and easy, the body being always slightly inclined forward, probably on account of the habit of carrying heavy loads.

824 Like all children of Nature, the Paez Indians are very keen 826 observers of their surroundings, as is shown by the minuteness of their differentiation in plants and in certain groups of insects. Castillo, for instance, gives the names of no fewer than six different varieties of ants —

[552]

kan-kik	*cîi-kik-ne*	*eia-i*
kik-finti	*gnne-ñandi*	*to-fiti*

and I collected very few plants for which they did not have a ready name.

Reproduction and Death

881 When a girl reached puberty the event was celebrated among the old Paez Indians by a special dance called *itsa-ko*, during which the young naked female was placed in a hole dug outside the hall-house and thoroughly washed with *chicha*. We have no 836 notice of pre-marital liberty being conceded to women, nor of the relation of children to parents in the family organization. As ●595 tradition has it, the pre-conquest Paez were polygamous, and notwithstanding the efforts of the missionaries, it is almost certain that this practice has not completely disappeared. We know nothing about the existence of marriage ceremonies before 581 the introduction of the Catholic ritual. It is likely, however, [586] that marriages were endogamous and free, and, as such, a very frail institution, as Castillo informs us that even in his time

000 /288 cont./

756 medicine men. To cure the patient, he divines which of the
755 supernatural beings caused the illness, proceeds to placate him,
[787] and then prescribes medicines to the patient. If the placation is not successful, the patient literally sinks into despair. The indispensable articles for all curing are coca, tobacco, and
[462] aguardiente. The medicine men are persons well along in years
[754] and belonging to the masculine sex. They cannot cure the effects of sorcery, although they can protect themselves against it.

754 c) Fifty per cent of all illnesses, the informants state,
[753] are caused by sorcery, and by the same token 50 per cent of
[761] the deaths, since sorcery is incurable. The sorcerers conceal their activities, and it seems that all adults are potential sor-
754 cerers. The institution of sorcery is a true escape valve for the
154 strong aggressive impulses of the natives and to some extent plays the role of a social regulator. Through it are channeled the jealousy, resentment, and vengefulness of the natives. The victims of sorcery are the most skillful and hard-working individuals, those who have a good house, good crops, and a growing number of domestic animals. Harvests and plantings
[683] generally are the object of sorcery. Sorcerers who are publicly unmasked are exposed to the anger of the community and even to exile, a measure taken not so much on account of their be-
[685] ing sorcerers as of their being thieves. All sorcerers are thieves. Sorcery appears with considerable frequency in the symbolism of dreams.

583 Marriage.--Marriage is monogamous and patrilocal. Both
[595] the chroniclers and Dr. Gregorio Hernández de Alba speak of
[591] the custom of the year of probation to acquaint the man with
[177] the skill, energy, and fecundity of his future wife. A thriving
[797] institution in times past, it is now in sharp decline owing to the action of mission work. Obviously, the purpose of this institution is to find out whether the woman is hard-working, faithful, not a thief, and to understand her ways in order to establish a lasting union. Nowadays the Paez, before being married

?:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

civilized tradesman, the Indian turns to drinking guarapo or chicha and becomes drunk. Often a heated discussion, always spoken in Spanish and not in *Páez*, leads to insults and perhaps to blows and injuries. A man's wife usually maneuvers him from the village and, if he falls asleep on the road, she sits by him warding off dangers.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political structure.—The *Moguex*, *Páez*, *Guanaca*, *Timaná*, and *Yalcón*, despite their great similarity in language and culture, formed separate groups at the time of the Conquest. Each was divided into several communities (parcialidades), of which those of the *Páez* were the most numerous. The *Guanaca* were split between two principal caciques, one of whom, Anabeima, joined the Spaniards against the *Páez* of Avirama. The other cacique was Esmisa, Anabeima's brother-in-law. Each *Páez* community had its own chief, but the communities were grouped into three great divisions. One consisted of the *Páez*, *Tálaga*, *Simurga*, and *Taravira*, on the shores of the Páez River. The chiefs of three of these groups were brothers; that of the fourth was their sister, whose name was Taravira. Another group was headed by Suin, and his son, Esmisa. In the third group, Avirama was joined by other neighboring chiefs of less importance.

Each community (cacicado) consisted of several polygynous families under a male chief (pl. 185, *top*, *left*). Each family had its own house, located some distance from its neighbor's. All the members of a community gathered for general work, and all or several of the communities united for war, either against the *Pijao*, their feared neighbors, or against the Spaniards.

The place of a cacique's residence was a sort of focal point and meeting place, and today most of such places are Indian villages with the same names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima (formerly Toboima), etc. The present *Páez* Indian reservation of Tierradentro is divided politically into two municipios—Páez or Belalcázar and Inzá—with 22 communities, each governed by its own councils (cabildos, of Colonial origin) and by the municipal authorities. The cabildo is elected annually. The Indians, however, are jealous defenders of their traditions, and insist on a captain and síndico, each with life tenure, to act as their own leaders and as true representatives of the cacique. Their duties are moral and fiscal and carry a certain divine authority, as they are inaugurated in the local church. The cabildo, on the other hand, has only administrative and police powers; it divides the land, orders work to be done, and executes the municipal orders. The members of a cabildo hold office for 1 year and receive no remuneration. They are elected on the first of December by all the male adults, or "macaneros," that is, the Indians who participate in the communal work according to a

7tHernández de Alba E-5#(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

881 heights of Cuetando, where they built a hut and planted a miniature field as proof of their masculine aptitude.

797 **Education.**—Today the Indians are educated principally by their 871 parents in the customs and tasks pertaining to each sex. Some boys [868] and a few girls are sent to the few missionary schools, where they are given religious instruction and are taught Spanish, arithmetic, geography, the history of Colombia, and modern embroidery or light [562] basketwork. The *Páez* are reluctant to send their daughters to the schools because they feel that women should keep the traditions of [77] their people. The missionary schools strive to change the native language and the cultural traditions which have given the Indian community social cohesion.

● 595 **Marriage.**[11]—Formerly polygyny was prevalent, but now Catholi- 79 cism has imposed monogamy. The Indians continue, however, to 583 practice trial marriage (amaño). A marriage is arranged as follows:

584 The bride is selected by the young man's parents or by himself. His parents and two witnesses or godparents then visit her house to request her for the groom. They also serve as advisors to the young woman, in case she disapproves the marriage. The visitors carry half-filled bottles of rum (aguardiente) and some special garments for the girl. The young man's father offers the girl's father a half-bottle, acceptance of which means, as usual among the *Páez*, that the second party is well disposed toward the proposal and the negotiations may proceed. If the girl's mother agrees, the boy's mother presents her a half-bottle of liquor. The godfather or witness gives another half-bottle to the girl's father and the 583 godmother gives one to the mother. The visitors now leave, taking the girl, who then begins a year of trial marriage, during which the young man seeks proof that the girl is able to bear children, is active, cooks well, can weave, and 585 can cultivate the land. After the trial period, the man may return the girl to her parents or they marry in the Catholic Church, holding a feast which, like all 527 such celebrations, is called a "cuido." The couple and their parents and godparents are accompanied by an orchestra (chirimía) to the house where the feast is to be held. Here the bride puts on a modern dress, a ribbon on her hair, necklaces, and earrings, while the groom is with his godfather. As the guests arrive, chicha is distributed frequently, music is played, and then there is a feast of thick soup, generally with chicken, cooked yuca, arracacha, and roast or baked meat. In the afternoon, after more music and chicha drinking, the "refresco," really a banquet or social communion, is served. Six bottles of wine made from cane molasses, cinnamon, and cloves, and cake are given to the bride, groom, godmother, [782] and godfather, who give some to everyone present. A prayer, led by the head of [775] the house, then asks the souls of the dead to bless the marriage and give permission to dance. First, the godfather dances with the bride, then the godmother with the groom, after which everyone dances. The feast lasts 5 days, depending on the wealth of the family. Chicha is served and accepted with the phrase, "May God pay you, compadrito, for accompanying us. Accompany us more."

764 **Death.**—At a death, the family formerly buried the deceased inside the house with his possessions, and abandoned it. Some communities, however, preferred to cremate the body or dry it over the fire. The

[1147] [727]

[11] I thank my wife and companion, Helena Ospina de Hernández, for her research in 1936 on matrimonial matters.

842 /180 cont./
583 the woman is fecund. For this the culture offers the institutional
581 device of "amaño," by which the man lives with the woman for a
183 time before legalizing the marriage. And we are given clear
175 and precise information about this by Licenciado Eugenio del
595 Castillo y Orozco and his brother, Licentiado Isidro del Castillo
583 y Hrozco /sic/, in their respective reports which they gave to the Governor and Captain General mentioned above: "that they followed the evil custom of living in intimate relations for a long time with the woman whom they were to marry, and if after the marriage they had no offspring they would leave her and seek another woman who might be fecund and whom they thought they might marry if they were not married to their own wives (as Manuel Bolza, an Indian of this village (9), wished

9. Tálaga.

to do), and as was done by Antonio Cofongo (an Indian of San Antonio de las Chinas), from whom he learned not to break up the legitimate religious marriage, which could be prohibited, and who suggested that they get out of the difficulty by any false means, even to arranging for others, from the lowest Indian to the highest, to testify to a lying statement, and if anyone dissented from it and would not follow the wish of the Cacique or Moján, fear caused the dissenters to escape to other parts; some fled with their concubines when they were not acceptable to her parents or relatives, others to avoid work, and others from necessity" (10) ..."and that they flee from all their vices and

10. Archivo Nacional de Bogotá, op. cit., Folio 228.

sins, which are: witchcraft, drunkenness, and concubinage" (11).

11. Archivo Nacional de Bogotá, op. cit., Folio 230.

/180 cont./

583 In Paris on the first of March, 1877, Esequiel Uricoechea
[175] wrote in his introduction to the Vocabulario: "Marriage in the sense in which we accept it today did not exist among the Páeces: two people lived a married life for some time and the marriage was not legalized without the previous certainty that
[192] the woman was fecund. It is natural then, that we find among the Páeces, as among the Peruvians, two verbs (imi and iyó) which indicate respectively the woman accepts the man and the man takes the woman. The woman was obliged to give clothing to the husband, and he "to provide sustenance for the family" (12).

12. Castillo y Orozdo, E. del. Vocabulario Páez-Castellano /Paez-Spanish Vocabulary/, 1877, p. XIV.

Our informants from Calderas confirm the effectiveness of this custom, some justifying it by the need of the future husband /181/ to obtain the money to pay the expenses of the wedding, others in order to "catear" /sample, find out/ if the woman is honest, a worker, and faithful, and there was no lack of those who clearly stated that this trial marriage "is customary because if the woman should turn out to be machorra /barren/ there is no marriage." When such occurs the man returns the woman to her parents without any problem standing in the way, which would not be the case if they were married by the Church, in which case the return is not possible.

162 Our investigations concerning the frequency of the "amaño"
583 in the established families of some parcialidades of Tierradentro
● 595 showed the following results:
184 Calderas: 42 families (28% of the approximate total of Calderas families). 57.1% of these families practiced the amaño: 42.9% were married first by the Church.

San Andrés: 13 families (6.5% of the approximate total of San Andrés families). 92.3% were married first by the Church; 7.7% practiced the amaño.

/181 cont./

162 Lame: 8 families (6.2% of the approximate total of Lame
583 families). 87.5% were married first by the Church; 12.5% prac-
● 595 ticed the amaño.
184 Mosoco: 26 families (10.4% of the approximate total of families in Mosoco). 88.1% followed the Catholic law; 11.6% practiced the amaño.

Although the percentages for the parcialidades of San Andrés and Lame may not reflect fully the real situation concerning the custom owing to the paucity of data, one can clearly see the vigor that it still has in Calderas, a parcialidad less acculturated,
581 of course, than the others. Once the man is convinced of the
594 fertility of his mate, the marriage is legalized at the altar of the
[585] Catholic Church. Then the economic co-operation of the spouses, initiated at the beginning of their married life, is stabilized and gains strength, and the marriage becomes, as one of our informants remarked, an association for the "mutual benefit of the contracting parties, to serve each other, without in any way
594 being a burden to either of them." The man enlarges his clear-
462 ings in order to take care of "the sustenance of the family," plants sugar cane and coca in order to obtain chicha and narcotic for holding mingas /work parties/, in order to celebrate religious festivals, in order to "cuidar" his relatives and to relax with his friends; he hires himself out as a peon /182/ in order to acquire money and to buy shawls for his wife, wool and cloth that the woman makes into camisas for herself, her husband, and her sons, and trousers for these last, begins to build his house, if he does not have one, on the lot that his father has assigned to him, to make a home for his family. The woman, on her part, administers the products that her husband brings to her, weaves the ruana /poncho/ and kuetand-yaha (mambe pouch /a bag for the ingredients of chews/) for the husband and children, prepares the food, raises hens and pigs, and cares for her children less than three years old (13). In this manner, among the Páez, marriage,

13. For the division of activities according to sex, see our work "Economía de los Páez /Economy of the Paez/," /published in the

/184 cont./

stereotyped conduct. It should nevertheless be stated that the present-day Páez surnames were still given names in the eighteenth century, chosen capriciously by the mother and not transmissible to the descendants (14). The adoption of surnames and

14. Castillo y Orozco, E. de., op. cit., p. 75.

their heritability through the paternal line is the result of the doctrinal work of the Catholic missionaries, and their assimilation and integration into Páez culture must have been carried out in accordance with certain aspects of a sociological nature existing previously. The same /an unpaginated genealogical chart appears here/ /185/ present-day monogamy of the Páez appears to be the result of a strong Catholic Christian influence, since in pre-Colombian times they were polygamous (15).

15. Hernández de Alba, Gr. "The Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia," 1946, p. 948.

The supreme authority in the nuclear family rests with the father; when he is missing, with the mother; and, when both are missing, with the most intelligent of the group. The husband orders, the woman only asks. The woman is always under the control of the man: the father, the brother, the husband. She has no liberty of movement. The cabildo has authority over orphaned women, including that of having them marry. One of our informants in Calderas was a fatherless orphan and had been brought up in Avirama in the company of her stepfather. Being of age, an Avirameño asked for her in marriage, but the cabildo of Calderas stopped the marriage, brought her back to the parcialidad, made her spend the night in the quarters of the cabildo, and on the following day made her marry a lad of 14 whom she did not know. Since she resisted, they beat her, admonishing her at the same time that if she did not do it, she would be married to a black dog in the future life. "There being

[text continues on p. 33]

In one case, however, in the house of
/115 cont./
596 Ezequiel Calliumbo, there were three married sons, besides three unmarried ones, all of whom cultivate the fields together. Ezequiel, who is about 60 years old, had ten children, of whom six sons are still living. The oldest son has three children, two of whom have died, the second eldest has four children, two of whom have died, and both the children of the third eldest are dead.

342 The normal houses (yat) are rectangular houses with a hip roof and, depending on their size, are divided into "large houses" (hatwála) and "small houses" (yatléčkwe) (Ills. 158 and 159 /see pp. 270 and 271 /). In accordance with its use the dwelling house specifically is called ōpyat (ōp = to live). The dimensions of the small houses vary between five to ten meters in length and
[345] three to five meters in width. The largest houses are up to 15 meters long and seven meters wide. These are primarily the
342 festival houses. As dwellings they differ from the small ones,
407 which represent by far the greatest proportion of all houses, not
249 only by their /116/ size, but above all by the fact that they have
352 the sugar mill (lapíče) /"Trapiche" (Sp.) in the glossary, p. 250 /, which is a feature of every house, in their interior. As a rule it stands in front of the house or a little to one side of it, normally covered with quantities of expressed sugar-cane stalks hung over it
343 to dry. Besides the sugar mill, a small menstruation hut (dúyat)
342 is required for any house to be complete; it may be absent only if the family erects a small field-hut (ēyatwá) in the middle of the field for a harvest period. In this case the women of the family living there go into the dúyat of another house. In no case may they remain in the dwelling during this period. The field hut and
[341] the small menstruation-hut are rectangular gable-roof houses in construction and, with the exception of the gable roof, of the same construction as the normal hip-roofed houses.

342 Every house has an annex (škídnyeyát) or at least a com-
273 partment for storing the chicha trough (kánoe). This trough is the
251 most important accessory of a Paez house, next to the sugar mill (Ill. 165 /see p. 273 /).

/119 cont./

574 would ever enter a house whose occupants were not present. We
576 never succeeded in persuading Victoriano to enter an empty house, although he knew that we were always greatly interested in learning about the interior of houses and their furnishings.

342 The door of the house is only in rare cases a wide board which at the top and bottom on one side runs out into two pegs which turn in a socket, one in the threshold and one in the door-frame. The entrance is generally constructed in the same fashion as the wall (ind), which /120/ consists of vertical maize stalks placed next to one another as closely as possible and lashed by means of bast or a liana to one another and to two horizontal maize stalks. The latter always reach from side post to side post. At the place for the door, the rigid wall is interrupted, and the vertically placed maize stalks, only loosely bound with bast, may be shoved a little to one side, whereby they drag along the ground (Ill. 158 /see p. 270/).

[231] Dogs, cats, and chickens are kept in the houses, but not pigs, which live out of doors all the time, exactly like the cows, horses, and sheep.

c) Household Implements

Generally the house has only one division into two rooms, the smaller of which is the kitchen, living room, and bedroom, the larger serving as storage and supply room. The wall between these two rooms is likewise only made out of maize stalks set next to one another vertically. In the "large" houses the larger [249] part contains the sugar mill, by means of which undiluted sugar-[404] cane juice may be produced, even in rainy weather. In case
● 596 adult married sons live in their father's house, a separate com-
342 partment divided off in the same manner is built for these families and furnished as a kitchen, either next to the living room of the parents or -- as in most cases -- on the other side of the
354 house. The hearth area is the family center, and every married
596 woman, in case she is living as a daughter-in-law in the house of the father-in-law, has her own hearth area. The latter has the simplest possible form

/176 cont./

623 himself does not punish. For this purpose four representatives of
666 the lower offices have an official whip which consists of a rod ten
696 centimeters long, with a plaited strap about 80 centimeters long.

The election itself proceeds with the introduction of the candi-
623 dates by the capitan with the question: "This one as gobernador,
624 do you want him?" And they reply: "We wish it" or "we do not
666 wish it." It was interesting to observe how, after the death of the capitan, one of his relatives, Cerbelión Guagáz, tried to be named capitan. The priest, however, insisted on an election by the village. And although he tried very hard to have Cerbelión elected, the village kept refusing him because he was too autocratic and such people are not liked. Another whom everyone would like to have as capitan is himself unwilling. "As capitan I am only the beadle of the padre," he replied to my question as to why he did not accept the choice. And he had no desire for that. He had been comisario once and gobernador once, and now he wanted peace for the rest of his life.

2) Family Organization

594 The family of the Paez is basically the patrilineal nuclear family /Kleinfamilie/ consisting of the parents and unmarried
[513] children. The latter, while they are small, sleep with the parents in the kitchen; as soon as they are larger, in a compartment in
591 another part of the house. After marriage they erect their own house.
596 It is not uncommon, however, for the married sons to live with their wives for another year or two in the house of the father, until they have enough money for a house, which will be small at first. The daughters upon marriage leave /177/ the paternal home and then live with their husbands, that is to say, at first with the parents-in-law.

354 Normally, therefore, every house has only one cooking
596 place, in which the woman of the house cooks. If a son marries,
252 a new kitchen is partitioned off and a second place built for the
[462] fire at which the young wife cooks. As a matter of principle, each married couple -- and it alone -- has its own fire area, for the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook.

/177 cont./

the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook. Old, solitary persons or unmarried girls or men live with relatives or friends, but never alone, since a single person is unable either to protect himself or to provide for himself adequately.

The father's authority is great. Wife and children owe him absolute obedience. Nevertheless, the man does not have the right to alienate personal articles of members of the family or possessions that they made themselves. Thus, for example, he is not in a position to sell a coca bag or a fiber bag belonging to his wife or his children's toys.

The children are given the family name of the father, but the women keep their maiden names even after marriage. There is no external indication in dress or hair style or otherwise for unmarried girls and married women. The wife is obligated to work for her husband and children in her family. Beyond that she may procure personal belongings for herself by weaving cloth beyond the needs of her family, for example, and trading it for ornaments.

If the young people are still living in the house with their parents, the daughter-in-law is not absolutely subordinate to her mother-in-law, although this appears to be so, to judge from the speech at the wedding ceremony. A relationship of dependence is out of the question because of the separate kitchens. Usually, however, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are on good terms, and then it is not uncommon for only one woman to cook for both families, for there is no in-law avoidance. Then the two women share the work of cleaning the house.

Conjugal fidelity is demanded of both marriage partners; in the case of the man, however, it is sometimes not taken so seriously. If a man surprises his wife, however, or she her husband, in marital infidelity, the deceived party may beat (but not kill) both and report them to the cabildo, which again has the guilty party very soundly thrashed.

Illegitimate children are not rare among the Paez. In case an unmarried girl has a child, she is beaten by her parents and

/182 cont./

462 13. (cont.)
594 Revista Colombiana de Antropología, Vol. III, 1954.

361 In this manner, among the Paez, marriage,
182 family, land, and house form an intimate unit, indissoluble and
594 in part explaining the above-mentioned phenomenon of the re-
581 luctance to live grouped in towns or cities.

473 Basically the residence of the nuclear family is patrilocal-
591 neolocal. When the man, accompanied by his escort, goes to
[584] ask for his future consort, and, after certain definite formalities are fulfilled, the future parents-in-law hand her over, she is taken to live in the house of his parents (when he has not built
591 his own). In it he arranges a separate room with a kitchen for
596 cooking, a cowhide to sleep on, and space in which to keep their provisions, their kitchen utensils, and work tools. The new
[583] spouses are independent of their respective parents. The man assists in the work of his parents-in-law and the woman in the work of hers, but in neither case does it constitute an obligation
[594] for them. When a bachelor, the man works to take care of his own needs and to assist in the support of the paternal economy; once married he works to support his family.

582 The man chooses his wife within the parcialidad, although
177 he may marry women from other parcialidades. But neither men nor women may marry persons from Western culture ("whites"). In Calderas there was a case of a possible marriage between a native woman and a "white." The cabildo removed this possibility, obliging the native woman to marry a member of the parcialidad. If it is a man who wishes to try to marry a "white" woman, he must leave the village. They consider that when the "whites" enter the community, they invariably appropriate their land.

582 The selection of spouses within the parcialidades is /183/ determined by the laws of incest. Unions between parents and children and real brothers and sisters are incestuous and severely prohibited. Also relations between cousins of the first degree of both lines and those of uncles and nieces are condemned, although not

proscribed.

/186 cont./

837 Should an unfaithful wife conceive a child by a man
851 racially white and the husband not be aware of it, the latter considers it his child even if it should inherit the characteristics of its progenitor. He will simply observe, "Why do my children come like this?" His wife answers him, "I don't know; it may
581 be echi or Pijao." In general marriages are well established and
593 stable, in spite of the fact that occasional tensions may arise between spouses. Divorce is unknown among the Páez. Extinction
586 of marriages by separation or the abandonment of one of the spouses is rare. In Calderas they can count on the fingers of one hand the cases where a man has abandoned his wife. "This is very ugly in a person, it should never happen," comments a woman. Cases in which a woman abandons the husband are much rarer still, being bitterly criticized when they occur.

594 The mother has the obligation to feed and care for her
854 children up to when they can leave home. Labor which she truly performs with love and care. The children suckle until
[853] they are two years old and even up to three, a period during which she never leaves them at any time. She cradles them on her breast or in the hammock and carries them on her shoulders,
594 attending to them lovingly whenever they cry. The father looks
867 after his boys from the time that they gain complete mastery of
[593] the biped state, without this making him less loving toward his daughters. Then he begins to take his sons everywhere.

During religious festivals they sit at his side, participate in the conversation of their elders, and are served food and
[273] drink in the same way as their elders. In Calderas and in /187/ San Andrés we had the opportunity to observe children five years old reeling under the effects of chicha and aguardiente. At this age, when they begin to take part in the economic life of the family group, the father teaches them to chew coca. The father conscientiously performs this labor of endoculturation.

● 597 We have not come across any cases of adopted children.
736 When both parents die, the children stay in the home of the nearest relative.

593 The conduct of the children toward their parents is that of deep respect. Nevertheless, in Calderas we witnessed the verbal

/183 cont./

557 say, the surname, is transmitted through the paternal line. The
582 wife retains it throughout her life, but does not transmit it to her children. A son of hers will bear only the father's surname.
604 According to an /184/ informant from Calderas a man respects his paternal uncles and aunts in the same manner as the maternal uncles, but not the maternal aunt, because "she is not a real relative;...she is a woman and not a man ... the men (older) have to be respected the same as the old women" and, generalizing, adds: "of the uncles and aunts one respects the men more than the women and the paternal uncles more than
601 the maternal ones." Although the terms for designating the
604 uncles and aunts of EGO differentiate sex and specify the line to which they belong, EGO considers the relationship of the paternal uncles and aunts to be closer than that of the maternal ones, and although the uncles call the sons of their brothers "sons," there does not exist among the present-day Páez a clear concept of parallel uncles and cross uncles and, consequently, of parallel and cross cousins. Masculine EGO calls paternal and maternal male cousins Iakté, paternal and maternal female cousins pesh, making them equal with his own sisters and brothers, and feminine EGO calls paternal and maternal female cousins Iakté, paternal and maternal male cousins Jish, making
601 them equal also with her own brothers and sisters. But logically
604 such a distinction must have existed, to judge from the conduct
582 observed in the selection of mates and in the respect that EGO pays to his uncles and aunts, this being more pronounced for the paternal than for the maternal ones and greater still for the men.
114 Eugenio del Castillo y Orozco corroborates our argument. In
● 60 his Vocabulario he states that the mother-in-law is called by the
582 same term as the one designating the father's sister (pezoz), and the father-in-law by the same term as the one for designating the mother's brother (cacca). This means that in the eighteenth century in-law kinship specified the origin of the spouses, clearly showing marriage between cross cousins.

60 All these traits make us think that possibly there were
614 patrilineal exogamous clans, now manifested by some types of
174 stereotyped conduct,

/178 cont./

614 bearers of the name Guagáz, the old family whose members furnish the capitan and who numerically make up about a quarter of the village. The young men of this name do not always find their wives in Calderas. They /179/ must therefore often look for them in other villages, although in general this is preferably not done. Thus we have among the Paez exogamous kin-groups, that is, groups of persons of male descent, who, to be sure, live dispersed, but have a common festival house, and who cannot marry each other because of their same name. They lack the consciousness of being descended from the same ancestor, however. Similarly, there is neither a common kin-group chief, nor [162] special costumes, or any other common insignia. The bearers of [346] six family names, who together make up more than 60 per cent of the population, have festival houses on the village plaza, in each of which the bearers of the same name meet for the big annual festivals, Immaculada (December 8), Semana Santa (Easter), and San Juan (June 24), and eat and drink together. The other families, who have no festival house of their own, take part in the festival houses of friends' families.

[551] The six large families of Calderas are: Guagáz, Piñakuẽ, Petíns, Oléz, Oriága, Pechéne.

614 Within the kin groups, relatives play no role, but the god-
602 parents (padrino, madrina) do, and strict etiquette is observed with
608 respect to them. Boy or girl, man or woman who meet their god-
576 parents anywhere must kneel down to receive their blessing.

● 601 The kinship nomenclature is in part more differentiated than ours. The common form of address for father and child and mother and child and the differentiated address for older and younger siblings are striking. The designations for father and mother are differentiated according to whether one speaks of one's own or of foreign fathers and mothers. One's own father is táta, the foreign one nêi; one's own mother is máma, the foreign one nihf. It does not matter whether a man or a woman is speaking in the following examples:

601 /179 cont./

my father	ãtc tãta	my mother	atc mãma
your father	inc tãta	your mother	inc mãma
his father	kyec néi	his mother	kyec nihĩ
our fathers	kweẽ tãta	our mothers	kweẽ mãma
their fathers	kyãñweẽ néi	their mothers	kyãñweẽ nihĩ

It is interesting that in address the foreign father or the foreign mother of the partner in conversation is called tãta or mãma, like one's own parents.

The relatives in the parents' generation, who correspond to our "uncles" and "aunts," are differentiated in address, /180/ depending on whether they are relatives in the maternal or paternal line. In the case of the female relatives in the maternal line the prefix "pe" is placed in front of the corresponding designations for the male relatives. It is also striking that for stepfather and stepmother no word combinations with "father" or "mother" are used, but rather the same words as for the father's brother and mother's sister, or the spouses of the father's sister or the mother's brother.

father's brother	nyok	father's sister	pétaots
mother's brother	kã'ka	mother's sister	pényok
stepfather	nyok	stepmother	pényok
father's sister's husband	nyok	mother's brother's wife	pényok
father-in-law	tãta	mother-in-law	mãma

[177] In the children's generation the absence of designations for nieces and nephews is noteworthy. For lack of specific Paez words and concepts, Spanish ones are used. It is possible that in pre-Spanish times the entire children's generation, either that of an extended family /Grossfamilie/ or at any rate that of the maternal or paternal line, was designated by the same name by members of the parents' generation in the manner of the "classificatory kinship

/180 cont./

60/ system." In contrast to our kinship system, which is based on the nearness of degree of blood relationship, according to the classificatory system not only one's own children are designated as "sons" or "daughters," but also those of the siblings. Correspondingly, the children -- in extreme cases -- likewise call the siblings of the parents, that is, their uncle and aunt, "father" or "mother."

The latter is not the case among the Paez, since they make a sharp distinction between the descendants of the paternal and maternal line. Within this, however, a tendency toward the classificatory system makes itself noticeable, first because of the aforementioned same name for stepfather or stepmother and father's sister's husband or mother's brother's wife, and, secondly, because of the distinction made on the basis of whether siblings are older or younger than the speaker.

The kinship designations for the children's generation are:

son, small	luč	daughter, small	luč
son, grown	ndyík	daughter, grown	nīs
brother's son (man speaking)	sobríno	brother's daughter (woman speaking)	sobrína
/181/			
sister's son (man speaking)	sobríno	sister's daughter (woman speaking)	sobrína
sister's daughter (man speaking)	sobrína	sister's son (woman speaking)	sobríno
brother's daughter (man speaking)	sobrína	brother's son (woman speaking)	sobríno
stepson	sobríno	stepdaughter	sobrína
son-in-law	nokwębió	daughter-in-law	ndõ
brother's daughter's husband	sobríno	sister's daughter's husband	sobríno
brother's son's wife	sobrína	sister's son's wife	sobrína

/181 cont./

601 Within one's own generation one distinguishes between older and younger brothers or sisters. In keeping with what was said about the classificatory kinship system, we have here, too, identical designations for male and female cousins and step-siblings -- differentiated according to the male or female line of the family.

brother (of husband)	yakté	sister (of wife)	yakté
brother (of wife)	nyiš	sister (of husband)	peš
older brother	yakté nte = older)	older sister	peš nóite
younger brother (if other people speak of him)	yakté noč (noč = younger)	younger sister (if other people speak of her)	peš noč
if own brother or own sister speaks of the younger brothers	yakté npéi	if siblings speak of the younger sister	peš npéi
father's brother's son (*)	yakté	mother's brother's son (*)	yakté
father's brother's daughter (*)	peš	mother's brothers daughter (*)	peš
father's sister's son (*)	yakté	mother's sister's son (*)	yakté
father's sister's daughter (*)	peš	mother's sister's daughter (*)	peš

* These designations for male and female cousins apply only when they are addressing each other.

/181 cont./

● 60/ In addressing persons outside the family the following designations are used:

/182/

father's brother's son or mother's brother's son	pokatenyák
mother's brother's daughter or father's brother's daughter	pokatépěnyí (pokats = side)

stepbrother	yakté	stepsister	peš

The designations for brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are the following:

If the brother speaks:

wife of the brother	só'ov	husband of the sister	tsóom

If the sister speaks:

wife of the brother	tyínas	husband of the sister	só'ov

More distant in-law relationships which in our kinship nomenclature are no longer distinguished as such are still taken into account by the Paez in the following instances:

father's brother's daughter's husband	tsóom	father's sister's son's wife	só'ov
mother's brother's daughter's husband	tsóom	mother's sister's son's wife	só'ov

In the generation of the grandparents or grandchildren, the following terms are used:

father's father	ĩsi	father's mother	péndyi
mother's father	ĩsi	mother's mother	péndyi
son's son	nzón	son's daughter	nzón
daughter's son	nzón	daughter's daughter	nzón

[192] The designations for persons at various age levels or circumstances of life are highly differentiated among the Paez; the

/182 cont./

601 mutual forms of address for certain groups of persons or of several
192 persons with certain kinship connections, which show that here the individual does not stand detached within the family, ,but is fitted in as part of a living structure, are noteworthy.

child or boy	luč
small child (boy or girl)	lučkwe
baby (boy or girl)	lučléčkwe
youth	pftstaty
man	pftste
married man (except when his own wife speaks of him)	iyõ
old man	ĩf
widower	ečpits
girl	gnáskwe
/183/	
maiden	gnãs
woman	õi
somewhat older woman	óite
old woman	penf
widow	éčoi
pregnant woman	tóya
sterile woman	ema
married woman (except when her own husband is speaking of her)	imĩ
wife (of other men)	nyó
husband (of other women)	nemĩ
wife (addressed by husband)	íkwe
husband (addressed by wife)	íngya
married couple	ovényi
orphan, half-orphan	váučo
relative (general)	nuevés

/183 cont./

601 Forms of address:

father and mother together (whether by their own children or other persons)	ovēnyi or pĕtām
father and son together (by other persons)	pĕndyīk
father and daughter together (by other persons)	pĕndyīs
mother and son together (by other persons)	pĕndyīk
mother and daughter together (by other persons)	pĕndyīs

3. Customs during the Course of Life and of a Day

182 The Paez generally give the impression of being contented
593 human beings, and it seems that marriage and family life are
[159] better than average. Of course, the observations on this are very
[114] scanty, for, on account of the remote location of the individual dwellings, the research worker always has only a brief glimpse of family conditions at any one time. This very solitude, however, and the consciousness of greater dependence on one another within the family favors its cohesion, even as it reduces the conflict and irritation which arise through women's gossip when people live too closely on top of one another.

842 Basically every family wants a great many children -- at
[123] any rate so said all the men questioned. Two Calderun women, however, /184/ confided to my wife that there was a remedy -- which they and other women, too, naturally did not use! -- that
[825] would with certainty prevent conception: One must eat some of
[237] the spittle of a mula (the female, infertile cross between horse and donkey), and then one would no longer have children. They said that a woman does this only when she has already given birth to a great many children. In general every girl desires a great

/220 cont./

193 house": witóñ, "tree," wítoñléčkwe, "small tree."

193 In the case of kinship nouns, there is a prefix pe- for desig-
601 nating female relatives, for example, pétsots, "father's sister," pényok, "mother's sister," "stepmother," "mother's brother's wife." Within the family a dual is designated with the prefix pe-, for example, pétim, "father /221/ and mother together," péndyík, "father and son together" or "mother and son together," péndyis, "father and daughter together" or "mother and daughter together."

193 The suffix -nas often designates a state or an activity and is used chiefly to form new words: fisnās, "writer," ātycatynās, "tailor," yāsnās, "baptizer" (name-giver), pāsnās, "stranger, new arrival," ká'nas, "burgomaster," ndōsoknās, "midwife," gnās, "virgin." "To become intoxicated" is toñ, the "drunken man" tónas, "one who is becoming intoxicated" tónye. The forms tátyinas, "creator," and tótenas, "gobernador," are used only in sentences. As an individual word one says tákiyi or tótens, respectively. Possibly the ending -nas is one used only in a specific context, like the suffixes -pas and -sa, which are not infrequently encountered. In the case of adjectives, some in the positive and others in the comparative end in -nas: čačanas (strong), wac nyíčkwenas (more beautiful), wac éwnas (better).

There is no general plural. For a more precise designation either a number or an indefinite pronoun is added, for example, teč, "one," or in the plural, é'nzi, "both" (from é'nz, "two"), ko, "several," tak, "many." For the plural in connection with persons the suffix -weš is used in part, for example, pítstewes, "people," Mogweš, tribe of Guambiano, či'meweš, "whites" (či'me=white).

There is no declension. The sentence order is generally: subject, object, predicate. The nominative is to be distinguished only by its position at the beginning of the sentence. The accusative comes after the nominative and generally before the verb.

Atya nahimbása vítepitsna óson, "I this horse this map give," ātya táwas tyaóinat ípak, "I the belt (taw) from this woman (of)

/223 cont./

193 576

address him as "father of ..." If the person concerned has no children, one addresses him, like contemporaries, by his first name, "since a man who has no children is no man."

Older women are respectfully addressed "ī̄kf."

193 ●60(

you (father or mother to son):	kwe
you (father or mother to daughter):	ī̌ca
you (wife to husband):	ī̄ngya
you (husband to wife):	ī̄kwe
you (brother to brother or sister to sister):	yakté
you (brother to sister):	pe'š
you (sister to brother):	ndyī̄š
you (fem.):	ī̄kf, respectful address for older women
he, she, it:	kya
we (masc. and fem.):	kweš
they (masc. and fem.):	kyáñweš

193 [576]

you /plural/: not known; in the corresponding translation the word cûkai (all) was sometimes used. In the grammar of Castillo i Orosco, the Paez word "icuexs" (ikweš) is given for "vosotros." The interpreter translated this for me as "Ustedes." It is not used to conjugate verbs.

[114]

The possessive pronouns correspond -- except in the third person singular -- to the personal pronouns. They are placed first.

/316 cont./

105 The kinship nomenclature shows remnants of a "classificatory"
● 601 system, into which the individual is fitted as part of a living structure and does not stand out in profile, detached within the family. Persons are differentiated in address according to certain circumstances of age and life, and, among others, siblings are differentiated in address, according to whether they are younger or older than the speaker.

105 In art and mythology a considerable impoverishment has
53 taken place. There is neither song nor any peculiar dance. The music of transverse flutes and drums, performed with great enthu-
[177] siasm, is to be stressed. The cylindrical drum with skin stretched on two sides, which is used at the present time by the Paez, is in all parts of America a loan from the Negroes. In earlier times hanging, hollowed-out tree-trunks were used for the dance and for conveying information, such as /317/ are used today as troughs for making chicha. The rattles formerly present are no longer used today. The transverse flutes with six blowholes used by the Paez are post-Columbian; at any rate they are not found in this form either archeologically or recently among uninfluenced Indians. The only transverse flute form known from pre-Spanish and modern times are flutes that are stopped at both ends and provided with two blowholes (Izikowitz, pp. 298 ff.).

105 In the fund of tales no comprehensive picture of the world
773 emerges. The chief figure in the myths is Thunder, who appears
776 as the first shaman and as a war leader. He is not, however, an exalted, numinous figure, but rather to some extent has characteristics attributed to forest spirits in other parts of South America.
[784] There is also a special forest spirit (gĕlyómp) among the Paez. He
[224] has the figure of an old man with large, exposed sexual parts, and his stings inflicted as punishment for ritual uncleanness in connection with hunting cause the human being sickness and pain. He does not, however, appear mythologically. Fragments of larger myth-complexes are the story of the woman from whose body useful plants arise, the story about the ghostly human head that comes rolling along, stories about transformed animals and human beings, and stories about werejaguars.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
' SC15 Paez SC15

193 This rule, however, applies only to persons or animals.
192 Plants and inanimate objects have no gender, so far as known. Moreover, many usual terms, mostly personal, have distinct forms according to sex. We have for instance:

doŋ-kuś, nephew;	*doŋ-uès*, niece.
iuś, grandfather;	*nentś*, grandmother.
e-iś / *ne-i* } father;	*ne-si*, mother.
ne-mi, husband;	*ne-ui*, wife.
ne-tson, brother-in-law;	*ne-suń*, sister-in-law.
sat, cacique, chieftain;	*ała*, woman principal, cacique's wife.

2. *Number of Nouns.*—The prefix *pe*, already alluded to, may be considered as indicating duality; at least such is distinctly the case in the following instances:

pe-udii, to be or to go together sister and brother.
pe-uiii, son and father, or mother and daughter.
pe-pei, to be or to go together brother and sister.
pe-tam, male and female, together.
pe-tsik, son and mother, or son and father, together.

Plurality seems to be indicated in most instances simply by means of the determinative *uei* or *guei*, many, except in the case of nouns designating persons, when the suffix *uei*, or *guei*, is used. But the same suffix appears also as a distinctive of collectivity, so that this point is not altogether clear. We have:

pits, man;	*pits-uei*, men.
tei, adult;	*tei-uei*, adults.

But also

E-it-uei	*hus*	*atłati*	*meng-a?*	Did you annoy your father? (Lit. Did you make your father's hea t hot?)
father	heart	hot	made	

193 3. *Double Gender.*—It is interesting to find in the Paez lan-
601 guage a few cases of what De la Grasserie in a recent work[1] calls "double gender," i. e., nouns that express in a single word the sex of the person who speaks and the sex of the person

[1] Raoul de la Grasserie *De la Catégorie du Genre*, Paris, 1906.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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[601]

spoken of. These nouns all have reference to parental relations:

dii, brother of a sister.
epri, sister of a brother.
iak-ti, elder sister of a sister.
ne-iak, younger sister of a sister.
ne-udii, brother of a brother.
ne-tei, elder brother of a brother.
pe-ri, younger brother of a brother.

B.— *The Adjective*

As in all languages of the Chibchan group, the Paez adjectives are invariable in gender and in number. The lists at hand are poor and incomplete, but the little we have seems to show a great choice of expressions to indicate degrees or shades in the use of qualificatives.

The superlative gradation seems to be indicated only by the adverb *atla*, 'very,' placed before or after the adjective. There is apparently no way to express a comparison.

C.— *Pronouns*

Our data on this subject are also very meager, and so incomplete that we are at a loss how to give any definite explanation.

In his *Nociones gramaticales* Castillo gives a table of the personal pronouns, from which we infer that there are two forms, according to gender, for both the subjective first and second person of the singular number. From the texts given by the same author, we also deduce that all the personal pronouns are used as possessive, and those of the third person as demonstrative.

In the conjugation of verbs the subject appears to be expressed chiefly by means of a suffix.

Following is Castillo's table:

I	Masc. *anki*, *anti* Fem. *ahu*	we	*kuc-k-uti*, *kuc-k-u*, *ku-k-uci*
thou (you)	Masc. *inui* Fem. *itla*	you	*in-k-uci*, *i-k-uci*
he, that	Masc. *kina*, *kiana* ?	they, those	*kina-k-uci*

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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dilo + mut-kut	*Solanum nemorum*, a plant; Span. *tetilla* 192 [601]
aiv + de (T)	son-in-law. See *ant-indugá*
aiv + kiti-kuz (T)	son — Cast. has *ne-tlik*; in the modern word is found the root of *a-kiti*, medieval word for boy, or girl
anio + uiz (T), *pis* (H)	the Pleiades, a constellation
ant (usual *a*, *ki*)	may signify my, mine
ant + indugá (H)	son-in-law [601]
ant + kut (H), *atl + kut* (T)	nephew — Cast.: *doq-kut*
ant + mdma (H), *mdma + ariker* (T)	maternal grandfather
ant + tiita (H), *tiita + ariker* (T)	paternal grandfather
ant + tiita (H), *atl + kiita* (T)	father-in-law
ant + tsin-kut (H), *a-tsin* (T)	grandson
ant + wazak-ua (H), *atl-wkut* (T)	niece — Cast.: *doq-ues*
ant + di (H), *atl-di* (T)	wife — Cast.: *ne-iö*; see *di* [601]
aj	fly
aj + uiz	mosquito — (*uiz* means worm)
kil	moon, month
kil-luti	crescent moon
kil-luti-a	new moon
kil-tuzu (T) / *kil-tuzzie* (H)	waning moon
a-tsin (T), *ant-tsin-kut* (H)	grandson — Cast.: *ne-tsom* (*tsom* = *tsin*) [601]
atl (onomatope)	to sneeze
atl	runza, a piece of native dress
atl + kas-uaz	tailor (*kats* = to sew)
atl + pitl	a piece of native male dress — Cast.: (*atlpetl*)
atl + tul	a piece of woman's dress
atl + kut (T)	nephew [601]
atl-ua-ut (T)	niece
atl-di (T)	wife; see also *ant*
atti, atiu (H)	bed — Cast. has *de-ki-ue*; *di* = sleep, *ki-ue* = place: a place to sleep
kamb (H)	shoulder — Cast.: *am-kamb*

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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hã (H)	blood
hin-se, hás-utsa	the afternoon — Cast.: *finse*
hiú, χiú (H)	trousers
hún	to grind
hún-ku-kuět, hál-kuet (H)	grinding-stone — Cast.: *hune kuet*
hunza	mouse — Cast.: *ouza*
hũs (H)	heart — Cast.: *agnus*
húpe (H)	fence, hedge — Cast.: *ha-find*
hu-úk (H)	death
iá-a-uès (H)	net
iá-euχ (H), *a-euχ* (T)	eye — Cast.: *ia-fi*
iá-euχ + kàts (H) } *iá-χ + kats* (T) }	eyelash
iéf-dzi-ke (H)	tears
iánì,	volcano
[276] *iáì,*	*Datura arborea*, a small tree, with large white flowers, having narcotic properties
iek-tàin (T)	brother
[601] *iek-tàin neeì-te* (T)	elder brother — Cast.: *ne-teì*; *teì* = old
iek-tàin nutì (T)	younger brother
iek-tè (H)	brother
iek-tè intè-ha (H)	elder brother
iek-tè-nutì-kua (H)	younger brother
i-kats (Cast.)	to dress (when a man dresses)
i-kats-atì,	inner piece of dress, a kind of shirt
i-kuět (H)	knee, knee-cap
ins,	to dress (used by females only)
ins-atì,	inner part of female dress
io-lìs, lìs-io	bunch
ip, iõs	light, candle — Cast.: *ip-i*
ip + e-uèla (T)	fire
ip + iá, á	smoke
ip + ik-pàts	spark
ip + imbe-χetsa (H)	fire
ip + i-ñin	embers, red-hot coal

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

192 *lúl + ia, kùèt-kosi*	grinding pestle (Span. *mano de piedra*)
lúl + kutł, kunku-kuèt	grinding stone
lúl + tłik	small grinding-stone
lutł	child, male or female — Cast.: *alotł*
lutł (H), *ain lutł + kua* (T)	son
lutł-kùpi (T), *kùpi* (H)	childbirth
lutł-uè, uè (T), *guaχ* (H)	hammock (*lutł-uè*=child-bridge)
małkχ	few, several
makènio	Tahiti plantain
[601] *máma* (H), *painł* (T)	mother
mámá + señor (T), *anł + máma*	maternal grandfather
map !	pull out !
mem	*Carica* sp., a wild pawpaw tree
méns (H)	tail
mā	excrement — Cast.: *ime*
mā-ain (H)	liver — Cast.: *mè-ki*
mā-tú (H)	bowels — Cast.: *ime-tó*
mā-uè	buzzard — Cast.: *ime-gnuei*
men-guè (H)	dysentery
mitúnχ	beverage
mótłi, mułłl	a corn meal — Cast.: *múti*
muti-hi	tobacco
mum, afid	a tree with long, broad pods (*Inga* sp.)
musè	sand
nain (H)	stomach
násа	Indian. According to Cast. *násа* means any being; at present it means people (*gens*), but applies to Indians only
[601] *násа + pents* (T)	grandmother — Cast.: *epentł*
násа + pitł-te (T)	man, Indian — Cast.: *pits*
násа + piżts (H)	man, Indian
násа + úi (T)	woman, Indian
náse + umā	medicine-man, sorcerer
nàs + ma-kuie-iua	market

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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ne + enl	grandmother
ne + hl	everyone's mother (Cast.)
ne + i	father
ne + iafi (Cast.)	first-born
ne + iak	sister of a sister
ne + iò	wife, spouse
ne + kuè-uñiò	daughter in law
ne + nì	husband, spouse
ne + ndìl	brother of a brother
ne + ñi	mother
ne + sòu	sister in law
ne + tèe	elder brother of any two
ne + tot	more powerful, also Pope (Cast.)
ne + tlik	son
ne + zom	grandson (Cast.)
ne + zon	brother-in-law (Cast.)
nete	end, earthquake
niòns, niùns (H)	needle — Cast.: *nonz*
nil	thick, stout — Cast.: *di, di-up*
painl (T), *mòma* (H)	mother — Cast.: *e-pe, ne-li, ñi*
pambe + atl	part of female dress
pe	indicative of pairing, collecting, or of coming together, of two or several things or persons of the same kind
pe + fiù	to unite, to bind together
pe + kak	to collect or bring together many things
pe + ña	to increase, to add
pe + ndìl	to be or to go together sister and brother
pe + nil	son and father, or son and mother
pe + nùk-ue	aunt, father's sister
pe + pel	to be or to go together brother and sister
pe + tam	male and female together
pe + tsuts	mother-in-law, aunt, father's sister
pe + utsil	the fence around a grave, made of many sticks tied together
pe + tlik	son and mother, or son and father
pe + vi	younger brother
pènd + àtau (H)	burial

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2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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192	*pénl*	old, when speaking of a female—Cast.: (*e-pentl*)
[601]	*pénl + kuł*	old woman, grandmother
	pél	sister of a brother
	pél + núi-tain (T) *pél + nu-te* (H)	elder sister of a brother
	pél + nútl (T) *pél + nutl-kuł* (H)	younger sister of a brother
	pétz (H)	sweat
	pets-χita	throat
	pian dżán usta	half
	pikas	beam
[824]	*pindo*	*Gynerium saccharoides*, a tall grass used in making hats
	pinzó	*Alnus* sp., the South American alder
	pipło	bijao (*Heliconia* sp.) a plantain-like plant
	pipło + kniria (T) *pipło + kneia* (H)	dwarf plantain
[177]	*pisko* (H), *tłpi-pi* (T)	turkey (Span.: *bimbo*, or *chumpipe*); both Paez words are derived from the Kitšua
	pitłka	a variety of large tick—Cast.: *guakó*
	pitá	sheep—Cast.: *kapita*
[824]	*pkind* (T) *pkind + a* (H)	guava tree (*Psidium guajava*)
	pkind + a-iún (H) *pkind + bits* (T)	guava, fruit
	plán (T)	plantain
	plán + debłk	manzana, a variety of banana
	plán + d-its	ripe plantain
	plán + kák	baked plantain
	plán + kats	plantain peel
	plán + tskeχ	boiled plantain
[824]	*płü*	shade—Cast.: *pnasá*
	puél	*Tropaeolum tuberosum*, a plant with edible tubers

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

192 *tsari-i, uats tsa-eu* — burnt field (*roza quemada*)
tsam — sand
tsik (H) — collar, neck — Cast.: *tine*
tsins (H) — back
tsi-tsi-ul, tski-ua — country, native land
tskóẓ (T), *kuiẓa* (H) — boiled
tsmiẓ-me (H), *tsuá-uẓ* (T) — butterfly
tsuá-ua — *Miconia æruginosa* Naud., a shrub
[601] *tsufẓ* (H) — swelling — Cast.: *ekolè*
tsun — brother-in-law — Cast.: *ne-tsòn*
tsût — tender, edible corn — Cast.: *lipu* (Span. of Cauca: *choclo*, from the Kitšua)
tsute — *Weinmannia* sp., a small tree
tlàeu (T), *tlaü* (H) — a large deer (*venado*) — Cast.: *tsari*
tlàeu + lham (T), *tlàü + bètl-kua* (H) — a small deer
tlahú — pineapple
tlànga — *Sida* sp., a woody weed
tlàn-tsa — strong (in vigor)
tse-ua-uá — *Miconia æruginosa* Rand., a bush
tlinda (H) — foot
tlinda + kàka (H) — ankle
tlinda + me-tú (H) — calf of the leg
tlinda + pil (H) — foreleg
tlinda + pop (H) — sole of the foot
tlinda + tant (H) — heel
tlinda + vits (H) — foot-finger, toe
tli (Cast.) — *Gynerium saccharoides*, a tall grass
tlits — roof
tlits-uá (T), *tsitl-nalà* (H) — quagmire, swamp
tlkàs — hair — Cast.: *dikas*
tlitá-tùnt — dust
tlwá — hat — Cast.: *-tlwá*

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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tsuáti	louse, a very large variety called *caringano* by the Spanish natives — Cast.: *ctl-guati* 192
tsui (T), *ákuia-pits* (H)	husband — Cast.: *nemi* [601]
tsuli	woman's breast — Cast.: *hili*
tukuí-tsi	*Relbunium hypocarpium*, a plant the roots of which give a red dye [386] [824]
tulü (H)	plantain — Cast.: *tulü*; see also *plátu*
tulü + kuk	baked plantain
tulü + kátz	plantain peel
tulü + kuiga	boiled plantain
tulü + its	ripe plantain
ting-ua (H), *ti-ue* (T)	ear — Cast.: *tiguae*
ting-ua + kafz-iaka (H)	ear-ache
ting-ua + ritz (H)	ear-lobe
ting-ui-iehi	earring
tie-kafz (T)	vent hole
tipa	spider
tita (H)	first
uáka	crab
uála	large, high, tall — Cast.: *gula*
uán-dziáns (H)	fishhook
uáso-kua (H), *guáso-ko* (T)	daughter, girl [601]
uati-to / *uatl-ta*	tired
uá-tsa	necklace
uéll	parroquet
uenur	agouti (*Dasyprocta* sp.) Span. *cutacusa*
uenti	fish — Cast.: *guenadi*
uenti + patsi	a large, iguana-like lizard
uis (H), *guás* (T)	earthworm — Cast: *guez*
uis + kuí	thread
ui-ue-uiz (H)	voice, word
uizga	wind — Cast.: *pacuma!*

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600 Bases for the Study of the Social Organization of the Páez

By
Segundo Bernal Villa.

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124 /167/ The material for the study of the kinship system of
128 the Páez was collected in the month of May, 1953, thanks to the
[114] enthusiastic collaboration of Victoriano Piñakué, 18 years of age,
[115] bilingual, and a native of the parcialidad /a village and the lands belonging to it/ of Calderas. With this material we made an analysis of the kinship system, which we present below without any major modifications. It was later discussed with several native men of the parcialidad of San Andrés, who found it to be correct. At the end of May, 1954, we had the opportunity to discuss it again in Mosoco with two male informants of the lo-
[197] cality. They found practically no phonological differences, in spite of the fact that the Páez spoken in that parcialidad showed some different nuances in relation to that spoken in the other
124 parcialidades. They made only one fundamental observation,
128 which we accepted, since we consider it to be convincing. It
601 refers to the terms used to designate the sons and daughters of the brothers and sisters of EGO. According to Piñakué, they are designated with the Spanish terms: sobrino and sobrina /nephew and niece/. Jorge Mulcué (Mosqueño /a person from Mosoco/ 58 years old) affirmed that they are designated with the words kué or wásak (son and daughter) preceded by the possessive my (anji).

601 Men and women use the same terms for both the paternal and the maternal line, with certain exceptions, subordinating the real degree of kinship to the generation. The Páez system of kinship terminology is, therefore, classificatory and bilateral.

/167 cont./

601 Seemingly there is no terminology for designating the older and younger brothers of the generation of EGO, although in practice this distinction stands out. EGO is obliged to greet older brothers and the older members of the community in general, and there also exists the obligation of being greeted by the younger brothers and, in general, by all the younger members of the community.

Among the adults of both sexes, married and with children, the use of teknonymous forms is general.

114 /168/ The only two studies of kinship systems made in Colombia are from the pen of Professor Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff working among the Iroka and the Kogi. That of the Iroka was [104] done with the collaboration of Alexander L. Clark. With the intention of facilitating subsequent comparative studies on the subject, we have adopted his system for presenting the materials, especially the abbreviations of the kinship terms in the Spanish language /the English equivalents for the abbreviations of the Spanish terms are given on p. 10 /.

127 Before finishing with this brief introduction, we wish to
128 place on record our sincere thanks to Señor Víctor Bedoya for his voluntary transcription of unpublished documents from the Archivo Nacional relating to the Páez, and to Professor Marcos Fulop for his valuable observations and opportune suggestions which brought much light to obscure sections of our work.

Analysis of Kinship Terms

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Consanguineous Relatives

A--EGO's Generation:

a) Masculine EGO: Brothers and sons of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, are grouped in a single category and classified as brothers (iaktẽ).

b) Sisters and daughters of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, are grouped in a single category and classified as sisters (Pesh).

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[104]

/168 cont./

Sh = the French ch (chaise); ch = the Spanish ch (chicha); j = the French j (jardin); h = the Spanish j (rojo).

c) Feminine EGO: sisters and daughters of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, are grouped in a single category and classified as sisters (iaktẽ).

d) Brothers and sons of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, are grouped in a single category and classified as brothers (jish).

B--First Ascendant Generation:

a) For father and mother, separate words are used (tấta and mấma). /Figs. 1 and 2 appear here./

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b) The brothers and sisters of the father and the sons and daughters of the brothers and sisters of the father of the father (grandfather) are grouped in a single category and classified as uncles and aunts (ñuk and pẽsuts, respectively).

c) The brothers and sisters of the mother and the sons and daughters of the brothers and sisters of the mother of the mother (grandmother) are grouped in a single category and classified as uncles and aunts (kấhka and pẽñuk, respectively).

C--Second Ascendant Generation:

a) One term is used for both grandfathers (ishi) and one term for both grandmothers (penshi).

b) The brothers and sisters of the grandparents, for both the paternal and maternal lines, are grouped in a single category and classified as grandfathers and grandmothers (ishi, penshi).

D--Third Ascendant Generation:

a) The great-grandfathers are designated with one term (ishi wấla) and the great-grandmothers with another one (penshi wấla).

E--First Descendent Generation:

a) The sons, the daughters, and the sons and daughters of brothers and sisters, real or classificatory, for both the paternal and maternal lines, are grouped into a single category and designated as sons and daughters (kuẽ or jik and wấsak or nis, respectively).

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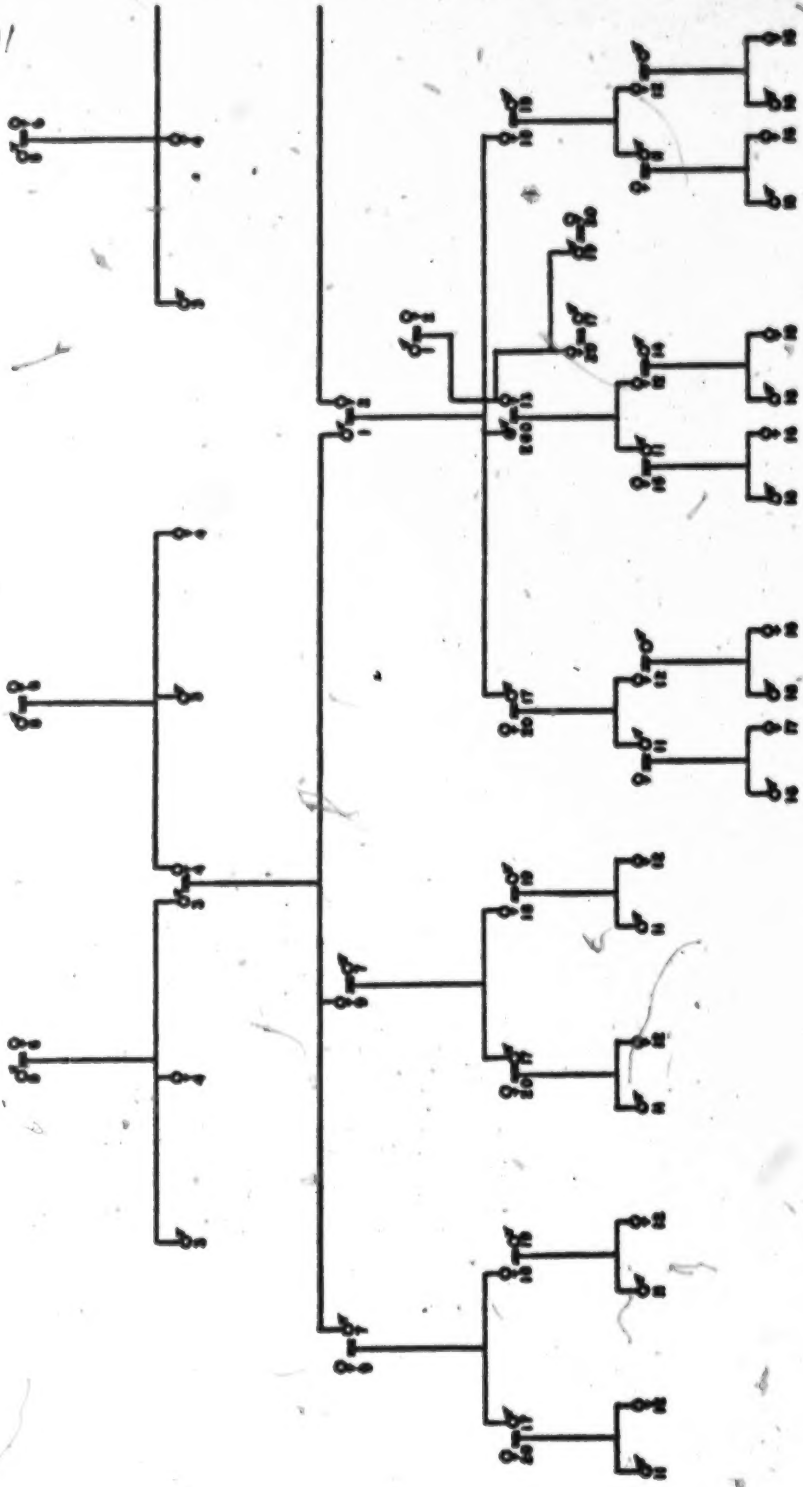

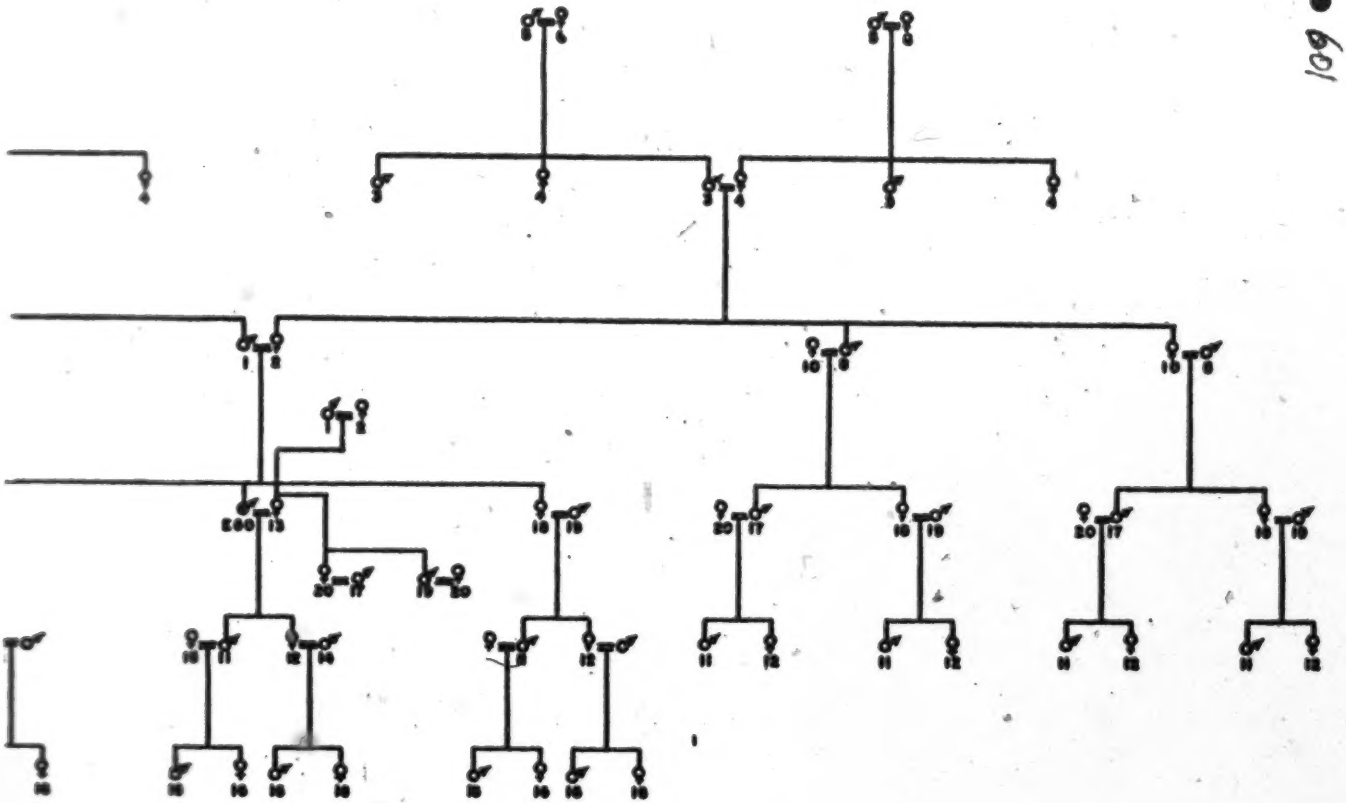

Fig. 1. Kinship, Masculine Ego.

8. Bernal Villa--6 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

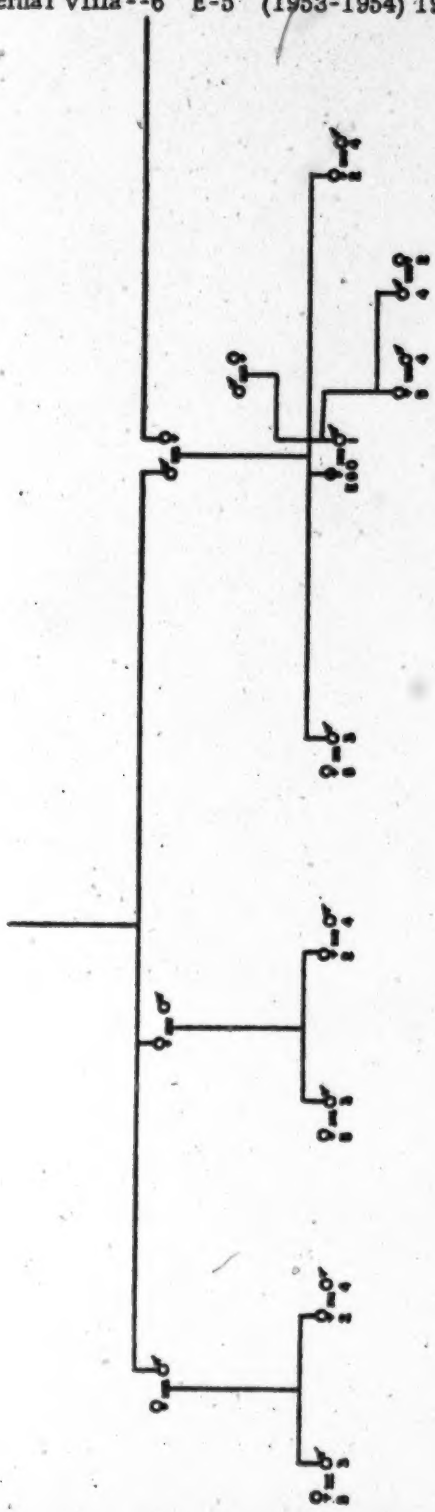

Fig. 2. Kinship, Feminine Ego.

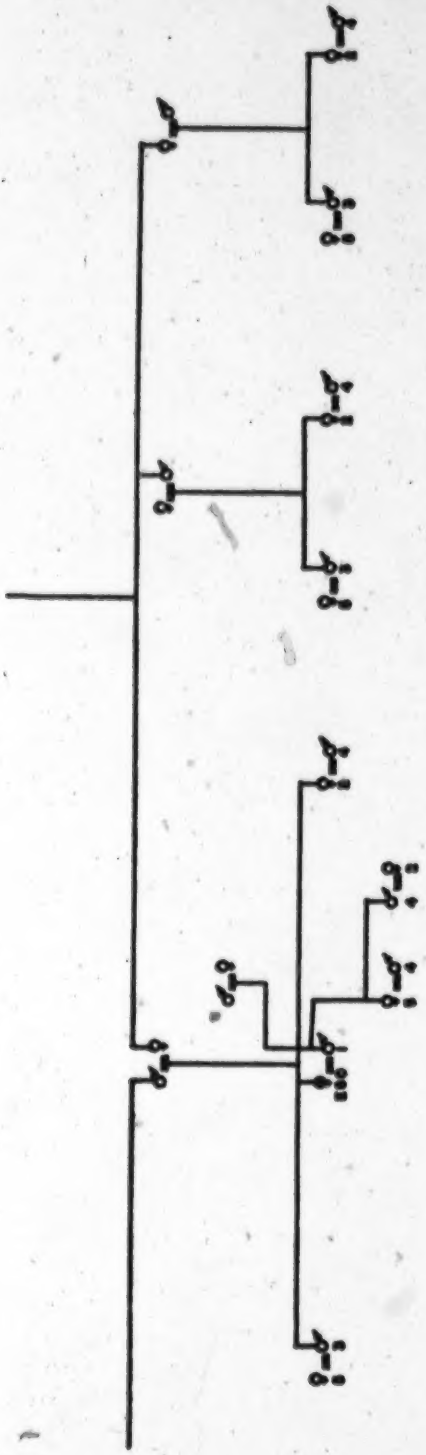

Fig. 2. Kinship, Feminine Ego.

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60/ F--Second Descendent Generation:

a) Sons and daughters of sons and daughters (grandchildren), the same as sons and daughters of brothers and sisters, are grouped into a single category without distinction as to sex and are designated as grandchildren (nson).

G--Third Descendent Generation:

a) The children of sons and daughters of sons and daughters (great-grandchildren) are grouped without distinction as to sex into a single category and designated with the same term used for grandchildren (nson).

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Additional Differences

1--Sex: Sex is distinguished terminologically in all generations except in the second and third descendent generation.

2--Age: For brothers and sisters, real and classificatory with respect to the relative age of EGO, it is not differentiated terminologically, although there is discrimination with regard to it in the patterns of conduct, since EGO greets those older than himself, but is himself greeted by those who are younger.

3--Kinship:

a) Masculine EGO: Brothers are not distinguished terminologically from the sons of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, and the term with which they are designated does not indicate to which line they belong.

Sisters are not distinguished from the daughters of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, and the term with which they are designated does not specify to which line they belong.

Feminine EGO: Brothers are not distinguished terminologically from the sons of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, and the term with which they are designated does not specify to which line they belong.

Sisters are not distinguished terminologically from the daughters of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, and the term with which they are designated does not specify the line to which they belong.

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● 60/ b) First ascendant generation:

The father and his brothers are distinguished terminologically from the brothers of the mother; the latter and her sisters are distinguished terminologically from the sisters of the former.

c) Second ascendant generation: there are no kinship distinctions.

d) First descendent generation: no kinship distinctions are made between real or classificatory sons.

In-law Relatives

1--a) Masculine EGO: The brothers of the wife, the husbands of the sisters and the husbands of the daughters of the brothers and sisters of the parents are designated with one term (sum).

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b) The sisters of the wife, the wives of the brothers, the wives of the brothers of the wife, and the wives of the sons of the brothers and sisters of the parents are designated with one term (sub).

c) One term is used to designate the husband of the sister of the wife. In general, the husbands of the sisters of the wife are designated among themselves with the same term that is used to designate among themselves the wives of the brothers of EGO (iakté).

d) Feminine EGO: The brothers of the husband, the husbands of the sisters, the husbands of the sisters of the husband, and the husbands of the daughters of the brothers and sisters of the parents are designated with one term (sub).

e) The sisters of the husband, the wives of the brothers, and the wives of the sons of the brothers and sisters of the parents are designated with one term (chinás).

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2--a) Father-in-law and mother-in-law are designated with separate terms (tăta, máma).

b) The husbands of the daughters and the wives of the sons are designated with different terms (ndó, nukué míyú, respectively).

Kinship Terms

[104] Abbreviations:

p = father
m = mother
hno = brother
hna = sister
ho = son
ha = daughter
co = spouse
d = of, of the

Spanish	Masculine Ego	Feminine Ego
1 — p	*tatá*	*tatá*
2 — m	*mamá*	*mamá*
3 — p-d-p	*ishi*	*ishi*
4 — m-d-p	*pénshi*	*pénshi*
5 — p-d-m	*ishi*	*ishi*
6 — m-d-m	*pénshi*	*pénshi*
7 — p-d-p-d-p	*ishi wála*	*ishi wála*

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Spanish	Masculine Ego	Feminine Ego
8 — m-d-p-d-p	pénski wála	pénshi wála
9 — p-d-m-d-m	iski wála	iski wála
10 — m-d-m-d-m	pénshi wála	pénshi wála
11 — hno-d-p	ñuk	ñuk
12 — hna-d-p	pésuts	pésuts
13 — hno-d-m	káhka	káhka
14 — hna-d-m	péñuk	péñuk
15 — hno	iaktí	jish
16 — hna	pesh	iaktí
17 — ho-d-hno-d-p	iaktí	jish
18 — ho-d-hna-d-p	iaktí	jish
19 — ha-d-hno-d-p	pesh	iaktí
20 — ha-d-hna-d-p	pesh	iaktí
21 — ho-d-hno-d-m	iaktí	jish
22 — ho-d-hna-d-m	iaktí	jish
23 — ha-d-hno-d-m	pesh	iaktí
24 — ha-d-hna-d-m	pesh	iaktí
25 — ho- (1)	kué	kué
26 — ha (2)	wásak	wásak
27 — ho-d-ho-d-hno-d-p	kué	kué
28 — ha-d-ho-d-hno-d-p	wásak	wásak
29 — ho-d-ho-d-hna-d-p	kué	kué
30 — ha-d-ho-d-hna-d-p	wásak	wásak
31 — ho-d-ha-d-hno-d-p	kué	kué
32 — ha-d-ha-d-hno-d-p	wásak	wásak
33 — ho-d-ha-d-hna-d-p	kué	kué
34 — ha-d-ha-d-hna-d-p	wásak	wásak
35 — ho-d-ho-d-hno-d-m	kué	kué
36 — ha-d-ho-d-hno-d-m	wásak	wásak
37 — ho-d-ha-d-hno-d-m	kué	kué
38 — ha-d-ha-d-hno-d-m	wásak	wásak
39 — ho-d-ho-d-hna-d-m	kué	kué
40 — ha-d-ho-d-hna-d-m	wásak	wásak
41 — ho-d-ha-d-hna-d-m	kué	kué
42 — ha-d-ha-d-hna-d-m	wásak	wásak
43 — ho-d-ho	nson	nson
44 — ha-d-ho	nson	nson
45 — ho-d-ha	nson	nson

1. Son is also designated with the term jik, but it is less used.

2. Daughter is also designated with the term nis.

Spanish	Masculine Ego	Feminine Ego
46 — ha-d-ha	nsom	nsom
47 — ho-d-ho-d-hna	nsom	nsom
48 — ha-d-ho-d-hna	nsom	nsom
49 — ho-d-ha-d-hna	nsom	nsom
50 — ha-d-ha-d-hna	nsom	nsom
51 — ho-d-ho-d-hno	nsom	nsom
52 — ha-d-ho-d-hno	nsom	nsom
53 — ho-d-ha-d-hno	nsom	nsom
54 — ha-d-ha-d-hno	nsom	nsom
55 — ho-d-ho-d-ho	nsom	nsom
56 — ha-d-ho-d-ho	nsom	nsom
57 — ho-d-ha-d-ho	nsom	nsom
58 — ha-d-ha-d-ho	nsom	nsom
59 — ho-d-ho-d-ha	nsom	nsom
60 — ha-d-ho-d-ha	nsom	nsom
61 — ho-d-ha-d-ha	nsom	nsom
62 — ha-d-ha-d-ha	nsom	nsom
63 — co	*niyú*	*nemi*
64 — p-d-co	*tuú*	*títa*
65 — m-d-co	*máma*	*máma*
66 — co-d-ho	*nukué miyú*	*nukué miyú*
67 — co-d-ha	*ndó*	*ndó*
68 — hno-d-co	*sum*	*sub*
69 — hna-d-co	*sub*	*chinás*
70 — co-d-hno	*sub*	*chinás*
71 — co-d-hna	*sum*	*sub*
72 — co-d-hno-d-co	*sub*	*iaktí*
73 — co-d-hna-d-co	*iaktí*	*sub*
74 — co-d-hno-d-p	*pésuts*	*pésuts*
75 — co-d-hna-d-p	*ñuk*	*ñuk*
76 — co-d-hno-d-m	*péñuk*	*péñuk*
77 — co-d-hna-d-m	*kéhku*	*kéhku*
78 — co-d-ho-d-hno-d-p	*sub*	*chinás*
79 — co-d-ha-d-hno-d-p	*sum*	*sub*
80 — co-d-ho-d-hna-d-p	*sub*	*chinás*
81 — co-d-ha-d-hna-d-p	*sum*	*sub*
82 — co-d-ho-d-hno-d-m	*sub*	*chinás*
83 — co-d-ha-d-hno-d-m	*sum*	*sub*
84 — co-d-ho-d-hna-d-m	*sub*	*chinás*
85 — co-d-ha-d-hna-d-m	*sum*	*sub*

601

Application of Kinship Terms

A--Masculine Ego (see Fig. 1)

1 — *Táta* . . . . . p; p-d-co
2 — *Náma* . . . . . m; m-d-co
3 — *Ishi* . . . . . p-d-p; p-d-m; hno-d-p-d-p; hno-d-p-d-m; hno-d-m-d-m; hno-d-m-d-p.
4 — *Pénshi* . . . . m-d-p; m-d-m; hna-d-p-d-p; hna-d-m-d-m; hna-d-m-d-p; hna-d-p-d-m.
5 — *Ishi wála* . . . p-d-p-d-p; p-d-m-d-m; p-d-m-d-p; p-d-p-d-m.
6 — *Pénshi wála* . m-d-p-d-p; m-d-m-d-p; m-d-p-d-m; m-d-m-d-m.
7 — *Ñuk* . . . . . hno-d-p; ho-d-hno-d-p-d-p; ho-d-hna-d-p-d-p; co-d-hna-d-p.
8 — *Kákha* . . . hno-d-m; ho-d-hno-d-m-d-m; ho-d-hna-d-m-d-m; co-d-hna-d-m.
9 — *Pésuts* . . . . hna-d-p; ha-d-hno-d-p-d-p; ha-d-hna-d-p-d-p; co-d-hno-d-p.
10 — *Péñuk* . . . . hna-d-m; ha-d-hno-d-m-d-m; ha-d-hna-d-m-d-m; co-d-hno-d-m.
11 — *Kné* (o *jik*) . ho; ho-d-hno; ho-d-hna; ho-d-ho-d-hno-d-p; ho-d-ho-d-hna-d-p; ho-d-ha-d-hno-d-p; ho-d-ha-d-hna-d-p; ho-d-ho-d-hno-d-m; ho-d-ho-d-hna-d-m; ho-d-ha-d-hno-d-m; ho-d-ha-d-hna-d-m.
12 — *Wásuk* (o *nis*) ha; ha-d-hno; ha-d-hna; ha-d-ho-d-hno-d-p; ha-d-ho-d-hno-d-p; ha-d-ha-d-hno-d-p; ha-d-ha-d hna-d-p; ha-d-ho-d-hno-d-m; ha-d-ho-d-hna-d-m; ha-d-ha-d-hno-d-m; ha-d-ha-d-hna-d-m;
13 — *Niyú* . . . . . co
14 — *Ndó* . . . . . co-d-ha
15 — *Nukné Miyú* . co-d-ho
16 — *Nson* . . . . . ho-d-ho; ha-d-ho; ho-d-ha; ha-d-ha; ho-d-ho-d-hna; ha-d-ho-d-hna; ha-d-ha-d-hna; ho-d-ha-d-hna; ho-d-ho-d-hno; ha-d-ho-d-hno; ho-d-ha-d-hno; ha-d-ha-d-hno.
17 — *Iakté* . . . . hno; ho-d-hno-d-p; ho-d-hna-d-p; ho-d-hno-d-m; ho-d-hna-d-m; co-d-hna-d-co.
18 — *Pesh* . . . . . hna; ha-d-hno-d-p; ha-d-hna-d-p; ha-d-hno-d-m; ha-d-hna-d-m.

601 19 — *Sum* . . . . . hno-d-co; co-de-hna; co-d-ha-d-hno-d-p; co-d-ha-d-hna-d-p; co-d-ha-d-hno-d-m; co-d-ha-d-hna-d-m.

20 — *Sub* . . . . . hna-d-co; co-d-hno-d-co; co-d-hno; co-d-ho-d-hno-d-p; co-d-ho-d-hna-d-p; co-d-ho-d-hno-d-m; co-d-ho-d-hna-d-m.

B--Feminine Ego (see Fig. 2)

1 — *Nemi* . . . . . co.

2 — *Iakté* . . . . . hna; ha-d-hno-d-p; ha-d-hna-d-p; ha-d-hno-d-m; ha-d-hna-d-m; co-d-hno-d-co.

3 — *Jish* . . . . . hno; ho-d-hno-d-p; ho-d-hna-d-p; ho-d-hno-d-m; ho-d-hna-d-m.

4 — *Sub* . . . . . hno-d-co; co-d-hna-d-co; co-d-hna; co-d-ha-d-hno-d-p; co-d-ha-d-hna-d-p; co-d-ha-d-hno-d-m; co-d-ha-d-hna-d-m.

5 — *Chinás* . . . . hna-d-co; co-d-hno; co-d-ho-d-hno-d-p; co-d-ho-d-hna-d-p; co-d-ho-d-hno-d-m; co-d-ho-d-hna-d-m.

The remaining kinship terms are common for masculine and feminine EGO.

Additional Observations

193 601 A father, in referring to his children of both sexes, places the possessive my (anji) in front of the kinship term, thus:

Anji kué (my son); anji jikuesh (my sons).
Anji wásak (my daughter); anji wasakuesh (my daughters).
Anji nson (my grandson); anji nsonmuesch (my grandsons).

A mother, in referring to her children of both sexes, places the possessive my (uk) in front of the kinship term, thus:

Uk kué (my son); uk kuémuesh (my sons).
Uk wásak (my daughter); uk wásakuesh (my daughters).
Uk nson (my grandson); uk nsonmuesch (my grandsons).

/175 cont./

193 In like manner, the children, in referring to their
601 parents, place in front the possessive anji or uk, according to whether the speakers are male or female, respectively.

Anjí téwesh (my parents, male speaker).
Uk tewesh (my parents, female speaker).
Anji ishiwesh (my grandparents).
Uk ishiwesh (my grandparents).

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557 Non-relatives designate the grandparents: nesh wála.
576 When a speaker is younger than the person referred to, and
609 that person is a father, the correct way to speak of him is "the father of so-and-so," for example: if our informant Victoriano Piñakué (18 years old) wants to refer to Cerveleón Guagás (55 years old), he does not simply mention him by name, because this is a "grosería" /rudeness/, but he says "the father of Alfonso" (who is his eldest son), Pons nei, or Marcelo nei if he refers to the father of Marcelo. If the first-born is dead, he would say unás nei, father of the deceased. If the speaker is older than the person referred to, he may simply call him by name, but only when there is familiarity between the two; otherwise he must use the form previously mentioned. Thus, for example, Vicente Puche, who is older then Julián Piñakué (father of our informant), and since he is familiar with him, simply calls him Kilián; if he were not, he would say Vit nei (father of Victoriano). The identical form is followed for a woman older than the speaker, for example: Pons nihi (mother of Alfonso); Vit nihi (mother of Victoriano); Unás nihi (mother of the deceased).

If our informant Piñakué wishes to express this thought, "Cerveleón, I want something," he must say, "Father of Alfonso, I want something" (Pons nei tech yugüe guau wet). He may call him simply Cerveleón, but far away from him and when he is among people who are not relatives, but, he adds, this is not respectful. If Cerveleón heard this said, he would be annoyed.

/183 cont./

557 say, the surname, is transmitted through the paternal line. The
582 wife retains it throughout her life, but does not transmit it to her children. A son of hers will bear only the father's surname.
604 According to an /184/ informant from Calderas a man respects his paternal uncles and aunts in the same manner as the maternal uncles, but not the maternal aunt, because "she is not a real relative;...she is a woman and not a man ... the men (older) have to be respected the same as the old women" and, generalizing, adds: "of the uncles and aunts one respects the men more than the women and the paternal uncles more than
601 the maternal ones." Although the terms for designating the
604 uncles and aunts of EGO differentiate sex and specify the line to which they belong, EGO considers the relationship of the paternal uncles and aunts to be closer than that of the maternal ones, and although the uncles call the sons of their brothers "sons," there does not exist among the present-day Páez a clear concept of parallel uncles and cross uncles and, consequently, of parallel and cross cousins. Masculine EGO calls paternal and maternal male cousins Iakté, paternal and maternal female cousins pesh, making them equal with his own sisters and brothers, and feminine EGO calls paternal and maternal female cousins Iakté, paternal and maternal male cousins Jish, making
601 them equal also with her own brothers and sisters. But logically
604 such a distinction must have existed, to judge from the conduct
582 observed in the selection of mates and in the respect that EGO pays to his uncles and aunts, this being more pronounced for the paternal than for the maternal ones and greater still for the men.
114 Eugenio del Castillo y Orozco corroborates our argument. In
60 his Vocabulario he states that the mother-in-law is called by the
582 same term as the one designating the father's sister (pezoz), and the father-in-law by the same term as the one for designating the mother's brother (cacca). This means that in the eighteenth century in-law kinship specified the origin of the spouses, clearly showing marriage between cross cousins.

60 All these traits make us think that possibly there were
614 patrilineal exogamous clans, now manifested by some types of
174 stereotyped conduct,

848 /178/ the cabildo until she names the father of her child. If he
623 is an unmarried young man, he must marry the girl. A married man, however, is beaten by the cabildo. He does not need to make support payments. It is different if a married man has no
842 children. In this case the wife is regarded in principle as the one
848 at fault. He may then have a child by an unmarried girl without
837 being punished. He simply explains to the cabildo that he has a
[623] great deal of property and that he therefore needs children whom he cannot have by his wife. To the mother of his natural child he gives a cow, clothing, and a pretty belt, and she then surrenders her child to the lawful wife of the father of her child. He may
[554] do this several times until he has enough children. This is not permitted, however, for a poor man without possessions, it was explained to me, for "why does he need children?"

844 At the time of menstruation and also at the birth of a child
841 the woman stays in a special small hut (dúyat). She receives her
[343] food either from her mother, sister, or a neighbor woman from a house in which several women live. This woman at the same time cooks for the members of the family of the menstruating woman. The members of the family of the woman who is temporarily cooking receive their meals from another female member of her family. The woman who takes care of the food also fetches the wood for the fire necessary for warmth in the dúyat. Female inhabitants of farms or of field huts used for only a few months, which have no
[758] dúyat, go to a neighboring or related family for this period. In
[602] case the housewife becomes ill, she moves into the house of one of her sisters or female relatives, where she is nursed. The male relatives of the sick woman must then likewise go to the house of this relative to eat.

614 Besides the patrilineal nuclear families, no recognized patrilineal kin-groups /Sippen/ are known among the Paez, but all who bear the same family name feel related and may not marry, even though they are not knowingly -- this knowledge goes back only two generations -- related. Our interpreter, Victoriano Piñakuẽ, for example, may not only not marry any girls with the patronymic Piñakuẽ, but also no girls whose mothers are named Piñakuẽ. Conditions are particularly difficult among the

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614 bearers of the name Guagáz, the old family whose members furnish the capitan and who numerically make up about a quarter of the village. The young men of this name do not always find their wives in Calderas. They /179/ must therefore often look for them in other villages, although in general this is preferably not done. Thus we have among the Paez exogamous kin-groups, that is, groups of persons of male descent, who, to be sure, live dispersed [illegible] have a common festival house, and who cannot marry each other because of their same name. They lack the consciousness of being descended from the same ancestor, however. Similarly, there is neither a common kin-group chief, nor [162] special costumes, or any other common insignia. The bearers of [346] six family names, who together make up more than 60 per cent of the population, have festival houses on the village plaza, in each of which the bearers of the same name meet for the big annual festivals, Immaculada (December 8), Semana Santa (Easter), and San Juan (June 24), and eat and drink together. The other families, who have no festival house of their own, take part in the festival houses of friends' families.

[551] The six large families of Calderas are: Guagáz, Piñakuē, Petíns, Oléz, Oriága, Pechéne.

614 Within the kin groups, relatives play no role, but the god-
602 parents (padrino, madrina) do, and strict etiquette is observed with
608 respect to them. Boy or girl, man or woman who meet their god-
576 parents anywhere must kneel down to receive their blessing.

601 The kinship nomenclature is in part more differentiated than ours. The common form of address for father and child and mother and child and the differentiated address for older and younger siblings are striking. The designations for father and mother are differentiated according to whether one speaks of one's own or of foreign fathers and mothers. One's own father is táta, the foreign one néi; one's own mother is máma, the foreign one nihí. It does not matter whether a man or a woman is speaking in the following examples:

The people of
/356 cont./
43 Mosoco have numerous droves of pack animals for handling the
628 import and export traffic, in which the Guambianos (with their
492 horses), called kasukos by the people of Mosoco, who regard them as good friends and not very different from themselves, also participate. The fact is that they live together, work together, and do their trading jointly.

563 The relations between "whites" and natives in Mosoco
621 seem to be cordial and based on mutual respect.

Family economy

594 The Paez family is basically an economic unit. It is made up of the parents and the children, and it represents a
[602] closed but effective circle. They do not go beyond their own
[476] limits in any way, so that the mingas and the distribution of the
[431] first fruits of the harvests are carried out primarily with consanguineal and political relations.

594 The manner in which this economic unit functions and in
462 which its members collaborate can be clearly understood from the division of the activities by sex. The supreme management of the family economy rests in the hands of the man; it is he who owns the land, the house, the tools, and the domestic animals. His arm has not been taught to wield anything but the machete, the axe, and the shovel. He is the owner of the crops and the one who determines where, how, and when work is to be done. His primary work is outside the house: on the land itself. The woman, on /357/ the other hand, remains inside the house, and her basic work is connected with the administration and working up of the products handed over to her by the man. Cooking and
[464] weaving are her specialities. It is true that the woman hires
[178] herself out as a day laborer on the fincas of the "whites" and that in some parcialidades, such as Mosoco, she participates directly in the preparation of the land and the weeding of the crops, but this is a relatively new phenomenon and is not yet universally accepted among the natives.

261 In general terms, the primary incentive for economic activity
594 dealing with food is the satisfaction of the basic needs of the individual and the survival of the family group. It is the security

/177 cont./

604 laugh, but nothing more. The uncle's wife is to be called aunt and she receives the nephew's blessing because she is older. He may not joke with her. Should she become a widow (echui), the nephew may not marry her because he must respect her. We have not been able to find any information that might make one suspect avuncular or amitate relations.

605 Cousins of the first degree, paternal and maternal, respect each other and avoid aggressive attitudes among themselves. Between male cousins presents of harvest produce may be made, which is not done with the female cousins, for they live with their respective husbands.

● 602 The parents of married couples call each other compadre (compale). There is no difference of comportment between them; the greeting is given by the first one to see his compadre.

606 Sexual relations between father-in-law and daughter-in-law are
[835] prohibited, just as between son-in-law and mother-in-law. There are cases in which the parents-in-law do not care for their son-in-law, and also in which the parents-in-law do not care for their daughter-in-law.

607 Following the general standards of conduct, EGO shows more respect toward his older brothers-in-law than toward the younger ones. A man may not cohabit with the wife of his brother, which is characterized as "mucha groserfa" /great rudeness/. The husband may cohabit with the sister of his wife,
[587] but it is characterized as "muy feo" /very ugly/. The marriage of a man to the widow of his brother or that of a woman to the widower of her sister is also regarded as wrong. Relations between brothers-in-law are cordial; "they respect each other as though they belonged to the same family."

The brothers and sisters of the husband treat the brothers and sisters of the wife as compadres. They may marry each other.

[602] /178/ The sons of the brothers and sisters of the father are nothing to the sons of the brothers and sisters of the mother. They do not speak to each other.

/187 cont./

593 and de facto (with a machete) aggression of a married son (23 years old) against his parents, and the situation calmed down when the father succeeded in disarming the aggressor.

Brothers and sisters respect each other. They avoid aggression, and when they are little they play together. The younger brothers greet the older ones, and when the latter marry, they receive, kneeling, the blessing of the former.

[241] The fruits of the harvests are shared among the brothers,
[476] just as they also mutually help one another in the arduous agricultural work. According to an informant, men care more for their brothers than for their sisters, because the latter, upon marrying, leave the home. Nevertheless they show affection in their conduct with both sexes. Relations between sisters and the mother are intimate, as they live together under the same
[855] roof and intermingle in performing the same work. The older ones help to bring up the younger brothers and sisters. The latter call the eldest brother and eldest sister táta and máma, names that they abandon when they have reached adulthood.
[627] In case of a fight involving one of the brothers, the others go to his assistance and take vengeance if anyone has been injured,
[623] but this is not an obligation. Quarrels between brothers may
[692] arise over the distribution of land. In the greater number of such cases the cabildo settles the differences.

602 Relations between the families united among themselves by blood ties are intimate. They visit one another frequently and are shown painstaking treatment.

593 Mingas[1] are organized more readily among brothers, who
[476] "cover up their poverty." In the religious festivals they mutually
[651] back one another and during occasional meetings they endeavor
[796] to drink and eat together.

1/1 [i.e., meetings for collective work--Analyst]

/176 cont./

551 In referring to a grandfather, for example, Alfonso's,
609 one would say, Pons nei, if the speaker is well known to Alfonso; otherwise he would say Liõn nei (father of Cerveleõn), especially if he were in the presence of the grandfather.

In referring to the paternal uncle of Alfonso, one would say: Pons niñuk.

In referring to the maternal uncle of Alfonso, one would say: Pons nekáhka.

In referring to the paternal aunt of Alfonso, one would say: Pons nsuts.

In referring to the maternal aunt of Alfonso, one would say: Pons nihiñuk.

Relations between Relatives

603 As we have seen, general respect is owed to older persons
[888] by younger persons. Patterns of conduct between grandparents and grandchildren are governed by emotional factors, these being more or less affectionate, according to their mutual comportment. If the grandparents /177/ are kind to their grandchildren, they are given their love and consideration; if the contrary is the case, the attitude is one of cold respect. If the grandchildren say "what an old pig he is," the grandfather will not love them.

604 It is affirmed that with the paternal and maternal uncles
551 an identical pattern of conduct is observed. They cannot be designated solely by name. Thus, if Victoriano Piñakuĕ addresses his uncle by his name, the latter will reply that he has no manners, for he should show respect. "You must say uncle," he advises. His mother will scold him: "you are rude to speak like
604 that, say uncle." Greater respect is owed to Ego's older uncles than to uncles younger than he is. To the former he gives a blessing as he does to his parents. One should not mention "cosas feas" /ugly things/ in their presence or joke with them. If the uncle wishes to joke with the nephew, the latter should

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[602] /178/ The sons of the brothers and sisters of the father are nothing to the sons of the brothers and sisters of the mother. They do not speak to each other.

/183 cont./

557 say, the surname, is transmitted through the paternal line. The
582 wife retains it throughout her life, but does not transmit it to her children. A son of hers will bear only the father's surname.
604 According to an /184/ informant from Calderas a man respects his paternal uncles and aunts in the same manner as the maternal uncles, but not the maternal aunt, because "she is not a real relative;...she is a woman and not a man ... the men (older) have to be respected the same as the old women" and, generalizing, adds: "of the uncles and aunts one respects the men more than the women and the paternal uncles more than
601 the maternal ones." Although the terms for designating the
604 uncles and aunts of EGO differentiate sex and specify the line to which they belong, EGO considers the relationship of the paternal uncles and aunts to be closer than that of the maternal ones, and although the uncles call the sons of their brothers "sons," there does not exist among the present-day Páez a clear concept of parallel uncles and cross uncles and, consequently, of parallel and cross cousins. Masculine EGO calls paternal and maternal male cousins Iakté, paternal and maternal female cousins pesh, making them equal with his own sisters and brothers, and feminine EGO calls paternal and maternal female cousins Iakté, paternal and maternal male cousins Jish, making
601 them equal also with her own brothers and sisters. But logically
604 such a distinction must have existed, to judge from the conduct
582 observed in the selection of mates and in the respect that EGO pays to his uncles and aunts, this being more pronounced for the paternal than for the maternal ones and greater still for the men.
114 Eugenio del Castillo y Orozco corroborates our argument. In
60 his Vocabulario he states that the mother-in-law is called by the
582 same term as the one designating the father's sister (pezoz), and the father-in-law by the same term as the one for designating the mother's brother (cacca). This means that in the eighteenth century in-law kinship specified the origin of the spouses, clearly showing marriage between cross cousins.

60 All these traits make us think that possibly there were
614 patrilineal exogamous clans, now manifested by some types of
174 stereotyped conduct,

/177 cont./

604 laugh, but nothing more. The uncle's wife is to be called aunt and she receives the nephew's blessing because she is older. He may not joke with her. Should she become a widow (echui), the nephew may not marry her because he must respect her. We have not been able to find any information that might make one suspect avuncular or amitate relations.

605 Cousins of the first degree, paternal and maternal, respect each other and avoid aggressive attitudes among themselves. Between male cousins presents of harvest produce may be made, which is not done with the female cousins, for they live with their respective husbands.

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/183 cont./

605 proscribed. With respect to relations between cousins, they
835 state that whoever has them cannot pass the Páramo /crests of the cordilleras/ (Guanacas, Delicias, Moras), because the tiger will eat them. They add, however, that nothing will happen to them if such unions take place without any prelude, laughter, or merriment.

582 In deciding upon the spouses there exists a very singular
551 cultural trait. A man never chooses his future wife from among women bearing his own surname. Thus, a Muse does not choose a Muse for his wife, although she may live in another parcialidad. They believe that there may be kinship relations
551 between them. Cases in which a husband and wife do have the
582 same surname are very rare, and when that happens the husband
851 endeavors to introduce his wife by her mother's name. A case that we were able to observe unexpectedly was during the baptism of a baby girl solemnized in the church at Inzá. For elementary reasons we are concealing the names of the actual parents, and we shall suppose that the father is called Manuel Kiguasú and the mother María Kiguasú. In order to register the baptism of the child, the priest asked for the name of the parents. "Manuel Kiguasú," answered the father of the child, but upon being asked the name of his wife, he did not say that she was called María Kiguasú, as in reality she was, being the legitimate daughter of a Kiguasú, but María Vitechi, a name inherited from her mother. The case acquires more importance if one takes into account the fact that the so-called Manuel Kiguasú is a mestizo
551 who lives among the "whites" and deals with them. We found
582 the same situation in the genealogical record of the family of Nicanor Guagás of the parcialidad of Calderas. Rosario Ido, widow of Nicanor Guagás, bears the name of her mother, a native of the parcialidad of Cuetando, and not that of her father, Agustín Guagás, she being a legitimate daughter. Although in the same records Nicolasa Guagás does not conceal her surname in mentioning that of her deceased husband, Manuel José Guagás, a marriage authorized by the Church, for Nicolasa states that she is her husband's niece. The name of the nuclear family, that is to

/177 cont./

the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook. Old, solitary persons or unmarried girls or men live with relatives or friends, but never alone, since a single person is unable either to protect himself or to provide for himself adequately.

The father's authority is great. Wife and children owe him absolute obedience. Nevertheless, the man does not have the right to alienate personal articles of members of the family or possessions that they made themselves. Thus, for example, he is not in a position to sell a coca bag or a fiber bag belonging to his wife or his children's toys.

The children are given the family name of the father, but the women keep their maiden names even after marriage. There is no external indication in dress or hair style or otherwise for unmarried girls and married women. The wife is obligated to work for her husband and children in her family. Beyond that she may procure personal belongings for herself by weaving cloth beyond the needs of her family, for example, and trading it for ornaments.

If the young people are still living in the house with their parents, the daughter-in-law is not absolutely subordinate to her mother-in-law, although this appears to be so, to judge from the speech at the wedding ceremony. A relationship of dependence is out of the question because of the separate kitchens. Usually, however, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are on good terms, and then it is not uncommon for only one woman to cook for both families, for there is no in-law avoidance. Then the two women share the work of cleaning the house.

Conjugal fidelity is demanded of both marriage partners; in the case of the man, however, it is sometimes not taken so seriously. If a man surprises his wife, however, or she her husband, in marital infidelity, the deceived party may beat (but not kill) both and report them to the cabildo, which again has the guilty party very soundly thrashed.

Illegitimate children are not rare among the Paez. In case an unmarried girl has a child, she is beaten by her parents and

/191 cont./

584 father, and the latter distributes it /192/ to everyone and gives
431 the bringer and all those present some of his own chicha to drink. This continues all night until everyone is drunk. In the morning the daughter-in-law, along with her father-in-law, goes back to the house of the latter, and from then on she lives with her husband until the wedding.

●606 In case the father of the girl should not be satisfied with the
585 young man as a son-in-law, he would still not take any practical action against this union of his daughter, since he does not have to pay a dowry anyway. Besides, once children arrive, the
[591] parents are always satisfied. If, conversely, the father of the young man is not satisfied with the latter's choice of a bride, he may refuse him his house. In this case the young people customarily immediately build their own house, a small one at first.

58 The wedding generally does not take place very soon after courtship among the Paez, but only after a year or more. First of all there begins a trial period, which, however, has an altogether conjugal character. During this time of "trial marriage" the housekeeping abilities of the girl are to be tested, for the latter brings into marriage no dowry of any kind from her parents or any other possessions except her clothing. Since there are no social grounds for a choice of bride in the nonstratified Paez community, and no stimulus to marry on the grounds of a large dowry or on account of the possibility of a low bride price, there are no
581 child betrothals. As bride and wife a girl has only the merit of
462 her personality and her personal capabilities. The latter have the greater weight. It is required of a woman that she be able to cook and to weave the cloth for the whole family, that she not gossip, keep the house in order, and, above all, that she be able to keep the fire going at night and prepare the meal on time in
[264] the morning. The Paez are in the habit of having their first meal
[252] very early, at five or four o'clock in the morning, and an hour before that the woman must already begin preparing the food.
[362] Moreover, as we have seen, the walls of the house are only made
[513] of maize stalks placed side by side, and give scarcely any protection against the coolness of the night. They therefore sleep lying

/177 cont./

604 laugh, but nothing more. The uncle's wife is to be called aunt and she receives the nephew's blessing because she is older. He may not joke with her. Should she become a widow (echui), the nephew may not marry her because he must respect her. We have not been able to find any information that might make one suspect avuncular or amitate relations.

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/178 cont./

614 bearers of the name Guagáz, the old family whose members furnish the capitan and who numerically make up about a quarter of the village. The young men of this name do not always find their wives in Calderas. They /179/ must therefore often look for them in other villages, although in general this is preferably not done. Thus we have among the Paez exogamous kin-groups, that is, groups of persons of male descent, who, to be sure, live dispersed, but have a common festival house, and who cannot marry each other because of their same name. They lack the consciousness of being descended from the same ancestor, however. Similarly, there is neither a common kin-group chief, nor [162] special costumes, or any other common insignia. The bearers of [346] six family names, who together make up more than 60 per cent of the population, have festival houses on the village plaza, in each of which the bearers of the same name meet for the big annual festivals, Immaculada (December 8), Semana Santa (Easter), and San Juan (June 24), and eat and drink together. The other families, who have no festival house of their own, take part in the festival houses of friends' families.

[551] The six large families of Calderas are: Guagáz, Piñakuē, Petíns, Oléz, Oriága, Pechéne.

614 Within the kin groups, relatives play no role, but the god-
602 parents (padrino, madrina) do, and strict etiquette is observed with
608 respect to them. Boy or girl, man or woman who meet their god-
576 parents anywhere must kneel down to receive their blessing.

The kinship nomenclature is in part more differentiated than
601 ours. The common form of address for father and child and mother and child and the differentiated address for older and younger siblings are striking. The designations for father and mother are differentiated according to whether one speaks of one's own or of foreign fathers and mothers. One's own father is táta, the foreign one néi; one's own mother is máma, the foreign one nihí. It does not matter whether a man or a woman is speaking in the following examples:

/185 cont./

844 until very late and only with great difficulty. The proper depth is supposed to be about 30 centimeters.

846 Four to six days after birth and after the first bath, the
851 father or one of the godparents brings the child to the sacristan of
608 the village or /186/ to the women missionaries, in order to have
[797] it christened with water and given the name of the Christian saint
[551] of the christening day. Every child has only one given name and the Paez surname of its father. The baptism by the priest with oil takes place later on a suitable occasion, in the presence of the god-
[783] parents, and is followed by an eating and drinking bout. The
[756] mother also takes part in this, after she has left the dúyat and has washed herself, her child, and her clothes and has been purified by the shaman.

861 The rearing of the children is in the hands of the parents, who teach them the necessary accomplishments of life quite as a matter of course and almost in play. Disobedient children are also beaten, however, and, to be sure, usually if the son has no real desire to help his father with the field work. In punishing, the fathers are generally stricter than the mothers and on occasion beat them with leather straps all over their bodies. The boxing
[461] of ears is also to be seen. If a young man proves to be lazy in later life, the father is blamed because he did not properly ad-
848 monish his son to work. Illegitimate sons, who lack the strict hand of a father, are said to turn out badly in many cases, though as such they are very popular. Since they do not know their father, they are not obliged to work in his field. They are all the more
[426] in demand as helpers in the fields of other families. When they
[431] are older, they may borrow land and establish a family. Usually they even receive the land as a present. Thus, they need not
848 starve by any means. Illegitimate daughters are in a more unfavor-
562 able position, for their help is not needed for the most part, and their mother does not have a household of her own. Nevertheless
[583] their marriage prospects are not unfavorable, since a girl does not
[581] have a dowry, but is married only on the basis of her personal qualities.

/193 cont./

585 help. Since the young men almost never own their own cattle,
[422] they must earn the purchase price for this by the sale of agricul-
[432] tural products. Wheat is usually chosen for this, since it may be
[243] harvested half a year after sowing.

For the wedding celebration about 50 men and women are
585 invited, not only relatives, but also friends, among them the
608 sponsors (padrino, madrina) required for the church marriage
service. They sit with the bridal couple (nikálo). The parents
[291] and guests on both sides arrange themselves informally. The
[431] padrino and madrina must give or loan the bridegroom and bride
[426] new clothes for this wedding day, but they differ from the ordinary
[301] everyday clothing only in that they are newer and cleaner. No
585 special /194/ ornaments of any kind are put on by anyone. The
wedding is celebrated in such a way that the church service takes
place in the morning, after which the guests go to the wedding
house accompanied by music and have a small midday meal, with
which, however, only a little chicha is drunk. The festival ox is
not yet slaughtered on this day, and not until the "actual" (as the
Calderun say) wedding celebration, which takes place about a
month later in the house of the bridegroom. The ox is slaughtered
in the morning, and in the afternoon the guests arrive, sit down
together informally, and eat and drink chicha and brandy copiously.
[533] Music is played for this, but no one dances to it. Before the eating
[535] begins, when all are still sober, the padrino makes a speech ad-
dressed to the bride and groom, in which he says approximately
the following: You are now husband and wife, and you, as the
husband, should not beat your wife, and you, as wife, should
not use any bad words toward your husband. The husband should
also not speak ill of his wife, and the wife should obey if the
husband commands her to do something and should help him
in all things! Then he takes the hand of the bride and gives it
to the mother of the bridegroom, who speaks to the bride as fol-
lows: You have now been taken into our family and you are to
work for your husband and cook his meals for him and make his
clothes and arrange everything for him; in addition, you must
help me in the house and carry out my instructions, as well as

S /197 cont./
764 The child had been laid in a coffin which was painted on the out-
C side with stars. The female relatives had made a so-called "canopy,"
123 /198/ a pole two meters high, on the tip of which was fastened a white hoop decorated with flowers, from which hung eleven colored paper streamers, one of which was carried by each of the participants. I, too, was asked to take one, and then we set out -- without the mother of the deceased child -- with music, for the graveyard where the small coffin was opened once more and then lowered
P into the earth without formality.

764 Among the Paez of Togoima, too, there is drinking, dancing,
184 and singing at the death of a child, and here, too, the mother does
[273] not take part in the burial at the graveyard. The body is carried
[533] by a woman -- usually the godmother -- in a small sedan chair of
[535] bamboo, accompanied by the music of drum, timpano, and flute,
●[608] to the burial place where several men have already scooped out a grave with the lateral niche (Ills. 204 and 207 /see pp. 290 and 291/). The deceased child has a few flowers in its mouth. It is wrapped in a cloth and is laid in a recumbent position, along with a bouquet of flowers, in the niche, which is separated from the shaft by the rods of the sedan chair placed vertically side by side. The earth thrown into the pit is stamped down very firmly with posts.

P In Calderas, too, the mother of a "little angel" to be buried
[608] does not go along to the graveyard. The small corpse is carried by the godmother, not in a sedan chair, but simply wrapped in a cloth, on her arm.

The burial of the Christian Indios of San Andrés shows transi-
P tions in the shape of the grave from the Paez niche-grave to the
[674] simple, rectangular pit of the other Christians. We took part in the burial of the capitan who had been stabbed by his drunken son during a quarrel. The direction of the grave in the cemetery of San Andrés is always east-west; the head lies on the west side with the ground sloping upward. Instead of a lateral niche, a trapezoidal hollow about 50 centimeters deep is dug at the bottom of the shaft, which is covered horizontally by bamboo put so closely together that no earth can fall down, and the corpse is practically just as well

Everyone grants everyone else

/203 cont./

571 whatever he expects and claims for himself, quite as a matter of
829 course. This results in an entirely natural self-esteem, injury to
155 which on the part of the "blancos" is felt as very painful by the Paez.

576 Within the Paez communities the obligation of a greeting (gwéčaya) by a younger person to an older one is strictly observed. Even a "family feud" does not absolve the younger people from the respectful greeting "pétenga" (translated by "good day") toward the older people of other families, who acknowledge it with " "pé'taw." Removing one's hat at the same time is not customary.

[608] A greeting by shaking hands takes place only among members of the family or with one's godfather or godmother with the salutation "ndyósta utsménga" (Godparent, how are you?), during which the hat is also removed. Contemporaries greet each other with

[521] "éwča" (how are you) and reply with "éwčataw" (I am well). Generally people chat awhile when they meet, introduce the conversation with a joke, a bit of news in the village, or perhaps merely a remark about the weather.

156 Though the Paez may be regarded basically as an individualist, this does not hold true universally. On account of the abundantly available land, it is possible for him to isolate himself and withdraw for weeks at a time to his separate farm, but
461 nonetheless the Paez does not like to drink his chicha alone. And
476 usually friends and neighbors help, not only with housebuilding or
156 clearing, but also with sowing and lesser tasks. The labor of the individual, in instances of mutual help, is merely loaned, however, since the same persons meet again for joint aid on the corresponding tasks of a neighbor. The owner in question must also make chicha and food liberally available for each task, which makes every joint task a small feast. The actual useful effects of the communal work are slight, and, as a visitor from the outside, one has the impression that the joint eating and drinking is the primary thing, interrupted at times by only brief periods of work. On sober consideration -- which no Paez, of course, undertakes -- the joint consumption in connection with a communal task is more expensive for the individual than if each person himself over a correspondingly

/187 cont./

583 says the youth after he has conferred upon the parents-in-law
[584] bottles of aguardiente and calabashes of chicha according to his means. The parents always accede to the request.

At midnight he goes off with her to the house of his parents, if he does not have one of his own. They will live together for several months, one year, two...; during this time he will find out whether the woman can cook, grind maize, carry water and firewood, weave ponchos and /188/ pouches, and he will become familiar with her fidelity, temperament, and
583 character. Only then will he look for a sponsor /padrino/,
585 seek out the priest, take communion and receive the nuptial
[608] blessing, and return to his house, where the bubbling troughs of chicha, the savory "mute" /maize stew/ boiling in the pot, the crude guitars and the pleasing chirimías /a kind of orchestra/ will complete the sealing of the union. They will go through the night, and sometimes days as well, drinking, eating, and dancing.

462 The building of the house on the land of his property will
594 soon follow. Gradually, the man will furnish it with pangopil
[372] for sitting, crude plates and spoons for eating, pots for cooking, hides and sometimes raised platforms for sleeping, a sugar mill to mill the juicy cane; he will bring water from distant sources, provide troughs in order to ferment chicha, purchase machetes, axes, and picks to work the land, plant bananas, sugar cane, onions, and cabbages in his garden; he will put together the barzos where he will keep the bundles of wheat, the ears /caspas/ of maize, the mulberry-colored beans; he will acquire a dog and also -- why not? it has been his ambition and his hope -- he will buy cattle for the fiestas and a horse to race for San Juan and to operate the sugar mill. The woman, on her part, will tend the guinea pigs, breed her chickens and turkeys, look after the pigs so they will not be lost, shear the sheep, weave her yaha gwala (fique bags) for carrying the compact ears of maize, the rustling beans, and the green cabbages

/205 cont./

535 keeps her head low, with her eyes on the ground, attentive to the musical notes which she seems to interpret with her movements. One foot forward, then one back, in swift alternation; she suddenly stands in her partner's way, then does an about-face. She keeps her arms motionless against her abdomen.

The man, on his part, dances with his forehead held high, his arms motionless against his thighs, his face joyous. From time to time he shouts: "Viva the Conservative Party!" or "Viva el Cauca!"

It is customary for the fiestero and the albacero to dance with each other's wives, after their respective "care."

535 It is the rule for the newlyweds and the sponsors to open
608 the dancing at weddings. In the midst of the dancing and at
585 different times the bride and groom kneel before their sponsors /padrinos/ to receive /recitarles/ the blessing, the bride before the padrino and the groom before the madrina. The latter
[576] bless them and give them their hands to help them rise. After the dance of the newlyweds and the sponsors, the others present may dance, and in the midst of the dancing they, too, greet one another /206/ by placing the right hand over the other person's left shoulder and pressing it.

535 Although one colonial writer speaks of specific dances, nowadays they are only a memory; it is said that there is performed in Avirama the dance of the little bird (vicha ku), danced by young girls at dawn. Calderas informants say that it is very ugly and for this reason they do not dance it. It may possibly correspond to the Itza-ko noted by Pittier de Fábrega.

XIV

The Great Day

796 Before dawn raises its pale face above the black rims of the eastern peaks, the women have already left their hard beds

7:Hernández de Alba E-5, ✓ (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

The *Páez* family is completely under the authority of the father, whose wife and children obey him implicitly and may be punished by him. Nonetheless, the father must obtain his wife's permission to sell or exchange goods she produced, such as bags for coca, sashes, etc. Precise etiquette is maintained between fathers and godfathers (compadres). Whenever a man meets his father or his godfather, he must kneel to receive his blessing. The fathers and godfathers must embrace whenever they meet. In one case a young man was the godfather of his father's new son by another wife, so that in meeting his father the young man had to kneel bareheaded, and then stand with his hat on and embrace his father as a godparent. The father did not call him "son" but "compadre." 594 [425] 608 576

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—A very old custom among these peoples is that at childbirth the mother should retire to a special house or go to the mountains. If she was delivered in the home, she and the baby were bathed, and then the family left the hut and built a new one elsewhere. 844

Today both the *Moguex* and *Páez* have a special hut for childbirth. The day after the child is born, the mother is placed in a hole up to her head and bathed with an infusion of leaves of "moquita," after which she washes the clothes and objects worn during delivery. She then returns to work and lives again at home. In the special hut, a *Páez* woman is assisted in childbirth by another woman, or, as a last resort, by her husband, who must bathe immediately afterward. Two days later, the mother circumcises her son or destroys the virginity of her daughter. Four or five days after the birth and after the first bath, the father takes the child to the sacristan of the community for baptism with water, and then returns it to the mother. The afterbirth must be buried or burned at the place of the birth. About 15 days later, the mother takes a bath and washes her child and her clothes and objects, and returns home. Later, the child is baptized with oil in the church by the priest with the godparents present. This is an occasion for general dancing and drunkenness. 846 [757] [343] [844] [304] [851] [844] [851] [608]

Puberty.—At puberty a girl was formerly taken by her parents to a hill, placed in a hole, and bathed. Each Indian then took her a gift. Pittier de Fábrega (1907) notes that at a later period a girl's puberty was celebrated with the "Itsa-kó" dance, the girl, bathed with chicha, remaining in the hole. Today, a woman must retire during her menstrual periods to a special hut, where other women bring her food and build a fire to warm her. Afterward, she bathes, washes her clothes and objects, and then returns home. 881 [431] [535] 841 343

Men, until recently, underwent a sort of initiation, in which they were taken to the shores of the sacred lagoon of Juan Tama or to the 881

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,/(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

535 There is much dancing today. The sexes perform in couples or separately. Among the *Moguex*, some of the expert dancers are paid to dance with all couples in a sort of "bambuco." Dancing is always a part of *Páez* ceremonies for the death of children, baptiamals, weddings, saint holidays, and meetings for collective work (mingas) held in the evening when people return from their plantations.

Dancing, as other social events, is subject to a special ceremony [585] or etiquette, strongly connected with religious beliefs. For example, in the wedding celebration, a prayer is first said in which the souls of [608] the dead are asked permission to dance, or "scrape the floor," as they call dancing. Only the godparents and the bride and groom may [527] dance at the beginning.

The *Páez* do not masquerade, but the *Moguex* always masquerade 526 during the period of carnival preceding Holy Week.

[524] **Games.**—Games do not hold an important place among these peoples. The children amuse themselves by imitating the activities [857] of their elders. The only game recorded is simulated warfare, performed as a part of a rite in honor of the dead after a communal [769] feast. Two teams under their captains or caciques attacked and shot arrows at each other. Even if some contestants were killed or wounded, no one bore a grudge.

276 **Narcotics.**—The *Páez* and the *Moguex* chewed coca leaves mixed in the mouth with lime powder. Coca chewing is widespread among men, but very little practiced by women. It is used especially by [756] the shaman when he is practicing. In Colonial times the use of coca [177] spread to the rural population of Mestizos and Whites in Nariño, Cauca, and Huila.

273 **Alcoholic beverages.**—These Indians formerly made chicha of maize, but today they ferment it with sugarcane molasses. They also have [178] fermented sugarcane juice (guarapo), and a sort of rum (aguardiente). The latter is distilled clandestinely in their huts from guarapo and certain herbs fermented together in earthenware crocks. The Indians drink guarapo every day, but restrict the use of chicha and the stronger guarapo and aguardiente to market days, religious feast days, burials, weddings, mingas or meetings for work, and witchcraft [462] ceremonies. Guarapo and chicha are made by women, who sometimes chew the maize to increase its fermentation. They are stored in large, hollowed tree trunks and in large earthen jars, which are kept in a special place in the hut. There is never a lack of these beverages for home use and for welcoming an unexpected visitor.

RELIGION

175 The early Spaniards had little understanding of the religion of these 771 people. They reported that the Indians had but few idols and no temples or places of worship. Castillo mentions that they wor-

/109 cont./

124 One day, at the sight of a freshly cleared field on the
423 highest mountain slopes, I asked a Paez working there to whom this land belonged and whether the person concerned had always owned it. He answered that he himself was the owner and that previously the parcel had been ownerless. He said that he had cleared it for himself and only recently built his house here in order to live here. In answer to my question as to whether there was any more ownerless land, he explained to me that the highest and inaccessible mountain peaks which are still covered with big trees and have never been cleared do not belong to anyone and that any Paez could clear a piece on them, which would then become his property. Later I called Victoriano to task, saying that actually there still was ownerless land. "Yes," he then answered me, "of course there is still ownerless land, but it is so poor that it has no value."

157 Far from their village, on the way to market, and generally in /110/ places away from home, the Paez, if they
[123] are alone or in the minority, are timid and reserved. If they
[522] are together in large numbers, however, or, even better, in their own house, they are usually quite bold and impudent and loudly made their jokes at our expense. Indeed, jocularity is a
157 prominent characteristic of the Paez. No talk, no conversation,
521 be it ever so unimportant, is begun without joking -- often of
522 an erotic nature. The importance of conducting such a light,
[834] idle conversation is shown by the fact that serious-minded girls are scarcely ever married.

123 They made fun of my wife in particular, for they found
522 it altogether ugly that she wore long pants. Numerous jokes
157 were made about this, which we, of course, did not understand, and for this reason we, in turn, had to take the initiative by making a joke which was then acknowledged gratefully and usually
609 with quick-wittedness. On the whole, respect toward strangers
522 inside their dwelling is unknown to them. In larger groups they
159 make their asides even in a strange environment, accompanied by much laughter. Since one does not understand them, one
[797] easily gets the impression that they are silly. In their own houses they also mimic the visiting mission priest by repeating

/110 cont./

609 parts of the Mass, as they have understood it, in an exaggeratedly
522 dramatic fashion. The priest has a difficult office in any case.
797 They do not understand his sermons and teachings in the church,
157 conducted in the Spanish language. If he speaks their own language, his inevitable mistakes are commented upon amid loud laughter.

123 On our first visit to Calderas, a man about 30 years old met us at the boundary of the village and asked us in a gruff tone whether we did not know that this land was only for the Paez. No white man had any business here. We should turn back, for no one wanted our visit. Marcos Antonio intervened and explained that we had only come to bring gifts to the Calderun and that we had no intention of settling down in Calderas. We would surely leave again the next day. The man let this pass and warned us upon departure not to dare try to steal any land.

[623] Even later we never obtained permission from the cabildo, the village council, to remain in the village more than a week at a time. Our reputation among the younger people of the village improved from week to week, on the one hand because we offered a cigarette to each man and each woman with whom we had an opportunity to talk, but even more because -- as we were told later -- we were friendly to everyone and always /111/ laughed.

[648] As a matter of fact, it would never occur to any of the white or mixed-colored colonists to favor a Calderun even with a glance. On the contrary, in the houses lying along the road, the dogs are trained to attack the Indios. True, these dogs are all undernourished and generally very cowardly. The Paez man need only raise his machete or a club in order to ward off the dog. We were the first whites who did something completely out of the ordinary in that we were always friendly, without any mental reservations, and always greeted them first, in their language. And this not only in Calderas, but also in Inzá and on the roads to the market. This friendliness was taken in good part on all sides. Then later, after we were able to show and to give them the first photographs of themselves, they were definitely pleased to be photographed and now and then offered us an egg or a bowl of chicha /see the glossary, p. 248/ when we photographed them.

/113 cont./

361 but rather we are /114/ concerned, almost without exception, with individual farms scattered on the slopes of the mountains, where the families live in the midst of their cultivated fields [157] (cf. Ills. 156 and 157 /see p. 269 and 270/). The Paez is by no means an unsociable person and likes to take part in the festivals, but he does not like to live closely confined in a village and to have his neighbors always around him; rather, he prefers to live quite far away from the next house, surrounded by his animals, in order to be able to go about his daily work in the fields undisturbed with his family.

423 609 Every Paez has a strong tie to "his soil," and the fear that he could be robbed of his soil and land dictates his unfriendly and forbidding attitude toward the stranger. Besides, for centuries their experiences with the whites have been too unfortunate for the Paez to be able to understand that a stranger might come for entirely unselfish reasons, merely in order to become acquainted with them and their country.

423 [342] [428] The Paez builds his house, as the family's focus and social center, only upon his own land, which he inherited from his fathers and which, through all subsequent generations, belongs to the family that first cultivated it. There is land in sufficient quantity in every family; in case of need anyone can also find ownerless, uncleared land on the highest sites of the mountain ranges.

Whereas the slopes of the mountains are private property after the initial clearing, the valley floor with the community 487 house and the festival plaza is community land. The houses are [487] connected with one another, as well as with the village plaza, by means of footpaths which are always very narrow because the Paez, even in larger numbers, never walk side by side, but always one behind the other. Originally even the connecting trails between the individual villages, the trails that had to be taken to the weekly markets in Belalcázar or Inzá, were no wider. In more recent times, however, visits on the part of secular and religious authorities made it necessary to widen the trails for riders.

31 Since there are no compact settlements among the Paez, there is also no geographical variations of the village. The church

/292 cont./

5. Folklore

*539 The present fund of tales of the Paez is neither rich nor varied. Here, too, a certain impoverishment has undoubtedly taken place, as may be seen from fragments of larger complexes of myths. Among these there are the "Story of the Woman from Whose Body Useful Plants Come Forth," stories about transformed animals and human beings, as well as stories about werejaguars. [171] The story of the ghostly human head that comes rolling by is also extraordinarily widespread in North and South American legends [176] and has a manifold lunar-mythological meaning. In contrast to this, the complete absence of typical stories about the forest spirit (gĕlyŏmp) is noteworthy, although the latter plays an important role in the religious conceptions of the Paez. Animal and transformation tales are only very dull and colorless.

114 Unfortunately, the reluctance of the Paez to communicate
● 609 is particularly frustrating in the recording of the myths. It is
*539 primarily the old people who can tell stories. But they are the
[887] very ones who are particularly standoffish toward the stranger. The chroniclers and early reporters tell us nothing about the folklore of the Paez, and even the most recent travelers of the 'thirties report only the story of Juan Tama or deny that the Paez have any mythology at all.

12 The stories collected by S. Bernal Villa and by myself could
609 surely be augmented with better acquaintance among the old
*539 people. The unpopularity of our interpreter, especially among
[554] the old people, was sometimes so great an obstacle that Victoriano had to ask suitable informants for some of the stories told about his father or uncle.

*539 The themes of the stories chiefly consist of tales about Thunder (Nos. 1-12), mostly under his names of Juan Tama, Llivan, Chauté, or Juan Chiracol. In the myths he is the first shaman and teacher of the present-day shamans (see under "Religion" /see pp. 176 ff. /) and considerably more powerful than human beings. He is not an exalted, numinous figure, however. On the contrary, people in olden days /293/ sometimes treated him quite badly, threw poisonous herbs in his lagoon,

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

marriage bonds were not definitely made until experiment indicated the fecundity of the woman, and that the union was dissolved at the will of the husband if the wife proved to be barren. The same authority informs us that the wife had to give her husband the necessary clothing, while the husband provided food for the family. 581 [586] [585]

A custom mentioned by Castillo was that during menses the women spent the time sitting in small huts expressly built for that purpose, for fear of contaminating the common dwelling and of bringing disease and death to its occupants. 841

Rodriguez relates another custom in connection with childbirth and death: ". . . y siempre que pare la mujer, ó que muere alguno de su familia, desamparan la casa, dexando en ella al difunto con cantidad de bastimento y de la chicha, brebage, que beben: y á las casas donde parió la mujer, las dejan con las inmundicias de el parto, y acabadas de nacer las criatures, las laban, y se vañan sus madres, poniendose en viaje á buscar nuevo paraje para su habitacion, que siempre procuran sea en parte muy fragosa, por no ser visitados." 844

These details are confirmed by Castillo and were probably still observed in his time. As to what is done at present, and regarding the family organization in general, it is very difficult to obtain reliable information. The Indians are very jealous of their women, do not tolerate in them any intercourse with strangers, and become instantly distrustful when questioned about family matters. 152 593 609

With reference to death, Castillo differs from Rodriguez in that he states that a dying person was taken from the house, so that he did not actually die in it, and that the dwelling was destroyed by fire. He does not mention the custom of leaving food near the corpse, but states that the body was buried and a fence built around the grave. 768 763 764

Diseases

No diseases came under my observation during my stay at Huila and Tacueyó, and the Indians rather impressed me as being a healthy people. But if their vocabulary affords suffi- 164 [114]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

157 pipes they play while walking along, unless their hands are kept
533 busy plaiting braids of gynerium bark in the manufacture of
283 their hats. This is the exclusive occupation of the men.
[463] Women almost invariably walk along spinning wool, their distaff under the left arm and the spindle in the left hand, while the right hand is busy at the wool.

883 The Paez maidens are fond of flowers and are very playful.
157 On one occasion I observed several of them going up the hill
481 beyond the river, in front of the church at Huila, their arms entwined about one another's necks; then they began running up the steep hill as in a contest of endurance. As they became exhausted they threw themselves on the grass, while their movements showed that they were playing and joking all the time. These children of Nature are not unpleasant to look at,
[515 except for their usual lack of cleanliness; nor are they wanting
142] in coquetry, and they are often pretty. But in the presence of
[609] strangers they are extremely bashful, doing their utmost to keep in the background.

291 The old women are generally very ugly. Their clothing con-
515 sists only of dirty rags, and their skin is covered with the filth of years.

593 Relations between the sexes, especially between husbands
562 and wives, seem to be easy and without an air of superiority on the part of the former. On the few occasions that I had to entertain these people at their houses, the women took the same interest and the same part in the proceedings as the men, which was very different from what I observed among the Central American Indians.

609 Toward strangers, and especially toward Colombians of other
186 races, the attitude of the Indians is decidedly hostile. Unless induced by the prospect of profit they will neither sell anything nor lend any service, often refusing money and accepting only articles which they especially desire. They will not allow white
[563] or black people in their homes, and at Huila they are even unwilling that the only white family living there should share the practically inexhaustible supply of fuel scattered about in the near-by forest, or have horses or cattle pasturing on the almost

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

deserted savannas. It must be said, in extenuation, that they have been subjected to much abuse by their neighbors of the "superior race." Moreover, the Paeces are naturally hostile to strangers, descending, as we have seen, from a warlike people. The old Paeces always went about armed, carrying a lance or javelin in the hand and ready to protect their bodies from the darts of an enemy by means of a shield of basket-work (*opimb*), or of tapir hide (*yimba-kdt*). The warlike tendencies of the tribe were stimulated by means of periodical contests in which the most valiant warriors fought each other in the presence of the multitude.

To-day, as we have seen, the descendants of these have abundant opportunity to satisfy their fighting propensity by taking sides in the frequent quarrels of the political parties that thus far have kept Colombia in an almost continual turmoil.

Sexual intercourse between Paez women and men of other races is said not to exist; barbarous chastisement would be the fate of the offending female. It is to be expected, however, that the closer contact brought about by the gradual penetration of the Tierra Andentro by whites and negroes will soon overcome the purity of the Paez blood and open the way to amalgamation with the neo-Colombian race.

Reclus, cited above (page 311), gives us to understand that the Paez were cannibals, and the tradition current in the villages along the western foot of the cordillera confirms his intimation with reference to the Pijaos; for the coming of "el Pijao" is still a menace to children. The early chroniclers tell us of several anthropophagous tribes which lived in this region, and it is not unlikely that the Paeces had a share in that custom.

GRAMMATICAL NOTES

Castillo's *Nociones gramaticales* is limited to a list of the personal pronouns and the conjugation of the verbs 'to be' and 'to write.' A few more grammatical indications are incorporated in the vocabularies, but on the whole these data are very meager, and much remains to be done in this direction.

/190 cont./

them during the day. They use no blankets. The woman leaves sufficient wood on the fire for heat to protect them from the rigors of the cold of the night which filters through the stalks of the walls. In addition, over the fire there is a pot of "mute," beans, and cabbage, which, when cooked, will constitute the meal at daybreak. The fire is revived by the woman at 11 o'clock, an operation that is repeated about two o'clock in the morning. At four o'clock in the morning everyone is up. At dawn the woman distributes the food, and then the men come out of their houses with machetes in their belts, kuetand yaha filled with coca and mambe, to clear the woodland, weed the fields, or help with the hard work of their neighbors.

V

Anger, Rancor, and Politics

The Calderas Indians are arch conservatives. Tradition, pride, and a rebel spirit have much to do with their passion for politics. I do not speak of the conservative doctrine or of political concepts. They are conservatives by temperament and group solidarity. By the same token, their fanaticism is proverbial. The mere mention of the word "liberal" makes them break out in a rash. Anyone who comes to Calderas for the first time is approached by the Indians out of curiosity. "What is your name?" "What do you want?" "Why did you come?" "What are you, liberal or conservative?" These are the questions with which the natives and even the local cabildo besiege the visitor. It should be added that those who wish to save their skins or to avoid being run out of town must maintain that they are conservatives. It is said that in 1952 they did not want to accept the Missionary Sisters who came to run the school which is supported by the national government.

/190 cont./

609 It was necessary for someone to tell them that they were sent by
797 /191/ Laureano Gómez before they all said: "Well, then, let
871
829 them remain."

666 In spite of their stubborn conservatism, the leaders of the
829 municipio cannot manage to make them vote for their chosen candidates unless they first get their ration of meat, chicha, and aguardiente. The ration and the vote form an indivisible unit.

829 "I am godo /Goth, pejorative for Spaniard/ to the marrow, a true conservative," exclaimed one of the important men of
[773] Calderas while he was drunk. "Juan Chiracol also was a conservative," said another.

829 The Indians of Tierradentro have been liberals since 1860,
175 thanks to the victor's aura gained by Mosquera on the plains
648 of Segovia. "The battle of Segovia" --says the padre David González--"in which the Indians took part and in which Mosquera encouraged the native ferocity, and the march on Bogotá, which fell to the rebel general, made him a demigod
[464] in the eyes of the Paez. Since the first days of the colony they have venerated the name Mosquera; the Marquis don Cristóbal Mosquera y Figueroa had been their master, their encomendero, he had taken them to Popayán in gangs to work on his haciendas, he had given to them the huge lands of his
[665] encomienda... Naturally the Indians of Tierradentro have been strongly bound since 1860 to the political faction which represented Mosquera, liberalism. In the armed struggles which later scourged the nation, the Paez staunchly bore the liberal standard."

829 In view of this, the political affiliation of the Calderas
665 Indians is an odd one; up to less than a decade ago, they formed a conservative island in the midst of a liberal majority. Possibly this attitude conceals a great desire to defend their lands. The Calderas people have no marked sympathy for the neighboring parcialidades. "They are Reds," say the natives,

/175 cont./

193 In like manner, the children, in referring to their
601 parents, place in front the possessive anji or uk, according to whether the speakers are male or female, respectively.

Anjí téwesh (my parents, male speaker).
Uk tewesh (my parents, female speaker).
Anji ishiwesh (my grandparents).
Uk ishiwesh (my grandparents).

/176/

557 Non-relatives designate the grandparents: nesh wála.
576 When a speaker is younger than the person referred to, and
609 that person is a father, the correct way to speak of him is "the father of so-and-so," for example: if our informant Victoriano Piñakué (18 years old) wants to refer to Cerveleón Guagás (55 years old), he does not simply mention him by name, because this is a "grosería" /rudeness/, but he says "the father of Alfonso" (who is his eldest son), Pons nei, or Marcelo nei if he refers to the father of Marcelo. If the first-born is dead, he would say unás nei, father of the deceased. If the speaker is older than the person referred to, he may simply call him by name, but only when there is familiarity between the two; otherwise he must use the form previously mentioned. Thus, for example, Vicente Puche, who is older then Julián Piñakué (father of our informant), and since he is familiar with him, simply calls him Kilián; if he were not, he would say Vit nei (father of Victoriano). The identical form is followed for a woman older than the speaker, for example: Pons nihi (mother of Alfonso); Vit nihi (mother of Victoriano); Unás nihi (mother of the deceased).

If our informant Piñakué wishes to express this thought, "Cerveleón, I want something," he must say, "Father of Alfonso, I want something" (Pons nei tech yugüe guau wet). He may call him simply Cerveleón, but far away from him and when he is among people who are not relatives, but, he adds, this is not respectful. If Cerveleón heard this said, he would be annoyed.

/176 cont./

551 In referring to a grandfather, for example, Alfonso's,
609 one would say, Pons nei, if the speaker is well known to Alfonso; otherwise he would say Liõn nei (father of Cerveleõn), especially if he were in the presence of the grandfather.

In referring to the paternal uncle of Alfonso, one would say: Pons niñuk.

In referring to the maternal uncle of Alfonso, one would say: Pons nekfhka.

In referring to the paternal aunt of Alfonso, one would say: Pons nsuts.

In referring to the maternal aunt of Alfonso, one would say: Pons nihiñuk.

Relations between Relatives

603 As we have seen, general respect is owed to older persons
[188] by younger persons. Patterns of conduct between grandparents and grandchildren are governed by emotional factors, these being more or less affectionate, according to their mutual comportment. If the grandparents /177/ are kind to their grandchildren, they are given their love and consideration; if the contrary is the case, the attitude is one of cold respect. If the grandchildren say "what an old pig he is," the grandfather will not love them.

604 It is affirmed that with the paternal and maternal uncles
551 an identical pattern of conduct is observed. They cannot be designated solely by name. Thus, if Victoriano Piñakuẽ addresses his uncle by his name, the latter will reply that he has no manners, for he should show respect. "You must say uncle," he advises. His mother will scold him: "you are rude to speak like
604 that, say uncle." Greater respect is owed to Ego's older uncles than to uncles younger than he is. To the former he gives a blessing as he does to his parents. One should not mention "cosas feas" /ugly things/ in their presence or joke with them. If the uncle wishes to joke with the nephew, the latter should

/178 cont./

177 effectively maintained (4). In each house, scattered over the
797
361

4. Bernal Villa, S. "La fiesta de San Juan en Calderas Tierradentro /The fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," 1953, p. 182.

In each house, scattered over the
594 ruggedness of the prominences, live a pair of adults of the op-
[361] posite sex and their children. It is this nuclear family that cares for and maintains its old parents and attends to their burial when they die, that completes the religious festivals with traditional pomp and rigor (5), that defends its /179/ interests from the

5. Ibid., pp. 192 ff.

attacks of strangers, that in former times celebrated the "Riria" (which they call Necue) (6) or the first menstruation of a woman

6. In the Vocabulario Páez-Castellano /Spanish-Páez Vocabulary/ of del Castillo y Orozco there is the word Nécue, which has the following textual definition: desafío; pelea que es un desafío solemne tan antiguo como el jentilismo entre los páeces, de dos campeones cada uno con el común de su bando /competition, a fight that is a solemn competition as old as paganism among the Paez, of two champions, each one with the community of his faction/.

(which they call Izacó), and, finally, that manufactures its troughs for chicha ("another cause for vain observance," of which del Castillo y Orozco speaks) in order to carry out the "bebezones"
594 /drinking parties/ with all who seek to participate. It is this
574 nuclear family that "cuida" /takes care of/ relatives who arrive,
609 that offers hospitality to the native traveler and that shows cold silence toward the visitor from Western culture.

848 /178/ the cabildo until she names the father of her child. If he
623 is an unmarried young man, he must marry the girl. A married man, however, is beaten by the cabildo. He does not need to make support payments. It is different if a married man has no
842 children. In this case the wife is regarded in principle as the one
848 at fault. He may then have a child by an unmarried girl without
837 being punished. He simply explains to the cabildo that he has a
[623] great deal of property and that he therefore needs children whom he cannot have by his wife. To the mother of his natural child he gives a cow, clothing, and a pretty belt, and she then surrenders her child to the lawful wife of the father of her child. He may
[554] do this several times until he has enough children. This is not permitted, however, for a poor man without possessions, it was explained to me, for "why does he need children?"

844 At the time of menstruation and also at the birth of a child
841 the woman stays in a special small hut (dúyat). She receives her
[343] food either from her mother, sister, or a neighbor woman from a house in which several women live. This woman at the same time cooks for the members of the family of the menstruating woman. The members of the family of the woman who is temporarily cooking receive their meals from another female member of her family. The woman who takes care of the food also fetches the wood for the fire necessary for warmth in the dúyat. Female inhabitants of farms or of field huts used for only a few months, which have no
[758] dúyat, go to a neighboring or related family for this period. In case the housewife becomes ill, she moves into the house of one
[602] of her sisters or female relatives, where she is nursed. The male relatives of the sick woman must then likewise go to the house of this relative to eat.

614 Besides the patrilineal nuclear families, no recognized patrilineal kin-groups /Sippen/ are known among the Paez, but all who bear the same family name feel related and may not marry, even though they are not knowingly -- this knowledge goes back only two generations -- related. Our interpreter, Victoriano Piñakuẽ, for example, may not only not marry any girls with the patronymic Piñakuẽ, but also no girls whose mothers are named Piñakuẽ. Conditions are particularly difficult among the

/178 cont./

●614 bearers of the name Guagáz, the old family whose members furnish the capitan and who numerically make up about a quarter of the village. The young men of this name do not always find their wives in Calderas. They /179/ must therefore often look for them in other villages, although in general this is preferably not done. Thus we have among the Paez exogamous kin-groups, that is, groups of persons of male descent, who, to be sure, live dispersed, but have a common festival house, and who cannot marry each other because of their same name. They lack the consciousness of being descended from the same ancestor, however. Similarly, there is neither a common kin-group chief, nor [162] special costumes, or any other common insignia. The bearers of [346] six family names, who together make up more than 60 per cent of the population, have festival houses on the village plaza, in each of which the bearers of the same name meet for the big annual festivals, Immaculada (December 8), Semana Santa (Easter), and San Juan (June 24), and eat and drink together. The other families, who have no festival house of their own, take part in the festival houses of friends' families.

[551] The six large families of Calderas are: Guagáz, Piñakuē, Petíns, Oléz, Oriága, Pechéne.

614 Within the kin groups, relatives play no role, but the god-
602 parents (padrino, madrina) do, and strict etiquette is observed with
608 respect to them. Boy or girl, man or woman who meet their god-
576 parents anywhere must kneel down to receive their blessing.

601 The kinship nomenclature is in part more differentiated than ours. The common form of address for father and child and mother and child and the differentiated address for older and younger siblings are striking. The designations for father and mother are differentiated according to whether one speaks of one's own or of foreign fathers and mothers. One's own father is táta, the foreign one néi; one's own mother is máma, the foreign one nihí. It does not matter whether a man or a woman is speaking in the following examples:

/183 cont./

557 say, the surname, is transmitted through the paternal line. The
582 wife retains it throughout her life, but does not transmit it to her children. A son of hers will bear only the father's surname.
604 According to an /184/ informant from Calderas a man respects his paternal uncles and aunts in the same manner as the maternal uncles, but not the maternal aunt, because "she is not a real relative;...she is a woman and not a man ... the men (older) have to be respected the same as the old women" and, generalizing, adds: "of the uncles and aunts one respects the men more than the women and the paternal uncles more than
601 the maternal ones." Although the terms for designating the
604 uncles and aunts of EGO differentiate sex and specify the line to which they belong, EGO considers the relationship of the paternal uncles and aunts to be closer than that of the maternal ones, and although the uncles call the sons of their brothers "sons," there does not exist among the present-day Páez a clear concept of parallel uncles and cross uncles and, consequently, of parallel and cross cousins. Masculine EGO calls paternal and maternal male cousins Iakté, paternal and maternal female cousins pesh, making them equal with his own sisters and brothers, and feminine EGO calls paternal and maternal female cousins Iakté, paternal and maternal male cousins Jish, making
601 them equal also with her own brothers and sisters. But logically
604 such a distinction must have existed, to judge from the conduct
582 observed in the selection of mates and in the respect that EGO pays to his uncles and aunts, this being more pronounced for the paternal than for the maternal ones and greater still for the men.
114 Eugenio del Castillo y Orozco corroborates our argument. In
60 his Vocabulario he states that the mother-in-law is called by the
582 same term as the one designating the father's sister (pezoz), and the father-in-law by the same term as the one for designating the mother's brother (cacca). This means that in the eighteenth century in-law kinship specified the origin of the spouses, clearly showing marriage between cross cousins.

60 All these traits make us think that possibly there were
● 614 patrilineal exogamous clans, now manifested by some types of
174 stereotyped conduct,

/170 cont./

491 Rather, these constructions seem to be a borrowing from the
177 Negro slaves who were brought into the region around Belalcázar
499 in very early times in order to work the gold and salt mines there. Both bridges would then be an African culture element in the Tierradentro region. They are suitable only for people. Larger animals are pulled through the river with ropes and must swim part of the way.

499 The two groups of posts on each bank -- a very modern method of bridge anchorage -- upon which the arch of the bridge hangs, are supported by a number of stakes driven into the ground farther up the bank. Bamboo poles serve as joining and holding material. The footway held from above is made with split bamboo, pounded flat. Additional bamboo tubes, secured by
[476] lianas, form the railing. For the construction of such an arched bridge the inhabitants from the adjacent villages along both shores come together. They bury the ends of two long and strong bamboo tubes in the ground, so that their tips lean
[623] slightly toward the river. Then the gobernadores /see the glossary, p. 249/, as the heads of the town councils at the time, start climbing up the poles, which, as a result of the weight, lean toward the center of the river, until the poles touch and the two gobernadores can shake hands from either side. With one hand they then quickly tie the joined tips of the bamboo poles together by means of lianas, which is the first step in the bridge construction. It is completed by the rest of the people (from Hernandez, 1944, p. 190).

/171/

III. Society

1. Political Organization

619 The tribe of the Paez consists of the inhabitants of a number of villages of the Tierradentro region who regard themselves as belonging together because of language, clothing, habits, and
621 traditions. Their present-day political organization is based on the village community. It corresponds roughly to the original

/170 cont./

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/171 cont./

621 tribal organization. Even at the time of the Conquista the Paez
[622] did not form a common, cohesive community and were similarly independent from village to village and without a chief,
[623] just as today. Only in times of war did a few villages join together
[648] in a sort of loose federation, in order to be able to offer stronger resistance to the Spanish intruders. Afterwards, however, the
177 "alliance for convenience" dissolved. The political influence
361 of the Spaniards during the colonial period had the effect of
131 fixing the boundaries of the villages that had existed up to that time, each of which occupies the area of a valley basin, in order to create clear relationships with respect to the white landowners. The former arrangement of the villages was essentially the same, as one may see from the large number of old native names.

621 The control of the community at that time -- in keeping with
622 the character of the Paez -- was probably in a democratic village management, in a fashion similar to that of today. In times of war leadership was in the hands of men who were called caciques /see "Kazike" in the glossary, p. 249/ by the Spaniards -- as was the case generally in their colonies. The Paez have also taken over this name as a rank designation for the heroes of their traditions. Actually, their own word "sāt" for the political leaders in their mythology corresponds more to a war leader with shamanistic abilities than to a regular hereditary chieftainship of a society organized by classes, such as we find among the tribes of the Cauca Valley or the sacred principalities of the Chibcha at the time of the Conquista.

621 The present-day composition of the village council (cabildo)
623 as the administrative head of each village varies in strength according to the size of the village. It seems to be the most nearly complete in Calderas. Its composition and its tasks show
[565] that it is the head of a democratic community. The village is
[626] not organized by classes or by occupations. The consciousness of the equality of all is so strong /172/ that outsiders who distinguish themselves from others through personal achievement or personal acquisition are brought down to the common level by
623 force or killed. The leader of the cabildo has the grand Spanish

/173 cont./

123 promise it. When I arrived in Calderas on Monday I found that
623 the men of the village had not wanted to meet a second time and
554 that they had indeed begun the work.

623 The alcaldes and the alguacil are the messengers of the
[203] cabildo; they notify the people when communal projects are
[696] necessary. Moreover, the alguacil administers corporal punish-
[203] ment. The three comisarios are likewise messengers and help
[794] the gobernador carry out and supervise public projects. It is the duty of the fiscales -- together with the gobernador -- to decorate the church. They provide candles and help the priest. According to C. Cuervo Marquez (Vol. II, p. 183), the fiscales formerly also had the duty of defending the interests of the /174/
871 village against the encroachments of the colonists. The comisario
623 escolar, finally, is responsible for the school attendance of the
[797] children. The mission sisters, as the teachers, turn to him and
[875] he is supposed to get the children to school, by force, if necessary.

621 It should not remain unmentioned that Calderas -- and ap-
623 parently this village only -- is divided into four parts, each of
[361] which occupies roughly a cardinal point and has about 50 houses. An alcalde, alguacil, fiscal, and comisario are each an equal representative of a quarter in the cabildo. At present the alcalde is the representative of the western region of Yocashí, the alguacil the representative of the northern region of Puélche, the fiscal that of the eastern region of Aépel, and the comisario that of the southern Bishók. I was told that the connection between an office and the representation of a village quarter is arbitrary, depending on where the occupant of the post happens to live. The official position within the cabildo is first assigned, and today it is the more important. Four of them take over the representation of a village quarter each. Thus, the comisario, if he lives there, may be the representative from Yocashí, and the alcalde the representative of Aépel. The present gobernador, for example, was fiscal ten years ago. Since he lives in the village section of Puélche, he was at the same time the representative of this quarter.

/202 cont./

461/ villagers know these "strollers," and even say that they are
574 sluggards who do not work; but if they then come at mealtime, they
156 get their food and are usually kept there gladly, because they know how to tell stories well and amusingly, go around everywhere, and always have news to impart. If a man is married and has a wife and children, he must, of course, cultivate his own field, in order to be able to feed his family. In Calderas, however, there is even a married "stroller" who has neither a house of his own nor his own field. He lives in the house of a good-natured man whom he helps in the field and in the house. But this is regarded as an exception.

829 Thanks for favors or benefits bestowed, which, according
571 to the view of the Paez, are taken for granted, were not custom-
[576] ary originally. Today, however, thanks are often expressed with
[178] a word of Spanish origin "slopage" (Dios se lo pague), without, however, any feeling of a debt of gratitude, such as toward a
● [621] wealthy person or a person in a superior position. Within the Paez communities there is, to be sure, no sociologically established authority; similarly, there is no chief or employer of a number of people who would be dependent upon him and owe him obedience. Hence no one is forced to obey anyone whom he does not like or to do anything that he may not care to do. Accordingly, there is no respect for strangers to the place or even for the priest, for when the Calderun are in their village, "on their soil," everyone regards everyone else as equal. Not the least important in this connection is the general understanding of one another by the inhabitants, their strengths and weaknesses, which makes pretense, any spurious authority simply assumed by an official, impossible. This is one reason -- perhaps the principal reason -- why the Calderun purposely do not want to have anything to do with the "blancos" and their officials. An attempt to trace this back to an awareness of their own inferiority indicates a complete misunder-
[565] standing of the character of the Paez. Their lack of social classes, and therefore the impossibility of looking down on /203/ another person, explains their general respect for one another, which is bestowed on everyone equally. Everyone grants everyone else

* /312 cont./

539 when the thief again came, took down some potatoes, kindled a fire, and roasted them in it, he took out both of his eyes "out of foolishness" before he ate and laid them on one of the three hearth-stones. Then the owner of the potatoes, whom the thief, of course, could not see, stepped up, saw the eyes, and kicked them into the fire, so that they burned with a bang. The thief heard the bang, to be sure, but thought to himself, how fine the potatoes are popping and sizzling!

When the thief had eaten all the potatoes, he looked for his eyes, but could not find them. He then left the house very sadly, without eyes, and set out for his own house. On the way he met a rat who was out walking there, and they started a conversation. The thief complained that he had lost his eyes and that, without eyes, it was very difficult to find them again. He begged the rat to lend him one of hers only until he had found his own eyes again. The rat lent him one, but since both of his eyes were burned, he could not, of course, find them. The man then turned himself into wind.

The rat searched for the thief of her eye for a long time, but could not find him. Her son, like his mother, also had only one eye. The son in turn had a son, and he, too, had only one eye. Since that time the descendants of this rat family have only one eye. And that is why one can still find rats today who, to be sure, have the nose, mouth, feet, skin, and ears of a rat, but only one eye or none at all; they go back to that rat who once lent one of her eyes.

/313/

105 V. Summary and Culture-historical Classification of Paez Culture

[161] If we briefly summarize the sketch of Paez life and the ele-
[621] ments of their culture, we find before us a democratic agricultural people of 25,000 persons, among whom no one is master and no
[177] one servant. Surrounded for centuries by Spanish culture, they have
[197] preserved their language in extensive sections of their area of settlement.

/315 cont./

105 "Araucanian" type (O'Neale, p. 115). In place of the shed rod we have a simple loop; in place of the heddle rod, a bundle of loops.
105 The warp threads are stretched in the form of the "false spiral warp,"
286 a mixture of the method of the continuous, circular warp with the
171 method of the terminating flat warp. This genuinely American way of stretching the warp is found among the Northwest Coast Indians as well as among the tribes of the Gran Chaco (Olson, pp. 114-121). Culture-historically H. Nevermann regards the various forms of American weaving /316/ as having originated on the basis of a native or pre-Polynesian plait-weaving. Among the Paez we find this technical stage in the plait-weaving of the carrying bands of the coca bags.

105 For dyeing, vegetable dyes are used, which dye only sheep wool, but not cotton.

Pottery is very simple. There are only hemispherical pots and bowls made with the spiral coil technique, both without any ornamentation.

The present political organization of the Paez is based on the village community. It is led by a village council (cabildo), whose members are chosen for a year from among the men of the village. The designations for the members of the cabildo and their functions are in part Spanish. In former times the leaders of the Paez were
[621] often men with shamanistic abilities. The village is not organized
[565] by either classes or occupations. No one need serve another for
[463] pay; the word and the thing are unknown to the Paez. The father
[464] of the family with his sons or brothers works his fields, and if
[476] friends or neighbors lend their help, it is compensated for by assistance in their fields.

[594] The family organization is basically the patrilineal,
[178] monogomous nuclear family, consisting of the parents and the unmarried children. Here there has probably been the least
[851] change in Paez culture. The children are given the family of the
[533] father. For her marriage the woman receives no dowry of any kind from her parents, and she keeps her maiden name. Since there are no social or financial reasons for concluding a marriage, a woman has only the merit of her personality and abilities. These are tested during a "trial year" before the actual conclusion of the marriage.

/286 cont./

291 the waist, and over it a rebozo or shawl of foreign make; they wear hats of masculine manufacture. They carry a thin stick
283 one meter long more or less, called kasguat, held under the left armpit, and at its upper end there is a bundle of wool to be spun, a task which they do at any time, while walking or sitting in the house, regardless of whether a child is resting on their backs or, when they are walking along the road, a heavy
301 load. Only the women wear ornaments consisting of multicolored necklaces, earrings, and sometimes rings.

293 Both men and women usually carry three woolen pouches,
415 aside from others of fique, a very small one for money, a larger one for mambe /coca and lime for chewing/, and the third, which is the largest of all and holds the other two, is used to carry palm leaves or the plaited work made with them for the men, and other things for the women.

276 Coca.--All the Paez are "mambe chewers," men, women,
[461] and children, regarding coca as an article that gives strength,
[261] frees one from laziness, and mitigates hunger. Without it, of
[273] course, they will not work. Coca and chicha, fermented sugar-
[262] cane juice, play the role of real foods, given their starchy and scant diet.

631 Parcialidades and cabildos.--Politically, the Indians are
● 621 organized into parcialidades, each headed by a cabildo made up of a gobernador and substitute, a major alcalde and another minor one, two alguaciles, three fiscales, a comisario, a capitán, and a síndico elected each year and put in office by the respective alcaldías of the municipio, except for the last two, who are named for life and put in office by the /287/ Church. Their functions are administrative and police work, but in reality they exercise functions of social, legal, and religious control.

631 The parcialidades are bounded by the craggy peaks and the deep, rugged beds of the streams and rivers in such a way that each one circumscribes specific kinds of geography, and even of

The people of
/356 cont./
43 Mosoco have numerous droves of pack animals for handling the
628 import and export traffic, in which the Guambianos (with their
492 horses), called kasukos by the people of Mosoco, who regard
them as good friends and not very different from themselves,
also participate. The fact is that they live together, work to-
gether, and do their trading jointly.

563 The relations between "whites" and natives in Mosoco
621 seem to be cordial and based on mutual respect.

Family economy

594 The Paez family is basically an economic unit. It is
made up of the parents and the children, and it represents a
[602] closed but effective circle. They do not go beyond their own
[476] limits in any way, so that the mingas and the distribution of the
[431] first fruits of the harvests are carried out primarily with con-
sanguineal and political relations.

594 The manner in which this economic unit functions and in
462 which its members collaborate can be clearly understood from the
division of the activities by sex. The supreme management of
the family economy rests in the hands of the man; it is he who
owns the land, the house, the tools, and the domestic animals.
His arm has not been taught to wield anything but the machete,
the axe, and the shovel. He is the owner of the crops and the
one who determines where, how, and when work is to be done.
His primary work is outside the house: on the land itself. The
woman, on /357/ the other hand, remains inside the house, and
her basic work is connected with the administration and working
up of the products handed over to her by the man. Cooking and
[464] weaving are her specialities. It is true that the woman hires
[178] herself out as a day laborer on the fincas of the "whites" and that
in some parcialidades, such as Mosoco, she participates directly
in the preparation of the land and the weeding of the crops,
but this is a relatively new phenomenon and is not yet universally
accepted among the natives.

261 In general terms, the primary incentive for economic activity
594 dealing with food is the satisfaction of the basic needs of the in-
dividual and the survival of the family group. It is the security

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

P 175 648 in which a Spaniard held a territory occupied by Indians. The natives, under a chief who was protected by the White authorities and P [652] who made contact between the master, or encomendero, and his subjects, had to give a certain number of days' work and a specified [651] P tribute in products of the lands, animals, gold, or manufactures. The [177] encomiendas made no effort to Hispanicize the Indians, but continued to loot and massacre them. The Indians, reduced to utter misery, gave up all their artistic and industrial activities, and devoted the greater part of their time to the service of the master or to seeking products to pay the obligatory tribute. To remedy this situation, the Spanish Crown decreed the native "parcialidad," giving surviving P groups reservations and prohibiting their employment in transporting [623] men and goods over the highways. This reform was never entirely carried out, however, and the Indians, in spite of having their own government, the cabildo or Indian council, continued in servitude P or debt slavery.

[621] The native Indian government consisted generally of a governor, [631] a first mayor (alcalde mayor), a second mayor (alcalde segundo), a trustee (sindico or fiscal), and constables (alguaciles), the last a kind of police who transmitted to the people the orders which the Whites gave through the governors or mayors, and who carried out penalties P of imprisonment, of placing in stocks, and whipping, which the 175 first Spaniards introduced into the punishment of the natives. At the 648 same time, the Christianization of the Indians began. It succeeded 797 in an imperfect way, however, for the Indian attended Masses, ar- 438 ranged and participated in processions, and did not miss the solemn 273 ceremonies a single Sunday largely because on the same day he brought his own products to the pueblo for sale, bought salt or meat which he P needed, and devoted himself to drinking chicha, the traditional drink 175 which he had always taken on religious or social occasions.

648 The Indians of Nariño, descendants of the *Pasto*, lost their language and many of their customs during the Colonial Period, although they Po continued to live as natives on their reservations, which daily became [463] smaller because of the encroachments by the neighboring Whites or [333] Mestizos. They became farmers with small landholdings and, occasionally, masons in the cities. The *Moguex* and *Páez*, however, P 175 retained their language and the greater part of their customs. Some 648 of them, especially the men who had to deal with the Whites, learned a little Spanish, and they continued throughout the Colonial Period P to defend their lands and their traditions. To religious practices in- [191] troduced by the missionaries, they added such elements as the offer P of food to the souls of the dead. They added to the Colonial council (cabildo) the office of captain, an official who, unlike the rest of the [622] council, was not responsible to civilian authorities but had life tenure, sometimes a hereditary position, and more authority within the group.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,✓ (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

civilized tradesman, the Indian turns to drinking guarapo or chicha and becomes drunk. Often a heated discussion, always spoken in Spanish and not in *Páez*, leads to insults and perhaps to blows and injuries. A man's wife usually maneuvers him from the village and, if he falls asleep on the road, she sits by him warding off dangers.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political structure.—The *Moguex*, *Páez*, *Guanaca*, *Timand*, and *Yalcón*, despite their great similarity in language and culture, formed separate groups at the time of the Conquest. Each was divided into several communities (parcialidades), of which those of the *Páez* were the most numerous. The *Guanaca* were split between two principal caciques, one of whom, Anabeima, joined the Spaniards against the *Páez* of Avirama. The other cacique was Esmisa, Anabeima's brother-in-law. Each *Páez* community had its own chief, but the communities were grouped into three great divisions. One consisted of the *Páez*, *Tálaga*, *Simurga*, and *Taravira*, on the shores of the Páez River. The chiefs of three of these groups were brothers; that of the fourth was their sister, whose name was Taravira. Another group was headed by Suin, and his son, Esmisa. In the third group, Avirama was joined by other neighboring chiefs of less importance.

Each community (cacicado) consisted of several polygynous families under a male chief (pl. 185, *top*, *left*). Each family had its own house located some distance from its neighbor's. All the members of a community gathered for general work, and all or several of the communities united for war, either against the *Pijao*, their feared neighbors, or against the Spaniards.

The place of a cacique's residence was a sort of focal point and meeting place, and today most of such places are Indian villages with the same names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima (formerly Toboima), etc. The present *Páez* Indian reservation of Tierradentro is divided politically into two municipios—Páez or Belalcázar and Inzá—with 22 communities, each governed by its own councils (cabildos, of Colonial origin) and by the municipal authorities. The cabildo is elected annually. The Indians, however, are jealous defenders of their traditions, and insist on a captain and síndico, each with life tenure, to act as their own leaders and as true representatives of the cacique. Their duties are moral and fiscal and carry a certain divine authority, as they are inaugurated in the local church. The cabildo, on the other hand, has only administrative and police powers; it divides the land, orders work to be done, and executes the municipal orders. The members of a cabildo hold office for 1 year and receive no remuneration. They are elected on the first of December by all the male adults, or "macaneros," that is, the Indians who participate in the communal work according to a

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

631 list presented by a council composed of former governors, the cap-
666 tain, and the síndico. The meeting may object to the list, but gen-
[651] erally accepts it. On the following January 1, the cabildo-elect must appear at the office of the municipal mayor to receive the staffs, their insignia of office, and to assume their duties and responsibilities. The offices are: Governor and alternate, commissioner, two mayors (alcaldes), two constables (alguaciles), and three prosecutors (fiscales), one of whom is a young man assigned to learn the ways of government. The mayors, constables, and prosecutors are something like bosses or policemen, and execute orders issued by the Governor or by the captain or the municipal authorities to a community through the Governor.

423 Property.—The Indians today do not own any real property in the usual sense. The land assigned to an entire community is allotted
[651] to each adult for his use when he becomes a macanero, that is, capable
[534] of giving one day's work each year for the collective planting for the benefit of the saint and as many days as may be required by the cabildo for the repair of roads, bridges, etc., or for work in the village. The right to the use of the land may pass to the heirs, wife and children, in the absence of which it reverts to the community or the cabildo.

422 The house was formerly typical personal or movable property, which could be easily abandoned, dismantled, or destroyed. The same holds today for fragile cane dwellings. There are few houses so solidly built that they constitute real or immovable property.
[764] Other personal property, such as utensils, clothes, weapons, adorn-
[428] ments, and jewels, was formerly buried with the owner. These things and livestock, planted fields, and crops are now inherited by the
[177] members of the deceased's family. In general, Colombian law is being implanted by the judges and municipal mayors, although the
[692] cabildo judges some minor offenses and punishes the offenders by
[623] whipping, imprisonment, or stocks (cepo), a form of torment retained
[681] from Colonial times.

Although the Indians' communities have in most cases titles of
691 limits of their lands dating from Colonial times, there are still liti-
648 gations on boundaries. An interesting case is the struggle of the Indians to dislodge a settlement of Negroes from the old salt works
[423] in Ambostá, where they were abandoned many years ago by a rich Popayán family who took them there to work the mines. The female Indian chief (cacica) of this territory allowed the Negroes to live on a hill, called "the hill of the fifteen Negroes." The Negroes are not organized under a cabildo, but have a chief who represents them. They all contribute to a special religious feast in the municipio, and provide means to continue the suit for the possession of the hill against the Indians.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

Castillo mentions that they wor-

175 shiped the sun, in whose honor they met and danced in places called 771 "Itaqui-finó," i. e., the place where the sun revealed its mysteries; 776 and that they venerated a kind of culture hero called Guequiau. It was he who instructed shamans (mohanes). [756]

This hero has a counterpart in the religious legend of Juan Tama, 773 the Son of the Star. One day when the Morning Star shone very 776 brightly, some Indians found a child in a gorge—ever since called the Gorge of the Star. This was Juan Tama. They picked him up and entrusted him to a woman to nurse, but he nursed so much that her milk dried up. He was given to another woman, whom he also made very weak. They then said that he could not be nursed by a woman, and gave him food. After he grew up, he married the female chief of Huila, Doña María Mendiguagua, and became chief of all the Indians. He instructed people and explained to them how to keep the land for themselves and not mix with White people. He pronounced them invincible and summoned a chief from Pitayó, called Calambás, whom he appointed his manager. Calambás rebelled,[13] but was defeated by Juan Tama, who pardoned him on account of his bravery, and conferred on him and his heirs the right to rule the *Páez* in Bitoncó. As death approached, Juan Tama went to the lake on the páramo of Moras and sank into the waters. He had come out of this place and returned to it, leaving no heirs.[14]

In the neighborhood of Bitoncó there is a rock with what appears 776 to be human footprints. When the Indians pass it, they uncover 823 their heads and say, "The Holy One came this way." Another rem- [623] nant of the cult of Juan Tama is the custom that each member of the council spends one week at the shores of the lake before the end of his term to render an account to Juan Tama of his actions in office. Likewise, newly elected officers, as soon as they receive their staffs or insignia of authority, spend a week at the lake. They toss silver [621] coins into it, wash their staffs, and pray for strength to rule well. [631] This ceremony, performed with the greatest secrecy, is called the "curing of the staffs." Recently, however, the Indians have stopped [821] "curing" their staffs in the lake, for they say that Juan Tama is angry, and whenever they approach the lake, it rains and storms badly.

In the Guanacas section there was another sacred lagoon, called Tumbachí, which was recently drained because a snake that lived there attracted girls and kept them for a whole year, and then returned them when they were about to become mothers.

These tribes believed that the soul comes back to life. 775

Witchcraft was strongly developed among these Indians, who still 754 believe in most of its practices, in spite of the catechization forced 177 upon them by the missionaries.

[13] During the War of Independence, as well as in subsequent revolutions, the Indians of the family named Calambás distinguished themselves as warriors. [669]

[14] We are indebted to Father David González for this legend, told to him by an old Indian in Lame. [114]

● 622

Paez SC15

/Information on the gobernador as leader of the village and head of the Cabildo will be found in category 623./

/171 cont./

621 tribal organization. Even at the time of the Conquista the Paez
[622] did not form a common, cohesive community and were similarly independent from village to village and without a chief,
[628] just as today. Only in times of war did a few villages join together
[648] in a sort of loose federation, in order to be able to offer stronger resistance to the Spanish intruders. Afterwards, however, the
177 "alliance for convenience" dissolved. The political influence
361 of the Spaniards during the colonial period had the effect of
131 fixing the boundaries of the villages that had existed up to that time, each of which occupies the area of a valley basin, in order to create clear relationships with respect to the white landowners. The former arrangement of the villages was essentially the same, as one may see from the large number of old native names.

621 The control of the community at that time -- in keeping with
622 the character of the Paez -- was probably in a democratic village management, in a fashion similar to that of today. In times of war leadership was in the hands of men who were called caciques /see "Kazike" in the glossary, p. 249/ by the Spaniards -- as was the case generally in their colonies. The Paez have also taken over this name as a rank designation for the heroes of their traditions. Actually, their own word "sāt" for the political leaders in their mythology corresponds more to a war leader with shamanistic abilities than to a regular hereditary chieftainship of a society organized by classes, such as we find among the tribes of the Cauca Valley or the sacred principalities of the Chibcha at the time of the Conquista.

621 The present-day composition of the village council (cabildo)
623 as the administrative head of each village varies in strength according to the size of the village. It seems to be the most nearly complete in Calderas. Its composition and its tasks show
[565] that it is the head of a democratic community. The village is
[626] not organized by classes or by occupations. The consciousness of the equality of all is so strong /172/ that outsiders who distinguish themselves from others through personal achievement or personal acquisition are brought down to the common level by
623 force or killed. The leader of the cabildo has the grand Spanish

361 /295 cont./
311 strong political groupings had their principal seats at Tálaga,
643 Suin, and Avirama (3). "The place of residence of a cacique
175
●[622]
[103]

3. Hernández de Alba, Gr. "The Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia," pp. 915-960.

constituted a sort of settlement or gathering place, most of which remain today as Indian pueblos and retain their names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima," Chitoquez, Cuetando, Yaquivá, Pisimbalá, and Itaibe, all of them located at the
361 temperate thermal level. It is precisely along the course of
311 the Páez River and along the middle and lower courses of its
161 tributaries that the Páez population is now concentrated.

13 2. Physiography. Merely a single glance at the wild geography of Tierradentro will give an idea of the pattern of life of the Páez people. The physiography of the entire course of the Páez River, from Irlanda to Itaibe, with nearly all of its tributaries, is compressed into profiled accidents. It might be said that it forms a "thermic chimney," Professor Guhl's expression. It belongs to the temperate thermal level. This is the land of the great slopes covered with natural pastures and of the short, narrow vegas with fertile soils. There are those who speak of the fertility of all the soil of Tierradentro, classifying it, consequently, as a privileged zone. The concept proves to be deceptive, because it does not take into account the physiographic factor. We find the usable vegetal layer /296/ only in the extremely narrow vegas of the rivers, ravines, and streams, and in places
13 where the topography becomes a little smoother. The left bank
241 of the Páez River, from Toez to La Plata, is usable for agricul-
[233] ture and stock-raising only with difficulty, given the brutality of the slopes. Every tributary that enters on this side is a deep ravine isolated by ridges running from northeast to southwest. On the other hand, the left bank has important vegas. It is there that plantains, manioc, sugar cane, coca, arracacha, maize, and lately coffee and guadua bamboo are grown. The soils are essentially acid, and the Gramineae grow in abundance

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

P 175 648 in which a Spaniard held a territory occupied by Indians. The natives, under a chief who was protected by the White authorities and P [652] who made contact between the master, or encomendero, and his sub- [651] jects, had to give a certain number of days' work and a specified P tribute in products of the lands, animals, gold, or manufactures. The [177] encomiendas made no effort to Hispanicize the Indians, but continued to loot and massacre them. The Indians, reduced to utter misery, gave up all their artistic and industrial activities, and devoted the greater part of their time to the service of the master or to seeking products to pay the obligatory tribute. To remedy this situation, the Spanish Crown decreed the native "parcialidad," giving surviving P groups reservations and prohibiting their employment in transporting [623] men and goods over the highways. This reform was never entirely carried out, however, and the Indians, in spite of having their own government, the cabildo or Indian council, continued in servitude P or debt slavery.

[621] The native Indian government consisted generally of a governor, [631] a first mayor (alcalde mayor), a second mayor (alcalde segundo), a trustee (síndico or fiscal), and constables (alguaciles), the last a kind of police who transmitted to the people the orders which the Whites gave through the governors or mayors, and who carried out penalties P of imprisonment, of placing in stocks, and whipping, which the 175 first Spaniards introduced into the punishment of the natives. At the 648 same time, the Christianization of the Indians began. It succeeded 797 in an imperfect way, however, for the Indian attended Masses, ar- 438 ranged and participated in processions, and did not miss the solemn 273 ceremonies a single Sunday largely because on the same day he brought his own products to the pueblo for sale, bought salt or meat which he P needed, and devoted himself to drinking chicha, the traditional drink 175 which he had always taken on religious or social occasions.

648 The Indians of Nariño, descendants of the *Pasto*, lost their language Po and many of their customs during the Colonial Period, although they continued to live as natives on their reservations, which daily became [463] smaller because of the encroachments by the neighboring Whites or [333] Mestizos. They became farmers with small landholdings and, occasionally, masons in the cities. The *Moguex* and *Páez*, however, P 175 retained their language and the greater part of their customs. Some 648 of them, especially the men who had to deal with the Whites, learned a little Spanish, and they continued throughout the Colonial Period P to defend their lands and their traditions. To religious practices in- [191] troduced by the missionaries, they added such elements as the offer P of food to the souls of the dead. They added to the Colonial council (cabildo) the office of captain, an official who, unlike the rest of the [622] council, was not responsible to civilian authorities but had life tenure, sometimes a hereditary position, and more authority within the group.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

civilized tradesman, the Indian turns to drinking guarapo or chicha and becomes drunk. Often a heated discussion, always spoken in Spanish and not in *Páez*, leads to insults and perhaps to blows and injuries. A man's wife usually maneuvers him from the village and, if he falls asleep on the road, she sits by him warding off dangers.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political structure.—The *Moguex*, *Páez*, *Guanaca*, *Timaná*, and *Yalcón*, despite their great similarity in language and culture, formed separate groups at the time of the Conquest. Each was divided into several communities (parcialidades), of which those of the *Páez* were the most numerous. The *Guanaca* were split between two principal caciques, one of whom, Anabeima, joined the Spaniards against the *Páez* of Avirama. The other cacique was Esmisa, Anabeima's brother-in-law. Each *Páez* community had its own chief, but the communities were grouped into three great divisions. One consisted of the *Páez*, *Tálaga*, *Simurga*, and *Taravira*, on the shores of the Páez River. The chiefs of three of these groups were brothers; that of the fourth was their sister, whose name was Taravira. Another group was headed by Suin, and his son, Esmisa. In the third group, Avirama was joined by other neighboring chiefs of less importance.

Each community (cacicado) consisted of several polygynous families under a male chief (pl. 185, *top*, *left*). Each family had its own house, located some distance from its neighbor's. All the members of a community gathered for general work, and all or several of the communities united for war, either against the *Pijao*, their feared neighbors, or against the Spaniards.

The place of a cacique's residence was a sort of focal point and meeting place, and today most of such places are Indian villages with the same names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima (formerly Toboima), etc. The present *Páez* Indian reservation of Tierradentro is divided politically into two municipios—Páez or Belalcázar and Inzá—with 22 communities, each governed by its own councils (cabildos, of Colonial origin) and by the municipal authorities. The cabildo is elected annually. The Indians, however, are jealous defenders of their traditions, and insist on a captain and síndico, each with life tenure, to act as their own leaders and as true representatives of the cacique. Their duties are moral and fiscal and carry a certain divine authority, as they are inaugurated in the local church. The cabildo, on the other hand, has only administrative and police powers; it divides the land, orders work to be done, and executes the municipal orders. The members of a cabildo hold office for 1 year and receive no remuneration. They are elected on the first of December by all the male adults, or "macaneros," that is, the Indians who participate in the communal work according to a

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623

[Information on the Capitan and Síndico as representatives of the church in the council and community affairs will be found in category 624.]

/110 cont./

609 parts of the Mass, as they have understood it, in an exaggeratedly
522 dramatic fashion. The priest has a difficult office in any case.
797 They do not understand his sermons and teachings in the church,
157 conducted in the Spanish language. If he speaks their own language, his inevitable mistakes are commented upon amid loud laughter.

123 On our first visit to Calderas, a man about 30 years old met us at the boundary of the village and asked us in a gruff tone whether we did not know that this land was only for the Paez. No white man had any business here. We should turn back, for no one wanted our visit. Marcos Antonio intervened and explained that we had only come to bring gifts to the Calderun and that we had no intention of settling down in Calderas. We would surely leave again the next day. The man let this pass and warned us upon departure not to dare try to steal any land.
[223] Even later we never obtained permission from the cabildo, the village council, to remain in the village more than a week at a time. Our reputation among the younger people of the village improved from week to week, on the one hand because we offered a cigarette to each man and each woman with whom we had an opportunity to talk, but even more because -- as we were told later -- we were friendly to everyone and always /111/ laughed.
[648] As a matter of fact, it would never occur to any of the white or mixed-colored colonists to favor a Calderun even with a glance. On the contrary, in the houses lying along the road, the dogs are trained to attack the Indios. True, these dogs are all undernourished and generally very cowardly. The Paez man need only raise his machete or a club in order to ward off the dog. We were the first whites who did something completely out of the ordinary in that we were always friendly, without any mental reservations, and always greeted them first, in their language. And this not only in Calderas, but also in Inzá and on the roads to the market. This friendliness was taken in good part on all sides. Then later, after we were able to show and to give them the first photographs of themselves, they were definitely pleased to be photographed and now and then offered us an egg or a bowl of chicha /see the glossary, p. 248/ when we photographed them.

/170 cont./

491 Rather, these constructions seem to be a borrowing from the
177 Negro slaves who were brought into the region around Belalcázar
499 in very early times in order to work the gold and salt mines there. Both bridges would then be an African culture element in the Tierradentro region. They are suitable only for people. Larger animals are pulled through the river with ropes and must swim part of the way.

499 The two groups of posts on each bank -- a very modern method of bridge anchorage -- upon which the arch of the bridge hangs, are supported by a number of stakes driven into the ground farther up the bank. Bamboo poles serve as joining and holding material. The footway held from above is made with split bamboo, pounded flat. Additional bamboo tubes, secured by
[476] lianas, form the railing. For the construction of such an arched bridge the inhabitants from the adjacent villages along both shores come together. They bury the ends of two long and strong bamboo tubes in the ground, so that their tips lean
[623] slightly toward the river. Then the gobernadores /see the glossary, p. 249/, as the heads of the town councils at the time, start climbing up the poles, which, as a result of the weight, lean toward the center of the river, until the poles touch and the two gobernadores can shake hands from either side. With one hand they then quickly tie the joined tips of the bamboo poles together by means of lianas, which is the first step in the bridge construction. It is completed by the rest of the people (from Hernandez, 1944, p. 190).

/171/

III. Society

1. Political Organization

619 The tribe of the Paez consists of the inhabitants of a number of villages of the Tierradentro region who regard themselves as belonging together because of language, clothing, habits, and
621 traditions. Their present-day political organization is based on the village community. It corresponds roughly to the original

/171 cont./

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623 force or killed. The leader of the cabildo has the grand Spanish

/172 cont./

623 title of gobernador. In Paez this corresponds to the designation tótens. At his side, in Calderas, stands the gobernador suplente as his representative; other functionaries are the alcalde /see the glossary, p. 248 / (in Paez ka'nas), of whom there are two in Calderas, the alcalde mayor and the alcalde menor, furthermore two fiscales, three comisarios, and one comisario escolar, as well as an alguacil. The composition of the cabildo in Santa Rosa is the following: a gobernador, an alcalde, a fiscal, a comisario escolar, and an alguacil. In Lame there are a gobernador, a gobernador suplente, two fiscales, one comisario, and one alguacil. The cabildo in Togoima consists of the gobernador, the gobernador suplente, two alcaldes, two fiscales, three comisarios, one comisario escolar, and one alguacil. Aside from the double and triple occupancies, the composition of the cabildo is the same in the four villages. It should be noted that there are Paez words only for the gobernador and the alcalde; Spanish designations are used for the rest of the functionaries.

623 554 The authority of the gobernador as the leader of the village rests more on his personal prestige than on official means of power. He must therefore be very cautious with his regulations and instructions. He has the collectively conceived decisions of the village council carried out with respect to road or bridge building or the repair of the church, the school, or the com-
[626] munity house. While his regulations remain within the scope of what the great majority of the village also regards as good, the collectivity exerts strong pressure on those who stand apart. In flagrant instances of apartness, however, he has quite drastic measures at his disposal, which, though they are today no longer as strictly wielded as formerly, can nevertheless be very effective in the hands of an energetic gobernador. It is taken for granted, however, that the gobernador acts neither unjustly nor arbitrarily, sets a good example in all undertakings, and is active first and
123 last in the communal work. How little the gobernador is in a
623 position to issue arbitrary orders within his village may be illus-
554 trated by the following example: One Saturday the gobernador

/172 cont./

123 of Calderas came from the weekly market in Inzá and visited
623 me in San Andrés. When in the course of the conversation I
554 mentioned that I would be coming to Calderas on the following
Monday, he suggested that I arrive there early. He said that
he already knew that I was interested in everything concerning
[476] his village and on Monday /173/ I could be present at a com-
munity project for all the men of the village in clearing a field.
Since my interpreter was not free until Monday, I could not set
out on Sunday in order to be present in time for the field work
on Monday. I begged him to postpone the communal project
for a day or two. That would be impossible, he replied, since
this work had been decided upon for Monday by the cabildo and
123 he was not in a position to change the date independently. I
623 offered him as a gift a very handsome travel-machete with a
554 sheath, in case he might be in a position to postpone the work.
411 Generally the Paez own only the heavy, broad work-machete for
felling trees, which they can drag along with them on the way to
[435] market only with difficulty. As a weapon for traveling, therefore,
the lighter, chrome-plated machetes are greatly coveted, but
on account of their high price of 12 pesos no Calderun has here-
123 tofore been able to afford one. I had put this gift aside for the
623 gobernador some time before, but had never found the proper
554 reason for presenting it. This time the occasion seemed very
favorable and really worthwhile. The gobernador, although he was
extremely anxious to be the first Calderun to possess the imple-
ment, explained that my request could not be fulfilled, since
all the men had already been notified for Monday. I pointed out
that he surely had enough messengers to inform his people that
the work would not take place until a few days later. He could
not make the decision to do this; he kept explaining that in
addition the men would be angry. I proposed to him that I would
treat them, at my expense, to ten pesos' worth of chicha to
placate them, an amount that they had hardly ever had before.
He could not make a decision; he finally said that he would try
and would speak to his people on Sunday, and he hoped, in view
of so much chicha, that he would succeed, but he could not.

/173 cont./
123 promise it. When I arrived in Calderas on Monday I found that
623 the men of the village had not wanted to meet a second time and
554 that they had indeed begun the work.

623 The alcaldes and the alguacil are the messengers of the
[203] cabildo; they notify the people when communal projects are
[696] necessary. Moreover, the alguacil administers corporal punish-
[203] ment. The three comisarios are likewise messengers and help
[794] the gobernador carry out and supervise public projects. It is the duty of the fiscales -- together with the gobernador -- to decorate the church. They provide candles and help the priest. According to C. Cuervo Marquez (Vol. II, p. 183), the fiscales formerly also had the duty of defending the interests of the /174/
871 village against the encroachments of the colonists. The comisario
623 escolar, finally, is responsible for the school attendance of the
[797] children. The mission sisters, as the teachers, turn to him and
[875] he is supposed to get the children to school, by force, if necessary.

621 It should not remain unmentioned that Calderas -- and ap-
623 parently this village only -- is divided into four parts, each of
[361] which occupies roughly a cardinal point and has about 50 houses. An alcalde, alguacil, fiscal, and comisario are each an equal representative of a quarter in the cabildo. At present the alcalde is the representative of the western region of Yocashí, the alguacil the representative of the northern region of Puélche, the fiscal that of the eastern region of Aépel, and the comisario that of the southern Bishók. I was told that the connection between an office and the representation of a village quarter is arbitrary, depending on where the occupant of the post happens to live. The official position within the cabildo is first assigned, and today it is the more important. Four of them take over the representation of a village quarter each. Thus, the comisario, if he lives there, may be the representative from Yocashí, and the alcalde the representative of Aépel. The present gobernador, for example, was fiscal ten years ago. Since he lives in the village section of Puélche, he was at the same time the representative of this quarter.

/174 cont./

624 In addition to the cabildo, there was introduced in Spanish
[177] colonial times, as the trusted agent of the missions, the post of capitan, who was not subordinate to the secular authorities and often was not democratically elected, but appointed by the church for life. Appointed to this office, if possible, are the members of an old, influential family, in which a son or nephew then succeeds the capitan in office, so that in practice this position was often hereditary within a family. The capitan in Calderas, who died February 18, 1953 and who had held this office for about 20 years, was named Manuel José Guagáz. His predecessor was his father, Bruno Guagáz. And though the gobernador told me that the family of the Guagáz were feeble-minded and no longer fit for any work, he admitted that it was probable that the successor of the old capitan would nevertheless be another Guagáz.

623 The deceased capitan was ill and weak during the last years
624 of his life, and thus it came about that the gobernador played the leading role in the cabildo. The weekly council meetings were also held in his house. According to conditions in other villages, however, the capitan in practice not only presides in the cabildo, but his voice also has somewhat more weight. At least, he is able to prevent a bridge from being built, for example, through his veto. /175/ True, he cannot accomplish it or even order it by himself, against the will of the cabildo.

623 Another functionary, who is likewise appointed by the mis-
651 sions for life, is the síndico, who fixes the ecclesiastical tax assessments and administers the funds.

623 The election of the cabildo takes place every year on the
293 first of December. On the following January first, the elected
[666] cabildo must appear before the administrative authorities of the municipio /see the glossary, p. 249/, where each member is given his staff of office and is sworn in for his duties. The staffs of office (kampo) belong to the village and are handed on from year to year. They are round in diameter, about 80 to 100 centimeters long and three to five centimeters thick, and carved out of the black, hard wood of the chonta palm. The tips of the sticks are fitted with a brass or iron cap for their protection. The handle is somewhat thinner than the rest of the stick and enlarged at the end to form a knob which is covered with silver leaf. Below the

/175 cont./
623 handle an additional crescent-shaped piece of silver leaf is applied.
293 In former years, on the first day of the new year, a cere-
623 mony for the old as well as for the newly elected cabildo took
796 place on the not easily accessible lagoon of Juan Tama, the
778 Páramo de Moras, and lasted for several days. It started with
828 chicha drinking under the leadership of a shaman, after which the culture hero, Juan Tama, and the spirits of the ancestors (?) were asked by the shaman for advice and assistance in the coming year. A dance and a bath in the lagoon concluded the ceremony (Bürg, pp. 340 f.). According to my information, this gathering at the lagoon has not been carried out for several years. The reason given is that for several years in succession it has rained around
[787] New Year's time. After that the shamans announced that with this
[776] sign Juan Tama renounced any further performances of the ceremony on his lagoon.

623 The election of the cabildo is done by the men of the entire
666 village. The candidates must be citizens of the given village,
[641] that is to say, they must own land there. A stranger could never hold office in a Paez village. The candidates may not propose themselves, but must be nominated by the assembly or by the old cabildo. Anyone who is elected for an office by the village assembly for the first time may not refuse, but must accept it. Only re-election, which is possible up to five or ten years in succession, is voluntary. The wealth or possessions of the candidates do not play
[556] any role. The present gobernador, Marcelo Muse, is /176/ about 30 years old. Two children, a son about six years old and a four-year-old daughter, are living; four of his children died. In the way of material possessions he owns five horses and two pigs, but no cows and no sheep. Ten years ago he was fiscal for a year. In the general opinion of the Paez the gobernador should not be too young or too old. The best age is between 30 and 50 years. The remaining posts, which to a large extent consist of messenger services, are generally held by younger, unmarried people, although
[896] they may also be filled by married men up to 50 years of age. In general the gobernador chooses people who are loyal to him and who must also carry out the punishments for him, for a gobernador

/176 cont./

623 himself does not punish. For this purpose four representatives of
666 the lower offices have an official whip which consists of a rod ten
696 centimeters long, with a plaited strap about 80 centimeters long.

The election itself proceeds with the introduction of the candi-
623 dates by the capitan with the question: "This one as gobernador,
624 do you want him?" And they reply: "We wish it" or "we do not
666 wish it." It was interesting to observe how, after the death of the capitan, one of his relatives, Cerbelión Guagáz, tried to be named capitan. The priest, however, insisted on an election by the village. And although he tried very hard to have Cerbelión elected, the village kept refusing him because he was too autocratic and such people are not liked. Another whom everyone would like to have as capitan is himself unwilling. "As capitan I am only the beadle of the padre," he replied to my question as to why he did not accept the choice. And he had no desire for that. He had been comisario once and gobernador once, and now he wanted peace for the rest of his life.

2) Family Organization

594 The family of the Paez is basically the patrilineal nuclear family /Kleinfamilie/ consisting of the parents and unmarried
[513] children. The latter, while they are small, sleep with the parents in the kitchen; as soon as they are larger, in a compartment in
591 another part of the house. After marriage they erect their own house.
596 It is not uncommon, however, for the married sons to live with their wives for another year or two in the house of the father, until they have enough money for a house, which will be small at first. The daughters upon marriage leave /177/ the paternal home and then live with their husbands, that is to say, at first with the parents-in-law.

354 Normally, therefore, every house has only one cooking
596 place, in which the woman of the house cooks. If a son marries,
252 a new kitchen is partitioned off and a second place built for the
[462] fire at which the young wife cooks. As a matter of principle, each married couple -- and it alone -- has its own fire area, for the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook.

/177 cont./

the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook. Old, solitary persons or unmarried girls or men live with relatives or friends, but never alone, since a single person is unable either to protect himself or to provide for himself adequately.

The father's authority is great. Wife and children owe him absolute obedience. Nevertheless, the man does not have the right to alienate personal articles of members of the family or possessions that they made themselves. Thus, for example, he is not in a position to sell a coca bag or a fiber bag belonging to his wife or his children's toys.

The children are given the family name of the father, but the women keep their maiden names even after marriage. There is no external indication in dress or hair style or otherwise for unmarried girls and married women. The wife is obligated to work for her husband and children in her family. Beyond that she may procure personal belongings for herself by weaving cloth beyond the needs of her family, for example, and trading it for ornaments.

If the young people are still living in the house with their parents, the daughter-in-law is not absolutely subordinate to her mother-in-law, although this appears to be so, to judge from the speech at the wedding ceremony. A relationship of dependence is out of the question because of the separate kitchens. Usually, however, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are on good terms, and then it is not uncommon for only one woman to cook for both families, for there is no in-law avoidance. Then the two women share the work of cleaning the house.

Conjugal fidelity is demanded of both marriage partners; in the case of the man, however, it is sometimes not taken so seriously. If a man surprises his wife, however, or she her husband, in marital infidelity, the deceived party may beat (but not kill) both and report them to the cabildo, which again has the guilty party very soundly thrashed.

Illegitimate children are not rare among the Paez. In case an unmarried girl has a child, she is beaten by her parents and

848 /178/ the cabildo until she names the father of her child. If he
623 is an unmarried young man, he must marry the girl. A married man, however, is beaten by the cabildo. He does not need to make support payments. It is different if a married man has no
842 children. In this case the wife is regarded in principle as the one
848 at fault. He may then have a child by an unmarried girl without
837 being punished. He simply explains to the cabildo that he has a
[623] great deal of property and that he therefore needs children whom he cannot have by his wife. To the mother of his natural child he gives a cow, clothing, and a pretty belt, and she then surrenders her child to the lawful wife of the father of her child. He may
[554] do this several times until he has enough children. This is not permitted, however, for a poor man without possessions, it was explained to me, for "why does he need children?"

844 At the time of menstruation and also at the birth of a child
841 the woman stays in a special small hut (dúyat). She receives her
[343] food either from her mother, sister, or a neighbor woman from a house in which several women live. This woman at the same time cooks for the members of the family of the menstruating woman. The members of the family of the woman who is temporarily cooking receive their meals from another female member of her family. The woman who takes care of the food also fetches the wood for the fire necessary for warmth in the dúyat. Female inhabitants of farms or of field huts used for only a few months, which have no
[758] dúyat, go to a neighboring or related family for this period. In
[602] case the housewife becomes ill, she moves into the house of one of her sisters or female relatives, where she is nursed. The male relatives of the sick woman must then likewise go to the house of this relative to eat.

614 Besides the patrilineal nuclear families, no recognized patrilineal kin-groups /Sippen/ are known among the Paez, but all who bear the same family name feel related and may not marry, even though they are not knowingly -- this knowledge goes back only two generations -- related. Our interpreter, Victoriano Piñakuẽ, for example, may not only not marry any girls with the patronymic Piñakuẽ, but also no girls whose mothers are named Piñakuẽ. Conditions are particularly difficult among the

/191 cont./

584 the city, even before reaching it, be devoured by a Pijao. There-
754 fore, this has never been attempted by any girl. An example of
539 the opposite is instructive in this connection. Our Colombian
114 colleague, Segundo Bernal Villa, who lived in the park of San
584 Andrés with us and at the same time carried on his ethnological and sociological research in Calderas, had often mentioned, jokingly and in order to make himself popular, that he intended to look for a bride in Calderas. He was often seen with a pretty Calderun girl by the people in the village, as he conversed and went walking with her. One day when he presented her with a bottle of brandy, not knowing or not heeding the courtship custom connected with this, his joking was taken seriously and very much amiss. The girl was sentenced by the cabildo to severe corporal [693] [692] punishment and, after this was carried out, was married the next day to a young man of the village.

584 For the official offer of marriage, the father of the young
431 man goes to the house of the girl's parents. He takes along a gourd calabash with about ten liters of chicha and five bottles of brandy. First he converses only casually with the entire family of the girl for half an hour, many jokes are made, and they talk about this and that. Then he asks the girl's father whether his daughter would not like to marry his son. The parents reply that they have only one daughter and that unfortunately they cannot give her away, since they themselves need her so much. Thereupon they converse further, talk about this and that, and then the father of the young man asks a second time whether the daughter of the house would not like to marry his son. But this time, too, the father of the girl replies that he has but one daughter and can unfortunately not give her away. Then they talk some more, until the guest asks a third time: "Can you not give me your daughter for my son?" The father of the girl then replies: "Very well, I shall give my daughter to your son, but I expect him always to treat her well and not to speak ill of her!" Then the guest hands over the bottles of brandy which he brought along, the first to the father of the bride, the second to the mother of the bride, then the third to the bride, and then a bottle each to her brothers and sisters. He gives all the chicha that he brought to the bride's

/192 cont./

581 around the hearth fire, and this must be stirred and provided with
462 wood every two hours. This is the task of the wife, who, there-
513 fore, sleeps next to the fire. Throughout practically her whole life, she is never able to sleep all through the night.

583 If during the trial year the bride does not meet the demands of the man, if she either cannot cook or is lazy or /193/ does not like to get up in the morning, he sends her back to her father. Since no wedding celebration has taken place, sending back the girl leads to no resentment of any kind. It does, however, if children have resulted from the trial marriage and the young man
[684] nevertheless changes his mind. In this case, to be sure, nothing
[623] can be changed with regard to his decision -- after all, he has not yet been officially married -- but, since such an action is condemned, he is beaten by the cabildo. He may then begin a
583 new trial marriage with another girl. The children of the previ-
848 ous trial marriage (they are designated by the Paez with the
[557] Spanish term hijo natural) are given the name of the mother. There are not a few such "natural children." The mothers, however, are not scorned or judged harshly on that account and do not by any means have poorer prospects for a subsequent marriage. The children are not adopted in case of a subsequent marriage by the
[761] mother and keep their mother's name. It is believed, however,
[851] that such "natural children" will soon die. They are not baptized, since the priest baptizes only legitimate children, or else demands such a large sum for the baptism of an illegitimate child that the unmarried mother cannot raise it.

585 The actual wedding celebration takes place after the period
[178] of the trial marriage. Today the prior marriage service by the Catholic priest in the church is usually combined with this wedding celebration. The money for this, as for the expenses of the wedding celebration, must be raised by the young man himself.
[435] This takes him many months. First of all, besides the cost of ten pesos for the marriage service, he must have collected the money for an ox, then prepare chicha in sufficient quantities, for which sugar cane is milled for about a month, and also provide for the rest of the food. In general his father or brothers do not

P /212 cont./
428 guests. In case the deceased has neither sons nor brothers --
P which scarcely ever happens, it is said -- the villager who takes
[768] care of the burial inherits his entire property. The widow moves in with one of her brothers or sisters or some other relative.

T Disputes and misdemeanors, such as theft or adultery, are
692 judged within the communities by the cabildo; murder or serious
● 623 bodily injury, by the Colombian state judiciary. It was said that
C [692] murder and manslaughter did not occur in former times, the old
T 682 people told us; they are a consequence of "white" influences
623 and the weakening of the cabildo. One can well understand this,
182 for in Calderas where the village council still enjoys a certain
[177] amount of power and considerable prestige, it would be unthinkable
P for a son to stab his father to death. This happened in San Andrés
[177] where the cabildo exists only in the form of three functionaries who are basically powerless and without standing and where the young people, through the influences of the living conditions of the white colonists, no longer have any feeling for the old discipline and customs. It was in San Andrés in March, 1953, that the son of the capitan stabbed his father to death. The
P latter, after the death of his first wife, had married a second
[593] time, for which his children reproached him vehemently. In a drunken state, this led to a brawl, in the course of which the father struck off half of his son's right ear and the son killed his father with several knife stabs in the abdomen. After the deed, he fled; but since it was known that he could find shelter only with relatives, the /213/ gobernador of the town of Lame seized him
P a few days later in the house of his sister, where he had hidden.
[624] He was brought to San Andrés in chains and delivered over to the sindico, who was simultaneously occupying the position of gobernador. The latter, an older man of the age of the deceased capitan, tried for some time to reason with the murderer, who gave the impression of being uncommunicative and almost sullen; he pointed out to him the baseness of his deed, of patricide, and then he was led to the church in which the dead capitan was lying in state. The son resisted violently, but was forcibly led up to the corpse and broke down weeping before it. Before he was transferred

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682 to Inzá by two members of the cabildo of San Andrés, friends and
623 relatives, as well as members of his own family, slipped him a
182 few coins so that he would be able to buy himself food in prison. His guards did not prevent anyone from doing this, and in general the feeling for the murderer was commiserating, but not unfavorable.

623 The punishments inflicted in Calderas by the cabildo are al-
692 ways floggings. In earlier times they were very rigorously carried
[681] out. There is no imprisonment. Today the cabildo judges only
[697] social misdeeds, debtors, and the theft of field crops, a chicken, or a sheep. Horse and cattle theft goes to the court in Inzá for punishment. The injured one himself may not punish the malefactor -- not even if caught red-handed - but must report everything
[693] to the cabildo. There the capitan and gobernador are the judges.
[624] The other members of the cabildo must likewise be present, but they have no vote. The sentence is very quickly passed. The malefactor is locked into one of the two rooms of the community
623 house, and the trial takes place on the next day at the latest. The
685 punishments are fixed. They consist of lashes with the whip, which
692 are increased for repetition. Thus, the thief receives ten lashes the first time, 20 the second time, and 30 lashes the third time; in case of further lapses he is shackled in the tree trunk. The theft of a sheep is punished with ten lashes and the replacement or giving up of the stolen object. If the accused protests, a house search is carried out with a member of the cabildo. If nothing is found, he must be set free again.

426 Loans up to ten pesos are given without security; beyond that the creditor is given a cow, a horse, a pig, wheat, or sugar cane as security. Loans are given only up to a year, so that the matter is not forgotten. Interest is not charged. If the debtor is unable to pay, a definite term is /214/ set for him; if he does not pay then, the lapse is reported to the cabildo, which punishes the offender with the whip. Denial is useless, for every loan transaction is concluded only before witnesses. If the debtor dies, the claims of the creditor are taken from his estate, for example, a machete, coca bag, or clothing. One may also ask relatives, for example brothers, to settle the debt. They are not obliged to repay it,

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426 however, so that in the case of a deceased poor debtor, the creditor has usually lost his money. Prescription does not occur.
685 A debt forgotten by the debtor may be collected by the creditor
695 years later, if there are witnesses. The situation is similar for
426 the theft of field crops: If there is no witness, no one can be found guilty. If, however, the witness is known as honorable and not deceitful, the accused is judged guilty, even without a con-
692 fession. There is no statement of confirmation corresponding to
695 the oath; similarly, no one condemned for wrongdoing has the
●623 right to go to Inzá to the judge. For all misdeeds punished by the
208 [782] cabildo, the capitan and gobernador are the first and last authority; they do not act arbitrarily, however, but rely largely on custom
[686] and the opinion of the village. This is especially true if someone refuses several times in succession to take part in public works, but it also comes out -- unfavorably -- if a poor man tries to
623 become wealthy on his own. For example, disputes not infrequently
692 break out among the Paez on account of damage to cultivated
685 fields when the domestic animals of one person have broken into
578 the fields of a neighbor. Now the fences around each field must always be in good condition and put up in accordance with the term of use of the field. A fence for a maize field, which requires barely a year to mature, may be more lightly built than a fence around a sugar-cane field, which requires three years to mature. Then when strange animals break into fields with good fencing, the owner may kill them or at least wound them, for example, by
[231] cutting off a cow's tail. The owners of pigs fasten a triangular-shaped frame around the necks of their pigs to prevent them from breaking into fenced fields. If the fence is in poor condition, however, and has not been newly erected especially for the planted field, the owner of the animals breaking into the field is not to blame and the owner of the field may not kill them. Of course, the soundness of a fence is to a great extent a matter of opinion, and it happens not infrequently that the disputants go after each
696 other with machetes and wound each other considerably. The
685
417 /215/ guilty party is then, after an inspection of the fence, punished
681

/215 cont./

696 according to the decision of the cabildo. First of all, the animal
685 or the crop destroyed must be replaced, and then the offender is
417 put in the "tree trunk." This is a form of punishment that was
681 formerly used very frequently in other Paez communities, too.
[824] Actually it consists of two tree trunks, into each of which two notches are chopped on opposing sides. The condemned person is put in, with his feet up to the ankles in these rather narrow notches, and then the tree trunks are tightly bound together with
[623] lianas. All the members of the cabildo take part in this work. Then the bound tree trunks are fastened to the ceiling of the council house, so that the condemned man hangs head downward and the trunks cut into his flesh very considerably. There were no other types of punishment. The degree was determined by the number of hours of hanging, which extended from one to, allegedly, 24 hours.

556 Injustices on the part of envious fellow-citizens toward a
626 man striving for wealth manifest themselves by their driving their animals into the man's well-fenced fields. This is done until the person in question no longer feels any inclination to excel over others
[623] through diligence and property. Little is accomplished by com-
[692] plaining to the cabildo, since the gobernador cannot make a de-
[208] cision that runs counter to the opinion of the entire village, and a weak spot in the fence can always be demonstrated somewhere.

692 Other and not infrequent occasions on which the cabildo must
623 act as judge are complaints concerning adultery and support (see
68 above). There are no complaints about verbal insults, just as there is no punishment for this. They are countered by matching expressions. Similarly, unintentional bodily injury, for example, by a machete during joint work or a case of death during tree-cutting, is not punishable. Only if a person shoots his neighbor's eye out with an elastic sling during bird hunting would he be punished, "but not very severely."

/258 cont./

754 Afterward his throat began to dry out and he could breathe only with difficulty, until he finally died.

754 756 The evil shamans are not generally known publicly. Men as well as women, however, may be teyu and nyic. In fact, the [562] most famous and clever teyu whom we met was an old woman, [753] Felisa Ipia in Santa Rosa, who at the same time, however, is re- [623] garded as the most evil sorceress who ever existed. All the sick- [683] ness and misfortune in Santa Rosa are ascribed to her acts. For this reason the cabildo once burned all her medicinal herbs and broke her shaman's staff. But people no longer dare to undertake anything serious against her, since they fear her, as they do all evil sorcerers. In former times the convicted nyic were always very severely punished, but since many members of the cabildo have died as a result of sorcery, no one any longer dares to accuse the well-known nyic today.

754 /259/ With regard to the problem of male and female shamans, 756 a teyu from Calderas explained that women as such had an excellent 562 sense of feeling and therefore the best talent as shamans. Since they are more crafty and cunning than men, however, the female shamans can transform themselves into an evil sorceress at any time. And that is precisely what makes them so dangerous and hence unfit for the calling of a good shaman.

754 The border between teyu and nyic, therefore, is flexible. 756 Both aspects of shamanism may be united in one person, or a teyu may become a nyic and vice versa. In the following, therefore, the teyu form of manifestation of shamanism will be described. In spirit the nyic are based on the same foundation. They never show their herbs and remedies and allow no one to take part in [124] their ceremonies. The teyu, on the other hand, on closer acquaintance were quite willing to give information about their knowledge and to let us take part in their séances.

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756 without leaving a trace. In vain the father tried to find out where
773 he was staying. After eight days, however, the son again appeared in the hut. He said that he had been with his grandfather, who had given him brandy, medicines, and this staff that he held in his hand and that was called tama. The "brandy" was cold water from a lake, and the medicines in the fiber bag were mountain herbs. After he had said this, he fell into a trance and lay there as though dead. Fourteen days later, as he lay dying, he asked his father to hand him his tama, for Thunder had told him that he could defend himself with it and that, in case of illness, he should take the medicines that he had given him. He squeezed /269/ out the juice and drank it. Quickly he became well. When he gave it to other sick persons, they, too, became well immediately. With his staff and his medicines he became the best doctor far and wide. He died at an advanced age.

775 Another shaman said that the tama stems from a lifesaving
773 act of the Holy Virgin Mary. Once when the sea rose constantly
177 higher and had covered almost the entire earth, human beings were in great danger. The Virgin Mary took pity on them. She drew forth the tama and with it made the same motions that the shamans make with it today. The masses of water then receded. She left her staff behind for the person who became a shaman. This is supposed to be the origin of the tama.

Although in the latter story not only the figure of the Virgin Mary, but possibly also the motif of the Deluge did not originate in the thought of the Paez, nevertheless the origin of the tama as
756 a gift from a higher power is noteworthy. This power, which,
776 for the shamans, is of the greatest significance as a spirit being
787 and as the first shaman, is Thunder. According to reports, he also positively has the character of an assistant spirit, even though he is almost only feared by the present-day shamans. "The old shamans," the present ones constantly assert, "were still powerful enough magically to establish communication with Thunder directly and at any time; we today are no longer able
778 to do it." In former times the members of the cabildo, under the
756 guidance of a shaman, bathed together in the lagoon of Juan Tama
● 623

/269 cont./

778 and had their staff of office consecrated there. Today this no
756 longer takes place because of the lack of good shamans. The
623 shamans of today no longer have the intense visions that the
[787] earlier ones had, and that is why they are no longer so powerful magically. They are no longer able to speak with Thunder as simply as their predecessors did, and since they are weaker, it is believed that Thunder will kill them.

776 Thunder is generally described as small of stature and dressed like a Paez man with hat and black ruana. It is reported that he does not wear trousers, but exposes his sexual parts. He has with
[534] him, like a shaman, his tama, a fiber bag with medicines, and a
[532] musical instrument called "tíngalo" (triangle). It is not impossible that it is his picture, together with a Christian cross, that is incised in the gable post of a hut in the vicinity of the park of San Andrés, which represents a man with large, triangular-shaped sexual parts (Ill. 200 /see p. 288 /).

[756] /270/ Thunder is regarded by all the Paez as the greatest
[773] shaman and by the teyu as their master. In the folklore (see below /see pp. 215 ff./), he probably often has different names, such as Juan Tama, Llivan, Chauté, Juan Chiracol, but his characteristics stand out in them, no matter whether as sat (cacique) he is fighting the Pijao and defending his people, or that he will one day -- people are convinced -- again drive the hated whites
776 out of Tierradentro. He warns the Paez of an evil white person
821 who is coming to Tierradentro for a visit by a clap of thunder from
[783] a clear sky. When he thunders above a particular house, he is
[754] announcing that there is "pest" in it, and if he thunders first above the house of a nyiç and then above one belonging to a teyu he is thereby announcing to a good shaman that he has just been bewitched.

776 A few stories also tell about the struggles of the shamans
787 against Thunder, for he once robbed the Paez of livestock and
756 people. But that was long ago, for today no one would dare undertake anything against Thunder. The Calderun shamans tell how the earlier teyu were in a position to speak with Thunder at any time and to get advice from him. Those of today are no

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829 while the others contend for their land and reduce the extent
665 of the parcialidad. This is what the people of Avirama, Togoima, and Lame have done. Nowadays, their relations appear to be cordial, for their political differences, at least, seem to have been obliterated.

157 The Paez are extremely pugnacious, aggressive by nature; they are easily aroused and only with difficulty erase rancor from their minds. Their psychological characteristic seems [648] to be the explosion. History gives many authentic proofs. [669] Adverse to the Spanish yoke, destroyers of the colonial settlements, /192/ in the times of the republic they have served as instruments for blind ambitions and political revenge, and nearly all the civil uprisings have been nourished with their blood. They adjust easily to the military, guerilla, barbarian [579] spirit. The riots that have taken place in the present century are memorable: La Quintinada, La Collada, and the 28th of January, the first of which took place in 1916, the second in 1932, and the third in 1950, out of motives of racism, religion, and political rancor, respectively.

Persistence in vengeance, hair-raising and fearsome crimes, and the spilling of blood characterize many aspects of the social and political life of these Indians.

VI

Fiesteros, Albaceros, and Mayordomos

796 About three months before the celebration of the fiesta,
● 623 the cabildo begins to select the names of the fiesteros /fiesta leaders/ for the following year. When the candidates have been chosen, the entire cabildo goes to their home, where after much dilatory chatting they announce the authorized choice. The offer is rejected at first, but eventually the great honor is accepted.

/223 cont./

* 756 868 members of his family and under the direction of his teacher. The demand for his services on the part of others depends on the outcome of these treatments. Many of the young curers of * 756 554 Togoima, Calderas, and Santa Rosa learned in this manner. 866 All of them state that their teachers had visions, and explicitly or implicitly admit their inferiority to them. "The ancestors had visions, and for this reason they must have been superior to us," says a curer from Calderas. Owing to this fact, people believe that the curers of today cannot talk to [929] Thunder. They would be killed. One of the reasons given to [623] explain why the cabildos /local councils/ of today do not go to the lagoon to wash the staffs of command is precisely the lack of curers like those of old.

* 756 868 Those who have had visions also place themselves under the direction of an experienced curer in order to learn the [782] secrets of the profession. The definitive consecration as a [778] curer is obtained when they offer the "Camarico" /a gift customarily given to guests/ to Thunder at the edge of the lagoon.

[554] Although an apprenticeship in medicine can be undertaken at a very early age, the practice requires one to be an adult of about 30 years of age and married or living with a woman. A "very young" curer would lie, informants say.

* 756 778 782 Consecration of the te eu. The true té eu, that is to say, those who have had visions, make the offering of the "Camarico /224/ to Thunder," a ceremony carried out at the edge of a lagoon, in order to be consecrated definitively as curers, since medicine is a heritage from Thunder.

The teacher asks the pupil for a white sheep and two new pouches. The animal is sacrificed, and from each organ on the left side a small piece is cut and placed in the pouch. This is the "Camarico for Thunder." With this gift, teacher and pupil set out for the lagoon, while at home the women cook the meat with the express order that no one may eat it until they return.

/255 cont./

754 It is said that one who is to become a sorcerer does not need a teacher; he will discover the remedies and the evil spirits. Nevertheless, in the Parcialidad of Santa Rosa it is said that the most dangerous sorceress in the place teaches people how to do witchcraft.

754 *756 The té eu can easily become sorcerers, if they show interest in becoming familiar with their remedies. A sorcerer can be a good curer and cure people, but nevertheless he will demand better provisions.

754 *[756] As a rule, it is unusual for a té eu to be universally acknowledged as such, for many people, and the sorcerers among them, commonly designate them as nasa jihi (evil person).

[787] They may have the visions from a very early age, but the practice of sorcery begins in adulthood and is perfected with maturity. The sorcerers who are publicly acknowledged are about 35 years old, most of them being elders.

/256/ Sorcerers never show their remedies; much less is it possible to attend one of their sessions. This is a concealed activity. One knows who the sorcerers are by public identification. All the information obtained about them is provided by the people and sometimes by the curer himself. Nevertheless, none of them confesses practicing this activity; rather, on the contrary, they protest their innocence and claim to be the best persons in the community.

[124] [156]

●[623] [692] The remedies that the sorcerers possess are said to be well hidden, for if the cabildo were to find them, they would punish them irremediably.

[513] The sorcerers cast their spells at night. The natives say that they do not sleep. No sooner has night fallen than they are chewing coca and tobacco. They sleep during the day. They prefer the dark of night for performing their activities, although they do not have special days or specific hours.

The sorcerers do not introduce objects into the body (toads, hair, etc.), nor can they turn into animals.

/257 cont./

754 A curer from Santa Rosa, while taking a spell off a sick
554 person, explained that this man owned much land and that they
152 had cast a spell upon him in order to appropriate it.
598 In Calderas a man who can read, write, and make memorials for the Alcaldía of Inzá, a maker of fireworks, builder of houses, and good farmer, was naturally the cause of envy. A sorcerer wanted to kill him. He called his soul while he was asleep. But the one called was aided by the soul of his brother, who blew mambe toward him. On the following day his left eye became white and was on the point of dropping out. A curer was able to cure him, but he remained one-eyed. The two brothers remained enemies of the sorcerer.

754 On another occasion and in the same parcialidad, two
613 brothers gave a sorcerer a beating. In revenge he cast a spell
623 on both within a year. Fearful of punishment, the sorcerer went to other parcialidades, but on his return the cabildo put him in the stocks.

In the old days -- says a curer from Santa Rosa -- the cabildos punished the sorcerers. Those of today are afraid of them. The elders /mayores/ have died bewitched. Actually, the Indians refuse to serve on the cabildo or to accept the post of capitán for fear of the sorcerers.

754 The sorcerers are all thieves. They often steal under the
685 very eyes of the owner, who, fearful that they will cast a spell upon him, does not make the slightest protest. But the sorcerers, in turn, fearful that he might complain to the white authorities, cast a spell upon him.

754 In Calderas, those who purchase livestock to expand their small hacienda have been attacked by sorcery.

754 The Indian who has lived with the whites, who has adopted
177 their clothing, their dietary habits, and their agricultural and
554 cattle-raising techniques, /258/ and who has given up the habit of consuming coca and chicha is not only the victim of magical attacks, but is the direct recipient of offensive words and deeds.

/261 cont./

683 The aversion that the people of Santa Rosa have for the
554 sorceress Ipia is expressed clearly in the words of one té eu:
754 "This old woman should be brought to the pueblo, her remedies burned, she should be bathed in ají water, manacled, and kept like this overnight to prevent her from running away, bathing with her remedies, and turning back into a sorceress."

683 In this same parcialidad the sorcerers accused of having
[623] killed the former gobernador with their tricks were given the following punishment by the Cabildo.

The sorcerers, taken from their houses with all their pouches of remedies, were led to the pueblo. In the plaza and in the presence of the people, the capitán took from the pouches remedy after remedy, showing it to the public and asking about its uses. The remedies were unknown in most cases and the sorcerers gave no information about them. They made a large pile. The gobernador of the cabildo says that they even had earth from the cemetery. He sprinkled the remedies with gasoline, put the sorcerers in the middle, and lighted the fire. The frightened sorcerers begged for forgiveness, claiming that they were innocent.

It is said that in the pouches they found flowers of sulphur, with which they /262/ prepared a drink that they forced them to take in order to rid them of evil spirits. The sorcerers, on their part, say that the drink in question was a mixture of the excrements of domestic animals and human feces.

The sorcerers had to remain at the wake overnight and dig part of the grave. After the burial they were invited to the meal which is offered on such occasions, an invitation which they refused, but they were forced to attend. With the food it is said that they were given pubic hair, according to the sorcerers. Then the people tossed them into a pond.

683 In Calderas the punishments are more violent. In 1951,
184 they took a sorcerer, put him in the stocks for two days, forced him to take the drink of excrements, whipped him,

/309 cont./

685 The natives do not steal maize. If they need some, they
243 buy it from their neighbor. Such transactions are made at very
[432] low prices. If someone refuses to sell, that is to say, "is stingy
[623] with maize," the buyer threatens to rob him, although he never
[692] does it if he is a good person, but will if he is bad (sorcerer).
Such thefts are punished by the cabildo.

243 When the ear of maize is filled out and tender (choclo /a
[789] roasting ear/) consumption begins, after the performance of
magical practices if the produce is from a new clearing (14).

14. Ibid., p. 246.

Consumption begins at the outer part and all around the field, leaving the central part to turn into dry maize. If someone picks maize from just any part, people comment acidly that he "eats like a dog." The harvesting of the maize is done in one or two days. Relatives and friends are invited to help
[476] and are rewarded with approximately one arroba. The same
[465] amount is also given to those who helped disinterestedly with the clearing and sowing.

243 /310/ An informant from Mosoco says that it is customary
431 among the natives to present relatives and friends with a "carrera" /stretch, row/ of each harvest. Those of wheat and barley are excepted. The carrera consists in harvesting all the "matas" /bushes, sprigs/ that remain around the plantings, since, as we have seen, the harvesting is done from the periphery to the center. The beneficiaries in turn do the same, so that the amounts received are reciprocally returned. This favor to relatives and friends carries with it implicit factors of understanding and affection, for not all receive this manifestation of esteem.
243 The same informant says that the consumption of roasting ears
574 begins with what is called "cura de la labranza" /treatment of the field/, which consists of the following: The owner invites his relatives and friends to a kind of banquet with an abundance of tender-maize cakes /bollos/ or tamales /envueltos/, chicken, and other select dishes.

000 /335 cont./

423 land. On it usually stand the native pueblos, and from it the
623 municipal councils have set aside the so-called settlement areas,
648 into which, since they belong to the municipio, "white" penetration has been possible.

423 Private ownership of land is acquired essentially through
425 adjudication, through work, and through inheritance. It may also be acquired through gift or sale, but this is quite rare.

423 Since the true owner of the protected lands is the cabildo,
425 it is this institution that distributes the lands to each member
623 of the community. The titles that it grants are called adjudications. The condition for enjoying possession of a specific parcel is residence in the community and, above all, work. In the case where an individual has idle lands because he cannot manage to work them, the cabildo reserves the right to take this part away from him in order to give it to someone who needs it. Those who through special circumstances live elsewhere, outside of the parcialidad, lose their right to possession of the land.

423 Although it is true that in the distribution of land made by
425 the cabildo it venerates, respects, and is guided by the laws of
623 justice, it is also true that they are not exempt from committing
662 unjust acts. If a member of the community can advantageously entertain and show courtesies to the members of the cabildo and is interested in acquiring more land, he can obtain it in this way. It is relatively easy to suborn the cabildo. Then the cabildo can wrong some in order to benefit others. But this defect may be corrected with the selection of men who can fulfill their functions as members of the cabildo competently and with the exercise of sound directive policies on the part of the municipal executive.

423 Now then. It is also true that some natives have more
623 land than others. But this is due to the fact that their respective
421 ancestors cleared more forest than others. They colonized more land. Their right of ownership is granted through labor. "The ancestors" -- says a Calderun informant -- "worked the montaña and this is why we have land. This land does not belong to the cabildo." This procedure is still followed in the parcialidades where there is still uncultivated land. /336/ The cabildo has

/336 cont./

423 no rights over land won by the sweat of the brow. It is inherited
623 directly by the sons. In such cases the cabildo confirms owner-
428 ship by issuing the respective adjudication.

423 When the colonization has been done by several persons,
578 usually brothers, and the division of the land does not satisfy one of the parties, famous litigations take place that eat up the small savings of the families. The feeling for ownership of land is highly developed among the natives, and the usurpation of the slightest piece of ground gives rise to quarrels, enmities, and
42 litigations. The sale of land to "whites" is prohibited by
[648] Colombian law and by the consuetudinary law of the natives. But among the natives themselves transactions can be made with immovables. They do not sell the land, but the ownership. The owner of land is the man. A widow, too, can be an owner by inheritance from the husband. Single women do not own land.

422 The bovine, equine, porcine, and wool-bearing livestock belong to the man, although a few women own pigs and sheep. Turkeys, chickens, cats, and guinea pigs belong to the women, and so do dishes, spoons, pots, grinding stones,
[428] calabashes, and bags. These are inherited through the female line. Children are owners merely of their own clothes.

423 Concerning communal property, we have already seen that in each parcialidad there are several hectares of land that
[794] belong to all the members of the parcialidad. Also regarded as communal property are public works, such as roads, bridges, the main ditches, the house of the cabildo, and the church, and they collectively maintain them; likewise regarded as the property of the parcialidad are the sums of money collected for the church, the produce of the clearing of the saint, and any livestock or mills that it might own.

428 Concerning inheritance, let us look first at the concepts
[842] expressed by an informant from Calderas. Asked about the ideal number of children for native families, he replied that everyone wished to have many children. "When one dies and one has land, who can handle it? The ancestors worked the montaña, and this is why we have land. We are five brothers and we work

6: Bernal Villa- 107 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro XIII: Gobernador of the parcialidad of San Andrés, with his staff of command and a machete at his belt.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,f(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

P 175 648 in which a Spaniard held a territory occupied by Indians. The natives, under a chief who was protected by the White authorities and P [652] who made contact between the master, or encomendero, and his sub- [651] jects, had to give a certain number of days' work and a specified P tribute in products of the lands, animals, gold, or manufactures. The [177] encomiendas made no effort to Hispanicize the Indians, but continued to loot and massacre them. The Indians, reduced to utter misery, gave up all their artistic and industrial activities, and devoted the greater part of their time to the service of the master or to seeking products to pay the obligatory tribute. To remedy this situation, the Spanish Crown decreed the native "parcialidad," giving surviving P groups reservations and prohibiting their employment in transporting [623] men and goods over the highways. This reform was never entirely carried out, however, and the Indians, in spite of having their own government, the cabildo or Indian council, continued in servitude P or debt slavery.

[621] The native Indian government consisted generally of a governor, [631] a first mayor (alcalde mayor), a second mayor (alcalde segundo), a trustee (sindico or fiscal), and constables (alguaciles), the last a kind of police who transmitted to the people the orders which the Whites gave through the governors or mayors, and who carried out penalties P of imprisonment, of placing in stocks, and whipping, which the 175 first Spaniards introduced into the punishment of the natives. At the 648 same time, the Christianization of the Indians began. It succeeded 797 in an imperfect way, however, for the Indian attended Masses, ar- 438 ranged and participated in processions, and did not miss the solemn 273 ceremonies a single Sunday largely because on the same day he brought his own products to the pueblo for sale, bought salt or meat which he P needed, and devoted himself to drinking chicha, the traditional drink 175 which he had always taken on religious or social occasions.

648 The Indians of Nariño, descendants of the *Pasto*, lost their language Po and many of their customs during the Colonial Period, although they [463] continued to live as natives on their reservations, which daily became [333] smaller because of the encroachments by the neighboring Whites or Mestizos. They became farmers with small landholdings and, occasionally, masons in the cities. The *Moguez* and *Páez*, however, P 175 retained their language and the greater part of their customs. Some 648 of them, especially the men who had to deal with the Whites, learned a little Spanish, and they continued throughout the Colonial Period P to defend their lands and their traditions. To religious practices in- [191] troduced by the missionaries, they added such elements as the offer P of food to the souls of the dead. They added to the Colonial council (cabildo) the office of captain, an official who, unlike the rest of the [622] council, was not responsible to civilian authorities but had life tenure, sometimes a hereditary position, and more authority within the group.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

631 list presented by a council composed of former governors, the cap-
666 tain, and the síndico. The meeting may object to the list, but gen-
[651] erally accepts it. On the following January 1, the cabildo-elect must appear at the office of the municipal mayor to receive the staffs, their insignia of office, and to assume their duties and responsibilities. The offices are: Governor and alternate, commissioner, two mayors (alcaldes), two constables (alguaciles), and three prosecutors (fiscales), one of whom is a young man assigned to learn the ways of government. The mayors, constables, and prosecutors are something like bosses or policemen, and execute orders issued by the Governor or by the captain or the municipal authorities to a community through the Governor.

423 Property.—The Indians today do not own any real property in the usual sense. The land assigned to an entire community is allotted
[651] to each adult for his use when he becomes a macanero, that is, capable
[554] of giving one day's work each year for the collective planting for the benefit of the saint and as many days as may be required by the cabildo for the repair of roads, bridges, etc., or for work in the village. The right to the use of the land may pass to the heirs, wife and children, in the absence of which it reverts to the community or the cabildo.

422 The house was formerly typical personal or movable property, which could be easily abandoned, dismantled, or destroyed. The same holds today for fragile cane dwellings. There are few houses so solidly built that they constitute real or immovable property.
[764] Other personal property, such as utensils, clothes, weapons, adorn-
[428] ments, and jewels, was formerly buried with the owner. These things
[177] and livestock, planted fields, and crops are now inherited by the members of the deceased's family. In general, Colombian law is
[692] being implanted by the judges and municipal mayors, although the
[623] cabildo judges some minor offenses and punishes the offenders by whipping, imprisonment, or stocks (cepo), a form of torment retained
[681] from Colonial times.

Although the Indians' communities have in most cases titles of
691 limits of their lands dating from Colonial times, there are still liti-
648 gations on boundaries. An interesting case is the struggle of the
[423] Indians to dislodge a settlement of Negroes from the old salt works in Ambostá, where they were abandoned many years ago by a rich Popayán family who took them there to work the mines. The female Indian chief (cacica) of this territory allowed the Negroes to live on a hill, called "the hill of the fifteen Negroes." The Negroes are not organized under a cabildo, but have a chief who represents them. They all contribute to a special religious feast in the municipio, and provide means to continue the suit for the possession of the hill against the Indians.

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Castillo mentions that they wor— 175

shiped the sun, in whose honor they met and danced in places called "Itaqui-finó," i. e., the place where the sun revealed its mysteries; and that they venerated a kind of culture hero called Guequiau. It was he who instructed shamans (mohanes). 771 776 [756]

This hero has a counterpart in the religious legend of Juan Tama, the Son of the Star. One day when the Morning Star shone very brightly, some Indians found a child in a gorge—ever since called the Gorge of the Star. This was Juan Tama. They picked him up and entrusted him to a woman to nurse, but he nursed so much that her milk dried up. He was given to another woman, whom he also made very weak. They then said that he could not be nursed by a woman, and gave him food. After he grew up, he married the female chief of Huila, Doña María Mendiguagua, and became chief of all the Indians. He instructed people and explained to them how to keep the land for themselves and not mix with White people. He pronounced them invincible and summoned a chief from Pitayó, called Calambás, whom he appointed his manager. Calambás rebelled,[12] but was defeated by Juan Tama, who pardoned him on account of his bravery, and conferred on him and his heirs the right to rule the *Pdez* in Bitoncó. As death approached, Juan Tama went to the lake on the páramo of Moras and sank into the waters. He had come out of this place and returned to it, leaving no heirs.[13] 773 776

In the neighborhood of Bitoncó there is a rock with what appears to be human footprints. When the Indians pass it, they uncover their heads and say, "The Holy One came this way." Another remnant of the cult of Juan Tama is the custom that each member of the council spends one week at the shores of the lake before the end of his term to render an account to Juan Tama of his actions in office. Likewise, newly elected officers, as soon as they receive their staffs or insignia of authority, spend a week at the lake. They toss silver coins into it, wash their staffs, and pray for strength to rule well. This ceremony, performed with the greatest secrecy, is called the "curing of the staffs." Recently, however, the Indians have stopped "curing" their staffs in the lake, for they say that Juan Tama is angry, and whenever they approach the lake, it rains and storms badly. 776 823 [623] [621] [631] [821]

In the Guanacas section there was another sacred lagoon, called Tumbachí, which was recently drained because a snake that lived there attracted girls and kept them for a whole year, and then returned them when they were about to become mothers.

These tribes believed that the soul comes back to life. 775

Witchcraft was strongly developed among these Indians, who still believe in most of its practices, in spite of the catechization forced upon them by the missionaries. 754 177

[12] During the War of Independence, as well as in subsequent revolutions, the Indians of the family named Calambás distinguished themselves as warriors. [669]

[13] We are indebted to Father David González for this legend, told to him by an old Indian in Lame. [114]

/184 cont./

stereotyped conduct. It should nevertheless be stated that the present-day Páez surnames were still given names in the eighteenth century, chosen capriciously by the mother and not transmissible to the descendants (14). The adoption of surnames and

14. Castillo y Orozco, E. de., op. cit., p. 75.

their heritability through the paternal line is the result of the doctrinal work of the Catholic missionaries, and their assimilation and integration into Páez culture must have been carried out in accordance with certain aspects of a sociological nature existing previously. The same /an unpaginated genealogical chart appears here/ /185/ present-day monogamy of the Páez appears to be the result of a strong Catholic Christian influence, since in pre-Colombian times they were polygamous (15).

15. Hernández de Alba, Gr. "The Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia," 1946, p. 948.

The supreme authority in the nuclear family rests with the father; when he is missing, with the mother; and, when both are missing, with the most intelligent of the group. The husband orders, the woman only asks. The woman is always under the control of the man: the father, the brother, the husband. She has no liberty of movement. The cabildo has authority over orphaned women, including that of having them marry. One of our informants in Calderas was a fatherless orphan and had been brought up in Avirama in the company of her stepfather. Being of age, an Aviramẽño asked for her in marriage, but the cabildo of Calderas stopped the marriage, brought her back to the parcialidad, made her spend the night in the quarters of the cabildo, and on the following day made her marry a lad of 14 whom she did not know. Since she resisted, they beat her, admonishing her at the same time that if she did not do it, she would be married to a black dog in the future life. "There being

[text continues on p. 33]

/185 cont./

623 no other solution, I had to marry, "reflected the informant," for
736 such was the law. The cabildo finds husbands for female orphans
562 (guaiches). Any youth could ask the cabildo for an orphan for a
583 wife and it would give her."

The husband may punish his wife. We were able to ob-
593 serve the case of a native Calderuno who with tears in his eyes
[586] asked for the help of the priest to get back his wife who had abandoned him because he had given her some blows with the flat of a machete, injuring her. The complaining husband explained that the maltreatment given to his wife had not been of any importance, and, anyway, she had cost him twelve pesos, meaning by this the amount paid to the priest to celebrate the
593 nuptials. They punish the wife when on returning from work
684 they find her drunk and without food prepared for eating. Likewise they whip her or cuff her in cases of infidelity. Absolute
[837] fidelity is demanded from both spouses, and transgressions from this standard seem to be infrequent.

Such cases as present themselves are settled by the cabildo,
593 as we were able to observe in Mosoco, where a husband, through
623 the suggestion of his own mother, accused his wife of infidelity.
684 The cabildo /186/ in session went to the house of the plaintiff
692 to establish responsibility in the presence of the interested parties. According to an informant from Calderas, when a married man has a child by an unmarried girl, his wife complains before the cabildo. If it finds the girl guilty, it punishes her with lashes and authorizes the complainant to cut the hair of her rival.
[848] The child born in this way, said the informant, dies of the plague.
[753] Cases of infidelity on the part of the husband a number of times arouse violent reactions on the part of the wife, up to the point of liquidating her rival in a barbarous and merciless manner, as occurred in San Andrés where out of jealousy a woman practically quartered the body of the other woman, and whose penal judgment was given in the city of Popayán not many months ago.

/187 cont./

593 and de facto (with a machete) aggression of a married son (23 years old) against his parents, and the situation calmed down when the father succeeded in disarming the aggressor.

Brothers and sisters respect each other. They avoid aggression, and when they are little they play together. The younger brothers greet the older ones, and when the latter marry, they receive, kneeling, the blessing of the former.

[241] The fruits of the harvests are shared among the brothers,
[476] just as they also mutually help one another in the arduous agricultural work. According to an informant, men care more for their brothers than for their sisters, because the latter, upon marrying, leave the home. Nevertheless they show affection in their conduct with both sexes. Relations between sisters and the mother are intimate, as they live together under the same
[855] roof and intermingle in performing the same work. The older ones help to bring up the younger brothers and sisters. The latter call the eldest brother and eldest sister táta and máma, names that they abandon when they have reached adulthood.
[627] In case of a fight involving one of the brothers, the others go to his assistance and take vengeance if anyone has been injured,
[623] but this is not an obligation. Quarrels between brothers may
[692] arise over the distribution of land. In the greater number of such cases the cabildo settles the differences.

602 Relations between the families united among themselves by blood ties are intimate. They visit one another frequently and are shown painstaking treatment.

593 Mingas[1] are organized more readily among brothers, who
[476] "cover up their poverty." In the religious festivals they mutually
[651] back one another and during occasional meetings they endeavor
[796] to drink and eat together.

1/ [i.e., meetings for collective work--Analyst]

/174 cont./

624 [177] In addition to the cabildo, there was introduced in Spanish colonial times, as the trusted agent of the missions, the post of capitan, who was not subordinate to the secular authorities and often was not democratically elected, but appointed by the church for life. Appointed to this office, if possible, are the members of an old, influential family, in which a son or nephew then succeeds the capitan in office, so that in practice this position was often hereditary within a family. The capitan in Calderas, who died February 18, 1953 and who had held this office for about 20 years, was named Manuel José Guagáz. His predecessor was his father, Bruno Guagáz. And though the gobernador told me that the family of the Guagáz were feeble-minded and no longer fit for any work, he admitted that it was probable that the successor of the old capitan would nevertheless be another Guagáz.

623 624 The deceased capitan was ill and weak during the last years of his life, and thus it came about that the gobernador played the leading role in the cabildo. The weekly council meetings were also held in his house. According to conditions in other villages, however, the capitan in practice not only presides in the cabildo, but his voice also has somewhat more weight. At least, he is able to prevent a bridge from being built, for example, through his veto. /175/ True, he cannot accomplish it or even order it by himself, against the will of the cabildo.

623 651 Another functionary, who is likewise appointed by the missions for life, is the síndico, who fixes the ecclesiastical tax assessments and administers the funds.

623 293 [666] The election of the cabildo takes place every year on the first of December. On the following January first, the elected cabildo must appear before the administrative authorities of the municipio /see the glossary, p. 249/, where each member is given his staff of office and is sworn in for his duties. The staffs of office (kampo) belong to the village and are handed on from year to year. They are round in diameter, about 80 to 100 centimeters long and three to five centimeters thick, and carved out of the black, hard wood of the chonta palm. The tips of the sticks are fitted with a brass or iron cap for their protection. The handle is somewhat thinner than the rest of the stick and enlarged at the end to form a knob which is covered with silver leaf. Below the

/176 cont./

623 himself does not punish. For this purpose four representatives of
666 the lower offices have an official whip which consists of a rod ten
696 centimeters long, with a plaited strap about 80 centimeters long.

The election itself proceeds with the introduction of the candi-
623 dates by the capitan with the question: "This one as gobernador,
624 do you want him?" And they reply: "We wish it" or "we do not
666 wish it." It was interesting to observe how, after the death of the capitan, one of his relatives, Cerbelión Guagáz, tried to be named capitan. The priest, however, insisted on an election by the village. And although he tried very hard to have Cerbelión elected, the village kept refusing him because he was too autocratic and such people are not liked. Another whom everyone would like to have as capitan is himself unwilling. "As capitan I am only the beadle of the padre," he replied to my question as to why he did not accept the choice. And he had no desire for that. He had been comisario once and gobernador once, and now he wanted peace for the rest of his life.

2) Family Organization

594 The family of the Paez is basically the patrilineal nuclear family /Kleinfamilie/ consisting of the parents and unmarried
[513] children. The latter, while they are small, sleep with the parents in the kitchen; as soon as they are larger, in a compartment in
591 another part of the house. After marriage they erect their own house.
596 It is not uncommon, however, for the married sons to live with their wives for another year or two in the house of the father, until they have enough money for a house, which will be small at first. The daughters upon marriage leave /177/ the paternal home and then live with their husbands, that is to say, at first with the parents-in-law.

354 Normally, therefore, every house has only one cooking
596 place, in which the woman of the house cooks. If a son marries,
252 a new kitchen is partitioned off and a second place built for the
[462] fire at which the young wife cooks. As a matter of principle, each married couple -- and it alone -- has its own fire area, for the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook.

P /212 cont./
428 guests. In case the deceased has neither sons nor brothers --
P which scarcely ever happens, it is said -- the villager who takes
[768] care of the burial inherits his entire property. The widow moves
in with one of her brothers or sisters or some other relative.

T Disputes and misdemeanors, such as theft or adultery, are
692 judged within the communities by the cabildo; murder or serious
625 bodily injury, by the Colombian state judiciary. It was said that
C [692] murder and manslaughter did not occur in former times, the old
T 682 people told us; they are a consequence of "white" influences
623 and the weakening of the cabildo. One can well understand this,
182 for in Calderas where the village council still enjoys a certain
[177] amount of power and considerable prestige, it would be unthinkable
P for a son to stab his father to death. This happened in San Andrés
[177] where the cabildo exists only in the form of three functionaries
who are basically powerless and without standing and where the
young people, through the influences of the living conditions of
the white colonists, no longer have any feeling for the old
discipline and customs. It was in San Andrés in March, 1953,
that the son of the capitan stabbed his father to death. The
P latter, after the death of his first wife, had married a second
[593] time, for which his children reproached him vehemently. In a
drunken state, this led to a brawl, in the course of which the
father struck off half of his son's right ear and the son killed his
father with several knife stabs in the abdomen. After the deed, he
fled; but since it was known that he could find shelter only with
relatives, the /213/ gobernador of the town of Lame seized him
P a few days later in the house of his sister, where he had hidden.
[624] He was brought to San Andrés in chains and delivered over to the
sindico, who was simultaneously occupying the position of
gobernador. The latter, an older man of the age of the deceased
capitan, tried for some time to reason with the murderer, who
gave the impression of being uncommunicative and almost sullen;
he pointed out to him the baseness of his deed, of patricide, and
then he was led to the church in which the dead capitan was lying
in state. The son resisted violently, but was forcibly led up to the
corpse and broke down weeping before it. Before he was transferred

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682 to Inzá by two members of the cabildo of San Andrés, friends and
623 relatives, as well as members of his own family, slipped him a
182 few coins so that he would be able to buy himself food in prison. His guards did not prevent anyone from doing this, and in general the feeling for the murderer was commiserating, but not unfavorable.

623 The punishments inflicted in Calderas by the cabildo are al-
692 ways floggings. In earlier times they were very rigorously carried
[681] out. There is no imprisonment. Today the cabildo judges only
[697] social misdeeds, debtors, and the theft of field crops, a chicken, or a sheep. Horse and cattle theft goes to the court in Inzá for punishment. The injured one himself may not punish the malefactor -- not even if caught red-handed - but must report everything
[693] to the cabildo. There the capitan and gobernador are the judges.
[624] The other members of the cabildo must likewise be present, but they have no vote. The sentence is very quickly passed. The malefactor is locked into one of the two rooms of the community
623 house, and the trial takes place on the next day at the latest. The
685 punishments are fixed. They consist of lashes with the whip, which
692 are increased for repetition. Thus, the thief receives ten lashes the first time, 20 the second time, and 30 lashes the third time; in case of further lapses he is shackled in the tree trunk. The theft of a sheep is punished with ten lashes and the replacement or giving up of the stolen object. If the accused protests, a house search is carried out with a member of the cabildo. If nothing is found, he must be set free again.

426 Loans up to ten pesos are given without security; beyond that the creditor is given a cow, a horse, a pig, wheat, or sugar cane as security. Loans are given only up to a year, so that the matter is not forgotten. Interest is not charged. If the debtor is unable to pay, a definite term is /214/ set for him; if he does not pay then, the lapse is reported to the cabildo, which punishes the offender with the whip. Denial is useless, for every loan transaction is concluded only before witnesses. If the debtor dies, the claims of the creditor are taken from his estate, for example, a machete, coca bag, or clothing. One may also ask relatives, for example brothers, to settle the debt. They are not obliged to repay it,

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

cluding vegetables, cornbread, eggs, and chicha, which he piles on the church floor, together with wax candles—one if the person does not have anyone in particular to remember, two for each deceased relative. When Mass begins, they throw flowers on the presbytery, as an offering to the souls of children. Afterward, they go to the cemetery in procession, and the souls of the departed come down to the empty church to take the food. Later, the people sell whatever the souls left or failed to eat. Everyone buys something, the captain's assistant collecting the money, while the constables of the council, raising their whips and shouting insults, prevent frauds in the general disorder. The money from the sale is given to the priest to pay him for the work in the rites. As each person leaves the church, he kisses a crucifix held by the sacristan at the church door. They kiss it once for each dead person whom they wish to remember and pay a cent each time. In addition to offering food at the church, the *Moguex* cover their tables at home with food, which is also intended for the souls of their dead, and at the end of 2 or 3 days they eat the food, saying that they are eating what the souls have left. 769 782 [624] [625]

Christmas and Holy Week are both great occasions for the Indians, who celebrate them with music and some of their ancient rites. Even though a priest may not be present, they conduct the rites in a manner that dates from Colonial days, when a *Páez* Indian named Undachí tried to combine Catholicism with their own religion. The man claimed to be able to see God, who used to come among the Indians and talk to him in his own *Páez* language. The new religion included a chapel, Mass, and candle and flower offerings. 796 771 177 [781]

Sickness.—Sickness was always thought to be caused by witchcraft or by someone's will. The evil force entered the body and made it impure; it had to be expelled or "cleansed," lest death ensue. If a delirious person told who was killing him, the individual mentioned was thought guilty; or, if, after a death, the face of the deceased should appear to somebody, the person was considered responsible. These beliefs are still in force today, and the Indians avoid the causes of sickness, such as having sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman, exposing the body to bad weather while there is a rainbow, and neglecting to bathe after a burial or to purify a house where a death occurred. 753 754 [787] 753 178

To fight disease they still have shamans. *Moguex* shamans use tobacco, coca, plants known as yacuna and chundar, and rum in their practice. After remaining shut up in a dark room for a night, they either confess their inability to cure the sick person or proceed to administer the traditional medicines. Sickness is conceptualized as an animal, which enters the stomach, head, or other part of the body. In former times, the shaman fasted with the sick person, abstaining from salt and fats and taking only coca and chicha. Today, he requires that only the patient fast. 756 [753] [785]

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/172 cont./

623 title of gobernador. In Paez this corresponds to the designation tótens. At his side, in Calderas, stands the gobernador suplente as his representative; other functionaries are the alcalde /see the glossary, p. 248 / (in Paez ka'nas), of whom there are two in Calderas, the alcalde mayor and the alcalde menor, furthermore two fiscales, three comisarios, and one comisario escolar, as well as an alguacil. The composition of the cabildo in Santa Rosa is the following: a gobernador, an alcalde, a fiscal, a comisario escolar, and an alguacil. In Lame there are a gobernador, a gobernador suplente, two fiscales, one comisario, and one alguacil. The cabildo in Togoima consists of the gobernador, the gobernador suplente, two alcaldes, two fiscales, three comisarios, one comisario escolar, and one alguacil. Aside from the double and triple occupancies, the composition of the cabildo is the same in the four villages. It should be noted that there are Paez words only for the gobernador and the alcalde; Spanish designations are used for the rest of the functionaries.

623 554 The authority of the gobernador as the leader of the village rests more on his personal prestige than on official means of power. He must therefore be very cautious with his regulations and instructions. He has the collectively conceived decisions of the village council carried out with respect to road or bridge building or the repair of the church, the school, or the com-
[626] munity house. While his regulations remain within the scope of what the great majority of the village also regards as good, the collectivity exerts strong pressure on those who stand apart. In flagrant instances of apartness, however, he has quite drastic measures at his disposal, which, though they are today no longer as strictly wielded as formerly, can nevertheless be very effective in the hands of an energetic gobernador. It is taken for granted, however, that the gobernador acts neither unjustly nor arbitrarily, sets a good example in all undertakings, and is active first and
123 last in the communal work. How little the gobernador is in a
623 position to issue arbitrary orders within his village may be illus-
554 trated by the following example: One Saturday the gobernador

/203 cont./

461 longer period of time, consumed the products he himself raised.
476 Thus the practice of communal work and the joint consumption
156 of food and drink connected with it do not unconditionally emphasize the necessity for remote individual farms as against the compact village layout.

556 /204/ From what has been said about joint work and the
461 joint consumption associated with it, it follows that, with this
[476] method of production and consumption, practically no one can acquire great wealth, for the more a person has, the more he needs to entertain his helpers. Theoretically, however, it would be easy to become rich, if, for example, a young man would clear an additional piece of land each year for the planting of wheat or sugar cane and sell its yield for money or barter it for horses or cows. He would have to do this for several years, and then his herd of cows and mares would increase quite automatically, and with it his wealth. The actual work necessary for this
556 would be slight. Nevertheless, this is not possible in practice,
●626 because, on the one hand, most of the Paez do not calculate and think so far ahead, and, on the other hand, the sufficiently intelligent and industrious ones would be subject to the dangerous envy of the other members of the community. The democratization of the Paez communities not only favors what is common, but also prevents the individualization of what is common to all -- among other things, even the common poverty.

For this reason no show is made of any possessions that one
556 might have. Significantly, only in connection with taking an inventory of livestock at the end of our work did we discover that even in Calderas there are comparatively rich people. This was not to be seen by an outsider, since these families do not stand out from the others either by dress or by way of life. Moreover, they did not tell me anything about their property -- a matter of more than ten head of cattle in the case of three families. I learned about it more or less accidentally from other
[651] people. In the case of these families, I could not see any reason for the concealment of their wealth, since they do not have any obligations or taxes or fees to pay. They likewise do not play a

/204 cont./

556 special sociological role within their community, for they are elected neither more frequently nor more rarely to the village offices. They have simply "always" been considered wealthy, though it should be noted that in the language of the Paez there [192] is no word at all for "rich" or "poor." The word used for "poor," "pórę," comes from the Spanish (povre), and the word used for "rich," "čáčanas," at the same time means "strong" in the physi-
556 cal sense. Despite this apparent unimportance of wealth, how-
●626 ever, it is jealously seen to that no other industrious man of a poor family will become rich and possibly put his wealth -- by means of Colombian dress or something similar -- on display. The evil shamans would put a spell on him or poison him, /205/ and the neighbors would devastate his fields by driving their cattle there. He would be cut by everyone, and people in a state of intoxica-
115 tion would start a fight with him in order to kill him. At any
556 rate, this is what happened and is happening to our interpreter,
626 Victoriano. He does not come from a wealthy family, but he wants to acquire money and livestock through diligence and [291] ability. From the money he earned among the whites he has [177] already bought himself the clothing of the whites, which he now proudly displays, and at festivals he sells wax candles and sweets. His fellow-villagers hate him on that account. The priest has had to protect him several times already from the machetes of drunken men who had started a fight with him; and in our presence, too, when we visited various houses with him, he was occasionally very rudely heckled by drunken men. Not least because, in the opinion
115 of the Calderun, he is not working. Again and again I tried to ex-
123 plain to the people that they, too, could "go walking" with me and
556 earn money if they were able to speak Spanish. Since this was
626 not the case, there was nothing else for me to do but always work with Victoriano. Nothing helped; Victoriano became more and more unpopular, and I, too, was regarded as a do-nothing. A
123 drunken man who, instead of the one cigarette he was given, vainly demanded an entire pack as a present abused me, too, as an "alko," a dog, who is always going from house to house and does not work.

/215 cont./

696 according to the decision of the cabildo. First of all, the animal
685 or the crop destroyed must be replaced, and then the offender is
417 put in the "tree trunk." This is a form of punishment that was
681 formerly used very frequently in other Paez communities, too.
[824] Actually it consists of two tree trunks, into each of which two notches are chopped on opposing sides. The condemned person is put in, with his feet up to the ankles in these rather narrow notches, and then the tree trunks are tightly bound together with
[623] lianas. All the members of the cabildo take part in this work. Then the bound tree trunks are fastened to the ceiling of the council house, so that the condemned man hangs head downward and the trunks cut into his flesh very considerably. There were no other types of punishment. The degree was determined by the number of hours of hanging, which extended from one to, allegedly, 24 hours.

556 Injustices on the part of envious fellow-citizens toward a
● 626 man striving for wealth manifest themselves by their driving their animals into the man's well-fenced fields. This is done until the person in question no longer feels any inclination to excel over others
[623] through diligence and property. Little is accomplished by com-
[692] plaining to the cabildo, since the gobernador cannot make a de-
[208] cision that runs counter to the opinion of the entire village, and a weak spot in the fence can always be demonstrated somewhere.

692 Other and not infrequent occasions on which the cabildo must
623 act as judge are complaints concerning adultery and support (see
68 above). There are no complaints about verbal insults, just as there is no punishment for this. They are countered by matching expressions. Similarly, unintentional bodily injury, for example, by a machete during joint work or a case of death during tree-cutting, is not punishable. Only if a person shoots his neighbor's eye out with an elastic sling during bird hunting would he be punished, "but not very severely."

/187 cont./

593 and de facto (with a machete) aggression of a married son (23 years old) against his parents, and the situation calmed down when the father succeeded in disarming the aggressor.

Brothers and sisters respect each other. They avoid aggression, and when they are little they play together. The younger brothers greet the older ones, and when the latter marry, they receive, kneeling, the blessing of the former.

[241] The fruits of the harvests are shared among the brothers,
[476] just as they also mutually help one another in the arduous agricultural work. According to an informant, men care more for their brothers than for their sisters, because the latter, upon marrying, leave the home. Nevertheless they show affection in their conduct with both sexes. Relations between sisters and the mother are intimate, as they live together under the same
[855] roof and intermingle in performing the same work. The older ones help to bring up the younger brothers and sisters. The latter call the eldest brother and eldest sister táta and máma, names that they abandon when they have reached adulthood.
[627] In case of a fight involving one of the brothers, the others go to his assistance and take vengeance if anyone has been injured,
[623] but this is not an obligation. Quarrels between brothers may
[692] arise over the distribution of land. In the greater number of such cases the cabildo settles the differences.

602 Relations between the families united among themselves by blood ties are intimate. They visit one another frequently and are shown painstaking treatment.

593 Mingas[1] are organized more readily among brothers, who
[476] "cover up their poverty." In the religious festivals they mutually
[651] back one another and during occasional meetings they endeavor
[796] to drink and eat together.

1/ [i.e., meetings for collection work--Analyst]

/117 cont./

342 Anyone may build himself a house of whatever size he
761 wishes on his own land in the mountains, as well as on the above-
783 mentioned community land in the valley, but he must first ask
[752] the shaman acting for him whether any bones of the Pijao are in
the ground on the piece of land in mind. As comes out in the
[773] myths, the Pijao in ancient times were the frightful and militarily
[028] cleverer enemies of the Paez. Their bones (ec ndyît Pijao) contain
"pest." This pest is a very complex and significant concept
761 among the Paez (cf. under "Religion" /see p. 191/), and the
783 pest of the Pijao bones is capable of killing the people living
123 above them. How very much our interpreter Victoriano, one of
the most enlightened Paez, was affected by this fear came out
when he worked with us in the archeological park in San Andrés.
For lack of space he had to sleep in the tool room, where, how-
ever, he felt very comfortable and, with a camp bed and mattress,
had built himself probably the best bed of his life. One day we
opened a large prehistoric grave-chamber, which contained more
than 80 bone-urns with the remains of cremations. Since we
could not accommodate such a large number of urns in our living
room, which at the same time served as our museum, we had to
put a number of them in the tool room. I left the skeletal re-
mains in several of them in order to save them for a later exami-
nation. Weeping, Victoriano begged me please not to put in his
tool room any urns containing bones, because the bones might
have come from the Pijao, who would surely kill him. Even the
washed and cleaned urns, he assured us, contained very much
"pest," so that at the next opportunity he wanted to go to Calderas
and have himself "purified" by his home shaman. He failed to
do this, and when after a few days he had a toothache, he traced
this back to the action of the pest from the burial urns previously
filled with bones.

342 /118/ The shaman's testing of the ground proposed as the
761 building site is not done by digging or sampling the ground;
783 rather, the one who wishes to build goes to the house of the shaman
756 in the evening with coca, tobacco, and brandy, tells him of his
787 wish, and then both sit down on the ground next to each other

/146 cont./

726 In order to defend their mountain country the Paez also used
[725] large rocks which they hurled down on the attackers from the
[777] heights. They, too, however, soon succeeded in obtaining iron
[411] and iron weapons. In their battles at the time of the Conquista they were already using swords and machetes.

411 The stone-sling plaited of agave fibers, whose manufacture
726 is described below (see under "Plaiting" /see pp. 85-86 /), is
773 of great importance mythologically in the battles with the "Pijao."
628 For geographical reasons it is the typical weapon of the American
411 mountain peoples from Tierra del Fuego to Canada, whereas the
191 blowgun, for similar reasons, is the typical weapon chiefly of the Amazonas and Orinoco forest area. The simultaneous occurrence of blowgun and sling is found all the way from Mexico to Ecuador and in Bolivia (Friederici, 1911, pp. 71-73, Pl. 13).

411 /147/ The blowgun of the Paez consists of a single barrel and
is very simple in its construction. It is made only by men, but
[162] for bird-hunting is used almost solely by boys. To make it, one
[157] uses the thin, straight trunk of the fíza tree, the pith of which is
[223] burned out with a long iron tube about eight millimeters in diameter and heated red-hot. The length of the tube is two to three meters. No special mouthpiece is attached. As a sight a little piece of beeswax is pasted above the mouth of the blowgun.
[224] The ball-shaped fruits of the smbák tree, which have exactly the right caliber when green, are used as shot. The range amounts
[211] to about 20 meters. The accuracy of the shot is not great. Nevertheless, there are boys who have carved more than 20 notches above the blowhole of the tube as a record of the birds killed.

4. Crafts and Techniques

a) Treatment of Fibers

283 The fiber material used by the Paez for plaiting, weaving, nets, or ropes is primarily agave, cotton, or sheep wool. Agave and cotton are ancient American fiber plants whose homeland is probably Central America, while working with sheep wool has its tradition in the Peruvian Highlands. in working with llama or

/171 cont./

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/290/

114 us nothing about the religion and mythology of the Paez. Nor
773 do systematic modern studies exist. Nor do those who have had the opportunity to be in contact with them and to describe their customs and ways of life tell us about their religion and mythology. Furthermore, there are those who state that the Paez have no mythology. José Pérez de Barradas collected the myth of Juan Tama. Gregorio Hernández de Alba refers to it, and the Lazarist missionary Fr. David González also collected it and has it in his unpublished work, Los Paeces /The Paez/, in quite elaborate and synthetical form, as does G. Burg. It is obvious that a large part of the myths and tales which I am presenting, not to say all of them, have suffered modifications in the avatar of time, as the institutions also changed. Since mythology is the rationalization of conflicts created by the culture itself, it is subject to the directives /291/ of that society and culture. Its roots are inevitably of a sociological and cultural nature.

773 Many of the myths collected have a marked similarity to
776 that of Juan Tama. The predominant central motifs refer to
538 sex and aggression. The personages in the myths are Thunder, Llíban, Juan Chiracol, Chaute, and Santo Tomás. Llíban is regarded as Thunder's son, but everyone maintains that he is Thunder himself; he was a cacique, and the natives state that many of their caciques took refuge in the turbulent waters of the river. The last two personages merge and in reality form a single being. It is to be noted that in some accounts the tricky personage presented is not Tomás, who is a saint, but Pedro Dimales, his brother.

186 There is no need to emphasize the role played by the Pijao
773 in these accounts. The recollection of this people inured to
● 628 war is still fresh in the memory of the Calderunos, the characteristics of the struggle sustained against them still manifest, the fear that the name Pijao awakened still alive. To the Calderun mentality they seem like monsters, like animals of uncommon size and power, who drew fire from their armpits.

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

/291 cont./

773 They are in fact legendary personages who go beyond the
[186] boundaries of legend to enter the territory of myth, not only
[628] by their symbolism, but in their dramatic force, their socio-
logical framework, and their cultural function.

The mythology gravitates around the behavior of the natives, their attitudes toward the whites, the organization of the cabildo, illnesses, and death. Of Juan Chiracol, a 23-year-old informant says: "He warns when the mob is coming, he no longer warns, so." And of Thunder, it is said that he almost killed a padre because he went to the montaña to get wood to board up the school. "Thunder was defending the
538 wood," they say. The tales were always told around the fire,
773 with men, women, and children present, who sometimes laughed, at other times kept silent, but always corroborated, corrected, elaborated, or confirmed. The storytellers sometimes put on a serious face, accompanied their tale with mimicry, and once in a while they would burst into mocking laughter, as if to signify that what they were saying was worthless and they did not believe it. I was soon able to ascertain
115 their sociological and cultural value. The myths and tales
773 were collected with the help of an interpreter, a mestizo from San Andrés, about 35 /292/ years old, tall, muscular, quiet in manner, intelligent, calculating, with great charm and a knowledge of Paez and the Spanish language; he was familiar with the customs of the Calderunos, esteemed by them, and
773 skilled in his questioning. We present below the myths and
128 tales collected, leaving the other aspects of the culture for presentation in a complete monograph.

1. Thunder

*539 The old people related that at one time the area was full of Pijao. Thunder lived in Sukafi. In view of the growing number of Pijao, he decided to kill them. He stood on a tall stone that is to be found there, threw his lariat /boleadora/

/182 cont./

423 The work on the land is a daily exercise in co-operation.
461 Owership by an Indian is an unquestionable right, and its de-
[173] fense a categorical imperative. Lliban and Juan Chiracol
[628] fought the Pijao for the ownership of the land and to defend an
[648] inalienable right. Likewise, because the whites covet their land, they do not like to have them around /183/ and avoid receiving them under some pretext or other. Their security and
[735] their happiness lie in the ownership of land. Poverty as they understand it, a shortage of food and livestock, is due solely to the laziness of those who suffer it.

857 Children grow up in continuous communion with the
868 activities of their parents. While the girl helps her mother in household tasks and goes out with her to bring firewood from their respective clearings, the boys with their machete on their shoulder and their pouches of coca and mambe /lime/, exactly like their fathers, clean the clearings, build fences, weed their plantings, and when the maize ripens and the wheat grows tall, they spend the day defending them against the attacks of parrots, guaras, borugos, squirrels, and coatis. At an early age they are already doing the same tasks, but with the hope of building a house, marrying, raising children, and owning livestock, large quantities of coca, and sugar cane for their
342 chicha. In a way, the house is a necessary supplement to their pieces of land; furthermore, many are for the period of the clearings. The selection of a site for the house does not take into account either the beauty of the landscape or the levelness of the terrain, but rather the inaccessibility of both. Only when the house is to last for more than one generation will they attend to certain requisites: solidity, construction or privately owned land, and the selection of an adequate site by the medicine man (té éu). One fine day the owner selects a site: "This is a good place to build a house and to live," he
[559] says. Then he takes there the medicine man, who during the
[787] night "thinks about" whether the site is suitable or unsuitable; he chews coca and remedies, takes mouthfuls of aguardiente

— The people of
/356 cont./
43 Mosoco have numerous droves of pack animals for handling the
●628 import and export traffic, in which the Guambianos (with their
492 horses), called kasukos by the people of Mosoco, who regard them as good friends and not very different from themselves, also participate. The fact is that they live together, work together, and do their trading jointly.

563 The relations between "whites" and natives in Mosoco
621 seem to be cordial and based on mutual respect.

Family economy

594 The Paez family is basically an economic unit. It is made up of the parents and the children, and it represents a
[602] closed but effective circle. They do not go beyond their own
[476] limits in any way, so that the mingas and the distribution of the
[431] first fruits of the harvests are carried out primarily with consanguineal and political relations.

594 The manner in which this economic unit functions and in
462 which its members collaborate can be clearly understood from the division of the activities by sex. The supreme management of the family economy rests in the hands of the man; it is he who owns the land, the house, the tools, and the domestic animals. His arm has not been taught to wield anything but the machete, the axe, and the shovel. He is the owner of the crops and the one who determines where, how, and when work is to be done. His primary work is outside the house: on the land itself. The woman, on /357/ the other hand, remains inside the house, and her basic work is connected with the administration and working up of the products handed over to her by the man. Cooking and
[464] weaving are her specialities. It is true that the woman hires
[178] herself out as a day laborer on the fincas of the "whites" and that in some parcialidades, such as Mosoco, she participates directly in the preparation of the land and the weeding of the crops, but this is a relatively new phenomenon and is not yet universally accepted among the natives.

261 In general terms, the primary incentive for economic activity
594 dealing with food is the satisfaction of the basic needs of the individual and the survival of the family group. It is the security

/365 cont./

177 For our outline of acculturation, we understand by diffusion
[121] achieved cultural transmission, and by acculturation cultural trans-
[127] mission in process, terms expounded by Professor Melville J. Herskovits in his book, El Hombre y sus obras /Man and his Works/.

Within Páez culture there is widely diffused, to the point of constituting an integral part of the cultural body, the following economic elements of alien origin and, more concretely, of European origin:

[231] All of the domestic animals with the exception of the
[137] guinea pig, bananas, sugar cane (the variety known as "criolla"), wheat, barley, garlic, coffee, peaches, apples, and oranges, the agricultural implements, the hydraulic mills, sugar mills, the guadua bamboo, and some varieties of pasture grass, such as orejuela /Alchemilla pectinata/, kikuyu, and poa.

177 Throughout the pages of this work, we have emphasized in
361 particular the cultural developments in process, that is to say, the
563 phenomenon of acculturation. It is obvious that this phenomenon has appeared, with greater or lesser intensity, in those parcialidades where there have been created areas of settlement, within which a specific number of "white" families have settled. But the intensity of the acculturative phenomenon does not rest merely on this fact or on the number of families who live by the norms of Western culture. San Andrés, for example, had its settlement area established for all practical purposes in 1928 and now reckons with more than 20 "white" families, with its nearness to the settlement of Inzá, and, for nearly 15 years, with the Parque Arqueológico of Tierradentro, to some extent a tourist attraction, and yet the process of acculturation is minimal and cannot be compared with the intensity of the same phenomenon in Mosoco, where the settlement area /366/ was created in 1923 and where
177 nowadays there are not more than 12 families of "whites." In
[487] Mosoco there is another factor: the riding path that joins the
[490] municipio of Belalcázar with that of Silvia, a road that has existed since pre-conquest times. Mosoco has been and still
[628] continues to be the mandatory stopping place. In addition, this parcialidad has had intensive contacts with the Guambiano group and the Páez group from the other side of the Cordillera, who are more acculturated.

7:Hernández de Alba E-54(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

765 756 787 775 784 the fire and turns on the lights, and everyone returns to examine a layer of fine ashes placed beforehand at the door. If the ashes shows the footprints of an angel, they believe that the soul is saved, but if the footprints are those of a bird, they believe that the soul is condemned to hell. In some cases they ascertain the fate of the soul by the kind of bird prints.

WARFARE

726 The *Páez* and *Moguex* were particularly warlike. Their attacks were staged in the morning, accompanied by yells and the sound of trumpets, horns, sea shells, and drums. They were generally armed [411] with great spears or pikes, spear throwers, and slings. When fighting, they would first hurl javelins with their spear throwers, then use their slings, the missiles for which they carried in a pouch, and finally pick up their spears or pikes for man-to-man struggle. They also formed closed squadrons, men with clubs alternating with spearmen. The former would step forward to wield their clubs, and then draw back to their positions for protection. Their best defense was on high ridges, from which they rolled large stones on their enemies. They perfected these natural defenses by cutting or camouflaging paths on which they prepared ambushes. They built trenches or pitfalls, which caused the attacking Spaniards much trouble.

628 The principal enemies of these peoples were the *Pijao* and the Span- [648] ish soldiers. The *Páez* remember the *Pijao* well, and call the stone [632] statues in their territory "portraits of Pijaos," and the painted tombs, [764] "houses of Pijaos." They are afraid to see the statues or visit the tombs.

To insult an enemy killed in war, they cut off his penis and placed it 727 on the road.

266 Some historians ascribe cannibalism to the *Páez* and the *Moguex*, which seems to have no basis in fact. They kept trophy heads and stuffed the skins of their enemies, but did not eat their foe. There are, [175] however, numerous historical references which state that in the wars [648] against the Spaniards, the *Páez* left the bodies of dead enemies for the [764] *Pijao* to eat, and that they cremated their own dead or dried them [114] over a slow fire, which Friar Pedro Simón (1882–92, ch. 23) mistook for a means for preserving the flesh so that it could be eaten later.

As war trophies, they kept enemy heads, which they preserved with 727 resins, and the skins of their entire bodies, which they filled with ashes [314] (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 3). They even preserved the heads of the Spaniards' horses. They carried these trophies to wars, meetings, and feasts.

1: Nachtigall SC15 Paez SC15

● 631

/General information on the region of Tierradentro will be found in category 101./

/286 cont./

291 the waist, and over it a rebozo or shawl of foreign make; they
wear hats of masculine manufacture. They carry a thin stick
283 one meter long more or less, called kasguat, held under the
left armpit, and at its upper end there is a bundle of wool to
be spun, a task which they do at any time, while walking or
sitting in the house, regardless of whether a child is resting on
their backs or, when they are walking along the road, a heavy
301 load. Only the women wear ornaments consisting of multi-
colored necklaces, earrings, and sometimes rings.

293 Both men and women usually carry three woolen pouches,
415 aside from others of fique, a very small one for money, a
larger one for mambe /coca and lime for chewing/, and the
third, which is the largest of all and holds the other two, is
used to carry palm leaves or the plaited work made with them
for the men, and other things for the women.

276 Coca.--All the Paez are "mambe chewers," men, women,
[461] and children, regarding coca as an article that gives strength,
[261] frees one from laziness, and mitigates hunger. Without it, of
[273] course, they will not work. Coca and chicha, fermented sugar-
[262] cane juice, play the role of real foods, given their starchy and
scant diet.

631 Parcialidades and cabildos.--Politically, the Indians are
624 organized into parcialidades, each headed by a cabildo made
up of a gobernador and substitute, a major alcalde and another
minor one, two alguaciles, three fiscales, a comisario, a
capitán, and a síndico elected each year and put in office by
the respective alcaldías of the municipio, except for the last
two, who are named for life and put in office by the /287/
Church. Their functions are administrative and police work,
but in reality they exercise functions of social, legal, and re-
ligious control.

631 The parcialidades are bounded by the craggy peaks and the
deep, rugged beds of the streams and rivers in such a way that
each one circumscribes specific kinds of geography, and even of

/287 cont./

63/ climate and vegetation. Although Paez culture is certainly unitary, each parcialidad presents different nuances which are evident even in the mythology and language. The antropomimia is quite different in each parcialidad.

Nowadays there are 16 parcialidades, four of which belong to the municipio of Inzá and the remaining 12 to that of Páez (Belalcázar).

771 Magic and medicine.--There are three institutions which
/82 go in unison and encroach upon others, which explain the causation of sicknesses, the treatment for them, and serve as escape valves for aggression. They are:

a) The one made up of the trilogy of supernatural beings named Duende /ghost/, Echi, and Arco /rainbow/;

b) The institution of the medicine man, and

c) Sorcery.

753 a) Duende, Arco, and Echi are the causers of illnesses,
776 each of them producing a specific symptomatology which serves
[75] as the basis for the diagnostics of common people, a diagnostics
[787] corroborated by the divining activities of the medicine man. These supernatural beings cause illnesses by puncture, aroused by the annoyance that they suffer because of the sorcerers' practices, or by those who had contact with corpses and did not go through the mandatory purification, or because people have passed through places that are taboo, such as bogs and lagoons, or have failed to comply with the rites and ceremonies when slaughtering cattle or when harvesting new clearings, or because they have not observed "custom" at the first menstruation or childbirth.

756 b) In the institution of the medicine man the functions of
787/ divination, magic, and medicine are entwined. More precisely, the medicine man is a diviner-shaman-curer who has undergone an /288/ apprenticeship in the profession with an esteemed and experienced master or with the help of a guardian spirit seen in actuality or in dreams; the latter are the best

medicine men.

/288 cont./

583 in the church, live together for a period of indeterminate duration, explaining that /289/ the man does not have enough money at hand to marry as soon as he asks the woman, and it is necessary to work in order to obtain it.

771 Religion.--The religion of the Paez is formally Catholicism,
177 but many of their traditions are hidden in it. The principal
[796] fiestas of the natives are religious ones, which acquire true strokes of splendor. The Catholic priest is called upon for the ceremonies of baptism, marriage, and cases of death.

Chapter II

631 Calderas.--Incrusted in the very heart of Tierradentro is the
131 Parcialidad of Calderas, bounded on the north by a high ridge
133 that separates it from Chinas and Avirama; on the east, La Muralla, the very model of a fault, separates it from Avirama, just as a ridge separates it from Togoima; to the south, deep gorges and high peaks separate it from San Andrés and Togoima; to the west, the Quebrada Guacharaca divides it from the Parcialidad of Lame.

133 It is crossed from west to east by the Quebrada Kukiyú,
631 actually a river in terms of the volume and violence of its waters, whose bed is deep, enclosed, and inaccessible. Its
[423] left bank is somewhat softened by a beautiful plateau of about 20 hectares, with fertile lands, abundant waters, and on which the pueblo rises; it belongs to the community, whereas the other lands are private property guaranteed by the fact that the owner either personally cleared the montaña or inherited it from his ancestors who cleared the forest. The right bank is steep, harsh,
[161] rugged. Numerous clearings are to be seen on these sloping
[311] lands, indicating the increase in population that compels them to cultivate lands of low fertility and great danger for the laborer.

4:Bernal Villa--1 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/177/

I

Point of Departure

631 To the north of the municipio of Inzá and to the west of
[361] the confluence of the Ullucos and Páez rivers, two hours on horseback from the points just mentioned, the corregimiento /district governed by a corregidor/ of San Andrés is found on the left bank of the Pisimbalá torrent, an affluent of the
[175] Ullucos. Its name has been registered in the parochial books
[103] since 1736, when the priest José Fernández Belalcázar, as the
[797] representative of the Bishop of Popayán, initiated in San Andrés de Pisimbalá pastoral visits to the Paez pueblos.

361 San Andrés de Pisimbalá is a pueblo with the same characteristics that we have noted in other Paez centers; that is to say, it consists of a church, a school, the rectory, the house of the cabildo, and some others used solely for the celebration of religious fiestas. It is located on a small plateau, a ledge hanging on the declivity.

563 At the present time it is inhabited by whites and mestizos
177 whose ways of life, norms of behavior, and labor practices
361 have been imposed on the natives. Resistance to contact has
[648] been overcome, but active resentment against the white still
[566] crops out among the old people. Almost completely acculturated, many of them have sunk to the state of tenant farmers. The phenomenon of the colonization of Indians and land is the same everywhere. The Indian loses his land and sinks into servitude.

In 1926 the Municipal Council of Inzá created a settlement area with clearly delineated boundaries in a common agreement /178/ between the municipal authorities and the cabildo. The colonists established themselves in that area. The valley of the Pisimbalá torrent is narrow, but extremely fertile. It belongs in its entirety to a few families of colonists,

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

P 175 648 in which a Spaniard held a territory occupied by Indians. The natives, under a chief who was protected by the White authorities and P [652] who made contact between the master, or encomendero, and his sub- [651] jects, had to give a certain number of days' work and a specified P tribute in products of the lands, animals, gold, or manufactures. The [177] encomiendas made no effort to Hispanicize the Indians, but continued to loot and massacre them. The Indians, reduced to utter misery, gave up all their artistic and industrial activities, and devoted the greater part of their time to the service of the master or to seeking products to pay the obligatory tribute. To remedy this situation, the Spanish Crown decreed the native "parcialidad," giving surviving P groups reservations and prohibiting their employment in transporting [623] men and goods over the highways. This reform was never entirely carried out, however, and the Indians, in spite of having their own government, the cabildo or Indian council, continued in servitude P or debt slavery.

[621] The native Indian government consisted generally of a governor, [631] a first mayor (alcalde mayor), a second mayor (alcalde segundo), a trustee (sindico or fiscal), and constables (alguaciles), the last a kind of police who transmitted to the people the orders which the Whites gave through the governors or mayors, and who carried out penalties of imprisonment, of placing in stocks, and whipping, which the P 175 first Spaniards introduced into the punishment of the natives. At the 648 same time, the Christianization of the Indians began. It succeeded 797 in an imperfect way, however, for the Indian attended Masses, ar- 438 ranged and participated in processions, and did not miss the solemn 273 ceremonies a single Sunday largely because on the same day he brought his own products to the pueblo for sale, bought salt or meat which he P needed, and devoted himself to drinking chicha, the traditional drink 175 which he had always taken on religious or social occasions.

648 The Indians of Nariño, descendants of the *Pasto*, lost their language Po and many of their customs during the Colonial Period, although they continued to live as natives on their reservations, which daily became [463] smaller because of the encroachments by the neighboring Whites or [333] Mestizos. They became farmers with small landholdings and, occasionally, masons in the cities. The *Moguex* and *Páez*, however, P 175 retained their language and the greater part of their customs. Some 648 of them, especially the men who had to deal with the Whites, learned a little Spanish, and they continued throughout the Colonial Period P to defend their lands and their traditions. To religious practices in- [191] troduced by the missionaries, they added such elements as the offer P of food to the souls of the dead. They added to the Colonial council (cabildo) the office of captain, an official who, unlike the rest of the [622] council, was not responsible to civilian authorities but had life tenure, sometimes a hereditary position, and more authority within the group.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

civilized tradesman, the Indian turns to drinking guarapo or chicha and becomes drunk. Often a heated discussion, always spoken in Spanish and not in *Páez*, leads to insults and perhaps to blows and injuries. A man's wife usually maneuvers him from the village and, if he falls asleep on the road, she sits by him warding off dangers.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political structure.—The *Moguex*, *Páez*, *Guanaca*, *Timaná*, and *Yalcón*, despite their great similarity in language and culture, formed separate groups at the time of the Conquest. Each was divided into several communities (parcialidades), of which those of the *Páez* were the most numerous. The *Guanaca* were split between two principal caciques, one of whom, Anabeima, joined the Spaniards against the *Páez* of Avirama. The other cacique was Esmisa, Anabeima's brother-in-law. Each *Páez* community had its own chief, but the communities were grouped into three great divisions. One consisted of the *Páez*, *Tálaga*, *Simurga*, and *Taravira*, on the shores of the Páez River. The chiefs of three of these groups were brothers; that of the fourth was their sister, whose name was Taravira. Another group was headed by Suin, and his son, Esmisa. In the third group, Avirama was joined by other neighboring chiefs of less importance.

Each community (cacicado) consisted of several polygynous families under a male chief (pl. 185, *top*, *left*). Each family had its own house located some distance from its neighbor's. All the members of a community gathered for general work, and all or several of the communities united for war, either against the *Pijao*, their feared neighbors, or against the Spaniards.

The place of a cacique's residence was a sort of focal point and meeting place, and today most of such places are Indian villages with the same names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima (formerly Toboima), etc. The present *Páez* Indian reservation of Tierradentro is divided politically into two municipios—Páez or Belalcázar and Inzá—with 22 communities, each governed by its own councils (cabildos, of Colonial origin) and by the municipal authorities. The cabildo is elected annually. The Indians, however, are jealous defenders of their traditions, and insist on a captain and síndico, each with life tenure, to act as their own leaders and as true representatives of the cacique. Their duties are moral and fiscal and carry a certain divine authority, as they are inaugurated in the local church. The cabildo, on the other hand, has only administrative and police powers; it divides the land, orders work to be done, and executes the municipal orders. The members of a cabildo hold office for 1 year and receive no remuneration. They are elected on the first of December by all the male adults, or "macaneros," that is, the Indians who participate in the communal work according to a

7:Hernández de Alba E-6/(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

631 666 [651] list presented by a council composed of former governors, the captain, and the síndico. The meeting may object to the list, but generally accepts it. On the following January 1, the cabildo-elect must appear at the office of the municipal mayor to receive the staffs, their insignia of office, and to assume their duties and responsibilities. The offices are: Governor and alternate, commissioner, two mayors (alcaldes), two constables (alguaciles), and three prosecutors (fiscales), one of whom is a young man assigned to learn the ways of government. The mayors, constables, and prosecutors are something like bosses or policemen, and execute orders issued by the Governor or by the captain or the municipal authorities to a community through the Governor.

423 **Property.**—The Indians today do not own any real property in the usual sense. The land assigned to an entire community is allotted [651] to each adult for his use when he becomes a macanero, that is, capable [554] of giving one day's work each year for the collective planting for the benefit of the saint and as many days as may be required by the cabildo for the repair of roads, bridges, etc., or for work in the village. The right to the use of the land may pass to the heirs, wife and children, in the absence of which it reverts to the community or the cabildo.

422 The house was formerly typical personal or movable property, which could be easily abandoned, dismantled, or destroyed. The same holds today for fragile cane dwellings. There are few houses so solidly built that they constitute real or immovable property. [764] Other personal property, such as utensils, clothes, weapons, adorn- [428] ments, and jewels, was formerly buried with the owner. These things and livestock, planted fields, and crops are now inherited by the [177] members of the deceased's family. In general, Colombian law is being implanted by the judges and municipal mayors, although the [692] cabildo judges some minor offenses and punishes the offenders by [623] whipping, imprisonment, or stocks (cepo), a form of torment retained [681] from Colonial times.

Although the Indians' communities have in most cases titles of 691 limits of their lands dating from Colonial times, there are still litigations on boundaries. An interesting case is the struggle of the 648 Indians to dislodge a settlement of Negroes from the old salt works [423] in Ambostá, where they were abandoned many years ago by a rich Popayán family who took them there to work the mines. The female Indian chief (cacica) of this territory allowed the Negroes to live on a hill, called "the hill of the fifteen Negroes." The Negroes are not organized under a cabildo, but have a chief who represents them. They all contribute to a special religious feast in the municipio, and provide means to continue the suit for the possession of the hill against the Indians.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

Castillo mentions that they wor-

175 771 776 [756] 773 776

shiped the sun, in whose honor they met and danced in places called "Itaqui-finó," i. e., the place where the sun revealed its mysteries; and that they venerated a kind of culture hero called Guequiau. It was he who instructed shamans (mohanes).

This hero has a counterpart in the religious legend of Juan Tama, the Son of the Star. One day when the Morning Star shone very brightly, some Indians found a child in a gorge—ever since called the Gorge of the Star. This was Juan Tama. They picked him up and entrusted him to a woman to nurse, but he nursed so much that her milk dried up. He was given to another woman, whom he also made very weak. They then said that he could not be nursed by a woman, and gave him food. After he grew up, he married the female chief of Huila, Doña María Mendiguagua, and became chief of all the Indians. He instructed people and explained to them how to keep the land for themselves and not mix with White people. He pronounced them invincible and summoned a chief from Pitayó, called Calambás, whom he appointed his manager. Calambás rebelled,[12] but was defeated by Juan Tama, who pardoned him on account of his bravery, and conferred on him and his heirs the right to rule the *Páez* in Bitoncó. As death approached, Juan Tama went to the lake on the páramo of Moras and sank into the waters. He had come out of this place and returned to it, leaving no heirs.[13]

776 823 [623]

In the neighborhood of Bitoncó there is a rock with what appears to be human footprints. When the Indians pass it, they uncover their heads and say, "The Holy One came this way." Another remnant of the cult of Juan Tama is the custom that each member of the council spends one week at the shores of the lake before the end of his term to render an account to Juan Tama of his actions in office. Likewise, newly elected officers, as soon as they receive their staffs or insignia of authority, spend a week at the lake. They toss silver coins into it, wash their staffs, and pray for strength to rule well. This ceremony, performed with the greatest secrecy, is called the "curing of the staffs." Recently, however, the Indians have stopped "curing" their staffs in the lake, for they say that Juan Tama is angry, and whenever they approach the lake, it rains and storms badly.

[621] [631] [821]

In the Guanacas section there was another sacred lagoon, called Tumbachí, which was recently drained because a snake that lived there attracted girls and kept them for a whole year, and then returned them when they were about to become mothers.

These tribes believed that the soul comes back to life.

775

Witchcraft was strongly developed among these Indians, who still believe in most of its practices, in spite of the catechization forced upon them by the missionaries.

754 177

[12] During the War of Independence, as well as in subsequent revolutions, the Indians of the family named Calambás distinguished themselves as warriors. [669]

[13] We are indebted to Father David González for this legend, told to him by an old Indian in Lame. [114]

Colombia SC1
Tierradentro

C /104 cont./
632 includes 15 villages with Belalcázar as the administrative seat.
[103] Belalcázar, which takes its name from the conquistador Sebastian de Belalcazar, but not altogether correctly, since the latter was unable to conquer the Tierradentro area, is at the same time the
P 162 seat of the Apostolic Prefect for Tierradentro. According to the
C 162 census of 1938, the population of Tierradentro, consisting of mixed-
632 colored colonists and racially pure Indios, contains 17,578 inhabitants, distributed over Belalcázar with 13,861 and Inzá with 3,717 inhabitants. The more recent count of 1951, with a total of 25,495 inhabitants, showed a considerably larger figure, of which 15,388 fall to the municipio of Balalcazar and 10,103 to
C [114] the municipio of Inzá. A comparison of the two counts of 1938 and 1951 shows /105/ a notable error in the count in the municipio of Inzá for the year 1938 (figures cited in Bernal Villa [I], p. 285).

P 641 Of this number about 80 per cent are natives who today
[162] are largely civilized, that is, they are baptized and speak some
[851] Spanish. Politically they, too, are basically full citizens of the
[191] country; they may vote and be drafted into military service, but
P 641 do not pay any taxes. In one respect, however, fortunately for
423 them, they are regarded as "minors" before the law; in their totality they own all the landed property of Tierradentro, but
P 641 the individual man is not in a position to sell his land. This is
423 supposed to keep the Paez from losing their settlement area to
691 the whites. In practice this law is not always strictly observed,
648 for otherwise neither the colonists nor the large landowners, who are slowly but surely pushing their pasture and agricultural lands into the territory of the natives, could be in Tierradentro. The latter cannot in fact defend themselves against this, for, due to lack of money, no one among them is in a position to complain in court. If a complaint is nevertheless made, the Indios always lose, as, for example, in Itaibe, in the southeastern part of Tierradentro, where the Spaniards began to colonize as early as 1636 and where for many years lawsuits were carried on by the Indios in vain. Moreover, no judge is able to undertake anything against a rich landowner or against the missions likewise owning land.

/175 cont./
handle an additional crescent-shaped piece of silver leaf is applied.

In former years, on the first day of the new year, a ceremony for the old as well as for the newly elected cabildo took place on the not easily accessible lagoon of Juan Tama, the Páramo de Moras, and lasted for several days. It started with chicha drinking under the leadership of a shaman, after which the culture hero, Juan Tama, and the spirits of the ancestors (?) were asked by the shaman for advice and assistance in the coming year. A dance and a bath in the lagoon concluded the ceremony (Bürg, pp. 340 f.). According to my information, this gathering at the lagoon has not been carried out for several years. The reason given is that for several years in succession it has rained around New Year's time. After that the shamans announced that with this sign Juan Tama renounced any further performances of the ceremony on his lagoon.

The election of the cabildo is done by the men of the entire village. The candidates must be citizens of the given village, that is to say, they must own land there. A stranger could never hold office in a Paez village. The candidates may not propose themselves, but must be nominated by the assembly or by the old cabildo. Anyone who is elected for an office by the village assembly for the first time may not refuse, but must accept it. Only reelection, which is possible up to five or ten years in succession, is voluntary. The wealth or possessions of the candidates do not play any role. The present gobernador, Marcelo Muse, is /176/ about 30 years old. Two children, a son about six years old and a four-year-old daughter, are living; four of his children died. In the way of material possessions he owns five horses and two pigs, but no cows and no sheep. Ten years ago he was fiscal for a year. In the general opinion of the Paez the gobernador should not be too young or too old. The best age is between 30 and 50 years. The remaining posts, which to a large extent consist of messenger services, are generally held by younger, unmarried people, although they may also be filled by married men up to 50 years of age. In general the gobernador chooses people who are loyal to him and who must also carry out the punishments for him, for a gobernador

Colombia SC1
Tierradentro

C /13 cont./
133 Negro de Narvaez, the principal rivers of Tierradentro. They
C drain into the Magdalena River, like all the rivers on the eastern
487 slope of the Central Cordillera. The principal traffic routes of
133 Tierradentro also lead to the Magdalena Valley, the most im-
C portant one leading down to the Rio Paez by way of /14/ La Plata
[632] to Neiva or Garzón. Thus, La Plata forms the center of trade and communication for this area, which economically, however, is not yet very accessible.

Even the earliest chroniclers described Tierradentro as a land of "eternal up and down." As a matter of fact, despite its excellent climate for colonization, the large number of small rivers cutting deep into the mountains represents a great obstacle
P to accessibility for communication, without which more extensive
[161] agricultural production is not profitable. The impassability is
[101] one of the reasons that the Paez Indians here, with a total number of about 25,000 persons, have maintained themselves racially pure and, in a few mountain valleys, in a relatively original state culturally.

C The climatic differences of this region lying less than
132 three degrees of latitude north of the equator are considerable, de-
133 pending on the elevation. Neiva, lying 472 meters high on the
C Magdalena River and the capital of the department of Huila, is
[633] one of the warmest cities of Colombia with an average temperature of 30°. Nevado del Huila, lying only 75 kilometers to the west in a straight line, is covered with eternal snow. In between there is an average temperature of 21° at 1,200 meters elevation
C and one of 11° at 3,000 meters. The predominant elevation of the
[361] settlements in the southern part of Tierradentro lies between 1,400 and 1,700 meters, which corresponds to a mean temperature of
C 18-20°. This is the best climate for the Colombian coffee. At
[245] the same time it is an excellent climate and elevation for the
[249] planting of sugar cane and maize and for cattle-raising, economic
[233] activities that only the colonists profit by in a commercial sense.
P The Paez villages lying in this climate are therefore extensively
C overrun by colonists, and broad stretches of land have been taken
[648] by them for agricultural use. Here the mountain slopes which
P
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1: Nachtigall--13 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

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Part II

Ethnography

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I. Introduction

1. Historical Sketch of the History of the Paez since the Conquista

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When the Spanish general, Sebastian de Belalcazar, as lieutenant general of Francisco Pizarro, conquered the northern part of the Incá kingdom and founded the city of Quito in the year 1534, he made careful inquiries about the countries lying farther north. Then he met a foreign Indian who gave his name as Muquetá and that of his cacique /see "Kazike" in the glossary, p. 249/ as Gogotá. When he was further questioned as to whether his country contained the metal that the Spaniards called gold, he eagerly affirmed this and added that in his country there is a lagoon /see the glossary, p. 249/, upon which his cacique travels with a raft several times a year, powdered from head to foot with gold dust, so that he looks like a gilded man. In this fashion he offers gold objects to the sun, whereupon he washes off his body and offers this gold, too, as a sacrifice. This story was the reason that Sebastian de Belalcazar in 1535 sent Diego de Tapia on an exploration to the north, in the direction of the land of El Dorado, the gilded man. He reached the present Rio Carchi. This became the starting point of the conquest of southern Colombia by the Spaniards.

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The resistance against the intruders shown by the natives of southern Colombia differed. The tribes of the Pasto and Quillacinga and the Cauca Valley tribes around Popayán offered only slight resistance. They had already been subjugated earlier by the soldiers of the Inca, whose kingdom with its northernmost expansion reached as far as Rio Ancasmayo. The Paez, Guambiano, Andaquí, and Pijao, on the other hand, living in barely accessible

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648 parts of the Central Cordillera, offered the Spaniards violent and quite successful resistance. In the same year that Belalcazar sent out the first expedition, a troop of Spaniards under Pedro de Añasco set out for the north. In 1536 Belalcazar likewise followed him. In the course of that year he founded the cities of Popayán and Cali in the Cauca Valley, important /100/ starting points for further explorations. The latter proceeded in the direction of the Central Cordillera, the paramos of Moras and Guanacos, and Tierradentro. Amid constant battles with the Paez, who at that time occupied a considerably larger area than today, Belalcazar was repulsed and was obliged to return to Popayán and Lima, leaving behind 26 Spaniards, among them several officers. In 1537 he undertook a second assault from Popayán, in order to reach the land of El Dorado through Tierradentro. With 100 horsemen, 200 infantrymen, and more than a thousand Indios as porters, he came to the Magdalena River without being hindered by the Paez. After four months of hard fighting with the natives of the Magdalena Valley, he finally, on the plateau of Bogotá, met the conquistador Gonzalo Jimenez de Quesada, who had shortly before come from the north. A threatened clash of weapons between the two conquerors was prevented by the arrival of a third conquistador, that is, when Nikolaus Federmann, the German mercenary leader who was in the service of the Welsers /a German banking house/, reached Bogotá from the east, through the lowlands of Venezuela.

We again hear about the martial activity of the Paez when in 1538/39 Pedro de Añasco, with immeasurably cruel treatment of the natives, pushed into the Magdalena Valley, in order to keep open, at the command of Belalcazar, the connecting route from Quito to Santa Fé de Bogatá, the capital of the newly founded viceroyalty of New Granada. In a desperate battle 5,000 warriors of the united Timaná, Yalcon, Paez, and Apirama succeeded in overpowering the Spaniards and capturing their leader, Pedro de Añasco. The Indios provided a dreadful fate for him, who had had the son of the female cacique of the Timaná, Gaitana, burned. Gaitana, upon whose urging the

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175 alliance of the tribes against the Spaniards had come about, had
648 him dragged from village to village and one of his limbs hacked off each day.

In order to avenge the death of his comrade-in-arms, Juan de Ampudia with his mercenaries then set out in 1539/40 from Popayán for Tierradentro. But he and his mercenaries were overcome by the same fate. He himself lost his life, and his men were driven back by the Paez amid great losses. Not discouraged by this fate of his predecessors, Francisco Garcia set out on a new expedition into Tierradentro, but he, too, failed completely. The cacique Gaitana achieved, by means of fiery speeches, a renewed alliance of the Timaná, Paez, Yalcon, Apirama, Guanaca, and Pijao, and with 10,000 men she fell upon the city of Timaná and /101/ destroyed it. Its defender, Diego Ruiz des Campo, fell in an attempt, with his riders, to break through the dense swarm of Indian troops armed with the new weapon of lances 40 spans long.

Soon afterward Juan Cabrera was called from Neiva to Timaná for its reconstruction. The Yalcon offered peace and their co-operation in the reconstruction of the city destroyed by them. Juan Cabrera accepted this, and then, when the Yalcon and their caciques were assembled, he fell upon them from ambush and killed their caciques and the greater part of the men. There has not been a tribe of Yalcon since then.

The Paez remained intact and kept their peace until in 1543 Belalcazar returned from a brief stay in Spain and now, with 1,000 horsemen and fully equipped, undertook from Popayán an expedition of retaliation against the Paez. The Paez, fighting for their freedom in their mountains, stood up against the most experienced general of Spain. After severe, bloody losses Belalcazar was obliged to withdraw in defeat. From then on he made no further attempts to subjugate the Paez (*).

* There is a detailed description of this era, briefly sketched here, in H. Trimborn (1954), pp. 67-84 /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 327/.

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175 ●648 Nineteen years later, in 1562, Domingo Lozano made a new attempt to exploit the rich silver mines of Timaná and La Plata. He was obliged to withdraw, however, only to return the next year with reinforced troops. He founded the city of San Vicente de Paez, but only two months later, in an attack by the Paez on the city founded by him, he lost his life. An auxiliary body of troops advancing in forced marches from Popayán was also completely destroyed. After this new expulsion of the conquerors, the Paez allied themselves with the Pijao, who had destroyed Neiva in 1569. Together they attacked and plundered the silver mines of the city of La Plata in 1577, killed all the inhabitants, and set fire to the houses.

As a result of these unfavorable reports, the Spanish king energetically ordered the "pacification of the province," which from 1605-1608 was carried out so successfully that finally the troops could not find any Indios to fight or houses to plunder. In 1605, after the lost battle of Itaibe, the Paez retreated to the region of their inaccessible mountains still occupied by them today. Their western neighbors, the Guanaca, allied themselves with the Spaniards, and the latter put through their territory the [997] connecting road from /102/ Popayán to Bogotá. In 1613 the Jesuits set up the first mission station and a rest station for travelers [164] in the town of Guanacas. In 1790 most of the Guanaca fell [731] victim to an introduced smallpox epidemic. The survivors withdrew to the present Inzá, where they were absorbed among the colonists. Nothing has remained of their language.

175 648 797 The Paez continued to defend their country against the Spaniards and against missionization and, by their sudden attacks, made the road to Bogotá never quite safe. And then in the subsequent period the Spaniards had little interest in missionizing and civilizing the Paez. After the Guanacas station, only one 648 mission was founded in Tálaga. Because of the location of the 179 individual communities, enclosed by high mountain ranges, a 175 few villages were able to remain uninfluenced by Spanish civiliza- [361] tion for quite a long time. Later the authorities supported the establishment of native self-government, the cabildo /see the

/102 cont./

175 glossary, p. 248/, and, by means of reservation laws, protected
177 the Paez from the gradually advancing colonists. In this way the
648 Paez were able to preserve their language and customs to a con-
[178] siderable extent, in contrast to the other mountain tribes of Colombia, who have long since been absorbed in the Spanish-
175 Colombian culture. In the struggles for independence from the
648 Spanish crown under Simon Bolivar from 1812 to 1824, the Paez fought for their liberation on the republican side under Gregorio Calambás. Their leader was captured and shot. After the victorious termination of the struggles for independence, Gregorio Calambás became one of the martyrs of Colombian independence (*).

* According to V. A. Bedoya, P. J. Ramirez Sendoya, and G. Hernandez de Alba (VII).

175 The Pijao perished like the Guanaca. After having oc-
101 cupied, before the Conquista, almost the entire area of the
648 present-day department of Tolima east of the Central Cordillera,
[151] as the eastern neighbors of the Quimbaya, they perished in countless battles with the Spaniards. As late as the eighteenth century, remnants of them lived in the valley of the Rio Negro de Narvaez, as neighbors of the Paez. They, called Bemb by the Paez, as well as the Guanaca, spoke languages that differed from the Paez. They could not understand one another.

178 Besides the Paez, the culture of the Guambiano, a
101 neighboring tribe called Mogweš by the Paez, has been preserved
114 to a certain extent up to the present day. The Guambiano inhabit the west side of the Central Cordillera and today live in the valley of the Piendamó around Silvia. The life and customs of his tribe have been recently represented by the Guambiano Francisco Tumiña Pillumbe in a number of very instructive /103/ drawings, each of which was provided with a brief text by Gregorio Hernandez de Alba.

C /104 cont./
632 includes 15 villages with Belalcázar as the administrative seat.
[103] Belalcázar, which takes its name from the conquistador Sebastian
de Belalcazar, but not altogether correctly, since the latter was
P unable to conquer the Tierradentro area, is at the same time the
162 seat of the Apostolic Prefect for Tierradentro. According to the
C census of 1938, the population of Tierradentro, consisting of mixed-
162 colored colonists and racially pure Indios, contains 17,578 in-
632 habitants, distributed over Belalcázar with 13,861 and Inzá with
3,717 inhabitants. The more recent count of 1951, with a total
of 25,495 inhabitants, showed a considerably larger figure, of
which 15,388 fall to the municipio of Balalcazar and 10,103 to
C the municipio of Inzá. A comparison of the two counts of 1938
[114] and 1951 shows /105/ a notable error in the count in the municipio
of Inzá for the year 1938 (figures cited in Bernal Villa [I], p.
P 285).

641 Of this number about 80 per cent are natives who today
[162] are largely civilized, that is, they are baptized and speak some
[851] Spanish. Politically they, too, are basically full citizens of the
[191] country; they may vote and be drafted into military service, but
P do not pay any taxes. In one respect, however, fortunately for
641 them, they are regarded as "minors" before the law; in their
423 totality they own all the landed property of Tierradentro, but
P the individual man is not in a position to sell his land. This is
641 supposed to keep the Paez from losing their settlement area to
423 the whites. In practice this law is not always strictly observed,
691 for otherwise neither the colonists nor the large landowners, who
648 are slowly but surely pushing their pasture and agricultural lands
into the territory of the natives, could be in Tierradentro. The
latter cannot in fact defend themselves against this, for, due to
lack of money, no one among them is in a position to complain
in court. If a complaint is nevertheless made, the Indios always
lose, as, for example, in Itaibe, in the southeastern part of
Tierradentro, where the Spaniards began to colonize as early
as 1636 and where for many years lawsuits were carried on by
the Indios in vain. Moreover, no judge is able to undertake any-
thing against a rich landowner or against the missions likewise
owning land.

/105 cont./

C 162 The inhabitants of Tierradentro may be divided into three groups, according to the degree of civilization: a) the colonists living south of the Rio Ullucus, who speak Spanish and have nothing in common with the Paez. In habits and customs they correspond to the general, more or less strongly mestizo, Colombian rural population. Furthermore, the population of Balalcázar, consisting predominantly of Negroes, has nothing in common with the Paez. They were brought there by the Spaniards in colonial times as slaves, in order to exploit the salt mines C that were used by the Paez even in ancient times. Today salt [316] extraction is no longer profitable. The Negroes live partly on gold-washing in the Rio Paez, which is undertaken in primitive P fashion with wooden pans, the workers standing up to their knees [563] in water. The Paez do not generally intermarry with the Negroes, [186] but, on the contrary, despise them, since they know that they at one time came there as slaves.

P 162 b) The Paez who north of the Rio Ullucus have settled 361 both banks of the Rio Paez as far north as Nevado del Huila. 563 They have in part intermarried with the white and mestizo colonist P population. The /106/ places inhabited by them are: Araujo, [103] Avirama, Belalcázar, Cuetando, Mosoco, Ricaurte, San Andrés, San José, Tálaga, Toez, Togóima.

P c) The pure Paez villages of Calderas, Chinas, Huila, 162 Lame, Santa Rosa, Suin and Vitoncó. Among these the Paez 103 of Calderas have preserved their cultural individuality most P purely. We worked primarily among them, and the present ma- 114 terial, insofar as nothing is said to the contrary, refers to the 121 culture of the Paez of Calderas. The Calderun, as the inhabitants P 181 of Calderas are known in the country, are by far the most unap- 648 proachable of all the Paez. They have best kept to this day the 101 three laws of Juan Tama, the mythical hero of the Paez, which were originally strictly observed by all. These three laws say: 1. Tierradentro is solely and exclusively the land of the Paez, 2. the Paez may never intermarry with other races, 3. the Paez are invincible as long as they keep these laws. The third law in particular has well-founded justification, since for centuries

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648 it was impossible for the Spaniards to conquer Tierradentro and [101 181] subjugate the Paez.

Even today the Paez love their independence above all. And even though they cannot accomplish anything by force against the "whites," by which they mean the colonists and the Colombians in general, they nevertheless hate them with impotent fury. "Muiska pešu" (*), "white robber," is what they call the

* Concerning the transcription and phonetics of Paez words, cf. pp. 154-156.

colonists who took their land from them. The latter, however, more industrious than the Paez, need land for their numerous children. They cannot see why the best and virgin soil should remain unused in the hands of the Paez.

361 The rivers arising in the heights as a result of the water flowing down in the mountainous country form enclosed valley basins, each of which contains a village politically. These are, however, not villages in our sense, since the houses do not lie together, but separately, scattered on the slopes of the entire 123 valley basin as individual farms. This decentralized position of 361 a village rendered the ethnological work considerably more difficult, since one cannot keep an eye on "his" village and survey all the inhabitants together. Hence it is very difficult to become acquainted with all the people of the village, since in each case one must go great distances from one house to another and at the same time usually very laboriously climb a slope. How often it happened that the inhabitants were not at home at the moment or did not want to be seen or spoken to. For, at first, the Calderun did not by any means care to see us, and even after months of life and visits among them, the old people looked back with nostalgia on the times when /107/ all intruding whites were killed. 123 Today, moreover, not only whites, but even foreigners come to [177] Calderas. "If we speak to them and treat them well," they said, "then more and more whites will come here." How often it happened that we visited one of the old men, who, I was told,

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609 parts of the Mass, as they have understood it, in an exaggeratedly
522 dramatic fashion. The priest has a difficult office in any case.
797 They do not understand his sermons and teachings in the church,
157 conducted in the Spanish language. If he speaks their own language, his inevitable mistakes are commented upon amid loud laughter.

123 On our first visit to Calderas, a man about 30 years old met us at the boundary of the village and asked us in a gruff tone whether we did not know that this land was only for the Paez. No white man had any business here. We should turn back, for no one wanted our visit. Marcos Antonio intervened and explained that we had only come to bring gifts to the Calderun and that we had no intention of settling down in Calderas. We would surely leave again the next day. The man let this pass and warned us upon departure not to dare try to steal any land.
[623] Even later we never obtained permission from the cabildo, the village council, to remain in the village more than a week at a time. Our reputation among the younger people of the village improved from week to week, on the one hand because we offered a cigarette to each man and each woman with whom we had an opportunity to talk, but even more because -- as we were told later -- we were friendly to everyone and always /111/ laughed.
[648] As a matter of fact, it would never occur to any of the white or mixed-colored colonists to favor a Calderun even with a glance. On the contrary, in the houses lying along the road, the dogs are trained to attack the Indios. True, these dogs are all undernourished and generally very cowardly. The Paez man need only raise his machete or a club in order to ward off the dog. We were the first whites who did something completely out of the ordinary in that we were always friendly, without any mental reservations, and always greeted them first, in their language. And this not only in Calderas, but also in Inzá and on the roads to the market. This friendliness was taken in good part on all sides. Then later, after we were able to show and to give them the first photographs of themselves, they were definitely pleased to be photographed and now and then offered us an egg or a bowl of chicha /see the glossary, p. 248/ when we photographed them.

1: Nachtigall--30 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Physicians are not consulted in any case. All illnesses that do not show external influences are traced back to evil sorcery or to the "pest" (see under "Religion"/see p. 191 ff./). They must therefore be treated by the native shamans /see the glossary, p. 250 /. Open wounds and injuries are treated by the midwife. Now and then, however, people visit the mission station in order to have a tooth pulled, on which occasion the nurses without reservation praise their great steadfastness in enduring pain.

The impairment to health caused by the consumption of coca and chicha seems to me to be exaggerated by the authorities; it would be even less with sensible and nourishing food. The prohibition against coca consumption and the government's battle against coca and chicha give the impression of being more a struggle against a brandy tax deficit, for alcohol under the state monopoly may be sold to any Indio in any quantity. The fact that the Paez generally does not work hard and continuously probably has nothing to do with any degeneration caused by the stimulants mentioned, but rather it is quite simply his psychological attitude which does not let him see why a human being should strive for things which seem unnecessary to him, things beyond his animal necessities of life, eating and reproduction. I often asked whether, in their opinion, there might come a time when the Paez, too, would wear only Colombian clothing or even use electric lighting. They had never thought about it and in no instance had an answer.

II. Material Culture

1. The Dwelling

a) The Settlement

Politically and sociologically the Paez villages of Tierradentro embrace the inhabitants of a valley basin more or less closed off by the surrounding mountains. In their structure, however, they are not villages in our sense, by which we understand a locally concentrated aggregation of a number of houses,

/171 cont./

621 tribal organization. Even at the time of the Conquista the Paez
[622] did not form a common, cohesive community and were similarly independent from village to village and without a chief,
[623] just as today. Only in times of war did a few villages join together
[648] in a sort of loose federation, in order to be able to offer stronger
177 resistance to the Spanish intruders. Afterwards, however, the
361 "alliance for convenience" dissolved. The political influence
131 of the Spaniards during the colonial period had the effect of fixing the boundaries of the villages that had existed up to that time, each of which occupies the area of a valley basin, in order to create clear relationships with respect to the white landowners. The former arrangement of the villages was essentially the same, as one may see from the large number of old native names.

621 The control of the community at that time -- in keeping with
622 the character of the Paez -- was probably in a democratic village management, in a fashion similar to that of today. In times of war leadership was in the hands of men who were called caciques /see "Kazike" in the glossary, p. 249/ by the Spaniards -- as was the case generally in their colonies. The Paez have also taken over this name as a rank designation for the heroes of their traditions. Actually, their own word "sāt" for the political leaders in their mythology corresponds more to a war leader with shamanistic abilities than to a regular hereditary chieftainship of a society organized by classes, such as we find among the tribes of the Cauca Valley of the sacred principalities of the Chibcha at the time of the Conquista.

621 The present-day composition of the village council (cabildo)
623 as the administrative head of each village varies in strength according to the size of the village. It seems to be the most nearly complete in Calderas. Its composition and its tasks show
[565] that it is the head of a democratic community. The village is
[626] not organized by classes or by occupations. The consciousness of the equality of all is so strong /172/ that outsiders who distinguish themselves from others through personal achievement or personal acquisition are brought down to the common level by
623 force or killed. The leader of the cabildo has the grand Spanish

/257 cont./

754 The special target of the evil sorcerers are the white
●648 Colombians. People are afraid to undertake anything against them
797 openly, but the magic manipulations of the nyiç against them are widely known. The ones primarily affected are the whites, who robbed the Paez of land, and among them the missionaries, too. The nyiç then try to obtain mastery over the souls of the whites, to treat them with herbs, and thus make them so sluggish that they will not return to Tierradentro any more. It is also said that the nyiç had placed their remedies /258/ in the church so that the mission priest from Belalcázar would never come there any more and would never enter it any more.

754 The victims of evil sorcery, however, are not only human
789 beings and animals, but also the cultivated fields, which can be
[464] bewitched by means of eggs, salt, or pubic hair. The families affected are then no longer able to feed themselves, and in many cases the fathers of the families must leave the village in order to hire themselves out to the whites. The removal of the unpopular one is thus achieved. His return is prevented in magical ways, the nyiç placing special herbs, which the person cannot step over, on the connecting roads.

754 The aids for evil magic are not, say, objects belonging to the persons to be bewitched and used in a pars-pro-toto act, but are exclusively parts or agents from among the belongings of the sorcerer, which, for their effect, must be brought into close contact with the victim himself or his soul. If the nyiç wishes his victim to have an accident, he places a smoothly polished stone from the river somewhere in his house. The person in question will then soon slip and fall and break his bones or suffer a sprain. Another possibility for bewitchment is for the nyiç to spread his agent on the food of his victim. Thus, a shaman from Santa Rosa reports how the former young and capable Gobernador Leonidas was killed by the nyiç Dolores Dinó. She visited him one day while he was working alone in his garden and threw several of her own pubic hairs in the food in his cooking pot and, in addition, a fragment from a prehistoric clay pot of the Pijao. Leonidas ate this meal.

/286 cont./
182 no new harvest may be undertaken until the teyu has first cleansed
756 of the pest the building site or the crops, respectively.

/287/ He is, however, not only the protector of the individual or the individual family, but is also responsible for the beneficial
[773] co-existence of the members of the whole village. Thus, it is not surprising that it was the shamans -- besides Thunder under his various names -- who were the war leaders in the mythical tradi-
[726] tions. Thanks to their magical gifts and strength, they successfully led their people against the Pijao and the Spaniards. Several times the elders of the various villages told us that one day Thunder will again drive the white intruders out of the Tierradentro of the
[648] Paez and kill them. And it is only logical that, as late as 1952,
[789] on the occasion of an impending attack by an armed group of white revolutionaries, the shaman of Santa Rosa, as the successor of the mythical Thunder, should spit his magic herbs on the road leading to the village, in order to destroy them. Old Felisa Ipia is behaving in a similar manner when she keeps the souls of all the village inhabitants gathered together in the threads of her shaman's staff, in order to be able to protect them better against evil, magical influences.

756 On account of these certain supernatural abilities of theirs, the
554 effects of which no one in the community can evade, the teyu
[885] have a certain unofficial authority. In addition, they are all at least 30 to 40 years old and thus, by their very age, fulfill one of the natural prerequisites for recognition by the community. Not a few of them feel honored by this, set apart from the great mass of people, but many assured me that they were shamans only unwillingly, that though they were called by their ability to receive signs, they were nevertheless oppressed by the weight of the burden of their responsibility.

756 During times of epidemics of disease or inexplicable, "super-
124 natural" deaths, they are the focal point of the community, to
[182] which no one appeals in vain. And in conversations with them we generally had the distinct impression of facing unselfish, helpful human beings. They make no secret of their activity, and they tried, as best they could, to tell us about their experiences and knowledge which they use for the good of the community.

/293 cont./

*539 and even shut him up in a box. A second group of stories (Nos. 13-14) deals with tales about spirits, a third (Nos. 15-16) tales about Pijao, the feared man-eaters and dreadful enemies of the Paez. These are related to a certain extent to tales about werejaguars (Nos. 17-18). The remaining stories, which cannot be further classified, are given in the last group (Nos. 19-22).

[114] In order to achieve a certain completeness, stories No. 1 and 2 about Juan Tama are given here as told by G. Bürg (p. 34) and G. Hernandez de Alba (1946, p. 953), respectively, and stories No. 4, 9, 10 as told by S. Bernal Villa (?) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 323/.

1. Juan Tama, the Water-born

The following remembrance of Juan Tama lives on among the Indians of Vitomcó: A long time ago there ruled in Vitomcó a female cacique who was childless and therefore always sad when she thought about who would follow her in power. One day when she was washing clothes at the confluence of the Rio Paez and a brook that comes from the Páramo de Moras (from the lagoon known today as Juan Tama), she saw in the water a floating piece of wood on which lay a small child. She fished it out, and, since it was a boy, she took him in, reared him, and, when he reached majority, made him cacique. This cacique -- known as Juan Tama today -- was very wise and strong and led his people against the Spaniards when the latter settled on the Magdalena

• [648] River. The last time he was seen on the Paez was in the great battle of San Vicente, where he and his troops succeeded in defeating the Spaniards. Since he had come floating on the water, he was not regarded as an ordinary human being, but rather it was assumed that he was sent to the cacique by her ancestors, or else that he descended directly from the gods who mated with the lagoon of Juan Tama, so that the latter is his mother. When Juan Tama saw that his people were victorious at San Vicente and no longer needed his protection, he disappeared again. He merely gave his subcaciques orders and then went back to his mother, the Lagoon de Juan Tama, where he lives to this day and from where he directs the destinies of his Indians in Tierradentro.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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deserted savannas. It must be said, in extenuation, that they have been subjected to much abuse by their neighbors of the "superior race." Moreover, the Paeces are naturally hostile to strangers, descending, as we have seen, from a warlike people. The old Paeces always went about armed, carrying a lance or javelin in the hand and ready to protect their bodies from the darts of an enemy by means of a shield of basket-work (*opinub*), or of tapir hide (*γimba-kdí*). The warlike tendencies of the tribe were stimulated by means of periodical contests in which the most valiant warriors fought each other in the presence of the multitude.

To-day, as we have seen, the descendants of these have abundant opportunity to satisfy their fighting propensity by taking sides in the frequent quarrels of the political parties that thus far have kept Colombia in an almost continual turmoil.

Sexual intercourse between Paez women and men of other races is said not to exist; barbarous chastisement would be the fate of the offending female. It is to be expected, however, that the closer contact brought about by the gradual penetration of the Tierra Andentro by whites and negroes will soon overcome the purity of the Paez blood and open the way to amalgamation with the neo-Colombian race.

Reclus, cited above (page 311), gives us to understand that the Paez were cannibals, and the tradition current in the villages along the western foot of the cordillera confirms his intimation with reference to the Pijaos; for the coming of "el Pijao" is still a menace to children. The early chroniclers tell us of several anthropophagous tribes which lived in this region, and it is not unlikely that the Paeces had a share in that custom.

GRAMMATICAL NOTES

Castillo's *Nociones gramaticales* is limited to a list of the personal pronouns and the conjugation of the verbs 'to be' and 'to write.' A few more grammatical indications are incorporated in the vocabularies, but on the whole these data are very meager, and much remains to be done in this direction.

/281 cont./

487 Routes of communication.--Until the fourth decade of the present century, the routes of penetration were horse paths which passed through the paramos of Guanacas, Las Delicias, and Moras, or through Inzá, Pedregal, Topa, and La Plata. The three first ones communicated with the Cauca valley, and the second with the /282/ Magdalena valley. These were the routes of the colonial era and, to a large extent, of the times [648] of the republic. The Guanacas route was the first to serve for communication between the kingdom of Quito and Santafé de Bogotá, owing, of course, to the more favorable attitude of the Guanaca Indians toward the conquistadores, who, taking advantage of their relationship with the Paez, made them their 797 allies and assistants. The first religious mission was established 175 in Guanacas in 1613. By way of the Paramo de Moras Captain 175 Juan de Ampudia entered Paez territory to take exemplary re- 648 venge for the tragic death of his colleague-at-arms, Captain Pedro de Añasco. To his disgrace and that of Spain, he met a terrible death on the cliffs of Togoima. By way of the same Paramo de Moras came the Adelantado Don Sebastián de Belalcázar, who had the same aims as his unfortunate predecessor, but this time his death, too, was added. The Paez gave him the most crushing defeat on the Peñón de Tálaga, and the Adelantado had to flee, leaving on the field of battle 491 the body of the heroic Captain García Tovar. The intense [484] traffic through these dangerous peaks and cold paramos decreased considerably with the opening of the Quindío road, and even much more with the inauguration of the La Plata-Belalacázar road. Tierradentro is connected by road with Popayán and 487 Neiva. Nowadays only the Indians from Mosoco, San José, and Vitoncó, and the Paez from Toribío, Tacueyó, and [788] Jambaló travel by way of the Paramo de Moras. That of Las Delicias is traveled by the Moguex, especially on their annual pilgrimages to the religious festivities of Our Lady of Nátaga. The Guanacas route is practically abandoned. There is also another route, traveled relatively frequently, which follows the

4:Bernal Villa--1 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/177/

I

Point of Departure

631 To the north of the municipio of Inzá and to the west of
[361] the confluence of the Ullucos and Páez rivers, two hours on horseback fr[illegible]he points just mentioned, the corregimiento /district gov[illegible]d by a corregidor/ of San Andrés is found on the left bank [illegible] the Pisimbalá torrent, an affluent of the
[175] Ullucos. Its name has been registered in the parochial books
[103] since 1736, when the priest José Fernández Belalcázar, as the
[797] representative of the Bishop of Popayán, initiated in San Andrés de Pisimbalá pastoral visits to the Paez pueblos.

361 San Andrés de Pisimbalá is a pueblo with the same characteristics that we have noted in other Paez centers; that is to say, it consists of a church, a school, the rectory, the house of the cabildo, and some others used solely for the celebration of religious fiestas. It is located on a small plateau, a ledge hanging on the declivity.

563 At the present time it is inhabited by whites and mestizos
177 whose ways of life, norms of behavior, and labor practices
361 have been imposed on the natives. Resistance to contact has
[648] been overcome, but active resentment against the white still
[566] crops out among the old people. Almost completely acculturated, many of them have sunk to the state of tenant farmers. The phenomenon of the colonization of Indians and land is the same everywhere. The Indian loses his land and sinks into servitude.

In 1926 the Municipal Council of Inzá created a settlement area with clearly delineated boundaries in a common agreement /178/ between the municipal authorities and the cabildo. The colonists established themselves in that area. The valley of the Pisimbalá torrent is narrow, but extremely fertile. It belongs in its entirety to a few families of colonists,

/180 cont./

123 Calderas, and the water divide of the Kukiyú river and the
133 Pisimbalá torrent, the former a deep gorge, the latter an
[131] elongated basin. Toward the north, the outline of another ridge bounds the horizon and divides the parcialidades of Suin and Chinas. Prominent along it, the Vichaguau peak, the hill Dondotá with the double crests, between which, when the sky is clear, one can see Huila with its eternal snows, where the golden rays of the sun break into a silvery radiance. Toward the east one sees the hills of Chindavá and Potrerito, the heights of Togoima, and the canyon of the Páez. Toward the south stand the mountain ranges of Pangok and El Aguacate, which separates the valleys of the Pisimbalá and the Ullucos; the tablelands of Pedregal, Turminá, and Inzá; the sharp peak of Trueno /Thunder/, the "Kapich" of the natives, a summit
823 of silence, lightning, thunder, and storms. In the place where
173 the sun sets, there rises, stately and challenging, the sharp
648 peak of Hipinjí (1), on which, according to some Indians, lie
[133]
[104]

1. H = the English h.
   J = the French j.
   Sh = the French sh.

the images of saints, the bells, the clothing, the gold, and the silver which the Paez army carried away from San Sebastián de la Plata after murdering all of its white inhabitants, setting fire to the town, and filling up the famous silver mines which had given the town its name and brought large numbers of ad-
173 venturers and not a few misfortunes to the Indians. This legend
823 has fired the imagination of the whites and has led not a few to search for them. It is said that several whites went to the Hipinjí in search of the legendary treasure. At the /181/ /illustration appears here/ top of the peak a white flag was waving. One day there appeared on it the following mysterious order: "At 12 o'clock you may clear out this opening." Their enthusiasm was renewed, their fatigue forgotten, and they went to work eagerly. One worker was rewarded by blind

/182 cont./

423 The work on the land is a daily exercise in co-operation.
461 Owership by an Indian is an unquestionable right, and its de-
[173] fense a categorical imperative. Lliban and Juan Chiracol
[628] fought the Pijao for the ownership of the land and to defend an
[648] inalienable right. Likewise, because the whites covet their land, they do not like to have them around /183/ and avoid receiving them under some pretext or other. Their security and
[735] their happiness lie in the ownership of land. Poverty as they understand it, a shortage of food and livestock, is due solely to the laziness of those who suffer it.

857 Children grow up in continuous communion with the
868 activities of their parents. While the girl helps her mother in household tasks and goes out with her to bring firewood from their respective clearings, the boys with their machete on their shoulder and their pouches of coca and mambe /lime/, exactly like their fathers, clean the clearings, build fences, weed their plantings, and when the maize ripens and the wheat grows tall, they spend the day defending them against the attacks of parrots, guaras, borugos, squirrels, and coatis. At an early age they are already doing the same tasks, but with the hope of building a house, marrying, raising children, and owning livestock, large quantities of coca, and sugar cane for their
342 chicha. In a way, the house is a necessary supplement to their pieces of land; furthermore, many are for the period of the clearings. The selection of a site for the house does not take into account either the beauty of the landscape or the levelness of the terrain, but rather the inaccessibility of both. Only when the house is to last for more than one generation will they attend to certain requisites: solidity, construction or privately owned land, and the selection of an adequate site by the medicine man (té éu). One fine day the owner selects a site: "This is a good place to build a house and to live," he
[759] says. Then he takes there the medicine man, who during the
[787] night "thinks about" whether the site is suitable or unsuitable; he chews coca and remedies, takes mouthfuls of aguardiente

/190 cont./

609 It was necessary for someone to tell them that they were sent by
797 /191/ Laureano Gómez before they all said: "Well, then, let
871
829 them remain."

666 In spite of their stubborn conservatism, the leaders of the
829 municipio cannot manage to make them vote for their chosen candidates unless they first get their ration of meat, chicha, and aguardiente. The ration and the vote form an indivisible unit.

829 "I am godo /Goth, pejorative for Spaniard/ to the marrow, a true conservative," exclaimed one of the important men of
[773] Calderas while he was drunk. "Juan Chiracol also was a conservative," said another.

829 The Indians of Tierradentro have been liberals since 1860,
175 thanks to the victor's aura gained by Mosquera on the plains
648 of Segovia. "The battle of Segovia" --says the padre David González--"in which the Indians took part and in which Mosquera encouraged the native ferocity, and the march on Bogotá, which fell to the rebel general, made him a demigod
[464] in the eyes of the Paez. Since the first days of the colony they have venerated the name Mosquera; the Marquis don Cristóbal Mosquera y Figueroa had been their master, their encomendero, he had taken them to Popayán in gangs to work on his haciendas, he had given to them the huge lands of his
[665] encomienda... Naturally the Indians of Tierradentro have been strongly bound since 1860 to the political faction which represented Mosquera, liberalism. In the armed struggles which later scourged the nation, the Paez staunchly bore the liberal standard."

829 In view of this, the political affiliation of the Calderas
665 Indians is an odd one; up to less than a decade ago, they formed a conservative island in the midst of a liberal majority. Possibly this attitude conceals a great desire to defend their lands. The Calderas people have no marked sympathy for the neighboring parcialidades. "They are Reds," say the natives,

/191 cont./

829 while the others contend for their land and reduce the extent
665 of the parcialidad. This is what the people of Avirama, Togoima, and Lame have done. Nowadays, their relations appear to be cordial, for their political differences, at least, seem to have been obliterated.

157 The Paez are extremely pugnacious, aggressive by nature; they are easily aroused and only with difficulty erase rancor from their minds. Their psychological characteristic seems
[648] to be the explosion. History gives many authentic proofs.
[669] Adverse to the Spanish yoke, destroyers of the colonial settlements, /192/ in the times of the republic they have served as instruments for blind ambitions and political revenge, and nearly all the civil uprisings have been nourished with their blood. They adjust easily to the military, guerilla, barbarian
[579] spirit. The riots that have taken place in the present century are memorable: La Quintinada, La Collada, and the 28th of January, the first of which took place in 1916, the second in 1932, and the third in 1950, out of motives of racism, religion, and political rancor, respectively.

Persistence in vengeance, hair-raising and fearsome crimes, and the spilling of blood characterize many aspects of the social and political life of these Indians.

VI

Fiesteros, Albaceros, and Mayordomos

796 About three months before the celebration of the fiesta,
623 the cabildo begins to select the names of the fiesteros /fiesta leaders/ for the following year. When the candidates have been chosen, the entire cabildo goes to their home, where after much dilatory chatting they announce the authorized choice. The offer is rejected at first, but eventually the great honor is accepted.

/199 cont./

388 Up to a few years ago, the extraction of laurel wax was the
43 only industry among the Calderas people that brought them monetary returns. And it was the sole article of active trading with the whites. At first the price was good; one peso a pound; nowadays it is barely worth 40 centavos. Thus, there is no
388 market for this article. The fiesteros and the albaceros have chunks of wax in their chambers. The laborers melt it in a copper pan and pour it at once into bamboo tubes, mixed with hot water so that it will not solidify at once. Into it they dip the notched wicks of different lengths so as to saturate them with wax, then bring them out into the air so that they will harden, saturate them once more with wax, and continue in this way until the candle has acquired the desired thickness. Several dozen are made; some large ones for the table, others of medium size for the church, and smaller ones for the mayordomos.

X

Gunpowder

389 The Paez are totally unfamiliar with the method of making
829 gunpowder. And to explain how it is obtained, they tell the
●648 painful legend that it is made from human beings. It comes from a fat man, they say, fattened expressly for this purpose. He is hung up, a red-hot iron rod is inserted in his rectum; lard drips down; and this lard is the gunpowder. For this reason, they do not want to send their children to distant lands where the white man lives. They believe that they would be used to obtain gunpowder. "The white men greatly desire Indians in order to obtain gunpowder."

389 The Indians buy gunpowder in the urban centers. They
439 work it up. The technique is almost universally known.

/258 cont./

754 Thus, the victims are "the most skillful, the most charitable
554 toward travelers, the friends of the whites, those who display the most friendliness among the natives, those who have much livestock, large tracts of land, good plantings." In this phrase are listed almost the full gamut of the victims of sorcery. From previous examples, we see that those who have land, animals, mental ability and manual dexterity, and good fields, the energetic numbers of the cabildo, those who take the path
[182] of transculturation, are victims of sorcery. In addition, revenge and resentment are evened up by means of sorcery.

754 It is not surprising that undesirable whites are victims of
648 sorcery. The undesirable ones are those who covet their lands. The curers, on their own initiative or supported by the cabildo, call the soul of the white at a strategic spot, capture it, whip it with pringamoza (Urticaceae) and put bad remedies on it so that it will never return to the region. They say that the white begins to feel too lazy to travel in the area and finally decides to return to his country.

[177] In parcialidades such as Calderas, where much resistance is shown against living with and contact with the white, there are some people who are such sorcerers and such enemies of the white that even in the church they leave enchanted eggs so that not even the priest will come.

754 Among the victims of sorcery are parturient women and newborn babies, when the sorcerer or other envious persons do not want a certain family to prosper.

The power of sorcerers extends not only to human beings
[433] and animals, but also to the plantings. The loss of a planting
[167] means suffering from hunger, a shortage of coca, and emi-
[464] gration of the parents to distant places in order to hire out as laborers.

In the clearing they may put enchanted eggs, salt, pubic hair, or capio maize in order that the planting be lost.

/293 cont./

221 on the fincas of the "whites" (1). The social life and the re-
[166]
[464]
[192]
[177]
[128]

1. Generic term with which the natives designate all those who observe the norms of western culture, without any distinction as to race. For convenience we have adopted this usage, putting the term in quotation marks.

ligious fiestas are frequent during this period. The work is done /294/ with devotion and perseverance. It is not done in haste, but there is no resting either.

423 Every Páez family has its lands. This is its ambition. The
[183] primary source of its security. Every crag has an owner whose title has been won by the sweat of his brow. Every crag harbors a rancho that shelters a family. Every inch of land is passionately
[571] defended by the native. The disputes stirred up by this fact are not few. In like manner the cabildos are never so zealous as in the defense of the lands of the parcialidad /a territorial division/.
[648] The areas of settlement /areas of colonization by whites/ are spearheads in the very heart of the community. They were established against the full opposition of the natives. On the other hand, the defense of the land and the prevention of contamination by foreign peoples are postulates of the doctrine. The distribution of the houses suggests in advance the profusion of paths and private property.

When they win the scarce land, the distances and difficul-
[464] ties that loom are not important. They are good colonizers, and it is rare that persons who lack land hire themselves out as permanent peons or become tenant farmers on the great haciendas.
[181] They prefer independence above all.

311 To study the economy of the Páez, certain factors of a
133 geographico-physical and cultural nature cannot be overlooked. They are:

1. Thermic levels. The lands now occupied by the Páez of Tierradentro correspond to the thermic levels of cold and temperate. The contour line corresponding to 2,000 meters -

/294 cont./

311 passes through Topa, Turminá, Guanacas, El Cabuyo, Malvasá,
133 Pisimbalá, Lame, La Troja, and Irlanda, from where it twists eastward. The contour line of 3,000 meters, approximately parallel to the previous one, is very close to the ridge of the
[361] Central Cordillera. These two contour lines form a narrow zone that corresponds to the cold thermal level and within which are found the parcialidades of Toez, Huila, Vitoncó, San José, Mosoco, Lame, and Yaquivá, aside from a considerable area from the extinct parcialidades of Guanacas and Turminá.
311 This entire zone represents a "culturally influenced zone" in
[487] the literal sense that Professor Guhl gives it (2). A fine bridle-

2. Guhl, E. "Ambiente Geográfico-Humano de la Costa del Atlántico /Geographical-human Environment of the Atlantic Coast/," Revista Geográfica, p. 159.

[489] path joins Mosoco and Silvia, crossing the Paramo de Moras. The traffic of people is intense and constant during almost every /295/
311 month of the year. In the last decades, this has been an active zone
648 of native and "white" colonization. It still remains so. Coscuro
361 and Malvasá, in the Parcialidad of San Andrés, are purely "white" regions of colonization. But Tumbichukue, the high parts of Lame, Mosoco, San José, Huila, and Toez are zones of exclu-
361 sively native colonization. The importance of Mosoco is out-
311 standing. It was a great center of Páez settlement and still is, in the same manner as Pitayó and Tacueyó are on the other side of the Cordillera, but we cannot state on this account that "the major part of the settlements and the most important ones for the Paeces" are located in the cold region, as was stated
[177] categorically by Professor José Pérez de Barradas. Mosoco,
[433] fully in the process of acculturation, is a good producer of potatoes, wheat, and maize. It is the true Tierradentro in
[648] physiography, production, and progress. But in the times of
[175] the Conquest it was the people of Tálaga, Avirama, Calderas, and Togoima who defeated Ampudia and Belalcázar, and the

361 /295 cont./
311 strong political groupings had their principal seats at Tálaga,
● 643 Suin, and Avirama (3). "The place of residence of a cacique
175
[622]
[103]

3. Hernández de Alba, Gr. "The Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia," pp. 915-960.

constituted a sort of settlement or gathering place, most of which remain today as Indian pueblos and retain their names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima," Chitoquez, Cuetando, Yaquivá, Pisimbalá, and Itaibe, all of them located at the
361 temperate thermal level. It is precisely along the course of
311 the Páez River and along the middle and lower courses of its
161 tributaries that the Páez population is now concentrated.

13 2. Physiography. Merely a single glance at the wild geography of Tierradentro will give an idea of the pattern of life of the Páez people. The physiography of the entire course of the Páez River, from Irlanda to Itaibe, with nearly all of its tributaries, is compressed into profiled accidents. It might be said that it forms a "thermic chimney," Professor Guhl's expression. It belongs to the temperate thermal level. This is the land of the great slopes covered with natural pastures and of the short, narrow vegas with fertile soils. There are those who speak of the fertility of all the soil of Tierradentro, classifying it, consequently, as a privileged zone. The concept proves to be deceptive, because it does not take into account the physiographic factor. We find the usable vegetal layer /296/ only in the extremely narrow vegas of the rivers, ravines, and streams, and in places
13 where the topography becomes a little smoother. The left bank
241 of the Páez River, from Toez to La Plata, is usable for agricul-
[233] ture and stock-raising only with difficulty, given the brutality of the slopes. Every tributary that enters on this side is a deep ravine isolated by ridges running from northeast to southwest. On the other hand, the left bank has important vegas. It is there that plantains, manioc, sugar cane, coca, arracacha, maize, and lately coffee and guadua bamboo are grown. The soils are essentially acid, and the Gramineae grow in abundance

000 /335 cont./

423 land. On it usually stand the native pueblos, and from it the
623 municipal councils have set aside the so-called settlement areas,
● 648 into which, since they belong to the municipio, "white" penetration has been possible.

423 Private ownership of land is acquired essentially through
425 adjudication, through work, and through inheritance. It may also be acquired through gift or sale, but this is quite rare.

423 Since the true owner of the protected lands is the cabildo,
425 it is this institution that distributes the lands to each member
623 of the community. The titles that it grants are called adjudications. The condition for enjoying possession of a specific parcel is residence in the community and, above all, work. In the case where an individual has idle lands because he cannot manage to work them, the cabildo reserves the right to take this part away from him in order to give it to someone who needs it. Those who through special circumstances live elsewhere, outside of the parcialidad, lose their right to possession of the land.

423 Although it is true that in the distribution of land made by
425 the cabildo it venerates, respects, and is guided by the laws of
623 justice, it is also true that they are not exempt from committing
662 unjust acts. If a member of the community can advantageously entertain and show courtesies to the members of the cabildo and is interested in acquiring more land, he can obtain it in this way. It is relatively easy to suborn the cabildo. Then the cabildo can wrong some in order to benefit others. But this defect may be corrected with the selection of men who can fulfill their functions as members of the cabildo competently and with the exercise of sound directive policies on the part of the municipal executive.

423 Now then. It is also true that some natives have more
623 land than others. But this is due to the fact that their respective
421 ancestors cleared more forest than others. They colonized more land. Their right of ownership is granted through labor. "The ancestors" -- says a Calderun informant -- "worked the montaña and this is why we have land. This land does not belong to the cabildo." This procedure is still followed in the parcialidades where there is still uncultivated land. /336/ The cabildo has

/336 cont./

423 no rights over land won by the sweat of the brow. It is inherited
623 directly by the sons. In such cases the cabildo confirms owner-
428 ship by issuing the respective adjudication.

423 When the colonization has been done by several persons,
578 usually brothers, and the division of the land does not satisfy one of the parties, famous litigations take place that eat up the small savings of the families. The feeling for ownership of land is highly developed among the natives, and the usurpation of the slightest piece of ground gives rise to quarrels, enmities, and
42 litigations. The sale of land to "whites" is prohibited by
[648] Colombian law and by the consuetudinary law of the natives. But among the natives themselves transactions can be made with immovables. They do not sell the land, but the ownership. The owner of land is the man. A widow, too, can be an owner by inheritance from the husband. Single women do not own land.

422 The bovine, equine, porcine, and wool-bearing livestock belong to the man, although a few women own pigs and sheep. Turkeys, chickens, cats, and guinea pigs belong to the women, and so do dishes, spoons, pots, grinding stones,
[428] calabashes, and bags. These are inherited through the female line. Children are owners merely of their own clothes.

423 Concerning communal property, we have already seen that in each parcialidad there are several hectares of land that
[794] belong to all the members of the parcialidad. Also regarded as communal property are public works, such as roads, bridges, the main ditches, the house of the cabildo, and the church, and they collectively maintain them; likewise regarded as the property of the parcialidad are the sums of money collected for the church, the produce of the clearing of the saint, and any livestock or mills that it might own.

428 Concerning inheritance, let us look first at the concepts
[842] expressed by an informant from Calderas. Asked about the ideal number of children for native families, he replied that everyone wished to have many children. "When one dies and one has land, who can handle it? The ancestors worked the montaña, and this is why we have land. We are five brothers and we work

/354 cont./

43 onions, cabbages, barley, and eggs, with which it is not possible to maintain regular trading. The Indians, without exception, buy salt and also acquire hats, shirts, trousers, machetes, shovels, bars, axes, knives, aluminum pots, cups, iron plates, spoons, candles, soap, and aguardiente. Less frequently, large and brilliantly colored kerchiefs for the children, and tweezers /pinzas/ and necklaces for the women.

439 San Andrés is a small native settlement which has been
443 inhabited by the "whites" since the settlement area was estab-
438 lished. It contains three stores that sell some merchandise,
[162] some drugs, beer, aguardiente, and bread. Two of them have gramophones. There are also two other stores, which sell chicha and aguardiente exclusively. On Wednesdays a small market is held. In front of one of the houses, peddlers and traders from other areas display their wares; on the small plaza an awning is raised by an acculturated native woman in order to sell food, and a little farther there is a stand where meat is sold. The market starts moving at dawn. The natives bring small amounts of manioc, arracacha, white cabbage, eggs, coffee, and onions, /355/ which are bought immediately by the "whites." Then the butcher starts selling meat, usually in two-pound portions, which are what the natives buy. The peddlers sell a few trinkets and commodities. At 9:00 A.M. the liquor places
[273] begin to move. At ten in the morning the market is over, and
[578] at midday and in the afternoon only drunken natives are to be
● [648] seen. At those times quarrels between them are frequent, and often the natives' aggressiveness is channeled against the "whites," as they assert that they are the true owners of the land and the settlement. The natives have the habit of selling their articles (coffee, eggs) only to persons known to them, even if others can pay them better prices.

On Wednesdays there are also markets in Guasdualejo (Togoima) and Turminá; on Thursdays in Valencia, and on
[491] Saturdays in Inzá and Belalcázar. Those of Belalcázar and Valencia, because they are connected by vehicular road with La Plata (Huila), are better attended and have a larger volume of trade. Large numbers of natives from different parcialidades

/364 cont./

571 in the cantinas, in lawsuits over land, or for religious fiestas.
434 These arguments are confirmed, on the other hand, by the
454 statistical table on income in that only five native families in the three parcialidades made up the deficits in their budgets of last year with sums saved in 1952.

Economy and acculturation

121 Before closing the present work we wish to describe in
177 broad outline the process of acculturation which is now going on in some Páez parcialidades.

[101] The material on Páez culture which we have published and that which we are now elaborating on were collected in the parcialidades located on the right bank of the Paez River, leaving aside those located on the left bank of this river, owing above all to factors of public order which have been disturbing their peace for several years.

[178] The native communities of San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Calderas, Avirama, Suin, Chinas, Lame, Vitoncó, Huila, Toez, and Tálaga are more traditionalistic, live in accordance with the institutions of the culture, and for this reason we regard them as more "primitive." On the other hand, the community of Mosoco, suspended on the slopes of the Central Cordillera itself and extending into the very heart of the Paramo de Moras, is fully in the process of transformation.

[648] /365/ Our research was begun in the parcialidad of Calderas,
[101] isolated, by reasons of a geographical nature, from the principal centers of the "white" population and whose inhabitants have defended their independence at all costs and have been hostile to living with the "whites" (39). From here comes the greater part

39. Bernal Villa, S. "Mitología y cuentos de la parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro /Mythology and tales from the parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro/," pp. 289 ff.

[101] of our materials. But we also carried out systematic investigations in San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Lame, Vitoncó, Tálaga, and, lastly, in Mosoco.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

THE HIGHLAND TRIBES OF SOUTHERN COLOMBIA[1]

By Gregorio Hernández de Alba

INTRODUCTION

Between the *Esmeralda* and *Cara* in Ecuador and the *Quimbaya* in the modern Department of Caldas to the north, the conquistadors, especially Governor Don Sebastián de Belalcázar, found a large number of tribes of different languages and cultures (map 1, *No. 24*; map 7). These tribes occupied the mountains of the complicated Andean system, the valleys of the many rivers, and the slopes toward the low, jungle lands of southeastern Colombia. Because of the fertility of the soils, the mild climate, which was largely cool and healthy, the rich gold and silver mines, and the situation of the lands between the important Colonial centers of Santa Fé (now Bogotá) and Quito, which they were founding, the conquistadors greatly desired to conquer and pacify the tribes, as the Spanish chroniclers and historians call the extermination of the Indians. Some peoples, like the *Pasto* living in the present Department of Nariño, north of Ecuador, readily submitted to the overlordship of the encomenderos and hacendados, and adopted their customs and beliefs. Others, like the *Andaquí*, changed their habitat, and moved down from the region of San Agustín and the headwaters of the Magdalena River eastward to the hot jungles, where they were safe from enslavement. Some, like the *Páez* and *Moguex*, protected by the ruggedness of the Sierras of their territory, resisted the Spaniards and succeeded in large measure in perpetuating their traditions. Others, however, like the *Pijao*, who were seasoned warriors, fought bloodily against the White invaders until they were totally exterminated.

The first historians of the conquest of this part of America[2] held different opinions on the cultural and linguistic relationships between these tribes. Some claimed that the dialects differed so greatly from one tribe to another as to be mutually unintelligible; others maintained that all the peoples of the Andean area of Colombia had the same cul-

[1] This study was prepared in Washington, D. C., where the Bureau of American Ethnology, of the Smithsonian Institution, the Library of Congress, and the Library of the Pan American Union facilitated my investigation as previously the Government of Colombia, my wife (who was also my companion in field work), and my friends, the *Páez* Indians of Tierradentro, had furthered it.

[2] Cieza de León, 1932; Aguado, 1916; Simón, 1882-92; Oviedo y Valdés, 1851-55; Velasco, 1841-44.

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All the region of Popayán and of the *Páez* in the Cordillera Central thus spoke closely related and very similar dialects which were often grouped. For example, the dialects of the *Pijao*, *Páez*, *Timaná*, and *Yalcón* were classed together. In the south, an area of the *Pasto* language extended to Ecuador. Between the *Pasto* and *Páez*, bordering also on the *Pijao*, the native peoples spoke *Quillacinga* and *Andaquí*.

Of all these languages, there survive today only *Páez*, which is spoken in Tierradentro, and its dialect, *Paniquitá*, on the western slope of the Cordillera Central in Toribío, Caldono, Jambaló, and in parts of Silvia and Totoró. *Moguex* and the related *Totoró* and *Polindara* are spoken in Silvia and in the regions of Totoró and Polindara, according to Otero. *Andaquí* is spoken by only a few scattered groups surviving in the lower region of the Caquetá River.

HISTORY

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After Don Sebastián de Belalcázar founded the City of Quito, he sent Diego de Tapia on a voyage of exploration toward the north in 1535 (Otero d'Costa, 1935 a). This expedition discovered the new lands of the Cordillera as far as the large Quillacinga River, today the Carchi River. This river became the point of departure for important travels in the same year by Pedro de Añasco, and in 1536 by Belalcázar, who founded Cali and Popayán, both key points for future expeditions and discoveries. These were the first White contacts with the Andean tribes of southern Colombia. In 1538, Belalcázar undertook a second expedition from Quito, crossing the Cordillera through *Páez* territory and then passing among the *Pijao* Indians. Both tribes resisted him with their feeble arms. He continued toward the east until he met the expeditions of Jiménez de Quesada and Federman at Bogotá. With the foundation of outposts by Jiménez de Quesada in the lands called the New Kingdom of Granada, Añasco was sent back to found Timaná in the territory of the *Timaná* and *Yalcón*. This city was to be the base for communications between Perú, Quito, Popayán, and Santa Fé de Bogotá.

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The *Pasto* and *Quillacinga*, after a few encounters with the Spanish soldiers, in which they always suffered bloody defeats because of the weakness of their weapons (arrows, lances, wooden swords, and sometimes slings) and because the Spaniards used horses and hunting dogs, began to surrender. The inhabitants of the Valley of Popayán, who were poor warriors, also ceased to struggle. These tribes had previously suffered the *Inca* invasion, which had extended north to the Angasmayo River, which washed their lands. But the *Páez*, *Moguex*, *Andaquí*, and *Pijao*, thanks to the rugged mountains in their territory and to their more bellicose character and better organization, presented a serious obstacle to the Spaniards' ideal route, which had been drawn

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by Belalcázar between the Kingdom of Quito and Bogotá. Few Spaniards wished to adventure through these wild lands where the Indians were strong and ambushed them. The founders of Timaná were constantly attacked, and the frightening legend of cannibalism began to spread. It was said that Spaniards were the preferred victims, and that the Indians considered the flesh of enemies the finest morsels in their great victory feasts. The soldiers collected some gold in the so-called penetrations (entradas) of the country—attacks really made to kill the natives, to destroy their crops, and to burn their houses. All of this made the Indians resist more strongly, but it was necessary to clear the road to Santa Fé, and the war of extermination went on without respite. Belalcázar himself returned to *Páez* territory and was defeated at the rocky cliff of Talagá in 1541, only to return with more than 200 soldiers, of whom 100 had horses, and spread blood and fire among the Indian villages. But the Indians made reprisals. They assailed Timaná and killed its mayor, after putting out his eyes and leading him through the market places with a cord passed through his face. This act of vengeance was to satisfy Gaitana, a valiant warlike Indian woman who had formed various Indian alliances against the Spaniards because they burned her son. In 1543, the *Pijao* destroyed the town of Los Angeles, recently founded in the Neiva Valley. They continually attacked the area surrounding Ibagué, but many of them were defeated and killed in 1556 in the plains of Chaparral by Francisco de Trejo's troops. Both Spaniards and Indians were stubborn in their struggles, the Indians being unwilling to make peace as long as they were being killed and their crops destroyed.

The struggle was rekindled in 1562 when Captain Domingo Lozano, having requested the privilege of conquering the Indians, organized an army and entered *Páez* territory. He founded the town of San Vicente de Páez near Huila Mountain in order to ensure Spanish domination of the heart of the country. But the Indians ambushed his soldiers and gradually killed off the cavalry, the Spaniards' strongest troops. Eventually, they destroyed San Vicente and again controlled their own rugged lands. The *Pijao*, meanwhile, fought to the death. They destroyed Villa Vieja or Neiva in 1569 and, allied with the *Páez*, took San Sebastián de la Plata in 1577, killing all its inhabitants and burning the houses. They finally put an end to and avenged the Spaniards' exploitation of a silver mine which had been discovered in *Moscopan* and *Yalcón* territory in 1551.

Fleeing Spanish pressure which extended from Timaná toward the heart of the Andes, the *Andaquí*, exhausted by the wars, followed the high hills to the east, and began in 1564 to descend toward the Caquetá River.

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The King of Spain, receiving word of the troubles in this region, ordered Don Juan de Borja, his Governor at Santa Fé, to carry out the "pacification of the province," meaning the extermination of its inhabitants. The decisive war started in Chaparral in 1605 and ended in 1608 when a Spanish witness wrote of this territory, where the *Páez* had remained free for so many years, that the provinces "were so desolated that the troops could not find Indians to fight, houses to plunder, or roots or grain to eat, and, if some Indian remained, instead of daring to plant boldly, he sowed four handfuls of grain here, two more there in the shadows and cover of the trees . . . they went about harrassed, thin, and emaciated until life was ended, for the soldiers saw corpses of people dead of hunger or sickness at every step" (Simón, 1882–92, Septima Noticia, ch. 49, vol. 5, pp. 314–15). A document in the ecclesiastical archives of Páez, dated July 17, 1638, states that in the lands adjoining the *Páez* there lived a *Pijao* Indian named Ambrosio, who had said that Captain Andrés de Zúñiga could now well enjoy this country because there were *Pijao* but not *Páez* Indians in it and because the *Pijao* saw themselves doomed and the land had no proprietor. 175 648

The *Guanaca*, who, because their chief was an enemy of the *Páez* chief, had allied themselves with the Spaniards in order to attack the *Páez*, were the first to surrender and join a Spanish colony. The first road between Popayán and Santa Fé passed through their territory, where the Spaniards established a hostelry for traders. This district was given to the Jesuits, who established the Church of Guanacas and, later, a town of the same name. But the Indians felt another lethal force of European origin—disease which they were unable to withstand. In 1790, a smallpox epidemic so reduced them that they abandoned their town, and the few survivors retired to the narrow mesa, where the modern town of Inza is situated. Here they gradually disappeared altogether. [797] [177] [164] [731]

The *Páez* continued to resist and defend their lands against Spanish missionization, so that the road to Guanaca never became secure. The extinction of the *Pijao*, the lack of important quantities of gold in the area, and the difficulty of the terrain, which was such that the Chronicler Pedro de Aguado said "to travel through *Páez* territory is to go up and down," caused the Spaniards to abandon interest in dominating these peoples. They were content to establish the Guanacas mission, and, a little later, the parish of Tálaga. Subsequently, as these Indians, who were isolated in their high mountains, were allowed to retain their customs and beliefs without interference, they did not protest when small groups of Whites peacefully occupied certain places in their lands. 175 648 797

Thus began the true Colonial Period for those tribes which survived the wars of the Conquest. The encomienda system was inaugurated, 175 648

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,+(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
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in which a Spaniard held a territory occupied by Indians. The natives, under a chief who was protected by the White authorities and who made contact between the master, or encomendero, and his subjects, had to give a certain number of days' work and a specified tribute in products of the lands, animals, gold, or manufactures. The encomiendas made no effort to Hispanicize the Indians, but continued to loot and massacre them. The Indians, reduced to utter misery, gave up all their artistic and industrial activities, and devoted the greater part of their time to the service of the master or to seeking products to pay the obligatory tribute. To remedy this situation, the Spanish Crown decreed the native "parcialidad," giving surviving groups reservations and prohibiting their employment in transporting men and goods over the highways. This reform was never entirely carried out, however, and the Indians, in spite of having their own government, the cabildo or Indian council, continued in servitude or debt slavery.

The native Indian government consisted generally of a governor, a first mayor (alcalde mayor), a second mayor (alcalde segundo), a trustee (síndico or fiscal), and constables (alguaciles), the last a kind of police who transmitted to the people the orders which the Whites gave through the governors or mayors, and who carried out penalties of imprisonment, of placing in stocks, and whipping, which the first Spaniards introduced into the punishment of the natives. At the same time, the Christianization of the Indians began. It succeeded in an imperfect way, however, for the Indian attended Masses, arranged and participated in processions, and did not miss the solemn ceremonies a single Sunday largely because on the same day he brought his own products to the pueblo for sale, bought salt or meat which he needed, and devoted himself to drinking chicha, the traditional drink which he had always taken on religious or social occasions.

The Indians of Nariño, descendants of the *Pasto*, lost their language and many of their customs during the Colonial Period, although they continued to live as natives on their reservations, which daily became smaller because of the encroachments by the neighboring Whites or Mestizos. They became farmers with small landholdings and, occasionally, masons in the cities. The *Moguez* and *Páez*, however, retained their language and the greater part of their customs. Some of them, especially the men who had to deal with the Whites, learned a little Spanish, and they continued throughout the Colonial Period to defend their lands and their traditions. To religious practices introduced by the missionaries, they added such elements as the offer of food to the souls of the dead. They added to the Colonial council (cabildo) the office of captain, an official who, unlike the rest of the council, was not responsible to civilian authorities but had life tenure, sometimes a hereditary position, and more authority within the group.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5A (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
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The captain was, therefore, like the aboriginal hereditary cacique, the chief of each aboriginal group.

The decrease of the native population was accelerated until, in the Province of Popayán, according to "Descripción del Reyno de Santa Fé de Bogotá," by Francisco Silvestre (1927), there were in 1789 only 64,463 inhabitants—3,603 families of Whites, 6,022 of Indians, 4,793 of freemen (Negroes), and 3,247 slaves (Negroes), who worked in the mines and haciendas and replaced the Indians, who were disappearing. When the revolution against Spain began, the various groups of Indians in this region behaved very differently, each according to the disposition previously shown. The *Pasto* followed the Spanish troops, forming a royalist unit that was difficult to conquer, whereas the *Páez* took the part of the Republic and were led by the celebrated Indian Chief, Gregorio Calambás, who was shot by Warleta, and thus became a martyr of Colombian Independence.

With the consolidation of the Republic, the laws of Colombia established reservations for the Indians, but the neglect and exploitation characteristic of the Colonial Period continued, and there were only a few missions. There has not been contemplated until now any economic, cultural, or sanitary betterment of these natives. Most of them finally have disappeared, vanquished by diseases, by economic want, which the new necessities created and contact with civilization aggravated, and by the shrinkage of their reservation lands through the ambition of those who made it a policy to break up the native communities through official subdivision of their lands.

THE CULTURE OF THE PASTO, COAIQUER, QUILLACINGA, AND POPAYANENSE

The *Pasto* or *Coaiquer*, the *Quillacinga*, and the *Popayanense* formed a culturally homogeneous group at the time of the Conquest and later experienced very similar acculturation.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Farming.—Subsistence was based on intensive horticulture. Each family had its own small fields and grew potatoes and other tubers, xíquimas, a grain which Cieza calls cebada, quinio or quinoa, and maize, of which there was little in *Pasto* territory but much elsewhere.

A simple, pointed stick is used today in Nariño for planting.

The historians do not mention communal work in agriculture, but probably it was carried out in the form of labor loans (minga) between individuals, as today in Nariño and Cauca. The beneficiary of help in harvesting crops has to give each helper a basketful of the produce, a form of compensation called "chindé." He is also obligated to give similar help to the others. This communal labor is more solemn when the Indians work and plant the lands of the

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

of manioc, arracacha, potatoes, beans, sweet maize, and pieces of meat. Meat is sometimes roasted. Maize, the staple, is made into tortillas or soup, or is roasted on the ear. Coffee, much of which is consumed, is roasted in a pottery vessel, ground, and made into an infusion sweetened with coarse sugar. 252 [272]

Kitchen utensils include pottery ollas and vessels, and a footless elliptical stone metate with a central concavity, which lies directly on the floor or is supported on sticks driven in the soil. Meat is kept smoked over the fireplace, and other food is stored on shelves of cane woven into the roof sticks or in hanging hemp bags or gourds. Each gourd has a broad half-gourd suspended above it, open side down, so that a rat descending from above slides off the gourd onto the floor. 415 251 [353] [825]

The first daily meal is taken at daybreak and consists of "mute." There is no noonday meal, but the evening repast resembles breakfast. Between meals, the Indians chew coca two or three times to sustain their strength and allay hunger. For refreshment and stimulation, they drink guarapo, carrying it to work in gourds. 264 [276] [273]

They cultivate pepper (ají) for a condiment, but purchase salt in the weekly market. The latter is so scarce that instead of mixing it with food they pass a lump around, each person licking it. Before the Conquest, three salt deposits were exploited in this territory, the most important being that near the modern municipality of Belalcázar or Páez. Here the local chief had the salt water boiled down to obtain blocks of salt, which he traded with other tribes for diverse products, or with which he bought help in his wars against the neighboring *Pijao*. Sometimes he permitted other *Páez* to exploit the deposit. Near the present-day Indian center of Ricaurte on the Ullucos River is another salt works that was much used in ancient times, but today is abandoned. Another source of salt was at Huila, where, during the Conquest, the Indians ambushed the Spaniards who sought it, and killed their horses. 317 263 [244] [439] [648]

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Each *Páez* and *Moguex* family has its own house, located on a point or flat place in the mountains some distance from its neighbors. The aboriginal house seems to have been rectangular, which still is the only form. It was so lightly constructed of cane and sticks with thatched roof that the Spanish soldiers during the foundation of San Vicente de Páez "carried some Indian houses to their barracks because they were small and suited to it" (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 9). Some distance from the dwelling, they always built a small woman's house. Under Spanish influence, some houses were divided into rooms, and built more solidly of "bahareque" construction, i. e., walls consisting of two faces of sticks with mud and rocks between (pl. 185). 342 [361] 177 342

7:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

631 list presented by a council composed of former governors, the cap-
666 tain, and the síndico. The meeting may object to the list, but gen-
[651] erally accepts it. On the following January 1, the cabildo-elect must appear at the office of the municipal mayor to receive the staffs, their insignia of office, and to assume their duties and responsibilities. The offices are: Governor and alternate, commissioner, two mayors (alcaldes), two constables (alguaciles), and three prosecutors (fiscales), one of whom is a young man assigned to learn the ways of government. The mayors, constables, and prosecutors are something like bosses or policemen, and execute orders issued by the Governor or by the captain or the municipal authorities to a community through the Governor.

423 **Property.**—The Indians today do not own any real property in the usual sense. The land assigned to an entire community is allotted
[651] to each adult for his use when he becomes a macanero, that is, capable
[554] of giving one day's work each year for the collective planting for the benefit of the saint and as many days as may be required by the cabildo for the repair of roads, bridges, etc., or for work in the village. The right to the use of the land may pass to the heirs, wife and children, in the absence of which it reverts to the community or the cabildo.

422 The house was formerly typical personal or movable property, which could be easily abandoned, dismantled, or destroyed. The same holds today for fragile cane dwellings. There are few houses so solidly built that they constitute real or immovable property.
[764] Other personal property, such as utensils, clothes, weapons, adorn-
[428] ments, and jewels, was formerly buried with the owner. These things and livestock, planted fields, and crops are now inherited by the
[177] members of the deceased's family. In general, Colombian law is being implanted by the judges and municipal mayors, although the
[692] cabildo judges some minor offenses and punishes the offenders by
[623] whipping, imprisonment, or stocks (cepo), a form of torment retained
[681] from Colonial times.

Although the Indians' communities have in most cases titles of
691 limits of their lands dating from Colonial times, there are still liti-
648 gations on boundaries. An interesting case is the struggle of the Indians to dislodge a settlement of Negroes from the old salt works
[423] in Ambostá, where they were abandoned many years ago by a rich Popayán family who took them there to work the mines. The female Indian chief (cacica) of this territory allowed the Negroes to live on a hill, called "the hill of the fifteen Negroes." The Negroes are not organized under a cabildo, but have a chief who represents them. They all contribute to a special religious feast in the municipio, and provide means to continue the suit for the possession of the hill against the Indians.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

756 the fire and turns on the lights, and everyone returns to examine a
787 layer of fine ashes placed beforehand at the door. If the ashes shows
775 the footprints of an angel, they believe that the soul is saved,
784 but if the footprints are those of a bird, they believe that the soul is condemned to hell. In some cases they ascertain the fate of the soul by the kind of bird prints.

WARFARE

726 The *Páez* and *Moguex* were particularly warlike. Their attacks were staged in the morning, accompanied by yells and the sound of trumpets, horns, sea shells, and drums. They were generally armed
[411] with great spears or pikes, spear throwers, and slings. When fighting, they would first hurl javelins with their spear throwers, then use their slings, the missiles for which they carried in a pouch, and finally pick up their spears or pikes for man-to-man struggle. They also formed closed squadrons, men with clubs alternating with spearmen. The former would step forward to wield their clubs, and then draw back to their positions for protection. Their best defense was on high ridges, from which they rolled large stones on their enemies. They perfected these natural defenses by cutting or camouflaging paths on which they prepared ambushes. They built trenches or pitfalls, which caused the attacking Spaniards much trouble.

628 The principal enemies of these peoples were the *Pijao* and the Span-
[648] ish soldiers. The *Páez* remember the *Pijao* well, and call the stone
[532] statues in their territory "portraits of Pijaos," and the painted tombs,
[764] "houses of Pijaos." They are afraid to see the statues or visit the tombs.

To insult an enemy killed in war, they cut off his penis and placed it
727 on the road.

266 Some historians ascribe cannibalism to the *Páez* and the *Moguex*, which seems to have no basis in fact. They kept trophy heads and stuffed the skins of their enemies, but did not eat their foe. There are, however, numerous historical references which state that in the wars
[175] against the Spaniards, the *Páez* left the bodies of dead enemies for the
[648] *Pijao* to eat, and that they cremated their own dead or dried them
[764] over a slow fire, which Friar Pedro Simón (1882–92, ch. 23) mistook for a means for preserving the flesh so that it could be eaten later.
[114] As war trophies, they kept enemy heads, which they preserved with resins, and the skins of their entire bodies, which they filled with ashes
727 (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 3). They even preserved the
[314] heads of the Spaniards' horses. They carried these trophies to wars, meetings, and feasts.

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624 In addition to the cabildo, there was introduced in Spanish
[177] colonial times, as the trusted agent of the missions, the post of capitan, who was not subordinate to the secular authorities and often was not democratically elected, but appointed by the church for life. Appointed to this office, if possible, are the members of an old, influential family, in which a son or nephew then succeeds the capitan in office, so that in practice this position was often hereditary within a family. The capitan in Calderas, who died February 18, 1953 and who had held this office for about 20 years, was named Manuel José Guagáz. His predecessor was his father, Bruno Guagáz. And though the gobernador told me that the family of the Guagáz were feeble-minded and no longer fit for any work, he admitted that it was probable that the successor of the old capitan would nevertheless be another Guagáz.

623 The deceased capitan was ill and weak during the last years
624 of his life, and thus it came about that the gobernador played the leading role in the cabildo. The weekly council meetings were also held in his house. According to conditions in other villages, however, the capitan in practice not only presides in the cabildo, but his voice also has somewhat more weight. At least, he is able to prevent a bridge from being built, for example, through his veto. /175/ True, he cannot accomplish it or even order it by himself, against the will of the cabildo.

623 Another functionary, who is likewise appointed by the mis-
• 651 sions for life, is the síndico, who fixes the ecclesiastical tax assessments and administers the funds.

623 The election of the cabildo takes place every year on the
293 first of December. On the following January first, the elected
[666] cabildo must appear before the administrative authorities of the municipio /see the glossary, p. 249/, where each member is given his staff of office and is sworn in for his duties. The staffs of office (kampo) belong to the village and are handed on from year to year. They are round in diameter, about 80 to 100 centimeters long and three to five centimeters thick, and carved out of the black, hard wood of the chonta palm. The tips of the sticks are fitted with a brass or iron cap for their protection. The handle is somewhat thinner than the rest of the stick and enlarged at the end to form a knob which is covered with silver leaf. Below the

/203 cont./

461 longer period of time, consumed the products he himself raised.
476 Thus the practice of communal work and the joint consumption
156 of food and drink connected with it do not unconditionally emphasize the necessity for remote individual farms as against the compact village layout.

556 /204/ From what has been said about joint work and the
461 joint consumption associated with it, it follows that, with this
[476] method of production and consumption, practically no one can acquire great wealth, for the more a person has, the more he needs to entertain his helpers. Theoretically, however, it would be easy to become rich, if, for example, a young man would clear an additional piece of land each year for the planting of wheat or sugar cane and sell its yield for money or barter it for horses or cows. He would have to do this for several years, and then his herd of cows and mares would increase quite automatically, and with it his wealth. The actual work necessary for this
556 would be slight. Nevertheless, this is not possible in practice,
626 because, on the one hand, most of the Paez do not calculate and think so far ahead, and, on the other hand, the sufficiently intelligent and industrious ones would be subject to the dangerous envy of the other members of the community. The democratization of the Paez communities not only favors what is common, but also prevents the individualization of what is common to all -- among other things, even the common poverty.

For this reason no show is made of any possessions that one
556 might have. Significantly, only in connection with taking an inventory of livestock at the end of our work did we discover that even in Calderas there are comparatively rich people. This was not to be seen by an outsider, since these families do not stand out from the others either by dress or by way of life. Moreover, they did not tell me anything about their property -- a matter of more than ten head of cattle in the case of three families. I learned about it more or less accidentally from other
[651] people. In the case of these families, I could not see any reason for the concealment of their wealth, since they do not have any obligations or taxes or fees to pay. They likewise do not play a

* /306 cont./
539 The Pijao was very much astonished over the ax in the Paez house. He did not touch it, but wanted to own it. The next day he came back and met the owner and asked him to sell him the ax. But the Paez did not want to. (The Paez man and the Pijao man were able to talk to each other and to understand each other well, the narrator explained, for in former times they both had the same language.) The Pijao then offered a whole pot of gold for the ax. He would, of course, have to fetch it from the house of the Pijao. The Paez agreed, and so the two set out together for the village of the Pijao. Since the latter, like all Pijao, was unclothed, to be sure, but much taller than the Paez, he took him on his shoulder and carried him to his village. In one hand he had the ax, with which, along the way, he would cut down a tree with only one blow. Like all Pijao, he had uncanny strength.

• [651] Having arrived in the village, there were no people present, since it was minga day /see "Minga" in the glossary, p. 249/, a day on which the whole village is obliged to take part in joint work (road or bridge building). The Pijao with the Paez man went into his house, in which only his mother was present, and he /307/ asked her not to divulge anything to anyone, for this Paez was not to be devoured, as was done otherwise. For if the other Pijao knew that there was a Paez in this house, they would want to devour him. Mother and son, therefore, dug a hole in a corner of the hut, put the Paez in it, and covered it with a large wooden bowl. In the evening many Pijao came to this house and talked and drank, until suddenly several Pijao discovered that there was such a pleasant Paez fragrance there. The mother of the house answered that what was so fragrant was not a Paez, but her own stench. They all laughed. Then they went on eating and became drunk on chicha and started to dance. A Pijao man made the music with his transverse flute, while the women beat time on their breasts. (The Pijao women all have long pendulous breasts.)

The Pijao danced for three days and three nights in a row, without sleeping. Then they all fell asleep. The whole house was full of the dancers. They snored like pigs; only the Pijao who had brought the Paez and his mother were not asleep. They

/332 cont./

476 From the data on the mingas in the three parcialidades,
184 we see that on the whole they have similar rules. But in Mosoco there is already a modified procedure, both in the rewards and in the form of the work. In San Andrés, Calderas, and Lame, a minga is relatively cheaper than paying wages, since they actually buy only salt and coca, when they do not cultivate it on their own fincas.

Communal tasks

476 Among the Páez there is another type of co-operative labor
651 different from the system of the mingas. It might be called communal work, and it pertains basically to the execution of tasks for the common welfare, such as, for example, the construction and maintenance of the roads, bridges, public buildings (schools, church, rectory, house of the cabildo) and the cultivation of the clearing of the saint.

To this end, the cabildo calls upon all the able-bodied men in the parcialidad, who come supplied with their respective rations of coca and work tools.

The execution of the works of communal interest is a duty of every member of the parcialidad, and anyone who refuses to lend his aid is punished by the cabildo and often taken before the Colombian authorities. The greater or lesser effectiveness of this obligation naturally depends on the moral authority of the members of the cabildo and, above all, of the Capitán of the parcialidad. In many parcialidades, the members openly refuse to give their share of labor, and in such cases the roads and public buildings are in precarious condition.

/333/

Foresight and storage

447 In all of the native dwellings there are frames plaited with
353 rods and vines above the hearth and also at what we might call
251 the open ceiling. The ones of the fireplace are suspended, while the others rest on the braces or crosspieces that give strength to the walls of the house. This already clearly indicates to us that the natives have foresight. On these frames there are ears of maize tied by their own husks, bundles of wheat, and

6: Bernal Villa--92 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

Mosoco Family Expenses -- 1953

Fams.	Taxes		Education		Candles-soap		Coca	
	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%
571 1.	*1,70	..	30,00	0,6	120,00	2,4	... ..	...
563 2.	... ..	..	8,80	1,2	21,60	3,0	... ..	...
●651 3.	... ..	..	... ..	...	21,60	3,0	... ..	...
871 4.	... ..	..	6,00	0,8	64,80	8,2	... ..	...
5.	... ..	..	5,00	0,9	45,60	8,9	... ..	...
6.	... ..	..	10,00	0,9	57,60	5,5	... ..	...
7.	... ..	..	... ..	...	45,60	4,0	... ..	...
8.	... ..	..	... ..	...	50,40	7,0	... ..	...
9.	... ..	..	... ..	...	57,00	4,4	... ..	...
10.	... ..	..	... ..	...	60,00	7,3	72,00	8,8
11.	... ..	..	... ..	...	36,00	6,2	... ..	...
12.	... ..	..	... ..	...	68,40	9,4	... ..	...
13.	... ..	..	... ..	...	72,00	6,7	... ..	...
14.	... ..	..	4,00	0,3	28,00	2,3	... ..	...
15.	... ..	..	... ..	...	68,40	5,2	96,00	7,3
16.	... ..	..	... ..	...	26,40	4,8	... ..	...
17.	... ..	..	... ..	...	18,00	6,0	... ..	...
18.	... ..	..	... ..	...	84,00	4,3	... ..	...
19.	... ..	..	30,00	1,8	... ..	...	... ..	...
20.	... ..	..	... ..	...	36,00	6,3	... ..	...
21.	... ..	..	... ..	...	50,40	8,5	120,00	20,3
22.	11,60	0,8	... ..	...	100,00	7,2	... ..	...
23.	... ..	..	... ..	...	57,60	9,5	... ..	...
24.	... ..	..	5,00	1,1	62,00	3,9	... ..	...
25.	*4,50	..	1.745,00	17,3	150,00	1,4	... ..	...

Lame

1.*	... ..	..	30,00	1,2	28,80	1,0	... ..	...
2.	... ..	..	... ..	...	14,40	5,1	60,00	21,3
3.	... ..	..	... ..	...	8,00	1,7	... ..	...
4.*	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	... ..	...
5.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	180,00	30,4
6.	... ..	..	... ..	...	9,60	1,8	54,00	10,5
7.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	72,00	25,8
8.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	... ..	...

San Andres

1.*	2,40	..	180,00	3,3	?	?	... ..	...
2.	... ..	..	... ..	..	?	?	30,00	33,8
3.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	... ..	...
4.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	... ..	...
5.	5,00	0,8	8,00	1,2	37,20	5,9	96,00	15,3
6.	... ..	..	... ..	...	36,00	14,5	40,00	16,0
7.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	48,00	14,6
8.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	17,50	3,8
9.	... ..	..	5,00	1,1	30,00	6,7	24,00	5,4
10.	*24,20	3,8	... ..	...	67,20	3,0	... ..	...
11.	7,75	0,2	60,00	2,1	108,00	3,9	... ..	...
12.	... ..	..	... ..	...	21,60	12,7	... ..	...
13.	... ..	..	... ..	...	28,80	4,6	... ..	...
14.*	... ..	..	515,00	13,2	?	?	... ..	...
15.	*13,00	0,4	15,00	0,5	?	?	... ..	...

/361/

75 Their importance is emphasized if we make a comparison
511 with the parcialidad of San Andrés, where there is a Centro de
743 Salud duly staffed by a registered nurse, and furthermore, not far away, there is the Centro de Higiene of Inzá, staffed by a doctor and a group of nurses whose services are free and who also distribute free drugs. In spite of this, the natives do not always go to these centers, preferring their own doctors and most commonly the té eu of Calderas.

651 Concerning taxes, we have already said that the immovables
511 of the native communities are exempt from this type of encumbrance; hence, the column reserved for this type of expense remains empty. The few figures that are found in it are payments on immovables within the settlement area and, in one case or another, the payment of taxes for the exercise of trade in various plazas of the municipio of Inzá.

511 The amounts devoted to the education of children are the
871 smallest, if we except those of the "white" informants, some of
[563] whom have their children in high schools, in rural normal schools,
[115] and even at the university. In the parcialidades of San Andrés and Lame, they are practically null. The children of San Andrés go to school, as a rule, unprovided with school supplies, carrying in their bags provisions for lunch, consisting of manioc and cooked plantains, mote, and roasted maize, since the dwellings are located at a distance of several kilometers from the school, with very bad and rugged paths. School cafeterias and the donating of school supplies are more than indispensable in these regions. These children go to school irregularly and do not remain there for more than two years; they are taught in Spanish, and on the
[562] whole the benefit is minimal. Girls attend in smaller numbers
[212] than boys; the adults believe that women do not need to learn to read and write. This situation is different in Mosoco. The children of both sexes attend school and try to attend regularly, and many walk several kilometers a day; the fathers of families are interested in having their children learn to read, write, and count, and for this reason they try to outfit them with some equipment for their tasks of apprenticeship.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,7(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

in which a Spaniard held a territory occupied by Indians. The natives, under a chief who was protected by the White authorities and who made contact between the master, or encomendero, and his subjects, had to give a certain number of days' work and a specified tribute in products of the lands, animals, gold, or manufactures. The encomiendas made no effort to Hispanicize the Indians, but continued to loot and massacre them. The Indians, reduced to utter misery, gave up all their artistic and industrial activities, and devoted the greater part of their time to the service of the master or to seeking products to pay the obligatory tribute. To remedy this situation, the Spanish Crown decreed the native "parcialidad," giving surviving groups reservations and prohibiting their employment in transporting men and goods over the highways. This reform was never entirely carried out, however, and the Indians, in spite of having their own government, the cabildo or Indian council, continued in servitude or debt slavery.

The native Indian government consisted generally of a governor, a first mayor (alcalde mayor), a second mayor (alcalde segundo), a trustee (sindico or fiscal), and constables (alguaciles), the last a kind of police who transmitted to the people the orders which the Whites gave through the governors or mayors, and who carried out penalties of imprisonment, of placing in stocks, and whipping, which the first Spaniards introduced into the punishment of the natives. At the same time, the Christianization of the Indians began. It succeeded in an imperfect way, however, for the Indian attended Masses, arranged and participated in processions, and did not miss the solemn ceremonies a single Sunday largely because on the same day he brought his own products to the pueblo for sale, bought salt or meat which he needed, and devoted himself to drinking chicha, the traditional drink which he had always taken on religious or social occasions.

The Indians of Nariño, descendants of the *Pasto*, lost their language and many of their customs during the Colonial Period, although they continued to live as natives on their reservations, which daily became smaller because of the encroachments by the neighboring Whites or Mestizos. They became farmers with small landholdings and, occasionally, masons in the cities. The *Moguex* and *Páez*, however, retained their language and the greater part of their customs. Some of them, especially the men who had to deal with the Whites, learned a little Spanish, and they continued throughout the Colonial Period to defend their lands and their traditions. To religious practices introduced by the missionaries, they added such elements as the offer of food to the souls of the dead. They added to the Colonial council (cabildo) the office of captain, an official who, unlike the rest of the council, was not responsible to civilian authorities but had life tenure, sometimes a hereditary position, and more authority within the group.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,✓ (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

civilized tradesman, the Indian turns to drinking guarapo or chicha and becomes drunk. Often a heated discussion, always spoken in Spanish and not in *Páez*, leads to insults and perhaps to blows and injuries. A man's wife usually maneuvers him from the village and, if he falls asleep on the road, she sits by him warding off dangers.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political structure.—The *Moguex*, *Páez*, *Guanaca*, *Timand*, and *Yalcón*, despite their great similarity in language and culture, formed separate groups at the time of the Conquest. Each was divided into several communities (parcialidades), of which those of the *Páez* were the most numerous. The *Guanaca* were split between two principal caciques, one of whom, Anabeima, joined the Spaniards against the *Páez* of Avirama. The other cacique was Esmisa, Anabeima's brother-in-law. Each *Páez* community had its own chief, but the communities were grouped into three great divisions. One consisted of the *Páez*, *Tálaga*, *Simurga*, and *Taravira*, on the shores of the Páez River. The chiefs of three of these groups were brothers; that of the fourth was their sister, whose name was Taravira. Another group was headed by Suin, and his son, Esmisa. In the third group, Avirama was joined by other neighboring chiefs of less importance.

Each community (cacicado) consisted of several polygynous families under a male chief (pl. 185, *top*, *left*). Each family had its own house, located some distance from its neighbor's. All the members of a community gathered for general work, and all or several of the communities united for war, either against the *Pijao*, their feared neighbors, or against the Spaniards.

The place of a cacique's residence was a sort of focal point and meeting place, and today most of such places are Indian villages with the same names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima (formerly Toboima), etc. The present *Páez* Indian reservation of Tierradentro is divided politically into two municipios—Páez or Belalcázar and Inzá—with 22 communities, each governed by its own councils (cabildos, of Colonial origin) and by the municipal authorities. The cabildo is elected annually. The Indians, however, are jealous defenders of their traditions, and insist on a captain and síndico, each with life tenure, to act as their own leaders and as true representatives of the cacique. Their duties are moral and fiscal and carry a certain divine authority, as they are inaugurated in the local church. The cabildo, on the other hand, has only administrative and police powers; it divides the land, orders work to be done, and executes the municipal orders. The members of a cabildo hold office for 1 year and receive no remuneration. They are elected on the first of December by all the male adults, or "macaneros," that is, the Indians who participate in the communal work according to a

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

631 list presented by a council composed of former governors, the cap-
666 tain, and the síndico. The meeting may object to the list, but gen-
[651] erally accepts it. On the following January 1, the cabildo-elect must appear at the office of the municipal mayor to receive the staffs, their insignia of office, and to assume their duties and responsibilities. The offices are: Governor and alternate, commissioner, two mayors (alcaldes), two constables (alguaciles), and three prosecutors (fiscales), one of whom is a young man assigned to learn the ways of government. The mayors, constables, and prosecutors are something like bosses or policemen, and execute orders issued by the Governor or by the captain or the municipal authorities to a community through the Governor.

423 Property.—The Indians today do not own any real property in the usual sense. The land assigned to an entire community is allotted
[651] to each adult for his use when he becomes a macanero, that is, capable
[554] of giving one day's work each year for the collective planting for the benefit of the saint and as many days as may be required by the cabildo for the repair of roads, bridges, etc., or for work in the village. The right to the use of the land may pass to the heirs, wife and children, in the absence of which it reverts to the community or the cabildo.

422 The house was formerly typical personal or movable property, which could be easily abandoned, dismantled, or destroyed. The same holds today for fragile cane dwellings. There are few houses so solidly built that they constitute real or immovable property.
[764] Other personal property, such as utensils, clothes, weapons, adorn-
[428] ments, and jewels, was formerly buried with the owner. These things and livestock, planted fields, and crops are now inherited by the
[177] members of the deceased's family. In general, Colombian law is being implanted by the judges and municipal mayors, although the
[692] cabildo judges some minor offenses and punishes the offenders by
[623] whipping, imprisonment, or stocks (cepo), a form of torment retained
[681] from Colonial times.

Although the Indians' communities have in most cases titles of
691 limits of their lands dating from Colonial times, there are still liti-
648 gations on boundaries. An interesting case is the struggle of the Indians to dislodge a settlement of Negroes from the old salt works
[423] in Ambostá, where they were abandoned many years ago by a rich Popayán family who took them there to work the mines. The female Indian chief (cacica) of this territory allowed the Negroes to live on a hill, called "the hill of the fifteen Negroes." The Negroes are not organized under a cabildo, but have a chief who represents them. They all contribute to a special religious feast in the municipio, and provide means to continue the suit for the possession of the hill against the Indians.

/187 cont./

593 and de facto (with a machete) aggression of a married son (23 years old) against his parents, and the situation calmed down when the father succeeded in disarming the aggressor.

Brothers and sisters respect each other. They avoid aggression, and when they are little they play together. The younger brothers greet the older ones, and when the latter marry, they receive, kneeling, the blessing of the former.

[241] The fruits of the harvests are shared among the brothers,
[476] just as they also mutually help one another in the arduous agricultural work. According to an informant, men care more for their brothers than for their sisters, because the latter, upon marrying, leave the home. Nevertheless they show affection in their conduct with both sexes. Relations between sisters and the mother are intimate, as they live together under the same
[855] roof and intermingle in performing the same work. The older ones help to bring up the younger brothers and sisters. The latter call the eldest brother and eldest sister táta and máma, names that they abandon when they have reached adulthood.
[627] In case of a fight involving one of the brothers, the others go to his assistance and take vengeance if anyone has been injured,
[623] but this is not an obligation. Quarrels between brothers may
[692] arise over the distribution of land. In the greater number of such cases the cabildo settles the differences.

602 Relations between the families united among themselves by blood ties are intimate. They visit one another frequently and are shown painstaking treatment.

593 Mingas[1] are organized more readily among brothers, who
[476] "cover up their poverty." In the religious festivals they mutually
[651] back one another and during occasional meetings they endeavor
[796] to drink and eat together.

1/ [i.e., meetings for collective work--Analyst]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

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648 The Indians of Nariño, descendants of the *Pasto*, lost their language Po and many of their customs during the Colonial Period, although they continued to live as natives on their reservations, which daily became [463] smaller because of the encroachments by the neighboring Whites or [333] Mestizos. They became farmers with small landholdings and, occasionally, masons in the cities. The *Moguez* and *Páez*, however, P 175 retained their language and the greater part of their customs. Some 648 of them, especially the men who had to deal with the Whites, learned a little Spanish, and they continued throughout the Colonial Period P to defend their lands and their traditions. To religious practices in- [191] troduced by the missionaries, they added such elements as the offer P of food to the souls of the dead. They added to the Colonial council (cabildo) the office of captain, an official who, unlike the rest of the [622] council, was not responsible to civilian authorities but had life tenure, sometimes a hereditary position, and more authority within the group.

000 /335 cont./

423 land. On it usually stand the native pueblos, and from it the
623 municipal councils have set aside the so-called settlement areas,
648 into which, since they belong to the municipio, "white" penetration has been possible.

423 Private ownership of land is acquired essentially through
425 adjudication, through work, and through inheritance. It may also be acquired through gift or sale, but this is quite rare.

423 Since the true owner of the protected lands is the cabildo,
425 it is this institution that distributes the lands to each member
623 of the community. The titles that it grants are called adjudications. The condition for enjoying possession of a specific parcel is residence in the community and, above all, work. In the case where an individual has idle lands because he cannot manage to work them, the cabildo reserves the right to take this part away from him in order to give it to someone who needs it. Those who through special circumstances live elsewhere, outside of the parcialidad, lose their right to possession of the land.

423 Although it is true that in the distribution of land made by
425 the cabildo it venerates, respects, and is guided by the laws of
623 justice, it is also true that they are not exempt from committing
662 unjust acts. If a member of the community can advantageously entertain and show courtesies to the members of the cabildo and is interested in acquiring more land, he can obtain it in this way. It is relatively easy to suborn the cabildo. Then the cabildo can wrong some in order to benefit others. But this defect may be corrected with the selection of men who can fulfill their functions as members of the cabildo competently and with the exercise of sound directive policies on the part of the municipal executive.

423 Now then. It is also true that some natives have more
623 land than others. But this is due to the fact that their respective
421 ancestors cleared more forest than others. They colonized more land. Their right of ownership is granted through labor. "The ancestors" -- says a Calderun informant -- "worked the montaña and this is why we have land. This land does not belong to the cabildo." This procedure is still followed in the parcialidades where there is still uncultivated land. /336/ The cabildo has

/190 cont./

609 It was necessary for someone to tell them that they were sent by
797 /191/ Laureano Gómez before they all said: "Well, then, let
871
829 them remain."

666 In spite of their stubborn conservatism, the leaders of the
829 municipio cannot manage to make them vote for their chosen candidates unless they first get their ration of meat, chicha, and aguardiente. The ration and the vote form an indivisible unit.

829 "I am godo /Goth, pejorative for Spaniard/ to the marrow, a true conservative," exclaimed one of the important men of
[773] Calderas while he was drunk. "Juan Chiracol also was a conservative," said another.

829 The Indians of Tierradentro have been liberals since 1860,
175 thanks to the victor's aura gained by Mosquera on the plains
648 of Segovia. "The battle of Segovia" --says the padre David González--"in which the Indians took part and in which Mosquera encouraged the native ferocity, and the march on Bogotá, which fell to the rebel general, made him a demigod
[464] in the eyes of the Paez. Since the first days of the colony they have venerated the name Mosquera; the Marquis don Cristóbal Mosquera y Figueroa had been their master, their encomendero, he had taken them to Popayán in gangs to work on his haciendas, he had given to them the huge lands of his
[665] encomienda... Naturally the Indians of Tierradentro have been strongly bound since 1860 to the political faction which represented Mosquera, liberalism. In the armed struggles which later scourged the nation, the Paez staunchly bore the liberal standard."

829 In view of this, the political affiliation of the Calderas
665 Indians is an odd one; up to less than a decade ago, they formed a conservative island in the midst of a liberal majority. Possibly this attitude conceals a great desire to defend their lands. The Calderas people have no marked sympathy for the neighboring parcialidades. "They are Reds," say the natives,

/191 cont./

829 while the others contend for their land and reduce the extent
665 of the parcialidad. This is what the people of Avirama, Togoima, and Lame have done. Nowadays, their relations appear to be cordial, for their political differences, at least, seem to have been obliterated.

157 The Paez are extremely pugnacious, aggressive by nature; they are easily aroused and only with difficulty erase rancor from their minds. Their psychological characteristic seems [648] to be the explosion. History gives many authentic proofs. [669] Adverse to the Spanish yoke, destroyers of the colonial settlements, /192/ in the times of the republic they have served as instruments for blind ambitions and political revenge, and nearly all the civil uprisings have been nourished with their blood. They adjust easily to the military, guerilla, barbarian [579] spirit. The riots that have taken place in the present century are memorable: La Quintinada, La Collada, and the 28th of January, the first of which took place in 1916, the second in 1932, and the third in 1950, out of motives of racism, religion, and political rancor, respectively.

Persistence in vengeance, hair-raising and fearsome crimes, and the spilling of blood characterize many aspects of the social and political life of these Indians.

VI

Fiesteros, Albaceros, and Mayordomos

796 About three months before the celebration of the fiesta,
623 the cabildo begins to select the names of the fiesteros /fiesta leaders/ for the following year. When the candidates have been chosen, the entire cabildo goes to their home, where after much dilatory chatting they announce the authorized choice. The offer is rejected at first, but eventually the great honor is accepted.

/174 cont./

624 [177] In addition to the cabildo, there was introduced in Spanish colonial times, as the trusted agent of the missions, the post of capitan, who was not subordinate to the secular authorities and often was not democratically elected, but appointed by the church for life. Appointed to this office, if possible, are the members of an old, influential family, in which a son or nephew then succeeds the capitan in office, so that in practice this position was often hereditary within a family. The capitan in Calderas, who died February 18, 1953 and who had held this office for about 20 years, was named Manuel José Guagáz. His predecessor was his father, Bruno Guagáz. And though the gobernador told me that the family of the Guagáz were feeble-minded and no longer fit for any work, he admitted that it was probable that the successor of the old capitan would nevertheless be another Guagáz.

623 624 The deceased capitan was ill and weak during the last years of his life, and thus it came about that the gobernador played the leading role in the cabildo. The weekly council meetings were also held in his house. According to conditions in other villages, however, the capitan in practice not only presides in the cabildo, but his voice also has somewhat more weight. At least, he is able to prevent a bridge from being built, for example, through his veto. /175/ True, he cannot accomplish it or even order it by himself, against the will of the cabildo.

623 651 Another functionary, who is likewise appointed by the missions for life, is the síndico, who fixes the ecclesiastical tax assessments and administers the funds.

623 293 [666] The election of the cabildo takes place every year on the first of December. On the following January first, the elected cabildo must appear before the administrative authorities of the municipio /see the glossary, p. 249/, where each member is given his staff of office and is sworn in for his duties. The staffs of office (kampo) belong to the village and are handed on from year to year. They are round in diameter, about 80 to 100 centimeters long and three to five centimeters thick, and carved out of the black, hard wood of the chonta palm. The tips of the sticks are fitted with a brass or iron cap for their protection. The handle is somewhat thinner than the rest of the stick and enlarged at the end to form a knob which is covered with silver leaf. Below the

/175 cont./
623 handle an additional crescent-shaped piece of silver leaf is applied.
293 In former years, on the first day of the new year, a cere-
623 mony for the old as well as for the newly elected cabildo took
796 place on the not easily accessible lagoon of Juan Tama, the
778 Páramo de Moras, and lasted for several days. It started with
823 chicha drinking under the leadership of a shaman, after which the culture hero, Juan Tama, and the spirits of the ancestors (?) were asked by the shaman for advice and assistance in the coming year. A dance and a bath in the lagoon concluded the ceremony (Bürg, pp. 340 f.). According to my information, this gathering at the lagoon has not been carried out for several years. The reason given is that for several years in succession it has rained around
[787] New Year's time. After that the shamans announced that with this
[776] sign Juan Tama renounced any further performances of the ceremony on his lagoon.

623 The election of the cabildo is done by the men of the entire
●666 village. The candidates must be citizens of the given village,
[641] that is to say, they must own land there. A stranger could never hold office in a Paez village. The candidates may not propose themselves, but must be nominated by the assembly or by the old cabildo. Anyone who is elected for an office by the village assembly for the first time may not refuse, but must accept it. Only re-election, which is possible up to five or ten years in succession, is voluntary. The wealth or possessions of the candidates do not play
[556] any role. The present gobernador, Marcelo Muse, is /176/ about 30 years old. Two children, a son about six years old and a four-year-old daughter, are living; four of his children died. In the way of material possessions he owns five horses and two pigs, but no cows and no sheep. Ten years ago he was fiscal for a year. In the general opinion of the Paez the gobernador should not be too young or too old. The best age is between 30 and 50 years. The remaining posts, which to a large extent consist of messenger services, are generally held by younger, unmarried people, although
[696] they may also be filled by married men up to 50 years of age. In general the gobernador chooses people who are loyal to him and who must also carry out the punishments for him, for a gobernador

/176 cont./

623 himself does not punish. For this purpose four representatives of
● 666 the lower offices have an official whip which consists of a rod ten
696 centimeters long, with a plaited strap about 80 centimeters long.

The election itself proceeds with the introduction of the candi-
623 dates by the capitan with the question: "This one as gobernador,
624 do you want him?" And they reply: "We wish it" or "we do not
666 wish it." It was interesting to observe how, after the death of the capitan, one of his relatives, Cerbelión Guagáz, tried to be named capitan. The priest, however, insisted on an election by the village. And although he tried very hard to have Cerbelión elected, the village kept refusing him because he was too autocratic and such people are not liked. Another whom everyone would like to have as capitan is himself unwilling. "As capitan I am only the beadle of the padre," he replied to my question as to why he did not accept the choice. And he had no desire for that. He had been comisario once and gobernador once, and now he wanted peace for the rest of his life.

2) Family Organization

594 The family of the Paez is basically the patrilineal nuclear family /Kleinfamilie/ consisting of the parents and unmarried
[513] children. The latter, while they are small, sleep with the parents in the kitchen; as soon as they are larger, in a compartment in
591 another part of the house. After marriage they erect their own house.
596 It is not uncommon, however, for the married sons to live with their wives for another year or two in the house of the father, until they have enough money for a house, which will be small at first. The daughters upon marriage leave /177/ the paternal home and then live with their husbands, that is to say, at first with the parents-in-law.

354 Normally, therefore, every house has only one cooking
596 place, in which the woman of the house cooks. If a son marries,
252 a new kitchen is partitioned off and a second place built for the
[462] fire at which the young wife cooks. As a matter of principle, each married couple -- and it alone -- has its own fire area, for the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook.

/190 cont./

609 It was necessary for someone to tell them that they were sent by
797 /191/ Laureano Gómez before they all said: "Well, then, let
871 them remain."
829

666 In spite of their stubborn conservatism, the leaders of the
829 municipio cannot manage to make them vote for their chosen candidates unless they first get their ration of meat, chicha, and aguardiente. The ration and the vote form an indivisible unit.

829 "I am godo /Goth, pejorative for Spaniard/ to the marrow, a true conservative," exclaimed one of the important men of
[773] Calderas while he was drunk. "Juan Chiracol also was a conservative," said another.

829 The Indians of Tierradentro have been liberals since 1860,
175 thanks to the victor's aura gained by Mosquera on the plains
648 of Segovia. "The battle of Segovia" --says the padre David González--"in which the Indians took part and in which Mosquera encouraged the native ferocity, and the march on Bogotá, which fell to the rebel general, made him a demigod
[464] in the eyes of the Paez. Since the first days of the colony they have venerated the name Mosquera; the Marquis don Cristóbal Mosquera y Figueroa had been their master, their encomendero, he had taken them to Popayán in gangs to work on his haciendas, he had given to them the huge lands of his
[665] encomienda... Naturally the Indians of Tierradentro have been strongly bound since 1860 to the political faction which represented Mosquera, liberalism. In the armed struggles which later scourged the nation, the Paez staunchly bore the liberal standard."

829 In view of this, the political affiliation of the Calderas
665 Indians is an odd one; up to less than a decade ago, they formed a conservative island in the midst of a liberal majority. Possibly this attitude conceals a great desire to defend their lands. The Calderas people have no marked sympathy for the neighboring parcialidades. "They are Reds," say the natives,

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civilized tradesman, the Indian turns to drinking guarapo or chicha and becomes drunk. Often a heated discussion, always spoken in Spanish and not in *Páez*, leads to insults and perhaps to blows and injuries. A man's wife usually maneuvers him from the village and, if he falls asleep on the road, she sits by him warding off dangers.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political structure.—The *Moguex*, *Páez*, *Guanaca*, *Timaná*, and *Yalcón*, despite their great similarity in language and culture, formed separate groups at the time of the Conquest. Each was divided into several communities (parcialidades), of which those of the *Páez* were the most numerous. The *Guanaca* were split between two principal caciques, one of whom, Anabeima, joined the Spaniards against the *Páez* of Avirama. The other cacique was Esmisa, Anabeima's brother-in-law. Each *Páez* community had its own chief, but the communities were grouped into three great divisions. One consisted of the *Páez*, *Tálaga*, *Simurga*, and *Taravira*, on the shores of the Páez River. The chiefs of three of these groups were brothers; that of the fourth was their sister, whose name was Taravira. Another group was headed by Suin, and his son, Esmisa. In the third group, Avirama was joined by other neighboring chiefs of less importance.

Each community (cacicado) consisted of several polygynous families under a male chief (pl. 185, *top, left*). Each family had its own house, located some distance from its neighbor's. All the members of a community gathered for general work, and all or several of the communities united for war, either against the *Pijao*, their feared neighbors, or against the Spaniards.

The place of a cacique's residence was a sort of focal point and meeting place, and today most of such places are Indian villages with the same names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima (formerly Toboima), etc. The present *Páez* Indian reservation of Tierradentro is divided politically into two municipios—Páez or Belalcázar and Inzá—with 22 communities, each governed by its own councils (cabildos, of Colonial origin) and by the municipal authorities. The cabildo is elected annually. The Indians, however, are jealous defenders of their traditions, and insist on a captain and síndico, each with life tenure, to act as their own leaders and as true representatives of the cacique. Their duties are moral and fiscal and carry a certain divine authority, as they are inaugurated in the local church. The cabildo, on the other hand, has only administrative and police powers; it divides the land, orders work to be done, and executes the municipal orders. The members of a cabildo hold office for 1 year and receive no remuneration. They are elected on the first of December by all the male adults, or "macaneros," that is, the Indians who participate in the communal work according to a

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631 list presented by a council composed of former governors, the cap-
666 tain, and the síndico. The meeting may object to the list, but gen-
[651] erally accepts it. On the following January 1, the cabildo-elect must appear at the office of the municipal mayor to receive the staffs, their insignia of office, and to assume their duties and responsibilities. The offices are: Governor and alternate, commissioner, two mayors (alcaldes), two constables (alguaciles), and three prosecutors (fiscales), one of whom is a young man assigned to learn the ways of government. The mayors, constables, and prosecutors are something like bosses or policemen, and execute orders issued by the Governor or by the captain or the municipal authorities to a community through the Governor.

423 **Property.**—The Indians today do not own any real property in the usual sense. The land assigned to an entire community is allotted
[651] to each adult for his use when he becomes a macanero, that is, capable
[534] of giving one day's work each year for the collective planting for the benefit of the saint and as many days as may be required by the cabildo for the repair of roads, bridges, etc., or for work in the village. The right to the use of the land may pass to the heirs, wife and children, in the absence of which it reverts to the community or the cabildo.

422 The house was formerly typical personal or movable property, which could be easily abandoned, dismantled, or destroyed. The same holds today for fragile cane dwellings. There are few houses so solidly built that they constitute real or immovable property.
[764] Other personal property, such as utensils, clothes, weapons, adorn-
[428] ments, and jewels, was formerly buried with the owner. These things and livestock, planted fields, and crops are now inherited by the
[177] members of the deceased's family. In general, Colombian law is being implanted by the judges and municipal mayors, although the
[692] cabildo judges some minor offenses and punishes the offenders by
[623] whipping, imprisonment, or stocks (cepo), a form of torment retained
[681] from Colonial times.

Although the Indians' communities have in most cases titles of
691 limits of their lands dating from Colonial times, there are still liti-
648 gations on boundaries. An interesting case is the struggle of the Indians to dislodge a settlement of Negroes from the old salt works
[423] in Ambostá, where they were abandoned many years ago by a rich Popayán family who took them there to work the mines. The female Indian chief (cacica) of this territory allowed the Negroes to live on a hill, called "the hill of the fifteen Negroes." The Negroes are not organized under a cabildo, but have a chief who represents them. They all contribute to a special religious feast in the municipio, and provide means to continue the suit for the possession of the hill against the Indians.

/191 cont./

829 while the others contend for their land and reduce the extent
665 of the parcialidad. This is what the people of Avirama, Togoima, and Lame have done. Nowadays, their relations appear to be cordial, for their political differences, at least, seem to have been obliterated.

157 The Paez are extremely pugnacious, aggressive by nature; they are easily aroused and only with difficulty erase rancor from their minds. Their psychological characteristic seems [648] to be the explosion. History gives many authentic proofs. [669] Adverse to the Spanish yoke, destroyers of the colonial settlements, /192/ in the times of the republic they have served as instruments for blind ambitions and political revenge, and nearly all the civil uprisings have been nourished with their blood. They adjust easily to the military, guerilla, barbarian [579] spirit. The riots that have taken place in the present century are memorable: La Quintinada, La Collada, and the 28th of January, the first of which took place in 1916, the second in 1932, and the third in 1950, out of motives of racism, religion, and political rancor, respectively.

Persistence in vengeance, hair-raising and fearsome crimes, and the spilling of blood characterize many aspects of the social and political life of these Indians.

VI

Fiesteros, Albaceros, and Mayordomos

796 About three months before the celebration of the fiesta,
623 the cabildo begins to select the names of the fiesteros /fiesta leaders/ for the following year. When the candidates have been chosen, the entire cabildo goes to their home, where after much dilatory chatting they announce the authorized choice. The offer is rejected at first, but eventually the great honor is accepted.

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Castillo - mentions that they wor-

175 771 776 [756] 773 776

shiped the sun, in whose honor they met and danced in places called "Itaqui-finó," i. e., the place where the sun revealed its mysteries; and that they venerated a kind of culture hero called Guequiau. It was he who instructed shamans (mohanes).

This hero has a counterpart in the religious legend of Juan Tama, the Son of the Star. One day when the Morning Star shone very brightly, some Indians found a child in a gorge—ever since called the Gorge of the Star. This was Juan Tama. They picked him up and entrusted him to a woman to nurse, but he nursed so much that her milk dried up. He was given to another woman, whom he also made very weak. They then said that he could not be nursed by a woman, and gave him food. After he grew up, he married the female chief of Huila, Doña María Mendiguagua, and became chief of all the Indians. He instructed people and explained to them how to keep the land for themselves and not mix with White people. He pronounced them invincible and summoned a chief from Pitayó, called Calambás, whom he appointed his manager. Calambás rebelled,[13] but was defeated by Juan Tama, who pardoned him on account of his bravery, and conferred on him and his heirs the right to rule the *Páez* in Bitoncó. As death approached, Juan Tama went to the lake on the páramo of Moras and sank into the waters. He had come out of this place and returned to it, leaving no heirs.[14]

776 823 [623]

In the neighborhood of Bitoncó there is a rock with what appears to be human footprints. When the Indians pass it, they uncover their heads and say, "The Holy One came this way." Another remnant of the cult of Juan Tama is the custom that each member of the council spends one week at the shores of the lake before the end of his term to render an account to Juan Tama of his actions in office. Likewise, newly elected officers, as soon as they receive their staffs or insignia of authority, spend a week at the lake. They toss silver coins into it, wash their staffs, and pray for strength to rule well. This ceremony, performed with the greatest secrecy, is called the "curing of the staffs." Recently, however, the Indians have stopped "curing" their staffs in the lake, for they say that Juan Tama is angry, and whenever they approach the lake, it rains and storms badly.

[621] [631] [821]

In the Guanacas section there was another sacred lagoon, called Tumbachí, which was recently drained because a snake that lived there attracted girls and kept them for a whole year, and then returned them when they were about to become mothers.

These tribes believed that the soul comes back to life.

775

Witchcraft was strongly developed among these Indians, who still believe in most of its practices, in spite of the catechization forced upon them by the missionaries.

754 177

[13] During the War of Independence, as well as in subsequent revolutions, the Indians of the family named Calambás distinguished themselves as warriors. [669]

[14] We are indebted to Father David González for this legend, told to him by an old Indian in Lame. [114]

/209 cont./

4. Law

•67/ Although the legal life of the Paez cannot be compared to a well-developed jurisprudence, on account of its being interwoven with all manifestations of life, they nevertheless have fixed regulations adapted to their vital needs, /210/ the preservation of which is guaranteed by the entire community. To these legal regulations belong the political and family organization already described, as well as the customs in the course of life and of daily living. In the following the regulations governing property and inheritance and the views of the Paez concerning punishable acts and punishments are to be described.

423 In Calderas there is community land and private land. The former consists of the river lowlands with the territory of the church, school, community house, and festival houses, whereas the mountain slopes are the private property of those families who cleared them for the first time. Basically, everyone may have an interest in the community land, which consists essentially of pasture land. Here the families can pasture their animals, build themselves festival houses, and stake off a piece of land for [178] themselves anywhere they like and build dwellings. The latter was not customary formerly when a person built his own house only on his own land. Today there are already three families, those of Cerbeleón Guagáz, of Clemente Lis, and of Agustín Muse, who live on community land near the church and the school. They built their houses there and staked off a piece of land on which they cultivate vegetables and some sugar cane. There is no need to ask anyone for permission to do this. The situation is different in the 423 case of private property on the mountain slopes. True, no one 427 builds his house on a piece of land that does not belong to him; yet it may happen that one's own land is very far away, and then a person will ask the owner of a parcel of land nearby for permission ("licencia"; Spanish "authorized permission") to plant a field for a harvest. This is not often the case, for generally there is enough land in each family. A few families, however, have

S /197 cont./
764 The child had been laid in a coffin which was painted on the out-
C side with stars. The female relatives had made a so-called "canopy,"
123 /198/ a pole two meters high, on the tip of which was fastened a white hoop decorated with flowers, from which hung eleven colored paper streamers, one of which was carried by each of the participants. I, too, was asked to take one, and then we set out -- without the mother of the deceased child -- with music, for the graveyard where the small coffin was opened once more and then lowered
P into the earth without formality.

764 Among the Paez of Togoima, too, there is drinking, dancing,
184 and singing at the death of a child, and here, too, the mother does
[273] not take part in the burial at the graveyard. The body is carried
[533] by a woman -- usually the godmother -- in a small sedan chair of
[535] bamboo, accompanied by the music of drum, timpano, and flute,
[608] to the burial place where several men have already scooped out a grave with the lateral niche (Ills. 204 and 207 /see pp. 290 and 291/). The deceased child has a few flowers in its mouth. It is wrapped in a cloth and is laid in a recumbent position, along with a bouquet of flowers, in the niche, which is separated from the shaft by the rods of the sedan chair placed vertically side by side. The earth thrown into the pit is stamped down very firmly with posts.

P In Calderas, too, the mother of a "little angel" to be buried
[608] does not go along to the graveyard. The small corpse is carried by the godmother, not in a sedan chair, but simply wrapped in a cloth, on her arm.

The burial of the Christian Indios of San Andrés shows transi-
P tions in the shape of the grave from the Paez niche-grave to the
[674] simple, rectangular pit of the other Christians. We took part in the burial of the capitan who had been stabbed by his drunken son during a quarrel. The direction of the grave in the cemetery of San Andrés is always east-west; the head lies on the west side with the ground sloping upward. Instead of a lateral niche, a trapezoidal hollow about 50 centimeters deep is dug at the bottom of the shaft, which is covered horizontally by bamboo put so closely together that no earth can fall down, and the corpse is practically just as well

/263 cont./

182 754 The people perceive only the effects. Only the expectant attitude announces to us its presence. The latent fears tell us of its vigor. The members of the cabildo, the capitán, the té eu, the working men, the parturient women have a strong fear of sorcery.

When the pest spreads through the community, when the elders die and their experience and advice are lost, thoughts [761] turn inevitably to the power of the sorcerers. Most deaths are brought about by sorcerers, the informants say.

754 182 177 Sorcery is a powerful barrier against the introduction of the customs of a capitalist economy and also against the intrusion of the whites in their parcialidades. It is strange that sorcery should exist in the less acculturated parcialidades, while in San Andrés it has practically disappeared. It is said to have been vigorous until 1926, the year when the Municipal Council of Inzá established in the parcialidad a settlement area in which the whites settled. With this measure living together was inescapable and they chose to accept them. Nevertheless, during the drinking bouts of the old people, the tremendous resentment that has become natural to them still crops out.

182 754 423 [554] [152] 754 182 Furthermore, it makes its influences felt in the distribution of land. Each family has lands from which it lives. With the increase in population the problem of their unequal distribution has become prominent. Those who have the most land are the targets of envy and sorcery; they are more prone to magical attacks aimed at taking away their land. Intrasocial tensions appear to be brought into equilibrium by means of this institution. The fear of reprisals checks aggression. Revenge is too prejudicial, since it can be manifested not only against [184] individuals, but also against animals and plantings. It is [177] perfectly true to say that while in Calderas acts of bloodshed [675] are rare and suicide is unknown, in San Andres, a parcialidad which is largely acculturated, the homicides, murders, and [762] cases of arson are hair-raising.

/215 cont./

696 according to the decision of the cabildo. First of all, the animal
685 or the crop destroyed must be replaced, and then the offender is
417 put in the "tree trunk." This is a form of punishment that was
681 formerly used very frequently in other Paez communities, too.
[824] Actually it consists of two tree trunks, into each of which two notches are chopped on opposing sides. The condemned person is put in, with his feet up to the ankles in these rather narrow notches, and then the tree trunks are tightly bound together with
[623] lianas. All the members of the cabildo take part in this work. Then the bound tree trunks are fastened to the ceiling of the council house, so that the condemned man hangs head downward and the trunks cut into his flesh very considerably. There were no other types of punishment. The degree was determined by the number of hours of hanging, which extended from one to, allegedly, 24 hours.

556 Injustices on the part of envious fellow-citizens toward a
626 man striving for wealth manifest themselves by their driving their animals into the man's well-fenced fields. This is done until the person in question no longer feels any inclination to excel over others
[623] through diligence and property. Little is accomplished by com-
[692] plaining to the cabildo, since the gobernador cannot make a de-
[208] cision that runs counter to the opinion of the entire village, and a weak spot in the fence can always be demonstrated somewhere.

692 Other and not infrequent occasions on which the cabildo must
623 act as judge are complaints concerning adultery and support (see
● 68 above). There are no complaints about verbal insults, just as there is no punishment for this. They are countered by matching expressions. Similarly, unintentional bodily injury, for example, by a machete during joint work or a case of death during tree-cutting, is not punishable. Only if a person shoots his neighbor's eye out with an elastic sling during bird hunting would he be punished, "but not very severely."

/213 cont./

682 to Inzá by two members of the cabildo of San Andrés, friends and
623 relatives, as well as members of his own family, slipped him a
182 few coins so that he would be able to buy himself food in prison. His guards did not prevent anyone from doing this, and in general the feeling for the murderer was commiserating, but not unfavorable.

623 The punishments inflicted in Calderas by the cabildo are al-
692 ways floggings. In earlier times they were very rigorously carried
[681] out. There is no imprisonment. Today the cabildo judges only
[697] social misdeeds, debtors, and the theft of field crops, a chicken, or a sheep. Horse and cattle theft goes to the court in Inzá for punishment. The injured one himself may not punish the malefactor -- not even if caught red-handed - but must report everything
[693] to the cabildo. There the capitan and gobernador are the judges.
[624] The other members of the cabildo must likewise be present, but they have no vote. The sentence is very quickly passed. The malefactor is locked into one of the two rooms of the community
623 house, and the trial takes place on the next day at the latest. The
685 punishments are fixed. They consist of lashes with the whip, which
692 are increased for repetition. Thus, the thief receives ten lashes the first time, 20 the second time, and 30 lashes the third time; in case of further lapses he is shackled in the tree trunk. The theft of a sheep is punished with ten lashes and the replacement or giving up of the stolen object. If the accused protests, a house search is carried out with a member of the cabildo. If nothing is found, he must be set free again.

426 Loans up to ten pesos are given without security; beyond that the creditor is given a cow, a horse, a pig, wheat, or sugar cane as security. Loans are given only up to a year, so that the matter is not forgotten. Interest is not charged. If the debtor is unable to pay, a definite term is /214/ set for him; if he does not pay then, the lapse is reported to the cabildo, which punishes the offender with the whip. Denial is useless, for every loan transaction is concluded only before witnesses. If the debtor dies, the claims of the creditor are taken from his estate, for example, a machete, coca bag, or clothing. One may also ask relatives, for example brothers, to settle the debt. They are not obliged to repay it,

/214 cont./

426 however, so that in the case of a deceased poor debtor, the creditor has usually lost his money. Prescription does not occur.
685 A debt forgotten by the debtor may be collected by the creditor
695 years later, if there are witnesses. The situation is similar for
426 the theft of field crops: If there is no witness, no one can be found guilty. If, however, the witness is known as honorable and not deceitful, the accused is judged guilty, even without a con-
692 fession. There is no statement of confirmation corresponding to
695 the oath; similarly, no one condemned for wrongdoing has the
623 right to go to Inzá to the judge. For all misdeeds punished by the
208 [782] cabildo, the capitan and gobernador are the first and last authority; they do not act arbitrarily, however, but rely largely on custom
[686] and the opinion of the village. This is especially true if someone refuses several times in succession to take part in public works, but it also comes out -- unfavorably -- if a poor man tries to
623 become wealthy on his own. For example, disputes not infrequently
692 break out among the Paez on account of damage to cultivated
685 fields when the domestic animals of one person have broken into
578 the fields of a neighbor. Now the fences around each field must always be in good condition and put up in accordance with the term of use of the field. A fence for a maize field, which requires barely a year to mature, may be more lightly built than a fence around a sugar-cane field, which requires three years to mature. Then when strange animals break into fields with good fencing, the owner may kill them or at least wound them, for example, by
[231] cutting off a cow's tail. The owners of pigs fasten a triangular-shaped frame around the necks of their pigs to prevent them from breaking into fenced fields. If the fence is in poor condition, however, and has not been newly erected especially for the planted field, the owner of the animals breaking into the field is not to blame and the owner of the field may not kill them. Of course, the soundness of a fence is to a great extent a matter of opinion, and it happens not infrequently that the disputants go after each
696 other with machetes and wound each other considerably. The
685 417 /215/ guilty party is then, after an inspection of the fence, punished
681

/215 cont./

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423 Property.—The Indians today do not own any real property in the usual sense. The land assigned to an entire community is allotted [651] to each adult for his use when he becomes a macanero, that is, capable [534] of giving one day's work each year for the collective planting for the benefit of the saint and as many days as may be required by the cabildo for the repair of roads, bridges, etc., or for work in the village. The right to the use of the land may pass to the heirs, wife and children, in the absence of which it reverts to the community or the cabildo.

422 The house was formerly typical personal or movable property, which could be easily abandoned, dismantled, or destroyed. The same holds today for fragile cane dwellings. There are few houses so solidly built that they constitute real or immovable property. [764] Other personal property, such as utensils, clothes, weapons, adornments, and jewels, was formerly buried with the owner. These things [428] and livestock, planted fields, and crops are now inherited by the [177] members of the deceased's family. In general, Colombian law is [692] being implanted by the judges and municipal mayors, although the [623] cabildo judges some minor offenses and punishes the offenders by [681] whipping, imprisonment, or stocks (cepo), a form of torment retained from Colonial times.

691 648 [423] Although the Indians' communities have in most cases titles of limits of their lands dating from Colonial times, there are still litigations on boundaries. An interesting case is the struggle of the Indians to dislodge a settlement of Negroes from the old salt works in Ambostá, where they were abandoned many years ago by a rich Popayán family who took them there to work the mines. The female Indian chief (cacica) of this territory allowed the Negroes to live on a hill, called "the hill of the fifteen Negroes." The Negroes are not organized under a cabildo, but have a chief who represents them. They all contribute to a special religious feast in the municipio, and provide means to continue the suit for the possession of the hill against the Indians.

P /212 cont./
428 guests. In case the deceased has neither sons nor brothers --
P which scarcely ever happens, it is said -- the villager who takes
[768] care of the burial inherits his entire property. The widow moves in with one of her brothers or sisters or some other relative.

T Disputes and misdemeanors, such as theft or adultery, are
692 judged within the communities by the cabildo; murder or serious
625 C bodily injury, by the Colombian state judiciary. It was said that
[692] murder and manslaughter did not occur in former times, the old
T 682 people told us; they are a consequence of "white" influences
623 and the weakening of the cabildo. One can well understand this,
182 for in Calderas where the village council still enjoys a certain
[177] amount of power and considerable prestige, it would be unthinkable
P for a son to stab his father to death. This happened in San Andrés
[177] where the cabildo exists only in the form of three functionaries who are basically powerless and without standing and where the young people, through the influences of the living conditions of the white colonists, no longer have any feeling for the old discipline and customs. It was in San Andrés in March, 1953, that the son of the capitan stabbed his father to death. The
P latter, after the death of his first wife, had married a second
[593] time, for which his children reproached him vehemently. In a drunken state, this led to a brawl, in the course of which the father struck off half of his son's right ear and the son killed his father with several knife stabs in the abdomen. After the deed, he fled; but since it was known that he could find shelter only with relatives, the /213/ gobernador of the town of Lame seized him
P a few days later in the house of his sister, where he had hidden.
[624] He was brought to San Andrés in chains and delivered over to the sindico, who was simultaneously occupying the position of gobernador. The latter, an older man of the age of the deceased capitan, tried for some time to reason with the murderer, who gave the impression of being uncommunicative and almost sullen; he pointed out to him the baseness of his deed, of patricide, and then he was led to the church in which the dead capitan was lying in state. The son resisted violently, but was forcibly led up to the corpse and broke down weeping before it. Before he was transferred

/213 cont./

682 to Inzá by two members of the cabildo of San Andrés, friends and
623 relatives, as well as members of his own family, slipped him a
182 few coins so that he would be able to buy himself food in prison. His guards did not prevent anyone from doing this, and in general the feeling for the murderer was commiserating, but not unfavorable.

623 The punishments inflicted in Calderas by the cabildo are al-
692 ways floggings. In earlier times they were very rigorously carried
[681] out. There is no imprisonment. Today the cabildo judges only
[697] social misdeeds, debtors, and the theft of field crops, a chicken, or a sheep. Horse and cattle theft goes to the court in Inzá for punishment. The injured one himself may not punish the malefactor -- not even if caught red-handed - but must report everything
[693] to the cabildo. There the capitan and gobernador are the judges.
[624] The other members of the cabildo must likewise be present, but they have no vote. The sentence is very quickly passed. The malefactor is locked into one of the two rooms of the community
623 house, and the trial takes place on the next day at the latest. The
685 punishments are fixed. They consist of lashes with the whip, which
692 are increased for repetition. Thus, the thief receives ten lashes the first time, 20 the second time, and 30 lashes the third time; in case of further lapses he is shackled in the tree trunk. The theft of a sheep is punished with ten lashes and the replacement or giving up of the stolen object. If the accused protests, a house search is carried out with a member of the cabildo. If nothing is found, he must be set free again.

426 Loans up to ten pesos are given without security; beyond that the creditor is given a cow, a horse, a pig, wheat, or sugar cane as security. Loans are given only up to a year, so that the matter is not forgotten. Interest is not charged. If the debtor is unable to pay, a definite term is /214/ set for him; if he does not pay then, the lapse is reported to the cabildo, which punishes the offender with the whip. Denial is useless, for every loan transaction is concluded only before witnesses. If the debtor dies, the claims of the creditor are taken from his estate, for example, a machete, coca bag, or clothing. One may also ask relatives, for example brothers, to settle the debt. They are not obliged to repay it,

/274 cont./

774 (ũ = nasal) and taff, with which everyone is familiar, although
776 they are not sure about the distinction between the two. The
753 shamans Francisco and Cerbeleón said that the two were the same; but both of them also said that ũns or taff, if they had left the person in his dream and were abroad, could be caught by tũs, eč, or nyiç without the person's becoming aware of this immediately, but rather he still went on living. To my objection that in this case ũns and taff were probably different, they did not know how
[775] to answer; Cerbeleón stated that if a person dies, his ũns goes to heaven and the person himself becomes taff. He and other teyu
756 were able to catch the ũns of a human being. Thus, for example,
774 if someone had been robbed, he would come to Cerbeleón. The
754 latter takes coca, tobacco, and brandy, and then he can bring forth the ũns of the thief, seize it, and kill it. The thief must
[783] then die. In order to get the ũns in his power, he must first cleanse
[824] his hands with the herbs šũ and vitubítskwe, as well as with brandy.
[276] The ũns has the form of a small animal, he explained; it can fly and glows and is about three centimeters long. It is very similar to a firefly in appearance, but different from eč.

554 Having reached this point in his explanation, Cerbeleón grew
754 silent, and our interpreter Victoriano said that we should now have
756 to depart, but quickly. With that he left the house in positive
[124] flight, and we were obliged to follow. Outside he explained to us that Cerbeleón was a "mal brujo," a nyiç, which, to be sure, he had always suspected before, but just now Cerbeleón had given himself away inasmuch as he had said that he could catch and
[682] kill the ũns of human beings. The people of Calderas also say that he possessed herbs that he could put in eggs, chicha, or other food, whereupon people would eat them and then die. One of the sons of Cerbeleón was a thief and had died in the following manner: The one who was robbed had prayed to the Virgen Santísima /Holy Virgin/, and God had punished the thief with death. The father himself, that is, the shaman Cerbeleón, is also a thief and kills people out of envy for their possessions.

The mission sisters confirmed this statement insofar as Cerbeleón had several times attempted to kill them by sprinkling

/258 cont./

754 Afterward his throat began to dry out and he could breathe only with difficulty, until he finally died.

754 756 The evil shamans are not generally known publicly. Men as well as women, however, may be teyu and nyic. In fact, the [562] most famous and clever teyu whom we met was an old woman, [753] Felisa Ipia in Santa Rosa, who at the same time, however, is re- [623] garded as the most evil sorceress who ever existed. All the sick- ness and misfortune in Santa Rosa are ascribed to her acts. For [683] this reason the cabildo once burned all her medicinal herbs and broke her shaman's staff. But people no longer dare to undertake anything serious against her, since they fear her, as they do all evil sorcerers. In former times the convicted nyic were always very severely punished, but since many members of the cabildo have died as a result of sorcery, no one any longer dares to accuse the well-known nyic today.

754 /259/ With regard to the problem of male and female shamans,
756 a teyu from Calderas explained that women as such had an excellent
562 sense of feeling and therefore the best talent as shamans. Since they are more crafty and cunning than men, however, the female shamans can transform themselves into an evil sorceress at any time. And that is precisely what makes them so dangerous and hence unfit for the calling of a good shaman.

754 The border between teyu and nyic, therefore, is flexible.
756 Both aspects of shamanism may be united in one person, or a teyu may become a nyic and vice versa. In the following, therefore, the teyu form of manifestation of shamanism will be described. In spirit the nyic are based on the same foundation. They never show their herbs and remedies and allow no one to take part in [124] their ceremonies. The teyu, on the other hand, on closer acquaintance were quite willing to give information about their knowledge and to let us take part in their séances.

/259 cont./

b) The Period of Development of the Shaman

756 The teyu with whom I was acquainted became shamans in two ways. Either they were taught by a teyu for a more or less long period of time, until they were given the "signs," or they were directly called to become a shaman by a vision. The latter, as a result of special selection through an experience caused by higher beings, is the more original type of shaman calling, whereas a regular apprenticeship with an experienced teyu is characteristic for the shamans who carry on the position of their fathers and sometimes also that of their grandfathers. These "hereditary shamans" are generally not as powerful magically as those initially chosen through a vision. The hereditary shamans are merely the continuers of an acquired shamanistic trade, whereas the initially chosen ones are the continuers of the tradition of a creator of human beings and animals, of a heroic war leader and liberator
[776] of their people. This mythically important figure of Paez tradition is Thunder, who is also regarded as the foremost and the most powerful magically of all shamans. His human successors were scarcely inferior to him as shamans in olden times, whereas the present-day ones are generally quite far behind in their magical abilities.

754 The teoi Felisa Ipia from Santa Rosa is about 70 years old
756 (Ill. 199 /see p. 288 /). Her husband and six children are dead. Three children are living. She keeps no animals aside from a few chickens and turkey hens. About her calling she says that she received her call to become a shaman from Thunder. /260/ The latter lives in the lagoon of Taibe. He appeared to her in a black cloud and descended to earth to her in human form and gave her her shaman's staff and her medicinal herbs, saying that she had
754 been chosen as teoi by him. She then practiced her art for a long
756 time; but the people said that she was an evil shaman, a nyiç,
● 683 and brought her before the cabildo to be punished. Since the people greatly fear the nyiç, she was given many blows there, and, indeed, with her own shaman's staff. Afterwards it was broken and burned

/260 cont./

756 on the village plaza, along with her medicinal herbs. Then they
[754] sent her back to her house, without her staff and without her
[683] medicinal herbs. When someone again became sick, however, the people again came to her and asked her to help the sick one. Then her husband, who, however, was not a shaman, made her a new staff; she herself again looked for her medicinal herbs and was able to help the sick. Since then she has been recognized once again as a good shaman and helps all who come to her. Another shaman in Santa Rosa said that he had received his call when he was but six years old. One day when he was working in the field, his mother, dressed in black and with a hat on her head, came to him and scolded him on account of his poor work. When she left, he followed her, but she disappeared into the river. When he returned home, he realized that the woman whom he saw could not have been his mother, since the latter had been in the community field at that time, where she was cooking for the workers. Undoubtedly this woman was a spirit, he confessed, who wanted to tell him that he should become a shaman. This was also confirmed for him by two fiber bags which she carried and which corresponded exactly to those used by the shamans for their medicinal herbs. A shaman from Calderas said that there came to him one night a very beautiful blond child with the women's hair style, who, however, was Thunder, and called upon him to become a shaman.

756 If one does not have visions by himself, he can, in order to
787 become shaman, seek them purposely. For this he need only eat
[262] very little and must refrain entirely from ají (a very pungent condi-
[263] ment /see the glossary, p. 248/) and salt for one month. (The same thing also happens to a young man after he has involuntarily had a vision.) The one seeking a vision then goes all alone into the mountains, where he wanders over hill and dale for a long time, until he comes to a beautiful place where he meets an older man. The latter, like himself, is chewing coca. Through his appearance and his friendly manner he inspires confidence in the youth, and the latter tells /261/ him of his wish to become a shaman. He

000 /288 cont./
756 medicine men. To cure the patient, he divines which of the
755 supernatural beings caused the illness, proceeds to placate him,
[787] and then prescribes medicines to the patient. If the placation
is not successful, the patient literally sinks into despair. The
indispensable articles for all curing are coca, tobacco, and
[462] aguardiente. The medicine men are persons well along in years
[754] and belonging to the masculine sex. They cannot cure the
effects of sorcery, although they can protect themselves against
it.

754 c) Fifty per cent of all illnesses, the informants state,
[753] are caused by sorcery, and by the same token 50 per cent of
[761] the deaths, since sorcery is incurable. The sorcerers conceal
their activities, and it seems that all adults are potential sor-
754 cerers. The institution of sorcery is a true escape valve for the
154 strong aggressive impulses of the natives and to some extent
plays the role of a social regulator. Through it are channeled
the jealousy, resentment, and vengefulness of the natives.
The victims of sorcery are the most skillful and hard-working
individuals, those who have a good house, good crops, and a
growing number of domestic animals. Harvests and plantings
[683] generally are the object of sorcery. Sorcerers who are publicly
unmasked are exposed to the anger of the community and even
to exile, a measure taken not so much on account of their be-
[685] ing sorcerers as of their being thieves. All sorcerers are thieves.
Sorcery appears with considerable frequency in the symbolism
of dreams.

583 Marriage.--Marriage is monogamous and patrilocal. Both
[595] the chroniclers and Dr. Gregorio Hernández de Alba speak of
[591] the custom of the year of probation to acquaint the man with
[177] the skill, energy, and fecundity of his future wife. A thriving
[797] institution in times past, it is now in sharp decline owing to the
action of mission work. Obviously, the purpose of this insti-
tution is to find out whether the woman is hard-working, faith-
ful, not a thief, and to understand her ways in order to establish
a lasting union. Nowadays the Paez, before being married

/257 cont./

757 554 152 598 A curer from Santa Rosa, while taking a spell off a sick person, explained that this man owned much land and that they had cast a spell upon him in order to appropriate it.

In Calderas a man who can read, write, and make memorials for the Alcaldía of Inzá, a maker of fireworks, builder of houses, and good farmer, was naturally the cause of envy. A sorcerer wanted to kill him. He called his soul while he was asleep. But the one called was aided by the soul of his brother, who blew mambe toward him. On the following day his left eye became white and was on the point of dropping out. A curer was able to cure him, but he remained one-eyed. The two brothers remained enemies of the sorcerer.

754 ● 613 623 On another occasion and in the same parcialidad, two brothers gave a sorcerer a beating. In revenge he cast a spell on both within a year. Fearful of punishment, the sorcerer went to other parcialidades, but on his return the cabildo put him in the stocks.

In the old days -- says a curer from Santa Rosa -- the cabildos punished the sorcerers. Those of today are afraid of them. The elders /mayores/ have died bewitched. Actually, the Indians refuse to serve on the cabildo or to accept the post of capitán for fear of the sorcerers.

754 685 The sorcerers are all thieves. They often steal under the very eyes of the owner, who, fearful that they will cast a spell upon him, does not make the slightest protest. But the sorcerers, in turn, fearful that he might complain to the white authorities, cast a spell upon him.

754 In Calderas, those who purchase livestock to expand their small hacienda have been attacked by sorcery.

754 177 554 The Indian who has lived with the whites, who has adopted their clothing, their dietary habits, and their agricultural and cattle-raising techniques, /258/ and who has given up the habit of consuming coca and chicha is not only the victim of magical attacks, but is the direct recipient of offensive words and deeds.

/260 cont./

754 If a person kills himself in a fall, it is believed that the
[783] sorcerer sent him ptans.
[761] h) To cast a spell on the plantings, they use tobacco, matches, and other remedies with which they are burned and destroyed.

As will be noted, in their enchantments the sorcerers do not use any parts or objects belonging to the victim, such as hair, nails, clothing, etc. Most of the remedies that they use are herbs or objects that have properties noxious to man or can cause him harm.

The sorcerer believes that putting them in contact with the soul or simply with the body produces the desired effects.

754 /261/ Paez sorcery is a clear case of imitative or
789 homeopathic magic, according to Frazer's classic definition. It is "desire dominating the world with instruments born of desire " (10).

[108] 10. Ponce, Aníbal. Estudios de Psicología /Psychological Studies/, El Ateneo, Buenos Aires, 1947, p. 363.

754 The Paez fear illness and death and live in the fear that
182 the whites may take from them their land, their ranchos, their plantings, that is to say, their very sources of survival.

While the sorcerers attack the customs of a capitalist economy and transculturation openly, the curers protect the community against sickness and against the attacks of individuals or groups, by means of their divinations and their vigorous and constant conjurations. In this sense sorcerer and curer are identical. They protect the community.

●683 Punishment of the sorcerers. The sorcerer is feared by
754 the entire population; identified throughout by it, he suffers general enmity; torrents of hatred arise against him, ending most of the time in violent punishment: confinement in the stocks, whippings, dunkings, and even exile.

/261 cont./

683 554 954 The aversion that the people of Santa Rosa have for the sorceress Ipia is expressed clearly in the words of one té eu: "This old woman should be brought to the pueblo, her remedies burned, she should be bathed in ají water, manacled, and kept like this overnight to prevent her from running away, bathing with her remedies, and turning back into a sorceress."

683 [623] In this same parcialidad the sorcerers accused of having killed the former gobernador with their tricks were given the following punishment by the Cabildo.

The sorcerers, taken from their houses with all their pouches of remedies, were led to the pueblo. In the plaza and in the presence of the people, the capitán took from the pouches remedy after remedy, showing it to the public and asking about its uses. The remedies were unknown in most cases and the sorcerers gave no information about them. They made a large pile. The gobernador of the cabildo says that they even had earth from the cemetery. He sprinkled the remedies with gasoline, put the sorcerers in the middle, and lighted the fire. The frightened sorcerers begged for forgiveness, claiming that they were innocent.

It is said that in the pouches they found flowers of sulphur, with which they /262/ prepared a drink that they forced them to take in order to rid them of evil spirits. The sorcerers, on their part, say that the drink in question was a mixture of the excrements of domestic animals and human feces.

The sorcerers had to remain at the wake overnight and dig part of the grave. After the burial they were invited to the meal which is offered on such occasions, an invitation which they refused, but they were forced to attend. With the food it is said that they were given pubic hair, according to the sorcerers. Then the people tossed them into a pond.

683 184 In Calderas the punishments are more violent. In 1951, they took a sorcerer, put him in the stocks for two days, forced him to take the drink of excrements, whipped him,

/262 cont./

683 and finally exiled him. The sorcerer nearly died. He com-
184 plained to the Alcadía of Inzá about the brutality of the cabildo. The Alcadía had the stocks destroyed by force, in spite of the protests of the natives. The punishments of the sorcerers in the Parcialidad of San Andrés were about the same up to some 30 years ago.

683 Often, when there is a very dangerous sorcerer, the curers
754 band together in order to kill him. They call his soul, and
756 when it draws near they hit it with a stick smeared with chayuts.
774 The soul leaves with a whistling sound. When a volcano erupts,
[823] it is a sign that the devil is punishing the souls of sorcerers.

754 Psychological characteristics of the sorcerers. Broadly
157 speaking, the sorcerers are timid, resentful, aloof, with a very
156 strong persecution complex; they try to avoid contact with people, believing that they see in each of them a presumed accuser; they tend to be self-supporting; suspicious to a high degree, they roundly deny the accusations of their victims, regarding themselves furthermore as good persons, sound and inoffensive; they pretend to know nothing about remedies, and it is very difficult to obtain any information from them about sorcery. Most of them are intelligent. Endoculturally they are at odds with their own group, insofar as they embody the struggle against the influences of foreign cultures.

The nasa are convinced that no sooner has the sun gone down than the sorcerers are already at work. The most dangerous ones sleep during the day. For this reason they regard as peculiar characteristics of the sorcerers red eyes, an evasive look, aloofness, an unpleasant appearance, egoism, and suspiciousness. They look like criminals, informants say.

182 /263/ Socio-dynamic value of sorcery. Within Paez
754 society, sorcery is vital, overly active, and gravitates into all the social interstices. But, as must be evident, at all times and places it pertains to the realm of concealment. Its executors are surreptitious. They always act in the shadows.

/177 cont./

the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook. Old, solitary persons or unmarried girls or men live with relatives or friends, but never alone, since a single person is unable either to protect himself or to provide for himself adequately.

The father's authority is great. Wife and children owe him absolute obedience. Nevertheless, the man does not have the right to alienate personal articles of members of the family or possessions that they made themselves. Thus, for example, he is not in a position to sell a coca bag or a fiber bag belonging to his wife or his children's toys.

The children are given the family name of the father, but the women keep their maiden names even after marriage. There is no external indication in dress or hair style or otherwise for unmarried girls and married women. The wife is obligated to work for her husband and children in her family. Beyond that she may procure personal belongings for herself by weaving cloth beyond the needs of her family, for example, and trading it for ornaments.

If the young people are still living in the house with their parents, the daughter-in-law is not absolutely subordinate to her mother-in-law, although this appears to be so, to judge from the speech at the wedding ceremony. A relationship of dependence is out of the question because of the separate kitchens. Usually, however, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are on good terms, and then it is not uncommon for only one woman to cook for both families, for there is no in-law avoidance. Then the two women share the work of cleaning the house.

Conjugal fidelity is demanded of both marriage partners; in the case of the man, however, it is sometimes not taken so seriously. If a man surprises his wife, however, or she her husband, in marital infidelity, the deceived party may beat (but not kill) both and report them to the cabildo, which again has the guilty party very soundly thrashed.

Illegitimate children are not rare among the Paez. In case an unmarried girl has a child, she is beaten by her parents and

/192 cont./

581 around the hearth fire, and this must be stirred and provided with
462 wood every two hours. This is the task of the wife, who, there-
513 fore, sleeps next to the fire. Throughout practically her whole life, she is never able to sleep all through the night.

583 If during the trial year the bride does not meet the demands of the man, if she either cannot cook or is lazy or /193/ does not like to get up in the morning, he sends her back to her father. Since no wedding celebration has taken place, sending back the girl leads to no resentment of any kind. It does, however, if children have resulted from the trial marriage and the young man
[684] nevertheless changes his mind. In this case, to be sure, nothing
[623] can be changed with regard to his decision -- after all, he has not yet been officially married -- but, since such an action is condemned, he is beaten by the cabildo. He may then begin a
583 new trial marriage with another girl. The children of the previ-
848 ous trial marriage (they are designated by the Paez with the
[557] Spanish term hijo natural) are given the name of the mother. There are not a few such "natural children." The mothers, however, are not scorned or judged harshly on that account and do not by any means have poorer prospects for a subsequent marriage. The children are not adopted in case of a subsequent marriage by the
[761] mother and keep their mother's name. It is believed, however,
[851] that such "natural children" will soon die. They are not baptized, since the priest baptizes only legitimate children, or else demands such a large sum for the baptism of an illegitimate child that the unmarried mother cannot raise it.

585 The actual wedding celebration takes place after the period
[178] of the trial marriage. Today the prior marriage service by the Catholic priest in the church is usually combined with this wedding celebration. The money for this, as for the expenses of the wedding celebration, must be raised by the young man himself.
[435] This takes him many months. First of all, besides the cost of ten pesos for the marriage service, he must have collected the money for an ox, then prepare chicha in sufficient quantities, for which sugar cane is milled for about a month, and also provide for the rest of the food. In general his father or brothers do not

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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deserted savannas. It must be said, in extenuation, that they have been subjected to much abuse by their neighbors of the "superior race." Moreover, the Paeces are naturally hostile to strangers, descending, as we have seen, from a warlike people. The old Paeces always went about armed, carrying a lance or javelin in the hand and ready to protect their bodies from the darts of an enemy by means of a shield of basket-work (*opimb*), or of tapir hide (*yimba-kbt*). The warlike tendencies of the tribe were stimulated by means of periodical contests in which the most valiant warriors fought each other in the presence of the multitude.

To-day, as we have seen, the descendants of these have abundant opportunity to satisfy their fighting propensity by taking sides in the frequent quarrels of the political parties that thus far have kept Colombia in an almost continual turmoil.

Sexual intercourse between Paez women and men of other races is said not to exist; barbarous chastisement would be the fate of the offending female. It is to be expected, however, that the closer contact brought about by the gradual penetration of the Tierra Andentro by whites and negroes will soon overcome the purity of the Paez blood and open the way to amalgamation with the neo-Colombian race.

Reclus, cited above (page 311), gives us to understand that the Paez were cannibals, and the tradition current in the villages along the western foot of the cordillera confirms his intimation with reference to the Pijaos; for the coming of "el Pijao" is still a menace to children. The early chroniclers tell us of several anthropophagous tribes which lived in this region, and it is not unlikely that the Paeces had a share in that custom.

GRAMMATICAL NOTES

Castillo's *Nociones gramaticales* is limited to a list of the personal pronouns and the conjugation of the verbs 'to be' and 'to write.' A few more grammatical indications are incorporated in the vocabularies, but on the whole these data are very meager, and much remains to be done in this direction.

/185 cont./

623 no other solution, I had to marry, "reflected the informant," for
736 such was the law. The cabildo finds husbands for female orphans
562 (guaiches). Any youth could ask the cabildo for an orphan for a
583 wife and it would give her."

The husband may punish his wife. We were able to ob-
593 serve the case of a native Calderuno who with tears in his eyes
[586] asked for the help of the priest to get back his wife who had abandoned him because he had given her some blows with the flat of a machete, injuring her. The complaining husband explained that the maltreatment given to his wife had not been of any importance, and, anyway, she had cost him twelve pesos, meaning by this the amount paid to the priest to celebrate the
593 nuptials. They punish the wife when on returning from work
● 684 they find her drunk and without food prepared for eating. Likewise they whip her or cuff her in cases of infidelity. Absolute
[837] fidelity is demanded from both spouses, and transgressions from this standard seem to be infrequent.

Such cases as present themselves are settled by the cabildo,
593 as we were able to observe in Mosoco, where a husband, through
623 the suggestion of his own mother, accused his wife of infidelity.
684 The cabildo /186/ in session went to the house of the plaintiff
692 to establish responsibility in the presence of the interested parties. According to an informant from Calderas, when a married man has a child by an unmarried girl, his wife complains before the cabildo. If it finds the girl guilty, it punishes her with lashes and authorizes the complainant to cut the hair of her rival.
[848] The child born in this way, said the informant, dies of the plague.
[753] Cases of infidelity on the part of the husband a number of times arouse violent reactions on the part of the wife, up to the point of liquidating her rival in a barbarous and merciless manner, as occurred in San Andrés where out of jealousy a woman practically quartered the body of the other woman, and whose penal judgment was given in the city of Popayán not many months ago.

/141 cont./

231 Every member of the family knows every head of its herd
233 of livestock, and the men every head of the large livestock of
422 the entire village. Nevertheless, marks of ownership are used, which, for the horses, consist of branding irons with the first initial of the owner, such as are used by the colonists and may be bought there. The cattle have as marks of ownership small cuts in their ears in the form of a triangle, square, or semicircle, or a corresponding piercing of the ears. Pigs and sheep have the same marks of ownership in their ears.

231 Sheep (píša) are kept chiefly for their wool, though they
236 are also eaten. The total stock of the village, however, is so
[262] small that only every third family on the average owns one or
[422] two sheep. The other families must obtain the wool they need
[437] from the sheep owners in exchange for other things (see under "Trade and Transportation" /see p. 92 /). /142/ Pigs (čúče)
231 are greatly coveted because of their meat, but there are not
[422] enough of them so that every family can own one, only about every second family. Like all the other domestic animals, they roam about freely in the vicinity of the farmyard and must forage for their food. They are prevented from getting into the fenced fields by having a frame made of three sticks hung around their necks.

[343] Stalls for the animals or regular and special feeding or
[232] care are unknown. The owner puts rock salt in the pasture areas for the cattle and horses every Sunday. Occasionally scraps of arracacha or maize are thrown in front of the house for the pigs, which must then forage for them. Chickens (átaly; rooster =
235 atalyepítste, chick = atalyelúčkwe are now and then fed with maize or peck at the arracacha lying about in the dwelling. To feed baby chicks the woman chews some maize and spits out the
• [685] mash for them. Every family has a few chickens, but their number does not grow large because foxes and neighbors are always
[422] stealing those wandering free. Hence the average figure remains
231 at only two to three chickens and a rooster per family. In many
262 houses guinea pigs (fits) run about, living on refuse from the kitchen and, when roasted, prized as a delicacy.

/213 cont./

682 to Inzá by two members of the cabildo of San Andrés, friends and
623 relatives, as well as members of his own family, slipped him a
182 few coins so that he would be able to buy himself food in prison. His guards did not prevent anyone from doing this, and in general the feeling for the murderer was commiserating, but not unfavorable.

623 The punishments inflicted in Calderas by the cabildo are al-
692 ways floggings. In earlier times they were very rigorously carried
[681] out. There is no imprisonment. Today the cabildo judges only
[697] social misdeeds, debtors, and the theft of field crops, a chicken, or a sheep. Horse and cattle theft goes to the court in Inzá for punishment. The injured one himself may not punish the malefactor -- not even if caught red-handed - but must report everything
[693] to the cabildo. There the capitan and gobernador are the judges.
[624] The other members of the cabildo must likewise be present, but they have no vote. The sentence is very quickly passed. The malefactor is locked into one of the two rooms of the community
623 house, and the trial takes place on the next day at the latest. The
● 685 punishments are fixed. They consist of lashes with the whip, which
692 are increased for repetition. Thus, the thief receives ten lashes the first time, 20 the second time, and 30 lashes the third time; in case of further lapses he is shackled in the tree trunk. The theft of a sheep is punished with ten lashes and the replacement or giving up of the stolen object. If the accused protests, a house search is carried out with a member of the cabildo. If nothing is found, he must be set free again.

426 Loans up to ten pesos are given without security; beyond that the creditor is given a cow, a horse, a pig, wheat, or sugar cane as security. Loans are given only up to a year, so that the matter is not forgotten. Interest is not charged. If the debtor is unable to pay, a definite term is /214/ set for him; if he does not pay then, the lapse is reported to the cabildo, which punishes the offender with the whip. Denial is useless, for every loan transaction is concluded only before witnesses. If the debtor dies, the claims of the creditor are taken from his estate, for example, a machete, coca bag, or clothing. One may also ask relatives, for example brothers, to settle the debt. They are not obliged to repay it,

/214 cont./

426 however, so that in the case of a deceased poor debtor, the creditor has usually lost his money. Prescription does not occur.
685 A debt forgotten by the debtor may be collected by the creditor
695 years later, if there are witnesses. The situation is similar for
426 the theft of field crops: If there is no witness, no one can be found guilty. If, however, the witness is known as honorable and not deceitful, the accused is judged guilty, even without a con-
692 fession. There is no statement of confirmation corresponding to
695 the oath; similarly, no one condemned for wrongdoing has the
623 right to go to Inzá to the judge. For all misdeeds punished by the
208 [782] cabildo, the capitan and gobernador are the first and last authority; they do not act arbitrarily, however, but rely largely on custom
[686] and the opinion of the village. This is especially true if someone refuses several times in succession to take part in public works, but it also comes out -- unfavorably -- if a poor man tries to
623 become wealthy on his own. For example, disputes not infrequently
692 break out among the Paez on account of damage to cultivated
685 fields when the domestic animals of one person have broken into
578 the fields of a neighbor. Now the fences around each field must always be in good condition and put up in accordance with the term of use of the field. A fence for a maize field, which requires barely a year to mature, may be more lightly built than a fence around a sugar-cane field, which requires three years to mature. Then when strange animals break into fields with good fencing, the owner may kill them or at least wound them, for example, by
[231] cutting off a cow's tail. The owners of pigs fasten a triangular-shaped frame around the necks of their pigs to prevent them from breaking into fenced fields. If the fence is in poor condition, however, and has not been newly erected especially for the planted field, the owner of the animals breaking into the field is not to blame and the owner of the field may not kill them. Of course, the soundness of a fence is to a great extent a matter of opinion, and it happens not infrequently that the disputants go after each
696 other with machetes and wound each other considerably. The
685
417 /215/ guilty party is then, after an inspection of the fence, punished
681

/215 cont./

696 according to the decision of the cabildo. First of all, the animal
685 or the crop destroyed must be replaced, and then the offender is
417 put in the "tree trunk." This is a form of punishment that was
681 formerly used very frequently in other Paez communities, too.
[824] Actually it consists of two tree trunks, into each of which two notches are chopped on opposing sides. The condemned person is put in, with his feet up to the ankles in these rather narrow notches, and then the tree trunks are tightly bound together with
[623] lianas. All the members of the cabildo take part in this work. Then the bound tree trunks are fastened to the ceiling of the council house, so that the condemned man hangs head downward and the trunks cut into his flesh very considerably. There were no other types of punishment. The degree was determined by the number of hours of hanging, which extended from one to, allegedly, 24 hours.

556 Injustices on the part of envious fellow-citizens toward a
626 man striving for wealth manifest themselves by their driving their animals into the man's well-fenced fields. This is done until the person in question no longer feels any inclination to excel over others
[623] through diligence and property. Little is accomplished by com-
[692] plaining to the cabildo, since the gobernador cannot make a de-
[208] cision that runs counter to the opinion of the entire village, and a weak spot in the fence can always be demonstrated somewhere.

692 Other and not infrequent occasions on which the cabildo must
623 act as judge are complaints concerning adultery and support (see
68 above). There are no complaints about verbal insults, just as there is no punishment for this. They are countered by matching expressions. Similarly, unintentional bodily injury, for example, by a machete during joint work or a case of death during tree-cutting, is not punishable. Only if a person shoots his neighbor's eye out with an elastic sling during bird hunting would he be punished, "but not very severely."

000 /288 cont./
756 medicine men. To cure the patient, he divines which of the
755 supernatural beings caused the illness, proceeds to placate him,
[787] and then prescribes medicines to the patient. If the placation is not successful, the patient literally sinks into despair. The indispensable articles for all curing are coca, tobacco, and
[462] aguardiente. The medicine men are persons well along in years
[754] and belonging to the masculine sex. They cannot cure the effects of sorcery, although they can protect themselves against it.

754 c) Fifty per cent of all illnesses, the informants state,
[753] are caused by sorcery, and by the same token 50 per cent of
[761] the deaths, since sorcery is incurable. The sorcerers conceal their activities, and it seems that all adults are potential sor-
754 cerers. The institution of sorcery is a true escape valve for the
154 strong aggressive impulses of the natives and to some extent plays the role of a social regulator. Through it are channeled the jealousy, resentment, and vengefulness of the natives. The victims of sorcery are the most skillful and hard-working individuals, those who have a good house, good crops, and a growing number of domestic animals. Harvests and plantings
[683] generally are the object of sorcery. Sorcerers who are publicly unmasked are exposed to the anger of the community and even to exile, a measure taken not so much on account of their be-
[685] ing sorcerers as of their being thieves. All sorcerers are thieves. Sorcery appears with considerable frequency in the symbolism of dreams.

583 Marriage.--Marriage is monogamous and patrilocal. Both
[595] the chroniclers and Dr. Gregorio Hernández de Alba speak of
[591] the custom of the year of probation to acquaint the man with
[177] the skill, energy, and fecundity of his future wife. A thriving
[797] institution in times past, it is now in sharp decline owing to the action of mission work. Obviously, the purpose of this institution is to find out whether the woman is hard-working, faithful, not a thief, and to understand her ways in order to establish a lasting union. Nowadays the Paez, before being married

/257 cont./

757 A curer from Santa Rosa, while taking a spell off a sick
554 person, explained that this man owned much land and that they
152 had cast a spell upon him in order to appropriate it.
598

In Calderas a man who can read, write, and make memorials for the Alcaldía of Inzá, a maker of fireworks, builder of houses, and good farmer, was naturally the cause of envy. A sorcerer wanted to kill him. He called his soul while he was asleep. But the one called was aided by the soul of his brother, who blew mambe toward him. On the following day his left eye became white and was on the point of dropping out. A curer was able to cure him, but he remained one-eyed. The two brothers remained enemies of the sorcerer.

754 On another occasion and in the same parcialidad, two
613 brothers gave a sorcerer a beating. In revenge he cast a spell
623 on both within a year. Fearful of punishment, the sorcerer went to other parcialidades, but on his return the cabildo put him in the stocks.

In the old days -- says a curer from Santa Rosa -- the cabildos punished the sorcerers. Those of today are afraid of them. The elders /mayores/ have died bewitched. Actually, the Indians refuse to serve on the cabildo or to accept the post of capitán for fear of the sorcerers.

754 The sorcerers are all thieves. They often steal under the
685 very eyes of the owner, who, fearful that they will cast a spell upon him, does not make the slightest protest. But the sorcerers, in turn, fearful that he might complain to the white authorities, cast a spell upon him.

754 In Calderas, those who purchase livestock to expand their small hacienda have been attacked by sorcery.

The Indian who has lived with the whites, who has adopted
754 their clothing, their dietary habits, and their agricultural and
177 cattle-raising techniques, /258/ and who has given up the
554 habit of consuming coca and chicha is not only the victim of magical attacks, but is the direct recipient of offensive words and deeds.

/309 cont./

685 The natives do not steal maize. If they need some, they
243 buy it from their neighbor. Such transactions are made at very
[432] low prices. If someone refuses to sell, that is to say, "is stingy
[623] with maize," the buyer threatens to rob him, although he never
[692] does it if he is a good person, but will if he is bad (sorcerer).
Such thefts are punished by the cabildo.

243 When the ear of maize is filled out and tender (choclo /a
[789] roasting ear/) consumption begins, after the performance of
magical practices if the produce is from a new clearing (14).

14. Ibid., p. 246.

Consumption begins at the outer part and all around the field, leaving the central part to turn into dry maize. If someone picks maize from just any part, people comment acidly that he "eats like a dog." The harvesting of the maize is done in one or two days. Relatives and friends are invited to help
[476] and are rewarded with approximately one arroba. The same
[465] amount is also given to those who helped disinterestedly with the clearing and sowing.

243 /310/ An informant from Mosoco says that it is customary
431 among the natives to present relatives and friends with a "carrera" /stretch, row/ of each harvest. Those of wheat and barley are excepted. The carrera consists in harvesting all the "matas" /bushes, sprigs/ that remain around the plantings, since, as we have seen, the harvesting is done from the periphery to the center. The beneficiaries in turn do the same, so that the amounts received are reciprocally returned. This favor to relatives and friends carries with it implicit factors of understanding and affection, for not all receive this manifestation of esteem.
243 The same informant says that the consumption of roasting ears
574 begins with what is called "cura de la labranza" /treatment of the field/, which consists of the following: The owner invites his relatives and friends to a kind of banquet with an abundance of tender-maize cakes /bollos/ or tamales /envueltos/, chicken, and other select dishes.

/322 cont./

231 arracacha. Dogs, cats, and pigs live, the first on kitchen refuse, the second by hunting mice, and the last on grasses and roots from the thickets. They are not familiar with breeds of cattle, hogs, and sheep. Only the guinea pig is regarded as American, while the other animals are said to be genuinely Spanish.

[236] Sheep seem to have emotional value because they provide the wool for people's clothing. They are kept with affection and rarely sold or eaten.

Dogs also seem to have emotional value because of being the guardian of the houses and fields. In addition, they have symbolic value: they are the iron curtain, the protective barrier against the dark memory of the Pijao. If the latter were to reappear again, the natives argue, they would not be able to approach /323/ the houses, because dogs live there, which would inspire fear in the Pijao, for they are so dangerous for them that mere contact with their footprints or their hair would kill them. In the legends and tales there is frequent reference to these de-
[552] fensive concepts. The dogs have special names: Guagás (white),
[685] kuchi (black), salgento, pitán, policía. Dogs that eat sheep are invariably killed with a shotgun without previous consultation with the owner.

[262] Guinea pigs are the favorite food of children. They kill
[252] them by strangling them and eat them boiled. These animals are
[782] not used as offerings to the Duende. Nor do they serve as presents
[755] for friends or relatives. They are also used to combat mental illness by covering the patient's forehead with the entrails of the still living animal.

235 They "cuidan" /show special attention/ to favorite persons
[554] with chickens and eggs. They have mingas with turkeys. Eggs
[262] are consumed, but in general they are sold.

[432] They use the honey and the wax from the hives of wild bees.
222 The honey, they say, is good for persons who suffer from "cold."
237 With the wax they soften hide lassos, and they occasionally use it
[757] for illumination. Domestic hives do not exist.

231 Wild animals, such as parrots, chicaos /a kind of bird/, squirrels, and micos, are never domesticated.

/214 cont./

426 however, so that in the case of a deceased poor debtor, the creditor has usually lost his money. Prescription does not occur.
685 A debt forgotten by the debtor may be collected by the creditor
695 years later, if there are witnesses. The situation is similar for
426 the theft of field crops: If there is no witness, no one can be found guilty. If, however, the witness is known as honorable and not deceitful, the accused is judged guilty, even without a con-
692 fession. There is no statement of confirmation corresponding to
695 the oath; similarly, no one condemned for wrongdoing has the
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208 [782] cabildo, the capitan and gobernador are the first and last authority; they do not act arbitrarily, however, but rely largely on custom
[686] and the opinion of the village. This is especially true if someone refuses several times in succession to take part in public works, but it also comes out -- unfavorably -- if a poor man tries to
623 become wealthy on his own. For example, disputes not infrequently
692 break out among the Paez on account of damage to cultivated
685 fields when the domestic animals of one person have broken into
578 the fields of a neighbor. Now the fences around each field must always be in good condition and put up in accordance with the term of use of the field. A fence for a maize field, which requires barely a year to mature, may be more lightly built than a fence around a sugar-cane field, which requires three years to mature. Then when strange animals break into fields with good fencing, the owner may kill them or at least wound them, for example, by
[231] cutting off a cow's tail. The owners of pigs fasten a triangular-shaped frame around the necks of their pigs to prevent them from breaking into fenced fields. If the fence is in poor condition, however, and has not been newly erected especially for the planted field, the owner of the animals breaking into the field is not to blame and the owner of the field may not kill them. Of course, the soundness of a fence is to a great extent a matter of opinion, and it happens not infrequently that the disputants go after each
696 other with machetes and wound each other considerably. The
685
417 /215/ guilty party is then, after an inspection of the fence, punished
681

Colombia SC1
Tierradentro

C /104 cont./
632 includes 15 villages with Belalcázar as the administrative seat.
[103] Belalcázar, which takes its name from the conquistador Sebastian de Belalcazar, but not altogether correctly, since the latter was unable to conquer the Tierradentro area, is at the same time the
P 162 seat of the Apostolic Prefect for Tierradentro. According to the
C 162 census of 1938, the population of Tierradentro, consisting of mixed-
632 colored colonists and racially pure Indios, contains 17,578 inhabitants, distributed over Belalcázar with 13,861 and Inzá with 3,717 inhabitants. The more recent count of 1951, with a total of 25,495 inhabitants, showed a considerably larger figure, of which 15,388 fall to the municipio of ~~Belalcazar~~ and 10,103 to
C [114] the municipio of Inzá. A comparison of the two counts of 1938 and 1951 shows /105/ a notable error in the count in the municipio of Inzá for the year 1938 (figures cited in Bernal Villa [I], p. 285).

P 641 Of this number about 80 per cent are natives who today
[162] are largely civilized, that is, they are baptized and speak some
[851] Spanish. Politically they, too, are basically full citizens of the
[191] country; they may vote and be drafted into military service, but
P 641 do not pay any taxes. In one respect, however, fortunately for
423 them, they are regarded as "minors" before the law; in their totality they own all the landed property of Tierradentro, but
P 641 the individual man is not in a position to sell his land. This is
423 supposed to keep the Paez from losing their settlement area to the whites. In practice this law is not always strictly observed,
691 for otherwise neither the colonists nor the large landowners, who
648 are slowly but surely pushing their pasture and agricultural lands into the territory of the natives, could be in Tierradentro. The latter cannot in fact defend themselves against this, for, due to lack of money, no one among them is in a position to complain in court. If a complaint is nevertheless made, the Indios always lose, as, for example, in Itaibe, in the southeastern part of Tierradentro, where the Spaniards began to colonize as early as 1636 and where for many years lawsuits were carried on by the Indios in vain. Moreover, no judge is able to undertake anything against a rich landowner or against the missions likewise owning land.

/363 cont./

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Parcialidad	Less than $100.00	From $100.00 to $500.00	From $500.00 to $1,000.00	From $1,000.00 to $2,000.00	From $2,000.00 to $5,000.00	More than $5,000.00
Mosoco	-	2	12	9	1	1
Lame	-	4	2	-	2	-
San Andrés	2	6	2	-	4	1
Totals	2	12	16	9	7	2

We thus observe that 28 of the 48 families studied, or 78.3%, have incomes of less than 1,000 pesos, with which savings [426] practically cannot exist. Even with regard to the Mosoco family [691] identified by the number 18, which in the Savings column has the amount of $1,034.24 7/1 we were able to verify that this amount /364/ was strictly nominal and that the head of the family had resorted to the Caja Agraria to ask for a loan of $500.00 to make improvements on his finca, a loan which he indeed obtained; through indirect information we were able to ascertain that the amount given as savings was possibly spent on the expenses of a [563] lawsuit for land which a brother-in-law was prosecuting. The savings of the "white" families are true and also those of some few native families, but in general terms what we would calculate as savings can be assigned to the "Amusements" column; the natives live from day to day. The impulse to save does not exist or is minimal. We had the opportunity to verify that there is no prudence with regard to expenses when considerable sums are received, such as, for example, those that come from the sale of coffee. The modest savings of the natives go up in smoke

7/1 [column actually reads $1033.24, see p. 93-An.]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

631 666 [651] list presented by a council composed of former governors, the captain, and the síndico. The meeting may object to the list, but generally accepts it. On the following January 1, the cabildo-elect must appear at the office of the municipal mayor to receive the staffs, their insignia of office, and to assume their duties and responsibilities. The offices are: Governor and alternate, commissioner, two mayors (alcaldes), two constables (alguaciles), and three prosecutors (fiscales), one of whom is a young man assigned to learn the ways of government. The mayors, constables, and prosecutors are something like bosses or policemen, and execute orders issued by the Governor or by the captain or the municipal authorities to a community through the Governor.

423 **Property.**—The Indians today do not own any real property in the usual sense. The land assigned to an entire community is allotted [651] to each adult for his use when he becomes a macanero, that is, capable [554] of giving one day's work each year for the collective planting for the benefit of the saint and as many days as may be required by the cabildo for the repair of roads, bridges, etc., or for work in the village. The right to the use of the land may pass to the heirs, wife and children, in the absence of which it reverts to the community or the cabildo.

422 The house was formerly typical personal or movable property, which could be easily abandoned, dismantled, or destroyed. The same holds today for fragile cane dwellings. There are few houses so solidly built that they constitute real or immovable property. [764] Other personal property, such as utensils, clothes, weapons, adorn- [428] ments, and jewels, was formerly buried with the owner. These things and livestock, planted fields, and crops are now inherited by the [177] members of the deceased's family. In general, Colombian law is [692] being implanted by the judges and municipal mayors, although the cabildo judges some minor offenses and punishes the offenders by [623] whipping, imprisonment, or stocks (cepo), a form of torment retained [681] from Colonial times.

691 648 [423] Although the Indians' communities have in most cases titles of limits of their lands dating from Colonial times, there are still litigations on boundaries. An interesting case is the struggle of the Indians to dislodge a settlement of Negroes from the old salt works in Ambostá, where they were abandoned many years ago by a rich Popayán family who took them there to work the mines. The female Indian chief (cacica) of this territory allowed the Negroes to live on a hill, called "the hill of the fifteen Negroes." The Negroes are not organized under a cabildo, but have a chief who represents them. They all contribute to a special religious feast in the municipio, and provide means to continue the suit for the possession of the hill against the Indians.

/191 cont./

584 the city, even before reaching it, be devoured by a Pijao. There-
754 fore, this has never been attempted by any girl. An example of
539 the opposite is instructive in this connection. Our Colombian
114 colleague, Segundo Bernal Villa, who lived in the park of San
584 Andrés with us and at the same time carried on his ethnological and sociological research in Calderas, had often mentioned, jokingly and in order to make himself popular, that he intended to look for a bride in Calderas. He was often seen with a pretty Calderun girl by the people in the village, as he conversed and went walking with her. One day when he presented her with a bottle of brandy, not knowing or not heeding the courtship custom connected with this, his joking was taken seriously and very much amiss. The girl was sentenced by the cabildo to severe corporal [423] [692] punishment and, after this was carried out, was married the next day to a young man of the village.

584 For the official offer of marriage, the father of the young
431 man goes to the house of the girl's parents. He takes along a gourd calabash with about ten liters of chicha and five bottles of brandy. First he converses only casually with the entire family of the girl for half an hour, many jokes are made, and they talk about this and that. Then he asks the girl's father whether his daughter would not like to marry his son. The parents reply that they have only one daughter and that unfortunately they cannot give her away, since they themselves need her so much. Thereupon they converse further, talk about this and that, and then the father of the young man asks a second time whether the daughter of the house would not like to marry his son. But this time, too, the father of the girl replies that he has but one daughter and can unfortunately not give her away. Then they talk some more, until the guest asks a third time: "Can you not give me your daughter for my son?" The father of the girl then replies: "Very well, I shall give my daughter to your son, but I expect him always to treat her well and not to speak ill of her!" Then the guest hands over the bottles of brandy which he brought along, the first to the father of the bride, the second to the mother of the bride, then the third to the bride, and then a bottle each to her brothers and sisters. He gives all the chicha that he brought to the bride's

P /212 cont./
428 guests. In case the deceased has neither sons nor brothers --
P which scarcely ever happens, it is said -- the villager who takes
[768] care of the burial inherits his entire property. The widow moves
in with one of her brothers or sisters or some other relative.
T Disputes and misdemeanors, such as theft or adultery, are
● 692 judged within the communities by the cabildo; murder or serious
623 C bodily injury, by the Colombian state judiciary. It was said that
[692] murder and manslaughter did not occur in former times, the old
T 682 people told us; they are a consequence of "white" influences
623 and the weakening of the cabildo. One can well understand this,
182 for in Calderas where the village council still enjoys a certain
[177] amount of power and considerable prestige, it would be unthinkable
P for a son to stab his father to death. This happened in San Andrés
[177] where the cabildo exists only in the form of three functionaries
who are basically powerless and without standing and where the
young people, through the influences of the living conditions of
the white colonists, no longer have any feeling for the old
discipline and customs. It was in San Andrés in March, 1953,
that the son of the capitan stabbed his father to death. The
P latter, after the death of his first wife, had married a second
[593] time, for which his children reproached him vehemently. In a
drunken state, this led to a brawl, in the course of which the
father struck off half of his son's right ear and the son killed his
father with several knife stabs in the abdomen. After the deed, he
fled; but since it was known that he could find shelter only with
relatives, the /213/ gobernador of the town of Lame seized him
P a few days later in the house of his sister, where he had hidden.
[624] He was brought to San Andrés in chains and delivered over to the
sindico, who was simultaneously occupying the position of
gobernador. The latter, an older man of the age of the deceased
capitan, tried for some time to reason with the murderer, who
gave the impression of being uncommunicative and almost sullen;
he pointed out to him the baseness of his deed, of patricide, and
then he was led to the church in which the dead capitan was lying
in state. The son resisted violently, but was forcibly led up to the
corpse and broke down weeping before it. Before he was transferred

/213 cont./

682 to Inzá by two members of the cabildo of San Andrés, friends and
623 relatives, as well as members of his own family, slipped him a
182 few coins so that he would be able to buy himself food in prison. His guards did not prevent anyone from doing this, and in general the feeling for the murderer was commiserating, but not unfavorable.

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692 ways floggings. In earlier times they were very rigorously carried
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[697] social misdeeds, debtors, and the theft of field crops, a chicken, or a sheep. Horse and cattle theft goes to the court in Inzá for punishment. The injured one himself may not punish the malefactor -- not even if caught red-handed - but must report everything
[693] to the cabildo. There the capitan and gobernador are the judges.
[624] The other members of the cabildo must likewise be present, but they have no vote. The sentence is very quickly passed. The malefactor is locked into one of the two rooms of the community
623 house, and the trial takes place on the next day at the latest. The
685 punishments are fixed. They consist of lashes with the whip, which
692 are increased for repetition. Thus, the thief receives ten lashes the first time, 20 the second time, and 30 lashes the third time; in case of further lapses he is shackled in the tree trunk. The theft of a sheep is punished with ten lashes and the replacement or giving up of the stolen object. If the accused protests, a house search is carried out with a member of the cabildo. If nothing is found, he must be set free again.

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/214 cont./

426 however, so that in the case of a deceased poor debtor, the creditor has usually lost his money. Prescription does not occur.
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695 years later, if there are witnesses. The situation is similar for
426 the theft of field crops: If there is no witness, no one can be found guilty. If, however, the witness is known as honorable and not deceitful, the accused is judged guilty, even without a con-
692 fession. There is no statement of confirmation corresponding to
695 the oath; similarly, no one condemned for wrongdoing has the
623 right to go to Inzá to the judge. For all misdeeds punished by the
208 [782] cabildo, the capitan and gobernador are the first and last authority; they do not act arbitrarily, however, but rely largely on custom
[686] and the opinion of the village. This is especially true if someone refuses several times in succession to take part in public works, but it also comes out -- unfavorably -- if a poor man tries to
623 become wealthy on his own. For example, disputes not infrequently
692 break out among the Paez on account of damage to cultivated
685 fields when the domestic animals of one person have broken into
578 the fields of a neighbor. Now the fences around each field must always be in good condition and put up in accordance with the term of use of the field. A fence for a maize field, which requires barely a year to mature, may be more lightly built than a fence around a sugar-cane field, which requires three years to mature. Then when strange animals break into fields with good fencing, the owner may kill them or at least wound them, for example, by
[231] cutting off a cow's tail. The owners of pigs fasten a triangular-shaped frame around the necks of their pigs to prevent them from breaking into fenced fields. If the fence is in poor condition, however, and has not been newly erected especially for the planted field, the owner of the animals breaking into the field is not to blame and the owner of the field may not kill them. Of course, the soundness of a fence is to a great extent a matter of opinion, and it happens not infrequently that the disputants go after each
696 other with machetes and wound each other considerably. The
685 /215/ guilty party is then, after an inspection of the fence, punished
417
681

/215 cont./

696 according to the decision of the cabildo. First of all, the animal
685 or the crop destroyed must be replaced, and then the offender is
417 put in the "tree trunk." This is a form of punishment that was
681 formerly used very frequently in other Paez communities, too.
[824] Actually it consists of two tree trunks, into each of which two notches are chopped on opposing sides. The condemned person is put in, with his feet up to the ankles in these rather narrow notches, and then the tree trunks are tightly bound together with
[623] lianas. All the members of the cabildo take part in this work. Then the bound tree trunks are fastened to the ceiling of the council house, so that the condemned man hangs head downward and the trunks cut into his flesh very considerably. There were no other types of punishment. The degree was determined by the number of hours of hanging, which extended from one to, allegedly, 24 hours.

556 Injustices on the part of envious fellow-citizens toward a
626 man striving for wealth manifest themselves by their driving their animals into the man's well-fenced fields. This is done until the person in question no longer feels any inclination to excel over others
[623] through diligence and property. Little is accomplished by com-
[692] plaining to the cabildo, since the gobernador cannot make a de-
[208] cision that runs counter to the opinion of the entire village, and a weak spot in the fence can always be demonstrated somewhere.

692 Other and not infrequent occasions on which the cabildo must
623 act as judge are complaints concerning adultery and support (see
68 above). There are no complaints about verbal insults, just as there is no punishment for this. They are countered by matching expressions. Similarly, unintentional bodily injury, for example, by a machete during joint work or a case of death during tree-cutting, is not punishable. Only if a person shoots his neighbor's eye out with an elastic sling during bird hunting would he be punished, "but not very severely."

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

121 The present object is not in any way to contribute an exhaustive monograph on the Paez, but simply to give a summary of our former knowledge of them, together with the chief results of the personal information collected during the visit referred to.

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

Former Occupants. "Plados de Indios." Huacas

101 In addition to the still existing tribes, traces of the former
174 occupancy of the Cauca valley and the adjacent mountains by a dense Indian population are found at every step. The names of extinct groups, like the Hilamas, Ocaches, Jamundies, and others, impressed on the minds of the former Spanish inhabitants by reason of some of their more gruesome customs, have come down to the present generation, although the tribes, as such, have disappeared. Of the Hilamas and Ocaches it is said they were cannibals. At present their more or less mixed
[692 181 162] descendants still live in the villages of Las Pavas and Vijes, near Cali; the "Paveños" have become inveterate legal fighters, keeping their judges and alcaldes constantly occupied; while the "Vijeños," on the other hand, are now so peaceful that the court-house is known to have been closed for eighteen months at a time.

101 Of the Jamundies I was told that they were indefatigable
114 warriors, having fought the Spanish invaders to the last of their strength. Their name is perpetuated in that of the little town
[103] of Jamundi, near which I visited the very interesting vale of Agua Sucia, which may have been one of their principal strongholds, as well as a rich gold-washing place. The hills were and still are partly covered with graves, or *huacas*, and these have
[135] been found so abundant in gold objects as to have induced enterprising miners, or *huaqueros*, to conduct a stream of water from a long distance in order to completely wash the slopes.
172 I do not attempt to mention the fabulous riches that are said to have been extracted from this place and from several other no less rich discoveries. An immense amount of pottery, often highly ornamented, together with grinding-stones, hatchets,

/255 cont./

754 It is said that one who is to become a sorcerer does not need a teacher; he will discover the remedies and the evil spirits. Nevertheless, in the Parcialidad of Santa Rosa it is said that the most dangerous sorceress in the place teaches people how to do witchcraft.

754 *756 The tẽ eu can easily become sorcerers, if they show interest in becoming familiar with their remedies. A sorcerer can be a good curer and cure people, but nevertheless he will demand better provisions.

754 *[756] As a rule, it is unusual for a tẽ eu to be universally acknowledged as such, for many people, and the sorcerers among them, commonly designate them as nasa jihi (evil person).

[787] They may have the visions from a very early age, but the practice of sorcery begins in adulthood and is perfected with maturity. The sorcerers who are publicly acknowledged are about 35 years old, most of them being elders.

/256/ Sorcerers never show their remedies; much less is it possible to attend one of their sessions. This is a concealed activity. One knows who the sorcerers are by public identification. [124] All the information obtained about them is provided by the people and sometimes by the curer himself. [156] Nevertheless, none of them confesses practicing this activity; rather, on the contrary, they protest their innocence and claim to be the best persons in the community.

[623] [692] The remedies that the sorcerers possess are said to be well hidden, for if the cabildo were to find them, they would punish them irremediably.

[513] The sorcerers cast their spells at night. The natives say that they do not sleep. No sooner has night fallen than they are chewing coca and tobacco. They sleep during the day. They prefer the dark of night for performing their activities, although they do not have special days or specific hours.

The sorcerers do not introduce objects into the body (toads, hair, etc.), nor can they turn into animals.

/309 cont./

685 The natives do not steal maize. If they need some, they
243 buy it from their neighbor. Such transactions are made at very
[432] low prices. If someone refuses to sell, that is to say, "is stingy
[623] with maize," the buyer threatens to rob him, although he never
[692] does it if he is a good person, but will if he is bad (sorcerer).
Such thefts are punished by the cabildo.

243 When the ear of maize is filled out and tender (choclo /a
[789] roasting ear/) consumption begins, after the performance of
magical practices if the produce is from a new clearing (14).

14. Ibid., p. 246.

Consumption begins at the outer part and all around the field, leaving the central part to turn into dry maize. If someone picks maize from just any part, people comment acidly that he "eats like a dog." The harvesting of the maize is done in one or two days. Relatives and friends are invited to help
[476] and are rewarded with approximately one arroba. The same
[465] amount is also given to those who helped disinterestedly with the clearing and sowing.

243 /310/ An informant from Mosoco says that it is customary
431 among the natives to present relatives and friends with a "carrera" /stretch, row/ of each harvest. Those of wheat and barley are excepted. The carrera consists in harvesting all the "matas" /bushes, sprigs/ that remain around the plantings, since, as we have seen, the harvesting is done from the periphery to the center. The beneficiaries in turn do the same, so that the amounts received are reciprocally returned. This favor to relatives and friends carries with it implicit factors of understanding and affection, for not all receive this manifestation of esteem.
243 The same informant says that the consumption of roasting ears
574 begins with what is called "cura de la labranza" /treatment of the field/, which consists of the following: The owner invites his relatives and friends to a kind of banquet with an abundance of tender-maize cakes /bollos/ or tamales /envueltos/, chicken, and other select dishes.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

621 631 666 [651] list presented by a council composed of former governors, the captain, and the síndico. The meeting may object to the list, but generally accepts it. On the following January 1, the cabildo-elect must appear at the office of the municipal mayor to receive the staffs, their insignia of office, and to assume their duties and responsibilities. The offices are: Governor and alternate, commissioner, two mayors (alcaldes), two constables (alguaciles), and three prosecutors (fiscales), one of whom is a young man assigned to learn the ways of government. The mayors, constables, and prosecutors are something like bosses or policemen, and execute orders issued by the Governor or by the captain or the municipal authorities to a community through the Governor.

423 **Property.**—The Indians today do not own any real property in the usual sense. The land assigned to an entire community is allotted [651] to each adult for his use when he becomes a macanero, that is, capable [554] of giving one day's work each year for the collective planting for the benefit of the saint and as many days as may be required by the cabildo for the repair of roads, bridges, etc., or for work in the village. The right to the use of the land may pass to the heirs, wife and children, in the absence of which it reverts to the community or the cabildo.

422 The house was formerly typical personal or movable property, which could be easily abandoned, dismantled, or destroyed. The same holds today for fragile cane dwellings. There are few houses so solidly built that they constitute real or immovable property. [764] Other personal property, such as utensils, clothes, weapons, adorn- [428] ments, and jewels, was formerly buried with the owner. These things and livestock, planted fields, and crops are now inherited by the [177] members of the deceased's family. In general, Colombian law is [692] being implanted by the judges and municipal mayors, although the [623] cabildo judges some minor offenses and punishes the offenders by whipping, imprisonment, or stocks (cepo), a form of torment retained [681] from Colonial times.

Although the Indians' communities have in most cases titles of 691 limits of their lands dating from Colonial times, there are still liti- 648 gations on boundaries. An interesting case is the struggle of the [423] Indians to dislodge a settlement of Negroes from the old salt works in Ambostá, where they were abandoned many years ago by a rich Popayán family who took them there to work the mines. The female Indian chief (cacica) of this territory allowed the Negroes to live on a hill, called "the hill of the fifteen Negroes." The Negroes are not organized under a cabildo, but have a chief who represents them. They all contribute to a special religious feast in the municipio, and provide means to continue the suit for the possession of the hill against the Indians.

/185 cont./

623 no other solution, I had to marry, "reflected the informant," for
736 such was the law. The cabildo finds husbands for female orphans
562 (guaiches). Any youth could ask the cabildo for an orphan for a
583 wife and it would give her."

The husband may punish his wife. We were able to ob-
593 serve the case of a native Calderuno who with tears in his eyes
[586] asked for the help of the priest to get back his wife who had abandoned him because he had given her some blows with the flat of a machete, injuring her. The complaining husband explained that the maltreatment given to his wife had not been of any importance, and, anyway, she had cost him twelve pesos, meaning by this the amount paid to the priest to celebrate the
593 nuptials. They punish the wife when on returning from work
684 they find her drunk and without food prepared for eating. Likewise they whip her or cuff her in cases of infidelity. Absolute
[837] fidelity is demanded from both spouses, and transgressions from this standard seem to be infrequent.

Such cases as present themselves are settled by the cabildo,
593 as we were able to observe in Mosoco, where a husband, through
623 the suggestion of his own mother, accused his wife of infidelity.
684 The cabildo /186/ in session went to the house of the plaintiff
692 to establish responsibility in the presence of the interested parties. According to an informant from Calderas, when a married man has a child by an unmarried girl, his wife complains before the cabildo. If it finds the girl guilty, it punishes her with lashes and authorizes the complainant to cut the hair of her rival.
[848] The child born in this way, said the informant, dies of the plague.
[753] Cases of infidelity on the part of the husband a number of times arouse violent reactions on the part of the wife, up to the point of liquidating her rival in a barbarous and merciless manner, as occurred in San Andrés where out of jealousy a woman practically quartered the body of the other woman, and whose penal judgment was given in the city of Popayán not many months ago.

/187 cont./

593 and de facto (with a machete) aggression of a married son (23 years old) against his parents, and the situation calmed down when the father succeeded in disarming the aggressor.

Brothers and sisters respect each other. They avoid aggression, and when they are little they play together. The younger brothers greet the older ones, and when the latter marry, they receive, kneeling, the blessing of the former.

[241] The fruits of the harvests are shared among the brothers,
[476] just as they also mutually help one another in the arduous agricultural work. According to an informant, men care more for their brothers than for their sisters, because the latter, upon marrying, leave the home. Nevertheless they show affection in their conduct with both sexes. Relations between sisters and the mother are intimate, as they live together under the same
[855] roof and intermingle in performing the same work. The older ones help to bring up the younger brothers and sisters. The latter call the eldest brother and eldest sister táta and máma, names that they abandon when they have reached adulthood.
[627] In case of a fight involving one of the brothers, the others go to his assistance and take vengeance if anyone has been injured,
[623] but this is not an obligation. Quarrels between brothers may
[692] arise over the distribution of land. In the greater number of such cases the cabildo settles the differences.

602 Relations between the families united among themselves by blood ties are intimate. They visit one another frequently and are shown painstaking treatment.

593 Mingas are organized more readily among brothers, who
[476] "cover up their poverty." In the religious festivals they mutually
[651] back one another and during occasional meetings they endeavor
[796] to drink and eat together.

1/1 [i.e., meetings for collective work--Analyst]

/213 cont./

682 to Inzá by two members of the cabildo of San Andrés, friends and
623 relatives, as well as members of his own family, slipped him a
182 few coins so that he would be able to buy himself food in prison. His guards did not prevent anyone from doing this, and in general the feeling for the murderer was commiserating, but not unfavorable.

623 The punishments inflicted in Calderas by the cabildo are al-
692 ways floggings. In earlier times they were very rigorously carried
[681] out. There is no imprisonment. Today the cabildo judges only
[697] social misdeeds, debtors, and the theft of field crops, a chicken, or a sheep. Horse and cattle theft goes to the court in Inzá for punishment. The injured one himself may not punish the malefactor -- not even if caught red-handed - but must report everything
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623 house, and the trial takes place on the next day at the latest. The
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/254 cont./

for it. If a black cloud draws near, he cuts it with the tama. It is the ptans.

The relations between these two men, on whose activities a great part of the security of the group rests, are not cordial; they are relations of latent and permanent aggression. The sorcerers wait for carelessness on the part of the curer. If they catch him asleep, they kill him at once. The sorcerers use pieces of glass to put an end to the wisdom of the Te eu, that is to say, to the signs. They can call sicknesses, combine all the pests, and send them to another parcialidad or to the curer himself so that they will kill.

When a té eu meets a sorcerer, they barely greet each other; at night he takes every precaution.

The curers can accuse a sorcerer before the cabildo, but they are afraid to do so.

/255/

Chapter II

Nasa Jihi

The vision that decides a destiny. Just as a té eu needs to see visions in order to decide on his vocation, the sorcerer also decides by means of visions. For example, if in the beak of a bird there is seen a donkey with open mouth into which mosquitoes fly, or simply pigs, the person is fated to become a sorcerer. These visions are personal and usually occur in isolated spots, such as ravines or bogs, where animals cannot come, on any day or at any hour, for this can take place in the daytime or at night.

When a person claims to have seen a donkey, people say that he is going to eat people. It is commonly stated that those who like to walk about at night are more likely to become sorcerers, for they have the opportunity to meet with evil spirits.

/214 cont./

426 however, so that in the case of a deceased poor debtor, the creditor has usually lost his money. Prescription does not occur.
685 A debt forgotten by the debtor may be collected by the creditor
695 years later, if there are witnesses. The situation is similar for
426 the theft of field crops: If there is no witness, no one can be found guilty. If, however, the witness is known as honorable and not deceitful, the accused is judged guilty, even without a con-
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208 [782] cabildo, the capitan and gobernador are the first and last authority; they do not act arbitrarily, however, but rely largely on custom
[686] and the opinion of the village. This is especially true if someone refuses several times in succession to take part in public works, but it also comes out -- unfavorably -- if a poor man tries to
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696 other with machetes and wound each other considerably. The
685
417 /215/ guilty party is then, after an inspection of the fence, punished
681

/173 cont./
123 promise it. When I arrived in Calderas on Monday I found that
623 the men of the village had not wanted to meet a second time and
554 that they had indeed begun the work.

623 The alcaldes and the alguacil are the messengers of the
[203] cabildo; they notify the people when communal projects are
[696] necessary. Moreover, the alguacil administers corporal punish-
[203] ment. The three comisarios are likewise messengers and help
[794] the gobernador carry out and supervise public projects. It is the duty of the fiscales -- together with the gobernador -- to decorate the church. They provide candles and help the priest. According to C. Cuervo Marquez (Vol. II, p. 183), the fiscales formerly also had the duty of defending the interests of the /174/
871 village against the encroachments of the colonists. The comisario
623 escolar, finally, is responsible for the school attendance of the
[797] children. The mission sisters, as the teachers, turn to him and
[875] he is supposed to get the children to school, by force, if necessary.

621 It should not remain unmentioned that Calderas -- and ap-
623 parently this village only -- is divided into four parts, each of
[361] which occupies roughly a cardinal point and has about 50 houses. An alcalde, alguacil, fiscal, and comisario are each an equal representative of a quarter in the cabildo. At present the alcalde is the representative of the western region of Yocashí, the alguacil the representative of the northern region of Puélche, the fiscal that of the eastern region of Aépel, and the comisario that of the southern Bishók. I was told that the connection between an office and the representation of a village quarter is arbitrary, depending on where the occupant of the post happens to live. The official position within the cabildo is first assigned, and today it is the more important. Four of them take over the representation of a village quarter each. Thus, the comisario, if he lives there, may be the representative from Yocashí, and the alcalde the representative of Aépel. The present gobernador, for example, was fiscal ten years ago. Since he lives in the village section of Puélche, he was at the same time the representative of this quarter.

/175 cont./
623 handle an additional crescent-shaped piece of silver leaf is applied.
293 In former years, on the first day of the new year, a cere-
623 mony for the old as well as for the newly elected cabildo took
796 place on the not easily accessible lagoon of Juan Tama, the
778 Páramo de Moras, and lasted for several days. It started with
828 chicha drinking under the leadership of a shaman, after which the culture hero, Juan Tama, and the spirits of the ancestors (?) were asked by the shaman for advice and assistance in the coming year. A dance and a bath in the lagoon concluded the ceremony (Bürg, pp. 340 f.). According to my information, this gathering at the lagoon has not been carried out for several years. The reason given is that for several years in succession it has rained around
[787] New Year's time. After that the shamans announced that with this
[776] sign Juan Tama renounced any further performances of the ceremony on his lagoon.

623 The election of the cabildo is done by the men of the entire
666 village. The candidates must be citizens of the given village,
[641] that is to say, they must own land there. A stranger could never hold office in a Paez village. The candidates may not propose themselves, but must be nominated by the assembly or by the old cabildo. Anyone who is elected for an office by the village assembly for the first time may not refuse, but must accept it. Only re-election, which is possible up to five or ten years in succession, is voluntary. The wealth or possessions of the candidates do not play
[556] any role. The present gobernador, Marcelo Muse, is /176/ about 30 years old. Two children, a son about six years old and a four-year-old daughter, are living; four of his children died. In the way of material possessions he owns five horses and two pigs, but no cows and no sheep. Ten years ago he was fiscal for a year. In the general opinion of the Paez the gobernador should not be too young or too old. The best age is between 30 and 50 years. The remaining posts, which to a large extent consist of messenger services, are generally held by younger, unmarried people, although
• [896] they may also be filled by married men up to 50 years of age. In general the gobernador chooses people who are loyal to him and who must also carry out the punishments for him, for a gobernador

/176 cont./

623 himself does not punish. For this purpose four representatives of
666 the lower offices have an official whip which consists of a rod ten
696 centimeters long, with a plaited strap about 80 centimeters long.

The election itself proceeds with the introduction of the candi-
623 dates by the capitan with the question: "This one as gobernador,
624 do you want him?" And they reply: "We wish it" or "we do not
666 wish it." It was interesting to observe how, after the death of the capitan, one of his relatives, Cerbelión Guagáz, tried to be named capitan. The priest, however, insisted on an election by the village. And although he tried very hard to have Cerbelión elected, the village kept refusing him because he was too autocratic and such people are not liked. Another whom everyone would like to have as capitan is himself unwilling. "As capitan I am only the beadle of the padre," he replied to my question as to why he did not accept the choice. And he had no desire for that. He had been comisario once and gobernador once, and now he wanted peace for the rest of his life.

2) Family Organization

594 The family of the Paez is basically the patrilineal nuclear family /Kleinfamilie/ consisting of the parents and unmarried
[513] children. The latter, while they are small, sleep with the parents in the kitchen; as soon as they are larger, in a compartment in
591 another part of the house. After marriage they erect their own house.
596 It is not uncommon, however, for the married sons to live with their wives for another year or two in the house of the father, until they have enough money for a house, which will be small at first. The daughters upon marriage leave /177/ the paternal home and then live with their husbands, that is to say, at first with the parents-in-law.

354 Normally, therefore, every house has only one cooking
596 place, in which the woman of the house cooks. If a son marries,
252 a new kitchen is partitioned off and a second place built for the
[462] fire at which the young wife cooks. As a matter of principle, each married couple -- and it alone -- has its own fire area, for the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook.

/214 cont./

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623 become wealthy on his own. For example, disputes not infrequently
692 break out among the Paez on account of damage to cultivated
685 fields when the domestic animals of one person have broken into
578 the fields of a neighbor. Now the fences around each field must always be in good condition and put up in accordance with the term of use of the field. A fence for a maize field, which requires barely a year to mature, may be more lightly built than a fence around a sugar-cane field, which requires three years to mature. Then when strange animals break into fields with good fencing, the owner may kill them or at least wound them, for example, by
[231] cutting off a cow's tail. The owners of pigs fasten a triangular-shaped frame around the necks of their pigs to prevent them from breaking into fenced fields. If the fence is in poor condition, however, and has not been newly erected especially for the planted field, the owner of the animals breaking into the field is not to blame and the owner of the field may not kill them. Of course, the soundness of a fence is to a great extent a matter of opinion, and it happens not infrequently that the disputants go after each
696 other with machetes and wound each other considerably. The
685
417 /215/ guilty party is then, after an inspection of the fence, punished
681

/215 cont./

696 according to the decision of the cabildo. First of all, the animal
685 or the crop destroyed must be replaced, and then the offender is
417 put in the "tree trunk." This is a form of punishment that was
681 formerly used very frequently in other Paez communities, too.
[824] Actually it consists of two tree trunks, into each of which two notches are chopped on opposing sides. The condemned person is put in, with his feet up to the ankles in these rather narrow notches, and then the tree trunks are tightly bound together with
[623] lianas. All the members of the cabildo take part in this work. Then the bound tree trunks are fastened to the ceiling of the council house, so that the condemned man hangs head downward and the trunks cut into his flesh very considerably. There were no other types of punishment. The degree was determined by the number of hours of hanging, which extended from one to, allegedly, 24 hours.

556 Injustices on the part of envious fellow-citizens toward a
626 man striving for wealth manifest themselves by their driving their animals into the man's well-fenced fields. This is done until the person in question no longer feels any inclination to excel over others
[623] through diligence and property. Little is accomplished by com-
[692] plaining to the cabildo, since the gobernador cannot make a de-
[208] cision that runs counter to the opinion of the entire village, and a weak spot in the fence can always be demonstrated somewhere.

692 Other and not infrequent occasions on which the cabildo must
623 act as judge are complaints concerning adultery and support (see
68 above). There are no complaints about verbal insults, just as there is no punishment for this. They are countered by matching expressions. Similarly, unintentional bodily injury, for example, by a machete during joint work or a case of death during tree-cutting, is not punishable. Only if a person shoots his neighbor's eye out with an elastic sling during bird hunting would he be punished, "but not very severely."

/213 cont./

682 to Inzá by two members of the cabildo of San Andrés, friends and
623 relatives, as well as members of his own family, slipped him a
182 few coins so that he would be able to buy himself food in prison. His guards did not prevent anyone from doing this, and in general the feeling for the murderer was commiserating, but not unfavorable.

623 The punishments inflicted in Calderas by the cabildo are al-
692 ways floggings. In earlier times they were very rigorously carried
[681] out. There is no imprisonment. Today the cabildo judges only
[697] social misdeeds, debtors, and the theft of field crops, a chicken, or a sheep. Horse and cattle theft goes to the court in Inzá for punishment. The injured one himself may not punish the malefactor -- not even if caught red-handed - but must report everything
[693] to the cabildo. There the capitan and gobernador are the judges.
[624] The other members of the cabildo must likewise be present, but they have no vote. The sentence is very quickly passed. The malefactor is locked into one of the two rooms of the community
623 house, and the trial takes place on the next day at the latest. The
685 punishments are fixed. They consist of lashes with the whip, which
692 are increased for repetition. Thus, the thief receives ten lashes the first time, 20 the second time, and 30 lashes the third time; in case of further lapses he is shackled in the tree trunk. The theft of a sheep is punished with ten lashes and the replacement or giving up of the stolen object. If the accused protests, a house search is carried out with a member of the cabildo. If nothing is found, he must be set free again.

426 Loans up to ten pesos are given without security; beyond that the creditor is given a cow, a horse, a pig, wheat, or sugar cane as security. Loans are given only up to a year, so that the matter is not forgotten. Interest is not charged. If the debtor is unable to pay, a definite term is /214/ set for him; if he does not pay then, the lapse is reported to the cabildo, which punishes the offender with the whip. Denial is useless, for every loan transaction is concluded only before witnesses. If the debtor dies, the claims of the creditor are taken from his estate, for example, a machete, coca bag, or clothing. One may also ask relatives, for example brothers, to settle the debt. They are not obliged to repay it,

Among the Paez, fishing with

/145 cont./

226 824 poisonous plants is done once a year, in the dry season, as community fishing with weirs. For this purpose -- it was explained to me -- a dam of stones and earth is first made by the men. The herbs, which only grow high in the mountains and contain a poisonous substance, and which have been pulverized with stones, are tossed into the pool thus partitioned off. These herbs are called yũkse or kẽse. The fish are said to die from them immediately. /146/ They are caught only by the men. But since the poisonous herbs are so far away and are to be found only with difficulty, the men are said to catch the fish sometimes unpoisoned at the weirs with their bare hands.

f) Weapons

411 The weapons of the Paez are limited to hunting weapons [726] and children's toys, since wars are no longer fought. The only important hunting weapon today is the shotgun. As children's [524] playthings there are the stone-sling (ĩsot), blowgun (pẽt), and in in recent times the elastic sling (kãučẽro).

[324] In former times, in the battles with the Spaniards, the [714] Paez were said to have used lances 25 handspans long made from the wood of the chonta palm, as well as plaited shields or shields [237] of tapir skin (Pittier, p. 327). I could find no confirmation for the [124] present-day or even earlier use of lance and shield; my informants [175] were familiar with neither the word nor the object. From the chroniclers, however, it is reported that the Paez, as well as other mountain peoples of this region, had learned from their battles with Spanish horsemen to defend themselves with long lances. There is, however, absolutely no foundation for a pre-Spanish use 714 of this type of lance. It is not unlikely that the Paez originally had plaited shields (opimb). The word for skin shield (himba-kat) is interesting; its present literal meaning is "horse skin." Whether himba meant "tapir" in pre-Spanish times cannot be ascertained.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

deserted savannas. It must be said, in extenuation, that they have been subjected to much abuse by their neighbors of the "superior race." Moreover, the Paeces are naturally hostile to strangers, descending, as we have seen, from a warlike people. The old Paeces always went about armed, carrying a lance or javelin in the hand and ready to protect their bodies from the darts of an enemy by means of a shield of basket-work (*opimb*), or of tapir hide (*χimba-kát*). The warlike tendencies of the tribe were stimulated by means of periodical contests in which the most valiant warriors fought each other in the presence of the multitude.

To-day, as we have seen, the descendants of these have abundant opportunity to satisfy their fighting propensity by taking sides in the frequent quarrels of the political parties that thus far have kept Colombia in an almost continual turmoil.

Sexual intercourse between Paez women and men of other races is said not to exist; barbarous chastisement would be the fate of the offending female. It is to be expected, however, that the closer contact brought about by the gradual penetration of the Tierra Andentro by whites and negroes will soon overcome the purity of the Paez blood and open the way to amalgamation with the neo-Colombian race.

Reclus, cited above (page 311), gives us to understand that the Paez were cannibals, and the tradition current in the villages along the western foot of the cordillera confirms his intimation with reference to the Pijaos; for the coming of "el Pijao" is still a menace to children. The early chroniclers tell us of several anthropophagous tribes which lived in this region, and it is not unlikely that the Paeces had a share in that custom.

GRAMMATICAL NOTES

Castillo's *Nociones gramaticales* is limited to a list of the personal pronouns and the conjugation of the verbs 'to be' and 'to write.' A few more grammatical indications are incorporated in the vocabularies, but on the whole these data are very meager, and much remains to be done in this direction.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

stroyed the city of Caloto, then on the Magdalena river, according to Alcedo. But it is not unlikely that, later on, during their decline, the Pijaos, Paós, and perhaps several other tribes became mixed, and those whom we now call *Paez* are the survivors in blood, customs, and traditions, of all these frequently named *parcialidades* or *naciones*. 101 174

Physical Characteristics

There is no special reference by former writers respecting the physical characteristics of these Indians, probably because of the apparent uniformity in type of all the tribes of tropical South America. According to my own very fleeting observations the Paez are small, broad-shouldered, with small bony hands, and feet broadened toward the extremities. Their skin is very dark, a character common to all Indians living at great altitudes. In the case of almost every adult, both male and female, coming under my observation, I observed a fine black pubescence covering all visible parts of the body. They appear to be generally strong and healthy, and their physical endurance is not below the average. On our trip across the cordillera each adult man carried at least thirty kilograms, and many of them more than fifty, and none complained of being too heavily laden, although the trail up to nearly 4,000 meters and down again was exceedingly rough and steep, requiring at times not only much exertion but equal presence of mind. 142 147

It is well to mention, after Uricoechea, that the Paeces are naturally inclined to warfare, and invariably join one side or the other in the unceasing Colombian revolutions. In early times they raided the Spanish establishments, the destruction of Caloto on two occasions (the first time in 1641) being still held by them in vivid remembrance as glorious feats of their ancestors. I was even assured that not long ago, during the last war, they were with difficulty prevented from making an incursion on the neighboring Cauca cattle ranches. 181 721

I was quite surprised to find among the Paez Indians a character that I had noticed previously in Central America, but of which no record could be found in current literature. I refer to 147

/146 cont./

726 In order to defend their mountain country the Paez also used [725] large rocks which they hurled down on the attackers from the [777] heights. They, too, however, soon succeeded in obtaining iron [411] and iron weapons. In their battles at the time of the Conquista they were already using swords and machetes.

411 The stone-sling plaited of agave fibers, whose manufacture 726 is described below (see under "Plaiting" /see pp. 85-86 /), is 773 of great importance mythologically in the battles with the "Pijao." 628 For geographical reasons it is the typical weapon of the American 411 mountain peoples from Tierra del Fuego to Canada, whereas the 191 blowgun, for similar reasons, is the typical weapon chiefly of the Amazonas and Orinoco forest area. The simultaneous occurrence of blowgun and sling is found all the way from Mexico to Ecuador and in Bolivia (Friederici, 1911, pp. 71-73, Pl. 13).

411 /147/ The blowgun of the Paez consists of a single barrel and is very simple in its construction. It is made only by men, but [462] for bird-hunting is used almost solely by boys. To make it, one [157] uses the thin, straight trunk of the ñiza tree, the pith of which is [223] burned out with a long iron tube about eight millimeters in diameter and heated red-hot. The length of the tube is two to three meters. No special mouthpiece is attached. As a sight a little piece of beeswax is pasted above the mouth of the blowgun. [324] The ball-shaped fruits of the smbák tree, which have exactly the right caliber when green, are used as shot. The range amounts [211] to about 20 meters. The accuracy of the shot is not great. Nevertheless, there are boys who have carved more than 20 notches above the blowhole of the tube as a record of the birds killed.

4. Crafts and Techniques

a) Treatment of Fibers

283 The fiber material used by the Paez for plaiting, weaving, nets, or ropes is primarily agave, cotton, or sheep wool. Agave and cotton are ancient American fiber plants whose homeland is probably Central America, while working with sheep wool has its tradition in the Peruvian Highlands. In working with llama or

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/145 cont./

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/286 cont./
182 no new harvest may be undertaken until the teyu has first cleansed
756 of the pest the building site or the crops, respectively.

/287/ He is, however, not only the protector of the individual or the individual family, but is also responsible for the beneficial
[773] co-existence of the members of the whole village. Thus, it is not surprising that it was the shamans -- besides Thunder under his various names -- who were the war leaders in the mythical tradi-
[726] tions. Thanks to their magical gifts and strength, they successfully led their people against the Pijao and the Spaniards. Several times the elders of the various villages told us that one day Thunder will again drive the white intruders out of the Tierradentro of the
[648] Paez and kill them. And it is only logical that, as late as 1952,
[789] on the occasion of an impending attack by an armed group of white revolutionaries, the shaman of Santa Rosa, as the successor of the mythical Thunder, should spit his magic herbs on the road leading to the village, in order to destroy them. Old Felisa Ipia is behaving in a similar manner when she keeps the souls of all the village inhabitants gathered together in the threads of her shaman's staff, in order to be able to protect them better against evil, magical influences.

756 On account of these certain supernatural abilities of theirs, the
554 effects of which no one in the community can evade, the teyu
[885] have a certain unofficial authority. In addition, they are all at least 30 to 40 years old and thus, by their very age, fulfill one of the natural prerequisites for recognition by the community. Not a few of them feel honored by this, set apart from the great mass of people, but many assured me that they were shamans only unwillingly, that though they were called by their ability to receive signs, they were nevertheless oppressed by the weight of the burden of their responsibility.

756 During times of epidemics of disease or inexplicable, "super-
124 natural" deaths, they are the focal point of the community, to
[182] which no one appeals in vain. And in conversations with them we generally had the distinct impression of facing unselfish, helpful human beings. They make no secret of their activity, and they tried, as best they could, to tell us about their experiences and knowledge which they use for the good of the community.

7:Hernández de Alba E-8,V(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez, SC15
Moguez

765 756 787 775 784 the fire and turns on the lights, and everyone returns to examine a layer of fine ashes placed beforehand at the door. If the ashes shows the footprints of an angel, they believe that the soul is saved, but if the footprints are those of a bird, they believe that the soul is condemned to hell. In some cases they ascertain the fate of the soul by the kind of bird prints.

WARFARE

726 The *Páez* and *Moguez* were particularly warlike. Their attacks were staged in the morning, accompanied by yells and the sound of trumpets, horns, sea shells, and drums. They were generally armed with great spears or pikes, spear throwers, and slings. When fighting, [411] they would first hurl javelins with their spear throwers, then use their slings, the missiles for which they carried in a pouch, and finally pick up their spears or pikes for man-to-man struggle. They also formed closed squadrons, men with clubs alternating with spearmen. The former would step forward to wield their clubs, and then draw back to their positions for protection. Their best defense was on high ridges, from which they rolled large stones on their enemies. They perfected these natural defenses by cutting or camouflaging paths on which they prepared ambushes. They built trenches or pitfalls, which caused the attacking Spaniards much trouble.

628 The principal enemies of these peoples were the *Pijao* and the Spanish soldiers. The *Páez* remember the *Pijao* well, and call the stone [648] statues in their territory "portraits of Pijaos," and the painted tombs, [632] "houses of Pijaos." They are afraid to see the statues or visit the [764] tombs.

To insult an enemy killed in war, they cut off his penis and placed it 727 on the road.

266 Some historians ascribe cannibalism to the *Páez* and the *Moguez*, which seems to have no basis in fact. They kept trophy heads and stuffed the skins of their enemies, but did not eat their foe. There are, however, numerous historical references which state that in the wars [175] against the Spaniards, the *Páez* left the bodies of dead enemies for the [648] *Pijao* to eat, and that they cremated their own dead or dried them [764] over a slow fire, which Friar Pedro Simón (1882–92, ch. 23) mistook for a means for preserving the flesh so that it could be eaten later.

[114] As war trophies, they kept enemy heads, which they preserved with resins, and the skins of their entire bodies, which they filled with ashes 72 (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 3). They even preserved the [314] heads of the Spaniards' horses. They carried these trophies to wars, meetings, and feasts.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

tion which would correspond pretty well with the explanation given by subsequent authors, except for its last, untranslated member, which seems to imply a lack of geographical knowledge on the part of Father Rodriguez. According to modern maps, indeed, the term "Alto", or "Cordillera", de Guanacas, seems to apply only to the group or node of mountains north of the Coconucos and Puracé volcanoes, and south of the towering Huila. This includes the "Páramo de Moras," which we crossed on our return from Tierra Adentro, but not the *Páramo de las Papas*, which is situated south of the Puracé, at the headwaters of the Cauca, Caquetá, and Magdalena rivers. 131 114 133

If we admit, then, that in Father Rodriguez's description the name Páramo de las Papas is merely a lapsus for Páramo de Moras, the area given by him corresponds pretty well with that which is recognized as such by Uricoechea in his introduction to Castillo's work, excepting that the latter extends this area northward to include the upper Yaguará basin. According to Castillo, this last was probably inhabited by another *parcialidad*, which he calls Bemb, "indios infieles de nacion pijaos." At Huila, when pointing northward to the valleys on the eastern slope of the volcano and asking who lived there, the Indians answered, "Los Pijaos", and among the Spanish people it is generally understood that the Paez and the Pijaos are one and the same. This is also the opinion of Reclus,[1] who says: "Among the various tribes that wandered through the thick forests of this [eastern] slope of the [central] Cordillera, the most barbarous were the *Pijaos* or *Paez*, who selected innocent victims to offer to their divinities. The enemy killed in a fight could be only indifferent to the gods; but a woman, a child, an inoffensive stranger, the pure ones, were welcome to the bloodthirsty genii." And these monstrous sacrifices must be repeated at short intervals to insure the permanent good-will of the gods. 131 114 101 [782 727]

The area given on the accompanying map (plate 1)[1] corresponds with the above-mentioned description by Rodriguez, 101 103

[1] Reclus, *Géographie universelle*, XVIII, p. 305.

[1] [See p. 304 – Analyst]

?:Hernández de Alba E-5,√(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

[75 648 [266] [727] by Belalcázar between the Kingdom of Quito and Bogotá. Few Spaniards wished to adventure through these wild lands where the Indians were strong and ambushed them. The founders of Timaná were constantly attacked, and the frightening legend of cannibalism began to spread. It was said that Spaniards were the preferred victims, and that the Indians considered the flesh of enemies the finest morsels in their great victory feasts. The soldiers collected some gold in the so-called penetrations (entradas) of the country—attacks really made to kill the natives, to destroy their crops, and to burn their houses. All of this made the Indians resist more strongly, but it was necessary to clear the road to Santa Fé, and the war of extermination went on without respite. Belalcázar himself returned to *Páez* territory and was defeated at the rocky cliff of Talagá in 1541, only to return with more than 200 soldiers, of whom 100 had horses, and spread blood and fire among the Indian villages. But the Indians made reprisals. They assailed Timaná and killed its mayor, after putting out his eyes and leading him through the market places with a cord passed through his face. This act of vengeance was to satisfy Gaitana, a valiant warlike Indian woman who had formed various Indian alliances against the Spaniards because they burned her son. In 1543, the *Pijao* destroyed the town of Los Angeles, recently founded in the Neiva Valley. They continually attacked the area surrounding Ibagué, but many of them were defeated and killed in 1556 in the plains of Chaparral by Francisco de Trejo's troops. Both Spaniards and Indians were stubborn in their struggles, the Indians being unwilling to make peace as long as they were being killed and their crops destroyed.

The struggle was rekindled in 1562 when Captain Domingo Lozano, having requested the privilege of conquering the Indians, organized an army and entered *Páez* territory. He founded the town of San Vicente de Páez near Huila Mountain in order to ensure Spanish domination of the heart of the country. But the Indians ambushed his soldiers and gradually killed off the cavalry, the Spaniards' strongest troops. Eventually, they destroyed San Vicente and again controlled their own rugged lands. The *Pijao*, meanwhile, fought to the death. They destroyed Villa Vieja or Neiva in 1569 and, allied with the *Páez*, took San Sebastián de la Plata in 1577, killing all its inhabitants and burning the houses. They finally put an end to and avenged the Spaniards' exploitation of a silver mine which had been discovered in *Moscopan* and *Yalcón* territory in 1551.

Fleeing Spanish pressure which extended from Timaná toward the heart of the Andes, the *Andaquí*, exhausted by the wars, followed the high hills to the east, and began in 1564 to descend toward the Caquetá River.

7tHernández de Alba E-5,1 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

with the right hand over the naked thigh. Two strands are similarly twisted together until the desired thickness is obtained. 283

Gourds.—Gourds are still widely used. They are picked when ripe, cleaned out, and dried. With small openings, they serve as containers for beverages and powdered lime. Some are made into bowls and others are cut up to make spoons. Today these objects are undecorated, but formerly in Timaná they were painted with a resin varnish very similar to that used in Pasto. (See p. 930.) Before the Spanish domination, gourds were also used as frames over which were stretched the prepared skin of the heads of their enemies killed in war. 415 824 [314] [721]

Metallurgy.—The metallurgy of these Indians was the same as that practiced throughout most of Colombia. The metals were gold, copper, and an alloy of the two (tumbaga). It is recorded that the Indians "worked gold," but the processes are not described. Specimens found recently in the territory, however, show molding, casting, and hammering. Metal objects included nose ornaments, parrot-shaped breastplates, necklaces with small animal figures, and some anthropomorphic idols. Gold occurs in this territory, particularly on the upper Páez or the Suin River. 325 [301] [532] [135]

Ceramics.—These tribes made and still make coiled pottery. Modern vessel forms include large jars for storing beverages and poorly shaped, crudely decorated containers for preparing and serving food. There is no individual specialization in this task, women making pots for their own family and not for trade. 323

Stone and wooden artifacts.—The native Indians made stone axes of a simple design, but stonework disappeared during the time of colonization, when the Indians could obtain manufactured iron weapons and utensils such as machetes, axes, hoes, shovels, etc. The manufacture of wooden objects—weaving, cooking, and farming implements and weapons—was furthered by the use of metal tools, and now is well developed, as exemplified by the trapiche (cane mill), a true machine made of wood. 324 182 199 322 249 199

Weaving.—Weaving, little practiced before the Conquest, developed with the post-Contact need for wearing more clothes and with the introduction of sheep, whose wool was used in addition to cotton. Weaving was and is exclusively the work of women (pl. 186). They prepare fine, uniform yarn with a common spindle, which they handle as they walk along the road (pl. 187, *top*). The loom is vertical, made of two horizontal rods fastened to two uprights. The warp runs vertically with a continuous thread. The horizontal weft is pressed down with a wooden sword. They also weave hemp bands on the loom. Woolen blankets are woven in natural colors, but some sashes have bright colors made of imported wool or of home-dyed wool. For red, they use one of the Rubiaceae (*Relbunium hypocarpium*), and for 286 [177] [462] [386]

595682—46——62

?:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

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628 The principal enemies of these peoples were the *Pijao* and the Span- [648] ish soldiers. The *Páez* remember the *Pijao* well, and call the stone [532] statues in their territory "portraits of Pijaos," and the painted tombs, [764] "houses of Pijaos." They are afraid to see the statues or visit the tombs.

To insult an enemy killed in war, they cut off his penis and placed it ●727 on the road.

266 Some historians ascribe cannibalism to the *Páez* and the *Moguex*, which seems to have no basis in fact. They kept trophy heads and stuffed the skins of their enemies, but did not eat their foe. There are, however, numerous historical references which state that in the wars [175] against the Spaniards, the *Páez* left the bodies of dead enemies for the [648] *Pijao* to eat, and that they cremated their own dead or dried them [764] over a slow fire, which Friar Pedro Simón (1882–92, ch. 23) mistook for a means for preserving the flesh so that it could be eaten later.

[114] As war trophies, they kept enemy heads, which they preserved with resins, and the skins of their entire bodies, which they filled with ashes 727 (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 3). They even preserved the [314] heads of the Spaniards' horses. They carried these trophies to wars, meetings, and feasts.

/101 cont./

175 648 Nineteen years later, in 1562, Domingo Lozano made a new attempt to exploit the rich silver mines of Timaná and La Plata. He was obliged to withdraw, however, only to return the next year with reinforced troops. He founded the city of San Vicente de Paez, but only two months later, in an attack by the Paez on the city founded by him, he lost his life. An auxiliary body of troops advancing in forced marches from Popayán was also completely destroyed. After this new expulsion of the conquerors, the Paez allied themselves with the Pijao, who had destroyed Neiva in 1569. Together they attacked and plundered the silver mines of the city of La Plata in 1577, killed all the inhabitants, and set fire to the houses.

As a result of these unfavorable reports, the Spanish king energetically ordered the "pacification of the province," which from 1605-1608 was carried out so successfully that finally the troops could not find any Indios to fight or houses to plunder. In 1605, after the lost battle of Itaibe, the Paez retreated to the region of their inaccessible mountains still occupied by them today. Their western neighbors, the Guanaca, allied themselves with the Spaniards, and the latter put through their territory the [997] connecting road from /102/ Popayán to Bogotá. In 1613 the Jesuits set up the first mission station and a rest station for travelers [164] in the town of Guanacas. In 1790 most of the Guanaca fell • [731] victim to an introduced smallpox epidemic. The survivors withdrew to the present Inzá, where they were absorbed among the colonists. Nothing has remained of their language.

175 648 797 The Paez continued to defend their country against the Spaniards and against missionization and, by their sudden attacks, made the road to Bogotá never quite safe. And then in the subsequent period the Spaniards had little interest in missionizing and civilizing the Paez. After the Guanacas station, only one 648 mission was founded in Tálaga. 179 Because of the location of the individual communities, enclosed by high mountain ranges, a 175 few villages were able to remain uninfluenced by Spanish civiliza- [36] tion for quite a long time. Later the authorities supported the establishment of native self-government, the cabildo /see the

/282 cont./

755 of the patient with water to which šũ and yakũma have been added
756 as medicinal herbs, so that he will now be completely freed of the
783 pest. Finally the teyu asks Thunder to prevent anyone from uncovering this hole in which the dangerous pest is buried. He further asks Thunder to help him in subsequent treatments of the sick later on. The patient is told that the signs are favorable, and he is again enjoined neither to use the medicines of the whites nor ever to pass this hole containing the pest.

757 Besides these two most important shamanistic ceremonies, the
756 treatment of the sick and the purification of the relatives after a
731 burial, the shaman's ability and his magical, supernatural powers are also called upon for preventive ceremonies and acts. This is particularly necessary if epidemics of disease -- smallpox, whooping cough -- occur in the village or in a family. In the first instance, the cabildo asks a shaman who is known to be able to speak with Thunder to conduct the proper protective ceremonies; in the latter instance, /283/ the oldest member of the afflicted family asks him. First a pig must be killed for this. A piece is cut from all the body organs on the left side, and everything is put into a new fiber
[782] bag. The shaman and the cabildo then set out in the afternoon for the lagoon in which Thunder is believed to live, in order to hand over to him the bag with the pieces of meat, with the request to avert the epidemic. During this time the women remaining behind have been preparing the rest of the meat for a meal, which, however, is eaten jointly only when, after twelve hours, the shaman and cabildo return from their ceremony.

756 For several cases of illness and death in one family the help of
783 a good shaman is likewise required. The pest is generally regarded
769 as the cause of these cases of death afflicting only one family, though according to a report by S. Bernal Villa, the deceased and angry members of the family are held responsible for this. In this case the eldest of the family provides brandy, coca, and tobacco, calls together the family members, and asks the shaman to come. The latter offers the angry ancestor spirits a fat pig that has first been tied in front of the house for a whole night, while the shaman during this time speaks to the spirits about whether they will accept the offering.

/284 cont./

132 gives rise to cold local winds that blow through the valley of the Páez, affecting chiefly the areas of Vitoncó, Suin, Chinas, San José, Mosoco, and also the parcialidad /a territorial division/ of Calderas itself. The variation in temperature is noticeable in these zones sometimes having hot days and very cold nights. Nebulosity is almost constant, especially in the northern zones.

241 Economy.--The topographic and climatic characteristics permit the cultivation of various plants, such as maize, beans, bananas, sugar cane, yuca, arracacha, and gourds in the temperate zones, and in the cold ones potatoes, maize, ullucos, [433] beans, gourds, and cabbage. The produce barely leaves a [439] surplus for trade with the parcialidades and urban centers of [438] Belalcázar, Inzá, and Valencia. The potato crops of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José serve for an active trade with the Paez of the western slope of the cordillera, across the Páramo de Moras.

433 Coffee and the production of panela are important lines 245 in the economy of the colonists and also of numerous groups 249 of acculturated natives. The coffee of Tierradentro is con- 177 sidered one of the best in the country, owing to the quality and mildness of the bean.

23 /285/ The raising of livestock flourishes among the civilized 437 groups. For the natives it serves for maintaining a barter trade with their neighbors, the white and mestizo colonists.

311 On the whole, native production is relatively scant, 433 giving rise to times of "hambruna" /ravenous hunger/ when [731] the summers or winters are rather harsh. The workable land lies in the small plains and valleys of rivers and streams, on the alluvial terraces, and on the plateaus. Comparing the size of Tierradentro with that of its arable land, the latter appears scant, a problem that is aggravated by the increase in population and the habitual burning.

101 Population.--Tierradentro is the country of the Paez, 36 who at the time of the Conquest were settled to the north of

/241/

824 The plants marked with an asterisk were identified by the
[128] Herbario Nal. Colombiano, in particular by Dr. Jesús M.
[137] Idrobo.

[127] For the others, we were guided by the work, Plantas Utiles de Colombia /Useful Plants of Colombia/, by Dr. E. Pérez Arbeláez, published by the Imprenta Nacional de Bogotá in 1947.

75 The té eu and the community. In every culture, medicine
182 performs an eminently humanitarian function. Its nature is
171 sociological. No matter what its methods may be, its purpose is to save human lives. It combats illness, but also prevents it.

75 Among the Paez, medicine cures and prevents. The
182 community and the family perform special ceremonies intended to achieve these two purposes of medicine.

755 When the pest (epidemic) has spread through the com-
*756 munity, threatening its subsistence, the authorities (cabildo)
182 invite the curer to conjure away the danger by performing the
●[734] wé ká.

When the illness prevails in a single family, markedly decreasing its members, the eldest invites the curer to perform
[765] the ut ká. After every burial the people must remove the ptans
[783] from their bodies and from the house where the death occurred. The curer is the only one who can do this.

241 The first fruits of plantings made on new lands not culti-
*756 vated before cannot be consumed until the curer has performed
783 the cleansing ceremonies. Thus, it is the curer who defends
182 the family -- preservation of the species -- who purifies the
789 harvests -- preservation of the individual -- and who also defends the community, warding off by means of his conjurations
*756 the epidemics and the individuals who threaten it. In 1952,
789 before an imminent attack by subversive armed groups on the
182 Parcialidad of Santa Rosa, the curer warded it off with maní de montaña /literally, "montaña peanut"/, chewed and blown on the path by which they were to come.

/241 cont./

731 Since the ceremonies mentioned have some differential
755 aspects, we shall look at them in detail.
*756 Wé ká (pest-send). When the pest appears in a community,
783 smallpox, whooping cough, which are rapidly finishing off
/242/ the population, the cabildo takes the initiative for conjuring away the danger. It requests from the people coca, tobacco, and aguardiente, they arranges for a pig and invite a famous curer who can talk to Thunder. From the edge of a lagoon, by means of good remedies and the help of Thunder, the curer must ward off the pest.

[782] They sacrifice the pig. From its left side they take a small piece from all the organs and place them in a new pouch. They gather glowworms (Echis) and go to the lagoon. The retinue made up of the curer and the cabildo leaves at three in the afternoon, and twelve hours later they will be back at the point of departure. Meanwhile, the women have been busy preparing the meat, without eating a single piece of it. They have not slept either, for they have an obligation to wait for the retinue wide-awake. When they arrive, the meat and stew are distributed, and the chicha and aguardiente are drunk. With this the people are relieved and the pest is banished from the community.

755 Ut ká ("dirt"-send). This is exclusively a family affair.
*756 When the members of a family are dying, there is ptans, says
783 an informant, while another one thinks, with more reason, that it is the angry spirits of the dead who want to finish off the family. In such a case, the eldest of the survivors arranges for coca, aguardiente, and tobacco, gathers the family members together, and calls the curer.

[787] The latter divines up to eight or ten nights. He captures up to 12 glowworms. He asks for a castrated and fat pig. He ties it up for an entire night and divines as to whether the souls of the dead members of the family will accept it. At dawn he orders it killed. The slaughterers, the chicha-makers, the carriers of the sugar cane, and the women cooks are not

* /252 cont./

756 They are very tractable, friendly, and in our cultural
156 terms we would say that they have a marvelous gift for dealing
157 with people.

When they grow old, they cease to perceive the signs.

[886] They believe that when a curer dies, his death is heralded
[787] by thunder. They live in permanent tension to counter the
[821] attacks of sorcerers. At the slightest symptom, they go to their
[763] kachí to divine and to take the appropriate precautions. They eat little so as not to sleep at night; they do not suffer from insomnia. They refrain from sexual relations and from ají during their treatments.

[734] They attract the entire concern of the community when epidemics occur. The true curers, those conscious of their profession, are temperate, engrossed in the fight against sickness, and of a kindly disposition. They inspire trust and do not show egoism; they readily explain the secrets of their profession.

* 756 Competition among the Té eu. Some rivalry seems to
578 exist among the curers, and the natives even list the zones of action of the curers. It is certain that a curer will boast of having overpowered another in the latter's own area of practice. A curer from Santa Rosa tells how he overpowered a colleague.

755 The informant went to give treatments to a white patient
* 756 at Alto de Atarraya. There he found another curer who was
578 giving remedies that were useless. The patient provided for them very well, with abundant chicha and aguardiente. The new arrival drank with care. His colleague had already eaten the pork, but the patient was following /253/ him. The two curers prepared to fight. The new curer took his tama and his coca and at nine at night prepared to divine. His assisting spirit told him that the other one had given false remedies. Thus he had to learn the effective remedies. He discovered that the harm had been done by a native servant girl, along with some neighbors who did not like him. At once he called in the cook in order to question her and make sure of what she had

?:Hernández de Alba E-5,4(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

The King of Spain, receiving word of the troubles in this region, ordered Don Juan de Borja, his Governor at Santa Fé, to carry out the "pacification of the province," meaning the extermination of its inhabitants. The decisive war started in Chaparral in 1605 and ended in 1608 when a Spanish witness wrote of this territory, where the *Páez* had remained free for so many years, that the provinces "were so desolated that the troops could not find Indians to fight, houses to plunder, or roots or grain to eat, and, if some Indian remained, instead of daring to plant boldly, he sowed four handfuls of grain here, two more there in the shadows and cover of the trees . . . they went about harrassed, thin, and emaciated until life was ended, for the soldiers saw corpses of people dead of hunger or sickness at every step" (Simón, 1882–92, Septima Noticia, ch. 49, vol. 5, pp. 314–15). A document in the ecclesiastical archives of Páez, dated July 17, 1638, states that in the lands adjoining the *Páez* there lived a *Pijao* Indian named Ambrosio, who had said that Captain Andrés de Zúñiga could now well enjoy this country because there were *Pijao* but not *Páez* Indians in it and because the *Pijao* saw themselves doomed and the land had no proprietor. 175 648

The *Guanacas*, who, because their chief was an enemy of the *Páez* chief, had allied themselves with the Spaniards in order to attack the *Páez*, were the first to surrender and join a Spanish colony. The first road between Popayán and Santa Fé passed through their territory, where the Spaniards established a hostelry for traders. This district was given to the Jesuits, who established the Church of Guanacas and, later, a town of the same name. But the Indians felt another lethal force of European origin—disease which they were unable to withstand. In 1790, a smallpox epidemic so reduced them that they abandoned their town, and the few survivors retired to the narrow mesa, where the modern town of Inza is situated. Here they gradually disappeared altogether. [797] [177] [164] [731]

The *Páez* continued to resist and defend their lands against Spanish missionization, so that the road to Guanaca never became secure. The extinction of the *Pijao*, the lack of important quantities of gold in the area, and the difficulty of the terrain, which was such that the Chronicler Pedro de Aguado said "to travel through *Páez* territory is to go up and down," caused the Spaniards to abandon interest in dominating these peoples. They were content to establish the Guanacas mission, and, a little later, the parish of Tálaga. Subsequently, as these Indians, who were isolated in their high mountains, were allowed to retain their customs and beliefs without interference, they did not protest when small groups of Whites peacefully occupied certain places in their lands. 175 648 797

Thus began the true Colonial Period for those tribes which survived the wars of the Conquest. The encomienda system was inaugurated, 175 648

/182 cont./

423 The work on the land is a daily exercise in co-operation.
461 Owership by an Indian is an unquestionable right, and its de-
[173] fense a categorical imperative. Lliban and Juan Chiracol
[628] fought the Pijao for the ownership of the land and to defend an
[648] inalienable right. Likewise, because the whites covet their land, they do not like to have them around /183/ and avoid receiving them under some pretext or other. Their security and
[735] their happiness lie in the ownership of land. Poverty as they understand it, a shortage of food and livestock, is due solely to the laziness of those who suffer it.

857 Children grow up in continuous communion with the
868 activities of their parents. While the girl helps her mother in household tasks and goes out with her to bring firewood from their respective clearings, the boys with their machete on their shoulder and their pouches of coca and mambe /lime/, exactly like their fathers, clean the clearings, build fences, weed their plantings, and when the maize ripens and the wheat grows tall, they spend the day defending them against the attacks of parrots, guaras, borugos, squirrels, and coatis. At an early age they are already doing the same tasks, but with the hope of building a house, marrying, raising children, and owning livestock, large quantities of coca, and sugar cane for their
342 chicha. In a way, the house is a necessary supplement to their pieces of land; furthermore, many are for the period of the clearings. The selection of a site for the house does not take into account either the beauty of the landscape or the levelness of the terrain, but rather the inaccessibility of both. Only when the house is to last for more than one generation will they attend to certain requisites: solidity, construction or privately owned land, and the selection of an adequate site by the medicine man (té éu). One fine day the owner selects a site: "This is a good place to build a house and to live," he
[759] says. Then he takes there the medicine man, who during the
[787] night "thinks about" whether the site is suitable or unsuitable; he chews coca and remedies, takes mouthfuls of aguardiente

/184 cont./

stereotyped conduct. It should nevertheless be stated that the present-day Páez surnames were still given names in the eighteenth century, chosen capriciously by the mother and not transmissible to the descendants (14). The adoption of surnames and

14. Castillo y Orozco, E. de., op. cit., p. 75.

their heritability through the paternal line is the result of the doctrinal work of the Catholic missionaries, and their assimilation and integration into Páez culture must have been carried out in accordance with certain aspects of a sociological nature existing previously. The same /an unpaginated genealogical chart appears here/ /185/ present-day monogamy of the Páez appears to be the result of a strong Catholic Christian influence, since in pre-Colombian times they were polygamous (15).

15. Hernández de Alba, Gr. "The Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia," 1946, p. 948.

The supreme authority in the nuclear family rests with the father; when he is missing, with the mother; and, when both are missing, with the most intelligent of the group. The husband orders, the woman only asks. The woman is always under the control of the man: the father, the brother, the husband. She has no liberty of movement. The cabildo has authority over orphaned women, including that of having them marry. One of our informants in Calderas was a fatherless orphan and had been brought up in Avirama in the company of her stepfather. Being of age, an Aviramẽño asked for her in marriage, but the cabildo of Calderas stopped the marriage, brought her back to the parcialidad, made her spend the night in the quarters of the cabildo, and on the following day made her marry a lad of 14 whom she did not know. Since she resisted, they beat her, admonishing her at the same time that if she did not do it, she would be married to a black dog in the future life. "There being

[text continues on p. 33]

/185 cont./

623 no other solution, I had to marry, "reflected the informant," for
736 such was the law. The cabildo finds husbands for female orphans
562 (guaiches). Any youth could ask the cabildo for an orphan for a
583 wife and it would give her."

The husband may punish his wife. We were able to ob-
593 serve the case of a native Calderuno who with tears in his eyes
[586] asked for the help of the priest to get back his wife who had abandoned him because he had given her some blows with the flat of a machete, injuring her. The complaining husband explained that the maltreatment given to his wife had not been of any importance, and, anyway, she had cost him twelve pesos, meaning by this the amount paid to the priest to celebrate the
593 nuptials. They punish the wife when on returning from work
684 they find her drunk and without food prepared for eating. Likewise they whip her or cuff her in cases of infidelity. Absolute
[837] fidelity is demanded from both spouses, and transgressions from this standard seem to be infrequent.

Such cases as present themselves are settled by the cabildo,
593 as we were able to observe in Mosoco, where a husband, through
623 the suggestion of his own mother, accused his wife of infidelity.
684 The cabildo /186/ in session went to the house of the plaintiff
692 to establish responsibility in the presence of the interested parties. According to an informant from Calderas, when a married man has a child by an unmarried girl, his wife complains before the cabildo. If it finds the girl guilty, it punishes her with lashes and authorizes the complainant to cut the hair of her rival.
[848] The child born in this way, said the informant, dies of the plague.
[753] Cases of infidelity on the part of the husband a number of times arouse violent reactions on the part of the wife, up to the point of liquidating her rival in a barbarous and merciless manner, as occurred in San Andrés where out of jealousy a woman practically quartered the body of the other woman, and whose penal judgment was given in the city of Popayán not many months ago.

/186 cont./

837 Should an unfaithful wife conceive a child by a man
851 racially white and the husband not be aware of it, the latter considers it his child even if it should inherit the characteristics of its progenitor. He will simply observe, "Why do my children come like this?" His wife answers him, "I don't know; it may
581 be echi or Pijao." In general marriages are well established and
593 stable, in spite of the fact that occasional tensions may arise between spouses. Divorce is unknown among the Páez. Extinction
586 of marriages by separation or the abandonment of one of the spouses is rare. In Calderas they can count on the fingers of one hand the cases where a man has abandoned his wife. "This is very ugly in a person, it should never happen," comments a woman. Cases in which a woman abandons the husband are much rarer still, being bitterly criticized when they occur.

594 The mother has the obligation to feed and care for her
854 children up to when they can leave home. Labor which she
[853] truly performs with love and care. The children suckle until they are two years old and even up to three, a period during which she never leaves them at any time. She cradles them on her breast or in the hammock and carries them on her shoulders,
594 attending to them lovingly whenever they cry. The father looks
867 after his boys from the time that they gain complete mastery of
[593] the biped state, without this making him less loving toward his daughters. Then he begins to take his sons everywhere.

During religious festivals they sit at his side, participate in the conversation of their elders, and are served food and
[273] drink in the same way as their elders. In Calderas and in /187/ San Andrés we had the opportunity to observe children five years old reeling under the effects of chicha and aguardiente. At this age, when they begin to take part in the economic life of the family group, the father teaches them to chew coca. The father conscientiously performs this labor of endoculturation.

597 We have not come across any cases of adopted children.
● 736 When both parents die, the children stay in the home of the nearest relative.

593 The conduct of the children toward their parents is that of deep respect. Nevertheless, in Calderas we witnessed the verbal

/361/

75 Their importance is emphasized if we make a comparison
511 with the parcialidad of San Andrés, where there is a Centro de
●743 Salud duly staffed by a registered nurse, and furthermore, not far away, there is the Centro de Higiene of Inzá, staffed by a doctor and a group of nurses whose services are free and who also distribute free drugs. In spite of this, the natives do not always go to these centers, preferring their own doctors and most commonly the tê eu of Calderas.

651 Concerning taxes, we have already said that the immovables
511 of the native communities are exempt from this type of encumbrance; hence, the column reserved for this type of expense remains empty. The few figures that are found in it are payments on immovables within the settlement area and, in one case or another, the payment of taxes for the exercise of trade in various plazas of the municipio of Inzá.

511 The amounts devoted to the education of children are the
871 smallest, if we except those of the "white" informants, some of
[563] whom have their children in high schools, in rural normal schools,
[115] and even at the university. In the parcialidades of San Andrés and Lame, they are practically null. The children of San Andrés go to school, as a rule, unprovided with school supplies, carrying in their bags provisions for lunch, consisting of manioc and cooked plantains, mote, and roasted maize, since the dwellings are located at a distance of several kilometers from the school, with very bad and rugged paths. School cafeterias and the donating of school supplies are more than indispensable in these regions. These children go to school irregularly and do not remain there for more than two years; they are taught in Spanish, and on the
[562] whole the benefit is minimal. Girls attend in smaller numbers
[212] than boys; the adults believe that women do not need to learn to read and write. This situation is different in Mosoco. The children of both sexes attend school and try to attend regularly, and many walk several kilometers a day; the fathers of families are interested in having their children learn to read, write, and count, and for this reason they try to outfit them with some equipment for their tasks of apprenticeship.

/113/

Physicians are not consulted in any case. All illnesses that do not show external influences are traced back to evil sorcery or to the "pest" (see under "Religion"/see p. 191 ff./). They must therefore be treated by the native shamans /see the glossary, p. 250 /. Open wounds and injuries are treated by the midwife. Now and then, however, people visit the mission station in order to have a tooth pulled, on which occasion the nurses without reservation praise their great steadfastness in enduring pain.

The impairment to health caused by the consumption of coca and chicha seems to me to be exaggerated by the authorities; it would be even less with sensible and nourishing food. The prohibition against coca consumption and the government's battle against coca and chicha give the impression of being more a struggle against a brandy tax deficit, for alcohol under the state monopoly may be sold to any Indio in any quantity. The fact that the Paez generally does not work hard and continuously probably has nothing to do with any degeneration caused by the stimulants mentioned, but rather it is quite simply his psychological attitude which does not let him see why a human being should strive for things which seem unnecessary to him, things beyond his animal necessities of life, eating and reproduction. I often asked whether, in their opinion, there might come a time when the Paez, too, would wear only Colombian clothing or even use electric lighting. They had never thought about it and in no instance had an answer.

II. Material Culture

1. The Dwelling

a) The Settlement

Politically and sociologically the Paez villages of Tierradentro embrace the inhabitants of a valley basin more or less closed off by the surrounding mountains. In their structure, however, they are not villages in our sense, by which we understand a locally concentrated aggregation of a number of houses,

/255 cont./

802 designated as "much" (teč kwát), literally "one stone." Today it is the designation for "hundred."

●75 The medical knowledge of the Paez is not great. Almost all illnesses are regarded as based on magical causes and are treated by the shamans (see below//see pp. 190 ff./). Broken bones are treated by the midwife, who rubs on cow fat and wraps [845] leaves around them. The broken bone is never put in splints. In a difficult birth the midwife is able to turn the child into the right position; if then the birth does not go well, her skill is at an end. No remedy is known for snake bite. In the case of headaches, a leaf is tied to the front of the head. For flatulence some wood ashes are rubbed on the abdomen. For injuries caused by a machete and bleeding profusely, a tourniquet is applied to the affected limb, above the place of the injury, and the wound is covered with a small piece of cloth. The shaman has the injured person bite hard with all his teeth on the iron machete.

3. Religion

771 The Paez today are nominally Christians. They are baptized 797 and usually married by the Catholic priest. The Christian missionizing began as early as the sixteenth century, at first, to be sure, with little success, which did not increase when from 1630-1654 Jesuit missionaries took over the mission work. Only in the last decades 797 has there been greater progress. Hand in hand with the conversion 177 to Christianity go the introduction and teaching of the Spanish lan- 871 guage and the adoption of Colombian customs and habits. Today in almost every village there is a mission station and a school, the teachers of which are mostly women missionaries. In general the parents do not send their children to school unwillingly, for they have realized that knowledge of Spanish and of reading and writing is accompanied by certain advantages in their relations with the [178] whites. In connection with the /256/ schooling, of course, there is [756] some alienation from the old habits and customs of the Paez, especially those of a religious and sociological nature. Nevertheless,

/285 cont./

578 killed his mother and his brothers, declared his hostility toward
754 him because he was well on the way to becoming a good shaman.
756 He became ill and his signs announced to him that he would soon
578 die. Now there was a famous shaman in Huila, and he sought
75 him out with much brandy and coca. Immediately this shaman
774 realized that it was a case of bewitchment by a nyiç. The only possibility of getting off alive was to kill the soul of the evil sorcerer immediately. Together they dug a hole for this purpose and in it they waited many nights for the soul of the nyiç. It came, but since it was very suspicious, it would not let itself be caught. More than a month passed in this way. Night after night the two were lying in wait, without sleeping, and then one night, near daybreak, the soul of the evil sorcerer came. The shaman was ready, however; he raised his staff and with a powerful blow it fell into the hole. Immediately earth was piled up over it and the hole completely covered. Hissing, the soul died.

756 Since the young shaman from Santa Rosa was well once more,
789 the old shaman sent him home. He advised him, however, to
824 carry herbs with him, since there were robbers on the way. Cautiously he proceeded to the dangerous spot, and already his signs announced to him that the robbers were in the vicinity. He immediately blew his herbs, and the robbers fell into a deep sleep. Farther along on the way home he met several people who were pursuing a criminal. They gave him brandy and coca and asked him to help them, from his home, to capture the criminal. He then strewed čayuts on his own feet, and the criminal could no longer walk, so the people were able to capture him.

75 Other shamans report that in case of a bewitchment by a
774 nyiç, the bewitched person and the members of his family slaughter a pig and put a piece of each organ in a fiber bag. /286/ They bring these to the shaman, together with brandy, coca and cigars. The meat serves as bait for the soul of the sorcerer, for at the first cockcrow, when all present are chewing coca, it comes to get the bag. It falls into the hole dug under it, however. The shaman immediately throws herbs into it, those present their chewed packets of coca, and then the pit is covered up as quickly as

/286 cont./

75 774 possible. After his soul has thus been killed, the sorcerer, too, must die.

754 774 The same type of soul-capture as is reported here by the teyu is also the most common method of evil sorcery practiced by the nyiç. The nyiç digs a hole and stations himself above it, in order to await the wandering soul of his victim. It is visible, like a lighted candle. When it is over the hole, the nyiç gives it a powerful blow with his staff, so that it falls into the hole. If it is supposed to die very quickly, the nyiç throws strongly efficacious herbs over it and covers the hole with graveyard soil. If not, he has many possibilities of inflicting on the soul, and therefore on 754 774 his victim, injury that takes effect more slowly. If he sprinkles 824 the herb baw (Araceae) over it, the stomach of its owner becomes so distended that he dies. If the nyiç sprinkles lime over the soul, the person becomes blind. In the case of the poisonous herb boračero (Datura sp.), the owner of the soul becomes insane; the stinging smoke of the agave also produces insanity. Putting the leaves of the čuwét (Krameria ixina?) and the soul together brings death. The herbs kaspi (Toxicodendron striatum Kuntze), lečero (Euphorbia cotinifolia L.), and Pringamoza also cause death.

f) The Sociological Aspect of Shamanism

182 756 Although the shamanistic ceremonies and the conceptions underlying them are of a religious nature, nevertheless the activity of the shaman is a definite sociological fact. Without the activity of the teyu, neither the family nor the village community can exist. It is only the shaman who, through his personal abilities, is able to counteract the evil effects of the nyiç, the tũs, eč, and gělyómp spirits and turn them into something good. His activity, however, consists not only in the repulsion of what has already appeared, in the healing of what has happened, but his activity is also preventive, in fact, prophetic, for he predicts future sicknesses or deaths. Moreover, no house construction,

/228 cont./

755 indicating hope, for if they moved from the knee to the foot,
756 there would be no need to receive the coca, tobacco, or
[127] aguardiente, for the patient would be incurable. Only when the signs are favorable does he take the pouch of remedies received from the patient and pass it around in the same way as he did the remedies, with the aim of invoking Thunder and Kallumb, his helpers.

75 He orders the patient to chew the bundle of remedies which he presented to him not long before. He picks up the tama (5) in his hands and blows on it with the remedies that he

5. Cf. below, "The tama" /see pp. 17-18/.

is chewing, which are the same as those chewed by the patient, for the purpose of preventing the ptans ("dirt") sent by the
[276] sorcerers from surprising the curer and killing him. In this case he may have the mambe /lime to be chewed with coca, or the coca and lime together/ in his hand and nevertheless remain motionless, with blood running from his mouth. Then, and to the front, he drives in the tama, the weapon of Thunder, to indicate to him that he is not working in a bad way, but in such a way and in accordance with his teachings. Before putting it in the ground, he passes it around his body so that it will protect him from the ptans.

[824] Next to the tama he puts the bottle of aguardiente, which
[763] he places a sprig of chayuts; if it remains upright and floats, it is a good sign, while if it tilts and sinks to the bottom, it is an omen of death. On top of the bottle he puts a small calabash to measure the aguardiente, in which is also put a sprig /229/ of chayuts; it serves as a preventive, for it prevents the ptans from catching the curer unprepared and killing him.

[276] Then he puts a handful of coca in his mouth and begins to chew; he remains seated, almost motionless, his eyes trained on the room and on the tama, attentive to the slightest motion;

/229 cont./

•75 from time to time he puts in more coca and more mambe,
[276] which he takes from a small calabash (kuetand tuka), pours on his right fist, and throws with force into his mouth. He watches. Sorcerers work systematically to send him the ptans, and they must not catch him unprepared. The signs warn him as to when he must blow the chew in order to contain the ptans.

He tells the patient that the signs are favorable; there will be an immediate improvement. The pains which assail him are due to the ptans which he has from the vertex to the nape.

After 20 minutes in a motionless and expectant state, the curer stands up with his face raised, as though illuminated, walks jauntily to the tama, blows the chew violently; he fills the small gourd with aguardiente and tosses it into the air. This is the invitation to Thunder.

He returns again to his place, takes a cigar and crushes more than half of it, puts more mambe in his mouth, and remains quiet, his hands folded and his arms resting on his knees. Only the deepness of the night with its characteristic sounds disturbs this decisive moment. No carelessness. It might have fatal consequences. He remains in this position for about 40 minutes.

Then he takes the chew from his mouth with his hand and tosses it in the direction of the tama, after having passed it around his body. The patient does likewise. He immediately tells the sick man that he must return with all the remedies. He interrupts his work. Thunder has shown himself to be
75 favorable. Since the patient has ptans, a good "cleansing"
783 must be done, for which he must bring three pounds of meat to be eaten after the cleansing, chicha, one pound of coca, one liter of aguardiente, and six cigars. The curer himself must
[177] go to the lagoon in search of the remedies. He advises the patient that for a period of three months at least he must not use the drugs of the whites, for if he did so, he would die.

The cleansing of the ptans. At 7:00 P.M. the patient comes to the house of the curer. He hands over the medicines

/229 cont./

75 requested. /230/ He divides the aguardiente into two bottles:
783 one for Thunder and the other to drink. In Thunder's bottle he
[782] places a sprig of chayuts, after passing it around his body; the sprig remains floating and vertical, a good omen. He puts the coca in a special pouch, along with the aguardiente and cigars. He makes up two bundles of remedies with maize husks. One is for the patient, to chew and swallow the juice.

75 He divides the other bottle, takes chayuts, passes it around
78 his body, puts it in the small calabash, fills it with aguardiente, and goes out of the house to toast Thunder. Then he gathers his pouches of remedies, a calabash of chicha, the patient's coca, a candle, and matches, and he goes to the divination site. When Thunder comes, he will ask the curer what the patient has presented to him. The he will show him the chicha and aguardiente. Thunder, satisfied, will say: "Take this, since you received it." They will drink together. Thunder's share will be tossed into the air. The patient must remain inside the house. When the time comes, he will call him for the "cleansing."

75 Outside, the night is black as ebony. The silhouette of
783 the curer is barely visible. He sits under the eaves to the south of the house. He begins to chew the remedies after passing them around his body. He drives in the tama and beside it he places the bottle of aguardiente. Immediately after this, seated, almost squatting, with his hand folded, quiet and motionless, gazing into space, grave, self-controlled, conscious of his mission, imbued with his knowledge, he spends long hours conversing with Thunder and warding off the attacks of sorcerers. From time to time he gets up without haste, slowly, as slowly as the passing of the hours of the night, and he beats with the tama, displaying the energy that marks the activities of the curer. The patient, lying on a cowhide, with no covering other than his own clothes, sleeps near the fire; he wakes up at different times, pierced by the intense cold of the night; outside he hears the constant, rhythmic, regular, vigorous blowings of the medicine man.

/230 cont./

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At two in the morning, or rather, at the first cock's crow, the té eu calls the patient. The moon is full; the night seems white. The sick man sits to the right of the curer. He receives a bundle of remedies to chew. They are yacuma blanca, ul ñiñ, ñundayuskei, shugues, chandur, guepeyuskei. They help with the c[illegible]ing, and when spat out they will remove the "dirt" (ptan[illegible]

/231/ He places chayuts on the patient's crown in order to ward off any possible attack by the Echi. He advises him again not to use the remedies of the whites and, in case there is no improvement, always to return to the curer.

The curer passes to the right of the patient, about three meters. He points at him with the tama and blows out chewed coca and aguardiente in order to contain the black cloud (ptans) which may come at any moment. He comes to the patient and rubs him (cleanses him) with the tama, beginning with the right foot and continuing along this side; at the crown he rubs several times, sucks (absorbs the "dirt") for five or six breaths, rubs again; he lowers the tama to the throat, rubs, sucks the right shoulder, rubs again, and passes the tama to the nape of the neck, where he repeats the process; he ends up by bringing the tama down the left side. Over a hole dug previously to the left of the curer and about 15 meters away, he spits out everything that he had in his mouth and the dirt that he collected from the patient; he vomits; he blows one mouthful of aguardiente into the air, dismissing the "dirt," and drinks one so that the "dirt" will not enter again. He calls the patient, orders him to spit out the remedies that he has chewed, and hands him the bottle to measure out two drafts: one to be blown into the air and the other to be swallowed. He covers up the hole carefully. Curer and patient return to their places.

The té eu takes a good handful of shu and tashú, dips it in water in spite of the fact that it is quite damp, and goes to the patient. He begins the cleansing by going upward from the right foot. At the crown of the head, throat, and the nape of

/231 cont./

•75 783 the neck, he exerts some pressure and the icy water runs down the body. He goes down the left side and then goes to the hole to bury these remedies. With these remedies the body absorbs coolness. After having buried them, he blows aguardiente into the air and then drinks some more.

Once more at his place, he gives the patient a few herbs (shu and siempre viva?) to hold in his hand. He goes to the right of the patient and from there points to him with the tama and blows; he draws nearer, and he makes the familiar passes with the tama and the remedies named. He rubs the crown of the head (vertex), throat, and the nape of the neck.

[782] They go to the hole and toss the herbs into the hole. The curer takes a mouthful of aguardiente, stretches the tama toward the horizon, rises proudly, sets his eyes in the direction of the tama, blows violently several times, and soon his atti-
[191] tude becomes entreating. /232/ Actually, he prays in Spanish: "Lord, help us; I implore you for everyone." The té eu said later that he had prayed to Thunder, so that he would help him and would not permit the sorcerer to discover this hole where the "dirt" was buried. He drank a swallow. The patient blows a mouthful of aguardiente into the air and drinks a second one. They return to their places. The curer picks up the calabash of chicha, goes to the hole, and pours it out. It is a gift to Thunder.

Once more in his place, he puts yacuma, shu, and tashú into a calabash of cold water. He goes to the patient's right and from there sprinkles this water first on the house and then on the patient, who first removed his hat by order of the curer. This is a veritable bath, so that if any ptans should remain, it would be removed and he would be completely clean. The remaining water is poured into the hole. He blows aguardiente and drinks some more, the patient proceeding in the same way. The curer raises the tama and implores: "I pay you; I shall pay you." The curer said that he had spoken as follows:

/232 cont./

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"There are all the remedies that you pointed out to me. If another patient comes, help me." Then he pours out all the aguardiente as a toast to Thunder.

With this, the cleansing is over. It is 3:30 in the morning.

He advises the patient not to change the remedies and not to take a route below that hole. He states that the signs are favorable and that he asked God for the patient's improvement.

To summarize, the cleansing of the ptans is done at night, beginning at 8:00 or 9:00 P.M. and ending at 3:00 P.M. /sic/ approximately. The following procedure is observed:

1. The patient must give to the curer two eggs of coca, one bottle of aguardiente, and two cigars.

2. The curer puts these remedies in a special pouch. He makes up a few bundles of remedies with yacuma blanca, ul fiñ, ñundayuskei, bitopiskue, chandur de castilla, chayuts (Santa Rosa), or yacuma, chayuts, tayuskei, shugues, tatse, echiutse (Calderas). All of these remedies are passed around the body of the curer.

3. At the Kachí, he places the tama and aguardiente in a special spot, hands over to the patient a bundle of remedies for chewing, and puts chayuts (Santa Rosa) or guepekás (Calderas) on his own and the patient's vertex (crown).

4. The first cleansing is done with the tama, by rubbing and by sucking the vertex, the right shoulder, and the nape of the neck, in order to remove /233/ the ptans and spit it out into a hole to bury it. There is blowing and the drinking of aguardiente by curer and patient.

5. The same procedure is followed with the wet remedies (shu, tashú) to lend coolness to the body.

6. A new cleansing is carried out with other herbs (shu and siempre viva?) with the rubbings and the suckings at the places mentioned, the burying of them, and the blowing and drinking of aguardiente. In Santa Rosa, this is the moment when the curer makes his entreaty.

5:Bernal Villa--24 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

75 824 713 /239/

Native Name	Spanish Name	Scientific Name	Use
Chandur	. . .	?	Cooling. Used to clean away ptans. There are two varieties. The large one is called: flusha.
Esh	Coca	Erythróxydon /Erythroxylon/ coca.	Boiled roots and leaves: colic and diarrhea.
Bichach	Caucho /rubber/	Hevéa?	Leaves roasted in embers for fractures, dislocations, contusions. The dry leaf is removed and placed on cabuya tops for rapid healing.
Chulco	Chulco	Oxális sp.	Against smallpox.
Chayuts*	Contento, Alegría /sesame/	Scutellaria racemosa Per.	Panacea of the Paez.

/233 cont./

75 783 7. The curer toasts Thunder with the chicha, sprinkling it in the air.

8. The curer washes the patient with a calabash of remedies. He fills up completely the hole that contains the "dirt," sprinkles the remaining aguardiente, and ends the cleansing with some final advice. It is 3:00 or 4:00 in the morning.

All treatment of illness is carried out with this cleansing procedure. That is to say, when the impurity (ptans) has been removed from the body, the health of the patient is restored. The curer combats the ptans. In a sense, the cleansing is a hard fight in which the curer is engaged.

756 755 The tama. The tama is a chonta staff about 40 centimeters long and indispensable for every cure.

While in other cultures the medicine man uses the maraca as an indispensable accessory in the art of curing, viewing it as having a mythical origin and thus a sacred character and magical properties, and while, according to Roth, certain piai of the Guianas use wooden dolls in their conjurations (6), among the Paez this little staff called tama

[113]

6. Métraux, Alfred. Le Shamanisme Chez les Indiens de l'Amerique du Sud Tropicale /Shamanism among the Indians of Tropical South America/." -- Acta Americana, Vol. II, No. 3, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1944, pp. 217-218.

755 756 532 552 is used. In Santa Rosa, a curer-sorceress uses in her treatments a wooden dolly dressed like the people, received, according to the informant, from Thunder himself, and called "Soft wind of Thunder."

[773] According to all the evidence, this name is derived from that mythical personage, more precisely that culture hero,

75 824 78

/239 cont./

Native Name	Spanish Name	Scientific Name	Use
Small chuwet	?	?	To propitiate streams.
Fisa, bitopat	Dodoquero	?	In combination with yukchacha and montaña barbasco, it is used to treat blennorrhagia.
Echiutse chime*	?	Labiada?	Against the pest. Bathing with this herb wards off Echi, especially when traveling at night.
Guepekás	Pringamoza. Ortiga /nettle/.	Urera boccífera L.	Wards off ptans. Used for sorcery.
Kuese	Barbasco de lo caliente	Lonchocárpus?	In winter it is blown into the air to make summer come. Used against chande (scabies).

/241/

824 The plants marked with an asterisk were identified by the
[128] Herbario Nal. Colombiano, in particular by Dr. Jesús M.
[137] Idrobo.

[127] For the others, we were guided by the work, Plantas Utiles de Colombia /Useful Plants of Colombia/, by Dr. E. Pérez Arbeláez, published by the Imprenta Nacional de Bogotá in 1947.

●75 The té eu and the community. In every culture, medicine
182 performs an eminently humanitarian function. Its nature is
171 sociological. No matter what its methods may be, its purpose is to save human lives. It combats illness, but also prevents it.

75 Among the Paez, medicine cures and prevents. The
182 community and the family perform special ceremonies intended to achieve these two purposes of medicine.

755 When the pest (epidemic) has spread through the com-
*756 munity, threatening its subsistence, the authorities (cabildo)
182 invite the curer to conjure away the danger by performing the
[731] wé ká.

When the illness prevails in a single family, markedly decreasing its members, the eldest invites the curer to perform
[765] the ut ká. After every burial the people must remove the ptans
[783] from their bodies and from the house where the death occurred. The curer is the only one who can do this.

241 The first fruits of plantings made on new lands not culti-
*756 vated before cannot be consumed until the curer has performed
783 the cleansing ceremonies. Thus, it is the curer who defends
182 the family -- preservation of the species -- who purifies the
789 harvests -- preservation of the individual -- and who also defends the community, warding off by means of his conjurations
*756 the epidemics and the individuals who threaten it. In 1952,
789 before an imminent attack by subversive armed groups on the
182 Parcialidad of Santa Rosa, the curer warded it off with maní de montaña /literally, "montaña peanut"/, chewed and blown on the path by which they were to come.

/253 cont./

755 done; she would have to confess, or else he would have her
*756 arrested. She was wholly to blame. The servant girl took
578 fright and replied that perhaps she might be responsible, since at one time she had picked up an echi and put it in an ají bush. And it was this angry echi that was now killing her employer. At once the curer went to the ají bush, removed the echi, and blew fresh remedies at it. He set about divining anew and found out that the rainbow had also put hairs on him. On the following day he removed them. The patient recovered; it was proved that he was a good curer, and demonstrated that the other one did not know anything.

754 The Té eu and the sorcerer. It is said that a sorcerer can
*756 at the same time be a good curer, but we know perfectly well that the Ghost and Thunder do not give their knowledge to the sorcerers. On the other hand, when a té eu is asked for information about the remedies of sorcerers, they invariably answer that they know nothing about them, for if they were to learn about these remedies they would lose their wisdom.

The curers believe that they are constantly pursued by
●75 the sorcerers. Yet, they are able to kill them. A curer from
539 Santa Rosa related his success to us as follows:

774 "When I was a young boy, I was clever and mischievous; I already knew remedies. On one occasion a sorcerer declared his enmity toward me because I was becoming a good curer. I fell ill, and the signs indicated to me my approaching death. In Huila there lived a good curer, and I went there with plenty of coca and aguardiente. He told me that I would die if he did not go to work at once. It was sorcery, and he had to kill the sorcerer. I would have to stay with him for at least a month. 'Let us go to work and dig a hole in order to kill that fellow,' he said to me. He made the first hole, which we used for several nights, for the sorcerer whom we were seeking was very clever. He would call the soul and it would come, but it did not allow itself to be caught; it was very suspicious. The sorcerer was very dangerous, he had killed my mother and my brothers. We went on working. The

/253 cont./

75 month went by, and we were unable to catch it. We did not
539 sleep. The curer would make another hole, and another. We
774 were tired. 'We shall catch that scoundrel /254/ yet,' he would say to me. When we went on to the seventh hole, at the crowing of the first cock, the soul came. The curer had his tama ready, and at once, zoom! he gave it a blow and it fell into the hole; he tossed earth on top of it and tamped it down well. After a few moments the soul made a whistling sound. 'We killed it,' the curer exclaimed triumphantly. I saw the sorcerer's soul. Then the curer told me to go back, for I was cured. He advised me to take remedies with me, since there are many robbers along the way. Thus it came to pass. I was careful at the dangerous spots. The signs indicated to me the presence of robbers and at once I blew remedies at them (kit sust). They went to sleep.

* 756 Farther on I met some people who were pursuing a criminal.
539 They gave me coca and aguardiente so that I might prepare
789 the remedies at my house and help to capture the criminal. Thus it came to pass. I put chayuts around my feet and the criminal was unable to walk. They caught him."

75 Others say that the one bewitched, with his relatives,
774 goes to the curer, bearing coca, tobacco, and aguardiente. They kill a pig and put a piece from each organ into a small pouch. This is the grease for catching the sorcerer's soul. At the crowing of the first cock, when everyone is chewing coca, the soul comes to get the small pouch, immediately falls into the hole, and the curer tosses upon it fierce echi, remedies, and the chews of all, and covers it and tamps down
[783] the earth. This is how he kills the sorcerer. He immediately cleanses the sick person and his relatives. The danger has
* been averted.

756 When the curer feels the signs at the crown of his head,
787 ptans is being sent to him. He goes without delay to the kachí
783 with pringamoza, paramo cabuya, tama, and flica to wait

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SAN ANDRES

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Fams.	Agriculture $	Agriculture %	Agriculture $	Agriculture %	Livestock $	Livestock %	Trade $	Trade %	Day Wages $	Day Wages %	Crafts $	Crafts %
1.*	3.120,00	58,7	1.460,00	27,5	500,00	9,4	.....	.....	.....	....	225,00	4,4
2.	48,00	54,2	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	40,50	45,7	.....	....
3.	132,00	70,5	....	....	.....	....	55,00	29,4	.....	....	.....	....
4.	22,20	28,3	....	....	.....	....	56,00	71,6	.....	....	.....	....
5.	389,00	62,2	....	....	.....	....	45,00	7,1	191,00	30,5	.....	....
6.	152,50	61,6	....	....	.....	....	95,00	38,3	.....	....	.....	....
7.	87,00	26,6	....	....	.....	....	240,00	73,3	.....	....	.....	....
8.	195,00	42,3	[illegible]	43,4	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	.... (38)
9.	320,00	72,6	120,00	27,2	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
10.*	2.000,00	89,2	....	....	240,00	10,7	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
11.	1.455,00	53,1	600,00	24,8	600,00	24,8	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
12.	170,00	100,0	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
13.	650,00	100,0	....	....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	....
14.*	190,00	4,3	1.810,00	46,5	880,00	22,8	120,00	3,1	888,00	22,8	.....	....
15.*	379,00	14,4	....	....	100,00	3,8	.....	.....	2.143,10	81,7	.....	....

/The headings are obviously in error on this table./

38. Deficit compensated for by $65.00 saved in 1952, or 14.1% of the income.

511 In the statistical table of expenses, the first thing that we observe in the three parcialidades is the small amount of money spent under the headings "Drugs," "Medical Service," "Taxes," and "Education."

●75 511 [165] [164] The protection of the health of adults and children is fundamental among the Páez. Child mortality has a high percentage, and parasitosis, diarrhea, and tuberculosis are almost endemic. But in Páez culture the care of the té eu (good curer) and the nasa jihi (sorcerer); the former protects people from illness and from the curses of the latter; the sorcerer with his magic powers can take people's lives. On the other hand, the té eu openly condemn the use of the drugs and the medical service of the "whites." [182] These two institutions still enjoy great power and basically govern almost all of the institutional life of the Páez. In Mosoco seven heads of families spent small sums of money for the purchase of drugs. /The following table and illustrations appear between p. 360 and p. 361 in the original text./

[text continues on p. 108]

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75 Their importance is emphasized if we make a comparison
511 with the parcialidad of San Andrés, where there is a Centro de
743 Salud duly staffed by a registered nurse, and furthermore, not far away, there is the Centro de Higiene of Inzá, staffed by a doctor and a group of nurses whose services are free and who also distribute free drugs. In spite of this, the natives do not always go to these centers, preferring their own doctors and most commonly the té eu of Calderas.

651 Concerning taxes, we have already said that the immovables
511 of the native communities are exempt from this type of encumbrance; hence, the column reserved for this type of expense remains empty. The few figures that are found in it are payments on immovables within the settlement area and, in one case or another, the payment of taxes for the exercise of trade in various plazas of the municipio of Inzá.

511 The amounts devoted to the education of children are the
871 smallest, if we except those of the "white" informants, some of
[563] whom have their children in high schools, in rural normal schools,
[115] and even at the university. In the parcialidades of San Andrés and Lame, they are practically null. The children of San Andrés go to school, as a rule, unprovided with school supplies, carrying in their bags provisions for lunch, consisting of manioc and cooked plantains, mote, and roasted maize, since the dwellings are located at a distance of several kilometers from the school, with very bad and rugged paths. School cafeterias and the donating of school supplies are more than indispensable in these regions. These children go to school irregularly and do not remain there for more than two years; they are taught in Spanish, and on the
[562] whole the benefit is minimal. Girls attend in smaller numbers
[212] than boys; the adults believe that women do not need to learn to read and write. This situation is different in Mosoco. The children of both sexes attend school and try to attend regularly, and many walk several kilometers a day; the fathers of families are interested in having their children learn to read, write, and count, and for this reason they try to outfit them with some equipment for their tasks of apprenticeship.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

obliquely across the rocks; (3) an arched bridge of bamboo floored 491
with spaced sticks, equipped with a hand rail on each side, and sup- 499
ported with stones, bamboo braces, and vines (pl. 185, *bottom, right*);
and (4) a covered bridge with thatched roof, built of heavy logs supported by sticks and stones and floored with boards—a marvel of calculated strength, which, like the third type, is made entirely of vegetable materials yet can support loaded animals. To build an 499
arched bridge, two groups of Indians approach opposite sides of the river and each plants a long, strong pole sloping out over the stream. The chief of each group then climbs out his pole until his weight bends it down to meet that from the opposite side, whereupon, clinging with one hand, they lash the ends together with creepers. This constitutes the main element of the bridge which is then completed by the other Indians.

TRANSPORTATION

Some Indians now have horses and use them for traveling and for 489
transporting large burdens, but, in general, transportation is by foot, 482
objects being carried on the back or in netted sacks hung by a strap, 492
especially when visiting markets. A woman carries not only a heavy load but her small child suspended on her back in a blue woolen blanket held with a broad woven band, or "chumbe." Peculiarly Andean is the custom that the man travels on horseback while the woman follows on foot with a large burden.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The *Moguex* and *Páez* formerly wore only small cotton blankets 291
(mantas), although most of them "went about naked even on the cold mountains" (Rodríguez, 1684, bk. 2, ch. 1). They painted their 302
bodies with bixa, using, according to Del Castillo i Orozco, stamps to apply the color. The paint also protected them against the strong [757]
sunlight and insects. They went barefoot, as all the natives in [825]
Colombia. According to one chronicler, their hair was "shorn" [291]
(Robledo, in Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38). They wore breast and 301
nose ornaments of pure gold or a gold and copper alloy, and necklaces of small figures, beads, small stones, and snails.

Soon after the beginning of the Conquest, the Indians commenced 291
to use wide, long shirts of a very crude weave and hats which were so 177
closely woven that they would hold water. The latter, which the Spaniards called "tacillas de Páez" (Páez bowls), are still in use. The Spanish encomenderos required that the Indians working on their haciendas near Popayán be dressed. This was the origin of the characteristic garment worn today, which combines the old small blanket (manta) with European dress. *Moguex* men wear short linen pants, and a blue flannel sash which covers them to their knees.

* /233 cont./

756 called Juan Tama, who enjoys the fame of having been the
[755] founder of pueblos, a victorious warrior, a good leader,
[532] legislator, and famed curer.

[552] The tama is a defensive and offensive weapon of a sacred
[773] character /234/ and used exclusively by the curers; it protects
[751] from the attacks of the ptans and wards them off. It is a gift
[787] from Thunder and his badge. In visions, it is the first thing
[428] that he shows. When the curer dies, it may be inherited by a young curer, but generally it is left near the cemetery.

*756 A curer from Calderas, possibly the one most imbued with
539 his mission to defend the health of the people, states that the tama was left from a deed performed by the Virgin in defense of her children. On a certain occasion the sea was rising implacably over the surface of the earth, putting the lives of men in grave danger. The Virgin took pity on them, brought out the tama, and made the motions now made by the curer. The waters retreated. She left this staff for the man who became a curer. This was the origin of the tama.

Another curer from the Parcialidad of San Andrés gave us the following account concerning the origin of the tama:

"The elders say that the tama was left by Thunder himself. A man had a potato field and a rancho in the montaña. He went to harvest it with his son. One afternoon the boy refused to accompany his father, preferring to remain in the rancho. On the following day he disappeared without leaving a trace anywhere. All the steps taken by the father to locate his whereabouts were unsuccessful. On the eighth day, the boy reappeared in the rancho. The father naturally inquired as to his whereabouts and his activities. He replied that he had gone to the señor papa, who had given him the stick he carried in his hands, called tama, and aguardiente and remedies. The aguardiente was cold water from a lagoon, and the remedies were in a pouch. No sooner had he finished his tale than he fell into a deathlike trance. On the fifteenth day, at death's door, he asked his father to hand him the tama, for the señor

/215 cont./

XXII

A Bath for San Juan

796 At four o'clock in the morning on June 24, the men, women, and children are up in every household. In that of the fiestero the kitchen fire is burning, the food is being cooked, [541] and everyone is drinking and talking. Outside, in the darkness of the night, numerous lights are shooting upward, ending with a flash accompanied by an explosion: they are the skyrockets fired out of the huts. To each explosion are added the cries: San Juan! San Juan! San Juan!

796 On the previous day and in each of the houses, a jet of 515 water was arranged to serve as a shower. Now everyone bathes. This bath is accompanied by firecrackers and shouts. /216/ This is one of the few occasions when the native bathes. For, although it is true that in childhood baths are quite frequent, adults bathe only for the fiesta of San Juan, in the washing of the dead, or when they have fever.

796 The bath of San Juan has the purpose of preventing both 515 persons and the animals that belong to them from getting sores ●751 (scabies). Nevertheless, one of those who awoke in the house of the fiestero and who did not bathe palliates his fear: "I did not bathe. I have no animals. It does not matter if I get scabies."

--"You do have some, even if only 'two animals.' Bathe," replies his neighbor in a taunting, jesting tone.

--"I will bathe, but not my entire body, just my ...only."

The dialogue continues, loud and merry.

796 After the bath they catch a chicken. They all answer its squawks in chorus: San Juan, San Juan, San Juan. They [264] kill it. At six o'clock in the morning they are eating chicken stew.

In the house of the fiestero the following dialogue between parents is overheard as they hear their son crying:

/272 cont./

776 being -- in the valley, too, near the village. He is a raging foe
[784] of everything dirty. A hunter who has not washed himself and his ruana before hunting or whose wife is in the menstruation hut at the time will be punished by him. He has the figure of a human being, sometimes that of a man, but sometimes, too, that of a woman or a child. Gĕlyómp, as well as tũs and ečˇ, can give a
776 person pest so that he will die. One can catch pest by himself
783 everywhere and on all occasions, no matter whether he is awake or
753 asleep. The pest of the three spirits mentioned is primarily caused by stings that not only enter the body, but also the soul. In the spot where they have entered the body they leave punctures that are red in color in the case of gĕlyómp, blue in the case of tũs, and black in the case of ečˇ. The sicknesses caused by gĕlyómp manifest themselves by general pain caused by the penetration of one of his hairs. This happens in the following manner: Someone is walking along a path and suddenly feels a stinging pain in his arm or some other part of his body, like the prick of a pin. Although
[755] he cannot discover a puncture, the pain remains. The person therefore goes to the teyu, and he is able to remove the cause of the pain by rubbing his herbs over the affected spot until he re-
[761] moves from it a black hair ten to 15 centimeters long. This hair is from the gĕlyómp, and if the shaman had not removed it, the one
●[751] afflicted by it would have had to die. To a certain extent one can protect himself from the hairs of the mountain spirit if, when returning home from a walk over the mountains or a night's march, he passes a firebrand over the feet and body, in order to burn off any hair of the gĕlyómp that might have penetrated.

776 Tũs, the "rainbow," lives on the banks of watercourses and
753 especially at springs. There are many tũs, and, to be sure, wherever there is water. There are tũs as large as a snake, colored red and yellow, and others only the size of a finger. People recognize sicknesses /273/ of the tũs by the fact that the afflicted one is covered all over with pimples and has to scratch himself constantly.
[821] If it rains when the sun is shining, tũs goes from the bank of the river, where he lives, into the sky and from there back again to earth in a semicircle. The rainbow is especially dangerous for children.

/282 cont./

755 of the patient with water to which šũ and yakũma have been added
756 as medicinal herbs, so that he will now be completely freed of the
783 pest. Finally the teyu asks Thunder to prevent anyone from uncovering this hole in which the dangerous pest is buried. He further asks Thunder to help him in subsequent treatments of the sick later on. The patient is told that the signs are favorable, and he is again enjoined neither to use the medicines of the whites nor ever to pass this hole containing the pest.

757 Besides these two most important shamanistic ceremonies, the
756 treatment of the sick and the purification of the relatives after a
731 burial, the shaman's ability and his magical, supernatural powers are also called upon for preventive ceremonies and acts. This is particularly necessary if epidemics of disease -- smallpox, whooping cough -- occur in the village or in a family. In the first instance, the cabildo asks a shaman who is known to be able to speak with Thunder to conduct the proper protective ceremonies; in the latter instance, /283/ the oldest member of the afflicted family asks him. First a pig must be killed for this. A piece is cut from all the body organs on the left side, and everything is put into a new fiber
[782] bag. The shaman and the cabildo then set out in the afternoon for the lagoon in which Thunder is believed to live, in order to hand over to him the bag with the pieces of meat, with the request to avert the epidemic. During this time the women remaining behind have been preparing the rest of the meat for a meal, which, however, is eaten jointly only when, after twelve hours, the shaman and cabildo return from their ceremony.

756 For several cases of illness and death in one family the help of
783 a good shaman is likewise required. The pest is generally regarded
769 as the cause of these cases of death afflicting only one family, though according to a report by S. Bernal Villa, the deceased and angry members of the family are held responsible for this. In this case the eldest of the family provides brandy, coca, and tobacco, calls together the family members, and asks the shaman to come. The latter offers the angry ancestor spirits a fat pig that has first been tied in front of the house for a whole night, while the shaman during this time speaks to the spirits about whether they will accept the offering.

/143 cont./

224 mountain spirit. We met only a single young man of about 18
who goes hunting alone in the mountains once a week. He told
us that, in order to become a good hunter, one must first try to
[789] kill a bear (éšwiy). One must then rub its fat into the right
[237] lower-arm, which would give him the same powers as the bear.
[262] One is not permitted to eat this fat, however, because it would
[828] make him insane. After rubbing in the fat, the young hunter
[263] continued, one may not eat salt at any meal for a week. There
are no further rules and ceremonies of any kind to be observed.
[237] We learned, however, that one can also use bear fat as a heal-
[752] ing remedy, and, to be sure, for bone fractures or sprains one
[757] must rub the affected part with bear fat, whereupon the injured
limb will heal immediately and will become considerably
224 stronger than ever before. For stalking he wears on his head a
292 cap made of the skin of a reddish-blond hairy monkey (mõno),
[825] which in the first place protects him from the thorns of the
bushes, but which is also supposed to facilitate creeping up on
[439] game. He sold it to us for two pesos without hesitation, since,
[126] as he said, he was perfectly capable of shooting another monkey
224 for himself. He was not afraid of the gělyómp spirit, but the
776 other men were, for gělyómp screams and makes a noise when
human beings enter his area in the mountains, so that they be-
come quite confused and go astray. The mountain spirit cannot
do anything to several men together, however, since he could
make as much noise as he pleased, but they would not let them-
224 selves be diverted. Of course, the men, even if there are ever so
776 many of them, must not offend the mountain spirit or provoke
515 him unnecessarily, but rather must avoid everything that gělyómp
783 does not like. /144/ For instance, he hates everything impure
[296] and filthy. Hence the men always only go hunting well washed;
[824] they even wash the entire body, and the ruana, too. In addition,
they rub themselves with the cleansing herbs šũ and žayuts, which
they obtain from the shaman, in order to be really altogether
[761] clean in a physical and ritual sense. But if someone has taken
part in a burial or has merely seen a funeral procession close by,
he has picked up a good deal of "pest" from the dead and must
have himself specially purified by the
shaman before hunting.

/258 cont./

754 Afterward his throat began to dry out and he could breathe only with difficulty, until he finally died.

754 The evil shamans are not generally known publicly. Men
756 as well as women, however, may be teyu and nyic. In fact, the
[562] most famous and clever teyu whom we met was an old woman,
[753] Felisa Ipia in Santa Rosa, who at the same time, however, is re-
[623] garded as the most evil sorceress who ever existed. All the sick-
[683] ness and misfortune in Santa Rosa are ascribed to her acts. For this reason the cabildo once burned all her medicinal herbs and broke her shaman's staff. But people no longer dare to undertake anything serious against her, since they fear her, as they do all evil sorcerers. In former times the convicted nyic were always very severely punished, but since many members of the cabildo have died as a result of sorcery, no one any longer dares to accuse the well-known nyic today.

754 /259/ With regard to the problem of male and female shamans,
756 a teyu from Calderas explained that women as such had an excellent
562 sense of feeling and therefore the best talent as shamans. Since they are more crafty and cunning than men, however, the female shamans can transform themselves into an evil sorceress at any time. And that is precisely what makes them so dangerous and hence unfit for the calling of a good shaman.

754 The border between teyu and nyic, therefore, is flexible.
756 Both aspects of shamanism may be united in one person, or a teyu may become a nyic and vice versa. In the following, therefore, the teyu form of manifestation of shamanism will be described. In spirit the nyic are based on the same foundation. They never show their herbs and remedies and allow no one to take part in
[124] their ceremonies. The teyu, on the other hand, on closer acquaintance were quite willing to give information about their knowledge and to let us take part in their séances.

/263 cont./

756 fact, even the visionary sight of Thunder are worthless by them-
787 selves, if the shaman does not receive any signs. By means of them
278 the teyu discovers the cause of sickness and the means to be employed for healing it, which always consist of the dispensing of herbs. For this reason every shaman always has his fiber bag with all his medicinal herbs with him, in order to have them at hand
●[753] and to be able to apply them at any time. Since, however, an illness does not have a physical cause, according to the opinion of the Paez, the herbs used for healing are not applied in accordance with the medical experiences of the shaman, but solely in accordance with his signs.

756 The herbs used by the shamans are the following (*):
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[127]

* I am taking these, as well as some other data on the shamanism of the Paez, from the excellent summary by S. Bernal Villa (III) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 323/.

ǩandúr, eš (Erythroxylon coca), biǩać (Hevea?), ǩulko (Oxalis, sp.), ǩáyuts (Scutellaria racemosa Per.), ǩuwét, fisa, ečyútse čime (Labiada?), /264/ gwepekas (Urera boccifera L.), kwése (Lonchocarpus?), limonsílyo (Cymbopogon citratus), nyika, nyundaynskey, šu (Spagnum sp.), šuwés (Peperomia sp.), šulápe, šupenyí (Peperomia sp.), tátse, táyuske (Peperomia sp.), ul níny (Hibiscus abelmoschus L.), umsim (Myricia acuminata DC. Vell, aff.), vitubítskwe, wáhi (Nicotiana tabacum L.), yakúma, yúskay (Scleria cattarinensis Boeck).

755 Most of these herbs are first chewed by the shaman and then
756 spat over the affected part. If a person is dying and his soul leaves
278 his body from the heart by way of the upper arms, the pulse of the
[774] lower arms, and the finger tips, the herb ǩáyuts, for example, is spat by the shaman from the finger tips in the direction of the armpits, in order to check the departure of the soul. Only rarely is a tea brewed from the leaves.

/270 cont./

756 longer able to do this. Old Filisa of Santa Rosa, however, who
776 was herself chosen and initiated into her office by Thunder, is
787 still able to enter into communication with Thunder today. To be sure, she cannot always do this, but she has often sought him out in his lagoon, dived into the water, gone to the house of Thunder on the bottom of the lagoon, and asked him for advice. One of the sons of Thunder, likewise a shaman, was even her constant companion who protected her everywhere. "In former times," she said, "Thunder himself cured people. Today it is different." Thunder knows when someone is sick; then when people come to her to ask for a remedy, Thunder personally announces to the shaman beforehand: such and such persons with such and such an illness will come today. He also tells her at the same time what remedies she should use. Then when the people come to tell about the illness, she can, since she is a good friend of Thunder, always help them with the best remedies.

776 Thunder, she said, has many children. They come into the world by way of a spring or a crevice out of which water trickles. They have the size of small human beings, but are very good and dressed in a beautiful táw (belt). For growing up and for their nourishment they need three women as attendants. They suck milk from them, whereupon the women must die. The Thunder-children /271/ themselves are barren and have no children. As children of Thunder, however, they have always been great caciques and shamans.

One day she showed me a small knot of a branch, wrapped in a piece of cloth. "This is a child of Thunder that I have from him," she said, "it looks like a branch, but in reality it is alive and can speak."

d) Sickness, Ideas About the Spirits and Souls

•753 All sicknesses are explained by the Paez as having originated
754 by means of magical influences that have their cause primarily
783 in malevolent, deliberate acts. These magical, supernatural influences are either bewitchments by the nyic, magical injury

/271 cont./

753 caused by the spirits eč, tũs, or gělyómp, or general emanations
783 of impurity, of "pest" (uwẽ). Such reasons for catching pest, and
[754] thereby being afflicted with sickness, result largely from neglecting
[764] the prescribed shamanistic purifications. These must take place after a burial or when someone has merely seen a funeral proces-
753 sion or entered a house in which there is a corpse. The prohibitions
783 surrounding a woman giving birth or menstruating are just as strict.
841 If she does not retire to the menstruation hut at the proper time,
[844] if she cohabits during these days or neglects to take the subsequent bath after menstruation and birth, the consequences are equally
[264] grave. Pest befalls a man if he accepts food from a menstruating
753 woman. The same consequences befall the one who in housebuild-
783 ing or during the first harvest does not have the proper ceremonies
756 performed by the shaman.
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Most people die as the result of the evil influence of the
754 nyiç, the evil sorcerers. The latter -- it is firmly believed --
783
761 are able to kill individual persons as well as to send pest to entire villages. Their power of evil is regarded as almost unlimited. Besides being bewitched by a nyiç, there are three other possibili-
753 ties for a person to become ill or to die. These causes are
761 gělyómp, tũs, and eč. All three are very complex conceptions
776 and may be translated roughly as "mountain spirit," "rainbow," and "firefly," respectively, although the Paez conception and the
[756] translation are not completely identical. The teyu knows the cause of the illness immediately from his signs, the rest of the people, however, usually only after the death of the sick person. And, to be sure, one recognizes the tũs as the cause of illness by the fact /272/ that the corpse lies there with a bent limb (arm or leg), whereas in the case of ec as the cause of death, blood flows from the mouth or nose. It is also possible that both together, tũs and eč, might bring death to the person, for example, if the person lies there bent and blood flows from the mouth or nose.

776 The gělyómp spirit lives chiefly in the mountains, but also in the valley, on the banks of brooks or rivers. He likes to lead wanderers astray in the mountains by making noise and screaming up there; at night one hears his screams -- like those of a human

/272 cont./

776 being -- in the valley, too, near the village. He is a raging foe
[784] of everything dirty. A hunter who has not washed himself and his ruana before hunting or whose wife is in the menstruation hut at the time will be punished by him. He has the figure of a human being, sometimes that of a man, but sometimes, too, that of a woman or a child. Gĕlyómp, as well as tũs and ečˇ, can give a
776 person pest so that he will die. One can catch pest by himself
783 everywhere and on all occasions, no matter whether he is awake or
753 asleep. The pest of the three spirits mentioned is primarily caused by stings that not only enter the body, but also the soul. In the spot where they have entered the body they leave punctures that are red in color in the case of gĕlyómp, blue in the case of tũs, and black in the case of ečˇ. The sicknesses caused by gĕlyómp manifest themselves by general pain caused by the penetration of one of his hairs. This happens in the following manner: Someone is walking along a path and suddenly feels a stinging pain in his arm or some other part of his body, like the prick of a pin. Although
[755] he cannot discover a puncture, the pain remains. The person therefore goes to the teyu, and he is able to remove the cause of the pain by rubbing his herbs over the affected spot until he re-
[761] moves from it a black hair ten to 15 centimeters long. This hair is from the gĕlyómp, and if the shaman had not removed it, the one
[751] afflicted by it would have had to die. To a certain extent one can protect himself from the hairs of the mountain spirit if, when returning home from a walk over the mountains or a night's march, he passes a firebrand over the feet and body, in order to burn off any hair of the gĕlyómp that might have penetrated.

776 Tũs, the "rainbow," lives on the banks of watercourses and
753 especially at springs. There are many tũs, and, to be sure, wherever there is water. There are tũs as large as a snake, colored red and yellow, and others only the size of a finger. People recognize sicknesses /273/ of the tũs by the fact that the afflicted one is covered all over with pimples and has to scratch himself constantly.
[821] If it rains when the sun is shining, tũs goes from the bank of the river, where he lives, into the sky and from there back again to earth in a semicircle. The rainbow is especially dangerous for children.

/273 cont./

776 If it rains when the sun is shining, they may not leave the house,
● 753 for otherwise they become afflicted with head maladies. These
821 are not headaches, but wounds such as would be inflicted by a
[758] machete. The teyu, however, have remedies to make the rain-
[789] bow disappear, so that children may go outside again.

776 Eč, the third of the aforementioned causes of sickness and
[753] death, is the most unpleasant and the most dangerous, since eč
[761] kills the most people. Eč lives in the earth; no man has seen
[787] him, apart from a few shamans. They need not enter into the
earth, however, to see him; rather, eč himself comes if a teyu
[825] calls him. He looks like a human being. Eč is also the name
for fireflies, which are regarded as the messengers that he sends
out to bring "pest" to human beings. People therefore kill fire-
776 flies if they are able to catch them. Eč is not angry, however,
782 if the people kill his messengers, if only he always gets enough
offerings. For this reason people give eč a dram-glass full of
brandy from every bottle, that is, they pour this amount on the
ground; likewise eč gets his share of every animal killed (chicken,
756 pig, cow, etc.). People ask their teyu which parts of the animal
776 eč demands and which ones they should offer him. If people
782 killed and ate an animal without offering eč any of it, he would
[761] in return kill a child of this family. If the father then comes to
the teyu and asks why his child died, he -- who, of course, knows
that the man slaughtered a pig without giving eč anything -- tells
him that this is the punishment of eč. That very rarely happens,
however; rather, the man gives the shaman the parts of the ani-
mal desired by eč, for instance, the liver, entrails, or meat, and
he gives them to eč, bringing them at night to the place desired
[787] by him. Moreover, as a precaution people give eč herbs and
brandy as the shaman advises, in accordance with the signs which
he has received from eč.

774 If the penetration of pest into the body of a person is the
776 cause of an illness that may result in death, this unfortunate out-
753 come is all the more probable if one of the three spirits or a nyiç
has stolen a human soul. I was given differing /274/ statements
about such a case: First of all, there are two words for soul, ũns

/274 cont./

774 (ũ = nasal) and taff, with which everyone is familiar, although
776 they are not sure about the distinction between the two. The
●753 shamans Francisco and Cerbeleón said that the two were the same; but both of them also said that ũns or taff, if they had left the person in his dream and were abroad, could be caught by tũs, eč, or nyiç without the person's becoming aware of this immediately, but rather he still went on living. To my objection that in this case ũns and taff were probably different, they did not know how
[775] to answer; Cerbeleón stated that if a person dies, his ũns goes to heaven and the person himself becomes taff. He and other teyu
756 were able to catch the ũns of a human being. Thus, for example,
774
754 if someone had been robbed, he would come to Cerbeleón. The latter takes coca, tobacco, and brandy, and then he can bring forth the ũns of the thief, seize it, and kill it. The thief must
[783] then die. In order to get the ũns in his power, he must first cleanse
[824] his hands with the herbs šũ and vitubitskwe, as well as with brandy.
[276] The ũns has the form of a small animal, he explained; it can fly and glows and is about three centimeters long. It is very similar to a firefly in appearance, but different from eč.

554 Having reached this point in his explanation, Cerbeleón grew
754 silent, and our interpreter Victoriano said that we should now have
756 to depart, but quickly. With that he left the house in positive
[124] flight, and we were obliged to follow. Outside he explained to us that Cerbeleón was a "mal brujo," a nyiç, which, to be sure, he had always suspected before, but just now Cerbeleón had given himself away inasmuch as he had said that he could catch and
[682] kill the ũns of human beings. The people of Calderas also say that he possessed herbs that he could put in eggs, chicha, or other food, whereupon people would eat them and then die. One of the sons of Cerbeleón was a thief and had died in the following manner: The one who was robbed had prayed to the Virgen Santisima /Holy Virgin/, and God had punished the thief with death. The father himself, that is, the shaman Cerbeleón, is also a thief and kills people out of envy for their possessions.

The mission sisters confirmed this statement insofar as Cerbeleón had several times attempted to kill them by sprinkling

/274 cont./

554 herbs into their drinking-water canal. Now he had given it up,
754 however. To us he seemed to be merely an idle talker; he did
756 not give the impression of actually having received signs or of being serious about the matter, but rather it seemed as though he had merely learned a little by watching his father /275/ and was doing it mechanically without any inner concern. Francisco, too, had a father and grandfather as shaman predecessors. He was likewise rather ignorant, but apparently meant well. He did his best to help people.

756 Martin Chukue was completely absorbed by his calling and
● 753 duty, and he was well informed, serious, and dignified in his
761 shamanistic work. When the capitan of Calderas died, he was the shaman authorized to act for his residence, and he also conducted the purification ceremony after his burial. Martin explained the cause of death of the capitan as follows: The capitan had to die because the tũs had stolen the taff soul of the capitan. The capitan died with his left leg drawn up. He was very thin when he died, because he had not eaten anything for a long time, for
[755] his taff soul had been stolen five years ago. At that time the sick man began feeling pain, and during the entire time he, Martin, had fought with the tũs, offered him medicines, and tried to appease him.

775 When the ũns soul (ũns also means "heart"!) leaves the body,
[774] then the person is ultimately dead. And, to be sure, ũns leaves
[827] the body by way of the upper arms, lower arms, finger tips. Shortly before it leaves the person, one may still perceive it very faintly as a pulse beat, and when the pulse beat ceases altogether, the ũns has left the body and immediately goes to heaven. No one could tell me exactly in what form it goes to heaven. In heaven, however, it again has the normal human appearance.
[755] When children are ill, wool threads are put around their wrists
[774] and ankles and drawn tightly in order to prevent the escape of the ũns, or at least to make it more difficult.

/287 cont./

631 climate and vegetation. Although Paez culture is certainly unitary, each parcialidad presents different nuances which are evident even in the mythology and language. The antropomimia is quite different in each parcialidad.

Nowadays there are 16 parcialidades, four of which belong to the municipio of Inzá and the remaining 12 to that of Páez (Belalcázar).

771 Magic and medicine.--There are three institutions which
782 go in unison and encroach upon others, which explain the causation of sicknesses, the treatment for them, and serve as escape valves for aggression. They are:

a) The one made up of the trilogy of supernatural beings named Duende /ghost/, Echi, and Arco /rainbow/;

b) The institution of the medicine man, and

c) Sorcery.

753 a) Duende, Arco, and Echi are the causers of illnesses,
776 each of them producing a specific symptomatology which serves
[755] as the basis for the diagnostics of common people, a diagnostics
[787] corroborated by the divining activities of the medicine man. These supernatural beings cause illnesses by puncture, aroused by the annoyance that they suffer because of the sorcerers' practices, or by those who had contact with corpses and did not go through the mandatory purification, or because people have passed through places that are taboo, such as bogs and lagoons, or have failed to comply with the rites and ceremonies when slaughtering cattle or when harvesting new clearings, or because they have not observed "custom" at the first menstruation or childbirth.

756 b) In the institution of the medicine man the functions of
787 divination, magic, and medicine are entwined. More precisely, the medicine man is a diviner-shaman-curer who has undergone an /288/ apprenticeship in the profession with an esteemed and experienced master or with the help of a guardian spirit seen in actuality or in dreams; the latter are the best

medicine men.

000 /288 cont./
756 medicine men. To cure the patient, he divines which of the
755 supernatural beings caused the illness, proceeds to placate him,
[787] and then prescribes medicines to the patient. If the placation is not successful, the patient literally sinks into despair. The indispensable articles for all curing are coca, tobacco, and
[462] aguardiente. The medicine men are persons well along in years
[754] and belonging to the masculine sex. They cannot cure the effects of sorcery, although they can protect themselves against it.

754 c) Fifty per cent of all illnesses, the informants state,
[753] are caused by sorcery, and by the same token 50 per cent of
[761] the deaths, since sorcery is incurable. The sorcerers conceal their activities, and it seems that all adults are potential sor-
754 cerers. The institution of sorcery is a true escape valve for the
154 strong aggressive impulses of the natives and to some extent plays the role of a social regulator. Through it are channeled the jealousy, resentment, and vengefulness of the natives. The victims of sorcery are the most skillful and hard-working individuals, those who have a good house, good crops, and a growing number of domestic animals. Harvests and plantings
[683] generally are the object of sorcery. Sorcerers who are publicly unmasked are exposed to the anger of the community and even to exile, a measure taken not so much on account of their be-
[685] ing sorcerers as of their being thieves. All sorcerers are thieves. Sorcery appears with considerable frequency in the symbolism of dreams.

583 Marriage.--Marriage is monogamous and patrilocal. Both
[595] the chroniclers and Dr. Gregorio Hernández de Alba speak of
[591] the custom of the year of probation to acquaint the man with
[177] the skill, energy, and fecundity of his future wife. A thriving
[797] institution in times past, it is now in sharp decline owing to the action of mission work. Obviously, the purpose of this institution is to find out whether the woman is hard-working, faithful, not a thief, and to understand her ways in order to establish a lasting union. Nowadays the Paez, before being married

* /234 cont./

756 papa had told him to defend himself with it and in case of ill-
539 ness to take the remedies that he had given him. He extracted their juice and took it. He rapidly improved. He applied them to others and noted that they soon regained their health. With the tama and the remedies he became the best curer in the entire region. He died when he was an old man"

* 755 To combat ptans, the tama is used in conjunction with a
756 plant called "nica."
824

Theory of illness. Sicknesses are caused by the state of
● 753 oodily impurity called "dirt" /sucio/, cold /hielo/, or /235/
783 ptans. The causes are essentially magical and are interpreted more as a premeditated and inimical attack than as punishment by supernatural beings. There are those who state that sicknesses are sent by God, but if one repents, they are soon taken away. Be it said at once that this concept is neither general nor rooted in tradition. Sicknesses, then, do not have natural causes; nor do accidents, since they are provoked by sorcerers.

Impurities are caused by the following:

a) When a person who has been at a wake has not had himself "cleansed."

b) When people dress in the clothes of a deceased person without washing them with the appropriate remedies.

c) When the house where the corpse was watched over has not been cleansed.

d) When a woman does not spend her period of menstruation in the Du yate léchukue.

e) When a woman does not bathe after menstruation.

f) When the placenta has not been suitably buried in the appropriate place and with the required remedies.

g) When a man sleeps with a menstruating woman.

h) When the man who serves food to a menstruating woman has not bathed his body or washed his clothes.

i) When the woman, after observing the diet of childbirth, does not bathe.

/235 cont./

753 783 j) When there is no blowing of remedies while at the montañas, bogs, or lagoons.

k) When there is no blowing of remedies prior to cutting wood for bridges, sugar mills, and canoes.

l) When, at the inauguration of a rancho or house, the house ceremonies have not been performed.

ll) When the house has been built over a Pijao "huaca," or when they merely come across one while working the land.

m) When the traditional ceremonies are not performed upon harvesting a new clearing.

754 753 783 n) Through the machinations of the sorcerers. These kill the most people, for they not only send the pest to persons, but also to the entire community. On the other hand, they provoke /236/ the Ghost, Rainbow, and Echi to anger and also do sorcery at the request of jealous or vengeful persons. The sorcerers have unlimited power.

Hernández de Alba, speaking of illness, generalizes in these words:

"Sickness was always thought to be caused by witchcraft or by someone's will. The evil force entered the body and made it impure; it had to be expelled or "cleansed," lest death ensue. If a delirious person told who was killing him, the individual mentioned was thought guilty; or, if, after a death, the face of the deceased should appear to somebody, [834] the person was considered responsible. These beliefs are still [821] in force today, and the Indians avoid the causes of sickness, [765] such as having sexual intercourse wit /sic/ a menstruating woman, exposing the body to bad weather while there is a rainbow, and neglicting /sic/ to bathe after a burial or to purify a house where a death ocurred /sic/" /cited in English/ (7).

7. Hernández de Alba, Gr. 1946, p. 955. See also Pittier de Fábrega, H. 1907, p. 325.

/236 cont./

755 783 Since sicknesses have a magical origin, the treatments are also magical in character. "The cleansing" is indispensable in every treatment, with its attendant remedies and movements.

165 164 Symptoms of sicknesses. Among the sicknesses clearly identifiable by the natives are smallpox and whooping cough, given their characteristic symptoms. Some of the informants, not many, to be sure, state that their children died of such sicknesses.

165 761 776 On the whole, child mortality, which is rather high, is said to be caused by, in order of frequency and in generic terms, pest, Echi, and sorcery. The cases of death by the ghost and rainbow are few.

● 753 776 The symptomatologies given for the sicknesses are very vague and even confused with one another. The Echi, ghost, and rainbow sting, not really the body, but the soul, leaving hairs in the body that cause fevers and sharp pains at the spot where they are found. These hairs, when placed in the palm of the hand, move as if they were alive. They differ in color: the red ones are from Kallumb, the reddish blue ones from [755] the rainbow, and the black ones from Echi. The hairs are re- [783] moved by rubbing with remedies prior to the cleansing.

/237/ It is said that the sting of pallumb /sic/ causes heaviness, lack of appetite, pains in the head and body, fever, and even insanity.

753 776 821 When the arco /literally "bow"/, called kitús, is referred to, it is nothing other than the rainbow, which comes out at any hour of the day, accompanied by a rainy drizzle, the "rainbow meow," which causes scabies (chande) in children [755] when it falls upon them; it is not harmful for adults. The curers, [789] and they alone, from their ranchos blow chewed remedies toward it, tobacco, chandur, ñushamuanda, and yacuma [755] negua, in order to make it disappear quickly. Other people chew remedies, when they have them at hand, and rub them on their bodies. There is a general idea that the rainbow causes

/237 cont./

753 cramps in the body, and furthermore that sorcerers see it in the
776 form of a turkey impelled to peck people.
821

It seems obvious that what the Indians call Echimbe (red
753 Echi) or candelilla fina /thin glowworm/ is a firefly /luciérnaga/
825 somewhat difficult to capture and extremely fierce. They differentiate it perfectly well from the fire beetle /cocuyos (cucuyos)/. They say that it is an animal that God produced in
[755] order to harm the Christians. The curers call them and catch them in their Kachí, while other Indians, chewing coca, catch them anywhere and bring them to the curer to be buried.
[774] They believe that their fierceness is due to the fact that the
[829] souls of the Pijao are incarnated in them.

753 The symptoms of the sting of Echi are vague and imprecise and refer solely to bodily pains.

The symptoms of Pijao "dirt" are recognized by respiratory difficulties.

164 They differentiate perfectly well the venereal diseases,
757 which seem to be quite widespread in the acculturated parcialidades. In Calderas they are said to have spread widely among both sexes, without respect to age, and to have been treated with copper sulphate, for the remedies of the Indians were of no use. In Santa Rosa antibiotics are used. A curer in that parcialidad maintains that those diseases were brought from La Plata by wandering women and that it befell him to treat two cases: one was serious and the patient died; the second, not very advanced, he treated with yukchacha, montaña barbasco, and fisa (bitopat or bodoquero). He administered the juice for six days and subjected the patient to a diet of chicken exclusively.

755 Remedies. The remedies used by the Paez curer are
757 vegetal. As a rule they are prescribed in combination. Thus:
/238/ To clean away the ptans:

[783] Yacuma blanca, ul ñiñ, ñundayuskei, shugues, chandur, guepeyuskey, chayuts.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

754 upon them by the missionaries. The power to do evil is not limited to the witches, but is possessed by anyone who entertains a momentary feeling of envy, and to women, who may not walk over a stick or a cord [841] stretched on the ground. Contact with women during their men- [846] struation or during the days following childbirth causes the "mokokoy" [753] to persecute the men and make them ill.

825 Animals possess the power to prognosticate evil. A document written in 1730 [16] tells that an Indian killed a rooster because he had 787 crowed before daybreak, and said, "Rooster, you are forecasting my 763 death, but I shall kill you first." They believe the same thing when certain birds sing. For example, the call of an owl at midnight brings death to someone. And certain small birds called "ulchik" and others called "bich" warn whomever hears their singing that he will meet with disaster. The box turtle follows people warning them that they are going to die.

825 Del Castillo says that the Indians will not strike white dogs, so that 775 they will not be bitten by them when they enter the future life.

The belief in spirits (kl'iumb) is quite general. Among these 776 spirits is the "pitsuala" which persecutes people, makes them ill, and 753 even kills them. The rainbow, or "Etskituna," causes a rash to break [821] out all over the body of anyone who ventures out while the rainbow shines, and the drizzle that generally accompanies the rainbow will harm a person who gets wet in it if he does not bathe immediately. When the rainbow appears, they stay indoors, and blow or spit tobacco in its direction.

776 They believe that the lagoon on the snowcapped peak, Huila, is [823] charmed, and that if they try to go near it wind and hail storms rise. Supernatural evil forces are supposed to be present during many [821] social activities, such as dancing, meetings, funerals, house building, [491] and bridge construction. When a bridge is built, two Indians beat [331] the water constantly to drive away evil spirits. When traveling on the mountains they place small stones or coins on top of some large [484] natural rock to assure a successful trip and to avoid angering the [782] spirit of the mountain.

Sometimes these spiritual forces assume a bodily form, as in the [825] case of the fireflies, which bring diseases or which may be wrapped in [753] Santa María leaves and placed in the path of an intended victim. [754] Most feared are the ghosts of the dead, which consequently are the 782 most propitiated. The *Moguex* and the *Páez* ask their permission to 769 dance, and honor them in a special rite, which blends old beliefs with [775] new religious concepts. Thus, offerings are made to the souls during the first days of November, or whenever the curate is able to visit the Indian village. Each person offers some products from his farm, in-

[16] Statement made by Javier de Orosco y Cuellar in a lawsuit by the Indians of Tobeima for the possession of land. From the ecclesiastical files of Belalcázar, or Páez.

?:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

cluding vegetables, cornbread, eggs, and chicha, which he piles on the church floor, together with wax candles—one if the person does not have anyone in particular to remember, two for each deceased relative. When Mass begins, they throw flowers on the presbytery, as an offering to the souls of children. Afterward, they go to the cemetery in procession, and the souls of the departed come down to the empty church to take the food. Later, the people sell whatever the souls left or failed to eat. Everyone buys something, the captain's assistant collecting the money, while the constables of the council, raising their whips and shouting insults, prevent frauds in the general disorder. The money from the sale is given to the priest to pay him for the work in the rites. As each person leaves the church, he kisses a crucifix held by the sacristan at the church door. They kiss it once for each dead person whom they wish to remember and pay a cent each time. In addition to offering food at the church, the *Moguex* cover their tables at home with food, which is also intended for the souls of their dead, and at the end of 2 or 3 days they eat the food, saying that they are eating what the souls have left. 769 782 [624] [625]

Christmas and Holy Week are both great occasions for the Indians, who celebrate them with music and some of their ancient rites. Even though a priest may not be present, they conduct the rites in a manner that dates from Colonial days, when a *Páez* Indian named Undachí tried to combine Catholicism with their own religion. The man claimed to be able to see God, who used to come among the Indians and talk to him in his own *Páez* language. The new religion included a chapel, Mass, and candle and flower offerings. 796 771 177 [781]

Sickness.—Sickness was always thought to be caused by witchcraft or by someone's will. The evil force entered the body and made it impure; it had to be expelled or "cleansed," lest death ensue. If a delirious person told who was killing him, the individual mentioned was thought guilty; or, if, after a death, the face of the deceased should appear to somebody, the person was considered responsible. These beliefs are still in force today, and the Indians avoid the causes of sickness, such as having sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman, exposing the body to bad weather while there is a rainbow, and neglecting to bathe after a burial or to purify a house where a death occurred. 753 754 [787] 753 178

To fight disease they still have shamans. *Moguex* shamans use tobacco, coca, plants known as yacuna and chundar, and rum in their practice. After remaining shut up in a dark room for a night, they either confess their inability to cure the sick person or proceed to administer the traditional medicines. Sickness is conceptualized as an animal, which enters the stomach, head, or other part of the body. In former times, the shaman fasted with the sick person, abstaining from salt and fats and taking only coca and chicha. Today, he requires that only the patient fast. 756 [753] [785]

8: Bernal Villa

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p. 30
p. 31

Chart of Positions of the Nicanor Guagás family's Genealogy.
/Following p. 27/

8: Bernal Villa--28 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

Genealogy of the family of Nicanor Guagás, parcialidad of Calderas. It includes several nuclear families which live in different places in the parcialidad /see p. 32 for the explanations of the symbols/.

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- — 1. Nicanor Guagás m.
- + 2. Rosario Ike 80 *
  - — 3. Damiana Guagás 65
  - + 4. Bonifacio Muse m.
    - — 22. Justo Muse 33
      - 23. Julia Pame 30
        - — 67. Isabel Muse 7
        - 68. Juan Muse 3.
        - 69. Fosario M. 3mo. m. A.
        - 70. Concha M. 2mo.
    - — 24. Marcelo Muse 35
      - +25. Rosalía Ramos 30
        - — 71. Vicente M. 3. m. C.
        - 72. Manuel T. M. 6
        - 73. María S. M. 4
        - 74. Rafael M. 1mo.
    - — 26. María S. Muse 30
      - +27. Juan Guagás m.
        - — 75. Nicolás G. 5 m.
        - 76. Alberto G. 12
        - 77. Francisca G. 6
        - 78. Justiniano G. 3
        - 79. Natividad G. 3 m.
        - 80. Ismael G. 1mo. C.
    - — 28. Gabriel Muse m.
    - — 29. Paulina Muse m.
    - — 30. Magdalena Muse 22
      - +31. Pedro Pame
        - — 81. Paulino P. 3
        - 82. Juana P. 1
    - — 32. Jacinto Muse 20
      - +33. Leocadia Shukué 20
    - — 34. María Muse 40
      - — 83. Ramón Villané 12

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

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- 34. María Muse 40
  - 83. Ramón Villanó 12
  - 84. Juana Villanó 8
  - 85. María S. V. 7
  - 86. Marcelino V. 3
  - 87. Alfonso V. 3 m. H
- +35. José Villanó 40
- 36. Delfina Muse 23 E
  - 88. Jacinto Guagás 6
  - 89. Isabel G. 8ms.
- +37. Venancio Guagás 25

- 5. Nicolasa Guagás 38
  - 38. Marcelina Guagás 22
    - 90. Magdalena Tova 2
  - +39. Alfonso Tova 30
  - 40. Gregoria Guagás
  - 41. Agustina Guagás
  - 42. Virginia Guagás
  - 43. Manuel J. Guagás 10
- + 6. Manuel Guagás m.

- 7. Raimundo Guagás 35
  - 44 — 2
- + 8. María J. Pame 27

- 9. Pascual Guagás m.
- 10. José D. Guagás m.
- 11. Juan Guagás m.
- 12. Juana Guagás
  - 45. Benito Io 36
    - 91. Miguel Io 3ms. in. J
    - 92. Patrocinio Io 2
  - +46. Antonia Ikinás 22
- +14. Primitivo Io

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[Parcialidad of Calderas]

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- 10. José D. Guagás m.
- 11. Juan Guagás m.
- 12. Juana Guagás
  - 45. Benito Io 36
    - 91. Miguel Io 3ms. m. J
    - 92. Patrocinio Io 2
  - +46. Antonia Ikinás 22
  - 47. Esteban Io 38
    - 93. Santiago I. m. F.
    - 94. Tránsito I. 10
    - 95. Santos I. 6
    - 96. Raimundo I. 1
    - 97. Cruz Io m. C
  - +48. Rosalía Puche 30 E
  - ~~49. Margarita Io 25~~
    - ~~98. Eusebio Ikinás 4~~
    - 99. Lorenzo Ikinás 2ms.
    - 101. Santos I. 1ms. m. D
  - +50. Julio Ikinás 35
- +14. Primitivo Io
- 14. Catalina Guagás 50
  - 51. Dionisia Ule 22
    - 102
      - 2
  - +52. Celio Muse 27
- +15. Demesio Ule m.
- 16. Trinidad Guagás
  - 53. Bautista Ule
  - 54. Felisa Ule
  - 55. Cristina Ulé
  - 56. Pedro Ule
- +17. Manuel Ule
- 18. José D. Guagás
  - 57. Juana Guagás 30
    - 103. Josefina T. 1ms.

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

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- 55. Cristina Ulé
- 56. Pedro Ule

- 18. José D. Guagás
- +19. Jacinta Muse
  - 57. Juana Guagás 30
    - 103. Josefina T. 1ms.
    - 104. Alejandro T. 5 m. B
    - 105. Rufina T. 1ms. m. C
    - 106. Floro T. 4 m. D
    - 107. Cruz T. 1ms. m. A
  - +58. Narciso Tumbo 40
  - 59. Aurelio Guagás 35
    - 108. Pedro Guagás 2
  - +60. Vicenta Kuskue 30.
  - 61. Marcelino Guagás 50.
    - 109. Feliciano G. 1ms. m.
    - 110. Bruno G. 25
    - 111. Magdalena G. 20
    - 112. Ramón G. 10
    - 113. Agustín G. 1ms. m.
    - 114. Felisa G. 1ms. m.
  - +62. Trinidad Puche 50
  - 63. Quiterio Guagás
  - +64. Petrona Pame
  - 65. Martina Guagás 27
    - 115. Julio Ikinás 10
    - 116. Gregoria I. 8
    - 117. Pascual I. 4 m.
  - +66. Rufino Ikinás 30
- 20. A woman m.
- 21. A woman m.

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[Parcialidad of Calderas]

Explanations for the symbols of the chart on pp. 28-31./

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*The parents of Rosario Iko were called Agustín Guagás and Concepción Iko, the latter a native of Cuetando. Rosario bears the surname of the mother because of being married to a Guagás.

A. Stung by Echi

B. Poisoned

C. Bewitched.

D. Whooping cough.

E. An abortion.

F. Smallpox.

G. Hernia.

H. Duende.

J. Plague.

m. dead.

ms. months.

/185 cont./

623 no other solution, I had to marry, "reflected the informant," for
736 such was the law. The cabildo finds husbands for female orphans
562 (guaiches). Any youth could ask the cabildo for an orphan for a
583 wife and it would give her."

The husband may punish his wife. We were able to ob-
593 serve the case of a native Calderuno who with tears in his eyes
[586] asked for the help of the priest to get back his wife who had abandoned him because he had given her some blows with the flat of a machete, injuring her. The complaining husband explained that the maltreatment given to his wife had not been of any importance, and, anyway, she had cost him twelve pesos, meaning by this the amount paid to the priest to celebrate the
593 nuptials. They punish the wife when on returning from work
684 they find her drunk and without food prepared for eating. Likewise they whip her or cuff her in cases of infidelity. Absolute
[837] fidelity is demanded from both spouses, and transgressions from this standard seem to be infrequent.

Such cases as present themselves are settled by the cabildo,
593 as we were able to observe in Mosoco, where a husband, through
623 the suggestion of his own mother, accused his wife of infidelity.
684 The cabildo /186/ in session went to the house of the plaintiff
692 to establish responsibility in the presence of the interested parties. According to an informant from Calderas, when a married man has a child by an unmarried girl, his wife complains before the cabildo. If it finds the girl guilty, it punishes her with lashes and authorizes the complainant to cut the hair of her rival.
[848] The child born in this way, said the informant, dies of the plague.
[753] Cases of infidelity on the part of the husband a number of times arouse violent reactions on the part of the wife, up to the point of liquidating her rival in a barbarous and merciless manner, as occurred in San Andrés where out of jealousy a woman practically quartered the body of the other woman, and whose penal judgment was given in the city of Popayán not many months ago.

/190 cont./ The girl
595 then helps with household tasks and the father of the house may
591 have children by her, without his marrying the girl -- today at
178 any rate -- as his second wife in a regular marriage ceremony.

584 If a young man wants to marry, he speaks -- in the normal case -- to his father, and the latter with the father of his chosen one. Courtship through a third person outside the family is not customary, and the relatives on the two sides do not enter into communication with one another and exchange presents until after the official wedding ceremony. As a rule, the two young people have reached an agreement earlier, before the fathers speak to each other. The consent of the girl, however, is not required, for the agreement of the young man with the two fathers is fully adequate, and in this case the girl is given in marriage
584 even against her will. But this is said to be the case very rarely
● 754 or never, for it is dangerous for a girl to refuse a young man's
539 proposal of marriage. In this case he would spit and utter the following curse: "Toblel (untranslatable), I wanted to marry you, but you did not want it; now you must die!" I told the men of Calderas that I doubted whether this curse could have any effect, but then I was told the story of the girl who did not want to marry
[832] a Paez. This girl was very beautiful. (By the way, only unmarried girls are called beautiful; a married woman is never described as beautiful.) She was slightly fat -- being thin is regarded as ugly -- was always washed clean and well combed, and wore beautiful necklaces and earrings, handsomely woven clothing, and an exquisite belt that she herself wove. Many young men of Calderas wanted to marry her, but she did not want to marry a Calderun, only a white. She therefore left her village to go to Popayán (the only larger, well-known city). She walked very fast. On the way, however, in the páramo (bordering mountains) there was a Pijao. He /191/ seized her and took her into his house alive. There he kindled a fire, killed her, and devoured her. By way of explanation the storyteller added: A girl who does not want to marry a Calderun but a white, because the Calderun men are not handsome enough, would, on the way to

/191 cont./

584 the city, even before reaching it, be devoured by a Pijao. There-
754 fore, this has never been attempted by any girl. An example of
539 the opposite is instructive in this connection. Our Colombian
114 colleague, Segundo Bernal Villa, who lived in the park of San
584 Andrés with us and at the same time carried on his ethnological and sociological research in Calderas, had often mentioned, jokingly and in order to make himself popular, that he intended to look for a bride in Calderas. He was often seen with a pretty Calderun girl by the people in the village, as he conversed and went walking with her. One day when he presented her with a bottle of brandy, not knowing or not heeding the courtship custom connected with this, his joking was taken seriously and very much
[423] amiss. The girl was sentenced by the cabildo to severe corporal
[692] punishment and, after this was carried out, was married the next day to a young man of the village.

584 For the official offer of marriage, the father of the young
431 man goes to the house of the girl's parents. He takes along a gourd calabash with about ten liters of chicha and five bottles of brandy. First he converses only casually with the entire family of the girl for half an hour, many jokes are made, and they talk about this and that. Then he asks the girl's father whether his daughter would not like to marry his son. The parents reply that they have only one daughter and that unfortunately they cannot give her away, since they themselves need her so much. Thereupon they converse further, talk about this and that, and then the father of the young man asks a second time whether the daughter of the house would not like to marry his son. But this time, too, the father of the girl replies that he has but one daughter and can unfortunately not give her away. Then they talk some more, until the guest asks a third time: "Can you not give me your daughter for my son?" The father of the girl then replies: "Very well, I shall give my daughter to your son, but I expect him always to treat her well and not to speak ill of her!" Then the guest hands over the bottles of brandy which he brought along, the first to the father of the bride, the second to the mother of the bride, then the third to the bride, and then a bottle each to her brothers and sisters. He gives all the chicha that he brought to the bride's

/256 cont./

797 in all Paez communities in which Spanish is not understood by the
177 majority of the population, the old functionaries of the original
178 Paez religion are needed to maintain the social life in particular.
871 In accordance with their activity, they are designated as "shamans"
756 by theologians. Because of the dissimilar nature of their religious activity, they do not by any means represent unbridgeable competition for the Christian missions; rather, both, the Christian faith and shamanistic activity, can exist side by side in the present stage of culture of the Paez.

771 If one considers existing theological convictions, one finds
793 that the office and dignity of the cult priest rest on the performance of sacred acts which must of necessity be fulfilled so that the
756 natural and normal development of human existence is not ob-
182 structed. His task is to confirm the existing world order through the consecration of sacerdotal acts. The shamans, however, -- on the contrary! -- want to outdo and break through the given order of nature and the environment. Their greatness and authority rest on the fact that they do supernatural things, that they heal the sick, struggle with spirits, yes, awaken the dead to new life. This, at any rate, is said of the greatest of their kind, whose talent lies in their spiritual, supernatural powers, in their mastering of extraordinary circumstances. Over against the cult priest's "thus it is," the shaman puts his "thus it should be" (A. Friedrich).

a) Characteristics of Paez Shamanism

756 The Paez shamans, in the sense given, are not functionaries
754 of a sacrificial cult, but persons who do supernatural things. There are two types of them, the teyu and the nyic. Whereas the teyu (tepits as a man, téoi as a woman) is a good shaman, a good doctor and helper of human beings, the nyic is an evil shaman, an evil sorcerer, a hexer. The shamanistic activity of both, however, as a religious phenomenon, is not nearly as distinctive as, for example, the shamanism that we are familiar with in Siberia or North America.

/256 cont./

771 It is not certain whether in former times the Paez had a cult
[793] priesthood besides shamans such as are practicing today. In any
[756] case, to designate the priests and missionaries they use the word
[797] tikwe, /257/ which is not used for anything else. The present-
771 day characteristic thinking of the Paez, their entire mental atti-
754 tude, revolves around magic and countermagic, despite mission-
[797] izing and Christianity. No injury, no illness, no deformity, no
[177] poor livestock is traced back to natural causes, but rather every-
thing is the work of evil magic. Since the people themselves
are fully convinced of this belief and ensnared by this idea, the
actual achievement of the evil sorcerers corresponds to what is
desired; that is to say, a person who knows he is bewitched,
being mindful of the inevitability of his fate, actually becomes
554 ill and dies. The victims are almost always the most thrifty
and industrious members of the community, those who tower
above the others because of their success.

754 There are no persons who are privileged because of age,
177 sex, or social position -- with the exception of the good shamans,
who are incessantly the target of the evil ones. Anyone who, in
dress and way of living, adopts the customs of the whites, is in
the habit of associating with them, no longer chews coca, works
with modern tools, and wants to carry on his farming according
to the principles of the colonists is opposed by the nyic.

754 It is not only the outward superiority of the individual over
554 the masses that evokes the envy of the nyic, but also the general
popularity of an individual, and with it a certain personal influ-
ence within the village. Thus, for example, the father of our
Victoriano was the victim of an evil charm. He is regarded as very
intelligent, is a good worker, knows best how to build houses and
bridges, and has even undertaken a journey to the city of Popayán.
On account of his popularity and the good advice he always gives --
so it is reported -- a nyic tried to kill him out of envy. One
[755] night when he was asleep the nyic robbed him of his soul. His
brother noticed it, however, and spat coca on it. The next day
the eye of the bewitched one became white and was close to
running out, if a teyu had not helped. He is blind in that eye,
however, to this day.

/257 cont./

754 648 797 The special target of the evil sorcerers are the white Colombians. People are afraid to undertake anything against them openly, but the magic manipulations of the nyic against them are widely known. The ones primarily affected are the whites, who robbed the Paez of land, and among them the missionaries, too. The nyic then try to obtain mastery over the souls of the whites, to treat them with herbs, and thus make them so sluggish that they will not return to Tierradentro any more. It is also said that the nyic had placed their remedies /258/ in the church so that the mission priest from Belalcázar would never come there any more and would never enter it any more.

754 789 [464] The victims of evil sorcery, however, are not only human beings and animals, but also the cultivated fields, which can be bewitched by means of eggs, salt, or pubic hair. The families affected are then no longer able to feed themselves, and in many cases the fathers of the families must leave the village in order to hire themselves out to the whites. The removal of the unpopular one is thus achieved. His return is prevented in magical ways, the nyic placing special herbs, which the person cannot step over, on the connecting roads.

754 The aids for evil magic are not, say, objects belonging to the persons to be bewitched and used in a pars-pro-toto act, but are exclusively parts or agents from among the belongings of the sorcerer, which, for their effect, must be brought into close contact with the victim himself or his soul. If the nyic wishes his victim to have an accident, he places a smoothly polished stone from the river somewhere in his house. The person in question will then soon slip and fall and break his bones or suffer a sprain. Another possibility for bewitchment is for the nyic to spread his agent on the food of his victim. Thus, a shaman from Santa Rosa reports how the former young and capable Gobernador Leonidas was killed by the nyic Dolores Dinó. She visited him one day while he was working alone in his garden and threw several of her own pubic hairs in the food in his cooking pot and, in addition, a fragment from a prehistoric clay pot of the Pijao. Leonidas ate this meal.

/258 cont./

754 Afterward his throat began to dry out and he could breathe only with difficulty, until he finally died.

754 756 [562] [753] [623] [683] The evil shamans are not generally known publicly. Men as well as women, however, may be teyu and nyic. In fact, the most famous and clever teyu whom we met was an old woman, Felisa Ipia in Santa Rosa, who at the same time, however, is regarded as the most evil sorceress who ever existed. All the sickness and misfortune in Santa Rosa are ascribed to her acts. For this reason the cabildo once burned all her medicinal herbs and broke her shaman's staff. But people no longer dare to undertake anything serious against her, since they fear her, as they do all evil sorcerers. In former times the convicted nyic were always very severely punished, but since many members of the cabildo have died as a result of sorcery, no one any longer dares to accuse the well-known nyic today.

754 756 562 /259/ With regard to the problem of male and female shamans, a teyu from Calderas explained that women as such had an excellent sense of feeling and therefore the best talent as shamans. Since they are more crafty and cunning than men, however, the female shamans can transform themselves into an evil sorceress at any time. And that is precisely what makes them so dangerous and hence unfit for the calling of a good shaman.

754 756 The border between teyu and nyic, therefore, is flexible. Both aspects of shamanism may be united in one person, or a teyu may become a nyic and vice versa. In the following, therefore, the teyu form of manifestation of shamanism will be described. In spirit the nyic are based on the same foundation. They never show their herbs and remedies and allow no one to take part in [124] their ceremonies. The teyu, on the other hand, on closer acquaintance were quite willing to give information about their knowledge and to let us take part in their séances.

/259 cont./

b) The Period of Development of the Shaman

756 The teyu with whom I was acquainted became shamans in two ways. Either they were taught by a teyu for a more or less long period of time, until they were given the "signs," or they were directly called to become a shaman by a vision. The latter, as a result of special selection through an experience caused by higher beings, is the more original type of shaman calling, whereas a regular apprenticeship with an experienced teyu is characteristic for the shamans who carry on the position of their fathers and sometimes also that of their grandfathers. These "hereditary shamans" are generally not as powerful magically as those initially chosen through a vision. The hereditary shamans are merely the continuers of an acquired shamanistic trade, whereas the initially chosen ones are the continuers of the tradition of a creator of human beings and animals, of a heroic war leader and liberator [776] of their people. This mythically important figure of Paez tradition is Thunder, who is also regarded as the foremost and the most powerful magically of all shamans. His human successors were scarcely inferior to him as shamans in olden times, whereas the present-day ones are generally quite far behind in their magical abilities.

● 754 The teoi Felisa Ipia from Santa Rosa is about 70 years old
756 (Ill. 199 /see p. 288 /). Her husband and six children are dead. Three children are living. She keeps no animals aside from a few chickens and turkey hens. About her calling she says that she received her call to become a shaman from Thunder. /260/ The latter lives in the lagoon of Taibe. He appeared to her in a black cloud and descended to earth to her in human form and gave her her shaman's staff and her medicinal herbs, saying that she had
754 been chosen as teoi by him. She then practiced her art for a long
756 time; but the people said that she was an evil shaman, a nyic,
683 and brought her before the cabildo to be punished. Since the people greatly fear the nyic, she was given many blows there, and, indeed, with her own shaman's staff. Afterwards it was broken and burned

/260 cont./

756 on the village plaza, along with her medicinal herbs. Then they
[754] sent her back to her house, without her staff and without her
[683] medicinal herbs. When someone again became sick, however, the people again came to her and asked her to help the sick one. Then her husband, who, however, was not a shaman, made her a new staff; she herself again looked for her medicinal herbs and was able to help the sick. Since then she has been recognized once again as a good shaman and helps all who come to her. Another shaman in Santa Rosa said that he had received his call when he was but six years old. One day when he was working in the field, his mother, dressed in black and with a hat on her head, came to him and scolded him on account of his poor work. When she left, he followed her, but she disappeared into the river. When he returned home, he realized that the woman whom he saw could not have been his mother, since the latter had been in the community field at that time, where she was cooking for the workers. Undoubtedly this woman was a spirit, he confessed, who wanted to tell him that he should become a shaman. This was also confirmed for him by two fiber bags which she carried and which corresponded exactly to those used by the shamans for their medicinal herbs. A shaman from Calderas said that there came to him one night a very beautiful blond child with the women's hair style, who, however, was Thunder, and called upon him to become a shaman.

756 If one does not have visions by himself, he can, in order to
787 become shaman, seek them purposely. For this he need only eat
[262] very little and must refrain entirely from ají (a very pungent condi-
[263] ment /see the glossary, p. 248/) and salt for one month. (The same thing also happens to a young man after he has involuntarily had a vision.) The one seeking a vision then goes all alone into the mountains, where he wanders over hill and dale for a long time, until he comes to a beautiful place where he meets an older man. The latter, like himself, is chewing coca. Through his appearance and his friendly manner he inspires confidence in the youth, and the latter tells /261/ him of his wish to become a shaman. He

In his opinion, one cannot
/261 cont./
756 learn how to become a shaman; rather, this is a hereditary gift.
[127] He himself has no son and no pupils.

The tepits Francisco Cuskue is about 40 years old, married, and has four daughters and one son. Two children died. He has neither /262/ cows nor pigs, horses or sheep, and is very poor. He learned from childhood on, for his father and grandfather were also shamans. He wants his son to become a shaman, too. The latter, about ten years old, has not yet begun the apprenticeship,
[123] however. In reply to my question as to whether I, too, as a stranger, might become a shaman, he asserted that this would be possible, but said that the training is very long and difficult. One has to learn from childhood on, until one is about 25 or 30 years old. I, in my case, am already too old to begin.

The tepits Cerbeleón Niunda (Ill. 153 /see p. 267/), who lives near the shaman Francisco, is the son of a shaman, was taught by his father, and had the "signs" when he was only ten years old. He is now, as an estimate, 55 years old (no Paez knows how old he is) and had ten children, six of whom died. In the way
756 of possessions he has neither horse nor cow nor sheep. Whereas
312 all Paez divert the mountain brooks so that a small ditch flows past their houses and they always use only flowing water, the shamans Francisco and Cerbeleón have a small joint reservoir below a spring, from which they drink and into which, before drinking, they place one of their medicinal herbs, ỹũ. When questioned, both stated that they did not do this for any special reason and could not find out about anything in the reservoir, neither sickness nor the future.

●754 Just as the good shaman was chosen by a vision, this also ap-
787 plies for the evil sorcerer. It is regarded as an omen that he is to become a nyiç if, for example, in a dream he sees a bird that in its beak holds a donkey, into whose open mouth flies are
754 crawling, or simply if he dreams about pigs. The prospective nyiç may have his vision during the day or at night; it is said that people who are abroad a great deal during the night are the most susceptible to evil sorcery, since at this time they have the

/262 cont./

754 most opportunities to meet evil spirits. Generally they do not need a teacher, but may look for their herbs by themselves. There are also many people, however, who would like to learn sorcery from other nyic, just as there are also supposed to nyic who instruct others in their art.

756 Avoidance prescriptions and taboos for the shaman include
784 some sexual and dietary abstinence, without, however, being
[834] very extensive or strict. Intercourse with his wife is forbidden
[263] for him when he feels his "signs." Moreover, he may not eat any aji if possible, in order not to make Thunder too angry. Also, he may eat only very little salt, since Thunder likewise /263/ eats
[787] no salt. For the séances, which always take place at night, he fasts the whole day, since a full stomach makes it difficult to feel the
756 "signs." The other avoidance rules for the shaman are the same
784 as for all other human beings. For example, one may not kill a
825 snail, for if he should touch it, he would become lazy. In like manner, the black woodpecker (ánza) may not be killed, since otherwise, while working, one would split the machete in the same way as the tail of the woodpecker is shaped. Young men are forbidden to take a stolen hen away from a fox, for then another man would take his bride or wife away from him. Only
[262] old men may confidently eat such a hen, if they have first run around the house with a firebrand.

c) Shamanistic Aids

756 Among the shamanistic aids, the "signs" are the most im-
787 portant symptoms experienced, while the outward ceremonial gear is as meager as the whole Paez culture. The only ceremonial implement is the unadorned shaman's staff, the functional meaning of which, however, is far less important than the shamanistic "signs" (ítok). "They are like the pecking of a bird," the shaman Cerbeleón Niunda said of them, and Francisco Cuskue describes them as the irregular beating of his pulse. To be able to receive
[278] and to interpret them is the basis of being a shaman. Knowledge of the medicinal herbs, the handling of the shaman's staff, in

If someone

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787 dreams of peté squash, he will be devoured by the Pijao, for this
[266] squash has black seeds, and the Pijao as man-eaters have /267/
black teeth. If one has been greatly amused in a dream at night
and has laughed a great deal, he will have a great deal of vexa-
tion during the day. If it rained heavily in a dream at night, a
chicken or something similar will be stolen the next day. If in
a dream someone has ridden very fast all night long on a brown
horse, the day will be beautiful, for the brown or red color is the
color of the sun (the same word is used for brown and red); dream-
ing of riding a black horse, on the other hand, will cause a black
cloud to come up the next day, and then it will rain. If, before
sowing, someone dreams of a big lagoon that appears all green
or has a great deal of green growth around it, this means that the
subsequent sowing will produce a good harvest. Anyone who sees
a black pig in his dream has in reality seen the heart of an evil
shaman, that is to say, he, as a good human being, has met the
wandering soul of an evil shaman; this is not a good sign, but
neither is it so bad that one would have to fall ill on account of it.
Dreaming about the slaughtering of a pig means that an evil
sorcerer will die. If one dreams that a thorn entered his foot on
[763] the road, a snake will bite him. If one's tooth drops out in a
dream, a close relative will die. If someone else kills a large
rooster, his father will die, for the rooster is the heart of the father.
But if a person himself slaughters a large rooster in a dream, he
will murder his own father. If one dreams that he has worked a
great deal in his field on one day, then wild animals will break
● [754] into this field and destroy the entire crop. If a person dreams that
[763] he is falling into a deep hole and cannot get out again, this is a
sign that he will die, for an evil sorcerer has thus stolen the soul
of a human being, buried it in a deep hole, and stamped down
the earth again.

756 If dreams and shamanistic signs of a relatively advanced
spiritual attitude lead to the conclusion that there is a correspond-
ing external ceremonial outfit for the shaman, we shall be disap-
[181] pointed. The shaman's staff (tama), to which a liana (nika) is
added for certain ceremonies, is unadorned, poor, and inartistic,
like the entire culture of the Paez.

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778 and had their staff of office consecrated there. Today this no
756 longer takes place because of the lack of good shamans. The
623 shamans of today no longer have the intense visions that the
[787] earlier ones had, and that is why they are no longer so powerful magically. They are no longer able to speak with Thunder as simply as their predecessors did, and since they are weaker, it is believed that Thunder will kill them.

776 Thunder is generally described as small of stature and dressed like a Paez man with hat and black ruana. It is reported that he does not wear trousers, but exposes his sexual parts. He has with
[534] him, like a shaman, his tama, a fiber bag with medicines, and a
[532] musical instrument called "tíngalo" (triangle). It is not impossible that it is his picture, together with a Christian cross, that is incised in the gable post of a hut in the vicinity of the park of San Andrés, which represents a man with large, triangular-shaped sexual parts (Ill. 200 /see p. 288 /).

[756] /270/ Thunder is regarded by all the Paez as the greatest
[773] shaman and by the teyu as their master. In the folklore (see below /see pp. 215 ff./), he probably often has different names, such as Juan Tama, Llivan, Chauté, Juan Chiracol, but his characteristics stand out in them, no matter whether as sāt (cacique) he is fighting the Pijao and defending his people, or that he will one day -- people are convinced -- again drive the hated whites
776 out of Tierradentro. He warns the Paez of an evil white person
821 who is coming to Tierradentro for a visit by a clap of thunder from
[783] a clear sky. When he thunders above a particular house, he is
[756] announcing that there is "pest" in it, and if he thunders first above the house of a nyic and then above one belonging to a teyu he is thereby announcing to a good shaman that he has just been bewitched.

776 A few stories also tell about the struggles of the shamans
727 against Thunder, for he once robbed the Paez of livestock and
756 people. But that was long ago, for today no one would dare undertake anything against Thunder. The Calderun shamans tell how the earlier teyu were in a position to speak with Thunder at any time and to get advice from him. Those of today are no

/270 cont./

756 longer able to do this. Old Filisa of Santa Rosa, however, who
776 was herself chosen and initiated into her office by Thunder, is
787 still able to enter into communication with Thunder today. To be sure, she cannot always do this, but she has often sought him out in his lagoon, dived into the water, gone to the house of Thunder on the bottom of the lagoon, and asked him for advice. One of the sons of Thunder, likewise a shaman, was even her constant companion who protected her everywhere. "In former times," she said, "Thunder himself cured people. Today it is different." Thunder knows when someone is sick; then when people come to her to ask for a remedy, Thunder personally announces to the shaman beforehand: such and such persons with such and such an illness will come today. He also tells her at the same time what remedies she should use. Then when the people come to tell about the illness, she can, since she is a good friend of Thunder, always help them with the best remedies.

776 Thunder, she said, has many children. They come into the world by way of a spring or a crevice out of which water trickles. They have the size of small human beings, but are very good and dressed in a beautiful táw (belt). For growing up and for their nourishment they need three women as attendants. They suck milk from them, whereupon the women must die. The Thunder-children /271/ themselves are barren and have no children. As children of Thunder, however, they have always been great caciques and shamans.

One day she showed me a small knot of a branch, wrapped in a piece of cloth. "This is a child of Thunder that I have from him," she said, "it looks like a branch, but in reality it is alive and can speak."

d) Sickness, Ideas About the Spirits and Souls

753 All sicknesses are explained by the Paez as having originated
● 754 by means of magical influences that have their cause primarily
783 in malevolent, deliberate acts. These magical, supernatural influences are either bewitchments by the nyic, magical injury

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753 caused by the spirits eč, tũs, or gělyómp, or general emanations
783 of impurity, of "pest" (uwẽ). Such reasons for catching pest, and
[754] thereby being afflicted with sickness, result largely from neglecting
[764] the prescribed shamanistic purifications. These must take place after a burial or when someone has merely seen a funeral proces-
753 sion or entered a house in which there is a corpse. The prohibitions
783 surrounding a woman giving birth or menstruating are just as strict.
841 If she does not retire to the menstruation hut at the proper time,
[849] if she cohabits during these days or neglects to take the subsequent bath after menstruation and birth, the consequences are equally
[264] grave. Pest befalls a man if he accepts food from a menstruating
753 woman. The same consequences befall the one who in housebuild-
783 ing or during the first harvest does not have the proper ceremonies
756 performed by the shaman.
342

Most people die as the result of the evil influence of the
754 nyiç, the evil sorcerers. The latter -- it is firmly believed --
783
761 are able to kill individual persons as well as to send pest to entire villages. Their power of evil is regarded as almost unlimited. Besides being bewitched by a nyiç, there are three other possibili-
753 ties for a person to become ill or to die. These causes are
761 gělyómp, tũs, and eč. All three are very complex conceptions
776 and may be translated roughly as "mountain spirit," "rainbow," and "firefly," respectively, although the Paez conception and the
[756] translation are not completely identical. The teyu knows the cause of the illness immediately from his signs, the rest of the people, however, usually only after the death of the sick person. And, to be sure, one recognizes the tũs as the cause of illness by the fact /272/ that the corpse lies there with a bent limb (arm or leg), whereas in the case of ec as the cause of death, blood flows from the mouth or nose. It is also possible that both together, tũs and eč, might bring death to the person, for example, if the person lies there bent and blood flows from the mouth or nose.

776 The gělyómp spirit lives chiefly in the mountains, but also in the valley, on the banks of brooks or rivers. He likes to lead wanderers astray in the mountains by making noise and screaming up there; at night one hears his screams -- like those of a human

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774 (u = nasal) and taff, with which everyone is familiar, although
776 they are not sure about the distinction between the two. The
753 shamans Francisco and Cerbeleón said that the two were the same; but both of them also said that ũns or taff, if they had left the person in his dream and were abroad, could be caught by tũs, eč, or nyiç without the person's becoming aware of this immediately, but rather he still went on living. To my objection that in this case ũns and taff were probably different, they did not know how
[775] to answer; Cerbeleón stated that if a person dies, his ũns goes to heaven and the person himself becomes taff. He and other teyu
756 were able to catch the ũns of a human being. Thus, for example,
774
● 754 if someone had been robbed, he would come to Cerbeleón. The latter takes coca, tobacco, and brandy, and then he can bring forth the ũns of the thief, seize it, and kill it. The thief must
[783] then die. In order to get the ũns in his power, he must first cleanse
[824] his hands with the herbs šũ and vitubítskwe, as well as with brandy.
[276] The ũns has the form of a small animal, he explained; it can fly and glows and is about three centimeters long. It is very similar to a firefly in appearance, but different from eč.

554 Having reached this point in his explanation, Cerbeleón grew
754 silent, and our interpreter Victoriano said that we should now have
756 to depart, but quickly. With that he left the house in positive
[124] flight, and we were obliged to follow. Outside he explained to us that Cerbeleón was a "mal brujo," a nyiç, which, to be sure, he had always suspected before, but just now Cerbeleón had given himself away inasmuch as he had said that he could catch and
[682] kill the ũns of human beings. The people of Calderas also say that he possessed herbs that he could put in eggs, chicha, or other food, whereupon people would eat them and then die. One of the sons of Cerbeleón was a thief and had died in the following manner: The one who was robbed had prayed to the Virgen Santisima /Holy Virgin/, and God had punished the thief with death. The father himself, that is, the shaman Cerbeleón, is also a thief and kills people out of envy for their possessions.

The mission sisters confirmed this statement insofar as Cerbeleón had several times attempted to kill them by sprinkling

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554 herbs into their drinking-water canal. Now he had given it up,
754 however. To us he seemed to be merely an idle talker; he did
756 not give the impression of actually having received signs or of being serious about the matter, but rather it seemed as though he had merely learned a little by watching his father /275/ and was doing it mechanically without any inner concern. Francisco, too, had a father and grandfather as shaman predecessors. He was likewise rather ignorant, but apparently meant well. He did his best to help people.

756 Martin Chukue was completely absorbed by his calling and
753 duty, and he was well informed, serious, and dignified in his
761 shamanistic work. When the capitan of Calderas died, he was the shaman authorized to act for his residence, and he also conducted the purification ceremony after his burial. Martin explained the cause of death of the capitan as follows: The capitan had to die because the tũs had stolen the taff soul of the capitan. The capitan died with his left leg drawn up. He was very thin when he died, because he had not eaten anything for a long time, for
[755] his taff soul had been stolen five years ago. At that time the sick man began feeling pain, and during the entire time he, Martin, had fought with the tũs, offered him medicines, and tried to appease him.

775 When the ũns soul (ũns also means "heart"!) leaves the body,
[774] then the person is ultimately dead. And, to be sure, ũns leaves
[827] the body by way of the upper arms, lower arms, finger tips. Shortly before it leaves the person, one may still perceive it very faintly as a pulse beat, and when the pulse beat ceases altogether, the ũns has left the body and immediately goes to heaven. No one could tell me exactly in what form it goes to heaven. In heaven, however, it again has the normal human appearance.
[755] When children are ill, wool threads are put around their wrists
[774] and ankles and drawn tightly in order to prevent the escape of the ũns, or at least to make it more difficult.

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241 The following ceremony before the first harvest of a newly
756 cleared field should also be understood in the same sense as
783 all the shamanistic séances of the Paez, namely, as a purification
[273] from pest or to ward it off. The owner, taking along coca, chicha,
[276] and brandy, goes to the field with the members of his family and
[824] the teyu. The latter first sprinkles the field with water to which
herbs have been added and then distributes small packets of
[782] medicinal herbs to all present. He now takes a sample from each
type of produce and makes a bundle out of this, in order to offer
it to Thunder. After this gift, the owner harvests a fiber bag full
of each type of produce and carries it home. He sets down all
the bags beside one another in front of the left side of the entrance,
and then the shaman spits his herbs over them, in order to cleanse
them of the pest, which, without this ceremony, would otherwise
[782] have been carried into the house. After the products have been
cooked, they are given to the shaman, who distributes one product
to each of those present and offers the rest as a gift to Thunder, who,
in turn, gives everything back to the shaman.

●754 A good shaman does not know any herbs or other means to
756 harm people or to kill them. Such acts are the mark of the nyic.
According to what we heard, however, the boundary between good
and bad shamans is not very sharply drawn; each could also carry
out the activity of the other, even though Thunder -- people are
convinced -- does not lend his help to a nyic, so that the latter is
578 dependent solely on his bad and wicked agents. /285/ There is a
754 constant struggle between the teyu and the nyic, not openly to be
756 sure, but in secret. The teyu constantly feel pursued by the evil
machinations of the nyic, and one who relaxes his attention for
only a moment will be killed by them. In this struggle the one
who is the stronger magically has prospects of victory; but since
the nyic do not openly announce their successes over the good
shamans, one can learn only of the victories of the teyu over the
evil shamans. Thus a shaman from Santa Rosa relates that in his
youth he was very treacherous and underhanded and was already
familiar with many agents. One day a nyic, who had already

/285 cont./

578 killed his mother and his brothers, declared his hostility toward
754 him because he was well on the way to becoming a good shaman.
756 He became ill and his signs announced to him that he would soon
578 die. Now there was a famous shaman in Huila, and he sought
75 him out with much brandy and coca. Immediately this shaman
774 realized that it was a case of bewitchment by a nyiç. The only possibility of getting off alive was to kill the soul of the evil sorcerer immediately. Together they dug a hole for this purpose and in it they waited many nights for the soul of the nyiç. It came, but since it was very suspicious, it would not let itself be caught. More than a month passed in this way. Night after night the two were lying in wait, without sleeping, and then one night, near daybreak, the soul of the evil sorcerer came. The shaman was ready, however; he raised his staff and with a powerful blow it fell into the hole. Immediately earth was piled up over it and the hole completely covered. Hissing, the soul died.

756 Since the young shaman from Santa Rosa was well once more,
789 the old shaman sent him home. He advised him, however, to
824 carry herbs with him, since there were robbers on the way. Cautiously he proceeded to the dangerous spot, and already his signs announced to him that the robbers were in the vicinity. He immediately blew his herbs, and the robbers fell into a deep sleep. Farther along on the way home he met several people who were pursuing a criminal. They gave him brandy and coca and asked him to help them, from his home, to capture the criminal. He then strewed čayuts on his own feet, and the criminal could no longer walk, so the people were able to capture him.

75 Other shamans report that in case of a bewitchment by a
774 nyiç, the bewitched person and the members of his family slaughter a pig and put a piece of each organ in a fiber bag. /286/ They bring these to the shaman, together with brandy, coca and cigars. The meat serves as bait for the soul of the sorcerer, for at the first cockcrow, when all present are chewing coca, it comes to get the bag. It falls into the hole dug under it, however. The shaman immediately throws herbs into it, those present their chewed packets of coca, and then the pit is covered up as quickly as

/286 cont./

75 possible. After his soul has thus been killed, the sorcerer, too,
774 must die.

754 The same type of soul-capture as is reported here by the teyu
774 is also the most common method of evil sorcery practiced by the nyiç. The nyiç digs a hole and stations himself above it, in order to await the wandering soul of his victim. It is visible, like a lighted candle. When it is over the hole, the nyiç gives it a powerful blow with his staff, so that it falls into the hole. If it is supposed to die very quickly, the nyiç throws strongly efficacious herbs over it and covers the hole with graveyard soil. If not, he
754 has many possibilities of inflicting on the soul, and therefore on
774 his victim, injury that takes effect more slowly. If he sprinkles
824 the herb baw (Araceae) over it, the stomach of its owner becomes so distended that he dies. If the nyiç sprinkles lime over the soul, the person becomes blind. In the case of the poisonous herb boračero (Datura sp.), the owner of the soul becomes insane; the stinging smoke of the agave also produces insanity. Putting the leaves of the čuwét (Krameria ixina?) and the soul together brings death. The herbs kaspi (Toxicodendron striatum Kuntze), lečero (Euphorbia cotinifolia L.), and Pringamoza also cause death.

f) The Sociological Aspect of Shamanism

182 Although the shamanistic ceremonies and the conceptions
756 underlying them are of a religious nature, nevertheless the activity of the shaman is a definite sociological fact. Without the activity of the teyu, neither the family nor the village community can exist. It is only the shaman who, through his personal abilities, is able to counteract the evil effects of the nyiç, the tũs, eč, and gělyõmp spirits and turn them into something good. His activity, however, consists not only in the repulsion of what has already appeared, in the healing of what has happened, but his activity is also preventive, in fact, prophetic, for he predicts future sicknesses or deaths. Moreover, no house construction,

* /308 cont./

539 not let go of it. The human jaguar ran after him. He almost killed the Pijao, but the latter did not let go of his staff. They ran in this fashion for three hours, until they came to a rock near which the Pijao lived. There the jaguar turned himself into a human being again and sat down. The Pijao, however, descended to his village, which lay on a great plain. He went into his house. Then the Pijao came running to catch the supposed jaguar. The latter again turned himself from a human being into a jaguar and ran away from the Pijao. For three full hours he ran, back to the place where the Pijao had been roasting the bananas and the snake. Both were still there, as well as the fiber bag. The snake was only half cooked. The human jaguar sat down and ate up everything. In the afternoon he went back to his house again and also took the bag along to show it to his wife. After he had knocked, he entered
* 539 his house. (In connection with this the narrator remarked: The
● 754 human jaguar was probably an evil shaman, because formerly they were able to turn themselves into jaguars in order to steal cattle and sheep. Then, when they returned to their houses, they turned themselves back into human beings. Today, however, no one is able to turn himself into a jaguar any more. To do this, one needs a special remedy (yutse), which looks like a caterpillar. It may be obtained in the Cauca Valley, but nobody knows where.)

*539 18. The Duel between the Human Jaguar and the Mountain Jaguar

On a mountain there was a jaguar who robbed the people of all their animals. It stole chickens, turkeys, foals, cattle. It always came down from the mountain and devoured these animals. The people were therefore very angry. One day six men set out to kill the jaguar. They had with them many dogs and many guns. They found the jaguar on the mountain, but it devoured all the dogs and filled the people with terror. They therefore returned in the afternoon, very /309/ sad and without dogs. They now had no more dogs to go hunting another day. So the next day they went to a man who was known to be very strong and asked him:

/309 cont./

539 "Why do you not go with us? Why are you so cowardly?" This man, however, was a human jaguar. He could turn himself into a jaguar, and he decided to kill the mountain jaguar. He did not tell the people, of course, that he could turn himself into a jaguar, but rather he simply said that he was willing to kill the jaguar.

The next morning he set out very early, armed with only his machete. The other men wanted to accompany the human jaguar, but he said: "Just stay here, you are of no use anyway." The human jaguar then departed without his dog, armed only with his knife. At about eight o'clock the jaguar man was in the mountains and came upon the mountain jaguar asleep. The man then turned himself into a jaguar, let his claws grow, and began to knock over bushes and trees, as though he had an ax in his hands. When he had sharpened his claws well in this way, he began to roar loudly. The mountain jaguar awoke and got up, furious. They both went to an open spot and began at first merely to play. But the mountain jaguar did not want to play and immediately started to fight in earnest. They then fought wildly for about three hours. Then the mountain jaguar was able to wound the human jaguar. Since the latter, however, had merely played at first, he had more strength at the end and was able to kill the mountain jaguar. (Narrator's comment: The human jaguar is always stronger than the mountain jaguar, because the former eats salt.) The human jaguar then turned himself back into a human being, and with his machete, which he had brought along, he cut off the four feet of the mountain jaguar and put them in his bag. He set up the animal's body, however, as though the jaguar were still alive, the head turned downward in the direction of the village of the human beings.

[n54]

The human jaguar now went back to the village as a human being and told his wife and the people that he had killed the jaguar of the mountains. "I have killed the mountain jaguar, go and see whether it is so."

The next day the people set out and went into the mountains to see whether the jaguar was really dead. They took along guns

1: Nachtigall--288 p. (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 199. The shaman Felisia Ipia with her shaman's staff.

Ill. 200. Skull trophy and figure of a spirit.

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2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

the drum-dance, in which the women sang to the accompaniment of a drum; *vito-ko*, or *fits-ko*, the stick-dance, etc. 535

In addition to the shells and reeds, the Indians also accompanied their dances with a kind of drum (*kimb*), consisting of a long wooden trough hung by its extremities; and the *tsoots*, or rattle, a calabash containing small stones or hard canna seeds and provided with a handle. 535 534

According to Castillo the Paez had also other deities, corresponding somewhat to the lares of the ancient Latins, carved images of which were often found in the houses. The *dixi*, who were at one time priests, sorcerers, and medicine-men, lived in retirement and were considered as the keepers of the doctrines of a traditional civilizer of the nation, called *Guckiam*. So strong was their influence in Castillo's time that he complains rather bitterly about it, and proceeds to explain how the true God, wishing to free the Paez from such a devilish guide, simply employed a subterfuge to drown him in the Paez river, together with two of his apostles! 776 778 [79]

The belief in a future existence is indicated, as Uricoechea relates, by the fact that the Indians never molested white dogs, in order that they might not be bitten by them at the doors of the house beyond the grave. 825 795

There were birds and other signs of good or of evil omen. A woman would never step over a leather rope stretched on the ground, but would lift it up and pass beneath. During the construction of bridges, two men constantly beat the waters to frighten away evil spirits. The death of a person was often attributed to witchcraft, and he whose face bore some likeness to that of the dead person was often regarded as the culprit, provided the patient in his ravings had not given the name of the supposed sorcerer. The soul of a cow whose fat had been used for illumination during religious ceremonies was believed to go directly to heaven: this last belief, however, must be of post-conquest origin. 787 761 754 825 774

Among themselves the Indians are jovial and contented. The approach of the men whom we often met on the trails around Huila was usually first detected by the sound of the 157 533 283

000 /288 cont./

756 medicine men. To cure the patient, he divines which of the
755 supernatural beings caused the illness, proceeds to placate him,
[787] and then prescribes medicines to the patient. If the placation is not successful, the patient literally sinks into despair. The indispensable articles for all curing are coca, tobacco, and
[462] aguardiente. The medicine men are persons well along in years
[754] and belonging to the masculine sex. They cannot cure the effects of sorcery, although they can protect themselves against it.

754 c) Fifty per cent of all illnesses, the informants state,
[753] are caused by sorcery, and by the same token 50 per cent of
[761] the deaths, since sorcery is incurable. The sorcerers conceal their activities, and it seems that all adults are potential sor-
754 cerers. The institution of sorcery is a true escape valve for the
154 strong aggressive impulses of the natives and to some extent plays the role of a social regulator. Through it are channeled the jealousy, resentment, and vengefulness of the natives. The victims of sorcery are the most skillful and hard-working individuals, those who have a good house, good crops, and a growing number of domestic animals. Harvests and plantings
[683] generally are the object of sorcery. Sorcerers who are publicly unmasked are exposed to the anger of the community and even to exile, a measure taken not so much on account of their be-
[685] ing sorcerers as of their being thieves. All sorcerers are thieves. Sorcery appears with considerable frequency in the symbolism of dreams.

583 Marriage.--Marriage is monogamous and patrilocal. Both
[595] the chroniclers and Dr. Gregorio Hernández de Alba speak of
[591] the custom of the year of probation to acquaint the man with
[177] the skill, energy, and fecundity of his future wife. A thriving
[797] institution in times past, it is now in sharp decline owing to the action of mission work. Obviously, the purpose of this institution is to find out whether the woman is hard-working, faithful, not a thief, and to understand her ways in order to establish a lasting union. Nowadays the Paez, before being married

* /222 cont./
756 making the tama /a staff/. That man's vision is a personal
787 one. No one else can see it. And it is the same thing that gives the "signs," without which it is impossible to cure, even if one knows the medicinal value of the remedies. When the interview is over, the man returns home with joy manifest on his face. He finishes his apprenticeship with another curer, begins to cure his children and members of his family, and soon, once his reputation has spread, others will come and request his services.

One who is going to be a curer sees visions from boyhood: Thunder /Trueno/ or the Ghost. This is the illumination of his future destiny. He cannot evade it, for Thunder or the Ghost may drive him insane.

[263] When a child tells of having had a vision, he is immediately prohibited from eating ají, his salt ration is reduced, and
[868] he is bathed with remedies. Then a good curer is sought to instruct him, and when he has the secrets of medicine, that teacher leads him to the lagoon to be consecrated by Thunder. "To see Thunder" -- says an /223/ informant -- "having him show the medicines, is a sign that one will become a very good curer."

* 754 When someone has a vision, care is taken that the sorcerer
756 does not find out about it, for out of wickedness he might show
787 him ají and hep (a plant) and drive him insane. This happened to the curer from Santa Rosa mentioned above. "He would finally have tossed me into the Páez river" -- he said -- "if a curer from Huila had not cured me. Even today, when I am drunk, I have crazy moments and sing."

* 756 Period of instruction. Instruction is given by a curer of
868 great repute in an empirical way, for the pupil accompanies his teacher for several years, during which he learns how to handle the tama, to recognize the value of the remedies, to interpret signs, to master the technique of the treatments. The first cures are usually accomplished with his children or

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753 j) When there is no blowing of remedies while at the
783 montañas, bogs, or lagoons.

k) When there is no blowing of remedies prior to cutting wood for bridges, sugar mills, and canoes.

l) When, at the inauguration of a rancho or house, the house ceremonies have not been performed.

ll) When the house has been built over a Pijao "huaca," or when they merely come across one while working the land.

m) When the traditional ceremonies are not performed upon harvesting a new clearing.

● 754 n) Through the machinations of the sorcerers. These kill
753 the most people, for they not only send the pest to persons,
783 but also to the entire community. On the other hand, they provoke /236/ the Ghost, Rainbow, and Echi to anger and also do sorcery at the request of jealous or vengeful persons. The sorcerers have unlimited power.

Hernández de Alba, speaking of illness, generalizes in these words:

"Sickness was always thought to be caused by witchcraft or by someone's will. The evil force entered the body and made it impure; it had to be expelled or "cleansed," lest death ensue. If a delirious person told who was killing him, the individual mentioned was thought guilty; or, if, after a death, the face of the deceased should appear to somebody,
[834] the person was considered responsible. These beliefs are still
[821] in force today, and the Indians avoid the causes of sickness,
[765] such as having sexual intercourse wit /sic/ a menstruating woman, exposing the body to bad weather while there is a rainbow, and neglicting /sic/ to bathe after a burial or to purify a house where a death ocurred /sic/" /cited in English/ (7).

7. Hernández de Alba, Gr. 1946, p. 955. See also Pittier de Fábrega, H. 1907, p. 325.

/248 cont./

776 child to help the Indians, to protect them, and to instill a belief in her.

The ghosts look like angels and have a body covered with [727] down. Women may see them making the motions of weaving, in such a case they will become good weavers. Men may see them with pouches, indicating that they will become curers.

It is said that there are large and small ghosts. The former, when they rise, leave the rainbow behind them, like a trail. The latter do not keep company with the former and are less fierce. Both shriek like professional mourners.

* 756 The female Té eu. Women can be curers, people state; 562 there is no reason why the signs would not circulate for them. Nevertheless, no woman is a curer. In Santa Rosa there is a woman who, according to her own confession, is a good curer, has seen Thunder and conversed with him, and has good remedies. Thunder even gave her a wooden doll called "Soft wind [754] of Thunder," with which she gives treatments. But the community regards her as a most dangerous sorceress, and the cabildo has burned her remedies and has put her in the stocks. Furthermore, all the deaths caused by sorcery are blamed on her.

On the other hand, the behavior shown by the community is the same as that observed for all sorcerers, that is to say, detachment and resentment against her. A curer from Calderas explains the phenomenon as follows: women are cleverer than men; they have brilliant ideas and in general dominate the men. [754] A woman can become a curer, but at any time she might turn into a sorceress, because she is cleverer than a man. Sometimes she gets to the point where nothing matters to her. Hence women do not learn medicine.

* 756 Taboos of the Té eu. They refer above all to sex and food. 834 They do not have the full force and tenacity which they have 262 in other cultures.

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*756 While the curer is perceiving the signs, he cannot cohabit.
834 The sorcerer who is aware of this interdiction will, out of
● 754 malice and wickedness, take his wife to the kachí and cohabit
with her, with the aim that the signs will not circulate for the
[826] curer and the glowworms will not rise. And to add to the
wickedness, they leave in the kachí pubic hairs, which are
poisonous.

*756 The curer cannot eat ají, especially the one called ají
de montaña, because this would anger Thunder and the Ghost.
262 They do not eat salt, or consume very little of it. Thunder
[263] did not eat salt, they say. They eat the meat of the "pro-
[785] visions" after performing the cleansing. In the ceremonies of
ut ká, wé ká, and ut peu, they fast for one day. That is to
say, they eat at daybreak and eat again on the following day.
Furthermore, since the treatments are given at night, frugality
makes them sleep less.

787 Dreams of the Té eu. The interpretation of Paez dreams,
as in the generality of popular interpretations of dreams, ob-
serves a certain relation between the manifest content of the
dream and the action to come. To put it better, future events
are deduced from the manifest content of the dream.

They believe firmly in the omens of the dreams, but they
* do nothing to forestall them. It is as if it were a fatality of
[756] destiny. There are no dreams peculiar to the curers. Inter-
pretation is a common patrimony of the people. The attitude
toward these omens is the same: to wait indifferently. Here
are a few examples out of many:

787 To dream that a snake bites him, sorcery. But if in the
754 dream another person kills the snake at the moment when it
bites him, a good curer will turn the sorcery from the victim
to the sorcerer himself.

To dream that a herd of swine attacks him, they are
practicing sorcery.

To dream of killing a pig, the sorcerer is going to be killed.

* /250 cont./

756 and raw food. From the Ut ká and Wé ká they receive half of the animal sacrificed, chicha, and aguardiente. In case of a serious illness, they demand a pig, a sheep, and turkeys. But

* they get only a little.

756 Although there is no lack of information about curers who

554 collect money for practicing their learning, such as a curer from Togoima who was in demand even in La Plata and Garzón, it may be stated that the curers do not grow rich in the profession. Rather, the practice of curing prejudices their economic activities. Some are quite poor, while others own large areas of land, good fields of maize, wheat, plantains, and arracacha, a few head of cattle, and several horses, pigs, sheep, and turkeys. They might be classified as rich. Of the five curers from the Parcialidad of Calderas, three may be regarded as rich, while of those regarded as sorcerers, only one is poor. Naturally, this has been acquired by inheritance /251/ rather than as the fruit of their own efforts. Their labors are performed in accordance with the norms that prevail in the community, that is to say, through the system of mingas. During the harvest they make a distribution of foods just as the others do. They participate actively in the work of the others, as well as at the fiestas and drinking bouts.

It remains to be noted that the richest of the community are not curers. On occasion they are frequently criticized when during the treatments they request pork and the patient is not improving. "You should be ashamed" -- they shout -- "you are eating mutton and the patient is dying."

"Good curers, in referring to those regarded as sorcerers,

● [754] say that they collect without fail. Whatever they see they ask for. The sorcerers say the same thing about the curers.

Social status of the Té eu. All the well-known curers are over 30 years of age. They are "elders" /mayores/ and for this reason respected by the community. It is said that the curers are no better than other men, but it is certain that they enjoy an aura of prestige and recognition different from that given by the concept of "majority" /mayoridad/.

/253 cont./

755 done; she would have to confess, or else he would have her
* 756 arrested. She was wholly to blame. The servant girl took
578 fright and replied that perhaps she might be responsible, since at one time she had picked up an echi and put it in an ají bush. And it was this angry echi that was now killing her employer. At once the curer went to the ají bush, removed the echi, and blew fresh remedies at it. He set about divining anew and found out that the rainbow had also put hairs on him. On the following day he removed them. The patient recovered; it was proved that he was a good curer, and demonstrated that the other one did not know anything.

● 754 The Té eu and the sorcerer. It is said that a sorcerer can
* 756 at the same time be a good curer, but we know perfectly well that the Ghost and Thunder do not give their knowledge to the sorcerers. On the other hand, when a té eu is asked for information about the remedies of sorcerers, they invariably answer that they know nothing about them, for if they were to learn about these remedies they would lose their wisdom.

The curers believe that they are constantly pursued by
75 the sorcerers. Yet, they are able to kill them. A curer from
539 Santa Rosa related his success to us as follows:

774 "When I was a young boy, I was clever and mischievous; I already knew remedies. On one occasion a sorcerer declared his enmity toward me because I was becoming a good curer. I fell ill, and the signs indicated to me my approaching death. In Huila there lived a good curer, and I went there with plenty of coca and aguardiente. He told me that I would die if he did not go to work at once. It was sorcery, and he had to kill the sorcerer. I would have to stay with him for at least a month. 'Let us go to work and dig a hole in order to kill that fellow,' he said to me. He made the first hole, which we used for several nights, for the sorcerer whom we were seeking was very clever. He would call the soul and it would come, but it did not allow itself to be caught; it was very suspicious. The sorcerer was very dangerous, he had killed my mother and my brothers. We went on working. The

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●754 It is said that one who is to become a sorcerer does not need a teacher; he will discover the remedies and the evil spirits. Nevertheless, in the Parcialidad of Santa Rosa it is said that the most dangerous sorceress in the place teaches people how to do witchcraft.

754 *756 The té eu can easily become sorcerers, if they show interest in becoming familiar with their remedies. A sorcerer can be a good curer and cure people, but nevertheless he will demand better provisions.

754 *[756] As a rule, it is unusual for a té eu to be universally acknowledged as such, for many people, and the sorcerers among them, commonly designate them as nasa jihi (evil person).

[787] They may have the visions from a very early age, but the practice of sorcery begins in adulthood and is perfected with maturity. The sorcerers who are publicly acknowledged are about 35 years old, most of them being elders.

/256/ Sorcerers never show their remedies; much less is it possible to attend one of their sessions. This is a concealed activity. One knows who the sorcerers are by public identification. [124] All the information obtained about them is provided by the people and sometimes by the curer himself. [156] Nevertheless, none of them confesses practicing this activity; rather, on the contrary, they protest their innocence and claim to be the best persons in the community.

[623] [692] The remedies that the sorcerers possess are said to be well hidden, for if the cabildo were to find them, they would punish them irremediably.

[513] The sorcerers cast their spells at night. The natives say that they do not sleep. No sooner has night fallen than they are chewing coca and tobacco. They sleep during the day. They prefer the dark of night for performing their activities, although they do not have special days or specific hours.

The sorcerers do not introduce objects into the body (toads, hair, etc.), nor can they turn into animals.

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754 Sorceresses are numerous, and it seems that they are the most feared.

[787] Sorcerers receive signs from the devil and the evil spirits who help them appear in the form of snakes, donkeys, or pigs.

[825] They are different from the ghost and Rainbow. It is said that the pig teaches the person to be very fierce or inclined to drunkenness (drunks roll about on the floor like pigs in the mud); the donkey, to be a glutton.

In general it seems that every adult is a potential sorcerer, and all the more so those who deviate from the institutionalized norms of behavior.

754 554 598 Victims of sorcery. The victims of sorcery are found everywhere among the people, without any distinction as to sex or age, status or function. The sorcerer himself commonly takes the initiative, but he is also at the disposal of those who want to employ him.

The victims of sorcery frequently are those people who are efficient, hard-working, and frugal, virtues which in our society lead to the development of a capitalist economy.

754 554 152 598 In Santa Rosa they speak of the lamented death of one of their ex-gobernadores. He was young -- they say -- intelligent, a good conversationalist, /257/ and very hard-working. He owned much land and good fields of coffee, yuca, maize, and sugar cane. Jealousy, the source of discord and injustice, motivated the sorcerers Lorenzo Io and Dolores Oinó, his wife, who joined forces at once with the greatest of the sorceresses, Felisa Ipia, in order to put an end to this man's life. This is the judgment of the curers and the opinion of the community. But the accusation was made by the victim himself, who, in the course of his death agony, which was prolonged, dreamed of the above-mentioned sorcerers. The dying man repeatedly requested that the sorcerers should be sent for, so that he might settle accounts with them. When they left his house to attend to the wish of the dying man, he expired. He died convinced that they had cast a spell upon him.

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754 554 152 598 A curer from Santa Rosa, while taking a spell off a sick person, explained that this man owned much land and that they had cast a spell upon him in order to appropriate it.

In Calderas a man who can read, write, and make memorials for the Alcaldía of Inzá, a maker of fireworks, builder of houses, and good farmer, was naturally the cause of envy. A sorcerer wanted to kill him. He called his soul while he was asleep. But the one called was aided by the soul of his brother, who blew mambe toward him. On the following day his left eye became white and was on the point of dropping out. A curer was able to cure him, but he remained one-eyed. The two brothers remained enemies of the sorcerer.

754 613 623 On another occasion and in the same parcialidad, two brothers gave a sorcerer a beating. In revenge he cast a spell on both within a year. Fearful of punishment, the sorcerer went to other parcialidades, but on his return the cabildo put him in the stocks.

In the old days -- says a curer from Santa Rosa -- the cabildos punished the sorcerers. Those of today are afraid of them. The elders /mayores/ have died bewitched. Actually, the Indians refuse to serve on the cabildo or to accept the post of capitán for fear of the sorcerers.

754 685 The sorcerers are all thieves. They often steal under the very eyes of the owner, who, fearful that they will cast a spell upon him, does not make the slightest protest. But the sorcerers, in turn, fearful that he might complain to the white authorities, cast a spell upon him.

754 In Calderas, those who purchase livestock to expand their small hacienda have been attacked by sorcery.

754 177 554 The Indian who has lived with the whites, who has adopted their clothing, their dietary habits, and their agricultural and cattle-raising techniques, /258/ and who has given up the habit of consuming coca and chicha is not only the victim of magical attacks, but is the direct recipient of offensive words and deeds.

/258 cont./

754 Thus, the victims are "the most skillful, the most charitable
554 toward travelers, the friends of the whites, those who display the most friendliness among the natives, those who have much livestock, large tracts of land, good plantings." In this phrase are listed almost the full gamut of the victims of sorcery. From previous examples, we see that those who have land, animals, mental ability and manual dexterity, and good fields, the energetic numbers of the cabildo, those who take the path
[182] of transculturation, are victims of sorcery. In addition, revenge and resentment are evened up by means of sorcery.

754 It is not surprising that undesirable whites are victims of
648 sorcery. The undesirable ones are those who covet their lands. The curers, on their own initiative or supported by the cabildo, call the soul of the white at a strategic spot, capture it, whip it with pringamoza (Urticaceae) and put bad remedies on it so that it will never return to the region. They say that the white begins to feel too lazy to travel in the area and finally decides to return to his country.

[177] In parcialidades such as Calderas, where much resistance is shown against living with and contact with the white, there are some people who are such sorcerers and such enemies of the white that even in the church they leave enchanted eggs so that not even the priest will come.

754 Among the victims of sorcery are parturient women and newborn babies, when the sorcerer or other envious persons do not want a certain family to prosper.

The power of sorcerers extends not only to human beings
[433] and animals, but also to the plantings. The loss of a planting
[167] means suffering from hunger, a shortage of coca, and emi-
[464] gration of the parents to distant places in order to hire out as laborers.

In the clearing they may put enchanted eggs, salt, pubic hair, or capio maize in order that the planting be lost.

/258 cont./

754 Methods of sorcery. There are various procedures for
774 practicing sorcery:

/259/ a) The one most widespread and about which the most information is provided consists of digging a hole and waiting over it for the soul of the victim. It arrives, giving off light like a candle. At once the sorcerer hits it with the tama, and it falls into the hole. It is at his disposal; he can bury it, whip it, blow remedies or mambe upon it, show it harmful objects.

When a quick death is desired, the sorcerer buries the soul with bad remedies, tamping it down vigorously with earth from the cemetery. The soul comes out with a whistling sound when the person dies.

754 It may also be whipped with the following remedies:
774 Bao* (Araceae). The victim's stomach swells until he dies.
824 Borrachero (Datura sp.). Poisonous narcotic. The victim goes mad.

Cabuya (Agave sp.). The juice of the leaves is caustic. The victim rots away.

Caspi* (Toxicodendron striatum Kuntze). Poisonous shrub whose emanations cause irritation of the skin. The person swells up and dies.

Chuwet in Spanish, called estancadera (Krameria ixina?) by the whites. It has pointed leaves, which, when brought into contact with the soul, stab the person.

Lechero (Euphorbia cotinifolia L.), poisonous plant. The victim bursts.

Pringamoza. The hairs of this member of the Urticaceae enter the body, and when they reach the heart, the victim dies.

754 The sorcerer can blow mambe on the soul, leaving the
774 person blind, or drive him insane by moving toward it a deer skull with an echi inside.

He can also prick it with the bones and hair of porcupines, snake bones, claws of the swift parakeet, and talons of eagles.

/259 cont./

754 To facilitate the capture of the soul, the sorcerer gathers
774 the soil on which the victim has trod, with which the us (heart) falls easily.

754 b) The sorcerer can make angry the Ghost, Rainbow, and
776 Echi. Thus:

For the Ghost, he puts a large ají de montaña (Capsicum sp.) at the spot where he lives; the person passes by and dies of a few stings in the heart.

/260/ For the Rainbow, he puts the rags of a menstruating woman in springs, bogs, damp places. A person passes by, is stung, and dies.

For the echi, he puts remedies where the victim works; stung, he vomits blood and dies on the spot.

754 c) Another way to cast a spell is rubbing bad remedies on the salt, pork, or eggs that the victim is going to eat. If by chance someone else eats them, nothing happens, for the witchcraft was not directed against him.

[783] d) The sorcerers handle the pest as they please. They can send it to persons or to the entire community. The sorceress Felisa brings the pest to Santa Rosa even for business reasons.

[789] e) When the sorcerers do not wish a person to return, they place at a strategic spot on the road two bundles of chayuts pointing upward, and in addition they blow dry pringamoza.

f) A curer from Santa Rosa explains how a spell was cast on one of the former gobernadors of the parcialidad. The late Leonidas was working in his garden and his rancho was empty. Then a woman came in, dressed in black (Dolores Oinó), dropped into the pot of food some of her own pubic hair, and stole a piece of Pijao earthenware that contained silver. Leonidas ate this food and began to feel his throat become dry
[783] and to breathe with difficulty. Finally he died. The Pijao pest has the same symptoms.

g) When the sorcerer wants a person to suffer an accident (fracture, contusion, dislocation), he leaves somewhere in that person's house a very smooth stone taken from the stream. The person, wherever he may be, slips and falls.

/260 cont./

754 If a person kills himself in a fall, it is believed that the
[783] sorcerer sent him ptans.
[761] h) To cast a spell on the plantings, they use tobacco, matches, and other remedies with which they are burned and destroyed.

As will be noted, in their enchantments the sorcerers do not use any parts or objects belonging to the victim, such as hair, nails, clothing, etc. Most of the remedies that they use are herbs or objects that have properties noxious to man or can cause him harm.

The sorcerer believes that putting them in contact with the soul or simply with the body produces the desired effects.

754 /261/ Paez sorcery is a clear case of imitative or
789 homeopathic magic, according to Frazer's classic definition. It is "desire dominating the world with instruments born of desire" (10).

[113] 10. Ponce, Aníbal. Estudios de Psicología /Psychological Studies/, El Ateneo, Buenos Aires, 1947, p. 363.

754 The Paez fear illness and death and live in the fear that
182 the whites may take from them their land, their ranchos, their plantings, that is to say, their very sources of survival.

While the sorcerers attack the customs of a capitalist economy and transculturation openly, the curers protect the community against sickness and against the attacks of individuals or groups, by means of their divinations and their vigorous and constant conjurations. In this sense sorcerer and curer are identical. They protect the community.

683 Punishment of the sorcerers. The sorcerer is feared by
754 the entire population; identified throughout by it, he suffers general enmity; torrents of hatred arise against him, ending most of the time in violent punishment: confinement in the stocks, whippings, dunkings, and even exile.

/261 cont./

683 The aversion that the people of Santa Rosa have for the
554 sorceress Ipia is expressed clearly in the words of one té eu:
●754 "This old woman should be brought to the pueblo, her remedies burned, she should be bathed in ají water, manacled, and kept like this overnight to prevent her from running away, bathing with her remedies, and turning back into a sorceress."

683 In this same parcialidad the sorcerers accused of having
[623] killed the former gobernador with their tricks were given the following punishment by the Cabildo.

The sorcerers, taken from their houses with all their pouches of remedies, were led to the pueblo. In the plaza and in the presence of the people, the capitán took from the pouches remedy after remedy, showing it to the public and asking about its uses. The remedies were unknown in most cases and the sorcerers gave no information about them. They made a large pile. The gobernador of the cabildo says that they even had earth from the cemetery. He sprinkled the remedies with gasoline, put the sorcerers in the middle, and lighted the fire. The frightened sorcerers begged for forgiveness, claiming that they were innocent.

It is said that in the pouches they found flowers of sulphur, with which they /262/ prepared a drink that they forced them to take in order to rid them of evil spirits. The sorcerers, on their part, say that the drink in question was a mixture of the excrements of domestic animals and human feces.

The sorcerers had to remain at the wake overnight and dig part of the grave. After the burial they were invited to the meal which is offered on such occasions, an invitation which they refused, but they were forced to attend. With the food it is said that they were given pubic hair, according to the sorcerers. Then the people tossed them into a pond.

683 In Calderas the punishments are more violent. In 1951,
184 they took a sorcerer, put him in the stocks for two days, forced him to take the drink of excrements, whipped him,

/262 cont./

683 and finally exiled him. The sorcerer nearly died. He com-
184 plained to the Alcadía of Inzá about the brutality of the cabildo. The Alcadía had the stocks destroyed by force, in spite of the protests of the natives. The punishments of the sorcerers in the Parcialidad of San Andrés were about the same up to some 30 years ago.

683 Often, when there is a very dangerous sorcerer, the curers
●754 band together in order to kill him. They call his soul, and
756 when it draws near they hit it with a stick smeared with chayuts.
774 The soul leaves with a whistling sound. When a volcano erupts,
[823] it is a sign that the devil is punishing the souls of sorcerers.

754 Psychological characteristics of the sorcerers. Broadly
157 speaking, the sorcerers are timid, resentful, aloof, with a very
156 strong persecution complex; they try to avoid contact with people, believing that they see in each of them a presumed accuser; they tend to be self-supporting; suspicious to a high degree, they roundly deny the accusations of their victims, regarding themselves furthermore as good persons, sound and inoffensive; they pretend to know nothing about remedies, and it is very difficult to obtain any information from them about sorcery. Most of them are intelligent. Endoculturally they are at odds with their own group, insofar as they embody the struggle against the influences of foreign cultures.

The nasa are convinced that no sooner has the sun gone down than the sorcerers are already at work. The most dangerous ones sleep during the day. For this reason they regard as peculiar characteristics of the sorcerers red eyes, an evasive look, aloofness, an unpleasant appearance, egoism, and suspiciousness. They look like criminals, informants say.

182 /263/ Socio-dynamic value of sorcery. Within Paez
754 society, sorcery is vital, overly active, and gravitates into all the social interstices. But, as must be evident, at all times and places it pertains to the realm of concealment. Its executors are surreptitious. They always act in the shadows.

/263 cont./

182 The people perceive only the effects. Only the expectant
754 attitude announces to us its presence. The latent fears tell us of its vigor. The members of the cabildo, the capitán, the té eu, the working men, the parturient women have a strong fear of sorcery.

When the pest spreads through the community, when the elders die and their experience and advice are lost, thoughts
[761] turn inevitably to the power of the sorcerers. Most deaths are brought about by sorcerers, the informants say.

754 Sorcery is a powerful barrier against the introduction
182 of the customs of a capitalist economy and also against the
177 intrusion of the whites in their parcialidades. It is strange that sorcery should exist in the less acculturated parcialidades, while in San Andrés it has practically disappeared. It is said to have been vigorous until 1926, the year when the Municipal Council of Inzá established in the parcialidad a settlement area in which the whites settled. With this measure living together was inescapable and they chose to accept them. Nevertheless, during the drinking bouts of the old people, the tremendous resentment that has become natural to them still crops out.

182 Furthermore, it makes its influences felt in the distribution
754 of land. Each family has lands from which it lives. With the
423 increase in population the problem of their unequal distribution
[554] has become prominent. Those who have the most land are
[152] the targets of envy and sorcery; they are more prone to magical attacks aimed at taking away their land. Intrasocial tensions
754 appear to be brought into equilibrium by means of this insti-
182 tution. The fear of reprisals checks aggression. Revenge is too prejudicial, since it can be manifested not only against
[184] individuals, but also against animals and plantings. It is
[177] perfectly true to say that while in Calderas acts of bloodshed
[675] are rare and suicide is unknown, in San Andres, a parcialidad
[762] which is largely acculturated, the homicides, murders, and cases of arson are hair-raising.

/308 cont./

243 are also selected; the larger, round one is regarded as the
244 woman and the less vigorous one as the man. In the cold climates
476 they usually sow, in addition, broad beans and wheat, and in the temperate ones arracacha, manioc, plantains, and other species.

243 In three months, when the maize is man-high, weeding
476 is done. The underbrush is uprooted and left on the same ground to dry out and rot. It serves as fertilizer for the plantings. But the natives have no conception of fertilizers, and any suggestion made in this connection is regarded by them /309/ as a waste of time. There are also mingas for weeding, and boys and even women participate. In about six months the dry and yellow leaves are stripped from the stalks, a task which they call descalzar /to discalceate/; they believe that this makes the tender leaves acquire a dark-green color and the ears grow
[824] strong. The stripped leaves are used to cover the roofs of the ranchos which are built for watching over the plantings and to house the family at harvest time.

243 The fields are attacked by flocks of parrots and chamones
825 /a kind of bird/; they are driven away with scarecrows (kanasá), which are put in strategic places. Squirrels and dogs are also enemies of maize, and to protect it they build traps or use their shotguns. In addition, the women and children constantly go around the fields. Next to the rancho a high platform is often built, from which the integrity of the plantings can be guarded.

243 The natives know that droughts parch the sown ground and
789 an exaggerated winter injures them. When the leaves are scorched
●754 and the plant does not make ears, they think then that envious people (the sorcerers) have cast a spell on the maize. In such cases, they call the good curer (té eu) to lift the spell. Protection thus has a magical character (13).

13. Bernal Villa, S. "Magia of Medicina entre los Paeces /Magic and Medicine among the Paez/," p. 245.

/321 cont./

231 The slaughtering of the head of cattle for consumption
[796] at religious fiestas is accompanied by music (1).
[533]

1. Bernal Villa, S. "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," p. 208.

[232] Of the equine livestock, they also prefer the females for
492 reproduction. Horses are used for the milling of sugar cane, for
484 the transport of loads, for long journeys. Many own saddles,
[249] /322/ although generally deteriorated ones. Women never ride
[482] on horseback. On long journeys the woman walks with a heavy
[562] load on her back, while the man rides without carrying anything to hinder him.

231 The horses of the Páez are small, but very hardy and suitable for the rugged and difficult roads. They do not own mules or
[754] donkeys. In Calderas it is said that someone brought a donkey
[789] for the purpose of producing young mules, but the envious ones (sorcerers) cast a spell on it and killed it. Nor do they own goats, which they regard as very thievish and destructive.

In the houses they raise guinea pigs, chickens, and turkeys, and, on a smaller scale, ducks. Furthermore, dogs,
[422] cats, and hogs are also raised. The former belong indifferently to men or women, while hogs and dogs are the exclusive property of the men.

The scant care given to domestic animals is worthy of note. There are no corrals of any sort, nor special caretakers
[233] for the animals. Cattle are commonly left to fend for themselves in the pastures, and only every 15 days, or, more frequently, once a month, are they rounded up by their respective owners to
[232] check on their existence or multiplication. They know about the need to give salt to cattle, but this article is supplied in small quantities and at very long intervals. Most of the animals of Calderas go to a small spring of brackish water in Tumbichukue. Among the other domestic animals, only the chickens, turkeys, and guinea pigs are fed regularly with grass, maize, manioc, and

/357 cont./

261 that is provided by having what is to be consumed. An abundance
594 of guarapo and maize undoubtedly gives them great gratification. When these products are abundant the religious fiestas, mingas, and "entertainments" are good, the natives say, and they describe at great length the incidents as they unfold.

178 But, in spite of the fact that the work capacity of the in-
241 dividual is acknowledged, that the possession of domestic animals
433 lends a certain prestige within the group, and that the abundance
[554] of food and guarapo brings gratification, the agricultural cycle
[231] remains stationary within the lineaments of time, of the systems of labor, and of the quantity of seed. They produce essentially
178 for consumption. The stimulation of prestige does not exist. In
433 many parcialidades, the habits of a capitalistic economy are openly
[754] combated by the sorcerers (32). Nevertheless, we have already

32. Bernal Villa, S. op. cit., p. 256.

had the opportunity to state that the introduction of the cultivation of coffee (temperate zone), the development of livestock-raising and of the cultivation of potatoes in Mosoco, and the creation of settlement areas in the very heart of the native parcialidades are rapidly modifying all of the institutions of Páez culture. The family economy of self-provisioning and of small barter operations is changing perceptibly into a purely money economy. By the same process the routine monotony is disappearing from production and is being replaced by new techniques of work, a greater quantity of production, and a greater volume of trade.

434 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, and San Andrés, we
121 made an investigation of familial income and expenses /358/ for
124 the year 1953, on the basis of questionnaires prepared by the Comisión de Planeamiento de la Seguridad Social Campesina of the Ministerio del Trabajo, questionnaires that were filled out by us for the said commission with reference to Tierradentro.

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Castillo mentions that they wor-

shiped the sun, in whose honor they met and danced in places called "Itaqui-finó," i. e., the place where the sun revealed its mysteries; and that they venerated a kind of culture hero called Guequiau. It was he who instructed shamans (mohanes).

This hero has a counterpart in the religious legend of Juan Tama, the Son of the Star. One day when the Morning Star shone very brightly, some Indians found a child in a gorge—ever since called the Gorge of the Star. This was Juan Tama. They picked him up and entrusted him to a woman to nurse, but he nursed so much that her milk dried up. He was given to another woman, whom he also made very weak. They then said that he could not be nursed by a woman, and gave him food. After he grew up, he married the female chief of Huila, Doña María Mendiguagua, and became chief of all the Indians. He instructed people and explained to them how to keep the land for themselves and not mix with White people. He pronounced them invincible and summoned a chief from Pitayó, called Calambás, whom he appointed his manager. Calambás rebelled,[12] but was defeated by Juan Tama, who pardoned him on account of his bravery, and conferred on him and his heirs the right to rule the *Páez* in Bitoncó. As death approached, Juan Tama went to the lake on the páramo of Moras and sank into the waters. He had come out of this place and returned to it, leaving no heirs.[13]

In the neighborhood of Bitoncó there is a rock with what appears to be human footprints. When the Indians pass it, they uncover their heads and say, "The Holy One came this way." Another remnant of the cult of Juan Tama is the custom that each member of the council spends one week at the shores of the lake before the end of his term to render an account to Juan Tama of his actions in office. Likewise, newly elected officers, as soon as they receive their staffs or insignia of authority, spend a week at the lake. They toss silver coins into it, wash their staffs, and pray for strength to rule well. This ceremony, performed with the greatest secrecy, is called the "curing of the staffs." Recently, however, the Indians have stopped "curing" their staffs in the lake, for they say that Juan Tama is angry, and whenever they approach the lake, it rains and storms badly.

In the Guanacas section there was another sacred lagoon, called Tumbachí, which was recently drained because a snake that lived there attracted girls and kept them for a whole year, and then returned them when they were about to become mothers.

These tribes believed that the soul comes back to life.

Witchcraft was strongly developed among these Indians, who still believe in most of its practices, in spite of the catechization forced upon them by the missionaries.

[12] During the War of Independence, as well as in subsequent revolutions, the Indians of the family named Calambás distinguished themselves as warriors.

[13] We are indebted to Father David González for this legend, told to him by an old Indian in Lama.

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Moguex

754 upon them by the missionaries. The power to do evil is not limited to the witches, but is possessed by anyone who entertains a momentary feeling of envy, and to women, who may not walk over a stick or a cord [841] stretched on the ground. Contact with women during their men- [846] struation or during the days following childbirth causes the "mokokoy" [753] to persecute the men and make them ill.

825 Animals possess the power to prognosticate evil. A document written in 1730 [14] tells that an Indian killed a rooster because he had 787 crowed before daybreak, and said, "Rooster, you are forecasting my 763 death, but I shall kill you first." They believe the same thing when certain birds sing. For example, the call of an owl at midnight brings death to someone. And certain small birds called "ulchik" and others called "bich" warn whomever hears their singing that he will meet with disaster. The box turtle follows people warning them that they are going to die.

825 Del Castillo says that the Indians will not strike white dogs, so that 775 they will not be bitten by them when they enter the future life.

The belief in spirits (kl'iumb) is quite general. Among these 776 spirits is the "pitsuala" which persecutes people, makes them ill, and 753 even kills them. The rainbow, or "Etskituns," causes a rash to break [821] out all over the body of anyone who ventures out while the rainbow shines, and the drizzle that generally accompanies the rainbow will harm a person who gets wet in it if he does not bathe immediately. When the rainbow appears, they stay indoors, and blow or spit tobacco in its direction.

776 They believe that the lagoon on the snowcapped peak, Huila, is [823] charmed, and that if they try to go near it wind and hail storms rise. [821] Supernatural evil forces are supposed to be present during many social activities, such as dancing, meetings, funerals, house building, [491] and bridge construction. When a bridge is built, two Indians beat [331] the water constantly to drive away evil spirits. When traveling on the mountains they place small stones or coins on top of some large [484] natural rock to assure a successful trip and to avoid angering the [782] spirit of the mountain.

[825] Sometimes these spiritual forces assume a bodily form, as in the [753] case of the fireflies, which bring diseases or which may be wrapped in [754] Santa María leaves and placed in the path of an intended victim. Most feared are the ghosts of the dead, which consequently are the 782 most propitiated. The *Moguex* and the *Páez* ask their permission to 769 dance, and honor them in a special rite, which blends old beliefs with [775] new religious concepts. Thus, offerings are made to the souls during the first days o November, or whenever the curate is able to visit the Indian village. Each person offers some products from his farm, in-

[14] Statement made by Javier de Orosco y Cuellar in a lawsuit by the Indians of Toboima for the possession of land. From the ecclesiastical files of Belalcázar, or Páez.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

cluding vegetables, cornbread, eggs, and chicha, which he piles on the church floor, together with wax candles—one if the person does not have anyone in particular to remember, two for each deceased relative. When Mass begins, they throw flowers on the presbytery, as an offering to the souls of children. Afterward, they go to the cemetery in procession, and the souls of the departed come down to the empty church to take the food. Later, the people sell whatever the souls left or failed to eat. Everyone buys something, the captain's assistant collecting the money, while the constables of the council, raising their whips and shouting insults, prevent frauds in the general disorder. The money from the sale is given to the priest to pay him for the work in the rites. As each person leaves the church, he kisses a crucifix held by the sacristan at the church door. They kiss it once for each dead person whom they wish to remember and pay a cent each time. In addition to offering food at the church, the *Moguex* cover their tables at home with food, which is also intended for the souls of their dead, and at the end of 2 or 3 days they eat the food, saying that they are eating what the souls have left.

769 782 [624] [625]

Christmas and Holy Week are both great occasions for the Indians, who celebrate them with music and some of their ancient rites. Even though a priest may not be present, they conduct the rites in a manner that dates from Colonial days, when a *Páez* Indian named Undachí tried to combine Catholicism with their own religion. The man claimed to be able to see God, who used to come among the Indians and talk to him in his own *Páez* language. The new religion included a chapel, Mass, and candle and flower offerings.

796 771 177 [781]

Sickness.—Sickness was always thought to be caused by witchcraft or by someone's will. The evil force entered the body and made it impure; it had to be expelled or "cleansed," lest death ensue. If a delirious person told who was killing him, the individual mentioned was thought guilty; or, if, after a death, the face of the deceased should appear to somebody, the person was considered responsible. These beliefs are still in force today, and the Indians avoid the causes of sickness, such as having sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman, exposing the body to bad weather while there is a rainbow, and neglecting to bathe after a burial or to purify a house where a death occurred.

753 754 [787] 753 178

To fight disease they still have shamans. *Moguex* shamans use tobacco, coca, plants known as yacuna and chundar, and rum in their practice. After remaining shut up in a dark room for a night, they either confess their inability to cure the sick person or proceed to administer the traditional medicines. Sickness is conceptualized as an animal, which enters the stomach, head, or other part of the body. In former times, the shaman fasted with the sick person, abstaining from salt and fats and taking only coca and chicha. Today, he requires that only the patient fast

756 [753] [785]

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594 Associated with the nuclear family primordially are the functions of reproduction, the rearing of children, and the education of the latter. On procreation depends also the importance of economic functions.

581 The orientation of the sexual instinct is a secondary end.
589 Indeed, Páez culture demands that every individual form a
[183] family, once he has acquired the capacity for procreation. In
[842] the parcialidad of Calderas they look upon children as a blessing
[775] from God, regarding celibates "como violadores de la cruz" /as violators of the cross/(marriage); celibacy is condemned, in the rationalization that the person who dies celibate goes to the
● [754] Nevado del Huila, considered by them as hell. The celibacy of a woman is exceptional, and when it occurs they believe that she becomes a witch. They think something similar about some
581 widows. One woman of some fifty years of age says that
589 "marriage is fundamental and obligatory, for the grandfathers
775 used to say that to a woman who is not married the devil gives a black dog for a husband in hell" (7). Another woman declared

[825] 7. They regarded white dogs as companions and guides in the future life and fear that "if molested they will come out and bite them at the entrance to the future abode."

that at times she feels sorrow for the death of an unmarried daughter, "because the devil would give her a husband."

581 The culture considers it an obligation of parents to marry
183 off their daughters even if they are very young. Furthermore
[582] the young men aspire to "build their house, marry, produce children, have animals, coca in abundance, and sugar cane
[842] for their chicha" (8). The incentive to marry is to have children,

8. Bernal Villa, S. 1953, op. cit., p. 183.

for which purpose it is necessary to have assurance /180/ that the woman is fecund,

8: Bernal Villa

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Chart of Positions of the Nicanor Guagás family's Genealogy.
/Following p. 27/

Genealogy of the family of Nicanor Guagás, parcialidad of Calderas. It includes several nuclear families which live in different places in the parcialidad /see p. 32 for the explanations of the symbols/.

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- 1. Nicanor Guagás m.
+ 2. Rosario Iko 80 •
  - 3. Damiana Guagás 65
  + 4. Bonifacio Muse m.
    - 22. Justo Muse 33
      - 67. Isabel Muse 7
      - 68. Juan Muse 3.
      - 69. Fosario M. 2mo. m. A.
      - 70. Concha M. 2mo.
    - 23. Julia Pame 30
    - 24. Marcelo Muse 35
      - 71. Vicente M. 3. m. C.
      - 72. Manuel T. M. 6
      - 73. Maria S. M. 4
      - 74. Rafael M. 1mo.
    + 25. Rosalia Ramos 30
    - 26. Maria S. Muse 30
      - 75. Nicolás G. 5 m.
      - 76. Alberto G. 12
      - 77. Francisca G., 6
      - 78. Justiniano G. 3
      - 79. Natividad G. 3 m.
      - 80. Ismael G. 1mo. C.
    + 27. Juan Guagás m.
    - 28. Gabriel Muse m.
    - 29. Paulina Muse m.
    - 30. Magdalena Muse 22
      - 81. Paulino P. 3
      - 82. Juana P. 1
    + 31. Pedro Pame
    - 32. Jacinto Muse 20
    + 33. Leocadia Shukuá 20
    - 34. Maria Muse 40
      - 83. Ramón Villanó 12

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[Parcialidad of Calderas]

8: Bernal Villa--29 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

- 5. Nicolasa Guagás 38
- + 6. Manuel Guagás m.
  - 38. Marcelina Guagás 22
    - 90. Magdalena Tova 2
  - +39. Alfonso Tova 30
  - 40. Gregoria Guagás
  - 41. Agustina Guagás
  - 42. Virginia Guagás
  - 43. Manuel J. Guagás 10
- 7. Raimundo Guagás 35
- + 8. María J. Pame 27
  - 44 — 2
- 9. Pascual Guagás m.
- 10. José D. Guagás m.
- 11. Juan Guagás m.
- 12. Juana Guagás
- +14. Primitivo Io
  - 45. Benito Io 36
    - 91. Miguel Io 3ms. m. J
    - 92. Patrocinio Io 2
  - +46. Antonia Ikinás 23
  - 34. María Muse 40
  - +35. José Villanó 40
    - 83. Ramón Villanó 12
    - 84. Juana Villanó 8
    - 85. María S. V. 7
    - 86. Marcelino V. 3
    - 87. Alfonso V. 3 m. H
  - 36. Delfina Muse 23 E
  - +37. Venancio Guagás 25
    - 88. Jacinto Guagás 6
    - 89. Isabel G. 8ms.

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8: Bernal Villa--30 E-5 (1953-1954) 1956 SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Caldera]

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- 10. José D. Guagás m.
- 11. Juan Guagás m.
- 12. Juana Guagás
  - 45. Benito Io 36
    - 91. Miguel Io 3ma. m. J
    - 92. Patrocinio Io 2
  - +46. Antonia Ikinás 22
  - 47. Esteban Io 38
    - 93. Santiago I. m. F.
    - 94. Tránsito I. 10
    - 95. Santos I. 6
    - 96. Raimundo I. 1
    - 97. Cruz Io m. C
  - +48. Rosalía Puche 30 E
  - ~~49. Margarita Io 25~~
    - ~~98. Eusebio Ikinás 4~~
    - 99. Lorenzo Ikinás 2ms.
    - 101. Santos I. 1ms. m. D
  - +50. Julio Ikinás 35
- +14. Primitivo Io
- 14. Catalina Guagás 50
  - 51. Dionisia Ule 22
    - 102
      - 2
  - +52. Celio Muse 27
- +15. Demesio Ule m.
- 16. Trinidad Guagás
  - 53. Bautista Ule
  - 54. Felisa Ule
  - 55. Cristina Ulé
  - 56. Pedro Ule
- +17. Manuel Ule
- 18. José D. Guagás
  - 57. Juana Guagás 30
    - 103. Josefina T. 1ms.

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8: Bernal Villa--31 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955
SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Caldera]

- 55. Cristina Ule
- 56. Pedro Ule

- 18. José D. Guagás
- +19. Jacinta Muse
  - 57. Juana Guagás 30
    - 103. Josefina T. 1ms.
    - 104. Alejandro T. 5 m. B
    - 105. Rufina T. 1ms. m. C
    - 106. Floro T. 4 m. D
    - 107. Cruz T. 1ms. m. A
  - +58. Narciso Tumbo 40
  - 59. Aurelio Guagás 35
    - 108. Pedro Guagás 2
  - +60. Vicenta Kuskue 30.
  - 61. Marcelino Guagás 50.
    - 109. Feliciano G. 1ms. m.
    - 110. Bruno G. 25
    - 111. Magdalena G. 20
    - 112. Ramón G. 10
    - 113. Agustín G. 1ms. m.
    - 114. Felisa G. 1ms. m.
  - +62. Trinidad Puche 50
  - 63. Quiterio Guagás
  - +64. Petrona Pame
  - 65. Martina Guagás 27
    - 115. Julio Ikinás 10
    - 116. Gregoria I. 8
    - 117. Pascual I. 4 m.
  - +66. Rufino Ikinás 30
- 20. A woman m.
- 21. A woman m.

8: Bernal Villa--32 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

Explanations for the symbols of the chart on pp. 28-31./

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*The parents of Rosario Iko were called Agustín Guagás and Concepción Iko, the latter a native of Cuetando. Rosario bears the surname of the mother because of being married to a Guagás.

A. Stung by Echi

B. Poisoned

C. Bewitched.

D. Whooping cough.

E. An abortion.

F. Smallpox.

G. Hernia.

H. Duende.

J. Plague.

m. dead.

ms. months.

[For information on the interpretation of "signs" (e.g., muscle twitches) by the shaman for purposes other than the diagnosis of disease, see category 787.]

P
C /136 cont./
276 are naturally more in evidence than in the case of
146 coca with good nutrition and as the only indulgence. Along
273 with improved nutrition and corresponding enlightenment, a
prohibition on brandy instead of its propagation would be more
C desirable for the health of the people than a prohibition on coca.
[651] The departments, however, draw their chief income from the
P brandy tax, whereas coca was always tax-free.

276 Tobacco (wáhi) is neither planted by the Paez nor con-
[249] sumed in large amounts, since there is generally no money
available for the purchase of tobacco or cigarettes. Both sexes,
P however, smoke gift cigarettes, and, to be sure, from child-
[756] hood, that is, from two to three years of age. The shamans
[755] in their séances and ceremonies are in the habit of chewing
cigarette tobacco along with coca, but it is always purchased.
These séances last many hours or throughout the night, during
which shamans and patients together chew this mixture uninter-
ruptedly.

P
273 Chicha (pronounced tschitscha) is one of the alcoholic
[171] beverages which, made out of various raw materials, are wide-
spread among the natives /137/ throughout South America, with
manioc chicha predominating in the forest region (Venezuela,
Brazil) and maize chicha in the Andean region (Cooper, pp.
539 f. and Map 11). Two methods of production are distin-
guished, according to whether it is a matter of raw materials
with a high sugar content (honey, sugar cane, palm sap, pine-
apple) or more starchy crops (manioc, maize). The former ferment
without the addition of saliva and need not be chewed in the
preparation; the latter need human saliva before or after cook-
P ing in order to ferment.

[137] Among the Paez chicha (mbēca) is made only from the
juice of sugar cane, a raw material that is not American, but
came from southern Asia and did not come to America until the
post-Columbian period (Maurizio, 1933, p. 75). Formerly
chicha was made out of maize, as it still is today among the
neighbors of the Paez living in higher regions (for example, the
Guambiano). The name for sugar-cane juice, nyũšayumĩ

/256 cont./

771 It is not certain whether in former times the Paez had a cult
[793] priesthood besides shamans such as are practicing today. In any
[756] case, to designate the priests and missionaries they use the word
[797] tikwe, /257/ which is not used for anything else. The present-
771 day characteristic thinking of the Paez, their entire mental atti-
754 tude, revolves around magic and countermagic, despite mission-
[797] izing and Christianity. No injury, no illness, no deformity, no
[177] poor livestock is traced back to natural causes, but rather every-
thing is the work of evil magic. Since the people themselves
are fully convinced of this belief and ensnared by this idea, the
actual achievement of the evil sorcerers corresponds to what is
desired; that is to say, a person who knows he is bewitched,
being mindful of the inevitability of his fate, actually becomes
554 ill and dies. The victims are almost always the most thrifty
and industrious members of the community, those who tower
above the others because of their success.

754 There are no persons who are privileged because of age,
177 sex, or social position -- with the exception of the good shamans,
who are incessantly the target of the evil ones. Anyone who, in
dress and way of living, adopts the customs of the whites, is in
the habit of associating with them, no longer chews coca, works
with modern tools, and wants to carry on his farming according
to the principles of the colonists is opposed by the nyic.

754 It is not only the outward superiority of the individual over
554 the masses that evokes the envy of the nyic, but also the general
popularity of an individual, and with it a certain personal influ-
ence within the village. Thus, for example, the father of our
Victoriano was the victim of an evil charm. He is regarded as very
intelligent, is a good worker, knows best how to build houses and
bridges, and has even undertaken a journey to the city of Popayán.
On account of his popularity and the good advice he always gives --
so it is reported -- a nyic tried to kill him out of envy. One
[755] night when he was asleep the nyic robbed him of his soul. His
brother noticed it, however, and spat coca on it. The next day
the eye of the bewitched one became white and was close to
running out, if a teyu had not helped. He is blind in that eye,
however, to this day.

/263 cont./

756 fact, even the visionary sight of Thunder are worthless by them-
787 selves, if the shaman does not receive any signs. By means of them
278 the teyu discovers the cause of sickness and the means to be employed for healing it, which always consist of the dispensing of herbs. For this reason every shaman always has his fiber bag with all his medicinal herbs with him, in order to have them at hand
[753] and to be able to apply them at any time. Since, however, an illness does not have a physical cause, according to the opinion of the Paez, the herbs used for healing are not applied in accordance with the medical experiences of the shaman, but solely in accordance with his signs.

756 The herbs used by the shamans are the following (*):
278
137
[127]

*I am taking these, as well as some other data on the shamanism of the Paez, from the excellent summary by S. Bernal Villa (III) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 323/.

ǰandúr, eš (Erythroxylon coca), biǰač (Hevea?), ǰulko (Oxalis, sp.), ǰáyuts (Scutellaria racemosa Per.), ǰuwét, fisa, eǰyútse ǰime (Labiada?), /264/ gwepekas (Urera boccifera L.), kwése (Lonchocarpus?), limonsílyo (Cymbopogon citratus), nyika, nyundayuskey, šu (Spagnum sp.), šuwés (Peperomia sp.), šulápe, šupenyí (Peperomia sp.), tátse, táyuske (Peperomia sp.), ul níny (Hibiscus abelmoschus L.), umsim (Myricia acuminata DC. Vell, aff.), vitubítskwe, wáhi (Nicotiana tabacum L.), yakúma, yúskay (Scleria cattarinensis Boeck).

●755 Most of these herbs are first chewed by the shaman and then
756 spat over the affected part. If a person is dying and his soul leaves
278 his body from the heart by way of the upper arms, the pulse of the
[774] lower arms, and the finger tips, the herb ǰáyuts, for example, is spat by the shaman from the finger tips in the direction of the armpits, in order to check the departure of the soul. Only rarely is a tea brewed from the leaves.

/267 cont./

756 like the entire culture of the Paez. For the rest, there are neither special articles of clothing or equipment nor any other kind of ceremonial gear, such as crystals, masks, or rattles.

[824] The shaman's staff consists of a smooth staff, 50 to 60 centimeters long, made out of the hard wood of the chonta palm. It is /268/ pointed at one end and semicircular in cross-section. Each shaman makes this staff for himself before treating his first [764] patient and never lets it out of his hand. When he dies, it is put into the grave with him. Before a séance begins, he sticks it into the ground, though not directly in front of him, but somewhat to the side. Only rarely does a shaman have it in his hand during the séance. As the single exception to the unadorned shaman's staff, I know of only the one belonging to old Felisa Ipia of Santa Rosa. On her staff she has tied a number of colored wool threads [774] which she spun herself and dyed with homemade dyes. She has collected in these threads the souls of all the villagers of Santa [755] Rosa. If someone in the village falls ill, she learns of it through [787] her signs or through Thunder personally and in this way is better able to help the sick person, since she can immediately blow her medicinal herbs, mixed with brandy, on the wool threads and thus can help the sick person better.

756 S. Bernal Villa points out that the designation for the shaman's 773 staff corresponds to the name of the most important culture hero of the Paez, Juan Tama, who, according to tradition, was lawgiver, famous and victorious commander of the army, first chief [976] and shaman. According to other traditions, he was the son of the stars, the son of Thunder, or Thunder himself. The present-day shamans regard the staff as a gift from Thunder, and as a sign of spiritual alliance with him. A shaman of San Andrés, reporting on the origin of the shaman staff, says that, according to the stories of the elders, the tama was introduced by Thunder himself. According to this, a man once had his hut and his potato field in the mountains. He harvested the field with his son. One day the son refused to follow his father to the field, but rather preferred to stay behind in the hut. The next day the son had disappeared

/272 cont./

776 being -- in the valley, too, near the village. He is a raging foe
[784] of everything dirty. A hunter who has not washed himself and his ruana before hunting or whose wife is in the menstruation hut at the time will be punished by him. He has the figure of a human being, sometimes that of a man, but sometimes, too, that of a woman or a child. Gĕlyómp, as well as tũs and eč, can give a
776 person pest so that he will die. One can catch pest by himself
783 everywhere and on all occasions, no matter whether he is awake or
753 asleep. The pest of the three spirits mentioned is primarily caused by stings that not only enter the body, but also the soul. In the spot where they have entered the body they leave punctures that are red in color in the case of gĕlyómp, blue in the case of tũs, and black in the case of eč. The sicknesses caused by gĕlyómp manifest themselves by general pain caused by the penetration of one of his hairs. This happens in the following manner: Someone is walking along a path and suddenly feels a stinging pain in his arm or some other part of his body, like the prick of a pin. Although
• [755] he cannot discover a puncture, the pain remains. The person therefore goes to the teyu, and he is able to remove the cause of the pain by rubbing his herbs over the affected spot until he re-
[761] moves from it a black hair ten to 15 centimeters long. This hair is from the gĕlyómp, and if the shaman had not removed it, the one
[75] afflicted by it would have had to die. To a certain extent one can protect himself from the hairs of the mountain spirit if, when returning home from a walk over the mountains or a night's march, he passes a firebrand over the feet and body, in order to burn off any hair of the gĕlyómp that might have penetrated.

776 Tũs, the "rainbow," lives on the banks of watercourses and
753 especially at springs. There are many tũs, and, to be sure, wherever there is water. There are tũs as large as a snake, colored red and yellow, and others only the size of a finger. People recognize sicknesses /273/ of the tũs by the fact that the afflicted one is covered all over with pimples and has to scratch himself constantly.
[821] If it rains when the sun is shining, tũs goes from the bank of the river, where he lives, into the sky and from there back again to earth in a semicircle. The rainbow is especially dangerous for children.

/274 cont./

554 herbs into their drinking-water canal. Now he had given it up,
754 however. To us he seemed to be merely an idle talker; he did
756 not give the impression of actually having received signs or of being serious about the matter, but rather it seemed as though he had merely learned a little by watching his father /275/ and was doing it mechanically without any inner concern. Francisco, too, had a father and grandfather as shaman predecessors. He was likewise rather ignorant, but apparently meant well. He did his best to help people.

756 Martin Chukue was completely absorbed by his calling and
753 duty, and he was well informed, serious, and dignified in his
761 shamanistic work. When the capitan of Calderas died, he was the shaman authorized to act for his residence, and he also conducted the purification ceremony after his burial. Martin explained the cause of death of the capitan as follows: The capitan had to die because the tũs had stolen the taff soul of the capitan. The capitan died with his left leg drawn up. He was very thin when he died, because he had not eaten anything for a long time, for
[755] his taff soul had been stolen five years ago. At that time the sick man began feeling pain, and during the entire time he, Martin, had fought with the tũs, offered him medicines, and tried to appease him.

775 When the ũns soul (ũns also means "heart"!) leaves the body,
[774] then the person is ultimately dead. And, to be sure, ũns leaves
[827] the body by way of the upper arms, lower arms, finger tips. Shortly before it leaves the person, one may still perceive it very faintly as a pulse beat, and when the pulse beat ceases altogether, the ũns has left the body and immediately goes to heaven. No one could tell me exactly in what form it goes to heaven. In heaven, however, it again has the normal human appearance.
[755] When children are ill, wool threads are put around their wrists
[774] and ankles and drawn tightly in order to prevent the escape of the ũns, or at least to make it more difficult.

/275 cont./

775 Old Celia Uriaga of Calderas, who told us two stories, but is
[828] not a shaman herself, reported the following: When a person sleeps
[774] and dreams, his taff leaves the body, goes everywhere, and experiences what the person is experiencing in his dream. When the person dies, ũns then leaves the person by way of the veins of the upper and lower arm, where one can feel the pulse, and finally by way of the finger tips. Taff also leaves the person, but in the form of a human being with white clothing. Whereas ũns goes to heaven, taff either stays near the body in the grave or goes about on earth, although not as taff, but as áhimos (ghost). It can be seen by the shamans at night, but also by human beings at midnight or around two o'clock at night, in the form of a human figure sitting by the wayside. It is not a real human being, however, but more like a wind. /276/ Ahimos is generally at the burial place, there where the corpse is buried and where the bones are.

According to the account of the old téoi Felisa, the ũns leaves the body upon the death of a human being and goes to heaven. It leaves the body by way of the lower arms, hands, and finger tips.
● 755 Felisa herself tries to hold back the ũns of a dying person by blow-
775 ing hard on his finger tips after she has previously taken a mouthful
763 of the herbs čáyuts and ỳuwéz as well as brandy. At the same time,
[824] with the same herbs in her hands, she strokes the patient's arms from the finger tips upward, in order to hold back ũns. Taff leaves the human body before death. In doing so, it whistles. Felisa can see it. It wanders along a path, well dressed, and the shaman is able to bring it back by tearing its clothes with a very sharp-edged reed (nyfka), and then it is obliged to return to the body (cf. Ill. 199 /see p. 288/).

775 Apart from the shamans, she is convinced that no one is able to
[825] see taff, except for dogs, when they sometimes howl for no apparent reason. Whereas ũns goes to heaven, taff remains on earth and goes
769 on living in its house as áhimos in the form of a breath of air. (No accessories are put in the grave with the dead, but on the following December 8, the Feast of the Immaculada, and recurrently each year, the relatives offer to the áhimos of their dead their favorite

/279 cont./

756 vigorously, then always rinses his mouth with brandy and spits it
765 out in a spray. After this final purification, standing in front of
783 the hole, he moves his staff several times in a circle through the air from below upward and stabs into the hole three times with the tip of his staff, as though he wanted to thrust something corporeal from above into the hole with the staff. Several times /280/ he paces off the entire place, beating with his staff, always starting from the right and squirting brandy to the left about ten times.

To conclude the ceremony, the hole is covered with a stone, and water containing ʃũ herbs is poured over it. All the participants spit the herbs given to them by the shaman into a second hole about 50 centimeters away, rinse their mouths vigorously with brandy, and spit this also into the nearby hole. To conclude the ceremony lasting more than four hours, they are all given a swallow of brandy by the shaman and together spit this toward the left.

●755 If the teyu is called to a sick person, before the actual treat-
756 ment he must determine the cause of the illness in a special séance. Like all sickness ceremonies, it begins about eight o'clock in the evening and usually ends several hours after midnight. For his séances he uses a specific place (kaci) where, in the presence of the patient, he receives his signs. In cases of serious illness, the treatment may also take place in the house, but then, if possible, ajf and salt, things which Thunder does not like, should not be in the vicinity. In cases of particularly serious illness, the shaman may also go to a quiet place, free of human sounds and the barking of dogs, in order to receive his signs there alone.

Before the start of the séance, the patient must give the teyu half a fiber bag full of coca, a bottle of brandy, and a few cigars, since without these things it is impossible for the shaman to receive his signs. He thrusts his staff into the ground, a little to one side, and then he sits down opposite the patient. He now takes his medicinal herbs out of his fiber bag and first makes up two equal little packets of various mixed herbs, each of which he wraps in a maize leaf. With every herb that he takes from his fiber bag, he first makes a pass around his own body in order to stimulate his blood and to receive his signs better. It may already happen here

/280 cont./

755 756 that his signs tell him that his efforts will be in vain, because the patient must die. Only if the signs are favorable, do he and the patient start chewing the little packet of medicinal herbs. The shaman now takes his staff and spits some of the chewed medicinal herbs on it, to prevent the pest sent by nyic from possibly being transferred to him and killing him. Then he thrusts the tama into the ground with the point, in order to announce to Thunder that he does not wish to act badly and carelessly, but exactly in accord-
[824] [787] ance with his shamanistic rules. He sets the bottle of /281/ brandy, into which he puts a stalk of the čayuts herb, beside his shaman's staff. If the stalk remains vertical, it is a good sign; if it falls to one side and goes under, it is a very bad omen. On the mouth of the bottle he also places a small calabash vessel, likewise containing the čayuts herb, which is supposed to prevent the pest from taking the shaman by surprise and killing him. He now puts a handful of coca into his mouth and starts to chew. Motionless, he gazes at his staff, ready to receive his signs. From time to time he takes more coca and lime, tells the patient that his signs are favorable, that his illness, which comes from the pest, will soon get better. Then he gets up, goes to his tama, and vigorously spits out the chew. He empties a whole calabash of brandy and squirts it into the air. Again he returns to his seat, once again takes coca and lime and a little cigar tobacco into his mouth, and again remains squatting motionless. After about an hour he spits the chew in the direction of the staff, the patient does the same, and then both get up. The shaman now tells the
[783] patient that Thunder has shown him the possibility of a cure. He will now go and gather his special medicinal herbs, and for a good purification the patient will have to bring a pound of coca leaves, six cigars, a liter of brandy and chicha, and, in addition,
[777] [86] a few pounds of meat. The teyu urgently enjoins him not to take any of the medicine of the whites under any circumstances, for otherwise he must surely die. At this séance, as well as at others, the shamans all agreed that neither did they themselves leave the place of the séance nor did their souls leave their bodies to go wandering. The signs, to which alone they give heed, are the only characteristic of their experience.

/281 cont./

755 On the evening agreed upon for the purification from the pest,
756 the patient brings the shaman the required remedies, and the
783 latter divides everything into two parts, one to carry out the séance
[782] and the other as an offering for Thunder. He first takes the latter portion and goes to a particular place in order to offer it to Thunder. He spits part of the brandy into the air and drinks another part himself, as soon as Thunder has expressed his approval of the purification from the disease and his satisfaction over the gift.

[516] For the purification ceremony the teyu and the patient squat down on the ground next to each other, in the manner customary among the Paez. The teyu thrusts his staff into the ground and sets the brandy bottle beside it. Amid coca-chewing and brandy-drinking the hours flow by, broken only by an occasional spitting out of the chew on the part of the shaman. /282/ Through his signs he gradually learns the cause of the illness and also the necessary remedies, which he now hands over to the patient. He also places on his head a packet containing the same herbs, as protection against the evil eč spirit. The teyu now goes to one side and beats the air with his tama, in order to remove the pest that is present. Then he passes it up the entire body of the patient, beginning at the feet and ending at the head, in order to squeeze out, so to speak, the pest from the body of his patient from below upward. At various parts of the body, the hollow of the collarbone, the neck, and the head, he "sucks" out the pest. Into a hole dug a few meters in front of the place of the ceremony he now spits the contents of his mouth: coca and medicinal herbs, mixed with the pest sucked out of the patient. He then squirts a mouthful of brandy into the air, so that the pest will depart altogether, and drinks a further one himself, so that the pest will not enter his body. Now the patient is called. He must first spit into the same hole the mixture of coca and medicinal herbs which he has chewed the entire time, and then he, too, must take two swallows of brandy; he must squirt one into the air, and he swallows the other one. Further purifications of the patient follow, various herbs being passed over him and the pest being sucked out several times and spat into the hole. In conclusion there follows a bodily cleansing

/282 cont./

755 of the patient with water to which su and yakima have been added
756 as medicinal herbs, so that he will now be completely freed of the
783 pest. Finally the teyu asks Thunder to prevent anyone from uncovering this hole in which the dangerous pest is buried. He further asks Thunder to help him in subsequent treatments of the sick later on. The patient is told that the signs are favorable, and he is again enjoined neither to use the medicines of the whites nor ever to pass this hole containing the pest.

757 Besides these two most important shamanistic ceremonies, the
756 treatment of the sick and the purification of the relatives after a
731 burial, the shaman's ability and his magical, supernatural powers are also called upon for preventive ceremonies and acts. This is particularly necessary if epidemics of disease -- smallpox, whooping cough -- occur in the village or in a family. In the first instance, the cabildo asks a shaman who is known to be able to speak with Thunder to conduct the proper protective ceremonies; in the latter instance, /283/ the oldest member of the afflicted family asks him. First a pig must be killed for this. A piece is cut from all the body organs on the left side, and everything is put into a new fiber
[782] bag. The shaman and the cabildo then set out in the afternoon for the lagoon in which Thunder is believed to live, in order to hand over to him the bag with the pieces of meat, with the request to avert the epidemic. During this time the women remaining behind have been preparing the rest of the meat for a meal, which, however, is eaten jointly only when, after twelve hours, the shaman and cabildo return from their ceremony.

758 For several cases of illness and death in one family the help of
789 a good shaman is likewise required. The pest is generally regarded
769 as the cause of these cases of death afflicting only one family, though according to a report by S. Bernal Villa, the deceased and angry members of the family are held responsible for this. In this case the eldest of the family provides brandy, coca, and tobacco, calls together the family members, and asks the shaman to come. The latter offers the angry ancestor spirits a fat pig that has first been tied in front of the house for a whole night, while the shaman during this time speaks to the spirits about whether they will accept the offering.

/CXXII cont./

Ill. 196. Walkway of the bamboo suspension bridge at Belalcázar.

Plate C

[257] [368] Ill. 197. The older sisters take care of their younger siblings as a matter of course and practice the duties of a woman from childhood on.

Ill. 198. Among the tasks of the women are the making of clothing for the family and the housework, including the fetching of firewood. Whereas the men carry heavy loads on their shoulders, the women use the forehead band.

/CXXIII/

Plate CI

[774] Ill. 199. The shaman Felisa Ipia with her shaman's staff and the nyika reed. In the wool threads fastened to her staff she has gathered the souls of all the inhabitants of Santa Rosa. With the reed she tears apart the clothing of a soul about to leave a dying person. It must then return to its body and the person need not die.

[755]

Ill. 200. Gable post of a hunting hut with the skull trophy of a slain monkey. The skulls of the animal booty hung on the gable post, as well as the wing feathers of the birds killed, are supposed to guarantee further success in hunting. Below the skull trophy, the incised figure of a spirit besides the Christian cross.

Plate CII

Ill. 201. Woman grinding maize with the hand grindstone.

Ill. 202. Calderun music group. The instruments are the transverse flute, bass drum, drum, tambourine, and triangle.

000 /288 cont./
756 medicine men. To cure the patient, he divines which of the
755 supernatural beings caused the illness, proceeds to placate him,
[787] and then prescribes medicines to the patient. If the placation is not successful, the patient literally sinks into despair. The indispensable articles for all curing are coca, tobacco, and
[462] aguardiente. The medicine men are persons well along in years
[754] and belonging to the masculine sex. They cannot cure the effects of sorcery, although they can protect themselves against it.

754 c) Fifty per cent of all illnesses, the informants state,
[753] are caused by sorcery, and by the same token 50 per cent of
[761] the deaths, since sorcery is incurable. The sorcerers conceal their activities, and it seems that all adults are potential sor-
754 cerers. The institution of sorcery is a true escape valve for the
154 strong aggressive impulses of the natives and to some extent plays the role of a social regulator. Through it are channeled the jealousy, resentment, and vengefulness of the natives. The victims of sorcery are the most skillful and hard-working individuals, those who have a good house, good crops, and a growing number of domestic animals. Harvests and plantings
[683] generally are the object of sorcery. Sorcerers who are publicly unmasked are exposed to the anger of the community and even to exile, a measure taken not so much on account of their be-
[685] ing sorcerers as of their being thieves. All sorcerers are thieves. Sorcery appears with considerable frequency in the symbolism of dreams.

583 Marriage.--Marriage is monogamous and patrilocal. Both
[595] the chroniclers and Dr. Gregorio Hernández de Alba speak of
[591] the custom of the year of probation to acquaint the man with
[177] the skill, energy, and fecundity of his future wife. A thriving
[797] institution in times past, it is now in sharp decline owing to the action of mission work. Obviously, the purpose of this institution is to find out whether the woman is hard-working, faithful, not a thief, and to understand her ways in order to establish a lasting union. Nowadays the Paez, before being married

* /224 cont./

756 At the edge of the lagoon the teacher-curer digs a hole,
778 over which, and from the end of the tama, he suspends the
782 camarico. Thunder requests from the pupil 10, 20, or 30 centavos, coins which he deposits in the hole. Then, he lowers the pouch and covers the hole with stones and earth. The curer bathes the pupil with shu and shulape (1). Thunder

1. 1. Cf. below, "Remedies"
/see pp. 22ff./.

draws near to receive other gifts which he requests by means of the signs, to state that the youth may learn how to cure, to prohibit him emphatically from collecting bad remedies (for sorcery), and to request him to be charitable with people. Last of all, he orders him to return home.

* 756 At the teacher's home, chicha and aguardiente are drunk,
868 and meat is eaten with stew. Then the teacher presents
● 755 remedies to the pupil and tells him that henceforth he will
778 merely need to apply them, warning about the patients who are in a very serious condition, but with the help of God he should try to cure them.

* 756 The signs. The signs are reflex movements which manifest
787 themselves in the musculature of the curer. "They are like
[827] a circulation" -- says one té eu, "as when a person's muscle
[755] twitches in the eye or hand. The interpretation of these signs is done by the curer."

[776] The signs come from Thunder or the Ghost. That is to say, from assisting spirits. There are also those who say that they come from God.

755 The signs are fundamental, basic in Paez medicine.
*756 Without them there cannot be curers, and there cannot be a curer who does not know how to interpret the signs. It is useless to have knowledge of the medicinal value of the plants. The curer is no more than an intermediary, a spokesman for

* /224 cont./
756 the assisting spirit. It is not enough to know whether certain
755 medicines correspond to certain signs. The tẽ eu must /225/
divine which remedies will be useful for the particular case.
This is why the curer always carries a pouch with all the known
remedies. He takes one out and consults. If the signs do not
circulate, the remedy is useless; he takes out another and waits.
When they are felt insistently, then the remedy is appropriate.
Since the signs are given by the assisting spirit, it is he who
* cures.

756 The signs may contribute to the discovery of a vocation.
463 If a man engaged in a manual task that does not imply motion
787 (the making of firecrackers, plates for cooking, pottery)
suddenly feels the movement of the signs, he must seek out a
teacher so that he will instruct him in the art of curing. He
* cannot disobey them or he would go mad.

756 Even the curers themselves must practice the signs. If,
787 for example, no sick clients have come for two days, the
755 tẽ eu must visit his Kachí (2) and practice the signs; otherwise,

2. See below, "Divination sites" /see p. 9/.

they may drive him insane. For this reason, the curer must
[288] practice his profession until old age begins. Old men lose the
signs because they cannot travel to go to the Kachí and practice
* the signs.

756 All the informants affirm that signs on the left side signify
787 something bad, while those on the right indicate something
827 good. As a rule, the signs that are given in a certain part of
755 the body have a specific meaning. Minor differences may be
noted in the information provided by the curers, but they are
[124] matters of form rather than substance. There follows a table
of the symbolism of the signs, gathered from many profane
informants and curers from the Parcialidades of Santa Rosa,
Calderas, Togoima, Avisame, and San Andrés.

/225 cont./

Right:
The signs go down the leg: death; remedies will not help.
The signs climb up the foot and the tibia: a member of the family will die and go to heaven.
The signs go up the outer edge of the foot to above the ankle: the remedies will work.
The signs occur between the ankle and the heel and cross to the same spot on the

Left:
The signs go along the inner side of the foot: the pest is leaving; the patient is encouraged.
The signs go up the outer side of the foot: the sorcerer wins; the patient dies.
The signs go up from the ankle to the back of the knee: sorcery; field has a spell on it.
These same signs, but first

/226/

left side: contest between the Té eu and the sorcerer.
Calf (gemelluses): visit of a good woman; the ghost comes singing to point out the remedies.
Calf (outer part of the digits): a good man is coming to visit the curer.
Kneecap, signs that go down: a person will die from the rainbow or ghost.
Thigh: the signs run to the back of the knee and disappear: the person will die; fierce pest; serious matter.
Signs go down from the groin to the foot: the

occurring on the right and immediately passing to the left: rainbow /arco/ and Ghost.
Calf (gemelluses): a sorceress is coming to visit the curer.
Calf (extending from the digits): a sorcerer is coming to visit the curer.
Kneecap: fear of the sorcerer because he is winning over the Té eu; fear, fright, disaster.
Thigh, the signs go down: bad person going by.
Rib (the tenth): bad person is coming.
Back of the hand: the ghost does not accept the remedies because they are incomplete.
Palm of the hand: the person

* /228 cont./

758 Right:
717 wife is about to
827 menstruate.
755 Rib (the tenth): the patient will die at once; sting of Kallumb.
The signs occur between the ring finger and heart: on the following day the person will wield a shovel to bury a dead person.
Palm of the hand: the person will receive a present; greeting from the ghost; improvement of the pest.
Palm of the hand and passes to the throat: Pijao "dirt."
Thumb and palm of the hand (simian line): the lost animal will appear, the signs indicate that it will be caught.
Biceps: a good person will ask him to be godfather at a baptism.
The signs go from the ear to the shoulder: the ears will be cut off.
Cheekbone to the outer corner of the eye: the patient will improve; the stolen animal will appear.
Eye and down the nose: wake.

Left:
will die of the pest; the ghost did not accept remedies.

Signs in the arm: the echi is coming.
Biceps: same meaning as for the right side.
Wrist: someone will give a scare; he will be caught.
Shoulder and they make an arc through the chest: rainbow.
Cheekbone to the outer corner of the eye: the stolen animal was eaten.
Eye and down the nose: a dead person.

/226 cont./

756 When the signs occur at the vertex (crown), the sorcerer
787 is about to send the pest, and if they go from the vertex to
827 the left hand, the person is under a spell.

755 If the signs occur in the gluteal muscles, an animal belonging to the person has died and the vultures are eating it.

756 In this way, the curers can know the nature of the illness
755 /227/ and the type of remedies required. To determine the spell and the sorcerer responsible.

To divine whether a stolen object can be recovered or not, and who the thieves are. To learn whether a patient will improve or die. To detect the presence of the Ghost, Rainbow, and Echi. To know in advance about the visits of good or bad persons.

The act of perceiving the signs is called to divine or "to
[273] think." Every patient must always bring tobacco, aguardiente
[274] and coca. The aguardiente is used to call Thunder, Ghost and Echi and to satisfy them. The chewed coca and tobacco serve to make the signs circulate.

Divination sites. The té eu has a special divination site called Kachí. In it he practices the signs and perceives them
[275] when he has a patient to cure. If the patient is not in serious condition and comes in person to the house of the curer, then he can divine on its ground, even though there is the obstacle of the presence there of ají and salt, articles that Thunder does not like. The treatment, that is to say, the perception of signs and the corresponding cleansing, is carried out at night, at two or three in the morning.

If the patient is in very serious condition, the té eu must go to a site where he will not be disturbed by the shouting of people, the barking of dogs, or the noises of animals. A site almost completely removed from human haunts, such as a bog or a lagoon. He takes with him two or three hairs taken from the crown of each member of the family present, with which he makes a ball that he places amidst the shu /Sphagnum/.

/227 cont./

755 He remains at the site for about an hour. When the signs give
*756 hope, he leaves the hair and returns to the patient's house.

In treatments of this type, the curer requires as "provisions" a pig, a sheep, and chicha.

*755 Divining the illness. The curer demands from his clients
756 two eggs (3) of coca, two cigars, and half a liter of aguardiente.
273
276
[804]

3. One egg of coca is equivalent to the weight of a hen's egg.

He gathers the coca into a medium-sized pouch with great scrupulousness, for he does not allow a single leaf to be lost. He transfers the aguardiente to a bottle of his own and puts it in the same pouch with the coca, likewise the cigars. The divination is performed under the eaves of his house at 8:00 P.M.

/228/ He places the patient on his right, seated on a pango pil (bench); the pouches of remedies are placed on his left, along with the pouch containing the coca and aguardiente received from the patient.

*755 He begins by making two bundles of remedies with yacuma
756 blanca, ul ñiñ, ñundayuskei, bitopiskue, and chandur de castilla (4). Each remedy is extracted patiently from his pouch,

4. Cf. below, "Remedies" /see pp. 22ff./.

which contains all the remedies needed for his treatments, but not in any specific order. He does not show anxiety or haste; he observes great moderation. When he takes out the remedy, before placing it on the maize husk that will serve as wrapping for the bundle, he quickly passes it around his body, beginning at the right foot, going up this side to the crown of the head, and ending on the left side, in order to stimulate the blood
[827] so that the signs will circulate. As soon as he has finished passing it, the signs may go from the right calf upward,

/228 cont./

755 indicating hope, for if they moved from the knee to the foot,
756 there would be no need to receive the coca, tobacco, or
[127] aguardiente, for the patient would be incurable. Only when the signs are favorable does he take the pouch of remedies received from the patient and pass it around in the same way as he did the remedies, with the aim of invoking Thunder and Kallumb, his helpers.

75 He orders the patient to chew the bundle of remedies which he presented to him not long before. He picks up the tama (5) in his hands and blows on it with the remedies that he

5. Cf. below, "The tama" /see pp. 17-18/.

is chewing, which are the same as those chewed by the patient, for the purpose of preventing the ptans ("dirt") sent by the
[276] sorcerers from surprising the curer and killing him. In this case he may have the mambe /lime to be chewed with coca, or the coca and lime together/ in his hand and nevertheless remain motionless, with blood running from his mouth. Then, and to the front, he drives in the tama, the weapon of Thunder, to indicate to him that he is not working in a bad way, but in such a way and in accordance with his teachings. Before putting it in the ground, he passes it around his body so that it will protect him from the ptans.

[824] Next to the tama he puts the bottle of aguardiente, which
[763] he places a sprig of chayuts; if it remains upright and floats, it is a good sign, while if it tilts and sinks to the bottom, it is an omen of death. On top of the bottle he puts a small calabash to measure the aguardiente, in which is also put a sprig /229/ of chayuts; it serves as a preventive, for it prevents the ptans from catching the curer unprepared and killing him.

[276] Then he puts a handful of coca in his mouth and begins to chew; he remains seated, almost motionless, his eyes trained on the room and on the tama, attentive to the slightest motion;

/233 cont./

75 783 7. The curer toasts Thunder with the chicha, sprinkling it in the air.

8. The curer washes the patient with a calabash of remedies. He fills up completely the hole that contains the "dirt," sprinkles the remaining aguardiente, and ends the cleansing with some final advice. It is 3:00 or 4:00 in the morning.

All treatment of illness is carried out with this cleansing procedure. That is to say, when the impurity (ptans) has been removed from the body, the health of the patient is restored. The curer combats the ptans. In a sense, the cleansing is a hard fight in which the curer is engaged.

756 The tama. The tama is a chonta staff about 40 centi-
755 meters long and indispensable for every cure.

While in other cultures the medicine man uses the maraca as an indispensable accessory in the art of curing, viewing it as having a mythical origin and thus a sacred character and magical properties, and while, according to Roth, certain piai of the Guianas use wooden dolls in their conjurations (6), among the Paez this little staff called tama

[113]

6. Métraux, Alfred. Le Shamanisme Chez les Indiens de l'Amerique du Sud Tropicale /Shamanism among the Indians of Tropical South America/." -- Acta Americana, Vol. II, No. 3, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1944, pp. 217-218.

755 is used. In Santa Rosa, a curer-sorceress uses in her treat-
756 ments a wooden dolly dressed like the people, received, ac-
532 cording to the informant, from Thunder himself, and called
552 "Soft wind of Thunder."

[773] According to all the evidence, this name is derived from that mythical personage, more precisely that culture hero,

* /233 cont./

756 called Juan Tama, who enjoys the fame of having been the
[755] founder of pueblos, a victorious warrior, a good leader,
[532] legislator, and famed curer.
[552] The tama is a defensive and offensive weapon of a sacred
[773] character /234/ and used exclusively by the curers; it protects
[751] from the attacks of the ptans and wards them off. It is a gift
[787] from Thunder and his badge. In visions, it is the first thing
[428] that he shows. When the curer dies, it may be inherited by
a young curer, but generally it is left near the cemetery.

* 756 A curer from Calderas, possibly the one most imbued with
539 his mission to defend the health of the people, states that the
tama was left from a deed performed by the Virgin in defense
of her children. On a certain occasion the sea was rising
implacably over the surface of the earth, putting the lives of
men in grave danger. The Virgin took pity on them, brought
out the tama, and made the motions now made by the curer.
The waters retreated. She left this staff for the man who became a curer. This was the origin of the tama.

Another curer from the Parcialidad of San Andrés gave us the following account concerning the origin of the tama:

"The elders say that the tama was left by Thunder himself. A man had a potato field and a rancho in the montaña. He went to harvest it with his son. One afternoon the boy refused to accompany his father, preferring to remain in the rancho. On the following day he disappeared without leaving a trace anywhere. All the steps taken by the father to locate his whereabouts were unsuccessful. On the eighth day, the boy reappeared in the rancho. The father naturally inquired as to his whereabouts and his activities. He replied that he had gone to the señor papa, who had given him the stick he carried in his hands, called tama, and aguardiente and remedies. The aguardiente was cold water from a lagoon, and the remedies were in a pouch. No sooner had he finished his tale than he fell into a deathlike trance. On the fifteenth day, at death's door, he asked his father to hand him the tama, for the señor

/234 cont./

756 papa had told him to defend himself with it and in case of ill-
539 ness to take the remedies that he had given him. He extracted their juice and took it. He rapidly improved. He applied them to others and noted that they soon regained their health. With the tama and the remedies he became the best curer in the entire region. He died when he was an old man"

755 To combat ptans, the tama is used in conjunction with a
756 plant called "nica."
824

Theory of illness. Sicknesses are caused by the state of
753 bodily impurity called "dirt" /sucio/, cold /hielo/, or /235/
783 ptans. The causes are essentially magical and are interpreted more as a premeditated and inimical attack than as punishment by supernatural beings. There are those who state that sicknesses are sent by God, but if one repents, they are soon taken away. Be it said at once that this concept is neither general nor rooted in tradition. Sicknesses, then, do not have natural causes; nor do accidents, since they are provoked by sorcerers.

Impurities are caused by the following:

a) When a person who has been at a wake has not had himself "cleansed."

b) When people dress in the clothes of a deceased person without washing them with the appropriate remedies.

c) When the house where the corpse was watched over has not been cleansed.

d) When a woman does not spend her period of menstruation in the Du yate léchukue.

e) When a woman does not bathe after menstruation.

f) When the placenta has not been suitably buried in the appropriate place and with the required remedies.

g) When a man sleeps with a menstruating woman.

h) When the man who serves food to a menstruating woman has not bathed his body or washed his clothes.

i) When the woman, after observing the diet of childbirth, does not bathe.

/236 cont./

755 783 Since sicknesses have a magical origin, the treatments are also magical in character. "The cleansing" is indispensable in every treatment, with its attendant remedies and movements.

165 164 Symptoms of sicknesses. Among the sicknesses clearly identifiable by the natives are smallpox and whooping cough, given their characteristic symptoms. Some of the informants, not many, to be sure, state that their children died of such sicknesses.

165 761 776 On the whole, child mortality, which is rather high, is said to be caused by, in order of frequency and in generic terms, pest, Echi, and sorcery. The cases of death by the ghost and rainbow are few.

753 776 The symptomatologies given for the sicknesses are very vague and even confused with one another. The Echi, ghost, and rainbow sting, not really the body, but the soul, leaving hairs in the body that cause fevers and sharp pains at the spot where they are found. These hairs, when placed in the palm of the hand, move as if they were alive. They differ in color: the red ones are from Kallumb, the reddish blue ones from [755] the rainbow, and the black ones from Echi. The hairs are re- [783] moved by rubbing with remedies prior to the cleansing.

/237/ It is said that the sting of pallumb /sic/ causes heaviness, lack of appetite, pains in the head and body, fever, and even insanity.

753 776 821 When the arco /literally "bow"/, called kitús, is referred to, it is nothing other than the rainbow, which comes out at any hour of the day, accompanied by a rainy drizzle, the "rainbow meow," which causes scabies (chande) in children [755] when it falls upon them; it is not harmful for adults. The curers, [789] and they alone, from their ranchos blow chewed remedies toward it, tobacco, chandur, flusharnuanda, and yacuma [755] negua, in order to make it disappear quickly. Other people chew remedies, when they have them at hand, and rub them on their bodies. There is a general idea that the rainbow causes

/237 cont./

753 cramps in the body, and furthermore that sorcerers see it in the
776 form of a turkey impelled to peck people.
821

It seems obvious that what the Indians call Echimbe (red
753 Echi) or candelilla fina /thin glowworm/ is a firefly /luciérnaga/
825 somewhat difficult to capture and extremely fierce. They differentiate it perfectly well from the fire beetle /cocuyos (cucuyos)/. They say that it is an animal that God produced in
[755] order to harm the Christians. The curers call them and catch them in their Kachí, while other Indians, chewing coca, catch them anywhere and bring them to the curer to be buried.
[774] They believe that their fierceness is due to the fact that the
[829] souls of the Pijao are incarnated in them.

753 The symptoms of the sting of Echi are vague and imprecise and refer solely to bodily pains.

The symptoms of Pijao "dirt" are recognized by respiratory difficulties.

164 They differentiate perfectly well the venereal diseases,
757 which seem to be quite widespread in the acculturated parcialidades. In Calderas they are said to have spread widely among both sexes, without respect to age, and to have been treated with copper sulphate, for the remedies of the Indians were of no use. In Santa Rosa antibiotics are used. A curer in that parcialidad maintains that those diseases were brought from La Plata by wandering women and that it befell him to treat two cases: one was serious and the patient died; the second, not very advanced, he treated with yukchacha, montaña barbasco, and fisa (bitopat or bodoquero). He administered the juice for six days and subjected the patient to a diet of chicken exclusively.

755 Remedies. The remedies used by the Paez curer are
757 vegetal. As a rule they are prescribed in combination. Thus:
/238/ To clean away the ptans:
[783] Yacuma blanca, ul fiñ, ñundayuskei, shugues, chandur, guepeyuskey, chayuts.

/238 cont./

755 For the sting of Kallumb:

757 Chandur, ñushamuenda, white and yellow guapeshú, nica, tobacco, chayuts.

For the sting of Echi:

Tatsé, ul ñiñi, yacuma blanca, shugues, tayuskei, siempre viva, shulape, shu, shupeñiñi.

For the sting of Rainbow:

Chandur, ñushamuanda, black yacuma, ul ñiñi, chayuts.

All the above remedies are cooling and serve to allay fever.

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/239 cont./

Native Name	Spanish Name	Scientific Name	Use
Limoncillo	Limoncillo	Cymbopógon citrátus.	Infusion with panela and aguardiente against coldness for a woman in childbirth. Also used against diarrhea.
Ñica	?	?	For combatting ptans. For hair of ghost.
/240/ Ñundayuskei	Pateperro	?	Against ptans. The juice for diarrhea; with tobacco, for stomach-ache. The water from this for toothache; spit out half the candle /candela/ to help allay the illness.
Shu*	?	Sphagnum sp.	For combatting ptans.
Shugués*	?	Peperomia sp.	For cleaning away ptans.

755 757 824 783

/240 cont./

Native Name	Spanish Name	Scientific Name	Use
Shulape	?	?	Against echi and for coughing.
Shupeñiñ*	?	Peperomia sp.	Echi and whooping cough.
Siempreviva		?	Tied to the head it allays pain.
Muahi	Tabaco	Nicotiana tabacum L.	With coca, it makes the "signs" circulate. Crushed, it checks hemorrhages. For combatting ptans.
Tap.	?	?	See Bichach.
Tatsé	?	?	For coughing; to restrain the pulse (us) when a child is frightened. Against ptans.
Tayuskei*		Peperomia sp.	For infections of the umbilicus. Whooping cough.

/240 cont./

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Native Name	Spanish Name	Scientific Name	Use
Ul fiin*	Culebrina, pepa de arco, monito almizclillo	Hibiscus abelmoschus L.	Ptans, echi, rainbow.
Yacuma blanca		?	Ptans.
Umsim*	Yacuma negra	Myrcia acuminata DC. Vell aff.	Against the rainbow.
Yuskei*		Scleria cattarinensis Boeck.	Ptans

/241/

824 The plants marked with an asterisk were identified by the
[128] Herbario Nal. Colombiano, in particular by Dr. Jesús M.
[137] Idrobo.

[127] For the others, we were guided by the work, Plantas Utiles de Colombia /Useful Plants of Colombia/, by Dr. E. Pérez Arbeláez, published by the Imprenta Nacional de Bogotá in 1947.

75 The té eu and the community. In every culture, medicine
182 performs an eminently humanitarian function. Its nature is
171 sociological. No matter what its methods may be, its purpose is to save human lives. It combats illness, but also prevents it.

75 Among the Paez, medicine cures and prevents. The
182 community and the family perform special ceremonies intended to achieve these two purposes of medicine.

● 755 When the pest (epidemic) has spread through the com-
*756 munity, threatening its subsistence, the authorities (cabildo)
182 invite the curer to conjure away the danger by performing the
[731] wé ká.

When the illness prevails in a single family, markedly decreasing its members, the eldest invites the curer to perform
[765] the ut ká. After every burial the people must remove the ptans
[783] from their bodies and from the house where the death occurred. The curer is the only one who can do this.

241 The first fruits of plantings made on new lands not culti-
*756 vated before cannot be consumed until the curer has performed
783 the cleansing ceremonies. Thus, it is the curer who defends
182 the family -- preservation of the species -- who purifies the
789 harvests -- preservation of the individual -- and who also defends the community, warding off by means of his conjurations
*756 the epidemics and the individuals who threaten it. In 1952,
789 before an imminent attack by subversive armed groups on the
182 Parcialidad of Santa Rosa, the curer warded it off with maní de montaña /literally, "montaña peanut"/, chewed and blown on the path by which they were to come.

/241 cont./

731 Since the ceremonies mentioned have some differential
755 aspects, we shall look at them in detail.
756 Wé ká (pest-send). When the pest appears in a community,
783 smallpox, whooping cough, which are rapidly finishing off
/242/ the population, the cabildo takes the initiative for conjuring away the danger. It requests from the people coca, tobacco, and aguardiente, they arranges for a pig and invite a famous curer who can talk to Thunder. From the edge of a lagoon, by means of good remedies and the help of Thunder, the curer must ward off the pest.

[782] They sacrifice the pig. From its left side they take a small piece from all the organs and place them in a new pouch. They gather glowworms (Echis) and go to the lagoon. The retinue made up of the curer and the cabildo leaves at three in the afternoon, and twelve hours later they will be back at the point of departure. Meanwhile, the women have been busy preparing the meat, without eating a single piece of it. They have not slept either, for they have an obligation to wait for the retinue wide-awake. When they arrive, the meat and stew are distributed, and the chicha and aguardiente are drunk. With this the people are relieved and the pest is banished from the community.

755 Ut ká ("dirt"-send). This is exclusively a family affair.
756 When the members of a family are dying, there is ptans, says
783 an informant, while another one thinks, with more reason, that it is the angry spirits of the dead who want to finish off the family. In such a case, the eldest of the survivors arranges for coca, aguardiente, and tobacco, gathers the family members together, and calls the curer.

[787] The latter divines up to eight or ten nights. He captures up to 12 glowworms. He asks for a castrated and fat pig. He ties it up for an entire night and divines as to whether the souls of the dead members of the family will accept it. At dawn he orders it killed. The slaughterers, the chicha-makers, the carriers of the sugar cane, and the women cooks are not

/242 cont./

755 members of the family, that is to say, they do not carry the
*756 surname of those who are performing Ut ká. None of them
783 may work, not even at making hats or pouches.
[461] The hog is skinned and washed over a hole; the hair and offal in general must fall there. When Ut ká is not being per-
[787] formed, the hog is skinned in a trough. Meanwhile, the curer
[782] divines as to how much meat is wanted by the souls. The latter specify the quantity, and the té eu translates it on a small stick, which is immediately passed to the slaughterers, who must cut out the pieces in accordance with this measure and put them into a pouch. The curer drinks aguardiente and also has assistants who help in perceiving the signs.

[252] /243/ The women prepare the maize for "mute" /stewed
[262] corn/, make small tortillas, as many as there are souls of the dead in the family. They also prepare every kind of fruit and food, plantains, arracacha, bread, yuca, bananas, granadillas, cucumbers, maize, eggs, meats, etc., to protect them against the ptans. They put a little piece of the foods into the pouch.

755 They also prepare some wooden dolls, in a number equal
*756 to that of the dead. They dress them like Indians: hat, poncho,
783 trousers, shirt. About 40 meters from the house they dig a
532 grave just as they do to bury the dead: a rectangular cavity with a lateral chamber. The curer weighs out two eggs of coca, picks up two cigars and a bottle of aguardiente. At about eight at night all those from the family leave, except those who are not. The cleansing is about to be performed. Then black clouds, like balls, gather. The curer blows remedies toward them. After two hours, the clouds go toward the left, clearing the horizon and leaving the stars visible in the immensity of space. The curer proceeds with the burial. In the lateral chamber of the tomb he places the dolls (representations of the souls) and a candle of laurel wax, after blowing the remedies at them. He closes up the chamber with a stone and then puts in the glowworms and the pouch of food.

1 [i.e. the family members--Analyst]

/243 cont./

*755 He fills the grave[1] with earth and proceeds with the cleansing
756 of the members of the family. They return home. All the
783 workers come out, and again he cleanses all of them. Only then can they go inside. The women have all the food prepared with half of the pig, for the other half belongs to the curer. Chicha and aguardiente are drunk and then the food is served. When dawn breaks, the usual liquors are being consumed. The curer leaves and other people take charge of bringing him his provision. The curer receives it, gives thanks, and hangs it outside the house. He can eat it only when he has killed more glowworms.

With this the Ut kā is finished and the pest has been warded off from the family.

*756 Ut peu ("dirt"-wash). Immediately after the burial, and
764 on the bank of a river or a spring, the washing of the clothes
783 and the cleansing of the people are done. The curer prepares three calabashes of remedies made up of (1) water and cow dung, (2) with rue, bitopiskue, flundayuskei, dachak (curíbano /Scleria floribunda/), crushed, and (3) with shu and shulape.

/244/ With these, and in the order given, the people wash their clothes and their bodies. The clothes of the deceased are washed by the heirs.

The curer, after washing his own feet with the same remedies, remains seated, perceiving the signs. He then prepares another calabash of remedies with shū, shulape, and yuskei, for washing the hands of all those present.

He starts cleansing the people, who are seated on stones. The curer goes to the left and comes from there, beating with the tama. On reaching the first person to be cleansed, he performs the same acts already mentioned, doing the same with the others. He vomits the sucked-out "dirt" into a hole, where the people also cast their chew of coca, tobacco, and yuskei. Then the medicine man washes his hands with aguardiente and the remedy previously prepared. Everyone

1 [i.e., the grave into which the dolls as representations of the souls, have been placed -- Analyst]

* /252 cont./

756 They are very tractable, friendly, and in our cultural
156 terms we would say that they have a marvelous gift for dealing
157 with people.

[886] When they grow old, they cease to perceive the signs.
[787] They believe that when a curer dies, his death is heralded
by thunder. They live in permanent tension to counter the
[821] attacks of sorcerers. At the slightest symptom, they go to their
[763] kachí to divine and to take the appropriate precautions. They
eat little so as not to sleep at night; they do not suffer from
insomnia. They refrain from sexual relations and from ají
during their treatments.

[731] They attract the entire concern of the community when
epidemics occur. The true curers, those conscious of their
profession, are temperate, engrossed in the fight against sick-
ness, and of a kindly disposition. They inspire trust and do
not show egoism; they readily explain the secrets of their pro-
fession.

* 756 Competition among the Té eu. Some rivalry seems to
578 exist among the curers, and the natives even list the zones of
action of the curers. It is certain that a curer will boast of
having overpowered another in the latter's own area of practice.
A curer from Santa Rosa tells how he overpowered a colleague.

● 755 The informant went to give treatments to a white patient
* 756 at Alto de Atarraya. There he found another curer who was
578 giving remedies that were useless. The patient provided for
them very well, with abundant chicha and aguardiente. The
new arrival drank with care. His colleague had already eaten
the pork, but the patient was following /253/ him. The two
curers prepared to fight. The new curer took his tama and
his coca and at nine at night prepared to divine. His assisting
spirit told him that the other one had given false remedies.
Thus he had to learn the effective remedies. He discovered
that the harm had been done by a native servant girl, along with
some neighbors who did not like him. At once he called in
the cook in order to question her and make sure of what she had

/253 cont./

755 done; she would have to confess, or else he would have her
756 arrested. She was wholly to blame. The servant girl took
578 fright and replied that perhaps she might be responsible, since at one time she had picked up an echi and put it in an ají bush. And it was this angry echi that was now killing her employer. At once the curer went to the ají bush, removed the echi, and blew fresh remedies at it. He set about divining anew and found out that the rainbow had also put hairs on him. On the following day he removed them. The patient recovered; it was proved that he was a good curer, and demonstrated that the other one did not know anything.

754 The Té eu and the sorcerer. It is said that a sorcerer can
756 at the same time be a good curer, but we know perfectly well that the Ghost and Thunder do not give their knowledge to the sorcerers. On the other hand, when a té eu is asked for information about the remedies of sorcerers, they invariably answer that they know nothing about them, for if they were to learn about these remedies they would lose their wisdom.

The curers believe that they are constantly pursued by
75 the sorcerers. Yet, they are able to kill them. A curer from
539 Santa Rosa related his success to us as follows:

774 "When I was a young boy, I was clever and mischievous; I already knew remedies. On one occasion a sorcerer declared his enmity toward me because I was becoming a good curer. I fell ill, and the signs indicated to me my approaching death. In Huila there lived a good curer, and I went there with plenty of coca and aguardiente. He told me that I would die if he did not go to work at once. It was sorcery, and he had to kill the sorcerer. I would have to stay with him for at least a month. 'Let us go to work and dig a hole in order to kill that fellow,' he said to me. He made the first hole, which we used for several nights, for the sorcerer whom we were seeking was very clever. He would call the soul and it would come, but it did not allow itself to be caught; it was very suspicious. The sorcerer was very dangerous, he had killed my mother and my brothers. We went on working. The

/322 cont./

231 arracacha. Dogs, cats, and pigs live, the first on kitchen refuse, the second by hunting mice, and the last on grasses and roots from the thickets. They are not familiar with breeds of cattle, hogs, and sheep. Only the guinea pig is regarded as American, while the other animals are said to be genuinely Spanish.

[236] Sheep seem to have emotional value because they provide the wool for people's clothing. They are kept with affection and rarely sold or eaten.

Dogs also seem to have emotional value because of being the guardian of the houses and fields. In addition, they have symbolic value: they are the iron curtain, the protective barrier against the dark memory of the Pijao. If the latter were to reappear again, the natives argue, they would not be able to approach /323/ the houses, because dogs live there, which would inspire fear in the Pijao, for they are so dangerous for them that mere contact with their footprints or their hair would kill them. In the legends and tales there is frequent reference to these de-
[552] fensive concepts. The dogs have special names: Guagás (white),
[685] kuchi (black), salgento, pitán, policía. Dogs that eat sheep are invariably killed with a shotgun without previous consultation with the owner.

[262] Guinea pigs are the favorite food of children. They kill
[252] them by strangling them and eat them boiled. These animals are
[782] not used as offerings to the Duende. Nor do they serve as presents
[755] for friends or relatives. They are also used to combat mental illness by covering the patient's forehead with the entrails of the still living animal.

235 They "cuidan" /show special attention/ to favorite persons
[554] with chickens and eggs. They have mingas with turkeys. Eggs
[262] are consumed, but in general they are sold.
[432] They use the honey and the wax from the hives of wild bees.
222 The honey, they say, is good for persons who suffer from "cold."
237 With the wax they soften hide lassos, and they occasionally use it
[757] for illumination. Domestic hives do not exist.

231 Wild animals, such as parrots, chicaos /a kind of bird/, squirrels, and micos, are never domesticated.

7:Hernández de Alba F 5,4(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
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requires that only the patient fast. He spits coca juice on various parts of the sick man's body, and at night performs a ritual to "take out the dirt," i. e., the cause of the disease. In the course of his treatment, the shaman goes out to a hill to gather fireflies. He places them in a vessel and buries them, as they are supposed to be the harmful evil spirits sent by the person who caused the sickness. They are thought to turn against the person who sent them, whom the shaman identifies by his shadow, which he detects in the darkness of the night.

THE CULTURE OF THE PIJAO

Despite 48 expeditions prior to 1611 against the *Pijao*, one of the most fearsome and savage people in Colombia, the Spaniards learned little about their culture. Friar Pedro Simón collected the most details regarding their usages and customs.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Pijao food was very similar to that of the peoples previously described. The most common cultivated plants were maize, yuca, arracacha, beans, potatoes, and other roots and tubers; and many fruits, such as avocados (cura), papayas, plums, pineapples, and uchuva (a kind of cherry). The Indians got many fish from the rivers, especially the Magdalena River, and on the mountains they hunted pumas and "ocumares," a sort of anteater. They cultivated vegetables, but not fruit trees, in fields which the Spaniards always sought to destroy and burn.

HABITATIONS

Dwellings were spacious and high. They had walls of wood and mud (bahareque) whitewashed with clay or white earth, and were provided with furnishings, such as wooden chairs. The conquerors found the chief, Carlacá or Calacá, sitting in state in one of those chairs in his house. Some people lived temporarily under the shelter of trees and palms, perhaps only while farming.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The *Pijao* generally went entirely naked, hence the name "Pinao" (men of large sex) given by the Spaniards, a word which soon became "Pijao." They painted their bodies with the substance obtained from the seeds of the arnotto tree, and some groups wore small cotton blankets (mantas). Men and women protected their heads and long hair with hats, not unlike bonnets, woven of palm leaves. They adorned their bodies with many feathers in a manner which the Spaniards described as "quaint and odd liveries made of feathers in various and pleasant colors," and wore some gold ornaments. They

[pp. 957 ff not processed]

/117 cont./

342 Anyone may build himself a house of whatever size he
761 wishes on his own land in the mountains, as well as on the above-
783 mentioned community land in the valley, but he must first ask
[756] the shaman acting for him whether any bones of the Pijao are in
the ground on the piece of land in mind. As comes out in the
[773] myths, the Pijao in ancient times were the frightful and militarily
[628] cleverer enemies of the Paez. Their bones (eč ndyít Pijao) contain
"pest." This pest is a very complex and significant concept
961 among the Paez (cf. under "Religion" /see p. 191/), and the
783 pest of the Pijao bones is capable of killing the people living
123 above them. How very much our interpreter Victoriano, one of
the most enlightened Paez, was affected by this fear came out
when he worked with us in the archeological park in San Andrés.
For lack of space he had to sleep in the tool room, where, how-
ever, he felt very comfortable and, with a camp bed and mattress,
had built himself probably the best bed of his life. One day we
opened a large prehistoric grave-chamber, which contained more
than 80 bone-urns with the remains of cremations. Since we
could not accommodate such a large number of urns in our living
room, which at the same time served as our museum, we had to
put a number of them in the tool room. I left the skeletal re-
mains in several of them in order to save them for a later exami-
nation. Weeping, Victoriano begged me please not to put in his
tool room any urns containing bones, because the bones might
have come from the Pijao, who would surely kill him. Even the
washed and cleaned urns, he assured us, contained very much
"pest," so that at the next opportunity he wanted to go to Calderas
and have himself "purified" by his home shaman. He failed to
do this, and when after a few days he had a toothache, he traced
this back to the action of the pest from the burial urns previously
filled with bones.

342 /118/ The shaman's testing of the ground proposed as the
761 building site is not done by digging or sampling the ground;
783 rather, the one who wishes to build goes to the house of the shaman
756 in the evening with coca, tobacco, and brandy, tells him of his
787 wish, and then both sit down on the ground next to each other

/118 cont./

342 and begin to chew coca and tobacco and to drink brandy to-
761 gether. After a while the shaman ascertains through signs in
789 his arms or legs whether bones of the Pijao are in the ground.
756 If this is not the case, the building may be started; otherwise
787 the man must look for another building site. After the building
is finished, a further ceremony is performed (see under "Religion"
342 /see p. 205/), and then the same shaman fastens special herbs
756 to the roof to prevent the eč or gelyómp spirit, hostile to man,
789 from entering the house from there.

Houses are built only by men, by fathers of families.
342 One man alone, however, is not in a position to do this. At
476 least in the erection of the house posts he is helped by his brothers,
[462] as well as by other men and friends who have nothing else to
do anyway on these days and receive chicha and something to
342 eat for their assistance. The building material costs nothing,
273 to be sure, but the builder must furnish a substantial amount of
476 chicha, for which planning must be begun in plenty of time, two
or three years beforehand, by the planting of sufficient sugar
cane. This is the task of the married son who is still living in
[594] his father's house this long. To make the chicha he also still
[249] needs the sugar mill of his father, upon whose consent and help,
therefore, much depends. According to the amount of chicha
[461] that is available, the building of the house thus lasts two to six
months, depending on whether only five or 15 men participate.

The most important thing in the construction of the house
342 is the erection of the wooden frame (Ills. 161 to 164 /see p.272 /),
335 which always requires several men who bring in the trees, which
[476] are superficially smoothed with the machete, but not freed of
bark. The master of the house is able to make the walls by
[462] himself in an emergency. The covering of the roof, too, like the
entire house construction, is men's work, but the woman of the
house may hand up the sugar-cane leaves for the roofing. First
the vertical corner and side posts of the outer walls (yátšīnda) are
erected, then the outer beams lying horizontally on the side
posts to support the roof (yátpopānt) are laid on, and, as the third
step in the work, the horizontal crossbeams (bīkas) are fastened at

P
C /136 cont./
276 are naturally more in evidence than in the case of the use of
146 coca with good nutrition and as the only indulgence. Along
273 with improved nutrition and corresponding enlightenment, a
prohibition on brandy instead of its propagation would be more
C desirable for the health of the people than a prohibition on coca.
[651] The departments, however, draw their chief income from the
P brandy tax, whereas coca was always tax-free.

276 Tobacco (wáhi) is neither planted by the Paez nor con-
[249] sumed in large amounts, since there is generally no money
available for the purchase of tobacco or cigarettes. Both sexes,
P however, smoke gift cigarettes, and, to be sure, from child-
[756] hood, that is, from two to three years of age. The shamans
[755] in their séances and ceremonies are in the habit of chewing
cigarette tobacco along with coca, but it is always purchased.
These séances last many hours or throughout the night, during
which shamans and patients together chew this mixture uninter-
P ruptedly.

273 Chicha (pronounced tschitscha) is one of the alcoholic
[171] beverages which, made out of various raw materials, are wide-
spread among the natives /137/ throughout South America, with
manioc chicha predominating in the forest region (Venezuela,
Brazil) and maize chicha in the Andean region (Cooper, pp.
539 f. and Map 11). Two methods of production are distin-
guished, according to whether it is a matter of raw materials
with a high sugar content (honey, sugar cane, palm sap, pine-
apple) or more starchy crops (manioc, maize). The former ferment
without the addition of saliva and need not be chewed in the
preparation; the latter need human saliva before or after cook-
P ing in order to ferment.

[137] Among the Paez chicha (mbéca) is made only from the
juice of sugar cane, a raw material that is not American, but
came from southern Asia and did not come to America until the
post-Columbian period (Maurizio, 1933, p. 75). Formerly
chicha was made out of maize, as it still is today among the
neighbors of the Paez living in higher regions (for example, the
Guambiano). The name for sugar-cane juice, nyũšayumfl

/185 cont./

844 until very late and only with great difficulty. The proper depth is supposed to be about 30 centimeters.

846 Four to six days after birth and after the first bath, the
851 father or one of the godparents brings the child to the sacristan of
608 the village or /186/ to the women missionaries, in order to have
[797] it christened with water and given the name of the Christian saint
of the christening day. Every child has only one given name and
[551] the Paez surname of its father. The baptism by the priest with oil
takes place later on a suitable occasion, in the presence of the god-
[783] parents, and is followed by an eating and drinking bout. The
[756] mother also takes part in this, after she has left the dúyat and has
washed herself, her child, and her clothes and has been purified by
the shaman.

861 The rearing of the children is in the hands of the parents, who teach them the necessary accomplishments of life quite as a matter of course and almost in play. Disobedient children are also beaten, however, and, to be sure, usually if the son has no real desire to help his father with the field work. In punishing, the fathers are generally stricter than the mothers and on occasion beat them with leather straps all over their bodies. The boxing
[461] of ears is also to be seen. If a young man proves to be lazy in later life, the father is blamed because he did not properly ad-
848 monish his son to work. Illegitimate sons, who lack the strict hand of a father, are said to turn out badly in many cases, though as such they are very popular. Since they do not know their father, they are not obliged to work in his field. They are all the more
[426] in demand as helpers in the fields of other families. When they
[431] are older, they may borrow land and establish a family. Usually they even receive the land as a present. Thus, they need not
848 starve by any means. Illegitimate daughters are in a more unfavor-
562 able position, for their help is not needed for the most part, and their mother does not have a household of her own. Nevertheless
[583] their marriage prospects are not unfavorable, since a girl does not
[581] have a dowry, but is married only on the basis of her personal qualities.

/196 cont./

764 It is dug out about 1.50 meters and at the bottom provided with
184 a lateral longitudinal niche about 40 centimeters high. This niche is generally hollowed out on the left side, but sometimes on the right. The body is laid in this, without the bier and without accessories, horizontally on its back, so that it no longer extends into the shaft of the grave. The shaft and the niche are, in addition, separated by vertical stakes and rods placed side by side so that the deceased cannot be touched by the earth filling the grave. On the latter, a stone about one meter high is placed at the head or foot end for identification.

[793] The priest is not present at a burial, nor is the shaman who
acts for the district of the deceased. The latter also does not
[756] enter a house in which there is a dead person. The participants in the funeral procession, men, women, and children, go to the graveyard together and then back again to the house of the deceased, where lavish entertainment with food, chicha, and brandy now follows. The latter was also drunk copiously on the way to and from the burial place. The mood during the entire time is
756 jolly and animated; people laugh and make jokes. Before the
764 participants enter the house upon their return from the burial,
783 they must go to the river where the shaman awaits them, in order
184 to "cleanse" them of the "pest" of the deceased for the first time (see "Religion"). Then they go together to the house of the deceased, which they may not enter, however, until the shaman has also cleansed this with the same remedies with which he freed the human beings of the "pest." These are water, to which special herbs and cow excrement are added, sprinkled everywhere, as well as brandy, which, mixed with herbs, the shaman squirts everywhere.

764 In Togoima we were able to take part in the burial of two
184 small children (angelitos). The graves of the cemetery in this town all have an east-west direction. The niche is always at the left, the body lies on its back with the head toward the west. The size of the grave required is measured with a bamboo stick that is
[273] as long as the deceased. Before the burial, there is drinking,
[535] music, and dancing in the house. /197/ Music is also played at
[533] the burial and on the way to the graveyard.

/255 cont./

902 designated as "much" (tec kwát), literally "one stone." Today it is the designation for "hundred."

75 The medical knowledge of the Paez is not great. Almost all illnesses are regarded as based on magical causes and are treated by the shamans (see below//see pp. 190 ff./). Broken bones are treated by the midwife, who rubs on cow fat and wraps [845] leaves around them. The broken bone is never put in splints. In a difficult birth the midwife is able to turn the child into the right position; if then the birth does not go well, her skill is at an end. No remedy is known for snake bite. In the case of headaches, a leaf is tied to the front of the head. For flatulence some wood ashes are rubbed on the abdomen. For injuries caused by a machete and bleeding profusely, a tourniquet is applied to the affected limb, above the place of the injury, and the wound is covered with a small piece of cloth. The shaman has the injured person bite hard with all his teeth on the iron machete.

3. Religion

771 The Paez today are nominally Christians. They are baptized 797 and usually married by the Catholic priest. The Christian missionizing began as early as the sixteenth century, at first, to be sure, with little success, which did not increase when from 1630-1654 Jesuit missionaries took over the mission work. Only in the last decades 797 has there been greater progress. Hand in hand with the conversion 177 to Christianity go the introduction and teaching of the Spanish lan- 871 guage and the adoption of Colombian customs and habits. Today in almost every village there is a mission station and a school, the teachers of which are mostly women missionaries. In general the parents do not send their children to school unwillingly, for they have realized that knowledge of Spanish and of reading and writing is accompanied by certain advantages in their relations with the [178] whites. In connection with the /256/ schooling, of course, there is [756] some alienation from the old habits and customs of the Paez, especially those of a religious and sociological nature. Nevertheless,

/256 cont./

797 in all Paez communities in which Spanish is not understood by the
177 majority of the population, the old functionaries of the original
178 Paez religion are needed to maintain the social life in particular.
871 In accordance with their activity, they are designated as "shamans"
756 by theologians. Because of the dissimilar nature of their religious activity, they do not by any means represent unbridgeable competition for the Christian missions; rather, both, the Christian faith and shamanistic activity, can exist side by side in the present stage of culture of the Paez.

771 If one considers existing theological convictions, one finds
793 that the office and dignity of the cult priest rest on the performance of sacred acts which must of necessity be fulfilled so that the
756 natural and normal development of human existence is not ob-
182 structed. His task is to confirm the existing world order through the consecration of sacerdotal acts. The shamans, however, -- on the contrary! -- want to outdo and break through the given order of nature and the environment. Their greatness and authority rest on the fact that they do supernatural things, that they heal the sick, struggle with spirits, yes, awaken the dead to new life. This, at any rate, is said of the greatest of their kind, whose talent lies in their spiritual, supernatural powers, in their mastering of extraordinary circumstances. Over against the cult priest's "thus it is," the shaman puts his "thus it should be" (A. Friedrich).

a) Characteristics of Paez Shamanism

756 The Paez shamans, in the sense given, are not functionaries
754 of a sacrificial cult, but persons who do supernatural things. There are two types of them, the teyu and the nyic. Whereas the teyu (tepits as a man, téoi as a woman) is a good shaman, a good doctor and helper of human beings, the nyic is an evil shaman, an evil sorcerer, a hexer. The shamanistic activity of both, however, as a religious phenomenon, is not nearly as distinctive as, for example, the shamanism that we are familiar with in Siberia or North America.

/256 cont./

771 It is not certain whether in former times the Paez had a cult
[793] priesthood besides shamans such as are practicing today. In any
[756] case, to designate the priests and missionaries they use the word
[797] tikwe, /257/ which is not used for anything else. The present-
771 day characteristic thinking of the Paez, their entire mental atti-
754 tude, revolves around magic and countermagic, despite mission-
[797] izing and Christianity. No injury, no illness, no deformity, no
[177] poor livestock is traced back to natural causes, but rather every-
thing is the work of evil magic. Since the people themselves
are fully convinced of this belief and ensnared by this idea, the
actual achievement of the evil sorcerers corresponds to what is
desired; that is to say, a person who knows he is bewitched,
being mindful of the inevitability of his fate, actually becomes
554 ill and dies. The victims are almost always the most thrifty
and industrious members of the community, those who tower
above the others because of their success.

754 There are no persons who are privileged because of age,
177 sex, or social position -- with the exception of the good shamans,
who are incessantly the target of the evil ones. Anyone who, in
dress and way of living, adopts the customs of the whites, is in
the habit of associating with them, no longer chews coca, works
with modern tools, and wants to carry on his farming according
to the principles of the colonists is opposed by the nyic.

754 It is not only the outward superiority of the individual over
554 the masses that evokes the envy of the nyic, but also the general
popularity of an individual, and with it a certain personal influ-
ence within the village. Thus, for example, the father of our
Victoriano was the victim of an evil charm. He is regarded as very
intelligent, is a good worker, knows best how to build houses and
bridges, and has even undertaken a journey to the city of Popayán.
On account of his popularity and the good advice he always gives --
so it is reported -- a nyic tried to kill him out of envy. One
[755] night when he was asleep the nyic robbed him of his soul. His
brother noticed it, however, and spat coca on it. The next day
the eye of the bewitched one became white and was close to
running out, if a teyu had not helped. He is blind in that eye,
however, to this day.

/258 cont./

754 Afterward his throat began to dry out and he could breathe only with difficulty, until he finally died.

754 756 The evil shamans are not generally known publicly. Men as well as women, however, may be teyu and nyiç. In fact, the [562] most famous and clever teyu whom we met was an old woman, [753] Felisa Ipia in Santa Rosa, who at the same time, however, is re- [623] garded as the most evil sorceress who ever existed. All the sick- [683] ness and misfortune in Santa Rosa are ascribed to her acts. For this reason the cabildo once burned all her medicinal herbs and broke her shaman's staff. But people no longer dare to undertake anything serious against her, since they fear her, as they do all evil sorcerers. In former times the convicted nyiç were always very severely punished, but since many members of the cabildo have died as a result of sorcery, no one any longer dares to accuse the well-known nyiç today.

754 /259/ With regard to the problem of male and female shamans, 756 a teyu from Calderas explained that women as such had an excellent 562 sense of feeling and therefore the best talent as shamans. Since they are more crafty and cunning than men, however, the female shamans can transform themselves into an evil sorceress at any time. And that is precisely what makes them so dangerous and hence unfit for the calling of a good shaman.

754 The border between teyu and nyiç, therefore, is flexible. 756 Both aspects of shamanism may be united in one person, or a teyu may become a nyiç and vice versa. In the following, therefore, the teyu form of manifestation of shamanism will be described. In spirit the nyiç are based on the same foundation. They never show their herbs and remedies and allow no one to take part in [124] their ceremonies. The teyu, on the other hand, on closer acquaintance were quite willing to give information about their knowledge and to let us take part in their séances.

/259 cont./

b) The Period of Development of the Shaman

756 The teyu with whom I was acquainted became shamans in two ways. Either they were taught by a teyu for a more or less long period of time, until they were given the "signs," or they were directly called to become a shaman by a vision. The latter, as a result of special selection through an experience caused by higher beings, is the more original type of shaman calling, whereas a regular apprenticeship with an experienced teyu is characteristic for the shamans who carry on the position of their fathers and sometimes also that of their grandfathers. These "hereditary shamans" are generally not as powerful magically as those initially chosen through a vision. The hereditary shamans are merely the continuers of an acquired shamanistic trade, whereas the initially chosen ones are the continuers of the tradition of a creator of human beings and animals, of a heroic war leader and liberator [776] of their people. This mythically important figure of Paez tradition is Thunder, who is also regarded as the foremost and the most powerful magically of all shamans. His human successors were scarcely inferior to him as shamans in olden times, whereas the present-day ones are generally quite far behind in their magical abilities.

754 The teoi Felisa Ipia from Santa Rosa is about 70 years old
756 (Ill. 199 /see p. 288 /). Her husband and six children are dead. Three children are living. She keeps no animals aside from a few chickens and turkey hens. About her calling she says that she received her call to become a shaman from Thunder. /260/ The latter lives in the lagoon of Taibe. He appeared to her in a black cloud and descended to earth to her in human form and gave her her shaman's staff and her medicinal herbs, saying that she had
754 been chosen as teoi by him. She then practiced her art for a long
756 time; but the people said that she was an evil shaman, a nyic,
683 and brought her before the cabildo to be punished. Since the people greatly fear the nyic, she was given many blows there, and, indeed, with her own shaman's staff. Afterwards it was broken and burned

/260 cont./

756 on the village plaza, along with her medicinal herbs. Then they
[754] sent her back to her house, without her staff and without her
[683] medicinal herbs. When someone again became sick, however, the people again came to her and asked her to help the sick one. Then her husband, who, however, was not a shaman, made her a new staff; she herself again looked for her medicinal herbs and was able to help the sick. Since then she has been recognized once again as a good shaman and helps all who come to her. Another shaman in Santa Rosa said that he had received his call when he was but six years old. One day when he was working in the field, his mother, dressed in black and with a hat on her head, came to him and scolded him on account of his poor work. When she left, he followed her, but she disappeared into the river. When he returned home, he realized that the woman whom he saw could not have been his mother, since the latter had been in the community field at that time, where she was cooking for the workers. Undoubtedly this woman was a spirit, he confessed, who wanted to tell him that he should become a shaman. This was also confirmed for him by two fiber bags which she carried and which corresponded exactly to those used by the shamans for their medicinal herbs. A shaman from Calderas said that there came to him one night a very beautiful blond child with the women's hair style, who, however, was Thunder, and called upon him to become a shaman.

756 If one does not have visions by himself, he can, in order to
787 become shaman, seek them purposely. For this he need only eat
[262] very little and must refrain entirely from ají (a very pungent condi-
[263] ment /see the glossary, p. 248/) and salt for one month. (The same thing also happens to a young man after he has involuntarily had a vision.) The one seeking a vision then goes all alone into the mountains, where he wanders over hill and dale for a long time, until he comes to a beautiful place where he meets an older man. The latter, like himself, is chewing coca. Through his appearance and his friendly manner he inspires confidence in the youth, and the latter tells /261/ him of his wish to become a shaman. He

/261 cont./

756 787 mentions that in his village there are so many sick people who need his help and that he has gone into the mountains to look for medicinal herbs such as the shamans have. The one addressed replies that indeed there are in the mountains many good medicinal herbs for making people well. With that he hands him a fiber bag full of herbs and explains to him for which illness this and for which that will help. Explaining in such a manner, he acquaints the youth with all the herbs and tells him how they are used. Then he shows him how to make the shaman's staff and finally lets him feel the "signs," without a knowledge of which the medicinal herbs would be useless, since the latter can indeed be used only in connection with the corresponding "signs." (Cf. in this connection, under "Folklore," the similar myths about Llivan! /see 756 pp. 217ff./). Back home again, the youth begins first of all to learn under an experienced shaman, and then starts with curing a sickness in his own family. If he is successful, other people also come to demand his services.

One may also become a shaman without having had a vision. One becomes an apprentice of a good shaman and for several years learns there the practical manipulations. This includes the handling of the shaman's staff, the knowledge of medicinal herbs, and the interpretation of the "signs," in order to make the treatment of the sick successful. Here, too, the first treatment is done among members of the family under the supervision of the shaman [554] teacher. His reputation and the further demand for his services in the community depend on the outcome of this treatment.

Several of the Calderun "hereditary shamans" attained their position by this latter method. For example, the tepits Martin Chukue. He is about 50 years old. His wife died six years ago. He had four children by her, three of whom are also dead. He has one child by a second wife. He lives in a small house, but has no field, no cows, sheep, or pigs. His uncle was tepits. He lived with him for many years, until he was about 30 years old. Then for the first time he received the "signs" in his arms, made his staff, and became independent. In his opinion, one cannot

In his opinion, one cannot
/261 cont./
756 learn how to become a shaman; rather, this is a hereditary gift.
[827] He himself has no son and no pupils.

The tepits Francisco Cuskue is about 40 years old, married, and has four daughters and one son. Two children died. He has neither /262/ cows nor pigs, horses or sheep, and is very poor. He learned from childhood on, for his father and grandfather were also shamans. He wants his son to become a shaman, too. The latter, about ten years old, has not yet begun the apprenticeship,
[123] however. In reply to my question as to whether I, too, as a stranger, might become a shaman, he asserted that this would be possible, but said that the training is very long and difficult. One has to learn from childhood on, until one is about 25 or 30 years old. I, in my case, am already too old to begin.

The tepits Cerbeleón Niunda (Ill. 153 /see p. 267/), who lives near the shaman Francisco, is the son of a shaman, was taught by his father, and had the "signs" when he was only ten years old. He is now, as an estimate, 55 years old (no Paez knows how old he is) and had ten children, six of whom died. In the way
756 of possessions he has neither horse nor cow nor sheep. Whereas
312 all Paez divert the mountain brooks so that a small ditch flows past their houses and they always use only flowing water, the shamans Francisco and Cerbeleón have a small joint reservoir below a spring, from which they drink and into which, before drinking, they place one of their medicinal herbs, ỹũ. When questioned, both stated that they did not do this for any special reason and could not find out about anything in the reservoir, neither sickness nor the future.

754 Just as the good shaman was chosen by a vision, this also ap-
787 plies for the evil sorcerer. It is regarded as an omen that he is to become a nyiç if, for example, in a dream he sees a bird that in its beak holds a donkey, into whose open mouth flies are
754 crawling, or simply if he dreams about pigs. The prospective nyiç may have his vision during the day or at night; it is said that people who are abroad a great deal during the night are the most susceptible to evil sorcery, since at this time they have the

/262 cont./

754 most opportunities to meet evil spirits. Generally they do not need a teacher, but may look for their herbs by themselves. There are also many people, however, who would like to learn sorcery from other nyic, just as there are also supposed to nyic who instruct others in their art.

● 756 Avoidance prescriptions and taboos for the shaman include
784 some sexual and dietary abstinence, without, however, being
[834] very extensive or strict. Intercourse with his wife is forbidden
[263] for him when he feels his "signs." Moreover, he may not eat any ají if possible, in order not to make Thunder too angry. Also, he may eat only very little salt, since Thunder likewise /263/ eats
[787] no salt. For the séances, which always take place at night, he fasts the whole day, since a full stomach makes it difficult to feel the
756 "signs." The other avoidance rules for the shaman are the same
784 as for all other human beings. For example, one may not kill a
825 snail, for if he should touch it, he would become lazy. In like manner, the black woodpecker (ánza) may not be killed, since otherwise, while working, one would split the machete in the same way as the tail of the woodpecker is shaped. Young men are forbidden to take a stolen hen away from a fox, for then another man would take his bride or wife away from him. Only
[262] old men may confidently eat such a hen, if they have first run around the house with a firebrand.

c) Shamanistic Aids

756 Among the shamanistic aids, the "signs" are the most im-
787 portant symptoms experienced, while the outward ceremonial gear is as meager as the whole Paez culture. The only ceremonial implement is the unadorned shaman's staff, the functional meaning of which, however, is far less important than the shamanistic "signs" (ítok). "They are like the pecking of a bird," the shaman Cerbeleón Niunda said of them, and Francisco Cuskue describes them as the irregular beating of his pulse. To be able to receive
[278] and to interpret them is the basis of being a shaman. Knowledge of the medicinal herbs, the handling of the shaman's staff, in

/263 cont./

•756 fact, even the visionary sight of Thunder are worthless by them-
787 selves, if the shaman does not receive any signs. By means of them
278 the teyu discovers the cause of sickness and the means to be employed for healing it, which always consist of the dispensing of herbs. For this reason every shaman always has his fiber bag with all his medicinal herbs with him, in order to have them at hand
[753] and to be able to apply them at any time. Since, however, an illness does not have a physical cause, according to the opinion of the Paez, the herbs used for healing are not applied in accordance with the medical experiences of the shaman, but solely in accordance with his signs.

756 The herbs used by the shamans are the following (*):
278
137
[127]

* I am taking these, as well as some other data on the shamanism of the Paez, from the excellent summary by S. Bernal Villa (III) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 323/.

čandúr, eš (Erythroxylon coca), bičač (Hevea?), čulko (Oxalis, sp.), čáyuts (Scutellaria racemosa Per.), čuwét, fisa, ečyútse čime (Labiada?), /264/ gwepekas (Urera boccifera L.), kwése (Lonchocarpus?), limonsflyo (Cymbopogon citratus), nyika, nyundayuskey, šu (Spagnum sp.), šuwés (Peperomia sp.), šulápe, šupenyí (Peperomia sp.), tātse, táyuske (Peperomia sp.), ul níny (Hibiscus abelmoschus L.), umsim (Myricia acuminata DC. Vell, aff.), vitubítskwe, wáhi (Nicotiana tabacum L.), yakúma, yúskay (Scleria cattarinensis Boeck).

755 Most of these herbs are first chewed by the shaman and then
756 spat over the affected part. If a person is dying and his soul leaves
278 his body from the heart by way of the upper arms, the pulse of the
[774] lower arms, and the finger tips, the herb čáyuts, for example, is spat by the shaman from the finger tips in the direction of the armpits, in order to check the departure of the soul. Only rarely is a tea brewed from the leaves.

/264 cont./

•756 Besides the remedies which the shaman must use for curing,
787 his signs also predict fate and the future for him or tell him whether the sicknesses will become better or worse. They also tell him about events which are imminent. Thus he learns through them, for example, that sick persons will be coming to him on the following day with this or that illness or this or that
756 request. For all these matters every shaman has his signs at
787 definite parts of his body, those on the left half of his body gen-
826 erally signifying something unfavorable, those on the right half, something good. Thus the rise of the signs from the outer side of the right foot to the ankle means that the medicinal herbs are taking effect. If the signs rise from the outer side of the left foot, this is proof that the nyic must win and the bewitched one
[763] must die. If the signs rise on the right foot to the shin, a mem-
[783] ber of the family will die and his soul go to heaven. If the signs
[828] go along the inner side of the left foot, "pest" will come, and the sick person will become mentally ill. If the signs are felt between the right shin and the heel and they go toward the left side, this is an omen of a battle between the teyu and the nyic. If the signs move from the left ankle up to the hollows of the knees, the planted field is bewitched. Signs in the left calf announce the visit of an evil shaman; signs in the right calf, the visit of a good old woman; signs on the outer side of the right or left calves announce the visit of a nyic or a good old man,
756 respectively. Signs that run down from the right knee cap announce
787 the death of a person through tũs or gĕlyómp ("rainbow" or "moun-
826 tain spirit" as spirit beings, see below /see pp. 191ff./). Signs on
763 the /265/ left kneecap mean that the teyu will win in battle with the nyic; signs from the upper thighs to the hollows of the knees of the right foot, that the patient will die of a malignant "pest." If the signs go down from the left upper thigh, a bad person is walking by outside. If the signs go from the right hip to the foot, the wife will menstruate. If the signs are felt in the tenth rib on the right side, the sick person will sobn die, since he has been stung by the mountain spirit. The signs on the left tenth rib announce the arrival of an evil person. If the signs go from the

/265 cont./

756 right ring finger up the arm to the heart, the person concerned
826 will bury a relative on the next day. Signs in the palm of the
787 right hand mean that the sick person will get well; signs in the
[763] palm of the left hand, that the mountain spirit is not accepting the gifts and the patient must die. By means of signs on the back of the left hand the mountain spirit makes it known that the offerings are insufficient. If the signs go from the palm of the right hand to the neck, this means "pest" from the Pijao. Signs in the right thumb and in the hand announce the appearance of a lost or strayed animal; signs in the corner of the left eye, that the lost animal has been stolen and has already been eaten by the thief; signs in the left arm announce the arrival of the ec̆ spirit; signs in the right upper arm announce to the shaman that good people are asking him to be the sponsor at a christening. Signs on the head of the shaman announce that the nyic will send the pest, and if the signs go from the head into the left hand, the
756 person is already bewitched. In these and similar ways of
787 interpreting their signs, the shamans discover the nature of all illnesses and the means required to cure them. Thus their signs are their only treasure of experience, and if they do not feel them, or no longer feel them, they have lost the essential characteristic of being shamsns.

787 Besides the shamanistic signs described, for the teyu as well
828 as for ordinary human beings of every age and sex dreams are an essential means of experience for looking into the future, as well as for confirmation of a foreign -- usually evil -- influence on one's own person. Just as the effects of evil magic on the individual are brought about through auto-suggestion, so, too, what is seen in a dream. The latter perhaps even more intensively because of a person's own, direct dream experience; only in this way can one understand the positively fatalistic attitude of the persons
115 concerned. Our interpreter Victoriano, for example, is one of the
787 most industrious and capable Calderun. He is determined not to
828 remain socially on the Indio level of his village. He therefore
554 takes /266/ work from time to time among the white colonists,
[77] in order to earn money for Colombian clothing. He is therefore
[464]

If someone

/266 cont./

[787] dreams of peté squash, he will be devoured by the Pijao, for this
[266] squash has black seeds, and the Pijao as man-eaters have /267/ black teeth. If one has been greatly amused in a dream at night and has laughed a great deal, he will have a great deal of vexation during the day. If it rained heavily in a dream at night, a chicken or something similar will be stolen the next day. If in a dream someone has ridden very fast all night long on a brown horse, the day will be beautiful, for the brown or red color is the color of the sun (the same word is used for brown and red); dreaming of riding a black horse, on the other hand, will cause a black cloud to come up the next day, and then it will rain. If, before sowing, someone dreams of a big lagoon that appears all green or has a great deal of green growth around it, this means that the subsequent sowing will produce a good harvest. Anyone who sees a black pig in his dream has in reality seen the heart of an evil shaman, that is to say, he, as a good human being, has met the wandering soul of an evil shaman; this is not a good sign, but neither is it so bad that one would have to fall ill on account of it. Dreaming about the slaughtering of a pig means that an evil sorcerer will die. If one dreams that a thorn entered his foot on
[763] the road, a snake will bite him. If one's tooth drops out in a dream, a close relative will die. If someone else kills a large rooster, his father will die, for the rooster is the heart of the father. But if a person himself slaughters a large rooster in a dream, he will murder his own father. If one dreams that he has worked a great deal in his field on one day, then wild animals will break
[754] into this field and destroy the entire crop. If a person dreams that
[763] he is falling into a deep hole and cannot get out again, this is a sign that he will die, for an evil sorcerer has thus stolen the soul of a human being, buried it in a deep hole, and stamped down the earth again.

● 756 If dreams and shamanistic signs of a relatively advanced spiritual attitude lead to the conclusion that there is a corresponding external ceremonial outfit for the shaman, we shall be disap-
[181] pointed. The shaman's staff (tama), to which a liana (nika) is added for certain ceremonies, is unadorned, poor, and inartistic, like the entire culture of the Paez.

/267 cont./

• 756 like the entire culture of the Paez. For the rest, there are neither special articles of clothing or equipment nor any other kind of ceremonial gear, such as crystals, masks, or rattles.

[824] The shaman's staff consists of a smooth staff, 50 to 60 centimeters long, made out of the hard wood of the chonta palm. It is /268/ pointed at one end and semicircular in cross-section. Each shaman makes this staff for himself before treating his first [764] patient and never lets it out of his hand. When he dies, it is put into the grave with him. Before a séance begins, he sticks it into the ground, though not directly in front of him, but somewhat to the side. Only rarely does a shaman have it in his hand during the séance. As the single exception to the unadorned shaman's staff, I know of only the one belonging to old Felisa Ipia of Santa Rosa. On her staff she has tied a number of colored wool threads [774] which she spun herself and dyed with homemade dyes. She has collected in these threads the souls of all the villagers of Santa [755] Rosa. If someone in the village falls ill, she learns of it through [787] her signs or through Thunder personally and in this way is better able to help the sick person, since she can immediately blow her medicinal herbs, mixed with brandy, on the wool threads and thus can help the sick person better.

756 S. Bernal Villa points out that the designation for the shaman's 773 staff corresponds to the name of the most important culture hero of the Paez, Juan Tama, who, according to tradition, was lawgiver, famous and victorious commander of the army, first chief [976] and shaman. According to other traditions, he was the son of the stars, the son of Thunder, or Thunder himself. The present-day shamans regard the staff as a gift from Thunder, and as a sign of spiritual alliance with him. A shaman of San Andrés, reporting on the origin of the shaman staff, says that, according to the stories of the elders, the tama was introduced by Thunder himself. According to this, a man once had his hut and his potato field in the mountains. He harvested the field with his son. One day the son refused to follow his father to the field, but rather preferred to stay behind in the hut. The next day the son had disappeared

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756 without leaving a trace. In vain the father tried to find out where
773 he was staying. After eight days, however, the son again appeared in the hut. He said that he had been with his grandfather, who had given him brandy, medicines, and this staff that he held in his hand and that was called tama. The "brandy" was cold water from a lake, and the medicines in the fiber bag were mountain herbs. After he had said this, he fell into a trance and lay there as though dead. Fourteen days later, as he lay dying, he asked his father to hand him his tama, for Thunder had told him that he could defend himself with it and that, in case of illness, he should take the medicines that he had given him. He squeezed /269/ out the juice and drank it. Quickly he became well. When he gave it to other sick persons, they, too, became well immediately. With his staff and his medicines he became the best doctor far and wide. He died at an advanced age.

775 Another shaman said that the tama stems from a lifesaving
773 act of the Holy Virgin Mary. Once when the sea rose constantly
177 higher and had covered almost the entire earth, human beings were in great danger. The Virgin Mary took pity on them. She drew forth the tama and with it made the same motions that the shamans make with it today. The masses of water then receded. She left her staff behind for the person who became a shaman. This is supposed to be the origin of the tama.

Although in the latter story not only the figure of the Virgin Mary, but possibly also the motif of the Deluge did not originate in the thought of the Paez, nevertheless the origin of the tama as
756 a gift from a higher power is noteworthy. This power, which,
776 for the shamans, is of the greatest significance as a spirit being
787 and as the first shaman, is Thunder. According to reports, he also positively has the character of an assistant spirit, even though he is almost only feared by the present-day shamans. "The old shamans," the present ones constantly assert, "were still powerful enough magically to establish communication with Thunder directly and at any time; we today are no longer able
778 to do it." In former times the members of the cabildo, under the
756 guidance of a shaman, bathed together in the lagoon of Juan Tama
623

/269 cont./

778 and had their staff of office consecrated there. Today this no
756 longer takes place because of the lack of good shamans. The
623 shamans of today no longer have the intense visions that the
[787] earlier ones had, and that is why they are no longer so powerful magically. They are no longer able to speak with Thunder as simply as their predecessors did, and since they are weaker, it is believed that Thunder will kill them.

776 Thunder is generally described as small of stature and dressed like a Paez man with hat and black ruana. It is reported that he does not wear trousers, but exposes his sexual parts. He has with
[534] him, like a shaman, his tama, a fiber bag with medicines, and a
[532] musical instrument called "tíngalo" (triangle). It is not impossible that it is his picture, together with a Christian cross, that is incised in the gable post of a hut in the vicinity of the park of San Andrés, which represents a man with large, triangular-shaped sexual parts (Ill. 200 /see p. 288 /).

[756] /270/ Thunder is regarded by all the Paez as the greatest
[773] shaman and by the teyu as their master. In the folklore (see below /see pp. 215 ff./), he probably often has different names, such as Juan Tama, Llivan, Chauté, Juan Chiracol, but his characteristics stand out in them, no matter whether as sāt (cacique) he is fighting the Pijao and defending his people, or that he will one day -- people are convinced -- again drive the hated whites
776 out of Tierradentro. He warns the Paez of an evil white person
821 who is coming to Tierradentro for a visit by a clap of thunder from
[783] a clear sky. When he thunders above a particular house, he is
[754] announcing that there is "pest" in it, and if he thunders first above the house of a nyiç and then above one belonging to a teyu he is thereby announcing to a good shaman that he has just been bewitched.

776 A few stories also tell about the struggles of the shamans
787 against Thunder, for he once robbed the Paez of livestock and
756 people. But that was long ago, for today no one would dare undertake anything against Thunder. The Calderun shamans tell how the earlier teyu were in a position to speak with Thunder at any time and to get advice from him. Those of today are no

/270 cont./

75 longer able to do this. Old Filisa of Santa Rosa, however, who
776 was herself chosen and initiated into her office by Thunder, is
787 still able to enter into communication with Thunder today. To be sure, she cannot always do this, but she has often sought him out in his lagoon, dived into the water, gone to the house of Thunder on the bottom of the lagoon, and asked him for advice. One of the sons of Thunder, likewise a shaman, was even her constant companion who protected her everywhere. "In former times," she said, "Thunder himself cured people. Today it is different." Thunder knows when someone is sick; then when people come to her to ask for a remedy, Thunder personally announces to the shaman beforehand: such and such persons with such and such an illness will come today. He also tells her at the same time what remedies she should use. Then when the people come to tell about the illness, she can, since she is a good friend of Thunder, always help them with the best remedies.

776 Thunder, she said, has many children. They come into the world by way of a spring or a crevice out of which water trickles. They have the size of small human beings, but are very good and dressed in a beautiful táw (belt). For growing up and for their nourishment they need three women as attendants. They suck milk from them, whereupon the women must die. The Thunder-children /271/ themselves are barren and have no children. As children of Thunder, however, they have always been great caciques and shamans.

One day she showed me a small knot of a branch, wrapped in a piece of cloth. "This is a child of Thunder that I have from him," she said, "it looks like a branch, but in reality it is alive and can speak."

d) Sickness, Ideas About the Spirits and Souls

753 All sicknesses are explained by the Paez as having originated
754 by means of magical influences that have their cause primarily
783 in malevolent, deliberate acts. These magical, supernatural influences are either bewitchments by the nyic, magical injury

/271 cont./

753 caused by the spirits eč, tũs, or gělyómp, or general emanations
783 of impurity, of "pest" (uwẽ). Such reasons for catching pest, and
[754] thereby being afflicted with sickness, result largely from neglecting
[764] the prescribed shamanistic purifications. These must take place after a burial or when someone has merely seen a funeral proces-
753 sion or entered a house in which there is a corpse. The prohibitions
783 surrounding a woman giving birth or menstruating are just as strict.
841 If she does not retire to the menstruation hut at the proper time,
[844] if she cohabits during these days or neglects to take the subsequent bath after menstruation and birth, the consequences are equally
[264] grave. Pest befalls a man if he accepts food from a menstruating
753 woman. The same consequences befall the one who in housebuild-
783 ing or during the first harvest does not have the proper ceremonies
756 performed by the shaman.
342

Most people die as the result of the evil influence of the
754 nyic, the evil sorcerers. The latter -- it is firmly believed --
783
761 are able to kill individual persons as well as to send pest to entire villages. Their power of evil is regarded as almost unlimited. Besides being bewitched by a nyic, there are three other possibili-
753 ties for a person to become ill or to die. These causes are
761 gělyómp, tũs, and eč. All three are very complex conceptions
776 and may be translated roughly as "mountain spirit," "rainbow," and "firefly," respectively, although the Paez conception and the
[756] translation are not completely identical. The teyu knows the cause of the illness immediately from his signs, the rest of the people, however, usually only after the death of the sick person. And, to be sure, one recognizes the tũs as the cause of illness by the fact /272/ that the corpse lies there with a bent limb (arm or leg), whereas in the case of ec as the cause of death, blood flows from the mouth or nose. It is also possible that both together, tũs and eč, might bring death to the person, for example, if the person lies there bent and blood flows from the mouth or nose.

776 The gělyómp spirit lives chiefly in the mountains, but also in the valley, on the banks of brooks or rivers. He likes to lead wanderers astray in the mountains by making noise and screaming up there; at night one hears his screams -- like those of a human

/273 cont./

776 If it rains when the sun is shining, they may not leave the house,
753 for otherwise they become afflicted with head maladies. These
821 are not headaches, but wounds such as would be inflicted by a
[758] machete. The teyu, however, have remedies to make the rain-
[789] bow disappear, so that children may go outside again.

776 Eč, the third of the aforementioned causes of sickness and
[753] death, is the most unpleasant and the most dangerous, since eč
[761] kills the most people. Eč lives in the earth; no man has seen
[787] him, apart from a few shamans. They need not enter into the
earth, however, to see him; rather, eč himself comes if a teyu
[825] calls him. He looks like a human being. Eč is also the name
for fireflies, which are regarded as the messengers that he sends
out to bring "pest" to human beings. People therefore kill fire-
776 flies if they are able to catch them. Eč is not angry, however,
782 if the people kill his messengers, if only he always gets enough
offerings. For this reason people give eč a dram-glass full of
brandy from every bottle, that is, they pour this amount on the
ground; likewise eč gets his share of every animal killed (chicken,
756 pig, cow, etc.). People ask their teyu which parts of the animal
776 eč demands and which ones they should offer him. If people
782 killed and ate an animal without offering eč any of it, he would
[761] in return kill a child of this family. If the father then comes to
the teyu and asks why his child died, he -- who, of course, knows
that the man slaughtered a pig without giving eč anything -- tells
him that this is the punishment of eč. That very rarely happens,
however; rather, the man gives the shaman the parts of the ani-
mal desired by eč, for instance, the liver, entrails, or meat, and
he gives them to eč, bringing them at night to the place desired
[787] by him. Moreover, as a precaution people give eč herbs and
brandy as the shaman advises, in accordance with the signs which
he has received from eč.

774 If the penetration of pest into the body of a person is the
776 cause of an illness that may result in death, this unfortunate out-
753 come is all the more probable if one of the three spirits or a nyiç
has stolen a human soul. I was given differing /274/ statements
about such a case: First of all, there are two words for soul, ũns

/274 cont./

774 776 753 (u = nasal) and taff, with which everyone is familiar, although they are not sure about the distinction between the two. The shamans Francisco and Cerbeleón said that the two were the same; but both of them also said that ũns or taff, if they had left the person in his dream and were abroad, could be caught by tũs, eč, or nyiç without the person's becoming aware of this immediately, but rather he still went on living. To my objection that in this case ũns and taff were probably different, they did not know how [775] to answer; Cerbeleón stated that if a person dies, his ũns goes to heaven and the person himself becomes taff. He and other teyu 756 774 754 were able to catch the ũns of a human being. Thus, for example, if someone had been robbed, he would come to Cerbeleón. The latter takes coca, tobacco, and brandy, and then he can bring forth the ũns of the thief, seize it, and kill it. The thief must [783] then die. In order to get the ũns in his power, he must first cleanse [824] his hands with the herbs šu and vitubitskwe, as well as with brandy. [876] The ũns has the form of a small animal, he explained; it can fly and glows and is about three centimeters long. It is very similar to a firefly in appearance, but different from eč.

554 754 756 [124] Having reached this point in his explanation, Cerbeleón grew silent, and our interpreter Victoriano said that we should now have to depart, but quickly. With that he left the house in positive flight, and we were obliged to follow. Outside he explained to us that Cerbeleón was a "mal brujo," a nyiç, which, to be sure, he had always suspected before, but just now Cerbeleón had given himself away inasmuch as he had said that he could catch and [682] kill the ũns of human beings. The people of Calderas also say that he possessed herbs that he could put in eggs, chicha, or other food, whereupon people would eat them and then die. One of the sons of Cerbeleón was a thief and had died in the following manner: The one who was robbed had prayed to the Virgen Santisima /Holy Virgin/, and God had punished the thief with death. The father himself, that is, the shaman Cerbeleón, is also a thief and kills people out of envy for their possessions.

The mission sisters confirmed this statement insofar as Cerbeleón had several times attempted to kill them by sprinkling

/274 cont./

554 herbs into their drinking-water canal. Now he had given it up,
754 however. To us he seemed to be merely an idle talker; he did
● 756 not give the impression of actually having received signs or of being serious about the matter, but rather it seemed as though he had merely learned a little by watching his father /275/ and was doing it mechanically without any inner concern. Francisco, too, had a father and grandfather as shaman predecessors. He was likewise rather ignorant, but apparently meant well. He did his best to help people.

756 Martin Chukue was completely absorbed by his calling and
753 duty, and he was well informed, serious, and dignified in his
761 shamanistic work. When the capitan of Calderas died, he was the shaman authorized to act for his residence, and he also conducted the purification ceremony after his burial. Martin explained the cause of death of the capitan as follows: The capitan had to die because the tũs had stolen the taff soul of the capitan. The capitan died with his left leg drawn up. He was very thin when he died, because he had not eaten anything for a long time, for
[753] his taff soul had been stolen five years ago. At that time the sick man began feeling pain, and during the entire time he, Martin, had fought with the tũs, offered him medicines, and tried to appease him.

775 When the ũns soul (ũns also means "heart"!) leaves the body,
[774] then the person is ultimately dead. And, to be sure, ũns leaves
[827] the body by way of the upper arms, lower arms, finger tips. Shortly before it leaves the person, one may still perceive it very faintly as a pulse beat, and when the pulse beat ceases altogether, the ũns has left the body and immediately goes to heaven. No one could tell me exactly in what form it goes to heaven. In heaven, however, it again has the normal human appearance.
[755] When children are ill, wool threads are put around their wrists
[774] and ankles and drawn tightly in order to prevent the escape of the ũns, or at least to make it more difficult.

/276 cont./

769 foods: meat, maize, chicha, brandy, coca, yuca, etc. These gifts are laid on a banana leaf on the floor of the church and a
775 candle is lighted along with it.) The ãhimos, too, can only be seen by shamans.

774 She does not know when and from where a child gets its ũns and taff. She believes that as soon as the heart of the child beats in the mother's womb, the child has ũns; it gets taff only after birth. Animals have no taff; they have ũns only if they devour human beings.

e) Shamanistic Séances

● 756 Each of the shamanistic séances, be it a treatment of the sick
783 or a ceremony during housebuilding or at a burial, is basically a purification from "pest" and therefore a ceremony of magic practices. All these ceremonies and séances are thus in essence the same. They differ only in details, for example, in the different medicinal herbs or in the order of the various purifications. Let us first give a description of a purification ceremony /277/ by the shaman Martin Chucue after a burial (see Ill. 208 to 213 /see pp.292-294/).

756 The shaman does not take part in the burial. Moreover, he
762 neither enters the house of a deceased in which the corpse is still
783 present, nor does he accompany a funeral procession to the burial place. The mourners, men, women, and children, go to the burial place together and then return to the house of mourning. Before they may enter it, however, they must go to the river where the shaman awaits them in order to purify them for the first time. Then they go together to the house of mourning, which, however, the purified people may not yet enter, since it is still unclean. The shaman, with his helpers, must first purify the house with the same remedies with which he purified the people, namely, with water to which herbs and cow excrement have been added. After that the people, too, may enter the house and eat and drink.

/277 cont./

756 765 783 [787] The shaman learns the date of the second ceremony and principal purification through his signs from ečˇ. He announces this date to those who participated at the burial. Those to be purified -- primarily the nearest relatives -- gather at the river and at a place set apart for this, marked by a number of flat [823] stones. These are absolutely necessary; without stones, no puri- [237] fication site. First the people sit in front of the stones, and the helpers of the shaman fetch calabashes filled with water that is mixed with the šũ herb and to which some cow excrement, standing ready in a pot at the same place, is added. The shaman has wound a liana around his staff. Even before the ceremony, he chewed coca and tobacco uninterruptedly and drank brandy copiously. First he goes to the left with the staff and liana and beats the air with both, as though he were struggling with invisible spirits. Then, always struggling, he goes in the other directions of the site, and, finally, once more to the left. There his helpers have dug a hole about 30 centimeters deep and 15 centimeters in diameter.

Now the linen of the deceased and the linen of the mourners [296] which they used on the day of burial are brought forth. They are placed on the stones and then washed and rinsed long and vigorously by the widow and the daughter of the deceased.

The rest of the mourners, like the shaman, have been chewing coca the whole time and get brandy to drink from the teyu.

After the washing, the shaman next struggles as before, as though he wanted to drive invisible spirits away from the site of the purification ceremony. With wide sweeping blows he moves his tama /278/ and liana slowly through the air. In particular he [823] turns to the left again, for to the left lives the evil ečˇ, and to be [776] sure, in the ground (*).

* The direction left has nothing to do with any geographical direction or with the direction of the river. They sit with their backs to the river.

/278 cont./

•756 Then everybody goes, the shaman last, to the hole on the left
765 side and spits coca into it; then everybody takes brandy and squirts
783 it into the air toward the left. After that those who are to be purified start to undress, and each one takes a seat on one of the stones. The helpers of the shaman bring vast quantities of water -- always mixed with herbs and cow excrement -- in their calabashes, and then the very vigorous washing of the body begins. The water is first poured over the head, then over the body, front and back, so generously that everyone must have at least 25 liters of water run over him. The people themselves rub their bodies very thoroughly. In conclusion the shaman places a few herbs on the head of each one. After that, too, the shaman must again fight his battle with staff and liana in the air and squirt brandy toward the left. Then each one stands up individually and the shaman passes his shaman staff and herbs laterally around him from left to right and from bottom to top. Again and again the shaman and the people drink brandy, which they spit out in the air to the left.

After the ablutions of the mourners, followed by the ablutions of the assistants and the shaman, all sit down again in their old places, opposite the stones. The shaman sits down beside them, the staff stuck in the ground before him, his mouth completely full of coca and tobacco. In addition, at short intervals, he takes a
[787] swallow of brandy. He sits this way for about 20 minutes, chewing
[763] and drinking, and then he says that the signs in his hand are very bad and that soon someone will die. One of the young men present, the nephew of the deceased and helper of the shaman during the purification, asks who is going to die or whether it might even be he himself. The shaman, who has been talking monotonously to himself and keeps staring at one spot, answers, without turning his head, that he does not know who will die. The shaman remains sitting a while longer, constantly chewing coca and drinking brandy, and then he gets up and the people sit down in a row behind the stones, first the men, then the women. The shaman takes herbs in his hands, spits the freshly chewed coca with tobacco on them, and passes this around the bodies of all present, always from the lower left, up the side to the head, and down again on the right side, then up the back

756 765 783 /279/ and the front, and at the end he "sucks out," holding one fist over the other, everything dirty, the last remnants of the pest, from the body at three places. First, on the right side of the neck in the hollow of the collarbone, then in the middle of the head, and then he passes both hands along the arms from the shoulders down to the finger tips and sucks on the palms of both hands. Then he cleanses himself in the same manner, by passing his hands, filled with herbs, along his entire body from below upward, whereupon he goes to the left, to the hole, sticks his staff into it, and apparently disgorges something from his stomach, aiding this procedure by pressing his hands into the pit of his stomach. Then he vigorously spits into the hole what he has disgorged. After that he once again takes herbs and brandy, as well as coca, into his mouth and likewise spits them into the hole. Now he takes fresh coca, herbs, and brandy, chews this, and spits it on the tip of his staff and passes this over the bodies of all the people, moving first slowly, then faster from below upward, as though he were obliged to press out, from below upward, something inside the body. As he does so, he mutters words that are incomprehensible, and finally, after purifying each person, he hurls the pest, which is hanging on the point of his staff, away from him in a wide arc. He also cleanses the mountain of linen with his staff in the same way. afterwards he again takes coca and lime into his mouth, as well as herbs, among them always su in particular, and puts the same thing into the mouths of the people. After that he rubs off his hands with su, spits brandy on them, and performs the same purification ceremony on the people as before, again passing over their bodies from below upward and finally sucking out the pest from their necks, heads, and hands.

The participants, at the moment of purification, are very serious concerning the matter. In between, however, they laugh and talk, and the men go about their occupation of straw-hat braiding.

After these three purifications in a standing position, a further purification in a sitting position follows, during which the shaman thrusts his staff into the ground in front of each person. After each purification he goes to the hole and spits everything into it

/279 cont./

756 vigorously, then always rinses his mouth with brandy and spits it
765 out in a spray. After this final purification, standing in front of
783 the hole, he moves his staff several times in a circle through the air from below upward and stabs into the hole three times with the tip of his staff, as though he wanted to thrust something corporeal from above into the hole with the staff. Several times /280/ he paces off the entire place, beating with his staff, always starting from the right and squirting brandy to the left about ten times.

To conclude the ceremony, the hole is covered with a stone, and water containing šũ herbs is poured over it. All the participants spit the herbs given to them by the shaman into a second hole about 50 centimeters away, rinse their mouths vigorously with brandy, and spit this also into the nearby hole. To conclude the ceremony lasting more than four hours, they are all given a swallow of brandy by the shaman and together spit this toward the left.

755 If the teyu is called to a sick person, before the actual treat-
756 ment he must determine the cause of the illness in a special séance. Like all sickness ceremonies, it begins about eight o'clock in the evening and usually ends several hours after midnight. For his séances he uses a specific place (kaci) where, in the presence of the patient, he receives his signs. In cases of serious illness, the treatment may also take place in the house, but then, if possible, ají and salt, things which Thunder does not like, should not be in the vicinity. In cases of particularly serious illness, the shaman may also go to a quiet place, free of human sounds and the barking of dogs, in order to receive his signs there alone.

Before the start of the séance, the patient must give the teyu half a fiber bag full of coca, a bottle of brandy, and a few cigars, since without these things it is impossible for the shaman to receive his signs. He thrusts his staff into the ground, a little to one side, and then he sits down opposite the patient. He now takes his medicinal herbs out of his fiber bag and first makes up two equal little packets of various mixed herbs, each of which he wraps in a maize leaf. With every herb that he takes from his fiber bag, he first makes a pass around his own body in order to stimulate his blood and to receive his signs better. It may already happen here

/280 cont./

755 756 that his signs tell him that his efforts will be in vain, because the patient must die. Only if the signs are favorable, do he and the patient start chewing the little packet of medicinal herbs. The shaman now takes his staff and spits some of the chewed medicinal herbs on it, to prevent the pest sent by nyic from possibly being transferred to him and killing him. Then he thrusts the tama into the ground with the point, in order to announce to Thunder that he does not wish to act badly and carelessly, but exactly in accordance with his shamanistic rules. He sets the bottle of /281/ [824] [787] brandy, into which he puts a stalk of the čayuts herb, beside his shaman's staff. If the stalk remains vertical, it is a good sign; if it falls to one side and goes under, it is a very bad omen. On the mouth of the bottle he also places a small calabash vessel, likewise containing the čayuts herb, which is supposed to prevent the pest from taking the shaman by surprise and killing him. He now puts a handful of coca into his mouth and starts to chew. Motionless, he gazes at his staff, ready to receive his signs. From time to time he takes more coca and lime, tells the patient that his signs are favorable, that his illness, which comes from the pest, will soon get better. Then he gets up, goes to his tama, and vigorously spits out the chew. He empties a whole calabash of brandy and squirts it into the air. Again he returns to his seat, once again takes coca and lime and a little cigar tobacco into his mouth, and again remains squatting motionless. After about an hour he spits the chew in the direction of the staff, the patient does the same, and then both get up. The shaman now tells the [783] patient that Thunder has shown him the possibility of a cure. He will now go and gather his special medicinal herbs, and for a good purification the patient will have to bring a pound of coca leaves, six cigars, a liter of brandy and chicha, and, in addition, [177] [86] a few pounds of meat. The teyu urgently enjoins him not to take any of the medicine of the whites under any circumstances, for otherwise he must surely die. At this séance, as well as at others, the shamans all agreed that neither did they themselves leave the place of the séance nor did their souls leave their bodies to go wandering. The signs, to which alone they give heed, are the only characteristic of their experience.

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755 On the evening agreed upon for the purification from the pest,
756 the patient brings the shaman the required remedies, and the
783 latter divides everything into two parts, one to carry out the séance
[782] and the other as an offering for Thunder. He first takes the latter portion and goes to a particular place in order to offer it to Thunder. He spits part of the brandy into the air and drinks another part himself, as soon as Thunder has expressed his approval of the purification from the disease and his satisfaction over the gift.

[516] For the purification ceremony the teyu and the patient squat down on the ground next to each other, in the manner customary among the Paez. The teyu thrusts his staff into the ground and sets the brandy bottle beside it. Amid coca-chewing and brandy-drinking the hours flow by, broken only by an occasional spitting out of the chew on the part of the shaman. /282/ Through his signs he gradually learns the cause of the illness and also the necessary remedies, which he now hands over to the patient. He also places on his head a packet containing the same herbs, as protection against the evil eč spirit. The teyu now goes to one side and beats the air with his tama, in order to remove the pest that is present. Then he passes it up the entire body of the patient, beginning at the feet and ending at the head, in order to squeeze out, so to speak, the pest from the body of his patient from below upward. At various parts of the body, the hollow of the collarbone, the neck, and the head, he "sucks" out the pest. Into a hole dug a few meters in front of the place of the ceremony he now spits the contents of his mouth: coca and medicinal herbs, mixed with the pest sucked out of the patient. He then squirts a mouthful of brandy into the air, so that the pest will depart altogether, and drinks a further one himself, so that the pest will not enter his body. Now the patient is called. He must first spit into the same hole the mixture of coca and medicinal herbs which he has chewed the entire time, and then he, too, must take two swallows of brandy; he must squirt one into the air, and he swallows the other one. Further purifications of the patient follow, various herbs being passed over him and the pest being sucked out several times and spat into the hole. In conclusion there follows a bodily cleansing

/282 cont./

755 of the patient with water to which šũ and yakũma have been added
756 as medicinal herbs, so that he will now be completely freed of the
783 pest. Finally the teyu asks Thunder to prevent anyone from uncovering this hole in which the dangerous pest is buried. He further asks Thunder to help him in subsequent treatments of the sick later on. The patient is told that the signs are favorable, and he is again enjoined neither to use the medicines of the whites nor ever to pass this hole containing the pest.

757 Besides these two most important shamanistic ceremonies, the
756 treatment of the sick and the purification of the relatives after a
731 burial, the shaman's ability and his magical, supernatural powers are also called upon for preventive ceremonies and acts. This is particularly necessary if epidemics of disease -- smallpox, whooping cough -- occur in the village or in a family. In the first instance, the cabildo asks a shaman who is known to be able to speak with Thunder to conduct the proper protective ceremonies; in the latter instance, /283/ the oldest member of the afflicted family asks him. First a pig must be killed for this. A piece is cut from all the body organs on the left side, and everything is put into a new fiber
[782] bag. The shaman and the cabildo then set out in the afternoon for the lagoon in which Thunder is believed to live, in order to hand over to him the bag with the pieces of meat, with the request to avert the epidemic. During this time the women remaining behind have been preparing the rest of the meat for a meal, which, however, is eaten jointly only when, after twelve hours, the shaman and cabildo return from their ceremony.

756 For several cases of illness and death in one family the help of
789 a good shaman is likewise required. The pest is generally regarded
769 as the cause of these cases of death afflicting only one family, though according to a report by S. Bernal Villa, the deceased and angry members of the family are held responsible for this. In this case the eldest of the family provides brandy, coca, and tobacco, calls together the family members, and asks the shaman to come. The latter offers the angry ancestor spirits a fat pig that has first been tied in front of the house for a whole night, while the shaman during this time speaks to the spirits about whether they will accept the offering.

/283 cont./

756 It is killed by members of another family, since the ones concerned
783 may not perform any work or activity. The pig is scalded over a
769 hole into which the hair and refuse are thrown. The parts of the pig which the ancestor spirits, through the signs of the shaman, wish as a sacrifice are put into a fiber bag with a wooden stick. During this time the women bake small, flat maize cakes, and, to be sure, as many as there are dead in the family. These are
756 likewise put into the bag, and, in addition, a large quantity of
783 other food. Moreover, small wooden dolls, dressed like living
532 Paez, are carved in the same number as the dead. About 40
769 meters from the house a grave with a lateral niche is dug, exactly like the one made for deceased persons. In the evening the shaman goes there with the members of the family and performs the ceremonial purification on them. After that the sky becomes covered with thick, black clouds, in the direction of which the teyu spits his medicinal herbs. After two hours the clouds move off toward the left and bring into view the starry sky. Now the shaman lays the dolls (as representations of the spirits of the dead) into the lateral niche of the grave, sets a wax candle beside them, and blows his medicinal herbs over them. With a /284/ stone he closes off the lateral niche and then places the
756 bag with the food into the pit. After the latter has again been
783 filled with earth, he proceeds to a renewed purification of the
769 members of the family, which is undertaken a third time in the house and at the same time on the helpers in the pig-slaughtering and the baking. In conclusion one half of the pig is now eaten jointly, whereas the other half belongs to the shaman as remuneration.

756 A further important shamanistic ceremony is undertaken when
342 a new house is built. On this occasion the teyu, in dedication,
783 spits his herbs on the future fire area of the house and digs a small
[824] hole into which he places the herbs ṽũ and ṽulápe. On a small pile of wood he burns other herbs, the ashes of which he carries out of the house. Now he lights a new fire, in which he roasts a young maize ear and gives it to a dog to eat. If the latter does not die, this is regarded as a sign that no pest exists here any longer and the occupants may confidently live here. If this were not the case, they would be obliged to leave the house.

/284 cont./

241 The following ceremony before the first harvest of a newly
756 cleared field should also be understood in the same sense as
783 all the shamanistic séances of the Paez, namely, as a purification
[273] from pest or to ward it off. The owner, taking along coca, chicha,
[276] and brandy, goes to the field with the members of his family and
the teyu. The latter first sprinkles the field with water to which
[824] herbs have been added and then distributes small packets of
[782] medicinal herbs to all present. He now takes a sample from each type of produce and makes a bundle out of this, in order to offer it to Thunder. After this gift, the owner harvests a fiber bag full of each type of produce and carries it home. He sets down all the bags beside one another in front of the left side of the entrance, and then the shaman spits his herbs over them, in order to cleanse them of the pest, which, without this ceremony, would otherwise
[782] have been carried into the house. After the products have been cooked, they are given to the shaman, who distributes one product to each of those present and offers the rest as a gift to Thunder, who, in turn, gives everything back to the shaman.

754 A good shaman does not know any herbs or other means to
756 harm people or to kill them. Such acts are the mark of the nyic. According to what we heard, however, the boundary between good and bad shamans is not very sharply drawn; each could also carry out the activity of the other, even though Thunder -- people are convinced -- does not lend his help to a nyic, so that the latter is
578 dependent solely on his bad and wicked agents. /285/ There is a
754 constant struggle between the teyu and the nyic, not openly to be
756 sure, but in secret. The teyu constantly feel pursued by the evil machinations of the nyic, and one who relaxes his attention for only a moment will be killed by them. In this struggle the one who is the stronger magically has prospects of victory; but since the nyic do not openly announce their successes over the good shamans, one can learn only of the victories of the teyu over the evil shamans. Thus a shaman from Santa Rosa relates that in his youth he was very treacherous and underhanded and was already familiar with many agents. One day a nyic, who had already

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578 killed his mother and his brothers, declared his hostility toward
754 him because he was well on the way to becoming a good shaman.
756 He became ill and his signs announced to him that he would soon
578 die. Now there was a famous shaman in Huila, and he sought
75 him out with much brandy and coca. Immediately this shaman
774 realized that it was a case of bewitchment by a nyic. The only possibility of getting off alive was to kill the soul of the evil sorcerer immediately. Together they dug a hole for this purpose and in it they waited many nights for the soul of the nyic. It came, but since it was very suspicious, it would not let itself be caught. More than a month passed in this way. Night after night the two were lying in wait, without sleeping, and then one night, near daybreak, the soul of the evil sorcerer came. The shaman was ready, however; he raised his staff and with a powerful blow it fell into the hole. Immediately earth was piled up over it and the hole completely covered. Hissing, the soul died.

756 Since the young shaman from Santa Rosa was well once more,
789 the old shaman sent him home. He advised him, however, to
824 carry herbs with him, since there were robbers on the way. Cautiously he proceeded to the dangerous spot, and already his signs announced to him that the robbers were in the vicinity. He immediately blew his herbs, and the robbers fell into a deep sleep. Farther along on the way home he met several people who were pursuing a criminal. They gave him brandy and coca and asked him to help them, from his home, to capture the criminal. He then strewed čayuts on his own feet, and the criminal could no longer walk, so the people were able to capture him.

75 Other shamans report that in case of a bewitchment by a
774 nyic, the bewitched person and the members of his family slaughter a pig and put a piece of each organ in a fiber bag. /286/ They bring these to the shaman, together with brandy, coca and cigars. The meat serves as bait for the soul of the sorcerer, for at the first cockcrow, when all present are chewing coca, it comes to get the bag. It falls into the hole dug under it, however. The shaman immediately throws herbs into it, those present their chewed packets of coca, and then the pit is covered up as quickly as

/286 cont./

75 possible. After his soul has thus been killed, the sorcerer, too,
774 must die.

754 The same type of soul-capture as is reported here by the teyu
774 is also the most common method of evil sorcery practiced by the nyiç. The nyiç digs a hole and stations himself above it, in order to await the wandering soul of his victim. It is visible, like a lighted candle. When it is over the hole, the nyiç gives it a powerful blow with his staff, so that it falls into the hole. If it is supposed to die very quickly, the nyiç throws strongly efficacious herbs over it and covers the hole with graveyard soil. If not, he has many possibilities of inflicting on the soul, and therefore on
754 his victim, injury that takes effect more slowly. If he sprinkles
774 the herb baw (Araceae) over it, the stomach of its owner becomes so
824 distended that he dies. If the nyiç sprinkles lime over the soul, the person becomes blind. In the case of the poisonous herb boračero (Datura sp.), the owner of the soul becomes insane; the stinging smoke of the agave also produces insanity. Putting the leaves of the čuwét (Krameria ixina?) and the soul together brings death. The herbs kaspi (Toxicodendron striatum Kuntze), lečero (Euphorbia cotinifolia L.), and Pringamoza also cause death.

f) The Sociological Aspect of Shamanism

182 Although the shamanistic ceremonies and the conceptions
● 756 underlying them are of a religious nature, nevertheless the activity of the shaman is a definite sociological fact. Without the activity of the teyu, neither the family nor the village community can exist. It is only the shaman who, through his personal abilities, is able to counteract the evil effects of the nyiç, the tũs, eč, and gělyõmp spirits and turn them into something good. His activity, however, consists not only in the repulsion of what has already appeared, in the healing of what has happened, but his activity is also preventive, in fact, prophetic, for he predicts future sicknesses or deaths. Moreover, no house construction,

/286 cont./
182 no new harvest may be undertaken until the teyu has first cleansed
●756 of the pest the building site or the crops, respectively.

/287/ He is, however, not only the protector of the individual or the individual family, but is also responsible for the beneficial
[773] co-existence of the members of the whole village. Thus, it is not surprising that it was the shamans -- besides Thunder under his various names -- who were the war leaders in the mythical tradi-
[726] tions. Thanks to their magical gifts and strength, they successfully led their people against the Pijao and the Spaniards. Several times the elders of the various villages told us that one day Thunder will again drive the white intruders out of the Tierradentro of the
[648] Paez and kill them. And it is only logical that, as late as 1952,
[789] on the occasion of an impending attack by an armed group of white revolutionaries, the shaman of Santa Rosa, as the successor of the mythical Thunder, should spit his magic herbs on the road leading to the village, in order to destroy them. Old Felisa Ipia is behaving in a similar manner when she keeps the souls of all the village inhabitants gathered together in the threads of her shaman's staff, in order to be able to protect them better against evil, magical influences.

756 On account of these certain supernatural abilities of theirs, the
554 effects of which no one in the community can evade, the teyu
[885] have a certain unofficial authority. In addition, they are all at least 30 to 40 years old and thus, by their very age, fulfill one of the natural prerequisites for recognition by the community. Not a few of them feel honored by this, set apart from the great mass of people, but many assured me that they were shamans only unwillingly, that though they were called by their ability to receive signs, they were nevertheless oppressed by the weight of the burden of their responsibility.

756 During times of epidemics of disease or inexplicable, "super-
124 natural" deaths, they are the focal point of the community, to
[182] which no one appeals in vain. And in conversations with them we generally had the distinct impression of facing unselfish, helpful human beings. They make no secret of their activity, and they tried, as best they could, to tell us about their experiences and knowledge which they use for the good of the community.

/317 cont./

105 In the Paez religion there is no cult priesthood with offerings
771 and prayer, just as there is also no cult or worship of numinous
●756 beings. The Paez religion is a shamanism, the two forms of which are the evil sorcerer and the good shaman as doctor and helper against evil sorcery. As a religious phenomenon Paez shamanism is not as distinctive as the Siberian or the North American shamanism. Assistant spirits and the soul journey as shamanistic means are only rudimentary with the shamanistic "signs," the "thunder child," and the journeys of the shaman to the house of Thunder on the bottom of the lagoon; there is almost no ceremonial apparatus. Nevertheless, the activity of the good shaman in particular, as doctor and helper in sickness caused by magical practices, as well as his function as sociological crystallization point of the community, is entirely a shamanistic phenomenon.

105 Linguistically Paez belongs among the agglutinative languages,
[197] in which the form element is made up by affixes that characterize
[194] whole classes of words. In phonetics the series of palatals including all the consonants is striking, as well as the frequent occurrence of nasal vowels.

105 /318/ The linguistic classification of Paez is difficult. Since
114 the research of H. Beuchat and P. Rivet it has been regarded as
197 one of the Chibcha languages. This was not always the case. E. Castillo i Orosco emphasized in 1735 that in its grammatical structure Paez is very different from Chibcha (p. 63). It was C. Cuervo Marquez who first regarded Paez as a Chibcha language (p. 199). H. Pittier de Fábrega emphasized in 1907 that the relationship of Paez refers only to the rules of grammatical construction; the vocabulary is completely different (p. 341). Then in 1910 Beuchat and Rivet investigated all the North Andean languages in a work of large scope and then confirmed the distribution of the Chibcha languages from Nicaragua to Eucador. According to this, the majority of the Colombian tribes spoke Chibcha (pp. 193-198). Up to now this classification has neither been examined in greater detail nor disproved by linguistics. This may be left to the philologists. Here there will only be a few remarks about the problem of the Chibcha languages in general and that of Paez as an

1: Nachtigall--267 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 153. The shaman Cerbeleón Niunda.

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Ill. 152. Mother with child.

1: Nachtigall--288 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 200. Skull trophy and figure of a spirit.

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Ill. 199. The shaman Felisia Ipia with her shaman's staff.

1: Nachtigall--292 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ills. 208 and 209. Ritual purification after a burial.

CV

1: Nachtigall--293 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ills. 210 and 211. Sucking out the "pest."

1: Nachtigall--294 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 212. The shaman spits the "pest" into a hole.

Ill. 213. The shaman fights the spirits with staff and liana.

/CVIII is a blank page./

/287 cont./

631 climate and vegetation. Although Paez culture is certainly unitary, each parcialidad presents different nuances which are evident even in the mythology and language. The antropomimia is quite different in each parcialidad.

Nowadays there are 16 parcialidades, four of which belong to the municipio of Inzá and the remaining 12 to that of Páez (Belalcázar).

771 Magic and medicine.--There are three institutions which
782 go in unison and encroach upon others, which explain the causation of sicknesses, the treatment for them, and serve as escape valves for aggression. They are:

a) The one made up of the trilogy of supernatural beings named Duende /ghost/, Echi, and Arco /rainbow/;

b) The institution of the medicine man, and

c) Sorcery.

753 a) Duende, Arco, and Echi are the causers of illnesses,
776 each of them producing a specific symptomatology which serves
[75] as the basis for the diagnostics of common people, a diagnostics
[787] corroborated by the divining activities of the medicine man. These supernatural beings cause illnesses by puncture, aroused by the annoyance that they suffer because of the sorcerers' practices, or by those who had contact with corpses and did not go through the mandatory purification, or because people have passed through places that are taboo, such as bogs and lagoons, or have failed to comply with the rites and ceremonies when slaughtering cattle or when harvesting new clearings, or because they have not observed "custom" at the first menstruation or childbirth.

758 b) In the institution of the medicine man the functions of
787 divination, magic, and medicine are entwined. More precisely, the medicine man is a diviner-shaman-curer who has undergone an /288/ apprenticeship in the profession with an esteemed and experienced master or with the help of a guardian spirit seen in actuality or in dreams; the latter are the best

medicine men.

000 /288 cont./

756 medicine men. To cure the patient, he divines which of the
755 supernatural beings caused the illness, proceeds to placate him,
[787] and then prescribes medicines to the patient. If the placation is not successful, the patient literally sinks into despair. The indispensable articles for all curing are coca, tobacco, and
[462] aguardiente. The medicine men are persons well along in years
[754] and belonging to the masculine sex. They cannot cure the effects of sorcery, although they can protect themselves against it.

754 c) Fifty per cent of all illnesses, the informants state,
[753] are caused by sorcery, and by the same token 50 per cent of
[761] the deaths, since sorcery is incurable. The sorcerers conceal their activities, and it seems that all adults are potential sor-
754 cerers. The institution of sorcery is a true escape valve for the
154 strong aggressive impulses of the natives and to some extent plays the role of a social regulator. Through it are channeled the jealousy, resentment, and vengefulness of the natives. The victims of sorcery are the most skillful and hard-working individuals, those who have a good house, good crops, and a growing number of domestic animals. Harvests and plantings
[683] generally are the object of sorcery. Sorcerers who are publicly unmasked are exposed to the anger of the community and even to exile, a measure taken not so much on account of their be-
[685] ing sorcerers as of their being thieves. All sorcerers are thieves. Sorcery appears with considerable frequency in the symbolism of dreams.

583 Marriage.--Marriage is monogamous and patrilocal. Both
[595] the chroniclers and Dr. Gregorio Hernández de Alba speak of
[591] the custom of the year of probation to acquaint the man with
[177] the skill, energy, and fecundity of his future wife. A thriving
[797] institution in times past, it is now in sharp decline owing to the action of mission work. Obviously, the purpose of this institution is to find out whether the woman is hard-working, faithful, not a thief, and to understand her ways in order to establish a lasting union. Nowadays the Paez, before being married

/182 cont./

423 The work on the land is a daily exercise in co-operation.
461 Owership by an Indian is an unquestionable right, and its de-
[173] fense a categorical imperative. Lliban and Juan Chiracol
[628] fought the Pijao for the ownership of the land and to defend an
[648] inalienable right. Likewise, because the whites covet their land, they do not like to have them around /183/ and avoid receiving them under some pretext or other. Their security and
[735] their happiness lie in the ownership of land. Poverty as they understand it, a shortage of food and livestock, is due solely to the laziness of those who suffer it.

857 Children grow up in continuous communion with the
868 activities of their parents. While the girl helps her mother in household tasks and goes out with her to bring firewood from their respective clearings, the boys with their machete on their shoulder and their pouches of coca and mambe /lime/, exactly like their fathers, clean the clearings, build fences, weed their plantings, and when the maize ripens and the wheat grows tall, they spend the day defending them against the attacks of parrots, guaras, borugos, squirrels, and coatis. At an early age they are already doing the same tasks, but with the hope of building a house, marrying, raising children, and owning livestock, large quantities of coca, and sugar cane for their
342 chicha. In a way, the house is a necessary supplement to their pieces of land; furthermore, many are for the period of the clearings. The selection of a site for the house does not take into account either the beauty of the landscape or the levelness of the terrain, but rather the inaccessibility of both. Only when the house is to last for more than one generation will they attend to certain requisites: solidity, construction or privately owned land, and the selection of an adequate site by the medicine man (té éu). One fine day the owner selects
•[759] a site: "This is a good place to build a house and to live," he
[787] says. Then he takes there the medicine man, who during the night "thinks about" whether the site is suitable or unsuitable; he chews coca and remedies, takes mouthfuls of aguardiente

/183 cont./

342 and blows them into the air; with a small staff called "tama"
756 he cleaves the air in such a way that sometimes he appears to
787 be frightening away the spirits, sometimes threatening them,
[823] and sometimes clubbing them. If the signs (reflex movements)
are felt on the right side, the site is favorable; the opposite
denotes that the site is uninhabitable. The spirits are angry,
[761] or there are Pijao bones and gold at the site. If the site has
not been selected by the medicine man, even if the house is a
handsome one it cannot be occupied, for its occupants would
die, beginning with the children, continuing with the mother,
342 and ending with the father. The medicine man himself pro-
756 hibits people from living in a house built without the fulfill-
ment of this requisite. The medicine man's dictum is rewarded
with a bottle of aguardiente, an egg (1) of coca, tobacco, a

[804] 1. A measure of weight equivalent to the weight of a hen's egg.

calabash of chicha, and usually a meal with chicken. /184/
[789] This is called "care" /cuido/. When the house is finished,
the medicine man will place special remedies at the ridgepole
to prevent the ghosts or echi from descending by way of it or
from being angered.

342 Then come the mingas /communal work-parties/. A house
476 is built with the help of others. The people are invited, in-
cluding the medicine man himself, who goes to work as a
laborer. The work is organized. First, they go to the wood-
land for wood; under the influence of the guarapo, voices re-
sound, loud laughter is heard, and the deep sound of the
"cacho" /horn/ rumbles in the montañas, multiplied by its
342 echoes. Soon they report to the man in charge. They level
335 out the ground that will serve as the house floor; they dig holes
476 in which to sink the posts approximately two meters apart,
driven in solidly, and tied at the top to cross-pieces with lianas
(guák); the posts outline the shape of the house, and they will

/198 cont./

IX

The Wax Comes from the Woodlands

796 Before the fiestero goes to stay in the pueblo, the laborers make the candles and distill the aguardiente while the fireworks-maker produces the firecrackers and rockets.

388 824 The candles are made with the wax of the wild laurel (1)

1. Myrica pubescens Willd.

recently extracted from seeds gathered months earlier from the bushes in the woodlands. Laurel, of course, is a shrub with lanceolate leaves, which grows wild in the clearings after the harvest. During the months of April and May the branches are heavy with lead-colored and tiny seeds very similar in form to the fruit of the coffee tree. They are a favorite food of the wild pigeons, and for this reason, while they are ripening, the owner, or preferably his children, constantly frightens them [756] away. This is a reinforcement of the magic protection supplied [789] by the medicine man at the suggestion of the owner of the woodland. He has performed the exorcism to frighten away the unwanted birds: he has loaded his shotgun with chayuts (2) and

2. Escrofulareacea.

shot at the pigeons. They will not return.

[415] The seeds are gathered in fique bags. Ten workers gather approximately one arroba in one day. /199/ For the period of one month the seeds will be left to dry, scattered in a corner of the house, so that the wax will come out white and not green as would happen if this were not done.

388 To extract the wax, the seeds are packed into small sacks or bags, boiled, and pressed at once. The wax falls with the hot water into a round container; on the following day, the water that remains at the bottom of the container is removed, and the wax is left to solidify further.

/199 cont./

389 Explosive charges are made in the following way. The powder is packed into small sheepskin cartridges; these cartridges /200/ are tied tightly with maguey thread. Then they are pierced in such a way that the powder can come in contact with the correspondent fuse. They make with these explosive charges:

Firecrackers: a charge attached to a short stick.

Skyrockets: reed tubes full of powder, with one explosive charge, attached to a long pole. They rise to considerable heights and end with an explosion.

Stingers: firecrackers made of three charges attached to a stick.

Castle: a structure resembling half an ellipse, made of flexible rods to which the explosive charges are attached.

[796] The fireworks-maker is selected especially by the fiestero or the albacero, and at the time of the fiesta he distributes the firecrackers personally among the elders with a great show [465] of deference. The albacero must kill a pig or a sheep to reward him for his work.

[461] The making of these objects is slow: a month or even more, not because it is complicated, but because steady work on it is tiresome.

389 During the making of these firecrackers, with the relative 787 tranquility that this implies, a man may come to know of a ●758 destiny which he possibly had not suspected: becoming a medicine man. While sitting at his work he may feel the "signs" that herald his future activity. This was the case with a medicine man of Calderas. As a young man he knew nothing about remedies or "signs." But as he was making firecrackers, he felt the signs. He had five children at the time. After that he learned what the good and the bad remedies were from another famous medicine man. He put his knowledge into practice, cured a sick man, and devoted himself to being a medicine man. The signs, they say, are sent by God.

5: Bernal Villa SC15 Paez SC15

● 756

[For information on the Paez shaman (té eu) and his function and status in the society, see category 116, pp. 1-11, 17-19, 29-36, and 38-47.]

/262 cont./

683 and finally exiled him. The sorcerer nearly died. He com-
184 plained to the Alcadía of Inzá about the brutality of the cabildo. The Alcadía had the stocks destroyed by force, in spite of the protests of the natives. The punishments of the sorcerers in the Parcialidad of San Andrés were about the same up to some 30 years ago.

683 Often, when there is a very dangerous sorcerer, the curers
754 band together in order to kill him. They call his soul, and
● 756 when it draws near they hit it with a stick smeared with chayuts.
774 The soul leaves with a whistling sound. When a volcano erupts,
[823] it is a sign that the devil is punishing the souls of sorcerers.

754 Psychological characteristics of the sorcerers. Broadly
157 speaking, the sorcerers are timid, resentful, aloof, with a very
156 strong persecution complex; they try to avoid contact with people, believing that they see in each of them a presumed accuser; they tend to be self-supporting; suspicious to a high degree, they roundly deny the accusations of their victims, regarding themselves furthermore as good persons, sound and inoffensive; they pretend to know nothing about remedies, and it is very difficult to obtain any information from them about sorcery. Most of them are intelligent. Endoculturally they are at odds with their own group, insofar as they embody the struggle against the influences of foreign cultures.

The nasa are convinced that no sooner has the sun gone down than the sorcerers are already at work. The most dangerous ones sleep during the day. For this reason they regard as peculiar characteristics of the sorcerers red eyes, an evasive look, aloofness, an unpleasant appearance, egoism, and suspiciousness. They look like criminals, informants say.

182 /263/ Socio-dynamic value of sorcery. Within Paez
754 society, sorcery is vital, overly active, and gravitates into all the social interstices. But, as must be evident, at all times and places it pertains to the realm of concealment. Its executors are surreptitious. They always act in the shadows.

/310 cont./

243 As may be noted, the magical practices of the té eu are
● 756 absent, although there still exists that of the eating, which in
789 other parcialidades complements his practices.

249 The cultivation of sugar cane is quite widespread in the
273 temperate thermal level, although the plantings are not extensive and are not pursued for commercial purposes; they serve only for obtaining guarapo (fermented cane juice) for individual and collective labor and for social affairs. Guarapo is an essential part of the domestic economy, in the same manner
249 as coca. It is not produced for public pay. Each house has its
257 sugar mill, either outside or in its interior, but there are no ovens or other accessories for producing panela. The latter industry belongs exclusively to the white or mestizo people.

249 The cultivation of the cane requires three weedings before the first cutting. Three cuttings with good results are generally obtained from each planting.

245 The cultivation of coffee is also very widespread. Its expansion is of recent date, but it already has strong and universal acceptance, like cane and plantains. The method of cultivation suffers from certain deficiencies: the shade is insufficient and inadequate; there is no pruning; the care is not very satis-
[433] factory; many do not have pulping machines. The coffee
245 plantings produce several arrobas per year. The monetary in-
434 come of the natives in the temperate zone is provided basically by
[439] coffee. They sell it to steady and familiar customers for prices
[452] that are usually low. The coffee plantings secure credit for the natives; they often collect money or merchandise against a future
245 harvest. Coffee has permitted them /311/ to acquire dishes, to
434 modify their clothing, to enrich their agricultural equipment,
177 to buy every once in a while the drugs of the "whites." At harvest time they eat meat regularly, and they are also able to pay wages for the improvement of their fincas. But, above all,
[273] it opens the doors of the liquor stores to them. They consume considerable amounts of alcoholic beverages. They have not yet learned to make good use of their monetary income.

/320 cont./

231 propose "trades." Traders who are interested in a cow, once
439 they have located the true /321/ owner, assail him with proposi-
tions for a trade. They offer young, fertile heifers, smaller
in size and usually thin. In exchange, they obtain a large and
231 fat cow. The profits are more than 200%. Before handing over
439 the animal, the native invariably requests a bottle of aguardiente
789 and pulls out a few hairs from the left eye or lower leg of the cow
[792] as an offering to the Duende /ghost/, the virtual owner of the
lands and animals and potentially the protector of their multi-
plication. Likewise he blows chayuts (Scutellaria racemosa Per.)
on the rope with which the cow will be led, so that it will not
create difficulties along the way. There are frequent statements
by whites and mestizos, cattle traders, to the effect that, when
this requisite was not met, the cow stopped halfway on the
journey and could not be budged by any human power. Then it
sufficed to blow at the rope with chayuts to make her move again.
How can this be explained? The persons relating the story re-
231 peatedly ask.

262 Occasions for the consumption of cattle are mingas, re-
[796] ligious fiestas, and, on a small scale, the post-matrimonial and
[527] baptismal "cuidos" (courtesies for the sponsors). The meat and
[281] the skin are both used. The latter is not tanned, but dried in
[234] the sun and used as a sort of mattress for sleeping. The milk is
not used. When they sacrifice a head of cattle that comes from
262 "wild" places, such as bogs, lagoons, or montañas, they take the
792 precaution of calling the Té eu. He orders them to take a small
●756 piece from each organ and to put a little blood on a reed. He
231 wraps all this in a leaf, puts a sprig of contento (chayuts) on top
of it, then goes toward the east, and, in a spot determined by
him, leaves the bundle, taking care always to put it to the left
of things such as trunks or rocks. This placement does not have
any special ceremony associated with it; it is not accompanied
by prayers or the blowing of medicines, and it does not take
place at a specific time. It is an offering to the Duende which
is performed before consuming the meat, the primary purpose
of which is to please him.

/352 cont./

261 The natives lose weight -- says an informant -- because first they eat good and abundant food, and then they do not have [262] enough to eat and, naturally, grow thin. In times of scarcity ("hambruna"), they eat frijol cacha and its tender leaves, in the same way as they eat mejicano leaves; cabbages are gathered leaf by leaf, for at this time of year they are less abundant. When there is nothing more to eat they kill a cow and eat meat; they hunt /353/ wild pigeons or chachalacas, cook them, and [273] drink the broth with salt. They also make chicha, and the old [276] people get drunk every day; the consumption of coca increases: "the people chew and chew so as not to feel too hungry"; the little ones suffer hunger because they do not know how to chew, and they eat mejicano, which does not require the salt that they try to save. Finally, they end up going to the fincas of the "whites" to earn food, coca, and a few centavos.

264 When they do not work, they have one meal at 3:00 P.M. and another at 6:00 P.M. After the first meal they lie down and say, "We are making estancia," that is to say, digesting and [261] getting nourishment. Skinned maize with saffron, chicken, plantains, and peppers gives more "estancia."

261 They barely eat enough unskinned maize, which they cook as mote, but they eat to excess the sancocho of potatoes and frijol bueno because it is so good. No one eats an entire chicken. It is divided. In the former state they would believe that the chicken was stolen. Mejicano makes some people vomit, because they are used to eating meat, and they are the ones who might be thieves.

As a rule, everyone eats only one plate of food; if they eat [758] two, they cannot walk. The curers eat little in order to be able to [787] spend the night in vigil, devoted to their activities; they always [262] eat eggs and they avoid eating peppers in order to be able to [263] feel the "signs" (31).

31. Vernal Villa, S. "Magia y Medicina entre los Paeces /Magic and Medicine among the Paez/," p. 248.

/366 cont./

[77] are more acculturated. All of these circumstances have permitted the extensification of the cultivation of garlic, wheat, and especially potatoes, as well as the extensification and intensification of livestock-raising, which, in turn, has given rise to a series of phenomena now in the full process of development, such as the modification of work schedules and agricultural cycles, the regularization of trade and transport, the appearance of the habit of capitalization and of the use of credit, the use of barbed wire for fencing, reforestation on a eucalyptus base, the development of household industries, modification of the diet and eating times, adoption of specific objects of adornment by the women (gold earrings), disappearance of coca consumption ("deculturation," to use Fernando Ortiz's neologism), social stratification, the undermining of the institutions of the té eu and the nasa jihi, the calming of the real and magical aggressiveness against the "whites," intensification of primary education, and greater conviction in religious beliefs.

In the temperate zone in general and in San Andrés in particular, the cultivation of coffee is in full swing, and the consequences of this economic fact are beginning to be visible. The palm hat, very common in the parcialidad of Calderas, is not seen very much among the Andresunos, who are adopting the cloth hat of the "whites"; some of them already wear sandals or shoes, and likewise the use of the poncho and of the bag of a manufacture foreign to the culture is spreading; the agricultural implements are being enriched in the same manner as modern housewares; although the most widespread labor system in the parcialidad is that of the mingas, some already pay daily wages for work on their fields; the consumption of meat and panela is [756] quite frequent when there are coffee harvests. It is also interest- [554] ing that in the entire parcialidad there are only two té eu, who are not greatly respected, though they utilize the services of the té eu of Calderas.

[137] /367/ The "criolla" is the most widespread variety of sugar cane and the one which has been fully accepted by the natives, to the point of being regarded as their own, but other new

The graves were "large and deep," and chiefs were buried with some of their wives and with food and chicha (Ciesa, 1932, ch. 32). 764 766

In Colonial times, according to Del Castillo, the *Páez* removed a dying person from his hut but burned the house if anyone died in it. They had given up cremation, however, and buried in the earth, building a fence around the grave. Today, they cover the corpse with a white shroud and place it in the middle of the house with candles and flowers. Here it is watched over one night by relatives and friends, and then buried in a cemetery, where each relative tosses some earth into the grave saying, "Go with God." The mourners then bathe in the river without disrobing, and in the evening hold a banquet with chicha, sancocho (vegetable stew), meat, and tortillas. For 9 days a cross, a container of water, and a candle must be kept on the deceased's bed, the water being kept there so that the soul may drink. The relatives pray every night. A month after the death, a shaman purifies the house. The relatives and friends kill a pig, cut it lengthwise in two halves, one for the shaman, the other for the ceremonial banquet. The shaman sweeps the house floor with the pig's legs and some special branches, which are later buried. He chews coca, says some unintelligible words, and spits leaves on the house walls. The residents and guests then enter the house for the final proof of purification. The shaman, standing in the center of the house, gives a dog half a tortilla. If the dog does not die, he divides the other half among those present. He does the same with a piece of cooked meat, and if the dog still does not die, he blows chicha in all directions in the hut, and then divides what remains with those present. The hut and food are then declared clean The food is then eaten and much chicha drunk.

178 764 [763] 765 764 765 756 783

The modern burial customs of the *Moguex* differ somewhat from those of the *Páez*. The former dance for 9 days before and after burying a dead child. Because of the special ceremonies for adults, young Indians gather and prepare wood to be burned at their own funerals. When an adult dies, relatives and friends bring wood, food, and money to the house, and work for his family, who pray and weep for 3 days over the body. On the fourth day, they carry the body in a procession to the cemetery. Upon passing a house or inn where the deceased was accustomed to take chicha, they stop and drink. The burial procedure is like that of the *Páez*. Back at the house, they purify the objects used by the deceased over the fire, and leave his clothes and the hide he used as a bed at the river 9 days, after which they may be used. Meanwhile, the guests remain with the deceased's family, helping them. On the 9th day, they extinguish all lights and go to the nearest hill to mourn, while a shaman remains in the house to catch the soul of the deceased. He chews coca, spits it in all directions, and beats around with sticks to make the soul come out. Then he lights

764 184 [766] [535] [275] [783] 765 756 787 775 184

7:Hernández de Alba E-5½(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

756 787 775 784 the fire and turns on the lights, and everyone returns to examine a layer of fine ashes placed beforehand at the door. If the ashes shows the footprints of an angel, they believe that the soul is saved, but if the footprints are those of a bird, they believe that the soul is condemned to hell. In some cases they ascertain the fate of the soul by the kind of bird prints.

WARFARE

726 The *Páez* and *Moguex* were particularly warlike. Their attacks were staged in the morning, accompanied by yells and the sound of trumpets, horns, sea shells, and drums. They were generally armed with great spears or pikes, spear throwers, and slings. When fighting, [411] they would first hurl javelins with their spear throwers, then use their slings, the missiles for which they carried in a pouch, and finally pick up their spears or pikes for man-to-man struggle. They also formed closed squadrons, men with clubs alternating with spearmen. The former would step forward to wield their clubs, and then draw back to their positions for protection. Their best defense was on high ridges, from which they rolled large stones on their enemies. They perfected these natural defenses by cutting or camouflaging paths on which they prepared ambushes. They built trenches or pitfalls, which caused the attacking Spaniards much trouble.

628 The principal enemies of these peoples were the *Pijao* and the Span- [648] ish soldiers. The *Páez* remember the *Pijao* well, and call the stone [632] statues in their territory "portraits of Pijaos," and the painted tombs, [764] "houses of Pijaos." They are afraid to see the statues or visit the tombs.

To insult an enemy killed in war, they cut off his penis and placed it 727 on the road.

266 Some historians ascribe cannibalism to the *Páez* and the *Moguex*, which seems to have no basis in fact. They kept trophy heads and stuffed the skins of their enemies, but did not eat their foe. There are, however, numerous historical references which state that in the wars [175] against the Spaniards, the *Páez* left the bodies of dead enemies for the [648] *Pijao* to eat, and that they cremated their own dead or dried them [764] over a slow fire, which Friar Pedro Simón (1882–92, ch. 23) mistook [114] for a means for preserving the flesh so that it could be eaten later.

As war trophies, they kept enemy heads, which they preserved with 727 resins, and the skins of their entire bodies, which they filled with ashes [314] (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 3). They even preserved the heads of the Spaniards' horses. They carried these trophies to wars, meetings, and feasts.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

535 There is much dancing today. The sexes perform in couples or separately. Among the *Moguex*, some of the expert dancers are paid to dance with all couples in a sort of "bambuco." Dancing is always a part of *Páez* ceremonies for the death of children, baptismals, weddings, saint holidays, and meetings for collective work (mingas) held in the evening when people return from their plantations.

Dancing, as other social events, is subject to a special ceremony [585] or etiquette, strongly connected with religious beliefs. For example, in the wedding celebration, a prayer is first said in which the souls of [608] the dead are asked permission to dance, or "scrape the floor," as they call dancing. Only the godparents and the bride and groom may [527] dance at the beginning.

526 The *Páez* do not masquerade, but the *Moguex* always masquerade during the period of carnival preceding Holy Week.

[524] **Games.**—Games do not hold an important place among these peoples. The children amuse themselves by imitating the activities [857] of their elders. The only game recorded is simulated warfare, performed as a part of a rite in honor of the dead after a communal [769] feast. Two teams under their captains or caciques attacked and shot arrows at each other. Even if some contestants were killed or wounded, no one bore a grudge.

276 **Narcotics.**—The *Páez* and the *Moguex* chewed coca leaves mixed in the mouth with lime powder. Coca chewing is widespread among [756] men, but very little practiced by women. It is used especially by the shaman when he is practicing. In Colonial times the use of coca [177] spread to the rural population of Mestizos and Whites in Nariño, Cauca, and Huila.

273 **Alcoholic beverages.**—These Indians formerly made chicha of maize, [178] but today they ferment it with sugarcane molasses. They also have fermented sugarcane juice (guarapo), and a sort of rum (aguardiente). The latter is distilled clandestinely in their huts from guarapo and certain herbs fermented together in earthenware crocks. The Indians drink guarapo every day, but restrict the use of chicha and the stronger guarapo and aguardiente to market days, religious feast days, burials, weddings, mingas or meetings for work, and witchcraft [462] ceremonies. Guarapo and chicha are made by women, who sometimes chew the maize to increase its fermentation. They are stored in large, hollowed tree trunks and in large earthen jars, which are kept in a special place in the hut. There is never a lack of these beverages for home use and for welcoming an unexpected visitor.

RELIGION

175 The early Spaniards had little understanding of the religion of these 771 people. They reported that the Indians had but few idols and no temples or places of worship. Castillo mentions that they wor-

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

Castillo mentions that they wor— 175

shiped the sun, in whose honor they met and danced in places called "Itaqui-fmó," i. e., the place where the sun revealed its mysteries; and that they venerated a kind of culture hero called Guequiau. It was he who instructed shamans (mohanes). 771 776 [156]

This hero has a counterpart in the religious legend of Juan Tama, the Son of the Star. One day when the Morning Star shone very brightly, some Indians found a child in a gorge—ever since called the Gorge of the Star. This was Juan Tama. They picked him up and entrusted him to a woman to nurse, but he nursed so much that her milk dried up. He was given to another woman, whom he also made very weak. They then said that he could not be nursed by a woman, and gave him food. After he grew up, he married the female chief of Huila, Doña María Mendiguagua, and became chief of all the Indians. He instructed people and explained to them how to keep the land for themselves and not mix with White people. He pronounced them invincible and summoned a chief from Pitayó, called Calambás, whom he appointed his manager. Calambás rebelled,[18] but was defeated by Juan Tama, who pardoned him on account of his bravery, and conferred on him and his heirs the right to rule the *Páez* in Bitoncó. As death approached, Juan Tama went to the lake on the páramo of Moras and sank into the waters. He had come out of this place and returned to it, leaving no heirs.[19] 773 776

In the neighborhood of Bitoncó there is a rock with what appears to be human footprints. When the Indians pass it, they uncover their heads and say, "The Holy One came this way." Another remnant of the cult of Juan Tama is the custom that each member of the council spends one week at the shores of the lake before the end of his term to render an account to Juan Tama of his actions in office. Likewise, newly elected officers, as soon as they receive their staffs or insignia of authority, spend a week at the lake. They toss silver coins into it, wash their staffs, and pray for strength to rule well. This ceremony, performed with the greatest secrecy, is called the "curing of the staffs." Recently, however, the Indians have stopped "curing" their staffs in the lake, for they say that Juan Tama is angry, and whenever they approach the lake, it rains and storms badly. 776 823 [623] [621] [631] [821]

In the Guanacas section there was another sacred lagoon, called Tumbachí, which was recently drained because a snake that lived there attracted girls and kept them for a whole year, and then returned them when they were about to become mothers.

These tribes believed that the soul comes back to life. 775

Witchcraft was strongly developed among these Indians, who still believe in most of its practices, in spite of the catechization forced upon them by the missionaries. 754 177

[18] During the War of Independence, as well as in subsequent revolutions, the Indians of the family named Calambás distinguished themselves as warriors. [669]

[19] We are indebted to Father David Guasábit for this legend, told to him by an old Indian in Lame. [114]

7tHernández de Alba E-5,V(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

cluding vegetables, cornbread, eggs, and chicha, which he piles on the church floor, together with wax candles—one if the person does not have anyone in particular to remember, two for each deceased relative. When Mass begins, they throw flowers on the presbytery, as an offering to the souls of children. Afterward, they go to the cemetery in procession, and the souls of the departed come down to the empty church to take the food. Later, the people sell whatever the souls left or failed to eat. Everyone buys something, the captain's assistant collecting the money, while the constables of the council, raising their whips and shouting insults, prevent frauds in the general disorder. The money from the sale is given to the priest to pay him for the work in the rites. As each person leaves the church, he kisses a crucifix held by the sacristan at the church door. They kiss it once for each dead person whom they wish to remember and pay a cent each time. In addition to offering food at the church, the *Moguex* cover their tables at home with food, which is also intended for the souls of their dead, and at the end of 2 or 3 days they eat the food, saying that they are eating what the souls have left. 769 782 [624] [625]

Christmas and Holy Week are both great occasions for the Indians, who celebrate them with music and some of their ancient rites. Even though a priest may not be present, they conduct the rites in a manner that dates from Colonial days, when a *Páez* Indian named Undachí tried to combine Catholicism with their own religion. The man claimed to be able to see God, who used to come among the Indians and talk to him in his own *Páez* language. The new religion included a chapel, Mass, and candle and flower offerings. 796 771 177 [781]

Sickness.—Sickness was always thought to be caused by witchcraft or by someone's will. The evil force entered the body and made it impure; it had to be expelled or "cleansed," lest death ensue. If a delirious person told who was killing him, the individual mentioned was thought guilty; or, if, after a death, the face of the deceased should appear to somebody, the person was considered responsible. These beliefs are still in force today, and the Indians avoid the causes of sickness, such as having sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman, exposing the body to bad weather while there is a rainbow, and neglecting to bathe after a burial or to purify a house where a death occurred. 753 754 [787] 753 178

To fight disease they still have shamans. *Moguex* shamans use tobacco, coca, plants known as yacuna and chundar, and rum in their practice. After remaining shut up in a dark room for a night, they either confess their inability to cure the sick person or proceed to administer the traditional medicines. Sickness is conceptualized as an animal, which enters the stomach, head, or other part of the body. In former times, the shaman fasted with the sick person, abstaining from salt and fats and taking only coca and chicha. Today, he requires that only the patient fast. 756 [753] [785]

7:Hernández de Alba F 5,1(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

requires that only the patient fast. He spits coca juice on various parts of the sick man's body, and at night performs a ritual to "take out the dirt," i. e., the cause of the disease. In the course of his treatment, the shaman goes out to a hill to gather fireflies. He places them in a vessel and buries them, as they are supposed to be the harmful evil spirits sent by the person who caused the sickness. They are thought to turn against the person who sent them, whom the shaman identifies by his shadow, which he detects in the darkness of the night.

THE CULTURE OF THE PIJAO

Despite 48 expeditions prior to 1611 against the *Pijao*, one of the most fearsome and savage people in Colombia, the Spaniards learned little about their culture. Friar Pedro Simón collected the most details regarding their usages and customs.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Pijao food was very similar to that of the peoples previously described. The most common cultivated plants were maize, yuca, arracacha, beans, potatoes, and other roots and tubers; and many fruits, such as avocados (cura), papayas, plums, pineapples, and uchuva (a kind of cherry). The Indians got many fish from the rivers, especially the Magdalena River, and on the mountains they hunted pumas and "ocumares," a sort of anteater. They cultivated vegetables, but not fruit trees, in fields which the Spaniards always sought to destroy and burn.

HABITATIONS

Dwellings were spacious and high. They had walls of wood and mud (bahareque) whitewashed with clay or white earth, and were provided with furnishings, such as wooden chairs. The conquerors found the chief, Carlacá or Calacá, sitting in state in one of those chairs in his house. Some people lived temporarily under the shelter of trees and palms, perhaps only while farming.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The *Pijao* generally went entirely naked, hence the name "Pinao" (men of large sex) given by the Spaniards, a word which soon became "Pijao." They painted their bodies with the substance obtained from the seeds of the arnotto tree, and some groups wore small cotton blankets (mantas). Men and women protected their heads and long hair with hats, not unlike bonnets, woven of palm leaves. They adorned their bodies with many feathers in a manner which the Spaniards described as "quaint and odd liveries made of feathers in various and pleasant colors," and wore some gold ornaments. They

[pp. 957 ff Not processed]

757

757 MEDICAL THERAPY--extent of differentiation of medical from magical and mental therapy; home remedies and self-medication; resorting to a specialized practitioner (e.g., circumstances, arrangements, payments); diagnosis (e.g., examination for symptoms, diagnostic aids); consultations; therapeutic principles (e.g., counterirritation, homeopathy); therapeutic methods (e.g., bloodletting, administration of cathartics and emetics, medication); prescribed regimen (e.g., rest, diet, isolation); remedies for specific complaints (e.g., fevers, colds, toothache, indigestion, rheumatism, infectious diseases); etc. See also:

Ideas about anatomy and physiology 82
Obstetrics 84
Materia medica and pharmacology 278
Medical research 742
Public health and sanitation 744
Surgery 752

/143 cont./

224 mountain spirit. We met only a single young man of about 18
who goes hunting alone in the mountains once a week. He told
us that, in order to become a good hunter, one must first try to
[789] kill a bear (ěswiy). One must then rub its fat into the right
[237] lower-arm, which would give him the same powers as the bear.
[262] One is not permitted to eat this fat, however, because it would
[828] make him insane. After rubbing in the fat, the young hunter
[263] continued, one may not eat salt at any meal for a week. There
are no further rules and ceremonies of any kind to be observed.
[237] We learned, however, that one can also use bear fat as a heal-
[752] ing remedy, and, to be sure, for bone fractures or sprains one
[757] must rub the affected part with bear fat, whereupon the injured
limb will heal immediately and will become considerably
224 stronger than ever before. For stalking he wears on his head a
292 cap made of the skin of a reddish-blond hairy monkey (mǒno),
[825] which in the first place protects him from the thorns of the
bushes, but which is also supposed to facilitate creeping up on
[439] game. He sold it to us for two pesos without hesitation, since,
[126] as he said, he was perfectly capable of shooting another monkey
224 for himself. He was not afraid of the gělyǒmp spirit, but the
776 other men were, for gělyǒmp screams and makes a noise when
human beings enter his area in the mountains, so that they be-
come quite confused and go astray. The mountain spirit cannot
do anything to several men together, however, since he could
make as much noise as he pleased, but they would not let them-
224 selves be diverted. Of course, the men, even if there are ever so
776 many of them, must not offend the mountain spirit or provoke
515 him unnecessarily, but rather must avoid everything that gělyǒmp
783 does not like. /144/ For instance, he hates everything impure
[296] and filthy. Hence the men always only go hunting well washed;
[824] they even wash the entire body, and the ruana, too. In addition,
they rub themselves with the cleansing herbs šu and šayuts, which
they obtain from the shaman, in order to be really altogether
[761] clean in a physical and ritual sense. But if someone has taken
part in a burial or has merely seen a funeral procession close by,
he has picked up a good deal of "pest" from the dead and must
have himself specially purified by the
shaman before hunting.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

164 cient testimony, they have their share of physical ailments. Besides itch (*lel*), tumors of several kinds (*lel-ack*, tonsilitis; *kui*, tumor in the groin), they have original names for smallpox (*kuzgui*), which I was told often rages among them, for diarrhœa (*u-tsitl*), dysentery (*mcugui*), and intermittent or malarial fevers (*ya-ya-gui* in the ancient dialect, *kui-kui-ai* in that spoken at the present day).

757 114 Of the practices and superstitions made use of in the cure of these diseases I could gain no information, but it is very probable that the Paez still have their own medicine-men.

Clothing. Personal Adornment

291 286 [231] At present the wool obtained from the numerous sheep kept by the Paez Indians plays the most important part in the clothing of both sexes. I cannot find any direct information on the fabrics used before the introduction of sheep by the Spaniards, [174 439] but it is most likely that the Paez obtained cotton from the Indians of the Cauca and Magdalena plains, the cultivation and the manufacture of which into thread must have formed one of the principal industries in the latter. [192 174] I have already referred to the great number of clay spindle-whorls found in the graves and on old dwelling sites throughout the Cauca valley. Judging by these we may feel sure that the former inhabitants were great spinners. On the other hand, the present Paez Indians still weave most of their own clothing, and there is no reason why they should not have done so formerly.

291 [177] The dress of the men consists of a pair of short trousers (*hiii*), that are evidently a concession to modern civilization. These are made of raw cotton cloth, or of imported fabrics, and reach from the waist to about the knees. Over the shoulders is worn a broad rectangular piece of white woolen homespun cloth, split in the middle in the form of a poncho so as to allow the head to pass through, and hanging free front and back. This is called *tuud-atl*, i. e., 'the cloth that binds, or covers.' It is generally worn next to the skin, but sometimes a light cotton shirt, called *atl-petl*, is first put on. Over the *tuud-atl* they carry on their left [276] side, hanging by straps that pass over the right shoulder, the coca

/237 cont./

753 cramps in the body, and furthermore that sorcerers see it in the
776 form of a turkey impelled to peck people.
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It seems obvious that what the Indians call Echimbe (red
753 Echi) or candelilla fina /thin glowworm/ is a firefly /luciérnaga/
825 somewhat difficult to capture and extremely fierce. They differentiate it perfectly well from the fire beetle /cocuyos (cucuyos)/. They say that it is an animal that God produced in
[755] order to harm the Christians. The curers call them and catch them in their Kachí, while other Indians, chewing coca, catch them anywhere and bring them to the curer to be buried.
[774] They believe that their fierceness is due to the fact that the
[829] souls of the Pijao are incarnated in them.

753 The symptoms of the sting of Echi are vague and imprecise and refer solely to bodily pains.

The symptoms of Pijao "dirt" are recognized by respiratory difficulties.

164 They differentiate perfectly well the venereal diseases,
● 757 which seem to be quite widespread in the acculturated parcialidades. In Calderas they are said to have spread widely among both sexes, without respect to age, and to have been treated with copper sulphate, for the remedies of the Indians were of no use. In Santa Rosa antibiotics are used. A curer in that parcialidad maintains that those diseases were brought from La Plata by wandering women and that it befell him to treat two cases: one was serious and the patient died; the second, not very advanced, he treated with yukchacha, montaña barbasco, and fisa (bitopat or bodoquero). He administered the juice for six days and subjected the patient to a diet of chicken exclusively.

755 Remedies. The remedies used by the Paez curer are
757 vegetal. As a rule they are prescribed in combination. Thus:
/238/ To clean away the ptans:

[783] Yacuma blanca, ul ñiñ, ñundayuskei, shugues, chandur, guepeyuskey, chayuts.

/238 cont./

755 For the sting of Kallumb:

757 Chandur, ñushamuenda, white and yellow guapeshú, nica, tobacco, chayuts.

For the sting of Echi:

Tatsé, ul ñiñ, yacuma blanca, shugues, tayuskei, siempre viva, shulape, shu, shupeñiñ.

For the sting of Rainbow:

Chandur, ñushamuanda, black yacuma, ul ñiñ, chayuts.

All the above remedies are cooling and serve to allay fever.

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/239 cont./

Native Name	Spanish Name	Scientific Name	Use
Limoncillo	Limoncillo	Cymbopógon citrátus.	Infusion with panela and aguardiente against coldness for a woman in childbirth. Also used against diarrhea.
Nica	?	?	For combatting ptans. For hair of ghost.
/240/ Ñundayuskei	Pateperro	?	Against ptans. The juice for diarrhea; with tobacco, for stomach-ache. The water from this for toothache; spit out half the candle /candela/ to help allay the illness.
Shu*	?	Sphagnum sp.	For combatting ptans.
Shugués*	?	Peperomia sp.	For cleaning away ptans.

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/240 cont./

Native Name	Spanish Name	Scientific Name	Use
Shulape	?	?	Against echi and for coughing.
Shupeñiñ*	?	Peperomia sp.	Echi and whooping cough.
Siempreviva		?	Tied to the head it allays pain.
Muahi	Tabaco	Nicotiana tabacum L.	With coca, it makes the "signs" circulate. Crushed, it checks hemorrhages. For combatting ptans.
Tap.	?	?	See Bichach.
Tatsé	?	?	For coughing; to restrain the pulse (us) when a child is frightened. Against ptans.
Tayuskei*		Peperomia sp.	For infections of the umbilicus. Whooping cough.

* /251 cont./

756 554 In any case, "the curers have something and are kind," said one informant. They are respected, and at entertainments they are attended to in the room where important people (síndico, capitán, gobernador, eminent old people) are received, and they are served on larger plates.

Prestige is an advantage of the curer. It is not unusual for the curer to command more devotion than the capitán of the Parcialidad.

All the curers claim to be happy in their profession, and many are grateful to their teacher for his instruction. The advantage of being a curer is to be waited on by people, to be singled out from among the others, and also to be pursued for his knowledge, says one Calderun curer. Everyone seeks him out as a good curer; many of them are regarded as priests, for people come daily to their homes to look for them. They have more power than other people.

The curer has a high social status by virtue of his functions. But for no reason other than these functions. He commands respect and recognition for services rendered. No one can treat him badly. If during a drinking bout he is offended in some way, on the following day they hasten to make amends.

* 756 157 156 /252/ Psychological characteristics of the Té eu. The curers vary in age from 30 to 70 years old. As a rule, they have eyes deeply set in the orbital sockets, a penetrating gaze, a readiness to converse and laugh, a gentle manner, not at all aggressive; they are temperate and show much self-control and sureness in their movements.

A characteristic motor habit: seated on a very low log, they give the impression of squatting; their arms rest on their knees and with their hands they stroke their temples or chin. This motor habit is prevalent among Paez men.

[177] [291] [757] Their clothing is typically Paez; they do not favor change, although they are friendly enough with whites. They always advise their patients not to use the remedies of the whites or they will die.

/322 cont./

231 arracacha. Dogs, cats, and pigs live, the first on kitchen refuse, the second by hunting mice, and the last on grasses and roots from the thickets. They are not familiar with breeds of cattle, hogs, and sheep. Only the guinea pig is regarded as American, while the other animals are said to be genuinely Spanish.

[236] Sheep seem to have emotional value because they provide the wool for people's clothing. They are kept with affection and rarely sold or eaten.

Dogs also seem to have emotional value because of being the guardian of the houses and fields. In addition, they have symbolic value: they are the iron curtain, the protective barrier against the dark memory of the Pijao. If the latter were to reappear again, the natives argue, they would not be able to approach /323/ the houses, because dogs live there, which would inspire fear in the Pijao, for they are so dangerous for them that mere contact with their footprints or their hair would kill them. In the legends and tales there is frequent reference to these de-
[552] fensive concepts. The dogs have special names: Guagás (white),
[685] kuchi (black), salgento, pitán, policía. Dogs that eat sheep are invariably killed with a shotgun without previous consultation with the owner.

[262] Guinea pigs are the favorite food of children. They kill
[252] them by strangling them and eat them boiled. These animals are
[782] not used as offerings to the Duende. Nor do they serve as presents
[755] for friends or relatives. They are also used to combat mental illness by covering the patient's forehead with the entrails of the still living animal.

235 They "cuidan" /show special attention/ to favorite persons
[554] with chickens and eggs. They have mingas with turkeys. Eggs
[262] are consumed, but in general they are sold.
[432] They use the honey and the wax from the hives of wild bees.
222 The honey, they say, is good for persons who suffer from "cold."
237 With the wax they soften hide lassos, and they occasionally use it
[757] for illumination. Domestic hives do not exist.

231 Wild animals, such as parrots, chicaos /a kind of bird/, squirrels, and micos, are never domesticated.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5, ✓ (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

The *Páez* family is completely under the authority of the father, whose wife and children obey him implicitly and may be punished by him. Nonetheless, the father must obtain his wife's permission to sell or exchange goods she produced, such as bags for coca, sashes, etc. Precise etiquette is maintained between fathers and godfathers (compadres). Whenever a man meets his father or his godfather, he must kneel to receive his blessing. The fathers and godfathers must embrace whenever they meet. In one case a young man was the godfather of his father's new son by another wife, so that in meeting his father the young man had to kneel bareheaded, and then stand with his hat on and embrace his father as a godparent. The father did not call him "son" but "compadre." 594 [425] 608 576

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—A very old custom among these peoples is that at childbirth the mother should retire to a special house or go to the mountains. If she was delivered in the home, she and the baby were bathed, and then the family left the hut and built a new one elsewhere. 844

Today both the *Moguex* and *Páez* have a special hut for childbirth. The day after the child is born, the mother is placed in a hole up to her head and bathed with an infusion of leaves of "moquita," after which she washes the clothes and objects worn during delivery. She then returns to work and lives again at home. In the special hut, a *Páez* woman is assisted in childbirth by another woman, or, as a last resort, by her husband, who must bathe immediately afterward. Two days later, the mother circumcises her son or destroys the virginity of her daughter. Four or five days after the birth and after the first bath, the father takes the child to the sacristan of the community for baptism with water, and then returns it to the mother. The afterbirth must be buried or burned at the place of the birth. About 15 days later, the mother takes a bath and washes her child and her clothes and objects, and returns home. Later, the child is baptized with oil in the church by the priest with the godparents present. This is an occasion for general dancing and drunkenness. 846 [757] [343] [844] [304] [851] [844] [851] [608]

Puberty.—At puberty a girl was formerly taken by her parents to a hill, placed in a hole, and bathed. Each Indian then took her a gift. Pittier de Fábrega (1907) notes that at a later period a girl's puberty was celebrated with the "Itsa-kó" dance, the girl, bathed with chicha, remaining in the hole. Today, a woman must retire during her menstrual periods to a special hut, where other women bring her food and build a fire to warm her. Afterward, she bathes, washes her clothes and objects, and then returns home. 881 [431] [535] 841 343

Men, until recently, underwent a sort of initiation, in which they were taken to the shores of the sacred lagoon of Juan Tama or to the 881

848 /178/ the cabildo until she names the father of her child. If he
623 is an unmarried young man, he must marry the girl. A married man, however, is beaten by the cabildo. He does not need to make support payments. It is different if a married man has no
842 children. In this case the wife is regarded in principle as the one
848 at fault. He may then have a child by an unmarried girl without
837 being punished. He simply explains to the cabildo that he has a
[623] great deal of property and that he therefore needs children whom he cannot have by his wife. To the mother of his natural child he gives a cow, clothing, and a pretty belt, and she then surrenders her child to the lawful wife of the father of her child. He may
[554] do this several times until he has enough children. This is not permitted, however, for a poor man without possessions, it was explained to me, for "why does he need children?"

844 At the time of menstruation and also at the birth of a child
841 the woman stays in a special small hut (dúyat). She receives her
[343] food either from her mother, sister, or a neighbor woman from a house in which several women live. This woman at the same time cooks for the members of the family of the menstruating woman. The members of the family of the woman who is temporarily cooking receive their meals from another female member of her family. The woman who takes care of the food also fetches the wood for the fire necessary for warmth in the dúyat. Female inhabitants of farms or of field huts used for only a few months, which have no
[758] dúyat, go to a neighboring or related family for this period. In
[602] case the housewife becomes ill, she moves into the house of one of her sisters or female relatives, where she is nursed. The male relatives of the sick woman must then likewise go to the house of this relative to eat.

614 Besides the patrilineal nuclear families, no recognized patrilineal kin-groups /Sippen/ are known among the Paez, but all who bear the same family name feel related and may not marry, even though they are not knowingly -- this knowledge goes back only two generations -- related. Our interpreter, Victoriano Piñakuẽ, for example, may not only not marry any girls with the patronymic Piñakuẽ, but also no girls whose mothers are named Piñakuẽ. Conditions are particularly difficult among the

/185 cont./ In any
844 case, the birth, which is always regarded as very dangerous, takes
[343] place there. As a matter of principle, a midwife (ndõsoknãs) is
[759] fetched. The latter, as the name implies, is not a shaman. She has nothing to do with shamanistic functions, but is qualified only for births or external injuries, such as broken bones or flesh wounds.

The midwife may not be an old woman. She is fetched before the birth by the husband of the pregnant woman and always comes. Several times I asked whether in an emergency a man or the mother could help, but it was always said that the midwife
[465] always comes, no matter how busy she is. For her assistance she receives only her meals, unless complications arise. In this case she receives wool or natural produce as remuneration for her help.

In principle, only the midwife and the woman in labor are in the dũyat. The latter is in a squatting position. With her hands she holds onto a belt that is slung around the roof beam of the dũyat. If there is no belt, the husband may also be present, and he then embraces his wife from behind and holds her in such a way that she is likewise in a squatting position. The midwife
845 receives the child. If its position is not normal, for example, in
844 case of a breech position of the child, she turns the child so that the head lies downward. If the child is still not born, the mother must die -- as was explained to us -- for then nothing further can be done. This only rarely happens, however.

844 The midwife brings along her medicinal herbs, with which she rubs the body of the woman in labor. The newborn child is first washed with cold water and then wrapped in a piece of ruana
[412] and given to the mother. The severing of the umbilical cord is not done with the knife or the scissors, but rather, after the umbili-
[824] cal cord (kolwát) is tied beforehand with a homespun wool thread, with the sharp-edged cane of a type of reed. The father may see his child immediately after birth; the mother, however, stays with the child approximately two weeks longer in the dũyat. The afterbirth (duyáha), together with the umbilical cord, is buried near the menstruation house. The father digs the hole for this
[856] purpose, and the mother throws both into it. The hole must not be too shallow, for otherwise the dogs would dig them out, but not too deep either, for then the child would not get its teeth until very late and only with great difficulty,

/117 cont./

342 Anyone may build himself a house of whatever size he
761 wishes on his own land in the mountains, as well as on the above-
783 mentioned community land in the valley, but he must first ask
[756] the shaman acting for him whether any bones of the Pijao are in
the ground on the piece of land in mind. As comes out in the
[773] myths, the Pijao in ancient times were the frightful and militarily
[628] cleverer enemies of the Paez. Their bones (eč ndyít Pijao) contain
761 "pest." This pest is a very complex and significant concept
783 among the Paez (cf. under "Religion" /see p. 191/), and the
123 pest of the Pijao bones is capable of killing the people living
above them. How very much our interpreter Victoriano, one of the most enlightened Paez, was affected by this fear came out when he worked with us in the archeological park in San Andrés. For lack of space he had to sleep in the tool room, where, however, he felt very comfortable and, with a camp bed and mattress, had built himself probably the best bed of his life. One day we opened a large prehistoric grave-chamber, which contained more than 80 bone-urns with the remains of cremations. Since we could not accommodate such a large number of urns in our living room, which at the same time served as our museum, we had to put a number of them in the tool room. I left the skeletal remains in several of them in order to save them for a later examination. Weeping, Victoriano begged me please not to put in his tool room any urns containing bones, because the bones might have come from the Pijao, who would surely kill him. Even the washed and cleaned urns, he assured us, contained very much "pest," so that at the next opportunity he wanted to go to Calderas and have himself "purified" by his home shaman. He failed to do this, and when after a few days he had a toothache, he traced this back to the action of the pest from the burial urns previously filled with bones.

342 /118/ The shaman's testing of the ground proposed as the
761 building site is not done by digging or sampling the ground;
783 rather, the one who wishes to build goes to the house of the shaman
756 in the evening with coca, tobacco, and brandy, tells him of his
787 wish, and then both sit down on the ground next to each other

/118 cont./

342 and begin to chew coca and to drink brandy to-
761/ gether. After a while the shaman ascertains through signs in
789 his arms or legs whether bones of the Pijao are in the ground.
756 If this is not the case, the building may be started; otherwise
787 the man must look for another building site. After the building
is finished, a further ceremony is performed (see under "Religion"
342 /see p. 205/), and then the same shaman fastens special herbs
752 to the roof to prevent the eč or gelyómp spirit, hostile to man,
789 from entering the house from there.

Houses are built only by men, by fathers of families.
342 One man alone, however, is not in a position to do this. At
476 least in the erection of the house posts he is helped by his brothers,
[462] as well as by other men and friends who have nothing else to
do anyway on these days and receive chicha and something to
342 eat for their assistance. The building material costs nothing,
273 to be sure, but the builder must furnish a substantial amount of
476 chicha, for which planning must be begun in plenty of time, two
or three years beforehand, by the planting of sufficient sugar
cane. This is the task of the married son who is still living in
[594] his father's house this long. To make the chicha he also still
[249] needs the sugar mill of his father, upon whose consent and help,
therefore, much depends. According to the amount of chicha
[461] that is available, the building of the house thus lasts two to six
months, depending on whether only five or 15 men participate.

342 The most important thing in the construction of the house
335 is the erection of the wooden frame (Ills. 161 to 164 /see p.272 /),
[476] which always requires several men who bring in the trees, which
are superficially smoothed with the machete, but not freed of
bark. The master of the house is able to make the walls by
[462] himself in an emergency. The covering of the roof, too, like the
entire house construction, is men's work, but the woman of the
house may hand up the sugar-cane leaves for the roofing. First
the vertical corner and side posts of the outer walls (yátšínda) are
erected, then the outer beams lying horizontally on the side
posts to support the roof (yátpopānt) are laid on, and, as the third
step in the work, the horizontal crossbeams (bīkas) are fastened at

/143 cont./

224 mountain spirit. We met only a single young man of about 18
who goes hunting alone in the mountains once a week. He told
us that, in order to become a good hunter, one must first try to
[789] kill a bear (éšwiy). One must then rub its fat into the right
[237] lower-arm, which would give him the same powers as the bear.
[262] One is not permitted to eat this fat, however, because it would
[828] make him insane. After rubbing in the fat, the young hunter
[263] continued, one may not eat salt at any meal for a week. There
are no further rules and ceremonies of any kind to be observed.
[237] We learned, however, that one can also use bear fat as a heal-
[752] ing remedy, and, to be sure, for bone fractures or sprains one
[757] must rub the affected part with bear fat, whereupon the injured
limb will heal immediately and will become considerably
224 stronger than ever before. For stalking he wears on his head a
292 cap made of the skin of a reddish-blond hairy monkey (móno),
[825] which in the first place protects him from the thorns of the
bushes, but which is also supposed to facilitate creeping up on
[439] game. He sold it to us for two pesos without hesitation, since,
[126] as he said, he was perfectly capable of shooting another monkey
224 for himself. He was not afraid of the gělyómp spirit, but the
776 other men were, for gělyómp screams and makes a noise when
human beings enter his area in the mountains, so that they be-
come quite confused and go astray. The mountain spirit cannot
do anything to several men together, however, since he could
make as much noise as he pleased, but they would not let them-
224 selves be diverted. Of course, the men, even if there are ever so
776 many of them, must not offend the mountain spirit or provoke
515 him unnecessarily, but rather must avoid everything that gělyómp
783 does not like. /144/ For instance, he hates everything impure
[296] and filthy. Hence the men always only go hunting well washed;
[824] they even wash the entire body, and the ruana, too. In addition,
they rub themselves with the cleansing herbs šu and šayuts, which
they obtain from the shaman, in order to be really altogether
[761] clean in a physical and ritual sense. But if someone has taken
part in a burial or has merely seen a funeral procession close by,
he has picked up a good deal of "pest" from the dead and must
have himself specially purified by the shaman before hunting.

/192 cont./

581 around the hearth fire, and this must be stirred and provided with
462 wood every two hours. This is the task of the wife, who, there-
513 fore, sleeps next to the fire. Throughout practically her whole life, she is never able to sleep all through the night.

583 If during the trial year the bride does not meet the demands of the man, if she either cannot cook or is lazy or /193/ does not like to get up in the morning, he sends her back to her father. Since no wedding celebration has taken place, sending back the girl leads to no resentment of any kind. It does, however, if children have resulted from the trial marriage and the young man
[684 nevertheless changes his mind. In this case, to be sure, nothing
[623] can be changed with regard to his decision -- after all, he has not yet been officially married -- but, since such an action is condemned, he is beaten by the cabildo. He may then begin a
583 new trial marriage with another girl. The children of the previ-
848 ous trial marriage (they are designated by the Paez with the
[557] Spanish term hijo natural) are given the name of the mother. There are not a few such "natural children." The mothers, however, are not scorned or judged harshly on that account and do not by any means have poorer prospects for a subsequent marriage. The children are not adopted in case of a subsequent marriage by the
[761] mother and keep their mother's name. It is believed, however,
[851] that such "natural children" will soon die. They are not baptized, since the priest baptizes only legitimate children, or else demands such a large sum for the baptism of an illegitimate child that the unmarried mother cannot raise it.

585 The actual wedding celebration takes place after the period
[178] of the trial marriage. Today the prior marriage service by the Catholic priest in the church is usually combined with this wedding celebration. The money for this, as for the expenses of the wedding celebration, must be raised by the young man himself.
[435] This takes him many months. First of all, besides the cost of ten pesos for the marriage service, he must have collected the money for an ox, then prepare chicha in sufficient quantities, for which sugar cane is milled for about a month, and also provide for the rest of the food. In general his father or brothers do not

/195 cont./

d) Death

761 According to the belief of the Paez, death occurs chiefly
776 through the action of the evil shamans (nyic) or the evil spirits
165 ec, tus, and gĕlyómp (see "Religion" /see pp. 191ff./). Included
164 here also is the not infrequent cause of death through consumption.
[262] Causes of death of children are chiefly whooping cough, as well as stomach and intestinal disorders, the latter brought about by a
[762] diet very unsuitable for children. Suicide is completely unknown.

764 The death of a member of the community is passed on from
[763] man to man by members of the family and neighbors. There is
[203] no public mourning or lamentation; upon the death of small
[765] children, people act as though they were glad, since the children
[192] are now "little angels." (Among the colonists, as well as among the Paez, the Spanish word "angelito" is used.) In former times it was customary to abandon the house when death occurred and to leave the deceased and some food in it (Castillo i Orosco, p. IX).

764 The manner of burial is the same for men, women, and
184 children; there are no social differences. A few customs in other Paez communities, however, differ from those of the Calderun. Therefore the burial of the dead in Calderas will be described first.

[177] For burial the deceased is dressed if possible in purchased,
[291] that is, "white" clothing, even if he was the poorest of the poor and had never worn such clothing. For this reason the relatives incur considerable expense, which often cannot be paid for a long time. Burial takes place the day after death. Only the feet of the deceased are washed. This work, as well as dressing the deceased, may be done by relatives or even by outsiders; they must, /196/ however, always be men, even in the case of female deceased persons. The body is taken by two men on a bier made of two tree trunks to the graveyard next to the church, where two other men, usually relatives, have already dug the grave. The latter is trapezoid-shaped, a good shoulder's breadth at head height and narrower at the foot end. Its length is determined by the size of the deceased. The direction of the grave is completely arbitrary.

/271 cont./

753 caused by the spirits eč, tũs, or gělyómp, or general emanations
783 of impurity, of "pest" (uwẽ). Such reasons for catching pest, and
[754] thereby being afflicted with sickness, result largely from neglecting
[764] the prescribed shamanistic purifications. These must take place after a burial or when someone has merely seen a funeral proces-
753 sion or entered a house in which there is a corpse. The prohibitions
783 surrounding a woman giving birth or menstruating are just as strict.
841 If she does not retire to the menstruation hut at the proper time,
[844] if she cohabits during these days or neglects to take the subsequent bath after menstruation and birth, the consequences are equally
[264] grave. Pest befalls a man if he accepts food from a menstruating
753 woman. The same consequences befall the one who in housebuild-
783 ing or during the first harvest does not have the proper ceremonies
756 performed by the shaman.
342

Most people die as the result of the evil influence of the
754 nyiç, the evil sorcerers. The latter -- it is firmly believed --
783
● 761 are able to kill individual persons as well as to send pest to entire villages. Their power of evil is regarded as almost unlimited. Besides being bewitched by a nyiç, there are three other possibili-
753 ties for a person to become ill or to die. These causes are
761 gělyómp, tũs, and eč. All three are very complex conceptions
776 and may be translated roughly as "mountain spirit," "rainbow," and "firefly," respectively, although the Paez conception and the
[756] translation are not completely identical. The teyu knows the cause of the illness immediately from his signs, the rest of the people, however, usually only after the death of the sick person. And, to be sure, one recognizes the tũs as the cause of illness by the fact /272/ that the corpse lies there with a bent limb (arm or leg), whereas in the case of ec as the cause of death, blood flows from the mouth or nose. It is also possible that both together, tũs and eč, might bring death to the person, for example, if the person lies there bent and blood flows from the mouth or nose.

776 The gělyómp spirit lives chiefly in the mountains, but also in the valley, on the banks of brooks or rivers. He likes to lead wanderers astray in the mountains by making noise and screaming up there; at night one hears his screams -- like those of a human

/272 cont./

776 being -- in the valley, too, near the village. He is a raging foe
[784] of everything dirty. A hunter who has not washed himself and his ruana before hunting or whose wife is in the menstruation hut at the time will be punished by him. He has the figure of a human being, sometimes that of a man, but sometimes, too, that of a woman or a child. Gĕlyómp, as well as tũs and eč, can give a
776 person pest so that he will die. One can catch pest by himself
783 everywhere and on all occasions, no matter whether he is awake or
753 asleep. The pest of the three spirits mentioned is primarily caused by stings that not only enter the body, but also the soul. In the spot where they have entered the body they leave punctures that are red in color in the case of gĕlyómp, blue in the case of tũs, and black in the case of eč. The sicknesses caused by gĕlyómp manifest themselves by general pain caused by the penetration of one of his hairs. This happens in the following manner: Someone is walking along a path and suddenly feels a stinging pain in his arm or some other part of his body, like the prick of a pin. Although
[755] he cannot discover a puncture, the pain remains. The person therefore goes to the teyu, and he is able to remove the cause of the pain by rubbing his herbs over the affected spot until he re-
• [761] moves from it a black hair ten to 15 centimeters long. This hair is from the gĕlyómp, and if the shaman had not removed it, the one
[759] afflicted by it would have had to die. To a certain extent one can protect himself from the hairs of the mountain spirit if, when returning home from a walk over the mountains or a night's march, he passes a firebrand over the feet and body, in order to burn off any hair of the gĕlyómp that might have penetrated.

776 Tũs, the "rainbow," lives on the banks of watercourses and
753 especially at springs. There are many tũs, and, to be sure, wherever there is water. There are tũs as large as a snake, colored red and yellow, and others only the size of a finger. People recognize sicknesses /273/ of the tũs by the fact that the afflicted one is covered all over with pimples and has to scratch himself constantly.
[821] If it rains when the sun is shining, tũs goes from the bank of the river, where he lives, into the sky and from there back again to earth in a semicircle. The rainbow is especially dangerous for children.

/273 cont./

776 If it rains when the sun is shining, they may not leave the house,
753 for otherwise they become afflicted with head maladies. These
821 are not headaches, but wounds such as would be inflicted by a
[756] machete. The teyu, however, have remedies to make the rain-
[789] bow disappear, so that children may go outside again.

776 Eč, the third of the aforementioned causes of sickness and
[753] death, is the most unpleasant and the most dangerous, since eč
[761] kills the most people. Eč lives in the earth; no man has seen
[787] him, apart from a few shamans. They need not enter into the
earth, however, to see him; rather, eč himself comes if a teyu
[825] calls him. He looks like a human being. Eč is also the name
for fireflies, which are regarded as the messengers that he sends
out to bring "pest" to human beings. People therefore kill fire-
776 flies if they are able to catch them. Eč is not angry, however,
782 if the people kill his messengers, if only he always gets enough
offerings. For this reason people give eč a dram-glass full of
brandy from every bottle, that is, they pour this amount on the
ground; likewise eč gets his share of every animal killed (chicken,
756 pig, cow, etc.). People ask their teyu which parts of the animal
776 eč demands and which ones they should offer him. If people
782 killed and ate an animal without offering eč any of it, he would
[761] in return kill a child of this family. If the father then comes to
the teyu and asks why his child died, he -- who, of course, knows
that the man slaughtered a pig without giving eč anything -- tells
him that this is the punishment of eč. That very rarely happens,
however; rather, the man gives the shaman the parts of the ani-
mal desired by eč, for instance, the liver, entrails, or meat, and
he gives them to eč, bringing them at night to the place desired
[787] by him. Moreover, as a precaution people give eč herbs and
brandy as the shaman advises, in accordance with the signs which
he has received from eč.

774 If the penetration of pest into the body of a person is the
776 cause of an illness that may result in death, this unfortunate out-
753 come is all the more probable if one of the three spirits or a nyic
has stolen a human soul. I was given differing /274/ statements
about such a case: First of all, there are two words for soul, ũns

/274 cont./

554 herbs into their drinking-water canal. Now he had given it up,
754 however. To us he seemed to be merely an idle talker; he did
756 not give the impression of actually having received signs or of being serious about the matter, but rather it seemed as though he had merely learned a little by watching his father /275/ and was doing it mechanically without any inner concern. Francisco, too, had a father and grandfather as shaman predecessors. He was likewise rather ignorant, but apparently meant well. He did his best to help people.

756 Martin Chukue was completely absorbed by his calling and
753 duty, and he was well informed, serious, and dignified in his
● 761 shamanistic work. When the capitan of Calderas died, he was the shaman authorized to act for his residence, and he also conducted the purification ceremony after his burial. Martin explained the cause of death of the capitan as follows: The capitan had to die because the tũs had stolen the taff soul of the capitan. The capitan died with his left leg drawn up. He was very thin when he died, because he had not eaten anything for a long time, for
[755] his taff soul had been stolen five years ago. At that time the sick man began feeling pain, and during the entire time he, Martin, had fought with the tũs, offered him medicines, and tried to appease him.

775 When the ũns soul (ũns also means "heart"!) leaves the body,
[774] then the person is ultimately dead. And, to be sure, ũns leaves
[827] the body by way of the upper arms, lower arms, finger tips. Shortly before it leaves the person, one may still perceive it very faintly as a pulse beat, and when the pulse beat ceases altogether, the ũns has left the body and immediately goes to heaven. No one could tell me exactly in what form it goes to heaven. In heaven, however, it again has the normal human appearance.
[755] When children are ill, wool threads are put around their wrists
[774] and ankles and drawn tightly in order to prevent the escape of the ũns, or at least to make it more difficult.

* /303 cont./
539 went past the tree. The head walked on and on, and since it could not find the man anywhere, it turned back and found the scent of the man at the foot of the tree. It looked up and saw the man sitting in the highest tip of the tree. The head was unable to climb the tree, however, and in order to reach the man, it went back a little and leaped into the air. But it still could not quite reach the man and fell down to the ground again. Then it tried again and again, more than /304/ a hundred times, but it could never reach the man because he was sitting too high. Then the head became frightfully tired from its many vain attempts, and since it had to walk far to reach home, it had to leave the man whom it wanted to kill and return so as not to meet human beings by day. Then the Palma man climbed down from his tree and was able to reach home safely.

14. The White Dog

* 539 781 794 The father of Victoriano went to Belalcázar one Saturday, where he became drunk. At two o'clock at night he set out on the way back. On the way he saw a white dog that was very thin. The father thought that it was a regular dog, but it was not a dog at all, but rather the taff soul of a human being. Suddenly this dog turned into a human being, very thin and lean in shape, whose heart hung out of the body so that it dangled in front of the chest. Then the father gave the lean dog a blow with his traveler's staff, but it did not hit the dog. The father became frightened at this and took to his heels. But the lean man kept running after him, so that the father, out of fear, became short of breath and almost died. Then the father pretended to be very stupid and simply sat down beside the road, laid his hands on his knees, and went to sleep. The lean man then left him. When the father awoke in the morning, he looked for the place where he had first met the lean dog, but he found only a bush with white blossoms. The father was convinced, however, that he had met a taff.

484 784 794 (No Paez customarily goes long distances at night, because the taff souls are abroad at night. And if a taff meets a human being, ● 761 it immediately calls together a great many other taff ("about 50") and they bring about the death of the person, because the one concerned kills himself out of fright.)

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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the drum-dance, in which the women sang to the accompaniment of a drum; *vito-ko*, or *fits-ko*, the stick-dance, etc. 535

In addition to the shells and reeds, the Indians also accompanied their dances with a kind of drum (*kimb*), consisting of a long wooden trough hung by its extremities; and the *tsoòts*, or rattle, a calabash containing small stones or hard canna seeds and provided with a handle. 535 534

According to Castillo the Paez had also other deities, corresponding somewhat to the lares of the ancient Latins, carved images of which were often found in the houses. The *dizi*, who were at one time priests, sorcerers, and medicine-men, lived in retirement and were considered as the keepers of the doctrines of a traditional civilizer of the nation, called *Guckian*. So strong was their influence in Castillo's time that he complains rather bitterly about it, and proceeds to explain how the true God, wishing to free the Paez from such a devilish guide, simply employed a subterfuge to drown him in the Paez river, together with two of his apostles! 776 778 [79]

The belief in a future existence is indicated, as Uricoechea relates, by the fact that the Indians never molested white dogs, in order that they might not be bitten by them at the doors of the house beyond the grave. 825 795

There were birds and other signs of good or of evil omen. A woman would never step over a leather rope stretched on the ground, but would lift it up and pass beneath. During the construction of bridges, two men constantly beat the waters to frighten away evil spirits. The death of a person was often attributed to witchcraft, and he whose face bore some likeness to that of the dead person was often regarded as the culprit, provided the patient in his gravings had not given the name of the supposed sorcerer. The soul of a cow whose fat had been used for illumination during religious ceremonies was believed to go directly to heaven: this last belief, however, must be of post-conquest origin. 787 761 754 825 774

Among themselves the Indians are jovial and contented. The approach of the men whom we often met on the trails around Huila was usually first detected by the sound of the 157 533 283

000 /288 cont./

756 medicine men. To cure the patient, he divines which of the
755 supernatural beings caused the illness, proceeds to placate him,
[787] and then prescribes medicines to the patient. If the placation is not successful, the patient literally sinks into despair. The indispensable articles for all curing are coca, tobacco, and
[462] aguardiente. The medicine men are persons well along in years
[754] and belonging to the masculine sex. They cannot cure the effects of sorcery, although they can protect themselves against it.

754 c) Fifty per cent of all illnesses, the informants state,
[753] are caused by sorcery, and by the same token 50 per cent of
[761] the deaths, since sorcery is incurable. The sorcerers conceal their activities, and it seems that all adults are potential sor-
754 cerers. The institution of sorcery is a true escape valve for the
154 strong aggressive impulses of the natives and to some extent plays the role of a social regulator. Through it are channeled the jealousy, resentment, and vengefulness of the natives. The victims of sorcery are the most skillful and hard-working individuals, those who have a good house, good crops, and a growing number of domestic animals. Harvests and plantings
[683] generally are the object of sorcery. Sorcerers who are publicly unmasked are exposed to the anger of the community and even to exile, a measure taken not so much on account of their be-
[685] ing sorcerers as of their being thieves. All sorcerers are thieves. Sorcery appears with considerable frequency in the symbolism of dreams.

583 Marriage.--Marriage is monogamous and patrilocal. Both
[595] the chroniclers and Dr. Gregorio Hernández de Alba speak of
[591] the custom of the year of probation to acquaint the man with
[177] the skill, energy, and fecundity of his future wife. A thriving
[797] institution in times past, it is now in sharp decline owing to the action of mission work. Obviously, the purpose of this institution is to find out whether the woman is hard-working, faithful, not a thief, and to understand her ways in order to establish a lasting union. Nowadays the Paez, before being married

/183 cont./

342 and blows them into the air; with a small staff called "tama"
756 he cleaves the air in such a way that sometimes he appears to
787 be frightening away the spirits, sometimes threatening them,
[823] and sometimes clubbing them. If the signs (reflex movements) are felt on the right side, the site is favorable; the opposite denotes that the site is uninhabitable. The spirits are angry,
[761] or there are Pijao bones and gold at the site. If the site has not been selected by the medicine man, even if the house is a handsome one it cannot be occupied, for its occupants would die, beginning with the children, continuing with the mother,
342 and ending with the father. The medicine man himself pro-
756 hibits people from living in a house built without the fulfillment of this requisite. The medicine man's dictum is rewarded with a bottle of aguardiente, an egg (1) of coca, tobacco, a

[804] 1. A measure of weight equivalent to the weight of a hen's egg.

calabash of chicha, and usually a meal with chicken. /184/
[789] This is called "care" /cuido/. When the house is finished, the medicine man will place special remedies at the ridgepole to prevent the ghosts or echi from descending by way of it or from being angered.

342 Then come the mingas /communal work-parties/. A house
476 is built with the help of others. The people are invited, including the medicine man himself, who goes to work as a laborer. The work is organized. First, they go to the woodland for wood; under the influence of the guarapo, voices resound, loud laughter is heard, and the deep sound of the "cacho" /horn/ rumbles in the montañas, multiplied by its
342 echoes. Soon they report to the man in charge. They level
335 out the ground that will serve as the house floor; they dig holes
476 in which to sink the posts approximately two meters apart, driven in solidly, and tied at the top to cross-pieces with lianas (guák); the posts outline the shape of the house, and they will

/236 cont./

755 Since sicknesses have a magical origin, the treatments are
783 also magical in character. "The cleansing" is indispensable in every treatment, with its attendant remedies and movements.

165 Symptoms of sicknesses. Among the sicknesses clearly
164 identifiable by the natives are smallpox and whooping cough, given their characteristic symptoms. Some of the informants, not many, to be sure, state that their children died of such sicknesses.

165 On the whole, child mortality, which is rather high, is
761 said to be caused by, in order of frequency and in generic terms,
776 pest, Echi, and sorcery. The cases of death by the ghost and rainbow are few.

753 The symptomatologies given for the sicknesses are very
776 vague and even confused with one another. The Echi, ghost, and rainbow sting, not really the body, but the soul, leaving hairs in the body that cause fevers and sharp pains at the spot where they are found. These hairs, when placed in the palm of the hand, move as if they were alive. They differ in color: the red ones are from Kallumb, the reddish blue ones from
[755] the rainbow, and the black ones from Echi. The hairs are re-
[783] moved by rubbing with remedies prior to the cleansing.

/237/ It is said that the sting of pallumb /sic/ causes heaviness, lack of appetite, pains in the head and body, fever, and even insanity.

753 When the arco /literally "bow"/, called kitús, is referred
776 to, it is nothing other than the rainbow, which comes out at
821 any hour of the day, accompanied by a rainy drizzle, the "rainbow meow," which causes scabies (chande) in children
[755] when it falls upon them; it is not harmful for adults. The curers,
[789] and they alone, from their ranchos blow chewed remedies toward it, tobacco, chandur, ñushamuanda, and yacuma
[755] negua, in order to make it disappear quickly. Other people chew remedies, when they have them at hand, and rub them on their bodies. There is a general idea that the rainbow causes

/260 cont./

754 If a person kills himself in a fall, it is believed that the
[783] sorcerer sent him ptans.

[761] h) To cast a spell on the plantings, they use tobacco, matches, and other remedies with which they are burned and destroyed.

As will be noted, in their enchantments the sorcerers do not use any parts or objects belonging to the victim, such as hair, nails, clothing, etc. Most of the remedies that they use are herbs or objects that have properties noxious to man or can cause him harm.

The sorcerer believes that putting them in contact with the soul or simply with the body produces the desired effects.

754 /261/ Paez sorcery is a clear case of imitative or
789 homeopathic magic, according to Frazer's classic definition. It is "desire dominating the world with instruments born of desire " (10).

[118] 10. Ponce, Aníbal. Estudios de Psicología /Psychological Studies/, El Ateneo, Buenos Aires, 1947, p. 363.

754 The Paez fear illness and death and live in the fear that
182 the whites may take from them their land, their ranchos, their plantings, that is to say, their very sources of survival.

While the sorcerers attack the customs of a capitalist economy and transculturation openly, the curers protect the community against sickness and against the attacks of individuals or groups, by means of their divinations and their vigorous and constant conjurations. In this sense sorcerer and curer are identical. They protect the community.

683 Punishment of the sorcerers. The sorcerer is feared by
754 the entire population; identified throughout by it, he suffers general enmity; torrents of hatred arise against him, ending most of the time in violent punishment: confinement in the stocks, whippings, dunkings, and even exile.

/263 cont./

182 The people perceive only the effects. Only the expectant
754 attitude announces to us its presence. The latent fears tell us of its vigor. The members of the cabildo, the capitán, the té eu, the working men, the parturient women have a strong fear of sorcery.

When the pest spreads through the community, when the elders die and their experience and advice are lost, thoughts
[761] turn inevitably to the power of the sorcerers. Most deaths are brought about by sorcerers, the informants say.

754 Sorcery is a powerful barrier against the introduction
182 of the customs of a capitalist economy and also against the
177 intrusion of the whites in their parcialidades. It is strange that sorcery should exist in the less acculturated parcialidades, while in San Andrés it has practically disappeared. It is said to have been vigorous until 1926, the year when the Municipal Council of Inzá established in the parcialidad a settlement area in which the whites settled. With this measure living together was inescapable and they chose to accept them. Nevertheless, during the drinking bouts of the old people, the tremendous resentment that has become natural to them still crops out.

182 Furthermore, it makes its influences felt in the distribution
754 of land. Each family has lands from which it lives. With the
423 increase in population the problem of their unequal distribution
[554] has become prominent. Those who have the most land are
[152] the targets of envy and sorcery; they are more prone to magical attacks aimed at taking away their land. Intrasocial tensions
754 appear to be brought into equilibrium by means of this insti-
182 tution. The fear of reprisals checks aggression. Revenge is too prejudicial, since it can be manifested not only against
[184] individuals, but also against animals and plantings. It is
[177] perfectly true to say that while in Calderas acts of bloodshed
[675] are rare and suicide is unknown, in San Andres, a parcialidad
[762] which is largely acculturated, the homicides, murders, and cases of arson are hair-raising.

/195 cont./

d) Death

761 According to the belief of the Paez, death occurs chiefly
776 through the action of the evil shamans (nyic) or the evil spirits
165 ec̀, tis̃, and gělyómp (see "Religion" /see pp. 191ff./). Included
164 here also is the not infrequent cause of death through consumption.
[262] Causes of death of children are chiefly whooping cough, as well
as stomach and intestinal disorders, the latter brought about by a
[762] diet very unsuitable for children. Suicide is completely unknown.

764 The death of a member of the community is passed on from
[763] man to man by members of the family and neighbors. There is
[203] no public mourning or lamentation; upon the death of small
[765] children, people act as though they were glad, since the children
[192] are now "little angels." (Among the colonists, as well as among the Paez, the Spanish word "angelito" is used.) In former times it was customary to abandon the house when death occurred and to leave the deceased and some food in it (Castillo i Orosco, p. IX).

764 The manner of burial is the same for men, women, and
184 children; there are no social differences. A few customs in other Paez communities, however, differ from those of the Calderun. Therefore the burial of the dead in Calderas will be described first.

[177] For burial the deceased is dressed if possible in purchased,
[291] that is, "white" clothing, even if he was the poorest of the poor and had never worn such clothing. For this reason the relatives incur considerable expense, which often cannot be paid for a long time. Burial takes place the day after death. Only the feet of the deceased are washed. This work, as well as dressing the deceased, may be done by relatives or even by outsiders; they must, /196/ however, always be men, even in the case of female deceased persons. The body is taken by two men on a bier made of two tree trunks to the graveyard next to the church, where two other men, usually relatives, have already dug the grave. The latter is trapezoid-shaped, a good shoulder's breadth at head height and narrower at the foot end. Its length is determined by the size of the deceased. The direction of the grave is completely arbitrary.

/263 cont./

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/264 cont./

756 Besides the remedies which the shaman must use for curing,
787 his signs also predict fate and the future for him or tell him whether the sicknesses will become better or worse. They also tell him about events which are imminent. Thus he learns through them, for example, that sick persons will be coming to him on the following day with this or that illness or this or that
756 request. For all these matters every shaman has his signs at
787 definite parts of his body, those on the left half of his body gen-
826 erally signifying something unfavorable, those on the right half, something good. Thus the rise of the signs from the outer side of the right foot to the ankle means that the medicinal herbs are taking effect. If the signs rise from the outer side of the left foot, this is proof that the nyic must win and the bewitched one
[763] must die. If the signs rise on the right foot to the shin, a mem-
[783] ber of the family will die and his soul go to heaven. If the signs
[828] go along the inner side of the left foot, "pest" will come, and the sick person will become mentally ill. If the signs are felt between the right shin and the heel and they go toward the left side, this is an omen of a battle between the teyu and the nyic. If the signs move from the left ankle up to the hollows of the knees, the planted field is bewitched. Signs in the left calf announce the visit of an evil shaman; signs in the right calf, the visit of a good old woman; signs on the outer side of the right or left calves announce the visit of a nyic or a good old man,
756 respectively. Signs that run down from the right knee cap announce
787 the death of a person through tũs or gĕlyómp ("rainbow" or "moun-
826 tain spirit" as spirit beings, see below /see pp. 191ff./). Signs on
763 the /265/ left kneecap mean that the teyu will win in battle with the nyic; signs from the upper thighs to the hollows of the knees of the right foot, that the patient will die of a malignant "pest." If the signs go down from the left upper thigh, a bad person is walking by outside. If the signs go from the right hip to the foot, the wife will menstruate. If the signs are felt in the tenth rib on the right side, the sick person will soon die, since he has been stung by the mountain spirit. The signs on the left tenth rib announce the arrival of an evil person. If the signs go from the

/265 cont./

756 right ring finger up the arm to the heart, the person concerned
826 will bury a relative on the next day. Signs in the palm of the
787 right hand mean that the sick person will get well; signs in the
[763] palm of the left hand, that the mountain spirit is not accepting the gifts and the patient must die. By means of signs on the back of the left hand the mountain spirit makes it known that the offerings are insufficient. If the signs go from the palm of the right hand to the neck, this means "pest" from the Pijao. Signs in the right thumb and in the hand announce the appearance of a lost or strayed animal; signs in the corner of the left eye, that the lost animal has been stolen and has already been eaten by the thief; signs in the left arm announce the arrival of the ec spirit; signs in the right upper arm announce to the shaman that good people are asking him to be the sponsor at a christening. Signs on the head of the shaman announce that the nyic will send the pest, and if the signs go from the head into the left hand, the
756 person is already bewitched. In these and similar ways of
787 interpreting their signs, the shamans discover the nature of all illnesses and the means required to cure them. Thus their signs are their only treasure of experience, and if they do not feel them, or no longer feel them, they have lost the essential characteristic of being shamsns.

787 Besides the shamanistic signs described, for the teyu as well
828 as for ordinary human beings of every age and sex dreams are an essential means of experience for looking into the future, as well as for confirmation of a foreign -- usually evil -- influence on one's own person. Just as the effects of evil magic on the individual are brought about through auto-suggestion, so, too, what is seen in a dream. The latter perhaps even more intensively because of a person's own, direct dream experience; only in this way can one understand the positively fatalistic attitude of the persons
115 concerned. Our interpreter Victoriano, for example, is one of the
787 most industrious and capable Calderun. He is determined not to
828 remain socially on the Indio level of his village. He therefore
554 takes /266/ work from time to time among the white colonists,
[77] in order to earn money for Colombian clothing. He is therefore
[144]

/266 cont./

115 greatly hated in the village. In an intoxicated state the men have
787 often threatened to murder him. One day he came to us and said
828 that we would have to hurry with our work, for he would soon die.
534 He was by no means agitated when he said this, but smiled with an expression of absolute conviction. In answer to our question as to why, he stated that during the night he had dreamed of seeing himself in the grave. This is a sure sign that he must die. He would not let us ease his mind, for he knew, so he said, that he was unpopular in the village and he had been threatened with death anyway because he had seen more than the others, wore better clothes, and ate meat, instead of working in the village. For this reason the nyic would most certainly bring him to his death. It took several days and all our art of persuasion to get him away from this idea. Again and again we had to point out that, after all, he was a Christian, and as a precaution we had to give him many of our medications, before he would believe that perhaps he need not die
[787] after all. In any case his medallion of the Virgin Mary, which he always carries with him, does not unconditionally help against
787 evil magic. In the following there are a few further examples of dreams that are significant in some way or other: if one dreams that he is bitten by a snake, it is a sign of bewitchment; if, however, in the dream another person kills this snake at the moment of biting, a teyu will put an end to the bewitchment. To dream of jaguars and cats indicates that there are graves of the Pijao under
[783] the house. Someone will die of the "pest" of the Pijao if a person dreams that a jaguar is devouring his chickens. Dreaming about a funeral pile means that there is gold there. If one dreams about a
[763] cow, his wife will die. If one kills a bull or a horse in a dream, a good person (a shaman) will die. If one is stung by wasps in a dream, it means future punishment. Carrying beams or a chicha trough in a dream means that one will soon assist at a funeral. To choke in a dream means war, captivity, or being put into prison. Moreover, it is always a bad sign to dream of arracacha; in case of a journey, one would, for example, be devoured by a jaguar in the páramo. Also, if one dreams that he is able to walk under a rock, it likewise means that a jaguar will devour him. If someone

If someone

/266 cont./

787 dreams of peté squash, he will be devoured by the Pijao, for this
[266] squash has black seeds, and the Pijao as man-eaters have /267/ black teeth. If one has been greatly amused in a dream at night and has laughed a great deal, he will have a great deal of vexation during the day. If it rained heavily in a dream at night, a chicken or something similar will be stolen the next day. If in a dream someone has ridden very fast all night long on a brown horse, the day will be beautiful, for the brown or red color is the color of the sun (the same word is used for brown and red); dreaming of riding a black horse, on the other hand, will cause a black cloud to come up the next day, and then it will rain. If, before sowing, someone dreams of a big lagoon that appears all green or has a great deal of green growth around it, this means that the subsequent sowing will produce a good harvest. Anyone who sees a black pig in his dream has in reality seen the heart of an evil shaman, that is to say, he, as a good human being, has met the wandering soul of an evil shaman; this is not a good sign, but neither is it so bad that one would have to fall ill on account of it. Dreaming about the slaughtering of a pig means that an evil sorcerer will die. If one dreams that a thorn entered his foot on
[763] the road, a snake will bite him. If one's tooth drops out in a dream, a close relative will die. If someone else kills a large rooster, his father will die, for the rooster is the heart of the father. But if a person himself slaughters a large rooster in a dream, he will murder his own father. If one dreams that he has worked a great deal in his field on one day, then wild animals will break
[754] into this field and destroy the entire crop. If a person dreams that
[763] he is falling into a deep hole and cannot get out again, this is a sign that he will die, for an evil sorcerer has thus stolen the soul of a human being, buried it in a deep hole, and stamped down the earth again.

756 If dreams and shamanistic signs of a relatively advanced spiritual attitude lead to the conclusion that there is a corresponding external ceremonial outfit for the shaman, we shall be disap-
[181] pointed. The shaman's staff (tama), to which a liana (nika) is added for certain ceremonies, is unadorned, poor, and inartistic, like the entire culture of the Paez.

/275 cont./

775 Old Celia Uriaga of Calderas, who told us two stories, but is
[823] not a shaman herself, reported the following: When a person sleeps
774 and dreams, his taff leaves the body, goes everywhere, and experiences what the person is experiencing in his dream. When the person dies, ũns then leaves the person by way of the veins of the upper and lower arm, where one can feel the pulse, and finally by way of the finger tips. Taff also leaves the person, but in the form of a human being with white clothing. Whereas ũns goes to heaven, taff either stays near the body in the grave or goes about on earth, although not as taff, but as ǽhimos (ghost). It can be seen by the shamans at night, but also by human beings at midnight or around two o'clock at night, in the form of a human figure sitting by the wayside. It is not a real human being, however, but more like a wind. /276/ Ahimos is generally at the burial place, there where the corpse is buried and where the bones are.

According to the account of the old téoi Felisa, the ũns leaves the body upon the death of a human being and goes to heaven. It leaves the body by way of the lower arms, hands, and finger tips.
755 Felisa herself tries to hold back the ũns of a dying person by blow-
775 ing hard on his finger tips after she has previously taken a mouthful
763 of the herbs čáyuts and ǩuwéz as well as brandy. At the same time,
[824] with the same herbs in her hands, she strokes the patient's arms from the finger tips upward, in order to hold back ũns. Taff leaves the human body before death. In doing so, it whistles. Felisa can see it. It wanders along a path, well dressed, and the shaman is able to bring it back by tearing its clothes with a very sharp-edged reed (nyfka), and then it is obliged to return to the body (cf. Ill. 199 /see p. 288/).

775 Apart from the shamans, she is convinced that no one is able to
[825] see taff, except for dogs, when they sometimes howl for no apparent reason. Whereas ũns goes to heaven, taff remains on earth and goes
769 on living in its house as ǽhimos in the form of a breath of air. (No accessories are put in the grave with the dead, but on the following December 8, the Feast of the Immaculada, and recurrently each year, the relatives offer to the ǽhimos of their dead their favorite

/278 cont./

756 Then everybody goes, the shaman last, to the hole on the left
765 side and spits coca into it; then everybody takes brandy and squirts
783 it into the air toward the left. After that those who are to be purified start to undress, and each one takes a seat on one of the stones. The helpers of the shaman bring vast quantities of water -- always mixed with herbs and cow excrement -- in their calabashes, and then the very vigorous washing of the body begins. The water is first poured over the head, then over the body, front and back, so generously that everyone must have at least 25 liters of water run over him. The people themselves rub their bodies very thoroughly. In conclusion the shaman places a few herbs on the head of each one. After that, too, the shaman must again fight his battle with staff and liana in the air and squirt brandy toward the left. Then each one stands up individually and the shaman passes his shaman staff and herbs laterally around him from left to right and from bottom to top. Again and again the shaman and the people drink brandy, which they spit out in the air to the left.

After the ablutions of the mourners, followed by the ablutions of the assistants and the shaman, all sit down again in their old places, opposite the stones. The shaman sits down beside them, the staff stuck in the ground before him, his mouth completely full of coca and tobacco. In addition, at short intervals, he takes a
[787] swallow of brandy. He sits this way for about 20 minutes, chewing
[763] and drinking, and then he says that the signs in his hand are very bad and that soon someone will die. One of the young men present, the nephew of the deceased and helper of the shaman during the purification, asks who is going to die or whether it might even be he himself. The shaman, who has been talking monotonously to himself and keeps staring at one spot, answers, without turning his head, that he does not know who will die. The shaman remains sitting a while longer, constantly chewing coca and drinking brandy, and then he gets up and the people sit down in a row behind the stones, first the men, then the women. The shaman takes herbs in his hands, spits the freshly chewed coca with tobacco on them, and passes this around the bodies of all present, always from the lower left, up the side to the head, and down again on the right side, then up the back

/305 cont./

539 The Paez youth could now go to the house of his master, and he showed him the pot of gold and reported his experience. He gave the gold to his master. The latter gave him a great deal of meat to eat and also gave him a fine bed to sleep in. When the youth lay down in it, he died.

[781] [825] [763] Comment of the narrator: A Paez who has an encounter with a Pijao or a jaguar may report this to people after half a year at the earliest, or, still better, not until a year later. If he does so earlier, he must die, as the following story, too, shows.

A Pijao met two Paez men in the mountains, one of whom was very ugly and dirty and the other very clean and handsome. The Pijao killed the clean one and devoured him on the spot. He first wanted to wash the ugly and dirty one and therefore went to a brook with him. The dirty Paez man, however, could swim, /306/ dived into the water, and swam away. The Pijao man, like all Pijao, was unable to swim and threw stones and earth into the water, but nothing helped. The Paez man was able to escape. Then the Pijao, very sad, remained behind on the shore. The dirty Paez went to his house and told his family about his experience, and then he, too, had to die.

16. The Paez with the Ax

A Pijao went into the mountains to catch birds. For this he used a stick smeared with a substance similar to glue, with which he touched the birds so that they remained stuck to it. He did this for many years. One day he came to the house of a Paez, whose owner, however, was not there. In the house lay only an ax (as the narrator added: made of iron, for the Pijao are not familiar with any kind of tools, neither knife nor axes. To prepare their fields for planting, they can only split the bark of trees with stones, whereupon they dry in the course of a year. After this time the Pijao plant their maize on the field with dead trees standing on it. Thus, since they have no machetes to fell trees, they cannot lay out proper burned-off fields, like the Paez, although they are acquainted with fire.)

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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marriage bonds were not definitely made until experiment indicated the fecundity of the woman, and that the union was dissolved at the will of the husband if the wife proved to be barren. The same authority informs us that the wife had to give her husband the necessary clothing, while the husband provided food for the family. 581 [586] [585]

A custom mentioned by Castillo was that during menses the women spent the time sitting in small huts expressly built for that purpose, for fear of contaminating the common dwelling and of bringing disease and death to its occupants. 841

Rodriguez relates another custom in connection with childbirth and death: ". . . y siempre que pare la mujer, ó que muere alguno de su familia, desamparan la casa, dexando en ella al difunto con cantidad de bastimento y de la chicha, brebage, que beben: y á las casas donde parió la mujer, las dejan con las inmundicias de el parto, y acabadas de nacer las criatures, las laban, y se vañan sus madres, poniendose en viaje á buscar nuevo paraje para su habitacion, que siempre procuran sea en parte muy fragosa, por no ser visitados." 844

These details are confirmed by Castillo and were probably still observed in his time. As to what is done at present, and regarding the family organization in general, it is very difficult to obtain reliable information. The Indians are very jealous of their women, do not tolerate in them any intercourse with strangers, and become instantly distrustful when questioned about family matters. 152 593 609

With reference to death, Castillo differs from Rodriguez in that he states that a dying person was taken from the house, so that he did not actually die in it, and that the dwelling was destroyed by fire. He does not mention the custom of leaving food near the corpse, but states that the body was buried and a fence built around the grave. 768 763 764

Diseases

No diseases came under my observation during my stay at Huila and Tacueyó, and the Indians rather impressed me as being a healthy people. But if their vocabulary affords suffi- 164 [114]

526 /214 cont./
796 reach the houses, where they have a short rest while their
492 owners greedily drink the guarapo offered them by the occupants.

The fiesteros and albaceros, accompanied by a great
796 number of people, go once more to the priest. They bring
793 him the names of the fiesteros for the following year. The priest reads aloud the names of the fiesteros, the albaceros, and the mayordomos. The pronunciation of each name is accompanied by the ringing of a bell which is entrusted to a fiscal; when the announcement is over, there is a general pealing of bells. Each fiestero is advised by 15 to 20 mayordomos.

796 Then, kneeling in front of the church door, the old fiesteros hand over the banners to the new ones. They form a procession, and upon ending it, in the same spot where the banners were exchanged, they hand them over to the síndico, who waves them in the air one by one and ends by seeming to
[787] drive them into the ground. If by chance the banner wraps it-
[763] self around its own staff, some misfortune will befall the new fiestero. As a rule it is an omen of death, which fills with great sadness the fiestero whose banner had this happen to it.

Now each fiestero goes home, bearing in his hands the banner of the saint.

XXI

Banquet for the Albacero

796 After the procession the fiestero goes to the house of the
574 albacero, where he receives attention with the above-mentioned calabashes of chicha and bottles of aguardiente. When this feast is over, the company moves to the house of the fiestero. In the center of the sala there stands next to the pango the table with two burning candles at the ends, the calabashes of chicha, and the liters of aguardiente. The albacero, síndico,

/228 cont./

755 indicating hope, for if they moved from the knee to the foot,
756 there would be no need to receive the coca, tobacco, or
[127] aguardiente, for the patient would be incurable. Only when the signs are favorable does he take the pouch of remedies received from the patient and pass it around in the same way as he did the remedies, with the aim of invoking Thunder and Kallumb, his helpers.

75 He orders the patient to chew the bundle of remedies which he presented to him not long before. He picks up the tama (5) in his hands and blows on it with the remedies that he

5. Cf. below, "The tama" /see pp. 17-18/.

is chewing, which are the same as those chewed by the patient, for the purpose of preventing the ptans ("dirt") sent by the
[276] sorcerers from surprising the curer and killing him. In this case he may have the mambe /lime to be chewed with coca, or the coca and lime together/ in his hand and nevertheless remain motionless, with blood running from his mouth. Then, and to the front, he drives in the tama, the weapon of Thunder, to indicate to him that he is not working in a bad way, but in such a way and in accordance with his teachings. Before putting it in the ground, he passes it around his body so that it will protect him from the ptans.

[824] Next to the tama he puts the bottle of aguardiente, which
[763] he places a sprig of chayuts; if it remains upright and floats, it is a good sign, while if it tilts and sinks to the bottom, it is an omen of death. On top of the bottle he puts a small calabash to measure the aguardiente, in which is also put a sprig /229/ of chayuts; it serves as a preventive, for it prevents the ptans from catching the curer unprepared and killing him.

[276] Then he puts a handful of coca in his mouth and begins to chew; he remains seated, almost motionless, his eyes trained on the room and on the tama, attentive to the slightest motion;

/249 cont./

787 To dream of jaguars and cats, there is a Pijao "huaca" inside the house.

To dream of a hearth, there is gold at the spot.

[763] To dream that a jaguar is eating the chickens, the person will die of the Pijao pest.

To dream of a cow, the wife will die.

To dream of killing a bull or a horse, a good person will die (curers):

To dream that wasps are stinging him, they are going to catch him.

[763] /250/ To dream that the teeth are falling out painlessly, a close relative will die.

To dream of eating ají, the person will become angry for insignificant reasons.

To dream of finding a new chumbe /band/, they are working for the rainbow to sting him; if he dreamed that he was wrapped in it, the rainbow has stung him.

To dream of carrying beams or canoes, he will help to bury a dead person.

To dream of receiving silver coins, he will suffer from biennorrhagia.

To dream of drowning, there will be a war and he will be taken prisoner, or he will simply be drafted into the army.

*756 Payment of the Te eu. As a rule, the curers do not collect fees either in money or in kind. Their services are free. In the confirmation of the profusion the first thing that Thunder recommends is to be charitable toward people. One curer states that he does not cure as a business, for he collects neither money nor animals; people reward him with a small gift. Another curer is more dogmatic. To exploit people is to incur God's anger. The people's gratitude is always expressed in the "provisions" (meat, chicha, and aguardiente).

Out of the articles that the patient brings them for the treatments, only a little coca is left over for them. From the ceremonies for the initiation of the harvest they receive cooked

* /252 cont./

756 They are very tractable, friendly, and in our cultural
156 terms we would say that they have a marvelous gift for dealing
157 with people.

[886] When they grow old, they cease to perceive the signs.
[787] They believe that when a curer dies, his death is heralded
[821] by thunder. They live in permanent tension to counter the
● [763] attacks of sorcerers. At the slightest symptom, they go to their kachí to divine and to take the appropriate precautions. They eat little so as not to sleep at night; they do not suffer from insomnia. They refrain from sexual relations and from ají during their treatments.

[734] They attract the entire concern of the community when epidemics occur. The true curers, those conscious of their profession, are temperate, engrossed in the fight against sickness, and of a kindly disposition. They inspire trust and do not show egoism; they readily explain the secrets of their profession.

* 756 Competition among the Té eu. Some rivalry seems to
578 exist among the curers, and the natives even list the zones of action of the curers. It is certain that a curer will boast of having overpowered another in the latter's own area of practice. A curer from Santa Rosa tells how he overpowered a colleague.

755 The informant went to give treatments to a white patient
* 756 at Alto de Atarraya. There he found another curer who was
578 giving remedies that were useless. The patient provided for them very well, with abundant chicha and aguardiente. The new arrival drank with care. His colleague had already eaten the pork, but the patient was following /253/ him. The two curers prepared to fight. The new curer took his tama and his coca and at nine at night prepared to divine. His assisting spirit told him that the other one had given false remedies. Thus he had to learn the effective remedies. He discovered that the harm had been done by a native servant girl, along with some neighbors who did not like him. At once he called in the cook in order to question her and make sure of what she had

Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

The graves were "large and deep," and chiefs were buried with some of their wives and with food and chicha (Cieza, 1932, ch. 32). 764 766

In Colonial times, according to Del Castillo, the *Páez* removed a dying person from his hut but burned the house if anyone died in it. They had given up cremation, however, and buried in the earth, building a fence around the grave. Today, they cover the corpse with a white shroud and place it in the middle of the house with candles and flowers. Here it is watched over one night by relatives and friends, and then buried in a cemetery, where each relative tosses some earth into the grave saying, "Go with God." The mourners then bathe in the river without disrobing, and in the evening hold a banquet with chicha, sancocho (vegetable stew), meat, and tortillas. For 9 days a cross, a container of water, and a candle must be kept on the deceased's bed, the water being kept there so that the soul may drink. The relatives pray every night. A month after the death, a shaman purifies the house. The relatives and friends kill a pig, cut it lengthwise in two halves, one for the shaman, the other for the ceremonial banquet. The shaman sweeps the house floor with the pig's legs and some special branches, which are later buried. He chews coca, says some unintelligible words, and spits leaves on the house walls. The residents and guests then enter the house for the final proof of purification. The shaman, standing in the center of the house, gives a dog half a tortilla. If the dog does not die, he divides the other half among those present. He does the same with a piece of cooked meat, and if the dog still does not die, he blows chicha in all directions in the hut, and then divides what remains with those present. The hut and food are then declared clean The food is then eaten and much chicha drunk. 178 764 [763] 765 764 765 756 783

The modern burial customs of the *Moguex* differ somewhat from those of the *Páez*. The former dance for 9 days before and after burying a dead child. Because of the special ceremonies for adults, young Indians gather and prepare wood to be burned at their own funerals. When an adult dies, relatives and friends bring wood, food, and money to the house, and work for his family, who pray and weep for 3 days over the body. On the fourth day, they carry the body in a procession to the cemetery. Upon passing a house or inn where the deceased was accustomed to take chicha, they stop and drink. The burial procedure is like that of the *Páez*. Back at the house, they purify the objects used by the deceased over the fire, and leave his clothes and the hide he used as a bed at the river 9 days, after which they may be used. Meanwhile, the guests remain with the deceased's family, helping them. On the 9th day, they extinguish all lights and go to the nearest hill to mourn, while a shaman remains in the house to catch the soul of the deceased. He chews coca, spits it in all directions, and beats around with sticks to make the soul come out. Then he lights 764 184 (766) [535] (275) [783] 765 756 787 775 184

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

754 upon them by the missionaries. The power to do evil is not limited to the witches, but is possessed by anyone who entertains a momentary feeling of envy, and to women, who may not walk over a stick or a cord [841] stretched on the ground. Contact with women during their men- [846] struation or during the days following childbirth causes the "mokokoy" [753] to persecute the men and make them ill.

825 Animals possess the power to prognosticate evil. A document written in 1730 [14] tells that an Indian killed a rooster because he had 787 crowed before daybreak, and said, "Rooster, you are forecasting my 763 death, but I shall kill you first." They believe the same thing when certain birds sing. For example, the call of an owl at midnight brings death to someone. And certain small birds called "ulchik" and others called "bich" warn whomever hears their singing that he will meet with disaster. The box turtle follows people warning them that they are going to die.

825 Del Castillo says that the Indians will not strike white dogs, so that 775 they will not be bitten by them when they enter the future life.

The belief in spirits (kl'iumb) is quite general. Among these 776 spirits is the "pitsuala" which persecutes people, makes them ill, and 753 even kills them. The rainbow, or "Etskituna," causes a rash to break [821] out all over the body of anyone who ventures out while the rainbow shines, and the drizzle that generally accompanies the rainbow will harm a person who gets wet in it if he does not bathe immediately. When the rainbow appears, they stay indoors, and blow or spit tobacco in its direction.

776 They believe that the lagoon on the snowcapped peak, Huila, is [823] charmed, and that if they try to go near it wind and hail storms rise. Supernatural evil forces are supposed to be present during many [821] social activities, such as dancing, meetings, funerals, house building, [491] and bridge construction. When a bridge is built, two Indians beat [331] the water constantly to drive away evil spirits. When traveling on the mountains they place small stones or coins on top of some large [484] natural rock to assure a successful trip and to avoid angering the [782] spirit of the mountain.

[825] Sometimes these spiritual forces assume a bodily form, as in the [753] case of the fireflies, which bring diseases or which may be wrapped in [754] santa María leaves and placed in the path of an intended victim. Most feared are the ghosts of the dead, which consequently are the 782 most propitiated. The *Moguex* and the *Páez* ask their permission to 769 dance, and honor them in a special rite, which blends old beliefs with [775] new religious concepts. Thus, offerings are made to the souls during the first days o November, or whenever the curate is able to visit the Indian village. Each person offers some products from his farm, in-

[14] Statement made by Javier de Orosco y Cuellar in a lawsuit by the Indians of Tobolma for the possession of land. From the ecclesiastical files of Belalcázar, or Páez.

/124 cont./

291 The upper garment (ipotsatc) is a simple, rectangular piece of cloth about 160 centimeters long and 80 centimeters wide, which, when being put on, is held crosswise so that the warp and ornamental threads run crosswise. When it is on, it covers only the bosom, back, and one side, whereas the other one remains more or less free (Ills. 166 /see p. 273/ and 178 /see p.279 /). In use it is put on from one side of the body over the bosom to the other side, and then led across the back to the original side again. The back /125/ part is now pulled up and fastened over both shoulders to the bosom part with a thorn (tópo) or a safety pin. The part that hangs down is tucked into the skirt. In general the women try to buy colored, usually red blouses in the market for festival days, and these then replace the old, simple cloth. The skirts, however, are not exchanged for other clothing, because the purchased fabrics are not nearly as durable and also do not have the necessary width.

Outside the house the women usually wear a shawl over the ipotsatc; they either weave one (senyatc) for themselves or [854] purchase it (panyelõn). In any case it is necessary for carrying babies, for they are wrapped in it and secured with the colored belt (táw) (Ills. 152 /see p. 267 /, 166 /see p. 273 /, 178 /see p. 279/, 183 /see p. 282 /).

292 There is no special, original ceremonial dress or any spe-
[293] cial clothing for dignitaries. The latter carry, as their only
[177] distinguishing mark, the chonta staff introduced to them by the Spaniards. For festivals and ceremonies people try to wear either items of European clothing or a new outfit of the customary gar-
[764] ments. For a Christian burial it is the duty of the members of
[177] the family to bury the deceased in the clothing of white Colombians.

291 Small children usually run around naked or have a scrap of cloth hung over them in the style of the ruana. Larger boys wear either a large ruana reaching to the upper thighs, which is held together by a belt, or they already wear trousers. Smaller girls are usually dressed in a piece of cloth reaching from the upper body down over the knees, which is drawn over one shoulder. Older girls wear the clothing of the women. No distinction is

/195 cont./

d) Death

761 According to the belief of the Paez, death occurs chiefly
776 through the action of the evil shamans (nyic) or the evil spirits
165 ec̀, tũs, and gẽlyómp (see "Religion" /see pp. 191ff./). Included
164 here also is the not infrequent cause of death through consumption.
[262] Causes of death of children are chiefly whooping cough, as well as stomach and intestinal disorders, the latter brought about by a
[762] diet very unsuitable for children. Suicide is completely unknown.

764 The death of a member of the community is passed on from
[763] man to man by members of the family and neighbors. There is
[203] no public mourning or lamentation; upon the death of small
[765] children, people act as though they were glad, since the children
[192] are now "little angels." (Among the colonists, as well as among the Paez, the Spanish word "angelito" is used.) In former times it was customary to abandon the house when death occurred and to leave the deceased and some food in it (Castillo i Orosco, p. IX).

764 The manner of burial is the same for men, women, and
184 children; there are no social differences. A few customs in other Paez communities, however, differ from those of the Calderun. Therefore the burial of the dead in Calderas will be described first.

[177] For burial the deceased is dressed if possible in purchased,
[291] that is, "white" clothing, even if he was the poorest of the poor and had never worn such clothing. For this reason the relatives incur considerable expense, which often cannot be paid for a long time. Burial takes place the day after death. Only the feet of the deceased are washed. This work, as well as dressing the deceased, may be done by relatives or even by outsiders; they must, /196/ however, always be men, even in the case of female deceased persons. The body is taken by two men on a bier made of two tree trunks to the graveyard next to the church, where two other men, usually relatives, have already dug the grave. The latter is trapezoid-shaped, a good shoulder's breadth at head height and narrower at the foot end. Its length is determined by the size of the deceased. The direction of the grave is completely arbitrary.

/196 cont./

764 It is dug out about 1.50 meters and at the bottom provided with
184 a lateral longitudinal niche about 40 centimeters high. This niche is generally hollowed out on the left side, but sometimes on the right. The body is laid in this, without the bier and without accessories, horizontally on its back, so that it no longer extends into the shaft of the grave. The shaft and the niche are, in addition, separated by vertical stakes and rods placed side by side so that the deceased cannot be touched by the earth filling the grave. On the latter, a stone about one meter high is placed at the head or foot end for identification.

[793] The priest is not present at a burial, nor is the shaman who
acts for the district of the deceased. The latter also does not
[756] enter a house in which there is a dead person. The participants in the funeral procession, men, women, and children, go to the graveyard together and then back again to the house of the deceased, where lavish entertainment with food, chicha, and brandy now follows. The latter was also drunk copiously on the way to and from the burial place. The mood during the entire time is
756 jolly and animated; people laugh and make jokes. Before the
764 participants enter the house upon their return from the burial,
783 they must go to the river where the shaman awaits them, in order
184 to "cleanse" them of the "pest" of the deceased for the first time (see "Religion"). Then they go together to the house of the deceased, which they may not enter, however, until the shaman has also cleansed this with the same remedies with which he freed the human beings of the "pest." These are water, to which special herbs and cow excrement are added, sprinkled everywhere, as well as brandy, which, mixed with herbs, the shaman squirts everywhere.

764 In Togoima we were able to take part in the burial of two
184 small children (angelitos). The graves of the cemetery in this town all have an east-west direction. The niche is always at the left, the body lies on its back with the head toward the west. The size of the grave required is measured with a bamboo stick that is
[273] as long as the deceased. Before the burial, there is drinking,
[535] music, and dancing in the house. /197/ Music is also played at
[533] the burial and on the way to the graveyard.

P /197 cont./

184 764 533 535 S 764 533 535 C 123

In this respect Calderas differs from all the other Indio or colonist towns known to me, for there neither music nor dancing is done on the occasion of a death. Both are done at the death of an "angelito," not only among the Paez living in the vicinity of colonists, but, above all, among the white and mixed-colored colonists. Thus, on January 1, 1953, soon after our arrival in the archeological park of San Andrés, two small girls of the neighborhood came to us and asked if I would photograph the "little angel." At first I was annoyed, for a short time before a group of children had come, carrying a doll on a flower-bedecked tray from house to house, and they presented it to us, too, as the child Jesus who was collecting contributions for the mass that was to take place on January 6. The girls told me, however, that this little angel was the deceased, two-months-old child of the colonists in the neighboring house, whose mother had already washed and adorned it beautifully. The house was 20 meters away from our own, and even from our door one could already hear jolly music from the neighboring house, such as we had already heard at Christmas and at the New Year's Eve celebration. In the house a large number of neighbors and relatives were gathered in the same room in C [534] which the child was laid out. People were laughing, drinking, singing, and dancing. The orchestra -- as always -- consisted of a guitar, a mandola, and rumba balls, and the usual musicians played in it. One of them was the father of the dead child, a second one, its uncle. Astonished at the bustle, I asked the mother whether she was not a little sad over the loss of her child. She admitted that she was, but at the same time said that her child was now a little angel and this was grounds for joy and dancing. I asked up to what age deceased children are called "little angels." I was told that if they are not yet two or three years old they "are" little angels and not merely called that. The small child, whom they always referred to only as the little angel, was laid out in the room on a table, flowers lay all around it, and at its head stood an image of the Virgin Mary with four candles in front C [273] of it. The people were not yet quite sober from New Year's Eve and already the inevitable liquor bottle was making the rounds again. On the next day the burial by the relatives took place.

Sp /197 cont./
● 764 The child had been laid in a coffin which was painted on the out-
C 123 side with stars. The female relatives had made a so-called "canopy,"
/198/ a pole two meters high, on the tip of which was fastened a
white hoop decorated with flowers, from which hung eleven colored
paper streamers, one of which was carried by each of the partici-
pants. I, too, was asked to take one, and then we set out -- with-
out the mother of the deceased child -- with music, for the grave-
yard where the small coffin was opened once more and then lowered
P into the earth without formality.

764 Among the Paez of Togoima, too, there is drinking, dancing,
184 and singing at the death of a child, and here, too, the mother does
[273] not take part in the burial at the graveyard. The body is carried
[533] by a woman -- usually the godmother -- in a small sedan chair of
[535] bamboo, accompanied by the music of drum, timpano, and flute,
[608] to the burial place where several men have already scooped out a
grave with the lateral niche (Ills. 204 and 207 /see pp. 290 and
291/). The deceased child has a few flowers in its mouth. It is
wrapped in a cloth and is laid in a recumbent position, along with
a bouquet of flowers, in the niche, which is separated from the
shaft by the rods of the sedan chair placed vertically side by side.
The earth thrown into the pit is stamped down very firmly with posts.

P In Calderas, too, the mother of a "little angel" to be buried
[608] does not go along to the graveyard. The small corpse is carried
by the godmother, not in a sedan chair, but simply wrapped in a
cloth, on her arm.

The burial of the Christian Indios of San Andrés shows transi-
P tions in the shape of the grave from the Paez niche-grave to the
[674] simple, rectangular pit of the other Christians. We took part in the
burial of the capitan who had been stabbed by his drunken son dur-
ing a quarrel. The direction of the grave in the cemetery of San
Andrés is always east-west; the head lies on the west side with the
ground sloping upward. Instead of a lateral niche, a trapezoidal
hollow about 50 centimeters deep is dug at the bottom of the shaft,
which is covered horizontally by bamboo put so closely together that
no earth can fall down, and the corpse is practically just as well

/198 cont./

764 184 [178] protected from the earth above it as if it were lying in a lateral niche (Ill. 206 /see p. 291/). It was expressly confirmed to me that this form of grave has been used for only about 20 years, and that previously regular niche-graves had been made. The transitional character of this covered pit from the shaft grave with the lateral niche becomes even more apparent from the fact that an additional niche was dug about 30 centimeters deep at the head end of the pit, into which the capitan was laid part way, "so that at least the head is lying in a niche."

/199/ The corpse, wrapped in Colombian clothing, was carried on a bier on the shoulders of two men. The bier consists of two poles held by cross-sticks lashed crosswise one above the other at intervals of 30 centimeters. The cross-sticks are lashed with lianas in pairs, each one above the one longitudinal pole and below the other one (Ill. 205 /see p. 291/). After the burial, the bier was chopped up and then left lying in the graveyard. [201] [516] Shortly before the lowering of the corpse, the members of the family take leave of it by kneeling down and moving one or both hands before them from above downward and saying: "You are now going to heaven, and we shall not see each other again; we hope it may go well with you!"

After the corpse was lowered and its head pushed into the small niche, the bamboo covering was very carefully and tightly laid over it. Then the pieces of sod as the bottom layer were packed next to each other as closely as they had been when lying on the surface of the ground. The members of the family and the friends, with their left hands, then tossed as many handfuls of earth into the grave as the person concerned has family relatives. Together they fill the grave with all the rest of the earth with their hands. This is an honor for the friends of the deceased; if a person has no friends, the members of his family must do this work themselves. After a few handfuls of earth, the filling of the pit is always stamped down long and thoroughly with tree trunks. This is a very long and exhaustive occupation, and the more beloved the deceased was, the longer the stamping. In the case of the burial of the capitan, this lasted almost two hours. As a

/199 cont./

●764 result of the very hard stamping of the earth, the burial place
184 does not stand out from the surrounding terrain either because of a regular grave mound or because of any kind of slight elevation. A stone 30-60 centimeters in size serves as a marker, which is set either at the head or the foot end of the grave.

769 Whereas the deceased is given no accessories at all in the
[764] grave to take with him and no offerings are given this is done in
[796] the following year on December 8, the festival of the Immaculada. On this day, and each year recurrently, the relatives offer the spirits (áhimos) of their deceased, whom they think of as wind or shadows living in their former houses, their favorite foods: meat, yuca, potatoes, maize, chicha, brandy, coca, etc. These gifts are laid on a banana leaf on the floor of the church, and a candle is lighted and placed beside them. Small children do not get food, but flowers as gifts.

/200/

e) The Course of a Day

461 Men and women perform the tasks appropriate to them.
462 Those of the women are the least varied, since meals must be prepared daily and wood and water must be fetched regularly for cooking or for maintaining the nightly fire. Moreover, the work of the woman is more bound up with the house, whereas the men have shorter or longer pauses in their work and during these they visit neighbors, help them mill sugar cane, and drink chicha.
461 Steadiness is not the strong point of the Paez to begin with. It is but seldom that tasks are completed in an uninterrupted process; rather, we almost always found that on the following day the men were busy with something different from the previous day. To be sure, field work always requires long pauses between the clearing, the drying of the felled trees, burning, erecting the fences out of the remaining wood, and sowing. But even within each of these stages of work they generally take their time. True, there are said to be persons who can work for several weeks, up to a month, uninterruptedly in the clearing of a field, but I found again and again that after two to four days of work, a day of rest is inserted.

/267 cont./

756 like the entire culture of the Paez. For the rest, there are neither special articles of clothing or equipment nor any other kind of ceremonial gear, such as crystals, masks, or rattles.

[824] The shaman's staff consists of a smooth staff, 50 to 60 centimeters long, made out of the hard wood of the chonta palm. It is /268/ pointed at one end and semicircular in cross-section. Each shaman makes this staff for himself before treating his first [764] patient and never lets it out of his hand. When he dies, it is put into the grave with him. Before a séance begins, he sticks it into the ground, though not directly in front of him, but somewhat to the side. Only rarely does a shaman have it in his hand during the séance. As the single exception to the unadorned shaman's staff, I know of only the one belonging to old Felisa Ipia of Santa Rosa. On her staff she has tied a number of colored wool threads [774] which she spun herself and dyed with homemade dyes. She has collected in these threads the souls of all the villagers of Santa [755] Rosa. If someone in the village falls ill, she learns of it through [787] her signs or through Thunder personally and in this way is better able to help the sick person, since she can immediately blow her medicinal herbs, mixed with brandy, on the wool threads and thus can help the sick person better.

756 S. Bernal Villa points out that the designation for the shaman's 773 staff corresponds to the name of the most important culture hero of the Paez, Juan Tama, who, according to tradition, was lawgiver, famous and victorious commander of the army, first chief [976] and shaman. According to other traditions, he was the son of the stars, the son of Thunder, or Thunder himself. The present-day shamans regard the staff as a gift from Thunder, and as a sign of spiritual alliance with him. A shaman of San Andrés, reporting on the origin of the shaman staff, says that, according to the stories of the elders, the tama was introduced by Thunder himself. According to this, a man once had his hut and his potato field in the mountains. He harvested the field with his son. One day the son refused to follow his father to the field, but rather preferred to stay behind in the hut. The next day the son had disappeared

/271 cont./

753 caused by the spirits eč, tũs, or gělyómp, or general emanations
783 of impurity, of "pest" (uwẽ). Such reasons for catching pest, and
[754] thereby being afflicted with sickness, result largely from neglecting
● [764] the prescribed shamanistic purifications. These must take place
after a burial or when someone has merely seen a funeral proces-
753 sion or entered a house in which there is a corpse. The prohibitions
783 surrounding a woman giving birth or menstruating are just as strict.
841 If she does not retire to the menstruation hut at the proper time,
[849] if she cohabits during these days or neglects to take the subsequent
bath after menstruation and birth, the consequences are equally
[264] grave. Pest befalls a man if he accepts food from a menstruating
753 woman. The same consequences befall the one who in housebuild-
783 ing or during the first harvest does not have the proper ceremonies
756 performed by the shaman.
342

Most people die as the result of the evil influence of the
754 nyiç, the evil sorcerers. The latter -- it is firmly believed --
783
761 are able to kill individual persons as well as to send pest to entire
villages. Their power of evil is regarded as almost unlimited.
Besides being bewitched by a nyiç, there are three other possibili-
753 ties for a person to become ill or to die. These causes are
761 gělyómp, tũs, and eč. All three are very complex conceptions
776 and may be translated roughly as "mountain spirit," "rainbow,"
and "firefly," respectively, although the Paez conception and the
[756] translation are not completely identical. The teyu knows the
cause of the illness immediately from his signs, the rest of the
people, however, usually only after the death of the sick person.
And, to be sure, one recognizes the tũs as the cause of illness by the
fact /272/ that the corpse lies there with a bent limb (arm or leg),
whereas in the case of ec as the cause of death, blood flows from
the mouth or nose. It is also possible that both together, tũs and
eč, might bring death to the person, for example, if the person
lies there bent and blood flows from the mouth or nose.

776 The gělyómp spirit lives chiefly in the mountains, but also in
the valley, on the banks of brooks or rivers. He likes to lead
wanderers astray in the mountains by making noise and screaming
up there; at night one hears his screams -- like those of a human

/276 cont./

769 foods: meat, maize, chicha, brandy, coca, yuca, etc. These gifts are laid on a banana leaf on the floor of the church and a
775 candle is lighted along with it.) The áhimos, too, can only be seen by shamans.

774 She does not know when and from where a child gets its ũns and taff. She believes that as soon as the heart of the child beats in the mother's womb, the child has ũns; it gets taff only after birth. Animals have no taff; they have ũns only if they devour human beings.

e) Shamanistic Séances

756 Each of the shamanistic séances, be it a treatment of the sick
783 or a ceremony during housebuilding or at a burial, is basically a purification from "pest" and therefore a ceremony of magic practices. All these ceremonies and séances are thus in essence the same. They differ only in details, for example, in the different medicinal herbs or in the order of the various purifications. Let us first give a description of a purification ceremony /277/ by the shaman Martin Chucue after a burial (see Ill. 208 to 213 /see pp. 292-294/).

756 The shaman does not take part in the burial. Moreover, he
764 neither enters the house of a deceased in which the corpse is still
783 present, nor does he accompany a funeral procession to the burial place. The mourners, men, women, and children, go to the burial place together and then return to the house of mourning. Before they may enter it, however, they must go to the river where the shaman awaits them in order to purify them for the first time. Then they go together to the house of mourning, which, however, the purified people may not yet enter, since it is still unclean. The shaman, with his helpers, must first purify the house with the same remedies with which he purified the people, namely, with water to which herbs and cow excrement have been added. After that the people, too, may enter the house and eat and drink.

1: Nachtigall--290 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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CIII

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Ill. 203. The flute maker Vicente Puche.

Ill. 204. Burial of a child who died of whooping cough.

1: Nachtigall--291 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

764

Ill. 205. The capitan of San Andrés on the bier.

Ill. 206. Niche grave.

Ill. 207. Niche grave for a child.

1: Nachtigall--292 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

764
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783
756

Ills. 208 and 209. Ritual purification after a burial.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

marriage bonds were not definitely made until experiment indicated the fecundity of the woman, and that the union was dissolved at the will of the husband if the wife proved to be barren. The same authority informs us that the wife had to give her husband the necessary clothing, while the husband provided food for the family. 581 [586] [585]

A custom mentioned by Castillo was that during menses the women spent the time sitting in small huts expressly built for that purpose, for fear of contaminating the common dwelling and of bringing disease and death to its occupants. 841

Rodriguez relates another custom in connection with childbirth and death: ". . . y siempre que pare la mujer, ó que muere alguno de su familia, desamparan la casa, dexando en ella al difunto con cantidad de bastimento y de la chicha, brebage, que beben: y á las casas donde parió la mujer, las dejan con las inmundicias de el parto, y acabadas de nacer las criatures, las laban, y se vañan sus madres, poniendose en viaje á buscar nuevo paraje para su habitacion, que siempre procuran sea en parte muy fragosa, por no ser visitados." 844

These details are confirmed by Castillo and were probably still observed in his time. As to what is done at present, and regarding the family organization in general, it is very difficult to obtain reliable information. The Indians are very jealous of their women, do not tolerate in them any intercourse with strangers, and become instantly distrustful when questioned about family matters. 152 593 609

With reference to death, Castillo differs from Rodriguez in that he states that a dying person was taken from the house, so that he did not actually die in it, and that the dwelling was destroyed by fire. He does not mention the custom of leaving food near the corpse, but states that the body was buried and a fence built around the grave. 768 763 764

Diseases

No diseases came under my observation during my stay at Huila and Tacueyó, and the Indians rather impressed me as being a healthy people. But if their vocabulary affords suffi- 164 [114]

/243 cont./

*755 He fills the grave[1] with earth and proceeds with the cleansing
756 of the members of the family. They return home. All the
783 workers come out, and again he cleanses all of them. Only then can they go inside. The women have all the food prepared with half of the pig, for the other half belongs to the curer. Chicha and aguardiente are drunk and then the food is served. When dawn breaks, the usual liquors are being consumed. The curer leaves and other people take charge of bringing him his provision. The curer receives it, gives thanks, and hangs it outside the house. He can eat it only when he has killed more glowworms.

With this the Ut ká is finished and the pest has been warded off from the family.

*756 Ut peu ("dirt"-wash). Immediately after the burial, and
● 764 on the bank of a river or a spring, the washing of the clothes
783 and the cleansing of the people are done. The curer prepares three calabashes of remedies made up of (1) water and cow dung, (2) with rue, bitopiskue, ñundayuskei, dachak (curíbano /Scleria floribunda/), crushed, and (3) with shu and shulape.

/244/ With these, and in the order given, the people wash their clothes and their bodies. The clothes of the deceased are washed by the heirs.

The curer, after washing his own feet with the same remedies, remains seated, perceiving the signs. He then prepares another calabash of remedies with shú, shulape, and yuskei, for washing the hands of all those present.

He starts cleansing the people, who are seated on stones. The curer goes to the left and comes from there, beating with the tama. On reaching the first person to be cleansed, he performs the same acts already mentioned, doing the same with the others. He vomits the sucked-out "dirt" into a hole, where the people also cast their chew of coca, tobacco, and yuskei. Then the medicine man washes his hands with aguardiente and the remedy previously prepared. Everyone

1 [i.e. the grave into which the dolls as representations of the souls, have been placed -- Analyst]

/244 cont./

756 takes two swallows: they blow one into the air and they drink
764 the second one. What remains is sprinkled into the air. Those
783 present are lined up in a row, and the curer again beats with the tama, first around the front part and then around the back part. He casts the collected dirt into the hole, covers it with a stone, and tamps down the earth. Now the people, clean of ptans, go to the house of the deceased.

Yat put (house-blown). After the ceremony of the Ut Peu, all the people go to the house of the deceased, which they do not enter until the blowing of the house has been done. Everyone who was in the house comes out. The curer prepares the same three calabashes of remedies which he used in the Ut Peu. He pours out the calabash of water-diluted cow-dung at the spot where the corpse lay, doing the same with the second one. With the third, that is to say, the one made up of shu and shulape, he sprinkles the entire house (patio, walls, rooms, roof). With this the people can go in and its occupants will
765 continue to live. Dr. Hernández de Alba describes the
756 cleansing as follows:
783 "A month after the death, a shaman purifies the house. The relatives and Friends kill a pig, cut it lengthwise in two halves, one for the shaman, the other for the ceremonial banquet. The shaman sweeps the house floor with the pig's legs and some special branches, with /sic/ are later buried. He chews coca, says some unintelligible words, and spites /sic/ leaves on the house walls. The residents and guests then enter the house for the final proof of purification. The shaman, standing in the center of the house, gives a dog half a tortilla. If the dog does not die, he divides the /245/ others /sic/ half among those present. He does the same with a piece of cooked meat, and if the dog still does not die, he bdows /sic/ chicha in all directions in the hut, and then divides what remains with those present. The hut and food are then declared clean. The food is then eaten and much chicha drunk" /cited in English/ (8).

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list presented by a council composed of former governors, the captain, and the síndico. The meeting may object to the list, but generally accepts it. On the following January 1, the cabildo-elect must appear at the office of the municipal mayor to receive the staffs, their insignia of office, and to assume their duties and responsibilities. The offices are: Governor and alternate, commissioner, two mayors (alcaldes), two constables (alguaciles), and three prosecutors (fiscales), one of whom is a young man assigned to learn the ways of government. The mayors, constables, and prosecutors are something like bosses or policemen, and execute orders issued by the Governor or by the captain or the municipal authorities to a community through the Governor.

Property.—The Indians today do not own any real property in the usual sense. The land assigned to an entire community is allotted to each adult for his use when he becomes a macanero, that is, capable of giving one day's work each year for the collective planting for the benefit of the saint and as many days as may be required by the cabildo for the repair of roads, bridges, etc., or for work in the village. The right to the use of the land may pass to the heirs, wife and children, in the absence of which it reverts to the community or the cabildo.

The house was formerly typical personal or movable property, which could be easily abandoned, dismantled, or destroyed. The same holds today for fragile cane dwellings. There are few houses so solidly built that they constitute real or immovable property. Other personal property, such as utensils, clothes, weapons, adornments, and jewels, was formerly buried with the owner. These things and livestock, planted fields, and crops are now inherited by the members of the deceased's family. In general, Colombian law is being implanted by the judges and municipal mayors, although the cabildo judges some minor offenses and punishes the offenders by whipping, imprisonment, or stocks (cepo), a form of torment retained from Colonial times.

Although the Indians' communities have in most cases titles of limits of their lands dating from Colonial times, there are still litigations on boundaries. An interesting case is the struggle of the Indians to dislodge a settlement of Negroes from the old salt works in Ambostá, where they were abandoned many years ago by a rich Popayán family who took them there to work the mines. The female Indian chief (cacica) of this territory allowed the Negroes to live on a hill, called "the hill of the fifteen Negroes." The Negroes are not organized under a cabildo, but have a chief who represents them. They all contribute to a special religious feast in the municipio, and provide means to continue the suit for the possession of the hill against the Indians.

7tHernández de Alba E-5)(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
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881 heights of Cuetando, where they built a hut and planted a miniature field as proof of their masculine aptitude.

797 **Education.**—Today the Indians are educated principally by their
871 parents in the customs and tasks pertaining to each sex. Some boys
[868] and a few girls are sent to the few missionary schools, where they are given religious instruction and are taught Spanish, arithmetic, geography, the history of Colombia, and modern embroidery or light
[562] basketwork. The *Páez* are reluctant to send their daughters to the schools because they feel that women should keep the traditions of
[177] their people. The missionary schools strive to change the native language and the cultural traditions which have given the Indian community social cohesion.

595 **Marriage.**[11]—Formerly polygyny was prevalent, but now Catholi-
177 cism has imposed monogamy. The Indians continue, however, to
583 practice trial marriage (amaño). A marriage is arranged as follows:

584 The bride is selected by the young man's parents or by himself. His parents and two witnesses or godparents then visit her house to request her for the groom. They also serve as advisors to the young woman, in case she disapproves the marriage. The visitors carry half-filled bottles of rum (aguardiente) and some special garments for the girl. The young man's father offers the girl's father a half-bottle, acceptance of which means, as usual among the *Páez*, that the second party is well disposed toward the proposal and the negotiations may proceed. If the girl's mother agrees, the boy's mother presents her a half-bottle of liquor. The godfather or witness gives another half-bottle to the girl's father and the
583 godmother gives one to the mother. The visitors now leave, taking the girl, who then begins a year of trial marriage, during which the young man seeks proof that the girl is able to bear children, is active, cooks well, can weave, and
585 can cultivate the land. After the trial period, the man may return the girl to her parents or they marry in the Catholic Church, holding a feast which, like all
527 such celebrations, is called a "cuido." The couple and their parents and godparents are accompanied by an orchestra (chirimía) to the house where the feast is to be held. Here the bride puts on a modern dress, a ribbon on her hair, necklaces, and earrings, while the groom is with his godfather. As the guests arrive, chicha is distributed frequently, music is played, and then there is a feast of thick soup, generally with chicken, cooked yuca, arracacha, and roast or baked meat. In the afternoon, after more music and chicha drinking, the "refresco," really a banquet or social communion, is served. Six bottles of wine made from cane molasses, cinnamon, and cloves, and cake are given to the bride, groom, godmother,
[782] and godfather, who give some to everyone present. A prayer, led by the head of
[775] the house, then asks the souls of the dead to bless the marriage and give permission to dance. First, the godfather dances with the bride, then the godmother with the groom, after which everyone dances. The feast lasts 5 days, depending on the wealth of the family. Chicha is served and accepted with the phrase, "May God pay you, compadrito, for accompanying us. Accompany us more."

764 **Death.**—At a death, the family formerly buried the deceased inside the house with his possessions, and abandoned it. Some communities, however, preferred to cremate the body or dry it over the fire. The

[114] [11] I thank my wife and companion, Helena Ospina de Hernández, for her research in 1938 on matrimonial
[127] matters.

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The graves were "large and deep," and chiefs were buried with some of their wives and with food and chicha (Cieza, 1932, ch. 32). 764 766

In Colonial times, according to Del Castillo, the *Páez* removed a dying person from his hut but burned the house if anyone died in it. They had given up cremation, however, and buried in the earth, building a fence around the grave. Today, they cover the corpse with a white shroud and place it in the middle of the house with candles and flowers. Here it is watched over one night by relatives and friends, and then buried in a cemetery, where each relative tosses some earth into the grave saying, "Go with God." The mourners then bathe in the river without disrobing, and in the evening hold a banquet with chicha, sancocho (vegetable stew), meat, and tortillas. For 9 days a cross, a container of water, and a candle must be kept on the deceased's bed, the water being kept there so that the soul may drink. The relatives pray every night. A month after the death, a shaman purifies the house. The relatives and friends kill a pig, cut it lengthwise in two halves, one for the shaman, the other for the ceremonial banquet. The shaman sweeps the house floor with the pig's legs and some special branches, which are later buried. He chews coca, says some unintelligible words, and spits leaves on the house walls. The residents and guests then enter the house for the final proof of purification. The shaman, standing in the center of the house, gives a dog half a tortilla. If the dog does not die, he divides the other half among those present. He does the same with a piece of cooked meat, and if the dog still does not die, he blows chicha in all directions in the hut, and then divides what remains with those present. The hut and food are then declared clean The food is then eaten and much chicha drunk.

178 764 [763] 765 764 765 756 783

The modern burial customs of the *Moguex* differ somewhat from those of the *Páez*. The former dance for 9 days before and after burying a dead child. Because of the special ceremonies for adults, young Indians gather and prepare wood to be burned at their own funerals. When an adult dies, relatives and friends bring wood, food, and money to the house, and work for his family, who pray and weep for 3 days over the body. On the fourth day, they carry the body in a procession to the cemetery. Upon passing a house or inn where the deceased was accustomed to take chicha, they stop and drink. The burial procedure is like that of the *Páez*. Back at the house, they purify the objects used by the deceased over the fire, and leave his clothes and the hide he used as a bed at the river 9 days, after which they may be used. Meanwhile, the guests remain with the deceased's family, helping them. On the 9th day, they extinguish all lights and go to the nearest hill to mourn, while a shaman remains in the house to catch the soul of the deceased. He chews coca, spits it in all directions, and beats around with sticks to make the soul come out. Then he lights

764 184 [766] [535] [275] [783] 765 756 787 775 184

?:Hernández de Alba E-S\(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
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765 756 787 775 784 the fire and turns on the lights, and everyone returns to examine a layer of fine ashes placed beforehand at the door. If the ashes shows the footprints of an angel, they believe that the soul is saved, but if the footprints are those of a bird, they believe that the soul is condemned to hell. In some cases they ascertain the fate of the soul by the kind of bird prints.

WARFARE

726 The *Páez* and *Moguex* were particularly warlike. Their attacks were staged in the morning, accompanied by yells and the sound of trumpets, horns, sea shells, and drums. They were generally armed with great spears or pikes, spear throwers, and slings. When fighting, [411] they would first hurl javelins with their spear throwers, then use their slings, the missiles for which they carried in a pouch, and finally pick up their spears or pikes for man-to-man struggle. They also formed closed squadrons, men with clubs alternating with spearmen. The former would step forward to wield their clubs, and then draw back to their positions for protection. Their best defense was on high ridges, from which they rolled large stones on their enemies. They perfected these natural defenses by cutting or camouflaging paths on which they prepared ambushes. They built trenches or pitfalls, which caused the attacking Spaniards much trouble.

628 The principal enemies of these peoples were the *Pijao* and the Spanish soldiers. The *Páez* remember the *Pijao* well, and call the stone [648] statues in their territory "portraits of Pijaos," and the painted tombs, [632] "houses of Pijaos." They are afraid to see the statues or visit the [764] tombs.

To insult an enemy killed in war, they cut off his penis and placed it 727 on the road.

266 Some historians ascribe cannibalism to the *Páez* and the *Moguex*, which seems to have no basis in fact. They kept trophy heads and stuffed the skins of their enemies, but did not eat their foe. There are, however, numerous historical references which state that in the wars [175] against the Spaniards, the *Páez* left the bodies of dead enemies for the [648] *Pijao* to eat, and that they cremated their own dead or dried them [764] over a slow fire, which Friar Pedro Simón (1882–92, ch. 23) mistook for a means for preserving the flesh so that it could be eaten later. [114]

As war trophies, they kept enemy heads, which they preserved with resins, and the skins of their entire bodies, which they filled with ashes 727 (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 3). They even preserved the [314] heads of the Spaniards' horses. They carried these trophies to wars, meetings, and feasts.

/195 cont./

d) Death

761 According to the belief of the Paez, death occurs chiefly
776 through the action of the evil shamans (nyic) or the evil spirits
165 ec, nis, and gělyómp (see "Religion" /see pp. 191ff./). Included
164 here also is the not infrequent cause of death through consumption.
[262] Causes of death of children are chiefly whooping cough, as well as stomach and intestinal disorders, the latter brought about by a
[762] diet very unsuitable for children. Suicide is completely unknown.

764 The death of a member of the community is passed on from
[763] man to man by members of the family and neighbors. There is
[203] no public mourning or lamentation; upon the death of small
[765] children, people act as though they were glad, since the children are now "little angels." (Among the colonists, as well as among
[192] the Paez, the Spanish word "angelito" is used.) In former times it was customary to abandon the house when death occurred and to leave the deceased and some food in it (Castillo i Orosco, p. IX).

764 The manner of burial is the same for men, women, and
184 children; there are no social differences. A few customs in other Paez communities, however, differ from those of the Calderun. Therefore the burial of the dead in Calderas will be described first.

[77] For burial the deceased is dressed if possible in purchased,
[290] that is, "white" clothing, even if he was the poorest of the poor and had never worn such clothing. For this reason the relatives incur considerable expense, which often cannot be paid for a long time. Burial takes place the day after death. Only the feet of the deceased are washed. This work, as well as dressing the deceased, may be done by relatives or even by outsiders; they must, /196/ however, always be men, even in the case of female deceased persons. The body is taken by two men on a bier made of two tree trunks to the graveyard next to the church, where two other men, usually relatives, have already dug the grave. The latter is trapezoid-shaped, a good shoulder's breadth at head height and narrower at the foot end. Its length is determined by the size of the deceased. The direction of the grave is completely arbitrary.

/277 cont./

The shaman learns the date of the second ceremony and principal purification through his signs from eč. He announces this date to those who participated at the burial. Those to be purified -- primarily the nearest relatives -- gather at the river and at a place set apart for this, marked by a number of flat stones. These are absolutely necessary; without stones, no purification site. First the people sit in front of the stones, and the helpers of the shaman fetch calabashes filled with water that is mixed with the šũ herb and to which some cow excrement, standing ready in a pot at the same place, is added. The shaman has wound a liana around his staff. Even before the ceremony, he chewed coca and tobacco uninterruptedly and drank brandy copiously. First he goes to the left with the staff and liana and beats the air with both, as though he were struggling with invisible spirits. Then, always struggling, he goes in the other directions of the site, and, finally, once more to the left. There his helpers have dug a hole about 30 centimeters deep and 15 centimeters in diameter.

Now the linen of the deceased and the linen of the mourners which they used on the day of burial are brought forth. They are placed on the stones and then washed and rinsed long and vigorously by the widow and the daughter of the deceased.

The rest of the mourners, like the shaman, have been chewing coca the whole time and get brandy to drink from the teyu.

After the washing, the shaman next struggles as before, as though he wanted to drive invisible spirits away from the site of the purification ceremony. With wide sweeping blows he moves his tama /278/ and liana slowly through the air. In particular he turns to the left again, for to the left lives the evil eč, and to be sure, in the ground (*).

* The direction left has nothing to do with any geographical direction or with the direction of the river. They sit with their backs to the river.

/278 cont./

756 Then everybody goes, the shaman last, to the hole on the left
765 side and spits coca into it; then everybody takes brandy and squirts
783 it into the air toward the left. After that those who are to be purified start to undress, and each one takes a seat on one of the stones. The helpers of the shaman bring vast quantities of water -- always mixed with herbs and cow excrement -- in their calabashes, and then the very vigorous washing of the body begins. The water is first poured over the head, then over the body, front and back, so generously that everyone must have at least 25 liters of water run over him. The people themselves rub their bodies very thoroughly. In conclusion the shaman places a few herbs on the head of each one. After that, too, the shaman must again fight his battle with staff and liana in the air and squirt brandy toward the left. Then each one stands up individually and the shaman passes his shaman staff and herbs laterally around him from left to right and from bottom to top. Again and again the shaman and the people drink brandy, which they spit out in the air to the left.

After the ablutions of the mourners, followed by the ablutions of the assistants and the shaman, all sit down again in their old places, opposite the stones. The shaman sits down beside them, the staff stuck in the ground before him, his mouth completely full of coca and tobacco. In addition, at short intervals, he takes a
[787] swallow of brandy. He sits this way for about 20 minutes, chewing
[763] and drinking, and then he says that the signs in his hand are very bad and that soon someone will die. One of the young men present, the nephew of the deceased and helper of the shaman during the purification, asks who is going to die or whether it might even be he himself. The shaman, who has been talking monotonously to himself and keeps staring at one spot, answers, without turning his head, that he does not know who will die. The shaman remains sitting a while longer, constantly chewing coca and drinking brandy, and then he gets up and the people sit down in a row behind the stones, first the men, then the women. The shaman takes herbs in his hands, spits the freshly chewed coca with tobacco on them, and passes this around the bodies of all present, always from the lower left, up the side to the head, and down again on the right side, then up the back

756 /279/ and the front, and at the end he "sucks out," holding one
765 fist over the other, everything dirty, the last remnants of the pest,
783 from the body at three places. First, on the right side of the neck in the hollow of the collarbone, then in the middle of the head, and then he passes both hands along the arms from the shoulders down to the finger tips and sucks on the palms of both hands. Then he cleanses himself in the same manner, by passing his hands, filled with herbs, along his entire body from below upward, whereupon he goes to the left, to the hole, sticks his staff into it, and apparently disgorges something from his stomach, aiding this procedure by pressing his hands into the pit of his stomach. Then he vigorously spits into the hole what he has disgorged. After that he once again takes herbs and brandy, as well as coca, into his mouth and likewise spits them into the hole. Now he takes fresh coca, herbs, and brandy, chews this, and spits it on the tip of his staff and passes this over the bodies of all the people, moving first showly, then faster from below upward, as though he were obliged to press out, from below upward, something inside the body. As he does so, he mutters words that are incomprehensible, and finally, after purifying each person, he hurls the pest, which is hanging on the point of his staff, away from him in a wide arc. He also cleanses the mountain of linen with his staff in the same way. afterwards he again takes coca and lime into his mouth, as well as herbs, among them always šũ in particular, and puts the same thing into the mouths of the people. After that he rubs off his hands with šũ, spits brandy on them, and performs the same purification ceremony on the people as before, again passing over their bodies from below upward and finally sucking out the pest from their necks, heads, and hands.

The participants, at the moment of purification, are very serious concerning the matter. In between, however, they laugh and talk, and the men go about their occupation of straw-hat braiding.

After these three purifications in a standing position, a further purification in a sitting position follows, during which the shaman thrusts his staff into the ground in front of each person. After each purification he goes to the hole and spits everything into it

/279 cont./

756 vigorously, then always rinses his mouth with brandy and spits it
765 out in a spray. After this final purification, standing in front of
783 the hole, he moves his staff several times in a circle through the air from below upward and stabs into the hole three times with the tip of his staff, as though he wanted to thrust something corporeal from above into the hole with the staff. Several times /280/ he paces off the entire place, beating with his staff, always starting from the right and squirting brandy to the left about ten times.

To conclude the ceremony, the hole is covered with a stone, and water containing ʂũ herbs is poured over it. All the participants spit the herbs given to them by the shaman into a second hole about 50 centimeters away, rinse their mouths vigorously with brandy, and spit this also into the nearby hole. To conclude the ceremony lasting more than four hours, they are all given a swallow of brandy by the shaman and together spit this toward the left.

755 If the teyu is called to a sick person, before the actual treat-
756 ment he must determine the cause of the illness in a special séance. Like all sickness ceremonies, it begins about eight o'clock in the evening and usually ends several hours after midnight. For his séances he uses a specific place (kaci) where, in the presence of the patient, he receives his signs. In cases of serious illness, the treatment may also take place in the house, but then, if possible, ají and salt, things which Thunder does not like, should not be in the vicinity. In cases of particularly serious illness, the shaman may also go to a quiet place, free of human sounds and the barking of dogs, in order to receive his signs there alone.

Before the start of the séance, the patient must give the teyu half a fiber bag full of coca, a bottle of brandy, and a few cigars, since without these things it is impossible for the shaman to receive his signs. He thrusts his staff into the ground, a little to one side, and then he sits down opposite the patient. He now takes his medicinal herbs out of his fiber bag and first makes up two equal little packets of various mixed herbs, each of which he wraps in a maize leaf. With every herb that he takes from his fiber bag, he first makes a pass around his own body in order to stimulate his blood and to receive his signs better. It may already happen here

1: Nachtigall--292 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

CV

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Ills. 208 and 209. Ritual purification after a burial.

1: Nachtigall--293 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ills. 210 and 211. Sucking out the "pest."

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1: Nachtigall--294 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

Ill. 212. The shaman spits the "pest" into a hole.

Ill. 213. The shaman fights the spirits with staff and liana.

/CVIII is a blank page./

/235 cont./

753 j) When there is no blowing of remedies while at the
783 montañas, bogs, or lagoons.

k) When there is no blowing of remedies prior to cutting wood for bridges, sugar mills, and canoes.

l) When, at the inauguration of a rancho or house, the house ceremonies have not been performed.

ll) When the house has been built over a Pijao "huaca," or when they merely come across one while working the land.

m) When the traditional ceremonies are not performed upon harvesting a new clearing.

754 n) Through the machinations of the sorcerers. These kill
753 the most people, for they not only send the pest to persons,
783 but also to the entire community. On the other hand, they provoke /236/ the Ghost, Rainbow, and Echi to anger and also do sorcery at the request of jealous or vengeful persons. The sorcerers have unlimited power.

Hernández de Alba, speaking of illness, generalizes in these words:

"Sickness was always thought to be caused by witchcraft or by someone's will. The evil force entered the body and made it impure; it had to be expelled or "cleansed," lest death ensue. If a delirious person told who was killing him, the individual mentioned was thought guilty; or, if, after a death, the face of the deceased should appear to somebody,
[834] the person was considered responsible. These beliefs are still
[821] in force today, and the Indians avoid the causes of sickness,
[765] such as having sexual intercourse wit /sic/ a menstruating woman, exposing the body to bad weather while there is a rainbow, and neglicting /sic/ to bathe after a burial or to purify a house where a death ocurred /sic/" /cited in English/ (7).

7. Hernández de Alba, Gr. 1946, p. 955. See also Pittier de Fábrega, H. 1907, p. 325.

/241/

824 The plants marked with an asterisk were identified by the
[128] Herbario Nal. Colombiano, in particular by Dr. Jesús M.
[137] Idrobo.

[127] For the others, we were guided by the work, Plantas Utiles de Colombia /Useful Plants of Colombia/, by Dr. E. Pérez Arbeláez, published by the Imprenta Nacional de Bogotá in 1947.

75 The té eu and the community. In every culture, medicine
182 performs an eminently humanitarian function. Its nature is
171 sociological. No matter what its methods may be, its purpose is to save human lives. It combats illness, but also prevents it.

75 Among the Paez, medicine cures and prevents. The
182 community and the family perform special ceremonies intended to achieve these two purposes of medicine.

755 When the pest (epidemic) has spread through the com-
*756 munity, threatening its subsistence, the authorities (cabildo)
182 invite the curer to conjure away the danger by performing the
[731] wé ká.

When the illness prevails in a single family, markedly decreasing its members, the eldest invites the curer to perform
● [765] the ut ká. After every burial the people must remove the ptans
[783] from their bodies and from the house where the death occurred. The curer is the only one who can do this.

241 The first fruits of plantings made on new lands not culti-
*756 vated before cannot be consumed until the curer has performed
783 the cleansing ceremonies. Thus, it is the curer who defends
182 the family -- preservation of the species -- who purifies the
789 harvests -- preservation of the individual -- and who also defends the community, warding off by means of his conjurations
*756 the epidemics and the individuals who threaten it. In 1952,
789 before an imminent attack by subversive armed groups on the
182 Parcialidad of Santa Rosa, the curer warded it off with maní de montaña /literally, "montaña peanut"/, chewed and blown on the path by which they were to come.

/244 cont./

756 takes two swallows: they blow one into the air and they drink
764 the second one. What remains is sprinkled into the air. Those
783 present are lined up in a row, and the curer again beats with the tama, first around the front part and then around the back part. He casts the collected dirt into the hole, covers it with a stone, and tamps down the earth. Now the people, clean of ptans, go to the house of the deceased.

Yat put (house-blown). After the ceremony of the Ut Peu, all the people go to the house of the deceased, which they do not enter until the blowing of the house has been done. Everyone who was in the house comes out. The curer prepares the same three calabashes of remedies which he used in the Ut Peu. He pours out the calabash of water-diluted cow-dung at the spot where the corpse lay, doing the same with the second one. With the third, that is to say, the one made up of shu and shulape, he sprinkles the entire house (patio, walls, rooms, roof). With this the people can go in and its occupants will
765 continue to live. Dr. Hernández de Alba describes the
756 cleansing as follows:
783 "A month after the death, a shaman purifies the house. The relatives and friends kill a pig, cut it lengthwise in two halves, one for the shaman, the other for the ceremonial banquet. The shaman sweeps the house floor with the pig's legs and some special branches, with /sic/ are later buried. He chews coca, says some unintelligible words, and spites /sic/ leaves on the house walls. The residents and guests then enter the house for the final proof of purification. The shaman, standing in the center of the house, gives a dog half a tortilla. If the dog does not die, he divides the /245/ others /sic/ half among those present. He does the same with a piece of cooked meat, and if the dog still does not die, he bdows /sic/ chicha in all directions in the hut, and then divides what remains with those present. The hut and food are then declared clean. The food is then eaten and much chicha drunk" /cited in English/ (8).

/245 cont./

*765 756 783 [113]

8. See: "Mitología y Cuentos de la Parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro /Mythology and Tales from the Parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro/," Revista Colombiana de Antropologia, 1953.

[114] This type of cleansing has not been confirmed by any informant, curer or layman, young or old, male or female, from the Parcialidades of Santa Rosa, San Andrés, Calderas, Togoima, Avirama, or Mosoco.

342 796 *756 [241] Conjuration of the new rancho. To protect their fields from the voracity of wild animals, they build a small rancho. Before occupying it, they perform the following conjuration. The curer blows remedies in the center of the rancho where the hearth will be. He digs a hole and buries shu and shulape. He makes a fire and casts fiundayuskei and bitopiskue into it. He gathers up all the ashes and throws them outside the rancho. He revives the fire again and roasts a green ear of maize, which is given to a dog to eat. If the dog does not die, it is a sign that there is no pest there and the owners can occupy it. In the opposite case they must abandon it. In Santa Rosa the Té eu eats the ear of maize.

This same ceremony is performed upon beginning a house. They give the dog roasted maize since it is not the season for green ears. Then they drink chicha and aguardiente.

241 *756 E huse uña (clearing-eat). The harvesting of the crops from new clearings must be initiated by the curer. The owner of the field provides coca, tobacco, and aguardiente and invites the curer. The entire family goes to the field.

The té eu prepares a calabash of remedies based on Chayuts, shugues, tayuskei, echiutse, ul fiñi, tatse. He sprinkles the clearing with this. He distributes as many bundles of remedies as there are persons present, for them to chew, to swallow the juice, and to rub their bodies with the remainder.

?:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

The graves were "large and deep," and chiefs were buried with some of their wives and with food and chicha (Cieza, 1932, ch. 32). 764 766

In Colonial times, according to Del Castillo, the *Páez* removed a dying person from his hut but burned the house if anyone died in it. They had given up cremation, however, and buried in the earth, building a fence around the grave. Today, they cover the corpse with a white shroud and place it in the middle of the house with candles and flowers. Here it is watched over one night by relatives and friends, and then buried in a cemetery, where each relative tosses some earth into the grave saying, "Go with God." The mourners then bathe in the river without disrobing, and in the evening hold a banquet with chicha, sancocho (vegetable stew), meat, and tortillas. For 9 days a cross, a container of water, and a candle must be kept on the deceased's bed, the water being kept there so that the soul may drink. The relatives pray every night. A month after the death, a shaman purifies the house. The relatives and friends kill a pig, cut it lengthwise in two halves, one for the shaman, the other for the ceremonial banquet. The shaman sweeps the house floor with the pig's legs and some special branches, which are later buried. He chews coca, says some unintelligible words, and spits leaves on the house walls. The residents and guests then enter the house for the final proof of purification. The shaman, standing in the center of the house, gives a dog half a tortilla. If the dog does not die, he divides the other half among those present. He does the same with a piece of cooked meat, and if the dog still does not die, he blows chicha in all directions in the hut, and then divides what remains with those present. The hut and food are then declared clean The food is then eaten and much chicha drunk.

178 764 [763] 765 764 765 756 783

The modern burial customs of the *Moguex* differ somewhat from those of the *Páez*. The former dance for 9 days before and after burying a dead child. Because of the special ceremonies for adults, young Indians gather and prepare wood to be burned at their own funerals. When an adult dies, relatives and friends bring wood, food, and money to the house, and work for his family, who pray and weep for 3 days over the body. On the fourth day, they carry the body in a procession to the cemetery. Upon passing a house or inn where the deceased was accustomed to take chicha, they stop and drink. The burial procedure is like that of the *Páez*. Back at the house, they purify the objects used by the deceased over the fire, and leave his clothes and the hide he used as a bed at the river 9 days, after which they may be used. Meanwhile, the guests remain with the deceased's family, helping them. On the 9th day, they extinguish all lights and go to the nearest hill to mourn, while a shaman remains in the house to catch the soul of the deceased. He chews coca, spits it in all directions, and beats around with sticks to make the soul come out. Then he lights

764 184 [766] [535] [275] [783] 765 756 787 775 184

7:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

756 787 775 784 the fire and turns on the lights, and everyone returns to examine a layer of fine ashes placed beforehand at the door. If the ashes shows the footprints of an angel, they believe that the soul is saved, but if the footprints are those of a bird, they believe that the soul is condemned to hell. In some cases they ascertain the fate of the soul by the kind of bird prints.

WARFARE

726 The *Páez* and *Moguex* were particularly warlike. Their attacks were staged in the morning, accompanied by yells and the sound of trumpets, horns, sea shells, and drums. They were generally armed with great spears or pikes, spear throwers, and slings. When fighting, [411] they would first hurl javelins with their spear throwers, then use their slings, the missiles for which they carried in a pouch, and finally pick up their spears or pikes for man-to-man struggle. They also formed closed squadrons, men with clubs alternating with spearmen. The former would step forward to wield their clubs, and then draw back to their positions for protection. Their best defense was on high ridges, from which they rolled large stones on their enemies. They perfected these natural defenses by cutting or camouflaging paths on which they prepared ambushes. They built trenches or pitfalls, which caused the attacking Spaniards much trouble.

628 The principal enemies of these peoples were the *Pijao* and the Span- [648] ish soldiers. The *Páez* remember the *Pijao* well, and call the stone [632] statues in their territory "portraits of Pijaos," and the painted tombs, [764] "houses of Pijaos." They are afraid to see the statues or visit the tombs.

To insult an enemy killed in war, they cut off his penis and placed it 727 on the road.

266 Some historians ascribe cannibalism to the *Páez* and the *Moguex*, which seems to have no basis in fact. They kept trophy heads and stuffed the skins of their enemies, but did not eat their foe. There are, however, numerous historical references which state that in the wars [175] against the Spaniards, the *Páez* left the bodies of dead enemies for the [648] *Pijao* to eat, and that they cremated their own dead or dried them [764] over a slow fire, which Friar Pedro Simón (1882–92, ch. 23) mistook for a means for preserving the flesh so that it could be eaten later.

[114] As war trophies, they kept enemy heads, which they preserved with resins, and the skins of their entire bodies, which they filled with ashes 72 (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 3). They even preserved the [314] heads of the Spaniards' horses. They carried these trophies to wars, meetings, and feasts.

7tHernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

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In Colonial times, according to Del Castillo, the *Páez* removed a dying person from his hut but burned the house if anyone died in it. They had given up cremation, however, and buried in the earth, building a fence around the grave. Today, they cover the corpse with a white shroud and place it in the middle of the house with candles and flowers. Here it is watched over one night by relatives and friends, and then buried in a cemetery, where each relative tosses some earth into the grave saying, "Go with God." The mourners then bathe in the river without disrobing, and in the evening hold a banquet with chicha, sancocho (vegetable stew), meat, and tortillas. For 9 days a cross, a container of water, and a candle must be kept on the deceased's bed, the water being kept there so that the soul may drink. The relatives pray every night. A month after the death, a shaman purifies the house. The relatives and friends kill a pig, cut it lengthwise in two halves, one for the shaman, the other for the ceremonial banquet. The shaman sweeps the house floor with the pig's legs and some special branches, which are later buried. He chews coca, says some unintelligible words, and spits leaves on the house walls. The residents and guests then enter the house for the final proof of purification. The shaman, standing in the center of the house, gives a dog half a tortilla. If the dog does not die, he divides the other half among those present. He does the same with a piece of cooked meat, and if the dog still does not die, he blows chicha in all directions in the hut, and then divides what remains with those present. The hut and food are then declared clean The food is then eaten and much chicha drunk.

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764 184 [766] [535] [275] [783] 765 756 787 775 184

/211 cont./

423 to the father, and the next year the son must ask his father anew
427 for permission to use another piece of land.

593 Besides the land, the father of the family also owns the
241 dwelling, the menstruation house, all the animals -- including
422 chickens and guinea pigs -- all agricultural implements, and the
423 sugar mill. Property marks on the houses, fields, and implements are not required, for everyone knows to whom they belong.

428 Upon the death of the father of the family, the youngest son inherits his house and the greater part of the livestock. If, for example, there is only one cow, he gets it. Similarly, he gets all the land under cultivation at the time. The uncultivated land is divided equally among all the sons. The widow, [768] like the daughters, inherits nothing. The former then continues to live in her old house in the family of the youngest son. The fact that the latter receives so much more than the older ones in the distribution of the inheritance is explained by the fact that the older ones have worked for more years and therefore have had more time and opportunity to acquire property of their own. [429] Favoring the youngest thus represents a certain equalization. If the father dies /212/ young and leaves only a small son, his mother administers his property for him until he is about 15 years [768] old. He need not marry then, however. If there are several younger sons, they, of course, also go on living together in the house of the father.

Deviant inheritance plans of the deceased, for example, letting an older favorite son have more or leaving his house or implements, not to his youngest son, but to his brother, are not possible. Even if a father had ten daughters and only one son and none of the daughters would marry, he could not leave them anything. In such a case, the only son would have to provide for all his sisters, for women cannot live alone in a house and they would not be in a position to cultivate the land alone. If a man has no sons, but only daughters, his sons-in-law generally help him cultivate the fields. Yet he cannot bequeath them anything. His landed property and equipment go to that one of his brothers who takes care of the burial, that is to say, buys the grave clothes for the deceased and provides chicha and food for the mourning

P /212 cont./
428 guests. In case the deceased has neither sons nor brothers --
P which scarcely ever happens, it is said -- the villager who takes
[768] care of the burial inherits his entire property. The widow moves in with one of her brothers or sisters or some other relative.

T Disputes and misdemeanors, such as theft or adultery, are
692 judged within the communities by the cabildo; murder or serious
623 C bodily injury, by the Colombian state judiciary. It was said that
[692] murder and manslaughter did not occur in former times, the old
P 682 people told us; they are a consequence of "white" influences
623 and the weakening of the cabildo. One can well understand this,
182 for in Calderas where the village council still enjoys a certain
[177] amount of power and considerable prestige, it would be unthinkable
P for a son to stab his father to death. This happened in San Andrés
[177] where the cabildo exists only in the form of three functionaries who are basically powerless and without standing and where the young people, through the influences of the living conditions of the white colonists, no longer have any feeling for the old discipline and customs. It was in San Andrés in March, 1953, that the son of the capitan stabbed his father to death. The
P latter, after the death of his first wife, had married a second
[593] time, for which his children reproached him vehemently. In a drunken state, this led to a brawl, in the course of which the father struck off half of his son's right ear and the son killed his father with several knife stabs in the abdomen. After the deed, he fled; but since it was known that he could find shelter only with relatives, the /213/ gobernador of the town of Lame seized him
P a few days later in the house of his sister, where he had hidden.
[624] He was brought to San Andrés in chains and delivered over to the sindico, who was simultaneously occupying the position of gobernador. The latter, an older man of the age of the deceased capitan, tried for some time to reason with the murderer, who gave the impression of being uncommunicative and almost sullen; he pointed out to him the baseness of his deed, of patricide, and then he was led to the church in which the dead capitan was lying in state. The son resisted violently, but was forcibly led up to the corpse and broke down weeping before it. Before he was transferred

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

172 containing, as a rule, gold objects and pieces of superior pottery.
361 We observed many of these "planos de Indios" on the road between Corinto and Tacuyó, their situation corresponding ex-

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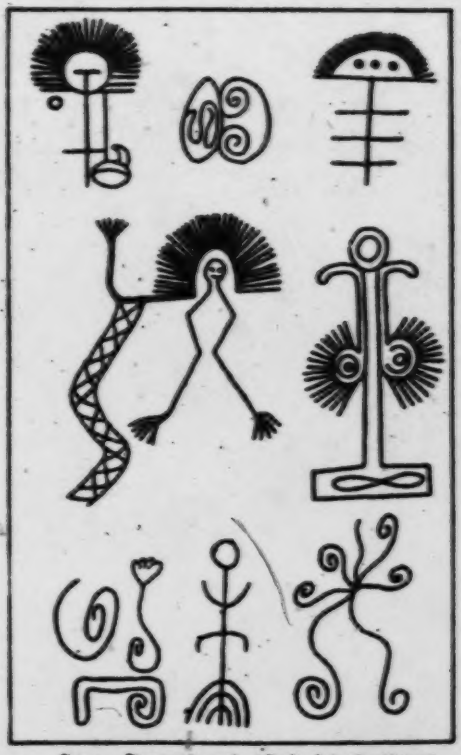

FIG. 1.—Pictographs on the "Piedra de los Sacrificios."

172 actly with what we know of the present habits of isolation of
361 the Paez Indians. The number of graves at each site does not however seem to agree with the former custom of these Indians
[844 of abandoning a house as soon as a birth or a death had taken
768] place in it.

As a very good example of the altitude at which the former

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

marriage bonds were not definitely made until experiment indicated the fecundity of the woman, and that the union was dissolved at the will of the husband if the wife proved to be barren. The same authority informs us that the wife had to give her husband the necessary clothing, while the husband provided food for the family. 581 [586] [585]

A custom mentioned by Castillo was that during menses the women spent the time sitting in small huts expressly built for that purpose, for fear of contaminating the common dwelling and of bringing disease and death to its occupants. 841

Rodriguez relates another custom in connection with childbirth and death: ". . . y siempre que pare la mujer, ó que muere alguno de su familia, desamparan la casa, dexando en ella al difunto con cantidad de bastimento y de la chicha, brebage, que beben: y á las casas donde parió la mujer, las dejan con las inmundicias de el parto, y acabadas de nacer las criatures, las laban, y se vañan sus madres, poniendose en viaje á buscar nuevo paraje para su habitacion, que siempre procuran sea en parte muy fragosa, por no ser visitados." 844

These details are confirmed by Castillo and were probably still observed in his time. As to what is done at present, and regarding the family organization in general, it is very difficult to obtain reliable information. The Indians are very jealous of their women, do not tolerate in them any intercourse with strangers, and become instantly distrustful when questioned about family matters. 152 593 609

With reference to death, Castillo differs from Rodriguez in that he states that a dying person was taken from the house, so that he did not actually die in it, and that the dwelling was destroyed by fire. He does not mention the custom of leaving food near the corpse, but states that the body was buried and a fence built around the grave. 768 763 764

Diseases

No diseases came under my observation during my stay at Huila and Tacueyó, and the Indians rather impressed me as being a healthy people. But if their vocabulary affords suffi- 164 [114]

/199 cont./

764 result of the very hard stamping of the earth, the burial place
184 does not stand out from the surrounding terrain either because of a regular grave mound or because of any kind of slight elevation. A stone 30-60 centimeters in size serves as a marker, which is set either at the head or the foot end of the grave.

769 Whereas the deceased is given no accessories at all in the
[764] grave to take with him and no offerings are given this is done in
[796] the following year on December 8, the festival of the Immaculada. On this day, and each year recurrently, the relatives offer the spirits (áhimos) of their deceased, whom they think of as wind or shadows living in their former houses, their favorite foods: meat, yuca, potatoes, maize, chicha, brandy, coca, etc. These gifts are laid on a banana leaf on the floor of the church, and a candle is lighted and placed beside them. Small children do not get food, but flowers as gifts.

/200/

e) The Course of a Day

461 Men and women perform the tasks appropriate to them.
462 Those of the women are the least varied, since meals must be prepared daily and wood and water must be fetched regularly for cooking or for maintaining the nightly fire. Moreover, the work of the woman is more bound up with the house, whereas the men have shorter or longer pauses in their work and during these they visit neighbors, help them mill sugar cane, and drink chicha.
461 Steadiness is not the strong point of the Paez to begin with. It is but seldom that tasks are completed in an uninterrupted process; rather, we almost always found that on the following day the men were busy with something different from the previous day. To be sure, field work always requires long pauses between the clearing, the drying of the felled trees, burning, erecting the fences out of the remaining wood, and sowing. But even within each of these stages of work they generally take their time. True, there are said to be persons who can work for several weeks, up to a month, uninterruptedly in the clearing of a field, but I found again and again that after two to four days of work, a day of rest is inserted.

/275 cont./

775 Old Celia Uriaga of Calderas, who told us two stories, but is
[828] not a shaman herself, reported the following: When a person sleeps
774 and dreams, his taff leaves the body, goes everywhere, and experiences what the person is experiencing in his dream. When the person dies, ũns then leaves the person by way of the veins of the upper and lower arm, where one can feel the pulse, and finally by way of the finger tips. Taff also leaves the person, but in the form of a human being with white clothing. Whereas ũns goes to heaven, taff either stays near the body in the grave or goes about on earth, although not as taff, but as áhimos (ghost). It can be seen by the shamans at night, but also by human beings at midnight or around two o'clock at night, in the form of a human figure sitting by the wayside. It is not a real human being, however, but more like a wind. /276/ Ahimos is generally at the burial place, there where the corpse is buried and where the bones are.

According to the account of the old téoi Felisa, the ũns leaves the body upon the death of a human being and goes to heaven. It leaves the body by way of the lower arms, hands, and finger tips.
755 Felisa herself tries to hold back the ũns of a dying person by blow-
775 ing hard on his finger tips after she has previously taken a mouthful
763 of the herbs čáyuts and ǰuwéz as well as brandy. At the same time,
[824] with the same herbs in her hands, she strokes the patient's arms from the finger tips upward, in order to hold back ũns. Taff leaves the human body before death. In doing so, it whistles. Felisa can see it. It wanders along a path, well dressed, and the shaman is able to bring it back by tearing its clothes with a very sharp-edged reed (nyfka), and then it is obliged to return to the body (cf. Ill. 199 /see p. 288/).

775 Apart from the shamans, she is convinced that no one is able to
[825] see taff, except for dogs, when they sometimes howl for no apparent reason. Whereas ũns goes to heaven, taff remains on earth and goes
• 769 on living in its house as áhimos in the form of a breath of air. (No accessories are put in the grave with the dead, but on the following December 8, the Feast of the Immaculada, and recurrently each year, the relatives offer to the áhimos of their dead their favorite

/276 cont./

769 foods: meat, maize, chicha, brandy, coca, yuca, etc. These gifts are laid on a banana leaf on the floor of the church and a
775 candle is lighted along with it.) The shimos, too, can only be seen by shamans.

774 She does not know when and from where a child gets its ũns and taff. She believes that as soon as the heart of the child beats in the mother's womb, the child has ũns; it gets taff only after birth. Animals have no taff; they have ũns only if they devour human beings.

e) Shamanistic Séances

756 Each of the shamanistic séances, be it a treatment of the sick
783 or a ceremony during housebuilding or at a burial, is basically a purification from "pest" and therefore a ceremony of magic practices. All these ceremonies and séances are thus in essence the same. They differ only in details, for example, in the different medicinal herbs or in the order of the various purifications. Let us first give a description of a purification ceremony /277/ by the shaman Martin Chucue after a burial (see Ill. 208 to 213 /see pp.292-294/).

756 The shaman does not take part in the burial. Moreover, he
764 neither enters the house of a deceased in which the corpse is still
783 present, nor does he accompany a funeral procession to the burial place. The mourners, men, women, and children, go to the burial place together and then return to the house of mourning. Before they may enter it, however, they must go to the river where the shaman awaits them in order to purify them for the first time. Then they go together to the house of mourning, which, however, the purified people may not yet enter, since it is still unclean. The shaman, with his helpers, must first purify the house with the same remedies with which he purified the people, namely, with water to which herbs and cow excrement have been added. After that the people, too, may enter the house and eat and drink.

/282 cont./

755 of the patient with water to which šũ and yakũma have been added
756 as medicinal herbs, so that he will now be completely freed of the
783 pest. Finally the teyu asks Thunder to prevent anyone from uncovering this hole in which the dangerous pest is buried. He further asks Thunder to help him in subsequent treatments of the sick later on. The patient is told that the signs are favorable, and he is again enjoined neither to use the medicines of the whites nor ever to pass this hole containing the pest.

757 Besides these two most important shamanistic ceremonies, the
756 treatment of the sick and the purification of the relatives after a
731 burial, the shaman's ability and his magical, supernatural powers are also called upon for preventive ceremonies and acts. This is particularly necessary if epidemics of disease -- smallpox, whooping cough -- occur in the village or in a family. In the first instance, the cabildo asks a shaman who is known to be able to speak with Thunder to conduct the proper protective ceremonies; in the latter instance, /283/ the oldest member of the afflicted family asks him. First a pig must be killed for this. A piece is cut from all the body organs on the left side, and everything is put into a new fiber
[782] bag. The shaman and the cabildo then set out in the afternoon for the lagoon in which Thunder is believed to live, in order to hand over to him the bag with the pieces of meat, with the request to avert the epidemic. During this time the women remaining behind have been preparing the rest of the meat for a meal, which, however, is eaten jointly only when, after twelve hours, the shaman and cabildo return from their ceremony.

756 For several cases of illness and death in one family the help of
789 a good shaman is likewise required. The pest is generally regarded
769 as the cause of these cases of death afflicting only one family, though according to a report by S. Bernal Villa, the deceased and angry members of the family are held responsible for this. In this case the eldest of the family provides brandy, coca, and tobacco, calls together the family members, and asks the shaman to come. The latter offers the angry ancestor spirits a fat pig that has first been tied in front of the house for a whole night, while the shaman during this time speaks to the spirits about whether they will accept the offering.

/283 cont./

756 It is killed by members of another family, since the ones concerned
783 may not perform any work or activity. The pig is scalded over a
● 769 hole into which the hair and refuse are thrown. The parts of the pig which the ancestor spirits, through the signs of the shaman, wish as a sacrifice are put into a fiber bag with a wooden stick. During this time the women bake small, flat maize cakes, and, to be sure, as many as there are dead in the family. These are
756 likewise put into the bag, and, in addition, a large quantity of
783 other food. Moreover, small wooden dolls, dressed like living
532 Paez, are carved in the same number as the dead. About 40
769 meters from the house a grave with a lateral niche is dug, exactly like the one made for deceased persons. In the evening the shaman goes there with the members of the family and performs the ceremonial purification on them. After that the sky becomes covered with thick, black clouds, in the direction of which the teyu spits his medicinal herbs. After two hours the clouds move off toward the left and bring into view the starry sky. Now the shaman lays the dolls (as representations of the spirits of the dead) into the lateral niche of the grave, sets a wax candle beside them, and blows his medicinal herbs over them. With a /284/ stone he closes off the lateral niche and then places the
756 bag with the food into the pit. After the latter has again been
783 filled with earth, he proceeds to a renewed purification of the
769 members of the family, which is undertaken a third time in the house and at the same time on the helpers in the pig-slaughtering and the baking. In conclusion one half of the pig is now eaten jointly, whereas the other half belongs to the shaman as remuneration.

756 A further important shamanistic ceremony is undertaken when
342 a new house is built. On this occasion the teyu, in dedication,
783 spits his herbs on the future fire area of the house and digs a small
[824] hole into which he places the herbs šũ and šulápe. On a small pile of wood he burns other herbs, the ashes of which he carries out of the house. Now he lights a new fire, in which he roasts a young maize ear and gives it to a dog to eat. If the latter does not die, this is regarded as a sign that no pest exists here any longer and the occupants may confidently live here. If this were not the case, they would be obliged to leave the house.

7:Hernández de Alba, E-5, (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

535 There is much dancing today. The sexes perform in couples or separately. Among the *Moguex*, some of the expert dancers are paid to dance with all couples in a sort of "bambuco." Dancing is always a part of *Páez* ceremonies for the death of children, baptismals, weddings, saint holidays, and meetings for collective work (mingas) held in the evening when people return from their plantations.

Dancing, as other social events, is subject to a special ceremony [585] or etiquette, strongly connected with religious beliefs. For example, in the wedding celebration, a prayer is first said in which the souls of [608] the dead are asked permission to dance, or "scrape the floor," as they call dancing. Only the godparents and the bride and groom may [527] dance at the beginning.

526 The *Páez* do not masquerade, but the *Moguex* always masquerade during the period of carnival preceding Holy Week.

[524] **Games.**—Games do not hold an important place among these peoples. The children amuse themselves by imitating the activities [857] of their elders. The only game recorded is simulated warfare, performed as a part of a rite in honor of the dead after a communal [769] feast. Two teams under their captains or caciques attacked and shot arrows at each other. Even if some contestants were killed or wounded, no one bore a grudge.

276 **Narcotics.**—The *Páez* and the *Moguex* chewed coca leaves mixed in the mouth with lime powder. Coca chewing is widespread among [756] men, but very little practiced by women. It is used especially by the shaman when he is practicing. In Colonial times the use of coca [177] spread to the rural population of Mestizos and Whites in Nariño, Cauca, and Huila.

273 **Alcoholic beverages.**—These Indians formerly made chicha of maize, but today they ferment it with sugarcane molasses. They also have [178] fermented sugarcane juice (guarapo), and a sort of rum (aguardiente). The latter is distilled clandestinely in their huts from guarapo and certain herbs fermented together in earthenware crocks. The Indians drink guarapo every day, but restrict the use of chicha and the stronger guarapo and aguardiente to market days, religious feast days, burials, weddings, mingas or meetings for work, and witchcraft [462] ceremonies. Guarapo and chicha are made by women, who sometimes chew the maize to increase its fermentation. They are stored in large, hollowed tree trunks and in large earthen jars, which are kept in a special place in the hut. There is never a lack of these beverages for home use and for welcoming an unexpected visitor.

RELIGION

175 The early Spaniards had little understanding of the religion of these 771 people. They reported that the Indians had but few idols and no temples or places of worship. Castillo mentions that they wor-

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

754 upon them by the missionaries. The power to do evil is not limited to the witches, but is possessed by anyone who entertains a momentary feeling of envy, and to women, who may not walk over a stick or a cord [841] stretched on the ground. Contact with women during their men- [846] struation or during the days following childbirth causes the "mokokoy" [753] to persecute the men and make them ill.

825 Animals possess the power to prognosticate evil. A document written in 1730 [14] tells that an Indian killed a rooster because he had 787 crowed before daybreak, and said, "Rooster, you are forecasting my 763 death, but I shall kill you first." They believe the same thing when certain birds sing. For example, the call of an owl at midnight brings death to someone. And certain small birds called "ulchik" and others called "bich" warn whomever hears their singing that he will meet with disaster. The box turtle follows people warning them that they are going to die.

825 Del Castillo says that the Indians will not strike white dogs, so that 775 they will not be bitten by them when they enter the future life.

The belief in spirits (kl'iumb) is quite general. Among these 776 spirits is the "pitsuala" which persecutes people, makes them ill, and 753 even kills them. The rainbow, or "Etskituns," causes a rash to break [821] out all over the body of anyone who ventures out while the rainbow shines, and the drizzle that generally accompanies the rainbow will harm a person who gets wet in it if he does not bathe immediately. When the rainbow appears, they stay indoors, and blow or spit tobacco in its direction.

776 They believe that the lagoon on the snowcapped peak, Huila, is [823] charmed, and that if they try to go near it wind and hail storms rise. Supernatural evil forces are supposed to be present during many [821] social activities, such as dancing, meetings, funerals, house building, [491] and bridge construction. When a bridge is built, two Indians beat [331] the water constantly to drive away evil spirits. When traveling on the mountains they place small stones or coins on top of some large [484] natural rock to assure a successful trip and to avoid angering the [782] spirit of the mountain.

Sometimes these spiritual forces assume a bodily form, as in the [825] case of the fireflies, which bring diseases or which may be wrapped in [753] Santa María leaves and placed in the path of an intended victim. [754] Most feared are the ghosts of the dead, which consequently are the 782 most propitiated. The *Moguex* and the *Páez* ask their permission to 769 dance, and honor them in a special rite, which blends old beliefs with [775] new religious concepts. Thus, offerings are made to the souls during the first days of November, or whenever the curate is able to visit the Indian village. Each person offers some products from his farm, in-

[14] Statement made by Javier de Orosco y Cuellar in a lawsuit by the Indians of Tobaima for the possession of land. From the ecclesiastical files of Belalcázar, or Páez.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

cluding vegetables, cornbread, eggs, and chicha, which he piles on the church floor, together with wax candles—one if the person does not have anyone in particular to remember, two for each deceased relative. When Mass begins, they throw flowers on the presbytery, as an offering to the souls of children. Afterward, they go to the cemetery in procession, and the souls of the departed come down to the empty church to take the food. Later, the people sell whatever the souls left or failed to eat. Everyone buys something, the captain's assistant collecting the money, while the constables of the council, raising their whips and shouting insults, prevent frauds in the general disorder. The money from the sale is given to the priest to pay him for the work in the rites. As each person leaves the church, he kisses a crucifix held by the sacristan at the church door. They kiss it once for each dead person whom they wish to remember and pay a cent each time. In addition to offering food at the church, the *Moguex* cover their tables at home with food, which is also intended for the souls of their dead, and at the end of 2 or 3 days they eat the food, saying that they are eating what the souls have left. 769 782 [624] [625]

Christmas and Holy Week are both great occasions for the Indians, who celebrate them with music and some of their ancient rites. Even though a priest may not be present, they conduct the rites in a manner that dates from Colonial days, when a *Páez* Indian named Undachí tried to combine Catholicism with their own religion. The man claimed to be able to see God, who used to come among the Indians and talk to him in his own *Páez* language. The new religion included a chapel, Mass, and candle and flower offerings. 796 771 177 [781]

Sickness.—Sickness was always thought to be caused by witchcraft or by someone's will. The evil force entered the body and made it impure; it had to be expelled or "cleansed," lest death ensue. If a delirious person told who was killing him, the individual mentioned was thought guilty; or, if, after a death, the face of the deceased should appear to somebody, the person was considered responsible. These beliefs are still in force today, and the Indians avoid the causes of sickness, such as having sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman, exposing the body to bad weather while there is a rainbow, and neglecting to bathe after a burial or to purify a house where a death occurred. 753 754 [787] 753 178

To fight disease they still have shamans. *Moguex* shamans use tobacco, coca, plants known as yacuna and chundar, and rum in their practice. After remaining shut up in a dark room for a night, they either confess their inability to cure the sick person or proceed to administer the traditional medicines. Sickness is conceptualized as an animal, which enters the stomach, head, or other part of the body. In former times, the shaman fasted with the sick person, abstaining from salt and fats and taking only coca and chicha. Today, he requires that only the patient fast. 756 [753] [785]

/255 cont./

802 designated as "much" (teč kwát), literally "one stone." Today it is the designation for "hundred."

75 The medical knowledge of the Paez is not great. Almost all illnesses are regarded as based on magical causes and are treated by the shamans (see below//see pp. 190 ff./). Broken bones are treated by the midwife, who rubs on cow fat and wraps [845] leaves around them. The broken bone is never put in splints. In a difficult birth the midwife is able to turn the child into the right position; if then the birth does not go well, her skill is at an end. No remedy is known for snake bite. In the case of headaches, a leaf is tied to the front of the head. For flatulence some wood ashes are rubbed on the abdomen. For injuries caused by a machete and bleeding profusely, a tourniquet is applied to the affected limb, above the place of the injury, and the wound is covered with a small piece of cloth. The shaman has the injured person bite hard with all his teeth on the iron machete.

3. Religion

771 The Paez today are nominally Christians. They are baptized 797 and usually married by the Catholic priest. The Christian missionizing began as early as the sixteenth century, at first, to be sure, with little success, which did not increase when from 1630-1654 Jesuit missionaries took over the mission work. Only in the last decades 797 has there been greater progress. Hand in hand with the conversion 177 to Christianity go the introduction and teaching of the Spanish lan- 871 guage and the adoption of Colombian customs and habits. Today in almost every village there is a mission station and a school, the teachers of which are mostly women missionaries. In general the parents do not send their children to school unwillingly, for they have realized that knowledge of Spanish and of reading and writing is accompanied by certain advantages in their relations with the [178] whites. In connection with the /256/ schooling, of course, there is [756] some alienation from the old habits and customs of the Paez, especially those of a religious and sociological nature. Nevertheless,

/256 cont./

797 in all Paez communities in which Spanish is not understood by the
177 majority of the population, the old functionaries of the original
178 Paez religion are needed to maintain the social life in particular.
871 In accordance with their activity, they are designated as "shamans"
756 by theologians. Because of the dissimilar nature of their religious activity, they do not by any means represent unbridgeable competition for the Christian missions; rather, both, the Christian faith and shamanistic activity, can exist side by side in the present stage of culture of the Paez.

● 771 If one considers existing theological convictions, one finds
793 that the office and dignity of the cult priest rest on the performance of sacred acts which must of necessity be fulfilled so that the
756 natural and normal development of human existence is not ob-
182 structed. His task is to confirm the existing world order through the consecration of sacerdotal acts. The shamans, however, -- on the contrary! -- want to outdo and break through the given order of nature and the environment. Their greatness and authority rest on the fact that they do supernatural things, that they heal the sick, struggle with spirits, yes, awaken the dead to new life. This, at any rate, is said of the greatest of their kind, whose talent lies in their spiritual, supernatural powers, in their mastering of extraordinary circumstances. Over against the cult priest's "thus it is," the shaman puts his "thus it should be" (A. Friedrich).

a) Characteristics of Paez Shamanism

756 The Paez shamans, in the sense given, are not functionaries
754 of a sacrificial cult, but persons who do supernatural things. There are two types of them, the teyu and the nyic. Whereas the teyu (tepits as a man, téoi as a woman) is a good shaman, a good doctor and helper of human beings, the nyic is an evil shaman, an evil sorcerer, a hexer. The shamanistic activity of both, however, as a religious phenomenon, is not nearly as distinctive as, for example, the shamanism that we are familiar with in Siberia or North America.

/256 cont./

771 It is not certain whether in former times the Paez had a cult
[793] priesthood besides shamans such as are practicing today. In any
[756] case, to designate the priests and missionaries they use the word
[797] tikwe, /257/ which is not used for anything else. The present-
771 day characteristic thinking of the Paez, their entire mental atti-
754 tude, revolves around magic and countermagic, despite mission-
[797] izing and Christianity. No injury, no illness, no deformity, no
[177] poor livestock is traced back to natural causes, but rather every-
thing is the work of evil magic. Since the people themselves
are fully convinced of this belief and ensnared by this idea, the
actual achievement of the evil sorcerers corresponds to what is
desired; that is to say, a person who knows he is bewitched,
being mindful of the inevitability of his fate, actually becomes
554 ill and dies. The victims are almost always the most thrifty
and industrious members of the community, those who tower
above the others because of their success.

754 There are no persons who are privileged because of age,
177 sex, or social position -- with the exception of the good shamans,
who are incessantly the target of the evil ones. Anyone who, in
dress and way of living, adopts the customs of the whites, is in
the habit of associating with them, no longer chews coca, works
with modern tools, and wants to carry on his farming according
to the principles of the colonists is opposed by the nyic.

754 It is not only the outward superiority of the individual over
554 the masses that evokes the envy of the nyic, but also the general
popularity of an individual, and with it a certain personal influ-
ence within the village. Thus, for example, the father of our
Victoriano was the victim of an evil charm. He is regarded as very
intelligent, is a good worker, knows best how to build houses and
bridges, and has even undertaken a journey to the city of Popayán.
On account of his popularity and the good advice he always gives --
so it is reported -- a nyic tried to kill him out of envy. One
[755] night when he was asleep the nyic robbed him of his soul. His
brother noticed it, however, and spat coca on it. The next day
the eye of the bewitched one became white and was close to
running out, if a teyu had not helped. He is blind in that eye,
however, to this day.

/317 cont./

105 In the Paez religion there is no cult priesthood with offerings
● 771 and prayer, just as there is also no cult or worship of numinous
756 beings. The Paez religion is a shamanism, the two forms of which are the evil sorcerer and the good shaman as doctor and helper against evil sorcery. As a religious phenomenon Paez shamanism is not as distinctive as the Siberian or the North American shamanism. Assistant spirits and the soul journey as shamanistic means are only rudimentary with the shamanistic "signs," the "thunder child," and the journeys of the shaman to the house of Thunder on the bottom of the lagoon; there is almost no ceremonial apparatus. Nevertheless, the activity of the good shaman in particular, as doctor and helper in sickness caused by magical practices, as well as his function as sociological crystallization point of the community, is entirely a shamanistic phenomenon.

105 Linguistically Paez belongs among the agglutinative languages,
[197] in which the form element is made up by affixes that characterize
[194] whole classes of words. In phonetics the series of palatals including all the consonants is striking, as well as the frequent occurrence of nasal vowels.

105 /318/ The linguistic classification of Paez is difficult. Since
114 the research of H. Beuchat and P. Rivet it has been regarded as
197 one of the Chibcha languages. This was not always the case. E. Castillo i Orosco emphasized in 1735 that in its grammatical structure Paez is very different from Chibcha (p. 63). It was C. Cuervo Marquez who first regarded Paez as a Chibcha language (p. 199). H. Pittier de Fábrega emphasized in 1907 that the relationship of Paez refers only to the rules of grammatical construction; the vocabulary is completely different (p. 341). Then in 1910 Beuchat and Rivet investigated all the North Andean languages in a work of large scope and then confirmed the distribution of the Chibcha languages from Nicaragua to Eucador. According to this, the majority of the Colombian tribes spoke Chibcha (pp. 193-198). Up to now this classification has neither been examined in greater detail nor disproved by linguistics. This may be left to the philologists. Here there will only be a few remarks about the problem of the Chibcha languages in general and that of Paez as an

P /319 cont./
105 concluded that the classification of Paez as a Chibcha language
197 cannot be regarded as definite. The grammatical agreements may just as well be remnants of an older, or superimpositions of a younger, population layer. In addition there is the fact that in the sometimes centuries-long struggles since the Conquista considerable shifting and intermingling of populations have taken place. It is possible that the tribes existing or surviving today are only scattered remains or groupings that have been made up from other tribes only after the Conquista.

C P 105 P [197] P E [361] P C [241] [412] P C [323] P [325] P C [411] P C [771]

Culturally the Paez have nothing at all in common with Chibcha culture. The Chibcha language group established by H. Beuchat and Paul Rivet is a linguistic concept, which, in an uninterrupted extension from Nicaragua to Ecuador, embraces completely different cultures! For example, the Chibcha settlements on the plateau of Bogotá are compact villages, whereas the Paez live on individual farms. The agriculture of the Chibcha, with the use of a wooden spade, is relatively advanced in comparison with the digging stick and burned-clearing cultivation of the Paez. Technically the manufacture of Chibcha ceramics is far above that of the Paez, and it is certain that the Paez did not do any gold work. Among the Paez the sling was the principal weapon; among the Chibcha, club and spear with the spear thrower. In the Chibcha religion we have a creator-god or a tribal mother with a pantheon of other gods, with offerings of gold and emeralds; we find hero-temples, holy places, and sacred kings, while among the Paez, only shamans.

C 105 P C 197

Thus we have a gaping division between the Chibcha language group and the Chibcha culture. Scientific terms, however, should be unequivocal and not designate different concepts with the same words. This is done correctly in Europe, for example, with /320/ the Indo-Germanic family of languages, the Dinaric race, or the band-ceramics culture.

The cultural concept of the Chibcha is the older one. In order not to identify and confuse the culture group with the language group which is completely different from it, the language group should have a different name, especially since it is not certain whether

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

314 fortunately the tree is being rapidly destroyed, either in the gathering of the wax or through clearing for cultivation.

Religion, Customs, Superstitions

114 According to Rodriguez the Paez did not know of any reli-
771 gion. But this is diametrically opposed to Castillo's repeated mention of pagan rites still practised among his flock. Moreover, it is not reasonable to suppose that these Indians would have lived in close contact with the Kitšua, who were veritable sun-worshippers, without being influenced by their beliefs.

771 *Itaki*, the sun, was worshipped at special shrines built on the
786 cut-off summits (*itaki finô*) of high mountains. At certain dates,
821 fixed by their priests (*diçi*) in accordance with their omens, they
[787] congregated at these places and for many consecutive days gave themselves up to chicha drinking and all the lubric manifestations provoked by drunkenness. On these occasions no blood relation was respected; nor was there any limit to adultery. Later, after the missionaries had undertaken their civilizing work, the Indians secretly continued these hideous practices; indeed, it is even asserted that they have not yet given them up completely, although they may not commit the excesses that were formerly attributed to them, as such would be contrary to their present ideal standards.

535 Dances played an important part in all the diversions of the Paez. They were of several kinds, varying with the occasion. Castillo mentions the *guciô-kô*, money-begging dance (baile de pedir dinero), or *šita-ko* (sea-shell dance, baile de caracol), in
[534] which two sea-shells (bocinas), the one giving a low tone (bajon destemplado) and the other the treble, were played alternately for whole nights, remembering, "(a los cristianos) la noche de la prision de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, i á los indios, la chicha, baile i maldades que ejecutan." Other dances of which we generally have no description were *onza-kô*, the mouse dance; *neui-kô*, the buzzard dance; *itsa-ko*, the puberty dance of females, to which allusion has already been made (page 314); *eš-kobi-ko*, the dance of the phantom reed; *tel-kobi-ko*, the dance of the long reed, or war-dance; *la-ko* the new-house dance; *himb-ko*,

/287 cont./

631 climate and vegetation. Although Paez culture is certainly unitary, each parcialidad presents different nuances which are evident even in the mythology and language. The antropomimia is quite different in each parcialidad.

Nowadays there are 16 parcialidades, four of which belong to the municipio of Inzá and the remaining 12 to that of Páez (Belalcázar).

771 Magic and medicine.--There are three institutions which
782 go in unison and encroach upon others, which explain the causation of sicknesses, the treatment for them, and serve as escape valves for aggression. They are:

a) The one made up of the trilogy of supernatural beings named Duende /ghost/, Echi, and Arco /rainbow/;

b) The institution of the medicine man, and

c) Sorcery.

753 a) Duende, Arco, and Echi are the causers of illnesses,
776 each of them producing a specific symptomatology which serves
[75] as the basis for the diagnostics of common people, a diagnostics
[787] corroborated by the divining activities of the medicine man. These supernatural beings cause illnesses by puncture, aroused by the annoyance that they suffer because of the sorcerers' practices, or by those who had contact with corpses and did not go through the mandatory purification, or because people have passed through places that are taboo, such as bogs and lagoons, or have failed to comply with the rites and ceremonies when slaughtering cattle or when harvesting new clearings, or because they have not observed "custom" at the first menstruation or childbirth.

756 b) In the institution of the medicine man the functions of
787 divination, magic, and medicine are entwined. More precisely, the medicine man is a diviner-shaman-curer who has undergone an /288/ apprenticeship in the profession with an esteemed and experienced master or with the help of a guardian spirit seen in actuality or in dreams; the latter are the best

medicine men.

/288 cont./
583 in the church, live together for a period of indeterminate duration, explaining that /289/ the man does not have enough money at hand to marry as soon as he asks the woman, and it is necessary to work in order to obtain it.

771 Religion.--The religion of the Paez is formally Catholicism,
177 but many of their traditions are hidden in it. The principal
[796] fiestas of the natives are religious ones, which acquire true strokes of splendor. The Catholic priest is called upon for the ceremonies of baptism, marriage, and cases of death.

Chapter II

631 Calderas.--Incrusted in the very heart of Tierradentro is the
131 Parcialidad of Calderas, bounded on the north by a high ridge
133 that separates it from Chinas and Avirama; on the east, La Muralla, the very model of a fault, separates it from Avirama, just as a ridge separates it from Togoima; to the south, deep gorges and high peaks separate it from San Andrés and Togoima; to the west, the Quebrada Guacharaca divides it from the Parcialidad of Lame.

133 It is crossed from west to east by the Quebrada Kukiyú,
631 actually a river in terms of the volume and violence of its waters, whose bed is deep, enclosed, and inaccessible. Its
[423] left bank is somewhat softened by a beautiful plateau of about 20 hectares, with fertile lands, abundant waters, and on which the pueblo rises; it belongs to the community, whereas the other lands are private property guaranteed by the fact that the owner either personally cleared the montaña or inherited it from his ancestors who cleared the forest. The right bank is steep, harsh,
[161] rugged. Numerous clearings are to be seen on these sloping
[311] lands, indicating the increase in population that compels them to cultivate lands of low fertility and great danger for the laborer.

4:Bernal Villa--56 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/220 cont./

XXVI

Religious Fiestas

796 Among the Paez there are no secular collective celebrations. All are religious. They celebrate with pomp and grandeur: San Andrés, Semana Santa, San Juan, San Pedro and San Pablo, La Santa Cruz, El Día de Difuntos, La Inmaculada Concepción...

[178] The Lazarist missionary, David González, says that as
[179] far back as 1689 the fiestas were organized as they were found
[177] in 1905, that is to say, as they are today. Each pueblo was granted a patron saint and various other protectors. In spite of this, only San Juan Bautista and San Pedro and San Pablo, whose fiestas are celebrated when maize is eared /en macollaje/, the rains are heavier, and the winds are violent, the day of the dead /el día de difuntos/ with its offerings to the souls, the Inmaculada Concepción, when grain is abundant, and the Semana Santa (El Resucitado /The Resurrected/) were the fiestas and saints that aroused the most enthusiasm and sank the deepest roots in the souls of these natives.

771 The Paez, and especially those of Calderas, are religious
796 in externals, not in conviction; they are more concerned with
182 form than with substance. This is revealed in the religious fiestas of these natives. /221/ Few of them attend mass, and fewer yet pray at vespers. To the great majority of them, religious fiestas mean a squandering of gunpowder, lights, aguardiente, and chicha. An abundance of food. The pleasure of getting together. The joy of contact. The music, which assuages hardship, and the dancing, an exteriorization of feelings. It is the expansiveness that leads to gatherings, the sexual jokes that spring up among them without misgivings; it is the continuous drunkenness. It is the display of generosity, the exercises in co-operation and altruism.

796 The priest, as a punishment for failure to attend the Mass
793 on the part of the chief fiestero and albacero, refused to carry
719

/333 cont./
417 bags full of frijoles, which are also suspended from the wall
353 posts. This is also where the grains (lumps) of salt are kept.
251 The amounts kept for the months of scarcity are not sufficient, but there are other comestibles that help them: domestic ani-
[244] mals, cabbages, onions, sugar cane, and coca. In Lame and Mosoco they cultivate a plant which they call ijuca de pijao. It
[464] is an edible discoria /Dioscorea/. We have also seen that want is avoided by going to work as laborers on the fincas of the "whites."

[263] Meat is also kept on the frame above the hearth. They utilize the smoke to preserve it. Salt is not used for this purpose.

251 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José, where large quantities of wheat are planted, one frequently finds under the eaves of thatched houses bundles of wheat that remain hanging for several months. In this way they preserve it from the attacks of small rodents, and the grain is of excellent quality because it dries out thoroughly.

261 During times of scarcity, the natives do not seek solace in
273 religion. Actually, their defense is in the sale of their own work-
276 ing capacity for a small daily wage, a few eggs of coca, and
[771] food. It should be noted that guarapo and coca are splendid
[464] sedatives against the pangs of hunger. It is curious that one of the
[465] most noted religious fiestas of Calderas is held precisely during a time of scarcity. Large quantities of guarapo are consumed for nearly a month.

Provision of water and firewood

312 In Tierradentro the rainfall is relatively high. As a result, water abounds in small and /334/ large watercourses. This geographical factor leads the natives to bring the water close to their homes by means of a system of drainage ditches that are true engineering works. The distances that have to be faced or the accidents of the terrain make no difference. When necessary,
[177] they use bamboo tubes as artificial channels. This system has been adopted by the "whites" and even by the towns. Since the high parts on both margins of the Paez River are bare of vegetation,

7:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

535 There is much dancing today. The sexes perform in couples or separately. Among the *Moguex*, some of the expert dancers are paid to dance with all couples in a sort of "bambuco." Dancing is always a part of *Páez* ceremonies for the death of children, baptismals, weddings, saint holidays, and meetings for collective work (mingas) held in the evening when people return from their plantations.

Dancing, as other social events, is subject to a special ceremony [585] or etiquette, strongly connected with religious beliefs. For example, in the wedding celebration, a prayer is first said in which the souls of [608] the dead are asked permission to dance, or "scrape the floor," as they call dancing. Only the godparents and the bride and groom may [527] dance at the beginning.

526 The *Páez* do not masquerade, but the *Moguex* always masquerade during the period of carnival preceding Holy Week.

[524] **Games.**—Games do not hold an important place among these peoples. The children amuse themselves by imitating the activities [857] of their elders. The only game recorded is simulated warfare, performed as a part of a rite in honor of the dead after a communal [769] feast. Two teams under their captains or caciques attacked and shot arrows at each other. Even if some contestants were killed or wounded, no one bore a grudge.

276 **Narcotics.**—The *Páez* and the *Moguex* chewed coca leaves mixed in the mouth with lime powder. Coca chewing is widespread among men, but very little practiced by women. It is used especially by [756] the shaman when he is practicing. In Colonial times the use of coca [177] spread to the rural population of Mestizos and Whites in Nariño, Cauca, and Huila.

273 **Alcoholic beverages.**—These Indians formerly made chicha of maize, but today they ferment it with sugarcane molasses. They also have [178] fermented sugarcane juice (guarapo), and a sort of rum (aguardiente). The latter is distilled clandestinely in their huts from guarapo and certain herbs fermented together in earthenware crocks. The Indians drink guarapo every day, but restrict the use of chicha and the stronger guarapo and aguardiente to market days, religious feast days, burials, weddings, mingas or meetings for work, and witchcraft [462] ceremonies. Guarapo and chicha are made by women, who sometimes chew the maize to increase its fermentation. They are stored in large, hollowed tree trunks and in large earthen jars, which are kept in a special place in the hut. There is never a lack of these beverages for home use and for welcoming an unexpected visitor.

RELIGION

175 The early Spaniards had little understanding of the religion of these 771 people. They reported that the Indians had but few idols and no temples or places of worship. Castillo mentions that they wor-

7:Hemández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Pass SC15
Moguex

Castillo mentions that they wor-
175
shiped the sun, in whose honor they met and danced in plabes called 771
"Itaqui-finó," i. e., the place where the sun revealed its mysteries; 776
and that they venerated a kind of culture hero called Guequiau. [156]
It was he who instructed shamans (mohanes).

This hero has a counterpart in the religious legend of Juan Tama, 773
the Son of the Star. One day when the Morning Star shone very 776
brightly, some Indians found a child in a gorge—ever since called the Gorge of the Star. This was Juan Tama. They picked him up and entrusted him to a woman to nurse, but he nursed so much that her milk dried up. He was given to another woman, whom he also made very weak. They then said that he could not be nursed by a woman, and gave him food. After he grew up, he married the female chief of Huila, Doña María Mendiguagua, and became chief of all the Indians. He instructed people and explained to them how to keep the land for themselves and not mix with White people. He pronounced them invincible and summoned a chief from Pitayó, called Calambás, whom he appointed his manager. Calambás rebelled,[13] but was defeated by Juan Tama, who pardoned him on account of his bravery, and conferred on him and his heirs the right to rule the *Pdez* in Bitoncó. As death approached, Juan Tama went to the lake on the páramo of Moras and sank into the waters. He had come out of this place and returned to it, leaving no heirs.[14]

In the neighborhood of Bitoncó there is a rock with what appears 776
to be human footprints. When the Indians pass it, they uncover 823
their heads and say, "The Holy One came this way." Another rem- [623]
nant of the cult of Juan Tama is the custom that each member of the council spends one week at the shores of the lake before the end of his term to render an account to Juan Tama of his actions in office. Likewise, newly elected officers, as soon as they receive their staffs or insignia of authority, spend a week at the lake. They toss silver [621]
coins into it, wash their staffs, and pray for strength to rule well. [631]
This ceremony, performed with the greatest secrecy, is called the "curing of the staffs." Recently, however, the Indians have stopped [821]
"curing" their staffs in the lake, for they say that Juan Tama is angry, and whenever they approach the lake, it rains and storms badly.

In the Guanacas section there was another sacred lagoon, called Tumbachí, which was recently drained because a snake that lived there attracted girls and kept them for a whole year, and then returned them when they were about to become mothers.

These tribes believed that the soul comes back to life. 775

Witchcraft was strongly developed among these Indians, who still 754
believe in most of its practices, in spite of the catechization forced 177
upon them by the missionaries.

[13] During the War of Independence, as well as in subsequent revolutions, the Indians of the family named Calambás distinguished themselves as warriors. [669]

[14] We are indebted to Father David González for this legend, told to him by an old Indian in Lame. [114]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

cluding vegetables, cornbread, eggs, and chicha, which he piles on the church floor, together with wax candles—one if the person does not have anyone in particular to remember, two for each deceased relative. When Mass begins, they throw flowers on the presbytery, as an offering to the souls of children. Afterward, they go to the cemetery in procession, and the souls of the departed come down to the empty church to take the food. Later, the people sell whatever the souls left or failed to eat. Everyone buys something, the captain's assistant collecting the money, while the constables of the council, raising their whips and shouting insults, prevent frauds in the general disorder. The money from the sale is given to the priest to pay him for the work in the rites. As each person leaves the church, he kisses a crucifix held by the sacristan at the church door. They kiss it once for each dead person whom they wish to remember and pay a cent each time. In addition to offering food at the church, the *Moguex* cover their tables at home with food, which is also intended for the souls of their dead, and at the end of 2 or 3 days they eat the food, saying that they are eating what the souls have left.

769 782 [624] [625]

Christmas and Holy Week are both great occasions for the Indians, who celebrate them with music and some of their ancient rites. Even though a priest may not be present, they conduct the rites in a manner that dates from Colonial days, when a *Páez* Indian named Undachí tried to combine Catholicism with their own religion. The man claimed to be able to see God, who used to come among the Indians and talk to him in his own *Páez* language. The new religion included a chapel, Mass, and candle and flower offerings.

796 771 177 [781]

Sickness.—Sickness was always thought to be caused by witchcraft or by someone's will. The evil force entered the body and made it impure; it had to be expelled or "cleansed," lest death ensue. If a delirious person told who was killing him, the individual mentioned was thought guilty; or, if, after a death, the face of the deceased should appear to somebody, the person was considered responsible. These beliefs are still in force today, and the Indians avoid the causes of sickness, such as having sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman, exposing the body to bad weather while there is a rainbow, and neglecting to bathe after a burial or to purify a house where a death occurred.

753 754 [787] 753 178

To fight disease they still have shamans. *Moguex* shamans use tobacco, coca, plants known as yacuna and chundar, and rum in their practice. After remaining shut up in a dark room for a night, they either confess their inability to cure the sick person or proceed to administer the traditional medicines. Sickness is conceptualized as an animal, which enters the stomach, head, or other part of the body. In former times, the shaman fasted with the sick person, abstaining from salt and fats and taking only coca and chicha. Today, he requires that only the patient fast.

756 [753] [785]

/253 cont./

539 When he came back, he saw the snake in its place. Then he changed back into a human being. The fiber bag was there, too. The bananas were there, too. The snake filled with water (that is, underdone, still watery) was there.

It was afternoon when he went into his house. The bag he brought to his wife. He came to his wife with this bag. When he had knocked, he entered.

2. Orientation and General Knowledge

772 776 177 Nothing definite can be said about the ancient Paez conception of the world, since Christian influence has had a strongly modifying effect. In any case, there is in the Paez vocabulary the word "tátyinas," which is sometimes translated as "god," and sometimes -- and corresponding better with the meaning of the word -- as "creator." The word "Dios" is used to designate the Christian God. Tátyinas, I was told, lives in heaven, on the earth, and in the earth. He made all human beings. He does not receive sacrifices. He is not mentioned in shamanistic ceremonies.

772 775 The vocabulary shows that, besides the earth and the conception of a heaven or of the firmament, there were also two places of the dead that were familiar. The happy land of death, mbéka kígwe, is like heaven. Literally it means "land of chicha," and if one knows the Paez, one realizes that in any case it must be /254/ a happy land. The land of the dead corresponding to [776] "hell" is called eč kígwe. The eč are the most evil of all spirits. They live in the earth; hence this designation must refer to a subterranean land.

804 461 As for natural periods of time, only days and months are known, as well as work days and non-work days (ki'sen). The latter designation is now used for Sunday. Originally this was not a fixed day; rather, people worked and celebrated as they could arrange the time within a larger or smaller community. Even today, during the times of clearing, the people sometimes work for weeks in the field, without inserting a work-free day.

/307 cont./

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781

25. The Sky

Informant: Agustín Muse.
Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

Once when I was near death my soul climbed to the sky, which is a flat plain where the view extends to the horizon. The entrance is wooded. The Virgin told me that this land was for her sons and that I would have a piece. To reach the sky, one first goes along a good path and soon becomes lost; the most hidden one leads to the Virgin's palace. It is said that it is bad for one to eat the porcupine, because he will come before María Santísima dressed in its skin. He will go to the devil, and although the latter cannot pick him up, he has hooks with which to grab him. This is why, at the hour of retiring or rising, I pray to my God and to María.

[262]
[825]

The palace of María is of blinding splendor. It is very beautiful. The Virgin always holds the Child; only rarely does she put him down somewhere.

I tell my fellow men what I saw but they make fun of my account.

/308/ It is holy, they should respect it.

Good people go to heaven, that is to say, those who do not abuse other persons, say evil things, or are loutish.

*539
824

26. Origin of the Plants

The old people said that every kind of seed had been given by María Santísima, who drew them from her womb and gave them to the Christians in order for them to maintain themselves. Plants are thus inherited from María Santísima. She gave away every kind of seed when her brother was around. Hence his rage, since he wanted to give seeds and animals and could not. Perhaps the snakes were made by Santo Tomás. /The bibliography on p. 309 is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

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/117 cont./

342 761 783 [756] [773] [628] 961 783 123 Anyone may build himself a house of whatever size he wishes on his own land in the mountains, as well as on the above-mentioned community land in the valley, but he must first ask the shaman acting for him whether any bones of the Pijao are in the ground on the piece of land in mind. As comes out in the myths, the Pijao in ancient times were the frightful and militarily cleverer enemies of the Paez. Their bones (eč ndyît Pijao) contain "pest." This pest is a very complex and significant concept among the Paez (cf. under "Religion" /see p. 191/), and the pest of the Pijao bones is capable of killing the people living above them. How very much our interpreter Victoriano, one of the most enlightened Paez, was affected by this fear came out when he worked with us in the archeological park in San Andrés. For lack of space he had to sleep in the tool room, where, however, he felt very comfortable and, with a camp bed and mattress, had built himself probably the best bed of his life. One day we opened a large prehistoric grave-chamber, which contained more than 80 bone-urns with the remains of cremations. Since we could not accommodate such a large number of urns in our living room, which at the same time served as our museum, we had to put a number of them in the tool room. I left the skeletal remains in several of them in order to save them for a later examination. Weeping, Victoriano begged me please not to put in his tool room any urns containing bones, because the bones might have come from the Pijao, who would surely kill him. Even the washed and cleaned urns, he assured us, contained very much "pest," so that at the next opportunity he wanted to go to Calderas and have himself "purified" by his home shaman. He failed to do this, and when after a few days he had a toothache, he traced this back to the action of the pest from the burial urns previously filled with bones.

342 761 783 756 787 /118/ The shaman's testing of the ground proposed as the building site is not done by digging or sampling the ground; rather, the one who wishes to build goes to the house of the shaman in the evening with coca, tobacco, and brandy, tells him of his wish, and then both sit down on the ground next to each other

/146 cont./

726 In order to defend their mountain country the Paez also used
[726] large rocks which they hurled down on the attackers from the
[177] heights. They, too, however, soon succeeded in obtaining iron
[411] and iron weapons. In their battles at the time of the Conquista they were already using swords and machetes.

411 The stone-sling plaited of agave fibers, whose manufacture
726 is described below (see under "Plaiting" /see pp. 85-86 /), is
773 of great importance mythologically in the battles with the "Pijao."
628 For geographical reasons it is the typical weapon of the American
411 mountain peoples from Tierra del Fuego to Canada, whereas the
171 blowgun, for similar reasons, is the typical weapon chiefly of the Amazonas and Orinoco forest area. The simultaneous occurrence of blowgun and sling is found all the way from Mexico to Ecuador and in Bolivia (Friederici, 1911, pp. 71-73, Pl. 13).

411 /147/ The blowgun of the Paez consists of a single barrel and is very simple in its construction. It is made only by men, but
[462] for bird-hunting is used almost solely by boys. To make it, one
[857] uses the thin, straight trunk of the fíza tree, the pith of which is
[223] burned out with a long iron tube about eight millimeters in diameter and heated red-hot. The length of the tube is two to three meters. No special mouthpiece is attached. As a sight a little piece of beeswax is pasted above the mouth of the blowgun.
[824] The ball-shaped fruits of the smbák tree, which have exactly the right caliber when green, are used as shot. The range amounts
[211] to about 20 meters. The accuracy of the shot is not great. Nevertheless, there are boys who have carved more than 20 notches above the blowhole of the tube as a record of the birds killed.

4. Crafts and Techniques

a) Treatment of Fibers

283 The fiber material used by the Paez for plaiting, weaving, nets, or ropes is primarily agave, cotton, or sheep wool. Agave and cotton are ancient American fiber plants whose homeland is probably Central America, while working with sheep wool has its tradition in the Peruvian Highlands, in working with llama or

/201 cont./

461 28 Whereas the men for the most part plait straw hats when they have nothing else to do, the women are busy with spinning and making the coca bags or the fiber bags. But even at this they do not work steadily in the sense, say, that they complete first one bag, for example, or make all the preparations from the outset for weaving an article of clothing; rather, they always work a little at a time on each task. Thus, for example, first a little spinning is done, then wood is fetched, then a coca bag is worked on, and then perhaps a brief hour is spent at the loom in order to weave a few centimeters more on the carrying band of the fiber bags, if the fiber material is at hand. No preparations are made for this plaiting and weaving for a long period in advance, but rather one provides herself with wool, spins it, weaves a bit farther, and then drops the work again for a week or more. Nevertheless, the women do not have periods of out-and-out idleness, like the men.

461 574 156 [192] This doing-nothing is designated among the Paez with a word of Spanish origin pasnyándo (paseando). To be sure, one must not overdo the inactivity, that is, not "go for a walk" longer than about two weeks in succession, for otherwise one is called "alko" (dog), who runs from house to house, sniffs about everywhere, and gets his food from other people by begging. This is encouraged by the unwritten law of the Paez, to give food to a starving person, [773] wherever it may be, until he is satisfied. This is taken very seriously, not only when adults are the petitioners, but also in the case of small children, in memory of an event in prehistoric times when Chauté /202/ turned a number of persons into stones because they had not given a begging child anything to eat out of their surplus (see the myths /see p. 224/). Hence if anyone enters a house "pasnyándo," he is given something to eat. Younger, unmarried people in particular take advantage of this and sometimes do not work at all, but go to a different house every day. They inquire as to where sugar cane is being milled, help there, are given chicha to drink and food to eat, and the next day go somewhere else. Thus there are some men who have neither house nor field, but nevertheless live quite well. To be sure, the

/267 cont./

756 like the entire culture of the Paez. For the rest, there are neither special articles of clothing or equipment nor any other kind of ceremonial gear, such as crystals, masks, or rattles.

[824] The shaman's staff consists of a smooth staff, 50 to 60 centimeters long, made out of the hard wood of the chonta palm. It is /268/ pointed at one end and semicircular in cross-section. Each shaman makes this staff for himself before treating his first [764] patient and never lets it out of his hand. When he dies, it is put into the grave with him. Before a séance begins, he sticks it into the ground, though not directly in front of him, but somewhat to the side. Only rarely does a shaman have it in his hand during the séance. As the single exception to the unadorned shaman's staff, I know of only the one belonging to old Felisa Ipia of Santa Rosa. On her staff she has tied a number of colored wool threads [774] which she spun herself and dyed with homemade dyes. She has collected in these threads the souls of all the villagers of Santa [755] Rosa. If someone in the village falls ill, she learns of it through [787] her signs or through Thunder personally and in this way is better able to help the sick person, since she can immediately blow her medicinal herbs, mixed with brandy, on the wool threads and thus can help the sick person better.

756 S. Bernal Villa points out that the designation for the shaman's ●773 staff corresponds to the name of the most important culture hero of the Paez, Juan Tama, who, according to tradition, was lawgiver, famous and victorious commander of the army, first chief [976] and shaman. According to other traditions, he was the son of the stars, the son of Thunder, or Thunder himself. The present-day shamans regard the staff as a gift from Thunder, and as a sign of spiritual alliance with him. A shaman of San Andrés, reporting on the origin of the shaman staff, says that, according to the stories of the elders, the tama was introduced by Thunder himself. According to this, a man once had his hut and his potato field in the mountains. He harvested the field with his son. One day the son refused to follow his father to the field, but rather preferred to stay behind in the hut. The next day the son had disappeared

/268 cont./

756 without leaving a trace. In vain the father tried to find out where
●773 he was staying. After eight days, however, the son again appeared in the hut. He said that he had been with his grandfather, who had given him brandy, medicines, and this staff that he held in his hand and that was called tama. The "brandy" was cold water from a lake, and the medicines in the fiber bag were mountain herbs. After he had said this, he fell into a trance and lay there as though dead. Fourteen days later, as he lay dying, he asked his father to hand him his tama, for Thunder had told him that he could defend himself with it and that, in case of illness, he should take the medicines that he had given him. He squeezed /269/ out the juice and drank it. Quickly he became well. When he gave it to other sick persons, they, too, became well immediately. With his staff and his medicines he became the best doctor far and wide. He died at an advanced age.

775 Another shaman said that the tama stems from a lifesaving
773 act of the Holy Virgin Mary. Once when the sea rose constantly
177 higher and had covered almost the entire earth, human beings were in great danger. The Virgin Mary took pity on them. She drew forth the tama and with it made the same motions that the shamans make with it today. The masses of water then receded. She left her staff behind for the person who became a shaman. This is supposed to be the origin of the tama.

Although in the latter story not only the figure of the Virgin Mary, but possibly also the motif of the Deluge did not originate in the thought of the Paez, nevertheless the origin of the tama as
756 a gift from a higher power is noteworthy. This power, which,
776 for the shamans, is of the greatest significance as a spirit being
787 and as the first shaman, is Thunder. According to reports, he also positively has the character of an assistant spirit, even though he is almost only feared by the present-day shamans. "The old shamans," the present ones constantly assert, "were still powerful enough magically to establish communication with Thunder directly and at any time; we today are no longer able
778 to do it." In former times the members of the cabildo, under the
756 guidance of a shaman, bathed together in the lagoon of Juan Tama
623

/269 cont./

778 and had their staff of office consecrated there. Today this no
756 longer takes place because of the lack of good shamans. The
623 shamans of today no longer have the intense visions that the
[787] earlier ones had, and that is why they are no longer so powerful magically. They are no longer able to speak with Thunder as simply as their predecessors did, and since they are weaker, it is believed that Thunder will kill them.

776 Thunder is generally described as small of stature and dressed like a Paez man with hat and black ruana. It is reported that he does not wear trousers, but exposes his sexual parts. He has with
[534] him, like a shaman, his tama, a fiber bag with medicines, and a
[532] musical instrument called "tíngalo" (triangle). It is not impossible that it is his picture, together with a Christian cross, that is incised in the gable post of a hut in the vicinity of the park of San Andrés, which represents a man with large, triangular-shaped sexual parts (Ill. 200 /see p. 288 /).

[756] /270/ Thunder is regarded by all the Paez as the greatest
●[773] shaman and by the teyu as their master. In the folklore (see below /see pp. 215 ff./), he probably often has different names, such as Juan Tama, Llivan, Chauté, Juan Chiracol, but his characteristics stand out in them, no matter whether as sat (cacique) he is fighting the Pijao and defending his people, or that he will one day -- people are convinced -- again drive the hated whites
776 out of Tierradentro. He warns the Paez of an evil white person
821 who is coming to Tierradentro for a visit by a clap of thunder from
[783] a clear sky. When he thunders above a particular house, he is
[754] announcing that there is "pest" in it, and if he thunders first above the house of a nyic and then above one belonging to a teyu he is thereby announcing to a good shaman that he has just been bewitched.

776 A few stories also tell about the struggles of the shamans
787 against Thunder, for he once robbed the Paez of livestock and
756 people. But that was long ago, for today no one would dare undertake anything against Thunder. The Calderun shamans tell how the earlier teyu were in a position to speak with Thunder at any time and to get advice from him. Those of today are no

/286 cont./

182 no new harvest may be undertaken until the teyu has first cleansed
756 of the pest the building site or the crops, respectively.

/287/ He is, however, not only the protector of the individual or the individual family, but is also responsible for the beneficial
[773] co-existence of the members of the whole village. Thus, it is not surprising that it was the shamans -- besides Thunder under his various names -- who were the war leaders in the mythical tradi-
[726] tions. Thanks to their magical gifts and strength, they successfully led their people against the Pijao and the Spaniards. Several times the elders of the various villages told us that one day Thunder will again drive the white intruders out of the Tierradentro of the
[648] Paez and kill them. And it is only logical that, as late as 1952,
[789] on the occasion of an impending attack by an armed group of white revolutionaries, the shaman of Santa Rosa, as the successor of the mythical Thunder, should spit his magic herbs on the road leading to the village, in order to destroy them. Old Felisa Ipia is behaving in a similar manner when she keeps the souls of all the village inhabitants gathered together in the threads of her shaman's staff, in order to be able to protect them better against evil, magical influences.

756 On account of these certain supernatural abilities of theirs, the
554 effects of which no one in the community can evade, the teyu
[885] have a certain unofficial authority. In addition, they are all at least 30 to 40 years old and thus, by their very age, fulfill one of the natural prerequisites for recognition by the community. Not a few of them feel honored by this, set apart from the great mass of people, but many assured me that they were shamans only unwillingly, that though they were called by their ability to receive signs, they were nevertheless oppressed by the weight of the burden of their responsibility.

756 During times of epidemics of disease or inexplicable, "super-
124 natural" deaths, they are the focal point of the community, to
[182] which no one appeals in vain. And in conversations with them we generally had the distinct impression of facing unselfish, helpful human beings. They make no secret of their activity, and they tried, as best they could, to tell us about their experiences and knowledge which they use for the good of the community.

/314 cont./

105 with sowing and harvesting otherwise characteristic of peoples
241 who plant. It is not improbable that they practiced this field
[442] cultivation as they describe it for the Pijao. In the story /315/ of the Paez with the ax (No. 16) it is said that the Pijao were not familiar with tools in former times and, accordingly, could not fell trees to lay out a proper burned-off field. In order to obtain fields for their sowing, they were obliged to split the bark of trees with stones. After these were dried, they sowed their maize between the dead trunks.

105 In connection with hunting, economically insignificant today,
[224] the hunter is surrounded by a number of prohibitions such as we find everywhere among hunting peoples throughout the world.
[226] Fishing is carried on with poisonous plants at weirs. It took place as a joint fishing expedition of the entire village in the February dry season when the water was at its lowest level of the year. This large annual fishing expedition was called enzte. The time
[233] period of one year was also designated with the same word. Raising
[556] large livestock is almost purely a sport or a matter of appearance
[231] and wealth. Horses are not used; cattle are slaughtered only for the three large annual Christian festivals (Semana Santa, San Juán, Immaculada).

Among weapons, only the shotgun for hunting is of significance
[773] today. The pellet blowgun and the stone-sling are used as toys. In
[441] the mythology the latter plays an important part as a decisive weapon in war.

In the handcraft techniques of plaiting and weaving, the use of agave fiber and sheep wool predominates, generally in the form of spun and twisted threads. The carrying bags of agave fiber and the wool coca bags are made by the loop technique; the hammocks, bird nets, berry sieves, and stone-slings by the knot technique. Only straw hats are plaited. The bands of the fiber bags are woven out of agave fibers; the women's belts and the articles of clothing of men and women, out of sheep wool. The weaving method is simple rod-weaving with the linen texture. The women's belts have an ornamental warp formed during the weaving process. The weaving frame is vertical, of the so-called

/316 cont./

105 601 The kinship nomenclature shows remnants of a "classificatory" system, into which the individual is fitted as part of a living structure and does not stand out in profile, detached within the family. Persons are differentiated in address according to certain circumstances of age and life, and, among others, siblings are differentiated in address, according to whether they are younger or older than the speaker.

105 53 In art and mythology a considerable impoverishment has taken place. There is neither song nor any peculiar dance. The music of transverse flutes and drums, performed with great enthu- [177] siasm, is to be stressed. The cylindrical drum with skin stretched on two sides, which is used at the present time by the Paez, is in all parts of America a loan from the Negroes. In earlier times hanging, hollowed-out tree-trunks were used for the dance and for conveying information, such as /317/ are used today as troughs for making chicha. The rattles formerly present are no longer used today. The transverse flutes with six blowholes used by the Paez are post-Columbian; at any rate they are not found in this form either archeologically or recently among uninfluenced Indians. The only transverse flute form known from pre-Spanish and modern times are flutes that are stopped at both ends and provided with two blowholes (Izikowitz, pp. 298 ff.).

105 ● 773 776 In the fund of tales no comprehensive picture of the world emerges. The chief figure in the myths is Thunder, who appears as the first shaman and as a war leader. He is not, however, an exalted, numinous figure, but rather to some extent has charac- teristics attributed to forest spirits in other parts of South America. [784] There is also a special forest spirit (gĕlyómp) among the Paez. He [224] has the figure of an old man with large, exposed sexual parts, and his stings inflicted as punishment for ritual uncleanness in connec- tion with hunting cause the human being sickness and pain. He does not, however, appear mythologically. Fragments of larger myth-complexes are the story of the woman from whose body useful plants arise, the story about the ghostly human head that comes rolling along, stories about transformed animals and human beings, and stories about werejaguars.

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

/289 cont./

142 The Calderuno /native of Calderas/ is rather tall, with a light copper skin, straight black hair, a straight nose somewhat flattened and broad at the base, slightly prominent cheekbones, dark brown eyes reminiscent of the Mongolian eye, a broad forehead, long and robust extremities, a slightly pentagonal face; many have mustaches, and, on the whole, the 157 features are rather /290/ handsome. On the other hand, he is talkative, communicative, deeply traditionalistic, proud [36] of himself, and has a deep love of the land. Isolated as they [177] are from the other parcialidades by natural accidents and far removed from the urban centers of Inzá and Belalcázar, they are shy, sullen, and withdrawn with the white, stubbornly opposed to contact with him, and, as a result their institutions, have suffered less from the impact of cultural mestization. 797 Not even the very church that has worked so persistently for the 177 catechization of these tribes, especially in this century through the Lazarist missionaries active since 1905, has been able to penetrate fully into the soul of these people.

114 I have carried out my research in this parcialidad since 773 the month of August of last year, with several interruptions. [124] The myths and tales which I now present were gathered with patient labor after much waiting, for the natives, when questioned about these themes, nearly always reply with the word himeto ("I don't know"). There is no need to stress the importance of mythology as an institution in the so-called "primitive" cultures. Nor is it my intention to theorize on the subject. It is enough to say, in the words of Herskovits, that "mitología es como la carta constitucional de las creencias y presta sentido a la conducta ritual que se deriva de sus consagraciones /mythology is the constitutional charter of beliefs and gives meaning to the ritualistic behavior that is derived from its consecrations/" (1). The chroniclers tell

1. Herskovits, p. 409 /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 309/.

/290/

114 us nothing about the religion and mythology of the Paez. Nor
773 do systematic modern studies exist. Nor do those who have had the opportunity to be in contact with them and to describe their customs and ways of life tell us about their religion and mythology. Furthermore, there are those who state that the Paez have no mythology. José Pérez de Barradas collected the myth of Juan Tama. Gregorio Hernández de Alba refers to it, and the Lazarist missionary Fr. David González also collected it and has it in his unpublished work, Los Paeces /The Paez/, in quite elaborate and synthetical form, as does G. Burg. It is obvious that a large part of the myths and tales which I am presenting, not to say all of them, have suffered modifications in the avatar of time, as the institutions also changed. Since mythology is the rationalization of conflicts created by the culture itself, it is subject to the directives /291/ of that society and culture. Its roots are inevitably of a sociological and cultural nature.

773 Many of the myths collected have a marked similarity to
776 that of Juan Tama. The predominant central motifs refer to
538 sex and aggression. The personages in the myths are Thunder, Llíban, Juan Chiracol, Chaute, and Santo Tomás. Llíban is regarded as Thunder's son, but everyone maintains that he is Thunder himself; he was a cacique, and the natives state that many of their caciques took refuge in the turbulent waters of the river. The last two personages merge and in reality form a single being. It is to be noted that in some accounts the tricky personage presented is not Tomás, who is a saint, but Pedro Dimales, his brother.

186 There is no need to emphasize the role played by the Pijao
793 in these accounts. The recollection of this people inured to
628 war is still fresh in the memory of the Calderunos, the characteristics of the struggle sustained against them still manifest, the fear that the name Pijao awakened still alive. To the Calderun mentality they seem like monsters, like animals of uncommon size and power, who drew fire from their armpits.

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

/291 cont./

773 They are in fact legendary personages who go beyond the
[186] boundaries of legend to enter the territory of myth, not only
[628] by their symbolism, but in their dramatic force, their socio-
logical framework, and their cultural function.

The mythology gravitates around the behavior of the natives, their attitudes toward the whites, the organization of the cabildo, illnesses, and death. Of Juan Chiracol, a 23-year-old informant says: "He warns when the mob is coming, he no longer warns, so." And of Thunder, it is said that he almost killed a padre because he went to the montaña to get wood to board up the school. "Thunder was defending the
538 wood," they say. The tales were always told around the fire,
773 with men, women, and children present, who sometimes laughed, at other times kept silent, but always corroborated, corrected, elaborated, or confirmed. The storytellers sometimes put on a serious face, accompanied their tale with mimicry, and once in a while they would burst into mocking laughter, as if to signify that what they were saying was worthless and they did not believe it. I was soon able to ascertain
115 their sociological and cultural value. The myths and tales
773 were collected with the help of an interpreter, a mestizo from San Andrés, about 35 /292/ years old, tall, muscular, quiet in manner, intelligent, calculating, with great charm and a knowledge of Paez and the Spanish language; he was familiar with the customs of the Calderunos, esteemed by them, and
773 skilled in his questioning. We present below the myths and
128 tales collected, leaving the other aspects of the culture for presentation in a complete monograph.

1. Thunder

*539 The old people related that at one time the area was full of Pijao. Thunder lived in Sukafi. In view of the growing number of Pijao, he decided to kill them. He stood on a tall stone that is to be found there, threw his lariat /boleadora/

/188 cont./

462 from the plantings; she will laboriously make the multicolored
594 kuetand yahas which she will give as tokens of love to her hus-
[257] band. The children, who "are a blessing of God," will come and help the man work the land or lighten the woman's kitchen chores.

594 The household lends individuality, a sociological frame-
183 work, status, and function to the family. Land, a house, and a family are specific ambitions of the Paez people. Possibly they represent their most cherished ideals in life.

IV

Live Ritual Fire

372 In the mind of every individual, and in the spirit of the family, fire is a symbol, a symbol of the house and of the home. A house without fire is a dead, abandoned house.

372 In ancient times, when the Pijao went about spreading
773 terror and death, when the caciques came down on the /189/ /illustration appears here/ roaring waters of the great rivers beneath the imposing dark night sprinkled with stars, and even much earlier, the Indians began their daily round by requesting fire from an old, white-haired woman. This fire died out when night spread its dark cloak over the world. Only the old woman's fire was immortal. The monotony of this daily request for fire was transmuted into anguish when the wicked old woman decided to leave and take the fire with her in a piece of wood. They all ran after her, seized the firebrand, and obtained fire from it for all the Indian households. This fire could be preserved.

Thus run the mythical accounts of the origin of fire. They reflect its importance. The manner in which it is preserved, the care which is exercised so that a fire is always /190/ burning in the house, seem to be superstitious attitudes from an ancient

/190 cont./

372 cult of fire. In times past, fire was obtained with "steel and
773 tinder." Whatever the case may be, the mythical accounts

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291

372 disclose the usury of the owner of fire and anxiety when they were
773 on the verge of losing it. Nowadays, when through carelessness
[777] it goes out in a household, the matches of the whites are used to revive it.

513 The Indians go to bed early. At seven o'clock at night the
512 parents and the children lie down in a common bed on the dry hides of cattle, keeping on their bodies the clothes that covered

/190 cont./

609 It was necessary for someone to tell them that they were sent by
797 /191/ Laureano Gómez before they all said: "Well, then, let
871
829 them remain."

666 In spite of their stubborn conservatism, the leaders of the
829 municipio cannot manage to make them vote for their chosen candidates unless they first get their ration of meat, chicha, and aguardiente. The ration and the vote form an indivisible unit.

829 "I am godo /Goth, pejorative for Spaniard/ to the marrow, a true conservative," exclaimed one of the important men of
[773] Calderas while he was drunk. "Juan Chiracol also was a conservative," said another.

829 The Indians of Tierradentro have been liberals since 1860,
175 thanks to the victor's aura gained by Mosquera on the plains
648 of Segovia. "The battle of Segovia" --says the padre David González--"in which the Indians took part and in which Mosquera encouraged the native ferocity, and the march on Bogotá, which fell to the rebel general, made him a demigod
[464] in the eyes of the Paez. Since the first days of the colony they have venerated the name Mosquera; the Marquis don Cristóbal Mosquera y Figueroa had been their master, their encomendero, he had taken them to Popayán in gangs to work on his haciendas, he had given to them the huge lands of his
[665] encomienda... Naturally the Indians of Tierradentro have been strongly bound since 1860 to the political faction which represented Mosquera, liberalism. In the armed struggles which later scourged the nation, the Paez staunchly bore the liberal standard."

829 In view of this, the political affiliation of the Calderas
665 Indians is an odd one; up to less than a decade ago, they formed a conservative island in the midst of a liberal majority. Possibly this attitude conceals a great desire to defend their lands. The Calderas people have no marked sympathy for the neighboring parcialidades. "They are Reds," say the natives,

/233 cont./

75 783 7. The curer toasts Thunder with the chicha, sprinkling it in the air.

8. The curer washes the patient with a calabash of remedies. He fills up completely the hole that contains the "dirt," sprinkles the remaining aguardiente, and ends the cleansing with some final advice. It is 3:00 or 4:00 in the morning.

All treatment of illness is carried out with this cleansing procedure. That is to say, when the impurity (ptans) has been removed from the body, the health of the patient is restored. The curer combats the ptans. In a sense, the cleansing is a hard fight in which the curer is engaged.

756 755 The tama. The tama is a chonta staff about 40 centimeters long and indispensable for every cure.

While in other cultures the medicine man uses the maraca as an indispensable accessory in the art of curing, viewing it as having a mythical origin and thus a sacred character and magical properties, and while, according to Roth, certain piai of the Guianas use wooden dolls in their conjurations (6), among the Paez this little staff called tama

[113]

6. Métraux, Alfred. Le Shamanisme Chez les Indiens de l'Amerique du Sud Tropicale /Shamanism among the Indians of Tropical South America/." -- Acta Americana, Vol. II, No. 3, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1944, pp. 217-218.

755 756 532 552 is used. In Santa Rosa, a curer-sorceress uses in her treatments a wooden dolly dressed like the people, received, according to the informant, from Thunder himself, and called "Soft wind of Thunder."

[773] According to all the evidence, this name is derived from that mythical personage, more precisely that culture hero,

* /233 cont./

756 called Juan Tama, who enjoys the fame of having been the
[755] founder of pueblos, a victorious warrior, a good leader,
[532] legislator, and famed curer.

[552] The tama is a defensive and offensive weapon of a sacred
[773] character /234/ and used exclusively by the curers; it protects
[751] from the attacks of the ptans and wards them off. It is a gift
[787] from Thunder and his badge. In visions, it is the first thing
[428] that he shows. When the curer dies, it may be inherited by a young curer, but generally it is left near the cemetery.

* 756 A curer from Calderas, possibly the one most imbued with
539 his mission to defend the health of the people, states that the tama was left from a deed performed by the Virgin in defense of her children. On a certain occasion the sea was rising implacably over the surface of the earth, putting the lives of men in grave danger. The Virgin took pity on them, brought out the tama, and made the motions now made by the curer. The waters retreated. She left this staff for the man who became a curer. This was the origin of the tama.

Another curer from the Parcialidad of San Andrés gave us the following account concerning the origin of the tama:

"The elders say that the tama was left by Thunder himself. A man had a potato field and a rancho in the montaña. He went to harvest it with his son. One afternoon the boy refused to accompany his father, preferring to remain in the rancho. On the following day he disappeared without leaving a trace anywhere. All the steps taken by the father to locate his whereabouts were unsuccessful. On the eighth day, the boy reappeared in the rancho. The father naturally inquired as to his whereabouts and his activities. He replied that he had gone to the señor papa, who had given him the stick he carried in his hands, called tama, and aguardiente and remedies. The aguardiente was cold water from a lagoon, and the remedies were in a pouch. No sooner had he finished his tale than he fell into a deathlike trance. On the fifteenth day, at death's door, he asked his father to hand him the tama, for the señor

7:Hemández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

Castillo mentions that they wor-

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shiped the sun, in whose honor they met and danced in places called "Itaqui-finó," i. e., the place where the sun revealed its mysteries; and that they venerated a kind of culture hero called Guequisu. It was he who instructed shamans (mohanes).

771 776 [756]

This hero has a counterpart in the religious legend of Juan Tama, the Son of the Star. One day when the Morning Star shone very brightly, some Indians found a child in a gorge—ever since called the Gorge of the Star. This was Juan Tama. They picked him up and entrusted him to a woman to nurse, but he nursed so much that her milk dried up. He was given to another woman, whom he also made very weak. They then said that he could not be nursed by a woman, and gave him food. After he grew up, he married the female chief of Huila, Doña María Mendiguagua, and became chief of all the Indians. He instructed people and explained to them how to keep the land for themselves and not mix with White people. He pronounced them invincible and summoned a chief from Pitayó, called Calambás, whom he appointed his manager. Calambás rebelled,[15] but was defeated by Juan Tama, who pardoned him on account of his bravery, and conferred on him and his heirs the right to rule the *Páez* in Bitoncó. As death approached, Juan Tama went to the lake on the páramo of Moras and sank into the waters. He had come out of this place and returned to it, leaving no heirs.[16]

773 776

In the neighborhood of Bitoncó there is a rock with what appears to be human footprints. When the Indians pass it, they uncover their heads and say, "The Holy One came this way." Another remnant of the cult of Juan Tama is the custom that each member of the council spends one week at the shores of the lake before the end of his term to render an account to Juan Tama of his actions in office. Likewise, newly elected officers, as soon as they receive their staffs or insignia of authority, spend a week at the lake. They toss silver coins into it, wash their staffs, and pray for strength to rule well. This ceremony, performed with the greatest secrecy, is called the "curing of the staffs." Recently, however, the Indians have stopped "curing" their staffs in the lake, for they say that Juan Tama is angry, and whenever they approach the lake, it rains and storms badly.

776 823 [623] [621] [631] [821]

In the Guanacas section there was another sacred lagoon, called Tumbachí, which was recently drained because a snake that lived there attracted girls and kept them for a whole year, and then returned them when they were about to become mothers.

These tribes believed that the soul comes back to life.

775

Witchcraft was strongly developed among these Indians, who still believe in most of its practices, in spite of the catechization forced upon them by the missionaries.

754 177

[15] During the War of Independence, as well as in subsequent revolutions, the Indians of the family named Calambás distinguished themselves as warriors. [669]

[16] We are indebted to Father David González for this legend, told to him by an old Indian in Lame. [114]

/263 cont./

756 fact, even the visionary sight of Thunder are worthless by them-
787 selves, if the shaman does not receive any signs. By means of them
278 the teyu discovers the cause of sickness and the means to be em-
ployed for healing it, which always consist of the dispensing of
herbs. For this reason every shaman always has his fiber bag with
all his medicinal herbs with him, in order to have them at hand
[753] and to be able to apply them at any time. Since, however, an
illness does not have a physical cause, according to the opinion
of the Paez, the herbs used for healing are not applied in accordance
with the medical experiences of the shaman, but solely in ac-
cordance with his signs.

756 The herbs used by the shamans are the following (*):
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[127]

* I am taking these, as well as some other data on the shamanism of the Paez, from the excellent summary by S. Bernal Villa (III) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 323/.

čandúr, eš (Erythroxylon coca), bičač (Hevea?), čulko (Oxalis, sp.), čáyuts (Scutellaria racemosa Per.), čuwét, fisa, ečyútse čime (Labiada?), /264/ gwepekas (Urera boccifera L.), kwése (Lonchocarpus?), limonsflyo (Cymbopogon citratus), nyika, nyundayuskey, šu (Spagnum sp.), šuwés (Peperomia sp.), šulápe, šupenyí (Peperomia sp.), tātse, táyuske (Peperomia sp.), ul níny (Hibiscus abelmoschus L.), umsim (Myricia acuminata DC. Vell, aff.), vitubítskwe, wáhi (Nicotiana tabacum L.), yakúma, yúskay (Scleria cattarinensis Boeck).

755 Most of these herbs are first chewed by the shaman and then
756 spat over the affected part. If a person is dying and his soul leaves
278 his body from the heart by way of the upper arms, the pulse of the
[774] lower arms, and the finger tips, the herb čáyuts, for example, is
spat by the shaman from the finger tips in the direction of the arm-
pits, in order to check the departure of the soul. Only rarely is a
tea brewed from the leaves.

/267 cont./

756 like the entire culture of the Paez. For the rest, there are neither special articles of clothing or equipment nor any other kind of ceremonial gear, such as crystals, masks, or rattles.

[824] The shaman's staff consists of a smooth staff, 50 to 60 centimeters long, made out of the hard wood of the chonta palm. It is /268/ pointed at one end and semicircular in cross-section. Each shaman makes this staff for himself before treating his first [764] patient and never lets it out of his hand. When he dies, it is put into the grave with him. Before a séance begins, he sticks it into the ground, though not directly in front of him, but somewhat to the side. Only rarely does a shaman have it in his hand during the séance. As the single exception to the unadorned shaman's staff, I know of only the one belonging to old Felisa Ipia of Santa Rosa. On her staff she has tied a number of colored wool threads [774] which she spun herself and dyed with homemade dyes. She has collected in these threads the souls of all the villagers of Santa [755] Rosa. If someone in the village falls ill, she learns of it through [787] her signs or through Thunder personally and in this way is better able to help the sick person, since she can immediately blow her medicinal herbs, mixed with brandy, on the wool threads and thus can help the sick person better.

756 S. Bernal Villa points out that the designation for the shaman's 773 staff corresponds to the name of the most important culture hero of the Paez, Juan Tama, who, according to tradition, was lawgiver, famous and victorious commander of the army, first chief [976] and shaman. According to other traditions, he was the son of the stars, the son of Thunder, or Thunder himself. The present-day shamans regard the staff as a gift from Thunder, and as a sign of spiritual alliance with him. A shaman of San Andrés, reporting on the origin of the shaman staff, says that, according to the stories of the elders, the tama was introduced by Thunder himself. According to this, a man once had his hut and his potato field in the mountains. He harvested the field with his son. One day the son refused to follow his father to the field, but rather preferred to stay behind in the hut. The next day the son had disappeared

/273 cont./

776 If it rains when the sun is shining, they may not leave the house,
753 for otherwise they become afflicted with head maladies. These
821 are not headaches, but wounds such as would be inflicted by a
[756] machete. The teyu, however, have remedies to make the rain-
(789) bow disappear, so that children may go outside again.

776 Eč, the third of the aforementioned causes of sickness and
(753) death, is the most unpleasant and the most dangerous, since eč
[761] kills the most people. Eč lives in the earth; no man has seen
[787] him, apart from a few shamans. They need not enter into the
earth, however, to see him; rather, eč himself comes if a teyu
[825] calls him. He looks like a human being. Eč is also the name
for fireflies, which are regarded as the messengers that he sends
out to bring "pest" to human beings. People therefore kill fire-
776 flies if they are able to catch them. Eč is not angry, however,
782 if the people kill his messengers, if only he always gets enough
offerings. For this reason people give eč a dram-glass full of
brandy from every bottle, that is, they pour this amount on the
ground; likewise eč gets his share of every animal killed (chicken,
756 pig, cow, etc.). People ask their teyu which parts of the animal
776 eč demands and which ones they should offer him. If people
782 killed and ate an animal without offering eč any of it, he would
[761] in return kill a child of this family. If the father then comes to
the teyu and asks why his child died, he -- who, of course, knows
that the man slaughtered a pig without giving eč anything -- tells
him that this is the punishment of eč. That very rarely happens,
however; rather, the man gives the shaman the parts of the ani-
mal desired by eč, for instance, the liver, entrails, or meat, and
he gives them to eč, bringing them at night to the place desired
[787] by him. Moreover, as a precaution people give eč herbs and
brandy as the shaman advises, in accordance with the signs which
he has received from eč.

●774 If the penetration of pest into the body of a person is the
776 cause of an illness that may result in death, this unfortunate out-
753 come is all the more probable if one of the three spirits or a nyiç
has stolen a human soul. I was given differing /274/ statements
about such a case: First of all, there are two words for soul, ũns

/274 cont./

774 (u = nasal) and taff, with which everyone is familiar, although
776 they are not sure about the distinction between the two. The
753 shamans Francisco and Cerbeleón said that the two were the same; but both of them also said that ũns or taff, if they had left the person in his dream and were abroad, could be caught by tũs, eč, or nyiç without the person's becoming aware of this immediately, but rather he still went on living. To my objection that in this case ũns and taff were probably different, they did not know how
[775] to answer; Cerbeleón stated that if a person dies, his ũns goes to heaven and the person himself becomes taff. He and other teyu
756 were able to catch the ũns of a human being. Thus, for example,
774 if someone had been robbed, he would come to Cerbeleón. The
754 latter takes coca, tobacco, and brandy, and then he can bring forth the ũns of the thief, seize it, and kill it. The thief must
[783] then die. In order to get the ũns in his power, he must first cleanse
[824] his hands with the herbs šũ and vitubítskwe, as well as with brandy.
[876] The ũns has the form of a small animal, he explained; it can fly and glows and is about three centimeters long. It is very similar to a firefly in appearance, but different from eč.

554 Having reached this point in his explanation, Cerbeleón grew
754 silent, and our interpreter Victoriano said that we should now have
756 to depart, but quickly. With that he left the house in positive
[124] flight, and we were obliged to follow. Outside he explained to us that Cerbeleón was a "mal brujo," a nyiç, which, to be sure, he had always suspected before, but just now Cerbeleón had given himself away inasmuch as he had said that he could catch and
[682] kill the ũns of human beings. The people of Calderas also say that he possessed herbs that he could put in eggs, chicha, or other food, whereupon people would eat them and then die. One of the sons of Cerbeleón was a thief and had died in the following manner: The one who was robbed had prayed to the Virgen Santísima /Holy Virgin/, and God had punished the thief with death. The father himself, that is, the shaman Cerbeleón, is also a thief and kills people out of envy for their possessions.

The mission sisters confirmed this statement insofar as Cerbeleón had several times attempted to kill them by sprinkling

/274 cont./

554 herbs into their drinking-water canal. Now he had given it up,
754 however. To us he seemed to be merely an idle talker; he did
756 not give the impression of actually having received signs or of being serious about the matter, but rather it seemed as though he had merely learned a little by watching his father /275/ and was doing it mechanically without any inner concern. Francisco, too, had a father and grandfather as shaman predecessors. He was likewise rather ignorant, but apparently meant well. He did his best to help people.

756 Martin Chukue was completely absorbed by his calling and
753 duty, and he was well informed, serious, and dignified in his
761 shamanistic work. When the capitan of Calderas died, he was the shaman authorized to act for his residence, and he also conducted the purification ceremony after his burial. Martin explained the cause of death of the capitan as follows: The capitan had to die because the tũs had stolen the taff soul of the capitan. The capitan died with his left leg drawn up. He was very thin when he died, because he had not eaten anything for a long time, for
[755] his taff soul had been stolen five years ago. At that time the sick man began feeling pain, and during the entire time he, Martin, had fought with the tũs, offered him medicines, and tried to appease him.

775 When the ũns soul (ũns also means "heart"!) leaves the body,
[774] then the person is ultimately dead. And, to be sure, ũns leaves
[827] the body by way of the upper arms, lower arms, finger tips. Shortly before it leaves the person, one may still perceive it very faintly as a pulse beat, and when the pulse beat ceases altogether, the ũns has left the body and immediately goes to heaven. No one could tell me exactly in what form it goes to heaven. In heaven, however, it again has the normal human appearance.
[755] When children are ill, wool threads are put around their wrists
[774] and ankles and drawn tightly in order to prevent the escape of the ũns, or at least to make it more difficult.

/275 cont./

775 Old Celia Uriaga of Calderas, who told us two stories, but is
[828] not a shaman herself, reported the following: When a person sleeps
[774] and dreams, his taff leaves the body, goes everywhere, and experiences what the person is experiencing in his dream. When the person dies, ũns then leaves the person by way of the veins of the upper and lower arm, where one can feel the pulse, and finally by way of the finger tips. Taff also leaves the person, but in the form of a human being with white clothing. Whereas ũns goes to heaven, taff either stays near the body in the grave or goes about on earth, although not as taff, but as áhimos (ghost). It can be seen by the shamans at night, but also by human beings at midnight or around two o'clock at night, in the form of a human figure sitting by the wayside. It is not a real human being, however, but more like a wind. /276/ Ahimos is generally at the burial place, there where the corpse is buried and where the bones are.

According to the account of the old téoi Felisa, the ũns leaves the body upon the death of a human being and goes to heaven. It leaves the body by way of the lower arms, hands, and finger tips.
755 Felisa herself tries to hold back the ũns of a dying person by blow-
775 ing hard on his finger tips after she has previously taken a mouthful
763 of the herbs čáyuts and ǩuwéz as well as brandy. At the same time,
[824] with the same herbs in her hands, she strokes the patient's arms from the finger tips upward, in order to hold back ũns. Taff leaves the human body before death. In doing so, it whistles. Felisa can see it. It wanders along a path, well dressed, and the shaman is able to bring it back by tearing its clothes with a very sharp-edged reed (nyfka), and then it is obliged to return to the body (cf. Ill. 199 /see p. 288/).

775 Apart from the shamans, she is convinced that no one is able to
[825] see taff, except for dogs, when they sometimes howl for no apparent reason. Whereas ũns goes to heaven, taff remains on earth and goes
769 on living in its house as áhimos in the form of a breath of air. (No accessories are put in the grave with the dead, but on the following December 8, the Feast of the Immaculada, and recurrently each year, the relatives offer to the áhimos of their dead their favorite

/276 cont./

769 foods: meat, maize, chicha, brandy, coca, yuca, etc. These gifts are laid on a banana leaf on the floor of the church and a
775 candle is lighted along with it.) The áhimos, too, can only be seen by shamans.

774 She does not know when and from where a child gets its ũns and taff. She believes that as soon as the heart of the child beats in the mother's womb, the child has ũns; it gets taff only after birth. Animals have no taff; they have ũns only if they devour human beings.

e) Shamanistic Séances

756 Each of the shamanistic séances, be it a treatment of the sick
783 or a ceremony during housebuilding or at a burial, is basically a purification from "pest" and therefore a ceremony of magic practices. All these ceremonies and séances are thus in essence the same. They differ only in details, for example, in the different medicinal herbs or in the order of the various purifications. Let us first give a description of a purification ceremony /277/ by the shaman Martin Chucue after a burial (see Ill. 208 to 213 /see pp. 292-294/).

756 The shaman does not take part in the burial. Moreover, he
764 neither enters the house of a deceased in which the corpse is still
783 present, nor does he accompany a funeral procession to the burial place. The mourners, men, women, and children, go to the burial place together and then return to the house of mourning. Before they may enter it, however, they must go to the river where the shaman awaits them in order to purify them for the first time. Then they go together to the house of mourning, which, however, the purified people may not yet enter, since it is still unclean. The shaman, with his helpers, must first purify the house with the same remedies with which he purified the people, namely, with water to which herbs and cow excrement have been added. After that the people, too, may enter the house and eat and drink.

/285 cont./

578 killed his mother and his brothers, declared his hostility toward
754 him because he was well on the way to becoming a good shaman.
756 He became ill and his signs announced to him that he would soon
578 die. Now there was a famous shaman in Huila, and he sought
75 him out with much brandy and coca. Immediately this shaman
774 realized that it was a case of bewitchment by a nyic. The only possibility of getting off alive was to kill the soul of the evil sorcerer immediately. Together they dug a hole for this purpose and in it they waited many nights for the soul of the nyic. It came, but since it was very suspicious, it would not let itself be caught. More than a month passed in this way. Night after night the two were lying in wait, without sleeping, and then one night, near daybreak, the soul of the evil sorcerer came. The shaman was ready, however; he raised his staff and with a powerful blow it fell into the hole. Immediately earth was piled up over it and the hole completely covered. Hissing, the soul died.

756 Since the young shaman from Santa Rosa was well once more,
789 the old shaman sent him home. He advised him, however, to
824 carry herbs with him, since there were robbers on the way. Cautiously he proceeded to the dangerous spot, and already his signs announced to him that the robbers were in the vicinity. He immediately blew his herbs, and the robbers fell into a deep sleep. Farther along on the way home he met several people who were pursuing a criminal. They gave him brandy and coca and asked him to help them, from his home, to capture the criminal. He then strewed čayuts on his own feet, and the criminal could no longer walk, so the people were able to capture him..

75 Other shamans report that in case of a bewitchment by a
774 nyic, the bewitched person and the members of his family slaughter a pig and put a piece of each organ in a fiber bag. /286/ They bring these to the shaman, together with brandy, coca and cigars. The meat serves as bait for the soul of the sorcerer, for at the first cockcrow, when all present are chewing coca, it comes to get the bag. It falls into the hole dug under it, however. The shaman immediately throws herbs into it, those present their chewed packets of coca, and then the pit is covered up as quickly as

/286 cont./

75 possible. After his soul has thus been killed, the sorcerer, too,
774 must die.

754 The same type of soul-capture as is reported here by the tęyu
774 is also the most common method of evil sorcery practiced by the nyiç. The nyiç digs a hole and stations himself above it, in order to await the wandering soul of his victim. It is visible, like a lighted candle. When it is over the hole, the nyiç gives it a powerful blow with his staff, so that it falls into the hole. If it is supposed to die very quickly, the nyiç throws strongly efficacious herbs over it and covers the hole with graveyard soil. If not, he
754 has many possibilities of inflicting on the soul, and therefore on
774 his victim, injury that takes effect more slowly. If he sprinkles
824 the herb baw (Araceae) over it, the stomach of its owner becomes so distended that he dies. If the nyiç sprinkles lime over the soul, the person becomes blind. In the case of the poisonous herb boračero (Datura sp.), the owner of the soul becomes insane; the stinging smoke of the agave also produces insanity. Putting the leaves of the čuwét (Krameria ixina?) and the soul together brings death. The herbs kaspi (Toxicodendron striatum Kuntze), lečero (Euphorbia cotinifolia L.), and Pringamoza also cause death.

f) The Sociological Aspect of Shamanism

182 Although the shamanistic ceremonies and the conceptions
756 underlying them are of a religious nature, nevertheless the activity of the shaman is a definite sociological fact. Without the activity of the tęyu, neither the family nor the village community can exist. It is only the shaman who, through his personal abilities, is able to counteract the evil effects of the nyiç, the tũs, eč, and gělyõmp spirits and turn them into something good. His activity, however, consists not only in the repulsion of what has already appeared, in the healing of what has happened, but his activity is also preventive, in fact, prophetic, for he predicts future sicknesses or deaths. Moreover, no house construction,

* /303 cont./
539 went past the tree. The head walked on and on, and since it could not find the man anywhere, it turned back and found the scent of the man at the foot of the tree. It looked up and saw the man sitting in the highest tip of the tree. The head was unable to climb the tree, however, and in order to reach the man, it went back a little and leaped into the air. But it still could not quite reach the man and fell down to the ground again. Then it tried again and again, more than /304/ a hundred times, but it could never reach the man because he was sitting too high. Then the head became frightfully tired from its many vain attempts, and since it had to walk far to reach home, it had to leave the man whom it wanted to kill and return so as not to meet human beings by day. Then the Palma man climbed down from his tree and was able to reach home safely.

14. The White Dog

* 539
781
● 774 The father of Victoriano went to Belalcázar one Saturday, where he became drunk. At two o'clock at night he set out on the way back. On the way he saw a white dog that was very thin. The father thought that it was a regular dog, but it was not a dog at all, but rather the taff soul of a human being. Suddenly this dog turned into a human being, very thin and lean in shape, whose heart hung out of the body so that it dangled in front of the chest. Then the father gave the lean dog a blow with his traveler's staff, but it did not hit the dog. The father became frightened at this and took to his heels. But the lean man kept running after him, so that the father, out of fear, became short of breath and almost died. Then the father pretended to be very stupid and simply sat down beside the road, laid his hands on his knees, and went to sleep. The lean man then left him. When the father awoke in the morning, he looked for the place where he had first met the lean dog, but he found only a bush with white blossoms. The father was convinced, however, that he had met a taff.

484
774 (No Paez customarily goes long distances at night, because the
761 taff souls are abroad at night. And if a taff meets a human being, it immediately calls together a great many other taff ("about 50") and they bring about the death of the person, because the one concerned kills himself out of fright.)

/CXXII cont./

Ill. 196. Walkway of the bamboo suspension bridge at Belalcázar.

Plate C

[857] [868] Ill. 197. The older sisters take care of their younger siblings as a matter of course and practice the duties of a woman from childhood on.

Ill. 198. Among the tasks of the women are the making of clothing for the family and the housework, including the fetching of firewood. Whereas the men carry heavy loads on their shoulders, the women use the forehead band.

/CXXIII/ Plate CI

Ill. 199. [774] [755] The shaman Felisa Ipia with her shaman's staff and the nyika reed. In the wool threads fastened to her staff she has gathered the souls of all the inhabitants of Santa Rosa. With the reed she tears apart the clothing of a soul about to leave a dying person. It must then return to its body and the person need not die.

Ill. 200. Gable post of a hunting hut with the skull trophy of a slain monkey. The skulls of the animal booty hung on the gable post, as well as the wing feathers of the birds killed, are supposed to guarantee further success in hunting. Below the skull trophy, the incised figure of a spirit besides the Christian cross.

Plate CII

Ill. 201. Woman grinding maize with the hand grindstone.

Ill. 202. Calderun music group. The instruments are the transverse flute, bass drum, drum, tambourine, and triangle.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

the drum-dance, in which the women sang to the accompani- 535
ment of a drum; *vito-ko*, or *fits-ko*, the stick-dance, etc.

In addition to the shells and reeds, the Indians also accom- 535
panied their dances with a kind of drum (*kimb*), consisting of a 534
long wooden trough hung by its extremities; and the *tsoòts*, or rattle, a calabash containing small stones or hard canna seeds and provided with a handle.

According to Castillo the Paez had also other deities, corre- 776
sponding somewhat to the lares of the ancient Latins, 778
carved images of which were often found in the houses. The *diχi*, who were at one time priests, sorcerers, and medicine-men, [79]
lived in retirement and were considered as the keepers of the doctrines of a traditional civilizer of the nation, called *Guckian*. So strong was their influence in Castillo's time that he complains rather bitterly about it, and proceeds to explain how the true God, wishing to free the Paez from such a devilish guide, simply employed a subterfuge to drown him in the Paez river, together with two of his apostles!

The belief in a future existence is indicated, as Uricoechea 825
relates, by the fact that the Indians never molested white dogs, 775
in order that they might not be bitten by them at the doors of the house beyond the grave.

There were birds and other signs of good or of evil omen. 787
A woman would never step over a leather rope stretched on the ground, but would lift it up and pass beneath. During the construction of bridges, two men constantly beat the waters to frighten away evil spirits. The death of a person was often 761
attributed to witchcraft, and he whose face bore some likeness 754
to that of the dead person was often regarded as the culprit, provided the patient in his cravings had not given the name of the supposed sorcerer. The soul of a cow whose fat had been 825
used for illumination during religious ceremonies was believed 774
to go directly to heaven: this last belief, however, must be of post-conquest origin.

Among themselves the Indians are jovial and contented. 157
The approach of the men whom we often met on the trails 533
around Huila was usually first detected by the sound of the 283

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

* /304 cont./
539 name of Calderas. María Santísima gave the fire and disappeared.

Informant: Agustín Muse.
Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

18. The Mine-armadillo

*539 823 825 My father was inside a house. Suddenly he saw an animal that shone like a lamp; the light went up to the sky. The animal was a mine-armadillo which was climbing up the hill. If one succeeds in catching him, one puts him in a large box and gives him maize to eat. He turns into a mine, pure gold. Before catching him, one must have the silver ready, 50 or 100 pesos; one wraps him in a new kerchief and lifts him; he is very light. Without the silver, he is seen in the stream or on the path, but one cannot catch him; one puts his hand there where the armadillo is, withdraws it, and he does not move.

Informant: Victoriano Piñakué.

19. The Thin Man

* 539 ● 774 781 My father bought a jar and carried it on his back. At night, drunk, he met the thin man sitting by the path; it was a soul. He was about to fall into the ditch, but the soul did not let him fall and accompanied him home as if he were his brother. Father, frightened, started falling, but the soul held him up; he carried a light, making the night very clear. Nevertheless he did not speak. The man looked like the Sisters; he was quite white.

*539

20. The Devil

My father, with a friend, was coming from Belalcázar on horseback; I was behind my father. The friend came last; he

/237 cont./

753 cramps in the body, and furthermore that sorcerers see it in the
776 form of a turkey impelled to peck people.
821

It seems obvious that what the Indians call Echimbe (red
753 Echi) or candelilla fina /thin glowworm/ is a firefly /luciérnaga/
825 somewhat difficult to capture and extremely fierce. They differentiate it perfectly well from the fire beetle /cocuyos (cucuyos)/. They say that it is an animal that God produced in
[755] order to harm the Christians. The curers call them and catch them in their Kachí, while other Indians, chewing coca, catch them anywhere and bring them to the curer to be buried.
[774] They believe that their fierceness is due to the fact that the
[829] souls of the Pijao are incarnated in them.

753 The symptoms of the sting of Echi are vague and imprecise and refer solely to bodily pains.

The symptoms of Pijao "dirt" are recognized by respiratory difficulties.

164 They differentiate perfectly well the venereal diseases,
757 which seem to be quite widespread in the acculturated parcialidades. In Calderas they are said to have spread widely among both sexes, without respect to age, and to have been treated with copper sulphate, for the remedies of the Indians were of no use. In Santa Rosa antibiotics are used. A curer in that parcialidad maintains that those diseases were brought from La Plata by wandering women and that it befell him to treat two cases: one was serious and the patient died; the second, not very advanced, he treated with yukchacha, montaña barbasco, and fisa (bitopat or bodoquero). He administered the juice for six days and subjected the patient to a diet of chicken exclusively.

755 Remedies. The remedies used by the Paez curer are
757 vegetal. As a rule they are prescribed in combination. Thus:
/238/ To clean away the ptans:

[783] Yacuma blanca, ul ñiñ, ñundayuskei, shugues, chandur, guepeyuskey, chayuts.

/253 cont./

755 done; she would have to confess, or else he would have her
*756 arrested. She was wholly to blame. The servant girl took
578 fright and replied that perhaps she might be responsible, since at one time she had picked up an echi and put it in an ají bush. And it was this angry echi that was now killing her employer. At once the curer went to the ají bush, removed the echi, and blew fresh remedies at it. He set about divining anew and found out that the rainbow had also put hairs on him. On the following day he removed them. The patient recovered; it was proved that he was a good curer, and demonstrated that the other one did not know anything.

754 The Té eu and the sorcerer. It is said that a sorcerer can
*756 at the same time be a good curer, but we know perfectly well that the Ghost and Thunder do not give their knowledge to the sorcerers. On the other hand, when a té eu is asked for information about the remedies of sorcerers, they invariably answer that they know nothing about them, for if they were to learn about these remedies they would lose their wisdom.

The curers believe that they are constantly pursued by
75 the sorcerers. Yet, they are able to kill them. A curer from
539 Santa Rosa related his success to us as follows:

● 774 "When I was a young boy, I was clever and mischievous; I already knew remedies. On one occasion a sorcerer declared his enmity toward me because I was becoming a good curer. I fell ill, and the signs indicated to me my approaching death. In Huila there lived a good curer, and I went there with plenty of coca and aguardiente. He told me that I would die if he did not go to work at once. It was sorcery, and he had to kill the sorcerer. I would have to stay with him for at least a month. 'Let us go to work and dig a hole in order to kill that fellow,' he said to me. He made the first hole, which we used for several nights, for the sorcerer whom we were seeking was very clever. He would call the soul and it would come, but it did not allow itself to be caught; it was very suspicious. The sorcerer was very dangerous, he had killed my mother and my brothers. We went on working. The

/253 cont./

75 month went by, and we were unable to catch it. We did not
539 sleep. The curer would make another hole, and another. We
● 774 were tired. 'We shall catch that scoundrel /254/ yet,' he
would say to me. When we went on to the seventh hole, at
the crowing of the first cock, the soul came. The curer had
his tama ready, and at once, zoom! he gave it a blow and it
fell into the hole; he tossed earth on top of it and tamped it
down well. After a few moments the soul made a whistling
sound. 'We killed it,' the curer exclaimed triumphantly. I
saw the sorcerer's soul. Then the curer told me to go back,
for I was cured. He advised me to take remedies with me,
since there are many robbers along the way. Thus it came to
pass. I was careful at the dangerous spots. The signs indicated
to me the presence of robbers and at once I blew remedies at
* them (kit sust). They went to sleep.

756 Farther on I met some people who were pursuing a criminal.
539 They gave me coca and aguardiente so that I might prepare
789 the remedies at my house and help to capture the criminal.
Thus it came to pass. I put chayuts around my feet and the
criminal was unable to walk. They caught him."

75 Others say that the one bewitched, with his relatives,
774 goes to the curer, bearing coca, tobacco, and aguardiente.
They kill a pig and put a piece from each organ into a small
pouch. This is the grease for catching the sorcerer's soul.
At the crowing of the first cock, when everyone is chewing
coca, the soul comes to get the small pouch, immediately
falls into the hole, and the curer tosses upon it fierce echi,
remedies, and the chews of all, and covers it and tamps down
[783] the earth. This is how he kills the sorcerer. He immediately
cleanses the sick person and his relatives. The danger has
* been averted.

756 When the curer feels the signs at the crown of his head,
717 ptans is being sent to him. He goes without delay to the kachí
783 with pringamoza, paramo cabuya, tama, and fiica to wait

/258 cont./

754 Methods of sorcery. There are various procedures for
●774 practicing sorcery:

/259/ a) The one most widespread and about which the most information is provided consists of digging a hole and waiting over it for the soul of the victim. It arrives, giving off light like a candle. At once the sorcerer hits it with the tama, and it falls into the hole. It is at his disposal; he can bury it, whip it, blow remedies or mambe upon it, show it harmful objects.

When a quick death is desired, the sorcerer buries the soul with bad remedies, tamping it down vigorously with earth from the cemetery. The soul comes out with a whistling sound when the person dies.

754 It may also be whipped with the following remedies:
774 Bao* (Araceae). The victim's stomach swells until he dies.
824 Borrachero (Datura sp.). Poisonous narcotic. The victim goes mad.

Cabuya (Agave sp.). The juice of the leaves is caustic. The victim rots away.

Caspi* (Toxicodendron striatum Kuntze). Poisonous shrub whose emanations cause irritation of the skin. The person swells up and dies.

Chuwet in Spanish, called estancadera (Krameria ixina?) by the whites. It has pointed leaves, which, when brought into contact with the soul, stab the person.

Lechero (Euphorbia cotinifolia L.), poisonous plant. The victim bursts.

Pringamoza. The hairs of this member of the Urticaceae enter the body, and when they reach the heart, the victim dies.

754 The sorcerer can blow mambe on the soul, leaving the
774 person blind, or drive him insane by moving toward it a deer skull with an echi inside.

He can also prick it with the bones and hair of porcupines, snake bones, claws of the swift parakeet, and talons of eagles.

/259 cont./

754 To facilitate the capture of the soul, the sorcerer gathers
● 774 the soil on which the victim has trod, with which the us (heart) falls easily.

754 b) The sorcerer can make angry the Ghost, Rainbow, and
776 Echi. Thus:

For the Ghost, he puts a large ají de montaña (Capsicum sp.) at the spot where he lives; the person passes by and dies of a few stings in the heart.

/260/ For the Rainbow, he puts the rags of a menstruating woman in springs, bogs, damp places. A person passes by, is stung, and dies.

For the echi, he puts remedies where the victim works; stung, he vomits blood and dies on the spot.

754 c) Another way to cast a spell is rubbing bad remedies on the salt, pork, or eggs that the victim is going to eat. If by chance someone else eats them, nothing happens, for the witchcraft was not directed against him.

[783] d) The sorcerers handle the pest as they please. They can send it to persons or to the entire community. The sorceress Felisa brings the pest to Santa Rosa even for business reasons.

[789] e) When the sorcerers do not wish a person to return, they place at a strategic spot on the road two bundles of chayuts pointing upward, and in addition they blow dry pringamoza.

f) A curer from Santa Rosa explains how a spell was cast on one of the former gobernadors of the parcialidad. The late Leonidas was working in his garden and his rancho was empty. Then a woman came in, dressed in black (Dolores Oinó), dropped into the pot of food some of her own pubic hair, and stole a piece of Pijao earthenware that contained silver. Leonidas ate this food and began to feel his throat become dry
[783] and to breathe with difficulty. Finally he died. The Pijao pest has the same symptoms.

g) When the sorcerer wants a person to suffer an accident (fracture, contusion, dislocation), he leaves somewhere in that person's house a very smooth stone taken from the stream. The person, wherever he may be, slips and falls.

/262 cont./

683 and finally exiled him. The sorcerer nearly died. He com-
184 plained to the Alcadía of Inzá about the brutality of the cabildo. The Alcadía had the stocks destroyed by force, in spite of the protests of the natives. The punishments of the sorcerers in the Parcialidad of San Andrés were about the same up to some 30 years ago.

683 Often, when there is a very dangerous sorcerer, the curers
754 band together in order to kill him. They call his soul, and
756 when it draws near they hit it with a stick smeared with chayuts.
● 774 The soul leaves with a whistling sound. When a volcano erupts,
[823] it is a sign that the devil is punishing the souls of sorcerers.

754 Psychological characteristics of the sorcerers. Broadly
157 speaking, the sorcerers are timid, resentful, aloof, with a very
156 strong persecution complex; they try to avoid contact with people, believing that they see in each of them a presumed accuser; they tend to be self-supporting; suspicious to a high degree, they roundly deny the accusations of their victims, regarding themselves furthermore as good persons, sound and inoffensive; they pretend to know nothing about remedies, and it is very difficult to obtain any information from them about sorcery. Most of them are intelligent. Endoculturally they are at odds with their own group, insofar as they embody the struggle against the influences of foreign cultures.

The nasa are convinced that no sooner has the sun gone down than the sorcerers are already at work. The most dangerous ones sleep during the day. For this reason they regard as peculiar characteristics of the sorcerers red eyes, an evasive look, aloofness, an unpleasant appearance, egoism, and suspiciousness. They look like criminals, informants say.

182 /263/ Socio-dynamic value of sorcery. Within Paez
754 society, sorcery is vital, overly active, and gravitates into all the social interstices. But, as must be evident, at all times and places it pertains to the realm of concealment. Its executors are surreptitious. They always act in the shadows.

/253 cont./

539 When he came back, he saw the snake in its place. Then he changed back into a human being. The fiber bag was there, too. The bananas were there, too. The snake filled with water (that is, underdone, still watery) was there.

It was afternoon when he went into his house. The bag he brought to his wife. He came to his wife with this bag. When he had knocked, he entered.

2. Orientation and General Knowledge

772 776 177 Nothing definite can be said about the ancient Paez conception of the world, since Christian influence has had a strongly modifying effect. In any case, there is in the Paez vocabulary the word "tátyinas," which is sometimes translated as "god," and sometimes -- and corresponding better with the meaning of the word -- as "creator." The word "Dios" is used to designate the Christian God. Tátyinas, I was told, lives in heaven, on the earth, and in the earth. He made all human beings. He does not receive sacrifices. He is not mentioned in shamanistic ceremonies.

772 ●775 The vocabulary shows that, besides the earth and the conception of a heaven or of the firmament, there were also two places of the dead that were familiar. The happy land of death, mbéka kígwe, is like heaven. Literally it means "land of chicha," and if one knows the Paez, one realizes that in any case it must be /254/ a happy land. The land of the dead corresponding to [776] "hell" is called eč kígwe. The eč are the most evil of all spirits. They live in the earth; hence this designation must refer to a subterranean land.

804 461 As for natural periods of time, only days and months are known, as well as work days and non-work days (ki 'sen). The latter designation is now used for Sunday. Originally this was not a fixed day; rather, people worked and celebrated as they could arrange the time within a larger or smaller community. Even today, during the times of clearing, the people sometimes work for weeks in the field, without inserting a work-free day.

/268 cont./

756 without leaving a trace. In vain the father tried to find out where
773 he was staying. After eight days, however, the son again appeared in the hut. He said that he had been with his grandfather, who had given him brandy, medicines, and this staff that he held in his hand and that was called tama. The "brandy" was cold water from a lake, and the medicines in the fiber bag were mountain herbs. After he had said this, he fell into a trance and lay there as though dead. Fourteen days later, as he lay dying, he asked his father to hand him his tama, for Thunder had told him that he could defend himself with it and that, in case of illness, he should take the medicines that he had given him. He squeezed /269/ out the juice and drank it. Quickly he became well. When he gave it to other sick persons, they, too, became well immediately. With his staff and his medicines he became the best doctor far and wide. He died at an advanced age.

775 Another shaman said that the tama stems from a lifesaving
773 act of the Holy Virgin Mary. Once when the sea rose constantly
177 higher and had covered almost the entire earth, human beings were in great danger. The Virgin Mary took pity on them. She drew forth the tama and with it made the same motions that the shamans make with it today. The masses of water then receded. She left her staff behind for the person who became a shaman. This is supposed to be the origin of the tama.

Although in the latter story not only the figure of the Virgin Mary, but possibly also the motif of the Deluge did not originate in the thought of the Paez, nevertheless the origin of the tama as
756 a gift from a higher power is noteworthy. This power, which,
776 for the shamans, is of the greatest significance as a spirit being
787 and as the first shaman, is Thunder. According to reports, he also positively has the character of an assistant spirit, even though he is almost only feared by the present-day shamans. "The old shamans," the present ones constantly assert, "were still powerful enough magically to establish communication with Thunder directly and at any time; we today are no longer able
778 to do it." In former times the members of the cabildo, under the
756 guidance of a shaman, bathed together in the lagoon of Juan Tama
623

/274 cont./

774 (u = nasal) and taff, with which everyone is familiar, although
776 they are not sure about the distinction between the two. The
753 shamans Francisco and Cerbeleón said that the two were the same; but both of them also said that ũns or taff, if they had left the person in his dream and were abroad, could be caught by tũs, eč, or nyiç without the person's becoming aware of this immediately, but rather he still went on living. To my objection that in this case ũns and taff were probably different, they did not know how
[775] to answer; Cerbeleón stated that if a person dies, his ũns goes to heaven and the person himself becomes taff. He and other teyu
756 were able to catch the ũns of a human being. Thus, for example,
774 if someone had been robbed, he would come to Cerbeleón. The
754 latter takes coca, tobacco, and brandy, and then he can bring forth the ũns of the thief, seize it, and kill it. The thief must
[783] then die. In order to get the ũns in his power, he must first cleanse
[824] his hands with the herbs šũ and vitubitskwe, as well as with brandy.
[276] The ũns has the form of a small animal, he explained; it can fly and glows and is about three centimeters long. It is very similar to a firefly in appearance, but different from eč.

554 Having reached this point in his explanation, Cerbeleón grew
754 silent, and our interpreter Victoriano said that we should now have
756 to depart, but quickly. With that he left the house in positive
[124] flight, and we were obliged to follow. Outside he explained to us that Cerbeleón was a "mal brujo," a nyiç, which, to be sure, he had always suspected before, but just now Cerbeleón had given himself away inasmuch as he had said that he could catch and
[682] kill the ũns of human beings. The people of Calderas also say that he possessed herbs that he could put in eggs, chicha, or other food, whereupon people would eat them and then die. One of the sons of Cerbeleón was a thief and had died in the following manner: The one who was robbed had prayed to the Virgen Santisima /Holy Virgin/, and God had punished the thief with death. The father himself, that is, the shaman Cerbeleón, is also a thief and kills people out of envy for their possessions.

The mission sisters confirmed this statement insofar as Cerbeleón had several times attempted to kill them by sprinkling

/274 cont./

554 herbs into their drinking-water canal. Now he had given it up,
754 however. To us he seemed to be merely an idle talker; he did
756 not give the impression of actually having received signs or of being serious about the matter, but rather it seemed as though he had merely learned a little by watching his father /275/ and was doing it mechanically without any inner concern. Francisco, too, had a father and grandfather as shaman predecessors. He was likewise rather ignorant, but apparently meant well. He did his best to help people.

756 Martin Chukue was completely absorbed by his calling and
753 duty, and he was well informed, serious, and dignified in his
761 shamanistic work. When the capitan of Calderas died, he was the shaman authorized to act for his residence, and he also conducted the purification ceremony after his burial. Martin explained the cause of death of the capitan as follows: The capitan had to die because the tũs had stolen the taff soul of the capitan. The capitan died with his left leg drawn up. He was very thin when he died, because he had not eaten anything for a long time, for
[755] his taff soul had been stolen five years ago. At that time the sick man began feeling pain, and during the entire time he, Martin, had fought with the tũs, offered him medicines, and tried to appease him.

775 When the ũns soul (ũns also means "heart"!) leaves the body,
[774] then the person is ultimately dead. And, to be sure, ũns leaves
[827] the body by way of the upper arms, lower arms, finger tips. Shortly before it leaves the person, one may still perceive it very faintly as a pulse beat, and when the pulse beat ceases altogether, the ũns has left the body and immediately goes to heaven. No one could tell me exactly in what form it goes to heaven. In heaven, however, it again has the normal human appearance.
[755] When children are ill, wool threads are put around their wrists
[774] and ankles and drawn tightly in order to prevent the escape of the ũns, or at least to make it more difficult.

/276 cont./

769 foods: meat, maize, chicha, brandy, coca, yuca, etc. These gifts are laid on a banana leaf on the floor of the church and a
775 candle is lighted along with it.) The áhimos, too, can only be seen by shamans.

774 She does not know when and from where a child gets its ũns and taff. She believes that as soon as the heart of the child beats in the mother's womb, the child has ũns; it gets taff only after birth. Animals have no taff; they have ũns only if they devour human beings.

e) Shamanistic Séances

756 Each of the shamanistic séances, be it a treatment of the sick
783 or a ceremony during housebuilding or at a burial, is basically a purification from "pest" and therefore a ceremony of magic practices. All these ceremonies and séances are thus in essence the same. They differ only in details, for example, in the different medicinal herbs or in the order of the various purifications. Let us first give a description of a purification ceremony /277/ by the shaman Martin Chucue after a burial (see Ill. 208 to 213 /see pp. 292-294/).

756 The shaman does not take part in the burial. Moreover, he
764 neither enters the house of a deceased in which the corpse is still
783 present, nor does he accompany a funeral procession to the burial place. The mourners, men, women, and children, go to the burial place together and then return to the house of mourning. Before they may enter it, however, they must go to the river where the shaman awaits them in order to purify them for the first time. Then they go together to the house of mourning, which, however, the purified people may not yet enter, since it is still unclean. The shaman, with his helpers, must first purify the house with the same remedies with which he purified the people, namely, with water to which herbs and cow excrement have been added. After that the people, too, may enter the house and eat and drink.

/275 cont./

775 [828] [774] Old Celia Uriaga of Calderas, who told us two stories, but is not a shaman herself, reported the following: When a person sleeps and dreams, his taff leaves the body, goes everywhere, and experiences what the person is experiencing in his dream. When the person dies, ũns then leaves the person by way of the veins of the upper and lower arm, where one can feel the pulse, and finally by way of the finger tips. Taff also leaves the person, but in the form of a human being with white clothing. Whereas ũns goes to heaven, taff either stays near the body in the grave or goes about on earth, although not as taff, but as áhimos (ghost). It can be seen by the shamans at night, but also by human beings at midnight or around two o'clock at night, in the form of a human figure sitting by the wayside. It is not a real human being, however, but more like a wind. /276/ Ahimos is generally at the burial place, there where the corpse is buried and where the bones are.

According to the account of the old téoi Felisa, the ũns leaves the body upon the death of a human being and goes to heaven. It leaves the body by way of the lower arms, hands, and finger tips. 755 Felisa herself tries to hold back the ũns of a dying person by blow- 775 ing hard on his finger tips after she has previously taken a mouthful 763 of the herbs čáyuts and ǰuwéz as well as brandy. At the same time, [824] with the same herbs in her hands, she strokes the patient's arms from the finger tips upward, in order to hold back ũns. Taff leaves the human body before death. In doing so, it whistles. Felisa can see it. It wanders along a path, well dressed, and the shaman is able to bring it back by tearing its clothes with a very sharp-edged reed (nyfka), and then it is obliged to return to the body (cf. Ill. 199 /see p. 288/).

775 Apart from the shamans, she is convinced that no one is able to [825] see taff, except for dogs, when they sometimes howl for no apparent reason. Whereas ũns goes to heaven, taff remains on earth and goes 769 on living in its house as áhimos in the form of a breath of air. (No accessories are put in the grave with the dead, but on the following December 8, the Feast of the Immaculada, and recurrently each year, the relatives offer to the áhimos of their dead their favorite

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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the drum-dance, in which the women sang to the accompani- 535
ment of a drum; *vito-ko*, or *fits-ko*, the stick-dance, etc.

In addition to the shells and reeds, the Indians also accom- 535
panied their dances with a kind of drum (*kimb*), consisting of a 534
long wooden trough hung by its extremities; and the *tsoots*, or rattle, a calabash containing small stones or hard canna seeds and provided with a handle.

According to Castillo the Paez had also other deities, corre- 776
sponding somewhat to the lares of the ancient Latins, 778
carved images of which were often found in the houses. The *dipi*, who were at one time priests, sorcerers, and medicine-men, [79]
lived in retirement and were considered as the keepers of the doctrines of a traditional civilizer of the nation, called *Guckian*. So strong was their influence in Castillo's time that he complains rather bitterly about it, and proceeds to explain how the true God, wishing to free the Paez from such a devilish guide, simply employed a subterfuge to drown him in the Paez river, together with two of his apostles!

The belief in a future existence is indicated, as Uricoechea 825
relates, by the fact that the Indians never molested white dogs, 775
in order that they might not be bitten by them at the doors of the house beyond the grave.

There were birds and other signs of good or of evil omen. 787
A woman would never step over a leather rope stretched on the ground, but would lift it up and pass beneath. During the construction of bridges, two men constantly beat the waters to frighten away evil spirits. The death of a person was often 761
attributed to witchcraft, and he whose face bore some likeness 754
to that of the dead person was often regarded as the culprit, provided the patient in his cravings had not given the name of the supposed sorcerer. The soul of a cow whose fat had been 825
used for illumination during religious ceremonies was believed 774
to go directly to heaven: this last belief, however, must be of post-conquest origin.

Among themselves the Indians are jovial and contented. 157
The approach of the men whom we often met on the trails 533
around Huila was usually first detected by the sound of the 283

7:Hernández de Alba E-5)/(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
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881 heights of Cuetando, where they built a hut and planted a miniature field as proof of their masculine aptitude.

797 **Education.**—Today the Indians are educated principally by their 871 parents in the customs and tasks pertaining to each sex. Some boys [868] and a few girls are sent to the few missionary schools, where they are given religious instruction and are taught Spanish, arithmetic, geography, the history of Colombia, and modern embroidery or light [562] basketwork. The *Páez* are reluctant to send their daughters to the schools because they feel that women should keep the traditions of [177] their people. The missionary schools strive to change the native language and the cultural traditions which have given the Indian community social cohesion.

595 **Marriage.**[11]—Formerly polygyny was prevalent, but now Catholi- [77] cism has imposed monogamy. The Indians continue, however, to 583 practice trial marriage (amaño). A marriage is arranged as follows:

584 The bride is selected by the young man's parents or by himself. His parents and two witnesses or godparents then visit her house to request her for the groom. They also serve as advisors to the young woman, in case she disapproves the marriage. The visitors carry half-filled bottles of rum (aguardiente) and some special garments for the girl. The young man's father offers the girl's father a half-bottle, acceptance of which means, as usual among the *Páez*, that the second party is well disposed toward the proposal and the negotiations may proceed. If the girl's mother agrees, the boy's mother presents her a half-bottle of liquor. The godfather or witness gives another half-bottle to the girl's father and the 583 godmother gives one to the mother. The visitors now leave, taking the girl, who then begins a year of trial marriage, during which the young man seeks proof that the girl is able to bear children, is active, cooks well, can weave, and can cultivate the land. After the trial period, the man may return the girl to her 585 parents or they marry in the Catholic Church, holding a feast which, like all 527 such celebrations, is called a "cuido." The couple and their parents and godparents are accompanied by an orchestra (chirimía) to the house where the feast is to be held. Here the bride puts on a modern dress, a ribbon on her hair, necklaces, and earrings, while the groom is with his godfather. As the guests arrive, chicha is distributed frequently, music is played, and then there is a feast of thick soup, generally with chicken, cooked yuca, arracacha, and roast or baked meat. In the afternoon, after more music and chicha drinking, the "refresco," really a banquet or social communion, is served. Six bottles of wine made from cane molasses, cinnamon, and cloves, and cake are given to the bride, groom, godmother, [782] and godfather, who give some to everyone present. A prayer, led by the head of the house, then asks the souls of the dead to bless the marriage and give permission [775] to dance. First, the godfather dances with the bride, then the godmother with the groom, after which everyone dances. The feast lasts 5 days, depending on the wealth of the family. Chicha is served and accepted with the phrase, "May God pay you, compadrito, for accompanying us. Accompany us more."

764 **Death.**—At a death, the family formerly buried the deceased inside the house with his possessions, and abandoned it. Some communities, however, preferred to cremate the body or dry it over the fire. The

[114] [727]

[11] I thank my wife and companion, Helena Ospina de Hernández, for her research in 1936 on matrimonial matters.

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The graves were "large and deep," and chiefs were buried with some of their wives and with food and chicha (Cieza, 1932, ch. 32). 764 766

In Colonial times, according to Del Castillo, the *Páez* removed a dying person from his hut but burned the house if anyone died in it. They had given up cremation, however, and buried in the earth, building a fence around the grave. Today, they cover the corpse with a white shroud and place it in the middle of the house with candles and flowers. Here it is watched over one night by relatives and friends, and then buried in a cemetery, where each relative tosses some earth into the grave saying, "Go with God." The mourners then bathe in the river without disrobing, and in the evening hold a banquet with chicha, sancocho (vegetable stew), meat, and tortillas. For 9 days a cross, a container of water, and a candle must be kept on the deceased's bed, the water being kept there so that the soul may drink. The relatives pray every night. A month after the death, a shaman purifies the house. The relatives and friends kill a pig, cut it lengthwise in two halves, one for the shaman, the other for the ceremonial banquet. The shaman sweeps the house floor with the pig's legs and some special branches, which are later buried. He chews coca, says some unintelligible words, and spits leaves on the house walls. The residents and guests then enter the house for the final proof of purification. The shaman, standing in the center of the house, gives a dog half a tortilla. If the dog does not die, he divides the other half among those present. He does the same with a piece of cooked meat, and if the dog still does not die, he blows chicha in all directions in the hut, and then divides what remains with those present. The hut and food are then declared clean The food is then eaten and much chicha drunk.

178 764 [763] 765 764 765 756 783

The modern burial customs of the *Moguex* differ somewhat from those of the *Páez*. The former dance for 9 days before and after burying a dead child. Because of the special ceremonies for adults, young Indians gather and prepare wood to be burned at their own funerals. When an adult dies, relatives and friends bring wood, food, and money to the house, and work for his family, who pray and weep for 3 days over the body. On the fourth day, they carry the body in a procession to the cemetery. Upon passing a house or inn where the deceased was accustomed to take chicha, they stop and drink. The burial procedure is like that of the *Páez*. Back at the house, they purify the objects used by the deceased over the fire, and leave his clothes and the hide he used as a bed at the river 9 days, after which they may be used. Meanwhile, the guests remain with the deceased's family, helping them. On the 9th day, they extinguish all lights and go to the nearest hill to mourn, while a shaman remains in the house to catch the soul of the deceased. He chews coca, spits it in all directions, and beats around with sticks to make the soul come out. Then he lights

764 184 [766] [535] [275] [783] 765 756 787 775 184

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
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765 756 787 775 784 the fire and turns on the lights, and everyone returns to examine a layer of fine ashes placed beforehand at the door. If the ashes shows the footprints of an angel, they believe that the soul is saved, but if the footprints are those of a bird, they believe that the soul is condemned to hell. In some cases they ascertain the fate of the soul by the kind of bird prints.

WARFARE

726 The *Páez* and *Moguex* were particularly warlike. Their attacks were staged in the morning, accompanied by yells and the sound of trumpets, horns, sea shells, and drums. They were generally armed with great spears or pikes, spear throwers, and slings. When fighting, [411] they would first hurl javelins with their spear throwers, then use their slings, the missiles for which they carried in a pouch, and finally pick up their spears or pikes for man-to-man struggle. They also formed closed squadrons, men with clubs alternating with spearmen. The former would step forward to wield their clubs, and then draw back to their positions for protection. Their best defense was on high ridges, from which they rolled large stones on their enemies. They perfected these natural defenses by cutting or camouflaging paths on which they prepared ambushes. They built trenches or pitfalls, which caused the attacking Spaniards much trouble.

628 The principal enemies of these peoples were the *Pijao* and the Spanish soldiers. The *Páez* remember the *Pijao* well, and call the stone [648] statues in their territory "portraits of Pijaos," and the painted tombs, [632] "houses of Pijaos." They are afraid to see the statues or visit the [764] tombs.

To insult an enemy killed in war, they cut off his penis and placed it 727 on the road.

266 Some historians ascribe cannibalism to the *Páez* and the *Moguex*, which seems to have no basis in fact. They kept trophy heads and stuffed the skins of their enemies, but did not eat their foe. There are, however, numerous historical references which state that in the wars [175] against the Spaniards, the *Páez* left the bodies of dead enemies for the [648] *Pijao* to eat, and that they cremated their own dead or dried them [764] over a slow fire, which Friar Pedro Simón (1882–92, ch. 23) mistook [114] for a means for preserving the flesh so that it could be eaten later.

As war trophies, they kept enemy heads, which they preserved with 727 resins, and the skins of their entire bodies, which they filled with ashes [314] (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 3). They even preserved the heads of the Spaniards' horses. They carried these trophies to wars, meetings, and feasts.

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Moguex

Castillo mentions that they wor-
shiped the sun, in whose honor they met and danced in places called "Itaqui-finó," i. e., the place where the sun revealed its mysteries; and that they venerated a kind of culture hero called Guequiau. It was he who instructed shamans (mohanes). 175 771 776 [756]

This hero has a counterpart in the religious legend of Juan Tama, the Son of the Star. One day when the Morning Star shone very brightly, some Indians found a child in a gorge—ever since called the Gorge of the Star. This was Juan Tama. They picked him up and entrusted him to a woman to nurse, but he nursed so much that her milk dried up. He was given to another woman, whom he also made very weak. They then said that he could not be nursed by a woman, and gave him food. After he grew up, he married the female chief of Huila, Doña María Mendiguagua, and became chief of all the Indians. He instructed people and explained to them how to keep the land for themselves and not mix with White people. He pronounced them invincible and summoned a chief from Pitayó, called Calambás, whom he appointed his manager. Calambás rebelled,[13] but was defeated by Juan Tama, who pardoned him on account of his bravery, and conferred on him and his heirs the right to rule the *Páez* in Bitoncó. As death approached, Juan Tama went to the lake on the páramo of Moras and sank into the waters. He had come out of this place and returned to it, leaving no heirs.[14] 773 776

In the neighborhood of Bitoncó there is a rock with what appears to be human footprints. When the Indians pass it, they uncover their heads and say, "The Holy One came this way." Another remnant of the cult of Juan Tama is the custom that each member of the council spends one week at the shores of the lake before the end of his term to render an account to Juan Tama of his actions in office. Likewise, newly elected officers, as soon as they receive their staffs or insignia of authority, spend a week at the lake. They toss silver coins into it, wash their staffs, and pray for strength to rule well. This ceremony, performed with the greatest secrecy, is called the "curing of the staffs." Recently, however, the Indians have stopped "curing" their staffs in the lake, for they say that Juan Tama is angry, and whenever they approach the lake, it rains and storms badly. 776 823 [623] [621] [631] [821]

In the Guanacas section there was another sacred lagoon, called Tumbachí, which was recently drained because a snake that lived there attracted girls and kept them for a whole year, and then returned them when they were about to become mothers.

These tribes believed that the soul comes back to life. 775

Witchcraft was strongly developed among these Indians, who still believe in most of its practices, in spite of the catechization forced upon them by the missionaries. 754 177

[13] During the War of Independence, as well as in subsequent revolutions, the Indians of the family named Calambás distinguished themselves as warriors. [669]

[14] We are indebted to Father David González for this legend, told to him by an old Indian in Lame. [114]

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754 upon them by the missionaries. The power to do evil is not limited to the witches, but is possessed by anyone who entertains a momentary feeling of envy, and to women, who may not walk over a stick or a cord [841] stretched on the ground. Contact with women during their men- [846] struation or during the days following childbirth causes the "mokokoy" [753] to persecute the men and make them ill.

825 Animals possess the power to prognosticate evil. A document written in 1730 [14] tells that an Indian killed a rooster because he had 787 crowed before daybreak, and said, "Rooster, you are forecasting my 763 death, but I shall kill you first." They believe the same thing when certain birds sing. For example, the call of an owl at midnight brings death to someone. And certain small birds called "ulchik" and others called "bich" warn whomever hears their singing that he will meet with disaster. The box turtle follows people warning them that they are going to die.

825 Del Castillo says that the Indians will not strike white dogs, so that 775 they will not be bitten by them when they enter the future life.

The belief in spirits (kl'iumb) is quite general. Among these 776 spirits is the "pitsuala" which persecutes people, makes them ill, and 753 even kills them. The rainbow, or "Etskituns," causes a rash to break [821] out all over the body of anyone who ventures out while the rainbow shines, and the drizzle that generally accompanies the rainbow will harm a person who gets wet in it if he does not bathe immediately. When the rainbow appears, they stay indoors, and blow or spit tobacco in its direction.

776 They believe that the lagoon on the snowcapped peak, Huila, is [823] charmed, and that if they try to go near it wind and hail storms rise. [821] Supernatural evil forces are supposed to be present during many social activities, such as dancing, meetings, funerals, house building, [491] and bridge construction. When a bridge is built, two Indians beat [331] the water constantly to drive away evil spirits. When traveling on the mountains they place small stones or coins on top of some large [484] natural rock to assure a successful trip and to avoid angering the [782] spirit of the mountain.

Sometimes these spiritual forces assume a bodily form, as in the [825] case of the fireflies, which bring diseases or which may be wrapped in [753] Santa María leaves and placed in the path of an intended victim. [754] Most feared are the ghosts of the dead, which consequently are the 782 most propitiated. The *Moguex* and the *Páez* ask their permission to 769 dance, and honor them in a special rite, which blends old beliefs with [775] new religious concepts. Thus, offerings are made to the souls during the first days of November, or whenever the curate is able to visit the Indian village. Each person offers some products from his farm, in-

[14] Statement made by Javier de Orozco y Cuéllar in a lawsuit by the Indians of Tobolma for the possession of land. From the ecclesiastical files of Buenaventura, or Pitos.

/179 cont./

594 Associated with the nuclear family primordially are the functions of reproduction, the rearing of children, and the education of the latter. On procreation depends also the importance of economic functions.

581 The orientation of the sexual instinct is a secondary end.
589 Indeed, Páez culture demands that every individual form a
[183] family, once he has acquired the capacity for procreation. In
[842] the parcialidad of Calderas they look upon children as a blessing
[775] from God, regarding celibates "como violadores de la cruz" /as violators of the cross/(marriage); celibacy is condemned, in the rationalization that the person who dies celibate goes to the
[754] Nevado del Huila, considered by them as hell. The celibacy of a woman is exceptional, and when it occurs they believe that she becomes a witch. They think something similar about some
581 widows. One woman of some fifty years of age says that
589 "marriage is fundamental and obligatory, for the grandfathers
775 used to say that to a woman who is not married the devil gives a black dog for a husband in hell" (7). Another woman declared

[825] 7. They regarded white dogs as companions and guides in the future life and fear that "if molested they will come out and bite them at the entrance to the future abode."

that at times she feels sorrow for the death of an unmarried daughter, "because the devil would give her a husband."

581 The culture considers it an obligation of parents to marry
183 off their daughters even if they are very young. Furthermore
[582] the young men aspire to "build their house, marry, produce children, have animals, coca in abundance, and sugar cane
[842] for their chicha" (8). The incentive to marry is to have children,

8. Bernal Villa, S. 1953, op. cit., p. 183.

for which purpose it is necessary to have assurance /180/ that the woman is fecund,

/Information on Paez tales and myths regarding various gods and spirits in their pantheon will be found only in category 539./

C /18 cont./
172 discovery value of the objects brought to light, the landowners
656 often have them dug up by guaqueros and sold for their own
423 benefit. Digging for spoils on the part of the guaqueros is, of course, forbidden by the law mentioned. Since, however, the archeological sites are almost never in the vicinity of cities or police stations, this uncontrollable digging is practiced even today in large parts of the country, to the detriment of the science of archeology.

C
172 The excavation sites belonging to the park lie within sight
484 of the administration building. The other sites are often to be
487 reached only by very narrow and steep paths. For example, in
C order to reach El /19/ Canadá, one travels on horseback for an
[492] hour. It takes just as long to climb on foot the Filo de El Aguacate, to which the detour on horseback takes more than twice as long. At least the same amount of time, one to three hours, is also generally required for the trip from one village to another.

C
133 The sharply fissured, steeply rising mountains around the
172 archeological park represent the typical panorama of the Tierradentro region (Ills. 5-9 /see pp. 261-263/). The archeological sites with the grave chambers are always on heights, the simpler ones on the peaks of the highest ridges, the largest and
C most splendid ones on leveled-off hilltops below these. One has
133 the best view of the valley of San Andrés from its western end,
361 the Yokaichí ridge, beyond which the valley of Kokiyó, with the village of Calderas, begins. From here one has a broad view as far as the Dondotá ridge, which borders the towns of Suin and Chinas. To the north the Chíndava Mountains border the village of Togóima. Looking eastward in the direction of our ascent, the houses of Supón lie directly below us, then comes the village of San Andrés, then about two kilometers downstream the administrative building for the park, and about two kilometers below
C the park the point Cruzero, from which the road from San Andrés
133 to Juntas branches off in the direction of Inzá. Still farther east,
[823] forming the imposing background of this mountainous landscape,
[776] lie the towns of Pedregál and Turminá, and behind them the
[173]

C /19 cont./
133 dome of "Picacho des Trueno," the mountain of thunder and
? lightning, in which the Paez of San Andrés believe that the
[823] thunder lives and in which -- in the opinion of some Indios --
[776] the Paez, after the destruction of the city of La Plata (1577),
[173] hid the captured gold and silver, the bells and figures of saints
of the old Spanish silver city devastated by them.

C My own archeological research in the Tierradentro region
126 includes an inventory of the archeological objects, as well as
172 prehistoric excavations within the sites of the Alto de San Andrés,
114 the Filo de El Aguacate, El Canadá, and Segovia. For the inventory, exact outline and sectional drawings of the various grave types were first of all undertaken. The photographs of the grave chambers /not reproduced for the translation/ show all the types of decoration that occur. Furthermore, the statues present in the Tierradentro region, as well as the types of ceramics, are completely illustrated /not reproduced for the translation/. The excavations include intact grave-chambers not yet opened by pirate diggers, with the first completely preserved burial urns of the Tierradentro culture of the chambered graves.

C /20/ In the description and numbering of the grave cham-
172 bers the numbering used after the establishment of the park was changed. On the Alto de San Andrés today this is the reverse of what it was formerly, since the entrance of the now fenced-in area lies in the direction of the San Andrés River. The present grave chamber No. 1 corresponds to the No. 12 of G. Hernandez de Alba and J. Perez de Barradas. In Segovia, too, the numbering of the grave chambers has changed. The only chambers published thus far, Nos. H. 1 and H 2 of G. Hernandez de Alba, or Nos. 1 and 2 of J. Perez de Barradas, now lie farthest from the entrance and correspond to Nos. 35 and 38. The designations of a few of the sites were also changed. The archeological site "Necropolis de San Andrés" is now officially called "Alto de San Andrés," the "Loma Alta de San Andrés" is now "Filo de El Aguacate," and the "Parte alta del potrero de las Huacas" is now "El Duende." /The remainder of p. 20 and pp. 21-96 are omitted in the translation./

/142 cont./

231 There are dogs (álko) in almost every house. They are supposed to protect the chickens from the fox and the house from strange persons. We never met any really vicious dogs, however. They are all very undernourished and cowardly and, in addition, are of a small, short-haired breed. There are no larger dogs, say, [262] of the size of our shepherd dogs. They must hunt for their food, which consists chiefly of the meat of dead horses, since the people do not eat horse meat. Only very rarely are the remains of human meals tossed to them. Cats (mīš) are rare. Only a few families have one. They serve human beings by keeping the [235] house and storerooms free of mice. Ducks (páto) are likewise very [262] rare; we came across only two each in two houses. They are greatly prized as roasts.

Bees (čí'nc) are kept by only a few families. They are smaller than our German honeybees and of a yellowish brown color. There are no special beehives; rather, an old, hollow, but still standing tree-trunk is used. In one case they nested in a house post next to the doorway. Their honey (čí'nc mil) is dark brown, [237] like syrup. Beeswax (čí'nc) is used to strengthen the agave-fiber string with which broken chicha bowls are repaired and fireworks are made.

/143/ e) Hunting and Fishing

224 Neither plays any great role in the economy of the Paez. [433] Moreover, there is no special class of hunters or fishermen. Hunting is practiced only by the men and, for lack of big game, generally extends to smaller mammals, rabbits, monkeys, and to birds. Only in the mountains is it possible to find and to hunt the čái and gwágwa. The former is a kind of deer, so I was told, and the gwágwa a small animal similar to a badger.

The greatest frequency of the hunting trips of a man is about one day a week. Mostly, however, the men go hunting [231] less often. This is done alone with dogs in the vicinity of the [776] houses, whereas a hunting trip in the mountains is generally made by several men, since a man alone is afraid of gělyómp, the mountain spirit

/143 cont./

224 mountain spirit. We met only a single young man of about 18
who goes hunting alone in the mountains once a week. He told
us that, in order to become a good hunter, one must first try to
[789] kill a bear (éšwiy). One must then rub its fat into the right
[237] lower-arm, which would give him the same powers as the bear.
[262] One is not permitted to eat this fat, however, because it would
[828] make him insane. After rubbing in the fat, the young hunter
[263] continued, one may not eat salt at any meal for a week. There
are no further rules and ceremonies of any kind to be observed.
[237] We learned, however, that one can also use bear fat as a heal-
[752] ing remedy, and, to be sure, for bone fractures or sprains one
757 must rub the affected part with bear fat, whereupon the injured
limb will heal immediately and will become considerably
224 stronger than ever before. For stalking he wears on his head a
292 cap made of the skin of a reddish-blond hairy monkey (mõnc),
[825] which in the first place protects him from the thorns of the
bushes, but which is also supposed to facilitate creeping up on
[439] game. He sold it to us for two pesos without hesitation, since,
[126] as he said, he was perfectly capable of shooting another monkey
224 for himself. He was not afraid of the gělyõmp spirit, but the
776 other men were, for gělyõmp screams and makes a noise when
human beings enter his area in the mountains, so that they be-
come quite confused and go astray. The mountain spirit cannot
do anything to several men together, however, since he could
make as much noise as he pleased, but they would not let them-
224 selves be diverted. Of course, the men, even if there are ever so
776 many of them, must not offend the mountain spirit or provoke
515 him unnecessarily, but rather must avoid everything that gělyõmp
783 does not like. /144/ For instance, he hates everything impure
[296] and filthy. Hence the men always only go hunting well washed;
[824] they even wash the entire body, and the ruana, too. In addition,
they rub themselves with the cleansing herbs šu and ǩayuts, which
they obtain from the shaman, in order to be really altogether
[761] clean in a physical and ritual sense. But if someone has taken
part in a burial or has merely seen a funeral procession close by,
he has picked up a good deal of "pest" from the dead and must
have himself specially purified by the
shaman before hunting.

/144 cont./

have himself specially purified by the shaman before hunting. In case the wife of a hunter happens to be menstruating at the very time of the hunt, however, purification is of no avail; the hunter is too "dirty" and must stay at home, so as not to provoke the wrath of the gĕlyómp and thus bring misfortune on the entire hunting party.

The latter generally consists of six men with 12 dogs, without there being any regular battues, however. The hunters are equipped with shotguns, whose smooth barrels, with a caliber of about 15 millimeters, consist of strong sheet-iron. Fine sand is used as shot; powder is purchased and ignited with a spark from the flintlock.

There are no closed seasons for animals; nor is gĕlyómp angry, say, because too much game might be hunted, for "this does not happen, since there is not that much." After hunting, however, the hunter fastens the tail feathers of the birds killed to the inner side of the roof of his house and the cleanly gnawed skulls of the four-footed animals killed to its center post or center gable-post, both so as to be successful again the next time in hunting the same game. I found tail feathers of birds under the roof covering of almost every house, and frequently also three, five, or ten monkey or rabbit skulls fastened directly to the house post or strung one above the other on a string. Only once did I find, on the gable post of a small field-hut, at a man's height, below a monkey skull, a very crudely incised human figure with an oval face and six hairs standing straight up on the head (Ill. 200 /see p. 288 /). The eyes are represented by circles, the nose by a long rectangle, and the mouth by a triangle. The body is rectangular. Two semicircular lines are incised on the sides of the body. The arms start at these semicircles as two bent lines and stick out somewhat; the legs are represented in a similar way; a triangle between them is probably supposed to indicate the genitals. A Christian cross is carved on the side of the post. I was told that the human figure represents the "devil," /145/ but had nothing to do with hunting. This explanation is, of course, unsatisfactory, but I was unable to find any similar

/145 cont./

532 776 carving anywhere else or obtain an explanation anywhere (*).

* Possibly this is supposed to represent "Thunder," who, as the most important mythical figure and also as the shamans' assistant spirit, is described as a small man with the shaman staff and a triangle as a musical instrument, who displays his sexual parts.

223 Bird-hunting for the pigeon-sized tom birds is carried on by almost all Paez families with the net (ōka), as well as with the shotgun. The net is about five meters high and 20 meters wide. For this purpose a correspondingly wide breach is cut in the growth of trees or bushes on a hill or the ridge of a mountain chain, and the net fastened in the opening produced. The flushed birds, who think that there is a convenient passage at this place, fly into the net, get caught in it, and are then killed by the [237] capturers, who twist their heads. Another type of bird-catching consists of fastening a noose made of horsehair (nyákiwez; nyák = to set up, wez = string) to the twig of a tree or shrub in such a [857] way that the noose rests in a bird's nest. When the bird returns to its nest, the noose becomes entangled in its foot, and the boy -- for it is mostly boys who engage in this task of noose-setting -- 224 is able to seize the bird. Rabbits are caught in the same way with nooses, but made of agave fibers, by laying the nooses where they pass.

226 Fishing is done with hook and line at the river or with [283] poison in weirs. The fishing line (wendyánsyuts) consists of twined agave string to which are tied a metal hook and a stone as a sinker. A small worm is fastened to the hook as bait. [462] Angling is done only by men, and at twilight or at night.

226 824 171 Fishing with poisonous plants is a cultural characteristic of almost all South American Indians. For this purpose a total of more than 100 species of poisonous plants are used by them, which means that this part of the world leads all the continents in this respect (Heizer, p. 277). Among the Paez, fishing with

/175 cont./
623 handle an additional crescent-shaped piece of silver leaf is applied.
293 In former years, on the first day of the new year, a cere-
623 mony for the old as well as for the newly elected cabildo took
796 place on the not easily accessible lagoon of Juan Tama, the
778 Páramo de Moras, and lasted for several days. It started with
828 chicha drinking under the leadership of a shaman, after which the culture hero, Juan Tama, and the spirits of the ancestors (?) were asked by the shaman for advice and assistance in the coming year. A dance and a bath in the lagoon concluded the ceremony (Bürg, pp. 340 f.). According to my information, this gathering at the lagoon has not been carried out for several years. The reason given is that for several years in succession it has rained around
[787] New Year's time. After that the shamans announced that with this
[776] sign Juan Tama renounced any further performances of the ceremony on his lagoon.

623 The election of the cabildo is done by the men of the entire
666 village. The candidates must be citizens of the given village,
[641] that is to say, they must own land there. A stranger could never hold office in a Paez village. The candidates may not propose themselves, but must be nominated by the assembly or by the old cabildo. Anyone who is elected for an office by the village assembly for the first time may not refuse, but must accept it. Only re-election, which is possible up to five or ten years in succession, is voluntary. The wealth or possessions of the candidates do not play
[556] any role. The present gobernador, Marcelo Muse, is /176/ about 30 years old. Two children, a son about six years old and a four-year-old daughter, are living; four of his children died. In the way of material possessions he owns five horses and two pigs, but no cows and no sheep. Ten years ago he was fiscal for a year. In the general opinion of the Paez the gobernador should not be too young or too old. The best age is between 30 and 50 years. The remaining posts, which to a large extent consist of messenger services, are generally held by younger, unmarried people, although
[896] they may also be filled by married men up to 50 years of age. In general the gobernador chooses people who are loyal to him and who must also carry out the punishments for him, for a gobernador

/195 cont./

d) Death

761 According to the belief of the Paez, death occurs chiefly
776 through the action of the evil shamans (nyic) or the evil spirits
165 ec, tus, and gëlyómp (see "Religion" /see pp. 191ff./). Included
164 here also is the not infrequent cause of death through consumption.
[262] Causes of death of children are chiefly whooping cough, as well as stomach and intestinal disorders, the latter brought about by a
[762] diet very unsuitable for children. Suicide is completely unknown.

764 The death of a member of the community is passed on from
[763] man to man by members of the family and neighbors. There is
[203] no public mourning or lamentation; upon the death of small
[765] children, people act as though they were glad, since the children
[192] are now "little angels." (Among the colonists, as well as among the Paez, the Spanish word "angelito" is used.) In former times it was customary to abandon the house when death occurred and to leave the deceased and some food in it (Castillo i Orosco, p. IX).

764 The manner of burial is the same for men, women, and
184 children; there are no social differences. A few customs in other Paez communities, however, differ from those of the Calderun. Therefore the burial of the dead in Calderas will be described first.

[177] For burial the deceased is dressed if possible in purchased,
[291] that is, "white" clothing, even if he was the poorest of the poor and had never worn such clothing. For this reason the relatives incur considerable expense, which often cannot be paid for a long time. Burial takes place the day after death. Only the feet of the deceased are washed. This work, as well as dressing the deceased, may be done by relatives or even by outsiders; they must, /196/ however, always be men, even in the case of female deceased persons. The body is taken by two men on a bier made of two tree trunks to the graveyard next to the church, where two other men, usually relatives, have already dug the grave. The latter is trapezoid-shaped, a good shoulder's breadth at head height and narrower at the foot end. Its length is determined by the size of the deceased. The direction of the grave is completely arbitrary.

/253 cont./

539 When he came back, he saw the snake in its place. Then he changed back into a human being. The fiber bag was there, too. The bananas were there, too. The snake filled with water (that is, underdone, still watery) was there.

It was afternoon when he went into his house. The bag he brought to his wife. He came to his wife with this bag. When he had knocked, he entered.

2. Orientation and General Knowledge

772 776 177 Nothing definite can be said about the ancient Paez conception of the world, since Christian influence has had a strongly modifying effect. In any case, there is in the Paez vocabulary the word "tátyinas," which is sometimes translated as "god," and sometimes -- and corresponding better with the meaning of the word -- as "creator." The word "Dios" is used to designate the Christian God. Tátyinas, I was told, lives in heaven, on the earth, and in the earth. He made all human beings. He does not receive sacrifices. He is not mentioned in shamanistic ceremonies.

772 775 The vocabulary shows that, besides the earth and the conception of a heaven or of the firmament, there were also two places of the dead that were familiar. The happy land of death, mbéka kígwe, is like heaven. Literally it means "land of chicha," and if one knows the Paez, one realizes that in any case it must be /254/ a happy land. The land of the dead corresponding to [776] "hell" is called eč kígwe. The eč are the most evil of all spirits. They live in the earth; hence this designation must refer to a subterranean land.

804 461 As for natural periods of time, only days and months are known, as well as work days and non-work days (ki'sen). The latter designation is now used for Sunday. Originally this was not a fixed day; rather, people worked and celebrated as they could arrange the time within a larger or smaller community. Even today, during the times of clearing, the people sometimes work for weeks in the field, without inserting a work-free day.

/259 cont./

b) The Period of Development of the Shaman

756 The teyu with whom I was acquainted became shamans in two ways. Either they were taught by a teyu for a more or less long period of time, until they were given the "signs," or they were directly called to become a shaman by a vision. The latter, as a result of special selection through an experience caused by higher beings, is the more original type of shaman calling, whereas a regular apprenticeship with an experienced teyu is characteristic for the shamans who carry on the position of their fathers and sometimes also that of their grandfathers. These "hereditary shamans" are generally not as powerful magically as those initially chosen through a vision. The hereditary shamans are merely the continuers of an acquired shamanistic trade, whereas the initially chosen ones are the continuers of the tradition of a creator of human beings and animals, of a heroic war leader and liberator of their people. This mythically important figure of Paez tradition is Thunder, who is also regarded as the foremost and the most powerful magically of all shamans. His human successors were scarcely inferior to him as shamans in olden times, whereas the present-day ones are generally quite far behind in their magical abilities.

[776]

754 The teoi Felisa Ipia from Santa Rosa is about 70 years old
756 (Ill. 199 /see p. 288 /). Her husband and six children are dead. Three children are living. She keeps no animals aside from a few chickens and turkey hens. About her calling she says that she received her call to become a shaman from Thunder. /260/ The latter lives in the lagoon of Taibe. He appeared to her in a black cloud and descended to earth to her in human form and gave her her shaman's staff and her medicinal herbs, saying that she had
754 been chosen as teoi by him. She then practiced her art for a long
756 time; but the people said that she was an evil shaman, a nyic,
683 and brought her before the cabildo to be punished. Since the people greatly fear the nyic, she was given many blows there, and, indeed, with her own shaman's staff. Afterwards it was broken and burned

/267 cont./

756 like the entire culture of the Paez. For the rest, there are neither special articles of clothing or equipment nor any other kind of ceremonial gear, such as crystals, masks, or rattles.

[824] The shaman's staff consists of a smooth staff, 50 to 60 centimeters long, made out of the hard wood of the chonta palm. It is /268/ pointed at one end and semicircular in cross-section. Each shaman makes this staff for himself before treating his first [764] patient and never lets it out of his hand. When he dies, it is put into the grave with him. Before a séance begins, he sticks it into the ground, though not directly in front of him, but somewhat to the side. Only rarely does a shaman have it in his hand during the séance. As the single exception to the unadorned shaman's staff, I know of only the one belonging to old Felisa Ipia of Santa Rosa. On her staff she has tied a number of colored wool threads [774] which she spun herself and dyed with homemade dyes. She has collected in these threads the souls of all the villagers of Santa [755] Rosa. If someone in the village falls ill, she learns of it through [787] her signs or through Thunder personally and in this way is better able to help the sick person, since she can immediately blow her medicinal herbs, mixed with brandy, on the wool threads and thus can help the sick person better.

756 S. Bernal Villa points out that the designation for the shaman's 773 staff corresponds to the name of the most important culture hero of the Paez, Juan Tama, who, according to tradition, was lawgiver, famous and victorious commander of the army, first chief [976] and shaman. According to other traditions, he was the son of the stars, the son of Thunder, or Thunder himself. The present-day shamans regard the staff as a gift from Thunder, and as a sign of spiritual alliance with him. A shaman of San Andrés, reporting on the origin of the shaman staff, says that, according to the stories of the elders, the tama was introduced by Thunder himself. According to this, a man once had his hut and his potato field in the mountains. He harvested the field with his son. One day the son refused to follow his father to the field, but rather preferred to stay behind in the hut. The next day the son had disappeared

/268 cont./

756 without leaving a trace. In vain the father tried to find out where
773 he was staying. After eight days, however, the son again appeared in the hut. He said that he had been with his grandfather, who had given him brandy, medicines, and this staff that he held in his hand and that was called tama. The "brandy" was cold water from a lake, and the medicines in the fiber bag were mountain herbs. After he had said this, he fell into a trance and lay there as though dead. Fourteen days later, as he lay dying, he asked his father to hand him his tama, for Thunder had told him that he could defend himself with it and that, in case of illness, he should take the medicines that he had given him. He squeezed /269/ out the juice and drank it. Quickly he became well. When he gave it to other sick persons, they, too, became well immediately. With his staff and his medicines he became the best doctor far and wide. He died at an advanced age.

775 Another shaman said that the tama stems from a lifesaving
773 act of the Holy Virgin Mary. Once when the sea rose constantly
177 higher and had covered almost the entire earth, human beings were in great danger. The Virgin Mary took pity on them. She drew forth the tama and with it made the same motions that the shamans make with it today. The masses of water then receded. She left her staff behind for the person who became a shaman. This is supposed to be the origin of the tama.

Although in the latter story not only the figure of the Virgin Mary, but possibly also the motif of the Deluge did not originate in the thought of the Paez, nevertheless the origin of the tama as
756 a gift from a higher power is noteworthy. This power, which,
776 for the shamans, is of the greatest significance as a spirit being
787 and as the first shaman, is Thunder. According to reports, he also positively has the character of an assistant spirit, even though he is almost only feared by the present-day shamans. "The old shamans," the present ones constantly assert, "were still powerful enough magically to establish communication with Thunder directly and at any time; we today are no longer able
778 to do it." In former times the members of the cabildo, under the
756 guidance of a shaman, bathed together in the lagoon of Juan Tama
623

/269 cont./

778 and had their staff of office consecrated there. Today this no
756 longer takes place because of the lack of good shamans. The
623 shamans of today no longer have the intense visions that the
[787] earlier ones had, and that is why they are no longer so powerful magically. They are no longer able to speak with Thunder as simply as their predecessors did, and since they are weaker, it is believed that Thunder will kill them.

776 Thunder is generally described as small of stature and dressed like a Paez man with hat and black ruana. It is reported that he does not wear trousers, but exposes his sexual parts. He has with
[534] him, like a shaman, his tama, a fiber bag with medicines, and a
[532] musical instrument called "tíngalo" (triangle). It is not impossible that it is his picture, together with a Christian cross, that is incised in the gable post of a hut in the vicinity of the park of San Andrés, which represents a man with large, triangular-shaped sexual parts (Ill. 200 /see p. 288 /).

[756] /270/ Thunder is regarded by all the Paez as the greatest
[773] shaman and by the teyu as their master. In the folklore (see below /see pp. 215 ff./), he probably often has different names, such as Juan Tama, Llivan, Chauté, Juan Chiracol, but his characteristics stand out in them, no matter whether as sāt (cacique) he is fighting the Pijao and defending his people, or that he will one day -- people are convinced -- again drive the hated whites
776 out of Tierradentro. He warns the Paez of an evil white person
821 who is coming to Tierradentro for a visit by a clap of thunder from
[783] a clear sky. When he thunders above a particular house, he is
[754] announcing that there is "pest" in it, and if he thunders first above the house of a nyiç and then above one belonging to a teyu he is thereby announcing to a good shaman that he has just been bewitched.

776 A few stories also tell about the struggles of the shamans
787 against Thunder, for he once robbed the Paez of livestock and
756 people. But that was long ago, for today no one would dare undertake anything against Thunder. The Calderun shamans tell how the earlier teyu were in a position to speak with Thunder at any time and to get advice from him. Those of today are no

/270 cont./

756 longer able to do this. Old Filisa of Santa Rosa, however, who
776 was herself chosen and initiated into her office by Thunder, is
787 still able to enter into communication with Thunder today. To be sure, she cannot always do this, but she has often sought him out in his lagoon, dived into the water, gone to the house of Thunder on the bottom of the lagoon, and asked him for advice. One of the sons of Thunder, likewise a shaman, was even her constant companion who protected her everywhere. "In former times," she said, "Thunder himself cured people. Today it is different." Thunder knows when someone is sick; then when people come to her to ask for a remedy, Thunder personally announces to the shaman beforehand: such and such persons with such and such an illness will come today. He also tells her at the same time what remedies she should use. Then when the people come to tell about the illness, she can, since she is a good friend of Thunder, always help them with the best remedies.

776 Thunder, she said, has many children. They come into the world by way of a spring or a crevice out of which water trickles. They have the size of small human beings, but are very good and dressed in a beautiful táw (belt). For growing up and for their nourishment they need three women as attendants. They suck milk from them, whereupon the women must die. The Thunder-children /271/ themselves are barren and have no children. As children of Thunder, however, they have always been great caciques and shamans.

One day she showed me a small knot of a branch, wrapped in a piece of cloth. "This is a child of Thunder that I have from him," she said, "it looks like a branch, but in reality it is alive and can speak."

d) Sickness, Ideas About the Spirits and Souls

753 All sicknesses are explained by the Paez as having originated
754 by means of magical influences that have their cause primarily
783 in malevolent, deliberate acts. These magical, supernatural influences are either bewitchments by the nyiç, magical injury

/271 cont./

753 caused by the spirits eč, tũs, or gělyómp, or general emanations
783 of impurity, of "pest" (uwẽ). Such reasons for catching pest, and
[754] thereby being afflicted with sickness, result largely from neglecting
[764] the prescribed shamanistic purifications. These must take place after a burial or when someone has merely seen a funeral proces-
753 sion or entered a house in which there is a corpse. The prohibitions
783 surrounding a woman giving birth or menstruating are just as strict.
841 If she does not retire to the menstruation hut at the proper time,
[849] if she cohabits during these days or neglects to take the subsequent bath after menstruation and birth, the consequences are equally
[264] grave. Pest befalls a man if he accepts food from a menstruating
753 woman. The same consequences befall the one who in housebuild-
783 ing or during the first harvest does not have the proper ceremonies
756 performed by the shaman.
342

Most people die as the result of the evil influence of the
754 nyiç, the evil sorcerers. The latter -- it is firmly believed --
783
761 are able to kill individual persons as well as to send pest to entire villages. Their power of evil is regarded as almost unlimited. Besides being bewitched by a nyiç, there are three other possibili-
753 ties for a person to become ill or to die. These causes are
761 gělyómp, tũs, and eč. All three are very complex conceptions
776 and may be translated roughly as "mountain spirit," "rainbow," and "firefly," respectively, although the Paez conception and the
[756] translation are not completely identical. The teyu knows the cause of the illness immediately from his signs, the rest of the people, however, usually only after the death of the sick person. And, to be sure, one recognizes the tũs as the cause of illness by the fact /272/ that the corpse lies there with a bent limb (arm or leg), whereas in the case of ec as the cause of death, blood flows from the mouth or nose. It is also possible that both together, tũs and eč, might bring death to the person, for example, if the person lies there bent and blood flows from the mouth or nose.

776 The gělyómp spirit lives chiefly in the mountains, but also in the valley, on the banks of brooks or rivers. He likes to lead wanderers astray in the mountains by making noise and screaming up there; at night one hears his screams -- like those of a human

/272 cont./

776 being -- in the valley, too, near the village. He is a raging foe
[784] of everything dirty. A hunter who has not washed himself and his ruana before hunting or whose wife is in the menstruation hut at the time will be punished by him. He has the figure of a human being, sometimes that of a man, but sometimes, too, that of a woman or a child. Gĕlyómp, as well as tũs and eč, can give a
776 person pest so that he will die. One can catch pest by himself
783 everywhere and on all occasions, no matter whether he is awake or
753 asleep. The pest of the three spirits mentioned is primarily caused by stings that not only enter the body, but also the soul. In the spot where they have entered the body they leave punctures that are red in color in the case of gĕlyómp, blue in the case of tũs, and black in the case of eč. The sicknesses caused by gĕlyómp manifest themselves by general pain caused by the penetration of one of his hairs. This happens in the following manner: Someone is walking along a path and suddenly feels a stinging pain in his arm or some other part of his body, like the prick of a pin. Although
[755] he cannot discover a puncture, the pain remains. The person therefore goes to the teyu, and he is able to remove the cause of the pain by rubbing his herbs over the affected spot until he re-
[761] moves from it a black hair ten to 15 centimeters long. This hair is from the gĕlyómp, and if the shaman had not removed it, the one
[75] afflicted by it would have had to die. To a certain extent one can protect himself from the hairs of the mountain spirit if, when returning home from a walk over the mountains or a night's march, he passes a firebrand over the feet and body, in order to burn off any hair of the gĕlyómp that might have penetrated.

776 Tũs, the "rainbow," lives on the banks of watercourses and
753 especially at springs. There are many tũs, and, to be sure, wherever there is water. There are tũs as large as a snake, colored red and yellow, and others only the size of a finger. People recognize sicknesses /273/ of the tũs by the fact that the afflicted one is covered all over with pimples and has to scratch himself constantly.
[821] If it rains when the sun is shining, tũs goes from the bank of the river, where he lives, into the sky and from there back again to earth in a semicircle. The rainbow is especially dangerous for children.

/273 cont./

776 If it rains when the sun is shining, they may not leave the house,
753 for otherwise they become afflicted with head maladies. These
821 are not headaches, but wounds such as would be inflicted by a
[758] machete. The teyu, however, have remedies to make the rain-
(789) bow disappear, so that children may go outside again.

776 Eč, the third of the aforementioned causes of sickness and
(753) death, is the most unpleasant and the most dangerous, since eč
[761] kills the most people. Eč lives in the earth; no man has seen
[787] him, apart from a few shamans. They need not enter into the
earth, however, to see him; rather, eč himself comes if a teyu
[825] calls him. He looks like a human being. Eč is also the name
for fireflies, which are regarded as the messengers that he sends
out to bring "pest" to human beings. People therefore kill fire-
776 flies if they are able to catch them. Eč is not angry, however,
782 if the people kill his messengers, if only he always gets enough
offerings. For this reason people give eč a dram-glass full of
brandy from every bottle, that is, they pour this amount on the
ground; likewise eč gets his share of every animal killed (chicken,
756 pig, cow, etc.). People ask their teyu which parts of the animal
776 eč demands and which ones they should offer him. If people
782 killed and ate an animal without offering eč any of it, he would
[761] in return kill a child of this family. If the father then comes to
the teyu and asks why his child died, he -- who, of course, knows
that the man slaughtered a pig without giving eč anything -- tells
him that this is the punishment of eč. That very rarely happens,
however; rather, the man gives the shaman the parts of the ani-
mal desired by eč, for instance, the liver, entrails, or meat, and
he gives them to eč, bringing them at night to the place desired
[787] by him. Moreover, as a precaution people give eč herbs and
brandy as the shaman advises, in accordance with the signs which
he has received from eč.

774 If the penetration of pest into the body of a person is the
776 cause of an illness that may result in death, this unfortunate out-
753 come is all the more probable if one of the three spirits or a nyiç
has stolen a human soul. I was given differing /274/ statements
about such a case: First of all, there are two words for soul, ũns

/274 cont./

774 (u = nasal) and taff, with which everyone is familiar, although
776 they are not sure about the distinction between the two. The
753 shamans Francisco and Cerbeleón said that the two were the same; but both of them also said that ũns or taff, if they had left the person in his dream and were abroad, could be caught by tũs, eč, or nyic without the person's becoming aware of this immediately, but rather he still went on living. To my objection that in this case ũns and taff were probably different, they did not know how
[775] to answer; Cerbeleón stated that if a person dies, his ũns goes to heaven and the person himself becomes taff. He and other teyu
756 were able to catch the ũns of a human being. Thus, for example,
774 if someone had been robbed, he would come to Cerbeleón. The
754 latter takes coca, tobacco, and brandy, and then he can bring forth the ũns of the thief, seize it, and kill it. The thief must
[783] then die. In order to get the ũns in his power, he must first cleanse
[824] his hands with the herbs šũ and vitubítskwe, as well as with brandy.
[276] The ũns has the form of a small animal, he explained; it can fly and glows and is about three centimeters long. It is very similar to a firefly in appearance, but different from eč.

554 Having reached this point in his explanation, Cerbeleón grew
754 silent, and our interpreter Victoriano said that we should now have
756 to depart, but quickly. With that he left the house in positive
[124] flight, and we were obliged to follow. Outside he explained to us that Cerbeleón was a "mal brujo," a nyic, which, to be sure, he had always suspected before, but just now Cerbeleón had given himself away inasmuch as he had said that he could catch and
[682] kill the ũns of human beings. The people of Calderas also say that he possessed herbs that he could put in eggs, chicha, or other food, whereupon people would eat them and then die. One of the sons of Cerbeleón was a thief and had died in the following manner: The one who was robbed had prayed to the Virgen Santisima /Holy Virgin/, and God had punished the thief with death. The father himself, that is, the shaman Cerbeleón, is also a thief and kills people out of envy for their possessions.

The mission sisters confirmed this statement insofar as Cerbeleón had several times attempted to kill them by sprinkling

/277 cont./

756 765 783 [787] The shaman learns the date of the second ceremony and principal purification through his signs from ečˇ. He announces this date to those who participated at the burial. Those to be purified -- primarily the nearest relatives -- gather at the river and at a place set apart for this, marked by a number of flat [823] stones. These are absolutely necessary; without stones, no puri- [237] fication site. First the people sit in front of the stones, and the helpers of the shaman fetch calabashes filled with water that is mixed with the šũˇ herb and to which some cow excrement, standing ready in a pot at the same place, is added. The shaman has wound a liana around his staff. Even before the ceremony, he chewed coca and tobacco uninterruptedly and drank brandy copiously. First he goes to the left with the staff and liana and beats the air with both, as though he were struggling with invisible spirits. Then, always struggling, he goes in the other directions of the site, and, finally, once more to the left. There his helpers have dug a hole about 30 centimeters deep and 15 centimeters in diameter.

Now the linen of the deceased and the linen of the mourners [296] which they used on the day of burial are brought forth. They are placed on the stones and then washed and rinsed long and vigorously by the widow and the daughter of the deceased.

The rest of the mourners, like the shaman, have been chewing coca the whole time and get brandy to drink from the teyu.

After the washing, the shaman next struggles as before, as though he wanted to drive invisible spirits away from the site of the purification ceremony. With wide sweeping blows he moves his tama /278/ and liana slowly through the air. In particular he [823] turns to the left again, for to the left lives the evil ečˇ, and to be [776] sure, in the ground (*).

* The direction left has nothing to do with any geographical direction or with the direction of the river. They sit with their backs to the river.

/292 cont./

5. Folklore

*539 The present fund of tales of the Paez is neither rich nor varied. Here, too, a certain impoverishment has undoubtedly taken place, as may be seen from fragments of larger complexes of myths. Among these there are the "Story of the Woman from Whose Body Useful Plants Come Forth," stories about transformed animals and human beings, as well as stories about werejaguars. [171] The story of the ghostly human head that comes rolling by is also extraordinarily widespread in North and South American legends and has a manifold lunar-mythological meaning. [176] In contrast to this, the complete absence of typical stories about the forest spirit (gĕlyŏmp) is noteworthy, although the latter plays an important role in the religious conceptions of the Paez. Animal and transformation tales are only very dull and colorless.

114 609 *539 [887] Unfortunately, the reluctance of the Paez to communicate is particularly frustrating in the recording of the myths. It is primarily the old people who can tell stories. But they are the very ones who are particularly standoffish toward the stranger. The chroniclers and early reporters tell us nothing about the folklore of the Paez, and even the most recent travelers of the 'thirties report only the story of Juan Tama or deny that the Paez have any mythology at all.

12 609 *539 [554] The stories collected by S. Bernal Villa and by myself could surely be augmented with better acquaintance among the old people. The unpopularity of our interpreter, especially among the old people, was sometimes so great an obstacle that Victoriano had to ask suitable informants for some of the stories told about his father or uncle.

*539 The themes of the stories chiefly consist of tales about Thunder (Nos. 1-12), mostly under his names of Juan Tama, Llivan, Chauté, or Juan Chiracol. In the myths he is the first shaman and teacher of the present-day shamans (see under "Religion" /see pp. 176 ff. /) and considerably more powerful than human beings. He is not an exalted, numinous figure, however. On the contrary, people in olden days /293/ sometimes treated him quite badly, threw poisonous herbs in his lagoon,

/316 cont./

105 601 The kinship nomenclature shows remnants of a "classificatory" system, into which the individual is fitted as part of a living structure and does not stand out in profile, detached within the family. Persons are differentiated in address according to certain circumstances of age and life, and, among others, siblings are differentiated in address, according to whether they are younger or older than the speaker.

105 53 In art and mythology a considerable impoverishment has taken place. There is neither song nor any peculiar dance. The music of transverse flutes and drums, performed with great enthu- [177] siasm, is to be stressed. The cylindrical drum with skin stretched on two sides, which is used at the present time by the Paez, is in all parts of America a loan from the Negroes. In earlier times hanging, hollowed-out tree-trunks were used for the dance and for conveying information, such as /317/ are used today as troughs for making chicha. The rattles formerly present are no longer used today. The transverse flutes with six blowholes used by the Paez are post-Columbian; at any rate they are not found in this form either archeologically or recently among uninfluenced Indians. The only transverse flute form known from pre-Spanish and modern times are flutes that are stopped at both ends and provided with two blowholes (Izikowitz, pp. 298 ff.).

105 773 ●776 In the fund of tales no comprehensive picture of the world emerges. The chief figure in the myths is Thunder, who appears as the first shaman and as a war leader. He is not, however, an exalted, numinous figure, but rather to some extent has charac- teristics attributed to forest spirits in other parts of South America. [784] There is also a special forest spirit (gĕlyómp) among the Paez. He [224] has the figure of an old man with large, exposed sexual parts, and his stings inflicted as punishment for ritual uncleanness in connec- tion with hunting cause the human being sickness and pain. He does not, however, appear mythologically. Fragments of larger myth-complexes are the story of the woman from whose body useful plants arise, the story about the ghostly human head that comes rolling along, stories about transformed animals and human beings, and stories about werejaguars.

1: Nachtigall--288 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 200. Skull trophy and figure of a spirit.

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Ill. 199. The shaman Felisia Ipia with her shaman's staff.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

the drum-dance, in which the women sang to the accompaniment of a drum; *tsito-ko*, or *fits-ko*, the stick-dance, etc. 535

In addition to the shells and reeds, the Indians also accompanied their dances with a kind of drum (*kimb*), consisting of a long wooden trough hung by its extremities; and the *tsoits*, or rattle, a calabash containing small stones or hard canna seeds and provided with a handle. 535 534

According to Castillo the Paez had also other deities, corresponding somewhat to the lares of the ancient Latins, carved images of which were often found in the houses. The *diqi*, who were at one time priests, sorcerers, and medicine-men, lived in retirement and were considered as the keepers of the doctrines of a traditional civilizer of the nation, called *Gueksiui*. So strong was their influence in Castillo's time that he complains rather bitterly about it, and proceeds to explain how the true God, wishing to free the Paez from such a devilish guide, simply employed a subterfuge to drown him in the Paez river, together with two of his apostles! 776 778 [79]

The belief in a future existence is indicated, as Uricoechea relates, by the fact that the Indians never molested white dogs, in order that they might not be bitten by them at the doors of the house beyond the grave. 825 795

There were birds and other signs of good or of evil omen. A woman would never step over a leather rope stretched on the ground, but would lift it up and pass beneath. During the construction of bridges, two men constantly beat the waters to frighten away evil spirits. The death of a person was often attributed to witchcraft, and he whose face bore some likeness to that of the dead person was often regarded as the culprit, provided the patient in his gravings had not given the name of the supposed sorcerer. The soul of a cow whose fat had been used for illumination during religious ceremonies was believed to go directly to heaven: this last belief, however, must be of post-conquest origin. 787 761 754 825 774

Among themselves the Indians are jovial and contented. The approach of the men whom we often met on the trails around Huila was usually first detected by the sound of the 157 533 283

/287 cont./

631 climate and vegetation. Although Paez culture is certainly unitary, each parcialidad presents different nuances which are evident even in the mythology and language. The antropomimia is quite different in each parcialidad.

Nowadays there are 16 parcialidades, four of which belong to the municipio of Inzá and the remaining 12 to that of Páez (Belalcázar).

771 Magic and medicine.--There are three institutions which
782 go in unison and encroach upon others, which explain the causation of sicknesses, the treatment for them, and serve as escape valves for aggression. They are:

a) The one made up of the trilogy of supernatural beings named Duende /ghost/, Echi, and Arco /rainbow/;

b) The institution of the medicine man, and

c) Sorcery.

753 a) Duende, Arco, and Echi are the causers of illnesses,
776 each of them producing a specific symptomatology which serves
[755] as the basis for the diagnostics of common people, a diagnostics
[787] corroborated by the divining activities of the medicine man. These supernatural beings cause illnesses by puncture, aroused by the annoyance that they suffer because of the sorcerers' practices, or by those who had contact with corpses and did not go through the mandatory purification, or because people have passed through places that are taboo, such as bogs and lagoons, or have failed to comply with the rites and ceremonies when slaughtering cattle or when harvesting new clearings, or because they have not observed "custom" at the first menstruation or childbirth.

756 b) In the institution of the medicine man the functions of
787 divination, magic, and medicine are entwined. More precisely, the medicine man is a diviner-shaman-curer who has undergone an /288/ apprenticeship in the profession with an esteemed and experienced master or with the help of a guardian spirit seen in actuality or in dreams; the latter are the best

medicine men.

/290/

114 us nothing about the religion and mythology of the Paez. Nor
773 do systematic modern studies exist. Nor do those who have had the opportunity to be in contact with them and to describe their customs and ways of life tell us about their religion and mythology. Furthermore, there are those who state that the Paez have no mythology. José Pérez de Barradas collected the myth of Juan Tama. Gregorio Hernández de Alba refers to it, and the Lazarist missionary Fr. David González also collected it and has it in his unpublished work, Los Paeces /The Paez/, in quite elaborate and synthetical form, as does G. Burg. It is obvious that a large part of the myths and tales which I am presenting, not to say all of them, have suffered modifications in the avatar of time, as the institutions also changed. Since mythology is the rationalization of conflicts created by the culture itself, it is subject to the directives /291/ of that society and culture. Its roots are inevitably of a sociological and cultural nature.

773 Many of the myths collected have a marked similarity to
•776 that of Juan Tama. The predominant central motifs refer to
538 sex and aggression. The personages in the myths are Thunder, Llíban, Juan Chiracol, Chaute, and Santo Tomás. Llíban is regarded as Thunder's son, but everyone maintains that he is Thunder himself; he was a cacique, and the natives state that many of their caciques took refuge in the turbulent waters of the river. The last two personages merge and in reality form a single being. It is to be noted that in some accounts the tricky personage presented is not Tomás, who is a saint, but Pedro Dimales, his brother.

186 There is no need to emphasize the role played by the Pijao
793 in these accounts. The recollection of this people inured to
628 war is still fresh in the memory of the Calderunos, the characteristics of the struggle sustained against them still manifest, the fear that the name Pijao awakened still alive. To the Calderun mentality they seem like monsters, like animals of uncommon size and power, who drew fire from their armpits.

/220 cont./

XXVI

Religious Fiestas

796 Among the Paez there are no secular collective celebrations. All are religious. They celebrate with pomp and grandeur: San Andrés, Semana Santa, San Juan, San Pedro and San Pablo, La Santa Cruz, El Día de Difuntos, La Inmaculada Concepción...

[178] The Lazarist missionary, David González, says that as far back as 1689 the fiestas were organized as they were found [179] in 1905, that is to say, as they are today. Each pueblo was [177] granted a patron saint and various other protectors. In spite of this, only San Juan Bautista and San Pedro and San Pablo, whose fiestas are celebrated when maize is eared /en macollaje/, the rains are heavier, and the winds are violent, the day of the dead /el día de difuntos/ with its offerings to the souls, the Inmaculada Concepción, when grain is abundant, and the Semana Santa (El Resucitado /The Resurrected/) were the fiestas and saints that aroused the most enthusiasm and sank the deepest roots in the souls of these natives.

771 The Paez, and especially those of Calderas, are religious 796 in externals, not in conviction; they are more concerned with 182 form than with substance. This is revealed in the religious fiestas of these natives. /221/ Few of them attend mass, and fewer yet pray at vespers. To the great majority of them, religious fiestas mean a squandering of gunpowder, lights, aguardiente, and chicha. An abundance of food. The pleasure of getting together. The joy of contact. The music, which assuages hardship, and the dancing, an exteriorization of feeling. It is the expansiveness that leads to gatherings, the sexual jokes that spring up among them without misgivings; it is the continuous drunkenness. It is the display of generosity, the exercises in co-operation and altruism.

796 The priest, as a punishment for failure to attend the Mass 793 on the part of the chief fiestero and albacero, refused to carry 718

* /224 cont./

756 At the edge of the lagoon the teacher-curer digs a hole,
778 over which, and from the end of the tama, he suspends the
782 camarico. Thunder requests from the pupil 10, 20, or 30 centavos, coins which he deposits in the hole. Then, he lowers the pouch and covers the hole with stones and earth. The curer bathes the pupil with shu and shulape (1). Thunder

1. 1. Cf. below, "Remedies"
/see pp. 22ff./.

draws near to receive other gifts which he requests by means of the signs, to state that the youth may learn how to cure, to prohibit him emphatically from collecting bad remedies (for sorcery), and to request him to be charitable with people. Last of all, he orders him to return home.

* 756 At the teacher's home, chicha and aguardiente are drunk,
868 and meat is eaten with stew. Then the teacher presents
755 remedies to the pupil and tells him that henceforth he will
778 merely need to apply them, warning about the patients who are in a very serious condition, but with the help of God he should try to cure them.

* 756 The signs. The signs are reflex movements which manifest
787 themselves in the musculature of the curer. "They are like
[827] a circulation" -- says one té eu, "as when a person's muscle
[755] twitches in the eye or hand. The interpretation of these signs is done by the curer."

[776] The signs come from Thunder or the Ghost. That is to say, from assisting spirits. There are also those who say that they come from God.

755 The signs are fundamental, basic in Paez medicine.
*756 Without them there cannot be curers, and there cannot be a curer who does not know how to interpret the signs. It is useless to have knowledge of the medicinal value of the plants. The curer is no more than an intermediary, a spokesman for

/236 cont./

755 783 Since sicknesses have a magical origin, the treatments are also magical in character. "The cleansing" is indispensable in every treatment, with its attendant remedies and movements.

165 164 Symptoms of sicknesses. Among the sicknesses clearly identifiable by the natives are smallpox and whooping cough, given their characteristic symptoms. Some of the informants, not many, to be sure, state that their children died of such sicknesses.

165 761 776 On the whole, child mortality, which is rather high, is said to be caused by, in order of frequency and in generic terms, pest, Echi, and sorcery. The cases of death by the ghost and rainbow are few.

753 776 The symptomatologies given for the sicknesses are very vague and even confused with one another. The Echi, ghost, and rainbow sting, not really the body, but the soul, leaving hairs in the body that cause fevers and sharp pains at the spot where they are found. These hairs, when placed in the palm of the hand, move as if they were alive. They differ in color: the red ones are from Kallumb, the reddish blue ones from [755] the rainbow, and the black ones from Echi. The hairs are re- [783] moved by rubbing with remedies prior to the cleansing.

/237/ It is said that the sting of pallumb /sic/ causes heaviness, lack of appetite, pains in the head and body, fever, and even insanity.

753 776 821 When the arco /literally "bow"/, called kitús, is referred to, it is nothing other than the rainbow, which comes out at any hour of the day, accompanied by a rainy drizzle, the "rainbow meow," which causes scabies (chande) in children [755] when it falls upon them; it is not harmful for adults. The curers, [789] and they alone, from their ranchos blow chewed remedies toward it, tobacco, chandur, ñushamuanda, and yacuma [755] negua, in order to make it disappear quickly. Other people chew remedies, when they have them at hand, and rub them on their bodies. There is a general idea that the rainbow causes

/237 cont./

753 cramps in the body, and furthermore that sorcerers see it in the
776 form of a turkey impelled to peck people.
821

It seems obvious that what the Indians call Echimbe (red
753 Echi) or candelilla fina /thin glowworm/ is a firefly /luciérnaga/
825 somewhat difficult to capture and extremely fierce. They differentiate it perfectly well from the fire beetle /cocuyos (cucuyos)/. They say that it is an animal that God produced in
[755] order to harm the Christians. The curers call them and catch them in their Kachí, while other Indians, chewing coca, catch them anywhere and bring them to the curer to be buried.
[774] They believe that their fierceness is due to the fact that the
[829] souls of the Pijao are incarnated in them.

753 The symptoms of the sting of Echi are vague and imprecise and refer solely to bodily pains.

The symptoms of Pijao "dirt" are recognized by respiratory difficulties.

164 They differentiate perfectly well the venereal diseases,
757 which seem to be quite widespread in the acculturated parcialidades. In Calderas they are said to have spread widely among both sexes, without respect to age, and to have been treated with copper sulphate, for the remedies of the Indians were of no use. In Santa Rosa antibiotics are used. A curer in that parcialidad maintains that those diseases were brought from La Plata by wandering women and that it befell him to treat two cases: one was serious and the patient died; the second, not very advanced, he treated with yukchacha, montaña barbasco, and fisa (bitopat or bodoquero). He administered the juice for six days and subjected the patient to a diet of chicken exclusively.

755 Remedies. The remedies used by the Paez curer are
757 vegetal. As a rule they are prescribed in combination. Thus:

/238/ To clean away the ptans:

[783] Yacuma blanca, ul ñiñ, ñundayuskei, shugues, chandur, guepeyuskey, chayuts.

/245 cont./

241/ As soon as the curer has collected one fruit of every species to
756 be harvested, he makes up a bundle as on offering to the Ghost,
[782] since he is the owner of the earth.

[776] When this offering has been made, the owners harvest a pouch of each crop sown. They go home and /246/ put the pouches side by side in the left part of the entrance door for
[783] the curer to blow remedies again. Without this requisite, the pouches of food could not be brought into the house because they might carry the pest. The women begin to cook them. When the time for eating comes, the curer first passes around a cup of aguardiente with yuskei and bitopiskue. When there are potatoes, they are handed over to the curer after they are cooked. He distributes one specimen to everyone present; what remains is handed to the owner, who in turn gives generously to the curer.

If the first fruits are of maize or beans, the following is done:

With the green ears of maize, "loaves" /bollos/ or "wrappers" /envueltos/ are prepared; with the beans, a large bundle is made. Then the ears of maize, the bundle of beans, and the loaves are cooked. Aside from this, there is a pot of stew with chicken to provide for the curer.

The cooked ears of maize, beans, and loaves are assembled in a trough, and the cook distributes to all those present a sample of each type. Everyone eats, taking care to leave a little of each mouthful, which they pass to the curer. The latter makes a pile, ties it up, and hangs it from the ridge of the house so that the field seed which is being harvested will yield abundant fruit in the following year.

The husks of the ears of maize are piled outside the house, where the curer remains for one night with the object of capturing glowworms and killing them.

776 Assisting spirits. Thunder. All the informants state that Thunder is short in stature, about 1.40 meters, wears a large hat of twigs, underdrawers, a black poncho, tama, and pouch

/246 cont./

776 of remedies. In addition, some say that he has a long beard, does not wear trousers, shows his genitals, and carries a musical instrument called tíngalo (triangle).

*[756] He is a curer and teacher of all the Paez té eu; a protector of the nasa (people) and to some extent even their legislator. Sat (cacique) at the time of the Pijao, he defended them from their voracity and gave them good advice. He ordered that the staffs of command of the cabildo members be washed in the lagoon, abodes of Thunder, to prevent the pest from killing the people.

[823] Thunder is an immortal spirit. He is not seen. He is the guardian of gold and he kills those who dare to collect it. He warns the people /247/ when an evil white is coming to visit them by means of a very strong peal of thunder given when it is not going to rain. If thunder strikes in front of a house, this indicates to the owner that he has the pest and that he should seek out a curer to cure him. If it thunders first at the sorcerer's house and immediately passes to that of the curer, it is a sign that the former is casting a spell on him.

776 821 787

* 756 776 When a patient requested the services of a curer from Santa Rosa, a torrential rain accompanied by thunder fell during the night. On the following day he told the patient that he had talked to Thunder, who had advised him not to treat him unless he brought him everything that he had requested.

The only being that Thunder fears is the devil. He knows more treatments than the Ghost.

* 756 776 787 A curer-sorceress from Santa Rosa says that Thunder, called Manuel José Tipo, had fallen in love with her. He gave her serenades with the tíngalo, which were more frequent when the sorceress swept the patio of her house. During the serenades he taught her the remedies. He was at the point of carrying her away to the lagoon, if she had not defended herself vigorously.

5:Bernal Villa--37 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

/247 cont./

776 539 [113] Manuel José Tipo was in Calderas (9). The people tossed

9. Frazer, Sir James George. La Rama Dorada /The Golden Bough/, Fdo. de Cultura Económica, Mexico, 1951, pp. 33-34.

poison into the lagoon and he had to leave the place in the company of his wife. He went through the air to Santa Rosa, where, upon arriving, he let his wife fall. It killed her. In this parcialidad he was in love with a cacica /female cacique/. He always came to her well-dressed, with a rich bag of chachalacas. The father of the cacica, curious as to how he had killed so many chachalacas, followed him to the montaña and noted that when he undressed he had snakeskin on his back. He was a snake and for this reason caught birds with ease. He told this to his daughter. She, accompanied by a servant girl, set out on the following day for her field of very fertile soil. She had handsome fields of potatoes, cabbages, and onions. Thunder came to visit her. The place began to become a lagoon, and the servant girl warned her mistress of the danger that they were in. She paid no heed. Lucía Kalguesh, the cacica, remained there, living with Thunder. The lagoon was very rough, and Thunder deceived his wives a great deal. Then the puswesh (the stars) came down, cleared the forest around the lagoon, and dug out a drainage ditch for the purpose of /248/ drying it up. Just as they were about to achieve their end, Thunder came out and begged them not to dry up his dwelling. The angry puswesh sewed his mouth and cut off his tongue, for they were too big.

Thunder continued to behave badly, and the curers chased him to another lagoon, without his wife and children.

776 Kallumb. He lives in the springs and in the caves. He is a good spirit. The people say that the Virgin left a roving

/248 cont./

776 child to help the Indians, to protect them, and to instill a belief in her.

The ghosts look like angels and have a body covered with [727] down. Women may see them making the motions of weaving, in such a case they will become good weavers. Men may see them with pouches, indicating that they will become curers.

It is said that there are large and small ghosts. The former, when they rise, leave the rainbow behind them, like a trail. The latter do not keep company with the former and are less fierce. Both shriek like professional mourners.

* 756 562 The female Té eu. Women can be curers, people state; there is no reason why the signs would not circulate for them. Nevertheless, no woman is a curer. In Santa Rosa there is a woman who, according to her own confession, is a good curer, has seen Thunder and conversed with him, and has good remedies. Thunder even gave her a wooden doll called "Soft wind [754] of Thunder," with which she gives treatments. But the community regards her as a most dangerous sorceress, and the cabildo has burned her remedies and has put her in the stocks. Furthermore, all the deaths caused by sorcery are blamed on her.

On the other hand, the behavior shown by the community is the same as that observed for all sorcerers, that is to say, detachment and resentment against her. A curer from Calderas explains the phenomenon as follows: women are cleverer than men; they have brilliant ideas and in general dominate the men. [754] A woman can become a curer, but at any time she might turn into a sorceress, because she is cleverer than a man. Sometimes she gets to the point where nothing matters to her. Hence women do not learn medicine.

* 756 834 262 Taboos of the Té eu. They refer above all to sex and food. They do not have the full force and tenacity which they have in other cultures.

/259 cont./

754 To facilitate the capture of the soul, the sorcerer gathers
774 the soil on which the victim has trod, with which the us (heart) falls easily.

754 b) The sorcerer can make angry the Ghost, Rainbow, and
776 Echi. Thus:

For the Ghost, he puts a large ají de montaña (Capsicum sp.) at the spot where he lives; the person passes by and dies of a few stings in the heart.

/260/ For the Rainbow, he puts the rags of a menstruating woman in springs, bogs, damp places. A person passes by, is stung, and dies.

For the echi, he puts remedies where the victim works; stung, he vomits blood and dies on the spot.

754 c) Another way to cast a spell is rubbing bad remedies on the salt, pork, or eggs that the victim is going to eat. If by chance someone else eats them, nothing happens, for the witchcraft was not directed against him.

[783] d) The sorcerers handle the pest as they please. They can send it to persons or to the entire community. The sorceress Felisa brings the pest to Santa Rosa even for business reasons.

[789] e) When the sorcerers do not wish a person to return, they place at a strategic spot on the road two bundles of chayuts pointing upward, and in addition they blow dry pringamoza.

f) A curer from Santa Rosa explains how a spell was cast on one of the former gobernadors of the parcialidad. The late Leonidas was working in his garden and his rancho was empty. Then a woman came in, dressed in black (Dolores Oinó), dropped into the pot of food some of her own pubic hair, and stole a piece of Pijao earthenware that contained silver. Leonidas ate this food and began to feel his throat become dry
[783] and to breathe with difficulty. Finally he died. The Pijao pest has the same symptoms.

g) When the sorcerer wants a person to suffer an accident (fracture, contusion, dislocation), he leaves somewhere in that person's house a very smooth stone taken from the stream. The person, wherever he may be, slips and falls.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

Castillo mentions that they wor-

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shiped the sun, in whose honor they met and danced in places called "Itaqui-finó," i. e., the place where the sun revealed its mysteries; and that they venerated a kind of culture hero called Guequiau. It was he who instructed shamans (mohanes).

This hero has a counterpart in the religious legend of Juan Tama, the Son of the Star. One day when the Morning Star shone very brightly, some Indians found a child in a gorge—ever since called the Gorge of the Star. This was Juan Tama. They picked him up and entrusted him to a woman to nurse, but he nursed so much that her milk dried up. He was given to another woman, whom he also made very weak. They then said that he could not be nursed by a woman, and gave him food. After he grew up, he married the female chief of Huila, Doña María Mendiguagua, and became chief of all the Indians. He instructed people and explained to them how to keep the land for themselves and not mix with White people. He pronounced them invincible and summoned a chief from Pitayó, called Calambás, whom he appointed his manager. Calambás rebelled,[13] but was defeated by Juan Tama, who pardoned him on account of his bravery, and conferred on him and his heirs the right to rule the *Páez* in Bitoncó. As death approached, Juan Tama went to the lake on the páramo of Moras and sank into the waters. He had come out of this place and returned to it, leaving no heirs.[14]

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In the neighborhood of Bitoncó there is a rock with what appears to be human footprints. When the Indians pass it, they uncover their heads and say, "The Holy One came this way." Another remnant of the cult of Juan Tama is the custom that each member of the council spends one week at the shores of the lake before the end of his term to render an account to Juan Tama of his actions in office. Likewise, newly elected officers, as soon as they receive their staffs or insignia of authority, spend a week at the lake. They toss silver coins into it, wash their staffs, and pray for strength to rule well. This ceremony, performed with the greatest secrecy, is called the "curing of the staffs." Recently, however, the Indians have stopped "curing" their staffs in the lake, for they say that Juan Tama is angry, and whenever they approach the lake, it rains and storms badly.

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In the Guanacas section there was another sacred lagoon, called Tumbachí, which was recently drained because a snake that lived there attracted girls and kept them for a whole year, and then returned them when they were about to become mothers.

These tribes believed that the soul comes back to life.

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Witchcraft was strongly developed among these Indians, who still believe in most of its practices, in spite of the catechization forced upon them by the missionaries.

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[13] During the War of Independence, as well as in subsequent revolutions, the Indians of the family named Calambás distinguished themselves as warriors.

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[14] We are indebted to Father David González for this legend, told to him by an old Indian in Lame.

[114]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5#(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

754 upon them by the missionaries. The power to do evil is not limited to the witches, but is possessed by anyone who entertains a momentary feeling of envy, and to women, who may not walk over a stick or a cord [841] stretched on the ground. Contact with women during their men- [846] struation or during the days following childbirth causes the "mokokoy" [753] to persecute the men and make them ill.

825 Animals possess the power to prognosticate evil. A document written in 1730 [14] tells that an Indian killed a rooster because he had 787 crowed before daybreak, and said, "Rooster, you are forecasting my 763 death, but I shall kill you first." They believe the same thing when certain birds sing. For example, the call of an owl at midnight brings death to someone. And certain small birds called "ulchik" and others called "bich" warn whomever hears their singing that he will meet with disaster. The box turtle follows people warning them that they are going to die.

825 Del Castillo says that the Indians will not strike white dogs, so that 775 they will not be bitten by them when they enter the future life.

The belief in spirits (kl'iumb) is quite general. Among these 776 spirits is the "pitsuala" which persecutes people, makes them ill, and 753 even kills them. The rainbow, or "Etskituns," causes a rash to break [821] out all over the body of anyone who ventures out while the rainbow shines, and the drizzle that generally accompanies the rainbow will harm a person who gets wet in it if he does not bathe immediately. When the rainbow appears, they stay indoors, and blow or spit tobacco in its direction.

776 They believe that the lagoon on the snowcapped peak, Huila, is [823] charmed, and that if they try to go near it wind and hail storms rise. [821] Supernatural evil forces are supposed to be present during many social activities, such as dancing, meetings, funerals, house building, [491] and bridge construction. When a bridge is built, two Indians beat [331] the water constantly to drive away evil spirits. When traveling on [484] the mountains they place small stones or coins on top of some large [782] natural rock to assure a successful trip and to avoid angering the spirit of the mountain.

[825] Sometimes these spiritual forces assume a bodily form, as in the [753] case of the fireflies, which bring diseases or which may be wrapped in [754] Santa María leaves and placed in the path of an intended victim. Most feared are the ghosts of the dead, which consequently are the 782 most propitiated. The *Moguex* and the *Páez* ask their permission to 769 dance, and honor them in a special rite, which blends old beliefs with [775] new religious concepts. Thus, offerings are made to the souls during the first days of November, or whenever the curate is able to visit the Indian village. Each person offers some products from his farm, in-

[14] Statement made by Javier de Gruseo y Cuailer in a lawsuit by the Indians of Tobaima for the possession of land. From the ecclesiastical files of Bolívar, or Páez.

623 /175 cont./
293 handle an additional crescent-shaped piece of silver leaf is applied.

In former years, on the first day of the new year, a cere-
623 mony for the old as well as for the newly elected cabildo took
796 place on the not easily accessible lagoon of Juan Tama, the
● 778 Páramo de Moras, and lasted for several days. It started with
823 chicha drinking under the leadership of a shaman, after which the culture hero, Juan Tama, and the spirits of the ancestors (?) were asked by the shaman for advice and assistance in the coming year. A dance and a bath in the lagoon concluded the ceremony (Bürg, pp. 340 f.). According to my information, this gathering at the lagoon has not been carried out for several years. The reason given is that for several years in succession it has rained around
[787] New Year's time. After that the shamans announced that with this
[776] sign Juan Tama renounced any further performances of the ceremony on his lagoon.

623 The election of the cabildo is done by the men of the entire
666 village. The candidates must be citizens of the given village,
[641] that is to say, they must own land there. A stranger could never hold office in a Paez village. The candidates may not propose themselves, but must be nominated by the assembly or by the old cabildo. Anyone who is elected for an office by the village assembly for the first time may not refuse, but must accept it. Only re-election, which is possible up to five or ten years in succession, is voluntary. The wealth or possessions of the candidates do not play
[556] any role. The present gobernador, Marcelo Muse, is /176/ about 30 years old. Two children, a son about six years old and a four-year-old daughter, are living; four of his children died. In the way of material possessions he owns five horses and two pigs, but no cows and no sheep. Ten years ago he was fiscal for a year. In the general opinion of the Paez the gobernador should not be too young or too old. The best age is between 30 and 50 years. The remaining posts, which to a large extent consist of messenger services, are generally held by younger, unmarried people, although
[696] they may also be filled by married men up to 50 years of age. In general the gobernador chooses people who are loyal to him and who must also carry out the punishments for him, for a gobernador

/189 cont./

b) Maturity

881 Today no rites or ceremonies for the youths take place any
[178] more. In former times they were led to the sacred lagoon of Juan
[778] Tama or to the heights of Cuetando, and there they had to build a hut and lay out a small cornfield as proof of their capabilities as a man and father of a household (Hernandez, 1944, p. 203).

[582] A girl comes of age with puberty, that is to say, she may
[836] marry. Before that and before marriage, intercourse is not per-
[535] mitted. On the occasion of the first menstruation in former times a special dance was performed (itsa-kó), during which the young girl was bathed naked in chicha in a pit outside the festival house
881 (Castillo i Orosco, p. 85). Today this no longer takes place;
285 rather, a girl, when she goes to the dúyat for the first time at
787 about 15 years of age, takes along agave fibers and during the
[178] approximately five days that she stays there plaits a very pretty,
[262] small fiber bag (yāhalečkwe) about the size of a fist. There are no additional food prohibitions or similar things. After that she goes to a distant river to bathe. On the way there she lets the bag fall. A married man passing by lets it lie, for he knows that it belongs to a young girl. A young man, however, who happens to be coming that way sees the beautifully worked bag, picks it up, and uses it as a small money-bag. Without knowing who made the little bag, he will -- people are convinced -- marry this girl.

/190/ c) Marriage

595 The present form of marriage of the Paez is monogamy.
114 H. Pittier de Fábrega (p. 314), however, concludes from their traditions that the Paez were formerly polygamous and were converted to monogamy only through education on the part of the missionaries. I could find no clue in their mythology for actual
595 polygamy in former times. The social structure and way of life
591 of the Paez, however, prohibits living alone for unmarried girls.
[589] In case they have no relatives or do not find lodging in the house of relatives, another man takes them into his family. The girl

/268 cont./

756 without leaving a trace. In vain the father tried to find out where
773 he was staying. After eight days, however, the son again appeared in the hut. He said that he had been with his grandfather, who had given him brandy, medicines, and this staff that he held in his hand and that was called tama. The "brandy" was cold water from a lake, and the medicines in the fiber bag were mountain herbs. After he had said this, he fell into a trance and lay there as though dead. Fourteen days later, as he lay dying, he asked his father to hand him his tama, for Thunder had told him that he could defend himself with it and that, in case of illness, he should take the medicines that he had given him. He squeezed /269/ out the juice and drank it. Quickly he became well. When he gave it to other sick persons, they, too, became well immediately. With his staff and his medicines he became the best doctor far and wide. He died at an advanced age.

775 Another shaman said that the tama stems from a lifesaving
773 act of the Holy Virgin Mary. Once when the sea rose constantly
177 higher and had covered almost the entire earth, human beings were in great danger. The Virgin Mary took pity on them. She drew forth the tama and with it made the same motions that the shamans make with it today. The masses of water then receded. She left her staff behind for the person who became a shaman. This is supposed to be the origin of the tama.

Although in the latter story not only the figure of the Virgin Mary, but possibly also the motif of the Deluge did not originate in the thought of the Paez, nevertheless the origin of the tama as
756 a gift from a higher power is noteworthy. This power, which,
776 for the shamans, is of the greatest significance as a spirit being
787 and as the first shaman, is Thunder. According to reports, he also positively has the character of an assistant spirit, even though he is almost only feared by the present-day shamans. "The old shamans," the present ones constantly assert, "were still powerful enough magically to establish communication with Thunder directly and at any time; we today are no longer able
778 to do it." In former times the members of the cabildo, under the
756 guidance of a shaman, bathed together in the lagoon of Juan Tama
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/269 cont./

778 and had their staff of office consecrated there. Today this no
756 longer takes place because of the lack of good shamans. The
623 shamans of today no longer have the intense visions that the
[787] earlier ones had, and that is why they are no longer so powerful magically. They are no longer able to speak with Thunder as simply as their predecessors did, and since they are weaker, it is believed that Thunder will kill them.

776 Thunder is generally described as small of stature and dressed like a Paez man with hat and black ruana. It is reported that he does not wear trousers, but exposes his sexual parts. He has with
[534] him, like a shaman, his tama, a fiber bag with medicines, and a
[532] musical instrument called "tíngalo" (triangle). It is not impossible that it is his picture, together with a Christian cross, that is incised in the gable post of a hut in the vicinity of the park of San Andrés, which represents a man with large, triangular-shaped sexual parts (Ill. 200 /see p. 288 /).

[756] /270/ Thunder is regarded by all the Paez as the greatest
[773] shaman and by the teyu as their master. In the folklore (see below /see pp. 215 ff./), he probably often has different names, such as Juan Tama, Llivan, Chauté, Juan Chiracol, but his characteristics stand out in them, no matter whether as sat (cacique) he is fighting the Pijao and defending his people, or that he will one day -- people are convinced -- again drive the hated whites
776 out of Tierradentro. He warns the Paez of an evil white person
821 who is coming to Tierradentro for a visit by a clap of thunder from
[783] a clear sky. When he thunders above a particular house, he is
[754] announcing that there is "pest" in it, and if he thunders first above the house of a nyic and then above one belonging to a teyu he is thereby announcing to a good shaman that he has just been bewitched.

776 A few stories also tell about the struggles of the shamans
787 against Thunder, for he once robbed the Paez of livestock and
756 people. But that was long ago, for today no one would dare undertake anything against Thunder. The Calderun shamans tell how the earlier teyu were in a position to speak with Thunder at any time and to get advice from him. Those of today are no

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

the drum-dance, in which the women sang to the accompaniment of a drum; *vito-ko*, or *fits-ko*, the stick-dance, etc. 535

In addition to the shells and reeds, the Indians also accompanied their dances with a kind of drum (*kimb*), consisting of a long wooden trough hung by its extremities; and the *tsoots*, or rattle, a calabash containing small stones or hard canna seeds and provided with a handle. 535 534

According to Castillo the Paez had also other deities, corresponding somewhat to the lares of the ancient Latins, carved images of which were often found in the houses. The *dizi*, who were at one time priests, sorcerers, and medicine-men, lived in retirement and were considered as the keepers of the doctrines of a traditional civilizer of the nation, called *Guckiuii*. So strong was their influence in Castillo's time that he complains rather bitterly about it, and proceeds to explain how the true God, wishing to free the Paez from such a devilish guide, simply employed a subterfuge to drown him in the Paez river, together with two of his apostles! 776 778 [79]

The belief in a future existence is indicated, as Uricoechea relates, by the fact that the Indians never molested white dogs, in order that they might not be bitten by them at the doors of the house beyond the grave. 825 795

There were birds and other signs of good or of evil omen. A woman would never step over a leather rope stretched on the ground, but would lift it up and pass beneath. During the construction of bridges, two men constantly beat the waters to frighten away evil spirits. The death of a person was often attributed to witchcraft, and he whose face bore some likeness to that of the dead person was often regarded as the culprit, provided the patient in his ravings had not given the name of the supposed sorcerer. The soul of a cow whose fat had been used for illumination during religious ceremonies was believed to go directly to heaven: this last belief, however, must be of post-conquest origin. 787 761 754 825 774

Among themselves the Indians are jovial and contented. The approach of the men whom we often met on the trails around Huila was usually first detected by the sound of the 157 533 283

/223 cont./

* 756 868 members of his family and under the direction of his teacher. The demand for his services on the part of others depends on the outcome of these treatments. Many of the young curers of *756 554 866 Togoima, Calderas, and Santa Rosa learned in this manner. All of them state that their teachers had visions, and explicitly or implicitly admit their inferiority to them. "The ancestors had visions, and for this reason they must have been superior to us," says a curer from Calderas. Owing to this fact, people believe that the curers of today cannot talk to [829] [623] Thunder. They would be killed. One of the reasons given to explain why the cabildos /local councils/ of today do not go to the lagoon to wash the staffs of command is precisely the lack of curers like those of old.

* 756 868 [782] [778] Those who have had visions also place themselves under the direction of an experienced curer in order to learn the secrets of the profession. The definitive consecration as a curer is obtained when they offer the "Camarico" /a gift customarily given to guests/ to Thunder at the edge of the lagoon.

[554] Although an apprenticeship in medicine can be undertaken at a very early age, the practice requires one to be an adult of about 30 years of age and married or living with a woman. A "very young" curer would lie, informants say.

* 756 778 782 Consecration of the te eu. The true té eu, that is to say, those who have had visions, make the offering of the "Camarico /224/ to Thunder," a ceremony carried out at the edge of a lagoon, in order to be consecrated definitively as curers, since medicine is a heritage from Thunder.

The teacher asks the pupil for a white sheep and two new pouches. The animal is sacrificed, and from each organ on the left side a small piece is cut and placed in the pouch. This is the "Camarico for Thunder." With this gift, teacher and pupil set out for the lagoon, while at home the women cook the meat with the express order that no one may eat it until they return.

/224 cont./

756 At the edge of the lagoon the teacher-curer digs a hole,
778 over which, and from the end of the tama, he suspends the
782 camarico. Thunder requests from the pupil 10, 20, or 30 centavos, coins which he deposits in the hole. Then, he lowers the pouch and covers the hole with stones and earth. The curer bathes the pupil with shu and shulape (1). Thunder

1. 1. Cf. below, "Remedies" /see pp. 22ff./.

draws near to receive other gifts which he requests by means of the signs, to state that the youth may learn how to cure, to prohibit him emphatically from collecting bad remedies (for sorcery), and to request him to be charitable with people. Last of all, he orders him to return home.

756 At the teacher's home, chicha and aguardiente are drunk,
868 and meat is eaten with stew. Then the teacher presents
755 remedies to the pupil and tells him that henceforth he will
778 merely need to apply them, warning about the patients who are in a very serious condition, but with the help of God he should try to cure them.

756 The signs. The signs are reflex movements which manifest
787 themselves in the musculature of the curer. "They are like
[827] a circulation" -- says one té eu, "as when a person's muscle
[755] twitches in the eye or hand. The interpretation of these signs is done by the curer."

[776] The signs come from Thunder or the Ghost. That is to say, from assisting spirits. There are also those who say that they come from God.

755 The signs are fundamental, basic in Paez medicine.
756 Without them there cannot be curers, and there cannot be a curer who does not know how to interpret the signs. It is useless to have knowledge of the medicinal value of the plants. The curer is no more than an intermediary, a spokesman for

/298 cont./

241 in some cases, fruit trees, and after this, wheat. In San Andrés,
134 especially in the vegas, maize, plantains, frijoles, arracacha, manioc, sugar cane, and coffee are planted. Thus, there is not proper utilization of the soil or protection of it, aside from the several years of rest. They are not familiar with fertilizers, the rotation of crops, or irrigation systems.

241 It is interesting to note that the families of San Andrés,
423 Calderas, Lame, and Mosoco generally have lands in the low places along the rivers and streams and in the high places where arboreal vegetation abounds, which they call the "montaña." In this way, they can cultivate cold and temperate zone plants (Calderas, San Andrés, Lame) or take advantage of the annual seasonal cycle in the high parts of the Cordillera (Mosoco).

244 A principal dwelling is erected on one of the fincas, while
342 on the others ranchos where the families live during the months of harvest are built. It is at the principal dwelling where the garden is made with plantains, sugar cane, onions, coriander, coca, cabbage (San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Calderas, Togoima), or with cabbage, garlic, onions, yuca de pipchao /yams/, peaches, and apples (Lame, Mosoco, Vitoncó). Peppers are cultivated in the gardens. This principal dwelling forms what in our culture is called hogar /hearth, home/. It is here that the fire is always maintained, that the ears of maize, bundles of wheat, bags of frijoles, tools, troughs, cooking utensils, and sugar mills are kept, where the chickens, guinea pigs, pigs, and turkeys live.

249 Industrial crops practically do not exist. There are no
[248] tobacco or cotton plantations. Sugar-cane plantings are not
[273] extensive among the natives. They are used solely for pro-
[778] ducing guarapo, which has almost completely replaced the maize chicha. Only the whites and a few mestizos have extensive sugar-cane fields for producing panela.

248 Figue thrives in Tierradentro. But it is in Vitoncó and Lame that there are numerous plantings of cabuya of very good quality in terms of the size and quantity of the fiber, planted on the boundaries of the properties. This wealth is not utilized as much as it should be. The natives merely make pouches and lassos for internal consumption.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

342 [177] Some had wooden doors and windows, and were built with nails and wires, though most were still made with vegetable materials.

The modern *Moguex* house has two rooms. The main one, entered through a small door, serves as storeroom for goods to be sold, reception hall, dancing place, and a room in which to keep watch over the dead. The other is a pantry for provisions and drinks; here are kept [354] kitchen utensils. In the center is the fireplace and around it dried [352] cowhides or platform beds made of horizontal poles tied to stakes [476] driven in the ground. One's neighbors aid him to build his house, [461] transporting heavy timbers over light rollers and singing rhythmi- [554] cally as they heave together. If the owner of a new house is a man of means, he pays for a feast of benediction or consecration carried out [778] with a Catholic priest, a godfather, and a godmother.

The *Páez* does all this and in addition puts some pieces of silver 352 money under his house to assure his good fortune. In the main house [415] he places the metate on stakes, and in a secondary house, the press [353] for extracting wax from laurel, one or more troughs or hollowed trunks, [354] and large jars for chicha and guarapo. From the roof frame hang bags, [524] or "mochilas," of netted hemp for belongings. There is also a bam- [283] boo candlestick, the wooden feast drum, sometimes a tiple or small guitar, and. nailed to the wall, a spindle. Outside, the loom stands 404 against the wall Beyond it is the sugarcane mill, which is made of 286 a section of tree trunk with a hole above a projection on which the 249 cane is pressed by hand with a rod which crosses the hole. Some mills consist of two or three wooden cylinders rotated by animal power.

243 In each maize field is a small, temporary house and a high platform 342 where a watchman frightens the parrots and parakeets with periodic cries and motions.

Each *Páez* group today has its communally built pueblo, with 177 "bahareque" buildings grouped around a rectangular plaza: a church, 361 with its arched portico and small tower in imitation of Colonial architecture, a house for the priest, a school, and two or three large houses for meetings and fiestas, where they dance, sing, and sleep during fiesta days. But ordinarily, the people remain at their distant houses and fields, and do not live at the pueblo, the only permanent inhabitants of which are a few Whites and Mestizos.

ENGINEERING WORKS

[491 The Spaniards found bridges which they described as "weak and 499 flexible bridges of bamboo" and "bridges of vines." A territory so broken and crossed with so many rivers and canyons naturally stimulated the *Páez* in the construction of bridges and the laying out of roads. Today they make four kinds of bridges: (1) A simple vine or cable stretched across the river; (2) a kind of wooden stairs placed

/229 cont./

75 requested. /230/ He divides the aguardiente into two bottles:
783 one for Thunder and the other to drink. In Thunder's bottle he
[782] places a sprig of chayuts, after passing it around his body; the sprig remains floating and vertical, a good omen. He puts the coca in a special pouch, along with the aguardiente and cigars. He makes up two bundles of remedies with maize husks. One is for the patient, to chew and swallow the juice.

75 He divides the other bottle, takes chayuts, passes it around
● 78 his body, puts it in the small calabash, fills it with aguardiente, and goes out of the house to toast Thunder. Then he gathers his pouches of remedies, a calabash of chicha, the patient's coca, a candle, and matches, and he goes to the divination site. When Thunder comes, he will ask the curer what the patient has presented to him. The he will show him the chicha and aguardiente. Thunder, satisfied, will say: "Take this, since you received it." They will drink together. Thunder's share will be tossed into the air. The patient must remain inside the house. When the time comes, he will call him for the "cleansing."

75 Outside, the night is black as ebony. The silhouette of
783 the curer is barely visible. He sits under the eaves to the south of the house. He begins to chew the remedies after passing them around his body. He drives in the tama and beside it he places the bottle of aguardiente. Immediately after this, seated, almost squatting, with his hand folded, quiet and motionless, gazing into space, grave, self-controlled, conscious of his mission, imbued with his knowledge, he spends long hours conversing with Thunder and warding off the attacks of sorcerers. From time to time he gets up without haste, slowly, as slowly as the passing of the hours of the night, and he beats with the tama, displaying the energy that marks the activities of the curer. The patient, lying on a cowhide, with no covering other than his own clothes, sleeps near the fire; he wakes up at different times, pierced by the intense cold of the night; outside he hears the constant, rhythmic, regular, vigorous blowings of the medicine man.

5:Bernal Villa--25 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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/239 cont./

Native Name	Spanish Name	Scientific Name	Use
Small chuwet	?	?	To propitiate streams.
Fisa, bitopat	Dodoquero	?	In combination with yukchacha and montaña barbasco, it is used to treat blennorrhagia.
Echiutse chime*	?	Labiada?	Against the pest. Bathing with this herb wards off Echi, especially when traveling at night.
Guepekás	Pringamoza. Ortiga /nettle/.	Uréra boccífera L.	Wards off ptans. Used for sorcery.
Kuese	Barbasco de lo caliente	Lonchocárpus?	In winter it is blown into the air to make summer come. Used against chande (scabies).

/303 cont./

539 went past the tree. The head walked on and on, and since it could not find the man anywhere, it turned back and found the scent of the man at the foot of the tree. It looked up and saw the man sitting in the highest tip of the tree. The head was unable to climb the tree, however, and in order to reach the man, it went back a little and leaped into the air. But it still could not quite reach the man and fell down to the ground again. Then it tried again and again, more than /304/ a hundred times, but it could never reach the man because he was sitting too high. Then the head became frightfully tired from its many vain attempts, and since it had to walk far to reach home, it had to leave the man whom it wanted to kill and return so as not to meet human beings by day. Then the Palma man climbed down from his tree and was able to reach home safely.

14. The White Dog

539 781 794 The father of Victoriano went to Belalcázar one Saturday, where he became drunk. At two o'clock at night he set out on the way back. On the way he saw a white dog that was very thin. The father thought that it was a regular dog, but it was not a dog at all, but rather the taff soul of a human being. Suddenly this dog turned into a human being, very thin and lean in shape, whose heart hung out of the body so that it dangled in front of the chest. Then the father gave the lean dog a blow with his traveler's staff, but it did not hit the dog. The father became frightened at this and took to his heels. But the lean man kept running after him, so that the father, out of fear, became short of breath and almost died. Then the father pretended to be very stupid and simply sat down beside the road, laid his hands on his knees, and went to sleep. The lean man then left him. When the father awoke in the morning, he looked for the place where he had first met the lean dog, but he found only a bush with white blossoms. The father was convinced, however, that he had met a taff.

484 794 761 (No Paez customarily goes long distances at night, because the taff souls are abroad at night. And if a taff meets a human being, it immediately calls together a great many other taff ("about 50") and they bring about the death of the person, because the one concerned kills himself out of fright.)

* /305 cont./

539 The Paez youth could now go to the house of his master, and he showed him the pot of gold and reported his experience. He gave the gold to his master. The latter gave him a great deal of meat to eat and also gave him a fine bed to sleep in. When the youth lay down in it, he died.

[781] [875] [763] Comment of the narrator: A Paez who has an encounter with a Pijao or a jaguar may report this to people after half a year at the earliest, or, still better, not until a year later. If he does so earlier, he must die, as the following story, too, shows.

A Pijao met two Paez men in the mountains, one of whom was very ugly and dirty and the other very clean and handsome. The Pijao killed the clean one and devoured him on the spot. He first wanted to wash the ugly and dirty one and therefore went to a brook with him. The dirty Paez man, however, could swim, /306/ dived into the water, and swam away. The Pijao man, like all Pijao, was unable to swim and threw stones and earth into the water, but nothing helped. The Paez man was able to escape. Then the Pijao, very sad, remained behind on the shore. The dirty Paez went to his house and told his family about his experience, and then he, too, had to die.

16. The Paez with the Ax

A Pijao went into the mountains to catch birds. For this he used a stick smeared with a substance similar to glue, with which he touched the birds so that they remained stuck to it. He did this for many years. One day he came to the house of a Paez, whose owner, however, was not there. In the house lay only an ax (as the narrator added: made of iron, for the Pijao are not familiar with any kind of tools, neither knife nor axes. To prepare their fields for planting, they can only split the bark of trees with stones, whereupon they dry in the course of a year. After this time the Pijao plant their maize on the field with dead trees standing on it. Thus, since they have no machetes to fell trees, they cannot lay out proper burned-off fields, like the Paez, although they are acquainted with fire.)

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

* /304 cont./
539 name of Calderas. María Santísima gave the fire and disappeared.

Informant: Agustín Muse.
Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

18. The Mine-armadillo

*539 823 825 My father was inside a house. Suddenly he saw an animal that shone like a lamp; the light went up to the sky. The animal was a mine-armadillo which was climbing up the hill. If one succeeds in catching him, one puts him in a large box and gives him maize to eat. He turns into a mine, pure gold. Before catching him, one must have the silver ready, 50 or 100 pesos; one wraps him in a new kerchief and lifts him; he is very light. Without the silver, he is seen in the stream or on the path, but one cannot catch him; one puts his hand there where the armadillo is, withdraws it, and he does not move.

Informant: Victoriano Piñakué.

19. The Thin Man

* 539 774 ● 781 My father bought a jar and carried it on his back. At night, drunk, he met the thin man sitting by the path; it was a soul. He was about to fall into the ditch, but the soul did not let him fall and accompanied him home as if he were his brother. Father, frightened, started falling, but the soul held him up; he carried a light, making the night very clear. Nevertheless he did not speak. The man looked like the Sisters; he was quite white.

*539 20. The Devil

My father, with a friend, was coming from Belalcázar on horseback; I was behind my father. The friend came last; he

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25. The Sky

Informant: Agustín Muse.
Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

Once when I was near death my soul climbed to the sky, which is a flat plain where the view extends to the horizon. The entrance is wooded. The Virgin told me that this land was for her sons and that I would have a piece. To reach the sky, one first goes along a good path and soon becomes lost; the most hidden one leads to the Virgin's palace. It is said that it is bad for one to eat the porcupine, because he will come before María Santísima dressed in its skin. He will go to the devil, and although the latter cannot pick him up, he has hooks with which to grab him. This is why, at the hour of retiring or rising, I pray to my God and to María.

[262]
[825]

The palace of María is of blinding splendor. It is very beautiful. The Virgin always holds the Child; only rarely does she put him down somewhere.

I tell my fellow men what I saw but they make fun of my account.

/308/ It is holy, they should respect it.

Good people go to heaven, that is to say, those who do not abuse other persons, say evil things, or are loutish.

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26. Origin of the Plants

The old people said that every kind of seed had been given by María Santísima, who drew them from her womb and gave them to the Christians in order for them to maintain themselves. Plants are thus inherited from María Santísima. She gave away every kind of seed when her brother was around. Hence his rage, since he wanted to give seeds and animals and could not. Perhaps the snakes were made by Santo Tomás. /The bibliography on p. 309 is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

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7iHernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

cluding vegetables, cornbread, eggs, and chicha, which he piles on the church floor, together with wax candles—one if the person does not have anyone in particular to remember, two for each deceased relative. When Mass begins, they throw flowers on the presbytery, as an offering to the souls of children. Afterward, they go to the cemetery in procession, and the souls of the departed come down to the empty church to take the food. Later, the people sell whatever the souls left or failed to eat. Everyone buys something, the captain's assistant collecting the money, while the constables of the council, raising their whips and shouting insults, prevent frauds in the general disorder. The money from the sale is given to the priest to pay him for the work in the rites. As each person leaves the church, he kisses a crucifix held by the sacristan at the church door. They kiss it once for each dead person whom they wish to remember and pay a cent each time. In addition to offering food at the church, the *Moguex* cover their tables at home with food, which is also intended for the souls of their dead, and at the end of 2 or 3 days they eat the food, saying that they are eating what the souls have left. 769 782 [624] [625]

Christmas and Holy Week are both great occasions for the Indians, who celebrate them with music and some of their ancient rites. Even though a priest may not be present, they conduct the rites in a manner that dates from Colonial days, when a *Páez* Indian named Undachí tried to combine Catholicism with their own religion. The man claimed to be able to see God, who used to come among the Indians and talk to him in his own *Páez* language. The new religion included a chapel, Mass, and candle and flower offerings. 796 771 177 [781]

Sickness.—Sickness was always thought to be caused by witchcraft or by someone's will. The evil force entered the body and made it impure; it had to be expelled or "cleansed," lest death ensue. If a delirious person told who was killing him, the individual mentioned was thought guilty; or, if, after a death, the face of the deceased should appear to somebody, the person was considered responsible. These beliefs are still in force today, and the Indians avoid the causes of sickness, such as having sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman, exposing the body to bad weather while there is a rainbow, and neglecting to bathe after a burial or to purify a house where a death occurred. 753 754 [787] 753 178

To fight disease they still have shamans. *Moguex* shamans use tobacco, coca, plants known as yacuna and chundar, and rum in their practice. After remaining shut up in a dark room for a night, they either confess their inability to cure the sick person or proceed to administer the traditional medicines. Sickness is conceptualized as an animal, which enters the stomach, head, or other part of the body. In former times, the shaman fasted with the sick person, abstaining from salt and fats and taking only coca and chicha. Today, he requires that only the patient fast 756 [753] [785]

/214 cont./

426 however, so that in the case of a deceased poor debtor, the creditor has usually lost his money. Prescription does not occur.
685 A debt forgotten by the debtor may be collected by the creditor
695 years later, if there are witnesses. The situation is similar for
426 the theft of field crops: If there is no witness, no one can be found guilty. If, however, the witness is known as honorable and not deceitful, the accused is judged guilty, even without a con-
692 fession. There is no statement of confirmation corresponding to
695 the oath; similarly, no one condemned for wrongdoing has the
623 right to go to Inzá to the judge. For all misdeeds punished by the
208 [782] cabildo, the capitan and gobernador are the first and last authority; they do not act arbitrarily, however, but rely largely on custom
[686] and the opinion of the village. This is especially true if someone refuses several times in succession to take part in public works, but it also comes out -- unfavorably -- if a poor man tries to
623 become wealthy on his own. For example, disputes not infrequently
692 break out among the Paez on account of damage to cultivated
685 fields when the domestic animals of one person have broken into
578 the fields of a neighbor. Now the fences around each field must always be in good condition and put up in accordance with the term of use of the field. A fence for a maize field, which requires barely a year to mature, may be more lightly built than a fence around a sugar-cane field, which requires three years to mature. Then when strange animals break into fields with good fencing, the owner may kill them or at least wound them, for example, by
[231] cutting off a cow's tail. The owners of pigs fasten a triangular-shaped frame around the necks of their pigs to prevent them from breaking into fenced fields. If the fence is in poor condition, however, and has not been newly erected especially for the planted field, the owner of the animals breaking into the field is not to blame and the owner of the field may not kill them. Of course, the soundness of a fence is to a great extent a matter of opinion, and it happens not infrequently that the disputants go after each
696 other with machetes and wound each other considerably. The
685 /215/ guilty party is then, after an inspection of the fence, punished
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681

/273 cont./

776 If it rains when the sun is shining, they may not leave the house,
753 for otherwise they become afflicted with head maladies. These
821 are not headaches, but wounds such as would be inflicted by a
[756] machete. The teyu, however, have remedies to make the rain-
(789) bow disappear, so that children may go outside again.

776 Eč, the third of the aforementioned causes of sickness and
(753) death, is the most unpleasant and the most dangerous, since eč
[761] kills the most people. Eč lives in the earth; no man has seen
[787] him, apart from a few shamans. They need not enter into the
earth, however, to see him; rather, eč himself comes if a teyu
[825] calls him. He looks like a human being. Eč is also the name
for fireflies, which are regarded as the messengers that he sends
out to bring "pest" to human beings. People therefore kill fire-
776 flies if they are able to catch them. Eč is not angry, however,
• 782 if the people kill his messengers, if only he always gets enough
offerings. For this reason people give eč a dram-glass full of
brandy from every bottle, that is, they pour this amount on the
ground; likewise eč gets his share of every animal killed (chicken,
756 pig, cow, etc.). People ask their teyu which parts of the animal
776 eč demands and which ones they should offer him. If people
782 killed and ate an animal without offering eč any of it, he would
[761] in return kill a child of this family. If the father then comes to
the teyu and asks why his child died, he -- who, of course, knows
that the man slaughtered a pig without giving eč anything -- tells
him that this is the punishment of eč. That very rarely happens,
however; rather, the man gives the shaman the parts of the ani-
mal desired by eč, for instance, the liver, entrails, or meat, and
he gives them to eč, bringing them at night to the place desired
[787] by him. Moreover, as a precaution people give eč herbs and
brandy as the shaman advises, in accordance with the signs which
he has received from eč.

774 If the penetration of pest into the body of a person is the
776 cause of an illness that may result in death, this unfortunate out-
753 come is all the more probable if one of the three spirits or a nyic
has stolen a human soul. I was given differing /274/ statements
about such a case: First of all, there are two words for soul, ũns

/281 cont./

755 On the evening agreed upon for the purification from the pest,
756 the patient brings the shaman the required remedies, and the
783 latter divides everything into two parts, one to carry out the séance
[782] and the other as an offering for Thunder. He first takes the latter portion and goes to a particular place in order to offer it to Thunder. He spits part of the brandy into the air and drinks another part himself, as soon as Thunder has expressed his approval of the purification from the disease and his satisfaction over the gift.

[516] For the purification ceremony the teyu and the patient squat down on the ground next to each other, in the manner customary among the Paez. The teyu thrusts his staff into the ground and sets the brandy bottle beside it. Amid coca-chewing and brandy-drinking the hours flow by, broken only by an occasional spitting out of the chew on the part of the shaman. /282/ Through his signs he gradually learns the cause of the illness and also the necessary remedies, which he now hands over to the patient. He also places on his head a packet containing the same herbs, as protection against the evil ec spirit. The teyu now goes to one side and beats the air with his tama, in order to remove the pest that is present. Then he passes it up the entire body of the patient, beginning at the feet and ending at the head, in order to squeeze out, so to speak, the pest from the body of his patient from below upward. At various parts of the body, the hollow of the collarbone, the neck, and the head, he "sucks" out the pest. Into a hole dug a few meters in front of the place of the ceremony he now spits the contents of his mouth: coca and medicinal herbs, mixed with the pest sucked out of the patient. He then squirts a mouthful of brandy into the air, so that the pest will depart altogether, and drinks a further one himself, so that the pest will not enter his body. Now the patient is called. He must first spit into the same hole the mixture of coca and medicinal herbs which he has chewed the entire time, and then he, too, must take two swallows of brandy; he must squirt one into the air, and he swallows the other one. Further purifications of the patient follow, various herbs being passed over him and the pest being sucked out several times and spat into the hole. In conclusion there follows a bodily cleansing

/282 cont./

755 of the patient with water to which šũ and yakũma have been added
756 as medicinal herbs, so that he will now be completely freed of the
783 pest. Finally the teyu asks Thunder to prevent anyone from uncovering this hole in which the dangerous pest is buried. He further asks Thunder to help him in subsequent treatments of the sick later on. The patient is told that the signs are favorable, and he is again enjoined neither to use the medicines of the whites nor ever to pass this hole containing the pest.

757 Besides these two most important shamanistic ceremonies, the
756 treatment of the sick and the purification of the relatives after a
731 burial, the shaman's ability and his magical, supernatural powers are also called upon for preventive ceremonies and acts. This is particularly necessary if epidemics of disease -- smallpox, whooping cough -- occur in the village or in a family. In the first instance, the cabildo asks a shaman who is known to be able to speak with Thunder to conduct the proper protective ceremonies; in the latter instance, /283/ the oldest member of the afflicted family asks him. First a pig must be killed for this. A piece is cut from all the body organs on the left side, and everything is put into a new fiber
• [782] bag. The shaman and the cabildo then set out in the afternoon for the lagoon in which Thunder is believed to live, in order to hand over to him the bag with the pieces of meat, with the request to avert the epidemic. During this time the women remaining behind have been preparing the rest of the meat for a meal, which, however, is eaten jointly only when, after twelve hours, the shaman and cabildo return from their ceremony.

758 For several cases of illness and death in one family the help of
783 a good shaman is likewise required. The pest is generally regarded
769 as the cause of these cases of death afflicting only one family, though according to a report by S. Bernal Villa, the deceased and angry members of the family are held responsible for this. In this case the eldest of the family provides brandy, coca, and tobacco, calls together the family members, and asks the shaman to come. The latter offers the angry ancestor spirits a fat pig that has first been tied in front of the house for a whole night, while the shaman during this time speaks to the spirits about whether they will accept the offering.

/284 cont./

241 The following ceremony before the first harvest of a newly
756 cleared field should also be understood in the same sense as
783 all the shamanistic séances of the Paez, namely, as a purification
[273] from pest or to ward it off. The owner, taking along coca, chicha,
[276] and brandy, goes to the field with the members of his family and
the teyu. The latter first sprinkles the field with water to which
[824] herbs have been added and then distributes small packets of
[782] medicinal herbs to all present. He now takes a sample from each type of produce and makes a bundle out of this, in order to offer it to Thunder. After this gift, the owner harvests a fiber bag full of each type of produce and carries it home. He sets down all the bags beside one another in front of the left side of the entrance, and then the shaman spits his herbs over them, in order to cleanse them of the pest, which, without this ceremony, would otherwise
[782] have been carried into the house. After the products have been cooked, they are given to the shaman, who distributes one product to each of those present and offers the rest as a gift to Thunder, who, in turn, gives everything back to the shaman.

754 A good shaman does not know any herbs or other means to
756 harm people or to kill them. Such acts are the mark of the nyic. According to what we heard, however, the boundary between good and bad shamans is not very sharply drawn; each could also carry out the activity of the other, even though Thunder -- people are convinced -- does not lend his help to a nyic, so that the latter is
578 dependent solely on his bad and wicked agents. /285/ There is a
754 constant struggle between the teyu and the nyic, not openly to be
756 sure, but in secret. The teyu constantly feel pursued by the evil machinations of the nyic, and one who relaxes his attention for only a moment will be killed by them. In this struggle the one who is the stronger magically has prospects of victory; but since the nyic do not openly announce their successes over the good shamans, one can learn only of the victories of the teyu over the evil shamans. Thus a shaman from Santa Rosa relates that in his youth he was very treacherous and underhanded and was already familiar with many agents. One day a nyic, who had already

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

tion which would correspond pretty well with the explanation given by subsequent authors, except for its last, untranslated member, which seems to imply a lack of geographical knowledge on the part of Father Rodriguez. According to modern maps, indeed, the term "Alto", or "Cordillera", de Guanacas, seems to apply only to the group or node of mountains north of the Coconucos and Puracé volcanoes, and south of the towering Huila. This includes the "Páramo de Moras," which we crossed on our return from Tierra Adentro, but not the *Páramo de las Papas*, which is situated south of the Puracé, at the headwaters of the Cauca, Caquetá, and Magdalena rivers. 131 114 133

If we admit, then, that in Father Rodriguez's description the name Páramo de las Papas is merely a lapsus for Páramo de Moras, the area given by him corresponds pretty well with that which is recognized as such by Uricoechea in his introduction to Castillo's work, excepting that the latter extends this area northward to include the upper Yaguará basin. According to Castillo, this last was probably inhabited by another *parcialidad*, which he calls Betnb, "indios infieles de nación pijaos." At Huila, when pointing northward to the valleys on the eastern slope of the volcano and asking who lived there, the Indians answered, "Los Pijaos", and among the Spanish people it is generally understood that the Paez and the Pijaos are one and the same. This is also the opinion of Reclus,[1] who says: "Among the various tribes that wandered through the thick forests of this [eastern] slope of the [central] Cordillera, the most barbarous were the *Pijaos* or *Paez*, who selected innocent victims to offer to their divinities. The enemy killed in a fight could be only indifferent to the gods; but a woman, a child, an inoffensive stranger, the pure ones, were welcome to the bloodthirsty genii." And these monstrous sacrifices must be repeated at short intervals to insure the permanent good-will of the gods. 131 114 101 [782 727]

The area given on the accompanying map (plate 1)[1] corresponds with the above-mentioned description by Rodriguez, 101 103

[1] Reclus, *Géographie universelle*, XVIII, p. 305.

[1] [See P 304 – Analyst]

/223 cont./

756 868 members of his family and under the direction of his teacher. The demand for his services on the part of others depends on the outcome of these treatments. Many of the young curers of 756 554 868 Togoima, Calderas, and Santa Rosa learned in this manner. All of them state that their teachers had visions, and explicitly or implicitly admit their inferiority to them. "The ancestors had visions, and for this reason they must have been superior to us," says a curer from Calderas. Owing to this fact, people believe that the curers of today cannot talk to [829] Thunder. They would be killed. One of the reasons given to [623] explain why the cabildos /local councils/ of today do not go to the lagoon to wash the staffs of command is precisely the lack of curers like those of old.

* 756 868 Those who have had visions also place themselves under the direction of an experienced curer in order to learn the [782] secrets of the profession. The definitive consecration as a [778] curer is obtained when they offer the "Camarico" /a gift customarily given to guests/ to Thunder at the edge of the lagoon.

[554] Although an apprenticeship in medicine can be undertaken at a very early age, the practice requires one to be an adult of about 30 years of age and married or living with a woman. A "very young" curer would lie, informants say.

* 756 778 782 Consecration of the te eu. The true té eu, that is to say, those who have had visions, make the offering of the "Camarico /224/ to Thunder," a ceremony carried out at the edge of a lagoon, in order to be consecrated definitively as curers, since medicine is a heritage from Thunder.

The teacher asks the pupil for a white sheep and two new pouches. The animal is sacrificed, and from each organ on the left side a small piece is cut and placed in the pouch. This is the "Camarico for Thunder." With this gift, teacher and pupil set out for the lagoon, while at home the women cook the meat with the express order that no one may eat it until they return.

* /224 cont./

756 At the edge of the lagoon the teacher-curer digs a hole,
778 over which, and from the end of the tama, he suspends the
782 camarico. Thunder requests from the pupil 10, 20, or 30 centavos, coins which he deposits in the hole. Then, he lowers the pouch and covers the hole with stones and earth. The curer bathes the pupil with shu and shulape (1). Thunder

1. 1. Cf. below, "Remedies"
/see pp. 22ff./.

draws near to receive other gifts which he requests by means of the signs, to state that the youth may learn how to cure, to prohibit him emphatically from collecting bad remedies (for sorcery), and to request him to be charitable with people. Last of all, he orders him to return home.

* At the teacher's home, chicha and aguardiente are drunk,
756 and meat is eaten with stew. Then the teacher presents
868 remedies to the pupil and tells him that henceforth he will
755 merely need to apply them, warning about the patients who
778 are in a very serious condition, but with the help of God he should try to cure them.

* 756 The signs. The signs are reflex movements which manifest
787 themselves in the musculature of the curer. "They are like
[827] a circulation" -- says one té eu, "as when a person's muscle
[755] twitches in the eye or hand. The interpretation of these signs is done by the curer."

[776] The signs come from Thunder or the Ghost. That is to say, from assisting spirits. There are also those who say that they come from God.

755 The signs are fundamental, basic in Paez medicine.
*756 Without them there cannot be curers, and there cannot be a curer who does not know how to interpret the signs. It is useless to have knowledge of the medicinal value of the plants. The curer is no more than an intermediary, a spokesman for

/229 cont./

75 requested. /230/ He divides the aguardiente into two bottles:
783 one for Thunder and the other to drink. In Thunder's bottle he
[782] places a sprig of chayuts, after passing it around his body; the sprig remains floating and vertical, a good omen. He puts the coca in a special pouch, along with the aguardiente and cigars. He makes up two bundles of remedies with maize husks. One is for the patient, to chew and swallow the juice.

75 He divides the other bottle, takes chayuts, passes it around
78 his body, puts it in the small calabash, fills it with aguardiente, and goes out of the house to toast Thunder. Then he gathers his pouches of remedies, a calabash of chicha, the patient's coca, a candle, and matches, and he goes to the divination site. When Thunder comes, he will ask the curer what the patient has presented to him. The he will show him the chicha and aguardiente. Thunder, satisfied, will say: "Take this, since you received it." They will drink together. Thunder's share will be tossed into the air. The patient must remain inside the house. When the time comes, he will call him for the "cleansing."

75 Outside, the night is black as ebony. The silhouette of
783 the curer is barely visible. He sits under the eaves to the south of the house. He begins to chew the remedies after passing them around his body. He drives in the tama and beside it he places the bottle of aguardiente. Immediately after this, seated, almost squatting, with his hand folded, quiet and motionless, gazing into space, grave, self-controlled, conscious of his mission, imbued with his knowledge, he spends long hours conversing with Thunder and warding off the attacks of sorcerers. From time to time he gets up without haste, slowly, as slowly as the passing of the hours of the night, and he beats with the tama, displaying the energy that marks the activities of the curer. The patient, lying on a cowhide, with no covering other than his own clothes, sleeps near the fire; he wakes up at different times, pierced by the intense cold of the night; outside he hears the constant, rhythmic, regular, vigorous blowings of the medicine man.

/231 cont./

75 the neck, he exerts some pressure and the icy water runs down
783 the body. He goes down the left side and then goes to the hole to bury these remedies. With these remedies the body absorbs coolness. After having buried them, he blows aguardiente into the air and then drinks some more.

Once more at his place, he gives the patient a few herbs (shu and siempre viva?) to hold in his hand. He goes to the right of the patient and from there points to him with the tama and blows; he draws nearer, and he makes the familiar passes with the tama and the remedies named. He rubs the crown of the head (vertex), throat, and the nape of the neck.

[782] They go to the hole and toss the herbs into the hole. The curer takes a mouthful of aguardiente, stretches the tama toward the horizon, rises proudly, sets his eyes in the direction of the tama, blows violently several times, and soon his atti-
[191] tude becomes entreating. /232/ Actually, he prays in Spanish: "Lord, help us; I implore you for everyone." The té eu said later that he had prayed to Thunder, so that he would help him and would not permit the sorcerer to discover this hole where the "dirt" was buried. He drank a swallow. The patient blows a mouthful of aguardiente into the air and drinks a second one. They return to their places. The curer picks up the calabash of chicha, goes to the hole, and pours it out. It is a gift to Thunder.

Once more in his place, he puts yacuma, shu, and tashú into a calabash of cold water. He goes to the patient's right and from there sprinkles this water first on the house and then on the patient, who first removed his hat by order of the curer. This is a veritable bath, so that if any ptans should remain, it would be removed and he would be completely clean. The remaining water is poured into the hole. He blows aguardiente and drinks some more, the patient proceeding in the same way. The curer raises the tama and implores: "I pay you; I shall pay you." The curer said that he had spoken as follows:

/241 cont./

731 Since the ceremonies mentioned have some differential
755 aspects, we shall look at them in detail.
756 Wé ká (pest-send). When the pest appears in a community,
783 smallpox, whooping cough, which are rapidly finishing off
/242/ the population, the cabildo takes the initiative for conjuring away the danger. It requests from the people coca, tobacco, and aguardiente, they arranges for a pig and invite a famous curer who can talk to Thunder. From the edge of a lagoon, by means of good remedies and the help of Thunder, the curer must ward off the pest.

[782] They sacrifice the pig. From its left side they take a small piece from all the organs and place them in a new pouch. They gather glowworms (Echis) and go to the lagoon. The retinue made up of the curer and the cabildo leaves at three in the afternoon, and twelve hours later they will be back at the point of departure. Meanwhile, the women have been busy preparing the meat, without eating a single piece of it. They have not slept either, for they have an obligation to wait for the retinue wide-awake. When they arrive, the meat and stew are distributed, and the chicha and aguardiente are drunk. With this the people are relieved and the pest is banished from the community.

755 Ut ká ("dirt"-send). This is exclusively a family affair.
756 When the members of a family are dying, there is ptans, says
783 an informant, while another one thinks, with more reason, that it is the angry spirits of the dead who want to finish off the family. In such a case, the eldest of the survivors arranges for coca, aguardiente, and tobacco, gathers the family members together, and calls the curer.

[787] The latter divines up to eight or ten nights. He captures up to 12 glowworms. He asks for a castrated and fat pig. He ties it up for an entire night and divines as to whether the souls of the dead members of the family will accept it. At dawn he orders it killed. The slaughterers, the chicha-makers, the carriers of the sugar cane, and the women cooks are not

/242 cont./

755 members of the family, that is to say, they do not carry the
* 756 surname of those who are performing Ut ká. None of them 1
783 may work, not even at making hats or pouches.
[461] The hog is skinned and washed over a hole; the hair and offal in general must fall there. When Ut ká is not being per-
[787] formed, the hog is skinned in a trough. Meanwhile, the curer
● [782] divines as to how much meat is wanted by the souls. The latter specify the quantity, and the té eu translates it on a small stick, which is immediately passed to the slaughterers, who must cut out the pieces in accordance with this measure and put them into a pouch. The curer drinks aguardiente and also has assistants who help in perceiving the signs.

[252] /243/ The women prepare the maize for "mute" /stewed
[262] corn/, make small tortillas, as many as there are souls of the dead in the family. They also prepare every kind of fruit and food, plantains, arracacha, bread, yuca, bananas, granadillas, cucumbers, maize, eggs, meats, etc., to protect them against the ptans. They put a little piece of the foods into the pouch.

755 They also prepare some wooden dolls, in a number equal
* 756 to that of the dead. They dress them like Indians: hat, poncho,
783 trousers, shirt. About 40 meters from the house they dig a
532 grave just as they do to bury the dead: a rectangular cavity with a lateral chamber. The curer weighs out two eggs of coca, picks up two cigars and a bottle of aguardiente. At about eight at night all those from the family leave, except those who are not. The cleansing is about to be performed. Then black clouds, like balls, gather. The curer blows remedies toward them. After two hours, the clouds go toward the left, clearing the horizon and leaving the stars visible in the immensity of space. The curer proceeds with the burial. In the lateral chamber of the tomb he places the dolls (representations of the souls) and a candle of laurel wax, after blowing the remedies at them. He closes up the chamber with a stone and then puts in the glowworms and the pouch of food.

1 [i.e. the family members--Analyst]

/245 cont./

241 As soon as the curer has collected one fruit of every species to
756 be harvested, he makes up a bundle as on offering to the Ghost,
[782] since he is the owner of the earth.

[776] When this offering has been made, the owners harvest a pouch of each crop sown. They go home and /246/ put the pouches side by side in the left part of the entrance door for
[783] the curer to blow remedies again. Without this requisite, the pouches of food could not be brought into the house because they might carry the pest. The women begin to cook them. When the time for eating comes, the curer first passes around a cup of aguardiente with yuskei and bitopiskue. When there are potatoes, they are handed over to the curer after they are cooked. He distributes one specimen to everyone present; what remains is handed to the owner, who in turn gives generously to the curer.

If the first fruits are of maize or beans, the following is done:

With the green ears of maize, "loaves" /bollos/ or "wrappers" /envueltos/ are prepared; with the beans, a large bundle is made. Then the ears of maize, the bundle of beans, and the loaves are cooked. Aside from this, there is a pot of stew with chicken to provide for the curer.

The cooked ears of maize, beans, and loaves are assembled in a trough, and the cook distributes to all those present a sample of each type. Everyone eats, taking care to leave a little of each mouthful, which they pass to the curer. The latter makes a pile, ties it up, and hangs it from the ridge of the house so that the field seed which is being harvested will yield abundant fruit in the following year.

The husks of the ears of maize are piled outside the house, where the curer remains for one night with the object of capturing glowworms and killing them.

776 Assisting spirits. Thunder. All the informants state that Thunder is short in stature, about 1.40 meters, wears a large hat of twigs, underdrawers, a black poncho, tama, and pouch

/320 cont./

231 propose "trades." Traders who are interested in a cow, once
439 they have located the true /321/ owner, assail him with proposi-
tions for a trade. They offer young, fertile heifers, smaller
in size and usually thin. In exchange, they obtain a large and
231 fat cow. The profits are more than 200%. Before handing over
439 the animal, the native invariably requests a bottle of aguardiente
789 and pulls out a few hairs from the left eye or lower leg of the cow
[782] as an offering to the Duende /ghost/, the virtual owner of the
lands and animals and potentially the protector of their multi-
plication. Likewise he blows chayuts (Scutellaria racemosa Per.)
on the rope with which the cow will be led, so that it will not
create difficulties along the way. There are frequent statements
by whites and mestizos, cattle traders, to the effect that, when
this requisite was not met, the cow stopped halfway on the
journey and could not be budged by any human power. Then it
sufficed to blow at the rope with chayuts to make her move again.
How can this be explained? The persons relating the story re-
peatedly ask.

231 Occasions for the consumption of cattle are mingas, re-
262 ligious fiestas, and, on a small scale, the post-matrimonial and
[796] baptismal "cuidos" (courtesies for the sponsors). The meat and
[527] the skin are both used. The latter is not tanned, but dried in
[281] the sun and used as a sort of mattress for sleeping. The milk is
[234] not used. When they sacrifice a head of cattle that comes from
262 "wild" places, such as bogs, lagoons, or montañas, they take the
782 precaution of calling the Té eu. He orders them to take a small
756 piece from each organ and to put a little blood on a reed. He
231 wraps all this in a leaf, puts a sprig of contento (chayuts) on top
of it, then goes toward the east, and, in a spot determined by
him, leaves the bundle, taking care always to put it to the left
of things such as trunks or rocks. This placement does not have
any special ceremony associated with it; it is not accompanied
by prayers or the blowing of medicines, and it does not take
place at a specific time. It is an offering to the Duende which
is performed before consuming the meat, the primary purpose
of which is to please him.

/322 cont./

231 arracacha. Dogs, cats, and pigs live, the first on kitchen refuse, the second by hunting mice, and the last on grasses and roots from the thickets. They are not familiar with breeds of cattle, hogs, and sheep. Only the guinea pig is regarded as American, while the other animals are said to be genuinely Spanish.

[236] Sheep seem to have emotional value because they provide the wool for people's clothing. They are kept with affection and rarely sold or eaten.

Dogs also seem to have emotional value because of being the guardian of the houses and fields. In addition, they have symbolic value: they are the iron curtain, the protective barrier against the dark memory of the Pijao. If the latter were to reappear again, the natives argue, they would not be able to approach /323/ the houses, because dogs live there, which would inspire fear in the Pijao, for they are so dangerous for them that mere contact with their footprints or their hair would kill them. In the legends and tales there is frequent reference to these de-
[552] fensive concepts. The dogs have special names: Guagás (white),
[685] kuchi (black), salgento, pitán, policía. Dogs that eat sheep are invariably killed with a shotgun without previous consultation with the owner.

[262] Guinea pigs are the favorite food of children. They kill
[252] them by strangling them and eat them boiled. These animals are
[782] not used as offerings to the Duende. Nor do they serve as presents
[755] for friends or relatives. They are also used to combat mental illness by covering the patient's forehead with the entrails of the still living animal.

235 They "cuidan" /show special attention/ to favorite persons
[554] with chickens and eggs. They have mingas with turkeys. Eggs
[262] are consumed, but in general they are sold.

[432] They use the honey and the wax from the hives of wild bees.
222 The honey, they say, is good for persons who suffer from "cold."
237 With the wax they soften hide lassos, and they occasionally use it
[757] for illumination. Domestic hives do not exist.

231 Wild animals, such as parrots, chicaos /a kind of bird/, squirrels, and micos, are never domesticated.

/323 cont./

231 There are no animal "pets," and none of the domestic animals serve as playthings or are regarded simply as "pretty." They all have a utilitarian purpose.

[556] The possession of domestic animals is a symbol of wealth. The owner of large tracts of land does not regard himself as rich, while the one who has domestic animals does.

231 There are commercial transactions with animals among the
435 natives. The prices are very low. "The Indian is poor," they
438 say, "he has no silver." For this reason, animals that among the whites would bring 200 pesos or more are sold among the natives for half the price or even less.

233 This state of affairs hardly exists among the natives of the
232 parcialidad of Mosoco. There are already ranches dedicated
[246] solely to livestock-raising. Some are planted with pasture grasses, especially poa. There is a marked tendency to improve the livestock, in quality as well as quantity. They know the excellence of the Norman and Holstein among the cattle and the Merino
231 among the sheep. They have special breeds of hogs and chickens.
[232] Many /324/ own mules and splendid riding horses. Commercial
[438] transactions involving animals bring a just price even among the
[782] natives themselves. Some of them are marvelous traders. They still retain the practice of making an offering to the Duende when
[233] slaughtering cattle or pigs. On the savannas of the Paramo de Moras the natives have magnificent herds. Livestock-raising in Mosoco is thus an industry at the height of development that deserves full attention on the part of the authorities.

23 In the statistical table that we present below one can observe the expansion of the livestock industry in Mosoco and com-
[128] pare it with those of Lame, San Andrés, and Calderas. The owners are natives, except for the whites and mestizos marked with an asterisk.

/329 cont./

476 The master of the minga kills a head of cattle or, more
241 commonly, a pig. He prepares a trough of chicha (fermented sugar-cane juice), several bottles of aguardiente, an arroba of mote (maize skinned with ashes), and procures a few pounds of coca. He invites the men of his choice. At dawn on the day agreed upon for the job, all those invited, with their tools on their shoulders, proceed with shouts to the house of the minguero. There they are given one egg (25) of coca, chicha, and a dish of

25. Measure of weight equivalent to a hen's egg.

476 mote with meat. At 8:00 A.M. they are all at work. Up to
461 30 laborers attend. They take along to the place of the work
241 calabashes of chicha to drink during the rest periods, which correspond exactly to the "botada de la mambeada" /taking the chew of coca/. In the course of the day they have three mambeadas, and thus three rest periods. They more or less coincide with 10:00 A.M., 12:00 noon, and 2:00 P.M. During these rest periods they sit, talk, laugh, drink /330/ chicha, and soon go back to the work enthusiastically. They do it steadily and diligently.
476 No one talks then. At 4:00 P.M. they leave work and go to the
241 house of the minguero, where their respective wives are already. Everyone receives chicha and aguardiente. Then the food, consisting of a large wooden platter full of mote, stew /revuelto/ with frijoles, arracacha, plantains, and three pieces of meat. Since they cannot eat all this, they put it in fique knapsacks to
[782] take it to their respective homes. After eating, they pray, always invoking the deceased relatives of the minguero, whether
[273] they be ancestors, collaterals, or descendants. Then, they re-
[535] ceive new gourds of chicha until they are drunk. Very often
[578] they dance. There is no lack of fighting on these occasions.

476 According to an informant from Calderas, one minga with
435 15 laborers costs the following:

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Moguex

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The main subsistence of these tribes was and still is based on the cultivation of potatoes, which grow in great quantities in the higher portions of the territory known as Tierradentro, and maize, which is acclimated to the temperate and cold zones. There are three varieties of maize: sweet, soft, and hard. Additional crops were and are yuca or manioc, sweet potatoes, auyamas, ullucos, purutos, frijoles, arracacha, and various other vegetables, and a variety of fruits, including bananas, guayavas, avocados, papayas, [478] pineapples, and passion fruit. Today the *Páez* and *Moguex* are be- [433] ginning to grow wheat, coffee, which is an important item in their [273] economy, and sugarcane, from which is made a coarse sugar and molasses for their fermented drink, guarapo.

241 The men and women of each family generally cultivate the family 476 plot, but for large-scale maize or coffee planting, and for cultivation of the lands of the Church or saint, they work communally, and have meetings called "mingas." Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense. The [782] beneficiary must feed his helpers, generally sacrificing a pig and pre- [273] paring great quantities of chicha for the libations and nocturnal dances after the work. All adults must participate in working the Church lands, but each brings his own food.

241 Implements of cultivation are the digging stick, or macana, for 412 making holes for planting, machetes and axes for destroying vege- 407 tation, and picks and shovels for removing earth, except where re- 492 placed by plows pulled by animal traction.

Domesticated animals.—Domesticated animals include chickens, 231 turkeys, some pigs, dogs, and a few horses and cows. All but the [177] turkeys are of European origin. These animals are rarely sold or killed for food, except for feast days, magical ceremonies, meetings, and visits of relatives, friends or distinguished White men. But [438] sometimes the Indians buy meat in the weekly market and hang it [251] over the hearth, where it is preserved by the smoke.

A custom which has persisted since the beginning of the Colonial 574 Period is that of always giving a guest the "camarico" or "cariño" 431 (affection), a present varying from an egg to a chicken, together with some potatoes, vegetables, and coffee beans.

262 Formerly, meat was obtained from wild rather than domesticated 136 animals—boars (zaínos), guaras, guatines, birds, and guinea pigs, the 231 last being true domesticated animals kept in some numbers in the native houses.

252 **Food preparation.**—Food was cooked in pottery ollas, but metal and [415] enamel ware is now often used. The *Páez* make "mute," a soup of [177] boiled maize, cabbage, squash, and potatoes, and "cocido," a soup

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
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881 heights of Cuetando, where they built a hut and planted a miniature field as proof of their masculine aptitude.

797 **Education.**—Today the Indians are educated principally by their
871 parents in the customs and tasks pertaining to each sex. Some boys
[868] and a few girls are sent to the few missionary schools, where they are given religious instruction and are taught Spanish, arithmetic, geography, the history of Colombia, and modern embroidery or light
[562] basketwork. The *Páez* are reluctant to send their daughters to the schools because they feel that women should keep the traditions of
[177] their people. The missionary schools strive to change the native language and the cultural traditions which have given the Indian community social cohesion.

595 **Marriage.**[11]—Formerly polygyny was prevalent, but now Catholi-
177 cism has imposed monogamy. The Indians continue, however, to
583 practice trial marriage (amaño). A marriage is arranged as follows:

584 The bride is selected by the young man's parents or by himself. His parents and two witnesses or godparents then visit her house to request her for the groom. They also serve as advisors to the young woman, in case she disapproves the marriage. The visitors carry half-filled bottles of rum (aguardiente) and some special garments for the girl. The young man's father offers the girl's father a half-bottle, acceptance of which means, as usual among the *Páez*, that the second party is well disposed toward the proposal and the negotiations may proceed. If the girl's mother agrees, the boy's mother presents her a half-bottle of liquor. The godfather or witness gives another half-bottle to the girl's father and the
583 godmother gives one to the mother. The visitors now leave, taking the girl, who then begins a year of trial marriage, during which the young man seeks proof that the girl is able to bear children, is active, cooks well, can weave, and
585 can cultivate the land. After the trial period, the man may return the girl to her parents or they marry in the Catholic Church, holding a feast which, like all
527 such celebrations, is called a "cuido." The couple and their parents and godparents are accompanied by an orchestra (chirimía) to the house where the feast is to be held. Here the bride puts on a modern dress, a ribbon on her hair, necklaces, and earrings, while the groom is with his godfather. As the guests arrive, chicha is distributed frequently, music is played, and then there is a feast of thick soup, generally with chicken, cooked yuca, arracacha, and roast or baked meat. In the afternoon, after more music and chicha drinking, the "refresco," really a banquet or social communion, is served. Six bottles of wine made from cane molasses, cinnamon, and cloves, and cake are given to the bride, groom, godmother,
[782] and godfather, who give some to everyone present. A prayer, led by the head of
[775] the house, then asks the souls of the dead to bless the marriage and give permission to dance. First, the godfather dances with the bride, then the godmother with the groom, after which everyone dances. The feast lasts 5 days, depending on the wealth of the family. Chicha is served and accepted with the phrase, "May God pay you, compadrito, for accompanying us. Accompany us more."

764 **Death.**—At a death, the family formerly buried the deceased inside the house with his possessions, and abandoned it. Some communities, however, preferred to cremate the body or dry it over the fire. The

[1147] [727]

[11] I thank my wife and companion, Helena Ospina de Hernández, for her research in 1936 on matrimonial matters.

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upon them by the missionaries. The power to do evil is not limited to the witches, but is possessed by anyone who entertains a momentary feeling of envy, and to women, who may not walk over a stick or a cord stretched on the ground. Contact with women during their menstruation or during the days following childbirth causes the "mokokoy" to persecute the men and make them ill.

Animals possess the power to prognosticate evil. A document written in 1730 [14] tells that an Indian killed a rooster because he had crowed before daybreak, and said, "Rooster, you are forecasting my death, but I shall kill you first." They believe the same thing when certain birds sing. For example, the call of an owl at midnight brings death to someone. And certain small birds called "ulchik" and others called "bich" warn whomever hears their singing that he will meet with disaster. The box turtle follows people warning them that they are going to die.

Del Castillo says that the Indians will not strike white dogs, so that they will not be bitten by them when they enter the future life.

The belief in spirits (kl'iumb) is quite general. Among these spirits is the "pitsuala" which persecutes people, makes them ill, and even kills them. The rainbow, or "Etskituns," causes a rash to break out all over the body of anyone who ventures out while the rainbow shines, and the drizzle that generally accompanies the rainbow will harm a person who gets wet in it if he does not bathe immediately. When the rainbow appears, they stay indoors, and blow or spit tobacco in its direction.

They believe that the lagoon on the snowcapped peak, Huila, is charmed, and that if they try to go near it wind and hail storms rise. Supernatural evil forces are supposed to be present during many social activities, such as dancing, meetings, funerals, house building, and bridge construction. When a bridge is built, two Indians beat the water constantly to drive away evil spirits. When traveling on the mountains they place small stones or coins on top of some large natural rock to assure a successful trip and to avoid angering the spirit of the mountain.

Sometimes these spiritual forces assume a bodily form, as in the case of the fireflies, which bring diseases or which may be wrapped in Santa María leaves and placed in the path of an intended victim. Most feared are the ghosts of the dead, which consequently are the most propitiated. The *Moguex* and the *Páez* ask their permission to dance, and honor them in a special rite, which blends old beliefs with new religious concepts. Thus, offerings are made to the souls during the first days of November, or whenever the curate is able to visit the Indian village. Each person offers some products from his farm, in-

[14] Statement made by Javier de Orosco y Cuellar in a lawsuit by the Indians of Teboima for the possession of land. From the ecclesiastical files of Belalcázar, or Páez.

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cluding vegetables, cornbread, eggs, and chicha, which he piles on the church floor, together with wax candles—one if the person does not have anyone in particular to remember, two for each deceased relative. When Mass begins, they throw flowers on the presbytery, as an offering to the souls of children. Afterward, they go to the cemetery in procession, and the souls of the departed come down to the empty church to take the food. Later, the people sell whatever the souls left or failed to eat. Everyone buys something, the captain's assistant collecting the money, while the constables of the council, raising their whips and shouting insults, prevent frauds in the general disorder. The money from the sale is given to the priest to pay him for the work in the rites. As each person leaves the church, he kisses a crucifix held by the sacristan at the church door. They kiss it once for each dead person whom they wish to remember and pay a cent each time. In addition to offering food at the church, the *Moguex* cover their tables at home with food, which is also intended for the souls of their dead, and at the end of 2 or 3 days they eat the food, saying that they are eating what the souls have left. 769 782 [624] [625]

Christmas and Holy Week are both great occasions for the Indians, who celebrate them with music and some of their ancient rites. Even though a priest may not be present, they conduct the rites in a manner that dates from Colonial days, when a *Páez* Indian named Undachí tried to combine Catholicism with their own religion. The man claimed to be able to see God, who used to come among the Indians and talk to him in his own *Páez* language. The new religion included a chapel, Mass, and candle and flower offerings. 796 771 177 [781]

Sickness.—Sickness was always thought to be caused by witchcraft or by someone's will. The evil force entered the body and made it impure; it had to be expelled or "cleansed," lest death ensue. If a delirious person told who was killing him, the individual mentioned was thought guilty; or, if, after a death, the face of the deceased should appear to somebody, the person was considered responsible. These beliefs are still in force today, and the Indians avoid the causes of sickness, such as having sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman, exposing the body to bad weather while there is a rainbow, and neglecting to bathe after a burial or to purify a house where a death occurred. 753 754 [787] 753 178

To fight disease they still have shamans. *Moguex* shamans use tobacco, coca, plants known as yacuna and chundar, and rum in their practice. After remaining shut up in a dark room for a night, they either confess their inability to cure the sick person or proceed to administer the traditional medicines. Sickness is conceptualized as an animal, which enters the stomach, head, or other part of the body. In former times, the shaman fasted with the sick person, abstaining from salt and fats and taking only coca and chicha. Today, he requires that only the patient fast. 756 [753] [785]

/117 cont./

342 761 783 [792] [773] [628] 961 783 123 Anyone may build himself a house of whatever size he wishes on his own land in the mountains, as well as on the above-mentioned community land in the valley, but he must first ask the shaman acting for him whether any bones of the Pijao are in the ground on the piece of land in mind. As comes out in the myths, the Pijao in ancient times were the frightful and militarily cleverer enemies of the Paez. Their bones (eč ndyít Pijao) contain "pest." This pest is a very complex and significant concept among the Paez (cf. under "Religion" /see p. 191/), and the pest of the Pijao bones is capable of killing the people living above them. How very much our interpreter Victoriano, one of the most enlightened Paez, was affected by this fear came out when he worked with us in the archeological park in San Andrés. For lack of space he had to sleep in the tool room, where, however, he felt very comfortable and, with a camp bed and mattress, had built himself probably the best bed of his life. One day we opened a large prehistoric grave-chamber, which contained more than 80 bone-urns with the remains of cremations. Since we could not accommodate such a large number of urns in our living room, which at the same time served as our museum, we had to put a number of them in the tool room. I left the skeletal remains in several of them in order to save them for a later examination. Weeping, Victoriano begged me please not to put in his tool room any urns containing bones, because the bones might have come from the Pijao, who would surely kill him. Even the washed and cleaned urns, he assured us, contained very much "pest," so that at the next opportunity he wanted to go to Calderas and have himself "purified" by his home shaman. He failed to do this, and when after a few days he had a toothache, he traced this back to the action of the pest from the burial urns previously filled with bones.

342 761 783 756 787 /118/ The shaman's testing of the ground proposed as the building site is not done by digging or sampling the ground; rather, the one who wishes to build goes to the house of the shaman in the evening with coca, tobacco, and brandy, tells him of his wish, and then both sit down on the ground next to each other

/118 cont./

342 and begin to chew coca and tobacco and to drink brandy to-
761/ gether. After a while the shaman ascertains through signs in
789 his arms or legs whether bones of the Pijao are in the ground.
756 If this is not the case, the building may be started; otherwise
787 the man must look for another building site. After the building is finished, a further ceremony is performed (see under "Religion"
342 /see p. 205/), and then the same shaman fastens special herbs
752 to the roof to prevent the eč or gelyómp spirit, hostile to man,
789 from entering the house from there.

Houses are built only by men, by fathers of families.
342 One man alone, however, is not in a position to do this. At
476 least in the erection of the house posts he is helped by his brothers,
[462] as well as by other men and friends who have nothing else to do anyway on these days and receive chicha and something to
342 eat for their assistance. The building material costs nothing,
273 to be sure, but the builder must furnish a substantial amount of
476 chicha, for which planning must be begun in plenty of time, two or three years beforehand, by the planting of sufficient sugar cane. This is the task of the married son who is still living in
[594] his father's house this long. To make the chicha he also still
[249] needs the sugar mill of his father, upon whose consent and help, therefore, much depends. According to the amount of chicha
[461] that is available, the building of the house thus lasts two to six months, depending on whether only five or 15 men participate.

342 The most important thing in the construction of the house
335 is the erection of the wooden frame (Ills. 161 to 164 /see p.272 /),
[476] which always requires several men who bring in the trees, which are superficially smoothed with the machete, but not freed of bark. The master of the house is able to make the walls by
[462] himself in an emergency. The covering of the roof, too, like the entire house construction, is men's work, but the woman of the house may hand up the sugar-cane leaves for the roofing. First the vertical corner and side posts of the outer walls (yátšínda) are erected, then the outer beams lying horizontally on the side posts to support the roof (yátpopānt) are laid on, and, as the third step in the work, the horizontal crossbeams (bīkas) are fastened at

/143 cont./

224 mountain spirit. We met only a single young man of about 18
who goes hunting alone in the mountains once a week. He told
us that, in order to become a good hunter, one must first try to
[789] kill a bear (ěswiy). One must then rub its fat into the right
[237] lower-arm, which would give him the same powers as the bear.
[262] One is not permitted to eat this fat, however, because it would
[828] make him insane. After rubbing in the fat, the young hunter
[263] continued, one may not eat salt at any meal for a week. There
are no further rules and ceremonies of any kind to be observed.
[237] We learned, however, that one can also use bear fat as a heal-
[752] ing remedy, and, to be sure, for bone fractures or sprains one
757 must rub the affected part with bear fat, whereupon the injured
limb will heal immediately and will become considerably
224 stronger than ever before. For stalking he wears on his head a
292 cap made of the skin of a reddish-blond hairy monkey (mõno),
[825] which in the first place protects him from the thorns of the
bushes, but which is also supposed to facilitate creeping up on
[439] game. He sold it to us for two pesos without hesitation, since,
[126] as he said, he was perfectly capable of shooting another monkey
224 for himself. He was not afraid of the gělyõmp spirit, but the
776 other men were, for gělyõmp screams and makes a noise when
human beings enter his area in the mountains, so that they be-
come quite confused and go astray. The mountain spirit cannot
do anything to several men together, however, since he could
make as much noise as he pleased, but they would not let them-
224 selves be diverted. Of course, the men, even if there are ever so
776 many of them, must not offend the mountain spirit or provoke
515 him unnecessarily, but rather must avoid everything that gělyõmp
783 does not like. /144/ For instance, he hates everything impure
[296] and filthy. Hence the men always only go hunting well washed;
[824] they even wash the entire body, and the ruana, too. In addition,
they rub themselves with the cleansing herbs šu and šayuts, which
they obtain from the shaman, in order to be really altogether
[761] clean in a physical and ritual sense. But if someone has taken
part in a burial or has merely seen a funeral procession close by,
he has picked up a good deal of "pest" from the dead and must
have himself specially purified by the
shaman before hunting.

/144 cont./

have himself specially purified by the shaman before hunting. In case the wife of a hunter happens to be menstruating at the very time of the hunt, however, purification is of no avail; the hunter is too "dirty" and must stay at home, so as not to provoke the wrath of the gĕlyŏmp and thus bring misfortune on the entire hunting party.

The latter generally consists of six men with 12 dogs, without there being any regular battues, however. The hunters are equipped with shotguns, whose smooth barrels, with a caliber of about 15 millimeters, consist of strong sheet-iron. Fine sand is used as shot; powder is purchased and ignited with a spark from the flintlock.

There are no closed seasons for animals; nor is gĕlyŏmp angry, say, because too much game might be hunted, for "this does not happen, since there is not that much." After hunting, however, the hunter fastens the tail feathers of the birds killed to the inner side of the roof of his house and the cleanly gnawed skulls of the four-footed animals killed to its center post or center gable-post, both so as to be successful again the next time in hunting the same game. I found tail feathers of birds under the roof covering of almost every house, and frequently also three, five, or ten monkey or rabbit skulls fastened directly to the house post or strung one above the other on a string. Only once did I find, on the gable post of a small field-hut, at a man's height, below a monkey skull, a very crudely incised human figure with an oval face and six hairs standing straight up on the head (Ill. 200 /see p. 288 /). The eyes are represented by circles, the nose by a long rectangle, and the mouth by a triangle. The body is rectangular. Two semicircular lines are incised on the sides of the body. The arms start at these semicircles as two bent lines and stick out somewhat; the legs are represented in a similar way; a triangle between them is probably supposed to indicate the genitals. A Christian cross is carved on the side of the post. I was told that the human figure represents the "devil," /145/ but had nothing to do with hunting. This explanation is, of course, unsatisfactory, but I was unable to find any similar

In general
842 /184 cont./every girl desires a great
[581] many children, for this is the chief requirement for being married.
Moreover, the percentage of barren women -- in childless marriages,
[162] they say, the fault is always the woman's -- is not small. Accord-
ing to inquiries, it comes to about 10 per cent. Men generally
want boys; the women, girls, in order to have help in the house-
845 hold. Twin births are rare, but they are not regarded as anything
special; rather, people are happy about them as they are about
other children. Deformities at birth are said not to occur; how-
ever, I saw several persons with cleft palates. They seem to be
ashamed of this, for in conversations with us they always held
847 their hands over their mouths. Infanticide does not occur. To
123 inquiries about this, there was always the completely horrified
counterquestion as to whether that was the case in my country.
165 Overpopulation is not to be feared, even with a larger number
[163] of children -- the average is three to four living children per
family -- since infant mortality comes to more than 50 per cent.
[164] Whooping cough is the most frequent cause of death among small
children.

a) Birth and Childhood

843 The parents' concern for the child begins even before birth.
The husband of a pregnant woman expecting her first child must
sleep with her very frequently, for otherwise the child would be
very weak. In the case of subsequent children this is no longer
[783] required so often after the beginning of pregnancy. The pregnant
woman may not leave the house or eat pork for two months before
the birth, since this causes "pest" and she would have stomach
[822] pains; this would be very detrimental to the child. For the same
reason she may not eat beans and onions, and no fish because it
comes from the cold element, water, and because a pregnant
woman must not become cold.

843 According to one informant, the pregnant woman retires
343 to the menstruation hut (dúyat) two to three weeks before the
124 birth. During this time her mother or another female relative
cooks for the family. According to another informant, the
000 /185/ woman does not retire to the dúyat until the birth. In any

/185 cont./

844 until very late and only with great difficulty. The proper depth is supposed to be about 30 centimeters.

846 Four to six days after birth and after the first bath, the
851 father or one of the godparents brings the child to the sacristan of
608 the village or /186/ to the women missionaries, in order to have
[797] it christened with water and given the name of the Christian saint
of the christening day. Every child has only one given name and
[551] the Paez surname of its father. The baptism by the priest with oil
takes place later on a suitable occasion, in the presence of the god-
[783] parents, and is followed by an eating and drinking bout. The
[756] mother also takes part in this, after she has left the dúyat and has
washed herself, her child, and her clothes and has been purified by
the shaman.

861 The rearing of the children is in the hands of the parents, who teach them the necessary accomplishments of life quite as a matter of course and almost in play. Disobedient children are also beaten, however, and, to be sure, usually if the son has no real desire to help his father with the field work. In punishing, the fathers are generally stricter than the mothers and on occasion beat them with leather straps all over their bodies. The boxing
[461] of ears is also to be seen. If a young man proves to be lazy in later life, the father is blamed because he did not properly ad-
848 monish his son to work. Illegitimate sons, who lack the strict hand of a father, are said to turn out badly in many cases, though as such they are very popular. Since they do not know their father, they are not obliged to work in his field. They are all the more
[426] in demand as helpers in the fields of other families. When they
[431] are older, they may borrow land and establish a family. Usually they even receive the land as a present. Thus, they need not
848 starve by any means. Illegitimate daughters are in a more unfavor-
562 able position, for their help is not needed for the most part, and their mother does not have a household of her own. Nevertheless
[583] their marriage prospects are not unfavorable, since a girl does not
[581] have a dowry, but is married only on the basis of her personal qualities.

/196 cont./

764 It is dug out about 1.50 meters and at the bottom provided with
184 a lateral longitudinal niche about 40 centimeters high. This niche is generally hollowed out on the left side, but sometimes on the right. The body is laid in this, without the bier and without accessories, horizontally on its back, so that it no longer extends into the shaft of the grave. The shaft and the niche are, in addition, separated by vertical stakes and rods placed side by side so that the deceased cannot be touched by the earth filling the grave. On the latter, a stone about one meter high is placed at the head or foot end for identification.

[793] The priest is not present at a burial, nor is the shaman who
[756] acts for the district of the deceased. The latter also does not enter a house in which there is a dead person. The participants in the funeral procession, men, women, and children, go to the graveyard together and then back again to the house of the deceased, where lavish entertainment with food, chicha, and brandy now follows. The latter was also drunk copiously on the way to and from the burial place. The mood during the entire time is
756 jolly and animated; people laugh and make jokes. Before the
764 participants enter the house upon their return from the burial,
783 they must go to the river where the shaman awaits them, in order
184 to "cleanse" them of the "pest" of the deceased for the first time (see "Religion"). Then they go together to the house of the deceased, which they may not enter, however, until the shaman has also cleansed this with the same remedies with which he freed the human beings of the "pest." These are water, to which special herbs and cow excrement are added, sprinkled everywhere, as well as brandy, which, mixed with herbs, the shaman squirts everywhere.

764 In Togoima we were able to take part in the burial of two
184 small children (angelitos). The graves of the cemetery in this town all have an east-west direction. The niche is always at the left, the body lies on its back with the head toward the west. The size of the grave required is measured with a bamboo stick that is
[273] as long as the deceased. Before the burial, there is drinking,
[535] music, and dancing in the house. /197/ Music is also played at
[533] the burial and on the way to the graveyard.

/264 cont./

756 Besides the remedies which the shaman must use for curing,
787 his signs also predict fate and the future for him or tell him whether the sicknesses will become better or worse. They also tell him about events which are imminent. Thus he learns through them, for example, that sick persons will be coming to him on the following day with this or that illness or this or that
756 request. For all these matters every shaman has his signs at
787 definite parts of his body, those on the left half of his body gen-
826 erally signifying something unfavorable, those on the right half, something good. Thus the rise of the signs from the outer side of the right foot to the ankle means that the medicinal herbs are taking effect. If the signs rise from the outer side of the left foot, this is proof that the nyic must win and the bewitched one
[763] must die. If the signs rise on the right foot to the shin, a mem-
[783] ber of the family will die and his soul go to heaven. If the signs
[828] go along the inner side of the left foot, "pest" will come, and the sick person will become mentally ill. If the signs are felt between the right shin and the heel and they go toward the left side, this is an omen of a battle between the teyu and the nyic. If the signs move from the left ankle up to the hollows of the knees, the planted field is bewitched. Signs in the left calf announce the visit of an evil shaman; signs in the right calf, the visit of a good old woman; signs on the outer side of the right or left calves announce the visit of a nyic or a good old man,
756 respectively. Signs that run down from the right knee cap announce
787 the death of a person through tũs or gĕlyómp ("rainbow" or "moun-
826 tain spirit" as spirit beings, see below /see pp. 191ff./). Signs on
763 the /265/ left kneecap mean that the teyu will win in battle with the nyic; signs from the upper thighs to the hollows of the knees of the right foot, that the patient will die of a malignant "pest." If the signs go down from the left upper thigh, a bad person is walking by outside. If the signs go from the right hip to the foot, the wife will menstruate. If the signs are felt in the tenth rib on the right side, the sick person will soon die, since he has been stung by the mountain spirit. The signs on the left tenth rib announce the arrival of an evil person. If the signs go from the

/266 cont./

115 787 821 554 greatly hated in the village. In an intoxicated state the men have often threatened to murder him. One day he came to us and said that we would have to hurry with our work, for he would soon die. He was by no means agitated when he said this, but smiled with an expression of absolute conviction. In answer to our question as to why, he stated that during the night he had dreamed of seeing himself in the grave. This is a sure sign that he must die. He would not let us ease his mind, for he knew, so he said, that he was unpopular in the village and he had been threatened with death anyway because he had seen more than the others, wore better clothes, and ate meat, instead of working in the village. For this reason the nyic would most certainly bring him to his death. It took several days and all our art of persuasion to get him away from this idea. Again and again we had to point out that, after all, he was a Christian, and as a precaution we had to give him many of our medications, before he would believe that perhaps he need not die [787] after all. In any case his medallion of the Virgin Mary, which he always carries with him, does not unconditionally help against 787 evil magic. In the following there are a few further examples of dreams that are significant in some way or other: if one dreams that he is bitten by a snake, it is a sign of bewitchment; if, however, in the dream another person kills this snake at the moment of biting, a teyu will put an end to the bewitchment. To dream of jaguars and cats indicates that there are graves of the Pijao under [783] the house. Someone will die of the "pest" of the Pijao if a person dreams that a jaguar is devouring his chickens. Dreaming about a [963] funeral pile means that there is gold there. If one dreams about a cow, his wife will die. If one kills a bull or a horse in a dream, a good person (a shaman) will die. If one is stung by wasps in a dream, it means future punishment. Carrying beams or a chicha trough in a dream means that one will soon assist at a funeral. To choke in a dream means war, captivity, or being put into prison. Moreover, it is always a bad sign to dream of arracacha; in case of a journey, one would, for example, be devoured by a jaguar in the páramo. Also, if one dreams that he is able to walk under a rock, it likewise means that a jaguar will devour him. If someone

/269 cont./

778 and had their staff of office consecrated there. Today this no
756 longer takes place because of the lack of good shamans. The
623 shamans of today no longer have the intense visions that the
[787] earlier ones had, and that is why they are no longer so powerful magically. They are no longer able to speak with Thunder as simply as their predecessors did, and since they are weaker, it is believed that Thunder will kill them.

776 Thunder is generally described as small of stature and dressed like a Paez man with hat and black ruana. It is reported that he does not wear trousers, but exposes his sexual parts. He has with
[534] him, like a shaman, his tama, a fiber bag with medicines, and a
[532] musical instrument called "tíngalo" (triangle). It is not impossible that it is his picture, together with a Christian cross, that is incised in the gable post of a hut in the vicinity of the park of San Andrés, which represents a man with large, triangular-shaped sexual parts (Ill. 200 /see p. 288 /).

[756] /270/ Thunder is regarded by all the Paez as the greatest
[773] shaman and by the teyu as their master. In the folklore (see below /see pp. 215 ff./), he probably often has different names, such as Juan Tama, Llivan, Chauté, Juan Chiracol, but his characteristics stand out in them, no matter whether as sat (cacique) he is fighting the Pijao and defending his people, or that he will one day -- people are convinced -- again drive the hated whites
776 out of Tierradentro. He warns the Paez of an evil white person
821 who is coming to Tierradentro for a visit by a clap of thunder from
[783] a clear sky. When he thunders above a particular house, he is
[754] announcing that there is "pest" in it, and if he thunders first above the house of a nyic and then above one belonging to a teyu he is thereby announcing to a good shaman that he has just been bewitched.

776 A few stories also tell about the struggles of the shamans
787 against Thunder, for he once robbed the Paez of livestock and
756 people. But that was long ago, for today no one would dare undertake anything against Thunder. The Calderun shamans tell how the earlier teyu were in a position to speak with Thunder at any time and to get advice from him. Those of today are no

/270 cont./

75 longer able to do this. Old Filisa of Santa Rosa, however, who
776 was herself chosen and initiated into her office by Thunder, is
787 still able to enter into communication with Thunder today. To be sure, she cannot always do this, but she has often sought him out in his lagoon, dived into the water, gone to the house of Thunder on the bottom of the lagoon, and asked him for advice. One of the sons of Thunder, likewise a shaman, was even her constant companion who protected her everywhere. "In former times," she said, "Thunder himself cured people. Today it is different." Thunder knows when someone is sick; then when people come to her to ask for a remedy, Thunder personally announces to the shaman beforehand: such and such persons with such and such an illness will come today. He also tells her at the same time what remedies she should use. Then when the people come to tell about the illness, she can, since she is a good friend of Thunder, always help them with the best remedies.

776 Thunder, she said, has many children. They come into the world by way of a spring or a crevice out of which water trickles. They have the size of small human beings, but are very good and dressed in a beautiful táw (belt). For growing up and for their nourishment they need three women as attendants. They suck milk from them, whereupon the women must die. The Thunder-children /271/ themselves are barren and have no children. As children of Thunder, however, they have always been great caciques and shamans.

One day she showed me a small knot of a branch, wrapped in a piece of cloth. "This is a child of Thunder that I have from him," she said, "it looks like a branch, but in reality it is alive and can speak."

d) Sickness, Ideas About the Spirits and Souls

753 All sicknesses are explained by the Paez as having originated
754 by means of magical influences that have their cause primarily
● 783 in malevolent, deliberate acts. These magical, supernatural influences are either bewitchments by the nyiç, magical injury

/271 cont./

753 caused by the spirits eč, tũs, or gělyómp, or general emanations
783 of impurity, of "pest" (uwẽ). Such reasons for catching pest, and
[754] thereby being afflicted with sickness, result largely from neglecting
[764] the prescribed shamanistic purifications. These must take place after a burial or when someone has merely seen a funeral proces-
753 sion or entered a house in which there is a corpse. The prohibitions
783 surrounding a woman giving birth or menstruating are just as strict.
841 If she does not retire to the menstruation hut at the proper time,
[849] if she cohabits during these days or neglects to take the subsequent bath after menstruation and birth, the consequences are equally
[264] grave. Pest befalls a man if he accepts food from a menstruating
753 woman. The same consequences befall the one who in housebuild-
783 ing or during the first harvest does not have the proper ceremonies
756 performed by the shaman.
342

Most people die as the result of the evil influence of the
754 nyiç, the evil sorcerers. The latter -- it is firmly believed --
761 are able to kill individual persons as well as to send pest to entire villages. Their power of evil is regarded as almost unlimited. Besides being bewitched by a nyiç, there are three other possibili-
753 ties for a person to become ill or to die. These causes are
761 gělyómp, tũs, and eč. All three are very complex conceptions
776 and may be translated roughly as "mountain spirit," "rainbow," and "firefly," respectively, although the Paez conception and the
[756] translation are not completely identical. The teyu knows the cause of the illness immediately from his signs, the rest of the people, however, usually only after the death of the sick person. And, to be sure, one recognizes the tũs as the cause of illness by the fact /272/ that the corpse lies there with a bent limb (arm or leg), whereas in the case of ec as the cause of death, blood flows from the mouth or nose. It is also possible that both together, tũs and eč, might bring death to the person, for example, if the person lies there bent and blood flows from the mouth or nose.

776 The gělyómp spirit lives chiefly in the mountains, but also in the valley, on the banks of brooks or rivers. He likes to lead wanderers astray in the mountains by making noise and screaming up there; at night one hears his screams -- like those of a human

/272 cont./

776 being -- in the valley, too, near the village. He is a raging foe
[784] of everything dirty. A hunter who has not washed himself and his ruana before hunting or whose wife is in the menstruation hut at the time will be punished by him. He has the figure of a human being, sometimes that of a man, but sometimes, too, that of a woman or a child. Gĕlyómp, as well as tũs and eč, can give a
776 person pest so that he will die. One can catch pest by himself
783 everywhere and on all occasions, no matter whether he is awake or
753 asleep. The pest of the three spirits mentioned is primarily caused by stings that not only enter the body, but also the soul. In the spot where they have entered the body they leave punctures that are red in color in the case of gĕlyómp, blue in the case of tũs, and black in the case of eč. The sicknesses caused by gĕlyómp manifest themselves by general pain caused by the penetration of one of his hairs. This happens in the following manner: Someone is walking along a path and suddenly feels a stinging pain in his arm or some other part of his body, like the prick of a pin. Although
[755] he cannot discover a puncture, the pain remains. The person therefore goes to the teyu, and he is able to remove the cause of the pain by rubbing his herbs over the affected spot until he re-
[761] moves from it a black hair ten to 15 centimeters long. This hair is from the gĕlyómp, and if the shaman had not removed it, the one
[75] afflicted by it would have had to die. To a certain extent one can protect himself from the hairs of the mountain spirit if, when returning home from a walk over the mountains or a night's march, he passes a firebrand over the feet and body, in order to burn off any hair of the gĕlyómp that might have penetrated.

776 Tũs, the "rainbow," lives on the banks of watercourses and
753 especially at springs. There are many tũs, and, to be sure, wherever there is water. There are tũs as large as a snake, colored red and yellow, and others only the size of a finger. People recognize sicknesses /273/ of the tũs by the fact that the afflicted one is covered all over with pimples and has to scratch himself constantly.
[821] If it rains when the sun is shining, tũs goes from the bank of the river, where he lives, into the sky and from there back again to earth in a semicircle. The rainbow is especially dangerous for children.

/274 cont./

774 (u = nasal) and taff, with which everyone is familiar, although
776 they are not sure about the distinction between the two. The
753 shamans Francisco and Cerbeleón said that the two were the same; but both of them also said that ũns or taff, if they had left the person in his dream and were abroad, could be caught by tũs, eč, or nyic without the person's becoming aware of this immediately, but rather he still went on living. To my objection that in this case ũns and taff were probably different, they did not know how
[775] to answer; Cerbeleón stated that if a person dies, his ũns goes to heaven and the person himself becomes taff. He and other teyu
756 were able to catch the ũns of a human being. Thus, for example,
774 if someone had been robbed, he would come to Cerbeleón. The
754 latter takes coca, tobacco, and brandy, and then he can bring forth the ũns of the thief, seize it, and kill it. The thief must
[783] then die. In order to get the ũns in his power, he must first cleanse
[824] his hands with the herbs šũ and vitubítskwe, as well as with brandy.
[276] The ũns has the form of a small animal, he explained; it can fly and glows and is about three centimeters long. It is very similar to a firefly in appearance, but different from eč.

554 Having reached this point in his explanation, Cerbeleón grew
754 silent, and our interpreter Victoriano said that we should now have
756 to depart, but quickly. With that he left the house in positive
[124] flight, and we were obliged to follow. Outside he explained to us that Cerbeleón was a "mal brujo," a nyic, which, to be sure, he had always suspected before, but just now Cerbeleón had given himself away inasmuch as he had said that he could catch and
[682] kill the ũns of human beings. The people of Calderas also say that he possessed herbs that he could put in eggs, chicha, or other food, whereupon people would eat them and then die. One of the sons of Cerbeleón was a thief and had died in the following manner: The one who was robbed had prayed to the Virgen Santisima /Holy Virgin/, and God had punished the thief with death. The father himself, that is, the shaman Cerbeleón, is also a thief and kills people out of envy for their possessions.

The mission sisters confirmed this statement insofar as Cerbeleón had several times attempted to kill them by sprinkling

/276 cont./

769 foods: meat, maize, chicha, brandy, coca, yuca, etc. These gifts are laid on a banana leaf on the floor of the church and a
775 candle is lighted along with it.) The ähimos, too, can only be seen by shamans.

774 She does not know when and from where a child gets its ũns and taff. She believes that as soon as the heart of the child beats in the mother's womb, the child has ũns; it gets taff only after birth. Animals have no taff; they have ũns only if they devour human beings.

e) Shamanistic Séances

756 Each of the shamanistic séances, be it a treatment of the sick
● 783 or a ceremony during housebuilding or at a burial, is basically a purification from "pest" and therefore a ceremony of magic practices. All these ceremonies and séances are thus in essence the same. They differ only in details, for example, in the different medicinal herbs or in the order of the various purifications. Let us first give a description of a purification ceremony /277/ by the shaman Martin Chucue after a burial (see Ill. 208 to 213 /see pp.292-294/).

756 The shaman does not take part in the burial. Moreover, he
764 neither enters the house of a deceased in which the corpse is still
783 present, nor does he accompany a funeral procession to the burial place. The mourners, men, women, and children, go to the burial place together and then return to the house of mourning. Before they may enter it, however, they must go to the river where the shaman awaits them in order to purify them for the first time. Then they go together to the house of mourning, which, however, the purified people may not yet enter, since it is still unclean. The shaman, with his helpers, must first purify the house with the same remedies with which he purified the people, namely, with water to which herbs and cow excrement have been added. After that the people, too, may enter the house and eat and drink.

/277 cont./

756 The shaman learns the date of the second ceremony and
765 principal purification through his signs from ečˇ. He announces
783 this date to those who participated at the burial. Those to be
[787] purified -- primarily the nearest relatives -- gather at the river and at a place set apart for this, marked by a number of flat
[823] stones. These are absolutely necessary; without stones, no puri-
[237] fication site. First the people sit in front of the stones, and the helpers of the shaman fetch calabashes filled with water that is mixed with the šũˇ herb and to which some cow excrement, standing ready in a pot at the same place, is added. The shaman has wound a liana around his staff. Even before the ceremony, he chewed coca and tobacco uninterruptedly and drank brandy copiously. First he goes to the left with the staff and liana and beats the air with both, as though he were struggling with invisible spirits. Then, always struggling, he goes in the other directions of the site, and, finally, once more to the left. There his helpers have dug a hole about 30 centimeters deep and 15 centimeters in diameter.

Now the linen of the deceased and the linen of the mourners
[296] which they used on the day of burial are brought forth. They are placed on the stones and then washed and rinsed long and vigorously by the widow and the daughter of the deceased.

The rest of the mourners, like the shaman, have been chewing coca the whole time and get brandy to drink from the teyu.

After the washing, the shaman next struggles as before, as though he wanted to drive invisible spirits away from the site of the purification ceremony. With wide sweeping blows he moves his tama /278/ and liana slowly through the air. In particular he
[823] turns to the left again, for to the left lives the evil ečˇ, and to be
[776] sure, in the ground (*).

* The direction left has nothing to do with any geographical direction or with the direction of the river. They sit with their backs to the river.

/278 cont./

756 Then everybody goes, the shaman last, to the hole on the left
765 side and spits coca into it; then everybody takes brandy and squirts
783 it into the air toward the left. After that those who are to be purified start to undress, and each one takes a seat on one of the stones. The helpers of the shaman bring vast quantities of water -- always mixed with herbs and cow excrement -- in their calabashes, and then the very vigorous washing of the body begins. The water is first poured over the head, then over the body, front and back, so generously that everyone must have at least 25 liters of water run over him. The people themselves rub their bodies very thoroughly. In conclusion the shaman places a few herbs on the head of each one. After that, too, the shaman must again fight his battle with staff and liana in the air and squirt brandy toward the left. Then each one stands up individually and the shaman passes his shaman staff and herbs laterally around him from left to right and from bottom to top. Again and again the shaman and the people drink brandy, which they spit out in the air to the left.

After the ablutions of the mourners, followed by the ablutions of the assistants and the shaman, all sit down again in their old places, opposite the stones. The shaman sits down beside them, the staff stuck in the ground before him, his mouth completely full of coca and tobacco. In addition, at short intervals, he takes a
[787] swallow of brandy. He sits this way for about 20 minutes, chewing
[763] and drinking, and then he says that the signs in his hand are very bad and that soon someone will die. One of the young men present, the nephew of the deceased and helper of the shaman during the purification, asks who is going to die or whether it might even be he himself. The shaman, who has been talking monotonously to himself and keeps staring at one spot, answers, without turning his head, that he does not know who will die. The shaman remains sitting a while longer, constantly chewing coca and drinking brandy, and then he gets up and the people sit down in a row behind the stones, first the men, then the women. The shaman takes herbs in his hands, spits the freshly chewed coca with tobacco on them, and passes this around the bodies of all present, always from the lower left, up the side to the head, and down again on the right side, then up the back

756 /279/ and the front, and at the end he "sucks out," holding one
765 fist over the other, everything dirty, the last remnants of the pest,
783 from the body at three places. First, on the right side of the neck in the hollow of the collarbone, then in the middle of the head, and then he passes both hands along the arms from the shoulders down to the finger tips and sucks on the palms of both hands. Then he cleanses himself in the same manner, by passing his hands, filled with herbs, along his entire body from below upward, whereupon he goes to the left, to the hole, sticks his staff into it, and apparently disgorges something from his stomach, aiding this procedure by pressing his hands into the pit of his stomach. Then he vigorously spits into the hole what he has disgorged. After that he once again takes herbs and brandy, as well as coca, into his mouth and likewise spits them into the hole. Now he takes fresh coca, herbs, and brandy, chews this, and spits it on the tip of his staff and passes this over the bodies of all the people, moving first showly, then faster from below upward, as though he were obliged to press out, from below upward, something inside the body. As he does so, he mutters words that are incomprehensible, and finally, after purifying each person, he hurls the pest, which is hanging on the point of his staff, away from him in a wide arc. He also cleanses the mountain of linen with his staff in the same way. afterwards he again takes coca and lime into his mouth, as well as herbs, among them always šũ in particular, and puts the same thing into the mouths of the people. After that he rubs off his hands with šũ, spits brandy on them, and performs the same purification ceremony on the people as before, again passing over their bodies from below upward and finally sucking out the pest from their necks, heads, and hands.

The participants, at the moment of purification, are very serious concerning the matter. In between, however, they laugh and talk, and the men go about their occupation of straw-hat braiding.

After these three purifications in a standing position, a further purification in a sitting position follows, during which the shaman thrusts his staff into the ground in front of each person. After each purification he goes to the hole and spits everything into it

/279 cont./

756 vigorously, then always rinses his mouth with brandy and spits it
765 out in a spray. After this final purification, standing in front of
783 the hole, he moves his staff several times in a circle through the air from below upward and stabs into the hole three times with the tip of his staff, as though he wanted to thrust something corporeal from above into the hole with the staff. Several times /280/ he paces off the entire place, beating with his staff, always starting from the right and squirting brandy to the left about ten times.

To conclude the ceremony, the hole is covered with a stone, and water containing ʂu herbs is poured over it. All the participants spit the herbs given to them by the shaman into a second hole about 50 centimeters away, rinse their mouths vigorously with brandy, and spit this also into the nearby hole. To conclude the ceremony lasting more than four hours, they are all given a swallow of brandy by the shaman and together spit this toward the left.

755 If the teyu is called to a sick person, before the actual treat-
756 ment he must determine the cause of the illness in a special séance. Like all sickness ceremonies, it begins about eight o'clock in the evening and usually ends several hours after midnight. For his séances he uses a specific place (kaci) where, in the presence of the patient, he receives his signs. In cases of serious illness, the treatment may also take place in the house, but then, if possible, ají and salt, things which Thunder does not like, should not be in the vicinity. In cases of particularly serious illness, the shaman may also go to a quiet place, free of human sounds and the barking of dogs, in order to receive his signs there alone.

Before the start of the séance, the patient must give the teyu half a fiber bag full of coca, a bottle of brandy, and a few cigars, since without these things it is impossible for the shaman to receive his signs. He thrusts his staff into the ground, a little to one side, and then he sits down opposite the patient. He now takes his medicinal herbs out of his fiber bag and first makes up two equal little packets of various mixed herbs, each of which he wraps in a maize leaf. With every herb that he takes from his fiber bag, he first makes a pass around his own body in order to stimulate his blood and to receive his signs better. It may already happen here

/280 cont./

755 756 that his signs tell him that his efforts will be in vain, because the patient must die. Only if the signs are favorable, do he and the patient start chewing the little packet of medicinal herbs. The shaman now takes his staff and spits some of the chewed medicinal herbs on it, to prevent the pest sent by nyic from possibly being transferred to him and killing him. Then he thrusts the tama into the ground with the point, in order to announce to Thunder that he does not wish to act badly and carelessly, but exactly in accordance with his shamanistic rules. He sets the bottle of /281/ [824] [787] brandy, into which he puts a stalk of the čayuts herb, beside his shaman's staff. If the stalk remains vertical, it is a good sign; if it falls to one side and goes under, it is a very bad omen. On the mouth of the bottle he also places a small calabash vessel, likewise containing the čayuts herb, which is supposed to prevent the pest from taking the shaman by surprise and killing him. He now puts a handful of coca into his mouth and starts to chew. Motionless, he gazes at his staff, ready to receive his signs. From time to time he takes more coca and lime, tells the patient that his signs are favorable, that his illness, which comes from the pest, will soon get better. Then he gets up, goes to his tama, and vigorously spits out the chew. He empties a whole calabash of brandy and squirts it into the air. Again he returns to his seat, once again takes coca and lime and a little cigar tobacco into his mouth, and again remains squatting motionless. After about an hour he spits the chew in the direction of the staff, the patient does the same, and then both get up. The shaman now tells the [783] patient that Thunder has shown him the possibility of a cure. He will now go and gather his special medicinal herbs, and for a good purification the patient will have to bring a pound of coca leaves, six cigars, a liter of brandy and chicha, and, in addition, [777] [786] a few pounds of meat. The teyu urgently enjoins him not to take any of the medicine of the whites under any circumstances, for otherwise he must surely die. At this séance, as well as at others, the shamans all agreed that neither did they themselves leave the place of the séance nor did their souls leave their bodies to go wandering. The signs, to which alone they give heed, are the only characteristic of their experience.

/281 cont./

755 On the evening agreed upon for the purification from the pest,
756 the patient brings the shaman the required remedies, and the
783 latter divides everything into two parts, one to carry out the séance
[782] and the other as an offering for Thunder. He first takes the latter portion and goes to a particular place in order to offer it to Thunder. He spits part of the brandy into the air and drinks another part himself, as soon as Thunder has expressed his approval of the purification from the disease and his satisfaction over the gift.

[516] For the purification ceremony the teyu and the patient squat down on the ground next to each other, in the manner customary among the Paez. The teyu thrusts his staff into the ground and sets the brandy bottle beside it. Amid coca-chewing and brandy-drinking the hours flow by, broken only by an occasional spitting out of the chew on the part of the shaman. /282/ Through his signs he gradually learns the cause of the illness and also the necessary remedies, which he now hands over to the patient. He also places on his head a packet containing the same herbs, as protection against the evil ec spirit. The teyu now goes to one side and beats the air with his tama, in order to remove the pest that is present. Then he passes it up the entire body of the patient, beginning at the feet and ending at the head, in order to squeeze out, so to speak, the pest from the body of his patient from below upward. At various parts of the body, the hollow of the collarbone, the neck, and the head, he "sucks" out the pest. Into a hole dug a few meters in front of the place of the ceremony he now spits the contents of his mouth: coca and medicinal herbs, mixed with the pest sucked out of the patient. He then squirts a mouthful of brandy into the air, so that the pest will depart altogether, and drinks a further one himself, so that the pest will not enter his body. Now the patient is called. He must first spit into the same hole the mixture of coca and medicinal herbs which he has chewed the entire time, and then he, too, must take two swallows of brandy; he must squirt one into the air, and he swallows the other one. Further purifications of the patient follow, various herbs being passed over him and the pest being sucked out several times and spat into the hole. In conclusion there follows a bodily cleansing

/282 cont./

755 of the patient with water to which šũ and yakúma have been added
756 as medicinal herbs, so that he will now be completely freed of the
783 pest. Finally the teyu asks Thunder to prevent anyone from uncovering this hole in which the dangerous pest is buried. He further asks Thunder to help him in subsequent treatments of the sick later on. The patient is told that the signs are favorable, and he is again enjoined neither to use the medicines of the whites nor ever to pass this hole containing the pest.

757 Besides these two most important shamanistic ceremonies, the
756 treatment of the sick and the purification of the relatives after a
731 burial, the shaman's ability and his magical, supernatural powers are also called upon for preventive ceremonies and acts. This is particularly necessary if epidemics of disease -- smallpox, whooping cough -- occur in the village or in a family. In the first instance, the cabildo asks a shaman who is known to be able to speak with Thunder to conduct the proper protective ceremonies; in the latter instance, /283/ the oldest member of the afflicted family asks him. First a pig must be killed for this. A piece is cut from all the body organs on the left side, and everything is put into a new fiber
[782] bag. The shaman and the cabildo then set out in the afternoon for the lagoon in which Thunder is believed to live, in order to hand over to him the bag with the pieces of meat, with the request to avert the epidemic. During this time the women remaining behind have been preparing the rest of the meat for a meal, which, however, is eaten jointly only when, after twelve hours, the shaman and cabildo return from their ceremony.

756 For several cases of illness and death in one family the help of
783 a good shaman is likewise required. The pest is generally regarded
769 as the cause of these cases of death afflicting only one family, though according to a report by S. Bernal Villa, the deceased and angry members of the family are held responsible for this. In this case the eldest of the family provides brandy, coca, and tobacco, calls together the family members, and asks the shaman to come. The latter offers the angry ancestor spirits a fat pig that has first been tied in front of the house for a whole night, while the shaman during this time speaks to the spirits about whether they will accept the offering.

/283 cont./

756 It is killed by members of another family, since the ones concerned
783 may not perform any work or activity. The pig is scalded over a
769 hole into which the hair and refuse are thrown. The parts of the pig which the ancestor spirits, through the signs of the shaman, wish as a sacrifice are put into a fiber bag with a wooden stick. During this time the women bake small, flat maize cakes, and, to be sure, as many as there are dead in the family. These are
756 likewise put into the bag, and, in addition, a large quantity of
783 other food. Moreover, small wooden dolls, dressed like living
532 Paez, are carved in the same number as the dead. About 40
769 meters from the house a grave with a lateral niche is dug, exactly like the one made for deceased persons. In the evening the shaman goes there with the members of the family and performs the ceremonial purification on them. After that the sky becomes covered with thick, black clouds, in the direction of which the teyu spits his medicinal herbs. After two hours the clouds move off toward the left and bring into view the starry sky. Now the shaman lays the dolls (as representations of the spirits of the dead) into the lateral niche of the grave, sets a wax candle beside them, and blows his medicinal herbs over them. With a /284/ stone he closes off the lateral niche and then places the
756 bag with the food into the pit. After the latter has again been
783 filled with earth, he proceeds to a renewed purification of the
769 members of the family, which is undertaken a third time in the house and at the same time on the helpers in the pig-slaughtering and the baking. In conclusion one half of the pig is now eaten jointly, whereas the other half belongs to the shaman as remuneration.

756 A further important shamanistic ceremony is undertaken when
342 a new house is built. On this occasion the teyu, in dedication,
783 spits his herbs on the future fire area of the house and digs a small
[824] hole into which he places the herbs šu and šulápe. On a small pile of wood he burns other herbs, the ashes of which he carries out of the house. Now he lights a new fire, in which he roasts a young maize ear and gives it to a dog to eat. If the latter does not die, this is regarded as a sign that no pest exists here any longer and the occupants may confidently live here. If this were not the case, they would be obliged to leave the house.

/284 cont./

241 The following ceremony before the first harvest of a newly
756 cleared field should also be understood in the same sense as
783 all the shamanistic séances of the Paez, namely, as a purification
[273] from pest or to ward it off. The owner, taking along coca, chicha,
[276] and brandy, goes to the field with the members of his family and
the teyu. The latter first sprinkles the field with water to which
[824] herbs have been added and then distributes small packets of
[782] medicinal herbs to all present. He now takes a sample from each type of produce and makes a bundle out of this, in order to offer it to Thunder. After this gift, the owner harvests a fiber bag full of each type of produce and carries it home. He sets down all the bags beside one another in front of the left side of the entrance, and then the shaman spits his herbs over them, in order to cleanse them of the pest, which, without this ceremony, would otherwise
[782] have been carried into the house. After the products have been cooked, they are given to the shaman, who distributes one product to each of those present and offers the rest as a gift to Thunder, who, in turn, gives everything back to the shaman.

754 A good shaman does not know any herbs or other means to
756 harm people or to kill them. Such acts are the mark of the nyic. According to what we heard, however, the boundary between good and bad shamans is not very sharply drawn; each could also carry out the activity of the other, even though Thunder -- people are convinced -- does not lend his help to a nyic, so that the latter is
578 dependent solely on his bad and wicked agents. /285/ There is a
754 constant struggle between the teyu and the nyic, not openly to be
756 sure, but in secret. The teyu constantly feel pursued by the evil machinations of the nyic, and one who relaxes his attention for only a moment will be killed by them. In this struggle the one who is the stronger magically has prospects of victory; but since the nyic do not openly announce their successes over the good shamans, one can learn only of the victories of the teyu over the evil shamans. Thus a shaman from Santa Rosa relates that in his youth he was very treacherous and underhanded and was already familiar with many agents. One day a nyic, who had already

1: Nachtigall--292 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

Ills. 208 and 209. Ritual purification after a burial.

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1: Nachtigall--293 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ills. 210 and 211. Sucking out the "pest."

1: Nachtigall--294 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 212. The shaman spits the "pest" into a hole.

Ill. 213. The shaman fights the spirits with staff and liana.

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/229 cont./

75 from time to time he puts in more coca and more mambe,
[276] which he takes from a small calabash (kuetand tuka), pours on his right fist, and throws with force into his mouth. He watches. Sorcerers work systematically to send him the ptans, and they must not catch him unprepared. The signs warn him as to when he must blow the chew in order to contain the ptans.

He tells the patient that the signs are favorable; there will be an immediate improvement. The pains which assail him are due to the ptans which he has from the vertex to the nape.

After 20 minutes in a motionless and expectant state, the curer stands up with his face raised, as though illuminated, walks jauntily to the tama, blows the chew violently; he fills the small gourd with aguardiente and tosses it into the air. This is the invitation to Thunder.

He returns again to his place, takes a cigar and crushes more than half of it, puts more mambe in his mouth, and remains quiet, his hands folded and his arms resting on his knees. Only the deepness of the night with its characteristic sounds disturbs this decisive moment. No carelessness. It might have fatal consequences. He remains in this position for about 40 minutes.

Then he takes the chew from his mouth with his hand and tosses it in the direction of the tama, after having passed it around his body. The patient does likewise. He immediately tells the sick man that he must return with all the remedies. He interrupts his work. Thunder has shown himself to be
75 favorable. Since the patient has ptans, a good "cleansing"
● 783 must be done, for which he must bring three pounds of meat to be eaten after the cleansing, chicha, one pound of coca, one liter of aguardiente, and six cigars. The curer himself must
[177] go to the lagoon in search of the remedies. He advises the patient that for a period of three months at least he must not use the drugs of the whites, for if he did so, he would die.

The cleansing of the ptans. At 7:00 P.M. the patient comes to the house of the curer. He hands over the medicines

/229 cont./

75 requested. /230/ He divides the aguardiente into two bottles:
•783 one for Thunder and the other to drink. In Thunder's bottle he
[782] places a sprig of chayuts, after passing it around his body; the sprig remains floating and vertical, a good omen. He puts the coca in a special pouch, along with the aguardiente and cigars. He makes up two bundles of remedies with maize husks. One is for the patient, to chew and swallow the juice.

75 He divides the other bottle, takes chayuts, passes it around
78 his body, puts it in the small calabash, fills it with aguardiente, and goes out of the house to toast Thunder. Then he gathers his pouches of remedies, a calabash of chicha, the patient's coca, a candle, and matches, and he goes to the divination site. When Thunder comes, he will ask the curer what the patient has presented to him. The he will show him the chicha and aguardiente. Thunder, satisfied, will say: "Take this, since you received it." They will drink together. Thunder's share will be tossed into the air. The patient must remain inside the house. When the time comes, he will call him for the "cleansing."

75 Outside, the night is black as ebony. The silhouette of
783 the curer is barely visible. He sits under the eaves to the south of the house. He begins to chew the remedies after passing them around his body. He drives in the tama and beside it he places the bottle of aguardiente. Immediately after this, seated, almost squatting, with his hand folded, quiet and motionless, gazing into space, grave, self-controlled, conscious of his mission, imbued with his knowledge, he spends long hours conversing with Thunder and warding off the attacks of sorcerers. From time to time he gets up without haste, slowly, as slowly as the passing of the hours of the night, and he beats with the tama, displaying the energy that marks the activities of the curer. The patient, lying on a cowhide, with no covering other than his own clothes, sleeps near the fire; he wakes up at different times, pierced by the intense cold of the night; outside he hears the constant, rhythmic, regular, vigorous blowings of the medicine man.

/230 cont./

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●783 At two in the morning, or rather, at the first cock's crow, the té eu calls the patient. The moon is full; the night seems white. The sick man sits to the right of the curer. He receives a bundle of remedies to chew. They are yacuma blanca, ul ñiñ, ñundayuskei, shugues, chandur, guepeyuskei. They help with the cleansing, and when spat out they will remove the "dirt" (ptans).

/231/ He places chayuts on the patient's crown in order to ward off any possible attack by the Echi. He advises him again not to use the remedies of the whites and, in case there is no improvement, always to return to the curer.

The curer passes to the right of the patient, about three meters. He points at him with the tama and blows out chewed coca and aguardiente in order to contain the black cloud (ptans) which may come at any moment. He comes to the patient and rubs him (cleanses him) with the tama, beginning with the right foot and continuing along this side; at the crown he rubs several times, sucks (absorbs the "dirt") for five or six breaths, rubs again; he lowers the tama to the throat, rubs, sucks the right shoulder, rubs again, and passes the tama to the nape of the neck, where he repeats the process; he ends up by bringing the tama down the left side. Over a hole dug previously to the left of the curer and about 15 meters away, he spits out everything that he had in his mouth and the dirt that he collected from the patient; he vomits; he blows one mouthful of aguardiente into the air, dismissing the "dirt," and drinks one so that the "dirt" will not enter again. He calls the patient, orders him to spit out the remedies that he has chewed, and hands him the bottle to measure out two drafts: one to be blown into the air and the other to be swallowed. He covers up the hole carefully. Curer and patient return to their places.

The té eu takes a good handful of shu and tashú, dips it in water in spite of the fact that it is quite damp, and goes to the patient. He begins the cleansing by going upward from the right foot. At the crown of the head, throat, and the nape of

/231 cont./

75 the neck, he exerts some pressure and the icy water runs down
●783 the body. He goes down the left side and then goes to the hole to bury these remedies. With these remedies the body absorbs coolness. After having buried them, he blows aguardiente into the air and then drinks some more.

Once more at his place, he gives the patient a few herbs (shu and siempre viva?) to hold in his hand. He goes to the right of the patient and from there points to him with the tama and blows; he draws nearer, and he makes the familiar passes with the tama and the remedies named. He rubs the crown of the head (vertex), throat, and the nape of the neck.

[782] They go to the hole and toss the herbs into the hole. The curer takes a mouthful of aguardiente, stretches the tama toward the horizon, rises proudly, sets his eyes in the direction of the tama, blows violently several times, and soon his atti-
[191] tude becomes entreating. /232/ Actually, he prays in Spanish: "Lord, help us; I implore you for everyone." The té eu said later that he had prayed to Thunder, so that he would help him and would not permit the sorcerer to discover this hole where the "dirt" was buried. He drank a swallow. The patient blows a mouthful of aguardiente into the air and drinks a second one. They return to their places. The curer picks up the calabash of chicha, goes to the hole, and pours it out. It is a gift to Thunder.

Once more in his place, he puts yacuma, shu, and tashú into a calabash of cold water. He goes to the patient's right and from there sprinkles this water first on the house and then on the patient, who first removed his hat by order of the curer. This is a veritable bath, so that if any ptans should remain, it would be removed and he would be completely clean. The remaining water is poured into the hole. He blows aguardiente and drinks some more, the patient proceeding in the same way. The curer raises the tama and implores: "I pay you; I shall pay you." The curer said that he had spoken as follows:

/232 cont./

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713 "There are all the remedies that you pointed out to me. If another patient comes, help me." Then he pours out all the aguardiente as a toast to Thunder.

With this, the cleansing is over. It is 3:30 in the morning.

He advises the patient not to change the remedies and not to take a route below that hole. He states that the signs are favorable and that he asked God for the patient's improvement.

To summarize, the cleansing of the ptans is done at night, beginning at 8:00 or 9:00 P.M. and ending at 3:00 P.M. /sic/ approximately. The following procedure is observed:

1. The patient must give to the curer two eggs of coca, one bottle of aguardiente, and two cigars.

2. The curer puts these remedies in a special pouch. He makes up a few bundles of remedies with yacuma blanca, ul ñiñ, ñundayuskei, bitopiskue, chandur de castilla, chayuts (Santa Rosa), or yacuma, chayuts, tayuskei, shugues, tatse, echiutse (Calderas). All of these remedies are passed around the body of the curer.

3. At the Kachí, he places the tama and aguardiente in a special spot, hands over to the patient a bundle of remedies for chewing, and puts chayuts (Santa Rosa) or guepekás (Calderas) on his own and the patient's vertex (crown).

4. The first cleansing is done with the tama, by rubbing and by sucking the vertex, the right shoulder, and the nape of the neck, in order to remove /233/ the ptans and spit it out into a hole to bury it. There is blowing and the drinking of aguardiente by curer and patient.

5. The same procedure is followed with the wet remedies (shu, tashú) to lend coolness to the body.

6. A new cleansing is carried out with other herbs (shu and siempre viva?) with the rubbings and the suckings at the places mentioned, the burying of them, and the blowing and drinking of aguardiente. In Santa Rosa, this is the moment when the curer makes his entreaty.

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75 783 7. The curer toasts Thunder with the chicha, sprinkling it in the air.

8. The curer washes the patient with a calabash of remedies. He fills up completely the hole that contains the "dirt," sprinkles the remaining aguardiente, and ends the cleansing with some final advice. It is 3:00 or 4:00 in the morning.

All treatment of illness is carried out with this cleansing procedure. That is to say, when the impurity (ptans) has been removed from the body, the health of the patient is restored. The curer combats the ptans. In a sense, the cleansing is a hard fight in which the curer is engaged.

756 755 The tama. The tama is a chonta staff about 40 centimeters long and indispensable for every cure.

While in other cultures the medicine man uses the maraca as an indispensable accessory in the art of curing, viewing it as having a mythical origin and thus a sacred character and magical properties, and while, according to Roth, certain piai of the Guianas use wooden dolls in their conjurations (6), among the Paez this little staff called tama

[113]

6. Métraux, Alfred. Le Shamanisme Chez les Indiens de l'Amerique du Sud Tropicale /Shamanism among the Indians of Tropical South America/." -- Acta Americana, Vol. II, No. 3, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1944, pp. 217-218.

755 756 532 552 is used. In Santa Rosa, a curer-sorceress uses in her treatments a wooden dolly dressed like the people, received, according to the informant, from Thunder himself, and called "Soft wind of Thunder."

[773] According to all the evidence, this name is derived from that mythical personage, more precisely that culture hero,

* /234 cont./
756 papa had told him to defend himself with it and in case of ill-
539 ness to take the remedies that he had given him. He extracted their juice and took it. He rapidly improved. He applied them to others and noted that they soon regained their health. With the tama and the remedies he became the best curer in the entire region. He died when he was an old man"

* 755 To combat ptans, the tama is used in conjunction with a
756 plant called "nica."

824 Theory of illness. Sicknesses are caused by the state of
753 oodily impurity called "dirt" /sucio/, cold /hielo/, or /235/
● 783 ptans. The causes are essentially magical and are interpreted more as a premeditated and inimical attack than as punishment by supernatural beings. There are those who state that sicknesses are sent by God, but if one repents, they are soon taken away. Be it said at once that this concept is neither general nor rooted in tradition. Sicknesses, then, do not have natural causes; nor do accidents, since they are provoked by sorcerers.

Impurities are caused by the following:

a) When a person who has been at a wake has not had himself "cleansed."

b) When people dress in the clothes of a deceased person without washing them with the appropriate remedies.

c) When the house where the corpse was watched over has not been cleansed.

d) When a woman does not spend her period of menstruation in the Du yate léchukue.

e) When a woman does not bathe after menstruation.

f) When the placenta has not been suitably buried in the appropriate place and with the required remedies.

g) When a man sleeps with a menstruating woman.

h) When the man who serves food to a menstruating woman has not bathed his body or washed his clothes.

i) When the woman, after observing the diet of childbirth, does not bathe.

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753 j) When there is no blowing of remedies while at the
●783 montañas, bogs, or lagoons.

k) When there is no blowing of remedies prior to cutting wood for bridges, sugar mills, and canoes.

l) When, at the inauguration of a rancho or house, the house ceremonies have not been performed.

ll) When the house has been built over a Pijao "huaca," or when they merely come across one while working the land.

m) When the traditional ceremonies are not performed upon harvesting a new clearing.

754 n) Through the machinations of the sorcerers. These kill
753 the most people, for they not only send the pest to persons,
783 but also to the entire community. On the other hand, they provoke /236/ the Ghost, Rainbow, and Echi to anger and also do sorcery at the request of jealous or vengeful persons. The sorcerers have unlimited power.

Hernández de Alba, speaking of illness, generalizes in these words:

"Sickness was always thought to be caused by witchcraft or by someone's will. The evil force entered the body and made it impure; it had to be expelled or "cleansed," lest death ensue. If a delirious person told who was killing him, the individual mentioned was thought guilty; or, if, after a death, the face of the deceased should appear to somebody,
[834] the person was considered responsible. These beliefs are still
[821] in force today, and the Indians avoid the causes of sickness,
[765] such as having sexual intercourse wit /sic/ a menstruating woman, exposing the body to bad weather while there is a rainbow, and neglicting /sic/ to bathe after a burial or to purify a house where a death ocurred /sic/" /cited in English/ (7).

7. Hernández de Alba, Gr. 1946, p. 955. See also Pittier de Fábrega, H. 1907, p. 325.

/236 cont./

755 Since sicknesses have a magical origin, the treatments are
783 also magical in character. "The cleansing" is indispensable in every treatment, with its attendant remedies and movements.

165 Symptoms of sicknesses. Among the sicknesses clearly
164 identifiable by the natives are smallpox and whooping cough, given their characteristic symptoms. Some of the informants, not many, to be sure, state that their children died of such sicknesses.

165 On the whole, child mortality, which is rather high, is
761 said to be caused by, in order of frequency and in generic terms,
776 pest, Echi, and sorcery. The cases of death by the ghost and rainbow are few.

753 The symptomatologies given for the sicknesses are very
776 vague and even confused with one another. The Echi, ghost, and rainbow sting, not really the body, but the soul, leaving hairs in the body that cause fevers and sharp pains at the spot where they are found. These hairs, when placed in the palm of the hand, move as if they were alive. They differ in color: the red ones are from Kallumb, the reddish blue ones from
[755] the rainbow, and the black ones from Echi. The hairs are re-
[783] moved by rubbing with remedies prior to the cleansing.

/237/ It is said that the sting of pallumb /sic/ causes heaviness, lack of appetite, pains in the head and body, fever, and even insanity.

753 When the arco /literally "bow"/, called kitús, is referred
776 to, it is nothing other than the rainbow, which comes out at
821 any hour of the day, accompanied by a rainy drizzle, the "rainbow meow," which causes scabies (chande) in children
[755] when it falls upon them; it is not harmful for adults. The curers,
[789] and they alone, from their ranchos blow chewed remedies toward it, tobacco, chandur, flushamuanda, and yacuma
[755] negua, in order to make it disappear quickly. Other people chew remedies, when they have them at hand, and rub them on their bodies. There is a general idea that the rainbow causes

/237 cont./

753 cramps in the body, and furthermore that sorcerers see it in the
776 form of a turkey impelled to peck people.
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It seems obvious that what the Indians call Echimbe (red
753 Echi) or candelilla fina /thin glowworm/ is a firefly /luciérnaga/
825 somewhat difficult to capture and extremely fierce. They differentiate it perfectly well from the fire beetle /cocuyos (cucuyos)/. They say that it is an animal that God produced in
[755] order to harm the Christians. The curers call them and catch them in their Kachí, while other Indians, chewing coca, catch them anywhere and bring them to the curer to be buried.
[774] They believe that their fierceness is due to the fact that the
[829] souls of the Pijao are incarnated in them.

753 The symptoms of the sting of Echi are vague and imprecise and refer solely to bodily pains.

The symptoms of Pijao "dirt" are recognized by respiratory difficulties.

164 They differentiate perfectly well the venereal diseases,
757 which seem to be quite widespread in the acculturated parcialidades. In Calderas they are said to have spread widely among both sexes, without respect to age, and to have been treated with copper sulphate, for the remedies of the Indians were of no use. In Santa Rosa antibiotics are used. A curer in that parcialidad maintains that those diseases were brought from La Plata by wandering women and that it befell him to treat two cases: one was serious and the patient died; the second, not very advanced, he treated with yukchacha, montaña barbasco, and fisa (bitopat or bodoquero). He administered the juice for six days and subjected the patient to a diet of chicken exclusively.

755 Remedies. The remedies used by the Paez curer are
757 vegetal. As a rule they are prescribed in combination. Thus:

/238/ To clean away the ptans:

[783] Yacuma blanca, ul ñiñ, ñundayuskei, shugues, chandur, guepeyuskey, chayuts.

5:Bernal Villa--24 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15
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Native Name	Spanish Name	Scientific Name	Use
Chandur	. . .	?	Cooling. Used to clean away ptans. There are two varieties. The large one is called: husha.
Esh	Coca	Erythróxydon /Erythroxylon/ coca.	Boiled roots and leaves: colic and diarrhea.
Bichach	Caucho /rubber/	Hevéa?	Leaves roasted in embers for fractures, dislocations, contusions. The dry leaf is removed and placed on cabuya tops for rapid healing.
Chulco	Chulco	Oxális sp.	Against smallpox.
Chayuts*	Contento, Alegría /sesame/	Scutellaria racemosa Per.	Panacea of the Paez.

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Native Name	Spanish Name	Scientific Name	Use
Limoncillo	Limoncillo	Cymbopógon citrátus.	Infusion with panela and aguardiente against coldness for a woman in childbirth. Also used against diarrhea.
Ñica	?	?	For combatting ptans. For hair of ghost.
/240/ Ñundayuskei	Pateperro	?	Against ptans. The juice for diarrhea; with tobacco, for stomach-ache. The water from this for toothache; spit out half the candle /candela/ to help allay the illness.
Shu*	?	Sphagnum sp.	For combatting ptans.
Shugués*	?	Peperomia sp.	For cleaning away ptans.

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Native Name	Spanish Name	Scientific Name	Use
Shulape	?	?	Against echi and for coughing.
Shupeñiñ*	?	Peperomia sp.	Echi and whooping cough.
Siempreviva		?	Tied to the head it allays pain.
Muahi	Tabaco	Nicotiana tabacum L.	With coca, it makes the "signs" circulate. Crushed, it checks hemorrhages. For combatting ptans.
Tap.	?	?	See Bichach.
Tatsé	?	?	For coughing; to restrain the pulse (us) when a child is frightened. Against ptans.
Tayuskei*		Peperomia sp.	For infections of the umbilicus. Whooping cough.

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Native Name	Spanish Name	Scientific Name	Use
Ul fin*	Culebrina, pepa de arco, monito almizclillo	Hibiscus abelmoschus L.	Ptans, echi, rainbow.
Yacuma blanca		?	Ptans.
Umsim*	Yacuma negra	Myrcia acuminata DC. Vell aff.	Against the rainbow.
Yuskei*		Scleria cattarinensis Boeck.	Ptans

/241/

824 The plants marked with an asterisk were identified by the
[128] Herbario Nal. Colombiano, in particular by Dr. Jesús M.
[137] Idrobo.

[127] For the others, we were guided by the work, Plantas Utiles de Colombia /Useful Plants of Colombia/, by Dr. E. Pérez Arbeláez, published by the Imprenta Nacional de Bogotá in 1947.

75 The té eu and the community. In every culture, medicine
182 performs an eminently humanitarian function. Its nature is
171 sociological. No matter what its methods may be, its purpose is to save human lives. It combats illness, but also prevents it.

75 Among the Paez, medicine cures and prevents. The
182 community and the family perform special ceremonies intended to achieve these two purposes of medicine.

755 When the pest (epidemic) has spread through the com-
*756 munity, threatening its subsistence, the authorities (cabildo)
182 invite the curer to conjure away the danger by performing the
[731] wé ká.

When the illness prevails in a single family, markedly decreasing its members, the eldest invites the curer to perform
[765] the ut ká. After every burial the people must remove the ptans
[783] from their bodies and from the house where the death occurred. The curer is the only one who can do this.

241 The first fruits of plantings made on new lands not culti-
*756 vated before cannot be consumed until the curer has performed
783 the cleansing ceremonies. Thus, it is the curer who defends
182 the family -- preservation of the species -- who purifies the
789 harvests -- preservation of the individual -- and who also defends the community, warding off by means of his conjurations
*756 the epidemics and the individuals who threaten it. In 1952,
789 before an imminent attack by subversive armed groups on the
182 Parcialidad of Santa Rosa, the curer warded it off with maní de montaña /literally, "montaña peanut"/, chewed and blown on the path by which they were to come.

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731 Since the ceremonies mentioned have some differential
755 aspects, we shall look at them in detail.
*756 Wé ká (pest-send). When the pest appears in a community,
●783 smallpox, whooping cough, which are rapidly finishing off
/242/ the population, the cabildo takes the initiative for conjuring away the danger. It requests from the people coca, tobacco, and aguardiente, they arranges for a pig and invite a famous curer who can talk to Thunder. From the edge of a lagoon, by means of good remedies and the help of Thunder, the curer must ward off the pest.

[782] They sacrifice the pig. From its left side they take a small piece from all the organs and place them in a new pouch. They gather glowworms (Echis) and go to the lagoon. The retinue made up of the curer and the cabildo leaves at three in the afternoon, and twelve hours later they will be back at the point of departure. Meanwhile, the women have been busy preparing the meat, without eating a single piece of it. They have not slept either, for they have an obligation to wait for the retinue wide-awake. When they arrive, the meat and stew are distributed, and the chicha and aguardiente are drunk. With this the people are relieved and the pest is banished from the community.

755 Ut ká ("dirt"-send). This is exclusively a family affair.
*756 When the members of a family are dying, there is ptans, says
783 an informant, while another one thinks, with more reason, that it is the angry spirits of the dead who want to finish off the family. In such a case, the eldest of the survivors arranges for coca, aguardiente, and tobacco, gathers the family members together, and calls the curer.

[787] The latter divines up to eight or ten nights. He captures up to 12 glowworms. He asks for a castrated and fat pig. He ties it up for an entire night and divines as to whether the souls of the dead members of the family will accept it. At dawn he orders it killed. The slaughterers, the chicha-makers, the carriers of the sugar cane, and the women cooks are not

/242 cont./

755 members of the family, that is to say, they do not carry the
* 756 surname of those who are performing Ut ká. None of them 1
● 783 may work, not even at making hats or pouches.

[461] The hog is skinned and washed over a hole; the hair and offal in general must fall there. When Ut ká is not being per-
[787] formed, the hog is skinned in a trough. Meanwhile, the curer
[782] divines as to how much meat is wanted by the souls. The latter specify the quantity, and the té eu translates it on a small stick, which is immediately passed to the slaughterers, who must cut out the pieces in accordance with this measure and put them into a pouch. The curer drinks aguardiente and also has assistants who help in perceiving the signs.

[252] /243/ The women prepare the maize for "mute" /stewed
[262] corn/, make small tortillas, as many as there are souls of the dead in the family. They also prepare every kind of fruit and food, plantains, arracacha, bread, yuca, bananas, granadillas, cucumbers, maize, eggs, meats, etc., to protect them against the ptans. They put a little piece of the foods into the pouch.

755 They also prepare some wooden dolls, in a number equal
* 756 to that of the dead. They dress them like Indians: hat, poncho,
783 trousers, shirt. About 40 meters from the house they dig a
532 grave just as they do to bury the dead: a rectangular cavity with a lateral chamber. The curer weighs out two eggs of coca, picks up two cigars and a bottle of aguardiente. At about eight at night all those from the family leave, except those who are not. The cleansing is about to be performed. Then black clouds, like balls, gather. The curer blows remedies toward them. After two hours, the clouds go toward the left, clearing the horizon and leaving the stars visible in the immensity of space. The curer proceeds with the burial. In the lateral chamber of the tomb he places the dolls (representations of the souls) and a candle of laurel wax, after blowing the remedies at them. He closes up the chamber with a stone and then puts in the glowworms and the pouch of food.

1 [i.e. the family members--Analyst]

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*755 He fills the grave[1] with earth and proceeds with the cleansing
756 of the members of the family. They return home. All the
●783 workers come out, and again he cleanses all of them. Only then can they go inside. The women have all the food prepared with half of the pig, for the other half belongs to the curer. Chicha and aguardiente are drunk and then the food is served. When dawn breaks, the usual liquors are being consumed. The curer leaves and other people take charge of bringing him his provision. The curer receives it, gives thanks, and hangs it outside the house. He can eat it only when he has killed more glowworms.

With this the Ut ká is finished and the pest has been warded off from the family.

*756 Ut peu ("dirt"-wash). Immediately after the burial, and
764 on the bank of a river or a spring, the washing of the clothes
783 and the cleansing of the people are done. The curer prepares three calabashes of remedies made up of (1) water and cow dung, (2) with rue, bitopiskue, flundayuskei, dachak (curíbano /Scleria floribunda/), crushed, and (3) with shu and shulape.

/244/ With these, and in the order given, the people wash their clothes and their bodies. The clothes of the deceased are washed by the heirs.

The curer, after washing his own feet with the same remedies, remains seated, perceiving the signs. He then prepares another calabash of remedies with shú, shulape, and yuskei, for washing the hands of all those present.

He starts cleansing the people, who are seated on stones. The curer goes to the left and comes from there, beating with the tama. On reaching the first person to be cleansed, he performs the same acts already mentioned, doing the same with the others. He vomits the sucked-out "dirt" into a hole, where the people also cast their chew of coca, tobacco, and yuskei. Then the medicine man washes his hands with aguardiente and the remedy previously prepared. Everyone

1 [i.e., the grave into which the dolls as representations of the souls, have been placed -- Analyst]

/244 cont./
takes two swallows: they blow one into the air and they drink the second one. What remains is sprinkled into the air. Those present are lined up in a row, and the curer again beats with the tama, first around the front part and then around the back part. He casts the collected dirt into the hole, covers it with a stone, and tamps down the earth. Now the people, clean of ptans, go to the house of the deceased.

Yat put (house-blown). After the ceremony of the Ut Peu, all the people go to the house of the deceased, which they do not enter until the blowing of the house has been done. Everyone who was in the house comes out. The curer prepares the same three calabashes of remedies which he used in the Ut Peu. He pours out the calabash of water-diluted cow-dung at the spot where the corpse lay, doing the same with the second one. With the third, that is to say, the one made up of shu and shulape, he sprinkles the entire house (patio, walls, rooms, roof). With this the people can go in and its occupants will continue to live. Dr. Hernández de Alba describes the cleansing as follows:

"A month after the death, a shaman purifies the house. The relatives and Friends kill a pig, cut it lengthwise in two halves, one for the shaman, the other for the ceremonial banquet. The shaman sweeps the house floor with the pig's legs and some special branches, with /sic/ are later buried. He chews coca, says some unintelligible words, and spites /sic/ leaves on the house walls. The residents and guests then enter the house for the final proof of purification. The shaman, standing in the center of the house, gives a dog half a tortilla. If the dog does not die, he divides the /245/ others /sic/ half among those present. He does the same with a piece of cooked meat, and if the dog still does not die, he bdows /sic/ chicha in all directions in the hut, and then divides what remains with those present. The hut and food are then declared clean. The food is then eaten and much chicha drunk" /cited in English/ (8).

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*765 756 ● 783 [113]

8. See: "Mitología y Cuentos de la Parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro /Mythology and Tales from the Parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro/," Revista Colombiana de Antropologia, 1953.

[114] This type of cleansing has not been confirmed by any informant, curer or layman, young or old, male or female, from the Parcialidades of Santa Rosa, San Andrés, Calderas, Togoima, Avirama, or Mosoco.

342 796 *756 [241] Conjuration of the new rancho. To protect their fields from the voracity of wild animals, they build a small rancho. Before occupying it, they perform the following conjuration. The curer blows remedies in the center of the rancho where the hearth will be. He digs a hole and buries shu and shulape. He makes a fire and casts fiundayuskei and bitopiskue into it. He gathers up all the ashes and throws them outside the rancho. He revives the fire again and roasts a green ear of maize, which is given to a dog to eat. If the dog does not die, it is a sign that there is no pest there and the owners can occupy it. In the opposite case they must abandon it. In Santa Rosa the Té eu eats the ear of maize.

This same ceremony is performed upon beginning a house. They give the dog roasted maize since it is not the season for green ears. Then they drink chicha and aguardiente.

241 *756 E huse uña (clearing-eat). The harvesting of the crops from new clearings must be initiated by the curer. The owner of the field provides coca, tobacco, and aguardiente and invites the curer. The entire family goes to the field.

The té eu prepares a calabash of remedies based on Chayuts, shugues, tayuskei, echiutse, ul fiñi, tatse. He sprinkles the clearing with this. He distributes as many bundles of remedies as there are persons present, for them to chew, to swallow the juice, and to rub their bodies with the remainder.

/245 cont./

241 As soon as the curer has collected one fruit of every species to
756 be harvested, he makes up a bundle as on offering to the Ghost,
[782] since he is the owner of the earth.

[776] When this offering has been made, the owners harvest a pouch of each crop sown. They go home and /246/ put the pouches side by side in the left part of the entrance door for
[783] the curer to blow remedies again. Without this requisite, the pouches of food could not be brought into the house because they might carry the pest. The women begin to cook them. When the time for eating comes, the curer first passes around a cup of aguardiente with yuskei and bitopiskue. When there are potatoes, they are handed over to the curer after they are cooked. He distributes one specimen to everyone present; what remains is handed to the owner, who in turn gives generously to the curer.

If the first fruits are of maize or beans, the following is done:

With the green ears of maize, "loaves" /bollos/ or "wrappers" /envueltos/ are prepared; with the beans, a large bundle is made. Then the ears of maize, the bundle of beans, and the loaves are cooked. Aside from this, there is a pot of stew with chicken to provide for the curer.

The cooked ears of maize, beans, and loaves are assembled in a trough, and the cook distributes to all those present a sample of each type. Everyone eats, taking care to leave a little of each mouthful, which they pass to the curer. The latter makes a pile, ties it up, and hangs it from the ridge of the house so that the field seed which is being harvested will yield abundant fruit in the following year.

The husks of the ears of maize are piled outside the house, where the curer remains for one night with the object of capturing glowworms and killing them.

776 Assisting spirits. Thunder. All the informants state that Thunder is short in stature, about 1.40 meters, wears a large hat of twigs, underdrawers, a black poncho, tama, and pouch

/253 cont./

75 month went by, and we were unable to catch it. We did not
539 sleep. The curer would make another hole, and another. We
774 were tired. 'We shall catch that scoundrel /254/ yet,' he would say to me. When we went on to the seventh hole, at the crowing of the first cock, the soul came. The curer had his tama ready, and at once, zoom! he gave it a blow and it fell into the hole; he tossed earth on top of it and tamped it down well. After a few moments the soul made a whistling sound. 'We killed it,' the curer exclaimed triumphantly. I saw the sorcerer's soul. Then the curer told me to go back, for I was cured. He advised me to take remedies with me, since there are many robbers along the way. Thus it came to pass. I was careful at the dangerous spots. The signs indicated to me the presence of robbers and at once I blew remedies at
* them (kit sust). They went to sleep.

756 Farther on I met some people who were pursuing a criminal.
539 They gave me coca and aguardiente so that I might prepare
789 the remedies at my house and help to capture the criminal. Thus it came to pass. I put chayuts around my feet and the criminal was unable to walk. They caught him."

75 Others say that the one bewitched, with his relatives,
774 goes to the curer, bearing coca, tobacco, and aguardiente. They kill a pig and put a piece from each organ into a small pouch. This is the grease for catching the sorcerer's soul. At the crowing of the first cock, when everyone is chewing coca, the soul comes to get the small pouch, immediately falls into the hole, and the curer tosses upon it fierce echi, remedies, and the chews of all, and covers it and tamps down
● [783] the earth. This is how he kills the sorcerer. He immediately cleanses the sick person and his relatives. The danger has
* been averted.

756 When the curer feels the signs at the crown of his head,
787 ptans is being sent to him. He goes without delay to the kachí
783 with pringamoza, paramo cabuya, tama, and ñica to wait

/254 cont./

756 for it. If a black cloud draws near, he cuts it with the tama.
787 It is the ptans.

783 The relations between these two men, on whose activities
*756 a great part of the security of the group rests, are not cordial;
754 they are relations of latent and permanent aggression. The
578 sorcerers wait for carelessness on the part of the curer. If they catch him asleep, they kill him at once. The sorcerers use pieces of glass to put an end to the wisdom of the Te eu, that is to say, to the signs. They can call sicknesses, combine all the pests, and send them to another parcialidad or to the curer himself so that they will kill.

When a té eu meets a sorcerer, they barely greet each other; at night he takes every precaution.

[694] The curers can accuse a sorcerer before the cabildo, but they are afraid to do so.

/255/

Chapter II

Nasa Jihí

787 The vision that decides a destiny. Just as a té eu needs
754 to see visions in order to decide on his vocation, the sorcerer
*[756] also decides by means of visions. For example, if in the beak of a bird there is seen a donkey with open mouth into which mosquitoes fly, or simply pigs, the person is fated to become a sorcerer. These visions are personal and usually occur in isolated spots, such as ravines or bogs, where animals cannot come, on any day or at any hour, for this can take place in the daytime or at night.

When a person claims to have seen a donkey, people say that he is going to eat people. It is commonly stated that those who like to walk about at night are more likely to become sorcerers, for they have the opportunity to meet with evil spirits.

/259 cont./

754 To facilitate the capture of the soul, the sorcerer gathers
774 the soil on which the victim has trod, with which the us (heart) falls easily.

754 b) The sorcerer can make angry the Ghost, Rainbow, and
776 Echi. Thus:

For the Ghost, he puts a large ají de montaña (Capsicum sp.) at the spot where he lives; the person passes by and dies of a few stings in the heart.

/260/ For the Rainbow, he puts the rags of a menstruating woman in springs, bogs, damp places. A person passes by, is stung, and dies.

For the echi, he puts remedies where the victim works; stung, he vomits blood and dies on the spot.

754 c) Another way to cast a spell is rubbing bad remedies on the salt, pork, or eggs that the victim is going to eat. If by chance someone else eats them, nothing happens, for the witchcraft was not directed against him.

[783] d) The sorcerers handle the pest as they please. They can send it to persons or to the entire community. The sorceress Felisa brings the pest to Santa Rosa even for business reasons.

[789] e) When the sorcerers do not wish a person to return, they place at a strategic spot on the road two bundles of chayuts pointing upward, and in addition they blow dry pringamoza.

f) A curer from Santa Rosa explains how a spell was cast on one of the former gobernadors of the parcialidad. The late Leonidas was working in his garden and his rancho was empty. Then a woman came in, dressed in black (Dolores Oinó), dropped into the pot of food some of her own pubic hair, and stole a piece of Pijao earthenware that contained silver. Leonidas ate this food and began to feel his throat become dry
[783] and to breathe with difficulty. Finally he died. The Pijao pest has the same symptoms.

g) When the sorcerer wants a person to suffer an accident (fracture, contusion, dislocation), he leaves somewhere in that person's house a very smooth stone taken from the stream. The person, wherever he may be, slips and falls.

/260 cont./

754 If a person kills himself in a fall, it is believed that the
[783] sorcerer sent him ptans.
[761] h) To cast a spell on the plantings, they use tobacco, matches, and other remedies with which they are burned and destroyed.

As will be noted, in their enchantments the sorcerers do not use any parts or objects belonging to the victim, such as hair, nails, clothing, etc. Most of the remedies that they use are herbs or objects that have properties noxious to man or can cause him harm.

The sorcerer believes that putting them in contact with the soul or simply with the body produces the desired effects.

754 /261/ Paez sorcery is a clear case of imitative or
789 homeopathic magic, according to Frazer's classic definition. It is "desire dominating the world with instruments born of desire " (10).

[118] 10. Ponce, Aníbal. Estudios de Psicología /Psychological Studies/, El Ateneo, Buenos Aires, 1947, p. 363.

754 The Paez fear illness and death and live in the fear that
182 the whites may take from them their land, their ranchos, their plantings, that is to say, their very sources of survival.

While the sorcerers attack the customs of a capitalist economy and transculturation openly, the curers protect the community against sickness and against the attacks of individuals or groups, by means of their divinations and their vigorous and constant conjurations. In this sense sorcerer and curer are identical. They protect the community.

683 Punishment of the sorcerers. The sorcerer is feared by
754 the entire population; identified throughout by it, he suffers general enmity; torrents of hatred arise against him, ending most of the time in violent punishment: confinement in the stocks, whippings, dunkings, and even exile.

P /298 cont./
245 Guadua bamboo thrives in the temperate valleys. It is of excellent quality. In most cases it serves as shade for the coffee. Its increase would redound in obvious benefits.

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P [783] The lands where these elements are found are utilized without any qualms. But when the plantings are in a "new clearing," the natives take the precaution of performing the required purifications before beginning to consume the crops, in order to avoid the "Pijao" plague which might happen if the crops had been in contact with the archeological remains, "pijaos" in the expression of the natives.

P 245 The cultivation of fruit trees is not very widespread, in spite of the fact that up to not very long ago Inzá enjoyed the reputation of being the producer of peaches and apples of very good quality. Nowadays they are cultivated for commercial purposes in Vitoncó, La Troja, and El Cabuyo, where true orchards of these trees are maintained with care. The fruits are splendid and are harvested during the first three months of the

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,d (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

The graves were "large and deep," and chiefs were buried with some of their wives and with food and chicha (Cieza, 1932, ch. 32). 764 766

In Colonial times, according to Del Castillo, the *Páez* removed a dying person from his hut but burned the house if anyone died in it. They had given up cremation, however, and buried in the earth, building a fence around the grave. Today, they cover the corpse with a white shroud and place it in the middle of the house with candles and flowers. Here it is watched over one night by relatives and friends, and then buried in a cemetery, where each relative tosses some earth into the grave saying, "Go with God." The mourners then bathe in the river without disrobing, and in the evening hold a banquet with chicha, sancocho (vegetable stew), meat, and tortillas. For 9 days a cross, a container of water, and a candle must be kept on the deceased's bed, the water being kept there so that the soul may drink. The relatives pray every night. A month after the death, a shaman purifies the house. The relatives and friends kill a pig, cut it lengthwise in two halves, one for the shaman, the other for the ceremonial banquet. The shaman sweeps the house floor with the pig's legs and some special branches, which are later buried. He chews coca, says some unintelligible words, and spits leaves on the house walls. The residents and guests then enter the house for the final proof of purification. The shaman, standing in the center of the house, gives a dog half a tortilla. If the dog does not die, he divides the other half among those present. He does the same with a piece of cooked meat, and if the dog still does not die, he blows chicha in all directions in the hut, and then divides what remains with those present. The hut and food are then declared clean The food is then eaten and much chicha drunk.

178 764 [763] 765 764 765 756 783

The modern burial customs of the *Moguex* differ somewhat from those of the *Páez*. The former dance for 9 days before and after burying a dead child. Because of the special ceremonies for adults, young Indians gather and prepare wood to be burned at their own funerals. When an adult dies, relatives and friends bring wood, food, and money to the house, and work for his family, who pray and weep for 3 days over the body. On the fourth day, they carry the body in a procession to the cemetery. Upon passing a house or inn where the deceased was accustomed to take chicha, they stop and drink. The burial procedure is like that of the *Páez*. Back at the house, they purify the objects used by the deceased over the fire, and leave his clothes and the hide he used as a bed at the river 9 days, after which they may be used. Meanwhile, the guests remain with the deceased's family, helping them. On the 9th day, they extinguish all lights and go to the nearest hill to mourn, while a shaman remains in the house to catch the soul of the deceased. He chews coca, spits it in all directions, and beats around with sticks to make the soul come out. Then he lights

764 184 [766] [535] [275] [783] 765 756 787 775 184

/262 cont./

754 most opportunities to meet evil spirits. Generally they do not need a teacher, but may look for their herbs by themselves. There are also many people, however, who would like to learn sorcery from other nyic, just as there are also supposed to nyic who instruct others in their art.

756 Avoidance prescriptions and taboos for the shaman include
● 784 some sexual and dietary abstinence, without, however, being
[834] very extensive or strict. Intercourse with his wife is forbidden
[263] for him when he feels his "signs." Moreover, he may not eat any ají if possible, in order not to make Thunder too angry. Also, he may eat only very little salt, since Thunder likewise /263/ eats
[787] no salt. For the séances, which always take place at night, he fasts the whole day, since a full stomach makes it difficult to feel the
756 "signs." The other avoidance rules for the shaman are the same
784 as for all other human beings. For example, one may not kill a
825 snail, for if he should touch it, he would become lazy. In like manner, the black woodpecker (ánza) may not be killed, since otherwise, while working, one would split the machete in the same way as the tail of the woodpecker is shaped. Young men are forbidden to take a stolen hen away from a fox, for then another man would take his bride or wife away from him. Only
[260] old men may confidently eat such a hen, if they have first run around the house with a firebrand.

c) Shamanistic Aids

756 Among the shamanistic aids, the "signs" are the most im-
787 portant symptoms experienced, while the outward ceremonial gear is as meager as the whole Paez culture. The only ceremonial implement is the unadorned shaman's staff, the functional meaning of which, however, is far less important than the shamanistic "signs" (ítok). "They are like the pecking of a bird," the shaman Cerbeleón Niunda said of them, and Francisco Cuskue describes them as the irregular beating of his pulse. To be able to receive
[278] and to interpret them is the basis of being a shaman. Knowledge of the medicinal herbs, the handling of the shaman's staff, in

/272 cont./

776 being -- in the valley, too, near the village. He is a raging foe
[784] of everything dirty. A hunter who has not washed himself and his ruana before hunting or whose wife is in the menstruation hut at the time will be punished by him. He has the figure of a human being, sometimes that of a man, but sometimes, too, that of a woman or a child. Gĕlyómp, as well as tũs and eč, can give a
776 person pest so that he will die. One can catch pest by himself
783 everywhere and on all occasions, no matter whether he is awake or
753 asleep. The pest of the three spirits mentioned is primarily caused by stings that not only enter the body, but also the soul. In the spot where they have entered the body they leave punctures that are red in color in the case of gĕlyómp, blue in the case of tũs, and black in the case of eč. The sicknesses caused by gĕlyómp manifest themselves by general pain caused by the penetration of one of his hairs. This happens in the following manner: Someone is walking along a path and suddenly feels a stinging pain in his arm or some other part of his body, like the prick of a pin. Although
[755] he cannot discover a puncture, the pain remains. The person therefore goes to the teyu, and he is able to remove the cause of the pain by rubbing his herbs over the affected spot until he re-
[761] moves from it a black hair ten to 15 centimeters long. This hair is from the gĕlyómp, and if the shaman had not removed it, the one
[75] afflicted by it would have had to die. To a certain extent one can protect himself from the hairs of the mountain spirit if, when returning home from a walk over the mountains or a night's march, he passes a firebrand over the feet and body, in order to burn off any hair of the gĕlyómp that might have penetrated.

776 Tũs, the "rainbow," lives on the banks of watercourses and
753 especially at springs. There are many tũs, and, to be sure, wherever there is water. There are tũs as large as a snake, colored red and yellow, and others only the size of a finger. People recognize sicknesses /273/ of the tũs by the fact that the afflicted one is covered all over with pimples and has to scratch himself constantly.
[821] If it rains when the sun is shining, tũs goes from the bank of the river, where he lives, into the sky and from there back again to earth in a semicircle. The rainbow is especially dangerous for children.

/316 cont./

105 601 The kinship nomenclature shows remnants of a "classificatory" system, into which the individual is fitted as part of a living structure and does not stand out in profile, detached within the family. Persons are differentiated in address according to certain circumstances of age and life, and, among others, siblings are differentiated in address, according to whether they are younger or older than the speaker.

105 53 In art and mythology a considerable impoverishment has taken place. There is neither song nor any peculiar dance. The music of transverse flutes and drums, performed with great enthu- [177] siasm, is to be stressed. The cylindrical drum with skin stretched on two sides, which is used at the present time by the Paez, is in all parts of America a loan from the Negroes. In earlier times hanging, hollowed-out tree-trunks were used for the dance and for conveying information, such as /317/ are used today as troughs for making chicha. The rattles formerly present are no longer used today. The transverse flutes with six blowholes used by the Paez are post-Columbian; at any rate they are not found in this form either archeologically or recently among uninfluenced Indians. The only transverse flute form known from pre-Spanish and modern times are flutes that are stopped at both ends and provided with two blowholes (Izikowitz, pp. 298 ff.).

105 773 776 In the fund of tales no comprehensive picture of the world emerges. The chief figure in the myths is Thunder, who appears as the first shaman and as a war leader. He is not, however, an exalted, numinous figure, but rather to some extent has characteristics attributed to forest spirits in other parts of South America. [784] There is also a special forest spirit (gĕlyómp) among the Paez. He [224] has the figure of an old man with large, exposed sexual parts, and his stings inflicted as punishment for ritual uncleanness in connection with hunting cause the human being sickness and pain. He does not, however, appear mythologically. Fragments of larger myth-complexes are the story of the woman from whose body useful plants arise, the story about the ghostly human head that comes rolling along, stories about transformed animals and human beings, and stories about werejaguars.

/196 cont./

273 fermented for two days, mixed with anise, dill, cloves, cinna-
415 mon, anisillo, and bitopiskue. Sometimes verbena is also added. It rests on three stones which make up the hearth. Over the edges of this pot, and with the interstices filled with a paste of ashes to avoid any loss of steam, is put another pot of regular size: 30 centimeters high and 20 centimeters in diameter. Inside this one is put an ovoid wooden bowl, grooved, with a handle likewise grooved, which is connected to a reed tube that runs through the pot at mid-height, and through which the aguardiente runs into the containers (liters /litros/ and bottles). The base of this pot is pierced to permit the guarapo steam to go through. Above this pot is placed a copper pan about 15 centimeters high and 30 centimeters in diameter; the junctures are covered with a paste of ashes. On this pan there falls a continuous jet of cold water brought from the outside through a bamboo channel; the surplus comes out through a /197/ /illustration appears here/ reed tube set in an opening near the rim. When this fall of water is not feasible, the women undertake to change constantly the warm water for cold.

Stills of this kind distill approximately 15 liters.

The amounts of the ingredients are as follows:

Guarapo, two-thirds of the container.

Anise, three eggs /a measure; see footnote 1, p. 9/ (from Silvia or Neiva).

Dill, approximately 1 pound.

Anisillo (an aromatic herb), one egg.

Bitopiskue (a pungent herb), approximately half a pound.

Cloves, ten centavos (one ounce).

/198/Cinnamon, ten centavos (one ounce).

273 The distillation has nothing mysterious about it, although
784 it does have its precautions. Anyone can be present, but no one can say "venda" /bandage/, because the distillation would not produce anything. If someone goes out, he must do so in silence, but preferably he should not go out, because he will

/198 cont./

273 take with him the "heart" of the aguardiente, thus reducing the
784 quantity and detracting from its quality, for it will be "cold

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273 and tasteless."
[784] The distillation is done on any day and at any hour; the tax collectors do not go this far; control of this kind has never been permitted, and anyone who dared to do it would risk his
[186] life. Children drink this liquor from the age of three. Abstainers are inconceivable; "only Protestants do not drink," they conclude.

/249/

756 While the curer is perceiving the signs, he cannot cohabit.
134 The sorcerer who is aware of this interdiction will, out of
754 malice and wickedness, take his wife to the kachí and cohabit with her, with the aim that the signs will not circulate for the
[826] curer and the glowworms will not rise. And to add to the wickedness, they leave in the kachí pubic hairs, which are poisonous.

756 The curer cannot eat ají, especially the one called ají
262 de montaña, because this would anger Thunder and the Ghost.
[263] They do not eat salt, or consume very little of it. Thunder did not eat salt, they say. They eat the meat of the "pro-
[725] visions" after performing the cleansing. In the ceremonies of ut ká, wé ká, and ut peu, they fast for one day. That is to say, they eat at daybreak and eat again on the following day. Furthermore, since the treatments are given at night, frugality makes them sleep less.

727 Dreams of the Té eu. The interpretation of Paez dreams, as in the generality of popular interpretations of dreams, observes a certain relation between the manifest content of the dream and the action to come. To put it better, future events are deduced from the manifest content of the dream.

They believe firmly in the omens of the dreams, but they do nothing to forestall them. It is as if it were a fatality of
[756] destiny. There are no dreams peculiar to the curers. Interpretation is a common patrimony of the people. The attitude toward these omens is the same: to wait indifferently. Here are a few examples out of many:

727 To dream that a snake bites him, sorcery. But if in the
754 dream another person kills the snake at the moment when it bites him, a good curer will turn the sorcery from the victim to the sorcerer himself.

To dream that a herd of swine attacks him, they are practicing sorcery.

To dream of killing a pig, the sorcerer is going to be killed.

P /298 cont./

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7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
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cluding vegetables, cornbread, eggs, and chicha, which he piles on the church floor, together with wax candles—one if the person does not have anyone in particular to remember, two for each deceased relative. When Mass begins, they throw flowers on the presbytery, as an offering to the souls of children. Afterward, they go to the cemetery in procession, and the souls of the departed come down to the empty church to take the food. Later, the people sell whatever the souls left or failed to eat. Everyone buys something, the captain's assistant collecting the money, while the constables of the council, raising their whips and shouting insults, prevent frauds in the general disorder. The money from the sale is given to the priest to pay him for the work in the rites. As each person leaves the church, he kisses a crucifix held by the sacristan at the church door. They kiss it once for each dead person whom they wish to remember and pay a cent each time. In addition to offering food at the church, the *Moguex* cover their tables at home with food, which is also intended for the souls of their dead, and at the end of 2 or 3 days they eat the food, saying that they are eating what the souls have left.

769 782 [624] [625]

Christmas and Holy Week are both great occasions for the Indians, who celebrate them with music and some of their ancient rites. Even though a priest may not be present, they conduct the rites in a manner that dates from Colonial days, when a *Páez* Indian named Undachí tried to combine Catholicism with their own religion. The man claimed to be able to see God, who used to come among the Indians and talk to him in his own *Páez* language. The new religion included a chapel, Mass, and candle and flower offerings.

796 771 177 [781]

Sickness.—Sickness was always thought to be caused by witchcraft or by someone's will. The evil force entered the body and made it impure; it had to be expelled or "cleansed," lest death ensue. If a delirious person told who was killing him, the individual mentioned was thought guilty; or, if, after a death, the face of the deceased should appear to somebody, the person was considered responsible. These beliefs are still in force today, and the Indians avoid the causes of sickness, such as having sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman, exposing the body to bad weather while there is a rainbow, and neglecting to bathe after a burial or to purify a house where a death occurred.

753 754 [787] 753 178

To fight disease they still have shamans. *Moguex* shamans use tobacco, coca, plants known as yacuna and chundar, and rum in their practice. After remaining shut up in a dark room for a night, they either confess their inability to cure the sick person or proceed to administer the traditional medicines. Sickness is conceptualized as an animal, which enters the stomach, head, or other part of the body. In former times, the shaman fasted with the sick person, abstaining from salt and fats and taking only coca and chicha. Today, he requires that only the patient fast.

756 [753] [785]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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314 fortunately the tree is being rapidly destroyed, either in the gathering of the wax or through clearing for cultivation.

Religion, Customs, Superstitions

114 According to Rodriguez the Paez did not know of any reli-
771 gion. But this is diametrically opposed to Castillo's repeated mention of pagan rites still practised among his flock. Moreover, it is not reasonable to suppose that these Indians would have lived in close contact with the Kitšua, who were veritable sun-worshippers, without being influenced by their beliefs.

771 *Itaki*, the sun, was worshipped at special shrines built on the
786 cut-off summits (*itaki fiuō*) of high mountains. At certain dates,
821 fixed by their priests (*dīχi*) in accordance with their omens, they
[787] congregated at these places and for many consecutive days gave themselves up to chicha drinking and all the lubric manifestations provoked by drunkenness. On these occasions no blood relation was respected; nor was there any limit to adultery. Later, after the missionaries had undertaken their civilizing work, the Indians secretly continued these hideous practices; indeed, it is even asserted that they have not yet given them up completely, although they may not commit the excesses that were formerly attributed to them, as such would be contrary to their present ideal standards.

535 Dances played an important part in all the diversions of the Paez. They were of several kinds, varying with the occasion. Castillo mentions the *gueiō-bō*, money-begging dance (baile de pedir dinero), or *iita-bo* (sea-shell dance, baile de caracol), in
[534] which two sea-shells (bocinas), the one giving a low tone (bajon destemplado) and the other the treble, were played alternately for whole nights, remembering, "(a los cristianos) la noche de la prision de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, i á los indios, la chicha, baile i maldades que ejecutan." Other dances of which we generally have no description were *ouza-bō*, the mouse dance; *neui-bō*, the buzzard dance; *itta-bo*, the puberty dance of females, to which allusion has already been made (page 314); *cīō-buki-bo*, the dance of the phantom reed; *tel-buki-bo*, the dance of the long reed, or war-dance; *la-bo* the new-house dance; *bimō-bo*,

/117 cont./

342 Anyone may build himself a house of whatever size he
761 wishes on his own land in the mountains, as well as on the above-
783 mentioned community land in the valley, but he must first ask
[756] the shaman acting for him whether any bones of the Pijao are in
the ground on the piece of land in mind. As comes out in the
[775] myths, the Pijao in ancient times were the frightful and militarily
[628] cleverer enemies of the Paez. Their bones (eč ndyít Pijao) contain
"pest." This pest is a very complex and significant concept
961 among the Paez (cf. under "Religion" /see p. 191/), and the
783 pest of the Pijao bones is capable of killing the people living
123 above them. How very much our interpreter Victoriano, one of
the most enlightened Paez, was affected by this fear came out
when he worked with us in the archeological park in San Andrés.
For lack of space he had to sleep in the tool room, where, how-
ever, he felt very comfortable and, with a camp bed and mattress,
had built himself probably the best bed of his life. One day we
opened a large prehistoric grave-chamber, which contained more
than 80 bone-urns with the remains of cremations. Since we
could not accommodate such a large number of urns in our living
room, which at the same time served as our museum, we had to
put a number of them in the tool room. I left the skeletal re-
mains in several of them in order to save them for a later exami-
nation. Weeping, Victoriano begged me please not to put in his
tool room any urns containing bones, because the bones might
have come from the Pijao, who would surely kill him. Even the
washed and cleaned urns, he assured us, contained very much
"pest," so that at the next opportunity he wanted to go to Calderas
and have himself "purified" by his home shaman. He failed to
do this, and when after a few days he had a toothache, he traced
this back to the action of the pest from the burial urns previously
filled with bones.

342 /118/ The shaman's testing of the ground proposed as the
761 building site is not done by digging or sampling the ground;
783 rather, the one who wishes to build goes to the house of the shaman
756 in the evening with coca, tobacco, and brandy, tells him of his
● 787 wish, and then both sit down on the ground next to each other

/118 cont./

342 and begin to chew coca and tobacco and to drink brandy to-
761 gether. After a while the shaman ascertains through signs in
789 his arms or legs whether bones of the Pijao are in the ground.
756 If this is not the case, the building may be started; otherwise
787 the man must look for another building site. After the building
is finished, a further ceremony is performed (see under "Religion"
342 /see p. 205/), and then the same shaman fastens special herbs
756 to the roof to prevent the eč or gelyómp spirit, hostile to man,
789 from entering the house from there.

Houses are built only by men, by fathers of families.
342 One man alone, however, is not in a position to do this. At
476 least in the erection of the house posts he is helped by his brothers,
[462] as well as by other men and friends who have nothing else to
do anyway on these days and receive chicha and something to
342 eat for their assistance. The building material costs nothing,
273 to be sure, but the builder must furnish a substantial amount of
476 chicha, for which planning must be begun in plenty of time, two
or three years beforehand, by the planting of sufficient sugar
cane. This is the task of the married son who is still living in
[594] his father's house this long. To make the chicha he also still
[249] needs the sugar mill of his father, upon whose consent and help,
therefore, much depends. According to the amount of chicha
[461] that is available, the building of the house thus lasts two to six
months, depending on whether only five or 15 men participate.

342 The most important thing in the construction of the house
335 is the erection of the wooden frame (Ills. 161 to 164 /see p.272 /),
[476] which always requires several men who bring in the trees, which
are superficially smoothed with the machete, but not freed of
bark. The master of the house is able to make the walls by
[462] himself in an emergency. The covering of the roof, too, like the
entire house construction, is men's work, but the woman of the
house may hand up the sugar-cane leaves for the roofing. First
the vertical corner and side posts of the outer walls (yátšínda) are
erected, then the outer beams lying horizontally on the side
posts to support the roof (yátpopānt) are laid on, and, as the third
step in the work, the horizontal crossbeams (bīkas) are fastened at

/175 cont./
623 handle an additional crescent-shaped piece of silver leaf is applied.
293 In former years, on the first day of the new year, a cere-
623 mony for the old as well as for the newly elected cabildo took
796 place on the not easily accessible lagoon of Juan Tama, the
778 Páramo de Moras, and lasted for several days. It started with
828 chicha drinking under the leadership of a shaman, after which the culture hero, Juan Tama, and the spirits of the ancestors (?) were asked by the shaman for advice and assistance in the coming year. A dance and a bath in the lagoon concluded the ceremony (Bürg, pp. 340 f.). According to my information, this gathering at the lagoon has not been carried out for several years. The reason given is that for several years in succession it has rained around
[787] New Year's time. After that the shamans announced that with this
[776] sign Juan Tama renounced any further performances of the ceremony on his lagoon.

623 The election of the cabildo is done by the men of the entire
666 village. The candidates must be citizens of the given village,
[641] that is to say, they must own land there. A stranger could never hold office in a Paez village. The candidates may not propose themselves, but must be nominated by the assembly or by the old cabildo. Anyone who is elected for an office by the village assembly for the first time may not refuse, but must accept it. Only reelection, which is possible up to five or ten years in succession, is voluntary. The wealth or possessions of the candidates do not play
[556] any role. The present gobernador, Marcelo Muse, is /176/ about 30 years old. Two children, a son about six years old and a four-year-old daughter, are living; four of his children died. In the way of material possessions he owns five horses and two pigs, but no cows and no sheep. Ten years ago he was fiscal for a year. In the general opinion of the Paez the gobernador should not be too young or too old. The best age is between 30 and 50 years. The remaining posts, which to a large extent consist of messenger services, are generally held by younger, unmarried people, although
[896] they may also be filled by married men up to 50 years of age. In general the gobernador chooses people who are loyal to him and who must also carry out the punishments for him, for a gobernador

/189 cont./

b) Maturity

881 Today no rites or ceremonies for the youths take place any
[178] more. In former times they were led to the sacred lagoon of Juan
[778] Tama or to the heights of Cuetando, and there they had to build
a hut and lay out a small cornfield as proof of their capabilities
as a man and father of a household (Hernandez, 1944, p. 203).

[582] A girl comes of age with puberty, that is to say, she may
[836] marry. Before that and before marriage, intercourse is not per-
[535] mitted. On the occasion of the first menstruation in former times
a special dance was performed (itsa-kó), during which the young
girl was bathed naked in chicha in a pit outside the festival house
881 (Castillo i Orosco, p. 85). Today this no longer takes place;
285 rather, a girl, when she goes to the dúyat for the first time at
787 about 15 years of age, takes along agave fibers and during the
[178] approximately five days that she stays there plaits a very pretty,
[262] small fiber bag (yāhalečkwe) about the size of a fist. There
are no additional food prohibitions or similar things. After that
she goes to a distant river to bathe. On the way there she lets
the bag fall. A married man passing by lets it lie, for he knows
that it belongs to a young girl. A young man, however, who
happens to be coming that way sees the beautifully worked bag,
picks it up, and uses it as a small money-bag. Without knowing
who made the little bag, he will -- people are convinced -- marry
this girl.

/190/ c) Marriage

595 The present form of marriage of the Paez is monogamy.
114 H. Pittier de Fábrega (p. 314), however, concludes from their
traditions that the Paez were formerly polygamous and were con-
verted to monogamy only through education on the part of the
missionaries. I could find no clue in their mythology for actual
595 polygamy in former times. The social structure and way of life
591 of the Paez, however, prohibits living alone for unmarried girls.
[589] In case they have no relatives or do not find lodging in the house
of relatives, another man takes them into his family. The girl

/260 cont./

756 on the village plaza, along with her medicinal herbs. Then they
[754] sent her back to her house, without her staff and without her
[683] medicinal herbs. When someone again became sick, however, the people again came to her and asked her to help the sick one. Then her husband, who, however, was not a shaman, made her a new staff; she herself again looked for her medicinal herbs and was able to help the sick. Since then she has been recognized once again as a good shaman and helps all who come to her. Another shaman in Santa Rosa said that he had received his call when he was but six years old. One day when he was working in the field, his mother, dressed in black and with a hat on her head, came to him and scolded him on account of his poor work. When she left, he followed her, but she disappeared into the river. When he returned home, he realized that the woman whom he saw could not have been his mother, since the latter had been in the community field at that time, where she was cooking for the workers. Undoubtedly this woman was a spirit, he confessed, who wanted to tell him that he should become a shaman. This was also confirmed for him by two fiber bags which she carried and which corresponded exactly to those used by the shamans for their medicinal herbs. A shaman from Calderas said that there came to him one night a very beautiful blond child with the women's hair style, who, however, was Thunder, and called upon him to become a shaman.

756 If one does not have visions by himself, he can, in order to
787 become shaman, seek them purposely. For this he need only eat
[262] very little and must refrain entirely from ají (a very pungent condi-
[263] ment /see the glossary, p. 248/) and salt for one month. (The same thing also happens to a young man after he has involuntarily had a vision.) The one seeking a vision then goes all alone into the mountains, where he wanders over hill and dale for a long time, until he comes to a beautiful place where he meets an older man. The latter, like himself, is chewing coca. Through his appearance and his friendly manner he inspires confidence in the youth, and the latter tells /261/ him of his wish to become a shaman. He

/261 cont./

756 mentions that in his village there are so many sick people who
787 need his help and that he has gone into the mountains to look for medicinal herbs such as the shamans have. The one addressed replies that indeed there are in the mountains many good medicinal herbs for making people well. With that he hands him a fiber bag full of herbs and explains to him for which illness this and for which that will help. Explaining in such a manner, he acquaints the youth with all the herbs and tells him how they are used. Then he shows him how to make the shaman's staff and finally lets him feel the "signs," without a knowledge of which the medicinal herbs would be useless, since the latter can indeed be used only in connection with the corresponding "signs." (Cf. in this connection, under "Folklore," the similar myths about Llivan! /see
756 pp. 217ff./). Back home again, the youth begins first of all to learn under an experienced shaman, and then starts with curing a sickness in his own family. If he is successful, other people also come to demand his services.

One may also become a shaman without having had a vision. One becomes an apprentice of a good shaman and for several years learns there the practical manipulations. This includes the handling of the shaman's staff, the knowledge of medicinal herbs, and the interpretation of the "signs," in order to make the treatment of the sick successful. Here, too, the first treatment is done among members of the family under the supervision of the shaman
[554] teacher. His reputation and the further demand for his services in the community depend on the outcome of this treatment.

Several of the Calderun "hereditary shamans" attained their position by this latter method. For example, the tepits Martin Chukue. He is about 50 years old. His wife died six years ago. He had four children by her, three of whom are also dead. He has one child by a second wife. He lives in a small house, but has no field, no cows, sheep, or pigs. His uncle was tepits. He lived with him for many years, until he was about 30 years old. Then for the first time he received the "signs" in his arms, made his staff, and became independent. In his opinion, one cannot

In his opinion, one cannot
/261 cont./
756 learn how to become a shaman; rather, this is a hereditary gift.
[827] He himself has no son and no pupils.

The tepits Francisco Cuskue is about 40 years old, married, and has four daughters and one son. Two children died. He has neither /262/ cows nor pigs, horses or sheep, and is very poor. He learned from childhood on, for his father and grandfather were also shamans. He wants his son to become a shaman, too. The latter, about ten years old, has not yet begun the apprenticeship,
[123] however. In reply to my question as to whether I, too, as a stranger, might become a shaman, he asserted that this would be possible, but said that the training is very long and difficult. One has to learn from childhood on, until one is about 25 or 30 years old. I, in my case, am already too old to begin.

The tepits Cerbeleón Niunda (Ill. 153 /see p. 267/), who lives near the shaman Francisco, is the son of a shaman, was taught by his father, and had the "signs" when he was only ten years old. He is now, as an estimate, 55 years old (no Paez knows how old he is) and had ten children, six of whom died. In the way
756 of possessions he has neither horse nor cow nor sheep. Whereas
312 all Paez divert the mountain brooks so that a small ditch flows past their houses and they always use only flowing water, the shamans Francisco and Cerbeleón have a small joint reservoir below a spring, from which they drink and into which, before drinking, they place one of their medicinal herbs, šũ. When questioned, both stated that they did not do this for any special reason and could not find out about anything in the reservoir, neither sickness nor the future.

754 Just as the good shaman was chosen by a vision, this also ap-
787 plies for the evil sorcerer. It is regarded as an omen that he is to become a nyic if, for example, in a dream he sees a bird that in its beak holds a donkey, into whose open mouth flies are
754 crawling, or simply if he dreams about pigs. The prospective nyic may have his vision during the day or at night; it is said that people who are abroad a great deal during the night are the most susceptible to evil sorcery, since at this time they have the

/262 cont./

754 most opportunities to meet evil spirits. Generally they do not need a teacher, but may look for their herbs by themselves. There are also many people, however, who would like to learn sorcery from other nyiç, just as there are also supposed to nyiç who instruct others in their art.

756 Avoidance prescriptions and taboos for the shaman include
784 some sexual and dietary abstinence, without, however, being
[834] very extensive or strict. Intercourse with his wife is forbidden
[263] for him when he feels his "signs." Moreover, he may not eat any ají if possible, in order not to make Thunder too angry. Also, he may eat only very little salt, since Thunder likewise /263/ eats
[787] no salt. For the séances, which always take place at night, he fasts the whole day, since a full stomach makes it difficult to feel the
756 "signs." The other avoidance rules for the shaman are the same
784 as for all other human beings. For example, one may not kill a
825 snail, for if he should touch it, he would become lazy. In like manner, the black woodpecker (ánza) may not be killed, since otherwise, while working, one would split the machete in the same way as the tail of the woodpecker is shaped. Young men are forbidden to take a stolen hen away from a fox, for then another man would take his bride or wife away from him. Only
[262] old men may confidently eat such a hen, if they have first run around the house with a firebrand.

c) Shamanistic Aids

756 Among the shamanistic aids, the "signs" are the most im-
787 portant symptoms experienced, while the outward ceremonial gear is as meager as the whole Paez culture. The only ceremonial implement is the unadorned shaman's staff, the functional meaning of which, however, is far less important than the shamanistic "signs" (ítok). "They are like the pecking of a bird," the shaman Cerbeleón Niunda said of them, and Francisco Cuskue describes them as the irregular beating of his pulse. To be able to receive
[278] and to interpret them is the basis of being a shaman. Knowledge of the medicinal herbs, the handling of the shaman's staff, in

/263 cont./

756 fact, even the visionary sight of Thunder are worthless by them-
●787 selves, if the shaman does not receive any signs. By means of them
278 the teyu discovers the cause of sickness and the means to be employed for healing it, which always consist of the dispensing of herbs. For this reason every shaman always has his fiber bag with all his medicinal herbs with him, in order to have them at hand
[753] and to be able to apply them at any time. Since, however, an illness does not have a physical cause, according to the opinion of the Paez, the herbs used for healing are not applied in accordance with the medical experiences of the shaman, but solely in accordance with his signs.

756 The herbs used by the shamans are the following (*):
278
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[127]

* I am taking these, as well as some other data on the shamanism of the Paez, from the excellent summary by S. Bernal Villa (III) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 323/.

ǰandúr, eš (Erythroxylon coca), biǰač (Hevea?), ǰulko (Oxalis, sp.), čáyuts (Scutellaria racemosa Per.), čuwét, fisa, eǰyútse čime (Labiada?), /264/ gwepekas (Urera boccifera L.), kwése (Lonchocarpus?), limonsílyo (Cymbopogon citratus), nyika, nyundaynskey, šu (Spagnum sp.), šuwés (Peperomia sp.), šulápe, šupenyí (Peperomia sp.), tátse, táyuske (Peperomia sp.), ul níny (Hibiscus abelmoschus L.), umsim (Myricia acuminata DC. Vell, aff.), vitubítskwe, wáhi (Nicotiana tabacum L.), yakúma, yúskay (Scleria cattarinensis Boeck).

755 Most of these herbs are first chewed by the shaman and then
756 spat over the affected part. If a person is dying and his soul leaves
278 his body from the heart by way of the upper arms, the pulse of the
[774] lower arms, and the finger tips, the herb čáyuts, for example, is spat by the shaman from the finger tips in the direction of the armpits, in order to check the departure of the soul. Only rarely is a tea brewed from the leaves.

/264 cont./

756 Besides the remedies which the shaman must use for curing,
787 his signs also predict fate and the future for him or tell him whether the sicknesses will become better or worse. They also tell him about events which are imminent. Thus he learns through them, for example, that sick persons will be coming to him on the following day with this or that illness or this or that
756 request. For all these matters every shaman has his signs at
787 definite parts of his body, those on the left half of his body gen-
826 erally signifying something unfavorable, those on the right half, something good. Thus the rise of the signs from the outer side of the right foot to the ankle means that the medicinal herbs are taking effect. If the signs rise from the outer side of the left foot, this is proof that the nyic must win and the bewitched one
[763] must die. If the signs rise on the right foot to the shin, a mem-
[783] ber of the family will die and his soul go to heaven. If the signs
[828] go along the inner side of the left foot, "pest" will come, and the sick person will become mentally ill. If the signs are felt between the right shin and the heel and they go toward the left side, this is an omen of a battle between the teyu and the nyic. If the signs move from the left ankle up to the hollows of the knees, the planted field is bewitched. Signs in the left calf announce the visit of an evil shaman; signs in the right calf, the visit of a good old woman; signs on the outer side of the right or left calves announce the visit of a nyic or a good old man,
756 respectively. Signs that run down from the right knee cap announce
787 the death of a person through tũs or gĕlyómp ("rainbow" or "moun-
826 tain spirit" as spirit beings, see below /see pp. 191ff./). Signs on
763 the /265/ left kneecap mean that the teyu will win in battle with the nyic; signs from the upper thighs to the hollows of the knees of the right foot, that the patient will die of a malignant "pest." If the signs go down from the left upper thigh, a bad person is walking by outside. If the signs go from the right hip to the foot, the wife will menstruate. If the signs are felt in the tenth rib on the right side, the sick person will soon die, since he has been stung by the mountain spirit. The signs on the left tenth rib announce the arrival of an evil person. If the signs go from the

/265 cont./

756 right ring finger up the arm to the heart, the person concerned
826 will bury a relative on the next day. Signs in the palm of the
787 right hand mean that the sick person will get well; signs in the
[763] palm of the left hand, that the mountain spirit is not accepting the gifts and the patient must die. By means of signs on the back of the left hand the mountain spirit makes it known that the offerings are insufficient. If the signs go from the palm of the right hand to the neck, this means "pest" from the Pijao. Signs in the right thumb and in the hand announce the appearance of a lost or strayed animal; signs in the corner of the left eye, that the lost animal has been stolen and has already been eaten by the thief; signs in the left arm announce the arrival of the ec spirit; signs in the right upper arm announce to the shaman that good people are asking him to be the sponsor at a christening. Signs on the head of the shaman announce that the nyic will send the pest, and if the signs go from the head into the left hand, the
756 person is already bewitched. In these and similar ways of
787 interpreting their signs, the shamans discover the nature of all illnesses and the means required to cure them. Thus their signs are their only treasure of experience, and if they do not feel them, or no longer feel them, they have lost the essential characteristic of being shamsns.

787 Besides the shamanistic signs described, for the teyu as well
828 as for ordinary human beings of every age and sex dreams are an essential means of experience for looking into the future, as well as for confirmation of a foreign -- usually evil -- influence on one's own person. Just as the effects of evil magic on the individual are brought about through auto-suggestion, so, too, what is seen in a dream. The latter perhaps even more intensively because of a person's own, direct dream experience; only in this way can one understand the positively fatalistic attitude of the persons
115 concerned. Our interpreter Victoriano, for example, is one of the
787 most industrious and capable Calderun. He is determined not to
828 remain socially on the Indio level of his village. He therefore
554 takes /266/ work from time to time among the white colonists,
[770] in order to earn money for Colombian clothing. He is therefore
[764]

/266 cont./

115 greatly hated in the village. In an intoxicated state the men have
787 often threatened to murder him. One day he came to us and said
that we would have to hurry with our work, for he would soon die.
He was by no means agitated when he said this, but smiled with an
expression of absolute conviction. In answer to our question as to
why, he stated that during the night he had dreamed of seeing
himself in the grave. This is a sure sign that he must die. He would
not let us ease his mind, for he knew, so he said, that he was un-
popular in the village and he had been threatened with death anyway
because he had seen more than the others, wore better clothes, and
ate meat, instead of working in the village. For this reason the
nyic would most certainly bring him to his death. It took several
days and all our art of persuasion to get him away from this idea.
Again and again we had to point out that, after all, he was a
Christian, and as a precaution we had to give him many of our
medications, before he would believe that perhaps he need not die
[787] after all. In any case his medallion of the Virgin Mary, which he
always carries with him, does not unconditionally help against
787 evil magic. In the following there are a few further examples of
dreams that are significant in some way or other: if one dreams
that he is bitten by a snake, it is a sign of bewitchment; if, how-
ever, in the dream another person kills this snake at the moment
of biting, a teyu will put an end to the bewitchment. To dream of
jaguars and cats indicates that there are graves of the Pijao under
[783] the house. Someone will die of the "pest" of the Pijao if a person
dreams that a jaguar is devouring his chickens. Dreaming about a
[963] funeral pile means that there is gold there. If one dreams about a
cow, his wife will die. If one kills a bull or a horse in a dream,
a good person (a shaman) will die. If one is stung by wasps in a
dream, it means future punishment. Carrying beams or a chicha
trough in a dream means that one will soon assist at a funeral. To
choke in a dream means war, captivity, or being put into prison.
Moreover, it is always a bad sign to dream of arracacha; in case
of a journey, one would, for example, be devoured by a jaguar in
the páramo. Also, if one dreams that he is able to walk under a
rock, it likewise means that a jaguar will devour him. If someone

If someone

/266 cont./

787 dreams of peté squash, he will be devoured by the Pijao, for this
[266] squash has black seeds, and the Pijao as man-eaters have /267/
black teeth. If one has been greatly amused in a dream at night
and has laughed a great deal, he will have a great deal of vexa-
tion during the day. If it rained heavily in a dream at night, a
chicken or something similar will be stolen the next day. If in
a dream someone has ridden very fast all night long on a brown
horse, the day will be beautiful, for the brown or red color is the
color of the sun (the same word is used for brown and red); dream-
ing of riding a black horse, on the other hand, will cause a black
cloud to come up the next day, and then it will rain. If, before
sowing, someone dreams of a big lagoon that appears all green
or has a great deal of green growth around it, this means that the
subsequent sowing will produce a good harvest. Anyone who sees
a black pig in his dream has in reality seen the heart of an evil
shaman, that is to say, he, as a good human being, has met the
wandering soul of an evil shaman; this is not a good sign, but
neither is it so bad that one would have to fall ill on account of it.
Dreaming about the slaughtering of a pig means that an evil
sorcerer will die. If one dreams that a thorn entered his foot on
[763] the road, a snake will bite him. If one's tooth drops out in a
dream, a close relative will die. If someone else kills a large
rooster, his father will die, for the rooster is the heart of the father.
But if a person himself slaughters a large rooster in a dream, he
will murder his own father. If one dreams that he has worked a
great deal in his field on one day, then wild animals will break
[754] into this field and destroy the entire crop. If a person dreams that
[763] he is falling into a deep hole and cannot get out again, this is a
sign that he will die, for an evil sorcerer has thus stolen the soul
of a human being, buried it in a deep hole, and stamped down
the earth again.

756 If dreams and shamanistic signs of a relatively advanced
spiritual attitude lead to the conclusion that there is a correspond-
ing external ceremonial outfit for the shaman, we shall be disap-
[181] pointed. The shaman's staff (tama), to which a liana (nika) is
added for certain ceremonies, is unadorned, poor, and inartistic,
like the entire culture of the Paez,

/267 cont./

756 like the entire culture of the Paez. For the rest, there are neither special articles of clothing or equipment nor any other kind of ceremonial gear, such as crystals, masks, or rattles.

[824] The shaman's staff consists of a smooth staff, 50 to 60 centimeters long, made out of the hard wood of the chonta palm. It is /268/ pointed at one end and semicircular in cross-section. Each shaman makes this staff for himself before treating his first [764] patient and never lets it out of his hand. When he dies, it is put into the grave with him. Before a séance begins, he sticks it into the ground, though not directly in front of him, but somewhat to the side. Only rarely does a shaman have it in his hand during the séance. As the single exception to the unadorned shaman's staff, I know of only the one belonging to old Felisa Ipia of Santa Rosa. On her staff she has tied a number of colored wool threads [774] which she spun herself and dyed with homemade dyes. She has collected in these threads the souls of all the villagers of Santa [755] Rosa. If someone in the village falls ill, she learns of it through [787] her signs or through Thunder personally and in this way is better able to help the sick person, since she can immediately blow her medicinal herbs, mixed with brandy, on the wool threads and thus can help the sick person better.

756 S. Bernal Villa points out that the designation for the shaman's 773 staff corresponds to the name of the most important culture hero of the Paez, Juan Tama, who, according to tradition, was lawgiver, famous and victorious commander of the army, first chief [976] and shaman. According to other traditions, he was the son of the stars, the son of Thunder, or Thunder himself. The present-day shamans regard the staff as a gift from Thunder, and as a sign of spiritual alliance with him. A shaman of San Andrés, reporting on the origin of the shaman staff, says that, according to the stories of the elders, the tama was introduced by Thunder himself. According to this, a man once had his hut and his potato field in the mountains. He harvested the field with his son. One day the son refused to follow his father to the field, but rather preferred to stay behind in the hut. The next day the son had disappeared

/268 cont./

756 without leaving a trace. In vain the father tried to find out where
773 he was staying. After eight days, however, the son again appeared in the hut. He said that he had been with his grandfather, who had given him brandy, medicines, and this staff that he held in his hand and that was called tama. The "brandy" was cold water from a lake, and the medicines in the fiber bag were mountain herbs. After he had said this, he fell into a trance and lay there as though dead. Fourteen days later, as he lay dying, he asked his father to hand him his tama, for Thunder had told him that he could defend himself with it and that, in case of illness, he should take the medicines that he had given him. He squeezed /269/ out the juice and drank it. Quickly he became well. When he gave it to other sick persons, they, too, became well immediately. With his staff and his medicines he became the best doctor far and wide. He died at an advanced age.

775 Another shaman said that the tama stems from a lifesaving
773 act of the Holy Virgin Mary. Once when the sea rose constantly
177 higher and had covered almost the entire earth, human beings were in great danger. The Virgin Mary took pity on them. She drew forth the tama and with it made the same motions that the shamans make with it today. The masses of water then receded. She left her staff behind for the person who became a shaman. This is supposed to be the origin of the tama.

Although in the latter story not only the figure of the Virgin Mary, but possibly also the motif of the Deluge did not originate in the thought of the Paez, nevertheless the origin of the tama as
756 a gift from a higher power is noteworthy. This power, which,
776 for the shamans, is of the greatest significance as a spirit being
787 and as the first shaman, is Thunder. According to reports, he also positively has the character of an assistant spirit, even though he is almost only feared by the present-day shamans. "The old shamans," the present ones constantly assert, "were still powerful enough magically to establish communication with Thunder directly and at any time; we today are no longer able
778 to do it." In former times the members of the cabildo, under the
756 guidance of a shaman, bathed together in the lagoon of Juan Tama
623

/269 cont./

778 and had their staff of office consecrated there. Today this no
756 longer takes place because of the lack of good shamans. The
623 shamans of today no longer have the intense visions that the
[787] earlier ones had, and that is why they are no longer so powerful magically. They are no longer able to speak with Thunder as simply as their predecessors did, and since they are weaker, it is believed that Thunder will kill them.

776 Thunder is generally described as small of stature and dressed like a Paez man with hat and black ruana. It is reported that he does not wear trousers, but exposes his sexual parts. He has with
[534] him, like a shaman, his tama, a fiber bag with medicines, and a
[532] musical instrument called "tíngalo" (triangle). It is not impossible that it is his picture, together with a Christian cross, that is incised in the gable post of a hut in the vicinity of the park of San Andrés, which represents a man with large, triangular-shaped sexual parts (Ill. 200 /see p. 288 /).

[756] /270/ Thunder is regarded by all the Paez as the greatest
[773] shaman and by the teyu as their master. In the folklore (see below /see pp. 215 ff./), he probably often has different names, such as Juan Tama, Llivan, Chauté, Juan Chiracol, but his characteristics stand out in them, no matter whether as sat (cacique) he is fighting the Pijao and defending his people, or that he will one day -- people are convinced -- again drive the hated whites
776 out of Tierradentro. He warns the Paez of an evil white person
821 who is coming to Tierradentro for a visit by a clap of thunder from
[783] a clear sky. When he thunders above a particular house, he is
[754] announcing that there is "pest" in it, and if he thunders first above the house of a nyic and then above one belonging to a teyu he is thereby announcing to a good shaman that he has just been bewitched.

776 A few stories also tell about the struggles of the shamans
787 against Thunder, for he once robbed the Paez of livestock and
756 people. But that was long ago, for today no one would dare undertake anything against Thunder. The Calderun shamans tell how the earlier teyu were in a position to speak with Thunder at any time and to get advice from him. Those of today are no

/270 cont./

756 longer able to do this. Old Filisa of Santa Rosa, however, who
776 was herself chosen and initiated into her office by Thunder, is
● 787 still able to enter into communication with Thunder today. To be sure, she cannot always do this, but she has often sought him out in his lagoon, dived into the water, gone to the house of Thunder on the bottom of the lagoon, and asked him for advice. One of the sons of Thunder, likewise a shaman, was even her constant companion who protected her everywhere. "In former times," she said, "Thunder himself cured people. Today it is different." Thunder knows when someone is sick; then when people come to her to ask for a remedy, Thunder personally announces to the shaman beforehand: such and such persons with such and such an illness will come today. He also tells her at the same time what remedies she should use. Then when the people come to tell about the illness, she can, since she is a good friend of Thunder, always help them with the best remedies.

776 Thunder, she said, has many children. They come into the world by way of a spring or a crevice out of which water trickles. They have the size of small human beings, but are very good and dressed in a beautiful táw (belt). For growing up and for their nourishment they need three women as attendants. They suck milk from them, whereupon the women must die. The Thunder-children /271/ themselves are barren and have no children. As children of Thunder, however, they have always been great caciques and shamans.

One day she showed me a small knot of a branch, wrapped in a piece of cloth. "This is a child of Thunder that I have from him," she said, "it looks like a branch, but in reality it is alive and can speak."

d) Sickness, Ideas About the Spirits and Souls

753 All sicknesses are explained by the Paez as having originated
754 by means of magical influences that have their cause primarily
783 in malevolent, deliberate acts. These magical, supernatural influences are either bewitchments by the nyic, magical injury

/273 cont./

776 If it rains when the sun is shining, they may not leave the house,
753 for otherwise they become afflicted with head maladies. These
821 are not headaches, but wounds such as would be inflicted by a
[756] machete. The teyu, however, have remedies to make the rain-
(789) bow disappear, so that children may go outside again.

776 Eč, the third of the aforementioned causes of sickness and
(753) death, is the most unpleasant and the most dangerous, since eč
[761] kills the most people. Eč lives in the earth; no man has seen
● [787] him, apart from a few shamans. They need not enter into the
earth, however, to see him; rather, eč himself comes if a teyu
[825] calls him. He looks like a human being. Eč is also the name
for fireflies, which are regarded as the messengers that he sends
out to bring "pest" to human beings. People therefore kill fire-
776 flies if they are able to catch them. Eč is not angry, however,
782 if the people kill his messengers, if only he always gets enough
offerings. For this reason people give eč a dram-glass full of
brandy from every bottle, that is, they pour this amount on the
ground; likewise eč gets his share of every animal killed (chicken,
756 pig, cow, etc.). People ask their teyu which parts of the animal
776 eč demands and which ones they should offer him. If people
782 killed and ate an animal without offering eč any of it, he would
(761) in return kill a child of this family. If the father then comes to
the teyu and asks why his child died, he -- who, of course, knows
that the man slaughtered a pig without giving eč anything -- tells
him that this is the punishment of eč. That very rarely happens,
however; rather, the man gives the shaman the parts of the ani-
mal desired by eč, for instance, the liver, entrails, or meat, and
he gives them to eč, bringing them at night to the place desired
[787] by him. Moreover, as a precaution people give eč herbs and
brandy as the shaman advises, in accordance with the signs which
he has received from eč.

774 If the penetration of pest into the body of a person is the
776 cause of an illness that may result in death, this unfortunate out-
753 come is all the more probable if one of the three spirits or a nyic
has stolen a human soul. I was given differing /274/ statements
about such a case: First of all, there are two words for soul, ũns

/277 cont./

756 765 783 The shaman learns the date of the second ceremony and principal purification through his signs from ečˇ. He announces this date to those who participated at the burial. Those to be [787] purified -- primarily the nearest relatives -- gather at the river and at a place set apart for this, marked by a number of flat [823] stones. These are absolutely necessary; without stones, no puri- [237] fication site. First the people sit in front of the stones, and the helpers of the shaman fetch calabashes filled with water that is mixed with the šũˇ herb and to which some cow excrement, standing ready in a pot at the same place, is added. The shaman has wound a liana around his staff. Even before the ceremony, he chewed coca and tobacco uninterruptedly and drank brandy copiously. First he goes to the left with the staff and liana and beats the air with both, as though he were struggling with invisible spirits. Then, always struggling, he goes in the other directions of the site, and, finally, once more to the left. There his helpers have dug a hole about 30 centimeters deep and 15 centimeters in diameter.

Now the linen of the deceased and the linen of the mourners [296] which they used on the day of burial are brought forth. They are placed on the stones and then washed and rinsed long and vigorously by the widow and the daughter of the deceased.

The rest of the mourners, like the shaman, have been chewing coca the whole time and get brandy to drink from the teyu.

After the washing, the shaman next struggles as before, as though he wanted to drive invisible spirits away from the site of the purification ceremony. With wide sweeping blows he moves his tama /278/ and liana slowly through the air. In particular he [823] turns to the left again, for to the left lives the evil ečˇ, and to be [776] sure, in the ground (*).

* The direction left has nothing to do with any geographical direction or with the direction of the river. They sit with their backs to the river.

/278 cont./

756 Then everybody goes, the shaman last, to the hole on the left
765 side and spits coca into it; then everybody takes brandy and squirts
783 it into the air toward the left. After that those who are to be purified start to undress, and each one takes a seat on one of the stones. The helpers of the shaman bring vast quantities of water -- always mixed with herbs and cow excrement -- in their calabashes, and then the very vigorous washing of the body begins. The water is first poured over the head, then over the body, front and back, so generously that everyone must have at least 25 liters of water run over him. The people themselves rub their bodies very thoroughly. In conclusion the shaman places a few herbs on the head of each one. After that, too, the shaman must again fight his battle with staff and liana in the air and squirt brandy toward the left. Then each one stands up individually and the shaman passes his shaman staff and herbs laterally around him from left to right and from bottom to top. Again and again the shaman and the people drink brandy, which they spit out in the air to the left.

After the ablutions of the mourners, followed by the ablutions of the assistants and the shaman, all sit down again in their old places, opposite the stones. The shaman sits down beside them, the staff stuck in the ground before him, his mouth completely full of coca and tobacco. In addition, at short intervals, he takes a
[787] swallow of brandy. He sits this way for about 20 minutes, chewing
[763] and drinking, and then he says that the signs in his hand are very bad and that soon someone will die. One of the young men present, the nephew of the deceased and helper of the shaman during the purification, asks who is going to die or whether it might even be he himself. The shaman, who has been talking monotonously to himself and keeps staring at one spot, answers, without turning his head, that he does not know who will die. The shaman remains sitting a while longer, constantly chewing coca and drinking brandy, and then he gets up and the people sit down in a row behind the stones, first the men, then the women. The shaman takes herbs in his hands, spits the freshly chewed coca with tobacco on them, and passes this around the bodies of all present, always from the lower left, up the side to the head, and down again on the right side, then up the back

/280 cont./

755 756 that his signs tell him that his efforts will be in vain, because the patient must die. Only if the signs are favorable, do he and the patient start chewing the little packet of medicinal herbs. The shaman now takes his staff and spits some of the chewed medicinal herbs on it, to prevent the pest sent by nyiç from possibly being transferred to him and killing him. Then he thrusts the tama into the ground with the point, in order to announce to Thunder that he does not wish to act badly and carelessly, but exactly in accordance with his shamanistic rules. He sets the bottle of /281/ [824] [787] brandy, into which he puts a stalk of the čayuts herb, beside his shaman's staff. If the stalk remains vertical, it is a good sign; if it falls to one side and goes under, it is a very bad omen. On the mouth of the bottle he also places a small calabash vessel, likewise containing the čayuts herb, which is supposed to prevent the pest from taking the shaman by surprise and killing him. He now puts a handful of coca into his mouth and starts to chew. Motionless, he gazes at his staff, ready to receive his signs. From time to time he takes more coca and lime, tells the patient that his signs are favorable, that his illness, which comes from the pest, will soon get better. Then he gets up, goes to his tama, and vigorously spits out the chew. He empties a whole calabash of brandy and squirts it into the air. Again he returns to his seat, once again takes coca and lime and a little cigar tobacco into his mouth, and again remains squatting motionless. After about an hour he spits the chew in the direction of the staff, the patient does the same, and then both get up. The shaman now tells the [783] patient that Thunder has shown him the possibility of a cure. He will now go and gather his special medicinal herbs, and for a good purification the patient will have to bring a pound of coca leaves, six cigars, a liter of brandy and chicha, and, in addition, [77] [86] a few pounds of meat. The teyu urgently enjoins him not to take any of the medicine of the whites under any circumstances, for otherwise he must surely die. At this séance, as well as at others, the shamans all agreed that neither did they themselves leave the place of the séance nor did their souls leave their bodies to go wandering. The signs, to which alone they give heed, are the only characteristic of their experience.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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314 fortunately the tree is being rapidly destroyed, either in the gathering of the wax or through clearing for cultivation.

Religion, Customs, Superstitions

114 According to Rodriguez the Paez did not know of any reli-
771 gion. But this is diametrically opposed to Castillo's repeated mention of pagan rites still practised among his flock. Moreover, it is not reasonable to suppose that these Indians would have lived in close contact with the Kitšua, who were veritable sun-worshippers, without being influenced by their beliefs.

771 *Itaki*, the sun, was worshipped at special shrines built on the
786 cut-off summits (*itaki finõ*) of high mountains. At certain dates,
821 fixed by their priests (*diçi*) in accordance with their omens, they
[787] congregated at these places and for many consecutive days gave themselves up to chicha drinking and all the lubric manifestations provoked by drunkenness. On these occasions no blood relation was respected; nor was there any limit to adultery. Later, after the missionaries had undertaken their civilizing work, the Indians secretly continued these hideous practices; indeed, it is even asserted that they have not yet given them up completely, although they may not commit the excesses that were formerly attributed to them, as such would be contrary to their present ideal standards.

535 Dances played an important part in all the diversions of the Paez. They were of several kinds, varying with the occasion. Castillo mentions the *gucio-kó*, money-begging dance (baile de pedir dinero), or *šita-ko* (sea-shell dance, baile de caracol), in
[534] which two sea-shells (bocinas), the one giving a low tone (bajon destemplado) and the other the treble, were played alternately for whole nights, remembering, "(a los cristianos) la noche de la prision de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, i á los indios, la chicha, baile i maldades que ejecutan." Other dances of which we generally have no description were *onza-kó*, the mouse dance; *neui-kó*, the buzzard dance; *itsa-ko*, the puberty dance of females, to which allusion has already been made (page 314); *cti-kobi-ko*, the dance of the phantom reed; *tel-kobi-ko*, the dance of the long reed, or war-dance; *la-ko* the new-house dance; *himb-ko*,

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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the drum-dance, in which the women sang to the accompaniment of a drum; *vito-ko*, or *fits-ko*, the stick-dance, etc. 535

In addition to the shells and reeds, the Indians also accompanied their dances with a kind of drum (*kimb*), consisting of a long wooden trough hung by its extremities; and the *tsoöts*, or rattle, a calabash containing small stones or hard canna seeds and provided with a handle. 535 534

According to Castillo the Paez had also other deities, corresponding somewhat to the lares of the ancient Latins, carved images of which were often found in the houses. The *diyi*, who were at one time priests, sorcerers, and medicine-men, lived in retirement and were considered as the keepers of the doctrines of a traditional civilizer of the nation, called *Guckiaü*. So strong was their influence in Castillo's time that he complains rather bitterly about it, and proceeds to explain how the true God, wishing to free the Paez from such a devilish guide, simply employed a subterfuge to drown him in the Paez river, together with two of his apostles! 776 778 [79]

The belief in a future existence is indicated, as Uricoechea relates, by the fact that the Indians never molested white dogs, in order that they might not be bitten by them at the doors of the house beyond the grave. 825 775

There were birds and other signs of good or of evil omen. A woman would never step over a leather rope stretched on the ground, but would lift it up and pass beneath. During the construction of bridges, two men constantly beat the waters to frighten away evil spirits. The death of a person was often attributed to witchcraft, and he whose face bore some likeness to that of the dead person was often regarded as the culprit, provided the patient in his ravings had not given the name of the supposed sorcerer. The soul of a cow whose fat had been used for illumination during religious ceremonies was believed to go directly to heaven: this last belief, however, must be of post-conquest origin. 787 761 754 825 774

Among themselves the Indians are jovial and contented. The approach of the men whom we often met on the trails around Huila was usually first detected by the sound of the 157 533 283

/287 cont./

63/ climate and vegetation. Although Paez culture is certainly unitary, each parcialidad presents different nuances which are evident even in the mythology and language. The antropomimia is quite different in each parcialidad.

Nowadays there are 16 parcialidades, four of which belong to the municipio of Inzá and the remaining 12 to that of Páez (Belalcázar).

771 Magic and medicine.--There are three institutions which
782 go in unison and encroach upon others, which explain the causation of sicknesses, the treatment for them, and serve as escape valves for aggression. They are:

a) The one made up of the trilogy of supernatural beings named Duende /ghost/, Echi, and Arco /rainbow/;

b) The institution of the medicine man, and

c) Sorcery.

753 a) Duende, Arco, and Echi are the causers of illnesses,
776 each of them producing a specific symptomatology which serves
[755] as the basis for the diagnostics of common people, a diagnostics
[787] corroborated by the divining activities of the medicine man. These supernatural beings cause illnesses by puncture, aroused by the annoyance that they suffer because of the sorcerers' practices, or by those who had contact with corpses and did not go through the mandatory purification, or because people have passed through places that are taboo, such as bogs and lagoons, or have failed to comply with the rites and ceremonies when slaughtering cattle or when harvesting new clearings, or because they have not observed "custom" at the first menstruation or childbirth.

756 b) In the institution of the medicine man the functions of
787 divination, magic, and medicine are entwined. More precisely, the medicine man is a diviner-shaman-curer who has undergone an /288/ apprenticeship in the profession with an esteemed and experienced master or with the help of a guardian spirit seen in actuality or in dreams; the latter are the best

medicine men.

000 /288 cont./
756 medicine men. To cure the patient, he divines which of the
755 supernatural beings caused the illness, proceeds to placate him,
[787] and then prescribes medicines to the patient. If the placation is not successful, the patient literally sinks into despair. The indispensable articles for all curing are coca, tobacco, and
[462] aguardiente. The medicine men are persons well along in years
[754] and belonging to the masculine sex. They cannot cure the effects of sorcery, although they can protect themselves against it.

754 c) Fifty per cent of all illnesses, the informants state,
[753] are caused by sorcery, and by the same token 50 per cent of
[761] the deaths, since sorcery is incurable. The sorcerers conceal their activities, and it seems that all adults are potential sor-
754 cerers. The institution of sorcery is a true escape valve for the
154 strong aggressive impulses of the natives and to some extent plays the role of a social regulator. Through it are channeled the jealousy, resentment, and vengefulness of the natives. The victims of sorcery are the most skillful and hard-working individuals, those who have a good house, good crops, and a growing number of domestic animals. Harvests and plantings
[683] generally are the object of sorcery. Sorcerers who are publicly unmasked are exposed to the anger of the community and even to exile, a measure taken not so much on account of their be-
[685] ing sorcerers as of their being thieves. All sorcerers are thieves. Sorcery appears with considerable frequency in the symbolism of dreams.

583 Marriage.--Marriage is monogamous and patrilocal. Both
[595] the chroniclers and Dr. Gregorio Hernández de Alba speak of
[591] the custom of the year of probation to acquaint the man with
[177] the skill, energy, and fecundity of his future wife. A thriving
[797] institution in times past, it is now in sharp decline owing to the action of mission work. Obviously, the purpose of this institution is to find out whether the woman is hard-working, faithful, not a thief, and to understand her ways in order to establish a lasting union. Nowadays the Paez, before being married

/182 cont./

423 The work on the land is a daily exercise in co-operation.
461 Owership by an Indian is an unquestionable right, and its de-
[173] fense a categorical imperative. Lliban and Juan Chiracol
[628] fought the Pijao for the ownership of the land and to defend an
[648] inalienable right. Likewise, because the whites covet their land, they do not like to have them around /183/ and avoid receiving them under some pretext or other. Their security and
[735] their happiness lie in the ownership of land. Poverty as they understand it, a shortage of food and livestock, is due solely to the laziness of those who suffer it.

857 Children grow up in continuous communion with the
868 activities of their parents. While the girl helps her mother in household tasks and goes out with her to bring firewood from their respective clearings, the boys with their machete on their shoulder and their pouches of coca and mambe /lime/, exactly like their fathers, clean the clearings, build fences, weed their plantings, and when the maize ripens and the wheat grows tall, they spend the day defending them against the attacks of parrots, guaras, borugos, squirrels, and coatis. At an early age they are already doing the same tasks, but with the hope of building a house, marrying, raising children, and owning livestock, large quantities of coca, and sugar cane for their
342 chicha. In a way, the house is a necessary supplement to their pieces of land; furthermore, many are for the period of the clearings. The selection of a site for the house does not take into account either the beauty of the landscape or the levelness of the terrain, but rather the inaccessibility of both. Only when the house is to last for more than one generation will they attend to certain requisites: solidity, construction or privately owned land, and the selection of an adequate site by the medicine man (tẽ ẽu). One fine day the owner selects a site: "This is a good place to build a house and to live," he
[750] says. Then he takes there the medicine man, who during the
[787] night "thinks about" whether the site is suitable or unsuitable; he chews coca and remedies, takes mouthfuls of aguardiente

/183 cont./

342 and blows them into the air; with a small staff called "tama"
756 he cleaves the air in such a way that sometimes he appears to
787 be frightening away the spirits, sometimes threatening them,
[823] and sometimes clubbing them. If the signs (reflex movements)
are felt on the right side, the site is favorable; the opposite
denotes that the site is uninhabitable. The spirits are angry,
[761] or there are Pijao bones and gold at the site. If the site has
not been selected by the medicine man, even if the house is a
handsome one it cannot be occupied, for its occupants would
die, beginning with the children, continuing with the mother,
342 and ending with the father. The medicine man himself pro-
756 hibits people from living in a house built without the fulfill-
ment of this requisite. The medicine man's dictum is rewarded
with a bottle of aguardiente, an egg (1) of coca, tobacco, a

[804] 1. A measure of weight equivalent to the weight of a hen's egg.

calabash of chicha, and usually a meal with chicken. /184/
[789] This is called "care" /cuido/. When the house is finished,
the medicine man will place special remedies at the ridgepole
to prevent the ghosts or echi from descending by way of it or
from being angered.

342 Then come the mingas /communal work-parties/. A house
476 is built with the help of others. The people are invited, in-
cluding the medicine man himself, who goes to work as a
laborer. The work is organized. First, they go to the wood-
land for wood; under the influence of the guarapo, voices re-
sound, loud laughter is heard, and the deep sound of the
"cacho" /horn/ rumbles in the montañas, multiplied by its
342 echoes. Soon they report to the man in charge. They level
335 out the ground that will serve as the house floor; they dig holes
476 in which to sink the posts approximately two meters apart,
driven in solidly, and tied at the top to cross-pieces with lianas
(guák); the posts outline the shape of the house, and they will

/199 cont./

389 Explosive charges are made in the following way. The powder is packed into small sheepskin cartridges; these cartridges /200/ are tied tightly with maguey thread. Then they are pierced in such a way that the powder can come in contact with the correspondent fuse. They make with these explosive charges:

Firecrackers: a charge attached to a short stick.

Skyrockets: reed tubes full of powder, with one explosive charge, attached to a long pole. They rise to considerable heights and end with an explosion.

Slingers: firecrackers made of three charges attached to a stick.

Castle: a structure resembling half an ellipse, made of flexible rods to which the explosive charges are attached.

[798] The fireworks-maker is selected especially by the fiestero or the albacero, and at the time of the fiesta he distributes the firecrackers personally among the elders with a great show [465] of deference. The albacero must kill a pig or a sheep to reward him for his work.

[461] The making of these objects is slow: a month or even more, not because it is complicated, but because steady work on it is tiresome.

389 During the making of these firecrackers, with the relative ●787 tranquility that this implies, a man may come to know of a 758 destiny which he possibly had not suspected: becoming a medicine man. While sitting at his work he may feel the "signs" that herald his future activity. This was the case with a medicine man of Calderas. As a young man he knew nothing about remedies or "signs." But as he was making firecrackers, he felt the signs. He had five children at the time. After that he learned what the good and the bad remedies were from another famous medicine man. He put his knowledge into practice, cured a sick man, and devoted himself to being a medicine man. The signs, they say, are sent by God.

526 /214 cont./
796 reach the houses, where they have a short rest while their
492 owners greedily drink the guarapo offered them by the occupants.

The fiesteros and albaceros, accompanied by a great
796 number of people, go once more to the priest. They bring
793 him the names of the fiesteros for the following year. The priest reads aloud the names of the fiesteros, the albaceros, and the mayordomos. The pronunciation of each name is accompanied by the ringing of a bell which is entrusted to a fiscal; when the announcement is over, there is a general pealing of bells. Each fiestero is advised by 15 to 20 mayordomos.

796 Then, kneeling in front of the church door, the old fiesteros hand over the banners to the new ones. They form a procession, and upon ending it, in the same spot where the banners were exchanged, they hand them over to the síndico, who waves them in the air one by one and ends by seeming to
●[787] drive them into the ground. If by chance the banner wraps it-
[763] self around its own staff, some misfortune will befall the new fiestero. As a rule it is an omen of death, which fills with great sadness the fiestero whose banner had this happen to it.

Now each fiestero goes home, bearing in his hands the banner of the saint.

XXI

Banquet for the Albacero

796 After the procession the fiestero goes to the house of the
574 albacero, where he receives attention with the above-mentioned calabashes of chicha and bottles of aguardiente. When this feast is over, the company moves to the house of the fiestero. In the center of the sala there stands next to the pango the table with two burning candles at the ends, the calabashes of chicha, and the liters of aguardiente. The albacero, síndico,

5:Bernal Villa--1 E-5 (1952-1953) ~~1964~~ SC15 Paez SC15

Medicine and Magic Among the Paez

by

S. Bernal Villa

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Chapter I

The Te Eu

Note:

sh is equivalent to the French ch (chaise).
ch is equivalent to the Spanish ch (techo).
j is equivalent to the French j (jardin).
h is equivalent to the Spanish j (rojo).

Symptomatology. The good curers, the authentic té eu, in whom the society believes and trusts, those who constitute a monolith of security in the face of the mysteries of illness and death, are those whose vocations were determined by a vision, more precisely by a hallucination. In this case, the fate of the men is inescapable, permits no deviation. This leitmotiv, vigorous in times past, is now on the wane.

A curer from the Parcialidad /a territorial division/ of Santa Rosa describes his vision as follows: "At the age of six, while I was tending a field in the montaña, I saw my mother dressed in black, with a white hat and pouches. She chided me for the poor quality of my work, saying that animals were ruining the field. She walked on and I followed her. At the stream she vanished. I went to my home and found out that the woman was not my mother, since at the moment of the

* /221 cont./

756 vision she was at a 'minga' /communal work-party/ cooking
● 757 pork for the laborers.

"There was no doubt but that this was a spirit telling me that I should become a curer. The pouches that she carried indicated this to me. This is why I never fail to take my medicine pouches."

Another curer, from the Parcialidad of Calderas, relates his vision as follows: "One night I saw a beautiful child, fair, with the hair of a woman, reddish, and dressed in a wrapper. This child was the Ghost /Duende/, /222/ from whom the
[178] curer's power comes. He is the same Kallumb as is seen by true curers, because nowadyas there are some who learn to cure through the teaching of others."

In the Parcialidad of San Andrés they say that the Ghost visits the curer when someone goes to consult him, to tell him what brought him and the advice that he should give.

It may also happen, says a Calderuno /native of Calderas/
[262] 19 years old, that someone wishes to become a curer. Then,
[263] he subjects himself to a diet. For one month he eats no salt or ají /Capsicum/. He goes at once to the mountain, alone, his head lowered, lost in thought, with the hope of finding a good friend whose counsel he can ask. At a magnificent spot, pleasant to the senses, he meets a man advanced in years, short of stature, good, generous, amiable in conversation, and amply educated, who chews coca like other Indians and, like them, also carries kuetand yahas (pouches). Filled with trust, he explains his wishes to become a curer, arguing that there are many people who are dying. He asks about the good remedies. The one questioned answers that there are good remedies for curing the sick and presents him with a pouch of them. This one is for such-and-such an illness, he says, this other one for that one, and so on successively, specifying the medicinal value of the remedies in the pouch. He instructs him in their use, technique and method. Up to the way of

* /222 cont./
756 making the tama /a staff/. That man's vision is a personal
● 787 one. No one else can see it. And it is the same thing that gives the "signs," without which it is impossible to cure, even if one knows the medicinal value of the remedies. When the interview is over, the man returns home with joy manifest on his face. He finishes his apprenticeship with another curer, begins to cure his children and members of his family, and soon, once his reputation has spread, others will come and request his services.

One who is going to be a curer sees visions from boyhood: Thunder /Trueno/ or the Ghost. This is the illumination of his future destiny. He cannot evade it, for Thunder or the Ghost may drive him insane.

[263] When a child tells of having had a vision, he is immediately prohibited from eating ají, his salt ration is reduced, and
[868] he is bathed with remedies. Then a good curer is sought to instruct him, and when he has the secrets of medicine, that teacher leads him to the lagoon to be consecrated by Thunder. "To see Thunder" -- says an /223/ informant -- "having him show the medicines, is a sign that one will become a very good curer."

* 754 When someone has a vision, care is taken that the sorcerer
756 does not find out about it, for out of wickedness he might show
787 him ají and hep (a plant) and drive him insane. This happened to the curer from Santa Rosa mentioned above. "He would finally have tossed me into the Páez river" -- he said -- "if a curer from Huila had not cured me. Even today, when I am drunk, I have crazy moments and sing."

* 756 Period of instruction. Instruction is given by a curer of
868 great repute in an empirical way, for the pupil accompanies his teacher for several years, during which he learns how to handle the tama, to recognize the value of the remedies, to interpret signs, to master the technique of the treatments. The first cures are usually accomplished with his children or

/224 cont./

756 At the edge of the lagoon the teacher-curer digs a hole,
778 over which, and from the end of the tama, he suspends the
782 camarico. Thunder requests from the pupil 10, 20, or 30 centavos, coins which he deposits in the hole. Then, he lowers the pouch and covers the hole with stones and earth. The curer bathes the pupil with shu and shulape (1). Thunder

1. 1. Cf. below, "Remedies" /see pp. 22ff./.

draws near to receive other gifts which he requests by means of the signs, to state that the youth may learn how to cure, to prohibit him emphatically from collecting bad remedies (for sorcery), and to request him to be charitable with people. Last of all, he orders him to return home.

756 At the teacher's home, chicha and aguardiente are drunk,
868 and meat is eaten with stew. Then the teacher presents
755 remedies to the pupil and tells him that henceforth he will
778 merely need to apply them, warning about the patients who are in a very serious condition, but with the help of God he should try to cure them.

756 The signs. The signs are reflex movements which manifest
787 themselves in the musculature of the curer. "They are like
[827] a circulation" -- says one té eu, "as when a person's muscle
[755] twitches in the eye or hand. The interpretation of these signs is done by the curer."

[779] The signs come from Thunder or the Ghost. That is to say, from assisting spirits. There are also those who say that they come from God.

755 The signs are fundamental, basic in Paez medicine.
756 Without them there cannot be curers, and there cannot be a curer who does not know how to interpret the signs. It is useless to have knowledge of the medicinal value of the plants. The curer is no more than an intermediary, a spokesman for

* /224 cont./
756 the assisting spirit. It is not enough to know whether certain
755 medicines correspond to certain signs. The té eu must /225/
divine which remedies will be useful for the particular case.
This is why the curer always carries a pouch with all the known
remedies. He takes one out and consults. If the signs do not
circulate, the remedy is useless; he takes out another and waits.
When they are felt insistently, then the remedy is appropriate.
Since the signs are given by the assisting spirit, it is he who
cures.

* 756 The signs may contribute to the discovery of a vocation.
463 If a man engaged in a manual task that does not imply motion
787 (the making of firecrackers, plates for cooking, pottery)
suddenly feels the movement of the signs, he must seek out a
teacher so that he will instruct him in the art of curing. He
cannot disobey them or he would go mad.

* 756 Even the curers themselves must practice the signs. If,
787 for example, no sick clients have come for two days, the
755 té eu must visit his Kachí (2) and practice the signs; otherwise,

2. See below, "Divination sites" /see p. 9/.

they may drive him insane. For this reason, the curer must
[888] practice his profession until old age begins. Old men lose the
signs because they cannot travel to go to the Kachí and practice
* the signs.

756 All the informants affirm that signs on the left side signify
787 something bad, while those on the right indicate something
827 good. As a rule, the signs that are given in a certain part of
755 the body have a specific meaning. Minor differences may be
noted in the information provided by the curers, but they are
[124] matters of form rather than substance. There follows a table
of the symbolism of the signs, gathered from many profane
informants and curers from the Parcialidades of Santa Rosa,
Calderas, Togoima, Avisame, and San Andrés.

/225 cont./

* 756 ●727 127 755

Right:
The signs go down the leg: death; remedies will not help.
The signs climb up the foot and the tibia: a member of the family will die and go to heaven.
The signs go up the outer edge of the foot to above the ankle: the remedies will work.
The signs occur between the ankle and the heel and cross to the same spot on the

Left:
The signs go along the inner side of the foot: the pest is leaving; the patient is encouraged.
The signs go up the outer side of the foot: the sorcerer wins; the patient dies.
The signs go up from the ankle to the back of the knee: sorcery; field has a spell on it.
These same signs, but first

/226/

left side: contest between the Té eu and the sorcerer.
Calf (gemelluses): visit of a good woman; the ghost comes singing to point out the remedies.
Calf (outer part of the digits): a good man is coming to visit the curer.
Kneecap, signs that go down: a person will die from the rainbow or ghost.
Thigh: the signs run to the back of the knee and disappear: the person will die; fierce pest; serious matter.
Signs go down from the groin to the foot: the

occurring on the right and immediately passing to the left: rainbow /arco/ and Ghost.
Calf (gemelluses): a sorceress is coming to visit the curer.
Calf (extending from the digits): a sorcerer is coming to visit the curer.
Kneecap: fear of the sorcerer because he is winning over the Té eu; fear, fright, disaster.
Thigh, the signs go down: bad person going by.
Rib (the tenth): bad person is coming.
Back of the hand: the ghost does not accept the remedies because they are incomplete.
Palm of the hand: the person

* /226 cont./

758 Right:
787 wife is about to
827 menstruate.
755 Rib (the tenth): the patient will die at once; sting of Kallumb.
The signs occur between the ring finger and heart: on the following day the person will wield a shovel to bury a dead person.
Palm of the hand: the person will receive a present; greeting from the ghost; improvement of the pest.
Palm of the hand and passes to the throat: Pijao "dirt."
Thumb and palm of the hand (simian line): the lost animal will appear, the signs indicate that it will be caught.
Biceps: a good person will ask him to be godfather at a baptism.
The signs go from the ear to the shoulder: the ears will be cut off.
Cheekbone to the outer corner of the eye: the patient will improve; the stolen animal will appear.
Eye and down the nose: wake.

Left:
will die of the pest; the ghost did not accept remedies.

Signs in the arm: the echi is coming.
Biceps: same meaning as for the right side.
Wrist: someone will give a scare; he will be caught.
Shoulder and they make an arc through the chest: rainbow.
Cheekbone to the outer corner of the eye: the stolen animal was eaten.
Eye and down the nose: a dead person.

/226 cont./

756 When the signs occur at the vertex (crown), the sorcerer
787 is about to send the pest, and if they go from the vertex to
827 the left hand, the person is under a spell.

755 If the signs occur in the gluteal muscles, an animal belonging to the person has died and the vultures are eating it.

756 In this way, the curers can know the nature of the illness
755 /227/ and the type of remedies required. To determine the spell and the sorcerer responsible.

To divine whether a stolen object can be recovered or not, and who the thieves are. To learn whether a patient will improve or die. To detect the presence of the Ghost, Rainbow, and Echi. To know in advance about the visits of good or bad persons.

The act of perceiving the signs is called to divine or "to
[273] think." Every patient must always bring tobacco, aguardiente,
[276] and coca. The aguardiente is used to call Thunder, Ghost and Echi and to satisfy them. The chewed coca and tobacco serve to make the signs circulate.

Divination sites. The té eu has a special divination site called Kachí. In it he practices the signs and perceives them
[263] when he has a patient to cure. If the patient is not in serious condition and comes in person to the house of the curer, then he can divine on its ground, even though there is the obstacle of the presence there of ají and salt, articles that Thunder does not like. The treatment, that is to say, the perception of signs and the corresponding cleansing, is carried out at night, at two or three in the morning.

If the patient is in very serious condition, the té eu must go to a site where he will not be disturbed by the shouting of people, the barking of dogs, or the noises of animals. A site almost completely removed from human haunts, such as a bog or a lagoon. He takes with him two or three hairs taken from the crown of each member of the family present, with which he makes a ball that he places amidst the shu /Sphagnum/.

* /233 cont./

756 called Juan Tama, who enjoys the fame of having been the
[755] founder of pueblos, a victorious warrior, a good leader,
[532] legislator, and famed curer.

[552] The tama is a defensive and offensive weapon of a sacred
[773] character /234/ and used exclusively by the curers; it protects
[751] from the attacks of the ptans and wards them off. It is a gift
[787] from Thunder and his badge. In visions, it is the first thing
[428] that he shows. When the curer dies, it may be inherited by a young curer, but generally it is left near the cemetery.

*756 A curer from Calderas, possibly the one most imbued with
539 his mission to defend the health of the people, states that the tama was left from a deed performed by the Virgin in defense of her children. On a certain occasion the sea was rising implacably over the surface of the earth, putting the lives of men in grave danger. The Virgin took pity on them, brought out the tama, and made the motions now made by the curer. The waters retreated. She left this staff for the man who became a curer. This was the origin of the tama.

Another curer from the Parcialidad of San Andrés gave us the following account concerning the origin of the tama:

"The elders say that the tama was left by Thunder himself. A man had a potato field and a rancho in the montaña. He went to harvest it with his son. One afternoon the boy refused to accompany his father, preferring to remain in the rancho. On the following day he disappeared without leaving a trace anywhere. All the steps taken by the father to locate his whereabouts were unsuccessful. On the eighth day, the boy reappeared in the rancho. The father naturally inquired as to his whereabouts and his activities. He replied that he had gone to the señor papa, who had given him the stick he carried in his hands, called tama, and aguardiente and remedies. The aguardiente was cold water from a lagoon, and the remedies were in a pouch. No sooner had he finished his tale than he fell into a deathlike trance. On the fifteenth day, at death's door, he asked his father to hand him the tama, for the señor

/241 cont./

731 Since the ceremonies mentioned have some differential
755 aspects, we shall look at them in detail.

*756 Wé ká (pest-send). When the pest appears in a community,
783 smallpox, whooping cough, which are rapidly finishing off /242/ the population, the cabildo takes the initiative for conjuring away the danger. It requests from the people coca, tobacco, and aguardiente, they arranges for a pig and invite a famous curer who can talk to Thunder. From the edge of a lagoon, by means of good remedies and the help of Thunder, the curer must ward off the pest.

[782] They sacrifice the pig. From its left side they take a small piece from all the organs and place them in a new pouch. They gather glowworms (Echis) and go to the lagoon. The retinue made up of the curer and the cabildo leaves at three in the afternoon, and twelve hours later they will be back at the point of departure. Meanwhile, the women have been busy preparing the meat, without eating a single piece of it. They have not slept either, for they have an obligation to wait for the retinue wide-awake. When they arrive, the meat and stew are distributed, and the chicha and aguardiente are drunk. With this the people are relieved and the pest is banished from the community.

755 Ut ká ("dirt"-send). This is exclusively a family affair.
*756 When the members of a family are dying, there is ptans, says
783 an informant, while another one thinks, with more reason, that it is the angry spirits of the dead who want to finish off the family. In such a case, the eldest of the survivors arranges for coca, aguardiente, and tobacco, gathers the family members together, and calls the curer.

[787] The latter divines up to eight or ten nights. He captures up to 12 glowworms. He asks for a castrated and fat pig. He ties it up for an entire night and divines as to whether the souls of the dead members of the family will accept it. At dawn he orders it killed. The slaughterers, the chicha-makers, the carriers of the sugar cane, and the women cooks are not

/242 cont./

755 members of the family, that is to say, they do not carry the
*756 surname of those who are performing Ut ká. None of them 1
783 may work, not even at making hats or pouches.
[461] The hog is skinned and washed over a hole; the hair and offal in general must fall there. When Ut ká is not being per-
● [787] formed, the hog is skinned in a trough. Meanwhile, the curer
[782] divines as to how much meat is wanted by the souls. The latter specify the quantity, and the té eu translates it on a small stick, which is immediately passed to the slaughterers, who must cut out the pieces in accordance with this measure and put them into a pouch. The curer drinks aguardiente and also has assistants who help in perceiving the signs.

[252] /243/ The women prepare the maize for "mute" /stewed
[262] corn/, make small tortillas, as many as there are souls of the dead in the family. They also prepare every kind of fruit and food, plantains, arracacha, bread, yuca, bananas, granadillas, cucumbers, maize, eggs, meats, etc., to protect them against the ptans. They put a little piece of the foods into the pouch.

755 They also prepare some wooden dolls, in a number equal
*756 to that of the dead. They dress them like Indians: hat, poncho,
783 trousers, shirt. About 40 meters from the house they dig a
532 grave just as they do to bury the dead: a rectangular cavity with a lateral chamber. The curer weighs out two eggs of coca, picks up two cigars and a bottle of aguardiente. At about eight at night all those from the family leave, except those who are not. The cleansing is about to be performed. Then black clouds, like balls, gather. The curer blows remedies toward them. After two hours, the clouds go toward the left, clearing the horizon and leaving the stars visible in the immensity of space. The curer proceeds with the burial. In the lateral chamber of the tomb he places the dolls (representations of the souls) and a candle of laurel wax, after blowing the remedies at them. He closes up the chamber with a stone and then puts in the glowworms and the pouch of food.

1 [i.e. the family members--Analyst]

/246 cont./

776 of remedies. In addition, some say that he has a long beard, does not wear trousers, shows his genitals, and carries a musical instrument called tíngalo (triangle).

*[756] He is a curer and teacher of all the Paez té eu; a protector of the nasa (people) and to some extent even their legislator. Sat (cacique) at the time of the Pijao, he defended them from their voracity and gave them good advice. He ordered that the staffs of command of the cabildo members be washed in the lagoon, abodes of Thunder, to prevent the pest from killing the people.

[823] Thunder is an immortal spirit. He is not seen. He is the guardian of gold and he kills those who dare to collect it. He 776 warns the people /247/ when an evil white is coming to visit 821 them by means of a very strong peal of thunder given when it 787 is not going to rain. If thunder strikes in front of a house, this indicates to the owner that he has the pest and that he should seek out a curer to cure him. If it thunders first at the sorcerer's house and immediately passes to that of the curer, it is a sign that the former is casting a spell on him.

* 756 When a patient requested the services of a curer from 776 Santa Rosa, a torrential rain accompanied by thunder fell during the night. On the following day he told the patient that he had talked to Thunder, who had advised him not to treat him unless he brought him everything that he had requested.

The only being that Thunder fears is the devil. He knows more treatments than the Ghost.

* 756 A curer-sorceress from Santa Rosa says that Thunder, called 776 Manuel José Tipo, had fallen in love with her. He gave her 787 serenades with the tíngalo, which were more frequent when the sorceress swept the patio of her house. During the serenades he taught her the remedies. He was at the point of carrying her away to the lagoon, if she had not defended herself vigorously.

/248 cont./

776 child to help the Indians, to protect them, and to instill a belief in her.

The ghosts look like angels and have a body covered with [727] down. Women may see them making the motions of weaving, in such a case they will become good weavers. Men may see them with pouches, indicating that they will become curers.

It is said that there are large and small ghosts. The former, when they rise, leave the rainbow behind them, like a trail. The latter do not keep company with the former and are less fierce. Both shriek like professional mourners.

756 The female Té eu. Women can be curers, people state;
562 there is no reason why the signs would not circulate for them. Nevertheless, no woman is a curer. In Santa Rosa there is a woman who, according to her own confession, is a good curer, has seen Thunder and conversed with him, and has good remedies. Thunder even gave her a wooden doll called "Soft wind [754] of Thunder," with which she gives treatments. But the community regards her as a most dangerous sorceress, and the cabildo has burned her remedies and has put her in the stocks. Furthermore, all the deaths caused by sorcery are blamed on her.

On the other hand, the behavior shown by the community is the same as that observed for all sorcerers, that is to say, detachment and resentment against her. A curer from Calderas explains the phenomenon as follows: women are cleverer than men; they have brilliant ideas and in general dominate the men. [754] A woman can become a curer, but at any time she might turn into a sorceress, because she is cleverer than a man. Sometimes she gets to the point where nothing matters to her. Hence women do not learn medicine.

756 Taboos of the Té eu. They refer above all to sex and food.
834 They do not have the full force and tenacity which they have
262 in other cultures.

/249/

* 756 While the curer is perceiving the signs, he cannot cohabit.
834 The sorcerer who is aware of this interdiction will, out of
754 malice and wickedness, take his wife to the kachí and cohabit with her, with the aim that the signs will not circulate for the
[826] curer and the glowworms will not rise. And to add to the wickedness, they leave in the kachí pubic hairs, which are poisonous.

* 756 The curer cannot eat ají, especially the one called ají
262 de montaña, because this would anger Thunder and the Ghost.
[263] They do not eat salt, or consume very little of it. Thunder did not eat salt, they say. They eat the meat of the "pro-
[785] visions" after performing the cleansing. In the ceremonies of ut ká, wé ká, and ut peu, they fast for one day. That is to say, they eat at daybreak and eat again on the following day. Furthermore, since the treatments are given at night, frugality makes them sleep less.

● 787 Dreams of the Té eu. The interpretation of Paez dreams, as in the generality of popular interpretations of dreams, observes a certain relation between the manifest content of the dream and the action to come. To put it better, future events are deduced from the manifest content of the dream.

They believe firmly in the omens of the dreams, but they
* do nothing to forestall them. It is as if it were a fatality of
[756] destiny. There are no dreams peculiar to the curers. Interpretation is a common patrimony of the people. The attitude toward these omens is the same: to wait indifferently. Here are a few examples out of many:

787 To dream that a snake bites him, sorcery. But if in the
754 dream another person kills the snake at the moment when it bites him, a good curer will turn the sorcery from the victim to the sorcerer himself.

To dream that a herd of swine attacks him, they are practicing sorcery.

To dream of killing a pig, the sorcerer is going to be killed.

/249 cont./

•787 To dream of jaguars and cats, there is a Pijao "huaca" inside the house.

To dream of a hearth, there is gold at the spot.

[763] To dream that a jaguar is eating the chickens, the person will die of the Pijao pest.

To dream of a cow, the wife will die.

To dream of killing a bull or a horse, a good person will die (curers):

To dream that wasps are stinging him, they are going to catch him.

[763] /250/ To dream that the teeth are falling out painlessly, a close relative will die.

To dream of eating ají, the person will become angry for insignificant reasons.

To dream of finding a new chumbe /band/, they are working for the rainbow to sting him; if he dreamed that he was wrapped in it, the rainbow has stung him.

To dream of carrying beams or canoes, he will help to bury a dead person.

To dream of receiving silver coins, he will suffer from blennorrhagia.

To dream of drowning, there will be a war and he will be taken prisoner, or he will simply be drafted into the army.

*751 Payment of the Te eu. As a rule, the curers do not collect fees either in money or in kind. Their services are free. In the confirmation of the profusion the first thing that Thunder recommends is to be charitable toward people. One curer states that he does not cure as a business, for he collects neither money nor animals; people reward him with a small gift. Another curer is more dogmatic. To exploit people is to incur God's anger. The people's gratitude is always expressed in the "provisions" (meat, chicha, and aguardiente).

Out of the articles that the patient brings them for the treatments, only a little coca is left over for them. From the ceremonies for the initiation of the harvest they receive cooked

* /252 cont./

756 They are very tractable, friendly, and in our cultural
156 terms we would say that they have a marvelous gift for dealing
157 with people.

[886] When they grow old, they cease to perceive the signs.
[787] They believe that when a curer dies, his death is heralded
by thunder. They live in permanent tension to counter the
[821] attacks of sorcerers. At the slightest symptom, they go to their
[763] kachí to divine and to take the appropriate precautions. They
eat little so as not to sleep at night; they do not suffer from
insomnia. They refrain from sexual relations and from ají
during their treatments.

[731] They attract the entire concern of the community when
epidemics occur. The true curers, those conscious of their
profession, are temperate, engrossed in the fight against sick-
ness, and of a kindly disposition. They inspire trust and do
not show egoism; they readily explain the secrets of their pro-
fession.

* Competition among the Té eu. Some rivalry seems to
756 exist among the curers, and the natives even list the zones of
578 action of the curers. It is certain that a curer will boast of
having overpowered another in the latter's own area of practice.
A curer from Santa Rosa tells how he overpowered a colleague.

755 The informant went to give treatments to a white patient
*756 at Alto de Atarraya. There he found another curer who was
578 giving remedies that were useless. The patient provided for
them very well, with abundant chicha and aguardiente. The
new arrival drank with care. His colleague had already eaten
the pork, but the patient was following /253/ him. The two
curers prepared to fight. The new curer took his tama and
his coca and at nine at night prepared to divine. His assisting
spirit told him that the other one had given false remedies.
Thus he had to learn the effective remedies. He discovered
that the harm had been done by a native servant girl, along with
some neighbors who did not like him. At once he called in
the cook in order to question her and make sure of what she had

/253 cont./

75 month went by, and we were unable to catch it. We did not
539 sleep. The curer would make another hole, and another. We
774 were tired. 'We shall catch that scoundrel /254/ yet,' he
would say to me. When we went on to the seventh hole, at
the crowing of the first cock, the soul came. The curer had
his tama ready, and at once, zoom! he gave it a blow and it
fell into the hole; he tossed earth on top of it and tamped it
down well. After a few moments the soul made a whistling
sound. 'We killed it,' the curer exclaimed triumphantly. I
saw the sorcerer's soul. Then the curer told me to go back,
for I was cured. He advised me to take remedies with me,
since there are many robbers along the way. Thus it came to
pass. I was careful at the dangerous spots. The signs indicated
to me the presence of robbers and at once I blew remedies at
* them (kit sust). They went to sleep.

756 Farther on I met some people who were pursuing a criminal.
539 They gave me coca and aguardiente so that I might prepare
789 the remedies at my house and help to capture the criminal.
Thus it came to pass. I put chayuts around my feet and the
criminal was unable to walk. They caught him."

75 Others say that the one bewitched, with his relatives,
774 goes to the curer, bearing coca, tobacco, and aguardiente.
They kill a pig and put a piece from each organ into a small
pouch. This is the grease for catching the sorcerer's soul.
At the crowing of the first cock, when everyone is chewing
coca, the soul comes to get the small pouch, immediately
falls into the hole, and the curer tosses upon it fierce echi,
remedies, and the chews of all, and covers it and tamps down
[783] the earth. This is how he kills the sorcerer. He immediately
cleanses the sick person and his relatives. The danger has
* been averted.

756 When the curer feels the signs at the crown of his head,
● 717 ptans is being sent to him. He goes without delay to the kachí
783 with pringamoza, paramo cabuya, tama, and flica to wait

/254 cont./

for it. If a black cloud draws near, he cuts it with the tama. It is the ptans.

The relations between these two men, on whose activities a great part of the security of the group rests, are not cordial; they are relations of latent and permanent aggression. The sorcerers wait for carelessness on the part of the curer. If they catch him asleep, they kill him at once. The sorcerers use pieces of glass to put an end to the wisdom of the Te eu, that is to say, to the signs. They can call sicknesses, combine all the pests, and send them to another parcialidad or to the curer himself so that they will kill.

When a té eu meets a sorcerer, they barely greet each other; at night he takes every precaution.

The curers can accuse a sorcerer before the cabildo, but they are afraid to do so.

/255/

Chapter II

Nasa Jihi

The vision that decides a destiny. Just as a té eu needs to see visions in order to decide on his vocation, the sorcerer also decides by means of visions. For example, if in the beak of a bird there is seen a donkey with open mouth into which mosquitoes fly, or simply pigs, the person is fated to become a sorcerer. These visions are personal and usually occur in isolated spots, such as ravines or bogs, where animals cannot come, on any day or at any hour, for this can take place in the daytime or at night.

When a person claims to have seen a donkey, people say that he is going to eat people. It is commonly stated that those who like to walk about at night are more likely to become sorcerers, for they have the opportunity to meet with evil spirits.

/255 cont./

754 It is said that one who is to become a sorcerer does not need a teacher; he will discover the remedies and the evil spirits. Nevertheless, in the Parcialidad of Santa Rosa it is said that the most dangerous sorceress in the place teaches people how to do witchcraft.

754 The té eu can easily become sorcerers, if they show in-
*756 terest in becoming familiar with their remedies. A sorcerer can be a good curer and cure people, but nevertheless he will demand better provisions.

754 As a rule, it is unusual for a té eu to be universally
*[756] acknowledged as such, for many people, and the sorcerers among them, commonly designate them as nasa jihi (evil person).

● [787] They may have the visions from a very early age, but the practice of sorcery begins in adulthood and is perfected with maturity. The sorcerers who are publicly acknowledged are about 35 years old, most of them being elders.

/256/ Sorcerers never show their remedies; much less is it possible to attend one of their sessions. This is a concealed activity. One knows who the sorcerers are by public identifi-
[124] cation. All the information obtained about them is provided by the people and sometimes by the curer himself. Neverthe-
[156] less, none of them confesses practicing this activity; rather, on the contrary, they protest their innocence and claim to be the best persons in the community.

[623] The remedies that the sorcerers possess are said to be well
[692] hidden, for if the cabildo were to find them, they would punish them irremediably.

[513] The sorcerers cast their spells at night. The natives say that they do not sleep. No sooner has night fallen than they are chewing coca and tobacco. They sleep during the day. They prefer the dark of night for performing their activities, although they do not have special days or specific hours.

The sorcerers do not introduce objects into the body (toads, hair, etc.), nor can they turn into animals.

/256 cont./

754 Sorceresses are numerous, and it seems that they are the most feared.

[787] Sorcerers receive signs from the devil and the evil spirits who help them appear in the form of snakes, donkeys, or pigs.

[825] They are different from the ghost and Rainbow. It is said that the pig teaches the person to be very fierce or inclined to drunkenness (drunks roll about on the floor like pigs in the mud); the donkey, to be a glutton.

In general it seems that every adult is a potential sorcerer, and all the more so those who deviate from the institutionalized norms of behavior.

754 554 578 Victims of sorcery. The victims of sorcery are found everywhere among the people, without any distinction as to sex or age, status or function. The sorcerer himself commonly takes the initiative, but he is also at the disposal of those who want to employ him.

The victims of sorcery frequently are those people who are efficient, hard-working, and frugal, virtues which in our society lead to the development of a capitalist economy.

754 554 152 578 In Santa Rosa they speak of the lamented death of one of their ex-gobernadores. He was young -- they say -- intelligent, a good conversationalist, /257/ and very hard-working. He owned much land and good fields of coffee, yuca, maize, and sugar cane. Jealousy, the source of discord and injustice, motivated the sorcerers Lorenzo Io and Dolores Oinó, his wife, who joined forces at once with the greatest of the sorceresses, Felisa Ipia, in order to put an end to this man's life. This is the judgment of the curers and the opinion of the community. But the accusation was made by the victim himself, who, in the course of his death agony, which was prolonged, dreamed of the above-mentioned sorcerers. The dying man repeatedly requested that the sorcerers should be sent for, so that he might settle accounts with them. When they left his house to attend to the wish of the dying man, he expired. He died convinced that they had cast a spell upon him.

/352 cont./

261 The natives lose weight -- says an informant -- because first they eat good and abundant food, and then they do not have [262] enough to eat and, naturally, grow thin. In times of scarcity ("hambruna"), they eat frijol cacha and its tender leaves, in the same way as they eat mejicano leaves; cabbages are gathered leaf by leaf, for at this time of year they are less abundant. When there is nothing more to eat they kill a cow and eat meat; they hunt /353/ wild pigeons or chachalacas, cook them, and [273] drink the broth with salt. They also make chicha, and the old [276] people get drunk every day; the consumption of coca increases: "the people chew and chew so as not to feel too hungry"; the little ones suffer hunger because they do not know how to chew, and they eat mejicano, which does not require the salt that they try to save. Finally, they end up going to the fincas of the "whites" to earn food, coca, and a few centavos.

264 When they do not work, they have one meal at 3:00 P.M. and another at 6:00 P.M. After the first meal they lie down and say, "We are making estancia," that is to say, digesting and [261] getting nourishment. Skinned maize with saffron, chicken, plantains, and peppers gives more "estancia."

261 They barely eat enough unskinned maize, which they cook as mote, but they eat to excess the sancocho of potatoes and frijol bueno because it is so good. No one eats an entire chicken. It is divided. In the former state they would believe that the chicken was stolen. Mejicano makes some people vomit, because they are used to eating meat, and they are the ones who might be thieves.

As a rule, everyone eats only one plate of food; if they eat [758] two, they cannot walk. The curers eat little in order to be able to [787] spend the night in vigil, devoted to their activities; they always [262] eat eggs and they avoid eating peppers in order to be able to [263] feel the "signs" (31).

31. Vernal Villa, S. "Magia y Medicina entre los Paeces /Magic and Medicine among the Paez/," p. 248.

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Moguex

The graves were "large and deep," and chiefs were buried with some of 764
their wives and with food and chicha (Cieza, 1932, ch. 32). 766

In Colonial times, according to Del Castillo, the *Páez* removed a 178
dying person from his hut but burned the house if anyone died in it. 764
They had given up cremation, however, and buried in the earth, [763]
building a fence around the grave. Today, they cover the corpse
with a white shroud and place it in the middle of the house with candles
and flowers. Here it is watched over one night by relatives and
friends, and then buried in a cemetery, where each relative tosses
some earth into the grave saying, "Go with God." The mourners 765
then bathe in the river without disrobing, and in the evening hold a 764
banquet with chicha, sancocho (vegetable stew), meat, and tortillas.
For 9 days a cross, a container of water, and a candle must be kept
on the deceased's bed, the water being kept there so that the soul may
drink. The relatives pray every night. A month after the death, a 765
shaman purifies the house. The relatives and friends kill a pig, cut it 756
lengthwise in two halves, one for the shaman, the other for the cere- 783
monial banquet. The shaman sweeps the house floor with the pig's
legs and some special branches, which are later buried. He chews
coca, says some unintelligible words, and spits leaves on the house
walls. The residents and guests then enter the house for the final
proof of purification. The shaman, standing in the center of the
house, gives a dog half a tortilla. If the dog does not die, he divides
the other half among those present. He does the same with a piece of
cooked meat, and if the dog still does not die, he blows chicha in all
directions in the hut, and then divides what remains with those
present. The hut and food are then declared clean The food is then
eaten and much chicha drunk.

The modern burial customs of the *Moguez* differ somewhat from 764
those of the *Páez*. The former dance for 9 days before and after bury- 184
ing a dead child. Because of the special ceremonies for adults, young [766]
Indians gather and prepare wood to be burned at their own funerals. [535]
When an adult dies, relatives and friends bring wood, food, and money
to the house, and work for his family, who pray and weep for 3 days
over the body. On the fourth day, they carry the body in a procession
to the cemetery. Upon passing a house or inn where the deceased [275]
was accustomed to take chicha, they stop and drink. The burial pro-
cedure is like that of the *Páez*. Back at the house, they purify the [783]
objects used by the deceased over the fire, and leave his clothes and
the hide he used as a bed at the river 9 days, after which they may be
used. Meanwhile, the guests remain with the deceased's family, help-
ing them. On the 9th day, they extinguish all lights and go to the 765
nearest hill to mourn, while a shaman remains in the house to catch 756
the soul of the deceased. He chews coca, spits it in all directions, and 787
beats around with sticks to make the soul come out. Then he lights 775
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Moguex

the fire and turns on the lights, and everyone returns to examine a layer of fine ashes placed beforehand at the door. If the ashes shows the footprints of an angel, they believe that the soul is saved, but if the footprints are those of a bird, they believe that the soul is condemned to hell. In some cases they ascertain the fate of the soul by the kind of bird prints.

WARFARE

The *Páez* and *Moguex* were particularly warlike. Their attacks were staged in the morning, accompanied by yells and the sound of trumpets, horns, sea shells, and drums. They were generally armed with great spears or pikes, spear throwers, and slings. When fighting, they would first hurl javelins with their spear throwers, then use their slings, the missiles for which they carried in a pouch, and finally pick up their spears or pikes for man-to-man struggle. They also formed closed squadrons, men with clubs alternating with spearmen. The former would step forward to wield their clubs, and then draw back to their positions for protection. Their best defense was on high ridges, from which they rolled large stones on their enemies. They perfected these natural defenses by cutting or camouflaging paths on which they prepared ambushes. They built trenches or pitfalls, which caused the attacking Spaniards much trouble.

The principal enemies of these peoples were the *Pijao* and the Spanish soldiers. The *Páez* remember the *Pijao* well, and call the stone statues in their territory "portraits of Pijaos," and the painted tombs, "houses of Pijaos." They are afraid to see the statues or visit the tombs.

To insult an enemy killed in war, they cut off his penis and placed it on the road.

Some historians ascribe cannibalism to the *Páez* and the *Moguex*, which seems to have no basis in fact. They kept trophy heads and stuffed the skins of their enemies, but did not eat their foe. There are, however, numerous historical references which state that in the wars against the Spaniards, the *Páez* left the bodies of dead enemies for the *Pijao* to eat, and that they cremated their own dead or dried them over a slow fire, which Friar Pedro Simón (1882–92, ch. 23) mistook for a means for preserving the flesh so that it could be eaten later.

As war trophies, they kept enemy heads, which they preserved with resins, and the skins of their entire bodies, which they filled with ashes (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 3). They even preserved the heads of the Spaniards' horses. They carried these trophies to wars, meetings, and feasts.

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Moguex

upon them by the missionaries. The power to do evil is not limited to the witches, but is possessed by anyone who entertains a momentary feeling of envy, and to women, who may not walk over a stick or a cord stretched on the ground. Contact with women during their menstruation or during the days following childbirth causes the "mokokoy" to persecute the men and make them ill.

Animals possess the power to prognosticate evil. A document written in 1730 [14] tells that an Indian killed a rooster because he had crowed before daybreak, and said, "Rooster, you are forecasting my death, but I shall kill you first." They believe the same thing when certain birds sing. For example, the call of an owl at midnight brings death to someone. And certain small birds called "ulchik" and others called "bich" warn whomever hears their singing that he will meet with disaster. The box turtle follows people warning them that they are going to die.

Del Castillo says that the Indians will not strike white dogs, so that they will not be bitten by them when they enter the future life.

The belief in spirits (kl'iumb) is quite general. Among these spirits is the "pitsuala" which persecutes people, makes them ill, and even kills them. The rainbow, or "Etskituns," causes a rash to break out all over the body of anyone who ventures out while the rainbow shines, and the drizzle that generally accompanies the rainbow will harm a person who gets wet in it if he does not bathe immediately. When the rainbow appears, they stay indoors, and blow or spit tobacco in its direction.

They believe that the lagoon on the snowcapped peak, Huila, is charmed, and that if they try to go near it wind and hail storms rise. Supernatural evil forces are supposed to be present during many social activities, such as dancing, meetings, funerals, house building, and bridge construction. When a bridge is built, two Indians beat the water constantly to drive away evil spirits. When traveling on the mountains they place small stones or coins on top of some large natural rock to assure a successful trip and to avoid angering the spirit of the mountain.

Sometimes these spiritual forces assume a bodily form, as in the case of the fireflies, which bring diseases or which may be wrapped in Santa María leaves and placed in the path of an intended victim. Most feared are the ghosts of the dead, which consequently are the most propitiated. The *Moguex* and the *Páez* ask their permission to dance, and honor them in a special rite, which blends old beliefs with new religious concepts. Thus, offerings are made to the souls during the first days of November, or whenever the curate is able to visit the Indian village. Each person offers some products from his farm, in-

[14] Statement made by Javier de Orozco y Cuellar in a lawsuit by the Indians of Tobotima for the possession of land. From the ecclesiastical files of Belalcázar, or Páez.

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Moguez

cluding vegetables, cornbread, eggs, and chicha, which he piles on the church floor, together with wax candles—one if the person does not have anyone in particular to remember, two for each deceased relative. When Mass begins, they throw flowers on the presbytery, as an offering to the souls of children. Afterward, they go to the cemetery in procession, and the souls of the departed come down to the empty church to take the food. Later, the people sell whatever the souls left or failed to eat. Everyone buys something, the captain's assistant collecting the money, while the constables of the council, raising their whips and shouting insults, prevent frauds in the general disorder. The money from the sale is given to the priest to pay him for the work in the rites. As each person leaves the church, he kisses a crucifix held by the sacristan at the church door. They kiss it once for each dead person whom they wish to remember and pay a cent each time. In addition to offering food at the church, the *Moguez* cover their tables at home with food, which is also intended for the souls of their dead, and at the end of 2 or 3 days they eat the food, saying that they are eating what the souls have left. 769 782 [624] [625]

Christmas and Holy Week are both great occasions for the Indians, who celebrate them with music and some of their ancient rites. Even though a priest may not be present, they conduct the rites in a manner that dates from Colonial days, when a *Páez* Indian named Undachí tried to combine Catholicism with their own religion. The man claimed to be able to see God, who used to come among the Indians and talk to him in his own *Páez* language. The new religion included a chapel, Mass, and candle and flower offerings. 796 771 177 [781]

Sickness.—Sickness was always thought to be caused by witchcraft or by someone's will. The evil force entered the body and made it impure; it had to be expelled or "cleansed," lest death ensue. If a delirious person told who was killing him, the individual mentioned was thought guilty; or, if, after a death, the face of the deceased should appear to somebody, the person was considered responsible. These beliefs are still in force today, and the Indians avoid the causes of sickness, such as having sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman, exposing the body to bad weather while there is a rainbow, and neglecting to bathe after a burial or to purify a house where a death occurred. 753 754 [787] 753 178

To fight disease they still have shamans. *Moguez* shamans use tobacco, coca, plants known as yacuna and chundar, and rum in their practice. After remaining shut up in a dark room for a night, they either confess their inability to cure the sick person or proceed to administer the traditional medicines. Sickness is conceptualized as an animal, which enters the stomach, head, or other part of the body. In former times, the shaman fasted with the sick person, abstaining from salt and fats and taking only coca and chicha. Today, he requires that only the patient fast 756 [753] [785]

1: Nachtigall SC15 Paez SC15

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/For information on the various ceremonies and rituals associated with purification of the participants of a burial, see categories 783, 784, and 765./

/208 cont./

796 assured -- always volunteer. Besides, no one can be forced. But this is not necessary, since there are always more applicants for this position than are needed. On account of the very high costs, however, no one can be fiestero more than three times in all. This number is not the absolute highest, but represents the normal maximum given the financial circumstances of the Paez. One may be albacero more often, however -- up to ten times, I was told -- since this person does not donate any cattle for feeding the village, but merely a pig for the meal on the eve of the festival, and bears the cost of the festival accessories other than the food supply (decorations for the church, candles, fireworks, and the "crazy cow"). The mayordomos only join in with contributions of money to pay the priest.

The fiestero and albacero themselves do not work, but merely serve the guests. For the preparation of the food they have [476] their helpers, men and women, who voluntarily help and at the end of the festival are specially entertained. Above all, carry- [273] ing the sugar cane from the fields for the large amounts of chicha to be prepared is hard work, for every fiestero wants to prepare the most chicha, since a festival is good only if one can be drunk for a long time.

On the principal festive day of the three annual festivals, which are essentially the same in arrangement, the women start to prepare the feast very early in the festival house. The men also arrive, chicha is drunk heartily, and the musicians start play- [541] ing early in the morning. No longer entirely sober, everybody assembles for the Mass, which is accompanied by the setting off of fireworks by those who have remained in front of the church door. [788] Then, led by the music, played incessantly, a procession follows, a parade around the church with the flower-decorated image of the Lord and those of the saints.

[431] In the afternoon, the fiesteros, along with the cabildo and [793] a large number of sightseers, set out for the church, in order to [794] give the priest a present of foodstuffs, meat, bananas, vegetables, and eggs in gratitude for the Mass that was held. After that the two fiesteros, along with their albaceros and the music, walk

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487 Routes of communication.--Until the fourth decade of the present century, the routes of penetration were horse paths which passed through the paramos of Guanacas, Las Delicias, and Moras, or through Inzá, Pedregal, Topa, and La Plata. The three first ones communicated with the Cauca valley, and the second with the /282/ Magdalena valley. These were the routes of the colonial era and, to a large extent, of the times [648] of the republic. The Guanacas route was the first to serve for communication between the kingdom of Quito and Santafé de Bogotá, owing, of course, to the more favorable attitude of the Guanaca Indians toward the conquistadores, who, taking advantage of their relationship with the Paez, made them their 797 allies and assistants. The first religious mission was established 175 in Guanacas in 1613. By way of the Paramo de Moras Captain 175 Juan de Ampudia entered Paez territory to take exemplary re- 648 venge for the tragic death of his colleague-at-arms, Captain Pedro de Añasco. To his disgrace and that of Spain, he met a terrible death on the cliffs of Togoima. By way of the same Paramo de Moras came the Adelantado Don Sebastián de Belalcázar, who had the same aims as his unfortunate predecessor, but this time his death, too, was added. The Paez gave him the most crushing defeat on the Peñón de Tálaga, and the Adelantado had to flee, leaving on the field of battle 491 the body of the heroic Captain García Tovar. The intense [484] traffic through these dangerous peaks and cold paramos decreased considerably with the opening of the Quindío road, and even much more with the inauguration of the La Plata-Belalcázar road. Tierradentro is connected by road with Popayán and 487 Neiva. Nowadays only the Indians from Mosoco, San José, and Vitoncó, and the Paez from Toribío, Tacueyó, and [788] Jambaló travel by way of the Paramo de Moras. That of Las Delicias is traveled by the Moguex, especially on their annual pilgrimages to the religious festivities of Our Lady of Nátaga. The Guanacas route is practically abandoned. There is also another route, traveled relatively frequently, which follows the

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796 Both the fiestero and the albacero have laborers whom they select themselves. The fiestero has the following: three for the

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distribution of food; three chicha-makers, two men and one woman; two millers of sugar cane; one fireworks-maker and two women as
796 cooks. The transporting of the sugar cane is done by volunteers
465 who help out daily in exchange for drink. The albacero has the same laborers, and although he does not kill a beef to reward them, he does sacrifice a pig to this end, especially for the fireworks-maker, with all the honors of the table and the demands of etiquette.

[p. 22 skipped in paginating - Analyst]

/213 cont./

796 sit in the center, his wife on his right and the síndico on his
left. The same etiquette and the same courtesies will be ob-
[264] served. When the liquor has been drunk, there will be a meal
of cabbage and meat: large bowls for the albacero, his wife,
and the síndico. For the others it will be served on platters.
All of them will sip the broth, squeeze out the meat and
cabbage with their hands, and put it in their pouches.

796 Overcome by the fatigue induced by several sleepless
513 nights, by the chicha, and the food, they will sleep on the
ground. When dawn heralds the new day, the enormous sala,
the fluhne wala, will present the sight of groups of people
sleeping in a promiscuity of sex and age.

XX

The Saint's Procession

796 Immediately after the Mass, with the presence of those
788 who attended it and those who did not, the procession begins,
the essence of the fiesta, according to Padre González. The
image of San Juan, adorned with many flowers, is carried on
a litter by the faithful, who frequently relieve one another,
go round the church with a great profusion of gunpowder, and
[533] finally set off the fireworks castle. The music plays incessant-
796 ly and includes the singing of religious canticles. When the
492 procession is over and the saint has been placed on the altar,
526 the men mount their horses, most of them bareback, and set
out to race madly /214/ across the plains of the locality.
They give free rein to their enthusiasm, allow their spirits
to expand, and whet their appetite for play. Groups of horse-
men in clamorous flight leave behind them their shouts of
"Viva San Juan." In everyday life action has been slow. Now
the movement and excitement seem to counteract the sluggish-
ness and heaviness of everyday life. The sweating animals

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XXVI

Religious Fiestas

796 Among the Paez there are no secular collective celebrations. All are religious. They celebrate with pomp and grandeur: San Andrés, Semana Santa, San Juan, San Pedro and San Pablo, La Santa Cruz, El Día de Difuntos, La Inmaculada Concepción...

[178] The Lazarist missionary, David González, says that as
[179] far back as 1689 the fiestas were organized as they were found
[177] in 1905, that is to say, as they are today. Each pueblo was granted a patron saint and various other protectors. In spite of this, only San Juan Bautista and San Pedro and San Pablo, whose fiestas are celebrated when maize is eared /en macollaje/, the rains are heavier, and the winds are violent, the day of the dead /el día de difuntos/ with its offerings to the souls, the Inmaculada Concepción, when grain is abundant, and the Semana Santa (El Resucitado /The Resurrected/) were the fiestas and saints that aroused the most enthusiasm and sank the deepest roots in the souls of these natives.

771 The Paez, and especially those of Calderas, are religious
796 in externals, not in conviction; they are more concerned with
182 form than with substance. This is revealed in the religious fiestas of these natives. /221/ Few of them attend mass, and fewer yet pray at vespers. To the great majority of them, religious fiestas mean a squandering of gunpowder, lights, aguardiente, and chicha. An abundance of food. The pleasure of getting together. The joy of contact. The music, which assuages hardship, and the dancing, an exteriorization of feelings. It is the expansiveness that leads to gatherings, the sexual jokes that spring up among them without misgivings; it is the continuous drunkenness. It is the display of generosity, the exercises in co-operation and altruism.

796 The priest, as a punishment for failure to attend the Mass
793 on the part of the chief fiestero and albacero, refused to carry
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/221 cont./

793 out the procession. The latter, reeling from chicha and lack
796 of sleep, arrived at the end of the Mass and learned of the
781 decision of the priest, who in addition advised them to save the gunpowder for the procession on the following day. They left. And although they did not march around the church and did not bear on their shoulders the image of the saint, they fired all the firecrackers, the skyrockets, and the fireworks castle to the strains of their native music. The procession was carried out symbolically.

796 The women and the men are dark in complexion and in
142 apparel. At these celebrations it is not unusual to see them
291 dressed in bright colors and brightly colored beads.
301

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/118 cont./

342 and begin to chew coca and tobacco and to drink brandy to-
761 gether. After a while the shaman ascertains through signs in
783 his arms or legs whether bones of the Pijao are in the ground.
756 If this is not the case, the building may be started; otherwise
787 the man must look for another building site. After the building
is finished, a further ceremony is performed (see under "Religion"
342 /see p. 205/), and then the same shaman fastens special herbs
758 to the roof to prevent the eč or gelyómp spirit, hostile to man,
789 from entering the house from there.

Houses are built only by men, by fathers of families.
342 One man alone, however, is not in a position to do this. At
476 least in the erection of the house posts he is helped by his brothers,
[462] as well as by other men and friends who have nothing else to
do anyway on these days and receive chicha and something to
342 eat for their assistance. The building material costs nothing,
273 to be sure, but the builder must furnish a substantial amount of
476 chicha, for which planning must be begun in plenty of time, two
or three years beforehand, by the planting of sufficient sugar
cane. This is the task of the married son who is still living in
[594] his father's house this long. To make the chicha he also still
[249] needs the sugar mill of his father, upon whose consent and help,
therefore, much depends. According to the amount of chicha
[461] that is available, the building of the house thus lasts two to six
months, depending on whether only five or 15 men participate.

The most important thing in the construction of the house
342 is the erection of the wooden frame (Ills. 161 to 164 /see p.272 /),
335 which always requires several men who bring in the trees, which
[476] are superficially smoothed with the machete, but not freed of
bark. The master of the house is able to make the walls by
[462] himself in an emergency. The covering of the roof, too, like the
entire house construction, is men's work, but the woman of the
house may hand up the sugar-cane leaves for the roofing. First
the vertical corner and side posts of the outer walls (yátšínda) are
erected, then the outer beams lying horizontally on the side
posts to support the roof (yátpopānt) are laid on, and, as the third
step in the work, the horizontal crossbeams (bīkas) are fastened at

/143 cont./

224 mountain spirit. We met only a single young man of about 18 who goes hunting alone in the mountains once a week. He told us that, in order to become a good hunter, one must first try to [789] kill a bear (éšwiy). One must then rub its fat into the right [237] lower-arm, which would give him the same powers as the bear. [262] One is not permitted to eat this fat, however, because it would [828] make him insane. After rubbing in the fat, the young hunter [263] continued, one may not eat salt at any meal for a week. There are no further rules and ceremonies of any kind to be observed. [237] We learned, however, that one can also use bear fat as a heal- [752, 757] ing remedy, and, to be sure, for bone fractures or sprains one must rub the affected part with bear fat, whereupon the injured limb will heal immediately and will become considerably 224 stronger than ever before. For stalking he wears on his head a 292 cap made of the skin of a reddish-blond hairy monkey (móno), [825] which in the first place protects him from the thorns of the bushes, but which is also supposed to facilitate creeping up on [439] game. He sold it to us for two pesos without hesitation, since, [126] as he said, he was perfectly capable of shooting another monkey 224 for himself. He was not afraid of the gělyómp spirit, but the 776 other men were, for gělyómp screams and makes a noise when human beings enter his area in the mountains, so that they become quite confused and go astray. The mountain spirit cannot do anything to several men together, however, since he could make as much noise as he pleased, but they would not let them- 224 selves be diverted. Of course, the men, even if there are ever so 776 many of them, must not offend the mountain spirit or provoke 515 him unnecessarily, but rather must avoid everything that gělyómp 783 does not like. /144/ For instance, he hates everything impure [296] and filthy. Hence the men always only go hunting well washed; [824] they even wash the entire body, and the ruana, too. In addition, they rub themselves with the cleansing herbs šu and šayuts, which they obtain from the shaman, in order to be really altogether [761] clean in a physical and ritual sense. But if someone has taken part in a burial or has merely seen a funeral procession close by, he has picked up a good deal of "pest" from the dead and must have himself specially purified by the shaman before hunting.

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754 The special target of the evil sorcerers are the white
648 Colombians. People are afraid to undertake anything against them
797 openly, but the magic manipulations of the nyic against them are widely known. The ones primarily affected are the whites, who robbed the Paez of land, and among them the missionaries, too. The nyic then try to obtain mastery over the souls of the whites, to treat them with herbs, and thus make them so sluggish that they will not return to Tierradentro any more. It is also said that the nyic had placed their remedies /258/ in the church so that the mission priest from Belalcázar would never come there any more and would never enter it any more.

754 The victims of evil sorcery, however, are not only human
●789 beings and animals, but also the cultivated fields, which can be
[464] bewitched by means of eggs, salt, or pubic hair. The families affected are then no longer able to feed themselves, and in many cases the fathers of the families must leave the village in order to hire themselves out to the whites. The removal of the unpopular one is thus achieved. His return is prevented in magical ways, the nyic placing special herbs, which the person cannot step over, on the connecting roads.

754 The aids for evil magic are not, say, objects belonging to the persons to be bewitched and used in a pars-pro-toto act, but are exclusively parts or agents from among the belongings of the sorcerer, which, for their effect, must be brought into close contact with the victim himself or his soul. If the nyic wishes his victim to have an accident, he places a smoothly polished stone from the river somewhere in his house. The person in question will then soon slip and fall and break his bones or suffer a sprain. Another possibility for bewitchment is for the nyic to spread his agent on the food of his victim. Thus, a shaman from Santa Rosa reports how the former young and capable Gobernador Leonidas was killed by the nyic Dolores Dinó. She visited him one day while he was working alone in his garden and threw several of her own pubic hairs in the food in his cooking pot and, in addition, a fragment from a prehistoric clay pot of the Pijao. Leonidas ate this meal.

/273 cont./

776 If it rains when the sun is shining, they may not leave the house,
753 for otherwise they become afflicted with head maladies. These
821 are not headaches, but wounds such as would be inflicted by a
[758] machete. The teyu, however, have remedies to make the rain-
● [789] bow disappear, so that children may go outside again.

776 Eč, the third of the aforementioned causes of sickness and
[753] death, is the most unpleasant and the most dangerous, since eč
[761] kills the most people. Eč lives in the earth; no man has seen
[787] him, apart from a few shamans. They need not enter into the
earth, however, to see him; rather, eč himself comes if a teyu
[825] calls him. He looks like a human being. Eč is also the name
for fireflies, which are regarded as the messengers that he sends
out to bring "pest" to human beings. People therefore kill fire-
776 flies if they are able to catch them. Eč is not angry, however,
782 if the people kill his messengers, if only he always gets enough
offerings. For this reason people give eč a dram-glass full of
brandy from every bottle, that is, they pour this amount on the
ground; likewise eč gets his share of every animal killed (chicken,
756 pig, cow, etc.). People ask their teyu which parts of the animal
776 eč demands and which ones they should offer him. If people
782 killed and ate an animal without offering eč any of it, he would
[761] in return kill a child of this family. If the father then comes to
the teyu and asks why his child died, he -- who, of course, knows
that the man slaughtered a pig without giving eč anything -- tells
him that this is the punishment of eč. That very rarely happens,
however; rather, the man gives the shaman the parts of the ani-
mal desired by eč, for instance, the liver, entrails, or meat, and
he gives them to eč, bringing them at night to the place desired
[787] by him. Moreover, as a precaution people give eč herbs and
brandy as the shaman advises, in accordance with the signs which
he has received from eč.

774 If the penetration of pest into the body of a person is the
776 cause of an illness that may result in death, this unfortunate out-
753 come is all the more probable if one of the three spirits or a nyic
has stolen a human soul. I was given differing /274/ statements
about such a case: First of all, there are two words for soul, ũns

/285 cont./

578 killed his mother and his brothers, declared his hostility toward
754 him because he was well on the way to becoming a good shaman.
756 He became ill and his signs announced to him that he would soon
578 die. Now there was a famous shaman in Huila, and he sought
75 him out with much brandy and coca. Immediately this shaman
774 realized that it was a case of bewitchment by a nyic. The only possibility of getting off alive was to kill the soul of the evil sorcerer immediately. Together they dug a hole for this purpose and in it they waited many nights for the soul of the nyic. It came, but since it was very suspicious, it would not let itself be caught. More than a month passed in this way. Night after night the two were lying in wait, without sleeping, and then one night, near daybreak, the soul of the evil sorcerer came. The shaman was ready, however; he raised his staff and with a powerful blow it fell into the hole. Immediately earth was piled up over it and the hole completely covered. Hissing, the soul died.

756 Since the young shaman from Santa Rosa was well once more,
789 the old shaman sent him home. He advised him, however, to
824 carry herbs with him, since there were robbers on the way. Cautiously he proceeded to the dangerous spot, and already his signs announced to him that the robbers were in the vicinity. He immediately blew his herbs, and the robbers fell into a deep sleep. Farther along on the way home he met several people who were pursuing a criminal. They gave him brandy and coca and asked him to help them, from his home, to capture the criminal. He then strewed čayuts on his own feet, and the criminal could no longer walk, so the people were able to capture him.

75 Other shamans report that in case of a bewitchment by a
774 nyic, the bewitched person and the members of his family slaughter a pig and put a piece of each organ in a fiber bag. /286/ They bring these to the shaman, together with brandy, coca and cigars. The meat serves as bait for the soul of the sorcerer, for at the first cockcrow, when all present are chewing coca, it comes to get the bag. It falls into the hole dug under it, however. The shaman immediately throws herbs into it, those present their chewed packets of coca, and then the pit is covered up as quickly as

/286 cont./
182 no new harvest may be undertaken until the teyu has first cleansed
756 of the pest the building site or the crops, respectively.

/287/ He is, however, not only the protector of the individual or the individual family, but is also responsible for the beneficial
[773] co-existence of the members of the whole village. Thus, it is not surprising that it was the shamans -- besides Thunder under his various names -- who were the war leaders in the mythical tradi-
[726] tions. Thanks to their magical gifts and strength, they successfully led their people against the Pijao and the Spaniards. Several times the elders of the various villages told us that one day Thunder will again drive the white intruders out of the Tierradentro of the
[648] Paez and kill them. And it is only logical that, as late as 1952,
[789] on the occasion of an impending attack by an armed group of white revolutionaries, the shaman of Santa Rosa, as the successor of the mythical Thunder, should spit his magic herbs on the road leading to the village, in order to destroy them. Old Felisa Ipia is behaving in a similar manner when she keeps the souls of all the village inhabitants gathered together in the threads of her shaman's staff, in order to be able to protect them better against evil, magical influences.

756 On account of these certain supernatural abilities of theirs, the
554 effects of which no one in the community can evade, the teyu
[885] have a certain unofficial authority. In addition, they are all at least 30 to 40 years old and thus, by their very age, fulfill one of the natural prerequisites for recognition by the community. Not a few of them feel honored by this, set apart from the great mass of people, but many assured me that they were shamans only unwillingly, that though they were called by their ability to receive signs, they were nevertheless oppressed by the weight of the burden of their responsibility.

756 During times of epidemics of disease or inexplicable, "super-
124 natural" deaths, they are the focal point of the community, to
[182] which no one appeals in vain. And in conversations with them we generally had the distinct impression of facing unselfish, helpful human beings. They make no secret of their activity, and they tried, as best they could, to tell us about their experiences and knowledge which they use for the good of the community.

/183 cont./

342 and blows them into the air; with a small staff called "tama"
756 he cleaves the air in such a way that sometimes he appears to
787 be frightening away the spirits, sometimes threatening them,
[823] and sometimes clubbing them. If the signs (reflex movements)
are felt on the right side, the site is favorable; the opposite
denotes that the site is uninhabitable. The spirits are angry,
[761] or there are Pijao bones and gold at the site. If the site has
not been selected by the medicine man, even if the house is a
handsome one it cannot be occupied, for its occupants would
die, beginning with the children, continuing with the mother,
342 and ending with the father. The medicine man himself pro-
756 hibits people from living in a house built without the fulfill-
ment of this requisite. The medicine man's dictum is rewarded
with a bottle of aguardiente, an egg (1) of coca, tobacco, a

[804] 1. A measure of weight equivalent to the weight of a hen's egg.

calabash of chicha, and usually a meal with chicken. /184/
[789] This is called "care" /cuido/. When the house is finished,
the medicine man will place special remedies at the ridgepole
to prevent the ghosts or echi from descending by way of it or
from being angered.

342 Then come the mingas /communal work-parties/. A house
476 is built with the help of others. The people are invited, in-
cluding the medicine man himself, who goes to work as a
laborer. The work is organized. First, they go to the wood-
land for wood; under the influence of the guarapo, voices re-
sound, loud laughter is heard, and the deep sound of the
"cacho" /horn/ rumbles in the montañas, multiplied by its
342 echoes. Soon they report to the man in charge. They level
335 out the ground that will serve as the house floor; they dig holes
476 in which to sink the posts approximately two meters apart,
driven in solidly, and tied at the top to cross-pieces with lianas
(guák); the posts outline the shape of the house, and they will

/198 cont./

IX

The Wax Comes from the Woodlands

796 Before the fiestero goes to stay in the pueblo, the laborers make the candles and distill the aguardiente while the fireworks-maker produces the firecrackers and rockets.

388 824 The candles are made with the wax of the wild laurel (1)

1. Myrica pubescens Willd.

recently extracted from seeds gathered months earlier from the bushes in the woodlands. Laurel, of course, is a shrub with lanceolate leaves, which grows wild in the clearings after the harvest. During the months of April and May the branches are heavy with lead-colored and tiny seeds very similar in form to the fruit of the coffee tree. They are a favorite food of the wild pigeons, and for this reason, while they are ripening, the owner, or preferably his children, constantly frightens them [756] away. This is a reinforcement of the magic protection supplied [789] by the medicine man at the suggestion of the owner of the woodland. He has performed the exorcism to frighten away the unwanted birds: he has loaded his shotgun with chayuts (2) and

2. Escrofulareacea.

shot at the pigeons. They will not return.

[415] The seeds are gathered in fique bags. Ten workers gather approximately one arroba in one day. /199/ For the period of one month the seeds will be left to dry, scattered in a corner of the house, so that the wax will come out white and not green as would happen if this were not done.

388 To extract the wax, the seeds are packed into small sacks or bags, boiled, and pressed at once. The wax falls with the hot water into a round container; on the following day, the water that remains at the bottom of the container is removed, and the wax is left to solidify further.

/236 cont./

755 Since sicknesses have a magical origin, the treatments are
783 also magical in character. "The cleansing" is indispensable in every treatment, with its attendant remedies and movements.

165 Symptoms of sicknesses. Among the sicknesses clearly
164 identifiable by the natives are smallpox and whooping cough, given their characteristic symptoms. Some of the informants, not many, to be sure, state that their children died of such sicknesses.

165 On the whole, child mortality, which is rather high, is
761 said to be caused by, in order of frequency and in generic terms,
776 pest, Echi, and sorcery. The cases of death by the ghost and rainbow are few.

753 The symptomatologies given for the sicknesses are very
776 vague and even confused with one another. The Echi, ghost, and rainbow sting, not really the body, but the soul, leaving hairs in the body that cause fevers and sharp pains at the spot where they are found. These hairs, when placed in the palm of the hand, move as if they were alive. They differ in color: the red ones are from Kallumb, the reddish blue ones from
[755] the rainbow, and the black ones from Echi. The hairs are re-
[783] moved by rubbing with remedies prior to the cleansing.

/237/ It is said that the sting of pallumb /sic/ causes heaviness, lack of appetite, pains in the head and body, fever, and even insanity.

753 When the arco /literally "bow"/, called kitús, is referred
776 to, it is nothing other than the rainbow, which comes out at
821 any hour of the day, accompanied by a rainy drizzle, the "rainbow meow," which causes scabies (chande) in children
[755] when it falls upon them; it is not harmful for adults. The curers,
[789] and they alone, from their ranchos blow chewed remedies toward it, tobacco, chandur, flushamuanda, and yacuma
[755] negua, in order to make it disappear quickly. Other people chew remedies, when they have them at hand, and rub them on their bodies. There is a general idea that the rainbow causes

/241/

824 The plants marked with an asterisk were identified by the
[128] Herbario Nal. Colombiano, in particular by Dr. Jesús M.
[137] Idrobo.

[127] For the others, we were guided by the work, Plantas Utiles de Colombia /Useful Plants of Colombia/, by Dr. E. Pérez Arbeláez, published by the Imprenta Nacional de Bogotá in 1947.

75 The té eu and the community. In every culture, medicine
182 performs an eminently humanitarian function. Its nature is
171 sociological. No matter what its methods may be, its purpose is to save human lives. It combats illness, but also prevents it.

75 Among the Paez, medicine cures and prevents. The
182 community and the family perform special ceremonies intended to achieve these two purposes of medicine.

755 When the pest (epidemic) has spread through the com-
*756 munity, threatening its subsistence, the authorities (cabildo)
182 invite the curer to conjure away the danger by performing the
[731] wé ká.

When the illness prevails in a single family, markedly decreasing its members, the eldest invites the curer to perform
[765] the ut ká. After every burial the people must remove the ptans
[783] from their bodies and from the house where the death occurred. The curer is the only one who can do this.

241 The first fruits of plantings made on new lands not culti-
*756 vated before cannot be consumed until the curer has performed
783 the cleansing ceremonies. Thus, it is the curer who defends
182 the family -- preservation of the species -- who purifies the
● 789 harvests -- preservation of the individual -- and who also de-
fends the community, warding off by means of his conjurations
*756 the epidemics and the individuals who threaten it. In 1952,
789 before an imminent attack by subversive armed groups on the
182 Parcialidad of Santa Rosa, the curer warded it off with maní de montaña /literally, "montaña peanut"/, chewed and blown on the path by which they were to come.

/253 cont./

75 month went by, and we were unable to catch it. We did not
539 sleep. The curer would make another hole, and another. We
774 were tired. 'We shall ~~catch~~ that scoundrel /254/ yet,' he would say to me. When we went on to the seventh hole, at the crowing of the first cock, the soul came. The curer had his tama ready, and at once, zoom! he gave it a blow and it fell into the hole; he tossed earth on top of it and tamped it down well. After a few moments the soul made a whistling sound. 'We killed it,' the curer exclaimed triumphantly. I saw the sorcerer's soul. Then the curer told me to go back, for I was cured. He advised me to take remedies with me, since there are many robbers along the way. Thus it came to pass. I was careful at the dangerous spots. The signs indicated to me the presence of robbers and at once I blew remedies at them (kit sust). They went to sleep.

756 Farther on I met some people who were pursuing a criminal.
539 They gave me coca and aguardiente so that I might prepare
789 the remedies at my house and help to capture the criminal. Thus it came to pass. I put chayuts around my feet and the criminal was unable to walk. They caught him."

75 Others say that the one bewitched, with his relatives,
774 goes to the curer, bearing coca, tobacco, and aguardiente. They kill a pig and put a piece from each organ into a small pouch. This is the grease for catching the sorcerer's soul. At the crowing of the first cock, when everyone is chewing coca, the soul comes to get the small pouch, immediately falls into the hole, and the curer tosses upon it fierce echi, remedies, and the chews of all, and covers it and tamps down
[783] the earth. This is how he kills the sorcerer. He immediately cleanses the sick person and his relatives. The danger has been averted.

756 When the curer feels the signs at the crown of his head,
717 ptans is being sent to him. He goes without delay to the kachí
783 with pringamoza, paramo cabuya, tama, and flica to wait

/259 cont./

754 To facilitate the capture of the soul, the sorcerer gathers
774 the soil on which the victim has trod, with which the us (heart) falls easily.

754 b) The sorcerer can make angry the Ghost, Rainbow, and
776 Echi. Thus:

For the Ghost, he puts a large ají de montaña (Capsicum sp.) at the spot where he lives; the person passes by and dies of a few stings in the heart.

/260/ For the Rainbow, he puts the rags of a menstruating woman in springs, bogs, damp places. A person passes by, is stung, and dies.

For the echi, he puts remedies where the victim works; stung, he vomits blood and dies on the spot.

754 c) Another way to cast a spell is rubbing bad remedies on the salt, pork, or eggs that the victim is going to eat. If by chance someone else eats them, nothing happens, for the witchcraft was not directed against him.

[783] d) The sorcerers handle the pest as they please. They can send it to persons or to the entire community. The sorceress Felisa brings the pest to Santa Rosa even for business reasons.

[789] e) When the sorcerers do not wish a person to return, they place at a strategic spot on the road two bundles of chayuts pointing upward, and in addition they blow dry pringamoza.

f) A curer from Santa Rosa explains how a spell was cast on ~~one~~ of the former gobernadors of the parcialidad. The late Leonidas was working in his garden and his rancho was empty. Then a woman came in, dressed in black (Dolores Oinó), dropped into the pot of food some of her own pubic hair, and stole a piece of Pijao earthenware that contained silver. Leonidas ate this food and began to feel his throat become dry
[783] and to breathe with difficulty. Finally he died. The Pijao pest has the same symptoms.

g) When the sorcerer wants a person to suffer an accident (fracture, contusion, dislocation), he leaves somewhere in that person's house a very smooth stone taken from the stream. The person, wherever he may be, slips and falls.

/260 cont./

754 If a person kills himself in a fall, it is believed that the
[783] sorcerer sent him ptans.

[761] h) To cast a spell on the plantings, they use tobacco, matches, and other remedies with which they are burned and destroyed.

As will be noted, in their enchantments the sorcerers do not use any parts or objects belonging to the victim, such as hair, nails, clothing, etc. Most of the remedies that they use are herbs or objects that have properties noxious to man or can cause him harm.

The sorcerer believes that putting them in contact with the soul or simply with the body produces the desired effects.

754 /261/ Paez sorcery is a clear case of imitative or
● 789 homeopathic magic, according to Frazer's classic definition. It is "desire dominating the world with instruments born of desire" (10).

[118] 10. Ponce, Aníbal. Estudios de Psicología /Psychological Studies/, El Ateneo, Buenos Aires, 1947, p. 363.

754 The Paez fear illness and death and live in the fear that
182 the whites may take from them their land, their ranchos, their plantings, that is to say, their very sources of survival.

While the sorcerers attack the customs of a capitalist economy and transculturation openly, the curers protect the community against sickness and against the attacks of individuals or groups, by means of their divinations and their vigorous and constant conjurations. In this sense sorcerer and curer are identical. They protect the community.

683 Punishment of the sorcerers. The sorcerer is feared by
754 the entire population; identified throughout by it, he suffers general enmity; torrents of hatred arise against him, ending most of the time in violent punishment: confinement in the stocks, whippings, dunkings, and even exile.

/308 cont./

243 are also selected; the larger, round one is regarded as the
244 woman and the less vigorous one as the man. In the cold climates
476 they usually sow, in addition, broad beans and wheat, and in the temperate ones arracacha, manioc, plantains, and other species.

243 In three months, when the maize is man-high, weeding
476 is done. The underbrush is uprooted and left on the same ground to dry out and rot. It serves as fertilizer for the plantings. But the natives have no conception of fertilizers, and any suggestion made in this connection is regarded by them /309/ as a waste of time. There are also mingas for weeding, and boys and even women participate. In about six months the dry and yellow leaves are stripped from the stalks, a task which they call descalzar /to discalceate/; they believe that this makes the tender leaves acquire a dark-green color and the ears grow
[824] strong. The stripped leaves are used to cover the roofs of the ranchos which are built for watching over the plantings and to house the family at harvest time.

243 The fields are attacked by flocks of parrots and chamones
825 /a kind of bird/; they are driven away with scarecrows (kanasá), which are put in strategic places. Squirrels and dogs are also enemies of maize, and to protect it they build traps or use their shotguns. In addition, the women and children constantly go around the fields. Next to the rancho a high platform is often built, from which the integrity of the plantings can be guarded.

243 The natives know that droughts parch the sown ground and
● 789 an exaggerated winter injures them. When the leaves are scorched
754 and the plant does not make ears, they think then that envious people (the sorcerers) have cast a spell on the maize. In such cases, they call the good curer (té eu) to lift the spell. Protection thus has a magical character (13).

13. Bernal Villa, S. "Magia of Medicina entre los Paeces /Magic and Medicine among the Paez/," p. 245.

/309 cont./

685 The natives do not steal maize. If they need some, they
243 buy it from their neighbor. Such transactions are made at very
[432] low prices. If someone refuses to sell, that is to say, "is stingy
[623] with maize," the buyer threatens to rob him, although he never
[692] does it if he is a good person, but will if he is bad (sorcerer).
Such thefts are punished by the cabildo.

243 When the ear of maize is filled out and tender (choclo /a
[789] roasting ear/) consumption begins, after the performance of magical practices if the produce is from a new clearing (14).

14. Ibid., p. 246.

Consumption begins at the outer part and all around the field, leaving the central part to turn into dry maize. If someone picks maize from just any part, people comment acidly that he "eats like a dog." The harvesting of the maize is done in one or two days. Relatives and friends are invited to help
[476] and are rewarded with approximately one arroba. The same
[465] amount is also given to those who helped disinterestedly with the clearing and sowing.

243 /310/ An informant from Mosoco says that it is customary
431 among the natives to present relatives and friends with a "carrera" /stretch, row/ of each harvest. Those of wheat and barley are excepted. The carrera consists in harvesting all the "matas" /bushes, sprigs/ that remain around the plantings, since, as we have seen, the harvesting is done from the periphery to the center. The beneficiaries in turn do the same, so that the amounts received are reciprocally returned. This favor to relatives and friends carries with it implicit factors of understanding and affection, for not all receive this manifestation of esteem.
243 The same informant says that the consumption of roasting ears
574 begins with what is called "cura de la labranza" /treatment of the field/, which consists of the following: The owner invites his relatives and friends to a kind of banquet with an abundance of tender-maize cakes /bollos/ or tamales /envueltos/, chicken, and other select dishes.

/310 cont./

243 As may be noted, the magical practices of the té eu are
756 absent, although there still exists that of the eating, which in
789 other parcialidades complements his practices.

249 The cultivation of sugar cane is quite widespread in the
273 temperate thermal level, although the plantings are not extensive and are not pursued for commercial purposes; they serve only for obtaining guarapo (fermented cane juice) for individual and collective labor and for social affairs. Guarapo is an essential part of the domestic economy, in the same manner
249 as coca. It is not produced for public pay. Each house has its
257 sugar mill, either outside or in its interior, but there are no ovens or other accessories for producing panela. The latter industry belongs exclusively to the white or mestizo people.

249 The cultivation of the cane requires three weedings before the first cutting. Three cuttings with good results are generally obtained from each planting.

245 The cultivation of coffee is also very widespread. Its expansion is of recent date; but it already has strong and universal acceptance, like cane and plantains. The method of cultivation suffers from certain deficiencies: the shade is insufficient and inadequate; there is no pruning; the care is not very satis-
[433] factory; many do not have pulping machines. The coffee
245 plantings produce several arrobas per year. The monetary in-
434 come of the natives in the temperate zone is provided basically by
[439] coffee. They sell it to steady and familiar customers for prices
[452] that are usually low. The coffee plantings secure credit for the natives; they often collect money or merchandise against a future
245 harvest. Coffee has permitted them /311/ to acquire dishes, to
434 modify their clothing, to enrich their agricultural equipment,
177 to buy every once in a while the drugs of the "whites." At harvest time they eat meat regularly, and they are also able to pay wages for the improvement of their fincas. But, above all,
[273] it opens the doors of the liquor stores to them. They consume considerable amounts of alcoholic beverages. They have not yet learned to make good use of their monetary income.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

/321 cont./

231 The slaughtering of the head of cattle for consumption
[796] at religious fiestas is accompanied by music (1).
[533]

1. Bernal Villa, S. "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," p. 208.

[232] Of the equine livestock, they also prefer the females for
492 reproduction. Horses are used for the milling of sugar cane, for
484 the transport of loads, for long journeys. Many own saddles,
[249] /322/ although generally deteriorated ones. Women never ride
[482] on horseback. On long journeys the woman walks with a heavy
[562] load on her back, while the man rides without carrying anything to hinder him.

231 The horses of the Páez are small, but very hardy and suitable for the rugged and difficult roads. They do not own mules or
[754] donkeys. In Calderas it is said that someone brought a donkey
[789] for the purpose of producing young mules, but the envious ones (sorcerers) cast a spell on it and killed it. Nor do they own goats, which they regard as very thievish and destructive.

In the houses they raise guinea pigs, chickens, and turkeys, and, on a smaller scale, ducks. Furthermore, dogs,
[422] cats, and hogs are also raised. The former belong indifferently to men or women, while hogs and dogs are the exclusive property of the men.

The scant care given to domestic animals is worthy of note. There are no corrals of any sort, nor special caretakers
[233] for the animals. Cattle are commonly left to fend for themselves in the pastures, and only every 15 days, or, more frequently, once a month, are they rounded up by their respective owners to
[232] check on their existence or multiplication. They know about the need to give salt to cattle, but this article is supplied in small quantities and at very long intervals. Most of the animals of Calderas go to a small spring of brackish water in Tumbichukue. Among the other domestic animals, only the chickens, turkeys, and guinea pigs are fed regularly with grass, maize, manioc, and

/326 cont./

262 [252] The chachafruto (úsual), a leguminous plant that bears rather sweet fruits which are eaten merely boiled in water, readily grows in the stubble and thickets; this is a favorite food of children. It bears fruit during the months of August and September. They also gather mushrooms (kalaguai), orejas de palo /literally, ears of wood/ (kallumbo) that grow round and white on rotting trunks, fríjol /327/ cacha (us tape) that abounds in thickets, moras (sutsion) and the ground cherries (chimbú) that grow in profusion in the maize fields and with which they make cakes or tamales and mush /mazamorra/ mixed with ground maize. Likewise, they gather wild granadillas (shlal).

224 [411] [789] Hunting is of minor importance among the Páez. Shotguns and dogs are needed. Authentic lovers of hunting are few, and there are no magical rites or ceremonies connected with it.

Hunting is most frequently done to protect the plantings or the herds. We have seen that the enemies of maize are coatis, guaras, squirrels, and birds. The chickens are attacked by wolf-dogs. On the savannas of the Paramo de Moras bears are the most common enemies of the herds.

[237] In Calderas, the hunters customarily keep the skulls of the captured booty inside the house, on one of the wall posts. In one of them we counted five coati skulls, two from guaras, and one from a wolf. Hunting is done on Sundays and at any time of the year. They go to selected locations with dogs, shotguns, and provisions. The dog raises the game and the men wait in strategic spots, with their shotguns ready to shoot it. If the shot misses, they set out after the game on a fast run. When they hunt deer, they have a minga. For the hunting of guaras they use traps consisting of nets which they place at the exit of the haunts of these animals. Bats are hunted with bags. As soon as they fall, they are kicked to death, for these animals easily break out of bags. [262] [252] They are eaten roasted. Armadillo meat is rather favored. Sparrow hawks are hunted with blowguns. "The Indians are poor" -- says an informant from Calderas -- "and for this reason they make blowguns and hunt birds. God made the birds so that the poor would eat them and not steal." Wild pigeons are hunted on the ridges by means of traps that are well concealed. Chamones, 223 [411]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

the drum-dance, in which the women sang to the accompaniment of a drum; *vito-ko*, or *fits-ko*, the stick-dance, etc. 535

In addition to the shells and reeds, the Indians also accompanied their dances with a kind of drum (*kimb*), consisting of a long wooden trough hung by its extremities; and the *tsoots*, or rattle, a calabash containing small stones or hard canna seeds and provided with a handle. 535 534

According to Castillo the Paez had also other deities, corresponding somewhat to the lares of the ancient Latins, carved images of which were often found in the houses. The *diyi*, who were at one time priests, sorcerers, and medicine-men, lived in retirement and were considered as the keepers of the doctrines of a traditional civilizer of the nation, called *Guckian*. So strong was their influence in Castillo's time that he complains rather bitterly about it, and proceeds to explain how the true God, wishing to free the Paez from such a devilish guide, simply employed a subterfuge to drown him in the Paez river, together with two of his apostles! 776 778 [79]

The belief in a future existence is indicated, as Uricoechea relates, by the fact that the Indians never molested white dogs, in order that they might not be bitten by them at the doors of the house beyond the grave. 825 795

There were birds and other signs of good or of evil omen. A woman would never step over a leather rope stretched on the ground, but would lift it up and pass beneath. During the construction of bridges, two men constantly beat the waters to frighten away evil spirits. The death of a person was often attributed to witchcraft, and he whose face bore some likeness to that of the dead person was often regarded as the culprit, provided the patient in his cravings had not given the name of the supposed sorcerer. The soul of a cow whose fat had been used for illumination during religious ceremonies was believed to go directly to heaven: this last belief, however, must be of post-conquest origin. 787 761 754 825 774

Among themselves the Indians are jovial and contented. The approach of the men whom we often met on the trails around Huila was usually first detected by the sound of the 157 533 283

/196 cont./

764 It is dug out about 1.50 meters and at the bottom provided with
184 a lateral longitudinal niche about 40 centimeters high. This niche is generally hollowed out on the left side, but sometimes on the right. The body is laid in this, without the bier and without accessories, horizontally on its back, so that it no longer extends into the shaft of the grave. The shaft and the niche are, in addition, separated by vertical stakes and rods placed side by side so that the deceased cannot be touched by the earth filling the grave. On the latter, a stone about one meter high is placed at the head or foot end for identification.

[793] The priest is not present at a burial, nor is the shaman who
[756] acts for the district of the deceased. The latter also does not enter a house in which there is a dead person. The participants in the funeral procession, men, women, and children, go to the graveyard together and then back again to the house of the deceased, where lavish entertainment with food, chicha, and brandy now follows. The latter was also drunk copiously on the way to and from the burial place. The mood during the entire time is
756 jolly and animated; people laugh and make jokes. Before the
764 participants enter the house upon their return from the burial,
783 they must go to the river where the shaman awaits them, in order
184 to "cleanse" them of the "pest" of the deceased for the first time (see "Religion"). Then they go together to the house of the deceased, which they may not enter, however, until the shaman has also cleansed this with the same remedies with which he freed the human beings of the "pest." These are water, to which special herbs and cow excrement are added, sprinkled everywhere, as well as brandy, which, mixed with herbs, the shaman squirts everywhere.

764 In Togoima we were able to take part in the burial of two
184 small children (angelitos). The graves of the cemetery in this town all have an east-west direction. The niche is always at the left, the body lies on its back with the head toward the west. The size of the grave required is measured with a bamboo stick that is
[273] as long as the deceased. Before the burial, there is drinking,
[535] music, and dancing in the house. /197/ Music is also played at
[533] the burial and on the way to the graveyard.

/208 cont./

796 assured -- always volunteer. Besides, no one can be forced. But this is not necessary, since there are always more applicants for this position than are needed. On account of the very high costs, however, no one can be fiestero more than three times in all. This number is not the absolute highest, but represents the normal maximum given the financial circumstances of the Paez. One may be albacero more often, however -- up to ten times, I was told -- since this person does not donate any cattle for feeding the village, but merely a pig for the meal on the eve of the festival, and bears the cost of the festival accessories other than the food supply (decorations for the church, candles, fireworks, and the "crazy cow"). The mayordomos only join in with contributions of money to pay the priest.

The fiestero and albacero themselves do not work, but merely serve the guests. For the preparation of the food they have [476] their helpers, men and women, who voluntarily help and at the end of the festival are specially entertained. Above all, carry- [273] ing the sugar cane from the fields for the large amounts of chicha to be prepared is hard work, for every fiestero wants to prepare the most chicha, since a festival is good only if one can be drunk for a long time.

On the principal festive day of the three annual festivals, which are essentially the same in arrangement, the women start to prepare the feast very early in the festival house. The men also arrive, chicha is drunk heartily, and the musicians start play- [541] ing early in the morning. No longer entirely sober, everybody assembles for the Mass, which is accompanied by the setting off of fireworks by those who have remained in front of the church door. [788] Then, led by the music, played incessantly, a procession follows, a parade around the church with the flower-decorated image of the Lord and those of the saints.

[431] In the afternoon, the fiesteros, along with the cabildo and [793] a large number of sightseers, set out for the church, in order to [794] give the priest a present of foodstuffs, meat, bananas, vegetables, and eggs in gratitude for the Mass that was held. After that the two fiesteros, along with their albaceros and the music, walk

/256 cont./

797 in all Paez communities in which Spanish is not understood by the
177 majority of the population, the old functionaries of the original
178 Paez religion are needed to maintain the social life in particular.
871 In accordance with their activity, they are designated as "shamans"
756 by theologians. Because of the dissimilar nature of their religious activity, they do not by any means represent unbridgeable competition for the Christian missions; rather, both, the Christian faith and shamanistic activity, can exist side by side in the present stage of culture of the Paez.

771 If one considers existing theological convictions, one finds
793 that the office and dignity of the cult priest rest on the performance of sacred acts which must of necessity be fulfilled so that the
756 natural and normal development of human existence is not ob-
182 structed. His task is to confirm the existing world order through the consecration of sacerdotal acts. The shamans, however, -- on the contrary! -- want to outdo and break through the given order of nature and the environment. Their greatness and authority rest on the fact that they do supernatural things, that they heal the sick, struggle with spirits, yes, awaken the dead to new life. This, at any rate, is said of the greatest of their kind, whose talent lies in their spiritual, supernatural powers, in their mastering of extraordinary circumstances. Over against the cult priest's "thus it is," the shaman puts his "thus it should be" (A. Friedrich).

a) Characteristics of Paez Shamanism

756 The Paez shamans, in the sense given, are not functionaries
754 of a sacrificial cult, but persons who do supernatural things. There are two types of them, the teyu and the nyic. Whereas the teyu (tepits as a man, téoi as a woman) is a good shaman, a good doctor and helper of human beings, the nyic is an evil shaman, an evil sorcerer, a hexer. The shamanistic activity of both, however, as a religious phenomenon, is not nearly as distinctive as, for example, the shamanism that we are familiar with in Siberia or North America.

/256 cont./

771 It is not certain whether in former times the Paez had a cult
[793] priesthood besides shamans such as are practicing today. In any
[756] case, to designate the priests and missionaries they use the word
[797] tikwe, /257/ which is not used for anything else. The present-
771 day characteristic thinking of the Paez, their entire mental atti-
754 tude, revolves around magic and countermagic, despite mission-
[797] izing and Christianity. No injury, no illness, no deformity, no
[177] poor livestock is traced back to natural causes, but rather every-
thing is the work of evil magic. Since the people themselves
are fully convinced of this belief and ensnared by this idea, the
actual achievement of the evil sorcerers corresponds to what is
desired; that is to say, a person who knows he is bewitched,
being mindful of the inevitability of his fate, actually becomes
554 ill and dies. The victims are almost always the most thrifty
and industrious members of the community, those who tower
above the others because of their success.

754 There are no persons who are privileged because of age,
177 sex, or social position -- with the exception of the good shamans,
who are incessantly the target of the evil ones. Anyone who, in
dress and way of living, adopts the customs of the whites, is in
the habit of associating with them, no longer chews coca, works
with modern tools, and wants to carry on his farming according
to the principles of the colonists is opposed by the nyic.

754 It is not only the outward superiority of the individual over
554 the masses that evokes the envy of the nyic, but also the general
popularity of an individual, and with it a certain personal influ-
ence within the village. Thus, for example, the father of our
Victoriano was the victim of an evil charm. He is regarded as very
intelligent, is a good worker, knows best how to build houses and
bridges, and has even undertaken a journey to the city of Popayán.
On account of his popularity and the good advice he always gives --
so it is reported -- a nyic tried to kill him out of envy. One
[755] night when he was asleep the nyic robbed him of his soul. His
brother noticed it, however, and spat coca on it. The next day
the eye of the bewitched one became white and was close to
running out, if a teyu had not helped. He is blind in that eye,
however, to this day.

/203 cont./

346 meat and "mute," as well as more chicha and aguardiente.
794 After lunch the albacero goes home. There he waits for the
796 fiestero, who in the afternoon will bring him more chicha, more aguardiente, and more food.

796 A week after the cleaning of the church, the priest will
793 come to officiate at the religious ceremonies.

XIII

Instruments, Music and Dance

533 The musical groups of the Calderas people, true chirimías /a kind of orchestra/, are deservedly famous both for the number of the musicians and for the beauty of their interpretations. Many are soft and delicate, most of them sad tunes,
534 but there are joyous ones as well. The musical instruments are few.

The flute (kuvi), made of a reed some 70 centimeters long; it has seven holes made by burning: the one in the upper part which serves for blowing, and 35 centimeters farther down are found the others, which correspond to the fingers of the hands, at intervals of three centimeters apart. They distinguish two types of flutes: those that produce melodic sounds, kuvinéhuish (major flute) and those that produce low tones, kuvinuch (minor flute).

[281] The bass drum (kut), made with the skin from sheep, calf, goat, or deer, the hair of which has been removed by fermentation underground.

The tambourine, around the edge of which is put several pairs of movable circular pieces of tin which produce a rhythmic sound.

The side drum or snare drum and the triangle to mark the rhythm.

/209 cont./

XVII

"Camarico" for the Priest

796 At four o'clock in the afternoon the fiestero and fiestera,
●793 accompanied by their mayordomos, the cabildo, the musicians,
431 and other people, with the church standards in front and with a profusion of gunpowder, parade past the rectory. Each one bears a gift for the priest, called camarico, which consists of victuals and meat: green bananas, potatoes, eggs, meat, and salt. First the man presents his, and then his wife. This represents a testimonial to the priest for having come to celebrate the Mass for them. The mayordomos also present him with eggs.

In the house of the albacero flutes and drums resound and shouts go up, indicating that he is ready to receive the greeting of the fiestero.

XVIII

Extravagance and Protocol

796 It is five o'clock in the afternoon. In the house of the
43/ fiestero firecrackers resound, while in that of the albacero there is much excitement. /210/ Both have their own chirimías. The time for the greeting and the exchange of gifts has come.

The fiestero and his wife, preceded by the church banners and followed by many attendants, the indispensable melodies of the chirimías, and the bursting of firecrackers and skyrockets, have left their home, each with a plate covered with a brightly colored kerchief, on which they bear the gift for the albacero and his wife, respectively, consisting of a cake /bizcochuelo/, a bottle of aguardiente, one large candle of laurel wax and

526 /214 cont./
796
492 reach the houses, where they have a short rest while their owners greedily drink the guarapo offered them by the occupants.

796 The fiesteros and albaceros, accompanied by a great number of people, go once more to the priest. They bring
793 him the names of the fiesteros for the following year. The priest reads aloud the names of the fiesteros, the albaceros, and the mayordomos. The pronunciation of each name is accompanied by the ringing of a bell which is entrusted to a fiscal; when the announcement is over, there is a general pealing of bells. Each fiestero is advised by 15 to 20 mayordomos.

796 Then, kneeling in front of the church door, the old fiesteros hand over the banners to the new ones. They form a procession, and upon ending it, in the same spot where the banners were exchanged, they hand them over to the síndico, who waves them in the air one by one and ends by seeming to [787] drive them into the ground. If by chance the banner wraps it-
[763] self around its own staff, some misfortune will befall the new fiestero. As a rule it is an omen of death, which fills with great sadness the fiestero whose banner had this happen to it.

Now each fiestero goes home, bearing in his hands the banner of the saint.

XXI

Banquet for the Albacero

796 After the procession the fiestero goes to the house of the
574 albacero, where he receives attention with the above-mentioned calabashes of chicha and bottles of aguardiente. When this feast is over, the company moves to the house of the fiestero. In the center of the sala there stands next to the pango the table with two burning candles at the ends, the calabashes of chicha, and the liters of aguardiente. The albacero, síndico,

/220 cont./

XXVI

Religious Fiestas

796 Among the Paez there are no secular collective celebrations. All are religious. They celebrate with pomp and grandeur: San Andrés, Semana Santa, San Juan, San Pedro and San Pablo, La Santa Cruz, El Día de Difuntos, La Inmaculada Concepción...

[178] The Lazarist missionary, David González, says that as
[179] far back as 1689 the fiestas were organized as they were found
[177] in 1905, that is to say, as they are today. Each pueblo was granted a patron saint and various other protectors. In spite of this, only San Juan Bautista and San Pedro and San Pablo, whose fiestas are celebrated when maize is eared /en macollaje/, the rains are heavier, and the winds are violent, the day of the dead /el día de difuntos/ with its offerings to the souls, the Inmaculada Concepción, when grain is abundant, and the Semana Santa (El Resucitado /The Resurrected/) were the fiestas and saints that aroused the most enthusiasm and sank the deepest roots in the souls of these natives.

771 The Paez, and especially those of Calderas, are religious
796 in externals, not in conviction; they are more concerned with
182 form than with substance. This is revealed in the religious fiestas of these natives. /221/ Few of them attend mass, and fewer yet pray at vespers. To the great majority of them, religious fiestas mean a squandering of gunpowder, lights, aguardiente, and chicha. An abundance of food. The pleasure of getting together. The joy of contact. The music, which assuages hardship, and the dancing, an exteriorization of feelings. It is the expansiveness that leads to gatherings, the sexual jokes that spring up among them without misgivings; it is the continuous drunkenness. It is the display of generosity, the exercises in co-operation and altruism.

796 The priest, as a punishment for failure to attend the Mass
793 on the part of the chief fiestero and albacero, refused to carry
718

/221 cont./

●793 out the procession. The latter, reeling from chicha and lack
796 of sleep, arrived at the end of the Mass and learned of the
788 decision of the priest, who in addition advised them to save the gunpowder for the procession on the following day. They left. And although they did not march around the church and did not bear on their shoulders the image of the saint, they fired all the firecrackers, the skyrockets, and the fireworks castle to the strains of their native music. The procession was carried out symbolically.

796 The women and the men are dark in complexion and in
142 apparel. At these celebrations it is not unusual to see them
291 dressed in bright colors and brightly colored beads.
301

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[For general information on the organizers and leaders of the various Paez fiesta (e.g., the fiesteros, albaceros and mayordomos) and their roles, see category 796.]

● 794
623

[Information on the Capitan and Síndico as representatives of the church in the council and community affairs will be found in category 624.]

/173 cont./

123 promise it. When I arrived in Calderas on Monday I found that
623 the men of the village had not wanted to meet a second time and
554 that they had indeed begun the work.

623 The alcaldes and the alguacil are the messengers of the
[203] cabildo; they notify the people when communal projects are
necessary. Moreover, the alguacil administers corporal punish-
[696] ment. The three comisarios are likewise messengers and help
[203] the gobernador carry out and supervise public projects. It is the
[794] duty of the fiscales -- together with the gobernador -- to deco-
rate the church. They provide candles and help the priest. Ac-
cording to C. Cuervo Marquez (Vol. II, p. 183), the fiscales
formerly also had the duty of defending the interests of the /174/
871 village against the encroachments of the colonists. The comisario
623 escolar, finally, is responsible for the school attendance of the
[797] children. The mission sisters, as the teachers, turn to him and
[875] he is supposed to get the children to school, by force, if necessary.

621 It should not remain unmentioned that Calderas -- and ap-
623 parently this village only -- is divided into four parts, each of
which occupies roughly a cardinal point and has about 50 houses.
[361] An alcalde, alguacil, fiscal, and comisario are each an equal
representative of a quarter in the cabildo. At present the alcalde
is the representative of the western region of Yocashí, the alguacil
the representative of the northern region of Puélche, the fiscal
that of the eastern region of Aépel, and the comisario that of the
southern Bishók. I was told that the connection between an office
and the representation of a village quarter is arbitrary, depending
on where the occupant of the post happens to live. The official
position within the cabildo is first assigned, and today it is the
more important. Four of them take over the representation of a
village quarter each. Thus, the comisario, if he lives there, may
be the representative from Yocashí, and the alcalde the repre-
sentative of Aépel. The present gobernador, for example, was
fiscal ten years ago. Since he lives in the village section of Puélche,
he was at the same time the representative of this quarter.

[illegible]

/ [illegible] /

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

/208 cont./

796 through the village and meet in front of the festival house for a
[194] ceremonial salutation. They exchange brandy, chicha, and candles, each giving the other exactly the same thing /209/ that
[537] he himself receives. After they have mutually complimented each
[431] other sufficiently, they turn to the bystanders, make a short speech to the effect that everyone should enjoy himself, and dis-
796 tribute everything to the people standing around. Soon afterward
532 all gather on the plaza in front of the church, where now the "vacaloca" is lighted. This "crazy cow" consists of a number of flexible twigs bent into semicircles and held together on the underside by cross-rods; they are fastened one behind the other, which gives the structure the shape of a half-cylinder. This is covered with a cowhide and forms the body of the crazy cow. On one end is fastened a cow's skull modeled out of bast and newspaper to look as real as possible, and on the other end, a stick wound with agave fiber as a tail. A strong young man takes the frame of the cow on his shoulders and it is then lit at the specially prepared places on horns and tail. While music is played, the young man goes across the square in a zigzag, during which the young people try to tease the cow, while it, in turn, tries to get the bold ones on its horns. The meaning of this game is not clear to the Paez. It looks as though it were a poorly understood imitation of a popular bullfight.

796 Everybody now returns to the festival houses, where the musicians have taken their places on a bench on the narrow end of the festival house. The women squat in one corner in a large
[273] group with their children. And then begins the feast, at which everyone, men, women, and children, may eat and drink as much as he is able, with the exception of the fiesteros, who have the sole right to pour the chicha and brandy and do not themselves become intoxicated, in order to be able to carry out their duty well. The festival guests do not go home for the duration of the festival, but eat, drink, and sleep in the festival houses, stretched out full length on the floor wherever they happen to be. The festival goes on with more or less intensity -- as far as eating and drinking are concerned -- throughout the entire week; at any rate, no one works, but at most goes from house to house "pasnyándo."

/192 cont./

796 Then the new fiesteros look for assistants, called albaceros and mayordomos. At the close of the fiesta, accompanied by the cabildo and the old fiesteros, they go to the priest to be put on record and announced as the fiesteros for the following year. Each receives a church banner, and then in procession they walk round the church and proceed at once to one of the houses of the pueblo, previously requested from its owner, amidst the bursting of firecrackers and the strains of music. [273] There, chicha and aguardiente will be served to the albacero, mayordomos, and the others present, even before they have finished drinking the liquor of the old fiestero. They will also be given a meal, for which a bull has been slaughtered.

● 794 796 The months go by. The need for money to cover the costs is pressing. Fiesteros and albaceros, with their wives and sometimes also with a few friends, leave their land and, keeping to themselves, set out for Inzá, La Plata, or Popayán to sign up as laborers on haciendas which they know personally or through [465] trustworthy references. Their daily pay will be one peso and food. Not even coca /193/ /illustration appears here/ is part of their ration. Husband and wife do the same work and earn the same pay.

After two months they return once more to their land, carrying in their pouches gunpowder, wicks and salt. Sometimes, [574] a machete fastened to the belt. The fiestero bears the brunt of the expense: camarico (1) /footnote 1 is missing; the camarico is the gift customarily given to a guest/ for the priest and the latter's fees; candles for the altar; gunpowder for the Mass and the social functions; the cleaning of the church; "care" for the albacero and hospitality to visitors for the period of three weeks. The albacero is in charge of the celebration of vespers: lights for the church, the vacaloca /"crazy cow," a feature of the fiesta/, fireworks, and gunpowder.

The mayordomos contribute money (one peso) for the priest's fees and candles to light the church.

/202 cont./

415 men first and then women, and ending with the children of both
554 sexes. No one is left without a share.
273

XII

The Cleaning of the Church

346 The so-called church of Calderas, a masonry structure, is a dilapidated old building, long and tall, with a two-slope thatched roof and a hemispherical bell tower supported by four beams set into the ridgepiece. Only the front of four columns with cornices and semicircular arches which form an antechamber lends the whole a certain charm.

346 What is called the cleaning of the church is the removal
794 of a few weeds that grow in the pavement in front of it and
796 clearing a line that encircles a small plaza. The task is minimal, but it is always performed. The act is symbolic more than anything else; what matters is the meeting of the fiesteros with their respective albaceros and laborers; an occasion for taking care of the albacero, an opportunity for merriment, talk, jokes, and even games.

Some 12 days before the fiesta and on a Thursday, accompanied by the cabildo, music, and firecrackers, the fiestero leaves his house and goes to occupy one in the pueblo. He takes /203/ along the bull that will be sacrificed on the following day. Two days later, that is to say, on Monday, the cleaning of the church is carried out. On rare occasions
[202] it is done on a Wednesday. The ringing of bells announces the invitation and later tells the people that the cleaning is over, whereupon they drink the two calabashes of chicha which each fiestero has brought; the firecrackers are set off; "the albacero has earned a meal," they say, and deserves the honors of the table. The fiestero will take care of him with

/203 cont./

346 meat and "mute," as well as more chicha and aguardiente.
●794 After lunch the albacero goes home. There he waits for the
796 fiestero, who in the afternoon will bring him more chicha, more aguardiente, and more food.

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XIII

Instruments, Music and Dance

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[281] The bass drum (kut), made with the skin from sheep, calf, goat, or deer, the hair of which has been removed by fermentation underground.

The tambourine, around the edge of which is put several pairs of movable circular pieces of tin which produce a rhythmic sound.

The side drum or snare drum and the triangle to mark the rhythm.

/336 cont./

423 no rights over land won by the sweat of the brow. It is inherited
623 directly by the sons. In such cases the cabildo confirms owner-
428 ship by issuing the respective adjudication.

423 When the colonization has been done by several persons,
578 usually brothers, and the division of the land does not satisfy one of the parties, famous litigations take place that eat up the small savings of the families. The feeling for ownership of land is highly developed among the natives, and the usurpation of the slightest piece of ground gives rise to quarrels, enmities, and
42 litigations. The sale of land to "whites" is prohibited by
[648] Colombian law and by the consuetudinary law of the natives. But among the natives themselves transactions can be made with immovables. They do not sell the land, but the ownership. The owner of land is the man. A widow, too, can be an owner by inheritance from the husband. Single women do not own land.

422 The bovine, equine, porcine, and wool-bearing livestock belong to the man, although a few women own pigs and sheep. Turkeys, chickens, cats, and guinea pigs belong to the women, and so do dishes, spoons, pots, grinding stones,
[428] calabashes, and bags. These are inherited through the female line. Children are owners merely of their own clothes.

423 Concerning communal property, we have already seen that in each parcialidad there are several hectares of land that
[794] belong to all the members of the parcialidad. Also regarded as communal property are public works, such as roads, bridges, the main ditches, the house of the cabildo, and the church, and they collectively maintain them; likewise regarded as the property of the parcialidad are the sums of money collected for the church, the produce of the clearing of the saint, and any livestock or mills that it might own.

428 Concerning inheritance, let us look first at the concepts
[842] expressed by an informant from Calderas. Asked about the ideal number of children for native families, he replied that everyone wished to have many children. "When one dies and one has land, who can handle it? The ancestors worked the montaña, and this is why we have land. We are five brothers and we work

1: Nachtigall SC15 Paez SC15

788
796

/For information on the various ceremonies and rituals associated with purification of the participants of a burial, see categories 783, 764, and 765./

Since the shapes are very simple, a special
/162 cont./
463 apprenticeship with a master is not absolutely necessary; Santos
323 Kiskue, at any rate, began making pots by himself after an
[467] accident that left him with a stiff left wrist. He uses the unmixed clay that stands near his house. Out of this, constantly moistening it, he shapes on a /163/ board lying on the ground an even, round "clay sausage," which he then presses flat with the palm of his hand. He builds up his pots out of this in spirals. They are put with their lower part on a shallow clay bowl, so that he can turn them easily in closing up the junctures (Ills. 184 to 186 /see pp. 282-283/). He lets the freshly made pots dry for about a week under a roof, then he takes them to a place where there is sufficient dry wood. Here he places the pots very close together, stacks wood and twigs over them, and lets them burn for about two hours. They are then ready for use.

i) Candlemaking

388 At the three annual church festivals a large number of
● [796] candles (mbéla; Spanish: vela) are used to decorate the church.
They are in part purchased, but largely homemade. Everyone is
[462] familiar with the process of manufacture, but for the festivals
[824] it is men's work. The wax is obtained from the wood laurel (Myrica pubescens Willd), whose small fruits, measuring about five to eight millimeters in diameter, are harvested in great masses in April and May. For this purpose the twigs are struck off and stripped of the fruits over the round berry net that is put in the opening of a large fiber bag. After they are dried, they are poured into a bag, boiled, and squeezed. The wax, caught in a vessel and dried, was formerly an important commercial product in the trade with the whites. In making the candles, wax is poured over the wicks until the proper thickness is obtained.

k) Fireworks

389 No celebration and no church festival is possible without
[796] setting off the greatest possible number of fireworks. The fire-
[541] crackers required for this are made by the men themselves.
[462]

/175 cont./
623 handle an additional crescent-shaped piece of silver leaf is applied.
293 In former years, on the first day of the new year, a cere-
623 mony for the old as well as for the newly elected cabildo took
796 place on the not easily accessible lagoon of Juan Tama, the
778 Páramo de Moras, and lasted for several days. It started with
823 chicha drinking under the leadership of a shaman, after which the culture hero, Juan Tama, and the spirits of the ancestors (?) were asked by the shaman for advice and assistance in the coming year. A dance and a bath in the lagoon concluded the ceremony (Bürg, pp. 340 f.). According to my information, this gathering at the lagoon has not been carried out for several years. The reason given is that for several years in succession it has rained around
[787] New Year's time. After that the shamans announced that with this
[776] sign Juan Tama renounced any further performances of the ceremony on his lagoon.

623 The election of the cabildo is done by the men of the entire
666 village. The candidates must be citizens of the given village,
[641] that is to say, they must own land there. A stranger could never hold office in a Paez village. The candidates may not propose themselves, but must be nominated by the assembly or by the old cabildo. Anyone who is elected for an office by the village assembly for the first time may not refuse, but must accept it. Only re-election, which is possible up to five or ten years in succession, is voluntary. The wealth or possessions of the candidates do not play
[556] any role. The present gobernador, Marcelo Muse, is /176/ about 30 years old. Two children, a son about six years old and a four-year-old daughter, are living; four of his children died. In the way of material possessions he owns five horses and two pigs, but no cows and no sheep. Ten years ago he was fiscal for a year. In the general opinion of the Paez the gobernador should not be too young or too old. The best age is between 30 and 50 years. The remaining posts, which to a large extent consist of messenger services, are generally held by younger, unmarried people, although
[896] they may also be filled by married men up to 50 years of age. In general the gobernador chooses people who are loyal to him and who must also carry out the punishments for him, for a gobernador

/199 cont./

764 result of the very hard stamping of the earth, the burial place
184 does not stand out from the surrounding terrain either because of a regular grave mound or because of any kind of slight elevation. A stone 30-60 centimeters in size serves as a marker, which is set either at the head or the foot end of the grave.

769 Whereas the deceased is given no accessories at all in the
[764] grave to take with him and no offerings are given this is done in
[796] the following year on December 8, the festival of the Immaculada. On this day, and each year recurrently, the relatives offer the spirits (áhimos) of their deceased, whom they think of as wind or shadows living in their former houses, their favorite foods: meat, yuca, potatoes, maize, chicha, brandy, coca, etc. These gifts are laid on a banana leaf on the floor of the church, and a candle is lighted and placed beside them. Small children do not get food, but flowers as gifts.

/200/

e) The Course of a Day

461 Men and women perform the tasks appropriate to them.
462 Those of the women are the least varied, since meals must be prepared daily and wood and water must be fetched regularly for cooking or for maintaining the nightly fire. Moreover, the work of the woman is more bound up with the house, whereas the men have shorter or longer pauses in their work and during these they visit neighbors, help them mill sugar cane, and drink chicha.
461 Steadiness is not the strong point of the Paez to begin with. It is but seldom that tasks are completed in an uninterrupted process; rather, we almost always found that on the following day the men were busy with something different from the previous day. To be sure, field work always requires long pauses between the clearing, the drying of the felled trees, burning, erecting the fences out of the remaining wood, and sowing. But even within each of these stages of work they generally take their time. True, there are said to be persons who can work for several weeks, up to a month, uninterruptedly in the clearing of a field, but I found again and again that after two to four days of work, a day of rest is inserted.

/207 cont./

g) Festivals and Celebrations

796 The public community festivals of the Paez which are celebrated and observed in the course of the year nowadays take place only on religious occasions, on the three church holidays Semana Santa (Easter week), San Juán (June 24), and Immaculada (December 8). For the Paez these are primarily occasions for joyful gatherings, for setting off fireworks, and for eating and drinking richly and abundantly. It is not certain whether in former times there were any indigenous festivals in connection with sowing and harvesting and the natural cycle of the year, 796 and to me this does not even seem probable. There is nothing 221 in the myths and surviving indigenous customs of the Paez that 241 points to an agricultural rhythm of life; rather, religion, mythology, and ceremonial practice are remnants of a hunting and shamanistic attitude of mind. The absence of a ceremonial life connected with sowing and harvesting becomes understandable in view of the fact that it is possible to do this at any time of the year; there is no correlation between a seasonal and growth rhythm and a corresponding natural festival cycle.

796 The gobernador at the time is in charge of organizing the community festivals. The actual running of the festival, which includes the entertainment of the entire village and the serving of the necessary food and drink, is the duty of the two "fiesteros" and their helpers, the "albaceros" and "mayordomos." It is an [554] honor to be fiestero, but also an expensive matter, for this office costs each one two head of cattle, the food for the village on the festival day, and, in addition, the liberal distribution of chicha and brandy. And, to be sure, not only the chicha that is drunk by the village on the day of the festival, but also that which the helpers [426] drink when they make the chicha before the festival. Even if a fiestero hires himself out to the whites months before the festival /208/ in order to earn money, he often remains in debt for years afterward as a result of the obligations arising from the festival. In spite of the costliness of this office, the fiesteros -- so I was

/208 cont./

●796 assured -- always volunteer. Besides, no one can be forced. But this is not necessary, since there are always more applicants for this position than are needed. On account of the very high costs, however, no one can be fiestero more than three times in all. This number is not the absolute highest, but represents the normal maximum given the financial circumstances of the Paez. One may be albacero more often, however -- up to ten times, I was told -- since this person does not donate any cattle for feeding the village, but merely a pig for the meal on the eve of the festival, and bears the cost of the festival accessories other than the food supply (decorations for the church, candles, fireworks, and the "crazy cow"). The mayordomos only join in with contributions of money to pay the priest.

The fiestero and albacero themselves do not work, but merely serve the guests. For the preparation of the food they have [476] their helpers, men and women, who voluntarily help and at the end of the festival are specially entertained. Above all, carry- [273] ing the sugar cane from the fields for the large amounts of chicha to be prepared is hard work, for every fiestero wants to prepare the most chicha, since a festival is good only if one can be drunk for a long time.

On the principal festive day of the three annual festivals, which are essentially the same in arrangement, the women start to prepare the feast very early in the festival house. The men also arrive, chicha is drunk heartily, and the musicians start play- [541] ing early in the morning. No longer entirely sober, everybody assembles for the Mass, which is accompanied by the setting off of fireworks by those who have remained in front of the church door. [788] Then, led by the music, played incessantly, a procession follows, a parade around the church with the flower-decorated image of the Lord and those of the saints.

[431] In the afternoon, the fiesteros, along with the cabildo and [1193] a large number of sightseers, set out for the church, in order to [1194] give the priest a present of foodstuffs, meat, bananas, vegetables, and eggs in gratitude for the Mass that was held. After that the two fiesteros, along with their albaceros and the music, walk

/208 cont./

796 through the village and meet in front of the festival house for a
[794] ceremonial salutation. They exchange brandy, chicha, and candles, each giving the other exactly the same thing /209/ that
[537] he himself receives. After they have mutually complimented each
[431] other sufficiently, they turn to the bystanders, make a short speech to the effect that everyone should enjoy himself, and dis-
796 tribute everything to the people standing around. Soon afterward
532 all gather on the plaza in front of the church, where now the "vacaloca" is lighted. This "crazy cow" consists of a number of flexible twigs bent into semicircles and held together on the underside by cross-rods; they are fastened one behind the other, which gives the structure the shape of a half-cylinder. This is covered with a cowhide and forms the body of the crazy cow. On one end is fastened a cow's skull modeled out of bast and newspaper to look as real as possible, and on the other end, a stick wound with agave fiber as a tail. A strong young man takes the frame of the cow on his shoulders and it is then lit at the specially prepared places on horns and tail. While music is played, the young man goes across the square in a zigzag, during which the young people try to tease the cow, while it, in turn, tries to get the bold ones on its horns. The meaning of this game is not clear to the Paez. It looks as though it were a poorly understood imitation of a popular bullfight.

796 Everybody now returns to the festival houses, where the musicians have taken their places on a bench on the narrow end of the festival house. The women squat in one corner in a large
[273] group with their children. And then begins the feast, at which everyone, men, women, and children, may eat and drink as much as he is able, with the exception of the fiesteros, who have the sole right to pour the chicha and brandy and do not themselves become intoxicated, in order to be able to carry out their duty well. The festival guests do not go home for the duration of the festival, but eat, drink, and sleep in the festival houses, stretched out full length on the floor wherever they happen to be. The festival goes on with more or less intensity -- as far as eating and drinking are concerned -- throughout the entire week; at any rate, no one works, but at most goes from house to house "pasnyándo."

/289 cont./

534 by cuts with a machete (Ill. 203 /see p. 290/). In spite of the
322 relatively correspondent holes, each flute has a slightly different tone caused by the varying diameter of the tube.

533 According to the investigation kindly undertaken by my
534 brother Wilfried on the sample flute of Vicente Puche that I acquired, it is tuned between C and C-sharp. Its six finger-holes produce a nonsemitonic seven-tone scale. All the tone steps, however, are somewhat inexact, that is, not exactly a whole tone-step apart. This is particularly noticeable from the third to the fourth tone where we perceptibly have less than a major second, but considerably more than a half step. This is noteworthy because in our diatonic major scale there is also a definite half-step between these two tones.

The blowing is on the right or left side. The extended fingers, work-worn by the heavy field work, cover the finger holes with the first or second joint.

534 The value of the flute is not very high. On festive days
[578] people are in the habit of becoming intoxicated in the festival
[796] houses and in the subsequent brawls the flutes are used as striking
[273] instruments and thus broken.

/290/ Every music group has at least one small cylindrical drum (káka) or a bass drum (kut), both of which are covered with skin on two sides and are wider than high in their dimensions.
[177] Drum and bass drum in this form are probably borrowed and were
[194] taken over throughout South America from former Negro slaves. Their manufacture among the Paez is specialist's work. At
[463] present Vicente Puche makes the flutes as well as the drums. In former times, however, there was a special expert who made only
[461] drums and bass drums. The work time for their manufacture amounts to 10 to 14 days, since one day is allowed for each operation (cutting wood, drying it, for the various processes in treating
[824] the skins, etc.). The cylindrical body of the drum is made from
[237] the wood of the utsé tree. The two drum-skins (katc) are made of calfskin. They are stretched with cords made of agave fiber, which run in a zigzag from one stretcher to the other over the body of the drum. They are tightened by a continuous loop that encircles two strands of the stretching cords at a time and at the same time

/285 cont./

101/ the Ullucos river, since to the south of it were found the Topas,
36/ Yaguiváes, and Guanaca. It seems that in the fifteenth century,
[166-173] under the rule of the cacique Calambás, the Paez went over the cordillera and settled in Pitayó, Toribío, and Tacueyó.

162 Dr. José Pérez de Barradas gave a number of 30,000 souls.
[161] The census of 1938 gives a total of 17,578 inhabitants distributed as follows: municipio of Páez (Belalcázar), 13,861; municipio of Inzá, 3,717. The censuses of 1951 give a total of 25,495 inhabitants, with 15,388 in the municipio of Páez and 10,103 in that of Inzá. It is obvious that the census of 1938 was defective, especially with regard to the population of this last municipio.

[177] Of this population, approximately 80 per cent is Indian, acculturated for the most part, except for those of Calderas, Suin, and Chinas, where traditions are strong and their contacts with the white scant, and in addition there is great resistance to living with him.

142 The Paez are of medium height, with light brown skin, dark brown eyes, straight black hair, broad foreheads, rather pronounced cheekbones, pentagonal rather than oval faces,
361 robust constitutions, and rather broad shoulders. Their pueblos
796 consist of a church, a school, the house of the priest and of
342 the cabildo, and a few other houses which are occupied only at the times of religious fiestas; they live in ranchos that are rectangular in plan, with thatched roofs and walls made of tight rows of maize stalks, /286/ located on privately owned land and a considerable distance apart.

291 Dress.--The Paez dress simply. The man wears linen trousers, a poncho tied to the waist with a leather strap and another that falls freely from the shoulders, and a hat which they manufacture themselves with palm or bamboo leaves. The woman wears a wide skirt tied around the waist with a multicolored band preceding the folds made at the back, a poncho similar to the one worn by the men and also tied around

/288 cont./
583 in the church, live together for a period of indeterminate duration, explaining that /289/ the man does not have enough money at hand to marry as soon as he asks the woman, and it is necessary to work in order to obtain it.

771 Religion.--The religion of the Paez is formally Catholicism,
177 but many of their traditions are hidden in it. The principal
[796] fiestas of the natives are religious ones, which acquire true strokes of splendor. The Catholic priest is called upon for the ceremonies of baptism, marriage, and cases of death.

Chapter II

631 Calderas.--Incrusted in the very heart of Tierradentro is the
131 Parcialidad of Calderas, bounded on the north by a high ridge
133 that separates it from Chinas and Avirama; on the east, La Muralla, the very model of a fault, separates it from Avirama, just as a ridge separates it from Togoima; to the south, deep gorges and high peaks separate it from San Andrés and Togoima; to the west, the Quebrada Guacharaca divides it from the Parcialidad of Lame.

133 It is crossed from west to east by the Quebrada Kukiyú,
631 actually a river in terms of the volume and violence of its waters, whose bed is deep, enclosed, and inaccessible. Its
[423] left bank is somewhat softened by a beautiful plateau of about 20 hectares, with fertile lands, abundant waters, and on which the pueblo rises; it belongs to the community, whereas the other lands are private property guaranteed by the fact that the owner either personally cleared the montaña or inherited it from his ancestors who cleared the forest. The right bank is steep, harsh,
[161] rugged. Numerous clearings are to be seen on these sloping
[311] lands, indicating the increase in population that compels them to cultivate lands of low fertility and great danger for the laborer.

/186 cont./

with the guinea pigs. These ranchos give the impression of extreme poverty in their dwellings. None of them is of bahareque.

The second type of dwelling, which is more widespread and shows a larger number of foreign architectural elements, is the large rectangular house with a four-slope roof, 15 to 20 meters long by four or five meters wide, with one or two doors and two or three rooms, one of which takes up two-thirds of the space made, and the last third is subdivided into the room intended for the kitchen and the other for the chicha troughs and pantry. Not a few of the dwellings of this type have a compartment for menstruating women (du yate léchukue), although as a rule small huts are built outside the house for this purpose.

In this type of dwelling one commonly finds bahareque, sleeping platforms, plank doors, and sometimes whitewashed walls.

The settlement of Calderas is made up of this kind of dwelling. It consists of 14 houses scattered at random on a beautiful plateau of some 20 hectares, covered with pastures and crossed by drainage ditches that bring water to five of the houses, which are permanently occupied; the others, although they have owners, serve only for religious fiestas when the fiestero /fiesta leader/ moves there with his retinue of mayordomos, laborers, cooks, and the utensils for serving aguardiente, chicha, and food. These houses are spacious, 25 meters long by six meters wide; thick mud walls, with a plank door at the entrance; the enormous sala, fluhne wala, is 13 meters long; here stand the sugar mill, the metate (ũkukuat), the notched ladder for climbing to the garret, the pango pil, crudely hewn rectangular beams on which the men sit, one of which is 10 meters long; firewood is piled in one of the corners; the floor is of earth unevenly smoothed. The concentrations of people who visit the fiestero in a daily stream gather in these spacious salas; here music echoes, the albacero /fiestero's assistant/ is taken care of, the dances take place, the drunks sleep, and the sugar cane is milled.

/186 cont./

346 There are four other small rooms, five meters /187/ long
•796 by three meters wide. Two of them are independent of each other, with their respective doors opening into the sala; one serves as a kitchen and the other to roast the maize griddle-cakes. At the other end of the house are the two other rooms, connected with each other by one door and with the sala by another. The workers sleep in one, and in the other are the troughs of chicha, the bottles of aguardiente, and the laurel candles.

342 The third type of dwelling, very scarce in Calderas, has
249 a square floor plan. It has the sala, two kitchens, and the du yate léchukue. Whatever type of dwelling a Paez family may own, they all have as an indispensable accessory the sugar mill,
[262] either inside the house or outside it. Actually, if it is kept in
[273] mind that the basic sustenance of the natives is provided by
[276] maize, cabbage, chicha, and coca, this instrument is indispensable.

342 In addition, each house is supplied with water, taken from
312 springs, streams, or falls, through the extremely skillful construction of ditches which skirt the valleys, hills, and slopes. Their lands have abundant water. They are not familiar with artesian wells.

342 In a way, the enormous salas in the houses of Calderas
177 represent the ramadas which are found among the whites,
249 mestizos, and acculturated Indians of San Andrés; they are built independently of the dwellings, with a sugar mill and an oven to boil down the cane juice and make panela. In this parcialidad, the panela industry is quite well developed. In Calderas it does not exist.

584 Among the Paez, land, marriage, family, and house form
583 a close and indissoluble unit. It lends warmth and meaning to
[183] a number of emotional, sentimental, and sociological complexes. This begins when the pubescent boy feels the need for a partner who will help him in his work and assuage to some extent the rigors of solitude. The love awakened by a dark, shapely maiden impels him to ask her parents for her. "Give my your daughter. I am alone and need help in my work."

/191 cont./

829 while the others contend for their land and reduce the extent
665 of the parcialidad. This is what the people of Avirama, Togoima, and Lame have done. Nowadays, their relations appear to be cordial, for their political differences, at least, seem to have been obliterated.

157 The Paez are extremely pugnacious, aggressive by nature; they are easily aroused and only with difficulty erase rancor from their minds. Their psychological characteristic seems [648] to be the explosion. History gives many authentic proofs. [669] Adverse to the Spanish yoke, destroyers of the colonial settlements, /192/ in the times of the republic they have served as instruments for blind ambitions and political revenge, and nearly all the civil uprisings have been nourished with their blood. They adjust easily to the military, guerilla, barbarian [579] spirit. The riots that have taken place in the present century are memorable: La Quintinada, La Collada, and the 28th of January, the first of which took place in 1916, the second in 1932, and the third in 1950, out of motives of racism, religion, and political rancor, respectively.

Persistence in vengeance, hair-raising and fearsome crimes, and the spilling of blood characterize many aspects of the social and political life of these Indians.

VI

Fiesteros, Albaceros, and Mayordomos

●796 About three months before the celebration of the fiesta,
623 the cabildo begins to select the names of the fiesteros /fiesta leaders/ for the following year. When the candidates have been chosen, the entire cabildo goes to their home, where after much dilatory chatting they announce the authorized choice. The offer is rejected at first, but eventually the great honor is accepted.

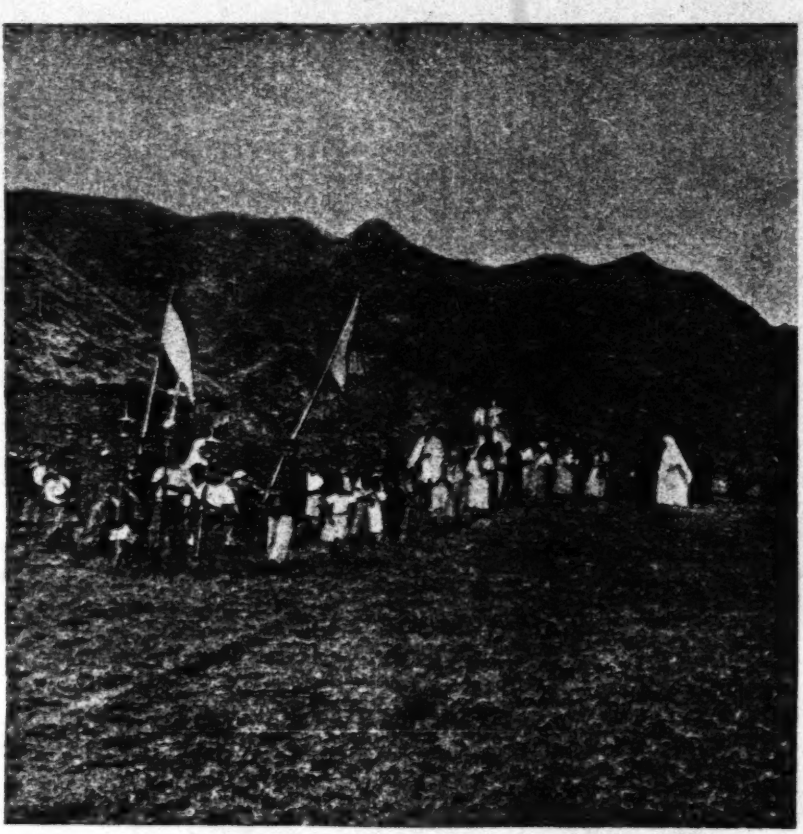
//[illegible] //

796 Then the new [illegible] and [illegible]. In the [illegible] the [illegible] and the old [illegible]. [illegible] put on record and announce to the [illegible] for the following year. Each receives a church [illegible]. [illegible] they walk round the church and proceed to [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

/194/

796 Both the fiestero and the albacero have laborers whom they select themselves. The fiestero has the following: three for the

[133]
[788]



distribution of food; three chicha-makers, two men and one woman; two millers of sugar cane; one fireworks-maker and two women as
796 cooks. The transporting of the sugar cane is done by volunteers
465 who help out daily in exchange for drink. The albacero has the same laborers, and although he does not kill a beef to reward them, he does sacrifice a pig to this end, especially for the fireworks-maker, with all the honors of the table and the demands of etiquette.

[p. 22 skipped in paginating - Analyst]

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/194 cont./

796 The albacero and fiestero with their respective wives do not work; their task is to look after the people.

796 554 Every religious fiesta has a chief fiestero and a secondary one, with their respective retinues of albaceros, mayordomos, and laborers. There is no difference of rank between the two. Both spend the same amount of money and perform the same tasks. Only the chief one performs them first; he thus has [578] primacy. Nevertheless, a certain rivalry seems to exist between the two. According to the extravagance and hospitality, there are comments as to whether the fiesta of one was better than that of the other. Prestige is also involved here. Thus, of the two fiesteros who gave the fiesta of San Juan this current year, that of the second one was said to be better, since he did not get drunk, attended all the religious ceremonies, and [273] looked after people very well. Only the last of these remarks is valid, because the abundance of food, chicha, and aguardiente was fundamental; continuous drunkenness is the mark of a good fiesta. On the other hand, he knew how to look after the people because he had already been fiestero at another time.

796 Three weeks before the festive day activity begins in the households of the fiesteros: milling the sugar cane, the distillation of the aguardiente, entertainment of visitors, and the making of candles and firecrackers.

Two weeks before the Mass, the fiesteros, accompanied by the cabildo, music, and firecrackers, go to take over the pueblo house, with their wives, cooks, chicha-makers, and food distributors.

All the public entertaining will be done in the spacious sala. The church banner will wave in front of the house.

VII

The Milling, the Chicha and the Chicha-makers

796 249 461 [492] It remains to be said that the fiesta begins with the milling. Although it is common to use a horse to operate the sugar mill, it is more usual at fiesta time to move it with human arms, masculine or feminine. It makes no difference. The two laborers for the milling squat on either side of the sugar mill, and one hands over the cane while the other receives the bagasse, which is piled up at one side to be handed back again; this is done up to 12 times in order to extract as much juice [273] as possible. The millers do their work in silence when they are not drunk; while they do it with diligence, there is relaxation, laughter, shouts, and imprecations when they are under the influence of alcohol.

273 249 796 [415] The juice is gathered in troughs, or less frequently in calabashes and pots; it is heated to near the boiling point and then emptied into the troughs, in which, inasmuch as they are well "cured," fermentation is rapid. The troughs are made of huge tree trunks that reach up to one meter and 50 centimeters in thickness and four or five meters in length. As they are depleted through consumption, they are refilled with fresh [285] cane juice. The troughs are covered with small mats made 273 exclusively for the purpose. On the following day it is bubbly, 796 yellowish, with a pungent, sweetish flavor. It is the beka pes (strong chicha) of the natives, who drink it with relish and delight. Five gourdfuls of this liquor are sufficient to make them 273 drunk. Elsewhere called guarapo, while the Paez call it chicha, 182 it is of great importance in their social life and diet. With its 796 help the religious fiestas gain meaning, the mingas are carried [262] out, baptisms and weddings are made more pleasant, and visitors are entertained.

273 Work without chicha is inconceivable, and while they work 461 they get no food whatever; they merely drink chicha and chew 262 276

/195 cont./

262 coca. Chicha thus provides the calories for work, while coca
273 dulls the feeling of hunger. The consumption of chicha is
461 general among men and women, old people and children.
[276] There is no household without chicha for any length of time.
And during the short lapses when it runs low, they buy it or
[431] visit the households that have some. Among friends it is not
sold, but given as regalement: /196/ "talking, laughing, regaling," as the Indians accurately describe the situation.

214 Milling for the fiestas takes place daily and is in direct
273 proportion to the number of visitors. Milling for the mingas
461 lasts two days, one week for baptisms, and up to a month for
weddings.

273 The largest containers for chicha are the troughs, but use
415 is also made of pitchers and large earthenware pots buried in
the ground up to their rims.

273 The chicha-makers are the absolute masters of the troughs
463 while they are fulfilling their function. They distribute the
chicha, and even the fiestero himself must ask them for the
•796 amount desired. No one takes chicha without their consent.
Furthermore, they accept the gifts which the visitors give to
the fiestero. The latter merely voices his thanks. Although
they keep taking chicha, they do not get drunk, so as to perform their task properly. They will have their day when they
can do so.

VIII

Sugar-cane Aguardiente

273 At fiesta time, aguardiente is distilled every two or three
[796] days. The distillation is quite easy. The still is prepared in
the following way:

[415] A good-sized earthenware pot, 50 to 60 centimeters high
and 25 to 30 centimeters in diameter, is filled with guarapo

4:Bernal Villa--28 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/198 cont./

IX

The Wax Comes from the Woodlands

•796 Before the fiestero goes to stay in the pueblo, the laborers make the candles and distill the aguardiente while the fireworks-maker produces the firecrackers and rockets.

388 824 The candles are made with the wax of the wild laurel (1)

1. Myrica pubescens Willd.

recently extracted from seeds gathered months earlier from the bushes in the woodlands. Laurel, of course, is a shrub with lanceolate leaves, which grows wild in the clearings after the harvest. During the months of April and May the branches are heavy with lead-colored and tiny seeds very similar in form to the fruit of the coffee tree. They are a favorite food of the wild pigeons, and for this reason, while they are ripening, the owner, or preferably his children, constantly frightens them [756] away. This is a reinforcement of the magic protection supplied [789] by the medicine man at the suggestion of the owner of the woodland. He has performed the exorcism to frighten away the unwanted birds: he has loaded his shotgun with chayuts (2) and

2. Escrofulareacea.

shot at the pigeons. They will not return.

[415] The seeds are gathered in fique bags. Ten workers gather approximately one arroba in one day. /199/ For the period of one month the seeds will be left to dry, scattered in a corner of the house, so that the wax will come out white and not green as would happen if this were not done.

388 To extract the wax, the seeds are packed into small sacks or bags, boiled, and pressed at once. The wax falls with the hot water into a round container; on the following day, the water that remains at the bottom of the container is removed, and the wax is left to solidify further.

/199 cont./

389 Explosive charges are made in the following way. The powder is packed into small sheepskin cartridges; these cartridges /200/ are tied tightly with maguey thread. Then they are pierced in such a way that the powder can come in contact with the correspondent fuse. They make with these explosive charges:

Firecrackers: a charge attached to a short stick.

Skyrockets: reed tubes full of powder, with one explosive charge, attached to a long pole. They rise to considerable heights and end with an explosion.

Stingers: firecrackers made of three charges attached to a stick.

Castle: a structure resembling half an ellipse, made of flexible rods to which the explosive charges are attached.

[796] The fireworks-maker is selected especially by the fiestero or the albacero, and at the time of the fiesta he distributes the firecrackers personally among the elders with a great show [465] of deference. The albacero must kill a pig or a sheep to reward him for his work.

[461] The making of these objects is slow: a month or even more, not because it is complicated, but because steady work on it is tiresome.

389 During the making of these firecrackers, with the relative 787 tranquility that this implies, a man may come to know of a 75 destiny which he possibly had not suspected: becoming a medicine man. While sitting at his work he may feel the "signs" that herald his future activity. This was the case with a medicine man of Calderas. As a young man he knew nothing about remedies or "signs." But as he was making firecrackers, he felt the signs. He had five children at the time. After that he learned what the good and the bad remedies were from another famous medicine man. He put his knowledge into practice, cured a sick man, and devoted himself to being a medicine man. The signs, they say, are sent by God.

/202 cont./
415 men first and then women, and ending with the children of both
554 sexes. No one is left without a share.
273

XII

The Cleaning of the Church

346 The so-called church of Calderas, a masonry structure, is a dilapidated old building, long and tall, with a two-slope thatched roof and a hemispherical bell tower supported by four beams set into the ridgepiece. Only the front of four columns with cornices and semicircular arches which form an antechamber lends the whole a certain charm.

346 What is called the cleaning of the church is the removal
794 of a few weeds that grow in the pavement in front of it and
796 clearing a line that encircles a small plaza. The task is minimal, but it is always performed. The act is symbolic more than anything else; what matters is the meeting of the fiesteros with their respective albaceros and laborers; an occasion for taking care of the albacero, an opportunity for merriment, talk, jokes, and even games.

Some 12 days before the fiesta and on a Thursday, accompanied by the cabildo, music, and firecrackers, the fiestero leaves his house and goes to occupy one in the pueblo. He takes /203/ along the bull that will be sacrificed on the following day. Two days later, that is to say, on Monday, the cleaning of the church is carried out. On rare occasions
[202] it is done on a Wednesday. The ringing of bells announces the invitation and later tells the people that the cleaning is over, whereupon they drink the two calabashes of chicha which each fiestero has brought; the firecrackers are set off; "the albacero has earned a meal," they say, and deserves the honors of the table. The fiestero will take care of him with

/203 cont./
346 meat and "mute," as well as more chicha and aguardiente.
794 After lunch the albacero goes home. There he waits for the
796 fiestero, who in the afternoon will bring him more chicha, more aguardiente, and more food.
796 A week after the cleaning of the church, the priest will
793 come to officiate at the religious ceremonies.

XIII

Instruments, Music and Dance

533 The musical groups of the Calderas people, true chirimías /a kind of orchestra/, are deservedly famous both for the number of the musicians and for the beauty of their interpretations. Many are soft and delicate, most of them sad tunes,
534 but there are joyous ones as well. The musical instruments are few.

The flute (kuvi), made of a reed some 70 centimeters long; it has seven holes made by burning: the one in the upper part which serves for blowing, and 35 centimeters farther down are found the others, which correspond to the fingers of the hands, at intervals of three centimeters apart. They distinguish two types of flutes: those that produce melodic sounds, kuvinéhuish (major flute) and those that produce low tones, kuvinuch (minor flute).

[281] The bass drum (kut), made with the skin from sheep, calf, goat, or deer, the hair of which has been removed by fermentation underground.

The tambourine, around the edge of which is put several pairs of movable circular pieces of tin which produce a rhythmic sound.

The side drum or snare drum and the triangle to mark the rhythm.

/205 cont./

535 keeps her head low, with her eyes on the ground, attentive to the musical notes which she seems to interpret with her movements. One foot forward, then one back, in swift alternation; she suddenly stands in her partner's way, then does an about-face. She keeps her arms motionless against her abdomen.

The man, on his part, dances with his forehead held high, his arms motionless against his thighs, his face joyous. From time to time he shouts: "Viva the Conservative Party!" or "Viva el Cauca!"

It is customary for the fiestero and the albacero to dance with each other's wives, after their respective "care."

535 It is the rule for the newlyweds and the sponsors to open
608 the dancing at weddings. In the midst of the dancing and at
585 different times the bride and groom kneel before their sponsors /padrinos/ to receive /recitarles/ the blessing, the bride before the padrino and the groom before the madrina. The latter
[576] bless them and give them their hands to help them rise. After the dance of the newlyweds and the sponsors, the others present may dance, and in the midst of the dancing they, too, greet one another /206/ by placing the right hand over the other person's left shoulder and pressing it.

535 Although one colonial writer speaks of specific dances, nowadays they are only a memory; it is said that there is performed in Avirama the dance of the little bird (vicha ku), danced by young girls at dawn. Calderas informants say that it is very ugly and for this reason they do not dance it. It may possibly correspond to the Itza-ko noted by Pittier de Fábrega.

XIV

The Great Day

796 Before dawn raises its pale face above the black rims of the eastern peaks, the women have already left their hard beds

/206 cont./

796 of cowhide and are busy cooking the food, hastily reviving the kitchen fire. Meanwhile, the men talk and laugh hilariously.

[264] The house of the fiestero is bustling with activity. At six
[262] o'clock in the morning men and women have breakfasted on "mute," cabbage, bananas, yuca, and meat. Then, the women put on to cook, in a copper pan with a diameter of one meter and 50 centimeters, the mute for the laborers' lunch and for feasting the albacero after vespers. Next to this vessel they place another one of clay, slightly smaller, full of shelled maize with ashes. About four arrobas of maize will be consumed during this day.

With the bundles of firewood piled in one corner of the kitchen, and the water stored in jars, the women sit around the fire to nurse their children, spin wool, weave their pouches, and converse about matters of daily life.

In the course of the day there will be the sacrifice of the beef; the presentation of the "camarico" to the priest; the greeting of the albacero; the celebration of vespers with the vacaloca game; concluding with the meal given by the fiestero at midnight. On the following day there will be the Mass, a procession, the handing over of the banners to the new fiesteros, and the care given to the albacero.

/207/ XV

Scene between the Second Fiestero and Albacero

[805] The position of the sun indicates that it is nine o'clock in the morning. In the house of the albacero the muffled sounds of the bass drum and the melody of the flutes are heard.

While they play, the fiestero and his wife visit the albacero with a pot of stew /sancocho/, a bottle of aguardiente, a skyrocket, and a candle. The fiestero hands over what he has
[539] brought to the albacero, and his wife to the latter's wife. They sit around the fire. The dialogue is interesting:

/207 cont./

●796 Albacero: The albacero is always behind the fiestero.
539 We shall make him dance.

Fiestero: We shall take chicha and have a good time.

The offers of chicha and aguardiente are repeated.

--Let us go to the slaughter of the little bull.

--And all of a sudden the bull would kill me, replies the albacero, cutting short the invitation of the fiestero. And he adds:

--You do a great deal in taking care of people; you seem to have more. I do not have anything.

--We are not just any family. We are Muse, replies the fiestero.

--What do you want from me that you do so much for me? Asks the albacero.

Meanwhile other men express their thoughts in sentimental and philosophical tones:

--This is our pueblo...We must talk...When we die, we shall not return.

--Because now that we are alive, and on our land, we must see each other often.

The old master of the house interrupts the conversation:

--It is well if you go with us. (Eviuha guechi pikin ustau.)

It is time to slaughter the beef. The fiesteros leave the house of the albacero. The musicians follow them.

XVI

Sacrifice of the Beef

231 Since the previous day the beef has remained in front of
796 the house tied to a post. Next to it are several piles of long, dry pieces of wood.

/208/ /Illustration appears here./

/208/

231 796 At about ten o'clock in the morning the special guests of the fiestero get ready to kill the beef. They are four. The

142 534 291

231 796 musicians intone the kula kui while other men begin to cut the long, [533] dry pieces of wood into small fragments. Woodcutters, slaughterers, and musicians all begin their activities at once. The wood will serve to roast the maize griddlecakes.

[825] One of the slaughterers gathers the blood in a pan, while another one holds the head and tries to cover the eyes; he believes that if he does not do so, some other cow will attack him when he goes to catch it.

/208 cont./

231 After skinning it, they quarter it following a definite
796 sequence: the lower part of the hind legs (chinda), the lower
192 part of the front legs (kuse), the upper part of the hind legs (himbé), the upper part of the front legs (pala), the tail (mens), the flesh of the neck (chikichichi), the fat (sepo), upper intestine (chunchullo), lower intestine (meto), stomach (tuchi), /209/ trachea (pechita), lungs (mechto), heart (ús), liver
[827] (mechi), the gall (muahi), pancreas (shape)... They are familiar with most of the organs and their names, but not with their specific physiology.

262 Some of the pieces of meat go directly into the pan of
796 "mute," which is boiling and which the workers will eat for
252 lunch; others, to the barbecue where they will get the smoke from the kitchen.

Inside the house, in the ñuhne wala, the women grind shelled maize on two metates to make maize griddlecakes. With maize flour and water they make a dough which various women shape with their hands into circular form. In a separate kitchen, two women and two men are busy roasting them. First they let them harden on a piece of broken earthenware and then complete the cooking in the embers of the hearth. An elderly man gathers those that are cooked into a bag. Another one occupies himself with singing religious songs and praying. The maize griddlecakes are used to take care of the albacero on the following day.

796 This work is performed enthusiastically by the women.
[462] --The days of the fiesta are for talking, says one woman.
[829] --One can live through life only by getting drunk, says
[273] another.

4:Bernal Villa--42 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/209 cont./

XVII

"Camarico" for the Priest

796 793 431 At four o'clock in the afternoon the fiestero and fiestera, accompanied by their mayordomos, the cabildo, the musicians, and other people, with the church standards in front and with a profusion of gunpowder, parade past the rectory. Each one bears a gift for the priest, called camarico, which consists of victuals and meat: green bananas, potatoes, eggs, meat, and salt. First the man presents his, and then his wife. This represents a testimonial to the priest for having come to celebrate the Mass for them. The mayordomos also present him with eggs.

In the house of the albacero flutes and drums resound and shouts go up, indicating that he is ready to receive the greeting of the fiestero.

XVIII

Extravagance and Protocol

796 43/ It is five o'clock in the afternoon. In the house of the fiestero firecrackers resound, while in that of the albacero there is much excitement. /210/ Both have their own chirimías. The time for the greeting and the exchange of gifts has come.

The fiestero and his wife, preceded by the church banners and followed by many attendants, the indispensable melodies of the chirimías, and the bursting of firecrackers and skyrockets, have left their home, each with a plate covered with a brightly colored kerchief, on which they bear the gift for the albacero and his wife, respectively, consisting of a cake /bizcochuelo/, a bottle of aguardiente, one large candle of laurel wax and

/210 cont./

796 two small ones, a skyrocket, and a firecracker; in addition, an
431 assistant carries a pot of chicha. The procession moves slowly forward. The albacero and his wife, on the other hand, have also left their home, with their retinue of attendants, the shooting of firecrackers, and the strains of music, carrying with them the same gifts as those brought by the fiesteros: chicha, aguardiente, cake, firecrackers, skyrockets, and
[354] candles. An assistant carries a showy lamp, made of flexible rods in hemispherical shape, adorned with a white pellicle similar to paper, obtained from the cabuya (1), and flowers

1. Fourcroya andina.

of various colors; it has four reeds to hold the candles.

The albacero waits for the fiestero very close to his home.

At the moment of the meeting, the fiestero and his wife each take one of the church banners and they take candles, which in turn are also lighted by the albacero and his wife. They exchange them: the fiestero with the albacero, and
796 their wives with each other. Then they kneel, with the men
576 face to face and the women likewise. The fiestero presents
431 the ceremonial greeting:

--"My friend: we are meeting at this spot. I have come to see you. Accept this small cake, even though it is quite tasteless."

--"Here we are together at this spot," replies the albacero.

796 While they are saying these words, they touch each other's
431 left shoulder with the right hand and press it; the wives greet
[576] each other in the same manner; following this, the fiestera greets the albacero, and the fiestero greets the latter's wife. The same protocol is observed. Immediately afterwards they exchange the gifts, the husbands on the one hand, and the wives on the other. Everything is distributed among their respective attendants. Only the candles are retained.

/210 cont./

796 Throughout all these actions, the music has not failed to
[533] sound, /211/ the ensemble of the albacero alternating with that of the fiestero. The tunes are joyous, the enthusiasm grows, and the bursts of firecrackers are frequent.

When everything has been consumed, the plates, kerchiefs, and pots are returned with mutual expressions of deep appreciation. The albacero invites the fiestero:

--"My brother: now let us go to my house. I have nothing to offer you, but what can we do."

--"Do not worry. I, too, am in the same situation as you."

They all remain in the house of the albacero until the ringing of the bells announces the hour of prayer. Very few attend, but the fiestero and albacero have an obligation to do so. The musicians go behind. The albacero sets in place the lamp which he exhibited at the greeting two hours earlier.

796 The lighting of the church is adequate. There are some
346 72 candles, of which those on the altar are from the fiestero
373 and the remainder from the albacero. There are four hanging lamps of the type already described. On cross-pieces supported by vertical beams and placed so that one is close to the altar and another at the exit door, numerous candles are held in fresh clay, in the same manner as in the cornices of the walls.

796 The religious performances are accompanied by native
533 music; monorhythmic and sad tunes alternate with joyous airs.

XIX

Torches and Vacaloca

796 While at the house of the fiestero the men kill the beef
532 and make up the bundles of firewood and the women roast the maize cakes, in the house of the albacero the chirimía plays, chicha is drunk from gourd containers, the lamp is made, and

/211 cont./

796 the vacaloca /"crazy cow"/ is fashioned. From the angles of
532 a rectangle made of four rods tied with lianas, flexible rods are attached in a semicircle; over these is hung the hide of a cow; the skull of a cow, with its horns, is attached to the front part; the facial bones are covered with newspaper on which the cow's eyes, nose, and mouth are drawn with charcoal; the horns are wrapped in cloth soaked in laurel wax; at the hind part, a bunch of defibered cabuya forms the tail. In addition, with the same waxed cloth, three /212/ torches and one large match in the shape of a cross are made, exclusively for illumination.

On leaving the prayer session, a strong, husky youth puts the crude vacaloca on his shoulders, the waxed horns and the torches previously seized by other youths are set afire, the music sounds, the firecrackers are picked up, and the game begins. The young men attempt to set the tail on fire, while the vacaloca tries to pursue them and butt them with its burning horns. The clamor and mad frenzy begin. Everyone runs, everyone defies the charges of the symbolic animal. Soon the vacaloca takes a false step and falls with a crash, causing general hilarity. The fiestero and albacero, the musicians, the participants in the game, and the others present begin to move toward the house of the albacero. There they stop the game when the fuel of the torches is exhausted and the players are overcome by fatigue.

796 Inside the dwelling, in the ñuhne wala, the musicians in one corner, the women seated on the ground, the men on the pangos, their faces made golden by the rays from the torches, wait for the distribution of the calabashes of chicha and the liters of aguardiente with which the albacero is paying attention
[273] to the fiestero. In the middle of the sala and next to one of the pangos there is a crude table, blackened by smoke, dirt, and time, with two lighted candles at the ends of it; three calabashes of chicha set on sugar-cane bagasse, two bottles of aguardiente next to the end gourds, and next to the center

/212 cont./

796 one a liter of aguardiente. The fiestero sits at the center of
273 the table, his wife sits on his right and the síndico on his left. The albacero approaches, takes the liter in his hands, measures out a cup, and offers it to the fiestero. The latter accepts it, drinks, and returns it. From the hands of the albacero he receives the cup and the liter. The proceeds in the same fashion with the calabash inside of which is the shachi léchukue. In the same manner he offers the other bottles and gourds to
[431] the wife of the fiestero and to the síndico. The distribution begins, for which the fiestero, fiestera, and the síndico call on three men to take charge of distributing the generous gift. The aguardiente is distributed by its owners themselves, who in each cup put small pieces of cake. The clamor increases in direct proportion to the consumption. Everyone drinks
796 alike: men, women, and children. This is the time for off-
522 color, rich, and abundant joking. The hour when fantasy
273 shines and takes wings. There is practically only one theme,
831 sex in all its forms and manifestations: desires, /213/ feats, wooing, pregnancy, childbirth, genitalia, and even sham coitus in public. Any allusion to sex causes hilarity; many aspects of life, attitudes, and work are associated with sex.

796 At midnight the bottles and calabashes are empty. The
[273] music has been continuous, the drunkenness has increased ... But it is not yet over. At the house of the fiestero they are awaited with another gift.

The fiestero and the albacero dance with each other's wives. When the dance is over, everyone goes out and vanishes in the darkness of the night on paths that cannot be seen, only divined. The sound of the bass drum indicates that the people, the nasa wala, are on their way to the house of the fiestero.

There they will find the pale yellowish light, the table next to a pango and toward the center of the ñuhne wala, with its two lighted candles, its calabashes of chicha, and its bottles of aguardiente. This time it is the albacero who will

/213 cont./

796 sit in the center, his wife on his right and the síndico on his left. The same etiquette and the same courtesies will be ob-
[264] served. When the liquor has been drunk, there will be a meal of cabbage and meat: large bowls for the albacero, his wife, and the síndico. For the others it will be served on platters. All of them will sip the broth, squeeze out the meat and cabbage with their hands, and put it in their pouches.

796 Overcome by the fatigue induced by several sleepless
513 nights, by the chicha, and the food, they will sleep on the ground. When dawn heralds the new day, the enormous sala, the fiuhne wala, will present the sight of groups of people sleeping in a promiscuity of sex and age.

XX

The Saint's Procession

796 Immediately after the Mass, with the presence of those
788 who attended it and those who did not, the procession begins, the essence of the fiesta, according to Padre González. The image of San Juan, adorned with many flowers, is carried on a litter by the faithful, who frequently relieve one another, go round the church with a great profusion of gunpowder, and
[533] finally set off the fireworks castle. The music plays incessant-
796 ly and includes the singing of religious canticles. When the
492 procession is over and the saint has been placed on the altar,
526 the men mount their horses, most of them bareback, and set out to race madly /214/ across the plains of the locality. They give free rein to their enthusiasm, allow their spirits to expand, and whet their appetite for play. Groups of horsemen in clamorous flight leave behind them their shouts of "Viva San Juan." In everyday life action has been slow. Now the movement and excitement seem to counteract the sluggishness and heaviness of everyday life. The sweating animals

526 /214 cont./
796 reach the houses, where they have a short rest while their
492 owners greedily drink the guarapo offered them by the occupants.

The fiesteros and albaceros, accompanied by a great
796 number of people, go once more to the priest. They bring
793 him the names of the fiesteros for the following year. The priest reads aloud the names of the fiesteros, the albaceros, and the mayordomos. The pronunciation of each name is accompanied by the ringing of a bell which is entrusted to a fiscal; when the announcement is over, there is a general pealing of bells. Each fiestero is advised by 15 to 20 mayordomos.

796 Then, kneeling in front of the church door, the old fiesteros hand over the banners to the new ones. They form a procession, and upon ending it, in the same spot where the banners were exchanged, they hand them over to the síndico, who waves them in the air one by one and ends by seeming to
[787] drive them into the ground. If by chance the banner wraps it-
[763] self around its own staff, some misfortune will befall the new fiestero. As a rule it is an omen of death, which fills with great sadness the fiestero whose banner had this happen to it.

Now each fiestero goes home, bearing in his hands the banner of the saint.

XXI

Banquet for the Albacero

796 After the procession the fiestero goes to the house of the
574 albacero, where he receives attention with the above-mentioned calabashes of chicha and bottles of aguardiente. When this feast is over, the company moves to the house of the fiestero. In the center of the sala there stands next to the pango the table with two burning candles at the ends, the calabashes of chicha, and the liters of aguardiente. The albacero, síndico,

/214 cont./

796 and their respective wives do the honors of the table. With
574 the etiquette and courtesies already mentioned, the gift is
[576] presented to them and the corresponding distribution is made.
[431] /215/ The laborers and the fiesteros move from the sala
[576] to the kitchen and from there to the sala. "Guechi pikin ustau" (we are coming along), they say, upon entering the fiuhne wala. "Anjiha," reply those present.

The kitchen is full of prepared food, and the women are busy filling plates of various sizes; large ones, others medium-sized, and the smallest. The distributors are in charge of handing them out to the recipients. This time they will serve three different dishes:

[262] 1st, maize griddlecakes and meat; 2nd, stew made with bananas, potatoes, arracacha, and chopped meat; and 3rd, yuca, raw and cooked cabbage, and meat.

The albacero and wife and the síndico and spouse are congratulated with a bowlful of each of these three "courses." The mayordomos receive a smaller amount, and the rest of those present plates for everyday consumption.

Of these "courses," only the last one is distributed when there are many persons present. Everyone is equipped with a pouch. They sip the broth, squeeze out the solid food with their hands, and store it away in it. Drunkenness and fatigue permit little talk.

After eating, or rather, after having collected food, the
[535] music sounds. The fiestero and albacero dance with each other's wives. They carry lighted candles in their hands. The dance is slow, deliberate, halting. At the end, they all go to the house of the second fiestero to give him the church banners. He will repeat the same religious and social acts, with the same etiquette and the same courtesies.

/215 cont./

XXII

A Bath for San Juan

796 At four o'clock in the morning on June 24, the men, women, and children are up in every household. In that of the fiestero the kitchen fire is burning, the food is being cooked, [541] and everyone is drinking and talking. Outside, in the darkness of the night, numerous lights are shooting upward, ending with a flash accompanied by an explosion: they are the skyrockets fired out of the huts. To each explosion are added the cries: San Juan! San Juan! San Juan!

796 On the previous day and in each of the houses, a jet of 515 water was arranged to serve as a shower. Now everyone bathes. This bath is accompanied by firecrackers and shouts. /216/ This is one of the few occasions when the native bathes. For, although it is true that in childhood baths are quite frequent, adults bathe only for the fiesta of San Juan, in the washing of the dead, or when they have fever.

796 The bath of San Juan has the purpose of preventing both 515 persons and the animals that belong to them from getting sores 751 (scabies). Nevertheless, one of those who awoke in the house of the fiestero and who did not bathe palliates his fear: "I did not bathe. I have no animals. It does not matter if I get scabies."

--"You do have some, even if only 'two animals.' Bathe," replies his neighbor in a taunting, jesting tone.

--"I will bathe, but not my entire body, just my ...only."

The dialogue continues, loud and merry.

796 After the bath they catch a chicken. They all answer its squawks in chorus: San Juan, San Juan, San Juan. They [264] kill it. At six o'clock in the morning they are eating chicken stew.

In the house of the fiestero the following dialogue between parents is overheard as they hear their son crying:

/216 cont./

796 Father: "I want to beat this child because he cries too much."

Mother: "Why should you beat your child? It is not his fault. It is the fault of your penis."

[431] At five o'clock in the morning the fiestero and his wife go to the house of the albacero with their "camarico": chicha, aguardiente, firecracker, skyrocket, candles, chicken, bananas, arracacha, yuca, meat, cumin seeds, and salt. At six o'clock they return.

The musicians play their instruments and the people make [522] jokes. One of them makes a taunting, jesting one referring to the activity of the previous night: "I am not going to mass, because I have no trousers. I have some, but they are stained." As the bells ring, the musicians and a few people go to mass.

XXIII

The Laborers' Day

796 When everything is over, the priest has left for Belalcázar,
465 the musicians with their swollen lips and aphonic throats have
574 gone home, and the people are gorged with chicha and aguardiente, the fiestero still has to pay attention to--to care for--his obliging laborers. /217/ /Illustration appears here./ They did not have the opportunity to parade to the house of the albacero or to vespers or in the procession. Not even to get drunk to the same degree as the guests. The fiestero is also grateful for their services. Now, in payment for it, he must take care of them. For this he has left part of the beef under the smoke of the hearth. They will have their trough of chicha, their bottles of aguardiente, their firecrackers. They will be served at the table where the albacero was attended to

/217 cont./

291
492

796 and in the same fashion. Abundant food and drink will be the
465 testimonial of his gratitude. They will also have the musicians
574 and dance. They will wake up in the morning, like those at
the fiesta, lying on the ground.

4:Bernal Villa--53 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/218/

XXIV

The Race for the Rooster at Tumbichukue

103 The name of Tumbichukue is familiar to the colonists throughout Tierradentro. It is synonymous with fabulous treasures. In this place, it is said, the Paez buried all the gold and silver that they collected in the ill-fated settlement of Sebastián Quintero destroyed by them.

[131] Tumbichukue is a pass /vereda/ formed by the eastern slopes of the paramo of San Lucas and located between the Kukiyú and the Yusayú gorge (Guacharaca). It belongs to the parcialidad of Lame, and the road that goes from San Andrés [491] to Lame passes precisely there. This road is well traveled, its people more accessible to the whites.

●796 541 On June 24 the men race their horses along the road. It is a custom of Indians and whites "to race on the day of San Juan." The whites say that those who do not race their horses on the day of San Juan get scabies. The small, husky horses pant under the demands of their drunken riders. A wild race and shouts in an unsteady voice: Viva San Juan!

The people of the pass go to a small square along the road, near which lives the capitán of Lame. Indians from 184 San Andrés come to watch the race for the rooster. On the 796 other hand, in spite of the nearness, no Calderun /person from 291 Calderas/ is seen there. The women who are seen are clean, 177 with neatly braided hair; they wear black skirts, navy-blue 301 rebozos, pink blouses, numerous multi-colored necklaces, 541 bright earrings, and cloth hats. The monotonous dark or black necklaces characteristic of Paez apparel are nearly absent among these people. The classic pindo hat worn by the [191] Calderas people is absent. Spanish is spoken more frequently.

796 541 All the riders are concentrating on the cage and the roosters.

/218 cont./

●796 The cage is very similar to the lamp of the Calderun
541 albacero, with the added detail that the rods are adorned with panela candy (taffy) and carry four small flags. One of the riders reaches the cage, and on the following year he must return it exactly as it was when he took it. /219/ The candy is shared among those present, and the little flags are taken by the friends of the man who seized the cage; they must contribute to the expense.

Then comes the race for the rooster. It is spectacular. All those present closely watch the course of the game. The riders race quickly from one end to the other. As they pass beneath the rooster, they raise their hand in order to grab it, but merely graze it. The frenzy of the riders, the clamor of the people, and the bursting of firecrackers grow. Soon there is a terrible squawk, followed by a sudden silence. Two riders seized the rooster at the same time and in their hands hold fragments still quivering with life. The following year they will have to contribute a live rooster.

An informant explains that the man who gets the cage corresponds to the fiestero, the rooster to the albacero, and the flags to the mayordomos.

What follows is in the sphere of bacchic gaiety.

A chirimía delights the audience.

XXV

The Fiesta and the Numbers

796 The fiesteros are very reticent about supplying information
435 concerning the amount of their expenses. They merely say that they spend a great deal of money and among the things that they buy are arracacha, bananas, yuca, sugar cane, gunpowder, wax, salt, coca, and beeves.

/219 cont./

●796 Nevertheless, here is the value of the expenses that a
435 fiestero provided, thanks to the suggestion made at the time by the priest who officiated at the religious ceremonies.

As a rule, they kill three beeves: one for being accepted for the fiesta, another for the cleaning of the church, and the third for the attentions shown to the albacero.

Articles purchased	Cost
1 bull	$40.00
1 heifer	35.00
1 female calf	12.00
20 arrobas of maize, at 60 centavos each	12.00
Sugar cane	2.50
2 pounds of gunpowder	7.00
/220/	
1 pound of candle wick	2.50
Bananas	2.50
Arracacha	7.50
1 arroba and a half of salt	7.50
2 pounds of anise	20.00
Fees for the priest	20.00
Total....	$168.50

To this must be added the purchase of coca for the laborers.

The fiesta is thus extremely costly for the Indians, who have no money, who do not produce to sell, and whose live-
[426] stock is exchanged, not for cash, but for goods. It is true that the mayordomos contribute one peso to pay the priest's fees and that the majority of the guests bring victuals to the fiestero; nevertheless, the fiestero is left with nothing but debts, which he will not pay off in less than three years.

4:Bernal Villa--56 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/220 cont./

XXVI

Religious Fiestas

796 Among the Paez there are no secular collective celebrations. All are religious. They celebrate with pomp and grandeur: San Andrés, Semana Santa, San Juan, San Pedro and San Pablo, La Santa Cruz, El Día de Difuntos, La Inmaculada Concepción...

[178] The Lazarist missionary, David González, says that as far back as 1689 the fiestas were organized as they were found [179] in 1905, that is to say, as they are today. Each pueblo was [177] granted a patron saint and various other protectors. In spite of this, only San Juan Bautista and San Pedro and San Pablo, whose fiestas are celebrated when maize is eared /en macollaje/, the rains are heavier, and the winds are violent, the day of the dead /el día de difuntos/ with its offerings to the souls, the Inmaculada Concepción, when grain is abundant, and the Semana Santa (El Resucitado /The Resurrected/) were the fiestas and saints that aroused the most enthusiasm and sank the deepest roots in the souls of these natives.

771 The Paez, and especially those of Calderas, are religious 796 in externals, not in conviction; they are more concerned with 182 form than with substance. This is revealed in the religious fiestas of these natives. /221/ Few of them attend mass, and fewer yet pray at vespers. To the great majority of them, religious fiestas mean a squandering of gunpowder, lights, aguardiente, and chicha. An abundance of food. The pleasure of getting together. The joy of contact. The music, which assuages hardship, and the dancing, an exteriorization of feelings. It is the expansiveness that leads to gatherings, the sexual jokes that spring up among them without misgivings; it is the continuous drunkenness. It is the display of generosity, the exercises in co-operation and altruism.

796 The priest, as a punishment for failure to attend the Mass 793 on the part of the chief fiestero and albacero, refused to carry 789

/221 cont./

793 out the procession. The latter, reeling from chicha and lack
● 796 of sleep, arrived at the end of the Mass and learned of the
798 decision of the priest, who in addition advised them to save the gunpowder for the procession on the following day. They left. And although they did not march around the church and did not bear on their shoulders the image of the saint, they fired all the firecrackers, the skyrockets, and the fireworks castle to the strains of their native music. The procession was carried out symbolically.

796 The women and the men are dark in complexion and in
142 apparel. At these celebrations it is not unusual to see them
291 dressed in bright colors and brightly colored beads.
301

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/245 cont./

*765 756 783 [113] 8. See: "Mitología y Cuentos de la Parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro /Mythology and Tales from the Parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro/," Revista Colombiana de Antropologia, 1953.

[114] This type of cleansing has not been confirmed by any informant, curer or layman, young or old, male or female, from the Parcialidades of Santa Rosa, San Andrés, Calderas, Togoima, Avirama, or Mosoco.

342 ● 796 *756 [241] Conjuration of the new rancho. To protect their fields from the voracity of wild animals, they build a small rancho. Before occupying it, they perform the following conjuration. The curer blows remedies in the center of the rancho where the hearth will be. He digs a hole and buries shu and shulape. He makes a fire and casts fiundayuskei and bitopiskue into it. He gathers up all the ashes and throws them outside the rancho. He revives the fire again and roasts a green ear of maize, which is given to a dog to eat. If the dog does not die, it is a sign that there is no pest there and the owners can occupy it. In the opposite case they must abandon it. In Santa Rosa the Té eu eats the ear of maize.

This same ceremony is performed upon beginning a house. They give the dog roasted maize since it is not the season for green ears. Then they drink chicha and aguardiente.

241 *756 E huse uña (clearing-eat). The harvesting of the crops from new clearings must be initiated by the curer. The owner of the field provides coca, tobacco, and aguardiente and invites the curer. The entire family goes to the field.

The té eu prepares a calabash of remedies based on Chayuts, shugues, tayuskei, echiutse, ul fiñ, tatse. He sprinkles the clearing with this. He distributes as many bundles of remedies as there are persons present, for them to chew, to swallow the juice, and to rub their bodies with the remainder.

/320 cont./

231 propose "trades." Traders who are interested in a cow, once
439 they have located the true /321/ owner, assail him with propositions for a trade. They offer young, fertile heifers, smaller in size and usually thin. In exchange, they obtain a large and
231 fat cow. The profits are more than 200%. Before handing over
439 the animal, the native invariably requests a bottle of aguardiente
789 and pulls out a few hairs from the left eye or lower leg of the cow
[782] as an offering to the Duende /ghost/, the virtual owner of the lands and animals and potentially the protector of their multiplication. Likewise he blows chayuts (Scutellaria racemosa Per.) on the rope with which the cow will be led, so that it will not create difficulties along the way. There are frequent statements by whites and mestizos, cattle traders, to the effect that, when this requisite was not met the cow stopped halfway on the journey and could not be budged by any human power. Then it sufficed to blow at the rope with chayuts to make her move again. How can this be explained? The persons relating the story repeatedly ask.

231 Occasions for the consumption of cattle are mingas, re-
262 ligious fiestas, and, on a small scale, the post-matrimonial and
[796] baptismal "cuidos" (courtesies for the sponsors). The meat and
[527] the skin are both used. The latter is not tanned, but dried in
[281] the sun and used as a sort of mattress for sleeping. The milk is
[234] not used. When they sacrifice a head of cattle that comes from
262 "wild" places, such as bogs, lagoons, or montañas, they take the
782 precaution of calling the Té eu. He orders them to take a small
756 piece from each organ and to put a little blood on a reed. He
231 wraps all this in a leaf, puts a sprig of contento (chayuts) on top of it, then goes toward the east, and, in a spot determined by him, leaves the bundle, taking care always to put it to the left of things such as trunks or rocks. This placement does not have any special ceremony associated with it; it is not accompanied by prayers or the blowing of medicines, and it does not take place at a specific time. It is an offering to the Duende which is performed before consuming the meat, the primary purpose of which is to please him.

/321 cont./

231 The slaughtering of the head of cattle for consumption
[796] at religious fiestas is accompanied by music (1).
[533]

1. Bernal Villa, S. "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," p. 208.

[232] Of the equine livestock, they also prefer the females for
492 reproduction. Horses are used for the milling of sugar cane, for
484 the transport of loads, for long journeys. Many own saddles,
[249] /322/ although generally deteriorated ones. Women never ride
[482] on horseback. On long journeys the woman walks with a heavy
[562] load on her back, while the man rides without carrying anything to hinder him.

231 The horses of the Páez are small, but very hardy and suitable for the rugged and difficult roads. They do not own mules or
[754] donkeys. In Calderas it is said that someone brought a donkey
[789] for the purpose of producing young mules, but the envious ones (sorcerers) cast a spell on it and killed it. Nor do they own goats, which they regard as very thievish and destructive.

In the houses they raise guinea pigs, chickens, and turkeys, and, on a smaller scale, ducks. Furthermore, dogs,
[422] cats, and hogs are also raised. The former belong indifferently to men or women, while hogs and dogs are the exclusive property of the men.

The scant care given to domestic animals is worthy of note. There are no corrals of any sort, nor special caretakers
[233] for the animals. Cattle are commonly left to fend for themselves in the pastures, and only every 15 days, or, more frequently, once a month, are they rounded up by their respective owners to
[232] check on their existence or multiplication. They know about the need to give salt to cattle, but this article is supplied in small quantities and at very long intervals. Most of the animals of Calderas go to a small spring of brackish water in Tumbichukue. Among the other domestic animals, only the chickens, turkeys, and guinea pigs are fed regularly with grass, maize, manioc, and

/328 cont./

388 began to use other types of raw materials. The death blow was
43 thus given to the only home industry of the above-mentioned regions. Wax is still gathered, but the price for an arroba in Silvia does not reach eight pesos. There is no longer any profit.
388 The Indians go on using it to make candles for household con-
[373] sumption and above all for illumination at religious fiestas. We
[796] have described the methods of gathering, extracting, and manufacturing laurel wax in the work entitled "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," published in the Revista Colombiana de Folklore, Number 2 of 1953.

/329/

Mingas

476 The minga is the most widespread form of labor among the
461 Páez. The natives can work for themselves alone and are excellent laborers. But the task would demand more of their time
[464] and effort. Thus, the minga serves to prevent "boredom" during the work, to gain time, and to provide a labor force which would otherwise be hard to obtain.

476 The minga then is a co-operative system of labor whereby the interested party invites a specific number of acquaintances to perform a job, duly rewarding them with food, drink, and coca. "Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense," says Hernández de Alba /cited in English/.

476 Indispensable articles of reward are meat, chicha, and, in
554 nearly all the parcialidades, coca. The incidence of the mingas is thus almost in direct proportion to the possession of domestic
[231] animals. Those who lack such stock, that is to say, the poor according to the concepts of Páez culture, work alone or in the company of their sons, if they have any.

476 In the course of the cultivation cycle the following mingas
241 are held: to fell the trees (clearings); to pile up the wood that remains after the burning and to cut stakes for the fence; to build fences; to do the planting and weeding.

In Calderas a minga for clearing is carried out in the following way:

/350 cont./

252 Cabbages are cultivated in the gardens and are almost never
262 lacking throughout the year; they are eaten daily, chopped into
244 the dish of the day. At religious fiestas it is customary to cook
[796] the cabbages "on the bough," that is to say, with their respective stalks, and serve them as a special dish. White cabbage is seldom cultivated and thus its consumption is almost null. The few heads grown in the cold part of San Andrés are intended for sale.

252 Plantains are eaten preferably in sancocho, and their con-
262 sumption is intensive in the temperate climate. They are also eaten roasted, in which case they are preferred with meat or entrails. Potatoes, especially in Mosoco, are eaten with gravy, a favorite dish for entertaining "white" or civilized visitors. This dish is prepared with water, milk, eggs, onions, and meat. The potatoes are peeled and washed well. In Calderas they are also eaten in this fashion, but frijoles are added to them as well.

In general wheat is cultivated to be milled and sold. Sometimes it is eaten in griddlecakes, in which case the dough is prepared with water and panela. They also make soup with wheat flour, without removing the bran, with cabbages, frijoles, and salt.

Sweet potatoes are consumed in small quantities. They are washed, cooked, and eaten without salt and with peppers. They prepare peppers by cooking them in a pot (a bag, said the informant) and adding onions, coriander, and salt. This condiment thickens and keeps for about a month.

Chachafruto is cooked with frijoles or in the soup, but it is also eaten by itself and skinned. It is very tasty.

273 /351/ Sugar cane serves solely for extracting the juice and
[249] fermenting it. With the guarapo, thirst is quenched, mingas are held, "courtesies" are shown, religious fiestas and social life in general are carried on. From cane juice, duly fermented, alcoholic beverages are also extracted. They make chicha from maize, but this is not prevalent.

Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

cluding vegetables, cornbread, eggs, and chicha, which he piles on the church floor, together with wax candles—one if the person does not have anyone in particular to remember, two for each deceased relative. When Mass begins, they throw flowers on the presbytery, as an offering to the souls of children. Afterward, they go to the cemetery in procession, and the souls of the departed come down to the empty church to take the food. Later, the people sell whatever the souls left or failed to eat. Everyone buys something, the captain's assistant collecting the money, while the constables of the council, raising their whips and shouting insults, prevent frauds in the general disorder. The money from the sale is given to the priest to pay him for the work in the rites. As each person leaves the church, he kisses a crucifix held by the sacristan at the church door. They kiss it once for each dead person whom they wish to remember and pay a cent each time. In addition to offering food at the church, the *Moguex* cover their tables at home with food, which is also intended for the souls of their dead, and at the end of 2 or 3 days they eat the food, saying that they are eating what the souls have left. 769 782 [624] [625]

Christmas and Holy Week are both great occasions for the Indians, who celebrate them with music and some of their ancient rites. Even though a priest may not be present, they conduct the rites in a manner that dates from Colonial days, when a *Páez* Indian named Undachí tried to combine Catholicism with their own religion. The man claimed to be able to see God, who used to come among the Indians and talk to him in his own *Páez* language. The new religion included a chapel, Mass, and candle and flower offerings. 796 771 177 [781]

Sickness.—Sickness was always thought to be caused by witchcraft or by someone's will. The evil force entered the body and made it impure; it had to be expelled or "cleansed," lest death ensue. If a delirious person told who was killing him, the individual mentioned was thought guilty; or, if, after a death, the face of the deceased should appear to somebody, the person was considered responsible. These beliefs are still in force today, and the Indians avoid the causes of sickness, such as having sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman, exposing the body to bad weather while there is a rainbow, and neglecting to bathe after a burial or to purify a house where a death occurred. 753 754 [787] 753 178

To fight disease they still have shamans. *Moguex* shamans use tobacco, coca, plants known as yacuna and chundar, and rum in their practice. After remaining shut up in a dark room for a night, they either confess their inability to cure the sick person or proceed to administer the traditional medicines. Sickness is conceptualized as an animal, which enters the stomach, head, or other part of the body. In former times, the shaman fasted with the sick person, abstaining from salt and fats and taking only coca and chicha. Today, he requires that only the patient fast 756 [753] [785]

/187 cont./

593 and de facto (with a machete) aggression of a married son (23 years old) against his parents, and the situation calmed down when the father succeeded in disarming the aggressor.

Brothers and sisters respect each other. They avoid aggression, and when they are little they play together. The younger brothers greet the older ones, and when the latter marry, they receive, kneeling, the blessing of the former.

[241] The fruits of the harvests are shared among the brothers,
[476] just as they also mutually help one another in the arduous agricultural work. According to an informant, men care more for their brothers than for their sisters, because the latter, upon marrying, leave the home. Nevertheless they show affection in their conduct with both sexes. Relations between sisters and the mother are intimate, as they live together under the same
[855] roof and intermingle in performing the same work. The older ones help to bring up the younger brothers and sisters. The latter call the eldest brother and eldest sister táta and máma, names that they abandon when they have reached adulthood.
[627] In case of a fight involving one of the brothers, the others go to his assistance and take vengeance if anyone has been injured,
[623] but this is not an obligation. Quarrels between brothers may
[692] arise over the distribution of land. In the greater number of such cases the cabildo settles the differences.

602 Relations between the families united among themselves by blood ties are intimate. They visit one another frequently and are shown painstaking treatment.

593 Mingas[1] are organized more readily among brothers, who
[476] "cover up their poverty." In the religious festivals they mutually
[651] back one another and during occasional meetings they endeavor
[796] to drink and eat together.

1/ [i.e., meetings for collective work--Analyst]

/101 cont./

175 648 Nineteen years later, in 1562, Domingo Lozano made a new attempt to exploit the rich silver mines of Timaná and La Plata. He was obliged to withdraw, however, only to return the next year with reinforced troops. He founded the city of San Vicente de Paez, but only two months later, in an attack by the Paez on the city founded by him, he lost his life. An auxiliary body of troops advancing in forced marches from Popayán was also completely destroyed. After this new expulsion of the conquerors, the Paez allied themselves with the Pijao, who had destroyed Neiva in 1569. Together they attacked and plundered the silver mines of the city of La Plata in 1577, killed all the inhabitants, and set fire to the houses.

As a result of these unfavorable reports, the Spanish king energetically ordered the "pacification of the province," which from 1605-1608 was carried out so successfully that finally the troops could not find any Indios to fight or houses to plunder. In 1605, after the lost battle of Itaibe, the Paez retreated to the region of their inaccessible mountains still occupied by them today. Their western neighbors, the Guanaca, allied themselves with the Spaniards, and the latter put through their territory the [997] connecting road from /102/ Popayán to Bogotá. In 1613 the Jesuits set up the first mission station and a rest station for travelers [164] in the town of Guanacas. In 1790 most of the Guanaca fell [731] victim to an introduced smallpox epidemic. The survivors withdrew to the present Inzá, where they were absorbed among the colonists. Nothing has remained of their language.

175 648 797 The Paez continued to defend their country against the Spaniards and against missionization and, by their sudden attacks, made the road to Bogotá never quite safe. And then in the subsequent period the Spaniards had little interest in missionizing and civilizing the Paez. After the Guanacas station, only one 648 mission was founded in Tálaga. Because of the location of the 177 individual communities, enclosed by high mountain ranges, a 175 few villages were able to remain uninfluenced by Spanish civiliza- [36] tion for quite a long time. Later the authorities supported the establishment of native self-government, the cabildo /see the

/103 cont./

127 We know little about the other Indian cultures of southern Colombia existing at the time of the Conquista. The conquistadors had tasks other than drawing up scientific ethnographic descriptions of their cruel enemies. Nevertheless, working with subtle methods, modern ethnological and linguistic research in the old sources has produced outstanding results.

114 Our knowledge is very inadequate with regard to the Paez, 127 who, with approximately 25,000 persons, constitute the largest [161] non-Spanish-speaking population group within Colombia, next to the Goajiro, the inhabitants of the Guajira Peninsula in the northern part of the country. The oldest dates come from [797] Eugenio Castillo i Orosco, who, from 1735-1755, was active as a missionary in Tálaga -- often at the risk of his life, as he reports -- and wrote down a vocabulary, a grammar, and some cultural data about the Paez. This manuscript was printed in 1877. Further ethnological data are given by the Colombian general, Carlos Cuervo Marquez, who, on his extensive journeys, also traveled through the Tierradentro region from north to south and produced the first reports about its archeological cultures. The next one, in terms of time, to report on the Paez was the American ethnologist, Henri Pittier de Fábrega, who in 1906, coming out of the central part of the Cauca Valley from the northwest by way of Corinto and Toribió, spent a few days in Tacueyó and Huila. Georg Bürg, who first investigated the archeological objects of Tierradentro more thoroughly, likewise lived for a time among the Paez and gives a few ethnographic notes in his report. In his comprehensive survey of the highland tribes of southern Colombia, Gregorio Hernandez de Alba also reports about the Paez, with whom he became acquainted in connection with his own research. Graciliano Arcila Velez undertook a blood-group examination on 303 Paez. The first thorough special study of Paez culture from the standpoint of the religious and social life was made at the time of our stay in Tierradentro by the Director of the Archeological Park of San Andrés, Segundo Bernal Villa.

/109 cont./

124 423 One day, at the sight of a freshly cleared field on the highest mountain slopes, I asked a Paez working there to whom this land belonged and whether the person concerned had always owned it. He answered that he himself was the owner and that previously the parcel had been ownerless. He said that he had cleared it for himself and only recently built his house here in order to live here. In answer to my question as to whether there was any more ownerless land, he explained to me that the highest and inaccessible mountain peaks which are still covered with big trees and have never been cleared do not belong to anyone and that any Paez could clear a piece on them, which would then become his property. Later I called Victoriano to task, saying that actually there still was ownerless land. "Yes," he then answered me, "of course there is still ownerless land, but it is so poor that it has no value."

157 [123] [522] Far from their village, on the way to market, and generally in /110/ places away from home, the Paez, if they are alone or in the minority, are timid and reserved. If they are together in large numbers, however, or, even better, in their own house, they are usually quite bold and impudent and loudly made their jokes at our expense. Indeed, jocularity is a prominent characteristic of the Paez. No talk, no conversation, be it ever so unimportant, is begun without joking -- often of an erotic nature. The importance of conducting such a light, idle conversation is shown by the fact that serious-minded girls are scarcely ever married.

157 521 522 [834]

123 522 157 They made fun of my wife in particular, for they found it altogether ugly that she wore long pants. Numerous jokes were made about this, which we, of course, did not understand, and for this reason we, in turn, had to take the initiative by making a joke which was then acknowledged gratefully and usually with quick-wittedness. On the whole, respect toward strangers inside their dwelling is unknown to them. In larger groups they make their asides even in a strange environment, accompanied by much laughter. Since one does not understand them, one easily gets the impression that they are silly. In their own houses they also mimic the visiting mission priest by repeating

609 522 157 [797]

/110 cont./

609 parts of the Mass, as they have understood it, in an exaggeratedly
522 dramatic fashion. The priest has a difficult office in any case.
797 They do not understand his sermons and teachings in the church,
157 conducted in the Spanish language. If he speaks their own language, his inevitable mistakes are commented upon amid loud laughter.

123 On our first visit to Calderas, a man about 30 years old met us at the boundary of the village and asked us in a gruff tone whether we did not know that this land was only for the Paez. No white man had any business here. We should turn back, for no one wanted our visit. Marcos Antonio intervened and explained that we had only come to bring gifts to the Calderun and that we had no intention of settling down in Calderas. We would surely leave again the next day. The man let this pass and warned us upon departure not to dare try to steal any land.

[223] Even later we never obtained permission from the cabildo, the village council, to remain in the village more than a week at a time. Our reputation among the younger people of the village improved from week to week, on the one hand because we offered a cigarette to each man and each woman with whom we had an opportunity to talk, but even more because -- as we were told later -- we were friendly to everyone and always /111/ laughed.

[648] As a matter of fact, it would never occur to any of the white or mixed-colored colonists to favor a Calderun even with a glance. On the contrary, in the houses lying along the road, the dogs are trained to attack the Indios. True, these dogs are all undernourished and generally very cowardly. The Paez man need only raise his machete or a club in order to ward off the dog. We were the first whites who did something completely out of the ordinary in that we were always friendly, without any mental reservations, and always greeted them first, in their language. And this not only in Calderas, but also in Inzá and on the roads to the market. This friendliness was taken in good part on all sides. Then later, after we were able to show and to give them the first photographs of themselves, they were definitely pleased to be photographed and now and then offered us an egg or a bowl of chicha /see the glossary, p. 248/ when we photographed them.

/113/

175 Physicians are not consulted in any case. All illnesses that do not show external influences are traced back to evil sorcery or to the "pest" (see under "Religion"/see p. 191 ff./). They must therefore be treated by the native shamans /see the glossary, p. 250 /. Open wounds and injuries are treated by the midwife. Now and then, however, people visit the mission station in order to have a tooth pulled, on which occasion the nurses without reservation praise their great steadfastness in enduring pain.

273 276 648 The impairment to health caused by the consumption of coca and chicha seems to me to be exaggerated by the authorities; it would be even less with sensible and nourishing food. The prohibition against coca consumption and the government's battle against coca and chicha give the impression of being more a struggle against a brandy tax deficit, for alcohol under the state monopoly may be sold to any Indio in any quantity. The fact that the Paez generally does not work hard and continuously probably has nothing to do with any degeneration caused by the stimulants mentioned, but rather it is quite simply his psychological attitude which does not let him see why a human being should strive for things which seem unnecessary to him, things beyond his animal necessities of life, eating and reproduction. I often asked whether, in their opinion, there might come a time when the Paez, too, would wear only Colombian clothing or even use electric lighting. They had never thought about it and in no instance had an answer.

461 829

II. Material Culture

1. The Dwelling

a) The Settlement

361 Politically and sociologically the Paez villages of Tierradentro embrace the inhabitants of a valley basin more or less closed off by the surrounding mountains. In their structure, however, they are not villages in our sense, by which we understand a locally concentrated aggregation of a number of houses,

/164 cont./

439 cloth for trousers, and all European clothing. Furthermore, every type of ornament must be bought, such as necklaces, earrings, and finger rings, then cotton, since it is finer and shinier than sheep wool, and aniline dyes for dyeing women's belts and coca bags, since they are more brilliant and clearer than the native vegetable dyes. The trip to market and the necessary trade, however, are not undertaken because of an inclination for business, pleasure in bargaining or in underbidding or outbidding, but out of the necessity to procure an [438] article that they cannot make themselves. If it is at all [797] possible, one tries to buy the required things in the village, for example, from the missionaries, and the purchase with money or the trip to market is, so to speak, the ultima ratio.
437 They do not bargain. The man -- /165/ and it is almost al-
439 ways he who shops -- asks the price, and if it seems too high --
[462] as in most cases -- he says "too expensive." If the tradesman lowers the price, he usually buys; if not, he goes on to the next stand.

The traders are never Paez, but always white and mestizo colonists. They know, of course, about the disinclination of the Paez to bargain, and they charge too high a price to begin with, so as to ask a still inflated normal price after the obligatory "too expensive." Thus the Paez are naturally cheated. They let themselves be too easily dazzled by an attractive display or packaging, for example, by the polish or the silver paper; also a more expensive green or red comb is preferred over a black one. Fortunately, one might say, they never have much money and can therefore never spend too much.

126 The way in which I was obliged to acquire the women's
439 colored belts for our collection is characteristic. Since every woman possesses only two at the most, one to fasten her skirt and the other to carry her baby, any attempt to buy them was
[101] always useless. I had therefore bought at the market in Inzá a few women's belts which are made by the Guambiano, the tribe neighboring the Paez on the west, and are sold in Inzá.
[184] They are made of cotton, the white color of which in the freshly

/173 cont./

123 promise it. When I arrived in Calderas on Monday I found that
623 the men of the village had not wanted to meet a second time and
554 that they had indeed begun the work.

623 The alcaldes and the alguacil are the messengers of the
[203] cabildo; they notify the people when communal projects are
[696] necessary. Moreover, the alguacil administers corporal punish-
[203] ment. The three comisarios are likewise messengers and help
[794] the gobernador carry out and supervise public projects. It is the duty of the fiscales -- together with the gobernador -- to decorate the church. They provide candles and help the priest. According to C. Cuervo Marquez (Vol. II, p. 183), the fiscales formerly also had the duty of defending the interests of the /174/
871 village against the encroachments of the colonists. The comisario
623 escolar, finally, is responsible for the school attendance of the
[797] children. The mission sisters, as the teachers, turn to him and
[875] he is supposed to get the children to school, by force, if necessary.

It should not remain unmentioned that Calderas -- and ap-
621 parently this village only -- is divided into four parts, each of
623 which occupies roughly a cardinal point and has about 50 houses.
[361] An alcalde, alguacil, fiscal, and comisario are each an equal representative of a quarter in the cabildo. At present the alcalde is the representative of the western region of Yocashí, the alguacil the representative of the northern region of Puélche, the fiscal that of the eastern region of Aépel, and the comisario that of the southern Bishók. I was told that the connection between an office and the representation of a village quarter is arbitrary, depending on where the occupant of the post happens to live. The official position within the cabildo is first assigned, and today it is the more important. Four of them take over the representation of a village quarter each. Thus, the comisario, if he lives there, may be the representative from Yocashí, and the alcalde the representative of Aépel. The present gobernador, for example, was fiscal ten years ago. Since he lives in the village section of Puélche, he was at the same time the representative of this quarter.

/185 cont./

844 until very late and only with great difficulty. The proper depth is supposed to be about 30 centimeters.

846 Four to six days after birth and after the first bath, the
851 father or one of the godparents brings the child to the sacristan of
608 the village or /186/ to the women missionaries, in order to have
[797] it christened with water and given the name of the Christian saint
[551] of the christening day. Every child has only one given name and the Paez surname of its father. The baptism by the priest with oil takes place later on a suitable occasion, in the presence of the god-
[783] parents, and is followed by an eating and drinking bout. The
[756] mother also takes part in this, after she has left the dũyat and has washed herself, her child, and her clothes and has been purified by the shaman.

861 The rearing of the children is in the hands of the parents, who teach them the necessary accomplishments of life quite as a matter of course and almost in play. Disobedient children are also beaten, however, and, to be sure, usually if the son has no real desire to help his father with the field work. In punishing, the fathers are generally stricter than the mothers and on occasion beat them with leather straps all over their bodies. The boxing
[461] of ears is also to be seen. If a young man proves to be lazy in later life, the father is blamed because he did not properly ad-
848 monish his son to work. Illegitimate sons, who lack the strict hand of a father, are said to turn out badly in many cases, though as such they are very popular. Since they do not know their father, they are not obliged to work in his field. They are all the more
[426] in demand as helpers in the fields of other families. When they
[431] are older, they may borrow land and establish a family. Usually they even receive the land as a present. Thus, they need not
848 starve by any means. Illegitimate daughters are in a more unfavor-
562 able position, for their help is not needed for the most part, and their mother does not have a household of her own. Nevertheless
[583] their marriage prospects are not unfavorable, since a girl does not
[581] have a dowry, but is married only on the basis of her personal qualities.

/186 cont./

[77 Today all children are obliged to attend school in the
797 mission schools, where they are taught the catechism and the
871 Spanish language and must bathe once a day under supervision.
515 The mother nurses her child exclusively during the first six
853 to eight months; only then is the giving of more solid food begun, which, however, does not differ in any way from that of adults, that is to say, the child is given yuca, beans, chicha, brandy, etc., like the adults. The mother suckles the child until the next one arrives, namely, three to four years, and sometimes beyond that, along with the one born next. Every woman who has a child generally also has milk, we were told. Only if the mother should be far away, /187/ for example, on an errand at the market or out fetching wood, may another woman help the child with her milk. In the rare cases in which a woman does not have enough milk to feed her child, she may give it to some
853 other woman, who, however, does not receive anything for it. It
855 may also happen that a family with ten children has become so
[593] large that the food is no longer adequate. In this case the woman may leave one or several children in the care of her mother. If she no longer has a mother, however, she must keep them herself. In case the mother of small children dies and leaves a baby of less than two or three months who still cannot eat any food other than milk, the father looks for a woman who likewise has a nursing baby and who brings up the strange child with her milk for two or three years, until it can talk. Then the father takes it back, and the wet nurse is given a cow as "milk money."

854 Ordinarily the children are carried by the mother. The
482 colored woven belt (táw) and the large shawl (panyelón or séntyatc), in which the child is wrapped and carried by the mother on her back, are needed for this.

857 The games of the children are generally instructive for their
868 later life. The boys go bird hunting with the blowgun (pãt), the plaited stone-sling (ísot), or the elastic sling (kaučéro), or they practice catching each other with the lasso, during which the child
[231] to be caught represents a cow or a horse. The ability of the children, and of the adults, too, by the way, in the use of the lasso is not

1: Nachtigall--152 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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IV. Spiritual Culture

1. Language

121 According to A. v. Humboldt, languages are differentiated by the elements of content and form, and, accordingly, languages are divided into three groups, which in the following period were erroneously interpreted as stages of the development of language. According to this, the oldest stage was represented by the isolating languages, which express form elements by means of independent words with the meaning still recognizable as far as content is concerned. Their words, as in Chinese, are monosyllabic, isolating. The second group is made up of the agglutinative languages, in which the element of form is added to the element of content, the stem, through clearly recognizable affixes. The Ural-Altaic and the Bantu languages in particular are put here. The inflected languages occupy the third stage. In them the form element is expressed by inner changes of the stem or by affixes closely intergrown with the stems, as, for example, in the Indo-Germanic and Hamito-Semitic languages.

Even though this classification of languages was subsequently abandoned as the schema of a sequence of development, it is nevertheless quite applicable as an initial, practical orientation. For the more precise classification of a language, the working out of the phonetics and syntax is required.

197 193 Paez is an agglutinative language. The grammatical forms are built up by a succession of syllables. The pronunciation is difficult for a European. It is similar to Kechua /Quechua/, from which a number of loanwords have been adopted.

175 797 192 193 114 The oldest linguistic reports about the Paez come from P. Eujenio del Castillo i Orosco, who collected his linguistic material around 1735, as a missionary in Tálaga. It was supplemented and published by E. Uricoechea in 1877. The collected data include a catechism, a vocabulary, and a grammar with information about personal pronouns and the conjugations of "to be" and "to write." The grammar and vocabulary contain some forms and word formations that are alien to the original Paez language.

/224 cont./

193 no one: tēčanyópa; tēčanyópa máhiméta, "no one is working";

several, various: ko; ātya ko hímba hipt, "I several horses have";

many: tak; tak náca, "many people";

little: wé; very little: táwala wéha.

193 114 Verbs: The infinitive forms of the verbs end in -ya. The only data thus far published about the conjugation system are to be found in Castillo i Orosco, who conjugates the verb "to write" [177] in all paradigms according to Latin grammar. The word formation of the model verb and the conjugation are artificial and set [797] up for teaching at the mission schools. People do not speak that way in Calderas.

193 124 177 The conjugations of a few verbs given in the following do not represent all the conjugation possibilities, since -- as was mentioned -- the interpreter lacked a knowledge of Spanish grammar. Hence the schema of the paradigms is largely theoretical. Everyday speech is different, and especially in storytelling the interpreter used forms which he reproduced in Spanish with participial constructions. Nevertheless the forms reproduced here are /225/ "correct" in the sense that one "can" speak this way and be understood while using the forms.

193 [124] Besides the four tenses reproduced here (present, future, and two forms of the perfect), there are probably also forms corresponding to the conjunctive, which, however, the interpreter neither understood nor was able to reproduce in Spanish. The forms of the future are not always used. Very often the present is used with the addition of "tomorrow" or "later," for example, ātya gwágwan kúskay, "I speak tomorrow," instead of ātya gwágwahípt, "I shall speak." The forms of the two past tenses are apparently used arbitrarily. To my questions on this point I always merely received the answer: "one can say it this way and also that way." Here, too, the addition of ónna, "yesterday" (in context: ónnaha), or esé, "some time ago," is customary.

[126] The abstract, consecutive listing of the forms of a conjugation is hardly possible for the Paez. I always had to make

/255 cont./
802 designated as "much" (teč kwát), literally "one stone." Today it is the designation for "hundred."

75 The medical knowledge of the Paez is not great. Almost all illnesses are regarded as based on magical causes and are treated by the shamans (see below/see pp. 190 ff./). Broken bones are treated by the midwife, who rubs on cow fat and wraps [845] leaves around them. The broken bone is never put in splints. In a difficult birth the midwife is able to turn the child into the right position; if then the birth does not go well, her skill is at an end. No remedy is known for snake bite. In the case of headaches, a leaf is tied to the front of the head. For flatulence some wood ashes are rubbed on the abdomen. For injuries caused by a machete and bleeding profusely, a tourniquet is applied to the affected limb, above the place of the injury, and the wound is covered with a small piece of cloth. The shaman has the injured person bite hard with all his teeth on the iron machete.

3. Religion

771 The Paez today are nominally Christians. They are baptized
● 797 and usually married by the Catholic priest. The Christian mission-
izing began as early as the sixteenth century, at first, to be sure, with little success, which did not increase when from 1630-1654 Jesuit missionaries took over the mission work. Only in the last decades
797 has there been greater progress. Hand in hand with the conversion
177 to Christianity go the introduction and teaching of the Spanish lan-
871 guage and the adoption of Colombian customs and habits. Today in almost every village there is a mission station and a school, the teachers of which are mostly women missionaries. In general the parents do not send their children to school unwillingly, for they have realized that knowledge of Spanish and of reading and writing is accompanied by certain advantages in their relations with the
[178] whites. In connection with the /256/ schooling, of course, there is
[756] some alienation from the old habits and customs of the Paez, especially those of a religious and sociological nature. Nevertheless,

/256 cont./

797 in all Paez communities in which Spanish is not understood by the
177 majority of the population, the old functionaries of the original
178 Paez religion are needed to maintain the social life in particular.
871 In accordance with their activity, they are designated as "shamans"
756 by theologians. Because of the dissimilar nature of their religious activity, they do not by any means represent unbridgeable competition for the Christian missions; rather, both, the Christian faith and shamanistic activity, can exist side by side in the present stage of culture of the Paez.

771 If one considers existing theological convictions, one finds
793 that the office and dignity of the cult priest rest on the performance
756 of sacred acts which must of necessity be fulfilled so that the
182 natural and normal development of human existence is not obstructed. His task is to confirm the existing world order through the consecration of sacerdotal acts. The shamans, however, -- on the contrary! -- want to outdo and break through the given order of nature and the environment. Their greatness and authority rest on the fact that they do supernatural things, that they heal the sick, struggle with spirits, yes, awaken the dead to new life. This, at any rate, is said of the greatest of their kind, whose talent lies in their spiritual, supernatural powers, in their mastering of extraordinary circumstances. Over against the cult priest's "thus it is," the shaman puts his "thus it should be" (A. Friedrich).

a) Characteristics of Paez Shamanism

756 The Paez shamans, in the sense given, are not functionaries
754 of a sacrificial cult, but persons who do supernatural things. There are two types of them, the teyu and the nyic. Whereas the teyu (tepits as a man, téoi as a woman) is a good shaman, a good doctor and helper of human beings, the nyic is an evil shaman, an evil sorcerer, a hexer. The shamanistic activity of both, however, as a religious phenomenon, is not nearly as distinctive as, for example, the shamanism that we are familiar with in Siberia or North America.

/256 cont./

771 It is not certain whether in former times the Paez had a cult
[793] priesthood besides shamans such as are practicing today. In any
[756] case, to designate the priests and missionaries they use the word
[797] tikwe, /257/ which is not used for anything else. The present-
771 day characteristic thinking of the Paez, their entire mental atti-
754 tude, revolves around magic and countermagic, despite mission-
[797] izing and Christianity. No injury, no illness, no deformity, no
[177] poor livestock is traced back to natural causes, but rather every-
thing is the work of evil magic. Since the people themselves
are fully convinced of this belief and ensnared by this idea, the
actual achievement of the evil sorcerers corresponds to what is
desired; that is to say, a person who knows he is bewitched,
being mindful of the inevitability of his fate, actually becomes
554 ill and dies. The victims are almost always the most thrifty
and industrious members of the community, those who tower
above the others because of their success.

754 There are no persons who are privileged because of age,
177 sex, or social position -- with the exception of the good shamans,
who are incessantly the target of the evil ones. Anyone who, in
dress and way of living, adopts the customs of the whites, is in
the habit of associating with them, no longer chews coca, works
with modern tools, and wants to carry on his farming according
to the principles of the colonists is opposed by the nyic.

754 It is not only the outward superiority of the individual over
554 the masses that evokes the envy of the nyic, but also the general
popularity of an individual, and with it a certain personal influ-
ence within the village. Thus, for example, the father of our
Victoriano was the victim of an evil charm. He is regarded as very
intelligent, is a good worker, knows best how to build houses and
bridges, and has even undertaken a journey to the city of Popayán.
On account of his popularity and the good advice he always gives --
so it is reported -- a nyic tried to kill him out of envy. One
[755] night when he was asleep the nyic robbed him of his soul. His
brother noticed it, however, and spat coca on it. The next day
the eye of the bewitched one became white and was close to
running out, if a teyu had not helped. He is blind in that eye,
however, to this day.

/257 cont./

754 The special target of the evil sorcerers are the white
648 Colombians. People are afraid to undertake anything against them
797 openly, but the magic manipulations of the nyic against them are widely known. The ones primarily affected are the whites, who robbed the Paez of land, and among them the missionaries, too. The nyic then try to obtain mastery over the souls of the whites, to treat them with herbs, and thus make them so sluggish that they will not return to Tierradentro any more. It is also said that the nyic had placed their remedies /258/ in the church so that the mission priest from Belalcázar would never come there any more and would never enter it any more.

754 The victims of evil sorcery, however, are not only human
789 beings and animals, but also the cultivated fields, which can be
[464] bewitched by means of eggs, salt, or pubic hair. The families affected are then no longer able to feed themselves, and in many cases the fathers of the families must leave the village in order to hire themselves out to the whites. The removal of the unpopular one is thus achieved. His return is prevented in magical ways, the nyic placing special herbs, which the person cannot step over, on the connecting roads.

754 The aids for evil magic are not, say, objects belonging to the persons to be bewitched and used in a pars-pro-toto act, but are exclusively parts or agents from among the belongings of the sorcerer, which, for their effect, must be brought into close contact with the victim himself or his soul. If the nyic wishes his victim to have an accident, he places a smoothly polished stone from the river somewhere in his house. The person in question will then soon slip and fall and break his bones or suffer a sprain. Another possibility for bewitchment is for the nyic to spread his agent on the food of his victim. Thus, a shaman from Santa Rosa reports how the former young and capable Gobernador Leonidas was killed by the nyic Dolores Dinó. She visited him one day while he was working alone in his garden and threw several of her own pubic hairs in the food in his cooking pot and, in addition, a fragment from a prehistoric clay pot of the Pijao. Leonidas ate this meal.

/290 cont./

534 is wound around the entire body of the drum. A string with a small piece of wood as a rattle device is stretched across the lower skin. The method of construction of the drum and the bass drum [184] is the same in Calderas. A drum in Santa Rosa differs in that each of the stretchers, upper and lower, consists of a switch used double, with the edges of the drum skin clamped in between (Fig. 37 /see p. 258 /). The measurements of the small drum are 16 centimeters in height and 22 centimeters in diameter, those of the bass drum 40 centimeters in height and about 60 centimeters in diameter.

533 In playing the music, for which no text is (any longer) known, the drum and the bass drum beat the same rhythm, but in a different manner. The drum is beaten on the skin with two drumsticks, which are simply two ordinary, inarticulated pieces of wood. The bass drum is beaten with one hand with a regular drumstick consisting of a stick with a wrapping of cloth, while the other hand beats against the frame with a little stick. In three-quarter time, the principal kind of time, the bass drum is beaten with the drumstick in one hand, the first and third quarter regularly and the second quarter in eighths. The other hand beats afterwards with the other stick on the frame.

533 Whether this Paez rhythm is original or was taken over with 173 the drum cannot be determined with certainty. According to the tradition of the Paez, as told in the story "The Paez with the Ax," the Pijao women in former times, when as yet /291/ there were no drums, beat out the rhythm on their breasts with their hands during the dances. We may assume that this was also in part the case 533 among the earlier Paez. According to E. Castillo i Orosco, the [175] Paez formerly used hanging chichacanoas /chicha troughs/ as drums [534] (kwimb). They consisted of hollowed-out tree trunks and during the kwimbkó dance were beaten by all the men together, while the women sang. The rhythm beaten on the drums at the present time, however, seems to be less firmly anchored than the melody. They [197] are so fond of the latter that they do not sing hymns at the Mass in [177] the mission church, but play the customary melodies on the same instruments, albeit disproportionately slower. The drum and the bass lose the beat in doing this; they do not know how to begin

/281 cont./

487 Routes of communication.--Until the fourth decade of the present century, the routes of penetration were horse paths which passed through the paramos of Guanacas, Las Delicias, and Moras, or through Inzá, Pedregal, Topa, and La Plata. The three first ones communicated with the Cauca valley, and the second with the /282/ Magdalena valley. These were the routes of the colonial era and, to a large extent, of the times [648] of the republic. The Guanacas route was the first to serve for communication between the kingdom of Quito and Santafé de Bogotá, owing, of course, to the more favorable attitude of the Guanaca Indians toward the conquistadores, who, taking advantage of their relationship with the Paez, made them their 797 allies and assistants. The first religious mission was established 175 in Guanacas in 1613. By way of the Paramo de Moras Captain 175 Juan de Ampudia entered Paez territory to take exemplary re- 648 venge for the tragic death of his colleague-at-arms, Captain Pedro de Añasco. To his disgrace and that of Spain, he met a terrible death on the cliffs of Togoima. By way of the same Paramo de Moras came the Adelantado Don Sebastián de Belalcázar, who had the same aims as his unfortunate predecessor, but this time his death, too, was added. The Paez gave him the most crushing defeat on the Peñón de Tálaga, and the Adelantado had to flee, leaving on the field of battle 491 the body of the heroic Captain García Tovar. The intense [484] traffic through these dangerous peaks and cold paramos decreased considerably with the opening of the Quindío road, and even much more with the inauguration of the La Plata-Belalacázar road. Tierradentro is connected by road with Popayán and 487 Neiva. Nowadays only the Indians from Mosoco, San José, and Vitoncó, and the Paez from Toribío, Tacueyó, and [788] Jambaló travel by way of the Paramo de Moras. That of Las Delicias is traveled by the Moguex, especially on their annual pilgrimages to the religious festivities of Our Lady of Nátaga. The Guanacas route is practically abandoned. There is also another route, traveled relatively frequently, which follows the

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756 medicine men. To cure the patient, he divines which of the
755 supernatural beings caused the illness, proceeds to placate him,
[787] and then prescribes medicines to the patient. If the placation is not successful, the patient literally sinks into despair. The indispensable articles for all curing are coca, tobacco, and
[462] aguardiente. The medicine men are persons well along in years
[754] and belonging to the masculine sex. They cannot cure the effects of sorcery, although they can protect themselves against it.

754 c) Fifty per cent of all illnesses, the informants state,
[753] are caused by sorcery, and by the same token 50 per cent of
[761] the deaths, since sorcery is incurable. The sorcerers conceal their activities, and it seems that all adults are potential sor-
754 cerers. The institution of sorcery is a true escape valve for the
154 strong aggressive impulses of the natives and to some extent plays the role of a social regulator. Through it are channeled the jealousy, resentment, and vengefulness of the natives. The victims of sorcery are the most skillful and hard-working individuals, those who have a good house, good crops, and a growing number of domestic animals. Harvests and plantings
[683] generally are the object of sorcery. Sorcerers who are publicly unmasked are exposed to the anger of the community and even to exile, a measure taken not so much on account of their be-
[685] ing sorcerers as of their being thieves. All sorcerers are thieves. Sorcery appears with considerable frequency in the symbolism of dreams.

583 Marriage.--Marriage is monogamous and patrilocal. Both
[595] the chroniclers and Dr. Gregorio Hernández de Alba speak of
[591] the custom of the year of probation to acquaint the man with
[177] the skill, energy, and fecundity of his future wife. A thriving
[797] institution in times past, it is now in sharp decline owing to the action of mission work. Obviously, the purpose of this institution is to find out whether the woman is hard-working, faithful, not a thief, and to understand her ways in order to establish a lasting union. Nowadays the Paez, before being married

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

/289 cont./

142 The Calderuno /native of Calderas/ is rather tall, with a light copper skin; straight black hair, a straight nose somewhat flattened and broad at the base, slightly prominent cheekbones, dark brown eyes reminiscent of the Mongolian eye, a broad forehead, long and robust extremities, a slightly pentagonal face; many have mustaches, and, on the whole, the 157 features are rather /290/ handsome. On the other hand, he is talkative, communicative, deeply traditionalistic, proud [36] of himself, and has a deep love of the land. Isolated as they [177] are from the other parcialidades by natural accidents and far removed from the urban centers of Inzá and Belalcázar, they are shy, sullen, and withdrawn with the white, stubbornly opposed to contact with him, and, as a result their institutions, have suffered less from the impact of cultural mestization. 797 Not even the very church that has worked so persistently for the 177 catechization of these tribes, especially in this century through the Lazarist missionaries active since 1905, has been able to penetrate fully into the soul of these people.

114 I have carried out my research in this parcialidad since 773 the month of August of last year, with several interruptions. [124] The myths and tales which I now present were gathered with patient labor after much waiting, for the natives, when questioned about these themes, nearly always reply with the word himeto ("I don't know"). There is no need to stress the importance of mythology as an institution in the so-called "primitive" cultures. Nor is it my intention to theorize on the subject. It is enough to say, in the words of Herskovits, that "mitología es como la carta constitucional de las creencias y presta sentido a la conducta ritual que se deriva de sus consagraciones /mythology is the constitutional charter of beliefs and gives meaning to the ritualistic behavior that is derived from its consecrations/" (1). The chroniclers tell

1. Herskovits, p. 409 /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 309/.

/177/

I

Point of Departure

To the north of the municipio of Inzá and to the west of the confluence of the Ullucos and Páez rivers, two hours on horseback from the points just mentioned, the corregimiento /district governed by a corregidor/ of San Andrés is found on the left bank of the Pisimbalá torrent, an affluent of the Ullucos. Its name has been registered in the parochial books since 1736, when the priest José Fernández Belalcázar, as the representative of the Bishop of Popayán, initiated in San Andrés de Pisimbalá pastoral visits to the Paez pueblos.

San Andrés de Pisimbalá is a pueblo with the same characteristics that we have noted in other Paez centers; that is to say, it consists of a church, a school, the rectory, the house of the cabildo, and some others used solely for the celebration of religious fiestas. It is located on a small plateau, a ledge hanging on the declivity.

At the present time it is inhabited by whites and mestizos whose ways of life, norms of behavior, and labor practices have been imposed on the natives. Resistance to contact has been overcome, but active resentment against the white still crops out among the old people. Almost completely acculturated, many of them have sunk to the state of tenant farmers. The phenomenon of the colonization of Indians and land is the same everywhere. The Indian loses his land and sinks into servitude.

In 1926 the Municipal Council of Inzá created a settlement area with clearly delineated boundaries in a common agreement /178/ between the municipal authorities and the cabildo. The colonists established themselves in that area. The valley of the Pisimbalá torrent is narrow, but extremely fertile. It belongs in its entirety to a few families of colonists.

P /190 cont./
513 them during the day. They use no blankets. The woman
512 leaves sufficient wood on the fire for heat to protect them from
P the rigors of the cold of the night which filters through the
[262] stalks of the walls. In addition, over the fire there is a pot
[264] of "mute," beans, and cabbage, which, when cooked, will
P constitute the meal at daybreak. The fire is revived by the
[462] woman at 11 o'clock, an operation that is repeated about two o'clock in the morning. At four o'clock in the morning everyone is up. At dawn the woman distributes the food, and then the men come out of their houses with machetes in their belts, kuetand yaha filled with coca and mambe, to clear the woodland, weed the fields, or help with the hard work of their neighbors.

V

Anger, Rancor, and Politics

P
829 The Calderas Indians are arch conservatives. Tradition, pride, and a rebel spirit have much to do with their passion for politics. I do not speak of the conservative doctrine or of political concepts. They are conservatives by temperament
P and group solidarity. By the same token, their fanaticism is
829 proverbial. The mere mention of the word "liberal" makes
609 them break out in a rash. Anyone who comes to Calderas for the first time is approached by the Indians out of curiosity. "What is your name?" "What do you want?" "Why did you come?" "What are you, liberal or conservative?" These are the questions with which the natives and even the local cabildo besiege the visitor. It should be added that those who wish
P to save their skins or to avoid being run out of town must main-
[797] tain that they are conservatives. It is said that in 1952 they
[871] did not want to accept the Missionary Sisters who came to run
C the school which is supported by the national government.
[658]

/190 cont./

609 It was necessary for someone to tell them that they were sent by
797 /191/ Laureano Gómez before they all said: "Well, then, let
871
829 them remain."

666 In spite of their stubborn conservatism, the leaders of the
829 municipio cannot manage to make them vote for their chosen candidates unless they first get their ration of meat, chicha, and aguardiente. The ration and the vote form an indivisible unit.

829 "I am godo /Goth, pejorative for Spaniard/ to the marrow, a true conservative," exclaimed one of the important men of
[773] Calderas while he was drunk. "Juan Chiracol also was a conservative," said another.

829 The Indians of Tierradentro have been liberals since 1860,
175 thanks to the victor's aura gained by Mosquera on the plains
648 of Segovia. "The battle of Segovia" --says the padre David González--"in which the Indians took part and in which Mosquera encouraged the native ferocity, and the march on Bogotá, which fell to the rebel general, made him a demigod
[464] in the eyes of the Paez. Since the first days of the colony they have venerated the name Mosquera; the Marquis don Cristóbal Mosquera y Figueroa had been their master, their encomendero, he had taken them to Popayán in gangs to work on his haciendas, he had given to them the huge lands of his
[665] encomienda... Naturally the Indians of Tierradentro have been strongly bound since 1860 to the political faction which represented Mosquera, liberalism. In the armed struggles which later scourged the nation, the Paez staunchly bore the liberal standard."

829 In view of this, the political affiliation of the Calderas
665 Indians is an odd one; up to less than a decade ago, they formed a conservative island in the midst of a liberal majority. Possibly this attitude conceals a great desire to defend their lands. The Calderas people have no marked sympathy for the neighboring parcialidades. "They are Reds," say the natives,

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

The King of Spain, receiving word of the troubles in this region, ordered Don Juan de Borja, his Governor at Santa Fé, to carry out the "pacification of the province," meaning the extermination of its inhabitants. The decisive war started in Chaparral in 1605 and ended in 1608 when a Spanish witness wrote of this territory, where the *Páez* had remained free for so many years, that the provinces "were so desolated that the troops could not find Indians to fight, houses to plunder, or roots or grain to eat, and, if some Indian remained, instead of daring to plant boldly, he sowed four handfuls of grain here, two more there in the shadows and cover of the trees . . . they went about harrassed, thin, and emaciated until life was ended, for the soldiers saw corpses of people dead of hunger or sickness at every step" (Simón, 1882–92, Septima Noticia, ch. 49, vol. 5, pp. 314–15). A document in the ecclesiastical archives of Páez, dated July 17, 1638, states that in the lands adjoining the *Páez* there lived a *Pijao* Indian named Ambrosio, who had said that Captain Andrés de Zúñiga could now well enjoy this country because there were *Pijao* but not *Páez* Indians in it and because the *Pijao* saw themselves doomed and the land had no proprietor. 175 648

The *Guanaca*, who, because their chief was an enemy of the *Páez* chief, had allied themselves with the Spaniards in order to attack the *Páez*, were the first to surrender and join a Spanish colony. The first road between Popayán and Santa Fé passed through their territory, where the Spaniards established a hostelry for traders. This district was given to the Jesuits, who established the Church of Guanacas and, later, a town of the same name. But the Indians felt another lethal force of European origin—disease which they were unable to withstand. In 1790, a smallpox epidemic so reduced them that they abandoned their town, and the few survivors retired to the narrow mesa, where the modern town of Inza is situated. Here they gradually disappeared altogether. [797] [177] [164] [731]

The *Páez* continued to resist and defend their lands against Spanish missionization, so that the road to Guanaca never became secure. The extinction of the *Pijao*, the lack of important quantities of gold in the area, and the difficulty of the terrain, which was such that the Chronicler Pedro de Aguado said "to travel through *Páez* territory is to go up and down," caused the Spaniards to abandon interest in dominating these peoples. They were content to establish the Guanacas mission, and, a little later, the parish of Tálaga. Subsequently, as these Indians, who were isolated in their high mountains, were allowed to retain their customs and beliefs without interference, they did not protest when small groups of Whites peacefully occupied certain places in their lands. 175 648 797

Thus began the true Colonial Period for those tribes which survived the wars of the Conquest. The encomienda system was inaugurated, 175 648

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,f(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

P 175 648 in which a Spaniard held a territory occupied by Indians. The natives, under a chief who was protected by the White authorities and P [652] who made contact between the master, or encomendero, and his sub- [651] jects, had to give a certain number of days' work and a specified P tribute in products of the lands, animals, gold, or manufactures. The [177] encomiendas made no effort to Hispanicize the Indians, but continued to loot and massacre them. The Indians, reduced to utter misery, gave up all their artistic and industrial activities, and devoted the greater part of their time to the service of the master or to seeking products to pay the obligatory tribute. To remedy this situation, the Spanish Crown decreed the native "parcialidad," giving surviving P groups reservations and prohibiting their employment in transporting [623] men and goods over the highways. This reform was never entirely carried out, however, and the Indians, in spite of having their own government, the cabildo or Indian council, continued in servitude P or debt slavery.

[621] The native Indian government consisted generally of a governor, [631] a first mayor (alcalde mayor), a second mayor (alcalde segundo), a trustee (síndico or fiscal), and constables (alguaciles), the last a kind of police who transmitted to the people the orders which the Whites gave through the governors or mayors, and who carried out penalties P of imprisonment, of placing in stocks, and whipping, which the 175 first Spaniards introduced into the punishment of the natives. At the 648 same time, the Christianization of the Indians began. It succeeded 797 in an imperfect way, however, for the Indian attended Masses, ar- 438 ranged and participated in processions, and did not miss the solemn 273 ceremonies a single Sunday largely because on the same day he brought his own products to the pueblo for sale, bought salt or meat which he P needed, and devoted himself to drinking chicha, the traditional drink 175 which he had always taken on religious or social occasions.

648 The Indians of Nariño, descendants of the *Pasto*, lost their language Po and many of their customs during the Colonial Period, although they [463] continued to live as natives on their reservations, which daily became [333] smaller because of the encroachments by the neighboring Whites or Mestizos. They became farmers with small landholdings and, occasionally, masons in the cities. The *Moguez* and *Páez*, however, P 175 retained their language and the greater part of their customs. Some 648 of them, especially the men who had to deal with the Whites, learned a little Spanish, and they continued throughout the Colonial Period P to defend their lands and their traditions. To religious practices in- [191] troduced by the missionaries, they added such elements as the offer P of food to the souls of the dead. They added to the Colonial council (cabildo) the office of captain, an official who, unlike the rest of the [622] council, was not responsible to civilian authorities but had life tenure, sometimes a hereditary position, and more authority within the group.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

881 heights of Cuetando, where they built a hut and planted a miniature field as proof of their masculine aptitude.

797 **Education.**—Today the Indians are educated principally by their 871 parents in the customs and tasks pertaining to each sex. Some boys [868] and a few girls are sent to the few missionary schools, where they are given religious instruction and are taught Spanish, arithmetic, geography, the history of Colombia, and modern embroidery or light [562] basketwork. The *Páez* are reluctant to send their daughters to the schools because they feel that women should keep the traditions of [177] their people. The missionary schools strive to change the native language and the cultural traditions which have given the Indian community social cohesion.

595 **Marriage.**[11]—Formerly polygyny was prevalent, but now Catholi- [77] cism has imposed monogamy. The Indians continue, however, to 583 practice trial marriage (amaño). A marriage is arranged as follows:

584 The bride is selected by the young man's parents or by himself. His parents and two witnesses or godparents then visit her house to request her for the groom. They also serve as advisors to the young woman, in case she disapproves the marriage. The visitors carry half-filled bottles of rum (aguardiente) and some special garments for the girl. The young man's father offers the girl's father a half-bottle, acceptance of which means, as usual among the *Páez*, that the second party is well disposed toward the proposal and the negotiations may proceed. If the girl's mother agrees, the boy's mother presents her a half-bottle of liquor. The godfather or witness gives another half-bottle to the girl's father and the 583 godmother gives one to the mother. The visitors now leave, taking the girl, who then begins a year of trial marriage, during which the young man seeks proof that the girl is able to bear children, is active, cooks well, can weave, and can cultivate the land. After the trial period, the man may return the girl to her 585 parents or they marry in the Catholic Church, holding a feast which, like all 527 such celebrations, is called a "cuido." The couple and their parents and godparents are accompanied by an orchestra (chirimía) to the house where the feast is to be held. Here the bride puts on a modern dress, a ribbon on her hair, necklaces, and earrings, while the groom is with his godfather. As the guests arrive, chicha is distributed frequently, music is played, and then there is a feast of thick soup, generally with chicken, cooked yuca, arracacha, and roast or baked meat. In the afternoon, after more music and chicha drinking, the "refresco," really a banquet or social communion, is served. Six bottles of wine made from cane molasses, cinnamon, and cloves, and cake are given to the bride, groom, godmother, [782] and godfather, who give some to everyone present. A prayer, led by the head of [775] the house, then asks the souls of the dead to bless the marriage and give permission to dance. First, the godfather dances with the bride, then the godmother with the groom, after which everyone dances. The feast lasts 5 days, depending on the wealth of the family. Chicha is served and accepted with the phrase, "May God pay you, compadrito, for accompanying us. Accompany us more."

764 **Death.**—At a death, the family formerly buried the deceased inside the house with his possessions, and abandoned it. Some communities, however, preferred to cremate the body or dry it over the fire. The

[114] [127]

[11] I thank my wife and companion, Helena Ospina de Hernández, for her research in 1938 on matrimonial matters.

/178 cont./

The Family

594 361 The social group par excellence in Páez culture is the nuclear family. Its importance stands out if we consider that 175 the Páez live dispersed within their geographic area. Both the 594 chroniclers and the parish priests who concerned themselves 361 with them emphasize this characteristic. In 1751 the priest of Tálaga, Licenciado Eugenio del Castillo y Orozco, wrote in his report to Don Juan Francisco de Eguizaval, Governor and Captain General of the city of Popayán and its provinces, "that by command of his Illustrious Lordship Don Francisco José de Figueredo y Victoria on the Council of His Majesty, currently Bishop of this Diocese, I reported to the Governor previous to your Lordship, stating that since the year 1719, when I was in these Provinces assisting as interpreter for the Very Excellent Don Pedro Felipe García, then inspector for them, and afterwards in 1731 the same for Dr. D. Francisco Gómez Constantino, I learned that the Indians of this province had been inclined to live dispersed at various distances and only sat together at drinking parties in the homes of their Caciques or Capataces when they came from some Riria (which they call Necue) or to celebrate the first menstruation of a woman (which they call Izacó) or for another cause for vain observance, and, after finishing, they again separate" (3). Multiple efforts were made by the

177 797 361

3. Archivo Nacional de Bogotá. "Cartas de contrabando /Contraband Letters/," Vol. 14, Fol. 228.

parish priests and by the governors of the colonial period to " "reducirlos a vida sociable" /reduce them to a social life/, but the "bárbara naturaleza" /barbarous nature/ of these natives made their efforts fruitless. And this cultural trait is still

/178 cont./

177 effectively maintained (4). In each house, scattered over the
797
361

4. Bernal Villa, S. "La fiesta de San Juan en Calderas Tierradentro /The fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," 1953, p. 182.

In each house, scattered over the
594 ruggedness of the prominences, live a pair of adults of the op-
[361] posite sex and their children. It is this nuclear family that cares for and maintains its old parents and attends to their burial when they die, that completes the religious festivals with traditional pomp and rigor (5), that defends its /179/ interests from the

5. Ibid., pp. 192 ff.

attacks of strangers, that in former times celebrated the "Riria" (which they call Necue) (6) or the first menstruation of a woman

6. In the Vocabulario Páez-Castellano /Spanish-Páez Vocabulary/ of del Castillo y Orozco there is the word Nécue, which has the following textual definition: desafío; pelea que es un desafío solemne tan antiguo como el jentilismo entre los páeces, de dos campeones cada uno con el común de su bando /competition, a fight that is a solemn competition as old as paganism among the Paez, of two champions, each one with the community of his faction/.

(which they call Izacó), and, finally, that manufactures its troughs for chicha ("another cause for vain observance," of which del Castillo y Orozco speaks) in order to carry out the "bebezones"
594 /drinking parties/ with all who seek to participate. It is this
574 nuclear family that "cuida" /takes care of/ relatives who arrive,
609 that offers hospitality to the native traveler and that shows cold silence toward the visitor from Western culture.

/184 cont./

stereotyped conduct. It should nevertheless be stated that the present-day Páez surnames were still given names in the eighteenth century, chosen capriciously by the mother and not transmissible to the descendants (14). The adoption of surnames and

14. Castillo y Orozco, E. de., op. cit., p. 75.

their heritability through the paternal line is the result of the doctrinal work of the Catholic missionaries, and their assimilation and integration into Páez culture must have been carried out in accordance with certain aspects of a sociological nature existing previously. The same /an unpaginated genealogical chart appears here/ /185/ present-day monogamy of the Páez appears to be the result of a strong Catholic Christian influence, since in pre-Colombian times they were polygamous (15).

15. Hernández de Alba, Gr. "The Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia," 1946, p. 948.

The supreme authority in the nuclear family rests with the father; when he is missing, with the mother; and, when both are missing, with the most intelligent of the group. The husband orders, the woman only asks. The woman is always under the control of the man: the father, the brother, the husband. She has no liberty of movement. The cabildo has authority over orphaned women, including that of having them marry. One of our informants in Calderas was a fatherless orphan and had been brought up in Avirama in the company of her stepfather. Being of age, an Avirameño asked for her in marriage, but the cabildo of Calderas stopped the marriage, brought her back to the parcialidad, made her spend the night in the quarters of the cabildo, and on the following day made her marry a lad of 14 whom she did not know. Since she resisted, they beat her, admonishing her at the same time that if she did not do it, she would be married to a black dog in the future life. "There being

[text continues on p. 33]

/222 cont./

802 Numerals: The cardinal numbers and the ordinal numbers are the same. The decimal counting system is built up on counting with the fingers. The numbers six to nine are compounds with "sáki" (six), whereby seven is formed as "six and two," eight as "six and three." There is no counting beyond ten. For "very many" one says "teč kwat" in Paez, literally "one stone." Today it has the meaning of "hundred."

1	teč	7	é'nzsáki
2	é'nz	8	tēksaki
3	tek	9	pánssaki
4	pans	10	kosémba (literally kóse pémba "end of hands")
5	tats		
6	sáki or téčsaki		

193 Pronouns: The personal pronouns are absolutely necessary for conjugation. They are put at the beginning. In the first person singular a distinction is made without exception between masculine and feminine; in the second person singular, only in special cases. These cases are the address of spouses to each other, of siblings among themselves, and address to persons of respect. Otherwise there is no distinction according to sex either in the second person singular or in other forms of the singular and plural.

I (masc.): atc; in connection with the verb, ātya; in the conjugations the suffix -pa, "too /auch, "too, also, likewise"/," is often added to the personal pronouns, ātypa, "I, too."

I (fem): ōk.

/223/

193 576 you (masc. and fem.): inc. Young people address older ones neither with "inc" nor with their names. In the case of men, they must first inquire about the name of the man's son (or if he has none, his daughter) and then

/254 cont./

804 The period of a day is subdivided into the day (ẽn) and the
192 night (kos). Early morning is called kosẽ; afternoon at the time when work is at an end, which is reckoned by the position of the sun, is called ff'nze. Other subdivisions of the day are made according to the interval of an ešnetc, meaning the time it takes to chew a dose of coca. In translation this designation is used for "hour." The largest period of time is the month, ãte, which is designated by the same word as for "moon." For the period of a year the Spanish word año is used. In former times the word
[221] enzte was used. It is the designation for the large annual com-
[226] munal fishing at the weir during the dry season in February. The
[132] two rainy seasons, called nospá'nye, and the two dry seasons of the year, called sek, are not regarded as time intervals, but as seasons. The latter is at the same time the word for "sun."

823 No large geographical orientations or regional, individual
[491] divisions of any kind could be discovered. Moreover, all of Tierradentro is enclosed by civilized areas -- there is even an auto road leading to Belalcázar -- so that many Paez men have seen the surrounding countryside and even cities with their own eyes.
601 Only the western bordering mountains of the Central Cordillera,
[186] in the direction of Popayán, are conjectured to be the habitation
123 area of the dreadful man-eaters, the Pijao. Geographical means
484 of orientation are unknown. Traveling is done only during the day, in groups, and in company with a person who knows the way.
821 Of the stars it is only known that there stars that move and fixed ones, without their being distinguished in greater detail or according to constellations.

202 It is amazing that, in spite of their settlement pattern of
[361] individual farms, the Paez do not have any optical or acoustical
[203] means of communication over larger distances. /255/ In case of urgent news or questions, children are sent.

• 802 There are numbers only from one to six and ten. For the designations seven to nine the corresponding Spanish numbers are used. The Paez word for "ten" (kõse pẽmba) literally means "no more hands" and indicates that the fingers were used for counting. The toes are not used for counting; anything beyond ten is

/255 cont./

•802 designated as "much" (teč kwát), literally "one stone." Today it is the designation for "hundred."

75 The medical knowledge of the Paez is not great. Almost all illnesses are regarded as based on magical causes and are treated by the shamans (see below/ /see pp. 190 ff./). Broken bones are treated by the midwife, who rubs on cow fat and wraps [845] leaves around them. The broken bone is never put in splints. In a difficult birth the midwife is able to turn the child into the right position; if then the birth does not go well, her skill is at an end. No remedy is known for snake bite. In the case of headaches, a leaf is tied to the front of the head. For flatulence some wood ashes are rubbed on the abdomen. For injuries caused by a machete and bleeding profusely, a tourniquet is applied to the affected limb, above the place of the injury, and the wound is covered with a small piece of cloth. The shaman has the injured person bite hard with all his teeth on the iron machete.

3. Religion

771 The Paez today are nominally Christians. They are baptized
797 and usually married by the Catholic priest. The Christian mission-
izing began as early as the sixteenth century, at first, to be sure, with little success, which did not increase when from 1630-1654 Jesuit missionaries took over the mission work. Only in the last decades
797 has there been greater progress. Hand in hand with the conversion
177 to Christianity go the introduction and teaching of the Spanish lan-
871 guage and the adoption of Colombian customs and habits. Today in almost every village there is a mission station and a school, the teachers of which are mostly women missionaries. In general the parents do not send their children to school unwillingly, for they have realized that knowledge of Spanish and of reading and writing is accompanied by certain advantages in their relations with the
[178] whites. In connection with the /256/ schooling, of course, there is
[756] some alienation from the old habits and customs of the Paez, especially those of a religious and sociological nature. Nevertheless,

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

killka, paper, letter, book	*killka*, paper, letter, book 192
kattoni, to lick	*kattoni*, to bite 177
kikin, again	*kikin*, again
kakka, father-in-law	*kakka*, father-in-law
laki, lazy, feeble, lazy	*llaki*, feeble faint, sad
muttai, to kiss	*muttai*, kiss
mit, cat	*misi*, *mitti*, cat
miski, honey	*miski*, honey
muti, boiled corn	*muti*, boiled corn
ña, to complete, to finish	*ña*, so (Span. *yá*! yá se acabó = *ña*)
ñusa, sugar-cane, sweet cane	*ñuk-ñu*, sweet, applied to any fruit
piñu-skia; to hate, to quarrel	*piña-tsina*, to be angry
pisko, turkey	*pitku*, bird
puki, watershed	*pucyu*, watershed
pein, to ask	*pin?* who is it?
thumbe, sash to support the *anaku*	*thumbi*, sash, girdle
thpi-pi, turkey	*thumpi*, brown
ukupa-ki, to push	*ukupa-thii*, to push
wási, a hut	*huási*, house
vite-pasak, one hundred	*pattak*, one hundred

(3) *From other Languages.* — It is likely that the Paez language borrowed many other terms from neighboring tribes, but thus far we lack the necessary material for comparison. As explained above, since Castillo's residence among these Indians their language seems to have undergone considerable change, especially in its vocabulary, a fact readily explained if we admit that the present Paez are composed of the remains of several tribes, greatly reduced in number by their wars with the Spanish conquerors and the hardships they suffered after their submission to the new rule. With the Chibcha, the analogies seem reduced to the rules of construction, the vocabulary being totally distinct. 192 174

F. — *The Numerals* 802

1. *Ias, vitett*	*tett*
2. *Ens*	*ens*
3. *Tek*	*tek*
4. *Pans*	*tans*

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

802

5.	*Tats*	*tats*
6.	*Sanki*	*tesets, teseki̇*
7.	*Ens-sanki*	
8.	*Tek-sanki, puki-pans*	
9.	*Pans-sanki*	
10.	*Kose-pemba*	*ksemba*
20.	*Ens-kose-pemba*	
30.	*Tek-kose-pemba*	
40.	*Pans-kose-pemba*	
100.	*Pasats-tla, vite-pasak*	
1000.	*kose-pemba-pasàts-tla*	

As indicated by the above examples, the Paez Indians formerly counted upon their fingers, so that their numeration was necessarily decimal. It is difficult, not to say impossible, to determine the meaning of the word *sanki*, for 'six,' but it seems to have been, as Castillo expresses it, a base for the series between five and ten. Thus *ens-sanki*, means the 'second six'; *tek-sanki*, the 'third six'; *pans-sanki*, the 'fourth six.' We also find that *puki-pans*, a second expression for *eight*, means the 'return of four.'

Kose-pemba, ten, means 'the hands completed,' an expression similar to that found in many other primitive languages. At present this system is found only in a mutilated form, including the numerals one to six, and ten. For other numbers Spanish is used. *Vitetl* has become reduced to *tetl*; and another expression, meaning apparently 'second one' (*tetl-ens*?), has been substituted for *sanki*.

IV. — VOCABULARY

192 [1-26]

The following vocabulary includes all words collected by the author and not found in Castillo's work, and also expressions of the latter that complete families of words with a common root. *H* means Huila, and *T* Tacueyó, villages in which words were collected. *Cast.* signifies Castillo; *Span.*, Spanish.

a, an (*ani, ati*?)	mine, my; our, ours
a-eu̇ (T), *ia-eu̇* (H)	eye — Cast.: *ia-fi*
á-eu̇ (T), *guá-gua* (H)	*Inga edulis*, a tree
alko (Kitua word)	dog

/166 cont./

435 437 scarce. Nevertheless, the barter rate of the wool of a sheep for a bag of maize was not shaken.

The sheep themselves were generally not bartered, but only [804] the wool, which amounts to about a pound. The equivalent is a tomín (Span. pile) of sugar cane piled up in a mound about a meter wide at the base and a meter high. In exceptional cases of bartering sheep, I was told that the equivalent is ten tomín of sugar cane or 12 pounds of coca leaves or two arrobas of maize (one Spanish arroba corresponds to approximately 12.5 kilograms). In this case, as in many barter transactions, the customary barter equivalents sometimes deviate considerably from the market prices customary among the Paez. (The official market prices in the trade with the colonists on the weekly market are about five times as high.) Thus, for example, one tomín of sugar cane is worth 20 centavos, but one pound of wool from a sheep, one peso. Arracacha is also bartered in the form of a tomín quantity, which comes to about ten to 12 pieces. The value in money is ten centavos. One pound of coca leaves is exchanged for one pound of salt (value 20 centavos) or one pound of rice or ten eggs. The latter cost 25 centavos apiece at the weekly market in Inzá. The Paez use stones as pound weights, which are gauged accord- [405] ing to a pound of salt bought from a trader in Inzá. Two calabashes fastened to a scale beam serve as scales.

[804] Potatoes are bartered in cuartillas and measured out in large wooden bowls which are made by the Paez themselves and contain about ten pounds. The equivalent consists of half a bottle of brandy. This would come to 80 centavos at a trader's, as the barter /167/ amounts of a tomín of sugar cane or a fiber bag full of maize indicate. Vegetable and fruit bananas are bartered by the whole bushels (tlóits), which, however, in Tierradentro contain only about 30 to 50 bananas. Two bushels are worth a bag of maize. Beans, like maize, are bartered in fiber bags, and [432] a bag full of cabbage has the same value. Chicha is not sold, but [431] only given away. [273]

/253 cont./

539 When he came back, he saw the snake in its place. Then he changed back into a human being. The fiber bag was there, too. The bananas were there, too. The snake filled with water (that is, underdone, still watery) was there.

It was afternoon when he went into his house. The bag he brought to his wife. He came to his wife with this bag. When he had knocked, he entered.

2. Orientation and General Knowledge

772 776 177 Nothing definite can be said about the ancient Paez conception of the world, since Christian influence has had a strongly modifying effect. In any case, there is in the Paez vocabulary the word "tátyinas," which is sometimes translated as "god," and sometimes -- and corresponding better with the meaning of the word -- as "creator." The word "Dios" is used to designate the Christian God. Tátyinas, I was told, lives in heaven, on the earth, and in the earth. He made all human beings. He does not receive sacrifices. He is not mentioned in shamanistic ceremonies.

772 775 The vocabulary shows that, besides the earth and the conception of a heaven or of the firmament, there were also two places of the dead that were familiar. The happy land of death, mbéka kígwe, is like heaven. Literally it means "land of chicha," and if one knows the Paez, one realizes that in any case it must be /254/ a happy land. The land of the dead corresponding to [776] "hell" is called eč kígwe. The eč are the most evil of all spirits. They live in the earth; hence this designation must refer to a subterranean land.

● 804 461 As for natural periods of time, only days and months are known, as well as work days and non-work days (ki'sen). The latter designation is now used for Sunday. Originally this was not a fixed day; rather, people worked and celebrated as they could arrange the time within a larger or smaller community. Even today, during the times of clearing, the people sometimes work for weeks in the field, without inserting a work-free day.

/254 cont./

804 192 The period of a day is subdivided into the day (ẽn) and the night (kos). Early morning is called kosẽ; afternoon at the time when work is at an end, which is reckoned by the position of the sun, is called ff'nze. Other subdivisions of the day are made according to the interval of an ẽšnetc, meaning the time it takes to chew a dose of coca. In translation this designation is used for "hour." The largest period of time is the month, ãte, which is designated by the same word as for "moon." For the period of a year the Spanish word año is used. In former times the word [221] enzte was used. It is the designation for the large annual com- [226] munal fishing at the weir during the dry season in February. The [132] two rainy seasons, called nospá'nye, and the two dry seasons of the year, called sek, are not regarded as time intervals, but as seasons. The latter is at the same time the word for "sun."

823 No large geographical orientations or regional, individual [491] divisions of any kind could be discovered. Moreover, all of Tierradentro is enclosed by civilized areas -- there is even an auto road leading to Belalcázar -- so that many Paez men have seen the surrounding countryside and even cities with their own eyes. [101] Only the western bordering mountains of the Central Cordillera, [186] in the direction of Popayán, are conjectured to be the habitation 123 area of the dreadful man-eaters, the Pijao. Geographical means 484 of orientation are unknown. Traveling is done only during the day, in groups, and in company with a person who knows the way. 821 Of the stars it is only known that there stars that move and fixed ones, without their being distinguished in greater detail or according to constellations.

202 It is amazing that, in spite of their settlement pattern of [361] individual farms, the Paez do not have any optical or acoustical [203] means of communication over larger distances. /255/ In case of urgent news or questions, children are sent.

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/183 cont./

342 and blows them into the air; with a small staff called "tama"
756 he cleaves the air in such a way that sometimes he appears to
787 be frightening away the spirits, sometimes threatening them,
[823] and sometimes clubbing them. If the signs (reflex movements)
are felt on the right side, the site is favorable; the opposite
denotes that the site is uninhabitable. The spirits are angry,
[761] or there are Pijao bones and gold at the site. If the site has
not been selected by the medicine man, even if the house is a
handsome one it cannot be occupied, for its occupants would
die, beginning with the children, continuing with the mother,
342 and ending with the father. The medicine man himself pro-
756 hibits people from living in a house built without the fulfill-
ment of this requisite. The medicine man's dictum is rewarded
with a bottle of aguardiente, an egg (1) of coca, tobacco, a

● [804] 1. A measure of weight equivalent to the weight of a hen's egg.

calabash of chicha, and usually a meal with chicken. /184/
[789] This is called "care" /cuido/. When the house is finished,
the medicine man will place special remedies at the ridgepole
to prevent the ghosts or echi from descending by way of it or
from being angered.

342 Then come the mingas /communal work-parties/. A house
476 is built with the help of others. The people are invited, in-
cluding the medicine man himself, who goes to work as a
laborer. The work is organized. First, they go to the wood-
land for wood; under the influence of the guarapo, voices re-
sound, loud laughter is heard, and the deep sound of the
"cacho" /horn/ rumbles in the montañas, multiplied by its
342 echoes. Soon they report to the man in charge. They level
335 out the ground that will serve as the house floor; they dig holes
476 in which to sink the posts approximately two meters apart,
driven in solidly, and tied at the top to cross-pieces with lianas
(guák); the posts outline the shape of the house, and they will

/227 cont./

755 He remains at the site for about an hour. When the signs give
*756 hope, he leaves the hair and returns to the patient's house.

In treatments of this type, the curer requires as "provisions" a pig, a sheep, and chicha.

*755 Divining the illness. The curer demands from his clients
756 two eggs (3) of coca, two cigars, and half a liter of aguardiente.
273
276
[804]

3. One egg of coca is equivalent to the weight of a hen's egg.

He gathers the coca into a medium-sized pouch with great scrupulousness, for he does not allow a single leaf to be lost. He transfers the aguardiente to a bottle of his own and puts it in the same pouch with the coca, likewise the cigars. The divination is performed under the eaves of his house at 8:00 P.M.

/228/ He places the patient on his right, seated on a pango pil (bench); the pouches of remedies are placed on his left, along with the pouch containing the coca and aguardiente received from the patient.

*755 He begins by making two bundles of remedies with yacuma
756 blanca, ul fiñ, fiundayuskei, bitopiskue, and chandur de castilla (4). Each remedy is extracted patiently from his pouch,

4. Cf. below, "Remedies" /see pp. 22ff./.

which contains all the remedies needed for his treatments, but not in any specific order. He does not show anxiety or haste; he observes great moderation. When he takes out the remedy, before placing it on the maize husk that will serve as wrapping for the bundle, he quickly passes it around his body, beginning at the right foot, going up this side to the crown of the head, and ending on the left side, in order to stimulate the blood
[827] so that the signs will circulate. As soon as he has finished passing it, the signs may go from the right calf upward,

?:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
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blue, the fruit of the jagua palm (kii), probably *Genipa* sp. A woven fabric is made black by burying it for several days with clay and branches of a *Phyllanthus* which they call "sal."

They make woolen bags by hand, using a kind of crochet technique without needles, and decorate them with rectangular and rhomboid figures. Some bags are made of hemp (fique), in which case the stitches are larger and the article has greater elasticity.

Weapons.—For weapons, the *Páez* used large, thick lances of black or chonta palm, 20 to 25 palms or more long, clubs or macanas, stones thrown with slings, large rocks rolled down from heights, spear throwers like those used by the *Chibcha*, and shields of jaguar, puma, or bear skin. The *Páez* quickly adopted iron arms from the Spaniards, and in the last wars of the Conquest they used steel swords and knives. In a recently discovered grave were copper bells, a golden breastplate, shield bars of tumbaga, a Spanish dagger, and a curved knife of the Arabian or north African type used by the conquistadors.

Today the *Páez* use the club or macana, ordinary guns, machetes, knives, and, for killing birds, the blowgun.

Fire making.—Fires are generally made today with flint and steel, but some Indians use modern matches. For both heating and cooking, the fire is made on the ground in the main house, surrounded by stones which help support the pots. It is covered at night, and almost never goes out.

Illumination is provided not only by the fire but by candles made of wax from the wax palm and from seeds of a wild laurel. The latter are cooked and pressed in a bag so that the wax drips into a half calabash or pot to form a semispherical lump. It is melted to make candles with cotton wicks. The *Páez* use these themselves and also sell them, for they are superior to candles made of animal tallow. A cruder means of lighting consists of transfixing a large number of "higuerilla" seeds on a long, thin bamboo splinter. When the splinter is laid horizontally and lighted, the first seed burns strongly, after which the flame passes from seed to seed, lasting some 15 minutes and throwing a fair light a few feet around.

COMMERCE

Each week a market is held in the municipio or in some of the small native villages (pls. 190, 191). The Indians sell vegetables, tortillas, eggs, chickens, and laurel wax, and buy salt, brown sugar, and especially lime (mambe) to be chewed with coca. Each product has a price in Colombian money, whether by quantity or weight. The unit of weight is called an "egg," and more or less equals the weight of a chicken egg. After his few customary transactions, paid for either in cash or in terms, in which the future coffee crop is mortgaged to the

/206 cont./

796 of cowhide and are busy cooking the food, hastily reviving the kitchen fire. Meanwhile, the men talk and laugh hilariously.

[264] The house of the fiestero is bustling with activity. At six

[262] o'clock in the morning men and women have breakfasted on "mute," cabbage, bananas, yuca, and meat. Then, the women put on to cook, in a copper pan with a diameter of one meter and 50 centimeters, the mute for the laborers' lunch and for feasting the albacero after vespers. Next to this vessel they place another one of clay, slightly smaller, full of shelled maize with ashes. About four arrobas of maize will be consumed during this day.

With the bundles of firewood piled in one corner of the kitchen, and the water stored in jars, the women sit around the fire to nurse their children, spin wool, weave their pouches, and converse about matters of daily life.

In the course of the day there will be the sacrifice of the beef; the presentation of the "camarico" to the priest; the greeting of the albacero; the celebration of vespers with the vacaloca game; concluding with the meal given by the fiestero at midnight. On the following day there will be the Mass, a procession, the handing over of the banners to the new fiesteros, and the care given to the albacero.

/207/ XV

Scene between the Second Fiestero and Albacero

• [805] The position of the sun indicates that it is nine o'clock in the morning. In the house of the albacero the muffled sounds of the bass drum and the melody of the flutes are heard.

While they play, the fiestero and his wife visit the albacero with a pot of stew /sancocho/, a bottle of aguardiente, a skyrocket, and a candle. The fiestero hands over what he has

[539] brought to the albacero, and his wife to the latter's wife. They sit around the fire. The dialogue is interesting:

/131 cont./

243 other hand by means of the semicircularly curved sickle. In case
[251] the wheat is not sold immediately, the bundles of ears are tied together and stored under the house roof, above the fire area. Whereas the kernels are shelled off the maize ears by hand by the
[237] women as needed, the wheat is threshed. For this purpose a cowhide is put on the floor, a bundle of wheat ears is held securely on the hide with one hand, and with the other hand the ears are beaten with a club until the grains are removed.

244 The other produce used in the diet is planted in the house garden, which likewise is used every year as long as the house is occupied. The yield is generally good because the Paez have learned from the colonists the importance of regular fertilization. Each harvested plot is carefully dug up again with the spade and strewed with the refuse from the house and the collected manure of the cows and horses. Human excrement is not used; it is "too ugly," Everyday, in addition, the kitchen refuse (maize and bean husks, banana peels, arracacha and yuca scraps), as well as the excrement /132/ of the guinea pigs (fits) kept in the kitchen, is scattered in the garden and tossed on the vegetable plots.

The most important garden plant is white cabbage (kólis). The women buy the small plants from a woman in the village who raises them from seed. The planting time is March, when the rainy season begins. Potatoes (ká'ka) are seldom planted. They are very small, have a yellow flesh, and are of poor quality. Sowing time is whenever one wishes. The men make a small hole with the digging stick and put one or two small potatoes in it and carefully cover up the hole again. After a month one can already hill them with the hands, and after four months, harvest them. To do this, the entire family digs them out with their
• [821] hands. Arracacha (ā's) may likewise be planted throughout the year, but yields the best harvest if it is planted with the full moon. In harvesting it a digging stick is used. Yuca (ānya) is seldom eaten, for the climate is too cold to grow it in Calderas. In the lower villages the ripening period is two years.

245 A very important crop that plays a great role in the diet
[262] of the Paez is the banana, which was not native to America originally (Schweinfurt, pp. 504 f.). Two large groups are

/254 cont./

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/269 cont./

778 and had their staff of office consecrated there. Today this no
756 longer takes place because of the lack of good shamans. The
623 shamans of today no longer have the intense visions that the
[787] earlier ones had, and that is why they are no longer so powerful magically. They are no longer able to speak with Thunder as simply as their predecessors did, and since they are weaker, it is believed that Thunder will kill them.

776 Thunder is generally described as small of stature and dressed like a Paez man with hat and black ruana. It is reported that he does not wear trousers, but exposes his sexual parts. He has with
[534] him, like a shaman, his tama, a fiber bag with medicines, and a
[532] musical instrument called "tíngalo" (triangle). It is not impossible that it is his picture, together with a Christian cross, that is incised in the gable post of a hut in the vicinity of the park of San Andrés, which represents a man with large, triangular-shaped sexual parts (Ill. 200 /see p. 288 /).

[756] /270/ Thunder is regarded by all the Paez as the greatest
[773] shaman and by the teyu as their master. In the folklore (see below /see pp. 215 ff./), he probably often has different names, such as Juan Tama, Llivan, Chauté, Juan Chiracol, but his characteristics stand out in them, no matter whether as sat (cacique) he is fighting the Pijao and defending his people, or that he will one day -- people are convinced -- again drive the hated whites
776 out of Tierradentro. He warns the Paez of an evil white person
821 who is coming to Tierradentro for a visit by a clap of thunder from
[783] a clear sky. When he thunders above a particular house, he is
[754] announcing that there is "pest" in it, and if he thunders first above the house of a nyic and then above one belonging to a teyu he is thereby announcing to a good shaman that he has just been bewitched.

776 A few stories also tell about the struggles of the shamans
787 against Thunder, for he once robbed the Paez of livestock and
756 people. But that was long ago, for today no one would dare undertake anything against Thunder. The Calderun shamans tell how the earlier teyu were in a position to speak with Thunder at any time and to get advice from him. Those of today are no

/272 cont./

776 being -- in the valley, too, near the village. He is a raging foe
[784] of everything dirty. A hunter who has not washed himself and his ruana before hunting or whose wife is in the menstruation hut at the time will be punished by him. He has the figure of a human being, sometimes that of a man, but sometimes, too, that of a woman or a child. Gělyómp, as well as tũs and eč, can give a
776 person pest so that he will die. One can catch pest by himself
783 everywhere and on all occasions, no matter whether he is awake or
753 asleep. The pest of the three spirits mentioned is primarily caused by stings that not only enter the body, but also the soul. In the spot where they have entered the body they leave punctures that are red in color in the case of gělyómp, blue in the case of tũs, and black in the case of eč. The sicknesses caused by gělyómp manifest themselves by general pain caused by the penetration of one of his hairs. This happens in the following manner: Someone is walking along a path and suddenly feels a stinging pain in his arm or some other part of his body, like the prick of a pin. Although
[755] he cannot discover a puncture, the pain remains. The person therefore goes to the teyu, and he is able to remove the cause of the pain by rubbing his herbs over the affected spot until he re-
[761] moves from it a black hair ten to 15 centimeters long. This hair is from the gělyómp, and if the shaman had not removed it, the one
[751] afflicted by it would have had to die. To a certain extent one can protect himself from the hairs of the mountain spirit if, when returning home from a walk over the mountains or a night's march, he passes a firebrand over the feet and body, in order to burn off any hair of the gělyómp that might have penetrated.

776 Tũs, the "rainbow," lives on the banks of watercourses and
753 especially at springs. There are many tũs, and, to be sure, wherever there is water. There are tũs as large as a snake, colored red and yellow, and others only the size of a finger. People recognize sicknesses /273/ of the tũs by the fact that the afflicted one is covered all over with pimples and has to scratch himself constantly.
[821] If it rains when the sun is shining, tũs goes from the bank of the river, where he lives, into the sky and from there back again to earth in a semicircle. The rainbow is especially dangerous for children.

/273 cont./

776 If it rains when the sun is shining, they may not leave the house,
753 for otherwise they become afflicted with head maladies. These
821 are not headaches, but wounds such as would be inflicted by a
[756] machete. The teyu, however, have remedies to make the rain-
[789] bow disappear, so that children may go outside again.

776 Eč, the third of the aforementioned causes of sickness and
[753] death, is the most unpleasant and the most dangerous, since eč
[761] kills the most people. Eč lives in the earth; no man has seen
[787] him, apart from a few shamans. They need not enter into the
earth, however, to see him; rather, eč himself comes if a teyu
[825] calls him. He looks like a human being. Eč is also the name
for fireflies, which are regarded as the messengers that he sends
out to bring "pest" to human beings. People therefore kill fire-
776 flies if they are able to catch them. Eč is not angry, however,
782 if the people kill his messengers, if only he always gets enough
offerings. For this reason people give eč a dram-glass full of
brandy from every bottle, that is, they pour this amount on the
ground; likewise eč gets his share of every animal killed (chicken,
756 pig, cow, etc.). People ask their teyu which parts of the animal
776 eč demands and which ones they should offer him. If people
782 killed and ate an animal without offering eč any of it, he would
[761] in return kill a child of this family. If the father then comes to
the teyu and asks why his child died, he -- who, of course, knows
that the man slaughtered a pig without giving eč anything -- tells
him that this is the punishment of eč. That very rarely happens,
however; rather, the man gives the shaman the parts of the ani-
mal desired by eč, for instance, the liver, entrails, or meat, and
he gives them to eč, bringing them at night to the place desired
[787] by him. Moreover, as a precaution people give eč herbs and
brandy as the shaman advises, in accordance with the signs which
he has received from eč.

774 If the penetration of pest into the body of a person is the
776 cause of an illness that may result in death, this unfortunate out-
753 come is all the more probable if one of the three spirits or a nyic
has stolen a human soul. I was given differing /274/ statements
about such a case: First of all, there are two words for soul, ũns

* /302 cont./

539 Now, among the stars there is a special kind called pũsves, which could not endure Thunder. They plunged down from the sky into the lagoon in order to cleanse it. To annoy Thunder they had almost drained the lagoon. Thunder was very angry at this. /303/ In his rage he roared so dreadfully that he opened his mouth up to his ears and his whole tongue hung out. Then the pũsves became frightened and descended to the bottom of the lagoon where Thunder had his house and asked him why he roared so loudly. "Because of you, of course!" he replied. But then he asked the pũsves to forgive him because he needed the lagoon in order to live, and the stars then forgave him. But he had to promise not to roar so loudly any more. Then they gave him a remedy, whereupon his mouth grew together again into a small, normal aperture. [821] The stars then returned to the sky, where they still are. They differ from the other stars in that they move in the sky.

13. The Rolling Head

A man from Palma came to Calderas to visit a shaman. This visit lasted until two o'clock at night, at which time he left Calderas to return to Palma. On the road he came upon a stone on which lay a human head, probably that of a Pijao. First he saw only the teeth flash white in the darkness. Since the man from Palma had a staff with him, he knocked the head off the stone with the words, "why are you grinning here on the stone like an ear of maize?" The head fell down and rolled into a brook. The Palma man became frightened at this and ran on his way. But the head left the brook and hurried after the man, whistling constantly. The man ran faster and faster, and since the road was very steep, he was soon unable to run any longer. The man thereupon took tobacco in his hands and caught the head with his ruana and threw it in a wide arc back into the brook. He then hurried on until he came to a very tall tree which he climbed rapidly and hid in the topmost peak. Meanwhile the head left its brook bed by an underground passage and again followed the man, but since the latter was in the tree, the head could not see him and

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

314 fortunately the tree is being rapidly destroyed, either in the gathering of the wax or through clearing for cultivation.

Religion, Customs, Superstitions

114 According to Rodriguez the Paez did not know of any reli-
771 gion. But this is diametrically opposed to Castillo's repeated mention of pagan rites still practised among his flock. Moreover, it is not reasonable to suppose that these Indians would have lived in close contact with the Kitšua, who were veritable sun-worshippers, without being influenced by their beliefs.

771 *Itoki*, the sun, was worshipped at special shrines built on the
786 cut-off summits (*itoki finõ*) of high mountains. At certain dates,
821 fixed by their priests (*dizi*) in accordance with their omens, they
[787] congregated at these places and for many consecutive days gave themselves up to chicha drinking and all the lubric manifestations provoked by drunkenness. On these occasions no blood relation was respected; nor was there any limit to adultery. Later, after the missionaries had undertaken their civilizing work, the Indians secretly continued these hideous practices; indeed, it is even asserted that they have not yet given them up completely, although they may not commit the excesses that were formerly attributed to them, as such would be contrary to their present ideal standards.

535 Dances played an important part in all the diversions of the Paez. They were of several kinds, varying with the occasion. Castillo mentions the *gwciõ-kõ*, money-begging dance (baile de pedir dinero), or *šita-ko* (sea-shell dance, baile de caracol), in
[534] which two sea-shells (bocinas), the one giving a low tone (bajon destemplado) and the other the treble, were played alternately for whole nights, remembering, "(a los cristianos) la noche de la prision de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, i á los indios, la chicha, baile i maldades que ejecutan." Other dances of which we generally have no description were *ouza-kõ*, the mouse dance; *nwi-kõ*, the buzzard dance; *itza-ko*, the puberty dance of females, to which allusion has already been made (page 314); *ctš-kobi-ko*, the dance of the phantom reed; *tel-kobi-ko*, the dance of the long reed, or war-dance; *la-ko* the new-house dance; *himb-ko*,

/235 cont./

753 783 j) When there is no blowing of remedies while at the montañas, bogs, or lagoons.

k) When there is no blowing of remedies prior to cutting wood for bridges, sugar mills, and canoes.

l) When, at the inauguration of a rancho or house, the house ceremonies have not been performed.

ll) When the house has been built over a Pijao "huaca," or when they merely come across one while working the land.

m) When the traditional ceremonies are not performed upon harvesting a new clearing.

754 753 783 n) Through the machinations of the sorcerers. These kill the most people, for they not only send the pest to persons, but also to the entire community. On the other hand, they provoke /236/ the Ghost, Rainbow, and Echi to anger and also do sorcery at the request of jealous or vengeful persons. The sorcerers have unlimited power.

Hernández de Alba, speaking of illness, generalizes in these words:

"Sickness was always thought to be caused by witchcraft or by someone's will. The evil force entered the body and made it impure; it had to be expelled or "cleansed," lest death ensue. If a delirious person told who was killing him, the individual mentioned was thought guilty; or, if, after a death, the face of the deceased should appear to somebody, the person was considered responsible. These beliefs are still in force today, and the Indians avoid the causes of sickness, such as having sexual intercourse wit /sic/ a menstruating woman, exposing the body to bad weather while there is a rainbow, and neglicting /sic/ to bathe after a burial or to purify a house where a death ocurred /sic/" /cited in English/ (7).

[834] [821] [765]

7. Hernández de Alba, Gr. 1946, p. 955. See also Pittier de Fábrega, H. 1907, p. 325.

/236 cont./

755 783 Since sicknesses have a magical origin, the treatments are also magical in character. "The cleansing" is indispensable in every treatment, with its attendant remedies and movements.

165 164 Symptoms of sicknesses. Among the sicknesses clearly identifiable by the natives are smallpox and whooping cough, given their characteristic symptoms. Some of the informants, not many, to be sure, state that their children died of such sicknesses.

165 761 776 On the whole, child mortality, which is rather high, is said to be caused by, in order of frequency and in generic terms, pest, Echi, and sorcery. The cases of death by the ghost and rainbow are few.

753 776 The symptomatologies given for the sicknesses are very vague and even confused with one another. The Echi, ghost, and rainbow sting, not really the body, but the soul, leaving hairs in the body that cause fevers and sharp pains at the spot where they are found. These hairs, when placed in the palm of the hand, move as if they were alive. They differ in color: the red ones are from Kallumb, the reddish blue ones from [755] the rainbow, and the black ones from Echi. The hairs are re- [783] moved by rubbing with remedies prior to the cleansing.

/237/ It is said that the sting of pallumb /sic/ causes heaviness, lack of appetite, pains in the head and body, fever, and even insanity.

753 776 821 When the arco /literally "bow"/, called kitús, is referred to, it is nothing other than the rainbow, which comes out at any hour of the day, accompanied by a rainy drizzle, the "rainbow meow," which causes scabies (chande) in children [755] when it falls upon them; it is not harmful for adults. The curers, [789] and they alone, from their ranchos blow chewed remedies toward it, tobacco, chandur, llushamuanda, and yacuma [755] negua, in order to make it disappear quickly. Other people chew remedies, when they have them at hand, and rub them on their bodies. There is a general idea that the rainbow causes

/237 cont./

753 cramps in the body, and furthermore that sorcerers see it in the
776 form of a turkey impelled to peck people.
821

It seems obvious that what the Indians call Echimbe (red
753 Echi) or candelilla fina /thin glowworm/ is a firefly /luciérnaga/
825 somewhat difficult to capture and extremely fierce. They differentiate it perfectly well from the fire beetle /cocuyos (cucuyos)/. They say that it is an animal that God produced in
[755] order to harm the Christians. The curers call them and catch them in their Kachí, while other Indians, chewing coca, catch them anywhere and bring them to the curer to be buried.
[774] They believe that their fierceness is due to the fact that the
[829] souls of the Pijao are incarnated in them.

753 The symptoms of the sting of Echi are vague and imprecise and refer solely to bodily pains.

The symptoms of Pijao "dirt" are recognized by respiratory difficulties.

164 They differentiate perfectly well the venereal diseases,
757 which seem to be quite widespread in the acculturated parcialidades. In Calderas they are said to have spread widely among both sexes, without respect to age, and to have been treated with copper sulphate, for the remedies of the Indians were of no use. In Santa Rosa antibiotics are used. A curer in that parcialidad maintains that those diseases were brought from La Plata by wandering women and that it befell him to treat two cases: one was serious and the patient died; the second, not very advanced, he treated with yukchacha, montaña barbasco, and fisa (bitopat or bodoquero). He administered the juice for six days and subjected the patient to a diet of chicken exclusively.

755 Remedies. The remedies used by the Paez curer are
757 vegetal. As a rule they are prescribed in combination. Thus:

/238/ To clean away the ptans:

[783] Yacuma blanca, ul fiñi, fiundayuskei, shugues, chandur, guepeyuskey, chayuts.

/246 cont./

776 of remedies. In addition, some say that he has a long beard, does not wear trousers, shows his genitals, and carries a musical instrument called tíngalo (triangle).

*[756] He is a curer and teacher of all the Paez té eu; a protector of the nasa (people) and to some extent even their legislator. Sat (cacique) at the time of the Pijao, he defended them from their voracity and gave them good advice. He ordered that the staffs of command of the cabildo members be washed in the lagoon, abodes of Thunder, to prevent the pest from killing the people.

[823] Thunder is an immortal spirit. He is not seen. He is the guardian of gold and he kills those who dare to collect it. He warns the people /247/ when an evil white is coming to visit
776 821 787 them by means of a very strong peal of thunder given when it is not going to rain. If thunder strikes in front of a house, this indicates to the owner that he has the pest and that he should seek out a curer to cure him. If it thunders first at the sorcerer's house and immediately passes to that of the curer, it is a sign that the former is casting a spell on him.

* 756 776 When a patient requested the services of a curer from Santa Rosa, a torrential rain accompanied by thunder fell during the night. On the following day he told the patient that he had talked to Thunder, who had advised him not to treat him unless he brought him everything that he had requested.

The only being that Thunder fears is the devil. He knows more treatments than the Ghost.

* 756 776 787 A curer-sorceress from Santa Rosa says that Thunder, called Manuel José Tipo, had fallen in love with her. He gave her serenades with the tíngalo, which were more frequent when the sorceress swept the patio of her house. During the serenades he taught her the remedies. He was at the point of carrying her away to the lagoon, if she had not defended herself vigorously.

* /252 cont./

756 They are very tractable, friendly, and in our cultural
156 terms we would say that they have a marvelous gift for dealing
157 with people.

[886] When they grow old, they cease to perceive the signs.
[787] They believe that when a curer dies, his death is heralded
by thunder. They live in permanent tension to counter the
● [821] attacks of sorcerers. At the slightest symptom, they go to their
[763] kachí to divine and to take the appropriate precautions. They
eat little so as not to sleep at night; they do not suffer from
insomnia. They refrain from sexual relations and from ají
during their treatments.

[734] They attract the entire concern of the community when
epidemics occur. The true curers, those conscious of their
profession, are temperate, engrossed in the fight against sick-
ness, and of a kindly disposition. They inspire trust and do
not show egoism; they readily explain the secrets of their pro-
fession.

* 756 Competition among the Té eu. Some rivalry seems to
578 exist among the curers, and the natives even list the zones of
action of the curers. It is certain that a curer will boast of
having overpowered another in the latter's own area of practice.
A curer from Santa Rosa tells how he overpowered a colleague.

755 The informant went to give treatments to a white patient
* 756 at Alto de Atarraya. There he found another curer who was
578 giving remedies that were useless. The patient provided for
them very well, with abundant chicha and aguardiente. The
new arrival drank with care. His colleague had already eaten
the pork, but the patient was following /253/ him. The two
curers prepared to fight. The new curer took his tama and
his coca and at nine at night prepared to divine. His assisting
spirit told him that the other one had given false remedies.
Thus he had to learn the effective remedies. He discovered
that the harm had been done by a native servant girl, along with
some neighbors who did not like him. At once he called in
the cook in order to question her and make sure of what she had

7:Hemández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

Castillo mentions that they wor-

175

shiped the sun, in whose honor they met and danced in places called "Itaqui-finó," i. e., the place where the sun revealed its mysteries; and that they venerated a kind of culture hero called Guequiau. It was he who instructed shamans (mohanes).

771 776 [756]

This hero has a counterpart in the religious legend of Juan Tama, the Son of the Star. One day when the Morning Star shone very brightly, some Indians found a child in a gorge—ever since called the Gorge of the Star. This was Juan Tama. They picked him up and entrusted him to a woman to nurse, but he nursed so much that her milk dried up. He was given to another woman, whom he also made very weak. They then said that he could not be nursed by a woman, and gave him food. After he grew up, he married the female chief of Huila, Doña María Mendiguagua, and became chief of all the Indians. He instructed people and explained to them how to keep the land for themselves and not mix with White people. He pronounced them invincible and summoned a chief from Pitayó, called Calambás, whom he appointed his manager. Calambás rebelled,[19] but was defeated by Juan Tama, who pardoned him on account of his bravery, and conferred on him and his heirs the right to rule the *Páez* in Bitoncó. As death approached, Juan Tama went to the lake on the páramo of Moras and sank into the waters. He had come out of this place and returned to it, leaving no heirs.[20]

773 776

In the neighborhood of Bitoncó there is a rock with what appears to be human footprints. When the Indians pass it, they uncover their heads and say, "The Holy One came this way." Another remnant of the cult of Juan Tama is the custom that each member of the council spends one week at the shores of the lake before the end of his term to render an account to Juan Tama of his actions in office. Likewise, newly elected officers, as soon as they receive their staffs or insignia of authority, spend a week at the lake. They toss silver coins into it, wash their staffs, and pray for strength to rule well. This ceremony, performed with the greatest secrecy, is called the "curing of the staffs." Recently, however, the Indians have stopped "curing" their staffs in the lake, for they say that Juan Tama is angry, and whenever they approach the lake, it rains and storms badly.

776 823 [623] [621] [631] [821]

In the Guanacas section there was another sacred lagoon, called Tumbachí, which was recently drained because a snake that lived there attracted girls and kept them for a whole year, and then returned them when they were about to become mothers.

These tribes believed that the soul comes back to life.

775

Witchcraft was strongly developed among these Indians, who still believe in most of its practices, in spite of the catechization forced upon them by the missionaries.

754 177

[19] During the War of Independence, as well as in subsequent revolutions, the Indians of the family named Calambás distinguished themselves as warriors. [669]

[20] We are indebted to Father David González for this legend, told to him by an old Indian in Lame. [114]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

754 upon them by the missionaries. The power to do evil is not limited to the witches, but is possessed by anyone who entertains a momentary feeling of envy, and to women, who may not walk over a stick or a cord [841] stretched on the ground. Contact with women during their men- [846] struation or during the days following childbirth causes the "mokokoy" [753] to persecute the men and make them ill.

825 Animals possess the power to prognosticate evil. A document written in 1730 [14] tells that an Indian killed a rooster because he had 787 crowed before daybreak, and said, "Rooster, you are forecasting my 763 death, but I shall kill you first." They believe the same thing when certain birds sing. For example, the call of an owl at midnight brings death to someone. And certain small birds called "ulchik" and others called "bich" warn whomever hears their singing that he will meet with disaster. The box turtle follows people warning them that they are going to die.

825 Del Castillo says that the Indians will not strike white dogs, so that 775 they will not be bitten by them when they enter the future life.

The belief in spirits (kl'iumb) is quite general. Among these 776 spirits is the "pitsuala" which persecutes people, makes them ill, and 753 even kills them. The rainbow, or "Etskituna," causes a rash to break [821] out all over the body of anyone who ventures out while the rainbow shines, and the drizzle that generally accompanies the rainbow will harm a person who gets wet in it if he does not bathe immediately. When the rainbow appears, they stay indoors, and blow or spit tobacco in its direction.

776 They believe that the lagoon on the snowcapped peak, Huila, is [823] charmed, and that if they try to go near it wind and hail storms rise. [821] Supernatural evil forces are supposed to be present during many social activities, such as dancing, meetings, funerals, house building, [491] and bridge construction. When a bridge is built, two Indians beat [331] the water constantly to drive away evil spirits. When traveling on the mountains they place small stones or coins on top of some large [484] natural rock to assure a successful trip and to avoid angering the [782] spirit of the mountain.

[825] Sometimes these spiritual forces assume a bodily form, as in the [753] case of the fireflies, which bring diseases or which may be wrapped in [754] Santa María leaves and placed in the path of an intended victim. Most feared are the ghosts of the dead, which consequently are the 782 most propitiated. The *Moguex* and the *Páez* ask their permission to 769 dance, and honor them in a special rite, which blends old beliefs with [775] new religious concepts. Thus, offerings are made to the souls during the first days of November, or whenever the curate is able to visit the Indian village. Each person offers some products from his farm, in-

[14] Statement made by Javier de Ovaso y Cueller in a lawsuit by the Indians of Tobaima for the possession of land. From the ecclesiastical files of Beinicador, or Páez.

/161 cont./
286 show the same design, but rather one that results from the cross-
531 ing of the twisted warp threads.

g) Dyeing

386 The Paez feel that black is the most beautiful color.
824 Hence almost all the home-woven garments of the men and
[822] women are dyed black, and only rarely does one see articles of clothing in the yellowish-white natural color of sheep wool.
[462] Dyeing is women's work and is done with certain plants, which, however, dye only the animal material used in weaving, but
[294] not that from plants. This peculiarity of the dyes is utilized by the Paez to make patterns in their clothing by weaving into the sheep-wool fabrics a few cotton warp threads, which, in the subsequent dyeing, retain their original color.

Every woman is in a position to dye her home-woven fabrics black. To do this the pieces of fabric are boiled in a pot for about two hours, along with the leaves of the ǰal tree or the zóte tree (according to Hernandez, 1946, p. 944, with the leaves of a Phyllanthus) and then buried for two days and two nights with these leaves in a pit in black, rich humus earth (aśáktič). Then they are taken out again, washed thoroughly, and allowed to dry. The black dye is now lightfast and waterproof. The cotton ornamental stripes in the women's clothing, which are not affected by this dyeing process, are either natural
[283] in color, red, or green. They are bought by the women in the desired color, since cotton is not spun by the Paez.

386 The threads of different colors used to make the coca bags
824 and the women's belts were originally all dyed by the Paez
177 women with vegetable dyes. Today this is done only in part,
[459] for anyone who has the money buys aniline dyes at the market in Inzá or Belalcázar; they are more popular because of their stronger coloring and greater luminosity. Similarly, the cotton purchased in thread already dyed is more popular for making women's belts, since it is brighter or more brilliant.

/163 cont./

389 The powder, however, must be bought. As for its production,
• 122 the general opinion is that it is made from human beings. The
829 whites, they believe, fatten human beings, then hang them,
[439] and, while they are still alive, tap their fat, from which they then make powder. That is why the Paez do not like to send their children far away and do not let them go to the whites, because they believe that the latter would catch them in order to make powder from them.

824 /164/ To make the fireworks a piece of sheep gut is used,
389 filled with powder and wound tightly with an agave string.
[237] The latter is waxed with beeswax for extra strength. One of
[283] these powder cases is used for the smaller firecrackers (koétes), while two, one over the other, are used for the larger firecrackers (kwatón), and under these is placed the fuse, which consists of a small bamboo tube, one to five centimeters long, filled with powder (Fig. 32 /see p. 256 /). These two or three parts are wrapped in a maize leaf and fastened to a bamboo splice 20-60 centimeters long. When it is lighted, the firecracker rises to a height of 50 meters with a considerable whistle and then explodes.

5. Trade and Transportation

438 One cannot speak of trade in the commercial sense among the Paez, for they trade almost solely among themselves and
[441] abhor everything that has to do with business. Moreover, since there is no merchant class among them, there is no carrying trade. Merchants are regarded as do-nothings who, though they
[437] are needed, are nevertheless despised. Fundamentally the self-contained household economy predominates, and whatever one family does not have it barters for within the same village if
439 possible. Only when this is not possible, thus when industrial products are involved, does one go to the weekly market held regularly at Inzá or Belalcázar, in order to buy the necessary articles. These include, above all, salt, as well as spades, machetes, aluminum pots, knives, scissors, spoons, needles,

In general
842 /184 cont./every girl desires a great
[581] many children, for this is the chief requirement for being married. Moreover, the percentage of barren women -- in childless marriages,
[162] they say, the fault is always the woman's -- is not small. According to inquiries, it comes to about 10 per cent. Men generally want boys; the women, girls, in order to have help in the house-
845 hold. Twin births are rare, but they are not regarded as anything special; rather, people are happy about them as they are about other children. Deformities at birth are said not to occur; however, I saw several persons with cleft palates. They seem to be ashamed of this, for in conversations with us they always held
847 their hands over their mouths. Infanticide does not occur. To
123 inquiries about this, there was always the completely horrified counterquestion as to whether that was the case in my country.
165 Overpopulation is not to be feared, even with a larger number
[163] of children -- the average is three to four living children per family -- since infant mortality comes to more than 50 per cent.
[164] Whooping cough is the most frequent cause of death among small children.

a) Birth and Childhood

843 The parents' concern for the child begins even before birth. The husband of a pregnant woman expecting her first child must sleep with her very frequently, for otherwise the child would be very weak. In the case of subsequent children this is no longer
[783] required so often after the beginning of pregnancy. The pregnant woman may not leave the house or eat pork for two months before the birth, since this causes "pest" and she would have stomach
[822] pains; this would be very detrimental to the child. For the same reason she may not eat beans and onions, and no fish because it comes from the cold element, water, and because a pregnant woman must not become cold.

843 According to one informant, the pregnant woman retires
343 to the menstruation hut (dúyat) two to three weeks before the
124 birth. During this time her mother or another female relative cooks for the family. According to another informant, the
/185/ woman does not retire to the dúyat until the birth. In any

C /18 cont./
172 discovery value of the objects brought to light, the landowners
656 often have them dug up by guaqueros and sold for their own
423 benefit. Digging for spoils on the part of the guaqueros is, of course, forbidden by the law mentioned. Since, however, the archeological sites are almost never in the vicinity of cities or police stations, this uncontrollable digging is practiced even today in large parts of the country, to the detriment of the science of archeology.

C The excavation sites belonging to the park lie within sight
172 of the administration building. The other sites are often to be
484 reached only by very narrow and steep paths. For example, in
487 order to reach El /19/ Canadá, one travels on horseback for an
C [492] hour. It takes just as long to climb on foot the Filo de El Aguacate, to which the detour on horseback takes more than twice as long. At least the same amount of time, one to three hours, is also generally required for the trip from one village to another.

C The sharply fissured, steeply rising mountains around the
133 archeological park represent the typical panorama of the
172 Tierradentro region (Ills. 5-9 /see pp. 261-263 /). The archeological sites with the grave chambers are always on heights, the simpler ones on the peaks of the highest ridges, the largest and
C most splendid ones on leveled-off hilltops below these. One has
133 the best view of the valley of San Andrés from its western end,
361 the Yokaichí ridge, beyond which the valley of Kokiyó, with the village of Calderas, begins. From here one has a broad view as far as the Dondotá ridge, which borders the towns of Suin and Chinas. To the north the Chíndava Mountains border the village of Togóima. Looking eastward in the direction of our ascent, the houses of Supón lie directly below us, then comes the village of San Andrés, then about two kilometers downstream the administrative building for the park, and about two kilometers below
C the park the point Cruzero, from which the road from San Andrés
133 to Juntas branches off in the direction of Inzá. Still farther east,
P [823] forming the imposing background of this mountainous landscape,
[776] lie the towns of Pedregál and Turminá, and behind them the
[173]

C /19 cont./
133 dome of "Picacho des Trueno," the mountain of thunder and
? lightning, in which the Paez of San Andrés believe that the
[823] thunder lives and in which -- in the opinion of some Indios --
[776] the Paez, after the destruction of the city of La Plata (1577),
[173] hid the captured gold and silver, the bells and figures of saints
C of the old Spanish silver city devastated by them.
126 My own archeological research in the Tierradentro region
172 includes an inventory of the archeological objects, as well as
114 prehistoric excavations within the sites of the Alto de San Andrés, the Filo de El Aguacate, El Canadá, and Segovia. For the inventory, exact outline and sectional drawings of the various grave types were first of all undertaken. The photographs of the grave chambers /not reproduced for the translation/ show all the types of decoration that occur. Furthermore, the statues present in the Tierradentro region, as well as the types of ceramics, are completely illustrated /not reproduced for the translation/. The excavations include intact grave-chambers not yet opened by pirate diggers, with the first completely preserved burial urns of the Tierradentro culture of the chambered graves.

C /20/ In the description and numbering of the grave cham-
192 bers the numbering used after the establishment of the park was changed. On the Alto de San Andrés today this is the reverse of what it was formerly, since the entrance of the now fenced-in area lies in the direction of the San Andrés River. The present grave chamber No. 1 corresponds to the No. 12 of G. Hernandez de Alba and J. Perez de Barradas. In Segovia, too, the numbering of the grave chambers has changed. The only chambers published thus far, Nos. H. 1 and H 2 of G. Hernandez de Alba, or Nos. 1 and 2 of J. Perez de Barradas, now lie farthest from the entrance and correspond to Nos. 35 and 38. The designations of a few of the sites were also changed. The archeological site "Necropolis de San Andrés" is now officially called "Alto de San Andrés," the "Loma Alta de San Andrés" is now "Filo de El Aguacate," and the "Parte alta del potrero de las Huacas" is now "El Duende." /The remainder of p. 20 and pp. 21-96 are omitted in the translation./

623 /175 cont./
293 handle an additional crescent-shaped piece of silver leaf is applied.

In former years, on the first day of the new year, a cere-
623 mony for the old as well as for the newly elected cabildo took
796 place on the not easily accessible lagoon of Juan Tama, the
778 Páramo de Moras, and lasted for several days. It started with
● 823 chicha drinking under the leadership of a shaman, after which the culture hero, Juan Tama, and the spirits of the ancestors (?) were asked by the shaman for advice and assistance in the coming year. A dance and a bath in the lagoon concluded the ceremony (Bürg, pp. 340 f.). According to my information, this gathering at the lagoon has not been carried out for several years. The reason given is that for several years in succession it has rained around
[787] New Year's time. After that the shamans announced that with this
[776] sign Juan Tama renounced any further performances of the ceremony on his lagoon.

623 The election of the cabildo is done by the men of the entire
666 village. The candidates must be citizens of the given village,
[641] that is to say, they must own land there. A stranger could never hold office in a Paez village. The candidates may not propose themselves, but must be nominated by the assembly or by the old cabildo. Anyone who is elected for an office by the village assembly for the first time may not refuse, but must accept it. Only re-election, which is possible up to five or ten years in succession, is voluntary. The wealth or possessions of the candidates do not play
[556] any role. The present gobernador, Marcelo Muse, is /176/ about 30 years old. Two children, a son about six years old and a four-year-old daughter, are living; four of his children died. In the way of material possessions he owns five horses and two pigs, but no cows and no sheep. Ten years ago he was fiscal for a year. In the general opinion of the Paez the gobernador should not be too young or too old. The best age is between 30 and 50 years. The remaining posts, which to a large extent consist of messenger services, are generally held by younger, unmarried people, although
[896] they may also be filled by married men up to 50 years of age. In general the gobernador chooses people who are loyal to him and who must also carry out the punishments for him, for a gobernador

/254 cont./

804 The period of a day is subdivided into the day (ẽn) and the
192 night (kos). Early morning is called kosẽ; afternoon at the time when work is at an end, which is reckoned by the position of the sun, is called fi'nze. Other subdivisions of the day are made according to the interval of an éšnetc, meaning the time it takes to chew a dose of coca. In translation this designation is used for "hour." The larger period of time is the month, ãte, which is designated by the same word as for "moon." For the period of a year the Spanish word año is used. In former times the word
[221] enzte was used. It is the designation for the large annual com-
[226] munal fishing at the weir during the dry season in February. The
[132] two rainy seasons, called nospá'nye, and the two dry seasons of the year, called sek, are not regarded as time intervals, but as seasons. The latter is at the same time the word for "sun."

● 823 No large geographical orientations or regional, individual
[491] divisions of any kind could be discovered. Moreover, all of Tierradentro is enclosed by civilized areas -- there is even an auto road leading to Belalcázar -- so that many Paez men have seen the surrounding countryside and even cities with their own eyes.
601 Only the western bordering mountains of the Central Cordillera,
[186] in the direction of Popayán, are conjectured to be the habitation
123 area of the dreadful man-eaters, the Pijao. Geographical means
484 of orientation are unknown. Traveling is done only during the day, in groups, and in company with a person who knows the way.
821 Of the stars it is only known that there stars that move and fixed ones, without their being distinguished in greater detail or according to constellations.

202 It is amazing that, in spite of their settlement pattern of
[361] individual farms, the Paez do not have any optical or acoustical
[203] means of communication over larger distances. /255/ In case of urgent news or questions, children are sent.

802 There are numbers only from one to six and ten. For the designations seven to nine the corresponding Spanish numbers are used. The Paez word for "ten" (kóse pémba) literally means "no more hands" and indicates that the fingers were used for counting. The toes are not used for counting; anything beyond ten is

/277 cont./

756 The shaman learns the date of the second ceremony and
765 principal purification through his signs from ečˇ. He announces
783 this date to those who participated at the burial. Those to be
[787] purified -- primarily the nearest relatives -- gather at the river and at a place set apart for this, marked by a number of flat
[823] stones. These are absolutely necessary; without stones, no puri-
[237] fication site. First the people sit in front of the stones, and the helpers of the shaman fetch calabashes filled with water that is mixed with the šũˇ herb and to which some cow excrement, standing ready in a pot at the same place, is added. The shaman has wound a liana around his staff. Even before the ceremony, he chewed coca and tobacco uninterruptedly and drank brandy copiously. First he goes to the left with the staff and liana and beats the air with both, as though he were struggling with invisible spirits. Then, always struggling, he goes in the other directions of the site, and, finally, once more to the left. There his helpers have dug a hole about 30 centimeters deep and 15 centimeters in diameter.

Now the linen of the deceased and the linen of the mourners
[296] which they used on the day of burial are brought forth. They are placed on the stones and then washed and rinsed long and vigorously by the widow and the daughter of the deceased.

The rest of the mourners, like the shaman, have been chewing coca the whole time and get brandy to drink from the teyu.

After the washing, the shaman next struggles as before, as though he wanted to drive invisible spirits away from the site of the purification ceremony. With wide sweeping blows he moves his tama /278/ and liana slowly through the air. In particular he
[823] turns to the left again, for to the left lives the evil ečˇ, and to be
[776] sure, in the ground (*).

* The direction left has nothing to do with any geographical direction or with the direction of the river. They sit with their backs to the river.

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

* 534 /298 cont./

the church, she reached the stream Yutuk. There she turned into a snake. The church was full of people. The snake approached the temple; it was as long as the rainbow and had two ears like a donkey. With its body it surrounded the church, encircling it, and put its head through the door. It ate all the people, except the couple raising it, who begged it to wait a while. They went out sorrowfully. After having eaten the people, the snake rose to the sky to devour the Virgin. When it was high, very high, two animals came (oh = eagles) from Puelchí, went through the air to the plaza, and bit the snake in two, nearly destroying it. It fell to the ground, undoubtedly dead. A man came with his mula /female mule/ to destroy it, mounted the mula, and ran far away. The snake probably rotted away there, but snakes appeared everywhere. In Ulnengá there was one in a bog that smelled horrible when warmed by the sun. It would come up and eat people who had fields. They told this to an Englishman, who with his sword cut off its head and its tail, both blue in color. The head flew through the air /299/ and fell in Ulnengá, while the tail fell at the spot called Loto.

Informant: Victoriano Piñakué.

8. Creation of the Páez River

+ 527 823 Chautéh made the Páez river appear. He went very far along the path, certainly by way of the paramo. He was very thirsty and there was no water. On the mountain there was a marsh; he took a mountain reed, sank it into the marsh, sucked, abundant water came out, and he quenched his thirst. This water did not run in any direction. The man went on and the water followed him. Then he wondered why the water did not stay put. He ran and the water did too. He climbed on a branch, and the water remained stretched out at his feet, in a large pool, without overflowing anywhere. The man went on, and the water followed him. He would run for a long

* [Parcialidad of Calderas]

539 /299 cont./

● 823 time, and the water would stay put for a little while, so that he could rest while the current approached. Chautéh ran in a zigzag to avoid being overtaken by the water. This is why in La Plata the river runs with many bends. The man was getting very tired, so he left the watercourse at the big river (Magdalena).

Informant: Victoriano Piñakué.

*539

9. Chautéh

Chautéh was causing much damage, and he was taken far away, to where the sun rises. He is inside a large box, but he has only one eye. Chautéh made all the animals. Before that they were people. The chiguaco was a sacristan because he can pray; the chicao can whistle, and the chachalaca is very talkative. The rabbit was a very mendacious man; when the dog gives chase, he does not allow himself to be caught, but constantly changes direction. There was a carpenter who knew how to make chests large enough to hold a man. He told Chautéh that he would make him one as a gift. He accepted the offer. The carpenter made it with great care; he finished it and showed it to him. Chautéh got in to measure it, and the chest was closed, never to open again. The carpenter nailed him in so that he would cause no more damage. Chautéh begged: "Open it, please." /300/ but no one opened it. Then he asked that two holes be made so that he could see. The carpenter took out his chisel and made one hole properly; when he was making the other, the tool slipped and put out one of his eyes. He has made me one-eyed, he said to himself, but while I am here he will be looking at tree trunks and opening tree trunks, nothing more. The carpenter turned into a little bird that opens up a hole in a tree trunk, lays eggs, and raises its young.

Informant: Victoriano Piñakué.

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

/300 cont./

10. The Sea

*539 ●823 On a certain occasion Tomás Dimales said to Pedro, his brother, that he had set up a test. Tomás would make a river, and Pedro would have to stop it. He accepted the proposal and set out running. In those days no one knew where the waters went. Pedro told his brother ahead of time that he would tell him when the river was stopped. So it came to pass. When Santo Tomás went to look, he found the sea there where Pedro was. The latter told him to note carefully whether the river was running. He had stopped the waters at this spot.

Informant: Vicente Puchi, 56 years old, speaks Spanish.

Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

11. Piedra Alta

Pedro and Tomás Dimales were two brothers, the former evil, the latter good. They lived together and went about as companions. In those days Calderas was flat. On a certain occasion they were passing the boundaries of the Muralla together; there were no rocks. Pedro said to Tomás: Look at the cliff that have formed; Tomás replied that that was not possible, since the region was flat. When he pointed to the spot, a large rock arose: it is the Piedra Alta /tall stone/.

Informant: Vicente Puchi.

*539 12. Pedro and Tomás Dimales

Tomás, being good, received Pedro when he was out walking. The latter would state his desire to help him in his work, and for a few days he would do it well. Once Tomás sent him to sow maize. He sowed it, but he threw all the seeds into a single hole. Another time Pedro /301/ went to weed maize, but all he did was to cut down the maize. On another occasion, Pedro was angry at Santo Tomás; he went to him and told him

#539 [Parcialidad of Calderas]

/301 cont./

The marks are said to be there. While he was resting, he saw a beautiful bird. He was looking at it, fascinated, when they caught him and put him in a box. They put him to sleep; they buried him and planted a tree called tachi (tachuelo /Pictetia aristata; P. aculeata/).

[823] /302/ Earthquakes are caused by Santo Tomás when, tired of one position, he changes it in order to rest.

Informant: Corpus Guagás, 18 years old, knows Spanish.

Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

14. The Petrified Fiesta-house

At the place called Uikuet it is said that there was a house where a fiesta was celebrated. It is petrified. When the fiesta was in progress, a rather tattered little boy came to ask them for food. An old woman grumbled that there were so many people, why should they give anything to that boy? The latter left, saying, "I see stone." The entire house was turned to stone. The little boy grew large. It is said that one can still see the fallen jars. That little boy was Santo Tomás.

Informant: Corpus Guagás.

Interpreter: Avelino Penkue.

15. The Stones of Chaikin

[823] The two stones of Chaikin were made by Chautéh. Two women were carrying sugar cane. He asked them to give him sugar cane and they did not give him any. Then he turned them into stone.

Informant: Victoriano Piñakué.

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

* /304 cont./

539 name of Calderas. María Santísima gave the fire and disappeared.

Informant: Agustín Muse.

Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

18. The Mine-armadillo

*539 ●823 825 My father was inside a house. Suddenly he saw an animal that shone like a lamp; the light went up to the sky. The animal was a mine-armadillo which was climbing up the hill. If one succeeds in catching him, one puts him in a large box and gives him maize to eat. He turns into a mine, pure gold. Before catching him, one must have the silver ready, 50 or 100 pesos; one wraps him in a new kerchief and lifts him; he is very light. Without the silver, he is seen in the stream or on the path, but one cannot catch him; one puts his hand there where the armadillo is, withdraws it, and he does not move.

Informant: Victoriano Piñakué.

19. The Thin Man

* 539 774 781 My father bought a jar and carried it on his back. At night, drunk, he met the thin man sitting by the path; it was a soul. He was about to fall into the ditch, but the soul did not let him fall and accompanied him home as if he were his brother. Father, frightened, started falling, but the soul held him up; he carried a light, making the night very clear. Nevertheless he did not speak. The man looked like the Sisters; he was quite white.

*539

20. The Devil

My father, with a friend, was coming from Belalcázar on horseback; I was behind my father. The friend came last; he

/180 cont./

123 Calderas, and the water divide of the Kukiyú river and the
153 Pisimbalá torrent, the former a deep gorge, the latter an
[131] elongated basin. Toward the north, the outline of another ridge bounds the horizon and divides the parcialidades of Suin and Chinas. Prominent along it, the Vichaguau peak, the hill Dondotá with the double crests, between which, when the sky is clear, one can see Huila with its eternal snows, where the golden rays of the sun break into a silvery radiance. Toward the east one sees the hills of Chindavá and Potrerito, the heights of Togoima, and the canyon of the Páez. Toward the south stand the mountain ranges of Pangok and El Aguacate, which separates the valleys of the Pisimbalá and the Ullucos; the tablelands of Pedregal, Turminá, and Inzá; the sharp peak of Trueno /Thunder/, the "Kapich" of the natives, a summit
823 of silence, lightning, thunder, and storms. In the place where
173 the sun sets, there rises, stately and challenging, the sharp
648 peak of Hipinjí (1), on which, according to some Indians, lie
[133]
[104]

1. H = the English h.
   J = the French j.
   Sh = the French sh.

the images of saints, the bells, the clothing, the gold, and the silver which the Paez army carried away from San Sebastián de la Plata after murdering all of its white inhabitants, setting fire to the town, and filling up the famous silver mines which had given the town its name and brought large numbers of ad-
173 venturers and not a few misfortunes to the Indians. This legend
823 has fired the imagination of the whites and has led not a few to search for them. It is said that several whites went to the Hipinjí in search of the legendary treasure. At the /181/ /illustration appears here/ top of the peak a white flag was waving. One day there appeared on it the following mysterious order: "At 12 o'clock you may clear out this opening." Their enthusiasm was renewed, their fatigue forgotten, and they went to work eagerly. One worker was rewarded by blind

/181 cont./

173 fortune: his efforts brought to light a large jar overflowing with
823 gold. In his great joy he went running to his companions to tell

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291
302

173 them of the coveted find; in their eagerness they all flew to the
823 lucky spot, and oh! supreme misfortune, the treasure had vanished. Minutes later, the powder flask exploded, killing several, mutilating others, and leaving only a few alive. The whites localize the Hipinjí legend in Tumbichukue.

487 /182/ The descent to the Kukiyú is effected along a
499 vertical ridge, following a path with innumerable zigzags, an

/246 cont./

776 of remedies. In addition, some say that he has a long beard, does not wear trousers, shows his genitals, and carries a musical instrument called tíngalo (triangle).

*[756] He is a curer and teacher of all the Paez té eu; a protector of the nasa (people) and to some extent even their legislator. Sat (cacique) at the time of the Pijao, he defended them from their voracity and gave them good advice. He ordered that the staffs of command of the cabildo members be washed in the lagoon, abodes of Thunder, to prevent the pest from killing the people.

● [823] Thunder is an immortal spirit. He is not seen. He is the guardian of gold and he kills those who dare to collect it. He 776 warns the people /247/ when an evil white is coming to visit 821 them by means of a very strong peal of thunder given when it 787 is not going to rain. If thunder strikes in front of a house, this indicates to the owner that he has the pest and that he should seek out a curer to cure him. If it thunders first at the sorcerer's house and immediately passes to that of the curer, it is a sign that the former is casting a spell on him.

* 756 When a patient requested the services of a curer from 776 Santa Rosa, a torrential rain accompanied by thunder fell during the night. On the following day he told the patient that he had talked to Thunder, who had advised him not to treat him unless he brought him everything that he had requested.

The only being that Thunder fears is the devil. He knows more treatments than the Ghost.

* 756 A curer-sorceress from Santa Rosa says that Thunder, called 776 Manuel José Tipo, had fallen in love with her. He gave her 787 serenades with the tíngalo, which were more frequent when the sorceress swept the patio of her house. During the serenades he taught her the remedies. He was at the point of carrying her away to the lagoon, if she had not defended herself vigorously.

/262 cont./

683 and finally exiled him. The sorcerer nearly died. He com-
184 plained to the Alcadía of Inzá about the brutality of the cabildo. The Alcadía had the stocks destroyed by force, in spite of the protests of the natives. The punishments of the sorcerers in the Parcialidad of San Andrés were about the same up to some 30 years ago.

683 Often, when there is a very dangerous sorcerer, the curers
754 band together in order to kill him. They call his soul, and
756 when it draws near they hit it with a stick smeared with chayuts.
774 The soul leaves with a whistling sound. When a volcano erupts,
[823] it is a sign that the devil is punishing the souls of sorcerers.

754 Psychological characteristics of the sorcerers. Broadly
157 speaking, the sorcerers are timid, resentful, aloof, with a very
156 strong persecution complex; they try to avoid contact with people, believing that they see in each of them a presumed accuser; they tend to be self-supporting; suspicious to a high degree, they roundly deny the accusations of their victims, regarding themselves furthermore as good persons, sound and inoffensive; they pretend to know nothing about remedies, and it is very difficult to obtain any information from them about sorcery. Most of them are intelligent. Endoculturally they are at odds with their own group, insofar as they embody the struggle against the influences of foreign cultures.

The nasa are convinced that no sooner has the sun gone down than the sorcerers are already at work. The most dangerous ones sleep during the day. For this reason they regard as peculiar characteristics of the sorcerers red eyes, an evasive look, aloofness, an unpleasant appearance, egoism, and suspiciousness. They look like criminals, informants say.

182 /263/ Socio-dynamic value of sorcery. Within Paez
754 society, sorcery is vital, overly active, and gravitates into all the social interstices. But, as must be evident, at all times and places it pertains to the realm of concealment. Its executors are surreptitious. They always act in the shadows.

/362 cont./

511 The articles of clothing most in demand are trousers, shirts,
438 hats, underwear, rebozos, and sashes (Mosoco), large shawls
439 /pañolones/ (Lame and San Andrés), and smocks for the children.
[301] Ponchos are also purchased with some frequency. In Mosoco,
[823] gold earrings are ornaments appreciated by the women, in contrast to other parcialidades where gold is /363/ regarded as taboo. The natives wear no sandals or shoes. It should also be noted that the women's skirts are not purchased, but made at home; while in Mosoco the purchase of the reboso de Castilla /Spanish shawl/ is quite frequent and a sign of elegance, in the other parcialidades
511 they buy pañolones. If we compare the figures for food and clothing, the percentage of the income devoted to the former in Mosoco, with two exceptions, is higher than that devoted to clothing. In Lame, and especially in San Andrés, the percentages for food and clothing tend to be the same, and often the latter is higher than the former. The phenomenon is not strange if we bear in mind that in these two parcialidades cultivation is more for internal consumption than for sale. As for "Amusements," although various expenses have been included among them, they refer basically to expenses for the fancy for alcoholic and fermented beverages. Naturally, the expenses are necessarily higher, as we shall see later. As for lighting, in spite of the fact that in San Andrés and Lame it is made out of wild laurel wax, stearic candles are also purchased, and in Mosoco they are always
511 purchased. Soap is purchased by all the natives. In the column
454 showing the part for savings we note that only six of the 48 families
[434] investigated have no figures for it.* And in order to make a few deductions, we have made an analysis of the incomes of the 48 families studied:

*[see p. 93 for this table--Analyst]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

Castillo mentions that they wor-

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shiped the sun, in whose honor they met and danced in places called "Itaqui-finó," i. e., the place where the sun revealed its mysteries; and that they venerated a kind of culture hero called Guequiau. It was he who instructed shamans (mohanes).

771 776 [756]

This hero has a counterpart in the religious legend of Juan Tama, the Son of the Star. One day when the Morning Star shone very brightly, some Indians found a child in a gorge—ever since called the Gorge of the Star. This was Juan Tama. They picked him up and entrusted him to a woman to nurse, but he nursed so much that her milk dried up. He was given to another woman, whom he also made very weak. They then said that he could not be nursed by a woman, and gave him food. After he grew up, he married the female chief of Huila, Doña María Mendiguagua, and became chief of all the Indians. He instructed people and explained to them how to keep the land for themselves and not mix with White people. He pronounced them invincible and summoned a chief from Pitayó, called Calambás, whom he appointed his manager. Calambás rebelled,[13] but was defeated by Juan Tama, who pardoned him on account of his bravery, and conferred on him and his heirs the right to rule the *Páez* in Bitoncó. As death approached, Juan Tama went to the lake on the páramo of Moras and sank into the waters. He had come out of this place and returned to it, leaving no heirs.[14]

773 776

In the neighborhood of Bitoncó there is a rock with what appears to be human footprints. When the Indians pass it, they uncover their heads and say, "The Holy One came this way." Another remnant of the cult of Juan Tama is the custom that each member of the council spends one week at the shores of the lake before the end of his term to render an account to Juan Tama of his actions in office. Likewise, newly elected officers, as soon as they receive their staffs or insignia of authority, spend a week at the lake. They toss silver coins into it, wash their staffs, and pray for strength to rule well. This ceremony, performed with the greatest secrecy, is called the "curing of the staffs." Recently, however, the Indians have stopped "curing" their staffs in the lake, for they say that Juan Tama is angry, and whenever they approach the lake, it rains and storms badly.

776 823 [623] [621] [631] [821]

In the Guanacas section there was another sacred lagoon, called Tumbachí, which was recently drained because a snake that lived there attracted girls and kept them for a whole year, and then returned them when they were about to become mothers.

These tribes believed that the soul comes back to life.

775

Witchcraft was strongly developed among these Indians, who still believe in most of its practices, in spite of the catechization forced upon them by the missionaries.

754 177

[669] [114]

[13] During the War of Independence, as well as in subsequent revolutions, the Indians of the family named Calambás distinguished themselves as warriors.

[14] We are indebted to Father David González for this legend, told to him by an old Indian in Lame.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

754 upon them by the missionaries. The power to do evil is not limited to the witches, but is possessed by anyone who entertains a momentary feeling of envy, and to women, who may not walk over a stick or a cord [841] stretched on the ground. Contact with women during their men- [846] struation or during the days following childbirth causes the "mokokoy" [753] to persecute the men and make them ill.

825 Animals possess the power to prognosticate evil. A document written in 1730 [14] tells that an Indian killed a rooster because he had 787 crowed before daybreak, and said, "Rooster, you are forecasting my 763 death, but I shall kill you first." They believe the same thing when certain birds sing. For example, the call of an owl at midnight brings death to someone. And certain small birds called "ulchik" and others called "bich" warn whomever hears their singing that he will meet with disaster. The box turtle follows people warning them that they are going to die.

825 Del Castillo says that the Indians will not strike white dogs, so that 775 they will not be bitten by them when they enter the future life.

The belief in spirits (kl'iumb) is quite general. Among these 776 spirits is the "pitsuala" which persecutes people, makes them ill, and 753 even kills them. The rainbow, or "Etskituns," causes a rash to break [821] out all over the body of anyone who ventures out while the rainbow shines, and the drizzle that generally accompanies the rainbow will harm a person who gets wet in it if he does not bathe immediately. When the rainbow appears, they stay indoors, and blow or spit tobacco in its direction.

776 They believe that the lagoon on the snowcapped peak, Huila, is [823] charmed, and that if they try to go near it wind and hail storms rise. [821] Supernatural evil forces are supposed to be present during many social activities, such as dancing, meetings, funerals, house building, [491] and bridge construction. When a bridge is built, two Indians beat [331] the water constantly to drive away evil spirits. When traveling on the mountains they place small stones or coins on top of some large [484] natural rock to assure a successful trip and to avoid angering the [782] spirit of the mountain.

[825] Sometimes these spiritual forces assume a bodily form, as in the [753] case of the fireflies, which bring diseases or which may be wrapped in [754] Santa María leaves and placed in the path of an intended victim. Most feared are the ghosts of the dead, which consequently are the 782 most propitiated. The *Moguex* and the *Páez* ask their permission to 769 dance, and honor them in a special rite, which blends old beliefs with [775] new religious concepts. Thus, offerings are made to the souls during the first days of November, or whenever the curate is able to visit the Indian village. Each person offers some products from his farm, in-

[14] Statement made by Javier de Orosco y Cuellar in a lawsuit by the Indians of Tobolma for the possession of land. From the ecclesiastical files of Belalcázar, or Páez.

1: Nachtigall

SC15 Paez SC15

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/Information on the use of alcoholic beverages, coca, and medicinal herbs in shamanistic curing ceremonies and seances will be filed in category 755./

1: Nachtigall

SC15 Paez SC15

273
276
● 824

/For information on the use of alcoholic beverages, coca, and medicinal herbs in the ritual purification rites following death, see category 783./

The house

/122 cont. /

356 is swept by the women every day with a broom (ctábando) con-
824 sisting of shrubs of the psáňga plant. This plant at the same
[825] time drives away fleas. The rubbish is swept out of the house in such a way that even the entrance is clean.

351 All around the house and surrounding it at some distance
417 either a fence is erected or a ditch dug about one meter deep,
[231] within which the poultry and usually the pigs and sheep are kept.
In Calderas, where, because of the low temperature, bamboo
[137] no longer grows, the fence is made of wood obtained from the
[313] natural growth when a piece of land is burned off. Stakes are driven vertically into the ground at intervals of about two meters and the interspaces filled with small tree trunks, branches, and twigs up to a good meter in length, lying horizontally. Climbing over this fence is done with notched tree trunks or bamboo stalks placed obliquely against the fence as a ladder. Similar notched tree trunks also serve as ladders in the houses (Ills. 168 and 154 /see pp.274 and 268 /).

514 There are no privies. On account of the isolation of the houses, however, it is never difficult for the Paez to find a place off in the brush or in the forest. We never found the paths
264 and the vicinity of the houses soiled with filth. The Paez showed
[412] the same tact in eating and at other gatherings. We never experienced smacking of lips or belching, even though their eating habits are somewhat crude, for, lacking spoons, they are in the habit of simply shoving their food from the plate into the mouth with the fingers.

/123/ 2. Clothing and Ornaments

291 The Paez today wear clothing covering their upper and lower bodies. In ancient times, according to the reports of chroniclers, some of them were said to have worn small cotton cloaks, although the majority of them "went about naked, even in the cold mountains" (cited by Hernandez, 1944, p. 191,
[302] from P. M. Rodriguez, 1684). They were also said to have painted their bodies with color and to have made imprints on them with

stamps,

000 /129 cont./
351 p.274 /). The same fencing with the same ladder construction
417 generally also surrounds the house gardens of the Paez farms. In case the houseowner has larger domestic animals, such as cows, horses, and sheep, a gate (puélta) consisting either of a regular lath door or a barrier of horizontal beams is built into
[227] the fence surrounding his house. In the villages of the civilized Paez, in the /130/ environs of which tree growth is inadequate for the construction of a wooden fence, bamboo is used for the vertical poles, and bundles of dry maize stalks for the horizontal parts.

241 The entire agriculture of the Paez is digging-stick culti-
412 vation (Ill. 172 /see p. 276/). Hoe culture was originally unknown. The house gardens, only recently laid out after the model of the colonists and in which European plants such as cabbage, cucumbers, and onions are cultivated, are turned over with the spade (pála). The digging stick (ãty) consists merely of a pointed tree-trunk or pole, though recently broad iron tips with
243 a socket are being put on the digging sticks more and more. Maize may be sowed throughout the year, but it is generally sowed in April when the rainy season begins. Several men always participate, making holes in the ground about one meter apart in every direction with the digging stick, and putting six to eight maize kernels into each hole. The holes are covered again with only very little earth with the foot, "so that the sprout can come out more easily." The ripening period of ten to 12 months is relatively long. After half a year the field is cleared of weeds once. The harvest period is spread out over approximately half a year, provided that sufficiently large amounts of maize were planted; and for this half
[262] year the people practically live "from the stalk." First the young maize (tsót; maize in general, kóty) is eaten half-ripe and only later are the ripe ears harvested and eaten. Every day the men or women go into the field with their bags made of agave fibers and break off only as much as is needed each time for the meal.

249 Whereas maize may be cultivated at all elevations in
[243] Calderas, sugar cane (nyũša) thrives only in the lower, protected localities of the Kokiyõ Valley. Its ripening period of two to

/143 cont./

224 mountain spirit. We met only a single young man of about 18
who goes hunting alone in the mountains once a week. He told
us that, in order to become a good hunter, one must first try to
[789] kill a bear (éšwiy). One must then rub its fat into the right
[237] lower-arm, which would give him the same powers as the bear.
[262] One is not permitted to eat this fat, however, because it would
[828] make him insane. After rubbing in the fat, the young hunter
[263] continued, one may not eat salt at any meal for a week. There
are no further rules and ceremonies of any kind to be observed.
[237] We learned, however, that one can also use bear fat as a heal-
[752] ing remedy, and, to be sure, for bone fractures or sprains one
757 must rub the affected part with bear fat, whereupon the injured
limb will heal immediately and will become considerably
224 stronger than ever before. For stalking he wears on his head a
292 cap made of the skin of a reddish-blond hairy monkey (mónc),
[825] which in the first place protects him from the thorns of the
bushes, but which is also supposed to facilitate creeping up on
[439] game. He sold it to us for two pesos without hesitation, since,
[126] as he said, he was perfectly capable of shooting another monkey
224 for himself. He was not afraid of the gělyómp spirit, but the
776 other men were, for gělyómp screams and makes a noise when
human beings enter his area in the mountains, so that they be-
come quite confused and go astray. The mountain spirit cannot
do anything to several men together, however, since he could
make as much noise as he pleased, but they would not let them-
224 selves be diverted. Of course, the men, even if there are ever so
776 many of them, must not offend the mountain spirit or provoke
515 him unnecessarily, but rather must avoid everything that gělyómp
783 does not like. /144/ For instance, he hates everything impure
[296] and filthy. Hence the men always only go hunting well washed;
[824] they even wash the entire body, and the ruana, too. In addition,
they rub themselves with the cleansing herbs šu and šáyuts, which
they obtain from the shaman, in order to be really altogether
[761] clean in a physical and ritual sense. But if someone has taken
part in a burial or has merely seen a funeral procession close by,
he has picked up a good deal of "pest" from the dead and must
have himself specially purified by the
shaman before hunting.

/145 cont./

532 776 carving anywhere else or obtain an explanation anywhere (*).

* Possibly this is supposed to represent "Thunder," who, as the most important mythical figure and also as the shamans' assistant spirit, is described as a small man with the shaman staff and a triangle as a musical instrument, who displays his sexual parts.

223 Bird-hunting for the pigeon-sized tom birds is carried on by almost all Paez families with the net (ðka), as well as with the shotgun. The net is about five meters high and 20 meters wide. For this purpose a correspondingly wide breach is cut in the growth of trees or bushes on a hill or the ridge of a mountain chain, and the net fastened in the opening produced. The flushed birds, who think that there is a convenient passage at this place, fly into the net, get caught in it, and are then killed by the [237] capturers, who twist their heads. Another type of bird-catching consists of fastening a noose made of horsehair (nyákiwez; nyák = to set up, wez = string) to the twig of a tree or shrub in such a [857] way that the noose rests in a bird's nest. When the bird returns to its nest, the noose becomes entangled in its foot, and the boy -- for it is mostly boys who engage in this task of noose-setting -- 224 is able to seize the bird. Rabbits are caught in the same way with nooses, but made of agave fibers, by laying the nooses where they pass.

226 Fishing is done with hook and line at the river or with [283] poison in weirs. The fishing line (wendyánsyuts) consists of twined agave string to which are tied a metal hook and a stone as a sinker. A small worm is fastened to the hook as bait. [462] Angling is done only by men, and at twilight or at night.

226 Fishing with poisonous plants is a cultural characteristic 824 of almost all South American Indians. For this purpose a total 171 of more than 100 species of poisonous plants are used by them, which means that this part of the world leads all the continents in this respect (Heizer, p. 277). Among the Paez, fishing with

Among the Paez, fishing with

/145 cont./

226 poisonous plants is done once a year, in the dry season, as com-
● 824 munity fishing with weirs. For this purpose -- it was explained to me -- a dam of stones and earth is first made by the men. The herbs, which only grow high in the mountains and contain a poisonous substance, and which have been pulverized with stones, are tossed into the pool thus partitioned off. These herbs are called yúkse or kēse. The fish are said to die from them immediately. /146/ They are caught only by the men. But since the poisonous herbs are so far away and are to be found only with difficulty, the men are said to catch the fish sometimes unpoisoned at the weirs with their bare hands.

f) Weapons

411 The weapons of the Paez are limited to hunting weapons
[726] and children's toys, since wars are no longer fought. The only important hunting weapon today is the shotgun. As children's
[524] playthings there are the stone-sling (ísot), blowgun (pāt), and in in recent times the elastic sling (káučéro).

[824] In former times, in the battles with the Spaniards, the
[714] Paez were said to have used lances 25 handspans long made from the wood of the chonta palm, as well as plaited shields or shields
[237] of tapir skin (Pittier, p. 327). I could find no confirmation for the
[124] present-day or even earlier use of lance and shield; my informants
[175] were familiar with neither the word nor the object. From the chroniclers, however, it is reported that the Paez, as well as other mountain peoples of this region, had learned from their battles with Spanish horsemen to defend themselves with long lances. There is, however, absolutely no foundation for a pre-Spanish use
714 of this type of lance. It is not unlikely that the Paez originally had plaited shields (opimb). The word for skin shield (himba-kat) is interesting; its present literal meaning is "horse skin." Whether himba meant "tapir" in pre-Spanish times cannot be ascertained.

/146 cont./

726 In order to defend their mountain country the Paez also used
[725] large rocks which they hurled down on the attackers from the
[177] heights. They, too, however, soon succeeded in obtaining iron
[411] and iron weapons. In their battles at the time of the Conquista they were already using swords and machetes.

411 The stone-sling plaited of agave fibers, whose manufacture
726 is described below (see under "Plaiting" /see pp. 85-86 /), is
773 of great importance mythologically in the battles with the "Pijao."
628 For geographical reasons it is the typical weapon of the American
411 mountain peoples from Tierra del Fuego to Canada, whereas the
171 blowgun, for similar reasons, is the typical weapon chiefly of the Amazonas and Orinoco forest area. The simultaneous occurrence of blowgun and sling is found all the way from Mexico to Ecuador and in Bolivia (Friederici, 1911, pp. 71-73, Pl. 13).

411 /147/ The blowgun of the Paez consists of a single barrel and is very simple in its construction. It is made only by men, but
[462] for bird-hunting is used almost solely by boys. To make it, one
[857] uses the thin, straight trunk of the fíza tree, the pith of which is
[223] burned out with a long iron tube about eight millimeters in diameter and heated red-hot. The length of the tube is two to three meters. No special mouthpiece is attached. As a sight a little piece of beeswax is pasted above the mouth of the blowgun.
[824] The ball-shaped fruits of the smbák tree, which have exactly the right caliber when green, are used as shot. The range amounts
[211] to about 20 meters. The accuracy of the shot is not great. Nevertheless, there are boys who have carved more than 20 notches above the blowhole of the tube as a record of the birds killed.

4. Crafts and Techniques

a) Treatment of Fibers

283 The fiber material used by the Paez for plaiting, weaving, nets, or ropes is primarily agave, cotton, or sheep wool. Agave and cotton are ancient American fiber plants whose homeland is probably Central America, while working with sheep wool has its tradition in the Peruvian Highlands, in working with llama or

/147 cont./

283 alpaca wool and the wool of their wild relatives, the vicuña and guanaco.

283 The agave (mbāts) grows in all parts of Tierradentro,
● 824 and the fibers of its fleshy, watery leaves are used for plaiting, weaving, and the making of nets and ropes. The fiber must be obtained immediately after the leaf, 1.50 meters long, is struck off the plant, since the moisture is lost very rapidly and it is then very difficult to remove the dry flesh from the fibers. For this purpose every house has a tree trunk leaning diagonally against the wall in the shadow of the roof, and a string with a small stick hangs down from the upper part of it. This is stuck crosswise into the leaf hanging tip-downward, and then the pulpy parts of the agave leaf are scraped downward rapidly with a very sharp-edged, halved bamboo tube split lengthwise, until only the long, continuous, clean fibers /148/ remain (Ills. 177 and 178 /see p.279 /). These are tied loosely around a beam to dry, until sooner or later they are spun and twisted for use.

283 Men and women employ different techniques to obtain
[462] thread from the agave fibers. The men twist the thread with the hand on the upper thigh, whereas the women spin the agave fiber, like the sheep wool, into thread with the spindle. Two methods of spinning are distinguished among the South American natives, depending on the shape of the
[114] spindle and the way it is held. O. Frödin and E. v.
[171] Nordenskiöld call these the Bororo and the Bakaïri /Bacairi/ methods, according to their characteristic occurrence. The first method is the older culture-historically. In this case the spindle staff is symmetrical in cross-section and the whorl is generally near the lower end. In spinning, the spindle is held more or less horizontally and is placed with the lower end on a forked twig stuck into the ground or is held between the toes. The spun thread is first wound onto the shorter part below the whorl and only later wound up on the main
[171] part above. The principal area of distribution of this type

/148 cont./

283 of spindle lies east of the Andes, in Mojos and in eastern Ecuador.
171 The Bakaïri spindle, also designated as the "Andean drop spindle," is characterized by a conical thickening at its lower end. The whorl is slipped onto the spindle staff from above and cannot slide off, since by the Bakaïri method spinning is done only in a vertical position. The upper end of the spindle is often provided with a notch or a hook. In principle the thread is formed at the upper, longer end of the spindle shaft, in other words, exactly the opposite of the Bororo spindle. The area of distribution of the Bakaïri type is a very large one; it occurs throughout the Andean area, as well as in the Venezuelan and Brazilian forest region.

283 The spindles of the Paez (wágat; as wool spindle: káswagat) and their spinning methods cannot be said to belong strictly to either the Bororo or the Bakaïri type, since they contain elements of both. The unadorned spindle shaft is uniformly about three millimeters thick, the whorl (nyít) may either be absent or is slipped on very artlessly in the form of a crudely carved, discus-
[824] shaped bone or wood disk. Not infrequently a piece of an ear of maize, a potato, or a bean pod will serve as a whorl substitute. The spindle is held in different ways. It may hang down free perpendicularly, with the tip in perpendicular position resting on a support (upper thigh), or it is held horizontally in the air or even with the lower part upward /149/ (Ills. 179 to 180 /see p. 280 /). The position of the spindle does not depend on whether agave fiber or wool is spun, but rather it seems to be
[171] arbitrary. Whereas these characteristics point to Bakaïri spinning, at least insofar as the spindle is held downward without support, the way the thread is made and its being wound temporarily on the lower, shorter part of the spindle are characteristic of Bororo spinning, although its typical fork-shaped support, with the spindle held horizontally, is absent here. Among the Paez, the spindle is worked with the right hand. The left plucks the fibers and forms the thread. The women can sit, stand, or walk during this. Insofar as it is a matter of working with sheep wool, the women are in the habit of spinning it chiefly on the way to the

/156 cont./

286 centimeters in width. Two rods corresponding to the breast beam and warp beam (psãtegwe) for the vertically stretched warp threads (yáhawes) are tied horizontally to the forked frame with bark bast (Fig. 35 /see p. 257/).

For weaving by the method used by the Paez, a special warping device, which otherwise, in weaving with a spiral warp, is required in some form for the preparatory stretching of the warp threads, becomes superfluous. The Paez weaving is done neither according to the method of the continuous circular warp nor according to the method of the terminating flat warp, but constitutes a mixture of both in the form of the so-called "false spiral warp." The warp threads run circularly around the breast and warp beams and form two planes, one below and one above the beams. They are not, however, stretched spirally, but like a parallel warp. They are fastened by means of a small horizontal stick around which the first warp thread is wound with a loop. This then runs all the way around the frame to the horizontal stick again, passing over the latter from back to front, and going back again around the frame in the opposite direction. Alternating in this fashion, all the warp threads are stretched to the desired width. After the last warp thread has passed around the horizontal stick, it is knotted and immediately used as the first weft thread.

The weaving is done according to the method of the simple rod weaving. The texture is always the texture of linen. Instead of a regular shed rod and heddle rod, loops of bast or agave fiber constitute the aids for the mechanical shed formation. The shed loop (batsnés) grasps warp threads 1, 3, 5, 7, etc. together; the heddle loops (nyúgwe) grasp the warp threads of the even numbers singly in one long loop each, and they in turn are tied together at the top. The mechanical shed formation is done by alternately raising the shed loops and the heddle loops (Ill. 182 /see p. 281 /).

[824] The shuttle (bánka) consists merely of a wound ball of thread; the sword (kyíta) is carved from the hard wood of the chonta palm pointed at both ends, and semicircular in cross-section.

As a result of the way they are stretched, the warp threads in /157/ their entirety may be drawn around the horizontally lashed tension rods during the weaving, so that the piece being woven

/161 cont./
286 show the same design, but rather one that results from the cross-
531 ing of the twisted warp threads.

g) Dyeing

386 The Paez feel that black is the most beautiful color.
824 Hence almost all the home-woven garments of the men and
[822] women are dyed black, and only rarely does one see articles of clothing in the yellowish-white natural color of sheep wool.
[462] Dyeing is women's work and is done with certain plants, which, however, dye only the animal material used in weaving, but
[294] not that from plants. This peculiarity of the dyes is utilized by the Paez to make patterns in their clothing by weaving into the sheep-wool fabrics a few cotton warp threads, which, in the subsequent dyeing, retain their original color.

Every woman is in a position to dye her home-woven fabrics black. To do this the pieces of fabric are boiled in a pot for about two hours, along with the leaves of the šal tree or the zóte tree (according to Hernandez, 1946, p. 944, with the leaves of a Phyllanthus) and then buried for two days and two nights with these leaves in a pit in black, rich humus earth (ašáktič). Then they are taken out again, washed thoroughly, and allowed to dry. The black dye is now lightfast and waterproof. The cotton ornamental stripes in the women's clothing, which are not affected by this dyeing process, are either natural
[283] in color, red, or green. They are bought by the women in the desired color, since cotton is not spun by the Paez.

586 The threads of different colors used to make the coca bags
824 and the women's belts were originally all dyed by the Paez
177 women with vegetable dyes. Today this is done only in part,
[459] for anyone who has the money buys aniline dyes at the market in Inzá or Belalcázar; they are more popular because of their stronger coloring and greater luminosity. Similarly, the cotton purchased in thread already dyed is more popular for making women's belts, since it is brighter or more brilliant.

/162/

386 The following colors are produced with vegetable dyes: red
● 824 (mbe; also the color designation for pink, ocher, brown) with the roots of a plant called béwoetse. (According to Hernandez, this is the Rubiaceae Relbunium hypocarpium.) The wool threads are boiled with these roots for about an hour and they are then put in the sun. For blue coloring (séin; light blue - séin-séin) the threads are boiled with the leaves of the indigo tree for an hour; for green coloring (oálye séin; oálye = species of bird with green feathers, thus literally "oálye blue"), with the leaves of the tamp tree; and for yellow coloring (škítc), with the leaves of the mūzec tree. The results of the dyeing are not always uniform. There are always deviations in the color. With a little experience, however, one can differentiate them from the purchased chemical dyes.

h) Pottery

323 The art of pottery is very little developed among the Paez and is essentially limited to larger or smaller, crudely fashioned, spherical-shaped pots (mítc) with a lip slightly curved outward. In use they are not hung up, but placed between the three hearthstones for cooking. Smaller, shallower bowls serve for roasting
[531] the coca leaves. There are no vessels with handles. There is no ornamentation of any kind, neither painting, nor incising, nor
[415 531 824] finger imprints. For drinking chicha or for fetching water only gourd calabashes (tóka) are used, which are exactly as unadorned and purely functional as the ceramic vessels.

323 The making of pots is a specialist's work. In Calderas there
463 are three potters, two of whom are women. Only one of them, however, Santos Kiskue, works to keep a supply, whereas the other two make pots only on order. Santos Kiskue is about 40 years old and has a wife and four living children; four others
[437] are dead. He has a horse, but no cow and no sheep. The latter he can do without, since he barters his pots chiefly for wool.

The technique of pottery among the Paez is a spiral coil technique. Since the shapes are very simple, a special

Since the shapes are very simple, a special
/162 cont./
463 apprenticeship with a master is not absolutely necessary; Santos
323 Kiskue, at any rate, began making pots by himself after an
[467] accident that left him with a stiff left wrist. He uses the unmixed clay that stands near his house. Out of this, constantly moistening it, he shapes on a /163/ board lying on the ground an even, round "clay sausage," which he then presses flat with the palm of his hand. He builds up his pots out of this in spirals. They are put with their lower part on a shallow clay bowl, so that he can turn them easily in closing up the junctures (Ills. 184 to 186 /see pp. 282-283/). He lets the freshly made pots dry for about a week under a roof, then he takes them to a place where there is sufficient dry wood. Here he places the pots very close together, stacks wood and twigs over them, and lets them burn for about two hours. They are then ready for use.

i) Candlemaking

388 At the three annual church festivals a large number of
[796] candles (mbéla; Spanish: vela) are used to decorate the church.
They are in part purchased, but largely homemade. Everyone is
[462] familiar with the process of manufacture, but for the festivals
[824] it is men's work. The wax is obtained from the wood laurel (Myrica pubescens Willd), whose small fruits, measuring about five to eight millimeters in diameter, are harvested in great masses in April and May. For this purpose the twigs are struck off and stripped of the fruits over the round berry net that is put in the opening of a large fiber bag. After they are dried, they are poured into a bag, boiled, and squeezed. The wax, caught in a vessel and dried, was formerly an important commercial product in the trade with the whites. In making the candles, wax is poured over the wicks until the proper thickness is obtained.

k) Fireworks

389 No celebration and no church festival is possible without
[796] setting off the greatest possible number of fireworks. The fire-
[541] crackers required for this are made by the men themselves.
[462]

/163 cont./

389 The powder, however, must be bought. As for its production,
822 the general opinion is that it is made from human beings. The
829 whites, they believe, fatten human beings, then hang them,
[439] and, while they are still alive, tap their fat, from which they then make powder. That is why the Paez do not like to send their children far away and do not let them go to the whites, because they believe that the latter would catch them in order to make powder from them.

824 /164/ To make the fireworks a piece of sheep gut is used,
389 filled with powder and wound tightly with an agave string.
[237] The latter is waxed with beeswax for extra strength. One of
[283] these powder cases is used for the smaller firecrackers (koétes), while two, one over the other, are used for the larger firecrackers (kwatón), and under these is placed the fuse, which consists of a small bamboo tube, one to five centimeters long, filled with powder (Fig. 32 /see p. 256 /). These two or three parts are wrapped in a maize leaf and fastened to a bamboo splice 20-60 centimeters long. When it is lighted, the firecracker rises to a height of 50 meters with a considerable whistle and then explodes.

5. Trade and Transportation

438 One cannot speak of trade in the commercial sense among the Paez, for they trade almost solely among themselves and
[441] abhor everything that has to do with business. Moreover, since there is no merchant class among them, there is no carrying trade. Merchants are regarded as do-nothings who, though they
[437] are needed, are nevertheless despised. Fundamentally the self-contained household economy predominates, and whatever one family does not have it barters for within the same village if
439 possible. Only when this is not possible, thus when industrial products are involved, does one go to the weekly market held regularly at Inzá or Belalcázar, in order to buy the necessary articles. These include, above all, salt, as well as spades, machetes, aluminum pots, knives, scissors, spoons, needles,

/185 cont./ In any
844 case, the birth, which is always regarded as very dangerous, takes
[343] place there. As a matter of principle, a midwife (ndõsoknãs) is
fetched. The latter, as the name implies, is not a shaman. She
[759] has nothing to do with shamanistic functions, but is qualified only
for births or external injuries, such as broken bones or flesh wounds.

The midwife may not be an old woman. She is fetched before the birth by the husband of the pregnant woman and always comes. Several times I asked whether in an emergency a man or the mother could help, but it was always said that the midwife
[465] always comes, no matter how busy she is. For her assistance she receives only her meals, unless complications arise. In this case she receives wool or natural produce as remuneration for her help.

In principle, only the midwife and the woman in labor are in the dũyat. The latter is in a squatting position. With her hands she holds onto a belt that is slung around the roof beam of the dũyat. If there is no belt, the husband may also be present, and he then embraces his wife from behind and holds her in such a way that she is likewise in a squatting position. The midwife
845 receives the child. If its position is not normal, for example, in
844 case of a breech position of the child, she turns the child so that the head lies downward. If the child is still not born, the mother must die -- as was explained to us -- for then nothing further can be done. This only rarely happens, however.

844 The midwife brings along her medicinal herbs, with which she rubs the body of the woman in labor. The newborn child is first washed with cold water and then wrapped in a piece of ruana
[412] and given to the mother. The severing of the umbilical cord is not done with the knife or the scissors, but rather, after the umbili-
● [824] cal cord (kolwãt) is tied beforehand with a homespun wool thread, with the sharp-edged cane of a type of reed. The father may see his child immediately after birth; the mother, however, stays with the child approximately two weeks longer in the dũyat. The afterbirth (duyãha), together with the umbilical cord, is buried near the menstruation house. The father digs the hole for this
[856] purpose, and the mother throws both into it. The hole must not be too shallow, for otherwise the dogs would dig them out, but not too deep either, for then the child would not get its teeth until very late and only with great difficulty.

/215 cont./

696 according to the decision of the cabildo. First of all, the animal
685 or the crop destroyed must be replaced, and then the offender is
417 put in the "tree trunk." This is a form of punishment that was
681 formerly used very frequently in other Paez communities, too.
[824] Actually it consists of two tree trunks, into each of which two notches are chopped on opposing sides. The condemned person is put in, with his feet up to the ankles in these rather narrow notches, and then the tree trunks are tightly bound together with
[623] lianas. All the members of the cabildo take part in this work. Then the bound tree trunks are fastened to the ceiling of the council house, so that the condemned man hangs head downward and the trunks cut into his flesh very considerably. There were no other types of punishment. The degree was determined by the number of hours of hanging, which extended from one to, allegedly, 24 hours.

556 Injustices on the part of envious fellow-citizens toward a
626 man striving for wealth manifest themselves by their driving their animals into the man's well-fenced fields. This is done until the person in question no longer feels any inclination to excel over others
[623] through diligence and property. Little is accomplished by com-
[692] plaining to the cabildo, since the gobernador cannot make a de-
[208] cision that runs counter to the opinion of the entire village, and a weak spot in the fence can always be demonstrated somewhere.

692 Other and not infrequent occasions on which the cabildo must
623 act as judge are complaints concerning adultery and support (see
68 above). There are no complaints about verbal insults, just as there is no punishment for this. They are countered by matching expressions. Similarly, unintentional bodily injury, for example, by a machete during joint work or a case of death during tree-cutting, is not punishable. Only if a person shoots his neighbor's eye out with an elastic sling during bird hunting would he be punished, "but not very severely."

/267 cont./

756 like the entire culture of the Paez. For the rest, there are neither special articles of clothing or equipment nor any other kind of ceremonial gear, such as crystals, masks, or rattles.

[824] The shaman's staff consists of a smooth staff, 50 to 60 centimeters long, made out of the hard wood of the chonta palm. It is /268/ pointed at one end and semicircular in cross-section. Each shaman makes this staff for himself before treating his first [764] patient and never lets it out of his hand. When he dies, it is put into the grave with him. Before a séance begins, he sticks it into the ground, though not directly in front of him, but somewhat to the side. Only rarely does a shaman have it in his hand during the séance. As the single exception to the unadorned shaman's staff, I know of only the one belonging to old Felisa Ipia of Santa Rosa. On her staff she has tied a number of colored wool threads [774] which she spun herself and dyed with homemade dyes. She has collected in these threads the souls of all the villagers of Santa [755] Rosa. If someone in the village falls ill, she learns of it through [787] her signs or through Thunder personally and in this way is better able to help the sick person, since she can immediately blow her medicinal herbs, mixed with brandy, on the wool threads and thus can help the sick person better.

756 773 S. Bernal Villa points out that the designation for the shaman's staff corresponds to the name of the most important culture hero of the Paez, Juan Tama, who, according to tradition, was lawgiver, famous and victorious commander of the army, first chief [976] and shaman. According to other traditions, he was the son of the stars, the son of Thunder, or Thunder himself. The present-day shamans regard the staff as a gift from Thunder, and as a sign of spiritual alliance with him. A shaman of San Andrés, reporting on the origin of the shaman staff, says that, according to the stories of the elders, the tama was introduced by Thunder himself. According to this, a man once had his hut and his potato field in the mountains. He harvested the field with his son. One day the son refused to follow his father to the field, but rather preferred to stay behind in the hut. The next day the son had disappeared

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774 776 753 (u = nasal) and tafĩ, with which everyone is familiar, although they are not sure about the distinction between the two. The shamans Francisco and Cerbeleón said that the two were the same; but both of them also said that ũns or tafĩ, if they had left the person in his dream and were abroad, could be caught by tũs, eč, or nyiç without the person's becoming aware of this immediately, but rather he still went on living. To my objection that in this case ũns and tafĩ were probably different, they did not know how [775] to answer; Cerbeleón stated that if a person dies, his ũns goes to heaven and the person himself becomes tafĩ. He and other teyu 756 774 754 were able to catch the ũns of a human being. Thus, for example, if someone had been robbed, he would come to Cerbeleón. The latter takes coca, tobacco, and brandy, and then he can bring forth the ũns of the thief, seize it, and kill it. The thief must [783] then die. In order to get the ũns in his power, he must first cleanse [824] his hands with the herbs šũ and vitubĩtskwe, as well as with brandy. [876] The ũns has the form of a small animal, he explained; it can fly and glows and is about three centimeters long. It is very similar to a firefly in appearance, but different from eč.

554 754 756 [124] Having reached this point in his explanation, Cerbeleón grew silent, and our interpreter Victoriano said that we should now have to depart, but quickly. With that he left the house in positive flight, and we were obliged to follow. Outside he explained to us that Cerbeleón was a "mal brujo," a nyiç, which, to be sure, he had always suspected before, but just now Cerbeleón had given himself away inasmuch as he had said that he could catch and [682] kill the ũns of human beings. The people of Calderas also say that he possessed herbs that he could put in eggs, chicha, or other food, whereupon people would eat them and then die. One of the sons of Cerbeleón was a thief and had died in the following manner: The one who was robbed had prayed to the Virgen Santísima /Holy Virgin/, and God had punished the thief with death. The father himself, that is, the shaman Cerbeleón, is also a thief and kills people out of envy for their possessions.

The mission sisters confirmed this statement insofar as Cerbeleón had several times attempted to kill them by sprinkling

/275 cont./

775 [828] 774 Old Celia Uriaga of Calderas, who told us two stories, but is not a shaman herself, reported the following: When a person sleeps and dreams, his taff leaves the body, goes everywhere, and experiences what the person is experiencing in his dream. When the person dies, ũns then leaves the person by way of the veins of the upper and lower arm, where one can feel the pulse, and finally by way of the finger tips. Taff also leaves the person, but in the form of a human being with white clothing. Whereas ũns goes to heaven, taff either stays near the body in the grave or goes about on earth, although not as taff, but as áhimos (ghost). It can be seen by the shamans at night, but also by human beings at midnight or around two o'clock at night, in the form of a human figure sitting by the wayside. It is not a real human being, however, but more like a wind. /276/ Ahimos is generally at the burial place, there where the corpse is buried and where the bones are.

According to the account of the old téoi Felisa, the ũns leaves the body upon the death of a human being and goes to heaven. It leaves the body by way of the lower arms, hands, and finger tips. 755 Felisa herself tries to hold back the ũns of a dying person by blow- 775 ing hard on his finger tips after she has previously taken a mouthful 763 of the herbs čáyuts and šuwéz as well as brandy. At the same time, [824] with the same herbs in her hands, she strokes the patient's arms from the finger tips upward, in order to hold back ũns. Taff leaves the human body before death. In doing so, it whistles. Felisa can see it. It wanders along a path, well dressed, and the shaman is able to bring it back by tearing its clothes with a very sharp-edged reed (nyfka), and then it is obliged to return to the body (cf. Ill. 199 /see p. 288/).

775 [825] Apart from the shamans, she is convinced that no one is able to see taff, except for dogs, when they sometimes howl for no apparent reason. Whereas ũns goes to heaven, taff remains on earth and goes 769 on living in its house as áhimos in the form of a breath of air. (No accessories are put in the grave with the dead, but on the following December 8, the Feast of the Immaculada, and recurrently each year, the relatives offer to the áhimos of their dead their favorite

/280 cont./

755 756 that his signs tell him that his efforts will be in vain, because the patient must die. Only if the signs are favorable, do he and the patient start chewing the little packet of medicinal herbs. The shaman now takes his staff and spits some of the chewed medicinal herbs on it, to prevent the pest sent by nyic from possibly being transferred to him and killing him. Then he thrusts the tama into the ground with the point, in order to announce to Thunder that he does not wish to act badly and carelessly, but exactly in accordance with his shamanistic rules. He sets the bottle of /281/ [824] [787] brandy, into which he puts a stalk of the čayuts herb, beside his shaman's staff. If the stalk remains vertical, it is a good sign; if it falls to one side and goes under, it is a very bad omen. On the mouth of the bottle he also places a small calabash vessel, likewise containing the čayuts herb, which is supposed to prevent the pest from taking the shaman by surprise and killing him. He now puts a handful of coca into his mouth and starts to chew. Motionless, he gazes at his staff, ready to receive his signs. From time to time he takes more coca and lime, tells the patient that his signs are favorable, that his illness, which comes from the pest, will soon get better. Then he gets up, goes to his tama, and vigorously spits out the chew. He empties a whole calabash of brandy and squirts it into the air. Again he returns to his seat, once again takes coca and lime and a little cigar tobacco into his mouth, and again remains squatting motionless. After about an hour he spits the chew in the direction of the staff, the patient does the same, and then both get up. The shaman now tells the [783] patient that Thunder has shown him the possibility of a cure. He will now go and gather his special medicinal herbs, and for a good purification the patient will have to bring a pound of coca leaves, six cigars, a liter of brandy and chicha, and, in addition, [777] [786] a few pounds of meat. The teyu urgently enjoins him not to take any of the medicine of the whites under any circumstances, for otherwise he must surely die. At this séance, as well as at others, the shamans all agreed that neither did they themselves leave the place of the séance nor did their souls leave their bodies to go wandering. The signs, to which alone they give heed, are the only characteristic of their experience.

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756 It is killed by members of another family, since the ones concerned
783 may not perform any work or activity. The pig is scalded over a
769 hole into which the hair and refuse are thrown. The parts of the pig which the ancestor spirits, through the signs of the shaman, wish as a sacrifice are put into a fiber bag with a wooden stick. During this time the women bake small, flat maize cakes, and, to be sure, as many as there are dead in the family. These are
756 likewise put into the bag, and, in addition, a large quantity of
783 other food. Moreover, small wooden dolls, dressed like living
532 Paez, are carved in the same number as the dead. About 40
769 meters from the house a grave with a lateral niche is dug, exactly like the one made for deceased persons. In the evening the shaman goes there with the members of the family and performs the ceremonial purification on them. After that the sky becomes covered with thick, black clouds, in the direction of which the teyu spits his medicinal herbs. After two hours the clouds move off toward the left and bring into view the starry sky. Now the shaman lays the dolls (as representations of the spirits of the dead) into the lateral niche of the grave, sets a wax candle beside them, and blows his medicinal herbs over them. With a /284/ stone he closes off the lateral niche and then places the
756 bag with the food into the pit. After the latter has again been
783 filled with earth, he proceeds to a renewed purification of the
769 members of the family, which is undertaken a third time in the house and at the same time on the helpers in the pig-slaughtering and the baking. In conclusion one half of the pig is now eaten jointly, whereas the other half belongs to the shaman as remuneration.

756 A further important shamanistic ceremony is undertaken when
342 a new house is built. On this occasion the teyu, in dedication,
783 spits his herbs on the future fire area of the house and digs a small
[824] hole into which he places the herbs šũ and šulápe. On a small pile of wood he burns other herbs, the ashes of which he carries out of the house. Now he lights a new fire, in which he roasts a young maize ear and gives it to a dog to eat. If the latter does not die, this is regarded as a sign that no pest exists here any longer and the occupants may confidently live here. If this were not the case, they would be obliged to leave the house.

/284 cont./

241 The following ceremony before the first harvest of a newly
756 cleared field should also be understood in the same sense as
783 all the shamanistic séances of the Paez, namely, as a purification
[273] from pest or to ward it off. The owner, taking along coca, chicha,
[276] and brandy, goes to the field with the members of his family and
the teyu. The latter first sprinkles the field with water to which
[824] herbs have been added and then distributes small packets of
[782] medicinal herbs to all present. He now takes a sample from each type of produce and makes a bundle out of this, in order to offer it to Thunder. After this gift, the owner harvests a fiber bag full of each type of produce and carries it home. He sets down all the bags beside one another in front of the left side of the entrance, and then the shaman spits his herbs over them, in order to cleanse them of the pest, which, without this ceremony, would otherwise
[782] have been carried into the house. After the products have been cooked, they are given to the shaman, who distributes one product to each of those present and offers the rest as a gift to Thunder, who, in turn, gives everything back to the shaman.

754 A good shaman does not know any herbs or other means to
756 harm people or to kill them. Such acts are the mark of the nyic. According to what we heard, however, the boundary between good and bad shamans is not very sharply drawn; each could also carry out the activity of the other, even though Thunder -- people are convinced -- does not lend his help to a nyic, so that the latter is
578 dependent solely on his bad and wicked agents. /285/ There is a
754 constant struggle between the teyu and the nyic, not openly to be
756 sure, but in secret. The teyu constantly feel pursued by the evil machinations of the nyic, and one who relaxes his attention for only a moment will be killed by them. In this struggle the one who is the stronger magically has prospects of victory; but since the nyic do not openly announce their successes over the good shamans, one can learn only of the victories of the teyu over the evil shamans. Thus a shaman from Santa Rosa relates that in his youth he was very treacherous and underhanded and was already familiar with many agents. One day a nyic, who had already

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578 killed his mother and his brothers, declared his hostility toward
754 him because he was well on the way to becoming a good shaman.
756 He became ill and his signs announced to him that he would soon
578 die. Now there was a famous shaman in Huila, and he sought
75 him out with much brandy and coca. Immediately this shaman
774 realized that it was a case of bewitchment by a nyiç. The only possibility of getting off alive was to kill the soul of the evil sorcerer immediately. Together they dug a hole for this purpose and in it they waited many nights for the soul of the nyiç. It came, but since it was very suspicious, it would not let itself be caught. More than a month passed in this way. Night after night the two were lying in wait, without sleeping, and then one night, near daybreak, the soul of the evil sorcerer came. The shaman was ready, however; he raised his staff and with a powerful blow it fell into the hole. Immediately earth was piled up over it and the hole completely covered. Hissing, the soul died.

756 Since the young shaman from Santa Rosa was well once more,
789 the old shaman sent him home. He advised him, however, to
824 carry herbs with him, since there were robbers on the way. Cautiously he proceeded to the dangerous spot, and already his signs announced to him that the robbers were in the vicinity. He immediately blew his herbs, and the robbers fell into a deep sleep. Farther along on the way home he met several people who were pursuing a criminal. They gave him brandy and coca and asked him to help them, from his home, to capture the criminal. He then strewed čayuts on his own feet, and the criminal could no longer walk, so the people were able to capture him.

75 Other shamans report that in case of a bewitchment by a
774 nyiç, the bewitched person and the members of his family slaughter a pig and put a piece of each organ in a fiber bag. /286/ They bring these to the shaman, together with brandy, coca and cigars. The meat serves as bait for the soul of the sorcerer, for at the first cockcrow, when all present are chewing coca, it comes to get the bag. It falls into the hole dug under it, however. The shaman immediately throws herbs into it, those present their chewed packets of coca, and then the pit is covered up as quickly as

/286 cont./

75 possible. After his soul has thus been killed, the sorcerer, too,
774 must die.

754 The same type of soul-capture as is reported here by the teyu
774 is also the most common method of evil sorcery practiced by the nyiç. The nyiç digs a hole and stations himself above it, in order to await the wandering soul of his victim. It is visible, like a lighted candle. When it is over the hole, the nyiç gives it a powerful blow with his staff, so that it falls into the hole. If it is supposed to die very quickly, the nyiç throws strongly efficacious herbs over it and covers the hole with graveyard soil. If not, he
754 has many possibilities of inflicting on the soul, and therefore on
774 his victim, injury that takes effect more slowly. If he sprinkles
824 the herb baw (Araceae) over it, the stomach of its owner becomes so distended that he dies. If the nyiç sprinkles lime over the soul, the person becomes blind. In the case of the poisonous herb boračero (Datura sp.), the owner of the soul becomes insane; the stinging smoke of the agave also produces insanity. Putting the leaves of the čuwět (Krameria ixina?) and the soul together brings death. The herbs kaspi (Toxicodendron striatum Kuntze), lečero (Euphorbia cotinifolia L.), and Pringamoza also cause death.

f) The Sociological Aspect of Shamanism

182 Although the shamanistic ceremonies and the conceptions
756 underlying them are of a religious nature, nevertheless the activity of the shaman is a definite sociological fact. Without the activity of the teyu, neither the family nor the village community can exist. It is only the shaman who, through his personal abilities, is able to counteract the evil effects of the nyiç, the tũs, eč, and gělyŏmp spirits and turn them into something good. His activity, however, consists not only in the repulsion of what has already appeared, in the healing of what has happened, but his activity is also preventive, in fact, prophetic, for he predicts future sicknesses or deaths. Moreover, no house construction,

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534 The genuine Paez music is performed by a group of musicians whose instruments consist of a larger or smaller number of transverse flutes, a bass drum /Pauke/, a drum /Trommel/, a tambourine, and a triangle (Ill. 202 /see p. 289/). The number of flutes varies between five and 15. Tambourine and triangle [439] (číngalo) may be lacking. The latter is always purchased, as in general is the tambourine (panderēta), covered with skin on one side and provided with tin jingles.

Judging by its name, the transverse flute (koi) is a Paez instrument. There has not yet been an investigation of the distribution or culture-historical age of this type of flute in America; in the Old World it is certainly younger than the long flute and the Pan flute (Sachs, p. 147). Among the /289/ Paez it is 65 534 centimeters long and about 2.5 centimeters in diameter. It is 463 made from a type of reed which is also known as koi and which [824] only grows in the mountains. Its manufacture is specialist's work. In Calderas Vicente Puche is at present the only producer. A flute can be made only from the pattern of another one, which, however, is not a model flute expressly for the construction of others; rather, it is any one that Vicente happens to have at his disposal. For example, he promptly sold to me his only instrument at the time. To make a new one, he said, he would borrow a flute from a neighbor.

534 The tube of the flute is cylindrical and without knots. The 322 seal on the side of the blowhole is made by means of a piece of expressed sugar cane, which is pushed a few centimeters into the flute. The six finger-holes are not placed at equal intervals from one another. The first is 25 centimeters from the blowhole, the second finger-hole is 4.2 centimeters from the first, the third 4.5 centimeters from the second, the fourth 4.2 centimeters from the third, the fifth 3.8 centimeters from the fourth, and the sixth 4 centimeters from the fifth.

The seven very sharp-edged holes of the flute have the same diameter. They are burned in with an iron tube (barflya) of the same dimension and heated red-hot. Their position and their intervals are taken from a flute held alongside and are marked

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534 by cuts with a machete (Ill. 203 /see p. 290/). In spite of the
322 relatively correspondent holes, each flute has a slightly different tone caused by the varying diameter of the tube.

533 According to the investigation kindly undertaken by my
534 brother Wilfried on the sample flute of Vicente Puche that I acquired, it is tuned between C and C-sharp. Its six finger-holes produce a nonsemitonic seven-tone scale. All the tone steps, however, are somewhat inexact, that is, not exactly a whole tone-step apart. This is particularly noticeable from the third to the fourth tone where we perceptibly have less than a major second, but considerably more than a half step. This is noteworthy because in our diatonic major scale there is also a definite half-step between these two tones.

The blowing is on the right or left side. The extended fingers, work-worn by the heavy field work, cover the finger holes with the first or second joint.

534 The value of the flute is not very high. On festive days
[578] people are in the habit of becoming intoxicated in the festival
[796] houses and in the subsequent brawls the flutes are used as striking
[273] instruments and thus broken.

/290/ Every music group has at least one small cylindrical drum (káka) or a bass drum (kut), both of which are covered with skin on two sides and are wider than high in their dimensions.
[177] Drum and bass drum in this form are probably borrowed and were
[194] taken over throughout South America from former Negro slaves. Their manufacture among the Paez is specialist's work. At
[463] present Vicente Puche makes the flutes as well as the drums. In former times, however, there was a special expert who made only
[461] drums and bass drums. The work time for their manufacture amounts to 10 to 14 days, since one day is allowed for each operation (cutting wood, drying it, for the various processes in treating
[824] the skins, etc.). The cylindrical body of the drum is made from
[237] the wood of the utsé tree. The two drum-skins (katc) are made of calfskin. They are stretched with cords made of agave fiber, which run in a zigzag from one stretcher to the other over the body of the drum. They are tightened by a continuous loop that encircles two strands of the stretching cords at a time and at the same time

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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147 the odor peculiar to the Indians, which becomes quite noticeable when they are sweating and which so closely resembles that of the secretion of the so-called *sahino*, or wild hog (*Dicotyles tajacu* L.), that I have more than once been deceived into believing that our trail crossed the path of a drove of these animals.

516 When at rest the Paez men almost invariably sit on their heels, the toes sustaining the whole weight of the body, while the women sit with their legs stretched together on the ground, [514] even when near the fire in their houses. In micturition young 481 girls remain standing. The gait of both men and women is short-paced and easy, the body being always slightly inclined forward, probably on account of the habit of carrying heavy loads.

824 Like all children of Nature, the Paez Indians are very keen 826 observers of their surroundings, as is shown by the minuteness of their differentiation in plants and in certain groups of insects. Castillo, for instance, gives the names of no fewer than six different varieties of ants —

[552]

kan-kik	*ci-kik-ne*	*ŏsa-i*
kik-finis	*gune-fandi*	*to-fiti*

and I collected very few plants for which they did not have a ready name.

Reproduction and Death

881 When a girl reached puberty the event was celebrated among the old Paez Indians by a special dance called *itsa-ko*, during which the young naked female was placed in a hole dug outside the hall-house and thoroughly washed with *chicha*. We have no 836 notice of pre-marital liberty being conceded to women, nor of the relation of children to parents in the family organization. As 595 tradition has it, the pre-conquest Paez were polygamous, and notwithstanding the efforts of the missionaries, it is almost certain that this practice has not completely disappeared. We know nothing about the existence of marriage ceremonies before 581 the introduction of the Catholic ritual. It is likely, however, [586] that marriages were endogamous and free, and, as such, a very frail institution, as Castillo informs us that even in his time

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bag and the small receptacle that contains the quicklime used with the former. When out of doors a second piece of woolen cloth, longer and narrower than the first and called simply *atš*, is thrown over the shoulders, with the head likewise thrust through the middle. A narrow-brimmed hat (*tsua*) the like of which is found among the Kitšua, is the usual complement of this dress. It is made of the outer skin of a tall grass (*Gyncrium saccharoides*), resembling sugar-cane and common along rivers.

The women all dress in the same way, with fabrics invariably woven by themselves. The underwear, which is often dispensed with, consists of a narrow piece of woolen tissue used as a loin cloth, passing between the legs and then rolled around the hips. Over this article is worn a broad piece of dark woolen cloth, wrapped along the body and limbs in the form of a skirt. This is the *anaco*, or *pamb-atš*, and it is attached to the waist by means of a sash called *vilia*, the elaborateness and ornamentation of which vary with the wealth of the owner. The upper part of the body is covered with a ruana called *atš-tul*, sewed along the right side and on the right shoulder, but open at the left side, being simply pinned on the left shoulder with a wooden peg or a fish-bone. When traveling the women provide themselves with another broad piece of cloth (*spatš*) which is used either as a cover or for wrapping the baby on the back. In the latter case the cloth is secured by means of a belt (plate IV, 1).

Women also wear necklaces, made now of common glass beads, silver coins, or small sea-shells, the number of strings depending on the wealth of the husband. The mention in Castillo's vocabulary of a word for bracelet (*kaschand-gnuc-tsa*) indicates the former use of such ornament. Females have no headgear. Married women part their hair along the median line of the head and allow it to hang back in two braids. Little girls wear their hair loosely behind the shoulders. In former times women painted their faces blue with the juice of a fruit called *kii*. Speaking of this custom, which seems to be obsolete now, Castillo facetiously says: "fruta . . . con cuyo zumo se pintan el rostro las Indias (*i aun las que no lo son*)." Men formerly decorated their bodies and faces with *tok*, the red color

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302 extracted from the seeds of *Bixa orellana*, which they applied [524] by means of a cylinder of clay (*kaanda*) on which certain designs were carved. Specimens of such cylinders are often found in graves.

291 Children are very scantily clothed. The boys go about naked 515 until they reach their twelfth year, and the little girls wear only a short *atß-tul*. The clothing of the male and female adults seems to be worn as long as it lasts. As is the case with all Indians living at high altitudes, the Paez are not especially fond of bathing, and cleanliness is not a cardinal virtue with them. [513] In retiring for the night, they simply wrap their garments tighter around them, the children using old rags in lieu of blankets.

386 The ornamentation of the *tilia*, or sash, with several brilliant [182] colors and the desire of giving a uniform hue to the darker clothing of the women, gave origin to the art of dyeing, which very likely is to-day in its decline. The dyes were derived chiefly from plants. Black was obtained from *ßal*, an arborescent *Phyllanthus* that has a semi-domesticated appearance and forms characteristic thickets around inhabited places, like Vitoncó; the same color is also contained in the young pods of the *huarango* (*Cæsalpinia tinctoria*), a spiny tree often seen near the houses and extensively used at the present time for dyeing wool. The roots of *tuk-uétse*, a Rubiacea (*Relbunium hypocarpium* Hemsl.) akin to the madder, produce a scarlet color. Different kinds of blue dyes were extracted from the fruit of the jagua (*kii*, probably *Genipa* sp.) and from an *Indigofera*. [177] Many other tinctorial plants very likely escaped my observation and are gradually passing out of use on account of the introduction of foreign fabrics.

Dwellings

342 The Paeces have permanent houses in their thirty-four villages and temporary abodes on their corn plantations. These latter are merely small huts, the walls of which are more or less elaborate according to the altitude, being made tighter near the upper limit of culture. They represent the primitive type of

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192	*pénī*	old, when speaking of a female — Cast.: (*e-pentī*)
[601]	*pénī + kuè*	old woman, grandmother
	pēī	sister of a brother
	pēī + núi-tain (T) *pēī + nu-te* (H)	elder sister of a brother
	pēī + núfī (T) *pēī + nufī-kuè* (H)	younger sister of a brother
	pēts (H)	sweat
	pets-ẏīta	throat
	pian dīán usta	half
	pikas	beam
[824]	*pindo*	*Gynerium saccharoides*, a tall grass used in making hats
	pinzò	*Alnus* sp., the South American alder
	pipīo	bijao (*Heliconia* sp.) a plantain-like plant
	pipīo + kniein (T) *pipīo + kneia* (H)	dwarf plantain
[177]	*pisko* (H), *tīpi-pi* (T)	turkey (Span.: *bimbo*, or *chumpipe*); both Paez words are derived from the Kitšua
	pittka	a variety of large tick — Cast.: *guakò*
	pitā	sheep — Cast.: *kapila*
[824]	*pkind* (T) *pkind + a* (H)	guava tree (*Psidium guajava*)
	pkind + a-iún (H) *pkind + bits* (T)	guava, fruit
	plán (T)	plantain
	plán + debēh	manzana, a variety of banana
	plán + d-its	ripe plantain
	plán + kāk	baked plantain
	plán + kāts	plantain peel
	plán + tskāẏ	boiled plantain
[824]	*plū*	shade — Cast.: *pnasá*
	puēl	*Tropæolum tuberosum*, a plant with edible tubers

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pûs	strong (in flavor) 192
lal	*Phyllanthus* sp., a small euphorbiaceous tree, the leaves of which give a black dye [386] [824]
satsûm	iron
sek	sun — Cat.: *itaki, taki*: *sek* also signifies dry season, and heat of the sun
limb (T), *dsa* (H)	young, half-grown maize, just before tasseling
limbe	puma — Cast.: *li*
listen	heap
listen + *ôpta* (Cast.)	to be heaped — *op* = all
llal	a passion flower the fruits of which are edible
sonâ	*Stylanthes guianensis*, a plant
sû (T) / *sû-uâ*	sister-in-law — Cast.: *ne-sôu*
sus-tô	belly — Cast.: *to-ti*
lâm-pu (H)	navel — Cast.: *lamb*
ltô-pando (H)	broom
ltu-hôfl (H), *tkâfχ* (H)	hole
luil (H), *tsevi* (T)	*Ullucus tuberosus*, a plant with edible tubers
tâ, tâ	mountain — Cast.: *atlâ*
ta-âla	mountain group, mountain range (*serrania*)
tâmbuî (H), *tîlim* (T)	occiput
tâuχ	strap
teê	calabash used as a plate or cup
tîfl, tlîfl-iat (H)	wall
tepât	blow-gun—Cast.: *rito-pât*; Span.: *bodoquera* [411]
tôpi-tôpia	clean, free of obstruction
tsalfχ (H)	upper-arm

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tłuátł	louse, a very large variety called *caringano* by the Spanish natives — Cast.: *etl-guatl* 192
tsui (T), *tikia-pits* (H)	husband — Cast.: *nemi* [601]
tsutł	woman's breast—Cast.: *hiki*
tukuł-tsę	*Relbunium hypocarpium*, a plant the roots of which give a red dye [386] [824]
tulü (H)	plantain — Cast.: *tolö*; see also *plán*
tulü + kak	baked plantain
tulü + kats	plantain peel
tulü + kuiya	boiled plantain
tulü + its	ripe plantain
tiing-ua (H), *ti-ue* (T)	ear — Cast.: *tógnue*
tiing-ua + kafs-iaka (H)	ear-ache
tiing-ua + vits (H)	ear-lobe
tiing-uł-ieki	earring
tie-kafχ (T)	vent hole
tiipa	spider
tiita (H)	first
udka	crab
udla	large, high, tall — Cast.: *gula*
udn-dziins (H)	fishhook
udsa-kua (H), *gudsa-ko* (T)	daughter, girl [601]
uats-to / *uatl-ta*	tired
uá-tsa	necklace
uéll	parroquet
uense	agouti (*Dasyprocta* sp.) Span. *cutacusa*
uentł	fish — Cast.: *gneundi*
uentł + patsi	a large, iguana-like lizard
uès (H), *guás* (T)	earthworm — Cast: *gues*
uès + kuł	thread
uł-ue-nie (H)	voice, word
uężia	wind — Cast.: *pneuma!*

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25. The Sky

Informant: Agustín Muse.
Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

Once when I was near death my soul climbed to the sky, which is a flat plain where the view extends to the horizon. The entrance is wooded. The Virgin told me that this land was for her sons and that I would have a piece. To reach the sky, one first goes along a good path and soon becomes lost; the [262] most hidden one leads to the Virgin's palace. It is said that it [825] is bad for one to eat the porcupine, because he will come before María Santísima dressed in its skin. He will go to the devil, and although the latter cannot pick him up, he has hooks with which to grab him. This is why, at the hour of retiring or rising, I pray to my God and to María.

The palace of María is of blinding splendor. It is very beautiful. The Virgin always holds the Child; only rarely does she put him down somewhere.

I tell my fellow men what I saw but they make fun of my account.

/308/ It is holy, they should respect it.

Good people go to heaven, that is to say, those who do not abuse other persons, say evil things, or are loutish.

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● 824

26. Origin of the Plants

The old people said that every kind of seed had been given by María Santísima, who drew them from her womb and gave them to the Christians in order for them to maintain themselves. Plants are thus inherited from María Santísima. She gave away every kind of seed when her brother was around. Hence his rage, since he wanted to give seeds and animals and could [825] not. Perhaps the snakes were made by Santo Tomás. /The 000 bibliography on p. 309 is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

/198 cont./

IX

The Wax Comes from the Woodlands

796 Before the fiestero goes to stay in the pueblo, the laborers make the candles and distill the aguardiente while the fireworks-maker produces the firecrackers and rockets.

388 824 The candles are made with the wax of the wild laurel (1)

1. Myrica pubescens Willd.

recently extracted from seeds gathered months earlier from the bushes in the woodlands. Laurel, of course, is a shrub with lanceolate leaves, which grows wild in the clearings after the harvest. During the months of April and May the branches are heavy with lead-colored and tiny seeds very similar in form to the fruit of the coffee tree. They are a favorite food of the wild pigeons, and for this reason, while they are ripening, the owner, or preferably his children, constantly frightens them [756] away. This is a reinforcement of the magic protection supplied [789] by the medicine man at the suggestion of the owner of the woodland. He has performed the exorcism to frighten away the unwanted birds: he has loaded his shotgun with chayuts (2) and

2. Escrofulareacea.

shot at the pigeons. They will not return.

[415] The seeds are gathered in fique bags. Ten workers gather approximately one arroba in one day. /199/ For the period of one month the seeds will be left to dry, scattered in a corner of the house, so that the wax will come out white and not green as would happen if this were not done.

388 To extract the wax, the seeds are packed into small sacks or bags, boiled, and pressed at once. The wax falls with the hot water into a round container; on the following day, the water that remains at the bottom of the container is removed, and the wax is left to solidify further.

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[For information on the various herbs and other pharmaceuticals used by the shaman in curing and purification ceremonies, see categories 755 and 783.]

/228 cont./

755 indicating hope, for if they moved from the knee to the foot,
756 there would be no need to receive the coca, tobacco, or
[127] aguardiente, for the patient would be incurable. Only when the signs are favorable does he take the pouch of remedies received from the patient and pass it around in the same way as he did the remedies, with the aim of invoking Thunder and Kallumb, his helpers.

75 He orders the patient to chew the bundle of remedies which he presented to him not long before. He picks up the tama (5) in his hands and blows on it with the remedies that he

5. Cf. below, "The tama" /see pp. 17-18/.

is chewing, which are the same as those chewed by the patient, for the purpose of preventing the ptans ("dirt") sent by the
[276] sorcerers from surprising the curer and killing him. In this case he may have the mambe /lime to be chewed with coca, or the coca and lime together/ in his hand and nevertheless remain motionless, with blood running from his mouth. Then, and to the front, he drives in the tama, the weapon of Thunder, to indicate to him that he is not working in a bad way, but in such a way and in accordance with his teachings. Before putting it in the ground, he passes it around his body so that it will protect him from the ptans.

[824] Next to the tama he puts the bottle of aguardiente, which
[763] he places a sprig of chayuts; if it remains upright and floats, it is a good sign, while if it tilts and sinks to the bottom, it is an omen of death. On top of the bottle he puts a small calabash to measure the aguardiente, in which is also put a sprig /229/ of chayuts; it serves as a preventive, for it prevents the ptans from catching the curer unprepared and killing him.

[276] Then he puts a handful of coca in his mouth and begins to chew; he remains seated, almost motionless, his eyes trained on the room and on the tama, attentive to the slightest motion;

* /234 cont./

756 papa had told him to defend himself with it and in case of ill-
539 ness to take the remedies that he had given him. He extracted their juice and took it. He rapidly improved. He applied them to others and noted that they soon regained their health. With the tama and the remedies he became the best curer in the entire region. He died when he was an old man"

* 755 To combat ptans, the tama is used in conjunction with a
756 plant called "nica."

● 824 Theory of illness. Sicknesses are caused by the state of
753 bodily impurity called "dirt" /sucio/, cold /hielo/, or /235/
783 ptans. The causes are essentially magical and are interpreted more as a premeditated and inimical attack than as punishment by supernatural beings. There are those who state that sicknesses are sent by God, but if one repents, they are soon taken away. Be it said at once that this concept is neither general nor rooted in tradition. Sicknesses, then, do not have natural causes; nor do accidents, since they are provoked by sorcerers.

Impurities are caused by the following:

a) When a person who has been at a wake has not had himself "cleansed."

b) When people dress in the clothes of a deceased person without washing them with the appropriate remedies.

c) When the house where the corpse was watched over has not been cleansed.

d) When a woman does not spend her period of menstruation in the Du yate léchukue.

e) When a woman does not bathe after menstruation.

f) When the placenta has not been suitably buried in the appropriate place and with the required remedies.

g) When a man sleeps with a menstruating woman.

h) When the man who serves food to a menstruating woman has not bathed his body or washed his clothes.

i) When the woman, after observing the diet of childbirth, does not bathe.

5:Bernal Villa--24 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

75 824 783 /239/

Native Name	Spanish Name	Scientific Name	Use
Chandur	. . .	?	Cooling. Used to clean away ptans. There are two varieties. The large one is called: flusha.
Esh	Coca	Erythróxydon /Erythroxylon/ coca.	Boiled roots and leaves: colic and diarrhea.
Bichach	Caucho /rubber/	Hevéa?	Leaves roasted in embers for fractures, dislocations, contusions. The dry leaf is removed and placed on cabuya tops for rapid healing.
Chulco	Chulco	Oxális sp.	Against smallpox.
Chayuts*	Contento, Alegría /sesame/	Scutellaria racemosa Per.	Panacea of the Paez.

75 ●824 78

/239 cont./

Native Name	Spanish Name	Scientific Name	Use
Small chuwet	?	?	To propitiate streams.
Fisa, bitopat	Dodoquero	?	In combination with yukchacha and montaña barbasco, it is used to treat blennorrhagia.
Echiutse chime*	?	Labiada?	Against the pest. Bathing with this herb wards off Echi, especially when traveling at night.
Guepekás	Pringamoza. Ortiga /nettle/.	Uréra boccífera L.	Wards off ptans. Used for sorcery.
Kuese	Barbasco de lo caliente	Lonchocárpus?	In winter it is blown into the air to make summer come. Used against chande (scabies).

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/239 cont./

Native Name	Spanish Name	Scientific Name	Use
Limoncillo	Limoncillo	Cymbopógon citrátus.	Infusion with panela and aguardiente against coldness for a woman in childbirth. Also used against diarrhea.
Ñica	?	?	For combatting ptans. For hair of ghost.
/240/ Ñundayuskei	Pateperro	?	Against ptans. The juice for diarrhea; with tobacco, for stomach-ache. The water from this for toothache; spit out half the candle /candela/ to help allay the illness.
Shu*	?	Sphagnum sp.	For combatting ptans.
Shugués*	?	Peperomia sp.	For cleaning away ptans.

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/240 cont./

Native Name	Spanish Name	Scientific Name	Use
Shulape	?	?	Against echi and for coughing.
Shupeñiñ*	?	Peperomia sp.	Echi and whooping cough.
Siempreviva		?	Tied to the head it allays pain.
Muahi	Tabaco	Nicotiana tabacum L.	With coca, it makes the "signs" circulate. Crushed, it checks hemorrhages. For combatting ptans.
Tap.	?	?	See Bichach.
Tatsé	?	?	For coughing; to restrain the pulse (us) when a child is frightened. Against ptans.
Tayuskei*		Peperomia sp.	For infections of the umbilicus. Whooping cough.

/240 cont./

755
783
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Native Name	Spanish Name	Scientific Name	Use
Ul ñin*	Culebrina, pepa de arco, monito almizclillo	Hibiscus abelmoschus L.	Ptans, echi, rainbow.
Yacuma blanca		?	Ptans.
Umsim*	Yacuma negra	Myrcia acuminata DC. Vell aff.	Against the rainbow.
Yuskei*		Scleria cattarinensis Boeck.	Ptans

/241/

●824 The plants marked with an asterisk were identified by the
[128] Herbario Nal. Colombiano, in particular by Dr. Jesús M.
[137] Idrobo.

[127] For the others, we were guided by the work, Plantas Utiles de Colombia /Useful Plants of Colombia/, by Dr. E. Pérez Arbeláez, published by the Imprenta Nacional de Bogotá in 1947.

75 The té eu and the community. In every culture, medicine
182 performs an eminently humanitarian function. Its nature is
171 sociological. No matter what its methods may be, its purpose is to save human lives. It combats illness, but also prevents it.

75 Among the Paez, medicine cures and prevents. The
182 community and the family perform special ceremonies intended to achieve these two purposes of medicine.

755 When the pest (epidemic) has spread through the com-
*756 munity, threatening its subsistence, the authorities (cabildo)
182 invite the curer to conjure away the danger by performing the
[731] wé ká.

When the illness prevails in a single family, markedly decreasing its members, the eldest invites the curer to perform
[765] the ut ká. After every burial the people must remove the ptans
[783] from their bodies and from the house where the death occurred. The curer is the only one who can do this.

241 The first fruits of plantings made on new lands not culti-
*756 vated before cannot be consumed until the curer has performed
783 the cleansing ceremonies. Thus, it is the curer who defends
182 the family -- preservation of the species -- who purifies the
789 harvests -- preservation of the individual -- and who also defends the community, warding off by means of his conjurations
*756 the epidemics and the individuals who threaten it. In 1952,
789 before an imminent attack by subversive armed groups on the
182 Parcialidad of Santa Rosa, the curer warded it off with maní de montaña /literally, "montaña peanut"/, chewed and blown on the path by which they were to come.

/258 cont./

754 Methods of sorcery. There are various procedures for
774 practicing sorcery:

/259/ a) The one most widespread and about which the most information is provided consists of digging a hole and waiting over it for the soul of the victim. It arrives, giving off light like a candle. At once the sorcerer hits it with the tama, and it falls into the hole. It is at his disposal; he can bury it, whip it, blow remedies or mambe upon it, show it harmful objects.

When a quick death is desired, the sorcerer buries the soul with bad remedies, tamping it down vigorously with earth from the cemetery. The soul comes out with a whistling sound when the person dies.

754 It may also be whipped with the following remedies:
774 Bao* (Araceae). The victim's stomach swells until he dies.
●824 Borrachero (Datura sp.). Poisonous narcotic. The victim goes mad.

Cabuya (Agave sp.). The juice of the leaves is caustic. The victim rots away.

Caspi* (Toxicodendron striatum Kuntze). Poisonous shrub whose emanations cause irritation of the skin. The person swells up and dies.

Chuwet in Spanish, called estancadera (Krameria ixina?) by the whites. It has pointed leaves, which, when brought into contact with the soul, stab the person.

Lechero (Euphorbia cotinifolia L.), poisonous plant. The victim bursts.

Pringamoza. The hairs of this member of the Urticaceae enter the body, and when they reach the heart, the victim dies.

754 The sorcerer can blow mambe on the soul, leaving the
774 person blind, or drive him insane by moving toward it a deer skull with an echi inside.

He can also prick it with the bones and hair of porcupines, snake bones, claws of the swift parakeet, and talons of eagles.

Fire is also set to the vegetation on
/306 cont./

241 the ridges, crests, and windings, where no obvious advantage
185 can be gained and where, instead, it destroys a vegetation that virtually /307/ could be turned into a barrier that would prevent the danger of the animals.

The clearings are also laid out on the banks of brooks, streams, rivers, springs, and damp hollows, which, from a lucrative standpoint, is excellent, since it is precisely there that the harvest yields the most, but it is very harmful, since it destroys the vegetation that preserves the moisture and holds the soil, thus avoiding erosion.

241 The clearing is done by all the male members of the
476 family. But more generally the mingas /communal work-parties/ do it. In this case, the workers first cut with their machetes the grasses, branches, vines, etc., in the lower part of the forest; then, with axes and machetes, they fell the trees. It should be noted that these trees are not cut at the base, but more or less at eye level. The fallen trees are allowed to dry for approximately one month and then are burned. The thick logs remain intact, as does the brush. This is piled up, and sticks are cut to make fencing. This work is also done by mingas. First the stakes are driven in about a meter apart. Then sticks and branches are woven in. The fences are made so tight that they prevent dogs,
[417] pigs, and other animals from entering. People enter by means of a stick with notches that leans against the fence on either side. These sticks are called afa, and they are also placed at difficult spots on the paths, chiefly for crossing obstructions.

241 In Mosoco, where the lands are cleared and divided into lots, clearings do not exist. Only in the "paramo," the mountainous region, can they be observed. But the custom of leaving the land uncultivated for several years has not disap-
●[824] peared. The fences are made of lechero /Euphorbia/ stakes, a tree that has the peculiarity of taking root and continuing to live. But the use of barbed wire is steadily increasing.

Planting and harvesting

[152] Planting is conditioned by the pluviometrical conditions in Tierradentro. The summer months are January, February, March, July, August, and September, and those of winter are

/308 cont./

243 are also selected; the larger, round one is regarded as the
244 woman and the less vigorous one as the man. In the cold climates
476 they usually sow, in addition, broad beans and wheat, and in the temperate ones arracacha, manioc, plantains, and other species.

243 In three months, when the maize is man-high, weeding
476 is done. The underbrush is uprooted and left on the same ground to dry out and rot. It serves as fertilizer for the plantings. But the natives have no conception of fertilizers, and any suggestion made in this connection is regarded by them /309/ as a waste of time. There are also mingas for weeding, and boys and even women participate. In about six months the dry and yellow leaves are stripped from the stalks, a task which they call descalzar /to discalceate/; they believe that this makes the tender leaves acquire a dark-green color and the ears grow
● [824] strong. The stripped leaves are used to cover the roofs of the ranchos which are built for watching over the plantings and to house the family at harvest time.

243 The fields are attacked by flocks of parrots and chamones
825 /a kind of bird/; they are driven away with scarecrows (kanasá), which are put in strategic places. Squirrels and dogs are also enemies of maize, and to protect it they build traps or use their shotguns. In addition, the women and children constantly go around the fields. Next to the rancho a high platform is often built, from which the integrity of the plantings can be guarded.

243 The natives know that droughts parch the sown ground and
789 an exaggerated winter injures them. When the leaves are scorched
754 and the plant does not make ears, they think then that envious people (the sorcerers) have cast a spell on the maize. In such cases, they call the good curer (té eu) to lift the spell. Protection thus has a magical character (13).

13. Bernal Villa, S. "Magia of Medicina entre los Paeces /Magic and Medicine among the Paez/," p. 245.

Chamones

/327 cont./

223 black birds, are not eaten because they are probably animals of
825 the devil. It is said that in times past the Calderas Indians ate
262 beetles, the reason that they are nicknamed tandayaha (one who
[578] eats beetles), an epithet which they regard as offensive and which nearly always irritates them. The Calderunos say that they do not
[224] eat worms or the meat of rabbits and snakes. They regard as game
[223] animals the guara, deer, coati, armadillo, bat, and various species of birds.

224 Concerning bear hunting, the people of Mosoco relate
/328/ real feats performed by Indians in open fights with the ani-
[237] mals. Bear fat is highly esteemed among the natives and "whites."

226. Fishing is less important than hunting. The rivers and streams contain sardines and coruntas /small river-fish/. During Holy Week and at Christmas they engage in fishing, when the
[462] water is low, by means of barbasco, nets, and hooks. This is strictly a masculine activity. In the Paez River they fish during the months of January and February and generally in months of drought.

They also gather crabs.

Laurel wax industry

388 Laurel, introduced by a man from Popayan /el payanés/,
824 Agustín Valencia, has played an important role in the economy of some parcialidades of Tierradentro. It grows wild in Calderas, Tumbichukue, Lame, San Andrés, Chinas, and Suin. The production of wax was the only industry in these parcialidades that permitted them to maintain regular trade with the "whites."

388 A mestizo trader from Mosoco says that he was a great ex-
43 porter of laurel wax. "It was the native industry" -- he says -- by means of which salt, trousers, shirts, hats, and centavos came in." In this business, he states, he made one arroba of profit per load. The pound was quoted at a peso in Silvia. The informant says that in the years 1946 and 1947 he took out from 800 to 1,000 arrobas of wax. He almost had a monopoly on the business. What little wax escaped him was purchased by traders from Belalcázar, who in turn took it by way of Mosoco to Silvia. The chief consumers of this product were the soap factories of Cali. The laurel wax industry waned in 1950, when those factories

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291 They protect the upper part of the body with a black poncho tied at
177 the belt, or a shirt with a poncho over it. Women wear two skirts, the under skirt being black and the outer one white or gray. Both are held at the waist by a sash woven with figures. They cover their busts with two blankets which are fastened at the shoulders with
[293] wood, copper, or silver pins. Both sexes carry pouches woven of
[415] hemp which, like these Indians, are called "guambías." Their straw hats are dish-shaped, with small brims hardly distinguishable from the shallow crowns. The hats, always too large for their heads, are held on by two cords, one passing under the chin and the other behind the neck, around the hair. The women also wear woolen shawls, silver earrings, rings, and heavy necklaces of glass, shells, and silver. For festivals they prefer hats with the brim divided into two parts, front and back. These are lined with dark-blue cloth, with red and yellow on the brim.

When working, the *Páez* wear short linen pants or long woolen ones and a large woolen poncho tied at the waist. When going to market, they wear an additional poncho and a woolen pouch for coca. When
[292] traveling on the páramos, they wear a knit hemp cloak covered with large, thin leaves of *Gynerium saccharoides*, which protects them from the rain. The women wear a narrow woven cotton band, passed between the legs and tied at the waist, one, two, or more black or gray woolen skirts gathered at the waist and held by a woven sash,
[482] and two small mantas, like those of the *Moguex*. In traveling, a
[854] shawl is worn for covering and to carry the child. They adorn themselves also with strings or necklaces of glass or other beads, or white chaquiras, and sometimes are added silver pendants of Colonial origin.
[292] During festivals the women wear brightly colored blouses of imported fabrics and the men linen shirts.

MANUFACTURES

285 **Basketry.**—The *Páez* and *Moguex* make a few twilled baskets of cane strips and two kinds of hats. The hats are woven with the coiled or sewed technique. The spiraled warp in one kind consists of a thin bundle of rush or straw, and in the other of a braid made with seven
[462] strands. The latter is more common. Both are made by men who
[292] prepare materials while resting at home or traveling on the road. Weaving also includes waterproof capes made by tying sheaves of
[824] leaves or straw to a net of hemp cord.

283 **Cordage.**—Rope making is practiced extensively. Hemp (fique) is the raw material, and is made into cords for fishing nets, bird trap nets, bags or pouches for carrying belongings and products, foundation nets for the leaf rain capes, and cordage for various other purposes. The sisal or hemp (fique) leaves are scraped over the sharp edge of a board to loosen the fibers, which are then washed, dried, and twisted

7iHernández de Alba E-5,1 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
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with the right hand over the naked thigh. Two strands are similarly twisted together until the desired thickness is obtained. 283

Gourds.—Gourds are still widely used. They are picked when ripe, cleaned out, and dried. With small openings, they serve as containers for beverages and powdered lime. Some are made into bowls and others are cut up to make spoons. Today these objects are undecorated, but formerly in Timaná they were painted with a resin varnish very similar to that used in Pasto. (See p. 930.) Before the Spanish domination, gourds were also used as frames over which were stretched the prepared skin of the heads of their enemies killed in war. 415 824 [314] [721]

Metallurgy.—The metallurgy of these Indians was the same as that practiced throughout most of Colombia. The metals were gold, copper, and an alloy of the two (tumbaga). It is recorded that the Indians "worked gold," but the processes are not described. Specimens found recently in the territory, however, show molding, casting, and hammering. Metal objects included nose ornaments, parrot-shaped breastplates, necklaces with small animal figures, and some anthropomorphic idols. Gold occurs in this territory, particularly on the upper Páez or the Suin River. 325 [301] [532] [135]

Ceramics.—These tribes made and still make coiled pottery. Modern vessel forms include large jars for storing beverages and poorly shaped, crudely decorated containers for preparing and serving food. There is no individual specialization in this task, women making pots for their own family and not for trade. 323

Stone and wooden artifacts.—The native Indians made stone axes of a simple design, but stonework disappeared during the time of colonization, when the Indians could obtain manufactured iron weapons and utensils such as machetes, axes, hoes, shovels, etc. The manufacture of wooden objects—weaving, cooking, and farming implements and weapons—was furthered by the use of metal tools, and now is well developed, as exemplified by the trapiche (cane mill), a true machine made of wood. 324 182 199 322 249 199

Weaving.—Weaving, little practiced before the Conquest, developed with the post-Contact need for wearing more clothes and with the introduction of sheep, whose wool was used in addition to cotton. Weaving was and is exclusively the work of women (pl. 186). They prepare fine, uniform yarn with a common spindle, which they handle as they walk along the road (pl. 187, *top*). The loom is vertical, made of two horizontal rods fastened to two uprights. The warp runs vertically with a continuous thread. The horizontal weft is pressed down with a wooden sword. They also weave hemp bands on the loom. Woolen blankets are woven in natural colors, but some sashes have bright colors made of imported wool or of home-dyed wool. For red, they use one of the Rubiaceae (*Relbunium hypocarpium*), and for 286 [177] [462] [386]

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286 [386] blue, the fruit of the jagua palm (kii), probably *Genipa* sp. A woven fabric is made black by burying it for several days with clay and branches of a *Phyllanthus* which they call "sal."

[531] They make woolen bags by hand, using a kind of crochet technique without needles, and decorate them with rectangular and rhomboid figures. Some bags are made of hemp (fique), in which case the stitches are larger and the article has greater elasticity.

411 **Weapons.**—For weapons, the *Páez* used large, thick lances of black [824] or chonta palm, 20 to 25 palms or more long, clubs or macanas, stones [171] thrown with slings, large rocks rolled down from heights, spear throwers like those used by the *Chibcha*, and shields of jaguar, puma, or [199] bear skin. The *Páez* quickly adopted iron arms from the Spaniards, and in the last wars of the Conquest they used steel swords and knives. [172] In a recently discovered grave were copper bells, a golden breastplate, shield bars of tumbaga, a Spanish dagger, and a curved knife of the Arabian or north African type used by the conquistadors.

[223] Today the *Páez* use the club or macana, ordinary guns, machetes, knives, and, for killing birds, the blowgun.

354 **Fire making.**—Fires are generally made today with flint and steel, but some Indians use modern matches. For both heating and cook- [372] ing, the fire is made on the ground in the main house, surrounded [177] by stones which help support the pots. It is covered at night, and almost never goes out.

354 Illumination is provided not only by the fire but by candles made of wax from the wax palm and from seeds of a wild laurel. The latter 824 are cooked and pressed in a bag so that the wax drips into a half [388] calabash or pot to form a semispherical lump. It is melted to make candles with cotton wicks. The *Páez* use these themselves and also sell them, for they are superior to candles made of animal tallow. A cruder means of lighting consists of transfixing a large number of "higuerilla" seeds on a long, thin bamboo splinter. When the splinter is laid horizontally and lighted, the first seed burns strongly, after which the flame passes from seed to seed, lasting some 15 minutes and throwing a fair light a few feet around.

COMMERCE

438 Each week a market is held in the municipio or in some of the small 439 native villages (pls. 190, 191). The Indians sell vegetables, tortillas, eggs, chickens, and laurel wax, and buy salt, brown sugar, and espe- [435] cially lime (mambe) to be chewed with coca. Each product has a price in Colombian money, whether by quantity or weight. The unit [804] of weight is called an "egg," and more or less equals the weight of a chicken egg. After his few customary transactions, paid for either in [273] cash or in terms, in which the future coffee crop is mortgaged to the

/116 cont./

343 In addition to these dwellings only a few houses have
[574] separate buildings, such as, for example, one or, if need be,
[513] two storehouses or a small house (yatléčkwe) in which friends
and neighbors sleep when they help the owner for days for the
251 joint work of expressing sugar cane or for the harvest. In the
343 storehouse (kotyāvyat: literally "maize storehouse") only maize
[262] and beans are stored, not wheat or garden produce. Fruit, yuca,
potatoes, and arracacha are not kept on hand or stored at all,
but always merely fetched as needed and eaten immediately.
Wheat is tied in bundles below the ears on stalks about 20 centimeters long and hung up under the roof above the fire. Maize
and beans may be kept up to two years in the storehouse. For
this purpose horizontal cross-sticks are fastened in it, over
which the ears are hung, and racks consisting of maize stalks
[425] laid close together are constructed for the beans. These racks,
too, are hung up, if possible, or at least are fastened quite
high above the floor so that the mice (úńsa) cannot get to them.
[231] In addition, a cat (miš) is shut up in the storehouse, if one is
available. Stalls for the livestock are unknown.

34 In the middle of the village of Calderas, on community
land, stand the church (iglésia), the community house (kabīldeyát),
and the six festival houses of the six largest families (Ill. 147
/see p. 264 /). In their construction, they are likewise hip-
roofed houses, but their walls are built in the manner of the
colonists' houses, /117/ out of vertical posts, on the inside and
outside of which bamboo poles or straight branches are tied
horizontally. To strengthen the posts the interstices are filled
with earth, clay, and, in the lower part, also with stones. The
filling is spread smoothly and the wall whitewashed inside and
[373] out. Whereas light enters the other houses through the door and
the not very tightly sealed walls made of maize stalks placed side
by side, light can enter the above-mentioned houses consisting of
solid walls only through the relatively small door and the opening
of the roof ridge, which makes the interior rather dark.

The house

/122 cont. /

356 is swept by the women every day with a broom (ctábando) con-
824 sisting of shrubs of the psáňga plant. This plant at the same
[825] time drives away fleas. The rubbish is swept out of the house in such a way that even the entrance is clean.

351 All around the house and surrounding it at some distance
417 either a fence is erected or a ditch dug about one meter deep,
[231] within which the poultry and usually the pigs and sheep are kept.
[137] In Calderas, where, because of the low temperature, bamboo no longer grows, the fence is made of wood obtained from the
[313] natural growth when a piece of land is burned off. Stakes are driven vertically into the ground at intervals of about two meters and the interspaces filled with small tree trunks, branches, and twigs up to a good meter in length, lying horizontally. Climbing over this fence is done with notched tree trunks or bamboo stalks placed obliquely against the fence as a ladder. Similar notched tree trunks also serve as ladders in the houses (Ills. 168 and 154 /see pp.274 and 268 /).

514 There are no privies. On account of the isolation of the houses, however, it is never difficult for the Paez to find a place off in the brush or in the forest. We never found the paths
264 and the vicinity of the houses soiled with filth. The Paez showed
[412] the same tact in eating and at other gatherings. We never experienced smacking of lips or belching, even though their eating habits are somewhat crude, for, lacking spoons, they are in the habit of simply shoving their food from the plate into the mouth with the fingers.

/123/ 2. Clothing and Ornaments

291 The Paez today wear clothing covering their upper and lower bodies. In ancient times, according to the reports of chroniclers, some of them were said to have worn small cotton cloaks, although the majority of them "went about naked, even in the cold mountains" (cited by Hernandez, 1944, p. 191,
[302] from P. M. Rodriguez, 1684). They were also said to have painted their bodies with color and to have made imprints on them with

stamps,

/143 cont./

224 mountain spirit. We met only a single young man of about 18 who goes hunting alone in the mountains once a week. He told us that, in order to become a good hunter, one must first try to [789] kill a bear (éšwiy). One must then rub its fat into the right [237] lower-arm, which would give him the same powers as the bear. [262] One is not permitted to eat this fat, however, because it would [828] make him insane. After rubbing in the fat, the young hunter [263] continued, one may not eat salt at any meal for a week. There are no further rules and ceremonies of any kind to be observed. [237] We learned, however, that one can also use bear fat as a heal- [752] ing remedy, and, to be sure, for bone fractures or sprains one [757] must rub the affected part with bear fat, whereupon the injured limb will heal immediately and will become considerably 224 stronger than ever before. For stalking he wears on his head a 292 cap made of the skin of a reddish-blond hairy monkey (móno), [825] which in the first place protects him from the thorns of the bushes, but which is also supposed to facilitate creeping up on [439] game. He sold it to us for two pesos without hesitation, since, [126] as he said, he was perfectly capable of shooting another monkey 224 for himself. He was not afraid of the gělyómp spirit, but the 776 other men were, for gělyómp screams and makes a noise when human beings enter his area in the mountains, so that they become quite confused and go astray. The mountain spirit cannot do anything to several men together, however, since he could make as much noise as he pleased, but they would not let them- 224 selves be diverted. Of course, the men, even if there are ever so 776 many of them, must not offend the mountain spirit or provoke 515 him unnecessarily, but rather must avoid everything that gělyómp 783 does not like. /144/ For instance, he hates everything impure [296] and filthy. Hence the men always only go hunting well washed; [824] they even wash the entire body, and the ruana, too. In addition, they rub themselves with the cleansing herbs šu and ǯayuts, which they obtain from the shaman, in order to be really altogether [761] clean in a physical and ritual sense. But if someone has taken part in a burial or has merely seen a funeral procession close by, he has picked up a good deal of "pest" from the dead and must have himself specially purified by the shaman before hunting.

/168 cont./

484 Special orientation devices for traveling are unknown and are unnecessary, since no one leaves the wider area of his home district. Anyone taking a route for the first time joins someone who knows the way. One does not travel by night, and for this [482] reason the stars do not serve for orientation. The average load to be sold on market days is about 20 to 25 pounds for men; if a married couple goes together, the man usually carries the load, and the woman, the provisions. The daily distances covered are considerable. From Calderás by way of San /169/ Andrés to the market at Inzá is almost 20 kilometers. It takes about [492] six hours on foot. On horseback it is not much less, since one cannot ride fast on the steep paths of the countryside. Many Paez manage this route back and forth in one day, albeit only "without becoming intoxicated on the way," which is not altogether simple.

487 The traffic routes consist of narrow footpaths which can be traveled by walking or riding only in single file. As for roads 491 for wagons or autos, there is only one at present: the gravel auto road from La Plata to Belalcázar, traveling up the Río Paez. Since the end of 1952, however, a connecting road to Inzá is being built with modern American road-building equipment, which will then open up to traffic the southern, less mountainous area of Tierradentro, settled exclusively by colonists, and its products, coffee and panela /see the glossary, p.249 /. These roads are cut directly out of the sometimes very steep slopes and cross rivers and brooks with modern iron bridges.

491 The Paez, too, are accustomed to crossing the waterways 484 on bridges. It is not customary to wade across, unless it is a matter of very shallow brooks. Even then large stones are usually set in them, by means of which one can reach the opposite 491 shore with dry feet. The bridges of Paez may be divided into three groups, according to their construction. The simplest type is that of two thick poles or tree trunks placed side by side, without a railing, which span the ditches around the farmyards [825] and gardens that substitute for fences. Such ditches are supposed to prevent horses, cattle, and pigs from entering. Over the

/183 cont./

601 Forms of address:

father and mother together (whether by their own children or other persons)	ovĕnyi or pĕtãm
father and son together (by other persons)	pĕndyĩk
father and daughter together (by other persons)	pĕndyĩs
mother and son together (by other persons)	pĕndyĩk
mother and daughter together (by other persons)	pĕndyĩs

3. Customs during the Course of Life and of a Day

182 The Paez generally give the impression of being contented
593 human beings, and it seems that marriage and family life are
[157] better than average. Of course, the observations on this are very
[114] scanty, for, on account of the remote location of the individual dwellings, the research worker always has only a brief glimpse of family conditions at any one time. This very solitude, however, and the consciousness of greater dependence on one another within the family favors its cohesion, even as it reduces the conflict and irritation which arise through women's gossip when people live too closely on top of one another.

842 Basically every family wants a great many children -- at
[123] any rate so said all the men questioned. Two Calderun women, however, /184/ confided to my wife that there was a remedy -- which they and other women, too, naturally did not use! -- that
[825] would with certainty prevent conception: One must eat some of
[237] the spittle of a mula (the female, infertile cross between horse and donkey), and then one would no longer have children. They said that a woman does this only when she has already given birth to a great many children. In general every girl desires a great

/262 cont./

754 most opportunities to meet evil spirits. Generally they do not need a teacher, but may look for their herbs by themselves. There are also many people, however, who would like to learn sorcery from other nyiç, just as there are also supposed to nyiç who instruct others in their art.

756 Avoidance prescriptions and taboos for the shaman include
784 some sexual and dietary abstinence, without, however, being
[834] very extensive or strict. Intercourse with his wife is forbidden
[263] for him when he feels his "signs." Moreover, he may not eat any ají if possible, in order not to make Thunder too angry. Also, he may eat only very little salt, since Thunder likewise /263/ eats
[787] no salt. For the séances, which always take place at night, he fasts the whole day, since a full stomach makes it difficult to feel the
756 "signs." The other avoidance rules for the shaman are the same
784 as for all other human beings. For example, one may not kill a
825 snail, for if he should touch it, he would become lazy. In like manner, the black woodpecker (ánza) may not be killed, since otherwise, while working, one would split the machete in the same way as the tail of the woodpecker is shaped. Young men are forbidden to take a stolen hen away from a fox, for then another man would take his bride or wife away from him. Only
[262] old men may confidently eat such a hen, if they have first run around the house with a firebrand.

c) Shamanistic Aids

756 Among the shamanistic aids, the "signs" are the most im-
787 portant symptoms experienced, while the outward ceremonial gear is as meager as the whole Paez culture. The only ceremonial implement is the unadorned shaman's staff, the functional meaning of which, however, is far less important than the shamanistic "signs" (ítok). "They are like the pecking of a bird," the shaman Cerbeleón Niunda said of them, and Francisco Cuskue describes them as the irregular beating of his pulse. To be able to receive
[278] and to interpret them is the basis of being a shaman. Knowledge of the medicinal herbs, the handling of the shaman's staff, in

/273 cont./

776 If it rains when the sun is shining, they may not leave the house,
753 for otherwise they become afflicted with head maladies. These
821 are not headaches, but wounds such as would be inflicted by a
[756] machete. The teyu, however, have remedies to make the rain-
[789] bow disappear, so that children may go outside again.

776 Eč, the third of the aforementioned causes of sickness and
[753] death, is the most unpleasant and the most dangerous, since eč
[761] kills the most people. Eč lives in the earth; no man has seen
[787] him, apart from a few shamans. They need not enter into the
earth, however, to see him; rather, eč himself comes if a teyu
•[825] calls him. He looks like a human being. Eč is also the name
for fireflies, which are regarded as the messengers that he sends
out to bring "pest" to human beings. People therefore kill fire-
776 flies if they are able to catch them. Eč is not angry, however,
782 if the people kill his messengers, if only he always gets enough
offerings. For this reason people give eč a dram-glass full of
brandy from every bottle, that is, they pour this amount on the
ground; likewise eč gets his share of every animal killed (chicken,
756 pig, cow, etc.). People ask their teyu which parts of the animal
776 eč demands and which ones they should offer him. If people
782 killed and ate an animal without offering eč any of it, he would
[761] in return kill a child of this family. If the father then comes to
the teyu and asks why his child died, he -- who, of course, knows
that the man slaughtered a pig without giving eč anything -- tells
him that this is the punishment of eč. That very rarely happens,
however; rather, the man gives the shaman the parts of the ani-
mal desired by eč, for instance, the liver, entrails, or meat, and
he gives them to eč, bringing them at night to the place desired
[787] by him. Moreover, as a precaution people give eč herbs and
brandy as the shaman advises, in accordance with the signs which
he has received from eč.

774 If the penetration of pest into the body of a person is the
776 cause of an illness that may result in death, this unfortunate out-
753 come is all the more probable if one of the three spirits or a nyiç
has stolen a human soul. I was given differing /274/ statements
about such a case: First of all, there are two words for soul, ũns

/275 cont./

775 Old Celia Uriaga of Calderas, who told us two stories, but is
[828] not a shaman herself, reported the following: When a person sleeps
[774] and dreams, his taff leaves the body, goes everywhere, and experiences what the person is experiencing in his dream. When the person dies, ũns then leaves the person by way of the veins of the upper and lower arm, where one can feel the pulse, and finally by way of the finger tips. Taff also leaves the person, but in the form of a human being with white clothing. Whereas ũns goes to heaven, taff either stays near the body in the grave or goes about on earth, although not as taff, but as áhimos (ghost). It can be seen by the shamans at night, but also by human beings at midnight or around two o'clock at night, in the form of a human figure sitting by the wayside. It is not a real human being, however, but more like a wind. /276/ Ahimos is generally at the burial place, there where the corpse is buried and where the bones are.

According to the account of the old téoi Felisa, the ũns leaves the body upon the death of a human being and goes to heaven. It leaves the body by way of the lower arms, hands, and finger tips.
755 Felisa herself tries to hold back the ũns of a dying person by blow-
775 ing hard on his finger tips after she has previously taken a mouthful
763 of the herbs čáyuts and šuwéz as well as brandy. At the same time,
[824] with the same herbs in her hands, she strokes the patient's arms from the finger tips upward, in order to hold back ũns. Taff leaves the human body before death. In doing so, it whistles. Felisa can see it. It wanders along a path, well dressed, and the shaman is able to bring it back by tearing its clothes with a very sharp-edged reed (nyſka), and then it is obliged to return to the body (cf. Ill. 199 /see p. 288/).

775 Apart from the shamans, she is convinced that no one is able to
[825] see taff, except for dogs, when they sometimes howl for no apparent reason. Whereas ũns goes to heaven, taff remains on earth and goes
769 on living in its house as áhimos in the form of a breath of air. (No accessories are put in the grave with the dead, but on the following December 8, the Feast of the Immaculada, and recurrently each year, the relatives offer to the áhimos of their dead their favorite

* /305 cont./
539 The Paez youth could now go to the house of his master, and he showed him the pot of gold and reported his experience. He gave the gold to his master. The latter gave him a great deal of meat to eat and also gave him a fine bed to sleep in. When the youth lay down in it, he died.

[781] [825] [763] Comment of the narrator: A Paez who has an encounter with a Pijao or a jaguar may report this to people after half a year at the earliest, or, still better, not until a year later. If he does so earlier, he must die, as the following story, too, shows.

A Pijao met two Paez men in the mountains, one of whom was very ugly and dirty and the other very clean and handsome. The Pijao killed the clean one and devoured him on the spot. He first wanted to wash the ugly and dirty one and therefore went to a brook with him. The dirty Paez man, however, could swim, /306/ dived into the water, and swam away. The Pijao man, like all Pijao, was unable to swim and threw stones and earth into the water, but nothing helped. The Paez man was able to escape. Then the Pijao, very sad, remained behind on the shore. The dirty Paez went to his house and told his family about his experience, and then he, too, had to die.

16. The Paez with the Ax

A Pijao went into the mountains to catch birds. For this he used a stick smeared with a substance similar to glue, with which he touched the birds so that they remained stuck to it. He did this for many years. One day he came to the house of a Paez, whose owner, however, was not there. In the house lay only an ax (as the narrator added: made of iron, for the Pijao are not familiar with any kind of tools, neither knife nor axes. To prepare their fields for planting, they can only split the bark of trees with stones, whereupon they dry in the course of a year. After this time the Pijao plant their maize on the field with dead trees standing on it. Thus, since they have no machetes to fell trees, they cannot lay out proper burned-off fields, like the Paez, although they are acquainted with fire.)

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

147 the odor peculiar to the Indians, which becomes quite noticeable when they are sweating and which so closely resembles that of the secretion of the so-called *sahino*, or wild hog (*Dicotyles tajacu* L.), that I have more than once been deceived into believing that our trail crossed the path of a drove of these animals.

516 When at rest the Paez men almost invariably sit on their heels, the toes sustaining the whole weight of the body, while the women sit with their legs stretched together on the ground, [514] even when near the fire in their houses. In micturition young 481 girls remain standing. The gait of both men and women is short-paced and easy, the body being always slightly inclined forward, probably on account of the habit of carrying heavy loads.

824 Like all children of Nature, the Paez Indians are very keen 125 observers of their surroundings, as is shown by the minuteness of their differentiation in plants and in certain groups of insects. Castillo, for instance, gives the names of no fewer than six different varieties of ants —

[552]

kan-kik	*ciĩ-kik-ne*	*eia-i*
kik-fints	*gune-bandi*	*to-fiti*

and I collected very few plants for which they did not have a ready name.

Reproduction and Death

881 When a girl reached puberty the event was celebrated among the old Paez Indians by a special dance called *itsa-ko*, during which the young naked female was placed in a hole dug outside the ball-house and thoroughly washed with *chicha*. We have no 836 notice of pre-marital liberty being conceded to women, nor of the relation of children to parents in the family organization. As 595 tradition has it, the pre-conquest Paez were polygamous, and notwithstanding the efforts of the missionaries, it is almost certain that this practice has not completely disappeared. We know nothing about the existence of marriage ceremonies before 581 the introduction of the Catholic ritual. It is likely, however, [586] that marriages were endogamous and free, and, as such, a very frail institution, as Castillo informs us that even in his time

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

the drum-dance, in which the women sang to the accompaniment of a drum; *vito-ko*, or *fits-ko*, the stick-dance, etc. 535

In addition to the shells and reeds, the Indians also accompanied their dances with a kind of drum (*kimb*), consisting of a long wooden trough hung by its extremities; and the *tsoots*, or rattle, a calabash containing small stones or hard canna seeds and provided with a handle. 535 534

According to Castillo the Paez had also other deities, corresponding somewhat to the lares of the ancient Latins, carved images of which were often found in the houses. The *dixi*, who were at one time priests, sorcerers, and medicine-men, lived in retirement and were considered as the keepers of the doctrines of a traditional civilizer of the nation, called *Gnekiuii*. So strong was their influence in Castillo's time that he complains rather bitterly about it, and proceeds to explain how the true God, wishing to free the Paez from such a devilish guide, simply employed a subterfuge to drown him in the Paez river, together with two of his apostles! 776 778 [79]

The belief in a future existence is indicated, as Uricoechea relates, by the fact that the Indians never molested white dogs, in order that they might not be bitten by them at the doors of the house beyond the grave. 825 775

There were birds and other signs of good or of evil omen. A woman would never step over a leather rope stretched on the ground, but would lift it up and pass beneath. During the construction of bridges, two men constantly beat the waters to frighten away evil spirits. The death of a person was often attributed to witchcraft, and he whose face bore some likeness to that of the dead person was often regarded as the culprit, provided the patient in his cravings had not given the name of the supposed sorcerer. The soul of a cow whose fat had been used for illumination during religious ceremonies was believed to go directly to heaven: this last belief, however, must be of post-conquest origin. 787 761 754 825 774

Among themselves the Indians are jovial and contented. The approach of the men whom we often met on the trails around Huila was usually first detected by the sound of the 157 533 283

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

* /304 cont./

539 name of Calderas. María Santísima gave the fire and disappeared.

Informant: Agustín Muse.

Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

18. The Mine-armadillo

*539 823 ●825 My father was inside a house. Suddenly he saw an animal that shone like a lamp; the light went up to the sky. The animal was a mine-armadillo which was climbing up the hill. If one succeeds in catching him, one puts him in a large box and gives him maize to eat. He turns into a mine, pure gold. Before catching him, one must have the silver ready, 50 or 100 pesos; one wraps him in a new kerchief and lifts him; he is very light. Without the silver, he is seen in the stream or on the path, but one cannot catch him; one puts his hand there where the armadillo is, withdraws it, and he does not move.

Informant: Victoriano Piñakué.

19. The Thin Man

* 539 774 781 My father bought a jar and carried it on his back. At night, drunk, he met the thin man sitting by the path; it was a soul. He was about to fall into the ditch, but the soul did not let him fall and accompanied him home as if he were his brother. Father, frightened, started falling, but the soul held him up; he carried a light, making the night very clear. Nevertheless he did not speak. The man looked like the Sisters; he was quite white.

*539

20. The Devil

My father, with a friend, was coming from Belalcázar on horseback; I was behind my father. The friend came last; he

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

* 539 /306 cont./

If dawn comes and it has not reached home, it asks for shelter from its relatives. On the following night it reaches its own home. The man climbed down the tree in fear and went home, telling everyone (wives, sisters, children, parents, and relatives) that he had seen this head.

The head may appear to any man, whether he is drunk or not. The animal goes downhill easily, but has a hard time going uphill.

It travels underground and comes out in the field.

24. The Animals

A man went to see a relative who lived far away. He drank chicha with a cousin. He got drunk and walked through the night. /307/ He carried a machete /peinilla/ and also a shotgun to kill chachalaca. He made a shot. Something came out that looked like a pig. He could not see anything, although he looked all around him. He took out his machete to defend himself, but he could not see anything. He shot his gun once more into the air, and then many animals came out, to judge by the noise that they made in the leaves of the trees, but nothing was to be seen; only the noise was heard and nothing more. The night was very dark; he struck matches, but they immediately went out. Then he shouted. A female relative heard him and went looking for him, accompanied by her little daughter. She carried a burning twig with which she frightened away the animals. They found the man in a ditch, took him out, and went off in fear. The women ahead and the man behind. Along the way there was a small stream, and an animal seemed to move in the water. The man looked behind and saw only two eyes shining and shouted, "look, here comes an animal," and passed the women. They did not see anything. They held up the light, and the animals remained quiet.

At nine o'clock the animals are already walking about. [825] During Holy Week they walk about a great deal. People cannot go out.

/307 cont./

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781

25. The Sky

Informant: Agustín Muse.
Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

Once when I was near death my soul climbed to the sky, which is a flat plain where the view extends to the horizon. The entrance is wooded. The Virgin told me that this land was for her sons and that I would have a piece. To reach the sky, one first goes along a good path and soon becomes lost; the [262] most hidden one leads to the Virgin's palace. It is said that it ● [825] is bad for one to eat the porcupine, because he will come before María Santísima dressed in its skin. He will go to the devil, and although the latter cannot pick him up, he has hooks with which to grab him. This is why, at the hour of retiring or rising, I pray to my God and to María.

The palace of María is of blinding splendor. It is very beautiful. The Virgin always holds the Child; only rarely does she put him down somewhere.

I tell my fellow men what I saw but they make fun of my account.

/308/ It is holy, they should respect it.

Good people go to heaven, that is to say, those who do not abuse other persons, say evil things, or are loutish.

*539
824

26. Origin of the Plants

The old people said that every kind of seed had been given by María Santísima, who drew them from her womb and gave them to the Christians in order for them to maintain themselves. Plants are thus inherited from María Santísima. She gave away every kind of seed when her brother was around. Hence his rage, since he wanted to give seeds and animals and could [825] not. Perhaps the snakes were made by Santo Tomás. /The 000 bibliography on p. 309 is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

/208/

231 796 At about ten o'clock in the morning the special guests of the fiestero get ready to kill the beef. They are four. The

142 534 291

231 796 musicians intone the kula kui while other men begin to cut the long, [533] dry pieces of wood into small fragments. Woodcutters, slaughterers, and musicians all begin their activities at once. The wood will serve to roast the maize griddlecakes.

[825] One of the slaughterers gathers the blood in a pan, while another one holds the head and tries to cover the eyes; he believes that if he does not do so, some other cow will attack him when he goes to catch it.

/237 cont./

753 cramps in the body, and furthermore that sorcerers see it in the
776 form of a turkey impelled to peck people.
821

It seems obvious that what the Indians call Echimbe (red
753 Echi) or candelilla fina /thin glowworm/ is a firefly /luciérnaga/
825 somewhat difficult to capture and extremely fierce. They differentiate it perfectly well from the fire beetle /cocuyos (cucuyos)/. They say that it is an animal that God produced in
[755] order to harm the Christians. The curers call them and catch them in their Kachí, while other Indians, chewing coca, catch them anywhere and bring them to the curer to be buried.
[774] They believe that their fierceness is due to the fact that the
[829] souls of the Pijao are incarnated in them.

753 The symptoms of the sting of Echi are vague and imprecise and refer solely to bodily pains.

The symptoms of Pijao "dirt" are recognized by respiratory difficulties.

164 They differentiate perfectly well the venereal diseases,
757 which seem to be quite widespread in the acculturated parcialidades. In Calderas they are said to have spread widely among both sexes, without respect to age, and to have been treated with copper sulphate, for the remedies of the Indians were of no use. In Santa Rosa antibiotics are used. A curer in that parcialidad maintains that those diseases were brought from La Plata by wandering women and that it befell him to treat two cases: one was serious and the patient died; the second, not very advanced, he treated with yukchacha, montaña barbasco, and fisa (bitopat or bodoquero). He administered the juice for six days and subjected the patient to a diet of chicken exclusively.

755 Remedies. The remedies used by the Paez curer are
757 vegetal. As a rule they are prescribed in combination. Thus:
/238/ To clean away the ptans:

[783] Yacuma blanca, ul ñiñ, ñundayuskei, shugues, chandur, guepeyuskey, chayuts.

/256 cont./

754 Sorceresses are numerous, and it seems that they are the most feared.

[787] Sorcerers receive signs from the devil and the evil spirits who help them appear in the form of snakes, donkeys, or pigs. [825] They are different from the ghost and Rainbow. It is said that the pig teaches the person to be very fierce or inclined to drunkenness (drunks roll about on the floor like pigs in the mud); the donkey, to be a glutton.

In general it seems that every adult is a potential sorcerer, and all the more so those who deviate from the institutionalized norms of behavior.

754 554 598 Victims of sorcery. The victims of sorcery are found everywhere among the people, without any distinction as to sex or age, status or function. The sorcerer himself commonly takes the initiative, but he is also at the disposal of those who want to employ him.

The victims of sorcery frequently are those people who are efficient, hard-working, and frugal, virtues which in our society lead to the development of a capitalist economy.

754 554 153 598 In Santa Rosa they speak of the lamented death of one of their ex-gobernadores. He was young -- they say -- intelligent, a good conversationalist, /257/ and very hard-working. He owned much land and good fields of coffee, yuca, maize, and sugar cane. Jealousy, the source of discord and injustice, motivated the sorcerers Lorenzo Io and Dolores Oinó, his wife, who joined forces at once with the greatest of the sorceresses, Felisa Ipia, in order to put an end to this man's life. This is the judgment of the curers and the opinion of the community. But the accusation was made by the victim himself, who, in the course of his death agony, which was prolonged, dreamed of the above-mentioned sorcerers. The dying man repeatedly requested that the sorcerers should be sent for, so that he might settle accounts with them. When they left his house to attend to the wish of the dying man, he expired. He died convinced that they had cast a spell upon him.

/308 cont./

243 are also selected; the larger, round one is regarded as the
244 woman and the less vigorous one as the man. In the cold climates
476 they usually sow, in addition, broad beans and wheat, and in the temperate ones arracacha, manioc, plantains, and other species.

243 In three months, when the maize is man-high, weeding
476 is done. The underbrush is uprooted and left on the same ground to dry out and rot. It serves as fertilizer for the plantings. But the natives have no conception of fertilizers, and any suggestion made in this connection is regarded by them /309/ as a waste of time. There are also mingas for weeding, and boys and even women participate. In about six months the dry and yellow leaves are stripped from the stalks, a task which they call descalzar /to discalceate/; they believe that this makes the tender leaves acquire a dark-green color and the ears grow
[824] strong. The stripped leaves are used to cover the roofs of the ranchos which are built for watching over the plantings and to house the family at harvest time.

243 The fields are attacked by flocks of parrots and chamones
825 /a kind of bird/; they are driven away with scarecrows (kanasá), which are put in strategic places. Squirrels and dogs are also enemies of maize, and to protect it they build traps or use their shotguns. In addition, the women and children constantly go around the fields. Next to the rancho a high platform is often built, from which the integrity of the plantings can be guarded.

243 The natives know that droughts parch the sown ground and
789 an exaggerated winter injures them. When the leaves are scorched
754 and the plant does not make ears, they think then that envious people (the sorcerers) have cast a spell on the maize. In such cases, they call the good curer (té eu) to lift the spell. Protection thus has a magical character (13).

13. Bernal Villa, S. "Magia of Medicina entre los Paeces /Magic and Medicine among the Paez/," p. 245.

Chamones

/327 cont./

223 black birds, are not eaten because they are probably animals of
825 the devil. It is said that in times past the Calderas Indians ate
262 beetles, the reason that they are nicknamed tandayaha (one who
[572] eats beetles), an epithet which they regard as offensive and which nearly always irritates them. The Calderunos say that they do not
[224] eat worms or the meat of rabbits and snakes. They regard as game
[223] animals the guara, deer, coati, armadillo, bat, and various species of birds.

224 Concerning bear hunting, the people of Mosoco relate /328/ real feats performed by Indians in open fights with the ani-
[237] mals. Bear fat is highly esteemed among the natives and "whites."

226. Fishing is less important than hunting. The rivers and streams contain sardines and coruntas /small river-fish/. During Holy Week and at Christmas they engage in fishing, when the
[462] water is low, by means of barbasco, nets, and hooks. This is strictly a masculine activity. In the Paez River they fish during the months of January and February and generally in months of drought.

They also gather crabs.

Laurel wax industry

388 Laurel, introduced by a man from Popayan /el payanés/,
824 Agustín Valencia, has played an important role in the economy of some parcialidades of Tierradentro. It grows wild in Calderas, Tumbichukue, Lame, San Andrés, Chinas, and Suin. The production of wax was the only industry in these parcialidades that permitted them to maintain regular trade with the "whites."

388 A mestizo trader from Mosoco says that he was a great ex-
43 porter of laurel wax. "It was the native industry" -- he says -- by means of which salt, trousers, shirts, hats, and centavos came in." In this business, he states, he made one arroba of profit per load. The pound was quoted at a peso in Silvia. The informant says that in the years 1946 and 1947 he took out from 800 to 1,000 arrobas of wax. He almost had a monopoly on the business. What little wax escaped him was purchased by traders from Belalcázar, who in turn took it by way of Mosoco to Silvia. The chief consumers of this product were the soap factories of Cali. The laurel wax industry waned in 1950, when those factories

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of manioc, arracacha, potatoes, beans, sweet maize, and pieces of meat. Meat is sometimes roasted. Maize, the staple, is made into tortillas or soup, or is roasted on the ear. Coffee, much of which is consumed, is roasted in a pottery vessel, ground, and made into an infusion sweetened with coarse sugar. 252 [272]

Kitchen utensils include pottery ollas and vessels, and a footless elliptical stone metate with a central concavity, which lies directly on the floor or is supported on sticks driven in the soil. Meat is kept smoked over the fireplace, and other food is stored on shelves of cane woven into the roof sticks or in hanging hemp bags or gourds. Each gourd has a broad half-gourd suspended above it, open side down, so that a rat descending from above slides off the gourd onto the floor. 415 251 [353] [825]

The first daily meal is taken at daybreak and consists of "mute." There is no noonday meal, but the evening repast resembles breakfast. Between meals, the Indians chew coca two or three times to sustain their strength and allay hunger. For refreshment and stimulation, they drink guarapo, carrying it to work in gourds. 264 [276] [273]

They cultivate pepper (ají) for a condiment, but purchase salt in the weekly market. The latter is so scarce that instead of mixing it with food they pass a lump around, each person licking it. Before the Conquest, three salt deposits were exploited in this territory, the most important being that near the modern municipality of Belalcázar or Páez. Here the local chief had the salt water boiled down to obtain blocks of salt, which he traded with other tribes for diverse products, or with which he bought help in his wars against the neighboring *Pijao*. Sometimes he permitted other *Páez* to exploit the deposit. Near the present-day Indian center of Ricaurte on the Ullucos River is another salt works that was much used in ancient times, but today is abandoned. Another source of salt was at Huila, where, during the Conquest, the Indians ambushed the Spaniards who sought it, and killed their horses. 317 263 [244] [439] [648]

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Each *Páez* and *Moguex* family has its own house, located on a point or flat place in the mountains some distance from its neighbors. The aboriginal house seems to have been rectangular, which still is the only form. It was so lightly constructed of cane and sticks with thatched roof that the Spanish soldiers during the foundation of San Vicente de Páez "carried some Indian houses to their barracks because they were small and suited to it" (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 9). Some distance from the dwelling, they always built a small woman's house. Under Spanish influence, some houses were divided into rooms, and built more solidly of "bahareque" construction, i. e., walls consisting of two faces of sticks with mud and rocks between (pl. 185). 342 [361] 177 342

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obliquely across the rocks; (3) an arched bridge of bamboo floored with spaced sticks, equipped with a hand rail on each side, and supported with stones, bamboo braces, and vines (pl. 185, *bottom, right*); and (4) a covered bridge with thatched roof, built of heavy logs supported by sticks and stones and floored with boards—a marvel of calculated strength, which, like the third type, is made entirely of vegetable materials yet can support loaded animals. To build an arched bridge, two groups of Indians approach opposite sides of the river and each plants a long, strong pole sloping out over the stream. The chief of each group then climbs out his pole until his weight bends it down to meet that from the opposite side, whereupon, clinging with one hand, they lash the ends together with creepers. This constitutes the main element of the bridge which is then completed by the other Indians. 491 499 499

TRANSPORTATION

Some Indians now have horses and use them for traveling and for transporting large burdens, but, in general, transportation is by foot, objects being carried on the back or in netted sacks hung by a strap, especially when visiting markets. A woman carries not only a heavy load but her small child suspended on her back in a blue woolen blanket held with a broad woven band, or "chumbe." Peculiarly Andean is the custom that the man travels on horseback while the woman follows on foot with a large burden. 489 492 492

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The *Moguex* and *Páez* formerly wore only small cotton blankets (mantas), although most of them "went about naked even on the cold mountains" (Rodríguez, 1684, bk. 2, ch. 1). They painted their bodies with bixa, using, according to Del Castillo i Orozco, stamps to apply the color. The paint also protected them against the strong sunlight and insects. They went barefoot, as all the natives in Colombia. According to one chronicler, their hair was "shorn" (Robledo, in Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38). They wore breast and nose ornaments of pure gold or a gold and copper alloy, and necklaces of small figures, beads, small stones, and snails. 291 302 [751] [825] [291] 301

Soon after the beginning of the Conquest, the Indians commenced to use wide, long shirts of a very crude weave and hats which were so closely woven that they would hold water. The latter, which the Spaniards called "tacillas de Páez" (Páez bowls), are still in use. The Spanish encomenderos required that the Indians working on their haciendas near Popayán be dressed. This was the origin of the characteristic garment worn today, which combines the old small blanket (manta) with European dress. *Moguex* men wear short linen pants, and a blue flannel sash which covers them to their knees. 291 177

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Moguex

upon them by the missionaries. The power to do evil is not limited to the witches, but is possessed by anyone who entertains a momentary feeling of envy, and to women, who may not walk over a stick or a cord stretched on the ground. Contact with women during their menstruation or during the days following childbirth causes the "mokokoy" to persecute the men and make them ill.

Animals possess the power to prognosticate evil. A document written in 1730 [14] tells that an Indian killed a rooster because he had crowed before daybreak, and said, "Rooster, you are forecasting my death, but I shall kill you first." They believe the same thing when certain birds sing. For example, the call of an owl at midnight brings death to someone. And certain small birds called "ulchik" and others called "bich" warn whomever hears their singing that he will meet with disaster. The box turtle follows people warning them that they are going to die.

Del Castillo says that the Indians will not strike white dogs, so that they will not be bitten by them when they enter the future life.

The belief in spirits (kl'iumb) is quite general. Among these spirits is the "pitsuala" which persecutes people, makes them ill, and even kills them. The rainbow, or "Etskituns," causes a rash to break out all over the body of anyone who ventures out while the rainbow shines, and the drizzle that generally accompanies the rainbow will harm a person who gets wet in it if he does not bathe immediately. When the rainbow appears, they stay indoors, and blow or spit tobacco in its direction.

They believe that the lagoon on the snowcapped peak, Huila, is charmed, and that if they try to go near it wind and hail storms rise. Supernatural evil forces are supposed to be present during many social activities, such as dancing, meetings, funerals, house building, and bridge construction. When a bridge is built, two Indians beat the water constantly to drive away evil spirits. When traveling on the mountains they place small stones or coins on top of some large natural rock to assure a successful trip and to avoid angering the spirit of the mountain.

Sometimes these spiritual forces assume a bodily form, as in the case of the fireflies, which bring diseases or which may be wrapped in santa María leaves and placed in the path of an intended victim. Most feared are the ghosts of the dead, which consequently are the most propitiated. The *Moguex* and the *Páez* ask their permission to dance, and honor them in a special rite, which blends old beliefs with new religious concepts. Thus, offerings are made to the souls during the first days of November, or whenever the curate is able to visit the Indian village. Each person offers some products from his farm, in-

[14] Statement made by Javier de Orosco y Cuellar in a lawsuit by the Indians of Toboima for the possession of land. From the ecclesiastical files of Belalcázar, or Páez.

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Moguex

requires that only the patient fast. He spits coca juice on various parts of the sick man's body, and at night performs a ritual to "take out the dirt," i. e., the cause of the disease. In the course of his treatment, the shaman goes out to a hill to gather fireflies. He places them in a vessel and buries them, as they are supposed to be the harmful evil spirits sent by the person who caused the sickness. They are thought to turn against the person who sent them, whom the shaman identifies by his shadow, which he detects in the darkness of the night.

THE CULTURE OF THE PIJAO

Despite 48 expeditions prior to 1611 against the *Pijao*, one of the most fearsome and savage people in Colombia, the Spaniards learned little about their culture. Friar Pedro Simón collected the most details regarding their usages and customs.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Pijao food was very similar to that of the peoples previously described. The most common cultivated plants were maize, yuca, arracacha, beans, potatoes, and other roots and tubers; and many fruits, such as avocados (cura), papayas, plums, pineapples, and uchuva (a kind of cherry). The Indians got many fish from the rivers, especially the Magdalena River, and on the mountains they hunted pumas and "ocumares," a sort of anteater. They cultivated vegetables, but not fruit trees, in fields which the Spaniards always sought to destroy and burn.

HABITATIONS

Dwellings were spacious and high. They had walls of wood and mud (bahareque) whitewashed with clay or white earth, and were provided with furnishings, such as wooden chairs. The conquerors found the chief, Carlacá or Calacá, sitting in state in one of those chairs in his house. Some people lived temporarily under the shelter of trees and palms, perhaps only while farming.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The *Pijao* generally went entirely naked, hence the name "Pinao" (men of large sex) given by the Spaniards, a word which soon became "Pijao." They painted their bodies with the substance obtained from the seeds of the arnotto tree, and some groups wore small cotton blankets (mantas). Men and women protected their heads and long hair with hats, not unlike bonnets, woven of palm leaves. They adorned their bodies with many feathers in a manner which the Spaniards described as "quaint and odd liveries made of feathers in various and pleasant colors," and wore some gold ornaments. They

[pp. 957 ff not processed]

/179 cont./

594 Associated with the nuclear family primordially are the functions of reproduction, the rearing of children, and the education of the latter. On procreation depends also the importance of economic functions.

581 The orientation of the sexual instinct is a secondary end.
589 Indeed, Páez culture demands that every individual form a
[183] family, once he has acquired the capacity for procreation. In
[842] the parcialidad of Calderas they look upon children as a blessing
[775] from God, regarding celibates "como violadores de la cruz" /as violators of the cross/(marriage); celibacy is condemned, in the rationalization that the person who dies celibate goes to the
[754] Nevado del Huila, considered by them as hell. The celibacy of a woman is exceptional, and when it occurs they believe that she becomes a witch. They think something similar about some
581 widows. One woman of some fifty years of age says that
589 "marriage is fundamental and obligatory, for the grandfathers
775 used to say that to a woman who is not married the devil gives a black dog for a husband in hell" (7). Another woman declared

[825] 7. They regarded white dogs as companions and guides in the future life and fear that "if molested they will come out and bite them at the entrance to the future abode."

that at times she feels sorrow for the death of an unmarried daughter, "because the devil would give her a husband."

581 The culture considers it an obligation of parents to marry
183 off their daughters even if they are very young. Furthermore
[582] the young men aspire to "build their house, marry, produce children, have animals, coca in abundance, and sugar cane
[842] for their chicha" (8). The incentive to marry is to have children,

8. Bernal Villa, S. 1953, op. cit., p. 183.

for which purpose it is necessary to have assurance /180/ that the woman is fecund,

/264 cont./

756 787 Besides the remedies which the shaman must use for curing, his signs also predict fate and the future for him or tell him whether the sicknesses will become better or worse. They also tell him about events which are imminent. Thus he learns through them, for example, that sick persons will be coming to him on the following day with this or that illness or this or that request. For all these matters every shaman has his signs at 756 787 826 definite parts of his body, those on the left half of his body generally signifying something unfavorable, those on the right half, something good. Thus the rise of the signs from the outer side of the right foot to the ankle means that the medicinal herbs are taking effect. If the signs rise from the outer side of the left foot, this is proof that the nyic must win and the bewitched one [763] must die. If the signs rise on the right foot to the shin, a mem- [783] ber of the family will die and his soul go to heaven. If the signs [828] go along the inner side of the left foot, "pest" will come, and the sick person will become mentally ill. If the signs are felt between the right shin and the heel and they go toward the left side, this is an omen of a battle between the teyu and the nyic. If the signs move from the left ankle up to the hollows of the knees, the planted field is bewitched. Signs in the left calf announce the visit of an evil shaman; signs in the right calf, the visit of a good old woman; signs on the outer side of the right or left calves announce the visit of a nyic or a good old man, 756 respectively. Signs that run down from the right knee cap announce 787 the death of a person through tũs or gĕlyómp ("rainbow" or "moun- 826 tain spirit" as spirit beings, see below /see pp. 191ff./). Signs on 763 the /265/ left kneecap mean that the teyu will win in battle with the nyic; signs from the upper thighs to the hollows of the knees of the right foot, that the patient will die of a malignant "pest." If the signs go down from the left upper thigh, a bad person is walking by outside. If the signs go from the right hip to the foot, the wife will menstruate. If the signs are felt in the tenth rib on the right side, the sick person will soon die, since he has been stung by the mountain spirit. The signs on the left tenth rib announce the arrival of an evil person. If the signs go from the

/265 cont./

756 right ring finger up the arm to the heart, the person concerned
826 will bury a relative on the next day. Signs in the palm of the
787 right hand mean that the sick person will get well; signs in the
[763] palm of the left hand, that the mountain spirit is not accepting the gifts and the patient must die. By means of signs on the back of the left hand the mountain spirit makes it known that the offerings are insufficient. If the signs go from the palm of the right hand to the neck, this means "pest" from the Pijao. Signs in the right thumb and in the hand announce the appearance of a lost or strayed animal; signs in the corner of the left eye, that the lost animal has been stolen and has already been eaten by the thief; signs in the left arm announce the arrival of the ec spirit; signs in the right upper arm announce to the shaman that good people are asking him to be the sponsor at a christening. Signs on the head of the shaman announce that the nyic will send the pest, and if the signs go from the head into the left hand, the
756 person is already bewitched. In these and similar ways of
787 interpreting their signs, the shamans discover the nature of all illnesses and the means required to cure them. Thus their signs are their only treasure of experience, and if they do not feel them, or no longer feel them, they have lost the essential characteristic of being shamsns.

787 Besides the shamanistic signs described, for the teyu as well
828 as for ordinary human beings of every age and sex dreams are an essential means of experience for looking into the future, as well as for confirmation of a foreign -- usually evil -- influence on one's own person. Just as the effects of evil magic on the individual are brought about through auto-suggestion, so, too, what is seen in a dream. The latter perhaps even more intensively because of a person's own, direct dream experience; only in this way can one understand the positively fatalistic attitude of the persons
115 concerned. Our interpreter Victoriano, for example, is one of the
787 most industrious and capable Calderun. He is determined not to
828 remain socially on the Indio level of his village. He therefore
554 [770] takes /266/ work from time to time among the white colonists,
[764] in order to earn money for Colombian clothing. He is therefore

/249/

*756 While the curer is perceiving the signs, he cannot cohabit.
834 The sorcerer who is aware of this interdiction will, out of
754 malice and wickedness, take his wife to the kachí and cohabit
with her, with the aim that the signs will not circulate for the
●[826] curer and the glowworms will not rise. And to add to the
wickedness, they leave in the kachí pubic hairs, which are
poisonous.

*756 The curer cannot eat ají, especially the one called ají
de montaña, because this would anger Thunder and the Ghost.
262 They do not eat salt, or consume very little of it. Thunder
[263] did not eat salt, they say. They eat the meat of the "pro-
[785] visions" after performing the cleansing. In the ceremonies of
ut ká, wé ká, and ut peu, they fast for one day. That is to
say, they eat at daybreak and eat again on the following day.
Furthermore, since the treatments are given at night, frugality
makes them sleep less.

787 Dreams of the Té eu. The interpretation of Paez dreams,
as in the generality of popular interpretations of dreams, ob-
serves a certain relation between the manifest content of the
dream and the action to come. To put it better, future events
are deduced from the manifest content of the dream.

They believe firmly in the omens of the dreams, but they
*[756] do nothing to forestall them. It is as if it were a fatality of
destiny. There are no dreams peculiar to the curers. Inter-
pretation is a common patrimony of the people. The attitude
toward these omens is the same: to wait indifferently. Here
are a few examples out of many:

787 To dream that a snake bites him, sorcery. But if in the
754 dream another person kills the snake at the moment when it
bites him, a good curer will turn the sorcery from the victim
to the sorcerer himself.

To dream that a herd of swine attacks him, they are
practicing sorcery.

To dream of killing a pig, the sorcerer is going to be killed.

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[Information on shamanistic "signs" consisting, for example, of muscle twitches in the eye or hand or other reflex movements which manifest themselves in the musculature of the curer and considered as direct signs from the spirits, is filed in category 755 for divinatory practices in curing, or in 787 when non-diagnostic practices are discussed.]

In his opinion, one cannot
/261 cont./
756 learn how to become a shaman; rather, this is a hereditary gift.
[827] He himself has no son and no pupils.

The tepits Francisco Cuskue is about 40 years old, married, and has four daughters and one son. Two children died. He has neither /262/ cows nor pigs, horses or sheep, and is very poor. He learned from childhood on, for his father and grandfather were also shamans. He wants his son to become a shaman, too. The latter, about ten years old, has not yet begun the apprenticeship,
[123] however. In reply to my question as to whether I, too, as a stranger, might become a shaman, he asserted that this would be possible, but said that the training is very long and difficult. One has to learn from childhood on, until one is about 25 or 30 years old. I, in my case, am already too old to begin.

The tepits Cerbeleón Niunda (Ill. 153 /see p. 267/), who lives near the shaman Francisco, is the son of a shaman, was taught by his father, and had the "signs" when he was only ten years old. He is now, as an estimate, 55 years old (no Paez knows how old he is) and had ten children, six of whom died. In the way
756 of possessions he has neither horse nor cow nor sheep. Whereas
312 all Paez divert the mountain brooks so that a small ditch flows past their houses and they always use only flowing water, the shamans Francisco and Cerbeleón have a small joint reservoir below a spring, from which they drink and into which, before drinking, they place one of their medicinal herbs, šũ. When questioned, both stated that they did not do this for any special reason and could not find out about anything in the reservoir, neither sickness nor the future.

754 Just as the good shaman was chosen by a vision, this also ap-
787 plies for the evil sorcerer. It is regarded as an omen that he is to become a nyic if, for example, in a dream he sees a bird that in its beak holds a donkey, into whose open mouth flies are
754 crawling, or simply if he dreams about pigs. The prospective nyic may have his vision during the day or at night; it is said that people who are abroad a great deal during the night are the most susceptible to evil sorcery, since at this time they have the

/274 cont./

554 herbs into their drinking-water canal. Now he had given it up,
754 however. To us he seemed to be merely an idle talker; he did
756 not give the impression of actually having received signs or of being serious about the matter, but rather it seemed as though he had merely learned a little by watching his father /275/ and was doing it mechanically without any inner concern. Francisco, too, had a father and grandfather as shaman predecessors. He was likewise rather ignorant, but apparently meant well. He did his best to help people.

756 Martin Chukue was completely absorbed by his calling and
753 duty, and he was well informed, serious, and dignified in his
761 shamanistic work. When the capitan of Calderas died, he was the shaman authorized to act for his residence, and he also conducted the purification ceremony after his burial. Martin explained the cause of death of the capitan as follows: The capitan had to die because the tũs had stolen the taff soul of the capitan. The capitan died with his left leg drawn up. He was very thin when he died, because he had not eaten anything for a long time, for
[755] his taff soul had been stolen five years ago. At that time the sick man began feeling pain, and during the entire time he, Martin, had fought with the tũs, offered him medicines, and tried to appease him.

775 When the ũns soul (ũns also means "heart"!) leaves the body,
[774] then the person is ultimately dead. And, to be sure, ũns leaves
[827] the body by way of the upper arms, lower arms, finger tips. Shortly before it leaves the person, one may still perceive it very faintly as a pulse beat, and when the pulse beat ceases altogether, the ũns has left the body and immediately goes to heaven. No one could tell me exactly in what form it goes to heaven. In heaven, however, it again has the normal human appearance.
[755] When children are ill, wool threads are put around their wrists
[774] and ankles and drawn tightly in order to prevent the escape of the ũns, or at least to make it more difficult.

/304 cont./

*539

15. Encounters with the Pijao

A young Paez man was working for a rich landowner on the latter's finca in the Cauca Valley somewhere near Popayán. The finca was near the mountain. One day he went into the mountains, since his master had a great deal of livestock. On the way he met a Pijao woman, who seized him and carried him to her house in order to devour him. There were many people in her house, and since she wanted to devour him by herself and not share him with the many other Pijao, /305/ she put him in a large pot. This was as large as a Paez house. She left him there for three days. During this time the Pijao drank, ate, and danced. After three days, when all the Pijao were tired and asleep, the woman went into the mountains to fetch wood and make a fire, in order to roast the Paez youth. The latter meanwhile looked out from the vessel in which he was imprisoned and saw two small girls on the hearth stones, the daughters of the woman. They were playing and nudging the drunken and sleeping Pijao, who, however, did not stir. The youth quickly climbed out of his vessel, took a piece of wood, and killed the two girls. He quickly seized a pot of gold and ran away.

When the woman returned to her house with sufficient wood, she found her two children dead. She immediately looked into the pot, and when she did not find the Paez youth in it, she became furious and quickly ran after him. The young man ran for three hours until he met a large herd of cattle belonging to his master, where he hid in the midst of the cattle. The woman tried to pursue him, but since she smelled so badly the cattle became wild, roared and kicked the woman, and she was unable to seize the youth. (The narrator explained that the Pijao are not familiar with cattle and dogs. If a dog and a Pijao meet, the dog kills
[827] the Pijao on the spot. The Pijao smell entirely different from other human beings, somewhat like animals.) Now, when the woman was unable to reach the Paez, she was furious and scratched her head with its many lice. But she could do nothing, and she therefore went back to her house and devoured her own two dead children.

/183 cont./

342 and blows them into the air; with a small staff called "tama"
756 he cleaves the air in such a way that sometimes he appears to
787 be frightening away the spirits, sometimes threatening them,
[823] and sometimes clubbing them. If the signs (reflex movements)
are felt on the right side, the site is favorable; the opposite
denotes that the site is uninhabitable. The spirits are angry,
[761] or there are Pijao bones and gold at the site. If the site has
not been selected by the medicine man, even if the house is a
handsome one it cannot be occupied, for its occupants would
die, beginning with the children, continuing with the mother,
342 and ending with the father. The medicine man himself pro-
756 hibits people from living in a house built without the fulfill-
ment of this requisite. The medicine man's dictum is rewarded
with a bottle of aguardiente, an egg (1) of coca, tobacco, a

[804] 1. A measure of weight equivalent
to the weight of a hen's egg.

calabash of chicha, and usually a meal with chicken. /184/
[789] This is called "care" /cuido/. When the house is finished,
the medicine man will place special remedies at the ridgepole
to prevent the ghosts or echi from descending by way of it or
from being angered.

342 Then come the mingas /communal work-parties/. A house
476 is built with the help of others. The people are invited, in-
cluding the medicine man himself, who goes to work as a
laborer. The work is organized. First, they go to the wood-
land for wood; under the influence of the guarapo, voices re-
sound, loud laughter is heard, and the deep sound of the
"cacho" /horn/ rumbles in the montañas, multiplied by its
342 echoes. Soon they report to the man in charge. They level
335 out the ground that will serve as the house floor; they dig holes
476 in which to sink the posts approximately two meters apart,
driven in solidly, and tied at the top to cross-pieces with lianas
(guák); the posts outline the shape of the house, and they will

/208 cont./

231 After skinning it, they quarter it following a definite
796 sequence: the lower part of the hind legs (chinda), the lower
192 part of the front legs (kuse), the upper part of the hind legs (himbé), the upper part of the front legs (pala), the tail (mens), the flesh of the neck (chikichichi), the fat (sepo), upper intestine (chunchullo), lower intestine (meto), stomach (tuchi), /209/ trachea (pechita), lungs (mechto), heart (ús), liver
[827] (mechi), the gall (muahi), pancreas (shape)... They are familiar with most of the organs and their names, but not with their specific physiology.

262 Some of the pieces of meat go directly into the pan of
796 "mute," which is boiling and which the workers will eat for
252 lunch; others, to the barbecue where they will get the smoke from the kitchen.

Inside the house, in the fiuhne wala, the women grind shelled maize on two metates to make maize griddlecakes. With maize flour and water they make a dough which various women shape with their hands into circular form. In a separate kitchen, two women and two men are busy roasting them. First they let them harden on a piece of broken earthenware and then complete the cooking in the embers of the hearth. An elderly man gathers those that are cooked into a bag. Another one occupies himself with singing religious songs and praying. The maize griddlecakes are used to take care of the albacero on the following day.

796 This work is performed enthusiastically by the women.
[462] --The days of the fiesta are for talking, says one woman.
[829] --One can live through life only by getting drunk, says
[273] another.

* /224 cont./

756 At the edge of the lagoon the teacher-curer digs a hole,
778 over which, and from the end of the tama, he suspends the
782 camarico. Thunder requests from the pupil 10, 20, or 30 centavos, coins which he deposits in the hole. Then, he lowers the pouch and covers the hole with stones and earth. The curer bathes the pupil with shu and shulape (1). Thunder

1. 1. Cf. below, "Remedies" /see pp. 22ff./.

draws near to receive other gifts which he requests by means of the signs, to state that the youth may learn how to cure, to prohibit him emphatically from collecting bad remedies (for sorcery), and to request him to be charitable with people. Last of all, he orders him to return home.

* 756 At the teacher's home, chicha and aguardiente are drunk,
868 and meat is eaten with stew. Then the teacher presents
755 remedies to the pupil and tells him that henceforth he will
778 merely need to apply them, warning about the patients who are in a very serious condition, but with the help of God he should try to cure them.

* 756 The signs. The signs are reflex movements which manifest
787 themselves in the musculature of the curer. "They are like
[827] a circulation" -- says one té eu, "as when a person's muscle
[755] twitches in the eye or hand. The interpretation of these signs is done by the curer."

[776] The signs come from Thunder or the Ghost. That is to say, from assisting spirits. There are also those who say that they come from God.

755 The signs are fundamental, basic in Paez medicine.
*756 Without them there cannot be curers, and there cannot be a curer who does not know how to interpret the signs. It is useless to have knowledge of the medicinal value of the plants. The curer is no more than an intermediary, a spokesman for

* /224 cont./
756 the assisting spirit. It is not enough to know whether certain
755 medicines correspond to certain signs. The tẽ eu must /225/ divine which remedies will be useful for the particular case. This is why the curer always carries a pouch with all the known remedies. He takes one out and consults. If the signs do not circulate, the remedy is useless; he takes out another and waits. When they are felt insistently, then the remedy is appropriate. Since the signs are given by the assisting spirit, it is he who cures.

* 756 The signs may contribute to the discovery of a vocation.
463 If a man engaged in a manual task that does not imply motion
787 (the making of firecrackers, plates for cooking, pottery) suddenly feels the movement of the signs, he must seek out a teacher so that he will instruct him in the art of curing. He cannot disobey them or he would go mad.

* 756 Even the curers themselves must practice the signs. If,
787 for example, no sick clients have come for two days, the
755 tẽ eu must visit his Kachí (2) and practice the signs; otherwise,

2. See below, "Divination sites" /see p. 9/.

they may drive him insane. For this reason, the curer must
[888] practice his profession until old age begins. Old men lose the signs because they cannot travel to go to the Kachí and practice the signs.

* 756 All the informants affirm that signs on the left side signify
787 something bad, while those on the right indicate something
● 827 good. As a rule, the signs that are given in a certain part of
755 the body have a specific meaning. Minor differences may be noted in the information provided by the curers, but they are
[124] matters of form rather than substance. There follows a table of the symbolism of the signs, gathered from many profane informants and curers from the Parcialidades of Santa Rosa, Calderas, Togoima, Avisame, and San Andrés.

/225 cont./

* 756 787 ● 827 755

Right:
The signs go down the leg: death; remedies will not help.
The signs climb up the foot and the tibia: a member of the family will die and go to heaven.
The signs go up the outer edge of the foot to above the ankle: the remedies will work.
The signs occur between the ankle and the heel and cross to the same spot on the

Left:
The signs go along the inner side of the foot: the pest is leaving; the patient is encouraged.
The signs go up the outer side of the foot: the sorcerer wins; the patient dies.
The signs go up from the ankle to the back of the knee: sorcery; field has a spell on it.
These same signs, but first

/226/

left side: contest between the Té eu and the sorcerer.
Calf (gemelluses): visit of a good woman; the ghost comes singing to point out the remedies.
Calf (outer part of the digits): a good man is coming to visit the curer.
Kneecap, signs that go down: a person will die from the rainbow or ghost.
Thigh: the signs run to the back of the knee and disappear: the person will die; fierce pest; serious matter.
Signs go down from the groin to the foot: the

occurring on the right and immediately passing to the left: rainbow /arco/ and Ghost.
Calf (gemelluses): a sorceress is coming to visit the curer.
Calf (extending from the digits): a sorcerer is coming to visit the curer.
Kneecap: fear of the sorcerer because he is winning over the Té eu; fear, fright, disaster.
Thigh, the signs go down: bad person going by.
Rib (the tenth): bad person is coming.
Back of the hand: the ghost does not accept the remedies because they are incomplete.
Palm of the hand: the person

* /226 cont./

758 Right:
787 wife is about to
827 menstruate.
755 Rib (the tenth): the patient will die at once; sting of Kallumb.
The signs occur between the ring finger and heart: on the following day the person will wield a shovel to bury a dead person.
Palm of the hand: the person will receive a present; greeting from the ghost; improvement of the pest.
Palm of the hand and passes to the throat: Pijao "dirt."
Thumb and palm of the hand (simian line): the lost animal will appear, the signs indicate that it will be caught.
Biceps: a good person will ask him to be godfather at a baptism.
The signs go from the ear to the shoulder: the ears will be cut off.
Cheekbone to the outer corner of the eye: the patient will improve; the stolen animal will appear.
Eye and down the nose: wake.

Left:
will die of the pest; the ghost did not accept remedies.

Signs in the arm: the echi is coming.
Biceps: same meaning as for the right side.
Wrist: someone will give a scare; he will be caught.
Shoulder and they make an arc through the chest: rainbow.
Cheekbone to the outer corner of the eye: the stolen animal was eaten.
Eye and down the nose: a dead person.

/226 cont./

756 When the signs occur at the vertex (crown), the sorcerer
787 is about to send the pest, and if they go from the vertex to
827 the left hand, the person is under a spell.
755 If the signs occur in the gluteal muscles, an animal belonging to the person has died and the vultures are eating it.
756 In this way, the curers can know the nature of the illness
755 /227/ and the type of remedies required. To determine the spell and the sorcerer responsible,

To divine whether a stolen object can be recovered or not, and who the thieves are. To learn whether a patient will improve or die. To detect the presence of the Ghost, Rainbow, and Echi. To know in advance about the visits of good or bad persons.

The act of perceiving the signs is called to divine or "to
[273] think." Every patient must always bring tobacco, aguardiente,
[276] and coca. The aguardiente is used to call Thunder, Ghost and Echi and to satisfy them. The chewed coca and tobacco serve to make the signs circulate.

Divination sites. The té eu has a special divination site called Kachí. In it he practices the signs and perceives them
[263] when he has a patient to cure. If the patient is not in serious condition and comes in person to the house of the curer, then he can divine on its ground, even though there is the obstacle of the presence there of ají and salt, articles that Thunder does not like. The treatment, that is to say, the perception of signs and the corresponding cleansing, is carried out at night, at two or three in the morning.

If the patient is in very serious condition, the té eu must go to a site where he will not be disturbed by the shouting of people, the barking of dogs, or the noises of animals. A site almost completely removed from human haunts, such as a bog or a lagoon. He takes with him two or three hairs taken from the crown of each member of the family present, with which he makes a ball that he places amidst the shu /Sphagnum/.

/227 cont./

755 He remains at the site for about an hour. When the signs give
*756 hope, he leaves the hair and returns to the patient's house.

In treatments of this type, the curer requires as "provisions" a pig, a sheep, and chicha.

*755 Divining the illness. The curer demands from his clients
756 two eggs (3) of coca, two cigars, and half a liter of aguardiente.
273
276
[804]

3. One egg of coca is equivalent to the weight of a hen's egg.

He gathers the coca into a medium-sized pouch with great scrupulousness, for he does not allow a single leaf to be lost. He transfers the aguardiente to a bottle of his own and puts it in the same pouch with the coca, likewise the cigars. The divination is performed under the eaves of his house at 8:00 P.M.

/228/ He places the patient on his right, seated on a pango pil (bench); the pouches of remedies are placed on his left, along with the pouch containing the coca and aguardiente received from the patient.

*755 He begins by making two bundles of remedies with yacuma
756 blanca, ul ñiñ, ñundayuskei, bitopiskue, and chandur de castilla (4). Each remedy is extracted patiently from his pouch,

4. Cf. below, "Remedies" /see pp. 22ff./.

which contains all the remedies needed for his treatments, but not in any specific order. He does not show anxiety or haste; he observes great moderation. When he takes out the remedy, before placing it on the maize husk that will serve as wrapping for the bundle, he quickly passes it around his body, beginning at the right foot, going up this side to the crown of the head, and ending on the left side, in order to stimulate the blood
● [827] so that the signs will circulate. As soon as he has finished passing it, the signs may go from the right calf upward,

/228 cont./

755 indicating hope, for if they moved from the knee to the foot,
756 there would be no need to receive the coca, tobacco, or
[127] aguardiente, for the patient would be incurable. Only when the signs are favorable does he take the pouch of remedies received from the patient and pass it around in the same way as he did the remedies, with the aim of invoking Thunder and Kallumb, his helpers.

75 He orders the patient to chew the bundle of remedies which he presented to him not long before. He picks up the tama (5) in his hands and blows on it with the remedies that he

5. Cf. below, "The tama" /see pp. 17-18/.

is chewing, which are the same as those chewed by the patient, for the purpose of preventing the ptans ("dirt") sent by the
[276] sorcerers from surprising the curer and killing him. In this case he may have the mambe /lime to be chewed with coca, or the coca and lime together/ in his hand and nevertheless remain motionless, with blood running from his mouth. Then, and to the front, he drives in the tama, the weapon of Thunder, to indicate to him that he is not working in a bad way, but in such a way and in accordance with his teachings. Before putting it in the ground, he passes it around his body so that it will protect him from the ptans.

[824] Next to the tama he puts the bottle of aguardiente, which
[763] he places a sprig of chayuts; if it remains upright and floats, it is a good sign, while if it tilts and sinks to the bottom, it is an omen of death. On top of the bottle he puts a small calabash to measure the aguardiente, in which is also put a sprig /229/ of chayuts; it serves as a preventive, for it prevents the ptans from catching the curer unprepared and killing him.

[276] Then he puts a handful of coca in his mouth and begins to chew; he remains seated, almost motionless, his eyes trained on the room and on the tama, attentive to the slightest motion;

/143 cont./

224 mountain spirit. We met only a single young man of about 18 who goes hunting alone in the mountains once a week. He told us that, in order to become a good hunter, one must first try to [789] kill a bear (éšwiy). One must then rub its fat into the right [237] lower-arm, which would give him the same powers as the bear. [262] One is not permitted to eat this fat, however, because it would [828] make him insane. After rubbing in the fat, the young hunter [263] continued, one may not eat salt at any meal for a week. There are no further rules and ceremonies of any kind to be observed. [237] We learned, however, that one can also use bear fat as a heal- [752 757] ing remedy, and, to be sure, for bone fractures or sprains one must rub the affected part with bear fat, whereupon the injured limb will heal immediately and will become considerably 224 stronger than ever before. For stalking he wears on his head a 292 cap made of the skin of a reddish-blond hairy monkey (mõno), [825] which in the first place protects him from the thorns of the bushes, but which is also supposed to facilitate creeping up on [439] game. He sold it to us for two pesos without hesitation, since, [126] as he said, he was perfectly capable of shooting another monkey 224 for himself. He was not afraid of the gělyómp spirit, but the 776 other men were, for gělyómp screams and makes a noise when human beings enter his area in the mountains, so that they become quite confused and go astray. The mountain spirit cannot do anything to several men together, however, since he could make as much noise as he pleased, but they would not let them- 224 selves be diverted. Of course, the men, even if there are ever so 776 many of them, must not offend the mountain spirit or provoke 515 him unnecessarily, but rather must avoid everything that gělyómp 783 does not like. /144/ For instance, he hates everything impure [296] and filthy. Hence the men always only go hunting well washed; [824] they even wash the entire body, and the ruana, too. In addition, they rub themselves with the cleansing herbs šu and ǎyuts, which they obtain from the shaman, in order to be really altogether [761] clean in a physical and ritual sense. But if someone has taken part in a burial or has merely seen a funeral procession close by, he has picked up a good deal of "pest" from the dead and must have himself specially purified by the shaman before hunting.

/264 cont./

756 Besides the remedies which the shaman must use for curing,
787 his signs also predict fate and the future for him or tell him whether the sicknesses will become better or worse. They also tell him about events which are imminent. Thus he learns through them, for example, that sick persons will be coming to him on the following day with this or that illness or this or that
756 request. For all these matters every shaman has his signs at
787 definite parts of his body, those on the left half of his body gen-
826 erally signifying something unfavorable, those on the right half, something good. Thus the rise of the signs from the outer side of the right foot to the ankle means that the medicinal herbs are taking effect. If the signs rise from the outer side of the left foot, this is proof that the nyic must win and the bewitched one
[763] must die. If the signs rise on the right foot to the shin, a mem-
[783] ber of the family will die and his soul go to heaven. If the signs
[828] go along the inner side of the left foot, "pest" will come, and the sick person will become mentally ill. If the signs are felt between the right shin and the heel and they go toward the left side, this is an omen of a battle between the teyu and the nyic. If the signs move from the left ankle up to the hollows of the knees, the planted field is bewitched. Signs in the left calf announce the visit of an evil shaman; signs in the right calf, the visit of a good old woman; signs on the outer side of the right or left calves announce the visit of a nyic or a good old man,
756 respectively. Signs that run down from the right knee cap announce
787 the death of a person through tũs or gĕlyómp ("rainbow" or "moun-
826 tain spirit" as spirit beings, see below /see pp. 191ff./). Signs on
763 the /265/ left kneecap mean that the teyu will win in battle with the nyic; signs from the upper thighs to the hollows of the knees of the right foot, that the patient will die of a malignant "pest." If the signs go down from the left upper thigh, a bad person is walking by outside. If the signs go from the right hip to the foot, the wife will menstruate. If the signs are felt in the tenth rib on the right side, the sick person will soon die, since he has been stung by the mountain spirit. The signs on the left tenth rib announce the arrival of an evil person. If the signs go from the

/265 cont./

756 right ring finger up the arm to the heart, the person concerned
826 will bury a relative on the next day. Signs in the palm of the
787 right hand mean that the sick person will get well; signs in the
[763] palm of the left hand, that the mountain spirit is not accepting the gifts and the patient must die. By means of signs on the back of the left hand the mountain spirit makes it known that the offerings are insufficient. If the signs go from the palm of the right hand to the neck, this means "pest" from the Pijao. Signs in the right thumb and in the hand announce the appearance of a lost or strayed animal; signs in the corner of the left eye, that the lost animal has been stolen and has already been eaten by the thief; signs in the left arm announce the arrival of the ec̄ spirit; signs in the right upper arm announce to the shaman that good people are asking him to be the sponsor at a christening. Signs on the head of the shaman announce that the nyic will send the pest, and if the signs go from the head into the left hand, the
756 person is already bewitched. In these and similar ways of
787 interpreting their signs, the shamans discover the nature of all illnesses and the means required to cure them. Thus their signs are their only treasure of experience, and if they do not feel them, or no longer feel them, they have lost the essential characteristic of being shamsns.

787 Besides the shamanistic signs described, for the teyu as well
● 828 as for ordinary human beings of every age and sex dreams are an essential means of experience for looking into the future, as well as for confirmation of a foreign -- usually evil -- influence on one's own person. Just as the effects of evil magic on the individual are brought about through auto-suggestion, so, too, what is seen in a dream. The latter perhaps even more intensively because of a person's own, direct dream experience; only in this way can one understand the positively fatalistic attitude of the persons
75 concerned. Our interpreter Victoriano, for example, is one of the
787 most industrious and capable Calderun. He is determined not to
828 remain socially on the Indio level of his village. He therefore
554 [77] takes /266/ work from time to time among the white colonists,
[464] in order to earn money for Colombian clothing. He is therefore

/266 cont./

115 greatly hated in the village. In an intoxicated state the men have
787 often threatened to murder him. One day he came to us and said
● 824 that we would have to hurry with our work, for he would soon die.
554 He was by no means agitated when he said this, but smiled with an expression of absolute conviction. In answer to our question as to why, he stated that during the night he had dreamed of seeing himself in the grave. This is a sure sign that he must die. He would not let us ease his mind, for he knew, so he said, that he was unpopular in the village and he had been threatened with death anyway because he had seen more than the others, wore better clothes, and ate meat, instead of working in the village. For this reason the nyic would most certainly bring him to his death. It took several days and all our art of persuasion to get him away from this idea. Again and again we had to point out that, after all, he was a Christian, and as a precaution we had to give him many of our medications, before he would believe that perhaps he need not die
[787] after all. In any case his medallion of the Virgin Mary, which he always carries with him, does not unconditionally help against
787 evil magic. In the following there are a few further examples of dreams that are significant in some way or other: if one dreams that he is bitten by a snake, it is a sign of bewitchment; if, however, in the dream another person kills this snake at the moment of biting, a teyu will put an end to the bewitchment. To dream of jaguars and cats indicates that there are graves of the Pijao under
[783] the house. Someone will die of the "pest" of the Pijao if a person dreams that a jaguar is devouring his chickens. Dreaming about a funeral pile means that there is gold there. If one dreams about a
[963] cow, his wife will die. If one kills a bull or a horse in a dream, a good person (a shaman) will die. If one is stung by wasps in a dream, it means future punishment. Carrying beams or a chicha trough in a dream means that one will soon assist at a funeral. To choke in a dream means war, captivity, or being put into prison. Moreover, it is always a bad sign to dream of arracacha; in case of a journey, one would, for example, be devoured by a jaguar in the páramo. Also, if one dreams that he is able to walk under a rock, it likewise means that a jaguar will devour him. If someone

/275 cont./

775 Old Celia Uriaga of Calderas, who told us two stories, but is
[828] not a shaman herself, reported the following: When a person sleeps
[774] and dreams, his taff leaves the body, goes everywhere, and experiences what the person is experiencing in his dream. When the person dies, ũns then leaves the person by way of the veins of the upper and lower arm, where one can feel the pulse, and finally by way of the finger tips. Taff also leaves the person, but in the form of a human being with white clothing. Whereas ũns goes to heaven, taff either stays near the body in the grave or goes about on earth, although not as taff, but as áhimos (ghost). It can be seen by the shamans at night, but also by human beings at midnight or around two o'clock at night, in the form of a human figure sitting by the wayside. It is not a real human being, however, but more like a wind. /276/ Ahimos is generally at the burial place, there where the corpse is buried and where the bones are.

According to the account of the old tẽoi Felisa, the ũns leaves the body upon the death of a human being and goes to heaven. It leaves the body by way of the lower arms, hands, and finger tips.
755 Felisa herself tries to hold back the ũns of a dying person by blow-
775 ing hard on his finger tips after she has previously taken a mouthful
763 of the herbs čáyuts and šuwéz as well as brandy. At the same time,
[824] with the same herbs in her hands, she strokes the patient's arms from the finger tips upward, in order to hold back ũns. Taff leaves the human body before death. In doing so, it whistles. Felisa can see it. It wanders along a path, well dressed, and the shaman is able to bring it back by tearing its clothes with a very sharp-edged reed (nyfka), and then it is obliged to return to the body (cf. Ill. 199 /see p. 288/).

775 Apart from the shamans, she is convinced that no one is able to
[825] see taff, except for dogs, when they sometimes howl for no apparent reason. Whereas ũns goes to heaven, taff remains on earth and goes
769 on living in its house as áhimos in the form of a breath of air. (No accessories are put in the grave with the dead, but on the following December 8, the Feast of the Immaculada, and recurrently each year, the relatives offer to the áhimos of their dead their favorite

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115 We then looked for another interpreter, the Calderun Victoriano Piñakué, about 17 years old and very open-minded with regard to "white" civilization. His father even once visited Popayán, the capital of the department of Cauca. Through this he had a somewhat broader outlook and became involved in a quarrel with a bad shaman, in which the latter took one of his eyes by magic. Since then old Piñakué has been blind in one eye. A younger brother of Victoriano is going to school in Inzá and is the helper of the sacristan there. Victoriano is very much interested in one day becoming acquainted with Popayán or even Bogotá. He speaks Spanish quite well and has already earned money on occasion in the service of the white colonists and in La Plata as a construction worker, in order to buy clothing of the whites for himself. By "white" the Paez mean the Spanish culture of the Colombians, namely, clothing, education, and corresponding customs, not, however, skin color or other characteristics of the white race.

[191] [464] [829]

Victoriano set great store by dressing, not like a Paez, but like a white. He was an enthusiastic fellow-worker, not, however, out of greed for money, but out of sincere interest, and at every opportunity he would ask how things were among us in Germany. With a great craving for knowledge, he would again and again have our photos of Europe explained to him, and he even made an effort to learn German.

115 156 554 In his native village of Calderas the work with Victoriano was very difficult, since he was very unpopular because he dresses like a white. Several times when his fellow villagers were drunk, they even wanted to murder him. Once when we visited a house together, he was heckled by some tipsy men: he was called a sluggard who does nothing the whole day but talk with the "doctores" and go for walks. Besides, they said, he thinks that he is better than the rest of the Paez because he wears "white" clothing. When Victoriano replied that in his work among the whites it would be impossible for him to wear the Calderun costume, but that in his dress he was obliged to adjust to his environment, they retorted that he went to the whites merely in order to be able to eat more meat.

/112 cont./

142 age the hair seldom becomes white. We met only one woman with slightly graying hair and an old man with a gray, sparse
[302] beard, but dark hair. The beard among men is scant. The beard hair is regularly plucked (see Ills. 148 to 155 /see pp. 265-268/).

143 According to the blood-group analysis of the Paez, among the 303 individuals examined there were 88.78 per cent of blood group 0, 6.93 per cent of blood group A, and 4.29 per cent of blood group B. The blood group A+B is not represented (G. Arcila Velez, pp. 11-14).

• 129 The racial concept of Indian is foreign to the Paez themselves. To them "Indio" designates a cultural status. My colleague, Segundo Bernal Villa, an Indian from the region of Pasto, was designated as "blanco" because of his European clothing. And when our interpreter Victoriano bought himself "white clothing" (hat, pants, shirt, shoes) with the money he earned, he was called a "white" in his village and accordingly treated with hostility.

161 The population figures for the Paez do not seem either to increase or decrease, as far as the uncivilized Paez are con-
165 cerned, for example, in Calderas. Infant mortality comes to more
164 than 50 per cent. The most common cause of sickness is whooping cough. The health of children who survive their second year, as well as of adults, is -- considering the circumstances -- quite good. True, one scarcely sees old people over 60 (and
[132] those who look that old are probably younger). The most fre-
[362] quent illness of adults is tuberculosis, which claims numerous victims, since the nights are very cold and the cold and wind can
[262] penetrate through the light walls of the houses unhindered. More-
[273] over, no fat of any kind is commonly eaten. Another illness from which many Paez suffer, which, however, is not taken seriously, is stomach trouble caused by the drinking of brandy even during
[154] infancy and the unsuitable diet in childhood. Infants are given
[262] beans, cabbage, and yuca, but no milk, except mother's milk.

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Physicians are not consulted in any case. All illnesses that do not show external influences are traced back to evil sorcery or to the "pest" (see under "Religion"/see p. 191 ff./). They must therefore be treated by the native shamans /see the glossary, p. 250 /. Open wounds and injuries are treated by the midwife. Now and then, however, people visit the mission station in order to have a tooth pulled, on which occasion the nurses without reservation praise their great steadfastness in enduring pain.

The impairment to health caused by the consumption of coca and chicha seems to me to be exaggerated by the authorities; it would be even less with sensible and nourishing food. The prohibition against coca consumption and the government's battle against coca and chicha give the impression of being more a struggle against a brandy tax deficit, for alcohol under the state monopoly may be sold to any Indio in any quantity. The fact that the Paez generally does not work hard and continuously probably has nothing to do with any degeneration caused by the stimulants mentioned, but rather it is quite simply his psychological attitude which does not let him see why a human being should strive for things which seem unnecessary to him, things beyond his animal necessities of life, eating and reproduction. I often asked whether, in their opinion, there might come a time when the Paez, too, would wear only Colombian clothing or even use electric lighting. They had never thought about it and in no instance had an answer.

II. Material Culture

1. The Dwelling

a) The Settlement

Politically and sociologically the Paez villages of Tierradentro embrace the inhabitants of a valley basin more or less closed off by the surrounding mountains. In their structure, however, they are not villages in our sense, by which we understand a locally concentrated aggregation of a number of houses,

/163 cont./

389 The powder, however, must be bought. As for its production,
822 the general opinion is that it is made from human beings. The
829 whites, they believe, fatten human beings, then hang them,
[439] and, while they are still alive, tap their fat, from which they then make powder. That is why the Paez do not like to send their children far away and do not let them go to the whites, because they believe that the latter would catch them in order to make powder from them.

824 /164/ To make the fireworks a piece of sheep gut is used,
389 filled with powder and wound tightly with an agave string.
[237] The latter is waxed with beeswax for extra strength. One of
[283] these powder cases is used for the smaller firecrackers (koétes), while two, one over the other, are used for the larger firecrackers (kwatón), and under these is placed the fuse, which consists of a small bamboo tube, one to five centimeters long, filled with powder (Fig. 32 /see p. 256 /). These two or three parts are wrapped in a maize leaf and fastened to a bamboo splice 20-60 centimeters long. When it is lighted, the firecracker rises to a height of 50 meters with a considerable whistle and then explodes.

5. Trade and Transportation

438 One cannot speak of trade in the commercial sense among the Paez, for they trade almost solely among themselves and
[441] abhor everything that has to do with business. Moreover, since there is no merchant class among them, there is no carrying trade. Merchants are regarded as do-nothings who, though they
[437] are needed, are nevertheless despised. Fundamentally the self-contained household economy predominates, and whatever one family does not have it barters for within the same village if
439 possible. Only when this is not possible, thus when industrial products are involved, does one go to the weekly market held regularly at Inzá or Belalcázar, in order to buy the necessary articles. These include, above all, salt, as well as spades, machetes, aluminum pots, knives, scissors, spoons, needles,

/202 cont./

461/ villagers know these "strollers," and even say that they are
574 sluggards who do not work; but if they then come at mealtime, they
156 get their food and are usually kept there gladly, because they know how to tell stories well and amusingly, go around everywhere, and always have news to impart. If a man is married and has a wife and children, he must, of course, cultivate his own field, in order to be able to feed his family. In Calderas, however, there is even a married "stroller" who has neither a house of his own nor his own field. He lives in the house of a good-natured man whom he helps in the field and in the house. But this is regarded as an exception.

829 Thanks for favors or benefits bestowed, which, according
571 to the view of the Paez, are taken for granted, were not custom-
[576] ary originally. Today, however, thanks are often expressed with
[178] a word of Spanish origin "slopage" (Dios se lo pague), without, however, any feeling of a debt of gratitude, such as toward a
[621] wealthy person or a person in a superior position. Within the Paez communities there is, to be sure, no sociologically established authority; similarly, there is no chief or employer of a number of people who would be dependent upon him and owe him obedience. Hence no one is forced to obey anyone whom he does not like or to do anything that he may not care to do. Accordingly, there is no respect for strangers to the place or even for the priest, for when the Calderun are in their village, "on their soil," everyone regards everyone else as equal. Not the least important in this connection is the general understanding of one another by the inhabitants, their strengths and weaknesses, which makes pretense, any spurious authority simply assumed by an official, impossible. This is one reason -- perhaps the principal reason -- why the Calderun purposely do not want to have anything to do with the "blancos" and their officials. An attempt to trace this back to an awareness of their own inferiority indicates a complete misunder-
[565] standing of the character of the Paez. Their lack of social classes, and therefore the impossibility of looking down on /203/ another person, explains their general respect for one another, which is bestowed on everyone equally. Everyone grants everyone else

Everyone grants everyone else

/203 cont./

571 whatever he expects and claims for himself, quite as a matter of
829 course. This results in an entirely natural self-esteem, injury to
155 which on the part of the "blancos" is felt as very painful by the Paez.

576 Within the Paez communities the obligation of a greeting (gwéčaya) by a younger person to an older one is strictly observed. Even a "family feud" does not absolve the younger people from the respectful greeting "pétenga" (translated by "good day") toward the older people of other families, who acknowledge it with " "pé'taw." Removing one's hat at the same time is not customary.

[608] A greeting by shaking hands takes place only among members of the family or with one's godfather or godmother with the salutation "ndyósta utsménga" (Godparent, how are you?), during which the hat is also removed. Contemporaries greet each other with

[521] "éwča" (how are you) and reply with "éwčataw" (I am well). Generally people chat awhile when they meet, introduce the conversation with a joke, a bit of news in the village, or perhaps merely a remark about the weather.

156 Though the Paez may be regarded basically as an individualist, this does not hold true universally. On account of the abundantly available land, it is possible for him to isolate himself and withdraw for weeks at a time to his separate farm, but
461 nonetheless the Paez does not like to drink his chicha alone. And
476 usually friends and neighbors help, not only with housebuilding or
156 clearing, but also with sowing and lesser tasks. The labor of the individual, in instances of mutual help, is merely loaned, however, since the same persons meet again for joint aid on the corresponding tasks of a neighbor. The owner in question must also make chicha and food liberally available for each task, which makes every joint task a small feast. The actual useful effects of the communal work are slight, and, as a visitor from the outside, one has the impression that the joint eating and drinking is the primary thing, interrupted at times by only brief periods of work. On sober consideration -- which no Paez, of course, undertakes -- the joint consumption in connection with a communal task is more expensive for the individual than if each person himself over a correspondingly

4:Bernal Villa--17 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15
Colombia SC1

/190 cont./

them during the day. They use no blankets. The woman leaves sufficient wood on the fire for heat to protect them from the rigors of the cold of the night which filters through the stalks of the walls. In addition, over the fire there is a pot of "mute," beans, and cabbage, which, when cooked, will constitute the meal at daybreak. The fire is revived by the woman at 11 o'clock, an operation that is repeated about two o'clock in the morning. At four o'clock in the morning everyone is up. At dawn the woman distributes the food, and then the men come out of their houses with machetes in their belts, kuetand yaha filled with coca and mambe, to clear the woodland, weed the fields, or help with the hard work of their neighbors.

V

Anger, Rancor, and Politics

The Calderas Indians are arch conservatives. Tradition, pride, and a rebel spirit have much to do with their passion for politics. I do not speak of the conservative doctrine or of political concepts. They are conservatives by temperament and group solidarity. By the same token, their fanaticism is proverbial. The mere mention of the word "liberal" makes them break out in a rash. Anyone who comes to Calderas for the first time is approached by the Indians out of curiosity. "What is your name?" "What do you want?" "Why did you come?" "What are you, liberal or conservative?" These are the questions with which the natives and even the local cabildo besiege the visitor. It should be added that those who wish to save their skins or to avoid being run out of town must maintain that they are conservatives. It is said that in 1952 they did not want to accept the Missionary Sisters who came to run the school which is supported by the national government.

/190 cont./

609 It was necessary for someone to tell them that they were sent by
797 /191/ Laureano Gómez before they all said: "Well, then, let
871
829 them remain."

666 In spite of their stubborn conservatism, the leaders of the
829 municipio cannot manage to make them vote for their chosen candidates unless they first get their ration of meat, chicha, and aguardiente. The ration and the vote form an indivisible unit.

829 "I am godo /Goth, pejorative for Spaniard/ to the marrow, a true conservative," exclaimed one of the important men of
[773] Calderas while he was drunk. "Juan Chiracol also was a conservative," said another.

829 The Indians of Tierradentro have been liberals since 1860,
175 thanks to the victor's aura gained by Mosquera on the plains
648 of Segovia. "The battle of Segovia" --says the padre David González--"in which the Indians took part and in which Mosquera encouraged the native ferocity, and the march on Bogotá, which fell to the rebel general, made him a demigod
[464] in the eyes of the Paez. Since the first days of the colony they have venerated the name Mosquera; the Marquis don Cristóbal Mosquera y Figueroa had been their master, their encomendero, he had taken them to Popayán in gangs to work on his haciendas, he had given to them the huge lands of his
[665] encomienda... Naturally the Indians of Tierradentro have been strongly bound since 1860 to the political faction which represented Mosquera, liberalism. In the armed struggles which later scourged the nation, the Paez staunchly bore the liberal standard."

829 In view of this, the political affiliation of the Calderas
665 Indians is an odd one; up to less than a decade ago, they formed a conservative island in the midst of a liberal majority. Possibly this attitude conceals a great desire to defend their lands. The Calderas people have no marked sympathy for the neighboring parcialidades. "They are Reds," say the natives,

/191 cont./

829 while the others contend for their land and reduce the extent
665 of the parcialidad. This is what the people of Avirama, Togoima, and Lame have done. Nowadays, their relations appear to be cordial, for their political differences, at least, seem to have been obliterated.

157 The Paez are extremely pugnacious, aggressive by nature; they are easily aroused and only with difficulty erase rancor from their minds. Their psychological characteristic seems
[648] to be the explosion. History gives many authentic proofs.
[669] Adverse to the Spanish yoke, destroyers of the colonial settlements, /192/ in the times of the republic they have served as instruments for blind ambitions and political revenge, and nearly all the civil uprisings have been nourished with their blood. They adjust easily to the military, guerilla, barbarian
[579] spirit. The riots that have taken place in the present century are memorable: La Quintinada, La Collada, and the 28th of January, the first of which took place in 1916, the second in 1932, and the third in 1950, out of motives of racism, religion, and political rancor, respectively.

Persistence in vengeance, hair-raising and fearsome crimes, and the spilling of blood characterize many aspects of the social and political life of these Indians.

VI

Fiesteros, Albaceros, and Mayordomos

796 About three months before the celebration of the fiesta,
623 the cabildo begins to select the names of the fiesteros /fiesta leaders/ for the following year. When the candidates have been chosen, the entire cabildo goes to their home, where after much dilatory chatting they announce the authorized choice. The offer is rejected at first, but eventually the great honor is accepted.

/199 cont./

388 Up to a few years ago, the extraction of laurel wax was the
43 only industry among the Calderas people that brought them monetary returns. And it was the sole article of active trading with the whites. At first the price was good; one peso a pound; nowadays it is barely worth 40 centavos. Thus, there is no
388 market for this article. The fiesteros and the albaceros have chunks of wax in their chambers. The laborers melt it in a copper pan and pour it at once into bamboo tubes, mixed with hot water so that it will not solidify at once. Into it they dip the notched wicks of different lengths so as to saturate them with wax, then bring them out into the air so that they will harden, saturate them once more with wax, and continue in this way until the candle has acquired the desired thickness. Several dozen are made; some large ones for the table, others of medium size for the church, and smaller ones for the mayordomos.

X

Gunpowder

389 The Paez are totally unfamiliar with the method of making
●829 gunpowder. And to explain how it is obtained, they tell the
648 painful legend that it is made from human beings. It comes from a fat man, they say, fattened expressly for this purpose. He is hung up, a red-hot iron rod is inserted in his rectum; lard drips down; and this lard is the gunpowder. For this reason, they do not want to send their children to distant lands where the white man lives. They believe that they would be used to obtain gunpowder. "The white men greatly desire Indians in order to obtain gunpowder."

389 The Indians buy gunpowder in the urban centers. They
439 work it up. The technique is almost universally known.

/208 cont./

231 After skinning it, they quarter it following a definite
796 sequence: the lower part of the hind legs (chinda), the lower
192 part of the front legs (kuse), the upper part of the hind legs (himbé), the upper part of the front legs (pala), the tail (mens), the flesh of the neck (chikichichi), the fat (sepo), upper intestine (chunchullo), lower intestine (meto), stomach (tuchi), /209/ trachea (pechita), lungs (mechto), heart (ús), liver
[827] (mechi), the gall (muahi), pancreas (shape)... They are familiar with most of the organs and their names, but not with their specific physiology.

262 Some of the pieces of meat go directly into the pan of
796 "mute," which is boiling and which the workers will eat for
252 lunch; others, to the barbecue where they will get the smoke from the kitchen.

Inside the house, in the fiuhne wala, the women grind shelled maize on two metates to make maize griddlecakes. With maize flour and water they make a dough which various women shape with their hands into circular form. In a separate kitchen, two women and two men are busy roasting them. First they let them harden on a piece of broken earthenware and then complete the cooking in the embers of the hearth. An elderly man gathers those that are cooked into a bag. Another one occupies himself with singing religious songs and praying. The maize griddlecakes are used to take care of the albacero on the following day.

796 This work is performed enthusiastically by the women.
[462] --The days of the fiesta are for talking, says one woman.
[829] --One can live through life only by getting drunk, says
[273] another.

/223 cont./

* 756 868 members of his family and under the direction of his teacher. The demand for his services on the part of others depends on the outcome of these treatments. Many of the young curers of * 756 554 866 Togoima, Calderas, and Santa Rosa learned in this manner. All of them state that their teachers had visions, and explicitly or implicitly admit their inferiority to them. "The ancestors had visions, and for this reason they must have been superior to us," says a curer from Calderas. Owing to this fact, people believe that the curers of today cannot talk to [829] [623] Thunder. They would be killed. One of the reasons given to explain why the cabildos /local councils/ of today do not go to the lagoon to wash the staffs of command is precisely the lack of curers like those of old.

* 756 868 [782] [778] Those who have had visions also place themselves under the direction of an experienced curer in order to learn the secrets of the profession. The definitive consecration as a curer is obtained when they offer the "Camarico" /a gift customarily given to guests/ to Thunder at the edge of the lagoon.

[554] Although an apprenticeship in medicine can be undertaken at a very early age, the practice requires one to be an adult of about 30 years of age and married or living with a woman. A "very young" curer would lie, informants say.

* 756 778 782 Consecration of the te eu. The true té eu, that is to say, those who have had visions, make the offering of the "Camarico /224/ to Thunder," a ceremony carried out at the edge of a lagoon, in order to be consecrated definitively as curers, since medicine is a heritage from Thunder.

The teacher asks the pupil for a white sheep and two new pouches. The animal is sacrificed, and from each organ on the left side a small piece is cut and placed in the pouch. This is the "Camarico for Thunder." With this gift, teacher and pupil set out for the lagoon, while at home the women cook the meat with the express order that no one may eat it until they return.

/237 cont./

753 cramps in the body, and furthermore that sorcerers see it in the
776 form of a turkey impelled to peck people.
821

It seems obvious that what the Indians call Echimbe (red
753 Echi) or candelilla fina /thin glowworm/ is a firefly /luciérnaga/
825 somewhat difficult to capture and extremely fierce. They differentiate it perfectly well from the fire beetle /cocuyos (cucuyos)/. They say that it is an animal that God produced in
[755] order to harm the Christians. The curers call them and catch them in their Kachí, while other Indians, chewing coca, catch them anywhere and bring them to the curer to be buried.
[774] They believe that their fierceness is due to the fact that the
[829] souls of the Pijao are incarnated in them.

753 The symptoms of the sting of Echi are vague and imprecise and refer solely to bodily pains.

The symptoms of Pijao "dirt" are recognized by respiratory difficulties.

164 They differentiate perfectly well the venereal diseases,
757 which seem to be quite widespread in the acculturated parcialidades. In Calderas they are said to have spread widely among both sexes, without respect to age, and to have been treated with copper sulphate, for the remedies of the Indians were of no use. In Santa Rosa antibiotics are used. A curer in that parcialidad maintains that those diseases were brought from La Plata by wandering women and that it befell him to treat two cases: one was serious and the patient died; the second, not very advanced, he treated with yukchacha, montaña barbasco, and fisa (bitopat or bodoquero). He administered the juice for six days and subjected the patient to a diet of chicken exclusively.

755 Remedies. The remedies used by the Paez curer are
757 vegetal. As a rule they are prescribed in combination. Thus:
/238/ To clean away the ptans:

[783] Yacuma blanca, ul fifi, fundayuskei, shugues, chandur, guepeyuskey, chayuts.

/109 cont./

124 One day, at the sight of a freshly cleared field on the
423 highest mountain slopes, I asked a Paez working there to whom this land belonged and whether the person concerned had always owned it. He answered that he himself was the owner and that previously the parcel had been ownerless. He said that he had cleared it for himself and only recently built his house here in order to live here. In answer to my question as to whether there was any more ownerless land, he explained to me that the highest and inaccessible mountain peaks which are still covered with big trees and have never been cleared do not belong to anyone and that any Paez could clear a piece on them, which would then become his property. Later I called Victoriano to task, saying that actually there still was ownerless land. "Yes," he then answered me, "of course there is still ownerless land, but it is so poor that it has no value."

157 Far from their village, on the way to market, and generally in /110/ places away from home, the Paez, if they
[123] are alone or in the minority, are timid and reserved. If they are together in large numbers, however, or, even better, in
[522] their own house, they are usually quite bold and impudent and loudly made their jokes at our expense. Indeed, jocularity is a
157 prominent characteristic of the Paez. No talk, no conversation,
521 be it ever so unimportant, is begun without joking -- often of
522 an erotic nature. The importance of conducting such a light,
[834] idle conversation is shown by the fact that serious-minded girls are scarcely ever married.

123 They made fun of my wife in particular, for they found
522 it altogether ugly that she wore long pants. Numerous jokes
157 were made about this, which we, of course, did not understand, and for this reason we, in turn, had to take the initiative by making a joke which was then acknowledged gratefully and usually
609 with quick-wittedness. On the whole, respect toward strangers
522 inside their dwelling is unknown to them. In larger groups they
157 make their asides even in a strange environment, accompanied by much laughter. Since one does not understand them, one
[797] easily gets the impression that they are silly. In their own houses they also mimic the visiting mission priest by repeating

/212 cont./

796 one a liter of aguardiente. The fiestero sits at the center of
273 the table, his wife sits on his right and the síndico on his left. The albacero approaches, takes the liter in his hands, measures out a cup, and offers it to the fiestero. The latter accepts it, drinks, and returns it. From the hands of the albacero he receives the cup and the liter. The proceeds in the same fashion with the calabash inside of which is the shachi léchukue. In the same manner he offers the other bottles and gourds to
[431] the wife of the fiestero and to the síndico. The distribution begins, for which the fiestero, fiestera, and the síndico call on three men to take charge of distributing the generous gift. The aguardiente is distributed by its owners themselves, who in each cup put small pieces of cake. The clamor increases in direct proportion to the consumption. Everyone drinks
796 alike: men, women, and children. This is the time for off-
522 color, rich, and abundant joking. The hour when fantasy
273 shines and takes wings. There is practically only one theme,
●831 sex in all its forms and manifestations: desires, /213/ feats, wooing, pregnancy, childbirth, genitalia, and even sham coitus in public. Any allusion to sex causes hilarity; many aspects of life, attitudes, and work are associated with sex.

796 At midnight the bottles and calabashes are empty. The
[273] music has been continuous, the drunkenness has increased ... But it is not yet over. At the house of the fiestero they are awaited with another gift.

The fiestero and the albacero dance with each other's wives. When the dance is over, everyone goes out and vanishes in the darkness of the night on paths that cannot be seen, only divined. The sound of the bass drum indicates that the people, the nasa wala, are on their way to the house of the fiestero.

There they will find the pale yellowish light, the table next to a pango and toward the center of the ñuhne wala, with its two lighted candles, its calabashes of chicha, and its bottles of aguardiente. This time it is the albacero who will

/190 cont./ The girl
595 then helps with household tasks and the father of the house may
591 have children by her, without his marrying the girl -- today at
178 any rate -- as his second wife in a regular marriage ceremony.

584 If a young man wants to marry, he speaks -- in the normal case -- to his father, and the latter with the father of his chosen one. Courtship through a third person outside the family is not customary, and the relatives on the two sides do not enter into communication with one another and exchange presents until after the official wedding ceremony. As a rule, the two young people have reached an agreement earlier, before the fathers speak to each other. The consent of the girl, however, is not required, for the agreement of the young man with the two fathers is fully adequate, and in this case the girl is given in marriage
584 even against her will. But this is said to be the case very rarely
754 or never, for it is dangerous for a girl to refuse a young man's
539 proposal of marriage. In this case he would spit and utter the following curse: "Toblel (untranslatable), I wanted to marry you, but you did not want it; now you must die!" I told the men of Calderas that I doubted whether this curse could have any effect, but then I was told the story of the girl who did not want to marry
[832] a Paez. This girl was very beautiful. (By the way, only unmarried girls are called beautiful; a married woman is never described as beautiful.) She was slightly fat -- being thin is regarded as ugly -- was always washed clean and well combed, and wore beautiful necklaces and earrings, handsomely woven clothing, and an exquisite belt that she herself wove. Many young men of Calderas wanted to marry her, but she did not want to marry a Calderun, only a white. She therefore left her village to go to Popayán (the only larger, well-known city). She walked very fast. On the way, however, in the páramo (bordering mountains) there was a Pijao. He /191/ seized her and took her into his house alive. There he kindled a fire, killed her, and devoured her. By way of explanation the storyteller added: A girl who does not want to marry a Calderun but a white, because the Calderun men are not handsome enough, would, on the way to

262 /351 cont./
[234] settlement and when they are dragging down /352/ the timber;
[237] the milk is not used, except in Mosoco, where we have seen
[534] that it is really consumed.
[342]

The Calderunos say that sheep are eaten frequently in the
[231] temperate regions such as Avirama and San Andrés, but few are consumed in Calderas; some say that sheep give wool for clothing. "Why eat them, when they provide ponchos," and others state that to eat mutton brings bad luck, because it would be like eating one's papa.

262 When there are visits by "elders" such as compadres, older
574 brothers, fathers-in-law, or own fathers, they are entertained ("cuida") with dishes different from the ordinary ones, based essentially around barnyard fowl and eggs. If there is meat, a large piece is cooked. The compadres, in turn, bring as a gift griddle-cakes (about 15), eggs (about 10), and frequently chickens.

262 There is no special diet for children; they eat exactly the
846 same as adults. There are differences of diet according to sex only when the woman has just given birth. Then, she is given ground maize, arracacha, manioc, ripe plantain, laying hens ("these
[261] are nice and fat"), and mutton. The mejicano is proscribed for them, because it brings cold into the stomach and gives much pain; onions, because they cause a stomach ailment and rot the in-
[844] testines; pork and the fríjol bueno for the same reason. Peppers are also taboo for parturient women.

262 For hard labor, it is regarded as good to eat mote, with
263 cabbage, fríjol bueno, and well salted, because it gives strength for the daily activities; if one eats the same thing (" a good dish"), but without salt, they say that one is already hungry by the middle of the day.

262 Foods regarded as aphrodisiacs are "sango," prepared with
● 832 finely ground and sifted maize, and raw eggs.

261 Of the foods that they eat, they believe that chicha and water are transformed into blood, and the maize, potatoes, fríjoles, and arracacha into flesh.

To gain weight, they believe that it is necessary to eat and not to work, rather than to follow a special diet.

/262 cont./

754 most opportunities to meet evil spirits. Generally they do not need a teacher, but may look for their herbs by themselves. There are also many people, however, who would like to learn sorcery from other nyic, just as there are also supposed to nyic who instruct others in their art.

756 Avoidance prescriptions and taboos for the shaman include
784 some sexual and dietary abstinence, without, however, being
[834] very extensive or strict. Intercourse with his wife is forbidden
[263] for him when he feels his "signs." Moreover, he may not eat any ají if possible, in order not to make Thunder too angry. Also, he may eat only very little salt, since Thunder likewise /263/ eats
[787] no salt. For the séances, which always take place at night, he fasts the whole day, since a full stomach makes it difficult to feel the
756 "signs." The other avoidance rules for the shaman are the same
784 as for all other human beings. For example, one may not kill a
825 snail, for if he should touch it, he would become lazy. In like manner, the black woodpecker (ánza) may not be killed, since otherwise, while working, one would split the machete in the same way as the tail of the woodpecker is shaped. Young men are forbidden to take a stolen hen away from a fox, for then another man would take his bride or wife away from him. Only
[262] old men may confidently eat such a hen, if they have first run around the house with a firebrand.

c) Shamanistic Aids

756 Among the shamanistic aids, the "signs" are the most im-
787 portant symptoms experienced, while the outward ceremonial gear is as meager as the whole Paez culture. The only ceremonial implement is the unadorned shaman's staff, the functional meaning of which, however, is far less important than the shamanistic "signs" (ítok). "They are like the pecking of a bird," the shaman Cerbeleón Niunda said of them, and Francisco Cuskue describes them as the irregular beating of his pulse. To be able to receive
[278] and to interpret them is the basis of being a shaman. Knowledge of the medicinal herbs, the handling of the shaman's staff, in

/235 cont./

753 j) When there is no blowing of remedies while at the
783 montañas, bogs, or lagoons.

k) When there is no blowing of remedies prior to cutting wood for bridges, sugar mills, and canoes.

l) When, at the inauguration of a rancho or house, the house ceremonies have not been performed.

ll) When the house has been built over a Pijao "huaca," or when they merely come across one while working the land.

m) When the traditional ceremonies are not performed upon harvesting a new clearing.

754 n) Through the machinations of the sorcerers. These kill
753 the most people, for they not only send the pest to persons,
783 but also to the entire community. On the other hand, they provoke /236/ the Ghost, Rainbow, and Echi to anger and also do sorcery at the request of jealous or vengeful persons. The sorcerers have unlimited power.

Hernández de Alba, speaking of illness, generalizes in these words:

"Sickness was always thought to be caused by witchcraft or by someone's will. The evil force entered the body and made it impure; it had to be expelled or "cleansed," lest death ensue. If a delirious person told who was killing him, the individual mentioned was thought guilty; or, if, after a death, the face of the deceased should appear to somebody,
[834] the person was considered responsible. These beliefs are still
[121] in force today, and the Indians avoid the causes of sickness,
[765] such as having sexual intercourse wit /sic/ a menstruating woman, exposing the body to bad weather while there is a rainbow, and neglicting /sic/ to bathe after a burial or to purify a house where a death ocurred /sic/" /cited in English/ (7).

7. Hernández de Alba, Gr. 1946, p. 955. See also Pittier de Fábrega, H. 1907, p. 325.

/248 cont./

776 child to help the Indians, to protect them, and to instill a belief in her.

The ghosts look like angels and have a body covered with [727] down. Women may see them making the motions of weaving, in such a case they will become good weavers. Men may see them with pouches, indicating that they will become curers.

It is said that there are large and small ghosts. The former, when they rise, leave the rainbow behind them, like a trail. The latter do not keep company with the former and are less fierce. Both shriek like professional mourners.

* 756 562 The female Té eu. Women can be curers, people state; there is no reason why the signs would not circulate for them. Nevertheless, no woman is a curer. In Santa Rosa there is a woman who, according to her own confession, is a good curer, has seen Thunder and conversed with him, and has good remedies. Thunder even gave her a wooden doll called "Soft wind [754] of Thunder," with which she gives treatments. But the community regards her as a most dangerous sorceress, and the cabildo has burned her remedies and has put her in the stocks. Furthermore, all the deaths caused by sorcery are blamed on her.

On the other hand, the behavior shown by the community is the same as that observed for all sorcerers, that is to say, detachment and resentment against her. A curer from Calderas explains the phenomenon as follows: women are cleverer than men; they have brilliant ideas and in general dominate the men. [754] A woman can become a curer, but at any time she might turn into a sorceress, because she is cleverer than a man. Sometimes she gets to the point where nothing matters to her. Hence women do not learn medicine.

* 756 ● 834 262 Taboos of the Té eu. They refer above all to sex and food. They do not have the full force and tenacity which they have in other cultures.

/249/

756 While the curer is perceiving the signs, he cannot cohabit.
134 The sorcerer who is aware of this interdiction will, out of
754 malice and wickedness, take his wife to the kachí and cohabit
with her, with the aim that the signs will not circulate for the
[826] curer and the glowworms will not rise. And to add to the
wickedness, they leave in the kachí pubic hairs, which are
poisonous.

756 The curer cannot eat ají, especially the one called ají
262 de montaña, because this would anger Thunder and the Ghost.
[263] They do not eat salt, or consume very little of it. Thunder
did not eat salt, they say. They eat the meat of the "pro-
[725] visions" after performing the cleansing. In the ceremonies of
ut ká, wé ká, and ut peu, they fast for one day. That is to
say, they eat at daybreak and eat again on the following day.
Furthermore, since the treatments are given at night, frugality
makes them sleep less.

787 Dreams of the Té eu. The interpretation of Paez dreams,
as in the generality of popular interpretations of dreams, ob-
serves a certain relation between the manifest content of the
dream and the action to come. To put it better, future events
are deduced from the manifest content of the dream.

They believe firmly in the omens of the dreams, but they
[756] do nothing to forestall them. It is as if it were a fatality of
destiny. There are no dreams peculiar to the curers. Inter-
pretation is a common patrimony of the people. The attitude
toward these omens is the same: to wait indifferently. Here
are a few examples out of many:

787 To dream that a snake bites him, sorcery. But if in the
754 dream another person kills the snake at the moment when it
bites him, a good curer will turn the sorcery from the victim
to the sorcerer himself.

To dream that a herd of swine attacks him, they are
practicing sorcery.

To dream of killing a pig, the sorcerer is going to be killed.

/177 cont./

604 laugh, but nothing more. The uncle's wife is to be called aunt and she receives the nephew's blessing because she is older. He may not joke with her. Should she become a widow (echui), the nephew may not marry her because he must respect her. We have not been able to find any information that might make one suspect avuncular or amitate relations.

605 Cousins of the first degree, paternal and maternal, respect each other and avoid aggressive attitudes among themselves. Between male cousins presents of harvest produce may be made, which is not done with the female cousins, for they live with their respective husbands.

602 The parents of married couples call each other compadre (compale). There is no difference of comportment between them; the greeting is given by the first one to see his compadre.

606 Sexual relations between father-in-law and daughter-in-law are
[835] prohibited, just as between son-in-law and mother-in-law. There are cases in which the parents-in-law do not care for their son-in-law, and also in which the parents-in-law do not care for their daughter-in-law.

607 Following the general standards of conduct, EGO shows more respect toward his older brothers-in-law than toward the younger ones. A man may not cohabit with the wife of his brother, which is characterized as "mucha grosería" /great rudeness/. The husband may cohabit with the sister of his wife,
[587] but it is characterized as "muy feo" /very ugly/. The marriage of a man to the widow of his brother or that of a woman to the widower of her sister is also regarded as wrong. Relations between brothers-in-law are cordial; "they respect each other as though they belonged to the same family."

The brothers and sisters of the husband treat the brothers and sisters of the wife as compadres. They may marry each other.

[602] /178/ The sons of the brothers and sisters of the father are nothing to the sons of the brothers and sisters of the mother. They do not speak to each other.

/183 cont./

605 proscribed. With respect to relations between cousins, they
835 state that whoever has them cannot pass the Páramo /crests of the cordilleras/ (Guanacas, Delicias, Moras), because the tiger will eat them. They add, however, that nothing will happen to them if such unions take place without any prelude, laughter, or merriment.

582 In deciding upon the spouses there exists a very singular
551 cultural trait. A man never chooses his future wife from among women bearing his own surname. Thus, a Muse does not choose a Muse for his wife, although she may live in another parcialidad. They believe that there may be kinship relations
551 between them. Cases in which a husband and wife do have the
582 same surname are very rare, and when that happens the husband
851 endeavors to introduce his wife by her mother's name. A case that we were able to observe unexpectedly was during the baptism of a baby girl solemnized in the church at Inzá. For elementary reasons we are concealing the names of the actual parents, and we shall suppose that the father is called Manuel Kiguasú and the mother María Kiguasú. In order to register the baptism of the child, the priest asked for the name of the parents. "Manuel Kiguasú," answered the father of the child, but upon being asked the name of his wife, he did not say that she was called María Kiguasú, as in reality she was, being the legitimate daughter of a Kiguasú, but María Vitechi, a name inherited from her mother. The case acquires more importance if one takes into account the fact that the so-called Manuel Kiguasú is a mestizo
551 who lives among the "whites" and deals with them. We found
582 the same situation in the genealogical record of the family of Nicanor Guagás of the parcialidad of Calderas. Rosario Ido, widow of Nicanor Guagás, bears the name of her mother, a native of the parcialidad of Cuetando, and not that of her father, Agustín Guagás, she being a legitimate daughter. Although in the same records Nicolasa Guagás does not conceal her surname in mentioning that of her deceased husband, Manuel José Guagás, a marriage authorized by the Church, for Nicolasa states that she is her husband's niece. The name of the nuclear family, that is to

/189 cont./

b) Maturity

881 Today no rites or ceremonies for the youths take place any
[178] more. In former times they were led to the sacred lagoon of Juan
[778] Tama or to the heights of Cuetando, and there they had to build
a hut and lay out a small cornfield as proof of their capabilities
as a man and father of a household (Hernandez, 1944, p. 203).

[582] A girl comes of age with puberty, that is to say, she may
[836] marry. Before that and before marriage, intercourse is not per-
[535] mitted. On the occasion of the first menstruation in former times
a special dance was performed (itsa-kó), during which the young
girl was bathed naked in chicha in a pit outside the festival house
881 (Castillo i Orosco, p. 85). Today this no longer takes place;
285 rather, a girl, when she goes to the dúyat for the first time at
787 about 15 years of age, takes along agave fibers and during the
[178] approximately five days that she stays there plaits a very pretty,
[262] small fiber bag (yāhalečkwe) about the size of a fist. There
are no additional food prohibitions or similar things. After that
she goes to a distant river to bathe. On the way there she lets
the bag fall. A married man passing by lets it lie, for he knows
that it belongs to a young girl. A young man, however, who
happens to be coming that way sees the beautifully worked bag,
picks it up, and uses it as a small money-bag. Without knowing
who made the little bag, he will -- people are convinced -- marry
this girl.

/190/ c) Marriage

595 The present form of marriage of the Paez is monogamy.
114 H. Pittier de Fábrega (p. 314), however, concludes from their
traditions that the Paez were formerly polygamous and were con-
verted to monogamy only through education on the part of the
missionaries. I could find no clue in their mythology for actual
595 polygamy in former times. The social structure and way of life
591 of the Paez, however, prohibits living alone for unmarried girls.
[589] In case they have no relatives or do not find lodging in the house
of relatives, another man takes them into his family. The girl

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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147 the odor peculiar to the Indians, which becomes quite noticeable when they are sweating and which so closely resembles that of the secretion of the so-called *sakino*, or wild hog (*Dicotyles tajacu* L.), that I have more than once been deceived into believing that our trail crossed the path of a drove of these animals.

516 When at rest the Paez men almost invariably sit on their heels, the toes sustaining the whole weight of the body, while the women sit with their legs stretched together on the ground, [514] even when near the fire in their houses. In micturition young 481 girls remain standing. The gait of both men and women is short-paced and easy, the body being always slightly inclined forward, probably on account of the habit of carrying heavy loads.

824 Like all children of Nature, the Paez Indians are very keen 825 observers of their surroundings, as is shown by the minuteness of their differentiation in plants and in certain groups of insects. Castillo, for instance, gives the names of no fewer than six different varieties of ants —

[552]

kan-kik	*ci'i-kik-ne*	*oia-i*
kik-fints	*gunc-kandi*	*to-fiti*

and I collected very few plants for which they did not have a ready name.

Reproduction and Death

881 When a girl reached puberty the event was celebrated among the old Paez Indians by a special dance called *itsa-ko*, during which the young naked female was placed in a hole dug outside the hall-house and thoroughly washed with *chicha*. We have no 836 notice of pre-marital liberty being conceded to women, nor of the relation of children to parents in the family organization. As 595 tradition has it, the pre-conquest Paez were polygamous, and notwithstanding the efforts of the missionaries, it is almost certain that this practice has not completely disappeared. We know nothing about the existence of marriage ceremonies before 581 the introduction of the Catholic ritual. It is likely, however, [586] that marriages were endogamous and free, and, as such, a very frail institution, as Castillo informs us that even in his time

848 /178/ the cabildo until she names the father of her child. If he
623 is an unmarried young man, he must marry the girl. A married man, however, is beaten by the cabildo. He does not need to make support payments. It is different if a married man has no
842 children. In this case the wife is regarded in principle as the one
848 at fault. He may then have a child by an unmarried girl without
837 being punished. He simply explains to the cabildo that he has a
[623] great deal of property and that he therefore needs children whom he cannot have by his wife. To the mother of his natural child he gives a cow, clothing, and a pretty belt, and she then surrenders her child to the lawful wife of the father of her child. He may
[554] do this several times until he has enough children. This is not permitted, however, for a poor man without possessions, it was explained to me, for "why does he need children?"

844 At the time of menstruation and also at the birth of a child
841 the woman stays in a special small hut (dúyat). She receives her
[343] food either from her mother, sister, or a neighbor woman from a house in which several women live. This woman at the same time cooks for the members of the family of the menstruating woman. The members of the family of the woman who is temporarily cooking receive their meals from another female member of her family. The woman who takes care of the food also fetches the wood for the fire necessary for warmth in the dúyat. Female inhabitants of farms or of field huts used for only a few months, which have no
[758] dúyat, go to a neighboring or related family for this period. In
[602] case the housewife becomes ill, she moves into the house of one of her sisters or female relatives, where she is nursed. The male relatives of the sick woman must then likewise go to the house of this relative to eat.

614 Besides the patrilineal nuclear families, no recognized patrilineal kin-groups /Sippen/ are known among the Paez, but all who bear the same family name feel related and may not marry, even though they are not knowingly -- this knowledge goes back only two generations -- related. Our interpreter, Victoriano Piñakuẽ, for example, may not only not marry any girls with the patronymic Piñakuẽ, but also no girls whose mothers are named Piñakuẽ. Conditions are particularly difficult among the

/194 cont./

585 those of my husband, and you are not to say bad words either to your husband or to us!

The wedding celebration is as brilliant as possible, which means entertaining the guests lavishly as long as possible. In some families the celebration goes on for more than a week. [535] There is no dancing in Calderas, but in other Paez villages [177] Colombian folk dances, usually the open bambuco, are danced.

586 A dissolution of the marriage through divorce is said not to occur even among the non-Christian Paez. Also there is no separation of married people, since man and wife are dependent on each [837] other for economic reasons. Yet it not infrequently happens -- [848] as reported above -- that married men have children outside their marriage with other unmarried girls.

587 In case of the death of one partner, the surviving spouse may remarry. But whereas for the first marriage he merely could not marry a partner of the same name, in the second marriage he also may not marry a partner bearing the name of the deceased. Thus, for example, Juán Piñakué, who in his first marriage was wed to Ascensiona Kiskué, may not marry a Kiskué a second time.

589 /195/ Widowers continue to live in their houses and, if the children are not yet grown, usually marry a second time; other-
591 wise they live in the house of one of their grown sons. Widows, if
[587] they are older, usually do not marry again. With their children they go back to where they came from, namely, the house of their parents. If the latter are no longer living, they have the right, for the time being, to live in the house of whichever brother happens to be living at the time in the house of the deceased father. If the house is no longer standing, the widow lives with one of her brothers or with other relatives. In any case, she cannot, as a woman, live alone in a house, but always only in one belonging to a man.

/185 cont./

623 no other solution, I had to marry, "reflected the informant," for
736 such was the law. The cabildo finds husbands for female orphans
562 (guaiches). Any youth could ask the cabildo for an orphan for a
583 wife and it would give her."

The husband may punish his wife. We were able to ob-
593 serve the case of a native Calderuno who with tears in his eyes
[586] asked for the help of the priest to get back his wife who had abandoned him because he had given her some blows with the flat of a machete, injuring her. The complaining husband explained that the maltreatment given to his wife had not been of any importance, and, anyway, she had cost him twelve pesos, meaning by this the amount paid to the priest to celebrate the
593 nuptials. They punish the wife when on returning from work
684 they find her drunk and without food prepared for eating. Likewise they whip her or cuff her in cases of infidelity. Absolute
• [837] fidelity is demanded from both spouses, and transgressions from this standard seem to be infrequent.

Such cases as present themselves are settled by the cabildo,
593 as we were able to observe in Mosoco, where a husband, through
623 the suggestion of his own mother, accused his wife of infidelity.
684 The cabildo /186/ in session went to the house of the plaintiff
692 to establish responsibility in the presence of the interested parties. According to an informant from Calderas, when a married man has a child by an unmarried girl, his wife complains before the cabildo. If it finds the girl guilty, it punishes her with lashes and authorizes the complainant to cut the hair of her rival.
[848] The child born in this way, said the informant, dies of the plague.
[753] Cases of infidelity on the part of the husband a number of times arouse violent reactions on the part of the wife, up to the point of liquidating her rival in a barbarous and merciless manner, as occurred in San Andrés where out of jealousy a woman practically quartered the body of the other woman, and whose penal judgment was given in the city of Popayán not many months ago.

/186 cont./

837 Should an unfaithful wife conceive a child by a man
851 racially white and the husband not be aware of it, the latter considers it his child even if it should inherit the characteristics of its progenitor. He will simply observe, "Why do my children come like this?" His wife answers him, "I don't know; it may
581 be echi or Pijao." In general marriages are well established and
593 stable, in spite of the fact that occasional tensions may arise between spouses. Divorce is unknown among the Páez. Extinction
586 of marriages by separation or the abandonment of one of the spouses is rare. In Calderas they can count on the fingers of one hand the cases where a man has abandoned his wife. "This is very ugly in a person, it should never happen," comments a woman. Cases in which a woman abandons the husband are much rarer still, being bitterly criticized when they occur.

594 The mother has the obligation to feed and care for her
854 children up to when they can leave home. Labor which she
[853] truly performs with love and care. The children suckle until they are two years old and even up to three, a period during which she never leaves them at any time. She cradles them on her breast or in the hammock and carries them on her shoulders,
594 attending to them lovingly whenever they cry. The father looks
867 after his boys from the time that they gain complete mastery of
[593] the biped state, without this making him less loving toward his daughters. Then he begins to take his sons everywhere.

During religious festivals they sit at his side, participate in the conversation of their elders, and are served food and
[273] drink in the same way as their elders. In Calderas and in /187/ San Andrés we had the opportunity to observe children five years old reeling under the effects of chicha and aguardiente. At this age, when they begin to take part in the economic life of the family group, the father teaches them to chew coca. The father conscientiously performs this labor of endoculturation.

597 We have not come across any cases of adopted children.
736 When both parents die, the children stay in the home of the nearest relative.

593 The conduct of the children toward their parents is that of deep respect. Nevertheless, in Calderas we witnessed the verbal

/144 cont./

have himself specially purified by the shaman before hunting. In case the wife of a hunter happens to be menstruating at the very time of the hunt, however, purification is of no avail; the hunter is too "dirty" and must stay at home, so as not to provoke the wrath of the gĕlyómp and thus bring misfortune on the entire hunting party.

The latter generally consists of six men with 12 dogs, without there being any regular battues, however. The hunters are equipped with shotguns, whose smooth barrels, with a caliber of about 15 millimeters, consist of strong sheet-iron. Fine sand is used as shot; powder is purchased and ignited with a spark from the flintlock.

There are no closed seasons for animals; nor is gĕlyómp angry, say, because too much game might be hunted, for "this does not happen, since there is not that much." After hunting, however, the hunter fastens the tail feathers of the birds killed to the inner side of the roof of his house and the cleanly gnawed skulls of the four-footed animals killed to its center post or center gable-post, both so as to be successful again the next time in hunting the same game. I found tail feathers of birds under the roof covering of almost every house, and frequently also three, five, or ten monkey or rabbit skulls fastened directly to the house post or strung one above the other on a string. Only once did I find, on the gable post of a small field-hut, at a man's height, below a monkey skull, a very crudely incised human figure with an oval face and six hairs standing straight up on the head (Ill. 200 /see p. 288/). The eyes are represented by circles, the nose by a long rectangle, and the mouth by a triangle. The body is rectangular. Two semicircular lines are incised on the sides of the body. The arms start at these semicircles as two bent lines and stick out somewhat; the legs are represented in a similar way; a triangle between them is probably supposed to indicate the genitals. A Christian cross is carved on the side of the post. I was told that the human figure represents the "devil," /145/ but had nothing to do with hunting. This explanation is, of course, unsatisfactory, but I was unable to find any similar

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/271 cont./

753 caused by the spirits eč, tũs, or gělyómp, or general emanations
783 of impurity, of "pest" (uwẽ). Such reasons for catching pest, and
[754] thereby being afflicted with sickness, result largely from neglecting
[764] the prescribed shamanistic purifications. These must take place
after a burial or when someone has merely seen a funeral proces-
753 sion or entered a house in which there is a corpse. The prohibitions
783 surrounding a woman giving birth or menstruating are just as strict.
841 If she does not retire to the menstruation hut at the proper time,
[844] if she cohabits during these days or neglects to take the subsequent
bath after menstruation and birth, the consequences are equally
[264] grave. Pest befalls a man if he accepts food from a menstruating
753 woman. The same consequences befall the one who in housebuild-
783 ing or during the first harvest does not have the proper ceremonies
756 performed by the shaman.
342 Most people die as the result of the evil influence of the
754 nyiç, the evil sorcerers. The latter -- it is firmly believed --
783
761 are able to kill individual persons as well as to send pest to entire
villages. Their power of evil is regarded as almost unlimited.
Besides being bewitched by a nyiç, there are three other possibili-
753 ties for a person to become ill or to die. These causes are
761 gělyómp, tũs, and eč. All three are very complex conceptions
776 and may be translated roughly as "mountain spirit," "rainbow,"
and "firefly," respectively, although the Paez conception and the
[756] translation are not completely identical. The teyu knows the
cause of the illness immediately from his signs, the rest of the
people, however, usually only after the death of the sick person.
And, to be sure, one recognizes the tũs as the cause of illness by the
fact /272/ that the corpse lies there with a bent limb (arm or leg),
whereas in the case of ec as the cause of death, blood flows from
the mouth or nose. It is also possible that both together, tũs and
eč, might bring death to the person, for example, if the person
lies there bent and blood flows from the mouth or nose.
776 The gělyómp spirit lives chiefly in the mountains, but also in
the valley, on the banks of brooks or rivers. He likes to lead
wanderers astray in the mountains by making noise and screaming
up there; at night one hears his screams -- like those of a human

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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marriage bonds were not definitely made until experiment indicated the fecundity of the woman, and that the union was dissolved at the will of the husband if the wife proved to be barren. The same authority informs us that the wife had to give her husband the necessary clothing, while the husband provided food for the family. 581 [586] [585]

A custom mentioned by Castillo was that during menses the women spent the time sitting in small huts expressly built for that purpose, for fear of contaminating the common dwelling and of bringing disease and death to its occupants. 841

Rodriguez relates another custom in connection with childbirth and death: ". . . y siempre que pare la mujer, ó que muere alguno de su familia, desamparan la casa, dexando en ella al difunto con cantidad de bastimento y de la chicha, brebage, que beben: y á las casas donde parió la mujer, las dejan con las inmundicias de el parto, y acabadas de nacer las criatures, las laban, y se vañan sus madres, poniendose en viaje á buscar nuevo paraje para su habitacion, que siempre procuran sea en parte muy fragosa, por no ser visitados." 844

These details are confirmed by Castillo and were probably still observed in his time. As to what is done at present, and regarding the family organization in general, it is very difficult to obtain reliable information. The Indians are very jealous of their women, do not tolerate in them any intercourse with strangers, and become instantly distrustful when questioned about family matters. 152 593 609

With reference to death, Castillo differs from Rodriguez in that he states that a dying person was taken from the house, so that he did not actually die in it, and that the dwelling was destroyed by fire. He does not mention the custom of leaving food near the corpse, but states that the body was buried and a fence built around the grave. 768 763 764

Diseases

No diseases came under my observation during my stay at Huila and Tacueyó, and the Indians rather impressed me as being a healthy people. But if their vocabulary affords suffi- 164 [114]

/186 cont./

600 with the guinea pigs. These ranchos give the impression of
342 extreme poverty in their dwellings. None of them is of
bahareque.

342 The second type of dwelling, which is more widespread
/77 and shows a larger number of foreign architectural elements,
is the large rectangular house with a four-slope roof, 15 to 20
meters long by four or five meters wide, with one or two doors
and two or three rooms, one of which takes up two-thirds of the
space made, and the last third is subdivided into the room in-
tended for the kitchen and the other for the chicha troughs and
[841] pantry. Not a few of the dwellings of this type have a compart-
[343] ment for menstruating women (du yate lëchukue), although as
a rule small huts are built outside the house for this purpose.

[513] In this type of dwelling one commonly finds bahareque,
[352] sleeping platforms, plank doors, and sometimes whitewashed
walls.

361 The settlement of Calderas is made up of this kind of
342 dwelling. It consists of 14 houses scattered at random on a
[312] beautiful plateau of some 20 hectares, covered with pastures
[796] and crossed by drainage ditches that bring water to five of the
[346] houses, which are permanently occupied; the others, although
they have owners, serve only for religious fiestas when the
fiestero /fiesta leader/ moves there with his retinue of
mayordomos, laborers, cooks, and the utensils for serving
346 aguardiente, chicha, and food. These houses are spacious, 25
796 meters long by six meters wide; thick mud walls, with a plank
door at the entrance; the enormous sala, ñuhne wala, is 13
meters long; here stand the sugar mill, the metate (ũkukuat),
the notched ladder for climbing to the garret, the pango pil,
crudely hewn rectangular beams on which the men sit, one of
which is 10 meters long; firewood is piled in one of the corners;
the floor is of earth unevenly smoothed. The concentrations of
people who visit the fiestero in a daily stream gather in these
spacious salas; here music echoes, the albacero /fiestero's
assistant/ is taken care of, the dances take place, the drunks
sleep, and the sugar cane is milled.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5, ✓ (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

The *Páez* family is completely under the authority of the father, whose wife and children obey him implicitly and may be punished by him. Nonetheless, the father must obtain his wife's permission to sell or exchange goods she produced, such as bags for coca, sashes, etc. Precise etiquette is maintained between fathers and godfathers (compadres). Whenever a man meets his father or his godfather, he must kneel to receive his blessing. The fathers and godfathers must embrace whenever they meet. In one case a young man was the godfather of his father's new son by another wife, so that in meeting his father the young man had to kneel bareheaded, and then stand with his hat on and embrace his father as a godparent. The father did not call him "son" but "compadre." 594 [425] 608 576

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—A very old custom among these peoples is that at childbirth the mother should retire to a special house or go to the mountains. If she was delivered in the home, she and the baby were bathed, and then the family left the hut and built a new one elsewhere. 844

Today both the *Moguex* and *Páez* have a special hut for childbirth. The day after the child is born, the mother is placed in a hole up to her head and bathed with an infusion of leaves of "moquita," after which she washes the clothes and objects worn during delivery. She then returns to work and lives again at home. In the special hut, a *Páez* woman is assisted in childbirth by another woman, or, as a last resort, by her husband, who must bathe immediately afterward. Two days later, the mother circumcises her son or destroys the virginity of her daughter. Four or five days after the birth and after the first bath, the father takes the child to the sacristan of the community for baptism with water, and then returns it to the mother. The afterbirth must be buried or burned at the place of the birth. About 15 days later, the mother takes a bath and washes her child and her clothes and objects, and returns home. Later, the child is baptized with oil in the church by the priest with the godparents present. This is an occasion for general dancing and drunkenness. 846 [757] [343] [844] [304] [851] [844] [851] [608]

Puberty.—At puberty a girl was formerly taken by her parents to a hill, placed in a hole, and bathed. Each Indian then took her a gift. Pittier de Fábrega (1907) notes that at a later period a girl's puberty was celebrated with the "Itsa-kó" dance, the girl, bathed with chicha, remaining in the hole. Today, a woman must retire during her menstrual periods to a special hut, where other women bring her food and build a fire to warm her. Afterward, she bathes, washes her clothes and objects, and then returns home. 881 [431] [535] 841 343

Men, until recently, underwent a sort of initiation, in which they were taken to the shores of the sacred lagoon of Juan Tama or to the 881

7tHernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

754 upon them by the missionaries. The power to do evil is not limited to the witches, but is possessed by anyone who entertains a momentary feeling of envy, and to women, who may not walk over a stick or a cord [841] stretched on the ground. Contact with women during their men- [846] struation or during the days following childbirth causes the "mokokoy" [753] to persecute the men and make them ill.

825 Animals possess the power to prognosticate evil. A document written in 1730 [14] tells that an Indian killed a rooster because he had 787 crowed before daybreak, and said, "Rooster, you are forecasting my 763 death, but I shall kill you first." They believe the same thing when certain birds sing. For example, the call of an owl at midnight brings death to someone. And certain small birds called "ulchik" and others called "bich" warn whomever hears their singing that he will meet with disaster. The box turtle follows people warning them that they are going to die.

825 Del Castillo says that the Indians will not strike white dogs, so that 775 they will not be bitten by them when they enter the future life.

The belief in spirits (kl'iumb) is quite general. Among these 776 spirits is the "pitsuala" which persecutes people, makes them ill, and 753 even kills them. The rainbow, or "Etskituns," causes a rash to break [821] out all over the body of anyone who ventures out while the rainbow shines, and the drizzle that generally accompanies the rainbow will harm a person who gets wet in it if he does not bathe immediately. When the rainbow appears, they stay indoors, and blow or spit tobacco in its direction.

776 They believe that the lagoon on the snowcapped peak, Huila, is [823] charmed, and that if they try to go near it wind and hail storms rise. [821] Supernatural evil forces are supposed to be present during many social activities, such as dancing, meetings, funerals, house building, [491] and bridge construction. When a bridge is built, two Indians beat [331] the water constantly to drive away evil spirits. When traveling on [484] the mountains they place small stones or coins on top of some large [782] natural rock to assure a successful trip and to avoid angering the spirit of the mountain.

[825] Sometimes these spiritual forces assume a bodily form, as in the [753] case of the fireflies, which bring diseases or which may be wrapped in [754] Santa María leaves and placed in the path of an intended victim. Most feared are the ghosts of the dead, which consequently are the 782 most propitiated. The *Moguex* and the *Páez* ask their permission to 769 dance, and honor them in a special rite, which blends old beliefs with [775] new religious concepts. Thus, offerings are made to the souls during the first days of November, or whenever the curate is able to visit the Indian village. Each person offers some products from his farm, in-

[14] Statement made by Javier de Orosco y Cuellar in a lawsuit by the Indians of Tobaima for the possession of land. From the ecclesiastical files of Belalcázar, or Páez.

848 /178/ the cabildo until she names the father of her child. If he
623 is an unmarried young man, he must marry the girl. A married man, however, is beaten by the cabildo. He does not need to make support payments. It is different if a married man has no
842 children. In this case the wife is regarded in principle as the one
848 at fault. He may then have a child by an unmarried girl without
837 being punished. He simply explains to the cabildo that he has a
[623] great deal of property and that he therefore needs children whom he cannot have by his wife. To the mother of his natural child he gives a cow, clothing, and a pretty belt, and she then surrenders her child to the lawful wife of the father of her child. He may
[554] do this several times until he has enough children. This is not permitted, however, for a poor man without possessions, it was explained to me, for "why does he need children?"

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[343] food either from her mother, sister, or a neighbor woman from a house in which several women live. This woman at the same time cooks for the members of the family of the menstruating woman. The members of the family of the woman who is temporarily cooking receive their meals from another female member of her family. The woman who takes care of the food also fetches the wood for the fire necessary for warmth in the dúyat. Female inhabitants of farms or of field huts used for only a few months, which have no
[758] dúyat, go to a neighboring or related family for this period. In
[602] case the housewife becomes ill, she moves into the house of one of her sisters or female relatives, where she is nursed. The male relatives of the sick woman must then likewise go to the house of this relative to eat.

614 Besides the patrilineal nuclear families, no recognized patrilineal kin-groups /Sippen/ are known among the Paez, but all who bear the same family name feel related and may not marry, even though they are not knowingly -- this knowledge goes back only two generations -- related. Our interpreter, Victoriano Piñakuẽ, for example, may not only not marry any girls with the patronymic Piñakuẽ, but also no girls whose mothers are named Piñakuẽ. Conditions are particularly difficult among the

/183 cont./

601 Forms of address:

father and mother together (whether by their own children or other persons)	ovényi or pětãm
father and son together (by other persons)	pěndyĩk
father and daughter together (by other persons)	pěndyĩs
mother and son together (by other persons)	pěndyĩk
mother and daughter together (by other persons)	pěndyĩs

3. Customs during the Course of Life and of a Day

182 593 [157] [114] The Paez generally give the impression of being contented human beings, and it seems that marriage and family life are better than average. Of course, the observations on this are very scanty, for, on account of the remote location of the individual dwellings, the research worker always has only a brief glimpse of family conditions at any one time. This very solitude, however, and the consciousness of greater dependence on one another within the family, favors its cohesion, even as it reduces the conflict and irritation which arise through women's gossip when people live too closely on top of one another.

842 [123] Basically every family wants a great many children -- at any rate so said all the men questioned. Two Calderun women, however, /184/ confided to my wife that there was a remedy -- which they and other women, too, naturally did not use! -- that [825] [237] would with certainty prevent conception: One must eat some of the spittle of a mula (the female, infertile cross between horse and donkey), and then one would no longer have children. They said that a woman does this only when she has already given birth to a great many children. In general every girl desires a great

In general
842 /184 cont./every girl desires a great
[581] many children, for this is the chief requirement for being married. Moreover, the percentage of barren women -- in childless marriages,
[162] they say, the fault is always the woman's -- is not small. According to inquiries, it comes to about 10 per cent. Men generally want boys; the women, girls, in order to have help in the house-
845 hold. Twin births are rare, but they are not regarded as anything special; rather, people are happy about them as they are about other children. Deformities at birth are said not to occur; however, I saw several persons with cleft palates. They seem to be ashamed of this, for in conversations with us they always held
847 their hands over their mouths. Infanticide does not occur. To
123 inquiries about this, there was always the completely horrified counterquestion as to whether that was the case in my country.
165 Overpopulation is not to be feared, even with a larger number
[163] of children -- the average is three to four living children per family -- since infant mortality comes to more than 50 per cent.
[164] Whooping cough is the most frequent cause of death among small children.

a) Birth and Childhood

843 The parents' concern for the child begins even before birth. The husband of a pregnant woman expecting her first child must sleep with her very frequently, for otherwise the child would be very weak. In the case of subsequent children this is no longer
[783] required so often after the beginning of pregnancy. The pregnant woman may not leave the house or eat pork for two months before the birth, since this causes "pest" and she would have stomach
[822] pains; this would be very detrimental to the child. For the same reason she may not eat beans and onions, and no fish because it comes from the cold element, water, and because a pregnant woman must not become cold.

843 According to one informant, the pregnant woman retires
343 to the menstruation hut (dúyat) two to three weeks before the
124 birth. During this time her mother or another female relative cooks for the family. According to another informant, the
000 /185/ woman does not retire to the dúyat until the birth. In any

/307 cont./

241/ April, May, June, October, November, and December. Natu-
132 rally, these periods of summer are relative and correspond in reality to the temperate zone. In Mosoco and the high parts of the Cordillera, /308/ a fine rain is falling almost constantly, if not an actual downpour. In July, August, and September, the winter is harsh, influenced entirely by the trade winds from the southeast.

Bearing these climatic factors in mind, planting is done during the months of March, April, and May. They take advantage of the rains of these months. This agricultural cycle is common for all of Tierradentro including Mosoco proper. The "páramuna" part of Mosoco is excepted, for the reasons listed earlier.

243 Of the cultivable species, maize occupies the dominant place in the agricultural activity of Tierradentro. The preparation of the soil differs somewhat in the temperate and cold thermal levels. Whereas cleaning out and burning the underbrush are sufficient in the temperate one, planting beds are made in the cold one. Maize seed is selected from the best and most filled-out ears, avoiding the small kernels at the points. They believe that they would not fruit, calling them, for this reason, "maize-man," and, on the other hand, calling the big kernels
●[842] that yield produce "maize-woman." They make the association that it is the women who have children, even though they do not conceive of fertility without concourse with the man.

243 It is common to have mingas for sowing. In this way the
244 work is soon finished. On the appointed day, eight to ten
476 laborers assemble, with bags full of maize tied at their waists;
[462] they start sowing very early. This is a masculine activity, al-
[184] though in Lame and Mosoco women also participate. The holes are made with a strong, pointed stick at intervals of one meter and 50 centimeters and to a depth of 10 to 15 centimeters. Six or seven kernels are placed in each hole. They bury the frijole next to the logs that remain from the clearing. Peas are also commonly sown there. The seeds of bottle gourds and ahuyama/ squash, /Cucurbita maxima/, which are sown in the maize fields,

/336 cont./

423 no rights over land won by the sweat of the brow. It is inherited
623 directly by the sons. In such cases the cabildo confirms owner-
428 ship by issuing the respective adjudication.

423 When the colonization has been done by several persons,
578 usually brothers, and the division of the land does not satisfy one of the parties, famous litigations take place that eat up the small savings of the families. The feeling for ownership of land is highly developed among the natives, and the usurpation of the slightest piece of ground gives rise to quarrels, enmities, and
42 litigations. The sale of land to "whites" is prohibited by
[648] Colombian law and by the consuetudinary law of the natives. But among the natives themselves transactions can be made with immovables. They do not sell the land, but the ownership. The owner of land is the man. A widow, too, can be an owner by inheritance from the husband. Single women do not own land.

422 The bovine, equine, porcine, and wool-bearing livestock belong to the man, although a few women own pigs and sheep. Turkeys, chickens, cats, and guinea pigs belong to the women, and so do dishes, spoons, pots, grinding stones,
[428] calabashes, and bags. These are inherited through the female line. Children are owners merely of their own clothes.

423 Concerning communal property, we have already seen that in each parcialidad there are several hectares of land that
[794] belong to all the members of the parcialidad. Also regarded as communal property are public works, such as roads, bridges, the main ditches, the house of the cabildo, and the church, and they collectively maintain them; likewise regarded as the property of the parcialidad are the sums of money collected for the church, the produce of the clearing of the saint, and any livestock or mills that it might own.

428 Concerning inheritance, let us look first at the concepts
[842] expressed by an informant from Calderas. Asked about the ideal number of children for native families, he replied that everyone wished to have many children. "When one dies and one has land, who can handle it? The ancestors worked the montaña, and this is why we have land. We are five brothers and we work

/179 cont./

594 Associated with the nuclear family primordially are the functions of reproduction, the rearing of children, and the education of the latter. On procreation depends also the importance of economic functions.

581 The orientation of the sexual instinct is a secondary end.
589 Indeed, Páez culture demands that every individual form a
[183] family, once he has acquired the capacity for procreation. In
[842] the parcialidad of Calderas they look upon children as a blessing
[775] from God, regarding celibates "como violadores de la cruz" /as violators of the cross/(marriage); celibacy is condemned, in the rationalization that the person who dies celibate goes to the
[754] Nevado del Huila, considered by them as hell. The celibacy of a woman is exceptional, and when it occurs they believe that she becomes a witch. They think something similar about some
581 widows. One woman of some fifty years of age says that
589 "marriage is fundamental and obligatory, for the grandfathers
775 used to say that to a woman who is not married the devil gives a black dog for a husband in hell" (7). Another woman declared

[825] 7. They regarded white dogs as companions and guides in the future life and fear that "if molested they will come out and bite them at the entrance to the future abode."

that at times she feels sorrow for the death of an unmarried daughter, "because the devil would give her a husband."

581 The culture considers it an obligation of parents to marry
183 off their daughters even if they are very young. Furthermore
[582] the young men aspire to "build their house, marry, produce children, have animals, coca in abundance, and sugar cane
[842] for their chicha" (8). The incentive to marry is to have children,

8. Bernal Villa, S. 1953, op. cit., p. 183.

for which purpose it is necessary to have assurance /180/ that the woman is fecund,

/180 cont./

the woman is fecund. For this the culture offers the institutional device of "amaño," by which the man lives with the woman for a time before legalizing the marriage. And we are given clear and precise information about this by Licenciado Eugenio del Castillo y Orozco and his brother, Licentiado Isidro del Castillo y Hrozco /sic/, in their respective reports which they gave to the Governor and Captain General mentioned above: "that they followed the evil custom of living in intimate relations for a long time with the woman whom they were to marry, and if after the marriage they had no offspring they would leave her and seek another woman who might be fecund and whom they thought they might marry if they were not married to their own wives (as Manuel Bolza, an Indian of this village (9), wished

9. Tálaga.

to do), and as was done by Antonio Cofongo (an Indian of San Antonio de las Chinas), from whom he learned not to break up the legitimate religious marriage, which could be prohibited, and who suggested that they get out of the difficulty by any false means, even to arranging for others, from the lowest Indian to the highest, to testify to a lying statement, and if anyone dissented from it and would not follow the wish of the Cacique or Moján, fear caused the dissenters to escape to other parts; some fled with their concubines when they were not acceptable to her parents or relatives, others to avoid work, and others from necessity" (10) ..."and that they flee from all their vices and

10. Archivo Nacional de Bogotá, op. cit., Folio 228.

sins, which are: witchcraft, drunkenness, and concubinage" (11).

11. Archivo Nacional de Bogotá, op. cit., Folio 230.

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/185 cont./ In any
844 case, the birth, which is always regarded as very dangerous, takes
[343] place there. As a matter of principle, a midwife (ndõsoknãs) is
fetched. The latter, as the name implies, is not a shaman. She
[759] has nothing to do with shamanistic functions, but is qualified only
for births or external injuries, such as broken bones or flesh wounds.

The midwife may not be an old woman. She is fetched before the birth by the husband of the pregnant woman and always comes. Several times I asked whether in an emergency a man or the mother could help, but it was always said that the midwife
[465] always comes, no matter how busy she is. For her assistance she receives only her meals, unless complications arise. In this case she receives wool or natural produce as remuneration for her help.

In principle, only the midwife and the woman in labor are in the dúyat. The latter is in a squatting position. With her hands she holds onto a belt that is slung around the roof beam of the dúyat. If there is no belt, the husband may also be present, and he then embraces his wife from behind and holds her in such a way that she is likewise in a squatting position. The midwife
845 receives the child. If its position is not normal, for example, in
844 case of a breech position of the child, she turns the child so that the head lies downward. If the child is still not born, the mother must die -- as was explained to us -- for then nothing further can be done. This only rarely happens, however.

844 The midwife brings along her medicinal herbs, with which she rubs the body of the woman in labor. The newborn child is first washed with cold water and then wrapped in a piece of ruana
[412] and given to the mother. The severing of the umbilical cord is not done with the knife or the scissors, but rather, after the umbili-
[824] cal cord (kolwát) is tied beforehand with a homespun wool thread, with the sharp-edged cane of a type of reed. The father may see his child immediately after birth; the mother, however, stays with the child approximately two weeks longer in the dúyat. The afterbirth (duyáha), together with the umbilical cord, is buried near the menstruation house. The father digs the hole for this
[856] purpose, and the mother throws both into it. The hole must not be too shallow, for otherwise the dogs would dig them out, but not too deep either, for then the child would not get its teeth until very late and only with great difficulty.

/185 cont./

844 until very late and only with great difficulty. The proper depth is supposed to be about 30 centimeters.

846 Four to six days after birth and after the first bath, the
851 father or one of the godparents brings the child to the sacristan of
608 the village or /186/ to the women missionaries, in order to have
[797] it christened with water and given the name of the Christian saint
[551] of the christening day. Every child has only one given name and the Paez surname of its father. The baptism by the priest with oil takes place later on a suitable occasion, in the presence of the god-
[783] parents, and is followed by an eating and drinking bout. The
[756] mother also takes part in this, after she has left the dúyat and has washed herself, her child, and her clothes and has been purified by the shaman.

861 The rearing of the children is in the hands of the parents, who teach them the necessary accomplishments of life quite as a matter of course and almost in play. Disobedient children are also beaten, however, and, to be sure, usually if the son has no real desire to help his father with the field work. In punishing, the fathers are generally stricter than the mothers and on occasion beat them with leather straps all over their bodies. The boxing
[461] of ears is also to be seen. If a young man proves to be lazy in later life, the father is blamed because he did not properly ad-
848 monish his son to work. Illegitimate sons, who lack the strict hand of a father, are said to turn out badly in many cases, though as such they are very popular. Since they do not know their father, they are not obliged to work in his field. They are all the more
[426] in demand as helpers in the fields of other families. When they
[431] are older, they may borrow land and establish a family. Usually they even receive the land as a present. Thus, they need not
848 starve by any means. Illegitimate daughters are in a more unfavor-
562 able position, for their help is not needed for the most part, and their mother does not have a household of her own. Nevertheless
[583] their marriage prospects are not unfavorable, since a girl does not
[581] have a dowry, but is married only on the basis of her personal qualities.

/271 cont./

753 caused by the spirits eč, tũs, or gělyómp, or general emanations
783 of impurity, of "pest" (uwē). Such reasons for catching pest, and
[754] thereby being afflicted with sickness, result largely from neglecting
[764] the prescribed shamanistic purifications. These must take place after a burial or when someone has merely seen a funeral proces-
753 sion or entered a house in which there is a corpse. The prohibitions
783 surrounding a woman giving birth or menstruating are just as strict.
841 If she does not retire to the menstruation hut at the proper time,
[844] if she cohabits during these days or neglects to take the subsequent bath after menstruation and birth, the consequences are equally
[264] grave. Pest befalls a man if he accepts food from a menstruating
753 woman. The same consequences befall the one who in housebuild-
783 ing or during the first harvest does not have the proper ceremonies
756 performed by the shaman.
342

Most people die as the result of the evil influence of the
754 nyic, the evil sorcerers. The latter -- it is firmly believed --
783
761 are able to kill individual persons as well as to send pest to entire villages. Their power of evil is regarded as almost unlimited. Besides being bewitched by a nyic, there are three other possibili-
753 ties for a person to become ill or to die. These causes are
761 gělyómp, tũs, and eč. All three are very complex conceptions
776 and may be translated roughly as "mountain spirit," "rainbow," and "firefly," respectively, although the Paez conception and the
[756] translation are not completely identical. The teyu knows the cause of the illness immediately from his signs, the rest of the people, however, usually only after the death of the sick person. And, to be sure, one recognizes the tũs as the cause of illness by the fact /272/ that the corpse lies there with a bent limb (arm or leg), whereas in the case of ec as the cause of death, blood flows from the mouth or nose. It is also possible that both together, tũs and eč, might bring death to the person, for example, if the person lies there bent and blood flows from the mouth or nose.

776 The gělyómp spirit lives chiefly in the mountains, but also in the valley, on the banks of brooks or rivers. He likes to lead wanderers astray in the mountains by making noise and screaming up there; at night one hears his screams -- like those of a human

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

172 containing, as a rule, gold objects and pieces of superior pottery.
361 We observed many of these "planos de Indios" on the road between Corinto and Tacueyó, their situation corresponding ex-

172
212

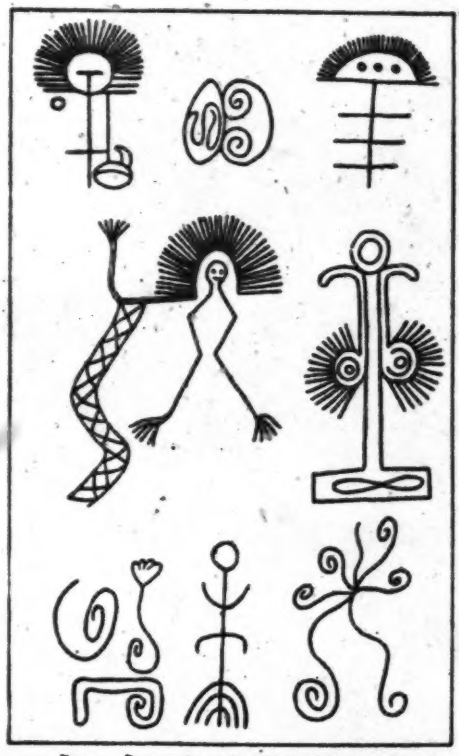

FIG. 1. — Pictographs on the "Piedra de los Sacrificios."

172 actly with what we know of the present habits of isolation of
361 the Paez Indians. The number of graves at each site does not
[844 however seem to agree with the former custom of these Indians
768] of abandoning a house as soon as a birth or a death had taken place in it.

As a very good example of the altitude at which the former

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

marriage bonds were not definitely made until experiment indicated the fecundity of the woman, and that the union was dissolved at the will of the husband if the wife proved to be barren. The same authority informs us that the wife had to give her husband the necessary clothing, while the husband provided food for the family. 581 [586] [585]

A custom mentioned by Castillo was that during menses the women spent the time sitting in small huts expressly built for that purpose, for fear of contaminating the common dwelling and of bringing disease and death to its occupants. 841

Rodriguez relates another custom in connection with childbirth and death: ". . . y siempre que pate la mujer, ó que muere alguno de su familia, desamparan la casa, dexando en ella al difunto con cantidad de bastimento y de la chicha, brebage, que beben: y á las casas donde parió la mujer, las dejan con las inmundicias de el parto, y acabadas de nacer las criatures, las laban, y se vañan sus madres, poniendose en viaje á buscar nuevo paraje para su habitacion, que siempre procuran sea en parte muy fragosa, por no ser visitados." 844

These details are confirmed by Castillo and were probably still observed in his time. As to what is done at present, and regarding the family organization in general, it is very difficult to obtain reliable information. The Indians are very jealous of their women, do not tolerate in them any intercourse with strangers, and become instantly distrustful when questioned about family matters. 152 593 609

With reference to death, Castillo differs from Rodriguez in that he states that a dying person was taken from the house, so that he did not actually die in it, and that the dwelling was destroyed by fire. He does not mention the custom of leaving food near the corpse, but states that the body was buried and a fence built around the grave. 768 763 764

Diseases

No diseases came under my observation during my stay at Huila and Tacueyó, and the Indians rather impressed me as being a healthy people. But if their vocabulary affords suffi- 164 [114]

262 /351 cont./
[234] settlement and when they are dragging down /352/ the timber;
[237] the milk is not used, except in Mosoco, where we have seen
[534] that it is really consumed.
[342]

The Calderunos say that sheep are eaten frequently in the
[231] temperate regions such as Avirama and San Andrés, but few are consumed in Calderas; some say that sheep give wool for clothing, "Why eat them, when they provide ponchos," and others state that to eat mutton brings bad luck, because it would be like eating one's papa.

262 When there are visits by "elders" such as compadres, older
574 brothers, fathers-in-law, or own fathers, they are entertained ("cuida") with dishes different from the ordinary ones, based essentially around barnyard fowl and eggs. If there is meat, a large piece is cooked. The compadres, in turn, bring as a gift griddle-cakes (about 15), eggs (about 10), and frequently chickens.

262 There is no special diet for children; they eat exactly the
846 same as adults. There are differences of diet according to sex only when the woman has just given birth. Then, she is given ground maize, arracacha, manioc, ripe plantain, laying hens ("these
[261] are nice and fat"), and mutton. The mejicano is proscribed for them, because it brings cold into the stomach and gives much pain; onions, because they cause a stomach ailment and rot the in-
[844] testines; pork and the fríjol bueno for the same reason. Peppers are also taboo for parturient women.

262 For hard labor, it is regarded as good to eat mote, with
263 cabbage, fríjol bueno, and well salted, because it gives strength for the daily activities; if one eats the same thing (" a good dish"), but without salt, they say that one is already hungry by the middle of the day.

262 Foods regarded as aphrodisiacs are "sango," prepared with
832 finely ground and sifted maize, and raw eggs.

261 Of the foods that they eat, they believe that chicha and water are transformed into blood, and the maize, potatoes, fríjoles, and arracacha into flesh.

To gain weight, they believe that it is necessary to eat and not to work, rather than to follow a special diet.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

The *Páez* family is completely under the authority of the father, whose wife and children obey him implicitly and may be punished by him. Nonetheless, the father must obtain his wife's permission to sell or exchange goods she produced, such as bags for coca, sashes, etc. Precise etiquette is maintained between fathers and godfathers (compadres). Whenever a man meets his father or his godfather, he must kneel to receive his blessing. The fathers and godfathers must embrace whenever they meet. In one case a young man was the godfather of his father's new son by another wife, so that in meeting his father the young man had to kneel bareheaded, and then stand with his hat on and embrace his father as a godparent. The father did not call him "son" but "compadre."

594 [425] 608 576

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—A very old custom among these peoples is that at childbirth the mother should retire to a special house or go to the mountains. If she was delivered in the home, she and the baby were bathed, and then the family left the hut and built a new one elsewhere.

844

Today both the *Moguez* and *Páez* have a special hut for childbirth. The day after the child is born, the mother is placed in a hole up to her head and bathed with an infusion of leaves of "moquita," after which she washes the clothes and objects worn during delivery. She then returns to work and lives again at home. In the special hut, a *Páez* woman is assisted in childbirth by another woman, or, as a last resort, by her husband, who must bathe immediately afterward. Two days later, the mother circumcises her son or destroys the virginity of her daughter. Four or five days after the birth and after the first bath, the father takes the child to the sacristan of the community for baptism with water, and then returns it to the mother. The afterbirth must be buried or burned at the place of the birth. About 15 days later, the mother takes a bath and washes her child and her clothes and objects, and returns home. Later, the child is baptized with oil in the church by the priest with the godparents present. This is an occasion for general dancing and drunkenness.

846 [757] [343] [844] [304] [851] [844] [851] [608]

Puberty.—At puberty a girl was formerly taken by her parents to a hill, placed in a hole, and bathed. Each Indian then took her a gift. Pittier de Fábrega (1907) notes that at a later period a girl's puberty was celebrated with the "Itsa-kó" dance, the girl, bathed with chicha, remaining in the hole. Today, a woman must retire during her menstrual periods to a special hut, where other women bring her food and build a fire to warm her. Afterward, she bathes, washes her clothes and objects, and then returns home.

881 [431] [535] 841 343

Men, until recently, underwent a sort of initiation, in which they were taken to the shores of the sacred lagoon of Juan Tama or to the

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In general
842 /184 cont./every girl desires a great
[581] many children, for this is the chief requirement for being married. Moreover, the percentage of barren women -- in childless marriages,
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165 Overpopulation is not to be feared, even with a larger number
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[164] Whooping cough is the most frequent cause of death among small children.

a) Birth and Childhood

843 The parents' concern for the child begins even before birth. The husband of a pregnant woman expecting her first child must sleep with her very frequently, for otherwise the child would be very weak. In the case of subsequent children this is no longer
[783] required so often after the beginning of pregnancy. The pregnant woman may not leave the house or eat pork for two months before the birth, since this causes "pest" and she would have stomach
[822] pains; this would be very detrimental to the child. For the same reason she may not eat beans and onions, and no fish because it comes from the cold element, water, and because a pregnant woman must not become cold.

843 According to one informant, the pregnant woman retires
343 to the menstruation hut (dúyat) two to three weeks before the
124 birth. During this time her mother or another female relative cooks for the family. According to another informant, the
000 /185/ woman does not retire to the dúyat until the birth. In any

/185 cont./ In any
844 case, the birth, which is always regarded as very dangerous, takes
[343] place there. As a matter of principle, a midwife (ndõsoknãs) is
[759] fetched. The latter, as the name implies, is not a shaman. She has nothing to do with shamanistic functions, but is qualified only for births or external injuries, such as broken bones or flesh wounds.

The midwife may not be an old woman. She is fetched before the birth by the husband of the pregnant woman and always comes. Several times I asked whether in an emergency a man or the mother could help, but it was always said that the midwife
[465] always comes, no matter how busy she is. For her assistance she receives only her meals, unless complications arise. In this case she receives wool or natural produce as remuneration for her help.

In principle, only the midwife and the woman in labor are in the dũyat. The latter is in a squatting position. With her hands she holds onto a belt that is slung around the roof beam of the dũyat. If there is no belt, the husband may also be present, and he then embraces his wife from behind and holds her in such a way that she is likewise in a squatting position. The midwife
● 845 receives the child. If its position is not normal, for example, in
844 case of a breech position of the child, she turns the child so that the head lies downward. If the child is still not born, the mother must die -- as was explained to us -- for then nothing further can be done. This only rarely happens, however.

844 The midwife brings along her medicinal herbs, with which she rubs the body of the woman in labor. The newborn child is first washed with cold water and then wrapped in a piece of ruana
[412] and given to the mother. The severing of the umbilical cord is not done with the knife or the scissors, but rather, after the umbili-
[824] cal cord (kolwát) is tied beforehand with a homespun wool thread, with the sharp-edged cane of a type of reed. The father may see his child immediately after birth; the mother, however, stays with the child approximately two weeks longer in the dũyat. The afterbirth (duyáha), together with the umbilical cord, is buried near the menstruation house. The father digs the hole for this
[856] purpose, and the mother throws both into it. The hole must not be too shallow, for otherwise the dogs would dig them out, but not too deep either, for then the child would not get its teeth until very late and only with great difficulty,

/255 cont./

802 designated as "much" (teč kwát), literally "one stone." Today it is the designation for "hundred."

75 The medical knowledge of the Paez is not great. Almost all illnesses are regarded as based on magical causes and are treated by the shamans (see below//see pp. 190 ff./). Broken bones are treated by the midwife, who rubs on cow fat and wraps [845] leaves around them. The broken bone is never put in splints. In a difficult birth the midwife is able to turn the child into the right position; if then the birth does not go well, her skill is at an end. No remedy is known for snake bite. In the case of headaches, a leaf is tied to the front of the head. For flatulence some wood ashes are rubbed on the abdomen. For injuries caused by a machete and bleeding profusely, a tourniquet is applied to the affected limb, above the place of the injury, and the wound is covered with a small piece of cloth. The shaman has the injured person bite hard with all his teeth on the iron machete.

3. Religion

771 The Paez today are nominally Christians. They are baptized 797 and usually married by the Catholic priest. The Christian missionizing began as early as the sixteenth century, at first, to be sure, with little success, which did not increase when from 1630-1654 Jesuit missionaries took over the mission work. Only in the last decades 797 has there been greater progress. Hand in hand with the conversion 177 to Christianity go the introduction and teaching of the Spanish lan- 871 guage and the adoption of Colombian customs and habits. Today in almost every village there is a mission station and a school, the teachers of which are mostly women missionaries. In general the parents do not send their children to school unwillingly, for they have realized that knowledge of Spanish and of reading and writing is accompanied by certain advantages in their relations with the [178] whites. In connection with the /256/ schooling, of course, there is [756] some alienation from the old habits and customs of the Paez, especially those of a religious and sociological nature. Nevertheless,

/185 cont./

844 until very late and only with great difficulty. The proper depth is supposed to be about 30 centimeters.

846 Four to six days after birth and after the first bath, the
851 father or one of the godparents brings the child to the sacristan of
608 the village or /186/ to the women missionaries, in order to have
[797] it christened with water and given the name of the Christian saint
[551] of the christening day. Every child has only one given name and the Paez surname of its father. The baptism by the priest with oil takes place later on a suitable occasion, in the presence of the god-
[783] parents, and is followed by an eating and drinking bout. The
[756] mother also takes part in this, after she has left the dûyat and has washed herself, her child, and her clothes and has been purified by the shaman.

861 The rearing of the children is in the hands of the parents, who teach them the necessary accomplishments of life quite as a matter of course and almost in play. Disobedient children are also beaten, however, and, to be sure, usually if the son has no real desire to help his father with the field work. In punishing, the fathers are generally stricter than the mothers and on occasion beat them with leather straps all over their bodies. The boxing
[461] of ears is also to be seen. If a young man proves to be lazy in later life, the father is blamed because he did not properly ad-
848 monish his son to work. Illegitimate sons, who lack the strict hand of a father, are said to turn out badly in many cases, though as such they are very popular. Since they do not know their father, they are not obliged to work in his field. They are all the more
[426] in demand as helpers in the fields of other families. When they
[431] are older, they may borrow land and establish a family. Usually they even receive the land as a present. Thus, they need not
848 starve by any means. Illegitimate daughters are in a more unfavor-
562 able position, for their help is not needed for the most part, and their mother does not have a household of her own. Nevertheless
[583] their marriage prospects are not unfavorable, since a girl does not
[581] have a dowry, but is married only on the basis of her personal qualities.

262 /351 cont./
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[237] the milk is not used, except in Mosoco, where we have seen
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7iHemández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
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594 [425] 608 576

LIFE CYCLE

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844

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7:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

754 upon them by the missionaries. The power to do evil is not limited to the witches, but is possessed by anyone who entertains a momentary feeling of envy, and to women, who may not walk over a stick or a cord [841] stretched on the ground. Contact with women during their men- [846] struation or during the days following childbirth causes the "mokokoy" [753] to persecute the men and make them ill.

825 Animals possess the power to prognosticate evil. A document written in 1730 [14] tells that an Indian killed a rooster because he had 787 crowed before daybreak, and said, "Rooster, you are forecasting my 763 death, but I shall kill you first." They believe the same thing when certain birds sing. For example, the call of an owl at midnight brings death to someone. And certain small birds called "ulchik" and others called "bich" warn whomever hears their singing that he will meet with disaster. The box turtle follows people warning them that they are going to die.

825 Del Castillo says that the Indians will not strike white dogs, so that 775 they will not be bitten by them when they enter the future life.

The belief in spirits (kl'iumb) is quite general. Among these 776 spirits is the "pitsuala" which persecutes people, makes them ill, and 753 even kills them. The rainbow, or "Etskituns," causes a rash to break [821] out all over the body of anyone who ventures out while the rainbow shines, and the drizzle that generally accompanies the rainbow will harm a person who gets wet in it if he does not bathe immediately. When the rainbow appears, they stay indoors, and blow or spit tobacco in its direction.

776 They believe that the lagoon on the snowcapped peak, Huila, is [823] charmed, and that if they try to go near it wind and hail storms rise. [821] Supernatural evil forces are supposed to be present during many social activities, such as dancing, meetings, funerals, house building, [491] and bridge construction. When a bridge is built, two Indians beat [331] the water constantly to drive away evil spirits. When traveling on the mountains they place small stones or coins on top of some large [484] natural rock to assure a successful trip and to avoid angering the [782] spirit of the mountain.

[825] Sometimes these spiritual forces assume a bodily form, as in the [753] case of the fireflies, which bring diseases or which may be wrapped in [754] Santa María leaves and placed in the path of an intended victim. Most feared are the ghosts of the dead, which consequently are the 782 most propitiated. The *Moguex* and the *Páez* ask their permission to 769 dance, and honor them in a special rite, which blends old beliefs with [775] new religious concepts. Thus, offerings are made to the souls during the first days of November, or whenever the curate is able to visit the Indian village. Each person offers some products from his farm, in-

[14] Statement made by Javier de Orozco y Cuellar in a lawsuit by the Indians of Tobaima for the possession of land. From the ecclesiastical files of Belalcázar, or Páez.

In general
842 /184 cont./every girl desires a great
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8: Bernal Villa

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p. 28
p. 29
p. 30
p. 31

Chart of Positions of the Nicanor Guagás family's Genealogy.
/Following p. 27/

B: Bernal Villa--28 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

Genealogy of the family of Nicanor Guagás, parcialidad of Calderas. It includes several nuclear families which live in different places in the parcialidad /see p. 32 for the explanations of the symbols/.

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- — 1. Nicanor Guagás m.
- + 2. Rosario Iko 80 •
  - 3. Damiana Guagás 65
  - + 4. Bonifacio Muse m.
    - 22. Justo Muse 38
      - 23. Julia Pame 30
        - 67. Isabel Muse 7
        - 68. Juan Muse 3.
        - 69. Rosario M. 3ms. m. A.
        - 70. Concha M. 2mq.
    - 24. Marcelo Muse 35
      - +25. Rosalía Ramos 30
        - 71. Vicente M. 3. m. C.
        - 72. Manuel T. M. 6
        - 73. María S. M. 4
        - 74. Rafael M. 1mq.
    - 26. María S. Muse 30
      - +27. Juan Guagás m.
        - 75. Nicolás G. 5 m.
        - 76. Alberto G. 12
        - 77. Francisca G. 6
        - 78. Justiniano G. 3
        - 79. Natividad G. 3 m.
        - 80. Ismael G. 1ms. C.
    - 28. Gabriel Muse m.
    - 29. Paulina Muse m.
    - 30. Magdalena Muse 22
      - +31. Pedro Pame
        - 81. Paulino P. 3
        - 82. Juana P. 1
    - 32. Jacinto Muse 20
      - +33. Leocadia Shukué 20
    - 34. María Muse 40
      - 83. Ramón Villaná 12

8: Bernal Villa--29 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

- 5. Nicolasa Guagás 38
- + 6. Manuel Guagás m.
  - 34. María Muse 40
  - +35. José Villanó 40
    - 83. Ramón Villanó 12 — 847
    - 84. Juana Villanó 8 — 551
    - 85. María S. V. 7 — 454
    - 86. Marcelino V. 3 — 753
    - 87. Alfonso V. 3 m. H — 594
  - 36. Delfina Muse 23 E
  - +37. Venancio Guagás 25
    - 88. Jacinto Guagás 6 — 173
    - 89. Isabel G. 8ms. — 16
  - 38. Marcelina Guagás 22
  - +39. Alfonso Tova 30
    - 90. Magdalena Tova 2
  - 40. Gregoria Guagás
  - 41. Agustina Guagás
  - 42. Virginia Guagás
  - 43. Manuel J. Guagás 10
- 7. Raimundo Guagás 35
- + 8. María J. Pame 27
  - 44. — 2
- 9. Pascual Guagás m.
- 10. José D. Guagás m.
- 11. Juan Guagás m.
- 12. Juana Guagás
- +14. Primitivo Io
  - 45. Benito Io 36
  - +46. Antonia Ikinás 22
    - 91. Miguel Io 3ms. m. J
    - 92. Patrocinio Io 2

8: Bernal Villa--30 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

[Karcialidad of Calderas]

- 10. José D. Guagás m.
- 11. Juan Guagás m.
- 12. Juana Guagás
  - +14. Primitivo Io
  - 45. Benito Io 36
    - +46. Antonia Ikinás 22
    - 91. Miguel Io 3ms. m. J
    - 92. Patrocinio Io 2
  - 47. Esteban Io 38
    - +48. Rosalía Puche 30 E
    - 93. Santiago I. m. F.
    - 94. Tránsito I. 10
    - 95. Santos I. 6
    - 96. Raimundo I. 1
    - 97. Cruz Io m. C
  - ~~49. Margarita Io 25~~
    - +50. Julio Ikinás 35
    - ~~98. Eusebio Ikinás 1~~
    - 99. Lorenzo Ikinás 2ms.
    - 101. Santos I. 1ms. m. D
- 14. Catalina Guagás 50
  - +15. Demesio Ule m.
  - 51. Dionisia Ule 22
    - +52. Celio Muse 27
    - 102
      - 2
- 16. Trinidad Guagás
  - +17. Manuel Ule
  - 53. Bautista Ule
  - 54. Felisa Ule
  - 55. Cristina Ulé
  - 56. Pedro Ule
- 18. José D. Guagás
  - 57. Juana Guagás 30
    - 103. Josefina T. 1ms.

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8: Bemal Villa--31 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955
SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Calderon]

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847

- 55. Cristina Ulé
- 56. Pedro Ule

- 18. José D. Guagás
- +19. Jacinta Muse
  - 57. Juana Guagás 30
    - +58. Narciso Tumbo 40
      - 103. Josefina T. 1ms.
      - 104. Alejandro T. 5 m. B
      - 105. Rufina T. 1ms. m. C
      - 106. Floro T. 4 m. D
      - 107. Cruz T. 1ms. m. A
  - 59. Aurelio Guagás 35
    - +60. Vicenta Kuskue 30.
      - 108. Pedro Guagás 2
  - 61. Marcelino Guagás 50.
    - +62. Trinidad Puche 50
      - 109. Feliciano G. 1ms. m.
      - 110. Bruno G. 25
      - 111. Magdalena G. 20
      - 112. Ramón G. 10
      - 113. Agustín G. 1ms. m.
      - 114. Felisa G. 1ms. m.
  - 63. Quiterio Guagás
    - +64. Petrona Pame
  - 65. Martina Guagás 27
    - +66. Rufino Ikinás 30
      - 115. Julio Ikinás 10
      - 116. Gregoria I. 8
      - 117. Pascual I. 4 m.
- 20. A woman m.
- 21. A woman m.

8: Bernal Villa--32 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

Explanations for the symbols of the chart on pp. 28-31./

16
173
594
753
754
847

*The parents of Rosario Iko were called Agustín Guagás and Concepción Iko, the latter a native of Cuetando. Rosario bears the surname of the mother because of being married to a Guagás.

A. Stung by Echi

B. Poisoned

C. Bewitched.

D. Whooping cough.

E. An abortion.

F. Smallpox.

G. Hernia.

H. Duende.

J. Plague.

m. dead.

ms. months.

/177 cont./

the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook. Old, solitary persons or unmarried girls or men live with relatives or friends, but never alone, since a single person is unable either to protect himself or to provide for himself adequately.

The father's authority is great. Wife and children owe him absolute obedience. Nevertheless, the man does not have the right to alienate personal articles of members of the family or possessions that they made themselves. Thus, for example, he is not in a position to sell a coca bag or a fiber bag belonging to his wife or his children's toys.

The children are given the family name of the father, but the women keep their maiden names even after marriage. There is no external indication in dress or hair style or otherwise for unmarried girls and married women. The wife is obligated to work for her husband and children in her family. Beyond that she may procure personal belongings for herself by weaving cloth beyond the needs of her family, for example, and trading it for ornaments.

If the young people are still living in the house with their parents, the daughter-in-law is not absolutely subordinate to her mother-in-law, although this appears to be so, to judge from the speech at the wedding ceremony. A relationship of dependence is out of the question because of the separate kitchens. Usually, however, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are on good terms, and then it is not uncommon for only one woman to cook for both families, for there is no in-law avoidance. Then the two women share the work of cleaning the house.

Conjugal fidelity is demanded of both marriage partners; in the case of the man, however, it is sometimes not taken so seriously. If a man surprises his wife, however, or she her husband, in marital infidelity, the deceived party may beat (but not kill) both and report them to the cabildo, which again has the guilty party very soundly thrashed.

Illegitimate children are not rare among the Paez. In case an unmarried girl has a child, she is beaten by her parents and

848 /178/ the cabildo until she names the father of her child. If he
623 is an unmarried young man, he must marry the girl. A married man, however, is beaten by the cabildo. He does not need to make support payments. It is different if a married man has no
842 children. In this case the wife is regarded in principle as the one
848 at fault. He may then have a child by an unmarried girl without
837 being punished. He simply explains to the cabildo that he has a
[623] great deal of property and that he therefore needs children whom he cannot have by his wife. To the mother of his natural child he gives a cow, clothing, and a pretty belt, and she then surrenders her child to the lawful wife of the father of her child. He may
[554] do this several times until he has enough children. This is not permitted, however, for a poor man without possessions, it was explained to me, for "why does he need children?"

844 At the time of menstruation and also at the birth of a child
841 the woman stays in a special small hut (dúyat). She receives her
[343] food either from her mother, sister, or a neighbor woman from a house in which several women live. This woman at the same time cooks for the members of the family of the menstruating woman. The members of the family of the woman who is temporarily cooking receive their meals from another female member of her family. The woman who takes care of the food also fetches the wood for the fire necessary for warmth in the dúyat. Female inhabitants of farms or of field huts used for only a few months, which have no
[758] dúyat, go to a neighboring or related family for this period. In
[602] case the housewife becomes ill, she moves into the house of one of her sisters or female relatives, where she is nursed. The male relatives of the sick woman must then likewise go to the house of this relative to eat.

614 Besides the patrilineal nuclear families, no recognized patrilineal kin-groups /Sippen/ are known among the Paez, but all who bear the same family name feel related and may not marry, even though they are not knowingly -- this knowledge goes back only two generations -- related. Our interpreter, Victoriano Piñakuẽ, for example, may not only not marry any girls with the patronymic Piñakuẽ, but also no girls whose mothers are named Piñakuẽ. Conditions are particularly difficult among the

/185 cont./

844 until very late and only with great difficulty. The proper depth is supposed to be about 30 centimeters.

846 Four to six days after birth and after the first bath, the
851 father or one of the godparents brings the child to the sacristan of
608 the village or /186/ to the women missionaries, in order to have
[797] it christened with water and given the name of the Christian saint
[551] of the christening day. Every child has only one given name and the Paez surname of its father. The baptism by the priest with oil takes place later on a suitable occasion, in the presence of the god-
[783] parents, and is followed by an eating and drinking bout. The
[756] mother also takes part in this, after she has left the dúyat and has washed herself, her child, and her clothes and has been purified by the shaman.

861 The rearing of the children is in the hands of the parents, who teach them the necessary accomplishments of life quite as a matter of course and almost in play. Disobedient children are also beaten, however, and, to be sure, usually if the son has no real desire to help his father with the field work. In punishing, the fathers are generally stricter than the mothers and on occasion beat them with leather straps all over their bodies. The boxing
[461] of ears is also to be seen. If a young man proves to be lazy in later life, the father is blamed because he did not properly ad-
848 monish his son to work. Illegitimate sons, who lack the strict hand of a father, are said to turn out badly in many cases, though as such they are very popular. Since they do not know their father, they are not obliged to work in his field. They are all the more
[426] in demand as helpers in the fields of other families. When they
[431] are older, they may borrow land and establish a family. Usually they even receive the land as a present. Thus, they need not
848 starve by any means. Illegitimate daughters are in a more unfavor-
562 able position, for their help is not needed for the most part, and their mother does not have a household of her own. Nevertheless
[583] their marriage prospects are not unfavorable, since a girl does not
[581] have a dowry, but is married only on the basis of her personal qualities.

/192 cont./

581 around the hearth fire, and this must be stirred and provided with
462 wood every two hours. This is the task of the wife, who, there-
513 fore, sleeps next to the fire. Throughout practically her whole life, she is never able to sleep all through the night.

583 If during the trial year the bride does not meet the demands of the man, if she either cannot cook or is lazy or /193/ does not like to get up in the morning, he sends her back to her father. Since no wedding celebration has taken place, sending back the girl leads to no resentment of any kind. It does, however, if children have resulted from the trial marriage and the young man
[684] nevertheless changes his mind. In this case, to be sure, nothing
[623] can be changed with regard to his decision -- after all, he has not yet been officially married -- but, since such an action is condemned, he is beaten by the cabildo. He may then begin a
583 new trial marriage with another girl. The children of the previ-
● 848 ous trial marriage (they are designated by the Paez with the
[557] Spanish term hijo natural) are given the name of the mother. There are not a few such "natural children." The mothers, however, are not scorned or judged harshly on that account and do not by any means have poorer prospects for a subsequent marriage. The children are not adopted in case of a subsequent marriage by the
[761] mother and keep their mother's name. It is believed, however,
[851] that such "natural children" will soon die. They are not baptized, since the priest baptizes only legitimate children, or else demands such a large sum for the baptism of an illegitimate child that the unmarried mother cannot raise it.

585 The actual wedding celebration takes place after the period
[178] of the trial marriage. Today the prior marriage service by the Catholic priest in the church is usually combined with this wedding celebration. The money for this, as for the expenses of the wedding celebration, must be raised by the young man himself.
[435] This takes him many months. First of all, besides the cost of ten pesos for the marriage service, he must have collected the money for an ox, then prepare chicha in sufficient quantities, for which sugar cane is milled for about a month, and also provide for the rest of the food. In general his father or brothers do not

/194 cont./

585 those of my husband, and you are not to say bad words either to your husband or to us!

The wedding celebration is as brilliant as possible, which means entertaining the guests lavishly as long as possible. In some families the celebration goes on for more than a week. [535] There is no dancing in Calderas, but in other Paez villages [177] Colombian folk dances, usually the open bambuco, are danced.

586 A dissolution of the marriage through divorce is said not to occur even among the non-Christian Paez. Also there is no separation of married people, since man and wife are dependent on each [837] other for economic reasons. Yet it not infrequently happens -- [848] as reported above -- that married men have children outside their marriage with other unmarried girls.

587 In case of the death of one partner, the surviving spouse may remarry. But whereas for the first marriage he merely could not marry a partner of the same name, in the second marriage he also may not marry a partner bearing the name of the deceased. Thus, for example, Juán Piñakué, who in his first marriage was wed to Ascensiona Kiskué, may not marry a Kiskué a second time.

589 /195/ Widowers continue to live in their houses and, if the children are not yet grown, usually marry a second time; other- 591 wise they live in the house of one of their grown sons. Widows, if [587] they are older, usually do not marry again. With their children they go back to where they came from, namely, the house of their parents. If the latter are no longer living, they have the right, for the time being, to live in the house of whichever brother happens to be living at the time in the house of the deceased father. If the house is no longer standing, the widow lives with one of her brothers or with other relatives. In any case, she cannot, as a woman, live alone in a house, but always only in one belonging to a man.

/185 cont./

623 no other solution, I had to marry, "reflected the informant," for
736 such was the law. The cabildo finds husbands for female orphans
562 (guaiches). Any youth could ask the cabildo for an orphan for a
583 wife and it would give her."

The husband may punish his wife. We were able to ob-
593 serve the case of a native Calderuno who with tears in his eyes
[586] asked for the help of the priest to get back his wife who had abandoned him because he had given her some blows with the flat of a machete, injuring her. The complaining husband explained that the maltreatment given to his wife had not been of any importance, and, anyway, she had cost him twelve pesos, meaning by this the amount paid to the priest to celebrate the
593 nuptials. They punish the wife when on returning from work
684 they find her drunk and without food prepared for eating. Likewise they whip her or cuff her in cases of infidelity. Absolute
[837] fidelity is demanded from both spouses, and transgressions from this standard seem to be infrequent.

Such cases as present themselves are settled by the cabildo,
593 as we were able to observe in Mosoco, where a husband, through
623 the suggestion of his own mother, accused his wife of infidelity.
684 The cabildo /186/ in session went to the house of the plaintiff
692 to establish responsibility in the presence of the interested parties. According to an informant from Calderas, when a married man has a child by an unmarried girl, his wife complains before the cabildo. If it finds the girl guilty, it punishes her with lashes and authorizes the complainant to cut the hair of her rival.
[848] The child born in this way, said the informant, dies of the plague.
[753] Cases of infidelity on the part of the husband a number of times arouse violent reactions on the part of the wife, up to the point of liquidating her rival in a barbarous and merciless manner, as occurred in San Andrés where out of jealousy a woman practically quartered the body of the other woman, and whose penal judgment was given in the city of Popayán not many months ago.

C /104 cont./
632 includes 15 villages with Belalcázar as the administrative seat.
[103] Belalcázar, which takes its name from the conquistador Sebastian de Belalcazar, but not altogether correctly, since the latter was unable to conquer the Tierradentro area, is at the same time the
P 162 seat of the Apostolic Prefect for Tierradentro. According to the
C 162 632 census of 1938, the population of Tierradentro, consisting of mixed-colored colonists and racially pure Indios, contains 17,578 inhabitants, distributed over Belalcázar with 13,861 and Inzá with 3,717 inhabitants. The more recent count of 1951, with a total of 25,495 inhabitants, showed a considerably larger figure, of which 15,388 fall to the municipio of Balalcazar and 10,103 to
C [114] the municipio of Inzá. A comparison of the two counts of 1938 and 1951 shows /105/ a notable error in the count in the municipio of Inzá for the year 1938 (figures cited in Bernal Villa [I], p. 285).

P 641 [162] [851] [191] Of this number about 80 per cent are natives who today are largely civilized, that is, they are baptized and speak some Spanish. Politically they, too, are basically full citizens of the country; they may vote and be drafted into military service, but
P 641 423 do not pay any taxes. In one respect, however, fortunately for them, they are regarded as "minors" before the law; in their totality they own all the landed property of Tierradentro, but
P 641 423 691 648 the individual man is not in a position to sell his land. This is supposed to keep the Paez from losing their settlement area to the whites. In practice this law is not always strictly observed, for otherwise neither the colonists nor the large landowners, who are slowly but surely pushing their pasture and agricultural lands into the territory of the natives, could be in Tierradentro. The latter cannot in fact defend themselves against this, for, due to lack of money, no one among them is in a position to complain in court. If a complaint is nevertheless made, the Indios always lose, as, for example, in Itaibe, in the southeastern part of Tierradentro, where the Spaniards began to colonize as early as 1636 and where for many years lawsuits were carried on by the Indios in vain. Moreover, no judge is able to undertake anything against a rich landowner or against the missions likewise owning land.

/185 cont./

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562 able position, for their help is not needed for the most part, and their mother does not have a household of her own. Nevertheless
[583] their marriage prospects are not unfavorable, since a girl does not
[581] have a dowry, but is married only on the basis of her personal qualities.

/192 cont./

581 around the hearth fire, and this must be stirred and provided with
462 wood every two hours. This is the task of the wife, who, there-
513 fore, sleeps next to the fire. Throughout practically her whole life, she is never able to sleep all through the night.

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/315 cont./

105 "Araucanian" type (O'Neale, p. 115). In place of the shed rod we have a simple loop; in place of the heddle rod, a bundle of loops.
105 The warp threads are stretched in the form of the "false spiral warp,"
286 a mixture of the method of the continuous, circular warp with the
171 method of the terminating flat warp. This genuinely American way of stretching the warp is found among the Northwest Coast Indians as well as among the tribes of the Gran Chaco (Olson, pp. 114-121). Culture-historically H. Nevermann regards the various forms of American weaving /316/ as having originated on the basis of a native or pre-Polynesian plait-weaving. Among the Paez we find this technical stage in the plait-weaving of the carrying bands of the coca bags.

105 For dyeing, vegetable dyes are used, which dye only sheep wool, but not cotton.

Pottery is very simple. There are only hemispherical pots and bowls made with the spiral coil technique, both without any ornamentation.

The present political organization of the Paez is based on the village community. It is led by a village council (cabildo), whose members are chosen for a year from among the men of the village. The designations for the members of the cabildo and their functions are in part Spanish. In former times the leaders of the Paez were
[621] often men with shamanistic abilities. The village is not organized
[565] by either classes or occupations. No one need serve another for
[463] pay; the word and the thing are unknown to the Paez. The father
[464] of the family with his sons or brothers works his fields, and if
[476] friends or neighbors lend their help, it is compensated for by assistance in their fields.

[594] The family organization is basically the patrilineal,
[178] monogomous nuclear family, consisting of the parents and the
[851] unmarried children. Here there has probably been the least change in Paez culture. The children are given the family of the
[533] father. For her marriage the woman receives no dowry of any kind from her parents, and she keeps her maiden name. Since there are no social or financial reasons for concluding a marriage, a woman has only the merit of her personality and abilities. These are tested during a "trial year" before the actual conclusion of the marriage.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5, ✓ (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

The *Páez* family is completely under the authority of the father, whose wife and children obey him implicitly and may be punished by him. Nonetheless, the father must obtain his wife's permission to sell or exchange goods she produced, such as bags for coca, sashes, etc. Precise etiquette is maintained between fathers and godfathers (compadres). Whenever a man meets his father or his godfather, he must kneel to receive his blessing. The fathers and godfathers must embrace whenever they meet. In one case a young man was the godfather of his father's new son by another wife, so that in meeting his father the young man had to kneel bareheaded, and then stand with his hat on and embrace his father as a godparent. The father did not call him "son" but "compadre."

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—A very old custom among these peoples is that at childbirth the mother should retire to a special house or go to the mountains. If she was delivered in the home, she and the baby were bathed, and then the family left the hut and built a new one elsewhere.

Today both the *Moguex* and *Páez* have a special hut for childbirth. The day after the child is born, the mother is placed in a hole up to her head and bathed with an infusion of leaves of "moquita," after which she washes the clothes and objects worn during delivery. She then returns to work and lives again at home. In the special hut, a *Páez* woman is assisted in childbirth by another woman, or, as a last resort, by her husband, who must bathe immediately afterward. Two days later, the mother circumcises her son or destroys the virginity of her daughter. Four or five days after the birth and after the first bath, the father takes the child to the sacristan of the community for baptism with water, and then returns it to the mother. The afterbirth must be buried or burned at the place of the birth. About 15 days later, the mother takes a bath and washes her child and her clothes and objects, and returns home. Later, the child is baptized with oil in the church by the priest with the godparents present. This is an occasion for general dancing and drunkenness.

Puberty.—At puberty a girl was formerly taken by her parents to a hill, placed in a hole, and bathed. Each Indian then took her a gift. Pittier de Fábrega (1907) notes that at a later period a girl's puberty was celebrated with the "Itsa-kó" dance, the girl, bathed with chicha, remaining in the hole. Today, a woman must retire during her menstrual periods to a special hut, where other women bring her food and build a fire to warm her. Afterward, she bathes, washes her clothes and objects, and then returns home.

Men, until recently, underwent a sort of initiation, in which they were taken to the shores of the sacred lagoon of Juan Tama or to the

/183 cont./

605 proscribed. With respect to relations between cousins, they
835 state that whoever has them cannot pass the Páramo /crests of the cordilleras/ (Guanacas, Delicias, Moras), because the tiger will eat them. They add, however, that nothing will happen to them if such unions take place without any prelude, laughter, or merriment.

582 In deciding upon the spouses there exists a very singular
551 cultural trait. A man never chooses his future wife from among women bearing his own surname. Thus, a Muse does not choose a Muse for his wife, although she may live in another parcialidad. They believe that there may be kinship relations
551 between them. Cases in which a husband and wife do have the
582 same surname are very rare, and when that happens the husband
● 851 endeavors to introduce his wife by her mother's name. A case that we were able to observe unexpectedly was during the baptism of a baby girl solemnized in the church at Inzá. For elementary reasons we are concealing the names of the actual parents, and we shall suppose that the father is called Manuel Kiguasú and the mother María Kiguasú. In order to register the baptism of the child, the priest asked for the name of the parents. "Manuel Kiguasú," answered the father of the child, but upon being asked the name of his wife, he did not say that she was called María Kiguasú, as in reality she was, being the legitimate daughter of a Kiguasú, but María Vitechi, a name inherited from her mother. The case acquires more importance if one takes into account the fact that the so-called Manuel Kiguasú is a mestizo
551 who lives among the "whites" and deals with them. We found
582 the same situation in the genealogical record of the family of Nicanor Guagás of the parcialidad of Calderas. Rosario Ido, widow of Nicanor Guagás, bears the name of her mother, a native of the parcialidad of Cuetando, and not that of her father, Agustín Guagás, she being a legitimate daughter. Although in the same records Nicolasa Guagás does not conceal her surname in mentioning that of her deceased husband, Manuel José Guagás, a marriage authorized by the Church, for Nicolasa states that she is her husband's niece. The name of the nuclear family, that is to

/186 cont./

237 Should an unfaithful wife conceive a child by a man
851 racially white and the husband not be aware of it, the latter considers it his child even if it should inherit the characteristics of its progenitor. He will simply observe, "Why do my children come like this?" His wife answers him, "I don't know; it may
581 be echi or Pijao." In general marriages are well established and
593 stable, in spite of the fact that occasional tensions may arise between spouses. Divorce is unknown among the Páez. Extinction
586 of marriages by separation or the abandonment of one of the spouses is rare. In Calderas they can count on the fingers of one hand the cases where a man has abandoned his wife. "This is very ugly in a person, it should never happen," comments a woman. Cases in which a woman abandons the husband are much rarer still, being bitterly criticized when they occur.

594 The mother has the obligation to feed and care for her
854 children up to when they can leave home. Labor which she
[853] truly performs with love and care. The children suckle until they are two years old and even up to three, a period during which she never leaves them at any time. She cradles them on her breast or in the hammock and carries them on her shoulders,
594 attending to them lovingly whenever they cry. The father looks
867 after his boys from the time that they gain complete mastery of
[593] the biped state, without this making him less loving toward his daughters. Then he begins to take his sons everywhere.

During religious festivals they sit at his side, participate in the conversation of their elders, and are served food and
[273] drink in the same way as their elders. In Calderas and in /187/ San Andrés we had the opportunity to observe children five years old reeling under the effects of chicha and aguardiente. At this age, when they begin to take part in the economic life of the family group, the father teaches them to chew coca. The father conscientiously performs this labor of endoculturation.

597 We have not come across any cases of adopted children.
736 When both parents die, the children stay in the home of the nearest relative.

593 The conduct of the children toward their parents is that of deep respect. Nevertheless, in Calderas we witnessed the verbal

/186 cont./

[77 Today all children are obliged to attend school in the
797 mission schools, where they are taught the catechism and the
871 Spanish language and must bathe once a day under supervision.
515 The mother nurses her child exclusively during the first six
●853 to eight months; only then is the giving of more solid food begun, which, however, does not differ in any way from that of adults, that is to say, the child is given yuca, beans, chicha, brandy, etc., like the adults. The mother suckles the child until the next one arrives, namely, three to four years, and sometimes beyond that, along with the one born next. Every woman who has a child generally also has milk, we were told. Only if the mother should be far away, /187/ for example, on an errand at the market or out fetching wood, may another woman help the child with her milk. In the rare cases in which a woman does not have enough milk to feed her child, she may give it to some
853 other woman, who, however, does not receive anything for it. It
855 may also happen that a family with ten children has become so
[593] large that the food is no longer adequate. In this case the woman may leave one or several children in the care of her mother. If she no longer has a mother, however, she must keep them herself. In case the mother of small children dies and leaves a baby of less than two or three months who still cannot eat any food other than milk, the father looks for a woman who likewise has a nursing baby and who brings up the strange child with her milk for two or three years, until it can talk. Then the father takes it back, and the wet nurse is given a cow as "milk money."

854 Ordinarily the children are carried by the mother. The
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/112 cont./

142 age the hair seldom becomes white. We met only one woman with slightly graying hair and an old man with a gray, sparse
[302] beard, but dark hair. The beard among men is scant. The beard hair is regularly plucked (see Ills. 148 to 155 /see pp. 265-268/).

143 According to the blood-group analysis of the Paez, among the 303 individuals examined there were 88.78 per cent of blood group 0, 6.93 per cent of blood group A, and 4.29 per cent of blood group B. The blood group A+B is not represented (G. Arcila Velez, pp. 11-14).

829 The racial concept of Indian is foreign to the Paez themselves. To them "Indio" designates a cultural status. My colleague, Segundo Bernal Villa, an Indian from the region of Pasto, was designated as "blanco" because of his European clothing. And when our interpreter Victoriano bought himself "white clothing" (hat, pants, shirt, shoes) with the money he earned, he was called a "white" in his village and accordingly treated with hostility.

161 The population figures for the Paez do not seem either to increase or decrease, as far as the uncivilized Paez are con-
165 cerned, for example, in Calderas. Infant mortality comes to more
164 than 50 per cent. The most common cause of sickness is whooping cough. The health of children who survive their second year, as well as of adults, is -- considering the circumstances -- quite good. True, one scarcely sees old people over 60 (and
[132] those who look that old are probably younger). The most fre-
[362] quent illness of adults is tuberculosis, which claims numerous victims, since the nights are very cold and the cold and wind can
[262] penetrate through the light walls of the houses unhindered. More-
[273] over, no fat of any kind is commonly eaten. Another illness from which many Paez suffer, which, however, is not taken seriously, is stomach trouble caused by the drinking of brandy even during
[154] infancy and the unsuitable diet in childhood. Infants are given
[262] beans, cabbage, and yuca, but no milk, except mother's milk.

/121 cont./

372 In case the fire should go out, which happens very rarely, the men, if they have no matches, know how to make fire by striking the blade of the iron machete with a stone and catching the sparks in the dry tinder of expressed sugar-cane. To fan this or a dying fire the hat is used as a fire fan, instead of a special fan. A few times I also saw a reed tube (yotá) about 50 centimeters long, which is blown into with the mouth and which thus acts like a bellows.

352 Infants do not as a rule sleep on the floor, but in ham-
[854] mocks (máka), which, however, as the name indicates, were
[513] not originally Paez. Nevertheless all the men know how to
[286] make them out of agave fibers, which is done with the same knotting technique as in the manufacture of nets for bird hunting.
415 Moreover, a few bags (yáha) made of agave fibers, which con-
[286] tain beans, maize, or other supplies, hang on the wall posts.
[353] Arracacha lies on the floor. For drinking chicha, which is allowed
[273] to ferment in large, hollowed-out tree troughs, calabashes (tóka) are used, but they are plain and undecorated. Cracked calabashes are sewed with a waxed agave thread (Fig. 25 /see
[249] p.253/). The calabash gourd is grown in the house garden /122/
412 of every family; its meat is inedible. Furthermore, an oval or
352 rectangular grindstone on which maize is ground with a smaller hand-stone is found in every household. It usually lies on the floor in a corner of the house, but sometimes it is set about one meter high on two forked posts.

412 Meals are taken with wooden spoons (todšá'tc) off of
415 wooden plates (bič), which are carved by the Paez themselves
264 (Fig. 27 /see p. 253/). Aluminum or enamel bowls were rarely
[322] encountered in Calderas. Plates and mugs of aluminum were
[177] therefore always coveted gift articles, along with kitchen knives, needles, safety pins, matches, and salt.

356 Cleanliness within the house is surprisingly great, consider-
515 ing that the Paez wash their bodies but seldom and their hands only when they are "very dirty." This is the case when a person has been working in a burned field and has cleared away the
000 sooty, burned tree trunks and the burned underbrush. The house

/124 cont./

291 The upper garment (ipotsatc) is a simple, rectangular piece of cloth about 160 centimeters long and 80 centimeters wide, which, when being put on, is held crosswise so that the warp and ornamental threads run crosswise. When it is on, it covers only the bosom, back, and one side, whereas the other one remains more or less free (Ills. 166 /see p. 273/ and 178 /see p.279 /). In use it is put on from one side of the body over the bosom to the other side, and then led across the back to the original side again. The back /125/ part is now pulled up and fastened over both shoulders to the bosom part with a thorn (tópo) or a safety pin. The part that hangs down is tucked into the skirt. In general the women try to buy colored, usually red blouses in the market for festival days, and these then replace the old, simple cloth. The skirts, however, are not exchanged for other clothing, because the purchased fabrics are not nearly as durable and also do not have the necessary width.

Outside the house the women usually wear a shawl over the ipotsatc; they either weave one (senyatc) for themselves or [854] purchase it (panyelõn). In any case it is necessary for carrying babies, for they are wrapped in it and secured with the colored belt (táw) (Ills. 152 /see p. 267 /, 166 /see p. 273 /, 178 /see p. 279/, 183 /see p. 282 /).

292 There is no special, original ceremonial dress or any spe-
[293] cial clothing for dignitaries. The latter carry, as their only
[177] distinguishing mark, the chonta staff introduced to them by the Spaniards. For festivals and ceremonies people try to wear either items of European clothing or a new outfit of the customary gar-
[764] ments. For a Christian burial it is the duty of the members of
[177] the family to bury the deceased in the clothing of white Colombians.
291 Small children usually run around naked or have a scrap of cloth hung over them in the style of the ruana. Larger boys wear either a large ruana reaching to the upper thighs, which is held together by a belt, or they already wear trousers. Smaller girls are usually dressed in a piece of cloth reaching from the upper body down over the knees, which is drawn over one shoulder. Older girls wear the clothing of the women. No distinction is

/186 cont./

177 797 871 Today all children are obliged to attend school in the mission schools, where they are taught the catechism and the Spanish language and must bathe once a day under supervision.

515 853 The mother nurses her child exclusively during the first six to eight months; only then is the giving of more solid food begun, which, however, does not differ in any way from that of adults, that is to say, the child is given yuca, beans, chicha, brandy, etc., like the adults. The mother suckles the child until the next one arrives, namely, three to four years, and sometimes beyond that, along with the one born next. Every woman who has a child generally also has milk, we were told. Only if the mother should be far away, /187/ for example, on an errand at the market or out fetching wood, may another woman help the child with her milk. In the rare cases in which a woman does not have enough milk to feed her child, she may give it to some other woman, who, however, does not receive anything for it. It may also happen that a family with ten children has become so large that the food is no longer adequate. In this case the woman may leave one or several children in the care of her mother. If she no longer has a mother, however, she must keep them herself. In case the mother of small children dies and leaves a baby of less than two or three months who still cannot eat any food other than milk, the father looks for a woman who likewise has a nursing baby and who brings up the strange child with her milk for two or three years, until it can talk. Then the father takes it back, and the wet nurse is given a cow as "milk money."

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[231]

1: Nachtigall--267 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 153. The shaman Cerbeleón Niunda.

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Ill. 152. Mother with child.

1: Nachtigall--281 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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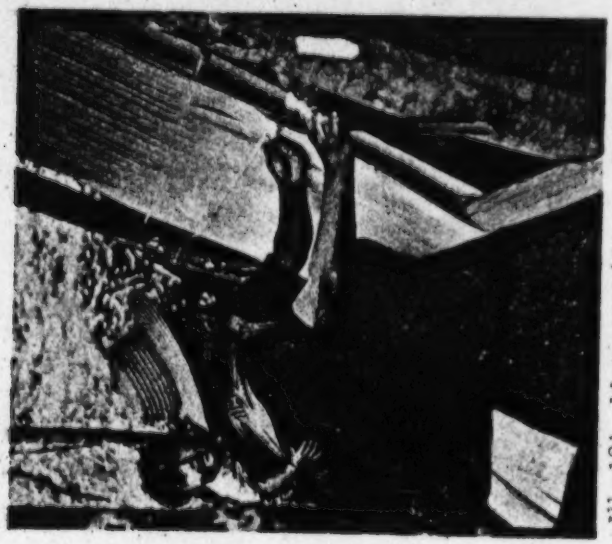
Ill. 182. Making the carrying bands for the fiber bags.

[054]



Ill. 181. Weaver making wool cloth.

1: Nachtigall--287 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 198. Women carry heavy loads with the forehead-band.

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Ill. 197. Manner of carrying children.

6: Bernal Villa--106 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro XII: Two married couples from Calderas in the Parque Arqueológico of Tierradentro. The one on the right is a very young married couple.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5f (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

291 They protect the upper part of the body with a black poncho tied at
177 the belt, or a shirt with a poncho over it. Women wear two skirts, the under skirt being black and the outer one white or gray. Both are held at the waist by a sash woven with figures. They cover their busts with two blankets which are fastened at the shoulders with
[293] wood, copper, or silver pins. Both sexes carry pouches woven of
[415] hemp which, like these Indians, are called "guambías." Their straw hats are dish-shaped, with small brims hardly distinguishable from the shallow crowns. The hats, always too large for their heads, are held on by two cords, one passing under the chin and the other behind the neck, around the hair. The women also wear woolen shawls, silver earrings, rings, and heavy necklaces of glass, shells, and silver. For festivals they prefer hats with the brim divided into two parts, front and back. These are lined with dark-blue cloth, with red and yellow on the brim.

When working, the *Páez* wear short linen pants or long woolen ones and a large woolen poncho tied at the waist. When going to market, they wear an additional poncho and a woolen pouch for coca. When
[292] traveling on the páramos, they wear a knit hemp cloak covered with large, thin leaves of *Gynerium saccharoides*, which protects them from the rain. The women wear a narrow woven cotton band, passed between the legs and tied at the waist, one, two, or more black or gray woolen skirts gathered at the waist and held by a woven sash,
[482] and two small mantas, like those of the *Moguex*. In traveling, a
[854] shawl is worn for covering and to carry the child. They adorn themselves also with strings or necklaces of glass or other beads, or white chaquiras, and sometimes are added silver pendants of Colonial origin.
[292] During festivals the women wear brightly colored blouses of imported fabrics and the men linen shirts.

MANUFACTURES

285 **Basketry.**—The *Páez* and *Moguex* make a few twilled baskets of cane strips and two kinds of hats. The hats are woven with the coiled or sewed technique. The spiraled warp in one kind consists of a thin bundle of rush or straw, and in the other of a braid made with seven
[462] strands. The latter is more common. Both are made by men who
[292] prepare materials while resting at home or traveling on the road. Weaving also includes waterproof capes made by tying sheaves of
[824] leaves or straw to a net of hemp cord.

Cordage.—Rope making is practiced extensively. Hemp (fique)
283 is the raw material, and is made into cords for fishing nets, bird trap nets, bags or pouches for carrying belongings and products, foundation nets for the leaf rain capes, and cordage for various other purposes. The sisal or hemp (fique) leaves are scraped over the sharp edge of a board to loosen the fibers, which are then washed, dried, and twisted

/186 cont./

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2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

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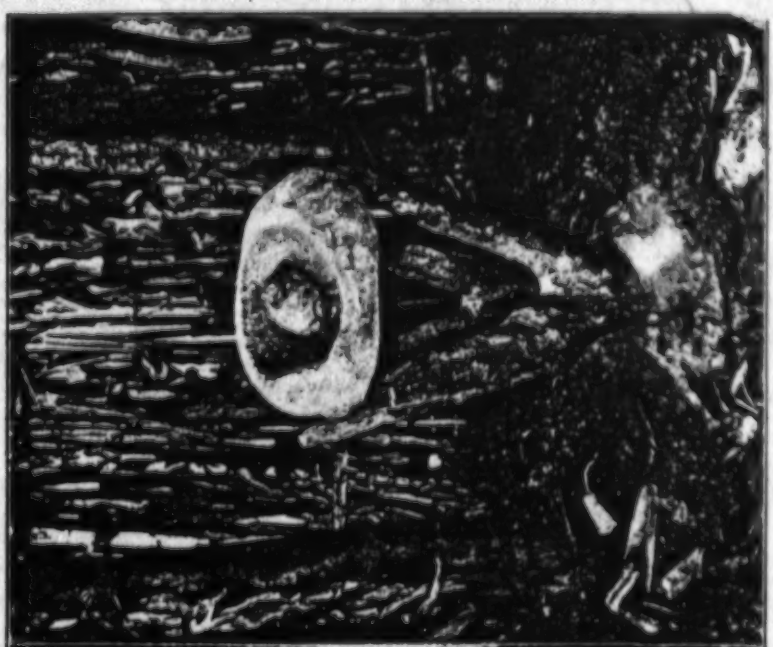
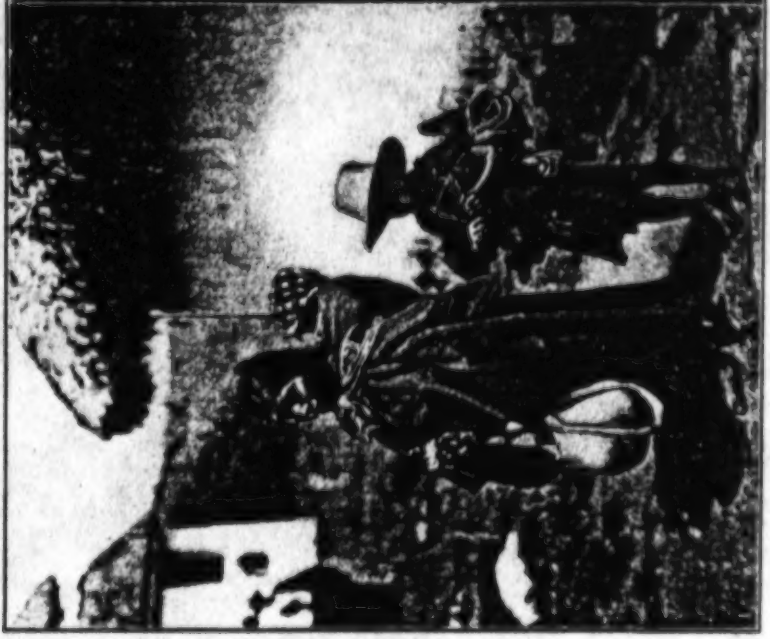


PAEZ GRINDING STONE



TRAVELING PAEZ WOMAN AND CHILDREN

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[facing P.317]

/187 cont./

593 and de facto (with a machete) aggression of a married son (23 years old) against his parents, and the situation calmed down when the father succeeded in disarming the aggressor.

Brothers and sisters respect each other. They avoid aggression, and when they are little they play together. The younger brothers greet the older ones, and when the latter marry, they receive, kneeling, the blessing of the former.

[241] The fruits of the harvests are shared among the brothers,
[476] just as they also mutually help one another in the arduous agricultural work. According to an informant, men care more for their brothers than for their sisters, because the latter, upon marrying, leave the home. Nevertheless they show affection in their conduct with both sexes. Relations between sisters and the mother are intimate, as they live together under the same
[855] roof and intermingle in performing the same work. The older ones help to bring up the younger brothers and sisters. The latter call the eldest brother and eldest sister táta and máma, names that they abandon when they have reached adulthood.
[627] In case of a fight involving one of the brothers, the others go to his assistance and take vengeance if anyone has been injured,
[623] but this is not an obligation. Quarrels between brothers may
[692] arise over the distribution of land. In the greater number of such cases the cabildo settles the differences.

602 Relations between the families united among themselves by blood ties are intimate. They visit one another frequently and are shown painstaking treatment.

593 Mingas[1] are organized more readily among brothers, who
[476] "cover up their poverty." In the religious festivals they mutually
[651] back one another and during occasional meetings they endeavor
[796] to drink and eat together.

1/ [i.e., meetings for collective work--Analyst]

/185 cont./ In any
844 case, the birth, which is always regarded as very dangerous, takes
[343] place there. As a matter of principle, a midwife (ndōsoknās) is
fetched. The latter, as the name implies, is not a shaman. She
[759] has nothing to do with shamanistic functions, but is qualified only
for births or external injuries, such as broken bones or flesh wounds.

The midwife may not be an old woman. She is fetched before the birth by the husband of the pregnant woman and always comes. Several times I asked whether in an emergency a man or the mother could help, but it was always said that the midwife
[465] always comes, no matter how busy she is. For her assistance she receives only her meals, unless complications arise. In this case she receives wool or natural produce as remuneration for her help.

In principle, only the midwife and the woman in labor are in the dúyat. The latter is in a squatting position. With her hands she holds onto a belt that is slung around the roof beam of the dúyat. If there is no belt, the husband may also be present, and he then embraces his wife from behind and holds her in such a way that she is likewise in a squatting position. The midwife
845 receives the child. If its position is not normal, for example, in
844 case of a breech position of the child, she turns the child so that the head lies downward. If the child is still not born, the mother must die -- as was explained to us -- for then nothing further can be done. This only rarely happens, however.

844 The midwife brings along her medicinal herbs, with which she rubs the body of the woman in labor. The newborn child is first washed with cold water and then wrapped in a piece of ruana
[412] and given to the mother. The severing of the umbilical cord is not done with the knife or the scissors, but rather, after the umbili-
[824] cal cord (kolwát) is tied beforehand with a homespun wool thread, with the sharp-edged cane of a type of reed. The father may see his child immediately after birth; the mother, however, stays with the child approximately two weeks longer in the dúyat. The afterbirth (duyáha), together with the umbilical cord, is buried near the menstruation house. The father digs the hole for this
[856] purpose, and the mother throws both into it. The hole must not be too shallow, for otherwise the dogs would dig them out, but not too deep either, for then the child would not get its teeth until very late and only with great difficulty,

/145 cont./

532 776 carving anywhere else or obtain an explanation anywhere (*).

* Possibly this is supposed to represent "Thunder," who, as the most important mythical figure and also as the shamans' assistant spirit, is described as a small man with the shaman staff and a triangle as a musical instrument, who displays his sexual parts.

223 Bird-hunting for the pigeon-sized tom birds is carried on by almost all Paez families with the net (ōka), as well as with the shotgun. The net is about five meters high and 20 meters wide. For this purpose a correspondingly wide breach is cut in the growth of trees or bushes on a hill or the ridge of a mountain chain, and the net fastened in the opening produced. The flushed birds, who think that there is a convenient passage at this place, fly into the net, get caught in it, and are then killed by the [237] capturers, who twist their heads. Another type of bird-catching consists of fastening a noose made of horsehair (nyákiwez; nyák = to set up, wez = string) to the twig of a tree or shrub in such a [857] way that the noose rests in a bird's nest. When the bird returns to its nest, the noose becomes entangled in its foot, and the boy -- for it is mostly boys who engage in this task of noose-setting -- 224 is able to seize the bird. Rabbits are caught in the same way with nooses, but made of agave fibers, by laying the nooses where they pass.

226 Fishing is done with hook and line at the river or with [283] poison in weirs. The fishing line (wendyánsyuts) consists of twined agave string to which are tied a metal hook and a stone as a sinker. A small worm is fastened to the hook as bait. [462] Angling is done only by men, and at twilight or at night.

226 824 171 Fishing with poisonous plants is a cultural characteristic of almost all South American Indians. For this purpose a total of more than 100 species of poisonous plants are used by them, which means that this part of the world leads all the continents in this respect (Heizer, p. 277). Among the Paez, fishing with

/146 cont./

726 In order to defend their mountain country the Paez also used
[725] large rocks which they hurled down on the attackers from the
[177] heights. They, too, however, soon succeeded in obtaining iron
[411] and iron weapons. In their battles at the time of the Conquista they were already using swords and machetes.

411 The stone-sling plaited of agave fibers, whose manufacture
726 is described below (see under "Plaiting" /see pp. 85-86 /), is
773 of great importance mythologically in the battles with the "Pijao."
628 For geographical reasons it is the typical weapon of the American
411 mountain peoples from Tierra del Fuego to Canada, whereas the
171 blowgun, for similar reasons, is the typical weapon chiefly of the Amazonas and Orinoco forest area. The simultaneous occurrence of blowgun and sling is found all the way from Mexico to Ecuador and in Bolivia (Friederici, 1911, pp. 71-73, Pl. 13).

411 /147/ The blowgun of the Paez consists of a single barrel and is very simple in its construction. It is made only by men, but
[462] for bird-hunting is used almost solely by boys. To make it, one
[157] uses the thin, straight trunk of the fíza tree, the pith of which is
[223] burned out with a long iron tube about eight millimeters in diameter and heated red-hot. The length of the tube is two to three meters. No special mouthpiece is attached. As a sight a little piece of beeswax is pasted above the mouth of the blowgun.
[324] The ball-shaped fruits of the smbák tree, which have exactly the right caliber when green, are used as shot. The range amounts
[211] to about 20 meters. The accuracy of the shot is not great. Nevertheless, there are boys who have carved more than 20 notches above the blowhole of the tube as a record of the birds killed.

4. Crafts and Techniques

a) Treatment of Fibers

283 The fiber material used by the Paez for plaiting, weaving, nets, or ropes is primarily agave, cotton, or sheep wool. Agave and cotton are ancient American fiber plants whose homeland is probably Central America, while working with sheep wool has its tradition in the Peruvian Highlands, in working with llama or

/186 cont./

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797 mission schools, where they are taught the catechism and the
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[593] large that the food is no longer adequate. In this case the woman may leave one or several children in the care of her mother. If she no longer has a mother, however, she must keep them herself. In case the mother of small children dies and leaves a baby of less than two or three months who still cannot eat any food other than milk, the father looks for a woman who likewise has a nursing baby and who brings up the strange child with her milk for two or three years, until it can talk. Then the father takes it back, and the wet nurse is given a cow as "milk money."

854 Ordinarily the children are carried by the mother. The
482 colored woven belt (táw) and the large shawl (panyelón or séntyatc), in which the child is wrapped and carried by the mother on her back, are needed for this.

857 The games of the children are generally instructive for their
868 later life. The boys go bird hunting with the blowgun (pãt), the plaited stone-sling (ísot), or the elastic sling (kaučéro), or they practice catching each other with the lasso, during which the child
[231] to be caught represents a cow or a horse. The ability of the children, and of the adults, too, by the way, in the use of the lasso is not

/187 cont./

857 great. Handling it for catching cows or horses is regarded as sport,
868 as, indeed, is animal-raising in general. The animals are not easy
231 to catch, but must really be outwitted. To catch a cow, for example, the lasso-wielder, in the midst of a group of several men or youths, first runs behind a few other cows that are near the cow to be captured. The latter feels quite secure, since the shouting apparently does not apply to her. The men now drive the cows in such a way that they come close to the one being captured; then the lasso-thrower doubles back and throws the rope at a distance of only about three meters. In spite of the short distance, only about every third throw is successful.

524 Two boys' playthings, used with enthusiasm as a pastime of school children, are the top (čũnga) and the hole-ball (hẽnde). The latter (Fig. 36 /see p. 258 /) is a hollowed-out fruit capsule about five centimeters in diameter, with a hole one centimeter in size on the underside. /188/ Exactly opposite this larger hole, a small one is bored. A twisted agave string about 20 centimeters long is drawn through the large and the small hole from below and knotted above the small hole so that it cannot slide out again. The other end of the string is knotted in the center of a small rod about 15 centimeters long, which is slightly smaller in diameter than the hole on the underside of the fruit capsule. In play the string of the capsule hangs down from the rod, half of which is grasped with one hand. With a gentle swing one now tosses upward the capsule attached to the string and tries to catch it with the rod. Beginners seldom or never hit the hole, whereas more practiced persons succeed many times in a row.

[524] The top consists of a small double-conical chunk of wood four to six centimeters high, which boys carve out for themselves and which ends in a small knob on the upper side. A small thorn is stuck into the tip on the underside. The top is set in motion with a string that ends in two loops. One of these is drawn over the middle finger of the hand, the other over the knob on the upper side of the top. From there it is led to the underside around the thorn and then wrapped spirally upward around the lower, conical part of the top. To set it in motion, the top is thrown on the plank floor of the school. The loop fastened to the middle finger

/205 cont./

578 I acted as though I did not understand the words, but observed the
[123] same thing as on other occasions of disputes among Indios, namely, that two who are quarreling are not separated by a third stepping in. Rather, a dispute is regarded as an affair of the participants and as an interesting diversion in the monotonous daily existence, and the outcome is observed with obvious interest. Apart from the native word "alko," the Paez, interestingly enough, have no abusive word in their own language. The only term of abuse, but used very frequently, is the Spanish "carajo!"

f) Division of Labor between Men and Women

462 As we have seen from what was said above, the individual left to his own resources cannot exist in the Paez communities. The men's work is supplemented by the women's work, and vice versa. Both men and women are dependent upon each other to make a living /206/ and rely on each other for their most primitive vital needs. A man needs a woman who weaves clothes for him, and a woman cannot clear a field -- to cite but one example. The traditional tasks in relation to the sexes may be
[177] summarized once again here. Transitions toward newer ways of life are noticeable, as these have been taken over from the surrounding colonists.

462

	Men	Women	Children
857 Clearing a piece of land	x		
Sowing maize, potatoes, yuca, sugar cane, coca, wheat	x		
Sowing cabbage and beans	x	x	
Sowing gourds and cucumbers	x	x	
Weeding	x		
Harvesting maize, potatoes, coca, wheat	x	x	

/206 cont./

462

857

	Men	Women	Children
Harvesting yuca, cabbage, beans, gourds		x	
Harvesting sugar cane	x	(x)	
Hunting	x		
Fishing at the weir	x	x	
Gathering wild honey	x	x	x
Preparing food		x	
Making chicha and brandy	x	x	
Housebuilding	x		
Making fire with flint and steel	x		
Fetching firewood		x	
Fetching water		x	x
Carrying loads on marches	x	x	
Making weapons	x		
Making plaited hats	x		
Making hammocks	x		
Making rope	x		
Making musical instruments	x		
Making fireworks	x		
Making bird nets	x		
Making children's toys			x
Making clay vessels	x	x	
Making fiber bags		x	
Making coca bags		x	
Making wax candles	x	x	x
/207/			
[439] Ornaments	(bought)	(bought)	
Weaving, plait-weaving		x	
Dyeing		x	
Washing women's clothes and the men's woven clothes		x	
Washing the home-sewn men's trousers	x		
Mending woven clothing		x	
Mending men's trousers	x		

1: Nachtigall--287 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

C

482

Ill. 198. Women carry heavy loads with the forehead-band.

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● 857
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Ill. 197. Manner of carrying children.

/CXXII cont./

Ill. 196. Walkway of the bamboo suspension bridge at Belalcázar.

Plate C

[857] [868] Ill. 197. The older sisters take care of their younger siblings as a matter of course and practice the duties of a woman from childhood on.

Ill. 198. Among the tasks of the women are the making of clothing for the family and the housework, including the fetching of firewood. Whereas the men carry heavy loads on their shoulders, the women use the forehead band.

/CXXIII/

Plate CI

[774] Ill. 199. The shaman Felisa Ipia with her shaman's staff and the nyika reed. In the wool threads fastened to her staff she has gathered the souls of all the inhabitants of Santa Rosa. With the reed she tears apart the clothing of a soul about to leave a dying person. It must then return to its body and the person need not die.

[755]

Ill. 200. Gable post of a hunting hut with the skull trophy of a slain monkey. The skulls of the animal booty hung on the gable post, as well as the wing feathers of the birds killed, are supposed to guarantee further success in hunting. Below the skull trophy, the incised figure of a spirit besides the Christian cross.

Plate CII

Ill. 201. Woman grinding maize with the hand grindstone.

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[759] a site: "This is a good place to build a house and to live," he
[787] says. Then he takes there the medicine man, who during the night "thinks about" whether the site is suitable or unsuitable; he chews coca and remedies, takes mouthfuls of aguardiente

/188 cont./

462 from the plantings; she will laboriously make the multicolored
594 kuetand yahas which she will give as tokens of love to her hus-
[251] band. The children, who "are a blessing of God," will come and help the man work the land or lighten the woman's kitchen chores.

594 The household lends individuality, a sociological frame-
183 work, status, and function to the family. Land, a house, and a family are specific ambitions of the Paez people. Possibly they represent their most cherished ideals in life.

IV

Live Ritual Fire

372 In the mind of every individual, and in the spirit of the family, fire is a symbol, a symbol of the house and of the home. A house without fire is a dead, abandoned house.

372 In ancient times, when the Pijao went about spreading
773 terror and death, when the caciques came down on the /189/ /illustration appears here/ roaring waters of the great rivers beneath the imposing dark night sprinkled with stars, and even much earlier, the Indians began their daily round by requesting fire from an old, white-haired woman. This fire died out when night spread its dark cloak over the world. Only the old woman's fire was immortal. The monotony of this daily request for fire was transmuted into anguish when the wicked old woman decided to leave and take the fire with her in a piece of wood. They all ran after her, seized the firebrand, and obtained fire from it for all the Indian households. This fire could be preserved.

Thus run the mythical accounts of the origin of fire. They reflect its importance. The manner in which it is preserved, the care which is exercised so that a fire is always /190/ burning in the house, seem to be superstitious attitudes from an ancient

/344 cont./

462

Activity	Men	Women
Making the fire		yes
Clearings	yes	
Planting, weeding, and harvesting	yes	yes
Gathering		yes (29)

•[857]

29. Task of women and of children under six.

Trade	yes	yes
Hunting and fishing	yes	
Communal work	yes	
Mingas	yes	
Supplying firewood and water		yes
Ownership	yes	yes (30)

30. Rarely.

Carpentry	yes	
Making fireworks	yes	
Tending livestock	yes	
Barbering	yes	
Milling	yes	yes
Musical instruments	yes	
Consumption of coca	yes	yes
Consumption of alcohol	yes	yes
Consumption of tobacco	yes	yes

/345/

427

Tenant farmers of San Andrés

In the haciendas that lie above the valley of the Pisimbalá torrent and the left bank of the Ullucos River, some 35 native families live as tenant farmers. There are five haciendas that make use of this type of servitude. Many of these families have developed and become established within the hacienda itself. Others have been driven to this condition out of a lack of land from which to derive sustenance.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,v(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

535 There is much dancing today. The sexes perform in couples or separately. Among the *Moguex*, some of the expert dancers are paid to dance with all couples in a sort of "bambuco." Dancing is always a part of *Páez* ceremonies for the death of children, baptismals, weddings, saint holidays, and meetings for collective work (mingas) held in the evening when people return from their plantations.

Dancing, as other social events, is subject to a special ceremony [585] or etiquette, strongly connected with religious beliefs. For example, in the wedding celebration, a prayer is first said in which the souls of [608] the dead are asked permission to dance, or "scrape the floor," as they call dancing. Only the godparents and the bride and groom may [527] dance at the beginning.

The *Páez* do not masquerade, but the *Moguex* always masquerade 526 during the period of carnival preceding Holy Week.

[524] **Games.**—Games do not hold an important place among these peoples. The children amuse themselves by imitating the activities [857] of their elders. The only game recorded is simulated warfare, performed as a part of a rite in honor of the dead after a communal [769] feast. Two teams under their captains or caciques attacked and shot arrows at each other. Even if some contestants were killed or wounded, no one bore a grudge.

276 **Narcotics.**—The *Páez* and the *Moguex* chewed coca leaves mixed in the mouth with lime powder. Coca chewing is widespread among [756] men, but very little practiced by women. It is used especially by the shaman when he is practicing. In Colonial times the use of coca [177] spread to the rural population of Mestizos and Whites in Nariño, Cauca, and Huila.

273 **Alcoholic beverages.**—These Indians formerly made chicha of maize, but today they ferment it with sugarcane molasses. They also have [178] fermented sugarcane juice (guarapo), and a sort of rum (aguardiente). The latter is distilled clandestinely in their huts from guarapo and certain herbs fermented together in earthenware crocks. The Indians drink guarapo every day, but restrict the use of chicha and the stronger guarapo and aguardiente to market days, religious feast days, burials, weddings, mingas or meetings for work, and witchcraft [462] ceremonies. Guarapo and chicha are made by women, who sometimes chew the maize to increase its fermentation. They are stored in large, hollowed tree trunks and in large earthen jars, which are kept in a special place in the hut. There is never a lack of these beverages for home use and for welcoming an unexpected visitor.

RELIGION

175 The early Spaniards had little understanding of the religion of these 771 people. They reported that the Indians had but few idols and no temples or places of worship. Castillo mentions that they wor-

/185 cont./

844 until very late and only with great difficulty. The proper depth is supposed to be about 30 centimeters.

846 Four to six days after birth and after the first bath, the
851 father or one of the godparents brings the child to the sacristan of
608 the village or /186/ to the women missionaries, in order to have
[797] it christened with water and given the name of the Christian saint of the christening day. Every child has only one given name and
[551] the Paez surname of its father. The baptism by the priest with oil takes place later on a suitable occasion, in the presence of the god-
[783] parents, and is followed by an eating and drinking bout. The
[756] mother also takes part in this, after she has left the dúyat and has washed herself, her child, and her clothes and has been purified by the shaman.

● 861 The rearing of the children is in the hands of the parents, who teach them the necessary accomplishments of life quite as a matter of course and almost in play. Disobedient children are also beaten, however, and, to be sure, usually if the son has no real desire to help his father with the field work. In punishing, the fathers are generally stricter than the mothers and on occasion beat them with leather straps all over their bodies. The boxing
[461] of ears is also to be seen. If a young man proves to be lazy in later life, the father is blamed because he did not properly ad-
848 monish his son to work. Illegitimate sons, who lack the strict hand of a father, are said to turn out badly in many cases, though as such they are very popular. Since they do not know their father, they are not obliged to work in his field. They are all the more
[426] in demand as helpers in the fields of other families. When they
[431] are older, they may borrow land and establish a family. Usually they even receive the land as a present. Thus, they need not
848 starve by any means. Illegitimate daughters are in a more unfavor-
562 able position, for their help is not needed for the most part, and their mother does not have a household of her own. Nevertheless
[583] their marriage prospects are not unfavorable, since a girl does not
[581] have a dowry, but is married only on the basis of her personal qualities.

/186 cont./

837 Should an unfaithful wife conceive a child by a man
851 racially white and the husband not be aware of it, the latter considers it his child even if it should inherit the characteristics of its progenitor. He will simply observe, "Why do my children come like this?" His wife answers him, "I don't know; it may
581 be echi or Pijao." In general marriages are well established and
593 stable, in spite of the fact that occasional tensions may arise between spouses. Divorce is unknown among the Páez. Extinction
586 of marriages by separation or the abandonment of one of the spouses is rare. In Calderas they can count on the fingers of one hand the cases where a man has abandoned his wife. "This is very ugly in a person, it should never happen," comments a woman. Cases in which a woman abandons the husband are much rarer still, being bitterly criticized when they occur.

594 The mother has the obligation to feed and care for her
854 children up to when they can leave home. Labor which she
[853] truly performs with love and care. The children suckle until they are two years old and even up to three, a period during which she never leaves them at any time. She cradles them on her breast or in the hammock and carries them on her shoulders,
594 attending to them lovingly whenever they cry. The father looks
● 867 after his boys from the time that they gain complete mastery of
[593] the biped state, without this making him less loving toward his daughters. Then he begins to take his sons everywhere.

During religious festivals they sit at his side, participate in the conversation of their elders, and are served food and
[273] drink in the same way as their elders. In Calderas and in /187/ San Andrés we had the opportunity to observe children five years old reeling under the effects of chicha and aguardiente. At this age, when they begin to take part in the economic life of the family group, the father teaches them to chew coca. The father conscientiously performs this labor of endoculturation.

597 We have not come across any cases of adopted children.
736 When both parents die, the children stay in the home of the nearest relative.

593 The conduct of the children toward their parents is that of deep respect. Nevertheless, in Calderas we witnessed the verbal

/186 cont./

177 Today all children are obliged to attend school in the
797 mission schools, where they are taught the catechism and the
871 Spanish language and must bathe once a day under supervision.
515 The mother nurses her child exclusively during the first six
853 to eight months; only then is the giving of more solid food begun, which, however, does not differ in any way from that of adults, that is to say, the child is given yuca, beans, chicha, brandy, etc., like the adults. The mother suckles the child until the next one arrives, namely, three to four years, and sometimes beyond that, along with the one born next. Every woman who has a child generally also has milk, we were told. Only if the mother should be far away, /187/ for example, on an errand at the market or out fetching wood, may another woman help the child with her milk. In the rare cases in which a woman does not have enough milk to feed her child, she may give it to some
853 other woman, who, however, does not receive anything for it. It
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/CXXII cont./

Ill. 196. Walkway of the bamboo suspension bridge at Belalcázar.

Plate C

[857] [868] Ill. 197. The older sisters take care of their younger siblings as a matter of course and practice the duties of a woman from childhood on.

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/CXXIII/ Plate CI

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Plate CII

Ill. 201. Woman grinding maize with the hand grindstone.

Ill. 202. Calderun music group. The instruments are the transverse flute, bass drum, drum, tambourine, and triangle.

/182 cont./

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/203 cont./

534 Some natives own and play guitars acquired in Popayán,
237 but there are some that they make themselves out of armadillo
439 shells.

The following are the compositions of ceremonial type
533 which are not accompanied by dancing.

/204/ /Illustration appears here./

Kulá ik kui (bull-slaughter-piece). Musical composition which is played at the moment of killing the beef to which the albacero and the laborers of the fiestero will be taken care of. Informants claim that this musical piece has no significance other than to entertain the people.

Plaza pá kui, a musical composition played when the musicians reach the church.

Misa kase kui, played when the Mass is over.

Chichi pékue kui, played when the meat is cut in pieces to treat the albacero. The workers place the chunks of meat on a trunk and cut them into small pieces with a machete /peinilla/.

There are other compositions peculiar to wedding ceremonies.

/205/ Novio mesa úku, played at the start of the wedding meal.

Úpiate kui, played halfway through the nuptial banquet.

Tunzi kamba kui, played at the close of the nuptial banquet.

All of these compositions are melodious and in 3/4 or 4/4 time.

The religious fiestas, mingas, weddings, and baptisms are occasions for music. There is no music at burials or at wakes for children.

[868] Musical compositions are learned from the "elders" out of personal interest. From childhood they learn how to play the bass drum, the side drum, and the triangle with great skill. They try the flute later. While rhythm instruments

* /222 cont./
756 making the tama /a staff/. That man's vision is a personal
787 one. No one else can see it. And it is the same thing that gives the "signs," without which it is impossible to cure, even if one knows the medicinal value of the remedies. When the interview is over, the man returns home with joy manifest on his face. He finishes his apprenticeship with another curer, begins to cure his children and members of his family, and soon, once his reputation has spread, others will come and request his services.

One who is going to be a curer sees visions from boyhood: Thunder /Trueno/ or the Ghost. This is the illumination of his future destiny. He cannot evade it, for Thunder or the Ghost may drive him insane.

[263] When a child tells of having had a vision, he is immediately prohibited from eating ají, his salt ration is reduced, and
● [868] he is bathed with remedies. Then a good curer is sought to instruct him, and when he has the secrets of medicine, that teacher leads him to the lagoon to be consecrated by Thunder. "To see Thunder" -- says an /223/ informant -- "having him show the medicines, is a sign that one will become a very good curer."

* 754 When someone has a vision, care is taken that the sorcerer
756 does not find out about it, for out of wickedness he might show
787 him ají and hep (a plant) and drive him insane. This happened to the curer from Santa Rosa mentioned above. "He would finally have tossed me into the Páez river" -- he said -- "if a curer from Huila had not cured me. Even today, when I am drunk, I have crazy moments and sing."

* 756 Period of instruction. Instruction is given by a curer of
868 great repute in an empirical way, for the pupil accompanies his teacher for several years, during which he learns how to handle the tama, to recognize the value of the remedies, to interpret signs, to master the technique of the treatments. The first cures are usually accomplished with his children or

/223 cont./

* 756 members of his family and under the direction of his teacher.
● 868 The demand for his services on the part of others depends on
the outcome of these treatments. Many of the young curers of
* 756 Togoima, Calderas, and Santa Rosa learned in this manner.
554 All of them state that their teachers had visions, and explicit-
868 ly or implicitly admit their inferiority to them. "The ancestors had visions, and for this reason they must have been superior to us," says a curer from Calderas. Owing to this fact, people believe that the curers of today cannot talk to
[829] Thunder. They would be killed. One of the reasons given to
[623] explain why the cabildos /local councils/ of today do not go to the lagoon to wash the staffs of command is precisely the lack of curers like those of old.

* 756 Those who have had visions also place themselves under
868 the direction of an experienced curer in order to learn the
[782] secrets of the profession. The definitive consecration as a
[778] curer is obtained when they offer the "Camarico" /a gift customarily given to guests/ to Thunder at the edge of the lagoon.

[554] Although an apprenticeship in medicine can be undertaken at a very early age, the practice requires one to be an adult of about 30 years of age and married or living with a woman. A "very young" curer would lie, informants say.

* 756 Consecration of the te eu. The true té eu, that is to say,
778 those who have had visions, make the offering of the "Camarico
782 /224/ to Thunder," a ceremony carried out at the edge of a lagoon, in order to be consecrated definitively as curers, since medicine is a heritage from Thunder.

The teacher asks the pupil for a white sheep and two new pouches. The animal is sacrificed, and from each organ on the left side a small piece is cut and placed in the pouch. This is the "Camarico for Thunder." With this gift, teacher and pupil set out for the lagoon, while at home the women cook the meat with the express order that no one may eat it until they return.

* /224 cont./

756 At the edge of the lagoon the teacher-curer digs a hole,
778 over which, and from the end of the tama, he suspends the
782 camarico. Thunder requests from the pupil 10, 20, or 30 centavos, coins which he deposits in the hole. Then, he lowers the pouch and covers the hole with stones and earth. The curer bathes the pupil with shu and shulape (1). Thunder

1. 1. Cf. below, "Remedies" /see pp. 22ff./.

draws near to receive other gifts which he requests by means of the signs, to state that the youth may learn how to cure, to prohibit him emphatically from collecting bad remedies (for sorcery), and to request him to be charitable with people. Last of all, he orders him to return home.

* 756 At the teacher's home, chicha and aguardiente are drunk,
● 868 and meat is eaten with stew. Then the teacher presents
755 remedies to the pupil and tells him that henceforth he will
778 merely need to apply them, warning about the patients who are in a very serious condition, but with the help of God he should try to cure them.

* 756 The signs. The signs are reflex movements which manifest
787 themselves in the musculature of the curer. "They are like
[827] a circulation" -- says one té eu, "as when a person's muscle
[755] twitches in the eye or hand. The interpretation of these signs is done by the curer."

[776] The signs come from Thunder or the Ghost. That is to say, from assisting spirits. There are also those who say that they come from God.

755 The signs are fundamental, basic in Paez medicine.
*756 Without them there cannot be curers, and there cannot be a curer who does not know how to interpret the signs. It is useless to have knowledge of the medicinal value of the plants. The curer is no more than an intermediary, a spokesman for

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heights of Cuetando, where they built a hut and planted a miniature field as proof of their masculine aptitude.

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Marriage.[11]—Formerly polygyny was prevalent, but now Catholicism has imposed monogamy. The Indians continue, however, to practice trial marriage (amaño). A marriage is arranged as follows:

The bride is selected by the young man's parents or by himself. His parents and two witnesses or godparents then visit her house to request her for the groom. They also serve as advisors to the young woman, in case she disapproves the marriage. The visitors carry half-filled bottles of rum (aguardiente) and some special garments for the girl. The young man's father offers the girl's father a half-bottle, acceptance of which means, as usual among the *Páez*, that the second party is well disposed toward the proposal and the negotiations may proceed. If the girl's mother agrees, the boy's mother presents her a half-bottle of liquor. The godfather or witness gives another half-bottle to the girl's father and the godmother gives one to the mother. The visitors now leave, taking the girl, who then begins a year of trial marriage, during which the young man seeks proof that the girl is able to bear children, is active, cooks well, can weave, and can cultivate the land. After the trial period, the man may return the girl to her parents or they marry in the Catholic Church, holding a feast which, like all such celebrations, is called a "cuido." The couple and their parents and godparents are accompanied by an orchestra (chirimía) to the house where the feast is to be held. Here the bride puts on a modern dress, a ribbon on her hair, necklaces, and earrings, while the groom is with his godfather. As the guests arrive, chicha is distributed frequently, music is played, and then there is a feast of thick soup, generally with chicken, cooked yuca, arracacha, and roast or baked meat. In the afternoon, after more music and chicha drinking, the "refresco," really a banquet or social communion, is served. Six bottles of wine made from cane molasses, cinnamon, and cloves, and cake are given to the bride, groom, godmother, and godfather, who give some to everyone present. A prayer, led by the head of the house, then asks the souls of the dead to bless the marriage and give permission to dance. First, the godfather dances with the bride, then the godmother with the groom, after which everyone dances. The feast lasts 5 days, depending on the wealth of the family. Chicha is served and accepted with the phrase, "May God pay you, compadrito, for accompanying us. Accompany us more."

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/173 cont./

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623 escolar, finally, is responsible for the school attendance of the
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621 It should not remain unmentioned that Calderas -- and ap-
623 parently this village only -- is divided into four parts, each of which occupies roughly a cardinal point and has about 50 houses.
[361] An alcalde, alguacil, fiscal, and comisario are each an equal representative of a quarter in the cabildo. At present the alcalde is the representative of the western region of Yocashí, the alguacil the representative of the northern region of Puélche, the fiscal that of the eastern region of Aépel, and the comisario that of the southern Bishók. I was told that the connection between an office and the representation of a village quarter is arbitrary, depending on where the occupant of the post happens to live. The official position within the cabildo is first assigned, and today it is the more important. Four of them take over the representation of a village quarter each. Thus, the comisario, if he lives there, may be the representative from Yocashí, and the alcalde the representative of Aépel. The present gobernador, for example, was fiscal ten years ago. Since he lives in the village section of Puélche, he was at the same time the representative of this quarter.

/186 cont./

177 Today all children are obliged to attend school in the
797 mission schools, where they are taught the catechism and the
● 871 Spanish language and must bathe once a day under supervision.
515 The mother nurses her child exclusively during the first six
853 to eight months; only then is the giving of more solid food begun, which, however, does not differ in any way from that of adults, that is to say, the child is given yuca, beans, chicha, brandy, etc., like the adults. The mother suckles the child until the next one arrives, namely, three to four years, and sometimes beyond that, along with the one born next. Every woman who has a child generally also has milk, we were told. Only if the mother should be far away, /187/ for example, on an errand at the market or out fetching wood, may another woman help the child with her milk. In the rare cases in which a woman does not have enough milk to feed her child, she may give it to some
853 other woman, who, however, does not receive anything for it. It
855 may also happen that a family with ten children has become so
[593] large that the food is no longer adequate. In this case the woman may leave one or several children in the care of her mother. If she no longer has a mother, however, she must keep them herself. In case the mother of small children dies and leaves a baby of less than two or three months who still cannot eat any food other than milk, the father looks for a woman who likewise has a nursing baby and who brings up the strange child with her milk for two or three years, until it can talk. Then the father takes it back, and the wet nurse is given a cow as "milk money."

854 Ordinarily the children are carried by the mother. The
482 colored woven belt (táw) and the large shawl (panyelón or séntyatc), in which the child is wrapped and carried by the mother on her back, are needed for this.

857 The games of the children are generally instructive for their
868 later life. The boys go bird hunting with the blowgun (pāt), the plaited stone-sling (ísot), or the elastic sling (kaučéro), or they practice catching each other with the lasso, during which the child
[231] to be caught represents a cow or a horse. The ability of the children, and of the adults, too, by the way, in the use of the lasso is not

/255 cont./

802 designated as "much" (teč kwát), literally "one stone." Today it is the designation for "hundred."

75 The medical knowledge of the Paez is not great. Almost all illnesses are regarded as based on magical causes and are treated by the shamans (see below//see pp. 190 ff./). Broken bones are treated by the midwife, who rubs on cow fat and wraps [845] leaves around them. The broken bone is never put in splints. In a difficult birth the midwife is able to turn the child into the right position; if then the birth does not go well, her skill is at an end. No remedy is known for snake bite. In the case of headaches, a leaf is tied to the front of the head. For flatulence some wood ashes are rubbed on the abdomen. For injuries caused by a machete and bleeding profusely, a tourniquet is applied to the affected limb, above the place of the injury, and the wound is covered with a small piece of cloth. The shaman has the injured person bite hard with all his teeth on the iron machete.

3. Religion

771 The Paez today are nominally Christians. They are baptized 797 and usually married by the Catholic priest. The Christian missionizing began as early as the sixteenth century, at first, to be sure, with little success, which did not increase when from 1630-1654 Jesuit missionaries took over the mission work. Only in the last decades 797 has there been greater progress. Hand in hand with the conversion 177 to Christianity go the introduction and teaching of the Spanish lan- 871 guage and the adoption of Colombian customs and habits. Today in almost every village there is a mission station and a school, the teachers of which are mostly women missionaries. In general the parents do not send their children to school unwillingly, for they have realized that knowledge of Spanish and of reading and writing is accompanied by certain advantages in their relations with the [178] whites. In connection with the /256/ schooling, of course, there is [756] some alienation from the old habits and customs of the Paez, especially those of a religious and sociological nature. Nevertheless,

/256 cont./

797 in all Paez communities in which Spanish is not understood by the
177 majority of the population, the old functionaries of the original
178 Paez religion are needed to maintain the social life in particular.
871 In accordance with their activity, they are designated as "shamans"
756 by theologians. Because of the dissimilar nature of their religious activity, they do not by any means represent unbridgeable competition for the Christian missions; rather, both, the Christian faith and shamanistic activity, can exist side by side in the present stage of culture of the Paez.

771 If one considers existing theological convictions, one finds
793 that the office and dignity of the cult priest rest on the performance
756 of sacred acts which must of necessity be fulfilled so that the natural and normal development of human existence is not ob-
182 structed. His task is to confirm the existing world order through the consecration of sacerdotal acts. The shamans, however, -- on the contrary! -- want to outdo and break through the given order of nature and the environment. Their greatness and authority rest on the fact that they do supernatural things, that they heal the sick, struggle with spirits, yes, awaken the dead to new life. This, at any rate, is said of the greatest of their kind, whose talent lies in their spiritual, supernatural powers, in their mastering of extraordinary circumstances. Over against the cult priest's "thus it is," the shaman puts his "thus it should be" (A. Friedrich).

a) Characteristics of Paez Shamanism

756 The Paez shamans, in the sense given, are not functionaries
754 of a sacrificial cult, but persons who do supernatural things. There are two types of them, the teyu and the nyic. Whereas the teyu (tepits as a man, téoi as a woman) is a good shaman, a good doctor and helper of human beings, the nyic is an evil shaman, an evil sorcerer, a hexer. The shamanistic activity of both, however, as a religious phenomenon, is not nearly as distinctive as, for example, the shamanism that we are familiar with in Siberia or North America.

P /190 cont./
513 them during the day. They use no blankets. The woman
512 leaves sufficient wood on the fire for heat to protect them from
P the rigors of the cold of the night which filters through the
[262] stalks of the walls. In addition, over the fire there is a pot
[264] of "mute," beans, and cabbage, which, when cooked, will
P
[462] constitute the meal at daybreak. The fire is revived by the
woman at 11 o'clock, an operation that is repeated about two
o'clock in the morning. At four o'clock in the morning everyone is up. At dawn the woman distributes the food, and then the men come out of their houses with machetes in their belts, kuetand yaha filled with coca and mambe, to clear the woodland, weed the fields, or help with the hard work of their neighbors.

V

Anger, Rancor, and Politics

P
829 The Calderas Indians are arch conservatives. Tradition, pride, and a rebel spirit have much to do with their passion for politics. I do not speak of the conservative doctrine or of political concepts. They are conservatives by temperament
P and group solidarity. By the same token, their fanaticism is
829 proverbial. The mere mention of the word "liberal" makes
609 them break out in a rash. Anyone who comes to Calderas for the first time is approached by the Indians out of curiosity. "What is your name?" "What do you want?" "Why did you come?" "What are you, liberal or conservative?" These are the questions with which the natives and even the local cabildo besiege the visitor. It should be added that those who wish
P to save their skins or to avoid being run out of town must main-
[797] tain that they are conservatives. It is said that in 1952 they
[871] did not want to accept the Missionary Sisters who came to run
C
[658] the school which is supported by the national government.

/190 cont./

609 It was necessary for someone to tell them that they were sent by
797 /191/ Laureano Gómez before they all said: "Well, then, let
871 them remain."
829

666 In spite of their stubborn conservatism, the leaders of the
829 municipio cannot manage to make them vote for their chosen candidates unless they first get their ration of meat, chicha, and aguardiente. The ration and the vote form an indivisible unit.

829 "I am godo /Goth, pejorative for Spaniard/ to the marrow, a true conservative," exclaimed one of the important men of
[773] Calderas while he was drunk. "Juan Chiracol also was a conservative," said another.

829 The Indians of Tierradentro have been liberals since 1860,
175 thanks to the victor's aura gained by Mosquera on the plains
648 of Segovia. "The battle of Segovia" --says the padre David González--"in which the Indians took part and in which Mosquera encouraged the native ferocity, and the march on Bogotá, which fell to the rebel general, made him a demigod
[464] in the eyes of the Paez. Since the first days of the colony they have venerated the name Mosquera; the Marquis don Cristóbal Mosquera y Figueroa had been their master, their encomendero, he had taken them to Popayán in gangs to work on his haciendas, he had given to them the huge lands of his
[665] encomienda... Naturally the Indians of Tierradentro have been strongly bound since 1860 to the political faction which represented Mosquera, liberalism. In the armed struggles which later scourged the nation, the Paez staunchly bore the liberal standard."

829 In view of this, the political affiliation of the Calderas
665 Indians is an odd one; up to less than a decade ago, they formed a conservative island in the midst of a liberal majority. Possibly this attitude conceals a great desire to defend their lands. The Calderas people have no marked sympathy for the neighboring parcialidades. "They are Reds," say the natives,

6: Bernal Villa--92 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

Mosoco Family Expenses -- 1953

Fams.	Taxes		Education		Candles-soap		Coca	
	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%
511 1.	*1,70	..	30,00	0,6	120,00	2,4	... ..	...
563 2.	... ..	..	8,00	1,2	21,60	3,0	... ..	...
651 3.	... ..	..	... ..	...	21,60	3,0	... ..	...
4.	... ..	..	6,00	0,3	64,00	8,3	... ..	...
5.	... ..	..	5,00	0,9	45,60	8,9	... ..	...
6.	... ..	..	10,00	0,9	57,60	5,5	... ..	...
7.	... ..	..	... ..	...	45,60	4,0	... ..	...
8.	... ..	..	... ..	...	50,40	7,0	... ..	...
9.	... ..	..	... ..	...	57,00	4,4	... ..	...
10.	... ..	..	... ..	...	60,00	7,3	72,00	8,8
11.	... ..	..	... ..	...	36,00	6,2	... ..	...
12.	... ..	..	... ..	...	68,40	9,6	... ..	...
13.	... ..	..	... ..	...	72,00	6,7	... ..	...
14.	... ..	..	4,00	0,3	28,00	2,3	... ..	...
15.	... ..	..	... ..	...	68,40	5,2	96,00	7,3
16.	... ..	..	... ..	...	26,40	4,8	... ..	...
17.	... ..	..	... ..	...	18,00	6,0	... ..	...
18.	... ..	..	... ..	...	84,00	4,3	... ..	...
19.	... ..	..	30,00	1,8	... ..	...	... ..	...
20.	... ..	..	... ..	...	36,00	6,3	... ..	...
21.	... ..	..	... ..	...	50,40	8,5	120,00	20,3
22.	11,60	0,8	... ..	...	100,00	7,2	... ..	...
23.	... ..	..	... ..	...	57,60	9,5	... ..	...
24.	... ..	..	5,00	1,1	62,00	3,9	... ..	...
25.	*4,50	..	1.765,00	17,3	150,00	1,4	... ..	...

Lame

1.	*...	..	30,00	1,2	22,80	1,0	... ..	...
2.	... ..	..	... ..	...	14,40	5,1	60,00	21,3
3.	... ..	..	... ..	...	8,00	1,7	... ..	...
4.	*...	..	... ..	...	?	?	... ..	...
5.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	180,00	30,4
6.	... ..	..	... ..	...	9,60	1,8	54,00	10,5
7.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	72,00	25,8
8.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	... ..	...

San Andres

1.	*2,40	..	180,00	3,3	?	?	... ..	...
2.	... ..	..	... ..	..	?	?	30,00	33,8
3.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	... ..	...
4.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	... ..	...
5.	5,00	0,8	8,00	1,2	37,20	5,9	96,00	15,3
6.	... ..	..	... ..	...	36,00	14,5	40,00	16,0
7.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	48,00	14,6
8.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	17,50	3,8
9.	... ..	..	5,00	1,1	30,00	6,7	26,00	5,6
10.	*16,20	3,3	... ..	...	67,20	3,0	... ..	...
11.	7,75	0,2	60,00	2,1	108,00	3,9	... ..	...
12.	... ..	..	... ..	...	21,60	12,7	... ..	...
13.	... ..	..	... ..	...	28,80	4,6	... ..	...
14.	*...	..	515,00	13,2	?	?	... ..	...
15.	*13,00	0,6	15,00	0,5	?	?	... ..	...

/361/

75 Their importance is emphasized if we make a comparison
511 with the parcialidad of San Andrés, where there is a Centro de
743 Salud duly staffed by a registered nurse, and furthermore, not far away, there is the Centro de Higiene of Inzá, staffed by a doctor and a group of nurses whose services are free and who also distribute free drugs. In spite of this, the natives do not always go to these centers, preferring their own doctors and most commonly the tê eu of Calderas.

651 Concerning taxes, we have already said that the immovables
511 of the native communities are exempt from this type of encumbrance; hence, the column reserved for this type of expense remains empty. The few figures that are found in it are payments on immovables within the settlement area and, in one case or another, the payment of taxes for the exercise of trade in various plazas of the municipio of Inzá.

511 The amounts devoted to the education of children are the
871 smallest, if we except those of the "white" informants, some of
[563] whom have their children in high schools, in rural normal schools,
[115] and even at the university. In the parcialidades of San Andrés and Lame, they are practically null. The children of San Andrés go to school, as a rule, unprovided with school supplies, carrying in their bags provisions for lunch, consisting of manioc and cooked plantains, mote, and roasted maize, since the dwellings are located at a distance of several kilometers from the school, with very bad and rugged paths. School cafeterias and the donating of school supplies are more than indispensable in these regions. These children go to school irregularly and do not remain there for more than two years; they are taught in Spanish, and on the
[562] whole the benefit is minimal. Girls attend in smaller numbers
[212] than boys; the adults believe that women do not need to learn to read and write. This situation is different in Mosoco. The children of both sexes attend school and try to attend regularly, and many walk several kilometers a day; the fathers of families are interested in having their children learn to read, write, and count, and for this reason they try to outfit them with some equipment for their tasks of apprenticeship.

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5: Bernal Villa SC15 Paez SC15

467

874

[For information on the training of apprentice shamans, see category 756.]

/173 cont./

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621 parently this village only -- is divided into four parts, each of
623 which occupies roughly a cardinal point and has about 50 houses.
[361] An alcalde, alguacil, fiscal, and comisario are each an equal representative of a quarter in the cabildo. At present the alcalde is the representative of the western region of Yocashí, the alguacil the representative of the northern region of Puélche, the fiscal that of the eastern region of Aépel, and the comisario that of the southern Bishók. I was told that the connection between an office and the representation of a village quarter is arbitrary, depending on where the occupant of the post happens to live. The official position within the cabildo is first assigned, and today it is the more important. Four of them take over the representation of a village quarter each. Thus, the comisario, if he lives there, may be the representative from Yocashí, and the alcalde the representative of Aépel. The present gobernador, for example, was fiscal ten years ago. Since he lives in the village section of Puélche, he was at the same time the representative of this quarter.

/189 cont./

b) Maturity

881 Today no rites or ceremonies for the youths take place any
[178] more. In former times they were led to the sacred lagoon of Juan
[778] Tama or to the heights of Cuetando, and there they had to build
a hut and lay out a small cornfield as proof of their capabilities
as a man and father of a household (Hernandez, 1944, p. 203).

[582] A girl comes of age with puberty, that is to say, she may
[836] marry. Before that and before marriage, intercourse is not per-
[535] mitted. On the occasion of the first menstruation in former times
a special dance was performed (itsa-kó), during which the young
girl was bathed naked in chicha in a pit outside the festival house
881 (Castillo i Orosco, p. 85). Today this no longer takes place;
285 rather, a girl, when she goes to the dúyat for the first time at
787 about 15 years of age, takes along agave fibers and during the
[178] approximately five days that she stays there plaits a very pretty,
[262] small fiber bag (yáhalečkwe) about the size of a fist. There
are no additional food prohibitions or similar things. After that
she goes to a distant river to bathe. On the way there she lets
the bag fall. A married man passing by lets it lie, for he knows
that it belongs to a young girl. A young man, however, who
happens to be coming that way sees the beautifully worked bag,
picks it up, and uses it as a small money-bag. Without knowing
who made the little bag, he will -- people are convinced -- marry
this girl.

/190/ c) Marriage

595 The present form of marriage of the Paez is monogamy.
114 H. Pittier de Fábrega (p. 314), however, concludes from their
traditions that the Paez were formerly polygamous and were con-
verted to monogamy only through education on the part of the
missionaries. I could find no clue in their mythology for actual
595 polygamy in former times. The social structure and way of life
591 of the Paez, however, prohibits living alone for unmarried girls.
[589] In case they have no relatives or do not find lodging in the house
of relatives, another man takes them into his family. The girl

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

147 the odor peculiar to the Indians, which becomes quite noticeable when they are sweating and which so closely resembles that of the secretion of the so-called *sahino*, or wild hog (*Dicotyles tajacu* L.), that I have more than once been deceived into believing that our trail crossed the path of a drove of these animals.

516 When at rest the Paez men almost invariably sit on their heels, the toes sustaining the whole weight of the body, while the women sit with their legs stretched together on the ground, [514] even when near the fire in their houses. In micturition young 481 girls remain standing. The gait of both men and women is short-paced and easy, the body being always slightly inclined forward, probably on account of the habit of carrying heavy loads.

824 Like all children of Nature, the Paez Indians are very keen 826 observers of their surroundings, as is shown by the minuteness of their differentiation in plants and in certain groups of insects. Castillo, for instance, gives the names of no fewer than six different varieties of ants —

[552]

kan-kik	*ciĩ-kik-ne*	*eia-i*
kik-fints	*gunc-ñandi*	*to-fiti*

and I collected very few plants for which they did not have a ready name.

Reproduction and Death

● 881 When a girl reached puberty the event was celebrated among the old Paez Indians by a special dance called *itsa-ko*, during which the young naked female was placed in a hole dug outside the hall-house and thoroughly washed with *chicha*. We have no 836 notice of pre-marital liberty being conceded to women, nor of the relation of children to parents in the family organization. As 595 tradition has it, the pre-conquest Paez were polygamous, and notwithstanding the efforts of the missionaries, it is almost certain that this practice has not completely disappeared. We know nothing about the existence of marriage ceremonies before 581 the introduction of the Catholic ritual. It is likely, however, [586] that marriages were endogamous and free, and, as such, a very frail institution, as Castillo informs us that even in his time

7:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

The *Páez* family is completely under the authority of the father, whose wife and children obey him implicitly and may be punished by him. Nonetheless, the father must obtain his wife's permission to sell or exchange goods she produced, such as bags for coca, sashes, etc. Precise etiquette is maintained between fathers and godfathers (compadres). Whenever a man meets his father or his godfather, he must kneel to receive his blessing. The fathers and godfathers must embrace whenever they meet. In one case a young man was the godfather of his father's new son by another wife, so that in meeting his father the young man had to kneel bareheaded, and then stand with his hat on and embrace his father as a godparent. The father did not call him "son" but "compadre."

594 [425] 608 576

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—A very old custom among these peoples is that at childbirth the mother should retire to a special house or go to the mountains. If she was delivered in the home, she and the baby were bathed, and then the family left the hut and built a new one elsewhere.

844

Today both the *Moguex* and *Páez* have a special hut for childbirth. The day after the child is born, the mother is placed in a hole up to her head and bathed with an infusion of leaves of "moquita," after which she washes the clothes and objects worn during delivery. She then returns to work and lives again at home. In the special hut, a *Páez* woman is assisted in childbirth by another woman, or, as a last resort, by her husband, who must bathe immediately afterward. Two days later, the mother circumcises her son or destroys the virginity of her daughter. Four or five days after the birth and after the first bath, the father takes the child to the sacristan of the community for baptism with water, and then returns it to the mother. The afterbirth must be buried or burned at the place of the birth. About 15 days later, the mother takes a bath and washes her child and her clothes and objects, and returns home. Later, the child is baptized with oil in the church by the priest with the godparents present. This is an occasion for general dancing and drunkenness.

846 [757] [343] [844] [304] [851] [844] [851] [608]

Puberty.—At puberty a girl was formerly taken by her parents to a hill, placed in a hole, and bathed. Each Indian then took her a gift. Pittier de Fábrega (1907) notes that at a later period a girl's puberty was celebrated with the "Itsa-kó" dance, the girl, bathed with chicha, remaining in the hole. Today, a woman must retire during her menstrual periods to a special hut, where other women bring her food and build a fire to warm her. Afterward, she bathes, washes her clothes and objects, and then returns home.

881 [431] [535] 841 343

Men, until recently, underwent a sort of initiation, in which they were taken to the shores of the sacred lagoon of Juan Tama or to the

881

7:Hernández de Alba E-5)(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

881 heights of Cuetando, where they built a hut and planted a miniature field as proof of their masculine aptitude.

797 **Education.**—Today the Indians are educated principally by their 871 parents in the customs and tasks pertaining to each sex. Some boys [868] and a few girls are sent to the few missionary schools, where they are given religious instruction and are taught Spanish, arithmetic, geography, the history of Colombia, and modern embroidery or light [562] basketwork. The *Páez* are reluctant to send their daughters to the schools because they feel that women should keep the traditions of [177] their people. The missionary schools strive to change the native language and the cultural traditions which have given the Indian community social cohesion.

595 **Marriage.**[11]—Formerly polygyny was prevalent, but now Catholi- [97] cism has imposed monogamy. The Indians continue, however, to 583 practice trial marriage (amaño). A marriage is arranged as follows:

584 The bride is selected by the young man's parents or by himself. His parents and two witnesses or godparents then visit her house to request her for the groom. They also serve as advisors to the young woman, in case she disapproves the marriage. The visitors carry half-filled bottles of rum (aguardiente) and some special garments for the girl. The young man's father offers the girl's father a half-bottle, acceptance of which means, as usual among the *Páez*, that the second party is well disposed toward the proposal and the negotiations may proceed. If the girl's mother agrees, the boy's mother presents her a half-bottle of liquor. The godfather or witness gives another half-bottle to the girl's father and the 583 godmother gives one to the mother. The visitors now leave, taking the girl, who then begins a year of trial marriage, during which the young man seeks proof that the girl is able to bear children, is active, cooks well, can weave, and 585 can cultivate the land. After the trial period, the man may return the girl to her parents or they marry in the Catholic Church, holding a feast which, like all 527 such celebrations, is called a "cuido." The couple and their parents and godparents are accompanied by an orchestra (chirimía) to the house where the feast is to be held. Here the bride puts on a modern dress, a ribbon on her hair, necklaces, and earrings, while the groom is with his godfather. As the guests arrive, chicha is distributed frequently, music is played, and then there is a feast of thick soup, generally with chicken, cooked yuca, arracacha, and roast or baked meat. In the afternoon, after more music and chicha drinking, the "refresco," really a banquet or social communion, is served. Six bottles of wine made from cane molasses, cinnamon, and cloves, and cake are given to the bride, groom, godmother, [782] and godfather, who give some to everyone present. A prayer, led by the head of the house, then asks the souls of the dead to bless the marriage and give permission [775] to dance. First, the godfather dances with the bride, then the godmother with the groom, after which everyone dances. The feast lasts 5 days, depending on the wealth of the family. Chicha is served and accepted with the phrase, "May God pay you, compadrito, for accompanying us. Accompany us more."

764 **Death.**—At a death, the family formerly buried the deceased inside the house with his possessions, and abandoned it. Some communities, however, preferred to cremate the body or dry it over the fire. The

[114] [727]

[11] I thank my wife and companion, Helena Ospina de Hernández, for her research in 1938 on matrimonial matters.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

157 pipes they play while walking along, unless their hands are kept
583 busy plaiting braids of gynerium bark in the manufacture of
283 their hats. This is the exclusive occupation of the men.
[463] Women almost invariably walk along spinning wool, their distaff under the left arm and the spindle in the left hand, while the right hand is busy at the wool.

885 The Paez maidens are fond of flowers and are very playful.
157 On one occasion I observed several of them going up the hill
481 beyond the river, in front of the church at Huila, their arms entwined about one another's necks; then they began running up the steep hill as in a contest of endurance. As they became exhausted they threw themselves on the grass, while their movements showed that they were playing and joking all the time. These children of Nature are not unpleasant to look at,
[515 except for their usual lack of cleanliness; nor are they wanting
142] in coquetry, and they are often pretty. But in the presence of
[609] strangers they are extremely bashful, doing their utmost to keep in the background.

291 The old women are generally very ugly. Their clothing con-
515 sists only of dirty rags, and their skin is covered with the filth of years.

593 Relations between the sexes, especially between husbands
562 and wives, seem to be easy and without an air of superiority on the part of the former. On the few occasions that I had to entertain these people at their houses, the women took the same interest and the same part in the proceedings as the men, which was very different from what I observed among the Central American Indians.

609 Toward strangers, and especially toward Colombians of other
186 races, the attitude of the Indians is decidedly hostile. Unless induced by the prospect of profit they will neither sell anything nor lend any service, often refusing money and accepting only articles which they especially desire. They will not allow white
[563] or black people in their homes, and at Huila they are even unwilling that the only white family living there should share the practically inexhaustible supply of fuel scattered about in the near-by forest, or have horses or cattle pasturing on the almost

/286 cont./
182 no new harvest may be undertaken until the teyu has first cleansed
756 of the pest the building site or the crops, respectively.

/287/ He is, however, not only the protector of the individual or the individual family, but is also responsible for the beneficial
[773] co-existence of the members of the whole village. Thus, it is not surprising that it was the shamans -- besides Thunder under his various names -- who were the war leaders in the mythical tradi-
[726] tions. Thanks to their magical gifts and strength, they successfully led their people against the Pijao and the Spaniards. Several times the elders of the various villages told us that one day Thunder will again drive the white intruders out of the Tierradentro of the
[648] Paez and kill them. And it is only logical that, as late as 1952,
[789] on the occasion of an impending attack by an armed group of white revolutionaries, the shaman of Santa Rosa, as the successor of the mythical Thunder, should spit his magic herbs on the road leading to the village, in order to destroy them. Old Felisa Ipia is behaving in a similar manner when she keeps the souls of all the village inhabitants gathered together in the threads of her shaman's staff, in order to be able to protect them better against evil, magical influences.

756 On account of these certain supernatural abilities of theirs, the
554 effects of which no one in the community can evade, the teyu
[225] have a certain unofficial authority. In addition, they are all at least 30 to 40 years old and thus, by their very age, fulfill one of the natural prerequisites for recognition by the community. Not a few of them feel honored by this, set apart from the great mass of people, but many assured me that they were shamans only unwillingly, that though they were called by their ability to receive signs, they were nevertheless oppressed by the weight of the burden of their responsibility.

756 During times of epidemics of disease or inexplicable, "super-
124 natural" deaths, they are the focal point of the community, to
[182] which no one appeals in vain. And in conversations with them we generally had the distinct impression of facing unselfish, helpful human beings. They make no secret of their activity, and they tried, as best they could, to tell us about their experiences and knowledge which they use for the good of the community.

* /252 cont./

756 They are very tractable, friendly, and in our cultural
156 terms we would say that they have a marvelous gift for dealing
157 with people.

● [886] When they grow old, they cease to perceive the signs.
[787] They believe that when a curer dies, his death is heralded
by thunder. They live in permanent tension to counter the
[821] attacks of sorcerers. At the slightest symptom, they go to their
[763] kachí to divine and to take the appropriate precautions. They
eat little so as not to sleep at night; they do not suffer from
insomnia. They refrain from sexual relations and from ají
during their treatments.

[731] They attract the entire concern of the community when
epidemics occur. The true curers, those conscious of their
profession, are temperate, engrossed in the fight against sick-
ness, and of a kindly disposition. They inspire trust and do
not show egoism; they readily explain the secrets of their pro-
fession.

* 756 Competition among the Té eu. Some rivalry seems to
exist among the curers, and the natives even list the zones of
578 action of the curers. It is certain that a curer will boast of
having overpowered another in the latter's own area of practice.
A curer from Santa Rosa tells how he overpowered a colleague.

755 The informant went to give treatments to a white patient
* 756 at Alto de Atarraya. There he found another curer who was
578 giving remedies that were useless. The patient provided for
them very well, with abundant chicha and aguardiente. The
new arrival drank with care. His colleague had already eaten
the pork, but the patient was following /253/ him. The two
curers prepared to fight. The new curer took his tama and
his coca and at nine at night prepared to divine. His assisting
spirit told him that the other one had given false remedies.
Thus he had to learn the effective remedies. He discovered
that the harm had been done by a native servant girl, along with
some neighbors who did not like him. At once he called in
the cook in order to question her and make sure of what she had

P C /134 cont./

276 by the "Ministerio de Trabajo, Higiene y Prevesion Social."
C This prohibition was extended by Decree No. 578 of 1941 by the
656 same ministry, according to which an exact list of the existing coca plants of the country was demanded and their destruction ordered, /135/ with a simultaneous prohibition against new plantings (Duque, 1945, pp. 445 f.). Of course this prohibition against coca planting cannot be strictly supervised and enforced in all the remote parts of the country.

P The argument for the use of coca has remained the same
276 from the time of the Conquista to this day: it is supposed to
461 drive away hunger and to give strength. "Without coca one cannot work," I was told over and over again when I asked the Paez the reason for chewing coca. And, as a matter of fact, one sees the Paez chewing it on the long trips to market and during every physical task; but only at work, when one needs strength, and not during festivals and celebrations or on festive days. (The shamans are an exception, see below.)

P The bitter tasting coca is chewed by both sexes, and the
276 boys begin at 12-14 years of age, when they also begin helping
P [887] their father with the work in the fields. The girls generally begin somewhat later, and in old age both sexes chew quite heavily and more frequently than is normal in younger years. The men take coca three times a day as a normal dose, and each dose lasts about two to three hours. Nothing is eaten all day after taking the first meal early in the morning before work; the second one
P is not eaten until after they return home from the fields in the
[272] late afternoon. During the pauses for coca, unfermented sugarcane juice (nyŭšayumfl) is drunk, everyone carrying a calabash with one to two liters of it with him.

P The coca shrub, about 80 to 200 centimeters high, is
276 striking even at a distance because of its fresh, light green,
249 lancet-shaped leaves, which have two slightly curved longitudinal
[137] lines on the underside. Among the Paez of Calderas almost every family has its coca shrubs, the leaves of which, after plant-
P ing, are harvested from the first year for about 20 years. Anyone
[457] who does not own coca shrubs himself trades for the leaves in

/292 cont./

5. Folklore

*539 The present fund of tales of the Paez is neither rich nor varied. Here, too, a certain impoverishment has undoubtedly taken place, as may be seen from fragments of larger complexes of myths. Among these there are the "Story of the Woman from Whose Body Useful Plants Come Forth," stories about transformed animals and human beings, as well as stories about werejaguars. [171] The story of the ghostly human head that comes rolling by is also extraordinarily widespread in North and South American legends [176] and has a manifold lunar-mythological meaning. In contrast to this, the complete absence of typical stories about the forest spirit (gĕlyómp) is noteworthy, although the latter plays an important role in the religious conceptions of the Paez. Animal and transformation tales are only very dull and colorless.

114 609 *539 [887] Unfortunately, the reluctance of the Paez to communicate is particularly frustrating in the recording of the myths. It is primarily the old people who can tell stories. But they are the very ones who are particularly standoffish toward the stranger. The chroniclers and early reporters tell us nothing about the folklore of the Paez, and even the most recent travelers of the thirties report only the story of Juan Tama or deny that the Paez have any mythology at all.

12 609 *539 [554] The stories collected by S. Bernal Villa and by myself could surely be augmented with better acquaintance among the old people. The unpopularity of our interpreter, especially among the old people, was sometimes so great an obstacle that Victoriano had to ask suitable informants for some of the stories told about his father or uncle.

*539 The themes of the stories chiefly consist of tales about Thunder (Nos. 1-12), mostly under his names of Juan Tama, Llivan, Chauté, or Juan Chiracol. In the myths he is the first shaman and teacher of the present-day shamans (see under "Religion" /see pp. 176 ff. /) and considerably more powerful than human beings. He is not an exalted, numinous figure, however. On the contrary, people in olden days /293/ sometimes treated him quite badly, threw poisonous herbs in his lagoon,

* /224 cont./
756 the assisting spirit. It is not enough to know whether certain
755 medicines correspond to certain signs. The té eu must /225/ divine which remedies will be useful for the particular case. This is why the curer always carries a pouch with all the known remedies. He takes one out and consults. If the signs do not circulate, the remedy is useless; he takes out another and waits. When they are felt insistently, then the remedy is appropriate. Since the signs are given by the assisting spirit, it is he who cures.

* 756 The signs may contribute to the discovery of a vocation.
463 If a man engaged in a manual task that does not imply motion
787 (the making of firecrackers, plates for cooking, pottery) suddenly feels the movement of the signs, he must seek out a teacher so that he will instruct him in the art of curing. He cannot disobey them or he would go mad.

* 756 Even the curers themselves must practice the signs. If,
787 for example, no sick clients have come for two days, the
755 té eu must visit his Kachí (2) and practice the signs; otherwise,

2. See below, "Divination sites" /see p. 9 /.

they may drive him insane. For this reason, the curer must
● [888] practice his profession until old age begins. Old men lose the signs because they cannot travel to go to the Kachí and practice the signs.

* 756 All the informants affirm that signs on the left side signify
787 something bad, while those on the right indicate something
827 good. As a rule, the signs that are given in a certain part of
755 the body have a specific meaning. Minor differences may be noted in the information provided by the curers, but they are
[124] matters of form rather than substance. There follows a table of the symbolism of the signs, gathered from many profane informants and curers from the Parcialidades of Santa Rosa, Calderas, Togoima, Avisame, and San Andrés.

/176 cont./

551 In referring to a grandfather, for example, Alfonso's,
609 one would say, Pons nei, if the speaker is well known to Alfonso; otherwise he would say Liõn nei (father of Cerveleõn), especially if he were in the presence of the grandfather.

In referring to the paternal uncle of Alfonso, one would say: Pons niñuk.

In referring to the maternal uncle of Alfonso, one would say: Pons nekshka.

In referring to the paternal aunt of Alfonso, one would say: Pons nsuts.

In referring to the maternal aunt of Alfonso, one would say: Pons nihiñuk.

Relations between Relatives

603 As we have seen, general respect is owed to older persons
[888] by younger persons. Patterns of conduct between grandparents and grandchildren are governed by emotional factors, these being more or less affectionate, according to their mutual comportment. If the grandparents /177/ are kind to their grandchildren, they are given their love and consideration; if the contrary is the case, the attitude is one of cold respect. If the grandchildren say "what an old pig he is," the grandfather will not love them.

604 It is affirmed that with the paternal and maternal uncles
551 an identical pattern of conduct is observed. They cannot be designated solely by name. Thus, if Victoriano Piñakuĕ addresses his uncle by his name, the latter will reply that he has no manners, for he should show respect. "You must say uncle," he advises. His mother will scold him: "you are rude to speak like
604 that, say uncle." Greater respect is owed to Ego's older uncles than to uncles younger than he is. To the former he gives a blessing as he does to his parents. One should not mention "cosas feas" /ugly things/ in their presence or joke with them. If the uncle wishes to joke with the nephew, the latter should